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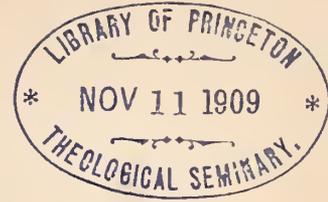
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SECTARIANISM
AND
RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION
IN CHINA

Frontispiece.



Salvation.



SECTARIANISM
AND
RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION
IN CHINA

A PAGE IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

BY

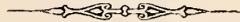
J. J. M. DE GROOT

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

(With three Plates)

The cultivation of Heresy is so injurious!
CONFUCIUS

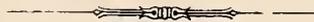


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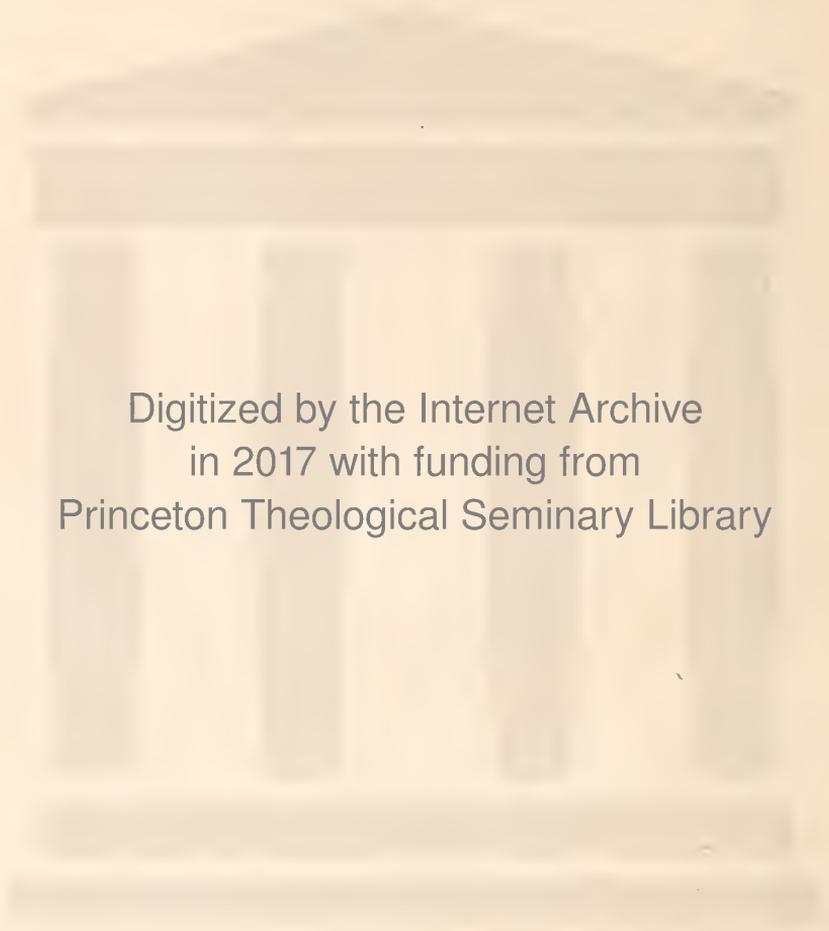
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JOHANNES MÜLLER
1903



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TO

ALL MISSIONARIES OF EVERY CHRISTIAN CREED

LABOURING IN CHINA

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INTRODUCTION.

The events of the last year of the 19th century have once more drawn the attention of the civilized world towards the Chinese empire, and have given birth to a stream of books, pamphlets, periodical and newspaper articles, in which various authors have tried to throw light upon the East Asiatic continent, often however only helping to increase erroneous ideas already in circulation about it.

A chief point of attraction was Christianity established there by European and American missions, now subjected for the thousandth time to murderous attacks. Curiously enough, many people, nurtured in the bosom of our Christian nations, now sided with the persecutor. Several writers brought serious accusations against the missionaries. They reproached them openly with being the cause of the outrages not only upon themselves and the communities established by them, but upon foreigners in general. These writers, too ignorant to restrain their inordinate passion for writing, did not hesitate to lay the ensuing disasters to the account of the impolitic, even criminal actions of which the preachers of the foreign religions are supposed to have been persistently and systematically guilty. Giving their fancy full play, and looking at the faults of the missions through magnifying-glasses, rather than actuated by a love of truth, they have drawn up formal lists of the transgressions of the missions, collected from vague rumours, one-sided accounts of Chinese officials, and idle reports spread abroad by the press both in the East and in the West.

Indeed — so some argued — the government of China and its people are altogether tolerant on the point of religion; this is an established fact which even gray-headed sinologists do not gainsay. Therefore, when missionaries and their Christian communities, and with them foreigners in general, are attacked,

there can be but one reason for this, namely that the missions by their evil doings have exasperated the people and their rulers to such an extent and so persistently that their anger has boiled over. This then is the solution of the "foreign" question. Eureka!

The mission, an institution which in our social system has for centuries enjoyed full civic rights and the sympathy of tens of thousands of individuals, could not fail to suffer greatly from such sophistry. As a matter of fact, public opinion has for many years been prejudiced against it; for these erroneous notions have not only been proclaimed in superficial newspaper productions, which — fortunately for science and history — only enjoy an ephemeral existence; but they have also found their way into books and writings of a more serious calibre, thus taking a firm hold on the minds of the reading public. The mission, deserving of respect on account of its spirit of self-sacrifice for the good of its heathen fellow-creatures, on account of its endeavours to raise these less civilized elements of mankind to a higher standard, both morally and materially, and on account of what it has wrought for science and learning — this institution surely deserved a better treatment. However, we are not going to put ourselves forward as its champion. The task of its defence is safely left with the many eminent men belonging to it. But it appears to us that, as the relation of the Chinese empire with foreign countries and their missions is a subject of general interest to the world, it may be useful to look a little more closely at the standpoint taken by its government with regard to religions in general and their propagation. For, after all, it is this standpoint which determines the position of missions in China and rules the actions of the Powers in regard to the protection afforded to them and to the communities established by them, and it therefore plays an important part in the political relations and complications of foreign countries with China.

Such a study of the standpoint taken by the government of China necessarily resolves itself into a study of this one momentous question: Does that government recognize religious liberty? If not, why not?

The present work will be chiefly devoted to the consideration of this twofold problem, and it will be my endeavour to show that the favorable opinion entertained by the world at large about the tolerance and liberality of China on the point of religion, is purely chimerical. If I succeed in proving this, then the assertion that the persecutions of Christians in China are the

natural result of the misdoings of their leaders, and not in the first place due to the fanaticism of the other side, will revert to its proper miniature proportions.

It may sound strange, and yet it is true, that the problem of religious liberty, which is of such extreme importance to the mission and to the study of East Asiatic religion, has hitherto hardly been considered a topic worthy of serious discussion. For centuries the missions have, on various occasions, had painful experience of the fact that this vaunted liberty left much, very much, to be desired; and nevertheless, as far as my knowledge goes, nobody has ever yet attempted to trace the reasons for this intolerance; and this will justify my endeavour to do so in this work. A chimera has to be banished from our minds and to make room for the conviction that we approach a great deal nearer the truth by admitting the Chinese State to be the most intolerant, the most persecuting of all earthly governments; a State which, on account of certain ancient dogmatic principles in the system of political philosophy whereon it is based, could not consistently do otherwise than brandish fire and sword in the face of every religious community or sect which, since the days of Confucius, has ventured to make its appearance in China; a State, in fact, which always follows this political line of action with the most scrupulous exactitude, and must *a fortiori* be hostile to Christianity and the despised "foreign devils" who introduced it.

For many years I also held the comfortable universal belief in China's religious liberty. I even expressed this belief in one of my earlier writings; the few lines written under the influence of that conviction I now openly withdraw. Since then I have learned to know better, and I hope, through the medium of this book, to succeed in convincing of error my fellow labourers in the field of Sinology, who as yet believe in that religious liberty. This work however has yet another object, namely to give my contribution from the vast, almost unexplored region of East Asiatic religious history, side by side with the result of some personal investigations carried on in China with reference to the native heathen sects which are charged by the State with heresy, and therefore persecuted rigorously; about the existence of which sects, their views and their aspirations, hardly anything has hitherto been brought to light.

China is not an empire of a day. Her polity, institutions and laws are for the most part very ancient, and based as far as possible, and with fanatic systematization, by the statesmen

of all ages upon the oldest principles traceable in so-called trustworthy classical documents. It is therefore impossible thoroughly to comprehend her polity, laws and institutions, and to appraise them at their right value, unless one can consider them in the light of their classical origin and historical development. The China of to-day is the same as the China of the past ages which saw her rise, and flourish and decay; and this truth applies to her political principles on the point of religions. My work then must be in the first place historical; but I cannot pretend to give more than an historical outline. For the history of religious persecution in China — into which a treatment of our problem necessarily resolves itself — is almost the history of her religions themselves; and to give a full account of these from native documents would be a labour too gigantic for one person, even if he could have access to them all.

As a matter of fact, the native sources we have drawn from, are only few in number. We might have used more, if we had not purposely restricted ourselves to those of authenticity, and, moreover, taken from the side of the persecutor. For it has been our object to avoid, as far as possible, the reproach of partiality by not placing ourselves on the side of the party which to us is the more sympathetic: that of the persecuted. We have preferred to let the arch-persecutor, called Imperial Government, describe itself, and to sketch it from its own writings, chiefly from official historical works, laws and decrees. In this manner it receives the full justice which Chinese sources give it, without of course, our being in danger of becoming partial to its cause. It is also especially important for us to become acquainted with the principles and motives which govern its spirit of persecution. These we find clearly and frankly exposed in the official books and documents. So, no one can portray the persecuting State better than it portrays itself therein: the more so, because, as is always the case with religious persecutors, this one in China was always fully persuaded of the righteousness of its cause, and therefore glories in its work of persecution. The methods of persecution, too, are best learned from those sources; but these do not so clearly show what were the effects produced, the human lives destroyed, the immeasurable woe entailed; — these things, evidently, the persecuting State does not deem worthy of notice, and it is as yet a question whether much has been recorded on this subject by the persecuted party. So far we have not found much.

To sketch ideas and principles from Chinese texts and to prove their existence from the latter, demands imperiously that these

texts be rendered as faithfully as possible. A free translation and, above all, paraphrasing, are apt to create misconceptions. The texts from which this work is built up, have therefore largely been given in almost verbal translation, always marked by inverted commas. The spirit, the ideas contained in these quotations have thus been left untouched as far as could be; but the readableness has thereby necessarily suffered, and for this we beg to apologize.

Leiden, July 1901.

NOTE

ON

THE ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

OF

THE CHINESE WORDS AND NAMES OCCURRING IN THIS WORK.

The vowels are pronounced as in German; but *a* is short when followed by *k*, *p*, *t* or *ng*, and *i* and *o* are short when followed by *k* or *ng*. The diphthong *ai* is pronounced like *ie* in English *tie*, and *ao* like *ow* in *now*.

The consonants are pronounced as in English; but *g* is always hard, and *h* is never silent, except at the end of a word, where it indicates that the vowel preceding it is short and abrupt. When *h* follows *k*, *p* or *t*, it always represents a distinct aspiration; but after *t*, *ts* or *ch* the aspiration is indicated by the sign ^c suspended above the line.

ch is always pronounced as in *chair*, *ng* as in *spring*, *sh* as in *shelf*.

CHAPTER I.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF CONFUCIANISM REGARDING HERESY AND PERSECUTION.

The state-polity, institutions and laws of China, as I stated in the Introduction, are, and ever have been based systematically upon the most ancient data traceable in her writings. Hence it is absolutely impossible for us to understand these laws, polity, and institutions, and to value them at their true worth, unless we consider them in the light of their classical origin. The same rule applies to the state-polity with regard to religions. Our first business therefore must be to look into that remote antiquity, which, it may safely be said in addition, has throughout all ages been the basis on which the national convictions and institutions have been built in every department of politics, social life, philosophy and ethics. If we find that in those days formal distinction was made between true doctrine and heresy, and that persecution and extermination of heresy were preached, this in itself is a proof that the Chinese state, overruled as it always has been by a fanatical adhesion to the traditions and examples of the ancients, considering these the highest and holiest standard for government and morals — has simply maintained that ancient system of distinction, persecution and extermination, and throughout the history of the empire has carried it out into its minutest details and its extremest consequences.

All this has actually taken place. We must therefore first of all make ourselves familiar with the teaching of antiquity regarding heresy and the persecution of heretics. This will give us the key wherewith to decipher the enigmatical state-measures against heresy and heretics in the course of the ages. With its help, we shall understand the ideas and thoughts expressed in the Chinese texts from which our historical sketch of these persecutions will be drawn up; these texts will stand out clear as crystal where otherwise they would have remained veiled and obscure. Conversely, these texts become a chain of evidence for the reality of the classical principles of the doctrine of persecution, which we shall expose in this chapter. These principles all lead

up to the one point that philosophy and politics both absolutely forbid freedom of religion and religious doctrines. They have been promulgated by several writers in the course of ages with striking unanimity. From their several writings we have collected the chief points and traced their train of thought, which we offer to the reader in a condensed form in the following lines.

Since the early dawn of its existence, in so far as we can become acquainted therewith from the ancient writings, the Chinese nation has known but one never-failing expedient by which to ensure a long and prosperous life to man, namely by bringing all his actions into harmony with nature. Without the cooperation and blessing of the universe, of heaven and earth, no human existence, and least of all a flourishing one, could be conceived. Blessed therefore is the man who submits himself in all things to the powers of nature by conforming implicitly to its Tao 道 or way, course or progress, thus conducting himself in all things in harmony with heaven and earth; but woe to the presumptuous one who dares to do what, even most remotely, may be considered contrary to the Tao. This means collision with the supreme power, a collision generating evils of all sorts, and ending in ruin and destruction.

Thus, from the very beginning, the Tao represents all that is "correct and right" in the universe, i. e. ching 正 or twan 端; therefore it embraces also all correct and righteous dealings which are in conformity with the Tao, that is to say, the li 禮 or rules for private and social life, coupled with teh 德 or morality, together forming the fung-suh 風俗 or good manners and customs. In the eyes of China's sages, the Tao is the creator of all these good things, as it is in fact of all things whatsoever, produced within the boundaries of heaven and earth by the motions of the cosmos and its subdivisions. This Tao, the motion and motor of the universe, the course of the world, the all-creator, has no co-equal. Hence there is no room for any second set of moral rules by the side of the first. And if by any chance another set should arise from somewhere, this must necessarily be "not correct, not right", that is, puh ching 不正 or puh twan 不端, or, as the technical expression is, sié 邪 or yin 淫¹⁾ Doctrines of this kind are unorthodox, or so-called tso tao 左道, "left Tao", that is to say, doctrines inferior to the one true Tao.

1) Yin essentially means overflowing, excessive, something that surpasses its due limits. It comprises the idea of evil in general, which is the case also with the word sié.

The fact is, that this latter conclusion does not tally with the starting-point, according to which, without the operation of the one and only Tao, nothing can be created: in other words, heterodox things also originate from the Tao and therefore are, if rightly considered, orthodox; so that all that arises and all that is must necessarily be good. But this contradiction does not seem greatly to affect Chinese philosophy. It is satisfied with the theory that every thing which, in its own arbitrary opinion, does not proceed from the Tao, must be wrong and can produce neither happiness nor virtue, and that every true and right-minded statesman is therefore under the stringent obligation of destroying it, root and branch, wherever it exists and wherever it crops up. He has to nip it in the bud ere it has a chance of breeding confusion within the original and genuine li and t'eh, the only things which keep a man in thought, word, and deed, in perfect harmony with the course of the universe.

This theory having once been advanced as the highest fundamental wisdom, it only remained to settle what are the li and the t'eh, the true rules of life and of moral philosophy. This problem could never offer any difficulty to China's sages and politicians, for the holy ancestors had provided an ample solution. Had they not lived shortly after the creation of the universe? Had not some of them indeed had a share in its completion? Their thoughts, their conduct, their principles must therefore have been in perfect harmony with the course of the universe; their life was excellent and sound, at least sounder and more excellent than any human existence of which it has been vouchsafed to us, their descendants, to have any knowledge. It is therefore perfectly reasonable and strictly in accordance with common sense and discretion, to follow them exclusively in their thoughts, their doctrines and their actions. In other words, the ancient books which reveal to us all these matters, and which have been pronounced genuine by the unanimous judgment of the sages of all times, must be exalted into bibles of doctrine. These books shall be the basis of the lives and actions of all humanity; these books shall be the foundation-stones of the State and of society, and so the Tao which can never be too highly praised, will receive its fullest due.

This theory has been honored by all ages, and practised in its minutest details. The sacred books were known under the expressive name of king 經, "the warp", i. e. of human existence, the groundwork of the web of all knowledge, all words and actions. The warp presupposes a woof or wei 緯. Under this term a class of works are known in literature, based upon the king

and intended to explain and to complete these, to point out how they ought to influence all the details of social and family life. These together form the correct, orthodox literature, the source of all dogma, the only books which in the course of centuries have found supreme favour in the eyes of sages, scholars, and politicians. They are the foundation of all civilisation and learning; a thorough knowledge of their teaching is to this day the chief, nay the only requisite in the world-famed examinations which open the door to official preferment. All writings outside their scope are either neutral, and therefore beneath the notice of scholars and statesmen, only fit for certain anomalous minds in search of idle occupation; or else they breathe another spirit, are heterodox, morally corrupting, and dangerous to society and the State. The latter class must be exterminated at any cost, together with all usages and doctrines emanating from them.

The close relationship between the king and Confucius may be taken for granted. He is supposed to be the author of one of them, the *Ch'un ts'iu* 春秋; three others, the *Shu* 書, the *Shi* 詩, and the *Yih* 易, he is said to have edited either entirely or for the greater part. In the *Li ki* 禮記 his name and those of many of his disciples are so frequently mentioned, that this weighty work seems chiefly composed of data furnished by himself or treasured up concerning him. Of equal importance, excellence and sanctity with these five king are the four so-called *shu* 書 or books. Three of these, viz. the *Lun yü* 論語, the *Ta hioh* 大學, and the *Chung yung* 中庸, are ascribed to the great Master and his immediate disciples; the fourth contains the doctrines and opinions of China's "second sage" (亞聖), the well known Mencius, the greatest of the disciples of Confucius, and hence the chief promulgator of his views and doctrine. This set of nine Classics may be called the Confucian fundamental code for society and the State, the only bible for religion, politics and ethics during almost twenty centuries, the treasury of dogma outside of which no truth ever was, or is, or will be. So, dogmatism, whatever may be said or written to the contrary, is one of the chief features in the political and social system of China.

Dogmatism is everywhere in this world the mother of heresy, intolerance and persecution. Could this be different in China? Certainly not. For here we find the school of Confucius, in close alliance with the State, which has entirely identified itself with its principles, embued with a fanatical animosity against everything religious and ethical which cannot be traced back to

the Classics, an animosity revealing itself in exterminating all such teaching as lacks the stamp of having been built upon the foundation of these sacred writings. Crusades against such false doctrines could not possibly fail to crop up where the *Shu*, the holiest of the Classics, preached them. It did so in one of its most ancient and therefore most sacred parts, entitled: Counsels of Yü the Great (大禹謨), a collection of teachings on political wisdom and statesmanship from the holy founder of the Hsia dynasty, who lived in the 23rd century b.C. Since these Counsels were discovered under the Han dynasty, they have been kept in special honour as an extremely classical fragment of fundamental law for the State and government. "Hesitate not to put away all that is sié" ¹⁾, thus briefly and forcibly says that important document. Confucius in his own supreme person put his seal to this precept, for, according to the current opinion, it was he who edited these Counsels. And with his own mouth he condemned all that was not in conformity with the one infallible doctrine, in one single sentence which to this day is the high device of the heresy-hunting Imperial government: "The practice of that which swerves from the orthodox (i t w a n), oh, what harm it causes!" ²⁾

It was Mencius, however, born about 372 b.C., nearly a century after the death of Confucius, who first by both word and example laid upon all future ages the duty of persecuting heresy. Indeed, we read in the Classic which bears his name, that he violently attacked all heretics, and two men in particular had to bear the outbursts of his fury: Yang Chu 楊朱, a preacher of epicureanism of the worst kind; and Mih Tih 墨翟, advocate of universal philanthropy to be practised even at the expense of one's parents, and also of simplicity in the funeral rites. To wage war against their doctrines, which evidently had made alarming progress in his time, was the chief aim and object of the sage. Listen how he hurls the shafts of his indignation against them: "If their doctrines be not stopped, those of Confucius cannot possibly come to the front; the people will be led into error by that heretical language, and benevolence and righteousness will find the way blocked; then, as a consequence, man, imitating the beasts, will devour man, the one tear the other to pieces". So hideous are the consequences of heresy! "I am alarmed by these matters",

1) 去邪勿疑.

2) 攻乎異端斯害也已. *Lun yü* II, 16.

our sage goes on to say in the same breath; “distressed about the “doctrines of the Sages of the past, I oppose Yang and Mih, and “drive away heretical (yin) doctrines, in order that no preachers “of heresies (sié) may do their work. Do such men work on “people’s minds, they do harm to their business; if they influence “their business, they harm the government. Should the Sages “rise again, they would not alter these my words..... It is “also my desire to render the minds of men orthodox (ching), “and thus to make an end of heretical (sié) doctrines; I wish “to raise an obstacle against criticism, and thus to banish heretical (yin) talk; — in this manner I carry on the work of “the three Sages. Should I do so from a desire to criticise? No, “I cannot do otherwise. He who can oppose Yang and Mih is a “disciple of the Sages”¹).

Mencius then is the classical sage who tells us, categorically, what we are to understand by heresy: this is in fact everything that diverges from the teachings of the sages, and more particularly of three among them, who have been identified by commentators and scholars of all times as Yü the Great, above-mentioned; Cheu-kung 周公, “the prince of Cheu”, brother and right hand man of the founder of the Cheu dynasty (12th cent. b.C.), who is the principal author of the *Yih* and of other classical writings; and lastly Confucius. It is certain that, to the Chinese, the True Doctrine has always been exactly what was deemed written or edited by that triad; and so Mencius has saved all posterity the slightest uncertainty for themselves as to what is heresy, and what is not. He also is the man, as we have read, who expressly declares heresies to be dangerous to the State or to the administration of government. Criticism of the holy scriptures he, necessarily, also declares to be of the evil one, for criticisms must inevitably end in heresies. This anti-heretic zeal

1) 楊墨之道不息、孔子之道不著、是邪說誣民充塞仁義也、仁義充塞、則率獸食人、人將相食。吾爲此懼、閑先聖之道距楊墨、放淫辭、邪說者不得作。作於其心害於其事、作於其事害於其政。聖人復起不易吾言矣。我亦欲正人心、息邪說、距詖行、放淫辭、以承三聖者。豈好辯哉、予不得已也。能言距楊墨者聖人之徒也。 Section T^ceng-wen-kung 滕文公, II.

of his is always first on his programme, as the following quotation from his works shows. When one of his pupils asked him: "What do you call apprehending what others say?" he answered: "To realize of criticisms what points they leave obscure, of heretic (yin) reasonings how deeply they have sunk (into error), of heretic (sié) language how far it departs (from the truth), and of evasive words in how far they show that the argument is "exhausted" ¹⁾.

Authoritative ancient writers, whose works are not included among the Classics, also waged war against all that was heterodox. In the front row stands the renowned Kwan I-wu 管夷吾, who departed this life in 645 b.C. As he is the oldest writer on politics whose works have been preserved, his sayings are considered the chief and primary source from which to supplement the political doctrines of the Classics. "They who govern the "people", he wrote, "must unanimously desire the orthodoxy (ching) of the people. And if this desire prevails in them, "they must not neglect to forbid also the lesser heterodoxies (sié), "for these produce the greater. Therefore, if these lesser heterodoxies are not forbidden, no effort will succeed in making the "greater ones harmless to the dynasty" ²⁾.

In ancient, classical times, the bearers and promulgators of the True Doctrine were the so-called jü 儒, mentioned occasionally by Mencius himself, and also in other Classics. In the old *Cheu kwan* 周官, the book of the political and social institutions under the Cheu dynasty which reigned from the 12th till into the 3rd century before our era, they are mentioned under nine categories of persons forming the links which were supposed to join together the populations of the various feudal states. "The "fourth of these links", it says markedly, "are the jü, who exercise influence over the people by means of the Tao" ³⁾, i. e. by means of the orthodox teachings founded on the course of the uni-

1) 何謂知言、曰、詖辭知其所蔽、淫辭知其所陷、邪辭知其所離、遁辭知其所窮。Section Kung-sun Ch'eu 公孫丑, I.

2) 凡牧民者欲民之正也。欲民之正則微邪不可不禁也、微邪者大邪之所生也。微邪不禁而求大邪之無傷國不可得也。Kwan-tszé 管子: „Kwan the Philosopher”, ch. I, sect. 3.

3) 四曰儒、以道得民。Ch. II, sect. 大宰。

verse. Immediately preceding these, we find in the list the shi 師 or teachers, of whom the book declares "that they influence the people by their wisdom" ¹⁾. A long instruction to this caste is found in the *Li ki* ²⁾, under the title of 儒行: "The Conduct of the Jü", in the form of a private sermon successfully delivered by Confucius for the conversion of a prince of Lu, who seems to have had no very high opinion of the caste. This document is the canonical guide for every good Confucian scholar to this day. It teaches that he should be a compendium of virtues, above all things fearless, staunch to his principles, and a pattern of artificial perfection, qualities which with the greater portion of them must necessarily result in an over-dose of insolence, fanaticism and pharisaical self-conceit. It is plainly stated in this instruction, that to the scholar "the human race of to-day "exists merely for him to live with, but that of antiquity is to "identify himself with, and if he brings this into practice, succeeding generations will make him their model" ³⁾. Thus, in its earliest form, the genus scholar was depicted as still it is this day: as a caste thoroughly versed in the orthodox writings concerning the ancients or emanating from them; a caste upholding and propagating with fanatical tenacity the principles and doctrines expounded therein. China has at all times been abundantly blest with members of this caste. From their midst the government officials are recruited by means of the state-examinations to which classically drilled students flock by thousands. When they pass without being appointed for an office — and this is the case with the majority of those that pass — they form a class of notables of great distinction and influence, whose power is not only acknowledged by the authorities, but is systematically supported and strengthened by them; and they are expected by way of return to uphold the authority of the government among the people. It is therefore amongst the government officials and the literati that the fanatics are to be found for the one and only true Confucian doctrine of the Classics, which has been drummed into them by schoolmasters of their own calibre and convictions. They, and they alone, are the persecutors of heresy.

1) 三曰師、以賢得民。

2) Chap. 72 of the Palace edition of the Khienlung period, ordained in 1748, folio 38 and foll.

3) 儒有今人與居、古人與稽、今世行之、後世以爲楷。

The people deprived of all schooling are, of course, free from fanatic Confucianism. They have the privilege of supplying victims and martyrs for the blood-drenched altar of intolerance.

According to Chinese logic and the immutable Confucian doctrine, it is, after all, sure, as sure as any dogma can be, that the government must doom to death also all religious doctrines, customs and ethics which are not mentioned in the Classics, or bear no stamp of classical genuineness and soundness, or which the Classics mention with disapproval. The classical and only true religion consists in the worship of ancestors, of certain gods of agriculture, and of a great number of other national saints, rulers, sages and heroes of all times, apotheosized by emperors under every dynasty, of a host of faithful servants of the State, and male and female paragons of virtue and self-sacrifice; besides, it includes the worship of certain gods of nature, such as heaven and earth, the sun, the moon and the stars, wind, rain, clouds and thunder, fire, mountains and rivers. In its original form, scrupulously kept free from non-classical elements and ritual, it is to this day the Religion of the State, practised by the emperor and his ministers for their own good and the welfare of the people. And as for the people, their religion consists professedly only in the worship of their ancestors. Ever since the classical epoch, this religion has been exercised in the domestic circle, needing no religious corporations, no initiation, no doctrines, nor anything whatsoever that might stamp it as ecclesiastical or sectarian. All such things are therefore absolutely unclassical (puh king 不經) and anti-Confucian; they are incorrect and heterodox (puh ching, puh twan, i twan, sié, or yin), and "left Tao" (tso tao); and in the eyes of the State they have no right to exist. Hence it is that, armed with the sayings of the Great Yü, Confucius and Mencius, the State rages against them with strangulation, scourging and banishment, thus to keep the ancient religion free from pollution and innovations of any kind.

And now, guided by Chinese sources, we may pass on to consider the effect of the Confucian dogma of religious persecution through China's history from early times, until we reach this point in the problem, namely, what is the position of the dynasty now tottering on the throne, with regard to this principle of absolute intolerance?

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE PERSECUTION OF RELIGIONS UNTIL THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Our sketch of the Confucian views regarding heresy, given in the preceding chapter, has practically answered the momentous question: which religions and sects, according to political principles, doctrine and dogma are liable to persecution and extermination? The answer was: All that are not Confucian in the sense there set forth.

Buddhism, the exotic religion which fixed itself on the soil of the Chinese empire about the beginning of the Christian era, that is to say, *after* the classical golden age, and which has inextricably taken root in the hearts of the people, is thus in the first place assigned for persecution, together with all the religious communities and sects it has given birth to. Mohammedanism, Nestorianism, Christianity, or by what other names the religions may be called which either ephemerally or for good have found their way into China, all share the same fate. And finally, all home-bred ideas and usages of native paganism and Taoism are proscribed, in so far as the Classics speak of them disapprovingly or ignore them.

No doubt some readers will take exception to this and say: How can this be, since from time immemorial it has been accepted as an axiom among us, that there are virtually three principal religions in China: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, and that these three live fraternally together in perfect harmony: are, in fact, one religion?

This is one of the many theories about the Far East, which have but one defect: that of being untrue, or at most half true. The theory is true to a certain extent when looked at from the side of the two persecuted religions, which desire nothing better than to identify themselves as nearly as possible with the Confucian rites and doctrines, and which strictly observe the worship of ancestors. But from the side of the persecutor, the Confucian State, there is no question of fraternization, unless Cainitic.

Buddhism has always had much more to suffer from the anathema of the State than Taoism. For Taoism being a native

product growing up side by side with Confucianism in the old halcyon days of perfect orthodoxy, has in a far greater measure than Buddhism become amalgamated with the religion of the State. Indeed, its great fundamental principle was the Tao or course of the universe, the origin of all good; identification with this Tao was its highest aim, and — as we saw in the first chapter, this was also the goal of Confucianism. So, as far as their ethical aspect is concerned, both systems had the same point of issue, and in the practical elaboration of their ethics there has arisen but very little divergence. Both recognize the same Pantheon. The divinities of Taoism are indeed the same old heathen gods whom Confucianism believes in and worships as classical (see p. 15). Besides, Taoism possesses, as an heirloom from classical antiquity, a worship of a selection of historical, semi-historical and fabulous national forefathers, which corresponds entirely to the ancient ancestor-worship, the keystone of Confucianism itself. It is true that the Classics are silent concerning almost all these deified ancestors, and that on this ground many pedantic disciples of Confucius profess a haughty disdain for them, until such time as they fancy they need their help and assistance, when they worship them and invoke them as any unlearned human being does. However, to condemn as heretical the old heathen religion merely on that ground, could only be done by an ultra-extremism, an extremism rather too strong for the majority of Confucianists. Not so, however, for the highest power in the State. We shall see from the second article of the Law against Heresy, reproduced in Chapter IV, that this power during the last six or seven centuries has fully authorised its mandarins to persecute all such native heathenism, and let their blows fall upon the worshippers of its gods, in season and out of season. It should, moreover, be stated that China's chronicles of all ages are full of instances of mandarins who gave the most brilliant proof of the integrity of their orthodoxy by destroying so-called yin szě 淫祀 or heretic sacrifices, breaking the images, demolishing the temples, and even having the priests beaten with sticks. We read of emperors sanctioning similar measures in their capital. Events of this kind are recorded often enough to justify the conclusion that they must have been of fairly common occurrence in the course of centuries.

These encroachments upon the liberty of the people's religion will be still better understood when we bear in mind, that to no son of China would it ever occur to question the supreme

authority wielded by the emperor and his proxies, the mandarins, not only over mankind, but also over the gods. For the gods or shen 神 are souls of intrinsically the same nature as those existing in human beings; why then, simply because they have no human bodies, should they be placed above the emperor, who is no less than a son of Heaven, that is to say, a magnitude second to none but Heaven or the Power above whom there is none — who governs the universe and all that moves and exists therein? Such absurdity could not possibly be entertained by Chinese reason. So it is a first article of China's political creed that the emperor, as well as Heaven, is lord and master of all the gods, and delegates this dignity to his mandarins, each in his jurisdiction. With them then rests the decision which of the gods are entitled to receive the people's worship, and which are not. It is the imperial government which deifies disembodied souls of men, and also divests them of their divine rank. Their worship, if established against its will or without its consent, can be exterminated at its pleasure, without revenge having to be feared from the side of the god for any such radical measure; for the power of even the mightiest and strongest god is as nought compared with that of the august Celestial Being with whose will and under whose protection the Son reigns supreme over everything existing below the empyrean, unless he forfeits this omnipotent support through neglect of his imperial duties.

This dogma is most highly classical, being preached by the *Shu*. Hence, with all that is contained in this oldest and holiest of all classical bibles for State and society, it is an immutable article in the canon of imperial rights for all ages. I-yin 伊尹, we read there, a most virtuous statesman of antiquity, played an important part in the overthrow of the Hia dynasty and the accession to the throne of the celebrated T'ang 湯, who founded a new house known by the name of Shang. That grandee spoke in the year 1753 before our era to T'ai-kiah 太甲, T'ang's grandson and successor, on his ascending the throne:

“Oh oh! it is so difficult to rely on Heaven, and its appointments to imperial dignity are precarious! If the emperor's virtues are stable and constant, Heaven protects his throne; but if his virtues are unstable, he loses his nine possessions, (the nine great divisions of the empire). The princes of the Hia dynasty were not able to practise virtues; they offended the gods and oppressed the people. So the Imperial Heaven protected them not, and its eye wandered over the myriads

“of regions to see if there were any one to whom the imperial appointment could be given; with a look of affection it sought an all-virtuous man, to make him *lord of the gods*. “Only myself and T’ang were possessed of perfect virtue, and “could therefore obtain Heaven’s affectionate favour; so it was “he who received the glorious appointment to the imperial “dignity, and thus became the owner of the people in the nine “possessions”¹).

Bearing in mind what has just been said on page 17, that the laws of the State still empower the Chinese mandarin to abolish and persecute with blows all non-classical worship of Taoistic or pagan divinities that arouse their indignation; remembering, moreover, that fanatic attachment to classical orthodoxy is the main feature of the Chinese government to this day, it becomes almost a matter of course that violent measures against such divinities and their worshippers by no means belong merely to the past. It is clear from official documents of the highest order that they were employed in the century that has just passed away, so that we may safely infer that they are occasionally used to this very hour. In a great collection of imperial edicts of this dynasty, published under the government’s auspices under the title of *Shing hiun* 聖訓 or Imperial Instructions, from which we shall often draw interesting material, we find *e. g.* a decree, dated the 6th of the 7th month of the year 1824 (July 30), of the following tenor:

“The Censor Li Fung-ch’ên proposes to Us in a memorial, to “forbid severely the existence of heretical (yin) temples and “heterodox (sié) doctrines. As the Canon of Sacrificial Worship of “our Imperial House is based upon unalterable classical rescript, “the guiding of the people into error by means of heterodoxy “is at bottom a violation of the laws and prohibitions. Such “is the case also with the temple of the five Wise Beings, “erected by the rustic population of the Langka mountain, ten “miles to the west of the city of Su-cheu (in Kiangsu), about “which the said Censor memorializes. Already in the Khang hi

1) 嗚呼、天難謀、命靡常。常厥德、保厥位、厥德靡常、九有以亡。夏王弗克庸德、慢神虐民。皇天弗保、監于萬方、啟迪有命、眷求一德、俾作神主。惟尹躬暨湯咸有一德、克享天心、受天明命、以有九有之師。 Sect. 咸有一德: both possessed perfect virtue.

“period (1662—1722) that temple was demolished and the images “hailed down to the ground; but for a long time the prohibitions have become effete, and sacrificing takes place as of old, “while female mediums in the language of those gods promise the “visitors fulfilment of their wishes in accordance with (the sum “they have subscribed in) the books (for the repair and support “of the temple). Thus those base practices were freely handed “down, and Su-cheu is not the only department now where “they occur. Strict orders must be issued to forbid them. So “Sun Yuh-t'ing (Viceroy of Kiangnan, *i. e.* Kiangsu, Kiangsi and “Nghanwui), and Han Wen-khi (the Governor of Kiangsu) must “immediately send orders to their prefects to demolish and destroy “all the heretic temples of the five Wise Beings, that stand within “their borders, and no longer allow ignorant people to form “associations for the object of sacrificing there. And with regard “to those female mediums the district prefects shall issue pro- “clamations, ordering the family-chiefs to keep them severely in “restraint; and all those who set up heretical doctrines, in order “to seduce ignorant people to burn incense and collect money, “must be immediately sought for, arrested, and severely brought “to justice — thus to bind good manners and customs (fung- “suh) well together, and render the human minds orthodox “(ching)”¹).

It is told us clearly enough in this edict, that simple intolerant orthodoxy constitutes a sufficient motive for such violent interference of the government with the worship of gods it feels displeased with. Occasionally, however, the government has, or pretends to have, other good reasons for such conduct. In the

1) 御史李逢辰奏請嚴禁淫祠邪說一摺。國家祀典自有常經、邪說誣民本干例禁。如該御史所奏蘇州府城西十里楞伽山土人立五通祠。前於康熙年間毀祠踏像、日久禁弛賽饗如故、及女巫假託神語按簿還願。陋習相沿、不獨蘇州一府爲然。不可不嚴行飭禁。著孫玉庭韓文綺卽飭所屬州縣將境內五通等淫祠概行撤毀、毋任愚民賽饗結會。其女巫等並著地方官出示曉諭責令該家長等嚴加管束、其一切創立邪說哄誘愚民燒香斂錢等事、隨時訪拏嚴加懲治、以維風俗而正人心。 Edicts of Suen Tsung, ch. 78.

first place, it entertains judicious paternal fears that worship of non-classical gods may cause novel ideas to arise, infecting rural simplicity with heterodoxy; nay, such worship may even entail the formation of religious associations, which, as we shall show in the latter half of this work, are proscribed categorically by the lords of the nation as hotbeds of heresy, corruption and even opposition, highly dangerous for both the State and society. Only if we view matters in this light, can the following curious edicts, bearing on the same subject, be thoroughly understood: —

“In the 8th month of the 18th year of the Tao kwang “period (Oct. 4, 1838) the Emperor gave the following edict to the “Imperial Chancery. The Censor Pu Tsi-t'ung has presented to “Us a memorial, referring to congregations of sects in Chang- “khiu and other districts of Shantung province, in temples on “the Ch'a-ya and the Poh-yun (White Cloud) mountains. Imperial “orders were given to King Ngho-pu (the Governor) to examine “into and try the case; and according to a report of this high “officer, he has found out that there does exist in that Ch'a-ya “mountain in Chang-khiu a temple dedicated to the Grandee “of the Solitary Stone which is somewhat more than three “feet high and broad; beside that building there stand a few “straw huts, unfit to contain any considerable number of “people. And in the Poh-yun mountain in Tszë-ch'wen there are “temples at travellers-rests on the way to mount T'ai, where “likewise associations for incense-burning, existing among the “people, practise their customs, thus handing down continuously “a worship of gods and prayers for happiness; but no con- “course of people takes place there either, nor is there any ques- “tion of propagation, nor do any people set themselves up as “leaders, etc.

“When ignorant people practise heresies and transmit them “to disciples, they must, of course, be searched out diligently “and brought to justice. Associations of the people for thanking “their gods and offering incense, have nothing to do with “founders of sects; and yet confluences of people in temples at “fixed dates of meeting, afford but little certainty that no ill “weeds will trouble the water. Hence the Governor of that “province must forthwith send orders to every prefecture and “every district to examine seriously whether such things occur, “and to forbid them immediately. And that temple of the Grandee “of the Solitary Stone must be demolished immediately, to “prevent the people from having their minds thrown into confusion

“and error, and to render good manners and customs (fung-suh) “orthodox (ching)”¹).

“Imperial edict of the 11th of the 3rd month of the year 19 of the “Tao kwang period (April 23, 1839) to the Chancery. The Censor “Hwang Tsioh-tszē proposed to Us some time ago to ordain, that “in the district of Kih, in Honan, an inquiry should be made after “temples of the Unbegotten Mother, existing within its confines. “An Imperial order was then forwarded to Kwei Liang (the “Governor) to make severe inquiries in secret and carry out arrests, “and subsequently to prosecute the prisoners in accordance “with the laws (against heresy); to-day he sends a report of the “judicial examinations to which the criminals involved in this “affair have been subjected. According to these papers, there “were discovered in the several departments and districts of that “province thirty-nine temples of the Unbegotten Mother, all of “them already erected under the past Ming dynasty; they all “have been completely demolished now, etc.

“In the heretic sacrificial temples that exist in the prefect- “ures of each province, lies and untruth, non-classical names “and titles are used to gather crowds of people for sacrificing “incense — which is the easiest way to stir them up and mislead “them. If the prefects are able to discover and stop such things “immediately, will they not then prevent such practices from “gaining a hold upon the ignorant and guiding them into error? “In Honan province most serious cases of sectarianism have “frequently been prosecuted; how then is it that the last remnants “of those criminals have had the courage to erect their sacrificial

1) 道光十八年八月上諭內閣、前據御史步際桐奏山東章邱等縣杈枒白雲二山廟有會集教徒情事。降旨令經額布查辦、茲據該撫奏稱查明章邱縣杈枒山有孤石大夫廟、高廣僅三尺餘、旁止草房數間不堪容止人衆。淄川縣白雲山有泰山行宮等廟、亦係民間香火社會習俗相沿敬神祈福、均無聚衆傳徒自爲頭目等情。

愚民習教傳徒、自應嚴行查辦。至民間賽會燒香與倡立教會雖屬有間、然各廟會期聚集人衆難保不良莠混淆。著該撫卽督飭各州縣嚴加查訪、隨時飭禁。其孤石大夫廟並著卽行拆毀、以杜淆惑而正風俗。 *Shing hiun*, edicts of Süen Tsung, ch. 78.

“places again? Such audacity is caused by the authorities having “proved incapable to discriminate whether the prosecutions “and demolitions were real. It is, moreover, to be feared that “in the said province there are more heretical sacrificial “places than those thirty-nine. So the Governor there shall give “strict orders to his subordinates to investigate carefully and “attentively whether there do still exist within their jurisdiction “any of that sort, and this being the case, to pull them down “immediately, not allowing even the smallest of them to escape “their attention. And in the parts of Chihli, Shantung and Shansi “conterminous with Honan, there are, We fear, also sacrificial “buildings of that kind to be found. Therefore the respective “Viceroys and Governors there shall seriously seek them out, “and order their subordinates to destroy them; and they shall “certainly not willfully allow any to remain, nor let their zeal vanish “or slacken, and thus cause new troubles to arise in future. In “this wise they will keep the manners and customs (fung-suh) “in the path of orthodoxy, and purify them in their roots and “stem”¹).

The state of matters at the present day seems to justify us when we affirm, that it is only in fits of fanaticism, their ultimate puritanical detestation of even the slightest possibility of a rise of non-Confucian doctrine and schism, and also their dread of

1) 道光十九年三月上諭內閣。前據黃爵滋奏請飭查河南汲縣境內無生老母廟宇。當有旨交桂良嚴密查拏、按律懲辦、本日據桂良將全案人犯審明具奏。又據片稱該省各州縣查出無生老母廟三十九處俱係建自前明、現已全行拆毀等語。

各省地方淫祠假託荒誕不經名號聚眾燒香、最易煽惑。地方官果能隨時查禁、何至錮習相仍執迷不悟。河南省習教重案屢經查辦、何以尚留餘孽膽敢重修祠宇。肆無忌憚、此皆從前不能認真查毀所致。且恐該省現有淫祠亦尚不止此數。著該撫嚴飭所屬留心訪察其境內如有此等廟宇立即拆毀、毋稍徇隱。至附近河南之直隸山東山西各處亦恐有此項祠宇。著各該督撫等一體嚴查、飭屬拆毀、斷不准意存消弭致貽後患。以正風俗而淨根株。 Edicts of Süen Tsung, ch. 78.

everything that smacks of a tendency to congregate or associate, which occasionally prompt mandarins to use the liberty, given them by the Law against Heresy, to oppose and destroy the worship of native pagan deities whenever they deem fit. Every school has its extremists, but as a rule they are in the minority, as is the case here. It seems, indeed, a fact that, throughout the empire, the worship of these gods is a universal practice, and is carried on without any official molestation, with sacrificial masses and processions sometimes lasting several days, with music and drums, with cymbals and noisy dramatic performances, always attracting large and tumultuous crowds. No mandarin would ever think of putting a stop to such things, unless they should disturb his sleep; nay, local magistrates, for the sake of fashion, are often the first to support such festivities with money; for are these not intended to promote the welfare of the people entrusted to their care? Moreover, such festivals are perfectly in keeping with the teachings of Confucius, the great Sage of the State. For it is explicitly written in the classic *Lun yü*, that when Fan-ch'i, one of his disciples, asked him what wisdom was, he said: "To give one's self earnestly to the duties incumbent on the "people and, respectively, to honour and keep at a distance "the good and the evil spirits, may be called wisdom"¹⁾; and what else is heathen worship of gods but the practice of this wisdom, since its first and foremost object is to induce those gods to deliver mankind from the attacks of evil spirits, which are the cause of all evil that may visit it? Still we have here to bear in mind, that by far the most of those gods have lived, or are generally believed to have lived in this world as men or women, so that their worship may in point of fact be classed with the worship of ancestors, eminently classical and orthodox. They belong to the same category of divinities of whom, as we saw on page 15, the religion of the State itself contains a great number, and whom the emperor and his mandarins therefore worship on fixed annual dates in official temples and altar-grounds in Peking and the provinces. And many of those popular gods and goddesses were apotheosized by emperors of former dynasties or of the now reigning House, or were endowed by them with titles and dignities, which affixed to them an indelible stamp of imperial approbation.

Thus almost all the gods being, if rightly regarded, classical, and their worship legal, which then are the forbidden gods? and which worship falls under the term *yin szě*? We must confess our-

1) 務民之義、敬鬼神而遠之、可謂知矣。VI, 20.

selves incompetent to answer this question. Imperial despotism decides here in each particular case, or mostly the will and opinion of the mandarins, to whom the imperial powers are delegated. Only with respect to the class of the mandarins themselves we know for a certainty what yin szě are. They are sacrifices and devotions to divinities that hold no place in the ranks of the gods of the State religion, or, to use the official expression, that are not admitted in the szě tien 祀典 or Canon of Sacrificial Worship, which we mentioned in passing on page 19. Certainly not the mandarin, that select body of men whose highest duty it is to keep the people in the path of pure orthodoxy, may be tolerated by Heaven's Son to sin against orthodoxy themselves; it is not they that can be allowed thus to set an example in opposing nature and its Tao. Hence it is quite a matter of course to find in the Code of Laws of this dynasty, and also in that which reigned before it, the following article:

“For the local divinity of the department or the district, and “for that of the cereals; for the gods (shen) of mountains and “rivers, winds and clouds, thunder and rain; for the sage “emperors and wise rulers of former dynasties and the faithful “and ardent state-servants belonging to the region — in so far “as they are enrolled in the Canon of Sacrificial Worship and “have thus become deities that are to be sacrificed to — the local “magistrate shall put up tablets inscribed on the frontside with “their divine titles; and on the dates appointed for sacrifices they “shall hang those tablets in spots clean and pure, at a constant “stream of water (?), and sacrifice to them at the time fixed. Should “he neglect to do so at the times assigned, or sacrifice at a “wrong time, the officer concerned shall be punished with a hundred “blows with the long stick. And any officer who sacrifices to any “shen to whom he is not obliged to bring any worship or sacri- “fice, that is to say, that is not enrolled in the Sacrificial Canon, “shall receive eighty blows with the long stick”¹⁾ — because, as

1) 凡各府州縣社稷山川風雲雷雨等神及境內先代聖帝明王忠臣烈士載在祀典應合致祭神祇、所在有司置立牌面開寫神號。祭祀日期於潔淨處常川懸掛、低時致祭。至期失誤祭祀者所司官吏杖一百。其不當奉祀之神、非祀典所載、而致祭者杖八十。Ta Tsing luh li 大清律例, ch. 46, title 致祭祀典神祇。

the adjoining paraphrase explicitly says, "it is an abominable deed to embroil (his religious duties) with yin szë" ¹⁾.

Though thus, in general, lenity is shown by the government and its mandarins to the people's native gods and goddesses and their worship, that tolerance does by no means extend to impudent rabbles who presume to found or propagate new, unclassical doctrines and religious practices. Chinese books speak sometimes of men who set themselves up as envoys of the God of Heaven or of some other high deity, and worked miracles, pretending to have dominion over spirits and gods, and to be helped and served by them. And almost invariably we are told that such prophets fell into the hands of the authorities, were tortured and put to death -- in short, treated as sorcerers and deceivers of the public with their miracles or black arts particularly dangerous to the State. Such heresiarchs, thanks to the ever watchful Confucian spirit of the rulers of the nation, could never meet with much success, except a few who, working in obscurity, managed to evade collision with those pillars of the only true classical faith, and whose names in consequence were not recorded in the books of an empire where the persecuting party is almost the only one which wields the pen.

After all, the conclusion is that the official persecution of Taoism and paganism does not resolve itself into a persecution of gods and their worship, but works with great activity against sects and their founders, leaders and followers. We shall have much more to tell on this point in several later chapters. And in the first place, the State has, during a series of centuries, turned its fanatic wrath against one element of Taoism which was, as far as may be ascertained by means of the Classics, totally non-existent in the golden Confucian and pre-Confucian age, namely its monachism. Its system of worship of gods may be defensible for having existed in some form or other in those sacred times; but its monachism being certainly not so old, cannot plead that ground in favour of its right of existence.

Instituted for the purpose of giving man an opportunity to raise himself to a higher state of perfection and bliss by ingeniously devised means, Taoistic asceticism has known its halcyon days, its ups and downs, chiefly ruled by the rising and falling of the thermometer of imperial favour. Under the T'ang-dynasty, the empire possessed, according to official statistics,

1) 惡其瀆亂於淫祠也。

1687 Taoistic monasteries¹⁾; now there is hardly a trace of them left. Official persecution has cleared them all away, and the crowds of Tao-szě 道士 or "Taoist doctors", workers of miracles and anchorites of whom Chinese writings are full, have been converted into a class of popular pagan priests, whose name is legion. The manner in which the State has achieved this clearance will gradually be unfolded in this chapter and the next.

Buddhism had a far worse ordeal to endure. This religion was altogether of exotic origin, and thus lacked the great privilege of being able to appeal for its right of existence to China's classical antiquity. Asceticism and monachism were in this Church brought to a much higher degree of development than they had ever reached in Taoism, and so they became necessarily the *bête noire* of Confucianists. Upon Buddhism in particular it was then that their blows fell, and we see the Confucian State direct her persecutions principally against this religion to this day, treating it continuously with the greatest enmity and contempt.

When, under the Han dynasty, Buddhism had secured for itself a lasting place in Chinese society, it enjoyed a period of development, greatness and prosperity, which reached its climax in the fifth century. At that time, the northern portion of the empire was subject to the Tartar house of Toba, also known as the Northern Wei dynasty, 北魏, a family which on the whole showed itself favorably disposed towards Buddhism. Its residence Loh-yang 洛陽 was a hotbed of monastic life. In a "Description of the Loh-yang Monasteries", *Loh-yang kia-lan ki* 洛陽伽藍記, still in existence, compiled in the sixth century by one Yang Hüen 楊銜, mention is made of no less than 10 convents inside, and 36 in the vicinity of the capital; and there probably were a number of smaller ones which the author did not think it worth while to mention. But, as often happens on this world's stage, princely favour is not always constant. This same imperial house produced a sovereign who was to be the first to lay violent hands upon Buddhism. He was Wu 武, the Warlike, better known in history by his temple-name Shi Tsu 世祖, who reigned from A. D. 424 to 452. "He was", as we read, „thoroughly versed in the *Ch'un ts'iu'*", one of the Classics (see page 9), and had therefore evidently been brought up as a staunch admirer of Confucianism; "but as he professed the Bud-

1) New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, 新唐書, the great Standard History of that house; chap. 48, folio 15.

