

THE CROSS AND THE LOTUS: Chapters 1 to 8

CHAPTER I

Nestorian Christianity in the T'ang Dynasty

The T'ang Dynasty (AD 618-877) was a golden age of Chinese culture. No wonder that the Chinese people call themselves T'ang people and the overseas Chinese settlements in New York and San Francisco are known as T'ang quarters. T'ang China was known to all her neighbours as the Upper Kingdom. In Ch'ien Chi's famous poem, Farewell to a Japanese Monk Bound Homeward, we read;

"In the Upper Kingdom you were
foreordained to sojourn
Now tracing your way as in a dream
And the eye still watches beyond the horizon
The Holy Light of your single lantern."

Chang-an, the upper capital, was the centre of imperial splendour. Caravans brought with them traders and jugglers, monks and pilgrims from Persia, Armenia and even from Antioch and Byzantium. Their strange appearances and outlandish clothes never failed to amuse the Chinese onlookers. Meanwhile Chinese had also been deported to Central Asia or sent there as soldier-peasants to garrison the fortifications across the steppes. Several Chinese leaders during the T'ang Dynasty were of foreign origin. The poet Li Po's ancestral family had been exiled to the Western region in the 7th century. Li Po himself was born in AD 701, either on the way from Suyab to China or in Suyab, the modern Tokmak, in what is now the Soviet Republic of Turkestan.

T'ang China had great confidence in her own cultural heritage. It was a period when China was most receptive to foreign influence and was ready to borrow from outside art forms and motifs and even to assimilate the faiths of her subject nations and friendly neighbors. Against such a setting, Nestorian Christianity first came to China.

Alopen, the Persian Bishop, began the Nestorian mission in Chang-an in AD 635, the same year when St. Aidan came to preach the Gospel in Northumbria

But why 635? In the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty, the overland route between Persia and China had been barred by the people of Turkestan. The Eastern Turks challenged the authority of the T'ang Emperor while the Western Turks held sway over the valley of the River Chu with Tokmak as their centre. However, in 630 the Eastern Turks were overwhelmed by T'ang forces and the Western Turks without a fight surrendered to T'ang power and influence. The route to Persia was therefore reopened. As we learn from the T'ang Shu, "When the embassy from Bukhara came to the capital to offer tribute, T'ai Tsung greeted the ambassador saying, 'The Western Turks have surrendered. NOW merchants are safe to travel.' All the tribes welcomed the news with great joy."

The semi-barbarian tribes in Central Asia agreed to honour the T'ang Emperor by the title of

"Tien-ko-han" (King of the Khans) recognizing him as the leader of the International Peace League. Prof. Shen Shih-min, author of a history of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, has reminded us that in the original Turkish tongue the term Tien-ko-han probably meant the Son of Heaven.

Thus, Alopen was able to make his historic journey to China. However, before 635 many merchants of Persian origin must have lived in Changan, and undoubtedly there were some Nestorians among them. Also, there must have been in the T'ang Capital a number of Nestorians of Central Asian origin from Sogdiana or from Bukhara. The very fact that the Emperor sent the minister of state Fang Hsuan-ling, to take an escort to the western outposts to meet Alopen suggests that elaborate preparations had been made for his coming. Again, as we learn from the Nestorian Monument, the Emperor granted Alopen permission to translate the Nestorian sutras in the Imperial Library. This was in line with the T'ang Dynasty's broad policy of toleration and interest in fostering foreign religions. In 638 Alopen with the help of Chinese associates completed the first Christian book in Chinese The Sutra of Jesus the Messiah. It was not a translation but rather a free adaptation to meet the needs of the mission in Chang-an. Japanese scholars indicate that the original was likely to be in the Persian or Sogdian language rather than Syriac.

The term, "Uo-li-si-liam," for instance, seems to be a transliteration of Jerusalem in the Persian tongue.

In this first Christian book in Chinese, Alopen took pains to show that Christianity contained nothing subversive to China's ancient traditions. He pointed out that loyalty to the state and filial piety to one's parents were not contrary to Christian teaching. The portrait of the Emperor T'ai Tsung (627-649), as we learn from the Nestorian Monument of 781, was in fact painted on the wall of the Nestorian monastic church, reminiscent of the portrait of the Emperor Justinian (483-565) in the Byzantine church in Ravenna.

But this early Chinese Christian classic was not only an apology. It was an introduction to the Christian faith. The life of our Lord from the Nativity to the Passion was presented for the first time to Chinese readers.

The Emperor was pleased with Alopen's achievement. An imperial decree proclaimed the virtue of the Nestorian religion and ordered a Nestorian monastery to be built in the I-ning quarter by local officials. Now the I-ning quarter was in the extreme west of the city where the Persian and Central-Asian traders were concentrated. The site of the monastery was clearly indicated in the Chang-an Chi (AD 1076). "North of the east of the street is the foreign monastery of Persia. In the 12th Ching-Kuan year (AD 639), T'ai Tsung built it for Alopen, a foreign monk of Ta Ch'in." The monastery, therefore, seems to have been located in the north-east angle of the cross formed by the two main streets in the I-ning quarter. The monastery began with 21 monks.

During the reign of Kao Tsung (649-693), Nestorian Christianity was further favoured by the court. By Imperial decree, Alopen was promoted to be great Spiritual Lord, Protector of the Empire, i.e. Metropolitan of Chang-an. No doubt the Nestorian Monument greatly exaggerated the importance of Nestorianism in T'ang China. "The religion spread throughout the ten provinces . . . monasteries abound in hundred cities." Nevertheless, we have reason believe that there were

several Nestorian monasteries outside Chang-an. In Loyang a Nestorian monastery was erected in the Shau-hsien quarter, and there must have been Nestorian monasteries also in Tuan-huang, Ling-wu and perhaps in Szechuan.

Nestorian Christianity witnessed a serious setback in the reign of the usurping Empress Wu, a woman of great energy and ability. In 690 she proclaimed herself the founder of a new dynasty -Chou - and wished to be remembered by posterity as an outstanding Empress. Accordingly her half brother, Wu San-Ssu, proposed to erect a gigantic column in her honor, to be located outside the Tuan gate of the Imperial city. A famous Indian sculptor and craftsman was commissioned to execute the intricate design. It was to be an octagonal column with a height of 105 feet built in a base with carved unicorns. On the pinnacle of the column was to be a dragon embracing a large orb representing the rising sun. The enormous task of financing and erecting the imposing column was entrusted to the Nestorian layman Abraham. It was a tribute to the skill of the Indian craftsman and to the administrative talent of Abraham that the immense project took only eight months to complete.

Only two years previously, the Buddhists of Loyang had opened an attack upon the Nestorians. Now Abraham's act of homage must have assured the Empress of the loyalty of the Nestorian congregation and thus averted the Buddhist attempt to uproot the young church from Chinese soil. For knowledge of this little known episode we owe much to the research of Prof. Lo Hsiang-lin, Professor of Chinese in Hong Kong University. Abraham came from a noble Persian family. Emperor Kao Tsung, noting his remarkable achievement and great fame, summoned him to his court and sent him on a mission to the countries east of Persia. The inscription on his tombstone stated that he brought the holy religion to the barbarian tribes who had since lived in peace and concord. Not least was the virtue of his leadership in summoning the kings of various countries to erect the heavenly column in the reign of Empress Wu. He died on the first day of the fourth month in the first year of Chun Yun (710) at his private residence in Loyang, aged 95.

If Abraham, the nobleman, helped the Nestorians to stand firm and weather the storm of Buddhist antagonism in Loyang. Abraham, the abbot, with Bishop Gabriel, succeeded in "supporting together the mystic cord and tying the broken knot" after the mocking and slandering of the Nestorians by the Taoists in Chang-an (712-713). In 713 the Emperor Hsuan Tsung (712-757) ordered the Prince of Ning Kuo and four other princes to go to the Nestorian monastery to build and set up the altars again. In 744 he decreed that Abbot Abraham, together with Bishop George (Chi-ho), the monk Pu-lun and five other monks, should go to celebrate Holy Eucharist in the Hsing-chihg Palace, the residence of the Emperor's elder brother and four other brothers.

Of Bishop Gabriel (Chih-lieh) we obtain considerable information from Chinese sources. It is significant to note that Gabriel came to China by sea. Toward the end of the 7th century, Canton had become the chief seaport for foreign trade. In 8th century Canton, the merchants from abroad were allowed a large measure of self-government and the free exercise of their religion.

Bishop Gabriel arrived in Canton in 713 or earlier. He worked among Persian merchants and craftsmen and acquired a knowledge of Chinese. The Nestorian Church in Canton was, no doubt, blessed by the presence and guidance of the Bishop. Furthermore, while in Canton, Gabriel made the acquaintance of the Inspector of merchant shipping, Chou Ching-li. With the encouragement

and help of Chou, he began to "carve quaint things and make wonderful objects." Like Ricci after him, Gabriel cherished the hope that through the gifts of valuable curios, the Emperor might be induced to look more kindly upon the Nestorian mission. It aroused, however, the opposition of Liu Tse, the censor of the Province. He submitted a memorial to the Emperor. "Ching-li is seeking to beguile your sage understanding, to shake and subvert your lofty mind. Will your Majesty trust and allow it? This would be to spread decadence in the whole Empire!" Officially, the Emperor gave Liu Tse his approval. The Nestorian Monument, however suggests that Gabriel had won the favour of the Emperor. The truth is that, even though Hsuan Tsung may not have been greatly impressed by the wonderful objects, the ministry of Bishop Gabriel and of Abbot Abraham seemed to have created a new atmosphere in Chang-an.

According to the Tse Fu Yuan Kuei, the second mission of Bishop Gabriel took place in October 732 when the King of Persia sent the chief P'an-na-mi with Bishop Gabriel on an embassy to Chang-an. The Emperor was pleased and gave Gabriel a purple kashaya and fifty pieces of silk.

Gabriel's success must have encouraged the Nestorians in Persia to send more missions. In 744 Bishop George (Chi-ho) took the journey to the Far East. That he was permitted to celebrate the Eucharist in the Palace of the Emperor's elder brother was a strong indication of the steady progress of the Nestorian Church in China. In addition, the Emperor's brothers had already had their encounter with the Nestorian Church in 713 and this might prove to be fruitful in due course.

In October 745 an Imperial decree stated that since the cradle of Nestorianism was in Ta Ch'in, the Persian monasteries in the two capitals and in departments and districts of the Empire should be changed to Ta Ch'in monasteries.

The rebellion of An Lu-shan in 755 was the turning point in T'ang Dynasty history. It was a traditional policy of the T'ang Emperors to employ foreign legions in the defence of the frontiers. An Lu-shan, born of an Iranian-Turkic family, had won high favour from the Imperial Court and had a large army under his command. In the Autumn of 755 he led the rebellion against Hsuan Tsung. Early in 756 he captured Loyang and soon his forces entered Chang-an. Shortly before the fall of the capital, Hsuan Tsung fled south to Chengtu and on the way he abdicated in favour of his third son who had his headquarters in Ling-wu.

Su Tsung (756-763) as Tien-ko-han summoned soldiers from the garrisons of various countries, Turkestan, Kashgar, Kucha and Khotan, to put down the revolt. Some of those foreign soldiers were Nestorians, others were Manichaeans. The military genius General Kuo Tzu-i, with the help of these legions, succeeded in crushing the rebels. The General's influence in the Court may well be the reason why the Nestorians enjoyed a measure of favour under Su Tsung and his successors. Due to the civil war, undoubtedly some Nestorian monasteries were damaged while others were left ruined and unoccupied. Su Tsung ordered the restoration of five monasteries in Ling-wu and other districts, as a gesture of Imperial favour.

One of the most outstanding commanders in the campaign was Issu (Yazdbazed), who came to China from Balkh, where his father Milis had been a priest, He was second-in-command to General Kuo and was richly rewarded after the rebellion had definitely been put down. - With his ascendancy, the Nestorians experienced a marked revival. Every year Issu assembled the monks

of four monasteries for divine service and meditation. The conference lasted the whole of 50 days. Moreover, the Nestorian Monument recorded that he had a deep concern for the welfare of the people.

"He bade the hungry come and fed them
He bade the cold come and clothed them
He healed the sick and raised them up
He buried the dead and laid them to rest."

Early Nestorian missionaries were well known for their medical knowledge and surgical skill. We can thus appreciate the devotion and social concern of Issu. Su Tsung's successors continued to shower Imperial favours upon the Nestorians. Tai Tsung (763-780), for example, repaid merits with gifts of incense and gave a royal feast to honour the Nestorian congregations. In the reign of Te Tsung the Monument (781), to which we owe so much for our knowledge of Nestorianism in the T'ang Dynasty, was erected in Issu's honour.

In general, the T'ang Dynasty was an age of religious toleration and intellectual curiosity. However, when Wu Tsung ascended the throne, the Taoists came to control the Court. They were intensely jealous of the rapid growth of Buddhist monasteries. In the reign of Hsuan Tsung there were already 5,358 monasteries. In 749 it was estimated that there were 120,000 men and women who had taken the vow. The number continued to grow after the rebellion. But economic and political matters also contributed to Wu Tsung's policy of persecution in 845. Monastic establishments withdrew men in great numbers from military and civil services and cut down the receipts of the imperial treasury through their immunity from taxation. In 845 Wu Tsung suppressed 4,600 monasteries and more than 40,000 private monastic establishments. Only historic Buddhist monasteries of great beauty in the large cities were to be preserved. He also ordered some 260,000 monks and nuns to return to secular lives. Monasteries of Central and Western Asian origins were also involved. A petition to the Court stated, "As for the Ta Ch'in (Nestorian) and Muhu (Zoroastrian) temples, these heretical religions must not alone be left when the Buddhists have been suppressed; they must all be compelled to return to lay life and resume their original callings and pay taxes, or if they are foreign they shall be sent back to their native Places." From this petition it is clear that there were Chinese Nestorian members as well as those of Persian or Central Asian origin. It followed that an Imperial decree "compelled the Ta Ch'in (Nestorianism) and Muhu, (Zoroastrianism) to the number of more than 3,000 persons to return to lay life and to cease to confound the customs of China."

Meanwhile many Nestorians must have journeyed to Canton and made ready for their long voyage home. In Canton they would learn that the Imperial decree had been revoked by Wu Tsung's successor and it was likely that some of them would remain in the southern city. The ninth century Arabic writer, Abu Zaid, edited a collection of travellers' journals.

His readers were told that in the rebellion of Bansu (Huang Ch'ao), who captured Khanfu (Canton) in 877, many inhabitants were put to death. "Persons well-informed about these affairs relate that, without counting the Chinese who were massacred, there perished six score thousand Mohammedans, Jews, Christians and Parsis who were living in the city and doing business there." This was no doubt an incorrect figure. Yet the fact remains that the foreign population in Canton was large in the ninth century and among them there was a substantial

number of Nestorian Christians .

Patriarch Theodosius (AD 852-868) in a list of Metropolitans of the Nestorian Church failed to mention that there was a metropolitan in China. This may be due to the fact that the church had not recovered after the violent persecution in 845.

With the fall of the T'ang Dynasty, there was a rapid decline of Nestorianism in China. In 986 a monk from Najran who had been sent by the Nestorian Patriarch to China in 982 was reported to have said, "Christianity is extinct in China; the native Christians have perished in one way or another ; the church which they had has been destroyed and there is only one Christian left in the land." No one would take this seriously as an accurate report for the whole Chinese Nestorian church. But we may feel sure that the fall of the T'ang Dynasty also meant the eclipse of the Nestorian mission in China proper.

