

论马克思的宗教观
[Research on the Marx's Outlook of Religion]
2016

Author: 李成龙 [Li Chenglong Lǐ Chénglóng]
Supervisor: 汪信砚 [WANG Xinyan Wāng Xinyàn]
Discipline: Philosophy, Marxist Philosophy
Institution: Wuhan University, Wuhan, Hubei, China
Year, Degree: 2016, Doctoral dissertation

Abstract / Kurzfassung

宗教源远流长。对于宗教,古往今来的思想家不乏一些透辟的认识和精彩的论述,但常常失之片面,有盲人摸象之感。不从本体论的高度透视宗教或者从不科学的本体论观念透视宗教,结局不能不如此。以实践本体论为标志、实现了思想史上伟大变革的马克思哲学以其深刻的洞察力、历史纵深感和全面性,对宗教的认识达到了全新的境界。探析马克思的宗教观,对于正确地认识和对待宗教具有重要意义。人类文明的资本主义形态的萌芽、确立是马克思宗教观形成的现实土壤。社会变革总是牵动各方利益的博弈,不同阶层都发出了自己的声音。就宗教领域而言,宗教自身实现了大转型以期适应新的时代条件,不同阶层的人们也对宗教发表了看法。路德开启的宗教改革为基督教的转型扫清了理论障碍。加尔文则扩大了基督新教的现实影响,使基督新教成为资本主义时代的信仰形式。以哲学理性为基础的资本主义制度面临一个问题:宗教与哲学的关系。或者认为二者是统一的关系,这表现为诸多调和宗教与哲学的关系的思潮;或者认为二者是对立的关系,这表现为宗教批判。自然神论和泛神论借助信仰的权威宣扬理性,但其理论效应直接表明:知性思维统摄下的哲学理性无法摆脱宗教信仰。康德哲学以知性与理性的二分为枢纽,否定知性可以认识宗教,但又得出实践理性必然导致宗教产生的结论。它的深刻之处就在于:以否定的形式揭示了宗教的超验的本质属性和以公设的形式揭示了宗教的善的文化趋向。黑格尔认为绝对精神是运动中的现实的人类社会的思辨表达,他还认为宗教是绝对精神的显现形式,由此可知,在黑格尔的眼中:宗教有着深厚的社会根源,宗教的发生发展有其必然性和合理性。康德和黑格尔的宗教思想达到了在传统哲学理性内对宗教的认识的高峰。百科全书派翦灭了宗教的自然化身,却忽视了宗教的社会基础。青年黑格尔派发现宗教具有历史性,却陷入了自我意识的幻觉。前述有关宗教的思想的阶级立场和理论工具注定它们无法真正洞察宗教的本质、无法揭示宗教与哲学的真实关系,但都具有真理的颗粒,它们共同构成了马克思宗教思想的文化背景。马克思出生于一个具有浓郁宗教氛围的家庭,中学时期的教育也饱含宗教的内容,此时的马克思信仰基督新教。进入大学后,马克思以青年黑格尔派的自我意识哲学为中介接受了黑格尔的理性主义哲学,形成了理性主义宗教观。由于黑格尔哲学的内在矛盾及《莱茵报》实践的挫折,马克思接受费尔巴哈哲学以走出理性主义哲学的阿门塞斯冥国,形成了人本主义哲学和人本主义宗教观。费尔巴哈哲学的单调及其在历史领域的失语,让马克思不满。随着政治经济学研究的深入和黑格尔哲学内核的再发现,立足于费尔巴哈的“博大恢弘、堪称典范”的唯物主义哲学基地,马克思创立了实践本体论,实现了哲学史上最伟大的变革。在实践唯物主义哲学的透视下,马克思形成了实践唯物主义宗教观。然而,在以黑格尔哲学为底色的理性主义哲学和以费尔巴哈哲学为核心的人本主义哲学的视