“dhist religion and honoured and appreciated its clergy (Shamans), he had so far not patronized the school of the Classics”¹). He came under the influence of the Taoist Kheu Khien-chi 寇謙之 and his zealous adherent, the high minister Ts’ui Hao 崔浩, who both helped in shaking his Buddhist propensities. It then happened during the suppression of a rebellion of which a certain man from the west, Kai-wu 蓋吳, was the leader, that the emperor and his hosts were encamped at Ch’ang-ngan near to a monastery, in one of the side-rooms of which arms were discovered. This proved, he thought, that the monks made common cause with the rebels. His mandarins tried and executed the monks; the monastery was sacked, and a large quantity of ingredients for the manufacture of spirituous liquors was found, as also vast treasures entrusted to the care of the monks by nobles and wealthy persons in the district. Certain grottos which they discovered, were held to be the haunts of monks and women of good family. Now the emperor stormed; Ts’ui Hao’s insinuations fell in very good ground, and he decreed “that the Shamans in Ch’ang-ngan should be put to death, the Buddhistic images burnt or smashed; and he charged Liu T’ai to send orders on all sides for the taking of measures of a similar nature to those which had been carried out at Ch’ang-ngan. And he issued yet another decree, which said: “Those Shamans make use of the baseless lies of western barbarians recklessly to create infelicitous evil; it is not by such practices that mankind can be ruled as one body and thus led into the right way, nor that unalloyed benefits can be distributed by Us throughout the world. From the highest princes down to the lowest in rank, every one who secretly keeps a Shaman in his house shall deliver him to the authorities and shall not be allowed to hide him; the 15th day of the second month of this year is fixed as the ultimate date, and if after its expiration the Shaman has not been delivered up, his concealer shall be put to death, and the whole family who gave him hospitality shall be executed”²).

1) 富於春秋、雖歸宗佛法、敬重沙門、而未存覽經教。Books of the Wei Dynasty, 魏書, the Standard History of that period, chap. 114, folio 9.

2) 詔誅長安沙門、焚破佛像、勅留臺下四方令一依長安行事。又詔曰、彼沙門者假西戎虛誕妄

According to another chapter of the same historical book, this latter edict was issued in the first month of the year 444, and ran as follows: "The ignorant people having no knowledge, believe in evil-causing heresies and are thus led astray; so they secretly give sustenance to religious leaders and priests, possess writings on soothsaying, illustrated writings on the Yin and the Yang, and books on magical art. And the class of Shamans use the baseless untruth of western barbarians to create and introduce infelicitous evil, and it is not by such practices that mankind can be ruled as one body and led into the right way, and pure benefits be distributed by Us in the empire. From the princes of imperial blood down to the lowest in rank and the common people, any one who in his dwelling secretly gives sustenance to a Shaman, a leader or a priest, or to men skilled in working gold and silver, shall take such persons to the authorities and no longer shelter or conceal them. The 15th of the second month of this year is fixed as the ultimate date, and if after that the leaders, priests and Shamans concerned are not delivered up, penalty of death shall be inflicted, and the families of those that gave them hospitality shall also be put to death. This shall be proclaimed everywhere by everybody, and be made known to others by every one" ¹⁾).

This second text of his edict clearly shows that there was more than mere passion against Buddhism at the bottom of Shi Tsu's severe and cruel measures. Priests and leaders of native heathenism were also in his bad books, together with religious soothsayers and others; is it the spirit of the present State-law against Heresy that we see hazily looming on the horizon? That he acted indeed

生妖孽、非所以一齊政化、布淳德於天下也。自王公已下有私養沙門者皆送官曹、不得隱匿、限今年二月十五日、過期不出沙門身死、容止者誅一門。Books of the Wei Dynasty, chap. 114, folio 10.

1) 愚民無識信惑妖邪、私養師巫、挾藏讖記陰陽圖緯方伎之書。又沙門之徒假西戎虛誕生致妖孽、非所以壹齊政化布淳德於天下也。自王公已下至於庶人有私養沙門師巫及金銀工巧之人在其家者、皆遣詣官曹、不得容匿。限今年二月十五日、過期不出師巫沙門身死、主人門誅。明相宣告、咸使聞知。Chap. 4, II, folio 4.

much under the influence of Confucianism, the following page of the histories clearly proves. "At that time", — thus continues the standard work from which we quoted just now, — "Kung Tsung was crown-prince and regent of the empire. Being a worshipper of Buddha, he forthwith presented a memorial to the emperor to prove the recklessness and lawlessness of the Shaman slaughters, and to set forth that, if he deemed the crime of keeping images and pictures so heinous, he merely had to stop the exercise of that religion and to keep the monastic buildings within bounds; for if the latter were not repaired during his reign, and the former was not exercised, the convents daubed with red earth, and the green trees planted around them, would go to wreck and ruin of themselves. Twice and thrice he memorialized in this sense, but fruitlessly. Then appeared another decree from the Throne. Careless princes of the Later Han dynasty, it said, believed in heresies and would-be truths, and were led astray by them. Relying heedlessly on dreams they had while asleep, they worshipped evil-bringing spirits of the western barbarians, and thereby brought confusion into the unalterable course of Heaven. Such things did never take place since the existence of the nine provinces in (ideal) antiquity. The boastful talk and big words (of Buddhism) were not (under the Han dynasty) a firm foundation for the building up of the human character, but the unenlightened sovereigns of that declining house and its confusion-causing rulers did not perceive it; and so the doctrines about the ways to rule the State could not work; the rules of social life greatly fell into decay, while that religion of spirits (Buddhism) blazed up and thrived; lo, that was the way in which the rescripts of the ancient Sovereigns went to ruin. Thenceforth to this day, every reigning sovereign had to live through a period of insurrection and disaster; the chastising hand of Heaven worked rapidly; the living people died out; the family-groups which had to mourn for one another in the five degrees, had to build graves and lay out burial places on a large scale. Thus and thus alone it is that thousands of miles of ground are now one vast wilderness, in which no human foot-prints are ever seen. We have inherited from Heaven Our patrimony (the throne), and it belongs therefore to Our duties to bear the evils of this Our hard fate; but We desire to do away with what is fallacious, and to confirm what is real, that is: We shall restore the regimen of Fuh-hi and Shen-nung¹). Let the deities of

1) The two earliest sovereigns of ideal antiquity. Supposed time of reign: the 29th and the 28th century b. C.

“the western peoples be entirely washed away, let the last trace
 “of them be annihilated, and may this Our work not be worthless
 “for the improvement of customs! He who from this moment
 “has the audacity to worship any western deity, or to make an
 “image in clay or in bronze, shall be executed with all the
 “inmates of his house.

“Those deities are said to be gods of western peoples; but
 “if western men are questioned upon them, they say unanimously
 “that they do not exist among them, but that they are all
 “Chinese of the past. Unreliable adepts of that religion, disciples
 “of it, as Liu Yuen-chen and Lü Poh-kiang, have enlarged and
 “developed western phraseology by combining it with vagaries
 “of Lao-tszë and Chwang-tszë (the corypheï of Taoism). So those
 “things are altogether unreal and untrue; and that the rescripts
 “and institutions of the ancient Sovereigns languish and do not
 “work, is the fault of such ringleaders of vice of the worst kind.
 “Only extraordinary men may achieve extraordinary things;
 “so, who but I will be able to clear away those fallacies that
 “have existed already under other dynasties? Let the authorities
 “therefore proclaim far and near, that the governors in the
 “various military districts shall pull down and smash, and give
 “over to the flames all existing temples and pagodas, images
 “and western books, and shall throw down the precipices all
 “Shamans, from the youngest to the oldest.” — This occurred
 “in the seventh year of the Chen kiün period (446), in the
 “third month”¹).

1) 時恭宗爲太子監國。素敬佛道、頻上表陳刑殺沙門之濫、又非圖像之罪、今罷其道、杜諸寺門、世不修奉、土木丹青自然毀滅。如是再三、不許。乃下詔曰、昔後漢荒君信惑邪僞。妄假睡夢事胡妖鬼以亂天常。自古九州之中無此也。夸誕大言不本人情、叔季之世闇君亂主莫不眩焉、由是政教不行、禮義大壞、鬼道熾盛、視王者之法蔑如也。自此以來代經亂禍、天罰亟行、生民死盡、五服之內鞠爲丘墟。千里蕭條不見人迹皆由於此。朕承天緒屬當窮運之敝、欲除僞定真、復羲農之治。其一切盪除胡神滅其蹤迹、庶無謝於風化矣。自今以後敢有事胡神及造形像泥人銅人者、

We cannot doubt that the cruel edicts of that martial tyrant drove many monks and priests in despair to the banners of Kai-wu, the foreign insurgent, thereby giving the emperor a fresh impetus to rage against the foreign religion. Already in the following month iconoclasm had its course, to judge from this simple passage in the Books of the Wei dynasty: "In the "fourth month, a five-storied pagoda was demolished in the "town of Yeh, and there, in an image of clay, were found two "seals of jade"¹⁾. "Although the remonstrances of Kung Tsung "had no effect", thus the historian goes on to relate, "they tem- "pered the effects of the promulgated imperial decrees. All persons "far off and close by had been informed of what was about to "happen, and all could therefore take their measures; the Shamans "everywhere escaped for the most part by hiding themselves, and "they who lived within the capital were given in every respect "aid and support, while for their gold and silver, the relics "and images, Sutras and Çastras, hiding-places were found in "abundance. But the temples and pagodas of earth and of wood, "and the buildings where the doctrines were preached, were all "effectively destroyed to the very last.

"For seven or eight years in succession, until the end of the "reign of that emperor, Buddhism was in a state of profound "desolation and ruin. Then a gradual relaxation of the prohibi- "tions set in, and serious believers could once more secretly per- "form their worship; but the Shamans, who began to re-appear "one by one, still hid their religious garments and performed "their Sutra-readings and religious practices in secret. Only in "the capital they could not yet show themselves in public"²⁾.

門誅。

雖言胡神、問今胡人、共云無有、皆是前世漢人。無賴子弟劉元真呂伯彊之徒乞胡之誕言、用老莊之虛假附而益之。皆非真實、至使王法廢而不行、蓋大姦之魁也。有非常之人然後能行非常之事。非朕孰能去此歷代之僞物。有司宣告征鎮諸軍刺史諸有佛圖形像及胡經盡皆擊破焚燒、沙門無少長悉坑之。是歲真君七年三月也。 Books of the Wei Dynasty, chap. 114, folios 10 and 11.

1) 四月鄴城毀五層佛圖、於泥像中得玉璽二。 Chap. 4, II, folio 8.

2) 恭宗言雖不用、然猶緩宣詔書。遠近皆豫聞知

Such is the account, given in the Standard Annals, of the first great storm which swept over Buddhism in China. Shi Tsu's death put a stop to the persecutions, and amongst the later emperors of his house we find many who again let Buddhism have its course, sometimes even showing it marked favour; nay, more than one amongst them founded monasteries, temples, and pagodas. The rapid recovery of the sorely damaged church may be learned from the fact that after less than three quarters of a century, between the years 512 and 516, the imperial government ascertained by an official census that there were no less than 13,727 monks and nuns within its dominions, and that the number of their pupils and hangers-on exceeded that of the laity¹⁾: figures well calculated also to give us an idea of the prosperity of Buddhism in those days.

Outside the pale of the empire of the Toba dynasty, Shi Tsu's example proved infectious, namely with his namesake of the house of Sung 宋, which from Kien-khang 建康, the present Nanking, swayed its sceptre over a large portion of central and southern China. Again let us quote the historian's own words: "In the second year of the Ta ming period (458), under Shi Tsu, "there lived a man walking in the path of salvation, called T'an "Piao, who, together with a western foreigner Kao-shé, plotted "a rebellion. Hence the emperor issued a decree of the following "tenor: "The lies of Buddhism cause confusion by the Shamans "meddling with it; that religion is incompetent to support the "all-pervading doctrine (Confucianism), for it contents itself with "founding places of refuge for runaway criminals, in conse- "quence of which the number of rascally minded persons in- "creases, and catastrophes frequently break out. Official reports "inform Us again and again that it corrupts the good manners "and customs (fung-suh), and brings confusion into them. Hence "a grudge against that religion has nestled in the souls of man- "kind; and so it must be given up everywhere to a thorough

得、各爲計、四方沙門多亡匿獲免、在京邑者亦蒙全濟、金銀寶像及諸經論大得秘藏。而土木宮塔聲教所及莫不畢毀矣。

佛淪廢終帝世積七八年。然禁稍寬弛、篤信之家得密奉事、沙門專至者猶竊法服誦習焉。唯不得顯行於京都矣。 Op. et cap. cit., folio 11.

1) Op. et cap. cit., folio 19.

“scouring-process with sand; and wherever any one may render “himself guilty (of such crimes as the aforesaid), capital punishment must be rigorously applied”. After this, prohibitory rescripts “were passed, to the effect that all such as were not living “according to the commandments and in strict asceticism, should “be sent back among the laity. But the nuns of the convents “went in and out of the palace and had there intercourse with “the imperial consorts, for which reason those rescripts could “not at all be carried out”¹).

Indeed, in the historical books of those days there is nothing that would lead us to suppose that this decree was anything more than a dead letter. It is nevertheless of great value as a proof that here, as ever afterwards, the fundamental motives for religious persecution emanated from Confucianism: — Buddhism is of no help or use whatever to the Confucian State; it corrupts the Confucian *fung-suh* by its novelties, i. e. by its lies, and Confucian statesmen repeatedly directed the emperor’s attention to this horrid fact. Now, thanks to the above quotations, we can form some idea of the great influence exercised in those times by that religion, not only over the people, but also in the Court. Now, also, we can realize the fact that her fate depended to a large extent upon the disposition or caprices of the emperors, and upon their willingness or power to attack the church.

Nearly a whole century now passes by in which we read of no harsh imperial measures against Buddhism. But at the end of that time violent persecutions broke out in another part of the empire, namely in the dominion of the Northern Cheu (北周) dynasty, which had its residence in Ch’ang-ngan 長安, the present Si-ngan-fu in Shensi, and only ruled there from the year 557 to 581.

“In the twelfth month of the second year of the period Kien teh (573), a meeting of Ministers, Shamans and Taoist doctors was “convoked, at which the emperor (Wu 武) occupied the highest

1) 世祖大明二年有曇標道人、與美人高闈謀反。上因是下詔曰、佛法訛替沙門混雜、未足扶濟鴻教、而專成逋藪、加姦心、頻發凶。狀屢聞敗亂風俗。人神交怨、可付所在精加沙汰、後有違犯嚴加誅坐。於是設諸條禁、自非戒行精苦並使還俗。而諸寺尼出入宮掖交關妃后、此制竟不能行。Books of the Sung Dynasty, 宋書, the Standard History of that house; chap. 97, fo. 10.

“seat, and critical discussions were held with respect to the rank “to be assigned to each of the three religions. The first place was “assigned to Confucianism, the second place to Taoism, and the “last to Buddhism”¹⁾. Confucianism being thus declared pre-eminent, the extermination of the two other systems was resolved upon at once. “In the following year, Buddhism and Taoism “were abolished, the sacred books together with the images altogether destroyed, Shamans and Taoist doctors were no longer “allowed to exist, and all were ordered to become laymen again. “Also all heretical sacrifices (see p. 17) were prohibited, and all “sacrifices not mentioned in the Canon of Religion and Rites “were totally abolished”²⁾.

Unfortunately, no minutes have been preserved of that curious synod. The *Fuh-tsu t'ung ki*³⁾ however gives a few details of the proceedings, just showing us that His Majesty took up the Confucian standpoint and established himself as its advocate, and brought an indictment against Buddhism to quite the same effect as that which we shall gradually draw in these pages from various official documents preserved by historiographers. The Shamans, so he argued, have no respect for their parents: which signifies a spirit of opposition to morality, that cannot possibly be tolerated by the imperial government; moreover, Buddhism is a foreign religion: reasons enough therefore for destroying its monasteries and temples. The *Fuh-tsu t'ung ki* also tells us that more than two millions of Buddhists and Taoists within the imperial dominions submitted to the decree; which probably means that they forsook the ecclesiastical state. The two emperors who reigned during the next eight years, the last of the Cheu dynasty, were favorable to Buddhism, so that there is reason to believe that this religion was once more allowed to revive and to recover.

1) 建德二年十二月集羣臣及沙門道士等、帝升高座、辯釋三教先後。以儒教爲先、道教爲次、佛教爲後。The Books of the Cheu Dynasty, 周書, the Standard History of that epoch; chap. 5, folio 17.

2) 三年斷佛道二教、經像悉毀、罷沙門道士、並令還民。并禁諸淫祀、禮典所不載者盡除之。Op. et cap. cit., folio 19.

3) 佛祖通紀, “General History of the Patriarchs of Buddhism”, a church-history in 22 chapters, written under the Yuen dynasty by the priest Hwang Nien-shang 黃念常.

Meanwhile new dangers came from an entirely different quarter. For the second time a storm gathered over Kien-khang, where in 557 the thoroughly Buddhistically disposed Liang 梁 dynasty had been dethroned by that of Ch'ên 陳. A sovereign of this house, named Heu Chu 後主, decreed in 583, "that "the Buddhist monks and nuns and the Taoist doctors cherished "heresies (sié) and "left Tao" (s. page 8) and did not conform "to the Sutras and the Vinayas, while the people occupied themselves with heretical sacrifices (yin szë), writings on ominous "wonders, and precious and wonderful things. Measures should be "projected minutely, to put a stop altogether to that state of "things" ¹). There is, however, no evidence that this decree caused any material harm to the two religions; which possibly is to be attributed to the fact that the Ch'ên dynasty was threatened with serious danger from the side of the house of Sui 隋. Indeed, six years later, an emperor of this house dethroned Heu Chu, deprived him of his liberty, and annexed his dominions to his own, thus uniting China under one sceptre for the first time since the fall of the Han dynasty.

This important event did not improve the fate of the two religions. Confucianism had then apparently succeeded in working itself up for good to the rank of the very first power in the state, and never to this day would that system show mercy on heresies. The three centuries embracing the reign of the house of T'ang, which in 618 replaced the house of Sui on the throne, were centuries of an aggressive war, in which the foreign church especially fared badly. Her glory departed for good, her strength declined, and she herself formerly so glorious and prosperous, entered upon a decadent existence, without ceasing to show, however, to the present day a remarkable tenacity of life.

As early as the year 624, when the first emperor of that house had scarcely occupied the throne for six years, the campaign was opened by the high-placed minister Fu Yih 傅奕, who had passed from the service of the dethroned Sui dynasty into that of the house of T'ang. We read in his biography occurring in the Standard Annals of this house:

"In the seventh year he presented a memorial to the emperor,

1) 僧尼道士挾邪左道、不依經律、民間淫祀祓書諸珍怪事。詳爲條制並皆禁絕。The Books of the Ch'ên Dynasty, 陳書, the Standard History of that house, chap. 6, folio 4.

“in which he proposed to do away with Buddhism altogether. “The West, where Buddha lived, and where he preached his ominous “heresies”, this document said, “is far away. The Han dynasty “translated the western writings and was led astray by their appar- “ent trustworthiness, thus causing people unloyal to their ruler “and devoid of devotion and submission to their parents, to shave “their heads and abandon their ruler and their parents; they be- “came idlers and wandering mendicants, and assumed another “garb, in order to escape the paying of groundrent to govern- “ment. By the spread of their ominous writings and the promul- “gation of their heresies, they opened, on false grounds, three “roads (of transmigration into demons, pretas and animals), and “laid out yet six other roads (of transition into asuras, men, “and devas); — thus they inspired the ignorant with dread and “fear, and deceived the class of government officers, with the “result that amongst the people, they who became acquainted “with them believed such falsehoods thoughtlessly, without due “enquiry after their roots and sources. And then they raked “up the crimes committed by these people in times past, in “order to gauge thereby their future happiness; they taught “that the gift of one single coin would give them a chance of a “thousandfold reward, and that one day’s fasting might make them “expect food for a hundred days. Thus they caused their igno- “rant victims of deception to try recklessly to do such good “works, so that, instead of fearing the laws and prohibitions, “these people inconsiderately indulged in transgression of the “precepts of the government; and when some committed the “abominable crime of opposition, and were entangled for that “in the meshes of the penal laws, then, in the dungeon, they “still worshipped their Buddhas and muttered their Buddhist “Sutras, forgetting all their lassitude both during the day and “the night, sustained by the hope of escaping punishment.

“It depends upon his natural destiny whether one shall live “long or die an untimely death; but punishment and intimidat- “tion, and the bestowal of blessing and happiness are the busi- “ness of the sovereign. We must admit that poverty or wealth, “and high or low social standing is called forth by personal labour “and merit; but the ignorant Buddhist clergy with their lies “maintain that all those things come from Buddha. Thus they “defraud the sovereign of his prerogatives and power, and appro- “priate his (exclusive) rights to lead humanity towards reforma- “tion for good; — the harm thus occasioned to the influence of “the government and morality is truly lamentable. The *Shu*

"says: "The sovereign alone creates blessings and intimidates; "to him alone belongs all that is precious and edible; and if "his subjects create blessings and inspire fear, or appropriate "treasures and food, they damage his house, they bring mis- "fortune upon his dynasty; then the men in his service further "other interests than his, and become corrupt" 1).

A curious piece of state-doctrine! On the authority of that dictum of the chief classical book, every religion stands indicted with encroachment upon the imperial omnipotence, that is, with high-treason, if, by preaching the existence of other punishments or rewards than those which terrestrial government inflicts or confers, it deters mankind from evil and encourages it to do good. For the sovereign alone has the right to punish and to recompense! The classical principles are as much in force now as they were in Fu Yih's time. Christians, remember therefore that,

1) 七年奕上疏請除去釋教。曰、佛在西域言妖路遠。漢譯胡書恣其假託、故使不忠不教削髮而揖君親、遊手遊食易服以逃租賦。演其妖書、述其邪法、僞啟三塗、謬張六道、恐嚇愚夫、詐欺庸品、凡百黎庶通識者稀不察根源信其矯詐。乃追既往之罪、虛規將來之福、布施一錢希萬倍之報、持齋一日冀百日之糧。遂使愚迷妄求功德、不憚科禁、輕犯憲章、其有造作惡逆身墜刑網、方乃獄中禮佛口誦佛經、晝夜忘疲、規免其罪。

且生死壽夭由於自然、刑德威福關之人主。乃謂貧富貴賤功業所招、而愚僧矯詐皆云由佛。竊人主之權、擅造化之力、其爲害政良可悲矣。案書云、惟辟作福威、惟辟玉食、臣有作福作威玉食、害于而家、凶于而國、人用側頗僻。

The above quotation from the *Shu*, the principal classic, occurs in one of its most important parts, which has always been considered the chief and most sacred authority for public law and the science of government, viz. the 洪範 or All-embracing Plan, or the Flood Plan. This is certainly one of the oldest Taoistic productions in existence, if not the very oldest. Its chief object is to point out to sovereigns how to reach their great Taoistic goal: to bring about the happiness of mankind by rendering their own regal actions concordant with the Tao or Course of the Universe (see p. 8). Heaven, according to tradition, gave the Plan to the great Yü (p. 11) after he had delivered the world from floods; and once again, twelve centuries before our era, it was given to Wu 武, the founder of the Cheu dynasty, through the medium of his vassal of the Khi 箕 region, situated somewhere to the north-east, close to Corea.

on account of your doctrines, you, like the Buddhists, stand convicted of violating the imperial rights, of weakening the imperial authority, of sowing moral corruption among the mandarinates; that in a word you disorganize and demoralize China's government. And again, by collecting money from the converts for the maintenance of your church, as the Buddhists do, you and the latter defraud the imperial house, you sap the dynasty; the highest Confucian bible of politics itself has declared it!

But let us further peruse Fu Yih's curious memorial. "From Fuh-hi and Shen-nung (29th and 28th century b. C.) up to the Han and the Wei dynasties, there was no Buddhism, and — the sovereigns in those times were wise, and their ministers faithful; their reigns were long, and great was the number of their years of life. The emperor Ming of the Han dynasty (58—76 A. D.), on account of a dream, became the first who erected images of western deities; and from that time the çramanas of western lands have spread their doctrines. Before the Western Ts'in dynasty (265—317) reigned, the ruling dynasties enacted stringent laws by which the people of the Middle Kingdom were prevented from shaving their heads at pleasure; but since the Western families of Fu and Shih¹⁾ sowed confusion in the Flowery Land, the ministers employed by the sovereigns were crafty and perverse, the government became cruel and oppressive, the reigns short; all of which evils were brought about by Buddhism. Wu of the Liang dynasty²⁾ and Siang of the house of Ts'i³⁾ are clear proofs of this. — In times of yore, one female of the name of Pao-szë beguiled and misguided king Yiu (781—771 b. C.) so much that she brought his house to ruin. How much more then is there to fear, now that there are fully a hundred thousand monks and nuns in the world,

1) The Fu family were a tribe of adventurers in Shensi, one member of which, named Fu Kien 苻健, founded for himself in 351 the realm of Ts'in 秦, with Ch'ang-ngan for its capital. This kingdom existed until 394. The sovereigns were ardent Buddhists, as were also the Shih family, ruling the realm of the Later Chao 後趙 in Chihli, founded in 319 by Shih Lih 石勒, an adventurer of western descent, and existing until 351.

2) The most Buddhistic emperor China ever possessed. After a long reign, from 502 to 549, his residence Kien-khang (Nanking) fell into the hands of a rebellious vassal, called Heu King 侯景, who deposed him and, as it appears, starved him to death. His dynasty was overthrown seven years later.

3) This emperor, rightly called Wen-siang 文襄, was murdered in 549, when he had scarcely reached his 29th year.

“who cut clothes of silk, and dress and adorn clay images, which
 “they then employ to suppress devils, and to lead the myriads
 “of people astray? I propose that all these monks and nuns
 “shall be commanded to marry one another; thus more than a
 “hundred thousand lay families shall be formed, who shall give
 “birth to sons and daughters; when these shall have grown up
 “to their tenth year, and when a second period of equal length
 “shall have been devoted to their education and instruction, they
 “will then naturally be an element useful to the dynasty, and
 “yield a sufficient contingent of warriors (for the maintenance of
 “the imperial power), while, besides, calamities in the cultivation
 “of silk and food shall be prevented in all parts of the world
 “between the four seas. If the people be in this way made to
 “understand with whom rests the power to intimidate and to
 “create happiness, those heretical deceptions will naturally die
 “off, and the transformation into a state of purity and simpli-
 “city will flourish again”).

“Both in ancient and in recent times it has seldom occurred
 “that a faithful minister criticizing the emperor did not come
 “to grief. It has not escaped my attention that, under the 'Ts'i
 “dynasty, Chang-kiu Tszē-t'ā presented a memorial to the emperor,
 “in which he stated that the multitude of monks and nuns
 “ruined the imperial house, and that the prodigality indulged in
 “in their temples and pagodas caused idle waste of precious
 “metal and silks. But the monks, being familiar with the minis-
 “ters, opposed him at court with calumnious imputations, while
 “the nuns, relying upon the good-will of the imperial consorts and
 “the princesses, secretly gave play to their insinuations. So the

1) 降自犧農至于漢魏皆無佛法、君明臣忠、祚長年久。漢明帝假託夢想始立胡神、西域桑門自傳其法。西晉以上國有嚴科、不許中國之人輒行髡髮之事、洎于苻石羌胡亂華、主庸臣佞、政虐祚短、皆由佛教致災也。梁武齊襄足爲明鏡。昔褒姒一女妖惑幽王尙致亡國。況天下僧尼數盈十萬、翦刻繪綵、裝束泥人、而爲厭魅迷惑萬姓者乎。今之僧尼請令疋配、卽成十萬餘戶、產育男女、十年長養、一紀教訓、自然益國、可以足兵、四海免蠹食之殃。百姓知威福所在、則妖惑之風自革、淳朴之化還興。

“end was that Tszë-t'ä was cast into prison and executed on the “market-place of the capital. But Wu of the Cheu dynasty (see page 34) having subjected Ts'ï, conferred a title of honour upon his tomb. Although your servant is not so intelligent as “that minister, yet he endeavours to tread in his footsteps”¹⁾.

“Moreover” — thus says the historiographer, “he presented to “the emperor a memorial in eleven chapters, written in keen and “straightforward style. Kao Tsu gave it his ministers to deli- “berate about it conscientiously; and only one of them, viz. “Chang Tao-yuen, the Director of the Court of the Imperial “Stud, declared that the memorial of Fu Yih was rational. Siao- “Yü, the Minister for the Promulgation of the Imperial Resolu- “tions, disputed this. Buddha, said he, was a sage, and Fu Yih’s “argumentation was not that of a sage, but breathed a lawless “spirit; therefore he proposed that a severe punishment should be “administered to him. But then Fu Yih himself spoke: The rules “for private and social life (li, see p. 8) start from servility to “parents, and end in submission to the emperor; if these duties are “observed, the natural principles of devotion and submission to “parents and of fidelity towards the sovereign will flourish, and “the conduct of ministers and of sons will become perfect. But “Buddha passed across the city-walls and deserted his family, thus “by his flight turning his back upon his father; he, the married “man, thus renounced his emperor; the continuator of the line “of his ancestry renounced the duties towards his parents. Siao “Yü does not come out of a hollow mulberry tree (he is no “anchorite), and yet he follows that religion which acknow- “ledges no father; I now hear that the man without filial “submission and devotion, who cares nothing for his parents, “is called Yü”. Yü could make no reply. He only clasped his “hands, and spoke: “This is a man, in fact, whom hell has “made”. Kao Tsu would carry out Fu Yih’s advise, but his ab- “dication (in 627) prevented it”²⁾.

1) 且古今忠諫鮮不及禍。竊見齊朝章仇子他上表言、僧尼徒衆糜損國家、寺塔奢侈虛費金帛。爲諸僧附會宰相對朝讒毀、諸尼依託妃主潛行謗讟。子他竟被囚執刑於都市。及周武平齊制封其墓。臣雖不敏、竊慕其蹤。 Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, 舊唐書, another Standard History of that house; chap. 79, folios 6—8.

2) 又上疏十一首、詞甚切直。高祖付羣官詳議、

As a matter of fact, the only effect of his memorial was a theoretical abolishment of Taoism and Buddhism. We read that "in the 4th month of the 9th year of the Wu teh period (626) "the religions of Buddha and of Laotszē were abolished" ¹). And in the following month an edict was issued by the emperor, which is preserved in the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty (chap. I, fo. 14). This prescribed, that only they who had become monks or nuns without any intention of a worldly nature and from no selfish motives, and, moreover, obeyed the religious commandments and led a life of rigorous asceticism, should be allowed to remain in the convents. On their behalf, three Buddhist monasteries and a Taoist one should be maintained in the imperial capital, and in all the other districts of the realm only one. But, adds the chronicler, "these measures were never "definitely executed ²), and in the sixth month the emperor "rehabilitated the religions of Buddha and Laotszē" ³).

Fu Yih died in 639, being eighty-five years old. His biography in the Old Books ends with the remark "that everything "which, since the time of the Wei and the Tsin dynasties up to "his own days, had appeared to criticise Buddhism, he collected "into a book of ten chapters, entitled: Traditions from Eminent "Men of Knowledge, which came into circulation in the world" ⁴). We do not know whether this work still exists; doubtless it would be of value as a source of historical knowledge of Chinese Buddhism. It gives evidence of the great vital strength

唯太僕卿張道源稱奕奏合理。中書令蕭瑀與之爭論。曰、佛聖人也、奕爲此議非聖人者無法、請寘嚴刑。奕曰、禮本於事親、終於奉上、此則忠孝之理著、臣子之行成。而佛踰城出家、逃背其父、以疋夫而抗天子、以繼體而悖所親。蕭瑀非出於空桑、乃遵無父之教、臣聞非孝者無親其瑀之謂矣。瑀不能答。但合掌曰、地獄所設正爲是人。高祖將從奕言、會傳位而止。 Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chap. 79, folio 8.

1) 武德九年四月廢浮屠老子法。 New Books of the T'ang Dynasty; chap. 1, folio 17.

2) 事竟不行。 Old Books, chap. 1, folio 15.

3) 六月復浮屠老子法。 New Books, chap. 1, folio 17.

4) 集魏晉已來駁佛教者爲高識傳十卷、行於世。

of Buddhism and of its firm hold upon the people and the court, that this energetic campaign of Fu Yih and other grandees who, no doubt, sided with him, remained for the time being without result. It was in fact not until nearly a whole century later (714) that the imperial government gave way, and began to take forcible measures against the clergy of that church.

The magnate Yao Ch'ung 姚崇, who was born in 750 and died in 721, was then at the summit of his glory and power. „Under the emperor Chung Tsung (705—710)”, thus it is written in the Dynastic Histories, “the princesses and the imperial cognates generally, had proposed to the emperor to consecrate people as monks and nuns; there had also been a certain number who sacrificed their private wealth for the building of monasteries, while it had been so general a custom for wealthy families and people of influence to found such edifices, in order to shirk therein the services due to the government, that the country far and wide abounded with them. But now (in 714) Yao Ch'ung presented a memorial to the emperor, running as follows: “Buddha does not dwell outside man, but is to be found in his heart. Buddhochinga was a most clever man, but he was of no use for keeping the realm of Chao entire¹⁾; and Kumārajiva possessed many arts and capacities, but did not save Ts'in from destruction²⁾. Ho Ch'ung saw his family die out³⁾, and Fu Yung was defeated and killed⁴⁾; Siang of Ts'i and the emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty could not escape disastrous events (comp. page 39). If you merely show earnestness of mind, compassion and charity, making your measures tend to the good of others, so that the creatures of Azure Heaven enjoy peace and happiness, then you are a being like Buddha;

1) Buddhochinga was an Indian priest who in 310 came to Loh-yang, there became a man of high distinction and great influence by his marvellous feats and arts, and contributed largely to the development of Buddhism in the realm of Chao, which from 304 to 329 existed in the present Shansi province.

2) Kumārajiva was the well known Indian Buddhist, a prolific translator of a number of sacred books into Chinese. The Later Ts'in dynasty, in the capital of which, Ch'ang-ngan, he principally resided, existed from 384 to 417.

3) Ho Ch'ung was a high placed official of the Tsin dynasty, who died in 346, in his 55th year. He was a Buddhist zealot, but died without sons; and the same dire fate befell his adopted heir and continuator of his line of descendants, the son of his brother: see the Books of the Tsin Dynasty, 晉書, the official Standard History of that house, chap. 77, folio 9.

4) Fu Yung was brother and generalissimo to Fu Kien 苻堅, the third sovereign of the house of Ts'in which we mentioned in note 1 on page 39, who reigned from 357 to 384. In 385 Fu Yung was defeated and slain.

"and how then is it useful to bestow consecration at random "upon vicious people, who thus are made to demolish the orthodox "doctrines?" The emperor, on receiving this argument, ordered "his officers to make secret enquiries about the clergy; and more "than twelve thousand, who were members of it with false and "irregular designs, were sent back into the lay world" 1).

No less than by the authorship of this violent attack upon the liberty of religious life, Yao Ch'ung has gained for himself never-fading laurels in the Confucian school by his last will. This was a philippic against Buddhism, the keen sarcasm of which throws even Fu Yih's memorial into the shade; and for this high quality alone, no doubt, it has been deemed worthy of a place in his biography in the standard annals of his time 2). An ardent desire to warn his children and grandchildren against that religion prompted him to write it. "The existing Buddhist "sutras", thus it ran, "were translated by Kumārajīva, and Yao "Hing 3) with the books in his hands collated the translations "with this man. He also erected pagodas in the village of Yung-"kwei, and emptied his treasuries to make a religious show on "a large scale; but for all that his life was not prolonged, and "after him his dynasty died out. — Ts'i was situated on the other "side of the mountains, eastward, and Cheu to the right of the "passes. This latter kingdom almost demolished Buddhism (see p. "34), but improved its military power, while in the other state "an elaborate priesthood was formed, and safety was sought "in the strength of Buddha. Hence, when the two countries went "to war together, the Ts'i dynasty was destroyed and lost its realm

1) 先是中宗時公主外戚皆奏請度人爲僧尼、亦有出私財造寺者、富戶強丁皆經營避役、遠近充滿。至是崇奏曰、佛不在外、求之於心。佛圖澄最賢無益於全趙、羅什多藝不救於亡秦。何充苻融皆遭敗滅、齊襄梁武未免災殃。但發心慈悲、行事利益、使蒼生安樂、卽是佛身、何用妄度姦人令壞正法。上納其言令有司隱括僧徒、以僞濫還俗者萬二千餘人。 Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chap. 96, folio 3. See also the New Books, chap. 124, folio 3. This event is also mentioned in chap. 8, folio 8 of the Old Books, but there the number of expelled members of the clergy is given as twenty thousand.

2) Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 96, folio 7.

3) A sovereign of the Later Ts'in dynasty (see note 2 on page 43), who reigned from 394 to 415.

"(in 577); — if it had not patronized the convents, would it then "have been rewarded with a restoration of its prosperity, or would "it have thus been punished with defeat and ruin? 1)

"The Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty made himself a slave "for a myriad teams of horses 2), and the empress-mother Hu "of the Tsi dynasty, consort of Wu-ch'ing 武成), made the "inmates of the six harems embrace religious life; and yet, in "spite of these women thus mutilating their bodies, and that "emperor disgracing his name, they lost their realm and ruined "their family. Not long ago, the emperor Hiao-hwo (Chung "Tsung) sent out emissaries to ransom living animals (destined "to be killed), and erected convents on a scale which ruined the "dynasty; the princess T'ai-p'ing, as also Wu San-szē 3), and the "rebellious imperial concubine Chang all caused people to embrace "religious life, and they built convents; and yet they did not at the "conclusion of their course of life escape a violent death, or the "ruin of their family, or the ridicule of the world 4).

"Amongst the five emperors (of grey antiquity, 29th to 26th "century b. C.) no father had to bury his son, no elder brother "had to bewail the loss of a younger one; that is to say, because "those emperors caused humanity and longevity to prevail, there "did not occur any cases of premature death, nor any ad-

1) 今之佛經羅什所譯、姚興執本與什對翻。姚興造浮屠於永貴里、傾竭府庫廣事莊嚴、而興命不得延、國亦隨滅。又齊跨山東、周據關右。周則多除佛法而修繕兵威、齊則廣置僧徒而依憑佛力。及至交戰齊氏滅亡國、既不存寺、復何有修福之報、何其滅。

2) This unsurpassed imperial Buddhist zealot (see p. 39, note 2) gave himself as a slave to a monastery, and then made his magnates ransom him for an enormous sum: a deed of the highest self-sacrifice and charity on behalf of the clergy.

3) T'ai-p'ing was a daughter of the renowned empress Wu; her biography is given in the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chap. 83, folio 7. Wu San-szē was a cognate of the imperial family, whose history occurs in chap. 206, folio 7 of the same work, as also in chap. 183 of the Old Books, folio 8.

4) 如梁武帝以萬乘爲奴、胡太戶以六宮入道、豈特身戮名辱皆以亡國破家。近日孝和皇帝發使贖生、傾國造寺、太平公主武三思悖逆庶人張夫人等皆度人造寺、竟術彌街咸不免受戮破家、爲天下所笑。

“versities. And during the reign of the three imperial families (of Hia, Shang and Cheu, 23rd to 3rd cent. b. C.), each dynasty “had a long existence, so that mankind lived in rest and peace, “and the ministers enjoyed longevity like that of P'eng-tsu '1) and “Lao Tan (Laotszè); and yet Buddhism did not then exist. What “strength then is there in transcribing the Sutras of this religion, “or in the moulding of its images? what good effects do sacrifices “produce, or donations to the Buddhas? 2)

“In the Historical Books of the Sung dynasty, in the Traditions “about Western Countries, mention is made of a renowned Bud- “dhist priest who wrote a disquisition on the elucidation of “obscurities; it professed to prove that, if intelligible arguments “sufficiently explain and disentangle obscurities and enigmas, “they ought to be read and brought into circulation. Now “Buddhism means intelligence; but — where in that disquisition “is there one square inch to be found of intelligible matter? 3) “I set forth that the keeping of myriads of images everywhere, “is not a matter proceeding from the five elements of the human “constitution 4), and that the Buddhist religion would be quite “complete if it occupied itself with nothing else than the pro- “motion of mental quiet, charity and commiseration, and with “doing good, and abstaining from vice; — why then does it so “deliberately drown itself in stories and tales, and has it led “itself into wrong paths by a wordly-minded clergy? It makes “of the parables with which it illustrates its exhortions, authentic “historical verities; by translating sutras and painting images it “destroys the professions and trades, and subverts family-life; “for by those sutras and idols the people are made to give “themselves (to religious life), which means the same thing as “caring about nobody any longer. That is what we may call “delusion on a large scale. And some make likenesses of de- “ceased persons, to use them, as they say, to send happiness

1) A Methuselah, who in the twelfth century before our era was 700 years old.

2) 且五帝之時父不葬子、兄不哭弟、言其致仁壽無夭橫也。三皇之代國祚延長、人用休息、其人臣則彭祖老聃之類皆享遐齡、當此之時未有佛教。豈抄經鑄像之力、設齋施佛之功耶。

3) The reader who might feel disposed to unravel this profound piece of philosophy, may find it in chap. 97 of the Books of the Sung Dynasty, folio 11. The learned writer was one Hwui-lin 慧琳, a Buddhist of the first half of the fifth century.

4) 五蘊: form, perception, consciousness, action, knowledge.

“to the latter in the hereafter. The doctrine of salvation knows “many ways in which meritorious work may be performed; but “(they say) such work must rise from the heart, and when any “by-motives are at play, it must rather entail vindictory punish- “ments. With such reasonings people have long befooled each “other, until those salvation-works have become established cus- “toms, which damage the living, without benefiting the dead. “Even those who think themselves intelligent and talented, wise “and learned, are captivated by such habits of the times. The “Tathāgata’s spirit of universal charity furthers the interests of “the beings; but, surely, this is not the case if it harms the “creatures who have not enough, and enriches an influential clergy “who have more than enough”¹).

“And if death is an ordinary occurrence from which, since “remote antiquity, there has been no escape, what help then is “afforded against it by the sutras and images we make? It being “a fact that Çakya’s own religion is a great evil for all who “live under the azure empyrean, so all of you, my children, “ought to be on your guard against it. Let the principles of “orthodoxy dwell in your heart, and be not like those sons “and daughters who never grow wiser as long as they live. When “I shall be dead, then on no account perform on my behalf that “mean religion; but if you should feel unable to follow ortho- “doxy in every respect, then give in to the popular custom, “and from the first seventh day (after my death) until the “last (the seventh) seventh day, let mass be celebrated by the “Buddhist clergy seven times; and when, as these masses require “it, you must offer gifts to me, use for that purpose the clothes “and things which during my life I have worn on my body.

1) 宋書西域傳有名僧爲白黑論、理證明白足解
 沉疑、宜觀而行之。且佛者覺也、在乎方寸。假有
 萬像之廣不出五蘊之中、但平等慈悲行善不行
 惡則佛道備矣、何必溺於小說、惑於凡僧。仍將喻
 品用爲實錄、抄經寫像破業傾家、乃至施身、亦
 無所慙。可謂大惑也。亦有緣亡人造像、名爲追
 福。方便之教雖則多端功德、須自發心、旁助寧
 應獲報。遞相欺誑浸成風俗、損耗生人、無益亡
 者。假有通才達識亦爲時俗所拘。如來普慈意存
 利物、損衆生之不足、厚豪僧之有餘、必不然矣。

“But on no account use any other things of value for this end, lest you do a wrong thing which would carry no benefit with it; neither give recklessly of your private effects on the vain plea of procuring me happiness in the hereafter.... And after your death let your sons and grandsons likewise be ordered to act in conformity with these my instructions”¹⁾).

The chief value for us of the philippics of Fu Yih and Yao Ch'ung lies in the fact that they give us a clear insight into the reasons for the grudge and antipathy manifested by the Confucians to this day against this foreign religion. Then, as now, the chief reproach was that the people were deceived and led astray by it, as it did not, like the only true Confucianism, give verity pure and unalloyed. And especially its tenets concerning the possibility of raising the dead into a condition of higher bliss are idle gossip, its ceremonies instituted for that purpose absolutely valueless, nay, even detrimental, because of the outlays they entail. Remarkable, however, are Yao Ch'ung's instructions to his children: do not allow yourselves to be blinded by these doctrines; but if this be already done, and you feel bound to celebrate for me the customary Buddhist masses, well, let it be done, but without extravagance. Where a declared enemy of this religion spoke thus to his own children brought up under his own eyes, there, surely, the Buddhistic doctrines and practices of salvation must have taken very deep root in the heart of the nation, in its customs and manners. Possibly the father himself was not altogether free from the belief in their value. As a matter of fact, salvation of the dead was always the sheet anchor with which this religion, since its earliest establishment in China, had secured for itself a safe position in the vast ocean of Confucian heathenism; for of Confucianism itself, piety and devotion towards parents and ancestors, and the promotion of their happiness, were

1) 且死者是常、古來不免、所造經像何所施爲。夫釋迦之本法爲蒼生之大弊、汝等各宜警策。正法在心、勿效兒女子曹終身不悟也。吾亡後必不得爲此弊法、若未能全依正道、須順俗情、從初七至終七任設七僧齋、若隨齋須布施、宜以吾緣身衣物。充不得輒用餘財爲無益之枉事、亦不得妄出私物、徇追福之虛談... 汝等身沒之後亦教子孫依吾此法云。

the core, and, consequently, their worship with sacrifices and ceremonies a sacred duty.

This sacrificial worship of the dead, the real religion of classical China (see p. 15), was in the earliest times confined to the family circle, and was performed without any church surrounding it with external pomp and ritualism, or regulating it by means of strictly defined doctrines. Buddhism came to fill up this deficiency. Its grotesque tales of transmigration and future life, of paradises and hells, were eminently calculated to work upon the imagination; they charmed and fascinated a nation which at all times had evinced the greatest interest in the fate of its ancestors, and to whom it was no matter of indifference to know what their own fate would be on the other side of the grave. Moreover, the new religion invested the established worship of the dead with an elaborate system of ritual and ceremonies, which lent it a cheerful character, and converted it into a work of blithesome beatification. Is it then to be marvelled at that the Chinese inclined heart and soul towards the priests of the exotic religion, who so gratified their taste and instincts? Thenceforth Buddha's clergy made it their regular vocation to alleviate by their solemn work the sufferings of the departed; paradise and hell furnished them the key to the heart and affections of the people. The last will of Yao Ch'ung bears witness to this.

But the other arguments of this magnate and of Fu Yih also deserve our attention, as they have in succeeding ages carried their influence in the persecutions of this religion. Both statesmen assert, that since the introduction of Buddhism the age of man has been considerably shortened, and that no dynasty since that time has been able to keep on the throne for any great length of time; and — on this latter point history accidentally shows they were right. It is therefore as clear as clear can be: this religion is dangerous to every emperor individually, dangerous also to his house. Fu Yih brings this precarious phenomenon directly into connection with the alarming increase of faithlessness amongst the ministers towards their sovereign, and their increased cruelty towards the people: a double charge which we would prefer to deal with as insinuation. But what to say about the appeal to the longevity of sovereigns and the duration of dynastic governments in an ideal antiquity of which we really know so very little, but Confucianists know everything, at least everything that is worth knowing, thanks to their Classics, which are in their eyes the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Its insipidity has not prevented that appeal from remaining to this day a main theme in all anti-buddhistic argument.

But, as the writings of the two worthies teach us, anti-Buddhism of the T'ang dynasty possessed yet other weapons. Why, they both argue, be a Buddhist, when one sees that some emperors and members of imperial families, most zealous sons and daughters of this religion, came to a miserable end? Why, thus queries Fu Yih, tolerate their clergy, that class of useless drones who, by not devoting themselves to agriculture, pay no groundrent or landtax to the Son of Heaven, and who, by remaining unmarried, do not give birth to any soldiers for His Majesty's armies, and therefore are a stumbling-block to the spread of his dominion of glory and bliss to the uttermost confines of the earth? Their celibacy moreover impoverishes the people, as it deprives agriculture and the silk industry of many hands yet unborn. On the other hand, their religious works encourage waste of money, especially in the erection of temples and monasteries. Their ethical doctrines are of a lower order, because they pursue other felicity than that of a worldly nature. Buddhism, Yao Ch'ung argues, would be all right if it preached only mental quiet, compassion and charity, the doing of good and the avoiding of evil in this earthly existence; but why drown all this in idle stories which lead to misconception? In truth it is by no means astonishing to see such argumentation written down by an ardent adept of materialistic Confucianism, which teaches that, as long as there is slavish submission and devotion to parents and sovereigns, all human perfection will be produced by virtue of the Tao or course of the material universe itself, without any further activity being required. Quite natural also, that in these anti-buddhistic writings there is not a word of appreciation of the pious sentiment wherewith in this religion, by the practice of virtue and by charity towards one's fellow creatures, a higher state of perfection and bliss is sought after than this world can give. This aspiration, its centre of gravity, rests on lies and fictions, for — nothing of the sort is found in the Confucian Classics. Therefore, all doctrines leading up to this one and only Buddhistic goal are heretical, and should be exterminated without delay, to give room once more to the old-classically orthodox dogmas of Confucius and his school. A chilling and peremptory denial of the worth of religious sentiment and moral elevation, which are the necessary effects of a striving after perfection for this world and for the world to come, is one of the

chief features of all anti-buddhistic writings from Confucian pens.

One of the main principles of Buddhism so flatly contradicts a fundamental tenet of Confucian doctrine, that it precluded, once and for ever all chance of reconciliation between the two powers. Retirement from the world into a convent passes in that religion for the main road to salvation. To the Confucian, however, such a breach of the ties by which nature has united children to parents and relations, is a sin against the sacred hiao 孝 or duty of filial submission and devotion preached by the Classics and the sages of all times; it is a criminal act of the worst kind, an execrable sin against nature itself and the Tao, and words fail wherewith to brand its wickedness. How low, thus argued Fu Yih, how degenerate must have been the character of the founder of that religion, who himself set the example of such criminal proceeding! And a monk or nun does not marry and raise a progeny, while Confucianism most emphatically demands, for the sake of the same hiao principle, that every person shall have male descendants, in order that the obligatory sacrifices for his deceased parents and ancestors may be continued by them after his death, and by their offspring throughout all ages. For did not Mencius exclaim: "Three things are un-hiao, but to have no posterity is worse" ¹). Abundant reason therefore for the Confucians to despise and scorn Buddhism; to assail it without the slightest reluctance, wherever found, and under whatever conditions; to consider the use of any weapons justifiable against it, even those of exaggeration, satire, gall and venom. Slander in particular often plays an important part in anti-buddhistic writings, especially on the score of sexual morality among the clergy. How, in truth, could a church fare differently at the hands of its sworn enemies, if it admits women into its pale, placing them in matters of salvation and the means thereto on a level with men, and — if it at the same time preaches celibacy?

After all this, is it too much to say, that Buddhism stands as far apart from Confucianism as Islam from Christianity? And is it to be wondered at that under the T^{ang} dynasty, when Confucianism was marked by a considerable growth and expansion showing themselves in the creation of all kinds of classical political institutions, and their codification in the vast Ritual of the Khai yuen period ²) — that the church of Buddha gradually lost ground with the emperors and the court,

1) 不孝有三、無後爲大 · Sect. IV, first part, 26.

2) See: The Religious System of China, Book I, p. 236.

and could no longer maintain itself unhurt in the offensive warfare waged against it? That steady progress of Confucianism we find in natural alliance with the enactment of imperial laws whose object it was not so much to destroy the church by crude force, as to deprive it of its vital strength by attacking it at the very root: its conventual life. Edicts appear allowing ordination to only a limited number of persons, in certain monasteries specially authorised thereto: and these numbers, which are already strikingly small to begin with, are revised from time to time, i. e. reduced to a yet lower figure. The number of the greater and the smaller monasteries also is considerably reduced, and in each three so-called Cords or Restrainers (綱) are appointed by the government from among the monks or nuns, to control the inmates and their doings; and the Board of Sacrifices (祠部) had to take a census of the clergy and register them every third year, lest their numerical strength should exceed the figure fixed by the State¹). It appears that altogether 5358 Buddhist convents were allowed to exist, namely 3235 for monks and 2123 for nuns, besides 1687 Taoist abbeys, amongst which were 776 for the male, and 988 for the other sex; also that the number of Buddhist monks was allowed to come up to 75,524, and that of the nuns to 50,576. These figures we find inscribed in the 48th chapter of the New Books of the T'ang dynasty (fo. 15). Sometimes the one, sometimes the other department or bureau of officials was appointed to control the clergy, to restrict their perambulations, and generally to prevent the laws made against them from falling into abeyance²). And as if to put the seal to the work, the tu tieh 度牒 or "consecration-certificate" was invented: a diploma to be conferred by the secular power, without which no one could be considered to have become a member of the clergy, nor be allowed to dwell in a convent, or wear the religious garb. This ingenious institution prevails to this day. Thus it remained for ever within the power of the State to keep the numerical strength of the clergy down to any level desired, nay to reduce it arbitrarily at any time by bestowing a small number of certificates, or even none at all. There are also passages in the books, from which we may infer that the government sold these documents for money, and so worked the road of salvation for the benefit of the treasury. It appears likewise, that no monastery might be erected unless a special imperial

1) See: Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty; chap. 43, folio 18.

2) A survey of this will be given in Chapter III.

licence to this effect had been granted, for it is written that the emperor Teh Tsung 德宗 decreed very soon after his accession to the throne in 779, "that from that moment no more petitions "might be presented to him for the erection of Buddhistic or "Taoistic monasteries, nor for the ordination of monks or nuns" ¹⁾. Nor did the State forget the rights of the sacred hiao, for it ordered the clergy, notwithstanding their religious dress and their renunciation of the world, to honour their parents and to pay them respect and submission like any lay people: a measure which, however, cannot be said to be directed against religious liberty.