CHAPTER II

Nestorian Worship, Scripture and Mission

Worship eastward seems to be the first rule in Nestorian teaching. 'The Monument relates "Worshipping toward the east, they hasten on the way to life and glory." In the Mongol period, in the history of Chin-kiang, we also read, "The worship towards the east is regarded as the principal thing in the religion." William of Rubruck likewise pointed out "Then on the octave of Holy Innocents (January 4th) we were taken to the court and some Nestorian priests came. I did not know they were Christians and they asked me in what direction we worshipped. I said, 'Towards the East.'"

The veneration of the cross, as the instrument of redemption, became a Nestorian devotion. According to the Monument, "He set out the cross to define the four quarters," North, South, East and West. William of Rubruck told us that women of the Imperial Mongol household adored the cross with great devotion as they were instructed in that respect by the Nestorian priests. The cross indeed occupied so prominent a place in Nestorian faith and life that in the Mongol period the Nestorian monasteries were known as the monasteries of the cross. However, the Nestorians venerated the cross but not the crucifix as William of Rubruck reminded the readers of his Journal.

In the Nestorian monasteries, seven hours of ritual praise were kept and prayers were offered for the living and the dead. Sunday worship was especially stressed as "washing the heart and restoring purity."

The sacrament of baptism occupied a most important place in the Nestorian church. As the Monument stated, "The water and the Spirit of baptism wash away vain glory and cleanse one fine and white." This was equally true in the Mongol period. As we learn from William of Rubruck, "On Easter Eve the Nestorians baptized in the most correct manner more than 60 people and there was great common joy among all Christians." (Chap. xxx). This was a fine tribute from a Franciscan witness .

Of the Eucharist, we learn little from early Chinese Nestorian writing. But William of Rubruck 's

Journal did throw some light on Nestorian liturgy. He wrote that in the church near Karakorum, the Nestorians celebrated Eucharist with a large silver chalice and paten. Again he recorded, "I said Mass on Maundy Thursday with their silver chalice and paten, which vessels were very large."

According to The Book of the Honoured Ones, the Trinitarian formula was stressed in divine service. "We reverently worship the mysterious Person, God the Father; the responding Person, God the Son; and the witnessing Person, the Spirit of Holiness We worship the Holy Trinity-three Persons in one."

We also have a Nestorian order of service dated 720, apparently for a special holy day. After the singing of a hymn, in this case the Hymn of Eternal Salvation, the congregation venerated St. John (probably reciting the collect of St. John's Day). This was followed by the recitation of the Book of Heavenly Treasure Store (The Breviary), the Psalms and the Gospels.

The Nestorian monks kept the beard and shaved the crown. The clergy were divided into two kinds: the black, clergy were the religious while the white clergy were the peculiar priests. Issu, for example though married is described as a monk and given the purple *kashaya*. His father, Milis, as we have noted, had also been a secular priest.

The Nestorian clergy were well-known for their social concern. There was no slavery in the Nestorian household. Moreover, the Nestorian missionaries were known among non-Christians for their medical knowledge and skill. This was one of the reasons for their success during the greater part of the T'ang Dynasty.

The eighth century also saw the beginning of Chinese hymnology. One of the oldest Chinese hymns - The Hymn to the Holy Trinity -was written at Chang-an around the year 800. It was probably the East Syriac form of the Gloria in Excelsis. Scholars are impressed with its rich imagery and its free adaptation of Buddhist terms. But it is not syncretism. As Prof. J. Foster of the University of Glasgow has reminded us, "Rather it is a borrowing of terminology, and a relation of doctrine to a familiar background of thought, as the only way of expressing Christian truth in its Far-eastern environment. "

"If the highest-heavens with deep
reverence adore,
If the great earth earnestly ponders on
general peace and harmony,
If man's first true nature receives
confidence and rest,
It is due to the merciful Father of
the universe."

This hymn has been incorporated into the modern Chinese Hymnal, Hymns of Universal Praise.

"Of scriptures there were left 27 books," the Monument stated. We do not know whether the whole New Testament had been translated into Chinese, but as early as 720 the Gospels were read in church. As early as 638 we have an excellent narrative of the Nativity, the Ministry and the Passion

in The Sutra of Jesus the Messiah. The first half of this book is a manual on Christian living. Alopen tried to reconcile Christianity with Chinese ethics. The sutra stresses a three-fold loyalty: serving God, serving the Emperor, and serving one's parents. In the exposition of the Ten Commandments, it again stresses the importance of filial piety. It urges people to serve parents with deep respect so that they shall have no wants. In return, the filial children will inherit mansions in the Heavenly City. "All living beings," the sutra reminded its readers, "owe their existence to their parents." The commandment forbidding murder is changed into one forbidding the taking of life or exhorting others to take life. Here Alopen's Chinese Buddhist assistant used his own interpretation and imagination to render Alopen's ideas into his own mould of thought. The Buddhist influence was very apparent "The life of all living beings," the sutra added, "is the same as the life of man."

It is, however, the second half of the book which especially holds our attention. For the first time, Chinese readers were privileged to read an account of the Nativity. "God in Heaven above shed his light on heaven and earth. In the place where Jesus the Messiah was born, the dwellers in the world saw bright light on the earth, a star of good omen dwelling in the sky." The simile that the star was as large as a cartwheel proves to be interesting. The Chinese assistant of Alopen was familiar with Buddhist sutras and we have reason to believe that the simile was taken from the Buddhist scriptures where the size of the lotus is compared with that of the cartwheel.

In this document we read that at the Baptism "A voice was heard in space saying, 'Messiah is my son, all people who are in the world must obey his commandments.' " Yet according to St. Mark's Gospel, a similar saying is placed in the context of the Transfiguration. Does this mean that Alopen had made a mistake or that he had used an ancient Syriac text which had transplanted the voice of Heaven from the context of the Transfiguration to that of the Baptism?

The narrative of the Passion, in spite of its archaic language, is vivid and graphic. It was no mean achievement for the translator and his assistant who were searching for words and expressions. ~It followed St. Matthew's Gospel very closely, " The Prince said, 'I cannot kill this man.' The evil-doers said, 'If the man ought not to die, what will happen to our sons and daughters?' The Prince Pilate asked for water and washed his hands in front of the evil-doers saying, 'I truly cannot kill the man.' "

The document ended abruptly in the middle of a sentence describing the aftermath of the Crucifixion. It appears that the original manuscript contained some more columns which have been lost to posterity.

In any case, we have a sequel to this sutra in The Messiah's Discourse on Charity which appeared in 642. Some of the terms adopted are quite ingenious. The Holy Spirit is the "Pure Wind;" the Resurrection is the "Holy Transformation." The first half of this latter document was devoted to a paraphrase of the Sermon on the Mount. The second half resumed the narrative of the life of Christ. It began with a description of the events which occurred at the time of the death and resurrection of Christ the splitting of the rocks, the opening of the tombs of the saints and their appearance for a period of 44 days (Matthew 27:52). In the section on the Ascension, the document ended thus, " Take My words and preach to all peoples. Call them to come to be baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. I shall be with you in all your ways until the end of the earth. " Again it is reminiscent of the last verse of St. Matthew's Gospel. Indeed, St. Matthew is the Gospel par excellence for the Nestorians, and Alopen used it as the basis of his narrative both in The Sutra

of Jesus the Messiah and in its sequel. The Book of the Honoured Ones (ninth century) gave a list of saints and scriptures. Among the saints or fa wongs (spiritual kings) one can recognize John, Luke, Mark, Matthew, Moses, David, Paul, Azariah, Michael, Milis and George. The list of scriptures includes the titles of 35 books which were venerated by the church in China. One can easily identify the Gospels, the Acts, Epistles of St. Paul, the Psalms, parts of the Pentateuch, a Breviary, and at least two of the original Chinese Nestorian books - Sutra Proclaiming the Origin and Root of the Holy Religion and the Sutra of Mysterious Peace and Joy.

In addition to Christian books, some Manichaeic and astrological books like The Book of Three Moments and The Book of Four Gates were also included. In putting down the An Lu-shan rebellion, Nestorian tribesmen were fighting side by side with Manichaeic Uighurs. In the process, the Nestorians apparently were influenced by the latter's beliefs. In the beginning and in the middle period of the T'ang Dynasty, the Nestorians had freely borrowed Buddhist and Taoist terms and imagery to express Christian doctrine, as we have seen in The Sutra of Jesus the Messiah and in The Hymn to the Holy Trinity. Moreover, free adaptation of Taoist terms in the Nestorian Monument is well known. Some of the sentences echoed closely the thoughts of the Tao Te Ching. For example, compare the phrases of the Monument, "The true and eternal way is wonderful and hard to name; its merits and use are manifest and splendid, forcing us to call it the brilliant teaching;" with those of the Tao Te Ching, "We do not know its real name (to classify it); that we may have it in writing we say, 'Tao', 'The Way.' "

Now it is evident that the Nestorian Christians freely used Taoist terms and phrases in order to call the attention of the Chinese literati and the Imperial courtiers who favored Taoism to the Syriac religion. Yet after the turn of the ninth century, it is obvious that Nestorian writings were increasingly becoming syncretic in nature. The way that Buddhist and Taoist thoughts were freely borrowed had gone much beyond Alopen or Adam, the author of the inscription on the Monument. In the Sutra of Mysterious Peace and Joy, the Christian elements had largely disappeared. As the Messiah was surrounded by His disciples, like the Buddha, He enlightened them with divine mystery and at the conclusion of the discourse, the disciples were imbued with joy and with due ceremony withdrew. The setting bears little resemblance to that by the Sea of Galilee. But what was taught is even more astounding. It was not an adaptation of the Sermon on the Mount as we have seen in the early sutra of The Messiah's Discourse on Charity. It was rather a discourse on the overcoming of desire and thereby attaining inner peace and joy. It was more akin to Buddhism or Gnosticism than to Christianity.

The question is often raised whether the ministry of the Nestorians in China was aimed at the Chinese people. Or was the main work of Alopen and his successors that of caring for the needs of Nestorians in China and across the frontiers who had been gravely neglected by the Mother Church in Persia and left without episcopal or pastoral care? To begin with, the congregations of the Nestorian monastic churches in Chang-an and Loyang must have been largely Persian or Central Asian. But it is likely that missionary work among the Chinese also stood high on the list of Alopen's purposes. The very fact that the liturgy was written in Chinese is sufficient to show that there must have been a number of Chinese in the Nestorian congregations. More-over, in the persecution of foreign religions in 845 we learn that, besides foreign monks of Persian or Central Asian origin, there were a number of Chinese monks serving the Nestorian Church. These too

must "be compelled to return to lay life and resume their original callings and pay taxes."

Again, the missionary impulse was clearly stated in the Hymn of Eternal Salvation (720) , "The Great Holy and Merciful Father will use His wisdom and strength to save the hundreds of millions of people . . . so that they could also return to the great truth. "

But when all is said, the fact remains that Nestorianism in China was largely a foreign church, without deep roots in Chinese soil. It had not entered the hearts of the people and really made itself at home. There was no Hsuan-tsang in the Nestorian Church who could translate Christian Scripture into elegant and lucid Chinese. Even Adam, who did so much for Nestorian Christianity in China, was of Central Asian origin. The Nestorians in China relied on the support of the mother church in Central Asia of Persia or Baghdad. After the fall of the T'ang Dynasty, it was exceedingly difficult to have communications with the Patriarch and no new missionaries could reach China in the time of turmoil. Moreover, the Nestorian Church in China was largely dependent on Imperial patronage. The fall of the Dynasty, therefore, meant the eclipse of the mission.

Nevertheless, Nestorianism continued to exist in Central Asia and along the Chinese frontiers. As early as the latter half of the eighth century, Nestorianism began to flourish among the Turkic tribes. In 781, the Patriarch Timothy was requested by the King of the Turks to establish a Metropolitan See there. The Patriarch noted, "The King of the Turks and nearly all the inhabitants of the country left their ancient idolatry and became Christians. He has requested us in his letters to create a Metropolitan See for his country and this we have done."

It was an age of Nestorian expansion. Central Asia was completely under Nestorian influence. The Patriarch was ruling a large church with 25 Metropolitanates from Mesopotamia to the border of China. The Tokmak Cemetery alone contains over 600 gravestones, mostly with Syriac inscriptions dating from the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 14th Century. While in China, in a Nestorian monastery in San-pen Hill six or seven miles north-west of Fang-shan in Hopei Province, we find inscriptions on a tablet dated 960 and on another dated 1365. These were Syriac inscriptions which included carved crosses. In spite of the eclipse of the mission in Chang-an, Loyang and Canton, the Nestorian Church continued to flourish along the frontiers of China and sometimes even in a corner of China itself.

CHAPTER 111

Nestorian Christianity in the Mongol Period

There are several reasons why Nestorian Christianity enjoyed its greatest period of expansion during the Mongol period. Firstly, the Mongols favored a policy of religious toleration. Ever since Genghis Khan, the Mongol emperors decreed that all religions were to be respected and that priests and holy men were to be treated with deference. This broad policy had helped the Nestorians to flourish. In return they were to offer prayer on the emperor's behalf .

Secondly, of the various foreign religions, Nestorianism seemed to occupy a special position in the

Imperial Court. The Nomadic tribes in Western Mongolia and along the frontiers of China had long adopted the Nestorian faith. By the end of the ninth century, the Uighur Turks had largely been converted from Manichaeism to Nestorian Christianity. The Naimans and the Onguts were ardent Nestorian Christians and they were closely allied to the Mongols through political relations and intermarriages. As Rabban Sauma told the cardinals at the Lateran, "Today many Mongols are Christians. They are queens and children of kings who have been baptized and confess Christ."

In the beginning of the eleventh century, there was a great mass movement among the Kerait tribes toward Nestorian Christianity. The king of the Keraites summoned Nestorian traders to the royal camp and asked them concerning the Christian faith. The king was soon converted and 200,000 of his tribesmen followed him. The patriarch and the Metropolitan of Nereus sent two persons, a priest and a deacon to baptize them. But little instruction in the Christian faith could have been given either before or after baptism for such a vast number of people. As a result, a number of superstitions passed into Nestorian Christianity among Turkic tribes.

The Keraites were closely related to the Mongols through intermarriage. Among the wives of Mongol rulers there were several of Kerait origin. Of these the most famous was Sorocan (Soyorgatani Baigi), the wife of Tuli, son of Genghis Khan. She became the mother of three important Mongol leaders, Mangu, Kublai and Hulagu. A wise counsellor, she won high esteem from the emperors and chieftains. She maintained order in the fiefs of her sons and supervised the education of her younger sons herself, Hulagu was educated by a Nestorian while Kublai was taught by a Chinese scholar. Owing to her influence, the heritage of Genghis Khan passed from the line of Ogatai to the line to Tuli.

Her importance in Mongol history was confirmed by entries in the Yuan Shi. When Kublai invaded Kansu, she was with her warrior-son. When she died in 1252 the great Khan ordered mass to be said for the repose of her soul in the Nestorian monastery in Kanchow.

Her daughter-in-law Dokuz Khantun was even more famous for her ardent devotion to the Nestorian cause. Owing to her influence, her husband Hulagu, though a Buddhist, generally favoured the Nestorian Christians. Dokuz Khantun rode beside her husband to war in the Persian campaigns and inspired respect from her relatives and people. Rashid-ud-din, the official historian of the Ilkhans, states that Mangu expressly charged his brother Hulagu to consult her in every circumstance and to rely on her political wisdom. Her patronage of the Church has been compared by an Armenian historian to that of St. Helena.