野下,马克思虽然回答了“宗教是什么”的问题,但因为其哲学本体论没有走出唯心论,此时他对宗教的透视是不彻底的。这表明,宗教非理性说(或宗教迷信论)和宗教异化幻觉说不足以代表马克思的宗教观。同时,在人本主义哲学阶段提出的宗教鸦片论也理所当然地不足以代表马克思的宗教观。在实践唯物主义哲学阶段,马克思实现了本体论变革,为透视宗教创造了条件。因此,要探析马克思的宗教观必须回到马克思的实践哲学语境中。在实践唯物主义哲学的视野中,根据马克思的论述,我们以重新解读“宗教是人的异化”为标志,明晰了宗教的根本属性,得出了宗教是人类文明的一种重要形式的根本观点:以重新解读“非理性就是神的存在”为标志,明确了宗教的本质属性,突出了宗教与其他文明形式区别开来的重要特征;以解析“宗教是人间力量的超人间形式”为标志,在本体论的高度回答了宗教的本质,揭示了宗教文明的个性和与其他文明形式的共性。在实践哲学的语境下,宗教研究彻底摆脱了任何主观臆断,而是可以达致自然科学般的精确性。作为一种文明形式,宗教本身就是一种文化,它发挥着文化功能。宗教包含了世界观、人生观和价值观,它还发挥着理论功能。政治势力借助宗教的文化功能和理论功能维护其统治,此时,宗教发挥着政治功能。事物怎样表现自己,它自己就是怎样的。宗教功能的发挥,常常构成了宗教的特殊本质。这也就是“宗教鸦片论”、“宗教意识形态说”、“宗教文化论”、“宗教是掌握世界的方式”等观点被误读为宗教本质观的原因。这些观点无法取代“宗教是人间力量的超人间形式”这个论断,因为只有它才科学地揭示了宗教的个性与共性、内容和形式的统一。实践唯物主义哲学把世界理解为一个过程,作为世界的一种表现形式,宗教也呈现出历史性,它的历史性与客观世界紧紧地相联系,它没有自己的独立的历史。马克思哲学的形成不是一蹴而就的,它是各个学科的思想资源不断被马克思吐纳并与现实不断碰撞而激烈聚变的结果。各种思潮在马克思哲学形成中的客观作用是需要仔细甄别的。这对于梳理马克思思想史、防止对马克思思想的误读无疑是有意义的。因此,辨析宗教观在马克思哲学形成中的作用和在马克思哲学体系中的地位是研究马克思宗教观不可或缺的重要组成部分。梳理马克思的思想进程,我们发现,马克思为了批判普鲁士政治而采取宗教批判的手段;为了彻底批判宗教及思辨哲学,马克思拥抱费尔巴哈哲学;在吸收费尔巴哈的人本主义哲学后,马克思把批判的矛头对准市民社会;以研究市民社会为契机再发现黑格尔哲学的珍贵内核:劳动的人和辩证法。于是,一个伟大的哲学综合出现了:立足于费尔巴哈的以人为中心、支点和主题的感性哲学的基地,用黑格尔哲学中“劳动的人”填充费尔巴哈哲学“空洞的人”并发挥出一个哲学体系。简言之,费尔巴哈发现了感性的人,黑格尔发现了劳动的人,在二者的启发下,马克思由于发现了感性的劳动的人而实现了哲学变革。马克思哲学确立后,宗教势必在新的哲学视野中再度成为马克思哲学的考察对象并得到科学解答。另外,随着马克思哲学影响日盛,它引发了多方面的关注。其中,不同势力抱着不同目的通过不同手段试图混淆马克思哲学与宗教的界限,或者把马克思哲学等同于宗教,或者企图通过歪曲的方法和隐蔽的方式让马克思哲学与宗教并蒂共生。尽管马克思哲学与宗教都是人类文明的产物,不排除其有共同和共通的东西,但毕竟二者是判然有别的。混淆二者的区别,只能导致对马克思哲学的科学性和革命性的贬损。因此,探析马克思的宗教观是不能不正视马克思哲学与宗教的关系问题的。宗教在本体论上的特征是唯心论和形而上学。所以旧哲学无法摆脱、无法超越宗教。但是,哲学毕竟与宗教有着重大差别,这表现在宗教和哲学的理论取向和表现形式的巨大差异。旧哲学虽然没有超越宗教,但并没有丧失哲学的本性:以真善美的统一为理论取向和以理性的概念逻辑体系为表现形式。马克思哲学不是宗教,不仅表现在其理论取向和表现形式与宗教的不同,更表现在马克思哲学在本体论上的变革彻底完成了对宗教的超越。马克思哲学获得哲学的自觉,站在哲学的巅峰,消灭哲学的同时让哲学成为现实。因此,马克思哲学不是宗教,它完全不需要宗教作为理论补充。马克思主义在人类思想史上所开启的变革是全方位的,在诸多人文学科领域都开辟了新的理论传统。马克思以实践本体论的创立为标志给马克思主义宗教观奠基后,把主要精