Thus the T'ang dynasty created a special set of laws and rescripts designed to curtail conventual and clerical life; laws which all succeeding dynasties would take over, and which would bring monachism into the languishing condition in which we find it in our days. In chap. III we will describe them in the form in which they prevail to this day. Meanwhile the Confucian mandarin, the sworn enemy of Buddhism, never left off urging the imperial government to yet harsher measures. The official historical books of those times contain a remarkable proof of the fierceness and acrimony of their attacks, showing also that this acrimony was so intense, that even the profound respect and veneration for the august person of the Son of Heaven, which has always characterised that caste, could not temper it. It is a memorial in which in 819 the celebrated scholar and statesman Han Yü 韓愈 vehemently upbraided his imperial master for his Buddhistic tendencies, and which he had the audacity to lay down before the throne. Although this document, after all that Fu Yih and Yao Ch'ung have written, offers no fresh arguments against the church, it is fully worthy of our notice, because amongst the literati of the present day it is the best known of anything that has ever been put on paper against Buddhism. Every Confucianist swears by it; and if ever the heresy-hunting party should choose a patron saint, no doubt Han Yü would be elected to this dignity with universal acclamation.

The memorial occurs both in the Old Books of the T'ang dynasty (chap. 160) and in the New Books (chap. 176). "In the monastery "of the Gate of the Dharma", so we read in the former work, "in Fung-siang (the country to the west of the then imperial "capital), stood the Pagoda of the Real Body which protects the "Dynasty, within which there was a knuckle-bone of the finger "of the Buddha Shakyamuni. An institution based on written

1) 自今更不得奏置寺觀及度人. Old Books of the T'ang dynasty, chap. 12, folio 3.

“tradition required that this pagoda was opened only once in “thirty years; and when it was open, the harvests were abundant, “and the people prospered. Now it happened in the first month “of the fourteenth year of his reign (A.D. 819) that the emperor “(Hien Tsung) commanded Tu Ying-khi, an officer of the interior “palace, to betake himself with thirty palace officials bearing “incense and flowers, to the Lin-kao station, there to receive the “Buddha-bone in state, thence to convey it through the Kwang-shun “gate into the palace, and to leave it there in the forbidden “part until the third day, and afterwards to send it away to “the several convents. Princes and nobles, officers high and low, “all hurried about and gave away their possessions, afraid of “only one thing, namely of being too late. And also among the “people there were many who left their business and their trade, “and ruined themselves, and were burned on their head or on “their arms, and tried to offer their sacrifices. Then Han Yü, “who did not love Buddhism, presented a memorial to the emperor, “to censure him. This ran as follows¹⁾:

“Crouching down respectfully before Your Majesty, I consider how “the chief religion of the western barbarians, that of the Buddhas, “began to flow into the Middle Kingdom since the reign of the “Later Han dynasty. In remotest antiquity it did not exist there, “and in those olden times the emperor Hwang was seated on “the throne for a hundred years, and reached the age of one “hundred and ten; Shao-hao then reigned eighty years, and “reached the age of one hundred; Chwen-huh thereupon occupied “the throne for seventy-nine years, and his age became ninety- “eight; on which Ti-kuh wielded the sceptre for seventy years “and lived for one hundred and five years. For Yao these periods “were respectively ninety-eight and one hundred and eighteen; “and lastly, Shun and Yü both lived a century. In all those “days universal peace reigned throughout the world; the people, “quiet and contented, enjoyed longevity; and yet no Buddha

1) 鳳翔法門寺有護國真身塔、塔內有釋迦文佛指骨一節。其書本傳法三十年一開、開則歲豐人泰。十四年正月上令中使杜英奇押宮人三十人持香花赴臨臯驛迎佛骨、自光順門入大內、留禁中三日、乃送諸寺。王公士庶奔走捨施、唯恐在後。百姓有廢業破產、燒頂灼臂而求供養者。愈素不喜佛、上疏諫。曰、

“had then ever existed in the Central Empire. Later on, T'ang
 “of the Yin dynasty also became a hundred years old; his des-
 “cendant T'ai-wu occupied the throne for seventy-five years, and
 “Wu-t'ing for half a century; and although of these sovereigns
 “the historical books do not mention the age, nevertheless,
 “considering the duration of their reigns, none of them can have
 “lived less than a century. Wen of the Cheu dynasty lived ninety-
 “seven years, Wu ninety-three; Muh reigned quite a century.
 “Neither in their days had Buddhism come to the Central
 “Empire so that these long lives and long reigns were not
 “obtained by the worship of Buddha”).

“First under the emperor Ming of the Han dynasty Buddhism
 “existed here, and Ming reigned not longer than eighteen years.
 “Periods of trouble and mortality then closely followed each other,
 “in which succeeding dynastic governments never had a long
 “existence. The houses of Sung, Ts'i, Liang, Ch'en and Wei, and
 “those which reigned after, served Buddha with increasing zeal;
 “and nevertheless the lives of the emperors and the duration of
 “their reigns shortened. Only Wu of the Liang dynasty wielded
 “the sceptre for forty-eight years; he gave himself away to Buddha
 “three times in succession (see p. 39); he used no cattle for
 “the sacrifices in the temples of his ancestors²); he had only one
 “meal a day of mere vegetables and fruit; and yet he was in
 “the end condemned by Heu King, in the city of T'ai, to die
 “of starvation, and his dynasty perished soon after. From this
 “we see, that if one seeks happiness by serving Buddha, one obtains
 “misfortune; it also shows that Buddha is not worth believing in³).

1) 伏以佛者夷狄之一法耳、自後漢時始流入中國。上古未嘗有也、昔黃帝在位百年、年百一十歲、少昊在位八十年、年百歲、顓頊在位七十九年、年九十八歲、帝嚳在位七十年、年百五歲。帝堯在位九十八年、年百一十八歲、帝舜及禹年皆百歲。此時天下太平、百姓安樂壽考然、而中國未有佛也。其後殷湯亦年百歲、湯孫太戊在位七十五年、武丁在位五十年、書史不言其壽、推其年數蓋亦俱不減百歲。周文王年九十七歲、武王年九十三歲、穆王在位百年。此時佛法亦未至中國、非因事佛而致此也。

2) Because Buddhism forbids us to kill living beings.

3) 漢明帝時始有佛法、明帝在位纔十八年耳。其

“When the High Ancestor of this dynasty had just received the throne from the house of Sui, he took into consideration the abolition of Buddhism. But in those days the sphere of knowledge and insight of the official world was not wide; so they lacked the power of studying profoundly the things necessary for all times ancient and modern, that are laid down in the doctrines of the Sovereigns of antiquity; nor were they able to bring to the foreground the wisdom of the Sages, and thereby to remedy the evil in question. So the matter came to a standstill, to your servant's great regret. Crouching at Your Majesty's feet, he recollects how You, Imperial Lord, whose preternatural wisdom and brilliant military qualities have been unequalled for several thousands and hundreds of years, on Your accession immediately forbade the consecration of persons to Buddhist monk or nun and to Taoist monk, as also that any more monasteries should be built. Your servant at that time concluded from this, that the will of Your High Ancestor was going to be executed at Your Majesty's hand; and to this moment I will admit immediately it has not yet been found possible to do so. But can it possibly be approved of, that to this religion so much liberty is granted that the result is just the contrary; that is to say, that it is made to flourish and to prosper? I hear that Your Majesty has ordered the clergy to fetch the bone of Buddha from Fung-siang; that You have resorted to a storied building to see the procession; that the bone has been carried into the interior of the palace, and that the convents have been commanded by You in turn to receive it and present sacrifices to it. Now your servant is extremely ignorant; nevertheless he knows for sure and certain, that this religious worship to pray for felicity is not performed by Your Majesty because You are led astray by Buddhism, and that it is not for this reason that, for the sake of an abundant harvest, to promote the happiness of mankind, and to meet the wishes of the people, You have set agoing this strange spectacle, this merry-making, for the official world in the imperial capital; — for You

後亂亡相繼、運祚不長。宋齊梁陳元魏已下事佛漸謹、年代尤促。唯梁武帝在位四十八年、前後三度捨身施佛、宗廟之祭不用牲牢、晝日一食止於菜果、其後竟爲侯景所逼餓死臺城、國亦尋滅。事佛求福、乃更得禍、由此觀之、佛不足信亦可知矣。

“who possess so much wisdom and intelligence, would You “believe in such things? But the people are so ignorant, so easily “misled, so difficult to enlighten. If therefore they see Your Majesty “act thus, they will assert that You sincerely believe in Buddha, “and they will say: If even the Son of Heaven, the Wise of the “Wise, with his whole heart worships him, believes in him, it “would ill suit us, people so insignificant and mean, to set “any value on our bodies or our lives where the Buddha is con- “cerned. They will then scorch the crown of their head and burn “the tips of their fingers; hundreds and dozens will flock together “to undress and throw away their money from the morning until “the evening, following each other’s example, and only making “themselves anxious about the risk of coming too late. Old and “young people are now running about like a surging crowd, “regardless of their trades and business; if You do not forthwith “put a stop to this, and the travelling from one monastery to “another re-commences, then for certain shall we see them cut “off their arms and slash their bodies by way of sacrifice. What “is now being done injures the correct habits (fung) and des- “troys the good customs (suh); it raises laughter on all sides; “and this is no matter of small moment 1).

1) 高祖始受隋禪則議除之。當時羣臣識見不遠、不能深究先王之道古今之宜、推闡聖明、以救斯弊。其事遂止、臣嘗恨焉。伏惟皇帝陛下神聖英武數千百年以來未有倫比、卽位之初卽不許度人爲僧尼道士、又不許別立寺觀。臣當時以爲高祖之志必行於陛下之手、今縱未能卽行。豈可恣之轉令盛也。今聞陛下令羣僧迎佛骨於鳳翔、御樓以觀、昇入大內、令諸寺遞迎供養。臣雖至愚、必知陛下不惑於佛作此崇奉以祈福祥也、直以年豐人樂徇人之心爲京都士庶設詭異之觀戲玩之具耳、安有聖明若此而肯信此等事哉。然百姓愚冥易惑難曉。苟見陛下如此、將謂真心信佛、皆云、天子大聖猶一心敬信、百姓微賤、於佛豈合惜身命。所以灼頂燔指、百十爲羣解衣散錢自朝至暮、轉相倣效唯恐後時。老幼奔波棄其生業、若不卽加禁遏、更歷諸寺、必有斷臂鬻身以爲供養者。傷風敗俗、傳笑四方、非細事也。

“Buddha was a western barbarian. He did not understand the language of our Central Empire, and wore clothes of different cut and make. His tongue therefore did not speak the doctrines of the ancient Sovereigns; his body was not decked with the clothes prescribed by these. The duties of the minister towards his sovereign, the sentiments of the child towards its parents, all these things were unknown to him. Suppose he were still living, and came to the Metropolis as bearer of instructions from his royal house, to ask for an audience, and it pleased Your Majesty to lodge and receive him, then Your Majesty would surely not grant him more than one interview in the hall where you issue Your measures of government; once only You would regale him in the hall where guests are ceremoniously received; only one suit of clothes You would give him. Then you would have him escorted across the frontier, but you would prevent him from leading the people into error. How then is it to be defended that now, since he has long been dead, his rotten bone, his evil-causing, dirty relic is brought within the palace? Confucius taught that the spirits should be worshipped, and thus kept at a distance (see p. 24); and in olden times, when a feudal prince had to pay a visit of condolence within his dominions, he considered it a matter of importance to have first destroyed by an exorciser, with peach-wood and reeds, all evil influences; and not until this had been done he entered, to offer his condolences¹). But here, where no death has taken place, they bring a rotten, dirty thing, and Your Majesty deigns to go and see it in your own person, without being preceded by an exorciser, without the use of peach-wood and reeds, and — none of the ministers tell Your Majesty how wrong it is to do so; no censor puts forward the evil of it. Verily, I am ashamed of this. I humbly beseech Your Majesty to consign that bone to water and fire, in order that its influence may for ever be rooted out; in order that a stop may be put to the uncertainty in which the whole world feels itself; in order that the deception of posterity may be rendered impossible; let thus every one throughout the world become fully aware, that the measures of You, the Wise of the Wise, are a hundred million times above those of ordinary individuals. How palmy and glorious, how exhilarating this will be! If Buddha does possess spiritual power and can bring misfortune and evil upon any one, may he then send all the disasters he has

1) See: The Religious System of China, Book I, p. 41.

"in store, upon my body, and the heavens above will not see "me murmur at it" ¹⁾.

Han Yü's audacity cost him his high position at court. The emperor sent him away as Governor to Ch'ao-cheu, in distant Kwantung, which in those days was deemed almost equal to banishment to a barbarian dependency. He died in 824, and had not the privilege to live to see the triumph of the anti-buddhist movement, the cause of which he had embraced with so much energy and fervor. For it was not until 835 that an emperor of the name of Wen Tsung 文宗 "interdicted by decree the ordinations of Buddhist monks and nuns" ²⁾; a measure which, at the instigation of the doctor of the Han-lin college Li Hiun 李訓, was followed by the removal of all Buddhistic images and altars from the court. These, however, were but the feeble precursors of the more rigorous measures by which Wen Tsung's successor Wu Tsung 武宗 was to immortalize his name.

As early as 843, in the third year of his reign, when his armies had gained a series of victories over the Uigurs, he issued a decree to the following effect: "It is necessary that the Commissioners for the Performance of Meritorious Work (i. e. for "the celebration of religious ceremonies" ³⁾), who dwell outside

1) 佛本夷狄之人。與中國言語不通、衣服殊製。口不道先王之法言、身不服先王之法服。不知君臣之義父子之情。假如其身尚在、奉其國命來朝京師、陛下容而接之、不過宣政一見、禮賓一設、賜衣一襲。衛而出之於境、不令惑於衆也。况其身死已久、枯朽之骨凶穢之餘豈宜以入宮禁。孔子曰、敬鬼神而遠之、古之諸侯行甲於國、尚令巫祝先以桃茆祓除不祥、然後進甲。今無故取朽穢之物、親臨觀之、巫祝不先、桃茆不用、羣臣不言其非、御史不舉其失。臣實恥之。乞以此骨付之水火、永絕根本、斷天下之疑、絕後代之惑、使天下之人知大聖人之所作爲出於尋常萬萬也。豈不盛哉、豈不快哉。佛如有靈能作禍祟、凡有殃咎宜加臣身、上天鑒臨臣不怨悔。

2) 太和九年詔不得度人爲僧尼。Old Books, chap. 17, II, fo. 26.

3) Certain government officers charged with the control of the Buddhist and Taoist clergy. We shall tell something of their position and their functions in chap. III.

“the capital (Ch'ang-ngan), and those in the eastern capital “(Loh-yang or Ho-nan-fu), shall, with regard to the Uigurs, “dictate everywhere to those who wear the official cap and girdle, “that they shall banish all those people to the various provinces, there to be taken by the authorities under their rule “and control. And with regard to the convents or temples of “those Uigurs and of the Mo-ni, their farms, houses, money, “effects, etc., the Commissioners for Meritorious Work are, “moreover, herewith ordered to have all this registered and confiscated by officials delegated for that purpose by the Censorate “and by the Metropolitan Government. No one belonging to “that nationality shall be allowed to take possession of even a “shadow of those buildings and effects, and whosoever does so “shall be condemned to death, and all his possessions shall be “confiscated. And the Bureau for the Promulgation of Imperial “Orders is herewith ordained to project measures to be taken “with regard to the monks of the Mo-ni convents, and it shall “memorialize Us about the same”¹⁾. In the other Standard History of the T'ang dynasty we read: “It was decreed by the “emperor that the Commissioners for Meritorious Work in the “colonies of the Uigurs, residing in the two capitals, should “instruct the officers wearing the cap and girdle, to sequestrate “the books of the Mo-ni, and burn them on the roads together “with their images; and that all their goods and effects should “be confiscated at the profit of the mandarinat²⁾”.

What was that Mo-ni religion? The above extracts do not make it sure that the Chinese considered it to be another religion than that of the Uigurs. Devéria³⁾ and Marquart⁴⁾ have probably proved that the word represents Manicheism; Chavannes⁵⁾ however has endeavoured to demonstrate, that it may

1) 應在京外宅及東都修功德廻紇並勒冠帶各配諸道收管。其廻紇及摩尼寺莊宅錢物等、並委功德使以御史臺及京兆府各差官點檢收抽。不得容諸色人影占、如犯者並處極法、錢物納官。摩尼寺僧委中書門下條疏聞奏。 Old Books, chap. 18, I, folio 13.

2) 詔回鶻營功德使在二京者悉冠帶之有司收摩尼書若象燒于道、產費入之官。 New Books, chap. 217, II, folio 5.

3) Journal Asiatique for 1897, II: Muselmans et Manichéens Chinois.

4) Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften.

5) Journal Asiatique for 1897, I: Le Nestorianisme et l'Inscription de Kara-Balgassoun.

just as reasonably stand for Mohammedanism. In that same essay, the last-named sinologue gives us two extracts from the *Fuh-tsu tung ki*, from which it appears that the decree of Wu Tsung in the capital alone cost the lives of more than seventy Mo-ni women, and that of the number condemned to exile more than half perished. For the destruction of their religion and the cruel annihilation of their settlements we ought, perhaps, to plead the extenuating circumstance that the animosity against the Uigurs, the national enemies who had year after year harrassed the empire, sword in hand, turned against all foreigners in general. As we shall see presently, that same emperor only two years later decreed, together with the extermination of Buddhism, that of the Ta-ts'in and the Muh-hu religion, originating from countries not stated to have been on a hostile footing with China.

The great crusade against Buddhism, which was now the chief item on Wu Tsung's programme, was to some considerable extent the work of three jealous and zealous Taoists, whose influence upon the emperor was great. "In the third month of "the fourth year of the Hwui ch'ang period (844)", thus say the official historical books ¹⁾, "he appointed the Taoist doctor "Chao Kwei-chen to be Religious Teacher of Taoism for the "streets to the left and right. At that time the emperor earnestly "studied the methods for attaining to divinity and immortality, and "had that Kwei-chen for his instructor. This man availed himself of "the favor he was in, frequently to urge the emperor to exterminate "Buddhism, for, he argued, this is not a religion of the Middle "Kingdom, but one which corrodes the vital strength of the "people, and therefore it ought to be entirely done away with. "The emperor believed every word he said. The year following, "Chao Kwei-chen commended to the emperor a certain Taoist "doctor of Lo-fu ²⁾, called Teng Yuen-khi, who possessed the "art of prolonging life. The emperor sent a commissioner from the "palace to receive this man, who from that day made a close "compact with Liu Huën-tsing, a Taoist doctor of the Hing "mountains (in Hunan), and with Kwei-chen, to induce the "emperor to exterminate Buddhism; and the consequence was "that their proposals to demolish the convents were carried out ³⁾.

1) Old Books, chap. 18, I.

2) A mountain chain in the province of Kwangtung, renowned amongst the Taoists as an abode of people who prolonged their lives by means of certain abstruse arts and processes.

3) 會昌四年三月以道士趙歸真爲左右街道門

“In the fourth month the emperor ordered the Board of Sacrifices to count the Buddhist convents, monks and nuns in the empire; and the returns gave 4,600 monasteries, 40,000 a-lan-jok¹), 260,500 monks and nuns. And in the autumn, in the seventh month of that year, he decreed that the convents in the empire should be reduced to a smaller number, and that the Bureau for the Promulgation of Imperial Orders should project measures to that effect, and memorialize him about the same. According to the prevailing regulations (thus its proposal ran), the magistrates in the departments of the first order must burn incense in the monasteries on the anniversaries of the deaths of the imperial ancestors. Therefore in each of these departments one convent for this purpose shall, we trust, be left in existence, and the venerable images of the series of emperors be conveyed thither; in the departments of lower order all monasteries can then be destroyed. We also propose, that in two streets of the imperial residence and of the eastern capital (see page 60) ten monasteries shall be allowed to remain, each with ten monks. So the emperor decided that in each of the departments of the first order, one monastery, and that the best and most beautifully built of them, should remain standing, but that as soon as it should fall into ruins, it should be pulled down likewise, in which event, on the above mentioned days of incense-burning, the magistrates would have to perform this ceremony in a Taoist monastery. Moreover, in the two streets both of the imperial and of the secondary capital two abbeys should remain in existence, each with thirty-eight monks, namely: in the left street of the imperial residence, that of Favour through Compassion, and that of Bliss through Sacrifices; and in the right street in that place, that of Western Light and that of Pomp and Glory²).

教授先生。時帝志學神仙、師歸真。歸真乘寵每對排毀釋氏、言非中國之教、蠹耗生靈、盡宜除去。帝頗信之。五年歸真舉羅浮道士鄧元起、有長年之術。帝遣中使迎之、繇是與衡山道士劉玄靖及歸真膠固排毀釋氏、而拆寺之請行焉。

1) 阿蘭若, often abbreviated by omitting the first syllable, represents the Sanskrit Aranyakah, and is quite an ordinary term in Chinese literature to indicate a Buddhist friary or nunnery on a modest scale, a hermitage or retreat.

2) 夏四月勅祠部檢括天下寺及僧尼人數大、凡

“Thereupon the Bureau for the Promulgation of the Imperial Orders proposed in another memorial, that to the Commissioners of the Salt and Iron Gabelle should be delivered the bronze statues, bells, and sonorous metal plates of the convents demolished in the Empire, to be recast into money; that the prefects of the districts concerned should be instructed to have the iron statues re-moulded into agricultural implements, and that the images of gold, silver or “to” mineral should be melted and delivered to the Auditors of the Treasury. Moreover, (the Bureau proposed) that the families of costumed officers should deliver up to the authorities their golden, silver, bronze and iron images within a month after the imperial decree to this effect should have been promulgated, and that in case of default, the Commissioners of the Salt and Iron Gabelle should punish them according to the prohibitory law on bronze; but that the images of clay, wood or stone should be altogether left in the monasteries, there to remain as of old’).

“In yet another memorial the same Bureau proposed, that the Buddhist monks and nuns should no longer remain under the control of the Board of Sacrifices, but should be placed under that of the Bureau for the State Ceremonial, and that, with regard to the temples of the Ta-ts^cin and the Muh-hu’),

寺四千六百、蘭若四萬、僧尼二十六萬五百。秋七月勅併省天下佛寺、中書門下條疏聞奏。據令式諸上州國忌日官吏行香於寺。其上州望各留寺一所、有列聖尊容便令移於寺內、其下州寺並廢。其上都東都兩街請留十寺、寺僧十人。勅曰上州合留寺工作精妙者留之、如破落亦宜廢毀、其合行香日官吏宜於道觀。其上都下都每街留寺兩所、寺留僧三十人、上都左街留慈恩薦福、右街留西明莊嚴。

1) 中書又奏天下廢寺銅像鐘磬委鹽鐵使鑄錢、其鐵像委本州鑄爲農器、金銀鍮石等像銷付度支。衣冠士庶之家所有金銀銅鐵之像勅出後限一月納官、如違委鹽鐵使依禁銅法處分、其土木石等像合留寺內依舊。

2) 大秦 and 穆護. Ta-ts^cin is generally admitted to stand for Nestorianism, the existence of which sect in China is known especially from the celebrated inscription

“when Buddhism was exterminated, those heretical religions
 “might thereupon not be left in existence; their adherents
 “must be compelled to return in a body to the secular life, and
 “settle down again in their original family circle, there to be
 “enlisted as groundrent-paying people; and the foreigners amongst
 “them must be sent back to their native country, and there be
 “taken under control by the authorities¹).

“Hence, in the eighth month the emperor decreed as follows:

“We have heard that before the end of the reign of the three
 “dynasties (of Hia, Shang, and Cheu), there was no question
 “about any Buddha. That after the Han and the Wei dynasty
 “this image-worshipping religion gradually developed, was a
 “consequence of the propagandism made for its foreign customs
 “in the beginning; its contaminating practices thus ramified
 “in all directions, grew and increased; and the end has been
 “that it corrodes the good manners and customs of the empire,
 “thus gradually rendering these unenlightened; and that, by its
 “beguiling and misleading the inclinations of men, it leads the
 “latter astray in masses. So it has come about that in
 “the country of the nine provinces, as well as within the walls
 “and gates of the two imperial capitals, the Buddhist clergy
 “and their followers increase by the day, and the Buddhist
 “convents daily grow in size and splendour. Human labour is
 “overburdened on behalf of these buildings of loam and wood;
 “the people are being robbed of the fruits of their labour to get
 “(the images and buildings) decorated with gold and precious
 “things; rulers and fathers are neglected (by their ministers and
 “their sons) on behalf of religious instructors and the moneys to
 “be paid to them; wives are abandoned by husbands who want
 “to live in a sphere of religious commandments; — never did
 “any religion root up the national institutions and work mischief
 “to humanity on a larger scale. But there is more: when
 “one farmer neglects agriculture, others thereby suffer hunger;
 “when one woman keeps no silkworms, others have to endure
 “cold for that. And now the number of monks and nuns in

of Si-ngan-fu; see in particular “La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fu”, by Father Havret S. J., 1895. The Muh-hu, further on in the edict called Muh-hu-pat 穆護祓, are presumably the Magians or Magupat: see Chavannes, “Le Nestorianisme”, II.

1) 又奏僧尼不合隸祠部、請隸鴻臚寺、其大秦穆護等祠、釋教既已釐革、邪法不可獨存、其人並勒還俗、遞歸本貫充稅戶、如外國人送還本處收管。

“the world cannot even be estimated, and they all live on the
 “agriculturist, and dress at the expense of the silk-producers.
 “And in the monastic buildings and the *chao-t'í* 1) no one seems
 “to care for restriction of excess, for they all have roofs reaching
 “up into the clouds, and are beautifully adorned, so that they
 “even compete with palatial mansions. That under the dynasties
 “of Tsin, Sung, Ts'í, and Liang the energy of the living was
 “so languid and enervated, and manners and customs were so
 “vile and so wrong — it was altogether a consequence of that
 “state of things 2).

“But there is more still. My High Ancestor (Kao Tsu) and
 “(his successor) T'ai Tsung, by martial prowess suppressed cala-
 “mitous rebellions, and by means of civil administration governed
 “the Flowery Land of Hia. With these two levers they could
 “adequately rule the country; how then can I possibly be
 “entitled to disturb the balance of government by employing the
 “religion of that insignificant land of the west! In the Ching
 “*kwan* period (627—649) as well as in the *Khai yuen* epoch
 “(713—741), it was abolished, but not cut away effectively, and
 “like a stream, it once more flooded the land. Studiously have I
 “read what others have said about it before; unofficially have I
 “taken advice in the palace; and there remains no doubt that
 “this evil ought to be cut off. And earnest ministers within and

1) 招提. This word, according to the *Fan-yih ming i 翻譯名義* or “Interpretation of the Meaning of Terms”, the Sanskrit-Chinese standard dictionary of the twelfth century (chap. 20, fo. 4), is an abbreviation of *chao-tu t'í chia 招闍提奢*, i. e. the *Sangha* of the four cardinal points (四方僧物), which term no doubt represents the Sanskrit *Chatur-diça* or four points of the compass, showing the catholic spirit of Buddhism.

2) 八月制、朕聞三代已前未嘗言佛。漢魏之後像教寢興、是由季時傳此異俗、因緣染習蔓衍滋多、以至於蠹耗國風而漸不覺、誘惑人意而衆益迷。洎於九州山原兩京城闕僧徒日廣、佛寺日崇。勞人力於土木之功、奪人利於金寶之飾、遺君親於師資之際、違配偶於戒律之間、壞法害人無逾此道。且一夫不田、有受其飢者、一婦不蠶、有受其寒者。今天下僧尼不可勝數、皆恃農而食、恃蠶而衣。寺宇招提莫知紀極、皆雲構藻飾佔擬宮居。晉宋齊梁物力凋瘵、風俗澆詐、莫不由是而致也。

“without the palace confirm this my serious conviction. They
 “demonstrate in long memorials, that ultimate propriety here
 “consists in carrying out the measure resolutely; also that the
 “institutions of hundreds of sovereigns ought to be perfected by
 “suppressing an evil which (otherwise) will gnaw at the sources
 “(of good) for thousands of ages. Why then shall I show indul-
 “gence where mankind is to be saved and the multitudes are to
 “be benefited? 1)

“Of the 4600 and more convents that are to be pulled down
 “within the empire, the 260,500 monks and nuns who must
 “adopt secular life, shall be enlisted amongst the families who
 “pay groundtax twice a year. Of the 40,000 and more chao-t'i
 “and lan-jok that are to be demolished, the fattest land of
 “the best kind, measuring several thousand myriads of khing,
 “shall be confiscated, and the slaves of both sexes (employed in
 “cultivating them?) to a number of 150,000, shall be enlisted
 “among the families that pay groundtax twice a year. And
 “secular life shall be adopted by more than 3000 Ta-ts'in and
 “Muh-hu-pat belonging to the class of the Buddhist monks and
 “nuns, or to the Bureau for the Reception and Entertainment
 “of Foreigners, who devote themselves to the explanation of
 “foreign religious rescripts; with the customs of the Flowery
 “Land of the Centre they shall no longer meddle. Alas, the
 “institutions of antiquity have never yet been made to operate;
 “so, if (religions) which were granted reprieve (of extermination)
 “are now at last done away with, how then can it be said
 “that this is an untimely act? Drive out those idlers and
 “sluggards without professions or trades, of whom there are now
 “already more than a hundred thousand; demolish those red-
 “painted useless buildings — why should there be an innu-
 “merable number of thousands of these? And from this time,
 “the pure and undefiled (Confucian doctrine) will teach mankind
 “to strive after conformity to the laws and principles of inact-
 “ivity (wu-wei), and undisturbed quiet and ease will help the

1) 况我高祖太宗以武定禍亂、以文理華夏。執此二柄足以經邦、豈可以區區西方之教與我抗衡哉。貞觀開元亦嘗釐革、剷除不盡、流衍轉滋。朕博覽前言、旁求輿議、弊之可革斷在不疑。而中外誠臣協予至意。條疏至當宜在必行、懲千古之蠱源、成百王之典法。濟人利衆予何讓焉。

“government in its task to perfect the one and only system “of (archaic Confucian) manners and customs. Shall the black-haired people in the six parts of the universe¹⁾ be made to “seek refuge together in the reformation for good brought about “by their emperor, then it is of high consequence to mind the “starting-point, namely the extermination of evil. By issuing clear “rescripts every day for the benefit of the unenlightened people, “Our intents and will ought to be realized”²⁾).

With this imperial decree, Confucianism celebrated its triumph and held its jubilee, while Buddha's church received a blow from which it was never to recover. The extermination designed for it was, however, only partly effected. The demolition of monasteries and temples could, indeed, hardly banish the religion itself from the hearts of the people; on the contrary, the return of a host of zealots for the salvation of themselves and others into secular life, meant no less than the transplanting of the doctrines and practices of their church into the very midst of society. A revival of religiosity and piety, little to the mind of the

1) The four cardinal points, with the zenith and the nadir.

2) 其天下所拆寺四千六百餘所還俗僧尼二十六萬五百人收充兩稅戶。拆招提蘭若四萬餘所收膏腴土田數千萬頃、收奴婢爲兩稅戶十五萬人。隸僧尼屬主客顯明外國之教勒大秦穆護祓三千餘人還俗、不雜中華之風。於戲、前古未行、似將有待及今盡去、豈謂無時。驅游惰不業之徒已踰十萬、廢丹艘無用之室、何啻億千。自此清淨訓人慕無爲之理、簡易齊政成一俗之功。將使六合黔黎同歸皇化、尙以革弊之始。日用不知下制明廷宜體予意。

A translation of this remarkable decree was given in Du Halde's »Description de l'Empire de la Chine”, II, p. 496, and reprinted therefrom in Havret's »La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou”, p. 250. The latter author adds, that it was made by Father Hervieu, as were also several other translations from the Chinese, inserted in Du Halde's work, and that this missionary followed a text inserted in the great imperial anthology of the literature of all ages, entitled: *Ku wen yen kien ching tsih* 古文淵鑒正集 (ch. 29, folio 48), which appeared in the latter half of the 17th century. So it evidently was unknown to Havret that this text is to the very letter that of the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty. Unless Hervieu used one quite different from this, we are bound to say that his translation is no better than bungle. Probably he did not actually translate, but merely wrote down a kind of paraphrase gabbled to him by some Chinese or other.

government, was the necessary result; a revival, expressing itself in the founding of religious associations and communities under the guidance of a priesthood living in the world, and which thenceforth was to rejoice in an increasing numerical strength. But the outward glory of the church was gone for ever; the number of its monasteries and ascetics remained from that time on a minimum level. Wu Tsung suffered some convents to remain in existence; and his decree could not prevent a large number of the mandarinates, and even of the imperial family, from retaining strong sympathies with this religion. So history continues its old course: — emperors come to the throne, who let the church go its own way, and even order or support the erection of monasteries and temples; they sometimes ordain repasts to be given, at government expense, to the clergy in the capital or in other parts of the realm, or ceremonial vestments to be distributed among them: works which always passed for most meritorious among the devotees of the church. They attend the solemn worship of holy relics, and have pagodas built for these. They frequently invite the clergy to court to give sutra-readings, and to perform rites for the furtherance of the rainfall, and for the salvation of the imperial ancestors. They even enact penalties against sacrilege, against the insulting of the Triratna and other Buddhistic saints. The series of well-meaning emperors is headed by Wu Tsung's father's brother, Suen Tsung 宣宗, whom he appointed his successor. Scarcely two months after his accession, he acceded to the proposal of the Commissioners for Meritorious Works in the two streets of the capital, that the four monasteries left standing there (see p. 62) should be increased by eight, and that their old names should be restored to them. He also ordered the execution of Liu Hüen-tsing (p. 61) with eleven others, "on consideration of the fact that their talk had prevailed upon Wu Tsung to exterminate "Buddhism" '). And about one year after, in the intercalary month, being the fourth of the year 847, he issued the following decree:

"In the last year of the Hwui ch'ang period, the monastic buildings everywhere were reduced to a minimum; but though it must be called a religion of foreign regions, it is no religion harmful to the fundamental principles of the administration of government. The people of the Middle Kingdom have long walked in its paths which lead to salvation; hence

1) 以其說惑武宗排(擺?)毀釋氏故也. Old Books, chap. 48 II, folio 3.

“abolition of even a particle of it is a sin against all that is proper; and that abolition has not tended to increase the animated mountains and the regions of superior excellence. In the prefectures throughout the empire, if the monks who used to dwell therein can rebuild them, the convents which have been pulled down in the fourth month of the fifth year of the Hwui ch'ang period, may altogether be rebuilt by their abbots, and the authorities shall not forbid or prevent this”¹⁾.

We read nothing, however, of a restitution of the sequestered goods and lands. The latter, in truth, had evidently passed into other hands, for we read the following passages in the Historical Books: “When Wu Tsung had ascended the throne and abolished Buddhism, 4600 monasteries and 40,000 ch'ao-t'ei and lan-jok were pulled down in the empire; 265,000 monks and nuns were registered as ordinary people, together with 150,000 of their male and female slaves, and several thousand myriads of khing of their grounds, as also more than two thousand Ta-ts'in, Muh-hu and T'ien²⁾). In the Imperial residence as well as in the eastern capital, in each street two monasteries were left with thirty monks in each; and in the provinces, the monks left (in the convents) were of three different quantities, nowhere exceeding twenty. The fattest grounds were sold, and the proceeds delivered to the Board of Revenue; and the grounds of medium and inferior qualities were given to the grown-up house-slaves of the convents, who thus became people paying groundtax twice a year; each one of them received ten meu of ground. And of the convents from which the male and female clergy had disappeared, in the two capitals, ten khing of the grounds were added to the fields cultivated for charitable purposes, or were given to the quarters for nursing the sick (lepers' wards?), while in each department seven khing were assigned to such institutions; and these grounds were to be administered by the elders”³⁾.

1) 會昌季年併省寺宇、雖云異方之教、無損致理之源。中國之人久行其道、釐革過當事體、未弘其靈山勝境。天下州府應會昌五年四月所廢寺宇、有宿舊名僧復能修創、一任住持、所司不得禁止。Old Books, chap. 48 II, folio 6.

2) For this term also we refer our readers to the articles of Chavannes and Devéria mentioned on p. 60. According to the last-named author, it is the Moni religion.

3) 武宗即位廢浮屠法、天下毀寺四千六百、招

But although the tide had turned, and the wind veered slightly in favour of Buddhism, the State still gave powerful Confucianism its full due, that is to say, the laws and rescripts shackling the church were maintained, and even intensified. Once again then the question arises in our mind why the emperors did not take radical measures, and did not destroy the church at one blow. Its influence upon the mind, even in the families of thorough-bred Confucians, only partially accounts for this hesitation; still other reasons have to be looked for. The emperor Süen Tsung gave us the solution of the problem by declaring in his edict of 847, translated above, that the pulling down of the monasteries "had not tended to increase the number of animated mountains and the regions of superior excellence". The Fung-shui, that widely known philosophical system, both Taoistic and Confucian, which teaches that the happiness of every region or town, village or house depends upon the configurations of the surrounding hills, land, and watercourses, and that these formations can be improved by human hands, more especially by buildings in which dwell mighty gods and saints — that system, which originated in the old ideal times of orthodoxy, had grown up and developed side by side with Buddhism, and had gained a paramount influence under the T'ang dynasty, being then a pre-eminent power in social life. Against this power the passion for demolition came to a dead stop. In the first instance, it probably saved from destruction a number of convents with the appertaining pagodas, built by the people at the cost of much money and labour for the consolidation and the advancement of prosperity in their districts. And re-erection of such buildings, although in more modest dimensions, could, under the pressure of this power, hardly be prevented. It is, indeed, obvious that since the T'ang dynasty, the position of monastic buildings in the mountains as maintainers of the Fung-shui influen-

提蘭若四萬、籍僧尼爲民二十六萬五千人、奴婢十五萬人、田數千萬頃、大秦穆護祆二千餘人。上都東都每街留寺二、每寺僧三十人、諸道留僧以三等、不過二十人。腴田鬻錢送戶部、中下田給寺家奴婢丁壯者、爲兩稅戶、人十畝。以僧尼旣盡、兩京悲田養病坊給寺田十頃、諸州七頃、主以耆壽。

New Books, chap. 52, folio 11. Of the first part of this extract we also find a translation in Havret's work (p. 252), borrowed from Visdelou, *Supplément à la Bibliothèque Orientale d'Herbelot*, p. 183. This translation also has neither rhyme nor reason.

ces is far more emphasized in writings than ever it was before; confessedly Fung-shui becomes almost the main reason of their existence, the salvation of the inmates a secondary motive. As for a conclusive proof of the influence of the Fung-shui system on the establishment and the preservation of Buddhistic monasteries and pagodas: — it is a well known fact, that even all around the Imperial metropolis, in the plains and on the hills, a great number are found, erected for the insurance or the improvement of the Fung-shui of the palace, and consequently of the imperial family and the whole empire. And who were the founders? none others than the emperors of the anti-buddhistic dynasties of Ming and Ts'ing; and who maintain them? the sovereigns of the last-named house. But — in strict accordance with the ultra-Confucian spirit of the State — the monks who inhabit them are very few in number; their standard is low; there is among them but little walking in the paths of salvation. Their religious activity resolves itself chiefly in a worship of the images of buddhas and bodhisatwas: the protectors of the welfare of the imperial residence and the court, that is to say, in Chinese parlance, under whose protection the Fung-shui of those two is placed').

Defamed by official indictments for heresy; oppressed by the State and its all-dominating Confucian spirit; its monastic institutions merely tolerated on account of the Fung-shui, yea, even supported to some extent by the State for this very reason: such in the main has been the condition of Buddhism since the reign of the T'ang dynasty. This two-faced state-policy grants Buddhism an appearance of liberty which the outside world generally regards as real, but which now, we trust, will be estimated according to its worth.

The earliest general survey of the restrictions under which Buddhism has ever since had to labour, is supplied by an edict with which Shi Tsung 世宗 of the later Cheu (後周) dynasty, which only existed from 951 to 960 and had its residence in Pien 汴, the present Khai-fung in the province of Honan, regulated monachism:

"In the second year of the Hien teh period (A. D. 955)", thus say the Old Historical Books of the Five Dynasties²⁾, "the Emperor issued an edict which ran as follows: — The excellent religions of Buddha, of those absorbed in the Tao (Taoism), "and of the holy Sages (Confucianism) assist my dynasty in

1) For a demonstration of the Fung-shui system and its historical development, we beg to refer our readers to our Religious System of China, Book I, Part 3, chap. 12.

2) 舊五代史, chap. 115, folio 4.

“exhorting mankind to do what is good; and the benefits which for this reason they convey, are very abundant. Former dynasties as well as the present one, have always possessed rules and rescripts with respect to those religions; but of late years the threads of these various regulations have become greatly entangled, and quite recently I learned from some memorials sent to me from the provinces, that black (Indian?) devotees are regularly violating the laws. If no prohibitory measures are taken against this evil, they will commit still more serious transgressions; then Buddhist monks and nuns surreptitiously consecrated will mingle freely with the people in numbers increasing day by day; then the building of convents will gradually create a superabundance of such edifices. Especially in the villages these evils will become a great nuisance. Persons who have slipped through the net of the law, or who have deserted from the army, will intentionally receive the tonsure to escape their deserved corporal punishments; people who behaved as scoundrels or were guilty of robbery, will seek shelter under the wings of abbots, to conceal their wicked deeds. If religious rescripts are to be a success, judicial measures should be taken against such suspected, hidden individuals, and the ordinances of former days should be set at work for the abolition of old evils¹).

“In the provinces, departments, districts, garrisons, and villages, the monasteries possessing an imperial charter shall all be left in their previous conditions, but those which have no charter shall altogether have to expect demolition; and such of their images of Buddhas as are objects of religious worship, shall be removed from there and, together with the monks and nuns, be housed in the monasteries which are left standing. But if anywhere in the empire there should exist in the chief city of a district no chartered abbey, then out of the convents marked for demolition shall be selected those, pos-

1) 顯德二年詔曰、釋氏真宗聖人妙道助世勸善、其利甚優。前代以來累有條貫、近年已降頗紊規繩、近覽諸州奏聞繼有緇徒犯法。蓋無科禁遂至尤違、私度僧尼日增猥雜、創修寺院漸至繁多。鄉村之中其弊轉甚。漏網背軍之輩苟剝削以逃刑、行姦爲盜之徒託住持而隱惡。將隆教法須辨否臧、宜舉舊章用革前弊。

“sessing the greatest number of apartments for the performance
 “of religious rites, and one of these shall be left to the monks
 “of the convents, and one to the nuns; unless no nuns are
 “living there, in which case only one building shall be left in
 “existence for the monks. For garrisoned cities and places in-
 “habited by more than two hundred households, the regulations
 “valid for the district-cities shall be of force; and in the depart-
 “ments far away on the frontiers, where no convents with im-
 “perial charter exist, two of the monasteries to be pulled down
 “shall be left standing for the monks, and an equal number for
 “the nuns. And from this hour, no more monasteries or lan-jok
 “whatsoever shall be erected, nor shall any princes or members
 “of the Imperial family, nor any provincial Governors or any
 “officers below these in rank, be allowed to present any more
 “petitions for the erection of such buildings, nor propose ever
 “again the founding of consecration-altars (i. e. granting monasteries
 “the right of ordination¹).

“And boys and girls who feel a call to leave their families (to
 “embrace religious life), must first obtain the decision of their
 “parents or paternal grandparents, or, if orphans, of their paternal
 “uncles or elder brothers with whom they dwell; and only after
 “their consent has been obtained, are they free to leave their
 “families. Boys over fifteen years of age, who know by heart
 “one hundred leaves of the Sutras, or are able to read five hundred
 “pages; or girls over thirteen years old and able to repeat seventy
 “leaves, or to read three hundred, have to apply to the prefect
 “of the department, to give him notice of their intention and
 “request his permission to have their heads shaved. This officer
 “shall then delegate his secretary or archivist, and his judge,

1) 諸道府州縣鎮村坊應有勅額寺院一切仍舊、其無勅額者並仰停廢、所有功德佛像及僧尼並騰、併于合留寺院內安置。天下諸縣城郭內若無勅額寺院、祇于合停廢寺院內選功德屋宇最多者、或寺院僧尼各留一所、若無尼住祇留僧寺院一所。諸軍鎮坊郭及二百戶已上者亦依諸縣例指揮、如邊遠州郡無勅額寺院處、于停廢寺院內僧尼各留兩所。今後並不得創造寺院蘭若、王公戚里諸道節刺已下今後不得奏請創造寺院及請開置戒壇。

“to examine them in the knowledge of the holy scriptures; and “until they have received the tonsure, they must wear the top-knot. Whosoever is shaved surreptitiously, shall be compelled “to go back into secular life, and his religious teacher shall “be condemned to be beaten severely, and likewise be sent back “into secular life; both moreover shall be sent into exile for three “years, with hard labour ¹).

“In each of the two capitals of the realm, and also in Ta-ming-fu, King-chao-fu and Ts'ing-cheu ²), an altar for consecration “of monks and nuns shall be established. When consecration is “to take place there, delegates from the Board of Sacrifices shall be “appointed in each of the imperial capitals to examine the candidates; but in Ta-ming-fu and the two other places afore-named, “this task shall be entrusted to the Judge and the Archivist. “And if anybody is consecrated surreptitiously (at such an “altar), he and his religious instructor, together with the three “Restrainers, (p. 52) who officiated at the altar, and the monks “or nuns who were privy thereto, shall all be punished according to the same laws as are valid for surreptitious tonsure “(see above). It is moreover required, that concerning all the candidates for the tonsure or the ordination, from each of the “above-named places, notification be made to Ourselves, and no “tonsure or consecration shall take place before and ere, at Our “command, the Board of Worship shall have furnished certificates “as to their identity. It is furthermore required that a man or

1) 男子女子如有志願出家者並取父母祖父母處分、已孤者取同居伯叔兄處分、候聽許方得出家。男年十五已上、念得經文一百紙、或讀得經文五百紙、女年十三已上念得經文七十紙、或讀得經文三百紙者經本府陳狀乞剃頭。委錄事參軍本判官試驗經文、其未剃頭間須留髮鬢。如有私剃頭者却勒還俗、其本師主決重杖、勒還俗、仍配役三年。

2) The imperial residence, called the Eastern (東京 or 東都), was, as we saw (p. 71), Pien or Khai-fung. The Western Capital (西京 or 西都) was Ho-nan-fu. Both are still in existence south of the Hwangho, in the province of Honan. Ta-ming 大名 is now the most southerly projecting corner of Chihli. King-chao 京兆, literally the Capital, namely of the T'ang dynasty, was Fung-siang: see page 53. — Ts'ing-cheu 青州 is now in the centre of the province of Shantung.

“woman of whom the father or mother, or one of the paternal
 “grandparents is still living without possessing any other child
 “or descendant to provide for his or her sustenance, shall not
 “be permitted to leave the family; nor shall permission to leave
 “their families and be tonsured be given to those who, on account
 “of some crime, have incurred the punishment of the authorities,
 “or who have run away from their parents; or to runaway slaves,
 “or to traitors or spies, or to members of riotous societies, or
 “to persons who have escaped into the woods to save their lives,
 “or to uncaptured rebels, or persons in hiding on account of
 “some crime committed. If anywhere in a monastery such an in-
 “dividual should be allowed to receive ordination, he, together
 “with his religious instructor, the three Restrainers, the monks
 “or nuns privy to the matter, as also the monks inhabiting the
 “cells adjoining his, shall be arrested, and it may be proposed to
 “Us to cut them off from the religious order ¹⁾).

“Hitherto, amongst monks and nuns, citizens and soldiers, many
 “threw away their bodies or burned their arms, or roasted their
 “fingers, or drove nails into their hands or feet, or cut these
 “limbs, going about with jingling bells on their girdles, or with
 “candles hanging on their bodies, or in any other way mutilating
 “themselves. They sport and play with their religious implements,
 “practise heresies by means of charms and exorcisms; they pretend
 “to change the visible into the invisible; they make departed souls
 “to return, sit down to transform themselves, and perform witchcraft
 “with holy water and holy candles. All such things, calculated
 “to make the public flock together, and to confuse and mislead
 “the vacillating multitude, are henceforth entirely prohibited;

1) 兩京大名府京兆府青州各處置戒壇。候受戒時兩京委祠部差官引試、其大名府等三處祇委本判官錄事參軍引試。如有私受戒者、其本人師主臨壇三綱知事僧尼並同私剃頭例科罪。應合剃頭受戒人等逐處聞奏、候勅下委祠部給付憑由方得剃頭受戒。應男女有父母祖父母在、別無兒息侍養、不聽出家、會有罪犯遭官司刑責之人、及棄背父母、逃亡奴婢、姦人細作、惡逆徒黨、山林亡命、未獲賊徒、負罪潛竄人等並不得出家剃頭。如有寺院輒容受者、其本人及師主三綱知事僧尼鄰房同住僧並仰收捉禁、勘申奏取裁。

“and if any persons of this description do exist, they shall everywhere with great severity be condemned to exile in the distant frontier-regions, and be compelled to return to secular life. And upon the most guilty among them, the laws shall be applied in their severest forms”).

“Every year, a duplicate register shall be made up of the Buddhist clergy; one copy shall be presented to Ourselves, and one to the Board of Sacrifices. Annually after the 15th of the fourth month, each district-prefect shall send a census of the monks and nuns living in the monasteries under his jurisdiction, to the prefect of the department; this officer shall compile the various lists, and towards the end of the fifth month or earlier, he shall send in the total to the capital. All monks and nuns whose names do not occur on these registers, shall be compelled to become lay people. They who are itinerant pedestrians performing ritual, or who habitually travel from their home and back, shall have to be registered in the manner which is found most convenient”²⁾).

Herewith the decree closes. “In that same year”, thus says the historian, “the various provinces sent in the prescribed registers. The number of monasteries left standing was 2694; 3336 had been demolished; the registered monks and nuns were 61,200 in number”³⁾. These figures do not say much, as no mention is made of the extent of the territory over which this census

1) 僧尼俗士自前多有捨身燒臂鍊指釘截手足帶鈴掛燈諸般毀壞身體。戲弄道具、符禁左道、妄稱變現、還魂坐化聖水聖燈妖幻之類。皆是聚眾眩惑流俗今後一切止絕、如有此色人、仰所在嚴斷遞配邊遠、仍勒歸俗。其所犯罪重者準格律處分。

2) 每年造僧帳兩本、其一本奏聞、一本申祠部。逐年四月十五日後勒諸縣取索管界寺院僧尼數目申州、州司攢帳、至五月終已前文帳到京。僧尼籍帳內無名者並勒還俗。其巡禮行脚出入往來一切取便。

3) 是歲諸道供到帳籍。所存寺院凡二千六百九十四所、廢寺院凡三千三百三十六、僧尼係籍者六萬一千二百人。Ibid., folio 6.

was taken; but the proportion of the demolished monasteries to those left standing is striking.

Ngeu-yang Yiu 歐陽攸, who lived from 1017 to 1072, the renowned compiler of the New History of the Five Dynasties (新五代史), relates in the appendix of the twelfth chapter the following: "In the year following that in which the emperor mounted the throne, 3336 Buddhistic monasteries were demolished in the empire. At that time, the central government was short of coined money; hence the Emperor decreed that the bronze Buddha-images throughout the empire should be broken to pieces, in order to cast the metal into money. I have heard, thus he spoke, that Buddha said he considered the corporeal existence as idle, and that the thing most necessary consists in doing good unto others. If he did still exist with his real body, he would cherish the desire to cut it into pieces on behalf of the world; so there is still less reason for preserving those brass images. From that moment, none of his ministers had the courage to argue against him"¹).

It was certainly least of all to be expected of the Sung dynasty, whose reign was the golden age of Confucian philosophy, which was then brought by Chu Hi and his school to the highest degree of development it has ever reached — that it should loosen the strait waistcoat, put on Buddha's church centuries before with the object of allowing it only just room enough to breathe. On the contrary, from time to time it was drawn in a little tighter. The institution of the certificate of ordination was maintained with care, and the number of monks and nuns was thus kept at a low level; we even read, that occasionally the delivery of those documents by the government was arbitrarily discontinued, and that the proposals of grandees and magnates to grant them anew, were met with a flat refusal, or ignored with sovereign haughtiness. They were withheld for an exceptionally long time in the Shao hing period (1131—1162); but in 1161 "they once more were sold to the Buddhist and Taoist clergy"²).

1) 卽位之明年廢天下佛寺三千三百三十六。是時中國乏錢、乃詔悉毀天下銅佛像以鑄錢。嘗曰、吾聞佛說以身世爲妄、而以利人爲急。使其真身尙在、苟利於世猶欲割截、況此銅像豈有所惜哉。由是羣臣皆不敢言。

2) 復鬻僧道度牒。The official Standard History of the Sung Dynasty, 宋史, chap. 32, folio 1.

