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IDEAS OF SALVATION AMONG THE CHINESE

A thesis presented to

the faculty

of

Concordia Seminary

St. Louis, Missouri

by

Herbert C. Meyer

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Sacred Theology

Approved by

J. H. Kestgen
Th. Kestgen

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INTRODUCTION

The topic of this essay is, "Ideas of Salvation Among the Chinese." The Christian missionary goes to China to present the Christian idea of salvation, one concerning which he is fully persuaded that it alone is true. He believes that there is no other means of salvation than through faith in the vicarious atonement of Christ Jesus. Nevertheless, it is imperative that he understands their ideas on the subject of salvation, in order that he may the better present Christ and His Cross.

The criticism may be raised against this essay that it is written by one who, before he even begins to investigate their ideas, is convinced that theirs are wrong and his own correct. This attitude on our part is unavoidable since we hold to Christ's own verdict in the matter - "I am the Truth, the Way, and the Life... No man cometh to the Father but by me." However, we do wish to state that we have tried to study their ideas in all love and charity and fairness. We have tried to understand them from their viewpoint. If, at times, we appear harsh in our criticism it is because we are persuaded that what is being criticized is harmful and destructive to their eternal welfare. We think the Chinese are a loveable people and feel rather strongly on their need for the Gospel of Christ.

A word of warning may be in place as regards the romanization of Chinese words. One who is familiar with the Chinese script and language has no need of any romanization and one who has no knowledge of the script will never puzzle out the idiosyncrasies of the various systems

Chapter I

CONFUCIANISM

What is the Confucian idea of salvation? In asking this question we do not refer to modern Confucian religious thought but to the ancient concept, such as it was before Confucius and as he and his disciples developed it. When we think of Confucianism, we naturally think of K'ung-fu-tzu, or Confucius as his name has been latinized, "the uncrowned king of China" who is revered and even worshipped as the expounder and father of the religious philosophy that bears his name. Yet we must remember that in actuality Confucius was not the father of any new philosophy or religion, that he was not a creator but a transmitter. What he taught and expounded had been taught in ancient times but because of political corruption and social decay had been forgotten and was no longer practised. He resurrected the teachings of the ancients by putting in order the records of earlier years and committed them to posterity in the Wu Ching, (), The Five Classics.¹ His own doctrines,

1. The Five Classics are:

- (a) The I Ching (易經) Book of Changes
- (b) The Shu Ching (書經) Book of History
- (c) The Shih Ching (詩經) Odes or Book of Poetry
- (d) The Li Chi (禮記) Book of Rites
- (e) The Ch'un Ch'iu (春秋) Spring and Autumn Annals

which differ little from the ancient records he codified, are to be found in what are generally considered the primary texts of Confucianism, the Ssu Shu, (), The Four Books.² (In speaking of the Confucian classics the common order is "Four Books and Five Classics".) In view of this distinction which the Chinese recognize it may be well that we consider our subject under two heads; first, the idea of salvation prior to Confucius and, secondly, the idea according to Confucius and his disciples. To arrive at the former we shall glean what we can from the Five Classics and for the latter we shall consult the Four Books.

2. The Four Books:

(f) The Luen Yu (論語) Analects of Confucius, a compilation of the sayings of the Master made by one of his disciples after his death.

(g) The Ta Hsieh (大學) The Great Learning, the text of which is credited to Confucius, although it would seem that it was edited by one of his followers.

(h) The Chung Yung (中庸) Doctrine of the Mean, his teaching on the golden mean of character and conduct as it was developed and taught by his grandson who is its author.

(i) The Meng Tzu (孟子) The Works of Mencius. Mencius was one of the sage's foremost disciples who lived about a hundred years later and tried to reform society by inculcating the moral teachings of the Master.

A. The Ancient or Early Confucian Idea of Salvation.

A reading of the Five Classics leads one to wonder whether or not the question "What must I do to be saved?" found any place in the minds of the ancients. One searches in vain for some definite statement of man's estrangement from God and some proposal as to how man can become right with Deity. We find no provision for the escape from the punishment of sin after death, little if any indications of a fear of suffering in the hereafter for the sins committed in this world, and no fear of the "wrath to come". That we find no traces of these fears is, however, no proof that the common man (The Classics were written for the literate few, for kings and rulers and officers of government.) was not troubled by these fears. The fact that Buddhism found such easy entrance and took such a hold on the common people would indicate that the need for some sort of salvation from the just wrath of Heaven was felt by the people. Even in the Classics the idea of retribution for evil is not entirely absent, but it is pictured as a retribution in this life. It would seem that the "ancients" were concerned more with "getting on" or "getting along well" in this world rather than with solving the salvation of the soul for eternity.

Yet it seems strange that a people who, as we gather from these Classics, were scrupulous in the offering of sacrifices to the spirits of their ancestors and to the

spirits of the mountains, rivers, trees, etc. should not fear some retribution after death. It is evident that the purpose of sacrifices was either to appease the anger of the gods or to obtain blessings from their gods or ancestral spirits. They were not an offering for sin. The sacrifices to their ancestors' spirits indicate that they accepted as fact the existence of the soul after death. The recognition of the existence of the soul after death either in a state of bliss or suffering, either in heaven or hell, is totally absent. In the Li Ki we find the following statement indicating nothing more than its existence:

"All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground; this is what is called kwei. The bones and flesh moulder below, and, hidden away, issues forth, and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness. The vapours and odours which produce a feeling of sadness, (and arise from the decay of their substance), are the subtle essences of all things, and (also) a manifestation of the shan nature." (Book XXI, Section II)

This sheds little light on the matter. It would seem that the ancients pictured the soul's existence in the hereafter in a rather mundane fashion, that the soul was in need of nourishment in the spirit world as in life and capable of enjoying the offerings made to it, even as it enjoyed these things in this life. In a chapter on the Meaning of sacrifices we read regarding this matter:

tranquil, in harmony with their condition, through the perfect character of the king, and his perfect administration of government." (Shu Ching, Part V, Book IV)

"It is by sacrifice that the nourishment of parents is followed up and filial duty to them perpetuated." (Li Chi, Book XXII)

"To have communion with the dead in their spiritual state, if peradventure they will enjoy his offerings, if peradventure they will do so. Such is the aim of the filial son (in his sacrifices)!" (Li Chi, Book XXI, Section I)

Apparently, the purpose in sacrificing to the spirits of the departed ancestors was dual: first, it was a duty required by the rules of propriety, essential to filial piety; secondly, it carried with it a certain reward because the spirits of the departed could in some way bring down blessings upon their descendants who had brought offerings to them. A description of sacrifices to ancestors in the 5th Ode of the Shih Ching contains this statement:

"And all the sacrificial service is complete and brilliant. Grandly come our progenitors; Their spirits happily enjoy the offerings; Their filial descendant receives blessing:-- They will reward him with great happiness, With myriads of years, life without end."

Ancient Confucianism was interested first and foremost in the betterment of man's condition, not in man as an individual but as a member of society; heaven was to be found in this life through the influence of good government by virtuous rulers.

"The Great Plan means the great model for the government of the nation,--the method by which the people may be rendered happy and tranquil, in harmony with their condition, through the perfect character of the king, and his perfect administration of government." (Shu Ching, Part V, Book IV)

This ~~is~~ desirable happiness and tranquility can be attained by man himself as the fruit of his own virtue. Man is good by nature and able to live virtuously by remaining true to his normal nature. Man's failure to do so is due to environment and adverse external phenomena.

"The people are born good, and are changed by (external) things, so that they resist what their superiors command, and follow what they (themselves) love." (Hsu Ching, Part V, Book XXI; Cf. Appendix, no. 1.)

It is self-evident that virtue can be self-attained, for the appeal to virtue is by example. Rulers are told how they can be virtuous, "Rule your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety".

"O king, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard (the example of) your meritorious grandfather. At no time allow yourself in pleasure and idleness. In worshipping your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety." (Shu Ching, Part IV, Book V, Section II; Cf. Appendix no. 2)

The theme of the ancient classics is the observance of the rules of propriety in the four relationships;¹ father and son, ruler and officer, elder and younger brother, friend and friend. The key-note of propriety is right conduct in man's relation to man and in man's relation to the spirits and Heaven - is filial piety.

1. In many places the classics speak of "five relationships" instead of four. In such cases the relationship of husband and wife is included with those mentioned above.

In the Classic on Filial Piety¹ we read:

"(Once), when Kung-ni was unoccupied, and his disciples Zang was sitting by in attendance on him, the Master said, 'Shan, the ancient kings had a perfect virtue and all-embracing rule of conduct, through which they were in accord with all under heaven. By the practice of it the people were brought to live in peace and harmony, and there was no ill-will between superiors and inferiors. Do you know what it was?' Zang rose from his mat, and said, 'How should I, Shan, who am so devoid of intelligence, be able to know this?' The Master said, '(It was filial piety). Now filial piety is the root of (all) virtue, and (the stem) out of which grows (all moral) teaching. Sit down again, and I will explain the subject to you. Our bodies--to every hair and bit of skin-- are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them:-- this is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the practice of the (filial) course, so as to make our name famous in future ages, and thereby glorify our parents:--this is the end of filial piety. It commences with the service of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment of the character.'" (Hsiao Ching, Chapter I) (Cf. Appendix No.3)

The one great sin is to be "unfilial".

"The Master said, 'There are three thousand offences against which the five punishments are directed, and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial.'" (Hsiao Ching, Chapter XI)

Virtue, particularly filial piety as it extends through the four relationships and in the performance

1. The "Hsiao Ching", Classic on Filial Piety, is not included in the "Four Books - Five Classics" but is recognized as a Confucian writing of special eminence and worth and quoted often. Some scholars claim for it an antiquity that would place it before the days of Confucius. Some contend that it was written by one of the immediate circle of the Master and others that its author lived about a hundred years after Confucius. Its teachings on filial piety are in full harmony with those of the "Five Classics" and therefore it is quoted at this point.

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of the proper sacrifices to the spirits of the departed and the spirits of rivers, mountains, etc., had its own reward here in this world; evil has its own retribution, also in this world. It would seem that Heaven is a dispassionate and impersonal rewarder of good and punisher of evil.

"Great Heaven has no partial affections;-- it helps only the virtuous." (Hsu Ching, Part V, Book VIII)

"Good and evil do not wrongly befall men, but Heaven sends down misery or unhappiness according to their conduct." (Shu Ching, Part IV, Book VI, Section 1)

In the fourth Appendix to the Yi Ching, section 2, chapter 2, we find one sentence that may indicate that the reward of goodness and the punishment of wickedness may carry over to one's descendents. There seems to be the germ of the idea that Heaven visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children and rewards with blessings the children of virtuous parents. Yet even here the rewards and punishments are confined to this world. The passage in point reads as follows:

"The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery."

"The language makes us think of the retribution of good and evil as taking place in the family, and not in the individual; the judgment is long deferred, but it is inflicted at last, lighting, however, not on the

head or heads that most deserved it. Confucianism never falters in its affirmation of the difference between good and evil, and that each shall have its appropriate recompense; but it has little to say of the where or when and how that recompense will be given. The old classics are silent on the subject of any other retribution besides what takes place in time.¹

Our study of these classics leads us to the following conclusion: "Salvation" was to be found in this world and it consisted in receiving the blessings of Heaven that make for happiness and tranquility, which in turn are the natural reward of the virtuous life. Man can attain to this virtuous life or moral perfection by his own efforts; first, by being filial^{piety} and, then, by living according to the rules of propriety. The latter embraces the scrupulous performance of sacrifices which the rules of propriety demand, the cultivation of such virtues as reverence, reciprocity, ^{and} sincerity, and the elimination from one's self of pride and vices. It is interesting to note that most of the positive virtues stressed are those that are embraced in propriety. In short, man's salvation in this world was in "formalism". The soul's salvation in eternity is not provided for; in fact, there is no interest in it. This would seem

1. J. Legge: Introduction to the Yi King -- Sacred Books of the East, opp. 47-48.

to explain the materialism, the "this-world-attitude", of the average Chinese of today; that he is chiefly interested in bettering his condition in this world rather than in seeking the eternal welfare of his soul. The philosophy of these classics contributes to the modern view, "What profiteth it a man if he save his own soul and ignore the material welfare of his body here on earth!"

B. The Idea of Salvation According to Confucius and His Disciples.

We naturally ask, "Did Confucius and his immediate disciples pay more attention to the spiritual needs of man?" The answer must be "No".

"Fan Che asked what constituted wisdom. The Master said, 'To give one's self earnestly to the duties of man, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, is called wisdom.'" (Analects, 6, 20) (Spiritual beings - Kwei shen)

Confucius was not interested in religion; he accepted the beliefs of his day, the existence of spirits, the necessity of making sacrifices to them; the existence of the spirits of men after death and the duty of descendants to sacrifice to their departed progenitors; the existence of a Supreme Being or Principle, Heaven, "Tien", who governed the world. He was (not) interested in man's relation to man. He was an out and out humanist. But even here his aim was not so much the renovation of the

individual as the renovation of the State; his mind and object were ethico-political, his desire the renaissance of the golden age of antiquity through a return to the virtue of primitive times."¹ Faber writes, "Confucius was as much, perhaps more, of a politician than a moral philosopher, for the aim of his ethics is polity."²

However, he and his disciples have given to China a rich inheritance of moral philosophy, a system of ethics that is a credit to human wisdom but which inherently lacks the power of revealed religion. "His thoughts and doctrines do not rise higher than this temporal life.

Man only, among all the things in this world, is of interest to him, i.e., man as he actually exists, as he has been pictured in the ancient records, and as to what finally ought to become of him."³ The final goal of man remains, of course, temporal.

Soothill describes him as a "formalist". This would be in line with the teachings of the ancients he so admired. "Duty was his lodestone." But the formalism of the ancients he made more ethical. By the rigid observance of the rules of propriety and the cultivation of civil righteousness on the part of the rulers and then on the part of the people in emulation of their rulers, good government would be established and the

1. Soothill - The Three Religions of China, p.35.

2. E. Faber - Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius.

3. E. Faber - id. p.38.

nation would prosper and harmony prevail. Van Buskirk, in describing the purpose of the "Saviors of Mankind," says that the purpose of each was "always the salvation of his people in a given social situation and at a given period in that people's social development."¹ Though we must take issue with this statement as it applies to some of the Saviors he treats, yet as regards Confucius this generalization will stand. This and nothing more was his purpose. Later disciples tried to individualize this social salvation and apply it more to the individual person. Mencius, in continuing the teachings of the Master, concerned himself less with sacrifices than with the inculcation of the morals that Confucius taught.

It is but natural then that under these conditions there is no clear cut answer in the Four Books to the all-impelling question of the soul of man, "What must I do to be saved?" Salvation of the soul -- getting right with God -- is not a subject for Confucius and his followers, because there is no recognition of man's estrangement from God. The first great commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," was never even thought of by them, or if it was they studiously avoided it. Sin is recognized only in its relation to man, its effect on the individual and society.

1. W. Van Buskirk, "The Saviors of Mankind," p.xi.

Like the ancients the Confucian scholar is interested primarily in his temporal welfare and not in his eternal one.

"Chi Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said, 'While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?' Chi Lu added, 'I venture to ask about death.' He was answered, 'While you do not know life, how can you know about death?'" (Analects, Book XI)

As regards the latter it is solved, if solved it need by, by the solution of the former. At any rate, the emphasis on man's temporal welfare is so great that the soul's welfare after death and even in this life, is lost to view. By this very emphasis it would be consistent for the Confucianist to base his eternal welfare, if he troubles to think of it, on the results of his temporal life. It works out thus in practice. Faber concludes that the ultimate, net result is the deification of man. Man is, as we shall see, his own Saviour; "he becomes invested with the highest dignity and power, and may say to himself - 'I am a God, yea, I sit in the very seat of God!'"

First we must take cognizance of the fact that Confucianism teaches that man by nature is good; virtue is inherent in man; he is born upright; any sort of depravity of human nature is not recognized as inherent in it but as accidental because of external influences.

"Mencius discoursed to him how the nature of man is good and, in speaking, made laudatory appeal to Yaou and Shun." (Mencius, bk. 3, pt. 1, ch. 1, par. 2)

"The Master said, 'Man is born for upright-ness. If a man lose his uprightness, and yet live, his escape from death is the effect of mere good fortune.'" (Analects, 6, 17)

"(The tendency of) man's nature to goodness is like (the tendency of) water to flow downwards. There are none but have (this tendency to) goodness (just as) water flows downwards. Now by striking water, and causing it to leap up, you may make it go over your forehead; and by damming and leading it you may make it go up hill; but are (such movements according to) the nature of water? It is force applied which causes them. In the case of man's being made to do what is not good, his nature is dealt with in this way." (Mericius, bk. 6, pt. 1, ch. 2, par. 2 and 3.) (Cf. Appendix No. 4)

Though goodness is inherent in all men, yet there is a difference admitted between holy men (sages) and the superior man, a difference evident already at birth. The holy man is the ideal man by nature, is naturally in a state of moral perfection. The rest of mankind, however, can attain to this same moral perfection because the ability to do so is inherent in them. Arriving at that state he is a "superior man". External hindrances may impede one in the attainment of perfect virtue, but it can be done. No One's strength is insufficient for this task.

"A man's strength is sufficient for the practice of humanity, but people do not try. Should there possibly be any case in which man's strength should be insufficient, I have not seen it." (Analects, 4, 6)

Man has a free will in this matter. The quotations above on the goodness of man also emphasize this fact.

is one of eight steps. It is given there in the following

"If the will be set on virtue, there will be no practice of wickedness." (Analects, 4,4)
(Cf. Appendix No. 5)

"Let the will be set on the path of duty! Let every attainment of what is good be firmly grasped! Let perfect virtue be emulated! Let relaxation and enjoyment be found in the polite abts!" (Analects, 7,6)

What is perfect virtue? The Doctrine of the Mean mentions five cardinal virtues as essential to moral perfection.

"Tsze-chang asked Confucius about perfect virtue. Confucius said, 'To be able to practice five things everywhere under heaven constitutes perfect virtue. Gravity, generosity (of soul), sincerity, earnestness, and kindness. If you are grave, you will not be treated with disrespect. If you are generous you will win all. If you are sincere people will repose trust in you. If you are earnest you will accomplish much. If you are kind this will enable you to employ the services of others.'" (Analects, 17, 6)

(Note: "Gravity" is not a satisfactory translation of the Chinese character "kung" - "reverence" would be better.)

Filial piety is also essential to moral perfection. This is the "root of virtue". The above five are embraced by it. How important it was we can see from the Analects:

"Filial piety and fraternal submission! -- are they not the root of all benevolent actions?" (Analects 1,2)

In describing the filial piety of Shun it is brought out how he thereby attained to the virtue of a sage with its resultant blessings in this life. (Cf. Appendix No.6)

From the Great Learning we learn that the method or way by which man can reach this goal of moral perfection is one of eight steps. It is given there in the following

order: the use of his will reach the goal of perfection.

1st step - (格物) ke-wu - the distinction or investigation; extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of things;

2nd step - (致知) chih-chih - completion of knowledge;

3rd step - (誠意) cheng-i - veracity of intention, sincerity; this condition is to be ascribed to nature; when we have sincerity of thought;

4th step - (正心) cheng-hsin - rectification of the

In short, the Confucian heart;

5th step - (修身) hsiu-shen - cultivation of the moral perfection; this he does individual person;

6th step - (齊家) chi-chia - management of the family;

7th step - (治國) bhih-kuo - government of the state;

8th step - (平天下) p'ing-t'ien-hsia - peace for the

fact as his model and then go whole empire. accordingly.

Salvati This presents the way for society. Faber, in summarizing this way for the individual, describes it as follows: "The steps to perfection are perfect knowledge, a true mind, right sentiment of the heart, culture of the whole person, furthermore an influence over family, state, and things in general." If we carefully study these eight steps we arrive at the conclusion that education, learning, instruction is the door to perfection. The rules of propriety are emphasized strongly, but the simple fact remains that these must be learned by man; man, being instructed in them and understanding what is good, can then act according 'to the law of his own nature'

and by the use of his will reach the goal of perfection.

his death - "The Master said, 'The superior man, by the extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, may thus likewise not overstep what is right.'" (Analects 6, 25)

The "When we have intelligence resulting from sincerity, this condition is to be ascribed to nature; when we have sincerity resulting from intelligence, this condition may be ascribed to instruction." (Doctrine of the Mean, 21)

✓ In short, the Confucian scholar must work out his own salvation. He has simply to discover what constitutes moral perfection; this he does by studying the rules of propriety of the ancients and the admonitions in the classics as to what is good, noble and proper; or he may take one of the sages or some prince who has become perfect as his model and then go out and live accordingly. Salvation, then, may be said to be obtained by the individual perfecting himself. It is, as we said before, a salvation for this world. Its reward is in time, because Confucianism teaches that good and evil have their own compensations or rewards in this world.

Certain rulers are criticized because they "abandon themselves to pleasure and indolent indifference - thus seeking calamities for themselves".

In book 2, chapter 18 of the Analects the reward of virtue is described as "few occasions for repentance in his conduct" and "he is on the way to get emolument". In Book 15, chapter 19 the reward looked for by the

'superior man' is that his name may be mentioned after his death - posthumous honors which are enjoyed by the anticipation of them. The hope that his name may be written in the Book of Life is absent.

The result of such a philosophy, as we have described, leads to Pharisaism. I use this term in its good meaning, without the blemish of hypocrisy. In other words the teaching of Confucianism is "Be a good Pharisee and all is well with you".