力都放在政治经济学批判上,对宗教的论述则一鳞半爪。马克思主义创始人之一的恩格斯的哲学思想的内核无疑是实践本体论,他在宗教哲学和宗教史上的成就丰富了马克思主义宗教观。第二国际的思想家,譬如拉法格、考茨基、普列汉诺夫,尽管对实践本体论的理解出现了不同程度的偏差,影响了他们的理论的科学性,但他们分享了唯物史观的理论传统,他们在宗教理论上的贡献依然为马克思主义宗教观的理论宝库增加了新的珍宝。列宁是实践本体论的合格继承者。他总是在理论与实践的交汇处探讨理论和指导实践,他的思想具有极其灵活的实践辩证法性质。他在宗教问题上的观点和政策,总是立足于当前实际、服务于其革命和建设的实践的。因此,对列宁宗教观的辨析需要紧密结合其当时所处的形势来进行。不顾条件地把其个别论断夸大,会造成理论迷误。西方马克思主义者,如卢卡奇和葛兰西,根据新的实践形势对宗教进行剖析,提出了一些有价值的论断。法兰克福学派的学者,如霍克海默、弗洛姆、哈贝马斯,试图融合马克思哲学与其他思想资源,以此重新审视宗教。中国马克思主义者围绕革命和建设的需要,使马克思主义宗教观中国化。以“真理标准问题”的大讨论为发端,当代中国马克思主义哲学在实质上已经重新回归马克思主义哲学的实践本体论传统,这是当代中国马克思主义宗教观的科学性的前提。所有这些共同构成了马克思主义宗教观的强大理论传统。这个理论传统在宗教研究和宗教实务上有不可替代的价值。

Author's translation

Religion has a long history. Thinkers of all ages have many incisive ideas and wonderful discuss on religion, anyhow one-sided yet. They always take a part for the whole. The reason of that is they study religion not on the perspective of ontology or not on the perspective of correct ontology. The ontology in philosophy of Marx¹ is practice ontology, so philosophy of Marx realized the reform of philosophy, and then the study of philosophy of Marx on religion is very thorough. Exploring Marx's idea on religion is very important to study religion and deal with religion affairs.

The formation of Marx's idea of religion is benefit of the realistic conditions and rich thought resource and rich religious culture background. The germ and establishment of capitalism is the rich soil of Marx's idea on religion. Social reform always affects the conflict of the interest groups; every hierarchy makes a sound of their own. In the field of religion, religion changed itself to adapt to the new condition and the people comment it. Protestant reformation [Luther](#)² opening sweep the obstacles of transformation of Christian. [Calvin](#)³ expanded the actual influence of protestant. Protestant is faith of capitalism age. Capitalist system based on philosophy sense faced a question: the relationship of religion and philosophy. Some ideological trend reconcile religion and philosophy and the other make them opposing. [Deism](#) and [Pantheism](#) indicated that philosophy sense cannot dispense the religion. [Kant](#)⁴ thinks sense cannot acquaint religion; anyhow religion is the outcome of sense. That means religion has rational content but not suit in the form of sense. Because absolute spirit is the speculative expression of the vivid human society and [Hege](#)⁵ regarded religion as the performance of absolute spirit, that means religion has deep social root and is reasonable and inevitable. The religion thought of Kant and Hegel is the summit in the old age. [Encyclopedia thinkers](#) eliminated the natural embodiment of religion and ignorance the social root of religion. School of young Hegel found religion has history and was caught in illusion of self-awareness. The class standpoint and theory tool of such religion thoughts is destined that they cannot perspective religion and reveal the real relationship of religion and philosophy. But they all included the grain of truth about religion. All the religion thoughts make up the resource of Marx's idea of religion.

