

# The Translation and Introduction of Augustine in the Republican Period

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**Abstract:** Regarding the introduction and translation of Augustine in China, if we say that the transition between the Ming and Qing dynasties was “monopolized by a single family,” and, in the late-Qing period Protestant [translations] caught up, and with Catholicism “stood together as two peaks.” Then, in the Republican period, we can say that Catholicism, Protestantism, and humanist scholarship “stood on three feet.” The introduction to this article summarizes the general situation of the translation and discussion of Augustine in the Republican period, then separately introduces results of Catholic, Protestant, and humanist interpretations of Augustine.

**Key words:** Augustine, *Confessions*, Frédéric-Vincent Lebbe, Giovanni Papini

## Introduction

At the end of the Ming dynasty, the transmission of Augustine’s philosophy to China had already begun with the first wave of Jesuit missionaries: Michele Ruggieri, Matteo Ricci, Giulio Aleni, and others. It can be said that at the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Qing dynasty, Augustine-the-person, was introduced to Chinese readers in the form of “biographies of sages” (*shengren zhuan* 圣人传), and his philosophy was introduced in the form of a compiled quotations—the genre referred

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to in Chinese as *yulu* 语录. By the end of the Qing, the Protestant missionary Young John Allen (ch. Lin Yuezhi 林乐知) had written a biography of Augustine in the modern sense, and the *Confessions* existed in two literary Chinese translations. One of these was William Muirhead's (ch. Mu Weilian 慕维廉) 1884 *Confessions of Guilt from an Ancient Sage* (Gusheng renzui 古圣任罪), and the other was Hu Yigu's 胡貽穀 1909 *Purification of the Heart by an Ancient Sage* (Gusheng mingxin 古圣明心). The former is an abridged translation; the latter only translated the first ten chapters.

Entering the Republican Period, Catholicism did all it could to catch up, and surpassed the achievements of Protestants in the translation and introduction of Augustine for China. First, there was Frédéric-Vincent Lebbe's (Ch. Lei Mingyuan 雷鸣远, 1877–1940) 1913 *A History of the Assimilation of Saint Augustine* (Sheng Aosiding guihua shi 圣奥斯丁归化史), which might be considered the paragon of the "Sinification of Augustine." Following it, there was Giovanni Papini's (ch. Bapini 巴彼尼, 1881–1956) 1936 *Biography of Saint Augustine* (Sheng Aosiding zhuan 圣奥斯定传). The former was an extraordinarily distinctive work, and the latter was a famous work by a famous person. A few Catholic, vernacular mini-biographies of Augustine also appeared, including such representative works as Chen Sifen's 陈泗芬 1925 *Collected Brief Biographies of Eight Great Sages* (Ba da shengshi zhuanlüe hebian 八大圣师传略合编); *Augustine* (Aosiding 奥斯定), edited and translated by Bu Xiangxian 卜相贤; and He Muren's 何慕人 1946 *A Short Biography of the North African Sage Saint Augustine* (Beifei shengshi Sheng Aosiding xiaozhuan 北非圣师圣奥斯定小传). As for translations of Augustine's works, the Roman Catholic Zhao Yunbo 赵允伯 translated the *Confessions*, as did the Protestant Xu Baoqian 徐宝谦 (1892–1944), and the Protestant Zou Bingyi 邹秉彝 (1900–1954) translated *City of God*. But these three vernacular translations were later lost and never published. The Jesuit Wu Yingfeng 吴应枫 (1898–1972) began to translate the *Confessions* in 1948, and published it two years later at Tushanwan; it is one of precious few extant works

of its kind.

In the Republican period, the primary contributions of Protestantism to translating Augustine were still those made by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese (*Guangxue hui* 广学会, hereafter referred to as S.D.C.K., or “the Society”). In the Republican period the Society published *Record of Precious Words of Augustine* (*Aogusiding jinyan lu* 奥古斯丁金言录, 1936), and Wu Weiya’s 吴维亚 Chinese translation, *Saint Augustine* (Sheng Aogusiding 圣奥古斯丁, 1937). In addition, protestants and Catholics alike would generally mention Augustine in ecclesiastical histories edited and translated by all sects and denominations.

What differed from the Ming and Qing periods, was that in the Republican period, intellectuals in the contemporary sense first appeared. They mainly undertook teaching and research at universities, and a few people began to independently translate and introduce Western history, and the history of Western literature philosophy. Sometimes, these would also touch upon Augustine. For example, *A History of European Literature* (*Ouzhou wenxue shi* 欧洲文学史, 1922) by Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967) and *Outline of Literature* (*Wenxue dagang* 文学大纲, 1927) by Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎 (1898-1958) already described Augustine’s *Confessions*. Zhou Zuoren was the first in China to translate the title “*Confessions*” as “*Chanhui*” 忏悔. As for philosophy, when editing and translating or writing books on the history of Western philosophy, Zhang Dongsun 张东荪 (1886-1973), Liu Boming 刘伯明 (1887-1923), Huang Chanhua 黄忏华 (1890-1977), Li Shiling 李石岑 (1892-1934), Qu Shiyong 瞿世英 (1901-1976), and Quan Zenggu 全增嘏 (1903-1984), would all mention Augustine. Works on the history of Western philosophy by some Western historians, such as Friedrich Ueberweg, Alfred Weber, Thilly, Marvin, Cushman, and others were all translated into Chinese. This sort of work was heavily weighted toward commentary and description of Augustine’s philosophy of the mind, free will, theory of time, and philosophy of history, which differed from ecclesiastical scholars’ emphasis on Augustine’s theology. Augustine’s philosophy of history was given special emphasis. Because the origins of these translations differed (Japan, Europe and

America, Russia), and so too the influences on them, translators and authors came to different evaluations of Augustine, showing clear disparities. Among these, Marxist expositions of Augustine became the guiding model after the PRC was established in 1949.

When it comes to Augustine's influence on the intellectual world of the Republican period, a relatively notable example is the discussion of the translation of the word "confessions" on the eve of the 1500-year commemoration of Augustine by several literati gathered in Shanghai: Zhang Ruogu 張若谷 (1905–1960), Shao Xunmei 邵洵美, and Hu Wuyi 胡乌衣. These discussions are preserved in Zhang Ruogu's book, *Coffee Chats (Kafei zuotan 咖啡座谈)*.<sup>1</sup>

The first history of Augustine's transmission to China appeared in 1930, Xu Jingxian's 徐景贤 (1907-1946) *Saint Augustine and the Chinese Academe* (Sheng Aogusiding yu Zhongguo xueshujie 圣奥斯定与中国学术界); today it remains the only academic retrospective on the topic. This text was first published in the September 1<sup>st</sup> to October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1930 issue of Tianjin's *Ta Kung Pao, Literature Supplement* (Dagong bao-wenxue fukan 大公报·文学副刊), and continued in the second volume, issues 3 and 4 of *Periodicum trimestre consociationis juventutis Catholicae* (Zhonghua gongjiao qingnian hui jikan 中华公教青年会季刊) consecutively. It was later published as a stand-alone edition.<sup>2</sup> Xu Jingxian reflected on translations and explications of Augustine from Matteo Ricci forward, focusing on the situation in the Republican period, his own era, providing several important threads for us to follow today. Of course, limited by the materials available to him at the time, his grasp of Catholic translations and explications from the Ming-Qing transition was still incomplete, and did not take notice of late-Qing Protestant

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<sup>1</sup> Zhang Ruogu 張若谷, *Ka fei zuo tan 咖啡座谈* (Coffee Chats) (Shanghai zhenmeishan shuju 上海真美善书局, 1929). The author has an article on the history of the introduction and translation of the *Confessions* into Chinese, and will not further elaborate here.

<sup>2</sup> Xu Jingxian 徐景贤, *Sheng Aosiding yu Zhongguo xueshu jie 圣奥斯定与中国学术界* (*Saint Augustine and the Chinese Academe*), (Zhonghua gongjiao xue lianhe hui, stand-alone edition, 1931), held at the Peking University Library. See also Zhao Zhongya 赵中亚, ed., *Xu Jingxian wencun 徐景贤文存* (Preserved writings of Xu Jingxian) (Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2016).

translations and introductions (such as Young John Allen's *Augustine*). Xu Jingxian exemplified great scholarly ability; if he had enjoyed a time of peace, it is certain he could have advanced Chinese research into Augustine. Sadly, he lived in a time of great disorder and died in his prime and had no successors.

*Saint Augustin et les Vertus des Paiens* (Ch. Sheng Aogusiding yu yijiao cong meide 圣奥斯定与异教徒美德),<sup>1</sup> the French-language work of the Catholic scholar J. Wang Tch'ang-tche (Wang Changzhi 王昌祉, 1899-1960), who held a French doctorate, was widely influential in the West and represents the international level attained by contemporary Chinese research on Augustine. His *La Philosophie Morale de Wang Yang-ming* (Wang Yangming de daode zhexue 王阳明的道德哲学)<sup>2</sup> was preserved in Shanghai's *Varietes Sinologiques* (Hanxue congshu 汉学丛书).<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, after Wang returned to China many of his writings were internal pamphlets for the Church, and he apparently made no more explications or translations of Augustine, and his influence within China was therefore not great. This also had much to do with the circumstances of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Due to the influence of the war, later Republican period translations of Augustine decreased notably in number.