In the Mongol court, there were many Nestorian counsellors. Under Mangu, we learn from William of Rubruck, "The chief secretary is a Nestorian Christian, whose advice is followed in almost all matters." When the Mongols invaded China, Nestorian priests followed in their wake. Under Kublai Khan, a Nestorian (probably from Syria) was placed in charge of the Bureau of Astronomy in the Imperial Capital Khanbaliq (Peking), which had been in the hands of the Mongols since 1215.

In the Capital as early as 1230 there was a Nestorian church with a theological school where the Scriptures and the liturgy in Syriac were taught. There was such a vast number of Christians in the Middle Kingdom that Kublai found it necessary to establish an office to supervise them. Thirdly, in

the conquest of Persia and Western Asia, the Mongols had to rely upon the minority in the population who were hostile to the Moslem faith. The Nestorian Christians, under the increasing oppression of their bigoted rulers, had longed for freedom from the Moslem regime. The Mongols found in them their natural allies. Meanwhile, in 1259 Mesopotamia was occupied by Mongol troops and in the same year Syria was overwhelmed. About the same time Edessa, the cradle of Nestorian Christianity, was captured by the Ilkhan. All these events meant a great deal to the Nestorian Christians who must have hailed the Mongols as liberators .

The latter half of the 13th century witnessed a remarkable revival of the Nestorian Church. Mar Denha (1265-1281) was an able ecclesiastical statesman who reorganized the hierarchy. Under him the Nestorian Church expanded from Syria to Khanbaliq (Peking) .

Meanwhile, in the West the Mongol danger was an ominous threat. In 1237 Batu conquered the Volga Basin and all Russia became a province of the Mongol Empire. No wonder the Pope at the Council of Lyons (1245) called the irruption of the Mongols into Europe one of the five wounds of the church.

In the Mongol period, Nestorians were prominent across the frontiers of China. We learn this from John of Plano Carpini, William of Rubruck, Marco Polo, and earlier from the Taoist Ch'ang Chun whose journal, according to Arthur Waley, is a unique source of early Mongol history. In his travels near the city of Lun-t'ai, Ch'ang Chun and his companions were greeted by the chief of the Tarsa, who were probably Nestorians. The term, Tarsa, also appeared in the Nestorian Monument (781). In reference to Issu, it stated, "Among the Tarsa with their rule of purity such excellence has not yet been heard of."

In 1245 Pope Innocent IV dispatched a mission headed by John of Plano Carpini to the Mongols to avert the threatened danger of the Mongol armies. John with his fellow Franciscan, Benedict of Poland, arrived in Karakorum in time to witness the enthronement of Cuyuk as Great Khan. In the court there were many Nestorian Christians and the Franciscans met numerous prisoners from Hungary and Russia. They were impressed by the might and prosperity of the Mongol Empire. The power and pomp of the East had suddenly become a reality. For their return journey, each of them was given two fur coats by the Nestorian Empress and John took home a haughty reply from the great Khan to the Pope. "Thanks to the power of the Eternal Heaven, all lands have been given to us from sunrise to sunset. How could anyone act other than in accordance with the commands of Heaven? Now your own upright heart must tell: 'We (the Pope) will become subject to you (the Khan), and will place our powers at your disposal.' You (the Pope) in person, as the head of the monarchs, all of you without exception, must come to tender us (the Khan) service and pay us homage, then only will we recognize your submission. But if you do not obey the commands of Heaven, and run counter to our orders, we shall know that you are our foe."

In 1253, Friar William of Rubruck began his historic journey to the heart of the Mongol Empire. He and his companion were sent not as envoys of St. Louis of France but as missionaries who offered themselves to serve God. His mission was culminated in the audience with the Emperor Mangu at Pentecost. "My Lord," he addressed the great Khan, "we are not men of war. Our office is to teach men to live after the will of God. For we have come here and willingly would we remain here if it pleased you." The Mongol rulers were well-known for their religious tolerance. But the fact that the

Khan would accompany his Nestorian wife to chapel, and that he would allow the friars to say their prayers for him and sing the hymn *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* must not be taken to mean that he was about to be baptized.

The Nestorian priests occupied an important place in the Imperial Court. Friar William often candidly criticized their errors. He wrote, "The Nestorians there know nothing. They say their offices, have sacred books in Syriac, but they do not know the language so that they chant like those monks among us who do not know grammar. They are absolutely depraved." Yet he did not fail to notice and appreciate their virtues when he found them. He was impressed by the correct manner in which they baptized their converts and by the dignity and beauty of their altars, Near Karakorum he saw "an altar most beautifully decorated. Embroidered on cloth of gold were figures of our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, John the Baptist and two angels."

In China, Nestorianism was known as the religion of the cross, and its churches as monasteries of the cross. The Nestorians were known as Yeh-li-ko-wen which according to the Dynastic History Yuan Shi meant "the blessed ones." Saeki believed it was 'a rendering of the Nestorian term "Evangelion" in the T'ang documents and simply meant the believing community. Professor Fang Ho, however, suggested that Yeh-li 'and Ko-wen are actually two words. The former meant "God"; the latter, "sons". Yeh-li-ko-wen, therefore, meant "the sons of God."

The Nestorians occupied so important a place during the Yuan Dynasty that according to the Yuan Shi (Chapter. 89) the Governor appointed a special officer, the Commissioner of Chung Foo with the second highest rank in officialdom, to take charge of Nestorian affairs, to maintain close relationships with the bishops, rabbans (priests), and monks , and to see to the proper celebration of the sacraments in the Nestorian monasteries. The Chung Foo Commission was established in 1289. In 1315 it was promoted to be a Yuan. However, in 1320 it again became a Commission. We learn from the Yuan Shi that there were 72 Nestorian monasteries in China during that period (1289-1320). They were in Taiyuan, Taitung, Peking, Tsinan, Loyang, Chang-an, Hangchow, Wenchow, Zaitun, Foochow, Canton, Kanchow, Chengtu, Chungking, Kunming and other cities . In Yangchow there were two Nestorian monasteries. In the district of Chin-kiang there were six. According to the census of 1330-1332, the district of Chin-kiang had 215 Nestorians. At that time the foreign population of Chin-kiang, including Mongols, Uighurs and Moslems etc., amounted to 13,503 persons.

The Nestorians, of whom large numbers were Mongols, insisted that in court ceremonies they should precede the Buddhists and the Taoists in order of procession. This led to violent protests from Buddhists and Taoists. Eventually it was ordered that Nestorians should occupy a less honorable position and should follow the Buddhists and Taoists in the procession. The Yuan historical documents record the controversy between the Nestorians and the Taoists. The Nestorians were said to have enticed Taoist priests to embrace Nestorianism and in their fight for a more honorable position in religious ceremonies to have beaten Taoist priests. There was, however, no record of a Buddhist-Nestorian dispute in the Imperial Court.

The Court granted stipends to Nestorian priests whose duty was to offer prayers on behalf of the Imperial household. The Yuan Shi (Chapter 12) stated that in the fourth moon of the year 1282, Nestorian monks had received stipends from the government. We could compare this with the

stipend, called alafa, obtained by the Franciscan missionary Andrew of Perugia. The Emperor usually granted alafa to ambassadors, priests and special messengers.

Like Issu of the T'ang Dynasty, Mar Sargis contributed a great deal to the progress and expansion of Nestorianism in the Yuan Dynasty. His ancestral home was in Samarkand. His grandfather, his maternal grandfather and his father had all been court physicians. In 1268 the Emperor Kublai ordered Mar Sargis to come immediately to administer the "medicinal sherbet" and rewarded him generously. In 1277 he was appointed assistant governor of the district of Chin-kiang, on the south bank of the Yangtze. In a dream he received the divine mandate to build seven monasteries. When he awoke, feeling inspired, he resigned office and devoted himself to building the monasteries. First he gave up his house and built the Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery. Then he obtained the Shu-tin hill and Hsi-ching and built two monasteries -the Yun-chan and the Chu-ming-shan. Below the two monasteries, he provided a free cemetery for his fellow-Nestorians. Again at Kai-sha, he built the Ssu-tu-an Monastery. Next by the side of his first monastery, he built the Kan-chuan Monastery.

Apparently Mar Sargis was not an oppressive leader, for a history of Chin-kiang of the Chih-shun period tells us that in using "continually the labors of a]1 these masons and carpenters he did not oppress any member of the common people." We do know, however, that sometimes he took over ancient Buddhist monasteries and turned them into Nestorian churches .

Marco Polo in describing the beauty and splendour of Hangchow (Quansai) added, "There is, for so great a number of people, no more than one beautiful church of Nestorian Christians." This monastic church was built about 1281 by Mar Sargis. The Ta-pu-hsing monastery stood on the north side of the street which leads from the east to the Chieun Bridge, occupying a corner site bounded on the south by the street and on the east by the Ta Tung Shan Lane. The monastery did not long survive the fall of the Mongols. According to the book Travels on the West Lake, published in the Ming Dynasty in 1542, a memorial hall to three men of letters , all members of the eminent literary Hsieh family, was built on the site, and it was this that enabled Dr. Sturton of Hangchow Hospital to identify the exact site of the 13th century Nestorian monastery in Hangchow.

In the process of founding the Yun-shan Monastery and Chu-ming-shan Monastery, the Nestorians had destroyed Buddhist images and frescoes . The twin monasteries in Chin-shan founded in 400 A.D. were occupied by the Nestorians in 1278. But in 1290 to the joy of the Buddhist populace they were restored as Buddhist monasteries .

The most fascinating chapter in the early relations between China and the West was the pilgrimage to the West of two Nestorian monks, Sauma and Mark. Of Ongut descent, they were born in China and brought up in the Nestorian Faith. Sauma was baptized by the Metropolitan of Khanbaliq (Peking). In a theological school of Khanbaliq he studied the Bible and liturgy in Syriac. At 20 (c.1250) he renounced the world and lived in a cell near the famous Nestorian monastery in Shan Pan Shan. Mark was born in Suiyuan and had made the acquaintance of Sauma. They became close friends and about 1278 left their Chinese homeland to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

They were armed with only a letter from the Metropolitan of Khanbaliq commending them to the care of the Nestorians along their route and a permit from Kublai Khan granting them safe passage

through his vast empire. Accordingly, the two young pilgrims took the road to Persia and met the Patriarch who happened to be there. In 1280 the Patriarch made Mark the Metropolitan of Khanbaliq and Sauma the Visitor General of the Congregation of the East. He sent them back to China but the road to China was closed by war. They turned back and reached Baghdad where they learned that the Patriarch Mar Denha had died. However, they were in time to attend the burial service and the election of a new Patriarch (1281). To his utter consternation, Mark was chosen by the other bishops present to be Patriarch. They elected him not only because of his piety and learning but because he was familiar with Mongol customs and could speak the language of the Mongol rulers.

In 1284 Arghun came to the throne as Ilkhan of Persia. He decided to subjugate Syria and Palestine and capture the Holy City. If the western princes could be persuaded to take an offensive simultaneously, the Moslems would have to fight on two fronts. So he sent Sauma as Christian Ambassador to the court of the West.

Sauma's westward journey in many ways was as exciting as Marco Polo's eastward journey sixteen years earlier. But Sauma's journey had a special Christian significance. First he crossed the Black Sea to Constantinople to see the Christian Emperor. He visited Santa Sophia and was impressed with its 360 marble pillars and its high dome. From Constantinople he journeyed to Rome. The Cardinals summoned him to their presence and many questions were put before him. From Italy, Sauma visited Bordeaux and saw King Edward I of England.

We have a detailed account of Sauma's embassy in the contemporary biography of Mark, the Patriarch Yaballaha 111. Let the simple words of the biographer convey the meaning of this most memorable ecumenical encounter. "The king (Edward I) commanded Rabban Sauma to celebrate the Eucharist and he performed the glorious mysteries, and the king and his officers of State stood up and the king partook of the sacrament, and made a feast that day." Sauma returned to Rome and was received by Nicholas IV, the new Pope. Pope Nicholas, formerly head of the Franciscan order, was well aware of the importance of the East and greeted the ambassador with great warmth. It was Lent and Sauma said to the Pope, "I wish to celebrate the Eucharist so that you may see our use." The Pope gave his approval. Again let us follow the contemporary biographer's narrative. "And that day a very large number of people gathered together in order to see how the ambassador of the Mongols celebrated the Eucharist. When they had seen, they rejoiced and said, "The language is different but the use is the same."

Pope Nicholas sent Sauma back with letters to Arghun and to the Christian widow of Ahaga and with a letter to the Nestorian Patriarch confirming his patriarchal authority over all the Orientals.

However, politically speaking, the mission was a failure. With the exception of Edward I, the sovereigns of Western Europe were no longer interested in crusading expeditions. Thus Europe lost her last opportunity to recover the Holy Land through a common front with the Mongols against the Saracens. Few in Europe at that time seemed to realize the importance of the Mongol offer. Meanwhile Acre, the last Christian stronghold in the Near East, fell before the onslaught of the Moslems in 1291. In the kingdom of the Ilkhan himself, Arghun's successor had become a Moslem. Henceforth, the Mongols in Persia and in Central Asia were gradually engulfed by Moslem culture.

CHAPTER IV

Roman Catholicism in the Yuan Dynasty

In 1289 Pope Nicholas IV sent John of Monte-corvino (1247-1328) to the Court of the great Khan. John first visited Arghun at his capital at Tabriz and returned with letters from the Ilkhan . In 1291 he set out again to the East. War in Central Asia prevented him from taking the overland route. Following the sea route, he visited India and spent over a year in Madras. When he at last arrived in Khanbaliq in 1294. Kublai was dead.

He met, however, with a favourable reception from Kublai's successor Timur (1294-1307). But soon the Nestorian priests in the Imperial Court intervened. They were jealous of the growing influence of the Franciscan Mission. John of Monte corvino noted, "They have not allowed any Christians of another rite to have however small a chapel nor to publish any other doctrine than the Nestorian. " Meanwhile, John of Montecorvino had undertaken to convert Prince George, the son-in-law of the Emperor and sovereign of the Ongut Turks, who lived near the northern bend of the Yellow River. With his conversion, a large number of his tribesmen also joined the Roman Catholic Church.

The indignation of the Nestorians in the Imperial Court was such that they denounced Friar John as a spy, a magician and a deceiver of men. Prince. George was the first Chinese to receive minor orders in the Roman Catholic Church. The Yuan Shi incorporated two inscriptions by contemporary scholars as a short biography of the Prince. He was not only a distinguished commander, but was also a Confucian scholar of great promise. In his royal residence he built a Hall of Ten Thousand Scrolls where he read and discussed with fellow scholars the classics and doctrine of human nature and destiny. He married twice, first with the elder sister of the Emperor and, after her death, with the Emperor's daughter. He was killed in the great war with Kaidu in 1298 and was survived by a nine-year old son, John, who was brought up as a Catholic.

Prince George's brothers soon forsook Roman Catholicism and returned to the Nestorian fold. They brought with them the Ongut tribesmen. As John of Montecorvino noted, " His brothers who were perverse in the errors of Nestorianism perverted all those whom Prince George had converted and brought them back to their former state of schism."

We have reason to believe that there was a close connection between the death of Prince George (1298) and the building of the first Roman Catholic Church in Khanbaliq in 1299. By 1299 the tension between John of Montecorvino and the Nestorian priests at the Imperial Court must have been eased. Hence John was free to go ahead with his plan to build a church with a bell-tower. He also bought 40 pagan boys between seven and eleven years old and baptized them . He taught them Latin and the Roman Catholic rites . He wrote thirty psalters and hymnaries and two breviaries for them to sing. A few years later, eleven of the boys knew the offices . The boys sang heartily, " We sing by rote because we have no service-book. " The Emperor was pleased with the chanting and rewarded them generously.