¹ Karl Marx (1818 – 1883), German philosopher, economist, historian, sociologist, political theorist, journalist, and socialist revolutionary.

² Martin Luther (1483 – 1546), German professor of theology, composer, priest, and Augustinian monk.

³ John Calvin (1509 – 1564), French theologian, pastor and reformer in Geneva.

⁴ Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804), German philosopher.

⁵ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770 – 1831), German philosopher.

The formation of Marx's idea of religion has a process. Marx was born in a family with thick religion air and His education in middle school with religion content. At that time, Marx is a protestant. In the university, Marx accepts Hegel's rationalism philosophy with the help of the self-awareness philosophy of the school of young Hegel and Marx's religion idea is rationalism. Because of the inner contradiction of Hegel's philosophy and the setback in the Rhine newspaper, Marx accepts *Feuerbach's*⁶ philosophy to leave rationalism philosophy. At that time, Marx's philosophy is humanism and his religion idea is humanism religion idea. Anyhow, Marx is not satisfaction with Feuerbach's philosophy because it is simple and lack of history. As the deep study with plutonomy and the rediscovery of Hegel's philosophy, with the help of Feuerbach's materialism philosophy, Marx founded the practice ontology philosophy and made a philosophy revolution. In the vision of practice materialism philosophy, Marx's religion idea is practice materialism religion idea. And then we know, though Marx answered the question that what is religion in the vision of rationalism philosophy and humanism philosophy, because the ontology is idealism, his answer is not thorough. This proved the idea that religion is non-rational and religion is alien illusion is not right. The idea that religion is spirit opium which birthed in the humanism philosophy stage of Marx is not correct too. In the practice materialism philosophy stage, Marx changed ontology which provided chance to study religion. So, to study Marx's religion idea, we must come to the practice materialism philosophy.

In the vision of practice materialism philosophy, this doctoral thesis totally studied the religion idea of Marx. Through reread the proposition that religion is alien of human, we know the fundamental properties of religion and come to the conclusion that religion is a very important form of human culture. Through reread the proposition that religion is irrational, we know the essence properties of religion and highlight the feature of religion to distinguish it from the other human culture form. Through reread the proposition that religion is transcendental form of human power, we answer the question what is religion on the ontology level and reveal the personality of religion culture and the generality of religion culture and the other culture form. In the context of practice philosophy, religion study totally get rid of arbitrary and come to the precise like natural science. As a culture form, religion itself is culture. Religion plays the role of culture and theory. When politic intervenes, religion plays the role of political. What things perform itself, things is what. The function of religion always constitutes the special essence of religion. This is why such viewpoints were took as the essence of religion like religion is opium and religion is ideology and religion is culture and religion is the way to comprehend the world and so on. But all of these judgments cannot replace the viewpoint that religion is transcendental form of human power. Because only this viewpoint reveal religion is unification of personality and generality and unification of content and form. In the vision of practice materialism philosophy, the world is a process. As a culture form of the world, religion has history. But its history is connected with the world closely. All above is Marx's idea of religion.

The formation of Marx's philosophy is not accomplished in an action. It is the result that Marx absorbed all kinds of knowledge and made them shock with reality life. The function that every ideological trend made in the formation of Marx's philosophy is needed to identify. It is very important to study Marx's intellectual history and prevent misread Marx's idea. So, differentiation the function of religion idea in the formation of Marx's philosophy and the status in Marx's philosophy is an integral in the thesis to study Marx's religion idea. For political criticism, Marx made religion criticism. For religion and all the speculative philosophy criticism, Marx accepts Feuerbach's philosophy. And then, Marx studied the civil society and found the core of Hegel's philosophy such as labor of man and dialectics. Then, a great philosophy comprehensive comes true: standing on the basis of perceptual philosophy of Feuerbach, using the core labor man in Hegel philosophy filling the man in Feuerbach philosophy, and forming a philosophy system. In a word, Feuerbach found perceptual man and Hegel found labor man and Marx found perceptual labor man. And then, Marx changed philosophy. When Marx's philosophy formed, religion must be studied in the new philosophy vision. Now, we know the function of religion idea in the formation of Marx's philosophy and the status in Marx's philosophy. In addition, Marx's philosophy attracted much attention because it shocked the pattern of theory and politic. Every force with different purpose and way try to confuse the difference between religion and philosophy. Though Marx's philosophy and religion are all the result of human culture and have something in common, they are very different. Confusion the difference between them lead to be little the scientific and revolutionary of Marx's philosophy. So, studying Marx's idea of