Throughout the entirety of the Republican period, although the thriving scene of the "Golden decade" (1927–1937) also had some reflection in translations and introductions of Augustine, the period gave priority to "translation and introduction" (*yijie* 译介), "research" of a purely scholarly nature was uncommon. This is why the title of this article refers to "translation and introduction," and not "research." Strictly speaking, research on Augustine in mainland China did not begin until after "reform and opening-up" in 1978. Below, I've only selected to introduce documents of obvious

<sup>1</sup> J. Wang Tch'ang-tche, *Saint Augustin et les Vertus des Paiens*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> J. Wang Tch'ang-tche, *La Philosophie Morale de Wang Yang-ming*, Paris: P Geuthner/Changhai: Tou-se-we, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> On the history of *Varietes Sinologiques*, see Wang Guoqiang 王国强, "Jindai Huaren Tianzhu jiaotuo de Xiwen zhuzuo ji qi yingxiang: yi Hanxue congshu wei li" 近代华人天主教徒的西文著作及其影响: 以《汉学丛书》为例 (Modern Chinese Catholic believers Western-language writings and their influence: *Varietes Sinologiques* as a case study), in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (Studies in World Religions), 6(2016): 140–149. Wang Guoqiang only mentions Wang Tch'ang-tche's *La Philosophie Morale de Wang Yang-ming*, and does not mention the masterpiece *Saint Augustin et les Vertus des Paiens*.

importance from the Republican period.

### Roman Catholic Translations of and Introductions to Augustine

The Roman Catholic Church was far more active in the translation and introduction of Augustine in the Republican period than it had been in the late Qing. Like Protestant churches, the Catholic Church also touched upon Augustine in average histories of the Church. They differed in that, like in the Ming and Qing dynasties, the Catholic Church would mention Augustine in biographies of the saints because of its liturgical needs. For example, for the feast days of August 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>, the deeds of Saint Monica and Augustine are recounted in both Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla's (Feng Bingzheng 冯秉正, 1669–1748) *Expansion of the Annals of the Saints* (Sheng nian guangyi 圣年广益), reprinted by Tushuwan Press in 1932, and Ai Rulüe's 艾儒略 *Virtuous Exemplars of the Saints* (Shengren debiao 圣人德表) published by Yanzhou Catholic Church Press between 1934 and 1936 (this person is not actually Giulio Alenio of the Ming by the same Chinese name). In another example, *Extracts of the Deeds of Saints in Dialect* (Fangyan shengren xingshi zhailu 方言圣人行实摘录)<sup>1</sup> uses vernacular Shanghainese to vividly depict the life and deeds of "Saint Monica (Shengfu Monijia 圣妇莫尼加) in hagiographical form (*shengtū zhuanji* 圣徒传记).

Roman Catholic ecclesiastical histories are numerous, and most speak on Augustine's theological thought and status. Such histories include *Newly Edited Outline of the History of the Catholic Religion* (Xinbian Shengjiao shi gang 新编圣教史纲) edited by Zhao Shijing 赵石经,<sup>2</sup> and *Outline of the History of the Catholic Church* (Shengjiao hui shi gang 圣教会史纲) edited by Yu Bingnan 于炳南.<sup>3</sup> Catholicism also had philosophical curricula, such as the exposition on Augustine in *An Abridged History*

<sup>1</sup> C. Bortolazzi (Miao Yangshan 苗仰山), *Fangyan shengren xingshi zhailu* 方言圣人行实摘录 (Extracts of the deeds of saints in dialect) (Shanghai: tushuwan yinshuguan 上海土山湾印书馆, 1913), pp. 81-84.

<sup>2</sup> Zhao Shijing 赵石经, ed., *Xinbian Shengjiao shi gang* 新编圣教史纲 (Newly edited outline of the history of the Catholic religion), vol. 1, (Tushuwan yinshuguan 土山湾印书馆), 1938, pp. 101-102.

<sup>3</sup> Yu Bingnan 于炳南, ed., Yang Diyi 杨堤译, *Shengjiao hui shi gang* 圣教会史纲 (Outline of the history of the Catholic Church), volume xia 下 (Tushuwan yinshuguan 土山湾印书馆, 1941), pp. 41-43.

of *Philosophy* (Zhexue shi suo xing 哲学史缩型) by Chang Shouyi 常守义 (?–1991), which exhibited relatively high academic standards. Chang Shouyi divides his discussion into “Propositions on the Intelligible World” (*Lizhi zhi jie lunti* 理智界论题), “Propositions on the Empirical World” (*shishi jie lunti* 事实界论题), and “Propositions on the Ethical World” (*Lunli jie lunti* 伦理界论题). Among these, “Propositions on the Ethical World” is about ultimate happiness. Chang writes:

The ultimate goal of humanity is to pass a fortunate and happy life, but upon what should this fortunate and happy life rely?

All people desire a happy life, and moreover harbor hopes of eternal happiness; but this great happiness to which people all look forward—what kind of nature does it have? The hedonists<sup>1</sup> pinned this happiness on the happiness of the physical body alone; Stoic philosophers pinned their happiness on the happiness of the spirit alone; and the Peripatetic philosophers therefore argued that happiness was that of both the physical body and the spirit. Even the best among these opinions was incorrect because their common flaw is that they seek true happiness in this present world. However, “this worldly lifetime that must end in death is not happy, but is a kind of life that we should endure.” In order to obtain complete happiness, one should worship the Lord: “Lord, you created us, originally for yourself, unless we rest in you, our hearts can never find peace,”<sup>2</sup> “he who awards virtuous behavior, must also be the creator of virtuous behavior.”

Therefore Augustine took the ultimate purpose of human life to be the Creator. The paths human behavior should follow in the ethical world must all be measured against this ultimate purpose as a standard. The ethics Augustine discussed according to this principle are of course pure and complete.

<sup>1</sup> Author’s note: “*Bigupai*” 必古派 refers to the Epicureans.

<sup>2</sup> [Translator’s note] Usually translated from the Latin as, “...because you have made us for yourself, and our heart is restless until it rests in you,” or similar. See Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, translation, introduction and notes by Henry Chadwick, Oxford World’s Classics, (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1991; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3. The translation here preserves Chang’s interpretation.

However, if one wants to understand Augustine's ethics, it is best to go read all of the Catholic Church's studies of ethics.

Augustine not only thought that each human's individual life should submit to the Creator, and considered the Creator his own final purpose and direction, he moreover thought that the final purpose and direction society and the nation should also submit to the Creator. Therefore, society and the nation would also achieve the common principle of respect for ethics and virtue.<sup>1</sup>

In the Republican period, besides ecclesiastical histories and introductions to theology mentioning Augustine, many Catholic, modern biographies specifically narrating the life of Augustine also appeared. In 1925, Chen Sifen 陈泗芬 published *Collected Brief Biographies of the Eight Great Sainly Teachers* (Ba da shengshi zhuanlüe hebian 八大圣师传略合编). The "Eight Great Sainly Teachers" refers to the four greatest Greek Church Fathers and the four greatest Latin Church Fathers. The book contains a chapter expressly discussing Augustine. The style of this relatively early example of a biography of Church Fathers edited and translated by a Chinese Catholic was quite smooth, and it circulated widely amongst readers with great influence. For example, Zhang Ruogu, Xu Jingxian, and others mentioned this book in their writings. When describing Augustine's conduct, Chen Sifen wrote:

Therefore, the reputation of this saint soared; and again, he was appointed Vicar General by the archbishop, and it was decided that when the bishop's seat became vacant, he would be promoted to fill it. When the saint received this honor, he still humbly cultivated himself, just as before. He satisfied his own desires only modestly. When he ate, if he wasn't discussing sacred theories, he was making people recite scripture. At this time, the saint's

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<sup>1</sup> Chang Shouyi 常守义, *Zhexue shi suo xing* 哲学史缩型 (An abridged history of philosophy), (Xishen ku yishi hui chubanshe 西什库遣使会出版发行, 1943, pp. 123-124.

behavior was proper at every turn, there was nothing that could be criticized.<sup>1</sup>

When it came to his benevolence and care for the people, and relieving [people] in times of crisis, he was a man of the first class. When he was poor, he sold all his this and donated [the money]. He usually would not tolerate talking about others' strengths and faults, saying, "Slander is like a sharp blade, when you wield it, it hurts three things: one, the heart of the person who opened his mouth to hurt another; two, the reputation of the person who was defamed; and three, it pollutes the ear of he who listens." In the case of social intercourse between men and women, he was extraordinarily careful of it. That is, those intimate like one's sisters, or close like a niece, one must also keep them distant. He often said: "Female relations, although they are not suspect, if one repeatedly goes to visit them, it is easy to arouse the suspicions of others."