Conversely, many emperors manifested their good-will towards the church by acts and measures such as we mentioned on page 68. Occasionally we read of their forbidding the destruction of bronze images and the insulting of the clergy — a sure proof that the mandarinates were not always averse to transgression in such matters. The most brilliant proof of imperial attachment to both religions was given by Chen Tsung 眞宗, a sovereign endowed more than any of his house with religiosity, superstition, and bigotry. "In the third year of the T'ien hi "period (1019)", thus records the historian, "in the eighth month, "he granted the whole empire a complete amnesty, and ordered "a general ordination of pupils of Taoists and Buddhists" ¹). The *Fuh-tsu t'ung ki* adds, that in that memorable year no less than 230,127 persons were consecrated as Buddhist monks, and 15,643 as nuns, and respectively 7081 and 89 as Taoist monks and nuns; further, that by imperial order solemn religious ceremonies were performed on an elaborate scale in honour of Heaven and Earth, and a meeting of 13,086 clerics of both religions took place, amongst whom the emperor in his own person distributed gifts. These figures appear to us so high, that we suspect either exaggeration or misprints to have crept into the historian's account; but apart from this, they show sufficiently that the concourse of seekers after salvation swelled considerably, directly the door of conventual life was opened by the government. The comparatively small number of Taoist novices admitted into the clergy in that year, points to the fact that Taoistic monachism was greatly on the wane, or practically had been almost merged into Buddhism.

Chen Tsung's successor, Jen Tsung 仁宗, was of quite a different disposition, and in 1033 "put a stop to all erection and renewal of Buddhist and Taoist monasteries" ²). Vandalic crusades on the Wu Tsung system, history mentions no more; which is quite consistent with the fact that the number of monasteries had dwindled down so considerably, that such performances had become well nigh superfluous. The Fung-shui probably saved the wretched remainder. But history does give us passages here and there which, in point of the two religions, show the spirit generally dominating the imperial government

1) 天禧三年八月大赦天下、普度道釋童行. The same work, chap. 8, folio 19.

2) 罷創修寺觀. The same work, chap. 10, folio 3.

in the Sung epoch. Thus, for instance: "Hwui Tsung in the "tenth month of the fifth year of the Ch'ung ning period "(1106) issued the following edict: The possessors of all that "exists under the heavens (the emperors), in worshipping and "serving the Supreme Emperor (Shang-ti, the deified Heaven) "have ventured to be without earnest devotion and zeal; and "consequently the Buddhist religion has given this Celestial Em- "peror a place amongst its deities and spirits. This profanation "is extravagant; none other can be worse. Therefore, offi- "cers, do your best to exterminate that religion! Moreover he "decreed: From of old it is a common usage to place in the habit- "ations of the Buddhist clergy images of the three Religions; "which fact is then expressed on the signboard affixed over the "lintel of the monastery, or in the name of the temple. Shakya "is then placed in the middle, Lao-kiün (Laotszë) on his left, and "Confucius on his right. But this is not the right manner to worship "the heavenly worthies, and to conform to the spirit of Confucianism. "So those images must be taken away, and brought back respectively "to the Taoist monasteries and the college-buildings, to put "them in their proper places, in accordance with the names they "bear" ¹⁾). The syncretism of Buddhism with regard to the two other religions could therefore evidently not have the approval of that emperor; as lord of all gods, spirits and buddhas, (page 18) he could not brook that Laotszë and Confucius should be placed below the Buddha in rank. He proclaimed the extermination of the church, but nothing seems to have come of it; at least we do not read of any measures in this sense, and the Fundamental Annals (Pen ki) of the official Histories of the Sung Dynasty do not even make mention of this edict. But we do find there the following remarkable communications: "In the first month of the fourth year of the Ta kwan period "(1110) he decreed, that if any of the official class should show "respect to a Buddhist cleric, he would be condemned to punish- "ment for gross irreverence. In the second month he forbade

1) 崇寧五年十月徽宗詔曰、有天下者尊事上帝、敢有弗虔、而釋氏之教乃以天帝置於鬼神之列。瀆神逾分、莫此之甚。有司其除削之。又勅、舊來僧居多設三教像、遂爲院額殿名。釋迦居中、老君居左、孔聖居右。非所以奉天真與儒教之意。可迎其像歸道觀學舍、以正其名。 *Fuh-tsu Chung ki.*

“the ceremony of scorching the head or cauterizing the arm, the “drawing of blood, and the cutting off of a finger”¹); and in the “fifth month he suspended the delivery of certificates to the “Buddhists for three years”²). In sundry other ways also did this Taoistically-minded Son of Heaven thwart and vex the Buddhist church, which all show that religions, instead of enjoying freedom in China, were in reality the sport of fortune, at the mercy of the absolute autocrat, who sways the rod as the sole owner of the realm and all that exists in it. Thus for instance, he decreed in 1119, that in the performance of religious rites, the clergy might no more wear clerical vestments, but were to dress in secular ceremonial garb; that they should no longer bear special religious names, and should even drop the title of monk or nun; but in the next year he recalled this latter order. It is also of great significance that we see the emperors interfere with the religious doings of the lay people. “In the third year of the Khai pao period (970) it was ordained by imperial decree, that in the department of Khai-fung, (in which the imperial capital was situated), families “who had to perform funerals and burials were prohibited from “celebrating on such occasions Taoist or Buddhist solemn rites”³).

The anathema, pronounced by the Sung dynasty over Buddhist salvation of the dead, remains to this day. For Chu Hi, the great Confucian prophet of the twelfth century, drew up from the purest possible classical matter a little book, entitled *Kia li* 家禮 or Rules of Conduct in the Domestic Circle, which to this day, with the official sanction of the State, is the standard guide for rites and family-customs among the people; and this influential bible imperatively forbids the performance of Buddhistic rites (不作佛事) at the burial of the dead. Thus the State assailed Buddhism also in the very heart of its influence upon the people, to whom the worship of the dead has always been the highest religion, and the art of bringing them to a state of bliss the highest art. But these attacks have missed their mark,

1) Practices performed at the consecration or ordination; comp. pages 54, 57 and 75; and Le Code du Mahayāna en Chine, p. 217.

2) 大觀四年正月詔士庶拜僧者論以大不恭。二月禁然頂煉臂刺血斷指、五月停僧牒三年。Chap. 20, folio 10 and 11.

3) 開寶三年詔開封府禁喪葬之家不得用道釋威儀。The same work, chap. 125, folio 1.

for to this day, any one who can afford the expense, faithfully improves the fate of his departed ancestry according to Buddhistic methods, with the help of Buddhist priests or monks.

Yet once again Buddhism was allowed to pass through a period of relief under imperial favoritism; but it was only of short duration. It was the time when the empire bore the yoke of the Yuen dynasty, the Mongol house of Kublai. The official annals and other histories of this epoch give us an amount of historical information about the church, which, for elaborateness and minute detail, strikingly contrasts with what one gets to read about it under dynasties of much longer duration. The removal of the bands and shackles in which it had lain under the T'ang and the Sung dynasties, immediately entailed an increase of monasteries, and the church seemed once more to move towards a Saturnian age, owing partly to the renovating influence of a foreign priesthood which this time made their way to China principally from Tibet. But after an existence of scarcely ninety years, the dynasty was dethroned, and the old regimen soon made its entrance again.

It is highly probable that the founder of the next imperial house of Ming, T'ai Tsu 太祖, at first favoured Buddhism, for in his youth he himself had been a Buddhist monk. We read, that in 1371 and the next year Buddhistic rites, at which he attended in person, were performed by his order near his residence Nanking, in the same Chung mountains (鍾山) at the foot of which his gorgeous mausoleum was afterwards to stand. But in that same year 1372 he began to revive the restrictive laws on the clergy and the convents. The monks, priests, and nuns were to be registered, and the several "Registrars of the Buddhist and the Taoist Clergy" (僧錄司 and 道錄司) were to send the registers to all the monasteries in the empire, in order that everywhere the identity of any friar who presented himself, might be properly ascertained. In the year following he decreed, that in every department or district only one large Buddhist and one Taoist monastery should remain in existence, and that all the monks and nuns should be consigned to these; that no one should be consecrated unless he had given proof of being well versed in the Sutras; finally, that no female under the age of forty should become a nun. In 1387 he prescribed, that no male who had passed his twentieth year should be allowed to embrace religious life. And four years later he renewed the order that no monk should be allowed to live outside the monastery of the department or the district, on penalty of banish-

ment. He further decreed, that in the Buddhist sacred books translated from foreign languages, no additions or retrenchments should be made, and that the Taoist clergy, when bringing their sacrifices, should no longer be allowed to send up to heaven "green writings" (青詞), i. e. prayers or petitions in red characters on green paper; and that every one of them should observe the regulations and directions enacted for the exercise of their religion. "And people following the Yoga religion, calling themselves "friends of virtue; or people spuriously using the reputation of "Chang, the man merged with the Tao, surreptitiously to prepare "charms, should all undergo the severe punishment (of death?)"¹). Lastly, that all Buddhist and Taoist monasteries not in the possession of imperial charters sanctioning their erection or existence, should be pulled down by the clergy.

So this crowned persecutor also turned his wrath against his subjects if they should presume to profess Yogism, the form which Buddhism had principally assumed in China; or if they ventured to practise the demon-expelling arts of the Taoist exorcist-in-chief in Kiangsi, the heir and successor of the celebrated prophet of exorcism of the first century of our era, Chang Tao-ling 張道陵. But T'ai Tsu had not yet come to the end of his measures. In 1394 he ordained, that Buddhist or Taoist monks who kept a wife or concubine, might be expelled from their convent, and that such married clergy should not be permitted to bring up other people's children for the religious profession; if they presumed to do so, they would be punished, as well as the parents of such pupils. No one was allowed to embrace the clerical profession unless his parents had sent in a petition to that effect to the authorities, and after these had received the sanction of the emperor. It was also decreed in that same year, that Buddhist monks desiring a diploma from the government, should first undergo an examination in the holy scripts in the imperial metropolis; and they who failed to pass successfully should be flogged and return to secular life. In the following year, exemption from this perilous examination was granted to those over sixty years of age. And lastly, in that same year 1394, the members of the White Lotus society and the Ling pao 靈寶 religion, as also the hwo kü 火居 or such Taoist priests as ventured to live among the laity, were

1) 民有效瑜珈教稱爲善友、假張真人名私造符籙者皆治以重罪. *Tu Ming hwei tien*, chap. 95, folio 4.

threatened with the severest punishment (重罪), viz. death, together with the Taoist and Buddhist clergy who should presume to neglect conformity to the established ancestral customs.

Was this emperor, who himself once wore the Buddhist clerical garb, cured of his religion by the great argument, emphasized and trumpeted abroad under the T^{ang} dynasty by Confucian extremism, that Buddhistic-minded dynasties never had a long existence? Lo, that of T^{ang} and that of Sung had retrenched and persecuted the exotic religion, and — to each of them three centuries of life had been allotted; but the Mongol Yuen dynasty, which followed another line of conduct, had perished after an existence of scarcely ninety years, during which time no less than nine emperors had followed each other on the throne in rapid succession. Such facts might well tend to convince the crowned Buddhist, and make him a renegade. And as if Fate deliberately conspired with Confucianism, the anti-buddhistic offspring of the apostate held the throne for nearly three centuries; and so did the still reigning house of Ts^{ing} which succeeded it and, as regards religious policy, faithfully followed in its footsteps. But we must not anticipate, having still to finish our survey of the measures taken by the Ming dynasty against the two religions.

Thus far we have drawn up our survey from material furnished by the persecutor himself in his great book of State-institutions: the *Ta Ming huwei tien* 大明會典 or Collective Institutes of the great Ming Dynasty, as finished in 1502 and, pursuant to an imperial decree of 1509, enriched two years later by the latest resolutions. Of this voluminous work, now very rare, we will once more take in hand the 95th chapter, in which are compiled the rescripts regarding the two religions; but since this chapter takes us only as far as the year 1500, we shall draw evidence of later date from a few other works of authority.

The fact that Ch^{ing} Tsu 成祖, the third emperor, the son of the founder of the dynasty, was far from favorably disposed towards Buddhism and Taoism, is sufficiently proved by his resolution, passed in 1403 or the first year of his reign, that ordination-certificates would be issued by the government only once in three years. In 1408 he decreed, that if any person surreptitiously took the tonsure to become a monk, he was to be conveyed with his father and elder brothers to the imperial residence, which at that time he was establishing at Peking; from there they were to be sent to the Wu-t^{ai} mountains in north Shansi, to hard labour; and after the expiration of their term they were to settle at Peking as husbandmen: a fate to which

also the abbots were to be doomed who should have admitted persons thus tonsured into their monasteries. One year previous to this, he had manifested his malice against the Buddhists in a terrible manner. "In the fifth year of the Yung loh period", thus says a chronicler, "in the first month, eighteen hundred "young men of the people, who had received the tonsure for "the Buddhist religious profession, came from the departments "of the provinces of Chihli and Chehkiang to the capital, to ask "for ordination-certificates. The Board of Rites acquainted the "emperor with this event; he flew into a passion and exclaimed: "The regulations of my Imperial Father prescribe that nobody "of the people shall embrace religious life before his fortieth "year; such a breach of the prohibitions as this proves that "those men do not know that there exists a dynasty. And he "ordered that they should all be committed to the Board of War, "to be registered as soldiers, and to be sent to the garrisons "in Liao-tung and Kansuh" ¹).

In 1417 this tyrant forbade all monks and nuns to found hermitages without the consent of the authorities; and in the following year he hampered ordination by rescripts to the following effect: At every triennial consecration no more than forty Buddhist and Taoist novices should be admitted for each department or fu, thirty for every cheu, twenty for each district or hien. No persons under fourteen or over twenty years were permitted to settle in the monasteries as neophytes, or to have religious instructors; nor were such things allowed to anybody without the special consent of both his parents, or without notification to the authorities, or without the guarantee of neighbours or fellow-villagers. In the fifth year after their admission, they would have to appear before their Registrars, and subject themselves to an examination in the holy writings; and not until they had passed would they be allowed to adopt a clerical name, and the official certificate be given to them; while those who were plucked would be sent back into secular life. Brother-

1) 永樂五年正月直隸及浙江諸郡軍民子弟披剃爲僧赴京請度牒者千八百人。禮部以聞、上怒曰、皇考之制民年四十以上始聽出家、今犯禁若此是不知有朝廷矣。命悉付兵部編軍籍、發戍秦東甘肅。 *Ming tung ki* 明通紀 or General History of the Ming Dynasty, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, the well known giant compendium of literature brought out in 1725; section 神異, chap. 64.

less sons or grandsons of living parents or grandparents would never be permitted to embrace the clerical profession. Graver obstacles indeed could hardly be put in the way of the pious who aspired at devoting their lives to their own salvation and that of others; and yet, behold some other precious extracts characterizing the religious liberty under the Ming dynasty: —

“In the first month of the second year of the T'ien shun period (1458) it was decreed by the emperor (Ying Tsung 英宗) that in future for the disciples of the Buddhist clergy once in ten years ordination should take place. In the King tai period (1450—57), the chief eunuch Hing Ngan was a worshipper of Buddha and a believer in his doctrines, and (by his influence) the triennial consecration had been administered to several myriads, in consequence of which the disciples of the clergy had become excessively numerous. Now in the second year of the T'ien shun period the time of consecration came, and the disciples from the whole empire again flocked to the capital by several myriads; for which reason the emperor called Li Hien, and asked whether it was allowable that the disciples of the clergy should thus flood the land. ‘Your Majesty’, was the reply, ‘sees these things with Your clear perception with the greatest correctness; the matter should be set bounds to’. Thereupon a proclamation was issued, to the effect that henceforth only one consecration should take place in ten years; that all those who without government sanction had taken the tonsure when over twenty years old, should be sent back among the laity, and that those who did not conform to this order should be sent into everlasting banishment to the garrisons on the frontiers. Thenceforth ordination should be administered exclusively to the fixed number properly examined (see p. 84). The effect was, that those disciples of the clergy dispersed and departed”¹).

1) 天順二年正月勅、今後僧徒每十年一度。景泰間太監興安崇信佛教、每三年度僧數萬、於是僧徒多濫。天順二年又如期、天下僧徒復來京師聚集數萬、上召李賢曰、僧徒豈可如此泛濫。賢對曰、陛下明見最是、宜禁之。遂出榜曉諭、今後每十年一度、擅自披剃二十以上者俱令還俗、違者發邊衛充軍。度者俱照定額考送。於是僧徒散去。Ming ta ching ki 明大政紀, History of the great Government Measures of the Ming Dynasty, quoted in the Ku kin fu shu tsih ch'ing, sect. 神異, chap. 64.

Hing Ngan, the eunuch of whom this extract makes mention, was, as we learn from the Official History of the Ming dynasty (chap. 304, fol. 6), a great favorite of Ying Tsung, who in 1436 ascended the throne; and subsequently he was also in high favour with Tai Tsung 代宗, during some years which the former emperor spent in captivity among the Mongols. After his liberation, Ying Tsung re-assumed the reins of government, and dismissed several eunuchs of his predecessor, on the ground that they had worked a change in the mind of the heir-apparent by heretical reasonings; and Hing Ngan was on that occasion pointed out by the Censorate as their accomplice. The emperor pardoned him, but divested him of his dignity. So he had a narrow escape from the slaughter which, as the chronicler asserts, took place among the courtiers. We need not ask what were the heresies with which the mind of the crown-prince was poisoned, since we know that he, after his accession to the throne in 1465, more than any sovereign of his house patronized Buddhism, and that the historian says of Hing Ngan: "He believed in Buddha; and "when on the point of departing this life, he ordered his bones "to be pounded to dust, and to be placed in a pagoda" ¹⁾. One sees from this, that Buddhism at that time was represented by a powerful faction even among the court-dignitaries.

The zeal with which Ying Tsung pursued the destruction of the clergy, was marked in 1464 by a rescript, to the effect that henceforth "all its members who, on passing their twentieth year "of life, were not yet in possession of the official consecration-"diploma, should be ejected from the religious profession" ²⁾. Meanwhile the Tibetan Lamaist clergy, who under the Yuen dynasty had settled in China in considerable numbers and played an important part in the short revival of Buddhism, had also to bear the brunt of Ying Tsung's persecution. When he came to the throne, so the Official Histories inform us (chap. 331, fol. 7), the Board of Rites twice over proposed to him to send away 690 Tibetan clergy; but only for those of low rank was this measure put into execution. Under his successor Hien Tsung 憲宗, who reigned from 1465 to 1488, and into whom, as already noted, strong Buddhistic sympathies had been instilled

1) 安信佛、臨歿遺命舂骨爲灰、以供浮屠. History of the Ming Dynasty, chap. 304, folio 6.

2) 天順八年令僧年二十以上無度牒者勒還俗. *K. k. t. s. ts. ch.*, sect. 神異, chap. 64; professedly borrowed from the *Ta Ming hwui tien*.

by the eunuchs, mitigation or revocation of the strenuous measures against the church might have been expected. But we read of nothing of the kind; so, evidently, matters had then reached such a point that the individuality of the supreme lord of the world had to demean itself to the Confucian paramountcy. Hien Tsung could only vent his sympathies by the grant of distinctions and semi-clerical, semi-secular titles to Lamaists, regardless of rebukes and protests from his officers, which were showered on him (chap. 331, fol. 8). These had a stronger effect upon his son and successor Hiao Tsung 孝宗, who at once retracted those dignities, and sent a part of those clergy back to their country. The ardour with which the Confucian faction moved and stirred under his reign, may be seen from the following lines: —

“In the second month of the eighth year of the Hung chi period (1495), the Chief Secretary of the Sacrificial department of the Board of Rites, Wang Yun-fung, demonstrated to the emperor that a stop should be put to the issuing of consecration-certificates; but nothing of the sort was done. Before this, the President of that Board, Ni Yoh, on account of certain disastrous and remarkable phenomena, had pointed out to the emperor that the wretched government wanted four measures to be taken, viz: suppression of heretical corruption; discontinuance of the issuing of consecration-certificates; suspension and retrenchment of Buddhistic and Taoistic sacrificial masses; and judicial trial of members of the imperial family. Extremely sharp and keen was his argument; and still consecration was not discontinued. So he alone prepared an address containing more than a thousand characters; and he presented this three times to the emperor. But none of these steps produced any effect, until a resolution was issued, prescribing that the ordination of Buddhists should not entail an increase of their numbers. Everyone praised his influence which made the Imperial government change its mind”¹⁾.

Wu Tsung 武宗, who reigned from 1506 to 1521, marked his rule by no anti-buddhistic measures of any significance. We

1) 弘治八年二月禮部祠祭郎中王雲鳳疏禁給度牒、不報。初尚書倪岳因災異疏弊政用四事、曰懲邪慝、禁給度牒、停減齋醮、議處宗室。言甚剴切、後度僧不止。乃獨疏列千餘言、三上。皆不報、及旨下度僧不多。人皆嘉其有回天之力。 *Ming ta ching* ki; quoted in *K. k. t. s. ts. ch.*, the same section and chapter.

read that he even favored the Lamaists considerably, always wore their dress, and read their sutras. His successor Shi Tsung 世宗, no son of his, but a grandson of Hien Tsung by another branch, again followed in the orthodox Confucian path and put the final touch to the process of pruning the church. As he had strong leanings towards Taoism, it was all the easier for him "to wash away" (汰) the Lamaists; and, says the chronicler, "from that time, members of the Tibetan clergy have seldom come to "China" ¹).

But His Majesty did more work of Confucian merit. Besides pulling down several monasteries, he ordered in 1536, with the general applause of his court-officers, convoked in consultation, the demolishing of the Buddhist temples within the precincts of the palace, and the destruction of the images, as also that the bones and teeth of Buddha, with more such holy relics and things should altogether be burned outside the walls. In one of the proposals made to this effect by his ministers, it is stated that, according to valuation, there were over a thousand pounds weight of those articles ²). At last, after seven hundred years, Han Yü's shade could rest satisfied, nay rejoice.

The next year was equally well employed by this emperor. "Upon a proposal to that effect, he decreed in the 16th year of "the Kia tsing period, that everywhere the old temples in "the Buddhist monasteries should crumble to ruins, and all permission should be withheld to repair or rebuild them. Furthermore, that no young men from among the people should be "permitted to forsake the world and enter the clerical state, "or privately shave their heads, and that, if such things occurred, the parents, neighbours and helpers should be punished" ³). And in 1566, "the 45th of the Kia tsing period, in the ninth "month, it was ordained by imperial decree, that the judicial "officers of the Government of Shun-t'ien (Peking) should strictly "prevent the Buddhist monks and nuns from having consecration-

1) 自是番僧鮮至中國者. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 331, folio 9.

2) *Ming ta ching ki* and *Ch'un ming mang yü luh* 春明夢餘錄, quoted in the *K. k. t. s. ts. ch.*, the same section and chapter.

3) 嘉靖十六年題准各處寺院年久宮殿任其頹壞、不許修葺。民間幼童不許括入爲僧、私自披剃、如有此等、罪其父母及其鄰佑. Professedly from the *Ta Ming hwei tien*; no doubt from a later edition, brought out in 1587, of which no copy is at our disposal.

“altars, and from preaching the law. Moreover, the Guards of “the Magazines were ordered to patrol for that purpose through “the city, and the Police Censors to ransack it thoroughly; “they were to search the Buddhist convents both within and “without the metropolis for persons consecrated in the old manner, “who lodged or resided there, in order to catch them and cast “them into prison. And with regard to the itinerant clergy every- “where (in the empire), the local authorities were empowered to “send them back to their family-seats. Just at that time the “White Lotus sect came into full activity. The Censor Pao Shing- “yin considered it to be the sole cause of the disastrous rebellions; “and as he feared that it would use its heresies to stir up the “people, and that the prevailing fermentation would then produce “a great catastrophe, orders were issued to forbid its existence”¹).

Here we learn from the Chinese chronicler himself, that in that memorable year 1566 the suppressed exasperation of the nation against its government, which for centuries had systematically trodden down, harassed and persecuted its religion, in the end broke out in open rebellion. The state-measures taken against the church of Buddha, Chinese sources have enabled us to sketch; but of the misery and suffering which their execution at the hands of a cruel, fanatical mandarin inflicted year after year upon the people, those sources tell us nothing, and our imagination alone can enable us to conceive the horrors they entailed. Given the bitterness of that mandarin against heresy, so frequently manifested in the productions of their own pen; — given the cruel character of China’s penal laws, every word of which savours of blood, torment and sword; — given the spirit of rapacity which possesses almost every mandarin, from the highest rank to the lowest policeman, lictor, or yamen-runner: a spirit to which the family of everyone suspected of any crime inevitably falls the victim; — given the fact, that such a family is then literally surrendered at discretion to the mercies of the yamen-

1) 嘉靖四十五年九月詔順天府按官嚴禁僧尼戒壇說法。仍令廠衛巡城、御史通查、勘京城內外僧寺、如有仍前受戒寄寓者、收捕下獄。四方游僧並聽所在有司遞回原籍。當是時白蓮教盛行。御史鮑承蔭以妖盜本爲一途、恐投邪鼓衆、釀成大患、遂令禁之。 *Ming t’ung ki*; in the *K. k. t. s. ts. ch.*, sect 神異, chap. 64.

rabble and their parasites; — given all these facts, and many others besides, well known to those who have had the opportunity of seeing mandarins do their official work, — and our only possible inference can be that the history of Buddha's religion under the Ming dynasty was one of tears and bloodshed. Who can fathom the flood of woe, during those centuries poured out over its votaries, its clergy, as well as its laity? Indeed, that the latter also had to smart under merciless persecutions, we shall see in Chapter IV, from the laws then in force, directed against heretical religious practices and sects among the people. The chief amongst these sects was that of the White Lotus. It had Maitreya for its patron-saint, the Messiah, for whom all longed, who was to bring deliverance to the suffering militant church, and to re-instate it in its glory. It had evidently been ramifying for centuries everywhere among the people. Once already it had given a most decisive proof of its power by calling out its sons under the banners of the Buddhist who was to found the Ming dynasty, thus enabling him to triumph over the Mongol armies; and, as we have seen (page 82), the renegade rewarded the services of the sect by an edict which prescribed its extirpation, and the infliction of the pain of death upon its members. Now this same sect became the instrument by which the Confucian fanaticism of his house was to receive its punishment: it rose in open rebellion against it.

For centuries this dynasty had been actively accumulating fuel under its throne; the measures of 1566 set it ablaze. Then, as we saw, Shi Tsung's soldiery broke loose like a pack of wolves among the monasteries, the temples and the clergy of the capital; nor did these hordes spare the lay communities. Priests and monks were dragged to the prisons; ordination and preaching were violently stopped; the extermination of the religion was entrusted to the police and the garrison; and — the Buddhists in despair took to arms, and girded themselves in self-defence. But, in China, he who defends himself against the government is a rebel. So orders were issued rigorously to attack the Lotus sect, that is to say: to quench the fire with oil. Now the soil of the empire was going to be drenched for a long series of years with heretic blood; and now the sect was branded and outlawed for ever as a political body of the utmost danger to the government; from that day to this it was delivered unconditionally to the persecution of a merciless mandarin.

In Chapter V we shall further expatiate upon this sect, as far as the Chinese sources at our disposal permit. We shall then see, how, by constantly sending thousands of its members under the

rebel banners, it has largely sapped the Ming dynasty, has considerably accelerated its downfall, yea, perhaps it was the chief agent in that revolution, which set the present Manchu house upon the throne. By its ragings against a religion of peace, the Ming dynasty dug its own grave, testifying that in persecuting even the meekest of religions, it is possible to overstrain the bow.

Shi Tsung hastened the outbreak of the religious war in that same memorable year 1566, by a measure well calculated to strike alarm among the Buddhists throughout the provinces, and to convince them that they would share the martyrdom of their co-religionists in the capital. "In the 45th year of the "Kia tsing period, orders were dispatched (to the provinces) "outside the metropolis, unto the highest authorities in the "yamens of the Governors and High Judges, to the effect that "everyone should make inquiry in his own territory as to the "number of Buddhist monasteries and monks with their disciples. "They were to have them clearly registered, and to have the "registers continually verified with the persons; and did the latter "not appear before them, their abbots should be punished. And "those officers should appoint a certain time within which all the "Buddhist monks temporarily residing in the monasteries, or travelling about, should be expelled, and sent up to their birth-place, there to perform compulsory government service. And the "yamens of the Guards of the Magazines in the capital, and the "Police Censors of the five wards were to make rounds of strict "inspection in the monasteries of all sizes within the capital and "in the districts abroad; and all those who had adopted the religious "commandments, but were pointed out as guilty of rebellious heresy "or unlawful deeds, were to be tracked by them, arrested, and "most severely prosecuted" 1).

The war between the government and the people, which characterized the latter period of the reign of the Ming dynasty,

1) 嘉靖四十五年令在外行撫按衙門督率有司、各查本處僧寺若干僧徒若干。明白登簿、不時查點、不到者罪坐住持。立限投銷一切寄住遊僧、發回原籍當差。在京廠衛衙門及五城御史將京城內外地方大小僧寺嚴加巡緝、有指稱受戒奸淫不法者訪拏重治。 *Ta Ming hwui tien*, quoted in the *K. k. t. s. ts. ch.*, in the chapter referred to above.

no doubt much inspirited the hordes of the Manchu magnates who, having subdued various Mongol princes, directed their attacks, especially since 1618, with remarkable valour and audacity towards the Chinese throne, choosing Chihli and the other northern provinces for the field of their operations. In those days persecution was no doubt slumbering, the imperial house having other things to do than to hunt after heretics. And so, in those days of blood and woe, when the torch of war and destruction flared in all directions, the pious once more flocked into the church, and even new convents for the practising of the art of salvation cropped up everywhere. Irrefutable witness of this is borne by a decree, with which T'ai Tsung 太宗, the Manchu prince who from 1627 to 1643 carried on the warfare against the Ming dynasty with unwonted energy, attempted to check that religious revival. This state paper is, as far as we know, the first on the subject of religious persecution issued by the now reigning house, thirteen years even before Peking, and therewith the throne and crown of the Ming, was conquered by its armies. It is an important document, particularly because it proves how the early ancestors of the Ts'ing dynasty were possessed with that same anti-buddhistic spirit which has marked their descendants to this day.

"Miscreants", thus it runs, "wishing to be freed from compulsory "services on behalf of the government, set each other on a large "scale the example of turning Buddhist monk. Last year I ordered "an investigation to be made into the Buddhist convents and "temples, lest any should be erected secretly. Now I command "that, apart from those which were erected in earlier times "under the Ming, those which have been built without official "authorisation in the various districts, over and above the pre- "viously existing number, shall be carefully tracked anew by "the Beiras of the Board. These grandees shall investigate how "many have leave of existence, and subsequently, how many "new ones have been built unlawfully; and for these latter, pu- "nishments shall be administered ').

1) 姦民欲避差徭、多相率爲僧。舊歲已令稽察寺廟、毋得私行建造。令除明朝舊建寺廟外、其餘地方妄行新造者反較前更多、該部貝勒大臣可再詳確稽察。先經察過准留者若干、後違法新造者若干、其違法新造者務治其罪。

“As regards the Lamas, Bandis and Hoshangs, their numerical strength shall also be ascertained. Should they be genuine ecclesiastics of these names, they shall be allowed to live outside the cities in convents pure and clean, to burn incense and cultivate salvation; but they shall admit no females in those places, thereby sinning against the precepts of purity. If at bottom they are devoid of a pious and pure heart, and if they falsely call themselves Lamas or Hoshangs, or admit females and therefore disregard the precepts of purity, they shall be compelled to return to secular life. Buddha's religion is at bottom pure and chaste, true and sincere; and by serving him in all purity and piety, it is possible to obtain happiness; but if one serves him with heretical thoughts, then, as a punishment, evil ensues. Therefore, if henceforth there are people who unlawfully call themselves Lamas or Hoshangs, or who of their own account erect a religious edifice, they shall be punished according to the laws. Those who wish to become Lamas or Hoshangs, or to build a monastery or a temple, shall be exempt from punishment if they conform to the obligation of making known their intention to the Beiras of the Board.

“And those who bestow food or drink on Lamas, Bandis or Hoshangs, shall send it to their convents by male people; and where the males are absent, no such ecclesiastics shall be privately invited into the house and fed; those who do so shall be condemned to the punishments for adultery”¹). The edict ends with the rescript, that men and women amongst the Manchus, Mongols and Chinese, and from the Tumed and Karachin tribes, who allow themselves to be possessed by gods and

1) 至於喇嘛班第和尚亦必清察人數。如係真喇嘛班第和尚、許居城外清淨寺廟焚修、毋得容留婦女、有犯清規。若本無誠潔之心、詐稱喇嘛和尚、容留婦女、不守清規者、勒令還俗。佛教本清淨正直、以潔誠事之、自可獲福、若以邪念事之、反生罪孽。嗣後若有違法擅稱喇嘛和尚、及私建廟宇者、依律治罪。其願爲喇嘛和尚及修造寺廟、須啟明該部貝勒、方免其罪。

凡有給喇嘛班第和尚飲食者令男子饋送於寺。如男子他出、毋得私邀至家給之飲食、違者以姦論罪。 *Shing hiun*, edicts of T'ai Tsung, chap. 6.

spirits, as also soothsayers and other diviners for good or bad, shall be put to death without mercy; and "that Taoist doctors "and fasting persons who recklessly deceive the multitude, shall "also be punished" ¹⁾).

We still possess another edict of the same potentate against Lamaism, dated the 15th of the third month (Apr. 20) of the year 1636. "My Ministers declare, that by mouth of the Lamas falsehoods are manufactured, and that they, pretending to worship "Buddha and to keep the commandments, secretly indulge in "heresy, covet wealth, and are guilty of opposition against the "established order of things. In order to appropriate the possessions "and cattle of living men, they tell them that they will be "saved by them from punishments in the Netherworld; but their "lies are still worse, for those Lamas swindle the ignorant "exclusively on account of the sins committed in their earthly "existence, so that the Mongols, who place much confidence in "them, give away to them their money and their goods, in "order to get their sins forgiven by acts of repentance. And "in order that the souls in the Netherworld may be reborn in "the regions of bliss, they suspend revolving wheels ²⁾ and tie up "linen streamers. Such things are most stupid absurdities, and "must henceforth be altogether prohibited" ³⁾).

The anti-buddhist spirit to which the principal progenitor of the now reigning Imperial house gave expression by these edicts, did not portend much good for Buddhism. We shall see indeed that this church has never been in favour with his descendants, and that the rigorous state-policy followed with regard to it by the Ming dynasty, has in the main been pursued by them also.

This chapter has fully proved that the Ming dynasty, in op-

1) 若道士及持齋之人妄行惑眾、亦一體治罪。

2) The engines imitating the transmigration of souls, which, being worked, bring this about artificially.

3) 諸臣曰喇嘛等口作訛言、假以供佛持戒爲名、潛肆邪淫、貪圖財物、悖逆造罪。又索取生人財帛牲畜、詭稱使人免罪於幽冥、其誕妄爲尤甚、喇嘛等不過身在世間造作罪孽欺誑無知之人耳、乃蒙古等深信喇嘛、糜費財物懺悔罪過。欲求冥魂超生福地、是以有懸轉輪結布幡之事。甚屬愚謬、嗣後俱宜禁止。 *Shing hiun*, loc. cit.

pressing and persecuting the non-Confucian religions, conducted itself quite systematically, and with rigid determination. We possess another proof of this in the fact, that it moulded its anti-heretical polity into the shape of formal state-laws, and placed them in its code: *Ta Ming luh li* 大明律例 or Fundamental and Supplementary Laws of the Great Ming Dynasty. These fundamental laws or luh were first enacted under the founder of that house¹). The laws in question form in that code two separate titles, the one bearing upon the Buddhist and the Taoist clergy and their convents; the other upon the religious societies or sects existing among the people, and upon heretical practices.

Both titles, together with the luh in general, passed over unaltered into the penal and civil code of the now reigning house: *Ta Ts'ing luh li* 大清律例, Fundamental and Supplementary Laws of the Great Ts'ing Dynasty. This fact naturally enforces the conclusion, that the rigorous regime of the Ming prevails to this day. Could we, in truth, expect anything else from a dynasty which, on conquering the empire, left the foundations of the State totally unaltered, and simply took over the whole administrative fabric as it found it? a dynasty which, from the very outset, exactly like its predecessor, sought the highest good and felicity of throne and people in Confucianism, the utmost danger for state and society in non-Confucian heresy, religion and ethics?

The laws on the clergy and convents, and those on heretical practices and sects, having been the same for both dynasties, we are entitled to study them only in the *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, and, in order to define their age, simply to note whether they occur also in the code of the Ming. So we pass now from history into present day actuality.

1) They are to be found in the *Ta Ming hwui tien* of 1511 (s. page 83). The luh and the li combined occur in the edition of 1587, and also in the *K. k. t. s. ts. ch.* sect. 祥刑, chap. 34 and foll.

CHAPTER III.

THE LEGISLATION ON CONVENTS AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The laws on the convents and the clergy are to be found in the eighth chapter of the *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, and they form there the third title, which bears the following heading:

私創庵院及私度僧道

“On Private Founding of Monastic Buildings,
and Private Ordination of Buddhist and Taoist Monks”.

“Apart from the now existing places of that nature, legally established in former years, it is not allowed to erect privately (i. e. without official authorisation) any Taoist or Buddhist convent, nor to re-build any on a larger scale. Whoever offends against this rescript shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick; the monks shall return to the lay state and be banished for ever to the furthest frontiers of the empire, while the nuns shall be appropriated by the magistracy as slaves. The foundations and the building-materials shall be confiscated”¹⁾.

Literally in the same form this fundamental article occurred in the code of the Ming. That it was never actually intended for any other purpose than to keep the number of monasteries at a minimum, is proved by a note at the head of the official commentary, in which the legislator at the same time gives vent to his aversion to monkery: “When the Taoist and Buddhist clergy increase, the population decreases: this is a natural law. These folks do not plough, and have no trades or callings; so they dress and eat at the cost of the people; why then shall

1) 凡寺觀庵院、除現在處所[先年額設]外、不許私自創建增置。違者杖一百、僧道還俗、發邊遠充軍、尼僧女冠入官爲奴。[地基材料入官]。

“we allow them to build and thereby waste the wealth of the “people? why allow them to bind up people’s hair or shave their “heads, and thus empty their dwellings?”¹⁾

The authorisation which, according to the above fundamental article, is required for the erection of a monastery, or a temple inhabited by monks, can only be granted by the Son of Heaven: a proof, indeed, that the erection of such buildings is considered to be a weighty affair. “If amongst the people there prevails a “desire to build a Buddhist or Taoist monastery”, thus we read in one of the supplementary articles in the same title, “or to erect “a place of sacrifice in honour of gods, they shall send in a “petition to this effect to the Viceroy or the provincial Governor, “who shall draw up a detailed report about the matter. Should “a favorable imperial resolution be received, these authorities may “give their permission to build; but if, without awaiting the “answer to the petition, the building-work is started, the matter “shall be tried as a violation of the fundamental article”²⁾.

It goes without saying, that a government which, with such designs, makes such laws, may also generally be expected to refuse its consent for the erection of monasteries, and will only exceptionally think of giving a favourable reply. It is also quite natural that the laity, grown wise by long experience, have almost entirely given up presenting petitions to that effect. The following fundamental article purporting to keep the number of clergy at a minimum level, or to reduce them to nothing, is perfectly congruent with these curious statutes. It also occurred in exactly the same wording in the code of the Ming dynasty:

“If a Buddhist or Taoist monk to whom no official diploma “of ordination has been awarded, takes the tonsure of his own “accord, or does up his hair, he shall receive eighty blows with “the long stick. If such an offence occurs under the pressure “of the head of his family, the punishment shall fall upon this “person. A like punishment shall be inflicted on any abbot

1) 僧道多則戶口少、自然之勢。此輩不耕不業、衣食於民、又豈可聽其創建以耗民財、任其簪剃以虛戶口耶。

2) 民間有願創造寺觀神祠者、呈明該督撫具題。奉旨方許營建、若不俟題請、擅行興造者依違制律論。

“of a Buddhist or Taoist convent, and besides, on the religious teacher and initiator who thus privately administered “an ordination. And all such transgressors shall go back into “secular life”. Now let us keep in mind that the Buddhist monasteries which, by virtue of special imperial mandates, possess the right of ordination, and exercise it regularly, have in the course of centuries dwindled down to a very small number, so that candidates who desire to receive the consecration, have for the most part to make difficult journeys of weeks and months along rugged paths scarcely practicable, which in the glorious Empire of the Middle are an apology for roads. It certainly then no longer surprises us, that the number of consecrated clergy sinks into insignificance compared with those who remain unconsecrated, and who therefore more in name and dress than in reality belong to the clerical class. They form a caste of priests who for the laity perform religious functions, principally for the redemption and salvation of the dead. Mere semi-Buddhists as they are, they greatly further the amalgamation of Buddhist usages with those of the national old-heathen religion. We shall hear more about them on page 120 and following.

In order to thwart the increase of the clergy, the inventive legislator uses yet other means. The first supplementary article, also to be found in the code of the Ming, acquaints us with it. It runs as follows: “If amongst the people the number of “sons or (orphan) brothers in a family is less than three, and “one of them leaves it (to embrace religious life), or if any one “does so who has passed the age of sixteen, then the perpetrator shall be exposed for one month in the cangue. The same “punishment shall be inflicted upon him by whose pressure or “influence such an act was committed. If the officer charged with “the control of the Buddhist or Taoist clergy (see p. 102 and foll.) “or the abbot of the convent in question, was privy to the offence, “and yet took no initiative for the prosecution, he shall be dismissed and sent back into secular life”²⁾.

1) 若僧道不給度牒、私自簪剃者杖八十。若由家長、家長當罪。寺觀住持及受業師私度者與同罪。並還俗。

2) 民間子弟戶內不及三丁、或在十六以上而出家者、俱枷號一個月。並罪坐所由。僧道官及住持知而不舉者各罷職還俗。

We see: in his zeal to exterminate the clergy, the legislator unconditionally punishes with infamy even the man or the woman who, being past childhood, from pure piety and religiosity should presume to embrace religious life. "And the Buddhist or Taoist clergy who at present live in the world", thus runs another supplementary article, "and others of their class, shall not be allowed to adopt pupils and disciples at their own discretion. He who has past the age of forty may take one; he also may adopt another if the first, without having committed any offence, falls (irrecoverably) sick, or dies. But he who takes a pupil before he is forty, or adopts more than one, shall for transgression of the law receive fifty blows with the short bamboo lath. If an adopted pupil commits adultery, theft, or any other serious offence, his religious teacher shall not adopt another, on penalty of the same chastisement.

"If the officer charged with the control of the Buddhist or the Taoist clergy tolerates or hushes up such a crime as the above, he shall receive the same punishment. And the Prefect, if he does not move to investigate the matter, shall be delivered up to the Board, to be prosecuted and sentenced according to law. And the adopted disciple shall, in each of the above cases, be forced to re-embrace secular life" ¹⁾.

In the category of laws called into existence for the curtailing of the ecclesiastical state, we may include one more clause of a fundamental article which forms the 14th title of the fourth chapter of the code, and is to be found also in the code of the Ming: ordaining that clerics who commit any offence, shall be secularized. "If a Buddhist or Taoist monk or priest is punished on account of any crime, he shall be deprived of his consecration-diploma, and become a layman again" ²⁾.

1) 現在應付火居等項僧道不准濫受生徒。其年逾四十者方准招徒一人、若所招之人無罪犯而病故者准其另招一人爲徒。如有年未四十卽行招受、及招受不止一人者照違令律答五十。若招受之人身犯姦盜重罪、伊師亦不准再行續招、其有復行續招者亦照違令律治罪。

僧道官容隱者罪同。地方官不行查明、交部照例議處。所招生徒俱勒令還俗。

2) 僧道犯罪曾經決罰者[追收度牒]並令還俗。

But if we want to understand the legal position of monasteries and clergy in all its bearings, we must know more than what the Code of Law gives on the subject, and also study the imperial ordinances issued under this dynasty, since, fully 250 years ago, it began its reign. These ordinances point out, minutely and completely, the many things which are forbidden, and the few which are permitted to the clergy; at the same time they fix the line of conduct to be followed by the mandarinates with regard to the clergy; and finally, they restrict the people's freedom in practising the two religions.

Generally speaking, the administrative ordinances of the Imperial government are divided into two classes, namely, fundamental ordinances, and resolutions which circumscribe and supplement the same. The former are formally compiled into a special codex, named *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* 大清會典, or Collective Institutes of the Great Ts'ing Dynasty. This is entirely modelled upon the plan of the Collectives Institutes of the Ming, which the reader knows (see p. 83), and is a work of the same character and purport. Both contain the fundamental rules for the government of the State and for the organisation of the whole mandarinates, determining the various functions and duties of every college or body of officers, and of every officer in particular, from the highest to the lowest. The great similarity between the two codices proves, that the state-machinery under the two dynasties was for the most part the same. They are very voluminous. The *Hwui tien* of this dynasty contains one hundred chapters. In 1684 Shi Tsung ordered it to be compiled, and it received its present form in 1764, under Kao Tsung. In 1818, a supplementary codex of the same nature, in eighty chapters, was published: the *Suh siu Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* 續修大清會典, or *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* Continued and Improved; therefore, no thorough study of any part of China's constitution can now be undertaken unless with the aid of these two works. The regulations regarding clergy and monachism are to be found in the 55th chapter of the *Hwui tien*, and in the 29th of the Supplement.

The dynastic institutes, as fixed by that double codex, being intended to remain for ever the living constitutional law of China, required, of course, a continuous instillation of new life; that is to say, a regular, nay a daily promulgation of imperial resolutions and ordinances was needed to ensure a good working of the state-machinery. These countless enactments have been compiled by the government into one enormous work of no less than 920 chapters, in which the subject-matter is arranged under

similar divisions to those adopted for the *Hwui tien*. This repertory, the largest work but one which exists in China, gives us a thorough insight into every part of the all-pervading officialism and bureaucracy of the State. It is entitled *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li* 大清會典事例: Ordinances bearing upon Subjects contained in the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*. The same committee of scholars and statesmen who drew up the Supplementary *Hwui tien*, compiled it; on their proposal, the printing was ordered by the emperor in 1818.

From these three sources the further material for this Chapter will be drawn, chiefly from the last-named, the largest, which we will briefly call *Shi li*. Under each division or title it gives the decrees and resolutions in chronological order; those regarding the clergy we find in this order in the 390th chapter. This arrangement however is by no means calculated to give us a clear and easy survey of the subject. We have decided upon another plan, and classify the resolutions, each reduced to its quintessence, under a few headings, carefully mentioning of each the year of issue, in order that sinologists may be able easily to find the original in the *Shi li* without having to search for it. Thus the whole legislation on Taoism and Buddhism is reproduced within a comparatively small compass, and re-moulded into a kind of special codex, with chapters and articles, forming at the same time an authentic historical record of the manner in which this dynasty has dealt with the two religions. The probability remains, of course, that some of the resolutions and ordinances have fallen into disuse. But the reader may then accept them for their historical value; moreover, he must take into consideration that they may still at any moment regain their actuality, for the fact is that, occupying, as they do, a place in the great Repertory of dynastic rescripts, any officer is fully entitled, nay morally obliged, to put them into execution whenever he fancies thereby to perform some deed of political wisdom or moral merit. The resolutions past after 1818, we regret to say, cannot be laid before the reader, because, as far as we are aware, no supplementary edition to the *Shi li* has ever been made.

I. OFFICERS FOR THE CONTROL OF THE CLERGY.

“For such lay people as leave their families and become members of the Buddhist or Taoist clergy, chiefs are appointed, in “order to bridle and restrain them”¹).

In the capital they form, for the Buddhist clergy, committees, composed as follows:

a. two Seng luh szě 僧錄司 or Officers for the Registration of the Clergy, the chief being styled Ching yin 正印 or Principal Holder of the Seal; the second in order, Fu yin 副印 or Deputy Holder of the Seal. Below them in rank follow:

b. two Shen shi 善世 or Improvers of Mankind, a principal or left one (左), and a secondary or right one (右), holding the sixth degree of official rank, first grade.

c. two Ch'en kiao 闡教 or Expositors of the Religion, likewise a principal and a secondary; same degree, second grade.

d. two Kiang king 講經 or Sutra Preachers; eighth degree, first grade.

e. two Kioh i 覺義, “Who understand what Rectitude is” (?); eighth degree, second grade.

Hwui tien.

Such a committee of so-called Seng kwan 僧官 or Sangha Officers is, in the capital, appointed for each of the five wards (城) into which the city is divided, viz. for the central, eastern, southern, western and northern; besides there is a committee for the south-eastern ward, one for the north-eastern, and one for the southerly part of the western ward. Supplementary *Hwui tien.*

For the control of the Taoist clergy, a similar organisation exists in the capital. In each of the five wards, except the southern, and further in the south-eastern and in the south-western ward, there is a college, consisting of:

a. one Tao luh szě 道錄司 or Registrar of the Taoists; sixth degree, first grade.

b. two Ching yih 正一 or Primates, a principal and a secondary; sixth degree, first grade.

c. two Yen fah 演法 or Professors of the Religion; sixth degree, second grade.

1) 凡民有出家爲僧道者置首領以約束之. *Hwui tien.*

d. two Chi ling 至靈 or Extremely Animated Ones (?); eighth degree, first grade.

e. two Chi i 至義 or Extremely Correct Ones (?); eighth degree, second grade.

Hwui tien.

According to an imperial resolution of 1674 (*Shi li*), every time a member of a committee falls out, beginning at the second in the list (*b*), the one immediately below him in rank is appointed in his place; and so a general promotion takes place. The lowest rank is then filled up from among so-called Expectants (候補). When no more Expectants are available, the Seng luh szě or Tao luh szě, as the case may be, makes up a list of candidates suitable for the post, from among the clergy residing in Peking, and this list is laid before the Board of Rites. The candidates then have to undergo an examination, after which ten or twenty of them who are found to possess a satisfactory knowledge of the sacred books, and are not wanting in integrity and purity of life, are proposed as Expectants to the Board of Civil Office (吏部). Later on, these duties have been entrusted to one or more magnates of the imperial family (王大臣), and in 1773 also to the Yamen of the Department for the Administration of the Imperial Household (內務府衙門).

Shi li, chap. 920, fol. 11.

The titularies receive no pay or salary.

The low rank these controllers of the clergy hold in the official world, suggests that in the capital and its environs they are far from being entrusted with the *supreme* control of monasteries and clergy. As regards the conventual temples which are the property of the Imperial house, this control rests with bodies of far greater importance. "Each official temple of the metropolis stands under "the management of the Board (of Rites) and the Commandant "of the Gendarmerie. The Yamen in the same street or road, "the Imperial Household Department, and the Court of Sacrificial "Worship shall send out officials to inspect these buildings; and "at the end of every year they shall send Us a report concerning "the same" ¹⁾.

In the provinces there are no such numerous committees of control. There, in every fu or department, the superior of the Buddhist clergy is a Seng kang 僧綱 i. e. a Cord or

1) 京師各官廟由部暨步軍統領督理。街道衙門內務府太常寺派員稽查、年終會奏。Supplem. *Hwui tien*.

Controller of the Clergy; and the superior of the Taoist clergy is a Tao ki 道紀 or Controller of Taoism. Their degree of rank is the ninth, or the very lowest that exists for the official world. In a cheu, these dignitaries are called respectively Seng ching 僧正 and Tao ching 道正: Regulators of the Buddhist or the Taoist Clergy; and in a hien or district, Seng hwui 僧會 and Tao hwui 道會: Directors (?) of the same. In one district in the empire, viz. Heng-shan 衡山, in Honan, these office-bearers are called Seng kang and Tao ki. Although their official rank is so very low, it is yet required in the system of all-pervading officialism and bureaucratic centralisation, that the Sub-prefect or Prefect concerned shall propose them for nomination to the Viceroy or the Governor of the province, who in his turn shall apply to the Board of Rites for the diploma certifying the nomination. At the end of every year, the Board of Civil Office receives intelligence of the nominations made in that year. The titularies receive their wooden seal from the chief of the Civil Service in the province (布政司). *Hwui tien*, and Supplem. *Hwui tien*¹).

All the officers for the clergy are chosen from among the consecrated clergy of pure and careful behaviour (樸謹者). They are entitled to wear the secular official dress, but may not be ranked with the secular mandarin in actual service (*Hwui tien*). It is, of course, their duty to see that the regulations and rescripts enacted for the ecclesiastical world are strictly obeyed. As will frequently appear from this chapter, the government holds them responsible in a large measure for the conduct of their subordinates, which is, in truth, the general rule in China for office-bearers of all classes. On the other hand, they have, no doubt, the right of intercession with the authorities on behalf of the clergy. They are the link between the secular powers and the clergy, and hence the channel by which intelligence regarding the latter is conveyed to the former. They also possess a certain amount of judicial power within the pale of religious life: "If a member of the Buddhist or Taoist clergy does not "keep the rules and rescripts (of his religion), then his officers "are entitled to investigate and try the case; but if any person "belonging to the military or civil class is involved in his trans- "gression, then the secular authorities are entitled to examine "and to punish. And if a violation of the law is committed, falling

1) The scheme of ecclesiastical official ranks is also to be found in the official *Li pu tseh li* 禮部則例: Regulations for the Board of Rites, chap. 170.

“under adultery, then shall justice be done according to the “secular law, and the criminal be treated as a layman”¹).

