香港中文大學天主教研究中心

《天主教研究學報》

〈聖經的中文翻譯〉

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[1]　其撰寫包括：《戴德生與中國內地會（1852–1953）》（1998）；《聖言千載：聖經流傳的故事》（2011）；「中國內地會宣教理念在中國的實踐」，載《山道期刊》，第十八期，2006 年 12 月；「戴德生與中國本色化教會的建構」，載《中國神學研究院期刊》，第四十三期，2007 年 7 月；「白日昇的中文聖經譯本」，載《華神期刊》，第一期，2008 年 6 月；「新教中文聖經的版本編目研究」，載《建道學刊》，第三十一期，2009 年 1 月。

[2]　其撰寫包括：*Biblical Translation in Chinese and Greek: Verbal Aspect in Theory and Practice*, Linguistic Biblical Studies 1, Leiden, Brill, 2009. "Translating Biblical Texts into Chinese: the Pioneer Venture of the Nestorian Missionaries," *The Bible Translator* 59, no. 3, 2008, pp. 113–21.

[3]　其撰寫包括："A Paradox In-Between: the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and Late 19th Century Chinese Literature," in *The International Journal of the Humanities* 2:1 (Common Ground Publishing Pty Ltd., 2006). "Dialogic Construction of the Mind: Christian-Confucian Spiritual Life in Late Ming Fujian," *The Journal of Oriental Studies* (University of Hong Kong & Stanford University), vol. 42, no. 1 & 2, Nov. 2009, pp. 29–54.

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[4] 其 撰 寫 包 括 ： Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705-1724),* vol. 1: *(1705–1711), Introduzione, Testo Critico e Note di M. Fatica*, Napoli, 1991; vol. II: *(1711–1716), Testo Critico, Note e Appendice Documentaria di M. Fatica*, Napoli, 1996. M. Fatica, F. d'Arelli (eds.), *La missione cattolica in Cina tra I secoli XVIII–XIX, Matteo Ripa e il collegio dei Cinesi (2009).* "Vita di relazione e vita quotidiana nel Collegio dei Cinesi", Giacomo di Fiore e Michele Fatica, in *Matteo Ripa e il Collegio dei Cinesi di Napoli (1682-1869), Mostra, Catalogo*, Napoli, 2006.

[5] 撰寫及編輯多部著作，包括："Naming the Creator in the Chinese Text of Genesis" (forthcoming); 〈吳經熊中譯聖經《聖詠集》裏的上主形象〉["Wu Ching-hsiung's Chinese Translation of Images of the Most High in the Psalms"], translated by Yu Hui-chu (余慧珠譯), CWLM 30. 7 (Dec. 2001), pp. 4–32. "The Subverted Image of Christ in the May Fourth Era", in *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ,* vol. 3a, Roman Malek (ed.), Monumenta Serica Monograph Series L/3a. Sankt Augustin-Nettetal, 2005, pp. 889–912.

主編之序

　　本學報包括九篇深刻而有見地的關於聖經中文翻譯的論文。其中三篇出自既年輕又優秀的學者之手。儘管九篇論文各有千秋，但是，讀者仍然能窺見到其共同點：作者們都特別關注前輩所遺留下來的譯本。這種"承前啟後"的研究方法與精神是所有基督宗教團體所能共享的，以便準備更好的未來。

　　希望本書所蘊含的各種見解可以為更多不同版本的問世作鋪墊，如現代研讀本、簡易本、詩歌本、禮義本、牧靈本、青年本、兒童本，以及"共同譯本"等。

　　投入聖經翻譯研究的學者們需要具有專業的知識、堅韌的精神，以及持之以恆的態度。表面上，很多聖經的翻譯問題看似比較次要，不值得仔細分析研究。但學者們經常可以體會到：某種翻譯問題的研究一旦得出結論之後，就能發現這並非是"枝節"問題而已，因為此問題的解決可以帶來珍貴的啟示。

　　翻譯聖經是一項偉大而艱巨的事業，而翻譯學家所懷有的希望和理想更甚於此。

劉峙同先生曾經也表示了同樣的理想：

聖經中譯酬初衷
字正辭切意圖融
救世天書豈落空
到處讀經聲洪鐘
皆對民族盡大忠
華夏聖善萬國宗

有份參與此種"情有獨鍾"的理想是香港中文大學天主教研究中心的榮耀。爲此，本中心對九篇論文的作者表示特別的感謝！

包智光

多種譯本的研究
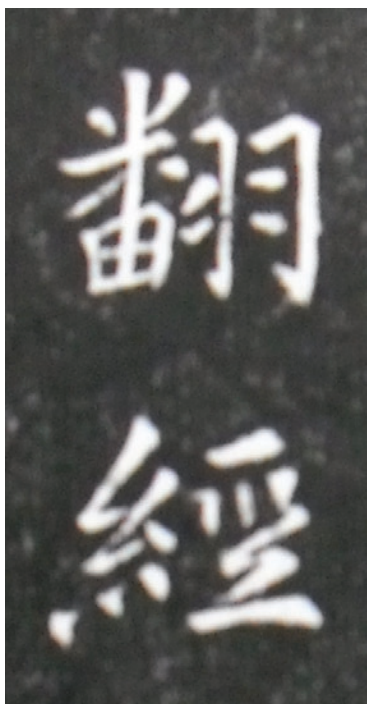
基督宗教 “翻 經 ” 事業的早期見證
“翻經” 二字源于《大秦景教流行中國碑》中
對唐太宗皇帝的頌揚之詞：

赫赫文皇。道冠前王。
乘時撥亂。乾廓坤張。
明明景教。言歸我唐。
翻經建寺。存歿舟航。
百福偕作。萬邦之康。

天主教中文聖經翻譯的歷史和版本

蔡錦圖[1]

The History and Editions of Catholic Chinese Bible Translations

Daniel CHOI

[摘 要] 本文是天主教中文聖經翻譯的歷史回顧，特別是過去一個世紀，天主教中文聖經、新約和部分經卷的出版成果。

前言

天主教傳教士在中國的聖經翻譯工作，可以回溯至元朝，儘管這時期沒有任何聖經譯本遺下。從 16 世紀末至 17 世紀，天主教傳教士已在他們的教理著述中撰有少量中文譯經成果。到了 18 世紀，更有兩部重要的譯經手稿（各自再有

抄本）留下至今。從 19 至 20 世紀中葉，除了天主教首部完整的中文聖經《思高聖經》之外，現存的譯經數量也超過十項，而在 1960 年代《思高聖經》之後，中文譯經仍見成果。

　　本文以介紹 19 世紀之後的天主教中文聖經為要旨。由於篇幅所限，文中對每一譯經項目都只能略述，而所介紹的也僅限於曾見過的聖經譯本，並不包括聖經經文註釋、信理著述、彌撒書等曾引用或翻譯的經文。[2] 至於新約福音書合參本和聖經選輯本，只會在相關的譯者有進一步的聖經翻譯成果時才特別論述。[3]

　　過往關於中文聖經翻譯的著述，較為集中於新教，對於天主教譯經的論述較少，雖然不乏對有關史料的整理，但對這個課題仍需有更多探討。[4] 本文嘗試縱覽天主教的中文譯經歷史，按照時序分述各項譯本（各附一段譯文以供參考），以此回顧整段歷史所反映的經驗。

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[2]　關於在經文註釋、信理著述、彌撒書、日課經或聖詠唱頌所用的中文聖經譯文，是一個相當有意義的課題，因為它可以反映中國天主教會如何理解和運用聖經的神學及禮儀。

[3]　天主教傳教士在明末清初的譯經，有不少成果，其中也有可以歸入福音書合參的類型。到了清末民初，福音書合參本更多。例如，遣使會士包士傑（Jean-Marie Vincent Planchet, 生卒不詳）於 1909 年在北京出版了一部福音書合參，以及同年由耶穌會士巴鴻勳（Jules Bataille, 1856–1938）在天津出版了另一部福音書合參。還有慈幼會（Salesians）在 1941 年有一部《吾主耶穌的喜報》，也是福音書合參作品。

[4]　關於天主教中文譯經的泛論，參梁雅明：「中文聖經譯本」條，載思高聖經學會編著：《聖經辭典》（香港：思高聖經學會，1975）；思高聖經學會：《聖經簡介》（香港：思高聖經學會，1981），頁 118–134；《天主教中文聖經翻譯簡史》（香港：聖經協會，1991）；勞伯壎著，宋蘭友譯：「聖經中譯：一些觀察和反思」，載《神思》第 76 期（2008 年），頁 84–103。關於天主教中文譯經較詳盡的整理，參 Bernward Willeke, "Das Werden der chinesischen katholischen Bibel", in Johannes Beckmann, *Die Heilige Schrift in den katholischen Missionen: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Admin. der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionwissenschaft, 1966), 124–138；Piet Rijks, *The History of the Bible in China*, 載《聖言之僕：陳維統神父晉鐸金禧紀念文集》（香港：思高聖經學會，1996），頁 3–50。

在此必須承認，本文對於天主教中文譯經的回顧，只是浮光掠影，而且也受限於所見的版本，未必盡然述及。[5] 即使是文中提及的聖經，其翻譯涉及的各論題，有許多地方值得再仔細研究，而這一點唯有祈盼於學者同道的貢獻。

一、早期中文譯經的概述

1· 元代天主教會

在蒙古人統治中國的元朝期間，天主教傳教士來到中國。1245 年，當蒙古大軍進逼歐洲之際，羅馬教廷和法國國王分別派遣方濟會士到蒙古和林聘問，其中柏郎嘉賓（Giovanni da Pianô Carpine, c. 1180 – 1252）在回國後的拉丁文著述，提到中國人（可能是蒙古人或色目人）據說擁有聖經和類似聖堂的建築。[6] 佛蘭芒方濟會士魯不魯乞（Willem van Ruysbroek, c. 1220 – c. 1293）曾於 1254 年觀見憲宗，他的記載提到景教教士和聖經，但難以確定聖經是否已被翻譯成蒙古文或中文。[7] 馬可·波羅（Marco Polo, c.

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[5] 歷史記錄常有讓人困惑之處。例如，Giovanni Rizzi CRSP, *Edizioni della Bibbia nel contesto di Propaganda Fide: Uno studio sulle edizioni della Bibbia presso la Biblioteca della Pontificia Università Urbaniana*, vol. III (Roma: Urbaniana University Press, 2006), 1136 的記述，提及巴黎外方傳教會在重慶曾有一部舊約和新約的選集，名為《舊新史略》，合共 970 頁。這項記載可能有誤，因為在羅馬教廷傳信部圖書館（Library of Propaganda Fide in Rome）所保存的是新舊約兩冊各 97 頁的著作，名為《古新史畧》，在對照譯文之後，應為晚清耶穌會士沈則寬的譯本（參下文及註 28）。下文所述的中文聖經版本，都盡可能經過查證，但若仍有疏漏之處，還望指點。

[6] 柏郎嘉賓往訪蒙古的記述參 Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, *Viaggio a' Tartari di Frate Giovanni da Pian del Carpine* (Milano: Edizioni "Alpes", 1929)。

[7] 關於魯不魯乞的傳記，近期的版本有 William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, translated by Peter Jackson, with David Morgan (Indianapolis, in: Hackett Pub Co., 2009)。

1254 – 1324）在 13 世紀的遊記，也有不少地方提到景教徒、基督徒和教會，記載蒙古可汗在節日傳召基督徒，要他們呈上四福音，並吩咐他們和朝臣公卿向這書焚香禮敬，虔誠獻吻。不過，僅從這些記述，較難確定聖經在元朝中國的情況。

　　當時最直接提及聖經翻譯的史料，是來自意大利方濟會士孟德高維諾（Giovanni da Montecorvino, 1246–1328）的記錄。[8] 孟德高維諾是中國第一個天主教教區的創始人，1294 年以教廷使節的身份抵達大都，獲准在京城設立教堂傳教，1307 年獲羅馬教廷委任為汗八里（今北京）總主教。孟德高維諾在寄回歐洲的信札中提到，他熟悉韃靼人日用的語言和文字（大概是指蒙古文），而且他已經以這種語言文字來翻譯整部新約與詩篇。不過，這些經籍現今都已不存於世，以致沒法得窺其貌。

2‧　明末清初天主教會

　　隨著蒙古人政權被漢人建立的明朝政府逐出中國，天主教傳教士由於新政權的閉關政策而被拒於中國的門外。直至 16 世紀，西班牙耶穌會士方濟各‧沙勿略（Francis Xavier, 1506–1552）來華。耶穌會是於 1534 年由依納爵‧羅耀拉（Ignazio di Loyola, 1491–1556）創立，注重傳教、教育和學術研究。在對中國充滿傳教熱誠的期待下，沙勿略於 1552 年抵達廣州附近的上川島，可惜由於明朝政府正實行封禁海疆的政策，嚴格限制外國人入境。沙勿略不得其門而入，不久病歿於上川島。雖然沙勿略未能如願而逝，但他對中國福音化的理想，卻影響了後來的天主教傳教士。

8　孟德高維諾的信扎，現存意大利佛羅倫薩的勞倫圖書館（Laurentian Library）和法國巴黎國家圖書館。關於孟德高維諾的論述，參 J. De Ghellinck, s.j., "John of Monte-corvino: First Archbishop of Pekin in the Fourteenth Century," in *The International Review of Missions*, vol. XVIII, No. 69 (Jan. 1929), 83–96。

　　為天主教在中國的傳播奠定基礎的，是明朝末年耶穌會士羅明堅（Michele Ruggieri, 1543–1607）和利瑪竇（Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610），以及隨後而來的傳教士。當時的天主教傳教士以中文撰寫和翻譯了不少天主教教義著作，例如羅明堅於 1584 年在廣州刊行的《天主聖教實錄》，就是首部天主教要理中文著述，其中涉及天主教教理之處，即有經文的摘引。

　　不過，大體上，當時耶穌會士僅在個別著作中翻譯了部分聖經經句。其中一類是聖經經句的詮解，例如有利瑪竇的《天主實義》（1595 年初刻於南昌）、葡萄牙耶穌會士陽瑪諾（Manuel Dias junior, 1574–1659）的《天主聖教十誡真詮》（刊於 1642 年）等。另一類是聖經史實的描述，例如有西班牙耶穌會士龐迪我（Diego de Pantoja, 1571–1618）的《受難始末》（日期不詳，1925 年土山灣有重刻本）、意大利耶穌會士艾儒略（Giulio Aleni, 1582–1649）的《天主降生言行紀略》（1642 年初刻於北京，共八卷，記述耶穌生平）等。

　　在這些聖經經句的摘引中，葡萄牙耶穌會士陽瑪諾（Manuel Dias junior）和意大利耶穌會士利類思（Lodovico Buglio, 1606–1682）的中文聖經譯文最為豐富。陽瑪諾在 1636 年撰寫的《聖經直解》是福音書的註釋，把福音書許多經文譯成中文（北京初刻本十四卷，書中附上索引；本書另有官話節譯本）。利類思也翻譯過不少彌撒經書和祈禱書，載錄了中文的經文，例如《彌撒經典》（1670 年印共五卷）、《司鐸日課》（1674 年刻於北京）、《聖母小日課》（1676 年刻於北京）、《已亡日課經》（日期不詳）等。[9]

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[9]　明清天主教來華傳教士文獻的彙集，包括上述經籍的印本，主要見於學者（特別是方豪神父）從 1960 年代開始整理的著述，包括吳相湘編：《天主教東傳文獻》（台北：臺灣學生書局，1965）；吳相湘編：《天主教東傳文獻續編》，3 冊（台北：臺灣學生書局，1966）；吳相湘編：《天主教東傳文獻三編》，6 冊（台北：臺灣學生書局，1984）；鍾鳴旦（Nicolas Standaert）等編：《徐家匯

　　從 16 至 17 世紀期間，天主教的聖經翻譯主要是涉及教
會禮儀的應用，例如在講壇上的宣講、福音信息、在日課經
中的聖詠吟唱，以及對經唱頌所引用的經文等。[10] 不過，對
於中文聖經完整經卷的翻譯，尚待下一個世紀的成果。

二、清初的中文譯經

1· 白日昇譯本

　　現存最早的天主教中文聖經譯本，是 18 世紀初由法國巴
黎外方傳教會傳教士白日昇（Jean Basset, 1662–1707）[11] 翻
譯的新約部分。白日昇約 1662 年生於法國里昂，1684 年進入
巴 黎 外 方 傳 教 會 的 神 學 院 （ Séminaire des Missions
Étrangères de Paris），1685 年以傳教士的身分前往暹羅。
1689 年，白日昇到達廣州，在 1692 至 1693 年間負責江西省
的教務。從 1702 年開始，他在四川的西南部傳教。1707 年，
白日昇因禮儀之爭而離開四川，同年 12 月卒於廣州。

藏書樓明清天主教文獻》，5 冊（台北：方濟出版社，1996）；鍾鳴旦與杜鼎
克（Adrian Dudink）編：《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，12 冊（台
北：利氏學社，2002）等；鄭安德編：《明末清初耶穌會思想及文獻彙編》，
5 卷（北京：北京大學宗教研究所，2003）；鍾鳴旦等編：《法國國家圖書館
明清天主教文獻》，26 冊（台北：利氏學社，2009）。

[10] 關於天主教傳教士在 17 世紀的中文聖經翻譯歷史，參 Nicolas Standaert, "The
Bible in Early Seventeenth-century China", in *The Bible in Modern China: the
Literary and Intellectual Impact*, edited by Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan, Knut Walf, in
collaboration with Roman Malek (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica;
Nettetal; Distribution: Steyler, 1999), 31–54。關於明清耶穌會士的中文聖經譯
述，參徐宗澤編：《明清間耶穌會士譯著提要》（上海：中華書局，1948），頁
17–104，「卷二　聖書類」的簡介。

[11] 「白日昇」的寫法是根據當時檔案所載用詞。關於白日昇抄本的論述，參蔡
錦圖：「白日昇的中文聖經譯本及其對早期新教譯經的影響」，載《華神期刊》，
2008 年 6 月，第一期，50–77，其中註 3、5–7 列出近期討論這抄本的論文。

　　1704 年復活節，當時白日昇正在四川，他為一個中國人徐若翰（Johan Su, ?–1734）施洗。[12] 從那時候開始，白日昇與徐若翰把新約的瑪竇福音至希伯來書第一章，從拉丁文聖經翻譯成中文的文言語體。[13] 從 1704 年至 1707 年 12 月期間，他們翻譯了新約的大部分。或許是由於沒有完成的關係，這部譯本並沒有出版。

　　白日昇在四川的中國同工李安德（André Ly, 1692–1774），後來也提及這部聖經的翻譯概況。[14] 白日昇的這部譯本現今只餘三份屬於 18 世紀的抄本，分別存放於羅馬和英國（劍橋和倫敦）。除此之外，還有從這些抄本再輾轉抄錄的抄本。現今在羅馬卡薩納特圖書館（Biblioteca Casanatense）中所存的可能是早期抄本（或是原稿），那是順著書卷次序翻譯的，顯示最初的翻譯是按此次序的。雖然現今難以判斷這部抄本的抄寫日期，但它可能是在白日昇逝世之後不久完成的，故此即使不是最早期的原稿，也是相當接近的。[15]

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[12] 在白日昇致修會的四封法文信函中（1704 年 4 月 24 日，9 月 19 日，1705 年 7 月 13 日，1706 年 8 月 23 日）均有提及徐若翰。感謝包智光神父提供以上信函，他也提供了羅馬卡薩納特圖書館（Biblioteca Casanatense）所藏白日昇譯稿早期版本的覆印本。關於白日昇和徐若翰的譯經工作，參 François Barriquand, "First Comprehensive Translation of the New Testament in Chinese: Fr Jean Basset (1662–1707) and the Scholar John Xu", in *Societas Verbi Divini: Verbum SVD* 49 (2008): 91–119.

[13] 對於白日昇譯本的中文語體，筆者按所見的譯文，推測白日昇譯本是以文言語體作為翻譯準則，但偶然混雜白話或地方用語。以上推測，尚需論證。

[14] 相關敘述，見於李安德於 1751 年 3 月 19 日的日誌。參 Andreas Ly, *Journal d'André Ly, Prêtre Chinois, Missionnaire et Notaire Apostolique, 1746–1763*, ed. by Adrien Launay (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1906; Hongkong: Imprimerie de Nazareth, 1924 年再版)。

[15] 包智光神父告知，在美國三藩市馬愛德檔案館（Malatesta Archives in San Francisco）由徐若翰的手書顯示，他的字體與羅馬卡薩納特圖書館和劍橋的抄本是相同的，故此兩者是由徐若翰抄寫。筆者從圖片中在比較兩者的字體之後，認同這一觀點。

以「麻耳谷攸編耶穌基督聖福音」（即馬爾谷福音）一章 1 至 8 節為例：[16]

> 神子<u>耶穌基督</u>。福音之始。如<u>依賽</u>先知書攸云。我即遣吾使先爾。預備爾道者也。<u>若翰</u>在曠野付洗。而宣痛悔致赦罪之洗。且出就之。<u>如達舉方</u>。與<u>柔撒冷</u>眾人也皆自告己罪。而受其洗于<u>若丹</u>河。<u>若翰</u>乃衣駱駝之毛。而皮帶圍其腰。食蚱蜢與野蜜。其講道云。後我來者。能于我。我非堪當伏釋履綦。我洗汝曹以水。其洗汝以聖風。

白日昇譯本的譯名方式，是以「神」字翻譯聖號。1704年，羅馬教廷決定批准「天主」一詞的譯法（以後在 1715 年及 1742 年重申），但暫時仍未嚴厲禁止用「神」一字的譯法。故此在四川的傳教士會採用「天主」和「神」的譯名，直至18 世紀中葉。

白日昇的早期譯本中，有兩部是把福音編成合參形式的抄本，現分別存於劍橋大學英國聖經公會圖書館和大英圖書館。這兩部合參本應該是由徐若翰在較後期編寫的。白、徐的這兩份抄本都是把四卷福音書以合參的形式編輯，而宗徒大事錄及保祿書信是按照經文次序翻譯的，直至希伯來書第一章。

在大英圖書館的白日昇手稿，是由一位東印度公司職員於 1737 年在廣州發現的，將其複製並且呈獻給倫敦皇家學會會長漢斯・斯隆（Hans Sloane, 1660–1753）爵士，再轉送給大英博物館（今大英圖書館的前身），故此這份手稿現稱為

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[16] 這段經文是取自在羅馬卡薩納特圖書館中所存的抄本。原書沒有分節。引文的標點符號俱按原文。

《斯隆抄本 3599 號》（Sloane MS #3599）[17]。1801 年，新教公理會牧師莫斯理（William Moseley，生卒不詳）在大英圖書館留意了白日昇的手稿。莫斯理試圖促使把它出版，卻不成功。英國聖經公會等機構也認為在出版上有實務的困難。1805 年，新教的英國倫敦傳道會傳教士馬禮遜（Robert Morrison, 1782–1834）在來華之前得悉有這份抄本，於是與粵籍助手容三德（Yong Sam-tak 音譯，生卒不詳）將其謄抄下來，成為他後來翻譯中文聖經時的參考資料。馬禮遜和另一位英國浸禮會傳教士馬殊曼（Joshua Marshman, 1768–1837）在翻譯聖經時，都曾參考這份抄本，但他們始終不知道它的譯者是誰。[18]新教中文譯經歷史的開端，與天主教的譯經成果有深切的關係。

2． 殷弘緒的《訓慰神編》

1730 年，法國耶穌會傳教士殷弘緒（François Xavier d'Entrecolles, 1664–1741）在北京出版《訓慰神編》，正文載錄「聖多俾亞古經原本」（即多俾亞傳），為中國天主教會第一部出版的聖經單卷版本。[19]

以 1872 年版的《訓慰神編》為例，本書在書首的「續古撫今自序」和仿風雅體四章而撰的「續古撫今自序」之後，

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[17] 對於這部抄本，早期較重要的討論參 A. C. Moule, "A Manuscript Chinese Version of the New Testament (British Museum, Sloane 3599)," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 1 (Apr. 1949), pp. 23–33。

[18] 筆者所見過的白日昇其它抄本，除了馬禮遜帶來中國的一部抄本之外，還有英國聖經公會在上海的駐華代表文顯理（George H. Bondfield, 1855–1925）複製的一份抄本（現存劍橋大學圖書館），以及思高聖經學會的一份抄本。此外，在文獻中提過有其它抄本，但已不存。參蔡錦圖：《白日昇的中文聖經譯本及其對早期新教譯經的影響》，67–71 對各現存抄本的介紹。

[19] 筆者只見過 1872 年慈母堂的重刊覆印本，封面刊載：《訓慰神編／天主降生一千八百七十二年／主教亞弟盎郎准慈母堂重梓》。這部覆印本見於周燮藩主編：《東傳福音》，載「中國宗教歷史文獻集成」（合肥：黃山書社，2005），第三冊，頁 91–124。

即介紹多俾亞的背景和故事，在此引兩行經文如下（原書沒有分節，標點符號俱按原文）：

> ⋯曰多俾亞生于加理勒亞地。（原書以細字註「按中曆為東周平王二十四年」）係撒瑪理亞國所屬。曩與如德亞為一邦。⋯

3. 賀清泰譯本

　　在清初較完整的另一部聖經譯本，是由法國耶穌會士賀清泰（Louis Antoine de Poirot, 1735–1813）所譯。賀清泰在 1770 年來華，精通中文和滿文。他根據拉丁文聖經，以北京官話翻譯了一部聖經附註釋，加上經訓，題為《古新聖經》。《古新聖經》簡單通俗，偶有北方俚語，編排方式與拉丁文聖經不盡相同。現存抄本不知是否全帙，缺了雅歌及大部份先知書，卻是在《思高聖經》之前接近最完整的天主教聖經譯本。[20] 當教廷得悉賀清泰的這部譯本時，雖然加以稱許，卻禁止出版。

　　《古新聖經》載有天主教最早期的中文舊約，以「眾王經第二卷第二編」1 至 2 節（即撒慕爾紀下第二章 1 至 2 節）為例：[21]

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[20] 關於賀清泰的譯經，參 Kim Dongso, "P. Louis de Poirot, S. J., the first translator of the Bible into the Chinese and Manchu languages," in *Altai Hakpo* (Journal of the Altai Society of Korea) 6 (2003): 15–39。據徐宗澤編：《明清間耶穌會士譯著提要》，頁 18–20，賀清泰的《古新聖經》之書卷有：有造成經之總論二本、救出之經一本、肋未子孫經一本、數目經一本、第二次傳法度經一本、若耶穌之經一本、審事官錄德經一本、眾王經書四本、如達斯國眾王經二本、厄斯大拉經序一本、多俾亞經一本、祿德經一本、若伯經序一本、厄斯得肋經一本、如第得經一本、達味聖咏三本、撒落滿之喻經一本、智德之經一本、厄格肋西亞斯第個四本、達尼耶爾經書一本、依撒意亞先知經一本、瑪加白衣經序二本、聖史瑪竇萬日略一本、聖史瑪爾谷萬日略一本、聖史路加萬日略一本、聖若望聖經序一本、諸徒行實一本、聖保祿、聖伯多祿、聖亞各伯、聖如達書扎三本、聖若望默照經一本。

[21] 原書沒有分節。本段是根據香港思高聖經學會的攝影本。

後來達味求天主的旨意說·我能去如達斯族的一座城否·天主答應·只管去·達味又問·往那裡去呢·答說·往黑栢隆去·因此達味同他兩個妻子耶匝拉耶耳地方的亞既諾娃·加耳默落山上那巴耳的妻子·亞必加意肋·即刻去了·達味還領他一齊有的人·並他們的全家·住在黑栢隆管的城庄子·

在此再引述另一段新約的經文，是「聖史瑪爾谷紀的萬日畧」（即馬爾谷福音）一章 1 至 8 節：[22]

按瑪拉濟亞、依撒意亞、二位先知、經書上紀的天主子耶穌、基利斯督萬日畧的起頭、瑪拉濟亞、經上天主聖父、向聖子說、如今我遣我的天神、在你前、與你預儹路、依撒意亞經上紀的、壙野內、聽見有呼號的聲音說、人人皆當預儹天主的道、與他修直路、本來耶穌初出講道前、有若翰在壙野洗眾人、也傳痛悔的洗、為得罪之赦、眾人都從如德亞地方、日露撒冷城出來、到他跟前、告自己的罪、在若耳當河受他的洗、若翰穿駱駝毛的衣裳、腰繫皮帶、所食不過些螞蚱、及野外的蜂蜜、講道時常說、有比我剛強的在我後來、我還不敢伏地釋他的鞋帶、我用[23]洗你們、他要以聖神洗你們、

賀清泰也翻譯了滿文的聖經，包括舊約大部分，以及次經、瑪竇福音和宗徒大事錄。

22　原書沒有分節。本段是根據上海徐家匯圖書館的版本。

23　原書可能缺了「水」字。

三、清中葉至民國的中文譯經

1． 清中葉的譯經

　　明清兩代天主教傳教士譯經的數量不多，大多是私人的譯本，只有聖經部分的翻譯，以作參考，甚少流傳。

　　在 18 世紀初，方濟會士梅述聖（Antonio Laghi da Castrocaro, 1668–1727）翻譯了創世紀和部分出谷紀，另一名方濟會士麥傳世（Francisco Jovino, 1677–1737）修訂了上述部分譯文，並且翻譯至民長紀（顯然也包括多俾亞傳與達尼爾），但他們的譯本沒有出版或保存。到了 19 世紀，中國教士也有參與譯經的工作，例如王多默（Thomas Wang，生卒不詳）先後於 1875 年和 1883 年翻譯了官話的四福音和宗徒大事錄。另外，辛方濟（Francis Xin，生卒不詳）也翻譯了文言的四福音譯本，可是這些譯本也沒有問世。[24]

　　事實上，由於傳教士的聖經翻譯以文言為語體，信眾也不易理解，故此傳教士也會以淺白的筆觸，撰述聖經的內容。例如，德國聖言會（Societas Verbi Divini）赫德明（Joseph Hesser, 1867–1920）神父所編寫的《古經略說》和《新經略說》，就是簡明扼要地概述聖經，有助信徒理解聖經的內容，而赫德明的《主日瞻禮聖經》也有聖經的引述。

　　到了 19 世紀下半葉，中文聖經的翻譯漸漸增多。這段期間的中文聖經翻譯，差不多都是由巴黎外方傳教會和耶穌會的傳教士所進行的。其中大多數譯本包括福音書和宗徒大事

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[24] 以上綜述，參 Jost O. Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: the History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999), 26–28。另參思高聖經學會著：《聖經簡介》，頁 123–124。

錄，只有少數譯本則包括新約的其它部分。以下按照譯經者最早出版的譯本為次序，分述各項。

2． 李問漁

現存晚清最早出版的天主教聖經譯本，可以追溯至耶穌會士李問漁（Laurent Li Wen-yu, 1840–1911，即李杕）的譯著。李氏是晚清著名的天主教學者，曾任震旦學院院長，南洋公學教師，先後創辦並主編天主教的中文報紙《益聞錄》和《聖心報》。

1887 年，李問漁的《宗徒大事錄》出版。[25] 1897 年，他的《新經譯義》由上海土山灣慈母堂出版，這卷書雖以「新經」為名，實際上只有四卷福音書。[26] 換言之，李氏的譯經成果有福音書和宗徒大事錄，而以上都是文言譯本。

以 1897 年《新經譯義》「聖馬爾谷福音」一章 1 至 8 節為例：

> 耶穌基利斯多。天主子也。其福音之始。如先知依撒意記云。予遣使者。至汝面前。先汝備汝道。有聲呼於野曰。宜備主道。修直厥徑。按若翰授洗於野。傳悔悔洗禮。用邀罪赦。舉如德亞境。與日路撒冷人。俱出。自訟其罪。受若翰洗於若爾當河。若翰衣駝毛。革帶束腰。食蝻蝗野蜜。施訓曰。有權能大於我者。後我而來。雖俯伏解其履帶。予亦不能當。予以水洗汝。渠則以聖神洗汝也。

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[25] 李問漁譯：《宗徒大事錄》（上海：土山灣慈母堂，1887）。江南主教倪准簽署的教廷出版許可，附插圖。本書於 1897 年、1907 年和 1914 年重印。

[26] 李問漁譯：《新經譯義》（上海：慈母堂，1897）。江南主教倪准簽署的教廷出版許可。本書於 1900 年和 1907 年重印。

3· 沈則寬

　　1890 年，耶穌會士沈則寬（Matthias Sen, 1838–1913）以官話翻譯了《新史畧·宗徒事畧》，在土山灣出版。[27] 本書合共一冊，上半部分有七卷，以福音書合參的方式編撰耶穌生平；下半部分有一卷，為宗徒大事錄的節錄。沈則寬在本書序言中說，所謂「新史」，是指「耶穌實錄」。這是福音書合參和宗徒大事錄的官話節錄本，附有地圖和插圖。

　　本書的經文沒有分節標示，以「新史畧」卷一第一章「天神報若翰將生」首三行的經句為例，這是摘錄自路加福音一章 5 至 7 節：

> 黑落德做<u>如德亞</u>國王的時候。在山裡有一個司教。名字叫<u>匝加里亞</u>。他的妻子。名字叫<u>依撒伯爾</u>。夫婦兩個。都是好人。全守天主教的規誡。但是年紀老了。還沒有兒女。為此常求天主。賞賜一個兒子。

　　同年，沈則寬也以官話翻譯和出版《古史畧》，把舊約的歷史分六卷記述。《古史畧》和《新史畧·宗徒事畧》合併成為兩冊，名為《古新史畧》。[28]

　　沈則寬另撰有《古史參箴》一書，以近似小說的淺白語體，把舊約的故事改寫。[29]

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[27]　沈則寬譯：《新史畧·宗徒事畧》（上海：土山灣印書館，1890）。

[28]　沈則寬的《古新史畧》在民國年間多次由重慶曾家巖聖書局出版，筆者所見的版本有 1921 年，另有記錄提到 1923 年在上海土山灣，以及 1929 年在重慶曾家巖聖書局也有出版。然而，筆者不能確定《古史畧》和《新史畧·宗徒事畧》的合併出版，最初是在何時。

[29]　沈則寬：《古史參箴》，5 卷（上海：土山灣印書館，1911）。本書在 1961 年由台北光啟出版社再版。

4 · 德如瑟

法國巴黎外方傳教會傳教士德如瑟（Joseph Dejean, 1834–1901，另名「德雅」）翻譯了文言《四史聖經譯註》，並予以付梓。這部譯本是參照拉丁文聖經翻譯四卷福音書，瑪竇福音的完成日期是在 1892 年，而其餘三卷是在 1893 年完成和出版的，並在經文的頁頂印有註解，為中國天主教會最早出版的四卷福音書（比李問漁的《新經譯義》尚早四年）。[30] 以馬爾谷福音（卷二）一章 1 至 5 節為例：

> ⁻天主聖子。<u>基思督</u>者。耶穌喜報之始。⁼按<u>宜撒義</u>先知紀內所云。今哉。予遣吾使。汝前先驅。豫開汝途。⁼於曠野中。大呼者之聲曰。上主之途。爾宜豫開。厥徑宜直。四昔於曠野。<u>若翰</u>授洗。傳悔過贖罪之洗禮。以望罪赦。五時。<u>茹德</u>各地。暨<u>琊露撒陵</u>眾民。咸詣厥前。自首其罪。在<u>浴當</u>河內。受洗於<u>若翰</u>。

5 · 馬相伯

馬相伯（1840–1939）是中國著名的天主教徒和學者，於 1862 年加入耶穌會，研習神學，並任神父和徐匯公學校長，至 1876 年退出耶穌會。馬氏以後參與政治、外交和教育工作，至 1917 年離開公職，退隱上海徐家匯土山灣，譯著天主教書籍。

1919 年，馬相伯出版《新史合編直講》[31]，把新約的四卷福音書重新整理，按照事件先後排列，這部分是以文言撰譯的。本書另有註解，是以白話撰寫的。不過，《新史合編直

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[30] 德如瑟譯註，梅志遠評閱，賴玉宏敬訂：《四史聖經譯註》（香港：納匝肋靜院，1893）。粵東監牧邵主教於 1891 年允，香港主教若望高於 1892 年准。

[31] 馬相伯的《新史合編直講》是譯自 Andrea Mastai Ferretti （1751–1822） 的 *Les Évangiles Unis, Traduits et Commentés*。

講》並不是嚴謹的福音書翻譯。[32] 隨後，馬相伯在 30 年代再以文言翻譯福音書四卷《福音經》，題為「救世福音」或「對譯羅瑪監本四聖史」，1937 年完稿，為當時的南京主教于斌審核，准予刊印，但直到 1949 年才出版。[33]

在 1949 年的《福音經》中，有詳盡的序言，介紹這譯本的翻譯取向。每部福音書前有一短文，簡介該部福音書的架構主旨。

以「福音經　記者馬爾谷」（即「馬爾谷福音」）一章 1 至 8 節（1949 年版）為例：

> 耶穌基利斯多，天主子，其福音之始布也。一如先知<u>依撒亞</u>記載曰：茲余遣我天神居爾顏行，先爾以平除爾道。有聲號於曠野：修治主途，直繩其徑。<u>若翰</u>於曠野授洗，并講明受洗以怨艾自懲者，得邀罪過之赦宥。舉凡<u>如德亞</u>之地，與<u>協路撒稜</u>之眾，出就之於<u>若爾當</u>河而受其洗，呈訟已罪焉。顧<u>若翰</u>衣則駝毛，皮帶圍腰，蝗蟲與野蜜是食，常訓話曰：有一後我而來者，實勝於我：我不敢俯伏以釋其屨綦。我洗爾儕僅以水，是將洗滌爾儕以聖神焉。

由於《福音經》譯成（1937 年）和出版（1949 年）之際，正值中國政局風雲色變之時，影響了它的流通。此外，《福音經》按照四福音逐字翻譯，文辭典雅，但對於教育程度不

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[32] Hubert W. Spillett, *A Catalogue of Scriptures in the Languages of China and the Republic of China* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1975), no. 236（以下稱為 Spillett）的記錄提及，1923 年馬氏以文言撰譯福音書合參，在上海出版。然而，英國劍橋圖書館並沒有這一部譯本，而且筆者再見不到有任何地方提過這一部譯本，所以懷疑 Spillett 的記錄有誤。

[33] 馬相伯譯，趙爾謙校，相伯編譯館編：《救世福音》（上海：商務印書館，1949）。書首內頁載有「對譯羅瑪監本四聖史　一九三七年三月南京主教于准刊」。Spillett, no. 239 誤把本書記為 1948 年出版。在朱維錚主編：《馬相伯集》（上海：復旦大學出版社，1996），頁 585–586 中，載有一篇 1936 年《救世福音對譯》的序言，略短過 1949 年《救世福音》的序言，但其基本文詞和概念相同。

高的受眾,卻顯然難以通行。[34] 在此再以若望福音一章 1 至
5 節為例,顯示其用辭之深邃:

> ⼀厥始即有真言物爾朋,真言即在天主所,而真言即
> 天主也。⼆斯所厥初之在天主所者。⼀萬有繇斯以成
> 無斯,則無受造者得造成。⼀在斯方有生命,生命乃
> 人性之光明⼀光明明於幽暗,而幽暗勿之承受。

6. 何雷思與馮嘉祿

1913 年,香港納匝肋靜院出版了巴黎外方傳教會傳教士
何雷思（Marie Louis Félix Aubazac, 1871–1919）[35] 的《聖
保祿書翰》,包括文言的保祿書信和公函。[36] 這是第一部天
主教會翻譯並出版的聖保祿及其他宗徒公函的譯本。1927
年,何雷思與馮嘉祿的再版名為《聖保祿書翰:並數位宗徒
涵牘》。[37] 書首附由何雷思神父所撰的序言,而每章經文之
後也有註解。

以聖若望宗徒第一書一章 1 至 3 節為例:

> ⼀元生之道。自初已有。吾耳聞之。吾目觀之。吾謹
> 思之。吾手捫之。⼆元生既顯。我見之為證。今我報
> 常生於爾。常生與父共在。顯著於我。⼀我以所見所

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[34] 關於馬相伯的譯經,參方豪:「馬相伯先生與聖經」,載《東方雜誌》,復刊 9
卷 7 期（1976 年）,頁 35–40;林雪碧:「馬相伯與近代中國天主教會本地化
的關係」,《神思》第 47 期（2000 年 11 月）,頁 43–64。

[35] Marie Louis Félix Aubazac 的中文名字在坊間有譯作「歐聲石」,但應為「何
雷思」。本書的序言也註有「何雷思」一名。

[36] 何雷思譯:《聖保祿書翰》（香港納匝肋靜院,1913）。Spillett, no. 230 把本書
註為 1917 年出版,但筆者在劍橋大學圖書館沒有尋得 1917 年有此版本,故
此 Spillett 的記錄可能有誤。

[37] 何雷思與馮嘉祿合譯:《聖保祿書翰　並數位宗徒函牘》（香港:香港納匝肋
靜院,1927）。

聞。傳報於爾。使爾與我以心相交。亦使吾儕。與
父及其子耶穌基利斯督。均得相交也。

7‧ 蕭靜山

1918 年，耶穌會士蕭靜山（Joseph Hsiao Ching-Shan,
1855–1924）出版了國語的四福音，[38] 隨後於 1922 年由直隸
東南耶穌會（獻縣）出版《新經全集》初版。本書是第一部
天主教出版的新約全書，譯文簡潔通順，根據希臘文修訂，
附有註釋。蕭靜山的國語新約譯本的出現，正值中國五四新
文化運動之際，迅即成為中國天主教當時較通行的譯本，以
後多次再版。[39] 1948 年和 1956 年，蕭靜山譯本由台中光啟
出版社再版，以後重印。[40]

以聖馬爾谷福音一章 1 至 8 節為例：

> 天主（聖）子<u>耶穌基督</u>福音的來歷。按照先知<u>依撒</u>
> <u>意亞</u>記載的，說「你看！我打發我的天神，在你面
> 前，叫他在你頭裏，預備你的道路。在曠野有人聲
> 呼號說：你們應當預備主的道，把他的路徑，修直
> 了。」<u>若翰</u>來，在曠野裏授洗，傳悔改的洗禮，為
> 得罪赦。<u>猶太</u>各地方的人及<u>耶路撒冷</u>的人，都出來
> 到<u>若翰</u>那裏，承認自己的罪，在<u>若爾當河</u>，受他的

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[38] 筆者未曾見過這一部福音書，但有記錄提及 1918 年譯本是四卷福音書，以一
冊釘裝，而它是由耶穌會士巴鴻勳的通用語言譯本轉譯而來（參本文註 3）。
參 Rizzi, *Edizioni della Bibbia nel contesto di Propaganda Fide*, 1126 & n. 9。
1932 年，巴鴻勳根據蕭靜山的譯文，出版了《新經合編》。然而，筆者始終
未見過巴鴻勳的以上聖經譯述，所以不能比較確定。

[39] 蕭靜山譯：《新經全集》（獻縣：直隸東南耶穌會，1922）。筆者還見過 1936
年的版本，為獻縣第六次排印的版本。這一版的資料見 Spillett, no. 492。蕭
靜山在 1922 年的譯本於 2007 年由拾珍出版社再版，附於《新約聖經──六合
一譯本》（香港：拾珍出版社，2007）中，由於是新教的出版著作，故此改動
了聖名和人名、地名的譯法。

[40] 蕭靜山譯：《新經全集》（台中：光啟出版社，1956）。1957 年的再版是由台
中區監牧蔡文興准。

洗。若翰穿的是駱駝毛的衣裳，腰裏紮着皮帶，喫
的是飛蝗野蜜。他講道理說：「有一位比我更強勝
的，在我以後來，我即便給他跪下解鞋帶子，也當
不起。我不過是用水洗你們，他要用聖神洗你們。」

1981 年 11 月，中國大陸的天主教會議決定印刷《新經全
集》，這是中國大陸的天主教會近代最早使用的中文聖經。[41]

8· 卜士傑

1923 年，香港納匝肋靜院出版了巴黎外方傳教會傳教士
卜士傑（Pierre Bousquet, 1874–1945，另名「卜多祿」）的
文言《新經公函與默示錄》，包括新約的公函和若翰默示錄，
附有每卷書的序言和註解。[42]

以聖若望第一書一章 1 至 3 節為例：

¹惟論起初所常在者。吾耳所聞。吾目所睹。吾所觀
之。吾手所摸生命之言。²蓋生命者已經顯現。及我
得見而立證據。而且對爾報告與父同在。亦顯於我
常生。³乃目所睹耳所聞者。我報於爾。使爾亦與我
得相交。並我等相交與父及其子耶穌基斯督者。

9· 蕭舜華、李山甫、申自天和狄守仁

從 1940 至 1943 年間，耶穌會士蕭舜華在 1940 年，耶穌
會士蕭舜華（生卒不詳）先後以國語翻譯和出版了四部福音

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[41] 參張士江：「當代中國教會的聖經推廣與福傳」，載《鼎》2007 年春季號（第
27 卷，第 144 期）。

[42] 卜士傑譯：《新經公函與默示錄》（香港：納匝肋靜院，1923）。Spillett, no. 484
把本書歸類為國語譯本，但顯然並不正確，因為本書是文言語體。

的單行本，[43] 跟著在 1941 年出版了宗徒大事錄，[44] 以及在
1943 年出版了聖保祿書信集。[45] 以蕭舜華的宗徒大事錄一章
1 至 3 節為例：

> 德阿斐祿台鑒，我在第一部書內，已經將耶穌的一
> 切行為和教訓，陸續向你說了一番，直到他因聖神，
> 將他的訓言授於他所選的宗徒，然後升天的那日為
> 止。在他受難以後，又活着現示給他們，給了他們
> 許多證據；四十天之久，向他們現示，對他們談論
> 天主的國。

蕭舜華在 1941 年另撰有一部《青年聖經讀本》，以較簡
略的篇幅和用語，把整部聖經的內容節錄整理。[46]

1949 年，耶穌會士李山甫（ György Litványi,
1901–1983）、申自天（René Archen, 1901–?）、狄守仁
（Édouard Petit, 1897–1985）和蕭舜華共同翻譯了《新約全
書》，並予以付梓。[47] 這部譯本以國語翻譯新約聖經，盡量
保留希臘語的風格，強調文筆的優美，而其譯文與蕭舜華之
前的譯文略有不同。

以 1949 年的聖馬爾谷福音一章 1 至 8 節為例：

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[43] 關於瑪竇福音、馬爾谷福音和路加福音的記述，參 Rizzi, *Edizioni della Bibbia nel contesto di Propaganda Fide,* 1132。關於若望福音，見於思高聖經學會所保存的版本。

[44] 蕭舜華譯：《宗徒大事錄》（天津：崇德堂，1941）。公教叢書委員會主編。1941 年 4 月 6 日在天津發出的教廷出版許可。註釋置於書頁左側。

[45] 蕭舜華譯：《聖保祿書信集：俘擄時期書信集》（天津：崇德堂，1943）。1942 年 2 月 2 日在天津發出的教廷出版許可。

[46] 蕭舜華譯：《青年聖經讀本》（天津：崇德堂，1941）。

[47] 李山甫、申自天、狄守仁、蕭舜華合譯：《新經全書》（天津崇德堂發行／北平獨立出版社印行，1949）。趙化民主教准。在 1955 至 1956 年間，他們以單冊印行宗徒大事錄和羅馬書，有關記錄，見 Spillett, no. 543。李山甫等在 1949 年的譯本，於 2007 年由拾珍出版社再版，附於《新約聖經──六合一譯本》中，由於是新教的出版，故此改動了聖名和人名、地名的譯法。

> 天主子耶穌基督福音的開始‧依照依撒意亞先知書
> 上所記載的話:「看哪!我派遣我的使者在你面前,
> 給你修築道路。在曠野裏有呼喊者的聲音:『預備
> 主的道,修平祂的路吧』」!施洗的若翰在曠野裏
> 出現了,宣傳悔改的洗禮,以獲得罪過的赦免。猶
> 太全地區和耶路撒冷的民眾,都到他那裏去,承認
> 自己的罪過,由他的手在若爾當河裏受洗。若翰穿
> 着駱駝毛的衣服,用皮帶束着腰,他吃的是蝗蟲和
> 野蜜。他這樣宣傳說:「比較我強壯的那位,緊跟
> 着就來,彎腰給祂解鞋帶子,我也當不起。我用水
> 洗了你們,祂却要用聖神洗你們」。

　　在上述譯者中,李山甫幾乎同時也有中文聖經的譯本分冊,但其譯文與 1949 年的新約僅有極少量的差異,基本上是相同的。[48]

10‧ 吳經熊

　　民國時期,較有特色的天主教聖經譯本是吳經熊(John Wu Ching-hsiung, 1899–1986)的譯本。吳經熊是浙江寧波人,著名法學家,先後在歐美各國進修,歷任東吳大學法學教授、上海特區法官與法院院長、南京政府憲法起草委員會主席等要職,也是著名的天主教學者。吳經熊在 1938 年開始翻譯聖詠集,是年冬天呈予蔣介石,蔣氏遂要求吳經熊翻譯新約。此後,蔣氏修訂了吳氏翻譯的新約和聖詠集,而在吳氏所藏的蔣氏修訂本原稿中,還詳細記錄了蔣氏的修訂意見。[49] 吳氏在譯經期間,多次與方豪(1910–1980)神父書信

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[48] 筆者見過的是李山甫譯:《瑪爾谷傳的福音》、《路加傳的福音》和《聖保祿書信集(羅馬　加拉達)》,三書都是由范存惠校閱(天津:崇德堂,1948)。三書的譯文與 1949 年《新約全書》之間的差異相當微小。筆者不確定李山甫是否尚有其它譯本。

[49] 參秦孝儀編:《蔣中正先生手改聖經聖詠譯稿》(1~6)(台北,1986 年影印本);《蔣介石日記》,1945 年 10 月 31 日、11 月 8 日、12 月 11 日等。在《蔣中

往還及面晤，相詢譯經之事，在 1944 年後兩人毗鄰而居，有助吳氏的翻譯。[50]

吳經熊的《聖詠譯義》（1946 年初稿，1975 年修訂，多次再版）以文言詩體的方式，翻譯聖詠集。[51] 跟著，吳經熊翻譯的《福音。附：宗徒大事記》（1949 年）[52] 和《新經全集》（1949 年，附教宗於 1948 年的代序）[53] 在香港出版，同樣是翻譯成文言文，部分以詩韻的形式，以後多次再版。

吳經熊的譯文是以文言翻譯，而且在書末附有大量註釋。以馬爾谷福音一章 1 至 8 節為例：[54]

> 天主聖子耶穌基督福音之濫觴。正如意灑雅先知書之所記云：『吾遣使者、以先啟行；為爾前驅、備爾行程。』『曠野有人、揚聲而呼：為主清道、正直其途。』應乎是、有如望者施洗於曠野、而傳悛悔之洗禮、用滌宿罪。猶太全境及耶路撒冷居民、相率出謁如望、自承其罪、而受洗於約但河中。如望身被駝毛、腰束革帶、食則蝻蝗野蜜；宣於眾曰：

正先生手改聖經聖詠譯稿》中，包括新約和聖詠的譯稿和修改，書中以毛筆字的形式撰寫經文，附有蔣介石的圈點修訂。吳經熊的《超越東西方》第十八章也提及他翻譯聖經（主要是聖詠集）的點滴，本書的英文原書是 John C. H. Wu, *Beyond East and West* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1951)，中譯見吳經熊著，周偉馳譯：《超越東西方》（北京：社會科學文獻出版社，2002）。

50　關於這段經過，參方豪：「吳德生先生翻譯聖經的經過」，載《方豪六十自訂稿》（台北：臺灣學生書局，1969）下冊，頁 1977–1978；李東華：「方豪神父與民國天主教會」，《臺大歷史學報》33（2004 年），頁 261–313。

51　吳經熊譯：《聖詠釋義初稿》（上海：商務印書館，1946）。蔣介石手訂、田耕莘題。關於這部聖詠集，參蘇其康著，余慧珠譯：「吳經熊中譯聖經《聖詠集》裏的上主形象」，載《中外文學》第 30 卷，第 7 期（2001 年 12 月），頁 4–32。

52　吳經熊譯：《福音。附：宗徒大事記》（香港：公教真理學會，1949）。

53　吳經熊譯述：《新經全集》（香港：公教真理學會，1949）。田耕莘題，附「陸院長審閱／于總主教簽准證」、「教宗庇護十二世序」、「教宗嘉獎吳經熊氏新譯聖經（代序）」、「教廷傳信部部長傅樞機序」。

54　以下標點及分段方式是按原書。

『有一後我而來者、德能遠超我上、吾雖俯而解其
履帶、亦有未稱。吾洗爾以水、彼將洗爾以聖神矣。』

11・ 上海耶穌會徐匯總修院

1953 年，上海土山灣印書館出版了耶穌會徐匯總修院翻譯的《新譯福音初稿》，[55] 同年在香港出版，[56] 兩者的排版方式是完全一樣的。這是一部白話語體的福音書譯本，根據羅馬聖經學院梅爾克氏的希臘拉丁鑒定本譯出，對於拉丁文譯本與希臘文聖經不合之處，均按希臘文改正。[57]

在序言（1953 年 8 月 10 日）中提到翻譯福音書的取向：

> ……因此，福音一書，流傳至廣，譯本極多，我國公教譯本著名的有：李問漁的新經譯義、馬相伯的福音、吳經熊的新經全集，可惜都是文言的，未能適用於一般讀者；語體文的譯本也有多種，其中較通行的有，獻縣出版的新經全集，天津崇德堂出版的新經全集；但獻縣本多當地土語，不免失之俚俗，天津本文字較流美通暢，但與原文時有出入，二者都不是現代廣大信友期待的譯本。為此，出版一種理想的譯本：譯文淺顯而不傷雅潔，譯義貼切而字句優美，實在是當前的要務。……

上文簡述了直至當時的天主教譯經成果，以及他們的譯經取向，然後作者提到《思高聖經》譯經工作的進展，由於尚未見其新約的出現，故此試行翻譯福音書。

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[55] 徐匯修院譯：《新譯福音初稿》（上海：土山灣印書館，1953）。本書於 1953 年 8 月 15 日由上海徐匯總修院敬獻「中華聖母無玷之心」。

[56] 徐匯修院譯：《新譯福音初稿》（香港：公教真理學會出版，1953）。附地圖、附註及參考。本書有 1953 年在香港發出的教廷出版許可。關於這譯本，筆者還見過同年有香港公教真理學會出版的瑪竇福音，故此可能也有其他分冊的版本。

[57] 有關介紹，見於 1953 年在上海出版的《新譯福音初稿》的「凡例」。

以馬爾谷福音一章 1 至 8 節為例：

> 天主子<u>耶穌基督</u>福音的開始。正如先知<u>依撒意亞</u>書
> 上寫的：『看！我遣我的使者在你面前，預備你的
> 道路。曠野中有呼者之聲說：「預備主的道，修直
> 他的路」。』授洗的<u>若翰</u>在曠野裏出現了，宣講悔
> 改的洗禮，為得罪的寬赦。<u>猶太</u>全境和耶路撒冷一
> 總居民，都到他那裏去，承認自己的罪，就在<u>約但</u>
> 河裏，受他的洗禮。<u>若翰</u>穿着駱駝毛的衣服，腰裏
> 束着皮帶，吃着蝗虫和野蜜。他宣講說：『有一位
> 能力比我強的，後我而來，我就俯身給他解鞋帶也
> 不配。我用水給你們授洗，他却將用聖神給你們授
> 洗。』

12·　狄守仁

1955 年，耶穌會修士狄守仁（Édouard Petit, 1897–1985）
編譯的《簡易聖經讀本》，由香港光啟出版社出版。這是附
有插圖的版本，以國語選譯了新舊約的部分經文。[58]

以第一章「創造世界的經過」首句為例，是譯自創世紀
一章 1 至 2 節：

> 最初，天主創造天地時，地是空虛而無定形的；黑
> 暗籠罩了宇宙。天主的聖神，在水面翱翔。

狄守仁的《簡易聖經讀本》是一部聖經的節略本，以淺
白的語言翻譯聖經部分的章節，以後多次再版。[59]

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[58]　《簡易聖經讀本》（香港：光啟出版社，1955）。

[59]　據悉，狄守仁和宋安德在 1955 年出版了宗徒大事錄，在 1956 年出版了羅馬
書。1969 年，狄守仁與宋安德開始將他們合譯的新約分冊出版，仍由光啟出
版社印行，名為《新經全集（新譯本）》。筆者未能見過這幾部譯本。關於宋
安德的資料不詳，但他應該不是耶穌會的神父，而是中國天主教徒。

四、思高聖經和近代中文譯經

1· 思高聖經

20 世紀中葉，意大利籍方濟會傳教士雷永明（Gabriel Maria Allegra, 1907–1976）在中國和香港先後進行中文聖經的翻譯工作。這部譯本後來被稱為《思高聖經》，譯自希伯來文和希臘文，是中國天主教首部從原文翻譯的完整中文聖經。[60]

雷永明在 1931 年到湖南衡陽教區傳教，1935 年開始翻譯舊約。1939 年他由於積勞成疾，被迫返回羅馬。1941 年他去到上海，不久抵達北平，住在大使館中繼續舊約的翻譯工作，到了 1944 年完成舊約的初稿。此時他獲准召集一群主要來自北平輔仁大學的青年學者，協助譯經的工作。1945 年 8 月 2 日，在當時駐華代表蔡寧（Mario Zanin, 1890–1958）總主教的贊同及祝福下，於輔仁大學附中宿舍的庭院內，創立了思高聖經學會（Studium Biblicum Franciscanum）。

從 1945 至 1968 年間，該會組織十多位聖經學者從事聖經翻譯工作，在 1948 年前於北平方濟堂聖經學會編譯出版聖經部分經卷的譯本。按所見的版本，當時出版的有聖詠集（1946 年）、智慧書（約伯傳、箴言、雅歌、訓道篇、智慧篇、德訓篇，1947 年）和梅瑟五書（1948 年）。

1948 年，由於中國大陸政治形勢面臨改變，思高聖經學會南遷香港，由學會眾多同工組成的翻譯小組也由北平移往

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[60] 關於《思高聖經》的翻譯歷史，參 Arnulf Camps, O.F.M., "Father Gabriele M. Allegra; O.F.M. (1907–1976) and the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: the First Complete Chinese Catholic Translation of the Bible," in *The Bible in Modern China*, 55–76，中譯見：《雷永明神父與中文聖經翻譯結緣》（香港：思高聖經學會，2000）。另參《思高聖經學會五十週年公開聖經講座》（香港：思高聖經學會，1996）。

香港，以致大部分工作跟著是在香港完成的。直至 1961 年間，在十多位方濟會士的合力辛勞下，該會將新舊約的各部分先後翻譯，分冊出版。按所見的版本，在 1949 年後出版的有歷史書第一冊（若蘇厄書至列王紀下，1949 年）、歷史書第二冊（編年紀上至瑪加伯下，1950 年）、先知書第一冊（依撒意亞，1951 年）、先知書第二冊（耶肋米亞至厄則克耳，1952年）、先知書第三冊（達尼爾至瑪拉基亞，1954 年）、福音書（1957 年）、新約第二冊（宗徒大事錄至希伯來書，1959年）、福音書（重印，1960 年）、新約第三冊（雅各伯書至若望默示錄，1961 年）。

　　1961 年，思高聖經學會開始聖經合冊的修訂和出版計劃，新約由李士漁神父負責，而舊約則延至 1963 年底開始，整項工作於 1968 年完成。有關修訂相當仔細，並且加上每卷引言、註解、繪圖、附錄及彩色地圖多幅。全本新舊約最後在 1968 年 12 月 8 日聖母無原罪瞻禮日出版，成為當代中國天主教會最重要的中文譯本。[61]

　　以馬爾谷福音一章 1 至 8 節為例：

> 天主子<u>耶穌基督</u>福音的開始，正如先知<u>依撒意亞</u>書上記載的：「看，我派遣我的使者在你面前，預備你的道路。曠野中有呼號者的聲音：你們當預備上主的道路，修直他的途徑。」洗者<u>若翰</u>便在曠野裏出現，宣講悔改的洗禮，為得罪之赦。<u>猶太</u>全地和<u>耶路撒冷</u>的羣眾都出來，到他那裏，承認自己的罪過，在<u>約但</u>河裏受他的洗。<u>若翰</u>穿的是駱駝毛的衣服，腰間束的是皮帶，吃的是蝗蟲與野蜜。他宣告說：「那比我更有力量的，要在我以後來，我連俯

> 身解他的鞋帶也不配。我以水洗你們，他卻要以聖
> 神洗你們。」

在《思高聖經》出版之後 20 年，學會在陳維統神父領導下，把福音書部分修訂，增補了註釋，於 1989 年出版《福音袖珍本》。2005 年，思高聖經學會修訂了經文、註釋及附錄，出版了「思高聖經原著譯釋版系列」的《福音》修訂版，然後跟著依次出版聖經各卷，迄 2010 年中至《先知書中冊：耶肋米亞~厄則克耳》。

中國天主教會繼 1981 年蕭靜山的《新經全集》在北京印行後，到了 1990 年中國天主教教務委員會印刷了思高版的《古經》。1993 年，出版了第一部思高版《聖經》，以後陸續出版。

2. 台語羅馬字譯本

天主教較少中國方言的譯經成果，可以追溯的資料不多，[62] 其中現今可見者有 20 世紀中葉在台灣翻譯的台語譯本。

20 世紀 60 年代，由天主教瑪利諾修會教士和基督新教聖經學者共同合作，以台中彰化地帶的腔音翻譯新約。整項計劃從 1965 年開始進行，經過七年才完成。這項台語羅馬字版聖經計劃最早的出版成果是 1967 年的《四福音書》，它是由天主教會邀請的兩位留日的中國籍神父高積煥和陳邦鎮著手翻譯而成。他們在 1966 年 7 月完成福音書譯本的初稿，然後把校閱稿交給台灣聖經公會，邀請新教的聖經學者進行校

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[62] 筆者見過一部上海方言譯本的相片，是民國年間（可能是民國 29 年）在上海土山灣印書館印的福音書，包括瑪竇、瑪爾谷、路加和若望福音。由於圖片不清楚，故此難以判斷其翻譯概況，也找不到詳細資料可供查證。

譯。當時新教聖經學者有張德香、王成章、郭德烈和蔡仁理，各自校譯一部福音書。

在《四福音書》出版之後，再增譯新約其它書卷，並把四福音書修訂合併，於 1972 年完成，由台灣天主教會於 1972 年 8 月 31 日出版，而台灣聖經公會則於 1973 年 10 月出版新教的版本，到了 1975 年出版修訂本。一般稱這部聖經為「高陳臺灣白話聖經譯本」（或稱「紅皮聖經」〔*Âng-phoê Sèng-keng*〕）。[63] 這部聖經的審定委員會由天主教和新教各有五位成員組成，最後定稿交由 35 位新教和 15 位天主教學者組成的諮商委員會，由羅光總主教擔任諮商委員會天主教團主席。

這部台語譯本是天主教和新教的共同成果，不過由於台灣政府在 1970 年代禁止台語的通行，甚至在 1975 年查禁台語和泰雅語的聖經，故此這部譯本被沒收，也影響了台語聖經的流通。直至 1990 年代解禁之後，台語聖經才有較多流傳，「紅皮聖經」也成為後來新教的《現代台語譯本》在翻譯時的參考。[64]

3. 佘山修院

由 1983 年開始，中國國內天主教上海教區在金魯賢主教的主持下，以《耶路撒冷聖經》（*La Bible de Jérusalem*）和上海徐匯總修院的《新譯福音初稿》（1953 年）及其它中文聖經譯本為基礎，翻譯新約。上海光啟社的盧樹馨曾經協助金主教，也參與了部分翻譯校對工作。1986 年，上海教區出版

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[63]　《高陳臺灣話聖經譯本》（台中：聖瑪利諾會，1972）。

[64]　關於聖瑪利諾會的台語譯本，參 Albert V. Fedders, "The Four Gospels: a Taiwanese Romanized Translation," in *The Bible Translator* 1968 (19/3): 120–124。另參梁淑慧的未刊碩士論文：《台語新約聖經三種版本的臺灣社會實況化研究》（台北：新竹師院臺灣語言與語文教育研究所，2004），4.1.2 章。

了《新經》上（四福音）。然後，陸續出版了《宗徒大事錄》、《宗徒大事錄》註釋本、《保祿書信》、《給全體教友的信與啟示錄》等單印本。結果，經過十多年的辛勤筆耕，於 1994 年 8 月，由上海天主教教區出版了佘山修院的《聖經新約全集（注釋本）》，而這是中國天主教教會近期的譯本。[65] 從 1995 年開始，金魯賢主教投入修訂和翻譯工作，2004 年重譯修訂後的《新約全集》注釋本出版。[66]

4． 牧靈聖經

1998 年，天主教香港教區出版了《牧靈聖經》中文版，主要翻譯人員有王凌、李玉、姚安麗、曹雪、盧媛媛等。《牧靈聖經》的原版是由法國籍的于賀（Bernard Hurault, 1917–2004）神父編寫的，1972 年在智利以西班牙文成書出版，強調經文由希伯來文和希臘文翻譯而成，注重使用簡潔的語言，並附上新舊約要點導論和靈修註釋。1991 年，于賀到台灣學習中文，並聯絡了一批台灣和中國大陸的教會人士組成翻譯組，開始翻譯中文《牧靈聖經》。整項翻譯工作歷時五年，其中譯稿在香港等待審核有 18 個月之久，但基本工作是在台灣及菲律賓完成的。《牧靈聖經》在中國天主教主教團轄下的天主教教務委員會的允諾下，2000 年在中國發行出版。[67]

以馬爾谷福音一章 1 至 8 節為例：

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[65] 佘山修院譯：《聖經新約全集》（上海：天主教上海教區光啟社，1994）。

[66] 有關資料，參張士江：「當代中國教會的聖經推廣與福傳」，載《鼎》（144），2007 年春季號。

[67] 參李子忠：「《牧靈聖經》紀實」（一、二），載《公教報》1999 年 2 月 28 日、3 月 7 日；吳岳清：「有關《牧靈聖經》一事」，載《公教報》1999 年 2 月 28 日。

天主子，耶穌基督福音的開始。正如先知依撒意亞
書上記載的：「我要在你面前派遣使者，為你預備
道路。在曠野裏有聲音呼喊：預備上主的道！修直
祂前面的路。」若翰出現在曠野裏為人授洗。他宣
講悔改的洗禮，為得罪的赦免。猶太全境和耶路撒
冷的全體民眾都來找他，在約旦河領受他的洗禮，
并向他懺悔自己的罪過。若翰身穿駱駝毛外衣，腰
間束著皮帶。他吃的是蝗蟲和野蜂蜜。他對民眾宣
講：「在我之後，要來一位比我強的。我連俯身替
他解鞋帶都不配。我用水給你們授洗，祂將用聖神
為你們授洗。」

5． 共同譯本

翻譯「共同譯本」是天主教與新教的譯經合作計劃。梵
蒂岡第二次大公會議（簡稱梵二）之後，1968 年 6 月在倫敦
公佈了「各教派合作翻譯聖經的一些指導原則」（Guiding
Principles for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating
the Bible），由聯合聖經公會的執行委員會及梵蒂岡促進基
督徒合一秘書處同時以五種語言發表。然後，「漢文聖經統
一譯本籌備委員會」在聖經公會駐台主任賴炳炯牧師的策劃
下組成。1969 年 6 月 23 日召開第一次座談會，當時注意到天
主教與基督教聖經中不同的人名、地名及其它固有名詞，而
想從此著手，並且建議編製對照表，加註希伯來文及希臘文
譯音等。1970 年 1 月 5 日舉行第二次會議，是年 7 月 4 至 31
日在台灣東海大學舉行「聯合聖經公會東北亞區譯經研習
會」，然後在 1971 年 10 月開始翻譯和校對的工作，由許牧
世牧師主持，劉緒堂、陳維統、韓承良、房志榮等神父參與
校閱。這項工作的成果是 1975 年的《新約全書現代中文譯本》

的天主教版[68]。不過，由於《現代中文譯本》的新舊約全書沒有次經，故此沒有天主教版。

1981 年，中華民國聖經公會（今台灣聖經公會）與思高聖經學會的同工開始《共同譯本》路加福音的翻譯工作，早期集中於人名、地名及專用名詞的統一。跟著，譯經的同工在香港、台北和上海等地舉行多次會議，終於在 1997 年 4 月底完成路加福音的審訂以供付印。當時也已譯完宗徒大事錄，但未審訂。[69] 不過，最終的成果只有在 2000 年出版的《路加福音共同譯本》的試譯本，以及之前已經出版的若望福音，而這計劃以後並沒有進行下去。[70]

由聯合聖經公會出版的《約翰福音》「共同譯本試用版」，其中若望福音一章 1 至 5 節的經文如下：

> 太初有道，道和上帝同在，道有神性。他在太初就
> 和上帝同在。萬物賴他而成，沒有他，無物能成。
> 在他內有生命，這生命是眾人的光；光在黑暗中照
> 耀，而黑暗不曾制勝它。

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[68] 《給現代人的福音》（香港：香港聖經公會，1975）。天主教版的序言由羅光主教於 1974 年 9 月 24 日在台北撰寫。

[69] 有關會議記錄，參「聖經合譯委員會第一（二，三，四）次會議記錄」，載《輔仁大學神學論集》，75 (1988): 16, 26, 34, 44, 94, 132, 142; 78 (1988): 496, 540, 552。另參房志榮：「新約全書『現代中文譯本』的來龍去脈」，載《神學論集》，第 26 期（1975），頁 609–621；「新約全書－新譯本」，載《輔仁大學神學論集》，第 30 期（1976），頁 593–597；「合一聖經會議在香港舉行」，載 *Tripod* 35 (1986)，頁 27；「福傳大會前夕談譯經」，載《輔仁大學神學論集》，第 74 期（1988），頁 529–536。

[70] 聯合聖經公會出版的「共同譯本試用版」共有兩部，分別是《路加福音》和《約翰福音》（書中沒有註明出版日期）。在兩部試用版的序言，都印有天主教主教團委派和新教聖經公會選任的委員會所擬定的翻譯原則。書末分別附有兩卷福音書的專有名詞對照表。以下經文是引自《約翰福音》。感謝斐林豐（Lanfranco M. Fedrigotti, SDB）神父送贈這兩部試用版，以及《現代中文譯本》路加福音的聯合版試用本。

6· 偕主讀經

聖母聖心愛子會在澳門的樂仁出版社，於 2010 年初出版了《偕主讀經——路加福音及宗徒大事錄》，是天主教最近期的譯經成果。[71] 本書在 2010 年 7 月由河北信德社在中國印行出版。[72]

澳門教區黎鴻昇主教在 2009 年 12 月 15 日的本書序言中說：

> 2008 年 10 月 5 日至 26 日在梵蒂岡舉行了天主教主教會議，當中主教們討論了「天主聖言在教會的生活和使命中」，與會神長們特別提及初期教會內隱修士常用的一種閱讀聖經方式：「聖言誦讀」及「偕主讀經」（Lectio Divina）。如今，推廣閱讀聖經和生活天主聖言的「樂仁出版社」，將要按照上述閱讀聖經的方式，用中文出版聖路加記載的「福音」和「宗徒大事錄」。

本書是以「聖言誦讀」及「偕主讀經」的方式，引導讀者閱讀聖經。[73] 本書的譯文相近《牧靈聖經》，但不是盡然相同。以路加福音一章 1 至 4 節為例：

> <u>德敖斐羅閣下</u>：已有許多人將我們中間所完成的事蹟，編成了記述；他們傳給我們的記述，來自第一批見證人和後來成為聖言的僕人。我從頭仔細地把一切事蹟訪查之後，也決定依照次序為你寫出來，讓你知道你接受的教導，都是真確的。

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[71] 《偕主讀經——路加福音及宗徒大事錄》（澳門：樂仁出版社，2010）。天主教台北總教區金毓瑋神父審核，洪山川總主教准印。

[72] 《偕主讀經——路加福音及宗徒大事錄》（河北：信德社，2010）。

[73] 有關介紹，參房志榮：「偕主讀經 Lectio Divina 釋意」，載《偕主讀經——路加福音及宗徒大事錄》，頁 ix–x。

五、結語

　　天主教的聖經翻譯，現存的成果最早可以見於清初的譯本，但對近代影響較多的譯本，都是在 19 世紀末才開始出現，包括文言和白話的譯本，雖然大多是福音書的譯本，但數量和性質都甚為豐富。

　　從上述的縱覽可見，這些譯本主要是福音書和宗徒大事錄，大多由華北地區和香港的教士所譯，其中文言和白話（即官話、國語或普通話）譯本均有。在翻譯的取向上，既有較為文學性的嘗試，也有以牧靈為取向的成果。

　　天主教中文聖經較為傾向以文言的語體翻譯，直至 20 世紀中葉，仍然有文言譯本的出現。至於白話的譯本相對較少和較遲才出現，然而天主教首部新約（蕭靜山譯本）和完整聖經（《思高聖經》）都是以此翻譯，顯示它作為中國通用語言的性質，為天主教譯經者所接受。相對之下，方言聖經譯本在中國天主教會的比重就不大（起碼相對新教有大量方言聖經的情況）。

　　至於翻譯聖經所據的原文，在《思高聖經》之前，中文聖經譯本大多是譯自拉丁文通行本，其中蕭靜山的新約譯本是按照希臘原文加以修訂，而李山甫等人的譯本和上海耶穌會徐匯總修院的新約譯本也強調參考希臘文的經文。蕭靜山的新約譯本，也是 20 世紀上半葉最受歡迎的天主教中文聖經，影響深遠。

　　同樣地，《思高聖經》是以舊約希伯來文和新約希臘文為翻譯的基礎，具有相當的意義。這部聖經是梵二之後最早期的中文譯經成果。不論是在歷史或牧靈上，都具有相當的

價值。[74] 在《思高聖經》之後，天主教翻譯聖經的活力仍然持續，期盼有更多成果湧現。

　　至於天主教與新教的中文聖經翻譯，不論是歷史方面，還是取向方面，其可供比較和研究之處甚多，但過往學者較少注意兩者之間的關聯。[75] 歷史文獻清楚顯示，天主教在清初的部分新約譯本，影響了新教最早參與譯經的傳教士，而在梵二之後，天主教與新教在譯經上也有合作的機會。儘管仍然未有具體的成果，然而兩者在譯經上是否可有更多交流之處，不論是在歷史研究或實務上，都有值得深思的空間。

　　[ABSTRACT] This article is a historical review of the translation of Catholic Chinese Bible, especially the publication results of the Catholic Chinese Bibles, Testaments and Portions in the last century.

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[74]　關於梵二論聖經翻譯的文件，參房志榮：「梵二與聖經」，載《神思》，第 68 期，頁 75–89。另參房志榮：「從梵二《啟示憲章》看中文聖經的發展」，載《神思》，第四十五期，2000 年 5 月，頁 1–15。

[75]　這方面的論述，可參房志榮：《天主教與基督教聖經的異同》（台北：聞道，1987）。

Four-character Set Phrases
A Study of their Use in the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Versions of the Chinese New Testament

Toshikazu S. FOLEY

探究天主教與東正教新約聖經譯本中成語的使用

堀井

[ABSTRACT] This study provides a detailed survey of the use of four-character set phrases (primarily those stereotyped phrases known as *chéngyǔ*) in Catholic and Orthodox New Testament versions in Chinese. A study of this kind has never been attempted before. Ten biblical translations, both wenli and Mandarin, are included in the survey, including the recently re-discovered Casanatense manuscript of Basset's translation, as well as Poirot's version—the first translation of the Bible ever written in Mandarin. The study yields several significant findings regarding the general use of four-character set phrases in Chinese biblical translation, including their function in discourse and their modification in four different Catholic versions to better suit the biblical context. In addition, the study also identifies stylistic considerations as the primary motivation for utilizing four-character set phrases in the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum's version. Comparative observations relevant to the four-character set phrases from other

biblical versions, notably Protestant versions such as the Delegates'
Version and the Union Version, as well as several more recent
versions in Mandarin, are also included in the study.

INTRODUCTION

The term "four-character set phrase," in its primarily
sense, translates what is commonly known as *chéngyǔ* 成語
("set phrase") in Chinese or *yojijukugo* 四字熟語
("four-character idiomatic compounds") in Japanese.[1] These
set phrases were typically derived from Chinese classical
literature or vernacular writings; for example, the set phrase
jū-gōng-jìn-cuì 鞠躬盡瘁 ("spare no effort"), which is found in
Gury Karpov's translation of the New Testament (GURY, 2
Cor 12:15), was derived from Zhuge Liang's *Second Chu Shi
Biao*.[2] On the other hand, four-character set phrases are also
drawn from common idiomatic expressions, such as
tuán-jié-yī-zhì 團結一致 ("act in one accord"), which is found
in Wu's New Testament (WV, Phil 1:27), and *fàng-shēng-dà-kū*
放聲大哭 ("break down crying"), which is found in the

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[1] Toshikazu S. Foley, *Biblical Translation in Chinese and Greek: Verbal Aspect in Theory and Practice* (Linguistic Biblical Studies 1; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 82 n.92.

[2] Gury (Karpov), with assistance by Bai Longyuan 白隆源, Mariya 瑪稱亞, Nikita 尼阮他, and Moisei 摩伊些乙, *Xin yi zhao sheng jing*《新遺詔聖經》= *The New Testament (Gury's Version)* (Peking: n.p., 1864). The same set phrase is found in Phil 2:8 of Wu's translation. See, John Ching-hsiung Wu 吳經熊, *Xin jing quan ji*《新經全集》= *The New Testament (Wu's Version)* (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1949). Abbreviations of biblical versions are provided at the end of the current study.

Studium Biblicum Franciscanum's version (SB, Mark 14:72).[3] Relatively speaking, these expressions are less stereotyped and therefore are not always categorized as *chéngyǔ* in Chinese reference books. Considering the subjectivity of the very definition of four-character set phrases, this study will discuss primarily—but not exclusively—stereotyped four-character phrases that are found in the entry of the *Dictionary of Chinese Idioms*, published by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China.[4]

From a linguistic perspective, four-character set phrases in Chinese spoken and written discourse, as Foley observes, are the "most heavily marked because of their morphological bulk, animated semantic content, rigid grammatical structure, and unique syntax."[5] Nevertheless, despite its importance, no attempt has ever been made to examine the use of the four-character set phrase in biblical translation in Chinese. This study provides a detailed survey of the general use of the four-character set phrases in one Eastern Orthodox New Testament and nine Catholic New Testament versions in Chinese, both wenli (1–5) and Mandarin (6–10), as listed chronologically below.

    1.   Jean Basset's New Testament (BASSET)

    2.   Gury Karpov's New Testament (GURY)

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[3] Allegra, Gabriele M. and Theobald Diederich, et al. *Sheng jing*《聖經》= *The Holy Bible (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum's Version)* (Hong Kong: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1968).

[4] *Chen yu dian*《成語典》= *Dictionary of Chinese Idioms* (Taipei: Ministry of Education [Republic of China], 2005).

[5] Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 105.

3. Li Wenyu's Gospels and Acts (LI)[6]

4. Ma Xiangbo's Gospels (MA)[7]

5. John Ching-hsiung Wu's New Testament (WV)

6. Louis de Poirot's version (POIROT)[8]

7. Joseph Hsiao's New Testament (HSC)[9]

8. Catholic New Testament (CNT)[10]

9. Zikawei Seminary's Gospels (IG)[11]

10. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum's version (SB)

JEAN BASSET'S NEW TESTAMENT (BASSET)

Among early Catholic biblical translations in Chinese, Jean Basset's (1662–1707, MEP) version of the New Testament is often recognized for its impact upon several early Protestant biblical translators, such as Robert Morrison and John Marshman.[12] Basset's translation of the New Testament

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[6] Li Wenyu 李問漁, *Zong tu dashi lu*《宗徒大事錄》*= Acts of the Apostles* (Shanghai: Cimutang, 1887); Li Wenyu, *Xin jing yi yi*《新經譯義》*= The New Testament* (Shanghai: Cimutang, 1897; repr. 1907, Gospels only).

[7] Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯, *Jiu shi fu yin*《救世福音》*= The Gospels* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1949).

[8] Poirot's New Testament is represented by the Xujiahui MS, extant in 9 bound volumes. See discussions below.

[9] Joseph Hsiao 蕭靜山, *Xin jing quan ji*《新經全集》*= The New Testament (Joseph Hsiao's Version)* (Hsien-hsien [Hopei, China]: Jesuit Missions in Southeastern Hopei, 1922; rev. & repr., Taichung [Taiwan]: Kuangchi Program Service, 1956).

[10] Georg Litvanyi, René Archen, Edouard Petit, and Xiao Shunhua 蕭舜華, *Xin jing quan shu*《新經全書》*= The Catholic New Testament* (Tienjin: Chongdetang, 1949).

[11] Zikawei Seminary's Gospels, *Xin yi fu yin chu gao*《新譯福音初稿》*= The Four Gospels* (Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 1954).

[12] See, for example, Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 17; Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant*

is extant in only a handful of manuscripts, most importantly, the recently re-discovered Casanatense manuscript, which contains the Gospels through the first chapter of Hebrews.[13] The Casanatense manuscript, which may be dated between 1707 and 1710, represents the oldest and most extensive form of Basset's translation of the New Testament from the Vulgate into wenli or classical Chinese.[14] A curious form of BASSET containing a harmony of the Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles, and the first chapter of Hebrews, is extant only in manuscripts. The most representative of these manuscripts is the Sloane MS #3599, which was available to Morrison.[15] While the precise connection between the two forms of BASSET remains to be evaluated, however, the Sloane MS #3599 clearly exhibits a remarkable affinity to the literary characteristics of the Casanatense manuscript. It is reasonable to suppose that the Sloane MS #3599 represents a derivative form of the

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Missionary Bible Translation in China (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 45; Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999), 35–36, 49–51.

[13] The Casanatense manuscript, which bears no title in Chinese except for those of the individual biblical books, were re-discovered in 2006 in the Casanatense of Rome by Jean-Baptiste Itçaïna. The MS, catalogued as MS #2024, is handsomely bound with the gilt ornaments and title "Novum Testament(um) Sinice" written on the spine. For an introduction of the Casanatense manuscript, see François Barriquand "First Comprehensive Translation of the New Testament in Chinese: Fr Jean Basset (1662–1707) and the Scholar John Xu," *Verbum SVD* 49, no. 1 (2008): 91–119.

[14] The dating of the MS is proposed by Barriquand (private communications with the author).

[15] Barriquand reports the existence of yet another MS in Cambridge, which is identical to that of the Sloane MS #3599 (Private communications with the author). For an introduction to the Sloane MS #3599, see, for example, A.C. Moule, "A Manuscript Chinese Version of the New Testament (British Museum, Sloane 3599)," *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* 85 (1949): 23–33; Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 17 n. 55.

Casanatense manuscript penned by others after Basset's death.[16]

It is noteworthy that while BASSET bears no title for its volume, the Chinese title for the New Testament, *Xīn yízhào shèngshū*《新遺詔聖書》(lit. "Sacred Book of the Newly Bequeathed Decrees") or *Xīn yízhào shū*《新遺詔書》, which was adopted by early Bible translators—including Morrison, Medhurst/Gützlaff/Bridgman, Gury, and Goddard—in fact derives from Basset's own translation of the "new covenant" in Chinese.[17] The Chinese translations of Luke 22:20 (1a–c) and 1 Cor 11:25 (2a–c) found in BASSET, SL-MOR, and MOR are listed below.

(1a)　此爵乃新遺詔于我血將為尔等流注者也。(BASSET)

　　　Cǐ jué nǎi xīn yízhào yú wǒ xiě jiāng wèi ěrděng liúzhù zhě yě.

　　　This cup is the new testament (lit. "newly bequeathed decrees") in my blood which I will pour out for you.

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[16]　See, for example, Barriquand, "First Comprehensive Translation," 108.

[17]　Marshall Broomhall translates it "the Sacred Book of the Newly Bequeathed Oracles." See Marshall Broomhall, *The Bible in China* (London: China Inland Mission, 1934), 74. Robert Morrison, *Ye su ji li shi du wo zhu jiu zhe xin yi zhao shu*《耶穌基利士督我主救者　新遺詔書》= *The New Testament in Wenli (Morrison's Version)* (Canton: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1814); Walter H. Medhurst, Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff, Elijah C. Bridgman, and John Robert Morrison, *Xin yi zhao sheng shu*《新遺詔聖書》= *The New Testament (Medhurst/Gützlaff/Bridgman's Version)* (Batavia [Jakarta]: n.p., 1837); Josiah Goddard, *Sheng jing xin yi zhao quan shu*《聖經新遺詔全書》= *The New Testament (Goddard's Version)* (Ningpo [China]: American and Foreign Bible Society, 1853). It is possible that the term *xīn yízhào* could have been used to refer to the New Testament in earlier Catholic documents prior to Basset's time, however, this hypothesis has yet to be proven.

(1b) 此爵乃新貽詔于我血將為尔等流注者也。 (SL-MOR)[18]

     Cǐ jué nǎi xīn yízhào yú wǒ xiě jiāng wèi ěrděng liúzhù zhě yě.

     This cup is the new testament in my blood which I will pour out for you.

(1c) 此盃乃其新約于代爾被(*sic*)流我之血。 (MOR)

     Cǐ bēi nǎi qí xīnyuē yú dài ěr bèi liú wǒ zhī xiě.

     This cup is the blood of the new covenant I pour out for you.

(2a) 此爵即新遺囑于我血也。 (BASSET)

     Cǐ jué jí xīn yí zhǔ yú wǒ xiě yě.

     This cup is the new testament in my blood which I will pour out for you.

(2b) 此爵即新囑于吾血也。(SL-MOR)

     Cǐ jué jí xīn zhǔ yú wú xiě yě.

     This cup is the new testament in my blood which I will pour out for you.

(2c) 此爵乃新遺詔于我血。(MOR)

     Cǐ jué nǎi xīn yízhào yú wǒ xiě.

     This cup is the new testament in my blood which I will pour out for you.

As (1a–b) and (2a–b) indicate, BASSET and SL-MOR (Morrison's transcript of the Sloane MS #3599) are *not* identical, though the differences are slight. Interestingly enough, MOR uses *xīnyuē* for the passage in (1c) but prefers to use the term *xīn yízhào*, which he evidently borrowed from BASSET, for another passage in (2c). In fact, the wordings in

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[18] The biblical reference is located in Chapter 24 of Basset's *Harmony of the Four Gospels* (四史攸編耶穌基利斯督福音之會編), which can be found in Morrison's 1806 transcript of the Sloane MS #3599 (SL-MOR). SL-MOR is available online. See "Ma li xun bo shi teng ben 馬禮遜博士謄本 = Robert Morrison's Transcript of the Sloane MS #3599," n.p. [cited November 9, 2010]. Online: http://www.biblesociety-tw.org.

(2c) are almost verbatim to those in (1a–b). Other early versions, such as GURY, have adopted the term *xīn yízhào* to translate ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη in both passages.

BASSET is composed entirely in the wenli style of Chinese, although evidence shows that Basset does employ a number of Mandarin aspect morphemes, such as the perfective *-le* (e.g. *fàn*-le *zuì yǐ* 犯了罪矣 "committed a crime," Matt 27:4) and the imperfective *-zhe* (e.g. *zuò*-zhe 坐着 "sitting," John 4:6, also MOR).[19] The use of Mandarin aspect morphemes (especially *-zhe*) in wenli style writing was never a common practice among early biblical translators and should be considered an exception. Yet at the same time, while this unusual utilization of Mandarin aspect morphemes in wenli biblical translation, which is found extensively in Morrison's version of the New Testament, does baffle the mind, it is no doubt a strong indication of BASSET's influence on the first Protestant biblical translator.

On the other hand, BASSET utilizes only one four-character set phrase, *wú-suǒ-bù-néng* 無 所 不 能 ("omnipotent"), which is found in Mark 9:22 (also POIROT, MOR, MAR, HSC), 10:27 (MOR, MAR, GÜ, BCV, WV, HSC), and 14:36 (MOR, MAR, GÜ, DV, BCV, HSC).[20] This example

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[19] Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 69 n. 47. In addition to *-le*, MOR also utilizes the Mandarin perfective aspect morpheme *-guò* (e.g. Mark 2:12, Luke 14:18–20), IDVCs such as *-qǐ* (e.g. Mark 14:72) and *-qǐlái* (e.g. Matt 27:24; Mark 9:27), as well as the two-morpheme aspect compound *zài…-zhe* (e.g. *yǒu dà qún zhū* zài *wèi*-zhe 有大羣猪在喂(*sic*)着, "there was a large herd of pigs feeding," Mark 5:11). Post-sentential modal particle *le* is also found in MOR (e.g. Matt 22:29). For an extensive treatment on Mandarin aspect morphemes as exemplified by Chinese Bible versions, see Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 73–125.

[20] Joshua Marshman and Joannes Lassar, *Sheng jing*《聖經》 = *The Holy Bible (Marshman/Lassar's Version)* (Serampore [India]: Serampore Mission, 1822); *Xin jiu yue sheng shu*《新舊約聖書》 = *The Holy Bible (Delegates' Version)*

clearly illustrates BASSET's influence upon early Protestant as well as Catholic biblical translators.

GURY KARPOV'S NEW TESTAMENT (GURY)

Gury Karpov's (1814–82) translation of the New Testament in wenli style, which first appeared in 1864, remains the most widely accessible biblical version in Chinese in the Eastern Orthodox Church. [21] Among early biblical translators, Gury is recognized for his creativity in devising a unique and elaborate system of transliterating biblical names into Chinese. [22] In contrast to BASSET, GURY is written directly from the original Greek and employs more than a dozen four-character set phrases, not merely a handful. The following is a list of the four-character set phrases found in GURY. The abbreviations enclosed by square brackets

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(Shanghai: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1858; repr. Taipei: Bible Society in Taiwan, 2006); Bridgman, Elijah C. and Michael S. Culbertson. *Xin yue quan shu* 《新約全書》= *The New Testament in Wenli* (*Bridgman and Culbertson's Version*) (Ningpo: American Bible Society, 1859).

[21] Gury (Гурий Карпов) was glorified by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 2008. A preprint of another Orthodox New Testament in Chinese has recently caught public attention. Unfortunately, this version, although translated out of the original Greek into wenli Chinese by Metropolitan Innokenty (Иван Апполонович Фигуровский 英諾肯提乙, 1863–1931) and containing all the New Testament books except the Book of Revelation, is virtually unknown to biblical translators and scholars alike. Its influence upon the Chinese Bible, therefore, remains considerably limited. Innokenty, *Xin yue sheng jing*《新約聖經》= *The New Testament (Innokenty's Version)* (Beijing: Orthodox Press, 1911; repr. pages 2–176 in *Dong chuan fu yin* 東傳福音 vol. 25; Hefei [China], Huangshan, 2005).

[22] For a detailed discussion of Gury's transliteration system, see Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 51–52.

indicate versions in which the same set phrases are also found in the corresponding passages.

(1) *Pǔ-tiān-zhī-xià* 普天之下 (Matt 26:13 [WV]; cf. [DV] *pǔ-tiān-xià* 普天下])

(2) *Yǐ-mào-qǔ-rén* 以貌取人 (Matt 22:16 [DV]; Luke 20:21 [DV]; Acts 10:34 [DV]; Gal 2:6 [DV]; Jas 2:9 [DV])

(3) *Nù-mù-huán-shì* 怒目環視 (Mark 3:5 [DV])[23]

(4) *Tū-rú-qí-lái* 突如其來 (Mark 13:36 [DV])

(5) *Shēng-míng-yáng-yì* 聲名洋溢 (Luke 4:14 [DV, WV], 37 [DV]; 7:17 [DV, WV])

(6) *Bú-yì-zhī-cái* 不義之財 (Luke 16:11 [WV])

(7) *Jǐ-suǒ-bú-yù, wú-shī-yú-ré*n 己所不欲，毋施於人 (Acts 15:20, 29)

(8) *Bù-shě-zhòu-yè* 不舍晝夜 (Acts 20:31 [DV, WV])

(9) *Jū-gōng-jìn-cuì* 鞠躬盡瘁 (2 Cor 12:15 [WV])

(10) *Gāng-bì-zì-yòng* 剛愎自用 (Rom 2:5 [WV]; Heb 3:13 [DV])

(11) *Qiǎo-yán mèi-yǔ* 巧言媚語 (Rom 16:18 [DV, WV])

(12) *Qíng-bù-zì-jìn* 情不自禁 (1 Cor 7:5 [CNT])[24]

(13) *Wàng-zì-jīn-kuā* 妄自矜夸 (Col 2:18)

(14) *Wàng-zì-zūn-chóng* 妄自尊崇 (2 Thess 2:4 [DV])

(15) *Huān-xīn-gǔ-wǔ* 歡欣鼓舞 (1 Peter 4:13 [DV])

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[23] This set phrase is used in the same passage in several later Protestant versions, including SJ, TCV, NCV, and RCUV. See Samuel I.J. Schereschewsky, *Jiu xin yue sheng jing*《舊新約聖經》= *The Holy Bible in Easy Wenli (Schereschewsky's Version)* (Shanghai: American Bible Society, 1902); *Sheng jing xian dai Zhong wen yi ben xiu ding ban*《聖經 現代中文譯本 修訂版》= *The Holy Bible: Today's Chinese Version* (rev. ed.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1995); *Sheng jing xin yi ben*《聖經 新譯本》= *The Holy Bible (New Chinese Version)* (Hong Kong: Worldwide Bible Society, 1992. Repr. 2003); *Xin yue quan shu he he ben xiu ding ban*《新約全書 和合本修訂版》= *The New Testament (Revised Chinese Union Version)* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Bible Society, 2006).

[24] The same set phrase is also found in the same passage in the UV. See *Sheng jing xin biao dian he he ben*《聖經 新標點和合本》= *The Holy Bible (Union Mandarin Version): With Revised Punctuations* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Bible Society, 1988).

In its use of four-character set phrases, GURY exhibits a notable affinity to contemporary versions, especially the Delegates' Version (DV), which first appeared in 1858.[25] In the set phrase listed in (2), for example, all five occurrences of *yǐ-mào-qǔ-rén* ("judge according to appearance") in GURY correspond exactly to the same passages in the DV. The Confucian maxim in (7), on the other hand, is unique among all biblical versions. This is primarily because GURY follows variant readings containing the additions καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖτε ("what they do not wish to be done to them, do not do to others," Acts 15:20) and καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν ("what you do not wish to be done to you, do not do to another," Acts 15:29), both of which are supported by Codex Bezae (D, fifth century).[26] Interestingly, although (7) neatly translates the Greek, it is not employed in any of the existing biblical versions in Chinese. In addition to (7), four-character set phrases listed under (6), (9), (12) and (13) are not employed by other translators before 1864, proof that GURY influenced subsequent versions, notably the WV.

LI WENYU'S GOSPELS AND ACTS (LI)

Li Wenyu, also known as C.P. Laurent Ly (S.J., 1840–1911), was one of the early native Chinese-speaking

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[25] *Xin jiu yue sheng shu*. The DV's New Testament was published in 1852.

[26] For comments on the textual variants of Acts 15:20, 29, see Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (4th rev. ed.)* (2d ed.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1994), 379–84.

Catholic translators. Perhaps due its limited accessibility to scholars, LI has often been overlooked.[27] It has only recently been recognized that Li's version of the New Testament was issued in two separate volumes, containing only the Gospels and Acts.[28] While few four-character set phrases are found in LI, unlike GURY, they are mostly unique among other contemporary versions, as seen in the following list.

(1a)   *Shì-ér-bú-jiàn* 視而不見 (Matt 13:13 [IG, WV, TCV], 14; Mark 4:12 [WV]; Luke 8:10 [IG, WV, TCV])

(1b)   *Tīng-ér-bù-wén* 聽而不聞 (Matt 13:13 [IG, WV, TCV], 14)

(2)   *Fèn-fèn-bù-píng* 忿忿不平 (Luke 13:14; Acts 7:54)

(3)   *Jī-yì-jiàn-zhēn* 饑疫荐臻 (Luke 21:11)

(4)   *Suǒ-jiàn-suǒ-wén* 所見所聞 (John 3:32 [DV, UV, SB])

(5)   *Yǔ-rì-jù- zēng* 與日俱增 (Acts 2:47)

(6)   *Hǔ-shì-dān-dān* 虎視眈眈 (Acts 9:29; 17:5)

(7)   *Lè-shàn-hào-shī* 樂善好施 (Acts 9:36)

(8)   *Bù-yí-yú-lì* 不遺餘力 (Acts 9:36; 18:11)

(9)   *Bù-yán-zì-yù* 不言自喻 (Acts 10:23)

(10)   *Wú-yuǎn-fú-jiè* 無遠弗屆 (Acts 13:47)

(11)   *Bù-zhī-suǒ-cuò* 不知所措 (Acts 16:27)

(12)   *Chuán-wén-xiá-ěr* 傳聞遐邇 (Acts 19:17)

(13)   *Jìn-fù-yī-jù* 盡付一炬 (Acts 19:19)

(14)   *Jié-jìn-xīn-sī* 竭盡心思 (Acts 20:28)

(15)   *Wèn-xīn-wú-kuì* 問心無愧 (Acts 23:1)

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[27]   The alternative name "C.P. Laurent Ly" is often cited in earlier references. See, for example, Marshall Broomhall, *The Chinese Empire: A General & Missionary Survey* (London Morgan & Scott, 1907), 383; G. H. Bondfield, "A List of Versions in Wenli, Easy Wenli, and Mandarin, with Notes," *China Mission Year Book* 6 (1915): 468.

[28]   Li Wenyu, *Zong tu da shi lu*; Li Wenyu, *Xin jing yi yi*.

(16)   *Zī-zī-bú-juàn* 孜孜不倦 (Acts 24:16)[29]

LI is characterized by its distinctive use of peculiar four-character set phrases not found in other contemporary versions. The set phrases listed above are all unique to LI, with the exception of (4). It is interesting to observe that while later Catholic versions use only a few of the same set phrases found in LI, the Protestant paraphrased Bible, the CLB, has used the set phases listed in (5), (7), and (15) in the same respective passages.[30] In addition to the set phrases listed above, LI employs *shàn-yòu-xún-xún* 善誘循循 ("guide systematically," Acts 20:2), a modified form (i.e. rearranging the normal order of characters) of the more stereotyped expression *xún-xún-shàn-yòu*.

LI is acknowledged to be the first Catholic version to employ modified forms of stereotyped four-character set phrases in order to better suit the biblical context. The two set phrases represented in (1a–b) deserve special attention. Literally speaking, the stereotyped paired set phrase "seeing but do not see; hearing but do not hear" may seem paradoxical, but it is used as a metaphor to denote "showing no concern whatsoever." In LI, one finds the expressions *wén-ér-bù-míng* 聞而不明 ("listening but do not understand," Mark 4:12) and *tīng-ér-bù-míng* 聽而不明 ("hearing but do not understand," Luke 8:10), which have been deliberately modified from the more stereotyped set phrase found in (1b).

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[29]   The alternative form *zī-zī-bù-juàn* 孳孳不倦 is also found in different passages in the WV (see discussion below).

[30]   *Dang dai sheng jing Zhong wen sheng jing yi yi ben xin jiu yue quan shu*《當代聖經 中文聖經意譯本 新舊約全書》= *The Holy Bible: Chinese Living Bible* (Hong Kong: Living Bibles International, 1979).

Note that in both of these passages where the modified phrases are found, the stereotyped four-character set phrase in (1a) is also found as an antecedent of the paired expression. The motivation for such modifications is evidently to reflect the subtle differences in parallel passages of the Synoptic Gospels, as well as maintain the symmetry of the expression in Chinese.

The effect of such modifications of stereotyped four-character set phrases is significant at the discourse level.[31] Since four-character set phrases are considered the most heavily marked and are used to build frontgrounded prominence in Chinese, a modified form of a stereotyped four-character set phrase would mean an even higher degree of prominence.

Another distinctive feature of LI includes an example of a direct quotation from one of the Confucian classics, the *Mencius*, which has been specifically modified for a Christian context. For Acts 24:16, LI has *yǎng bú kuì yú Tiānzhǔ, fǔ bú zuò yú shìrén* 仰不愧於天主，俯不怍於世人 ("when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before God [lit. "Heaven-Lord"], and, below, he has no occasion to blush before the world [lit. people of the world"]) as opposed to the original *yǎng bú kuì yú tiān, fǔ bú zuò yú rén* 仰不愧於天，俯不怍於人 ("when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before Heaven, and, below, he has no occasion to blush before men") from the original Chinese text (*Mencius, Tsin Sin* I.XX.3). [32] This

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[31] For discussions on the discourse function of four-character set phrases in Chinese, see Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 103–06.

[32] English translation is from Legge. See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics. Part II. Mencius* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1870), 181.

modification, too, means that the new form of expression becomes more heavily marked to the degree of achieving frontgrounded prominence in the written discourse of the translated text. The contributions from LI, therefore, are immense, for LI sets the precedent for later Catholic versions in its use of expressions modified from stereotyped four-character set phrases and Chinese literary classics in order to suit the biblical context.

MA XIANGBO'S GOSPELS (MA)

The translation of the Gospels from the Vulgate into wenli Chinese by Ma Xiangbo (S. J., 1840–1939) has often been overlooked, perhaps due to its virtual inaccessibility to translators, especially Protestant translators. [33] As the following list demonstrates, MA's influence on biblical translation is limited to Catholic versions.

(1)   *Shēng-míng-yáng-yì* 聲名洋溢 (Mark 1:28 [POIROT])
(2)   *Jīng-xīn-dòng-pò* 驚心動魄 (Luke 5:26)
(3)   *Cè-rán-xīn-dòng* 惻然心動 (Luke 7:13; 10:33)
(4)   *Jīng-huáng-wú-cuò* 驚惶無措 (Luke 9:34)
(5)   *Lěi-luò-guāng-míng* 磊落光明 (Rom 12:17 [cf. WV]; 2 Cor 3:12 [cf. WV])
(6)   *Yī-wú-suǒ-huò* 一無所獲 (Luke 5:5 [CNT]; John 21:3)

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[33]   Ma Xiangbo, *Jiu shi fu yin*.

It should be noted that with the exception of the set phrase represented in (1), all of the above expressions appear to be original, which means that none are used by other translators for the same passages prior to the publication of MA. The Bridgman and Culbertson's version (BCV) employs

以德報怨

路六章三十五節
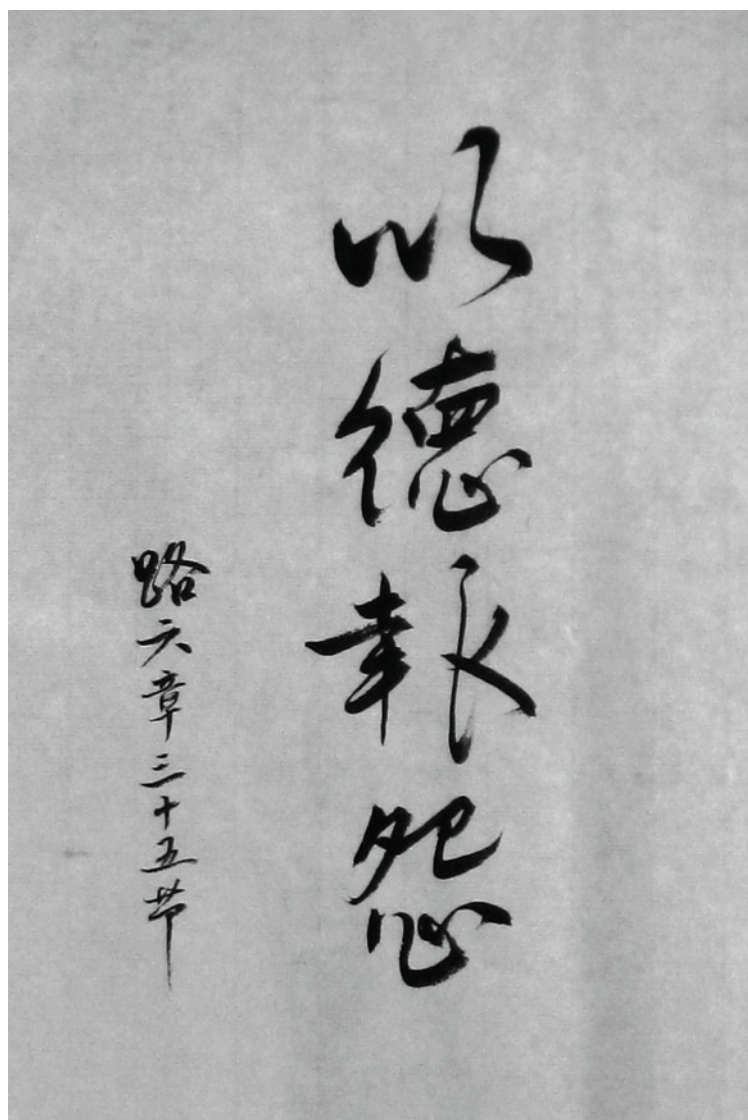
the same set phrase listed in (1), but adds the conjunctive adverb *suì* 遂 ("then") before *yáng-yì*. Unlike LI, where modified four-character set phrases are abundant, MA makes no such attempt to reshape stereotyped set phrases in order to suit the Christian context. However, there is one example, in (5), where the alternative form rather than the more stereotyped set phrase *guāng-míng-lěi-luò* ("frank, straightforward") is used.

JOHN CHING-HSIUNG WU'S NEW TESTAMENT (WV)

The translation of the New Testament (as well as Psalms) by John Ching-Hsiung Wu (Wu Jingxiong, 1899–1986) is significant in many respects to the history of biblical translation in Chinese.[34] Most importantly, the WV represents the last attempt to achieve literary excellence when translating the Bible into classical Chinese. The WV utilizes four-character set phrases so extensively and to such a degree that is unprecedented and unequaled by any other biblical version translated into Chinese. As discussed above, the WV's use of four-character set phrases had a marked influence on GURY and earlier Catholic versions. However, the task of compiling a complete list of the four-character set phrases found in the WV would not only be enormous, but unrealistic, since what constitutes a four-character set phrase is,

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[34] Wu, *Xin jing quan ji*; Wu, *Sheng yong yi yi* 《聖咏譯義》= *The Psalms (Wu's Version)* (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1975). For a brief biographical note of Wu, see, for example, Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 32 n. 114.

unfortunately, entirely subjective. The following is a descriptive inventory of all the typical four-character set phrases found in the WV.