Twenty-five hundred years of Confucianism and its effort to "save society" has a definite lesson for our twentieth century and its emphasis on education as the panacea for the ills of society and man. The salvation of the nation or society does not lie in "learning". Recognition of "the good" is inadequate. More is needed for the realization of moral perfection. In the history of China we see that Confucianism, despite all its stress on instruction and knowledge, was incapable of effecting for its people, collectively or individually, a new birth to a higher life and nobler efforts. It would seem that Confucius himself felt a certain futility inherent in his whole system, that it just would not work out according to his hopes; "The Master said, 'I for my part have never yet seen one who really cared for goodness, nor one who really abhorred wickedness.... Has any one ever managed to do good with his whole might even as long as

Chapter II

the space of a single day?" Instruction in ethics, divested of any responsibility on man's part toward God, will not bring society even near to the goal or moral perfection. Confucianism failed to recognize that, before man can be right with man, he must first be right with God. This modern attitude of educating people to be good will achieve no more than did the philosophy of ancient China. Essentially these two systems are the same and in the history of China we see the handwriting on the wall for its modern version.

What he taught is to be found in his one work, the Tao Teh Ching, a short treatise that has taxed the efforts of eminent sinologists. "Amidst its short, terse, ringing sentences flash jewels of the first water, set in such that is obscure to the foreign reader, who longs to know what this ancient worthy really meant."

Early Taoism boasts two eminent philosophers who tried to popularize the teachings of Lao-tzu. They are Lieh-tzu and Chuang-tzu, the latter living in the third century before Christ.

To arrive at the early Taoist conception of salvation we must search the Tao Teh Ching and the writings of Chuang-tzu. There we learn that in its early form it was not a religion but a philosophy. Both Lao-tzu

1. J.D.Bell, *Things Chinese*, p.629.

2. J.D.Bell, *Id.* p.629.

Chapter II

T A O I S M

"At about the same time that Confucius, the great Sage of China, was endeavoring to get his principles adopted, there lived another of China's great men whose views were diametrically opposed to those of Confucius, and whose opinions, or reputed opinions, formed the foundation for a system as powerful over the masses of the Chinese as Confucianism itself."¹ This man was Lao-tzu, the Grand Old Man of China, of whose life we know little. What he taught is to be found in his one work, the Tao Teh Ching, a short treatise that has taxed the efforts of eminent sinologists. "Amidst its short, terse, ringing sentences flash jewels of the first water, set in much that is obscure to the foreign reader, who longs to know what this ancient worthy really meant."²

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1. J.D.Ball, Things Chinese, p.629.

2. J.D.Ball, id. p.629.

and Chuang-tzu were interested in reforming society, however, not as religious enthusiasts but as mystic philosophers.

Their Taoism is basically monistic and that basis is what is repeatedly called "Tao". To try to understand any particular aspect of this philosophy we must first briefly review what is embodied in this term "Tao". Everything is colored by this basic principle which Lao-tzu has called "Tao". What is "Tao"? This has been variously translated or defined as "The Way", "The Law", "The Great Way of the World", "The Logos", "Nature", "Natural Law", "The Universal Supreme Reason", "The Power that Makes for Righteousness", "The Order of the World", "Natural Order" and even "God". DeGroot says, "Universism is Taoism. Indeed, its starting point is the Tao, which means the Road or Way..."¹ Legge says that "Tao" is a concept or an idea. He has likened it to the "Divine Mind" of Plato. J. Dyer Ball quotes one Taoist authority as follows: "If we had then to express the meaning of Toa, we should describe it as (1) the Absolute, the totality of Being and Things; (2) the phenomenal world and its order; and (3) the ethical nature of the good man and the principle of his action."²

The idea of God as we understand it must be ruled out as being embraced in this term. Many of the attributes

1. De Groot, Religion in China.

2. J.D.Ball, id, p.632.

of Deity are there but Deity as a Personal Being is
 wholly absent. Yet, as one follows along in their dis-

(Cf. Appendix No. 7)
 cussions of Tao, one wonders whether or not Lao-tzu and
 his followers were "seeking after God if haply they
 might find Him."

In the Tao Teh Ching we find the following descrip-
 tions of "Tao":

"There is a thing inherent and natural,
 which existed before heaven and earth.
 Motionless and fathomless,
 It stands alone and never changes:
 It pervades everywhere and never becomes exhausted.
 It may be regarded as the Mother of the Universe.
 I do not know its name.

If I am forced to give it a name,
 I call it Tao, and I name it as supreme.
 Supreme means going on:
 Going on means going far:
 Going far means returning.
 Therefore Tao is supreme."
 (Part 1, chapter 25 - BOTW¹)

"Tao is a thing that is both invisible and intangible.
 Intangible and invisible, yet there are forms in it;
 Invisible and intangible, yet there is substance in it;
 Subtle and obscure, there is essence in it.
 This essence being invariably true, there is faith in it.
 From of old till now, it has never lost its (nameless) name,
 Through which the origin of all things has passed.
 How do I know that it is so with the origin of all things?
 By this (Tao)."
 (Part 1, chapter 21 - BOTW)

"When one looks at it, one cannot see it;
 When one listens to it, one cannot hear it.
 However, when one uses it, it is inexhaustible."
 (Part 1, chapter 35 - BOTW)
 (Cf. Appendix No. 7)

Chuang-tzu has the following description:
 existence of their spirits after death, and in the exist-

"The Master said, 'The Tao does not exhaust
 itself in what is greatest, nor is it ever absent
 from what is least; and therefore it is to be found

1. BOTW - denotes translation in - Bible of the World.

that complete and diffused in all things. How wide is its universal comprehension! How deep is its unfathomableness!" (Chuang-tzu¹ - book 13, par.9) (Cf. Appendix No 7)

There is a certain passivity or non-activity to "Tao" which colors the whole philosophy as we will see later. This passivity of Tao is expressed thus by Chuang-tzu:

"Tao is ever inactive, and yet there is nothing that it does not do." (Part 1, ch. 37 - 1, BOTW)

Besides the term "Tao" we find two other expressions which might seem to indicate that besides "Tao" there was recognized One who was God, who stood in a more personal relation to man, and who was not to be identified with "Tao" or the many gods that then were already being worshipped by the people. The word "Ti", Ruler or God in the Tao Te Ching where we read, "Tao existed before heaven and earth." Again, "Man follows the law of earth; par.7 Chuang-tzu says, "From it (Tao) came the mysterious existence of spirits, from it the mysterious existence of God." Again in book 3, par.4 we find the following rather interesting remark: "The ancients described death as the loosening of the cord on which God suspended (the life)." However, all that we can say about a concept of God in early Taoism is what Legge remarks in a footnote: "Men at a very early date came to believe in the existence of their spirits after death, and in the existence of a Supreme Ruler or God. It was to the "Tao"

1. Works of Chuang-tzu as translated by Legge in "The Sacred Books of the East."

that these concepts were owing." ~~omitted by man in~~
~~society~~ Then there occurs the term "T'ien", Heaven, which
 in modern China is often understood to denote the Supreme
 Being, who is above all the many thousands of gods, far
 removed in the heavens. In the writings of Lao-tzu and
 Chuang-tzu this idea is foreign to their use of the word
 "T'ien". It is often correlated with earth as, "heaven
 and earth cannot last forever," (Tao Teh Ching, Part 1,
 chap. 23) "the Tao of heaven" and "the Tao of earth".
 Kung-ni, quoted by Chuang-tzu, describes one who has
 attained to "Tao", or partially attained "Tao", as "in
 unity with the mysterious Heaven". "T'ien" cannot be
 identified with "Tao" because the former has been pro-
 duced by or is an emanation of the latter. This we see
 in the Tao Teh Ching where we read, "Tao existed before
 heaven and earth." Again, "Man follows the law of earth;
 earth follows the law of heaven and heaven follows the
 law of Tao." Chuang-tzu says, "Tao produced Heaven."
 Since we find no actual concept of a personal God,
 we cannot find anything as regards man's personal relation
 to a Divine Personality. With this in mind we ask, "Is
 there any teaching of sin?" Sin as a transgression of
 the law of God which has estranged man from God and makes
 him guilty before God and subject to divine punishment
 is absent in Taoism. Neither Lao nor Chuang speak of
 "sin" although in several places the term is used with

reference to some of the crimes committed by men in society. (Note: In the Chinese language there is no term that is equivalent to our word "sin". All terms fall short in this that they ignore God.) What constitutes sin from the Taoist view point? In Part 2, chapter 62 of the Tao Teh Ching we find this question, "Why did the ancients prize this Tao? Was it not because it could be attained by seeking and thus sinners could be freed?" What was wrong with man? From what did he need to be freed? We see in their writings that they were cognizant of the fact that society had degenerated and this degeneration they tried to correct by their teaching of "Tao". To understand this corrupt condition of society we must first examine their teaching of a primal paradisaical estate and then see how it came about that man fell from this estate.

In that ancient primal state, which is called "the age of perfect virtue", the "state of pure simplicity," or referred to as the time when lived "the true men of old" or "the perfect men of old"; simplicity ruled; men were in harmony with Tao; they were true to their own nature which in turn was a true emanation of Tao; strife was absent; competition was unknown; passivity or non-action was the dominant feature of men's lives; men were without knowledge and without desires; men and all living things were content. Harmony prevailed in

(Book 10, par. 4)

the universe as Tao pervaded all things. In those days men were "true to their nature", a fact which is repeatedly emphasized by reference to contemporary conditions when men were not so. Chuang-tzu writes:

"The people had their regular and constant nature; they wove and made themselves clothes; they tilled the ground and got food. This was their common faculty. They were all one in this, and did not form themselves into separate classes; so were they constituted and left to their natural tendencies..... Yes, in the age of perfect virtue men lived in common with the birds and the beasts, and were on terms of equality with all creatures, as forming one family; how could they know among themselves the distinctions of superior men and small men? Equally without knowledge they did not leave (the path of) their natural virtue: equally free from desires they were in the state of pure simplicity. In that state of pure simplicity the nature of the people was what it ought to be. (Book 9, par. 2)

The harmony and tranquility of this ancient paradise is described as follows:

"The men of old, while chaotic condition was yet undeveloped, shared the placid tranquillity which belonged to the whole world. At that time the Yin and Yang were harmonious and still; their resting and movement proceeded without any disturbance; the four seasons had their definite times; not a single thing received any injury, and no living being came to a premature end." (Chuang-tzu, Book 16, par. 2)

Simplicity was characteristic of life in that day:

"In their times the people made knots on cords in carrying on their affairs. They thought their (simple) food pleasant, and their (plain) clothes beautiful. They were happy in their (simple) manners, and felt at ease in their (poor) dwellings. (The people of) neighboring states might be able to descry one another; the voices of their cocks and dogs might be heard (all the way) from one to the other; they might not die till they were old; and yet all their life they would have no communication together; In those times perfect good order prevailed." (Book 10, par. 4)

One of the striking features of that age of simplicity was that men did not distinguish between right and wrong but were upright and correct in a spontaneous way, as the natural result of their being in tune with "Tao".

"In the age of perfect virtue they attached no value to wisdom, nor employed men of ability. Superiors were as the higher branches of a tree; and the people were like the deer of the wild. They were upright and correct, without knowing that to be so was Righteousness; they loved one another, without knowing that to do so was Benevolence; they were honest and loyal hearted, without knowing that it was Loyalty; they fulfilled their engagements without knowing that to do so was Good Faith; in their simple movements they employed the services of one another, without thinking that they were conferring or receiving any gift. Therefore their actions left no trace, and there was no record of their affairs." (Chuang-tzu, Book, 12, par. 13)

The total passiveness, placidity, vacuity of men was "the want of any mind to resist the Tao", that is the operation of "Tao" in men; in fact, we can say that the mind of man was inactive and man was free from all exercise of thought and purpose, a being entirely passive in the hands of "Tao".

"The true men of old knew nothing of the love of life or the hatred of death. Entrance into life occasioned them no joy; the exit from it awakened no resistance. Composedly they went and came. They did not forget what their beginning had been, and they did not inquire into what their end would be. They accepted (their life) and rejoiced in it; they forgot (all fear of death), and returned (to their state before life). Thus there was in them what is called the want of any mind to resist the Tao and of all attempts by means of the Human to assist the Heavenly. Such were they who were called the true men." (Chuang-tzu, Book 6, par. 2)

In speaking of the return to this paradisaical state, Chuang-tzu says:

"When one rests in what has been arranged, and puts away all thought of the transformation, he is in unity with the mysterious heaven."
(Quoting Kung-ni - Book 6, par. 12)

Such then, as we have seen above, was the condition of man's original estate, the perfect state of virtue. In this age of "perfect virtue" there was no sin, either in the Biblical sense of the term or as a Taoist might conceive of sin. There was nothing wrong with man or society. Everything was "good". This adjective has a special connotation with Chuang-tzu as he applies it to that age of paradise. Concerning the use of this word together with its noun "goodness" he says, "The goodness is simply (their possession of) the qualities (of Tao). When I pronounce them good, I am not speaking of what are called benevolence and righteousness, but simply of their allowing the nature with which they are endowed to have free course." (Book 8, par.5 - Legge Vol. 1, p.274) Both Lao and Chuang complain bitterly that in their day society had departed from this early state of simplicity; that it had degenerated to the present-day conditions which were marked by cheating, stealing, jealousy, striving, disharmony, unnaturalness, ostentation, the display of evil passions, etc. The question arose with them, "Why did this degeneration come about? How did man lose his primal ^{condition} estate?"

Both men have more or less the same answer to this question, only Chuang dwells more upon it. In that answer is also their solution to society's problem, as they viewed it. It seems that in the beginning man had no free will because his will was attuned to that of the "Eternal Tao". Thus he acted according to his true nature. Then, somehow or other, man began to act on his own initiative and ceased to adhere to his true nature. He lost "Tao" and the inevitable result was that a decadence of life followed.

"After this they forsook their nature and followed (the promptings of) their minds. One mind and another associated their knowledge, but were unable to give rest to the world. Then they added to this knowledge (external and) elegant forms, and went on to make these more and more numerous. The forms extinguished the primal simplicity, till the mind was drowned by their multiplicity. After this the people began to be perplexed and disordered, and had no way by which they might return to their true nature, and bring back their original condition." (Chuang-tzu, Book 16, par. 2)

The independent activity of man's mind resulted in the introduction of knowledge and wisdom into society; this introduction in turn contributed largely to man's fall.

"But when the sagely men appeared, with their bendings and stoopings in ceremonies and music to adjust the persons of all, and hanging up their benevolence and righteousness to excite the endeavours of all to reach them, in order to comfort their mind, then the people began corruption of society. Even "benevolence and righteousness"

as to stump and limp about in their love of knowledge, and strove with one another in the pursuit of gain, so that there was no stopping them: - this was the error of those sagely men." (Chuang-tzu, Book 9, par. 3)

A concrete example of the harmfulness of knowledge is given by the introduction of weights and measures by these wise men who corrupted society. I believe, we

find the original text: "If we make pecks and bushels for men to measure (their wares) even by means of those pecks and bushels shall we be teaching them to steal; if we make for them weights and steelyards to weigh (their wares) even by means of those weights and steelyards shall we be teaching them to steal." (Chuang-tzu, Book 10, par. 2)

In Book 8, a comparison is drawn between the sage Po-I and the robber Kih, both of whom died prematurely, the former to maintain his fame and the latter for gain. The point is made that both of these men, because they strove for success, each in his own field, erred and, therefore, came to an untimely end. Such striving constituted their sin in as much as they "did injury to their nature" or "did violence to their nature".

In Book 9 we obtain an even more vivid picture of the Taoist concept of sin. Men deteriorated, lost their one time pristine, perfect virtue because sages arose teaching knowledge and righteousness; and artisans arose who developed their several arts and skills; in this way men began to abandon their "natural constitution". This forsaking of simplicity and developing of a moral consciousness constitutes the fundamental cause for the corruption of society. Even "benevolence and righteousness"

as positive virtues are castigated because in action they develop their contraries, which, in turn, are harmful to society as they make for disturbance and break the natural harmony of things.

How is man, or rather how is society, to be saved from this state of degeneration? Here, I believe, we find the primary objective of these old Taoist philosophers. Their solution is not a salvation in the sense of a preservation from the spiritual consequence of sin but really a reformation, a returning to or a regaining of that old pristine state of glory. Man must re-attain to "Tao"; repossess "Tao", as he did in the primal state; then man will be perfect, good, content, and attain to long life. How shall man get "Tao"? (The expressions "get It", "got It" occur frequently) Detailed instructions about "getting Tao" are found in both the Tao Teh Ching and Chuang-tzu's writings. The cultivation of "Tao" seems to be the panacea of society. To this end much advice is given and it is interesting how some injunctions approach in beauty and clarity some of the grand dicta of the Bible.

Man must again conform to his nature and not go beyond that nature.

"When all men do not carry their nature beyond its normal condition, nor alter its characteristics, the good government of the world is secured." (Chuang-tzu, Book 11, par. 1)

1. Legge - denotes translation by J. Legge in Sacred Books of the East.

2. The Hs, pronounced dees, are emperors.

In order to regain that lost simplicity the following is suggested by Lao-tzu:

"If we could renounce our sageness and discard our wisdom, it would be better for the people a hundredfold. If we could renounce our benevolence and discard our righteousness, the people would again become filial and kindly. If we could renounce our artful contrivances and discard our (scheming for) gain, there would be no thieves and robbers." (Part 1, chap. 19 - Legge¹)

The key to a return to simplicity is non-action or total passivity. Lao-tzu gives the following advice:

"Act non action; undertake no undertaking; taste the tasteless. The sage desires the desireless, and prizes no articles that are difficult to get. He learns no learning but reviews what others have passed through. Thus he lets all things develop in a natural way, and does not venture to act..... Therefore the sage never attempts great things, and thus he can achieve what is great." (Tao Teh Ching, Part 2, chap. 63, BOTW)

Chuang-tzu also emphasizes that man can attain to "Tao" by doing nothing. He recounts how Tis², kings, and sages in the past have been able to arrive at that goal.

"Vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence, and non action: this is the Level of heaven and earth, and the perfection of the Tao and its characteristics. Therefore the Tis, Kings, and Sages found in this their resting-place. Resting here they were vacant; from their vacancy came fullness; from their fullness came the nice distinctions (of things). From their vacancy came stillness; that stillness was followed by movement; their movements were successful. From their stillness came their non-action. Doing nothing they devolved the cares of office on their employees. Doing-nothing was accompanied by the feeling

1. Legge - denotes translation by J. Legge in Sacred Books of the East.
2. The Tis, pronounced dees, are emperors.

of satisfaction. Where there is that feeling of satisfaction, anxieties and troubles find no place; and the years of life are many. Vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence and doing-nothing are the root of all things." (Chuang-tzu, Book 13, par. 1) (Cf. Appendix No. 8)

In this program of simplicity and non-action man must be free from all desires.

"I would restrain them by the nameless simplicity, In order to make them free from desire. Free from desire they would be at rest and the world would itself become rectified." (Tao Teh Ching, Part 1, chap. 37, BOTW)

Kwang Khang Tze, quoted by Chuang-tzu, in describing how he attained "Tao" and at the same time longevity, says:

"Come, I will tell you the perfect Tao. Its essence is (surrounded with) the deepest obscurity; its highest reach is in darkness and silence. There is nothing to be seen, nothing to be heard. When it holds the spirit in its arms in stillness, then the bodily form of itself will become correct. You must be still; you must be pure; not subjecting your body to toil; not agitating your vital force; - then you may live for long. When your eyes see nothing, your ears hear nothing, and your mind know nothing, your spirit will keep your body and your body will live long. Watch over what is within you, shut up the avenues that connect you with what is external; - much knowledge is pernicious. I (will) proceed with you to the summit of the Grand Brilliance, where we come to the source of the bright and expanding (element): I will enter with you the gate of the Deepest Obscurity, where we come to the source of the dark and repressing (element). There heaven and earth have their controllers; there the Yin and the Yang have their repositories. Watch over and keep your body, and all things will of themselves give it vigour. I maintain the (original) unity (of these elements), and dwell in the harmony of them. In this way I have cultivated myself for one thousand two hundred years, and my bodily form has undergone no decay." (Chuang-tzu, Book 11, par. 4)

In seeking to attain "Tao", to act spontaneously in accord with one's nature, a few rules as regards man's conduct to man are to be followed. The perfect man of "Tao" who is to be emulated is described as:

"He is cautious*, like one who crosses a stream in winter;
 He is hesitating**, like one who fears his neighbors;
 He is modest***, like one who is a guest;
 He is yielding****, like ice that is going to melt;
 He is simple, like wood that is not yet wrought:*****
 He is vacant, like valleys that are hollow;
 He is dim, like water that is turbid.
 (Tao Teh Ching, Part 1, chap. 15, BOTW)

* Legge translates "shrinking"
 ** Legge translates "irresolute"
 *** Legge translates "grave"
 **** Legge translates "evanescent"
 ***** Legge renders this sentence - "Unpretentious like wood that has not been fashioned into anything."

Lao-tzu also advises:

"Return love for hatred."
 (Tao Teh Ching, Part 2, chap. 97, BOTW)

"To the good I act with goodness;
 To the bad I also act with goodness;
 Thus goodness is attained.
 To the faithful I act with faith;*
 Thus faith is attained."

(Tao Teh Ching, Part 2, chap. 49, BOTW)

* Legge translates "faith" as "sincerity".

By doing injury to no one, man acts in conformity with his own nature and, thereby, deals successfully with all things. Lao and Chuang were not interested in this

It would seem that the attaining of "Tao", i.e. the conforming of one's nature to that of the "Tao" so that one becomes united with It, is to be identified with man's return to the state of primal simplicity, for

it was in that state that man possessed "Tao".