Every day, the saint took joy in preaching. If he was not ill, he wouldn't neglect it. He hated heretical beliefs as his enemy. He went to great lengths, using his words to punish, and his pen to denounce them. Most heresies, like Manichaeism, Donatism<sup>2</sup>, Pelagianism<sup>3</sup>, he nearly caused to have no place to stand in the lands of Africa. This was the power of the saint.<sup>4</sup>

This content was the same as that in the Catholic "biographies of sages" of the Ming and Qing period, and mostly originated in Possidius's *The Life of Augustine*. However, like those "biographies of sages," there were many inaccuracies in it. For example, Chen Sifen says that Monica, worrying that Augustine would enter into a heretical path,

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<sup>1</sup> [Translator's note:] The translation of the phrase "zhouxuan zhong li"周旋中礼 is based on James Legge's translation in its *locus classicus*, *Mencius*. See "Jinxin xia" 盡心下, in *The Works of Mencius*, translated by James Legge, in *The Four Books* (Shanghai: The Chinese Book Company, 1930), chapter xxxiii, p. 1003. Likewise, the translation of the phrase "wu jian ran" 无间然, is based on Legge's translation of the same in *The Analects*, Chapter XXI of "Taibo" 泰伯. See *The Confucian Analects*, translated by James Legge, in *The Four Books*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> "Ma'niganwu" 妈你甘伍 refers to Manichaeism (modern Chinese uses "Monijiao" 摩尼教; "Taonadisi" 陶那帝斯 refers to Donatism (modern Chinese uses "Duonatepa" 多纳特派).

<sup>3</sup> "Beilajiya" 贝拉齐亚 refers to Pelagianism (modern Chinese uses "Peilajupai" 佩拉纠派).

<sup>4</sup> Chen Sifen 陈泗芬, ed. and trans., *Ba da shengshi zhuanlüe hebian* 八大圣师传略合编 (Collected brief biographies of the eight great saintly teachers) (Tushanwan yinshuguan 土山湾印书馆, 1925), pp. 8-9.

sought out Bishop Ambrose, and that Ambrose said: “This son of yours [who causes you] to weep...it is impossible that he will perish.”<sup>1</sup> This statement was actually said by a different bishop, not Ambrose.

In 1940, the first series of *Virtuous Friends with the Hearts of Saints* (*Shengxin liangyou* 圣心良友), edited by Wang Changzhi 王昌祉, in total collected 12 essays by both Chinese and foreign authors, one of which, “Saint Augustine” (Sheng Aogusiding 圣奥斯定), was written by Father E. Reinand.<sup>2</sup> In 1946 in Macau, a collectanea was published, “A Small Spiritual Collectanea.” Included in it was *A Short Biography of the North African Saint Augustine*, translated by He Muren 何慕人, in approximately 10,000 characters, which introduced the deeds of Augustine in relative detail.<sup>3</sup> *Augustine* (Aosiding 奥斯定), translated and edited by Bu Xiangxian 卜相贤 and others<sup>4</sup> is divided into three chapters, “Youth” (*Qingnian shidai* 青年时代), “Late Years” (*Wannian* 晚年), and “Character” (*Xingge* 性格), and also introduces the life of Augustine in relative detail. The above are all small pamphlets specifically discussing Augustine that were distributed by the Catholic Church.

The main contributions to the Catholic Church’s translation and introduction of Augustine in the Republican period were not the chapters in ecclesiastical histories or the biographical pamphlets, but rather three full-length works. One was Wu Yingfeng’s 吴应枫 translation of the *Confessions*; another was Frédéric-Vincent Lebbe’s *A History of the Assimilation of Saint Augustine* (Sheng Aosiding guihua shi 圣奥斯丁归化史); and the third was a translation of Giovanni Papini’s (Ch. Babini 巴彼尼) *Saint Augustine* (Sheng Aosiding zhuan 圣奥斯定传). Here I will only address the latter two.

<sup>1</sup> Chen Sifen, *Ba da shengshi zhuanlüe hebian*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Wang Tch’ang-tche (Wang Changzhi 王昌祉), ed., *Shengxin liangyou* 圣心良友 (Virtuous friends with the hearts of saints), series 1, (Tushanwan yinshuguan 土山湾印书馆, 1940), pp. 89-98.

<sup>3</sup> *Loude xiaohua-Mianyi zhu he-Bei Fei shengshi Aogusiding xiaozhuan* 露德小花·免疫主何·北非圣师奥斯定小传 (Small flowers of Lourdes; What do immunizations do; A short biography of the North African Saint Augustine), Aomen Bai Demei Jiniantang chubanshe 澳门白德美纪念出版社, 1946. Three small pamphlets bound in a single volume.

<sup>4</sup> Bu Xiangxian 卜相贤, et al., eds. and trans., *Aosiding* 奥斯定 (Augustine). The publisher and publication date are unknown (possibly the 1940s). It can be found via the National Digital Library of China (*Guotu wang* 国图网), in the “Republican Books” collection (*Minguo tushu* 民国图书).

*A History of the Assimilation of Saint Augustine* was published in the Tianjin periodical, *Guangyi lu* 广益录, across the years 1913 and 1914. According to Xu Jingxian, the primary creator was Frédéric-Vincent Lebbe. Lebbe's Chinese was quite good; he later became a Chinese citizen in 1927. A small part of *A History of the Assimilation of Saint Augustine* was written by the Chinese writer Du Zhuxuan 杜竹宣, so a small quantity of literary Chinese is mixed in.<sup>1</sup> The main body of the essay was written out in vernacular Chinese, which looks like it was Lebbe's doing. *A History of the Assimilation of Saint Augustine* uses "chapter form" (*zhanghui* 章回体), [often seen in classical Chinese novels].<sup>2</sup> However, the language is vernacular, and the sentiments and ways of existing in the world expressed therein are broadly Sinified [or, "Chinese"]. Considering that at this point in time the "New Culture Movement" or "vernacular literature movement" (*baihua yundong* 白话文运动) had not yet risen, this kind of language that had been Sinified, indigenized, and molded for daily life was especially precious. Here, we will only examine the fascinating composition style used in the first section of the first chapter, "Augustine's Family Background and Family Education" (*Aosiding zhi shijia yu jiazu jiaoyu* 奥斯丁之世家与家族教育):

The story goes that when the Roman emperor Constantine was on the throne, in the northern part of Africa, in the city of Thagaste, there was a family of two, one man and one woman. The husband was named Patricius, and worked as a petty official in that city. His wife was called Monica. Patricius's conduct was naturally unyielding and uncommonly violent. Whenever he lost his temper, his anger was explosive like thunder. You say that tigers are fierce, but he would dare to walk up and pet its fur. You say that lions are ferocious, but he would dare to walk up and quarrel with it. Although Patricius all his life

<sup>1</sup> Xu Jingxian 徐景贤, *Sheng Aosiding yu Zhongguo xueshu jie* (Zhonghua gongjiao xueyou lianhe hui, stand-alone edition, 1931), pp. 34, 38. Or, see *Xu Jingxian wencun*, as above, pp. 284, 286.

<sup>2</sup> [Translator's note:] *Zhanghui* 章回体, here "chapter format" refers to the format of Chinese serialized novel in which each chapter is headed with a couplet. Translation is borrowed from Martin Weizong Huang, "Dehistoricization and Intertextualization: The Anxiety of Precedents in the Evolution of the Traditional Chinese Novel," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)*, 12(Dec. 1990), 55, fnnt 39.

was just this kind of personality—suddenly stormy, always inviting trouble and disaster—this wife of his was on the contrary gentle and refined, of unusual virtue. Her words and actions were loveable in every way. Whether it was intimate friends [or those] in far away streets or nearby alleys, among all those who knew her there were none who didn't shower praises on her with one voice. Moreover, this wife of Patricius sincerely believed in Catholicism. She looked forward to mass and kept the feast days; she recognized divine works, and bestowed pity [on others]; her sincerity was intense, surpassing the norm. Therefore, the Lord granted her intelligence and wisdom, calling her to manage her home in perfect order, and her affairs with no disorder. Another similarly odd thing, was that although Patricius had such an unyielding and brutal disposition from birth, whenever he saw Monica's example, or heard her mollifications, he could sweep away and calm the wind and thunder, and the clouds and mist would completely dissipate. What he wouldn't endure, he suddenly would endure; what he had no patience for, he suddenly did. My dear reader, you have to understand, Patricius didn't have fear like Jichang;<sup>1</sup> he wasn't dispirited at his wife's household authority; nor did he fear his wife. Monica moreover wasn't a female devil at the head of the bed, or a woman with a sharp tongue,<sup>2</sup> wielding robust female authority and enslaving men. Instead she moved [his] will with sentiment, and conquered the hard with softness. As the saying goes: when a home has a worthy wife, no unexpected hardships arise for its man. Therefore, man and wife, these two people, their marriage was utterly sincere. There was only one thing unsatisfied amidst all this beauty, which was that Patricius had never converted. I don't know how much blood and sweat Monica wasted on this, or how many tears she shed. It wasn't until her husband was on death's door that he quickly and suddenly

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<sup>1</sup> [Translator's note] Jichang was the courtesy name of Chen Zao 陳慥 of the Song dynasty who feared his jealous wife. "The fear of Jichang" is an idiom referring generally to a husband's fear of his wife or concubines.