(1)   *Yì-rú-fǎn-zhǎng* 易如反掌 (Matt 3:9)

(2)   *Shēng-míng-yáng-yì* 聲名洋溢 (Matt 4:24; 9:26; Luke 4:14; 7:17)

(3)   *Shì-shì-fēi-fēi* 是是非非 (Matt 5:37; Jas 5:12)

(4)   *Shèng-jí-yī-shí* 盛極一時 (Matt 6:29)

(5)   *Bù-kān-shōu-shí* 不堪收拾 (Matt 7:27; Luke 6:49)

(6)   *Wàn-lài-jù-jì* 萬籟俱寂 (Matt 8:26; Luke 8:24; Rev 8:1)

(7)   *Xīn-kuàng-shén-yí* 心曠神怡 (Matt 11:29; 1 John 3:20)

(8)   *Chàng-mào-tiáo-dá* 暢茂條達 (Matt 13:8; Mark 4:32; 2 Cor 9:8; Eph 1:8; 4:15; 3 John 1:2; Ps 92:13)

(9)   *Tuí-rán-ér-fèi* 頹然而廢 (Matt 13:21; Mark 4:17; Luke 8:13)

(10)   *Tuí-rán-qīng-pǐ* 頹然傾圮 (Matt 7:27; Luke 6:49; Heb 11:30; Rev 16:19)

(11)   *Qiǎo-rán-bú-lè* 愀然不樂 (Matt 14:9)

(12)   *Bú-yì-lè-hū* 不亦樂乎 (Matt 17:4; Mark 9:5)

(13)   *Wú-suǒ-bù-néng* 無所不能 (Matt 19:26; Mark 10:27 [BASSET, HSC]; Luke 1:37; 18:27)

(14)   *Cóng-xīn-suǒ-yù* 從心所欲 (Matt 20:15; John 5:21; Eph 1:9; Rev 11:6; 21:6; 22:17)

(15)   *Shàn-zuò-wēi-fú* 擅作威福 (Matt 20:25; Mark 10:42; Eph 6:9; Jude 1:9)

(16)   *Shén-miào-mò-cè* 神妙莫測 (Matt 21:42; Mark 12:11)

(17)   *Zhì-ruò-wǎng-wén* 置若罔聞 (Matt 22:5; John 9:27)

(18)   *Fēng-shēng-hè-lì* 風聲鶴唳 (Matt 24:6; Mark 13:7)

(19)   *Jiān-rěn-bù-bá* 堅忍不拔 (Matt 24:13; Luke 8:15; 21:19; 2 Cor 1:6; 2 Thess 1:4; 2 Tim 4:2; Heb 6:12; Jas 1:3–4)

(20)   *Miàn-mù-zhēng-níng* 面目猙獰 (Matt 24:15)

(21)   *Cǎn-wú-rén-dào* 慘無人道 (Matt 24:15; Mark 13:14)

(22)   *Kōng-qián-jué-hòu* 空前絕後 (Matt 24:21; Mark 13:19)

(23) *Kè-jìn-jué-zhí* 克盡厥職 (Matt 24:46)

(24) *Zhāo-qián-xī-tì* 朝乾夕惕 (Matt 25:13; Mark 13:33; Luke 12:47; 21:36; 1 Cor 15:34; Phil 3:12; 2 Tim 4:5; Heb 13:17; 1 Pet 4:7)

(25) *Xiǎo-xīn-yì-yì* 小心翼翼 (Matt 25:13; Mark 13:37; Luke 17:3; Acts 20:19; Rom 11:20; 2 Cor 6:3; 7:11; Eph 5:15, 33; Phil 2:12; Heb 12:28; Jas 4:10; 1 Pet 2:18; 2 Pet 3:17)

(26) *Pǔ-tiān-zhī-xià* 普天之下 (Matt 26:13 [GURY, UV]; Luke 3:6; Col 1:6 [UV]; Rev 11:15; Ps 24:1)

(27) *Tì-lèi-pāng-tuó* 涕淚滂沱 (Matt 26:75)

(28) *Suí-shēng-fù-hè* 隨聲附和 (Matt 27:44; Acts 24:9)

(29) *Biàn-běn-jiā-lì* 變本加厲 (Matt 27:64; 2 Tim 3:13)

(30) *Hǎo-zì-wéi-zhī* 好自為之 (Matt 27:65)

(31) *Jīng-xǐ-jiāo-jí* 驚喜交集 (Matt 28:8; Luke 2:33; 24:41)

(32) *Huǐ-guò-zì-xīn* 悔過自新 (Mark 1:15; Luke 5:32; Acts 20:21; Heb 6:6; 2 Pet 3:9; Rev 3:19)

(33) *Qū-zhī-ruò-wù* 趨之若鶩 (Mark 1:45)

(34) *Má-mù-bù-rén* 麻木不仁 (Mark 3:5; Rom 11:7; 2 Tim 3:5)

(35) *Bù-huáng-xiá-shí* 不遑暇食 (Mark 3:20; 6:31)

(36a) *Shì-ér-bú-jiàn* 視而不見 (Matt 13:13 [LI, IG, TCV]; Mark 4:12 [LI]; Luke 8:10 [LI, IG, TCV]; Acts 28:26)

(36b) *Tīng-ér-bù-wén* 聽而不聞 (Matt 13:13 [LI, IG, TCV])

(37) *Chí-zhī-yǐ-héng* 持之以恆 (Mark 4:17; Luke 8:15; Rom 12:13)

(38) *Fēng-píng-làng-jìng* 風平浪靜 (Mark 4:39)

(39) *Sù-xīng-yè-mèi* 夜寐夙興 (Mark 4:27)

(40) *Tǐ-wú-wán-fū* 體無完膚 (Mark 5:5)

(41) *Hú-yí- bú-xìn* 狐疑不信 (Mark 6:6; John 10:26; Jude 1:5; Rev 21:8)

(42a) *Zhāng-huáng-shī-cuò* 張皇失措 (Mark 6:50; Luke 1:12)

(42b) *Jīng-huáng-shī-cuò* 驚惶失措 (2 Thess 2:2)

(42c) *Cāng-huáng-shī-cuò* 倉皇失措 (Mark 9:6)

(43) *Mò-shǒu-chéng-guī* 墨守成規 (Mark 7:4)

(44) *Qiān-gǔ-měi-tán* 千古美談 (Mark 14:9)

(45)　*Chǔ-xīn-jī-lù* 處心積慮 (Mark 14:11; John 11:53)

(46)　*Mò-zhōng-yī-shì* 莫衷一是 (Mark 14:56)

(47)　*Huān-xīn-gǔ-wǔ* 歡欣鼓舞 (Luke 1:14; Rom 15:32; 2 Cor 2:3; Phil 1:18)

(48)　*Xǐ-bù-zì-shèng* 喜不自勝 (Luke 1:44)

(49)　*Jīng-jīng-yè-yè* 兢兢業業 (Luke 1:75; Gal 5:7; 1 Thess 1:9; 1 Tim 4:7; Tit 3:8)

(50)　*Zhāo-rán-ruò-jiē* 昭然若揭 (Luke 2:35; 1 Cor 3:13; 14:25; Eph 5:13; 1 Tim 5:24; 2 Tim 1:10)

(51)　*Yìng-dá-rú-liú* 應答如流 (Luke 2:47)

(52a)　*Fù-zhū-yī-jù* 付諸一炬 (Luke 3:9; Heb 6:8; 2 Pet 3:7; Rev 18:8)

(52b)　*Fù-zhū-yì-fén* 付諸一焚 (Rev 17:16)

(53)　*Yǐ-dé-bào-yuàn* 以德報怨 (Luke 6:35; Ps 7:5)

(54)　*Gū-ēn-fù-yì* 辜恩負義 (Luke 6:36)

(55)　*Bìng-jià-qí-qū* 並駕齊驅 (Luke 6:40; 1 Thess 2:14)

(56)　*Jīng-jí-cóng-shēng* 荊棘叢生 (Luke 8:7)

(57)　*Guāng-míng-zhèng-dà* 光明正大 (Luke 8:15; Eph 5:8; 1 Thess 2:3; 1 Tim 3:9)

(58)　*Yáo-yáo-xiāng-wàng* 遙遙相望 (Luke 8:26)

(59)　*Bú-cè-zhī-yuān* 不測之淵 (Luke 8:31)

(60)　*Jīng xǐ ruò kuáng* 驚喜欲狂 (Luke 8:56)

(61)　*Hūn-hūn-yù-shuì* 昏昏欲睡 (Luke 9:32 [SB, CLB])

(62)　*Guāng-cǎi-huàn-fā* 光采煥發 (Luke 9:32; 2 Cor 3:7; Rev 21:11)

(63)　*Jīng-xīng-dòng-pò* 驚心動魄 (Luke 9:43)

(64a)　*Fān-rán-huǐ-wù* 幡然悔悟 (Luke 10:13; 16:30)

(64b)　*Fān-rán-huǐ-gǎi* 幡然悔改 (Luke 11:32; Acts 17:30; 26:20; 2 Cor 12:21)

(65)　*Bù-yuǎn-qiān-lǐ* 不遠千里 (Luke 11:31)

(66)　*Shēn-tǐ-lì-xíng* 身體力行 (Luke 11:28; Jas 1:25; cf. Phil 4:9)

(67)　*Pá-luó-tī-jué* 爬羅剔抉 (Luke 15:8)

(68)　*Shēn-sī-yuǎn-lǜ* 深思遠慮 (Luke 16:8; 2 Pet 3:17)

(69) *Yī-chéng-bú-biàn* 一成不變 (Luke 16:17; Heb 2:2; 6:17–18 [twice]; Jude 1:3)

(70) *Qián-chē-zhī-jiàn* 前車之鑒 (Luke 17:32)

(71) *Měi-lún-měi-huàn* 美輪美奐 (Luke 21:5)

(72) *Tiān-wǎng-huī-huī* 天網恢恢 (Luke 21:34; 2 Pet 2:3)

(73) *Wú-jī-zhī-tán* 無稽之談 (Luke 24:11 [SB]; 1 Cor 15:14; 1 Tim 1:4; Tit 1:14)

(74) *Zì-qiáng-bù-xī* 自強不息 (John 5:17; Eph 3:16; 2 Tim 2:1; 1 Pet 4:19)

(75) *Qiè-qiè-sī-yì* 竊竊私議 (John 6:41)

(76) *Yì-lùn-fēn-yún* 議論紛紜 (John 7:43; 1 Cor 11:18)

(77) *Shēng-qì-péng-bó* 生氣蓬勃 (John 10:10)

(78) *Yì-bù-yì-qū* 亦步亦趨 (John 12:26; 1 Cor 11:18)

(79) *Yǐ-shēn-zuò-zé* 以身作則 (John 13:15; Acts 20:35; Phil 3:17; 1 Pet 5:3)

(80) *Tǎn-tè-bù-níng* 忐忑不寧 (John 14:1; 2 Cor 2:13)

(81a) *Yī-wú-suǒ-néng* 一無所能 (John 15:5)

(81b) *Yī-wú-suǒ-zhī* 一無所知 (1 Tim 6:4)

(82) *Rú-yuàn-yǐ-cháng* 如願以償 (John 15:7; Jas 1:5; 1 John 5:15)

(83) *Niè-ér-bù-zī* 涅而不緇 (John 17:15; 1 Tim 5:22; Jas 1:27; Rev 3:4)

(84a) *Hé-ér-wéi-yī* 合而為一 (John 17:21 [UV, SB])

(84b) *Róng-wéi-yī-tǐ* 融為一體 (John 17:21; 1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28; Eph 5:31)

(84c) *Róng-chéng-yī-tǐ* 融成一體 (Eph 2:15; 3:6)

(84d) *Hé-wéi-yī-tǐ* 合為一體 (Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 10:17; Eph 1:10; 4:4; Phil 3:9)

(85) *Jīng-chéng-tuán-jié* 精誠團結 (John 17:23; 1 Cor 1:10; Eph 4:3)

(86a) *Zhí-yán-bú-huì* 直言不諱 (Acts 2:29; 2 Cor 7:14)

(86b) *Chàng-yán-bú-huì* 暢言不諱 (Acts 26:26)

(86c) *Zhí-yán-wú-huì* 直言無諱 (1 Cor 3:12)

(87) *Yí-rán-zì-lè* 怡然自樂 (Acts 2:46; Rom 5:11; Phil 4:4 [twice])

(88a) *Qì-xié-guī-zhèng* 棄邪歸正 (Acts 3:19; 1 Cor 9:19)

(88b) *Qù-xié-guī-zhèng* 去邪歸正 (Jas 5:20)

(89a) *Kǎn-kǎn-ér-tán* 侃侃而談 (Acts 4:13; Eph 6:20)

(89b) *Kǎn-kǎn-ér-yán* 侃侃而言 (Acts 19:8 [BCV])

(90)   *Bá-hù-fēi-yáng* 跋扈飛揚 (Acts 4:26; Ps 2:2)

(91)   *Bù-yú-kuì-fá* 不虞匱乏 (Acts 4:34)

(92)   *Tòng-xīn-jí-shǒu* 痛心疾首 (Acts 7:54)

(93)   *Yī-niàn- zhī-cuò* 一念之錯 (Acts 8:22)

(94)   *Zī-zī-wé-ishàn* 孳孳為善 (Acts 9:36; 1 Cor 15:34; Col 1:10; 1 Tim
        3:17; 5:10; 1 Pet 3:6; 2 Pet 3:11; 1 John 3:12)

(95)   *Bèi-cháng-jiān-kǔ* 備嘗艱苦 (Acts 9:16; Heb 10:32)

(96)   *Wú-piān-wú-yǐ* 無偏無倚 (Acts 10:34; Rom 3:22)

(97)   *Yī-shì-tóng-rén* 一視同仁 (Acts 10:34; Rom 2:11; 3:22)

(98)   *Chù-zhì-yōu-míng* 黜陟幽明 (Acts 10:42; Rom 14:9; 2 Tim 4:1; 1
        Pet 4:5; Rev 19:2)

(99)   *Jiē-dà-huān-xǐ* 皆大歡喜 (Acts 13:51; 15:3)

(100)   *Bù-kān-fù-hè* 不堪負荷 (Acts 15:10)

(101)   *Tóng-xīn-hé-yì* 同心合意 (Acts 15:25)

(102)   *Jìn-zài-zhǐ-chǐ* 近在咫尺 (Acts 17:27)

(103)   *Xuān-rán-dà-bō* 軒然大波 (Acts 19:23)

(104)   *Bù-shě-zhòu-yè* 不舍晝夜 (Acts 20:31; 1 Tim 5:5)

(105)   *Zhàn-zhàn-jīng-jīng* 戰戰兢兢 (Acts 20:28; 2 Cor 7:1; Eph 6:6;
        Phil 2:12; 1 Tim 4:16; 1 Pet 1:17)

(106)   *Shù-jì-xián-xī* 庶績咸熙 (Acts 24:2)

(107)   *Qióng-xiāng-pì-rǎng* 窮鄉僻壤 (Acts 26:26)

(108)   *Xīn-xiāng-dǎo-zhù* 馨香禱祝 (Acts 26:29; Rom 10:1; 16:24; 2 Cor
        13:9; Phil 4:23)

(109)   *Shì-zài-bì-chéng* 事在必成 (Acts 27:25)

(110)   *Háo-fǎ-wú-sǔn* 毫髮無損 (Acts 27:34)

(111)   *Ān-rán-wú-yàng* 安然無恙 (Acts 28:5)

(112)   *Dāng-wù-zhī-jí* 當務之急 (Rom 1:15; Gal 6:10; 2 Tim 2:22)

(113)   *Liú-lián-wàng-fǎn* 流連忘返 (Rom 1:21)

(114a) *Zuò-kōng-dào-xū* 鑿空蹈虛 (Rom 1:21; Col 2:8)

(114b) *Dào-xū-zuò-kōng* 蹈虛鑿空 (1 Tim 1:6)

(115) *Zòng-qíng-zì-yù* 縱情恣慾 (Rom 1:24; 6:12; Gal 5:16; Eph 2:3;
4:19; Col 2:13; 1 Thess 4:5; 1 Tim 6:9; Tit 3:3; Jas 4:3; 5:5; 1 Pet 1:14; 2:11;
Jude 1:18)

(116) *Fàng-zòng-zì-sì* 放縱恣肆 (Gal 5:13; 1 Pet 2:16; 4:3; Jude 1:7)

(117) *Ài-mò-néng-zhù* 愛莫能助 (Rom 1:28)

(118) *Gāng-bì-zì-yòng* 剛愎自用 (Rom 2:5 [GURY]; 2 Tim 3:4; Tit 1:7)

(119) *Dà-gōng-wú-sī* 大公無私 (Rom 2:6; 1 Pet 1:17)

(120) *Míng-zhī-gù-fàn* 明知故犯 (Rom 2:23; Heb 10:26; cf. Tit 3:11)

(121) *Fā-yáng-guāng-dà* 發揚光大 (Rom 3:7; Phil 1:12; 2 Thess 3:1)

(122) *Shēn-xìn-bù-yí* 深信不疑 (Rom 3:28; Phil 1:7; 1 John 4:16)

(123) *Róng-róng-xiè-xiè* 融融洩洩 (Rom 5:1; Col 1:22)

(124) *Wú-jiāng-zhī-xiū* 無疆之休 (Rom 5:10; Heb 4:10)

(125) *Huàn-rán-yī-xīn* 煥然一新 (Rom 6:4; 2 Tim 1:6)

(126) *Chéng-xū-ér-rù* 乘虛而入 (Rom 7:8)

(127) *Bù-kě-sī-yì* 不可思議 (Rom 8:26; 2 Cor 3:9; Phil 4:7; Heb 12:2; 1
John 3:2)

(128) *Bù-níng-wéi-shì* 不寧惟是 (Rom 8:28)

(129) *Nì-yān-rú-dǎo* 怒焉如擣 (Rom 9:2; 2 Pet 2:8)

(130) *Tóng-guī-yú-jìn* 同歸於盡 (Rom 9:29; 1 Cor 10:8; Gal 5:15; Heb
11:31)

(131) *Shuò-guǒ-jǐn-cún* 碩果僅存 (Rom 11:3)

(132) *Dà-dì-huí-chūn* 大地回春 (Rom 11:15)

(133) *Wàng-zì-zūn-dà* 妄自尊大 (Rom 12:16; 2 Cor 10:5; 11:20; Col 2:18
[SB]; 2 Thess 2:4; 1 Tim 3:6 [SB]; 6:4 [SB])

(134) *Guāng-míng-lěi-luò* 光明磊落 (Rom 12:17; 2 Cor 3:12)

(135) *Wéi-fēi-zuò-è* 為非作惡 (Rom 13:4; 1 Cor 5:13; 2 Cor 13:7; Gal
3:19; Phil 3:2; 1 Pet 4:15)

(136) *Zuì-shēng-mèng-sǐ* 醉生夢死 (Rom 13:13; 1 Thess 5:6; 1 Pet 4:4;
Jude 1:8)

(137) *Xiǎo-xīn-jǐn-shèn* 小心謹慎 (Rom 14:13; 1 Cor 10:12; Col 2:8)

(138) *Yí-rán-zì-dé* 怡然自得 (Rom 14:17; 2 Tim 2:22)

(139) *Yī-xīn-yī-dé* 一心一德 (Rom 15:5; 1 Cor 1:10; Phil 1:28; 1 Pet 3:8)

(140) *Zhòng-kǒu-tóng-shēng* 眾口同聲 (Rom 15:6; Phil 2:11; Rev 7:10)

(141) *Bù-yí-yú-lì* 不遺餘力 (Rom 16:6; Phil 4:3; Jude 1:3)

(142) *Mó-ér-bù-lín* 磨而不磷 (Rom 16:10; Heb 11:27)

(143) *Yǒu-kǒu-jiē-bēi* 有口皆碑 (Rom 16:19)

(144) *Yīng-yǒu-jìn-yǒu* 應有盡有 (1 Cor 1:5; cf. 2 Pet 1:3)

(145) *Wú-wēi-bú-zhì* 無微不至 (1 Cor 1:5; 1 Pet 5:7)

(146) *Wú-xiè-kě-jī* 無懈可擊 (1 Cor 1:8; Phil 2:22; 3:6; 1 Tim 3:12; 6:14;
　　　 Tit 1:7; 2:8)

(147a) *Qiǎo-yán-miào-yǔ* 巧言妙語 (1 Cor 1:17; 2:4; Col 2:4)

(147b) *Qiǎo-yán-mèi-yǔ* 巧言媚語 (Rom 16:18 [GURY])

(148) *Shǐ-zhōng-bù-yú* 始終不渝 (1 Cor 1:8; Gal 2:5; 6:9; Heb 2:1; 4:14;
　　　 6:11; 1 Pet 1:5)

(149) *Hé-zhōng-gòng-jì* 和衷共濟 (1 Cor 1:10; Phil 2:4)

(150) *Cān-zàn-huà-yù* 參贊化育 (1 Cor 2:16; 2 Cor 6:1)

(151) *Tán-guān-xiāng-qìng* 彈冠相慶 (1 Cor 4:8)

(152) *Yáng-méi-tǔ-qì* 揚眉吐氣 (1 Cor 4:8; Phil 2:16; cf. Gal 4:27)

(153) *Wú-jiā-kě-guī* 無家可歸 (1 Cor 4:11)

(154) *Fàn-ér-bú-jiào* 犯而不校 (1 Cor 6:7)

(155) *Yì-bù-róng-cí* 義不容辭 (1 Cor 9:16)

(156) *Jù-jīng-huì-shén* 聚精會神 (1 Cor 9:25; Phil 3:14)

(157) *Shí-yú-yǔn-yuè* 時虞隕越 (1 Cor 10:12)

(158) *Měng-rán-wú-zhī* 懵然無知 (1 Cor 12:1)

(159) *Bú-zhì-bù-qiú* 不忮不求 (1 Cor 13:4)

(160) *Bù-jīn-bù-fá* 不矜不伐 (1 Cor 13:4)

(161a) *Jǐng-jǐng-yǒu-xù* 井井有序 (1 Cor 14:31)

(161b) *Jǐng-rán-yǒu-xù* 井然有序 (1 Cor 14:40)

(162) *Bù-huáng-níng-xī* 不遑寧息 (1 Cor 15:30; Phil 2:16)

(163) *Què-hū-bù-bá* 確乎不拔 (1 Cor 15:58; Phil 4:1; Col 1:23; 1 Thess
　　　 3:8; Heb 10:23; Ps 125:1)

(164) *Zhuāng-jìng-rì-qiáng* 莊敬日強 (1 Cor 16:13)

(165) *Shí-shì-qiú-shì* 實事求是 (2 Cor 1:20; Col 2:5; Jas 1:25; 3 John 1:3)

(166) *Rì-xīn-yòu-xīn* 日新又新 (2 Cor 4:16; Col 1:11; 1 Thess 4:10)

(167) *Yù-bà-bù-néng* 欲罷不能 (2 Cor 5:14; 2 Pet 1:8)

(168) *Wàn-xiàng-gēng-xīn* 萬象更新 (2 Cor 5:17)

(169) *Xīn-jì-shuāng-qīng* 心跡雙清 (2 Cor 7:1; Phil 1:10; 1 Tim 6:14)

(170) *Gān-dǎn-xiāng-zhào* 肝膽相照 (2 Cor 7:7)

(171) *Xìng-gāo-cǎi-liè* 興高采烈 (2 Cor 7:13; Gal 4:15)

(172) *Shě-jǐ-yún-rén* 捨己耘人 (2 Cor 10:16; 1 Pet 4:15)

(173) *Pú-pú-fēng-chén* 僕僕風塵 (2 Cor 11:26; Phil 2:16; 3 John 1:7)

(174) *Xiāng-qīn-xiāng-ài* 相親相愛 (2 Cor 13:11; 1 Thess 3:12; Philm 1:16)

(175) *Xū-yú-zhī-jiān* 須臾之間 (Gal 2:5; Heb 10:37; 11:25)

(176) *Zhòng-wàng-suǒ-guī* 眾望所歸 (Gal 2:6)

(177) *Hūn-mèi-wú-zhī* 昏昧無知 (Gal 3:1)

(178) *Yóu-rán-ér-shēng* 油然而生 (Gal 4:6; 2 Tim 1:4)

(179) *Wàng-zì-fěi-bó* 妄自菲薄 (Gal 5:1; Col 2:23)

(180) *Bàn-tú-ér-fèi* 半途而廢 (Gal 5:7; 1 John 2:19; 2 John 2:9)

(181) *Tóng-liú-hé-wū* 同流合污 (Eph 2:2; 5:7; 1 Pet 4:3; 2 Pet 2:2)

(182) *Yī-qiū-zhī-hè* 一丘之貉 (Eph 2:3; Ps 106:6)

(183) *Cóng-róng-zì-zài* 從容自在 (Eph 3:12; Heb 4:16; 1 John 3:22)

(184) *Rì-jiàn-yuè-zì* 日漸月漬 (Eph 4:15; 1 Tim 6:4; 1 Pet 2:2)

(185) *Xún-xún-shàn-yòu* 循循善誘 (Eph 4:29; Col 4:5; 2 Thess 3:5; 1 Tim 3:2; 4:11; Tit 2:3; 1 Pet 5:3; 1 John 2:27)

(186) *Chéng-rén-zhī-měi* 成人之美 (Eph 4:29; 1 Thess 5:15)

(187) *Cí-bēi-wéi-huái* 慈悲為懷 (Eph 4:32; Ps 145:8)

(188) *Rú-jiāo-rú-qī* 如膠如漆 (Eph 5:31)

(189) *Fā-fèn-zì-qiáng* 發憤自強 (Eph 6:10)

(190) *Yì-lì-bù-yáo* 屹立不搖 (Eph 6:13; 1 Pet 5:12)

(191) *Yóu-rèn-yǒu-yú* 遊刃有餘 (Eph 6:13; Phil 4:13)

(192) *Yuán-yuán-bù-jué* 源源不絕 (Eph 6:24)

(193a) *Yǔ-rì-jù-jìn* 與日俱進 (Phil 1:9)

(193b) *Yǔ-rì-jù-zhǎng* 與日俱長 (2 Cor 10:15; 1 Thess 2:17)

(194) *Zài-jiē-zài-lì* 再接再勵 (Phil 1:14; 1 Thess 2:2; 2 Tim 2:1)

(195) *Zì-lì-mén-hù* 自立門戶 (Phil 1:17)

(196) *Tuán-jié-yī-zhì* 團結一致 (Phil 1:27)

(197) *Qiān-bēi-zì-mù* 謙卑自牧 (Phil 2:3; Jas 4:10; 1 Pet 3:8)

(198) *Jū-gōng-jìn-cuì* 鞠躬盡瘁 (Phil 2:8)

(199) *Sǐ-ér-hòu-yǐ* 死而後已 (Phil 2:8)

(200) *Jǔ-shì-wú-pǐ* 舉世無匹 (Phil 2:9)

(201) *Wàn-gǔ-liú-fāng* 萬古流芳 (Phil 2:9)

(202) *Guā-mù-xiāng-shì* 刮目相視 (Phil 2:29)[35]

(203) *Zhì-zhī-nǎo-hòu* 置諸腦後 (Phil 3:13)

(204) *Zī-zī-bú-juàn* 孳孳不倦 (Phil 3:13; 1 Thess 3:5; 2 Thess 3:13)

(205) *Yán-jǐng-jǔ-zhǒng* 延頸舉踵 (Phil 3:20; Heb 11:13)

(206) *Wú-kě-zhǐ-zhāi* 無可指摘 (Col 1:22 [SB]; 1 Thess 2:10 [SB]; 1 Tim 3:10; Tit 2:8 [SB])

(207) *Xún-guī-dǎo-jǔ* 循規蹈矩 (Col 2:5 [UV]; 1 Tim 3:2)

(208) *Shě-běn-zhú-mò* 舍本逐末 (Col 2:18)

(209) *Kuān-róng-dà-liàng* 寬容大量 (Col 3:12)

(210) *Fēng-chuán-xiá-ěr* 風傳遐邇 (1 Thess 1:8)

(211) *Fēi-shēng-xiá-ěr* 蜚聲遐邇 (Rom 16:19)

(212) *Yú-yǒng-kě-gǔ* 餘勇可賈 (1 Thess 2:2)

(213a) *Rú-chū-yī- chè* 如出一轍 (1 Thess 2:14)

(213b) *Xíng-tóng-yī-chè* 行同一轍 (Acts 7:51)

(214) *Tū-rú-qí-lái* 突如其來 (1 Thess 5:2; 2 Pet 3:10; Rev 3:3)

(215) *Bú-sù-zhī-kè* 不速之客 (1 Thess 5:2; 4; 2 Pet 3:10; Rev 3:3; 16:15)

(216) *Xīn-rán-zì-lè* 欣然自樂 (1 Thess 5:16; Heb 10:34)

(217) *Zé-shàn-gù-zhí* 擇善固執 (1 Thess 5:21; Ps 119:30)

(218) *Tū-fēi-měng-jìn* 突飛猛進 (2 Thess 1:3)

(219) *Yuán-è-dà-duì* 元惡大憝 (2 Thess 2:3; Ps 110:6)

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[35] The character *guā* in the WV reads 括 as opposed to 刮, which is most likely a typographical error.

(220) *Guǎ-lián-xiǎn-chǐ* 寡廉鮮恥 (2 Thess 3:6)

(221) *Guī-xíng-jǔ-bù* 規行矩步 (2 Thess 3:7; Ps 119:168)

(222) *Bú-wù-zhèng-yè* 不務正業 (2 Thess 3:11)

(223) *Ān-fèn-shǒu-jǐ* 安分守己 (2 Thess 3:12)

(224) *Hào-tiān-wǎng-jí* 昊天罔極 (1 Tim 1:12)

(225) *Zhǐ-zāi-yán-hū* 旨哉言乎 (1 Tim 1:15; 4:9)

(226) *Yǒu-tiáo-bú-wèn* 有條不紊 (1 Tim 3:2)

(227) *Hé-ǎi-kě-qīn* 和藹可親 (1 Tim 3:2)

(228) *Yǔ-shì-wú-zhēng* 與世無爭 (1 Tim 3:3)

(229) *Bú-yì-zhī-cái* 不義之財 (1 Tim 3:8; Tit 1:11; 2 Pet 2:15)

(230) *Yǐn-shuǐ-sī-yuán* 飲水思源 (1 Tim 4:4)

(231) *Wú-suǒ-bú-zhì* 無所不至 (1 Tim 6:4)

(232) *Sàng-xīn-bìng-kuáng* 喪心病狂 (1 Cor 1:18; 1 Tim 6:5)

(233) *Zào-cì-diān-pèi* 造次顛沛 (1 Thess 3:3; 2 Tim 1:12; Heb 11:37)

(234) *Bèi-cháng-jiān-xīn* 備嘗艱辛 (2 Cor 11:27; 2 Tim 1:12; Heb 5:8; Rev 7:14)

(235) *Huài-fēng-bài-sú* 壞風敗俗 (2 Tim 2:17)

(236) *Míng-rì-huáng-huā* 明日黃花 (2 Tim 2:18)

(237) *Gǎi-guò-qiān-shàn* 改過遷善 (2 Tim 2:26)

(238) *Wàng-ēn-fù-yì* 忘恩負義 (2 Tim 3:2 [UV, HSC, CLB]; 2 Pet 2:1)

(239) *Ěr-rǔ-mù-rǎn* 耳濡目染 (2 Tim 3:11; 1 John 1:1; Ps 119:48)

(240) *Zì-qiú-duō-fú* 自求多福 (2 Tim 3:15; 1 Pet 3:9; Ps 32:10)

(241) *Xǐ-ěr-gōng-tīng* 洗耳恭聽 (2 Tim 4:4)

(242) *Yòu-rú-chōng-ěr* 褎如充耳 (John 8:47; 2 Tim 4:4)

(243) *Zì-qī-qī-rén* 自欺欺人 (Tit 1:10; 2 John 1:7; Rev 3:9)

(244) *Gōng-cāo-jǐng-jiù* 躬操井臼 (Tit 2:5)

(245) *Pī-xīn-xiāng-fù* 披心相付 (Tit 2:10)

(246) *Dài-rén-jiē-wù* 待人接物 (Tit 3:2)

(247) *Jìn-shàn-jìn-měi* 盡善盡美 (Tit 3:8; Heb 6:5; 10:34)

(248) *Qíng-bù-zì-jìn* 情不自禁 (Philm 1:7)

(249) *Shàn-zuò-zhǔ-zhāng* 擅作主張 (Philm 1:14)

(250)　*Yuè-ruò-jī-gǔ* 粵若稽古 (Heb 1:1)

(251)　*Zuò-shī-liáng-jī* 坐失良機 (Heb 4:1)

(252)　*Tong-bìng-xiāng-lián* 同病相憐 (Heb 5:2)

(253)　*Jīng-yì-qiú-jīng* 精益求精 (Heb 6:1; 2 Pet 1:5)

(254)　*Yī-láo-yǒng-yì* 一勞永逸 (Heb 10:12; cf. 7:27)

(255)　*Wán-měi-wú-quē* 完美無缺 (Heb 8:7)

(256)　*Tán-zhǐ-zhī-qǐng* 彈指之頃 (Heb 10:37)

(257)　*Bǎi-zhé-bù-náo* 百折不撓 (Heb 11:27; Jas 5:10; Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 26; 3:21)

(258)　*Wàn-mù-kuí-kuí* 萬目睽睽 (Heb 12:1)

(259)　*Jīn-shēng-yù-zhèn* 金聲玉振 (Heb 12:2)

(260)　*Shì-qí-mò-jí* 噬臍莫及 (Heb 12:17)

(261)　*Tòng-kū-liú-tì* 痛哭流涕 (Heb 12:17; Jas 4:9)

(262)　*Bù-hán-ér-lì* 不寒而慄 (Heb 12:19)

(263)　*Liáo-yuán-zhī-huǒ* 燎原之火 (Heb 12:28)

(264)　*Niàn-niàn-bú-wàng* 念念不忘 (Heb 13:7)

(265)　*Quán-quán-fú-yīng* 拳拳服膺 (Heb 13:17; 1 John 2:27; Rev 3:3)

(266)　*Dí-xiá-dàng-huì* 滌瑕蕩穢 (Jas 1:21)

(267)　*Jīn-gū-xù-guǎ* 矜孤恤寡 (Jas 1:27)

(268)　*Sān-cùn-zhī-shé* 三寸之舌 (Jas 3:8)

(269)　*Yún-yān-guò-yǎn* 雲煙過眼 (Jas 4:14)

(270)　*Kě-jiàn-yī-bān* 可見一斑 (Jas 5:11)

(271)　*Tú-téng-kǒu-shuō* 徒騰口說 (1 Pet 3:1; 1 John 3:18)

(272)　*Duō-duō-guài-shì* 咄咄怪事 (1 Pet 4:4)

(273)　*Zhōng-xīn-gěng-gěng* 忠心耿耿 (Heb 2:17; 1 Pet 4:10; Rev 17:14)

(274)　*Dà-jīng-xiǎo-guài* 大驚小怪 (1 Pet 4:12)

(275)　*Wéi-lì-shì-tú* 惟利是圖 (1 Pet 5:2; 2 Pet 2:14; Jude 1:16)

(276)　*Huá-ér-bù-shí* 華而不實 (2 Pet 1:8)

(277)　*Gēn-shēn-dǐ-gù* 根深柢固 (2 Pet 1:10; Ps 119:133)

(278)　*Qiǎo-yán-rú-huáng* 巧言如簧 (2 Pet 2:3)

(279) *Hù-è-bù-quān* 怙惡不悛 (2 Pet 2:10; Rev 2:21; 9:21)

(280) *Mù-wú-fǎ-jì* 目無法紀 (2 Pet 2:10; Ps 119:158)

(281) *Xīn-huái-pǒ-cè* 心懷叵測 (2 Pet 2:14; Ps 119:85)

(282) *Dà-yán-bù-cán* 大言不慚 (2 Pet 2:18; Rev 13:5)

(283) *Zhūn-zhūn-bú-juàn* 諄諄不倦 (2 Pet 3:1)

(284) *Qiǎo-yán-lìng-sè* 巧言令色 (1 John 3:18; Ps 62:5)

(285) *Xīn-xīn-xiāng-yìn* 心心相印 (1 John 3:22)

(286) *Xiān-yì-chéng-zhì* 先意承志 (1 John 5:14)

(287) *Sù-mèi-shēng-píng* 素昧生平 (3 John 1:5)

(288) *Bù-róng-huò-huǎn* 不容或緩 (Jude 1:3)

(289) *Míng-mù-zhāng-dǎn* 明目張膽 (Jude 1:4)

(290) *Sì-wú-jì-dàn* 肆無忌憚 (Jude 1:10)

(291) *Ē-yú-chǎn-mèi* 阿諛諂媚 (Jude 1:16)

(292) *Tiǎo-bō-lí-jiàn* 挑撥離間 (Jude 1:19)

(293) *Suǒ-xiàng-wú-dí* 所向無敵 (Rev 6:2)

(294) *Yǎo-rán-ér-shì* 杳然而逝 (Rev 6:14)

(295) *Yù-yù-fēi-fēi* 郁郁菲菲 (Rev 8:4)

(296) *Shǒu-wǔ-zú-dǎo* 手舞足蹈 (Rev 11:10)

(297) *Qiān-qiū-wàn-suì* 千秋萬歲 (Rev 11:15; Pss 41:14; 86:12; 93:5; 103:17)

(298) *Wú-dà-wú-xiǎo* 無大無小 (Rev 11:18; 19:5; 20:12)

(299) *Tú-dú-shēng-líng* 荼毒生靈 (Rev 11:18)

(300) *Lì-zú-zhī-dì* 立足之地 (Rev 12:8)

(301) *Jǔ-shì-wú-shuāng* 舉世無雙 (Rev 13:4)

(302) *Tiān-xià-wú-dí* 天下無敵 (Rev 13:4)

(303) *Háo-táo-dà-kū* 號咷大哭 (Rev 18:9; cf. 18:19)

(304) *Dàng-rán-wú-cún* 蕩然無存 (Rev 18:14)

(305) *Huān-xīn-gǔ-wǔ* 懽忻鼓舞 (Rev 19:7; cf. 18:20)

(306) *Pǔ-tiān-tóng-qìng* 普天同慶 (Rev 19:4)

Despite the classical overtones, the majority of the four-character set phrases found in the WV are common

expressions still current in Mandarin, for example, *hé-ǎi-kě-qīn* ("affable") in (227) or *ài-mò-néng-zhù* ("would like to help but cannot") in (117). Other expressions, such as *pá-luó-tī-jué* ("search thoroughly") in (67) and *yòu-rú-chōng-ěr* ("turn a deaf ear to") in (242), are less familiar to average Chinese speakers. In addition to the set phrases listed above, one also finds common phrases that are expressed in four characters, which may or may not be classified as four-character set phrases. Such phrases include, for example, *búshèng qīqī* 不勝戚戚 ("overcome by grief," Mark 14:19), *huānxīn quèyuè* 歡欣雀躍 ("overjoyed," Matt 2:10; 1 Pet 1:6), *zàisuǒ bùmiǎn* 在所不免 ("cannot be avoided," Matt 18:7; 24:6; Luke 17:1; 1 Cor 11:19), *yōushāng yùjué* 憂傷欲絕 ("extremely grief stricken," Matt 26:38), *lèzài qízhōng* 樂在其中 ("rejoice within," John 13:17; Rom 14:22), and *bújiàn tiānrì* 不見天日 (lit. "unable to see the light of the day," Acts 13:11).

For stylistic purposes, the WV employs a number of set phrases that are synonyms. For example, the two expressions found in (110–11) can both denote "unscathed." Also, the four expressions in (84a–d) can all mean "being united as one." The WV employs another interesting stylistic tool by inserting the conjunctive adverb *ér* 而 ("and," "but," "so that") after the second character of four-character set phrases without altering the meaning or otherwise changing the original form. These examples include the set phrases in (66), (144), (152), (120), (303), and (305). In addition, there are several examples of four-character set phrases that appear in alternative forms, which could be considered intentional stylistic modifications. These include the expressions found in (42a–c) and (52a–b). Another example is also found in (114a–b), where the more stereotyped form *zuò-kōng-dào-xū* (Rom 1:21; Col 2:8) and the

variant form with the reversed word order *dào-xū-zuò-kōng* (1 Tim 1:6) both occur.

Following the example of LI, the WV has also modified certain four-character set phrases to better accommodate the Christian context. For example, in order to emphasize the importance of faith that enables one to stand firm, the stereotyped expression *jiān-rěn-bù-bá* ("tenacious," lit.
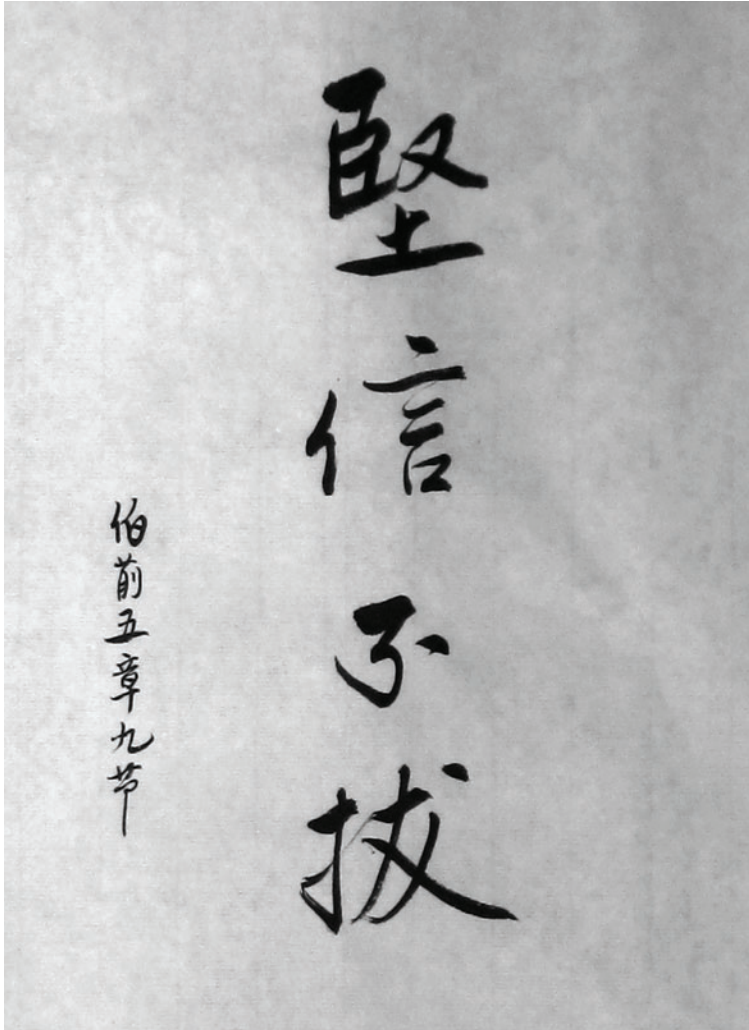
"steadfast and not moving") in (19) is reshaped into four different forms: *jiān-xì-bù-bá* 堅信不拔 (lit. "believing firmly and not moving," 1 Pet 5:9), *jiān-xìn-bù-yí* 堅信不疑 (lit. "believing firmly with no doubt," Matt 21:21), *jiān-xìn-bù-yí* 堅信不移 ("believing firmly and not moving," Col 2:7), and *dǔ-xìn-bù-yí* 篤信不移 ("sincerely believing and not moving," 2 Thess 1:4; Heb 6:12). Another example may be seen in the animated expression *zé-zé-chēng-dào* 嘖嘖稱道 (lit. "clicking one's tongue in proclaiming the Way," 3 John 1:3), which is modified from the stereotyped four-character set phrase *zé-zé-chēng-qí* 嘖嘖稱奇 (lit. "clicking one's tongue in wonder") or *zé-zé-chēng-xiàn* 嘖嘖稱羨 ("lit. "clicking one's tongue in admiration"), thereby magnifying the Christian truth which has been testified. A third example includes the expression *tīng-ér-bú-wù* 聽而不悟 ("hearing but do not understand," Acts 28:26), which is modified from the more stereotyped four-character set phrase *tīng-ér-bù-wén* ("hearing but do not hear") listed in (36b). Note that, as in the case of LI, the antecedent of the paired expression, *shì-ér-bú-jiàn*, is also found in Acts 28:26.[36] The likely motivation behind such modification is to keep the symmetry of the expression, as well as provide a more literal translation of the biblical text. As pointed out above, such modifications will result in a higher degree of prominence at the discourse level.

In addition to the four-character set phrases summarized in the list above, which number over three hundred, the WV also employs idiomatic expressions, such as *rén shēng bú dàilái,*

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[36] The expression *tīng-ér-bú-wù* is also found in the DV and GURY (Luke 8:10), however, unlike the WV, none of the more stereotyped four-character set phrases, *shì-ér-bú-jiàn* or *tīng-ér-bù-wén*, is found anywhere in either of the versions.

sǐ bú dàiqù 人生不帶來，死不帶去 (lit. "a man is given nothing from birth and takes nothing with him in death," 1 Tim 6:7), *xīn-yǒu-yú-ér-lì-bù-zú* 心有餘而力不足 ("spirit is willing but the flesh is weak," lit. "more than willing but does not have the strength (to carry out)," Gal 5:17), *dàwúwèi jīngshén* 大無畏精神 (lit. "spirit of absolute no fear," Acts 4:29; 2 Cor 5:6; Eph 6:19; Phil 1:14; Tim 4:17), and *xīng-xīng-zhī-huǒ, kě-yǐ-liáo-yuán* 星星之火，可以燎原 ("a single spark is enough to start a prairie fire," Jas 3:5).

Finally, the WV distinguishes itself from all other biblical versions in Chinese by employing two four-character set phrases that are found in the Nestorian Stele (erected in 781 C.E.).[37] These are *chù-zhì-yōu-míng* ("degrade the unworthy and promote the deserving") represented in (98),[38] and *shù-jì-xián-xī* ("all sorts of works undertaken by the people flourished throughout the land") represented in (106).[39]

LOUIS ANTOINE DE POIROT'S VERSION (POIROT)

Known by his Chinese name, He Qingtai 賀清泰, Louis Antoine de Poirot (S.J., 1735–1813) was a celebrated painter and interpretor who worked at the Chinese court in the late eighteenth century. Although the Jesuit missionary's

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[37] For an introduction to the Nestorian Stele and the Nestorian missionaries' contributions to the Bible in Chinese, see Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 5–16.

[38] Saeki translates the set phrase as "he...degraded the unworthy whilst he promoted the deserving." See P.Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (2d ed.; Tokyo: Academy of Oriental Culture, 1951), 62.

[39] Saeki has "all sorts of works undertaken by the people flourished throughout the land." See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 66.

involvement in biblical translation in Mandarin (as well as in Manchu) is frequently mentioned in literature, no study has been attempted to investigate this early translation.[40] This is largely due to the inaccessibility of POIROT, which was never published.[41] Nevertheless, POIROT, which included the entire Bible with the exception of most of the prophetic books and the Song of Songs, was arguably the first biblical translation even written in Mandarin, over half a century before Medhurst and Stronach's Mandarin New Testament appeared in 1856.[42] The original manuscript of POIROT, which was written somewhere between 1780 and 1813[43], was

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[40] See, for example, Bondfield, "List of Versions," 467; Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 27.

[41] See Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 17–18; Nicolas Standaert, "The Bible in Early Seventeeth-Century China," In *Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact* (ed. Irene Eber, Knut Walf, and Sze-kar Wan, 31–54. Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999), 38.

[42] Walter H. Medhurst and John Stronach, *Xin yue quan shu*《新約全書》= *The New Testament in Southern (Nanking) Mandarin (Medhurst and Stronach's Version)* (Shanghai: BFBS, 1857).

[43] Bondfield gives the date 1750 as the beginning date of Poirot's active involvement in biblical translation. See Bondfield, "List of Versions," 467. This is followed many. See, for example: A.J. Garnier and H.P. Feng 馮雪冰, "Han-Wen Sheng-Jing Ben Xiao Shi"「漢文聖經本小史」= *Chinese Versions of the Bible*, in *Xin yue sheng jing liu chuan shi: fu han wen sheng jing ben xiao shi* 《新約聖經流傳史附漢文聖經本小史》= *The New Testament and Its Transmission, with an Essay on the Chinese Versions of the Bible by Garnier and Feng* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1934), 17; Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 27; Barriquand, "First Comprehensive Translation," 112. This date is incorrect, since Poirot did not arrive in China until 1770. François Bontinck, in *La lutte autour de la liturgie chinoise aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Nauwelaerts, 1962, 383–384, provides some interesting details: on January 16, 1803, the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide discussed a letter from Poirot informing them that he had translated 24 books of the Bible into Manchu and that his translation in Chinese had reached the book of Exodus (Archives SCPF., ACPS., XIX 1802–1808, f. 97 v.). Although they appreciated his zeal, the cardinals decided to forbid Poirot from printing his version: "Se debba permettersi al Signor de Poirot la versione de' Sacri Libri? Laudandum, sed non expedire ut typis evulget versionem S. Scripturae." Undeterred, the missionary continued his translation work. By his death in 1813, Poirot had translated most of the Bible into Chinese, except for a few books in the Old Testament.

reportedly[44] destroyed in Beijing in 1949. However, POIROT is still extant today, thanks to the near complete copy made for the library at Xujiahui, Shanghai (Bibliotheca Zi-Ka-Wei).[45] For the purpose of the study, only the New Testament portion of POIROT is examined here.

Despite being written during the second half of the eighteenth century, POIROT bears striking resemblance to current spoken Mandarin. One prominent linguistic feature is its extensive utilization of Mandarin aspect morphemes. In addition to the perfective aspect marker *-le*, Poirot also employs *-guò* (e.g. *shuō-guò* 說過 "have spoken," Mark 7:6, 10; John 1:15), RVCs (e.g. *dǎ-sǐ* 打死 "kill," John 8:5, 7), verb reduplication (e.g. *kàn-kàn* 看看 "take a look," John 11:36), as well as two-morpheme perfective aspect compounds (RVC-*le*, e.g. *ná-le-qù* 拿了去 "have taken away," John 20:15). Imperfective and stative aspect compounds are also found: imperfective morphemes such as IDVCs (e.g. *kàn-qǐlái* 看起來 "looking," Rom 9:18) and *-zhe* (*wéi-zhe* 圍着 "circling," Mark 9:14), and the stative morpheme *-zhe* (*chuān-zhe* 穿着 "wearing," Mark 16:5).

Other observations pertaining to issues of translation may be noted here. POIROT uses *mántóu* 饅頭 (Chinese steam bun) to translate "bread" (e.g. Matt 4:2) instead of the more commonly used term *bǐng* 餅 ("cake," e.g. BASSET). This example illustrates Poirot's attempt to contextualize the

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[44] Cf. Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 27.

[45] Gabriele M. Allegra made photographic images of the original MS in Beijing for the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Hong Kong. See Gabriele M. Allegra, "Translation of the Scriptures into Chinese," *Worldmission* 12 (1961): 98. Unfortunately, only about 100 images, all of which are from the Old Testament, still survive today.

biblical concept for Chinese readers. However, POIROT does exhibit a curious form of colloquialism in Mandarin that some might find problematic. Some expressions are considered inappropriate to reference God, for example, *bù sǐ bù làn de Tiānzhǔ* 不死不爛的天主 ("God who does not die or rot," Rom 1:23). In the passage in which Jesus declares what really defiles a person, POIROT translates the expression "goes out into the latrine" (Mark 7:19; Matt 15:17) as *cóng gāngmén chūqù le* 從肛門出去了 ("exits from the anus"). It is unclear why Poirot resorts to this extreme form of vulgarism in Mandarin. Although it may not be the primary reason that Rome forbade its publication, colloquialism of such degree would certainly have given pause.

Four-character set phrases found in POIROT's New Testament are summarized below.

(1)　*Bàn-shēn-bù-suí* 半身不遂 (Matt 4:24; 8:6; 9:2, 6; Mark 2:3–5, 9; Luke 5:18, 20)

(2)　*Yǐ-yǎn-huán-yǎn, yǐ-yá-huán-yá* 以眼還眼，以牙還牙 (Matt 5:38 [UV, CNT, LÜ, SB, TCV, NCV, CSB, CCV])[46]

(3)　*Xīn-bù-zài-yān* 心不在焉 (Matt 13:34)

(4)　*Bù-zhī-bù-jué* 不知不覺 (Mark 4:27)

(5)　*Zì-rán-ér-rán* 自然而然 (Mark 4:28)

(6)　*Fān-lái-fù-qù* 翻來覆去 (Mark 9:20 [UV])

(7)　*Wú-suǒ-bù-néng* 無所不能 (Mark 9:22 [BASSET, HSC]; Eph 3:21)

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[46] Lü Chen-chung 呂振中, *Jiu xin yue sheng jing Lü Zhenzhong yi ben*《舊新約聖經》= *The Holy Bible: A New Translation by Lü Chen-Chung (Lü's Version)* (Hong Kong: HKBS, 1970; repr., Hong Kong: HKBS, 2004); *Xin yue sheng jing Zhong wen biao zhun yi ben*《新約聖經 中文標準譯本》= *The Holy Bible New Testament (Chinese Standard Bible)* (Nashville, TN: Holman Bible Outreach International, 2008); *Xin Han yu yi ben xin yue quan shu*《新漢語譯本新約全書》 = *The Holy Bible: New Testament (Contemporary Chinese Version)* (Hong Kong: Chinese Bible International, 2010).

(8a)   *Shēng-míng-yáng-yì* 聲名洋溢 (Mark 1:28 [MA])

(8b)   *Shēng-míng-yáng-yì* 聲名揚溢 (Luke 4:14)

(9)   *Liǎng-quán-qí-měi* 兩全其美 (Luke 5:38)

(10)   *Bì-kǒu-wú-yán* 閉口無言 (Luke 20:26 [UV, CNT, IG, TCV])

(11)   *Míng-kè-zài-xīn* 銘刻在心 (Luke 21:14)

(12)   *Yǎo-yá-qiè-chǐ* 咬牙切齒 (Mark 9:18 [UV, HSC, CNT, IG, SB]; Acts 4:25)

(13)   *Zì-xiāng-cán-hài* 自相殘害 (Acts 7:26)

(14)   *Hú-zuò-fēi-wéi* 胡作非為 (Rom 1:28)

(15)   *Qǐ-sǐ-huí-shēng* 起死回生 (2 Cor 1:9)

(16)   *Kuò-ér-yán-zhī* 括而言之 (Gal 3:22)

(17)   *Rì-zēng-yuè-shèng* 日增月盛 (Col 1:6)

(18)   *Qì-xié-guī-zhèng* 棄邪歸正 (2 Pet 2:18; 1 Thess 1:9)

(19)   *Dà-gōng-wú-sī* 大公無私 (1 Pet 4:10)

(20)   *Wú-kě-bǐ-nǐ* 無可比擬 (2 Cor 3:10)

With the exception of *wú-suǒ-bù-néng* ("omnipotent") in (7), all the four character set phrases used in POIROT appear to be original. It is significant that the expression *yǐ-yǎn-huán-yǎn*, *yǐ-yá-huán-yá* ("eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth") is found here, more than a century before it appeared in the Mandarin Union Version for the first time. As the above list illustrates, however, POIROT's influence upon later biblical versions (including those by Catholic translators who might have had access to the manuscript) is considerably limited.

JOSEPH HSIAO'S NEW TESTAMENT (HSC)

The translation of the New Testament by Joseph Hsiao (Xiao Jingshan, S.J., 1855–1924), which first appeared in 1922, was the earliest Catholic version ever published in Mandarin. [47] The following is a summary of the use of four-character set phrases found in HSC.

(1)   *Huí-xīn-zhuǎn-yì* 回心轉意 (Matt 13:15 [CNT])

(2)   *Bì-kǒu-wú-yán* 閉口無言 (Matt 22:34 [CNT, SB])

(3)   *Zhàn-zhàn-jīng-jīng* 戰戰兢兢 (Mark 5:33 [SB]; Luke 8:47 [UV])

(4)   *Yǎo-yá-qiè-chǐ* 咬牙切齒 (Mark 9:17 [POIROT, UV, IG, CNT, SB]; Acts 7:54 [UV])[48]

(5)   *Wú-suǒ-bù-néng* 無所不能 (Mark 9:22 [BASSET], 10:27 [BASSET, WV], 14:36 [BASSET])

(6)   *Gěng-wán-nán-huà* 梗頑難化 (Luke 1:17)

(7)   *Tóng-xīn-hé-yì* 同心合意 (Acts 2:46 [UV])

(8)   *Huǐ-gǎi-zì-xīn* 悔改自新 (Acts 5:31)

(9)   *Ān-rán-wú-yàng* 安然無恙 (Acts 27:44)

(10)   *Chì-shēn-luǒ-tǐ* 赤身裸體 (Rom 8:35)

(11)   *Zì-zuò-cōng-míng* 自作聰明 (Rom 12:16 [SB])

(12)   *Gǔ-ròu-xiāng-lián* 骨肉相連 (Eph 5:30)

(13)   *Zǒng-ér-yán-zhī* 總而言之 (Eph 5:33; Phil 4:8; 1 Thess 4:1)

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[47] Thomas Wang 王多默 has translated the Gospels (1875) and Acts (1883) into Mandarin, however, as was the case with POIROT, these were never published and hence have been inaccessible to scholars and other translators. See Bondfield, "List of Versions," 468. HSC's 1956 edition by Kuangchi Program Service retains the entire original 1922 edition with only two minor changes: new punctuation and transliterations of proper names (including, notably, *wù'ěrpéng* 物爾朋, often found in earlier Catholic versions to transliterate the Latin *Verbum* as in John 1:1). See *Introduction*, Hsiao, *Xin jing quan ji*, 5.

[48] Following the Vulgate versification, Mark 9:17 (i.e. 9:18); also in set phrase (5) under the discussion of the CNT.

(14)   *Wàng-zì-zūn-dà* 妄自尊大 (Col 2:18 [WV])

(15)   *Wàng-ēn-fù-yì* 忘恩負義 (2 Tim 3:2 [WV])

(16)   *Bú-yì-zhī-cái* 不義之財 (Tit 1:7, 11)

(17)   *Míng-zhī-gù-fàn* 明知故犯 (Tit 3:11; cf. WV)[49]

(18)   *Dàn-bó-yǒu-jié* 淡泊有節 (1 Pet 2:10)

The set phrases represented in (2), (6) and (8–18) appear to be original, that is, they are not used by other earlier versions for the same respective passages. Considering that the translation covers the entire New Testament, however, HSC employs only a few four-character set phrases, and, like MA, does not follow the tradition begun by LI and the WV of modifying stereotyped expressions to suit the Christian context. It is fair to say that with respect to the general use of four-character set phrases, HSC has relatively limited influence on later versions.

CATHOLIC NEW TESTAMENT (CNT)

The CNT represents the first biblical translation project in Mandarin based on the original Greek text undertaken by a committee.[50] The four-character set phrases found in the CNT are listed below.

(1)   *Yǐ-yǎn-huán-yǎn, yǐ-yá-huán-yá* 以眼還眼，以牙還牙 (Matt 5:38 [POIROT, UV, LÜ, SB, TCV, NCV, CCV])

(2)   *Liǎng-quán-qí-měi* 兩全其美 (Matt 9:17)

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[49] The WV has *míng zhī* ér *gù fàn*.

[50] Litvanyi et al., *Xin jing quan shu*.

(3)　*Huí-xīn-zhuǎn-yì* 回心轉意 (Matt 13:15 [HSC])

(4)　*Bì-kǒu-wú-yán* 閉口無言 (Matt 22:34 [HSC, SB]; Luke 20:26 [POIROT, UV, IG, TCV])

(5)　*Yǎo-yá-qiè-chǐ* 咬牙切齒 (Mark 9:17 [POIROT, UV, HSC, IG, SB])

(6)　*Jīng-huāng-shī-cuò* 驚慌失措 (Mark 13:7)

(7)　*Yī-wú-suǒ-huò* 一無所獲 (Luke 5:5)

(8)　*Qǔ-zhī-bú-jìn, yòng-zhī-bù-jié* 取之不盡, 用之不竭 (Luke 12:33)

(9)　*Dà-jīng-xiǎo-guài* 大驚小怪 (John 7:21)

(10)　*Xiāng-qīn-xiāng-ài* 相親相愛 (John 13:34, 35 [SB]; 15:2, 17; 1 Thess 4:9; 1 Tim 1:5; 1 John 4:7; 11; 2 John 1:5)

(11)　*Xīn-huāng-yì-luàn* 心慌意亂 (John 14:1)

(12)　*Wú-yuán-wú-gù* 無緣無故 (John 16:25)

(13)　*Dú-yī-wú-èr* 獨一無二 (John 17:13)

(14)　*Yī-xīn-yī-yì* 一心一意 (Acts 4:32; 1 Cor 1:10; 2 Cor 13:11; 1 Pet 3:8)

(15)　*Zhàn-zhàn-jīng-jīng* 戰戰兢兢 (Acts 7:32 [UV]; 16:29 [UV])

(16)　*Hú-yán-luàn-yǔ* 胡言亂語 (Acts 15:24)

(17)　*Suí-shí-suí-dì* 隨時隨地 (Acts 24:3)

(18)　*Huā-yán-qiǎo-yǔ* 花言巧語 (1 Cor 2:1)

(19)　*Chì-shēn-luǒ-tǐ* 赤身裸體 (1 Cor 4:11)

(20)　*Qíng-bú-zì-jìn* 情不自禁 (1 Cor 7:5 [GURY])

(21)　*Jìn-xīn-jié-lì* 盡心竭力 (Col 2:1)

(22)　*Yǐ-shēn-zuò-zé* 以身作則 (2 Thess 3:9; 1 Tim 4:12)

(23)　*Zì-shí-qí-lì* 自食其力 (2 Thess 3:12 [CLB, CCV])

(24)　*Bú-yì-zhī-cái* 不義之財 (1 Tim 3:8 [UV])

(25)　*Zhōng-tú-biàn-guà* 中途變卦 (Jas 1:8)

(26)　*Yóu-yù-bù-jué* 猶豫不決 (Jude 1:22)

(27)　*Hù-xiāng-cán-shā* 互相殘殺 (Rev 6:4)

The list indicates that the CNT uses four-character set phrases slightly more freely than HSC. A majority of these expressions appear to be original to the CNT, while only

seven of them are found in earlier versions (i.e. (1), (3–5), (15), (20), and (24)). One specific expression that helps to characterize this version is *qǔ-zhī-bù-jìn, yòng-zhī-bù-jié* ("inexhaustible") in (8), used to describe "treasure in heaven" (Luke 12:33). Although it was first used in POIROT, the CNT is the first published Catholic version to utilize the expression *yǐ-yǎn-huán-yǎn, yǐ-yá-huán-yá* ("eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth," Matt 5:38), which is one of the few four-character set phrases in Mandarin to be derived from the Bible.

Another representative of "Christian four-character set phrases" is found in the expression *ài-rén-rú-jǐ* 愛人如己 ("love one another as yourself," e.g. Matt 19:19 [DV, GURY, UV, HSC, CNT, IG, NCV]; 22:39 [GURY, UV, HSC, NCV]; Rom 13:9 [POIROT, DV, GURY, UV, NCV]; Gal 5:14 [POIROT, UV, CNT]) or *ài-lín-rú-jǐ* 愛鄰如己 ("love your neighbor as yourself," e.g. Luke 10:27 [WV, RCUV, CSB, CCV]; Gal 5:14 [WV, RCUV, CSB, CCV]).

Following the examples of LI and the WV, the CNT also modifies certain four-character set phrases in order to suit the Christian context. Such modifications, as pointed out above, mark frontgrounded prominence in the discourse of the translated text. For example, the stereotyped phrase *bèi-běn-wàng-yì* 背本忘義 ("ungrateful") has been modified into *bèi-běn-wàng-ēn* 背本忘恩 ("ungrateful," Rom 11:26). In this case, the translators of the CNT opt for a more paraphrased rendering of the Greek ἀσέβεια ("ungodliness"), with an emphasis on the lack of gratefulness to God's *ēn* ("grace"). Another example is the familiar expression *qiú shēng bù dé, qiú sǐ bù néng* 求生不得，求死不能 ("between a rock and a hard place," lit. "cannot live, despite trying to; cannot die,

despite trying to"), which is reshaped into *yù-sǐ-bù-dé*, *qiú-sǐ-bù-néng* 欲死不得，求死不能 (lit. "cannot die, despite desiring to; cannot die, despite tying to") to render the desperate situation people face described in Rev 9:6.

ZIKAWEI SEMINARY'S GOSPELS (IG)

Zikawei Seminary's translation of the Gospels in Mandarin is less familiar to biblical translators and scholars.[51] The following is a summary of the four-character set phrases found in IG (IG = St. Ignatius).

(1a) *Shì-ér-bú-jiàn* 視而不見 (Matt 13:13 [LI, WV, TCV]; Luke 8:10 [WV, TCV])

(1b) *Tīng-ér-bù-wén* 聽而不聞 (Matt 13:13 [LI, WV, TCV])

(2) *Mèn-mèn-bú-lè* 悶悶不樂 (Matt 20:22)

(3) *Bì-kǒu-wú-yán* 閉口無言 (Luke 20:26 [POIROT, UV, CNT, TCV])

(4) *Yǎ-kǒu-wú-yán* 啞口無言 (Matt 23:12)

(5) *Chì-shēn-lù-tǐ* 赤身露體 (Matt 26:36, 43–44)

(6) *Jiān-mò-bù-yán* 緘默不言 (Matt 26:63)

(7) *Yǎo-yá-qiè-chǐ* 咬牙切齒 (Mark 9:18 [POIROT, UV, HSC, CNT, SB])

(8) *Pǔ-tiān-zhī-xià* 普天之下 (Mark 14:9)

(9) *Qiè-qiè-sī-yì* 竊竊私議 (Luke 5:30; 19:7 [SB])

(10) *Mò-bù-zuò-shēng* 默不作聲 (Luke 14:4)

(11) *Shī-ér-fù-dé* 失而復得 (Luke 15:24 [CLB, CSB, CCV], 32 [SB, CLB, CSB, CCV])

(12) *Tū-rú-qí-lái* 突如其來 (Luke 20:1)

(13a) *Yī-wú-suǒ-yòng* 一無所用 (John 6:64)

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[51] Zikawei Seminary, *Xin yi fu yin chu gao*.

(13b) *Yī-wú-suǒ-néng* 一無所能 (John 14:30)

All the four-character set phrases used in IG appear to be original, except for the three expressions in (1a–b), (3) and (7). Perhaps due to the limited accessibility and the number of biblical books that were translated, the IG has had little influence on other versions with respect to the use of four-character set phrases. However, one does find an interesting expression, *zhí-rèn-bú-huì* 直認不諱 ("confess frankly,"), which is a modified form of the stereotyped set phrase *zhí-yán-bú-huì* 直言不諱 ("speak frankly," see (86a) under the WV above) that is used to render the Greek καὶ ὡμολόγησεν καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσατο in John 1:20. Here, the modified form of the set phrase achieves frontgrounded prominent in the discourse, stressing the act of confession by John the Baptist. Following in the footsteps of LI, the WV, and the CNT, this is another good example of the translator's attempt to provide a more literal rendering of the Greek by modifying a stereotyped four-character set phrase in Mandarin, and hence deserves recognition.

STUDIUM BIBLICUM FRANCISCANUM'S VERSION (SB)

In 1968, the SB made its monumental appearance as the first ever complete translation of the Catholic Bible in Chinese.[52] Translated from the original Hebrew, Aramaic and

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[52] For a brief introduction to the SB, see, for example, Allegra, "Translation," 97–105; Gabriele M. Allegra, "The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible of the Studium Biblicum O.M.F.," *Teaching All Nations* 2 (1965): 345–53; Arnulf

Greek, the SB is distinguished for its fidelity to the source languages and its elegant style. Here, the primary focus will be on examining the use of the four-character set phrase in the New Testament portion of the SB. Excluding the WV, the SB employs more four-character set phrases than any other Catholic version of the New Testament in Chinese, as the following list illustrates.

(1)　　*Yǐ-yǎn-huán-yǎn, yǐ-yá-huán-yá* 以眼還眼，以牙還牙 (Matt 5:38 [POIROT, UV, CNT, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CSB, CCV])

(2)　　*Lāo-lāo-dāo-dāo* 嘮嘮叨叨 (Matt 6:7 [LÜ])

(3)　　*Suǒ-jiàn-suǒ-wén* 所見所聞 (Matt 11:4; Luke 7:22; John 3:32 [UV, LI]; Acts 2:33; 4:20; 22:15; 2 Pet 2:8; 1 John 1:3)

(4)　　*Tóng-xīn-hé-yì* 同心合意 (Matt 18:19 [UV]; Acts 1:14 [UV]; 4:24; 5:12 [UV]; 8:6 [UV]; 18:12; Rom 12:16; 15:5; 1 Cor 1:10; 2 Cor 13:11 [UV]; Phil 2:2; 1 Pet 3:8)

(5a)　*Mò-mò-wú-yǔ* 默默無語 (Matt 22:12)

(5b)　*Mò-bù-zuò-shēng* 默不作聲 (Mark 9:34)

(5c)　*Mò-rán-bù-yǔ* 默然不語 (Luke 14:4)

(6)　　*Bì-kǒu-wú-yán* 閉口無言 (Matt 22:34 [HSC, CNT]; 1 Pet 2:15)

(7a)　*Chì-shēn-lòu-tǐ* 赤身露體 (Matt 25:36 [UV], 38 [UV], 44 [UV]; Jas 2:15 [UV])

(7b)　*Chì-shēn-lòu-shēn* 赤身露身 (Matt 25:43)

(7c)　*Chì-shēn-luǒ-tǐ* 赤身裸體 (2 Cor 11:27; Rev 3:17; 17:16)

(8)　　*Yī-shēng-bù-xiǎng* 一聲不響 (Mark 3:4 [TCV, NCV])

(9)　　*Zhàn-zhàn-jīng-jīng* 戰戰兢兢 (Mark 5:33 [HSC, TCV]; Luke 8:47 [UV, LÜ, NCV]; Eph 6:5 [TCV, CCV])

Camps, "Father Gabriele M. Allegra, O.F.M. (1907–1976) and the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: The First Complete Chinese Catholic Translation of the Bible," in *Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact* (ed. Irene Eber, Knut Walf, and Sze-kar Wan; Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999), 55–76.

(10)　*Mù-dèng-kǒu-dāi* 目瞪口呆 (Mark 5:42 [CSB])

(11)　*Yǎo-yá-qiè-chǐ* 咬牙切齒 (Mark 9:18 [POIROT, UV, HSC, CNT, IG]; Acts 7:54 [UV, HSC, CCV])

(12)　*Wú-kě-zhǐ-zhāi* 無可指摘 (Luke 1:6 [CLB, CCV]; Phil 2:15 [UV, CCV]; Col 1:22 [WV, NCV, CCV]; 1 Thess 2:10 [UV, WV, NCV, CCV]; 3:13 [NCV, CCV]; 1 Tim 5:7 [UV, LÜ, NCV, CCV]; 6:14 [UV, LÜ, CLB, NCV, CCV]; Tit 1:6–7 [NCV, CCV]; 2:8 [WV, NCV, CCV])

(13a)　*Jīng-huáng-shī-cuò* 驚惶失措 (Luke 1:12; 21:25 [TCV]; Acts 9:22)

(13b)　*Jīng-huāng-shī-cuò* 驚慌失措 (2 Thess 2:2)

(13c)　*Cāng-huáng-shī-cuò* 倉皇失措 (Acts 2:6)

(14)　*Xīn-gāo-qì-ào* 心高氣傲 (Luke 1:51 [CCV]; Rom 11:20 [NCV, CCV]; 1 Tim 6:17 [CCV])

(15)　*Fèn-fèn-bù-píng* 憤憤不平 (Luke 5:30)

(16)　*Yì-lùn-fēn-fēn* 議論紛紛 (John 7:32 [RCUV])

(17)　*Qiè-qiè-sī-yì* 竊竊私議 (Luke 15:2; 19:7 [IG]; John 6:41 [WV], 43, 61)

(18)　*Hūn-hūn-yù-shuì* 昏昏欲睡 (Luke 9:32 [WV, CLB])

(19)　*Gǎi-guò-zì-xīn* 改過自新 (Luke 10:13)

(20)　*Bù-kān-fù-hè* 不堪負荷 (Luke 11:46)

(21)　*Shī-ér-fù-dé* 失而復得 (Luke 15:24 [TCV, CCV], 32 [IG, TCV, CCV])

(22)　*Wú-jī-zhī-tán* 無稽之談 (Luke 24:11 [WV, NCV])

(23)　*Jiē-dà-huān-xǐ* 皆大歡喜 (Luke 24:52; ACT 8:8)

(24)　*Mò-bù-guān-xīn* 漠不關心 (John 10:13 [NCV])

(25)　*Gān-xīn-qíng-yuàn* 甘心情願 (John 10:18; Rom 9:3; 2 Cor 8:11–12; 9:2; 12:9, 15)

(26)　*Xiāng-qīn-xiāng-ài* 相親相愛 (John 13:35 [CNT]; Rom 12:10 [TCV, CCV])

(27)　*Hé-ér-wéi-yī* 合而為一 (John 17:11 [UV, CCV], 21 [UV, WV, CCV], 22 [UV, CCV], 23 [UV, CCV]; 1 Cor 1:9; Eph 2:14 [UV])

(28)　*Huí-xīn-zhuǎn-yì* 回心轉意 (Acts 3:19; 8:22; 2 Pet 3:9)

(29)　*Dà-fā-léi- tíng* 大發雷霆 (Acts 5:33)

(30)　*Wú-yuán-wú-gù* 無緣無故 (Acts 19:40 [UV, LÜ, NCV, RCUV])

(31)　*Xún-guī-dǎo-jǔ* 循規蹈矩 (Acts 21:24 [UV, NCV])

(32)　*Jiān-dìng-bù-yí* 堅定不移 (Rom 4:16 [NCV]; 9:11; 1 Cor 15:58; 2 Cor 1:7; Col 1:23 [UV, CCV]; 4:12; Heb 3:6, 14 [LÜ]; 11:27; 2 Pet 1:10 [UV])

(33)　*Wú-kě-yán-yù* 無可言喻 (Rom 8:26 [RCUV])

(34)　*Dà-huò-quán-shèng* 大獲全勝 (Rom 8:37)

(35)　*Kuān-hóng-dà-liàng* 寬宏大量 (Rom 9:22)

(36)　*Zì-zuò-cōng-míng* 自作聰明 (Rom 11:25; 12:16 [HSC])

(37)　*Hé-yán-yuè-sè* 和顏悅色 (Rom 12:8)

(38)　*Wèn-xīn-wú-kuì* 問心無愧 (Rom 14:22 [CLB])

(39a)　*Yī-wú-suǒ-yǒu* 一無所有 (1 Cor 1:28; 2 Cor 6:10 [UV, LÜ, RCUV])

(39b)　*Yī-wú-suǒ-dé* 一無所得 (1 Cor 7:30 [NCV, RCUV])

(39c)　*Wú-suǒ-bù-yǒu* 無所不有 (2 Cor 6:10)

(40)　*Liǎng-xiāng-qíng-yuàn* 兩相情願 (1 Cor 7:5 [UV])

(41)　*Rén-zhī-cháng-qíng* 人之常情 (1 Cor 9:8)

(42)　*Bù-huái-hào-yì* 不懷好意 (Gal 4:17 [TCV, RCUV])

(43)　*Zòng-qíng-zì-yù* 縱情恣慾 (Eph 4:19 [WV, TCV])

(44)　*Yán-nián-yì-shòu* 延年益壽 (Eph 6:3)

(45)　*Wàng-zì-zūn-dà* 妄自尊大 (Col 2:18 [WV]; 1 Tim 3:6 [WV]; 6:4 [WV])

(46)　*Wú-fǎ-wú-tiān* 無法無天 (2 Thess 2:3, 8)

(47)　*Yóu-shǒu-hào-xián* 游手好閒 (2 Thess 3:6 [LÜ, NCV], 11 [LÜ, NCV]; 1 Tim 5:13 [twice])

(48)　*Hào-guǎn-xián-shì* 好管閒事 (2 Thess 3:11 [LÜ, CSB, CCV]; 1 Tim 5:13 [UV, LÜ, NCV, CSB, CCV])

(49)　*Dài-rén-jiē-wù* 待人接物 (Heb 13:5)

(50)　*Sān-xīn-liǎng-yì* 三心兩意 (Jas 1:8 [CLB, TCV, CCV]; 4:8 [CLB, CCV])

(51)　*Jìn-xīn-jié-lì* 盡心竭力 (2 Pet 1:10, 15 [UV])

(52)　*Bǎi-zhàn-bǎi-shèng* 百戰百勝 (Rev 6:2)

The SB's use of the four-character set phrase is characterized by its variety. More than half of all the set phrases found are used only once in the entire New Testament. However, the SB's choice of four-character set phrases is limited only to the stereotyped ones, thereby breaking away from the tradition held by previous Catholic versions (namely, LI, WV, CNT, IG), which are noted for their use of modified four-character expressions from stereotyped four-character set phrases.

In cases where the same four-character set phrase occurs more than once, there is little evidence to support the theory that the SB consistently employs the same four-character set phrase to translate the same Greek term or its cognates. There is one isolated example, however, found in (48). The four-character set phrase *hào-guǎn-xián-shì* ("[being] inquisitive") is used to translate περιεργάζομαι (2 Thess 3:11) and its noun περίεργος (1 Tim 5:13).

On the other hand, one also finds a curious example in the SB where three semantically related Greek terms, φιμόω (Matt 22:12), σιωπάω (Mark 9:34), and ἡσυχάζω (Luke 14:4), are translated by three synonymous four-character set phrases, *mò-mò-wú-yǔ*, *mò-bù-zuò-shēng*, and *mò-rán-bù-yǔ*, all of which denote "remaining silent" in the respective passages represented in (5a–c). This is also a rare example of lexical equivalence in translating Greek into Mandarin by means of four-character set phrases.[53]

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[53] For discussions of lexical translation, see Foley, *Biblical Translation*, 42–44, 49–51.

More frequently, however, one would find examples in which the *same* four-character set phrase is employed to translate semantically related Greek terms. The four-character set phrase *huí-xīn-zhuǎn-yì* ("[having] a change of heart") in (28) is utilized to translate ἐπιστρέφω (Acts 3:19), μετανοέω (Acts 8:22), and the verb phrase εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι (2 Pet 3:9). Another example worthy of note is the set phrase *wú-kě-zhǐ-zhāi* ("irreproachable") in (12), which is used to translate a number of terms: ἄμεμπτος (Luke 1:6; Phil 2:15; 1 Thess 3:13), ἀμέμπτως (1 Thess 2:10), ἀνέγκλητος (Col 1:22; Tit 1:6–7), ἀνεπίλημπτος (1 Tim 3:2; 5:7; 6:14), and ἀκατάγνωστος (Tit 2:8).

For reasons that will become evident below, four-character set phrases in the SB are rarely utilized to consistently represent specific linguistic features of the Greek—either lexical or grammatical, let alone discourse functions—but rather are used for stylistic considerations. For example, the same Greek verb γογγύζω is translated by various expressions in Mandarin, including three different four-character set phrases in (15)–(17), and a disyllabic verb *bàoyuàn* 抱怨 ("complain," Matt 20:11; 1 Cor 10:10). Stylistic considerations seem to be the primary reason for inconsistencies in lexical translation.

Similarly, γυμνός and its cognate γυμνότης are represented by five different expressions in Mandarin, three of which are four-character set phrases listed in (6a–c), and two disyllabic phrases, *chìpín* 赤貧 ("utterly destitute," Rom 8:35) and *luǒtǐ* 裸體 ("nude," Rev 3:18). In another example, the set phrase *wàng-zì-zūn-dà* ("puffed up") listed in (44) is used to render φυσιόω (Col 2:18) and the semantically related

term τυφόομαι (1 Tim 3:6 and 6:4). However, in 2 Tim 3:4, the same Greek word τυφόομαι is translated by the disyllabic phrase *zìdà* 自大 ("arrogant") instead of the set phrase *wàng-zì-zūn-dà*. In both examples, stylistic concerns drive the motivation for using disyllabic expressions, since they maintain the symmetry of the translated text in Mandarin. In addition to style, the subtle semantic nuances in the Greek of the first example also give rise to choices of lexis used in translation.

In the example mentioned above, the Greek term ἄμεμπτος is not only represented by the four-character set phrase *wú-kě-zhǐ-zhāi* listed in (11), but also by *wúxiá kězhǐ* 無瑕可指 ("without blemish," Phil 3:6) and *méiyǒu quēdiǎn* 沒有缺點 ("faultless," Heb 8:7). In this case, stylistic considerations fail to account for the inconsistency, since there is no apparent reason for the translator to prefer *méiyǒu quēdiǎn* over the four-character set phrase *wú-kě-zhǐ-zhāi*, which is used elsewhere as a consistent lexical representation of ἄμεμπτος in Mandarin. On the other hand, the phrase *wúxiá kězhǐ* that translates ἄμεμπτος also translates both ἀμέμπτως (1 Thess 5:23) and ἀνέγκλητος (1 Cor 1:8; 1 Tim 3:10).[54] Similarly, there is no apparent reason for the alternative choice of lexis for the Greek.

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54 Similar inconsistencies in translating these Greek terms into Mandarin are also found in other versions, for example, the UV. On the contrary, LÜ uses *wú-kě-zhǐ-zhāi* consistently to translate ἀνεπίλημπτος (1 Tim 3:2; 5:7; 6:14), *wúkě jiùzé* 無可咎責 ("blameless") for ἀκατάγνωστος (Tit 2:8), *wúkě zébèi* 無可責備 ("blameless") for all occurrences of ἄμεμπτος and ἀμέμπτως (Luke 1:6; Phil 2:15; 3:6; 1 Thess 2:10; 3:13; 5:23; Heb 8:7), and *wúkě zhǐzé* 無可指責 ("irreproachable") for all occurrences of ἀνέγκλητος (1 Cor 1:8; Col 1:22; 1 Tim 3:10; Tit 1:6–7).

In addition to stylistic and semantic considerations, four-character set phrases are also utilized in the SB to refer to a specific individual with eschatological significance whom Paul describes in 2 Thess 2:3, 8. Here, Paul predicts the day of the Lord "will not come unless the rebellion comes first and the lawless one is revealed, the one destined for destruction" (2 Thess 2:3, NRSV). The Greek ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας and ὁ ἄνομος is translated as *wú-fǎ-wú-tiān de rén* 無法無天的人 ("lawless man," lit. "man who defies human and divine laws"), with the four-character set phases found in both references in (46). In this case, the same Greek terms ἀνομία or ἄνομος found elsewhere in different contexts do not refer to the same eschatological figure, and therefore they are, understandably, translated by expressions other than the four-character set phrase in (46): *bùfǎ* 不法 ("unlawful," e.g. Matt 23:28; 2 Cor 6:14; 1 Tim 1:9), *zuì'è* 罪惡 ("evil," Matt 14:12; Rom 4:7; 2 Thess 2:7; Tit 2:14; Heb 1:9), or *fǎlǜ yǐwài* 法律以外 ("outside the law," e.g. 1 Cor 9:21).

Although the SB does not systematically employ four-character set phrases to represent specific linguistic features of the Greek, it is encouraging to observe that the first complete Catholic Bible in Chinese does prove itself influential among more recent Protestant versions, particularly with respect to their use of the more stereotyped four-character set phrases for the same respective biblical passages, as (8), (10), (14), (16), (24), (33), (38), (39b), (42), and (50) illustrate. Finally, it is the hope of the author that some of the observations made above might be taken into account for future revision of the SB with respect to the use of the four-character set phrases in biblical translation.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the current study yields several significant findings regarding the use of four-character set phrases in Catholic and Orthodox New Testament versions. First, all ten biblical translations in Chinese examined here, both wenli (BASSET, GURY, LI, MA, WV) and Mandarin (POIROT, HSC, CNT, IG, SB), employ four-character set phrases. Second, while most of these versions use only stereotyped four-character set phrases, four Catholic versions (LI, WV, CNT, IG), also employ four-character phrases (as well as other stereotyped expressions from Chinese classics) that are modified in order to better suit the biblical context. The effect of such modifications is significant at the discourse level because a modified form of a stereotyped four-character set phrase achieves an even higher degree of prominence in the written discourse. Third, Basset's translation of the "new covenant" in Chinese, *xīn yízhào*, became the basis for the title of the New Testament in Chinese, adapted by several biblical translators, including Robert Morrison. BASSET's influence upon Morrison's New Testament is also manifested in the extensive use of Mandarin aspect morphemes (e.g. the perfective aspect marker *-le*) in wenli biblical translation. Fourth, some four-character set phrases are derived from the Bible (e.g. *ài-rén-rú-jǐ*, Matt 19:19) and are found in most versions examined in the study. Fifth, contrary to popular assumption, the "Christian four-character set phrase" *yǐ-yǎn-huán-yǎn, yǐ-yá-huán-yá* ("eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth," Matt 5:38) was in fact first used in POIROT over one

and a half centuries before it was used in the Mandarin Union Version. Sixth, the WV has utilized four-character set phrases extensively, with over 300 stereotyped four-character set phrases, which is unprecedented and unequaled in all the biblical versions ever translated into Chinese. Finally, rather than representing the linguistic features of the Greek, stylistic considerations may account for the general use of the four-character set phrases in the SB.

The following contains the list of abbreviations of the biblical versions mentioned in the current study.

BASSET	Jean Basset's New Testament (Casanatense MS)
BCV	Bridgman and Culbertson's version
CCV	Contemporary Chinese Version
CLB	Chinese Living Bible
CNT	Catholic New Testament
CSB	Chinese Standard Bible
DV	Delegates' Version
GURY	Gury Karpov's Orthodox New Testament
GÜ	Medhurst/Gützlaff/Bridgman's version (NT 1837)
HSC	Joseph Hsiao's New Testament (1956)
IG	Zikawei Seminary's Gospels
LI	Li Wenyu's Gospels and Acts
LÜ	Lü Chen-chung's version (1970)
MA	Ma Xiangbo's Gospels
MAR	Lassar and Marshman's version
MOR	Robert Morrison's version
NCV	New Chinese Version
POIROT	Louis de Poirot's version (Xujiahui MS)
RCUV	Revised Chinese Union Version
SB	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum's version

SJ	Schereschewsky's easy wenli version
SL-MOR	Morrison's transcript of the Sloane MS #3599
TCV	Today's Chinese Version (1995)
UV	Union Version (Mandarin)
WV	John Ching-Hsiung Wu's version

[摘 要] 本文主旨為探究天主教與東正教新約聖經譯本中成語的使用，涵蓋的譯本主要為文理及北京官話共十種譯本。在此其中還包括極罕見的兩個早期聖經抄本：白日昇的文理新約譯本以及賀清泰的聖經（後者為世界第一本官話聖經譯本）。經過詳盡探究發現，有幾位聖經譯者為了讓翻譯更貼近原文，刻意修改常見成語的固定詞語，而經過修改後的「成語」有效凸顯了該詞語在語段中的意義。此外，成語在思高聖經譯本中的主要功能為增添譯文特色，而非對應希臘文的語法型態。本文亦參考其它重要聖經譯本，包括馬禮遜譯本、委辦本、和合本，以及數種近年出版的中文譯本。

新約譯名之信、達、雅

劉麗

Persons' Names in the New Testament: Foundations for a Faithful, Expressive and Elegant Rendering in Chinese

Li LIU

[摘 要] 基督宗教對二十世紀中葉的合一運動的回應之一是翻譯共同的聖經譯本。對華人基督徒而言，統一譯名是大家共同的願望，但同時也帶來一定的挑戰。其主要困難不僅在於聖經人名的源語言即希伯來文、希臘文等，從發音及其涵義與中文人名特點相去甚遠，而且亦缺乏一種有系統並為所有譯經學者所能接納的譯名標準。

綜觀基督宗教多種聖經譯本，對人名翻譯原則的保留和改善，從主要以西方傳教士為主，華人為輔的模式參與聖經翻譯，至華人開始獨自承擔翻譯工作，人名的翻譯逐漸呈現當地語系化特色。

本文在多種版本譯名先例之基礎上，提出以"音譯為先，意譯兼顧，力求雅正"為譯名宗旨，並結合中文人名姓氏特點，將大約三百三十個新約人名按照同名、通用名、以及女性人名等多種情況分門別類，然後對每一個名字有新的建議，盡可能使其達致中文人名之"信、達、雅"三維度，從而符合中文讀者的閱讀習慣。

另外，除了人名的建議之外，本文在最後亦附有神明及天使等譯名建議。

前言

　　二十世紀上半葉，對於象徵基督宗教合一運動的第一、二屆信仰與禮制世界大會（World Conferences on Faith and Order），以及基督教世界協會（World Council of Churches），基督教宗派對此積極推動，而天主教方面則持觀望態度。直至上世紀中葉，基督教與天主教的合一運動才真正推上日程。雙方的此種共識與教宗若望二十三世（Ioannes XXIII, 1881–1963 年）積極宣導息息相關。作為一位深入基督奧體的牧者，教宗深切體會到基督教會的分裂正如撕裂基督奧體一般，曾多次表達了自己"面對基督教會破裂的苦痛"。合一的願望並非是建構空中樓閣，基督宗教各教派積極努力，通力合作。1962 年，第二屆梵蒂岡大公會議（Vatican Council II）在羅馬召開，世界基督教也派觀察員參加。梵二憲章中提到了翻譯聖經的重要性，"…如果有機會，並經教會權威首肯，能與分離的弟兄共同努力翻譯，那麼所產生的譯本，將可讓所有的基督徒便利使用。"[1] 對於中國教會而言，毋庸置疑，共同的聖經譯本是合一運動之良好基礎，其中，統一的名字翻譯更是基礎之基礎。

　　然而，中文譯名在各基督宗教譯本間的不統一，以及缺乏中文人名特點，這些對合一運動的進程都不免造成一些消極影響：一方面，不一致的譯名對基督信徒彼此之間的交流和理解造成一定障礙；另一方面，五花八門的譯名容易使非基督信徒對聖經的理解造成某種程度上的混亂。

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[1]　《天主的啟示》教義憲章的第六章<論聖經在教會的生活中>第 22 條。

　　鑒於此，本文試圖分兩個部分進行闡述：前一部分，主要是對基督宗教具有代表性的聖經譯本中的譯名原則進行一番梳理，並附有希伯來文、希臘文、拉丁文人名表以供參考；後一部分主要是將新約中出現的約三百三十個名字依據"音譯為先，意譯兼顧，力求雅正"之原則，結合中文人名姓氏特點，按照同名的情形、人名中含有神之意（theophoric names）的情形、以及女性人名的情形等分門別類，並逐一給出新的譯名建議。

一、新約譯名之回顧

　　文化的傳承及思想精髓的延續，主要寄托於歷史中的人物。人是歷史舞臺的主角，人名是其標誌，離開了人名，中國歷史無從談起，文化思想更是無法體現。中文人名之豐富，有目共睹；中國人命名更有其特色。追溯人名起源，有的以天干地支命名，有的以德性為名，也有的以地名命名，還有的以他人寄予的希望為名等。總而言之，人的名字不能簡單地理解為一個名稱而已，反而，名字可以反映當時人們的歷史、文化、社會倫理等背景。

　　名字對傳統文化的沿襲，可謂具有舉足輕重之作用，然而，名字在聖經中的角色也更有其特色。聖經中對古人而言，"名字也絕不是一個簡單的稱謂，而是表達一個存在於宇宙的角色"。[2] 人名之豐富多樣性躍然於經文之中。人在出生時得到的名字表示他將來的作為或命運，也指父母對他的期望。有時，舊約中的人名也表示一種願望或神諭，如

"Ἠσαΐας"（依撒意亞[3]）的涵義是"上主拯救"，
"Ἐλιέζερ"（厄里厄則爾）意為"神是助佑"，"Ἐλιακίμ"
（厄耳雅金）意為"神施行正義"等。聖經中不可忽略的還
有一些女性名字，它們都有其豐富的內涵。如"Ἰωάννα"（約
安納）涵義為"上主的恩寵"。許多希伯來文人名，與以上
所提人名一樣，分別含有對"神"的稱呼，即"Elohim"或
"Yahweh"的縮寫"El"或"Ya/Yo"。藉着這些名字，以
色列人表現出一種對"唯一神"的依賴關係及虔誠程度。由
此可見，聖經中很多人名與啟示有密切關係，換言之，這些
名字就是啟示本身的一部分。又如，讀者所熟知的宗徒之名
為"Πέτρος"，其意為"磐石"。耶穌起此名字說："你是
「磐石」，在這磐石上，我要建立我的教會"（瑪 16:18）。在
某種程度上，"Πέτρος"這個新名字傳達了有關教會的信
息。

　　信仰的啟示提升了女性在當時社會和宗教團體中的尊嚴
及地位。"在基督內，不分男女"（迦 3:28）這一原則是在
當時"婦女在集會中應當緘默"（格前 14:34）之背景下提出
的一種革命性挑戰。讀者從新約可以了解到有幾位女士在早
期教會角色顯著，如"Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ"把耶穌復活的
喜訊告訴十一位宗徒，堪當"宗徒之宗徒"；"Ἄννα"[4]是一
位先知（προφῆτις, 路 2:36），"Φοίβη"[5]是"女執事"（羅
16:1），以及"Ἰουνία"[6]在"使徒"（ἀποστόλοι）中享有
聲望（羅 16:7）。又如，路加福音提及的黑落德家宰的妻子
"Ἰωάννα"[7]是耶穌的一位女門徒（路 8:3）。以上提到的這

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[3]　由於思高本與和合本是基督宗教通用本，亦擁有最廣泛的讀者（包括東正教的信徒），故此，本文通常同時提及這兩種譯本；有時，為方便起見，只提及思高本或和合本。譬如這裡只提到思高本。

[4]　見路加福音第二章第三十六節，思高本譯為"亞納"，和合本譯為"亞拿"。

[5]　思高本譯為"福依貝"，和合本譯為"非比"。

[6]　思高本譯為"猶尼雅"，和合本譯為"猶尼亞"。

[7]　思高本譯為"約安納"，和合本譯為"約亞拿"。

些女士，從其希臘文人名可以直接分辨女性身份，換言之，讀者從這些人名中可以了解女士所扮演的角色，以及發現信仰的精神對人際關係的具體影響。

由此可見，名字可以使一個人在文本記述中變得鮮活起來。鑒於人名的這種多維特點，一個容易記憶而且富於涵義的名字有助於讀者獲取與名字相關的信息，它將有助於聖經讀者熟悉和理解與人物相關的聖經內容。

如何翻譯一個音、意兼備的聖經人名？換言之，人名的翻譯應該遵循何種原則？這是一個亟待解決的問題。先前的聖經譯本所體現的譯名方法在某程度上可以為我們提供可鑒之處。這些譯本的選取主要關涉到基督宗教（包括天主教，基督新教和東正教的聖經新約譯本）在譯名方面具有代表性或是比較有影響的譯本，其涉及到早期漢譯手稿譯本、華人個人譯本、通用譯本，以及共同譯本等。以下是對這些譯本的扼要概述，以及對這些譯本中譯名的比較分析，並且在必要時會提供一些例子加以說明。

1.1　　天主教聖經譯本

早期的天主教聖經翻譯工作主要由外籍傳教士獨自承擔，或是由華人作其助手，共同完成翻譯工作。其譯本主要是從拉丁文譯本翻譯而成。本文所選擇的三個早期抄本，亦是迄今為止，留存最早的漢譯手稿。其分別如下：

甲：　1670 年，耶穌會會士利類思（Lodovico Buglio, 1606 –1682 年）翻譯《彌撒經典》，並於北京出版。

乙：　1704 至 1707 年期間，巴黎外方傳教會（M.E.P.）的白日昇神父（Jean Basset, 1662–1707 年）與其助手徐若

翰[8]（?–1734 年）共同將大部分新約拉丁文聖經翻譯為淺文言，共包括四部福音、宗徒大事錄、保祿書信以及希伯來書第一章。[9]

丙：　大約十八世紀八、九十年代，耶穌會傳教士賀清泰（Louis Antoine de Poirot, 1735–1813 年）翻譯了《古新聖經》，包括除《雅歌》和大部分先知書之外的舊約，以及新約全部經卷。[10]

例如，瑪竇(馬太)福音第一章第三節：

拉丁文通行譯本:	Judas autem genuit Phares et Zaram de Thamar. Phares autem genuit Esron. Esron autem genuit Aram.
利譯本:	如達[…]是生發勒。及匝朗。母名達瑪。是生厄斯鸞。是生亞郎。
白、徐譯本:	如達乃以答瑪生法肋。及匝朗。法肋乃生厄斯隆。厄斯隆乃生阿朗。
賀譯本:	如達斯從達瑪耳生法肋斯、及匝拉、法肋斯生厄斯隆、厄斯隆生亞拉默…

8　Francois Barriquand（包智光）, "First Comprehensive Translation of the New Testament in Chinese: Fr. Jean Basset (1662–1707) and the Scholar John Xu", Verbum, SVD, vol. 49, 2008, p. 106.

9　此抄本現藏於羅馬"卡薩納特圖書館"（Biblioteca Casanatense）。

10　此抄本現藏於上海徐家匯圖書館藏書樓。

從以上譯文看，"Judas" 譯為 "如達" / "如達" / "如達斯"；"Phares" 譯為 "發勒" / "法肋" / "法肋斯"；"Zaram" 譯為 "匝朗" / "匝朗" / "匝拉"；"Esron" 譯為 "厄斯鸞" / "厄斯隆" / "厄斯隆"。這些譯名基本遵循音譯原則，即依據拉丁文人名的讀音譯成中文。

二十世紀初，華人在聖經翻譯方面初露端倪。其譯本大多依據原文，某些情況下也參考古譯本，以及多種語言譯本。人名方面比較有代表性的譯本如下：

丁： 1907 年，上海慈母堂出版了耶穌會士李問漁（1840–1911 年）翻譯的文言本《新經譯義》（僅包括四部福音）和《宗徒大事錄》。

戊： 1922 年，耶穌會士蕭靜山（1855–1924 年）翻譯的《新經全集》由河北獻縣付梓。該經於 1957 年在台灣再版，此版 "和蕭神父的手稿全然相同。僅在兩個細微處稍加改易：有些屢見於書中的地名人名和標點符號，我們曾稍加更易，以求適合現代的讀者。但是那些名稱，迄今尚無標準的譯名，我們所採用的是在目前比較通俗的一些，俾使當代讀者容易瞭解。"[11]

己： 1949 年，上海商務印書館出版了馬相伯 （1840–1939 年）於 1937 年翻譯的《救世福音》。

庚： 1949 年，公教真理學會出版了吳經熊（1899–1986 年）譯述，羅光總主教集注的《新經全集》。羅光在其序中寫到："所譯之聖詠及新經全集，極得自然之致，讀之，一若自其胸襟中流出，而不知其為譯文也。"[12]

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[11] 蕭靜山（譯），《新經全集》前言，光啟出版社，1957 年，頁 5。

[12] 吳經熊（譯），《新經全集》，羅光總主教序，參閱 http://jesus.tw/New_Testament/Preface。

辛： 1953 年，上海土山灣印書館印刷由上海徐匯總修院所翻譯的《新譯福音初稿》。其凡例最後一條解釋："人名地名，本譯文採用思高聖經學會所定的。讀者若遇見生疏奇特之字，幸勿見怪。"[13]

壬： 1968 年，由思高聖經學會翻譯的《思高聖經合訂本》[14]問世。此譯本由聖經原文即希伯來（及亞拉姆）文和希臘文翻譯而成，間或有時依據古譯本。此譯本中"人名地名，除教會與普通常用者外，大抵依原文音譯。"[15]

為方便讀者可以略窺以上譯本的人名翻譯之歷史性變化，茲舉路加第三章第二十八節為例：

希臘文： τοῦ Ἀδδὶ τοῦ Κωσὰμ τοῦ Ἐλμαδὰμ

拉丁文： qui fuit Addi, qui fuit Cosan, qui fuit Elmadan

中文（思高本）： 默耳希是阿狄的兒子，阿狄是科散的兒子，科散是厄耳瑪丹的兒子

利類思	白、徐	賀清泰	李問漁	蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本
——	科散	各三	哥三	葛桑	谷三	葛山	科散

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[13] 《新譯福音初稿》，上海土山灣印書館，1953 年，頁 7。

[14] 思高本是目前中國天主教會通用的官方譯本，擁有最廣泛的天主教讀者。聖經學者房志榮認為《思高聖經》"給中國所作的貢獻是無法估計的，不但所有的禮儀書都以《思高聖經》為藍本，就是神學院或其它教學中心的聖經課，也以《思高聖經》為出發點而從事聖經詮釋。"見《信仰旅程的終點站——為<思高聖經>學會成立四十周年而作》，載《聖經雙月刊》（1999 年改刊為《聖經季刊》）第九卷第四期，房志榮著，1985 年 7 月，頁 9。

[15] 《思高聖經》序中凡例第一條，1968 年。

從上面表格，我們可以一瞥人名翻譯之趨向：隨着華人開始主導聖經翻譯工作，譯名在取詞方面逐漸趨向中文人名特點。例如，"葛"字是中國百家姓之一，而"葛桑"、"葛山"自然亦為典型的中文人名，因而，較譯名"各三"、"哥三"而言，"葛"姓譯名更迎合中文讀者的閱讀習慣，易為其接納；另一方面，思高本的"科散"與白、徐的翻譯一致，可見思高在譯名的處理上，與古譯本一樣亦嚴格採納音譯原則。

在譯名方面，音譯抑或意譯，二者孰輕孰重，孰先孰後？華人譯者有其獨到見解，並且在實際翻譯工作中亦着實下了一番功夫。從馬相伯譯本《救世福音》的序中可窺見一斑，"人名地名只可譯音。華文既不以番切成音。故譯音最拙。且易多歧。"[16] 單從音譯方面看，西文名字譯為中文名字之後，名字長短不一。換言之，"論所立之名字。華國姓名。僅用二字或三字而已。惟西國名字。則一二三或四五六字者。莫有定規。"[17] 為此，馬相伯也提出將四音可減作三音，或二音，以符合華人取單、復名習慣。吳經熊譯本中的譯名自然不失其中文典雅之風。除了平衡音譯與意譯的翻譯原則之外，名字的中國化特點躍然紙上。如："瑪利亞"（思）/"馬利亞"（和）譯作"瑪莉雅"，亞巴郎的父親"特辣黑"（思）/"他拉"（和）譯作"德樂"。"拉默客"（思）/"拉麥"（和）譯作"藍陌"。《思高聖經》對人名翻譯原則還可以從思高聖經學會訂立的注釋原則第五項看出："經內人名、地名、概依原文音譯，但久為教會慣用者，則儘量保存；有時原文人名相同，但為區別起見，而譯為不同的人名。"[18]

16　馬相伯譯，《救世福音》對譯序，上海商務印書館出版，1949 年，頁 5。

17　德如瑟（Joseph Dejean）譯，《四史聖經譯注》小引，香港納匝肋靜院重印，1946 年，頁 5。

18　李士漁，<聖經學會三十年的沿革與工作梗概>，《鐸聲》第 13 卷第 8 期，1975 年，頁 35–36；另參閱《思高聖經》凡例中第一條。

1.2　　基督教譯本

基督教譯本之豐富及多樣化，眾人有目共睹。由深、淺文言至官話譯本，再由官話至方言譯本，聖經譯本琳琅滿目。而這些譯本為福音在中國的廣泛傳播作出的貢獻，更是令人歎為觀止。本文僅就譯名方面具有代表性的幾個譯本簡介如下：

甲：　救世主耶穌新遺詔書

十九世紀初期，倫敦傳道會（London Missionary Society）馬禮遜和英國浸信傳道會（Baptist Missionary Society of England）宣教士馬殊曼（Joshua Marshman, 1768–1837 年）均完成了新、舊約聖經的翻譯。1822 年，馬殊曼譯本，即《新舊遺詔全書》問世。而馬禮遜譯本於一年之後在馬六甲出版，名為《神天聖書》。隨後，馬禮遜譯本經過多次修訂出版，1840 年《救世主耶穌新遺詔書》出版。其中，瑪竇福音第一章中有關耶穌的家譜，如：

耶穌基利士督大五得之子亞百拉罕之子生譜也。
亞百拉罕生以撒革、
以撒革生牙可百、
牙可百生如大及厥弟兄們。
如大由大馬耳生法利士及颯拉…

希臘文人名	救世主耶穌新遺詔書	和合修訂本[19]
Ἀβραὰμ	亞百拉罕	亞伯拉罕
Δαυὶδ	大五得	大衛

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[19]　為使讀者更清楚看到過去版本的譯名與現在譯名之不同，本文在此及以下表格均採納 2010 年 9 月出版的《和合本修訂版聖經》作為參照。

Ζάϱα	颯拉	謝拉
Θαμάϱ	大馬耳	她瑪
Ἰακώβ	牙可百	雅各
Ἰούδας	如大	猶大
Ἰσαάκ	以撒革	以撒
Φαϱές	法利士	法勒斯

乙：　委辦譯本及淺文言和合譯本

英美兩國各差會於 1850 年出版《委辦本四福音》。之後，1852 年委辦新約譯本面世，定名為《新約全書》，該版試圖統一名稱和名詞。

1890 年基督新教各宗派出版聯合譯本，稱為 "和合本"。其依據 "聖經唯一，譯本則三" 為原則，包括深文言、淺文言和官話三種譯本。其中，淺文言譯本對譯名的修改較大，不過，因淺文言計劃後來合併於深文言譯本中，其所作的譯名改動亦未被採用。例如路加福音中的人名，見下表：

希臘文人名	委辦譯本	淺文言譯本	和合修訂本
Αβϱαὰμ	亞伯拉罕	亞爸拉罕	亞伯拉罕
Δαυὶδ	大闢	大衛	大衛
Ἐλεάζαϱ	以利亞	伊利亞	以利亞
Ἐλισαῖος	以利沙	伊利沙	以利沙
Θωμᾶς	多馬	多瑪（凡馬皆改瑪）	多馬
Ἰάκωβος	雅谷（宗徒之一，即 Ἰωάννης 的兄弟）	雅各	雅各
Μαγδαληνὴ	抹大拉	麥大拉	抹大拉
Μάϱθα	馬大	瑪他	馬大
Φιλίππος	腓力	腓立	腓立

1919 年 2 月《官話和合本新舊約全書》正式面世，及後易名為《國語和合譯本》。這譯本出版後不到十年，即通行中國南北各省，銷量遠超過任何其它譯本。此譯本是一部廣受中國信徒歡迎的中文聖經譯本。之後，直至 1988 年，《新標點和合本聖經》修訂本問世，以及 2010 年 9 月香港聖經公會出版《和合修訂本》。

丙： 呂振中譯本

1970 年，由呂振中獨自翻譯的《呂振中譯本》問世。此譯本曾被大英聖書公會（British and Foreign Bible Society）考慮作為修訂和合本計劃的底稿。如馬太福音中耶穌家譜的幾位人名如下表所示：

希臘文人名	呂振中譯本	和合修訂本
Ἀβραάμ	亞伯拉罕	亞伯拉罕
Θαμάρ	他瑪氏	她瑪氏
Ἰακώβ	雅各	雅各
Ἰούδας	猶大	猶大
Ἰσαάκ	以撒	以撒

丁： 和合本之不同版本

經過不斷修訂及再版，基督新教譯本在人名翻譯方面亦做了具體的技術處理。例如，1984 年 8 月在修訂《國語和合本》的原則中，其中第二項提及有關人名的問題：“修正少數不雅和容易引起人誤解的人名（前者如雅各的兒子流便，後者如友阿爹可能被誤認為是男性，尼哥底母可能被誤認是女性）。修改後在附錄中列出對

照表，以供讀者參閱"[20]。又如，1988 年《新標點和合本》修訂本問世。此譯本，包括譯名方面，都悉照《國語和合本》的修訂原則，只是又補充了三項修訂，其中第三項"內文中有地名和人名連在一起時，在極少數地方加了'的'字，以免混淆"。[21] 如馬太福音第二十七章第五十六節：

希臘文：　　　ἐν αἷς ἦν <u>Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ</u> καὶ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσὴφ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν υἱῶν Ζεβεδαίου.

新標點和合本：內中有<u>抹大拉的馬利亞</u>、又有雅各和約西的母親馬利亞、並有西庇太兩個兒子的母親。

相較《新標點和合本聖經》而言，2010 年 9 月年出版的《和合修訂本》有六處人名的翻譯進行了修改，《舊約》有五處，《新約》有一處，即馬可福音（和合本）中第五章第二十一節的"睚魯"改為"葉魯"。[22] 以下是和合本三種版本的人名對照表：

希臘文人名	國語和合本	新標點和合本	和合修訂本
Εὐνίκη	友尼基	友妮基	友妮基
Εὐοδία	友阿爹	友阿蝶	友阿蝶
Κανδάκη	干大基	甘大基	甘大基
Νικόδημος	尼哥底母	尼哥德慕	尼哥德慕
Ῥουβήν	流便	呂便	呂便

[20] 趙維本：《譯經溯源——現代五大中文聖經翻譯史》，中國神學研究院，1993 年，頁 47。

[21] 參閱《新標點和合本》，香港聖經公會出版，1988 年，頁 4。

[22] 參閱《和合修訂本》新約部分，2010 年，第 426 頁，修改人名、地名對照表。

從以上對照表，讀者不難發現，和合本在不斷修訂過程中，人名的翻譯開始逐漸趨向中文人名特點，不僅考慮到中文人名姓氏特點，例如，"甘"、"呂"；而且亦兼顧到女性人名之情形，如，"友尼基"改為"友妮基"，其中"妮"字較"尼"字更加像女性的名字。

1.3　　東正教譯本

迄今為止，東正教會信徒所使用的中文聖經皆為《思高聖經》譯本與《國語聖經和合本》上帝版。

1864 年，俄羅斯東正教傳教士固理・卡爾波夫（Archimandrite Guri Karpov, 1858–1864 年），即郭遂主教，與其助手共同將新約由俄羅斯文翻譯為中文，名為《新遺詔聖經》[23]，分兩部分出版，第一部分是《福音經》，第二部分稱爲《宗徒經》。[24] 他認為翻譯聖經乃 "易洋字為漢文而已，其意義神氣，不敢稍改。" [25] 因為《聖經》所載 "皆千餘年前風俗事物，難以譯明" [26]，所以他採用音譯的方法應付那些難以翻譯的人地官物。[27] 鑒於漢字很難與俄羅斯文的音節一一對應，故此，在人名的翻譯方面，他將兩個漢字構成一個新的 "漢字"，從而形成一個音節，以致儘量接近原文的發音。

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[23]　參閱 http://orthodox.cn/bible/1864nt/index.html 。

　　原稿聖經分《福音經》和《宗徒經》兩冊藏於哈佛燕京圖書館善本室（Harvard-Yenching Library Rare Books Collection），TA 1977.5 C1864.1。

[24]　Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: the history of the Union Version or the Culmination of protestant missionary Bible translation in China*, Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999, p. 133；亦可參閱中文譯本《和合本與中文聖經翻譯》，國際聖經協會，2002，尤思德著，蔡錦圖譯，頁 128。

[25]　尤思德（著），蔡錦圖（譯），《和合本與中文聖經翻譯》，國際聖經協會，2002，頁 127。

[26]　同上，頁 126。

[27]　同上，頁 126–127。

例如，瑪竇（馬太）福音第一章第十三節：

> 希臘文：　　　Ἀβιοὺδ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἐλιακίμ, Ἐλιακὶμ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἀζώρ,…

> 新遺詔聖經：阿微屋德生耶利阿伊^克木、耶利阿伊^克木生阿作爾、…

> 思高本：　　　阿彼烏得生厄里雅金，厄里雅金生阿左耳。

> 和合本：　　　亞比玉生以利亞敬，以利亞敬生亞所…

根據卡爾波夫（Karpov），其中，名字"耶利阿伊^克木"中的"伊^克"由"伊"（yi）和"克"（ke）兩字構成。取前者尾音"i"與後者的首音"k"組成一個新的音節"ki"，並且按照從右至左的順序發音，正如閱讀傳統的漢語文本一樣。然而，事實上，具體到每一個漢字而言，其讀、寫均是按照從左至右的順序。再如，"木"字明顯略小於其它漢字，代表其母音"u"不發聲，其子音"m"作為另一個音節的首音或尾音。[28]

1.4　　　殊途同歸——共同譯本

1969 年 6 月 23 日，"漢文聖經統一譯本籌備委員會"組織討論天主教與基督新教中不同人名、地名，以及其它專有名詞的協調問題，希望從這方面着手，並且計劃編制對照表，

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[28]　同上，頁 128。

以及加注希伯來文和希臘文譯音等工作。[29] 之後，由於雙方
對專有名詞的翻譯無法得到統一，因此，出版一部共同聖經
譯本的計劃便胎死腹中，最終以發行兩種版本而收場。

　　1977 年《新約全書現代中文譯本》（簡稱《現代中文譯
本》）的天主教版面世，專有名詞除了與基督新教相區別的
"上帝"改為"天主"，"聖靈"改為"聖神"，其它一概
不作任何修改，完全採納了基督教會慣用的名詞。[30]

　　翻譯《共同譯本》始終是基督新教和天主教聖經學者共
同的願望。雙方再次合作，於 1986 年出版《路加福音聯合版
試用本》[31]，配合聖經合譯委員會所同意的共同地名和人名等
專有名詞印行出版。

　　1987 年，合譯委員會進一步翻譯聖經，雙方擬定了一些
較為具體的原則，其中，涉及到人名翻譯方面有三項：一、
採用一般歷史教科書及報紙和專業性雜誌所譯的人名；二、
採用社會人士已接受的譯名；三、如上述兩項都不能作為依
據時，則以《和合本聖經》及《思高聖經》的譯名較接近原
文發音為准；如兩者都不理想時，再另譯新的名詞。另外，
從聖經合譯委員會第二次會議記錄的資料可以看出，按字母
排起，共同譯本"也使與會者看出一些不一致的地方而加以
糾正如以 A 開始的人地名皆用阿（亞伯拉罕、安得烈等用慣

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[29] 房志榮，<新約全書「現代中文譯本」的來龍去脈>，載《神學論集》第
　　 26 期，1976，頁 612–613;亦參閱：
　　 http://218.188.3.99/Archive/periodical/ct/CT026/CT026H.htm。

[30] 同上，序言頁 618–619。

[31] 此譯本及附有路加福音和約翰福音專有名詞對照表由房志榮神父所提
　　 供，特此表示感謝。

的名字不改），以 Na 開始的人名皆用那（中國姓氏）而取消拿等等"。[32]

1.5　　馮象譯本

本文在選取基督宗教聖經譯本的同時，亦關注由非基督宗教人士所翻譯的譯本。如 2010 年出版的馮象譯本。此譯本在某種程度上豐富了中文的思想表達，並且強調以純學術及文學的角度翻譯。鑒於此，略窺馮象對人名的翻譯，有些人名採納了和合本中的譯名，有一些人名則結合中文姓氏特點，使讀者較易閱讀。例如，瑪竇福音第四章第二十一節中人名 "Ζεβεδαίος"，思高本與和合本分別將其譯為 "載伯德" 和 "西庇太"；馮氏譯本則譯作 "蔡伯"；又如，弟茂德後書第三章第八節中人名："Ἰάννης"，思高本與和合本分別譯為 "雅乃斯" 與 "雅尼"，馮象譯本則譯為 "楊奈"。"蔡" 與 "楊" 均為中文姓氏，"蔡伯" 和 "楊奈" 儼然具有中文人名的特點。

相較於其它譯本而言，馮氏譯本在譯名方面還有另一特點，即對少數人名，沒有依據音譯原則，而是直接採用意譯原則，並附有一定的辭源解釋。如羅馬人書第十六章第九節：

希臘文：　　… καὶ <u>Στάχυν</u> τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου.