This, then, is the sum and substance of salvation according to the Taoist Scriptures, as I see it. It appears that this attaining to "Tao" has the added attraction of prolonging one's life. In fact, it seems that in some statements the impression is given that one may thereby obtain immortality; immortality, however, is not emphasized and seems to be more or less of a side issue. It is held up in several places as the fruit of the attainment of "Tao". Some of those who "got It" lived on indefinitely. In Part I, chapter 6 of the Tao Teh Ching we read, "He who attains to Tao is everlasting, though his body decays, he never perishes." This sentence would seem to indicate immortality only for the spirit or mind of man, if he attains to "Tao". Kwang Khang Tze, however, says of himself that he had thus cultivated for himself 1200 years, "and my bodily form has undergone no decay". It was this aspect, not predominant in the fathers of Taoism, that came to the fore in later centuries and resulted in Taoism degenerating into a search for the elixir of immortality and the seeking of immunity from death and poverty. Lao and Chuang were not interested in this subject. Only as far as man by acting contrary to his nature interferes with life, bringing himself to an untimely end, are the writers interested in death.

"To complete one's natural term of years and not come to an untimely end in the middle of his course is the fullness of knowledge." (Chuang-tzu, Book 6, par. 1)

Later Taoism developed a system of morality for every-day life which was founded on the writings of the Old Man and his disciple. From the Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions (The Tai Shang) we learn of the development of a regular system of rewards for virtuous or good deeds and punishments for evildoers. Every good deed has a proportionate reward, and every evil deed a punishment commensurate with it.

Regarding the good man who has done good deeds we read:

"All other men respect him; Heaven in its course protects him; all evil things keep far from him; happiness and emolument follow him; all evil things keep far from him; the spiritual Intelligences defend him: what he does is sure to succeed; he may hope to become immaterial and Immortal. He who would seek to become an Immortal of Heaven ought to give the proof of 1300 good deeds; and he who would seek to become an Immortal of Earth should give the proof of three hundred." (The Tai Shang, S.B.E., Vol. II on Taoism, p. 237-238)

Regarding the man who has committed evil we read:

"In the case of crimes such as these, (the Spirits) presiding over the Life, according to their lightness or gravity, take away the culprit's periods of twelve years or of one hundred days. When his term of life is exhausted, death ensues. If at death there remains guilt unpunished, judgement extends to his posterity." (The Tai Shang, SBE, Vol. II on Taoism, p. 245-246)

1. S.B.E. -- Sacred Books of the East.

clear. We also learn that the good man, when he dies, as a reward for his goodness, becomes an Immortal, a genie, or fairy. Of the evil man it is said that "if at death there remains guilt unpunished, judgment extends to his posterity." *There, man, in the primal state of sin.* As I read and pondered over the sayings of Chuang-tzu and Lao Tzu the impression grew on me that in some matters they were not so very far from the truth; that they had some remnant knowledge of the condition of man before the Fall. They knew that the state of affairs, as they found them in their day, man at enmity with man, disharmony, being out of touch with the "Tao", had not always existed; that in the beginning it was not so. Did they arrive at this by their own thinking? Or did the traditions, that they recount, have their basis in the facts of Genesis, which, in the handing down from generation to generation, ~~was~~^{were} corrupted? With their repeated references to the simplicity of the ancients, the age of perfect virtue, it would seem that they may have had some knowledge of the simplicity that was Adam's and Eve's in the garden of Eden. They speak of man living in harmony with the beasts of the field and the fowl of the air. Was not such harmony an actuality in the garden of Eden before the Fall? They taught that man in that age of simplicity possessed the "Tao". Is this possession of "Tao" perhaps a remnant of a one-time

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clearer understanding of the truth that man was created in the image of God and was in close communion with Him? When man fell, he lost that image. When man departed from his natural simplicity he lost "Tao". According to these Taoist philosophers, man, in the primal state of simplicity could not distinguish between right and wrong and was spontaneously upright and correct. From Genesis we know that man in the beginning, being holy, knew only what was good. Evil was foreign to his understanding. Were Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu struggling with a faint tradition or remembrance of this fact? When Adam and Eve fell, they lost the image of God and, among other things, enmity and strife entered the world. Was, perhaps, this truth, handed down and corrupted by tradition, the basis for the contention by these philosophers that man had departed from his primal simplicity and lost "Tao"? Struggling along with the limitations of human wisdom, were they trying to propound a doctrine (using Christian terminology) of regeneration by which the image of God, lost at the fall, would be regained by man? Writing about the philosophy of Lao Tzu one commentator says, "It seems to approach nearer the grand truths so magnificently expressed by our own incomparable Bible." There are points of similarity between Genesis and the teachings of these two men. Is it merely accidental or was there, perhaps, a remnant knowledge of the truth

Chapter III

among the Chinese? Who will say? One is impressed by their mental brilliance, particularly that of Lao Tzu, but depressed by the fact of which one becomes so conscious, namely, the failure of the human mind to arrive at an understanding of divine truth without divine revelation. One may admire their mental gifts and discernment but feels sorry for them for the lack of revelation. "The natural mind knoweth not the things of the spirit of God, neither can he discern them." describes it as a religion based on "atheism, annihilation, and the non-reality of the material world."¹ As taught by Gautama, it was not so much a philosophy as a "way of life", a remedy for human misery, an escape from the perpetual wheel of transmigration.² Metaphysical speculation arose after his death and the system which was then developed has been known as Hinayana - the "Lesser Vehicle". It was very much esoteric and is often referred to as orthodox Buddhism, because it has remained closer to the teaching of its founder. There also developed a system of Buddhism that was exoteric and it is called Mahayana, the "Greater Vehicle", which indicates Universalism or salvation for all.

Our interest lies in the Buddhist idea of salvation as it developed in China. According to some traditions Buddhism may have made its entrance into China

1. Edkins - Chinese Buddhism, p.101-102.

2. Spoothill - Spoothill - A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms.

as early as 148 B. Chapter III was not until 67 A.D. that

we find it officially recognized in the historical chron-

icles of that country.¹ The Mahayana school found its

Buddhism is not indigenous to China. Its founder was Gautama of India who lived in the latter part of the sixth century before Christ. In its earlier form it was more a philosophy than a religion, for with religion we associate the worship of God or gods; but this fantastic genius of India, in composing his system, which is now known as Buddhism, ignored all gods. Dr. J. Ekins describes it as a religion based on "atheism, annihilation, and the non-reality of the material world."¹ As taught by Gautama, it was not so much a philosophy as a "way of life", a remedy for human misery, an escape from the perpetual wheel of transmigration.² Metaphysical speculation arose after his death and the system which was then developed has been known as Hinayana - the "Lesser Vehicle". It was very ~~more~~ esoteric and is often referred to as orthodox Buddhism, because it has remained closer to the teaching of its founder. There also developed a system of Buddhism that was exoteric and it is called Mahayana, the "Greater Vehicle", which indicates Universalism or salvation for all.

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2. Soothill - Hoadus - A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms.

as early as 142 B.C., but it was not until 67 A.D. that we find it officially recognized in the historical chronicles of that country.¹ The Mahayana school found its way to China about the fifth century of the Christian era.² In the course of the centuries Buddhism spread and grew, and then at times it languished, particularly when it suffered under the "Three Great Persecutions." Yet, on the whole, it found fertile soil among the syncretistic Chinese. Some students of Chinese religions maintain that it found ready acceptance because it offered something to satisfy the spiritual longings of the people, something which Confucianism and Taoism had failed to do. It offered them "smiling and merciful divinities, who met their wants both in the present life and the next."³ It is true that with the spread of Mahayana teachings a more concrete idea of salvation was given to the Chinese. Whether Buddhism made any other positive contributions to Chinese religious thought, any improvements on Confucianism or Taoism, is a mooted question. Hodous is of the opinion that it "rendered a great service to the Chinese through its new estimate of the individual. He was merged in the family and class. The classics of China had very little to say about the common people. The great common crowd was submerged. Buddhist, on the other hand, gave every individual a distinct place

1. Hodous - Buddhists and Buddhism in China, p.4.

2. M. Kennelly - Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Vol. 6, Preface, p.xxi.

3. Hodous - id., p.ii.

in the great wheel of dharma, the law, and made it possible for him to reach the very highest goal of salvation."¹

"Buddhism, therefore, really expresses the deepest religious life of the people of China."²

That certain forms of Buddhism laid stress on the individual and encouraged in the common people a more definite hope for a future life we can readily admit. Whether or not it improved the morality and the spiritual life of the people is another question. We think that the morality of the sects which departed less from orthodox Buddhism and stressed the suppression of desires and the cultivation of virtue through the eightfold path was an uplifting one. But it was something for only the few, those who could separate themselves from the world to cultivate "the way". It was nothing for the farmer, the coolie, the soldier, the craftsman, and the business man. The Buddhism of the masses did not contribute to the edification of the soul or the elevation and cultivation of a better morality. The verdict of the Jesuit M. Kennelly is true: "Human in its origin and efficacy, it has not saved the country from ignorance, misery or sin, despite the compassion of its numerous Bodhisattvas."³

In approaching our subject we must remember that in China there are many sects or schools of Buddhism and all have certain sutras (scriptures) on which they base

1. Hodous - id., p.16

2. Hodous - id., p.17

3. Kennelly - id., Vol.6, Preface, p.xxiii

Beal
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 their systems and all of these are included in the Buddhist canon irrespective of the fact that one may contradict the other. This Buddhist canon was not established at an early date like the New Testament of Christianity and then not added thereto. In fact, through the centuries writing after writing was added to the canon, so that it continued to grow from the 1st to the 13th century until it finally numbered, by the year 1285 A.D., 1440 distinct works comprising 5586 books¹ "It is calculated that the whole work of the Indian translators in China, together with that of Hionen-tsang, amounts to about seven hundred times the size of the New Testament."² To these must be added the many works of Chinese Buddhist scholars. We cannot in the scope of this paper present the peculiar characteristics of each sect or of all the various writings on the subject of salvation. We will content ourselves with studying the chief divergent ideas on salvation as we find these emphasized in certain sects or Scriptures.

In order to understand Chinese Buddhism in any form, we must first look at the earlier teachings of this religion when it was still closer to the fundamental principles of its founder. Furthermore, since we are interested in Chinese Buddhism, we do not ask, "What did Gautama actually teach?" but, "What is the Chinese version of his life and teaching." To this end we have

1. Beal - A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese - Preface.
2. Beal - id. Preface.

studied in particular "The Fo Sho Hing Tsan King"¹
 (佛所行讚經); this is a metrical version of the Life
 of Buddha by Ma Meng PuSa. It is a translation of Asvag-
 hoshā's Buddhakarita, made by the Indian priest Dharmakṣha,
 cārca 420 A.D. This is a widely read Life of Buddha.

According to this record, Buddha, at an early age,
 recognized the existence of evil. Born in a palace, he
 was surrounded from his infancy with only beautiful and
 pleasant things and whatever it was thought would make him
 happy and give him pleasure. But early in life he came
 into contact with sorrow, pain, sickness, decay, old age,
 and death. The sight of these saddened him, particularly
 when he learned from these the impermanence of all things,
 that all things are subject to the law of change.

"The pain of birth, old age, disease,
 and death; this grief is that we have to fear;
 the eyes see all things falling to decay, and
 yet the heart finds joy in following them;
 But I have little strength of purpose, or com-
 mand; this heart of mine is feeble and dīstraught,
 reflecting thus on age, disease, and death."
 (FSHT², Varga 5)

He leaves his palace grounds and in the country-side

he sees: the "austerities of asceticism that they

might at the "Labourers at their toil, struggling
 with painful work, their bodies bent, their
 hair dishevelled, dripping sweat upon their
 faces," etc. "the ploughing oxen, too, bent
 by the yokes" and these things moved him to
 sorrow so that "he groaned with pain."
 (FSHT, Varga 5)

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1. According to Wade romanization, Fu So Hsing Tsan Ching.
2. FSHT - The Fu So Hsing Tsan Ching - in Sacred Books of the East, as translated by S. Beal.

Such was the evil that had engulfed mankind and from which he determined to find a way of escape:

"I will now seek (he said) a noble law, unlike the worldly methods known to men; I will oppose disease and age and death, and strive against the mischief wrought by these on men." (FSHT, Varga 5)

Transmigration of the soul, as believed by the people of India, he accepted as a fact. The continuous round of the soul (the living ego of the individual) from birth to death to birth and death again must be brought to an end in order to remove the four great evils: birth, old age (decay), disease, and death. We learn this from many passages, e.g. in his words to his coachman whom he sent back to his father in the city.

"When I have escaped from the sad ocean of birth and death, then afterwards, I will come back again." (FSHT, Varga 6)

"Ignorance and passion, causing constant transmigration, abiding in the midst of these (they say) is the lot of all that lives." (FSHT, varga 12) Salvation from the above is what Buddha sought.

In the woods he met certain Brahmakarins who practiced the "austerities of asceticism that they might at the end of life obtain a birth in heaven." This was not the answer which he sought for escape from the wheel of birth and death:

"pitiful indeed are such sufferings! and merely in quest of a human reward, ever revolving in the cycle of birth and death, how great your sufferings, how small the recompense! Leaving your friends, giving up honorable position; with a firm purpose to

the obtain the joys of heaven, although you may escape little sorrows, yet in the end involved there in great sorrow; Promoting the destruction of your outward form and undergoing every kind of painful penance, and yet seeking to obtain another birth; increasing and prolonging the causes of the five desires, not considering that herefrom (result repeated) birth and death, undergoing suffering and, by that, seeking further suffering; thus it is that the world of men, though dreading the approach of death, yet strive after renewed birth; and being thus born must die again." (FSHT, varga 7)

According to this, man must by his own efforts of In seeking a way of escape, he arrived at the conclusion that "desire", giving free reign to the senses, was the root of all evil. His own remarks on this point are many and varied:

"These five desires are the great obstacles, forever disarranging the way of peace..... If there is no lustful desire, the risings of sorrow are not produced." (FSHT, varga 9)

"The wise and prudent man will not allow his senses license, For these senses are indeed our greatest foes, causes of misery." (FSHT, varga 26)

"No greater evil is there than lust." (FSHT, varga 23)

In the Lin Yen Ching¹ the ordinary incident of the temptation of Ananda (Buddha's disciple) is used as the point of departure for discussing the hidden nature of man and kindred subjects. T'eh Ts'ing, a Chinese monk of the Ming dynasty, explains the importance of this incident for the sutra in this, that it is the passions which prevent men from attaining Nirvana. Among

1. A widely read Buddhist sutra in Chinese.

desire". Soothill & Hodous, id., p.400.

the passions, sensual lust is the most powerful and, therefore, it needs a remedy of corresponding strength to remove it.¹ Thus, this sutra also points to lust and the passions as the root of evil. (Cf. Appendix No. 9 for quotation from another sutra on this subject.)

After some time Buddha devised his way of salvation from the "ever changing wheel of birth and death." According to this way, man must by his own efforts of contemplation, meditation, and right living break the links in a double chain of cause and effect that keeps man going on this eternal round of birth and death.

Old age and death are caused by

Birth, and birth is caused by

Life deeds; these are caused by

Taking hold;² this in turn is caused by

Longing desire;³ this has its cause in

1. Samuel Beal, A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese.
2. (取) in the Sanskrit - upandana; "to grasp, hold on to, held by, be attached to, love"; used as indicating both (愛) love or desire and (煩惱) the vexing passions and illusions. It is one of the twelve nidanas (十二因緣) or (十二支) the grasping at or holding on to self-existence and things." Soothill & Hodous: A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p.251.
3. (愛) in the Sanskrit - trishna; "thirst, avidity, desire". Soothill & Hodous, id., p.400.

Sensation;¹ this has its cause in
Contact; this has its cause in
The Six entrances;² these have their cause in
Name and Things; these, in turn, have their cause in
Knowledge.

"Knowledge, in turn, proceeds from name and thing, the two are interinvolved leaving no remnant; by some concurrent cause knowledge engenders name and thing; whilst by some other cause concurrent, name and thing engenders knowledge." Thus we have a vicious circle between cause and effect, effect and cause.

Knowledge engenders

Name and thing; name and thing engender

The Six Entrances; these in turn engender

Contact; contact engenders

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1. (受) in the Sanskrit - vedana; "perception, knowledge obtained by the senses, feeling, sensation. It is defined as mental reaction to the object, but in general it means receptivity or sensation; the two forms of sensation of physical and mental objects are indicated." Soothill and Hodous; id., p.251
 2. (六入) in Sanskrit - Sadayatana; "six locations or entrances - denoting both the organ and the sensation, eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind." Soothill & Hodous; id., p.132.

(Herbert Baynes, M.A.S.: The Way of Buddha, p.51 & 52.)

Sensation; sensation engenders

Longing desire; longing desire engenders

Taking Hold; taking hold engenders

Life Deeds; life deeds cause

Birth; and from birth proceed

Age and Death.

"Upandana is the cause of deeds; and these again engender birth; birth again produces age and death; so does this one incessant round cause the existence of all living things." (Cf. Appendix No. 10 for full quotation on above round of causes and effects.)

By destroying one of the links in this chain this incessant round that all living things must make can be terminated. To this end Buddha "devised for the world's benefit the eight-fold path." This path is outlined by Herbert Baynes as follows.

1. Right views; free from prejudices, illusion, and superstition.
2. High aims; pressing forward to the highest goal, as becomes a noble and enlightening being.
3. Kindly speech; simple; faithful, true.
4. Upright conduct; peace-loving, straight-forward, and pure.
5. Harmless livelihood; such as brings harm to no living thing.
6. Perseverance in well-doing; set only upon overcoming ignorance, the passions, and the will to live.
7. Intellectual activity; always directed to rule and doctrine.
8. Intense reflexion; the mind being wholly withdrawn from the things of time and sense; the resolution of the will and of self-consciousness in Nirvanam.

(Herbert Baynes, M.R.A.S.: The Way of Buddha, p.51 & 52.)

In following this eight-fold path one must come the realization of the non-reality of the Personal Ego, that there is no such thing as self. Thus, the senses are controlled and desire ceases to be operative. With the cessation of desire no life deeds are produced and man is not reborn.

From "Knowing oneself, and understanding how the senses act, then there is no room for "I" (soul) or ground for framing it; then all the accumulated mass of sorrow, sorrows born from life and death, being recognized as attributes of body, and as this body is not "I", nor offers ground for "I", then comes the great superlative, the source of peace unending. This thought of "self" gives rise to all these sorrows, binding as with cords the world, but having found there is no "I" that can be bound, then all those bonds are severed." (FSHT, varga 16)

In this way one can arrive at Nirvana.¹ Nirvana is rest or escape from all possible sorrow, which is realized by the cessation of the law of karma, of birth and death. Max Mueller writes on this point:

"The popular view of Nirvana - as representing the entrance of the soul into Rest; a subduing of all wishes and desires; indifference to joy and pain, to good and evil, etc. - was, in my opinion, the conception of Buddha and his disciples." (Dhammapada, p.xlv)

On his death bed, Buddha also pointed his disciples to Parinirvana and Mahaparinirvana as the fruit of the attainment of Nirvana. These are intensified states of Nirvana, or, we might say, Nirvanas of higher degrees.

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1. According to Soothill and Hodous, Nirvana is "that state of extinction of the individual attainable in this life." Parinirvana is "the final state of extinction as attained after this life." A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms.

In the "Tathagata, composed and quiet spake,"
 'Grieve not! the time is one for joy; no call
 for sorrow or for anguish here; that which for
 ages I have aimed at, now am I just about to
 obtain; delivered now from the narrow bonds of
 sense, I go to the place of never ending rest
 and peace. I leave these things, earth, water,
 fire and air, to rest secure from where neither
 birth nor death can come. Eternally delivered
 there from grief." (FSHT, Warga 25 treating
 Parinirvana)

From the above it would seem that the goal of
 salvation is the cessation of all sense perception. This
 means either the extinction of self (the annihilation
 of "I") or the complete identification of "I" with the
 Eternal Absolute (大自在). In the Parinirvana
 Sutra we read:

"So we may justly define Nirvana as that
 sort of non-existence which consists in the
 absence of something essentially different from
 itself." (For fuller quotation cf. Appendix
 No. 11)

By way of summary we may conclude that primitive
 Buddhism in seeking the salvation of mankind took no
 cognizance of sin as alienating man from God. In fact,
 God had no part in this scheme. Its one concern was
 salvation from bodily suffering and change. All is van-
 ity. "Earth is a vain show and heaven a vain reward."¹
 To escape from both is the goal of man. The eight-fold
 path is the means. In other words, it is self-attained
 by mental, moral and physical discipline. This type of
 salvation was definitely esoteric and consequently had
 little appeal to the masses.

1. Beal - id., p.143.

* Literally: The Great Self-Existent

In the course of time more emphasis was placed on moral discipline. We see this from the "Sutra of the Forty Two Sections":

"Buddha said: A man guilty of every kind of disobedience, and not purging himself by repentance, confirms himself in his wickedness, and must certainly return to life in a bodily shape, even as the water returns to the sea; but yet, by acting up to his duty, and getting rid of his evil ways, understanding the character of sin, and avoiding disobedience, and so attaining to virtue - this man, when his day of punishment is over, may afterwards attain to supreme Reason (Perfection)."
(Beal's Catena, p.192-193)

In the Maha-Parinibbana Sutra (大般涅槃經) we read:

"Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well doer through his practice of rectitude.. . . .after death he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O householder, is the fivefold gain of the well doer."¹

To assist the disciple in his moral discipline there were 250 Rules of Conduct.

"Such an one - continuing in the 250 Rules, and persevering in the four straight paths, aspiring after a condition of mental Rest and Purity - he shall attain to the state of a Rahat.²" (Sutra of the Forty Two Sections - Beal's Catena, p.191)

In connection with these 250 Rules there was at an early period a form of discipline somewhat like our Christian idea of public confession and absolution. At given times these mendicant monks met in assembly. The 250 Rules were read aloud, one at a time, and anyone who had violated one of them was supposed to confess and receive absolution.