⁶ Ludwig Andreas von Feuerbach (1804 – 1872), German philosopher and anthropologist.

religion must study the relationship of Marx's philosophy and religion. Aimed at all the methods of confusing Marx's philosophy and religion, this thesis rectified them in the vision of ontology. Roughly to say, philosophy is ontology. All the old philosophy can't cast off idealism and metaphysics. As introduction says, ontology about religion just is idealism and metaphysics. So, all the old philosophy can't surpass and departure religion. But philosophy is not religion anyhow. The theory pursuit and form is very different between philosophy and religion. Though all the old philosophy didn't surpass religion, they didn't lose the nature of philosophy such as pursuit the unification of truth and kind and beauty and logical concept form. Marx's philosophy is not religion, not only because the theory pursuit and form of Marx's philosophy is different from religion, but also Marx's philosophy surpasses religion on ontology. Marx's philosophy is the summit of philosophy. It wipes out philosophy just to make it come true. So, Marx's philosophy is not religion, it didn't need religion as its supplement.

The revolutionary that Marxism opened in human intellectual history is multi-angle. Marxism opens up new theory tradition in all humanities. Marx sets up practice ontology to lay a foundation to study religion, but he focuses on studying plutonomy, so, he discussed religion poorly. As the co-founder of Marxism, Engels's core philosophy idea is practice ontology. His achievement on religion philosophy and religion history enriches Marxism religion idea. The second international thinkers, such as [Lafargue](#)⁷ and [Kautsky](#)⁸ and [Plekhanov](#)⁹, didn't understand practice ontology accurately. So, their theory is not scientific. But they shared the theory tradition of historical materialism, their view about religion added treasure to Marxism. Lenin¹⁰ is the qualified successor of practice ontology. He always studies theory and guides practice in the junction of theory and practice. His thought is smartly dialectic. His view and policy on religion always bases on present reality and services revolution and construction. So, studying Lenin's view of religion needs to connect the reality. If not connect the reality to exaggerate special judgment, theory mistakes will be produced. Western Marxists such as [Lukács](#)¹¹ and [Gramsci](#)¹² study religion based on new reality and lead to some valuable judgment. The *Frankfurt School* thinkers such as [Max Horkheimer](#)¹³ and Fromm and [Habermas](#)¹⁴ try to fuse the other ideological resources and Marxism to study religion. Chinese Marxists make Marxism religion idea sinicize to service revolutionary and construction. Modern Chinese Marxism naturally comes back to the theory tradition of practice ontology which begins at the discussion of truth criterion to sure the accuracy of studying religion. All of these views constituted the strongly theory tradition of Marxism religion idea. This theory tradition is very useful to study religion and deal with religion affairs. [Footnotes, hyperlinks: M.Z.]

Zur Ergänzung des Beitrags durch Fußnoten und Hyperlinks wurde unter anderem das Internetlexikon Wikipedia verwendet. Den Autorinnen und Autoren sei Dank für ihre sorgfältige und hilfreiche Arbeit. Diese lexikalischen Angaben dienen einem ersten Überblick. Für detailliertere Informationen wird auf die Spezialliteratur verwiesen. [M.Z.]

⁷ Paul Lafargue (1842 – 1911), French socialist.

⁸ Karl Johann Kautsky (1854 – 1938), Czech-Austrian philosopher.

⁹ Georgi Valentinovich Plekhanov (1856 – 1918), Russian philosopher.

¹⁰ Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) 1870 – 1924), Russian revolutionary, politician, and political theorist.

¹¹ György Lukács (1885 – 1971), Hungarian Marxist philosopher, aesthetician, literary historian, and critic.

¹² Antonio Francesco Gramsci (1891 – 1937, Italian philosopher and politician.

¹³ Max Horkheimer (1895 – 1973), German philosopher and sociologist.

¹⁴ Jürgen Habermas (geb. 1929), German philosopher and sociologist.