馮象譯本：　… 還有我親愛的<u>麥穗兒</u>。Stachys，愛稱或綽號。

希臘文人名 "Στάχυς" 為 "麥穗" 之意。思高本與和合本按照音譯原則將其分別譯為 "斯塔輝" 和 "士大古"。而

馮象譯本則直接按照意譯原則譯為"麥穗兒"，並附有英文譯名及其補充說明。

　　本文為便於讀者可以對照以上所提的版本譯名，依次按照源語言，即希伯來（及亞拉姆）文，希臘文，以及拉丁文將所有新約譯名[33]分爲不同的表格，另外，亦提供神明及善惡天使之名表（見附錄）：

附錄甲：　希伯來（及亞拉姆）文人名表
附錄乙：　希臘文人名表
附錄丙：　拉丁文人名表
附錄丁：　神明及善惡天使之名表

二、新約譯名之淺析

2.1　　　譯名原則及要素

2.1.1　　譯名原則：音譯為先，意譯兼顧，力求雅正

　　綜觀以上各種聖經譯本，對人名翻譯原則的沿用和改善，可以大致分兩個時期[34]：　前期主要以西方傳教士為主、華人為輔的模式參與聖經漢譯，此時期的譯名基本遵照音譯原則，即與名字源語言的發音保持一致，如"大必大"[35]、"所

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[33] 四個附錄表提供新約的所有原文人名及其相關出處。至於同名者，附錄只提供常見人物之譯名。

[34] 此處劃分的兩個時期並非嚴格意義上指前期為西方傳教士翻譯，後期為華人獨立翻譯，此處目的無非是為了讓讀者看到華人對人名的翻譯較接近中文人名特點，易於被中文讀者接受。

[35] 希臘文名為 Ταβιθά。

西巴得"[36]、"非落我"[37]、"門那"[38]、"各耳奈略"[39]、"若些"[40] 等。顯然，從中文名字特點看，這些譯名很難使讀者識別出是人的名字。

　　後期，隨着華人開始獨自承擔翻譯工作，人名的翻譯亦逐漸呈現當地語系化特色，例如，"葛雷孟"[41]、"羅德"[42]、"司諦文"[43]、"斐理伯"[44] 等，這些譯名補前期譯名之不足，中文人名特點顯著，較符合中文讀者的閱讀習慣。令人遺憾的是，此類譯名較多出現於個人譯本之中，並未得到廣泛流傳。

　　時至今日，思高本與和合本是華人使用的主要通用聖經譯本，換言之，此兩種譯本擁有最廣泛的中文讀者。譯名在音譯和意譯平衡方面均有改善，然而，從中文人名特點看，有些名字還有待進一步斟酌。例如，有些譯名含有"厄"字。如"厄貝雅塔爾"（Ἀβιαθὰρ）、"厄貝爾"（Ἐβέρ）、"厄肋阿匝爾"（Ἐλεάζαρ）、"厄里雅金"（Ἐλιακίμ）、"厄里厄則爾"（Ἐλιέζερ）、"厄里烏得"（Ἐλιούδ）、"厄里叟"（Ἐλισαῖος）、"厄耳瑪丹"（Ἐλμαδάμ）、"厄瑪奴耳"（Ἐμμανουήλ）、"厄諾士"（Ἐνὼς）、"厄斯里"（Ἐσλὶ）、"厄娃"（Εὔα）、"厄里亞"（Ἠλίας）、"厄爾"（Ἤρ）、"厄撒烏"（Ἠσαῦ）、"岳厄爾"（Ἰωήλ）、"諾厄"（Νῶε）、"厄呂瑪"（Ἐλύμας）、"厄派乃托"（Ἐπαίνετος）、"厄帕夫辣"（Ἐπαφρᾶς）、"厄帕洛狄托"（Ἐπαφρόδιτος）、"厄辣斯托"（Ἔραστος）、"厄

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[36]　希臘文名為 Σωσίπατρος。
[37]　希臘文名為 Φιλόλογος。
[38]　希臘文名為 Μεννὰ。
[39]　希臘文名為 Κορνήλιος。
[40]　希臘文名為 Ἰωσίας。
[41]　希臘文名為 Κλήμης。
[42]　希臘文名為 Λώτ。
[43]　希臘文名為 Στέφανος。
[44]　希臘文名為 Φιλίππος。

敖狄雅"（Εὐοδία）、"厄烏提曷"（Εὐτυχος）。然而，漢字"厄"，拆其字形，即厂、卩，"厂"像山崖,"卩"像人在崖洞下卷曲身子不得伸展。其本意為"困厄"、"遭遇困境"，相關詞彙如"厄气（倒霉气）"、"厄劫"、"厄害"等。因此，華人在取名時通常忌諱此字，顯然，"厄"字暗示着一種不祥之兆。

又如，"辣"字，有"猛烈、凶狠"之意。在中國歷來人名中，鮮有人取"辣"字為名。因而，譯名"巴辣巴"（Βαραββᾶς）、"巴辣克"（Βαράκ）、"則辣黑"（Ζάρα）、"科辣黑"（Κόρε）、"辣哈布"（Ῥαὰβ）、"辣哈布"（Ῥαχάβ）、"辣黑耳"（Ῥαχήλ）、"撒辣"（Σάρρα）、"特辣黑"（Θάρα），有待進一步改善。

再看"奴"字，據《說文》中解釋，"奴、婢，皆古之辠人也"。"辠"同"罪"，其涵義消極，若用於人名，有幾分欠妥；如"耳巴奴"（Οὐρβανός）、"法奴耳"（Φανουήλ）、"利奴"（Λίνος）、"推喇奴"（Τύραννος）。[45]

另外，還有一些名字中含有人稱代詞，這樣可能會給閱讀帶來誤解，如，"他瑪" / "她瑪"（Θαμάρ）、"他拉"（Θάρα）、"耶弗他"（Ἰεφθάε）、"瑪達他"（Ματταθὰ）、"瑪他提亞"（Ματταθίας）、"拿弗他利"（Νεφθαλίμ）。

由此可見，譯名除了要兼顧音譯與意義之外，在措辭方面還應仔細斟酌。平心而論，人名的翻譯的確是一件煞費苦心之事。由於聖經的原文，如希伯來文、希臘文以及其它語言名字的發音及涵義與中文名字的發音及涵義相去甚遠，如

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[45] 從此角度來看，"厄瑪奴耳"（Ἐμμανουήλ）為特例：拯救者"自己空虛，取了奴僕的形體"（斐 2:7），且"替我們成了罪"（格後 5:21），因此"奴"在此名中可以考慮保留。另一方面，在依撒意亞先知書第 7 章第 14 節"有位貞女要懷孕生子，給他起名叫厄瑪奴耳"，用"奴"字來稱呼猶太王未來的兒子可能不太理想。

要忠實人名發音，又要兼顧到跨越兩種語言之後其涵義仍保持一致，以及選取適宜的漢字來平衡二者之間的張力實非容易之事。

　　至於譯名原則，本文嘗試將由嚴復提出的"信"、"達"、"雅"翻譯標準引申於人名翻譯。其中，"信"是最重要的。按《說文》對"信"字的解釋："信，誠也。從人從言會意"。換言之，所謂"信"，就是忠實、誠實。"信"字強調忠實於原文。那麼，對於人的名字，何謂忠於原文？有些譯本認為"音譯"為忠於原文，而有些則認為"意義相符"即合乎於信。從名字起源看，人名最初是用作對人的呼喊。響亮而具有韻律的人名自然就作為人們首選的好名字。可見，名字從起初就內含有音樂性特點，其發音尤為重要。因此，"音譯為先"為本文所讚賞而首選的宗旨。

　　所謂"達"，即通達、明達，指的是把原文所要傳達的信息及精神在譯文中準確地表達出來，使讀者能夠充分理解原意。鑒於人名具有立體多維特點，人名之涵義及所要傳達的信息在不同語言之間應儘量加以斟酌，以求使讀者從譯名中悉知原文名字背後所蘊含的豐富意義。在翻譯人名時，名字的涵義在兩種語言之間的轉化需要權衡，盡量使名字在跨越不同語言的過程中傳達源語言名字所含的信息。"達"需要成全"信"，否則"信矣不達，雖譯猶不譯也"[46]。

　　何謂"雅"？依據嚴復之《天演論》所言，"《易》曰：修辭立誠。子曰：辭達而已。又曰：言之無文，行之不遠。三曰乃文章正軌，亦即為譯事楷模。故信、達而外，求其爾雅。"[47] 故此，"雅"要講究修辭，要有文采，要雅正。其目的有二：一則為了"行遠"，即盡可能獲得讀者的認可，

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[46] 赫胥黎（著），嚴復（譯），《天演論》譯例言，商務印書館再版，1981年。

[47] 同上。

二則為了"求達"。因此，"雅"不僅從其表面字義理解為通常所謂的"典雅、文雅"之意，而且意味着從文采及雅正方面傳達原作者的精神。新約人名的翻譯，除了要忠實其讀音，表達其義，還需進一步將聖經作者的心智特點，以及聖經的精神要旨適宜地傳達出來。

事實上，"信、達、雅"三標準互相聯繫、互相依存，但三者之間又有相對的主次關係："信"是最主要的， 但"信"而不"達"，等於不譯，而"雅"又是為"達"服務的。因此，本文試圖將"信、達、雅"標準引申至人名的翻譯，忠實於名字原來的讀音，同時傳達其涵義，因而考慮音譯與意義的原則，然後在其基礎上，力求使譯名的措辭更趨雅正。故此，"音譯為先，意譯兼顧，力求雅正"是本文譯名所依據的基本原則。

2.1.2   譯名要素

在確定了譯名之基本原則的前提下，有一個要素應予以明確，即中文姓氏特點。正如讀者所知，西文人名通常要大寫首字母，以幫助讀者辨明此詞是人的名字。而中文人名特點在乎其構成，即"姓氏 ＋ 名"。由此，從識別人名的角度出發，中文人名中的姓氏與西文人名的大寫首字母具有異曲同工之妙處。因而，若譯名中首字是中文姓氏，自然可以幫助中文讀者識別出人的名字。然而，這些姓氏並非真正代表聖經人物的姓氏，只是為了方便中文讀者閱讀。因此，本文對譯名採納姓氏之要素亦是出於同樣的目的。

2.2 具體細則及建議

從辭源方面看，聖經新約中的名字除了源於希伯來（及亞拉姆）文和希臘文之外，還有一些源於拉丁文，及少數源於其它語言。從新約歷史來看，《七十士譯本》（Septuagint,

LXX）是最具影響力的舊約希臘文譯本，亦為早期教會的權威翻譯。新約作者經常從《七十士譯本》引用希臘文的舊約經文。因此，新約中有些源於舊約的人名不可避免會有希伯來文與希臘文發音方面的差異問題。例如，《七十士譯本》在處理發音的問題方面，用希臘文字母"σ"的發音來取代希伯來文的四個不同的發音，即"שׁ"、"שׂ"、"ס"、"צ"[48]。之後，"שׂ"、"ס"兩音合併，使四個音演變為三個，即"שׁ"、"שׂ/ס"、"צ"，其相對應的近似中文拼音分別為"sh"、"x"或"s"、"c"。例如，人名"Μωϋσῆς"，源于希伯來文"מֹשֶׁה"，思高本譯為"梅瑟"，和合本譯為"摩西"。然而，希伯來文名字的兩個輔音近似漢語拼音的"M"和"Sh"。[49] 因此，若要保留新舊約翻譯的一致性，以及直接保存人名在源語言方面的發音特點，避免來自拉丁文與英文等語言的間接影響，那麼，採納景教經典《牟世法王經》[50]中的譯名，即用"牟世"來翻譯"מֹשֶׁה / Μωϋσῆς"，似乎更確切一些。

另外，有些希臘文人名末尾含有字母"ς"，例如，人名"Ἀμώς"和"Φαρές"中字母"ς"的希伯來文人名的近似漢語拼音為"c"，而它在"Βόες/ Βόος"中的希伯來文近似漢語拼音為"z"，在"Ἐνὼς" 和"Κίς"中的近似漢語拼音為"sh"，其餘均近似讀作"s"或不發音。茲舉一例：路加福音第三章第二十五節：τοῦ Ματταθίου τοῦ Ἀμὼς τοῦ Ναοὺμ…。人名"Ἀμώς"，思高本譯為"阿摩斯"，和合本譯為"亞摩斯"，而根據"ς"希伯來文的近似漢語拼音為"c"，譯作"阿摩慈"較為確切。

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[48] 特別感謝聖經學者包智光對筆者提供聖經語言學方面的知識。

[49] 請參照附錄表甲：希伯來（及亞拉姆）文人名表中"Μωϋσῆς"一欄中的發音標註。

[50] 參敦煌石窟發現的《尊經》之《諸經目錄》，此目錄提到《牟世法王經》一書。

　　事實上，聖經中的人名除了要考慮語言學因素之外，亦關涉到歷史、傳統、社會背景、信仰等因素，這是一個非常複雜的問題，關於這些方面的討論，本文在此不予一一贅述。然而，本文在確定了譯名之基本原則及要素的前提下，就慣用名、同詞根人名、女性人名、同名，以及復名等具體細則進行分析。

2.2.1　慣用名（通用名）的翻譯

　　中文聖經的翻譯目的不僅是為滿足人口占少數比例的華人基督信徒的需要，而且也要關注那些絕大多數非基督信徒的文化習慣。故此，譯名要兼顧兩方面：一則是那些在學界已經被接納的譯名或是一些翻譯習慣，二則是在基督宗教中已經達成共識，如“亞當”等人名，這類名字盡可能保留及沿用。

甲：　慣用名

　　新約中有些人名即是讀者所熟知的慣用名，如亞歷山大（Ἀλέξανδρος）、奧古斯都（Αὔγουστος）、克勞迪（Κλαύδιος）、所羅門（Σολομῶν）、提庇留（Τιβέριος）都是聞名於世的皇帝，諸如此類譯名盡量與學界及教會之翻譯習慣保持一致。如下表所示：

人名	和合本	思高本	慣用名
Ἀδάμ 路 3:38&c	亞當	亞當	亞當
Ἀλέξανδρος 谷 15:21&c	亞歷山大	亞歷山大	亞歷山大
Ἄννα 路 2:36	亞拿	亞納	安娜
Ἀρεοπαγίτης 宗 17:34	亞略巴古	阿勒約帕哥	阿雷奧帕古斯
Αὔγουστος 路 2:1	奧古斯都	奧古斯都	奧古斯都

Διονύσιος 宗 17:34	丟尼修	狄約尼削	狄俄尼索斯
Ἐλισάβετ 路 1:5&c	伊利莎白	依撒伯爾	伊麗莎白[51]
Ἑρμῆς 羅 16:14&c	黑米	赫爾默斯	赫耳墨斯
Ἰάσων 宗 17:5&c	耶孫	雅松	伊阿宋
Ἰησοῦς 瑪 1:1&c	耶穌	耶穌	耶穌
Ἰσραήλ 瑪 2:6&c	以色列	以色列	以色列
Καῖσαρ Τιβέριος 路 3:1	凱撒提庇留	凱撒提庇留	凱撒・提庇留
Κλαύδιος 宗 11:28&c	克勞第	喀勞狄	克勞迪
Κυρηνίος 路 2:2	居里扭	季黎諾	奎里納斯
Ναρκίσσος 羅 16:11	拿其數	納爾基索	納西瑟斯
Νηρεὺς 羅 16:15	尼利亞	乃勒烏	涅柔斯
Σολομῶν 瑪 1:6&c	所羅門	撒羅滿	所羅門

乙：　與慣用名相關的人名

　　除以上慣用名之外，新約還有一些人名與學界及教會譯名十分接近。例如，人名"Τέρτυλλος"與拉丁文名"Tertullus"及"Tertullianus"有相同字根，而教父"Tertullianus"（約 160–220 年）的中文譯名"德爾圖良"已經成為教會和學界的習慣譯法，因此，將"Τέρτυ…"譯作"德爾圖 XX"比較接近讀者的閱讀習慣。

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[51]　參《世界人名翻譯大辭典》修訂版，中國對外翻譯集團公司，2007 年 4 月，頁 897。

人名	慣用名 (希臘文)	慣用名 (中文)	和合本	思高本	建議
Ἀπελλῆς 羅 16:10	Ἀπόλλων	阿波羅	亞比利	阿培肋	阿佩樂
Ἀπολλῶς 宗 18:24&c	Ἀπόλλων	阿波羅	亞波羅	阿頗羅	阿波羅
Ἀρτεμᾶς 鐸 3:12	Ἄρτεμις	阿提密斯/ 阿耳忒彌斯	亞提馬	阿爾特瑪	阿提瑪
Ἀχαϊκός 格前 16:17	Ἀχαΐα	阿哈伊亞	亞該古	阿哈依科	阿哈伊柯
Δημήτριος 宗 19:24&c	Δήμητρα	得墨忒耳	底米丟	德默特琉	德墨忒友
Ἐπαφρόδιτος 斐 2:25&c	Ἀφροδίτη	阿芙羅黛蒂	以巴弗提	厄帕洛狄托	宜帕芙羅黛蒂
Ἑρμᾶς 羅 16:14	Ἑρμῆς	赫耳墨斯	黑馬	赫爾瑪	赫耳瑪斯
Ἑρμογένης 弟後 1:15	Ἑρμῆς	赫耳墨斯	黑摩其尼	赫摩革乃	赫耳墨吉倪
Ζηνᾶς 鐸 3:13	Ζεύς	宙斯	西納	則納	宙燁納
Ζοροβαβὲλ 瑪 1:12&c	Βαβυλών	巴比倫	所羅巴伯	則魯巴貝耳	澤羅巴比[52]
Κλαυδία 弟後 4:21	Κλαύδιος	克勞迪	革老底亞	克勞狄雅	克勞迪婭
Νύμφα 哥 4:15	Νύμφη	寧芙	寧法	寧法	寧芙婭
Ὀλυμπᾶς 羅 16:15	Ὄλυμπος	奧林匹斯	阿林巴	敖林帕	奧林帕
Τέρτυλλος 宗 24:1&c	Τερτυλ- λιανός	德爾圖良	帖土羅	特爾突羅	德爾圖洛

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[52] 參見附錄表甲：希伯來（及亞拉姆）文人名表。人名"Ζοροβαβὲλ"的希伯
來語讀音等於"Zerubbavel"，其首音節近似漢語拼音的"Ze"，音譯為"澤"。
"澤"為中文罕見姓氏之一，參見《利氏漢語大辭典》，利氏學社編纂，1999
年，頁 1930。

2.2.2　含有相同詞根的名字

2.2.2.1　含有神之意（theophoric）的名字

甲：含有 "יהוה" 之意的名字

　　聖經是經過長期口傳後才用書面文字記載下來的。由於希伯來文最初出現時只有輔音字母而沒有任何母音符號，因此必須依靠口頭來傳授正確的文字讀法。希伯來文名字 "יהוה"（以 "拉丁文字母" 書寫為 "YHWH"）由於至今缺乏母音符號，因而為翻譯學家帶來了一定的困難。天主教將其譯作 "雅威"，而基督新教則譯為 "耶和華"。然而，近代大多數聖經學者認為其較接近於英文拼寫的 "Yahweh"。[53] 其中音節 "Ya" 的發音，較為接近中文 "雅" 字的發音。在此前提下，那些含有母音 "A" 的發音，而且暗指 "Yahweh" 之名的人名，本文建議可以採納思高版 "雅威" 的 "雅" 字。另外一種情形，若人名的首字母發音亦為 "A"，但與 "雅威" 無關，本文則一律採用共同譯本的原則，選取 "阿" 字。例如："Ἀβιά"、"Ἀνανίας"，按照以上兩種情形的原則，依次譯為<u>阿</u>彼<u>雅</u>、<u>阿</u>納尼<u>雅</u>。

　　還有一種情況，有些名字雖然不含有母音 "A"，但其詞根卻隱含了一種與 "Yahweh" 的關係。如人名 "Ἰωαθάμ"，其原意为 "יהוה完美無缺"。其中，"Ἰω" 暗含着 "雅威" 之意。因其近似漢語拼音為 "You "，所以本文不妨將 "Ἰω" 譯為 "祐" 字。"祐" 字在中文語境的使用中通常與神有關聯，此處可表示一種與雅威的關係。而 "Ἰωαθάμ" 中的第一個 "α" 字亦與雅威有關，因此，我們

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[53]　Tryggve N. D. Mettinger (auth.), Frederick H. Cryer (trans.), *In Search of God*, Fortress Press, 1988, pp. 28–29.

可以將"Ἰωαθάμ"譯為"祐雅丹"。以"Ἰω"為首的類似名字还有："Ἰωανὰν"、"Ἰωάννα"、"Ἰωάννης"、"Ἰωρίμ"、"Ἰωσαφάτ"、"Ἰωσίας"、"Ἰωράμ"。其中，"Ἰωανὰν"和"Ἰωάννα"中的字母"α"与雅威無關，本文建議不將其譯為"雅"。而"Ἰωσίας"中的"Ἰω"與雅威無關，我們可以按照音譯原則將其譯為"尤"。至于"Ἰωάννης"，因思高本與和合本將其分別譯為"若翰"/"若望"和"約翰"，這些名字已被基督信徒所熟知和接納，本文建議譯作與其較接近的名字。

　　除此之外，含有"Ya"音兼"雅"意的名字還有："Ζαχαρίας"、"Ματταθίας"、"Ἰερεμίας"、"Ἰεχονίας"、"Ἐζεκίας"、"Ἡσαΐας"等，具體譯名如下表：

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Ἀβιά 瑪 1:7&c	我父是יהוה	亞比雅	阿彼雅	阿陛雅
Ἀνανίας 宗 5 :1&c	יהוה施已幫助	亞拿尼亞	阿納尼雅	阿納尼雅
Ἀχίμ 瑪 1:14	יהוה建樹	亞金	阿歆	雅進
Βαραχίας 瑪 23:35	יהוה祝福	巴拉加	貝勒基雅	巴樂吉雅
Ἐζεκίας 瑪 1 :9&c	我的力量是יהוה	希西家	希則克雅	席澤可雅
Ζαχαρίας 路 1:5/11:51&c	יהוה紀念	撒迦利亞	匝加利亞/ 則加黎雅	澤嘉禮雅/ 澤嘉黎雅
Ζεβεδαίος 瑪 4:21&c	יהוה的恩賜	西庇太	載伯德	載伯德雅
Ἡσαΐας 瑪 3:3&c	יהוה救援	以賽亞	依撒意亞	伊捨雅
Ἰάϊρος 谷 5:22&c	יהוה將啟發	睚魯	雅依洛	雅依洛
Ἰερεμίας 瑪 2:17&c	יהוה派遣之人	耶利米	耶肋米亞	葉樂彌雅

Ἰεχονίας 瑪 1:11&c	יהוה興起並加固	耶哥尼雅	耶苛尼雅	葉固昵雅
Ἰωαθάμ 瑪 1:9	יהוה完美無缺	約坦	約堂	祐雅丹
Ἰωανὰν 路 3:27	יהוה的恩寵	約亞南	約哈南	祐安楠
Ἰωάννα 路 8:3&c	יהוה的恩寵	約亞拿	約安納	祐安娜
Ἰωάννης 瑪 3:1&c	יהוה的恩寵	約翰	若翰/若望	若翰/若望/ 若涵[54]
Ἰωνὰμ 路 3:30	יהוה施予恩寵	約南	約南	祐楠
Ἰωράμ 瑪 1:8	יהוה是至高的	約蘭	約蘭	祐蘭
Ἰωρίμ 路 3:29	יהוה是至高的 (待定)	約令	約楞	祐林
Ἰωσαφάτ 瑪 1:8	יהוה審判	約沙法	約沙法特	祐沙法
Ἰωσίας 瑪 1 :10&c	יהוה治癒	約西亞	約史雅	尤[55]施雅
Μαθθαῖος 瑪 9:9&c	יהוה的恩賜	馬太	瑪竇	馬達祐
Μάθθὰτ 路 3:24&c	יהוה的恩賜	瑪塔	瑪塔特	馬達雅
Μάθθίας 宗 1:23&c	יהוה的恩賜	馬提亞	瑪弟亞	馬迪雅
Ματταθίας 路 3:25&c	יהוה的恩賜	瑪他提亞	瑪塔提雅	馬達迪雅/ 馬達笛雅
Ὀζίας 瑪 1:8&c	יהוה是我的力量	烏西雅	烏齊雅	奧奇雅
Ὀὐρίας 瑪 1:6	יהוה是我的光明	烏利亞	烏黎雅	吳黎雅

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[54]　請參本文同名表。

[55]　參本文"相同首音節儘量取字一致"表（§2.2.6）中"尤伯"、"尤貝德"、"尤納"的人名翻譯。

乙： 含有詞根"אֵל"的名字

　　源於舊約的新約人名中，有些含有希伯來文詞根"אֵל"（希臘語譯為"Ἐλ/Ηλ"；英譯為"El"）。"אֵל"在聖經舊約中泛指神，或者特指以色列的"獨一的，有能力的神"。因此，聖經中含有詞根"אֵל"的名字自然含有"神"之意。如："Ἐλιακίμ"則為"אֵל（神）施行正義"之意，思高本將其音節"Ἐλ"譯為"厄里"，同樣，《新遺詔聖經》譯為"耶利"，新標點和合本則採納"以利"二字。以上幾種譯名從音譯角度看，令人無可挑剔，若兼顧到意譯之維度，就可以使讀者從這些譯名中聯想到其與"אֵל"的關係。

　　鑒於此，本文首先考慮將"Ἐλ/Ηλ"譯為兩個漢字，然後採納"音譯為先，意譯兼顧"的原則，採取近似"אֶ/E/H"的中文拼音"Yi"，再根據《說文》中"壹"有"一個，專一"之意，故採納"壹"字。而"ל/λ"可以近似讀作"Li"，再兼顧"אֵל"有"能力、力量"之意，則將"ל/λ"譯為"力"字。故此，"Ἐλ/Ηλ"可以譯作"壹力"。茲舉讀者熟知的一例加以說明：如"Ἐμμανουήλ"，其意為"天主/上帝與我們同在"。依據其讀音，本文將"Ἐμμανουήλ"譯作"愛瑪諾壹力"，讀者從中可以隱約體味到獨一之神藉着瑪利亞以愛來履行其諾言。

　　此種情形亦有例外，如"Ἐλισάβετ"，涵義為"אֵל的誓言"。思高本將其譯作"依撒伯爾"，和合本則譯作"伊利莎白"。按照上面原則，此名字本應含有"壹力"。但鑒於學界翻譯習慣和讀者的熟知程度，本文將"Ἐλισάβετ"作通用名來處理。

　　以下是新約中含有詞根"Ἐλ/Ηλ"的人名及本文之建議表，以資參考：

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Γαμαλιήλ 宗 5:34&c	אל是我的賞報	迦瑪列	加瑪里耳	嘉瑪壹力
Δανιήλ 瑪 24:15	我的審判者是אל	但以理	達尼爾	達壹力
Ἐλεάζαρ 瑪 1:15	אל施已助佑	以利亞撒	厄肋阿匝爾	壹力佐
Ἐλιακίμ 瑪 1:13&c	אל讓(他)站立	以利亞敬	厄里雅金	壹力雅敬
Ἐλιέζερ 路 3:29	אל是助佑	以利以謝	厄里厄則爾	壹力澤
Ἐλιούδ 瑪 1:14&c	אל是尊威的	以律	厄里烏得	壹力德
Ἐλισαῖος 路 4:27	אל是他的救援	以利沙	厄里叟	壹力捨
Ἐμμανουήλ 瑪 1:23	אל與我們同在	以馬內利	厄瑪奴耳	愛瑪諾壹力
Ἠλίας 瑪 11:14&c	יהוה是我的אל	以利亞	厄里亞	壹力雅
Ἰωήλ 宗 2:16	אל是יהוה	約珥	嶽厄爾	尤雅壹力
Λάζαρος 路 16:20&c	אל救助了	拉撒路	拉匝祿	壹力澤祿
Μαλελεὴλ 路 3:37	讚美אל	瑪勒列	瑪拉肋耳	瑪禮壹力
Ναθαναήλ 若 1:45&c	אל賜予	拿但業	納塔乃耳	那坦壹力
Σαλαθιήλ 瑪 1:12&c	我祈求了אל	撒拉鐵	沙耳提耳	沙拉褅壹力
Σαμουήλ 宗 3:24&c	אל的名字,或由אל俯聽而來的人 (撒 1:20)	撒母耳	撒慕耳	余慕壹力
Φανουήλ 路 2:36	אל的面部	法內力	法奴耳	法努壹力

丙： 含有"θεος"詞根的名字

　　若名字中含有希臘文詞根"θεος"，在遵從音譯原則之前提下，名字中的"θεος"譯為與神之本性有關的"德"字。

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Θεόφιλος 路 1:3&c	θεος 的朋友	提阿非羅	德敖斐羅	德敖斐樂
Τιμόθεος 宗 16:1&c	敬畏 θεος 的人	提摩太	弟茂德	狄茂德

2.2.2.2 含有"父親"或"兒子"之意的人名

　　新約有些人名含有"父親"之意，其希伯來文/亞拉姆語詞根為"Αβ"/"Αββα"，以及希臘文詞根"πατρος"；而亦有些人名含"兒子"之意，其希伯來文/亞拉姆語詞根為"Βεν"/"Βαρ"。以下如表所示：

甲： 含"父親"之意的人名（希伯來文或亞拉姆語詞根）

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Ἀβιά 瑪 1:7&c	我父是יהוה	亞比雅	阿彼雅	阿陛雅
Ἀβιαθὰρ 谷 2:26	富裕的父親	亞比亞	厄貝雅塔爾	阿陛達
Ἀβιούδ 瑪 1:13	我父是尊威的	亞比玉	阿彼烏得	阿陛武
Ἀβραὰμ 瑪 1:1&c	眾人之父	亞伯拉罕	亞巴郎	阿爸[56]拉罕
Βαραββᾶς 瑪 27:16&c	父親的兒子	巴拉巴	巴辣巴	巴兒阿爸

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[56] 基督新教淺文言和合本將"Ἀβραὰμ"中音節"β"亦譯為"爸"字。

乙： 含"父親"之意的人名（希臘文詞根）

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Ἀντίπας 黙 2:13	像父親一樣的	安提帕	安提帕	安悌爸
Κλεοπᾶς 路 24:18	從父得名聲	革流巴	克羅帕	柯磊爸
Πατροβᾶς 羅 16:14	父親的	八羅巴	帕特洛巴	爸鐸寶
Σώπατρος 宗 20:4	救他的父親	所巴特	索帕特爾	索爸鐸
Σωσίπατρος 羅 16:21&c	救他的父親	所西巴德	索息派特	索思爸鐸

丙： 含"兒子"之意的人名（希伯來文或亞拉姆語詞根）

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Βαραββᾶς 瑪 27:16&c	父親的兒子	巴拉巴	巴辣巴	巴兒阿爸
Βαρθολομαῖος 瑪 10:3&c	Θολομαῖος 之子	巴多羅買	巴爾多祿茂	伯兒多祿茂
Βαριησοῦς 宗 13:6	Ἰησοῦς 之子	巴・耶穌	巴爾耶穌	巴兒耶酥
Βαρναβᾶς 宗 4:36&c	安慰之子	巴拿巴	巴爾納伯	巴兒乃保
Βαρσαββᾶς 宗 1:23&c	Σαββᾶς 之子, 或安息日之子	巴撒巴	巴爾撒巴	巴兒慈寶
Βαρτιμαῖος 谷 10:46	Τιμαῖος 之子	巴底買	巴爾提買	巴兒笛邁
Βενιαμείν 宗 13:21&c	右手之子， 即南方之子	便雅憫	本雅明	貝兒亞明
Βοανηργές 谷 3:17	雷霆之子	半尼其	波納爾革	伯兒雷革
Ῥουβήν 黙 7:5	看顧兒子	呂便	勒烏本	呂貝兒

2.2.2.3 含有其它共同詞根的名字

新約人名還有其它共同詞根，如 "Ὀνήσιμος" /
"Ὀνησιφόρος"，共同詞根為 "Ὀνήσις"，有"利益"之
意。如下表所示：

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Ἄννα 路 2:36&c	恩寵	亞拿	亞納	安娜
Ἄννας 路 3:2&c	(יהוה施予)恩寵	亞那	亞納斯	安那思
Βόες 瑪 1:5	力量	波阿斯	波阿次	薄涯士
Βόος 路 3:32	力量	波阿斯	波阿次	薄沃士
Ἐλεάζαρ 瑪 1:15	אל施已助佑	以利亞撒	厄肋阿匝爾	壹力佐
Ἐλιέζερ 路 3:29	אל是助佑	以利以謝	厄里厄則爾	壹力澤
Εὔβουλος 弟後 4:21	有好意的	友布羅	歐步羅	歐樸絡
Εὔτυχος 宗 20:9	有好運的	猶推古	厄烏提曷	歐篤古
Ἡρώδης 瑪 2:1&c	英勇的	希律	黑落德	賀落德
Ἡρωδιάς 瑪 14:3&c	英勇的	希羅底	黑落狄雅	賀落蒂婭
Ἡρωδίων 羅 16:11	英勇的	希羅天	黑落狄雍	賀落蒂勇
Ἰουλία 羅 16:15	源于朱比特的 (待定)	猶利亞	猶里雅	朱莉婭
Ἰούλιος 宗 27:1&c	源于朱比特的 (待定)	猶流	猶里約	朱利永
Ἰωανὰν 路 3:27	יהוה的恩寵	約亞拿	約哈南	祐安楠
Ἰωάννα 路 8:3&c	יהוה的恩寵	約亞拿	約安納	祐安娜

Ἰωάννης 瑪 3:1&c	יהוה的恩寵	約翰	若翰/若望	若翰/若望/若涵
Ἰωνὰμ 路 3:30	יהוה施予恩寵	約南	約南	祐楠
Ἰωράμ 瑪 1:8	יהוה是至高的	約蘭	約蘭	祐嵐
Ἰωρίμ 路 3:29	יהוה是至高的 (待定)	約令	約楞	祐林
Κλαυδία 弟後 4:21	瘸腿的	革老底亞	克勞狄雅	克勞迪婭
Κλαύδιος 宗 11:28&c	瘸腿的	克勞第	喀勞狄	克勞迪
Λυσανίας 路 3:1	釋懷	呂撒聶	呂撒尼雅	呂希倪
Λυσίας 宗 23:26&c	釋放者	呂西亞	里息雅	呂希涯
Ματθαῖος 瑪 9:9&c	יהוה的恩賜	馬太	瑪竇	馬達祐
Μάθθὰτ 路 3:24&c	יהוה的恩賜	瑪塔	瑪塔特	馬達雅
Μάθθίας 宗 1:23&c	יהוה的恩賜	馬提亞	瑪弟亞	馬迪雅
Μάτθάν 瑪 1:15	恩賜	馬但	瑪堂	馬丹
Μάτταθὰ 路 3:31	恩賜	瑪達他	瑪塔塔	馬達德
Ματταθίας 路 3:25&c	יהוה的恩賜	瑪他提亞	瑪塔提雅	馬達迪雅
Μελχὶ 路 3:24&c	君王	麥基	默爾希/默耳希	墨爾基/墨邇基
Μελχισέδεκ 希 5:6&c	公義的君王	麥基洗德	默基瑟德	墨邇基慈德[57]
Ναθάμ 路 3:31	(祂將) 賜予	拿單	納堂	那坦

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[57]　參閱甲：希伯來（及亞拉姆）文人名表。人名 "Μελχισέδεκ" 中 "σέ" 的近似漢語發音為 "ci"，音譯為 "慈" 字。

Ναθαναήλ 若 1:45&c	אל賜予	拿但	納塔乃耳	那坦壹力
Νικάνωρ 宗 6:5	得勝者	尼迦挪	尼加諾爾	利嘉諾
Νικόδημος 若 3:1&c	得勝民眾	尼哥德慕	尼苛德摩	利國牧
Νικόλαος 宗 6:5	得勝民眾	尼哥拉	尼苛勞	利國嶗
Ὀνήσιμος 哥 4:9	有利益的	阿尼西謀	敖乃息摩	奧內熙默
Ὀνησιφόρος 弟後 1:16&c	帶來利益的	阿尼色弗	敖乃息佛洛	奧內熙福洛
Πρίσκα 羅 16:3&c	古代	百基拉	普黎斯加	溥麗佳
Πρίσκιλλα 宗 18:2&c	可愛的古代	百基拉	普黎史拉	溥麗姬
Σαούλ 宗 9:4&c	所求到的(人)	掃羅	掃祿	沙悟羅
Σαῦλος 宗 7:58&c	所求到的(人)	掃羅	掃祿	沙歐羅
Σιλᾶς[58] 宗 15:22&c	樹林的，多樹的	西拉	息拉	析粒
Σιλουανὸς 格後 1:19&c	樹林的，多樹的	西拉	息耳瓦諾	析粒瓦諾
Στεφανᾶς 格前 1:16&c	皇冠	司提法那	斯特法納	司德納
Στέφανος 宗 6:5&c	皇冠	司提反	斯德望	司德望
Σώπατρος 宗 20:4	救他的父親	所巴特	索帕特爾	索爸鐸
Σωσθένης 宗 18.17	拯救與鞏固者	所提尼	索斯特乃	索德倪
Σωσίπατρος 羅 16:21&c	救他的父親	所西巴德	索息帕特	索思爸鐸

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[58] 思高本新約有兩處譯名，即"息拉"（宗 15:22）和"息耳瓦諾"（格後 1:19），《宗徒大事錄》特別給予注釋："息拉，亦即息耳瓦諾，後來成了保祿傳教的得力助手（見 40 節）。"

Τέρτιος 羅 16:22	第三	德提	特爾爵	德爾悌
Τέρτυλλος 宗 24:1&c	三倍的硬度 (待定)	帖土羅	特爾突羅	德爾圖洛
Τιμόθεος 宗 16:1&c	敬畏 θεος 的人	提摩太	弟茂德	狄茂德
Τιμων 宗 6:5	可敬的	提門	提孟	狄茂
Τρύφαινα 羅 16:12	繁茂的	土非拿	特黎費納	涂繁娜
Τρυφῶσα 羅 16:12	繁茂的	土富撒	特黎佛撒	涂繁韶
Φιλήμων 費 1:1	友好的	腓利門	費肋孟	斐樂盟
Φιλητος 弟後 2:17	可愛的	腓理徒	非肋托	斐樂鐸
Φιλίππος 瑪 10:3&c	喜歡馬的(人)， 或馬的朋友	腓力	斐理伯	斐理伯/斐利 伯/斐力伯[59]
Φιλόλογος 羅 16:15	好言者/有學問	非羅羅古	非羅羅哥	斐樂論

　　　還有一些人名的共同詞根不易看出：

　　希 伯 來 文 方 面 ， "Ἰησοῦς" 、 "Ἐλισαῖος" 、 "Ἡσαΐας"、"Ὡσηέ" 均含有 "救恩" 之意；"Ἀράμ" 與 上表所提的 "Ἰωράμ"、"Ἰωρίμ" 皆含有 "高" 之意； "Ἀζώρ"、"Λάζαρος" 與上表所提的 "Ἐλεάζαρ"、 "Ἐλιέζερ" 含有 "救助" 之意；"Μάλχος" 與上表所提的 "Μελχὶ" 及 "Μελχισέδεκ" 含有 " 君 王 " 之 意 ； "Σαδώκ" 與上表所提的 "Μελχισέδεκ" 含有 "公義" 之 意。

59　參看本文同名表。

同樣，一些名字也具有相同的希臘文詞根："Αἰνέας"與"Ἐπαίνετος"含有"讚美"之意；"Εὐνίκη"與上表所提的"Νικάνωρ"、"Νικόδημος"、"Νικόλαος"皆含有"勝利"之意；"Θεόφιλος"與上表所提的"Φιλήμων"、"Φιλητος"、"Φιλίππος"、"Φιλόλογος"亦含"喜歡"之意。這些共同詞根的希臘文發音不太一致，其翻譯不易處理，但本文所提供的建議盡量反映其共同的涵義。

2.2.3　女性人名何處尋？

新約聖經中提到多位女士，她們個性鮮明，有的熱情奔放，有的則性情溫和；有的潛藏深機，有的則忠誠事主。而這些女士的名字，從希臘文的角度來看，其女性身份顯而易見。現代學者通過觀察新約亦不難發現，其中的女性人名不乏有共同之處，例如，大多數希臘語的女性人名均以字母"α"、"η"、"ις"結尾，這一點可參考下面女性人名表。

然而，縱觀新約中文譯本的女性譯名，事實上，讀者難以從"革老底亞"（Κλαυδία）、"約亞拿"（Ἰωάννα）、"革來"（Χλόη）、"黑落狄雅"（Ἡρῳδιάς）、"得魯息拉"（Δρουσίλλα）、"大馬哩"（Δάμαρις）、"亞腓亞"（Ἀπφία）、"大比大"（Ταβιθά）、"土非拿"（Τρύφαινα）等這些名字中識別其女性身份，更遑論去把握這些女士之性格特徵，以及在早期教會中所扮演的角色。對於她們的譯名，若能體現出中文女性名字之特點，在某種程度上，可以補以上所提之不足。

根據華人古已有的陰陽觀念系統，男為陽，女為陰。體現在名字上，男子之名多含陽剛之氣，女子之名多蘊陰柔之風。依此規律，我們可以在未見其人之前，大致從其名字上辨明他或她的性別。中文女名，察其特徵，可歸納為：（1）女性字，如：娜、妮、婷、娥等；（2）花鳥字，如：荷、莉、

燕、娟等；（3）閨物字，如：釵、錦、黛等；（4）珍寶字，
如：碧君、靜珊、雪銀等；（5）彩豔字，如：玉青、彤心、
紫祺等；（6）柔情字，如：愛玲、婉君、惜春等；（7）女
德字，如：淑、莊、巧等。[60]

　　按照以上提到的中文女性人名特點，本文對新約中的女
性人名重新進行了翻譯，現舉幾例加以說明，以饗讀者。如
思高本《宗徒大事錄》第二十五章第十三節：

　　　　過了幾天，阿格黎帕王同貝勒尼切到了凱撒勒雅，
　　　　向斐斯托致候。

　　　顯然，讀者很難從文中瞭解到"貝勒尼切"是一位女士
的名字，其希臘文"Βερνίκη"，有"帶來勝利"之意。和合
本譯作"百妮基"，呂振中譯本譯作"百尼基"，而現代中
文譯本則兼顧到性別角度，將其譯作"貝妮絲"。

　　再如，思高本《羅馬人書》第九章第十節"並且關於黎
貝加也有相似的事。她從我們的先祖依撒格一人懷了孕"，
其中，"黎貝加"（希伯來文名為 רִבְקָה，"Rivka"）之女
性身份從本節經文中可以獲悉。此名有"捆綁，以美迷人"
之意。和合本將其譯作"利百加"，其它譯本，如李問漁譯
本和德如瑟譯本分別將其譯作"肋伯加"和"理逼加"。雖
然，以上譯本對人名的翻譯都很忠實其發音，但是，這些譯
名卻缺失一種中文女性名字美學的維度，故此，以上譯名很
難令讀者發覺其女性身份。然而，值得推薦的是，吳經熊所
譯之名"莉百嘉"，從音譯、意義和女性身份方面皆有考慮。
另外本文建議譯為"黎蓓佳"；其中，"黎"字為中文姓氏
之一，沿用思高本的"黎"姓，而"佳"有"貌美"之意，

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[60]　蕭遙天，《中國人名的研究》，檳城教育出版公司，1970 年 2 月，頁
　　　213–215。

"蓓"字取其"倍"字之諧音，有"加倍"之意，表美麗之程度。

以下是新約中女士譯名表，至於建議一欄的名字，本文在忠實原有名字發音的原則上，兼顧名字之涵義，措辭盡可能貼近中文女性取名習慣和特點，以供參考：

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Ἄγαρ 迦 4:24&c	逃離	夏甲	哈加爾	夏佳
Ἄννα 路 2:36	恩寵	亞拿	亞納	安娜
Ἀπφία 費 1:2	增加的 (待定)	亞腓亞	阿丕雅	阿媲婭
Βερνίκη 宗 25:13&c	帶來勝利	百妮基	貝勒尼切	貝妮姬
Δάμαρις 宗 17:34	和悅，文雅	大馬哩	達瑪黎	達瑪麗
Δορκάς 宗 9:36&c	瞪羚	多加	多爾卡	鐸[61]佳
Δρουσίλλα 宗 24:24	可愛的露水滴濕	土西拉	得魯息拉	杜露詩
Ἐλισάβετ 路 1:5&c	אל是圓滿的	伊利莎白	依撒伯爾	伊麗莎白
Εὕα 格後 11:3&c	有生命的	夏娃	厄娃	愛娃
Εὐνίκη 弟後 1:5	美好的得勝	友尼基	歐尼刻	歐妮利
Εὐοδία 斐 4:2	行走善道的女人	友阿蝶	厄敖狄雅	歐渥蒂
Ἡρῳδιάς 瑪 14:3&c	英勇的	希羅底	黑落狄亞	賀洛蒂婭

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[61] "鐸"為中文罕見姓氏之一，亦參見《利氏漢語大辭典》，利氏學社編纂，1999 年，頁 1882。

Θαμάρ 瑪 1:3	棕櫚樹	她瑪	塔瑪爾	達瑪樂
Ἰεζάβελ 默 2:20	貞潔的	耶洗別	依則貝耳	葉澤貝
Ἰουλία 羅 16:15&c	源于朱比特的 (待定)	猶利亞	猶里雅	朱莉婭
Ἰουνία 羅 16:7	少年的	猶尼亞	猶尼雅	朱妮婭
Ἰωάννα 路 8:3&c	יהוה的恩寵	約亞拿	約安納	祐安娜
Κανδάκη 宗 8:27	眾僕的女王	甘大基	甘達刻	甘妲柯
Κλαυδία 弟後 4:21&c	瘸腿的	革老底亞	克勞狄雅	克勞迪婭
Λυδία 宗 16:14&c	來自 Ludios (呂底亞)省的人	呂底亞	里狄雅	盧蒂婭
Λωΐς 弟後 1:5	同意的	羅以	羅依	羅意媼
Μάρθα 路 10:38&c	太太，貴婦	馬大	瑪爾大	馬邇妲
Νύμφα 哥 4:15	新娘	寧法	寧法	寧芙婭
Περσίς 羅 16:12	波斯女士	彼息	培爾息	潘媼
Πρίσκα 羅 16:3&c	古代	百基拉	普黎斯加	溥麗佳
Πρίσκιλλα 宗 18:2&c	可愛的古代	百基拉	普黎史拉	溥麗姬
Ῥαχάβ (Ῥαάβ) 瑪1:5(希11:31&c)	寬闊的	喇合	辣哈布	藍荷波
Ῥαχήλ 瑪 2:18	母羊	拉結	辣黑耳	藍潔
Ῥεβέκκα 羅 9:10	捆綁，以美迷人	利百加	黎貝加	黎蓓佳
Ῥόδη 宗 12:13	玫瑰	羅大	洛德	羅莘
Ῥούθ 瑪 1:5	朋友	路得	盧德	盧德

Σαλώμη 谷 15:40&c	和平的	撒羅米	撒羅默	撒洛梅
Σάπφιρα 宗 5:1	藍寶玉	撒非喇	撒斐辣	撒翡拉
Σάρρα 羅 4:19&c	公主	撒拉	撒辣	撒菈
Σουσάννα 路 8:3	百合花	蘇撒拿	蘇撒納	舒姍
Συντύχη 斐 4:2	逢運	循都基	欣提赫	孫途綺
Ταβιθά 宗 9:36&c	母瞪羚	大比大	塔彼達	塔碧姐
Τρύφαινα 羅 16:12	繁茂的	土非拿	特黎費納	涂繁娜
Τρυφῶσα 羅 16:12	繁茂的	土富撒	特黎佛撒	涂繁韶
Φοίβη 羅 16:1	發光的，明亮	非比	福依貝	傅熠蓓
Χλόη 格前 1:11	青菜	革來	黑羅厄	柯蘿葉

2.2.4　同名的煩惱

　　新約中有一些不同身份的人具有相同的名字，例如，有五位生活於新約時代的人物的希臘文名字均為"Ἰάκωβος"；思高本一律將其譯為"雅各伯"，而和合本等譯本則統一譯為"雅各"，換言之，對於同名的情況，大多譯本未將其區分。一方面，保存希臘文譯名的統一性是較客觀的處理方式。另一方面，同名容易給讀者造成混淆，產生"誰是誰"的困惑；甚而，人物之間的關係更是令人撲朔迷離。聖經本身已提供一些區別同名的先例，如：在路加福音耶穌的家譜中，路加用"Ἰωσὴφ"與"Ἰωσὴχ"，"Ἰούδας"與"Ἰωδά"來區別於同一的希伯來文人名。鑒于聖經中希臘文與希伯來文二者的關係，本文建議在處理同名

的問題上不需完全遵循統一的原則。下文將新約諸類人名的問題逐一加以處理：

2.2.4.1　"Ἰησοῦς"與"Βαριησοῦς"

新約中與稱為默西亞的耶穌同名的還有四位，如耶穌的祖先、一位術士等。從基督宗教的信仰看，耶穌是天主子，唯一的救主，具有獨一性，因此，其譯名最好也是獨一無二的。如下表：

	Ἰησοῦς				Βαριησοῦς
	救世主	耶穌的祖先	梅瑟(Μωϋσῆς)的繼承人	號稱猶斯托(Ἰοῦστος)	術士
出處(思高)	滿了八天，孩子應受割損，遂給祂起名叫<u>耶穌</u>，…(路 2:21)	厄爾是<u>耶穌</u>的兒子，<u>耶穌</u>是厄里厄則爾的兒子，(路 3:29)	假使若蘇厄實在使祖先安息了，…。(希 4:8)	還有號稱猶斯托的<u>耶穌</u>，也問候你們；(哥 4:11)	他是個術士，也是假先知，名叫<u>巴爾耶穌</u>(宗 13:6)
和合	耶穌	耶疎	約書亞	耶穌	巴•耶穌
思高	耶穌	耶蘇	若蘇厄	耶穌	巴爾耶穌
建議	耶穌	耶蘇	耶甦雅	耶蘇	巴兒耶穌

2.2.4.2　"Μαρία"

新約中有七位女士取名為"Μαρία"，其中一位是耶穌的母親，她扮演的角色十分顯著，亦被世人所熟知。因此，本文首先將其與其他女士的名字加以區別，即譯作"瑪莉亞"。另外，還有一位是見證耶穌復活的女門徒"Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή"。其在新約的角色非同一般，本文亦將不同的名字來稱呼她，即"瑪達蘭的瑪麗"。

Μαρία						
耶穌的母親	一位來自Μαγδαληνή的女士	雅各伯(Ἰάκωβος)的母親	克羅帕(Κλωπᾶ)的妻子	瑪爾大(Μάρθα)的姐妹	若望(Ἰωάννης)和馬爾谷(Μάρκου)的母親	一位女基督徒
出處（思高）	…瑪利亞生耶穌，祂稱為基督。(瑪 1:16)	其中有瑪利亞瑪達肋納，…。(瑪 27:56)	…雅各伯和若瑟的母親瑪利亞與載伯德兒子的母親。(瑪 27:56)	…，還有克羅帕的妻子瑪利亞和瑪利亞瑪達肋納。(若 19:25)	她有一個妹妹，名叫瑪利亞，坐在主的腳前聽祂講話。(路 10:39)	…號稱馬爾谷──的母親瑪利亞的家去，在那裏有好些人聚集祈禱。(宗 12:12)	請問候瑪利亞，她為你們受了許多勞苦。(羅 16:6)
和合	馬利亞	抹大拉的馬利亞	馬利亞	馬利亞	馬利亞	馬利亞	馬利亞
思高	瑪利亞	瑪利亞瑪達肋納	瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪利亞
建議	瑪莉亞	瑪達蘭的瑪麗	瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪利亞

2.2.4.3　"Σίμων"與"Συμεών"

　　新約中有九位人物取名為"Σίμων"，思高本將其皆譯作"西滿"，和合本則譯作"西門"。其中，有一位在新約中的地位極其突出，又為宗徒之首，特蒙主的恩寵。依據《說文》，"滿即盈溢也"，"西"為中國姓氏之一，因此，本文建議用"西滿"。還有一位是參與了耶穌在最後晚餐中所建立盟約的宗徒之一。為突出此人，本文採用譯名"西盟"，其餘七位則採納"西門"。如下表所示：

Σίμων								
	宗徒之首	熱誠者	依斯加略人	耶穌的兄弟	癩病人	法利塞人	基勒乃人	行邪術人	皮匠
出處（思高）	耶穌回答他說:「約納的兒子西滿,…(瑪16:17)	熱誠者西滿和負賣耶穌的猶達斯依斯加略。(瑪10:4)	他是指依斯加略人西滿的兒子猶達斯說的;…(若6:71)	…他的弟兄不是叫雅各伯,若瑟,西滿和猶達嗎?(瑪13:55)	耶穌正在伯達尼癩病人西滿家裏時,(瑪26:6)	西滿說:「師傅,請說吧!」(路7:40)	他們出來時,遇見一個基勒乃人,名叫西滿,…(瑪27:32)	有一個人,名叫西滿,曾在這城中行過邪術,…。(宗8:9)	以後,伯多祿在約培一個皮匠西滿家裏,…(宗9:43)
和合	西門	西門	西門	西門	西門	西門	西門	西門	西門
思高	西滿	西滿	西滿	西滿	西滿	西滿	西滿	西滿	西滿
建議	西滿	西盟	西門	西門	西門	西門	西門	西門	西門

　　　　取名為"Συμεών"之人有五位,其中一位是宗徒之首"Πέτρος"的原初名字(宗 15:14),本文仍保留"西滿"這個譯名。另外一位"Συμεών"是渴慕見到救主之人,我們不妨將其譯為"西慕盎",其餘三位本文一律譯為"西默盎",如下表:

Συμεών				
	宗徒 Peter 原初之名	見耶穌嬰孩者	耶穌的祖先	安提約基雅教會之師	支派之祖先
出處(思高)	西滿述說了天主當初怎樣關心外邦人,…(宗15:14)	那時,在耶路撒冷有一個人,名叫西默盎。(路2:25)	肋未是西默盎的兒子,西默盎是猶達的兒子,(路3:30)	…其中有巴爾納伯和號稱尼革爾的西滿,(宗13:1)	西默盎支派一萬二千;…(默7:7)
和合	西門	西面	西緬	西面	西面
思高	西滿	西默盎	西默盎	西滿	西默盎
建議	西滿	西慕盎	西默盎	西默盎	西默盎

2.2.4.4 "Ἰωάννης"

新約中有五位名為 "Ἰωάννης" 的人物，其中，有兩位在新約中的角色非常突出，一位是洗者，另一位則是耶穌的宗徒之一。思高本將洗者譯為 "若翰"，與譯為 "若望" 的其他四位加以區別；和合本則一律譯為 "約翰"。本文沿用思高本對兩位地位顯著者，即洗者和耶穌宗徒之一的譯名 "若翰" 和 "若望"；其餘三位 "Ἰωάννης" 則譯為 "若涵"。如下表所示：

Ἰωάννης					
	洗者	宗徒之一	伯多祿 (Πέτρος)的父親	號稱馬爾谷 (Μᾶρκος)	大司祭
出處 (思高)	那時，洗者若翰出現在猶太曠野宣講說 (瑪 3:1)	載伯德的兒子亞各伯和他的弟弟若望，… (瑪 4:21)	…耶穌注視他說：「你是若望的兒子西滿，你要叫『刻法』…」 (若 1:42)	他既明白過來，就往若望——號稱馬爾谷。 (宗 12:12)	還有大司祭亞納斯和蓋法、若望、亞歷山大以及大司祭家族的人。 (宗 4:6)
和合	約翰	約翰	約翰	約翰	約翰
思高	若翰	若望	若望	若望	若望
建議	若翰	若望	若涵	若涵	若涵

2.2.4.5 "Ἰακώβ" 與 "Ἰάκωβος"

瑪竇福音第一章中耶穌的家譜涉及到兩位 "雅各伯"，即亞巴郎之孫及瑪利亞丈夫之父。其希臘文譯名為 "Ἰακώβ"，顯然，有別於 "Ἰάκωβος"，但思高本與和合本二者並未將其加以區分。然而，可幸之處在於，其他早期

譯者，除賀清泰之外，如利類思、白日昇/徐若翰、李問漁、馬相伯均依照《武加大》譯本所區分的 "Iacob" 與 "Iacobus"，而將其分別譯為相異的名字。如下表所示：

	武加大	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	李問漁	馬相伯
Ἰακώβ 瑪 1:2&c	Iacob	雅各	雅哥	亞各伯	雅各伯	雅谷
Ἰάκωβος 瑪 4:21&c	Iacobus	雅各伯	雅各伯	亞各伯	亞適烏	雅各伯

在新約裏，"Ἰακώβ" 和 "Ἰάκωβος" 這兩個名字分別代表舊約時代的兩位人物和新約時代的五位不同身份的人物。"Ἰακώβ" 和 "Ἰάκωβος" 分別為兩個和三個音節，基於音譯原則，本文將其相應地譯為兩字名和三字名加以區別。然後，再兼顧其意，將不同的人分別譯為對應的異名。如下表所示：

	Ἰακώβ		Ἰάκωβος				
	依撒格 (Ἰσαάκ) 之子	瑪利亞丈夫之父	宗徒之一，若望之弟兄	宗徒之一，阿爾斐 (Ἀλφαῖος) 之子	一位名為瑪利亞 (Μαρία) 女士之子	宗徒猶達 (Ἰούδας) 之父 (或兄弟)	耶穌的弟兄
出處（思高）	… 依撒格生<u>雅各伯</u>，雅各伯生猶大和他的兄弟們；(瑪 1:2)	… 厄肋阿匝爾生瑪堂，瑪堂生<u>雅各伯</u>，(瑪 1:15)	載伯德的兒子<u>雅各伯</u>和他的弟弟若望，…(瑪 4:21）	…多默和稅吏瑪竇，阿爾斐的兒子<u>雅各伯</u>和達陡(瑪 10:3)	其中有瑪利亞瑪達肋納，<u>次雅各伯</u>和若瑟的母親瑪利亞及撒羅默。(谷 15:40)	<u>雅各伯</u>的兄弟猶達和猶達斯依斯加略，…(路 6:16)	…他的弟兄不是叫<u>雅各伯</u>，若瑟，西滿和猶達嗎?(瑪 13:55)
和合	雅各	雅各	雅各	雅各	小雅各	雅各	雅各
思高	雅各伯	雅各伯	雅各伯	雅各伯	次雅各伯	雅各伯	雅各伯
建議	雅各	雅各	雅格伯	雅各伯	小雅各泊	雅各泊	雅各泊

2.2.4.6　"Ἰούδας"

新約有八位人物取名"Ἰούδας"和一位名為"Ἰωδά"，二者希伯來文名一致。對於前者，思高本將眾人皆知、出賣耶穌的那位門徒譯為"猶達斯"，又將十二支派之一，即雅各伯之子，與大馬士革人均譯為"猶大"；其餘同名者皆譯為"猶達"，而將後者"Ἰωδά"譯為"約達"。和合本則將"Ἰούδας"一律譯作"猶大"，而將"Ἰωδά"譯為"約大"。本文將以上九位人物分四組譯為不同的譯名：第一組為耶穌的兩位祖先，均譯為"猶大"，第二組為出賣者"猶達斯"，第三組為生活在新約時代的五位，均譯為"猶達"，而最後一組，即"Ἰωδά"譯為"猶韃"。如下表所示：

	Ἰούδας								Ἰωδά
	雅各伯之子	耶穌的祖先	宗徒之一	負賣耶穌之宗徒	耶穌的兄弟	加里肋亞人	號稱巴爾撒巴 (Βαρσαββᾶς)	大馬士革人	耶穌的祖先
出處（思高）	雅各伯生<u>猶大</u>和他的兄弟們 (瑪1:2)	…西默盎是<u>猶達</u>的兒子，… (路3:30)	雅各伯的兄弟<u>猶達</u>… (路6:16)	…魔鬼已使依斯加略人西滿的兒子<u>猶達斯</u>決意出賣耶穌 (若6:16)	雅各伯、若瑟、<u>猶達</u>、西滿的兄弟嗎？。 (谷6:3)	加里肋亞人<u>猶達</u>，當戶口登記的日子… (宗5:37)	有號稱巴爾撒巴的<u>猶達</u>和息拉 (宗15:22)	要在<u>猶大</u>家裏找一個名叫掃祿的塔爾索人； (宗9:11)	…約色黑是<u>約達</u>的兒子。 (路3:26)
和合	猶大	猶大	猶大	猶大	猶大	猶大	猶大	猶大	約大
思高	猶大	猶達	猶達	猶達斯	猶達	猶達	猶達	猶大	約達
建議	猶大	猶大	猶達	猶達斯	猶達	猶達	猶達	猶達	猶韃

2.2.4.7　"Ἰωσὴφ"、"Ἰωσῆς"、"Ἰωσὴχ"

"若瑟"（思高本）/"約瑟"（和合本）的希臘名字在新約中有三種形式："Ἰωσὴφ"、"Ἰωσῆς"以及"Ἰωσὴχ"。新約通常以慣用人名"Ἰωσὴφ"出現，人名"Ἰωσῆς"等於"Ἰωσὴφ"的一種縮寫[62]，僅出現三次（谷 6:3, 15:40.47）而"Ἰωσὴχ"等於"Ἰωσὴφ"的另一種書寫形式，僅出現一次（路 3:26）。

和合本通常將"Ἰωσὴφ"譯為"約瑟"，將"Ἰωσῆς"譯為"約西"，但也將瑪竇福音的兩位"Ἰωσὴφ"都譯為"約西"（瑪 13:55, 27:56），因爲這兩位"Ἰωσὴφ"在馬爾谷福音裏稱爲"Ἰωσῆς"（谷 6:3, 15:40）。而特殊的寫法"Ἰωσὴχ"（路 3:26）在和合本中譯為"約西克"。

思高本僅將路加福音第三章第三十節的"Ἰωσὴφ"譯為"約色夫"，將"Ἰωσὴχ"（路 3:26）譯為"約色黑"，其它"Ἰωσὴφ"和"Ἰωσῆς"均譯為"若瑟"。

Ἰωσὴφ					
	聖祖雅各伯（Ἰακώβ）之子	耶穌的祖先	瑪利亞（Μαρία）的丈夫	阿黎瑪特雅(ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας) 的富人	號稱猶斯托（Ἰοῦστος）	稱為巴爾納伯（Βαρναβᾶς）
出處（思高）	… 名叫息哈爾，靠近雅各伯給他的兒子若瑟的莊田，(若 4:5)	猶達是約色夫的兒子…(路 3:30)	雅各伯生若瑟、瑪利亞的丈夫，…(瑪 1:16)	阿黎瑪特雅人若瑟(谷 15:43)	…號稱猶斯托的若瑟，和瑪弟亞兩個人。(宗 1:23)	有位若瑟，宗徒稱之為巴爾納伯，(宗 4:36)
和合	約瑟	約瑟	約瑟	約瑟	約瑟	約瑟

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[62]　Richard Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, T&T Clark, 1990, pp. 5–6.

| 思高 | 若瑟 | 約色夫 | 若瑟 | 若瑟 | | 若瑟 | 若瑟 |
| 建議 | 若瑟 | 若瑟 | 若瑟 | 若瑟夫 | | 若瑟夫 | 若瑟夫 |

　　如果將其均譯為 "若瑟" 或是 "約瑟" ，讀者就無從知曉其中的細微差別。鑒於此，本文對其譯名亦加以區別，如下表：

Ἰωσὴχ、Ἰωσῆς/Ἰωσὴφ					
	耶穌的祖先	耶穌的兄弟			次雅各伯(Ἰάκωβος)的弟兄
	Ἰωσὴχ	Ἰωσῆς	Ἰωσὴφ	Ἰωσῆς	Ἰωσὴφ
出處（思高）	…史米是約色黑的兒子，約色黑是約達的兒子… (路 3:26)	他不是瑪利亞的兒子，雅各伯、若瑟、猶達、西滿的兄弟嗎? (谷 6:3)	…他的弟兄不是叫雅各伯，若瑟，西滿和猶達嗎? (瑪 13:55)	…次雅各伯和若瑟的母親瑪利亞及撒羅默。 (谷 15:40)	…雅各伯和若瑟的母親瑪利亞與載伯德兒子的母親。 (瑪 27:56)
和合	約西克	約西	約西	約西	約西
思高	約色黑	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟
建議	若瑟柯	若瑟希	若瑟夫	若瑟希	若瑟夫

2.2.4.8 　"Ἀλφαίος"、"Ἀνανίας"、"Γάϊος"、"Ζαχαρίας"、"Ἡρῴδης"、"Κλαύδιος"、"Λευὶς"、"Σαλὰ"、"Φιλίππος"

　　除了以上提到的人名之外，新約還有幾個人名亦屬同名情形。例如，新約中有三人取名為 "Ἀνανίας" 。思高本將此名譯作 "阿納尼雅" ，和合本則將其譯作 "亞拿尼亞" 。"Ἀνανίας" 含有 "יהוה施以恩寵" 之意，因此，名字中最好含有 "雅威" 的 "雅" 字。而其中一位是大馬士革的門

徒，"虔誠守法的人"（宗 22:12），願意親近雅威，本文選用 "昵" 字，有 "親近" 之意，將其譯為 "安那昵雅"，其他兩位 "Ἀνανίας" 均譯為 "安那尼雅"。

　　再如，新約中有兩位取名 "Ζαχαρίας"，其涵義與雅威有關，因此，名字中均含 "雅" 字。一位 "Ζαχαρίας" 是先知，上主的代言人，給予民眾指示，宛如漫長黑夜中的黎明一般。因而，"黎" 字適合作為先知的 "Ζαχαρίας"。 另外一位 "Ζαχαρίας" 是司祭，其職分與聖殿內的禮儀有關，這裡不妨將此名中的 "ρί"（近似漢語拼音的 "li"）譯為 "禮" 字。具體如下表所示：

Ἀλφαῖος		
	肋未（Λευίς）的父親	宗徒雅各伯的父親
出處 (思高)	當他前行時，看見阿耳斐的兒子肋未坐在稅關上，… (谷 2:14)	…瑪竇、多默、阿爾斐的兒子雅各伯， (谷 3:18)
和合	亞勒腓	亞勒腓
思高	阿耳斐	阿爾斐
建議	阿爾斐	阿邇斐

Ἀνανίας			
	賣田之人	大馬士革的門徒	大司祭
出處 (思高)	有一個人，名叫阿納尼雅，同他的妻子撒斐辣賣了一塊田地。 (宗 5:1)	在大馬士革有個門徒，名叫阿納尼雅，… (宗 9:10)	大司祭阿納尼雅卻命站在旁邊的人打他的嘴。 (宗 23:2)
和合	亞拿尼亞	亞拿尼亞	亞拿尼亞
思高	阿納尼雅	阿納尼雅	阿納尼雅
建議	安那尼雅	安那昵雅	安那尼雅

Γάϊος				
	馬其頓人	德爾貝人	教會東主	一位基督徒
出處 (思高)	他們捉住了保祿的旅伴馬其頓人加約及阿黎斯塔苛， (宗 19:29)	德爾貝人加約 和 弟 茂德， (宗 20:4)	我的東主，也是全教會的 東 主 加約， (羅 16:23)	我長老致書給可愛的加約， (若三 1:1)
和合	該猶	該猶	該猶	該猶
思高	加約	加約	加約	加約
建議	嘉約	嘉約	嘉約	嘉悅

Ζαχαρίας		
	先知	司祭
出處 (思高)	…到喪亡在祭壇與聖所之間的則加黎雅的血，(路 11:51)	…阿彼雅班中有一位司祭名叫匝加利亞，(路 1:5)
和合	撒迦利亞	撒迦利亞
思高	則加黎雅	匝加利亞
建議	澤嘉黎雅	澤嘉禮雅

Ἡρώδης			
	大君王	分封侯	君王
出處 (思高)	當 黑 落 德 為 王時，耶穌誕生在猶大的白冷； (瑪 2:1)	那時，分封侯黑落德聽到耶穌的名聲… (瑪 14:1)	在那個時期，黑落德已下手磨難教會中的一些人 (宗 12:1)
和合	希律	希律	希律
思高	黑落德	黑落德	黑落德
建議	賀落德	賀落德	賀落德

Κλαύδιος		
	羅馬皇帝	千夫長
出處 (思高)	因為喀勞狄曾命所有的猶太人都離開羅馬。 (宗 18:2)	喀勞狄里息雅向總督斐理斯鈞座請安。 (宗 23:26)

和合	克勞第	克勞第‧呂西亞
思高	喀勞狄	喀勞狄里息雅
建議	克勞迪	克勞迪‧呂希滙

Λευὶς				
	肋未支派	耶穌的祖先之一	耶穌的祖先之一	稅吏
出處 (思高)	那些由肋未子孫中領受司職的… (希 7:5)	瑪塔特是肋未的兒子，肋未是默爾希的兒子，… (路 3:24)	…約楞是瑪塔特的兒子，瑪塔特是肋未的兒子， (路 3:29)	當他前行時，看見阿耳斐的兒子肋未坐在稅關上， (谷 2:14)
和合	利未	利未	利未	利未
思高	肋未	肋未	肋未	肋未
建議	雷微	雷微	雷微	雷微

Μανασσῆς		
	支派之一	耶穌的祖先之一
出處 (思高)	默納協支派一萬二千… (默 7:6)	…默納舍生阿孟… (瑪 1:10)
和合	瑪拿西	瑪拿西
思高	默納協	默納舍
建議	馬納諧	馬納偕

Ματταθίας		
	耶穌的祖先之一	耶穌的祖先之一
出處 (思高)	…約色夫是瑪塔提雅的兒子… (路 3:25)	…瑪哈特是瑪塔提雅的兒子… (路 3:26)
和合	瑪他提亞	瑪他提亞
思高	瑪塔提雅	瑪塔提雅
建議	馬達迪雅	馬達笛雅

Μελχὶ		
	耶穌的祖先之一	耶穌的祖先之一
出處 (思高)	…肋未是默爾希的兒子… (路 3:24)	…乃黎是默耳希的兒子… (路 3:28)
和合	麥基	麥基
思高	默爾希	默耳希
建議	墨爾基	墨邇基

Σαλὰ		
	耶穌的祖先之一	耶穌的祖先之一
出處 (思高)	波阿次是撒拉的兒子，撒拉 是納赫雄的兒子， （路 3:32）	厄貝爾是舍拉的兒子， （路 3:35）
和合	撒門	沙拉
思高	撒拉	舍拉
建議	佘萊	佘睞

Φιλίππος				
	宗徒之一	傳福音者，七位 [執事]之一	分封侯	黑落德的兄弟
出處 (思高)	… 斐理伯 和巴爾多 祿茂，多默 和稅吏瑪 竇… (瑪 10:3)	就選了斯德 望，他是位充滿 信德和聖神的 人，和斐理伯… (宗 6:5)	…他的兄弟斐 理伯作依突勒 雅和特辣曷尼 地方的分封 侯… (路 3:1)	…黑落德為了他 兄弟斐理伯的妻 子黑落狄亞的原 故… (瑪 14:3)
和合	腓力	腓利	腓力	腓力
思高	斐理伯	斐理伯	斐理伯	斐理伯
建議	斐理伯	斐利伯	斐力伯	斐力伯

2.2.5　復名的翻譯

　　若是復名，即由兩個人名構成，本文建議用黑點 "·" 將其隔開，例如，宗徒大事錄第二十三章第二十六節，"喀勞狄里息雅向總督斐理斯鈞座請安"，這裡的 "喀勞狄里息雅" 可能會使讀者莫名其妙。事實上，"喀勞狄里息雅" 的希臘文是 "Κλαύδιος Λυσίας"，顯然是由兩個名字組成，即慣用名 "Κλαύδιος" 和 "釋放者" 的稱號 "Λυσίας"。因此，將 "Κλαύδιος Λυσίας" 譯作 "克勞迪·呂希涯" 可以使讀者對人名有更加清晰的認識。類似的復名如下表：

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Καῖσαρ Τιβέριος 路 3:1	Τιβέριος：由台伯河神(Tiber)所生 Καίσαρ：服侍的	凱撒 提庇留	凱撒 提庇留	凱撒· 提庇留
Κλαύδιος Λυσίας 宗 23:26&c	Κλαύδιος：瘸腿的 Λυσίας：釋放者	克勞第· 呂西亞	喀勞狄 里息雅	克勞迪· 呂希涯
Ποντίος Πιλάτος 路 3:1&c	Πιλάτος：攜標槍者 Ποντίος：來自於海的	本丟· 彼拉多	般雀 比拉多	龐修· 彼拉多
Πόρκιος Φῆστος 宗 24:27	Πόρκιος ：像豬一樣卑鄙的 Φῆστος：節日	波求· 非斯都	頗爾基約 斐斯托	薄吉· 費思途
Σεργίος Παύλος 宗 13:7	Σεργίος：警官 (未定) Παύλος：微小的	士求· 保羅	色爾爵 保祿	習爵· 保羅
Τιτίος Ἰούστος 宗 18:7	Τιτίος：悅心者，中意者 Ἰούστος：正義	提多· 猶士都	弟鐸 猶斯托	狄悌悠· 尤思鐸

2.2.6 相同首音節儘量取字一致

新約中很多名字首音節相同，如 "Α"、"Ε"、"Nα" 等。本文建議盡量取相同的漢字，置於人名之首，可以起到中文人名姓氏之作用。例如，"Ιεσσαί" 和 "Ιεφθάε" 均以 "Ιε" 為首，可以譯為中文姓氏 "葉" 或 "鄞"，二者擇其一即可。

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Ἀαρών 路 1:5&c	開明 (待定)	亞倫	亞郎	阿隆
Ἄβελ 瑪 23:35&c	虛空	亞伯	亞伯爾	阿泊爾
Ἄγαβος 宗 11:28&c	蝗蟲	亞迦布	阿加波	阿嘉波
Ἀγρίππας 宗 25:13&c	英勇的	亞基帕	阿格黎帕	阿利湃
Ἀδδὶ 路 3:28	裝飾	亞底	阿狄	阿狄
Ἀδμὶν 路 3:33	(未定)	亞蘭	阿得明	阿德明
Ἀζώρ 瑪 1:13&c	助手	亞所	阿左爾	阿佐
Ἀκύλας 宗 18:2	鷹	亞居拉	阿桂拉	阿桂拉
Ἀμιναδάβ 瑪 1:4&c	我的親戚是慷慨大方的	亞米拿達	阿米納達布	阿彌達
Ἀμὼς 瑪 1:10	技者	亞們	阿孟	阿墨
Ἀμώς 路 3:25	負擔	亞摩斯	阿摩斯	阿墨慈
Ἀνδρέας 瑪 4:18&c	男子氣概	安得烈	安德肋	安德烈
Ἀνδρόνικος 羅 16:7	戰勝者	安多尼古	安得洛尼科	安多梲科

Ἀράμ 瑪 1:3&c	高超的/被舉起的	亞蘭	阿蘭	阿嵐
Ἀρέτας 格後 11:32	給予者	亞哩達	阿勒達	阿雷達
Ἀρίσταρχος 宗 19:29	善於治民者	亞里達古	阿黎斯塔苛	阿黎達苛
Ἀριστοβούλος 羅 16:10	最受指教的/最好的謀士	亞利多布	阿黎斯托步羅	阿黎鐸布羅
Ἀρνὶ 路 3:33	(未定)	亞蘭	阿爾乃	阿奈
Ἀρφαξάδ 路 3:36	迦拉底的邊疆區域 (待定)	亞法撒	阿帕革沙得	阿法沙德
Ἀρχέλαος 瑪 2:22	人民的首領	亞基老	阿爾赫勞	阿賀勞
Ἄρχιππος 哥 4:17&c	管馬者/圉人	亞基布	阿爾希頗	阿希頗
Ἀσάφ 瑪 1:7&c	(未定)	亞撒	阿撒	阿颯
Ἀσήρ 路 2:36&c	進展/有福	亞設	阿協爾	阿佘
Ἀσύγκριτος 羅 16:14	無法比擬的	亞遜其土	阿松黎托	阿松黎托
Ἀχάζ 瑪 1:9	抓住	亞哈斯	阿哈次	阿凱
Βαλαάμ 伯後 2:15&c	吞噬人民	巴蘭	巴郎	柏蘭
Βαλάκ 默 2:14	掃空	巴勒	巴拉克	柏樂軻
Βαράκ 希 11:32	閃電	巴拉	巴辣克	柏雷軻
Γὰδ 默 7:5	好運	迦得	加得	嘉德
Γαλλίων 宗 18:12&c	靠奶生活的	迦流	加里雍	嘉利詠
Δίδυμος 若 11:16&c	雙胞胎	低士馬	狄狄摩	狄篤孖
Διοτρεφής 若三 1:9	被愛滋養的	丟特腓	狄約勒斐	狄樂飛

Ἐβέρ 路 3:35	經過/希伯來人	希伯	厄貝爾	宜畔
Ἐλύμας 宗 13:8	智者 (待定)	以呂馬	厄呂瑪	宜力瑪
Ἐνὼς 路 3:38	人，或人類	以挪士	厄諾士	宜諾士
Ἐπαίνετος 羅 16:5	可讚美者	以拜尼土	厄派乃托	宜佩念
Ἐπαφρᾶς 哥 1:7&c	被想望的	以巴弗	厄帕夫辣	宜帕帆
Ἔραστος 宗 19:22&c	可愛的，渴求的	以拉都	厄辣斯托	宜粒鐸
Ἐσλὶ 路 3:25	(未定)	以斯利	厄斯里	赫思立
Ἐσρώμ 瑪 1:3&c	被圍住的	希斯崙	赫茲龍	赫茲崙
Ζαβουλών 默 7:8	榮耀的住所	西布倫	則步隆	澤堡隆
Ζάρα 瑪 1:3	如日升天	謝拉	則辣黑	澤萊
Ἠλὶ 路 3:23	向上	希里	赫里	鄂怡禮
Ἤρ 路 3:28	警惕	珥	厄爾	鄂怡
Θαδδαῖος 瑪 10:3	(未定)	達太	達陡	達泰友
Θάρα 路 3:34	紮營的地方	他拉	特辣黑	達萊
Ἰαμβρῆς 弟後 3:8	(未定)	佯庇	楊布勒	楊布樂
Ἰανναὶ 路 3:24	賜給的	雅拿	雅乃	楊鼐
Ἰάννης 弟後 3:8	山谷	雅尼	雅乃斯	楊楠
Ἰεσσαί 瑪 1:5.6&c	丈夫，或יהוה在	耶西	葉瑟	葉杉裔
Ἰεφθάε 希 11:32	祂所釋放的	耶弗他	依弗大	葉達嗶

Ἰσαάκ 瑪 1:2&c	祂笑	以撒	依撒格	伊慈閣
Ἰσσαχάρ 默 7:7	祂將給予工資	以薩迦	依撒加爾	伊薩嘉
Ἰώβ 雅 5:11	1) 視作仇人 2) 皈依天主/上帝 3) 父在哪里	約伯	約伯	尤伯
Ἰωβὴδ 瑪 1:5&c	僕人	俄備得	敖貝得	尤貝德
Ἰωνᾶς 瑪 12:39&c	鴿子	約拿	約納	尤納
Καϊάφας 瑪 26:3&c	和藹可親	該亞法	蓋法	蓋法
Καϊν 希 11:4&c	鍛工，或獲得 (創 4:1)	該隱	加音	蓋音
Καϊνάμ 路 3:36&c	富裕 (待定)	該南	刻南	蓋依南
Κλήμης 斐 4:3	溫和	革利免	克肋孟	柯蕾萌
Κλωπᾶς 若 19:25	交換	革羅罷	克羅帕	柯嶗帕
Κρήσκης 弟後 4:10	成長	革勒士	克勒斯刻	柯雷庚
Κρίσπος 宗 18:8&c	捲曲的	基利司布	克黎斯頗	柯礫泊
Κόρε 猶 1:11	冰雹，或禿頂	可拉	科辣黑	高磊
Κορνήλιος 宗 10:1&c	屬一個角的	哥尼流	科爾乃略	高乃琉
Λουκᾶς 格後 13:14&c	來自盧卡尼亞 (Lucanus)地區	路加	路加	盧嘉
Λούκιος 宗 13:1&c	早晨生的	路求	路基約	盧曦
Μάαθ 路 3:26	微小	瑪押	瑪哈特	馬德
Μάθουσάλα 路 3:37	射手	瑪土撒拉	默突舍拉	馬圖沙萊

Μάλχος 若 18:10&c	君王	馬爾胡	瑪耳曷	馬邇軻
Μάναήν 宗 13:1	安慰者	馬念	瑪納恆	馬念
Μᾶρκος 宗 12:12&c	源於瑪爾斯(Mars) 戰神	馬可	馬爾谷	馬爾谷
Ναασσών 路 3:32&c	巫師	拿順	納赫雄	南順
Ναγγαὶ 路 3:25	發光	拿該	納革	南蓋
Ναιμάν 路 4:27	令人愉快的	乃縵	納阿曼	南漫
Ναούμ 路 3:25	安慰	拿鴻	納洪	南鴻
Ναχὼρ 路 3:34	鼾睡	拿鶴	納曷爾	南高
Νεφθαλίμ 瑪 4:13	我的摔跤	拿弗他利	納斐塔里	奈斐塔利
Νηρὶ 路 3:27	我的燈	尼利西	乃黎	奈黎
Σεκοῦνδος 宗 20:4	幸運的	西公都	色貢多	習功鐸
Σεργίος 宗 13:7	警官 (待定)	士求	色爾爵	習爵
Σερούχ 路 3:35	幼枝	西鹿	色魯格	習蘆
Σήθ 路 3:38	指派	塞特	舍特	佘德
Σήμ 路 3:36	名望	閃	閃	佘名
Σκευᾶς 宗 19:14	罐 (待定)	士基瓦	斯蓋瓦	司磯瓦
Στάχυς 羅 16:9	一穗麥子	士大古	斯塔輝	司達輝
Τιμαῖος 谷 10:46	珍視	底買	提買	狄邁
Τίτος 格後 2:13&c	護理	提多	弟鐸	狄鐸

Τύραννος 宗 19:9	統治	推喇奴	提郎諾	悌郎諾
Τυχικὸς 宗 20:4&c	時運，僥倖	推基古	提希苛	悌奇科
Φάλεκ 路 3:35	分開者/部分	法勒	培肋格	裴瀾慈 (希伯來文近似讀音為"Peleg")
Φαρές 瑪 1:3&c	裂口	法勒斯	培勒茲	裴裂 (希伯來文近似讀音為"Perets")

2.2.7　其他人名

　　最後，本文將除以上人名之外的其他人名按照"音譯為先，意譯兼顧，力求雅正"的原則都逐一給出了建議。如下表所示：

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Αἰνέας 宗 9:33&c	值得讚美的	以尼雅	艾乃阿	艾念
Ἀμπλιᾶτος 羅 16:8	寬大的	暗伯利	安仆里雅	安博利
Βλάστος 宗 12:20	發芽	伯拉斯托	布拉斯托	包柆思篤
Βοσόρ 伯後 2:15	燃燒，或火把	比珥	貝敖爾	薄梭
Γεδεών 希 11:32	砍伐者	基甸	基德紅	嵇德宏
Δαυὶδ 瑪 1:1&c	所愛者 (待定)	大衛	達味	達味
Δημᾶς 哥 4:14	(未定)	底馬	德瑪斯	德瑪
Ἐλμαδάμ 路 3:28	沒有被估量的 (待定)	以摩當	厄耳瑪丹	亦沫丹

Ἐμμὼρ 宗 7:16	公驢	哈抹	哈摩爾	何默
Ἑνὼχ 路 3:37&c	被祝聖的	以諾	哈諾客	韓諾渴
Ζακχαῖος 路 19:2&c	純淨	撒該	匝凱	匝凱[63]
Ἠσαῦ 羅 9:13&c	多毛	以掃	厄撒烏	伊颯烏
Θευδᾶς 宗 5:36	(未定)	杜達	特烏達	德達
Θωμᾶς 瑪 10:3	孿生子	多馬	多默	鐸默
Ἰάρετ 路 3:37	降下，卑下	雅列	耶勒得	鄭雷
Κάρπος 弟後 4:13	果實	加布	卡爾頗	賈樸
Κηφᾶς 若 1:42&c	石頭	磯法	刻法	基砝
Κίς 宗 13:21	圈套	基士	克士	濟士
Κούαρτος 羅 16:23&c	行四，第四	括土	夸爾托	顧爾篤
Κωσάμ 路 3:28	占卜者，先見	哥桑	科散	寇珊
Λάμεχ 路 3:36	健壯的	拉麥	拉默客	藍默可
Λίνος 弟後 4:21	網	利奴	理諾	黎諾
Λώτ 路 17:28&c	帕子	羅得	羅特	羅德
Μελεὰ 路 3:31	(未定)	米利亞	默肋阿	墨樂
Μεννὰ 路 3:31	豐滿	買南	門納	孟納

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[63] "Ζακχαῖος" 中音節"Ζα"的希伯來文近似讀音為"Za"，音譯為"匝"。而相同音節表裏的"Ζαβουλών"和 "Ζάρα"中音節"Ζα"的希伯來文近似發音均為"Ze"，音譯為"澤"。

Μνάσων 宗 21:16	紀念	拿孫	木納松	曼納朔
Μωϋσῆς 若 1:17 &c	出生的(埃及語)/ 拖出(出 2:10)	摩西	梅瑟	牟世
Νίγερ 宗 13:1	黑色的	尼結	尼革爾	倪舸
Νῶε 瑪 24:37&c	休息	挪亞	諾厄	諾亞
Οὐρβανὸς 羅 16:9	文質彬彬的	耳巴奴	吳爾巴諾	吳彬諾
Παρμενᾶς 宗 6:5&c	堅韌者，或 堅持者	巴米拿	帕爾默納	潘默納
Παῦλος 宗 13:9&c	微小的	保羅	保祿	保羅
Πέτρος 瑪 4:18&c	磐石	彼得	伯多祿	伯忠石
Πόπλιος 宗 28:7&c	流行的	部百流	頗理約	薄流悅
Πούδης 弟後 4:21	謙卑的	布田	普登	普德
Πρόχορος 宗 6:5	歌詠團指揮	伯羅哥羅	仆洛曷洛	溥歌律
Πύρρος 宗 20:4&c	火红的	畢羅斯	丕洛	卜祿
Ῥαγαύ 路 3:35	朋友	拉吳	勒伍	勞顧
Ῥησά 路 3:27	頭	利撒	勒撒	雷颯
Ῥοβοάμ 瑪 1:7	人民數目增加	羅波安	勒哈貝罕	羅泊安
Ῥούφος 谷 15:21	赤色	魯孚	魯富	魯福
Σαδώκ 瑪 1:14	正義的	撒督	匝多克	蔡德[64]

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[64] "Σαδώκ"的希伯來語音節"Σα"近似漢語拼音的"Ca"，近似譯為"蔡"字。

Σαλμών 瑪 1:4&c	外氅	撒門	撒耳孟	撒樂蒙
Σαμψών 希 11:32	像太陽一樣的	參松	三松	潘松[65]
Σεμεΐν 路 3:26	區別的	西美	史米	史美
Τρόφιμος 宗 20:4&c	撫養的	特羅非摩	特洛斐摩	拓斐謀
Ὑμέναιος 弟前 1:20&c	源於"婚禮"之神	許米乃	依默納約	許媒納約
Φήλιξ 宗 23:24&c	快樂	腓力斯	斐理斯	費樂
Φλέγων 羅 16:14	燃燒	弗勒干	弗肋貢	馮樂貢
Φορτουνάτος 格前 16:17	有好運的	福徒拿都	福突納托	付篤納
Φύγελος 弟後 1:15&c	逃犯	腓吉路	非革羅	傅閣羅
Χουζᾶς 路 8:3	(未定)	苦撒	雇撒	古撒
Ὡσηέ 羅 9:25	救贖	何西阿	歐瑟亞	歐捨涯

2.2.8　　神明及天使之名

　　除了人名的翻譯之外，新約還涉及到一些神明和天使之名。其中有些可以當作通用名，已為讀者所熟知，如"Ζεύς"譯為"宙斯"，已在社會上廣泛流行，本文對此類名字予以保留沿用。新約中神明和天使之名如下：

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[65] "Σαμψών"的希伯來語音節"Σαμ"近似漢語拼音的"Sh"+"i"+"m"，近似譯為"潘"。

甲： 基督/天主之稱呼

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Ἐμμανουήλ 瑪 1:23	אֵל與我們同在	以馬內利	厄瑪奴耳	愛瑪諾壹力
Ἠλί 瑪 27:46	我的אֵל	以利	厄里	壹力矣
Μεσσίας 若 1:41&c	受傅者	彌賽亞	黙西亞	彌喜亞
Σαβαὼθ 羅 9:29&c	萬軍的/眾臣的/ 全能的	萬軍(之)	萬軍(的)	敕威德

乙： 外邦神之名

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Ἀρτέμις 宗 19:28&c	狩猎之女神"阿 耳忒彌斯"	亞底米	阿爾特米	阿耳忒彌斯
Βάαλ 羅 11:4	主	巴力	巴耳	巴鴉力
Ζεύς 宗 14:12&c	光耀之神	宙斯	則烏斯	宙斯
Ἑρμῆς 宗 14:12&c	買賣之神"赫耳 墨斯"	希耳米	赫爾默斯	赫耳墨斯
Μολὸχ 宗 7:43	國王	摩洛	摩肋客	魔烙
Ῥαιφάν 宗 7:43	無生命的	理番	楞番	賴煩

丙： 善天使之名

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Γαβριήλ 路 1:19&c	אֵל的人，或 אֵל的力量	加百列	加俾額爾	嘉俾壹力[66]

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[66] "Γαβριὴλ"與"Μιχαὴλ"都是含有詞根"אל"的名字。

Μιχαὴλ 黙 12:7&c	誰像אל一樣？	米迦勒	彌額爾	彌嘉壹力

丁： 惡魔之名

人名	涵義	和合本	思高本	建議
Αβαδδών 黙 9:11	破壞	亞巴頓	阿巴冬	阿魆遁
Απολλύων 黙 9:11	毀滅者	亞玻倫	阿頗隆	阿剟落
Βεελζεβοὺλ 瑪 10:25&c	房子的主人，Satan 的一個名字	別西蔔	貝耳則步	狽讀怖
Βελιάρ 格後 6:15	一無是處	彼列	貝里雅耳	狽利餌
Μαμωνᾶ 瑪 6:24&c	錢財(待定)	瑪門	錢財	犸瞞
Σατάν 羅 16:20&c	敵人	撒但	撒殫	撒殫

結語

　　本文參考了多種翻譯版本譯名，依次列舉了天主教、基督新教、東正教，以及非基督人士在新約譯名方面有代表性譯本的優長。從附錄表所提供的人名中，讀者不難看出隨著歷史的發展，譯名逐漸具有中文人名特點的趨勢。本文在前人譯名原則的基礎上，將嚴復之翻譯標準引申至新約人名的翻譯。換言之，譯名首先忠實於原文名字的發音規律，又因新約中很多人名源於舊約，而這些人名的涵義本身與上主息息相關，因而，將其譯為中文人名時亦兼顧到人名原來之涵義，並且力求措辭雅正，使譯名更加達意。因此，本文以"音譯為先，意譯兼顧，力求雅正"為宗旨，同時亦結合中文人名姓氏特點，將新約中的人名根據具體細則而重新翻譯，例

如，女性人名盡可能趨向中文女性取名特點，使女性身份通過其名在文中得以體現。另外，還依據通用名、相同詞根以及相同音節等情形提出的相關翻譯原則，都逐一提供了新的建議，以致盡可能符合華人的閱讀習慣。

文章的結尾亦提供了人名之外的神明及天使的譯名，除了不考慮人名姓氏特點之外，均按照人名翻譯原則亦提供了新的建議。

要翻譯出既忠實於發音又能達意，並且易為中文讀者接納的聖經譯名，實在是一件耗時費力之事。然而，筆者在前人翻譯的經驗基礎之上所建議的人名，希望對基督宗教的翻譯中文聖經事業有可鑑之處；筆者亦冀望共同譯本的面世在不久的將來為中國基督宗教合一運動，以及為基督教會內外的溝通架起一座橋樑，而統一的譯名正是這座橋樑的奠基石。

筆者不敢奢望文中建議的譯名完全被接納，這僅是一種嘗試，希望本文可以為基督信徒的合一盡一份微薄之力，亦為中文聖經翻譯的進一步改善起拋磚引玉之作用。

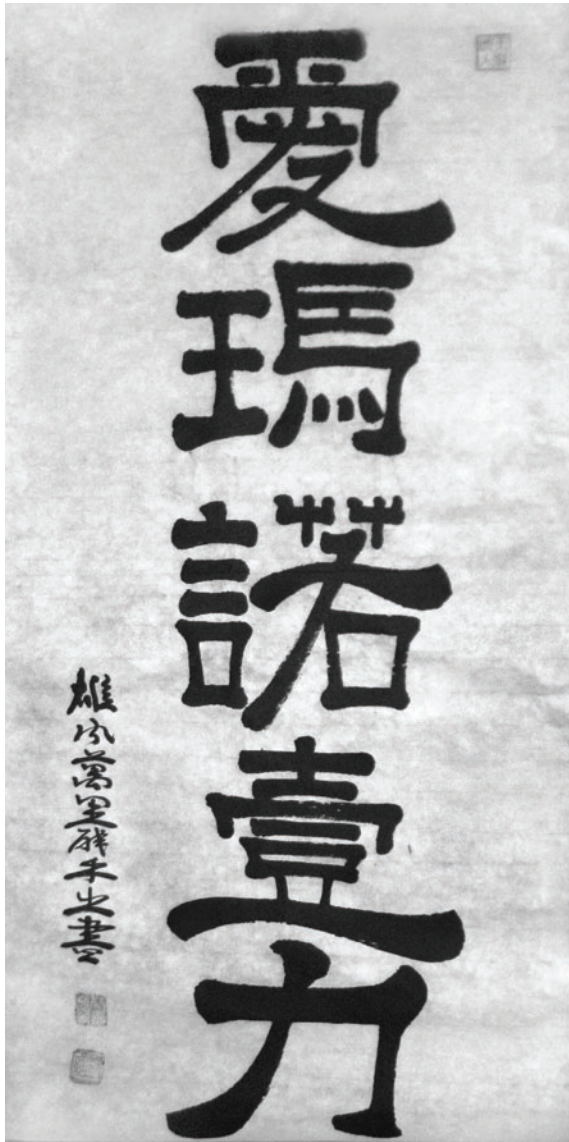雅格伯　　　　伯忠石　　　　若望

馬迪雅

達泰友

雅各伯

安德烈

斐理伯

伯兒多祿茂

西盟　　　　馬達祐　　　　鐸黙
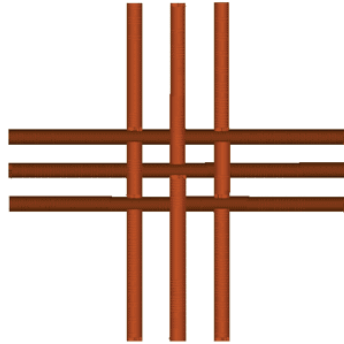
十二宗徒與生肖

伯忠石:	速本緩於若望，反如鼠跃首位。
若望:	一路如牛行於前，反被他人領於先。
雅格伯:	十二宗徒首殉道，無辜受害如羔羊。
安德烈:	十二宗徒首被召，如同華夏首稱龍。
斐理伯:	名含其意，其意為馬。
伯兒多祿茂:	宣道達於孟加拉，虎聲式微福音盛。
鐸黙:	聰敏如猴，生性多疑。
馬達祐:	其人持久宣真道，道如雞鳴喚寤者。
西盟:	心懷熱誠，如狗愛主。
雅各伯:	父名意變化，變速疾如兔。
達泰友:	關心世界獲真福，此福似豬全是寶。
馬迪雅:	前人難拒蛇引誘，取其位補宗徒缺。

此譯名是由筆者請一位偶遇街頭之手殘者親 "口" 所寫

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[ABSTRACT] Translating and reading the Bible ecumenically has been one of the major hopes of the Ecumenical movement initiated in the early twentieth century. However, to agree on a united translation of persons' biblical names remains an unsurmounted challenge for Chinese Christian communities. One of the main reasons of this difficulty comes from the large phonetic differences between Hebrew, Greek and Chinese.

The present study contains a comprehensive compilation of the entire set of New Testament persons' names in Chinese adopted by different versions of the Chinese Bible. It also proposes to analyse systematically the translation of these names from different points of view like phonetics, etymology, gender difference, *etc*. It then proposes a tentative set of solutions based on the criteria of faithfulness, expressivity and elegance in order to improve their readability for Chinese readers.

…………附錄甲：

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ααρών [אַהֲרוֹן Aharon]	路 1:5 宗 7:40 希 5:4, 7:11, 9:4	開明 (待定)	＿＿	亞隆	亞隆	亞隆	亞郎
Ἄβελ [הֶבֶל Hevel]	瑪 23:35 路 11:51 希 11:4, 12:24	虛空，短暫的	亞伯爾	阿白	亞爾	亞伯	亞白耳/亞伯爾
Αβιά [אֲבִיָּה Aviya]	瑪 1:7 路 1:5	我父是יהוה	亞彼亞	阿必盎	亞比亞斯	亞庇啞	亞必雅
Αβιαθὰρ [אֶבְיָתָר Evyatar]	谷 2:26	富裕的父親	＿＿	阿拜達	亞必亞大耳	[石+亞]丕亞泰	亞彼亞
Αβιούδ [אֲבִיהוּד Avihud]	瑪 1:13	我父是尊威的	亞彼迂	阿必爾	亞必烏得	倧庇儒	亞比伍
Αβραὰμ [אַבְרָהָם Avraham]	瑪 1:1&c 谷 12:26 路 1:55&c 若 8:33&c 宗 3:13&c 羅 4:1&c 格後 11:22 迦 3:6&c 希 2:16&c 雅 2:21.23 伯前 3:6	眾人之父	亞巴郎/亞巴浪	阿巴郎	亞巴拉哈母	亞巴郎	亞巴郎
Ἅγαβος [חָגָב Hagav]	宗 11:28, 21:10	蝗蟲	＿＿	阿加蔔	亞加玻		亞加步
Ἀγὰρ [הָגָר Hagar]	迦 4:24.25	逃離	亞加爾	窩雅	亞加耳	＿＿	＿＿
Ἀδάμ [אָדָם Adam]	路 3:38 羅 5:14 格前 15:22.45 弟前 2:13.14 猶 1:14	紅土	＿＿	阿當	亞當	亞當	亞當
Ἀδδὶ [עֵדִּי Adi]	路 3:28	裝飾	＿＿	阿弟	亞狄	亞帝	亞狄
Ἀδμίν [אַדְמִן Admin]	路 3:33	(未定)	＿＿	＿＿	＿＿	＿＿	＿＿
Αζὼρ [עַזּוּר Azzur]	瑪 1:13.14	יהוה施已救援	亞作	阿梭爾	亞作爾	亞佐兒	亞邵
Αλφαίος [חֵלֶף Helef]	1) 谷 2:14 2) 瑪 10:3 谷 3:18 路 6:15 宗 1:13	取代	亞爾弗阿	雅阜	亞耳斐阿	厄斐	亞爾斐
Αμιναδάβ [עַמִּי נָדָב Amminadav]	瑪 1:4 路 3:33	我的親戚是慷慨大方的	亞米納	阿閔達	亞米那大伯	[石+亞]明[加+糸]達	亞米納大
Αμὼς [אָמוֹן Amon]	瑪 1:10	技能者	亞滿	阿蒙	亞滿	亞蒙	亞蒙
Αμώς [אָמוֹץ Amots]	路 3:25	負擔	＿＿	阿摸斯	亞默瑟	椏武士	亞毛斯
Ανανίας [חֲנַנְיָה Hananya]	1) 宗 5:1.3.5 2) 宗 9:10&c, 22:12 3) 宗 23:2, 24:1	יהוה施予恩寵	＿＿	亞納聶	亞那尼亞	＿＿	亞那尼亞
Ἄννα [חַנָּה Hanna]	路 2:36	恩寵	亞納	亞納	亞納	亞納	亞納

希伯來（及亞拉姆）文人名表⋯⋯⋯⋯

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經 (東正教)	和修本/ 現代中文/ 呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
亞隆	亞龍	亞倫	亞郎	阿阿隆爾	亞倫	亞倫	亞倫
亞伯爾	亞伯爾	亞伯	亞伯爾	阿韋利	亞伯	亞伯	亞伯
亞比亞/ 亞比雅	亞彼亞	亞必雅	阿彼雅	阿微亞	亞比雅	阿比雅	阿比雅
亞比亞	亞彪大	亞被亞大	厄貝雅塔爾	阿微阿發爾	亞比亞	亞比雅塔	⸺
亞比伍	亞彼	亞比伍	阿彼烏得	阿微屋德	亞比玉	亞比玉	⸺
亞巴郎	亞巴郎	亞伯漢	亞巴郎	阿烏拉爾	亞伯拉罕	亞伯拉罕	亞伯拉罕
亞加伯	⸺	亞迦布	阿加波	阿戞烏	亞迦布	亞加波	
亞加兒	⸺	夏甲	哈加爾	夏甲	夏甲	夏甲	⸺
亞當	亞當	亞當	亞當	阿達木	亞當	亞當	亞當
亞第	亞狄	亞第	阿狄	阿底乙	亞底	阿迪	阿狄
⸺	⸺	亞達門	阿得明	⸺	亞民/ 亞民/ ⸺	阿德明	阿得明
亞左耳	亞作	亞邵	阿左爾	阿作爾	亞所	阿卓	⸺
亞爾斐	亞爾勿	亞爾啡	阿耳斐/ 阿爾斐	阿勒斐	亞勒腓	阿爾菲	阿勒菲
亞米那達	亞米納答	亞米納大	阿米納達布	阿密那達烏	亞米拿達	阿米納達	阿米拿達
亞蒙	亞滿	亞蒙	阿孟	阿孟	亞們	阿蒙	亞摩斯
亞摩斯	亞毛	亞莫斯	阿摩斯	阿摩斯	亞摩斯	阿摩司	亞摩斯
亞納尼亞	⸺	亞拿尼亞	阿納尼雅	阿那尼亞	亞拿尼亞	哈納尼亞	哈納尼雅
亞納	亞納	亞納	亞納	昂那	亞拿/ 安娜/ 亞拿	安娜	安娜

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἄννας [חֲנַנְיָה Hananya]	路 3:2 若 18:13.24 宗 4:6	(יהוה施予)恩寵	亞納	亞納	安納	侊納士	亞納
Ἀράμ [רָם Ram]	瑪 1:3.4	高超的/被舉起的	亞郎	阿朗	匝拉	亞覽	亞郎
Ἀρνὶ [אַרְנִי Arni]	路 3:33	(未定)	─────	─────	─────	─────	─────
Ἀρφαξάδ [אַרְפַּכְשַׁד Arpakhshad]	路 3:36	迦拉底的邊疆區域(待定)	─────	阿法親	亞爾法撒得	亞發霎	亞爾法撒
Ἀσάφ [אָסָא Asa]	瑪 1:7.8	(未定)	亞撒	阿撒	亞撒	亞撒	亞撒
Ἀσήρ [אָשֵׁר Asher]	路 2:36 黙 7:6	進展/有福	亞色	飫月耳	亞瑟爾	亞思兒	亞瑟
Ἀχάζ [אָחָז Ahaz]	瑪 1:9	抓住	亞加斯	阿加斯	亞加茲	亞珈士	亞加斯
Ἀχίμ [יוֹקִים Yokim]	瑪 1:14	יהוה建樹	亞境	阿京	亞敬	亞檢	亞金
Βαλαάμ [בִּלְעָם Bil'am]	伯後 2:15 猶 1:11 黙 2:14	吞噬人民	─────	─────	巴拉母	─────	─────
Βαλάκ [בָּלָק Balak]	黙 2:14	掃空	─────	─────	巴拉克	─────	─────
Βαραββᾶς [בַּר-אַבָּא Bar-abba]	瑪 27:16.17.20.26 谷 15:7.11.15 路 23:1 若 18:40	父親的兒子	巴拉巴	巴拉巴	巴拉巴	巴拉巴	巴拉巴
Βαράκ [בָּרָק Barak]	希 11:32	閃電	─────	─────	巴拉克	─────	─────
Βαραχίας [בֶּרֶכְיָה Berekhya]	瑪 23:35	יהוה祝福	巴剌基亞	─────	巴拉既亞	巴賴嘉	巴辣基
Βαρθολομαῖος [בַּר-תַּלְמַי Bar-talmay]	瑪 10:3 谷 3:18 路 6:14 宗 1:13	Θολομαῖος 之子	巴多茂	巴多茂	巴爾多祿茂	巴多祿茂	巴爾多祿茂
Βαριησοῦς [בַּר-יֵשׁוּעַ Bar-yeshu'a]	宗 13:6	Ἰησοῦς 之子	─────	巴爾耶穌	巴耳耶穌	─────	巴耳葉蘇
Βαρναβᾶς [בַּר-נַבָּא Bar-nabba]	宗 4:36, 9:27, 11:22.30, 12:25, 13:1.2&c, 14:12.14.20, 15:2&c 格前 9:6 迦 2:1.9	安慰之子	─────	巴納伯	巴耳那伯	─────	巴爾納伯
Βαρσαββᾶς [בַּר-צָבָה Bar-tseva]	1) 宗 1:23 2) 宗 15:22	Σαββᾶς 之子，或安息日之子	巴爾撒巴	巴撒巴	巴耳撒巴	─────	巴爾撒巴
Βαρτιμαῖος [בַּר-טָמֵא Bar-tame]	谷 10:46	Τιμαῖος 之子	─────	巴第茂	巴里黙	巴帝美	─────
Βενιαμείν [בִּנְיָמִין Binyamin]	宗 13:21 羅 11:1 費 3:5 黙 7:8	右手之子，即南方之子	伯尼亞明	奔雅民	柏尼亞明	─────	─────
Βοανηργές [可能：בְּנֵי-רָגֶשׁ Beney-Ragesh]	谷 3:17	雷霆之子	─────	博搦熱	伯亞奈耳热	波匿惹	罢呐热

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
亞納	亞納	亞納	亞納斯	昂那	亞那	哈納	亞納斯
亞郎	亞郎	亞郎	阿蘭	阿拉爾木	亞蘭	亞蘭	——
——	——	——	阿爾乃	耶斯羅爾木	亞尼/亞尼/阿珥尼	阿爾尼	阿尼
亞爾法各撒	亞爾發沙	阿兒拂雪	阿帕革沙得	阿爾發克薩德	亞法撒	亞法撒	阿法撒
亞撒	亞撒	阿撒	阿撒	阿薩	亞撒	亞撒	——
亞塞爾	亞塞爾	亞瑟	阿協爾	阿西爾	亞設	亞設	阿協爾
亞加斯	亞加斯	亞迦斯	阿哈次	阿哈澤	亞哈斯	亞哈茲	——
亞金	亞鏡	亞金	阿歆	阿伊爾木	亞金	亞欽	——
彼肋罕	——	巴拉盎	巴郎	瓦拉阿木	巴蘭	巴蘭	——
巴拉可	——	巴拉可	巴拉克	瓦拉克	巴勒	巴勒	——
巴拉巴	巴拉巴	巴辣巴	巴辣巴	瓦拉爾瓦	巴拉巴	巴拉巴	——
巴拉可	——	巴拉	巴辣克	瓦拉爾克	巴拉	巴拉克	——
巴辣基	巴辣茄	巴辣基	貝勒基雅	瓦拉爾伊爾亞	巴拉加	巴拉加	——
巴爾多祿茂	巴爾多祿茂	巴爾多祿茂	巴爾多祿茂	瓦爾佛羅梅	巴多羅買	巴多爾麥	巴多祿茂
巴爾日蘇	——	巴也素	巴爾耶穌	瓦利爾伊穌斯	巴·耶穌 巴·耶穌 巴耶穌	巴爾耶穌	——
巴爾納伯	——	巴拿巴	巴爾納伯	瓦爾那瓦	巴拿巴	巴爾拿巴	——
巴而撒巴	——	巴色巴	巴爾撒巴	瓦爾薩瓦	巴撒巴	巴爾撒巴	——
巴爾弟買	巴爾弟茂	巴底買	巴爾提買	瓦爾提梅	巴底買	巴爾提麥	——
本雅明	——	便雅明	本雅明	韋尼阿明	便雅憫	本雅明	——
巴乃热	包南日	罢呐热	波納爾革	倭阿涅爾耶格斯	半尼其	波尼爾格	——

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Βόες [בֹּעַז Bo'az]	瑪 1:5	力量	＿＿	玻斯	玻何兹	播河士	玻哈士
Βόος [בֹּעַז Bo'az]	路 3:32	力量	＿＿	玻斯	玻何兹	播河士	博阿斯
Βοσόρ [בְּעוֹר Be'or]	伯後 2:15	燃燒，或火把	＿＿	＿＿	玻所耳	＿＿	＿＿
Γάδ [גָּד Gad]	默 7:5	好運	加得	＿＿	加得	＿＿	＿＿
Γαμαλιήλ [גַּמְלִיאֵל Gamli'el]	宗 5:34, 22:3	אֵל是我的賞報	＿＿	嘉瑪爾列	加瑪里耶耳	＿＿	加瑪利陀耳
Γεδεών [גִּדְעוֹן Gide'on]	希 11:32	砍伐者	＿＿	＿＿	热得翁	＿＿	＿＿
Δανιήλ [דָּנִיֵּל Daniyel]	瑪 24:15	我的審判者是אֵל	達尼額	達聶	達尼耶耳	達尼兒	達尼爾
Δαυὶδ [דָּוִד David]	瑪 1:1&c 谷 11:10&c 路 1:27&c 若 7:42 宗 1:16&c 羅 1:3&c 弟後 2:8 希 4:7, 11:32 默 3:7&c	所愛者 (待定)	達未	達未	達未	達味	達未
Ἐβέρ [עֵבֶר Ever]	路 3:35	經過/希伯來人	＿＿	赫伯	黑伯耳	黑伯爾	厄伯
Ἐζεκίας [חִזְקִיָּה Hizqiya]	瑪 1:9.10	我的力量是יהוה	厄色加	厄瑟加	厄則濟亞斯	耶謝紀極	＿＿
Ἐλεάζαρ [אֶלְעָזָר Ele'azar]	瑪 1:15	אֵל施已助佑	厄肋亞撒	厄臘撒	厄里哈匝耳	耶理亞雜	厄肋亞襪
Ἐλιακίμ [אֶלְיָקִים Eliyakim]	瑪 1:13 路 3:30	אֵל讓(他)站立	厄理亞精	厄賴心	厄里雅詩黙	耶理亞閃	厄理亞精
Ἐλιέζερ [אֱלִיעֶזֶר Eli'ezer]	路 3:29	אֵל是助佑	＿＿	厄列瑟	厄列塞耳	耶列蔗	厄利黑塞
Ἐλιούδ [אֱלִיהוּד Elihud]	瑪 1:14.15	אֵל是尊威的	厄旅	厄呂	厄里烏得	耶理儒	厄理伍
Ἐλισάβετ [אֱלִישֶׁבַע Elisheva]	路 1:5&c	אֵל是圓滿的	＿＿	依撒伯	依撒伯爾	依撒珀	依撒伯爾
Ἐλισαῖος [אֱלִישָׁע Elisha]	路 4:27	אֵל是救援	＿＿	厄里叟	厄里塞	厄理叟	厄利色
Ἐλμαδάμ [אֶלְמוֹדָד Almodad]	路 3:28	沒有被估量的 (待定)	＿＿	厄瑪難	耳瑪丹	邇瑪登	厄瑪當
Ἐμμανουήλ [עִמָּנוּאֵל Immanuel]	瑪 1:23	אֵל與我們同在	＿＿	厄慢爾	瑪努厄爾	耶漫帑兒	厄瑪呶
Ἐμμώρ [חֲמוֹר Hamor]	宗 7:16	公驢	＿＿	黑莫	黑木耳	＿＿	＿＿
Ἐνώς [אֱנוֹשׁ Enosh]	路 3:38	人，或人类	＿＿	赫娜斯	厄諾士	黑拏士	厄諾斯
Ἐνώχ [חֲנוֹךְ Hanokh]	路 3:37 希 11:5 猶 1:14	被祝聖的	＿＿	赫諾格	黑諾克	黑諾	厄諾克

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經 (東正教)	和修本/ 現代中文/ 呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
博斯	博阿斯	玻哈士	波阿次	倭沃澤	波阿斯	波阿斯	——
博斯	博阿斯	保和	波阿次	倭沃澤	波阿斯	波阿斯	——
——	——	包掃兒	貝敖爾	倭莎爾	比珥	波索爾	——
憂得	——	加德	加得	戛德	迦得	迦得	——
賈瑪列爾	——	迦瑪列	加瑪里耳	戛瑪利伊勒	迦瑪列	迦瑪列	——
日德央	——	基甸	基德红	耶^格疊翁	基甸	基甸	——
達尼爾	大尼厄爾	達尼理	達尼爾	達尼伊勒	但以理	但以理	——
達味	達未	大維	達味	達微	大衛	大衛	大衛
赫伯爾	黑伯耳	赫伯	厄貝爾	耶韋爾	希伯	希伯	希伯爾
厄則加	厄則加	厄瑟基亞	希則克雅	耶捷伊[⁜]亞	希西家	希士迦	——
厄肋亞撒	厄肋亞責	厄勒亞責	厄肋阿匝爾	耶列阿匝爾	以利亞撒	艾利阿澤	——
厄里雅金	厄理亞精	厄理亞精	厄里雅金	耶利阿伊[⁜]木	以利亞敬	艾利雅金	——
厄烈在爾	厄例色耳	伊理塞	厄里厄則爾	耶利耶捷爾	以利以謝	艾利澤	以利以謝
厄留	厄里烏	厄理伍	厄里烏得	耶利屋德	以律	以律	——
依撒伯爾	依撒伯爾	依氏	依撒伯爾	耶利薩韋	伊利莎白	伊丽莎白	伊利莎白
厄利叟	厄利叟	伊理叟	厄里叟	耶利些乙	以利沙	以利沙	——
厄而瑪當	厄耳瑪丹	藹而瑪當	厄耳瑪丹	耶勒摩達木	以摩當	艾摩當	以瑪丹
埃瑪努厄爾	厄瑪努厄爾	愛瑪努爾	厄瑪奴耳	耶瑪筶伊勒	以馬內利	以馬內利	——
海茂	——	哈抹	哈摩爾	阿木	哈抹	哈莫	——
厄諾斯	厄諾斯	恩諾	厄諾士	耶諾斯	以挪士	人类	以诺士
厄諾可	厄諾格	藹諾	哈諾客	耶諾合	以諾	以諾	赫諾

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἐσλὶ (未定)	路 3:25	(未定)	＿＿＿	黑斯里	黑西	耶司烈	厄斯里
Ἐσρώμ [חֶצְרוֹן Hetsron]	瑪 1:3 路 3:33	被圍住的	厄斯鸞	厄斯隆	厄斯隆	耶世倫	厄斯隆
Εὕα [חַוָּה Havva]	格後 11:3 弟前 2:13	有生命的	＿＿＿	厄襪	厄娃	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Ζαβουλών [זְבוּלוּן Zevulon]	默 7:8	榮耀的住所	撒補鑾	撒不隆	匝布隆	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Ζακχαῖος [זַכַּי Zakkay]	路 19:2.5.8	純淨	＿＿＿	撒勾	匝格阿	杂椒	褖蓋
Ζάρα [זֶרַח Zerah]	瑪 1:3	如日升天	匝朗	匝朗	匝拉	雜藍	匝朗
Ζαχαρίας [זְכַרְיָה Zekharya]	1) 瑪 23:35 路 11:51 2) 路 1:5&c, 3:2	יהוה 紀念	匝加利亞	撒加列	匝加里亞	撒穋理	匝加理
Ζεβεδαῖος [זַבְדִּי Zavdi]	瑪 4:21, 10:2, 20:20, 26:37, 27:56 谷 1:19.20, 3:17, 10:35 路 5:10 若 21:2	יהוה 的恩賜	責伯德	責伯陡	則伯德	慈伯德	載伯德
Ζοροβαβὲλ [זְרֻבָּבֶל Zerubbavel]	瑪 1:12.13 路 3:27	巴比倫的後裔	＿＿＿	瑣巴伯	作落巴柏耳	佐羅伯兒	邵羅巴伯
Ἠλὶ [עֵלִי Eli]	路 3:23	向上	＿＿＿	赫里	黑里	耶理	黑里
Ἠλίας [אֵלִיָּה Eliya]	瑪 11:14&c 谷 6:15&c 路 1:17&c 若 1:21.25 羅 11:2 雅 5:17	יהוה 是我的	阨理亞	厄列	厄里亞	厄理稏	厄利亞
Ἤρ [עֵר Er]	路 3:28	警惕	＿＿＿	赫耳	黑耳	黑兒	厄耳
Ἠσαΐας [יְשַׁעְיָה Yeshaya]	瑪 3:3&c 谷 1:2, 7:6 路 3:4, 4:17 若 1:23, 12:38.39.41 宗 8:28.30, 28:25 羅 9:27&c	יהוה 救援	義撒意亞	依賽	依撒意亞	宜撒義	依撒依亞
Ἠσαὺ [עֵשָׂו Esav]	羅 9:13 希 11:20, 12:16	多毛	＿＿＿	厄掃	耶撒烏	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Θαμάρ [תָּמָר Tamar]	瑪 1:3	棕櫚樹	達瑪	答瑪	達瑪爾	泰瑪	達瑪
Θάρα [תֶּרַח Terah]	路 3:34	縈營的地方	＿＿＿	＿＿＿	達肋	達理	達肋
Θωμᾶς [תְּאוֹמִים Te'omim]	瑪 10:3 谷 3:18 路 6:15 若 11:16&c 宗 1:13	孿生子	多默	多默	多默	多默	多默
Ἰάϊρος [יָאִיר Yair]	谷 5:22 路 8:41	祂啟發	＿＿＿	矮羅	亞依羅	崖祿	雅依祿