1. Sacred Books of the East - Vol. 7, p.17.
2. A reincarnation that is higher than man.

"That brother, therefore, who is conscious of transgression, and desires absolution, ought at once to declare his fault, and after proper penance he shall have rest and peace." (From the Pratimoksha Sutra, Beal's Catena, p.239)

From the foregoing we can see how "work-righteousness," with particular emphasis on personal discipline, forms the key-note of this system. Yet, among these esoteric sects some laid all emphasis on the "mind"; to wit, that one might attain to the state of being a Buddha by the cultivation of the mind. The Lin-tsi school, according to Edkins,¹ teaches that: "Within the body which admits sensation, acquires knowledge, thinks and acts, there is the 'True man without a position', wu wei chen jen..... The invisible power of the mind permeates every part..... If the mind does not come to conscious existence, there is deliverance everywhere."

From the above it will also be noted that the goal of salvation, which originally was Nirvana, has become something different. Nirvana is the ultimate goal, but it is more or less in the background. The immediate goal is a state of Saintship or Buddhahood. This latter would be a state of perfection which we might best describe as godhood.

For the masses Buddhism developed a different form of salvation, a more easy way. Furthermore, the aim of salvation was more realistic than mere extinction, rest, passivity, identification with the Great Absolute, or even the more tangible Buddhahood. Salvation was

1. J. Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, p.164.

to be sought not so much from the miseries of life as from the hells of the life to come and the dangers of a rebirth in a lower form. The great objective was to be reborn into a land of bliss, the Western Paradise.

The law of karma is not ignored in this type of Buddhism. Every deed has its appropriate reward and the accumulative effect of all the life deeds of a man will be seen in his state of rebirth, whether in one of the hells, as a beast, as a man, as a saint, or directly into the Western Paradise. His ultimate goal is to be reborn into this paradise, at least in one of his subsequent rebirths. Thus, the idea of cessation of rebirth is not absent, but the element of extinction, of cessation of personality, has receded to where it is given little thought.

Since this paradise is the goal of the great mass of Chinese Buddhists it will, perhaps, not be foreign to our subject to describe it. There are millions of Buddhas in this land of bliss over which Amitabha rules. In Chinese he is called O-mi-t'u-fu (阿彌陀佛). He is of boundless ages, immortal; and all born into this paradise enjoy immortality with him. In the "Larger Sukhavati-Vynha Sutra" (大無量壽經) it is described as situated beyond the confines of this visible world, is prosperous, and is a land of bliss.

1. Amitayus is another name for Amitabha.

"And, O Ananda, the world called Sukhavati belonging to that Bhagavat Amitabha is prosperous, rich, good to live in, fertile, lovely, and filled with many gods and men. Then, O Ananda, in that world there are neither hells, nor the brute creation, nor the realm of departed spirits, nor bodies of Asuras, nor untimely births. And there do not appear in this world such gems as are known in the world Sukhavati." (The Larger Sukhavati-Vyaha)
(Cf. Appendix No. 12 for a further description of the Western Paradise.)

How can one be born into this paradise? As we read the Buddhist Sutras that speak of this paradise and how to attain to it we realize that there are several ways of salvation. In fact, it would seem that there are ways suited to all the categories and conditions of men. In the "Amitayus Dhyana Sutra" (Kuang-wu-liang shou ching (觀無量壽經) Queen Vaidehi is described as troubled by the thought that the masses cannot attain to this "Land of Highest Happiness" by the ideal route, namely, acting filially, fulfilling all the moral precepts, and giving the whole mind to the attainment of wisdom. "How shall these beings who are depraved and devoid of good qualities see the World of Highest Happiness of the Buddha Amitayus?"¹ Buddha then tells her in 16 meditations how the various classes of ~~beings~~^{people} can be saved.

First of all, the ideal way is by meditation on the Land of Bliss, its marks, on Amitabha, and on his Characteristics.

1. Amitayus is another name for Amitabha.

"If anyone meditates on the land (of that Buddha-country), his sins (which bind him to) births and deaths during eighty millions of kalpas shall be expiated; after the abandonment of his body, he will assuredly be born in the pure land in the following life."

"He who has practised this meditation is freed from the sins (which otherwise involve him in) births and deaths for innumerable millions of kalpas, and during this present life he obtains the Samadhi due to the remembrance of Buddha." (Amitayur-dhyana Sutra)

The rest of humanity is divided into nine classes; three major classes, each of which is then sub-divided into three groups. We see that salvation is attainable by both the virtuous and the wicked; that virtuous deeds play an important role, but where these are lacking, either in sufficient quantity or altogether, trust in the merciful Amitayus will suffice.

Man may merit paradise by his good conduct.

"There are also three classes of beings, who are able to be born into that country. What, you may ask, are the three classes of beings? First, those who are possessed of a compassionate mind, who do no injury to any beings, and accomplish all virtuous actions according to Buddha's precepts; second those who study and recite the Sutras of the Mahayana doctrine, for instance, the Vaipulya Sutras; third, those who practise the six-fold remembrance. These three classes of beings who wish to be born in that country by bringing (their respective stock of merit) to maturity, will become destined to be born there if they have accomplished any of these meritorious deeds for one day or for seven days." (Amitayur-dhyana Sutra)

The Hi-shai Sutra says: "Every one who has led a life (one life) of complete virtue, in body and speech and thought, at the time of death will be born in Heaven." (As quoted in Deal's Catena, p. 74) (Cf. Appendix No. 13.)

This "land of seven jewels" is the outer fringe of heaven.

Yet without these deeds Amitayua is powerful to save anyone who trusts on him.

"Next are the beings who will be born in the middle form of the lowest grade. If there be any one who transgresses the five and eight prohibitive precepts, and also all the perfect moral precepts; he being himself so stupid as to steal things that belong to the whole community, or things that belong to a particular Bhikshu, and not be ashamed nor sorry for his impure preaching of the law (in case of a preacher), but magnify and glorify himself with many wicked deeds; such a person deserves to fall into hell in consequence of those sins. At the time of his death, when the fires of hell approach him on all sides, he will meet a good and learned teacher who will, out of great compassion, preach the power and virtue of the ten faculties of amitayua and fully explain the supernatural powers and brilliant rays of Buddha; and will further praise moral virtue, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, and the thorough knowledge that follows emancipation. After having heard this he will be freed from his sins, which would involve him in births and deaths during eighty millions of kalpas; thereupon those fires of hell will transform themselves into a pure and cool wind blowing about heavenly flowers. ... In a moment he will be born in a lotus flower growing in the lake of seven jewels.¹ After six kalpas ... several will preach to him the Mahayana sutras---- having heard this law, he will instantaneously direct his thought toward the attainment of the highest Bodhi." (Amitayua-dhyana Sutra) (Of. Appendix, No. 14)

In quite a number of the Mahayana texts much is made of good works or, as it is so often called, "one's stock of merit." On the other hand, in the "Smaller Suddhavati" (阿彌陀經) good works are ruled out as a cause of rebirth in that Buddha country. "Beings are not born in that Buddha country of

1. This "lake of seven jewels" we may describe as the outer fringe of heaven.

of the Tathagata-Amitayus as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life." According to this Sutra, mere repetition of the name of Amitabha or keeping his name in mind before death is sufficient for salvation.

"No, whatever son or daughter of a family shall hear the name of the blessed Amitayus, the Tathagata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind, and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights,--when that son or daughter of a family comes to die, then that Tathagata, the Tathagata, surrounded by an assembly of disciples and followed by a host of Bodhisattvas, will stand before them at their hour of death, and they will depart this life with tranquil minds. After their death they will be born in the world Sukhavati, in the Buddha country of the same Amitayus, the Tathagata. Therefore, then, O Sariputra, having perceived this cause and effect, I with reverence say thus, Every son and every daughter of a family ought with their whole mind to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country." (The Smaller Sukharati-vyuh Sutra)

~~the earth.~~ Does this indicate that in saying those words mental prayer will bring one into possession of "transcendent true knowledge" and this, in turn, will cause one to be born into that Buddha country. Litel quotes a Buddhist Scripture to the effect that, "pronouncing the name of Buddha a few thousand times and a continued worship of Amitabha will release men from the restless eddies of transmigration and bring them to the enjoyment of eternal bliss and rest in the pure land of the western Heaven."¹

1. Litel- "Three Lectures on Buddhism." p. 22.

Despite the statement of the Smaller Sukhavati, it is evident that good works in sufficient quantity and quality will merit salvation. Salvation constitutes, on the one hand, escape from the torments of hell or the evils of an inferior rebirth and, on the other hand, entrance into heaven. Where this merit is lacking, Amitabha saves. When we speak of Amitabha as Saviour we must not think in terms of Christian concepts. His saving mercy is far different from that of Christianity's Saviour. Amitabha has made no propitiation for sins and there has been no reconciling of man unto God by any sacrifice for sin. His mercy is arbitrary, although in the Larger Sukhavati it is stated that in his rebirths "he has collected such a large stock of merit that there arise for him many hundreds of thousands of niyutas of kitis of treasures from out the earth." Does this indicate that in saving those who lack "their stock of merit" he draws on his own huge warehouse of merits, crediting some of these to them who trust in him? We do not think this is the idea associated with his accumulated merit. These merits account him able to save whomever he will. It seems to us that justice is vitiated when mere repetition of His name, i.e. seven times at death, is sufficient for rebirth into Paradise. This contradicts one of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism, namely, that as a man soweth so shall he also reap. One might

bring the same criticism against Christ's saving of the Thief on the cross, but the point we must remember is that with Christ justice had not been ignored, for the sins of that thief were fully atoned for by Him, thus satisfying the justice of God. In the case of, let us say, the apostle John, who performed many works of righteousness, he was saved, not because of his works but also because of the atonement which Christ made for his sins. In Christianity there is "no stock of merit." In Buddhism, where works are a justifying element in man's salvation, justice is ignored when Amitabha's mercy saves the wicked who are without them.

Furthermore, in making a comparison of Amitabha with Christ we must remember that the former is "an imaginary being unknown to ancient Buddhism, possibly of Persian or Iranian origin. . . . His name indicates an idealization rather than a historic personality, the idea of eternal light and life."¹ Of course, some claim that he is an historical character, a disciple of Buddha who attained to Buddhahood. In that case, we have a man becoming a god to save his fellow men. In other words, he is a purely human redeemer who brings a human redemption. In Christ we have an unquestionable historic personage, God manifest in the flesh, a Divine Redeemer with a Divine Redemption. Once more we wish to bring out that these doctrines of

1. Soothill and Hodous: id. p. 287

a Western Paradise and of a Saviour are" a flat contradiction of all the leading doctrines of Buddhism", not only of Hinayana but even of Mahayana also. From the writings of the latter, it is even evident that this Paradise is only a stage on the way of rebirth into Nirvana. In the popular mind, however, it is the final goal. Nirvana and Paradise are contradictory. Then too the teaching of a Saviour vitiates the principle of "personal merit" which is emphasized strongly by Mahayana as well as Hinayana.

Recapitulating what we have learned of Buddhism from its various holy writings, it is evident that there are several ways of salvation open to the Buddhist, depending largely on what school or sect he follows. He may travel one, several, or all these roads on his way to a higher rebirth, sainthood, Buddhahood, paradise, or Nirvana. These several roads are:

1.) By mental discipline

- a) meditation
- b) attainment of knowledge

2.) By meritorious works

- a) suppression of all desires
- b) asceticism
- c) keeping the Buddhist commandments
- d) good works

3.) By trusting in the mercy of Amitabha

Chapter IV

THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF SALVATION. Above all, in their customs and religious ideas is it evident

I. Remnants of a messianic idea.
II. Nestorianism.

In 1880 Dr. Ho-

I.
It is only natural that we ask, "How soon did the Christian idea of salvation penetrate into ancient China?" "In what form or dress did it make its appearance, and to what extent did it find acceptance among her people?" Once we enter upon this subject we begin to realize that a vast field of investigation remains for the archeologist and the sinologue to explore, particularly in western China where the first contacts were made with the Semitic and Christian countries.

In the last few years several missionaries, who have labored in the western part of Szechuan near the borders of Tibet, have brought to the notice of scholars the existence of a race of people who are not native of the country they inhabit but descendants of a colony of Israelites, who, it appears, came to China as a result of the "Dispersion," settled in the mountainous regions where dwelt scattered aborigines, grew to considerable numbers and strength during the succeeding centuries, and finally, through conflict with and absorption by the Chinese, dwindled to their present isolated remnants. These remnant groups, the Chiang-min, who maintain that they are immigrants, are de-

scribed as having Semitic characteristics. Above all, in their customs and religious ideas is it evident that they have Semitic connections. In 1860 Dr. McGowan read a paper before the British Association in which he stated that he had found evidence of the existence of a colony of Jews in the city of Chintu (Chengtu) about a century before Christ. He also stated that he was of the opinion that they were the progenitors of the Karens, or that it was through them that the Karens derived their Old Testament traditions.

We cannot go into the history of these descendants of Abraham, the Chiang Min, but we feel that we should briefly touch upon their idea of salvation, which, as it is related by the Rev. T. Torrence, F.R.G.S., is definitely of Old Testament origin and Messianic in character.

In his book, "China's First Missionaries" (published 1937) he describes their worship in the high places. The description strikes one as being similar to that of the Israelites in their days prior to the time of the exile. "The Chiang make no representation of Deity but publicly worship in a sacred grove up on a mountain-side or a mountain-top."^a Their worship was unlike that of the Canaanites who surrounded the Israelites, for "the Chiang, more honorable than the Canaanites,

have maintained their monotheism comparatively unsullied, and have given us an example of religious constancy to be found, apart from the Jews, in no other people."b

"A High Place is not chosen, as might be supposed, merely for its commanding elevation. It is rather chosen because they think of God as dwelling on high in the Heavens; and ascent to His altar gives natural expression of their desire to meet Him. Up on the mountain-side in the heart of a grove the world is shut out and the soul shut in with God. Nothing intervenes between man and his Creator."c

Their idea of salvation was definitely similar to that of the Israelites and was colored with the hope of a Messiah. In chapter VII under the heading "The Heaven-Sent Sin-Bearer" Mr. Torrence says:

"The altar of sacrifice which they erect in the high place provides tangible evidence of the conception. Since God is holy, the sinner may not approach Him before he is ceremoniously cleansed. The regulation is fixed and unalterable. It cannot be evaded. Compliance is essential in order to secure the pardon of iniquity.

"A sin-bearer, to take the sinner's place, is consequently necessary so that sin may be judged and removed. On it falls the divine judgment. That releases the sinner. When the blood has been shed and sprinkled,

the way for prayer and supplication has been opened."^d They claim that the purpose of these sacrifices is the removal of sin to secure divine blessing. The sacrificial lamb bears the penalty the sinner should have borne and thus by the shedding of blood remission of sin is obtained. ^eath of the future "Sin Bearer," whose presence Our interest in this sin-bearer does not end here. The author brings out the messianic idea which the Chinese associate with the lamb that is sacrificed to bear their sins. "They solemnly assert that their sacrifices are only provisional; they are but the semblances of a supreme sacrifice yet to come."^e ^f specially, "A divine agent is to come from heaven to be the Great Sin-Bearer. When He appears, the reality of their sacrifices will be accomplished. This future Sin-Bearer even now comes as an unseen Presence to the grove to put their petition through for them. He is regarded as the Interpreter of all that takes place in the sacred grove, and as the agent who mediates between man and God."^f accept our sacrifices."^g

His presence at the sacrifices is symbolized by a roll of white paper without which the effectiveness of the sacrifice would be vitiated. This scroll is all that is left of their Scriptures. With the loss of the knowledge of letters, their Scripture Scroll de-

carved image of a serpent. "The rod is another symbol generated into a simple roll of white paper. That this roll is especially sacred is evidenced by the fact that each priest guards his with most zealous care.

Into the upper end of this sacred cylinder is inserted "a small skull, or death's head." This is a plain reference to the death of the future "Sin Bearer," whose presence is symbolized by this roll.

In describing the sacrifices that are made, several points of particular interest are brought out. In the preparation of the lamb for the sacrifice, the priest "and the elders now kneel and place their hands on the head of the victim. Afterwards, all who have specially prepared themselves do the same thing."^a here we see the transference of the sins of the worshipper to the lamb. That this is not merely conjecture is brought out by the intercessory prayer which follows this act: "O regard the slayer of the lamb and the priest as without sin and undo the sin of all present. We sprinkle the blood to atone for our iniquities; O God accept our sacrifices."^b

Another indication of the Messianic idea of salvation among the Chian is the priestly rod which is found in their midst. There is a tradition that is associated with this rod, the tradition of the brazen serpent incident in the wilderness. On the rod is the

a. pp. 89-90;

b. pp. 90-91

carved image of a serpent. "The Rod is another symbol of the Heaven-Sent Sin-Bearer, which to the student of the Old Testament is decidedly provocative of thought."^a

In the course of the centuries accretions and a certain measure of perversion have come to the ritual of these people. Yet, "though their beliefs in some quarters are perhaps overlaid with the rust of tradition and tarnished by encroaching superstition, the fundamental idea of the holiness of God remains to this day strong and unequivocal." It would further seem that the Messianic idea, which found its fulfillment in Christ giving himself up as an offering for sin on the cross, had at least in a corrupted form found its way through these people into the middle Kingdom. To what extent did the Chiang idea of a Sin-Bearer spread among the Chinese people? It is the opinion of Mr. Torrence that the Chiang beliefs did gain some foothold among the Szechuanese, even though these could not and did not uproot the official Confucian rites and tenets. Although Buddhism over-ran North China from the 2nd to the 7th century, it made little headway in West China until the T'ang Dynasty. In the meantime, from a few centuries before Christ, Chiang beliefs had filtered into the country. "Even today in Szechuan the Chinese have lingering rites of a nature explainable only as of Chiang origin. They sacrifice fowls to secure for-

givenness of sins, to avert demoniac power, and at New Year time sprinkle blood over the doorway and post up red scrolls on the door post to ensure blessing and prosperity."

We conclude that the above evidence would seem to point that at least a few of China's millions in the past ages have obtained some knowledge of the need of a Sin-Bearer, an Abba Malach, a Mediator between God and man, who was to get rid of sin and provide a way of forgiveness and saving help. Does this not in a way indicate that God had not left himself without some witness among the ancient Chinese? Perhaps, the archeologist spade will some day turn up more interesting evidence on this fascinating subject.

II.

Nestorianism

However, it was in the 7th century that the Christian concept of salvation in either an orthodox or heterodox form was definitely brought to China and proclaimed to her people by the Nestorians. They came to West China during the golden age of the T'ang dynasty, built churches and monasteries, preached their doctrines and in a measure prospered. "According to what records we have, Nestorianism owed its introduction to A-lo-pen of Ta-ch'in, who arrived in the capital in A.D. 635, in the reign of the great T'ai Tsung."^a Ta-ch'in

a. K. S. Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, p. 53

was used by the Chinese for several centuries to denote a rather indefinitely bound country in the "western Regions" that is identified as the Near East, or more specifically, Syria. Nestorianism in China was not known by any name that might identify it with Christianity but went under the name "Ching-chiao," the "Luminous Religion." A. C. Moule translates "Ching-chiao" as, the "Brilliant Teaching." The meaning is the same. This faith for some time enjoyed imperial favor and patronage and one Nestorian Christian, not a native Chinese, rose to a very high position in the Chinese government. In the early part of the ninth century a metropolitan for China had been consecrated by the mother church. (According to Schafr-Herzog the first metropolitan for China appointed was by Selebhascha, 714-726 A.D.) When Emperor Wu Tsung delivered his interdict against the Buddhists and at the same time proscribed Nestorians and Mohammedans there were between two thousand and three thousand priests of these two sects, of whom the Nestorians apparently were the stronger. Hence in 825 A.D. there over a 1000 and perhaps between 1500 and 2000 foreign missionaries of the Nestorian Church in China and indications are that they had a fairly large following among the Chinese. With this persecution Nestorianism fell upon evil days and "by the year 1000 it appears, as far at least as records

A. C. Moule - Christians in China before the year 1850. p. 73

cf. besides above volumes also, Becki - The Nestorian monument in China, Xula-Gordier - Cathay and the way thither.

can show, to have been practically extinct."^a

We are interested primarily in what they taught as regards salvation; how and in what form and to what extent did they preach the Scriptural doctrine of salvation through Christ? Also whether or not this doctrine has had any influence upon the other religions of China. It is to be regretted that there is very little material to draw on. The main source of our information is the inscription on the now famous Nestorian Tablet at Hsian-fu (Sian - present day name), carved and set up in 781 A.D. In addition to this there are the documents found in the Tung Huang cave in 1908. Two fragments of these ancient documents, brought to the attention of scholars by Prof. Pelliot, were "The Nestorian Baptismal Hymn to the Trinity" (Saeki's title); and the "Praise Sutra" which corresponds to the Nestorian Dyptychs or "memento." Moule speaks of the first as the "Gloria in excelsis" and mentions that Dr. Mingana identifies it with the East Syrian form of the Gloria in excelsis. Amongst the Tun-huang manuscripts four others have been recognized as Christian in character. Two of these are listed in the catalogue of Nestorian literature as given in the "Praise Sutra." They are the "Hsian yüan chih pen ching" and the "Chih hsian an lo ching." (The explaining-origin-reaching-the-

a.A.C.Moule - Christians in China Before the Year 1550. p. 78

Cf. besides above volumes also, Saeki - The Nestorian Monument in China. Yule-Cordier - Cathay and the Way Thither.

cause sutra and The-aiming-at-the-origin-happy-pleasure-sutra respectively.) The other two manuscripts or fragments are "The I shen Lun" and the "Esti t'ing mi shih so ching."

According to Prof. P. Y. Saeki the Nestorians in China "had the Apostles' Creed in Chinese. They had a most beautiful baptismal hymn in Chinese. They had a book on the incarnation of the Messiah. They had a book on the Doctrine of the Cross. In a word, they had all the literature necessary for a living Church."¹ Latourette's judgment is that "these Nestorian representatives of Christianity were as nearly true to the spirit of Jesus as were those Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox missionaries in Northern Europe during the period that the peoples of these regions were being won to the Christian faith."² We are not ready to subscribe fully to these judgments. The fact that in Europe the Church maintained itself and conquered the heathen faiths which surrounded it while in China it perished after several centuries may indicate that the Nestorian Church lacked something in its message; whether this was a lack of militancy or a lack of positive doctrine is a question we lack evidence to decide.