For eleven years, John of Montecorvino, had to carry on his mission without a helper until Brother Arnold, a German of the province of Cologne, joined him. In 1305 he began a new church, situated

before the gate of the Imperial Palace, about two-and-one-half miles distant from the first church. The site was donated by Peter of Luealango, a devout merchant who had met John in Tabriz. The new church, with a red cross on top, could hold 200 Persons.

John divided the boys between the churches. They sang offices while he celebrated Mass in each church on alternate weeks. By 1306 he had already baptized about 6,000 persons. In 1307 Clement V appointed him Archbishop of Khanbaliq and sent seven more Franciscans to act as his suffragans. Of the seven only three - Gerard, Peregrine and Andrew - arrived safely in China.

It is probable that the Franciscan mission in Khanbaliq did not aim primarily at the Chinese people. Mass was celebrated according to the Latin rite in the Tartar tongue. John of Montecorvino wrote, "I have already an adequate knowledge of the Tartar language and script which is the usual language of the Tartars, and now I have translated into that language and script the whole of the New Testament and the Psalter and have had it written by this probably the most beautiful characters in the Uighur language and script was meant. Again John wrote, "I have had six pictures made from the Old Testament and New Testament for the instruction of the ignorant, and they have inscriptions in Latin, Turkish and Persian, so that all tongues may be able to read them." It is noteworthy that Chinese was not mentioned. It is evident that during his ministry John was not yet able to reach the great mass of the Chinese.

A new See of Zaitun (Chuanchow, Fukien) was founded in 1313. Friar Gerard was appointed the first Bishop. A wealthy Armenian lady built a beautiful, large church and gave it to the Diocese. After her death, she left adequate endowment to meet the needs of Bishop Gerard and the brethren that were with him. In 1318 Gerard was succeeded by Friar Peregrine. Meanwhile, Andrew of Perugia, being discontented in Khanbaliq, asked for a transfer to Zaitun. With eight horses provided by the Emperor, Andrew set out in great honour to the southern city. There he began to build a second church. He wrote, " And in a certain grove near the city at a quarter of a mile, I caused a convenient and beautiful church to be built with all offices enough for 20 brothers with four rooms, any one of which would be good enough for any prelate. "

Besides the Franciscans, the Nestorians had been working in Zaitun for a long time. There are many relics in Zaitun which have survived into modern times and can still be inspected. Recent excavators have discovered, for example, three tombstone crosses with inscriptions of Mongolian transliterations of Chinese names. One of the Nestorians buried there came originally from Shansi Province. Of the tombstone crosses, one was dated 1324, another was dated 1349.

Under the Mongols, there was a broad policy of toleration. Andrew of Perugia wrote in 1326, " We can preach freely and securely, but none of the Jews and Saracens is converted. Of the idolaters, exceedingly many are baptized, but when they are baptized, they do not adhere strictly to the Christian way. " By idolaters, Andrew apparently meant the Chinese people. Hence, at least in the See of Zaitun, there was some attempt to bring the Gospel to the Chinese.

In recent years, Christian tombstones have been found in the Shih-ha-mei quarter which is about one-fourth of a mile from the city of Chuanchow. There is every reason to believe that this was the site of Andrew of Perugia's church. Among the tombstones there is one with a Latin inscription.

Though it is in a bad state, Prof. John Foster has been able to decipher it. "Here lies buried Andrew of Perugia of the Order of Friars Minor." The date (MCCCXXII) must presumably be 1332 (MCCCXXXII), since we know that Andreŷv was alive in 1322.

Other Franciscans went to China during the 14th century. From Friar Odoric, who went to China by sea in 1321, we learn of houses of the Franciscan Order in Zaitun, Hangchow, Yuanchow, as well as in Khanbaliq. Odoric gave a vivid description of the great Khan's adoration of the Cross on his return journey to the Imperial Capital. "And when we drew near to him I placed a cross on a pole so that it could be publicly seen. I had in my hand a censer which I had brought with me. We began to sing with a loud voice saying the Veni, Creator Spiritus. While we were thus singing he heard our voices and had us called and ordered us to come to him. . . . And when we had come to him with the cross lifted up he immediately took off his helmet or cap of almost inestimable value and did reverence to the cross. I immediately put incense that I had in the censer and our Bishop took it from my hand and censed him."

Odoric was a keen observer of the contemporary scene. Among other things, we learn from him that at Yangchow alone there were three Nestorian churches . Prof. Fang Ho's study throws some light on the last years of the Franciscan mission. According to the Yuan Shi and other historic documents , the Emperor received the Frankish (~Western) embassy in the Chi-jen Palace. The messengers of the West presented the Emperor with a magnificent black horse with white hind hoofs. It at once attracted the attention of the courtiers and the literati. A Court painter was summoned to paint the horse while many poems were composed in its honour. Both Au-yang Yuan and Lu Jen among others contributed verses to the eulogy of the horse. Western sources indicate that the horse was a gift from the Pope.

Ever since the death of John of Montecorvino (1328), the Christian Alans in China had requested the Emperor to send an embassy to the Papacy. Accordingly in 1336 they started on their westward journey, armed with two letters to the Pope - one from the Emperor, the other from the Alan officials themselves. In 1338, they arrived safely in Avignon and were received by Pope Benedict XII.

In return, the Pope sent a mission to the Court in Peking. In 1339 the Franciscans sailed from Naples to Asia Minor, from which they apparently took the overland route to China. Their leader, John of Marignolli, left a journal describing their travels in Cathay. It was John of Marignolli who delivered the horse in the Imperial Palace and according to him he was accompanied by an entourage of 32 persons . They were the last Roman Catholic missionaries to visit the Imperial Court in China in the Middle Ages . John and his companions remained in Peking for four years. During that period, the Imperial Court provided them with ample food and even with servants. In 1346 he visited Hangchow, Ningpo and Chuanchow. From Chuanchow he began his long voyage home, arriving in Avignon in 1353.

According to Prof. A. C. Moule, almost the only Franciscan relic of the Mongol Period is a Latin Bible of the 13th century which was obtained at Ch'angchou in Chiang-Su by the Jesuit Father P. Philip Couplet towards the end of the 17th century and is now in the Laurentian Library at Florence still wrapped in yellow Chinese silk. Semedo in still his book The History of the Great and

Renowned Monarchy of China (1655) , reported that after 30 years of searching for early relics he had discovered a eucharistic bell with Greek inscription. In more recent years, D'Elia had discovered a 14th century chalice, probably a relic of the Franciscans.

By the middle of the 14th century the Mongol Empire in China was in a state of rapid decline and the Chinese Ming Dynasty was established in 1368. In 1362 the last Roman Catholic Bishop of Zaitun, James of Florence, was martyred, according to some reports , when the Chinese patriots recovered the city. In 1369 the Christians in Khanbaliq itself were expelled. Communications with Western Asia and Europe were cut off. Both the Roman Catholic and the Nestorian communities disappeared, partly because they were mainly foreign in membership and were too closely associated with the Mongol rulers .

Under the great Khan, not only were Nestorian and Roman Catholic priests exempted from taxation but they were richly rewarded with Imperial grants for their religious services. Andrew of Perugia, recorded explicitly, 'We obtained an alafa, from the emperor for our food and clothing. An alafa is an allowance for expenses which the emperor grants different to the envoys of princes, to orators, warriors, kinds of artists, jongleurs, paupers, and all sorts of people of all sorts of conditions. And the sum total of these allowances surpasses the revenue and expenditure of several of the kings of the Latin countries . '

Kublai Khan and his successors also employed the clergy and laity of several faiths to aid in local administration. Aliens were appointed to high offices 'as governors of provinces. As we have noted earlier, the Nestorian Christian Mar Sargis was appointed to be the assistant governor of Chin-kiang in 1277. These favours from the court naturally aroused the opposition of the Chinese scholar-officials who were seldom placed in leading positions in the administration of the provinces .

Indeed, some of the Chinese Nestorians of Ongut or Uighur descent had won great distinction in the field of philosophy and literature. They were, however, gradually absorbed into the mainstream of Chinese culture. They or their descendants became Taoist philosophers or Confucian scholars and their Nestorian identity was lost.

The collapse of the Mongol rule meant the extinction of the Nestorian church in China. By the second half of the 14th century, Nestorian Christianity in the whole of Central Asia was destroyed by the conquest of Tamerlane while the Ilkhan himself had embraced the Moslem faith. The home bases of Nestorianism were overwhelmed by the advancing Moslems, and there remained no centre in Persia or Central Asia from which missionaries might again spread the faith in the Far East. However, Roman Catholic missions, after a lapse of more than two centuries, succeeded in returning to the Chinese scene. In the work of the Jesuits in China, we witness the flowering of Christian mission in the Orient.

CHAPTER V

The Jesuits and the Early Converts

In July 1579 Ruggieri, the Jesuit missionary, arrived in Macao to learn "to read, write and speak

Chinese." This was the beginning of a new phase of Christian mission in China. Macao had then a population of ten thousand, of which the majority were Chinese. Ruggieri thus had the opportunity for intimate contacts with Chinese people.

China proper was closed to foreigners, although the Portuguese merchants were permitted to make two trading visits a year to Canton- one in the spring, the other in the autumn. In 1580 in their company Ruggieri visited China for the first time. En route to Canton, he taught the merchants the formalities of Chinese etiquette. As a result, Ruggieri won the respect of the Chinese officials and merchants. It was through his patient understanding of Chinese tradition that Ruggieri was able to make his residence in Canton and to bring Matteo Ricci with him on the historic visit in September, 1593, to Chaoching, the capital of Kwangtung Province. Dressed as Buddhist monks, they were presented before the prefect Wang P'an. "We are religious who serve the King of Heaven," they stated. No mention was made of their intention to preach Christianity. Such a claim, as the Jesuits knew, would jeopardize their mission. The prefect gave them permission to reside in Chaoching on condition that they would not be joined by other westerners and that they would conform to the Chinese ways of life.

In Chaoching, the Jesuit missionaries were known as "western monks" or "barbarian monks." At first they met malicious attacks by the mob. This was not surprising for Buddhist monks were in general not highly respected by the common people during the late Ming Dynasty. Moreover, the gentry were hostile to the two Jesuits and suspected that they were spies from Macao. Fortunately, the prefect intervened and they were able to settle down in Chaoching.

Toward the end of their first year in Chaoching (1584), they began to translate the Ten Commandments. The Chinese officials were pleased to find in them a doctrine which generally conformed to reason and Chinese tradition.

They soon rendered the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria and the Apostles' Creed into Chinese. Meanwhile, Ricci had made a map of the world with Chinese annotations. Even before the arrival of the Jesuits, scholars in the Ming Dynasty had taken a keen interest in the study of geography. Two large scholarly works on the empire and neighbouring countries appeared in 1456 and 1461. Also, provincial and district gazetteers continued to be published in great numbers. Ricci's map of the world came as a new revelation. He had studied geography under Christopher Clavius and his map was easily the most authoritative that had ever appeared in China. In October 1584, Ricci had it printed and tactfully placed China in the central position as befitting the Middle Kingdom. Wang P'an, delighted with the work, gave copies to all his friends.

When Ricci journeyed northward to Shaochou (1589), he met more Chinese officials who were open-minded and interested in new ideas. The ground was ready for the planting of the seed. There in Northern Kwangtung he made the acquaintance of Chu Ju-k'uei the well-known scholar. For two years Chu came to Ricci's residence for lessons in mathematics and astronomy.

In 1594 Ricci studied the Confucian classics under a Chinese tutor. He attempted to write Chinese essays and began to seek in Chinese philosophy points of contact with Christian doctrine. "If I love God," he wrote, "How can I not be willing to be a student again even as I grow old? " Upon the advice of Chu Ju-k'uei and the approval of Valignano, Ricci and his associates changed their dress

to that of Confucian scholars so that they might be able to deal with the gentry as equals.

It is not for us to trace the journeys of Ricci. It is enough to state that he gained two permanent bases in China—one in Nanchang (1595), the other in Nanking (1599). In both cities, his knowledge of mathematics and geography won him many friends among the scholar-officials. His informal talks on western science attracted large crowds to his mission residence while his mastery of the Confucian classics never failed to arouse respect and admiration. As the great convert Hsu Kuang-chi later wrote :

"I found Li Ma-tau (Ricci) by chance in Nanking and after a short conversation realized that he was the most learned man in the world Later his fame spread throughout the Middle Kingdom and the wisest and most famous men went to Amidst troubles and adversity, during conversation or at dinner, it is impossible to find in his talk a single word contrary to the great principles of loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety, nor one which does not bring peace of mind and strengthen the moral principles."

It was, however, not enough for the Jesuits to qualify themselves as Chinese scholars holding their own in the company of the intellectual elite. Few Chinese graduates would be converted by conversation alone. Ricci and his friends, therefore, took up the work of Christian apologists.

As early as 1581 Ruggieri had written a Latin catechism and his Chinese associates had helped to translate it. Three years later a graduate of Fukien with the help of Ricci improved the style and prepared it for publication. Twelve hundred copies were printed in November and the book was widely distributed in China, the Philippines and Annam. The True Account of God (Tien Chu Chih-Lu) was the first Chinese book ever written by a Western missionary. A revised edition of the book appeared after 1637 under the title, True Account of the Holy Catholic Religion. In his introduction Ruggieri wrote: "It is not difficult to follow the holy religion, You do not have to practice Ch'an meditation. Neither have you to abandon your walk of life. All you have to do is to worship God with deep reverence and steadfast faith. "

In its sixteen chapters, Ruggieri discussed the revelation of God, the immortality of the soul, the Ten Commandments and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The Papacy and the hierarchy were not mentioned for fear that the Chinese officials would think that Catholicism had its political overtones. The book, however, exerted little influence on the official-scholars of the age. The style is prosaic while the transliterations of theological terms such as Sacrament or the Holy Spirit are rather obscure. Ruggieri and Ricci found that the Chinese language did not contain words for some Christian concepts. As Tertullian contributed to the making of a Latin theological terminology, so Ricci and Ruggieri endowed the Chinese Church with many new terms. But Tertullian at least had a Latin Bible to help him. The early Jesuit missionaries had a far more arduous task in hand. They had to start Chinese Christian literature afresh, as the Nestorian monument was not discovered until 1625 and the Franciscan mission in the Mongol period had left no Chinese tracts behind.

Of the seven sacraments, only Baptism was at all developed and indeed mentioned. It was Ruggieri 's wish to expound the other sacraments in a sequel to his first book. As he explained, "The field of the seven sacraments s vast. We cannot exhaust it in a few words. We have to wait until the future when we shall have occasion to explain the sacraments more fully. Now we must

limit our attention to one of the most important of them, namely Baptism."

It was in Nanchang that the first draft of Ricci's important book, *The True Doctrine of the Heavenly Religion*, was completed (1593). Nanchang was a center of Confucian philosophy and Ricci showed his manuscript to Chang Pan-ching, the principal of the White Deer Academy which had as its founder the eminent philosopher of the Sung Dynasty, Chu Hsi (1130-1220). Chang was pleased with Ricci's writing and urged him to publish it. The first edition was accordingly published in 1595. While in Peking, Ricci revised the whole book. He also secured the help of the well-known scholar Feng Ying-king in the polishing of the style. The book appeared in 1601 under the new title, *The True Doctrine of God*.