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
依斯利	黑斯里	赫斯利	厄斯里	耶斯利木	以斯利	艾斯里	以斯利
厄斯隆	厄斯鸞	厄斯隆	赫茲龍	耶斯羅[爾]木	希斯崙	希斯侖	赫斯倫
厄娃	────	夏娃	厄娃	耶瓦	夏娃	夏娃	────
匝布隆	────	匝布隆	則步隆	匝烏隆	西布倫	匝烏隆	────
匝開	匝格俄	石開	匝凱	匝克黑	撒該	扎愷	撒凱
匝郎	匝郎	匝郎	則辣黑	匝拉[爾]	謝拉	謝拉	────
匝加利亞	匝加利亞	撒迦利亞	匝加利亞/則加黎雅	匝哈利[爾]亞	撒迦利亞	撒迦利亞	撒加利亞
載伯德	責伯德	慈伯德	載伯德	捷革疊	西庇太	蔡伯	西庇太
佐洛巴泊耳	坐羅罷	佐洛巴伯	則魯巴貝耳	作羅[爾]瓦韋利	所羅巴伯	則魯巴別	────
赫里	黑里	赫理	赫里	伊利	希里	何力	以里
厄利亞	厄里亞	依理藹	厄里亞	伊利亞	以利亞	以利亞	以利亞
海珥	黑耳	海爾	厄爾	伊耳	珥	艾爾	以爾
依撒依亞	依撒亞	意灑雅	依撒意亞	伊薩伊亞	以賽亞	以賽亞	以賽亞
厄撒勿	────	伊梢	厄撒烏	伊薩烏	以掃	以掃	────
達瑪爾	達瑪	達瑪	塔瑪爾	發瑪爾	她瑪/塔瑪/他瑪	塔瑪	────
達肋	達肋	德樂	特辣黑	發拉[爾]	他拉	泰臘	他拉
多默	多默	多默	多默	佛瑪	多馬	托馬	湯瑪斯
雅依祿	雅易祿	雅依祿	雅依洛	伊阿伊爾	葉魯/葉魯/睚魯	亞珥	雅洛

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἰακώβ [יַעֲקֹב　Ya'akov]	1) 瑪 **1:2, 8:11,** **22:32** 谷 **12:26** 路 **1:33&c** 若 **4:5.6.12** 宗 **3:13, 7:8&c** 羅 **9:13, 11:26** 希 **11:9.20.21** 2) 瑪 **1:15.16**	搶奪位置	雅各	雅哥	亞各伯	雅哥伯	雅各伯
Ἰάκωβος [יַעֲקֹב　Ya'akov]	1) 瑪 **4:21&c** 谷 **1:19&c** 路 **5:10&c** 宗 **12:2** 2) 瑪 **10:3 27:56** 谷 **3:18&c** 路 **6:15** 宗 **1:13b** 3) 路 **6:16** 宗 **1:13c** 4) 瑪 **13:55** 谷 **6:3** 宗 **12:2&c** 格前 **15:7** 迦 **1:19, 2:9.12** 雅 **1:1** 猶 **1:1** 5) 瑪 **15:40, 16:1** 路 **24:10**	搶奪位置	雅各伯	雅各伯	亞各伯	雅哥伯	亞適烏
Ἰανναὶ [יַנַּה　Yana]	路 **3:24**	(未定)	＿＿＿	＿＿＿	盎奈	楊尼	揚吶
Ἰάρετ [יֶרֶד　Yered]	路 **3:37**	降下	＿＿＿	亞肋	亞肋得	雅肋	雅雷
Ἰησοῦς [יְהוֹשׁוּעַ　Yehoshua]	1) 路 **3:29**	יהוה拯救	＿＿＿	耶穌	葉素	耶師	耶蘇
	2) 宗 **7:45** 希 **4:8**	יהוה拯救	＿＿＿	耶穌	若穌耶		
	3) 哥 **4:11**	יהוה拯救	＿＿＿	耶穌	耶穌	＿＿＿	耶蘇
Ἰεζάβελ [אִיזֶבֶל　Izevel]	默 **2:20**	貞潔的	＿＿＿	＿＿＿	耶匝栢耳	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Ἰερεμίας [יִרְמְיָה　Irmiya]	瑪 **2:17, 16:14, 27:9**	יהוה派遣	日勒米逆	熱肋篾	日肋米亞	耶瀝麼	耶肋米亞
Ἰεσσαί [יִשַׁי　Ishay]	瑪 **1:5.6** 路 **3:32** 宗 **13:22** 羅 **15:12**	丈夫，或 יהוה在	葉瑟	熱瑟	耶塞	耶舍	葉瑟
Ἰεφθάε [יִפְתָּח　Iftah]	希 **11:32**	祂所釋放的			耶斐得		
Ἰεχονίας [יְכָנְיָה　Yekhonya]	瑪 **1:11.12**	יהוה興起 並加固	各尼亞	熱哥聶	耶各尼亞斯	耶閣尼穠	耶各尼亞
Ἰούδας [יְהוּדָה　Yehuda]	1) 瑪 **1:2.3, 2:6** 路 **3:33** 希 **7:14, 8:8** 默 **5:5, 7:5** 2) 路 **3:30** 3) 路 **3:33** 4) 路 **6:16** 若 **14:22** 宗 **1:13** 5) 瑪 **10:4&c** 谷 **3:19&c** 路 **6:16&c** 若 **6:71&c** 宗 **1:16.25** 6) 瑪 **13:55** 谷 **6:3** 猶 **1:1** 7) 宗 **5:37** 8) 宗 **15:22.27.32** 9) 宗 **9:11**	讚美	如達/ 茹答	如達	如達斯	茹德	茹達

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經 (東正教)	和修本/ 現代中文/ 呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
雅各伯	雅谷	雅各伯	雅各伯	亞適烏	雅各	雅各	雅各
雅各伯	雅各伯	雅谷伯	雅各伯	亞適烏	雅各	雅各	雅各
亞乃	若翰納	亞乃	雅乃	伊昂奈	雅拿	雅奈	雅乃
雅肋德	雅肋得	雅勒	耶勒得	伊阿列㪍德	雅列	雅萊	耶勒
葉蘇	葉素	葉素	耶蘇	沃西亞	耶疎	約書亞	耶蘇
若蘇厄	——	約書厄	若蘇厄	伊伊穌斯	約書亞	約書亞	——
耶穌	耶穌	耶穌	耶穌	伊伊穌	耶穌	耶蘇	——
耶撒伯	____	葉撒伯爾	依則貝耳	夷色貝	耶洗別/ 耶洗碧/ 耶洗別	耶匝韋利	____
耶肋米亞	日肋米亞	日勒米亞	耶肋米亞	耶列㪚密亞	耶利米	耶利米	____
葉瑟	葉瑟	葉瑟	葉瑟	伊耶些乙	耶西	耶西	耶西
熱弗德	____	耶弗德	依弗大	耶福發乙	耶弗他	葉夫塔	____
耶各尼亞	葉各尼亞	耶各尼亞	耶苛尼雅	伊耶霍尼亞	耶哥尼雅/ 約雅斤/ 耶哥尼雅	耶合尼雅	____
猶達	如達	樹德	猶大	伊屋達	猶大	猶大	猶大

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἰσαάκ [יִצְחָק Itshak]	瑪 1:2&c 谷 12:26 路 3:34&c 宗 3:13&c 羅 9:7.10 迦 4:28 希 11:9&c 雅 2:21	祂笑	依撒	依撒	依撒格	義撒厄	依撒格
Ἰσραήλ [יִשְׂרָאֵל Israel]	瑪 2:6&c 谷 12:29, 15:32 路 1:16&c 若 1:31&c 宗 1:6&c 羅 9:6&c 格前 10:18 格後 3:7.13 迦 6:16 弗 2:12 費 3:5 希 8:8.10, 11:22 默 2:14, 7:4, 21:12	אל堅持	_____	依臘爾	依斯拉耶耳	_____	_____
Ἰσσαχάρ [יִשָּׂשכָר Issakhar]	默 7:7	祂將給予工資	依撒加爾	_____	依撒加耳	_____	_____
Ἰωαθάμ [יוֹתָם Yotam]	瑪 1:9	יהוה是完美无缺的	若亞當	若阿當	約哈當	約亞譚	若雅瑘
Ἰωανὰν [יוֹחָנָן Yohanan]	路 3:27	יהוה施予恩寵	_____	若翰納	若翰南	約亞[加+糸]	若翰納
Ἰωάννα [יוֹחָנָה Yohana]	路 8:3, 24:10	יהוה施予恩寵	_____	若翰納	若翰納	約亞納	若翰納
Ἰωάννης [יוֹחָנָן Yohanan]	1) 瑪 3:1.4&c 谷 1:4.9&c 路 1:13&c 若 1:6&c 宗 1:5&c 2) 瑪 4:21&c 谷 1:19&c 路 5:10&c 宗 3:1&c 迦 2:9 默 1:1.4.9, 22:8 3) 若 1:42&c 4) 宗 12:12.25&c 5) 宗 4:6	יהוה施予恩寵	若翰	若翰	若翰	若翰	若翰
Ἰώβ [אִיּוֹב ʾIyov]	雅 5:11	1) 視為仇人 2) 皈依天主/上帝 3) 父在哪裏	_____	_____	若伯	_____	_____
Ἰωβήδ [עוֹבֵד Oved]	瑪 1:5 路 3:32	服侍	阿白	邊伯	阿伯得	阿伯	哈勃特
Ἰωδὰ [יְהוּדָה Yehuda]	路 3:26	讚美	_____	茹達	如達斯	茹達	約達
Ἰωήλ [יוֹאֵל Yoʾel]	宗 2:16	אל是יהוה	_____	若爾	約黑爾	_____	若厄耳
Ἰωνὰμ [可能：יוֹחָנָן Yohanan]	路 3:30	יהוה施予恩寵	_____	若納	約翰納	約[加+糸]	若納
Ἰωνᾶς [יוֹנָה Yona]	瑪 12:39.40.41, 16:4 路 11:29.30	鴿子	若納	若納	約那	約納	_____
Ἰωράμ [יוֹרָם Yoram]	瑪 1:8	יהוה是至高的	藥郎	若朗	約拉黙	約藍	若郎
Ἰωρὶμ [可能：יוֹרָם Yoram]	路 3:29	יהוה是至高的 (待定)	_____	若陵	約里莫	約廉	若林

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經 (東正教)	和修本/ 現代中文/ 呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
依撒格	依撒	依灑格	依撒格	伊薩阿克	以撒	以撒	――
以色列	――	義塞	以色列	伊斯拉爾	以色列	以色列	――
依撒加爾	――	意撒加爾	依撒加爾	以薩迦	以薩迦	伊薩哈爾	――
若亞當	若亞當	若雅璫	約堂	伊沃阿發木	約坦	約坦	――
若亞納	若翰納	若亞納	約哈南	伊沃昂囊	約亞拿	約翰納	約瑟
若翰納	盍盎納	若翰納	約安納	伊沃昂那	約亞拿	約安娜	約安娜
若翰	若翰	如望	若翰/ 若望	伊望	約翰	約翰	約翰
約伯	――	約伯	約伯	伊沃烏	約伯	約伯	――
阿伯德/ 阿伯	阿白	哈勃特	敖貝得	沃微德	俄備得	俄貝	奧貝得
猶達	如達	樹德	約達	伊屋達	約大	約達	約達
岳厄爾	――	約珥	岳厄爾	伊沃伊利	約珥	約珥	――
約納	約納	若難	約南	伊沃曩	約南	約南	――
若納	若納	若納	約納	伊沃那	約拿	約拿	約拿
若郎	若郎	若蘭	約蘭	伊沃拉爾木	約蘭	約蘭	――
約林	約里末	若林	約楞	伊沃利爾木	約令	約令	――

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἰωσαφάτ [יְהוֹשָׁפָט Yehoshafat]	瑪 1:8	יהוה審判	藥撒法	若朗	約撒法得	約沙法	若撒法
Ἰωσῆς [יוֹסֵי 或 יוֹסֶה Yose 或 Yosey]	1) 谷 6:3 2) 谷 15:40.47	提升	＿＿＿	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟
Ἰωσὴφ [יוֹסֵף Yosef]	1) 若 4:5 宗 7:9&c 希 11:21.22 默 7:8 2) 瑪 13:55, 27:56 路 3:24 3) 路 3:30 4) 瑪 1:16&c 路 1:27&c 若 1:45, 6:42 5) 瑪 27:57.59 谷 15:43.45 路 23:50 若 19:38 6) 宗 1:23 7) 宗 4:36	愿袘增添	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟
Ἰωσὴχ [יוֹסֵף Yosef]	路 3:26	愿袘增添	＿＿＿	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟
Ἰωσίας [יֹאשִׁיָּה Yoshiya]	瑪 1:10.11	יהוה治愈	若細亞	若些	約西亞斯	約西椏	若西亞
Καϊάφας [קַיָּפָא Kayafa]	瑪 26:3.57 路 3:2 若 11:49, 18:13&c 宗 4:6	和藹可親	＿＿＿	蓋法	蓋法	蓋法	蓋法
Κάϊν [קַיִן Kayin]	希 11:4 猶 1:11 若一 3:12	鍛工，或獲得 (創 4:1)	▬	＿＿＿	加音	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Καϊνάμ [קֵינָן Keynan]	路 3:36.37	富裕 (待定)	＿＿＿	＿＿＿	該南	該楲/該兩	蓋南
Κηφᾶς [כֵּף Kef]	若 1:42 格前 1:12, 3:22, 9:5, 15:5 迦 1:18, 2:9.11.14	石頭	＿＿＿	瑟法	舌法	石法師	磐石
Κίς [קִישׁ Kish]	宗 13:21	圈套	＿＿＿	祭斯	詩思	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Κλωπᾶς [可能：קְלוֹפָא Qlofa]	若 19:25	交換	客阿拂	客過法	格肋阿法	格樓法	格老發
Κόρε [קֹרַח Qorah]	猶 1:11	冰雹，或禿頂	＿＿＿	＿＿＿	法各肋	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Κωσάμ [קֵסֶם Kesem]	路 3:28	占卜者，先見	＿＿＿	科散	各三	哥散	哥三
Λάζαρος [אֶלְעָזָר Ele'azar]	1) 路 16:20&c 2) 若 11:1&c, 12:1&c	אל救助了	＿＿＿	辣匝落	拉匝祿	賴匝祿	辣匝祿
Λάμεχ [לֶמֶךְ Lemekh]	路 3:36	健壯的	＿＿＿	辣黙格	拉黙克	藍陌	辣梅客
Λευίς [לֵוִי Levi]	1) 希 7:5.9 默 7:7 2) 路 3:24 3) 路 3:29 4) 谷 2:14 路 5:27.29	結合 (創 29:34)	＿＿＿	勒微	肋未	曆威	肋味

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經 (東正教)	和修本/ 現代中文/ 呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
若撒法	藥撒發	若撒法	約沙法特	伊沃薩發特	約沙法	約沙法	──
若瑟	若瑟	若西	若瑟	伊沃西亞	約西/ 約瑟/ 約瑟	約西	──
若瑟	若瑟	若瑟	若瑟/ 約色夫	伊耶些乙	耶西	約瑟	約瑟
若瑟	若瑟	約瑟	約色黑	伊沃西福	約西克	約色	約色
若西亞	若細亞	若西亞	約史雅	伊沃西亞	約西亞	約西亞	──
蓋法	蓋法	蓋法	蓋法	喀伊阿發	該亞法	蓋亞法	該亞法
加音	──	加因	加音	喀英	該隱	該隱	──
該南	陔南	愷南/ 加衣納	刻南	喀伊囊	該南	該南	凱南
則法	──	基法	刻法	伊兂發	磯法	磯法	磯法
濟思	──	基士	克士	伊兂斯	基士	基士	──
可來約法	克來奧法	格老法	克羅帕	克列沃葩	革羅罷	葛羅帕	革羅伯
科辣黑	──	可拉	科辣黑	瓦拉阿木	可拉	寇臘	──
葛桑	谷三	葛山	科散	適薩木	哥桑	寇桑	哥桑
拉匝祿	辣匝諾	辣柴魯	拉匝祿	拉匝爾	拉撒路	拉匝兒	拉撒路
拉買可	辣墨客	藍陌	拉默客	拉哶合	拉麥	拉麥	拉麥
肋未	肋未	理未	肋未	列微	利未	利未	──

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Λώτ [לוֹט Lot]	路 **17**:28.29.32 伯后 **2**:7	帕子	——	洛特	落得	羅德	落德
Μάαθ [מַעַט Ma'at]	路 **3**:26	微小	——	瑪哈	瑪大得	瑪話	瑪亞德
Μαθθαῖος [מַתִּתְיָה Mattatya]	瑪 **9**:9, **10**:3 谷 **3**:18 路 **6**:15 宗 **1**:13	יהוה的恩賜	瑪實	瑪竇	瑪竇	瑪竇	瑪竇
Μαθθὰτ [מַתָּת Mattat]	1) 路 **3**:24 2) 路 **3**:29	恩賜	瑪達跌	瑪大得	瑪達	瑪達德
Μαθθίας [מַתִּתְיָה Mattatya]	宗 **1**:23.26	יהוה的恩賜	瑪第亞	瑪苐亞	瑪弟亞	——	瑪弟亞
Μαθουσάλα [מְתוּשֶׁלַח Metushelah]	路 **3**:37	射手	——	瑪都撒	瑪都撒肋	瑪牘撒理	瑪多撒肋
Μαλελεὴλ [מַהֲלַלְאֵל Mahalale'el]	路 **3**:37	讚美אל	——	瑪辣肋	瑪拉肋耳	馬賴力	瑪辣肋
Μάχος [מֶלֶךְ Melekh]	若 **18**:10	君王	瑪爾各	馬爾谷	瑪耳谷	瑪里谷	瑪爾谷
Μανασσῆς [מְנַשֶּׁה Menashe]	1) 瑪 **1**:10 2) 黙 **7**:6	忘記	瑪納瑟	瑪納森	瑪那斯	瑪納赦	瑪納瑟
Μάρθα [מַרְתָּא Marta]	路 **10**:38.40.41 若 **11**:1&*c*, **12**:2	太太，貴婦	瑪爾大	瑪爾大	瑪爾大	瑪邇泰	瑪爾大
Μαρία [מִרְיָם Miryam]	1) 瑪 **1**:16&*c* 谷 **6**:3 路 **1**:27&*c* 宗 **1**:14b 2) 瑪 **27**:56&*c* 谷 **15**:40&*c* 路 **8**:2, **24**:10 若 **19**:25&*c* 3) 瑪 **27**:56&*c* 谷 **15**:40.47 路 **24**:10 4) 若 **19**:25 5) 路 **10**:39b.42b 若 **11**:1&*c* 6) 宗 **12**:12 7) 羅 **16**:6	崇高 (埃及語)	瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪利亞
Ματθάν [מַתָּן Mattan]	瑪 **1**:15	恩賜	瑪丹	瑪丹	瑪丹	瑪壇	瑪丹
Ματταθὰ [מַתַּתָה Mattatta]	路 **3**:31	恩賜	——	瑪塔達	瑪大達	瑪大達	瑪達大
Ματταθίας [מַתִּתְיָה Mattatya]	路 **3**:25.26	יהוה的恩賜	——	瑪達跌	瑪大弟亞	瑪達弟	瑪大第亞
Μελεὰ (未定)	路 **3**:31	(未定)	——	黙辣	黙爾加	麥曆椏	黙來亞
Μελχὶ [מֶלֶךְ Melekh]	1) 路 **3**:24 2) 路 **3**:28	君王	——	黙而基	莫耳濟	陌璣	黙基
Μεννὰ (未定)	路 **3**:31	(未定)	——	猛納	門那	明納	門那
Μελχισέδεκ [מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק Malki-tsedek]	希 **5**:6.10, **6**:20, **7**:1&*c*	公義的君王	——	——	黙耳济塞得格	——	——

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經 (東正教)	和修本/ 現代中文/ 呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
路德	祿得	羅德	羅特	羅特	羅得	羅得	羅特
瑪哈	瑪亞德	瑪哈	瑪哈特	瑪阿福	瑪押	瑪塔耶	瑪阿
瑪寶	瑪寶	瑪寶	瑪寶	瑪特斐	馬太	馬太	馬太
瑪達	瑪大德	瑪達	瑪塔特	瑪特發特	瑪塔	瑪塔	瑪塔
瑪弟亞	——	馬提亞	瑪弟亞	瑪特斐	馬提亞	馬提亞	——
瑪都撒來	瑪都撒辣	瑪牘撒理	默突舍拉	瑪福薩勒	瑪土撒拉	瑪土撒拉	瑪土舍拉
瑪拉來爾	瑪辣肋	馬辣理	瑪拉肋耳	瑪列列伊勒	瑪勒列	瑪哈列	瑪勒爾
馬爾果	瑪爾古	馬勒古	瑪耳	馬勒古	馬爾胡	瑪勒合	——
瑪納瑟	——	瑪納瑟	默納協	瑪拿西	瑪納西	瑪那西亞	——
瑪爾大	瑪爾大	瑪大	瑪爾大	瑪爾發	馬大	瑪莎	——
瑪利亞	瑪利亞	瑪莉雅	瑪利亞	瑪利[爾]亞	馬利亞	瑪麗亞	瑪利亞
瑪丹	瑪丹	瑪丹	瑪堂	瑪特芳	馬但	馬丹	——
瑪大達	瑪大達	瑪大德	瑪塔塔	瑪特他發	瑪達他	瑪塔薩	瑪達他
瑪他第亞	瑪大弟亞	瑪大第亞	瑪塔提雅	瑪特他肥亞	瑪他提亞	瑪塔耶	瑪他提亞
米來亞	默肋亞	美來亞	默肋阿	哶列愛	米利亞	梅利亞	米利亞
美而基	默爾濟	義而基	默耳希	哶利伊合	麥基	麥基	麥基
門納	門那	門納	門納	瑪伊曩	買南/ 買南/ 買拿	梅納	門納
麥基賽德	——	麥吉德	默基瑟德	哶利伊[會]些疊克	麥基洗德	義王	——

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Μωϋσῆς [מֹשֶׁה Moshe]	瑪 8:4&c 谷 1:44&c 路 2:22&c 若 1:17&c 宗 3:22&c 羅 5:14&c 格前 9:9, 10:2 格後 3:7&c 弟後 3:8 希 3:2&c 猶 1:9 默 15:3	出生的 (埃及語)，或 拖出 (出 2:10)	每瑟/美瑟	每瑟	每瑟	梅瑟	梅瑟
Ναασσών [נַחְשׁוֹן Naḥshon]	瑪 1:4 路 3:32	巫師	納算	納末	那哈松	納亞遜	那松
Ναθάμ [נָתָן Natan]	路 3:31	(祂將)賜予	＿＿＿	納膽	那丹	納騰	那丹
Ναιμάν [נַעֲמָן Na'aman]	路 4:27	令人愉快的	納慢	納阿曼	那哈滿	亞曼	那滿
Ναθαναήλ [נְתַנְאֵל Netane'el]	若 1:45&c	אֵל賜予	納大阿爾	納丹爾	那大那耳	納竇兒	那大納
Ναούμ [נַחוּם Naḥum]	路 3:25	安慰	＿＿＿	納紅	那胡黙	納紅	納翁
Ναγγαὶ [נֹגַהּ Nogah]	路 3:25	發光	＿＿＿	辣格熱	那熱	納熱	那熱
Ναχώρ [נָחוֹר Nahor]	路 3:34	鼾睡	＿＿＿	納苛爾	那索耳	納哥爾	那哥爾
Νεφθαλίμ [נַפְתָּלִי Neftali]	默 7:6	我的摔跤	聶大理	＿＿＿	奈費大里	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Νηρὶ [נֵרִיָּה Neriya]	路 3:27	我的燈	＿＿＿	搦里	奈里	尼吏	奈利
Νῶε [נֹחַ Noḥa]	瑪 24:37.38 路 3:36, 17:26.27 希 11:7 伯前 3:20 伯后 2:5	休息	諾厄	諾厄	諾厄	諾厄	諾厄
Ὀζίας [עֻזִּיָּה Uzziya]	瑪 1:8.9	我的力量 是יהוה	阿西亞	遏西雅	阿漆亞斯	阿西亞	哈西亞
Οὐρίας [אוּרִיָּה Uriya]	瑪 1:6	我的光明 是יהוה	烏利亞	嗚烈	烏里亞斯	胡理	烏利亞
Ῥαὰβ [רָחָב Rahav]	希 11:31 雅 2:25	寬闊的	＿＿＿	＿＿＿	拉哈伯	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Ῥαγαύ [רְעוּ Re'u]	路 3:35	朋友	＿＿＿	辣奧	拉敖	賴鰲	辣哥
Ῥαχάβ [רָחָב Rahav]	瑪 1:5	寬闊的	臘亞	臘哈	拉哈伯	賴亞珀	辣亞氏
Ῥαχήλ [רָחֵל Rahel]	瑪 2:18	母羊	＿＿＿	臘客	拉客爾	賴舍邇	辣格
Ῥεβέκκα [רִבְקָה Rivka]	羅 9:10	捆綁，以美迷人	＿＿＿	肋伯加	肋伯加	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Ῥησά (未定)	路 3:27	(未定)	＿＿＿	肋撒	落撒	曆撒	來撒
Ῥοβοάμ [רְחַבְעָם Rehavam]	瑪 1:7	人民數目增加	羅薄盎	洛般	落伯哈母	羅播函	羅玻盎

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
梅瑟	梅瑟/每瑟	摩西	梅瑟	摩伊些乙	摩西	摩西	摩西
納松	納算	納宋	納赫雄	拿順	拿順	那阿松	——
納丹	納丹	納丹	納堂	那芳	拿單	納單	那單
那滿	那忙	南曼	納阿曼	涅耶芒	乃縵	奈曼	——
那達納爾	納大納	納大納	納塔乃耳	那發那伊勒	拿但亞	納丹列	那单乃
納鴻	那胡黙	納洪	納洪	那屋木	拿鴻	那鴻	——
納該	那熱	那格	納革	那耶[修]	拿該	納蓋	拿該
納高爾	那高耳	乃高	納曷爾	那霍爾	拿鶴	拿鶴	拿鶴
厄弗大利	——	挪夫達利	納斐塔里	涅發利木	拿弗他利	拿弗他利	——
內里	奈里	內里	乃黎	尼利[爾]乙	尼利	內利	尼利
諾厄	諾厄	諾厄	諾厄	諾乙	挪亞	挪亞	諾亞
阿濟亞	阿祭亞	哈西亞	烏齊雅	沃濟亞	烏西雅	烏西雅	——
烏利亞	烏利亞	烏利亞	烏黎雅	屋利[爾]亞	烏利亞	耶光	——
辣哈	——	拉哈	辣哈布	拉[爾]阿烏	喇合	拉哈	——
辣高	拉哥	賴鰲	勒伍	拉[爾]戞	拉吳	拉吳	勒伍
辣哈	臘亞	辣亞	辣哈布	拉[爾]哈瓦	喇合氏	拉哈	——
拉該爾	腊客爾	雷格	辣黑耳	拉[爾]伊[合]利	拉结/雷洁/拉结	拉结	——
肋伯加	——	莉百嘉	黎貝加	列[爾]韋喀	利百加/麗百加/利伯加	利百加	——
肋撒	來撒	勒撒	勒撒	利[爾]賽	利撒	雷撒	利撒
羅保盎	羅薄盎	羅玻盎	勒哈貝罕	羅[爾]倭阿木	羅波安	羅波安	——

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ῥουβήν [רְאוּבֵן Re'uven]	默 7:5	看顧兒子	路本	——	路奔	——	——
Ῥούθ [רוּת Rut]	瑪 1:5	朋友	露德	呂德	祿德	呂德	路德氏
Σαλά [שֶׁלַח Shelah]	1) 路 3:32 2) 路 3:35	興隆	——	撒爾蒙	撒爾孟	撒利蒙	撒蒙
Σαδώκ [צָדוֹק Tsadok]	瑪 1:14	正義的	撒鐸	撒奪	撒多克	沙鐸	撒鐸
Σαλαθιήλ [שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל Shealti'el]	瑪 1:12 路 3:27	我向אל祈求了	撒臘低額	撒臘疊	撒拉弟耳	撒拉蔗	撒辣抵害
Σαλμών [שַׂלְמוֹן Salmon]	瑪 1:4.5	外氅	撒滿	撒爾蒙	撒耳孟	撒利蒙	撒爾蒙
Σαλώμη [שָׁלוֹם Shalom]	谷 15:40, 16:1	和平的	撒落默	撒落默	撒羅莫	撒落美	撒落梅
Σαμψών [שִׁמְשׁוֹן Shimshon]	希 11:32	像太陽一樣的	——	——	三宋	——	——
Σαμουήλ [שְׁמוּאֵל Shemu'el]	宗 3:24, 13:20 希 11:32	אל的名字或：由אל俯聽而來的人 (撒 1:20)	——	掃琭	撒烏落	——	——
Σαούλ [שָׁאוּל Sha'ul]	宗 9:4&c	所求到的(人)	——	撒爾	撒烏耳	——	撒烏耳
Σαῦλος [שָׁאוּל Sha'ul]	宗 7:58&c	所求到的(人)	——	掃琭	撒烏落	——	撒烏錄
Σάρρα [שָׂרָה Sara]	羅 4:19, 9:9 希 11:11 伯前 3:6	公主	——	撒辣	撒拉	——	——
Σεμεΐν [שִׁמְעִי Shime'i]	路 3:26	好名聲	——	瑟美	塞每	舍美	瑟默
Σερούχ [שְׂרוּג Serug]	路 3:35	幼枝	——	撒呂	撒路热	撒祿	撒路
Σήθ [שֵׁת Shet]	路 3:38	指派	——	瑟德	塞得	惜德	瑟德
Σήμ [שֵׁם Shem]	路 3:36	名望	——	生	塞母	生	申
Σίμων [שִׁמְעוֹן Shime'on]	1) 瑪 4:18&c 谷 1:16&c 路 4:38&c 若 1:40&c 宗 10:5&c 2) 瑪 10:4 谷 3:18 路 6:15 宗 1:13 3) 瑪 13:55 谷 6:3 4) 瑪 26:6 谷 14:3 5) 路 7:40.43.44 6) 瑪 27:32 谷 15:21 路 23:26 7) 若 6:71, 13:2.26 8) 宗 8:9&c 9) 宗 9:43, 10:6.17.32	聽者	西滿	西滿	西滿	西滿	西滿
Σολομών [שְׁלֹמֹה Shlomo]	瑪 1:6.7, 6:29, 12:42 路 11:31, 12:27 若 10:23 宗 3:11, 5:12, 7:47	報償/和平	撒落滿	撒落蒙	撒落孟	撒落滿	撒落滿

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
路本	___	路本	勒烏本	魯[爾]微木	呂便/呂便/如便	呂便	___
魯太	露德	路德	盧德	魯[爾]肥	路得	路得	___
撒爾孟/撒肋	撒滿/撒肋	沙爾孟/灑辣	撒拉/舍拉	薩勒孟	撒門/沙拉	薩臘	撒拉
撒道	撒鐸	撒鐸	匝多克	薩多克	撒督	撒督	___
撒拉帖耳	撒臘低額	撒臘第兒	沙耳提耳	薩拉肥伊利	撒拉鐵	撒拉帖	撒拉鐵
撒爾孟	撒滿	撒爾蒙	撒耳孟	薩勒孟	撒門	薩門	___
撒洛美	撒落滿	沙羅梅	撒羅默	薩羅密亞	撒羅米	莎樂美	___
桑松	___	桑生	三松	薩木松	參松	參松	___
撒牧爾	___	撒母耳	撒慕耳	薩木伊勒	撒母耳	撒母耳	
撒烏耳	___	掃羅	撒烏耳	薩屋勒	掃羅	掃羅	___
掃羅	___	掃羅	掃祿	薩烏勒	掃羅	掃羅	___
撒拉	___	灑蕾	撒辣	薩拉[爾]	撒拉/莎拉/撒拉	莎拉	___
塞美	塞梅	塞梅	史米	些梅	西美	約色	西美
撒魯	撒路格	沙祿	色魯格	些魯[爾]合	西鹿	西鹿	西鹿
塞德	識德	塞德	舍特	西福	塞特	塞特	舍特
生	生末	鮮謨	閃	西木	閃	閃	閃
西滿	西滿	西門	西滿	西孟	西門	西門	西滿
撒落滿	撒羅滿	所羅門	撒羅滿	莎羅孟	所羅門	所羅門	所羅門

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Σουσάννα [שׁוּשַׁן Shushan]	路 8:3	百合花	———	蘇三納	蘇撒納	蘇撒納	蘇三納
Συμεών [שִׁמְעוֹן Shime'on]	1) 默 7:7 2) 路 2:25.34 3) 路 3:30 4) 宗 15:14, 伯後 1:1 5) 宗 13:1	俯聽者	西默盎/西黙完	西默翁	西默盎	西默盎	西默盎
Ταβιθά [צְבִיָּה Tsviya]	宗 9:36.40	母瞪羚	———	達必大	大必大	———	達比大
Φάλεκ [פֶּלֶג Peleg]	路 3:35	分開者/部分	———	法肋	法肋热	發肋	法賴
Φανουήλ [פְּנוּאֵל Penu'el]	路 2:36	אל的面部	法努阨爾	飾月耳	法努爾	范孥兒	法孥阨
Φαρές [פֶּרֶץ Perets]	瑪 1:3 路 3:33	裂口	發勒	法肋	法肋斯	法泖士	法賽士
Ὡσηέ [הוֹשֵׁעַ Hoshe'a]	羅 9:25	救恩	———	遏瑟	何塞黑	———	——

...........附錄乙：

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἀγρίππας	宗 25:13&c, 26:1&c	英勇的	———	阿基把/阿基玻	亞既里巴	———	亞格利巴
Αἰνέας	宗 9:33.34	值得讚美的	——	厄搦亞	厄奈亞	——	阨奈亞
Ἀλέξανδρος	谷 15:21 宗 4:6, 19:33 弟前 1:20 弟後 4:14	袛保護人類	———	肋山德/山德	亞歷山	椏肋珊	亞立山
Ἀμπλιᾶτος	羅 16:8	寬大的	——	盎巴多	安必里亞多	——	——
Ἀνδρέας	瑪 4:18, 10:2 谷 1:16&c 路 6:14 若 1:44, 6:8, 12:22 宗 1:13	男子氣概	諳德肋/安德肋	安德肋	安德肋	安德力	安德肋
Ἀνδρόνικος	羅 16:7	戰勝者	——	安冬各	安多尼各	——	——
Ἀντίπας	黙 2:13	像父親一樣的	———	———	安弟巴	———	———
Ἀπελλῆς	羅 16:10	阿波羅神所賜的	———	阿肋	亞伯肋	———	———

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
穌撒納	穌尚納	蘇三納	蘇撒納	穌桑那	蘇撒拿	約安娜	蘇姍娜
西默盎	西默盎	西默翁	西默盎	西哶翁	西面	西缅	司馬安
答必達	——	大比大	塔彼達	他微發	大比大	塔碧莎	——
法來格	法肋格	法來格	培肋格	發列克	法勒	裴裂	斐勒
法努爾	法努厄爾	法努陀	法奴耳	發弩伊勒	法內力	法努爾	——
法來斯	發肋	法來斯	培勒茲	發列爾斯	法勒斯	裴裂	——
何色亞	——	阿塞亞	歐瑟亞	沃西亞	何西阿/何西阿/何西亞	何西阿	——

希臘文人名表…………

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
亞格力巴	——	亞基帕	阿格黎帕	阿格列爾葩	亞基帕	阿戈里帕	——
哀乃亞	——	以尼雅	艾乃阿	耶內	以尼雅	埃尼亞	——
亞立山大	亞立山	亞力山大	亞歷山大	阿列克桑德爾	亞歷山大/亞歷山大/亞立山大	亞歷山大	——
央伯利亞多	——	安伯理	安仆里雅	阿木普利乙	暗伯利	安普里亞	——
安德肋	安德肋	安德列	安德肋	昂德雷爾	安得烈	安德烈	安得烈
安脫尼各	——	晏多尼閣	安得洛尼科	昂德羅爾尼克	安多尼古	安德羅尼哥	——
安提巴	——	安第巴	安提帕	安提葩	安提帕	安提帕	——
亞伯來	——	亞比玲	阿培肋	阿撒列斯	亞比利	阿貝雷	——

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἀπολλῶς	宗 **18**:24, **19**:1 格前 **1**:12&c 鐸 **3**:13	毀滅者	＿＿＿	阿玻羅	亞玻隆	＿＿＿	亞包勞
Ἀπφία	費 **1**:2	增加的（待定）	＿＿＿	阿別	亞必亞	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Ἀρεοπαγίτης	宗 **17**:34	阿雷奧帕古斯(Areopagus)的官員	＿＿＿	畧罷我	亞樓巴各		
Ἀρέτας	格後 **11**:32	給予者	亞肋達	阿肋達	亞肋大	＿＿＿	＿＿＿
Ἀρίσταρχος	宗 **19**:29, **20**:4, **27**:2 哥 **4**:10 費 **1**:24	善於治民者		理大各	亞里斯大耳各		亞利斯大谷
Ἀριστοβούλος	羅 **16**:10	最受指教的/最好的謀士		利步多	亞里穌多布落		
Ἀρτεμᾶς	鐸 **3**:12	阿耳忒彌斯女神所送的		阿德瑪	亞耳得瑪		
Ἀρχέλαος	瑪 **2**:22	人民的首領	＿＿	雅格老	亞耳克勞	亞基老	＿＿
Ἄρχιππος	哥 **4**:17 費 **1**:2	管馬者/圉人		阿基薄	亞耳既玻		
Ἀσύγκριτος	羅 **16**:14	無法比擬的	＿＿	阿心奇	亞信	＿＿	＿＿
Ἀχαϊκος	格前 **16**:17	來自阿哈伊亞省(Achaia)的人		阿該哥	亞加意各		
Βερνίκη	宗 **25**:13.23, **26**:30	帶來勝利		伯尼瑟	柏勒尼舌		
Βλάστος	宗 **12**:20	發芽	＿＿	巴多	巴拉斯多	＿＿	＿＿
Δάμαρις	宗 **17**:34	和悅，文雅	＿＿	達理瑪	大瑪里	＿＿	達瑪利
Δημᾶς	哥 **4**:14 弟後 **4**:10 費 **1**:24	(未定)		德瑪	得瑪		
Δημήτριος	宗 **19**:24.38 若三 **1**:12	源於希臘神德墨忒爾(Demeter)		德默的	得黙弟略		德黙特畧
Δίδυμος	若 **11**:16, **20**:24, **21**:2	雙胞胎	弟弟末	弟地末	弟弟莫	地帝牧	提諦莫
Διονύσιος	宗 **17**:34	源於酒神狄俄尼索斯(Dionysus)		多尼削	弟阿尼削		弟阿尼削
Διοτρεφής	若三 **1**:9	被愛滋養的		＿＿＿	弟約得斐		
Δορκάς	宗 **9**:36.39	瞪羚	＿＿	多耳加	母盤羊	＿＿	＿＿
Ἐλύμας	宗 **13**:8	智者（待定）		厄里馬	厄里瑪斯		
Ἐπαίνετος	羅 **16**:5	可讚美者		厄本多	厄伯奈多		
Ἐπαφρᾶς	哥 **1**:7, **4**:12 費 **1**:23	被想望的	＿＿	厄巴法	厄巴法	＿＿	＿＿
Ἐπαφρόδιτος	斐 **2**:25, **4**:18	阿芙羅黛蒂 Aphrodites 女神所生的		巴拂的	厄巴斐弟多		

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
亞波羅	____	亞波羅	阿頗羅	阿坡勒羅斯	亞波羅	阿波洛	____
亞彼亞		亞媲亞	阿丕雅	阿批亞	亞腓亞	娥菲婭	
亞略巴古		亞略巴古	阿勒約帕哥	阿列[爾]沃葩格	亞略巴古/亞略·巴古/亞略巴古		
亞肋達	——	亞哩達	阿勒達	阿列[爾]發	亞哩達	哈雷拓	——
亞利斯大各		亞里達古	阿黎斯塔苛	阿利[爾]斯他爾合	亞里達古	雅里斯塔克	
亞伯來	____	亞理多布	阿黎斯托步羅	阿利[爾]斯托屋勒	亞利多布	亞歷斯托布	
阿提瑪	____	亞代瑪	阿爾特瑪	阿爾鉄瑪	亞提馬	阿忒瑪	
亞格老	亞格老	亞爾格老	阿爾赫努	阿爾耶[合]賴	亞基老	亞基勞	
亞爾吉布	____	亞吉布	阿爾希頗	阿爾伊[合]普	亞基布	馬主	
亞辛克多	——	亞逊克多	阿松黎托	阿型克利[爾]特	亞逊其土	阿辛哥	——
亞該谷		亞該谷	阿哈依科	阿哈伊克	亞該古	希腊哥	
伯來尼斯	____	百尼基	貝勒尼切	韋列[爾]尼喀	百妮基/貝妮絲/百尼基	白尼姬	
葡拉斯都	——	伯來斯都	布拉斯托	烏拉斯特	伯拉斯都	勃拉斯托	——
達瑪利	——	達瑪李	達瑪黎	達瑪爾	大馬哩	達瑪芮	——
代瑪斯	____	代馬士	德瑪斯	底瑪斯	底馬	德瑪	
代麥特略	____	底米丟	德默特琉	底密特利[爾]乙	底米丟/底米特/底米丟	德米特留	____
第第黙	弟弟末	提諦莫	狄狄摩	底底木	低士馬/雙胞胎/雙生	雙胞胎	湯瑪斯
梯約尼削	____	調尼修	狄約尼削	底沃尼西乙	丟尼修/杜尼修/丟尼修	狄奧尼修	____
刁特非	____	丟特非	狄約勒斐	底沃特列[爾]福	丟特腓/狄特腓/丟特腓	狄奧特勒斐	____
刀而戞	——	多加	多爾卡	黃羊	多加	羚羊	——
厄利瑪	____	以呂馬	厄呂瑪	耶瑪	以呂馬	園夢人	____
厄伯内多	——	希本篤	厄派乃托	耶撒湼特	以拜尼土	艾帕内托	——
厄巴弗拉	——	伊伯弗拉	厄帕夫辣	耶葩福拉[爾]斯	以巴弗	艾帕弗拉	——
厄巴弗底	____	伊巴弗提	厄帕洛狄托	耶葩福羅[爾]底特	以巴弗提	艾帕弗洛迪	____

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἔραστος	宗 **19**:22 羅 **16**:23 弟後 **4**:20	可愛的，渴求的	＿＿	厄辣	厄拉斯多	＿＿	厄辣斯多
Ἑρμᾶς	羅 **16**:14	買賣神赫耳瑪斯 (Hermes)	＿＿	赫爾默	黑耳黙	＿＿	＿＿
Ἑρμῆς	宗 **14**:12 羅 **16**:14	買賣神赫耳墨斯 (Hermes)	＿＿	赫爾瑪	黙耳谷略	＿＿	默爾古畧
Ἑρμογένης	弟後 **1**:15	買賣神赫耳墨斯 (Hermes) 所生的	＿＿	赫末然	黑弟舌肋	＿＿	＿＿
Εὔβουλος	弟後 **4**:21	有好意的	——	歐不落	歐布落	＿＿	——
Εὐνίκη	弟後 **1**:5	美好的得勝	＿＿	歐尼瑟	歐尼舌	＿＿	＿＿
Εὐοδία	斐 **4**:2	行走善道的女人	＿＿	厄窩達	厄俄弟亞	＿＿	＿＿
Εὔτυχος	宗 **20**:9	有好運的	——	歐弟各	歐弟渴	＿＿	歐第谷
Ζηνᾶς	鐸 **3**:13	宙斯 (Zeus) 的禮物	＿＿	則納	則那	＿＿	＿＿
Ἡρῴδης	1) 瑪 **2**:1&c 路 **1**:5 宗 **23**:35 2) 瑪 **14**:1&c 谷 **6**:14&c 路 **1**:5&c 宗 **4**:27&c 3) 宗 **12**:1&c	英勇的	阨落得	黑羅忒	黑落得	黑羅得	黑落德
Ἡρῳδιάς	瑪 **14**:3.6 谷 **6**:17&c 路 **3**:19	英勇的	黑落達	黑落達	黑落弟亞得	黑羅媞	黑落底亞
Ἡρῳδίων	羅 **16**:11	英勇的	——	厄洛童	黑落弟雍	——	——
Θαδδαῖος	瑪 **10**:3 谷 **3**:18	(未定)	達陡	達陡	達陡	達陡	達陡
Θεόφιλος	路 **1**:3 宗 **1**:1	Θεός 的朋友	——	陡費勒	得阿斐諾	道斐樂	德阿斐祿
Θευδᾶς	宗 **5**:36	(未定)	＿＿	陡達	得阿大	＿＿	德阿大
Ἰαμβρῆς	弟後 **3**:8	(未定)	＿＿	莽伯	忙百肋	＿＿	＿＿
Ἰάννης	弟後 **3**:8	(未定)	——	壞搦	亞奈	——	——
Ἰάσων	宗 **17**:5&c 羅 **16**:21	醫治	＿＿	牙宋	亞宋	＿＿	雅桑
Κανδάκη	宗 **8**:27	眾仆的女王	——	剛達瑟	剛大舌	——	剛達西
Κάρπος	弟後 **4**:13	果實	——	＿＿	加耳伯	——	——
Κλεοπᾶς	路 **24**:18	由父親獲得名聲	＿＿	格落法	格肋阿法答	格楼法	＿＿
Λίνος	弟後 **4**:21	網	＿＿	利諾	里諾	＿＿	＿＿
Λυδία	宗 **16**:14.40	來自 Ludios (呂底亞省) 的人	＿＿	理疊	里弟亞	＿＿	李弟

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
厄拉斯多	——	以拉都	厄辣斯托	耶拉[爾]斯特	以拉都	艾拉斯托	——
黑默斯	——	黑默斯	赫爾瑪	耶爾密乙	黑馬	赫耳馬	——
黑默斯		赫爾瑪	赫爾默斯	耶爾瑪	希耳米	赫耳墨斯	
黑穆吉尼		赫爾毛	赫摩革乃	耶[格]爾摩賡	黑摩其尼	赫摩根尼	
尤布羅	——	歐布路	歐步羅	耶屋勒	友布羅	歐布羅	——
尤尼塞		幼儀	歐尼刻	耶烏尼喀	友妮基/友妮基/友尼基	歐尼姬	
艾臥底亞		友娣	厄敖狄雅	耶倭底亞	友阿蝶/友阿蝶/友疆迪亞	尤蒂婭	
歐第各	——	猶推古	厄烏提曷	葩韋勒	犹推古	福哥	——
西納		載納	則納	濟那	西納	澤納	
黑落德	黑落德	希祿	黑落德	伊羅[爾]德	希律	希律	赫羅德
黑落底亞	黑落弟亞	黑落娣	黑落狄雅	伊羅[爾]底亞達	希羅底	赫羅迪婭	赫羅狄雅
黑落底約	——	希羅定	黑落狄雍	伊羅[爾]底翁	希羅天	何洛典	——
達陡	達陡	樹德	達陡	列微	達太	塔岱	
德阿斐祿	太敖菲祿	德阿斐樂	德敖斐羅	斐沃肥勒	提阿非羅	神友	狄奧菲羅
代奧達斯		丟大	特烏達	斐烏達	杜達/杜達/丟大	薛大	
芒不來斯		芒伯	楊布勒	伊阿木烏利[爾]乙	佯庇/洋布雷/佯庇	楊布雷	
雅乃斯	——	亞乃	雅乃斯	伊昂尼乙	雅尼	楊奈	——
雅松		雅宋/雅孫	雅松	亞松/伊阿松	耶孫	耶松	
甘達刻	——	幹大基	甘達刻	—	甘大基	甘妲克	——
加爾布	——	加爾布	卡爾頗	卡爾普	加布	喀爾普	——
可來約法	可來約法	格流法	克羅帕	克列沃葩	革流巴	葛流帕	克羅帕
利奴		理諾	里諾	凌	利奴/利努/利奴	利諾	
呂底亞	里狄雅	呂底亞	呂底亞	利底亞	呂底亞	呂迪婭	——

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Λυσανίας	路 3:1	釋懷	理撒倪亞	理撒聶	利撒尼亞	李撒尼	利撒尼
Λυσίας	宗 23:26, 24:22	釋放者	——	里些	里西亞	——	利西亞
Λωΐς	弟後 1:5	同意的(待定)	＿＿	樂義德	落意得	＿＿	
Μαναήν	宗 13:1	安慰者(待定)	＿＿	瑪納恨	瑪納亨	＿＿	瑪納亨
Μνάσων	宗 21:16	紀念	——	默納宋	瑪那宋	——	默納桑
Ναρκίσσος	羅 16:11	迷蒙的	——	納西所	那耳詩所	——	——
Νηρεύς	羅 16:15	一位希臘神話中的海神	＿＿	搦樓	奈婁	＿＿	——
Νικάνωρ	宗 6:5	得勝者	＿＿	泥嘉諾	尼加諾肋	＿＿	尼加諾楞
Νικόδημος	若 3:1&c	民眾的勝利	倪閣德	厄閣德	厄各得睦	尼哥德牧	尼各德莫
Νικόλαος	宗 6:5	民眾的勝利	——	尼各勞	尼各老		尼各老
Νύμφα	哥 4:15	新娘	＿＿	寧法	寧法		
Ὀλυμπᾶς	羅 16:15	源于希臘神的住所	＿＿	遏林別	遏林必亞得	＿＿	——
Ὀνήσιμος	哥 4:9 費 1:10	有利益的	＿＿	搦西末	阿奈西莫		
Ὀνησιφόρος	弟後 1:16, 4:19	帶來利益的	——	搦西拂	遏奈西佛落	——	——
Παρμενᾶς	宗 6:5	堅韌者，或堅持者	＿＿	巴默納	巴爾默那	＿＿	巴爾默那
Πατροβᾶς	羅 16:14	父親的	＿＿	巴多綁	巴多巴	——	——
Περσίς	羅 16:12	波斯女士	——	伯西德	伯耳西得	——	——
Πέτρος	瑪 4:18&c 谷 3:16&c 路 5:8&c 若 1:40&c 宗 1:13&c 迦 2:7&c 伯前 1:1 伯後 1:1	磐石	伯多羅	伯多羅	伯多祿	伯多祿	伯多祿
Πρόχορος	宗 6:5	歌詠團指揮	——	博各肋	玻落多落	——	伯落各祿
Πύρρος	宗 20:4	火紅色的	——	畢落	必落	——	——
Ῥόδη	宗 12:13	玫瑰	——	羅德	落得	——	——
Σαπφίρα	宗 5:1	藍寶玉	——	撒斐辣	撒斐拉	——	撒斐辣
Σιλᾶς	宗 15:22&c	樹林的，多樹的	＿＿	西辣	西拉	＿＿	西辣
Σιλουανός	格後 1:19 得前 1:1 得後 1:1 伯前 5:12	樹林的，多樹的	＿＿	西尾諾	西拉	＿＿	西辣
Σκευᾶς	宗 19:14	罐(待定)	＿＿	瑟襪	孫舌娃	＿＿	瑟發
Στάχυς	羅 16:9	一穗麥子	＿＿	斯達欽	斯塔輝	——	——
Στεφανᾶς	格前 1:16, 16:15.17	皇冠	＿＿	斯德几	斯德法那	＿＿	
Στέφανος	宗 6:5.8.9, 7:59, 8:2, 11:19, 22:20	皇冠	斯德望	斯德望	斯德望	＿＿	斯德望
Συντύχη	斐 4:2	逢運	——	與信第根	新弟克	——	——

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
李撒尼亞	理撒尼雅	利撒尼	呂撒尼雅	利薩尼乙	呂撒聶	呂薩尼	呂撒尼雅
李西亞	——	呂西亞	里息雅	利西乙	呂西亞	呂西亞	——
羅以德	___	羅懿	羅依	羅伊達	羅以/羅綺/羅以	駱宜	___
馬那恒	___	馬念	瑪納恒	瑪那伊勒	馬念	梅納恒	___
木納松	——	納逊	木納松	木那松	拿孫	木拿松	___
那爾西斯	——	納西師	納爾基索	那爾伊元斯	拿其數	納爾基索	——
尼立烏	___	乃來約	乃勒烏	尼雷爾	尼利亞	尤麗婭	___
尼加諾爾	——	尼迦挪	尼加諾爾	尼喀諾爾	尼迦挪	尼迦諾	——
尼閣德睦	尼閣得睦	尼閣德睦	尼苛德摩	尼适底木	尼哥德慕/尼哥德慕/尼哥底母	尼哥蒂摩	尼可德慕
尼古拉	——	尼各老	尼苛勞	尼适賴	尼哥拉	尼古拉	——
甯發	___	寧發	寧法	寧芳	寧法/寧法/甯法	寧葩	___
奧林比亞	___	阿玲比亞	敖林帕	沃凌普	阿林巴	奧林巴	___
阿乃西莫	___	阿乃西謨	敖乃息摩	沃尼西木	阿尼西謀/阿尼西謀/阿尼西母	阿益	___
阿乃西弗	——	奧乃西弗	敖乃息佛洛	沃尼西佛爾	阿尼色弗	阿富	——
巴爾麥納	___	巴米拿	帕爾默納	葩爾捫	巴米拿	帕爾梅納	___
巴特洛巴	——	巴特洛伯	派特洛巴	葩特羅爾烏	八羅巴	派特羅巴	___
伯爾西代	——	彼西代	培爾息	撒爾西達	彼息	波斯	——
伯多祿	伯多祿	伯鐸祿	伯多祿	撒特爾	彼得	彼得	彼得
普洛高而	——	伯羅哥羅	仆洛曷洛	普羅爾霍爾	伯羅哥羅	普羅哥	——
畢路	——	畢羅斯	丕洛	批爾	畢羅斯	皮魯	——
羅德	——	羅大	洛德	羅爾達	羅大	柔達	——
撒非爾	——	撒非喇	撒婓辣	薩普肥拉爾	撒非喇	薩碧拉	——
西拉	___	西拉	息拉	西拉	西拉	西拉	___
西爾文		西拉	息耳瓦諾	西魯昂	西拉	西拉	___
塞瓦		士基瓦	斯蓋瓦	斯耶元瓦	士基瓦		___
司大金		思德建	斯塔輝	斯他伊合乙	士大古	麥穗兒	
斯德法納	___	斯德法納	斯特法納	斯鐵芳	司提法那/司提法那/司提反阿	司德蕾	___
斯德望		司諦文	斯德望	斯鐵芳	司提反	司德万	
孫底該	——	莘季	欣提赫	型提伊合亞	循都基	孫緹荷	——

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Σώπατρος	宗 20:4	救他的父親	——	索巴得	所巴得耳	——	少巴德爾
Σωσθένης	宗 18:17 格前 1:1	拯救與鞏固者	——	索德搦	所穌得奈	——	少斯德
Σωσίπατρος	羅 16:21	救他的父親	——	所西巴	所西巴得	——	——
Τιμαῖος	谷 10:46	珍視	——	苐茂	弟茂約	帝美	底黙
Τιμόθεος	宗 16:1&c 羅 16:21 格前 4:17, 16:10 格後 1:1.19 斐 1:1, 2:19 哥 1:1 得前 1:1, 3:2.6 得後 1:1 弟前 1:2.18, 6:20 弟後 1:2 費 1:1 希 13:23	敬畏天主的人	弟莫得阿	弟末陡	第莫得	——	第莫德阿
Τίμων	宗 6:5	可敬的	——	地蒙	弟孟	——	第蒙
Τιτίος	宗 18:7	悅心者，中意者	第多	弟多	弟多	——	第多
Τίτος	格後 2:13&c 迦 2:1.3 弟後 4:10 弟前 1:4	護理	——	——	弟多	——	——
Τρόφιμος	宗 20:4, 21:29 弟後 4:20	撫養的	——	多斐末	多落斐莫	——	德落斐莫
Τρύφαινα	羅 16:12	繁茂的	——	苐弗納	弟斐那	——	——
Τρυφῶσα	羅 16:12	繁茂的	——	苐弗匣	弟斐撒	——	——
Τύραννος	宗 19:9	君主	——	帝蘭	弟狼諾	——	諦郎諾
Τυχικός	宗 20:4 弗 6:21 哥 4:7 弟後 4:12 鐸 3:12	時運，僥倖	——	提幾格	弟施各	——	第濟谷
Ὑμέναιος	弟前 1:20 弟後 2:17	源於"婚禮"之神	——	奚默搄	意黙納約	——	——
Φιλήμων	費 1:1	友好的	——	斐肋末	斐肋孟	——	——
Φίλητος	弟後 2:17	可愛的	——	斐肋多	斐肋多	——	——
Φιλίππος	1) 瑪 10:3 谷 3:18 路 6:14 宗 1:13 若 1:43&c 2) 宗 6:5, 8:5&c, 21:8 3) 瑪 16:13 谷 8:27 路 3:1 4) 瑪 14:3 谷 6:17	喜歡馬的 (人)，或馬的朋友	斐理伯	斐理伯	斐理伯	斐理伯	斐理伯
Φιλόλογος	羅 16:15	好言者/有學問的 (人)	——	非落我	斐落各	——	——
Φλέγων	羅 16:14	燃燒	——	拂肋公	弗肋貢	——	——
Φοίβη	羅 16:1	發光的，明亮	——	拂白	斐伯	——	——
Φύγελος	弟後 1:15	逃犯	——	非洛熱	斐热落	——	——
Χλόη	格前 1:11	青菜	——	各瑟	各落黑	——	——
Χουζᾶς	路 8:3	(未定)	——	具撒	谷撒	朱撒	——

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
掃巴德	――	所巴特	索帕特爾	莎西葩特爾	所巴特	蘇父	――
索斯德乃		所提尼	索斯特乃	莎斯豐	所提尼/所弟尼/所提尼	索瑟尼	
索西巴德	――	所思巴德	索息帕特	莎西葩特爾	所西巴德	蘇斯父	――
第買	弟茂	底買	提買	瓦爾提梅	底買	提麥	――
第茂德		諦茂德/蒂茂德	第茂德	提摩斐	提摩太	提摩太	
提孟	――	提門	提孟	提孟	提門	提蒙	――
第鐸		提篤	弟鐸	伊屋斯特	提多/提多/提丟	尤思都	
第鐸		提多	弟鐸	提特	提多	提多	
特洛斐慕		特羅非摩	特洛斐摩	特羅[爾]肥木	特羅非摩	羅乳郎	
特斐納	――	悌非納	特黎費納	特利[爾]斐那	土非拿	曲菲娜	
特福撒	――	悌非沙	特黎佛撒	特利[爾]佛薩	土富撒	曲富莎	
第拉諾	――	諦郎寧	提郎諾	提郎[爾]	推喇奴	瞿拉諾	
第吉各		弟吉各	提希苛	提伊[合]克	推基古	曲幸兒	
西莫乃		喜買乃	依默納約	伊哞內	許米乃/舒米乃/許米乃	許媒	
費賴孟	――	費立孟	費肋孟	肥利孟	腓利門	腓利門	――
腓肋多	――	非肋多	非肋托	肥利特	腓理徒	菲力都	――
斐理伯	斐理伯	斐理伯	斐理伯	腓力普	腓力	腓力	菲利浦
非樂樂古		斐樂羅格	非羅羅哥	肥羅羅格	非羅羅古	喜言	
弗來公	――	弗來公	弗肋貢	福列公特	弗勒干	火頭兒	――
費伯		斐白	福依貝	肥瓦	非比/菲比/非比	月娥	
腓者路	――	費者路	非革羅	肥耶[搭]勒	腓吉路	費格羅	――
格老厄	――	革來	黑羅厄	合羅亞	革來	綠苗兒	――
古撒	須沙	苦撒	雇撒	胡匝	苦撒	胡匝	胡撒

…………附錄丙：

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἀκύλας [Aquila]	宗 18:2.18.26 羅 16:3 格前 16:19 弟後 4:19	鷹	＿＿	阿基辣	亞桂拉	＿＿	亞桂辣
Αὔγουστος [Augustus]	路 2:1	尊敬的	奧吾斯多	奧斯多	奧吾斯多	奧思督	奧我斯多
Γάϊος [Gaius]	1) 宗 19:29 2) 宗 20:4 3) 羅 16:23 格前 1:14 4) 若三 1:1	主	＿＿	假約	加約	＿＿	加約
Γαλλίων [Gallio]	宗 18:12.14.17	靠奶生活的	＿＿	牙畧	加里雍	＿＿	加里雍
Δρουσίλλα [Drusilla]	宗 24:24	露水滴濕	＿＿	杜西辣	魯西拉	＿＿	利西亞
Ἰουλία [Julia]	羅 16:15	源于朱比特的 (未定)	＿＿	如列	友里亞	＿＿	＿＿
Ἰούλιος [Julius]	宗 27:1.3	源于朱比特的 (未定)	＿＿	如畧	如畧	＿＿	儒畧
Ἰουνία [Junia]	羅 16:7	少年的	＿＿	如聶	如尼亞	＿＿	＿＿
Ἰουστος [Justus]	1) 宗 1:23 2) 宗 18:7 3) 哥 4:11	正義之人	＿＿	儒斯多	如達斯	＿＿	茹答斯
Κλαυδία [Claudia]	弟後 4:21	瘸腿的	＿＿	各落叠	加勞弟亞	＿＿	＿＿
Κλαύδιος [Claudius]	1) 宗 11:28, 18:2 2) 宗 23:26	瘸腿的	＿＿	各洛地利	加老弟約	＿＿	格肋第阿
Κλήμης [Clemens]	斐 4:3	溫和	＿＿	各孟德	格肋們得	＿＿	＿＿
Κορνήλιος [Cornelius]	宗 10:1&c	屬一个角的	＿＿	葛搦畧	各耳奈略	＿＿	高爾納畧
Κούαρτος [Quartus]	羅 16:23	行四，第四	＿＿	卦爾多	夸爾托	＿＿	＿＿
Κρήσκης [Crescens]	弟後 4:10	成長	＿＿	特撒羅	格肋森得	＿＿	＿＿
Κρίσπος [Crispus]	宗 18:8 格前 1:14	捲曲的	＿＿	基斯玻	基利穌玻	＿＿	格利斯玻
Κυρηνίος [Quirinius]	路 2:2	戰神	祭利諾	＿＿	西里諾	基利諾	＿＿
Λουκᾶς [Lucanus]	格後 13:14 哥 4:14 弟後 4:11 費 1:24	來自盧卡尼亞地區	路加	路加	路加	＿＿	＿＿
Λούκιος [Lucius]	宗 13:1 羅 16:21	發光的	＿＿	路削	路爵	＿＿	路濟烏斯
Μᾶρκος [Marcus]	宗 12:12&c 哥 4:10 弟後 4:11 費 1:24 伯前 5:13	源於瑪爾斯 (Mars) 戰神	＿＿	瑪爾谷	瑪耳谷	＿＿	瑪爾谷

拉丁文人名表…………

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經 (東正教)	和修本/ 現代中文/ 呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
亞吉拉	──	亞吉拉	阿桂拉	阿克微拉	亞居拉	阿奎拉	──
奧古斯都	奧吾斯多	奧古斯多	奧古斯都	阿烏固斯特	奧古斯都/ 奧古斯都/ 亞古士督	奧古斯都	奧古斯督
加約	──	迦猶	加約	蓋	該猶	蓋尤斯	──
賈略	──	迦流	加里雍	戛利翁	迦流	迦琉	
圖西拉	──	土西拉	得魯息拉	德魯^爾濟拉	土西拉	德露西拉	──
猶立亞	──	如利亞	猶里雅	由利亞	猶利亞	尤麗婭	──
儒略	──	儒流	猶里約	由利乙	猶流	尤利歐	
如尼亞	──	如尼亞	猶尼雅	由尼乙	猶尼亞	尤尼婭	
儒斯都	──	儒斯多	猶斯托	伊屋斯特	猶士都	尤思都	──
哥老第亞	──	格老弟	克勞狄雅	克拉烏底亞	革老底亞/ 喀勞底雅/ 革老底亞	克勞迪婭	──
克洛德	──	克老第	喀勞狄	克拉烏底乙	克勞第/ 克勞第/ 革老丟	克勞狄	
格肋孟德	──	葛雷孟	克肋孟	克利門特	革利免	克雷蒙	
高爾內略	──	高乃流	科爾乃略	适爾尼利乙	哥尼流	哥尼琉	──
寡而多	──	貴篤	夸爾托	克瓦爾特	括土	庫艾拉斯托	──
哥肋森	──	格肋森	克勒斯刻	克列^爾斯層特	革勒士	克雷三	
起士布	──	基利司布	克黎斯頗	克利^爾斯普	基利司布	克里斯布	──
際理諾	祭利諾	濟利諾	季黎諾	伊^立利^爾尼乙	居里扭	奎利紐	季里諾
路加	──	露稼	路加	魯喀	路加	路加	──
路爵	──	路爵/ 路求	路基約	劉豈乙	路求	路九	──
馬爾谷	──	馬爾谷	馬爾谷	瑪爾克	馬可	馬可	──

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Νίγερ [Niger]	宗 **13**:1	黑色的	＿＿	黑	黑		黑
Οὐρβανός [Urbanus]	羅 **16**:9	文質彬彬/知禮的	＿＿	爾巴諾	吳爾巴諾	＿＿	＿＿
Παῦλος [Paulus]	1) 宗 **13**:7 2) 宗 **13**:9&c 羅 **1**:1 格前 **1**:1&c 格後 **1**:1&c 迦 **1**:1&c 弗 **1**:1&c 斐 **1**:1 哥 **1**:1 得前 **1**:1&c 得後 **1**:1&c 弟前 **1**:1 弟後 **1**:1 鐸 **1**:1 費 **1**:1.9.19 伯後 **3**:15	微小的	葆琭	保琭	保祿	＿＿	保祿
Πιλᾶτος [Pilatus]	瑪 **27**:2&c 谷 **15**:1&c 路 **3**:1&c 若 **18**:29&c, **19**:1&c 宗 **3**:13&c 弟前 **6**:13	攜標槍者	比辣多	比辣多	比拉多	比辣多	比拉多
Πόντιος [Pontius]	瑪 **27**:2 路 **3**:1 宗 **4**:27 弟前 **6**:13	來自於海的	般雀	般雀	般雀	判爵	＿＿
Πόπλιος [Publius]	宗 **28**:7.8	流行的	＿＿	布彼畧	布比畧	＿＿	＿＿
Πόρκιος [Porcius]	宗 **24**:27	像豬一樣卑鄙的	＿＿	玻爾爵	玻耳漆阿	＿＿	玻爾爵
Πούδης [Pudens]	弟後 **4**:21	謙卑的	＿＿	布登	布登得	＿＿	＿＿
Πρίσκα [Prisca]	羅 **16**:3 格前 **16**:19 弟後 **4**:19	古代	＿＿	彼嘉	彼里西亞	＿＿	＿＿
Πρίσκιλλα [Priscilla]	宗 **18**:2.18.26	可愛的古代	＿＿	畢西辣	比詩拉	＿＿	西辣
Ῥοῦφος [Rufus]	谷 **15**:21 羅 **16**:13	赤色	＿＿	陸弗	路斐	盧福/路福	羅富
Σεκοῦνδος [Secundus]	宗 **20**:4	幸運的	＿＿	瑟公多	塞公多	＿＿	塞公多
Σεργίος [Sergius]	宗 **13**:7	警官 (未定)	＿＿	瑟爾樂	塞耳日約	＿＿	舍爾爵
Τέρτιος [Tertius]	羅 **16**:22	第三	＿＿	德爾爵	阿德耳削	＿＿	＿＿
Τέρτυλλος [Tertullus]	宗 **24**:1,2	三倍硬度 (未定)	＿＿	德杜羅	得耳嵒落	＿＿	德爾都祿
Τιβέριος [Tiberius]	路 **3**:1	由台伯 (Tiberinus) 河神所生/所保護	第白畧	第伯畧	弟白畧	諦百畧	弟白畧
Φῆλιξ [Felix]	宗 **23**:24.26, **24**:3&c **25**:14	快樂	＿＿	弗利瑟	斐里斯	＿＿	斐理斯
Φῆστος [Festus]	宗 **24**:27, **25**:1&c, **26**:24.25.32	節日的	＿＿	弗斯多	斐斯多	＿＿	＿＿
Φορτουνᾶτος [Fortunatus]	格前 **16**:17	有好運的	＿＿	弗都納	弗耳塗那多	＿＿	＿＿

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經(東正教)	和修本/現代中文/呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
黑	――	尼結	尼革爾	尼耶[格]爾	尼結/黑漢/尼結	黑人	――
吳爾巴諾	――	鄔伯諾	吳爾巴諾	屋爾邦	耳巴奴/耳巴努/耳巴奴	烏巴奴	――
保	――	保祿	保祿	葩韋勒	保羅	保羅	――
比拉多	比辣多	比辣多	比拉多	批拉特	彼拉多	彼拉多	比拉多
般雀	般雀	般雀	般雀	彭提乙	本丟/龐修/本丟	龐丘	龐修
布比略	――	布百流	頗理約	普布利乙	部百流	伯布留	――
保爾爵	――	波求	頗爾基約	坡爾豈乙	波求	波丘	――
布登斯	――	布登	普登	普德	布田	普登	――
伯利斯加	――	彼斯加	普黎斯加	普利[爾]斯伊[克]拉	百基拉	普麗斯佳	――
波利西拉	――	彼斯加	普黎史拉	普利[爾]斯伊[克]拉	百基拉	普麗斯佳	――
路福	路夫	羅富/羅甫	魯富	魯[爾]福	魯孚	盧福	――
――	――	西公都	色賁多	莎西葩特爾	西公都	西公都	――
舍爾爵	――	士求	色爾爵	些爾伊[格]乙	士求	謝久	――
戴爾休	――	德爵	特爾爵	鐵爾豈乙	德提/德提/特爾爵	三郎	――
代爾都洛	――	帖土羅	特爾突羅	鐵爾圖勒	帖土羅	特爾圖盧	――
第伯略	弟白略	諦伯略	提庇留	提韋利[爾]乙	提庇留	提庇琉	提庇留
斐力斯	――	斐力斯	斐理斯	斐斯特	腓力斯	費立斯	――
斐斯督	――	非斯都	斐斯托	斐斯特	非斯都	斐斯托	――
福都納	――	福都納	福突納托	佛爾圖那特	福徒拿都	福圖納都	福圖納
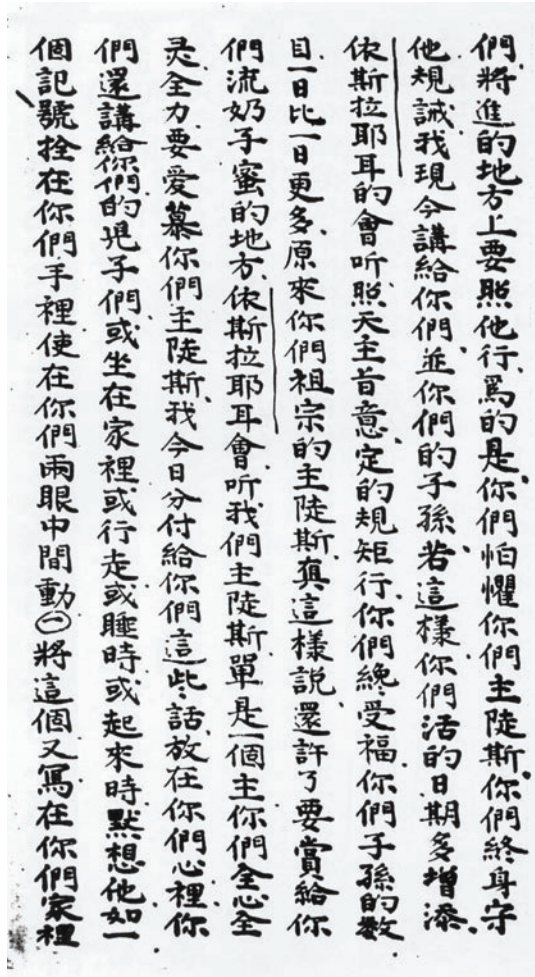
………附錄丁：

人名	出處	涵義	利類思	白日昇、徐若翰	賀清泰	德如瑟	李問漁
Ἀβαδδών [אֲבַדּוֹן Avaddon]	默 **9**:11	破壞	——	——	亞巴同	——	——
Ἀπολλύων	默 **9**:11	毀滅者	——	——	亞玻里翁	——	——
Ἀρτέμις	宗 **19**:24&c	狩猎之女神 阿耳忒彌斯	——	達納	弟亞那		第亞拿
Βάαλ [בַּעַל Ba'al]	羅 **11**:4	主 (迦南大神)	——	巴爾	巴哈耳		——
Βεελζεβοὺλ [בַּעַל זְבוּב Ba'al Zevuv]	瑪 **10**:25&c 谷 **3**:22 路 **11**:15&c	迦南雷神	白爾責布	伯色卜	栢耳則布	伯庇仆	白爾責布
Βελιάρ [בְּלִיַּעַל Beliar]	格後 **6**:15	一無是處	——	伯禮亞	柏里亞耳	——	——
Γαβριὴλ [גַּבְרִאֵל Gavriel]	路 **1**:19.26	אֵל的人，或אֵל的力量	——	加別爾	加彼厄爾	嘉闢兒	——
Ἑρμᾶς	羅 **16**:14	買賣之神"赫耳瑪斯"	——	赫爾瑪	黑耳瑪	——	——
Ἑρμῆς	宗 **14**:12 羅 **16**:14	買賣之神"赫耳墨斯"	——	赫爾默	黑耳默	——	默爾古暑
Ζεύς	宗 **14**:12.13	光耀之神		若物	如必得耳	——	姚味
Ἠλί	瑪 **27**:46	我的אֵל	——	厄例	厄里	厄理	厄利
Μαμωνᾶ	瑪 **6**:24 路 **16**:9.11.13	錢財	瑪滿	財	瑪滿	財帛	貨財
Μεσσίας [מָשִׁיחַ Mashiah]	若 **1**:41, **4**:25	受傅者	——	默契	——	美使稏	黙西亞
Μιχαὴλ [מִיכָאֵל Mikhael]	猶 **1**:9 默 **12**:7	誰像אֵל一樣？	——	——	彌額耳	——	——
Μολόχ [מֹלֶךְ Molech]	宗 **7**:43	國王	——	魔落格	黙洛克	——	——
Ῥαιφάν	宗 **7**:43	無生命的	——	楞方爾	冷房	——	——
Σαβαώθ [צְבָאוֹת Tsevaot]	羅 **9**:29 雅 **5**:4	萬軍的/眾臣的/全能	——	諸軍士之	大軍的	——	——
Σατάν [שָׂטָן Satan]	瑪 **4**:10&c 谷 **1**:13&c 路 **10**:18&c 若 **13**:27 宗 **5**:3, 26:18 羅 **16**:20 格前 **5**:5, 7:5 格後 **2**:11&c 得前 2:18 得後 **2**:9 弟前 **1**:20, 5:15 默 **2**:9&c	敵人	撒但	撒探	撒旦	——	——

神明及天使之名表…………

蕭靜山	馬相伯	吳經熊	思高本	新遺詔聖經 (東正教)	和修本/ 現代中文/ 呂振中	馮象	共同譯本
亞巴東	――	亞霸東	阿巴冬	阿瓦冬	亞巴頓	永滅	――
亞波利雍	――	亞玻力勇	阿頗隆	阿坡利翁	亞玻倫	毀滅者	――
亞底米	――	諦雅納	阿爾特米	底阿那	亞底米	阿忒米	――
巴爾	――	巴爾	巴耳	――	巴力	巴力	――
伯爾載布	白爾賣布	白賣布爾	貝耳則步	――	別西卜	巴力	貝則步
百力牙	――	彼列	貝里雅耳	韋利阿爾	彼列	百戾魔	――
嘉俾厄爾	嘉俾厄爾	嘉必爾	加俾額爾	戛烏利[註]伊勒	加百列	加百列	加百列
黑瑪斯	――	赫爾瑪	赫爾瑪	耶爾瑪	黑馬	赫耳馬	――
黑默斯	――	黑默斯	赫爾默斯	耶爾瑪	希耳米	赫耳墨斯	――
猶比德/ 天帝廟	――	丟斯	則烏斯	由批鐵爾	宙斯/ 宙斯/ 丟斯	宙斯	――
厄里	厄里	伊理	厄里	伊利	以利	以利	――
不義之財	貨財	財富	不義之財	錢財	瑪門/ 錢財/ 錢財	錢財	錢財
黙西亞	黙西亞	美使	黙西亞	芈西亞	彌賽亞	受膏者	彌賽亞
彌額爾	――	彌厄爾	彌額爾	密哈伊勒	米迦勒	米迦勒	――
茂洛	――	摩洛	摩肋客	摩羅合	摩洛	恥王 (迦南冥王)	――
萊番	――	理番	楞番	列[註]木芳	理番	賴番 (巴比 倫天神)	――
軍旅之	――	萬有之	萬軍的	莎多木	萬軍之	萬軍之	――
撒殫	――	沙殫	撒殫	薩他那	撒但	撒旦	撒旦

17、18 世紀的翻譯

圖為賀清泰（Louis Antoine de Poirot, 1735–1813）
親筆所寫《第二次傳法度經》之片段（即《申命紀》第 6 章 2-8 節）。
圖片由香港思高聖經學會提供，其中包括聖經金句：

「我們主陡斯單是一個主‧你們全心全靈全力要愛慕你們的主陡斯」

從經典到通俗：
《天主降生言行紀畧》及其清代改編本的流變[1]

宋剛

From Sacred Scripture to Polular Narrative:
Tianzhu Jiangsheng Yanxing Jilüe
and its Later Adaptations in Qing China

Gang SONG

[摘 要] 本文以艾儒略的《天主降生言行紀畧》（1635）及其後的版本為線索，探討福音書耶穌事蹟在明清中西宗教、文化交流中被策略性地傳譯的過程。雖然此前學者對該著作進行了深入的分析和考證，但是在其後續的改編本、重刊本方面關注不足。本文在前人研究的基礎上另闢新見，首先論述艾儒略採用的"以史證經"的傳譯方法，融匯了中國史傳寫法和天主教會史料而生成一種混合型敘事體例。其後，通過對《天主降生言行紀畧》與三種清代改編本的綜合比較，本文將闡明耶穌事蹟如何逐漸脫離原來福音書的經典屬性，呈現出從經到傳、間文以圖等不同風貌，使耶穌傳這一新的敘事文體在漢語語境下得以立足繁衍，並走向本土化和通俗化。相較嚴格意義上的漢譯福音書，《天主降生言行紀畧》及其系列文本代表了一種獨具特色的合參經史、圖文結合的傳譯模式。廓清其在明清時期的演進軌跡，可以增進對早期入華天主教譯經狀況的了解，同時也有助於從中發現更多與近代譯經事業的關聯。

一、前言

　　從十六世紀末到十八世紀末，天主教傳教士堪稱在華傳教事業的中堅力量。其中不乏如利瑪竇（Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610）、湯若望（Johann Adam Schall von Bell, 1591–1666）、南懷仁（Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623–1688）及郎世寧（Giuseppe Castiglione, 1688–1766）等一批出色的耶穌會士，在神學、倫理學、科技和藝術等領域介紹西學。但是在《聖經》漢譯方面，包括耶穌會士在內的傳教士們卻進展緩慢，沒有取得重大的建樹。到十九世紀初為止，只有少數幾位傳教士自發地從事譯經活動。即使白日昇（Jean Basset, 1662–1707）、賀清泰（Louis Antoine de Poirot, 1735–1813）等人曾先後翻譯了《新約》及部分《舊約》，其開拓性成果也大都停留在手稿階段，未能正式刊行。[2] 相較同時期《四書》、《五經》等中國經典被多次翻譯成拉丁文以及其他歐洲文字的情形，漢譯基督教經典的缺失成了鮮明的反襯。[3]

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[2]　近期學者對白日昇生平及譯經工作的研究較多，兼及白的《新約》譯本對 19 世紀馬禮遜（Robert Morrison, 1782–1834）、馬殊曼（Joshua Marshman, 1768–1837）等新教傳教士譯經的影響。參見本輯周永：〈從"白、徐譯本"到"二馬譯本"——簡論白、徐《新約》譯本的緣起、流傳及影響〉；蔡錦圖：〈白日陞的中文聖經抄本及其對早期新教中文譯經的影響〉，《華神期刊》2008 年第 1 期（創刊號）；曾陽晴：〈白日昇「四史攸編耶穌基利斯督福音之合編」之編輯原則研究〉，《成大宗教與文化學報》，2007 年 12 月，第 11 期；內田慶市：〈モリソンが元にした漢訳聖書－新しく發見されたジヤン・バセ訳新約聖書稿本〉，載《アジア文化交流研究》，第 5 號，2010 年 2 月，頁 219–230；包智光："First Comprehensive Translation of the New Testament in Chinese: Fr Jean Basset (1662–1707) and the Scholar John Xu," *Societas Verbi Divini, Verbum SVD* 49 (2008), 頁 91–119。

[3]　趙曉陽：〈傳教士與中國國學的翻譯——以《四書》、《五經》為中心〉，載"近代中國研究"，2005 年 9 月 14 日。網址 http://jds.cass.cn/Article/20050914153742.asp。

　　實際上，明清天主教在譯經方面的遲滯牽涉到了諸多複雜的歷史因素。其中較為重要的一個，按照鍾鳴旦（Nicolas Standaert）的說法，可以歸結為“一個錯過的機遇”（a missed opportunity）：盡管明末入華耶穌會內部出現了譯與不譯的歧見，羅馬教廷不但沒有禁止，反而在龍華民（Niccolò Longobardo, 1559–1654）及金尼閣（Nicolas Trigault, 1577–1628）等人的請求下，於 1615 年批准聖禮儀式可以使用中文，同時也允許將《聖經》譯為文言中文。[4] 然而，在華耶穌會士們優先考慮的是譯介教理問答、自然哲學及聖禮儀式方面的書籍，對此機會沒有善加利用。1622 年教廷傳信部（Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide）成立，掌管海外宣教事務，在《聖經》的出版及翻譯方面采取了漸趨嚴厲的政策，並於 1655 年禁止印製出版任何未經批准的經典書籍。這對有意通過翻譯《聖經》以進一步推動中國教務的傳教士而言，不啻一個巨大的障礙。例如在 1670 年，巴黎外方傳道會（Missions Étrangères de Paris）提請將《聖經》、彌撒書及祈禱書譯成中文，結果遭到教廷傳信部的否決。[5] 這一歷史性的轉變，也解釋了後來白日昇、賀清泰所譯的《聖經》稿本（或抄本）始終未能在中國正式刊行的原因。

　　在明清天主教的譯經活動未能深入開展的情況下，意大利籍耶穌會士艾儒略（Giulio Aleni, 1582–1649）出版於 1635 年的《天主降生言行紀畧》（以下簡稱《言行紀畧》）值得

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[4]　見 Bernward Willeke, O.F.M., "Das Werden der chinesischen katholischen Bibel," in *Die Heilige Schrift in den katholischen Missionen*, Johannes Beckmann s.m.b. with P. Walbert Buhlmann o.f.m. and. Joh. Specker s.m.b. (eds.), Schöneck-Beckenried, Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1966, pp. 124–125.

[5]　Standaert, Nicolas, "The Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China," in *Bible in Modern China: the Literary and Intellectual Impact*, Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan and Knut Walf (eds.), Sankt Augustin, Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999, pp. 38–39, 52–53.

特別的注意。首先，該書被視為一部耶穌傳。[6] 其主體內容基本上依據《新約》四福音書，以合參的方式直譯或轉譯，並融匯中西歷史敘事傳統，筆者稱其為"以史證經"的傳譯方法，在下文將有詳述。其次，該書與艾儒略的另外兩部著作《天主降生出像經解》（又名《天主降生言行紀像》，以下簡稱《出像經解》）和《天主降生引義》（以下簡稱《降生引義》）前後呼應、互為輔助，成為令人矚目的文本系列。《出像經解》出版於 1637 年，以當時在歐洲流行的納達爾（Jerónimo Nadal, 1507–1580）的《圖繪福音故事》（*Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*）為本，選取五十余幅圖像翻制成中式木刻，將《言行紀畧》所述耶穌生平的重要片段付諸形象。[7]《降生引義》出版於 1640 年左右，旨在闡明天主降生救世的種種神學含義，並從辯教的立場答疑解惑。這三部著作將文字、圖像和義理有機地結合在一起，在明清時期眾多的天主教著作中顯得格外突出，可謂是幫助中國信徒了解耶穌事蹟的重要媒介。或許因其內容與福音書緊密相關，

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[6] 徐宗澤：《明清間耶穌會士譯著提要》，上海，上海書店出版社，2006 年，頁 28。潘鳳娟：〈述而不譯？艾儒略《天主降生言行紀略》的跨語言敘事初探〉，《中國文哲研究集刊》，第 34 期，2009 年 3 月，頁 111–112。

[7] 關於《圖繪福音故事》與《出像經解》的比較研究著述甚多，如 Paul Rheinbay, "Nadal's Religious Iconography Reinterpreted by Aleni for China," in *"Scholar from the West": Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582—1649) and the Dialogue between Christianity and China*, MSMS XLII, Tiziana Lippiello and Roman Malek (eds.), Sankt Augustin-Nettetal, 1997, pp. 323–335; Gianni Criveller（柯毅霖）, *Preaching Christ in Late Ming China: the Jesuits' Presentation of Christ from Matteo Ricci to Giulio Aleni*, Taipei, Taipei Ricci Institute, 1997, pp. 233–253; Sun Yuming, "Cultural Translatability and the Presentation of Christ as Portrayed in Visual Images from Ricci to Aleni," in *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, vol. II, Roman Malek (ed.), Sankt Augustin, Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum, 2003, pp. 476–498; Song Gang 宋剛, *Learning from the other: Giulio Aleni, Kouduo richao, and late Ming dialogic hybridization,* PhD Diss., University of Southern California, 2006, pp. 437–460。

所以《言行紀畧》被明末的中國信徒排在艾儒略中文著述的首位。[8]

　　此外，《言行紀畧》的影響也可以從後來的多次改編和重印得到體現。以筆者目前所知，《言行紀畧》在清代至少有兩種改編本：《天主耶穌聖蹟》（以下簡稱《聖蹟》）和《耶穌言行紀畧》（以下簡稱《紀畧》）。[9] 在日本，有在東京出版的《天主降生一千八百八十年耶穌言行紀略》，似為艾儒略原作的又一種改編本。[10] 至於《言行紀畧》被重印（或與《出像經解》合印）的數目，從十七世紀到二十世紀有不下十次之多，包括下文論及的 1887 年《道原精萃》版《言

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[8]　韓霖、張賡的《聖教信證》（"耶穌會西來諸位先生姓氏"）和李嗣玄的《西海艾先生行略》雖然開列的艾儒略著述在順序和數目上有所不同，但居首的都是《言行紀畧》。

[9]　筆者所見兩書的刻本，都出自羅馬國家圖書館（Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome）。《聖蹟》的編號為 72.B.309，正文前有未署名的"天主耶穌聖蹟小引"，且標明"泰西會士艾儒略譯"，文末有"耶穌聖教後學萬德望梓傳"字樣。萬德望應該就是小引的作者，從語氣上看似是中國信徒，筆者尚未查到與其身份相關的資料。另巴黎法國國家圖書館收藏一部手抄本《聖蹟》，編號為"Chinois 6721"，未記抄者姓名。文中有錯字修改和漏字補寫情況，比照羅馬國家圖書館刻本，可以斷定該手抄本晚於刻本，而不是刻本作為依據的稿本。該抄本的翻印版，見《法國國家圖書館明清天主教文獻》，臺北，利氏學社，2009 年，第 22 冊，頁 495–537。至於《耶穌言行紀畧》，羅馬國家圖書館的編號為 72.A.229，分四卷記述耶穌生平，但通篇未標明編者及年代。

[10]　該書又題為《耶蘇言行紀略》，四卷，付印於 1880 年，編者為 Jean-Marie Marin (1842–1921) 和 Nakayama 中山。參見 Arimichi Ebisawa（海老沢有道）, *Christianity in Japan: A Bibliography of Japanese and Chinese Sources*, Tokyo, Committee on Asian Cultural Studies, International Christian University, 1960, 頁 37。筆者未能親見該書，不過據 Van Hecken 的介紹，該書主體內容取自艾儒略原作，但標題及分四卷的結構則借鑒了中文改編本《耶穌言行紀畧》。參見 J. L. Van Hecken, "Les Publications bibliques catholiques en Langue japonaise (1859–1959)," in *Die Heilige Schrift in den katholischen Missionen*, 頁 98–99。至於 Jean-Marie Marin，曾入巴黎外方傳道會，1866 年到日本傳教，1881 年結束傳教生涯，退出傳道會，其後返回法國。有關其生平簡介，參見 Gérard Moussay et Brigitte Appavou, *Répertoire des Membres de la Société des Missions Etrangères, 1659–2004*, Paris, Archives des Missions Étrangères, 2004, 頁 169。筆者感謝包智光神父提供關於 Jean-Marie Marin 的信息。

行紀畧》。[11] 如此頻繁的改編、重印，在明清天主教著作當中並不多見。有記錄顯示，《言行紀畧》曾出現於道光二十年（1840 年）在北京沙拉村所查獲的天主教經卷之中，這也從側面表明該書在兩個多世紀的時間裏經歷了持久的流傳。[12]

本文以《言行紀畧》及其後的數種版本為線索，探討福音書中的耶穌事蹟在明清中西宗教、文化交流中被策略性地傳譯的過程。回顧此前的相關研究，雖然有學者對《言行紀畧》進行了深入的分析和考證，但是對其後續的改編本、重刊本關注不足。就筆者所知，目前尚未有對《言行紀畧》與清代版本進行的綜合比較研究。本文在鐘鳴旦、潘鳳娟、柯毅霖（Gianni Criveller）等人的研究成果基礎上，將首先重點分析艾儒略在《言行紀畧》中採用的"以史證經"的傳譯方法，通過融匯中國史傳寫法和西方教會史料而生成一種新的混合型敘事體例。這一體例的出現，與艾儒略本人的傳教策略和譯經立場密切相關，也反映出十七世紀在華天主教以調和耶、儒為核心的主流傾向。其次，通過詳細比較《言行紀畧》與三種清代的改編及重刊版本，本文將闡明耶穌傳這樣一個跨語言敘事如何逐漸脫離福音書原來的經典屬性，體現出本土化和通俗化的特徵。[13] 此外，艾儒略以圖像展現耶穌生平，也導致了後來《言行紀畧》與《出像經解》的合刊。這種圖文並行的方式，表明《言行紀畧》在清代禁教期間仍

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[11] 據 CCT Database 之目錄，《言行紀畧》初版以後，很快就在福州（和山西？）有重印，其後重印的地點有北京、上海、獻縣、香港，最後一次是 1928 年在香港。不過，據柯毅霖考證，最後一次重印是在 1920 年上海的徐家匯土山灣。見前引柯氏著：*Preaching Christ in Late Ming China*，頁 203。

[12] 張先清：〈刊書傳教：清代禁教期天主教經卷在民間社會的流傳〉，載張先清編：《史料與視界——中文文獻與中國基督教史研究》，上海，上海人民出版社，2007 年，頁 115。

[13] 潘鳳娟：〈述而不譯？艾儒略《天主降生言行紀略》的跨語言敘事初探〉，頁 111。

在民間社會廣為流傳，並在晚清發展成為圖文一體的耶穌圖
傳。相較於白日昇、賀清泰等人嚴格意義上的譯經行為，《言
行紀畧》及其系列文本代表了一種獨具特色的合參經史、圖
文結合的傳譯模式。只有深入挖掘這些以往未被關注的重要
文獻，並以綜合、比較的視角考察不同傳譯模式之間的關係，
才有可能全面認清明清之際包括福音書在內的基督教經典翻
譯、流播的發展脈絡，並在早期天主教譯經史的軌跡中發現
更多與近代譯經事業的關聯。

二、調適策略與經典傳譯

　　艾儒略是繼利瑪竇之後入華耶穌會士的代表人物之一。
他於 1582 年生在意大利北部的布雷西亞（Brescia），從 1602
到 1609 年間接受耶穌會的神學和人文學科教育。因向總會長
申請赴遠東傳教獲得批准，艾儒略被派往中國傳教。1610 年
抵澳門，其後十幾年往返於南北各省傳教，足跡遍及陝西、
山西、河南、江蘇和浙江等省。從 1625 年開始，艾儒略赴福
建開教，直到他去世的 1649 年，主要在福州、莆田、興化、
泉州、建州、漳州等地開展傳教活動。與利瑪竇一樣，艾儒
略也精通中文，熟悉儒家經典，終其一生出版了多部神學、
哲學、地理、數學等方面的著作，成為推動明末西學東漸的
一個典範。[14]

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[14] 有關艾儒略生平和傳教的研究很多，包括 Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de chine (1552–1773)*, Shanghai, Imprimerie de la Mission catholique, 1932–34 (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, Kraus Reprint, 1971), 頁 126–137; Eugenio Menegon, "A Different Country, the Same Heaven: A Preliminary Biography of Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582–1649)", in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 15, 1993, 頁 27–51; Mario Colpo, "Giulio Aleni's Cultural and Religious Background," in *Scholar from the West*, 頁 73–84; Erik Zürcher (transl.), *Kouduo richao: Li Jiubiao's Diary of Oral Admonitions, a Late Ming Christian Journal*, MSMS LVI, Sankt Augustin,

　　艾儒略延續利瑪竇所確立的上層路線傳教原則，積極與明代高層官員和儒士交游。有"聖教三柱石"之稱的徐光啟、李之藻和楊廷筠都曾和他過從甚密。他尤其擅長與中國學者進行格物窮理式的對談，其代表作之一《三山論學記》，就是他與當時致仕的葉向高（1559–1627）和曹學佺（1574–1646）討論一系列哲學、倫理及神學話題的結果。在教義傳播方面，艾儒略與利瑪竇一樣主張調適中西、耶儒合璧。不過他在入閩後的傳教活動，不但維持早期與士大夫階層的聯絡，而且還延伸到福建各地的中下層社會，可以視為耶穌會調適策略的進一步擴展。因學識廣博、四處傳道，艾儒略在福建信徒中贏得很高的聲望，被尊稱為"西來孔子"。[15] 這一中西混合的名號，是他成功運用調適策略的有力證據。艾儒略也常以天儒合一的身份自居。據其中文傳記記載，因戰亂而滯留延平期間，他曾讓信徒為他寫一塊匾額，題名"四憂堂"，就取自孔子的名言"德之不修，學之不講，聞義不能徙，不善不能改，是吾憂也"。[16] 艾儒略以此表明對至聖先師的認同，在強調天主教信仰歸依的同時，還兼顧到儒家核心的修身理想。在福清教徒李九標等人編纂的《口鐸日抄》中，艾儒略被尊稱為"先生"，向福建各地士紳信徒廣傳天主教"鐸音"，充分凸顯出他兼具傳教士與儒者的

Nettetal, 2007, 頁 54–74；林金水：〈艾儒略與明末福州社會〉，《海交史研究》，1992 年第 2 期，頁 55–66、99；潘鳳娟：《西來孔子艾儒略—更新變化的宗教會遇》，臺北，基督教橄欖文化事業基金會聖經資源中心，2002 年，頁 41–86。

[15] 韓霖、張賡編：《耶穌會西來諸位先生姓氏》，見《天主教東傳文獻三編》，臺北，學生書局，1998 年，第 1 冊，頁 311。

[16] 李嗣玄：《西海艾先生行略》，見鐘鳴旦、杜鼎克（Adrian Dudink）編《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，臺北，利氏學社，2002 年，第 12 冊，頁 257。

雙重身份。[17] 這種一以貫之的調適策略，自然也會影響到艾儒略包括《言行紀畧》在內的中文著作。

　　在譯介天主教經典的問題上，尤其是《聖經》的翻譯，艾儒略似乎持比較審慎的態度。《言行紀畧》前有一篇相當於序言的〈萬日畧經說〉（拉丁文 *Evangelia* 或意大利文 *Vangeli* 的音譯），其結尾處講到：

> 今將四聖所編，會撮要畧，粗達言義。言之無文，理可長思。令人心會身體，以資神益。雖不致隕越經旨，然未敢云譯經也。[18]

短短幾句話，涵蓋了兩層意涵：第一，《言行紀畧》雖以福音書為本，但既不是按《新約》的次序分譯前四卷書，也不是逐字逐句的全文翻譯，而是將四卷書"會撮要畧"，合參為一個完整的文本，根據時間先後排列主題條目，對耶穌生平進行"不致隕越經旨"的介紹。可以說，艾儒略採用一種以退為進的方式應對當時天主教在華傳教的特殊情形。不論是遠在羅馬的教廷傳信部，還是身在中國的耶穌會的決策者，都難以對這種非嚴格意義上的經典"翻譯"行為采取否定或禁止的態度。更重要的是，艾儒略在閩十年的苦心經營已經開花結果，本地士紳信徒團體的形成和發展，單靠口頭的方式宣講福音已經無法適應新的需要。不論用何種方式，福音書的中文傳譯已被提上日程。《言行紀畧》、《出像經解》和《降生引義》三部著作之所以相繼出版，很大程度上是針對當時閩中乃至其他地區傳教的實際需求。

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[17]　李九標：〈口鐸日抄小引〉，《口鐸日抄》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 7 冊，頁 107。

[18]　《言行紀畧》序言〈萬日畧經說〉，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 29。

　　第二，艾儒略雖然明講"未敢云譯經"，但每卷正文前的署名處都有"西極耶穌會士艾儒畧譯述"字樣。如果在內容上進行比照，也不難看出《言行紀畧》與福音書關於耶穌的記載的緊密對應關係。[19] 可見他所言"未敢云譯經"只是一句謙辭而已。《言行紀畧》序言中提到由"聖人熱羅尼莫"（Hieronymus，即 St. Jerome）翻譯的拉丁文武加大《聖經》（*Vulgate Bible*），但其文本依據可能是德國神學家魯道夫斯·撒索尼亞（Ludolphus de Saxonia, ca. 1295–1378）所作《耶穌基督生平》（*Vita Jesu Christi*）在 1474 年初版或後來的某個簡化版本。[20] 不論其底本為何，艾儒略都刻意繞過了《言行紀畧》是否為天主教經典翻譯的敏感話題。因而他在本書的凡例中再次申明："吾主耶穌事實，原系四聖所紀。彼詳此畧，有重紀，有獨紀者。茲特編其要畧，不復重紀詳盡。若夫全譯四聖所紀，翻經全功，尚有待也。"[21]

　　筆者以為，艾儒略是借"會撮要畧"之名，而行傳譯基督教經典之實。這種微妙的態度，可以通過比較他與利瑪竇對同一典故的不同處理方式而顯出蛛絲馬跡。《口鐸日抄》中記載，南安信徒陳克寬問道於艾儒略，曾"偶問譯經之事"，而艾儒略回答以古昔阨入多國（即埃及）國王延請猶太國的七十二名士將《舊約》譯成"本國文"（應是希臘文）的故事，然後評價說："夫以七十二譯士，居處既分，心手各別。乃一一符合，片言不爽，斯豈人力所能為者乎？神功

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[19] 據潘鳳娟對《言行紀畧》與四福音書的比照，前者只有兩處——賢王請耶穌及昇天聖所條——沒有出自福音書原文。見潘鳳娟，〈述而不譯？艾儒略《天主降生言行紀略》的跨語言敘事初探〉，頁 143–160。

[20] Standaert, "The Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China," 頁 40–41；潘鳳娟：〈述而不譯？艾儒略《天主降生言行紀略》的跨語言敘事初探〉，頁 121–124。不過，兩人所據的法譯簡本 *Vita Christi* 的出版年代都在十九世紀，晚於艾儒略的著作，似需在邏輯論證上進一步說明。

[21] 《言行紀畧》"凡例"，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 38。

默啟，恢乎大矣！"[22] 這次談話，也許促使艾儒略在數年後撰寫《降生引義》時，刻意列出了"天主古經預譯西文"一條：

> 天主古經，先聖所錄，共二十有四部也。天主未降人世一百八十年，有日多國賢王多祿茂者，欲集萬國經書，共成大院。知如德亞國有造物主聖經，為千古不刊之典。特遣使臣往請，並求譯士數人。國主奉命，又選七十二名士通兩國之文字者。賚經而往。賢王禮賓之，命譯大西額濟國之文字，以通天下。然慮和同附會，致失經旨，乃命諸譯士，作七十二處，不令相通，逾年而告竣。王沐浴升朝，大臣咸列，命諸譯士宣讀之。字字符合，片言不爽。王大驚悅，知有全能默啟，愈加欽崇焉。蓋此盛事非偶，乃天主深意，俾大西諸國日後得聞造物主妙理，與夫降生真傳者，自有印證預載，無可疑異。[23]

艾儒略運用七十二士譯經這一典故，其立場明顯不同於此前的利瑪竇。面對訪客在翻譯《聖經》方面的興趣和請求，利氏一再表示婉拒，其理由為漢譯《聖經》乃是一項極為艱巨的大工程，一定要比照古時七十二賢士譯經的舊例，延攬眾多人才，並耗費許多時間才可完成。[24] 反觀艾儒略對同一事件的評價，全然不提譯經的困難，而只強調七十二譯本的文字若合符節，乃是"神功默啟"的結果。言外之意，《聖經》既然曾經借助神啟而被譯為阨入多國（或額濟國）文字，在大西諸國廣為流傳，當然也可能以同樣方式將其譯成中文。值得玩味的是，他並未就此明示自己在天主教經典漢譯問題

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[22] 《口鐸日抄》卷 2,5a，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 7 冊，頁 107。

[23] 《天主降生引義》，上卷，頁 7a–7b。本處引自耶穌會羅馬檔案館所存的原件照片，文件編號為 Jap. Sin. I. 77。

[24] 同注 3。

上的立場。但是有一點可以肯定，艾儒略的《言行紀畧》，
是以某種精心設計的"合法"方式所進行的經典傳譯。

三、"聖史"記錄與中、西史結合

在〈萬日畧經說〉開篇，艾儒略不但解釋了《聖經》舊
約和新約的關系，而且概述了福音書的來由和主旨：

> 造物主聖教，有《古經》，有《新經》。《古經》
> 廼天主未降生，啟示先聖，令傳溥世。即以將降生
> 事旨豫詳其中。《新經》廼天主降生後，宗徒與並
> 時聖人紀錄者。中云《萬日畧經》 譯言好報福音，
> 即四聖紀吾主耶穌降生，在世三十三年，救世贖人，
> 以至升天行事垂訓之寔。誠開天路之寶信經也。[25]

艾儒略刻意強調這些"開天路之寶信經"，目的是要在中國
語境下彰顯天主教的經典傳統，以與中國文化的經典傳統（尤
其是儒家經典）相匹配。這種調適立場是當時在華耶穌會士
的共識，艾儒略當然也不例外。[26] 例如，他在《口鐸日抄》
中就創造性地提出"天主五經"的說法，包括《信經》、《十
戒》、《哀矜行詮》、《七克》以及《撒格勒孟多》(Sacramento)，
用以比附儒家傳統中的五經。[27]

在《言行紀畧》中，只出現過一次"聖經"的名詞，而
且並不是用來稱呼後世所講的全本《聖經》。[28] 與艾儒略同

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[25] 《言行紀畧》序言〈萬日畧經說〉，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 23。

[26] Standaert, "The Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China," 頁 46。

[27] 《口鐸日抄》卷 6,27a–27b，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 7 冊，頁 439–440。

[28] 《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 180。

時入華並曾在福建傳教的陽瑪諾（Manuel Dias Jr., 1368–1644），在其《聖經直解》中對"聖經"一詞作出了看似自相矛盾的解釋。他先說"聖經原文謂之阨萬日畧"（拉丁文：*Evangelia*；葡萄牙文：*Evangelhos*），但隨後又將兩者區分開來，說："聖經，公名也。或天主親口所諭，或天神代主所傳，或先知聖人得天主默照所示，俱稱聖經。惟吾主在世，躬誨聖言，躬行聖事，而命聖史紀載，以詔後世者，乃稱阨萬日畧，而為聖經之一分。"[29] 可見他所謂的"聖經"有廣義和狹義之分，前者是泛指與天主教教義和禮儀相關的著作，後者專指"阨萬日畧"，即四福音書。由於當時沒有《聖經》中文全譯本，"聖經"一詞尚未與《聖經》形成固定的對應關係，因而常常指寬泛意義上的各類天主教經典。不過，艾儒略在這裡作出《古經》、《新經》和《萬日畧經》的分類，從範疇角度看比較明確，能與晚清逐漸規範化的基督教經典漢譯中所使用的"舊約"、"新約"及"福音書"等名詞一一對應。

　　《言行紀畧》序言中另外一點值得注意的地方，是四福音書作者的身份和稱號。艾儒略通篇使用"四聖"的稱呼，不過在正文"耶穌歷代之祖"一條的按語中，他提到了"聖史瑪竇"。[30] 在《出像經解》的首幅圖"天主降生聖像"中，艾儒略清楚地標識出"聖史"的名號（附圖甲）。顯然，他有意無意地將四者同時視為宗教意義上的聖人和世俗意義上的史家。一方面，"四聖"的記錄體現了不同的"意旨"和"專屬"：瑪竇重在前代聖人預言耶穌為救世之主；瑪爾謌重在耶穌所行神跡大能；路加重在耶穌醫療人心之疾病；若

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[29]　陽瑪諾：《聖經直解》，見《天主教東傳文獻三編》，臺北，學生書局，1998年，第 4 冊，頁 1558–1567。

[30]　《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 47。

望重在耶穌人性與天主性的結合。[31] 另一方面，他們的記錄
又遵循史家所重視的紀實、載道原則。艾儒略針對此原則所
講的一番話可圈可點：

> 然四聖所紀，更令古今一切人尊信者，言言質實，
> 畧無粉飾。其所本無，固毫不夸詡以炫俗。即其中
> 有超絕事理，非人情所能遽信者，亦盡明書，不敢
> 委脫以阿眾。又或有不尊聖教，與夫門徒過差，似
> 令人聞而搖其信者，亦據事直書，不敢隱諱，以避
> 耳目。其所以然者，蓋種種所紀，其中妙義，雖非
> 一時俗眼所能盡明。然細繹其旨，皆砭世之金針，
> 訓人之大道也。[32]

此處評價福音書的記錄"言言質實"、"盡明書"以及"據
事直書"，可以說既合乎揭示真理的宗教目的，又合乎中國
史家在修史過程中的核心理念和實踐。漢代班固在談到司馬
遷及《史記》的紀實風格時說："遷有良史之才，服其善序
事理，辨而不華，質而不俚，其文直，其事核，不虛美，故
謂之實錄。"（《漢書‧司馬遷傳贊》）比照艾儒略和班固
的評語，兩者在表達上非常相近。而艾儒略進一步指出，"四
聖"所記載的都是"砭世之金針，訓人之大道"，這無疑又
包含著中國史家所提倡的人文價值取向。只不過中國史家所
關注的治亂興衰之道，在這裡被替換成了天主降世的神跡聖
訓。

除了強調四福音書作者的"聖史"身份外，艾儒略還將
中史和西史兩種紀年體系相互對應，以證實天主降世的時
間。《言行紀畧》的凡例有言：

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[31] 《言行紀畧》序言〈萬日畧經說〉，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文
獻》，第 4 冊，頁 27–28。

[32] 同上，頁 25。

> 天主降生之時，按中國長曆，在漢哀帝元壽二年，
> 歲次庚申。即平帝擬元始元年冬也。蓋考之《漢史》，
> 哀帝元壽二年六月崩，平帝以九月即位。而吾主耶
> 穌降誕，實在是年長至後四日也。[33]

　　此處年份對應的用意，顯然是借助中國史書的紀年，以佐證耶穌降誕的年份和日期。在《言行紀畧》文末，刊行者也是並用中西紀年標明出版時間，即"天主降生救世後一千六百三十五年　崇禎八祀歲次乙亥孟秋晉江景教堂敬梓"。這樣的混合紀年法在明清時期天主教著作中屢見不鮮，是一個不成文的慣例。可以說傳教士和中國信徒在日常生活、個人靈修和禮儀崇拜方面，置身於數種時間體系之中：西式公元紀年、教會禮拜節期、中式帝王年號和民間曆日。對這些記時方法的交錯使用，也成了表達他們中西混合宗教、文化身份的一個重要方面。[34]

　　《言行紀畧》在內容上"以史證經"的特色，更多表現在艾儒略合參中西史料上面。中國方面最值得留意的，是他利用西安新近出土的大秦景教碑的記載，作為天主教福音東傳的一條重要史料證據。[35] 在凡例中，艾儒略三次提到碑文的內容，其側重點各不相同：

> 若在極西諸國稱為 DEVS。音陡斯，譯言天地真主 在大
> 秦國，考之唐景教碑，稱為阿羅訶。碑序云：'粤

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[33] 《言行紀畧》"凡例"，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 37。

[34] Menegon, Eugenio, "The 'Teachings of the Lord of Heaven' in Fujian: Between Two Worlds and Two Times," in *Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition: East Asia from Ming to Qing*, Lynn A. Struve (ed.), Honolulu, Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawaii Press, 2005, 頁 181–243。

[35] 陝西出土的景教碑在明末傳教士和信徒中間引起了廣泛關注，而其碑文則先後收錄於李之藻的《天學初函》（1626 年）以及陽瑪諾的《景教碑頌正詮》（1644 年）中。

若。常然真寂。先先而无元。窅然靈虛。後後而妙
有。總玄樞而造化。妙衆聖以元尊者。其唯我三一
妙身。无元真主阿羅訶歟？' 摠之宇宙，其惟一主。
而各國奉之，自有本稱也。…

天主降生之國，總名大秦，本名如德亞。與中華相
連一大州，距長安而西，陸程約四萬里。… 大唐貞
觀九年，有大秦傳道者，攜天主經像來獻。太宗見
其教旨，洞徹天人，究極生死，原原立要，大益治
修。於貞觀十有二年，頒行天下。詳見景教碑頌

天主降生名號，… 一曰彌施訶。按唐景教碑論天主
降生曰：'景尊彌施訶。戢隱真威。同人出代。神
天宣慶。室女誕聖于大秦。' 36

三處引文，兩處牽涉到天主的名號，一處是為彰顯統治者對
景教的支持。艾儒略在此刻意征引，不但達到了史料考證的
目的，而且還試圖將傳教事業與皇權在歷史記憶中重新連
接。據《口鐸日抄》的記載，三年前他就曾以景教碑的資料
回應教徒對天主創世之後人類繁衍流布的疑惑。37 而福建信
徒中的翹楚張賡（約 1570–1646/47），在 1638 年也記錄了近
期在桃源和泉州相繼發現的景教碑刻，被信徒移至當地的景
教堂中瞻仰。38 這對艾儒略來講，自然是基督教信仰在中國
久已流傳的最有力證據。

36　《言行紀畧》"凡例"，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4
　　冊，頁 31–32、34–36。

37　《口鐸日抄》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 7 冊，頁
　　194–196。

38　《景教流行中國碑頌正詮》附圖，1644 年原版見《法國國家圖書館明清
　　天主教文獻》，台北，利氏學社，2009 年，第 23 冊，頁 17–20；1878 年
　　重刊本見《天主教東傳文獻續編》，臺北，學生書局，1966/2000 年，第
　　2 冊，頁 751–754。

　　在西史方面，艾儒略引用的材料較中史為多。他將"西史"定義為福音書所未記載的"國史"，而後者對於前者主要體現"續補"的功用。[39] 究其來源，"西史"似大多取自《耶穌基督生平》一類著作中所收錄的有關耶穌生平的傳說和記錄。[40] 例如，"耶穌避居阨日多國"一條，在描述耶穌一家因希律王（Herodes）的追捕而避居埃及的情節時，艾儒略在福音書原文後加入了幾條"西史"資料：厄末玻里府（Heliopolis）樹魔下拜、葩彼落（Babylon）水泉醫病和阨日多（Egypt）魔像自墜於地。[41] 又如在描述耶穌到約旦河接受約翰施浸時，艾儒略也引用"西史"加以解釋，說約旦河因此而具有療治百病的功效。[42] 不難發現，這些所謂的"西史"，實際上是一系列在中世紀就開始流行的靈異傳說，依附於福音書所記載的耶穌生平事跡，以佐證其為神聖全能、降世為人的天主。

　　《言行紀畧》將四福音書合參，成為一個完整的敘事文本，有利於艾儒略在連貫的情節中自由加入各種靈異傳說和聖物遺跡。其中有一段很特別的記述，是賢王阿布加（Abgar/Abagarus）與耶穌的通信。阿布加致信耶穌，懇請他到埃德薩（Edessa）為自己治病，但耶穌回信說只願讓一名弟子前去。無奈之下，阿布加派一名畫工去繪制耶穌的聖像，畫工因耶穌面上的神光而不能注視，結果耶穌自己取一個帕子蒙住面孔，將面容留在帕上，送給阿布加。這一段情節就是中世紀非常流行的耶穌聖容傳說之一。[43] 艾儒略在此

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[39] 《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 40。

[40] Standaert, "The Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China," 頁 42。

[41] 《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 65–67。其原文出於《瑪竇福音》2:13–23。

[42] 同上，頁 71。

[43] 這一傳說在教會史上的傳播起始於歐西比烏斯（Eusebius of Caesarea, ca. 263–339）的 *Historia Ecclesiae*，到中世紀以後依然流行。在 1522 年拉丁版《耶穌基督生平》中（Prima pars, capitu XXX, fol. LXXV），提到了

不失時機加上了自己的親身經歷以資信實："帕至今存在極
西羅瑪都城，鬚眉畢具，恍如生也。儒畧幸躬睹焉。"[44] 與
此齊名的聖容故事，是在耶穌背負十字架往骷髏地的途中，
由"聖婦勿樂尼加"（Saint Veronica）遞給他白帕以拭去臉
上血汗而留下的。對此聖物，艾儒畧給出的注釋是："今存
羅瑪聖伯鐸羅大殿中，每年一次，請出示眾。"[45] 除了聖容
之外，還有很多其他聖物，如在耶穌被釘的十字架的木板，
被兵士強搶的長衣，以及兵士蘸醋給耶穌喝的竹竿，等等。
甚至耶穌在"阿理襪"山（Mount of Olives）升天所踏的石
頭，都有"醫療百病"的神力，而上面留下的足跡，也渾全
無損如初，成為信徒朝拜的聖跡。[46] 這些靈異傳說被艾儒畧
冠以"西史"之名，雖然都是"超絕事理，非人情所能遽信
者"，但他像"四聖"一樣本著紀實原則"盡明書，不敢委
脫以阿眾"。可以說，借助"以史證經"的方式，艾儒畧將
天主教聖物、聖像崇拜的傳統策略性地展示在明代中國人面
前。

四、中國史傳寫法的化用

《言行紀畧》主要依據福音書的記載，但是因引入大量
"史"的元素，原本"經"的性質在其內有所改變。艾儒畧

Abagarus 的名字。但據潘鳳娟的比照表，該傳說並未見於其所據的《耶
穌基督生平》法譯簡本，見潘鳳娟：〈述而不譯？艾儒畧《天主降生言行
紀畧》的跨語言敘事初探〉，頁 151。

[44] 《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁
209–211。

[45] 同上，頁 304。

[46] 以上聖物、聖跡之例，分見《言行紀畧》各條，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館
明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 305、306、309 及 330。

在內容上兼用中西史料，在寫法和風格上則有意無意地向中
國史傳傳統靠攏，結果產生了獨具特色的第一部中文耶穌傳。

　　首先，在體例上，艾儒略常常在正文中或某個片段的結
尾，加入中國史書中慣用的按語或論贊。這種兼具注釋、評
價和抒情功用的體例，因其預留了空間讓作者充分表達個人
的思想情感和價值評判，所以從司馬遷開始就成為中國史傳
寫作的一個重要模式。艾儒略將其轉用在對福音書的傳譯上
面，無疑是"以史證經"方法的創造性發揮。他不但引史入
經，而且更進一步加入個人的評論，以幫助信徒理解耶穌生
平中較為特別的片段的主旨，或進而對信徒的信仰和靈修提
出說教性的勸勉。例如，在介紹耶穌降生於馬槽一節之後，
艾儒略加按語說：

> 按吾主降世，不擇帝王之室、安華之地、溫煖之時，
> 而選茅屋、獸槽、冬寒，似非其宜。不知吾主降生，
> 原非為享世福，實為受苦救人也。顧人世萬尤之根，
> 一在好財，一在好勝，一在好樂。因此三根太甚，狥
> 欲背理，殆與不靈之物同類矣。是以吾主以天地之主
> 宰而甘降極貧乏之地，破我貪也；以至尊之位，而欲
> 降極微之處，砭我傲也；以全福之備，而取苦寒之日，
> 又以藥我耽逸，而示三罪拔根之表，且憫我人幾變而
> 為獸，則以獸類中捄我也。[47]

天主降生寒微之家，很多華人（包括信徒在內）都對這個聽
起來全然不合天主尊貴身份的情節感到不可思議。《口鐸日
抄》中就記載了一位周姓孝廉，辯稱天主降生為人似乎是對
其全能創世主身份的褻瀆。面對質疑，艾儒略的回應帶有明
顯的邏輯性和策略性。他將天主降世救人比作皇帝御駕親征
平叛，認為兩者都是自降身份，其目的也都是推行聖恩（或

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[47] 《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁
56–57。

皇恩）、澤被萬民。[48] 如此類比，對方自然不好反駁，以免
引起藐視皇權的嫌疑。而此處的按語，加入了抽象化的義理
詮釋，申明信徒應該從天主降生的事例中領悟到拔除好財、
好勝和好樂三種罪根的屬靈意涵。

　　另外，艾儒略也常以論贊的方式強調某些情節中所隱藏
的特殊意旨。這方面可以用"五餅二魚餉五千人"為例。在
描述了耶穌如何施行此神跡之後，他發出慨嘆說：

> 異哉！吾主全能也！聖奧斯定曰：「耶穌所行靈異
> 諸蹟，一一足醒人心。令人繇其所見之事，推思其
> 所未見之主也。」蓋天主本體，自非人目可見。惟
> 因其控制天地萬物之能，恍然見之。如數粒種之微，
> 發生無量數。自非全能之功，曷克至此？…故每日
> 發生五穀百菓於田地者，即是日發無量數之糧於門
> 徒手者也。造化之權，在吾主之手。其五餅者，猶
> 種也。非種於地以生，乃造地者自命之倍多發也。
> 美哉聖人之言！吾輩觀茲，可不仰天主變化之全
> 能，并感天主日用之需乎？[49]

此處艾儒略明顯借鑒了奧古斯丁（St. Augustine, 354–430）
的寓意解經法，不但重複奧古斯丁所提出的"所見之事"、
"未見之主"的說法，而且還特別指出"種"是"餅"寓意
體：正如一粒種子由天主之命而生發出五穀百菓，區區五張
餅也借助天主之大能而倍增，成為供應五千人享用的食物。[50]
艾儒略將中國史傳的論贊傳統與天主教神學的經典詮釋相結
合，可以說是應用其調適策略而做出的獨創之舉。

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[48] 《口鐸日抄》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 7 冊，頁 486。

[49] 《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 145–146。

[50] 見奧古斯丁為《約翰福音》所寫的布道文，英譯原文見 Christian Classics Ethereal Library, http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf107.iii.xxv.html.