If we carefully study the Inscription we find no definite reference to the crucifixion and no clear

1. Saeki - The Nestorian Monument in China. p. 70.

2. Latourette - id. p. 57

expression of the doctrine of the atonement; the Messiah is described as "bringing Life to light and abolishing death," as "sweeping away the abodes of darkness," and as "defeating and destroying all the evil devices of the devil"; but how this was accomplished is not mentioned. That salvation was wrought on the cross when Christ gave Himself as an offering for sin is not brought out.

His Messianic activity is described as follows: "Fulfilling the old Law as it was declared by the twenty-four Sages, He (the Messiah) taught how to rule both families and kingdoms according to His own great Plan. Establishing His New Teaching of Non-assertion which operates silently through the Holy Spirit, another Person of the Trinity, He formed in man the capacity for well-doing through the Right Faith. Setting up the standard of the eight cardinal virtues, He purged away the dust from human nature and perfected a true character. Widely opening the Three Constant Gates, He brought Life to light and abolished Death. Hanging up the bright Sun, He swept away the abodes of darkness. All the evil devices of the devil were thereupon defeated and destroyed, He then took an oar in the Vessel of Mercy and ascended to the Palace of Light. Thereby all rational beings were conveyed across the Gulf. His mighty work being thus completed, He returned at noon to His original position (in Heaven). The twenty-seven standard works of His Sutras were preserved. The great means of Conversion (or leavening, i.e. transformation) were widely extended, and the sealed Gate of the Blessed Life was unlocked. His Law is to bathe with water and with the Spirit, and thus to cleanse from all vain delusions and to purify men until they regain the whiteness of their nature."¹

In the eulogy that closes the Inscription we find just this one sentence regarding the Messianic

1. Translation by Saeki in "The Nestorian Monument in China," pp. 163-164. For Translations by A.C. Moule and Alexander Wylie cf. Appendix no. 16.

activity of Christ:

"Dividing His God-head, He took human form
and through Him, Salvation was made free to all."¹

These quotations do not help us much to determine just what the Nestorians taught in China regarding "salvation through Christ." There are no extant

In the "Ching chiao San-wei-meng-tu -Tsan" (The Nestorian Baptismal Hymn to the Trinity) we find the following regarding the Messiah:

"O Messiah! Thou greatest and holiest of Beings,
who savest innumerable souls from the sorrows of
life.

O Eternal King!

O merciful Lamb of God!

who greatly piteesth all suffering ones,

who dreadest no Cross.

We pray Thee remove the heavy sins of men;

Let them recover their true original nature;

Let them attain the perfection of the Son of God

who stands on the right hand of the Father,

and whose throne is above that of the greatest

Prophets.

We pray Thee that all who are on the Salvation

raft may be saved from fire!

Great Pilot, Thou art our merciful Father,

The great Prophet of our Holy Lord,

Our Great King,

who are able to save all who have gone astray

By Thy wisdom.

Steadfastly we lift our eyes to Thee!

Revive us by Celestial favours (ashes, fertili-

zers, and 'Sweet dew')

and nourish our root of goodness.

O Thou most merciful and most holy Messiah!"²

This is considerably clearer than what we found in the inscription; yet it does not present the vicarious atonement of Christ as we would like to see it. In the "Praise Sutra", or Diptychs, prayers are of-

1. Translation by Saeki - id. p. 172

2. Translation by Saeki - id. p. 67.

ferred for the authors of, "On the Messiah, the Great Independent Sovereign of the Universe-sutra" and "On the Doctrine of the Cross sutra." Perhaps these were clearer in presenting the messianic work of Christ and the part the Cross played in the salvation of mankind. Just what was taught we cannot say as there are no extant copies of these works. However, the fragment manuscript entitled "Hsü t'ing mi shih so ching" offers some evidence that the story of the crucifixion was taught by them and that his death on the cross was one of substitution. Unfortunately this manuscript is difficult to translate because many of the words were written incorrectly. Professor T. Haneda is of the opinion that this is evidence of the fact that this document was written by a foreigner who had not made much progress in the Chinese language and who did not have an educated Chinese to help him in its preparation. From the portion dealing with the life and work of the Messiah we quote the following pertinent sections:

After telling of the conception by the Holy Spirit, birth from the Virgin Mo-yen (Mary), baptism in Jo-hun (Jordan) it continues: "Mi-shih-he (Messiah) then gave the people the way of heaven; for it was the Lord's will to dispose the people in the world not to serve inferior spirits. Then there were people who heard these words, Do not serve inferior spirits, nor do evil, and forthwith believed the good life. Mi-shih-he from twelve years until more than thirty-two years sought whatever people were of evil life and sent them to turn toward good life and the right way." More follows regarding his miracles and how the scribes and other evil doers, incensed at him, sought to slay him;

L. C. Wood's translation in "Christians in China Before the Year 1850", pp. 32-34.

yet because so many people believed his teaching they did not dare kill him."... "While the men of evil life were planning evil things Mi-shih-he did good and went forward all the more teaching the people. When his years were past thirty-two the practisers of evil went to the prince F'i-lo-tu-ssu and spoke accusations before F'i-lo-tu-ssu and said Mi-shih-he had committed crimes worthy of death. The prince immediately perceived the evil intention when they joined to bear witness against Mi-shih-he to the prince F'i-lo-tu-ssu that Mi-shih-he was guilty of crimes worthy of death. The prince wished to arrange the matter for him and said, Crime worthy of death truly I do not hear or see; the man ought not to die. This matter comes from evil purpose, and the men shall settle it themselves. The prince said, I cannot kill him; this is evil purpose. Then they said, If the man ought not to die, (then slay) our sons and daughters. The prince F'i-lo-tu-ssu asked for water and washed his hands in front of the evil-purposed ones saying, I truly cannot kill this man. The men of evil purpose petitioned all the more urgently that he should not refuse to put him to death or be unable. Mi-shih-he took his body and gave it to the evil men for all living beings to cause the men of the world to know that man's life is like a flickering candle. Offering his life as a substitute to be put to death for the living beings of the present world, Mi-shih-he took and gave his own body and was then put to death. The men of evil life then took Mi-shih-he to another place, to a tree on the execution ground named Ch'i-chū (Golgotha); and having bound him on the tree they also took two robbers (and crucified them) on the left and right of the man. The day that they took Mi-shih-he and bound him on the tree at noon time was the sixth-day fast. At dawn (?) he was bound and when it came to afternoon there was black darkness on every side; the earth quaked and the hills rocked, and all the gates of the graves in the world were opened and all the dead men all received life. When the men saw it like this, though there were yet some who did not believe the teaching of the scriptures that death and life were both in Mi-shih-he, the men in general had belief. Men then said...."1

At this point the manuscript ends. That Christ gave Himself into death for the world is brought

1. A.C. Moule's translation in "Christians in China Before the Year 1550", pp. 52-54.

out in this fragment.

but, did these Nestorians in China emphasize this cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith? Did they decloud it with other teachings? To what extent did they stress good works as contributing to man's salvation? These are questions we lack evidence to decide definitely.

Perhaps some additional information as to the beliefs of these Nestorians may be obtained by examining the teachings of the mother church during this period. Here again clear cut testimony regarding the Cross of Christ and its place in man's salvation is lacking.

Theodore Abuscara (ninth century) mentions Christ's suffering on the cross, but it is only in passing as he exhorts others to imitate Christ: "Christ is God and the Son of God, as He said concerning Himself, and that He bore the sufferings and the cross which are spoken of in it (i.e. in the Gospel), and that He did not bear those sufferings out of weakness, or to no purpose, but for a good cause, and that was to bring him to light, by the Holy Spirit, whose heart was dark."¹

It is evident that the Nestorians showed a great reverence for the cross, particularly at a later date. This was evident in China because the inscription

1. Quoted in L. B. Brown's, *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*, p. 64

says, "His ministers carry the cross with them as a sign." The Nestorian Bishop of Haidin, who died in 1256 said: "Verily we honor the cross because we deplored the Devilour, because in this form He is presented to our senses; and He gave Himself in our stead. . . . because it is His will to bring us by it (i.e. by the cross) to the resurrection."¹ On the epitaph of Serapheim, Nestorian Patriarch of the 10th century we find the words, "and I adored His sign" (i.e. the cross). And several of the epitaphs of the succeeding patriarchs have the words, "who suffered, and was crucified and was buried; and he arose the third day as it is written, and ascended into Heaven to His Father, and I adored His living and life-giving cross."²

In the "Historical Monasticism of Thomas, Bishop of Marra (A.D. 840) an account is given of a group of monks at the Great Monastery on Mt. Laila, how they had committed grievous sins, were expelled, but later repented and were taken back into the monastery. Their repentance is described as a work of their own. They put away the women with whom they had sinned; "purified themselves from the filthy pollution;" they reformed themselves by "practice and spiritual contemplation." Then the Holy Abba Jonah came to these monks "and he forgave them their sins and sanctified them, and he

1. quoted in L. B. Brown's, The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia, p. 64.

2. quoted in E. A. W. Budge, "Book of Governors" Vol I, pp. CIVIII & III

armed them with the spiritual armour of the keeping of the ten commandments, and so by a course of life which was pleasing to the will of God, they were all made perfect, and they departed from this world with a fair name which bore praise to the justifier of their lives and the expiator of their offenses, Christ our Lord, to whom be glory, forever and ever."¹

From this we see that Christ was spoken of as "the justifier of their lives, and the expiator of their offenses." Yet the general impression that one gains is that it was largely their own efforts, their penance and good works, that really counted.

From this record of the famous Nestorian monks of that day and from other writings it would seem that though Christ was recognized as the Saviour, as having paid the penalty for the sins of mankind on the cross, yet all the emphasis was placed on "sanctification of life." Justification was not denied but more or less ignored or taken for granted. The fact that Monasticism was a flourishing institution ² among the Nestorians of that period lends weight to this judgment. Under these circumstances asceticism was exalted. In the *Historica Monastica* we read much of "noble deeds and praiseworthy acts of holy men," of "acts of abstinence," of the "ascetic manner of life" which is given the label

1. Fortescue - "The Lesser Eastern Churches" p. 110

of "exalted holiness," and of men who were "marvelous ascetics." In the Canons laid down for the monks of the Great Monastery on Mt. Izla by Mar Abraham, its founder, we read: "Let us therefore preserve fasting in as much as it is the origin of a multitude of virtues, and a guide to true life." Furthermore, the virtues of meekness, silence and solitude are so necessary that "without them we are unable to please God."¹

Regarding this Monasticism and Asceticism of the Nestorians Browne writes: "Monks and hermits were regarded as people who were not merely following a special calling, but as living a life which was intrinsically superior to normal human relationships, as if it were not possible to live the Christian life without fleeing from the rest of the world."² Again, "The one thing above all for which Thomas throughout his work praises the various saints of the monastery is their asceticism, and one or two quotations would fail to give the impression that one gains from reading the whole book that to his mind asceticism is the chief mark of holiness."³

1. Budge, The Book of Governors, vol. I, pp. CXLIX & CXLXVIII

2. Browne, id. p. 67

3. Browne, id. p. 69

Coming back to our Chinese records of Nestorianism of the T'ang period we see that they built monasteries rather than churches. The Emperor Wu Tsung was not so much opposed to their doctrines as to their "monkery"; he did not proscribe their faith but ordered that the monks return to lay life. This would indicate that monasticism and asceticism were as strong elements in Chinese Nestorianism as in the mother church.

The faithful are described as "proclaiming the glad tidings of Love and Charity." We note that the wording is not "Glad tidings of a Saviour from sin but of love and charity." Their virtues or works of righteousness are eulogized: "They observe fasting in order that they may subdue "the knowledge" (which defiles the mind). They keep the vigil of silence and watchfulness so that they may observe "the Precepts." Seven times a day they meet for worship and praise, and earnestly they offer prayers for the living as well as for the dead. Once in seven days they have a sacrifice without the animal. (i.e. a bloodless sacrifice) Thus cleansing their heart they regain their purity. This ever True and Unchanging Way is mysterious, and it is also impossible to name. But its meritorious operations are so brilliantly manifested that we make an effort and call it by the name of "The Illustrious Religion."¹ This emphasis is likewise on meritorious

1. The Inscription - Saeki, id.

deeds.

All in all we must come to the conclusion that their presentation of the way of salvation was very unsatisfactory. We wonder just how much the Nestorian heresy regarding the Person of Christ contributed to their failure to emphasize Christ's redemptive work, the fruits of which, life and salvation, are appropriated by faith? Was their failure to recognize Christ as the truly incarnate Lord responsible for their emphasizing man's conduct more than the atoning sacrifice of the God-man Christ Jesus?

From the Inscription and the few other writings it is evident that the Nestorians in China did not scruple to present their doctrines in such form as to make them less difficult to harmonize with the teachings of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Much of the phraseology is Buddhistic and some of the expressions, particularly those treating of the "Way," have a Confucian or Taoist coloring. "The Assyrian Church in China found no necessity to attack either Confucianists or Taoists about their ancestral worship; on the contrary they met on common ground."¹ Moule notes that in the "Hsi t'ing mi shih so ching" there are "several approving references to Buddha."² Regarding the "Chin hshian an lo ching," which consists chiefly of a dia-

1. Saeki - id. p. 143

2. A. C. Moule - id. p. 59

logue between the Messiah and one Ch'en-wen seng-ch'ieh, whom some identify as Simeon, Moule briefly remarks in a foot-note: "There appears to be little that is distinctly Christian either in subject-matter or in terminology."¹

It is evident that the Nestorians were syncretistic and compromised their faith with that of Buddhism. As to their own teachings of the Messiah as Saviour, it would seem that they did not sufficiently distinguish between their own Messiah and the Amitabha (O-mi-to-fu) of the Buddhists; perhaps like some of our modern missionaries they merely taught that the doctrine of salvation found fuller expression in their Messiah than in Manayana's Saviour of the Western Paradise. "It is clear that the Assyrian Christians were not opposed to this doctrine of Amitabha, and its development in China furnished common meeting ground and lever for them and their friendly collaborators, the Buddhist monks."²

What effect, if any, did Nestorianism have on the other religions of China, and in particular to what extent did the teaching of a Messiah penetrate Chinese religious thought? Latourette is of the opinion that the Nestorians had little permanent influence on the culture of China. He further states; "The assertion has been made that some theistic ideas in Chinese phi-

1. A. C. Moule id. p. 65.

2. Sacki - id. p. 152.

osophy are due to it, but this is yet unproved."¹
 He asks, "To what extent did they transmit to China the
 impulse that came from Jesus?"² He leaves the question
 unanswered but gives the impression that the answer
 is, "Very little." Saeki, however, is emphatic in
 claiming that Nestorianism left its impress on Chinese
 religious thought. "The Feast of Departed Souls, the
 chief characteristic of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism,
 is one of the conspicuous results produced by the pre-
 sence of Assyrian Christians in China."³ "The true
 leaven never ceases to work. Weak and imperceptible
 as the Nestorian leaven was, it gradually but surely
 permeated the whole tone of Chinese literature during
 the T'ang and Sung dynasties. And when all China was
 divided between Confucianists and Taoists on the one
 side and Buddhists on the other, the Nestorians turned
 the scale in favour of Chinese ancestor-worship and thus
 contributed to create what is known to-day as "Chinese
 Buddhism"-and to confirm the belief in Amitabha- the
 Saviour who saves those who simply trust in and con-
 secrate their whole being to Him."⁴

Though they may have confirmed the teaching of

1. Latourette, id. p. 55

2. Latourette, id. p. 55

3. Saeki, id. p. 144

4. Saeki, id. p. 153

a saviour, it is very doubtful whether they contributed anything to the idea of salvation through the all merciful amittabha. The sutras that deal with this doctrine were already translated into Chinese by the 4th century and Nestorianism first entered China in the 7th century.

The history of the Nestorianism of the T'ang dynasty contains a few lessons for modern missions. The reasons for its failure to survive serve as a warning to the present Christian movement, namely that it must not make the same mistake that the Nestorians made if it is to maintain itself among the Chinese. Even as the Chinese have been able to absorb their conquerors in the physical domain so too, do they have a tendency to absorb ideas in the spiritual sphere and lose these among their own ideas so thoroughly that their very identity is lost. They are great syncretists and they will not object to grafting Christianity onto their tree of religious ideas as long as no pruning is done on their present branches.

In accounting for the failure of Nestorianism to survive, five reasons are generally brought out. The first is that they failed to establish a native clergy and their church depended too much on foreign leadership and support. This connects with the second reason, namely that after the 10th century, because of the rise of Mohammedanism, they were cut off from

the mother church and could receive no re-inforcements. The distance separating the mission church from the home church was so great that little inspiration and help could pass from the one to the other. A third reason is that they relied too much on Imperial favour and support. "State protection of religion is apt to lead to State corruption of religion too."¹ The fourth reason we find mentioned by some writers is that "Nestorianism arrived at a time when no especial need for a new faith was felt."² and lastly the persecution of Emperor Wu Tsung is mentioned as an external cause for its disappearance. We cannot attach much weight to this last reason. Wherever Christianity has remained true to its fundamental teachings it has prospered under persecutions. Buddhism suffered three great persecutions in China and survived; yet Nestorianism failed to survive even one. However, the chief reason, which is too often ignored, is that Nestorianism in China compromised with Buddhism and in general tried to harmonize its teachings with contemporary Chinese religious ideas and in so doing made ship-wreck of its own faith. William Gascoyne-Cecil in his brief introduction to Saeki's scholarly work has brought this out very clearly: "Apparently the mistake made by the Nestorian preachers

1. Saeki, id.

2. Latourette, id. p. 58

CHAPTER V

was that of being ashamed of their faith, and trying to recommend it merely as a branch of Buddhism. There is always a temptation, and always a danger in mission work, to soften down the edges of our faith, to represent it as something not so very new, not so very different from what is already known; such a policy may avoid immediate difficulties, but afterwards it tends toward defeat; the Christianity that has conquered has been that which is urged with distinctness even amounting to harshness. It seems as if the compromising nature of Nestorianism was the reason why, when Buddhism suffered decay and deterioration in the course of the fall, it was entangled in that fall and then forgotten.¹

1. Saeki, *id.* p. iii

century missionaries we are interested in what the people of today believe and what ideas they have regarding salvation, be they of Confucian, Taoist, or Buddhist coloring. What we have learned in previous chapters forms the background or foundation of contemporary thought and with a knowledge of the former we can better understand the latter.

of the teachings of Leo-tzu and Chuang-tzu little remains in China today. "The mass of Chinese have cast aside the philosophical and metaphysical speculations of the old philosopher and his immediate followers, and on the small foundations of the Tao Teh King a superstructure of hypocrisy, squalor, and rottenness has been raised. They appear to have started off at a

CHAPTER V

MODERN IDEAS OF SALVATION

In the previous chapters we considered the teachings of the various religions of China on the subject of salvation as we found them recorded in the sacred writings of these respective faiths. Of the extent faiths Confucianism has deteriorated least of all; Taoism, however, has undergone such a metamorphosis that the Grand Old man would recognize little, if any, of his teachings in the religious system that bears his name today. The doctrines of Buddhism have likewise suffered decay and deterioration in the course of the centuries.

As twentieth century missionaries we are interested in what the people of today believe and what ideas they have regarding salvation, be they of Confucian, Taoist, or Buddhist coloring. What we have learned in previous chapters forms the background or foundation of contemporary thought and with a knowledge of the former we can better understand the latter.

Of the teachings of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu little remains in China today. "The mass of Chinese have cast aside the philosophical and metaphysical speculations of the old philosopher and his immediate followers, and on the small foundations of the Tao Teh King a superstructure of hay, stubble, rubbish and rotteness has been raised. They appear to have started off at a

tangent from his ideas, and evolved some elaborate systems, wandering off into space. The craving of men for immortality degenerated into a fruitless search for plants, which, when eaten, would confer it; for charms which would bestow it; for elixirs, the quaffing of which would send it coursing through one's veins....From the emperors downwards, the people devoted their lives to seeking immunity from death and poverty."¹

When Buddhism entered China, Taoism borrowed extensively from the new arrival. It adopted all it possibly could from Buddhism, except the higher elements, established its heaven, modelled in clay its lurid hell, devised a repertory of horrid torments equal to that of Buddhism, and deified Lao-tzu and a multitude of others as well as the various forces of nature.

The result of this decay ~~in Taoism~~ is, that "when you meet a Taoist^{1a} of this generation, you do not meet with either an alchemist or a philosopher. The man you see claims, however, to be able to do very great things. He will undertake to drive out a demon from the body of a madman, and from a haunted house, to cure the sick by magic, and to bring rain in time of drought by his prayers. He will protect by his charms the quiet citizen and the adventurous traveler from all

1. J. D. Ball: *Things Chinese*, p. 635

1a. The reference here is to the Taoist priest.

sorts of dangers; and, when there is mourning in the house, he will-like the Buddhist monk- hire out his services to read passages from the liturgies of his religion, which shall, by their magic power, quickly transfer the soul of the dead to the land of happiness on high."¹

The deterioration of Taoism was paralleled by a similar deterioration in Buddhism. "The Buddhism of the first few centuries of the Christian era in China was a vigorous immigrant, fresh and lusty with life; eager to attempt great things in its new chosen home, with strength and vigour, prepared to spread its principles; and ready to endure the fiery baptisms of persecution through which it had later on to pass. A very different thing to the emasculated descendant that now occupies the land with its drones of priests, and its temples; in which scarce a worthy disciple of the learned patriarchs of ancient days is to be found. Received with open arms, persecuted, (first in A.D. 420), patronised, smiled upon, tolerated, it, with the last phase of its existence, has reached not the halcyon days of peace and rest, but its final stage, foreshadowing its decay from rottenness and corruption, for it has long passed its meridian."²

1. J. D. Ball: Things Chinese, p. 633

2. J. D. Ball: id. p. 101

3. The Growth of the Religion of China, pp. 207-208.

Today theological studies belong to history, philosophical works have well nigh disappeared, and to collect a complete canon of holy writings has become an impossibility in China. "Propagation of the doctrines of salvation, through preaching, which the Mahayana principles imposed upon the sons of Buddha as one of the highest duties, has long since ceased." In short, from whatever point of view one considers the matter religious conventual life is at best a shadow of what it was in past centuries.¹ Buddhism today busies itself chiefly with good works of charity, the preservation of life, the sale of charms, the performance of masses for the dead, and the worship of many gods and goddesses for the purpose of obtaining blessings either in this life or the life to come.