As Feng Ying-king wrote in his preface, "Tien Chu Shih I took the form of a dialogue between Ricci with his associates from the Far West and the Chinese scholars. Tien Chu is the Lord of Heaven. Shih is substantial, that is, it is not vain. . . ." This book fully quoted the six classics to illustrate the truth. It also fiercely denounced the error of vain doctrines. Indeed Ricci traced his arguments from the Chinese classics just as Christian apologists in Europe made use of Greek and Latin philosophers. His task was to present Christianity as the fulfillment of Confucian teaching. Further more, he saw the real threat to the scholar's acceptance of the Christian way in the influences of Buddhism which, he maintained, had corrupted the pristine and pure teaching of the Chinese. Ricci was aware that critics would point out that there was a strong resemblance between Christianity and Buddhism on the doctrine of Heaven and Hell. His reply to the critics is of special interest.

Like Clement of Alexandria, Ricci was particularly attracted by the theory of plagiarism. As Clement insisted that the Greek philosophers had stolen their ideas from the Old Testament, so Ricci argued that the Buddhists had plagiarized the Judeo-Christian writings. He said, "The religion of Tien Chu is a very ancient religion. As early Buddhists lived near the West, they must have heard of its religious doctrine. Anyone who would spread his own sectarian views must incorporate three or four orthodox sayings in his system, otherwise who would believe him? The Buddhists, therefore, borrowed the Catholic doctrine of Heaven and Hell for the propagation of their heterodoxy. We preach, on the other hand, the true doctrine. How can it be set aside? Before the birth of the Buddha, the religion of Tien Chu had already taught that those who follow The Way will enjoy the eternal bliss of Heaven and avoid the eternal damnation of Hell. We believe in the immortality of the soul."

In his open attack on Buddhism, Ricci had sown the seeds of resentment among the Buddhist monks. Even before his death, we witness the beginnings of a regular flow of fierce denunciations of Catholicism from ardent Buddhists which was soon to swell into a torrent.

Ricci not only appealed to the authority of ancient Chinese texts but also to the light of natural wisdom. As Feng Ying-king wrote, "Matteo Ricci has traveled eighty thousand miles observing the nine heavens and fathoming the nine depths without amiss. What we have not examined, he has clearly examined. Therefore what he has said is firmly established. " In his book, Ricci presented Christianity as a universal religion, based firmly upon natural philosophy.

In 1606 Li Chih-tso published a new edition of *The True Doctrine of God* and contributed an introduction which reflected Ricci's main thesis perfecting Confucianism and refuting Buddhism. He

wrote, "Father Ricci's learning is based upon the reverence of Heaven. His discourse on Heaven shows his deep understanding. When he sees that people of the world blaspheme Heaven and worship the Buddha, he denounces their errors He points out that although people know they must serve their father and mother, they do not know that God is their Great Parent. While they know that law and order are vital to a nation, they fail to understand that the reign of God in Heaven is the universal order. In ancient times the West had no contact with the Middle Kingdom. It had not learned of the religion of Fu Hsi and Wen Wong, the Duke of Chou and of Confucius. Nevertheless, in the worship of Heaven they conform to the teaching of our classics. True, the conservatives among us would not believe the doctrine of Heaven and Hell. Yet the rewards of the righteous and the punishment of evil-doers are constantly taught by our Confucian scholars."

To Ricci it became increasingly clear that the best hope of spreading Christianity was to ally himself with the Confucians. Here in China the Western Church was confronted with an ancient civilization. She must recognize and tolerate all that was best in China and introduce only her essential message, her revelation and theology. She must consider Western philosophy and ritual as unessential or, at best, secondary.

To be a Christian was not to break the continuity of culture of one's own country. Ricci and some of the Jesuits pointed out that certain Confucian ceremonies such as the veneration of ancestors were not incompatible with Christian practice. Ricci concluded that the rites to ancestors and Confucius were pious, not superstitious, ceremonies and could therefore be tolerated.

There was great flexibility in the presentation of doctrine and in liturgy and church order. On March 20th, 1615, the Jesuits obtained from Pope Paul V a dispensation to celebrate the Mass in the vernacular. Moreover, the Jesuits were permitted to retain the hat in the act of consecration, since it was a symbol of respect in Chinese rituals.

Yet Ricci's thesis was not without its critics within the Church. Some denounced Ricci's approach as making Catholicism almost a natural religion. One critic went so far as to remark, "It is probable that his Chinese friends saw in it only a special kind of Buddhism." This was, of course, very far from the truth. Ricci realized that it was futile to discuss the doctrine of the Holy Trinity or even the Incarnation with the scholar-officials in the first encounter. As he explained, "This does not treat of all the mysteries of our holy faith but only of certain principles especially such as can be proved or understood with the light of natural reason." He added, "It prepares the way for those other mysteries 1'vhich depend upon faith and revealed wisdom. "

Ricci's theology of accomodation has been vindicated at the Second Vatican Council. Its document on Ecumenism bids the faithful search out the indications of truth in the *praeparatio evangelica* of pre-Christian religions.

The Jesuits used their scientific knowledge as a means of approach to Chinese scholars. The conversion of a number of notable mandarins testifies to their success, but the question is raised whether the conversion of these scholar - officials was genuine. Did they accept the basic Christian tenets or were their interests centered primarily in practical subjects - in hydraulics and geography, in mathematics and astronomy and even in military defense? Moreover, the Chinese intellectuals

were

well-known for their religious tolerance. Did their baptism mean only a manifestation of their spirit of syncretism?

At first glance, there seems to be evidence to support these views. Soon after his conversion Hsu Kuang-chi worked continuously with Ricci translating works on mathematics . As a result, the *Elements of Geometry* was completed in 1610 and published in 1611. But Hsu's scientific project did not stop there. He wanted the Jesuits to translate not only their books on mathematics , but everything that had been written in Europe on any kind of science. After Ricci's death, Hsu persuaded De Ursis to write a thesis on hydraulics . Hsu rendered De Ursis' notes into elegant literary style. In 1612 there appeared *Western Water Hydraulics*, the first book of its kind in the Chinese language.

In 1613 Hsu opened an experimental farm in Tientsin, using new methods of irrigation a cultivation. He also had farms in Shanghai and Peking. These experiments helped him to finish his monumental study, *Complete Works on Agricultural Administration* (1612-1628), which covers a vast field from sericulture and horticulture to hydraulics. It had numerous editions.

Another scholar, Li Chih-tsao, with a keen interest in geography, made the acquaintance of Ricci. Endowed with an eager and open mind, Li undertook under Ricci's guidance the study of geography and Western science. In 1602 he published a new edition of Ricci's world map embellished with poems by a number of leading scholars. Furthermore, Ricci gave him lessons in mathematics every day which paved the way for the founding of a lasting friendship. Yet both HSLI and Li were not merely students of science. They were, above all, dedicated Christians, regular in religious practice and steadfast in faith.

It was not until 1600 that Hsu first met Ricci in Nanking. It was a brief encounter but Ricci succeeded in planting the seeds of Christian faith in Hsu's heart. In 1603 Hsu returned to Nanking and visited the Jesuits there. John de Rocha presented him with two books - an exposition of the Ten Commandments and Ricci's True Doctrine of God. Hsu took the books home and spent the night reading them. The following day he called on De Rocha and asked for baptism. The latter advised him to wait for eight days, during which he would receive further instruction in the faith. Hsu was baptized on January 15, 1603.

While in Peking, Hsu was constantly in Ricci's company. For three years (1604-1607) Ricci taught him Christian doctrine as well as geometry and astronomy. Hsu stressed that Ricci's important contributions were not in science. He called mathematics and physics Ricci's small learning while his great learning was the cultivation of one's soul and the worship of Heaven. Hsu stated that if it could be shown that Ricci's small learning was firmly established, it followed that people could without hesitation follow his great learning.

Hsu was well-known for his witness in Christian learning and was noted for his unaffected humility and courage, ever ready to sacrifice his career in defence of his faith. If he worked hard in the realm of science, he practiced the life of prayer with equal dedication.

But the mission did not develop without problems. In May 1616, Ch'en Ts'ui opened his attack on the Catholic mission with a memorial to the throne. He wrote, "In recent years the cunning barbarians have come from afar. In the capital there are Pantoja, De Ursis and others. In Nanking there are Vagnoni, Emmanuel Diaz and others. Besides there are barbarians in many provincial capitals and cities. They call their religion the religion of the Tien Chu. Observers point out that many people have followed their way. Their pernicious doctrine has penetrated into the hearts of the common people Even the literati believe in their ways."

Ch'en petitioned the Emperor three times denouncing Catholicism as the White Lotus religion -a heterodox sect in disguise. Soon he secured the support of the President of the Board of Rites. Hsu Kuang-chi at once presented a counter-memorial to the throne defending the Jesuits against the charges. It is significant for the light it throws upon Hsu's Christian character. Hsu recalled his years of intimate association with the missionaries and stated frankly that he knew them well. "They are not only in deportment and in heart wholly free from aught which can excite suspicion, but they are indeed worthies and sages; their doctrines are most correct; their manner of life most strict, their learning most extensive; their hearts most true; their views most steady."

In spite of Hsu's plea, the Emperor at last Ordered the suppression of the Catholic mission. Pantoja and De Ursis followed Hsu's advice and left Peking. Longobardi and Sambiasa went into hiding in Ricci's cemetery. The Church in Nanking was demolished and the Jesuit missionaries there were beaten. Many Chinese converts were arrested. One of these, Hsia Yu, died in prison, thus earning the honour of being the first Roman Catholic martyr in the Chinese Church.

Fortunately, the influence of Ch'en Ts 'ui did not spread further than Nanking. In Hangchow, Shanghai and Nanchang the Roman Catholics were safe. Hsu wrote to his son, "Hangchow, I think, is safe. If the Fathers from Nanking come to Shanghai, be sure to prepare the Western garden for them to stay.

Nothing can be more revealing than one's personal letters. We can appreciate Hsu Kuangchi's faith, simple and strong, by reading his letters to his friends and family. Hsu wrote to a friend, "Tien Chu is the same as Shangti in the Confucian classics. Once we believe in His existence, we must observe His commandments and obey his doctrines as a son obeys his father or a subject obeys his sovereign. This is true in China as in foreign lands. Now in a country, the sovereign can be seen only by the courtiers and the ministers in the Imperial Capital. His subjects living by the sea shore or in the wilderness have no opportunity of seeing him. Although the sovereign is not seen, his subjects must believe in his existence. If they infringe upon his laws and regulations, they will suffer penalt), in the judicial courts. Then the belief in his existence, the remorse and the regret are already too late. The essence of Christianity lies in repentance and newness of life. Even in the last moments of one's life, one can still repent and avoid eternal damnation. If one is elderly, one must make early preparations As you are good enough to 'ask me questions, I consider this to be a golden opportunity. To discuss this fully with you, will enable us to save not only you but through you many others. "

Hsu's letter to his son is even more moving: "Your maternal grandfather is dead, having failed to

overcome his illness. On hearing this, I felt the pangs of deep sorrow. As his son-in-law, I owe him an immense debt of gratitude. He has aided me with affection and generosity. It is fortunate that he has seen me established. But our family is poor and the official increment is low, how can I ever repay him? I am, however, grateful that he has embraced the Faith. When he died, alas, no priest was nearby and there was no chance of his doing penance and receiving absolution. I do not know whether or not you have asked Wu Lung to explain to him the meaning of penance in his dying hour? This is of utmost urgency. In one's last moments even if no priest is available, one must make one's own confession. Any true repentance will receive forgiveness." These two letters, among others, are surely testimonies of Hsu's Christian faith.

Li Chih-tsoo also proved to be a staunch sup-porter of the Catholic cause. In 1611 he invited Cataneo and Trigault to Hangchow to establish the church there. On May 8th, Mass was celebrated for the first time in the house-church, Li's residence in the city. Under Li's influence, another eminent scholar Yang Ting-yun joined the church. Mean while the famous monk Lin Chi of Hangchow launched his attack on Catholicism. He wrote, "An old gentleman said, 'A foreigner is preaching the religion of Tien Chu. Why do you not refute it?' I replied, 'To teach people to reverence Heaven is a good act. Why should there be any denunciation?' The old gentleman however said, 'They want to change our customs and ways of life. They want to attack Buddhism and ridicule its doctrines. Many of our good friends and men of virtue have followed their way. Alas, those who follow the way are gentleman of good repute. They are respected by the populace and their example could lead many people astray!' " By "gentlemen of good repute Lin Chi must have meant the eminent citizens of Hangchow, Li Chih-tsoo and Yang Ting-yun. In 1616 when the Jesuit missionaries were being persecuted, some of them took refuge in the residences of Li and Yang.

In the midst of political turmoil, Li wrote an essay in praise of Christianity and of the Jesuits. Six years earlier, upon the death of Ricci, Li had drawn up a memorial addressed to the Emperor requesting that, in view of the merits of Li Ma-tau, the Westerner who became Chinese, a worthy burial ground be assigned to him. Likewise, Yang Ting-yun in his last days asked for pen and ink to write down his confession of the Faith. His family tried to intervene. Yang replied, "The Holy Religion is deep and mysterious. People fail to understand its truth. I happen to know its meaning. Let me write down my understanding of the Faith and depart. How can I keep silence?"

Indeed these eminent scholars Hsu, Li, Yang and many like them had fulfilled Ricci's hopes for a Church comprised of real Christians. "We desired to build something solid, so that converts would answer to the name of Christian."

CHAPTER VI

Christianity in the Early Ching Dynasty

The last Ming Dynasty aspirants and partisans used the southern coast as their stronghold. The fugitive court was strongly influenced by the Jesuits and outstanding converts like Pang Tien-shau and Chu Shih-ssu. The partisans strengthened the defenses with the aid of cannons obtained from the Portuguese. In 1648 they succeeded in recovering all the southern provinces with the

exception of Fukien. But the successful resistance of the Ming army broke down at last in 1650. The Prince of Kuei fled from Canton and Chaoching and then to Wuchow and eventually to Kweichow province. Meanwhile Pang Tien-shau led the Imperial house-hold to the Catholic faith. The Ming Empress was baptized under the name of Anna and the Empress Dowager under the name of Helena. In 1648 a son was born to the Imperial family and he was given the name of Constantine at his baptism.

However the Ming partisans had reached the last stage of rapid disintegration. ' The ill-fated Prince of Kuei fled to Burma while the little Constantine fell into Manchu hands.

The close association of the Jesuit missionaries with the fugitive Ming Court might well have led to dire consequences for the future of the Catholic mission in view of the ultimate victory of the Manchu forces. But this was not to be. For while in the South and the Southwest, the efforts of Jesuits like Koffler and Boym in aiding the Ming court collapsed, in Peking a more outstanding Jesuit, Adam Schall, won the favour of the Manchu Emperor. He was entrusted with the important and exacting task of preparing the calendar and he gained access to the precincts of the Imperial Palace. Meanwhile the rise of the Jesuits in the Ching court was watched with grave concern by some scholar-officials, of whom the chief exponent was Yang Kuang-hsien (1597-1669).

A native of Anhwei, Yang earned his fame for his bold censure of a high official toward the end of the Ming Dynasty. Now under the Ching Emperors, he rose to prominence as an antagonist of Christianity. In 1659 he launched his anti-Christian campaign by publishing a book, Essays on Exposing Heterodoxy. Six years later it was followed by his book Pu-Te-Yi (I could not do otherwise), which was destined to exert a very wide influence. What provoked him to write the latter treatise was the publication in 1664 of a pamphlet by Li Tsu-po under the title A Summary Record of the Early Worship of God. Li was a Catholic convert and a disciple of Adam Schall.