<sup>2</sup> [Translator's note] "*Hedong shizi*" 河东狮子 is an alternate form of the idiom "*Hedong shihou*" 河东狮子吼, another reference to the story of Chen Zao and his fear for his wife. See *Hanyu da cidian* 汉语大词典 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1986), vol. 5, p. 1057.

awoke and reflected upon himself, turning around and recognizing the Lord, becoming a Catholic believer, fulfilling Monica's greatest hopes. This is discussed later, and so I won't further mention it here.<sup>1</sup>

However, *A History of the Assimilation of Saint Augustine* also had a few problems, namely, in his great esteem for Monica, the author defends her words and actions in many ways, but sometimes is overzealous to the point he undermines his own defense. For example, out of consideration for Augustine's future, Monica wanted him to abandon the birth mother of his child and instead marry the daughter of another noble family. Without doubt this demonstrates Monica's worldly mentality, but the author (Lebbe) adds all kinds of excuses, saying that Monica's actions were for the sake of Augustine's faith. Even with these small faults, with the nature of its language and its insight into the way people behaved, the book was utterly "Sinified" (*Zhongguohua* 中国化). It might be called a classic work in the eastward transmission of Augustine.

After it was approved by the Bishop of Shanghai (Auguste Alphonse Pierre Haouisée, Ch. En Jiliang 惠济良),<sup>2</sup> Tushanwan Press published Papini's *Saint Augustine* in 1936. This book was one of the books in the collectanea "Miscellaneous Records of Expansion" (*Guangqi zalu* 光启杂录), and does not record the name of the translator.

Giovanni Papini (1881–1956) was a famous Italian author, and early in his life was an atheist. In 1921 he converted to Catholicism, and in the same year published *Storia di Cristo* (Life of Christ), causing a great sensation at the time. It was translated into 23 languages.<sup>3</sup> Papini wrote a great quantity of biographies of famous people, in 1931 publishing *Sant'Agostino* (Saint Augustine). From the fact that English words appear in the circulated text, it is likely that Tushanwan Press's *Saint Augustine* (Sheng

<sup>1</sup> *Guangyi lu* 广益录, issue 78, 430-431, dated August 24, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Auguste Alphonse Pierre Haouisée S.J. (Hui Jiliang 惠济良, 1877-1948), a French member of the Society of Jesus, arrived in China in 1903. From 1933-1947, he served as the Bishop of the Apostolic Vicariate of Shanghai, then from 1947–1948 as the Bishop of the Diocese of Shanghai. He died of illness in Shanghai in September, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giovanni\\_Papini](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giovanni_Papini) (Accessed on June 7, 2018).

Aosiding 圣奥斯定) was translated from the English translation.<sup>1</sup> So then, who might the Chinese translator have been? For now, we are unable to say. One useful thread we might follow is that Papini's *Storia di Cristo* was translated into Chinese and called *Jidu zhuan* 基督传 (Biography of Jesus). The translators were A. J. Garnier (Ch. Gu Liyan 贾立言) and Zhou Yunlu 周云路, who possibly used the traditional translation method of having the Westerner narrate orally while the Chinese collaborator transcribed. The S.D.C.K. published this book in February 1929 and republished it in July 1937. The front of the book contains Garnier's "Preface to the Biography of Jesus" (*Jidu zhuan xu* 基督传序).<sup>2</sup> Is it possible that Garnier and Zhou translated *Saint Augustine*, but because they were Protestants, it was not convenient for them to make themselves known at the Catholic Tushanwan Press? Of course, it is also possible that it was a Catholic priest, monk, or scholar (like Xu Jingxian) who translated this book, but to date we still cannot find definitive clues. As for Xu Jingxian, if he participated in the translation, he would not have refrained from making this known to the reader. Because he was a scholar, he did not need to follow the Church's commandment to conceal one's identity. Xu Jingxian once introduced Papini's book in 1931;<sup>3</sup> it is quite possible that as the Chief Executive Officer of the Union of Chinese Public Academics (*Zhonghua gongjiao xueyou lianhehui* 中华公教学友联合会) and an important member of the Chinese Society of Saint Augustine (*Zhongguo Sheng Aosiding xuehui* 中国圣奥思定学会),<sup>4</sup> he recommended or found related persons to translate this book. From the Catholic translations used in the book, it seems possible that the translator was a Catholic believer or even a monk.

The Chinese translation of *Saint Augustine* contains approximately 90,000 characters. The length surpassed that of Young John Allen's *Augustine* (Aogusiding 奥

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<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Papini, *Saint Augustine*, translated by M.P. Agnetti (New York, Harcourt, 1930). It appears that the English edition of this book was published a year before the translated edition.

<sup>2</sup> See *Minguo shiqi zong shumu/zongjiao* 民国时期总书目/宗教 (General catalog of the Republican Era/Religion) (Shumu wenxian chubanshe 书目文献出版社, 1994). *Jidu zhuan* 基督传, serial no. 3999.

<sup>3</sup> Xu Jingxian 徐景贤, "Gongjiao yu wenxue" 公教与文学 (Public education and literature), in *Xu Jingxian wencun*, pp. 414-422.

<sup>4</sup> On the establishment of the Chinese Society of Saint Augustine, see *Xu Jingxian wencun*, p. 303.

古斯丁) and Lebbe's *A History of the Assimilation of Saint Augustine* and set a record. It was not until the publication of Henry Chadwick's 1987 *Augustine* (Aogusiding 奥古斯丁, Huang Xiuhui 黄秀慧, trans., Taipei lianjing chuban shiye gongsi 台北联经出版事业公司) and W. Montgomery's 1992 *Augustine* (Aogusiding 奥古斯丁, Yu Hai 于海 and Wang Xiaoping 王晓平, trans., China Social Sciences Press 中国社科出版社) that this record was surpassed.

Papini's *Saint Augustine* has 29 chapters in total. The first 21 chapters primarily use the *Confessions* to narrate the first half of Augustine's life story. From the 22<sup>nd</sup> chapter, the book begins to describe events after Monica's death: the story of his return to Rome, then his return to Africa and establishment of a monastic order, his promotion to bishop, his passionate career in education, and his participation in debates on all topics. The last chapter, "A Great Character" (*Weida renge* 伟大人格), praises Augustine in every detail. It argues that he was far more comprehensive and moderate than most philosophers or theologians that came before or after him:

Augustine lacked nothing as a human being. He was a fully developed person, a person who had everything that he should have, who possessed not a single regret. He was not just a person; he was an extraordinary person, familiar with the principles of the Lord. This was not because Augustine was a poet, an elocutionist, a psychologist, a philosopher, a theologian and mystic, but because he could take the majority of difficulties, mistakes, and conflicts—all these mutually contradictory emotions. But he could gather them together on his own person and harmonize them, coming up with an ingenious truth.<sup>1</sup>

### Protestant Translations and Introductions of Augustine

<sup>1</sup> *Sheng Aogusiding zhuan* 圣奥斯定传 (Biography of Saint Augustine) (Tushanwan yinshuguan 土山湾印书馆, 1936), p. 282. Or, *Sheng Aosing zhuan* 圣奥斯定传 (Biography of Saint Augustine) (Hebei xindeshi 河北信德室, 2000), p. 183.

In the Republican period, Protestant translations and introductions of Augustine were relatively scattered, and could be seen dispersed amongst translations of ecclesiastical histories of each denomination. For example, Watson McMillan Hayes's (Ch. Heshi 赫士) *History of the Church* (Jiaohui lishi 教会历史),<sup>1</sup> Shamuyuan, namely Rudolf Sohm's *Outline of Church History* (Jiaohui lishi 教会历史),<sup>2</sup> Hannes Sjoblom (Ch. Shi Yuehan 石约翰) and Kalle Korhonen's (Ch. Gao Guoneng 高果能) *Compiled History of the Church* (Jiaohui ji shi 教会辑史),<sup>3</sup> A.J. Garnier's *Outline of the History of Christianity* (Jidujiao shi gang 基督教史纲),<sup>4</sup> J. W. Nichols's *A Brief History of the Christian Church* (Jidu jiaohui shilue 基督教会史略),<sup>5</sup> Sten Bugge's (Mu Gexin 穆格新) *A Brief History of the Church* (Jiaohui shilue 教会史略),<sup>6</sup> E. Bevan's (Ch. Bianwen 卞文) *A Brief History of Christianity* (Jidujiao shilue 基督教史略),<sup>7</sup> F.S. Drake's (Ch. Lin Yangshan 林仰山) *History of the Church* (Jiaohui shi 教会史),<sup>8</sup> Williston Walker's (Ch. Hua Erke 华尔克) *History of the Christian Church* (Jidu jiaohui shi 基督教会史),<sup>9</sup> etc. Protestant denominations and missions were numerous, they therefore did not write in the same relatively unified manner as the Catholics. On the whole, Protestant works had a heavy sense of doctrinal criticism, and the standard of work differed widely

<sup>1</sup> Watson McMillan Hayes (Heshi 赫士), *Jiaohui lishi 教会历史* (History of the Church) (S.D.C.K., Guangxue hui 广学会, 1914), pp. 64, 66, 72.

<sup>2</sup> Shamuyuan 沙穆原(Rudolf Sohm), *Jiaohui lishi 教会历史* (Outline of Church History), translated by Rui Siyi 瑞思义(W.Hopkyn Rees) and Xu Jiaying 许家惺(Hsu Chia-Hsing), (Shanghai Christian Literature Society for China, 1914), pp. 45-50.