Buddhist and Taoist officialdom is not a modern institution. It was already in existence under the T'ang dynasty. At that time, there was an Officer for the Worship of the Sombre Empyrean (崇玄署令), of the eighth degree of official rank, with a Coadjutor or Secondary, of the ninth degree; their business was to keep in the metropolis the genealogical registers of the imperial family, to enroll the Taoist clergy, and to regulate the Buddhist and Taoist sacrificial masses (齋醮) celebrated by the clergy by order of the government. Buddhist monks and priests from Corea and Japan, residing or studying in the capital for more than nine years, had also to be registered by them. Besides all this, they had to see that no cleric lodged for more than three nights running in the house of a layman; and in case of infringement of this rescript, the one who had sheltered him so long, was to be brought to justice and punished, together with the Officer of the Clergy; — for longer journeys, which never might exceed seven days, every monk or priest had to be provided with a passport from the Prefect of the department or the district. At that time, 1687 Taoist convents were tolerated in the empire, for 776 male and 988 female devotees; and of Buddhist monasteries there were allowed 5358, for 75,524 monks and 50,576 nuns. In order to maintain these figures, a Censor in the metropolis was charged with the control of the ordination. In each department and district registration had to take place every third year; one register was kept there; one register of the Buddhist clergy was sent up to the Board of Sacrifices (祠部), and one of the Taoists to the Direction of the Imperial Clan (宗正), and to the Department for Grades and Promotions (司封).

To the two Officers for the Worship of the Sombre Empyrean were added: two Archivists (府), three Recorders (史), six Overseers (典事), two Maintainers (掌固), and one Doctor for the Study of the Worship of the Dark Universe (崇玄學博士); finally, one hundred pupils (學生). Under the Sui dynasty, this body of functionaries had been placed under the Bureau for

1) 僧道不守規例者聽所司究治、若所犯事涉軍民、聽有司訊鞫。有作姦犯科者論如法編、管爲民。 *Hwui tien.*

State Ceremonial (comp. p. 63), whose principal function it was to receive foreign embassies and court-guests. A place for the performance of religious rites (道場) and an altar to the Sombre Empyrean (玄壇) were built for them.

The New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, from which we draw the above particulars (chap. 48, fol. 15), further tell us, that in the earliest years of its existence this imperial house had appointed one Inspector for every Buddhist or Taoist monastery, and that these functionaries belonged to the Bureau for State-Ceremonial. Already in the Ching kwan period (627—650) these functions were withdrawn. We read moreover, that the above-mentioned committee for the Worship of the Sombre Empyrean underwent various modifications, which, however, are of no interest here, and that the clergy alternately came under the supervision of the Bureau for State-Ceremonial, the Board of Sacrifices, the Direction of the Imperial Clan, and the Department for Grades and Promotions. In 788 there were appointed certain Commissioners for Supreme Meritorious (i.e. religious) Work (大功徳使), one for the Left Street (左街), and one for the Right Street (右街); and in the Eastern Capital (Loh-yang), besides those just mentioned, also Commissioners for the Performance of Meritorious Work (修功徳使). These dignitaries were charged with the general enrolment of the Buddhist clergy, and the regulation of the religious duties to be performed by the same on behalf of the dynasty (功役). In 807, the Taoist clergy were also placed under their direction and control.

Thus we learn that the ecclesiastical mandarinat, which probably originated under the Sui dynasty, was under that of T'ang the medium through which the government insured on its own behalf the religious services of the clergy, and that altars were placed at their disposal for this purpose. In reality then the dynasty adhered to both these religions, notwithstanding its strenuous efforts to check their growth and influence.

The Sung dynasty instituted a similar system of control. We read that it had "Officers for the Registration of the Clergy (Seng "luh szè) for the Left and the Right Street, charged with the "registration of the monks and nuns in the convents, and with "matters relating to the appointment of Sangha-officers" ¹⁾. And

1) 左右街僧錄司掌寺院僧尼帳籍及僧官補授之事. History of the Sung Dynasty, chap. 165, fol. 5.

under the Ming dynasty there was throughout the empire, in every province, department and district, a Yamen for the Buddhist and Taoist clergy (僧道衙門), with a Seng luh szě or Tao luh szě as keeper of the seal. These officials were also the religious examiners of the neophytes, and they obtained the diplomas for the successful candidates from the Board of Civil Office. They also had to supply the data required for a proper and exact registration of the clergy¹).

2. RESCRIPTS CONCERNING CONVENTS AND TEMPLES.

Every Buddhist or Taoist monastery within and without the capital shall deliver up to the Board of Rites its imperial charter (勅) received under the Ming dynasty. Without special licence, no monastery or temple, nor even a Buddha-image, shall be erected there; only by applying to the Board of Rites can permission thereto be obtained. Neither shall any existing buildings or images be pulled down; nor shall any abbot arbitrarily remove any image²), nor circulate subscription-books for the benefit of his institution, nor surreptitiously administer the tonsure to any one, thus making the recipient a monk. Abbots and ecclesiastical officers allowing such things, shall be punished. 1645.

The building of Buddhist monasteries or temples is prohibited, but the repairing of those falling into decay is allowed, as long as they are not rebuilt on a larger scale. 1654.

In Yenden, Mukden and Peking, the Buddhist and Taoist monasteries and temples with imperial charter, already in existence under the former dynasty, shall be allowed to lodge ten clerics; and those which were then built without such charter, shall lodge no more than eight, six, four, or two, according to their size. 1665.

In the provinces, the convents and temples possess much land, which therefore yields no profit to the people; moreover, the ignorant folk purchase much ground for these institutions, to let the inmates live on the produce of it. And disturbance is caused in many districts on account of criminals hunted by the authorities, and hiding among the monks. The Viceroy, Governors, and Prefects shall therefore prevent once and for all the erection of

1) *Ta Ming hwui tien*, chap. 95, fol. 4.

2) I suppose these two clauses were enacted with a view to the Fung-shui of Peking, which (see page 71) is supported and protected by a number of Buddhist convents and temples built in the environs.

such institutions, or the enlargement of existing ones; and the ecclesiastical officers shall not suffer strangers of doubtful character to abide in the monasteries, and shall always be on the watch for any that might be concealed there. 1711.

Monasteries and temples in or near the capital, belonging to the crown, pay no ground-rent to the treasury. All others pay this tax on the old plan. 1801.

The doctrine of Confucius is the only true doctrine. With this, and this alone, the State and the dynasty have identified themselves. They may at the same time possess and support Buddhist temples and pagodas in and around the imperial residence, for the maintenance of the Fung-shui of the palace and the throne (see p. 71). They may there keep at their own cost Buddhist clergy, to perform certain ceremonies for the furtherance of their welfare and that of the people. But all this is mere sober practice, sinking into insignificance against the most sublime theory that the Confucian system must never be defiled with anything savouring of Buddhism or Taoism.

He who thus pollutes Confucianism, insults the Sage himself. The father and prophet of the only truth cannot tolerate any strange deities next to his, nor beside himself. How sinful then are the people who, disrespecting the blissful rod of their paternal ruler whose acts are mere inspirations of the Holy Sage himself, venture to place diametrically opposite to it a spirit of syncretism, fostered in their minds by the Mahayāna Church, and who even vent that spirit by uniting Confucius with Buddha and Laotszë into a triad, setting up and worshipping their images together in Buddhist temples!

Already eight centuries ago, Hwui Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, as we saw on page 79, revolted against such scandalous proceedings, which, as he himself stated, were no novelty in his time. Kao Tsung 高宗, the greatest heresy-hunter of the now reigning imperial house, followed his example, and resolved to put a stop to all such profanation with one blow. The decree which he issued in 1744 for the realization of this pious intention, is another striking proof of what in China is meant by religious liberty, especially for Buddhism. It is inserted in the *Shi li*.

In Honan, thus it runs, there are Halls of the three Religions (三教堂), and within each are three images, respectively of Buddha, Laotszë, and Confucius. Men and women from the environs go there from time to time to worship and pray. In the district of Wu-chih alone there are some thirty-eight of them;

in Ngan-yang and Shang-khiu they are not much fewer in number; altogether they are reckoned in Honan alone at more than 590. The largest and finest is the Rock-cave (石洞), in Shang-ch'ing, which contains gilded images of bronze, iron, clay, wood, and stone. Buddha occupies the middle or principal seat, Laotszë that on his left, and Confucius that on his right (the lowest place); the images of the two last-named worthies are also of smaller size than that of Buddha. In Ning-ling, Sin-yang and other districts, the office of abbot is, for shame! often filled by women, which renders the matter still more immoral and foul (尤屬穢牒).

It has therefore been proposed to Us that We shall command the Governor of that province to put a stop to these things. Now it is not seemly to haul down or to melt any images of Confucius. That Governor shall therefore look out for clean and pure places in the colleges for Confucian studies (書院), or in charity schools, and he shall have the images reverently conveyed thither. The temples in question he shall thus convert into Buddhist or Taoist convents, and the inscriptions over the doors, expressive of the three Religions, he shall remove or destroy. He can also send away the clergy into other convents, remove the images of Buddha and Laotszë, and then convert the building into a college or school, notifying the fact to the Board of Rites. And whenever again the erection of a Hall for the three Religions is proposed, he shall ordain his Prefects to prevent it with rigorous punishments.

Many such buildings are also found in the border-districts around Honan, in no less than five provinces. From the south of the realm not many of the kind are reported; but there the Taoists are accustomed, when erecting temporary sacrificial altars, to couple Confucius with the T'ien-tsun 天尊 or Celestial Worshipful. This is puh-king or absolutely inconsistent with what the Classics teach, and shall therefore be peremptorily prohibited.

3. ISSUING OF DIPLOMAS TO THE CLERGY BY THE STATE.

Fundamental rescript: "When a Buddhist monk or nun accepts the commandments (i. e. is consecrated), an ordination-diploma (tu tieh, comp. p. 52) is given to that person, and to a Taoist monk or nun a certificate (tsih chao). And when any such person then becomes more than forty years old, he or she may adopt one pupil, to whom the diploma or certificate descends; but Buddhist monks who have not accepted the commandments, or Taoists with homes and families of their own, shall not be allowed to adopt

“any pupils. The diplomas and certificates shall on the death of “the holders be sent up to the Board (of Rites), and there be “cancelled in groups”¹⁾. *Hwui tien.*

The diploma is only to be given to those who understand the religious books, and who practise the rescripts regarding purity. 1632.

Not until the contribution fixed for this is properly paid and deposited in the treasury, shall the sealed diplomas be issued for distribution to the Seng luh szě. 1640.

The obligation to pay for the diplomas is abolished. 1645.

In every convent, the abbot or abbess (住持) shall keep a register of the inmates, and shall send this in to the Ecclesiastical Officers concerned. These dignitaries shall compile all the separate registers into a general one, which, for the metropolis and its environs, shall be sent in to the Board of Rites; but in the provinces it shall be forwarded to the Prefect or Sub-prefect, for transmission to the provincial Governor or Chief Judge, through whom it finally reaches the Board of Rites. By means of these registers, the number of diplomas to be distributed is fixed. If any fraud be detected in a register, the Ecclesiastical Officers, through whose hands it has passed, shall be punished. 1645.

Not until the diploma has been delivered to the person concerned, shall the abbot cauterize the latter's head (see p. 80). The Board of Rites sees to the printing of the diplomas, but the seal-marks are stamped upon them in every province by the Head of the Civil Service (布政司), and in Peking by the Governor of the City (順天府). It shall be ascertained beforehand whether the recipients are pure and have committed no crime. Four taels of silver shall be paid for every diploma, and the moneys received shall be transmitted at the end of every year by the Prefects to the provincial government, for further transmission to the Board of Revenue. All diplomas issued heretofore are hereby confiscated. 1649.

Payment for diplomas or certificates is again abolished. — Investigations regarding the applicants for diplomas are to be made by their Prefects and Sub-prefects; these officers have to send in their reports to the provincial Governor, who decides

1) 僧尼受戒者給度牒、道士女冠給執照。年逾四十許授徒一人、以牒照相傳、若僧未受戒及道有室者不得授徒。牒照止其身送部彙銷。

whether or not to apply for the diplomas to the Board of Rites. 1651.

The clergy in the provinces shall all deliver up their diplomas written in the Chinese language. These shall be exchanged for others in Chinese and (or) in Manchu, free of charge to those who paid before, but to be paid for by all who received the previous one gratis. 1658.

Diplomas have no longer to be paid for. 1660.

Anyone entering the clerical state without having obtained a diploma, shall receive eighty blows with the long stick (comp. p. 97). Anyone using the diploma of a fugitive, or of one who is dead, shall receive forty strokes with the bamboo lath. In such an event, the Ecclesiastical Officer shall be dismissed, and ejected from the religious profession. 1676.

The issuing of diplomas is suspended for the provinces. 1676.

In Shingking they may again be issued. 1683.

Thus the present dynasty has occasionally followed the example of the Ming, and temporarily stopped the issuing of diplomas. Still more has been done in this virtuous line: — the Confucian party, always eager for the total destruction of the clergy, has at times indulged in a spasmodic attempt to persuade the emperor to abolish the issuing of diplomas entirely, and thus to let the class of monks and priests die out. In 1737, on the 11th day of the third month (April 10), an edict appeared, in which the emperor announced, that in consequence of two decrees ordering the Viceroys and provincial Governors by no means to relax their carefulness in regard to the issuing of the said certificates, the Governor of Nganhwui, Chao Kwoh-lin 趙國麟, had asked the emperor whether now, after this renewed cleansing-process, the issuing of the diplomas might perhaps be entirely stopped. To refute such an interpretation of the Imperial will was the object of the decree. The diploma, thus the decree stated, should be looked upon as serving to prevent the clergy from becoming numerous; it is a means to prevent ignorant individuals from creeping into the circle of the learned clergy, and the young and the weak from being admitted against their will, or the selfish from receiving ordination merely to share such wordly profits as monastic life might offer, and criminals from hiding themselves in it. In every respect therefore the diploma is a means of control, and calculated to keep the religious orders pure and clean. Truly, Buddhism and Taoism are deviations from orthodoxy (i t w a n), and therefore, to allow the Buddhists and Taoists to read their sacred writings without proper control is an offence against the ancient institutions

regarding heresies, worse even than the heresies themselves. But even in the Stream (the Milky Way) there are stars scattered about; and Islam and Christianity, notwithstanding numerous efforts and decrees of the dynasty, have not been exterminated; thus also Buddhism and Taoism are to be looked upon as mere professions and livelihoods, more especially resorted to by orphans and bereaved people. The exhortations of these religions for the promotion of good and the abstinence from evil, intended for the correction and the guidance of the ignorant, are, however, of no avail whatever for supplementing the imperial precepts. The Tao, established by Heaven, impartially unites everything in its charitable embrace, and has room for all who breathe under the blue Empyrean. Therefore the Buddhist and Taoist clergy should be granted liberty in-doors to burn their incense and to work out their salvation. From their mountains and forests such recluses do not exercise so very hurtful an influence on the universal Doctrine (Confucianism); why then should they be thrown back altogether into secular society, to live there a miserable life, deprived of all means of subsistence and support? Women, however, shall on no account become nuns before a mature age has given them enough determination of will and purpose. The argument that everyone who becomes a Buddhist or Taoist monk deprives the agricultural class of a man's labour, is untenable, as it is far from certain he would have devoted himself to agriculture. In short, the emperor commands all Viceroys and Governors to deal gently in the matter of the certificates, and not to render admission into the Buddhist or Taoist clerical state entirely impossible by withholding those documents. Chao Kwoh-lin has misunderstood the Imperial intentions; let it not be so with other Viceroys and Governors ¹).

Surely this state-paper fully corroborates what we have stated already with regard to the dynastic polity against the two religions and their clergy. It shows that it is a polity of proscription of their existence, mixed with a little condescending indulgence, and with somewhat more of placid submission to a prevailing and unalterable state of things. As this polity still prevails in our days, extermination of the clergy by withholding the certificates is a matter of imperial caprice, an imminent danger for the two churches, a wolf at their door, a sword of Damocles.

1) See the *Shing hün* of Kao Tsung, chap. 16; and also the *Shi li*.

4. WHAT THE CLERGY ARE TO DO AND NOT TO DO.

Fundamental rescript: "In Buddhist and Taoist convents, the Buddhist and Taoist clergy respectively are considered to have the charge of the temple-rites. If any Buddhist or Taoist priest or monk coming from distant parts, puts up at a convent and is found to have no diploma, the authorities shall at once be acquainted of the fact, and thus be enabled to examine him; if he be allowed to remain there secretly, prosecution shall follow. And if any female person enters a temple, or comes there to look round, the clergy in charge of the temple-rites shall receive the same punishment as the woman, unless they forbid her to enter, or send her away.

"The Buddhist and Taoist clergy shall not hold sutra-readings in market-squares, nor go about with alms-bowls, nor explain the fruits of salvation, nor collect moneys; and they who infringe this rescript shall be punished ')." *Hwui tien.*

The male and female clergy in possession of a diploma shall keep themselves undefiled, wear the customary religious dress, and live in the convents. He or she who, without having a diploma, exercises conventual or sacerdotal functions, or even wears the clerical dress, shall be punished. 1652.

The Taoist clergy henceforth shall wear ordinary lay dress, and they shall not show themselves with a Taoist head-cloth (道巾) or cassock (道袍), unless they are performing religious ceremonies. 1780.

No Buddhist or Taoist cleric shall be admitted without a diploma in any monastery, temple, or place of sacrifice within or without the metropolis; nor shall any dwell with the lay world, or even lodge with them. 1674.

Throughout the empire, abbots are to be punished who do not inform the authorities of monks or nuns sinning against the rules of monastic life, or who do not denounce criminals who have become monks or nuns. Whoever procures a diploma for such a

1) 寺觀以僧道爲廟祝。有遠方僧道投止、驗無牒照、卽報以司訊究、私留者論。婦女入廟游觀、廟祝不禁拒者、罪與本人同。

僧道不得於市肆誦經托鉢、陳說因果、斂聚金錢、違者懲責。

wicked person, shall be sharply examined and severely punished. 1645.

In the capital, monks and nuns shall not congregate in one convent, nor shall any layman be permitted to lodge there. The Board of Works shall make inquiry in the five wards whether the Officers for the Control of the clergy hush up any such things, and if so, it shall punish them severely. 1646.

The Controllers shall be allowed to carry seals, but not the other clergy. Any seals found in their possession shall be confiscated and destroyed by the Prefects. 1801.

Wandering clergy shall be placed under the supervision of the Ecclesiastical Officers. 1729.

Every monk of the one or the other religion is punishable if he buys somebody to make him his pupil. 1632.

Any one adopting a disciple has to notify the transaction to the Prefect, under security given by neighbours, members of the family, and ward-chiefs. If the pupil comes from some considerable distance, the abbot of the monastery shall apply in writing for the surety from the place concerned, through the mediation of the Prefect. 1739.

If a Buddhist monk adopts a pupil, he shall administer the tonsure upon him. There are people nowadays who abandon their family without taking the tonsure; they are therefore neither monks, nor laymen, and yet secretly live in the monasteries. The Prefects shall track the same, and send them back into secular society. 1767.

Çrāmaṇeras are forbidden to go about without the tonsure. 1780.

A woman may not become a nun before she has reached her 40th year; henceforth the prefects shall strictly maintain this rescript. Çrāmaṇeras, and pupils of the Taoist clergy (道童), if they have no father or elder brother to support them, shall be allowed to remain in the monasteries in which they are; only they shall be registered, and if at the age of twenty they do not desire initiation, or if before that time they are able to provide for themselves as laymen, they shall be allowed to return into secular society. Young girls shall not be allowed to dwell in any convent unless they be deformed or infirm, or have no other home; in which case the official diploma can be given to them. 1736.

In a family as yet not counting three sons, none shall be permitted to embrace the clerical state. Nor shall any male be allowed to do so above the age of sixteen. Transgression of this rescript renders punishable not only the relations, but also the Ecclesiastical Officers and the abbot of the monastery, who, being cognisant of

the matter, does not disclose it. Those officers shall be dismissed, and the abbot shall be expelled from the clerical state. 1665.

An only son of a family shall not be allowed to become a monk or priest. In case of transgression, the head of the family shall be punished, as well as the man who took that son for his pupil; the latter shall moreover be expelled from the clergy, and the Ecclesiastical Officers in whose jurisdiction the transgression took place, shall be dismissed from their office. 1739. — Needless to say, that this ordinance is a result of the Confucian obligation to provide for the continuance of offspring on account of the worship of ancestors. Comp. the article of the Code on page 98.

Amongst the Manchus and the Mongols, as also in the Chinese army, exorcists (巫師) and Taoist clergy are forbidden to dance about possessed, for the purpose of expelling spirits and evil influences, thereby misleading the human mind. He who invites such exorcists to such ends shall likewise be punished. 1640.

Should a Bannerman labour under some disease brought about by evil spirits, so that it is deemed desirable to fetch an exorcist or a Taoist priest to cure him, this exorcist or priest shall ask permission to do so from the patient's General or Deputy General, who shall send an intimation of the request, duly sealed and stamped, to the Board. Not until after this formality has been performed, shall the cure be allowed to be effected. If this rescript be violated, the guilty exorcist shall be delivered up for execution (正法) to the Board of Punishment, and the persons who invited him to come shall also be delivered up to the same Board for correction. 1662.

Buddhist and Taoist clergy are strenuously forbidden to place images in the streets of Peking, and to recite sutras or dhāranis there, or to collect gifts of money by rapping on objects of wood or metal. Such things may be punished by the shutting up of their convent. When persons collect subscriptions in various directions, their abbot shall be punished, as also their Controller. 1646.

And within the metropolis, the convents are not permitted to found religious societies and congregations, or let the two sexes assemble together. No platforms or scaffoldings shall be erected, no theatrical performances shall take place, no money shall be collected for the worship of divinities, or to present sacrifices to them. The Controllers of the clergy shall incessantly watch over these things, catch the transgressors, and deliver them up to the Board, by whom they shall be punished, together with their abbot. Any laxity on the part of the Controllers in their investigations is also punishable. 1677.

Altars shall only be erected in-doors. The placing of tents of matting in the street, the hanging out of streamers and wood-work, the suspending of incense and cloths by Buddhist or Taoist clergy, or their walking about the streets, or their sprinkling of the ground with water, or the opening of hell (in order to refresh the damned souls with offerings); or the wearing of coats of mail and helmets, etc. — all these things are prohibited on penalty of twenty strokes with the long stick for the clergy, as also their secularisation, while the Controllers shall be deposed, and all who ordered the celebration of the ceremonies punished. In case they be officers, it shall be proposed to the Board to punish them. 1662.

A superficial reading of the above list of rules may lead us to the conclusion that, after all, some fragments of religious liberty are left in China. The clergy seeking their own and other people's salvation, are not forbidden to preach, recite sutras, and perform ceremonies within doors; but what is the good of this liberty where the State has cast its system of certification of clergy within such strict bounds, and has made the admission of male disciples extremely difficult, of females almost impossible, so that the number of those who could avail themselves of such liberty, is reduced to a miserably small percentage of the population? It makes this vaunted liberty into a farce. And what is left of it in the end when we find that, besides all this, the whole female population throughout the empire are forbidden to go and worship the gods and buddhas in the temples of the convents? It is like our forbidding women to go to church.

Should a woman make her appearance in a convent or temple, thus we have read in the *Hwui tien* (p. 113), the clergy shall drive her away, on penalty of being sentenced to the same punishment as the pious visitor herself. And in the Code of Laws we read:

“If in the family of an official person, warrior or citizen, any one of its female members be allowed or commanded to burn incense in the temple of a divinity, belonging to a Buddhist or Taoist convent, a punishment of forty strokes with the short lath shall be inflicted on the husband or the male guardian of the woman, or on herself if she has no husband or male guardian. The same punishment shall fall on the abbot of that convent-temple and on its porter, should they not forbid and stop her”¹).

1) 若有官及軍民之家縱令妻女於寺觀神廟燒香者笞四十、罪坐夫男、無夫男者罪坐本婦。其

According to the adjoined paraphrase of this article, the legislator enacted the latter for a twofold reason: "Incense-worship performed "by a woman in the temple of a convent is not only profanation, "but also detrimental to the development of manners and "customs" '1).

We have ample proof that, to prevent this curious law on morality and sacrilege from falling into abeyance, the emperors have occasionally poured new life into it by the promulgation of decrees. In the *Shi li* we find four instances of this: —

In Kiangsu, Nganhwui, Kiangsi, and Chehkiang, no female shall enter any of the convents in the mountains. 1723.

People who know no better, allow women in groups to enter convent-temples and burn incense — a violation of the manners and customs (fung-suh). This is prohibited on the penalty fixed by the Law; and the abbot and the porter also shall be punished accordingly. 1724.

In the five wards of the metropolis the same prohibitions are in force. It is forbidden also to hold meetings there for the celebration of sacrificial festivals in honour of the divinities, excepting feasts of supplication and thanksgiving to the divinities of the Soil (社). The Censurate shall make this known by proclamation. 1724.

Visits to temples by women again prohibited in Peking. 1812.

In addition, we may mention an imperial decree of the 17th of the eleventh month (Dec. 19) of the year 1869, inserted in the *Shing hiun* (chap. 10): "The Censor Sih Kwang has proposed "to Us, that in the five wards of the metropolis strenuous "prohibitions shall be issued against theatrical performances " (at religious services) in Buddhist convents, by which married "and unmarried women are enticed into the temples; such "prohibition will reform morals and customs in the orthodox "direction" '2). The emperor decrees, that the Commandant of the Gendarmerie and the Governor of Peking shall issue proclamations

寺觀神廟住持及守門之人不爲禁止者與同罪。

Ta Tsing luh li, chap. 16, title 5, 褻瀆神明: "on the Profanation of gods". This article also occurred word for word in the Code of the Ming dynasty.

1) 婦女若于寺觀神廟燒香不獨褻瀆神明、亦且傷敗風化。

2) 御史錫光奏請嚴禁五城寺院演劇、招搖婦女入廟、以端風化一摺。

to make an end of these enormities, and on recurrence shall severely punish the monks and nuns.

5. RESCRIPTS REGARDING LAMAISM.

Since antipathy to Buddhism is in China a main spring in legislation on religion, the government there can scarcely be expected to grant much latitude to Lamaism. The remarkable decree of T'ai Tsung, of which we gave the translation on page 93, shows convincingly that the enmity of the ancestors of the now reigning house against the Buddhist religion even before they conquered the imperial throne, was also fully extended to that Tibetan branch of the church; and we know that Confucianism holds it to be the most sacred duty to walk in the footsteps of the ancestors, and firmly to adhere to their principles. This duty every emperor of this house openly professes to fulfil by means of his decrees, throughout his political career. As a necessary consequence, we find some rigorous rescripts which T'ai Tsung enacted in 1633 against Lamaism, laid down in the *Shi li* (chap. 390, fol. 25), and thus holding rank, ever since, as fundamental principles of legislation for this religion. Originally, those rescripts were destined probably for Mongolia, where Lamaism was the ruling religion, or at least greatly flourished.

They are of the following tenor: —

Lamas and Bandis shall leave the towns and dwell outside, in clean and pure abodes.

Heads of families who invite them to come and recite their religious books for the healing of the sick, shall be punished.

Punishable are Lamas and Bandis who allow married or unmarried females to sojourn with them, without duly giving notice of their presence to the Board, with all necessary particulars.

Punishable are all persons who erect a convent or temple for Lamas without official permission.

In later years the following regulations were enacted:

No Lama may travel about without an official permit. Should he come to Peking, he shall be sent back to the place where his relations live. 1647.

The nine Lamas living at Peking in the White Pagoda (白塔) (near to the great western city-gate), the eight living in the Shih-ta-tah temple (什大達廟), as also the Ngoh-muh-ts'i 額木齊 Lamas, shall be permitted to remain there; but all

others shall settle outside the city. Should they venture to enter the capital without official permission, they shall be delivered up for correction to the Board of Punishments. 1661.

Lamas and Bandis shall be controlled day by day by the Grand Lama (大喇嘛) placed over them, and every month by the Board. Any person desiring a Lama to come to recite sacred books and to heal the sick, shall apply to the Grand Lama; and after the ceremony is over, the priest shall be brought back again to the Grand Lama. 1667.

A Lama shall not stay anywhere for more than three days at a time; otherwise the master of the house with whom he stays, and the abbot of his convent shall be punished, as well as the mandarins who failed to discover the fact. 1682.

Unless by special imperial permission, Bandis shall not put on gold-coloured or yellow clothes; neither shall an Ubashih (伍巴什, Upāsaka, male novice) or an Ubasanchah (伍巴三察, female novice), dress in gold, yellow or red colours. Whosoever does this shall be punished. 1682.

From all the provinces, an annual list of the ordination-certificates to be distributed among the Buddhist and Taoist clergy, and of the certificates which are cancelled through death of the holders, shall be sent to the Board; and at the end of every year, the Board shall compile all these reports into one, and present this to the emperor. This rescript also applies to the Lamas. 1736.

Ordination-certificates for Lamas are suspended. 1774.

The Lamas in Wu-t'ai 五臺 in Shansi, and elsewhere, if desiring to travel to P'u-tu in the Cheu-san Archipelago, in order to offer incense and pay their devotions, must be holders of a passport issued by the Viceroy or the Governor of their province. These authorities must obtain the documents from the Board of War, through the Board of Administration of the Dependencies (理蕃院). Notice shall at the same time be sent to the high provincial government of Chehkiang, which shall see that the passports are viewed by the intendants of the seaports in this province. The intendants shall send information of the returning pilgrims to the Governor of Chehkiang, who then at the end of the year shall send a statement of the number of pilgrims that have passed through his territory, to the Board of War and to the Board of Administration of the Dependencies. Should it be found in these Boards that the number of pilgrims reported to have left the ports, differs from the number of passports issued, the intendants shall be punished for lack of vigilance. 1770.

And so, although much has been said and written about the favour shown to Lamaism by some emperors of the reigning dynasty, the clergy of this religion certainly cannot be said to be free, either in the choice of their habitation, or in their movements, or in the exercise of their religion outside their temples or convents. The reasons why the government does not, with one blow, make an end of Lamaism, will be mentioned on p. 128 and foll.

6. RESCRIPTS FOR THE CLERGY LIVING OUTSIDE THE CONVENTS.

The manner in which the Chinese State has for centuries put all sorts of obstructions in the way of salvation-seekers, nay often has altogether barred the entrance into monastic life, has necessarily caused great alterations in this principal method of attaining salvation. If the highroad to the state of bliss, which runs straight through the convents, was blocked, well, the by-paths might be recurred to, outside the convents. For, according to the doctrine of the Mahayāna, the roads to the land of Devas, Arhats and Buddhas are many; he who invents new ones and points them out to others, is Buddha's most deserving son.

The laity thus made a virtue of necessity, and the religious practices specially connected with conventual life were transferred to secular society. There also, salvation was sought by reading the sacred writings. There also, people cultivated obedience to Buddha's commandments, especially to the five first and principal ones; that is to say, they did not kill any living beings and, as a necessary consequence, refused to eat animal food; they abstained from stealing, lying, unchastity, and spirituous liquors, ensuring in this wise the Devaship for themselves. Some even tried by keeping more commandments and by practising some asceticism, to obtain the Arhatship, or the still higher dignity of Bodhisatwa. At the same time, the salvation of others, this high duty in the Mahayāna church, became the special care of these devotees: they prevailed upon others to follow their example, printed and distributed sacred writings, and founded religious societies for mutual edification and encouragement¹⁾. In short, they were monks or nuns to all intent and purpose; only they lived in the world, did not wear the clerical dress, had no tonsure, and had not, by

1) Theory and practice of salvation and redemption in the Mahayāna church in China have been described by us in "Le Code du Mahayāna en Chine". We take it for granted that both are known to the reader.

solemnly accepting different sets of commandments within any convent walls, received ordination as Deva, Arhat, or Bodhisatwa. Living in their own family circle, they evaded the great grievance of the State that the monk neglects the hiao, his filial duties; by marrying and begetting children, they paralyzed the arm of the State holding the powerful weapon forged by Confucianism out of the classical dogma which says, that he who does not beget sons for the continuance of ancestor-worship is "worse than unfilial" (see p. 51).

Thus religious lay-communities were created, in the main of a pronounced Buddhist colour, with the Buddhist doctrine of salvation for their backbone. To these we will devote the remaining chapters of this work. They are religious sects in the fullest sense of the word, the upholders of Buddhism and Taoism among the people, and, according to the State, brewers of cursed heresies, therefore chief objects for persecution. The most pious members of these fraternities and sisterhoods, the most skilled also in the reading and expounding of the holy writings and the performance of religious work, formed a class of secular clergy, regarding the origin of which Chinese books give us as little information as about the origin of the sects themselves. But there can be no reasonable doubt that the growth of that clergy tolerably coincided with the development of the spirit of persecution.

We find this secular priesthood mentioned for the first time in the *Hwui tien* of the Ming dynasty. There we read, that under the first emperor, in the 27th year of the Hung wu period (1394), it was decreed, "that what was called White Lotus, Ling pao, "or (clergy) dwelling in the fire¹), as also Buddhist and Taoist "clergy not observing the ancestral manners and customs, and "the makers of libertine disquisitions (philosophical speculations) "or prohibitions and rescripts, should incur the most severe punishments²). And in the tenth year of the Yung loh period (1412) "the emperor wrote to the Board concerned, that throughout "the empire many members of the Buddhist and the Taoist clergy "did not observe the religious laws and commandments, but,

1) 火居 hwo kü, an epithet applied to Taoist clergy living in the world. Popof thinks "fire" here merely indicates secular life (Chin. Russ. Dict., II, p. 108). The term may also mean simply "dwelling by their own fireside". We waver between the two renderings.

2) 有稱白蓮靈寶火居、及僧道不務祖風、妄爲議論沮令者皆治重罪. Chap. 95, fol. 5.

“living among the people, devoted themselves to fasting and the “reciting of sutras; that there were, moreover, ignorant laymen who boldly called themselves travellers on the road to “salvation, and everywhere poisoned and misled men’s minds; that “men and women (under their direction) mixed together in one “and the same place, thereby prejudicing the instituted reforms “of the manners and customs, even destroying them altogether. “In the Hung wu period severe prohibitions were enacted both “against Buddhist and Taoist clergy who did not observe the ancestral manners and customs, and against lay people who practised “Yogism, or styled themselves Taoist doctors dwelling in the “fire. It shall now immediately be promulgated by means of placards, “that such transgressors shall without pardon be put to death”¹⁾.

This extract means: cruel persecution of religious sects since the first emperor of the Ming dynasty; bloody persecution also of the hwo kũ or secular Taoist priests. In truth, a dynasty which persecuted Buddhism and Taoism so vigorously as we have sketched, could scarcely do full justice to this cherished polity of Confucian fanaticism unless it oppressed at the same time the worldly clergy and sects, sprung from those religions. The present dynasty has also devoted its full attention to this double political evil. The sanguinary line of conduct adopted with regard to the sects, will be traced in the remaining Chapters; the measures taken against the secular clergy will now be for a few minutes the object of our attention.

The first measures of which the *Shi li* makes mention, were taken by Kao Tsung 高宗, two months after his accession to the throne. On the 6th day of the eleventh month (19 Dec. 1735) he issued a decree, in which he set forth that only the four social classes, viz. agriculturists, artisans, scholars and merchants, are of service to society and to the government. “But at present there “are among the Buddhist clergy so-called ying fu, everyone “of whom branches off into families, and who from generation to “generation possess fields and houses. They drink fermented liquor “and eat meat, and there is nothing they abstain from; but, worst

1) 永樂十年諭本部、天下僧道多不守戒律、民間修齋誦經、又有無知愚民妄稱道人、一槩蠱惑、男女雜處無別、敗壞風化。洪武中僧道不務祖風、及俗人行瑜珈法、稱火居道士者、俱有嚴禁。即揭榜申明、違者殺不赦。 *Ibid.*, fol. 6.

“of all, they have wives and children!') Such is the case also “with the hwo kũ of the Taoist clergy”²). These men do not plough, their wives do not weave; thus they cause others to suffer from want of food and clothing, the more so as they themselves live in abundance and dress well. His Majesty calculates, that at least three agriculturists are required to support one cleric; his mind necessarily revolts against such wrong social conditions. Not for want of reverence for the name of Buddha or Laotszë, far from it! but because no one now belonging to the religions of these prophets is found to equal the patriarchs and saints, the immortals, and the preparers of miraculous medicines — therefore he issues this decree. The anchorites living in their remote mountain-retreats in accordance with the rescripts of their religion, performing works of merit, and contenting themselves with linen clothes and coarse food, are not so harmful to the people³). But those modern priests who live in the world, eat well and dress well, and who by tens and by hundreds draw upon husbandry, the artisan and the merchant for their sustenance, without ever carrying out one letter of the instructions of their prophets — these people are the idlers useless to the State, and, moreover, a curse to the Buddhist and the Taoist religions themselves. Can they reasonably be allowed to continue to waste the people's wealth, to corrupt their manners and customs?

The Viceroys and Governors of the provinces shall therefore instruct their Prefects to summon in mass and interrogate all such Buddhist ying fu clergy who are heads of families, and all Taoist clergy who dwell in the fire. If they wish to return to secular life, they shall be permitted to do so; or they may retire into the convents, provided they obtain ordination-diplomas from the government. But they shall no more be allowed to adopt pupils. And of their property, only as much as is absolutely necessary for their sustenance shall be left to them, the

1) So the very thing which, according to Confucius and Mencius, is most deserving of praise, the Confucian government imputes to the Buddhist clergy as a crime, because it is contrary to the principles of their church. On penalty of eighty strokes with the stick, Buddhist and Taoist monks and priests are forbidden to marry: see *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, chap. 10, the 14th title.

2) 今僧之中有號爲應付者、各分房頭世守田宅。飲酒食肉、並無顧忌、甚者且畜妻子。道士之火居者亦然。

3) And all along in history the monks are called a plague to the nation! Gross fanaticism is not always consistent!

surplus shall be confiscated by the authorities, and used for the benefit of the poor¹).

Already on the 25th of the second month (6th April) of the next year the emperor again issued a decree²) in reference to this same affair. The magnates of the realm had in the mean time been consulted, and they now reported that the first edict had caused much alarm and consternation among the Buddhist and Taoist clergy in the provinces. The intended confiscation of the property of the lay-clergy would give rise to iniquities of all sorts; the owners were sure nominally to transfer their possession to others, to falsify documents, to make untrue statements; people eager to profit by the prevailing state of anxiety might spread all kinds of false reports and rumours, in order to buy the possessions much below their real value. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the emperor would be sure to earn the praise of posterity as a sovereign highly just and equitable, if he stripped those selfish priests, that chaff and refuse of society, for the benefit of the general public and of the indigent. The emperor, however, could not admit the correctness of this final conclusion: — Heaven and Earth, he wrote, produce life and foster life; the clergy are as well as all other men the creatures of this supreme dual Power, and an emperor has under all circumstances to bring his mind and doings into conformity with the same. He therefore desired further advice.

This was of the following tenor. The sacerdotal class outside the convents partly consists of men and women who of their own accord shaved their heads at an advanced age, because otherwise they would have stood helpless in the world. This priesthood however is made up also of persons who at an early age separate themselves from their families, or are probably forced to forsake the world, in order to devote themselves to Nirwana; now this portion it is which represents the great evil for the human mind and for the manners and customs. In Kiangnan and Chehkiang there are even untensured people who style themselves bhikshu — an almost incredible thing! Let all the laws bearing upon the consecrated clergy be made applicable to these folks; only they must not be allowed to adopt pupils, lest their class be propagated from age to age. And women should only be allowed to join when over forty years old.

In this spirit the emperor decided to act. The Prefects, thus he decreed, should summon the secular Buddhist clergy,

1) This remarkable decree also occurs in the *Shing hiun* of Kao Tsung, chap. 15.

2) To be found in the 15th chapter of the *Shing hiun*.

and give them the choice either to become really monks, and as such to accept official diplomas, or to return to the lay state. They who should be too old, too infirm, or too weak to go through the hardships of ordination, and against whose return to the lay state there existed almost unsurmountable obstacles, were to receive the certificate, and to be allowed to end their days as keepers of convents or temples. Special registers were to be kept of these persons, and they were for ever to be forbidden to adopt pupils. Nuns were to be treated in the same manner. But the Taoist secular priests were to be compelled to become laymen, except a few, engaged in temple-work and devoted to a religious life, and a few aged, and some without other means of sustenance or without fortune, to all of whom a certificate was to be given by the Board. They too should never take a pupil. Finally it was decided that no property of convents or temples should be touched, for fear of disturbance and opposition.

In 1738 these resolutions were modified by imperial decree, slightly more in favor of the clergy. The *ying fu* and *hwo kü* priests were permitted, after they had passed the age of forty, to take one pupil, who had to be enrolled by the Prefect, and to whom, after his master's death, the diploma might be transferred. For every adoption a security from five persons was required. Every year the Prefects were to send a full report of such transactions to the provincial Governor, who in his turn was every five years to send a compilation to the Board of Rites. A pupil committing a crime was to be sent back to the lay state; at his condemnation his name was to be struck out of his master's certificate, and the latter never again to be allowed to adopt a pupil. If the pupil died without having committed any crime, the master should be allowed to take another pupil, provided the fact were notified to his Prefect. The Ecclesiastical Officers were to guard against transgressions in matters of this kind, on penalty of dismissal from the clerical state and correction with the short lath. — The chief of the above imperial rescripts have been inserted, in the form of a supplementary article, in the title of the Code which we translated in the first pages of this Chapter. It says there (see p. 99) that fifty strokes with the lath, and ejection from the clerical state are to be the punishment for the priest who before his fortieth year adopts a pupil, or who adopts a second in the event of the first committing adultery, theft, or any other gross crime; a similar punishment awaits all Ecclesiastical Officers who should hush up such unlawful adoptions.

The secular priesthood must have been very numerous in

the empire when these regulations were enacted, for we read in a decree of 1739, inserted in the *Shi li*, that since the year in which Kao Tsung began his reign (1736), no less than 340,112 diplomas had been issued to them in the provinces, including Shingking. Thus their enrolment became an established fact. Viceroys and Governors thenceforth had but to send in their quinquennial reports of mutations to the Board of Rites. There need be no further fear of increase; on the contrary, a regular decrease might be expected, for every priest could only transmit his diploma to one disciple, that is, if he were permitted to live forty years, and was fortunate enough to find a disciple. A kindly concession on the part of the State allowed certificates lost by fire, floods, theft, or any other accident, to be replaced by new ones.

In 1771 the existence of the secular clergy was still further acknowledged by the State, when the emperor decreed that they might be placed on the list of expectants for the dignity of Ecclesiastical Officer, though only in default of other candidates, and provided that, if Buddhists, they had received the ordination by accepting the commandments, and if Taoists, they had occupied themselves with religious work in a temple, and fully entered into the Tao.

Measures of control and restriction were also taken in 1801 with regard to the secular clergy of Manchuria, for a great part descended from the exiles, who, as will be shown later on, were under this dynasty sent thither by thousands for conscience sake. We read in the *Shi li*, that in Shingking there were in that year about 672 Taoist heads of families living in temples, being for the greater part exiles and government slaves who no longer had a direct master over them. Their number was increasing day by day; they might therefore become dangerous to the State. Hence the Board of Rites at Mukden was ordered to give them certificates, and to appoint Tao luh szě for their control. None but those 672 might be placed on the registers; 214 excluded from this privilege were appointed to do useful work as menials during the sacrificial ceremonies in the mausoleum-grounds of the ancestors of the dynasty, under the direction of officers of the sixth or seventh degree, appointed thereto by the Board at Mukden. They were not allowed to compete at the state-examinations together with the Manchu Bannermen, nor were they allowed to intermarry with these people, or to possess any goods in common with them.

Some words in conclusion about the meaning of the term ying fu 應付, which, as we have seen, is used in the Chinese docu-

mentary language to designate the Buddhist clergy living in the world. If we take these characters in their usual meaning, they make no sense. They are therefore evidently a transcription of some foreign word; and this becomes almost a certainty from the fact that the second is sometimes replaced by the synonymous 赴, which makes no sense either when translated. What that foreign word is, we do not know.

In the *Pei-wen yun fu* (chap. 25, fol. 153) we find a quotation from the *Shen tsung ki* 禪宗記 or Writings concerning the Dhyana School, which runs: 瑜伽僧今應赴僧也, "the Yoga clergy is the present ying fu clergy". From this we must conclude that the ying fu clergy is born from Yogism, which, as we saw on pp. 82 and 122, was as early as the first years of the Ming dynasty a prohibited and persecuted religion. This Yogism was a syncretic school devoted in particular to the practice and development of the art of salvation. As such it was the very backbone of Mahayanism, if not this branch itself of Buddha's church, and the instrument by which the doctrines and practices of this church, together with a priesthood, established themselves in the lay world. In other words, the Yoga School gave birth to a syncretic sectarianism which flourishes in China to this day, in spite of its having been doomed to destruction by the State ever since the beginning of the Ming dynasty, and probably even before that time.

Such is the remarkable system of laws and rescripts by which the present dynasty, and the one preceding it, have most emphatically expressed their hostile spirit with regard to convents and monastic life. Their policy, extremely severe, but not radical, may be easily condensed in a few lines. Nothing can be better than to do away with monasticism altogether; to strive for the realization of this principle is an irrefutable duty naturally resulting from the anti-heretical doctrines of the Ancients, and forced upon the government by wise statesmen, who have pointed out most clearly and convincingly the dangers of monachism for the personal safety of every emperor and for the self-preservation of dynasties. But in spite of the very best intentions enforced by orthodoxy and political wisdom, the State cannot possibly perform that duty in all its bearings, in letter and in spirit. For devotion to the ancestors and the promotion of their felicity are also sacred duties, if not the most sacred of all laid upon humanity by Antiquity and Confucius; and it is the Buddhist clergy who

monopolize the salvation of the dead. Moreover, the almighty Fung-shui, which sways the State and Society equally with overbearing power, forms an insuperable obstacle against the extermination of Buddhist religious buildings. An unstable, two-faced policy is the only possible result of such considerations. Let, such is the conclusion, monachism continue to exist, but reduce it to minimum dimensions. Suppress it with zeal and might, not by pulling down monasteries and temples, not by exterminating the clergy, but by preventing the erection of new buildings of the kind, and by greatly limiting the liberty of the monks and priests in recruiting neophytes to fill up their ranks, as death thins them. In this manner, the demands made upon the State are best gratified.

A languishing existence must be the fate of any religion under such a regime. China's laws regarding convents and clergy surrender both to the discretion of the mandarins in their several territories; for under the colours of Confucian zeal, persecution and vexation necessarily obtain a charming tinge of official integrity, puritanism, and moral rectitude. Under that banner, anything done against heretics looks well and fair. We should, however, detract from the truth if we did not mention another factor which has helped much to avert total destruction from the two persecuted religions, namely the Buddhistic and Taoistic sympathies entertained in all ages by members of the imperial family and the court. Religious feelings and instincts have proved there more powerful than Confucian extremism, and have softened down many of the radical measures dreamed of or projected by Confucian zealots.

We may take it for granted, that there are in China few high-placed supporters of Confucianism, who carry their puritanism so far as to refuse the services of Buddhist and Taoist priests or monks in performing redemption-rites at the death of their relations. Very likely, almost all officials follow in the track of Yao Ch'ung (p. 48), also to avoid the reproach of being without hiao or filial devotion. Lately, on the death of Li Hung-chang, when foreign diplomats paid their visit of condolence at the mortuary house, they found the clergy of both religions busily at work. And we ourselves have seen them perform their functions at the houses of mandarins where death had occurred. It is exactly the same at the imperial court.

The *Li pu tseh li* (see p. 104), the great official book of Instructions for the Board of Rites, prescribes in the chapters about the funeral rites of emperors, that when the body has been taken to the pin kung 殯宮 or hall where it is confined and kept until the

day of the burial, to receive sacrifices, 108 groups of Lamas shall be in attendance (chap. 148, fol. 7), to welcome the body at the entrance; and again (fol. 9), that from that day, Lamas together with Buddhist and Taoist clergy shall recite sacred books there, under supervision of the Department of the Imperial Household (內務府). After the varnishing, the coffin shall be decked by Lamas with Tibetan writing at the four sides (fol. 11). And after the Great Sacrifice, the sutra-readings shall be commenced on the days appointed by the Board of Rites in concert with the Imperial Household Department (fol. 12). Two magnates shall be delegated to witness these recitals and supervise them, together with six officers of the Body-guard, and other grandees. The recitals shall take place at the Morning and the Evening Sacrifices. The Ecclesiastical Officers are, of course, the men who have to arrange these matters.

The same readings shall be held for a defunct empress (chap. 151, fol. 10). And when a concubine of the highest rank (皇貴妃) dies, forthwith eleven groups of Lamas shall recite their litanies (chap. 157, fol. 1); and after the body has been taken into the pin kung, 108 Lamas shall there recite their sutras for seven days; after that time, this work shall be done by 48 groups of Dhyantists, then again by the same number of Lamas, and again by Dhyantists; finally for the third time by Lamas — each time for seven days. These solemnities are likewise performed under supervision of specially appointed magnates (fol. 7). For other concubines the same salvation-service is celebrated, but the number of clergy is slightly different (chap. 58, fol. 1 and 3). The death of any other member of the imperial family is, no doubt, solemnized in similar manner.

Not only, however, on behalf of the dead, but also for the promotion of personal welfare the dynasty employs the Buddhist and Taoist clergy. Their sutra-readings, in fact, not only greatly promote felicity in the future life, but also in the present. In the *Shi li* (chap. 819, fol. 8), among the functions of the Kwang luh szě 光祿寺: "the Bureau of Shining Imperial Favour" (?) or Department of Imperial Entertainments, charged with the care of the meat and drink for the imperial sacrifices and the imperial guests — we find a description of the duties to be performed by that body when Taoist or Buddhist clergy assemble to read their sacred books for the benefit of the court. These readings are performed by them in numbers of 48 or 24 men, before an altar on which as many as 692 sacrificial dishes have to be set out. Dhyantists and Lamaists in particular are charged with these

ceremonies. All who are thus employed enjoy some pay, as is also the case with the Ecclesiastical Officers on duty to control them. In 1774 the pay was fixed to be enjoyed by four hundred groups of Lamas, who every year from the 8th of the first month, were to recite for eight days running; also the stipend for 34 groups of Grand Lamas, 64 groups of Dimch'i (德木齊) Lamas, and 302 of ordinary Lamas. And among the rescripts for the Department of the Imperial Household, the *Shi li* contains a series of directions regarding other sutra-readings to be performed by Lamas for the court (chap. 920, fol. 11). In a front temple or fore-hall (前殿) these readings shall be held daily by twenty men, and in a back-temple or back-hall (後殿) by twelve; moreover, groups of varying strength, together up to 184 men, shall perform them in various buildings and pleasure-grounds belonging to the court. Divination by means of crows or ravens allowed to fly away, accompanies most of these readings. The list of days appointed for such ceremonies is so long, that there seem to be scarcely any on which in some place or other belonging to the court such recitals and divinations do not take place. On the anniversaries of the death of emperors and empresses of the dynasty, these recitals are also to be held, and again at eclipses of the sun and of the moon.

And chapter 893 of the *Shi li* contains precepts regarding the celebration at court of the annual festival of the baptism of Buddha (浴佛), on the eighth day of the fourth month. On this occasion, an image of Buddha is placed in a basin or bowl with water, and, probably with a spoon, the devout male and female courtiers pour some of the water over the image. This ceremony is performed with a great display of ritual, with sacrificial offerings, music and chants. On that day it is forbidden to slay any animals, or to execute criminals.

Now where so many Taoist and Buddhist practices and rites are set forth to be performed at court, there will probably be a good deal more of the same kind; but there is no need for us to track these matters any further. One other point however should be mentioned, namely that in the earliest years of the reign of the present dynasty Taoist and Buddhist altars most certainly existed within the palace grounds, witness the fact that in 1651 a decree "ordained that none might be constructed within the Imperial city"¹). We have already mentioned (p. 107)

1) 定皇城內不許作道場 *Shi li*, 390, fol. 3.

that in and round Peking there exist Buddhist convents and temples which are the direct property of the Government, and as such supported from its treasury. These we referred to on page 71 as serving chiefly to maintain the Fung-shui of the court and the metropolis. The position of the Buddhist convents in general as Fung-shui buildings is no doubt connected with a phenomenon we frequently witnessed in South China, high mandarins commanding the monks to perform their peculiar rites to produce rain, to put a stop to immoderate rainfall, or to exorcise swarms of locusts; and according to the general saying of the people, those grandees bore the expense of it. So the official world also follow the imperial example, and actually uphold Buddhism as a part of the religion of the State. To resume: there is a power at work in the Chinese State which prohibits the total destruction of Taoism and Buddhism, nay, which even up to a certain height takes both under its protection, namely the belief in their doctrine and in the efficacy of their ritual, which prevails with all, even the emperors, their family, and their court.

This imperial sympathy with Buddhism expresses itself sometimes in public favour towards clerics of importance. They may become "Dhyāna-masters, invested by the Emperor himself with this dignity" (勅封禪師), in proof of which they receive an imperial diploma (勅書) written at the Chancery (內閣), and a silver seal made by the Board of Rites. On a propitious day selected for this purpose by the Bureau of Astrology, these precious objects are sent in a portable pavilion by two envoys from the Board of Rites to the abode of the favorite elect. In the suite of those envoys an imperial banner is displayed with a dragon depicted on it¹⁾. It will easily be understood that in the monastery where the Dhyāna-master resides, the diploma and the seal are received with great religious delight and worldly pomp. The recipient naturally becomes the coryphaeus of the whole religious world in that region, and the monastery a 封禪寺: "where a Dhyānist has received the title from the emperor". This title of honor the building retains long after the death of the exalted friar, often even till it crumbles into ruins.