　　中國史傳寫作的一大特色，是其字裏行間所流露出的皇權正統觀和人倫道德觀，而這兩方面都與儒家思想有密不可分的關系。對奉行耶儒合璧策略的艾儒略而言，以"史"（人文價值）證"經"（宗教屬性）堪稱一個理想的選擇。基於此，我們不難理解為什麼他在向信徒講道時，常常將天上的天主與人間的君王進行類比。[51] 在記述耶穌生平的《言行紀畧》中，也頻頻出現類似的比附。例如〈萬日畧經說〉提到：**天主降誥于人，猶人主出令于民。古聖紀錄其命，猶臣工書勅；教宗準定廻行，猶勅命需符璽也。**[52] 又如在"耶穌歷代之祖"一條的尾注中，為了強調耶穌出身帝冑血統，艾儒略甚至不無牽強地用中國古聖堯將兩個女兒許配給舜的典故解釋聖母與若瑟的同族婚配。[53] 此外，中國史家強調以史為鑒，目的是強化君臣父子的主從關系，維持以皇權為中心的等級秩序。這一心理定式被艾儒略投射到以天主為中心的整個宇宙等級秩序當中。他為耶穌在聖殿訓誡眾人一節作出的按語，充分顯露出這樣的意圖：

> 　　按《聖經》，世人常生真福。一在識天地真主，欽崇無怠。一在知降生救贖之恩，深心感法。二者缺一則不得享真福，而必罹永殃。譬之臣子，不識敬其君父，則恩寵無繇而受，反必將蒙不忠之罰。故君責臣以忠，原非為己之榮，欲使臣子盡其分，受其福，理不容不然也。吾主耶穌，萬民之大君父也，自證其為真主，無非欲以增人之福，而免眾人之罪

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[51]　參見筆者在"Learning from the Other"中第 4 章第 1 節的分析。

[52]　《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 24。

[53]　據司馬遷的《史記·五帝本紀》，堯是黃帝的四世孫，舜是黃帝的八世孫。兩者都是黃帝後裔，但分屬不同支系。正如聖母與若瑟都是大衛後裔，也分屬不同支系一樣。

> 耳。嗚呼，彼學士之傲且妬，不能識真主而恪奉之，
> 其罪寧止不忠孝也哉！[54]

降世救贖的耶穌，被稱為"萬民之大君父"。這一比喻很巧妙地將中國史家所推崇的皇權正統觀納入到天主教的神權體系之中。我們因此也不難理解為什麼在艾儒略對耶穌的描述中，屢屢見到諸如"諭"、"詔"、"寵"等原本用於世俗君王身上的專用術語。

在人倫道德觀方面，艾氏也試圖做到天主教義與中國傳統文化合拍，減少兩者差異或沖突的地方。例如耶穌在講道時，有人告訴他說他的父母兄弟在外面，要與他說話。耶穌反問說："誰是我的母親？誰是我的兄弟？"又指著自己的門徒說："看！我的母親，我的兄弟！不拘誰遵行我在天之父的意旨，他就是我的兄弟，姊妹和母親。"[55] 對這種看似淡漠親情的言辭，艾儒略特意加上了註釋說明：耶穌此言，蓋示以道德為神親者，視以血肉為親，更獲主寵也。[56] 很明顯，他試圖賦予道德以超出肉身血緣關係的屬靈意義，從而弱化正文所示"神親"與中國人所看重的世俗親情之間的對立。又如，艾儒略在引述耶穌對門徒的一段教訓時，也略去了其中容易使中國人誤解的話，即《瑪竇福音》10 章 34 節："你們不要以為我來，是為把平安帶到地上；我來不是為帶平安，而是帶刀劍，因為我來，是為叫人脫離自己的父親，女兒脫離自己的母親，兒媳脫離自己的婆母；所以，人的仇敵，就是自己的家人。誰愛父親或母親超過我，不配是我的；誰愛兒子或女兒超過我，不配是我的。誰不背起自己的十字架跟隨我，不配是我的。"[57] 這樣的言辭雖然背後隱藏著信

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[54] 《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 180。

[55] 《瑪竇福音》（思高本）12:46-50。

[56] 《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 132。

[57] 《瑪竇福音》（思高本）10:34-38。

仰方面的正確性，但字面上卻與敦促人倫和睦的中國傳統背
道而馳。如引譯原文，不但可能會在信徒中間造成困惑，而
且也為一直尋找機會攻擊天主教的敵對者留下口實。

艾儒略的謹慎小心，甚至反映在細微的文字表達上面。
如《約翰福音》記載變水為酒的神跡，其中耶穌對自己母親
的直白稱呼，在《言行紀畧》裏的"婚筵示異"一條缺省，
被改為"若是，爾我何與？" [58] 艾儒略沒有保留拉丁文原詞
"mulier"的對譯（即婦人），可能是因為這個詞在稱呼關
系親近的女性（妻子、戀人、親屬等）時，常帶有貶義色彩。
[59] 如直譯該詞，在中文語境中同樣會造成疏離效果，難免令
人望文生義，產生耶穌不敬母的印象。相反，福音書中有關
耶穌孝敬母親的情節，艾儒略則刻意強調，甚至為迎合中國
人預期而延伸解釋經文原意。如《言行紀畧》中的"十字架
上七言"條，描述耶穌在十字架上將母親瑪利亞托付給宗徒
若望一節：

> 時聖母攜諸聖女與若望宗徒立架下。耶穌目若望語
> 聖母曰"婦也，爾子在彼"。蓋指若望能代為子也。然不
> 稱之母，不欲觸其痛。稱之以婦，明萬民可共母也。復語若望曰
> "汝母在彼"。自是若望事聖母如母焉。[60]
> （筆者注：小字部分為原文注解。）

在注解中，艾儒略對"婦"（拉丁原文仍為 *mulier*）這
一稱謂的直譯，提出了他深思熟慮的兩個理由。首先，之所
以不稱瑪利亞為母，是"不欲觸其痛"，在艾儒略眼裏這是
孝道的一種特殊表現。其次，"婦"的稱謂被艾儒略給予中
性化的解釋，正因為瑪利亞是"萬民可共母"的婦人，方能

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[58]　《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 77。

[59]　Dickey, Eleanor, *Latin Forms of Address: From Plautus to Apuleius*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, 頁 199–200。

[60]　《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 308。

凸顯其聖母的崇高地位。寥寥數語，已經展示出艾儒略是如何將宗教神聖性與人倫孝親價值疊加在一起，從而強化了經、史之間的契合。

五、《天主耶穌聖蹟》：從史傳到傳奇

在《言行紀畧》的改編本和重刊本中，《天主耶穌聖蹟》值得特別關注。它實際上是《言行紀畧》的簡編本。原作共八卷，記錄耶穌生平事跡 165 條；而《聖蹟》遴選、精簡至 70 條，而且不分卷數。

編者在"小引"中引用了唐代景教碑末尾的頌文，其中有避康熙名諱及改動原文的情況。兩處引文分別是："眞主无元，湛寂常然。權輿匠化，起地立天。分身出代，救度無邊。日昇暗滅，咸證眞元"和："道惟廣兮應惟密，強名言兮演三一。旨誠奧兮蹟可述，載書言兮頌元吉"。比照景教碑原文，"眞元"原作"眞玄"。"旨誠奧兮蹟可述，載書言兮頌元吉"原本是"主能作兮臣能述。建豐碑兮頌元吉"。[61] 前者應為避康熙玄燁的名諱，而後者似因其主臣關系的說法過於切近世俗皇權觀念，為消除疑慮而更換為中性的表達。據此筆者推斷，《聖蹟》的付印很可能在康熙年間。

在"小引"中，編者首先表明本書源自艾儒略的《言行紀畧》，其後強調了本書作為一部選編本的特色：

> 泰西有四聖紀錄真經及聖史等書，備載降生始末。
> 艾先生東來，翻譯《言行紀畧》。書成八卷，經史
> 並存，詞理浩繁，而欽崇者皆欲得聖蹟而稱揚之。

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[61] 《天主耶穌聖蹟》"小引"，頁 1b。景教碑原文，參見拓本《唐大秦景教流行中國碑》，西安，陝西人民出版社，2006 年，頁 43, 49。

> 其書之全，或有因力難獲。即有之，亦難驟覓其事。
> 故於奉誦之餘，一一簡出，為人傳奇。錄茲一帙，
> 切欲縣此易知之蹟。[62]

這段話有幾處耐人尋味的要點。首先，雖然在前面所引《言行紀畧》序言中，艾儒略謙稱"未敢云譯經"，但在編者即小引作者的眼中，《言行紀畧》就是一部譯作。對艾儒略的其他著述，即便有些本於西方原作，但都沒有人明確以"翻譯"一詞名之。其次，此處對艾氏原作有所謂"經史並存，詞理浩繁"的評語，恰恰反映出《言行紀畧》的內容體現出鮮明的"以史證經"的傾向。第三，《聖蹟》標新立異之處，也是編輯本書的目的，在於選取那些與耶穌施行、顯示神跡有關的章節以"為人傳奇"，使崇信者得以"稱揚之"。換句話說，福音書的耶穌事蹟經過艾儒略合參轉譯之後，又被中國信徒從一個特定的角度重新進行解讀和編輯。

除了為數不多的幾處章節外，《聖蹟》刪去了原作頻繁出現的注解和按語。[63] 而原作中地名加框線、人名加右劃線的做法，《聖蹟》也沒有沿用。不過，《聖蹟》所擇取各章的標題，基本上與《言行紀畧》保持一致（參見附表）。標題下的正文則按照是否記錄有神跡的標準進行篩選、剪裁和拼貼。所有這些，都透露出《聖蹟》作為一部選編本的特質。

《聖蹟》以刪剪《言行紀畧》原文為主，僅有一處作了"增補"，即"論禱主"條中的主禱文。實際上在四福音書中，共有兩處主禱文。字句較多且廣為人知的一處在《瑪竇福音》第六章，而另一處則見於《路加福音》第十一章，相

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[62] 《天主耶穌聖蹟》"小引"，頁 1a。

[63] 《聖蹟》保留或略加修改的艾儒略原作中的注解和按語，見該書 3b（耶穌誕辰日）、4a（羅瑪土神亞玻琭預言）、5a（耶穌之名）、30a（耶穌入都城人呼賀三納）、33b（耶穌聖容存羅瑪）、35b（耶穌聖容存都令府）及 39b（耶穌升天所踏石）。

對於前者較為簡略。在《言行紀畧》中，"山中垂訓"條收錄了《瑪竇福音》的主禱文，而"論禱主"條則收錄了《路加福音》的主禱文。有意思的是，第一段文字在《聖蹟》裏"山中垂訓"條被收錄，不過"赦"字被改成了"免"字。而第二段文字在《聖蹟》裏的"論禱主"條，則被"增補"還原成為第一段主禱文：

《言行紀畧》"山中垂訓"[64]	《言行紀畧》"論禱主"[65]	《聖蹟》"山中垂訓"及"論禱主"[66]
在天我等父者。我等願爾名見聖。爾國臨格。爾旨承行於地，如於天焉。	大父。我願爾名見聖。爾國臨格。	在天我等父者。我等願爾名見聖。爾國臨格。爾旨承行於地，如於天焉。
我等望爾今日與我。我日用糧。而赦我債，如我亦赦負我債者。又不我許蹈於誘惑。乃救我於兇惡。亞孟。	愿今日與我。我日用糧。而赦我罪，如我亦赦凡負我者。又不我許蹈於誘惑也。	我等望爾今日與我。我日用糧。而免我債，如我亦免負我債者。又不我許蹈於誘惑。乃救我於兇惡。亞孟。

　　編者在這裡的改動，無意間折射出主禱文漢譯的微妙演進過程。在明清之際天主教文獻中，主禱文通常被稱為《天主經》，頻繁出現於基本教理和祈禱文的匯編著作。晚明耶穌會士所翻譯的主禱文似尚未呈現標準化的特征。如利瑪竇參與編寫的《聖經約錄》（約 1610 年），其中有"愿爾名成聖"的字樣。[67] 而高一志（Alfonso Vagnoni, 1566–1640）的

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[64]　《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 115。

[65]　同上，頁 195。

[66]　《天主耶穌聖蹟》，頁 24b。

[67]　《聖經約錄》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 1 冊，頁 89。

《教要解略》（1615 年），對同一句的翻譯是"願爾名丕顯"。[68] 上引艾儒略《言行紀畧》的翻譯，則是"願爾名見聖"。此外，艾儒略重復使用兩個"赦"字，而《聖經約錄》及《教要解略》作"免我債，如我亦赦負我債者"。這幾個版本雖然差異不大，但進一步的標準化似乎是一個必要的選擇。成書於清初的天主教文獻，如《天主教要》和《聖教日課》等，其主禱文的字句完全相合，一字不差，多少透露出這種標準化漢譯的趨勢。[69] 由此，不知主禱文在福音書中有繁簡之分的《聖蹟》編者，有可能是依據當時標準化了的主禱文，對《言行紀畧》"論禱主"條看似缺文的主禱文進行了"增補"。

　　《聖蹟》最獨特之處，正如標題所指，重在記錄耶穌生平所行的神跡，以及他被釘十字架之後所顯示的復活、升天等奇跡。從此意義上講，不難理解為什麼編者對有些章節，如"驅魔入豕"、"耶穌步海"、"瞻禮日救蠱者"和"葉禮閣開矇"等，從標題到正文只字不改地全篇收錄這些合乎標準的"聖蹟"。然而對其他與神跡關系不大的條目及正文，編者則大加削減。尤其是《言行紀畧》中記錄耶穌訓諭門徒和信眾的段落，在《聖蹟》中基本上沒有被收錄。下面從《言行紀畧》原作中選出一條完整記錄，對應《聖蹟》的相應條目，以資例證：

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[68]　《教要解略》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 1 冊，頁 126。

[69]　筆者所見《天主教要》有耶穌會羅馬檔案館及巴黎國家圖書館兩種藏本，其《天主經》文字完全一致。而所見的耶穌會羅馬檔案館藏本《聖教日課》，其《天主經》文字亦相同。

葛發翁又聖蹟 第二

耶穌山中講道畢，旋往葛發翁城。途一癩者。國俗，凡染癩者，不許入城，恐其惡疾過人。故在道旁求恩。身無完膚。哀訴耶穌前曰："吾主倘肯，則能潔我矣。"耶穌首肯曰："允哉！潔矣！"乃舒手撫之，癩者即愈。復命之曰："爾勿語人，惟詣主教鐸德之前，遵行梅瑟之禮。"梅瑟禮，凡癩者特蒙主佑，必先詣鐸德前，聽其詳察果瘳，乃詣聖殿獻禮謝恩，始許入城，與眾人交接。病者感恩，不能緘口，到處宣揚。（筆者注：下文另起一段）又城中一外方武官，為其愛僕病危，先因如德亞者老以請。者老為之懇求，且述其慈愛人民，亦曾籾造一聖堂之功。次托親友遠迓。繼乃躬迎道左。耶穌許往救。武官曰："吾主，曷敢辱臨敝廬？愿錫一言，吾僕愈矣！予卑微武夫，所領兵士，去來是聽，況耶穌命乎？"耶穌乃顧從者稱之曰："我於如德亞，未嘗逢如此信德者。吁！將來異地之人，必有得與古聖同享天國者。而獨本國之子，將被驅於幽暗，受無窮殃也。"復顧武官曰："爾歸。因爾信，允爾求矣。"武官抵家，僕已愈。計其時，正耶穌所許之時也。[70]

（筆者注：小字部分為原文注解，暗色背景文字表示在《聖蹟》中被刪除。）

　　從《言行紀畧》到《聖蹟》，可以說在敘事模式上出現了一個從史傳到傳奇的突變。艾儒略援引"西史"佐證經典，並兼用史傳筆法改寫福音書，都出自他的以史證經、經史結合的原則。而《聖蹟》編者不但有意拋開了"史"的因素，而且還將經《言行紀畧》所傳譯的耶穌事蹟轉化成帶有"傳奇"色彩的一個文本，結果導致了"經"的因素進一步弱化。

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[70]　《天主耶穌聖蹟》，頁 15b–16a。

　　對艾儒略原作和《聖蹟》的比較閱讀，顯示出明清之際早期天主教經典漢譯活動的雙向性。耶穌會士根據傳教策略的需要，有選擇地重組四福音書的內容，並作出不同於羅馬天主教神學及教會史傳統的中國化詮釋。相對而言，中國信徒也沒有一味被動地接受、複製傳教士所傳譯的經文和教義。他們就像《聖蹟》的編者一樣，不時以某種新的角度對經典文本進行"改寫"和再次詮釋。

六、《耶穌言行紀畧》：變雅言為俗言

　　除《聖蹟》外，《言行紀畧》在清代還有一部別具特色的改編本，名為《耶穌言行紀畧》。[71] 該本未標明編者及年代，不過其成書似應在清中葉以後。從避諱角度看，文中直書"弘"、"曆"二字，不避乾隆弘曆的名諱，因此不太可能在此間刊刻。[72] 然而，原文中的"寧"字都被改寫作"寍"。[73] 考慮到道光帝旻寧即位之初曾下詔制定類似的避

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[71] 該刻本標題頁有一印戳，讀為"BIBL FONSEC. ARACAELIT"，應指羅馬天壇聖母堂（Basilica di Santa Maria in Aracoeli）圖書館藏書，1733 年由小兄弟會會長兼教皇駐葡萄牙特使 José Maria Ribeiro da Fonseca de Évora 所創建，其藏書於 1883 年並入羅馬國家圖書館。筆者感謝羅馬國家圖書館東方特藏部 Valentina Longo 女士提供了此條信息。

[72] "弘"字見於《紀畧》頁 3a，"曆"字見於正文前"弁言"。關於乾隆帝避諱的詔令，參見李清志著：《古書版本鑑定研究》，台北，文史哲出版社，1986 年，頁 214–217。

[73] "寧"和"寍"都是"寧"的異體字。前一個寫法見於《言行紀畧》（《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊）頁 111、116、192、198、220、239、299、302；相應的後者寫法，見《紀畧》頁 26b、28b、60b、62b、72b、78a、104b、106a。關於"寧"的異體字寫法，參見台灣教育部《異體字字典》網絡版：http://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/yitia/fra/fra01043.htm。

諱規則（即"寧"字裏面的"心"改為一橫一撇），該刻本可能刊於道光年間（1821–1850）。[74]

《紀畧》沒有原作正文前的序言〈萬日畧經說〉，而取而代之的〈弁言〉，內容僅為原作"凡例"中若干段落的節選。其正文部分，則大體保留了原作的條目及內容，從篇幅上看並沒有像上述《聖蹟》那樣精簡過半。如計算條目總數，《言行紀畧》共 165 條，而《紀畧》共 160 條。後者所缺五條，包括全部刪除原作原文的"耶穌歷代之祖"、"賢王請耶穌"和"升天聖所"三條，及因裝訂失誤而遺漏的"立十二宗徒"、"山中聖訓"兩條。[75] 進一步比較，會發現原作中大部分注解、絕大部分"西史"資料，以及全部的按語論贊，在《紀畧》中都不復存在。[76] 如果說艾儒略的《言行紀畧》體現了經史相參、隨處落註的學究式寫作風格，這種風格在《紀畧》中已無跡可尋。

《紀畧》在結構上也與原作有所不同，將八卷調整為四卷，並按耶穌生平的時間順序分別加上標題：第一卷"孩童"從"天主許生若翰"到"耶穌十二歲講道"；第二卷"傳教"內容較多，從"耶穌受洗"到"審判重哀矜"；第三卷"苦難"從"受難前夜行古禮"到"兵護耶穌之墓"；第四卷"復活"則從"耶穌復活"到末條"宗徒敷教萬方"（參見附表）。這樣的改動，不知是否為編者自發之舉，還是另

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[74] 關於道光帝避諱的詔令，參見李清志著：《古書版本鑑定研究》，頁 218–219。不過，"宁"字寫法從東漢時期開始就有先例，所以筆者尚不能完全判定此處改動是否專為避道光帝的名諱。

[75] 上所謂遺漏的兩條只是指條目標題的缺失。實際上從內容上看，遺漏的是"瞻禮日療瘓者"條的後半，"立十二宗徒"全條，以及"山中聖訓"條的前半。筆者此處以羅馬國家圖書館所藏刻本為依據，目前尚不清楚其他藏本是否也有此遺漏。

[76] 據筆者統計，《紀畧》僅保留原作三十餘處注解，而其中只有一處是編者後加的（"天神論散眾聖"尾註言聖瑪弟亞補十二宗徒中茹達斯所缺之位，見頁 117b）。"西史"則僅有兩處標明（頁 107b、110a），而《言行紀畧》原作十餘處或長或短的按語、論贊，在改編本中無一保留。

有所本。但其目的不外乎強調本書的傳記性質，方便讀者了解全書的結構和各部分間的前後聯繫。對信徒而言，如此四卷也可以起到輔助記憶經文和默想靈修的效果。

　　《紀畧》與原作之間最值得留意的區別，是文字上的修改和表達上的變雅為俗。比較而言，前述《聖蹟》雖篇幅減半，但對收錄的原作文字很少作出改動。《紀畧》卻恰恰相反，存在多不勝數的文字更改之處，包括標題、人名和地名、專有名稱，甚至原作中出現的某些錯誤也被訂正。一方面，這些修改以字詞為主，僅在少數個別條目中出現整句或整段的改動。[77] 另一方面，修改後的文本從整體上改變了原作的典雅之風，轉而顯露出通俗化的取向。

　　就標題而言，《言行紀畧》有超過半數條目的標題在《紀畧》中被改動，且常傾向於簡化或貼近日常俗語。例如，"天神降諭靈跡疊現"被改為"天神降報牧童"；"遵古禮定聖名"被改為"耶穌受割損禮"；"耶穌四十日大齋驅魔誘試"被改為"耶穌到曠野守齋"；"葛發翁又救淋者死者瞽者瘖者"被改為"耶穌又行多聖蹟"；"瞻禮日伸僂者"被改為"正疚婦"；"伯大尼亞起死者于墓"被改為"復活辣雜琭"；等等。

　　就人名和地名而言，《紀畧》保留了原作中的一些譯名，例如耶穌、瑪利亞、若翰、辣雜琭、達未、娑殫、阤日多、加理勒亞、納嬰，等等。但是，有數量更多的人、地譯名，部分地甚至完全不同於原作。舉例如下：

77　《紀畧》中句子和段落被改動的條目，包括"胎瞽得明證主"、"論愛人"、"以宴喻天國"、"輕財忠事主"和"預言宗徒驚疑"。改動後的文字基本上更貼近《聖經》原文經節。

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人名：

《天主降生言行紀畧》	《耶穌言行紀畧》	武加大《聖經》(拉丁文版)
契利斯督	基斯督	*Christi*
嘉必爾	嘉庇額爾	*Gabrihel*
黑羅得	黑落忒	*Herodis*
發利塞俄	法利叟	*Pharisaeus*
補伯利葛諾	布彼加諾	*Publicanus* （路加福音 18 章之稅吏）
瑪爾訶	瑪爾谷	*Markus*
伯鐸羅	伯多祿	*Petrus*
茹答斯	如達斯	*Judas*
亞罷郎	亞巴郎	*Abraham*
梅瑟	每瑟	*Moses*
厄娃	厄襪	*Hava*

地名：

《天主降生言行紀畧》	《耶穌言行紀畧》	武加大《聖經》(拉丁文版)
如德亞	如達	*Iudaea*
協露撒稜	柔撒冷	*Hierusalem*
納襟勒	納匝肋	*Nazareth*
白稜	白零	*Bethleem*
葛發翁	加法翁	*Capharnaum*
葉利閣	日里閣	*Hiericho*
阿利物多山	阿里瓦山	*Oliveti*
厄貌斯	厄瑪烏	*Emmaus*

　　就專有名稱而言，《紀畧》將艾儒略原作很多音譯詞轉為意譯詞。如"天主費畧"（*Filio*）被改為"天主子"；"罷德肋"（*Pater*）被改為"天主聖父"；"諳若"（*angelus*）被改為"天使"；"彌施亞"（*Messias*）被改為"救世主"；"玻羅弗大聖"（*propheta*）被改為"先知"；"勒未達"（*levita*）被改為"副祭"，等等。有趣的是，其中有兩個植物學和藥物學的專有名詞，一為"肥菓"（*ficus*），一為"彌

辣"（拉丁文：*murram*；意大利語：*mirra*）。[78] 艾儒略在譯述《言行紀畧》時，並未意識到（或不確定）兩者在中國有相應的譯名，即"無花菓"和"沒藥"，所以採取了音譯的辦法。[79]《紀畧》則予以糾正，使用已有的中文譯名。[80] 另外，少數名稱的改動有些令人費解，例如"撒格辣孟多"（*sacramento*）被改譯為日文名詞"秘跡"、"啞己辣"（*aquila,* 拉丁文的意思是鷹）被改譯為中文名詞"鳳凰"。總體看來，這些名稱以及上述人名、地名的改譯顯示出簡化的特徵。

　　除上述方面外，《紀畧》在文字上對原作的細微改動比比皆是，而且大致上可以用變雅為俗來概括。這種表達風格上的改觀，不像是由於不同版本間的輾轉傳抄而導致，而更像是有意而為的結果。下表從原作和改編本摘取一小部分例子，以資比較：

《天主降生言行紀畧》	《耶穌言行紀畧》
欽崇一天地之主而專祇之。(p. 72)	欽崇一天地之主而專奉之。(10a)
日中身憊，憩于井旁。(p. 82)	日中身倦，歇于井旁。(14b)
一癱者以牀昇來。(p. 94)	一癱者以牀抬來。(19b)
我今命爾攜衾具歸。(p. 98)	我今命爾攜榻而歸。(21b)
有人稱貸爾物。(p. 113)	有人求借爾物。(27b)
疇為吾母？(p. 132)	誰為我母？(35b)

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[78]　《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 62、76、199、254。

[79]　兩者的早期譯名，據筆者檢索"中國基本古籍庫"，沒藥在漢代文獻中已出現，而無花菓則至遲在宋代文獻中已出現。實際上，明末耶穌會士對這兩個詞並沒有一致採取音譯的辦法，如陽瑪諾在其《聖經直解》中，就將拉丁文《聖經》中的 *ficus* 譯為"無花果"，將 *murram* 譯為"沒藥"。見《聖經直解》，載《天主教東傳文獻三編》，第 4 冊，頁 1573；第 5 冊，頁 2455。

[80]　《紀畧》頁 6a、11b、63b、85a。

勿以錢貝寔爾橐。(p. 140)	勿以錢貝滿爾袋。(39a)
魔所欲…務�íí誕。(p. 182)	魔所欲…務欺哄人。(56b)
爾年未艾…(p. 183)	爾年未至五十。(57a)
孰為密爾者？(p. 193)	誰人可愛的乎？(60b)
…卵翼之如鳥。(p. 202)	…如雞翼覆子于翅。(64b)
觖然不悅。(p. 229)	忽然不悅。(75b)
後為大廈礎。(p. 259)	後為屋大角石。(87a)
宜出康莊之衢，任覓諸人充之。(p. 260)	宜出街道，任覓諸人充之。(87b)
彼時人子，皇赫降來。(p. 273)	彼時人子，威嚴降來。(93a)
耶穌俟其少甦。(p. 287)	耶穌俟其少醒起。(100a)
摑其面而調之曰。(p. 291)	掌其面而戲之曰。(101b)
降臨靈薄地獄超拔古聖。(p. 315)	降古聖所。(111a)
答曰：無鬻者。(p. 325)	答曰：無魚賣。(115a)

　　針對原作中出現的若干不精確乃至錯誤之處，《紀畧》的編者也作出了相應的改動。例如，在原作的“若翰遣使詢主”條中，耶穌說：“自古及今，凡生于父母者，未有踰若翰之聖者也。”[81] 此句中的“父母”在《紀畧》中被改為“婦”，符合《聖經》原文用詞。[82] 類似的例子還包括“赦人罪債”和“罪人可矜”等條目。[83] 此外，《言行紀畧》有兩處人名發生混淆，在《紀畧》中也得到了訂正。一處是“賢女筵主得訓”條中的“瑪大勒納”被改為“瑪利亞”，另一處是“伯多祿三次不認主”條中的“若望”被改為“一徒”。[84] 雖然這部改編本沒有標明作者名字，但這幾個例子

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[81] 《言行紀畧》，見《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊，頁 125。

[82] 《紀畧》，頁 32b。

[83] 在“赦人罪債”條中，《紀畧》將原作“直視為教外異端”被改成“直視為教外及稅吏者”（頁 51b）；在“罪人可矜”條中，《紀畧》將原作“人有銀錢十”被改成“女人有銀錢十”（頁 68a）。如果不以《聖經》原文為參照，很難做出這兩處特別的改動。

[84] 這兩處改動，分別見於《言行紀畧》（《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》，第 4 冊），頁 230、292；《紀畧》，頁 61a、102a。

足以表明，該編者應是一位教內人士，對《聖經》原文相當熟悉，否則不太可能作出如此精細的修訂。

　　《紀畧》並非完美無缺，尤其是在排版方面遠遜於原作《言行紀畧》。不但有頁碼漏印和出錯的情形，[85] 而且行字時有參差，少則 20 字，多則 24 字。至於版刻文字，其字體忽大忽小，或方或扁，視覺上的差距過於明顯。相較原作而言，《紀畧》的刻印不像是出自精工之手。然而，這些瑕疵無法否定《紀畧》異於前述《聖蹟》的獨特之處。《聖蹟》編者選取了一個特別的角度，重新詮釋艾儒略基於福音書所傳譯的耶穌傳，而《紀畧》編者則選取了一種特別的方法，將原作文字的整體風格加以改觀。

七、1887 年版《言行紀畧》：圖文一體的耶穌傳

　　《言行紀畧》不但在清代出現了傳奇和近俗的兩個轉向，而且在晚清《道原精萃》收錄的重刊本中體現了另一個轉向，即從史傳到圖傳的轉向。該書由江南代牧區主教倪懷綸（Valentin Garnier s.j., 1825–1898）編輯，於 1887 年由上海慈母堂鐫刻出版，收錄天主教文獻七種。書首有倪主教所寫的序，其中提到了艾儒略的三部著作《萬物真原》、《天主降生引義》、《天主降生紀略》。他並未言及艾儒略關於耶穌生平事蹟的第三部著作《出像經解》。這個看似故意的"遺漏"，可以在倪序後面由法國耶穌會士方殿華（Louis Gaillard, 1850–1900）所寫的"像記"中找到蛛絲馬跡：[86]

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[85] 漏印情形，見上注 74。顛倒、錯排的情形，見《紀畧》，頁 71、72。

[86] 方殿華，字賡卿，1885 年來華，赴上海徐家匯傳教，同時從事漢學研究。歷史、宗教方面的著作有 *Nankin d'alors et d'aujourd'hui: aperçu historique et géographique* 和 *Croix et swastika en Chine* 等，並有兩篇研

明神宗萬曆二十年，耶穌會司鐸拿筐利始聘精畫二人，繪耶穌事蹟，計一百三十六章。參列聖經，公諸西海。事為教皇格肋孟所知，立降詔書，殊為嘉獎。崇禎八年，艾司鐸儒畧，傳教中邦，撰《主像經解》，仿拿君原本，畫五十六像，為時人所推許。無何，不脛而走，架上已空。閱如干歲，艾君撰《天主降生言行紀畧》，付梓福州，流傳甚廣。無如世代遷移，棗梨散毀。自今求之，舊籍寥寥矣。咸豐三年，法司鐸某，仿拿君稿，繪像百三十枚，鐫於鋼，綴圖說，惟撰以法文，而裨於華人也鮮。去年 江南主教倪大司牧，輯《道原精粹》一書。囑劉修士必振率慈母堂小生，畫像三百章，列於是書。其間百十一章，仿法司鐸原著，餘皆博採名家，描寫成幅。[87]

　　此段文字指出《出像經解》被“遺漏”的兩個主要原因：第一，該書雕版已遺失不存，難以重刻。第二，《道原精萃》以鉛字排版重刊的《言行紀畧》，與艾儒畧原作最大的不同是圖文合編。實際上，在 1738 年京都宣武門天主堂的重刊本中，《言行紀畧》與《出像經解》已經合二為一，不過是按各自的原初版式重印。[88] 也許有鑒於此先例，到了 1887 年，在原來雕版遺失的情況下，編者決定另選其他可用圖像資源，將兩者再次合編重刊。如此處理，自然沒有再單獨列出《出像經解》標題的必要了。

究中國藝術的論文。見張弘星：〈中國最早的西洋美術搖籃——上海土山灣孤兒工藝院的藝術事業〉，《東南文化》，1991 年第 5 期，頁 129。

[87] 香港大學圖書館藏 1887 年四卷本《道原精萃》（特 247.2.42），“像記”，頁 1a–2a。這段引文中出現兩個史實性的錯誤，一是《圖繪福音故事》實際有圖像 153 幅，而非 136 幅；二是《出像經解》成書要晚於而不是早於《言行紀畧》。這兩個錯誤表明當時重刊本的編者和繪圖者並不熟悉《圖繪福音故事》和《出像經解》的成書背景。

[88] 潘鳳娟，〈述而不譯？艾儒畧《天主降生言行紀略》的跨語言敘事初探〉，頁 135。

　　1887 年重刊本《言行紀畧》的圖像所據底本，並非拿筥利（即前文納達爾）的《圖繪福音故事》原書，而可能是法國教士 Pierre Florentin Lambert Brispot（約 1820–1900）於 1853 年出版的《我等救主耶穌生平》中所仿制的拿筥利原作的插畫。[89] 據方殿華的介紹，中籍耶穌會修士劉必振（1843–1912）接受倪主教的委托，"率慈母堂小生，畫像三百章"，分別列入《道原精萃》各卷書中。[90] 其中有 111 張取自 Brispot，其他則 "博採名家，描繪成幅"。[91] 實際上重刊本《言行紀畧》有圖像 146 幅（包括如德亞國和協露撒稜城地圖），與正文 164 個條目數量相近。雖然圖文不完全一一匹配，但將如此多的圖像插入正文，而仍冠以《言行紀畧》之名，不啻改變了該書的本來性質。換句話說，艾儒略的《言行紀畧》從純文字的耶穌傳變成了圖文相間的耶穌圖傳。在 "像記" 中，方殿華還特意強調了聖像有 "記往事、悟道義、昭教禮" 的功用，認為可以 "一舉而三善備"。[92] 據此原則，1887 年重刊本《言行紀畧》在圖像數目上大幅增加，無形中降低了原作《言行紀畧》以文字作為記事明理載體的主導地位。

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[89] 據 Sun Yuming，該書名為 *La vie de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* (1853)。不過作者未提出針對兩者關系的詳細解說，或指明依據。潘鳳娟在文中提供和該書的信息，也沒有進行圖像數目的比對。

[90] 劉必振，字德齋，常熟人，出身於天主教信徒世家，是徐家匯土山灣工藝院的重要畫家。關於他生平和繪畫，見張弘星：〈中國最早的西洋美術搖籃——上海土山灣孤兒工藝院的藝術事業〉，頁 127–128。

[91] 據香港大學圖書館藏本《道原精萃》，筆者查證該書共有圖像 241 幅。每幅圖像背面繪有小圖，多為象征式圖案、天使及聖人小像、經書扉頁或聖教禮儀等，且時有重复。如果僅按正面大圖計算，實不足方殿華所謂三百章之數。至於是否的確有 111 幅圖出自 Brispot 著作，因無法查閱 *La vie de N. S. Jésus-Christ*，目前只能暫付闕如。

[92] 《道原精萃》"像記"，頁 1a。

　　1887 年重刊本《言行紀畧》中圖像下面的釋文，在條目排列和內容上不同於原版《出像經解》。[93] 艾儒略在原作每幅圖像的釋文後面都註明"見行紀 X 卷 Y"的字樣，如"聖神降臨"圖（附圖乙），就對應《言行紀畧》第八卷第十三條的"聖神降臨"的正文。究其本意，不外是將《出像經解》視為《言行紀畧》的補充。這種主次關係在 1738 年的重刊本得到進一步的實化，《出像經解》的圖像被分拆插入《言行紀畧》正文中，成為真正意義上的插畫。相較而言，1887 年的重刊本雖然也是圖文合編，但編者刻意強調圖像的重要性，甚至具有比文字更便利的功用，即方殿華所言："竊思愚魯庸人，不解文字，觀聖像則前人故事，如寓目中，較六書象形之義，尤加一等。彼文人學士，固能博覽群經，然閱時稍久，回首茫然，惟覩聖像，則因物思人，愈於溫故。"[94] 這種將聖像與六書並行的處理，無疑是要迎合更大範圍的精英階層及大眾階層讀者的需要。就同一則"聖神降臨"而言，重刊本直接在正文後面配以圖像（附圖丙），不必如《出像經解》一樣需另外附加標題及註明出處，的確更加方便，並能達到"一舉而三善備"的效果。如此不難理解，為什麼《言行紀畧》以圖文分刊開始，之後出現以圖配文的合刊，最後發展成為圖文一體的圖傳。事實上，"像記"所申明的圖文結合的原則，適用於《道原精萃》所收錄的全部七種著作。甚至以義理辯論為主的《萬物真原》和《天主降生引義》，都被編者配以數目不等的畫像。[95]

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[93] 據潘鳳娟推測，因 Brispot 的插畫並無釋文，所以 1887 版《言行紀畧》圖像下的釋文可能是重刊者自行加入的。見潘鳳娟：〈述而不譯？艾儒略《天主降生言行紀略》的跨語言敘事初探〉，頁 135。又《出像經解》最後兩幅圖"聖母卒葬三日復活昇天"及"聖母端冕居諸神聖之上"因其特定內容，前者釋文後注明"見《聖母行實》"，而後者則未注明出處。

[94] 《道原精萃》"像記"，頁 1a。

[95] 《道原精萃》重刊版《萬物真原》有兩幅聖像，而《降生引義》有十幅聖像。由於《降生引義》與《言行紀畧》有密切關聯，所以編者將兩者的聖像放在一起排序。最後一幅圖左下角數目標記為 153，而不是實際

　　值得注意的是，此重刊本不僅加入大量的插圖，而且因鉛字重排的關系，也對《言行紀畧》原文的內容作出了改動。編者似乎對艾儒略的"以史證經"的寫作原則有所保留，因而刪去了原作部分條目中涉及"西史"的文字。其中"賢王請耶穌"條，標題與正文被全部刪掉。其他條目雖標題按原樣保留，但正文文字常被部分刪減，包括"耶穌避居阨日多國"、"耶穌受洗示表"、"負十字架行"及"萬物哀主"等條。刪去的段落長短不一，很難說是無意間漏掉的，明顯是有意而為。然而，編者對另外一些涉及"西史"的文字卻有所保留，包括"負十字架行"條關於勿樂尼加以白帕留下耶穌聖容的故事、"釘十字架上"條關於加瓦畧山（Mount Calvary）與人類元祖的記載、"殮葬"條關於四事（天主始生人類、亞當厄娃獲罪天主、耶穌降孕及耶穌受難）同在一日的記載，以及"升天聖所"條關於耶穌升天所踏之石可療百病的記載。至於前述《言行紀畧》原作借用中國史傳寫法的按語和論贊，在重刊本中基本上被保留，只不過排版和個別文字有少許出入。潘鳳娟認為重刊本編者以《聖經》經文為本，對不是從福音書擷取出來的記錄多半予以刪除或修改。[96] 不過，這種看法似乎不能完全解釋為什麼有些記錄被刪除，而有些記錄仍被保留，其說服力有待商榷。

　　總體看來，1887 年版《言行紀畧》在文字上對 1635 年原作有少量的刪減和改動，然而此版本最特別之處，是以圖文合編的形式加入數量眾多的圖像，再一次改變了原作的體例和性質，將耶穌事蹟從晚明的史傳模式轉向了晚清的圖傳模式。

　　圖像總數 156 幅，經筆者查證，是因為其中三幅圖像未被計在總序數之內，分別是《降生引義》的首圖及《言行紀畧》中"耶穌受茨冠苦辱"頭像和"天主降生時如德亞國"地圖。

[96]　潘鳳娟：〈述而不譯？艾儒略《天主降生言行紀略》的跨語言敘事初探〉，頁 136。

八、結語

　　綜合上述的分析與比較，可以發現福音書耶穌事蹟在明清時期的傳譯出現了兩條線索的發展。《言行紀畧》開啟了明線的發展。在入華耶穌會的調適策略和羅馬教廷限制譯經的政策的交互影響下，艾儒畧運用“以史證經”的方法，成功將福音書合參轉譯為第一部中文耶穌傳。從性質上看，艾儒畧的傳譯行為並不是嚴格意義上的原文漢譯，然而卻重現了福音書所記的耶穌從降世到受難、復活、升天的整幅圖畫，成為他在福建宣講福音的有力輔助。當然，這樣做雖如他自己所言“不至隕越經旨”，但也因此而改變了福音書原本的經典特質。從此《言行紀畧》開啟了耶穌傳在中國社會廣泛而持久的傳播。清代出現的多種改編、合編及重刊版本，使得這一混合敘事文體在漢語語境下逐漸繁衍擴大，呈現出本土化和通俗化的發展趨勢。在影響力方面，《言行紀畧》及其系列著作遠超明末和清中期其他天主教傳教士的譯經行為。這種從經典向通俗轉化的明線發展，可以視為一種外散離心式的文本傳譯行為。

　　與明線相交叉的暗線發展，是個別傳教士進行的對福音書乃至整本《聖經》的漢譯嘗試。上述白日昇和賀清泰是這個暗線發展的代表。他們的譯稿分別因羅馬教廷方面的有所保留及阻力，未能正式出版。由此可見，在清中前期處於教廷禁譯和清廷禁教雙重壓力下，天主教傳教士的經典翻譯活動進展緩慢，沒能出現如十九世紀新教傳教士推動下的譯經高潮。這一暗線的發展，可以視為內縮向心式的文本傳譯行為。

　　從明暗雙線交叉的意義上講，明清時期天主教的經典傳譯並非可以一筆帶過或者忽略不計，而是呈現出一個與其傳教事業相映襯的複雜而曲折的歷程。如何從歷時及共時的視角進一步探索基督教經典早期漢譯的歷史，將會成為學界關注的一個重要話題。

附圖甲：

《天主降生言行紀像》首頁"天主降生聖像"

附圖乙：

《天主降生言行紀像》之"聖神降臨"

附圖丙：
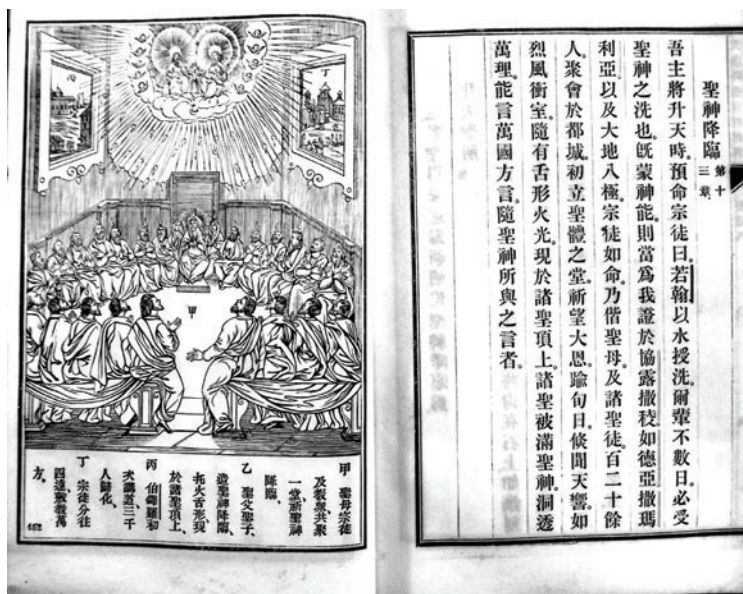
《道原精萃》版《天主降生言行紀畧》之插圖"聖神降臨"

附表：

《天主降生言行紀畧》與清改編、重刊版本之條目比照

　　筆者註：《天主降生言行紀畧》原作及 1887 年重刊本都將條目的標題開列於正文之前，而兩個選編本則無，茲據其正文中條目標題開列如下。各版本標題原文中人名、地名常標有框線或下劃線等符號，此處亦相應標出。

《天主降生言行紀畧》 （1635）	《天主耶穌聖蹟》 （ca. 17th century）	《耶穌言行紀畧》 （ca. 19th century）	《天主降生言行紀畧》 （1887）
卷一：		**卷一：孩童**	**卷一：**
1. 天主許生若翰將為前驅	1. 天主許生若翰將為前驅	1. 天主許生若翰	1. 天主許生若翰將為前驅
2. 聖母領天主降孕之報	2. 聖母領天主降孕之報	2. 聖母領報	2. 聖母領天主降孕之報
3. 耶穌歷代之祖			3. 耶穌歷代之祖
4. 聖母往見依撒伯爾		3. 聖母往顧聖婦依撒伯	4. 聖母往見依撒伯爾
5. 聖若翰誕	3. 聖若翰誕	4. 聖若翰洗者誕	5. 聖若翰誕
6. 天神示若瑟異胎之繇	4. 天神示若瑟異胎之繇	5. 天神示若瑟異胎之由	6. 天神示若瑟異胎之繇
7. 天主耶穌降誕	5. 天主耶穌降誕	6. 耶穌聖誕	7. 天主耶穌降誕
8. 天神降諭靈跡叠現	6. 天神降諭靈跡叠現	7. 天神降報牧童	8. 天神降諭靈跡叠現
9. 遵古禮定聖名	7. 遵古禮定聖名	8. 耶穌受割損禮	9. 遵古禮定聖名
10. 三王來朝	8. 三王來朝	9. 三王來朝	10. 三王來朝
11. 聖母獻耶穌于聖殿	9. 聖母獻耶穌于聖殿	10. 聖母獻耶穌于主堂	11. 聖母獻耶穌于聖殿
12. 耶穌避居阨日多國	10. 耶穌避居阨日多國	11. 耶穌避居阨日多國	12. 耶穌避居阨日多國
13. 耶穌十二齡講道		12. 耶穌十二歲講道	13. 耶穌十二齡講道
卷二：		**卷二：傳教**	**卷二：**
14. 耶穌受洗示表	11. 耶穌受洗示表	13. 耶穌受洗	14. 耶穌受洗示表
15. 耶穌四十日大齋驅魔誘試	12. 大齋驅魔誘試	14. 耶穌到曠野守齋	15. 耶穌四十日大齋驅魔誘試
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[ABSTRACT] By using Giulio Aleni's *Tianzhu Jiangsheng Yanxing Jilüe* (*A Brief Record of the Words and Deeds of the Incarnated Lord of Heaven*, 1635) and later adaptations as a thread, this article explores how, and according to which strategy, the Jesus stories contained in the Four Gospels were translated into Chinese during the Ming-Qing Sino-Western encounter. Though Aleni's work has been well studied by recent scholars, it seems that its later editions have not received an adequate amount of attention. This article follows a new approach that first highlights Aleni's adaptive and syncretic method of Gospel translation, *i.e.*, a stylistic fusion of Chinese historical writings and Christ-centered narratives; through detailed inter-textual comparisons between Aleni's work and three later adaptations dating from the Qing dynasty, it is shown how the Gospel stories of Jesus' life gradually lost their canonical nature, and became in many ways localized and popularized in accordance with the Chinese context. In comparison with other rigidly-constrained scriptural translations, Aleni's work and its later adaptations provide another particular type of translation characterized by its hybrid features (combination of *scripture* with *history*, and *text* with *image*). Studying the evolution of these texts during the late imperial period in China is not only beneficial to historical research; it can also facilitate the search for more connections between early and modern Chinese biblical translations.

從"白、徐譯本"到"二馬譯本"
——簡論白、徐《新約》譯本的緣起、流傳及影響

周永

From Basset and Xu to
Marshman and Morrison:
Origin, Diffusion and Influence of
Basset-Xu's New Testament Translation

Yong ZHOU

[摘 要] 白日昇和徐若翰的《新約》譯本是現存最早的《聖經》漢譯本。本文首先簡要介紹白與徐譯經的緣起,包括白日昇的生平及其在華傳教的活動和翻譯。接著,通過比較兩個版本,即"福音書單列本"與"福音書合參本"的異同,以及三個抄本,即"卡薩納特抄本"、"劍橋抄本"與"大英博物館抄本"的異同,追溯其流傳過程,并簡要分析其各自特色。隨後,本文通過比較,分析了白與徐譯本的譯文特色,探索他們譯經中譯名的選擇問題。最後分析白日昇和徐若翰本與"二馬譯本",即馬殊曼譯本與馬禮遜譯本之間的關係,以及"二馬譯本"兩者間的相互關係,呈現出白、徐譯本的歷史地位與影響。

前言

　　《聖經》漢譯史，通常上溯到唐代景教入華"翻經建寺"的嘗試。"福音初傳"的努力，只留下重見天日的"景教碑"，以及散見於敦煌等佛道藏書中的若干殘篇斷章，但其處境化的嘗試却值得今日中國教會深思與檢討。[1] 蒙元時代，國土遼闊，交通順暢，不僅景教從邊疆地區重返中原，而且宗座派遣方濟會孟高維諾（Giovanni da Montecorvino, 1246–1328）來華開教近 30 年，在大都開設神學班，培養本土傳教士，幷將《新約》與《聖咏》（詩篇）譯爲蒙古文。[2] 但隨著蒙元退居塞北，後世只在泉州等地發現十字架等遺物，"福音再傳"終成歷史陳迹。

　　明末清初，基督信仰再次傳入中國。當時來華傳教士，多爲飽學之士，精通西學，亦飽覽中國典籍，通過著書立說，廣交士紳，深入內地，不僅讓基督信仰植根在僻野鄉間，更讓基督信仰進入主流文化的視野。但是《聖經》翻譯却遲遲未能進行。一方面，固然是因爲當時天主教會對譯經的審慎態度，另一方面，也是因爲譯經在當時傳教中幷非首要之需。福傳實踐中，傳教士根據實際需要，或編譯教理問答手册，或與奉教文士編著教義叢書，通過不同方式向各階層宣講福音。這些教理問答及教義叢書，在禁教期間成爲信友社群傳承信仰，傳播福音的有利資源。

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[1]　參見 T. S. Foley, "Translating Biblical Texts into Chinese: The Pioneer Venture of the Nestorian Missionaries," *The Bible Translator* 59, no. 3 (2008), pp. 113–121.

[2]　尤思德（J. O. Zetzsche）著，蔡錦圖譯：《和合本與中文聖經翻譯》，香港，國際聖經協會，2002），頁 13–14。參見 Bayarjargal Garamtseren, "A History of Bible Translation in Mongolian," *The Bible Translator* 60, no. 4 (2009), pp. 201–10.

　　清代中期之後，新教傳教士來華。由於新教特殊的《聖經》傳統，譯經成爲傳教的首要任務；且因當時清政府禁教政策，傳教士不能深入內地，只好轉而譯經，特別是馬禮遜（Robert Morrison, 1782–1834）與馬殊曼（Joshua Marshman, 1768–1837）兩個譯本，由於廣爲流傳，成爲後世新教譯經的基礎。但是二人如何分別在較短世間內譯出新教全本《聖經》，一直以來是《聖經》漢譯史關注的問題。而且“二馬譯本”譯文具有不同程度的相似性，其原因亦是學界討論的話題。

　　不過，他們在信件及日記中，均提到一部非完本的《新約》漢譯本。經過學者不斷查考，尤其是新近發現的文獻資料，研究表明他們所持《新約》漢譯本的譯者是巴黎外方傳教會的白日昇（Jean Basset, 1662–1707）與其助手徐若翰（?–1734）。本論文[3] 即是希望透過研究“白、徐譯本”的歷史脉絡，以及不同版本與抄本之間的聯繫，及其對馬禮遜與馬殊曼兩位新教譯經開拓者的影響，簡單梳理“白、徐譯本”的概貌，以及“白、徐譯本”與“二馬譯本”的關係，兼及“二馬譯本”之間的關係，從而初步發掘“白、徐譯本”的文本價值與歷史意義，呈現白日昇和徐若翰在《聖經》漢譯史中的地位。

一、 白、徐譯經緣起

　　白日昇[4]，1662 年生於法國里昂（Lyon），畢業於巴黎聖蘇爾比斯修院（Seminary of Saint Sulpice），21 歲加入新創的巴黎外方傳教會（Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris, 簡稱 M.E.P.），於 1685 年 3 月 3 日離法前往亞洲傳教。1686 年，白日昇於泰國（舊稱暹羅）晉鐸。[5] 後於 1689 年，獲遣來華，抵達廣州。此後，相繼在粵閩浙贛等地傳教。從 1692 年到 1693 年擔任江西省的署理宗座代牧。1694 年前往荊州，開拓新的傳教基地。1695 年開始，返回廣州，負責巴黎外方傳教會在廣州的庶務。1701 年 12 月 20 日，白日昇赴川福傳，正是在四川期間，白日昇開始在徐若翰的幫助下將《新約》譯成中文。

　　白日昇奉其長上梁弘任主教（Artus de Lionne, 1655–1713）之命，偕梁弘仁（François Martin de la Baluère, 1668–1715），及兩位遣使會士（Vincentian, 亦稱 Lazarist）畢天詳（Luigi Antonio Appiani, 1663–1732）與穆天尺（Johann Müllener, 1673–1742），同赴四川。抵達重慶後，經過協商，兩位遣使會士留駐重慶，負責四川東部（即今日重慶），[6] 而白日昇則與梁弘仁繼續西進成都開教，1702 年 4 月末終於到達成都。雖然在川傳教時間不長，白、梁兩位神父卻依然按照巴黎外方傳教會的立會宗旨，開始著手培養本地司鐸，以實現教會的本地化。從 1703 年，兩位神父便開始

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[4]　關於白日昇的相關資料，參見 François Barriquand, "First Comprehensive Translation of the New Testament in Chinese: Fr Jean Basset and the Scholar Xu", *Verbum SVD* **49**, n. 1 (2008).

[5]　鑒於國外地名古今譯名有所差異，以及國內地名在不同歷史階段會有不同，爲方便起見，本文全部采用今名。

[6]　白日昇與畢天詳神父曾經訂立"教務地界協議"，劃分各自負責的福傳範圍。詳情參考郭麗娜，《清代中期巴黎外方傳教會四川傳教模式述評》，中山大學 2007 年的博士論文，頁 194。

培養三名少年，望陶成後得以晉鐸。其中即有國籍神父李安德（Andreas Li, 約 1695–1774，晉鐸後屬巴黎外方傳教會）。後因“中國禮儀問題”愈演愈烈，四川傳教事務被迫中斷。1707 年 6 月，白、梁兩位神父決定偕同李安德等三位國籍修士赴廣州。但白日昇因積勞成疾，12 月 11 日病逝於廣州，年僅 45 歲。

　　白日昇在川福傳期間，探索出許多行之有效的福傳方式，且特別注重文字傳教。正如其他傳教士一樣，他的工作也離不開中國教友的協助。在早期慕道者中，有名落第秀才，白日昇遺著中稱之爲徐若翰（Johan Su,[7] ?–1734）。徐若翰在 1704 年復活節領洗後，受白日昇邀請作其助手，協助福傳。徐若翰不僅學識甚佳，且信仰熱誠。白日昇病逝後，梁弘仁神父引薦徐若翰爲多羅宗主教（Patriarch Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon, 1668–1710）中文秘書。多羅去世後，徐若翰轉而服務遣使會士，直至 1734 年 8 月 14 日去世。其子徐應天[8]，又名徐德望（Stephanus Xu），1726 年在廣州晉鐸，為遣使會神父。白日昇和徐若翰一起翻譯了《天主聖教要理問答》[9] 與《經典紀略問答》兩書。《天主聖教要理問答》是對天主教信仰所作的簡要介紹，《經典紀略問答》涉及范圍較廣，影響深遠，直到 1904 年，四川教會仍在使用其部分內容。然而，更加有創意性的抄本出自白、徐二位的新約翻

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[7]　白日昇相關遺作中，以“Johan Su”標注徐若翰。

[8]　按照 Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century*, 1948, p. 407，其名為“徐天應”。但是跟畢天祥神父（Luigi Antonio Appiani）合作撰寫《新譯引蒙問答》的人名中，第二位寫著“徐應天”。因此，“徐應天”很可能為徐若翰的兒子之名字。

[9]　關於《天主聖教要理問答》，詳見 Ad Dudink, "Jean Basset MEP (1662–1707) and His Catechetical Writings in Chinese: A Bibliographical Introduction", in Staf Vloeberghs (ed.), Patrick Taveirne, Ku Wei-ying and Rachel Lu Yan (co-eds), *History of Catechesis in China*, Leuven Chinese Studies 18 (2008).

譯。譯文流暢，文字簡潔優美，不難想像主要是歸功於徐若翰；白日昇曾經也承認了這一點。[10]

　　白日昇在華期間，以中國教會及福傳爲題，於 1702 年夏天撰寫了 59 頁的《中國福傳建議書》（*Avis sur la Mission de Chine*）。其中，第三部分詳細論述了，用中文舉行彌撒，將《聖經》譯成中文，以及培養本地司鐸的必要性與可行性。"凡是希望瞭解（譯經）其中益處的人，我希望大家記得，在天主教國家信仰初立之時，譯經所帶來的益處"（《中國福傳建議書》，§54，下同）。白日昇希望相關人士閱讀聖奧古斯丁的《論基督教教義》，回顧奧古斯丁對《聖經》的詮釋態度。白日昇特別提到，譯經一個重要益處，"是有利於司鐸人數的增長，也有利於司鐸的陶成"（§67），因爲中文《聖經》讓教會易於指導修士的成長，而無需專門建立學校讓修生們學習西方經典著作，否則就要全面教授他們拉丁語、哲學、士林神學等基礎課程，這就迫使來華福傳教士不得不將時間全部投入到司鐸的陶成上，而無力開展福傳。而且即使華籍修生致力於學習拉丁文等基礎課程，縱使成功掌握這些基礎知識，但同時却會無力學習中國典籍，結果則會造成華籍司鐸難以用中文向其同胞宣講福音。白日昇還提請相關人士，省思教會早期歷史，特別是教父們的信仰歷程，考慮中文譯經的必要性。白日昇強調，福音自從宗徒時代能够相繼扎根各地，關鍵在於《聖經》有當地語言的譯本，因爲可讀性對於《聖經》的傳播非常重要。宗徒與早期教父的做法，是值得效仿的。白日昇堅信"將《聖經》譯成中文，會有相當大的益處，如果福傳缺少（譯經）支持，福傳便會蒙受很多損失"（§54）。

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[10]　1705 年 07 月 13 日，白日昇寫過：*Je m'applique actuellement à la traduction du Nouveau Testament en chinois. J'en suis à la fin de Saint Jean. J'ai été beaucoup aidé de ce lettré que je vous mandai, dans mes précédentes lettres, consacré à l'Eglise.* (A.M.E. 407, p. 560). A.M.E. 為 "Archives des Missions Etrangères" 即 "巴黎外方傳教會檔案館" 的縮寫。

　　白日昇還認識到，"在歐洲學識淵博，奮力治學的，通常都是司鐸或度奉獻生活的人；而在中國，學者都是已婚人士"，所以"國學者需要尋找自己的方式去擁抱基督信仰，而這信仰應該是符合中國人做治學之道的。只有《聖經》才能滿足這種要求"，因爲中國人特別重視研讀經典（§77）。白日昇已經注意到中國既有文化中，學者對經典的尊奉是超乎想像的。徐光啓曾經建議翻譯全本《聖經》，却未能如願。後來雖有選編，或是語錄，却沒有全本《聖經》，甚至讓排教士紳懷疑天主教是否有經典，可以與儒學相比。"若有人詢問你們心中所懷希望的理由，你們要時常準備答復"（伯前 3:15），白日昇援引此句，強調教友在理解信仰，傳播信仰，捍衛信仰時，都需要《聖經》。

　　針對翻譯《聖經》是否可行，特別是譯文是否能保證準確的問題，有人強調，做到譯文精准"需要時間；如果翻譯做得太快，錯誤就難以避免"（§88）。白日昇指出，事實上翻譯《聖經》已經有許多開拓性的工作，比如利類思神父已經將司鐸常用書籍譯成中文。[11] 白日昇也承認，這些翻譯存在瑕疵，但是這是必需經過的階段。如果這些中文譯著，能够在傳教士及中國奉教文士中廣泛流傳使用，就必然會得到修正，而日臻完善。白日昇還質問，《神學大全》與《幾何原理》都能翻譯成中文，這些書籍的難度幷不亞於《聖經》，所以擔心《聖經》難譯是沒有道理的。白日昇以《聖經》拉丁通行本（Vulgata）爲例，認爲只有《聖經》翻譯工作早日進行，完善的譯本就指日可待了（§89–90）。白日昇堅信只要循序漸進，逐步嘗試，《聖經》中譯本必定會日趨完善，但是首先是要啓動譯經計劃，否則完善的中譯本就難以出現。

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[11]　利類思神父（Lodovico Buglio, 1606–1682），1640 年代在四川開教，恰逢張獻忠叛亂；清軍平定四川後，將利類思神父羈押進京，正是利用這段時間，利類思神父完成了《彌撒經書》、《禮典》、部分《日課》、部分《神學大全》的翻譯。

　　白日昇還擔心，隨著中國教會不斷成長，如果《聖經》譯本遲遲未能實現，中國教友必然會忽視《聖經》的存在（§91）。白日昇還先知性地指出，要考慮將來因中國政策改變，特別是當傳教士被迫離開中國後，中國教會如何傳承有所考慮。白日昇認爲只有本土司鐸是不夠的，（中國教會得以承繼）還需要有《聖經》中譯本，幷被作爲天主教會的經典被中國教會接受；常用經文也要有中文本，包括《日課》、《彌撒經書》、《禮典》以及《主教禮儀書》。否則，中國奉教者就難以傳揚基督信仰。白日昇特別援引《宗徒大事錄》15:9："在我們和他們中間【天主】沒有作任何區別，因祂以信德淨化了他們的心"，來強調《聖經》中譯本的必需（§160）。

二、白日昇譯本的流傳

2.1　兩個版本與三個抄本

2.1.1　卡薩納特圖書館抄本

　　2006 年，白日昇同會後輩 Jean-Baptiste Itçaïna 神父，根據黎珊蝶（Le San Diep）論文所提供的綫索，在羅馬卡薩納特圖書館（Biblioteca Casanatense）找到一部寫於 18 世紀初的抄本。該圖書館原爲道明會建立的私人藏書館，位於羅馬大學旁，是由卡薩納特樞機（Cardinal Girolamo Casanate, 1620–1700）所建，今屬意大利政府文化部管轄。該圖書館主要收集的是 17–18 世紀的抄本與書籍，數目龐大，却很少被學界研究。[12] 其中有白日昇《新約》譯本的抄本（編號 2024），

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[12] 關於圖書館中文文獻的目錄，參見梅歐金（Eugenio Menegon）的相關研究。卡薩納特圖書館中，有許多描述中國"禮儀之爭"的文獻，其中包括嚴璫主教（Mgr. Charles Maigrot, 1652–1730）所撰著的 9 卷，以及原屬於記有綱神父（Antoine Guigue, ? –1741）曾任巴黎外方傳教會在廣州的

以及白日昇翻譯的《天主聖教要理問答》兩冊。其實，雷慕沙（Abel-Rémusat, 1788–1832）在 1811 年已經提及在羅馬傳信部（今"萬民福音部"）圖書館有一部新約中文譯本，分爲七卷，署名 Jean Basset。[13]

根據白日昇寫給梁弘任主教（Artus de Lionne）的幾封信，白、徐兩位在 1704 年開始翻譯新約，1705 年 7 月 13 日若望福音的翻譯即將完成，1706 年 8 月 23 日格林多前書的翻譯已經完成。1760 年，李安德記載了白日昇的譯經工作，"（白日昇）也將新約由拉丁文翻譯爲中文，從《瑪竇福音》到聖保祿《致希伯來人書》的第一章；然而，由於他的去世，未能完成這項杰出的工作"。[14]"卡薩納特抄本"包括福音四書、《宗徒大事錄》、保祿書信以及《希伯來人書》（"蒙福的保祿致希伯來人書"）第一章，其範圍完全與李安德神父的描述一致。

另外，直到 19 世紀初，巴黎外方傳教會在華會士還保留有一份白日昇的新約譯本。1808 年，徐德新主教（Mgr. Gabriel-Taurin Dufresse, 1750–1815）寫到"我們這裏只有白日昇翻譯的（四）福音書（*les Évangiles*）原本，其中仍有

財務代表的文獻（編號 2273，其中有兩冊《天主聖教要理簡答》，抄本保存完好，白日昇譯。這份教義問答中，"Deus"譯成"天主"，而新約譯本中則譯成"神"。）

[13] Abel-Rémusat 的原文内容如此："Il eût été assez curieux d'établir un parallèle suivi entre l'Évangile de saint Marc [雷慕沙這裡指的是馬殊曼在 1811 年出版的馬爾谷福音] et celui qui fait partie du Nouveau Testament traduit en chinois par J. Basset, en sept volumes, qui est à la bibliothèque de la Congrégation de *Propaganda fide - cf. le catalogue des livres de cette congrégation, par Andreas Candela, Manuscrit.*" (*Mélanges Asiatiques, ou Recueil de Morceaux de Critique et de Mémoires relatifs aux Religions, aux Sciences, à l'Histoire, et à la Géographie des Nations Orientales*, pp. 12-13, 1825)。也可參考：Alexander Wylie, "The Bible in China", *Chinese Researches*, Shanghai, 1897, p. 96; François Bontinck: *La Lutte autour de la Liturgie Chinoise*, Louvain, Editions Nauwelaerts, 1962, pp. 295–296; Ad Dudink（同上）。

[14] 《和合本與中文聖經翻譯》，頁 17–18。

多處錯誤有待校正，特別是將聖神（*Saint-Esprit*）譯爲聖
風”。這個抄本不可能是“卡薩納特抄本”。

2.1.2　劍橋抄本與大英博物館抄本

　　白日昇新約譯本幷非孤本存世。學界曾經特別參考的抄
本，收藏於大英博物館。此譯稿，1737 年在廣州爲東印度公
司的何治遜（John Hodgson junior）發現。“大英博物館抄
本”首頁有說明道：“本抄本是奉何治遜先生之命，於 1737
年至 1738 年，在廣州謄抄；何先生稱抄本已經仔細校勘，毫
無錯漏，於 1739 年 9 月敬贈史羅安男爵（Sir Hans Sloane,
1669–1753）”。[15] 由於史羅安將包括抄本在内的遺產捐給國
家，因此該抄本可稱爲“史羅安抄本”（Sloane
Manuscript），從 1753 年起屬於大英博物館，編號爲 3599。
但是該抄本曾被塵封良久，直到 1801 年，才被公理會牧師威
廉・莫斯理（William Moseley）發現。[16] 莫斯理請人全面審
閱後，結論是該譯本“極有可能是世界上獨一無二的”，應
該“適當地規劃，以引導外教人士進入基督信仰”。[17] 1805
年，新成立的“大英聖書公會”（British and Foreign Bible
Society，簡稱 BFBS），在其首次年報中，考慮印行該抄本的
可能性。但是，大英聖書公會認爲，該譯本“從文體與用語
來看，是在耶穌會士的指導之下，譯自《武加大譯本》的”，
[18] 所以未將其編輯出版。事實上，則是因爲出版費用過高，

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[15] 尤思德著，蔡錦圖譯：《和合本與中文聖經翻譯》，香港，漢語聖經協會，
2000，頁 19。史羅安時任英國皇家學會（Royal Society）的會長。

[16] 莫斯理牧師曾於 1798 年在一封公開信中呼籲，“把聖經翻譯成那個人口
最多的東方民族所使用的語言（指中文）”。《和合本與中文聖經翻譯》，
頁 19。

[17] 同上。

[18] 同上。

公會認爲難以負擔。直到 1945 年，這份抄本才根據國籍司鐸李安德的日記，判定爲白日昇的譯稿。[19]

"大英博物館抄本"，因被二馬參考而聞名於世。但 1964年，英國劍橋大學收到了另外一個抄本，後來稱它爲"劍橋抄本"。經過對照以上兩個抄本，"大英博物館抄本"或許爲"劍橋抄本"的謄抄本，而"劍橋抄本"很有可能就是何氏所發現的原稿。

"劍橋抄本"與"卡薩納特抄本"一樣皆以《希伯來人書》（"蒙福的保祿致希伯來人書"）第一章收尾。但是"劍橋抄本"的最大特點，在於福音書并不是通常的單列四本，而是將四部福音書編成"合參福音書"（Gospel Harmony），首頁題名爲"四史攸編耶穌基利斯督福音之會編"。"會編"以耶穌生平爲主綫，以耶穌生平中的大事件爲連接點，將四部福音書串編成一部福音書。"劍橋抄本"的福音"會編"以《路加福音》1:1-4 開篇，希望讀者能獲得有關福音的正確知識。然後說"當始已有言，而言在神懷，且言爲神"，以《若望福音》1:1-13 插入，接著便接續《路加福音》1:5-56，記述聖母探訪表親依撒伯爾（"劍橋抄本"為"依撒伯"），介紹了洗者若翰即將出生，并預言耶穌的誕生，然後接《瑪竇福音》1:18b-25a，說明耶穌是由童貞女從"聖風"感孕而生。"會編"第一章就將耶穌出生前的重要事件一一講述。隨後各章也是以類似方式，將《聖經》經文按照"時間"順序，以大事件爲連接點，節選整合，彙編而成一部"史書"。"合參福音書"所選章句均注有出處。整體看來，結構編排"合理"，將耶穌生平和訓導完整介紹給讀者。

[19] B. H. Willeke, "The Chinese Biblical Manuscript in the British Museum", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (U.S.A.) **7**, 1945, pp. 450–453.

　　"合參福音書"這種編輯方式，實由早期教友所創，目的是爲向受衆呈現一部完整的"耶穌傳記"，以利於福音的傳講。這對特別注重編史的中國文化，尤其利於文人士紳的接納。通讀"會編"，不難發現其編輯原則相當成熟，如何做到整合通順，缺省得當，相信不是一蹴而就的。[20]

　　16、17 世紀在歐洲出版了各種各類的福音合參版。天主教的版本超過了三十種[21]，其中，特別包括老楊森尼烏斯（Cornelius Jansen the Elder, 1510–1576）的《福音要語索引》[22] 和阿諾德（Antoine Arnauld, 1612–1694）的《福音聖史合參》。[23] 除了這兩個版本以外，筆者參考了 Jean Gerson（1363–1429）的 *Monotessaron*，Bernard Lamy（1640–1715）的 *Concorde Evangélique* 以及 Le Roux 的 *Concorde ou Harmonie Evangélique*。基督教方面，筆者也參考了加爾文（Johannes Calvin, 1509–1564）的 *Harmonia ex Evangelistis tribus composita Matthaeo, Marco & Luca*，開姆尼茨（Martin Chemnitz, 1522–1586）的 *Harmonia quatuor Evangelistarum*，Johannes Clericus（1657–1736）的 *Harmonia evangelica* 以及 John Lightfoot（1602–1675）的 *Harmonia quatuor Evangelistarum*。但是，"劍橋抄本"與筆者所查閱過的任何歐洲版本的編輯順序區別很大，其中，最明顯的差別在於：

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[20] 參見曾陽晴："白日昇「四史攸編耶穌基利斯督福音之合編」之編輯原則研究"，《成大宗教與文化學報》，2008，11，台南，國立成功大學，頁 156–188。曾文不僅選取關鍵詞彙的譯文進行對比，對"合參"的編輯技巧評價甚高。

[21] Louis Ellies Du Pin 在 *Table Universelle des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques,* Tome 4*: Table Universelle des Auteurs Hérétiques du XVI et XVIIe siècle et de leurs ouvrages*, A. Pralard, 1704, pp. 278–283 裏提供一個特別完整的目錄。另外一個值得參考的目錄來自 Augustin Calmet 的 *Dictionnaire Historique, Critique, Chronologique, Géographique et Littéral de la Bible*, Tome 1, Paris, 1722, pp. 463–466.

[22] Cornelius Jansen, *Concordia Evangelica,* Leuven, 1549；此版本是參考信義宗牧師歐西安德（Andreas Osiander, 1498–1552）的編輯方法而編成的。

[23] Antoine Arnauld, *Historia et Concordia Evangelica,* Paris, 1653.

以上沒有一個合參本包括 28 章。反之，"劍橋抄本"與新約的《瑪竇福音》及塔提安（Tatian, 約 120–180）的《四部福音合參》（*Diatessaron*）一樣均為 28 章，這個基本特點比較少見。

2.1.3 "卡薩納特抄本"與"劍橋抄本"的筆迹

"會編"出自何人之手？爲了得到答案，我們需要考查一系列的證據。宋剛博士的研究指出，在舊金山大學利氏學社（U.S.F. Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History）的"馬愛德檔案"（Malatesta Archives）中有份徐若翰"注錄"[24] 的文件，其筆迹與"卡薩納特抄本"及"劍橋抄本"相同。[25]

按照馬青山神父[26]（Joachim Enjobert de Martiliat, 1706–1755）日記的記載，[27] 在 1734 年 8 月 14 日去世的徐若翰"曾把所翻譯的新約全部牢記在心，甚至花心思用此翻譯内容來編寫一部四福音的合參本。此合參本現今在穆天尺，Johann Müllener 主教的手裏"（參見附錄乙）。[28] 馬青山清楚寫明合參本是由徐若翰所編。其中，"花心思"（法文："fait de sa tête"）更加説明徐若翰積極編寫了合參本。若徐若翰只是聽從某位神父的指示，或只是模仿了某種歐洲版

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[24] 文件標注爲 Xu Ruohan（徐若翰）。

[25] 感謝宋剛博士對該問題的專門研究，並將未出版的結論通過包智光博士跟筆者分享。

[26] 1734 年巴黎外方傳教會的馬青山神父在四川服務。其主教是遣使會的穆天尺主教（Johann Müllener, 1673–1742）。穆主教在 1716 年 12 月 8 日晉牧。

[27] A.M.E. 434, 頁 508（1734 年 10 月）。

[28] 原文寫著：*Il avait appris par cœur tout le Nouveau Testament traduit; il en a même fait de sa tête une Concordance des quatre Evangélistes, qui est maintenant entre les mains de Mgr. l'Evêque*。

本的編輯方式，一般來講，一位法國作者不會強調他是"花心思"編寫的，只說"fait"（即："做/編寫"）就已經夠了。

　　直至 1734 年，白日昇離世已有 26 年多。當年合參本"在穆天尺主教手裏"說法，意味著合參本的使用還沒有得到主教的批准。雖然穆主教可能一直也不願意將其批准，但是，馬青山的日記從未暗示過這一推測。因此，徐若翰何時編寫"會編"，雖然不能排除可能發生在 1707 年，但是，大約 1720 年，甚至更晚，似乎是更加可能的。由於"卡薩納特抄本"及"劍橋抄本"都常常將"Deus"譯爲"神"，而非 1707 年後由教宗所認可的唯一譯名"天主"，所以讀者可能會質疑馬青山日記所提供的資料，推測"劍橋抄本"是在 1707 年完成，甚至是更早的譯本。但事實上，教宗只禁止了用"上帝"和"天"來指"Deus"，從來沒有提過"神"一字。F. Margiotti[29] 的研究指出：馬青山和李安德兩位神父在四川一直（直到 1760 年左右）支持用"神"一字來指"Deus"。因此，"劍橋抄本"用"神"此譯名與其編寫時間並沒有太大的關係。

　　雖然上面的討論不能提供充分的論據，但是也足以得出以下結論：不但"卡薩納特抄本"與"劍橋抄本"應該都是由白日昇的助手徐若翰親筆所寫，而且"劍橋合參本"的編寫工作也應來自於徐若翰的貢獻。

2.2 "卡薩納特譯本"簡析

　　爲了進一步了解卡薩納特與劍橋抄本的特色，我們還需要研究它們的文學風格，詞語和編輯特色。

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[29] Fortunato Margiotti, *Il cattolicismo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, Roma, Sinica Franciscana, 1958, pp. 340–343.

耶穌會會士及法國科學院院士李明[30]（Louis Le Comte, 1655–1728），在 1696 年出版的《中國現狀新志》（*Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'État Présent de la Chine*）中說："根據教宗特許，早想將彌撒書譯成中文，以便在舉行彌撒時以中文詠唱，幷且也想將《聖經》譯成準確的中文。這個彌撒書的工作已經完成了，但是仔細思考之後，認為不便使用這個譯本，所以仍用拉丁文詠唱。至於《聖經》全譯本，有許多重要的理由指明現在不應當公諸於衆，不可輕率使用。"[31] 由此可見，《聖經》翻譯之難超乎想像。相信當時肯定有許多傳教士，雖然認識到翻譯《聖經》的必要性，但只能望"譯"興嘆，止而却步，最終都未敢實踐。直到 18 世紀末，耶穌會士賀清泰（Louis Antoine de Poirot, 1735–1813）才將新約與大部分舊約譯成中文，題爲《古新聖經》，幷在書前作有《聖經之序》，詳述譯經應該遵循的原則：

> 翻譯《聖經》的人虔誠敬慎，惟恐背離《聖經》本意，《聖經》大道即錯亂了。那翻譯的名士也知道各國有各國文理的說法；他們不按各人本國文章的文法，完全按著《聖經》的本文本意，不圖悅人聽，惟圖保存《聖經》的本文本意。自古以來，聖賢既然都是這樣行，我亦效法而行。[32]

雖然賀清泰堅持完全忠實於原文的翻譯原則，方豪認爲"或因無人審查，或因其太俚俗"，[33] 因爲譯文有時帶有北方俚語，而從未刊行。不過，早在 18 世紀初葉，白日昇和徐若翰已開《聖經》漢譯之先河，新約譯本幾近完成。正因爲

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[30] 1685 年李明和白日昇碰巧一起乘同一艘船離開法國，前往亞洲。

[31] 賈立言著，馮雪冰譯：《漢文聖經譯本小史》，頁 14。也有很多學者根據這句話來推測，耶穌會士私下早已將《聖經》譯成中文，幷專供耶穌會內部使用，然而至今却未發現任何證據。事實如何，還有待進一步考證。

[32] 方豪：《中國天主教人物史》，北京，宗教文化出版社，2007，頁 100。

[33] 同上，頁 101。

是前無古人的創舉，白、徐所面對的困難可想而知。王國維
（1877–1927）嘗言："周秦之語言，至翻譯佛典之時代而苦
其不足；近時之語言至翻譯西典時，而又苦其不足"。[34] 白
日昇的體會，應該比近時之士更早更爲深切。

2.2.1　先輩遺澤

　　利瑪竇入華之初，便譯出"天主十誡"，幷於 1605 年，
出版《天主教要》，其中包括"十誡"、"天主經"等，以
及《瑪竇福音》中的"真福八端"。基於各種原因，明末清
初的耶穌會士都停留在《聖經》詮釋與《聖經》"史實"的
摘述上，諸如 1584 年羅明堅的《天主聖教實錄》、1595 年利
瑪竇的《天主實義》、約 1610 年龐迪我的《受難始末》、1635
年艾儒略的《天主降生言行紀略》、1642 年陽瑪諾的《聖經
直解》等。陽瑪諾神父的《聖經直解》，全稱《天主降生聖
經直解》。其實是陽瑪諾神父將教會禮儀年周日彌撒讀經所
用經文的福音部分翻譯成中文，幷附上解釋，方便神父講道。
艾儒略在《天主降生言行紀略》中所采用的"真福八端"，
每句僅在句末比陽瑪諾神父所用的"真福八端"多一個
"也"字。但白日昇譯本則有很大差異性，用詞更爲精練簡
短。

陽瑪諾譯本	卡薩納特譯本
神貧者，乃真福，	福矣心貧者，
爲其已得天上國；	蓋天國爲其國也。
良善者，乃真福，	福矣良善者，
爲其將得安土；	蓋其將得地也。
泣涕者，乃真福，	福矣涕泣者，
爲其將受寬慰；	蓋其將得慰也。

34　語出王國維：《論新學語之輸入》。

嗜義如饑渴者乃真福，	福矣饑渴義者，
為其將得飽食天；	蓋其將得飽也。
哀矜者乃真福，	福矣哀矜者，
為其將蒙哀矜；	蓋其將獲哀矜也。
心淨者乃真福，	福矣心淨者，
為其將得見天主；	蓋其將見神也。
和睦者乃真福，	福矣和睦者，
為其將謂天主之子；	蓋其將稱神之子也。
為義而被窘難者謂真福，	福矣為義忍捕者，
為其已得天上國。	蓋天國為其國也。

其中，白日昇譯文采用的是"福矣心貧者"，而陽瑪諾譯文則爲"神貧者乃真福"。拉丁文中的"*spiritus*"，陽瑪諾神父采用"神"。白、徐在此處譯爲"心"，但在"謝主曲"中則譯爲"風"，主要應該是基於語境的考慮。不過，也可以看出，在這個關鍵詞彙的翻譯上，白日昇幷未接受當時教會內所流傳的幾本譯著中的譯文。再來比較白、徐與艾儒略神父的"謝主曲"譯文，二者差別更大，除一句完全相同外，其餘則不同；艾譯稍顯文雅，白、徐譯本的文風更爲淺白。

艾儒略譯文	卡薩納特譯本
	（參見附錄甲）
吾心鹹頌吾主，	吾魂感頌主之大，
吾神無任忻愉於救我者，	且吾風踴喜於救我之神，
緣其垂顧婢子之微，	以其垂顧厥婢之微，
後人亦將於我乎頌贊矣，	今後萬世稱餘為福，
夫全能者，大展厥德於我，	蓋全能者大施恩予我，
錫我以異恩，用彰厥聖名，	厥名即聖矣，
其仁慈無量，將沿世世，	其仁慈世世，
於諸敬畏之者。	及敬畏之輩。
以厥臂顯其大能，	使厥臂之能，

斥彼驕盈。	敗散傲心謀算之計。
黜彼尊者於高位，	黜彼尊者於高位，
而陟舉夫謙遜者。	而陟舉夫謙遜者。
饑虛以福實之。	饑虛以祥充之，
沃滿以傾弃之。	富滿者空弃之。
且不忘大慈，	紀念厥仁慈，
賜以其子，	而援厥役依臘爾，
以踐所許於吾祖亞罷郎，	如昔語阿巴郎，
及亞罷郎後世世之子孫者。	及厥後於世世。

2.2.2　"禮儀之爭"與譯名

　　利瑪竇初到中國傳教，認識到儒家思想與祖先觀念是深植於中國人心的傳統。因此，他認爲如果不承認中國人的固有觀念，就絕對收不到傳布福音的效果。所以，利瑪竇借用中國人的"天"，轉換成"天主"來指稱造物主，幷把"Catholica religio"譯作"天主教"，拉近了中國人與基督信仰的距離。不僅傳教士說中文，身著儒服，信徒也獲准參加祭祖祭孔典禮。法國耶穌會士李明，在《中國現狀新志》中認爲，"和歐洲以及其它世界沉醉於迷信與腐敗正相反，中國兩千年來一直保存著真神的知識和極富道德意義的格言，可惜這一點世人幷未注意到。"[35] 李明在贊美中國文化的同時，也婉轉批判了歐洲文化。由於李明是法國皇室的御用告解神師，所以影響頗大，其言論亦引起教會及社會各界的震動。其實，幾個傳教團體之間的歧見，幷非個人的義氣之爭，而是各團體堅持原則不同。耶穌會爲新興修會，會士有學識有紀律，又有進取的精神。因此他們的傳教態度趨於維新，以求合於時宜。方濟會與道明會爲歷史悠久，習慣於

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[35]　白晋著，馮作民譯：《清康乾兩帝與天主教傳教史》，台中，光啓出版社，1966，頁 114。

傳統的布道方法，趨於保守。而巴黎外方傳教會，本是新創
的傳教團體，却主張嚴苛，力行傳統。 這些傳統與立場，在
中國“禮儀之爭”等問題中，表露無疑。

其實，中國禮儀之爭，主要涉及三個問題：（天主）譯
名，祭孔，祭祖。利瑪竇研讀中國古籍，根據其切身體驗與
心得，認識到在中國福傳，不宜全然擯弃中國古禮，否則會
引起中國的反感與忌視。祭孔祭祖幷非宗教儀禮，只要稍加
修改，即可不違教義，奉教者亦可遵行。中國古籍中的天與
上帝，是指唯一或至高的尊神，與天主教教義相合，中國教
友可用“天”或“上帝”稱呼造物主。利瑪竇的主張與福傳
方策，在其生前幷未有强烈反對，且對福傳也相當有益，效
果明顯。然而，利瑪竇去世後，龍華民（Niccolò Longobardo,
1565–1655）聯合熊三拔（Sabatino de Ursis, 1575–1620）向
耶穌會中國 – 日本會省會長上進言，要求禁用“天”與“上
帝”。經過數次爭論，耶穌會內部達成一致，即對待祭孔祭
祖的問題，沿用“利瑪竇規矩”；但對譯名，則采用龍華民
等的意見，禁用“天”與“上帝”，只用“天主”。

白日昇翻譯新約時，“中國禮儀之爭”甚囂塵上：先有
1693 年的顔璫主教“福建禁令”，後有 1707 年 1 月多羅特使
的“南京禁令”。由於遠在羅馬的四川代牧梁弘任（Artus de
Lionne）要求白日昇在四川執行顔璫主教的“福建禁令”，
所以白日昇只能用“天主”或“神”兩個詞來翻譯拉丁文的
“Deus”一詞，却未想到自己對“神”的選擇，影響了後來
整個新教傳教士的譯名抉擇。其實，“天主”一詞在中國古
典中極爲罕見，僅在《史記・封禪書》有記載，幷不爲廣爲
人知。但因中國文化對“天”的崇拜自古相傳，所以“天主”
譯名易於理解接受。“上帝”，《尚書》有“天佑下民，作
之君，作之師，惟其克相上帝，寵綏四方。”《詩經》有“皇
矣上帝，臨下有赫。監觀四方，求民之莫。”所以也常見於
中國古籍，也是儒士文人對至高人格神的常用稱呼。然而，

至高幷非唯一，這與基督信仰唯一神的傳統不合。但是，"神"似乎是更爲恰當，因爲"神"不是特稱，而是泛指。其用法與拉丁文"Deus/deus"相似，泛稱與特稱可以視情境而變化。馬禮遜將《聖經》稱爲"神天聖書"，如果考察馬禮遜對譯名的思索，或許能從另一個側面理解白日昇考慮過的因素。

馬禮遜在日記中提到，同中國人交談，却不知如何稱呼最高主宰，心裏感到困惑。他不知道是否應該采用天主教所用的"天主"，還是用其它譯名。馬禮遜注意到，中文習慣將無形無相，受人尊敬的事物稱爲"神"。只是中國人有很多的神。不過，馬禮遜覺得這兩種表達方式都可采用，但他比較喜歡中國人的說法，即"活神"（Living God），因爲最能爲一般人明白，"如果用別的名字，他們會以爲我帶來另一位神——我祖國的神。"[36] 馬禮遜認爲，這種看法和所有外教的神祇觀念完全一致，所以要儘量避開："我沒有給他們帶來另外一位神，只是努力說服他們，指出他們對神的看法是錯誤的，因爲世上沒有很多的神，只有一位，是普天之下唯一的一位。"[37] 馬禮遜甚至認爲可以保留"天"字；不過重新詮釋其觀念，因爲"天已失去異教的含義，變爲上帝榮耀爲王的所在。"[38] 馬禮遜認爲，中國文化中沒有基督信仰中的上帝觀念，即有理智，完全自主，完美的存有者，既是造化之主，也是世界的掌權者。

馬禮遜在日記中提到法蘭西公學院中文及滿文教授雷慕沙（Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat, 1788–1832）的來信，其中就有關於譯名的討論。雷慕沙提到，他曾與賽蘭坡（Serampore）

36　未亡人編，鄧肇明譯：《馬禮遜回憶錄（全集）——他的生平與事工》，香港，基督教文藝出版社，2008，頁 111。

37　同上。

38　同上。

的馬殊曼教授討論“神”此譯名，因爲他認爲這是件首要的大事，所以想知道馬禮遜如何處理。因爲雷氏認爲，譯名“神”絕對不可以用在基督教的書刊中，馬殊曼以雷氏熟知的《字典》回應其批評。馬殊曼認爲，在古代中國人的觀念中，“神”是指“所有超越有形的事物”，幷非是指“創造主”或“審判者”的概念，不同於英文的“God”，但却與拉丁文的“Deus”相近。[39] 雷氏雖然同意馬殊曼的理解，但是他認爲中國人對“神”的聯想肯定有別於基督徒。所以雷氏主張用“上帝”來表達基督信仰的概念，因爲中國人的“上帝”觀念相對而言更爲簡單，而不像“神”被濫用。但是，馬禮遜鑒於天主教傳教士爲了“天主”譯名論戰不休，馬禮遜還是决定選擇中國人最爲親切的詞彙。不過，馬禮遜也承認，“天主”（天之主）雖然不是中國人原有的概念，但這個譯名的含義却非常好。

馬禮遜的選擇，從一個側面也能反映出傳教士對中文譯名理解的不斷深化。“天主”，對於中國人而言，意義幷不明確；雖然有助於中國信徒建立起獨一神的觀念，却依然是個陌生的概念。而“上帝”一詞，所指的概念，在不同時期，不同地方，意義幷不確定。“神”最具自由度，却也更爲接近拉丁文“Deus”的概念。最爲重要的是，易於中國人接受，且能從中獲得更爲直接的認識。

2.3 “劍橋抄本”簡析

2.3.1 詞彙的選擇

“卡薩納特”與“劍橋”兩個抄本中，如“真福八端”（瑪 5:3-12）譯文完全一致；另外“耶穌基督之生譜”，其

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[39] 同上，頁 112。

中所列歷代先祖的譯名完全相同。然而，兩個譯本也有些許
不同之處。"卡薩納特抄本"，體現了白日昇譯本的主要特
點，即將"Spiritus Sanctus"譯爲"聖風"，而"spiritus"
則譯爲"風"，這正是其遭受批評之處，因爲"聖風"之譯
有失恰當。當時中國教會已經將"Spiritus Sanctus"由音譯
的"斯比利多三多"轉爲"聖神"，譯名幾近確定。但是，
白日昇却捨弃兩個常用譯名。如"卡薩納特抄本"中，有"聖
風居其心，且聖風應示之"，而"劍橋抄本"的"會編"第
三章中則兩處都使用"聖神"，即"聖神居其心，且聖神應
示之"。兩處譯文都十一個字，只是將"聖風"改爲"聖神"
而已，前者爲白日昇譯本特色，後者則是教會通用。專名
"Spiritus Sanctus"的翻譯，不僅證明兩個抄本原系同一譯
本，而且也支持"卡薩納特抄本"要比"劍橋抄本"早的觀
點。"劍橋抄本"多處使用"聖神"這一教會慣用譯名，可
能是馬禮遜譯本使用"聖神風"的原因。

　　　　比較兩個抄本中"謝主曲"（路 1:47-55），則會發現除
首句略有差異外，其它各句完全相同。

卡薩納特抄本	劍橋抄本
吾魂感頌主之大，	吾魂感頌主之大，
且吾風踴喜於救我之神，	且吾神踴喜於救我之主，
以其垂顧厥婢之微，	以其垂顧厥婢之微，
今後萬世稱餘爲福，	今後萬世稱餘爲福，
蓋全能者大施恩於我，	蓋全能者大施恩予我，
厥名即聖矣，	厥名即聖矣，
其仁慈世世，及敬畏之輩。	其仁慈世世，及敬畏之輩。
使厥臂之能，	使厥臂之能，
敗散傲心謀算之計。	敗散傲心謀算之計。
黜彼尊者於高位，	黜彼尊者於高位，

而陡舉夫謙遜者。	而陡舉夫謙遜者。
饑虛以祥充之，	饑虛以祥充之，
富滿者空弃之。	富滿者空弃之。
紀念厥仁慈，	紀念厥仁慈，
而援厥役依臘爾，	而援厥役依臘爾，
如昔語阿巴郎，	如昔語阿巴郎，
及厥後於世世。	及厥後於世世。

　　首句譯文，"卡薩納特抄本"譯爲"吾魂感頌主之大，且吾風踴喜於救我之主"，而"劍橋抄本"則爲"吾魂感頌主之大，且吾神踴喜於救我之主"。參考"思高譯本"的譯文"我的靈魂頌揚上主，我的心神歡躍於天主，我的救主"，不難發現後者更爲精准，而前者却體現白日昇譯本的突出特點。白日昇將"spiritus"譯成"風"，這一翻譯原則在"卡薩納特抄本"中，是貫徹始終的，而"劍橋抄本"則改爲"神"，顯然是後世修改的，畢竟中文"風"與拉丁文"spiritus"，二者意思差別比較明顯，且不合教會用詞。鑒於論文篇幅所限，筆者在此難以一一羅列其中的所有差異。不過筆者相信，以上這些關鍵經文在選詞上的差異，加上上文的論述，已經足够說明：兩個譯本出自共同的譯者，"劍橋抄本"是修訂本，而"卡薩納特抄本"則更接近白日昇的原始譯文。

2.3.2　"劍橋抄本"所省略的内容

　　"劍橋抄本"是一部内容非常完整的合參本。此合參本幾乎天衣無縫地整合了四部福音的一切内容。若兩部或兩部以上的新約福音書都涵蓋了耶穌生平的同一個片段，"劍橋抄本"則只保留其中一部福音的内容。"劍橋抄本"的選擇方式平衡適度，並非偏於某一部福音的内容，但它仍然省略了新約的幾處細節，這些細節值得特别關注。

2.3.2.1 共屬於兩部福音書省略的內容

在"劍橋抄本"所省略的資料中，共屬於兩部不同福音書的主題有三個：若翰洗者的埋葬、分辨天氣的比喻，以及盜賊的比喻。"卡薩納特抄本"的相關內容如下：

若翰洗者的埋葬：

瑪 14:12　　其徒收屍埋葬。而來報<u>耶穌</u>。

谷 6:29　　厥門徒愁疊其事。來舉屍而置之於墓也。

分辨天氣的比喻：

瑪 16:2-3　　其乃答之曰。至夕。尔等言將晴矣。葢天紅也。至早。言今日必狂風矣。葢天昏紅也。天之象。尔等能度。而諸時之跡。不能知也。

路 12:54-56　又謂衆曰。汝曹見雲作於西，即云有雨來。而果有矣。南風吹。汝云將有暑。而果有矣。詐輩。汝知試天地之像。而此時曷不識乎。

盜賊的比喻：

瑪 24:43-44　且汝須知斯。若家主知幾時賊來。必醒。不許偷其屋。是以尔亦為己備之人。因不知人子幾時將至也。

路 12:39-40　尔且知。若家主知幾時盜將來。必醒。不許裔厥屋。尔等亦預備。因人子將來於尔不知之時也。

2.3.2.2　只屬於一部福音書省略的內容

"劍橋抄本"還省略了只屬於一部福音書的十五處。"卡薩納特抄本"的相關內容如下：

瑪 14:33　　在船者都欽崇。曰。爾真為神之子。

谷 3:20-21　且來屋裡。衆又集。致不暇飲食。其親曹斯。出來捉之。蓋曰。其已發癲矣。

谷 4:26-29　又曰。天國就像人投種於地。且眠間。且晝醒起間。彼不覺。而種發芽長大。蓋地自然。初生苗。次發穗。後麥充穗。實既結。即下鐮。因刈際至也。

谷 10:38　耶穌謂之曰。尔等弗知所求。尔能飲我將飲之爵乎。能領我將領之洗乎。

路 8:1b-3　十二徒與之偕焉。又有数婦。所救於惡鬼。及疾病者。瑪利亞名瑪達冷。所救於七魔者。若翰納。黑落忒長吏具撒之妻。及蘇三納及餘多。以其貲供給之者。

路 12:49-50　我降地來播火。豈弗願燃乎。我將被洗滌之洗。而至洗成何迫乎。

路 14:28-33　尔儕若有欲營造樓塔者。孰不預坐。揆攸需之費。度能成否。恐或築基而不成。人見始笑之曰。斯人創造而弗克成。又王行師攻他王。孰不預料。厥士卒萬人。可當彼二萬乎。不然。自願遣使求和。如是。尔等弗謝絕所有諸物。必弗能為我徒也。

路 17:7-10　尔輩有僕耕牧於田歸。孰語孰水之。請來席。而不語之尔備我食。自束役我。待我飲食。然後尔自飲食乎。斯僕雖如主命。主豈將謝之乎。余憶不然。則尔輩盡行所命。尚須云吾乃無益之僕。

路 18:8b　　　我語尔等。必速伸厥屈。然人子臨格時。尔
　　　　　　　憶其遇信於地乎。

若 1:14　　　　且言成為肉。而居於吾間。吾輩已見其榮
　　　　　　　光。若由父之獨子之榮光。滿有寵真者也。

若 2:23-25　　耶穌在柔撒冷。於巴斯卦瞻禮之日。有許多
　　　　　　　見其所行神跡。而信於厥名者。然耶穌未以
　　　　　　　已信伊等。葢明識伊眾。不必人告之人之
　　　　　　　情。葢自知各人之衷矣。

若 4:1-2　　　且耶穌既知法吏叟。聟其集徒洗人。比若翰
　　　　　　　更眾。雖耶穌不洗。乃徒洗。

若 17:26　　　余素示之以尔名。後又將示。致尔素愛余之
　　　　　　　愛。屆乎伊等。而余屆乎伊等矣。

若 20:30-31　耶穌另多行神跡。未紀於斯篇。且紀此。
　　　　　　　欲汝曹信耶穌為基督神之子。而信者恃厥
　　　　　　　名獲生也。

若 21:23-24　遂諸弟兄之間。出夫徒弗死之言。耶穌乃
　　　　　　　未云弗死。然云余欲雷之如此至余來。於尔
　　　　　　　何涉耳。夫徒。乃今証此。而書斯者也。
　　　　　　　且吾輩皆知其証為真也。

　　省略的內容若只屬於單一部福音書，不能排除編者遺漏
的可能性，而其餘省略之處，最有可能是出於編者有意的刪
節。

　　編者有意省略的原因，至少有三種可能：（1）不喜歡有
關內容（2）考慮讀者對有關內容會有陌生感（3）考慮讀者
對有關內容可能會有所反感。

（1）　三百年前編者主觀感覺我們現在難以知曉。只能看到
　　　　的是，編者對四部福音書的內容十分熟悉，他編寫的
　　　　"劍橋抄本"也很完整，連耶穌潔淨聖殿（若
　　　　2:14-22）、犯奸婬婦女受審判（若 8:1-11），以及耶
　　　　穌受難等的任何細節都沒有省略。总而言之，編者對
　　　　新約的內容處理態度十分審慎。

（2）　"劍橋抄本"的編者是否考慮過讀者對一些句子會
　　　　感到陌生，下面幾例在某程度上可以提供答案：如以
　　　　色列天氣的描述（瑪 16:2-3，路 12:54-56）不符四川
　　　　省的天氣狀況，而"言成為肉"（若 1:14）中的"肉"
　　　　用詞不太恰當，令人費解。

（3）　至於編者是否考慮過讀者對一些句子的漢譯可能會
　　　　產生誤解和反感，下面幾例也可以給予初步的答案：
　　　　"盜賊的比喻"（瑪 24:43-44，路 12:39-40）、数婦
　　　　伴隨十二宗徒（路 8:2）、耶穌"降地來播火"（路
　　　　12:49）和"王行師攻他王"的比喻（路 14:31-32）的
　　　　省略，不難想像並非偶然。

2.3.3　編寫順序

　　曾陽晴對"劍橋抄本"的合參編寫技巧評價甚高[40] 是有
據可考的。當編者將出自不同福音的內容聯係在一起時，整
體內容的銜接十分巧妙，一般讀者不會看出合參本是來自四
部不同的書。然而，從耶穌生平的整個史話來講，"劍橋抄
本"的幾個編寫特點，不一定會被讀過神學的神父所採納。
"劍橋抄本"的編寫特點包括：

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[40]　參看本文註釋 20。

（1）　　與《瑪竇福音》及《馬爾谷福音》一樣，"劍橋抄本"
　　　　包括"五餅二魚"和"七餅幾魚"的奇跡，但"五餅
　　　　二魚"放在後面，且在耶穌顯聖容之後。

（2）　　在每一部對照福音書裏，耶穌三次宣佈受難。但在
　　　　"劍橋抄本"裏，耶穌只將受難宣佈兩次（瑪
　　　　17:22-23；谷 10:32-34）.