<sup>3</sup> Hannes Sjoblom (Shi Yuehan 石约翰) and Kalle Korhonen (Gao Guoneng 高果能), *Jiaohui ji shi 教会辑史* (Compiled history of the Church) (Hunan xinyi hui 湖南信义会, 1917), pp. 62-66. The English title page of this book lists the authors as Jaakko Gummerus, and V.T. Rosenqvist, and the translators as Hannes Sjoblom and Kalle Korhonen. Therefore the Chinese title page has a mistake, it should state that Sjoblom and Korhonen are "translators" (yi 译), not "authors" (zhu 著).

<sup>4</sup> A.J. Garnier (Gu Liyan 贾立言), ed., Feng Xuebing 冯雪冰, trans., *Jidujiao shi gang 基督教史纲* (Outline of the history of Christianity) (S.D.C.K., published in 1928), pp. 139-143.

<sup>5</sup> Cai Zhenhua 蔡振华, trans., *Jidu jiaohui shilue 基督教会史略* (A brief history of the Christian Church), second edition (Zhonghua shenggong hui shuji wei ban 中华圣公会书籍委办, 1932), pp. 62-65.

<sup>6</sup> Sten Bugge (Mu Gexin 穆格新), *Jiaohui shilue 教会史略* (A brief history of the Church) (Zhonghua xinyi hui shubao bu 中华信义会书报部, 1933), pp. 44-49.

<sup>7</sup> E. Bevan (Bingwen 卞文), *Jidujiao shilue 基督教史略* (A brief history of Christianity), translated by Zheng Qizhong 郑启中 (Qingnian xiehui shuju 青年协会书局, 1937), pp. 67-70; 74-75.

<sup>8</sup> F.S. Drake (Lin Yangshan 林仰山), *Jiaohui shi 教会史* (History of the Church), first chapter (S.D.C.K., 1940), pp. 217-223.

<sup>9</sup> Williston Walker (Huaerke 华尔克), *Jidu jiaohui shi 基督教会史* (History of the Christian Church), translated by Xie Shouling 谢受灵 (S.D.C.K., 1948), pp. 262-284.

between individuals. With regard to the degree of detail provided in the introduction [of Augustine], Chapter One of Walker's *History of the Christian Church* is excellent. This book is an authoritative work of ecclesiastical history. A second translation was published in 1991.<sup>1</sup>

There was also no shortage of inaccurate works of Protestant ecclesiastical history. For example, Gai Wenrou's 盖温柔 *History of the Church* was originally Gai's lecture notes from teaching classes at China Women's Bible Seminary (Zhonghua nüzi shenxue yuan 中华女子神学院) in the second half of 1934. In 1935 each chapter was printed serially, and in 1947, the entire book was printed as a single volume. Perhaps because the notes were incomplete, there are many mistakes in the part on Augustine.

Ambrose would normally often help Augustine to understand the Bible. When Augustine was 33 years old, just before his mother was about to die, he repented and was reborn, causing his mother endless happiness. After Augustine was born again, he attained great peace, and retired to the desert wilderness for three years. After three years the Church invited him to take on supervisory duties. At the same time, he offered up his whole self. He was very wealthy, and donated all his property to the Church. He moreover traveled all over to preach, doing his utmost to oppose or correct all kinds of heresies, and many people were therefore moved to repent, breaking away from heretical teachings with one mind and following God. He also wrote many books, such as *Theology*, *Theory of the Divine*, and *Philosophy*...His books later helped people like John Knox, Martin Luther, and John Calvin. Augustine's most famous work is titled *City of God*. The gist of what it discusses is: (1) sin, (2) Hell, (3) Heaven, (4) the cross of Jesus, (5) the city of this world only relies on human intelligence and capabilities, but the City of God is composed of the

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<sup>1</sup> Williston Walker (Weiliansidun-Huaerke 威廉斯顿·沃尔克), *Jidu jiaohi shi* 基督教会史 (History of the Christian Church), translated by Sun Shouling 孙善玲 and Duan Qi 段琦 (Zhongguo sheke chubanshe 中国社科出版社, 1991).

true believers...<sup>1</sup>

In fact, it was more Simplician who helped Augustine understand the Bible. Augustine lived in seclusion in his hometown for three years, not the desert wilderness; he wasn't one of the Egyptian Desert Fathers. His property also did not amount to much. He was not a wealthy man like Saint Antony of Egypt. In an average year, he presided over the educational administration of Hippo; he only went abroad to meet with others when there was a need to do so. He wasn't a grand, wandering monk. And, of course, he never wrote a textbook titled "*Theology*" or "*Philosophy*" or the like. As for the content of *City of God*, it is not as Gai Wenrou summarized so casually. In sum, Gai Wenrou's lectures were rather too informal. This sort of mistake abounds throughout the book.

In the Republican period, ecclesiastical histories written, edited, and translated by Chinese Christians also began to appear, and these too touched on Augustine. For example, Xie Songgao's 谢颂羔 (1895–1974) *A Short History of the Development of Christian Ideology* (Jidujiao sixiang jinbu xiaoshi 基督教思想进步小史) writes the following:

He (Augustine) thought: (1) as for whether people are good or evil, their will is always free, that is, being good or being evil is all decided by the person themselves; but he also thought (2) humanity can attain salvation; even if they committed an extremely grievous sin, in the end they are still saved, and those who cannot be saved must be destroyed in the end, because this is all what God has predestined. These two theses are truly mutually contradictory, but his theory of predestination greatly influenced later generations of the Church. He thought that people's salvation depended on the grace of God. This sort of belief is truly orthodox and beyond reproach. Augustine's outlook on life was

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<sup>1</sup> Lectures by Gai Wenrou 盖温柔, recorded by Zhao Shiguang 赵世光, *Jiaohui lishi* 教会历史 (History of the Church) (Xianggang ling liang kanshe 香港灵粮刊社, 1947), p. 30.

rather pessimistic because he felt that this world is but temporary. The salvation of humankind is in the next world. He also very much believed in portents in dreams, and believed in performing miracles, even believing that one could cure illness using the body of the martyr, the Stephen the Apostle. This was perhaps because the science of the time was not yet developed, and he therefore held these many superstitious, fallacious beliefs.<sup>1</sup>

Xie Songgao worked at the S.D.C.K. His method of translation was the Society's traditional "translation by narration" (*yishu* 译述). That is, he would translate orally, and an assistant would write it down. It is said that he would translate relatively spontaneously (like his translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*), only seeking to translate the general idea, freely elaborating quite a bit.<sup>2</sup> This possibly carried on Timothy Richard's (Ch. Li Timotai 李提摩太) translation philosophy of "just seek the fundamental idea; don't confine yourself to the meaning of the words" (但求精义, 不拘字义). Having seen his exposure of the internal conflict and conservatism in Augustine's thought, it should be noted that his translation is fairly accurate.

Naturally, when Chinese theologians discussed theology, they could hardly work around Augustine. In both *The Intellectual History of Christianity* (*Jidujiao sixiang shi* 基督教思想史)<sup>3</sup> and *Explication of the Teachings of Christianity* (*Jidujiao yi quanshi* 基督教义诠释),<sup>4</sup> published in 1936, Peng Pide 彭彼得 (Peter P'eng) of Shandong discussed Augustine. When talking about how God abides inside people, and so people therefore become the center, the famous theologian Zhao Zichen 赵紫宸 quoted

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<sup>1</sup> Xie Songgao 谢颂羔, *Jidujiao sixiang jinbu xiaoshi* 基督教思想进步小史 (A short history of the development of Christian ideology) (S.D.C.K., 1929), pp. 12–13. One can also refer to Wang Meixiu 王美秀, ed., *Dong chuan Fuyin* 东传福音 (Transmitting the Gospel East) (Huangshan shushe 黄山书社, 2005), volume 21, pp. 198–199.

<sup>2</sup> Jiang Wenhan 江文汉, "Guangxue hui shi zenyang yige jigou" 广学会是怎样一个机构 (What kind of organization was the S.D.C.K.?), in *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* 文史资料选辑 (Selected materials of culture and history), vol. 43, edited by the Committee Research on Materials of Culture and History of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (中国人民政治协商会议全国委员会文史资料研究委员会编) (Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1963), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Peng Bide 彭彼得 (Peter P'eng), *Jidujiao sixiang shi* 基督教思想史 (The intellectual history of Christianity) (S.D.C.K., 1936), pp. 196–211.

<sup>4</sup> Peng Bide 彭彼得, *Jidu jiaoyi quanshi* 基督教义诠释 (Explication of the teachings of Christianity) (S.D.C.K., 1936), pp. 193–195.