According to him, man had originated in Judea. A branch of the primitive human family had migrated to China in the time of Fu Hsi or even earlier. They brought with them the heavenly religion-the worship of Cod. That the Christian God had been worshipped by the Chinese people is testified by the Book of History and the Book of Poetry and the four books of the Confucian classics. But this worship, the Heavenly religion, had declined in the warring period and had been lost altogether during the Tsin Dynasty when many books, important classics, and historical documents were burned. Since then there had been an eclipse of the true religion until it was revived by the Nestorians and still later by Ricci.

In reading Li's thesis, Yang's anger knew no bounds. He said, "According to Li's book, our China is nothing but an offshoot of Judea; our ancient rulers, sages and teachers were but the descendants of a heterodox sect, and our doctrines no more than the remnants of a heretical religion. Is there no limit to foolishness ? "

Yang was also infuriated by the censor Hsu Chi-chien's preface, which lent weight to Li's writing. Two months after it was published, Li's preface was widely read among scholars. Yang could not afford to wait. In April 1665 he wrote a letter to Hsu denouncing the eminent statesman.

In his preface, Hsu had accused the Buddhists and the Taoists of ignoring the relationships

between ruler and subject, father and son, and had stated that even Confucians were not above reproach. Now Yang, an ardent Confucian, did not hesitate to ally himself with the Buddhists and Taoists and come to their defence for he saw in Christianity the chief menace to the Chinese way of life. In refuting Christianity Yang appealed to the authority of reason, common sense and the Chinese classics.

He chose to attack Christianity on political as well as on doctrinal grounds. In China. Christian missionaries had never enjoyed a secure legal position and Yang took the opportunity to ascribe motives of political subversion to the Jesuits. He knew how to play upon the fears of the scholar-officials. He called their attention to the foreigners who occupied positions of influence in Peking and those who were scattered over all the provinces , with the exception of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kansu, accusing them of plotting against the Imperial Government and drawing maps of the Empire with details of roads, canals and fortifications.

In retrospect, his accusations appear to rest on flimsy foundations. Yet his doctrinal arguments seem to rest on firmer ground.

Yang's anti-Christian writings reveal that he was gifted with a vigorous and acute mind and that he was familiar with the rudiments of Christian doctrine and the life of Christ as presented in the Gospels. The crucifixion was one of the targets for his bitter attack. Indeed, the cross was a stumbling block not only in the days of St. Paul but also in the days of the Jesuits in China. Yang accused Ricci of suppressing the doctrine which was later unwittingly exposed by Schall. He said, "Ricci in his account of Jesus indicated that on the completion of his ministry he ascended to Heaven. But Ricci failed to mention that Jesus had been sentenced to death. The gentry of the whole empire were fooled. This is why we say Ricci was a great deceiver. His disciple Schall 's sagacity was much inferior to his. Schall unwittingly exposed the secret in the books and pictures which he presented to the Emperor. When I read his books. I wrote at once to refute him. How could a criminal in his own country, once his teaching came to China, be hailed as the sage who created Heaven? "

We can easily see that Yang's knowledge of the Jesuits' writings was far from comprehensive. As early as 1584 Ruggieri with the help of Ricci published the book True Account of the Holy Religion. It contained the following passage about the Passion, " Jesus, when he was 33 years old, of his own accord was crucified on the cross to redeem the souls of mankind. One may inquire if God is omniscient, then why was Jesus ignorant of the people's plot against Himself? If God is omnipotent, then why was Jesus unable to avoid people's inflicting death upon Him? Our answer is, thousands of years before the Nativity, the Lord of Heaven foretold through prophets and sages that he would suffer. After the incarnation, he told his disciples of His Passion in great detail. How can we say that he did not know? He accepted death in order to redeem man from his sins. This was the purpose of His life on earth."

Also, in 1635 Aleni published a Life of Christ with ,illustrations including the Crucifixion.

Yang's anti-foreignism led him to attack not only Western religion but also Western science as represented by Schall's work in the Bureau of Astronomy. Beginning in 1660 he filed charges

against Schall and his calendar. An inscription on the calendar, "In accordance with the new Western method," particularly hurt his pride and cultural patriotism. By stressing this he obtained allies among the officials in the Bureau who, owing to the rise of Schall and his associates, found themselves out of favour in the Imperial Court. Yang's accusations, however, were repeatedly ignored until the death of Emperor Shun-chih in 1664. This marked the turning point in Schall's career for Yang succeeded in winning the support of Oboi, one of the regents.

In September 1664, Yang charged Schall not only with errors in preparing the astronomical calendar but with selecting a date and a time of ill-omen for the burial of the infant prince (Hsian-hsien) in 1658, thus causing the early death of the Emperor Shun-chih. For the first time the court, under the influence of Oboi, took Yang seriously. On November 12th Schall and his associates were sent to prison. For six months the prisoners were chained to wooden posts. Early in January 1665, Schall was sentenced to death. The other three Jesuits Verbiest, Buglio and de Magalhaes were to be flogged and banished from the Empire. Meanwhile a solar eclipse was anticipated. The Jesuits worked out the calculations while the Court astronomers failed. The crucial test resulted in a triumph for the missionaries. Nevertheless, the judicial hearings continued. But an earthquake struck Peking and the trial was adjourned. On May 18th, 1665 the four Jesuits were released but five of Schall's Chinese associates including Li Tsu-po were executed. In August Schall died. In September all Jesuits were banished to Canton where they were left in detention until 1671. This proved to be only a temporary eclipse for the Jesuit mission and soon Verbiest and his associates returned to greater influence in the Court of Peking.

The Rites Controversy occupies a most important page in the history of the Chinese Church from the middle 17th century to the early 18th century. It was not only a question of rites and terminology. On a deeper level it was also a question of adherence to Western traditions or adaptation to Chinese ways of life and assimilation of the indigenous culture. We can trace its origin to the days of Ricci. Ricci believed that Tien Chu, Tien or Shang-ti were adequate expressions for God. But even among the Jesuits there were some who did not approve of Ricci's terminology. Some wondered whether the Chinese Tien perhaps meant the material sky and Shang-ti meant an anthropomorphized God. When Longobardi assumed the office of Superior in 1610 he urged the Visitor Francisco Pasio to re-examine the question of terminology and rites. The Visitor consulted the scholarly converts like Iisu Kuang-chi, Li Chih-tsao, and Yang Ting-yun who all endorsed Ricci's position. By 1663, however, Longobardi not only adhered to his own strong views but rejected both terms Tien Chu and Shang-ti. He held out instead for a phoneticized form of the Latin term Deus. This at once drew protests from two distinguished Jesuits, Aleni and Semedo. As we all know, the term Tien Chu has been adopted officially by the Roman Catholic Church.

As for the question of rites, the Jesuits in China, after long consultations, while permitting Christian scholars to take part in simple ceremonies accompanying the awarding of the degree of Hsiu-tsai, did not allow them to participate in the solemn Confucian rites where, according to Le Favre, "The essence of sacrifice (is) strictly understood." On the other hand, the Jesuits permitted their converts to participate in ancestral rites on condition that the burning of paper money should not be allowed; nor should Christians direct any prayer or petition to the dead or make any offering to the departed. It is noteworthy that while Longobardi stood firm in his opposition to Ricci's terminology, he agreed with his fellow Jesuits about the rites.

All these questions, quietly debated in conferences , were brought out into the public forum with the advent of the mendicants.

In November 1634, Francisco Dias, a Dominican, and Francisco de la Madre de Dias, a Franciscan, arrived in Fukien. They based their hasty judgments of the Jesuits' policy of accomodation upon their contacts with illiterate Christians in a few rural communities. Under the direction of Antonio a Santa Maria and De Morales, they prepared a report lodging charges against the Jesuits. They drew the conclusion that the Jesuits had compromised the uniqueness of the faith and had presented a pseudo-Christianity to the new converts . Henceforth, the issue was brought into the open.

Of these mendicants, De Morales was the chief spokesman and the keenest critic of the Jesuits' policy. He was supported by the Archbishop of Manila and the Bishop of Cebu. In 1640 De Morales submitted to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith a series of questions on the rites. The rites in question were so described that there was little doubt that the Congregation would condemn them. In September 1645, a decree of the Congregation banned the rites. The Jesuits were fully aware that they had been misrepresented by De Morales. They sent their learned member Martin Martini to Rome to explain the rites as permitted by the Jesuit Mission in China. The result was that in March 1656, another decree permitted Chinese Christians to practice the rites under the specific conditions laid down by the Jesuits.

This favourable decree by no means ended the dispute. Missionaries of other Orders were still aiming at the termination of the Jesuits ' policy of accomodation. In 1693, the French Vicar Apostolic Charles Ivlaigrot issued peremptory orders that the terms Tien and Shang-ti were not to be used of God and that the customary rites for the dead were to be banned. Maigrot further stated that any description of Confucianism should be carefully worded; such a saying as "Confucius' rituals to the spirits are cultural rather than religious" was misleading. His pastoral letter was forwarded to Rome.

Meanwhile in 1706 the Jesuits in Peking referred to the Emperor K'ang Hsi for his opinion on the subject. Surely, they thought, the Emperor was the best authority on the meaning of Chinese terms and rites. K'ang Hsi obliged with a statement to the effect that the Chinese people kept their ancestral tablets to express their sense of gratitude for parental care and upbringing. The little birds and the young animals on losing their mothers cried for several days. How much more should man, the crown of creation, be moved in his inner being and express his feelings accordingly? As to Heaven, K'ang Hsi wrote, "It is not the material sky. When an official addresses a memorial to the throne expressing his sense of gratitude, he refers to the Emperor as Your Majesty's Terrace or Steps or when an official passes by the Throne he gives it his due respects . All these are to express one's loyalty and respect. You find the same rite everywhere. If one draws the conclusion that the terrace and the steps of the Imperial Palace are only made by craftsmen, can we then decline to pay our respects? The reverence of Heaven rests on the same idea. To call Heaven Shang-ti is the same as to call the Emperor Wan-sui or Huang-shang. The names might be different but the sense of respect is one.

But this pagan intervention in theological matters was exactly what the Congregation for the

Propagation of the Faith and the Holy Office resented. On November 20, 1704, a decree of the Holy Office banned the rites. Only the term Tien Chu might be used of God. There should be no Confucian or ancestral rites. Ancestral tablets might be kept, provided that they had nothing on them except the monogram of the departed. In churches, there should be no tablets with the words "Reverence Heaven."

Meanwhile in December 1705 the Papal Legate Charles= Maillard de Tournon came to Peking. His arrival made the situation worse, since K'ang Hsi had little but contempt for this Legate who was familiar with Chinese culture and ignorant of the Chinese language.

K'ang Hsi had commented on Maigrot, "Being ignorant of the Chinese language, he has yet the audacity to discuss Chinese affairs." De Tournon erred gravely, in the Emperor's opinion, when he asked Maigrot to be his consultant on Chinese traditions. In December 1706, the Emperor issued a decree stating that only those missionaries who swore to accept the rules laid down by Ricci, would be permitted to remain in the Empire; on so doing they would receive an imperial document granting them toleration.

While in Nanking, de Tournon, in reply to the Emperor's edict, proclaimed the decree of the Holy Office of 1704 and added his own comments. This was, of course, deeply resented by the Emperor as an intolerable interference. Four of the bishops and many missionaries, however, applied for and received the imperial permit to stay. But de Tournon and Maigrot, like many others, were expelled from the Empire. The Legate died in Macao on June 8th, 1710.

On March 19th, 1715, Clement XI in the Bull *Ex illa die* reaffirmed the prohibition of the Holy Office (1704) in more solemn form. Meanwhile the Holy Office in Rome and the Imperial Court in Peking had gone to such extremes that even the more conciliatory policy of the new Papal Legate, Carlo Ambrosius Mezzabarba could not draw them to a closer understanding.

In December 1720, when K'ang Hsi had occasion to read the Chinese translation of the Bull, he added his own rescript. "In reading this document, one can only say that the little men of Western countries are in no position to discuss the great ways of China. Alas, no Westerner can master the Chinese classics. Their conversation and their opinions often provoke laughter. Now as I read this foreign subject's declaration, it is indeed very much akin to the heresy and sectarianism of the Buddhist monks and Taoist priests. There is no more striking example of sheer ignorance. Henceforth, no Westerner shall preach in the Middle Kingdom. We shall prohibit them in order to avoid further trouble."

Mezzabarba, in reading K'ang Hsi's rescript, which was written in his own handwriting, realized that it was futile to make any further attempt at reconciliation. Sadly he left Peking on March 3rd, 1721, and sailed from Macao for Europe on December 9th. Though some Jesuits succeeded in remaining in China, it was evident that the golden age of the Jesuit mission in China was over - much to the loss of the Chinese people and of Christendom.

CHAPTER VII

Leung Faat and the Religion of the Taipings

On September 4th, 1807, Robert Morrison (1782-1834) arrived in Macao in an American ship after a voyage of 113 days from New York. His prospects, on arrival, were scarcely encouraging. On one hand, foreigners, except employees of the trading companies, were forbidden to reside in China. On the other hand, Morrison found that the Roman Catholic authorities in Macao looked upon his residence there with misgiving. He was, however, fortunate in securing accommodation in the American Consulate in Canton. Later he moved to the residence of two American friends of an American Company. Morrison engaged a Chinese tutor to extend his knowledge of Chinese.

In 1809 he accepted an appointment as translator to the East India Company, not without hesitation. He feared that the new post might divert his attention from the conversion of China to which he was dedicated. However, as an employee of the company he secured both the right to reside in Canton and his living expenses.

He was studious and soon was proficient enough in Chinese to try his hand at translation. In 1810 he published his translation of the Acts of the Apostles. However in 1812 the Imperial edict made the printing in Chinese of Christian books a capital crime. Christianity was held as a menace to Chinese tradition as it "neither holds spirits in veneration nor ancestors in reverence.

The year 1814 witnessed two important events- the making of the first Chinese Protestant convert and the completion of the translation of the New Testament. Tsae Ko was baptized on July 16th, 1814 at " a spring of water issuing from the foot of a lofty hill by the seaside away from human observation." For the translation of the New Testament, Morrison acknowledged the help he had received from the manuscript of a Roman Catholic priest which he found in the British Museum. Even so he had to surmount many linguistic obstacles before completing his own translation. He wrote to the Associate Secretary of the Bible Society, "Allow me to note that I give this translation to the world not as a perfect translation. That some sentences are obscure, that other sentences might be better rendered, I suppose to be a matter of course in any translation made by a foreigner, and in particular in a translation of the sacred Scriptures where paraphrase is not to be admitted. All who know me will believe the honesty of my intention. I have done my best."

That Morrison's translation was experimental is borne out by his associate, Leung Faat's appraisal. " The style of the Chinese translation of the Bible is far from being flowing. The translation is sometimes verbose, sometimes the grammatical structure has been reversed, and sometimes rather archaic terms are used so that the meaning is rather obscure. The doctrine of the Bible itself is already profound and mysterious enough. Now in addition to this we have a difficult style. No wonder people find it hard to understand."

As early as 1814, a year after his arrival, William Milne wrote about the difficulty of translating the Bible into Chinese. "To acquire the Chinese language is a work for men with bodies of brass, lungs of steel, heads of oak, hands of spring steel, eyes of eagles, the hearts of apostles, memories of angels and lives of Methuselah. " Furthermore, the Chinese language may not contain all the

theological terms necessary to convey Christian concepts. Yet in spite of all these obstacles, Morrison had laid the foundation of the translation of the Bible into Chinese. It is one of the greatest achievements in the history of Christian missions. In 1819, with the help of William Milne, Morrison completed the translation of the Old Testament. On November 25, 1819 he wrote to the London Missionary Society in London, " By the mercy of God, an entire version of the books of the Old and New Testaments into the Chinese language was this day brought to a conclusion,"

Morrison was not only a studious man. He was also a man of vision. He perceived that if he could not as yet preach to the Chinese people in the Empire, he could reach the great many Chinese abroad, particularly those living in Malacca and other cities in Malaya. Accordingly he set up a missionary centre and a college in Malacca which was to be, in the words of Milne, "The Jerusalem of the East." The Protestant missionaries would use Malacca as a base for the future evangelization of China. In 1818 the Anglo-Chinese College was founded in Malacca. Between the year of its students were founding and 1833, forty Chinese graduated and of them fifteen were baptized.