（3）　　"劍橋抄本"未將有關納稅的問題（瑪 22:16-22 等）
　　　　置於耶路撒冷的最後辯論當中，而是將其放在這些辯
　　　　論的四章之前。

另外，更加顯著的編寫特色還有以下兩點：

（1）　　按照"劍橋抄本"的敍述，耶穌在最後晚飯後從一個
　　　　地方出去兩次：

　　　　誦詠畢。偕出。往 阿里尾山。
　　　　（谷 14:26，"卡薩納特抄本"），

　　　　接著：

　　　　耶穌言此輩。偕門徒出瑟童溪外。於有圃之所。
　　　　與其徒同入之。
　　　　（若 18:1，"卡薩納特抄本"）

（2）　　按照"劍橋抄本"的編排順序，《路加福音》第 11
　　　　章 27-28 節之後，接《若望福音》第 4 章 41-42 節。
　　　　因此，受同鄉輕視的婦女（若 4:42）不再是撒瑪黎雅
　　　　人，而是一位羨慕耶穌母親的婦女（路 11:27）。"劍
　　　　橋抄本"的編寫結果如下：

　　　　有婦於眾間。與聲向之曰。福矣。懷尔之腹。哺尔
　　　　之乳。曰。且更福矣。聽神言而行之者也。為厥
　　　　言。信從者愈多。且謂婦曰。今吾輩不為爾言而
　　　　信。葢我儕親聽。而明知其實為救世者。

以上不難看出，“劍橋抄本”的內容極具獨創性。其實，從福音精神的角度來看，此種編排無傷大雅：“劍橋抄本”清楚地表示，對基督的信仰超越耶穌的家庭。但是，在禮儀之爭時期，各種修會鑑於避免其它修會對己的譴責，以及希望得到羅馬傳信部的支持，一般來講，他們不太可能會編寫這種具有獨創性的合參本。

總體來講，“劍橋抄本”的詞語選擇、省略的出處、以及編輯順序雖然不能充分證明“劍橋抄本”編者的身份，但這些特點卻完全與馬青山日記所提供的細節相符：徐若翰曾經協助白日昇翻譯了新約，而且特別喜愛這個翻本，甚至可以將其牢記在心。之後，他曾經“花心思”編寫福音合參本。此合參本十分忠實於“卡薩納特抄本”，但在詞彙、省略的內容、以及編輯順序方面，仍然能呈現出一顆充滿中國情懷的心。至於徐若翰的兒子徐應天神父或其他神父是否參與編寫的工作，對類似的可能性我們應持一種開放的態度，無需急於定論。

三、“白、徐譯本”與“二馬譯本”

在《聖經》漢譯史上，馬禮遜與馬殊曼是白日昇與徐若翰之後承前啓後的關鍵人物。“白、徐”譯本的影響，正是通過二馬，才發揮出來的，從而成爲《聖經》漢譯史上具有里程碑式的譯作。馬禮遜（Robert Morrison, 1782–1834）屬“倫敦會”（全稱“倫敦傳教會”，“London Missionary Society”），1807 年來華，1810 年開始翻譯《聖經》，1813年完成《新約》，以《耶穌基利士督我主救者新遺詔書》爲名於廣州秘密出版。後於 1819 年，在米憐協助下完成《舊約》譯文，在馬六甲出版。到 1823 年，將新舊約集結，以《神天聖書》爲名，在馬六甲出版，并在 1824 年 5 月呈交英國聖經

公會。而馬殊曼（Joshua Marshman, 1768–1837）則屬浸信
會，在印度賽蘭坡（Serampore）從事文字傳教。後來在賴沙
（Johannes Lassar, 1781–約 1835）的協助下，約於 1806 年
開始翻譯《聖經》。其《馬太福音》於 1810 年在賽蘭坡面世，
該譯本收藏於劍橋大學圖書館。1811 年《新約》初稿完成，
1815 年定稿付印。從 1815 年開始，《舊約》部分經卷相繼出
版，最終於 1821 年完成。馬殊曼集結所有譯文，以《聖經》
《新舊遺詔全書》爲名，於 1822 年在賽蘭坡出版，後由其子
在 1823 年 5 月呈送英國聖經公會。兩個全譯本幾乎同時問
世，而且二者因爲《新約》譯文存在頗多相似之處，其關係
成爲《聖經》漢譯史的一則"懸案"，至今未有定論。

3.1 "二馬譯本"與"白、徐"譯本的淵源

前文提及何治遜（Hodgson）先生在廣州發現白與徐的
譯本後，請人謄抄呈送於史羅安（Sloane）男爵，後又轉送
大英博物館。該抄本經鑒定後，報呈"大英聖書公會"。馬
禮遜在倫敦求學期間，與留學英倫的容三德（Yong Sam-tak）
結成語伴。馬禮遜學會書寫漢字後，便開始抄寫大英博物館
的中文稿件。"我把珍藏在大英博物館的中文《聖經》謄抄
一遍，它成爲我翻譯和編輯中文《聖經》的基礎"，[41] 在 1814
年的一封信中，他提到他的一部分翻譯"是根據某個不知名
的人的著作，他的虔誠勞動保存在大英博物館裏，我冒昧地
改正幷補充了我所需要的東西"。[42] 馬禮遜認爲他的首要職
責，就是"確立《聖經》字句的涵義"，幷"用《聖經》原
文、英公共本、拉丁文譯本、阿里亞斯（Benito Arias Montano,

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[41] 馬禮遜夫人(Eliza Armstrong Morrison)，《馬禮遜回憶錄（全集）——他
的生平與事工》，基督教文藝出版社，2008，頁 49。馬禮遜的手抄本，
收藏於香港大學圖書館。詳情請參見
http://cbol.fhl.net/new/ob.php?book=2&page=1&submit1=%E6%9F%A5%
E8%A9%A2，2010 年 9 月 10 日可見 。

[42] 同上。

1527–1598）多國語言的《華美聖經》、法文本、希臘文本，以及湯姆生（Charles Thomson, 1729–1824）的七十士譯本進行校正"；其次，則是"用中文表達出《聖經》的原義"，幷表明自己受益於"大英博物館的 Sloane 抄本，在中國幾種天主教的著作，和本地中文教師。"[43]

馬禮遜將大英博物館中的新約中文譯本抄走，以幫助其識讀中文。而且倫敦會（1810 年）年報提到，隨著馬禮遜中文水平的提高，加上中國助手的意見，馬禮遜認識到手中譯本極具價值。[44] 米憐博士（William Milne, 1785–1822）曾提到，馬禮遜從譯本學得的語言技能是微不足道的，但是對其翻譯却影響甚大。[45] 馬禮遜提到的兩個中國助手，一位是李先生，秀才出身；另一位是官雲明，原籍山西，在北京做過某修士的助手，因而拉丁文非常熟練。官雲明甚至引述耶穌的訓導："要愛你的仇敵，爲那逼迫你們的禱告"。[46] 馬禮遜甚至從某天主教徒手中獲得三本中文《十誡注釋》，這些對其翻譯大有裨益。馬禮遜特別提到，他的一位助手認爲，該譯本應是中國人的譯作，因爲譯筆之流暢，非洋人中文功底所能做到的水平。[47] 馬禮遜 1809 年 12 月 4 日致信倫敦會董事會提到其譯經曾參考所携抄本，幷認爲這些譯文忠於原文而譯筆也好。[48] 由於有譯本參考，同時有中國助手的幫助，馬禮遜的譯經工作進展得非常順利。倫敦會 1811 年 9 月公布的消息：倫敦會收到馬禮遜先生可喜的消息，說他已經印了一千本《使徒行傳》（出版時稱《耶穌救世使徒傳真本》），幷呈送三本於董事會。

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[43] 同上。

[44] 參見《馬禮遜回憶錄（全集）——他的生平與事工》，頁 142–143。

[45] 同上，頁 46。

[46] 同上，頁 109。

[47] 同上，頁 127。

[48] 同上，頁 144。

　　在某種程度上，白、徐譯本的文言文色彩較濃，但是馬禮遜認為，譯經最好的文體，是根據經典注疏和《三國演義》結合而產生的文體，因為 "就文體而言，《三國演義》被認為是中國最具可讀性的作品" ，[49] 而經典注疏則為士人接納，二者結合最適合翻譯聖經與其它宗教著作。馬禮遜 1814 年 1 月 11 日致信聖書公會提到 "福音書"、"書信集" 最後幾卷及 "啓示錄" 完全是他自己的譯作，只是有些需要的地方，則 "冒昧加以修改補充" 抄自大英博物館不知名前輩的譯作。[50] 再次印證了馬禮遜譯本與 "白、徐" 譯本之間的關係。馬禮遜於 1819 年 11 月 25 日致信倫敦會董事會報告譯經完成，以《神天聖書》為名出版。報告中還提到米憐在譯經方面的協助，但僅限於《舊約》歷史書的部分章節。[51]

　　馬禮遜在信件或日記中，還多次提及馬殊曼。如馬禮遜曾擔心馬殊曼為其助手賴沙所騙。因為賴沙是亞美尼亞人，馬禮遜認為賴沙的中文根底應該非常淺薄，對聖經的知識則更加不堪。[52] 所以馬禮遜對馬殊曼的中文水平一直持有懷疑態度。事實上，二馬的關係極為複雜。兩人分屬不同傳教差會，信仰原則與實踐上，存在不少差異，所以兩個差會之間必然存在著一定的競爭關係。而因為兩人都從事《聖經》漢譯工作，所以 "瑜亮情結" 在所難免。兩人認識之初，關係尚可，馬禮遜甚至將 "大英博物館抄本" 謄抄，送給馬殊曼參考，而是後來還將《新約》譯本送於馬殊曼。只是後來因為一些誤會，最終導致關係破裂，不相往來。事情源於馬禮遜的《通用漢言之法》（*A Grammar of Chinese Language*）。馬禮遜在完成該書後，曾將文稿轉交馬殊曼出版，結果據說

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[49] 同上，頁 176。

[50] 同上，頁 207。因為"劍橋抄本"及"大英博物館抄本"的"福音書"部分并非四部"福音書"的全部，而且是"會編"，所以馬禮遜才有此說明。

[51] 《馬禮遜回憶錄（全集）——他的生平與事工》，頁 282–283。

[52] 同上，頁 67。

被束之高閣。兩年之後，馬殊曼的《中國文法》(*Clavis Sinica*，又名 *Elements of Chinese Grammar*)却出版發行。此事成爲兩人關係破裂的導火綫。

不久，先有馬禮遜指責馬殊曼抄襲其語法書，後有馬殊曼指責馬禮遜剽竊他人《聖經》譯文。馬殊曼對照《四史攸編》和《耶穌救世使徒傳真本》，逐章統計，發現全書共 70 頁，約 21500 字，馬禮遜僅改動 1113 字，其中還包括重複出現的人名、地名在內。[53] 衛三畏(Samuel Wells Williams, 1812–1884)亦說《新約》只有一半是馬禮遜翻譯的，另一半則是他校正了大英博物館抄本所得。對於參考白、徐譯本，馬禮遜從不諱言，在其向倫敦會遞交的報告中，至少兩次做了說明。在《耶穌救世使徒傳真本》出版後，馬禮遜說"嚴格地說，只有序文才是我自己的作品"；在《路加福音書》出版後又說"這本書是我的譯作，《使徒行傳》只是我加以編輯而已"。[54]

由於馬禮遜聲望高於馬殊曼，所以馬殊曼抄襲一說廣爲流傳。此說，最早出自米憐之口。伯格博士在 1818 年 1 月 8 日致信馬禮遜說"米憐博士對他(馬殊曼)的譯本給我所做的說明中，似乎很明顯它是抄自你的譯本。"[55] 曾任英華書院院長的基德(Samuel Kidd, 1804–1843)也認爲馬殊曼譯本是抄自馬禮遜譯本，因爲"儘管使用不同的中文，但兩個譯本非常相似"，[56] 如果是各自完成譯文，如此眾多的地方一致就非常奇怪。同時，馬殊曼在 1816 年 12 月 13 日遞交浸信

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[53] 馬殊曼在其致 John Ryland(1753–1825)信中(1816 年 12 月 13 日)，詳細反駁了馬禮遜的指責。參見趙曉陽："二馬聖經譯本與白日昇聖經譯本關係考辨"，《近代史研究》，第 4 期，北京，中國社會科學院近代史研究所，2009，頁 71。

[54] 蘇精：《馬禮遜與中文印刷出版》，臺北，學生書局，2000，頁 150。

[55] 《馬禮遜回憶錄》(英文)，第 1 卷，頁 496–497。參見趙曉陽："二馬聖經譯本與白日昇聖經譯本關係考辨"，頁 50。

[56] 蘇精：《馬禮遜與中文印刷出版》，臺北，學生書局，2000，頁 150。

會的報告中，坦言其《新約》集結本的確有參考馬禮遜《新約》譯本，因爲 "如因虛榮與愚蠢，拒絕參考他人成果，" 是放弃對完美譯文的期望，所以《新約》集結出版時，參考馬禮遜譯文是合理的。[57] 基於當時的文化環境，不能簡單以 "抄襲" 之說定論。

　　首先，譯經完成的時間不同，這一點非常關鍵。在馬禮遜 1807 年 9 月 7 日抵達廣州時，馬殊曼的新約譯本已經完成一半，隨後便於 1811 年出版。而馬禮遜雖然在中國本土，享有更多的地利之便，但其新約翻譯直到 1813 年才完成，其整本聖經的完成時間，則比馬殊曼譯本晚一年。根據英國聖經公會 1822 年《第十八屆年報》，馬殊曼譯本的單行本都比馬禮遜要早。[58] 因此，從出版時間上，說明馬殊曼幷未抄襲馬禮遜譯本。

　　其次，通過比較馬殊曼 1810 年前後的譯本，我們發現，馬殊曼將《馬太福音》從《此嘉語由於孖挑所著》改爲《馬寶傳福音書》，而《馬克福音》則從《此嘉音由孖勒所著》改爲《馬耳可傳福音書》。值得注意的是， "孖挑" 與 "孖勒" 四字左邊皆有 "口" 偏旁，實爲馬殊曼因爲音譯自造之詞，且符合傳統漢文翻譯外來詞的慣例。此外，耶穌曾譯爲 "意蘇"，基督曾譯爲 "記利時度"，而在 1813 年出版的《若翰所書之福音》中，已略顯不同，不僅文筆流暢，譯名也與後來的通用譯名相近，"意蘇" 改爲 "耶穌"，"記利時度" 改爲 "基利士督"，譯名基本上與馬禮遜一致。馬殊曼譯本的前後變化，顯然是參考了白、徐譯本所致，而非是抄襲馬禮遜譯本，因爲當時馬禮遜的譯本幷未完成，而且馬禮遜的確在 1809 年，將 "白、徐" 譯本抄送給馬殊曼。

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[57]　趙曉陽："二馬聖經譯本與白日昇聖經譯本關係考辨"，頁 55。

[58]　《馬禮遜與中西文化交流》，譚樹林著，頁 47–48。

再者，從語言能力與中文素養方面，抄襲之說也難以成立。馬殊曼極具語言天賦。18 歲前，讀書已超 5000 卷；在浸會學校任教期間，兼習古典文學，通曉希伯來文與叙利亞文，對希臘文也很精通。在致李蘭特博士（John Ryland, 1753–1825）信中說"我和兒子不斷閱讀中國人最優秀的著作，因此我認爲我最後能精通中文的所有知識"，幷說"最近一年讀的中文書，可能比最初五年讀的還要多"。[59] 馬殊曼還將《論語》譯成英文，幷於 1809 年在賽蘭坡出版，由中文、譯文與注釋組成，長達 725 頁，足見其中文功底可以勝任譯經任務。事實上，馬殊曼在進行中文聖經翻譯前，已經將聖經譯成多種印度語文。而馬禮遜却只在中國翻譯《聖經》。某種程度上，馬殊曼比馬禮遜更爲艱難，遠離中國本土，中文教師只是澳門出生的西方人。不過，馬殊曼的成就，也是個人能力的再次展現。

不可否認，馬殊曼《新約》譯本於 1815–1822 年間修訂集結再版時，的確參考了馬禮遜的譯本，所以改動非常大，這也是馬殊曼承認的。所以不能簡單以此斷定馬殊曼是抄襲馬禮遜的譯文。如果詳細比較兩個譯本，尤其《舊約》部分，不難發現，馬殊曼譯本與馬禮遜譯本的差別甚大，所以不能簡單用"抄襲"之說以偏概全，[60] 否則有違事實，讓馬殊曼蒙受不白之冤。

3.2 三個譯本的譯文分析

三個譯本都使用"神"來翻譯"God/Deus"，用"聖風"翻譯"Holy Spirit/Spiritus Sanctus"，馬禮遜也使用

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[59] 同上。

[60] 參見趙曉陽："二馬聖經譯本與白日昇聖經譯本關係考辨"，頁 57–61。趙文選取《舊約》部分章節，比較了"二馬譯本"在《舊約》部分的異同，幷結合相關文獻，認爲《舊約》部分是兩人獨立完成，互無參考。

"聖神風"。這些都是源自"白、徐"譯本。馬殊曼用"蘸"
一字來譯"baptize/baptism"（洗禮），馬禮遜則用"洗"。
浸信會因爲馬殊曼使用"蘸"字，多年來流行刊印此譯本；
而馬禮遜譯本采用"洗"字，較爲中性，爲其他教派接受，
刊行遠超馬殊曼譯本。其實，整體比較而言，馬殊曼譯文的
水平要高於馬禮遜。但是因爲馬殊曼從未踏足中國，馬禮遜
有地利之便，所以大英聖經公會及其他人想當然地認爲馬禮
遜譯本水平高於馬殊曼譯本。其實馬殊曼的譯文更爲通順，
表達更爲符合中文習慣，從另一個側面反映出馬殊曼扎實的
中文功底。

　　"白、徐譯本"，《若望福音》3:36 說：

　　蓋神愛世，致賜己獨子，使凡信之者，不損，乃得
　　常生也，

　　而馬禮遜譯本則說：

　　蓋神愛世人，賜己獨子，使凡信之者，不致沉亡，
　　乃得永常生也。

　　馬禮遜幾乎全盤照抄白日昇與徐若翰的譯文，只是在個
別字句處或有增改。再看馬殊曼的譯文：

　　蓋神愛世，致賜己獨子，使凡信之者，不至沉淪，
　　乃得常生也。

　　僅將白、徐譯文的"不損"，改爲"不至沉淪"，其餘
譯文完全相同。

劍橋抄本	馬禮遜譯本	馬殊曼譯本
福矣心貧者，	心貧者爲福矣，	心貧者福矣，
蓋天國爲其國也。	蓋天國屬伊等。	蓋天國屬伊等也。
福矣良善者，	憂悶者福矣，	憂愁者福矣，
蓋其將得地也。	蓋必將受慰也。	蓋將得慰也。
福矣涕泣者，	謙遜者福矣，	謙遜者福矣，
蓋其將得慰也。	該伊等必將嗣其地也。	蓋將嗣其地也。
福矣饑渴義者，	伊等餓也渴也欲得義爲福矣，	彼饑也渴也爲求得義者福矣，
蓋其將得飽也。	蓋伊必將得飽也。	蓋將得飽也。
福矣哀矜者，	慈憐者福矣，	矜憐者福矣，
蓋其將獲哀矜也。	蓋伊必將受慈憐也。	蓋將得矜憐也。
福矣心淨者，	心淨者福矣，	心淨者福矣，
蓋其將見神也。	蓋伊必將見也。	蓋將見神也。
福矣和睦者，	使平和者福矣，	平和者福矣，
蓋其將稱神之子也。	蓋伊必將稱爲神之子輩也。	蓋將稱爲神之子也。
福矣爲義忍捕者，	因義而接捕害者福矣，	因義而受捕害者福矣，
蓋天國爲其國也。	蓋天之國屬伊等。	蓋天國屬伊等也。

　　比較三個譯本的"真福八端"，會發現每句的前半段，相似度非常高。不過由於白、徐譯本是依據"拉丁通行本"（Vulgata）翻譯，所以第二句與第三句的次序，有別於後來依據希臘文古本翻譯的經文。當時天主教會以"拉丁通行本"爲標準譯本，白日昇自然不會特別研究其它譯本。根據這一點來看，白、徐譯文非常切合拉丁通行本的原文。而馬禮遜與馬殊曼，由於都是英國人，對"英王欽定本"（King James Version）應該都非常熟悉。參閱"欽定本"，發現"二馬譯本"更爲接近的原因，不在抄襲，應該是基於同一參考底本的表達需要。而且馬殊曼譯本將表示強調的語氣助詞"shall"翻譯成"將"，這與白、徐完全相同；而馬禮遜則使用了程度更強的"必將"。

劍橋抄本	馬禮遜譯本	馬殊曼譯本
吾魂感頌主之大，	吾靈大頌主，	我靈盛頌主，
且吾神踴喜於救我之主，	吾神乃喜樂於神我救者，	我魂歡悅於神我救者。
以其垂顧厥婢之微，	蓋其顧其仆之卑處，	蓋其顧其仆之卑處，
今後萬世稱餘爲福，	且夫自今萬後將稱我福矣，	夫自今以後世必稱我福矣，
蓋全能者大施恩予我，	蓋其有能者替我成大，	蓋其有能者與我成大，
厥名即聖矣，	而其名爲聖也，	蓋厥名爲聖也，
其仁慈世世，	其慈者於世世，	又其慈彼畏
及敬畏之輩。	在與畏之者也。	之於世世者也。
使厥臂之能，	以厥臂示其力，	其示力以厥臂，
敗散傲心謀算之計。	傲者於伊心念其打散之也。	傲者於伊心念其打散之。
黜彼尊者於高位，	其下能者自座來，	其降能輩下座，
而陞舉夫謙遜者。	而上遜輩焉。	而升遜輩。
饑虛以祥充之，	其以好物滿餓輩，	其滿饑輩以好物，
富滿者空弃之。	而富輩令空去焉。	而令富輩空去。
紀念厥仁慈，	其助厥仆以色耳以勒	其助厥仆以色耳勒
而援厥役依臘爾，	而常念慈，	而恒憶慈悲，
如昔語阿巴郎，	依其言吾父，即亞百拉罕	照其謂吾父，即亞百拉罕
及厥後於世世。	及其種於世世。	與其種於世世。

　　“二馬譯本”在聖母瑪利亞《謝主曲》此段的相合之處甚多，最後半句竟然一字不差。“二馬譯本”在參考白、徐譯文的同時，應該都會參考“欽定本”，這也是後來馬殊曼參考馬禮遜譯本做出較大改動的原因。二者均將“seed”譯成“種”，近乎直譯。這也是許多《聖經》譯者爲了凸顯《聖經》本意而采取的方法。但是白、徐則使用“後”，似乎更爲符合中國人的習慣。

　　仔細比較三個譯本中的《謝主曲》，會發現譯文差異較大。首句中的“soul”，馬禮遜與馬殊曼相同，都是用“靈”一字，白、徐則使用“魂”。爲了翻譯“spirit”，“劍橋抄

本"是用"神"一字;"卡薩納特抄本"則用"風",這是白、徐最早翻譯的特色。不過馬禮遜與馬殊曼參考的都是"大英博物館抄本",此處馬禮遜沿用抄本的翻譯,即"神"一字,而馬殊曼却采用了"魂"的譯法。白、徐顯然是使用"神"一字來翻譯拉丁文"Deus"一字的。前文已經分析了"劍橋抄本"與"卡薩納特抄本"之間的區別。將"spiritus"譯成"風"是白、徐原始譯文特色,這在前文已經提及。不過這對馬禮遜的翻譯影響很大。馬禮遜的希伯來文聖經,其上殘存馬禮遜手迹:"孝哀帝與耶穌在世同時"。在第二節則有"或神風或神氣",顯然是受到白、徐的影響,而遲疑不决。

其實,早在"大秦景教流行中國碑"中,就有"設三一淨風無言之新教"。其中,"三一淨風"就是指"三位一體"中的第三位格"聖神"(Spiritus Sanctus),因爲之前已經提到"三一妙身無元真主阿羅呵"與"三一分身景尊彌施訶",分別是指"聖父雅威"與"聖子彌賽亞"。"景教碑"還刻有"法浴水風"四字。東方教會一直堅持施行"浸禮",所以此處用"浴"非常貼切。而根據教會的神學理解,領洗,在形式上是從水洗,而在實際上則是從"風"(聖神)領洗。隨後還有一句,常爲學者引用,即"景風東扇",意味著景教的道風傳到中國。由於"大秦景教流行中國碑"在明末的發現,在傳教士群體中引起轟動;當時不僅傳教士,而且中國奉教人士都撰寫大量文章,研究"景教碑"。因白日昇曾赴西安申請居住證,相信其對 "景教碑"應該有所瞭解。如果事實真是如此,那麼白日昇的譯名選擇,更是有迹可循。至於白、徐譯文與"景教碑"之間的具體關係,還有待進一步考察。[61]

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[61] 在白日昇寫給時任陝西代牧區代牧葉宗賢的一封信中,白日昇不僅討論了"Deus"的翻譯,也涉及"風"字在《大秦景教流行中國碑》的使用。其

劍橋抄本	馬禮遜譯本	馬殊曼譯本
夫仁乃忍，	夫仁乃忍，	夫仁乃忍，
乃慈也，	乃慈也，	乃慈也，
仁弗妒，	仁弗妒，	仁弗妒，
弗妄行，	弗妄言，	弗妄言，
弗自滿，	弗自滿，	弗誑，弗自滿，
弗貪大，	弗行不宜，	弗妄爲，
弗圖私益，	弗圖私益，	弗圖己益，
弗觸怒，	弗易觸怒，	弗苟怒，
弗思惡，	弗思何惡，	弗思邪惡，
弗樂悖逆，	弗樂悖逆，	弗悦乖忤，
而喜真理，	而喜真理，	而喜真理，
無不忍，	無不忍，	無不忍，
無不信，	無不信，	無不信，
無不望，	無不望，	無不望，
無不容也。	無不容也。	無不堪也。

　　比較《格前》13:4-7 的經文，三個版本的相似之處更多。馬禮遜譯本與白、徐譯本的譯文幾乎一致。都將"caritas"譯成"仁"一字。差異最大的就是《格前》第 13 章 4 節的後半句：白、徐譯文是"弗妄行，弗自滿，弗貪大"，而馬禮遜與馬殊曼分別爲"弗妄言，弗自滿"與"弗妄言，弗誑，弗自滿"。馬禮遜顯然是根據"英王欽定本"譯出，所以只有兩個詞。當然也可以說，馬禮遜參考了希臘文本，因爲有些希臘文本在此處也有異讀現象。三個譯本，在譯文風格的連續上，是顯而易見的：都采用較爲淺白的文言文，同時也采用儒家經典的文風，易於文人士紳的接受。

中"淨風無言之新教"，"淨風"正是"Spiritus Sanctus"對譯。檔案編號爲 A.M.E. 424，頁 255–279，即巴黎外方傳教會檔案 424 號，頁 255–279。

結語

通過馬禮遜與馬殊曼翻譯《聖經》，白日昇與徐若翰翻譯《聖經》的願望終於實現。馬禮遜譯本與馬殊曼譯本的完成，破解了西方人認定中文無法傳達基督信仰的心結，堅定了西方傳教士來中國這個文明古國傳布福音的信心。因為他們的披荊斬棘，後世中文譯經則順勢而上，碩果累累。1835年，麥都思、郭實臘、裨志文、馬儒漢（馬禮遜之子）組成四人譯經小組，根據馬禮遜譯本修正出的聖經譯本，成為中國新教教會 10 餘年間的主要譯本。1890 年，各國來華傳教差會開會決定，成立譯經委員會，鼎力合作，終於在 1919 年出版官話《和合本》，後來成為《聖經》中文譯本最為信眾接受的權威譯本，奠定了中國新教的神學語言特色。而其修訂版已經於 2010 年完成出版。

遺憾的是，白、徐的新約譯本在天主教會內部并未引起上述效果。最主要還是歷史機緣的問題。不過，思高聖經學會成員曾參考了來自大英博物館抄本的謄寫本，最終於 1960 年代末葉，完成中國天主教會的《思高聖經》譯本，白日昇與徐若翰的心願終於達成，而天主教會對翻譯《聖經》也有了全新的認識。如今的中國基督教會，無論是基督新教，還是基督公教（即天主教），《聖經》譯本都不止一本。這也符合白日昇當年的期待，多個版本的出現，最終會促成完美譯本的實現。而基督新教與基督公教內的聖經學者，也曾試圖實現《聖經》譯本的合一化。雖然"合一譯本"因為各種原因，至今未能成功。但是正如白日昇當初的想法那樣，遲做總比不做好，或許仍需等待歷史機緣的出現。

　　白、徐在翻譯《聖經》過程中，對專名的翻譯，雖然未能爲中國天主教繼承，却直接影響到基督新教在中國的神學話語體系。而中國人對基督信仰體系中，衆多概念的理解，也因爲《聖經》的廣泛傳播，得到不斷深化，不斷完善。同時，反過來，在《聖經》翻譯過程中，西方傳教士對中國文化的認識也愈發深刻，中國文化也從另一個側面促進西方人，特別是處於中西交流前沿的西方人，對基督信仰的理解也更加全面。而《聖經》對於中國的影響，遠遠超越宗教層面的影響。《聖經》中譯本對中文的影響，就如威克利夫（John Wycliffe, 約 1320–1384）的英譯本對英國文學的影響一樣。不過迄今關注這一方面的學者還不算多，論述也相當少。周作人（1885–1967 年）在 1920 年的演講"聖書與中國文學"[62]中認爲，《聖經》對中國的影響，可以分爲精神與形式兩個層次：前者是人道主義，後者是文體。聖經漢譯，是中文歐化的開始，也是近代白話文運動的先驅。同時，《聖經》中的"天使"、"福音"、"樂園"、"贖罪"、"懺悔"、"十字架"等意象逐漸超越基督徒的範圍，成爲中國人耳熟能詳的詞彙，同時其中蘊含的基督信仰的幅度，也逐漸成爲中國文學的素材。

　　經過 1500 年的努力，基督宗教終於在中國生根，在與中國原有文化對話的過程中，重塑了自己，也改變著中國。這種互動，至今還在生機勃勃地向前進展。白日昇與徐若翰 300 年前開啓的譯經工作，在這個進程中具有突破意義。白、徐譯本，爲基督信仰在中國的傳播，特別是基督信仰彙入中國文化，做出了不可磨滅的貢獻。在此，也希望有更多學者能够關注白、徐譯本，關注《聖經》研究。由於白日昇的遺著

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[62]　更多內容參見
　　http://www.ideobook.com/432/holy-scripture-and-chinese-new-poetry/，劉皓明："聖書與中文新譯"（2008），2010 年 10 月 18 日可見。

及相關史料，仍在整理中，其中部分史料仍有待進一步考證。
本文只是基於現有材料的描述，權爲引玉之作。

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[ABSTRACT] The Chinese Translation of the New Testament by Jean Basset (1662–1707) and Johan Xu (?–1734) plays a significant role in the history of the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Chinese. Jean Basset, a Catholic French missionary, sojourned from 1702 to 1707 in Sichuan province where he collaborated with the new convert Johan Xu to translate several works, the most significant of all being the translation of the New Testament into Chinese. This translation has been preserved in two manuscripts seemingly handwritten by Johan Xu himself. In contrast with the version preserved in Rome, the manuscript preserved in Cambridge does not contain the four Gospels, but only a single harmony of these Gospels which, according to the testimony of Joachim de Martiliat, has been composed by Johan Xu. The elegant and simple literary style of these texts manifests the importance of the role played by Johan Xu. The historical value of Basset and Xu's translation has been magnified by its direct influence on the two first comprehensive Chinese translations of the entire Bible accomplished respectively by Joshua Marshman (1768–1837) and Robert Morrison (1782–1834). Through these two monumental works, Basset and Xu's pioneering enterprise has, to some degree, shaped the introduction of theological terms into Chinese literature. Many of the early similarities between Morrison and Marshman's translations can be explained by their common dependence on Basset and Xu's translation.

附錄甲

卡薩納特抄本的"謝主曲"（路 1:46-55）

附錄乙
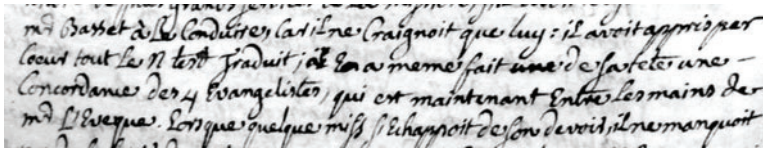
馬青山（**Joachim de Martiliat**）日記的片段
（1734 年 10 月，A.M.E. 434，頁 508）

... il avait appris par cœur tout le Nouveau Testament traduit; il en a
même fait de sa tête une Concordance des 4 Evangélistes,
qui est maintenant entre les mains de Mr l'Evêque. ...

...他曾經把所翻譯的新約全部牢記在心，甚至花心思用此翻譯內容來
編寫一部四福音的合參本。此合參本現今在主教的手裏...

19 世紀的翻譯

路加福音傳：**1871** 年的石版印刷。

（ Evangile selon St Luc, Texte chinois avec traduction interlinéaire,

A.M.H., Rennes, 1871 ）

以上在法國出版的路加福音片段是由方濟會(Franciscan)神父 A. M. Hamelin 親筆所寫。其翻譯內容出自 1850 年首次出版的委辦譯本。值得一提的是：十九世紀初基督新教的傳教士馬禮遜（Robert Morrison，1782–1834）參考了 "大英博物館的抄本"（Sloane），然而，十九世紀末的一些天主教神父也有借用基督新教的聖經中文譯本的需要。

Francis Xavier Wang
Missionary, Translator and Poet:
A Life Experience in Naples (1861–1891)

Michele FATICA

translated by François Barriquand

王佐才神父：
一位傳教士、翻譯家兼詩人
在納玻里的經歷

樊米凱

包智光 譯

　　[ABSTRACT] Francis-Xavier Wang (王佐才) is one of China's wisest intellectual 19th century representatives in Europe. This study presents a precise account of the most painful episodes of his biography and helps the reader to get a measure of the ecclesial, academic and political context within which Wang had to live during his long sojourn in Naples from 1862 to 1891, as well as to appreciate the depth of his pedagogical, intellectual and missionary commitment.

1. THE PROBLEM OF RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG CHINESE FOR THE COLLEGE OF NAPLES: THE ATTEMPT MADE WITH FOUNDLINGS FROM HONG KONG

The recruitment of young Chinese for the *Collegium Sinicum* of Naples always involved difficult and risky choices. The challenge was to receive in Italy young fellows originating from one of the most distant countries from Italy, both geographically and culturally, to require them to learn Latin and to study the entire curriculum taught in religious seminaries. Once they would have been ordained as priests and approved by a committee of *Propaganda Fide* as being fit for the Missions, they would be sent back to China with the task of evangelizing their compatriots. The selection procedure involved various criteria: age, social status, religious tradition of the family, vocation. Even Matteo Ripa (1682–1746), known in China under the name Ma Guoxian 馬國賢, had not always been perceptive in his selection of pupils destined to Naples: his last years were embittered by the transgressions and escapades of Lucio Wu (Wu Lujue 吳露爵), who never returned to China and spent a large part of his life in the prison of Castel San Angelo in Rome.[1] Yet Wu's social status and the religious tradition of his family seemed *a priori* quite encouraging: he was the son of Thomas Wu (Wu Duomo 吳多默), catechist of Matteo Ripa for whom he had transcribed imperial edicts and the diaries of court officials. Thomas Wu possessed a higher level of education, and the

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[1]   DI FIORE, G. 1985, pp. 219–286.

reason why he had not become a mandarin was only due to his poor financial wealth.[2] Lucio lacked only one thing to become a good priest: vocation. He was born in 1713 and was only 11 years old when he arrived at Naples during the month of November 1724, at an age too young to allow one to make choices for the rest of one's life.

The problems of the recruitment and of the good success of the Chinese students enrolled in the institute founded by Matteo Ripa surfaced again in a dramatic way after the Italian unification. The suppression of religious congregations, imposed by the Act of 7 July 1866, did not directly affect the Chinese College since the new liberal elite wished to maintain the section devoted to the training of Chinese clergy, and to set up besides it a school open to young lay people eager to learn Asian languages as well as the Indo-European languages most commonly used for diplomatic purposes in East Asia (Russian, French and English).[3]

The reformed Chinese College was inaugurated, with the new title of *Royal Asian College*, on November 25, 1868,[4] following an agreement between the minister of Education, Michele Coppino, and the priests of the Congregation of the Holy Family of Jesus Christ,[5] which had been founded by Matteo Ripa for the purpose of providing a good education to

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[2]   RIPA, M. 1996, pp. 267, 291, 302, 332, 340.

[3]   FIORENTINO, C.M. 1977, pp. 113–153. Cf. also NARDI, G. 1976, pp. 495–500. The most relevant reference is the Italian text and the French translation provided by LA CECILIA, N. 1868.

[4]   GALIANO [GAGLIANO], G. 1868.

[5]   COPPINO, M. 1867 (however, the commission for the reform of the Chinese College had been convened by Coppino's predecessor, Cesare Correnti: cf. FIORENTINO, C.M. 1977, p. 116).

the Chinese seminarians admitted to their Neapolitan institution. Two decrees were signed by the new minister of Education, Angelo Bargoni, and published in the *Official Gazette* of 17 October 1869: the first concerned the upgrading of the *Chinese College* into a "moral institution of public education" named *Royal Asian College of Naples*, which would be supervised by the Ministry of Education. The second decree dealt with the disciplines and the programs of studies of the College, and ratified a situation that was already established *de facto*. However, neither the archbishop of Naples, Sixtus Riario Sforza (1810–1877), nor the *Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide*,[6] who hardly concealed their resentment, adhered to the project. The priests of the Holy Family thus found themselves in an isolated position and feared that convergent decisions originating from either the Holy See or the Italian State would suppress the missionary section of the College due to the lack of Chinese pupils. Thanks to their good relations with the *Institute for Foreign Missions of Milan*,[7] also called *Saint Calocero*, and with a missionary belonging to this Institute, Giovanni Timoleone Raimondi, who had been appointed by the *Propaganda Fide* as prefect apostolic of Hong Kong,[8] the *Westpoint Reformatory*

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[6]　The relationship between the priests of the Ripa Foundation and the *Propaganda Fide* was already difficult before the unification of Italy, as can be seen from *Propaganda*'s appointment of the archbishop of Naples Sisto Riario Sforza as «apostolic visitor» of the Chinese College on 18 February 1856: DE MARTINIS, R. 1894, pp. 248–249; v. NARDI, G. 1976, pp. 486–487.

[7]　These reports are examined in more detail by TRAGELLA, G.B., 1959, II, pp. 161–162; NARDI, G. 1976, pp. 502–505; FIORENTINO, C.M. 1977, pp. 127 and 136.

[8]　Cf. METZLER, J. 1985, pp. 102–103: born in Milan on 5 May 1827, he was first appointed pro-prefect (27 November 1867), then (30 December 1868) prefect of Hong Kong and procurator of the Missions of *Propaganda Fide* in China. He died in Hong Kong on September 27, 1894, after having been

that Raimondi had founded in the British colony sent five orphans to Naples who were expected to prepare themselves to consecrate their lives for the Mission in China. These five orphans were named Louis Zhang (Zhang Dingyang 張定養), Richard Deng (Deng Guotai 鄧國太), Peter Pan (Pan Shangdeng 潘上登), Louis Luo (Luo Xizai 羅禧仔) and Andrew Lu (Lu Chengdai 盧成帶). They arrived in Naples on June 18, 1871, and received their religious costumes on the following 27th of August.[9] They were poor teenagers, with little aptitude for study. They had converted themselves to Christianity only in the hope of finding a shelter and food, but they lacked any religious vocation. The slow pace of their progress in Naples would spark off a debate in the Italian Parliament, during which anticlerical forces would publicly and vehemently demand the transformation of the religious section of the College into a Language Institute freed from any ecclesiastic interference.

2. THE ARRIVAL AT NAPLES OF YOUNG CHINESE ENDOWED WITH AN AUTHENTIC VOCATION FOR THE PRIESTHOOD

appointed apostolic vicar of Hong Kong and titular bishop of Acyntus on October 4, 1874. According to DE MARTINIS, R. 1895, pp. 252–253, the appointment of Raimondi as vicar apostolic on November 17, 1874 resulted from the transformation of Hong Kong's prefecture into a vicariate. Concerning the general missionary activity of Raimondi, cf. BRAMBILLA, G. 1926, pp. 103–116 and 187–206. His Chinese name was Gao Tianjiao 高天教 cf. CRIVELLER, G. p. 195.

[9]   KUO, J. M. (郭棟臣) 1917, p. 6, nn. 90–94.

The story of the five orphans is particularly revealing because it intertwines with the story of Francis Xavier Wang (Wang Zuocai 王佐才), one of China's most educated and more enlightened representatives in Naples. He was born on 1 December 1842 in Hubei (湖北) province, Yincheng (應城) district, among the small village community of Wangjiazha[10] (王家榨) whose Christian history was not recent. In February 1857, at age 14, he entered the seminary of Saint Xavier's College managed by Franciscan fathers. The decision to send him to Naples was taken by the Franciscan Luigi Celestino Spelta,[11] who had been appointed at the head of the Hubei vicariate from the time of its creation (1858). Spelta, who was also appointed apostolic visitor of the Empire of China and of neighbouring kingdoms on January 24, 1860, was anxious about the fate of promising young Christians due to the civil war known in the West under the name *Taiping Rebellion* (太平革命). Spelta thus decided that five young seminarians should complete their studies in the Chinese College of Naples. Francis Xavier Wang, who was then 18 years old, was

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[10] On 21 April 1857 and 19 November 1858, GUO DONGCHEN (郭棟臣, *Diario, 1844–1922*) mentions this village in his diary, which he defines as a "residence" in the second occurence. The *Atlas of the Qing Dynasty* mentions a toponym in the district of Yingcheng whose characters 王家廟 mean «Temple of the family Wang»; one cannot exclude that both villages coincide. Cf. 中國歷史地圖集 (The Historical Atlas of China), 清時期 (Qing Dynasty Period), 1996, 100 頁 (p. 100).

[11] Born in Montebello di Voghera near Tortona on April 9, 1818, he entered the Franciscan family and was sent to China in 1845, where he was consecrated in 1848 bishop *in partibus* of Tespi by the Neapolitan missionary Francesco Saverio Maresca. Maresca had been educated by the congregation of the Holy Family of Jesus Christ. He was titular of Sola *in partibus* and coadjutor of Ludovico De Besi, bishop of Nanjing. Spelta died in the city of Wuchang (武昌) on 12 September 1862. In China, he was given the name of Xu Leisi 徐類思, cf. SARTORI, C. 1926, pp. 52–53. The biographic information relative to Francis Xavier Wang is deduced from SARTORI, C. 1926, pp. 88–89

accompanied by 15 years old Joseph Mary Guo (Guo Dongchen 郭棟臣), 12 years old Paul Wu (Wu Chenglie 吳承烈), and by Andrew Zhang (Zhang Maogong 張懋功) and Thomas Fan (Fan Zuda 範祖大), whose age is unknown. The group of young adolescents started its trip on March 19, 1861, leaving the river port of Tianmen (天門) located along the tributary of the Yangtze River (長江) also called Tianmen. They manoeuvred between Taiping rebels and British gunboats until they arrived on May 16 in Hong Kong. The small group had then to wait until the 5th of August before embarking on the French steamboat named *Marne*, which made a first call in Manila, and led them to the city of Saigon. In Saigon, they boarded the boat named *Shanghai*, which carried them to Naples where they arrived on December 31, 1861.[12]

Among these five young Chinese, not all were successful, since Thomas Fan died in Naples as soon as February 1867.[13] Fortunately, Francis Xavier Wang, Joseph Mary Guo and Paul Wu soon gave comforting signs of their good progress. Their great capacities even freed them from the rule imposing that their ordination should take place after their thirtieth birthday.[14] Francis Xavier Wang and Joseph Mary Guo became the only authentic sinologists that Italy could boast off during the second half of the nineteenth century. They were

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[12] The itinerary of the travel has been deduced mainly from the diary of Guo Dongchen (郭棟臣 GUO DONGCHEN, *Diario, 1844–1922*).

[13] Cf. 郭棟臣 GUO DONGCHEN, *Diario, 1844–1922*, March 1867. Cf. also KUO, J. M. 郭棟臣, 1917, p. 7, n. 88. This last reference mentions that he died in Naples, where he was buried on 22 February 1867.

[14] They were ordained as priests on September 22, 1872: [KUO, J. M. 郭棟臣] 1917, p. 7, nn. 84, 85, 86; concerning the exemption, cf. LD, APF, 1872, ff. 1153v–1154, under the date of 10 September 1872.

perfectly well versed in Chinese, both spoken and written, as well as in Italian and Latin. Before his ordination (September 1872), Joseph Mary Guo published in 1869, when he was just over twenty years old (he was born in 1846), in Naples, lithographs written by his own hand, as well as a handbook entitled *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Language* (華學進境) and a Latin translation of the famous *Three Character Classic* entitled *Sanzi Jing* (三字經), through which Chinese students had been educated during nearly a millennium, accompanied with a commentary. Meanwhile, Francis Xavier Wang acquired such a mastery of the Italian language that he was called by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in June 1870 to act as interpreter during the visit to Florence of the first official Chinese delegation to Italy.[15]

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[15] The delegation, which left China in 1868, lost its leader, the American Anson Burlingame, in Russia. It was directed thereafter by the Manchu Zhigang (志綱) and the Chinese Sun Jiagu (孫家穀). It was received by the king of Italy in Florence on June 9, 1870. Another former student of the Chinese College of Naples was also invited with Francis Xavier Wang to serve as an interpreter: Thomas Zhang (Zhang Tianyi 張天義), who, from 1851 to 1865, had been working in California to evangelize migrant Chinese communities. Cf. his biographical notice in [KUO, J. M.] 1917, pp. 4 and 9. The delegation visited Naples and the Chinese College on the following 15 June: BERTUCCIOLI, G. 1973, pp. 2–11; NARDI, G. 1976, pp. 505–507; BERTUCCIOLI, G., MASINI, F. 1996, pp. 264–266. In CORRISPONDENZA DI VARI, CO-G, ASMAE, a curious letter has been conserved, written by Cesare Correnti, minister of Public Instruction, to the minister of Foreign Affairs Giulio Visconti Venosta, the date being simply noted as "1870". In this letter, Correnti writes about the two interpreters from Naples: "Allow me to tell you that the poor Chinese fellow of Naples, who came here at your request, intervenes during the discussions in the same way as an unwelcome and unsolicited person would do if she wanted to interfere in the negotiation."

3. F.- X. WANG, PROFESSOR OF CHINESE.
THE PROBLEMS RAISED BY HONG KONG
ORPHANS AND BY THE NEW ARAB STUDENTS

Francis Xavier Wang and Joseph Mary Guo stayed together at the *Chinese College* from the end of 1861 to the beginning of 1873. Their destinies parted when, on March 15, 1873, Guo, together with Thomas Zhang (Zhang Tianyi 張天義) and Paul Wu embarked on the French steamer *Tage* which carried them back to China *via* Marseilles, Toulon, Suez, Aden, Ceylon, Singapore and Saigon.[16] In contrast, Xavier Wang was chosen by Giacomo Lignana, one of the promoters of the *Royal Asian College* along with the ministers of education Cesare Correnti (1815–1888) and Michele Coppino (1822–1901), to teach spoken Chinese right from the opening of the public *School of Living Oriental Languages*, which - as mentioned above - took place on November 25, 1868. In that institution, Wang got along with lay colleagues such as Lignana himself, who taught Mongolian and modern Asian history, belonged to the Freemasons and was a friend of Cavour, and with Napoleone La Cecilia,[17] who would soon abandon her teaching of geography to go to Paris and fight for the Paris Commune. Endowed with a mild temperament, open to dialogue and penetrated by the spirit of politeness and ceremonial deference to which his study of Chinese literature had accustomed him, Wang earned immediately the

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[16] Cf. 郭棟臣 GUO, DONGCHEN, *Diario, 1844–1922*, from 15 March to 26 March 1873.

[17] Born in Turin in September 1835, deceases in Cairo on 25 November 1878: ERCOLE, F., 1941, p. 205.

sympathy and esteem of his lay colleagues, even as they remained highly suspicious of the priests of the Holy Family of Jesus Christ, if not hostile to them. It was precisely the existence of this courteous relationship between scholars, who esteemed each other, that would trigger the disturbances of the last ten years of his Italian sojourn. But before dealing with this aspect of his Neapolitan experience, we must reconstruct his difficult relationship with the Chinese orphans who arrived in Naples from Hong Kong during the month of June 1871. The personal stories of these young adolescents contain heartbreaking episodes that often mar the lives of unprotected children who find themselves deprived of human and moral references precisely at the moment when they would most need them. In 1877–78, Wang became involved in an investigation ordered by the minister of Education about the alleged mistreatment of these children. Since four of them were questioned about their past and their plans for the future, we can know many details about their existence. Records based on their interrogations were kept for each of them (twice in the case of Andrew Lu and Richard Deng), of which we transcribe the more significant passages:

Andrew Lu:

> "From Canton, 21 years old. He says that he had parents, but that he received no news from them since the time he has become a Catholic. His father was a craftsman who made the sails of sailboats. After his entry in the College [the Reformatory of Hong Kong], he was first taught the profession of tailor, and then that of cobbler. He received no instruction apart from catechism. During the four years that he remained in the

school run by the *Propaganda*, he learned the rudiments of the art of shoemaking. The vice-director of the college once said to the students that, if they went to Italy, they would receive a better instruction and would come back with an employment. This is why he came to Italy with four others. [...] He says that they have always protested that they did not want to dress as priests. When the Arab students came, they wrote together to the Ministry a request for being allowed to wear civil clothes, which was granted to them. He confirms that, since they belong to the ecclesiastic section, they have made no other studies than Latin and Chinese. The remaining time has been spent in prayer." A second record indicates that he "affirms to know only little Chinese and does not know how to write it. He says that they only study Chinese grammar and do not read any book, nor write. He says that he could only serve as an interpreter from Italian to Chinese. As a matter of fact, he really speaks and understands Italian well enough." He is also unclear about his future: "He wants to return home, but would like to get a job position."

Richard Deng:

"From Hong Kong, 22 years old, without parents. He was a bookbinder. He wishes to return to China as soon as possible. He cannot read Chinese. He can read and write a few words. He does not consider himself to be qualified in anything. He too hopes to be recruited by the government. He suffers somewhat from his eyes and does not seem to be in a very good health."

Peter Pan:

> "From the province of Cantoni [*sic*], 23 years old. He wishes to return home, although his family does not want to recognize him, because he has embraced the Christian religion. He has no father and mother but only his grandparents. He affirms that he cannot write Chinese, because this language is difficult to write, but that he can speak it in an understandable way. He himself does not know what kind of competence he has, and he is confident that the Ministry will find a way for him to be able to live in his own country."

Louis Zhang:

> "From Canton, 18 years old, Catholic, fatherless. His mother has remarried. He wishes to return to his family. He admits that he knows very little Chinese. He does not know what kind of work he could do at home. He has studied English for three years but has not learned more than what corresponds to the content of approximately sixty exercises. Every year they start again from the beginning. In other disciplines, he says that his progresses are satisfying. He understands Italian well, and can speak it clearly enough."[18]

On the basis of these records, let us try to reconstruct the first seven years of Neapolitan life of these five orphans. When they arrived in Naples, they could speak only

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[18]　COLLEGIO ASIATICO, ACS, b. 89.

Cantonese, a southern dialect of China. To be more precise, they were completely illiterate, although they were already not so young, since Louis Zhang and Peter Pan were 16, Richard Deng 15, Andrew Lu and Louis Luo 14. They had faced the challenges of a long journey and of a life in a city whose customs and language were quite remote from theirs, just for the sake of a mirage: a professional position (*posto*), which they had imagined as an "employment" providing them social advancement and liberating them from the job or the manual activity that they had learned in the Reformatory. They had not understood that a very different kind of destiny was awaiting them in Naples. They started to realize their situation more clearly when, during a solemn ceremony held in front of a packed audience inside the *chiesa dei Cinesi*, they received the uniform of the ecclesiastic section of the College: a black cassock trimmed in red. The red colour symbolized the sacrifice of their blood which they should be ready to make for the sake of the evangelization of China.[19] Since the language of the Church was Latin, and since manuals of dogmatic theology, moral theology and scholastic theology were all written in Latin, these five students started to study Latin. Meanwhile, since the purpose of their education was to ordain them and to send them back to China as evangelists, they had to practise obedience to their superiors and to learn Chinese, both oral and written. At this point, a process of

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[19] In order to enhance the solemn and official character of the ceremony, the Administrative Council of the *Royal Asian College* sent to all the personalities of the city the following invitation: «The administrative Council of the *Royal Asian College* invites your highness to assist to the solemn clothing ceremony of several young Chinese in the Church of the Royal College on August 27, 1871 at 11 a.m.» (COLLEGIO ASIATICO, VESTIZIONE 1871, BGNa).

painful reactions was inaugurated, and the patience of Francis Xavier Wang - whose task was to teach them Italian, Latin and Chinese - was severely tested. These young boys not only lacked the mental flexibility necessary to learn a wide panel of highly different languages, they were also reluctant to submit themselves to the harsh discipline that they would have needed to overcome the temptations of the flesh and to be able to tame their adolescent rebelliousness. Punishments consisted in meals restricted to bread and water for a minimum of 4 to a maximum of 50 days, in the recitation a prayers for a certain number of hours in a kneeling position, in having one's mouth filled with strong Lecce tobacco, or in the diminution of some nutrients such as meat, fish or fruit. In addition, they had to mortify themselves with a discipline every Friday, i.e., to undress their backs and scourge them with a rope or a belt fitted with nails. Throughout the forty days of Lent, they were required to observe abstinence, hardly eating any meat. Every Friday of Lent, they were also required to take their meals on the floor. In general, respect towards hierarchical superiors is ingrained at a very young age among Chinese people. However, insubordination began when, between 1872 and 1873, Giuseppe Juvakim, Gioffredo Dahdah and Giovanni Desiderio Tabib arrived from Beirut and entered in the Ecclesiastic Section. Two more students joined them in 1873: Pietro Lahhud, native from Alexandria in Egypt, and Elia Calis, from Jaffa.[20] These young boys, who

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[20]   KUO, J. M. (郭棟臣) 1917, p. 4, nn. 62, 63, 64, 65, 66. The arrival of the first three of them sparked off a stark reaction of *Propaganda Fide*: «I have received a letter from superior Gagliano in which he informs me that three Maronites from Lebanon have been received in the College. I inform your Excellency about this in my turn. I guard myself from responding to the aforesaid superior about his proposal, but I pray your Excellency to have the kindness to explain me clearly the meaning of this new incident» (LD, APF,

spoke Arabic dialects, had been sent by the "conservatore"[21] Francesco Miniscalchi Erizzo, a famous Arabist who wanted to promote the teaching of classical Arabic in the College. This teaching was first entrusted to Antonio Ghanduz Cubbie, a Catholic Syro-Maronite Lebanese, then to Lupo Buonazia. With these Arab students, to maintain a strict discipline became impossible, among other reasons because they immediately convinced their Chinese peers to send a joint petition to the Ministry of Public Education, asking for the permission to wear civil clothes, which was granted to them. Thereafter, the Arab students, who were animated by a certain degree of prejudice against the Chinese, which was well reciprocated by their Chinese peers,[22] played tricks on Francis Xavier Wang on several occasions, until he would loose patience and react badly against one of them.[23]

1872, ff. 217–217v, under the date of 16 February 1872 (letter to Sisto Riario Sforza, archbishop of Naples).

[21] This new charge was introduced by the royal decree of the minister of education, Cesare Correnti, dated from 2 June 1870, published in the *Official Gazette* of 4 July 1870. Its purpose was to "maintain the full agreement between the direction of the boarding school, the Executive Council of the patrimony and the Council of Studies".

[22] According to a ministerial inspector, student Pietro Lahhud « was mistreated, beaten and wounded by a bad young boy named Louis with the help of Chinese students, who used to set themselves against the Arab students, just as these did against them» (*Inquest on maltreatments and on the misuse of corporal punishments in the discipline of the royal Asian College*, anonymous, dated from 1878, in COLLEGIO ASIATICO, ACS, b. 89).

[23] According to Michele Kerbaker, who was appointed by the minister of Public Education as supervisor of the examinations of the non-ecclesiastical section during the year 1876–77: «The Arab student Pietro Lahhud was grabbed by the neck by Father D. Francis Wam (professor of Chinese) and scratched in such a way as to bear bloody scars that I have been able to see myself one year afterwards, the director of studies being present.» (*Relation on the final examination held in the Royal Asian College during the month of June of the student year 1876–77*, in COLLEGIO ASIATICO, ACS, b. 89).

The decree of the new education minister Francesco De Sanctis (1817–1883), entitled *Reorganization of the Royal Asian College in Naples*, signed by Umberto I in Monza on October 28, 1878, and published by the *Official Gazette* of the following 14 December, resolved the case of the five Chinese orphans and the remaining four Arab students in a speedily fashion: according to the new regulations, the *Asian College* could not provide boarding for students who had studied there for more than three years. Since all of these young adolescents had already sojourned in the College for 5 to 7 years, the Arab students were sent to Lebanon to teach Italian at an elementary school supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beirut. Among the five Chinese, two of them, Peter Pan and Louis Luo, were admitted as "extra staff" (*straordinari*) at the Ministry of Education in Rome with the remuneration of one hundred *lire* per month.[24]　Two others, Andrew Lu and Louis Zhang, found a job at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the rank of "clerks" (*scrivani*),[25]　while Richard Deng was sent to the Italian Legation in Shanghai with the task of interpreter.[26]

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[24]　Minister of Public Education to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rome, 12 February 1880, in COLLEGIO ASIATICO, ACS, b. 193.

[25]　*Ibid,* Minister of Foreign Affairs to the minister of Public Instruction, Rome, 27 March 1880.

[26]　Richard Deng would cause the Legation some worries, as appears from the *First Estimates of the Expenditure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Year 1883*, wherein it is written: "Concerning the interpreter working in China, is to be observed that a strong need has been felt, even before the Consulate in Shanghai was elevated to the rank of Legation, to dispose of an interpreter who knows both spoken and written Chinese, and who is not a native from the Celestial Empire. A student from the Asian College of Naples now performs the functions of dragoman, but he does not know the literary language well enough, so that he is not able to translate diplomatic documents": API, CD 1886, doc. 12–A, p. 9. Commenting on the note, the honourable Cavalletto said: "In the report, it is said that great difficulties are encountered to find interpreters in China and India. The Asian College of

4. THE TRIP OF F.-X. WANG TO HUBEI, THE INTRODUCTION AT THE ASIAN COLLEGE OF NAPLES OF YOUNG CHINESE DEEMED APT FOR THE PRIESTHOOD, AND THE UNPREDICTABILITY OF THEIR SUCCESS

The grievances of the Chinese orphans and of the Arab pupils had compelled the priests of the Holy Family, as soon as 1873, to transfer the young men lacking a vocation, and who had benefited little from their studies, to the non-ecclesiastic section of the Asian College. Francis Xavier Wang, who shared the concern of his congregation about a potential closure of the missionary section due to a lack of students, took a courageous decision during the 1875 summer. At that time, steamship navigation allowed one to reach the Celestial Empire within little more than a month. Wang decided to visit China during the school holidays, and to recruit young people of solid Catholic faith belonging to educated families. This would enable him to keep alive the missionary section that was now deprived of students and therefore of any reason to exist.

Having received the approval of Sisto Riario Sforza, Archbishop of Naples and apostolic visitor of what was still in

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Naples cannot provide apprentices for our legations in those countries, although it possesses a College of education in the language and the literature of China. According to the report, we have an interpreter from that College in Shanghai, who does not know literary Chinese, and who cannot translate diplomatic documents. I remember that the honourable minister of Public Education showed us last year a report of the investigation made by Professor Lignana on the *Asian College of Naples*. If the facts mentioned in the report are true, I believe that we should not tolerate even a day the continuation of that College". (API CD, 1883, pp. 1993–1994).

the eyes of *Propaganda Fide* the *Chinese College*, Wang left Naples in August 1875, [27] expecting to come back at the beginning of November during the same year. He visited Hankou (漢口) in Hubei (湖北) province, where the problem of finding suitable individuals for his project appeared more difficult than expected, since the apostolic vicars refused to entrust him with the young promising talents that he needed. Thanks to the help of father Giuseppe Maria Guo, he eventually received the care of four young children from families almost noble and fervent in their Catholic faith, who consented to the transfer of their sons to Naples under the understanding that they would receive a good education preparing them for the priesthood and for the missionary apostolate.[28] Because of the difficulties he had encountered, Wang, instead of returning to Naples in November 1875, arrived by train on February 12, 1876, after having reached Brindisi by steamship on the previous day. He was accompanied by the pupils Stefano Deng (Deng Wenshuang 鄧文爽), Giovanni Battista Zhang (Zhang Liansan 張連三), Giovanni Evangelista Lu (Lu Bingren 陸秉仁), and Simone Wang (Wang Yongzhen 王永振) who was his nephew. Wang thought that he had solved the most serious and urgent problem of the ecclesiastic section of the *Asian College*, and he nourished great hopes for the four boys he had brought to Naples. He wrote to Bartholomew Lu (Lu Lemo 陸樂默), a missionary born in Jiangsu (江蘇) who had been educated in Naples, was working in Eastern Hubei and had collaborated

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[27] CV, APF, b. 13, ff. 380–381, Giovanni Maria Falanga to Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, from Naples, dated from 4 August 1875.

[28] *Ibid*, ff. 427–428, letter of Francis Xavier Wang to Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, from Naples, dated from 12 August 1878.

with Joseph Maria Guo for the recruitment of the four boys sent in Naples:

> "Concerning the four young men, please read the letter addressed to Don Giuseppe Maria Kuo; here I only add that their recruitment and their safe arrival to our beloved College has entirely resulted from the good providence of God, who has been at the initiative of the project and has protected it continually. To Him belong praise, glory and honour as well as to the Holy Family, to which we have the honour to belong".[29]

Despite the affectionate relationship that he would always maintain with the four young Chinese, Francis Xavier Wang soon felt new motives for bitterness and disappointment. How old were they exactly at the time of their arrival in Naples is not known. We can only trace back the geographical locations of their origins: Giovanni Battista Zhang and Giovanni Evangelista Lu were both from Jiangsu province. The former was born in Huating (華亭) and the latter in Jiangning (江寧). Stefano Deng came from Hubei province and was born in Mianyang (沔陽), and Simon Wang was born in Wanping (宛平) in the province of Zhili (直隸).[30] Michele Kerbaker, who supervised the examinations of students belonging to the non-ecclesiastic section during the year 1876–77, noted the following observations on July 19, 1877, when he was drafting his final report:

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[29] 王佐才 Wang, Zuocai, *Lettere*, 433.243, to Bartolomeo Lu, from Naples, dated from 18 February 1876. Concerning Bartolomeo Lu (陸樂默 Lu Lemo) see KUO, J. M. (郭棟臣) 1917, p. 4, n. 76.

[30] KUO, J. M. (郭棟臣) 1917, p. 6, nn. 95, 96, 97, 98.

"Presently, the ecclesiastic section consists of four
pupils from China: Stefano Ten, aged 15;
Giovanni Cian, aged 10; Simone Wam, aged 9,
and Giovanni Lu, aged 9. I have not seen them at
the exams, nor been able to consult any report
concerning the nature of their studies and the
pace of their progress, since they belong to the
ecclesiastic section. On the last day of the exams,
they have been presented to me by their
professor of Chinese (father Wam of the boarding
school), from whom they learn the basic notions
of their native language. On this occasion, two of
them have been interviewed by the director of
studies Di Murro who addressed them a few
sentences in Italian which they barely
understood".[31]

If the information provided by Kerbaker is correct, at
least three of the Chinese had been brought to Naples at an
age too young to allow anyone to be confident about the
solidity of their vocation. Matteo Ripa himself had already
made the same mistake before, when he brought in Europe
the young Lucio Wu. Facts would soon demonstrate the lack
of maturity of part of the students. Two letters of Stefano
Deng and Giovanni Battista Zhang have been conserved,
undated, which have certainly been written before the
summer of 1877. The first is addressed to "Dearest Prefect",
and the second to "Most illustrious (*ornatissimo*) Director".[32]

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[31] *Relazione sugli esami finali dati nel R. Collegio Asiatico nel mese di luglio dell'anno scolastico* 1876–77, in COLLEGIO ASIATICO, ACS, b. 89.

[32] *Ibid.*, in the *Relazione*, cit. *supra*, Kerbaker quotes passages from the second letter, which indicates that both letters are anterior to July 19, 1877.

In the former, both students complain, in the broken Italian that they had learned during little more than a year's time:

> "D. Francesco says I do not you two professors. There are two other professor. Francesco to teach other two to study Italian grammar all know. All us both none".[33]

In the second they repeat:

> "This College do not have a professor to teach us both Italian[34], which is why do not understand anything about [Italian].[35] They add: We do not want to wear the long gown because we do not want to become fathers.[36] They conclude: We above want to study, we do not want [to become] father".[37]

This latter sentence could mean that they wished to switch to the non-ecclesiastic section, which was located "above", on the upper floor of the Asian College, and that they absolutely did not want to become priests. Maybe they also did not want to have anything to do with Wang, who taught them Chinese and Italian. According to the most probable conjecture, Wang — who was capable of teaching Italian to Chinese students and Chinese to Italian students

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[33] *D. Francesco dice io non voi due professori. Sono altro due professore. Francesco insegnare altro due studiare grammatica italiano tutti sapere. Noi due tutti niente.*

[34] *Questo Collegio non avere professore insegnare noi due studiare italiano.*

[35] *non capisce niente parlare [italiano].*

[36] *Non voliamo vestire abito lungo perché non fare padre noi.*

[37] *Noi voliamo sopra studiare non voliamo padre.*

quite well, as his booklet of Italian-Chinese conversations entitled *Vocaboli Usuali e Domestici con Frasi Semplici e Dialoghi Facili e Brevi*, published in Naples in 1874,[38] can attest — realized that Stefano Deng and Giovanni Battista Zhang had no desire whatsoever to become priests. He therefore focused his attention on the formation of Simone Wang and Giovanni Evangelista Lu, leaving the other two students to their destiny. The lack of success of all four was notified to *Propaganda Fide*, which ordered Wang during the summer of 1878 to send them back to China. Wang managed to avoid this outcome, invoking the situation of "extreme hardships" in which the Celestial Empire found itself "due to persecutions and hunger, which have led to, and still continue to cause the death of millions and millions of people."[39]

5.　THE DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN F.-X. WANG AND R. DE MARTINIS C.M.

The troubles of Francis Xavier Wang had just begun. *Propaganda Fide* had become wary against two members of the Holy Family, Giovanni Maria and Luigi Maria Falanga, who were perceived, not without reason, as pro-liberal and as *de facto* leaders of the *Chinese College*. In reaction, *Propaganda Fide* had appointed since 1856 a supervisor of the Congregation of the Holy Family, in other words an "apostolic visitor", who was initially the archbishop of Naples Sisto Riario Sforza.

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[38]　FATICA, M., 2005, pp. 215–255.

[39]　CV, APF, b. 13, ff. 427–428, letter of Francis Xavier Wang to Giovanni Simeoni, dated from 12 August 1878, quot. *supra*.

After his death, which occurred in 1877, the same task was assigned to the bishop of Sora, Ignazio Persico (1823–1895). Since Persico did not reside in Naples, he appointed father Raffaele De Martinis, who belonged to the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians) and was an expert in missionary law, "pro-visitor" in July 1880, and asked him to follow the affairs of the *Asian College* more closely. De Martinis lived in Naples *via Salvator Rosa*, not far from the main house of the *Asian College* located at the top of the slope named *Salita dei Cinesi* leading to the church *Santa Maria della Sanità*. Although he never lived within the Institute, he began to deal with its internal affairs, particularly with those of the missionary section made up of the four Chinese brought in Naples by Francis Xavier Wang in 1876. After the first difficult years of acclimatization, Wang's relationship with the most recalcitrant elements of the group had become much more relaxed. Michele Pacifico, from the Holy Family congregation, took care of them as spiritual director. Father Antonio Tagliabue, from the *Institute for Foreign Missions of Milan*, a former missionary in Hyderabad who had been invited in 1878 to teach Urdu and Hindi at the Asian College, was their teacher of Italian. Francis Xavier Wang himself was their teacher of Latin, as well as of spoken and written Mandarin Chinese. After a few months, De Martinis took the decision to sack Michele Pacifico, "because he instilled in Dr. Francis Wam and in the boys ideas of revolt", acknowledging that he (*i.e.* De Martinis) had needed to "overcome considerable resistance from them [the boys] due to the insinuations of Pacifico and Wam".[40] The same De Martinis took care of the

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[40] *Ibidem*., ff. 513–514, letter of Raffaele De Martinis to Antonio Agliardi, s.d., but presumably written in May 1881.

four Chinese students from May to December 1881. At this stage, taking advantage of "a moment during which father Wam was absent", he delegated his task to Nicolangelo Magno, belonging to the Holy Family. This decision sparked off a strong protest from Chinese students, who were so traumatized that they felt as if they had been "struck by lightning". They wrote to *Propaganda Fide*, accusing both Magno and De Martinis. About the former, they wrote:

> "... he has always been for us a subject of scandal. On every occasion, he drinks wine in front of us, and then utters meaningless speeches. He smokes continuously at home and produces an indescribable stench that can even be felt by passers-by [...]; he has mistreated, abused and offended our father Wam ...".

They did not provide a better assessment about the latter either:

> "Of all these evils [...] the real cause is father De Martinis. We can certify to Your Eminence, without exaggeration, that he has shocked us every time we have met him, first by repeatedly lying, and secondly, by uttering bad things about our superiors..."[41]

This letter was written in an Italian too correct to let one dismiss the suspicion that it had been dictated by Wang. It was considered as a true declaration of hostilities by De

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[41] *Ibid.*, ff. 510–511, letter of Stefano Deng, Giovanni Battista Zhang, Simone Wang and Giovanni Evangelista Lu, to Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, dated from 31 December 1881.

Martinis, who resorted to all means to paint Wang in bad light before *Propaganda Fide* and to obtain his dismissal from Naples.

Between 1881 and 1882, De Martinis used his relationships to finalize the transfer of the *Asian College* under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He trumpeted the advantages that Italy - which lacked the means to pursue a policy of aggression similar to that of Britain and France - could gain in China by the means of missionaries and Chinese language experts trained in Naples. The group of Orientalists resisted, wishing to maintain the moral and juridical status of the College under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, whose minister, Guido Baccelli (1832-1916), signalled the "need for a new evaluation, especially of the educational part" of the Neapolitan institution, before giving his approval to the transfer. Baccelli entrusted the task of the evaluation to the already mentioned James Lignana, whom he considered as a "highly competent person".[42] The report of Lignana, published in early 1882, was strongly worded, as could have been expected from the character of its author. It dismissed the idea of transferring the *Asian College* under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and harshly attacked members of the Holy Family as well as the new curator of the Institute, Giacinto Bagatta, who was also supervisor of the classical college *Antonio Genovesi*. His report accused all the parties involved, but spared Francesco Xavier Wang, professor of Chinese, Gherardo De

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[42]   API, CD, 1882, pp. 8932–8933.

Vincentiis, professor of Persian, and Lupo Buonazia, professor of Arabic:

> "The teaching of Chinese, Persian and Arabic is provided by teachers highly competent in their field. This teaching is a clear fruit of the energy spent in preparing their textbooks and other publications. Their educational orientation, which does not depart from scientific principles, is mainly experimental and practical, as is appropriate for masters teaching in a school of this kind. Hindu is taught by a veteran missionary from India".[43]

Lignana added a special praise in favour of Francis Xavier Wang:

> "... among all these priests, Wam alone is a living example of the primitive tradition and an effective instrument of the civil and scientific transformation for which we strive; his merits are attributable to his piety, to his efforts for teaching Chinese in the non-ecclesiastic section as well as in the boarding section, to his singular modesty and to his commitment to the civil and religious purposes of the institution...".[44]

Raffaele De Martinis carefully read Lignana's report and drew from it the conviction that Wang, being the only priest

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[43] LIGNANA, G. 1882, p. 13. Because of the attack directed against the brothers Farina, who rented some premises of the *Asian College* in Eboli, the report became the subject of a question raised at the Legislative Assembly, which gave rise to heated debates: API, CD, 1882, pp. 8930–8933.

[44] LIGNANA, G. 1882, p. 32.

of the Asian College praised by Lignana, who was a Freemason, had become a dangerous element rallied to anticlerical forces[45]. The need to have Wang moved away from Naples became for him an obsession. The destination that he planned for Wang has the bitter taste of a cruel punishment, which nobody could have conceived without being overwhelmed by deep feelings of resentment: under the title of "China's first apostolic missionary", Francis Xavier Wang would need to go to Australia, more precisely to Sydney, together with his nephew Simon Wang, and to care for the spiritual needs of the Chinese communities that were growing in that distant country. *Propaganda Fide* did not try to play for time, which would only have provoked further solicitations from De Martinis. But *Propaganda* was also reluctant to let people understand that the task of evangelizing the Chinatowns of Australia had been imposed by De Martinis.[46] It would have wished to present Wang's mission as being his personal decision. The content of *Propaganda*'s letter can be deducted from Wang's reply:

> "With deep respect, I hasten to answer your
> venerated letter no. 4527 dated from the 30th of
> last month. I humbly stress that I have never

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[45] CV, APF, b. 13, ff. 515–516, letter of Raffaele De Martinis to Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, dated from 28 January 1882.

[46] *Ibidem*, f. 576, letter of Raffaele De Martinis to Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, from Naples, dated from 27 July 1886: "I take this opportunity to remind you that since last month, one has been expecting that father Francesco Wam and his companion would be notified the need to leave for the Mission in Australia, but until today I have received nothing. I pray Your Excellency to tell me whether this delay is due to the great number of matters that need to be treated, or whether it is due to the modifications that must be brought to the arrangement. I can no longer keep the catechist in Naples. The government has provided money for the repatriation and I do not know what I should do".

decided myself to go to Australia's missions. In July of last year, Your Eminence has honoured me with a letter, which ordered me to leave for the mission of Sydney together with the Chinese student Simon Wam. This is why I have humbly answered you, assuring you that I would be ready to leave at once if my poor health allowed me to do it and if the College of Naples provided me with the necessary appropriate means. I humbly add now that my health has worsened, that the Chinese student whom Your Eminence had assigned for me as a companion has totally rejected this project, and that the gentlemen who administer the college have not responded to my solicitations asking for the means for the departure and for the journey".[47]

It was a refusal, albeit delivered with kindness, which was Wang's innate quality. *Propaganda Fide*, in order to satisfy De Martinis to some extent, ordered Wang to move to Rome. However, the presence of the Chinese priest in what had become the state capital of Italy tormented De Martinis. The thought that the minister of Public Education might appoint him professor of Chinese at the University of Naples did not leave him in peace:

"Don Francis Wam distresses me. His situation in Rome, unemployed for a long period of time, will make him fall in the hands of the Ministry, which, following the suggestion of the professors of oriental languages in Naples, who are his friends,

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[47] *Ibid*, f. 580, letter of Francis Xavier Wang to Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, from Naples, dated from 4 October 1886.

will appoint him professor of Chinese at the university. We must save him at any cost. Since he does not want to leave for Australia or China, you must provide for his subsistence. If Your Eminence does not think that it is appropriate for him to remain in Mastai Seminary,[48] you can send him elsewhere, for instance to Brignole College in Genoa where he could teach Chinese. I cannot receive him in Naples, especially now that, during his absence, I have learnt all the evil that he has done to the College".[49]

6.   F.-X. WANG ASSOCIATE PASTOR OF CASTEL GANDOLFO.
HIS MENTAL DISEASE AND HIS RETURN TO CHINA

Fundamentally, Xavier Wang was not the kind of person who would consider his career as a prime goal for his existence. He considered the priestly life as a free commitment, which involved duties, notably the obedience to superiors. Already in 1885, the minister of Education had made known his willingness to assign him to a teaching position of Chinese at the University of Naples. But Wang replied to such proposal with the following letter, which demonstrates the high level of his moral standards:

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[48]   This Seminary is located in Rome.

[49]   *Ibid*, ff. 585–586, letter of Raffaele De Martinis to Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, from Naples, dated from 30 November 1886.

"I note with surprise from your highly esteemed mail dated from the 20th of the present month [February 1885] that Your Excellency, minister [of education], believes that I have not presented myself to the teaching of Chinese at the School of Oriental Languages whose classes are held within the precincts of the Royal University, because I was waiting for an official invitation. In reality, I could not have been waiting for an invitation that I did not solicit, since I am already occupied with my teaching of Chinese in the former school of father Ripa, reconstituted with the consent of Your Excellency, as you know. This school has already enrolled ten external students, to whom four resident students must be added. Due to my poor health, this occupation does not allow me to accept other charges. Being the guest of Mr. de Vincentiis and Mr. director Kerbaker, I have been forced to decline the honour you have bestowed on me due to the aforesaid reasons. What is more, I do not know for what reasons I should have considered your proposal, since my future hangs on pending judgments and conventions regulating the relationship between the institution to which I belong and the ministry. I have no idea of what the final arrangement will be, and I do not even know whether I shall remain in Naples or go elsewhere".[50]

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[50] COLLEGIO ASIATICO, ACS, b. 239, letter of Francis Xavier Wang to Giacinto Bagatta, "conservatore" of the *Asian College*, dated from 23 February 1885.

Pressed relentlessly by De Martinis,[51] *Propaganda Fide* was able to find a post for Wang as collaborator of the pastor of Castel Gandolfo. How could have reacted to such treatment a highly educated Chinese, who had already protested for being remunerated with an annual salary equivalent to less than half the scholarship given to an alumnus[52] when he was teaching at the *Asian College*? What Wang wrote from Castel Gandolfo to the prefect of *Propaganda Fide* was irreproachable:

> "... I accept to serve God, exercising the sacred ministry under the wise direction of this pious and zealous priest, without concern for my weak body and for the modifications of my environment and lodging conditions".[53]

Wang was forced to put an end to the teaching of Chinese that he had provided for almost 20 years, to leave Naples, the

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[51] CV, APF, b. 13, f. 589, letter of Raffaele De Martinis to Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, from Naples, s.d., within which he lamented the absence of Francis Xavier Wang from the missionary house of Montecitorio, where he wanted to send him.

[52] COLLEGIO ASIATICO, ACS, b. 193, *Memoriale di M. Kerbaker sulle condizioni morali e materiali fatte agli insegnanti della Scuola di Lingue Orientali del R. Collegio Asiatico*, dated from 7 September 1881: "It has happened once - and this remains a unique case in the annals of teaching - that a student was subsidized annually with 1000 pounds, while his own teacher of Chinese received an annual stipend of 480 pounds, under the specious and unsubstantiated pretext that, in quality of priest of the Congregation Ripa, he enjoyed free board and lodging, and that, as a kind of compensation for these advantages - inasmuch as he could provide for any compensation - he taught the four Chinese boarders who lived at the same place during the same period of time, keeping them also under his immediate supervision. As a result, the time and the efforts that he spent in the day school could not be considered as a distinct job, and his service in the boarding school was not remunerated less than those of any other professor."

[53] CV, APF, b. 13, f. 630, letter of Francis Xavier Wang to Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, from Castel Gandolfo, dated from 12 June 1887.

largest Italian city and his second home, to abandon his friends, connections, books and libraries, in order to rejoin a small town of the Alban Hills where he knew no one and where it would be difficult for him to discuss about cultural issues with the locals. However, the sufferings of this 44 years old man of poor health were not destined to end any soon.

Under the date of May 9, 1891, the secretary of *Propaganda Fide* notified, among others, De Martinis:

> "I take this opportunity to bring to your attention a painful piece of news. I have been informed the other day that father Wam, who exercised the sacred ministry in Castel Gandolfo, has shown signs of insanity. I hope that this terrible misfortune will end soon. Unfortunately, the latest information that I have received indicate that the evil has progressed. For the moment, it has been arranged that father Wam would be temporarily kept in a hospice".[54]

The mental crisis from which Wang suffered regressed after a couple of months. The Chinese priest recovered his normal health, and *Propaganda Fide* obtained for him, through the French Ambassador to the Holy See, a free ticket on a steamboat belonging to the *Messagerie* leaving Marseille on July 26, 1891 and heading for China.[55]

Before returning to his homeland, Wang emitted a modest desire: to be able to see Naples again, to greet his

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[54]　LD, APF, 1891, f. 359.

[55]　*Ibid*, 1891, f. 531, letter of the secretary of *Propaganda Fide* to the priest Ferdinando De Deo, dated from 17 July 1891.

friends, and to set foot in the Institute located on No 15, *via Salita dei Cinesi*, which in the meantime had become - since December 1888 – the *Oriental Institute*, whereas the former *Chinese College* had moved to *villa Petrilli a Capodimonte*, receiving the new title of *Chinese and Ethiopian College*.[56] But this too was refused to him. With a hatred that had not receded with time, De Martinis wrote to the prefect of *Propaganda Fide*:

> "D. Francis Wam has written to his friends in Naples and to Don Joseph Kuo that on the 17th [June 1891] he will leave from Marseille to China, and that he wants to sojourn in the College of Naples before his departure. I beg your Eminence to prevent his arrival, which would be detrimental to the College. What is more, I do not want, and I cannot receive him. What he did in the past against the Institute with his friends is already enough [...]. Let him go directly to Marseille from Rome".[57]

Arrived in Shanghai on August 29, 1891,[58] Francis Xavier Wang worked as *apostolic missionary* in the church of St. Matthew the Evangelist, in the city, already mentioned, of Tianmen, which belonged to the Eastern Vicariate of Hubei. About his activities in China, three documents have been conserved: one long report, undated, concerning the ten Christian communities living in the district of Tianmen;[59] a

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[56] *Ibid.*, 1891, f. 385.

[57] *Ibid*, f. 968, letter without date.

[58] 郭棟臣 GUO DONGCHEN, *Diario, 1844–1922*, 29 August 1891.

[59] 王佐才 Wang, Zuocai, *Varia*, **433**.244.

request written in Hankou dated from April 4, 1910, to Cardinal Giovanni Vives (1854–1913), prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Religious, asking the incorporation of members of the College of the Holy Family into the Congregation of Clerics Regular, commonly called the Theatines[60]; an obituary printed in Hankou by Samuele Sommavilla (索副監牧[61]), provicar of Eastern Hubei, dated from 民國十年夏歷八月初四日[62], which corresponds to 4 September 1921[63].

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[60] *Ibidem*, **433**.246.

[61] 索 [Suo] is the Chinese family name of Samuele Sommavilla [索尚德], born in Moena in the province of Trento on May 9, 1873. Sommavilla held in 1925 the office of pro-vicar [副監牧] of Eastern Hubei: SARTORI, C. 1926, p. 51.

[62] 王佐才 Wang, Zuocai, *Necrologium*, **433**.248.

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　　[摘 要] 王佐才，字化南，在意大利以 Francesco Saverio Wang 著稱。王佐才畢業於納玻里中華書院，其後留校執教。該校是馬國賢在（1711–1723）康熙、雍正兩朝做油畫和銅板畫畫師期間，於 1715 年在北京創立的。1724 年 11 月馬國賢從中國返回納玻里時，隨行者中有四名年幼的學生和一位中文老師。從此，開始了馬國賢的"通過中國人來皈依中国人天主教"的宏偉計劃。首先，年輕人要為做神父而做准備，在晉昇神父後，要重返中國並在那裡傳教。中文老師的任務在於讓年幼的學生繼續學習母語，並不斷深造他們的本國文學知識。中華書院也稱"中華－印度書院"，而實際上，沒有一個印度人踏進過學校的校門。1732 年 4 月 7 日克雷蒙十二世教宗 Corsini 在 Nuper pro 詔書中承認該校為學院。1861 年 3 月 17 日都靈（Torino）議會宣佈意大利統一以後，中華書院幾乎瀕臨關閉，但是支持把中華書院改為亞洲學院的人占了大多數。 因此，該校繼續為中國教會培養神職學生，同時也嚮社會招生，教授東方語言和國際外交語言（英語和法語），學校終於得以生存了下來。1868 年 11 月 25 日改體後的學院舉行了慶祝典禮，1869 年 11 月 1

日得到了政府的承認。王佐才 1861 年 12 月 31 日剛剛抵達那布勒斯的時候，意大利王國已經成為現實。王佐才於 1842 年 12 月 1 日出生在湖北省王家榨的應城，年紀輕輕就掌握了意大利語，從 1868 年起他在亞洲學院擔任該校的中文口語老師。1870 年 6 月 9 日意大利國王維多利奧·艾馬諾二世在佛羅倫薩接見第一個中國代錶團時，由王佐才擔任翻譯。王佐才為人謙虛、禮貌，不但中文學識淵博，而且拉丁文和意大利語也造詣非淺，他受到了來自同事和學生們的敬佩和愛戴。王神父還編寫了中文語法課本（1873 年，1897 年）和一本中意會話簡明手冊。這一切無形中讓王佐才多了一個敵人：拉斐爾·德馬第尼斯（Raffaele de Martinis），1880 年被傳信部任命為亞洲學院的 "監察員"。帶著這種敵視他下令把王佐才流放到澳大利亞，讓王神父到悉尼華人社團中去傳教（1886）。由於繁重的教學任務、撰寫教材，被迫到甘道爾夫城堡（Castel Gandolfo）去做當地的本堂助理神父，1891 年 5 月王神父精神失常了。情況稍有好轉後，又立即被送回了中國。他臨行前要求再看一眼那布勒斯的請求也斷遭拒絕。1891 年 9 月回到中國後，王神父在屬於湖北東境的天門地區的中國天主教社團中找到了一片安寧，直到 1920 年 9 月 1 日在那裡去世。

The Bible Condensed
in Latin Dactylic Hexameters and in
Chinese Classical Stanzas of Four Verses :

Francis-Xavier Wang's Rendering
of Genesis and Matthew's Gospel

Hua BAI

translated by François Barriquand

王佐才之拉丁文"雙句韵文"及中文
"七言詩體"的新、舊約縮譯

白樺

包智光　譯

　　[ABSTRACT] In 1992, a manuscript of Francis Xavier Wang's rendition of the entire Bible has been found in Italy, which possesses some very unique characteristics: each of the 314 pages of Wang's bilingual manuscript (including 17 blank pages) contains two lines of rhyming Latin verses and a Chinese quatrain comprising a total of 4x7 characters. Each quatrain can be considered individually as a short heptasyllabic poem. Wang's entire Chinese composition can also be viewed as a long poem comprising a total of 1188 verses. Wang's Latin verses cover almost every chapter of the Catholic canon of the Bible. His Chinese verses, although closely linked with the content of his Latin verses, follow their own eclectic and meaningful logic. Wang's main motivation for writing in rhymes and with rhythm has been, according to his own account, to ease the memory of the faithful who could learn the biblical narrative by

heart. For a variety of historical reasons, Wang's "Bible" has never been published.

The present article focuses on Wang's rendering of Genesis and Matthew's Gospel. It analyses the difficulties encountered by Wang in tackling with Chinese and Western differences in customs, languages, philosophy and religion, and highlights how he found ways to establish more links between both cultures. From the point of view of his Chinese identity, Wang's situation differed somehow from those of foreign missionaries in China, but his efforts ultimately rejoin those made by the early Jesuits in the celestial Empire: all of them have tried to find more cultural common ground between China and the Latin world and to reach a higher degree of integration between Catholicism and Confucianism in order to ease the spread of the Catholic faith in China.

The manuscript *Il Vecchio e il Nuovo Testamento* of Francis Xavier Wang (1842–1921) has been discovered in 1992 by Professor Michele Fatica in the convent of San Michele in Isola O.F.M. in Venice. This manuscript is now preserved in the Curia of the Venetian Province of the Order of Friars Minor. Its full title is *Vetus ac Novum Testamentum Carminibus Mnemonicis Comprehensum et in Tetrastichon Sinicum Versum a P[atre] D[omino] Francesco Wam M.A. (Old and New Testament condensed in memorizable verses and translated in Chinese tetrastichs by father Don Francesco Wam, apostolic missionary).* This autograph document of 314 pages bears the date of 1894.

The author of this manuscript is a Chinese priest who possessed a deep knowledge of the literary language of his country, as well as of Latin and Italian. His name is Wang Zuocai (王佐才, Wáng Zuǒcái). He was known in Italy under the name Francesco Saverio Wang. For brevity, we shall call him Wang.

Wang arrived in Naples in December 31, 1861. The significance of his work is closely linked to the history of the *Collegio dei Cinesi* in Naples. This College was founded in 1732 and became the *Royal College of Asia* in 1868 before being closed in 1888. It underwent a second birth under the name of the *Oriental Institute*. Hence was born the current *Oriental Studies University of Naples*, usually simply called "L'Orientale". In the *Royal College of Asia*, during more than a quarter of a century, Wang became a promoter of the Chinese language in Italy. Wang started to compose his poetical biblical synthesis and other works while he was working in this institution. He completed his biblical manuscript in China in 1894, three years after his last departure from Italy in 1891.

Wang's purpose was to offer young compatriots preparing themselves to work as catechists in China a tool for memorizing core episodes of the biblical narrative. He carefully selected some of the most salient features of the Sacred Scripture and expressed them with carefully weighted terms wherein he concentrated the depth of his wisdom and aesthetic intuitions. He used this biblical synthesis in his teaching of catechism in China for thirty years, until his death in 1921.

Wang's work is above all characterized by its originality. Attempts at condensing the biblical message have been made by several authors in the past. In 1642, the Jesuit missionary Guilio Aleni (1582–1649) composed the *Four Character Scriptural Classic of the Sacred Teaching of the Lord of Heaven* (天主聖教四字經文, Tiānzhǔ Shèngjiào Sì-Zì Jīngwén). This poetical rendering of the Gospel narrative has been printed

many times. The lay Catholic scholar Fei Chin-Pao[1] (費金標), who passed the imperial examination at the county level in 1905, published in Shanghai in 1912 a poetical rendering of the book of Tobias (多俾亞傳，鼓詞). In 1918, he also published in Yanzhou (兗州) a kind of biblical narrative of the Old Testament in verses entitled 聖教古史小説鼓詞 (Shèng-Jiào Gǔ-Shǐ Xiǎo-Shuō Gǔ-Cí, *Short Rhythmic Narration of the Ancient History of the Sacred Teaching*), comprising eight volumes.[2] Much more recently, Huang Zhicheng (黃志成, Huáng Zhìchéng) composed a poem of 144 verses of three characters entitled the *Good News in Three Character Verses*[3] (福音三字經, Fúyīn Sān-Zì-Jīng), starting with God's (上帝, Shàngdì) Creation and ending with the ultimate salvation of the world. On the Catholic side, Liu Shitong (劉峙同, Liú Shìtóng) composed a series of *Sunday Gospels Ode Poems*[4] (主日福音頌 , Zhǔrì Fúyīn Sòng) in pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic verses echoing the mass readings of the entire dominical liturgical cycle (years A, B, C). However, Wang's manuscript has no equivalent of its kind in terms of coherence and comprehensiveness, since it reviews in an extremely concise way the content of all the books of the Catholic

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[1]   Cf. Bernard Willeke, "Das Werden der chinesischen katholischen Bibel", pp. 124–138, reference 40 p. 131, in *Die Heilige Schrift in den katholischen Missionen*, Johannes Beckmann, Walbert Bühlmann and Johann Specker (eds.).

[2]   （1）：創世紀。（2）：出谷紀、戶籍紀、申命篇。（3）：約穌位傳、長老傳、盧德傳。（4）：前列王傳。（5）：中列王傳。（6）：後列王傳。（7）：大尼爾傳。（8）：愛斯德傳。

[3]   黃志成，黃冼劍，華馬國棟，《福音三字經》，24 頁，香港基督徒短期宣教訓練中心，約 1994。

[4]   劉峙同：《主日福音頌：五，七言古詩》，180 頁，台北：光啟（1985）。See also, from the same author,《頌天文集》，642 頁，台北：光啟（2005）。

biblical canon in succession. Its bilingual nature Latin-Chinese is also quite unique.

Among the manuscript's total of 314 pages, 209 are dedicated to the Old Testament and 95 to the New Testament. Each page contains a poetical condensed Latin rendering of biblical epidodes, followed by a corresponding Chinese quatrain.

Wang's Latin stanzas are composed of dactylic hexameters (also known as "heroic hexameters"). The rhythm of dactylic hexameters is traditionally associated with classical epic poetry in both Greek and Latin. Examples of Latin dactylic hexameters can be found in Cicero and Virgil's masterpieces.

Wang's Chinese text does not correspond to a mere translation of the Latin verses. It constitutes a composition of its own wherein the biblical narrative has been converted both faithfully and creatively by a scholar mindful of his roots and culture. Wang's Chinese verses all comprise seven characters. Chinese poems built upon this rhythm are called *Qi-yan-shi* (七言詩, Qī-yán-shī) *i.e.* heptasyllabic poems. The earliest known Chinese heptasyllabic poem is attributed to Cao Pi (曹丕, 187–226), and is entitled *Song of the Swallows* (燕歌行). In general, Wang's verses can be decomposed rather smoothly into a first set of four characters, complemented by a second set of three others. This regular pattern renders possible a melodic mode of recitation, which facilitates the memorization of the verses.

Wang's heptasyllabic verses are assembled into quatrains. Short poems composed of a single quatrain of heptasyllabic

verses are called *Qi-yan-jue-ju* (七言絕句, Qī-yán-jué-jù) in Chinese. The blossoming of *Qi-yan-jue-ju* can be traced back to the Southern and Northern dynasties (AD 420–589). In most *Qi-yan-jue-ju*, as in Wang's stanzas, the last characters of the second and fourth verses of each stance rhyme together.

The following presentation is devoted to Wang's rendering of (A) the book of *Genesis* (11 pages of manuscript in total) and of (B) *Matthew's Gospel* (14 pages of manuscript). The order followed in the presentation will be as follows:

I.   – Photos of the manuscript, followed by a printed version of the text.
II.   – Translation of the Latin and Chinese stanzas in English
III. – A brief commentary.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Vetus ac Novum Testamentum
Carminibus Menomonicis Comprehensum
et in Tetrastichum Sinicum Versum
a P[atre] D[omino] Francisco Wam
M[issionario] A[postolico] 1894

古經新經
助記詩明
辣丁漢字
神父王評

天主降生 1894

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT   CHINESE TEXT

The Old and New Testaments,   The Antique Classic and the
condensed in a poetic form easy   New Classic
to memorize   embrightened through poetry
and in Chinese strophes of   that can assist memory,
four verses,   composed in Latin and Chinese
by Reverend Father Francis Wang,   by Father Wang in the
apostolic missionary, 1894.   1894th year
                                     of the Incarnation of our God.

III. COMMENTARY

The first meaningful feature encountered in Wang's
Chinese rendering concerns the use of the character 經 (Jīng)
to designate *the Book* par excellence of the Judeo-Christian
culture. For cultivated Chinese people, 經 (Jīng) and 書 (Shū)
both refer to *canonical books* such as the *Five Classics* (五經,
Wǔ-Jīng) and the *Four Books* (四書, Sì-Shū). Other famous
books designed by the character 經 include the *Classic of the
Way and Virtue* (道德經, Dàodé Jīng) and the *Three Character
Classic* (三字經, Sān-Zì Jīng).

As Nicolas Standaert explains[5]:

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5   Nicolas Standaert, "The Bible in Early Seventeenth Century China", p. 46,
    in *Bible in Modern China, The Literary and Intellectual Impact*, edited by
    Irene Eber, Sze-Kar Wan and Knut Walf, Monumenta Serica XLIII, 1999.

When the Jesuits arrived in China in the seventeenth century, they were confronted with a society with a strong textual and canonical tradition. […] Their policy of accommodation is best illustrated by their choice of the word "jing" for the Christian scriptures. With this word they showed, on the one hand, that the West had a tradition of canonical writings. On the other, they tried to raise the Christian writings to the same level as the Confucian and Buddhist "jing".

One of the first translators of biblical texts, Manuel Dias jr. (陽瑪諾 Yáng Mǎnuò, 1574-1659), used the character 經 in his *Direct Explanation of the Holy Classic* (聖經直解, Shèngjīng Zhí-Jiě) composed between 1636 and 1642.

Robert Morrison (馬禮遜 Mǎ Lǐxùn, 1782-1834), who paved the way for the evangelization of Protestants in China, preferred to use the character 書 (Shū). He thus entitled his translation *The Holy Book of the Spiritual Heaven* (神天聖書, Shén Tiān Shèng Shū).

Wang's use of the character 評 (píng), which can mean *to appreciate* in the sense of *evaluating critically*, also deserves to be noted.

GENESIS

I. MANUSCRIPT

Fit Mundus. Formatus Homo. Mox peccat Adamus.
Cæde vagus; Colit urbem, artesque. Repullulat orbis.

造世造人人犯規
兄誅其弟走坤維
建城制藝古名哲
娶女嫁男天下為

(*) Numeri versibus affixi capitum omnium ordinum
observatum exhibent, et cujusque argumentum, indice
verbo subnotanto.

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT

CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 1) The world and

(Ch. 2) humanity are created.

(Ch. 3) Adam sins promptly.

(Ch. 4) Because of his fault, [Cain] becomes errant;

[His descendants] found cities and the arts.

(Ch. 5) The world becomes populated.

The world and

humanity are created.

Humans transgress the rules.

An elder brother murders his younger brother.

He errs around the earth.

Cities are built, crafts are developed and famous antique men develop their wisdom.

Men and women marry each other.

The world becomes populated.

(*) The numbers inserted in the verses display the order followed for all chapters. Their topic is indicated in corresponding phrases.

III. COMMENTARY

The Latin summary of the first five chapters of Genesis contains several omissions: Wang does not mention the Creator. He also skips the names of Adam, Eve and their children, and provides no detail about the different roles played by Adam and Eve in original sin.

After Cain's fratricide, the biblical text reads: *Then Cain went away from the presence of the Lord, and settled in the land of Nod, east of Eden.* (Gen. 4:16). This detail is omitted in Wang's Latin and Chinese renderings.

Wang's Chinese verses contain some interesting additions. The four characters 兄誅其弟 (xiōng zhū qí dì) specifically indicate that the elder brother murdered his younger brother. But perhaps the most significant peculiarity of Wang's Chinese text comes from the mention of the *antique renowned figures who developed wisdom* (古名哲, gǔ míng zhé). Wang may have felt it necessary to help Chinese converts envision Chinese and Biblical history in a unified way. In Chinese, the character 哲 (zhé) relates to the figures of the *virtuous sages* (聖哲, shèng-zhé) of Antiquity, the most famous of all being Confucius (c. 551-479 B.C.). Wang's *antique famous figures* (古名) could possibly refer to the legendary emperors Yao (堯 Yáo, traditionally c. 2356-2255 B.C.) and Shun (舜 Shùn, traditionally c. 2308–2208 B.C.), both reputed for their virtue and wisdom, although the title of *virtuous sage* (聖哲, shèng-zhé) rarely applies to them. The character 哲 (zhé) better corresponds to the inventor of Chinese characters Chang Jie (倉頡, c. 2650 B.C.), or possibly to the duke of Zhou (周公旦 Zhōu Gōng Dàn, ?-1105 B.C.), sometimes referred to as the *First Sage* (元聖, Yuán Shèng).

I. MANUSCRIPT
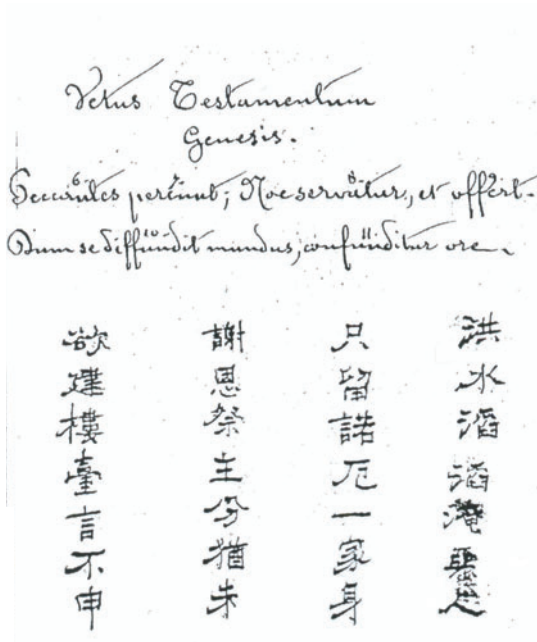
Peccantes pereunt; Noe servatur, et offert.
Dum se diffundit mundus, confunditur ore.

洪水滔滔淹惡人
只留諾厄一家身
謝恩祭主分猶未
欲建樓臺言不申

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT	CHINESE TEXT
(Ch. 6) Sinners (Ch. 7) are annihilated.	A terrible flood drowns evil people. Only Noah's family survives.
(Ch. 8) Noah is saved	He offers a thanksgiving sacrifice
(Ch. 9) and offers a sacrifice.	to God.
(Ch. 10) While society expands,	His descendents are not yet
(Ch. 11) languages become confused.	separated. They strive to build a tower. Their languages cannot communicate.

III. COMMENTARY

For the first time, Wang deals here with the transcription in Chinese of Hebraic anthroponyms. He transcribes the name of Noah as 諾厄 (Nuò'è), as was commonly done in 19th century Catholic catechisms.

All the indications provided by the Bible concerning Noah's ceremony of thanksgiving to the Lord and the sacrifice on the altar *of every clean animal and every clean bird* (Gen. 8:20) are condensed in four characters: 謝恩祭主 (xiè ēn jì Zhǔ, literally: *thank [God] for his grace and offer a sacrifice to the Lord*).

Ceremonies commemorating ancestors, 祭祖 (jì-zǔ), are particularly important and deep-rooted within Chinese culture. The expression 祭主 (jì-Zhǔ), referring to a sacrifice offered to the Lord, possesses a very similar pronunciation.

This correspondence may have been appealing to some Chinese converts.

On the other hand, Chinese tradition lacks any religious distinction between pure and impure animals. Wang ignores it altogether, both here in Gen. 6-9 and later in his rendering of Leviticus 17-26 where the Bible contains a detailed "Holiness Code".

The problem of the translation of the term *God*/*Deus* in Chinese (the so-called *Term Question*) is one of the most fundamental issues to which translators of the Bible in Chinese have been confronted. Wang uses here the term *Lord of Heaven* (天主, Tiān-Zhǔ) employed by the Jesuit Michele Ruggieri 羅明堅, (1543–1607) in his translation of the *Ten Commandments*[6]. Elsewhere, Wang also uses such variants as *Lord on High* (上主, Shàng-Zhǔ) and *Great Lord* (大主, Dà-Zhǔ) *etc*.

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[6] Cf. Zhang Xiping *et al* (eds.), *Xifangren zaoqi Hanyu xuexishi diaocha, Zhongguo Da Baike Quanshu Chubanshe*, 2003. p. 93 "羅明堅最早在肇慶寫《祖傳天主十誡》中借用"天主"一詞,《史記》封禪書中,"天主"只是八神之一的名稱,以後佛教在經書中也稱諸天之主爲"天主"。但經羅明堅之後,利瑪竇寫出《天主實義》等一系列書後, "天主"一詞被賦予了新的含義,成爲基督教中 "上帝", 拉丁文 "Deus" 的漢文表達。"

I. MANUSCRIPT
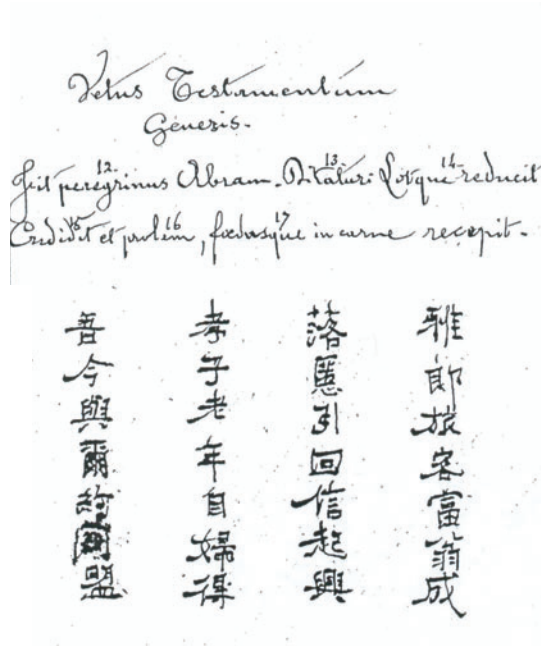
Fit peregrinus Abram. Ditatur. Lot que reducit:
Credidit et prolem, foedusque in carne recepit.

雅郎旅客富翁成
落恩引回信起興
孝子老年自婦得
吾今與爾約同盟

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT	CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 12) Abram travels
(Ch. 13) and becomes rich.
(Ch. 14) He brings back Lot [to
the Promised Land].
(Ch. 15) He believes [in the
promise]
(Ch. 16) that he will beget a
posterity,
(Ch. 17) and welcomes
the covenant in his flesh.

Abram travels and becomes rich.
He brings back Lot [to the
Promised land].
He believes [in the promise]
that he will establish a posterity.
When he becomes old,
his wife gives birth to a filial son.
[God says:] "Today,
I establish my alliance with you".

III. COMMENTARY

After the transcription of Noah (諾厄, Nuò'è), Wang deals with two new names: *Abram* and *Lot*, which he transcribes as 雅郎 (Yǎláng) and 落惡 (Luòtè). The character 雅 (Yǎ) means *elegant, noble*, and 郎 (láng) can be translated as *lord*. The combination of these two characters bears some degree of correspondence with the etymological meaning of *Abram*, which can be translated as *father of elevation*, or *elevated father*. The longer name *Abraham*, which Abram receives in Gen 17:5, literally means *father of a multitude*. Wang carefully distinguishes between the two spellings *Abram* and *Abraham* in Latin. This distinction disappears in his Chinese text, since *Abraham* also appears to be transliterated by 雅郎 in Gen. 22. The monosyllabic name *Lot* (in the Vulgate: *Loth*) is

transcribed by Wang in the same way as *Noah*, i.e. in a *phonetic* way that reproduces the pattern formed by a Chinese surname followed by a single character name. Wang uses the same pattern for the transcription of all the disyllabic names that we shall meet throughout the work.

The concept of *filial son* (孝子, xiàozǐ) is related to one of the pillars of the Confucian doctrine, and refers to the obligation of children to respect their parents. Such an obligation is particularly emphasized in the *Three Character Classic* (三字經, Sān-Zì-Jīng), a manual that young Chinese pupils had to learn by heart in previous times. This obligation corresponds to the divine commandment: *Honor your father and mother*.

Wang omits any explanation of the symbolical meaning of the name *Abraham* and any reference to circumcision, a practice unknown within Chinese culture. He speaks only of an *alliance* (盟, Méng), which lies at the heart of Old Testament theology.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Frustra orat. Sulphur pluit. Hinc Moabus et Ammon.
Sara soror, conjuxque Abrahae parit. Ejicit Agar.

苦求不允下琉黃
馬布昂蒙為兩邦
撒瑯妹妻生愛子
丫佳受逐之他方

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT   CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 18) [Abraham] prays in vain   [Abraham] insistently begs,
[that the Lord may spare   but his prayer is not granted.
Sodom and Gomorrah].   Sulphur rains.
(Ch. 19) Sulphur rains.   Moab and Ammon
Henceforth Moab and Ammon   become two peoples.
[become two peoples].   Sarah, sister and wife [of Abraham]
(Ch. 20) Sarah, sister and wife   gives birth to his favorite son.
of Abraham, (Ch. 21) gives birth.   Hagar is exiled to another country.
She expels Hagar.

III. COMMENTARY

The indecent features contained in chapters 18-21 of Genesis could have become the cause of scandal, or at least incredulity, if they had been rendered by Wang in the crudeness of the biblical language. Wang's epitome does not mention the incest committed unwittingly by Lot with his two daughters "who had not known any man" (Gen. 19:8). The presentation of Sarah as Abraham's *sister* (妹, mèi) and *wife* (妻, qī) may seem ambiguous, although Chinese mythology also contains the story of a legendary couple who promoted the transition from barbarism to civilization: the emperor Fuxi (伏羲, Fúxī) and his sister and wife Nüwa (女媧, Nǚwā). Therefore, an educated Chinese might not react negatively towards an antique story playing with the ambivalence of a *pseudo* double bond considered incestuous in all cultures.

Wang uses the character 琉 (liú) to designate *sulphur*, whereas in later use[7] the slightly different character 硫 (liú), whose radical 石 (shí) symbolises a stone/rock, has prevailed. The spelling and intonation of both 琉 and 硫 are identical.

The transliterations used for Moab (馬布, Măbù) and Ammon (昂蒙, Ángměng) would not be easily identifiable without the corresponding Latin verses. Moab and Ammon are the names of the two sons issued from the incestuous unions of Lot's daughters, and are eponyms of two peoples which never had good relations with Israel.

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[7]　Even if the modern term 硫磺 was used for the first time in the book entitled *Géwù Rùmén* (格物入門) of William Alexander Parsons Martin (丁韙良 Dīng Wěiliáng, 1827–1916) in 1868, the spelling 硫磺 had not yet become widely used at the time when Wang finished his biblical composition in 1894. Cf. Federico Masini, "The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and its Evolution toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898". Journal of Chinese Linguistics, Monograph Series number 6, 1993, p.155, Appendix 1: Comparative Table of Chinese names of chemical elements.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Immolat affectu natum; sepelitque Maritam.
Sponsatur: geminos generat. Benedicitur Isaac.

雅郎祭獻親生郎
不日又埋可愛房
依撒娶妻產兩子
主恩主寵非尋常

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT   CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 22) [Abraham] sacrifices his   Abraham offers
son   his own son in sacrifice.
out of love [for God]   Shortly after, he also buries
(Ch. 23) and buries his wife.   his much beloved wife.
(Ch. 24) [Isaac] marries   Isaac marries and begets two sons.
(Ch. 25) and begets two twins   The grace and favor of the Lord
[Esau and Jacob].   are extraordinary.
(Ch. 26) Isaac is blessed [by the
Lord].

III. COMMENTARY

The most stringent test of obedience to which Abraham has been submitted corresponds to the sacrificial offering of his beloved son Isaac, a long-awaited son granted to him by divine grace.

Gen. 22 constitutes a historical turning point. It is reminiscent of the practice of the sacrifice of firstborns, preferably male, that was formerly widespread in the Near and Middle East where it served to propitiate divine favors. The relevance of Abraham's sacrifice becomes even greater in the New Testament, since this episode is read by Christians as a foreshadowing of God's willingness to sacrifice his own son Jesus, *Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world* (John 1:29).

Wang omits the happy ending of Gen. 22:12-13: at the very moment when Abraham raises his arm to slaughter Isaac, an angel appears who says: *Do not lay your hand on the boy or do anything to him; for now I know that you fear God, since you have not withheld your son, your only son, from me*. Then Abraham sees a ram and offers it up *as a burnt-offering instead of his son* (Gen. 22:12-13). Nevertheless, Wang mentions in Latin that Isaac is particularly blessed by the Lord. By contrast, the nicely redundant last verse of the Chinese stanza 主恩主寵非尋常 (Zhǔ-ēn Zhǔ-chǒng fēi xún-cháng), which means *the grace and favor of the Lord are extraordinary*, does not explicitly refer to Isaac.

Muslims remember the episode of Gen. 22 during their Great Feast (*Aid El Kebir*), but they replace Isaac by Ishmael, the son of Hagar and Abraham. They also identify the angel of Gen. 22 with the archangel Gabriel.

I. MANUSCRIPT
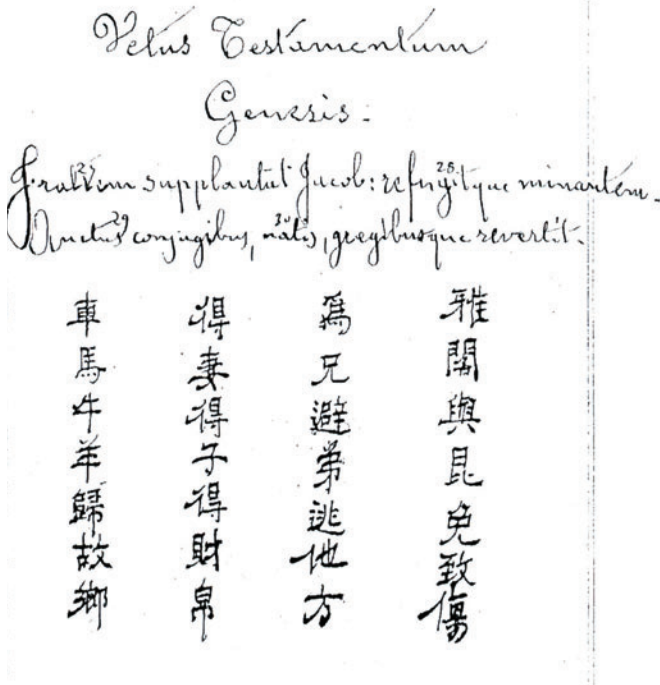
Fratrem supplantat Jacob: refugit que minantem.
Auctus conjugibus, natis, gregibusque revertit.

雅閣與昆免致傷
為兄避弟逃他方
得妻得子得財帛
車馬牛羊歸故鄉

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT	CHINESE TEXT
(Ch. 27) Jacob supplants his brother [in receiving paternal blessings]. (Ch. 28) He flees from [Esau] who threatens him. (Ch. 29) Rich in spouses, (Ch. 30) children and cattle, he returns [to the Promised Land]	Jacob and his older brother [Esau] avoid a harmful confrontation. Because of his elder brother, the younger brother avoids [confrontation] and flees to another country. He acquires wives, children and wealth. He returns to his homeland with all his chariots, horses, oxen, and sheep.

III. COMMENTARY

Competition between brothers is not an unusual theme in Chinese literature: in the 1694 anthology of classical essays entitled *Wonders of Classical Literature* (古文觀止, Gǔ-wén-guān-zhǐ), which young students were required to memorize in Wang's time, one passage taken from the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋 Chūnqiū, period 722–463 B.C.) reports the victory of *Zhèng* (鄭) over his younger brother *Duàn* (段).[8]

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8 The passage reads 鄭伯克段于鄢 (Zhèngbó kè Duàn yú Yān): The elder brother Zhèng defeated his younger brother Duàn at Yān.

In Genesis 27-31, it is the younger brother Jacob who successfully appropriates himself the privileges destined to his elder brother Esau and who receives the best part of his father's blessings with the complicity of his mother Rebecca. The Old Testament refrains from criticizing the behavior of Jacob, the ancestor of all Israelites. It also appreciates positively the fact that Jacob's spouses belong to his own people.

Wang's Latin epitome has preserved two details that may be perceived as immoral from a modern Christian point of view: Jacob (treacherously) *supplantat* (= *supplants*) his brother Esau, and acquires *conjugibus*, which is the feminine plural form of *spouses*. According to the Bible, Jacob has not only two wives, Leah and Rachel, but also two concubines, Zilpah and Bilhah, the two maidservants of his wives.

Comparatively, Wang's Chinese text is markedly toned down, since it omits Jacob's domination over his elder brother and remains vague about Jacob's polygamy: the expression 得妻 (dé qī), *to acquire wife(ves)*, can be understood in Chinese either in the singular or in the plural sense.

I. MANUSCRIPT
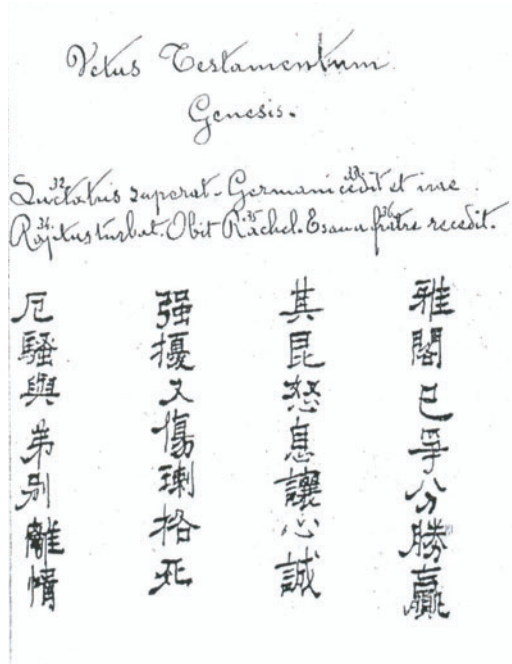
Luctatus superat. Germani cedit et irae.
Raptus turbat. Obit Rachel. Esau a fratre recedit.

雅閣已爭分勝贏
其昆怒息讓心誠
強擾又傷瑯格死
厄騷與弟別離情

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT

CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 32) [Jacob] fights and wins.
(Ch. 33) The anger of his brother wanes.
(Ch. 34) The rape [of Dina] causes distress.
(Ch. 35) Rachel dies.
(Ch. 36) Esau leaves his brother.

Jacob stops [on the northern side of the Jabbok], fights, succeeds [against God] and obtains victory [against men]. The anger of his elder brother wanes and makes way for a loyal attitude. A rape causes distress and suffering. Rachel dies. Esau parts away from his younger brother.

III. COMMENTARY

Genesis 32 represents a decisive moment in the biblical narrative. After having been kept away from the Promised Land during twenty years, Jacob comes back. While all Jacob's wives, children and servants cross a ford of the river Jabbok, Jacob, fearing his brother Esau, remains alone. During the night, he fights with an adversary who cannot overcome him. After having received a new name and having been blessed by his opponent, Jacob understands that this anonymous stranger was God himself and exclaims: *I have seen God face to face* (Gen. 32:31).

According to later traditions, God took the form of an angel. The fight between the angel and Jacob has inspired several paintings, among which those of Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) and Marc Chagall (1887–1985) can be particularly mentioned.

Wang is able to include many specific details in his Chinese text: the single character 已 (yǐ, which means here *to stop*) alludes to the fact that Jacob remains on one side of the river Jabbok (cf. Gen 32:24). During the night, Jacob fights (爭 zhēng = *to fight*) with a mysterious opponent who finally acknowledges Jacob's victory (Gen. 32:28). The character 分 (fēn) usually means *to separate*. It also appears in the expression 分勝負 (fēn shèng-fù), meaning *to obtain a victory* (literally: *to separate the victory from the defeat*). The doublet of the grammatically interchangeable characters (勝, shèng = *success/to succeed*) and (贏, yíng = *victory/to win*) perhaps alludes to the fact that Jacob has prevailed over divine as well as human beings according to Gen 32:28 (Vulgate: … *si contra Deum fortis fuisti quanto magis contra homines praevalebis*).

After Gen. 32-33, Wang reports the biblical episode wherein Simeon and Levi, two of the eleven children of Jacob, and eponyms of the corresponding tribes, avenge the rape of their sister Dinah in Shechem by slaughtering all the male inhabitants of Hamor.

Jacob's preferred wife Rachel (琍格, Làgé) dies during the birth of her son Benjamin, the last son of Jacob.

After the departure of Esau (厄騷, Èsāo), the Promised Land becomes the exclusive prerogative of the descendants of Jacob and his sons.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Dilectus venit Joseph. Geminos Thamar edit.
Castus, et interpres, de carcere clarior exit.

前來若瑟眞堪親
其婦妲媽生兩人
貞潔能通外國語
自牢舉出為王臣

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT	CHINESE TEXT
(Ch. 37) Joseph becomes the preferred [son of his father Jacob]. (Ch. 38) Tamar gives birth to two twins. (Ch. 39) [Joseph] is chaste (Ch. 40) and can interpret [dreams]; (Ch. 41) he gets out of custody with a brighter reputation.	Joseph surpasses [his brothers] and truly deserves paternal love. His [nephews'] wife Tamar gives birth to twins. Joseph is chaste and able to understand foreign languages. He gets out of prison and becomes minister of the king [Pharaoh].

III. COMMENTARY

According to Gen. 37:3, *Israel loved Joseph more than any other of his children*. This is rendered in Chinese by the expression 前來, meaning literally *to com*e *first* (*among Israel's sons*). In the Latin text, *venit* could correspond to the third person of the indicative present of *veneo = I am being sold*, but this interpretation is not supported by the Chinese character 來 *= to come*.

Wang's ultra-condensed narrative does not explicitly mention the betrayal of Joseph by his brothers (cf. Gen. 37:28). It even omits the fact that Joseph goes to Egypt. Nevertheless, Wang remains so faithful to the biblical account that he takes the pain to interrupt Joseph's story by incorporating the narrative digression of Gen. 38 in his synthesis. Wang thus

mentions the birth of Tamar's (妲媽, Dámā) twins (cf. Gen. 38:28-30). Both Matthew and Luke mention *Fares* (Matt 1:3) or *Perez* (Luke 3:33) among the ancestors of Jesus. This particular ancestor corresponds to one of the twins born from Tamar's incestuous intercourse with Judah. However, Wang mentions neither *Fares* nor *Perez* in his epitomes of Matt 1 and Luke 3.

In spite of its brevity, Wang's Chinese text contains a curious addition, according to which Joseph *could understand foreign languages* (néng tōng wài-guó yǔ, 能通外國語). This is obviously an echo (albeit quite unconventionally worded) of Joseph's ability to interpret dreams (cf. Gen. 40:12.18). Perhaps Wang, who made so many efforts to teach Latin and Chinese to several adolescents during many years in Naples, wished to encourage his Chinese audience to emulate Joseph's purported linguistic skills.