Augustine: “God is like a circle; His center is in every place; His circumference is in no place” (上帝似圈，其中点无不在，其边际无所在).<sup>1</sup> When discussing how people are easily tempted and led astray, he raised Augustine as an example:

But to gain victory in a test of temptation is easier said than done. The greater a person’s talent and wisdom, the more severe the tests he will endure, and the heavier his fall, and the more extreme his confusion. Take Saint Augustine; in his youth he was wild and unruly. Unconstrained, he thought highly of himself. On the one hand he developed aggressive talents, and on the other he wantonly engaged in an affair unchecked by social norms. “For nine long years,” he said, “I lived amidst all kinds of desires of the flesh; I was tempted, and I tempted others; I was deceived, and I deceived others.” Later, he cleaned up his act and changed his nature, becoming a Christian. He came to deeply realize that only by trusting in God could he raise his head above the obscure confusion of degeneracy.<sup>2</sup>

Compared with Catholicism, Republican-era Protestant translations and introductions of Augustine were few. *Saint Augustine* (Sheng Aogusiding 圣奥古斯丁), published by the S.D.C.K. in 1937 was one relatively long such work.<sup>3</sup> The first chapters of this work narrated the events of Augustine’s early life in detail using the material in the *Confessions*, and at the very end used three chapters to discuss later events in Augustine’s life: “Bishop of Hippo” (Heipo zhujiao 黑坡主教), “Augustine’s *Confessions*” (Aogusiding de Chanhui lu 奥古斯丁的忏悔录), and “Old Age” (*Munian* 暮年). In the same year, the S.D.C.K. also published a book on Augustine’s mother, Monica, titled *Mother of a Great Man (Saint Monica)* (Weiren de muqin Sheng

<sup>1</sup> Zhao Zichen 赵紫宸, “Shengjing zai jinshi wenhua zhongde diwei” 《圣经》在近世文化中的地位 (The status of the Bible in modern culture), first published in 1920, in *Zhao Zichen wenji* 赵紫宸文集 (Collected writings of Zhao Zichen), *juan 3* (Shangwu 商务, 2007), p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Zhao Zichen, *Xue ren* 学仁, first published in 1936, in *Zhao Zichen wenji, juan 1*, (Shangwu 商务, 2003), p. 385.

<sup>3</sup> A. Shirley, *Sheng Aogusiding* 圣奥古斯丁 (Saint Augustine), translated by Wu Weiya 吴维亚, (S.D.C.K., 1937).

Munaijia 伟人的母亲--圣穆奈加),<sup>1</sup> which was likely supposed to be one set with the book *Saint Augustine*.

Although they could not compare with the Catholics in the independent translation and introduction of Augustine, the Protestants won a round in the translation of Augustine's sayings. In 1936, James W. Inglis edited and translated *Record of Precious Words of Augustine*. This can be seen as a compilation of Augustine's sayings. We know that in the late Ming and early Qing Augustine's thought was mostly transmitted via Catholics who quoted his "precious sayings" (*Jinju* 金句) and disseminated them. But *Record of Precious Words of Augustine* might be considered an "encyclopedia of Augustine's sayings." The editor and translator said the following in his preface:

From the Apostles of Jesus through the Lutheran Reformation, in the history of the Church, the person who enjoys the best reputation is likely first and foremost Saint Augustine. The primary reasons are twofold: (1) From his childhood, he fell into sin, but the thing that most causes people to admire him is that he was able to struggle with his selfish desires, defeat evil, and become a saint. His deeds in his life were recorded in detail in his composition the *Confessions*. (2) Due to his exceptional genius, he was able to completely awaken to the profundity of the saints' path. Although his writings are prolific, almost no one can read them all. Moreover there is much discussion of contemporary issues that seem to have nothing to do with modern times. However, among them, there are many thoughts imbued with deep religious experience that simultaneously express his sincere and passionate emotions. Just these few sentences circulated across the world, and people saw them as pearls most worthy of cherishing. If we desire to know what the circumstances were like for those who inherited the Church in its [first] four hundred years,

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<sup>1</sup> Elspeth Procter, *Weiren de muqin (Sheng Munaijia)* 伟人的母亲 (圣穆奈加) (Mother of a great man), translated by Wu Weiya 吴维亚 (S.D.C.K., 1937). The original book was titled *Saint Monnica*.

we only need try to read a bit of the writings Augustine left behind, and it is like cleaning out a few rooms under a bright blue sky, or leafing through portraits faithful [to their subject]. The customs of those years are truly clear before our eyes.

In the editing and translation of this book, [materials] were excerpted from the work of Harnack of Germany. In addition to this, in order to better help the reader understand the whole picture, the editor and translator has supplemented a few notes according to the facts of history. However, all of the nouns and semantic meaning of the main text, [the translator] has only sought to reconcile with Augustine's original Latin works. This way we can both preserve the truth, and also show our caution in this undertaking.<sup>1</sup>

The publisher's advertisement on the flyleaf also says: "This book's editor and translator selected half of the 557 entries in Harnack of Germany, then again added 100 [further entries]. Most are translated from Latin to Chinese".

There are 400,000 characters in Chinese across the whole book, separated into 16 chapters, which record 371 of Augustine's sayings. The first three chapters are primarily Augustine narrating his own life and his experience as a repentant libertine. The fourth chapter speaks to Augustine's individual character, and the remaining 12 chapters are Augustine discussing the Bible, God, Jesus, sin, faith, compassion, human ethics, the Church, the state, the sacraments, death and Heaven, and important topics of study. It basically includes each important aspect of Protestant belief. Compared with Catholic authors' scattered quotations of Augustine's most important sayings throughout their works, there is no doubt that this book was far more concentrated. However, compared with the Catholics, the translations of a few sayings appear insufficiently refined. This is probably because they were translated using vernacular

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<sup>1</sup> James W. Inglis (Ying Yage 英雅各), ed., trans., *Aogusiding jinyan lu* 奥古斯丁金言录 (Record of precious words of Augustine) (S.D.C.K., 1936), pp. 5–6. James W. Inglis once served as the dean of Northeast Theological College in Shenyang (沈阳东北神学院), and collaborated with Han Rulin 韩汝霖 to translate *The Imitation of Christ* (Zunzhu shengfan 遵主圣范) (S.D.C.K., 1937).

Chinese.

From the publishing circumstances discussed above, we can see that S.D.C.K. played the primary role in the translation and introduction of Augustine by Protestants in the Republican period.

### Academic Translations and Introductions of Augustine

To date the earliest academic work to mention Augustine was Honda Asajirō's 本多浅治郎 *A History of the Western World* (Ch. Xiyang lishi, J. Seiyō rekishi, 西洋历史), published in 1909. Before the title of the book are printed the words "For common use as reference in teaching for higher education" (高等教科参考通用), which shows that it was used as a reference book for teaching materials in a new style school. At the time, there were few Chinese people who could directly read Western languages, and students studying abroad in Japan translating Japanese authors' relevant teaching materials and writings could be considered a simple and quick means [of accessing the material]. *A History of the Western World* used just a few sentences to introduce Augustine:

Augustine, [lived from] CE 354 to 430, and was a theologian who wrote in Latin (Latin Theologian); his writings were prolific. *City of God* is an especially representative book.<sup>1</sup>

After the Republican period began, the system of academic disciplines in modern universities was gradually established and perfected. Chinese scholars themselves began to write and edit university teaching materials and compose introductory works on Western literature, philosophy, and history. In 1918, Zhou Zuoren's *History of European Literature* (Ouzhou wenxue shi 欧洲文学史) was published, and also made mention of Augustine in a few sentences:

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<sup>1</sup> Honda Asajirō 本多浅治郎, *Xiyang lishi* 西洋历史 (J. Seiyō rekishi, A history of the Western world), translated and edited by Zhongguo baicheng shushe 中国百城书舍 (Reprinted in 1910 by Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆 and Zhonghua shuju 中华书局), p.130.

Saint Augustine (354–430) was born in Numidia. When he was young he was indulgent and unruly. He then read the books of Saint Paul, and changed his profession, converting to Christianity. He later rose to be a bishop. He wrote the *Confessions* describing the circumstances of his youth beautifully. It is masterpiece of the genre of autobiography. He was not simply famous because of his religion.<sup>1</sup>

As far as I have seen, Zhou Zuoren is the earliest person to translate the *Confessions* (Confessiones) into Chinese as “Chanhui lu” 忏悔录 (literally, “Record of Repentance”). Later authors generally continued to use this translation. See, for example, Zheng Zhenduo’s 郑振铎 *Outline of Literature* (Wenxue dagang 文学大纲).<sup>2</sup>

In the West, research on Augustine is generally carried out in theological seminaries and departments of philosophy. In China, the ecclesiastical tradition of translating and introducing Augustine continues to exist, but “philosophy departments” are a relatively new thing. This is related to China’s emulation of Japan. In 1877, Japan established the University of Tokyo, and its Department of Literature established courses of study in history, philosophy, and politics. “Philosophy” (Ch. *zhexue*, J. *tetsugaku* 哲學, [a neologism]) became a subject that was differentiated from “science” (Ch. *Lixue*, J. *rigaku*, 理学). In 1881, the University of Tokyo established an independent Department of Philosophy (Ch. *Zhexue ke*, J. *Tetsugakka*, 哲学科). Japanese scholars universalized the concept of philosophy, and believed that the East also had “philosophy” (the original intention of the creator of the translation “*tetsugaku*” for philosophy, Nishi Amane 西周, was to distinguish between Western scholarship and Japanese Studies and Confucian studies). Following this they separated “philosophy” into two parts: “Western philosophy” and “Eastern philosophy.” Eastern philosophy was centered around the study of “Chinese

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<sup>1</sup> Zhou Zuoren 周作人, *Ouzhou wenxue shi* 欧洲文学史 (History of European literature) (Shangwu 商务, 1918), *juan* 2, p. 61. In the third *juan* (chapter) on page 50, Zhou also translates Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Confessions* as “Chanhui lu” 忏悔录.

