

聖奧斯定的共和主義、異教徒共和國 與存有學的政治學*

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晚近研究共和主義的趨勢，是質疑公民人文主義的詮釋，並將對共和國的學說都廣泛視為共和主義。如此看來，聖奧斯定（新教稱為聖奧古斯丁）宣稱天主之城符合西塞羅對共和國的定義，擴大西塞羅的定義以包括地城，和援用羅馬歷史及羅馬史家的評價以論述地城，在在都顯示其政治哲學雖有神學框架，並不礙其為一種共和主義。

地城也就是其共和主義中的異教徒國家，可從存有學來分析，避免倚賴對天主的知識。奧斯定的存有學說明了人類存有，並自知存有、愛其存有、愛其對自己存有之知，以及尋求每人內部的和平與人際間的和平。人存有的狀態並不包含對啓示宗教之知悉、與對道德的敬意，所以從人的存有延伸出來，上焉者為國家開疆闢土而贏得光榮，下焉者則遂其支配慾而濫用權位。羅馬史經過分期後，可以發現國內和平的時期有外敵，國內不和平的時期向外擴張。

奧斯定給異教徒的共和主義提倡眾多小民族國家的和平，更甚於強人統率大帝國的和平。要用自制的美德節制支配慾和追求光彩的欲望，即使這些欲望可以成就偉大的事業，也不足取。奧斯定的選擇與馬基維利不同，馬基維利選的是擴張政策、武德、和強有力的領導中樞。

關鍵字：奧古斯丁、羅馬、上帝之城、政治哲學

St. Augustine's Republicanism, Pagan Republics, and Ontological Politics

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ABSTRACT

The recent trends to question the civic humanist version of republicanism and to extend republicanism to the theorizing about republics make it possible to rethink St. Augustine as a republican theorist. He claims that the City of God lives up to Cicero's definition of republic, expands that definition to include the earthly city, and draws discussion of the earthly city from Roman history and Roman historians' evaluations: all justify my proposal to regard his political philosophy as a version of republicanism, albeit a theological kind.

The earthly city, or the pagan side of his republicanism, can be analyzed via his ontology, which requires minimal knowledge of God. His ontology depicts humans as knowing and loving their beings, and seeking peace within each of themselves and among them. Unknowing the revealed religion and unbound by morality, the best of them enlarge their beings with glory which is bestowed in virtue of their contribution to the expansion of the empire by warfare, while the worst of them engage in self-regarding lust for dominion. Roman history before Augustus alternates between periods of civil concord when Rome was in rivalry with other nations, and periods of civil discord when Rome met no obstacles in expansion.

Augustine's republicanism for pagans promotes peace of little nation-states over that of a universal empire wielded by a strong mind. The virtue of moderation is praised to curb the lust for glory and dominion, even when that lust leads to honorable ends. He differs from Machiavelli, who pursues an expansionist policy, military virtues, and strong leadership.

Key Words: Rome, City of God, political philosophy