And now we ask in conclusion: is this dying-condition to which the policy of the government has reduced Buddhist and Taoist religious life, very noticeable?

He who has travelled in China with eyes more than half open

1) *Li pu tseh li*, chap. 170, fol. 8.

to the existing state of things, and who from Chinese books has gathered some idea of what the two religions have been in their glorious times of yore — he can but answer this question with a decided yes.

The fact is, that the Taoist monasteries have almost entirely disappeared. And as to the Buddhist abbeys, their days seem numbered. The hundreds of stately edifices with shining, curved roofs standing out elegantly against the sky, with lofty pagodas and ancient parks, which, as books profusely inform us, once studded the empire, picturesquely breaking the monotony of the mountain-slopes; buildings where the pious sought salvation by thousands, thronging the broad Mahayāna to eternal bliss and perfection, and whither the laity flocked to receive initiation into the commandments — these institutions can now at most be counted by dozens. No crowds of sowers are sent out from there into the world to scatter in all directions faith and piety; no religious councils or synods, formerly attended by thousands, take place there now. Of many of these buildings only the spacious temple-halls exist, but the clergy who crowded them to make their hymns resound, have all but a few disappeared. Nuns are a rarity, and no longer dwell in cloisters, but in houses among the laity. With the greater part of the convents, religious wisdom has vanished. Theological studies belong to history; philosophical works have well-nigh disappeared, and to collect a complete Tripitaka in China has become an impossibility. Propagation of the doctrines of salvation, through preaching, which the Mahayāna principles laid 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 — conventual life is at best a shadow of what it was in past centuries.

Unfortunately, we possess no figures by which this state of decay may be illustrated. All we have found as to the numerical strength of the clergy and their convents is the returns of a census made by the Board of Rites in 1667, published in the *Shi li* (ch. 390, fol. 4). There were then in all the provinces together 12,482 convents and temples (寺廟) founded with imperial permission (勅建), that is to say, 6,073 large ones, and 6,409 of smaller size; besides 67,140 built without imperial approbation, amongst which were 8,458 of larger, and 58,682 of smaller size. This makes a total of 79,622. The Buddhist clergy consisted of 110,292 men and 8,615 women, and the Taoist of 21,286 men; or, in all, 140,193.

Now all who have any practical experience of Chinese mat-

ters, know how little such official statistical accounts are worth. But admitting this one to deserve credit, it tells us a few things of interest. In the first place: more than two centuries ago the Taoist nuns had entirely disappeared, or, at least, they had dwindled down so much, that it was not even deemed worth while to mention them. And the Buddhist nuns in that vast empire were then reduced to a few thousands. Still the total of the whole clergy, some 140,000, appears at first sight to be rather a respectable number. But when we compare it with the whole population, it gives only one in a thousand, estimating the latter at no more than 140 millions. And the official measures for reducing the clergy were then only just beginning to work. And what shall we say of the convents and temples? Some eighty thousand buildings for a clergy of 140,000, gives an average of not even two persons for each; so it is evident that the number comprised also thousands of edifices not inhabited by monks or priests: mere ward or village temples, chapels erected for popular worship of gods and saints. This fact renders these figures absolutely useless for estimating the condition of monachism. It may be worth considering, that under the 'Tang dynasty the total of the Buddhist and the Taoist clergy was fixed at 126,000 (see page 52), which would hardly show any progress of the two churches in a thousand years, granting that the population had not increased in that long lapse of time.

Under that oppression of ages Buddhism languished, yet did not perish. Whence this vitality? Let a retrospect give the answer. We see the Indian doctrine of salvation making its entrance into China about the beginning of our era, and quickly becoming a power. This had its good reasons. Neither Confucianism, nor Taoism had been able to satisfy the human craving after higher ideals, for of a state of perfection after the present life Confucius made no mention, Taoism but slight. But Çakyamuni's church proclaimed salvation, partly or wholly obtainable already in this earthly existence. Love and compassion towards all that lives and breathes, expressed in good works of a religious and a worldly nature, were the chief means of attaining it; while resort to the saints and the invocation of their assistance naturally led to pious veneration of those ideals of perfection. And all this the new religion brought, without interfering with any existing conditions, without accusing of heresy the religious elements which were found in pagan hearts and customs. It even allotted,

with true syncretic spirit, a place in its bosom to that paganism, principally to its worship of the dead. This worship it surrounded for the first time with an aureole of outward splendor, introducing new freshness and new vitality by its dogmas respecting another life, and by its ceremonial for raising the dead into better conditions. Moreover, this church introduced a doctrine of salvation in the true oriental spirit, that is to say, aristocratic in form and appearance, yet excluding no one, however low and insignificant; and we can conceive how easily it ingratiated itself into the sympathies of the oriental mind, bent on mysticism. It possessed indeed, besides the attraction of novelty, enough of that which elevates man to higher things. A great void had hitherto remained in the hearts of the Chinese people; Buddhism nestled itself therein, and has maintained itself there as in an impregnable stronghold, to this day.

This mighty influence of the church upon the people gave birth to a number of lay-communities, the members of which made it their object to assist each other on the road towards salvation with brotherly and sisterly fidelity. Frequently we find such societies mentioned in the writings of the empire, and mostly under denominations denoting their principal means for reaching the final goal: a state of sanctity as high as that of the Devas, or, if possible, the dignity of the Arhats and Bodhisatwas, or even that of the Buddhas. Thus there were communities for abstaining from forbidden food; for performing good works; for rescuing animals in danger of life; for keeping the commandments; for the worship and invocation of this or that saint; etc., etc. About the doctrines and aspirations of each community in particular we read very little. This is probably due to the fact that all these societies, or the majority of them, were on such points tolerably similar, being branches of the same tree: syncretic Mahayanism, or, to use a Buddhist allegory, branches of the broad stream which, whatever it bears on its waters, in the end conveys all into the one great ocean of salvation.

Such religious communities or sects are to this day constantly being formed among the people. Like the great church itself, which calls them into existence, they are an eye-sore to the Confucian State. The fact that man has religious and spiritual wants, and that their gratification is a foundation for his material happiness, more solid perhaps than any other, this fact the Chinese State appears never to have discovered; nor does that State seem capable of cherishing any sympathy for the people's

craving to be elevated to something higher than mere earthly bliss, by means of piety, compassion, benevolence, and refraining from the murder of animals. All such things are heresies, which must be expelled from the minds and manners by crude force. The sects must be rigorously persecuted; their obdurate propagandism, their religious practices and pious meetings must be punished with strangling, beating, and exile.

For the carrying out of these principles the State possesses a second category of laws, mentioned on page 95, which, as is the case with the Law on Convents and the Clergy, are an inheritance from the Ming dynasty. We might call this the Law *par excellence* against Heresy, specially enacted to keep the laity free from pollution by heretical dogmas and practices, and to destroy everything religious and ethical which cannot be said to come up to the purely Confucian standard. Whether the systematic state-persecution, for the raging of which during the last five centuries this law stands the most eloquent witness, was already active before the Ming dynasty, I cannot positively assert, as I have not discovered any documentary evidence on this head. But knowing that the Confucian principle of intolerance was even then in its halcyon days, it is difficult to banish the supposition from our minds that heresy-hunting was as much in vogue then as it is now. Chinese sources will perhaps in the future reveal much to support this conclusion.

The present impossibility of tracing the religious persecutions among the laity before the Ming dynasty, enhances for us very considerably the value of this Law against Heresy, for, most likely, it is the reflection of a line of conduct followed by the State and its servants in the centuries anterior to that imperial house. Indeed, ultra-conservatism having always been in China the alpha and the omega of everything connected with State-policy, the legislators of the Ming time can hardly have failed in this matter also to build upon precedents. This same law is, moreover, of special interest for us because the Chinese government has from the very outset considered it to be also of force against Christianity. No missionary or preacher in China, no instructor of future missionaries at home, no leading man of missions, should therefore be ignorant of its contents and spirit; still less any ambassador or consul of the Powers that give protection to the converts. Nevertheless the question does not seem out of place: Who knows that law? How many have even heard of its existence?

Were it only for this fact, we should not neglect to publish

it here in its entirety, together with the official explanations appended, in so far as they may help us to a fuller knowledge of the subject. For the sake of accuracy we will give a faithful translation, though this may be to the detriment of the style; after all, it is the spirit of China's rulers and legislators which it imports us to understand as accurately as possible, and that spirit would be effaced by translating freely, or by paraphrasing.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAW AGAINST HERESY AND SECTS.

禁止師巫邪術

“Against Heresies of Religious Leaders or Instructors, and of Priests.

Article I.

“Religious leaders or instructors, and priests, who, pretending thereby to call down heretical gods, write charms or pronounce them over water, or carry round palanquins (with idols), or invoke saints, calling themselves orthodox leaders, chief patrons, or female leaders; further, all societies calling themselves at random White Lotus communities of the Buddha Maitreya, or the Ming-tsun religion, or the school of the White Cloud, etc., together with all that answers to practices of tso tao or i twan; finally, they who in secret places have prints and images, and offer incense to them, or hold meetings which take place at night and break up by day, whereby the people are stirred up and misled under the pretext of cultivating virtue, — shall be sentenced, the principal perpetrators to strangulation, and their accomplices each to a hundred blows with the long stick, followed by a lifelong banishment to the distance of “three thousand miles”¹⁾).

Article II.

“If any one in the army or among the people dress or ornament the image of a god, and receive that god with the clang of cymbals and the beating of drums, and hold sacrificial meetings

1) 凡師巫假降邪神書符咒水扶鸞禱聖自號端公太保師婆、及妄稱彌勒佛白蓮社明尊教白雲宗等會一應左道異端之術、或隱藏圖像燒香集衆夜聚曉散佯修善事煽惑人民、爲首者絞、爲從者各杖一百流三千里。

“in his honor, one hundred blows with the long stick shall be “administered, but only to the principals”¹⁾).

Article III.

“If village-chiefs, when privy to such things (as detailed in “art. I and II), do not inform the authorities, they shall receive “each forty blows with the short bamboo lath. Services of prayer “and thanksgiving (for the harvest) in honor of the common local “gods of the Soil, performed in spring and autumn respectively, “do not fall under these restrictions”²⁾).

These three articles are the core of the Law against Heretics. They form its chief or fundamental rescripts, its *luh* 律. All further articles are *li* 例 or supplementary laws, enacted to ensure the effective working and correct execution of the *luh*. Just as the *luh* of every title of the Code, so these three were taken over literally from the Code of the Ming dynasty. Thus, for five or six centuries China's imperial government has provided its servants with the weapons for raging almost unrestrained against all religious corporations of whatever name, even against the ordinary customs of its own native paganism, such as the calling-up of gods in order to honor them and to propitiate them by sacrifices. And what are these weapons? Strangulation for the leaders; for simple participators flogging with the long stick, the severest which the Code knows, and which most often results in death, or, should the victim survive, banishment for life into the bargain.

If it is true that a despotic government may be best known from the laws enacted by it for maintaining its own authority, then it must certainly be clear from this, that the government of China is a persecutor of the worst kind, a government whose rule seems to be a mad rage against all that is termed unclassical and, therefore, heterodox. Naturally the supplementary articles breathe precisely the same spirit. Let the reader judge for himself about the following, which more accurately regulates the banishment of accomplices:

1) 若軍民裝扮神像鳴鑼擊鼓迎神賽會者杖一百、罪坐爲首之人。

2) 里長知而不首者各笞四十。其民間春秋義社[以行祈報者]、不在此限。

“If functionaries, military men or civilians, or Buddhist or Taoist clergy whosoever and wheresoever, maintain that they know how to carry about palanquins (with idols), how to pray to saints, to write charms, and to pronounce exorcisms over water; or if they offer incense, collect followers who meet at night and disperse by day; further, if they prepare sacred writings or charms, or perform heterodox practices and communicate them to disciples, or collect money; if they occupy themselves with ts o ‘tao or i t w a n of any kind, so that the people become thereby agitated and are led into the path of error, then shall the accomplices be sent to the cities of the Moslems (in Turkestan), and there be given up as slaves to the Begs of higher or lower rank, or to Mohammedans able to rule them with power and keep them under control”¹).

“They who under the name of Friends of Virtue”²), thus continues the same article, “collect contributions and are more than ten in number; also they who, calling themselves brewers and distillers of wonderful remedies, enter and leave the dwellings of government officials within or without the capital, or without authorisation come within the walls of the Imperial palace, in order to form connections for a bad purpose, or to obtain employment: — all such people (if they are more than ten in number) shall be banished for ever to the nearest frontiers of the empire. The same punishment shall be meted out to military men and civilians, and abbots of Buddhist and Taoist monasteries, who, without making enquiries about their past, conceal, receive, or house more than ten of such people, or admit them to the tonsure or the wearing of the hair-pin³). If less than ten are admitted or temporarily sheltered, or recommended for employment, then the culprits shall merely be punished for transgressing the law, together with the heads of wards who, privy to the matter, did not give notice of it, and the officers and soldiers of the watch at each of the palace-gates, who were not on their guard against them, or did not track and arrest them.

1) 各處官吏軍民僧道人等妄稱諳曉扶鸞禱聖書符咒水、或燒香集徒夜聚曉散、並捏造經咒邪術傳徒斂錢一切左道異端煽惑人民、爲從者改發回城給大小伯克及力能管束之回子爲奴。

2) A sect of the Yoga school, still in existence at the downfall of the Ming dynasty.

3) For consecration respectively as Buddhist or Taoist monk.

“Should the crime assume a serious character, then it shall be “discussed and dealt with at the great sessions”¹⁾).

“If fashionable persons who have a calling or trade, mutter “Buddhistic sutras and fast, in order to invoke happiness, without, “however, learning or practising heterodox dogmas or preparing “religious books or charms, or communicating the same to disciples, or collecting money, or misleading the people, then this “by-law may not be inconsiderately applied”²⁾).

It is certainly difficult to say of this article, that it is lacking in clearness, or does not perfectly agree in spirit and tendency with the fundamental articles. It shows as plainly as possible, that the Law rages blindly against religious communities in general, without any discrimination between degrees of heresy. It strikes our attention, that seeking for influence by means of the medical art is placed in culpability on a line with the leading and the membership of a religious community. In order to understand this matter rightly, it should be known that medical art in China is closely connected with religion, because of the fact that the most efficacious medicines are considered to be those which contain particles of the soul or vital fluid (ling 靈 or shen 神) of a god or spirit, deriving therefrom an invigorating, life-instilling, soul-strengthening power, which expels the demons of disease from the patient's body. For us this clause is of special significance. The Christian missions also practise systematically and on a large scale the medical art, which opens for them the way to the heart and affection of the people, and best enables them to practise the Christian spirit of love and charity. Now with the law in his hand, every magistrate can drag before his tribunal, scourge, and condemn to lifelong exile any native Christian who may have given medical assistance in the family

1) 其稱爲善友求討布施至十人以上者、或稱燒煉丹藥出入內外官家、或擅入皇城彙緣作弊希求進用者、並軍民人等寺觀住持不問來歷窩藏接引容留披剃冠簪至十人以上者、俱發近邊充軍。若不及十人容留潛住薦舉引用、及鄰甲知情不舉、並皇城各門守衛官軍不行關防搜拏者、各照違制律治罪。如事關重大臨時酌量辦理。

2) 至守業良民諷念佛經茹素邀福並無學習邪教捏造經咒傳徒斂錢惑衆者、不得濫用此例。

of any one who is even remotely connected with the official world. This does not mean that the clause was written with a view to the medical missions. For we find it, with almost all the contents of the long article, also in the Code of the Ming dynasty in exactly the same wording. In this Code however we seek in vain for the final paragraph, so that we must give the present dynasty the honour of being the originator of it.

A remarkable paragraph, in sooth, it is. *Not rashly* must the mandarins, with the law in their hands, rage against those who quietly carry on a trade or profession, but at the same time venture to promote their happiness by reading Buddhist sacred books, and by fasting. To such people the scourging-stick is not to be applied *inconsiderately*, nor are they to be *too rashly* sent into exile thousands of miles away from their home and from all that is dear to them, to drag out their existence in misery, grief and want, till death brings them relief. But to scourge and banish them *considerately*, this is for the virtuous Confucian magistrate who knows his duty, a first object of care. We fully understand what this restricting clause means to him: it is merely on paper.

Heavily, very heavily, it would appear, the fear weighs on the paternal Chinese government lest religious practices and errors should arise in the hearts of the simple-minded rustics, in whose villages and hamlets the mandarin has no immediate power, but merely reigns by means of the tribal chiefs, chosen or recognized by the people themselves. Hence, according to the third article of the main law, it has in store for those chiefs the by no means mild punishment of forty blows with the bamboo lath, should they neglect to take the initiative to pursue heretics. Great, moreover, is the legislator's fear lest the zeal for persecution should slacken. This possibility also must be guarded against. He who forsakes his duty to the State and orthodoxy in hunting for heretics, be he ever so high up the ladder of the official world, disciplinary punishment threatens him; and on the other hand, tempting rewards await the man who co-operates with the government by coming forward as an informer, or by helping to arrest.

"In every province", thus runs one of the supplementary articles, "whenever a heterodox religion is set up, by which the unlettered people are tempted and misled, the Prefect of the department or district must immediately repair thither and institute enquiries, and then send in a truthful report, with the request that the provincial civil government shall deal with the crimes, each separately, according to their gravity. Should a Prefect

“hush up the matter, or settle it arbitrarily of his own accord, “then, if it attracts the attention of the government by any other “way, his punishment shall be confined to exposure in the cangue, “unless he had represented matters of importance as if they “were of slight weight, or, by perverting the law, had carelessly “allowed other things to pass, which ought to have been strictly “investigated and punished. But if there has been no correspon- “dence about the matter, then the Prefect shall be condemned to “the severest punishment demanded by the law against the con- “cealing of crimes, with an increase of one or more degrees”¹⁾.

And another supplementary article runs:

“Apart from the punishments, to be inflicted, according to the “fundamental articles, against the misleading of the multitude “by heretical doctrines, the Prefect in whose jurisdiction the case “occurred without his going to the spot to take severe measures “against it, or in Peking the Police Censors for the five quarters, and “outside Peking the Viceroy or the Provincial Governor who showed “lenity or afforded protection to the heretics, neglecting to travel “to the spot to track them and investigate the matter, shall, “without exception, be delivered up to the Board (of Civil Office?), “to be judged and sentenced.

“Should people who have nothing to do with the matter, come “forward to denounce it, then for every culprit twenty taels of “silver shall be paid them as a reward. And if culprits are to be “arrested, then shall the men who arrested them be paid ten “taels as a reward”²⁾.

The disciplinary punishments to be inflicted on mandarins who showed lenity to heretics or fell short in persecution, are described as follows in a note appended to the Law against

1) 各省遇有興立邪教哄誘愚民事件、該州縣立赴搜訊、據實通稟聽院司按核情罪輕重分別辦理。倘有諱匿輒自完結、別經發覺、除有化大爲小曲法輕縱別情嚴叅懲治外、卽罪止枷責案。無出入亦照諱竊例從重加等議處。

2) 邪教惑衆照律治罪外、如該地方官不行嚴禁、在京五城御史、在外督撫徇庇不行糾叅、一併交與該部議處。

旁人出首者於各犯名下併追銀二十兩充賞。如係應捕之人、拏獲者追銀十兩充賞。

Heresy: "Should unruly people in any district call themselves "divine beings or Buddhas, and presume to set up a heterodox "religion, or distribute water to which virtue is imparted by "means of charms; or should they mislead the public with printed "religious matter, and collect money among them, then, even "if there were no question of serious disturbance of the peace, "the Sub-prefect of the departmental district, should he have "neglected to resort to the spot to track and arrest the culprits, "shall be placed two degrees lower in the registers of merit (kept "for the official world in the Board of Civil Office); he shall, "however, be kept in state-service. And the Prefect of the depart- "ment (to which that district belongs) shall be placed one degree "lower in the register, but not be dismissed from his functions. "From his Circuit Intendant the salary shall be withheld for "a year, from the Provincial Judge and the Lieutenant Governor "for nine months, and from the Governor and the Viceroy for "six. Should underhand propagation of dogmas and practices "have taken place, without there being clear indications that "the public was misled or that money was collected, then "the penalties shall be as follows: for the Sub-prefect a degra- "dation of one degree in the registers, without dismissal; for "the Prefect, the Intendant, the Judge and the Lieutenant "Governor, and the Governor and the Viceroy, a loss of salary "respectively for one year, nine months, six and three months"¹). Moreover, dismissal is prescribed of the Sub-prefect who handed passports to heretics, thus enabling them to travel for propa- gandism; and for the other grandees proportionate degradations and fines. Such penalties are to be inflicted also on resigned or retired mandarins under whose administration heresies have arisen. All such rescripts are of especial significance for us since they teach us that even quiet propagandism for religious dogmas and practices must be persecuted with the greatest in-

1) 地方奸民自稱爲神爲佛、倡設邪教、傳佈符水、經板惑衆斂錢、並非滋事重案者、將不行查拏之州縣官降二級調用。府州降一級留任。道員罰俸一年、兩司罰俸九個月、督撫罰俸六個月。其或私相傳習、尚無惑衆斂錢顯蹟、州縣官不行查禁者降一級調用、府州罰俸一年、道員罰俸九個月、兩司罰俸六個月、督撫罰俸三個月。

tensity, unless the official world themselves wish to be exposed to prosecution.

And now what are the rewards held out to zealous persecutors?

“If a Prefect proceeds without delay against a heretical religion “arrogantly set up by turbulent people, and if he makes arrests, “then, if the decapitation of one chief culprit should result there- “from, that Prefect shall be inscribed one degree higher in the “registers, whilst for every accessory he shall once be honorably “mentioned therein. And should five or more persons be arrested “and be sentenced as leaders, then that state-servant shall be “permitted to accompany the Board when it is introduced to “audience at Court. Should more than ten such persons be arrested, “then the Viceroy or the Governor of that officer shall definitely “commend him to the emperor for promotion in office”¹). And so on. We can realize now how the heretic-hunter, whose zeal is thus stimulated, will indulge in arrests, scourging, strangulation, and banishment! The guilt or innocence of his victims is to him a secondary matter; to make their number as high as possible becomes his chief concern.

Like every title of the Code, the Law against Heresy is copiously margined with official notes and instructions. These contain useful hints with regard to the manner in which the fundamental and supplementary articles, the precepts bearing upon banishments, etc., must be carried out. Of all this material the greater part is only of minor interest, and need not here be passed under review; a few fragments only deserve our attention. As *e. g.* an Imperial decree of 1813, the 27th of the eleventh month (Dec. 19), in which every Viceroy or Governor is ordered to take special care that in every district the conversion of the people shall be conscientiously attended to, and furthered by public lectures of the well known Sage Edict of Shing Tsu (Khang hi) and Shi Tsung (Yung ching)²). “If every family is made to understand and “comprehend this Edict, then in the long run will the hearts of “men be aroused. They will then feel what benevolence is, and “thus realize that there are things they may not be indifferent

1) 地方官於奸民倡設邪教能立時訪聞拏獲罪、應擬斬首犯一名者准其加一級、夥犯每名准其紀錄一次。總以首犯罪名爲斷拏獲五名以上者准其送部引見。十名以上者准該督撫指定應陞官階。

2) Concerning this document further information will be found in chap. VIII.

“about; they will then understand what propriety is, and thus “realize that there are matters which nobody may presume to “do. And thus the orthodox doctrine shall shine so bright, that “heresy is extinguished of itself”¹⁾). The mandarins shall especially guard against the prevalence of prodigality, for this vice impoverishes the people, and rebellious heresies easily crop up among the indigent.

Next to this specimen of political psychology we find a decree of more practical value, promulgated on the same day. Every Prefect or Sub-prefect in each of the provinces, as soon as he enters upon his functions, shall consider it his first duty to have the villages and hamlets in his jurisdiction closely ransacked for heretical sects. Of the result of his searches he shall send a report to his high provincial authorities; and if any sects are discovered, he shall, without loss of time, institute inquiries and make arrests, followed by judicial prosecution. Should he be found to have been inattentive to these necessary concerns, the provincial authorities shall severely prosecute him. The Prefect, on the other hand, is authorised to inform against his chiefs directly to the Board in Peking, and through this to the Emperor, should they take no notice of his reports respecting such heretical matters, or hush them up.

Although the notes added to the Law on Heresy are not all equally instructive as to the spirit of legislation on this head, they all more or less characterize its sturdy fanaticism and unconditional intolerance. Let us, for instance, glance over the following clause:

“If anywhere amongst the people gods are received or welcomed, “or thanksgiving-meetings held, or if the people pass the borders “to present incense-sacrifices anywhere, or play on drums and “cymbals, or hang out flags and set up banners, thus giving “occasion to both sexes to mix together, then the Prefect of the “department and that of the district in question, if they do not go “there to investigate the matter and put it down, shall forfeit their “salary for six months. . . . And when among the people meetings “are convoked for the exercise of virtue, or when salvation- “seekers assemble the public to recite religious books, then the

1) 務俾家喻戶曉、久之人心惑發。知仁而有所不忍爲、知義而有所不敢爲。則正教昌明、邪說自熄矣。 This decree occurs also in the *Shing hiun* of Jen Tsung, chap. 12.

“Prefect who falls short in discovering the matter, shall forfeit his “salary for three months”¹⁾).

To gratify the reader who might not feel quite satisfied unless the Law on Heresy be given him in its entirety, we feel bound to subjoin here a supplementary article which was enacted by the reigning dynasty, and not borrowed from the house which before it swayed the rod of empire. “They who propagate the “heresies of the White Yang, the White Lotus, the Eight Diagrams, and such like sects, or use and recite charms and formulas “which are wild, untrue, and unclassical, at the same time “acknowledging leaders or masters, making proselytes, and misleading the public, — if they are principals, shall be condemned “to strangulation, and the execution carried out without the “sentence being previously subjected to revision. The accessories “who have not yet passed their sixtieth year, and those who, “although sixty years old, have made proselytes, shall all be “sent to the Mohammedan cities, and there given in slavery “to the Beggars of higher or lower rank, or to Mohammedans able “to keep them under control with an iron hand. And persons “over sixty, who had been only tempted to practise that religion, “without themselves making proselytes, shall be sent for everlasting banishment to the regions in Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangtung or Kwangsi, where malaria prevails. If such culprits are “Bannermen, they shall be ejected from their Banner-regiment, “and their crimes shall then be treated according to the same “laws as are applicable to civilians²⁾).

“And members of the Red Yang sect and whatever religious “societies who do not transmit to others the use of charms

1) 民間迎神賽會越境進香擊鼓鳴鑼張打旅幟、以致男女混雜者、府州縣官不行查禁、罰俸六個月。... 民間邀集善會及道人聚眾念經者、失察之地方官罰俸三個月。

2) 凡傳習白陽白蓮八卦等邪教、習念荒誕不經咒語、拜師傅徒惑眾者、為首擬絞立決。為從年未逾六十、及雖逾六十而有傳徒情事、俱改發回城給大小伯克及力能管束之回子為奴。如被誘學習、尚未傳徒、而又年逾六十以上者、改發雲貴兩廣烟瘴地方充軍。旗人銷除旗檔、與民人一律辦理。

“or formulas, but worship the Old Patriarch who has soared “upward”); and those who acknowledge leaders and transmit “their religion to proselytes, — such people shall be sent to “Urumchi, and with proper discrimination between Bannermen “and civilians, be condemned to government slavery. Those “who worshipped that Patriarch without making converts, but “possessed religious books and writings, must all be sent to the “remote border-countries of the empire into perpetual exile. “Finally, they who sit down to make their breath circulate “within them (by suppressing their respiration), shall receive “eighty blows with the long stick”²).

“They who declare they repent, and repair to the authorities “to denounce themselves, shall be exempt from punishment. The “Prefects shall draw up a register of their names, and shall send “it to the bureau of the Provincial Judge, who shall deposit it “there; and should such a penitent again propagates or practise “heresies, he shall be punished a degree more severely than the “laws otherwise demand. Should any repent after their arrest, “or before the tribunal, then each culprit shall be sentenced “according to his offence, without any remission or pardon”³).

“Should it appear upon examination that really they had done “nothing more than abstain from forbidden food, burn incense “and recite Buddhist religious books, exclusively with the object “of invoking happiness, and without leaders or instructors being “acknowledged or converts made, and that they acknowledged “no membership of any heretical sect, then no prosecution shall “take place.

“Revised in the first year of the Ta o kwang period (1821)”⁴).

1) A prophet of the 16th century, founder of a sect with wide ramifications. See chapt. VI.

2) 至紅陽教及各項教會名目、並無傳習咒語、但供有飄高老祖、及拜師授徒者、發往烏魯木齊、分別旗民當差爲奴。其雖未傳徒或曾供奉飄高老祖、及收藏經卷者、俱發邊遠充軍。坐功運氣者杖八十。

3) 如有具結改悔赴官投首者准其免罪。地方官開造名冊申送臬司衙門存案、倘再有傳習邪教情事即按例加一等治罪。若拏獲到案始行改悔者各照所犯之罪問擬、不准寬免。

4) 如訊明實止茹素燒香諷念佛經、止圖邀福、並

The clause, apparently eighty years old, granting pardon to renegades who betray their co-religionists, we must not too readily take for a fruit of generosity. Besides being a mean enticement to betray, it is probably a classical concession extorted by the holy Mencius. According to the writings ascribed to him, this second Confucius said: "They who run away from Mih cannot do otherwise than take refuge with Yang (comp. p. 11), and on running away from the latter, they must needs have recourse to Confucianism. They who do this, must be received with open arms, and there the matter must rest. They who after that still controvert Yang and Mih, act like one who, when catching a loose pig, still pursues and calls it when it is already in its sty" ¹⁾.

"In every lawsuit touching an heretic sect", thus we read in conclusion in a supplementary article of the Law against Heresy, "if there be offenders who ought to be condemned to exile to the Mohammedan towns, but for whom there are aggravating circumstances, such persons shall go to the place of banishment to bear there the cangue round their neck all the days of their life" ²⁾. Thus they are, no doubt, doomed to perpetual beggary, because the cangue makes all labour impossible to them.

Among the supplementary articles we find a few directed against witchcraft, magic and divination. These practices are in truth generally connected in China with the worship of spirits and gods, and constitute religious wisdom and art; for which reason we find them regularly mentioned in Chinese writings as peculiarly professed by sects and their leaders. These articles are interesting from an ethnographical point of view, but do not bear upon our present subject. Hence we pass them by in silence, only keeping note of their existence.

未拜師傅徒、亦不知邪教名目者、免議。

道光元年修改。

1) 逃墨必歸於楊、逃楊必歸於儒。歸斯受之而已矣。今之與楊墨辯者如追放豚、既入其茆又從而招之。The works of Mencius, sect. 盡心, II.

2) 各項邪教案內應行發遣回城人犯有情節較重者發往配所永遠枷號。

CHAPTER V.

SECTARIANISM.

The Chinese Law against Heresy and Sects, presented to the reader in the previous chapter, is certainly a very interesting document. It is the embodiment of the Confucian principle of fanaticism and intolerance, which for many centuries has inspired the Chinese State; it is the instrument with which the State brings that spirit to its supposed rights and endeavours to make it work everywhere, even in the most hidden recesses of social life. It opens our eyes to the truth that even in the Far East the human mind works in the same way as among ourselves; there, as here, it formulates dogmas; there, as here, notions contrary to these dogmas spring up; and so arises "heresy". There, as here, "irrt der Mensch so lange er strebt"; there, as here in former ages, difference of opinion drives him to violence, and the predominant party oppresses and exterminates other schools of thought.

But this same Chinese law teaches us more. It shows that variety of views and opinions with regard to religion and ethics has caused organized religious sects to spring up in China, and these invite the earnest student of humanity to a diligent research. They form a field of study in which at best a very few missionaries have turned the first sods, but the ploughing of which presents great difficulties, because the sects, in constant dread of the persecuting authorities, are extremely shy and timid, and as far as possible hide their existence.

About half a dozen sects the Law against Heresy mentions by name. First of all, the White Lotus community or Peh-lien kiao (白蓮教) of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, the Messiah; we shall have more to say of it on page 162. In the second place, the same principal article mentions the Ming-tsun sect (明尊教), which, as the article was enacted under the Ming dynasty, must have already existed under that house. The name may be rendered, the Religion of the Luminous Venerable,

and thus may refer to some particular Buddha, or to all the Buddhas together; but it also admits of other interpretations. We have searched in vain for any information regarding this sect, and we have not even found any reference to it enabling us to ascertain whether it has existed under the present dynasty, or still exists under this or some other name. We have to confess ourselves equally ignorant with regard to the third sect mentioned in the same article, namely the Peh-yun tsung (白雲宗) or White Cloud school. We do know, however, that it existed under the Yuen dynasty, that is to say, in the first half of the fourteenth century, for in the official histories of that house we find it mentioned in the same breath with the Lotus sect, with the special remark that "both often made common cause with rebels" ¹). And about the same time mention was made of it by a commentator of the *Fuh-tsu tung ki*: "Of the community of "the Moni worshippers of the fiery heaven (see page 60), that "of the White Cloud and that of the White Lotus, Liang Chu "says: These three falsely call themselves Buddhist religions, in "order to swindle ignorant people" ²).

We are somewhat better informed concerning the Shen-yiu 善友, or Friends of Virtue. On page 82 we saw, that in the great book of the state-institutions of the Ming dynasty, finished in the early years of the sixteenth century, this society was characterized as a branch of the Buddhistic Yoga school, and membership of it was decreed to be highly culpable. This proscription however did not prevent the sect from living to see the fall of that dynasty. We know this for certain from the following decree, issued in 1642 by T'ai Tsung, the ancestor of the now reigning family, whom our readers already know (page 92); a decree especially remarkable for being probably the first promulgated against Sectarianism by this imperial house.

"In the 7th year of the Ch'ung teh period, on the day wu-yin of the fifth month (June 6), the emperor gave to the Board "of Rites a decree which ran as follows:

"From ancient times, the Buddhist clergy have occupied themselves with the worship of the Buddhas, and the Taoists with "sacrifices to their gods. But of late years there is a heretic sect

1) 亦或頗通奸利云. *Yuen shi* 元史, chapt. 202, fol. 8.

2) 末尼火天者白雲者白蓮者良渚曰、此三者皆假名佛教以誑愚俗. Devéria, "Muselmans et Manichéens Chinois"; *Journal Asiatique* for 1897, II p. 461.

“of Friends of Virtue, who are neither Buddhist nor Taoist clergy, “and take refuge in nothing at all, so that they are really “left “Tao”. If man during his lifetime practises virtue, no punishment shall befall him after death; and as thus the suffering “of punishment may be spared him, of what avail is it then “to institute the name of Friends of Virtue? and if the punishments are not withheld, of what benefit is it to have been “a Friend of Virtue? Is it better to do much evil and be “a Friend of Virtue, than actually to do what is right? The “adage says: Upon him who acts virtuously, heaven sends down “its blessing; — that is to say, if his virtues originate in his “heart, and do not consist in abstaining from meat¹⁾).

“Now whereas the Friends of Virtue Khang Yang-min etc. “formed together a community, privately using seals, misleading “mankind, and practising falsehoods upon the people, thus creating “confusion in the regular course of affairs — the judges sentenced “to death all the registered members thereof, over three hundred “in number. But I will show lenity unto them and only commit “to death the sixteen leaders. They who, without being Buddhist “or Taoist clerics, henceforth shall follow the heresies of the “Friends of Virtue, no matter of what age or sex they be, they “shall for ever be prevented by you, the Board of Rites, from “doing so. And if any do not heed your prohibitions, and are “betrayed, or tracked and arrested by a Yamen, they shall be “put to death without mercy”²⁾).

1) 崇德七年五月戊寅上諭禮部曰、

自古僧以供佛爲事、道以祀神爲事。近有善友邪教、非僧非道、一無所歸、實係左道也。且人生而爲善則死亦無罪、若無罪戾、何用立善友之名、既有罪戾、雖爲善友何益。與其積惡而爲善友、何若行善之爲愈乎。語云、行善者天降以福、善原在心非不食肉之謂也。

2) 今因善友康養民等合群結黨、私造印劄、惑世誣民、紊亂綱常、凡列名於籍者三百餘人法司俱擬死罪。朕加寬宥、止誅其首十六人。自今以後、除僧道外、凡從善友邪教者、不論老少男婦、爾部永行禁止。如有不遵禁約者、或被他人首發、或經衙門察獲、殺無赦。 The very last decree in the *Shing hiun* of T'ai Tsung.

From this decree we clearly perceive that the Friends of Virtue formed a society seeking salvation in abstaining from animal food and, as the name indicates, in other works of benevolence, and that they incurred the wrath of the Manchu potentate and his satellites for existing apart from the Buddhist and the Taoist monastic systems laid by the State under oppressive restrictions. It is certainly remarkable that this tyrant, who, as we saw on page 92, showed himself also far from well-disposed towards Buddhist and Lamaist clergy even long before his hosts had gained the throne, marked that poor sect for persecution and extermination merely on the paltry sophistic grounds expressed in his decree. Fanaticism, and nothing else, evidently was his true motive. We know already that this same fanatic spirit against all sects has animated T'ai Tsung's imperial descendants to this day; the rest of this work will confirm this by many proofs. Whether his decree had the desired effect of exterminating the Friends of Virtue, we cannot say. One thing is certain: we have found no more mention of them. Possibly their sect became merged into other sects, or continued to exist under other names.

Necessarily, more must be known about the sects mentioned in the Law against Heresy in the articles not emanating from the Ming dynasty. These sects either have existed under the now reigning house, or still exist, side by side with, or merged in the White Lotus sect. They are (see page 146) that of the White Yang or Peh-yang kiao (白陽教), the Red Yang sect or Hung-yang kiao (紅陽教), that of the Eight Diagrams or Pah-kwa kiao (八卦教), and the sect of the Patriarch who ascended on high. They were under this dynasty objects of cruel persecution, and hence the reluctant cause of sanguinary revolts, smothered in blood and fire, in some cases after long months and even years of devastating warfare. In the chapters which we shall devote to these persecutions and campaigns, the reader will see, besides other particulars which Chinese sources have enabled us to gather, that the three first named sects exist especially in Shantung, Honan, Chihli, and Shingking, and that the sects of the Lotus and of the Patriarch flourish over a much larger area, if not over the whole realm. Ramifications of the sect of that Patriarch have been the objects of our personal investigation, the result of which we give in Chaps. VI and VII. The Lotus society was ever under this dynasty the most powerful sect. Possibly it is the greatest religious corporation in China, embracing all the others, or at least the chief ones.

Some names of sects are furnished also by the *Ta Ts'ing lwui tien*, which general Code of State-institutions had, as a matter of course, to give also instructions regarding the line of conduct to be followed by the mandarinates in matters of sectarianism. These instructions, as is to be expected, are not much more than a short digest of the rescripts contained in the Law against Heresy. They run as follows:

"Anyone founding a Wu-wei sect, or a sect of the White Lotus, or of Incense Burners (Fen-hiang), or of Smelling Incense (Wen-hiang), or of the Origin of Chaos (Hwun-yuen), or of the Origin of the Dragon (Lung-yuen), or of the All-submerging Yang (Hung-yang), or of the Rounded or Perfect Intelligence (Yuen-t'ung), or of the Mahayāna (Ta-shing), or any other sect; or he who causes the ignorant people of both sexes to crowd together tumultuously, beat drums and metal gongs, and receive deities to hold meetings for thanksgiving — shall be sentenced in accordance with the fundamental laws. The Commander of the Gendarmerie (in Peking), in concert with the chief and assistant Police Magistrates, and in the provinces the Prefects and Sub-prefects, shall rigorously forbid and prevent such things" ¹). In connexion with these instructions, the *Ta Ts'ing lwui tien shi li* gives the following: "In the twelfth year of the Khang hi period (1673) the Emperor approved after due deliberation, that everywhere among the population constituting the Eight (Manchu) Banners, and everywhere in the provinces, prohibitory rescripts should be strictly executed against the Wu-wei and the White Lotus sects, the sects of the Incense Burners, of the Smelling Incense, of the Origin of Chaos, of the Origin of the Dragon, of the All-submerging Yang, of the Perfect Intelligence, and of the Mahayāna, and against other such-like sects of an heretical character, which mislead the masses, hold meetings, and recite religious books, or have meetings with flags and gongs, and processions in which incense is carried. They who infringe these rescripts shall undergo punishments in accordance with the laws" ²).

1) 若創立無爲白蓮焚香聞香混元龍元洪陽圓通大乘等教、誘致愚民男女擾雜擊鼓鳴金迎神賽會者、論如律。步軍統領五城司坊及直省守土官嚴行禁止。 Chap. 55, fol. 3.

2) 康熙十二年議准無爲白蓮焚香聞香混元龍

This work will principally deal with three of the sects here mentioned, namely with those of the Wu-wei and the Mahayāna respectively in Chapters VI and VII, and with that of the White Lotus in the present Chapter. Of the others we know nothing, and we have never found anything about them in Chinese writings, beyond the scanty statement about the Smelling Incense sect, which the reader will find on page 166, and from which it would appear that about the end of the sixteenth century this was merely a subdivision of the White Lotus sect. But the reader may ask, does not the Law against Heresy and Sects, with its long train of commentaries and edicts, give information about the sects the extermination of which is its object? And before all, is there nothing about them in the *Hwui tien*, which in its capacity of book of instruction for the whole official world, ought surely to provide leading rules by which this may distinguish heresies from authorised doctrine, false religions from true?

Our reply is simply and emphatically, no. Those state-documents give no information whatever concerning the beliefs, ritual and practices of the sects, nothing therefore which might help us to some solid knowledge of East Asiatic religion. This silence, disappointing though it be, is eloquent in one respect: it attests that State and Legislation consider enquiry into the doctrines, strivings and doings of the sects altogether superfluous, that they only take into account the bare fact of their existence, and that they deem this fact *per se*, under any circumstances, punishable with strangulation, bastinado, and exile. So we see plainly laid down here the state-principle expounded in our first Chapter, that every religious corporation which is not of tested Confucian metal without any alloy, is severely proscribed and punishable, no matter what it does or teaches.

This silence of the legislator, which, thus considered, is perfectly rational, does not prevent us from forming some idea as to the general character of the sects. Nothing indicates their having been imported from abroad in times relatively modern. We may therefore admit at starting, that they have in the main grown out of the old native Heathenism or Taoism, and Buddhism, the only great religions which have had a firm footing on the soil of the empire.

元洪陽圓通大乘等邪教惑衆聚會念經、執旗鳴
金聚衆拈香者、通行八旗直省嚴行禁飭。違者照
例懲責。 Chap. 390, fol. 4.

We at once recognize in the name of one of the sects, "the Eight Diagrams", its Taoistic descent. For these diagrams are the well-known *kwa* 卦, which were used in the cosmogony of old classical China as representations of the chief natural phenomena and their sub-divisions, hence as the expression of the alternating operation of the Yang and the Yin, together constituting the Tao or course of the world ¹⁾. Also the names White Yang, Red Yang, and All-submerging Yang point to Taoism. And the name Origin of Chaos reminds us of the starting-point of a well-known Taoistic history of the Creation. On the other hand, the fact that the White Lotus sect worships the Buddha Maitreya, proves it to be of Buddhist make, or at least to be deeply tinged with Buddhism. And the same must be the case with the Mahayāna sect, for this name could hardly signify anything else but that it aims at raising its members, according to the doctrine and practices of the Buddhist Mahayāna, to the perfection and sanctity of the Bodhisatvas, or even of the Buddhas. We have already seen that the society of the Friends of Virtue was Buddhistic. And lastly, the name Perfect Intelligence also points to Buddhism, for it probably represents the Bodhi idea. The possibility of course remains that in all these names quite different conceptions are hidden, or that they refer to the chief features of the sects only distantly, or perhaps not at all.

Now let us take into consideration the further fact that Taoism has been strongly influenced by the Buddhist religion, and has borrowed very much from it, while Buddhism on the other hand, thanks to its Mahayānistic tendencies, has merged itself considerably with this same paganism — and we necessarily come to the conclusion that the various sects are a mixture of Taoist heathen elements and Buddhist material. Like the two main religions which produced them, they cannot possibly be otherwise than eclectic-syncretic; and in the two following chapters we shall see that these premises are amply supported by facts.

Further deductions are now permitted. Born of the same two great religious systems which, though originating in widely distant regions of Asia, have struck root together in the same Chinese soil, it cannot well be otherwise than that the sects must have strongly marked features and characteristics in common, derived from these common sources. They must on this account be well aware of their brotherhood, naturally precluding mutual

¹⁾ We refer here to page 177, and besides to the broader exposition of this cosmology in "The Religious System of China", Book I, p. 960 and foll., and Book II, p. 13.

accusation of heresy, — not counting the fact that the ever-threatening sword of their arch-enemy, the State, hangs over them all alike and joins them together in a bond of fraternity for common martyrdom and self-defence. We in fact presume to admit that all the different names of sects we find mentioned, give us no right to conclude that there are as many distinctly different, disconnected religious corporations. Each corporation may have off-shoots, parishes, communities, under various denominations; and the probability is that the number of actual sects is much smaller than that of sect-names. Besides, it must often have happened that a sect, or a branch of a sect, took a new name to mislead the persecuting mandarin. And so, amongst the names mentioned in the Law against Heresy and in the *Hwui tien* there may be some which in this manner have fallen into disuse. Some also may indicate sects now exterminated or dispersed.

Therefore, just as in our Christian world the various churches, however they may differ in minor points, remain in principle and structure essentially Christian, — and as in Mohammedan countries numerous sects have arisen which are Islamitic — so in China the sects are altogether pagan-Taoistic, and Buddhistic. They must also have marked Confucian characteristics, because Confucianism is simply ancient heathenism petrified. But the Buddhist element largely predominates in this Sectarianism, and for good reasons. Buddhism was the religion *par excellence* purporting to guide humanity towards the gates of salvation in this earthly life and in the life to come; and it was this salvation, that all the sects strive for, which has rendered the exotic religion so attractive, and enabled it to push Taoism and Confucianism to the background in the estimation of the people. We here refer the reader to what we said on this head on page 133. In the most prosperous period of the church, salvation was chiefly sought in conventual life. The destruction of the monasteries by the State, all but a small number; the obstacles raised by the State for those who desired to enter the orders, — all this forced thousands to work out their salvation in secular life. These thousands, nay myriads, form the sects, persuading millions to labour with them towards the attaining of the Arhatship, or the dignity of Deva, Bodhisatwa, or Buddha. To-day dispersed and apparently destroyed, they shoot up again to-morrow under other names — in the eye of the State as indestructible thistles; in ours rather as roses of piety and religion on a barren heath of paganism, where, as a feeding dew, the longing for a better existence maintains them. Worthy objects for our interest indeed, brought up, as

we are, in the love for religious liberty, and therefore in sympathy with victims of persecution for conscience' sake.

The preponderance of the Buddhist element in the sects is clear from imperial decrees, published in various editions of the Code side by side with the Law against Heresy, and intended to guide the mandarins in their function of heresy-hunters. We give them here in full, thereby affording the reader another opportunity of hearing the persecuting imperial government proclaim itself in its own language:

"In the 20th year of the Kia khing period (1815), on the "twelfth day of the fifth month (June 17), the following Imperial "resolution was received: — In the case now under notice, Wang "Shu-hiun, being a wanderer without livelihood, took the tonsure "in the Kwang-hwui convent, and became a monk; and then "he used the Buddhist religion to agitate and mislead several "functionaries in Peking, yea, even literary men of the lowest "and the second degree, inducing them to seek refuge (with the "church), and to accept its commandments. Moreover, he had "intercourse with functionaries in the provinces. As a consequence, "he was prosecuted, exposed in the cangue, beaten with the stick, "and then sent to his homestead, to live there again as a lay- "man. Yet this miscreant then had the audacity to conceal his "previous crimes, and managed fraudulently to purchase an official "dignity, followed by promotion to the prefect's rank"..... But this attempt to secure for himself an influential position, in order to be less liable to persecution and ill-treatment, served this undaunted zealot but little. Indeed, so the state-document runs on — "his conduct being so curious, so strange, the Board "of Punishment condemned the malefactor to banishment to "Heh-lung-kiang (in Manchuria), there to be employed in hard "government servitude. This really is the punishment he deserves "to suffer. But first he shall be exposed for a month at the "Board with a cangue round his neck; and at the end of that "month he must be sent into exile, without having to undergo a "thorough examination. Respect this Resolution" 1).

1) 嘉慶二十年五月十二日奉旨、此案王樹勳以無賴游民在廣惠寺披薙爲僧、假托佛法煽誘在京官員及舉人生員等數人皈依受戒。復與外省官員往來交結。因犯案枷杖遞籍還俗。該犯膽敢隱匿罪名、朦朧捐官職洊陞知府。形踪詭異、刑部

This religious propagandist among the lay world seems to have been an individual of considerable notoriety and influence. From a decree in the 84th chapter of the *Shing hiun*, dated one day later than the above, we learn that, when still living in the Kwang-hwui monastery, he had enticed many officers and graduates into the Buddhist religion by his sermons and discourses. One of the victims of this bad work was Tsiang Yü-p'ü 蔣子蒲, a Controller of the Peking Imperial Granaries with the rank of Vice-president of the Board of Revenue (倉場侍郎), at the time of his conversion a Reader of the Imperial Chancery (內閣侍讀學士), of the fourth degree of official rank; — this malefactor, thus the emperor decrees, "having been beguiled by those heresies, and "having accepted the five commandments, really belongs to the "officers with flaws" ¹⁾; so he must be dismissed, as well as all the others in actual state-service, who were converted. A decree of the 19th of the next month informs us that the culprit, after his first prosecution and cudgelling, found hospitality in the Yamen of the Governor of Shantung. There he was received by I Kiang-o 伊江阿 and some others, who collected money for him, thus enabling him to buy his prefect's rank. The said officer had since died, otherwise he would have been severely punished; but the Prefect in the capital of Shantung, Ch'en T'ing-kieh 陳廷杰, who, not knowing he had to do with a punished monk, caused even the Governor to pay a considerable sum on his behalf, was delivered to the Board, for examination and punishment. Finally we see from a decree of the 4th of the sixth month (*Sh. h.* 30) that Wang Shu-hiun, on having bought his rank, had lived for many years in Hukwang, where the Viceroy Ma Hwui-yü 馬慧裕 heard of his antecedents and preachings without prosecuting him. So the decree demanded his case and that of the provincial Governor Chang Ying-han 張央漢 to be examined by the Board, and judged.

— "In the 48th year of the Khien lung period (1783), in the "tenth month, the following Imperial edict was received: —

將該犯擬發黑龍江充當苦差。實屬罪所應得。着先在刑部枷號一個月、滿日毋庸質訊、即行發遣。欽此。

1) 乃惑於異說受彼五戒實屬有玷官。

“Hoh Shih (Viceroy of Hukwang?) reports that one Fan Hing-chao in the district of Ngan-jen (in Hunan) fasted, recited “Buddhistic religious books for the admonition of the world, and “gave those books to Fang Shing-ying and others, in order that “they too might follow and recite them. Now these books have “been seized, and the leaders with their accessories have been “discovered, and sentenced according to the Law in its utmost “rigor; etc. He moreover sends Us two of those Buddhist books, “and one sheet of a Buddhist sutra; and upon careful examination, “these have been found to contain a selection of the principal “commandments, made up into sentences rhyming on the word “fu h (Buddha), and capriciously compiled, to exhort mankind to “believe and accept those commandments, and to conform reverently “thereto.

“Ignorant people are easily excited and misled; but in the case “under consideration the books were only used to make money, “and no passages whatever occurred therein savouring of rebellion “or opposition. This case therefore differs from those of the “heretical sects which have been dealt with heretofore in every “province, evidently purporting rebellion, and therefore making “proselytes on a large scale. When the investigations are finished “by the Governor (of Hunan), he must commit those religious “books and such-like things to the flames, lest they again cause “those people to fast and to recite Buddhist matter. But if “they repent, he must not positively pursue his search with “exaggeration, for fear of causing tumult and opposition.