<sup>2</sup> Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎, *Wenxue dagang* 文学大纲 (Outline of literature) (Shangwu 商务, 1927), p. 10.

philosophy” (Ch. *Zhina zhexue*, J. *Shina testsugaku*, 支那哲学) and “Indian philosophy” (Ch. *Yindu zhexue*, J. *Indo tetsugaku* 印度哲学).<sup>1</sup> The Japanese concept of “*tetsugaku*” and its establishment as a course of study influenced Chinese scholars and students studying abroad in Japan. In 1914, Peking University created a “Chinese philosophy specialization” (*Zhongguo zhexue men* 中国哲学门), and “*tetsugaku*” or “*zhexue*” thereby formally entered the educational system. From 1916 to 1919, works of the genre “histories of Chinese philosophy” began to appear in China, such as Xie Wuliang’s 谢无量 *History of Chinese Philosophy* (*Zhongguo zhexue shi* 中国哲学史) and Hu Shi’s 胡适 *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (*Zhongguo zhexue shi dagang* 中国哲学史大纲). At the same time, “histories of Western philosophy” edited, translated, and authored by Chinese people began to emerge in large numbers. Because students studying in Japan had contact with “the history of Western philosophy” relatively early, the results of their relay translations via Japanese also appeared relatively early. Following the return of those who studied in Europe and the United States, there appeared even more histories of Western philosophy.

Huang Chanhua 黄忏华 was among the earliest to make a relay translation from Japanese of a history of Western philosophy. His *A History of Western Philosophy* (*Xiyang zhexue shi* 西洋哲学史) paid special attention to the concepts of freedom and grace, and the premise “I doubt therefore I am” to explain the key points of Augustine’s philosophy:

What solved the problem of theory of the nature of divinity was the tenet of “three persons one substance” born from the results of the Council of Nicea (325). The solution to the problem of Christology was determined by the Council of Ephesus (431): the tenet of the union of the human and divine [in Christ, i.e. hypostatic union]. The solution to the problem of the nature of

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<sup>1</sup>San Bing 桑兵, et al., *Jindai Zhongguo de zhishi yu zhidu zhuanxing* 近代中国的知识与制度转型 (The transformation of knowledge and systems in contemporary China) (Jingji kexue chubanshe 经济科学出版社, 2013), pp. 214-215.

humanity was decided by Augustine (354–430): the tenet of original sin. ... Augustine, in solving the third tenet of belief, said that humans were originally free, and human behavior happened because of this free will. Therefore, humans have no choice but to take responsibility for this. However, the original ancestor of the human race, Adam, abused this freedom to commit sin; therefore humanity lost this kind of freedom. Humanity is the descendants of Adam, and all inherited his nature, and exist in a state of slavery in which they cannot help but commit sin. Humans are born having committed sin—this is the doctrine of original sin. Therefore: no matter what a good model they set, humans still have no deeds worth of salvation nor the authority to demand salvation. God sent the savior to redeem humanity, and this is God’s grace—this is the theory of divine grace. Jesus was the Lord and savior of the world. Without Jesus, there is no salvation. Jesus died, died and then was resurrected; he was resurrected then ascended to Heaven. From this point forward, his agent [on earth], the Church, carried on his work of salvation. If you get rid of the Church, there is no path to salvation.

Augustine, as he was defending the Church like this in his role as a theologian, at the same time, he attempted to explain [the act of] knowing by [beginning with] self awareness and the study of the self. At first he believed the skepticism of the Academics, but later feelings of perplexity aroused him, and he inferred that so-called “doubt,” even if it is truth, then the fact that I doubt, isn’t this an indubitable reality? And since I doubt, then: my existence is reality. And since I exist, then: my perception and my reasoning also cannot be false. Using my faculty of reason, I recognize truth that is above phenomena, [and] God is precisely this. So: God also cannot not exist. God is the sun of the spirit; with the light of God, we recognize other people like [we recognize] external things. The original forms of all things are just one aspect of this idea: they are all inside God. Therefore, we can say that knowing happens in between recognition of oneself and of God. Augustine took self awareness and

the study of the self as the embarkation point of philosophy, thereupon producing a new pivotal position. Taking self-awareness and the study of the self (self-reflection) as the embarkation point of philosophy truly began with him. What we should pay attention to here is that, on the one hand, as a theologian he took the Church as the central axis supporting his faith, and on the other hand, as a philosopher, he took self-awareness as the central axis which explains all things. Therefore, in his doctrine, there are two foci. As a result, he explained the many significances of freedom, striving to reconcile the theory of free will and that of predestination. He emphasized the universality of humanity, and also emphasized that the individual was a self-aware subject, striving to reconcile universalism with individualism. It can be said that it was Augustine who strove to reconcile these two irreconcilable standpoints, each threaded throughout the body of medieval philosophy, into a single system.<sup>1</sup>

Later, Huang Chanhua also published *An Outline of the History of Western Philosophy* (Xiyang zhexue shi gang 西洋哲学史纲) and expressed a similar view.<sup>2</sup>

Zhang Dongsun 张东荪, who once studied abroad in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Tokyo, also published *The ABCs of the History of Western Philosophy* (Xiyang zhexue shi ABC 西洋哲学史 ABC). He stressed that Augustine's "I doubt therefore I am" was a forerunner of René Descartes's "I think therefore I am:"

The first is Augustine (Aurelius Augustine, 354–430). His writings were abundant. His doctrine doesn't amount to a system, but it greatly influenced later generations. He first started with doubt, believing that even if

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<sup>1</sup> Huang Chanhua 黄忏华, ed., *Xiyang zhexue shi* 西洋哲学史 (A history of Western philosophy) (Shangwu 商务, 1923), pp. 81-84.

<sup>2</sup> Huang Chanhua 黄忏华, *Xiyang zhexue shi gang* 西洋哲学史纲 (An outline of the history of Western philosophy) (Shangwu 商务, 1937), 101-102.

everything can be doubted, the self (one's own mind) that undertakes [the action of] doubting certainly cannot be doubted. This point is what Descartes, more recently, called "I think therefore I am." He thought that all doubts are thus the pursuit of truth, and therefore must presuppose that truth naturally exists. Unfortunately, after taking it thus far, he then turned in the direction of religion, and thought that the eternal, unchanging truth was thus God. He thereupon entered into the sphere of theology.<sup>1</sup>

Differing from the emphasis on Augustine's theological debates in compositions on "ecclesiastical history" in religious circles, "histories of Western philosophy" emphasized the philosophical side of Augustine. Therefore, the conflict between free will and predestination, self-determinism, theories of time, social and political views, and the philosophy of history, became the main contents of Augustine's "philosophy."

When they discuss Augustine, Hong Tao's 洪涛 *Western Philosophy* (Xiyang Zhexue 西洋哲学)<sup>2</sup>, Quan Zenggu's 全增嘏 (1903–1984) *A Short History of Western Philosophy* (Xiyang zhexue xiaoshi 西洋哲学小史),<sup>3</sup> Li Shicen 李石岑 (1892–1934),<sup>4</sup> and Liu Boming 刘伯明 (1887–1923),<sup>5</sup> none of them go beyond this scope.

*Dictionary of Philosophy* (Zhexue cidian 哲学辞典), edited and translated independently by the famous late-Qing and early-Republican translator Fan Bingqing 樊炳清 (1877–1929) in his old age, stands out from similar works. Regarding Augustine, in exceedingly few sentences, he accurately summarizes the core of his thought:

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<sup>1</sup> Zhang Dongsun 张东荪, *Xiyang zhexue shi ABC* 西洋哲学史 ABC (The ABCs of the history of Western philosophy) (Shijie shuju 世界书局, 1930), p. 93. Zhang Dongsun also wrote a book titled *Zhexue* 哲学 (Philosophy), published by Shijie shuju 世界书局 in 1931, wherein he repeats this wording. See page 169.

<sup>2</sup> Hong Tao 洪涛, *Xiyang zhexue shi* 西洋哲学 (Western philosophy) (Shanghai guangyi shuju 上海广益书局, 1933), p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Quan Zenggu 全增嘏, *Xiyang zhexue xiaoshi* 西洋哲学小史 (A short history of Western philosophy) (Shangwu 商务, 1934), pp. 30-31.

<sup>4</sup> Li Shicen 李石岑, *Xiyang zhexue* 西洋哲学 (Western philosophy) (Sanmin shuju 三民书局, 1965), p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Liu Boming 刘伯明, *Xiyang gudai zhongshi zhexue shi dagang* 西洋古代中世哲学史大纲 (Outline of the history of ancient and medieval Western philosophy) (Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1922), pp. 157-161.