The most striking result of the Malacca mission was the conversion of Leung Faat (1789-1855), who was destined to be the first Chinese ordained as an evangelist. Leung was baptized by Milne on November 3, 1816. Leung made the request that he might be baptized at noon, adding that there would be no shadow then. Milne explained that to a Christian one hour is as good as another. However he conceded to Leung's request believing that he must gradually lead him to a deeper understanding. In his book, *Good Words Exhorting Mankind*, Leung included an autobiographical sketch in which he described his baptism:

"Again Mr. Milne asked me whether I was ready to repent of all of my sins. He read to me several verses from the Holy Bible and gave me an exposition of their meaning. Then he knelt with me praying for God's mercy and took some pure water sprinkling on my head. After baptism and our thanksgiving before God, I inquired, 'What are the signs of a believer in Jesus?' Mr. Milne replied, ' Wholeheartedly do good. That is a sign of a believer in Jesus.' I said good-bye and retired to my little room. My heart was gladdened by the belief that my miserable sins had been forgiven. I, therefore, took a new name, ' One who learns to do good.'"

In December 1823, Morrison ordained Leung Faat to the Christian Ministry. As Leung Faat himself noted, "Mr. Morrison ordained me, sending me to go forth to preach the gospel to all people." Leung did not only preach in chapels and hospitals but he also took up his pen to write booklets and tracts. His most important book was *Good Words Exhorting Mankind* (1832). He took pains to write in a simple style, easy to read, and his book exerted a great influence on the development of the Taiping Movement.

Leung realized that the holding of provincial and prefectural civil service examinations gave him an excellent opportunity to distribute tracts and pamphlets. When Hung Hsiu-ch'uen left his native Hwahsien for Canton as a candidate for examination, Christian evangelists , quite possibly Leung himself, gave him books. Among the books he received was Leung Faat's *Good Words Exhorting Mankind*. It is still disputed among scholars whether Hung received the book in 1833 or 1836. In any case, he read it casually and laid it aside.

Hung was frustrated by repeated failures in the examinations. In 1837 he fell ill. He had a vision in which he was taken to a magnificent palace. The old sovereign there gave him a mandate to exorcise devils. He was cleansed and given a new heart. At that time the vision meant little to him. In 1843 his relative, however, called his attention to Leung Faat's book. It dawned upon Hung that it was God who had manifested to him his own destiny. Soon he joined a society founded by Chu Chiu-ch'ou called the "Worshippers of Shang-ti." It was a syncretistic faith composed of pseudo-Christianity and popular Chinese religions. In 1846 Hung was in Canton again and spent some time with Issacher Roberts, one of the early American Baptist missionaries in China. Roberts prepared him for baptism but for some reason he failed to receive it. Soon he went to Hong Kong and was said to have been baptized by Karl Gutzlaff (1803-1851) or by Theodore Hamburg of the Basel Mission. There is, however, no clear evidence for either case. Though it is not certain whether Hung was eventually baptized, it is evident that he received further instruction in the Christian faith while in Hong Kong.

In 1848 Hung became the leader of a historic movement. It was at once a political and a social revolt - an uprising of Chinese nationals against the Manchu rulers, and of peasants and laborers against the landlords and merchants. The movement was cemented by religious zeal which explains to a considerable extent the early smashing victories of the Taipings. The Taiping cult was a diluted form of Christianity, with greater emphasis on the Law than on the Gospel. To Hung, religion was the Heavenly Decree and God, the Supreme Emperor. He appeared to have ignored the Christian doctrine of justification and regeneration. Moreover, it was an austere religion, with no lyricism or poetry. The Taiping Bible was a reprint of Gutzlaff's translation which Hung distributed to his supporters. The title page has typically Chinese decorations with a dragon and a phoenix. It was included in the syllabus of civil service examinations. The Old Testament, however, contained only the first six books from Genesis to Joshua while the whole New Testament was presented to the Taiping converts.

Hung found in the leaders of Israel the pattern of Christian conduct. Moses in particular was his hero. As Moses delivered the children of Israel from Egyptian tyranny, so he Hung was the liberator of the Chinese people from the Manchu yoke. As Moses received the Ten Commandments from the hands of God, so he was entrusted with a new revelation.

Indeed the Ten Commandments were the foundation of his creed and were the first thing every convert and every child was taught. It is interesting to observe that both the early Nestorians and the Jesuits in China had laid great emphasis on the Ten Commandments in their instructions. To each commandment the Taipings attached a poem and a brief comment explaining its meaning. Thus the first commandment in the Taiping version is "Worship the great God." To this, the Taipings added this original comment, "God is the common Father of all people on earth. Everyone owes his life, upbringing and protection to Him. Everyone should worship Him morning and evening, giving thanks for his grace. The proverb says, 'Heaven gives birth, Heaven nourishes and Heaven protects.' Another proverb says, 'When one has food, don't forget Heaven.' Therefore, those who do not worship God have infringed upon the Heavenly Decree." It is also interesting to note that the Fourth Commandment is, "Worship God on the day of rest, praising God's grace," and the Sixth Commandment is, "Do not kill or harm others."

The Taiping religion was noted for its lay character. It had no priesthood and instructions were entrusted to teachers and evangelists. However, they stressed the importance of instructing children in the faith and they composed their own religious textbooks for children and beginners. Of these one of the best-known was their *Trimetrical Classic*. A simple catechism, it was so arranged that it could be easily committed to memory.

"The Great Cod
made Heaven and earth,
Both land and sea
and all things therein.
In six days
He made the whole. .
The Great God,
Out of pity to mankind,
Sent his first-born son
To come down into the world.
His name is Jesus,
The Lord and Saviour of men,
who redeems them from sin
By the endurance of extreme misery
upon the cross.
They nailed His Body
When he shed His precious blood
to save all mankind."

It was sound Christian doctrine but in the latter half of the *Trimetrical Classic* heterodoxy was introduced when the Taipings mentioned the wife of the Logos.

Although the Taipings had the doxology, they failed to grasp the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. They believed that God is the Heavenly Father, while they addressed Christ as the Heavenly Elder Brother. Now in Morrison's translation and in Leung Faat's *Good Words Exhorting Mankind*, the Spirit was rendered as the Wind of the Holy Spirit. Hung believed it could not be of the same substance with the Father and Son. The wind is only the messenger or instrument of God. Hung said, "The Holy Spirit is God. He cannot be other than The wind of the Holy Spirit, on the other hand, is the vehicle of God, the Holy Spirit. The wind is not the Holy Spirit. The wind is the "Tung Wong," the wind from Heaven." It was unfortunate that Hung's muddled theology led him to deduce that the Holy Spirit had descended upon his associate the "Tung Wong," whom he called the Messenger of the Holy Spirit.

The Taiping army was characterized by Crom-wellian discipline. Soldiers were under compulsion to attend divine services and to recite the Ten Commandments and some of the Taiping tracts. Twice a day they were called to worship: in the morning and in the evening before meals. On the eve of the Lord's day, a herald would go about the streets summoning people to worship on the following day. Absence from divine service was subject to corporal punishment while repeated offenders might even suffer the death penalty.

At the service, a square table was put at the north and was known as the Lord of Heaven's Table.

On the table were placed three cups of tea, three bowls of rice and three dishes of meat and vegetables, No doubt they were offerings to the Holy Trinity. They began the service by singing the doxology and hymns. The Ten Commandments were recited and a sermon preached. Meals were served to the congregation after the service.

The Taipings composed many songs. Of particular interest were A Song on the Way of the Sovereign and A Song on the Way of the Father. All the five Confucian ethical relationships were stressed in the Taiping writings. Hung's outlook on Chinese History was also loyally Confucian. He attributed the decline of true religion - the worship of God-to Shi Hwang-ti. (cf. Li Tsu-po's *A Summary Record of the Early Worship of God.*) Hung in his preface to the revised edition of *The Book of Heavenly Decrees* wrote:

"Since the sages and emperors of China also worshipped God it is not right to say that we follow the barbarian way. As we examine the annals of China and the barbarian countries we find in the first few thousand years both China and the barbarians followed the great way - the worship of God. The barbarian countries of the world have, however, followed this way until the present, where as China followed the way only until the Tsin and Han Dynasties, when we were led astray and captured by idols and demons. God, having mercy upon men, stretched out His almighty hands and saved men from the devil so that men could turn back and walk again in the great way If we Mencius said, 'There is only one Tao'. If we realize that there is only one Tao, we also know that at first both China and the barbarian countries followed the same great way.

At the uprising of the Taipings, there was a movement to abolish the Confucian Classics but as they gained power, they began to see the close harmony between the teaching of Confucianism and Christianity. Thus Buddhism and Taoism remained the main targets for their attack. This reflected the low opinion Leung Faat had of Buddhism and Taoism and the respect he paid the teaching of Confucius. Leung said:

"The vanity of the two religions (Buddhism and Taoism) has enticed the hearts of men into wasting people's time and money and leading them to endless evil. Alas, men fall into temptation, knowing not the gravity of the situation. They are deceived and not awake. How deplorable is the state! Confucianism, however, teaches the nature of benevolence and righteousness, ritual and wisdom very abundantly and profoundly, and it reveals the redeeming love of the Holy Religion. Nevertheless, if we know only human nature without knowing the soul, how can we understand the beginning and the end of Divine Reason? "

On Buddhist monks and Taoist priests, Leung had these remarks :

"These idle Buddhist monks and Taoist priests willfully prayed in the houses of idols in order to deceive men and women. They prayed before them and worshipped before them and performed magic and witchcraft so that people would readily give them money and they themselves would obtain the profit."

The Taipings kept all images out of their chapels and destroyed Buddhist temples and monasteries. Their fierce opposition to Buddhism and Taoism led to the enforced secularization of monks and priests. Their severe attack on idolatry brought unfortunate results. Missionaries like Griffith John

praised the bold iconoclastic acts of the Taipings. He said "I fully believe that God is uprooting idolatry in this land through the insurgents. " But this manifestation of bigotry and aggressiveness was bitterly resented by the common people.

The ultimate suppression of the Taipings was due to the support which the influential class gave to the imperial government. The Manchu Emperor, after all, had adopted and protected Confucian orthodoxy. Conservative scholars and defenders of the Confucian tradition like Tseng Kuo-fan and Tso Tsung-t'ang, did not hesitate to support the Manchus in the war against the Taipings. This too had its adverse effect on the Christian mission since, in the eyes of the Chinese people, the Taipings were identified with Christians in general. "The Taiping Rebellion," noted Timothy Richard, "was to the Chinese an awful commentary on Protestantism." Again he said, "The threatened annihilation of the present dynasty by rebels professing the Christian religion, went to confirm them in the belief that the less they had of Christianity the better."

Yet despite the vice and laxity under the veneer of godliness in the Taiping regime, the Taipings made many positive contributions. First, the Taiping movement effected a great revival in patriotism and self-respect. Second, the social reforms introduced by the Taipings were equally commendable. Foot-binding was forbidden, the position of women greatly improved and some were employed as government officials. There were for the first time civil service examinations for women. Polygamy, on the other hand, was permitted.

Colloquial literature was promoted - a great contribution to mass education. The Lord's day was strictly observed. For the first time Chinese society had one day of rest in every seven days. The Taipings also forbade drinking and opium smoking. Again, Leung Faat's condemnation of witchcraft and fortune telling was reflected in the Taiping legislation. Leung wrote in his Good Words, "You know very well that those who practice magic and witchcraft will have their penalty. In the world we have many walks of life to choose from : learning, industry, agriculture, trade and hundreds of arts and crafts. Why does one not abandon the corrupt acts and adopt the right mode of living?" Moreover, taxation under the Taiping regime was much lighter than in the Manchu Empire and was equitably adjusted. Torture in legal proceedings was abolished. Indeed, the Taiping regime made many real achievements.

CHAPTER VIII

A New Orientation in Christian Missions

The latter half of the 19th century witnessed a crisis of Christian missions in China. Political and economic expansion of the West had greatly complicated the impact of Christianity in China. Yung Ching's Edict prohibiting Christianity (1724) was still in force. By 1858 there were only 80 Protestant missionaries in the whole Empire. However, through the treaties of 1858-1860, foreign missionaries were permitted to preach in the interior. The treaties also allowed them to buy and lease land and erect church buildings and residences. Friction inevitably followed when foreign missionaries brought with them Western ideas and ways of life into the hinterland. Moreover, some converts were 'rice Christians' whose sole motive in embracing the faith was to receive benefits from church charities. The gentry naturally looked upon them with contempt.

Following 1860, foreign missionaries and Chinese converts suffered from a series of persecutions, riots and disturbances. The climax of these uprisings against Christian missions was the so-called Tientsin Massacre (1870) in which a mob destroyed a Roman Catholic orphanage and a church and killed the French consul. In the eyes of the Chinese, Christianity was a foreign religion, protected people, by the Western powers, which seemed to threaten the very foundation of Chinese society.

As a result, the publication of anti-Christian writings became the order of the day. Of these the best-known was *A Record of Facts to Ward Off ('orrupt Doctrines* published in 1861. The author is unknown. He called himself "the most broken-hearted man in the world." Scholars generally agree that he was an ardent Confucian from Hunan Province, but one cannot exclude the possibility that the author may have come from Kwangtung.

Of particular interest is the bibliography which consists of 212 works, mainly traditional anti-Christian writings. However, also included are the Bible (the Old Testament and the New Testament in two separate volumes) and general Christian literature. Also listed are Ricci's, *Essay The True Doctrine of God on Friendship, Letter on the Defence of the Faith, Paradoxes*, and ten treatises on religious and ethical relationships (e.g. the problem of evil, the value of time, the advantages of reflecting upon death, the wisdom of silence). There are also Pantoja's *Seven Triumphs over Sin*, Aleni's *Descriptive Notices of the World* (1614) and the Catholic convert Li Tsu-po's *A Summary Record of the Early Worship of God*, which was the target of Yang Kuang-hsien's invective.

Of Protestant writings there are Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the Taiping *Trimetrical Classic*. Above all, there are several titles either written by authors from Kwangtung Province or related to Kwangtung, like the *Tung Chi* and the *Petitions in Heng Shan Hsien* the *Ballads of Kwangtung*, the *Ballads of Hong Kong* and *Exhorting the People of Kwangtung*, *A Record of Travels in Kwangtung*, and *A Record of Macao*. Last but not least is a syllabus of Ying Wah College (Anglo-Chinese College). All these indicate that the author was acquainted with the literature arising from the situation in Kwangtung.

The author's cultural patriotism echoed that of Yang Kuang-hsien. "Ever since the reign of Tien-chi and Chung-chen, the sea barriers had been slackened, fortified places had been open to ruffians. Ricci, Hsu Kuang-chi, Longobardi, Adam Schall and their like used their strange skills and outlandish techniques to entice the people of their time. This was followed by their penetration into the Imperial Palace and the spreading of their heterodox doctrine. They introduced their church members to important positions, and used them to a fact little propagate their own religion -discerned even by the intelligent people. Furthermore, our dynasty was tolerant. Some of our officials lacked wisdom. They sacrificed the wellbeing of the future for the apparent security of the present. Alas, these foreign robbers who hailed from several tens of thousand miles away, knowing not our language, suddenly entered our China and we have been ignorant enough to allow them to roam at will. This is certainly unprecedented."