“If anywhere in a province, in some district or other, a case “of the like nature occurs, and it is actually a case of a heretical “sect which makes propaganda for fasting, and enlists proselytes, “or possesses controversial phrases and sentences, then, of course, “the authorities must with severity set to the work of prosecution, “in order to exterminate the sect root and branch. But if they “merely have to do with ignorant people who seek their happiness “in fasting and recite and follow religious writings, then it “is a very great mistake to treat them according to the first “fundamental article of the Law against Heresy. Those who appear “in such a lawsuit to bear witness, must in every respect be “gently treated and set free; but the religious books etc. must “be totally destroyed. Let this decree be made known to Hoh Shih, “and also to all Viceroys and Governors. Respect it!”¹⁾

1) 乾隆四十八年十月奉上諭、郝碩奏安仁縣民

Yet a third time raising the veil from a religious community, the Code shows us a small Buddhist sect of a remarkable kind. "A mischievous Buddhist monk Wu Shi-tsi took the lead of a sect "of the Lung-hwa society, which admonished men to cultivate "a meritorious conduct, after which they might ascend up to "heaven in broad daylight. A certain Tsiang Fah-tsu, together "with one Ts'in Shun-lung, fell a prey to his deceptions; their "minds went astray, and in their illusory hope to become Buddhas, "they invited Wu Shi-tsi to their house. There they humbly "asked him how they ought to behave. And Wu Shi-tsi told "Tsiang Fah-tsu and the others to abstain from all food for "seven days, as then they might become fit to withdraw from "material life, and must ascend to heaven at Shui-hiang. Both "men believed him, and led their sons and grandsons, brothers "and nephews, daughters and daughters-in-law, thirteen persons "in all, to mount Ying, by the Great Lake. Here they abstained "from all food whatever, and died the one after the other of "starvation, whereupon they were cremated on wood-fires. The "news reached the ears (of the magistrates), and the culprit, on "being examined, confessed without any reluctance. Thus Wu Shi-tsi falls under the supplementary article of the law on the "murdering of more than three persons out of one and the same "family, a crime for which a lingering death by slashing with

范興兆吃齋念誦勸世懺經、並傳授方勝榮等行誦。現在搜查經卷、覆究首夥、從重定擬等語。並將懺二本佛經一紙一僅呈進、詳加訊閱、其大采大戒等祇係將佛字調成詞句、隨意填湊勸人信受奉行。

愚民易於煽惑、不過藉得錢財、並無違悖字句。與從前各省所辨邪教顯然悖逆傳授多人者不同。該撫既經查出、應將經懺等件燒燬、無令仍前吃齋念佛。使其改悔、不必過事追求、致滋煩擾。

各省地方遇有此等案件、如果實係邪教傳齋徒衆、及有違碍字句者、自應嚴行查辨務絕根株。若止係愚民吃齋求福誦習經卷、與邪教一律辨理則又失之大過。所有案內人証即着概予省釋、經卷等全行銷毀。將此諭令郝碩併各督撫知之。欽此。

“knives is proscribed; but in moderate mitigation of this punishment, he shall only be beheaded without reprieve. Sentence passed in Kiangsu, in the 18th year of the Khien lung period (1753)”¹).

And so, although we can faintly sketch the general outlines of Sectarianism, no Chinese state-document or book furnishes the material by means of which we might draw up the religious character and organisation of each sect in particular. Hundreds of imperial decrees however teach us, that all Sectarianism is proscribed and persecuted by the government as heretical, and that these persecutions have often induced the sects to arm themselves in self-defence, and even to rise in open rebellion, in consequence of which all are officially branded as dangerous to the imperial authority. The second volume of this work will be specially devoted to these matters.

European writers have never given us what the Chinese withhold. A few indeed have drawn attention to the sects; a few missionaries have given us some information regarding their organization, object, and aspirations. But it cannot be said that these data meet even the most modest demands of the science of religions. Investigations in this field must, in fact, always encounter peculiar difficulties, owing to the veil of secrecy with which persecution obliges the sectarians to envelop themselves. And Christian missionaries cannot reasonably be expected to debase themselves and their flocks in the eyes of a hostile government by keeping up intercourse with members of forbidden societies, which, moreover, because of their heathen idolatry, can lay no claim to Christian sympathy and interest. Such scanty second-hand information as we have been able to find, and in so far as it appeared to us useful and reliable, has been woven in the main into the next chapter.

1) 匪僧吳時濟倡立龍華會教、勸人修煉功行、圓滿即可白日昇天。有蔣法祖秦順龍被惑、心迷妄冀成佛請吳時濟到家。叩問行止。吳時濟以蔣法祖等七日不食、即可脫凡、應在水鄉飛昇。蔣法祖秦順龍信以為實、遂挈子孫弟姪女媳共十三人赴太湖盍山。絕食、先後餓死、用柴燒化。訪聞、審認不諱。將吳時濟照殺一家三人以上凌遲處死例、量減為擬斬立決。乾隆十八年江蘇案。

When a Confucian Chinese thinks of Sectarianism, ten to one the sect of the White Lotus rises before his mind. For this society has for centuries had a leading part in China's history both as the chief object of persecution and as the mightiest rebel power; and more than any other sect it is to this day the nightmare of the mandariate. As a so-called political society, it has also acquired outside China a notoriety such as no other sect possesses. European authors have often written about it, giving their fancy the fullest play, and thus imposing upon the reading public¹). It cannot therefore be a superfluous labour to give here a few facts not spun out of our brain, but honestly drawn from Chinese sources. True, what we have thus to offer is not overmuch; but possibly others may discover more, and place their harvest also at the disposal of science.

A Buddhist religious society, named the White Lotus, existed in China in early times. Its foundation is described in a little book containing a few dozen biographies of its earliest members, and generally believed to have been compiled under the Tsin dynasty. It bears the title of: *Lien-shé kao lien ch'wen* 蓮社高賢傳: Traditions concerning the Eminent Sages of the Lotus Community. Its author is unknown.

A certain member of the Kia 賈 tribe, so it says, bearing the clerical name of Hwui-yuen 慧遠 or Far-reaching Wisdom, assembled those sages, and thus became the founder of the society. He died in 416, in his eighty-third year. He was equally versed in the Confucian classics and in the writings of Chwang-tszé and Lao-tszé, the two most eminent Taoists of antiquity; we may therefore say that he sowed the seeds of the same syncretism which to this day has characterized Sectarianism in China generally.

The common goal of the first members, this interesting book proceeds to relate, was salvation in the Realm of Purity (淨土) the Western Paradise of the Buddha Amita. To cultivate the

1) The worst specimen of such writing is the book published in Paris about 1880, under the title of "Associations de la Chine, Lettres du Père Leboucq, Missionnaire au Tché-ly Sud-Est". In the first letter, written in 1875, he amply describes the White Lotus sect; but we would ask any intelligent reader if, with the best will in the world, he can see in one line out of every hundred anything more than the fruits of imagination. So even the little grains of truth, which may be hidden amongst this chaff, must necessarily be distrusted. If the public is thus enlightened by a missionary who has lived and worked in China, what then must be the quality of the writings of others? And his book passes for an authoritative source, from which serious-minded authors have drawn! O imitatores, servum pecus.

religious perfection necessary to reach this region of highest bliss, they settled somewhere in the Lu-shan 廬山 or Lu mountains, in the vicinity of lake Po-yang. The reason why they called their friary by the name of White Lotus, is described as follows: "Sié "Ling-yun arrived in the Lu mountains, and no sooner had he "met with Hwui-yuen than he respectfully yielded himself up to "him, heart and soul. He then built close to the monastery a "terrace, translated there the Nirwaṇa-Sutra, and dug a pond, "in which he planted white lotus flowers. On this account, Hwui-yuen and his sages, who at that time devoted themselves to "salvation in the Land of Purity, were called the White Lotus "community" ¹⁾). Possibly also the following miracle contributed to the adoption of the name. "Çākya Hwui-ngan sorely felt "the want of a clepsydra in this mountain-recess. He therefore "placed twelve lotusses on the water-surface, which whirled round "with the ripples and thus divided the days and the nights, serving "him as a timekeeper in his work of salvation" ²⁾).

After this we read no more of the brotherhood for several ages. We have, however, reliable evidence that it existed openly in the eleventh century as a society of salvationists occasionally even rejoicing in imperial favour. "In the second year "of the Khing lih period (1042)", says the *Fuh-tsu tung ki*, "the Dharma-master Pen-jü, who had lived on the Tung-yih "mountain, assembled one hundred members of the Buddhist "clergy, to hold for one year a continuous penitential service "according to the Flower of the Dharma (the Lotus). In the "seventh month of that year, the Military Intendant of the Impe- "rial Horses, Li Tsun-süh, reported this at an imperial audience; "upon which the emperor bestowed upon Pen-jü the title of "Shen-chao or Divine Light, and a red square gown (a kashāya?). "Once upon a time he had seen a tiger lying on the south- "western side of the mountain, and beaten it with his staff, "saying: 'This is no place for thee to abide'; upon which the beast "had bowed its head and departed. On the spot where the tiger

1) 謝靈運至廬山、一見遠公肅然心伏。乃卽寺築臺、翻涅槃經、鑿池植白蓮。時遠公諸賢同修淨土之業、因號白蓮社。 Fol. 27.

2) 釋惠安患山中無刻漏。乃于水上立十二葉芙蓉、因波隨轉分定晝夜、以爲行道之節。 Fol. 7.

“had lain he then built a hermitage, and now, in the course of “the year afore-mentioned, he returned to it, to sojourn there for “the purpose of following the religious institutions of the Lu “mountains. In concert with Siün Kung-chang he sought and “found a number of men resembling the (former) sages (of the “brotherhood), with whom he formed a White Lotus community, “which in six or seven years grew into a large convent. The em- “peror, who had often heard of their salvation-practices, gave them “a sign-board to affix over the entrance, displaying the inscription : “White Lotus” 1).

Then there is silence again for more than two centuries, until suddenly we find the sect mentioned in the Historical Books of the Mongol house of Jenghiz and Kublai, in one breath with the school of the White Cloud, as often making common cause with rebels. We have already mentioned this on page 150. The sect was then a prey to government persecution, as we learn from the following extract from the Standard Histories of the Ming dynasty : “Han Lin-'rh, also known as the son of Mrs. Li, was an inha- “bitant of Lwan-ch'ing (in western Chihli). His ancestors had “been condemned to perpetual exile, because they had seduced “the people to burn incense in White Lotus communities; and “when the Yuen dynasty was drawing to a close, his father, “called Shan-tung, had loudly proclaimed abroad the ominous “assertion that a great disturbance was about to break out in “the empire, and that the Buddha Maitreya would be born in this “world. In Honan and the country between the Yangtze and “the Hwai, the ignorant people generally believed him. A person “from Ying-cheu (in north-western Nganhwei), called Liu Fuh- “t'ung, with his fellow villagers Tu Tsun-tao, Lo Wen-soh and “Shing Wen-yuh, over and over again spread the report that “Shan-tung was a descendant in the eighth degree from Hwui

1) 慶歷二年初東掖山本如法師結百僧修法華長懺一年。是年七月駙馬都尉李遵勛以聞於朝、賜號神照紫方袍。嘗於山西南見一虎臥、以杖擊之曰、非汝住處也、虎俛首而去。後於虎臥處結屋爲庵、以是年歸、閒此中、慕廬山之風。與郇公章得象諸賢、結白蓮社、六七年間寢成巨剎。主上素聞道風、因賜白蓮之額。 *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 神異, chap. 62.

“Tsung of the Sung dynasty, and therefore the appointed lord of “the Empire of the Centre. Then killing a white horse and a “black bull, they swore an oath (of fraternity) before Heaven “and Earth, and planned to raise troops. As badges these wore red “kerchiefs round their heads. But in the fifth month of the eleventh “year of the Chi ching period (1351) the matter got wind. Liu “Fuh-t’ung and his followers fled to Ying-cheu and there revolted, “while Shan-tung was seized by the authorities and put to death”¹⁾. Then follows a description of the rebellion; how Han Lin-rh in 1355 had himself proclaimed emperor, and how at his death in 1365 or 1366 this dignity was transferred to his far more capable brother in arms Chu Yuen-chang 朱元璋, a Buddhist monk. This was the renowned founder of the Ming dynasty, known in history as T’ai Tsu.

Do not these few lines, well considered, contain a great deal of information? These zealots for the Buddhist Messiah were the offspring of persecuted members of the White Lotus religion; hence those members must have been married people with families; consequently, the monastic order had at that time achieved its transformation into a formal church, split into lay-communities. The prophets and leaders of these religious corporations could dispose of whole armies of partisans rising in open rebellion, yea, they even set up a man of their own against the legal emperor, and achieved a revolution by which a fellow-Buddhist was placed on the throne. Does not all this intimate that the White Lotus church must have had its congregations all over China? Sectarianism flourished; it was — who knows since when? a prey to state-persecution. But it did not placidly turn the other cheek: it realized the power of solidarity, and threw its weight in the balance of the fate of the empire and the throne. And a heavy weight it was!

Soon, however, the Lotus church was to experience that ingrati-

1) 韓林兒欒城人、或言李氏子也。其先世以白蓮會燒香惑衆謫徙永年、元末林兒父山童鼓妖言、謂天下當大亂、彌勒佛下生。河南江淮間愚民多信之。潁州人劉福通與其黨杜遵道羅文素盛文郁等復言山童宋徽宗八世孫、當主中國。乃殺白馬黑牛誓告天地謀起兵。以紅巾爲號。至正十一年五月事覺。福通等遽入潁州反、而山童爲吏所捕誅。 Chap. 122, fol. 3.

tude is the world's reward, for in 1394, as we saw on page 82, this same emperor whom it had raised to the throne, threatened with capital punishment all its members, together with the clergy living among the laity. Thus, since the same measure was applied to that clergy and the sectarians, it seems probable that both were deemed culpable of the same sin: that of performing religious work in ordinary secular life. We must conclude that the Lotus church remained a chief object of state-persecution under subsequent emperors of the Ming dynasty, from the fact that we find it mentioned first among the prohibited sects in the first article of the Law against Heresy, which that dynasty called into existence.

We know no particulars about these persecutions. It is as yet questionable whether any information on this head has been preserved in the historical books of that epoch, and may some day come to light. But there are two further reasons which irresistibly compel us to believe, that the sect has had to endure much hard persecution in the Ming epoch. In the first place, it is altogether incredible that a dynasty, so tyrannically opposed to Buddhism as we described on pp. 81 and foll., should have let the Lotus heresies flourish freely and spread in peace. And in the second place, it cannot otherwise be explained why the sectarians, in the sixteenth century, should take up such a hostile position against the dynasty when its glory and its power were waning. In earlier days they had vigorously assisted its founder in the struggle for the throne; — now they showed a different face, and did all in their power to overthrow the dynasty.

As we saw on pages 88 and 89, rebellion broke out in 1566, when an imperial decree roused the persecution of Buddhism to its highest pitch. The pursuits and enterprises, strugglings and campaigns of the sect might be a most interesting study, if we could get sufficient data and material. But we find nothing chronicled concerning it in the histories, except the following lines of considerable interest, occurring in chapter 257 (fols. 5 and 6) of the History of the Ming Dynasty:

“Before that time, Wang Shen, a man from Ki-cheu (situated “north-west of Peking), had received incense from a wicked fox, “and then placed himself at the head of the White Lotus sect, “calling himself the headman of the sect of Smelling Incense¹). “Amongst his followers were propagation-chiefs of various rank,

1) Thus, evidently, this sect was a subdivision of the White Lotus religion. Comp. page 154.

“also heads of congregations, and other [title-bearers, who had their branches in the region round about the imperial residence, as also in Shantung, Shansi, Honan, Shensi, and Szě-ch'wen. Wang Shen lived in the village of the Stone Buddha in Lwan-cheu (in the extreme north-east of Chihli). His followers and partisans paid him there ready money, which they called court-tribute, and kept up with him, by means of flying bamboo-slips, a correspondence about their stratagems, with a velocity of several hundred miles a day. In the 23rd year of the Wan-lih period (1595) Wang Shen was taken prisoner by the authorities and sentenced to death, but through bribery he contrived to escape. He then proceeded to the capital, where he managed to attach cognates of the imperial family and palace-officials to his religion.

“After matters had come to this pass, his disciple Li Kwoh-yung set up a separate sect, which made use of written and spoken formulas to evoke spirits. Now between these two sects jealousy arose, which resulted in the whole matter coming to light. In the 42nd year (1614) Wang Shen was again seized by the authorities, and five years afterwards he died in prison. His son Hao-hien, as also Sū Hung-jū from Kū-yé (in south-west Shantung) and Yü Hung-chi from Wu-yih (in Chihli) joined the sect, the result being a new influx of followers”¹).

“Thus opened the year (viz. 1622), when Hao-hien saw the Liao-tung region entirely lost to the dynasty (conquered by the Manchus), and rebellious people on all sides ready for any extravagance. He then planned with Sū Hung-jū and other adherents, simultaneously to take up arms on mid-autumn day of that year. But the plan got wind, and so Sū hung-jū was obliged

1) 先是薊州人王森得妖狐異香、倡白蓮教、自稱聞香教主。其徒有大小傳頭及會主諸號、蔓延畿輔山東山西河南陝西四川。森居灤州石佛莊。徒黨輸金錢、稱朝貢、飛竹籌報機事、一旦數百里。萬曆二十三年有司捕繫森、論死、用賄得釋。乃入京師、結外戚中官行教。

自如後森徒李國用別立教、用符呪召鬼。兩教相仇、事盡露。四十二年森復爲有司所攝、越五歲斃於獄。其子好賢及鉅野徐鴻儒、武邑于弘志輩踵其教、徒黨益衆。

“to commence the insurrection before the appointed time. He “took the title of emperor Chung-hing Fuh-lieh, and called this “year the first of the Hing shing period of the Great Ch’ing “dynasty. They wore a red kerchief round their heads as insignia. “In the fifth month, on the day wu-shen, they took Yun- “ch’ing (in western Shantung), after which they also surprised “Tseu, T’eng and Yih (i. e. the southern strip of Shantung, east “of the Great Canal), and their hosts grew to several myriads”¹⁾ “.....

The details of the campaign, which the historian then gives, we may pass over. The end of Sū Hung-jü’s insurrection was, that after a number of defeats chiefly inflicted by the general Chao Yen 趙彥, he was besieged by this warrior in the city of Tseu, “Here he repulsed all attacks for three months, until the victuals “were consumed and the rebels all flocked out of the town to “submit themselves. Hung-jü tried to escape, alone, on horse- “back, but he was captured, and his whole army, more than “47,000 strong, was subdued. Chao Yen then made a circumstantial “report; the victory was communicated to the imperial ancestors “in their temple, prisoners of war were presented to the emperor, “and Sū Hung-jü was cut to pieces in public. He had trodden “down Shantung for twenty years, and possessed there no less “than two millions of followers and adherents, who were not “subjected or slain until now”²⁾. This imperial victory also decided the fate of Yü Hung-chi and Wang Hao-hien. Their troops were defeated, and they themselves were captured and put to death.

What strikes us particularly in this account, is the energy displayed by the Lotus society, and its powerful organization. Animated by faith in the coming Messiah, who was to bring deliverance from oppression and persecution, and would restore the church of Buddha to its ancient glory, the people were held

1) 至是好賢見遼東盡失、四方奸民思逞。與鴻儒等約是年中秋並起兵。會謀洩、鴻儒遂先期反。自號中興福烈帝、稱大成興勝元年。用紅巾爲識。五月戊申陷鄆城、俄陷鄒滕嶧、衆至數萬。。。

2) 鴻儒抗守三月、食盡、賊黨盡出降。鴻儒單騎走、被禽、撫其衆四萬七千餘人。彥乃紀績、告廟獻俘、磔鴻儒於市。鴻儒躡山東二十年、徒黨不下二百萬、至是始伏誅。

together for years by the vigorous hand of Wang Shen, who sent his propagandists over six provinces, and went himself to Peking to make converts among the imperial family and the court. Thus the society grew into a power which brought thousands under arms, and by an open rebellion greatly furthered the attacks of the Manchu armies which harassed the dynasty from the north. But it failed in its attempt to overthrow the dynasty, and some myriads of sectarians, no doubt, were put to the sword by a merciless, vindictive victor. The puerile explanation which the Confucian historian gives of Wang Shen's influence and power, we must simply take as a proof of his credulity, ignorance and prejudice ¹).

The further history of the Lotus sect falls within the reign of the Ts'ing dynasty, still to this hour in possession of the empire, the throne and the crown. This history is simply a part of the general history of the state-persecutions and of the disturbances and revolts organized by the sects for self-defence, to which we shall devote the second volume of this work. We shall see, that the fate of the Lotus sect in this still unfinished period of its existence, evinces its bitter suffering and struggling probably as much as it did under the Yuen and the Ming dynasties.

This mysterious, powerful community, accommodated to the religious instincts of the masses and, by satisfying their cravings for salvation, able to hold its own, in spite of bloody persecution and oppression, is certainly well worthy of our interest. We naturally long for some knowledge of its doctrine and ritualism, its constitution and organization, its purpose and aspirations, about which the codices and the constitution of China leave us in total darkness. The reader will therefore readily understand, that

1) The rebellions of this sect towards the close of the Yuen and the Ming dynasties we find shortly described by Mr. Stanton in the *China Review* XXI, pp. 160 and foll. He gives no translations of texts, so that nearly all the striking peculiarities of the Chinese historians are lost; moreover, like most up-to-date writers, he has shuffled off the old-fashioned prejudice that solid work demands a candid mention of the sources drawn from. He also commits the strange blunder of identifying the Lotus sect with various political societies, preferably beginning with the so-called Yellow Turban rebels who disturbed China in the second century A.D.; any reasons why they should be all mixed up into such an olla-podrida are, of course, wanting. The bad example of earlier writers seems to have infected him; indeed, Newbold and Wilson were guilty of similar baseless identifications (see: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, VI, p. 120). These writers assert — on what grounds they do not say — that the notorious Heaven and Earth league originated with the sect of the Yellow Turbans. *C'est ainsi qu'on écrit l'histoire*. If authors would only write a little less about Chinese matters which they do not know, and study the sources a little, science would reap the benefit.

when some seventeen years ago I settled in China a second time for ethnographical research, this sect, and Sectarianism in general, were amongst the first items on my programme. Chang-cheu, Ts'üen-cheu and Hing-hwa, the south-eastern departments of Fuh-kien, of which I understood the vernacular, were my principal field of study. A considerable length of time passed away without my finding there a trace of a White Lotus sect, and I was constantly assured by everybody that anything so abominable was not to be found among them. But this disappointment finally changed to some satisfaction when rumours reached me of the existence of three sects, and when, at Amoy, I succeeded in making the acquaintance of some of their members.

They were, however, very uncommunicative and reserved, and I began to despair of pumping information out of them, when help came from a side from which it might least of all be expected, viz. from the official heresy-persecution. Early in 1887 there appeared in Ts'üen-cheu a manifesto from the Prefect, ordering his Sub-prefects to set about the persecution and extermination of the three sects vigorously. These zealous mandarins, as it behooved them, at once began operations, and each in his own district hurled proclamations against the sects. The manifesto with which the Hai-fang-ting or Maritime Sub-prefect of Amoy appeared on the stage, ran as follows:

"I, T'ang, Substitute Prefect, specially appointed Maritime Sub-prefect of Amoy in the department of Ts'üen-cheu, issue the following severe prohibition:

"Li, the Prefect of the department of Ts'üen-cheu, sends me under date of the 11th of the twelfth month of this year a missive, in which he states that the establishing of vegetarian halls, the holding of meetings by abstainers from animal food, and the beguiling of the people by heretical doctrines, are detrimental to customs and morals (fung-suh) and to the human heart. In the 17th year of the Kia khing period (A.D. 1812) people guilty thereof were arrested, imprisoned, and prosecuted; but of late years lawless villains, old acquaintances of those people, have cropped up again, and frequently ventured secretly to establish several vegetarian halls. There are among them chiefly members of the Lung-hwa, the Sien-tien and the Kin-t'ang sects. Moreover, vagabonds from elsewhere, as Li Wen-ch'ing and others, have secretly come to the chief city of the department and bought houses for the propagation of their doctrines; they have induced young women and girls to join their congregations and to acknowledge

“them as masters and themselves as pupils, and other things of
“the kind. Lascivious indulgence in works of darkness, in places
“where the sexes associate together, causes corruption of morals
“and customs; such things are shocking and deplorable in a high
“degree. The Prefect had opened an inquiry into the above matters,
“and was just occupied in arrests and rigorous examinations, when
“suddenly a literary graduate of the second rank, Khiu Kia-shu
“etc. wrote to him that certain vagabonds had lately established
“vegetarian halls in the ward of Chastity and Filial Conduct, in
“the Pumpkin pavilion, and in other places; that they there held
“meetings with their disciples, and only a short time ago had
“also bought the ground which formerly belonged to Shi Tsing-
“hai and Heu Tung-yuen, where they were now busy raising
“storied buildings. As propagandists they principally employed
“poor wives, who introduced widows, feeble folks, aged women
“and virgins, and by such intercourse these persons were incited
“and seduced to bad deeds. On these grounds the petitioners
“entreated the Prefect to instruct his police to expel and disperse
“these people, to arrest and prosecute them, and put a stop to
“their deeds. The Prefect then commanded his detectives to seal
“up all the vegetarian halls, and to take in custody all vegetarians
“of both sexes, and he examined and prosecuted them. Now apart
“from the orders issued by the Prefect to track everywhere the
“headmen of the sects in Ts’üen-cheu, viz. Li Wen-ch’ing, Yep
“T’ien and others, that they may be arrested and rigorously
“prosecuted, he asks me to issue proclamations, announcing that
“the sects are altogether forbidden, and also to track and arrest
“their members, and send them up for prosecution.

“In obedience to that missive, I command my police to
“track and seize these culprits; besides, I issue this prohibition.
“Herewith then I proclaim that I expect you, the people of
“whatever sort in Amoy, to know and understand, that the
“establishing of vegetarian halls and the holding of meetings
“therein, to fast and worship the Buddhas and beguile the public
“by “left Tao”, are most pernicious to good manners and
“customs (fung-suh) and to the human mind. If after the
“publication of this proclamation people should be enticed by
“vegetarian religions, let everyone admonish them incessantly.
“And should any venture to violate this order willingly and
“knowingly, and clandestinely establish a vegetarian hall; or
“should men and women assemble together, or any one indulge
“in proselytism, then, if the matter be detected, either by
“arrests made by the police, or by evidence obtained from

“persons examined — the culprits shall be seized, examined and “prosecuted, while the halls shall be sealed and confiscated. And “there will be no question of indulgence or release. Everyone “therefore should respectfully obey this special proclamation!

“Given on the 20th of the 12th month of the 12th year of the “Kwang sū period (13th of Jan. 1887)”¹⁾.

Of the effects of this anti-heretical crusade outside Amoy, not much came to my knowledge; only some vague, but tenacious rumours about cruel scourging in the Prefect's Yamen and condemnations to exile, circulated in the department for a consi-

1) 補用府正堂特授泉州廈防分府唐爲出示嚴禁事。本年十二月十一日准泉州府正堂李移開照得、設立齋堂、聚衆喫齋、左道惑民、大爲風俗人心之害。嘉慶十七年間曾經拏禁有案、乃近年竟有不法棍徒故智復萌、輒敢私設齋堂多處。甚有龍華教先天教金堂教等名目。並有外來棍徒李文成等潛至郡城購屋傳教、引誘年輕婦女入教拜認師徒情事。男女雜處恣爲曖昧、傷風敗俗、殊堪痛恨。當經訪問前情、正在嚴拏究辨間、旋據舉人邱嘉樹等呈稱近有無藉之徒在節孝舖葫蘆亭等處設立齋堂、聚集徒衆、近復購施靖海侯東園故地、修飾樓閣。宣教多用貧婦、引誘孀嫠弱齡閨女、往來煽惑非爲。請乞飭差驅逐拏辨止等情。當經飭差將各齋堂標封、並將齋婦齋民拏獲訊究在案。除由府出示並差拏在泉之教頭李文成葉添等務獲嚴辨外、移請一體示禁查拏解辨等由。

廳准此除飭差查拏外、合行示禁。爲此示仰閩廈諸色人等知悉、爾等須知設立菜堂聚衆、喫齋拜佛、左道惑衆、大爲風俗人心之害。自示之後如有被惑齋教者、務各互戒。倘敢故違私設齋堂、男女混雜傳教者、一經發覺、或被差所獲、或經訪問定、卽拏案究辨、並將齋堂標封入官。決不寬貸。各宜遵懷特示。

光緒十二年十二月二十日給。

derable time. In Amoy, however, I had a better opportunity of watching the official proceedings. These were not nearly as bad as I had imagined; in China also the bark is worse than the bite. As is the rule in this realm with official plans in general, those of the Sub-prefect transpired through the yamen-doors; moreover, the sectarians in the city of Ts'uen-cheu timely warned their brethren all around against the gathering storm. The religious meetings, which generally took place in ordinary dwelling-houses, were altogether stopped, and the police caught nobody. They only extorted a good number of strings of coins from some real or supposed sectarians, and the prosecution craze soon cooled down. The Lung-hwa sect, the principal of the three, re-opened its meetings; but men and women now assembled separately, lest Confucian zealots should feel offended and shocked, and denounce them anew for violation of the good, orthodox morals, which demand a strict separation of the sexes.

This tempest which raged over the sects rendered me good service. A few days after the above proclamation was posted up, I had a visit from Li Fung-sun, one of the sectarians whose acquaintance I had made. Formerly as mute as a fish with respect to his sect, he now was quite communicative, and I realized at once that fear drove him to the fellow-heretic who lived so quietly under foreign colours beyond the reach of the mandarin's clutches. Producing a parcel of old, dog's-eared papers, partially sewed together in book form, he assured me that I would find therein the answers to my former questions; he felt anxious, he added, to temporarily rid himself and his co-religionists of these documents, which might bring them all to grief, should it occur to the police to search his house. Of course I accepted the papers with the most obliging egotism; and after that, the man frequently came to see me, and no longer withheld any information regarding his religion, the key to which he had so confidently placed in my hands.

I could, indeed, by no means do without his precious help in deciphering the papers. For I found therein a hardly intelligible mixture of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, mostly in fragmentary extracts; and in many places the writing was hardly legible. They evidently formed a kind of manual for the use of one who knew his business pretty well by heart: desultory notes for religious teachers and leaders, to assist their memory. The owner positively assured me that the fraternity possessed no other writings, except extracts from ordinary Buddhist sutras, and that all their scriptures were proscribed by the mandarins. My dearest

wish would now be realized: from these papers I could draw up a rough sketch of that mysterious, persecuted portion of China's religious system. Other members of the sects, whose tongues now became remarkably loosened, and visits to their religious meetings have supplied useful material to elaborate that sketch.

The sects existing in Amoy are the three notified by the Prefect of Ts'üen-cheu in his mandate to the sub-prefects (p. 170). As this mandate was given to all these officers, we must conclude that those congregations exist in several parts of his jurisdiction, if not in all. My Chinese informants unanimously affirmed this. The Kin-t'ang sect, or according to the Amoy pronunciation Kim-t'ông, "the Guildhall", we may at once dismiss, as it is merely a branch of the Lung-hwa sect, with the same tenets, organization and ritual, so much so that the members attend each other's meetings. It keeps under its wings more particularly people from the Hing-hwa department, situated north of Ts'üen-cheu, who have migrated in considerable numbers to various towns southward. This sect pretends to have its branches throughout the province, all held together by one headman living somewhere in Hing-hwa. About this mysterious heresiarch I could obtain no information but that he is a Buddhist monk, duly consecrated. Nor did I ever receive any satisfactory explanation of the name of the sect. Is this an allusion to the abodes of delight, to which, by cultivation of virtue and perfection, the members try to elevate themselves and others? It was quite usual in China even in long past ages, to give this name to certain terrestrial abodes of fabulous Taoists, who according to their peculiar methods had succeeded in creating for themselves a condition of immortality and bliss. Be this as it may, the Kin-t'ang sect confirms what we pointed out on page 156, that divisions of a sect may bear different names.

So two societies only remain to be studied: the Sien-t'ien and the Lung-hwa sect. Although one in principle and aspiration, viz. Salvation, as indeed we believe all Chinese sects to be, they are far from similar in other respects. While the former is most positively adverse to religious ritualism, show and activity, the other is its exact opposite, and would probably be so in a much stronger measure if the members were not compelled, for fear of persecution, to moderate themselves in outward religious work. In this ritualism of the Lung-hwa society the Buddhist element pre-dominates in every respect, its institutions being moulded entirely upon Buddhist monasticism.

The two sects are well worthy of the attention of students of

East-Asiatic religion. They possess everything appertaining to a complete religious system: founders and prophets, a pantheon, commandments, moral philosophy, initiation and consecration, religious ritual, sacred books and writings, even theology, a Paradise and Hell — everything borrowed principally from Mahayanistic Buddhism, and partially from old-Chinese philosophy and cosmogony. It is through these societies that religious feeling, piety, and virtue, created by the expectation of reward or punishment hereafter, flourish amongst the people, who but for the sects would live in utter ignorance about these matters, as Confucius and his school have written or said nothing of importance on the same, and the Taoist aspirations to perfection by virtue and religion have evidently died. But this does not mean that both sects have derived nothing from Confucianism and Taoism. Their syncretic character pre-supposes just the contrary; but we may not anticipate here what will come out often enough in the two following chapters, devoted respectively to the two sects.

CHAPTER VI.

. THE SIEN-T' IEN SECT.

The name Sien t'ien 先天 itself indicates the Taoist character of the sect which bears it. It is borrowed from ancient Taoist and Confucian philosophy, and thus comes down from a time when no such thing as Buddhism was known in China. It means "to precede heaven", and stands in contra-distinction to heu t'ien 後天, "to follow heaven". Both these terms mean: regulating one's acts and conduct after the Tao or course of the Universe by strictly conforming to the demands of the annual seasons and natural phenomena which the Tao creates (comp. p. 8); but the former implies, moreover, doing so by one's own initiative, without being compelled thereto in any way by heaven. This method of seeking bliss and perfection is, of course, sublimer than the other, though that too is of the highest value and excellence.

Confucius, himself a Taoist, is considered to be the father of both methods. For they are mentioned for the first time in one of the appendices of the *Yih* (see p. 10), called *Wen yen* 文言, the authorship of which is generally ascribed by the Chinese to the Sage. "The great man is he who brings his virtue in conformity with heaven and earth, his intellect with sun and moon, his rules of conduct with the four seasons, his good or bad fate with the spirits and the gods. He precedes heaven, and consequently heaven does not go against him; he follows heaven and reverently conforms to the four seasons, and so again heaven does not go against him; will not this be the case in a stronger degree with men, spirits and gods?"¹⁾

In the course of centuries this Confucian ground-theme of the

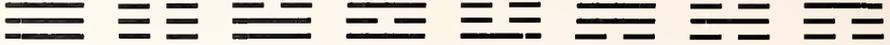
1) 夫大人者與天地合其德、與日月合其明、與四時合其序、與鬼神合其吉凶。先天而天弗違、後天而奉天時、天且弗違、而況於人乎、況於鬼神乎。

Taoist system has led to much philosophical speculation; but we need not enter upon that. For the right understanding of the name of the sect we must not, however, omit to state, that the word sien tien also means "that which has preceded heaven", thus, pre-celestial. Thinkers of all times have seen in it an allusion to a certain early period, which by dint of reasoning has been found to be that which closed with the reign of China's first sovereign, the mythical Fuh-hi (see p. 39). After him came the "middle celestial" (中天) period, when Shen-nung (see *ibid.*) ruled the empire; and which was followed by the post-celestial or heu tien, when the emperor Hwang (27th cent. b.C.) wielded the sceptre. According to Chinese chronologers, these three epochs together embraced some 255 years, falling perhaps between 2852 and 2597 b.C. And so the name of the sect implies also that the members date its foundation back to the very earliest times of which China pretends to have any knowledge. They claim, indeed, for their founder none less than the primeval power who then, and before all times, ruled the universe, viz. the Wu-kih 無極 or Apex of Nothingness.

What is this power? To answer this question we must know the outlines of the ancient authentic dogma of the origin of the universe, as it was expounded in the *Yih*, the chief bible of Taoists for all times. All that exists, says that dogma, has evolved from the centre of the celestial sphere, called T'ai-kih 太極 or Grand Apex, the only fixed point in the firmament, round which the heavens revolve. That north pole thus represents the power which creates day and night, light and darkness, heat and cold, in short, it is the creator of the world's course or Tao, and the cause of the seasons, by which all that lives is produced, sustained, and destroyed, and through which the natural phenomena are brought about. This eternal, annually recurring process of creation the *Yih* describes in the following terms: "Hence there is in the process of metamorphosis (evolution) a Grand Apex, which produces the two regulating powers (viz. the Yang 陽 or light, heat, etc., and the Yin 陰 or "darkness, cold, etc., the alternating operations of which constitute the Tao). They produce the four phases of Nature (the "seasons), from which the eight k'wa are born, which determine "a good and evil fate, which bring forth the great business (of "human life)"¹). These k'wa are the eight chief phenomena of

1) 是故易有大極、是生兩儀。兩儀生四象、四象

nature, namely the celestial and terrestrial energy, vapours, heat, thunder, wind, water, mountains, represented by combinations of entire and broken lines, thus:



This is the cosmogonic science of China in a nutshell, a sacred theorem, the correctness of a single iota of which no sage in all the realm ever presumed to dispute. Nor did it ever occur to any, by mere speculation to lend more colour and depth to the picture, until a certain Cheu Tun-i 周敦頤 appeared on the stage of life. He died between A. D. 1068 and 1078, 56 years old, after a glorious career as statesman. In a short essay, entitled *T'ai-kih tu shwoh* 太極圖說, "Dissertation on the Map of the Grand Apex", this miracle of wisdom developed the theme of the *Yih* in a manner which threw the learned world for ever into ecstasies, and once and for all secured him a place of honour in the school of philosophy of the Sung dynasty, of which Chu Hi is the grandmaster. The opening words of this celebrated document are: "The Apex of Nothingness, and then the Grand Apex" ¹).

Because of this dictum, and certain opinions pronounced in still older times, it has become the fashion among philosophers to believe the Apex of Nothingness to be an older, and therefore a higher power than the Grand Apex, a power representing Eternity in the past, the Endless in time; Kih indeed signifies an ultimate beginning or end, and Wu-kih the absence of such a beginning. In this sense the term occurs, as far as known, for the first time in the work of Lieh-tszě 列子, an apocryphal philosophical treatise which may have been written in one of the first four centuries of our era, or even earlier, but about the origin of which we know nothing with certainty ²). We read there (chap. V) that T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty (18th cent. b.C.), discussed with his sage minister Hia Kih 夏革 the origin and the end of things; — since the time of the Wu-kih or from all eternity, thus the latter spoke, things have had a beginning and an end, that is to say, an existence; but we do not know whether this

生八卦、八卦定吉凶、吉凶生大業. The third Appendix, 繫辭傳, I.

1) 無極而太極. The *T'ai-kih tu shwoh* is to be found in the biography of its author, occurring in chap. 427 of the official History of the Sung Dynasty.

2) See my Religious System of China, Book I, p. 680.

is the case also with the several parts of the Universe. Therefore, thus was T'ang's conclusion, "non-existence had no ultimate "beginning (wu-kih), but existence will have an ultimate end; — "beyond past eternity (wu-kih) there has been no second, nor "will this be the case with future eternity" ¹).

So the Apex of Nothingness or the Endless in time was the highest and sole universal power working in the chaos; it therefore represents the very oldest period of the Cosmos, when there was as yet no northern pole or Grand Apex, much less any alternate operations of a Yang and a Yin. But the Buddhists explained the matter in their own peculiar way, and took the term in the sense of "Apex of Non-existence", identifying it with their never understood Nirwāṇa. So also did the Sien-t'ien sect. The Apex of Nothingness being the origin of everything, the sect naturally considers it to be its founder. It existed in the sien-t'ien epoch; and similarly the sect considers this to be the time of the foundation of its principles and tenets.

In the papers of this society I find, indeed, the Wu-kih mentioned explicitly both as its founder and as the developer of the world. Pan-ku 盤古, the mythical unraveller of the chaos, did not set to work until commissioned thereto by the Wu-kih, and the product was the Saha-world (娑婆世界), as the Buddhists call the earth, the abode of all who are subject to transmigration and suffering, and for whom saving Buddhas appear. Then the Light-making Buddhas or Dīpankara (燃燈佛) came, the predecessors of Çākyamuni, all preachers of the doctrines of salvation, and consequently of the doctrines of the Sien-t'ien society. They were all sent down by the Wu-kih. Lao-tszě was one of them, and therefore ranks as a prophet of the oldest and highest order. This mixture of Buddhistic and genuine Chinese myth we find interwoven with classical and unclassical traditions regarding the sovereigns of the most ancient mythical times, until it brings us down to the mid-celestial period of Shen-nung. It is then that Çākyamuni appears upon the scene as an incarnation or emissary of the Grand Apex, in order to restore to its former glory and purity the Dharma, or Universal Order instituted by the hosts of the Buddhas who preceded him.

But even long after that, the Apex of Nothingness sent down a Buddha for the salvation of mankind. "The very highest Wu-

1) 無則無極、有則有盡、無極復無無極、無盡復無無盡。

kih, our Old Patriarch", so the manuscripts tell us, the first breath of the chaos, which in far remote antiquity himself came down into the world to save men and spirits from the ocean of suffering — "once again went up the steps of his court-hall, "and thus spoke to the Buddhas: "Since the creation of the heavens "ninety-six milliards of my children of both sexes, born of the "womb, were put down on the earth; up to this day these are "entangled and confounded in Saha (suffering); their genuine character is submerged (in evil), and nobody kindles among them "the light of self-improvement; how then shall they return to "this their home? In the pre-celestial period I ordered the light-making Buddhas to bring salvation to two milliards of Taoist "anchorites; in the middle celestial period I sent salvation through "the Çākya Buddha to two milliards of Buddhist Sangha-members; "there remain still ninety-two milliards of people to be saved. The "post-celestial period now governs the world, and I do not yet "know who will descend to the earth and lead my children of "both sexes back to their home". None of the Buddhas ventured "to answer; only the Patriarch Lo, moved by compassion, left "their ranks and addressed his Lord, saying: "I will descend into "the world and live there, to bring salvation to Your children "and lead them back to their home; Your holy will in this "matter however is as yet unknown to me". And the Old Father, "joyful and cheered, handed to the Patriarch Lo his instructions. He accepted them, and descended to the earth, there "cleared the waste, and made the doctrine shine clear and bright. "And so, this our lay community exists since the Bodhisatwa " (emperor) of the dynastic generation of the Wan lih period " (1573—1620) of the Ming dynasty; fasting and improvement of "the conduct dates from that first Patriarch. His tribal-name was "Lo, his name Hwai; his (clerical) designation was Wu-khung, "i. e. Aroused to Nirwāṇa" 1).

1) 太上無極老祖後又登殿與諸佛說、九十六億懷胎兒女開天撥落在凡、至今迷戀娑婆、真性沉淪、無人點化、那裡還鄉。先天令燃燈佛度二億仙家、中天令釋迦佛度二億僧家、尚存九十二億。現後天掌管於世、未知何人降凡、收返兒女還鄉。衆諸佛不敢答應、只有羅祖以發慈悲出班、奏曰、我欲降生於凡、化度兒女以復家鄉、未知聖意如何。老爺心歡朗意、將令付於羅祖。羅祖領令下

The birth-place of this saving, incarnate Buddha was, thus the manuscript papers go on to relate, Teng-hiang 登鄉, a place situated at five Chinese miles distance from the chief city of the Tsih-mih 即墨 district, which forms part of the department of Lai-cheu 萊州, in the province of Shantung. According to some, this was his forty-ninth existence. He lost his father, Lo Lwan-lung 羅鑾籠, when he was seven years old; his mother, Fuh-chen 佛鎮 or Fuh-kwang 佛廣, died when he was thirteen. His second name or tszě 字, adopted at a mature age, was Ying-chu 榮珠. His wife was a member of the Ching 鄭 tribe. At the age of thirteen he was enlisted in the army to replace his paternal uncle, and went to Peking, where he lived in the Chung-i street (忠義街) at the Yung-tsi gate (湧濟門); but though his body dwelled in the army, his heart walked in the road of salvation. He studied religion in the Kin-kuh convent (金谷寺) with a teacher named Wu-ying 無影, and afterwards had yet another wise Buddhist to instruct him. Three years later he journeyed to Hukwang, where he remained for some time on the T'ai-yoh mountain (太岳山) under guidance of the teacher T'ien-yuen 天員, and finally he settled in the cave of the White Cloud (白雲洞) on the Kiu-hwa mountain (九華山), near Nanking. Here he accepted the Buddhist commandments, and received ordination. Then he returned to Peking, where with the financial help of a well-to-do follower, called Liu Pen-t'ung 劉本通, he published a work, entitled *Wu pu luh ch'eh* 五部六册, "Six Books in Five Sections", a product of syncretism, written on the principle that "the three religions are but one system" (三教共成一理), and destined to bring salvation to every one, both in the lay world and the clerical.

It was in the house of this patron of his religious work that Lo Hwai commenced his career as a prophet. He held meetings there for laudation of Buddha's sacred name; but soon these aroused the attention and indignation of a professor of the Hanlin college, named Yang Ming-kuh 楊明谷. This Confucian worthy did not tarry, but sent out his policemen to arrest the heresiarch. In erect posture, instead of humbly crouching down, the prophet confronted the high persecutor, who, enraged by such impudence,

凡、開荒顯教。從明朝萬歷君朝代菩薩卽有此俗家、持齋修行從一祖起始。係是姓羅名懷號悟空。

awarded him twenty strokes with the stick. Liu Pen-t'ung, likewise arrested, received ten blows more. After this, the two friends were delivered up to the Palace, where the emperor himself interrogated them. The demise of an empress-dowager caused the inquest to be adjourned, and for the time being the prophet lay in the jail of the Palace, a prey to the bitterest suffering. But two very high grandees, surnamed Tang 党 and Wang 王, friends of Liu Pen-t'ung, visited him, and by their consolations cheered his soul and roused his drooping spirits.

At this juncture a priest had arrived from Tibet, who challenged all the clergy of the realm to a theological dispute. The name of this man was Siao-yin 小陰. The emperor, annoyed that his highly civilized states should not produce a sage able to cope with that barbarian, ordered all the provinces to be searched for such a person, but no match could be found. Then Tang and Wang prevailed on His Majesty to let Lo Hwai take up the gauntlet. And how glorious was the result! Theological and philosophical queries and answers of the most transcendental nature followed each other in rapid succession, and neither of the champions budged one hair's breadth before the other, until Lo Hwai proposed a question so profound, that poor Siao-yin immediately stood dumb and confessed himself beaten. A full imperial pardon was the prophet's reward.

But the implacable Yang Ming-kuh was not so easily disconcerted, and came forward with the rational thesis that a prophet is no prophet unless he can move, as quick as a hare, with an iron helmet of fifty pounds weight on his head, a cuirass of double that weight on his body, and boots of fifty pounds weight on his legs. Of course the divine messenger immediately subjected himself to this reasonable test, nay, he gave even stronger proof of his supernatural power by soaring with all these ponderous implements of war like a cloud over the imperial palace. Great was the consternation among the civil and military authorities who witnessed this scene. His Imperial Majesty, awe-struck, bestowed upon the worker of this miracle the title of "Patriarch Lo of Shantung, Holy Prince" (山東羅祖聖君), and "Great Saint of equal rank with the Dēvas, who protects the Dynasty" (護國齊天大聖).

Thus, fortunately, Lo Hwai's first acquaintance with the high Confucian world, however painful in the beginning, took a most satisfactory turn. No wonder that the foreign priest yearned for more information about the prophet's doctrine. And

the latter, greedy to convert him, at once explained to him the elements of it. As it concerns us also to know these, we reproduce here the full account of the interview, as we find it in the manuscripts: — “Master, thus the foreign priest opened “the discussion, you, the Wu-wei salvationist, have you still “other chief principles? If so, please explain them to me. — The “glorious and majestic compound of precepts is boundless in its “extent, was the reply. — Why do you express yourself in such “comprehensive words? — It is heaven, which illumines every- “thing, and the earth, which extends everywhere, thus answered “the Patriarch, which preach the Truth. — Why do you abstain “from sacrificing to Buddha’s images? — Because heaven and earth, “mountains and rivers are Buddha’s images. — If this be so, “thus queried the priest, whence can the man be called com- “petent to burn a proportionate quantity of incense? And to “this the Patriarch answered: Wind, clouds, fog and dew, these “are incense-odours. — Then you keep so extremely large an “altar of worship, thus spoke the stranger now; I have not yet heard “from you whether you beat drums there. — The thunderclaps “which shake heaven and earth, are the drums of our Law. — “You have then drums of the Law; but why hitherto have you “not burned any lamps? And the answer came: Sun and moon “are our lamps; they burn day and night. — Then you have “burning lamps; but what sort of things do you use for sacrifices? “And the Patriarch spoke: Flowers and fruit offer constant sacri- “fices in all the four seasons. — Offerings of flowers and fruit “you have then; but why is no tea offered by you? — The five “lakes and the four seas are tea-offerings. — But, continued the “priest, we all, yourself not excluded, are creatures too insigni- “ficant to bring such comprehensive doctrines into practice. — The “body of the Law (the Dharma) fills up the three thousand worlds “throughout. — And why do you not tinkle on bells? — Because “the claps of the thunder on the drum of the Dharma surpass “any sound of bells. — Why do you not send any written “prayer’s on high? — Words of wisdom (bodhi) are the written “prayers we send up. — And why do you wave no banners? — The “motion of the branches of the trees is the waving of banners. — “And now what is the reason why you perform no worship of “the Buddhas? — Hours and hours, minutes and minutes perform “this worship. — But, the priest finally asked, how is it that “I have not seen you erect halls for the reciting of sutras? — The “boundless void is our sutra-hall, was the reply. Here the priest “came to the end of his questionings. He bowed reverently to

“the earth before the master and thanked him, exclaiming: how “excellent is all this, how excellent!”¹⁾”

Lo Hwai is supposed to have also lived and preached in Tsin-yun 縉雲, a department in the southern part of the province of Chehkiang, and in still other places. At the age of eighty-five he entered Nirwāṇa. This event took place in Peking, in the year ting-hai (1647), on the 29th day of the second month. A General had a coffin made for him, and he was buried in the vicinity of his homestead. Over his grave a thirteen-storied pagoda was erected, the bright glare of which agitated heaven and earth.

This biography of the founder of the Sien-t'ien and the Lung-hwa sects, a mixture of fable and history, is the only original one I have seen. The work he is said to have written we have never found noticed in a Chinese book, and all my endeavours to get a copy have remained vain. Of great value to us is the knowledge that he founded the Wu-wei religion; for now we are entitled to identify this with the Sien-t'ien sect, or, at any rate, to consider both as closely related.

1) 番僧開言問曰、師就是無爲道人、再有大法、無有、願開垂示。祖答曰、華嚴誨會廣無邊。僧問曰、你如何說這樣大話。祖曰、普天匝地說真言。僧問曰、你如何又不供養佛像。祖答曰、天地山河爲佛像。僧問曰、既天地爲佛像、叫那人來燒得許多香。祖答曰、風雲霧露是香烟。僧問曰、你既有這樣好大道場、我又不曾聞師打下鼓。祖答曰、雷震乾坤爲法鼓。僧問曰、既有法鼓、何又不曾點燈。祖答曰、日月爲灯、晝夜燃。僧問曰、既有明灯、將何物供養。祖答曰、四時花菓常供養。僧問曰、既有花菓供養、何又不獻茶。祖答曰、五湖四海爲茶獻。僧問曰、我和你是小小的人行這樣大法事。祖曰、法身遍滿三千界。僧問曰、如何又不撞下鐘。祖答曰、雷鳴法鼓勝鐘聲。僧問曰、如何不寫文疏奏上。祖答曰、誓言就是文疏奏。僧問曰、如何又不揚幡。祖答曰、樹梢擺動是揚幡。僧問曰、如何又不作佛事。祖答曰、時時刻刻作佛事。僧問曰、如何又不見師立經堂。祖答曰、無邊虛空是經堂。僧問畢。低頭叩謝師曰、善哉、善哉。

Wu-wei (無爲) signifies "without activity or exertion", inertness. The catechism contained in the conversation between Lo Hwai and Siao-yin, shows us indeed, that the prophet's religion does not attempt to bring Salvation to its adherents by making them indulge in an active worship of saints and deities, with offerings of food and incense, with drums and lights. They have no images, no chapels or temples, no prayers. They seek perfection and bliss exclusively in "words of truth uttered by heaven and earth", in other words: in the study of Sutras explaining the Dharma or Natural Order, which bears sway within an all-embracing and yet empty Universe, the only Sutra-hall, the only temple which this sect acknowledges. To abide in that Nirwāṇa, the realm of Inertness or Wu-wei, is the main object of the society; to be admitted there at the departure from this life is the height of its ambition. It is the "home" mentioned in the story of Lo Hwai's incarnation as the ideal aim towards which all religious endeavours should be directed.

This ideal Paradise evidently played a part in Chinese Buddhism even in the early ages of our era. For in certain *Yuen Hung Han ki* 袁宏漢記, "Writings about the Han Dynasty, by Yuen Hung" who lived under the Tsin dynasty, we read:

"In the west, in the Indian kingdoms, the religion of Buddha "prevails. In Chinese, Buddha means "the Intelligent"; by his "intelligence he enlightens all that lives. His religion teaches that "the cultivation of goodness and charity are the chief things; "it kills no living beings, and exclusively practises purity. Its "elect are the Çramanas. This word means in Chinese to stop, "for by putting a stop to their inclinations and by doing away "with their desires, they find refuge in Wu-wei" 1).