At this time, the varying opinions of religious specialists proliferated. Augustine repeatedly authored books to analyze these problems. The books were numerous. The most famous among future generations were: (1) the *Confessions*, his autobiography, (2) *City of God*, which discussed how, even though the Roman state had fallen, Christianity did not, and thereby comforted the hearts of the people. His theories had a few characteristic threads: (1) The doctrine of original sin, in which the first ancestor of humanity, Adam, abused his free will and committed sin; therefore his descendants inherited this nature. The accumulated sin was deep; so they could not save themselves. The only path to salvation was belief in Jesus. (2) The theory of predestination, in which people not only were without the strength to save themselves, but also had no right to demand salvation. God's dispatch of the savior to redeem humanity, came entirely from God's favor. Therefore it is also called the theory of God's elect. (3) [Theological] determinism, in which God has an absolute will. God created the world from nothing. He creates without pausing or ceasing, and so everything is predetermined by God. Therefore the world is without active evil; when say "evil things," it refers to the will from on high extending to all below. (4) The theory of the thoughts (ideas), in which the substance of man's spirit can be discovered from three aspects: "possession," "knowing," and "will." These three are supposed to be of one being. Or, we might say, that which recognizes objects and affairs uses the function of the will to make things so. Since he has denied the freedom of the will, he naturally cannot but raise the idea that the root of all actions of the spirit is ascribed to the initiative of Heaven. Therefore, in his scholarship, the word "self-reflection" is still its fundamental principle. (5) The axis by which he links philosophy and theology exists precisely in this. To put it more specifically, with regard to philosophy, he takes self-awareness as its foundation, and from there analyzes every element of the spirit and adds explanation; with regard to theology, he says to face God and know Him, and from there believe in Him and love Him. This is

what is obtained from one's inner experience.<sup>1</sup>

We might say that the problems of “I doubt therefore I am” and freewill are comparatively metaphysical—that they draw away from reality—so, in the chaotic historical circumstances of the Republican period, Augustine's views on society and politics attracted rather more attention.

In 1926, Zhu Qianzhi 朱谦之 (1899–1972) wrote *Philosophy of History* (Lishi zhexue 历史哲学). On the topic of medieval understandings of history, he said:

The history of medieval Europe was completely controlled by religion. They examined both history and the universe from the standpoint of religion, and thought that this thing, “history,” was a “divine epic” beginning with the creation of humanity to the atonement of its sins in the last scene of the drama of the universe. The Gnostics are a good example. They said: the process of the history of the universe is a struggle between the forces of good and evil. Only Jesus can salvage this sort of struggle. The result of this struggle will be the final victory of good. This kind of philosophy of history centering around Jesus's salvation of the world is truly the original source of the philosophy of history. Later, the Church Father Augustine (354–430) wrote a book, *City of God*, proving that humanity was purely God's plan. This book expounded a kind of philosophy of history, showing that the City of God is not on Earth but in Heaven. From the Old Testament to the New Testament, these texts can all prove its existence. On earth is the City of Satan—from the time Adam first sinned to the end of the Roman empire, these all were [the City of Satan]. In this way, history totally became a piece of mystical history, and what people need to do, was simply do their best to erect the City of God on Earth. Later Augustine's follower, Orosius, pushed this kind of thinking to the extreme, believing that history was just a record of God's punishment for evil. He wrote

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<sup>1</sup> Fan Bingqing 樊炳清, *Zhexue cidian* 哲学辞典 (Dictionary of philosophy) (Shangwu 商务, 1926), pp. 748-750.

a seven-chapter book, *History Directed Against the Pagans*, and raised numerous examples of ancient wars and other horrific events, and collected them together. He thought this was the history of sin prior to the birth of Christianity. As it followed along with the development of Christianity in the medieval period, this book's influence has lasted for approximately 1,000 years.

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Written by Harry W. Laidler (Ch. Lei Daier 雷岱尔), and translated by Zheng Xuejia 郑学稼, *History of Socialist Thought 社会主义思想史* introduced the ancient sources of Western socialism, identifying Augustine as a source of utopian thought.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, written by James T. Shotwell (Ch. Shaoteweier 绍特韦尔), and translated by He Bingsong 何炳松 and Guo Binjia 郭斌佳, *An Introduction to the History of History* (Xiyang shixue shi 西洋史学史, lit. A history of Western history) described in fair detail the threads of the evolution of history from Augustine to Hegel, and further on to the historical perspectives of materialist monism and [class] struggle.<sup>3</sup>

Charles Rappoport's (Ch. Laboboer 拉波播尔) *Toward an Evolutionary Scientific Philosophy of History* (Zuwei jinhua kexue lishi zhexue 作为进化科学底历史哲学) is a book introducing Marxist historical philosophy. Translated into Chinese in 1930 by Qing Rui 青锐,<sup>4</sup> the book states that Augustine established the theology of history, but it was only a "pretender to a philosophy of history" (冒称的历史哲学), and was not scientific at all.<sup>5</sup> A few years later, *A Curriculum for the Philosophy of History* (Lishi

<sup>1</sup> Zhu Qianzhi 朱谦之, *Lishi zhexue 历史哲学* (Philosophy of history) (Taidong tu shuju 泰东图书局, 1926), pp. 33-35.

<sup>2</sup> Harry W. Laidler (Leidaier 雷岱尔), *Shehui zhuyi sixiang 社会主义思想* (History of socialist thought), translated by Zheng Xuejia 郑学稼 (Shanghai Liming shuju 上海黎明书局, 1933), pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> James T. Shotwell (Shaoteweier 绍特韦尔), *Xiyang shixue shi 西洋史学史* (An Introduction to the history of history), translated by He Bingsong 何炳松 and Guo Binjia 郭斌佳 (Shangwu 商务, 1935), pp. 361-362, 375-377, 382-384.

<sup>4</sup> Qing Rui 青锐 is Ye Qing 叶青, and was originally named Ren Zhuoxuan 任卓宣. See Huang Lei 黄蕾, "Bokai miwu jian zhenwei—shi xi Qing Rui qi ren qi shuo" 拨开迷雾见真伪——试析青锐其人其说 (Dispelling the mist to see true and false—trying to separate Qing Rui the person from his arguments), in *Anhui shixue 安徽史学*, 5(2012).

<sup>5</sup> Charles Rappoport 拉波播尔, *Zuwei jinhua kexue di lishi zhexue 作为进化科学底历史哲学* (Toward an evolutionary scientific philosophy of history), translated by Qing Rui 青锐 (Shanghai xinken shudian 上海辛垦书店, 1935), pp. 92-93.

zhexue jiaocheng 历史哲学教程), published by Jian Bozan 翦伯赞, had obviously been influenced by Rappoport's book:

In the era of [its] Christian monopoly, the entirety of historical research was governed by arbitrary religious principles. They thought that the history of humanity was a order defined by God. They used religion and beliefs to mislead the people; they used the Kingdom of Heaven and God to deceive them, and attempted to muddle them as they went to recognize the real world, real life, and real material benefits....In this sort of history, humanity's class practice [i.e. struggle] is erased almost entirely by the one word "God." Later, each and every concept and debate was developed from the study of theology. The only difference between them and theology was that "God" was replaced with "reason" or some other similar noun.<sup>1</sup>

Edited by M.B. Mitin (Ch. Miding 米丁) and others, *Dictionary of Dialectical Materialism* (Bianzhengfa weiwu lun cidian 辩证法唯物论辞典) proposed a thesis on the fundamental problem of class in Augustine's "philosophy of history:"

He wants to use the educational principles of Christianity, especially its reactionary nature, as the foundation of his doctrine. In the context of his country's doctrines this makes sense. He says that the history of society is the conflict between God's world and the world of the devil. In the midst of this conflict, it is the Christian Church that undertakes the most important duties. Once the people have left the Church, they cannot gain salvation.<sup>2</sup>

A similar judgment regarding Augustine's philosophy of history is also seen in a

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<sup>1</sup> Jian Bozan 翦伯赞, *Lishi zhexue jiaocheng* 历史哲学教程 (A curriculum for the philosophy of history) (Chongqing and Shanghai: Xinzhi shudian 新知书店, 1938), pp. 72-73.

<sup>2</sup> M.B. Mitin (Miding 米丁) et al., *Bianzhengfa weiwulun cidian* 辩证法唯物论辞典 (Dictionary of dialectical materialism), translated by Ping Sheng 平生, et al. (Reprinted in 1946 by Dushu shenghuo chubanshe 读书生活出版社), pp. 281-282. First printed in December 1939 by the same publisher.

few textbooks and dictionaries, such as the 1949 *Abridged History of Western Philosophy* (*Xiyang zhexue shi jianbian* 西洋哲学史简编), edited by Xuegeluofu 薛格洛夫 and translated by Wang Ziye 王子野,<sup>1</sup> or *New Explanatory Dictionary of Philosophy and Sociology* (*Xin zhexue shehuixue jieshi cidian* 新哲学社会学解释辞典), edited by Hu Ming 胡明.<sup>2</sup> This became the leading model for introducing Augustine after 1949.

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<sup>1</sup> Xuegeluofu 薛格洛夫, ed., *Xiyang zhexue shi jianbian* 西洋哲学史简编 (Abridged history of Western philosophy), translated by Wang Ziye 王子野 (Shanghai: Xinhua shudian 上海新华书店, 1949), pp. 77-79.

<sup>2</sup> Hu Ming 胡明, ed., *Xin zhexue shehuixue jieshi cidian* 新哲学社会学解释辞典 (New explanatory dictionary of philosophy and sociology) (Guanghua chubanshe 光华出版社, 1949), pp. 553-554.