Wang's Latin stanza ends by the motto of Abbot Suger (c. 1081–1151), the influential first patron and designer of Gothic architecture. *De carcere clarior exit* literally means: *he comes out of prison brighter [than when he entered].*

I. MANUSCRIPT
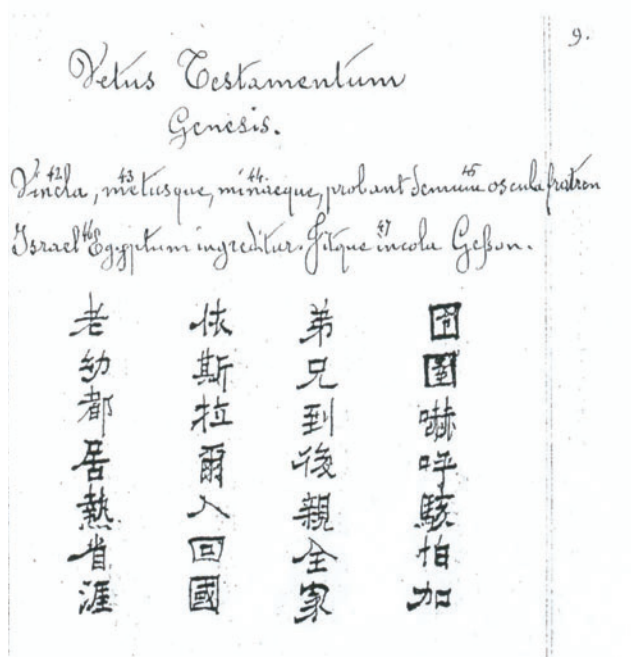
Vincla, metusque, minaeque, probant demum oscula fratrem.
Israel Egyptum ingreditur. Fitque incola Gesson.

图圉嚇呼駭怕加
弟兄到後親全家
依斯拉爾入回國
老幼都居熱省涯

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT

CHINESE TEXT

[The brothers of Joseph, except Benjamin, suffer from]
(Ch. 42) imprisonment,
(Ch. 43) intimidations and (Ch. 44) threats.
(Ch. 45) At last, kisses provide the proof that [Joseph] is their brother.
(Ch. 46) Israel enters into Egypt.
(Ch. 47) He becomes a resident of Gesson.

[The brothers of Joseph, except Benjamin, suffer from] imprisonment, intimidations and fear. On their return, the whole family is reunited. Israel enters an Islamic Country [Egypt]. Old and young settle together in the land of Gesson.

III. COMMENTARY

The biblical narrative of Gen. 42-47 can be summarized as follows: Due to a severe famine, Joseph's brothers go to Egypt to buy wheat. Joseph recognizes his brothers but decides to test them. He keeps Simeon as a hostage and demands that his brothers come back with Benjamin. The brothers come back to Egypt with Benjamin, hoping to buy grain a second time. Joseph secretly orders his steward to hide his silver cup inside Benjamin's sack. Benjamin is convicted of theft and (hypothetically) incurs the risk of being enslaved or executed. Judah offers to take the place of his younger brother. After seeing the solidarity of his semi-brothers for his full-brother Benjamin, Joseph reveals himself to them. A mutual kiss seals

their recognition (Gen. 45:15). The sign of the kiss is significantly absent from Wang's Chinese stanza.

Wang's use of the characters 回國 (*Huí-guó*) to designate the country of *Egypt* is intriguing: the same two characters have been used in China to refer to the country of Uighur people, a Turco-Mongol ethnic group established in the northwest of China. What is more, the expression 回回 (*huí-hui*) has been used to refer not only to Muslims, but also to all the adherents of "foreign" religions.[9]

The characters 熱省 (*Rèshěng*) correspond to the *Gessen* of the Vulgate, although Wang writes *Gesson* in his Latin text, perhaps under the influence of the Septuagint which uses the variant *Gosom*.

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9 cf. Matteo Ricci, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Macerata 2000, p. 93.

I. MANUSCRIPT
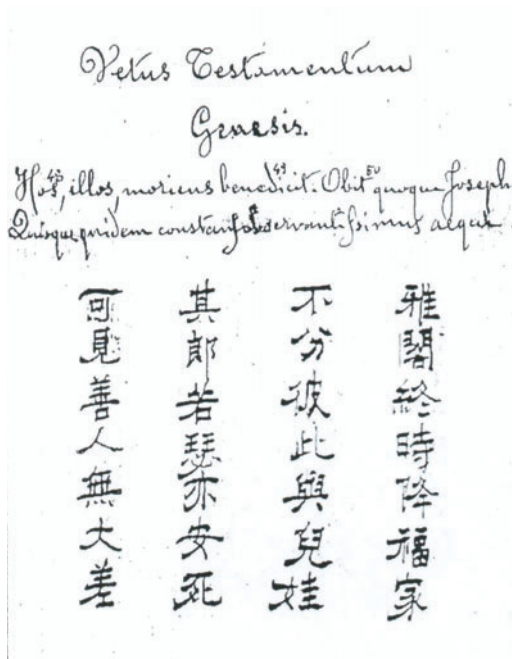
Hos, illos, moriens benedicit. Obit quoque Joseph.
Quisque quidem constans observantissimus aeque.

雅閣終時降福家
不分彼此與兒娃
其郎若瑟亦安死
可見善人無大差

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT	CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 48) [Jacob], (Ch. 49) dying, blesses these [his grandsons] and those [his sons]. (Ch. 50) Joseph also dies. Both of them [Jacob and Joseph] have truly been equally constant and most obedient [to God's will].

Jacob, dying, blesses all his family. He makes no difference between his grandchildren, sons and daughters. His son Joseph also dies in peace. One can see that they have been men of good virtue and exempt of major shortcomings.

III. COMMENTARY

All the complexity of Jacob's blessings to his sons has been lost in Wang's concise synthesis. Wang's compatriots would have been unlikely to find much interest in the details of prophecies concerning the twelve tribes of Israel. Chinese Christians residing in their own country might also have found it difficult to share the profound desire of the people of Israel to return to the Promised Land (*Then Israel said to Joseph: "I am about to die, but God will be with you and will bring you again to the land of your ancestors.*" Gen. 48:21).

Wang seems to have justly perceived that Chinese converts familiar with the *Classic on Filial Piety* (孝經, *Xiào Jīng*) and deeply convinced of the value of filial piety would appreciate the moving image of the patriarch Jacob blessing

on his deathbed all his children who were united and reconciled, as well as his grandchildren Manasseh and Ephraim.

The mention of *these and those* (*hos, illos*) in Wang's Latin text, as well as his attention to the fact that Jacob made *no difference between his grandchildren, sons and daughters* (不分彼此與兒娃, bù fēn bǐ-cǐ yǔ ér-wá), all correspond to Gen. 48:5, when Jacob declares to Joseph: *Your two sons […] are now mine*. Wang's account of the Old Testament appears to have been subtly "Christianized": in spite of Wang's declaration that Jacob made *no difference* (不分, bù fēn) between his children and grandchildren, Gen 48:19 indicates that Jacob did *not* treat Ephraim and Manasseh equally, and Gen. 49 further shows that the respective blessings granted by Jacob to his sons were in fact all markedly different from each other. Since Gen. 48-49 does not mention a single female figure among Jacob's descendants, Wang's implicit invitation to treat sons (兒, ér) and daughters (娃, wá) equally is also noteworthy, although its significance should not be overemphasized: the combination of the two characters 兒 (ér) and 娃 (wá) can often mean "children" without indicating clearly any sex distinction. Wang may also have been led to use the character 娃 (wá) in order to find a rhyme with the character 差 (chā).

The use of the character 差 (chā) is also worth noting. The last three characters 無大差 could be translated: *without any significant transgression (against Confucian morals)*.

MATTHEW

I. MANUSCRIPT

Jesum Virgo. Magi dant munera. Tollitur infans.
Vox et verbum ad aquas. Pugnat, vincitque triumphat.

童貞聖母生耶穌
盛禮三王獻別途
逃亂嬰孩滌洗勸
戰贏得勝神來扶

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT	CHINESE TEXT
(Ch. 1) The Virgin gives birth to Jesus.	The Holy Virgin Mother gives birth to Jesus.
(Ch. 2) The Magi offer presents. The baby is taken away [from Herod's grip].	Three Kings offer rich presents and return home by another way. The baby [Jesus] escapes from the massacre [of the Innocents].
(Ch. 3) The voice [John] and the Verb [Jesus] are at the water.	[Jesus] exhorts [John] to baptize him.
(Ch. 4) [Jesus] fights [against temptations] and triumphs victoriously.	His fight [against temptations] ends victoriously as the [Holy] Spirit supports him.

III. COMMENTARY

The New Testament begins with the Gospel of Matthew, the most "Jewish" of the four canonical Gospels. One of the aims of its redactor is to convince Jewish people and converts to Judaism that Jesus is the Messiah promised in the Old Testament. Most exegetes now believe that its two main sources are the so-called "Q-source" and Mark's Gospel, which is now usually considered as the oldest of the four canonical Gospels, although it has long been believed that Matthew was the oldest.

In Wang's Latin text, the two interrelated names *vox* (voice) and *verbum* (verb) are particularly rich in symbolical meaning. According to Matt. 3:3 (quoting Isa. 40:3), the voice

crying out in the wilderness corresponds to the prophet John. The *verb* corresponds to the *Logos* of John 1:1, *i.e.* the Son of God, already active at the Creation of the world.

At the end of the second Chinese verse, Wang adds a piece of information that does not appear in the Latin stanza: 別途 (bié-tú), literally meaning *other route*. These two Chinese characters allude to Matt. 2:12 which says that the Magi returned to their own country *by another road*.

At the end of the third Chinese verse, Wang summarizes Matt. 3:13-15 with only three characters: 滌洗勸 (dí-xǐ quàn). 滌洗 (dí-xǐ) means *to baptize/wash* and 勸 (quàn) *to exhort/convince*. This passage alludes to the scene wherein Jesus convinces a reluctant John to baptize him.

The second (贏, yíng = to win) and fourth (勝, shèng = to be victorious) characters of the fourth Chinese verse are partially covered by ink stains, which renders their deciphering quite difficult.

The three last characters 神 (Shén = the Spirit), 来 (lái = comes) and 扶 (fú = to support) refer to Matt. 4:11: *Then the devil departed from him, while the angels came and served him.*

I. MANUSCRIPT

Sis castus, mitis, fer, ama, doce, erisque beatus.
Clam da. Ora. Jejuna. Aurum, curasque caveto.

貞良忍愛誨真尊
暗施禱斋金莫論
鐵可害人比更害
詩翁早已作成言

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT   CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 5) Be chaste and gentle,   The True Majesty [Jesus] teaches
support [others], love,   us to be
instruct [others] and you shall be   chaste, meek, patient, loving,
blessed.   making alms in secret, praying,
(Ch. 6) Offer [alms] in secret.   fasting,
Pray. Fast. Avoid gold and anxiety   without boasting about money,
[for food].   which can be even more harmful
                                         [to others] than weapons of iron,
                                        as venerable poets have already said
                                                                   long ago.

III. COMMENTARY

Chapters 5-6 of Matthew's Gospel contain a collection of some of the most crucial parts of Jesus' teaching, known as the *Sermon on the Mount*, which also includes chapter 7.

The last words of Wang's Latin stanza are: *curasque caveto* (beware of worries). These two words correspond to Matt. 6:25: *Do not worry about your life, what you will eat or what you will drink…* One could have expected that the end of the Chinese stanza would formulate the exhortation *curasque caveto* in a more developed fashion. However, this does not seem to be the case, and Wang's Chinese text follows a more Chinese line of inspiration.

The deciphering of the last Chinese verses is rendered quite difficult by the state of the manuscript. The most problematic characters are: 鐵 (tǐe = iron), 比 (bǐ = in comparison), 詩 (shī = poem) and 翁 (wēng = venerable man). The character 鐵 means literally *iron*, but can also be used more metaphorically to refer to *weapons*, as seems to be the case here. It can be understood that the entire third Chinese verse serves to reinforce the injuction of the second verse 金莫論 (jīn mò lùn, literally: *do not talk about money*). Wang insists that cupidity can be even more harmful than the use of weapons made of iron. This exhortation might be an echo of Matt. 5:30: *if your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away. It is better for you to lose one of your members than to have your whole body go into Gehenna.*

The Chinese stanza is concluded by a reference to the 詩翁 (*shī-wēng*), literally the *venerable poet(s)*, who may correspond in a biblical context to the psalmists. The legacy of these venerable poets may correspond to the teachings of the Old Testament to which Jesus refers six times by using the stereotyped formula *You have heard that it was said…* in Matt 5. In fact, although three of Jesus' antitheses accept the Mosaic law while deepening it (Matt. 5:21-22, 27-28, 43-44), three other reject it as a standard of conduct for the disciples (Matt. 5:31-32, 33-37, 38-39), so that Jesus' *Sermon on the Mount* is certainly not a repetition of the Old Testament. But Wang did not have enough space to discuss such subtleties.

I. MANUSCRIPT
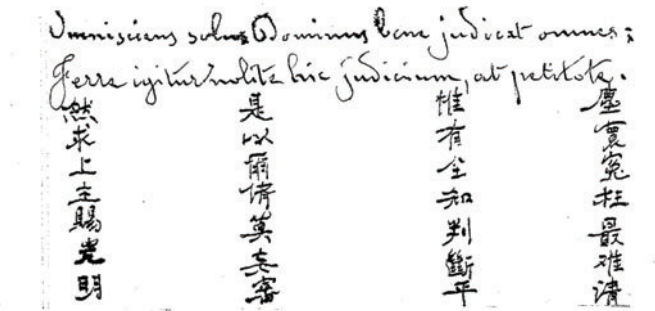
Omnisciens solus Dominus bene judicat omnes;
ferre igitur nolite hic iudicium, at petitote.

塵寰冤枉最難清
惟有全知判斷平
是以爾儕莫妄審
然求上主賜光明

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT   CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 7) Only the Lord knows   The accusations of injustice
how to judge all things well.   in the world
Therefore, do not judge;   are most difficult to clarify.
you will ask for vindication   Only the Omniscient can judge fairly.
[on the day of the Judgment].   Therefore, you should not judge
                                                        in vain,
                                           but pray the Supreme Lord
                                          that he may give you light.

III. COMMENTARY

As indicated by Wang, the present stanza echoes part of the content of Matthew 7, which starts with the imperative: *Judge not, that you may not be judged* (Matt. 7:1). Matthew 7 also contains several other commands, either negative (Matt. 7:6: *Give not that which is holy to the dogs*) or positive (Matt. 7:6: *Ask and you shall receive…*; Matt. 7:13: *Enter through the narrow gate…*; Matt. 7:15: *Beware of false prophets…*). However, Wang has chosen to concentrate solely on the imperative *do not judge*. He develops this exhortation in a *quasi* midrashic way. He draws a strong contrast between the limitedness of human understanding and the plenitude of knowledge of the Omniscient (全知, quán zhī = *knowing fully*), who is the only one in position to judge fairly. The third and fourth Chinese verses draw the consequences of this theological consideration in a more exhortatory style: you should not

judge (審, shěn) in *vain* (妄, wàng), but *pray* (求, qiú) that the *Supreme* (上, shàng) *Lord* (主, zhǔ) may *give* (賜, cì) you *light* (光明, guāng-míng).

Wang's use of the term 上主 (Shàngzhǔ) to designate God is noteworthy. Although 上主 (Shàngzhǔ) can be literally translated as *Lord on High*, it is perhaps better in the present case to treat the character 上 (shàng) as a superlative meaning *highest*, so that the English translation *Supreme Lord* seems rather accurate. Wang was certainly well aware of the decisions contained in the Constitution *Ex Illa Die*, promulgated on the 29th of March 1715 by Pope Clement XI, which ordered that all Catholics in China should name God (*i.e. Deus*) with the Chinese term 天主 (Tiānzhǔ = *Lord of Heaven*). *Ex Illa Die* explicitly prohibited two hotly debated designations: 天 (Tiān = *Heaven*) and 上帝 (Shàngdì = *Emperor/Patriarch on High*), a term that was destined to become popular among Protestants in China during the second half of the 19th century. On the other hand, *Ex Illa Die* did not explicitly mention any other possible divine appellations such as 神 (Shén = *Spirit/Divinity*) and 上主 (Shàngzhǔ = *Supreme Lord*). The expression 上主 (Shàngzhǔ) is likely intended by Wang to serve as an equivalent of the Latin word *Dominus* (in Greek: *Kurios*). 上主 (Shàngzhǔ) has now become a common divine appellation among both Protestants and Catholics in China.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Lepra, stupor, febris, venti, Dæmonque recedunt.
Vocem, oculos, fluxum, vitam, et peccata remittit.

癩瘋癱風魔退身
痘兒瞎子血流人
迴生起死只開口
赦罪施恩寵命新

II. TRANSLATION

| LATIN TEXT | CHINESE TEXT |

LATIN TEXT

(Ch. 8) Leprosy, paralysis, fever,
gales and demons back off.
(Ch. 9) [Jesus] restores the voice
[of the mute], the sight
[of the blind],
halts a flow of blood,
restores life, forgives sins.

CHINESE TEXT

Leprosy, fever, ulcers,
gales and demons back off.
[Jesus] only needs to open
his mouth
[to heal] a dumb child, blind men,
a person suffering from a
flow of blood
and to bring a dead back to life.
[He] absolves sins, distributes
graces and entrusts his disciples
with a new mission.

III. COMMENTARY

In the first Latin verse, the two clearly identifiable diseases *lepra* (leper, cf. Matt. 8:1-4) and *febris* (fever, cf. Matt. 8:14-15) are quoted together with *stupor*, which may possibly mean numbness/insensitivity. It can therefore be associated with *paralysis* (cf. Matt. 8:5-13, where the Vulgate explicitly uses the term *paralyticus*). The Chinese text also refers to leprosy (癩, lài) and to a very strong kind of fever through the character 瘧 (nüè), which usually refers to *malaria*. Wang could easily have referred to *paralysis* through the term 癱 (tān). Instead, he uses the character 癰 (yōng), which, in spite of its graphic similarity with 癱 (tān), has nothing to do with paralysis since it refers to *carbuncles* or *ulcers*. The use of 癰 (yōng) is not easy to explain since Matt. 8 contains no

reference to any corresponding skin disease apart from the lepra of Matt. 8:1-4.

The Latin *venti* and the Chinese 风 (fēng = wind/gale/typhoon) reflect the passage of Matt. 8:23-27: "They were amazed, saying, *What sort of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?*."

The Latin expression *dæmonque recedunt* and the Chinese phrase 魔退身 (*Mó tuì-shēn*, meaning literally: *demons withdraw from the body*) refer to the pericope of Matt. 8:28-34: "… The demons begged him, *If you cast us out, send us into the herd of swine*. And he said to them, *Go!* So they came out and entered the swine…"

Although the Chinese character 魔 (*Mó = evil spirit/demon*) does not seem out of place in Judeo-Christian writings nowadays, this character originally corresponds to an abbreviation of the ancient transliteration 魔羅 (*Móluó*) which comes from the Sanskrit *Mara*. According to Buddhist tradition, *Mara* is the demon who tried to tempt Gautama Buddha before he received the illumination.

The last Chinese characters of the stance, 命新 (mìng xīn), respectively mean *mission/to give a mission* and *new/to renew*. Both refer to a passage that is not mentioned in Wang's Latin summary: "…the harvest is plentiful, but the labourers are few; therefore ask the Lord of the harvest to send out labourers into his harvest" (Matt. 9:37-38).

I. MANUSCRIPT

Bis senos mittit, quibus est data summa potestas.
Quæ laus? Quæne minae, et confessio? Quam leve pondus!

十二宗徒傳教差
賜之權柄大無涯
前驅若翰舉揚畢
嚇告任輕如細柴

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT	CHINESE TEXT
(Ch. 10) He sends the twelve disciples,	[Jesus] sends twelve apostles to spread his teaching.
to whom he confers the highest power.	He confers them unlimited power.
(Ch. 11) What praise [does John the Baptist deserve]?	The precursor John [the Baptist] is exalted [by Jesus]. [With him] finishes [the time of the Old Testament].
What kind of threat [does he pronounce against Chorazin and Bethsaida],	[Jesus] threatens [Chorazin and Bethsaida]
and what kind of confession [does he make about his Father]?	and tells [people] that the charge [of being a disciple] is light as kindling.
How light the burden [of Jesus' disciples]!	

III. COMMENTARY

The gist of Matthew 10 appears quite well summarized by the first Latin dactylic hexameter as well as by the first two Chinese verses: the calling of the twelve apostles constitutes the most decisive act of the chapter. The three characters of the first Chinese verse 傳教差 (chuán-jiào chāi) literally mean *to appoint* (差, chāi) *to spread* (傳, chuán) *a teaching* (教, jiào). This corresponds to the Latin *mittit*. According to Wang, Jesus confers *supreme* (summa) or *boundless* (無涯, wú-yá) *power* (權柄 quán-bǐng) to his apostles, which corresponds to Matt. 10:1: *Jesus gave the Twelve authority over unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to cure every disease...*

The interrogative punctuation contained in the second half of the Latin stanza reflects the dialogic nature of most of chapter Matt. 11: In Matt. 11:7-10, Jesus asks the crowds about John the Baptist: *What did you go out into the wilderness to look at? A reed shaken by the wind? […] What then did you go out to see? A prophet?....* In Matt. 11:11, Jesus exalts (舉揚, jǔyáng) John the Baptist, saying: *In truth I tell you, of all the children born to women, there has never been anyone greater than John the Baptist….* The single character 畢 (bì = to end) allows Wang to supply an information that does not figure in his Latin version: it indicates that the era that served as a preparation for the coming of the Messiah is concluded (畢) with the mission of John the Baptist.

In Matt. 11:23, Jesus further asks about Capernaum: *And you, Capernaum, will you be exalted to heaven?* Although Jesus' later "confessio" of Matt. 11:23 (according to the Vulgate: *Confiteor tibi Pater Domine caeli et terrae…*) is not itself interrogative, Wang has legitimately taken into account the fact that it serves as a response to the disciples' perplexity: Matt 11:23 indicates that *at that time Jesus answered…*

In the fourth Chinese verse, 任 (rèn = charge, mandate) corresponds to the burden of Jesus' followers. Jesus uses the metaphor of the *yoke* (Matt. 11:30) to reassure his disciples. Wang echoes it with 細柴 (*xìchái*), *i.e. kindling*.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Novum Testamentum.　　213,
Evangelium Matthæi.

(Spica,¹² manus. Dæmon. Blasphemia, Signa, propinqui.
Discipulis aperit, turbis arcana recondit.

百姓耳聞而眼觀　門徒譬喻明明解　求奇言辱親來看　拔穗驅魔醫手乾

Spica, manus. Dæmon. Blasphemia. Signa, propinqui.
Discipulis aperit, turbis arcana recondit.

拔穗驅魔醫手乾
求奇言辱親來看
門徒譬喻明明解
百姓耳聞而眼觀

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT

CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 12) Ears [of corn are plucked on a Sabbath's day], [a withered] hand [is healed], a demon [is chased]. Blasphemies [can be forgiven]. Wonders [are requested from Jesus]. His relatives [come to see him]. (Ch. 13) He reveals mysteries to his disciples, but hides them from the multitudes.

[Disciples] collect the ears [of corn on the day of the Sabbath]. [Jesus] drives out evil spirits and heals a withered hand. [People] pray [Jesus] to perform miracles. Words of slander [can be forgiven]. Jesus' relatives come to see [him]. [Jesus] explains in full clarity his parables to his disciples. The multitudes have ears to hear and eyes to look [so that they can potentially understand Jesus' teaching].

III. COMMENTARY

Wang's allusions to several passages of Matt. 12-13 are so condensed that they become nearly cryptic.

In the second Chinese verse, the combination 言辱 (yán-rǔ = to pronounce words of disgrace/abuse) most probably corresponds to the Latin word *blasphemia*. For a reason that we do not understand, Wang has modified the order of Matthew's sequences in his Chinese rendering, writing 求奇言辱 (literally: *asking wonders telling slanders*) instead of 言辱求奇.

譬喻 (pìyù = in comparison) refers in the present context to all the *parables* of Jesus. Matt. 13:2-3 states that: *great crowds gathered around him… and he told them many things in parables*.

According to Matthew's theology of accomplishment, Jesus resorted to parables in order *to fulfil what had been spoken through the prophet: "I will open my mouth to speak in parables; I will proclaim what has been hidden from the foundation of the world."* (Matt. 13:35). The *hidden things* (arcana) are not mentioned in the present Chinese stanza, although they appear later in Wang's rendering of Mark's Gospel, where he uses the term 奧意 (ào-yì = *mysterious intentions*). Here in Matthew, Wang lays more stress on Jesus' clear explanations to his disciples. The repetition of the character 明 (míng = clear) vividly expresses the idea of *full clarity*. The last Chinese verse 百姓耳聞而眼觀 (bǎi-xìng ěr-wén ér yǎn-guān) contains nothing as ironic as the passage of Isa 6:9-10 quoted in Matt. 13:15-16: *they have shut their eyes; so that they might not look with their eyes […] and understand with their heart […] and I would heal them*. Wang simply writes that *people have ears to hear and eyes to look*. This allows him to incorporate the blessings of Matt 13:16 in an implicit way in his text: *blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear!*

I. MANUSCRIPT

Vox moritur. Satiat. Mare calcat. Fimbria sanat.
Non fecit plus; nam patria sine honore Propheta.

先驅若翰監牢亡
吾主耶穌野倍糧
海面如行陸地上
衣边可使病人康

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT

CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 14) The voice [of John] dies out. [Jesus] nourishes [a crowd]. He walks upon the sea. The hem of his garment heals [the persons who touch it]. Jesus does nothing more [specifically for his countrymen in Nazareth]; in fact, no prophet is honored in his own country.

John the precursor dies in prison. Our Lord Jesus multiplies food in a deserted place. He walks upon water as if it were on the ground. The hem of his dress renders ill people healthy.

III. COMMENTARY

The tragic story of John the Baptist is reported by Matthew in Matt. 14:1-14: At the suggestion of her mother Herodias, whose incestuous relationship with Herod had been criticized by John the Baptist, Salome requested the head of John the Baptist on a platter after Herod had been aroused by her dancing. John's decapitated head has been represented by many painters, notably Bernardino Luini (c.1480–1532), Caravaggio (1571–1610), Guido Reni (1575–1642), Titian (c. 1488–1576) and Rembrandt (1606–1669).

In the Latin text, the prophet John the Baptist is once again referred to symbolically simply by his *voice* (*vox*).

In contrast, Wang's Chinese text contains an explicit transliteration of the name of *Joannes* (若翰 = Ruòhàn),

followed by an indication that he died (亡, wáng) while he was held in prison (監牢, jiān-láo).

吾主 (wǔ-Zhǔ = *my/our Lord*) does not refer anymore to an invisible Creator, as was the case in the Old Testament, but to Jesus, through whom his disciples can address themselves to the supreme origin of all things as their *Father*. In ancient times, Chinese officials also used the same term 吾主 (*wǔ-Zhǔ*) to refer to their feudal Lord, the emperor.

Wang's Latin stanza concludes with an unexpected flashback to Matt. 13:57 which appears quite curious. *Non fecit plus; nam patria sine honore propheta* sums up Matt. 13:57, which the Douai translation of the Vulgate renders by: *a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house*. The same saying can be found also in Luke 4:24 and John 3:44.

Let us also note a grammatical anomaly in the Latin text, due to the fact that *patria* is used here as a locative ablative.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Novum Testamentum.

Evangelium Matthaei.

215.

Nil illota manus. Sanat, statimque secundo

Fermentum caveant. Petrus audit petra, Satanque.

手不洗清怎飽嘗
又医各病又加糧
小心法利颯都酵
西孟改磐撒殫當

Nil illota manus. Sanat, statimque secundo.
Fermentum caveant. Petrus audit petra, Satanque.

手不洗清怎飽嘗
又医各病又加糧
小心法利颯都酵
西孟改磐撒殫當

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT   CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 15) Not washing one's hands   [Pharisees wonder] how one could
[before eating] constitutes nothing   take a hearty meal with hands
[that would seriously contradict   that have not been properly
the Gospel]. [Jesus] heals   washed.
[many people]   [Jesus] heals all sorts of illnesses
and immediately afterwards   and also multiplies food.
[multiplies food] for the   Beware of the yeast
second time.   of the Pharisees and Sadducees!
(Ch. 16) [Apostles should] keep   Simon's name is changed
themselves away from the yeast   into Rock.
[of Pharisees and Sadducees].   He is considered as Satan
Peter hears [himself called] rock   [when he tempts Jesus].
and Satan.

III. COMMENTARY

Matt. 15:1-20 contains an intensive polemic against Pharisees and Sadducees. These contradictors embody the servile observance of tradition (purifying one's hands before meals) and lifeless rules, the quest for a good appearance, whereas Jesus promulgates a moral law situated well beyond formalities. Incidentally, Jesus shows that his opponents respect the most important commandements of the Torah (such as to honor one's parents) only superficially.

In the aftermath of the polemics, Jesus commands his apostles to keep away from the yeast (酵, xiào) of Pharisees (法利, Fǎlì) and Sadducees (颯都: Sàdū).

An often celebrated episode of Matt. 16 is contained in Matt. 16:13-20, where Jesus gives Simon (西孟, Xīmèng) a new name symbolising his vocation: Peter will be the *rock* (磐, pán) upon which Jesus will build his Church. Shortly afterwards, Jesus calls the same disciple *Satan* because he has refused to accept the announcement of the Messiah's passion. Wang's transliteration for Satan 撒殫 (Sādān) is arguably richer in graphical symbolism than the common modern orthography 撒旦 (Sādàn), from which it also slightly differs phonetically.

The combination of two characters 加糧 (jiā-liáng = *to increase food*) is synonymous with the similar expression 倍糧 (bèi-liáng = *to multiply food*) employed in the previous page. The character 糧 (liáng = *food made of cereals*) is also used by Wang in his synthesis of Exodus 16 to refer to the *manna*. The connection established in Wang's Chinese text between the *manna* and the miracle of the multiplication of the bread performed by Jesus is theologically quite meaningful and appropriate.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Resplendet. Puerum sanat; didrachmaque solvit.
Sis minimus. Fuge scandala. Peccantem argue. Parce.

吾主高山顯聖容
瘋童医好稅錢供
修謙躲避不良表
責罪赦仇莫與兑

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT   CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 17) [Jesus] shines.   Our Lord [Jesus] reveals his
He heals a child.   holy face
He pays the didrachma.   on a high mountain.
(Ch. 18) [He teaches his disciples]   He heals a lunatic child
to become the smallest [among all],   and pays the [temple] tax.
to avoid being a cause of scandal,   [He exhorts his disciples to]
to reprimand the sinner and to   practise humility,
forgive him.   to avoid inappropriate behavior,
                          to blame sins, to pardon enemies
                                  and not to be violent
                                        towards them.

III. COMMENTARY

Matthew 17 begins with the transfiguration of Jesus on a high mountain (according to a prevailing tradition, *Mount Tabor*) in the presence of Peter, James and John. Several details such as the conversation of Jesus with Moses and Elijah, the presence of a cloud and the sound of a voice saying *this is my Son, the Beloved; with him I am well pleased; listen to him!* have been omitted by Wang.

The Latin verb *resplendet* hints at a sort of luminosity, or even aesthetic transcendence of Jesus' face. The Chinese character 顯 (xiǎn: *to show/to reveal*) does not possess the same strength as the Latin term. On the other hand, the character 聖 (shèng: *holy/virtuous/wise*) alludes to the sacred character of Jesus' appearance in a way that the Latin text

cannot convey, but that can be appreciated by readers of the Chinese Classics.

The pericope of Matt. 17:14-20 mentions the healing of a young "lunatic" (*lunaticus* in the Vulgate). Wang's Latin text does not mention the evil afflicting him. His Chinese version is more explicit, since it contains the character 疯 (fēng: *mentally disturbed/mad*).

Chapter 18 opens with the exhortation of Jesus to become like *little children* (Matt. 18:1-4). Wang conveys this meaning in Chinese with the beautiful expression 修謙 (*xiū-qiān = to cultivate modesty*). The *Analects* of Confucius use the character 修 several times, for instance in the motto 修己以安人 (xiū jǐ yǐ ān rén), which can be translated as: *cultivating oneself in order to bring peace to others* (Analects 14:42). The *Classic of the Way and the Virtue* of Laozi also uses the character 修 several times, notably in the passage which D.C. Lau translates as[10]: *Cultivate it[11] in your person and its virtue will be genuine; cultivate it in the family and its virtue will be more than sufficient; cultivate it in the hamlet and its virtue will endure; cultivate it in the state and its virtue will abound; cultivate it in the empire and its virtue will be pervasive.*[12]

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[10] D.C. Lau (translator), *Tao Te Ching*, Everyman's Library, 1994, p.19.

[11] The Dao (道: Way).

[12] 修之於身，其德乃真；修之於家，其德乃余；修之於鄉，其德乃長；修之於國，其德乃豐；修之於天下，其德乃普。（道德經, chap. 54）.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Nexus conjugium. Vende, aut possessa relinque.
His dat mercedem; his calicem, illis lumina reddit.

夫妇一生不得分
辞家賣產立功勳
或錢或爵按工賞
二瞽齊明隨且欣

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT   CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 19) [Jesus teaches the inviolability of] the marriage bond. [He invites a rich young man] to sell or to relinquish his properties. (Ch. 20) He gives the wages of those [who have worked in his vineyard]; [he promises Zebedee's sons that they will receive the] chalice [of martyrdom]; he restores the sight [of two blind men out of Jericho].

Husband and wife are not allowed to separate for their whole life. Whoever leaves his family [to follow Jesus] and sells his property accomplishes a meritorious deed. [Jesus] will reward some with money [as a recompense for their work in his vineyard] and others [the sons of Zebedee] with a chalice [of martyrdom], each according to their work. Two blind men recover sight and follow [Jesus] with joy.

III. COMMENTARY

Matt. 19:5-6 contains a famous pronouncement concerning the nature of marriage: *a man shall… be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh*. Jesus' symbolic expression *one flesh* is rather similar to a Chinese metaphor according to which spouses are said to be 連理枝 (lián lǐ zhī), i.e. like *branches with intertwined veins*. Wang further summarizes Jesus' injunction that *what God has joined together, let no one separate* (Matt. 19:6) with the phrase 一生不得分 (yīshēng bù dé fēn), which means literally: *for life are not allowed to separate*.

Later in the same chapter, Jesus invites a young man to follow him. The Vulgate of Matt. 19:21 reads: *si vis perfectus esse vade vende quae habes et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelo et veni sequere me*. Wang has summarized this invitation in Latin by: *vende, aut possessa relinque* (*sell or relinquish your property*). In fact, Jesus has never suggested that the young rich man of Matt. 19 could leave his property (to his family) instead of selling it and giving the money to the poor!

Although Wang's Chinese text only speaks of 賣產 (mài chǎn: *to sell one's properties*), his Chinese rendering also interprets Matt. 19 rather freely, since Jesus' promise that the young rich man *will have a treasure in heaven* (Matt. 19:21) is transformed into the stereotyped expression 立 功 勛 (lì-gōngxūn). 立功勛 means literally *to accomplish* (literally *to establish*: 立) *a meritorious deed/exploit*, which does not explicitly refer to eternal life at all.

The third Chinese verse joins two different episodes: the parable of the vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16) and the request of Zebedee's wife for her sons (Matt. 20:20-28). Out of generosity, the owner of the vine offers the same salary to all. This is not closely followed by F.-X. Wang's Chinese text whose clause 按工賞 (àn-gōng-shǎng) could be translated by: *reward* (賞, shǎng) *depends on* (按, àn) *work/performance* (工, gōng).

I. MANUSCRIPT

216.

Novum Testamentum.
Evangelium . Matthaei

Rex Christus vendentes ementesque repellit,
Ac mensas, cathedras, sterilem ficumque revellit

吾主發明人物王
威驅買賣出經堂
櫃臺桌椅都掀盡
不果無花遭永殃

Rex Christus vendentes et ementesque repellit,
Ac mensas, cathedras, sterilem ficumque revellit.

吾主發明人物王
威驅買賣出經堂
櫃臺桌椅都掀盡
不果無花遭永殃

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT

CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 21) Christ the King [enters Jerusalem and] expels [from the temple] sellers and buyers.
He overturns tables and chairs, and annihilates a barren fig tree.

Our Lord, the King who has created humanity and all things, expels out of the temple with authority those who buy and sell.
He overturns all the counters, desks, tables and chairs.
A barren fig tree undergoes eternal curse.

III. COMMENTARY

Wang skips the introduction to Jesus' passion narrative, which provides a clear reference to the Old Testament showing that Jesus is the Messiah: *Say to the daughter of Zion: Look, your king is approaching, humble and riding on a donkey and on a colt…* (Matt. 21:5)*.* In spite of this omission, Wang succeeds to emphasize strongly the royal significance of Jesus' arrival to Jerusalem. For the first time, the name *Christus* appears here in his Latin text. Christ is *Rex* (*King*). According to the Chinese stanza, the Lord is also a *sovereign* or *king* (王, wáng) who can act with full *authority* (威, wēi).

The interpretation of the phrase 發明人物 (fā-míng rén-wù) is problematic, since two quite different readings appear grammatically possible. One can understand that:

"My/Our Lord" (吾主, Wǔ Zhǔ) *who is the king* (王, wáng) *having "designed"* (發明, fā-míng, literally: *to originate in clarity*) *"humanity"* (人, rén) *and "things"* (物, wù), or that:

"My/Our Lord" (吾主, Wǔ Zhǔ) *who is a "royal"* (王, wáng) *"character"* (人物, rénwù) *"departs"* (發, fā) *"visibly"/"in broad daylight"*…

We shall let the reader decide for himself/herself which interpretation he/she finds best.

In the last Chinese verse, the term 無花 (wú-huā, literally: *without flower*) constitutes an abbreviation of the common Chinese designation for a fig-tree: 無花果 (wú-huā-guǒ, literally: *fruit without flower*). In order to signify that the fig tree encountered by Jesus was bearing no fruit (Matt. 21:18), Wang avoids using the character 無 (wú) a second time by resorting to the negative particle 不 (bù). The resulting four-character sequence 不果無花 (bù-guǒ-wú-huā) constitutes a rather cryptic expression literally meaning *no-fruit-no-flower*. This four character expression serves as an abbreviated equivalent of the modern Chinese expression 無果之無花果 (wú-guǒ-zhī-wú-huā-guǒ) meaning *fruitless fig tree*, which, although grammatically explicit, looks somewhat awkward. According to Giuseppe Ricciotti[13], the barren fig tree represents the portion of the Jewish people that is unable to produce any substantial fruit or any spiritual knowledge for the benefit of humanity.

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[13] Giuseppe Ricciotti, *Traduzione della Bibbia*, Salani Editore, Firenze 1991, p. 1413.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Tentantes reprimit. Sadducaeosque refutat
Vera fides, praxis mala. Vae scribes, Solymaeque!

法利叟圖受責懲
颯都仇眾辯凌兢
眞工眞信莫裝善
可歎梭陵与士矜

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT   CHINESE TEXT

(Ch. 22) [Jesus] rebukes [the   Senior Pharisees plot [against Jesus],
Pharisees]   but endure his rebuke and admonitions.
who provoke him   Sadducees and the multitude of
and refutes the Sadducees.   his enemies
(Ch. 23) Their faith is   greatly fear to debate with him.
accurate,   True faith [should be accompanied by]
but their acts are vile.   true deeds, without hypocrisy.
Woe to the scribes and   How pitiable are Jerusalem and
Jerusalem!   the scribes!

III. COMMENTARY

Matt. 22 opens with the parable of the wedding of the king's son (Matt. 22:1-14) whose final warning, *many are called but few are chosen*, constitutes one of the documents used by Luther and his supporters in defense of their soteriology. Wang omits this delicate passage, and focuses instead on the superiority of Jesus over several parties — Pharisees, Sadducees, scribes — whose leaders act as if they possessed a monopoly on the true interpretation of the Law. These adversaries imagine themselves that Jesus' knowledge of the Torah is only approximate, but end up by receiving a severe lesson.

Wang's Latin text contains a small orthographic mistake, since *temptantes* would be a more accurate spelling than *tentantes*.

Wang's Chinese transliterations for *Pharisees* (法利, Fǎlì, *Pharisæus* in Latin), *Sadducees* (颯都, Sàdū, *Sadducæus* in Latin), and *Jerusalem* (梭陵, Suōlíng) all possess some well chosen evocative characters: in *Pharisees*, 法 (fǎ) means *law* and 利 (lì) *profit*; in *Sadducees*, 都 (dū) means *capital*; in *Jerusalem*, 陵 (líng) means *hill*.

The two characters 凌兢 (ling-jīng) form a single expression in Chinese that can mean *to tremble from fear*. Preceded by the character 辯 (biàn), which means *to dispute* or *to debate*, they allude to Matt. 22:46: *no one was able to give Jesus an answer, nor from that day did anyone dare to ask him any more questions*.

In order to translate *scribes*, (in Latin *scriba*, plur. *scribae*), Wang uses the single character 士 (shì). In ancient China, the 士 belonged to a social class situated between high dignitaries and the common people. Later, 士 could also simply refer to a *man of letters/scholar*. A more explicit and more technical rendering of the term *scribe* in modern Chinese could be 抄經士 (chāo-jīng-shì).

I. MANUSCRIPT

220

Novum Testamentum.
Evangelium Matthaei.

Corruet hoc Templum, et mundus. Veniet Deus ut fur.
Hinc vigilare monet supremi ob Judicis iram.

斯堂與世一齊傾
天主降臨不定更
是以時時宜醒寤
免遭大判威嚴征

Corruet hoc templum, et mundus. Veniet Deus ut fur.
Hinc vigilare monet supremi ob Judicis iram.

斯堂與世一齐傾
天主降臨不定更
是以時時宜醒寤
免遭大判威嚴征

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT	CHINESE TEXT
This temple will be ruined together with the world. God will come like a thief. For this reason, [Jesus] exhorts [us] to be vigilant about the [potential] wrath of the Supreme Judge.	This temple will collapse alongside with the world. The hour of God's coming cannot be determined. Therefore, [everybody] should be vigilant at all times. [Jesus exhorts us] to avoid being examined rigorously and severely by the the Supreme Judge.

III. COMMENTARY

Matt. 24:1-2 contains the terrible prophecy of Jesus concerning the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem: Jesus left the Temple, and as he was going away his disciples came up to draw his attention to the Temple buildings. He said to them in reply, "You see all these? In truth I tell you, not a single stone here will be left on another: everything will be pulled down." The destruction of the temple, which took place during the year 70 A.D., marked the end of an era for Jewish people. Romans have immortalized their victory on one of the panels of the arch of Titus in Rome, which contains an image of the great seven-branched candelabrum.

According to many modern exegetes, Matt. 24:1-2, as well as its equivalent in Mark, have been written after the actual destruction of the temple. According to this perspective, the

synoptic redaction would reflect a *post eventum* understanding of Jesus' sayings. In any case, whatever the exact content of Jesus' prophecy concerning the Temple, it is basically certain that Jesus did not consider the forthcoming destruction of the temple as a signal for the imminent end of the world. He insisted that only the Father knew about this end, so that his disciples should remain vigilant at all times (時時宜醒寤, shí-shí yí xǐng-wù). The parable of the burglar in Matt. 24:43 conveys this teaching in a powerful way: *if the householder had known at what time of the night the burglar would come, he would have stayed awake and would not have allowed anyone to break through the wall of his house.*

Wang echoes the parable of the burglar quite closely with a concise four Latin sentence: *Veniet Deus ut fur*. His Latin text also speaks of a *Supreme Judge*.

Wang's Chinese text alludes to a 大判 (Dà-Pàn = great judge/great judgment), which most probably refers to the same *Supreme Judge*, although from the grammatical point of view, 大判 could also mean *Supreme Judgement*.

I. MANUSCRIPT

Pascha facit, capitur, mortem subit, inde resurgit;
In coelo, terraque fuit mihi magna potestas.

占礼做完被惡拿
千辛万苦死刑加
三天靈博慰先圣
復活大光沒有涯

II. TRANSLATION

LATIN TEXT

(Ch. 26) [Jesus]
celebrated the Passover,
(Ch. 27) was captured,
(Ch. 28) suffered death
and rose again.
He enjoys all power
in heaven and on earth.

CHINESE TEXT

After having finished to celebrate
the liturgy [of the Passover, Jesus was]
captured by the wicked.
He endured thousands of sorrows, myriads
of sufferings,
to which death penalty was added. [During]
three days he went to Limbo to console the
virtuous men of previous generations.
[After] his Ressurection
[he entered into]
a vast and infinite Light.

III. COMMENTARY

The curious expression 占礼 (zhānlǐ) usually means a *divination ceremony*. Here, it refers to the Jewish liturgy of the Passover, which Jesus celebrated with his disciples during his Last Supper. Instead of 占礼, one would rather have expected to read the homophone expression 瞻禮 (zhānlǐ), which is still used today by Catholics in China.

Wang skips the mention of Judas' betrayal. He develops his moving description of Jesus' passion by using the set-phrase 千辛萬苦 (qiān xīn wàn kǔ), which literally means *one thousand pains ten thousand sufferings*. This expression basically means *to suffer all conceivable hardships*. It applies quite well to the Passion of Jesus who underwent betrayal,

abandonment, insults, slaps, flagellation, mockeries, *etc…* and eventually crucifixion itself, a cruel torment reserved for non-Roman citizens such as rioters, rebels, robbers, two of whom were crucified with him, one on his right and another on his left.

Matthew's Gospel is the only one to indicate that after the death of Jesus, *tombs opened and the bodies of many holy people rose from the dead, and these, after his resurrection, came out of the tombs, entered the holy city and appeared to a number of people* (Matt. 27:52-53). Catholic theologians have seldom elaborated on these details. On the other hand, both the so-called *Athanasian Creed* and *Apostles' Creed* contain the clear notion that Jesus *descended among the dead*. Naturally, none of these dead had been baptized in his name. During the Middle Ages, the more problematic notion of *Limbo* was developed to address the question of the fate of unbaptized children: the existence of *Limbo* allowed them to avoid pure and simple damnation. Wang extends the medieval notion of *Limbo* in an astute way that renders it co-intelligible with the traditional belief that Jesus descended among the dead: According to Wang, Jesus stayed *three days* (三天, sān tiān) in *Limbo* (靈博, Língbó) in order to *console* (慰, wèi) the *virtuous/holy/wise* (圣, shèng) members of previous (先, xiān) generations, including naturally Confucius and all the virtuous philosophers of Antiquity.

[摘 要] 1992 年發現了的王佐才神父於 1894 年完稿的七言詩體《聖經》，範圍包括新約和舊約。王佐才是《聖經》漢譯歷史的先鋒；在他之前，還沒有中國人翻譯《聖經》的全部内容。他所採用的七言詩體編譯方式，在世界上也是獨一無二的。王佐才的《聖經》譯稿共 314 頁（其中 17 頁為空白頁），每頁有四行直書七言絕句，詩的上方還有橫書的兩行拉丁文押韻短句。拉丁文部分幾乎涵蓋了《聖經》的各個章節，但中文部分所涉及的内容，並不與拉丁文部分完全對應，而是有選擇地對聖經章節做了概括，不時帶有一些評論的詩句。譯稿的每頁均寫有一首七言詩絕句，而從其整體上看，亦呈現為一首七言長詩，共 1188 句。王佐才之所以採用韻文體，據他自己說是 "助記"，便於讀者詠讀和記憶。由於多種歷史因素，他的《聖經》一直沒有出版。

本文以《創世紀》和《瑪竇福音》為例，著重分析了王佐才是如何處理在翻譯過程中所遇到的中西文化在風俗、語言、宗教和哲學思想等方面的差異，以及他是如何尋找這兩種文化内涵的共性。王佐才作為一位中國天主教神父，雖然其努力與嘗試有別與西方傳教士，但是，他與早期耶穌會士一樣，都試圖在東西方兩種思想文化中尋找共性，旨在使儒家思想與天主教思想進一步融合，使天主教易於在中國傳播。

20 世紀的翻譯

嗚呼聖道之玄妙

不亦浩浩其天

淵淵其淵乎哉

所謂玄妙者無他 即

現於肉身

證於聖神

見於天神

傳於兆民

信於普世

而躋於光榮者也

蒂茂德（即弟茂德）前書，第 3 章，第 16 節。
吳經熊 譯，灌志誠 手寫

吳經熊譯經中頌歌之特色

蘇其康

Hymnic Characteristics in the *New Testament*: Wu Ching-hsiung's Translation and Appropriation

Francis K. H. SO

[摘 要] 本文探討吳經熊所翻譯的新約聖經中「頌歌」之特色，吳文之翻譯係用文言文而非白話文為之，其頌歌部份盡量利用傳統之中國詩歌形式書寫，尤其注重詩歌格律及其節奏感，恰當地呈現某種層次和情境的古典美，使詩之內容和形式緊密結合，亦方便頌唱，故其頌歌之譯文鏗鏘有致，即便朗誦亦富音樂性之節奏感，堪稱典雅之中文聖經讚美詩歌，令人耳目一新。

在初期的天主教教徒聚會中，遇有誦經的場合，多有吟唱，換言之，早期的經文頗多配合誦唱，而集會中歌唱更是自然不過的事。聖保祿在《格林多前書》（1 Corinthians）中便說：

> 弟兄們！那麼怎樣做呢？當你們聚會的時候，每人
> 不論有什麼神恩，或有歌詠，或有訓誨，或有啟示，

　　或有語言，或有解釋之恩：一切都應為建立而行
（14:26）[1]。

　　聖保祿在這句話裏清楚地指出教友在聚會敬禮時，除了談經論道之外，往往有譜歌頌唱的行為，以致將其化為一種敬禮儀式的歌唱（Collins 361）。不過這種歌唱，不是當日的流行音樂或熱門音樂，卻是促進宗教氣氛的音樂，其中最常把經文和音樂歌唱掛勾的就是《聖詠》（*The Psalms*）[2]。《聖詠》為舊約聖經的一部分，但聖保祿寫《格林多書》時已是新約年代，也就是說，新約年代教眾們在宗教聚會時受到保祿的鼓勵去唱歌，尤其是唱《聖詠》的歌，使音樂與歌聲成為敬拜行為（worship）的方式之一；然而，這些行為不是自足的，背後有一定的意義和目的，所以保祿才說：「一切都應為建立[教會]而行。」在這種情境之下，會眾的經文以及敬禮儀式具有歌的性質和形式便成了教會所認許和鼓勵的事。

　　不管在希伯來文的聖經或希臘文的聖經裏，還是在聖詠禱文（Psalter）裏，「歌」的特質可用不同的辭藻來表達，其中有些字放在禱文前面說明可使用絃樂器為詠唱者伴奏，有些字則放在讚頌上主的禱文内容本身，形成日後自希臘傳統以降的頌歌或稱為讚美詩（hymn）（Collins 362）的流風。至於早期教會裡教父之一的聖奧古斯丁（354–430 年）在評論《聖詠》第 148 篇時，給頌歌 "hymn" 這個字下了一個簡單明瞭的定義：「讚美上主的歌」（引自 Parker 399）。這種頌揚上主的歌，因為其對象特殊便不能以一般情理和感懷來表達，它是多元合體的表現。聖保祿在另外一個場合裡說：

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[1]　除非另有聲明，文中如引用白話文的《聖經》章節，均錄自《聖經》（台北：思高聖經學會出版社，1989）的文字，此處引自頁 1785–86。

[2]　本文所採用的譯名為吳經熊先生所樂用的譯名，譯文見其作品《聖詠譯義初稿》，王雲五主編（台北：商務，1973）。坊間尤其是基督新教通常把 *Psalms* 翻作《詩篇》。

Do not get drunk with wine, which will only ruin you; instead, be filled with the Spirit. Speak to one another with the words of psalms, hymns, and sacred songs; sing hymns and psalms to the Lord with praise in your heart.

也不要醉酒，醉酒使人淫亂；卻要充滿聖神，以聖詠、詩詞及屬神的歌曲，相互對談，在你們心中歌頌讚美主（《厄弗所書》Ephesians 5:18-19）。[3]

　　從上面這一段經文裡，可以看出聖保祿認為聖詠（psalms）、讚美詩，亦即他所稱的「詩詞」和宗教歌曲（即「屬神的歌曲」sacred songs），雖然它們互有關連卻是不同類型，而且在唱的時候，不妨用充滿聖神的態度，也就是說全心全意全靈和以喜悅的態度讚頌上主天主。這種意涵可以看得出來，幾百年後是由聖奧古斯丁繼承而一脈相傳，再用他年代普及的文字告訴後人，到底"hymn"這種頌歌或讚美詩該怎樣看待。雖然聖奧古斯丁給了一個說法，但關於頌歌並沒有完全定調，頌歌在《新約》裏的例子雖然為眾所認同，不過它的特徵和詮釋卻沒有一致的看法。根據一名當代學者 Vincent A. Pizzuto 的研究[4]，頌歌，特別是《哥羅森書》Colossians 1:15-20 的章節，容納了希臘文風的影響，在風格上又反映出猶太讚美詩（psalmody）的特色，透過保祿書寫和釋經的傳統，彰顯了基督論（Christology）的體裁。這段頌歌放在禮儀慶典中，發揮了多重的功能，包括「懺悔的（聖

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[3]　因為翻譯的緣故，天主教思高聖經學會版之《聖經》譯文沒有把"hymn"這個字（原文：ὕμνοις）的形貌點出來，故而引用天主教英文譯經 *Good News Bible*（New York: American Bible Society, 1993），p.1282 這段文字以為對照佐證。隨後之中文為相對應的思高聖經學會版之譯文。

[4]　詳見其為這詩節所寫的專書 *A Cosmic Leap of Faith: An Authorial, Structural, and Theological Investigation of the Cosmic Christology in Col 1:15-20*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 41. Leuven: Peeters. 2006.

詠般的）、信條的（教學法的）、詩歌（唱讚的）形式的，其論點為基督是宇宙之主宰」（Pizzuto 111）[5]。於此可見，頌歌的結構和文體不只複雜，亦不容易一下子把它的特徵歸類，故而會有許許多多的詮釋角度。

不過，因為有了保祿宗徒在上面（厄 5:18-19）的一段話，大概可以說在《新約》聖經裡，提到頌歌時，它的對象有兩個層次，又或者可以說《新約》的頌歌有兩種功能。在敬禮的聖歌聲中，它第一層次的觀眾是教會裏的信眾，第二層次則是天上的神，也就是上主天主（Deppe 1），故此融合宗教儀式的頌歌，理應與禱文結合，把心意放在向上主傾訴的方向上，形成一種契合的對話（covenantal dialogue），使整個過程的重心放在與上天應對（Deppe 14）之上。當然這種應對是用頌唱而不是默禱的形式表現。其實，即使連上希臘的讚美詩傳統來看，"hymn" 就是歌，需要配合音樂唱出來，但頌歌的作者卻往往不是專業的歌手；無論如何，頌歌之目的是讓所有的人都可以齊聲歌唱，但卻只有一位聆聽者（Parker 399）。因此，頌歌就是讚頌上主的詩歌，在本質上絕對具有歌的特色。

在《新約》聖經裡，符合頌歌形式的經文有多處，這些都是聖經學者們普遍認同的詩文[6]，然而一旦這些擁有歌詞特質的文字被轉變為另一種語言，也就是透過翻譯的轉化，它們的原質效應還剩下多少，會是一個疑問。

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[5]　引文根據撰寫本書書評之 Matthew E. Gordley，見其"Review of *A Cosmic Leap of Faith: An Authorial, Structural, and Theological Investigation of the Cosmic Christology in Col 1:15-20*," *Review of Biblical Literature* 10 (2008)，頁 461。

[6]　這些詩文段落包括了如下等處：路 1:46-54；路 1:66-79；路 2:29-32；若望 1:1-18；羅 8:35-39；格前 8:6；格前 13；斐 2:6-11；哥 1:15-20；厄 2:14-16；弟前 3:16；弟後 2:8;11-13；希 1:3-4；伯前 3:18-22；默示 15:3-4。在此特別感謝包智光神父（Fr. François Barriquand M.E.P.）勸勉本人利用上面的詩文撰寫這篇吳經熊的譯經文章並提供部份附錄資料。礙於個人有限時間的關係，本文無法把上面全部的詩節討論，至感歉意。

　　在近代聖經中譯的歷史中，有一個非常獨特卻輕易被人遺忘的情景，就是吳經熊（1899 年–1986 年）的《新約》中譯。他以個人的力量獨自完成了《新約》全部的中譯[7]。基本上，經熊先生並不選用白話文，而用文言文中譯。他的對象固然是有識之士的知識份子，卻也因此限制了他的觀眾群，使這項譯經的偉業無法廣為傳揚，成為大眾的讀本，至為可惜，但也因為語言的選擇，在本質上卻又彌補了白話文所無法充分發揮的詩詞音樂性，換句話說，吳經熊的譯文，犧牲了流行性的廣度，換取了知識界所能夠接納的語言內在歌曲（音樂）的深度，既難得又獨特。其實，一千六、七百年前的魏晉南北朝時，中國曾經有過相當長時間的翻譯佛經活動，設立譯經道場並結合知識界和宗教界的力量，用當日的語言（當時的白話文）進行翻譯。這個過程，吳經熊必知之甚詳，但他還是沒有採用流行的白話文來譯經，可能原因之一是他把譯經本身當做名山大業看待，而非為了傳教之普及目的而寫就。背後極可能有些知識份子的耿介執著原因，也有可能是他要表示擁護即將逝去的文言文古典傳統，一如民初最後一批國學大師之一王國維的心境。

　　吳經熊的《新約》聖經全本譯文，大抵在 1947 年便已完成初稿，在出使擔任駐梵蒂岡教廷公使期間於羅馬央請時在傳信大學執教之羅光神父（後來的總主教）校訂稿本，而這部書稿於 1949 年 11 月在香港出版，到 1960 年再版[8]。譯經之事戞戞乎其難哉，譯者的心路歷程恐亦書不盡言。本文無意探索翻譯過程的細節或編譯時字斟句酌的背景和版本校勘的考量，惟把重點放在聖經學者所歸類為頌歌之章什，對照經

7　吳經熊譯，《新經全集》（台北：輔仁大學出版社，1980），〈羅光總主教序〉，頁 2–3；本書網路公開版的全文，請參見〈http://jesus.tw/New_Testament〉。本文之《新約》經文排列方式，採用吳譯之網路版格式，蓋因其版式充分反映原詩句之句讀與斷句處。

8　此書之翻譯及出版過程詳見〈羅光總主教序〉，《新經全集》，頁 1–6。

熊先生之翻譯，蠡測其譯文中所重組和再現的頌歌之特性，狗尾續貂，望能就正於方家。

在《新約》路加福音書裡，共有三段經文被列為頌歌的，首段為瑪利亞往訪其表姐依撒伯爾時的詩句。其表姐素稱不孕，然竟於高齡懷胎，及聞瑪利亞來訪問候時，其「胎嬰即舞若踴，喜不自勝」（吳譯 露稼 1:44）。在依撒伯爾稱許之後，瑪利亞的回應便用如下的頌歌闡揚她的心境：

> 吾魂弘天主，中心不勝喜；
> 感荷救主恩，眷顧及賤婢。
> 行見後代人，稱我膺元祉；
> 祇緣大能者，向我施靈異。
> 厥名何聖潔，天慈洵靡已；
> 但能懷寅畏，承澤無窮世。
> 運臂耀神德，傲慢頓粉潰；
> 王侯遭傾覆，卑賤升高位；
> 飢者飫珍饈，富人赤手退。
> 扶植僕義塞，舊恩依然在；
> 每許我列祖，恩諾終不改；
> 矜憐亞伯漢，苗裔永見愛。

（露稼 1:46-55）

這段詩文普遍被學者稱作 "聖母讚主曲"（Magnificat），此字亦為本詩拉丁文版的第一個字，因以為名；在結構上共分三節，即先稱讚天主賞她自己的殊恩（46-50節），後頌揚天主待人的常法（51-53節），末後稱謝天主對選民的憐憫（54-55節）[9]。這首聖母讚主曲自早期教會開始，便被列為晚禱中的吟唱詩文，後世的音樂家遂以此禱文譜成歌曲。一般的歌曲和歌詞的相互關係，不外可化約為選詞以

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[9] 此架構分析和論點見天主教思高聖經學會出版的《聖經》，（台北：思高聖經學會出版社，1989），頁 1591，註 8。

入樂或選樂以配詞，也就是說二者要有相當程度的配合，如果歌詞的文字節奏和音樂性不能套在既定旋律之中，便無法達成悅耳賞心之效果，反過來說，如果在既有的歌詞內，不能譜寫成吻合的音樂旋律，這首歌的音樂效果也會是徒然的。後代聖歌利用此聖母讚主曲的文字譜成曲樂，即可證明此讚美詩的本質極為適合選樂以配詞的做法，故長久以來，〈聖母讚主曲〉已建立了曲樂和歌詞合一的特色[10]。瑪利亞在回應依撒伯爾時，是否用頌唱的方式不得而知，但其內涵足以賦詩譜歌殆無疑問。就當時的瑪利亞而言，她有兩種聽眾，其一是她表姐依撒伯爾，其二則為最終的對象天主。依撒伯爾除了是瑪利亞的親戚之外，還是匝加利亞司祭的妻子，系屬名門，因此瑪利亞說話當然要得體。其次，瑪利亞看到天主在依撒伯爾和自己身上所行的奇跡殊恩，更是由衷的讚嘆，故此她的回答實在是用雅言來歌詠上主在亞巴郎後裔也就是她自己身上將會應驗的事，這種應對，多少含有正式場合回話的功能，不適宜用太過隨便口語的文辭表達，吳經熊遂決定用五言古詩來呈現譯文。

所謂古詩，指的是與唐宋時代流行之近體詩不一樣的詩歌，不只是其產生的年代較早，也沒有像近體詩之受限於嚴謹的格律，因此古詩不必刻意去迎合用韻的規範，作者有較大的遣詞用字空間，可以避開以文害意的遺憾；其次，古詩句型長短自如，不像律詩和絕句之受限於字數，可以從容表達，也不需要借用虛字虛辭來補足。瑪利亞在讚揚上主恩寵

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[10] 在天主教常用的聖歌裏，以這聖母讚主曲譜成音樂的英文詞曲有 Bernadette Farrell 的作品，見 *Breaking Bread* 第 831 首，拉丁文歌曲有 Pedro Rubalcava 作曲的 *Breaking Bread* 第 833 首和吟唱型式的有 *Breaking Bread* 第 835 首，歌詞和曲譜詳見文末之附錄一。聖母讚主曲之拉丁文、中文全文對照詳見文末之附錄二，錄自 *Officium Divinum: Textus latinus cum translatione in linguam Sinicam. I. Horæ Diurnæ.* Vol I. Hong Kong: Typis Nazareth, 1930. pp. 69–70. 至於聖母讚主曲之中文歌譜，見文末之附錄三，《主日詠讚》，（台北：天主教教務協進會出版社，1979），頁 170–71。

之餘，不僅要得體，也不能虛應敷衍，更不能為了配合字數把心中的感觸作截長補短的填詞；既要有即時的臨場感，也要有一定的修辭技巧，還要言之及義。此外，當瑪利亞說出上主「扶植僕義塞，舊恩依然在；每許我列祖，恩諾終不改；矜憐亞伯漢，苗裔永見愛」時，其實她在追記回顧希伯來民族的歷史，總結上主對希伯來民族的恩祐、應諾和昭示，卻不失抒懷。對照傳統詩歌中李白（701–762 年）在〈古風五十九首之一〉（《全唐詩》卷 161）裏所說的也有類似的歷史追懷意識：

> 大雅久不作，吾衰竟誰陳？
> 王風委蔓草，戰國多荊榛。
> 龍虎相啖食，兵戈逮狂秦。
> 正聲何微茫，哀怨起騷人。
> 揚馬激頹波，開流蕩無垠。
> 廢興雖萬變，憲章亦已淪。
> 自從建安來，綺麗不足珍。
> 聖代復元古，垂衣貴清真。
> 群才屬休明，乘運共躍鱗。
> 文質相炳煥，眾星羅秋旻。
> 我志在刪述，垂輝映千春。
> 希聖如有立，絕筆於獲麟。[11]

　　然而李白要說的是在春秋戰國之後，詩歌的正聲衰微，騷體流於哀怨，建安的文體，只落得綺麗，他自己雅正之音，卻無法伸張，空有抱負。在縱覽詩史發展之餘，詩人大有一唱三嘆之憾，既蒼涼又抒懷，只為彰顯一個可以「垂輝映千春」的自我。另一方面對照瑪利亞的感懷，從亞巴郎到上主預告救世主的來臨及至於應驗在她身上的「眷顧及賤婢。行見後代人，稱我膺元祉；祇緣大能者，向我施靈異」，感激

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[11] 文見《全唐詩》卷 161，(台北市：文史哲，1978)。頁 1670。

之情又附帶歌頌上主，不論在語氣上和格局上都不像李白的
自我「吹噓」；瑪利亞謙虛虔敬之餘，更有正大光明的「大
雅」之風，真正具備雅樂之為 Magnificat 恢宏況味。譬如吳
譯的第一句：「吾魂弘天主」，用二、三的節拍"xx　xxx"
構成五言的詩行，充滿謙恭、感恩、喜悅、歌躍之情，言簡
意賅，對照拉丁文頌歌之"Magnificat anima mea
Dominum"真的不遑多讓，竊以為是上等翻譯。如果〈古風〉
的「古詩」格律在體裁上方便唱讚的人作歷史回顧和抒發感
懷，吳經熊選用了這種形式來翻譯，顯然也有意藉著這種寓
抒情於古意中的文體來作讚美頌唱之詞，無乃恰當不過了。

及至瑪利亞作客完畢賦歸，依撒伯爾喜獲麟兒，沙加理
（即匝加利亞）興高采烈充滿聖神而酬唱：

> 可頌者主，義塞天主！厥民見贖，恩德不富？
> 救主崛興，大維之府；先知夙言，今乃見符；
> 拯我於敵，脫我於侮；用示矜憐，於我列祖；
> 以懷聖約，以踐誓許。
> 亞伯漢者，吾族之父，仁主許之，厥裔是護；
> 既脫諸敵，俾我無懼，無懼如何？安心事主；
> 兢兢業業，聖道是步；終我之身，聖德是務。
> 兒乃先知，至尊遣汝；為主開道，預備厥路；
> 導民於正，福音是布；蕩污滌穢，宿罪攸除。
> 憑主慈腸，東方已曙；久困晦冥，明光倏著；
> 引我安履，和平之路。
>
> 　　　　　　　　　　（露稼 1:68-80）

這段歌詞較長，而且採用多重韻腳，但在內涵上和瑪利
亞的頌詞很相像，也稱謝上主對義塞之民（Israel）的眷顧和
憐憫，尤其是多次提到敵人，此中當然包括了古代奴役他們
的埃及人和巴比倫人，和瑪利亞的頌歌一樣，此處也拈出義
塞民族共同的祖先亞伯漢（即：亞巴郎 / 亞巴辣罕，
Abram/Abraham），不過，在結構上，本段頌歌先提上主對

族民的恩祐，然後再說到他家裡的事，「兒乃先知，至尊遣汝；為主開道，預備厥路」。雖然他的讚語包含了具體的預言，但和瑪利亞的語氣相比，匝加利亞的詩歌和他所讚頌的對象天主顯得有點距離，譬如瑪利亞可以說「矜憐亞伯漢，苗裔永見愛。」此中有親暱的味道，也等於說瑪利亞是用充滿信心的喜悅來歌頌，並且還有慶祝的含意，而匝加利亞的四言詩，因為節奏不如五言詩的委婉，語調稍為方正和遲鈍，適合正式場合四平八穩的辭令，和前面的頌歌相比，就顯得有點「隔」，但這樣正好刻劃出同是讚美詩，不同情景用不同的詩律，就會有不一樣的表現，聽的教眾和廣義的讀者就會有不同的感受。

同樣的情景也適用在西默翁（即西默盎）的讚美詩（路2:29-32）當中。後一情況中吳經熊的譯文，也是用四言詩來表達西默翁等了多年才抒發出來的謝恩之詞，古意盎然，同時也是正式（或含有一點官式）的回應上主的安排。四言詩其實有很久遠的傳統，在中國的《詩經》裏，俯拾皆是。其中有最流行的〈國風〉的抒情篇章，也有較少為一般人注意到的〈商頌〉和〈周頌〉詩篇。後者的造型構詞和語調的掌控，就比較像沙加理和西默翁所頌唱的形式。單單從這一點上來看，吳經熊的譯文不只在內容和語意上盡量符合《新約》經文的原意，在情景和體裁風格上，也用含有中國詩歌傳統特色的格律，在自由支配下，用文采和文類型態去彰顯譯事三難中的「達」和「雅」，堪稱煞費苦心。

不過四言詩除了抒情和肅穆的詠歌之外，也可以配合敘事和用客觀角度說理的型態來謳歌，在簡潔中蘊含深奧的語意，在單純中概括玄思。典型的例子為《若望福音》第一章開首的段落：

　　太初有道，與天主偕。道即天主，自始與偕。
　　微道無物，物因道生。天地萬有，資道以成。
　　斯道之內，蘊有生命。生命即光，生靈所稟。

　　光照冥冥，冥冥不領。
　　天主遣使，名曰如望。如望之來，惟以證光。
　　俾我元元，藉以起信。渠非真光，真光之證。
　　惟彼真光，普照生靈。凡生於世，資之以明。
　　道彌六合，締造乾坤，茫茫塵世，不識真君。
　　降蒞領域，見拒屬民。凡納之者，厥名是信。
　　授以權能，超凡入聖。天主兒女，卓哉身分。
　　若輩之生，非緣血氣，惟自天主，無與人意。
　　道成人身，居我儕中。吾儕親睹，孔德之容。
　　惟一聖子，無上光榮。妙寵真諦，充溢厥躬。
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（若 1:1-14）

　　　　單從文字上來看，這一段詩歌，很明顯的是兩句四言詩
搭成一對，雖然不是對偶，卻有內建意涵的互補和結構性的
對襯，在語氣上又和西默翁的四言詩有別，因為有描述的功
能，所以唸起來有當日白話文的況味，但它不完全是單純的
口語，而是避開了冷僻艱澀的辭藻，卻在顯淺中隱藏了弦外
之音，譬如：「道成人身，居我儕中。吾儕親睹，孔德之容。...」
至於詩中的用典，吳經熊在譯文的注釋中清楚的交代這部分
和老子的《道德經》及希臘文的 "Logos" 和拉丁文的
"Verbum" 觀念關係密切，他並且綜合各家注釋之言，找來
中國經典每常出現的詞彙配合套用，譬如用佛典中的字彙「妙
寵真諦」來引申聖子耶穌的「神性」，可見吳經熊譯經的用
心至為明顯[12]。透過用典和修辭的活用，能在中國經典傳統中
求援的，他必定首先採用；儒家經典所無，他就轉向道家，
道家亦技窮時，他就轉往佛家，不拘泥執著，但求暢達明晰，
甚至連含有伊斯蘭教味道的用語亦毫無罣礙的錄用，比如「茫
茫塵世，不識真君」的說法。基於同樣的原理，經熊先生在
本章十七節時就採用如下的用語：「蓋摩西所授者律法耳，

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[12] 見吳之譯經「附註」中「註一」至「註七」，注釋全文詳見《新經全集》，
　　頁 759–62。

至妙寵真諦，則由耶穌基督而溥施」（若 1:17）。驟看之下，連梅瑟（摩西）所訂定的律法（其內涵另見路 2:22; 編下 35:12; 迦 3:16.19; 希 7:19）也有佛味，因為譯文選用了佛典所慣常使用的一些辭藻，但譯者的用意甚為清楚，他不是以辭害意，而是用一般知識份子所耳熟能詳的語彙和表達方式去描述基督教文化的真諦真如。要是放棄這些傳統用法，他便需要另起爐灶建構新詞新典，可能會事倍功半。另方面，可能是更重要的原因，他譯經的出發點不是為了傳教方便，故不必讓譯文老嫗都懂，但卻希望知音者和讀書人都可以理解各種用典的複雜性和引申意義的微妙性，不只是文字的本意，更着重在弦外之音，意在言外的境界，因此，譯文挪用了好幾種文化傳統的語言表達方式，使這一首歌玄妙奧秘之處能充分發揮，確實用心良苦。

洗者約翰（吳譯稱作「如望」）對上面序文作證所引發出來的這一段奧妙讚美詩，事實上是為耶穌基督來臨而歡呼，展示了聖教歷史發展樞紐之功能，猶如依撒伯爾與瑪利亞相見歡呼（路 1:42-45）之功能，所以這兩個情景及其讚語可視為修辭上的交錯配列結構（chiastic structure），在相當程度上透露出上主的意旨（Wilson 442），而且或可視為後先知時代的預言，其文辭之玄妙深邃自不待言。

此外，這種修辭用法在傳遞上主天主與其它萬事萬物和世人關係的聖言（logos）中，經文作者若望採用了一個 X—Y 結構的行文模式，詩行 1–15 和 9–12 為 X 結構，詩行 14 及 16–18 為 Y 結構，中間的 6–8 行，13 行 15 行大體上在《聖經》希臘文原文為散文的結構（Giblin 88），惟在吳經熊的譯文中，基本上 1–15 行都是韻體，只有 16–18 行為散文體，不過 18 行在內容上重覆了 14 行的「惟一聖子」之句，這與《聖經》原文是相符合的。另方面，吳之譯文在呈現神示顯現

（theophany）[13]的角度上比較不明顯。在譯文開首時說：「太初有道」（第一行），這個道指的是聖言"logos"；然後在第十四行開首的地方又說「道成人身」，也就是一般英譯經文所說的"the Word became flesh [human]"之意，雖然同句後段埋下了「妙寵真諦」之語，仍較一般西文譯經中 theophany 的觀念和含意薄弱，此亦為無可奈何之事。故而隨後譯者再借用《道德經》的語詞「吾儕親睹，孔德之容」（1:14）所可能涵蓋的奧秘感來稍事彌補。

　　《新約》中上面這幾位最重要人物都有讚頌上主之辭，對於描述性的唱讚，聖保祿在另一場合便用「愛」做出發，詳為解說。他所說的愛，非為狹義浪漫式的愛情，而是基督教文化核心價值的仁愛。以保祿的教育背景和經歷，大可作泛道德勸諭之詞，也可以用哲學式的分析，更可以用邏輯推理界定一個公式，但他卻選擇一個眾人易懂且以生活小節來鋪陳演繹的做法，成就了《格林多前書》第十三章的一些至理名言：

1　使我無愛德，而徒能操萬國之音，
　　作天神之語，則猶鳴鑼擊鈸而已矣。
2　使我無愛德，而具先知之靈賦，心通一切玄妙，一切知識，
　　甚至有移山之信，則亦浮華無實耳。
3　使我無愛德，雖罄輸所有，以濟貧寒，
　　甚至捨身以投諸火，亦何益之有。
4　夫愛之為德，寬容含忍，愷悌慈祥，不忮不求，不矜不伐，
5　明廉知恥，尚義敦禮，於利不貪，見忤不怒，不念惡，
6　不逆詐，不樂人之非，惟樂人之是；
7　無所不容，無所不信，無所不望，無所不忍。
8　預言有時而息，方言有時而廢，智識有時而窮；
　　而愛德則永久不匱也。

13　關於這一觀念的細述可參見 Charles Homer Giblin, "Two Complementary Literary Structures in John 1:1-18." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 104 (1985)，頁 89。

⁹ 蓋吾人之所知，偏而不全；所預言者，亦偏而不全；
¹⁰ 全者至，則偏者廢矣。
¹¹ 吾人當幼年之時，凡所言、所知、所思，無一而非幼稚也。
及其成人，則稚氣脫矣。
¹² 吾人現時所見，猶如鑑中觀物，僅能得其彷彿；
彼時則面面相對，更無隔閡矣。
現時所知，偏而不全；
彼時則洞悉無遺，有如天主之洞悉吾人者矣。
¹³ 現所存者，惟信、望、愛三德；三德之中，愛為大。

（格前 13:1-13）

　　這一整章是一首完美的詩歌，與前面讚美詩有所不同，最明顯之處就是在結構上沒有一定的格律，句無定言，字數隨狀況轉變，然而在各自的詩行中，卻有一種內建的節奏，這種節奏有時是以連續句之間相同字數和句讀落點為之，因此造成停頓點或節拍相同的樣式，有時是在間隔句之後，再出現相同字數的詩句砌成，也就是修辭學上所稱的對偶句交錯配列法（chiasmus），其所形成的節奏主要來自四言、五言和六言之句，變化之間又有某種一致性，造成結構和節奏上而非文體上的典雅變幻（elegant variation）。然而就文字本身而言，即使沒有譜上音樂，也方便朗讀誦唱，因為句型字數具備了規律性的變化，長短不一卻又富節奏感，形成音樂基本的要素，而當中有許多四言詩句，適合傳統成語的造型，鏗鏘有緻，即使以一般古文視之，在型態上亦達成有旋律感的節奏文字，堪當詩歌讚文而無愧。

　　另方面，在白話本的中文《聖經》裏，關於愛的本質就有如下顯淺易懂的譯文，文章法則雖然不如吳譯的爽朗，卻也其意自闡而且不含糊：

　　愛是含忍的，愛是慈祥的，愛不嫉妒，不誇張，不自大，
　　不作無禮的事，不求己益，不動怒，不圖謀惡事，
　　不以不義為樂，卻與真理同樂：

凡事包容，凡事相信，凡事盼望，凡事忍耐。
（格前 13:4-7[14]）

　　這一段或其它對應版本的歌詞，經常成為經文或歌唱的內容，譜成音樂，因此確實適合頌唱，又因為是白話文書寫的緣故，成為流行的讚禮方式之一，而在內容上，被保祿稱為基督教三德之中最大的一德，彌足珍貴。在行文上，吳譯採取散韻合體，在說明和推理時用的是散文，在描述時用的則是韻體，整章的結構共分四個組合，1–3 行在平行句中拈出一個修辭的「我」；4–7 行在四層的覆述中聚焦在一個「愛」字；在 8–12 行裡，一個通稱的「吾人」和修辭上的「我」、「愛」和「恩寵」交替運作形成平行句；13 行則為結論，構成儀式性的指示文辭（genus demonstrativum）的特色（Smit 197）[15]。比對這個格式，吳譯大致上相當忠實地在句型和架構上反映出來，而在行文以及針對聽眾上，不是用論證，卻用提高聽眾的醒覺來愉悅他們，顯著突出的詞語、平行句型（parallelism）、對比法（antithesis）、重複關鍵字和詞，以及悅耳的句型節奏變成了這種文類的特殊風格（Smit 198–199）。在西方古典修辭學中，西賽羅 Cicero（前 106 年–前 43 年）特別注意到這種文類尤其適合用在讚揚或抑貶的文章上，而保祿這段讚美詩與古典修辭的規範完全吻合（Smit 205, 207），至於吳譯也正好利用四言、五言和六言的文言章句包裝這篇愛的禮讚，把顯著的詞語放大，其它結構和句法特色也和古典規範暗合並把讚文平穩妥適地融入句型節奏裡，在重複理念而不一定是辭彙當中，使頌揚鏗鏘有聲，長

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[14]　此白話文本為吳譯出版之後才面世，見《聖經》（台北：思高聖經學會出版社，1989）頁 1782。此段文章編者所擬的小標題為「愛是諸德的靈魂」。

[15]　古典修辭學中"genus demonstrativum"的功能用法以及其文體與本段頌詩的契合，詳見 J. Smit, "The Genre of 1 Corinthians 13 in the Light of Classical Rhetoric," *Novum Testamentum* 33:3 (1991): 193–216.

短變化有緻，高格而非流於粗俗的歌詠三德中之最大者，其風格直追古典與保祿之書寫傳統，厥稱允當。

綜觀吳譯之頌歌或讚美詩文，大體上保有感恩頌揚上主歌詠的基調，尤其因為它的語言選用了文言文，在句型構造上除了具有内涵的古典詩詞之節拍外，還在句讀上蘊藏了抑揚頓挫的内在節奏，雖然尚未看到譜成歌曲，但在吟唱方面，其本質的音樂元素已是自足的，方便讚禮之用，而在語彙上，譯者採取較為綿密嚴謹的韻文格式呈現，即使拿來誦讀，亦自成詩詞一格。除了這些文字辭藻的表層特徵之外，吳譯的原始注釋在在顯示曾經參詳多種語文的譯本和諸家對特殊用語的詮釋，非僅為閉門造車的筆譯而已[16]。此外，文義中之神學傳統及其艱深晦澀之處，譯文盡量關照，方法之一是儘可能在傳統中文經典裡找出可用的典故，如有不足或不易一目了然的，再加註釋以助解困，此為翻譯中無奈的地方，譬如他利用傳統經典的文辭「六合、乾坤、塵世」（若 1:10）來表示希臘原文的 κόσμος[17]，對照白話本《聖經》全用「世界」（《聖經》1639）一詞，前者在語意的涵泳和文采方面，確實稍勝一籌。當然中文語法和語意不易傳遞原文既有的神學基礎，故而吳經熊採用四言詩句，透過質樸和古拙的架構，稍事彌補去古未遠尚近於天的質感，其苦心孤詣，良有以也。其次，吳之譯文，在細膩中很明顯地保有原文經常使用的平行句型和對比法，增加行文樣式（pattern）的變化和規律性，再加上文言文本來在構詞和句子長度方面較為短小精幹，因此更方便低迴吟唱（chant），成為文字本身及吳譯帶來的特色之一，朗誦與否是一回事，但用來讚頌上主傳達非神學文

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[16] 在〈羅光總主教序〉中，有這段回憶：「余日讀數頁，於詞句有未愜於心者，指與研究，一字之易，常遍索歐美聖經譯文，以資考核。有時吳子且偕余走訪聖經學院教授，以質疑難，今之白雅樞機，乃當日質疑之名師也。」（頁 2）。

[17] 這個選辭的做法見其譯文附註之「註五」，《新經全集》頁 760。

化體系的某種奧秘色彩，吳經熊的譯文大體上較諸白話文的
《聖經》更能勝任。

　　從譯經的角度看，吳經熊的文言文《新約》不只把語意
翻譯了，還選錄了恰當的中國詩詞格律來呈現某種層次和情
境的古典美，換句話說，就是譯文的內容和所選用的文類是
相吻合對應的，亦即是詩之內容和形式是緊密結合的，另一
方面，在功能上，吳譯的詩節大致上均能顯露和隱含傳統聖
經學者所探索的頌歌的特質。經熊先生在翻譯之初，有否特
別注意到頌歌這一文類吾人不得而知，但按照上面的分析和
詮釋，顯然可見中文譯文在傳統詩詞架構的搭配下，強化甚
至理想化了頌歌在《聖經》原文裏的特色。事實上，任何的
翻譯，再怎樣忠於原文，都是不同語言系統之間訊息的更動
和挪用，也是文化理念的挪用，在吳譯的文言文選篇中，更
是文學作品裡文類結構的借用和挪用，不過，這種多重和多
元的挪用，卻是甚為得體的訊息轉移，而其蘊含的詩歌音樂
元素和形式也至為允當，好像是在偶然的運作下，把保祿年
代《新約》寫經時的特徵保留下來。其實，透過譯經的反思
和修辭的重建，可證實吳經熊曾經為頌歌的描繪及其特徵的
展示，費過一番功夫，構成如今自成體系、天籟自然、堪可
頌唱的中文讚美詩。這項事功，根雖然是翻譯，幹卻是奠基
於另一文學傳統的挪用和修飾，枝葉和果實更是令人耳目一
新的古典詩歌別裁，令人由衷的欽佩。

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[ABSTRACT] This article investigates the characteristics of Wu Jingxiong's (Wu Ching-hsiung's) translation of the hymnic passages of the New Testament. Wu's New Testament hymns fit into various genres of classical Chinese poetry. Their author has judiciously adopted meters and rhythms that can appropriately convey the aesthetic dimension and mood of original texts, knitting contents and forms into a tight, inseparable unity. The resulting poems can be sung melodiously. Even when they are simply chanted or read aloud, their rhythmic nature and musicality remains obvious. Wu's version of New Testament hymns constitutes a highly refined and elegant model of Chinese translation.

附錄一
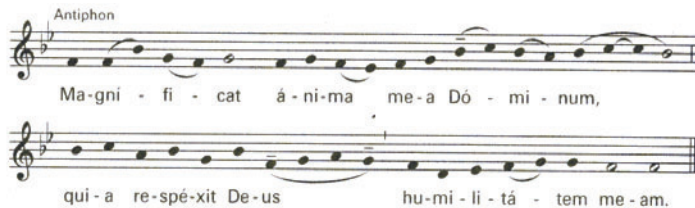
聖母讚主曲
Bernadette Farrell 以譜成音樂的作品

聖母讚主曲
Pedro Rubalcava 的拉丁文作曲

聖母讚主曲
吟唱型式的拉丁文歌作曲

附錄二

I

1. Magnificat anima mea Dominum.

2. Et exsultavit spiritus meus, in Deo salutari meo.

3. Quia respexit humilitatem ancillæ suæ; ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.

II

4. Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est; et sanctum nomen ejus.

5. Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies, timentibus eum.

III

6. Fecit potentiam in brachio suo; ispersit superbos mente cordis sui.

7. Deposuit potentes de sede; et exalavit humiles.

8. Esurientes implevit bonis; et divites limisit inanes.

IV

9. Suscepit Israel puerum suum, recorlatus misericordiæ suæ.

10. Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semini ejus in sæcula.

主揚讚靈吾

吾救於躍喜心吾
主天主之

女婢其顧眷其因
後而今自賤微之
稱將皆人之代萬
福有爲吾

身吾在主之能全
名其事大了成上
的罷是號

代代世世慈仁其
的他畏敬于施要

權展施臂其以主
念傲懷心滅消能
人之

權有制黜位高由
者賤微揚舉者

滿充之使者餓飢
之使者厚富福多
返而手空

拯慈仁其懷記主
爾拉斯依僕其救

先們我給他同如
巴亞向要過說祖
施永代後其及郎
慈仁

聖母讚主曲之拉丁文、中文全文對照

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附錄三

聖母讚主曲
《主日詠讚》（台北：天主教教務協進會出版社，1979），頁 170-71。

Biblical Names of God in Chinese: A Catholic Point of View with Ecumenical Perspectives

François BARRIQUAND

"妙而難名者"之中文譯名

包智光

[ABSTRACT] This article reviews some of the major Chinese divine names that have been used in a Christian context since the Tang dynasty. In a second step, the different characteristics and different significations of the large variety of divine names found in the Bible are examined with an appropriate degree of exegetical technicality. Special attention is devoted to the translational choices of the Sigao Bible. Detailed discussions deal with the issue of the potential use of the terms Shén (神) and Shàngdì (上帝) within future Roman-Catholic or Ecumenical translations. The meaningfulness of the Catholic historical heritage, whose historical variety, richness and scope are sometimes underestimated, is duly taken into account.

The plurality of divine names is not opposed to his divine simplicity

Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, I.31.

INTRODUCTION

A short sentence engraved on the famous Christian stele dating from 781, now located in the *Beilin Museum* of Xi'an, affirms that the Messiah established a new doctrine *that cannot be expressed in words*[1]. In spite - or perhaps to some extent because - of the theological reasons lying behind such an early recognition, the question of the translation of divine names in Chinese has sparked many controversies and innumerable publications during the last centuries. Several recent well documented scholarly studies, including notably the monographs of Irene Eber[2], Jost Oliver Zetzsche[3] and Sangkeun Kim[4] have reviewed many major episodes of the history of the so-called *Term Question* in detail. Although the present article contains two short hitherto unpublished extracts of letters from the missionaries Jean Basset (1662–1707)

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[1] The whole phrase 設三一淨風無言之新教 can be translated as: *He established the new ineffable doctrine of the Holy Spirit of the Trine-Unity*.

[2] Irene Eber, *The Jewish Bishop and the Chinese Bible, S.I.J. Schereschewsky*, Brill, 1999. Cf. also *Bible in Modern China: the Literary and Intellectual Impact*, Monumenta Serica 43, Steyler Verlag, 1999, *The Interminable Term Question*, pp. 135–161, article translated in Chinese by Daniel Choi (蔡錦圖) in 聖經與近代中國, vol. 3, CBI Monograph Series on Bible Translation, 2003, pp. 105–131.

[3] Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China, The History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Monumenta Serica 45, Steyler Verlag, 1999.

[4] Sangkeun Kim, *Strange Names of God, The Missionary Translation of the Divine Name and the Chinese Responses to Matteo Ricci's Shangti in Late Ming China, 1583–1644*, Peter Lang, 2004.

and Andreas Li (c. 1695–1774) that can be of interest for historians, its main purpose is *not* to deal with any historical issues in any detail. It contains even less information about Chinese Antiquity *per se*, does not address the problem of the precise etymology of the word 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) and does not discuss the interpretation of Chinese Classics. Many erudite and outstanding works have already been published on all these topics, and the present author lacks the competence to match them.

Nevertheless, in spite of the huge number of writings that have been devoted to the *Term Question*, it seems that "everything" has not yet been said or written on this issue. At least two dimensions of the problem are usually set aside in scholarly publications. The first concerns the link between the *Term Question* and the prospects of *future* ecumenical progress in China. The second concerns the detailed technical problems faced by translators of the Bible, both past and present. The name *Term Question*, wherein the word "Term" appears in the singular, seems to suggest that the problem at stake should be to find *one* best Chinese equivalent for the English name *God*. This may well have corresponded to the question discussed by early missionaries, but, as has already been stressed by Archie Lee[5], *one* single divine appellation cannot suffice to satisfy the needs of biblical translators. In the prayer *Our Father* taught by Jesus to his disciples, the "Name" mentioned in the sentence *hallowed be your Name* corresponds obviously more to *God's being*, to his *presence* and to *what he stands for* than to any particular linguistic expression. In case Christians

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[5] Archie C.C. Lee, *Naming God in Asia and the "Term Question" Revisited*, in QUEST, vol. 3, No. 1 (April 2004), pp. 21–42.

still feel the need to privilege *one* particular divine term, they should perhaps try to cherish in priority the name used by Jesus himself, *Abba, i.e. Father*, or *Father in Heaven* according to Matt. 6:9. In spite of the disarming simplicity of Jesus' language, however, biblical translators still need to cope with a large and subtle diversity of divine appellations such as *El Shaddai, El, Eloah, Elohim, El Olam, El Roi, El Berith, YHWH, YHWH Sabaoth, The Holy One, The Most High, The Living God, Theos, Kurios, Kurios pantocratōr etc.*

The richness and versatility of the Chinese language provide an interesting match to such biblical profusion. A large number of beautiful Chinese terms have already, or potentially can, serve as divine names for Christian expressions of faith:

天主，上主，聖主（景教），永在天主（東正教），永恆主，上帝，上子，天帝，皇上帝，皇天上帝，昊天上帝，帝師（景教），神，三一真神，天爺，老天爺，天皇，上尊，大父母 *etc.*

An even wider panoply of Chinese names may prove quite useful in various poetical or theological contexts, although they are perhaps less well adapted for nurturing the *personal* relationship between humans and God except if they are used with a personal pronoun such as *Our* (我們的/吾) or *My* (我的/吾):

三一（景教），一神（景教），壹尊，天，大元（天主實義），萬物真原，萬有真源，自有者，永為者，永有自有者，至聖者，至高者，全能者，創造者，成事者，拯救者，創始成終的主宰，生命之寶，極是極有極聖者 *etc.*

Still many more Chinese expressions could be added to these. The greatest difficulty for modern translators is maybe

not so much to invent suitable Chinese terms, as to establish a viable systematic correspondence between biblical languages and modern Chinese.

The first part of the present article is devoted to a short survey of the legacy of the Church of the East in China, of Jesuit missionaries and Chinese converts in the 17th century, as well as of later Catholics in Sichuan, from an angle that can open the way towards future ecumenical progress. The background and the perspective thus gained serves as a basis for a rather systematic exegetical investigation to which the second part of this study is devoted.

I.   DIVERSITY OF CATHOLIC EXPERIENCES IN CHINA

I.1   THE PRECEDENT ESTABLISHED BY MISSIONARIES OF THE JING TEACHING

The unique ecumenical characteristics of the Church of the East in China during the Tang dynasty raise several questions that are of interest not only for historians, but also for present-day believers. We shall therefore make a series of tentative comments concerning the ecumenical perspectives opened up by the 景 (*Jǐng*) *Teaching* in China before turning our attention towards some of the divine names used by missionaries of the *Jing* teaching.

Among the set of historical puzzles left by the *Reverent Teaching* - which, as argued by Samuel Lieu[6], seems to be a more accurate English rendering of the *original* meaning of the term 景教 (*Jǐngjiào*) than the idea of *Radiant religion* with which the author of the Xi'an stele plays explicitly - figures the short statement according to which the Messiah *left 27 Classics*[7] after his glorious Ascension. This statement can be read on the Xi'an stele. The problem lies in the fact that it is impossible to find any Nestorian or Jacobite New Testament canon containing exactly 27 books (the Peshitta usually contained only 22 of them), whereas the number of books retained in the New Testament used in Constantinople during the 8th century was precisely 27, as remains the case today for Catholic, Orthodox, and most Protestant Christians.

It is not impossible that a coherent explanation may finally be given to the number of *27 Classics* if one starts to pay more attention to a passage of the Xi'an stele lavishly praising the idyllic religious and social situation of the Roman Empire during the Han and Wei dynasties. This passage can be translated as follows:

> « According to the *Illustrated Records of the Western Lands* and the historical documents of the Han and Wei, the land of *Da Qin* governs the Coral Sea[8] on the south, and stretches towards the Gem Mountain on the North; on the West it

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[6] *Exegisti monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, Iranica, ed. by F. de Blois, A. Hintze and W. Sundermann, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009, p. 241.

[7] 經留二十七部。

[8] According to Pelliot, who provides an impressive number of references, the Coral Sea corresponds here to the Mediterranean Sea, not the Red Sea.

looks towards the Region of the Immortals and the Forest of Blossoms[9], on the East it borders on the Violent Winds and the Feeble Waters. The country produces fire-washed cloth[10], spices that restore the soul [11] , bright moon pearls and phosphorescent rings. Customs ignore theft and robbery, people are happy and content. No religion except the *Radiant Teaching* is practiced; no ruler deprived of virtue is established. Lands are extensive and broad, material civilization is bright.»[12]

Such a *quasi* mythical account shows us that when the stele was erected (in 781), missionaries of the *Jing Teaching* were quite willing to use the Roman Empire as a reference for their religion. For that purpose, they used the obsolete and therefore politically inoffensive designation 大秦 (*Dà Qín*), which differed from the usual designation of the Byzantine empire 拂林 (*Fúlín*) during the Tang dynasty. In no way did they hint at the existence of a religious schism between them and the patriarchate of Constantinople. Could it be possible, then, that the *27 Classics* mentioned on the Xi'an stele simply correspond to the New Testament Canon used in Constantinople at the same period? One Chinese imperial edict, dated from 745, strongly strengthens this hypothesis.

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[9]　Cf. the legend of the Hesperides.

[10]　*asbestos*

[11]　*theriac*

[12]　Cf. the text in columns 14 and 15 of the Xi'an stele:

案西域圖記及漢魏史策，大秦國南統珊瑚之海，北極眾寶之山，西望仙境花林，東接長風弱水。其土出火綄布、返魂香、明月珠、夜光璧。俗無寇盜，人有樂康，法非景不行，主非德不立。土宇廣濶，文物昌明。

This text has already been translated by Bruno Forte[13], and has recently received renewed attention from Timothy Barrett[14]. Let us reproduce here Forte's translation:

« The texts and teaching of Persia originated in *Da Qin*, came after being transmitted and practiced (in Persia), and have long since circulated in China. Thus it was that when first the monasteries were built [in China], they were accordingly named [*Monasteries of Persia*].

Wishing to show men (*sic*) that it is necessary to learn their origin, for the Monasteries of Persia in the two capitals it is proper that they change into *Monasteries of Da Qin*. As for those established in the superior prefectures and commanderies of the Empire, they too should conform to this[15]. »

Through this 745 edict, the imperial authority of China established an official link between the *Jing Teaching* and the ancient Roman Empire (*Da Qin*). According to Barrett, « calling Christianity the *Religion of Da Qin* shows that the Nestorians of the Tang undeniably possessed a sensitive awareness of their political environment within China, and probably internationally as well, and moved with

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[13] Paul Pelliot, *L'Inscription Nestorienne de Si-Ngan-Fou*，*Edited with Supplements by Antonino Forte*, Italian School of East Asian Studies and Collège de France, 1996, p. 353.

[14] T.H. Barrett, *Buddhism, Taoism and the eighth-century Chinese term for Christianity: a response to recent work by A. Forte and others*, in *Jingjiao; The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, Roman Malek and Peter Hofrichter (eds.), Steyler Verlag, Nettetal 2006, pp. 555–560.

[15] 波斯經教，出自大秦，傳習而來，久行中國。爰初建寺，因以為名。將欲示人，必修基本。其兩京波斯寺，宜改為大秦寺。天下諸府郡置者，亦宜准此。

considerable acumen to secure the best possible position for themselves within it »[16]. Samuel Lieu similarly indicates that the Nestorian monks and priests were anxious to see that their centers of worship should not be known as « Persian monasteries (*Bōsī Sì* 波斯寺) and petitioned to have the names of their monasteries changed into *Daqin* (*i.e. Roman*) *monasteries* (*Dàqín Sì* 大秦寺) ».[17] However, such descriptions entirely set aside the role of Chinese bureaucracy, which would have been unlikely to let foreign monks dictate the Chinese emperor's decisions, and even less to let them ignore an imperial edict once it had been promulgated. Several indications show that the *Jing Teaching* had been closely monitored by the Tang dynasty since its arrival at Chang-an in 635. The concept of State and Church separation was naturally absent from the vocabulary of all imperial regimes during that period, and many Tang emperors displayed themselves a strong personal, as well as political, interest in religion. The poetic eulogy concluding the text of the Xi'an stele, successively praising the Tàizōng (太宗), Gāozōng (高宗), Xuánzōng (玄宗), Sùzōng (肅宗), Dàizōng (代宗) and Jiànzhōng (建中) emperors, suggests that the stele readership was not limited to devout Christian pilgrims. As B. Forte and Stanley Weinstein indicate[18], the precise number of *twenty-one* monks assigned to the first *Jing* monastery, mentioned by the Xi'an stele, corresponds to the maximum number of monks

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[16]　*Ibid*, p. 560.

[17]　Samuel Lieu, *Epigraphica Nestoriana Serica*, in *Exegisti monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams (IRANICA)*, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009, pp. 227–246.

[18]　Paul Pelliot, *L'Inscription Nestorienne de Si-Ngan-Fou, Edited with Supplements by Antonino Forte*, Italian School of East Asian Studies and Collège de France, 1996, p. 358–9.

authorized for monasteries of the highest grade at a time when Chinese bureaucracy tried to control Buddhist influence. An even stronger sign of the tight supervision exerted by state officials on Christian monasteries is provided by a short line of Chinese text engraved on a lateral part of the stele, which can be translated in the following way:

> « The Assistant Supervisor of the erection [of the stele], the abbot and monk Yeli [*i.e.* Gabriel], who was awarded the purple monastic robe [or *kasāya*] by the *Taichang Qing* [an official in charge of the supervision of religious ceremonies] through [public] examination.[19] »

So far, we have not yet clarified what kind of motivation would have led the Xuanzong emperor, in 745, to forbid Christian monks from acknowledging their links with Persia. In spite of the lack of direct historical evidence on this point, it is not difficult to make a few reasonable guesses. First of all, the Muslim conquest of Persia, which led to the fall of the Sassanid dynasty in 651, could not have left Tang emperors indifferent. Only six years after the 745 edict, the Battle of Talas sanctioned the victory of Muslim troops over Tang Chinese soldiers and Karluk (Turkic) mercenaries. It is not impossible that, as has happened repeatedly ever since, the political influence of Christian monks may have been largely overestimated by Chinese authorities, and that the Tang administration would have wished to isolate them from any contact with the Sassanid authorities. What is more, some

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[19] 助檢校試太常卿紫袈寺主僧業利. The English translation *supra* is borrowed from Samuel Lieu, ref. *supra*, p. 233.

indices suggest that Tang diplomats were positively interested in consolidating their links with what remained of the Byzantine Empire at that time. The traditional Chinese stratagem called 遠交近攻, *befriending a distant state while attacking a neighbor*, was presumably not ignored by Byzantine diplomats either. Chinese records mention the arrival of two Byzantine embassies in China in 719 and 742[20]. It is difficult to avoid wondering whether the Chinese 745 edict might have been connected with the 742 Byzantine embassy.

In any case, once the 745 edict was promulgated, it would have become the duty of Tang dynasty officials to check whether the religious tenets of Christian monks were consistent with their newly professed identity. This may have constituted one of the causes leading the monks to adopt, at least formally, the New Testament canon of Constantinople. Although it must be recognized that the above discussion raises more questions than it answers, at least we may use it as a warning that it would be misleading to read too much into the rare ecumenical [21] attitude displayed by monks belonging to the *Jing Teaching* in China[22].

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[20] Martin Palmer, *The Jesus Sutras*, Wellspring, 2001, p. 215.

[21] One could even say *de facto Catholic*, at a time when Byzantine and Latin Churches were united.

[22] In case the text of the Xi'an stele indicating that the Messiah "制 八境之度" means that *he established [clerical] orders of eight different degrees*, which Saeki has quoted as a possibility without pleading for it, one would have here a clear indication that the Christian monks continued to organise themselves according to the hierarchical system of the Church of the East, which indeed seems to have comprised eight orders (cf. Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 3, §139). Constantinople usually recognized five "orders" only (cf. John Damascene, *Dial. Contra Manichæos 3*; and Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.*, I, 116). For rather unclear reasons, Pelliot did not take seriously the idea that 八境之度 might refer to eight hierarchical orders, although he was aware that 度 could refer in

Whatever the religious and political constraints endured by these monks, what appears eventually appealing to contemporary Christian theologians is that it is basically impossible to find any trace of doctrinally controversial content within several of their writings, particularly in the text of the Xi'an stele and the *Reverent Teaching's Hymn to Take Refuge in the Holy Trinity*[23] discovered in Dunhuang. This fact, added to the seniority of *Jing Teaching* missionaries in the history of Christianity in China, should invite contemporary Catholics to consider their legacy with deep sympathy.

As far as the translation of divine names into Chinese is concerned, several texts belonging to the *Jing Teaching* contain quite a number of valuable renderings. Some of them would still have the potential to inspire modern Christian poetry in Chinese. Even if we exclude from our list some rather dull, purely phonetic transliterations like 阿羅訶 (standing for *Alaha*[24]) and 彌施訶 (standing for the *Messiah*), and even if we limit our survey to two sources only, namely the *Hymn to Take Refuge in the Holy Trinity* and the Xi'an stele, we can already obtain a substantial list of highly evocative Chinese divine appellations. The English translation proposed below is only indicative. Two divine titles apply to the whole Trinity:

Buddhist context to a sort of "ordination" controlled by the state through a system of ordination certificates, *i.e.* 度牒 (cf. the monograph edited by Bruno Forte, ref. *supra*, p. 236). It is hoped that experts will be able to shed more light on this issue in the future.

[23] 景教三威蒙度贊. For the translation of 三威蒙度贊 into *Hymn to Take Refuge in the Holy Trinity*, cf. Vincent Shen, *On the Nestorian Introduction of Christian Monotheism into China (635–845): A Preliminary Evaluation of its Strategies of Strangification*, Fu Jen International Religious Studies, Vol. 1, No 1 (Summer 2007), p. 30.

[24] *Alaha* is a Syriac equivalent of the Hebrew word *Eloah*, which is itself a singular form of the well known plural *Elohim*.

慈父明子淨風王	*Merciful Father, Glorious Son and Pure Wind Sovereign*
三一	*Trine-Unity;*

several appellations apply to the Father:

三才慈父	*Three-powered gracious Father*
師帝	*Master Ruler*
法皇	*Emperor of the fundamental law (dharma)*
真主	*Genuine Master*
三一妙身	*Transcendent Person of the Trine-Unity;*

several others to the Son:

聖主	*Holy Lord*
普尊大聖子	*Greatest and holiest of the universally honored beings*
常活命王	*King of eternal life*
三一分身	*Separated Person of the Trine-Unity;*

and others to the Holy Spirit:

淨[25]風	*Pure Wind*
法王	*Sovereign of fundamental truth*

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[25] Since 淨 was used to translate the Buddhist word *vimala* which means "clean and pure", the term 淨風 (*Jìng Fēng*) possesses interesting Buddhist harmonies (cf. Toshikazu S. Foley, *Translating Biblical Texts into Chinese: The Pioneer Venture of the Nestorian Missionaries*, Technical Papers for the Bible Translator Vol. 59, No. 3, July 2008). It is also particularly worth mentioning that Bishop Aluoben earlier used two other related terms for translating the name *Holy Spirit* in the *Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe*: 元風 (*Yuánfēng,* lit. *original wind*) and 玄風 (*Xuánfēng*, lit. *mysterious wind*). The Taoist connotations of the latter term are particularly obvious. From the point of view of Christian theology, the

	(dharma)
元風	Primal Breeze
三一淨風	Spiritual Person of the Trine-Unity.

I.2   CATHOLIC USE OF THE TERM 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) DURING THE 17th CENTURY

According to Matteo Ricci's own testimony [26], the introduction of the term 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) in the Catholic Church originates from the initiative of a young Chinese convert named Cin Nicò who, during the fall of 1583, wrote the two characters 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) on a spirit tablet which he placed above an altar in the Mission established by Ruggieri and Ricci in the city of Zhaoqing. Ruggieri and Ricci adopted this term, and inserted it as soon as 1584 within the title[27] of a re-edition of a catechetical book initially composed by Ruggieri. Ricci deeply appreciated this innovation, as a passage of his writings translated in English by Sangkeun Kim[28] clearly shows:

> « Missionaries always used the title *Tianzhu*, meaning *Lord of Heaven*. They could hardly have chosen a more appropriate expression, because there is no consonant sound corresponding to *D* in the Chinese language, and to them there was

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expression 元風 (*Yuánfēng*) appears particularly easy to connect with Gen 1 and New Testament Christology. It is the author's guess that the expression 元風 will make a comeback some day, perhaps not in biblical translations properly speaking, but at least in Christian poetry.

[26] *Fonti Ricciane*, vol. 1, pp.185–186.

[27] 新編西竺国天主實錄 (Xīn-Bīan Xīzhúguó Tiānzhǔ-Shílù).

[28] Sangkeun Kim, ref. *supra*, p.146.

> something magnificent and a touch of the divine
> in this particular name. In fact, this title, first used
> at the beginning of our missionary work, is still in
> vogue today when God is mentioned in discourse
> and in writing. »[29]

Alas, since no human appellation can be totally exempt from imprecision, the Buddhist connection of the term 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) has sporadically caused some amount of confusion. According to Paul Pelliot, in Chinese Buddhism the expression 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) corresponds to the God *Indra,* also sometimes called 帝释天 (*Dìshìtīan*) in Chinese. Although modern Hindus tend to see Indra as a minor deity, and although 天主 corresponds also only to a minor and rather obscure deity among Chinese Buddhists, Indra was originally venerated as a King of the *Gods* or *Devas*, Lord of Thunder, Storms, Rainfall *etc*. The connection between Indra and 天主 does not seem to be more problematic than the connection between *El* and the Canaanite deity of the same name, and Christians should have no reason to be ashamed of it. In fact, as Pelliot has clearly pointed out, it is not in quality of *Lord of Heaven*, but because he is *Devendra, i.e. Lord of the celestial Devas*, that *Indra* is sometimes called 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*)[30]. The Catholic use of the term 天主 is therefore intrinsically highly different from the Buddhist one. The Catholic appellation 天主 constitutes an innovation that deserves to be considered as both authentically Chinese, and authentically Christian.

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[29]　*Fonti Ricciane*, vol. 1, p.193.

[30]　Paul Pelliot, ref. *supra*, p. 205, note 40.

I.3 CATHOLIC USE OF THE TERM 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) DURING THE 17th CENTURY

The next major divine name, and historically the most debated, to have been introduced within the Catholic expression of faith in China is 上帝 (*Shàngdì*), literally *Patriarch on High, or Emperor on High*. Kim's monograph[31] provides a huge amount of information concerning the Christian and anti-Christian use of this term during the late Ming period. Let us content ourselves to record what can be considered as the three most decisive historical turning points related to the Christian use of the term *Shangdi*:

(1) A first historical step was made by Matteo Ricci when he asserted in his highly influential introduction to the Catholic faith entitled *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (天主實義):

> 吾天主，即華言上帝；與道家所塑玄帝玉皇之像不
> 同……

> *He who is called the Lord of Heaven in my humble country is He who is called Shangdi (Sovereign on High) in Chinese. He is not, however, the same as the carved image of the Taoist Jade Emperor[32]…*

Matteo Ricci further asserted:

> 歷觀古書，而知上帝與天主特異以名也。

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[31] Sangkeun Kim, ref. *supra*.

[32] The English translation *supra* is borrowed from Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, in *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven,* Ricci Institute, Taipeh, Paris, Hongkong, 1985, §103, p. 121.

> *Having leafed through a great number of ancient books, it is quite clear to me that Shangdi (the Sovereign on High) and Tianzhu (the Lord of Heaven) are different only in name*[33].

(2)   A second crucial historical decision was made in 1715 by Pope Clement XI (1649–1721) when he promulgated the bull *Ex Illa Die*. This bull confirmed several earlier partial prohibitions concerning Chinese Rites and prohibited the use of the terms as *Heaven* and *Shangdi*.

(3)   Arguably the most important step was made only much later, in 1850, when the *British and Foreign Bible Society* published the so-called *Delegates' Version* of the four Gospels. For the first time, the term 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) appeared in the Bible itself. The success of the term 上帝 has been such that it seems to have now become the most commonly employed expression referring to *God* in the Chinese media. Basically everyone in China is now aware of its Christian use. One can guess that the Catholic Church will not remain indefinitely indifferent to this phenomenon.

The strength of the early opposition to the term 上帝 on the part of a small number of Jesuits, many Catholic non-Jesuit missionaries [34] and several 19th Protestant missionaries like the Anglican William Boone[35] (1811–1864)

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[33]   *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven,* ref. *supra*, § 108, p. 125.

[34]   With the notable exception of J. Basset, who later turned towards the character 神 (*Shén*). He could not have adopted the term 上帝 without having convinced Mgr. Maigrot of its validity anyway, since Mgr. de Lyonne, the bishop nominally in charge of Sichuan apostolic vicariate, had ordered J. Basset to apply Mgr. Maigrot's 1693 *Mandate* in Sichuan.

[35]   Cf. Irene Eber, ref. *supra*, in chap. 6, *The Term Question*, p. 213.

illustrates the fact that the adoption of this term has indeed constituted a bold move, which has often been compared by its detractors to what first century apostles *would* have done if they had translated *Elohim* or *Yahweh* into *Zeus* or *Jupiter*… which they did not do. Or is this comparison really valid? In fact, the parallel is rather misleading, since the foundations of Chinese language do not function in the same way as those of Greek language. Chinese characters possess such a symbolic power that the two characters 上帝 would still continue to point towards the image of a "Superior Emperor" even if Chinese ancient mythology had never existed, provided that the meaning of individual Chinese characters were known. In contrast, the combination of the four letters *Z*, *e*, *u* and *s* would become totally deprived of meaning if all knowledge of Greek mythology were lost. From the semantic point of view, the term 上帝 depends less on early Chinese literature to make sense than the term *Zeus* depends on Greek mythology.

I.4 CATHOLIC USE OF THE TERM 天 (*Tiān*) DURING THE 17th CENTURY

Our survey devoted to the term 天 (*Tiān*, *i.e. Heaven*) will be particularly brief, since although this designation has been used alongside the designation 上天 (*Shàng Tiān*: *Heaven on High* or *Heavenly Sovereign*) by a Jewish community in Kāifēng (開封) for several centuries (starting from at least the 12th century), and although it had been used on a *quasi* equal footing with the term 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) by early Jesuit

missionaries and Chinese converts during the 17th century[36], it has seldom resurfaced in a Christian context after Clement XI's decrees, and it has hardly ever been considered as a serious option by 19th and 20th century Protestant translators, either foreign or Chinese.

One reason for this phenomenon appears, paradoxically, quite similar to one of the reasons for the success of the term 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) in China: Chinese characters enjoy a "life" of their own, and although both terms 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) and 天 (*Tiān*) have played nearly identical roles in Chinese Classics, the character 帝, which intrinsically points to a kind of "personal" being, possesses a much greater potential to nurture the personal relationship between humans and God than 天. Although it would be wrong to pretend that the concept of *Heaven* in Chinese literature has always been completely depersonalized, it remains a fact that very few tangible indications can support the idea that Confucius' notion of 天 (*Tiān*) was more personal than the ancient Stoics conception of God — which arguably remained a far distance away from what Christian theology usually means by *God*.

Does this imply, however, that the term 天 (*Tiān*) should be completely excluded from the theological vocabulary of the Catholic Church? The answer to this question can only be negative, since the term 天 has in fact already made its entry into one of the most famous biblical parables for more than

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[36] Cf. notably the apology of the terms 帝 (*Dì*) and 天 (*Tiān*), entitled 帝天考 (*Dì Tiān Kǎo*), composed by a Fujian convert named 嚴謨 (Yán Mó) around the year 1682, presented and analysed by N. Standaert in his dissertation entitled: 可親的天主，清初基督徒論「帝」談「天」，何麗霞譯，光啓出版社，1998.

three centuries. When the *prodigal son* (Luke 15:11-32) returns to his father, he confesses:

Πάτερ, ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου
(Luke 15:21)

which can be translated very literally:

Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before you.