Confucianism, on the other hand, has remained unshaken. Although it is still more a philosophy than a religion it wields great influence and authority in the lives and actions of the Chinese. Closely allied with ancestor-worship, it has been patronized by officials and intellectual leaders and still demands the respect of the masses. Many Confucian sayings are a part of the vast store of proverbial sayings in which the Chinese delight.

In order that we can better understand to what ideas the masses hold regarding their eternal sal-

1. De Groot: The Religion of China, pp. 207-208.

vation, we will first briefly consider their ideas of the soul and sin.

We have often asked Chinese, who were not Christians, the question, "how many souls does a man have?"¹ Many have answered, "Three souls"; some, "two souls"; some, "one"; and a few, "we do not know." DeGroot argues for a dualism of the soul, basing his arguments on quotations from the classics and the dual principle of "Yang and Yin" around which his whole theory of the development of religious ideas among the Chinese is based. According to this theory, the soul consists of a kuei (鬼) and a shen (神). Kennelly in describing this dualism, which he declares to be the generally accepted opinion among the masses of today, says: "Man has two souls--The first, or superior one, is called the shen (神) or Hwun (魂) and emanates from

the ethereal part of the Cosmos, the great Yang (陽) principle. It is manifested by the K'i (氣) or breath (vital force). After death, it ascends, according to the Ancients, to the higher regions, there to live on as lucid matter, Shen-ming (神明). According to modern Confucianists it vanishes entirely at death. Buddhists would have it be re-incarnated into men or animals (See on the system of the Metempsychosis p. 135-138),

1. In Hanyang, Hupeh there was an old Wesleyan Chinese pastor who made this question one of several which he asked of his converts. Correct answers on these few was sufficient to warrant baptism.

魂 + 靈 魂

while Taoists place it after death amidst the stars, ordinarily around the Polar regions. The second, or material soul, is the kwei (鬼), which operates in living men under the name of P'ieh (魄). The kwei emanates from the earth or Yin (陰) principle, returning thereto after death. It remains with the body in the grave, and forms the ghost of the departed person.¹

Soothill contends that the Chinese classics taught a unity of the soul with a certain element of duality, a part being the shen and a part the kwei. The shen part is the animus, the intellectual, moral, and spiritual part of the soul for which kwun and ling-wun² are often now used. The kwei or p'ò is the anima, the sensual nature or grosser passions. He maintains that modern Confucianism, even with its ancestor-worship, really holds to the one soul theory.

Despite these arguments and learned opinions we believe that in the mind of the average Chinese there is a tripartite idea of the soul. This has its roots in ancestor-worship and the cult of spirits. We are inclined to agree with J. Dyer Ball: "The usual, if not universal, belief with the Chinese, is that a man possesses three souls. After death one goes into the ancestral Tablet prepared for it, where it receives the worship of the man's descendants at proper and stated times; at such times also, worship is paid at the

1. Henry Dore: Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Vol. I, Introduction by M. Kennelly, pp. iii-iv.

2. 魂 + 靈 魂

grave to another soul; while the third goes into the nether world to receive the rewards or punishments of the deeds done in this, finally to return to the upper world again as a god, a man, a beast, a bird or a reptile, according to his merits."¹

Among these different soul theories of the Chinese one fact stands out, namely, that the soul which passes on into the next world is the important or real soul. It is for this soul that the masses seek salvation, as it is this soul which will be blessed or punished in the future existence.

What do the Chinese think of sin? What is sin? There are three principal terms for sin:

(罪) tsui, sin; (惡) o, evil; and (過) kuo, transgression. These are often

coupled to form a double word, as in tsui-o, or tsui-

kuo. There are other terms such as (犯) fan,

offense, (孽) nich, ill, (愆) ch'ien,

error but these are generally used in combination with

tsui or kuo.

Not one of these terms, as understood by the heathen mind, connotes the Biblical idea of sin.

Tsui, approaches as close as any. Passages in the classics can be found which recognize sin as an offense

against virtue or against Heaven, which Heaven will of

1. J. D. Ball: *id.* p. 31

R. Scottall, *id.* 210

punish in this life. Yet this does mean that today's masses so understand these words that are used for sin. The character tsui (罪) consists of two parts, a net, and a wrong. "It implies caught in the net of the law through wrong-doing, in other words, a criminal."¹ Something may be morally wrong, even a violation of the law, and yet, if the perpetrator is not caught, he is not looked upon as a sinner. A successful bandit who has become a general in the army has committed no sin. Then again, "bearing in mind that the word tsui, in its present form, means caught in the net of the law through wrong-doing, it is easy to see why Chinese often call themselves sinners when they mean sufferers, or suffering punishment."² Flood sufferers and bombing victims readily speak of themselves as sinners and that these calamities have come upon them for their sins. But when we probe a little deeper we find that sin and its consequences are often imperfectly discriminated. They feel that they have done something wrong or failed to perform some religious duty and therefore this woe has come upon them. Calamity and sin are too often identified. The point which Soothill makes we can corroborate, namely, that even our Chinese Christians sometimes style themselves as sinners, when they only mean that they are undergoing some buffet of

1. Soothill, id. 209

2. Soothill, id. 210

fortune, some illness, or other calamity.

"(惡) 0, evil" is composed of a heart and second, that is a secondary or unnatural heart, and means bad, vicious. It is sometimes wise to take a man's measure before calling him bad or vicious. The ~~the~~ term is kuo (𠄎), which consists of the curious formation of a wry mouth and to go. Its meaning is to go beyond, and in the moral sense means transgression."¹

Although all these terms fall somewhat short of the Biblical idea of sin, yet there is among the Chinese a recognition of sin as moral and spiritual delinquency, as well as an identifying of sin with punishment. However, sin is not understood as transgression of the divine law in desires, thoughts, words, and deeds, which alienates man from God. Sin is an offense against man or society which, of itself, entails punishment.

Now we are ready to ask what ideas on salvation do present day Chinese hold? But first what is the goal of their salvation?

For many salvation is the attainment of the perfect life, the enjoyment of the five happinesses, which in ancient times constituted the summus bonum. In other words, they seek riches, long life, health

1. Soothill, id. p. 210

of body and mind, love of virtue, and a happy death. From another view point we may say that they seek freedom from the "six extremities," misfortune, sickness, sorrow, poverty, wickedness and weakness, because any one of these can shorten life. Many desire to save themselves from an inferior rebirth, e.g. as a beggar, a bird, a reptile, a beast, or a demon. Conversely they desire to be reborn in an improved condition, a little higher up in the social scale. Nearly all who have thoughts of a future life seek to save themselves from the punishments of hell, be it Taoist or Buddhist, which are meted ^{out} in the nether world for sin committed in this life. The Taoist seeks to become an immortal and the Buddhist to be reborn into the Western Paradise. The masses seek the betterment of their soul's present condition and hope for happiness in the life to come.

How shall they reach their goal?

First of all, there are the intellectuals of the Confucian school who hold to the tenets of the Master. Such a notion as salvation takes little if any prominence in their thoughts. The way of salvation is in living a virtuous life. Heaven blesses and accepts such a man. If he does wrong, or lives an evil life let him reform and Heaven will accept him. If he does not reform and dies in his sins -- then Heaven has caused him to perish as he deserved. Whether or not he will be punished for his sins in the next world is something

no one can ascertain in this world, and therefore, it is useless to trouble oneself with thoughts of the world to come. The attitude of this class is expressed in the words of an author: "If there is no heaven there is no need to seek it; if there is, good men will certainly go there. If there is no hell, there is no need to fear it; and if there is, bad men will go there."

Yet it is a strange fact that this class of Confucian intellectuals will at the death of relatives engage both Taoist and Buddhist priests without scruples to offer prayers, in whose efficacy they do not believe. It is good form, custom, and an evidence of filial piety. Then, too, these prayers are harmless and, who knows, they might be efficacious; in which case, they are good insurance for the future life, if there is a future life.

As to the masses, their ideas on salvation are either of Taoist or Buddhist coloring, or both. "Since there are so many sects of Buddhism and Taoism the dividing line between the two has been practically lost. An ordinary worshipper in one of the temples would probably be unable to say whether he was a Buddhist or a Taoist."¹ In all likelihood, if Taoist temples predominate in his district he is a Taoist, if Buddhist temples, then he is a Buddhist. Some years ago we climbed China's Sacred Mountain, T'ai Shan, and noted how

1. H. A. Van Dorn: Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic, p. 157.

pilgrims along the way and on the top of the mountain worshipped at all the temples, Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian. It is a common sight to see Buddhist priests reading mass (lien ching) for a departed soul on one day and the Taoist priests on the next, or to see both groups escorting the coffin in the funeral procession. However, whether he be Buddhist or Taoist, the ordinary Chinese looks upon good works or meritorious deeds as the highway of salvation. The proverbs of China which are on the lips of all¹ clearly bring out that the emphasis is on one's own meritorious works.

One of the proverbs that is known and repeated by young and old is: "Shan yoh shan pao, O yoh O pao" - Good deeds have their good reward; evil deeds have their evil reward. The merit of these good deeds is first of all in this life, "for the good and evil (in this life) are the outcome of men's conduct; misery or happiness depends on themselves."² Yet this reward is not only temporal, for there is another proverb which

1. Writes C. H. Flopper: "They use the proverb because all men believe it: and all men believe it because it is constantly used. They themselves say, 'If you wish to know what most engages a man's thoughts, you have only to listen to a man's conversation.' They are constantly quoting proverbs in their conversation, so through them you can look into their very souls. Proverbs are a mirror which show with a fair degree of accuracy the thought life, the popular consciousness of the people." Chinese Proverbs, p. 5.

2. Wm. Scarborough: A Collection of Chinese Proverbs, p. 228.

as quoted in Scottell & Hodous, "A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p. 48.

advises, "Do good now and be rewarded hereafter."¹ Heaven plays a part in this rewarding: "What one has is decreed by the will of Heaven, yet it is established that it is the result of one's own acts."² It is one's own deeds, however, which are of paramount importance. "Each one must take the consequences of his own actions."³ "Plant melons and you get melons; plant plums and you get plums."⁴ This last saying appears in many different variations and is applied to man's conduct.

Thus it is evident that the law of karma⁵ must be recognized as having a strong hold on the Chinese mind and effects their ideas on the way of salvation. Good deeds must bear fruit in this world and the next.

1. Scarborough: id. p. 275

2. C. H. Flopper: Chinese Religion Seen Through the Proverb, p. 284.

3. Scarborough: id. p. 274

4. Flopper: id. p. 284

5. There is a little Buddhist rhyme in "Lai" (come) which expresses the Buddhist doctrine of moral determinism, showing the part which the law of karma plays in man's life. We see that the position which anyone now occupies is solely the result of character in past lives. From this we learn that one's character now, in this life, will determine the nature of reward in a subsequent rebirth.

"The upright from the forbearing come,
 The poor from the mean and greedy come,
 Those of high rank from worshippers come,
 The low and the common from the prideful come,
 Those who are dumb from the slanderers come,
 The blind and deaf from unbelievers come,
 The long-lived from the merciful come,
 The short-lived from life-takers come,
 The deficient in faculties from the command breakers come,
 The complete in faculties from the communi-keepers come."

As quoted in Soothill & Hodous, "A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p. 45.

When speaking with the Chinese of the working classes (farmers, artisans etc.) we have oftentimes asked them how they hope to solve the problem of their sins and obtain the blessings of a future life. The answer has invariably been, "tso hao shih" - perform good works, "hsin shan" - do good, and "kai o wei shan" - reform, that is, turn from evil to good. When we realize that they have a proverb which says, "one good deed will correct a thousand bad ones" we can understand why they stress reformation and good works. For this reason that Taoist work, "Tractate of Actions and their Re-tributions" is very popular. Every good work is of definite value for one's salvation even as every evil work is detrimental thereto.

There is a little booklet called, "A Diary of Merits and Demerits" (Kung Kuo K'io) which informs the reader how he may keep an accurate record of his meritorious deeds and his evil deeds, so that he may know where he stands in this matter. "Stopping a fight counts plus 3; inducing people to abstain from flesh for a year counts plus 20; gossiping with evil tongue minus 3; to return favours plus 20; to keep a promise seems to be considered as a mark of merit, for it counts plus 1; to abstain from taking a thing not one's own counts also plus 1; sincerity counts for plus 1 per day; betrayal of a neighbor's secrets counts minus 50."¹

1. Soothill: id. p. 225

In a popular Chinese tract entitled "Establish Merit" (Li Kung) there is detailed advice regarding the various meritorious works which are suited to all conditions and estates of men. The general theme of the tract is expressed in one sentence, "If you wish to be happy, you must first be a virtuous man." Among the deeds that one may perform for the acquisition of merit are the following:

"A rich man must help a poor man, give clothes and soup as alms, repair bridges, streets; build ferry boats, establish markets and fairs; gratuitous tea houses, or give remedies and coffins; provide foreigners with burial ground.

"The poor - explain the laws of retributions for good and bad actions - exhort to filial piety; help others out of scrapes; congratulate those who are successful. ... thus acquire merit."

(L. Wiegner: Moral Tenets and Customs in China. L. Wiegner presents the whole tract in the Chinese original with an English translation by L. Davreut.)

That such advice as that given above is taken seriously and followed is evident wherever one goes in China, particularly away from the modernized Treaty Ports. Supporting the benevolent societies, societies for the burying of paupers, etc. is this idea, that by contributing to these societies one participates in their meritorious activities and thereby accumulates merit. Living a virtuous life for virtue's sake and doing good for the sake of doing good, which is the old Confucian ideal, are thoughts foreign to

the mind of most Chinese when they perform these various good works. We realize that there are a few proverbs which decry mere external goodness and the performance of meritorious works that leave the heart untouched. Nevertheless, we believe that we are not doing an injustice when we say that our experience leads us to believe that in the mind of ^{the} masses these meritorious works are looked upon as helping to purchase a betterment of one's condition in the future life, *ex opere operatory*.

Dr. MacLagan writes on this matter: "Naturally, also, once Salvation is thought of as a thing that can be purchased by merit, there is a grave danger of the ordinary principles of the market-place coming into operation, and cheap methods of acquiring merit being sought for. To what extent the idea of cheaply acquired merit can be carried is illustrated by a tract which shows Buddhist influence. To release life is a meritorious act. One of the most popular ways of doing this is to buy a live fish or turtle and set it free in its native element. A young man, so this tract tells us, who was in danger of untimely death, was divinely warned that he could win long life by the merit of releasing life. But alas! it was required of him that he release a hundred myriad lives. The task seemed impossible until a second divine intimation came to him that it could be accomplished by the purchase, and replacing in the appropriate hatching-ground, of

fish-roe with its myriads of eggs. Myriads of fish would owe their lives to him, and his would be the merit."¹ When we lived in Hanyang, Hupeh, where the famous Kuei Yuen Shih temple is located, we visited this temple a number of times on festival days. Each time, when we entered the first court yard in which hundreds of turtles were kept in a large pool, we were almost mobbed by sellers of puffed rice. They admonished us to buy a penny or two of rice and throw it to these turtles and this, they assured us, would be reckoned as a good deed, which would have its reward now or in our next rebirth.

Among the Buddhists the idea that merit may be obtained by abstinence is particularly prominent in the popular vegetarian sects. These abstain from eating meats, under which head are included the flesh of birds and animals, fish, such as the tortoise, crabs, shrimps, oysters. . . . Among the vegetables, garlic, rape, coriander seeds, scallions and onions are prohibited on account of their strong taste. Wine is also on the interdicted list. These sects exhort their adherents to live their whole life on a vegetable diet, "in order to enjoy peace and happiness here below, and the blessings of the western Paradise after their death, or at least to be reborn in a new phase of existence

¹ I. F. J. MacLagan: Chinese Religious Ideas, pp. 192-193.

abounding in wealth."¹ Modern Buddhism also makes much of "Lien Fu" as contributing to one's salvation. "Lien Fu" denotes the devout recollection of Buddha. This is its original meaning but it has degenerated to mean the mere mechanical repetition of the name, Buddha. Thus, the repetition of the name of Buddha becomes a meritorious work of such value that Buddha will save that person, transporting him to the land of bliss when he dies. Flopper says that the most frequently heard name among Buddhists is "O-mi-t'o-fu", Amita Buddha. "It is the magic word which is to bring joy to one's life."² Amitabha will hear this and grant salvation even if it is uttered on the death bed. "If you repeat Buddha's name, sin will be cancelled."³ A little Buddhist tract declares: "Tell the people of the world, that repentance is good, and to repeat Buddha's name is a precious thing. Look at reputation and profit, they are empty and not equal to repentance and repeating Buddha's name."⁴ Many followers of Amita Buddha (Amitabha) keep a faithful record of the number of invocations of his name and fancy they will thus lay up an immense store of merit for the world beyond.

1. Dore: Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Vol. IV, pp. 459-460

2. Flopper: id. p. 153

3. Baller: The Sacred Axiom as quoted in Flopper's, "Chinese Religion Seen Through the Proverb," p. 153, no. 941.

4. Flopper: id. p. 532, no. 2253

So far we have seen two ways of salvation by merit. One is the hard way, painfully slow if followed conscientiously, the accumulating of merit by performing approved good deeds during the course of one's life. The other is the easy way, the repetition of Buddha's name, and this costs little in the way of personal sacrifice.

In chapter III we dwelt at length upon Amitabha as the Saviour of mankind. What has been said above in reference to "Lien Fu" and the repeating of his name shows how he is still looked upon by many as their Saviour. But in many parts of China Kwan-shih-yin, or Kwan-yin as she is generally called, has superseded him as Saviour. Kwan-shih-yin means, she who hears the sounds (prayers) of mortals; she who looks down upon the world and hears its cry. She is the symbol of mercy. According to Perkins she is but a form of Buddha, coming into the world in a lower form than Buddha, in order effectively to instruct and save. "Her great mission is to listen with compassion to the prayers of those who invoke her, to save all those who are in distress of body or of mind, or in danger of peril on the sea."¹ "She is represented as being able, by uttering charms, to assume numberless shapes for the sake of saving. She saves by mercy, by wisdom, by entering into a state. She obtains the great self-

1. Dore: *id.* Vol. IV, p. 204

reliant power by which she can ensure that those who pray for sons and those who pray for the state of samadhi¹ shall attain it, and those who pray for deliverance from dangers or for old age, shall also secure them. She is able to give Nirvana to her petitioners by the same power. This is said to be her great mercy and pity. All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas have powers analogous to these. But none are so prominent, perhaps, in this respect, as Kwan-yin.² Among the Taoists Lu-ch'un-yang holds a position similar to that of Kwan-yin.

Thus it comes about that we see people paying their vows to these deities, burning incense at their altars, and bowing before their images. They look to them for salvation; to be saved from the miseries of this world and the retributions of the next. These worshippers, we may note, do not neglect their good deeds as these works constitute their stock of merit.

What of the unvirtuous soul that lacks sufficient merit, has failed to repeat the name of O-mi-t'o-fu, and has not looked to one of the Buddhist or Taoist saviours but is plunged into one of the horrid hells or purgatory? Is there salvation for such a one? Yes, indeed. The Chinese speak of "chie wang kwun"-saving the lost soul- and the means to do this are many

1. The state of tranquillity or perfect peace.
2. Edkins: Chinese Buddhism, p. 585

and varied.

It is customary in many homes in China that on the death of a respected member of the family Buddhist or Taoist priests are hired to come into the home and "lien ching" - chant their liturgies. This is comparable to the reading of masses in the Roman Catholic Church. Their purpose is to release the soul from the punishment it must undergo in hell and open for it the door of paradise. The priests, both Buddhists and Taoists, possess the keys of heaven and hell and if sufficiently paid can free one from the agonies of the nether world and translate one to the realm of happiness.

Through the priests charms may also be purchased for this purpose. In his scholarly work, "Researches into Chinese Superstitions," Dore has included numerous reproductions of these charms.

Women who die in childbirth meet with the most pathetic fate, irrespective of what their former conduct may have been. Besides being branded with public stigma, their souls are plunged into the Bloody Pond (Hsueh-hu). "According to the teaching of modern Buddhism, every woman who has given birth to a child, is rendered thereby unclean, and must remain plunged in the 'bloody pond' until rescued therefrom."¹ A prayer for this purpose, written according to the

1. Dore: *id.* Vol. I, p. 57

instructions laid down in a special warrant or diploma which Buddha is said to have presented to the priestly office, is burnt by a priest during the rescue ceremony.

The Taoists have a talisman which can purify and save the souls of the dead. This is called the talisman of the Honorable T'ai Shan Lao-kun. Dore's translation is as follows:

"This talisman has been granted by Lao-kun (老子), for the benefit of all the dead. It will help to cleanse their bodies, refine their virtues, blot out their faults, render them stainless, and utterly efface even the last remnants of the sins which they have committed in a previous existence (allusion to the doctrine of the metempsychosis). Cleansed from all earthly gross, they shall be deemed worthy to be admitted into the presence of Yen-wang (元王). In witness whereof, we accomplish to-day this expiatory ceremony (allusion is here made to the Taoist priests, Tao-shi (道士), who must be invited to pray and burn the above mentioned petition), and burn this talisman, in full compliance with the orders received from Lao-tzu." (Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Vol. I, pp. 64 ff.)