The author, like Yang Kuang-hsien, also attacked Christian doctrine and practice. "One day in seven they have a worship called the Mass. On this day all work stops. Old and young, men and

women gather together in the Christian church. The priest takes his seat in the front and extols the virtue of the founder of their religion. The whole congregation mumbles through the liturgy after which they abandon themselves to licentious joy. They call this the *ta-kung* ' Catholic ' or the *jenfu* ' the feast of love'.

"Their marriages need no go-between. They have no regard for the opinion of their elders but the male and female voluntarily accept the wedding which is preceded by the worship of the Lord of their religion, and by saying prayers to God." The book included an essay which stated, "Sovereigns and ministers, fathers and sons all address each other as brothers. Mothers and daughters, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law all address each other. They claim that there is only one Heavenly Mother and one Heavenly Elder Brother."

In the description of Christian worship, the author may have had the Catholic church in mind but in the description of ethical relationships his attention was no doubt focused on the teaching of the Taipings.

Anti-Christian writings often stressed that Christians lacked filial piety and that they had abandoned the Confucian ethical relationships. This theme was further developed by Wang Peng-hsieh (1886), a protege of Li Hung-chang and an acquaintance of Tseng Kuo-fan. He was a staunch defender of Confucian orthodoxy and had a burning hatred of Christianity. He had read the Bible, though rather casually, and was acquainted with some Christian tracts and booklets. He wrote, "As Jesus grew older, he left his family and went on a preaching tour making converts . One day he was sitting under a tree with his twelve disciples. As he was preaching, his mother and brothers came to look for him and take him home. The disciples conveyed the message to Jesus. But Jesus denied them, saying ' Those who follow my way are my brothers and sisters, while those who do not follow my way are not my brothers and sisters.' His mother and brothers sorrowfully pleaded with him and begged him to come with them. Nevertheless, he insisted on disowning them. Wherefore his mother and brothers went away and wept bitterly."

Now the religion of our sages stresses the five ethical relationships. Mo Ti teaches all-embracing love and Mencius called him a man without filial piety. Even dogs and sheep, while disowning their fathers, knew their mothers. Jesus by disowning his mother was inferior to sheep and dogs. "

By subtle paraphrasing, Wang completely changed the meaning of the passage from the Gospel. It would be difficult to exceed the savagery and crudeness of his attacks but they seem to reflect a fairly general mood of the gentry.

One can easily understand the fear and anxiety which scholars like Wang Peng-hsieh felt towards the supposed Christian onslaught against Chinese ethical relationships. If Christianity flourished, the family system would no longer be the centre of Chinese society. Its moral-building qualities would vanish. Chinese individuals would no longer have the family as a bulwark for their integrity and their security against personal misfortune. A foreign religion that teaches only one Father-the Heavenly Father -should not be permitted and its members should be crushed. This was a recurrent theme in anti-Christian books and pamphlets.

Meanwhile anti-foreign sentiment was wide-spread. Christianity had become a symbol of foreign intrusion into the Chinese way of life. It was identified with western civilization and was

condemned because its progress meant that the very foundation of Chinese tradition was at stake.

The missionaries themselves often adopted a critical and even hostile attitude toward some aspects of Chinese culture. Their attacks on the practice of ancestral worship and the observance of most Chinese festivals offended both the gentry and the populace. Moreover, they took a pessimistic view of the Chinese people themselves. On one hand some missionaries denounced the superstitions of Chinese folk-religions. On the other hand, others seemed to turn all Chinese into rationalists. Such was the danger of the generalization that Griffith John made "The people are hard as steel. They are eaten up both body and soul by the world. They do not seem to feel that there can be reality in anything beyond sense."

This was indeed a crucial period both for Christian missionaries and for their cultural encounter with China. If Christians continued to denounce non-Christian religions and culture as evil, if Chinese traditions were to be refuted, then the prospect of Christianity in China was very dim indeed .

But fortunately the 1870's witnessed a new orientation in missions. Some missionaries realized that as long as the mandarins and the literati refused even to sympathize with Christianity, the Church would have no future in China. They also believed that effective introduction of reforms into China should come from Chinese officials and gentry. They therefore engaged in the work of interpreting the West to China and of translating books on history, sociology and science into Chinese with the help of competent Chinese associates. They reflected the intellectual climate of the age and accepted the idea of progress in the development of civilization. Christianity was presented as a religion of progress which, while true to its great traditions of the past, was open and eager to learn from the new developments of the present age.

Perhaps the most influential missionary who advocated reform was Timothy Richard (1845-1919). He came to China in 1870. He predicted that unless China introduced institutional changes at once, including modern schools and factories, disastrous consequences would soon result. Like the Hebrew prophets, he warned the Chinese officials of the impending doom. He preached techno-logical and political reforms and a gospel of Christian love.

But he did not always gain the ears of the intellectual elite. Even statesmen of vision had only a half-hearted reception for Western civilization. They welcomed science and technology but they showed little interest in the political and philosophical thought of the West. They believed all China needed was western arms to foster and defend Chinese principles. Timothy Richard, however, pointed out that China could not prosper with western guns and cannons alone, without introducing institutional changes and constitutional government. He stressed that Chinese officials should be acquainted with the international situation and should keep in touch with the problems and aspirations of the common people.

In 1874 Young J. Allen, an American missionary, launched the publication of the periodical Wang Kuo Kung Po (The Review of the Times) with the aim of extending knowledge related to Geography, History, Civilization, Politics, Religion, Science, Art, Industry and the general progress of Western countries. By 1894 the circulation of The Review was greatly increased and one month later in second edition had to be printed: Dr. Allen's articles on the Sino-Japanese War of

1894-1895 were widely appreciated as the only reliable record in Chinese. The war with Japan produced a gear stirring among the intellectuals. A strong impetus was accordingly given to the pursuit of western learning. So great was the influence of *The Review* that in August 1895 when Liang Chi-chao began a daily publication dedicated to the spread of democratic ideas, he also took *The Review of the Times* for its name. Indeed some of the articles were reprints from Allen's Christian periodical. Later, at Richard's request, Liang changed the name of his periodical to the *Chinese and Foreign Review*.

In 1881 Chang Chi-tung, the Viceroy of Shansi, learned of Richard's proposals for reforms and tried to persuade him to leave his missionary work and launch his reform projects such as mining, building of roads and railways and industrialization. Richard declined, protesting that he was not an expert in industry and technology. But there was a deeper, underlying reason for his refusal. By then he was committed to the introduction of western learning among the officials and gentry. It was Li Hung-chang who kindled his interest (1880). In an interview, Li pointed out that Christianity could not reach the influential, official class through conventional preaching. In 1881-1884 Richard lectured to the gentry on elementary Astronomy and Geography, Chemistry and Medicine. In 1884, for the first time, he advocated the inclusion of Western learning in the syllabus of the civil service examinations. In 1885 he wrote *Modern Education*, the result of his inspection of the educational institutions both in Japan and in Western Europe. In 1890 he accepted Li Hung-chang's offer to become the editor of a daily newspaper in Chinese, the *Shih Pao*. He also edited a weekly newspaper. Upon the request of Li Hung-chang, he wrote the *Historical Evidences of Christianity*, a book which was generally well-received.

In 1891 Richard was chosen to be Editor-in-chief of the Christian Literature Society, otherwise known as the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, established in 1887. Thereupon he resigned from the *Shih Pao* and took up his work in Shanghai. In his new post he conducted essay contests and aided Chinese scholars to form associations for the pursuit of Western knowledge. He also distributed Christian books at provincial and prefectural civil service examinations. In 1892 alone he gave away large numbers of Christian books, including his own *Historical Evidences of Christianity*.

In the 1890's. Chinese intellectuals began to be attuned to the whole range of Western thought. Yen Fu, for example, introduced Western political and economic thought to the Chinese society of his time. In 1894 he completed his translation of Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* which went through numerous editions. The theory of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest caught the imagination of the Chinese intelligentsia and soon became a common expression in Chinese writings. Not a few Chinese young men adopted such odd phrases as *Struggle for Existence* or *Natural Selection* as their names. Yen Fu also translated J. S. Mills' *Logic and On libel"ty*, Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology* and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. But the book which made the greatest stir was his translation of Darwin's *Origin of the Species*. Yen was a superb translator as he had a good command of English and an excellent grasp of Chinese.

In 1894 Timothy Richard published his Chinese translation of Mackenzie's *History of the 19th Century*, which preached the dogma of progress and painted in strong colors the achievements of science. R. G. Collingwood, in his book *The idea of History*, considered Mackenzie's work a third rate historical book. But Timothy Richard found in it the remedy and inspiration for a

tradition-bound China, which looked only backwards to the grandeur of the past. Moreover, the western idea of progress was closely allied with the concept of human perfectibility. Now to Richard's delight, he found that this had a strong basis in Mencius' doctrine of the innate goodness of human nature. He knew that the Chinese gentry would understand and appreciate his presentation of Mackenzie's thesis. From his appreciation of the advance of science. Timothy Richard had acquired a signal optimism concerning the destiny of man. He said in the introduction to his translation, " God was breaking down the barriers between all nations by railways , steamers and telegraphs , in order that all should live in peace and happiness as brethren of one family. "

Timothy Richard's adaptation was an instant success. Among his readers were famous courtiers and the young Emperor. The popularity of the book was attested to by the many pirated editions. In Hangchow alone there were six pirated editions while in Szechuan there were as many as nineteen. No doubt it was widely read and discussed. The idea of progress had exerted a profound influence upon the rising generation. Yen Fu, the great translator and exponent of Western culture, wrote, " I think that the greatest difference between China and the West which can never be made up is that the Chinese are fond of antiquity but neglect the present. The Westerners are struggling in the present in order to supersede the past. The Chinese consider a period of order, and a period of disorder, a period of prosperity and a period of decline as the natural cause of heavenly conduct of human affairs ; while Westerners consider that daily progress should be endless and what has already been prosperous will not decline." Such was the unqualified optimism of the Chinese avant-garde. Did it not reflect the conviction of Richard himself?

Meanwhile Timothy Richard continued his work for the building of a progressive China. He sought interviews with high officials. Among them were Weng T'ung-ho, the Prime minister, and Li Hung-chang. He also took time out to meet Promising scholars like Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao. The latter became his secretary in Peking.

But the outstanding example of these fruitful encounters between Richard and the young intellectuals was T'an Ssu-tung (1865-1898), a man of high ideals with a passion for scientific and philosophical inquiry. His great book, " A Study of Benevolence," written from 1896 to 1897, owed a great deal to Christianity as well as to Buddhism and Confucianism. He saw the importance of western learning. In a letter to a friend he wrote, " We should thoroughly learn the written and spoken language of all countries so as to translate Western books and newspapers in order to know what other countries are doing all around us. We should send people to travel to all countries in order to enlarge their point of view and enrich their store of information, to observe the strength and weakness, the rise and fall of other countries, to adopt all the good points of other nations and avoid their bad points from the start. "

By then the far-sighted members of the Chinese educated class had been won over to the recognition that western learning was essential to save China from her impending doom. But T'an looked beyond national recovery to a cosmopolitan order. He was in search of a world culture and a world society. " When the world has no national boundaries, wars will cease, jealousy will disappear, secret plans will be abandoned, the distinction between you and me will be lost, equality will result, there will be neither rich nor poor, the world will be really cosmopolitan. "

T'an believed in the innate goodness of human nature, whether Chinese or western. He was most discerning in his discourse on friendship and on the corporate community. He wrote, " Ever since the time of Confucius and of Jesus, all scholars and pastors established societies for the pursuit of learning. They called hundreds of thousands of people together to be friends. If they had not done so, there would have been no religion and no learning and indeed no nation and no people. Herein, I believe, lies the foundation of benevolence. The Confucians knew the importance of the corporate community. They forsook the ethical relationships of sovereign and minister, father and son, husband and wife, brother and brother, and they followed Confucius. If they adhered to officialdom or if they isolated themselves from the corporate community, Confucius at once rebuked them . . . The disciples of Jesus also fully realized this. They forsook their native places. ethical relationships of sovereign and minister, father and son, husband and wife, brother and brother and followed Jesus. Even those who were tax-collectors or fishermen left their jobs and with Jesus enjoyed the bliss of the Kingdom of Heaven. As for the burial of the dead, Jesus had this stern saying ' Leave the dead to bury their own dead. ' Such was the solidarity of their new-found fellow' ship. "

To T'an, Jesus was a revolutionary. He saw beyond the frontiers of nations to a great cosmopolitan order. T'an wrote, "In the West Moses handed down the Law. In his Ten Commandments, he betrayed his narrow views of position and authority. He called God the God of Israel as if the rest of the world belonged to an inferior order. This is absolute inequality. When Jesus came, he changed all this. He earnestly proclaimed that all people are the children of the Heavenly Father so that every man is a part of Heaven. Each enjoys his freedom, transcending the barriers of family and nation. He called them together and established a new order-the Kingdom of Heaven." In his understanding of Christianity, T'an Ssu-tung had indeed gone a long way from ' the most broken hearted man in the world ' or from Wang Peng-hsieh who wrote in the sixties.

In 1898 the advocates of Reform succeeded in winning over the Emperor to their views and the new dispensation was launched by a series of Imperial decrees. But the Reform Movement was short-lived. Soon the Empress Dowager reasserted her authority. The Emperor was taken into protective custody. The new decrees of the Hundred Days of Reform were revoked. Liang Chi-chao and other reformers were ordered to be arrested. Liang was granted refuge in the Japanese Legation where he had his last conversation with T'an Ssu-tung (Sept. 22). T'an entrusted Liang with his essays, letters and poems and begged him to flee to Japan and to safety. There was a moving farewell and T'an stepped out to the darkness of the streets. On the eve of his capture, some Japanese friends went to see T'an and pleaded with him to seek sanctuary in Japan. But T'an replied that there would not be a new China until men had died for it. On September 25th he was arrested and condemned.

Thus at the age of 33, T'an became one of the first martyrs of the Reform Movement. He was standing on the threshold of a new age. In his" literary legacy and in his tragic death, the cross-currents of the East and the West had met.

In the early years of Protestant missions people were not optimistic about the future. In 1908, soon after the centenary of Morrison's arrival, Rev. J. Steele recalled William Milne's estimate that one hundred years after the establishment of Protestant Missions in China there would be one thousand Protestant Christians, children included. " The total number in 1907, " Steele stated, "

was reckoned at 750 times Milne's computation. "

The years 1895 to 1940 witnessed a period of rapid expansion of the Chinese Church. True, the Boxer Uprising led to a temporary set-back but the blood of the martyrs in the long run proved to be the seed of the growing church. Chinese leaders awoke to the fact that Christianity might be " the needed dynamic " to save the country from stag-nation and decay. A comparison of the number of Christian missionaries from 1889 to 1936 is most revealing. In 1889 there were only 1,300 Protestant missionaries. In 1936 the number had risen to more than 6,000. In 1890 there were about 650 Roman Catholic priests. In 1933 the total Roman Catholic ecclesiastical staff was about 4,400. In 1889 there were 37,000 Protestant communicants. In 1936 the total number of baptized members and catechumens was over 700,000.

The Chinese Church has come of age. It should be more and more related to its cultural heritage. The Church should not hesitate to experiment and be willing to take the risk of indigenization and thereby help its members to be truly Christians and truly members of their own culture. But our vision does not stop with an indigenous church. We are looking forward to a world culture and a world church, in which the Chinese tradition has an important role to play.