Already around the year 1705, the missionary Jean Basset[37] composed with the help of the Chinese convert Johan Xu (徐若翰) the following quite literal translation of Luke 15:21:

父，我已得罪于天，亦有罪于尔前

The Sigao Bible published by the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum of Hong Kong contains the more modern, but less literal rendering:

父親，我得罪了天，也得罪了你

Modern exegetes usually consider the *Heaven* of Luke 15:21 as a metonymy for *God*, whose meaning can be understood if one remembers that the holiest divine name, *YHWH*, had

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[37] J. Basset once formulated a quite balanced opinion concerning the use of 天, writing: « I would not want to condemn totally the use of the word *Tiān* (天) [to name God], principally because it is clear that *Tian* is sometimes understood metaphorically by the Chinese people; however, we should use this term only rarely and with precaution, in order to avoid that people may be led into error » (The original Latin manuscript is conserved in AME 424, p. 211).

become surrounded by so much respect (or so much fear[38]) that no commoner dared to pronounce it anymore at the time of Jesus. Naturally, the divine designation of Luke 15:21 has always escaped the notice of even the most severe censors…

Let us also note that another occurrence of the same celestial metonymy can be found in Dan. 4:23/26, where the Sigao Bible uses appropriately the two characters 上天:

Sigao:　　至於所說在地中只留下樹根的餘幹，是說到你承認上天統治一切時，你的國仍再歸於你。

NRSV:　　*As it was commanded to leave the stump and roots of the tree, your kingdom shall be re-established for you from the time that you learn that Heaven is sovereign.*

I.5　　CATHOLIC USE OF THE TERM 神 (*Shén*) DURING THE 18th CENTURY

The use of the term 神 (*Shén*) by missionaries in Sichuan started at least as soon as 1704, when Jean Basset (1662–1707) and the Chinese convert Johan Xu (?–1734) started to translate the New Testament. As can be reconstructed from the correspondence of Basset, the introduction of the term 神 (*Shén*) in Catholic writings in Sichuan derives from a question he wrote to his confrere Mgr. Charles Maigrot (1652–1730) before his departure to Sichuan, asking whether it was not through the term 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) that Chinese people had

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[38]　The Decalogue insisted in Exod. 20:7 and Deut. 5:11: *You shall not misuse the name of Yahweh your God, for Yahweh will not leave unpunished anyone who misuses his name.*

developed a natural understanding of the unique God, in conformity with what Saint Paul writes about all non-Jewish people in Rom. 1:19: *what can be known about God is plain to them*. Maigrot refused to concede this point, and suggested instead that the ancient theological understanding of the Chinese people was contained in the word 神 (*Shén*). J. Basset was not immediately convinced by Maigrot's argument, but he nevertheless ultimately decided to use 神 (*Shén*) in the New Testament translation that he started together with Johan Xu in 1704 in Chengdu.

The later history of the use of the term 神 (*Shén*) within the Catholic Church in Sichuan province is not well documented. Fortunately, a passage of a letter written in 1765 by the Chinese missionary Andreas Li (李安德) to the cardinal in charge of Propaganda Fide can help us to get at least an approximate general view of the first decades of this history. The 1765 letter of Andreas Li responds to an inquiry triggered by a letter of denunciation against him translated into Latin and transmitted to Rome in 1761 by the procurator of Propaganda in Macao, Emiliano Palladini[39] (1733–1793). Here is the text of the answer written by Andreas Li[40]:

> « ...None of the missionaries who work in this Mission had expected anything like this to happen. While my health was weakening day by

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[39] A Latin version of the denunciation letter has been published by Fortunato Margiotti in *Il cattolicismo nello Shansi dale origini al 1738*, Sinica Franciscana 1958, pp. 660 ssq.

[40] I thank father Joseph Ruellen for his translation of this text from Latin into French. What I provide here is a translation of his text from French to English. Andreas Li's letter is dated from July 16, 1765, and is referenced as A.M.E. vol. 446, fol. 698 ssq.

day, and while I was already approaching my death, I suddenly learnt, by letters sent to us from Paris in 1763, that I have been accused in front of the Holy Congregation of having been imbued with a pharisaic arrogance and of having audaciously invented, notwithstanding my own ignorance and insignificance, new Chinese words to explain the dogmas of the Catholic Church, whereas successive Vicars Apostolic and their cooperators, past and present, had never used such terms.

[...]

In order to understand what follows, I need to mention the names of four priests who were sent to this Mission [of Sichuan province] by the aforesaid prelate [Mgr. Artus de Lionne] during the year 1700. The first of them was the late Louis Appiani, from Savoy. The second was late Jean Basset, from Lyon. These two gentlemen, being older and more familiar with Chinese customs, were appointed pro-vicars. The third priest was Johan Müllener, from Bremen, and the fourth François Martin de la Baluère, from Brittany. The latter two were younger and, since they had only recently arrived in China, were concentrating on the study of the Chinese language and literature. Around the same epoch, an apostolic missionary belonging to the Order of Saint Francis[41], who exercised his ministry in the province of Shaanxi, had composed a Latin-Chinese dictionary in which he declared that the Chinese character *Shén* (神) corresponds well with the Latin word

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[41]　Basilio Brollo da Gemona (1648–1704) o.f.m. was appointed vicar-apostolic of Shaanxi in 1696.

Deus or *numen*[42].

[…] Please note, Eminence, that just as the Romans once worshiped their idols such as Jupiter, Mars, Mercury and Venus, by naming them *gods*, Chinese idolaters also worship under the name *Shen* all the things they consider to be deities and gods. In order to clarify the confusing meaning of *Shen*, Rev. Basset, my first father in Christ and first pro-vicar in the province of Sichuan, imitated the example of the Doctor of the Nations[43]. Indeed, in the same manner as the divine Paul had used the expression *the unknown God* when he stood in the midst of the Areopagus in order to lead the idolatrous Athenians towards the true knowledge of God and of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, the late Rev. Basset, who wanted to attract the pagans living in Sichuan towards the Catholic faith, showed in a vigorous fashion, in the essay that he wrote against Chinese atheists and idolaters, that the *deity* or *God*, *numen* or *Deus* in Latin, *Shen* in Chinese, whom we must worship, does not correspond to the images of idols that one imagines in dreams, but to the God whom we must worship according to Christian doctrine. Here below are his own words which I, his unworthy disciple, have translated from Chinese to Latin:

> « […] Our religion is holy and right, considers all things through reason, and judges them in a quite different way than the world. Indeed, nothing can be compared with the God or *Shen* whom we worship with reverence and devotion,

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[42] *deity*.

[43] Saint Paul.

whether heaven or earth, reason or substance, non-being, chaos, supremeness, all sorts of earthly deities worshipped and trusted by the world, holy men or wisemen, or any other entity. The *Shén* (神) I am considering is the God from whom all things depend and who depends on nothing; all beings depend on his action and assistance, whereas he, being deprived of beginning and end, does not need anything. He is the purpose and principle of all things. He is so powerful that nobody can understand his works. He is so omniscient that no one can explore his knowledge. He is so perfectly good that he wants to reward all honest people with happiness and can subject the unjust to due punishment. He is so ubiquitous that nobody can see his face. He is the one whom I call *Shén* (神) because he is the source and origin of all reason, the root of all beings, the author of all good virtues, the culmination of all felicity.

[…] During the Ming dynasty, missionaries of the Christian religion like Matteo Ricci and other Europeans were the first to enter the empire of China. They noticed that Chinese people, in their conversations, discussions and teachings, had constantly on their lips the word *Tiān* (天) and ignored the God of gods who is above heavens, creator of heaven and earth and all beings, master of life and death, judge of good and evil. These Europeans wished to attract the Chinese people through the style and the manners of Chinese language and literature. Since Chinese people acknowledge that the sky has a ruler, they called him the *Lord of Heaven*, *Tiānzhǔ* (天主), the *Supreme Deity of Heaven*, in other words *Shén* (神), *God*. However, the name *Tianzhu*, according to the literal meaning of the characters, seemed to them to be unclear, equivocal and ambiguous when applied to God. One persuaded them that they would succeed to lead the Chinese people towards the knowledge of the true God by using this name, that Chinese people would believe in this Name and that they would follow the Lord God taught by the Catholic faith. But experience has proved that the Chinese people have not

recognized under this name the true God. They rather imagine more and more false gods. It is therefore not surprising that the Chinese people, because of their ignorance of the true Lord, have entrenched themselves even further in their misconceptions. As a result, people blinded by the world, when they hear our Christians pronounce the name *Tianzhu*, suspect that we believe that the sky is Lord. Others, when they hear the same name *Tianzhu*, are stunned and amazed at the idea that a master is dwelling above in the sky. Still others say, laughingly, that the "religion of the Lord of Heaven" is now spreading, and that the "religion of the Lord of the Earth" will follow. […] This is the reason why I have replaced the name *Tianzhu*, *Lord of Heaven*, employed by the first missionaries to signify God, by the character *Shén* (神), which has seemed to me to be more appropriate. At first sight, the names *Tianzhu* and *Shen* seem to be very different, but in reality they point towards the same being. It is therefore important to take care that they are not interpreted in a different way from the way I explain them and speak about them. »

I have quoted above what Rev. Basset himself wrote. I can also report without too much difficulty about an incident that happened fifteen years ago in this province of Sichuan. At that time, a group of people had been fomenting a rebellion, and when they appeared in front of their judges, they pretended to belong to a secret religion. They also accused the Christians of the city of *Siutchuen* [44] to be their accomplices. However, after a few months of thorough inquiry, the judges released the innocent Christians,

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[44] Perhaps 旭川 (Xúchuān), today 榮縣 (Róngxiàn), located near the present city of Leshan (樂山). (Indication graciously provided by R. Entenmann).

whereas the authors of sedition and rebellion were put to death.

During the inquiry, the name *Lord of Heaven*, in the sense I use it now, caused a lot of confusion, and it led the investigators to despise the translator who had pretended to put into Chinese some passages of the Holy Writ. I stumbled across the same insoluble problem myself when I read a book of meditations edited, unless I am mistaken, by a European missionary. The translator would certainly not have faced so much difficulty if he had used the character *Shén* (神) to render the following passages of the Holy Writ:

> *The God of gods said: "the gods of the pagans are demons"*[45];
>
> *I said: "you are all gods and sons of the Most High"*[46],
>
> *etc.*

What is more, I also once saw with my own eyes, among several inscriptions of idols, an idol designated by the title *Tianzhu*.

According to its etymology, the Chinese character *Fēng* (風) possesses a double meaning in Chinese: one physical and one moral. According to the physical sense, *Feng* refers to the material wind by which all visible matter is pressed, animated

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[45]　Ps. 95:5 (Vulgate only)

[46]　Ps. 81:6 (Vulgate)

and agitated. In a moral sense, the same character refers to every kind of force capable of leading humans towards what is good, or sometimes towards evil. Once we accept the meaning and the definition of this name, or word, it becomes easier, I think, to render in Chinese the words of the Gospel in which Christ says to Nicodemus:

> *The wind blows where it wills; you hear its voice, but you cannot tell from where it comes and where it goes.*

And also:

> *By the word of the Lord the heavens were established; and all their power by the spirit of his mouth.[47]*

And also:

> *The Spirit of the Lord was upon the waters...*
>
> *etc.*

The late Rev. Basset used the etymology of the Chinese character *Fēng* (風) to explain the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit. He named the third person of the Holy Trinity, in Latin *Spiritus Sanctus*, *Shèng Fēng* (聖風) within the following questions and answers:

> « *Question*:
>
> - How does one call the third person of the Blessed Trinity in the Holy Scriptures?
>
> *Answer*:

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[47]   Ps. 32:6 (Vulgate)

- In Latin it is called "Spiritus Sanctus". In Chinese it seems that we should call it *Shèng Fēng* (聖風).
Question:

- Why should the Latin name "Spiritus Sanctus" be called "Shèng Fēng" (聖風) in Chinese?
Answer:

- Doctors have given a quadruple reason:

The first is that the third person of the Blessed Trinity is Divine Love itself. Love, or affection (風情), is also the source and origin of all action among humans.

The second is that *wind* or *spirit*, in Chinese *Fēng* (風), proceeds from a source, just as the third person of the Holy Trinity proceeds from the Father and the Son.

The third is that the strength and power of the "wind" or "spirit" that moves and shakes all things is immense and incommensurable: by a small and peaceful breath of wind or spirit, beings can grow and become fertilized. Humans also use the inflections carried by the breath or spirit that stems from their mouths to communicate with each other, and are able, through a sort of inner motion, to become one heart and one soul.

The fourth reason is that, according to the definition of the Chinese word *Fēng* (風) and the Latin word *Spiritus* or *Wind*, and according to the explanation transmitted by the holy Doctors concerning the admirable effects of the Third Person of the Most Holy Trinity, who can change the hearts of Christ's followers, the Chinese character *Fēng* (風) and the Latin word *Spiritus* do not differ from each other. The Chinese character *Fēng* (風), taken in a moral sense, can refer to the instruction given by the prince of a kingdom. Once this instruction has been proclaimed, all the prince's subjects are obliged

> to abide by it wherever they live, near or far. Once enacted, laws have the capacity to bring about some change everywhere in a kingdom, just as a tree, once planted, does not need to receive the care of the person who planted it anymore. *Fēng* (風) in Chinese, *Spiritus* in Latin, can lead all the people to obey their king. […] When the Redeemer of humankind, the Lord Jesus Christ, wanted to reform his disciples so that they may become one heart and one soul in Him, he sent them his Holy Spirit (聖風) under whose impulse these ignorant villains suddenly became wise and good. […] »

In testimony to the legitimate definition of the character Fēng (風) explained above, it does not seem out of place to mention here what happened forty years ago. The Yongzheng [48] emperor, who died during the ninth year of his reign, sent a representative to the province of Fújiàn (福建) with the title of guānfēng (觀風), inspector of the morals of the people, and zhěngsú (整俗), reformer of the ways of living. The trend that leads humans to do this or that is expressed in Latin by the word Spiritus, while Chinese people are accustomed to say that actions are done in virtue of Fēng (風).

From what precedes, one can judge whether it is better to call the Holy Spirit Fēng (風) in Chinese, or to call it Shèngshén (聖神) as is commonly done.
[…]
Despite all the reasons pleading against the use of the name *Tiānzhǔ* (天主) that have been reported by the late Rev. Basset, his point of view has

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[48] 雍正 (Yōngzhèng) emperor (1678–1735).

hitherto been little accepted because of the habit engendered by a long practice perpetuated by all Vicars Apostolic and their cooperators in the Chinese Empire, which has been accepted by almost unanimous consent. Later, the name *Tianzhu*, designating the good and almighty God, has been approved in the apostolic constitution of Pope Clement XI, of blessed memory, which begins with the words *Ex Illa Die*, and in the apostolic constitution of Pope Benedict XIII which begins with *In Quo Singulari*. For this reason, Bishop Joachim de Martiliat found it necessary to retain the name *Tianzhu* for common use. But this has not changed the fact that the Chinese character *Shén* (神), whose meaning I have already explained above, has been adopted in virtue of a long common usage in this province, particularly for translations of the Scripture, until the Sacred Congregation may decide otherwise...»

What happened to the names *Shén* (神) and *Shèng-Fēng* (聖風) in Sichuan province after Andreas Li's 1765 answer to the Propaganda is more difficult to know in detail. Since the bishop in charge of the Sichuan vicariate when Andreas Li died in 1774 was François Pottier (1726–1792), and since he usually followed the advice provided by Andreas Li, a "low-key" usage of the character *Shén* (神) probably continued for some time in Sichuan, although the use of the expression *Shèng-Fēng* (聖風) may have vanished more quickly. A letter written from the province of Sichuan in 1808 by Bishop Gabriel-Taurin Dufresse (1750–1815) indicates that: *We only have here the original of the Gospels translated by Rev. Basset, which contains many mistakes that have not yet been corrected.*

Among others, the Holy Spirit is expressed by the word Feng that means Wind[49]. Bishop Dufresse does not mention here the character *Shén* (神). One century after the pioneering work of J. Basset in Sichuan, it seems that the lexical specificities of the Catholic Mission in Sichuan were slowly vanishing. But just as the Christian use of the character *Shén* (神) was being forgotten among Catholics in Sichuan, it was revived among Protestants by the pioneering work of Robert Morrison (1782–1834), whose debt towards the biblical translation of Jean Basset and Johan Xu is well established[50]. A later significant Protestant improvement has consisted in adding a blank space in front of the character 神 as a mark of special respect.

It is also worth noting that today, whereas Korean Catholics call the Christian God by the term 천주 (*Cheonju*) corresponding to the Chinese term 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*), Japanese Catholics call him by the term 神樣 (*Kami-sama*) corresponding to the character 神 (*Kami*) to which a honorific suffix has been added[51].

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[49] Cf. A.M.E. vol. 1250 f. 1291. In my 2008 article (*First Comprehensive Translation of the New Testament in Chinese: Fr. Jean Basset (1662–1707) and the scholar John Xu*, *Verbum* **49**,1 2008), I followed Le San Diep in attributing this statement to J. de Martiliat. Joseph Ruellen has later helped me to discover this error.

[50] 趙曉陽,《二馬聖經譯本與白日昇聖經譯本關係考辨》, (*An Examination of the Relationship between Robert Morrison and Joshua Marshman's Translations of the Bible and Jean Basset's Translation*), 近代史研究 (Jìndàishǐ Yánjiū) 2009/4, pp. 41–59.

[51] Patrick Taveirne: *Naming the Nameless in Asia, Cross-Textual Hermeneutics and Cross-Cultural Communication,* in *Christianity in Mongolia, Proceedings to the Antoon Mostaert Symposium on Christianity and Mongolia*, Antoon Mostaert Center, 2006, pp. 139–149.

I.6　　THEOLOGICAL REFLEXION ON THE CONCEPT OF TRADITION

How can modern Catholic theologians position themselves with regard to such a complex historical heritage? A very conservative view would consist in asserting that all the innovations condemned by bishops or Roman authorities in the past must necessarily continue to be eliminated from the practice of the Catholic Church for the sake of the purity of the Catholic doctrine. Another opposite, but not less extreme point of view, would consist in defending the idea that Catholics should now forget their tradition entirely and align their practice with that of the most "successful" Protestant Churches. As the reader can expect, neither of these theses will be defended here.

Let us first note that the first hypothetical "conservative" position mentioned above would ignore the fact that even the most rigorous papal writings concerning the Term Question, like the bull *Ex Illa Die*, have never anathemized the faith of Matteo Ricci's Chinese friends. However imperfect this faith may have been (but whose faith is perfect?), it belongs to the inalienable historical heritage of the Church, and the vocabulary used by the first Chinese Catholic converts cannot be entirely separated from Christian Tradition, even if ecclesiastic authorities have later decided to forbid the usage of certain words.

Let us also note that the role of Chinese Classics in Chinese culture has dramatically evolved after the May Fourth Movement of 1919, and that the Chinese language itself has strongly evolved since then. To some extent, the

theological criteria followed by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide have also been substantially complemented since the 18th century, especially after the promulgation of the *Decree on Ecumenism of the Second Vatican Council* (1964), the *Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions* (1965), the *Apostolic Exhortation of Paul VI Evangelii Nuntiandi* (1975) and the encyclical of John Paul II *Redemptoris Missio* (1990). Key notions ignored by 17th and 18th centuries missionaries, such as *inculturation and inter-religious dialogue*, are now being widely promoted by the Catholic Magisterium. Yet another element that needs to be taken into account is the fact that the terms 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) and 神 (*Shén*) have now been used for more than a century and a half by various dynamic Protestant communities whose influence on Chinese culture has become significant. There is basically not the slightest doubt that the divinity adored by Protestants with the names 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) or 神 (*Shén*) is exactly the same as the one adored by Catholics with the word 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*).

While there is no reason to doubt that the concerns for preserving the Catholic faith conveyed by the 1715 bull *Ex Illa Die* have become irrelevant for us today, the question that we wish to discuss in the present study is neither *what 21th century scholars would have decided concerning Chinese Rites in 1715 if they had been educated in the mold of Post-Tridentine theology*, nor *what 21th century scholars could have decided concerning Chinese Rites in 1715 if they had used the theological criteria of Vatican II at that time*. Much more to the point, we would wish to know how contemporary Catholics should handle different Chinese divine appellations in a Catholic Spirit today, provided that they wish to remain faithful to the Living Tradition of the Church in all its plenitude.

Since Vatican Council II and all the most recent Popes have wished to encourage ecumenical dialogue, and since Protestant Churches now commonly use the terms 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) or 神 (*Shén*), it is legitimate to ask whether these terms could be better integrated into the life of the Catholic Church. In a preceding article, the author of those lines suggested that a (too?) original but *a priori* consistent way of welcoming the term 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) in Catholic translations of the New Testament might « consist in translating *Theos* by *Tiānzhǔ* every time the term *Theos* corresponds to a word that, in its original historical context, was pronounced in Aramaic, which is the case for nearly all the occurrences of *Theos* in the Gospels, except for instance when the centurion declares that Jesus was son of God. On the other hand, one could translate *Theos* by *Shangdi* every time the original context of the occurrence supposes the use of the Greek language, as is the case for nearly all the passages of the Pauline epistles. According to this hypothesis, *Tianzhu* would correspond to the divine name as it was revealed to Israel, and *Shangdi* to the designation of God through which the Christian message was inculturated in a non-Israelite culture, Greek at the time of the New Testament, and later also Chinese ».[52]

Such an idea might well prove difficult to accept by some Protestant theologians, who could argue that under the *Sola Scriptura* principle, one should not introduce distinctions that do not belong to the biblical text itself. Of course, the question of what belongs to the biblical text properly speaking is not as clear cut as one may wish. According to the Dominican

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[52]　Cf. François Barriquand, ref. *supra*.

theologian Yves Congar (1904–1995), "the" Tradition of the Church is nothing else than *the transmission of the reality that is Christianity*[53]. According to such an historical perspective, translating *Theos* in the New Testament in function of the historical background of each occurrence would not be *a priori* absurd. Many Protestant exegetes might possibly even agree with this. However, since the author of these lines is himself not clearly convinced that translating *Theos* by two different names in the New Testament would really constitute a *good* translational option, this option will not be discussed any further below. Such an option remains naturally open, and the future will tell us whether it is adopted into any language one day.

In any case, even if they decide to stick to the translation of *Theos* by a single Chinese name, biblical translators still need to deal with a great number of problems associated with several divine names. The second part of this article is devoted to such issues.

II.   BIBLICAL SURVEY

II.1   THE TERMS *ELOHIM*, *YHWH*, *THEOS*, *KURIOS* AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) has become the official Catholic designation of God in the aftermath of the Chinese Rites Controversy, the Sigao Bible did not innovate when it

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[53] Cf. Yves Congar, *The Meaning of Tradition*, Ignatius Press, 2004, p. 44 (original edition 1964, Hawthorn Books).

translated the name *Elohim* in the first verse of the Bible by 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*). What is more, since the Septuagint usually translates *Elohim* by *Theos*, it was natural for the Sigao Bible to use the term *Tianzhu* also in the New Testament, as a translation of *Theos*.

The expression *God of Heaven* is well attested in the Bible, since it occurs, with some variations, approximately 30 times[54]. Interestingly, most of these occurrences are contemporary to Persian influences on the Bible. The Sigao Bible sometimes translates *God of Heaven* by 上天的天主[55], and more often by 天上的天主[56]. The redundant use of the character 天 in these expressions may explain why the Sigao Bible has also explored other possibilities, notably 上天大王[57] and 上天的大主[58], at the cost of a loss of uniformity. Although the use of 天主 to translate Elohim and *Theos* certainly does not facilitate the translation of the expression *God of Heaven*, the very existence of this expression in the Bible globally reinforces the feeling that 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) constitutes a valid translation of the term *God*.

Ironically, the expression meaning literally *Lord of Heaven* can be found only once in the Bible, in Dan. 5:23, where the Sigao Bible renders it by 上天大主 and the Union Version by 天上的神 (*Shen* edition) or 天上的上帝 (*Shangdi* edition).

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[54]　Cf. Gen. 24:3.7; 2 Chron. 36:23; Ezra 1:2, 5:11.12, 6:9.10, 7:12.21.23; Neh. 1:4.5, 2:4.20; Ps. 136:26; Dan. 2:18.19.37.44; Jonah 1:9; Tob. 7:12, 8:15; Jdt. 5:8, 6:19, 11:17; Rev. 11:13, 16:11.

[55]　Cf. Gen. 24:7; Neh. 1:4, 2:4.20.

[56]　Cf. Neh. 1:5; Rev. 11:13, 16:11.

[57]　Cf. Ezra 6:9.10, 7:12.21.

[58]　Cf. Ezra 5:11.12; Dan. 2:18.19.37.44; Tob. 7:12, 8:15; Jdt. 5:8, 6:19, 11:17.

None of these translations has used the expression 天主 at the only place where the original text of the Bible contains it exactly word for word!

In order to translate the term *YHWH* in the OT, and *Kurios* in the NT when it corresponds to *YHWH*, the Sigao Bible has adopted the term *Shàngzhǔ* (上主), which leads to a kind of "fundamental equation" for the quartet {*Elohim, YHWH // Theos, Kurios*} in the Sigao:

{*Elohim, YHWH // Theos, Kurios*} = {天主, 上主//天主, 上主}

Other translations have chosen different starting points, of which we shall consider only three:

(i) Union Version (*Shen* edition):

{*Elohim, YHWH // Theos, Kurios*} = {〇神, 耶和華//〇神, 主}

(In the present article <u>only</u>, the sign 〇 marks the presence of a typographical blank space serving as a mark of deep reverence in Chinese)

(ii) Union Version (*Shangdi* edition):

{*Elohim, YHWH // Theos, Kurios*} = {〇上帝, 耶和華//〇上帝, 主}

(iii) Lü Zhenzhong (呂振中):

{*Elohim, YHWH // Theos, Kurios*} = {上帝, 永恆主//上帝, 主}

II.1.1.　HOW TO DISTINGUISH *KURIOS* FROM *THEOS*

Let us now ask what could be the path followed by a 21th century Catholic biblical scholar wishing to translate the quartet {*Elohim*, *YHWH* // *Theos*, *Kurios*} for a new Chinese edition of the Bible. This scholar might not necessarily choose to deal with Gen. 1:1 in the first place. Knowing that the New Testament lies at the very heart of the Christian faith, he/she might rather choose to start with the NT. What is more, since 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) has become the most official designation of God used by Chinese Catholic congregations, this scholar might also wish to use the term *Tianzhu* for at least a fraction of the Greek occurrences of either *Theos* and *Kurios*, which constitute the two principal divine names contained in the New Testament.

Let us therefore first turn our attention towards the divine name *Theos*, usually translated in English by *God*. How could we select the best candidates for the translation of this term into Chinese? A simple efficient philological criterion derives perhaps from the fact that several names and adjectives related to *Theos* do exist in Greek, such as the names *theiotēs* (Rom. 1:20) and *theotēs* (Col. 2:9), both meaning *divinity* or *godhead*, and such as the adjective *theios* (Acts 17:29 and 2 Pet. 1:3.4), meaning *divine* or *godly*. Among all the Chinese candidates for God's name, only 神 and 天主 can be easily converted into generic notions like 神性 and 天主性, both more or less equivalent to the English term *divinity*. As a result, it may seem rather natural to translate *Theos* for present day readers by either 神 or 天主.

Let us now turn our attention towards the translation of the word *Kurios* in the NT. Since *Kurios* literally means *master* or *Lord* in Greek, using a Chinese word containing the character 主 (*Zhǔ*) for its translation seems particularly indicated. The use of the character 主 appears all the more justified as *Kurios* often serves in the LXX to translate the Hebraic term *Adonay*, which literally means *my Lord* in an emphatic (plural) form. *Adonay* is rendered by 吾主 (*Wú-Zhǔ*) in the Union Version and the Sigao Bible, which seems quite adequate. These translations even succeed to systematically distinguish the emphatic (divine) plural form *Adonay* from the singular form *adoni* (meaning: *my master*) by translating the latter: 我主。

When *Kurios* serves as a Greek equivalent of the divine name *YHWH*, using the character 主 alone would be too weak. The two most familiar options containing the character 主 for 21th century Chinese Catholics are 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) and 上主 (*Shàngzhǔ*). In Chinese, the difference of meaning between 上主 and 天主 seems quite small: When, for instance, Thomas sees Jesus after his resurrection and exclaims: *My Lord and my God!*[59], which is rendered in the Sigao Bible by:

我主! 我天主!

most readers would probably not notice much difference if one wrote instead:

我主! 我上主!

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[59] Ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου (John 20:28).

As a consequence of the above observations, the only two most natural renderings for the pair {*Theos*, *Kurios*} using the word 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) for one member of the pair are respectively:

{*Theos*, *Kurios*} = {天主, 上主}

and:

{Theos, Kurios} = {神, 天主}.

The first combination corresponds to the choice of the Sigao Bible. Since the second option would entail a massive change in the NT, as well as inevitable modifications in the OT, we shall not explore it. The probability that it will be used in the future seems extremely weak.

The above reasoning does *not* imply, however, that the character 神 (*Shén*) should be totally discarded for the translation of *Theos* in the New Testament. In fact, the Sigao Bible already uses it in several places, notably for the translation of *theiotēs* (*divinity*) in Rom. 1:20 and *theios* (*divine*) in Acts 17:29. The character 神 also appears in an emblematic passage of Paul's predication in Athens (Acts 17:23-24), which is worth examining in detail:

Greek:　[23]διερχόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν εὗρον καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο, Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. ὃ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. [24]ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ…

Sigao　　23 因為我行經各處，細看你們所敬之物，也見到一座祭壇，上面寫著「給未識之神。」現在，我就將你們所敬拜而不認識的這一位，傳告給你們。24 創造宇宙及其中萬物的天主，既是天地的主宰，就不住人手所建的殿宇...

NJB　　23because, as I strolled round looking at your sacred monuments, I noticed among other things an altar inscribed: "To An Unknown God". In fact, the unknown God you revere is the one I proclaim to you. 24Since the God who made the world and everything in it is himself Lord of heaven and earth, he does not make his home in shrines made by human hands.

In Acts 17:23, the Greek word *Theos* is translated by 神 (*Shén*). One verse later, in Acts 17:24, the same Greek word is translated by 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*). Unfortunately, this double translation somewhat destroys the significance of Paul's statement. Paul's starting point is that a common element of vocabulary, *Theos*, can serve to establish a link between some quite vague unfulfilled Greek religious expectations and the good news of the Resurrection. His progressive pedagogy denotes his consideration for the signs through which human spiritual aspirations *are* and *can* be conveyed in a culture that is not fully his. *A posteriori*, his approach also proves that unfulfilled human spiritual aspirations can, at least to some extent, be a legitimate part of the human quest for God.

The way Father Basset used the term 神 (*Shén*) at the very beginning of the 18th century in Sichuan bears some resemblance with Paul's approach in Acts 17:23. We hope that the reader will forgive us to make a rather long historical

digression at this stage to emphasize this point. J. Basset has himself provided a vivid account of his missionary pedagogy:

> « When non-believers ask us which God or *Shen* we worship, we often ask them, before answering their question, whether they really think that there is a *Shen*, *God* or *gods* (as their number is undetermined in Chinese). Although some Confucian scholars obstinately deny this possibility in virtue of the principles of their philosophy, there are not many of them. In contrast, no few scholars answer that although their School absolutely denies the existence of *Shen*, they are of another opinion, so that they fully believe that *Shen* exists. Others also argue that *Shen* is multiple.
>
> In a second step, we ask them if they think that *God* or *Shén* (神) are several. At this question, most of them stop, not knowing what to answer. By intuition, they believe that there are several gods, but this unexpected question increases their doubts about such a plurality. They usually end up by answering, however: *As many as you want, since there are so many temples dedicated to innumerable gods*.
>
> We then ask them if they have ever reflected upon the idea or concept of *Shen*: *What is Shen*?, we ask. No valid answer comes to the minds of most of them. Some, however, answer that *Shen* decides upon human fates, death and life, wealth and poverty, reward, virtue, vices and punishment.

We then insist: do you think that such a high authority could be possessed by things devoid of any intellect and will, like the sky, earth, rivers *etc*., or that it could be possessed by humans born from other fragile humans who died from disease and who, after having lived during a short span of years, all died also themselves? Please consider, we tell them, the notion of *Shen* or *God* that is innate to you and to all humans: *Shen* is an excellent and infinite being that exists by its own necessity and that is eternal. From *Shen*, all things flow as from a pure and inexhaustible source to which humans of all ranks must offer vows, prayers and sacrifices, whose favors they need to seek through their good deeds, and from whom they can hope to be rewarded for their virtue and to be punished for their sins.

When we feel that the above explanation of the word *Shen*, or a similar kind of explanation, pleases them, we then affirm with full confidence: 神獨一無二, *God is one and there cannot be two or more gods*.

After having heard this proposal, most of them are shocked, frightened and confused. And from that moment, struck as they are by the clear truth of this proposition, they find nothing to object to. Amazing, indeed, it is to discover the relationship between truth and God, and how much the reluctance of humans to deny the existence of several gods is based on preconditioned ideas.

"If it is so, some say, the sun and the moon are not gods, Guanyu[60] is not a god, Zitong[61] and Laojun[62] *etc.* are not gods."

"This is quite true, we reply. The sun and the moon are inanimate objects; Laojun and others are men. But *Shen* transcends all objects and people, so that we should avoid any confusion between them, lest we become guilty of the most flagrant error and incur the greatest possible damage." […]

As soon as non-baptized people realize that the idea of divinity includes the notion of unity, they easily understand that they had been wrong to attribute divinity to idols, superior people, mountains, rivers *etc.*, and that they should reserve it for a more ancient and more excellent being, who is none other than *the living God who made heaven and earth and everything in it* (Acts 14:14). »[63]

Although many of the philosophical assumptions that led J. Basset to use the word 神 (*Shén*) in the biblical translation he composed together with the Chinese convert Johan Xu would probably be considered as obsolete by most theologians today, J. Basset's narration perhaps still has the

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[60] 關羽 (Guān-yǔ): military leader of the 3th century.

[61] 梓潼 (Zǐtóng), also called 梓潼神, originally corresponding to the 4th century scholar 張亞子 who became a semi-divinity and was particularly venerated in Zitong city, Sichuan province.

[62] 老君: honorific name of Laozi used in religious Taoism.

[63] Letter to Basilio Brollo da Gemona o.f.m., dated from 31 July 1704, A.M.E. vol. 424, pp. 277–278.

merit of providing us with a clue about how best to translate Acts 17:23-24. If one wishes to respect the progression of Paul's discourse in an exact way, one may consider using the term 神 (*Shén*) in a consistent way that was not unknown[64] to Basset, writing for instance:

> ²³ 因為我行經各處，細看你們所敬之物，也見到一座祭壇，上面寫著「給未識之神。」現在，我就將你們所敬拜而不認識的這一位，傳告給你們。²⁴ 創造宇宙及其中萬物之神，既是天地的主宰，就不住人手所建的殿宇…

II.1.2.   HOW TO DISTINGUISH *YHWH* FROM *ELOHIM*

Since our path of reasoning has led us to retain exactly the same terms as those of the Sigao Bible for the translation of the pair {*Theos*, *Kurios*} in the New Testament, and since the influence of the Septuagint on the New Testament establishes strong links between *Elohim* and *Theos* on the one hand, and *YHWH* and *Kurios* on the other hand, one may be led to conclude that the fundamental "equation" of the Sigao Bible for the *quartet*:

{*Elohim*, *YHWH* // *Theos*, *Kurios*} = {天主, 上主//天主, 上主}

provides by necessity the best possible "Catholic" combination for all these terms. However, this conclusion is premature.

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[64] Here is the corresponding passage translated by J. Basset and J. Xu from the Vulgate around 1705–1706: 我觀凡事。尔等從虔崇左道太過。葢我經看尔塑偶。亦遇一膏額。寫為未識之神。尔等所謂未識而敬者。我如今宣告之與尔等。神乃作天地萬物者。其既為天地之主。弗居于人手所建之廟…

First of all, we should note that, although it is true that the relationship between the OT and the NT does impose some degree of matching between corresponding terms, the LXX itself has not succeeded in manifesting fully the significance of Hebraic divine names in Greek. This remark is particularly valid for the term *YHWH*, which cannot be translated in a fully satisfying manner in any language. As a result, the Sigao Bible could also have legitimately considered to translate the name *YHWH* phonetically, which corresponds to the option adopted by the Union Version in Chinese (although it must be said that the transliteration 耶和華, *Yēhéhuá*, is phonetically incorrect[65]). The New Jerusalem Bible has similarly chosen to use a phonetic transliteration by writing: *Yahweh*. This phonetic rendering presents at least one immediate potential advantage: it allows one to find an immediate phonetic equivalent for shortened versions of the term *YHWH* such as the two letters word "*YH*" in Isa. 12:2, 26:4 and Ps. 147:1. For instance, the New Jerusalem Bible writes *Yah* in these three verses. The Union Version does not take advantage of this possibility in Chinese, however. What is more, any phonetic rendering of *YHWH* would present at least one deep inconvenient in the case of a Catholic translation: the Catholic Church strongly discourages this solution in liturgical contexts[66] out of respect for its own Tradition and also for Jewish communities.

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[65] Cf. Tryggve Mettinger, *In Search of God, The Meaning and Message of the Everlasting Names*, Fortress Press, 2005, pp. 16, 28–29.

[66] The Instruction *Liturgiam Authenticam, On the Use of Vernacular Languages in the publication of the Books of the Roman Liturgy*, issued by the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments in March 2001, states: *in accordance with immemorial tradition, which indeed is already evident in the above-mentioned "Septuagint" version, the name of*

The term adopted by the Sigao Bible for *YHWH*, 上主 (*Shàngzhǔ*), seems aesthetically more satisfying than a mere transliteration. Unfortunately, the simple and rather inconspicuous term 上主 constitutes a rather strange match for the divine name by excellence, the holiest of all according to the OT. Therefore, one may reasonably argue that the combination:

{*Elohim*, *YHWH* // *Theos*, *Kurios*} = {天主, ○上主//天主, 上主}

where a blank space has been added in front of the term 上主 (*Shàngzhǔ*) for the Old Testament, could constitute a reasonable and very simple way of improving the Sigao Bible.

Another legitimate possibility, inspired by Lü Zhenzhong, would be to adopt the combination:

{*Elohim*, *YHWH* // *Theos*, *Kurios*} = {天主, 永恆主//天主, 上主}

Yet another possibility, which is unlikely to be adopted any time soon, but which may possibly resurface one day in the future, would be to translate *YHWH* by the term 聖主 (*Shèngzhǔ*), i.e. *Holy Lord*. The *Jing Teaching* (景教) used this term in its *Hymn to Take Refuge in the Holy Trinity*[67]. This choice could result in the combination:

{*Elohim*, *YHWH* // *Theos*, *Kurios*} = {天主, ○聖主//天主, 上主}

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almighty God expressed by the Hebrew tetragrammaton (YHWH) and rendered in Latin by the word Dominus, is to be rendered into any given vernacular by a word equivalent in meaning.

[67] The whole verse containing the expression 聖主 in Dunhuang's *Hymn* is: 師是我等慈父,大師是我等聖主,大師是我等法王,大師能為普救度。

Since the purpose of the present article is merely to open the discussion about a wide range of reasonable options, we shall leave the problem of the comparative advantages of ○上主, 永恆主 and ○聖主 open.

Let us now turn our attention towards the translation of *Elohim*. As Karel Van der Toorn observes[68], « also lower deities (in modern usage referred to as *spirits, angels, demons, semi-gods*, and the like) may be called *Elohim*. Thus the *teraphim* (Gen. 31:30.32), anonymous heavenly beings (Ps. 8:6), and the spirits of the dead (1 Sam. 28:13) are referred to as *gods*. A metaphorical use of the term – metaphorical from our point of view – occurs when it is applied to living human beings, such as Moses (Exod. 4:16, 7:1) and the king (Ps. 45:7). » Van der Toorn further notes[69] that « related to the adjectival use of *Elohim* for something out of the ordinary is the occurrence of the term for the spirits of the dead. The one indubitable instance of this use is found in 1 Sam. 28:13 where the ghost of Samuel is described as a *Elohim coming up for the earth*. […] A text seldom quoted in this connection is Exod. 21:6, which says that the slave who waives his right of manumission and enters his master's household for good is to be brought *to the gods*. A commentator has added that the man shall be brought *to the door or to the outpost*, perhaps the place where the *gods* were thought to reside. These *gods* are probably to be identified with the family ancestors. Considering the fact that the expression *inheritance of the gods* (*nahalat Elohim*, 2 Sam. 14:16) is a parallel to the *inheritance of*

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[68]　*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, Brill, 1999, article by K. Van der Toorn, p. 353.

[69]　*ibid*, p. 364.

the fathers (*nahalat abot*), it may be that *Elohim* in 2 Sam. 14:16, too, refers to the (deified) ancestors. »

If we examine how the Sigao Bible translates all the references quoted by Van der Toorn above, we find out that the *teraphim* of Gen. 31:30.32 have been translated by 神像, the anonymous beings of Ps. 8:6 (*aggeloi* in the LXX) by 天神, the ghost of Samuel in 1 Sam. 28:13 by 神[70], the status of Moses vis-à-vis Aaron in Exod. 4:16 by 天主[71], the status of Moses vis-à-vis Pharaoh in Exod. 7:1 by 神[72]. All these varied renderings fit quite well within their respective contexts.

More problematic is the way the Sigao Bible deals with Ps. 45:6 and Exod. 21:6. In the first instance, the New American Bible writes:

> *Your throne, O god, stands forever…*

A useful note explains that *O god* (with a minuscule *g*) applies to the king. The Sigao Bible translates the same verse as:

> 上主！你的御座永遠常存…

It is surprising that the Sigao Bible uses here the term it usually employs for the translation of *YHWH*, not *Elohim*. What is more, one cannot expect Chinese readers to understand that 上主 refers here to the king, *not* to God. A

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[70] One may prefer Lü Zhenzhong's rendering for *Elohim* in this verse: 神魂. Using the character 魂 alone would also be a possible option.

[71] The Sigao writes: 亞郎要代替你向百姓說話，作你的口舌；你對他是代替天主。

[72] The Sigao writes: 上主向梅瑟說：「看，我使你在法朗前像神一樣」

slightly different translation might solve this problem, for instance:

> 神君！你的御座…

In the case of Exod. 21:6, the New American Bible writes:

> *… his master shall bring him to God and there, at the door or doorpost, he shall pierce his ear with an awl, thus keeping him as his slave forever.*

The Sigao Bible writes:

> 他的主人應領他到天主前，然後領他到門口或門框前，用錐子穿透他的耳朵，如此他可長久服事主人。

If the understanding of Van der Toorn is correct, *Elohim* corresponds here to family-god(s) or family ancestors, which could be expressed in Chinese for instance by 祖靈.

All the occurrences of *Elohim* examined above are quite revealing, in that they demonstrate that *Elohim* can hardly be translated by a unique term in all instances. However, the references selected above are admittedly quite marginal in number. *Elohim* occurs some 2750 times in the Hebrew Bible, mostly to refer to *gods*, *God* in general, or *God* in an absolute sense, in which case it can function as a proper name, as is particularly manifest in the Psalms.

A specific translational difficulty arises when *Elohim* refers to *foreign Gods* or to spiritual beings that are inferior to YHWH. In certain cases, especially in the book of Jeremiah,

the Sigao Bible translates *Elohim* by the interesting [73] composite term 神祇 (Shén-Qí)[74]. In a comparable number of cases, the Sigao Bible uses the term 眾神 (Zhòng-Shén), which means literally *all Gods/all spirits*. This expression appears in the Sigao Bible not only when the biblical text explicitly refers to "all" (in Hebrew: *kol*) gods, as is the case in Ex 12:12, 18:11, 1 Chr. 16:24, Pss. 96:4.5, Ps 97:9[75], but also when it only refers non-specifically to *Elohim* (1 Kgs. 19:2, 20:10; Ps. 138:1), *El* (Exod. 15:11) or successively both to *Elohim* and *El* (Ps. 82:1). In all these occurrences, *the gods* (眾神) correspond to heavenly beings that are completely subordinated or dominated by the God of Israel. This biblical understanding surfaces in the expression *God of gods*, which the Sigao Bible translates diversely by:

大能者天主	(Jos. 22:22)
眾神中的真神	(Ps. 136:2)

and

眾神之神	(Dan. 3:90 *Greek*, 11:36)

The expression of God's dominance culminates in the majestic expression *God of gods and Lord of lords*, which the Sigao Bible translates convincingly in Deut. 10:17 by:

萬神之神，萬主之主

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[73] In Chinese culture，神祇 (Shén-Qí) refers to what can be called *Gods of the Heaven and the Earth*.

[74] 16 times in Jeremiah: Jer. 1:16, 2:28a.b., 5:19, 7:6.9.18, 11:10.12.13, 13:10, 16:11.13, 19:4.13, 35:15; twice in Num. 25:2 and once in Ps. 97:7.

[75] also in Dan. 11:36 with *kol-El* instead of *kol-Elohim*.

A rather similar expression, *God of gods and Lord of kings*, also occurs in Dan. 2:47 (in Aramaic), for which the Sigao Bible proposes:

萬神的天主，萬王的主宰

In this latter case, one may have preferred the more literal rendering:

萬神之神、萬王之主宰

A Greek variant of the same emphatic expression also appears in 2 Macc. 3:24: *The Sovereign of spirits and of every authority* (ὁ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας δυνάστης). The translation proposed by the Sigao Bible in this case is:

眾神和全能的主

Although grammatically acceptable, this reading does not help to clarify the original meaning of *exousia* (*authority*) in 2 Macc. 3:24. The context of this verse invites us to understand that *every authority* corresponds to the heavenly beings of the same name. Therefore, one could also have considered the following translation:

萬神與眾威者之主

The problem of the translation of *Elohim* when it functions as a proper name for God is naturally particularly interesting from a theological point of view. Since *Elohim* often simply means *God in general/the divinity*, which can be translated by 神 (without any blank space in front of 神), the distinct translation of *Elohim* by ○神 when it functions as a

proper name would appear rather consistent. The choice of 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) may also be justified, since the plural form *Elohim* is best understood as a plural of excellence or majesty[76], and *Shangdi* can be viewed in Chinese tradition as *God par excellence*. Naturally, the choice of 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) for the rendering of *Elohim* also remains a reasonable possibility.

If the preparation of an ecumenical edition of the Bible in Chinese is considered anew in the future, the author of these lines thinks – but this concerns himself only - that the Catholic Church could accept without too much difficulty the rendering of *Elohim* by either 神 (*Shén*) or 上帝 (*Shàngdì*), while keeping 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) for *Theos* in the New Testament.

On the other hand, in case a revision of already existing Catholic translations is considered in the future, or if an entirely new Catholic translation of the Old Testament is published one day, it is difficult to see what intrinsically compelling reasons could justify a massive change from 天主 to either 神 or 上帝 for the translation of *Elohim.* In particular, one should be aware of the three following considerations:

(i)   It is not easy to imagine that Catholic translations may willingly abandon the use of 天主 for the translation of *Theos* in the NT. Since a certain degree of correspondence exists between *Theos* and *Elohim*, the translation of both words by a unique Chinese term presents a strong natural benefit.

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[76] Cf. P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2nd ed., 2006.

(ii)　　The Sigao Bible already uses the word 神 (*Shén*) for the rendering of *Elohim* in certain particular cases. We have already quoted the examples of 1 Sam. 28:13 and Exod. 7:1. Another example of the use of 神 can be found in Exod. 12:12, where the *gods of Egypt* are translated 埃及的眾神. Using another Chinese term than 神 when *Elohim* functions as a proper name for the God of Israel, as does the Sigao Bible with 天主, also presents some natural benefit.

(iii)　　Although, as already noted, translating *Elohim* by 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) may present some advantages, doing so would prevent us from expressing in Chinese an interesting subtlety that seems to have remained ignored by most translators so far: Chinese translations make little difference between the terms *El* and *Elohim*, although their respective meanings do present certain identifiable differences in a small number of cases. Admittedly, *El* can sometimes function in exactly the same way as *Elohim*, as is the case for instance in Ps. 7:11 where *Elohim* and *El* are used in parallel way. But Wolfgang Herrmann also notes that « the OT contains texts where the Canaanite background is still recognizable. In these few instances, *El* refers [originally] to a deity other than *YHWH*.»[77] The two most significant instances of this phenomenon can be found in Gen. 33:20 and Gen. 46:3. Curiously, the New American Bible simply transliterates the name *El* in the first instance, writing in Gen. 33:20 *El, the God of Israel* for what corresponds literally to *El, the Elohim of Israel*, whereas it translates *El* by *God* in Gen. 46:3, writing *I am God, the God of*

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[77] *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by W. Herrmann, p. 277.

your father for what corresponds literally to *I am El, the Elohim of your father*. In Gen. 33:20, the Sigao Bible writes:

大能者以色列的天主,

whereas in Gen. 46:3, it writes:

我是天主，你父親的天主。

One may emit the opinion that these two instances provide a *quasi* ideal connection between some of the most ancient faiths of the Middle East, and the ancient Chinese faith in 上帝 (*Shàngdì*). 上帝 cannot easily be used to translate *YHWH* – and no Protestant translation has used it in that way – among other reasons because it would seem somewhat anachronistic to use a Chinese name used during the Shang dynasty for the translation of a name revealed to Moses much later. What is more, using 上帝 to translate *Elohim* would suffer from the fact that *Elohim* is not always clearly personalized in the Bible, as it often means simply *God*. In contrast, Gen. 33:20 and Gen. 46:3 contain a clearly personalized invocation of *El*, wherein *El* can be understood to exert a clear supremacy over all other gods, just as *Shangdi* stands over other gods or spirits in the Chinese pantheon. Another passage where *El* appears linked to early Canaanite traditions can be found in Isa. 14:13, where the king of Babylon is reported to have thought proudly:

I will raise my throne above the stars of El.

This sentence is translated in the Sigao Bible by:

我要直沖霄漢，高置我的御座在天主的星宿以上。

Also here, using 上帝 may constitute a serious option by writing:

我要直沖霄漢，高置我的御座在上帝的星宿以上。

A last passage wherein Herrmann identifies an allusion to *El* Canaanite mythology is Ezek. 28:2. This verse accuses the king of Tyre of having considered himself as a *God* (*El*) and of having dreamed to possess a divine residence in the middle of the sea, which is reminiscent of the abode attributed to *El* by Canaanite mythology.

In other biblical occurrences, *El* can be simply considered as a generic name for *God*, *quasi* interchangeable with *Elohim*, except for the fact that the singular form *El* does not carry the same amount of reverence as the plural *Elohim*. For this reason, although the Sigao Bible usually renders *El* by 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*), the more neutral word 神 (*Shén*) may be preferable in certain cases. As an example of this, let us consider Ps. 5:5, where the New American Bible writes:

You are not a God [El] who delights in evil.

The Sigao Bible writes here:

你絕不是喜愛罪惡的天主。

One might have considered the variant:

你絕不是一位喜愛罪惡的神。

The word *El* also serves as a component of several composite expressions such as *El Elyon*, *El Olam*, *El Roy*, *El*

Berit etc. The problem of their translation in Chinese is addressed *infra* in § II.5.1.

Lastly, let us also note that the word *El* can be metaphorically applied to human beings in the same way as *Elohim*. Such happens to be the case in Isa. 9:5, where the Sigao Bible writes:

> 因為有一個嬰孩為我們誕生了，有一個兒子賜給了
> 我們；他肩上擔負著王權，他的名子要稱為神奇的
> 謀士、強有力的天主、永遠之父、和平之王。

The use of 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) in this verse may be felt too "strong", and one might have considered the use of 神 (*Shén*), writing:

> 因為有一個嬰孩為我們誕生了，有一個兒子賜給了
> 我們；他肩上擔負著王權，他的名子要稱為奇妙的
> 謀士、有力之神、永遠之父、和平之王。

Our discussion concerning the four terms *Elohim*, *Theos*, *YHWH* and *Kurios* is still far from complete, since the use of *kurios* in the NT possesses certain theological implications that deserve to be examined in some detail. The meaning of the expression *YHWH Sabaoth*, which occurs 284 times in the Hebrew Bible as a divine name, also deserves particular attention. A few more opportunities for using the characters 神 (*Shén*) and 帝 (*Dì*) will surface in our discussion.

II.2　　MULTI-FUNCTIONALITY OF THE TERM *KURIOS* IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

One of the most elementary problems faced by translators concerning *Kurios* is the following: how should one translate *Kurios* in the New Testament when this term belongs to a quotation borrowed from the LXX concerning *YHWH*? Should one translate it in the same way as one translates *YHWH* in the Old Testament? The Chinese Union Version does not do so. The Sigao Bible automatically resolves this difficulty by using the same term 上主 (*Shàngzhǔ*) in the Old and New Testament. However, even the Sigao Bible cannot escape another problem linked to the translation of *Kurios*, which is rendered particularly manifest at least six times in Pauline epistles and once in the first epistle of Peter.

Pauline and Lucan Christology are characterized, already in Paul's earliest epistles, by a systematic tendency to apply LXX passages concerning *Kurios* (=*YHWH*) to Jesus-Christ. Even in passages where OT quotations are scarce, Paul recurrently uses expressions such as the *day of the Lord*, the *Spirit of the Lord*, among others, with a Christological twist. The Philippians Hymn provides a particularly remarkable example of such early Christology. Its typically Greek features support the hypothesis that Antioch served as a melting pot for its maturation. In any case, whatever the details of its historical elaboration, such Christological hermeneutics raise major difficulties for translators. We may well ask ourselves how many biblical translations, not only in Chinese, succeed to convey the kerygmatic proclamation that *Jesus is Lord* as boldly as Paul confessed it. According to the New Testament, this confession (cf. for instance 1 Cor. 12:3) seems to imply

that all the qualities and prerogatives attributed to *YHWH* in the OT belong to, or are shared by, Jesus-Christ. But does this creedal statement really surface in modern translations?

Let us examine the seven NT sentences wherein the theological dimension of the confession in Christ *Kurios* seems most directly apparent, followed by the translation made by the Sigao Bible:

Rom. 10:9 ⁹ὅτι ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, σωθήσῃ·

如果你口裏承認耶穌為主，心裏相信天主使祂從死者中復活起來了，你便可獲得救恩，

Rom. 10:12.13 ¹²οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολὴ Ἰουδαίου τε καὶ Ελληνος, ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων, πλουτῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν· ¹³Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου σωθήσεται.

其實，並沒有猶太人與希臘人的區別，因為眾人都有同一的主，他對一切呼號他的人都是富有慈惠的。的確，『凡呼號上主名號的人，必然獲救。』

1 Cor. 8:6 ⁶ἀλλ᾽ ἡμῖν εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι᾽ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι᾽ αὐτοῦ.

可是為我們只有一個天主，就是聖父，萬物都出於他，而我們也歸於他；也只有一個主，

就是耶穌基督，萬物藉他而有，我們也藉他而有。

1 Cor. 12:3   ³διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει, Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν, Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

為此，我告訴你們，沒有一個受天主聖神感動的會說：「耶穌是可詛咒的；」除非受聖神感動，也沒有一個能說：「耶穌是主」的。

2 Cor. 4:5   ⁵οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν Κύριον, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δούλους ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦν.

因為我們不是宣傳我們自己，而是宣傳耶穌基督為主，我們只是因耶穌的緣故作了你們的奴僕。

Phil. 2:11   ¹¹καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός.

一切唇舌無不明認耶穌基督是主，以光榮天主聖父。

1 Pet. 3:15   ¹⁵Κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ἕτοιμοι ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι ὑμᾶς λόγον περὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐλπίδος,

你們但要在心內尊崇基督為主；若有人詢問你們心中所懷希望的理由，你們要時常準備答覆，

In all the above instances, one may wonder whether using 上主 (*Shàngzhǔ*) to translate *Kurios* could not have led to a more faithful translation than using the simple character 主 (*Zhǔ*). We shall content ourselves to leave this question open for further debate.

The translation of *kurios* seems to demand a lot of attention and technical skills, since there also exist a few cases where readers of the Sigao Bible may ask exactly the reverse question, *i.e.*: does the expression 上主 (*Shàngzhǔ*) seem appropriate for the translation of *Kurios*, or shouldn't one have preferred the single character 主 (*Zhǔ*) instead? After inspection, it seems that the choice of the Sigao Bible does not fit well with Lucan Christology in five passages of Acts: Acts 2:47, 9:31, 10:33, 12:17.23.

Apart from the occurrences mentioned above, let us also, for the sake of completion, mention that there exist three occurrences in the Sigao Bible where the NT quotes the LXX in passages where *Kurios* serves as an equivalent to *YHWH*, and where the Sigao Bible, inexplicably, does not use the term 上主 (*Shàngzhǔ*)[78]. There also exist three occurrences where the NT uses *Kurios* in a way that does not directly quote the LXX, but where it is strongly reminiscent of the LXX and where *Kurios* obviously refers to *YHWH*[79], whereas the Sigao Bible does not use 上主.

Even more inexplicably, there also exist a few cases where the Sigao Bible inadvertently uses the term 天主

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[78] Cf. Acts 15:18 (quoting Amos 9:12), 1 Cor. 1:31 (quoting Jer. 9:24) and 2 Tim. 2:19 (quoting Num. 16:5).

[79] Cf. 2 Tim. 2:19 (second use of *Kurios* in the verse); Jude 1:5.9.

(*Tiānzhǔ*) instead of 上主 (*Shàngzhǔ*) to translate *Kurios*[80]. There is also one use of 天主 (*Tiānzhǔ*) for *Kurios* in the Sigao Bible where one would have expected 主 (*Zhǔ*)[81]; one occurrence where the word *Kurios* has been forgotten by Sigao Bible translators[82], and one occurrence where the word *Kurios* is strangely translated by 基督.[83]

Since we have already devoted some attention (cf. II.1.2.) to the majesty of the Old Testament expressions *God of gods and Lord of lords* (Deut. 10:17) and *God of gods and Lord of kings* (Dan. 2:47), it is fitting to conclude this paragraph by mentioning the equal solemnity of the expression *King of kings and Lord of lords* (1 Tim. 6:15; Rev. 19:16), which also appears in Rev. 17:14 in a reversed order (*Lord of lords and King of kings*). In the case of Rev. 17:14, 19:16, this expression refers to Christ. The Sigao Bible renders it convincingly by, respectively:

　　　　萬王之王，萬主之主　　　(1 Tim. 6:15; Rev. 19:16)

and

　　　　萬主之主，萬王之王　　　(Rev. 17:14).

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[80]　Cf. Mark 12:29; Acts 13:10.44; 2 Cor. 10:18.

[81]　Cf. 2 Pet. 3:8.

[82]　Cf. Acts 9:13.

[83]　Cf. Rom. 14:14.

II.3 *YHWH SABAOTH* AND *KURIOS PANTOCRATOR*

II.3.1. *YHWH SABAOTH*

Let us now turn our attention towards the set expression *YHWH Sabaoth*, which occurs no less than 284 times in the Hebrew Bible (not counting the *qere* in 2 Kgs. 19:31). It also surfaces 12 times in the NT (cf. § II.3.2).

From the philological point of view, the exact interpretation of the expression *YHWH Sabaoth* appears somewhat challenging. Let us start by considering four observations discussed in much greater detail by Tryggve Mettinger:

(i)   First of all, according to Mettinger[84], « there is almost general agreement [among scholars] that the word *ṣĕbāʾôt* derives from the Semitic root *ṣbʾ*, found in *e.g.* Akkadian *ṣābum* (Mari *ṣābûm*), "people", plural "soldiers", "workers" and Hebrew *ṣābāʾ*, "army; host"».

(ii)   Although Eissfeldt's proposal to read *ṣĕbāʾôt* as an intensive abstract plural on the order of such plurals as *dēʿôt*, *full knowledge*, *gĕbûrôt*, *extraordinary strength*, and *zĕmirot*, *Guardian, Protector*[85] (2 Sam. 23:1) - which would lead one to translate *YHWH Sabaoth* roughly by *YHWH the mighty* - has been received with great enthusiasm in recent literature, many exegetes (including Mettinger) remain of the opinion

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[84] *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by T. N. D. Mettinger, p. 924.

[85] Tryggve Mettinger, *In Search of God, The Meaning and Message of the Everlasting Names*, Fortress Press, 2005, p.156.

that « the traditional understanding, *viz.* as a construct relation, *YHWH of ṣĕbā'ôt*, seems the most probable solution and is made less problematical by the epigraphic attestation of analogues such as *YHWH of Teman* and *YHWH of Samaria* in Kuntillet Ajrud. »[86]

(iii)　The biblical appellation *YHWH Sabaoth* had been historically developed in the sanctuary of Shiloh. The royal imagery with which it was associated (notably the throne of cherubim) possesses features borrowed from the Canaanite divine monarch *El*. The expression *YHWH Sabaoth* was later used in the context of the liturgy of the temple in Jerusalem.

(iv)　Instances of warlike connotations « are to be found in texts which use the designation [*YHWH Sabaoth*] as part of a play on words with military overtones (1 Sam. 17:45; Isa. 13:4, 31:4). Indeed, the martial character of *YHWH Sabaoth* is amply[87] attested[88]. » One may add that military might would have been a necessary attribute of *any* God endowed with the power to determine the fate of nations recurrently at war against each other. In other words, the fact that *YHWH Sabaoth* had to rule on military matters does not prove per se that his name bore strong military connotations. What is more, it would be wrong to imagine that *YHWH Sabaoth* confined himself to military issues. The fact that *YHWH Sabaoth* was willing to intervene in purely civil family issues can

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[86]　*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by T. N. D. Mettinger, p. 920.

[87]　1 Sam. 4:4; Isa. 10:23, 13:13, 14:24-27, 19:16, 22:5, 24:21-23; Jer. 32:18, 50:25; Nah. 2:14, 3:5; Pss. 24:8.10, 46:8.12, 59:6.

[88]　*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by T. N. D. Mettinger, p. 921.

be known already from Hannah's prayer for a son in 1 Sam. 1:11.

To what extent must the divine Council of God, 23 times designated by *sôd*, and also sometimes called *ṣābā'*[89], be identified with the *ṣĕbā'ôt* is a controversial issue. Mettinger argues in favor of a close identification, noting that the expression *YHWH Sabaoth* twice occurs in passages wherein the divine Council plays a role (Ps. 89:6-19; Isa. 6:3.5.8). He affirms that « If the *Sabaoth* name refers to God as the heavenly King, and the term *ṣābā'* in the singular is a common term for the heavenly host surrounding the throne, then it would be reasonable to conclude that the *Sabaoth* name is to be interpreted on the basis of this use of the word *ṣābā'* rather than on the basis of its application to Israel's mortal armies, or to the universe in general, or anything else. The *Sabaoth* name speaks of God as *YHWH of the heavenly hosts*. »[90]

The fact that the heavenly Hosts' main task was not exclusively militaristic can be deduced from many passages. Two passages are particularly evocative: Neh. 9:6 and 1 Kgs. 22:19-22, the translations of which are worth examining.

In Nehemiah 9:6, Ezra tells God:

Sigao: 唯獨你是上主,是你創造了天,天上的天,和天上的一切軍旅,地和地上的一切,海和海中的一切,是你使一切生存;天上的軍旅常在你前跪拜。

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[89] Cf. 1 Kgs. 22:17-23; Pss. 103:19-22, 148:1-5; Dan. 8:10-13. Cf. also Sir. 42:17.

[90] Tryggve Mettinger, ref. *supra*, p. 134.

NAB:　　*It is you, O LORD, you are the only one; you made the heavens, the highest heavens and all their host, the earth and all that is upon it, the seas and all that is in them. To all of them you give life, and the heavenly hosts bow down before you.*

In this verse, the Sigao Bible has translated the *Host/Heavenly Hosts* respectively by 軍旅 and 天上的軍旅, although it is clear that their main function is a religious one (to *worship* God), not to wage war.

The usefulness of the *Sabaoth* appears even more clearly in 1 Kgs. 22:19-22:

Sigao:　米加亞答說:「為此,你且靜聽上主的話:我見上主坐在寶座上,天上的萬軍侍立在他左右。上主問說:有誰能去唆使阿哈布,叫他上去進攻辣摩特基肋阿得,而死在那裏呢? 那時有的說這樣,有的說那樣。以後,有一個神出來,立在上主面前說:我能唆使他。上主問他說:用什麼方法? 那神回答說:我去,在他所有的先知口中做虛言的神。

NAB:　　*Micaiah continued: "Therefore hear the word of the LORD: I saw the LORD seated on his throne, with the whole host of heaven standing by to his right and to his left. The LORD asked, 'Who will deceive Ahab, so that he will go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead?' And one said this, another that, until one of the spirits came forth and presented himself to the LORD, saying, 'I will deceive him.' The LORD asked, 'How?' He answered, 'I will go forth and become a lying spirit in the mouths of all his prophets.' The LORD replied, 'You shall succeed in deceiving him. Go forth and do this.'*

In this latter passage, the Sigao Bible has translated the *host of heaven* by 天上的萬軍 instead of 天上的軍旅 in Neh. 9:6. In 1 Kgs. 22:19-22, the divine Hosts behave like a kind of divine Court. It appears that a single Host is powerful enough to inspire or to mislead several prophets. One of them would presumably also suffice to infuse a spirit of courage or fear into a whole army without needing to take part in the fighting himself. Let us note in passing that one may consider the possibility to replace the three occurrences of 神 in the Sigao Bible's translation of 1 Kgs. 22:21-22 by the word 天神 (already used by Matteo Ricci), in particular for ecumenical reasons.

Let us now turn towards the problem of the translation of *YHWH Sabaoth* in Chinese. Existing translations include:

萬軍的上主	Sigao
(also 萬軍之軍的上主 in Ps. 24:10)	
萬軍之耶和華	Union Version
萬軍之永恆主	Lü Zhenzhong
萬有主宰	Wu Jingxiong
LORD of hosts	New American Bible
Yahweh Sabaoth	New Jerusalem Bible
Lord of hosts	NRSV
le SEIGNEUR, le tout-puissant	TOB (ecumenical, French, 1975)
le Seigneur de l'univers	TOB (ecumenical, French, 2010)

The uniqueness of the expression 萬軍之軍的上主 used by the Sigao Bible in Ps. 24:10 does not seem to correspond to any particular feature present in the Hebraic text.

It is somewhat striking to note that the locution 萬軍 is shared by three major Chinese translations, whereas all the

major English and French translations avoid militaristic connotations in the translation of *YHWH Sabaoth*.

In the light of the modifications adopted for the 2010 new edition of the *Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible* (TOB), one may consider that good translations of the expression *YHWH Sabaoth* must stress the superhuman authority of *YHWH*, but that they do not need to provide any clear indication concerning the identity of the *Sabaoth* at all costs; this identity presumably never interested the authors of the O.T. too much anyway. Another fundamental characteristic of the Hebraic expression *YHWH Sabaoth* is its length and majesty, which concurs to emphasize the significance of the vision reported in Isa 6:3. A corresponding degree of stately majesty should be found for its Chinese equivalents.

At this stage, we may remember that the first generations of Jesuit missionaries in China sometimes used enjoyed to use a highly idiomatic and noble expression, 大父母 (Dà-Fù-Mǔ) (meaning literally the *Great-Father-Mother*, or the *Pre-eminent-Parent*), which was particularly appreciated by Giulio Aleni (艾儒略, 1582–1649) and the "pillar of the Church" Yang Tingyun (楊廷筠, 1557–1627) among others. Its value was also acknowledged in Sichuan province around 1704[91]. The later disuse of this expression is one of the

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[91] Jean Basset and his assistant Xu Ruohan (徐若翰) composed in Chengdu a short catechism entitled 天主聖教要理問答 (Tiānzhǔ Shèng-Jiào Yao-Lǐ Wèn-Dá). This catechism contains the following question-and-answer: 問：天主是什麼主？答：就是作管天地萬物的主，萬民的大父母。Cf. Ad Dudink, "Jean Basset M.E.P (1662–1707) and His Catechetical Writings in Chinese: A Bibliographical Introduction", in Staf Vloeberghs (ed.), Patrick Taveirne, Ku Wei-ying and Rachel Lu Yan (co-eds), *History of Catechesis in China*, Leuven Chinese Studies 18 (2008).

regrettable consequences of the Rites Controversy[92]. Modern Chinese readers might perhaps tend to consider the expression 大父母 as little more than an exotic reminiscence of the past. However, this expression can be embedded into universally oriented designations which modern readers may quickly learn to appreciate, such as:

> 吾人之大父母，
> 萬民的大父母，
> 萬國萬類之大父母

The all-encompassing parenthood suggested by such expressions fits particularly well with Christian theology. They may perhaps serve as a source of inspiration for the translation of the expression *YHWH of Hosts*, which could be rendered for instance like this:

> 天地萬臣之大父母

or:

> 天地眾臣之大父母

In a significant number of cases, especially in Jeremiah, the Bible uses the even longer designation *YHWH of Hosts, God of Israel*[93], which could be translated accordingly:

> 天地萬臣之大父母，以色列的天主

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92 Gianni Criveller（柯毅霖），”利瑪竇的傳教方法”，鼎 2010 年，30 卷，158 期（陳愛潔譯）。

93 2 Sam. 7:27; 1 Chron. 17:24; Isa 21:10, 37:16; Jer 7:3.21, 9:15, 16:9, 19:3.15, 25:27, 27:4.21, 28:2.14, 29:4.8.21.25, 31:23, 32:14.15, 35:13.18.19, 39:16, 42:15.18, 43:10, 44:2.11.25, 46:25, 48:1, 50:18, 51:33; Zeph. 2:9.

In some rarer cases, the Bible does not use the standard expression *YHWH of Hosts* but rather *God of Hosts*, principally as a component of the standard phrase *Lord, God of Hosts*[94]. The Bible also contains the even more majestic, but rarer designation *Lord, God of Hosts, God of Israel*[95] as well as *Lord God, the God of Hosts*[96] and *the Lord, the God of Hosts, the Lord*[97].

The Sigao Bible usually translates *Lord, God of Hosts* logically by:

上主萬軍的天主

although it also contains several other renderings of exactly the same expression, such as:

上主，萬軍的上主	(Ps. 69:6)
萬軍的天主	(Ps. 80:4l; Amos 5:15)
萬軍的上主	(Ps. 84:8)
吾主，萬軍上主	(Isa. 3:15, 10:23.24, 22:5.12.13.14, 28:22; Jer. 50:25)
我主萬軍上主	(Jer. 2:19, 46:10, 49:5, 50:31)
「雅威，」萬軍的天主	(Amos 4:13)
吾主上主	(Amos 9:5)

The Sigao Bible also contains two different translations for the expression *Lord, God of Hosts, God of Israel:*

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[94]　2 Sam. 5:10; 1 Kings 19:10.14; Pss. 59:5, 69:6, 80:4.19, 84:8, 89:8; Isa 3:15, 10:23.24, 22:5.12.14.15, 28:22; Jer 2:19, 5:14, 15:16, 46:10, 49:5, 50:25.31; Hosea 12:5; Amos 4:13, 5:14.15, 6:8.14, 9:5.

[95]　Jer. 35:17, 38:17, 44:7.

[96]　Amos 3:13.

[97]　Amos 5:16.

上主萬軍的天主，以色列的天主　　(Jer 35:17, 44:7)
萬軍的天主，以色列的天主上主　　(Jer 38:17)

The two *hapax legomena: Lord God, the God of Hosts* and *the Lord, the God of Hosts, the Lord* are translated by the Sigao Bible respectively by:

吾主上主萬軍的天主　　　　　　　(Amos 3:13)
萬軍的天主，吾主上主　　　　　　(Amos 5:16)

If we choose to reserve the use of the term 大父母 for occurrences containing the expression *YHWH of Hosts*, the lexical unit *God of Hosts* could be best translated by an expression like 萬臣的天主. The ample divine designations into which this lexical unit is always embedded might be translated respectively, for instance, by:

Lord, God of Hosts	上主，萬臣的天主
Lord, God of Hosts, God of Israel	上主，萬臣的天主，以色列的天主
Lord God, the God of Hosts	吾主上主，萬臣的天主
the Lord, the God of Hosts, the Lord	上主，萬臣的天主，上主

II.3.2.　*KURIOS PANTOCRATOR*

Before leaving the expression *YHWH Sabaoth*, it is worthwhile to consider its influence on the New Testament. The expression *Kurios Sabaōth* or *Pantocratōr* (the most common LXX rendering for *YHWH Sabaoth*) appears twice in a semi-transliterated form (*Kurios Sabaōth*) in Rom. 9:29 and Jas. 5:4, once in fully translated form (*Kurios Pantocratōr*) in 2 Cor. 6:18, and nine times, also in fully translated form, in the book of Revelation. Reinhard Feldmeier further indicates that

«The shortened expression *ho theos ho pantocratōr* occurs twice in connection with God's or his Messiah's battle against the godless people and their kings (Rev. 16:14, 19:15). The more detailed expression *Kurios ho Theos ho Pantokratōr* is used seven times (Rev. 1:8, 4:8, 11:17, 15:3, 16:7, 19:6, 21:22)»[98]. We shall concentrate our attention here on the book of Revelation, whose more frequent use of the expression *Kurios Pantocratōr*, literally meaning *Lord Almighty*, *All-Sovereign* or *Controlling all things*, appears linked with the main theological intention of the entire book. As Feldmeier puts it, the divine attribute *pantocratōr* «stresses, in opposition to the Roman Empire's claim for world power, God's royal power, which embraces the whole cosmos. […] *Pantocratōr* as a divine designation intends to express something similar to the more dynamic concept of the *kingdom of God*, namely that God is the Lord of his Creation and that in it he has realized or shall realize his will»[99].

Let us now compare a few existing translations for Rev 4:8 (*Kurios ho Theos ho Pantokratōr*):

{主〇神　or　主〇上帝}…＋　全能者	Union Version
主上帝，全能者	Lü Zhenzhong
全能者上主天主	Sigao
天地萬有之主宰…＋　全能天主	Wu Jingxiong
Lord God almighty	New American Bible
the Lord God… + the Almighty	New Jerusalem Bible
Lord God the Almighty	NRSV

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[98]　*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by R. Feldmeier, p. 22.

[99]　*ibid*, p. 23.

All the translations listed above appear quite acceptable. Still other possibilities may also appear in the future. From an ecumenically oriented point of view anchored in Catholic tradition, animated with the desire to open more space for the character 帝 (*Dì*) in Catholic translations, Feldmeier's observation that the expression *Kurios Pantocratōr* exalts the divine royal prerogatives against the Roman Empire's claim for worldwide domination appears particularly meaningful: this information provides an objective reason for introducing the character 帝 (*Dì*) in the book of Revelation, since the divine/imperial ambivalence of this character seems particularly well suited to convey the message of the biblical author. Concretely, one could consider translating the shorter expression

  Kurios Pantocratōr

by:

  全能之帝

and the longer, more majestic expression

  Kurios ho Theos ho Pantokratōr

by:

  全能的上帝天主

The fact that Feldmeier's analysis does not apply to the Old Testament cannot be viewed as a compelling handicap for the introduction of 帝 in the translation of *Kurios Pantocratōr* in the NT, since among the seven translations examined above (Union Version, Lü Zhenzhong, Sigao, Wu Jingxiong, New

American Bible, New Jerusalem Bible, NRSV), Wu Jingxiong's translation is the only one that has succeeded in preserving a visible link between the OT expression *YHWH Sabaoth* and the NT expression *Kurios Pantocratōr*.

II.4　*SHADDAI*

The name *Shaddai* occurs 48 times in the OT: 41 times on its own, and seven times in the longer form *El Shaddai*. It potentially corresponds to the most ancient divine name of the Bible[100]. Although Ernst Knauf humbly confesses that «a convincing etymology has until now not been offered»[101], Knauf himself is able to provide more than a few convincing hints of where such etymology may be found. He indicates in particular that «both Akkadian *šadû*, *the mountain wilderness (as seen from the cultivated alluvial land along the rivers Tigris and Euphrates* and Biblical Hebrew *śādeh*, *the (uncultivated) field*, i.e. the area of hunting (cf. e.g. Gen. 25:27, 27:3, and the opposition *běhēmâ – ḥayît haśśādeh*, e.g. Gen. 2:20, 3:14) go back to the root ŠDY. Any *El Shadday* is, therefore, a *god of the wilderness* and can be connected with the iconographical motif of the *Lord of the animals*.» Knauf further points out at a late biblical attempt to re-etymologize *Shaddai*: «in *kěšōd miššadday yābô'* (referring to the day of Yahweh) Isa. 13:6 = Joel 1:15 (6th–4th centuries BCE), *Shadday* is re-etymologized by the root ŠDD. This understanding of the name may also have influenced the use of *Shadday* (as the *violent/powerful* God) in

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[100] Tryggve Mettinger, ref. *supra*, p. 69.

[101] *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by E. A. Knauf, p. 749.

Ruth 1:20-21 and Ps. 91:1»[102]. According to Knauf, it is also possible that a second re-etymologizing attempt may have been made in Gen. 49:25: «the reference to the *blessings of the breasts and womb* (Gen. 49:25) presupposes the elimination of the Goddess from Israelite/Judean religion, and dates the present form of Jacob's blessing in the aftermath of Hosea and his followers. […] The *breasts* (Heb *šadayim*, root ṮDY; but note that *Shadday* does not mean *breast(s)*, *pace* P. Dhorme, *RB* 31 [1922] 230–231) may have crept into the verse as an allusion to *El Shadday*; in this case, they testify to the re-etymologization of the god's name already in what may form its first biblical attestation.»[103] Knauf also notes that «a third aberrant etymology may have led to the Masoretic form with lengthened /d/: *šad-day, *which is sufficient* (cf. *hikanos* as the "translation" of *Shadday* in some instances in the LXX) »[104]

As appears from Knauf's observations, an original striking feature of the name *Shaddai* is that it corresponds to what had become « only a faint memory, and a tradition only half understood, for the biblical authors »[105] themselves! This problem naturally complicates the task of biblical translators. Let us compare a few existing translations for the occurrence of the single word *Shaddai* in Gen. 49:25 and the set-expression *El-Shaddai* in Gen. 17:1:

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[102] *ibid*, p. 750.

[103] *ibid*, p. 750.

[104] *ibid*, p. 751.

[105] *ibid*, p. 752.

Gen. 49:25 (Shaddai)	Gen. 17:1 (El-Shaddai)	
全能者	全能的○神　or 全能的○上帝	Union Version
全能的上帝	全能的上帝	Lü Zhenzhong
全能者天主	全能的天主	Sigao
上帝全能	上帝全能	Feng Xiang
God Almighty	*God the Almighty*	New American Bible
Shaddai	*El Shaddai*	New Jerusalem Bible
the Almighty	*God Almighty*	NRSV
Dieu puissant	*Dieu Puissant*	TOB (ecumenical, 1975)
Shaddaï	*El Shaddaï*	TOB (ecumenical, 2010)

All the translations listed above except the New Jerusalem Bible and the 2010 edition of the TOB (Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible) have followed the precedent established by the LXX, which often (but not always) translates *Shaddai* by *pantocratōr (almighty)*, especially in Job. This option has the merit to remain faithful to an antique tradition also followed by the Vulgate (which uses *omnipotens*). Nevertheless, translators of the New Jerusalem Bible maintain that translating *Shaddai* by *Almighty God* is inaccurate. The philological analysis provided above by Knauf strongly supports their point of view: the so-called "antique tradition" that identifies *Shaddai* with *pantocratōr* is basically… wrong, and *Shaddai* does *not* mean *Almighty*!

A supplementary problem created by the equivalence *Shaddai* = *Almighty* comes from the fact that it establishes *de facto* a link between the OT *Shaddai* and the NT *pantocratōr*, whereas both terms have originally nothing to do with each

other. A rather similar problem also arises specifically for the book of Job: the large use of *Shaddai* made by the author of this book (31 occurrences in a total of 48 for the whole OT) is explainable by the fact that *Shaddai* fittingly corresponds to a divine name that could be used both by a non-Israelite (Job) and by Israelite people. Nothing suggests that the high number of occurrences of *Shaddai* in Job has anything to do with the idea that God is *almighty*. As a matter of fact, God *does* emphasize the immense scope of his power in the final chapters Job 38-41, but the name *Shaddai* has been systematically replaced by *YHWH* in this final passage, except only once in Job 40:2. The phonetic rendering of *Shaddai* adopted by the New Jerusalem Bible and the TOB 2010 therefore appears to be a quite good option: it is the only current one that is not patently "wrong"!

In future, biblical translators may perhaps consider yet another solution, which is directly based on the philological survey provided by Knauf. If *El-Shaddai* originally corresponds to a *God of wild places*, *God of the desert*, or *God of uninhabited places*, why not translate it precisely that way? The image of vast uninhabited spaces fits well with the wandering experiences of the patriarchs with whom *El Shaddai* appears closely associated. Naturally, from the aesthetic point of view, an expression such as *God of the desert* might seem rather weird. But the image carried by this phrase can easily be expressed with more poetical flavor, for instance by: *God of the immensities*. In Chinese, this could give rise to translations such as:

> 昊穹之神
> 昊蒼之神
>
> *etc*.

A specific translational difficulty occurs in the above-mentioned passages Isa. 13:6; Joel 1:15 and Gen. 49:25: the Hebraic plays on words contained in these verses are impossible to translate except if one chooses to abandon the general translation one has adopted for *El Shaddai* in these very particular cases. At least one French translation (Osty) has opted for this option in Isa. 13:6. The Sigao Bible, the NRSV and Osty have respectively written for this verse:

Sigao:　　號啕罷! 因為上主的日子近了，它來有如全能者實行毀滅...

NRSV:　　*Wail, for the day of the Lord is near; it will come like destruction from the Almighty!*

Osty:　　*Hurlez! car il est proche, le jour de Yahvé, comme une dévastation venant du Dévastateur, il arrive.*

In Chinese, following Osty's option could give more or less:

> 號啕吧! 因為上主的日子逼近了，它來有如毀滅者實行毀滅...

II.5　OTHER SET-PHRASES AND DIVINE APPELLATIONS

The present article remains quite far from having exhausted all the richness of the Bible's divine appellations. Apart from the most common names already examined above,

several set-phrases also serve as rather direct, metaphoric or metonymic designations of God. The next section follows the number of their occurrences in the Bible in decreasing order. To a lesser degree, many grammatically flexible expressions also function as divine designations in the Bible. Section II.5.2 discusses a limited number of them.

II.5.1. SET-PHRASES

II.5.1.a. THE *GOD OF THE FATHERS*

The expression *God of the Fathers* has been the subject of a landmark study by Albrecht Alt (1883–1956) in 1929[106]. Biblical authors use it in a grammatically flexible way. It possesses at least two variants, *(The) God of your/their Fathers*[107] and *The LORD God of your/his/their Fathers*[108]. To some extent, the frequent expressions *God of Israel*[109], *The LORD God of Israel*[110] and *God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*[111] are all intrinsically connected with the notion of *God of the Fathers*. None of these expressions seems to raise any major translational difficulty.

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[106] Albrecht Alt, *Der Gott der Väter: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der israelitischen Religion*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1929.

[107] Cf. Exod. 3:13.15; 1 Chron. 5:25, 12:17; 2 Chron. 33:12, 34:32; Dan. 2:23, 11:37; Acts 3:13, 5:3.

[108] Cf. Exod. 3:15.16, 4:5; Deut. 1:11.21, 4:1, 6:3, 29:25; Josh. 18:3, Judg. 2:12; 2 Kgs. 21:22; 1 Chron. 29:20; 2 Chron. 7:22, 11:16, 13:12.18, 14:4, 15:12, 19:4, 20:6.33, 21:10, 24:18.24, 28:6.9.25, 29:5, 30:7, 30:19.22, 34:33, 36:15, Ezra 7:27, 8:28, 10:11.

[109] This expression occurs at least 93 times in the entire Bible.

[110] This expression occurs at least 108 times in the entire Bible.

[111] Cf. Exod. 3:15.16, 4:5; 1 Chron. 29:18; Matt. 22:32; Mark 12:26; Luke 20:37; Acts 3:13, 7:32.

II.5.1.b.　*THE HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL*

The set-phrase *Holy One of Israel* occurs 31 times[112] in the Hebrew Bible, among which 25 are concentrated in the book of Isaiah. The shorter expression *Holy One* occurs 5 times[113] in the Bible, and the *Holy one of Jacob* only once in Isa. 29:23. As Mettinger puts it, *The Holy One* «designates God as unapproachable in majesty»[114]. The Sigao Bible consistently translates these three expressions respectively by 以色列的聖者, 聖者 and 雅各伯的聖者, just as the Union Version also does. It would be difficult to find any better alternative.

The only difficulty presented by the text of the Sigao Bible concerns Isa. 47:4, which explicitly contains the Hebraic expression *Holy One of Israel.*

The Union Version writes:

> 我們救贖主的名是萬軍之耶和華，以色列的聖者。

whereas the Sigao Bible writes:

> 我們的救主──他的名字是萬軍的上主──說。

It seems that the translation team of the Sigao Bible has simply forgotten to include the mention of *the Holy One of Israel* in this verse.

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[112] Cf. 2 Kgs. 19:22; Isa. 1:4, 5:19.24, 10:20, 12:6, 17:7, 29:19, 30:11.12.15, 13:1, 37:23, 41:14.16.20, 43:3.14, 45:11, 47:4, 48:17, 49:7, 54:5, 55:5, 60:9.14; Jer. 50:29, 51:5; Pss. 71:22, 78:41, 89:18[19].

[113] Cf. Isa. 40:25, 57:15; Hos. 11:9; Hab. 3:3; Job 6:10.

[114] Tryggve Mettinger, ref. *supra*, p. 152.

II.5.1.c.   *EL ELYON / HO HYPSISTOS*

Elyon, which means *higher/most-high*, appears in the Bible either on its own (*e.g.* Isa. 14:14), in which case the Sigao Bible translates it by 至高者, or in combination with other divine names *Yahweh*, *Elohim*, *El*, in which case the Sigao Bible translates it either by 至高(的)上主 or 至高(的)天主. The Aramaic equivalent of *Elyon* also appears in Dan. 7:18.22.25.27. *Elyon* applies 31 times to God in the Hebrew Bible, not including Hos. 11:7 and 1 Sam. 2:10 where it may be present in abbreviated form.

The Sigao Bible translates the divine name *Elyon* and its Greek equivalent *Hypsistos*[115] in a very consistent way, and it would be difficult to find any more satisfying alternative.

The only difficulty linked to this divine name concerns Hos. 11:7, where the meaning of the Hebrew text is disputed, as can be seen from the high diversity of "translations" it has received.

The New American Bible proposes for Hos. 11:7:

> *His people are in suspense about returning to him;*
> *and God, though in unison they cry out to him, shall*
> *not raise them up.*

The Union Version, the *Chinese New Version* (新譯本) and the Sigao Bible write respectively:

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[115] *Hypsistos* serves to refer to God nine times in the New Testament: 5 times as an absolute noun (Luke1:32.35.76, 6:35; Acts 7:48), and 4 times as an adjective (Mark 5:7; Luke 8:28; Acts 16:17; Heb. 7:1).

> 我的民偏要背道離開我，眾先知雖然招呼他們歸向
> 至上的主，卻無人尊崇主。

> 我的子民決要背道離開我，他們因着所負的軛而呼
> 求，卻沒有人給他們卸下。

> 我的百姓因著自己的叛逆使我厭煩了；為此上主給
> 他們指定了應負的重軛，因為他已不再憐惜他們。

Obviously, one would need to get a clear idea of the Hebraic meaning of this verse before trying to improve its translation. This highly technical problem lies outside the scope of the present article.

II.5.1.d.　*THE LIVING GOD*

Israel's faith in *the living God* (wherein *God* can be written either by *ʾēl*, *ʾĕlōhîm* or in Aramaic by *ʾēlāhāʾ*) «demarcated Israelite thought from the conception of a dying and rising god whose cyclical biography reflected the vegetational seasons, and which was ubiquitous in Israel's surroundings.»[116] As can be seen in particular from the creed courageously professed by David in 1 Sam. 17:26.36 just before his fight with Goliath, the faith in *the living God* was more than just a matter of words in Israel.

The set-expression *living God* appears 13 times[117] in the Hebrew Bible and 10 times[118] in the NT. Its influence is also

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[116] Tryggve Mettinger, ref. *supra*, p. 90.

[117] Deut. 5:26; Josh. 3:10; 1 Sam. 17:26.36; 2 Kgs. 19:4.16; Isa. 37:4.17; Jer. 10:10, 23:36; Hos. 1:10 [2:1]; Pss. 42:2 [3], 84:2 [3].

[118] Matt. 16:16, 26:63; Acts 14:15; Rom. 9:26; 2 Cor. 3:3; 1 Tim. 3:15; Heb. 3:12, 10:31, 12:22; Rev. 7:2.

recognizable in several other expressions, which the Sigao Bible translates respectively as:

YHWH lives! (2 Sam. 22:47; Ps. 18:46)	上主萬歲！
my redeemer lives (Job 19:25)	為我伸冤者還活著
the living God, enduring for ever (Dan. 6:26, Aram v. 27)	生活永在的天主
he who lives for ever (Dan. 12:7)	永生者
living bread (John 6:51)	生活的食糧
living Father (John 6:57)	生活的父
a living and true God (1 Thess. 1:9)	永生的真天主
the one who lives for ever and ever (Rev. 4:10, 10:6)	萬世萬代的永生者

Mettinger indicates that the OT also contains « some oath formulas in which God's *life* is an element, that is, oaths of the type *as the Lord lives*. Such oaths occur 67 times in the OT; *ʾēl* and *ʾēlōhîm* occur only twice (in Job 27:2 and 2 Sam. 2:27, respectively), while we meet the formula *he who lives for ever* once (Dan. 12:7). *YHWH* dominates with 41 occurrences in such oaths (e.g. Judges 8:18; 1 Sam. 14:39.45, 19:6). There are also 23 occasions in which God swears by himself, that is, *as I live*. »[119]

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[119] Tryggve Mettinger, ref. *supra*, p. 91.

It is interesting to survey the 23 occasions[120] on which God swears by his own "life", 16 of which are concentrated in Ezekiel. A 24th NT occurrence (Rom. 14:11) can be added to them. Although the Sigao Bible consistently translates God's oath formula *as I live* by:

我指著我的生命起誓說

in Ezekiel (16 times) and in Zephaniah (1 time), other varied expressions appear in other places such as

Num. 14:21.28:　　我以我的生命起誓,
Deut. 32:40:　　　我向天舉手宣誓：我生活，至於永遠!
Isa. 49:18:　　　　我永遠生活,
Jer. 22:24, 46:18:　我永在
and Rom. 14:11:　我指著我自己起誓.

The lack of uniformity of the Sigao Bible is not satisfying. We shall leave the question of which best unified solution could be found open.

Let us now examine the translation of the designation *living God*. The Sigao Bible always translates this expression in the OT by:

永生的天主

except in Jer. 10:10 and Ps. 42:2[3], 84:2[3] where the same expression is rendered by:

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[120] Cf. Num. 14:21.28; Deut. 32:40; Isa. 49:18; Jer. 22:24, 46:18; Ezek. 5:11, 14:16.18.20, 16:48, 17:16.19, 18:3, 20:3.31.33, 33:11, 33:27, 34:8, 35:6.11; Zeph. 2:9.

生活的天主

In the NT, the expression

生活的天主

appears more frequently[121], although the expression

永生的天主

remains slightly dominant[122]. In theory, one may wish to use a single Chinese set-phrase for the translation of all these occurrences. But in practice, it seems that no single double-character Chinese term can reflect the full meaning of the Hebraic expression *Living-God* in a fully satisfying way. Only a longer expression like 永遠活着的天主 might have a more universally appropriate meaning, but its length renders it unusable in practice.

All things being considered, it seems that the Sigao Bible reaches a good compromise by adopting either 永生的天主 or 生活的天主 according to the context. The Sigao Bible's choices fit well in each particular case. Only in the case of Matt. 26:63 does the Sigao Bible's choice seem rather disputable. In this verse, Caiaphas declares to Jesus:

> *I order you to tell us under oath before the living God whether you are the Messiah, the Son of God…*

The Sigao Bible writes here:

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[121] Cf. Matt. 26:63; Acts 14:15; 2 Cor. 3:3; Heb. 3:12.

[122] Cf. Matt. 16:16; Rom. 9:26; 1 Tim. 3:15; Heb. 10:31, 12:22; Rev. 7:2.

我因生活的天主，起誓命你告訴我們⋯

Due to the high degree of solemnity of Caiaphas' statement, one may have preferred to write:

我因永生的天主⋯

II.5.1.e.　*EL OLAM*

The divine name *El Olam* appears only once in the Bible, in Gen. 21:33. According to Albert de Pury[123], the meaning of this name corresponds to something like:

El/God, the Eternal/Everlasting/Ancient one

The Sigao Bible translates it by:

永恒天主

which seems quite good.

II.5.1.f.　*EL BERITH*

The expression *El Berith* occurs only once in the Bible, in Judg. 9:46. It is quite similar to the expression *Baal Berith* that occurs twice in Judg. 8:33 and Judg. 9:4. Both expressions refer to deities worshipped in the neighborhood of the city of Sheshem. According to modern scholars[124], there is no strong reason to doubt that two sanctuaries devoted to each deity

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[123] *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by A. de Pury, p. 289.

[124] *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by M. Mulder, p. 142.

may have simultaneously existed in the neighborhood of Sheshem.

Baal Berith is consistently transliterated by the Sigao Bible by

巴耳貝黎特

in both Judg. 8:33 and Judg. 9:4. The Union Version uses the different transliteration:

巴力比利土

Curiously, both the Sigao Bible and the Union Version render *El Berith* in Judg. 9:46 by exactly the same transliteration as for *Baal Berith.*

The *Chinese New Version* (新譯本) has rightly corrected the Union Version by writing in Judg. 9:46:

伊勒-比利土

It does not seem that the Sigao Bible contains any direct transliteration for *El*, although several indirect transliterations of *El* can be found in theophoric names such as *Samuel* (撒慕爾), *Eliah* (厄里亞), *Elisabeth* (依撒伯爾) *etc*. For ecumenical reasons, future translations wishing to transliterate the name *El* may consider using the transliteration of the Chinese New Version: 伊勒 (*Yīlè*). Yet another option could consist in transliterating *El* by:

壹力(*Yīlì*)[125]

The character 力 evokes the idea of *strength*, which is associated with the most probable etymology of the word *El*, whereas 壹 can suggest *unity* or *uniqueness*.

II.5.1.g.　*EL BETHEL / BETHEL*

The expression *El-Bethel* appears twice in Gen. 31:13, 35:7. *Bethel* itself contains the word *El* and means *house/temple of God/El*. According to Wolfgang Röllig, « the name Bethel originally did not point to the town of Bethel, but may have referred to open cult-places, as the aetiology of Bethel in the OT suggests (Gen. 28:10-19). »[126] Bethel later became the name of a city formerly called Lûz (cf. Judg. 1:23).

In Gen. 31:13 and Gen. 35:7, the expression *El-Bethel* simply means *God of [the city] Bethel*. The Sigao Bible translates it by 貝特耳的天主 in Gen. 31:13, but only by 貝特耳 in Gen. 35:7, where *El-Bethel* becomes in this verse the name of a place:

> *There Jacob built an altar and called the place El-bethel… (Gen. 35:7)[127]*

Translating *El-Bethel* by *Bethe*l only in Gen. 35:7 is difficult to justify.

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[125] Cf. the article written by Liu Li (劉麗) for the present Journal.

[126] *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by W. Röllig, p. 174.

[127] The Sigao writes for the whole verse Gen 35:7 : 他在那裏築了一座祭壇。稱呼那地方為貝特耳，因為他逃避他哥哥時，天主曾在那裏顯現給他。

Another more interesting situation appears in Jer. 48:13, where *Bethel* alone, not *El-Bethel*, serves as a name for the God of the Israelites, without referring to the city of Bethel. The New American Bible translates:

> *Chemosh shall disappoint Moab, as Israel was disappointed by Bethel in which they trusted.*

The Sigao Bible writes for the same verse Jer. 48:13:

> 那時，摩阿布必因革摩士而受辱，就如以色列家因
> 他們信賴的貝特耳而受辱一樣。

Since 貝特耳 constitutes no more than a phonetic transliteration, its evocative power in Chinese is quite poor. One could do better if one possessed a standard transliteration of the root El, which one could use systematically in many theophoric names (cf. II.5.1.f. *supra*).

II.5.1.h.   *EL ROI*

The divine name *El Roi* can be found only once in the OT, in Gen. 16:13. Literally, *El Roi* can be understood to mean *El who sees me (also: chooses/saves me)*. At first sight, this name may seem rather comparable to *El Olam*, but the context of Gen. 16:13 shows that this is not the case.

El Olam is pronounced by Sarah's servant Hagar, and since «the apparent aim [of Gen. 16:13] is to ensure that the non-Israelite Ishmaelites have no part in the worship of Yahweh»[128], the aim of the redactor «could have been to

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[128] *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, article by A. de Pury, p. 291.

"correct" both the identification of *El* and *Yahweh* and the privileged relation between Hagar and Yahweh, and to this end he may have thought of a pseudo archaic divine name in the style of *El Olam* and *El Shadday*.»[129]. According to A. de Pury, *El Olam* is therefore « best interpreted as a pseudo-archaic divine name inserted by a later redactor of Gen 16. »[130]

This explanation is crucial for translators. If the intention of the biblical redactor has been to distinguish between the divine favors granted to Israelites and Ishmaelites respectively, it might be more appropriate to translate the *El* of *El Roi* by the character 神 (*Shén*) than by 天主.

The Sigao Bible writes for Gen. 16:13:

> 哈加爾遂給那對她說話的上主起名叫「你是看顧人
> 的天主，」因為她說：「我不是也看見了那看顧人
> 的天主嗎？」

Using the character 神 might give:

> 哈加爾遂給那對她說話的上主起名叫「你是看顧我
> 的神」，因為她說：「我不是也看見了看顧我的那
> 一位嗎？」

II.5.1.i. THE *JEALOUS GOD*

At first sight, the expression *Jealous God* looks more like a "description" than a proper name for God. The adjective

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[129] *ibid*, p. 292.

[130] *ibid*, p. 291.

jealous simply serves to emphasize a particular characteristic of the God of Israel in four appropriate contexts, Exod. 20:5 and Deut. 4:24, 5:9, 6:15. In these four cases, *jealous God* is consistently translated in the Sigao Bible by 忌邪的天, which seems quite appropriate.

A fifth occurrence of the expression *Jealous God* in Exod. 34:14 bears some rather different characteristics. In that particular case, the biblical author explicitly treats *Jealous-God* as a proper name for God. This verse is translated by the New Jerusalem Bible as:

> *for you will worship no other god, since Yahweh's name is the Jealous One; he is a jealous God.*

The Sigao Bible writes:

> 不准你朝拜別的神,因為上主名為忌邪者,他是忌邪的天主。

This seems to be a quite good solution, although one may possibly prefer to use more explicit punctuation by using brackets such as 「」 (or "" in horizontal editions), writing:

> 不准朝拜別的神,因為上主名為「忌邪者」,他是忌邪的天主。

II.5.2.　OTHER DIVINE APPELLATIONS

II.5.2.a.　INTIMATE APPELLATIONS

It is not always possible to establish a clear frontier between expressions that function as divine "names" and

those that serve as descriptions, or metaphors, for God. What is more, as Thomas Aquinas has argued (I Q.13 art.10), it would be wrong to consider metaphors as a category of secondary importance, since their meaning should sometimes be taken neither *univocally* nor *equivocally*, but *analogical*ly, as applies in particular for the marvelously simple expression *Father*. Another factor of complexity comes from the fact that some expressions can function ambivalently as "names" in private contexts, and more as descriptive references in public contexts. Here are a few examples of rather intimate appellations, followed by their translation by the Sigao Bible:

> *your Creator* (Eccl. 12:1)　　　　你的造主
> *the God of my life* (Ps. 42:8)　　　賜我生命的天主
> *my King and my God* (Ps. 5:2/3)　我的君王，我的天主
> *the God of our salvation* (Ps. 68:20)　救我們的天主
> *my Redeemer* (Job 19:25 / Ps. 19:25)　為我伸冤者/我的救主
> *our Father in Heaven* (Matt 6:9)　我們在天的父
> *my Saviour* (Luke 1:47)　　　　我的救主
> *our Hope* (1 Tim. 1:1)　　　　作我們希望的…

A familiar public metaphor, the *Rock*, also serves as a "private" appellation, for instance in Ps. 42:9. The New Jerusalem Bible translates for the whole passage Ps. 42:8-9:

> [8] In the daytime God sends his faithful love, and even at night; the song it inspires in me is a prayer to my living God.
> [9] I shall say to God, my rock, 'Why have you forgotten me? Why must I go around in mourning, harassed by the enemy?'

The Sigao Bible writes here:

> ⁸但願上主在白晝頒賜祂的恩愛慈惠，我夜間向賜我
> 生命的天主歌頌讚美！
> ⁹我對天主說：我的磐石，你為什麼將我遺忘？為什
> 麼我應常在仇人的壓迫下徘徊沮喪？

Since the psalmist refers to God in verse 42:8 as *my living God* without addressing himself directly to God, it is perhaps more logical to assume that *my Rock* in verse 42:9 also functions in the same way, in which case one may prefer to follow the solution adopted for the celebration of Catholic liturgy in Taiwan[131]:

> ⁹我向天主我的磐石說：「你為什麼忘了我？為什麼
> 讓我遭受仇人壓迫而沮喪？」

II.5.2.b.　DESCRIPTIVE APPELLATIONS

An uncommon detail of transcription appears in Ps. 29:3, where Masoretes have connected the two nouns *El* and *Hakkavod* with a *maqqef*, presumably because they understood *El-Hakkavod* (meaning *God-of-Glory*) as forming a single entity, or at least because they wished their readers to regard it as such. The New Jerusalem Bible provides a particularly literal rendering of Ps. 29:3, which can serve as a convenient reference:

> *Yahweh's voice over the waters, the God of glory thunders; Yahweh over countless waters*

The Sigao Bible proposes:

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[131] 《讚歌，聖詠及聖歌集》，天主教教務協進會出版社，臺灣，1982.

> 上主的聲音響徹水面，天主雷鳴在顯示莊嚴，上主
> 臨到澎湃的水面。

It is somewhat disappointing to see that the appellation *God of Glory* is absent from the Sigao Bible in this verse. In order to re-establish an explicit equivalent to the expression *God of Glory* in Chinese, one may consider a simple modification:

> 上主的聲音響徹水面，光榮的天主以雷顯威，上主
> 臨到澎湃的水面。

One may also consider another alternative[132], which has the merit of conferring a common identical rhythm to all the three meters of Ps. 29:3, as is the case in the Hebrew text:

> 上主的聲音響徹水面，榮耀的天主響雷隆隆，上主
> 在海上顯示莊嚴。

Let us note that a parallel expression to *El-Hakkavod* occurs in Acts 7:2 with *Ho Theos tēs doxēs*. The Sigao Bible translates it adequately by 榮耀的天主.

An expression rather similar to *God-of-Glory* is *King of Glory* (*Melek Hakkavod*), which occurs five times in Ps. 24:7.8.9.10. The Sigao Bible translates it quite adequately by 光榮的君主.

Yet another comparable designation is *Splendour of Israel* (*Netsach Israel*), which occurs only once in the Bible, in 1 Sam. 15:29. The Sigao Bible translates it by 以色列的光榮, which,

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[132] I am strongly indebted to Liu Li for helping me to write this Chinese sentence, as well as a few others.

although accurate, does not allow the reader to distinguish *netsach* from the very frequent name *kavod*, also rendered by 光榮 in the Sigao Bible. Maybe some distinction between *kavod* and *netsach* could be made in Chinese by writing for *Netsach Israel* in 1 Sam. 15:29:

以色列的光輝

Many more divine descriptions share, to some lesser degree, the characteristics of clearly identifiable divine names. Let us list here a few examples, followed by their translations by the Sigao Bible:

God of knowledge (1 Sam. 2:3)	全知的天主
holy God (Isa. 5:16)	至聖的天主
righteous God (Isa. 45:21)	仁義的神
God of the spirits of all flesh (Num. 16:22)	
	賜給一切血肉生氣的天主
faithful God (Deut. 7:9)	忠信的天主
God of truth/faithfulness (Ps. 31:6)	忠實的天主
gracious God (Jon. 4:2)	寬仁的天主
Lord King (Sir. 51:1)	上主，君王

II.5.2.c.   RARE NEW TESTAMENT APPELLATIONS

Before concluding our study, let us still consider several original NT divine appellations.

Several metonymies deserve our consideration:

(i)   *The Blessed One (Ho Eulogētos)*

This expression occurs once in Mark 14:6. The notion that God is or should be blessed is found several times in the

NT[133]. In Mark 14:6, *The Blessed One* does not really function as a name, but rather a deferent metonymy for God. The aim of the great priest is not to bless God, but simply to avoid pronouncing the name of YHWH. The Sigao Bible translates the expression *Son of the Blessed One* in this passage by:

那應受讚頌者的兒子

which seems quite appropriate.

(ii)　The Power (Hē Dunamis)

This metonymy is used by Jesus himself in response to the high priest's questioning in Matt. 26:64 and Mark 14:62. The parallel verse Luke 22:69 is rather redundant, since it speaks of the Power of God (*Hē Dunamis tou Theou*). The Sigao Bible translates in Matt. 26:64 and Mark 14:62 *The Power* by

大能者

and *the Power of God* in Luke 22:69 by

大能者天主

This latter translation is not really correct, since one should rather have, strictly speaking, 天主的大能.

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[133] Cf. Mark 14:61, Luke 1:68, Rom. 1:25, 9:5; 2 Cor. 1:3, 11:31; Eph. 1:3; 1 Pet. 1:3.

(iii)   Heaven

This metonymy, which occurs in Luke 15:21, has already been discussed in § I.4.

(iv)   The Mighty One (Ho Dunatos, literally: The Capable One)

This expression is used by Mary in her prayer starting in Latin by *Magnificat* (Luke 1:49). *Ho Dunatos* has been translated in the Sigao Bible by 全能者, which is quite acceptable, although the Sigao Bible already uses the term 全能 in its renderings of *Shaddai* and *Pantokratōr*. The Union Version writes in Luke 1:49 那有權能的, which seems to be a rather good choice.

(v)   The Majesty (hē Megalōsunē), or more literally the Greatness

This expression occurs twice in the Epistle to the Hebrews[134]. The occurrence of Heb. 8:1 is particularly interesting, since the content of Heb. 8:1-2 lies at the very heart of the entire epistle, as the author indicates himself. The Greek text is:

> ¹Κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις, τοιοῦτον ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ²τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργὸς καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς, ἣν ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος.

The Sigao Bible proposes for these two verses:

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[134] Cf. Heb. 1:3 and Heb. 8:1.

> 我們所論述的要點即是：我們有這樣一位大司祭，
> 他已坐在天上「尊威」的寶座右邊，在聖所，即真
> 會幕裏作臣僕;這會幕是上主而不是人手所支搭的。

In both Heb. 1:3 and Heb. 8:1, the Sigao Bible translates *The Majesty* by「尊威」, which constitutes a quite accurate rendering.

Just for the pleasure of letting more Jesuit and Buddhist harmonies resound in this verse, one may also consider an expression used by Matteo Ricci in his famous treatise *Tiānzhǔ Shiyi*: 上尊 (*Shàngzūn, i.e. Majesty on High*). This remark gives us the opportunity to try to render a few minor details of the Greek text of Heb. 8:1-2 more explicitly. One may possibly have written here:

> 我們所論述的要點即是：我們有的就是這樣的一位
> 大司祭，他已在天上，坐在上尊寶座的右邊。他在
> 聖所，即真正的會幕裏作臣僕；這一會幕是由上主
> 而非由人手所搭建的。

Still more rare expressions deserve our consideration in the NT:

(vi) Father of Lights

This rare divine NT appellation occurs only once in James 1:17. According to most modern exegetes, this expression refers to the luminaries in heaven, not to light(s) taken in a spiritual, moral or philosophical sense. Therefore, instead of translating, as the Sigao Bible does, *Father of Lights* by

> 光明之父

one may have preferred to retain the choice of the Union Version,

　　眾光之父

or to turn towards other options such as

　　皓天萬光之父，皓天之父 *etc.*

(vii) Father of Spirits

The Epistle to the Hebrews also contains this rare divine appellation only once (Heb. 12:9). The Sigao Bible translates it nicely by:

　　靈性的父親

(viii) Master of the Harvest (ho Kurios tou Therismou)

This divine appellation is used by Jesus himself in the parallel passages Matt. 9:38 and Luke 10:2. The Sigao Bible translates this expression in both cases by:

　　莊稼的主人

The use of the character 人 is hardly satisfying in these verses. Wu Jingxiong's solution,

　　莊稼之主

may be preferred.

We shall leave outside of the scope of our study all the biblical designations of the Holy Spirit, including the famous *Paraclete* (John 14:16.26, 15:26, 16:7; 1 John 2:1), hoping that the

reader will forgive us these omissions even if the Holy Spirit is not less worthy of attention than the heavenly Father. We shall also leave outside of the scope of our study many Christological designations such as the *Logos* (John 1:1), the *Way, Truth and Life* (John 14:6), the *Bread of Life* (John 6:48), the *Light of the World* (John 8:12), the *Gate* (John 10:9), the *Good Shepherd* (John 10:11), the *Resurrection* (John 10:25), the *True Vine* (John 15:1). Jesus' famous self designation *Egō eimi*[135] will also be left out of our discussion. A full article, even possibly a book, could be devoted to this subject alone.

The divine name with which we shall close our study is *Emmanuel*, literally *El is with us*[136], transliterated by the Sigao Bible as 厄瑪奴耳 and by the Union Version as 以馬內利. The character 厄, evoking *distress*, is practically never included in genuinely Chinese personal names, and it has little chance to be ever adopted in ecumenical renderings. Let us hope that, at least for the name *God with us*, which is so much connected with the core of the Good News, all Christian communities in China will be able to adopt a common rendering one day[137].

CONCLUSION

One of the most sensitive topics discussed by the present article concerns the theological interpretation of the history of

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[135] Cf. Mark 6:50 and John 4:26, 6:20, 8:24.28.58, 13:19, 18:5.

[136] Cf. Isa. 7:14; Matt. 1:23. Cf. also Matt. 28:20.

[137] Cf. the beautiful solution proposed by Liu Li (劉麗) in the present Journal, which has the merit of taking into account the etymology of *El*.

the use of the term 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) by Christian communities in China, as well as the potential future of this term in Catholic or ecumenical translations of the Bible. We have suggested that the term *Shangdi* constitutes a serious candidate for at least a few occurrences of the divine name *El* in the Old Testament (perhaps not much more than four: Gen. 33:20, Gen. 46:3, Isa. 14:13 and Ezek. 28:2, since the character 神 (*Shén*) may possibly constitute a better candidate for other occurrences of *El*), as well as for the majestic expression *Kyrios ho Theos ho Pantokratōr*, which occurs seven times in the book of Revelation. Even more space could be provided to the term 上帝 (*Shàngdì*) if one translated a significant fraction of the Old Testament occurrences of *Elohim* by 上帝 (*Shàngdì*), or if one opted for a splitting of the translation of the word *Theos* in the New Testament according to different original linguistic contexts (Aramaic or Greek). These two latter options, especially the first one, might presumably pave the way for more ecumenical progress, although neither of them is exegetically easy to justify from a point of view anchored in traditional Catholic linguistic usage.

The Catholic Church has the special duty and vocation to become ever more what it already *is* intrinsically by nature, that is to say, charitable towards all and spiritually concerned by "the whole" in an extended sense, since it is aware that God desires *everyone* (1 Tim. 2:4) to be saved. Assuredly, the Catholic dimension of the Mission entrusted by Christ to his apostles is essentially a matter of Spirit, not of words. Yet words are not completely useless. It is the hope of the present author that Roman-Catholic authorities will find ways - not too fast, but progressively, with order, wisdom and discernment - to promote a usage of divine names in Chinese

that may eventually serve as a sign, and even perhaps (why not?) as a new source of unity among all Christians. If this can happen in the future, the painful controversies of the past may be completely transformed, and all Christians may find new ways to build up together an even greater Communion, experiencing anew how much the Spirit surpasses the limitations of our human languages.

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[摘 要] 本文回顧基督宗教歷史上對超越宇宙的"創造者" 所用過的不同稱呼。聖經本身使用一系列不同的名子來稱呼"神"；本文也分析了這些名字的意義與特色，並且嘗試以天主教梵二之後對合一運動的積極態度來恰當地選用一系列稱呼方式，以便爲"合一運動"、還未出版的基督宗教共同譯本與新的天主教版本，分別提供進展的平台。

約稿

　　為鞏固中國與國際間在研究香港、中國及海外華人團體這方面的學術工作，雙語性質的「天主教研究學報」將接受以中文或英文的投稿，並附以相對語文的摘要。間中或包括書評及有關本中心活動的簡訊。從下期起，本刊將只 以電子方式每年出版一次。我們鼓勵讀者及作者以本刊作互動討論的平台，並歡迎對本刊批評及提出建議。

　　「天主教研究學報」以同儕匿名審稿方式選稿以維持特定的學術水準。本刊的性質可大體屬於人文科，以科學方法研究天主教與中國及華人社團，同時著重文本及考察的研究。本刊歡迎個別投稿及建議其刊專題。本刊下期專題為科學與信仰。

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