There are special talismans which will save persons who have died under peculiar circumstances, e.g. for the victim of a felonious murder or a person poisoned by doctors' prescriptions. Dore's description of these two follows:

for the victim of a felonious murder (written on yellow paper).

"when it happens that a person has been waylaid, has fallen into the trap laid for him, or dies as the result of wounds and ill-

treatment received, Taoist priests, Tao-shu, are summoned, and burn the annexed charm for the purpose of delivering his soul from the punishment inflicted in hell, and helping it to re-enter the wheel of the metempsychosis.

For a person poisoned by doctors' prescriptions (written on yellow paper).

"This is, indeed, a wonderful charm, and one which can be frequently employed in China. With reference thereto, the Chinese tell a story which well depicts the situation. Once upon a time, the god of Hades fell ill, and despatched one of his attendants to the world of the living to fetch him a good doctor. You will recognize him, said he, in the following manner. Examine closely the houses of the medical profession, and count the number of souls that beset their doors, to avenge themselves on them for having poisoned them in a previous existence. The man at whose door you shall find the smallest number, is the one you must invite to come and cure me. The imp departed to fulfil his errand; thousands of avenging souls crowded round the doors of the whole profession. He began to despair, when at last he espied a door at which stood only one soul who came there to seek vengeance. Glated with joy, he fetched him to the god of Hades, and rendered an account of his mission. The god questioned the medico, and said: when did you begin to practise your profession? -- Only a short time ago. -- How many patients did you treat? -- Only one. -- And he died, didn't he? -- Yes -- Get away, you are no better than the others!"

"It is a stroke of genius on the part of Buddhist and Taoist priests, Tao-shai (道士), to have invented such a beneficent charm in favour of so many unfortunate beings, who daily fall vic tims to the insensate treatment of countless self-commissioned quacks. This paper at least is designed to relieve their souls, while their bodies have been stricken down by death." (Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Vol. I, pp. 92-96)

In behalf of a departed relative one may go to a Buddhist Abbot and obtain a recommendation to

the god of hell, Si-tsang-wang, for mercy. This document, duly prepared, is on yellow paper. To obtain

it one may apply of the Superior of a monastery, who
 It would seem self-evident that a missionary signs it, (these have been prepared by the Abbot in advance for possible sale) and indicates the name of the of Salvation to her people ought to have an intimate monastery, the year, month and day, when it has been understanding of the ideas which the Chinese hold on issued for the benefit of such a departed soul. This is salvation, together with the background for these ideas. burnt and is reputed to influence the god of hell to With such an understanding he will be able to present treat that departed soul mercifully in the nether his own message better. He must use such religious world.

terminology as already exists. Unfortunately, much of we might go on and on listing and de- it is inadequate or erroneous for the presentation of scribing other charms and talismans which have power the truths of the Gospel; some terms must be given a to save souls or at least help mitigate the punishments fuller or richer meaning and others must be re-inter- which the soul may be condemned to endure for its sins. preted. It is highly important that the missionary But we have seen enough to realize that salvation from should have some conception of the meaning which the hell, the improvement of one's condition in a subse- people see in the terms used, as distinguished from the quent rebirth, or entrance into heaven can be purchased technical meaning which the missionary reads into them.¹ for a price, if need be. This agrees with a saying, that is common among the Chinese that there is nothing which money cannot buy, for with money one can even move the their own religions, there is grave danger that he may gods.

use a term which has a meaning to himself which it does not convey to the hearer, because the hearer will be thinking along the lines of his old faiths. The missionary must understand their religious thoughts and the

1. Boothill, The Three Religions of China, p.208.

Chapter VI
CONCLUDING NOTES

It would seem self-evident that a missionary who is sent to China to publish the Christian Gospel uncouth on this account. It might have been better of Salvation to her people ought to have an intimate understanding of the ideas which the Chinese hold on original. However, when the first Christian mission-aries came to China they found in existence religion. With such an understanding he will be able to present his own message better. He must use such religious terminology as already exists. Unfortunately, much of it is inadequate or erroneous for the presentation of the Christian faith, and above all for the doctrine of the truths of the Gospel; some terms must be given a fuller or richer meaning and others must be re-inter-preted. It is highly important "that the missionary in the matter of terms. For it is true to say that the religious terms used by the Christian preacher have people see in the terms used, as distinguished from the nearly all got Buddhist associations." in our mission-technical meaning which the missionary reads into them."¹ Andless the missionary understands the religious terms of the Chinese in the meaning in which they are used in their own religions, there is grave danger that he may use a term which has a meaning to himself which it does not convey to the hearer, because the hearer will be thinking along the lines of his old faiths. The mission-ary must understand their religious thoughts and the

1. Soothill, Chinese Religious Ideas, p. 221.
1. Soothill, The Three Religions of China, p.208.

terms in which they give expression to them that he may do justice to his own. When Buddhism came to China, it created its own phraseology and was criticised in the beginning as being uncouth on this account. "It might have been better for Christianity to have been equally courageous and original."¹ However, when the first Christian missionaries came to China they found in existence religious terms into which the truths of Christianity fitted sufficiently well to make for intelligibility. Intelligibility is essential for understanding the great truths of the Christian faith, and above all for the doctrine of salvation through the vicarious atonement of Christ. Thus it came about that Christianity borrowed of Buddhism in the matter of terms. "For it is true to say that the religious terms used by the Christian preacher have nearly all got Buddhist associations."² In our missionary labors in China we have at times been quite conscious of this fact, but we never really appreciated it in its full significance until this year when, in preparation of this thesis, we read extensively in Buddhist writings and studied a dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms. We think it is a pity and a mistake that so little is done to prepare the young missionary in this field before he

"saviour" but Christ will be a saviour to him like Kwang-shih-yin and Amitabha. The terms we use for "heaven"

1. Maclagan, Chinese Religious Ideas, p. 221.

2. Maclagan, id. p.222.

1. Maclagan, id. p.222.

goes out to China or even after he arrives on the field. Unfortunately, upon his arrival in China he is rushed into the work as soon as possible, many preaching and teaching within less than two years after their arrival. He cannot study the religious writings in the original at such an early date because he lacks sufficient understanding of the language, the holy books being written in heavy classical Chinese. He cannot study them in translations, because there are inadequate library facilities, nor does the mission supply this literature, and much of it is very difficult to obtain. We think that the better arrangement would be to spend a year in intensive study of the Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist writings before proceeding to the Orient. We agree with Maclagen that there is some force, though it may be exaggerated, in the contention "that Christianity cannot be put fairly and clearly before the Chinese until Buddhism is studied by every missionary, and its terminology understood as it ought to be understood by those who constantly use the same terms in a sense more or less diverse or sometimes directly opposite."¹ Total ignorance of Buddhism may lead to a deformation of the Christian message.

Any Buddhist will readily accept Jesus Christ as "saviour" but Christ will be a saviour to him like Kwang-shih-yin and Amitabha. The terms we use for "heaven"

1. Maclagen, id. p.222.

and "hell" are used by Buddhists and the Chinese mind associates with these terms things that are incompatible with the Christian doctrines of heaven and hell. Although "T'ien-shih" are "heavenly messengers" according to etymology they are ^{messengers of the God of Hell} "evil spirits" in Buddhism and "holy angels" according to Christian usage.

When the Christian preacher speaks of salvation he is thinking of alienation from God and reconciliation to Him. But the heathen hearer has no such thoughts. "What sense of wrong he may have arises from his contradiction to a vaguely conceived moral order. For this he is liable to be punished by certain spiritual beings both here and hereafter; for this he is in danger of hell and is excluded from felicity. What he reaches after is not reconciliation with God but admission to Paradise; and the merit of Christ, of which he is told, is for him only a substitute for whatever merit he might have painfully accumulated as the price of entrance."¹

We fully realize that every conscientious missionary takes great pains to explain and clarify his message of salvation in Christ and all the doctrines of the Bible which he presents to his hearers. But that presentation is lacking in the same measure as he fails to understand what is passing through the minds of his hearers in his use of terms to which they for centuries

1. Maclagan, id. p.225.

1. Max Muller, Science of Religion, pp.105,106.

like ourselves in the image of God, were in their time have attached different meanings. It is true that, though the missionary may never make a special study of the religions of China, he will in the course of years come to appreciate the Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucian coloring of terms and adjust his presentation accordingly. But we feel that this is a painful and slow process and costly in souls.

Such an intimate knowledge is essential because of a tendency in many mission circles to belittle the differences between Christianity and the other faiths, particularly Buddhism. This tendency began in the last century and has made considerable headway up to the present. "There are many who seem to have persuaded themselves, and would fain persuade others, that the difference between the Christian and Buddhist religions concerns not fundamental doctrines, but merely questions of unimportant detail." Some are gross syncretists while others are of a more mediating type and interpret Christianity as a fuller revelation and an enriching of the truths found in other faiths. Christianity brings the full and complete answer to the spiritual aspirations of man which the other faiths had met only in part.

Prof. Max Mueller tells us that "if we believe that there is a God, and that he created heaven and earth, and that he ruleth the world by his unceasing providence, we cannot believe that millions of human beings, all created

1. Max Mueller, Science of Religion, pp.105,106.

like ourselves in the image of God, were in their time of ignorance so abandoned by God that their religion was a falsehood, their whole worship a farce, their whole life a mockery. An honest and impartial study of the religions of the world will teach us that it was not so,.....that there is no religion which does not contain some grains of truth.....it will teach us to see in the study of the ancient religions more clearly than anywhere else, the divine education of the human race."¹

Others carry their syncretism much farther and declare that all religions are true, but concede that Christianity is truer, the ultimate truth, or the climax of all religious truth. Dr. Kellog, writing in the Presbyterian Review about sixty years ago, refuted this modern attitude and his words bear repeating:

"No Christian apologist will feel called upon to dispute his (Max Mueller's) assertion that 'there is no religion which does not contain some grains of truth.' No less true is it that we are to regard all the religions of the nations, according to the very teachings of the Christian Scriptures themselves, as serving a divinely ordained purpose in the education of the race.* But

* We cannot concede as much as does Dr. Kellog, namely, that all religions serve a "divinely ordained purpose in the education of the race." The argument that the "law" was a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ has no application to the ethnic religions. According to chapter one of Romans it does not appear that God gave up the heathen unto error as a means of educating them for the preparation of the Gospel but as a punishment for their stubborn refusal to live up to the natural knowledge of God which they possessed as the common heritage of all men. Kellog represents Calvin's view concerning "common grace".

surely it is not involved in either of these facts that all religions alike must be revelations from God, so that no one of them can be called false. That individual truths are wrought into a system either of scientific or religious truth, surely does not prove that such a system is true as a whole. We may admit, what is true, that Buddhism recognizes and insists upon many indubitable truths and unquestionable duties, in full accord with the teachings of the religion of Christ, and yet it may be none-the-less just that speaking of it as a system - we should call it, as contrasted with Christianity, a false religion. Nor does the presence of such truths and the injunctions of undoubted duties in the Buddhist or any other religion prove that in those instances, at least, there must have been a supernatural revelation. Revelation is not the only way by which men may come to know moral and spiritual truths. 'The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth forth his handiwork.' So, also, according to the teaching of the New Testament, in full accord of what we may learn by our own observation, those who have not the law, 'are a law unto themselves, which show the work of the law written in their hearts.' But this argues no revelation in any supernatural way from God."¹

the 11 Although we maintain that every religious system
 because of the blindness of their hearts." These words.
 1. Presbyterian Review, No. 15, July, 1883, pp.504,505.

except Christianity is false and useless for salvation, yet we admit that there are in these religions some "grains of truth" which are the fruit of the natural knowledge of God and the law that is written in their hearts. These may serve as points of contact for the presentation of the Christian message. In fact, it is very helpful to find such points of contact between the religious ideas already held and those which are to be presented, so that one may proceed from the known to the unknown. It is also for this reason that the missionary must study the religions and the religious thoughts of the people to whom he brings his message.

We have an uneasy feeling that the Christian preacher will not win many converts if he approaches the heathen with a condemnation of their religions, declaring all they believe to be lies and superstitions and threatening them with hell and damnation. They have their own hell with its gruesome torments and punishment, as fearful and terrorizing as the ingenuity of man can make them. Such an approach will only antagonize and will make it more difficult to reach him a second time. We fully realize that Paul wrote to the Ephesians that they at one time walked "in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their hearts." These words,

however, were not addressed to the Ephesians as prospective converts. We will not win assent to our faith by first condemning theirs.

Our argument is not regarding the content of our message but regarding the method of approach. "Faith cometh by hearing" and we must be able to win a hearing for the Gospel message in order that the Gospel may generate faith. The first approaches must be more appealing than condemnatory, more positive than negative, and must awaken interest rather than resentment. Naturally, if we will speak the truth with boldness, all condemnation cannot be avoided nor for that matter the awakening of some resentment. But these should at first be kept at a minimum. For this we have apostolic precedent. Paul did not begin his sermon on Mars hill with a tirade against the many idols of the Athenians but declared unto them the Unknown God whom they ignorantly worshipped. At Ephesus the ~~town~~ clerk testified that Paul and his co-laborers "were neither robbers of temples nor yet blasphemers of your goddesses." The proper approach, as we see it, is to find some point of contact, a grain of truth, be it ever so dim, on which assent can be won and from there proceed to develop that truth. We will illustrate with a few examples.

The Chinese have proverbs which touch on the subject of universal depravity, to wit, that there are

1. Scarborough, A Collection of Chinese Proverbs, p.17.

2. Scarborough, id. p.7.

no righteous men on earth. "There are straight trees on the mountains, but no upright men in the world."¹ "Amongst men who is there without a fault?"² Although these statements are very inadequate to present the Scriptural truth that "we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God", yet they are a convenient point of favorable contact from which the preacher can proceed to present the Christian teaching of this subject.

The fact that Buddhism developed the dogma of a Saviour, Amitabha, may be used to show how they themselves recognize the futility of man's efforts to save himself and humanity's need for a Divine Redeemer. From the fact of the need the preacher may proceed to the fact that there is but one mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ. The Confucian teachings on filial piety offer points of contact with the fourth commandment from which one can proceed to other truths. However, we must never forget to emphasize the difference of the new truth from the old. Maclagan warns: "To have bridged the gulf between oneself and one's hearer of a different faith is so delightful that one is loath to risk perturbing the pleasure by a ripple of dissent. Yet there is nothing more futile than to settle down in an agreement which conceals essential differences. This is the futility that, from the Christian

1. Scarborough, A Collection of Chinese Proverbs, p.17.

2. Scarborough, id. p.7. Religious Ideas, p.217.

point of view, attaches to the syncretistic movements in China today."¹

Appreciative of these various points of contact, the Christian preacher must always present Christianity in all its distinctiveness and not make the mistake of Nestorianism in the first millenium.

Just in this matter the downfall of Nestorianism offers an object lesson for missions today. The distinctiveness of Christianity must ever be urged and maintained. The Christian way of salvation must be preached in all its exclusiveness for it has nothing in common with those devised by men and denies the possibility of any other, "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." Christianity that is presented as a "fuller revelation" or a "better way" is not the Christianity that will conquer and endure. Any concession that it makes to any other religion in the matter of salvation or any other doctrine is a pit dug under its foundation. Eventually there will come a great crash and such a Christianity will go the way of Nestorianism of the T'ang era.

Since the Christian idea of salvation is sui generis it must be proclaimed and maintained as such, otherwise Christianity is no more Christianity. We cannot offer Christ and his cross as merely a better way

1. Maclagan, Chinese Religious Ideas, p.217.

of salvation but as the one and only way. And then too, it must be presented clearly and distinctly and not dressed up in any other religious garb with the hope that it will thus meet with a more ready acceptance. Bearing in mind what we have said as regards finding points of contact in preference to the iconoclastic approach, we must still, in the end, present the Gospel of Christ for what it is, to them who will not believe "a savour of death unto death" and to them who accept Him "a savour of life unto life".

It is but natural that at this point we should inquire into the opportunities for the preaching of the Christian Gospel of Salvation, whether they are favorable or unfavorable. We feel that conditions today are more advantageous for such preaching than they have ever been in the history of modern missions. We cannot deny that during the last century, beginning with the time when Morrison first came to Canton, Christianity has labored under particularly adverse conditions, so that, judged by human standards, the amount of mission effort put forth has not resulted in a commensurate return. It suffered not so much from physical violence as from cold indifference and suspicion. It was looked upon as a religion which would undermine the structure of the state. It was also condemned openly or was under suspicion of being a handmaid of foreign imperialism.

They were regarded as "calling their ancestors".

Numerous writers on China have indicated that ancestor-worship constituted one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of the Christian Church. DeGroot writes: "We have, then, to consider the worship of parents and ancestors as the very core of the religious and social life of the Chinese people.... Ancestor worship prevails as the sole form of popular religion recognized by the state, correctly speaking, as the sole religion which the people are officially entitled to have - all the rest is heterodoxy..... It is for Christianity impossible to tolerate ancestral worship, almost as impossible as it is to a Chinaman to renounce it..... To renounce it would, indeed, mean renunciation of the great national duty expressed by the word hsiao; it would mean revolt against paternal and patriarchal authority, which imperiously demands that the offspring shall, by sacrificing, protect progenitors from hunger and misery. And parental authority is the cement of social life in China..... It is, as such, imposed by law and government upon the nation as the foundation of morality, ethics, and politics; - to sin against it means opposition to social order, to the state and its laws, - it is rebellion, severely punishable, even with death. He who renounces ancestral worship is, in fact, leniently dealt with if he is merely treated by his family as an outcast.¹.... A Chinaman may

1. Converts are often spoken of as "selling their ancestors".

renounce all other gods, but his ancestors he will renounce last and least of all.

"Allow me to recapitulate: it is in their role of enemies of ancestral worship that missionaries show themselves before the Chinese in the most hateful light; as preachers and apostles of heresy of the worst kind. They are struck by the anathema of Confucianism; that is to say, in the first place by that of its zealots and votaries, who are the learned class imbued with the dogmatism of the classics; further by that of the mandarins recruited from that class, and the whole imperial government, solidly based on the doctrines and writings of Confucius and his school. Christianity, in the eye of all these powers, means revolutionism, enmity to the state, to society and to social order..... Missionaries who preach against the worship of ancestors are revolting against the universe itself, and against heaven, the principle power therein. Is there a greater crime imaginable?"¹

The above was written in 1910 before the Revolution. When the Manchus were overthrown and the republic set up, the foundations of Confucianism and particularly of the cult of ancestor-worship were badly shaken. Religious freedom was written into the new constitution. At that time the republic was heralded as ushering in a new era

1. De Groot, Religion of the Chinese, pp.83-86.

for Christian missions. But the conditions did not improve much. In fact, they became worse. Internecine conflict between contending war-lords and feudal governors kept the country in a continual turmoil, making it difficult to carry on mission work. When the Kuomintang armies, with the help of Russian influence, brought some semblance of control into the country, the anti-Christian propaganda of the Bolshevists spread rapidly throughout the country and poisoned the minds of the people against the Church. Christianity was denounced as the "opiate of the masses" and foreign missionaries were called the "running dogs of foreign imperialism". Laws were passed which prohibited the teaching of religion in primary and junior high schools. This law was a serious blow to Christian mission work because it was through these schools that a large part of the church's mission work was done. It is not surprising that Prof. Furthermore, there was a wholesale importation of Western learning during the first few decades of this century which did not help the cause of Christian missions. The educational authorities of the Chinese government have done much for the education of China's youth. Many of the text books of the West have been translated or adopted in modified form. Unfortunately this contact with Western learning has not been with the positive Christian element. "The foremost minds of China of the

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which admitted to membership only those professing no present day have either been educated abroad or have religious faith. A little later when the World's Student at least read translations of the writings of Western Christian Federation convened at Peking, Shanghai Students scientists and philosophers like Nietzsche, Huxley, formed the Anti-Christian Federation, "with a program Herbert Spencer, Tolstoy, Bertrand Russel, John Dewey, and others."¹ To these we would add Bernard Shaw, Karl Marx, Voltaire, H.G.Wells, VanLoon and many others.

A similar organization was founded in Peking. "In 1924 To page through the catalogues of such publishing companies as Commercial Press, China Book Co., The World Book Co., which print text books and collateral reading material, is a revelation of what China's youth are destroys the national spirit of our people and carries learning. The same destructive material which pervades on a cultural program in order to undermine Chinese our secular educational system in this country and with civilization." Again it seemed that Christianity was which the Church finds fault is what had been imported condemned because of a mistaken notion that it was an enemy of the state.

books and found few that we know to be written from the positive view point of Christianity.

Since then the left wing of the Kuomintang has been losing its hold on the councils of state and a In view of these facts it is not surprising that more sane attitude has taken its place. And, shows all, Prof. E. D. Harvey of Yale-in-China wrote in 1933: "A a war of tremendous proportions has descended upon China decidedly anti-religious spirit is prevalent among the and epoch-making changes have taken place within four younger intelligentsia. This sentiment controls the years, all of which, as we see it, tend to make the councils of state in spite of the fact that a majority opportunities for the propagation of the Christian message of the ministers of the innumerable recent cabinets have age of salvation in free China were favorable than they been professedly Christian."² This anti-Christian sentiment have ever been in the history of that country.

↑
First of all, the Revolution had done such to the organizing of the Young China Association in 1920, undermine the hold of ancestor-worship on the minds of

1. E. D. Harvey, *The Mind of China*, p.291 .
2. E. A. Van Dorn, *Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic*, p.307.
2. E.D.Harvey, *id.*, p.294.

which admitted to membership only those professing no religious faith. A little later when the World's Student Christian Federation convened at Peking, Shanghai students formed the Anti-Christian Federation, "with a program founded on the view that science and religion are incompatible and that Christianity is an ally of capitalism."¹ A similar organization was founded in Peking. "In 1924 the Young China Association again turned its attention to Christian activities and adopted the following resolution: 'We strongly oppose Christian education, which destroys the national spirit of our people and carries on a cultural program in order to undermine Chinese civilization.'² Again it seemed that Christianity was condemned because of a mistaken notion that it was an enemy of the state.

Since then the left wing of the Kuomintang has been losing its hold on the councils of state and a more sane attitude has taken its place. And, above all, a war of tremendous proportions has descended upon China and epoch-making changes have taken place within four years, all of which, as we see it, tend to make the opportunities for the propagation of the Christian message of salvation in free China more favorable than they have ever been in the history of that country.

First of all, the Revolution had done much to undermine the hold of ancestor-worship on the minds of

1. H. A. Van Dorn, Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic, p.207.
2. Van Dorn, id. p.207.

the people. Conditions that have come about as a result of the war are doing much more. The exercise of ancestral worship is carried out at three altars; one at home, one at the grave, and one in the temple of the clan, the ancestral temple. Forty to fifty million people have been driven from their homes to flee as refugees into the interior. They no longer can worship at the altars of their ancestors. We have seen very few refugees who troubled to bring their ancestral tablets with them. In free China many of the ancestral temples have been taken over by the government to house government organs, schools, military establishments and to quarter troops and conscripts. The same holds true for many of the Taoist, Buddhist and Confucian temples. Many more, particularly those in the cities, have been devastated by bombings. The net result is that the people have fewer opportunities for the worship of ancestors or gods. Considerable temple revenue has been diverted for the purpose of education. In brief, the external paraphernalia of ancestral worship, of Buddhism, and of Taoism, which have helped to hold the masses in thralldom, is being destroyed. On the other hand, the government has extended a protecting hand over the Christian Church to protect it from molestation and its property from confiscation.¹ All these

This is the language of Americanism?

1. We do not think this confiscation of temples for government use is fully in harmony with the constitutional principle of religious liberty.

facts indicate that there is less external opposition to the Christian Church and its message than formerly.

Anti-religious sentiment no longer controls the councils of state. In 1933 the Fact Finders' Report of the Laymen's Missions Inquiry brought out the interesting fact that although the Protestant element in China is less than 2/10 of 1%, yet 35% of the leaders of the country listed in "Who's Who in China" are the products of Protestant Christian schools. Today these men are either out-spokenly favorable to Christianity or non-hostile. This is evidenced by the fact that the restriction against all religious instruction in primary and junior high schools has been so modified that such instruction is permitted as an elective subject. Furthermore, "the Church of Christ in China, at the invitation of the Central government, has undertaken a mission among the border tribes (Yunnan) which will include medical, educational and social service (to be financed by the government) and religious work (to be financed by the Church)."¹ In many ways the government is demonstrating that it is kindly disposed toward the work of missions, and particularly in charitable endeavors offers its encouragement and co-operation. It is fully cognizant of the fact that such endeavors are used by the Church

1. International Review of Missions, Jan. 1941,
 survey for 1940. *for quotation from a Chinese newspaper.*

as a means of religious propaganda.¹

The war has taught the people that the Christian Church and its foreign missionaries are not the tools of foreign imperialism, but friends of China. The youth who thought that the Church was trying to destroy the national spirit have seen that the Church has stood by China in her hour of trial, affliction, and oppression. Missionaries and Chinese Christians have labored with unselfish devotion, succoring refugees, binding up the wounds of bombing victims, protecting her women and children against outrage, and shepherding the orphaned and homeless. All this has contributed to shut the mouths of the slanderers of the Church and has brought many ~~the~~ Chinese to the realization that Christianity has come to help China and not to destroy her.²

We must remember that because of the war the Church has suffered physically. Yet, at the close of 1940, we read of that Church: "In free China, in spite of air raids, problems of refugees, rising prices and

1. When we opened a Relief Camp and School for refugee children in Enshih, Hupeh, with money received from the British War Relief Fund for China we asked the education department of the province to supply us with teachers. This they did. When we informed them that we intended to teach religion to the children on Sundays they did not object, even though this was not a mission subsidized undertaking. In fact, we were told that they would consider us poor Christians if we did not try to teach a little Christianity to these children.

2. *of appendix no. 17, for a quotation from a Chinese on this point.*

the accompaniments of war, the Church is not only standing courageously, but growing in spiritual depth and extent....

The war has exactly doubled the reach and the responsibility of the Christian Church in China - writes an American Methodist bishop - and the Church is rising to that responsibility.¹

We are fully aware that the present favorable attitude towards the Christian Church is due largely to the benefits that have come to China through the Church's social activity; also that the vast majority of those who speak favorably of Christianity do not understand the true purpose and meaning of that activity, as we understand it, namely, to make the Chinese wise unto salvation. However, the point we wish to make is this: the opportunity for the propagation of the Gospel of Christ is greater and more favorable than it has ever been before because many of the obstacles of former days are gradually crumbling.

Yet we would not be honest if we did not mention the one obstacle that remains and is growing as a result of this war. This obstacle is "nationalism." The nationalistic spirit of China has been intensified in the last few years and is spreading rapidly throughout the country, particularly in government circles. Although this nationalism is not anti-Christian, there is in it latent dangers for certain aspects of the Church's mission work. As we understand the movement it is not opposed to Christianity as it was some 15 years ago when it was highly communistic. Today it is seeking to place all social and educational activities under the supervision of the state; in other words, the nationalistic spirit in China is tending towards the regimentation of all

1. International Review of Missions, Jan. 1941.

education and social welfare work. We fear that this may react unfavorably on our medical mission work and on our mission schools. There is a danger that under such regimentation the Church will find that these two methods of doing mission work are no longer open to them, or no longer serve as a fruitful means of preaching the Gospel. In our own country the government exercises considerable control over welfare work and education. A certain element of control will not harm the Church's work in this field, provided the extremists do not have their way. Despite this one danger or obstacle, if you want to so call it, we feel that as long as the present generally favorable attitude towards Christianity continues and is not destroyed by an exaggerated nationalistic spirit, -and we do not think this must necessarily follow, our opportunities for the propagation of the Christian Gospel of salvation are better than what they have been in former days.

APPENDIX

Chapter 1.

No. 1

"Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of the people, but the nature it confers is not to be depended upon. All are (good) at first but few prove to be so at the last." (Shih Ching, Decade 3, Ode 1)

No. 2

"The king did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground, saying, 'I, the little child, was without understanding of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at naught all rules of conduct, and violating by my self-indulgence all rules of propriety, and the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self there is no escape. Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my tutor and guardian;--my beginning has been marked by incompetency. Let me still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be good.'" (Hsu Ching, Part IV, Book V)

No. 3

"Yes, filial piety is the constant (method) of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the practical duty of Man. Heaven and earth invariably pursue the course (that may be thus described), and the people take it as their pattern." (Hsiao Ching, chapter VII)

"The superior man, while (his parents) are alive, reverently nourishes them; and, when they are dead, he reverently sacrifices to them;--his (chief) thought is how to the end of life not to disgrace them." (Li Chi, Book XXI, Section I)

"Reverently and carefully have you discharged your filial duties; gravely and respectfully you behave to spirits and to men. I admire your virtue, and pronounce it great and not to be forgotten. God will always enjoy your offerings; the people will be reverently harmonious (under your sway)." (Hsiao Ching, chapter VII)

No. 4

"That feeling of distress is the principle of benevolence; the feeling of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness; the feeling of modesty and complaisance is the principle of propriety; and the feeling of approving and disapproving is the principle of knowledge.

"Men have these four principles just as they have their four limbs. When men, having these four principles, yet say of themselves that they cannot (manifest them) they play the thief with themselves." (Mencius, book 2, part 1, chapter 6, par. 5 & 6.)

No. 5

Waley renders this passage as follows: "He whose heart is set upon goodness will dislike no-one."

No. 6

"The Master said, 'How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was the imperial throne; his riches were all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants preserved the sacrifices to himself.

"Therefore, having such great virtue, it could not be but that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that he should obtain to his long life." (Doctrine of the Mean, 17, 1.2.)

Chapter 11

No. 7

"All pervading is the Great Tao! It may be found on the left hand and on the right. All things depend on it for their production, which it gives to them not one refusing obedience to it. When its works is accomplished, it does not claim the name of having done it. It clothes all things as with a garment, and makes no assumption of being their Lord; it may be named in the smallest things. All things return (to their root and disappear), and do not know that it is it which presides over their doing so; - it may be named in the greatest things." (Tao Teh Ching, Part 1, chapter 34 - Legge's translation)

"This is the Tao;- there is in it emotion and sincerity, but it does nothing and has no bodily form. It may be handed down (by the teacher) but may not be received (by his scholars). It may be apprehended (by the mind), but it cannot be seen. It has its root and ground (of existence) in itself. Before there was heaven and earth, from of old, there it was, securely existing. From it came the mysterious existences of spirits, from it the mysterious existence of God. It produced heaven; it produced earth. It was before the Tai-ki, and yet it could not be considered high; it was below all space and yet could not be considered deep. It could not be considered to have existed long; it was older than the highest antiquity, and yet could not be considered old." (Works of Chuang-tzu, Book 6, par. 7)

No. 8

Hung Mung said to Yun Kiang: "Ah your mind needs to be nourished. Do you only take the position of doing nothing, and things will of themselves become transformed. Neglect your body; cast out from you your power of hearing and sight; forget what you have in common with things; cultivate a grand similarity with the chaos of the plastic ether; unloose your mind; set your spirit free; be still as if you had no soul. Of all the multitude of things everyone returns to its root." (Works of Chuang-tzu, Book 11, par. 5)

No. 9

"Buddha said: Lust and desire, in respect of a man, are like a person who takes a lighted torch and runs with it against the wind. Foolish man! not letting go the torch you must needs have the pain of a burnt hand - and so with respect to the poison of covetousness, lust, anger, envy, folly, and unbelief, these dwelling in a man, and not soon eradicated by the use of reason (religion), the misery to the person concerned will be just like the self-inflicted pain on the hand of the foolish man bearing the torch." (From the Sutra of the Forty-two sections in S. Beal's "A Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese," p. 198.)

No. 10

"He meditated on the entire world of creatures, whirling in life's tangle, born to sorrow; the crowds who live, grow old, and die, innumerable for multitude,

Covetous, lustful, ignorant, darkly-fettered, with no way known for final rescue. Rightly considering, inwardly he reflected from what source birth and death proceed;

He was assured that age and death must come from birth as from a source. For since a man has born with him a body, that body must inherit pain (disease).

Then looking further whence comes birth, he saw it came from life-deeds done elsewhere; then with his Deva-eyes scanning these deeds, he saw they were not framed by Isvara;

They were not self-caused, they were not personal existences, nor were they either uncaused; then, as one who breaks the first bamboo joint finds all the rest easy to separate,

Having discerned the cause of birth and death, he gradually came to see the truth; deeds come from upadana (cleaving), like as fire which catches hold of grass;

Upadana (tsu) comes from trishna ('ngai), just as a little fire enflames the mountains; trishna comes from vedana (shau), (the perception of pain and pleasure, the desire for rest);

As the starving or the thirsty man seeks food and drink, so 'sensation' (perception) brings 'desire' for life; then contact (sparsa) is the cause of all sensation, producing the three kinds of pain or pleasure,

Even as by art of man the rubbing wood produces fire for any use or purpose; sparsa (contact) is born from the six entrances (ayatanas), (a man is blind because he cannot see the light;

The six entrances are caused by name and thing, just as the germ grows to the stem and leaf; name and thing are born from knowledge (yignana), as the seed which germinates and brings forth leaves.

Knowledge, in turn, proceeds from name and thing, the two are interinvolved leaving no remnant; by some concurrent cause knowledge engenders name and thing, whilst by some other cause concurrent, name and thing engender knowledge;

Just as a man and ship advance together, the water and the land mutually involved; thus knowledge brings forth name and thing; name and thing produce the roots (ayatanas);

See also the Chinese, "A Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese," (p. 173-174.)

No. 12

No. 10 (Cont'd)

The roots engender contact; contact again brings forth sensation; sensation brings forth longing desire; longing desire produces upadana;

Upadana is the cause of deeds; and these again engender birth; birth again produces age and death; so does this one incessant round

Cause the existence of all living things. Rightly illumined, thoroughly perceiving this, firmly established, thus was he enlightened; destroy birth, old age and death will cease;

Destroy bhava then will birth cease; destroy 'cleaving' (upadana) then will bhava end; destroy trishna (desire) then will cleaving end; destroy sensation then will trishna end;

Destroy contact then will end sensation; destroy the six entrances, then will contact cease; the six entrances all destroyed, from this, moreover, names and things will cease;

Knowledge destroyed, names and things will cease; sanskara (names and things) destroyed, then knowledge perishes; ignorance destroyed, then the sanskara will die; the great Rishi was thus perfected in wisdom (samboधि).

Thus perfected, Buddha then advised for the world's benefit the eightfold path, right sight, and so on, the only true path for the world to tread." (Fu-shoV-hsing-tsang-ching, Varga 14.)

No. 11

"Buddha said, illustrious disciple, Nirvana is of this sort, it is not like the pitcher not yet made out of the clay, nor is it like the nothingness of the pitcher which has been broken; nor is it like the horn of the hare, nor the hair of the tortoise, something purely imaginary. But it may be compared to the nothingness defined as the absence of something different from itself. illustrious disciple, as you say, although the ox has no quality of the horse in it, you cannot say that the ox does not exist; and though the horse has no quality of the ox in it, you cannot say that the horse does not exist. Nirvana is just so. In the midst of sorrow there is no Nirvana, and in Nirvana there is no sorrow. So we may justly define Nirvana as that sort of non-existence which consists in the absence of something essentially different from itself." (quotation of extract from Parinirvana Sutra, Kiouen 39, as found in S. Beal's, "A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese," pp. 173-174.)

No. 12

"And, O Ananda, there is nowhere in that Sukhavati world any sound of sin, obstacle, misfortune, distress, and destruction; there is nowhere any sound of pain, even the sound of perceiving what is neither pain nor pleasure is not there, O Ananda, how much less the sound of pain.

"And in that world, there is no difference between gods and men, except when they are spoken of in ordinary and imperfect parlance as gods and men.

"And again, O Ananda, in that Buddha country whatever beings have been born, and are being born, and will be born, are always constant in absolute truth, till they have reached Nirvana." (The Larger Sukhavati-vyūha)

No. 13

The Saṃyuktāgama Sūtra says: "Whoever bestows in charity beautiful garments, and loves to engage in religious exercises, gives incense and, choice food, does not kill, does not covet, or get angry, gives food to the poor, affords proper hospitality to priest and priestess, shall be born in Heaven, in abodes corresponding to the character of body; if the body is golden-coloured, they shall enjoy superlative happiness." (As quoted by S. Beal; "A Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese," p. 74.)

No. 14

Near the close of this sūtra the rather general remark is made: "In case of a son or daughter of a noble family, the mere hearing of the names of Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas will expiate the sins which would involve them in births and deaths during innumerable kalpas. How much more will the remembrance of (Buddha and the Bodhisattvas)!" (The Amitayur-dhyāna Sūtra)

No. 15

THE SIXTEEN HELLS OF BUDDHISM

十六大地獄

(According to the Sarvastivādins-Sūtra or Sa-po-to Classic)

The Eight Hot or Burning Hells. (炎熱)

In general:

The Vibasha Shaster says: "Under Jambudwipa down to the place of punishment called Avitchi, is forty thousand yojanas." (A yojana is a royal day's march for an army.)

The Kiao-lian-sheou-ming Sutra says: "One day and night in Sandjiva Hell is equal to 16,200 kotis of years of men. In the Kala-sutra-Hell a day and a night is equal to 32,400 lotis of years of men. ... in the Tapana Hell 518,400 lotis." (A kotis is a hundred thousand or, as some explain, a million.)

1. Sandjiva-Hell of Revival (): Also called Hell of Thought. Here all the victims have iron claws with which they tear each other; with swords and knives they cut and hack one another. Lying on the ground, torn and mutilated, a cold wind blows over them and they revive. When the punishments of this hell have been finished they go on to the next hell until they finally reach the last one, no. 16, and emerge from it.

2. Kala-Sutra-Hell - Hell of the Black Cord (): Here the victims are lashed with burning iron wires, the limbs hacked with hatchets, the bodies sawn asunder, and finally a wind causes the lacerated flesh to be corrupted into poisonous wounds.

3. The Sanhata Hell (): The bones and flesh of the sinners are crushed by falling mountains; they are brayed in iron mortars and stones are hurled upon them. Those who committed any of the three wicked acts (such as proceed from hatred, envy, or anger) are punished here.

4. The Raurava Hell - Hell of Crying and Wailing (): The victims are cast into iron caldrons or red hot pans until they cry out in agony. Murderers and poisoners are punished here. Afterwards, they go through the 16 little hells.

5. The Maraaurava Hell - The Great Hell of Crying and Wailing (): Burning hatchets and knives are used on the victims; after which they are roasted and fried over and over again in hot pans. This is the hell for heretics and malefactors.

6. The Tapana Hell (): The flesh is covered with small insects, the joints become flowers.

6. Tapana Hell - Hell of Burning (炎熱):
shut up in red hot iron dug-outs, the flesh of the victims is burned and charred to cinders. Those who in this life roasted and baked animals for food are punished here.
7. Pratapa Hell - Hell of Fierce Heat (大熱):
This is the hell of punishment for apostates. They are thrown into a lake of fire and pierced with iron spikes.
8. Avitchi - Hell of Uninterrupted Rebirth (無間):
The victims are conveyed through the iron city of flames in fiery chariots. It is a sort of endless process. 10,000 poisonous blasts assail their senses. There is no cessation of misery for even one moment. Men and women guilty of the worst crimes are punished here. The Sadharma-prakasa Sutra says: "The miseries of Avitchi are thousands of myriad times worse than those of the former seven. It is also called, "The Hell from which there is No Deliverance."

The Eight Cold Hells (八寒地獄).

1. The Avata of Arbuda Hell (額浮陀): It is so cold in this hell that the victims break out in tumors and blains.
2. Niravata or Nirabuda Hell (泥羅浮陀): The hell of bursting cold boils and blains.
3. A-cha-cha Hell (阿吒吒): It is so cold in this hell that the teeth continually chatter. It is from this that it derives its name.
4. Hayava Hell (阿波波): It is so cold in this hell that the only sound that the victim can make is, in Chinese, o-p'o-p'o.
5. Hahaha Hell (啞候候): The hell in which the victim, because of the intensity of the cold, can only make the noise of the frozen throat, o-hou-hou.
6. Utstala Hell (優鉢羅): The flesh is covered with sores resembling the blue lotus flower.
7. Padma Hell (波頭摩): The flesh is covered with sores resembling the red lotus flower.
8. Fandara Hell (分陀利): The flesh is covered with sores resembling the white lotus flower.

*Number of
HELLS*
 The above 16 hells are the central or primary hells of primitive Buddhism. In addition to these there are the secondary hells. These consist of 128 inferior or little hells which surround the 8 hot hells, each of the latter having 16 of the former surrounding it. Then there are a third group which are known as the isolated Hells.

Later Buddhism limited the primary hells to 10, which in turn, however, were surrounded by secondary ones. The Shih-pa -li-li Sutra lists 18 hells. We can definitely say that the hells of Buddhism are many and horrible. On these points there is agreement. Furthermore, their purpose is punitive as well as purgatorial.

Chapter IV

No. 16

Translation by A. Moule

"He brought to completion the letter of the ancient law of the twenty-four sages, regulating the state on the great principle; he founded the new teaching unexpressed in words of the most holy Spirit of the Three in One, modelling the practice of virtue on right faith. He laid down the rule of the eight conditions, cleansing from the defilement of sense and perfecting truth. He opened the gates of the three which abide, he disclosed life and abolished death. He hung up a brilliant sun to take by storm the halls of darkness; the wiles of the devil were then all destroyed. He rowed the boat of mercy to go up to the palaces of light; those who have souls were then completely saved. His mighty works thus finished, he ascended at midday to the spiritual sphere.

"Of scriptures there were left twenty seven books which explain the great reformation to unlock the barriers of the understanding. The water and the Spirit of religious baptism wash away vain glory and cleanse one pure and white. The figure of ten which is held as a seal lightens the four quarters to unite all without exception. The wood struck awakes a sound of pity and kindness; the worship eastward hastens men along the road of life and glory." (AcC.Moule: "Christians in China Before the Year 1550," p. 37)

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- "the ancient dispensation, as declared by the twenty-four holy men, was then fulfilled, and he laid down great principles for the government of families and kingdoms; he established the new religion of the silent operation of the pure spirit of the Triune; he rendered virtue subservient to direct faith; he fixed the extent of the eight boundaries, thus completing the truth and freeing it from dross; he opened the gate of the three constant principles, introducing life and destroying death; he suspended the bright sun to invade the chambers of darkness, and the falsehoods of the devil were thereupon defeated; he set in motion the vessel of mercy by which to ascend to the bright mansions, whereupon rational beings were then released, having thus completed the manifestation of his power, in clear day he ascended to his true station. Twenty-seven sacred books have been left, which disseminate intelligence by unfolding the original transforming principles. By the rule for admission, it is the custom to apply the water of baptism, to wash away all superficial show and to cleanse and purify the neophytes." (A. Wylie in Holm's "My Nestorian Adventure in China," pp. 151 and 152.)

C. The Hsiao Ching - Book on Filial Piety.

Chapter VI

("Sacred Books of the East" - edited by Max Muller; No. 17. Translations by J. Legge - volumes 3, 16, 27, 28.

Also Chinese text of the Hsiao Ching, translated by Kelly. "Today, Christianity is much better understood and appreciated in China than ever before. It has won the respect and sympathy of all, including those who were formerly most out-spoken anti-Christian leaders, partly because of the sacrificial spirit that has been manifested since the outbreak of hostilities, by Christians, both missionaries and Chinese, and partly because the Christians stand for truth, justice and freedom."

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