To keep Wu-wei and Nirwāṇa distinct from each other has evidently ever been an insoluble problem for Chinese Buddhists. They always confound the two things, as various documents show. So e. g. did the renowned author Hwui-kiao 慧皎, in the standard biographical work of the Buddhist church, entitled *Kao sang ch'wen* 高僧傳 or "Traditions about high placed Clergy", which

1) 西域天竺國有佛道焉。佛者漢言覺也、將以覺悟羣生也。其教以修善慈心爲主、不殺生、專務清靜。其精者爲沙門。沙門漢言息也、蓋息意去欲而歸于無爲。 Books of the Later Han Dynasty, 後漢書, the Standard History of the period between A.D. 24 and 221; chap. 72, fol. 5 of the Palace edition of 1739.

he compiled under the Liang dynasty. "Nirwāṇa", thus he wrote, "signifies in Chinese, Wu-wei, which means reception into the "repose of void nothingness, and spiritual rupture with exertion" 1).

It was, indeed, perfectly natural for a people so slavishly attached to their own ancient traditions, to identify an exotic philosophical idea, which at most they could but partially understand, with one of their own old Taoist or Confucian theories dreamed of and much pondered over by their sages. This Wu-wei theory was, as a matter of fact, thoroughly homebred, and of the orthodox, old Chinese stamp. Its analogy with the doctrine of placid self-surrender to the Tao or Course of the World is self-evident. He who desires his own Salvation and that of humanity in general, should passively let the all-powerful World's Course regulate all his manners and dealings; through such Inactivity or Wu-wei he assimilates himself with the Tao; and the Tao is for the Buddhist identical with the Dharma or Universal Order, obedience to which leads infallibly to admittance into the realm of Inactivity, Nirwāṇa, the Wu-kih or Apex of Nothingness or Non-existence. Identification of man's conduct with the World's Course is thus the chief principle of the Sien-t'ien sect; and indeed, we read in its catechism recited by Lo Hwai before Siao-yin, that heaven and earth, mountains and rivers are its gods, winds and clouds its incense, thunderclaps its drums, sun and moon its sacrificial lamps; flowers and fruit produced by the seasons are its meat-offerings, seas and lakes its drink-offerings, and the Universe its temple.

The chief reason why Inertness or Inactivity leads to assimilation with the Course of the World, lies in the fact that this Course itself is altogether inactive, that is to say, never arbitrarily swerves from its ancient route. In other words, the Universe never actively encroaches upon its own Tao; as it has moved from the beginning, so it moves now, and will move for ever. "The metamorphosing power (in Nature, i. e. the operation of "the Tao)", we read in the *Yih*, "works without thought or "calculation, without exertion; it acts in silence and without "agitation, and yet, when impelled, it pervades every factor under "the heavens. If it were not the most spiritual power under the "heavens, how then could it work all this?" 2). Also the *Tao-teh*

1) 涅槃者秦言無爲、無爲者取乎虛無寂漠(冥)、妙絕於有爲。Chap. 7, fol. 6.

2) 易無思也、無爲也、寂然不動、感而遂通天下

king 道德經, "the Classic of the Blessings of the Course of the World", which, after the *Yih*, is the chief bible of Taoism, says: "The Tao is always without (wu) activity (wei), and yet there is nothing (wu) which it does not do or make (wei)"¹).

Here then we find Inactivity raised to the rank of supreme virtue, the chief means for performing and achieving everything, especially for creating felicity and prosperity, in blissful assimilation with the equally inactive, and yet omnipotent Course of the World. "Therefore", the *Tao-teh king* further states, "the sage "is governed by Inactivity; he conforms to dogmas which are not "being preached, for all that exists is created without being uttered" (§ 2). — Thus speaks the sage sovereign: I am without exertion, "and yet my people of themselves reform for good; I like to be "silent, and my people of themselves become orthodox; I do no work, "and my people of themselves become rich; I cherish no desires, and "the people of themselves become modest in their demands (§ 57). — "Practise Inactivity, and nothing will be unruly (§ 3). — He who "has activity causes ruin, but the sage has no activity, and there- "fore does not ruin himself (§ 64). — Practise Inactivity; occupy "thyself with nothing, taste the tasteless; treat the small as if "it were great, the few as if they were numerous, and return "enmity with benefits (§ 63)"²).

No less than Lao-tzē, the supposed author of the *Tao-teh king*, did Confucius admire the Wu-wei theory. "The man who reigned "without exertion", he exclaimed in a fit of enthusiasm, "was "he not Shun? What then did he do? He made himself venerable, "and sat (on his throne) facing due south; that was all"³). On another occasion he was again in the Wu-wei mood, and said:

之故。非天下之至神、其孰能與於此。The third Appendix, 繫辭, I.

1) 道常無爲、而無不爲。§ 37.

2) 是以聖人處無爲之事、行不言之教、萬物作焉而不辭。故聖人云、我無爲而民自化、我好靜而民自正、我無事而民自富、我無欲而民自朴。爲無爲、則無不治。爲者敗之、聖人無爲、故無敗。爲無爲、事無事、味無味、大小、多少、報怨以德。

3) 無爲而治者其舜也與。夫何爲哉。恭己、正南面而已矣。Lun yü, XV, 4.

"I would rather not talk". "But if thou sayest nothing, o Master", "Tszë-kung exclaimed, "what shall we, thy pupils, have to record?" "Does Heaven say aught?" retorted the Sage, "and yet the seasons pursue their course, and all things are being produced; does "Heaven say aught?"¹).

Philosophers such as Chwang-tszë 莊子 (fourth cent. b.C.), and Yang Hiung 揚雄 who died in A.D. 18, all adhered to this high philosophy of Inertness; but it would be tedious to quote their sayings on the subject, which teach us nothing of interest. So we merely epitomize: — He who lives inertly, without initiative, becomes merged in the inert, inactive Tao or Course of the World, and in the Wu-kih or Apex of Nothingness, identified with Nirwāṇa. He has then attained the highest stage of perfection, derives influence and power from the Course of the World itself, and again without the least exertion on his part, this power radiates from him over all who surround him, who all instinctively conform to him, that is to say, to the Course of the World, which he represents. Hence it is particularly incumbent upon rulers to conform to Wu-wei; like the great Shun, they will then raise mankind into a state of happy peace and rest; then "all things under the canopy of heaven will be governed". It goes almost without saying that the three most ancient and noblest paragons of imperial perfection, Fuh-hi, Shen-nung and Hwang, were Wuwei-ists: — "With their hands folded and resting in their lap", thus we read, "they gave their instructions without exertion, and the people "never disobeyed them"²).

Rulers who attain to this exalted state of perfection in the Tao possess, according to the teachings of philosophy, the Hwang-kih 皇極 or "Apex of Imperialty". Even Heaven does not resist them (see p. 176); their power equals the power of Heaven. We find this Apex mentioned in the *Shu*, in the sacred Deluge Plan of which we spoke on page 38. The Apex of Imperialty, thus asserts this ancient source of political philosophy, insures to the

1) 子欲無言。子貢曰、子如不言則小子何述焉。子曰、天何言哉、四時行焉、百物生焉、天何言哉。
Lun yü, XVII, 19.

2) 三皇垂拱無爲設言、而民不違。 *Ch'un-tsiu wei shu* 春秋緯書, "Woof (see p. 9) of the *Ch'un-tsiu*", dating presumably from the century before the beginning of our era. Quoted in the *Ku kin fu shu tsih ch'ing*, section 皇極, chap. I.

sovereign who attains it, a store of blessings which he unconsciously dispenses to the nation, with the result that the people resign themselves to his Apex, entrust themselves to it, seek their safety in it, and thus insure its continuance. No mischief-brewing rebellious clubs can exist under such a regime, neither among the people, nor among the ministers, and the emperor's conduct becomes so perfect that it raises his subjects to the same level with himself. With the very best reasons therefore the Deluge Plan lauds this Apex as the sovereign's righteousness (王之義), as the sovereign's Tao (王之道), as his Way (王之路). It makes the Son of Heaven into the father and mother of his people, into a sovereign fully acknowledged by everybody as lord of all that exists under the blue empyrean.

Thus the Universe has three Kih or Apexes, round which everything moves: The Wu-kih, the T'ai-kih, and the Hwang-kih. This triad, called San Kih 三極 or the Three Apexes, is placed by the Wu-wei or Sien-t'ien sect at the head of its deities. Immediately after these follow the San Pao 三寶 or Three Jewels, the Buddhist Triratna, representing the Buddhas (佛) or Saints of Light, the Dharma (法) or the complex of all the laws which govern the Universe, and the Sangha (僧) or the clergy with the laity. Besides these, a variety of inferior divinities and saints, both Taoist and Buddhist, occupy seats in the Pantheon of the sect. The members worship the souls of their ancestors as correctly as everybody else, on this point also proving themselves Confucian without a flaw. The number of their divinities is in point of fact unlimited. This is a necessary consequence of the universalistic character of the sect. Indeed, the sect considers itself to be one with the Universe, and in the Universe there is room and space for all gods and spirits whatever.

But equally true to its great universalistic principle — as we may infer from what Lo Hwai said — this sect builds no temples or altars, nor does it make any carved or painted images of its gods and saints. Each member worships in his own house, before a burning oil-lamp, the god, buddha or bodhisatwa of his choice, always presenting burning incense-sticks; and there, on calendar days fixed by religion and custom, he offers a sacrifice of fruit and other vegetable food, but no meat or fish, as the Buddhist law strenuously forbids animal food to all living beings. Thus we see that the inveterate old-pagan custom to burn lights in honour of the gods and sacrifice incense and food, is quite a match for Lo Hwai's doctrine that all these things are super-

fluous, as the Universe itself provides vast and stupendous sacrifices for the divine powers that be.

Still from various other points the principle of Inactivity of this sect shows itself. It requires each member to occupy himself with his own perfection, without forcing perfection upon others; for self-improvement which has made some progress, best appeals to others by spontaneous influence. A direct consequence of this tenet is, that active propagandism is rare. Any one who professes to confess the principles of the sect is simply admitted as a member. Nothing is required of him but a solemn promise before one of the leaders to keep the five principal Commandments of Buddha, and no other ritual or form of initiation has to be gone through. Where there is no propagandism, and hardly any ritual, there is no place for special religious leaders or priests. All the various groups which constitute the sect are simply guided by the more learned and older members, who bear the plain title of sien-sheng 先生, "earlier born", generally in vogue also in ordinary life. Nor does the sect acknowledge religious ranks or titles. Within their own circle, the members equally call each other brethren (兄弟) and sisters (姊妹).

The Sien-t'ien society is therefore essentially a domestic religion. The members congregate whenever they please and dare, in small groups or clubs, in their own houses. Men assemble there with men, women with women. This fact is partly owing to the circumstance that the sect counts its members principally among the notable class and the well-to-do, among whom it passes for highly unseemly for a lady to meet with the other sex. The sect exists and works indeed somewhat like a secret society, and it is difficult to discover anything about it unless one sets oneself to search for it, or happens to be on friendly terms with some of the members. Owing to this secrecy, the fraternities are tolerably safe from rude attacks of yamen-officials and policemen.

The meetings are devoted to much the same work as each member performs in his private devotions at home. The attendants recite fragments of Buddhist Sutras, formulas, and numerous names of Buddhas, or they repeat one name many times, all this tending to promote self-perfection and Salvation. But they do not, as is customary in the Chinese Buddhist church, beat time to their recitals on hollow wooden bowls or metal bells; for Lo Hwai declared these noises altogether superfluous, on account of the thunder of heaven. Besides, the meetings are devoted to pious conversation, particularly about the five Commandments, to the faithful keeping of which they admonish and encourage each other.

The first of these five: "Thou shalt not kill anything that has life", is the chief commandment. Therefore — such is the rational deduction, thou shalt not encourage such murders by eating meat or fish. And so vegetarianism is an absolute principle of this sect, in many cases the only criterion by which a man discovers whether his wife has joined this or any other Buddhist congregation.

Another natural outcome of the prohibition to take life, is that the preservation of what is doomed to death must rank as supreme duty and merit. The buying up of caged birds, fish, or other animals, in order to give them their liberty, is consequently a chief occupation of these sectaries; and the fact that they generally belong to the well-to-do greatly furthers this work. He who restores an animal to liberty does so, as a rule, during the recital of a Sutra fragment and some formulas, and with a loud voice he announces his meritorious deed to the gods and spirits of sky, water and earth, that they may witness it, and enter it to his credit in the celestial books of reward and punishment. The part played by the saving of animal life in the Buddhist lay world and within the convent walls has already been described by us elsewhere, at sufficient length to entitle us to confine ourselves here to a mere reference ¹).

For the rest, every member of the Sien-t'ien society seeks Salvation in whatever way pleases him best. According to the Mahayāna doctrine, the ways and methods to attain to Salvation are many, and they are by no means the exclusive property of one single religious system. A direct result of this liberal view is, that the sect by no means considers the Lung-hwa and the Kin-t'ang societies as heretical, or even as its rivals, but rather as sister-communities, born of the same mother, the Mahayāna church, in the bosom of which they all co-operate in harmony for the accomplishment of one great aim, the elevation of mankind to sanctity in the Nirwāna Paradise. This mutual tolerance does not prevent many members of the Sien-t'ien sect from finding fault with the other two societies on some points. Especially they blame them for all that does not tally well with the principle of Inactivity. Ritualism, and striving after Salvation by active religious work, which, as the following chapter will show us, are everything in the Lung-hwa sect, were by no means spoken of in high terms by my Sien-t'ien friends, and they frowned especially upon the mention of male and female members of that society meeting together. The decency which, according to

1) "Le Code du Mahayāna en Chine", chap. III.

Chinese ethics of all ages, is the high duty of woman in general, but especially of the woman who aspires after purity and sanctity in the pales of Buddha's church, is, as they unanimously declared, violated by such mixed meetings. But we cannot help suspecting a touch of Confucian aristocratic prudishness in this reasoning, for the Sien-t'ïen sectaries, as we saw, consider themselves for the most part above the generality of the Lung-hwa members.

But — and this means a good deal in a country where fashionable people so readily scorn all that is foreign and barbarian — the Sien-t'ïen sectaries show a marked sympathy for the Christian doctrines. I found a good number among them somewhat acquainted with the Gospel, translations of which are distributed by the missions all around with a free hand. Some of my acquaintances knew whole passages of the Bible by heart. To some, the Apex of Nothingness, or Eternity which existed before heaven and earth were separated by the hand of Pan-ku, is the same being as Jehovah, who also was before the creation and called heaven and earth out of nothing; and Jesus is in their eyes one of the many Dipankaras, whom the Apex set to work for the redemption of mankind. Some even identify him with Lo Hwai, their own latest messiah, sent down to the earth by the most high god for the salvation of man, who worked miracles there, suffered martyrdom at the hands of the authorities, died, and ascended into heaven. These people generally showed themselves eager to be informed about the Christian faith, and I cannot dismiss from my mind the conviction that, if Christian missionaries could make the Sien-t'ïen sect their field of labour, converts would flock to them in considerable numbers, encouraged also by the prospect of working out their salvation in safety, under foreign protection, beyond the reach of the persecuting hand of their rulers.

This chapter was ready for the press, when I met with the sixth volume of the almost unprocurable Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Professor Cordier at Paris was kind enough to lend it me. It contains a short essay about the Wu-wei sect, from the pen of Dr. Edkins, read before the Society at Hongkong, on the 13th of January 1858. I find therein some information which partly confirms, partly supplements my own research, and the sum and substance of which may therefore be inserted and discussed here.

Edkins starts with the assertion, that the adherents of the

religion called Wu-wei kiao are interspersed through the village population of the eastern provinces of China, and that, as they are opposed to idolatry, and hold with tenacity the uselessness of image-worship, they have often attracted the attention of missionaries at Shanghai and Ningpo. Though it appears to me that the distribution of the sect over the provinces of Kiangsu and Chehkiang, in which these two ports respectively lie, still requires investigation, nevertheless the circumstance deserves notice that, Fuhkien included, it exists in three provinces. Edkins states, that the opinions of the sect have spread also through Nganhwui. "The idea intended by the name of the sect, he writes, "is that religion consists not in ceremonies and outward show, "but in stillness, in a quiet, meditative life, and in an inward "reverence for the all-pervading Buddha. Buddha is believed in, "but he is not worshipped. There are temples, if they may be "so called; but they are plain structures, destitute of images, "and having in them only the common Chinese tablet to heaven, "earth, king, parents, and teacher, as an object of reverence". This tablet shows us the syncretic spirit which makes the sect borrow from Confucian ethics concerning the relations between men whatever it deems good and rational.

The scanty information which Edkins drew from natives with respect to the founder of the sect, tallies only in some main points with what I was able to procure at Amoy. Edkins calls him Lo Hwui-ning 羅慧能, thus giving him the same surname as the Amoy religionists, but another clerical name (comp. p. 180). He is generally called, as among the sectaries in Amoy, Lo Tsu 羅祖: Lo the Patriarch. He was born in Lai-cheu-fu. There is a book, entitled: "Precious Book on the way in which the Patriarch Lo, having been born on this Earth, drove back an Army of Barbarians" 羅祖出世退番兵寶卷. This tells of an invasion by a foreign force, which the Chinese army failed to repel; upon which the Patriarch shot an arrow into the air, and a lotus flower descended with a noise loud enough to make the terrified enemy decamp immediately. The Emperor being informed of this, called Lo to his presence, and having directed him to shoot arrows into the air, a shower of lotus flowers appeared. Upon this, His Majesty flew into a passion, and ordered him to be starved to death in jail as a sorcerer. But he acquainted his jailor with the interesting fact that he had five books to make known to men. This official called one Chang Kung-kung to confer with him, who encouraged him to commit those books to writing. He called

two of his disciples from the Wu-t'ai mountain, in Shansi, where they resided, to act as his amanuenses; and two other persons, Wei Kwoh-kung and T'ang Shang-shu, were witnesses of the correctness of the transcript. These works were presented to the emperor, who recalled the author to his presence; the three friends above-mentioned, being officers of high rank, interceded for him, and became sureties for his good conduct.

The books of the sect place this event in the Ching teh period, which lasted from 1506 to 1522. The manuscripts we consulted, however make him begin his work as a prophet in the Wan li h period, corresponding to 1573—1620, and they state that he lived from 1563—1647 (comp. p. 184). So there exists here a difference of sixty or seventy years which we cannot explain. The five books that saved the Patriarch from death, constitute, so Edkins goes on to say, the sacred books of the religion. They are undoubtedly the "Six Books in five Sections" of the sect at Amoy, which we mentioned on page 181. Edkins states, that they comprehended the following six subjects:

行脚, which describes painful efforts after emancipation, resulting in perception of the excellence of this religion (?)

嘆世 Lament over the world

破邪 Overthrow of false doctrine

正信 Belief in the true doctrine

泰山 Confirmation (?)

清淨 Purification.

At this juncture, seven foreign Buddhist priests arrived at Court, and Lo was appointed to dispute with them. He was introduced to them as "the salvationist of the Wu-wei" 無爲道人, and of course compelled the foreigners with their wise riddles to confess themselves worsted. He then explained to them his own principles of inactivity in religion, much in the same spirit as I have given them on page 183. The emperor, highly pleased, ordered Lo's books to be engraved, and they were published by the Imperial press in 1518.

This is nearly all Edkins has to tell of the sect. He further states that they have in their chapels tablets dedicated to the emperor, and that they are strict vegetarians, but without having any ascetic rules, allowing the family institutions to be undisturbed. They were persecuted under the Ming dynasty, and one of their leaders was nailed to the gate of a city in Shantung. Their religion is prohibited, and usually spoken of

by the Confucianists as a corrupt sect with secret political designs; but its adherents appear to be entirely innocent of any illegal aims. They are sincerely attached to their system, and many of them are seen exchanging abstract philosophical dogmas for Christian truths. "Their opposition to idolatry", thus Edkins concludes, "is a preparation for Christianity, and they "deserve great attention from those who are engaged in teaching "inspired truth to the Chinese".

In a later work, entitled: *Religion in China* (pp. 184 foll.), Edkins devotes a few pages to the same religion, without however opening new points of view. "The simple sincerity of the followers "of this religion has attracted the attention of European mission- "aries. They exhibit more depth and reality in their convictions "than is common in other sects in China. This, added to their "firm protest against idolatry, has led to their being regarded "with interest by foreigners, and to some efforts to instruct them "in Christianity. Among the Protestant converts are some of these "men. I once asked a believer in the Wu-wei kiao how he per- "formed his religious duties. He said he would feel no objection "to show us. He then took his seat on a stool in a cross-legged "attitude. At first he sat tranquil, with his eyes closed; but "gradually he became extremely excited, though without speaking. "His chest heaved, his breathing became violent, his eyes shot "fire — he seemed to be the subject of demoniacal possession. "I stood expecting some oracular utterance from him; but after "remaining in this excited mood for some minutes, he suddenly "brought it to a termination, left the stool on which he had been "sitting, and resumed conversation as rationally as before. The "bystanders said that this man was able to cause his soul to go "out of his body and return when he pleased. This was their "explanation of the phenomenon we had witnessed" ¹).

Now it remains for us to draw the reader's attention to two points. In the first place, the Sien-t'ien sect is decidedly prohibited in the Law against Heresy. Indeed, this clearly states (see pp. 146—147) that the Red Yang sect, and any others which do not actually propagate their practices and pronounce no charms or magic formulas, but worship the Old Patriarch who soared upward, as also such worshippers of this prophet as have religious books and writings, shall be banished to the remote border-countries. Secondly, we must remark, that the sect may be related to or identical

1) The above particulars Edkins has also inserted for the greater part in his work entitled: *Chinese Buddhism*, chap. 23.

with that of the Eight Diagrams. We are led to this supposition by an article from the pen of D. H. Porter, published in 1886 in the 17th volume of the Chinese Recorder, pp. 1—64, under the title of: Secret Sects in Shantung. He there brings forward a few points which seem to indicate such a relationship; but we dare not reprint here one line of his article, because we cannot possibly accept this as a picture of what it pretends to describe. It looks quite like a concoction of subtilities, carelessly drawn from popular hearsay, and evidently mixed with much romance. Of a careful study of the subject or painstaking research we do not discover a trace; nor does the author show himself sufficiently trained in China's religious philosophy and customs to distinguish truth from untruth in the hearsay evidence he gathered. Likewise we must put aside the daring theory which Dr. Edkins built upon that scribble in the same volume of the Chinese Recorder (p. 245), viz. that Sectarianism was born from Confucian philosophy when, under the Sung dynasty, this passed through its golden age of development. Such fanciful suggestions are better committed to the waste paper basket.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LUNG-HWA SECT.

A religious community almost without rites, such as the one to which we have devoted the preceding chapter, does not need a long description. Considerably longer must be our description of the Lung-hwa 龍華 sect, for, as we have stated (page 174), this is thoroughly ritualistic. Indeed, the notes about its ceremonies and religious practices filled at least nine tenths of the papers entrusted to me by Li Fung-sun.

The members of the Lung-hwa society are unanimous in their belief that Lo Hwai, the great prophet of the Sien-t'ien sect, founded theirs also. Its name nevertheless existed in times much anterior to those in which the prophet lived. It literally means Dragon-flower. Some members told me it is a fancy-name, probably adopted by the sect for no palpable reasons. True there exists a flower thus called, mostly mentioned in Chinese herbals as "stone dragon herb" 石龍芻. Yet this easy explanation seems suspicious, and we prefer to lay it aside as worthless.

The name Lung-hwa seems to have been given very often to Buddhist convents. Two monasteries thus styled are mentioned in the third chapter of the Description of the Loh-yang Convents, spoken of on page 27. It was probably in one of these, as the *Peh shi* 北史 or Histories of the North (chap. V, fol. 6) tell us, that the emperor Kien-wen, who reigned for a short time in the years 531 and 532, spent a portion of his youth in absolute seclusion. Even to this hour there is a Lung-hwa monastery in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, somewhere to the west of the Hwang-pu river. It existed, according to tradition, before the eleventh century. "Formerly it possessed, in the north-western "corner, a building for the White Lotus religion, and before it "stood a pagoda for relics, which now and then sent out light, "and which exists to this day" ¹⁾. This passage is suggestive. It

1) 西北隅舊有白蓮教院、前有寶塔、時時放光、

seems to indicate a close relationship between the Lung-hwa and the White Lotus sects; it may even imply that for the sake of safety, or for other reasons, the latter sect has adopted that of the monastery where once it had its head-quarters for a period of unknown length. This hypothesis needs proofs, which we are unable to furnish. Three more Buddhist Lung-hwa convents I have found mentioned in Chinese books, but without the slightest hint at a connection between them and the sect of that name.

The solution of the problem of the origin of the Lung-hwa sect is perhaps simplified by the following fact. There is a curious little book of only a few pages, dating from the sixth century of our era, and entitled 荆楚歲時記, "A Calendar of Customs in vogue throughout the Year in King and Ch'u", that is, in two regions corresponding to the present provinces of Hupeh and Hunan. The author is a certain Tsung Lin 宗懔, who held a high official post about the middle of the sixth century. Passages from this little book were quoted by one Han Ngoh 韓誥 in a work from his pen, entitled 歲華紀麗, "Bloom of the Year and Beauties of the Annual Periods", the age of which we are not able to ascertain; and among these passages we find the following, which does not occur in the King and Ch'u Calendar as now published: "On the eighth day of "the fourth month each of the Buddhist monasteries puts out "fragrant warm water for the washing of Buddha, and they form "together a Lung-hwa congregation, in order to prognosticate the "advent and birth of Maitreya" ¹). Thus to cause or to hasten the advent of this Messiah was evidently the object of such religious Lung-hwa congregations more than 1400 years ago; but the connection which may exist between that saint and the flower named Lung-hwa, remains beyond our ken. From the fact that Maitreya is also the chief saint of the White Lotus society (see pp. 148 and 164) we may, perhaps, argue the analogy of the latter with the Lung-hwa sect, and admit that Lung-hwa simply means a lotus. But all this is mere theory, and waits for confirmation.

至今存焉。Ku kin tu shu tsih ch'ing, among a long series of notices about Buddhist monasteries, in chap. 109 of the section 神異。

1) 於四月八日諸寺各設香湯浴佛、共作龍華會、以爲彌勒下生之徵。See the Appendix to the King and Ch'u Calendar.

§ 1. General Character of the Sect.

Its Deities, Meeting-places, Religious Ranks and Grades.

The reader knows that the main feature of the Lung-hwa sect is ritualism, and that in this it is quite a contrast to the Sien-t'ien sect. Nevertheless, the latter frankly acknowledges it as its twin-sister, born of the same mother: the desire for Salvation, which both sects consider to consist in assimilation with the Nirwāṇa Paradise or Apex of Nothingness. Both sects equally profess to have been founded by Lo Hwai, and the Lung-hwa community, as the other, acknowledges the sublimity of this prophet's fundamental principle of Inactivity. Yet its members seem to care nothing for its practical application. They seem to reason like Siao-yin, who, interviewing Lo Hwai about his doctrines, said (see p. 183): The profession of your comprehensive Wu-wei theories is beyond the power of such insignificant human beings as we are.

Indeed, only minds of a somewhat higher order can find satisfaction in a religion without visible idols, without rites, without active leaders guiding their flocks in the path of Salvation. Individuals of the plainer sort want something less chilly; they long for something to edify their pious minds, and this is the case particularly with the impressionable weaker sex. The Lung-hwa sect meets all these requirements, and possesses therefore a much larger number of adherents than the Sien-t'ien society, drawing them in the main from the middle and the lower classes.

It worships a great number of gods and goddesses, and makes painted or carved likenesses of them. At the head of the Pantheon are the three Apexes of the Sien-t'ien sect (p. 189), mostly represented in water-colours on large scrolls, as three old men, each holding in his hands the eight kwa (pp. 177—178), arranged in a circle. Thus we see that Anthropomorphism prevails among the sect with regard to its highest divinities. In some meeting-places I saw these pictures suspended on the wall for worship during the religious exercises. The Wu-kih or Apex of Nothingness is the principal person of this Triad, and thus the chief god of the sect. He is the sovereign ruler of the Nirwāṇa-Paradise, and regulates the admission thereto. Hwang-kih, the third person, the Apex of Imperialty, is, according to some, Heaven itself, the father of the reigning emperor, who styles himself Heaven's son; but it is also believed that Confucius, the great prophet of

classical antiquity, and hence the father of all the orthodox principles of imperial government, was the incarnation of this Apex.

As in the Sien-t'ien sect, we find among the deities of the Lung-hwa society the Triratna of Buddhism, and moreover, all kinds of Buddhist, Confucian and Taoist saints. The chief of these dii minores are the God of Heaven (天公) and the Goddess of Earth (后土), the sun, the moon, Awalokiteçwara, Amita, Çākyamuni, Dharmapāla. In some meeting-places I also saw a tablet inscribed with the name of the tutelary god of the City-walls and Moats (城隍爺), the local representative of an entire class of deities which, under Buddhist influence, have been raised in the course of time to the position of proxies or agents of hell in the various cities of the empire. Besides, I saw a similar tablet dedicated to the far more ancient, homebred god of the Domestic Fire-place (竈神), and also tablets of four generals of an imaginary army by means of which the God of Heaven maintains order and peace in the Universe, which is incessantly being disturbed and harassed by evil demons. These generals are: 1. Ma Ming Wang 馬明王, or Ma the King of Light, according to a legendary account a representative of sunlight; he is the general-in-chief of the southern army; 2. Wen Kiung 溫瓊, commander of the eastern army, a hero supposed to have lived under the Han dynasty; 3. Chao Kung-ming 趙公明, chief of the northern army; and 4. a dignitary of the surname of Yoh 岳, who presumably commands the army of the west.

For their common services in honour of these deities, and for their religious meetings in general, the sectaries use the principal apartment or hall (堂 or 廳) in ordinary dwelling-houses, with the full consent, of course, of the owner, often himself a leader. Such places they call at Amoy, ts'ài-tûg 菜堂, "vegetarian halls", because the Buddhist command against the killing of living beings makes the sectaries altogether vegetarians. Each hall is frequented by much the same persons, and so the sect naturally comes to be divided into communities or parishes. These all acknowledge one common head, a kind of bishop or pope, who, they say, lives in Fuh-ts'ing 福清, a district extending southward of Fuh-cheu, the provincial capital. He bears the title of Khong-khong 空空: "the Empty of the Empty", which probably indicates a man who has so perfectly divested himself of everything mundane, that he is merged in voidness or non-existence, and has become an eminent Nirwāṇa-man. I was told

that he dresses quite like any common member, except when performing religious ceremonies, on which occasions he wears the Buddhist clerical robes. Female members of the sect often send him presents, especially of clothes. He has received the full Buddhist ordination, and lives in celibacy, together with some other pious men, who, like him, devote themselves to Salvation-work and perform ceremonies for the redemption of dead sectaries and their relations. Accordingly, his abode may be something like a Buddhist convent, from which secret propagation issues, unnoticed by the mandarinates. But its real character has remained a mystery to me.

After the Khong-khong follow in rank a number of T^{ai}-khong 太空 or "Most Empty ones". A few of these dignitaries live with the Khong-khong; the others are settled among the sectaries as heads of communities or parishes. Next come the Ts^{ing}-hu 清虛 or "Pure Empty ones", a class of propagandists who travel about to edify and encourage the flock, which everywhere receives and treats them with great respect and hospitality. Such a title-bearer may have been the propagandist Li Wen-ch^{ing}, hunted down by the prefect of Ts^{uen}-cheu (see page 170). Many Ts^{ing}-hu stand at the head of parishes. These three highest classes of dignitaries, as their titles indicate, must have merged in a great measure with the Void or Nirwāṇa by forsaking the vanities of the world. They are not allowed to marry; but if married men or women are promoted to these ranks, they need not divorce. Nevertheless abstinence from sexual intercourse is the duty of all, but no strong proof of self-denial in people who — as a rule — hardly ever reach the religious perfection entitling them to these highest grades, before the evening of life. They dress like the laity, and even for Sutra-readings and performance of ceremonies seldom put on any special attire.

On the fourth step of the hierarchical ladder stand the Su-kⁱ, 書記 or "Scribes". This title has been borrowed from Buddhist monastic life, for in each large convent it is borne by some friars who understand the writing-art. The Su-kⁱ and all the dignitaries of lower rank are allowed to marry and to fulfil the duties of sexual life with their lawful wives. The T^{ai}-khong, Ts^{ing}-hu and Su-kⁱ are all appointed and promoted by the Khong-khong. The fifth degree, that of T^{ai}-in 大引 or "Chief Introducer", can be bestowed by a T^{ai}-khong. One becomes a T^{ai}-in by the faithful observance of all the five Commandments, or by giving great moral or pecuniary support to the sect, or by sending for

this purpose a considerable sum of money to the Khong-khong. More generally the dignity is earned by paying the cost of masses by which departed souls receive admittance into the Western Paradise, and the title may be an allusion to this meritorious work.

Dignitaries of the sixth rank are the Siáo-ín 小引 or "Sub-Introducers", whose merits are not so great as those of the preceding titularies. The seventh rank is that of Sam-sīng 三乘 or "Third Vehicle". Every sectary can receive this title from the leader of the parish to which he belongs, on account of some ability in the reciting of Sutras and the performance of other religious work. Then follows the dignity of Tā-sīng 大乘, "Great or Superior Vehicle", a word representing the term Mahayāna. And finally there is a ninth degree, called Siáo-sīng 小乘, "Small or Inferior Vehicle" or Hinayāna, which becomes the property of every novice, on the simple ground of his initiation in the community. The explanation of the three last titles will follow on pages 216 and 219.

The members who do not soon after their initiation become Great Vehicles and Third Vehicles, are scarce. But the rank of Introducer is not so quickly earned, and only bestowed upon a comparatively few. A great number of masses have first to be purchased for the redemption of one's own ancestors or those of others; nay, it is even thought necessary to be first consecrated in a convent as Bodhisatwa by accepting the commandments of Brahma's Net ¹⁾, which ordination can, however, be performed in the recipient's absence. They who strive in this direction are, as a rule, liberally supported with money by the brethren and sisters in the faith. All ranks but that of Khong-khong can be attained by men and women alike. And they are bestowed without any partiality on both sexes, in strict accordance with the great Mahayanist principle that the way to Salvation is open to all that live. The degrees which only the Khong-khong can confer, the male sectaries have to obtain personally, and in his house they pass for this end through a solemn ritual, about which I know no particulars. The female candidates need not go there, but receive the document of investiture through the leaders of their parish.

The names of the nine religious degrees have been given by us as the members of the sect at Amoy pronounce them. These people make but little use of them in everyday life and conversation. Looking upon each other as brothers and sisters,

1) This consecration we have described in "Le Code du Mahayana en Chine", chap. XIV.

they generally denominate one another familiarly as ts'ài-iú 菜友 or "vegetarian friends", the men as ts'ài-kong 菜公 or "gentleman-vegetarians", the women as ts'ài-kō 菜姑 or "lady-vegetarians"; the leaders they simply call ts'ài-t'âo 菜頭 or "vegetarian chiefs". Each parish or hall has a leader, who most often is the master of the house. He has charge of the altar which bears the images of the Triratna, Awalokiteçwara, and whatever other Saints the brotherhood may worship, as also a tablet inscribed with the names of the seven latest deceased leaders, and held to be inhabited by their souls. The cleanliness of the hall is in striking contrast to the dirtiness of the dwelling-houses of the sectaries and the people in general, for, they say, the holy doctrine of purity may only be housed and practised in clean surroundings. Generally the leader is well-to-do, at any rate sufficiently beyond worldly cares to be able to devote much time to Salvation-work. He is, as a rule, of mature age, or even old. The religious degree of the leader of a numerous parish is generally higher than those of leaders of small flocks. It goes without saying that every leader has to excel in piety and in the art of reading and expounding the holy scriptures. His flock always treat him with the greatest deference. Whenever he makes his appearance among them, all rise respectfully from their seats, and remain standing until he tells them to sit down. At repasts which he attends, no one touches any food until he sets the example. Women are entitled to be religious leaders, but in reality they rarely act as such.

In strict obedience to the Mahayāna commandments which make it obligatory on every child of Buddha to propagate the doctrines and practices of Salvation, all communities of the Lung-hwa society are zealous in enlisting new members. A chief encouragement to this work is the great reward held out to all who bring in neophytes, namely, promotion to a higher religious rank. Female zealots especially work at the conversion of widows, who, no longer thwarted by sceptical husbands, easily give themselves, heart and soul, to devotion and piety. An argument much used by converters to entice neophytes, is that the abstaining from animal food promotes bodily health and gives physical and mental quietness; and in proof of this assertion they point to their own cheerful temperament. It is, of course, understood that the sect owes its maintenance and growth in the first place to the members conscientiously initiating their own progeny.

§ 2. Initiation, and higher Consecrations.

The admission of candidates for membership is called at Amoy kui-i 皈依, "taking refuge". As this rite opens the door to Salvation in Paradise, it is naturally considered to be of the utmost importance. Every T'ai-khong, Ts'ing-hu or Su-kì has the right to admit neophytes, and to swear them in as members. But no one can find admission without the intervention of an in tsìn su 引進師 or "Introductory Master", a notable male or female member who proposes him and warrants his good faith. The danger of exposing the sect to treason by admitting untrustworthy people is thus evaded as far as possible.

Theoretically, the initiation should take place in full assembly in the meeting-hall, on one of the principal annual days of common worship, mentioned on page 220. But in times of persecution, when the meetings are infrequent, or even altogether suspended, the ceremony is as a rule performed in the houses of the members, before the domestic altar bearing the image of Kwan-yin or Awalokiteçwara. The initiation-ritual as performed *in optima forma* in the meeting-halls, I found described in detail in the manuscripts placed in my possession. I reproduce it therefrom in the following pages, omitting, however, some interpolated ceremonies which form no part of the initiation proper, and too insignificant to notice.

As a rule, several candidates are initiated at the same time. They place an offering of fruit and other food of a strictly vegetable nature before the altar which bears the images of the Saints of the sect, after which the ho-à-tō su 化度師 or "Master of Conversion" — that is to say, the leader who performs the rite of admission, the Initiator, in most cases the head of the community — offers to those Saints some incense and candles, provided, like the aforesaid offerings, by the candidates. Then he kneels down, and humbly bows his head several times to the ground, thus inviting the Saints to enter into their images and so attend the ceremony.

The candidates meanwhile range themselves in two groups before the altar, in kneeling attitude, the women on the right, the men on the left, all holding a burning incense stick in their folded hands. The Initiator mumbles a series of formulas, purporting to make the Saints descend and settle in their images. He then mounts a kind of low platform, on which a chair is put ready

for him, and a small table. From this pulpit he delivers a short homily on the excellence of the doctrine of Buddha. This is followed by an examination of the candidates, which at the same time answers the purpose of a confession of faith:

Q. "Now may I ask you, ye worthies in both groups, which favours in this world are the most important?"

R. "The four favours.

Q. "Which are these?"

R. "That heaven covers us, and that the earth bears us; that sun and moon shed their light upon us; that there exist water and land belonging to our Imperial Sovereign; that our parents have given birth to us.

Q. "And how can these favours be requited?"

R. "We certainly must abstain from forbidden food, and accept 'the Commandments' 1).

"Our Holy Founder", the Initiator continues, "has bequeathed to us three Refuges and five Commandments. Listen attentively! 'The first Refuge! Knock your heads against the ground,

— here the prostrated candidates three times in succession touch the floor with their foreheads —

"and take refuge in Buddha! This Buddha is no buddha modelled 'in clay, or carved in wood; neither is he a buddha painted 'on paper, or cast in brass. This Buddha is the model of 'the world, who introduces us into the gates of the Law. The 'Buddha of whom I speak is the Buddha who preached the 'Law in the park of (prince) Jeta for the benefit of men and 'Devas. Buddha is Intelligence, and Intelligence is Wisdom; the 'man who possesses the spiritual Intelligence which gives Wisdom, 'can study (that Law), master it, and practise it. This is the 'bright Buddha, venerable, pure, who appears by the cultivation 'of your own minds' 2).

1) 敢問兩班善人世上何恩最重

答曰、四恩最重

又問、何爲四恩

答曰、天地蓋載、日月照臨、皇王水土、父母生身

又問、何能報得

答曰、必須持齋受戒。

2) 我聖祖留有三皈五戒。你可用心聽着。一皈依。稽首皈依佛。此佛不是泥塑木雕的佛也、不是紙

“The second Refuge! Your heads to the ground, and take “refuge in the Law! This Law (Dharma) is not the law about “the use of charms and the conjuration of water, nor those which “enable men to ride on clouds and fog. But this Law comprises all “the laws of the world which draw the erring into their sphere “of influence. The Law of which I speak is that which has none “other above it, very profound, fine and wonderful. This Law “has been transmitted to us, but its origin has not; even before “(the Buddha) was produced by a womb of wisdom this Dharma “of the Buddhas could be preached. This Law is orthodoxy; in an “orthodox Law there is no egotism, no partiality; it is unchange- “able. This Law is the luminous Law, brilliant, pure, which will “manifest itself when ye disciples cultivate your own minds”¹⁾.

“The third Refuge! Bow down your heads to the earth and “take refuge in the Sangha! This Sangha is not the tonsured “clergy, nor the clergy who collect subscriptions from house to “house; it is composed of all disciples who offer incense and “keep temples in the country-hills, and to whose care our “Old Patriarch (Lo Hwai) has entrusted the religious books he “left. Let us see what the Sangha of which I speak is able “to do. It can take the moon from the horizon, plant lotus- “flowers in fire, graft on rootless trees, and light torches at the “bottom of the sea. The Sangha is purity²⁾, it is an embodiment “of the Law, clean and pure; it is the Sangha sublime and im- “movable, pure and undefiled, which produces itself when ye “disciples cultivate your own minds”³⁾.

畫銅鑄的佛。這些佛是世間模樣引進法門。我說
這個佛在給祇園說法利人天。佛者覺也、覺者智
也、智慧之靈覺之人纔能學得、纔能行得。是你自
性修出來亮堂堂清淨的佛。

1) 二皈依。稽首皈依法。此法不是行符咒水的法
也、不是騰雲駕霧的法也。這些法是世間雜法引
動迷人。我說這個法無上甚深微妙法。法傳、本
不傳、未曾出聖胎焉能講佛法。法者正也、正法
無私不偏不易。此是你弟子自性修出來光燦燦
清淨的法。

2) A play upon the homophony of the characters 僧 or Sangha, and 淨, purity. Both are pronounced *tsing* in the literary language of south China.

3) 三皈依、稽首皈依僧。此僧不是削髮的僧也、

“Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, believe in them and admit “them into your hearts. Ye may not seek them outside yourselves ; “ye may not find them outside you” ‘).

The first part of the initiation is herewith finished, and the candidates by piously throwing themselves into the arms of Buddha, his Law, and his Community, have formally entered the religion. The way to Salvation now lies open before them; but not the slightest progress can be made in it unless by a faithful obedience to the principal commandments. So these have to be solemnly accepted.

“The threefold Refuge having now been taken”, thus the Initiator continues, “listen to the five Commandments, and accept “them. According to the first of these, it is not allowed to kill “any living being or destroy any life. This commandment bears “upon benevolence. The Highest (heaven) has for its funda- “mental property the love for all that lives; the (ancient) Sages “also had a compassionate and sympathetic heart; for Çākya “and the Old Patriarch, compassion and pity were the starting- “point, and the means to reach Salvation were their gate. See, the “four classes of living beings²⁾ that move in the six roads of trans- “migration³⁾, were in past ages corporeal men, who because of “greed or error did not awake; they heard (the Doctrine) preached, “but did not turn their heads; hence on losing their human “bodies (at death) they fell in the revolutions of the wheel of “transmigration. Therefore, ye abstainers who accept the Com- “mandments, I exhort you, before all things learn to make com- “passion and pity your starting-point, and Salvation your gate, “and earnestly remember that you may kill no living creatures, “nor destroy any lives” ‘).

不是沿門抄化的僧、這些僧是裝香童子、把守山門、老祖留有經卷與他看管。我說這個僧試問有何能。會取天邊月、能栽火裡蓮、會接無根樹、能點海底燈。僧者淨也、清淨法身、是你弟子自性修出來巍巍不動清淨的僧。

1) 佛法僧三寶信受入心。不許你外求、不許你外得。

2) Proceeding from an uterus, from eggs, moisture, or transformation.

3) Dēvas, men, asuras, devils, prētas, animals.

4) 三皈明白、爾今聽受五戒。一不許爾殺生害命。乃是仁也。太上原有好生之德、聖人也有惻隱之

"The second Commandment forbids us to commit theft. Therefore it bears upon righteousness. Can it be expected of persons who strive after improvement of their conduct, that they should grope through the walls of others? It has been taught of old that one grain, one single coin may count for alms; just as well, one blade of grass or one piece of wood is (of significance when) an object of theft. Hence, not one needle, not a thread shall ye appropriate to yourselves; wealth and poverty are called into existence by Heaven. Each one of you therefore must keep this Commandment; comport yourselves according to these lessons of mine, your preceptor by whom you take refuge (with the Triratna); the blue empyrean does not treat with indifference people of virtue" ¹).

"The third Commandment forbids sexual incontinence, and answers to ceremonious conduct. From time immemorial we have been taught that there are a heaven and an earth, and that there are (in the universe) a male and a female principle (Yang and Yin), and (consequently) rulers over subjects, fathers over sons, husbands over wives. This is the great doctrine of the five relationships, an eternal institution ten thousand times older than antiquity. We abstainers who accept the Commandments, must study the people of times of yore, the ancients: the man in Lu closed his door and refused to receive (a widow whose house was destroyed by a tempest), and Liu-hia Hwui could sit with a woman against his bosom, without any confusion of his senses ²). Such a fact shows us that he was the

心、釋迦老祖慈悲爲本、方便爲門。你看那四生六道前世原是人身、只因貪迷不醒、聽說還不回頭、一失人身墜落輪迴。我勸吃齋受戒之人先學那慈悲爲本、方便爲門、切記不可殺生害命。

1) 二戒不許你偷盜。乃是義也。修行之人難道敢探人牆壁麼。自古道一分一文爲布施、一草一木爲偷盜。一針一線你莫取、富貴貧窮是天生。各守戒、行飯師科教、蒼天不負善心人。

2) Liu-hia Hwui 柳下惠, or Hwui of Liu-hia, a fief he was invested with, was a grandee of virtue in the state of Lu 魯 in the age preceding that of Confucius. His real name was Chen Hwoh 展獲 or Chen Khin 展禽. He is mentioned in the *Lun yü* two or three times as a man of great merit, and five times by Mencius. His reputation as a man of the highest sexual morality he probably owes to the circumstance that, as Mencius states, he was wont to say: "You are you, and I am I;

“truly superior man; it shows that he was a great hero”¹⁾.

“Of woman the third Commandment exacts that she sees to “the orthodox management of the female apartments. For her “there exist three persons whom she has to follow, and four “virtues. Which are they? As long as she lives in the paternal “house she follows her father; when she is married she follows “her husband, and when he is dead she follows her son. Now “hear what her four virtues are. With submissive filial devotion “(hiao) she shall obey her parents-in-law; this is her first “virtue. The second is respect and reverence for her husband. “To foster harmony between the wives of the brothers of her “husband is her third virtue; and to instruct her children and “grandchildren is the fourth. Ye married female abstainers who “accept the Commandments, must study people of yore, the “women of antiquity; — Meng Kwang²⁾ testified the respect in “which she held her husband, by raising the dishes (to a level

‘though you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or even with your body ‘naked, how can you defile me?’ 爾爲爾、我爲我、雖袒裼裸裎 於我側、爾焉能澆我哉; sect. 萬章, I. Some nice traditions about his admirable continence may naturally have been forged out of this phrase.

1) 三戒不許爾邪淫、乃是禮也。自古道有天有地、有陰有陽、有君有臣、有父有子、有夫有婦。此乃五倫之大道、萬古之綱常。我和爾吃齋受戒之人要學那前輩古人、魯男子閉門不納、柳下惠坐懷不亂。纔知是真君子、方顯是大丈夫。

2) Meng Kwang 孟光 was a woman of the first century of our era, very honorably mentioned in chapter 113 of the Books of History of the Later Han Dynasty. There we read that she was stout and ugly, dark of complexion, and so strong that she could lift a rice-pounding mortar of granite. Up to her thirtieth year she refused to marry, declaring that no one would suit her unless he were as enlightened as a certain Liang Hung 梁鴻, who lived in the same kingdom and had up to that time also remained single, because he could not find a spouse worthy of him. When he heard of Meng Kwang's resolve, he wedded her. Now, however, this woman began to dress so loudly, that it greatly displeased her wise husband. He showed his displeasure by not speaking to her one word for seven days. But then he could pursue this line of conduct no longer, and expressed his grievances in good intelligible Chinese; on which she immediately donned a suit of homely garments, and behaved so admirably that her husband bestowed on her the title of Teh-hwui 德曜, “Lustre of Virtue”, which she has kept to this day. They retired into the hillocks to earn their living, he with agriculture, she with weaving, and there passed their leisure hours agreeably with literature, poetry and music. This paragon of female perfection respected her husband so much, that when offering him food she always raised the dishes to a level with her eyebrows, not presuming to look familiarly up to him.

“with her eyes), and she worked at the loom industriously, thus “showing us that she was the best wife who ever lived in this “world, the heroine of her sex”¹⁾).

“The fourth Commandment forbids lying. Therefore it bears upon “knowledge. People striving after perfection of their conduct shall “not make their nay yea, nor their yea nay. Anything happening “in a family on this side must not be told by them to a family “on the other; anything said in a house eastward must not “be reported to a family dwelling on the west. By telling things “from one house to another, the minds are inflamed on both “sides; in the worst case this leads to the infliction of moral “and physical wounds, and in less serious cases to the financial “ruin of both families. Therefore you abstainers who accept this “Commandment, merely veil what is evil, and give publicity to “what is good. If any one asks you whether a thing is true or “not, take a few steps backward, shake your head, and say: I “know of nothing. Be concerned about no matters but those “that bear upon your own life or death, and meddle no longer “with the yea and the nay of others. Herewith the fourth Com- “mandment is explained²⁾).

“The fifth Commandment prohibits the use of alliaceous plants “and spirituous liquors. Therefore it bears upon belief; they who “believe shall gain the celestial halls, but they who have no “faith shall go to hell. Since the times of yore when the Saint “Buddha, our Holy Patriarch, descended to this earth, the three “calamities and the eight disasters have prevailed on it; and

1) 女人三戒各守閨門端正。婦人家有三從四德。何爲三從四德。在家從父、出嫁從夫、夫死從子。再聽四德。孝順翁姑爲一德。尊敬丈夫爲二德。和睦姆孀爲三德、教訓子孫爲四德。吃齋受戒的婦人要學前輩古婦人、孟光舉案敬夫勤織、纔知他是世間良婦、女中的丈夫。

2) 四戒不許爾誑語。乃是智也。修行之人不可將無作有、不可以是爲非。上家有事不許爾傳與下家、東家有話不許你報與西家。搬動兩家心火起、大則傷其性命、小則破人家財。吃齋受戒之人只可隱惡揚善。有人問爾是非事、退步搖頭曰不知。只顧自己生死事、休管他人是非。此乃四戒明白。

“we mundane men of this world, who refine our conduct by “applying ourselves to the attainment of Buddhahood, cannot “pretend that in all the time we have done so, slight diseases and mishaps have not taken place. So it is to be feared “that in future such slight diseases and discomfitures may occur “again; but in such cases, take no remedies cooked or fried in “spirits, nor any dregs from distillation, nor anything pickled “in vinegar. It is in this way that liquor is abstained from, and “its use is cut off at the root. Onions, garlic, wild radish and “leeks or shallots, which belong to the five acrid or pungent “herbs, you are absolutely forbidden to eat. The laws of our “Sage Patriarch constitute a Dharma of purity, and demand “that you shall acquire purity by abstinence, and wisdom by “keeping the Commandments. So, abstain from forbidden food “and drinks once and for ever; if you break this Commandment “once, you will break it a hundred times¹⁾).

“Having now accepted the three Refuges and the five Commandments, you must, with regard to others, practise benevolence, “righteousness, ceremonious conduct, knowledge, and faith; and “with regard to yourselves, assimilate with the five elements: metal, “wood, water, fire, and earth. The Sutra of Commandments says; “Those who have accepted the Commandments have bodies of “gold, but those who have not accepted them are raw, cast iron, “entirely good for nothing²⁾).

“Furthermore there exist six prescriptions of the Sage Edict, “viz.: show submissive devotion and obedience to thy parents; “honour and respect thy superiors; foster unity and harmony in

1) 五戒不許你食葷飲酒。乃是信也。信者乃是天堂、不信就是地獄。自古真佛真祖降凡也有三災八難之苦、我和爾世上凡夫學佛修行難道都是小可病恙不成。日後恐有小可病恙、酒煎藥材不可吃、糟藏醋食不得。此是戒酒而斷根也。葱蒜菲薤乃是五辛之物、全并吃不得。我聖祖這法乃是清淨的法門、要爾齋得清、戒得明。一斷永斷、一了百了。

2) 爾今受了三皈五戒、要你外行仁義禮智信、內中配合金木水火土。戒經有云、受戒之人黃金之體、不受戒之人乃是生銷之鐵、全無用也。

“village-life; instruct thy children and grandchildren; quietly “apply thyself to thy trade; commit no wrong”¹⁾).

“In the third kalpa (period), ere heaven and earth were separated, “besides these tenets, our Sage Patriarch left to us a Dharma-“jewel in the shape of an authentic Sutra for the initiated of “the Siáo-sīng grade (see page 202). It is called the Principle “of the Cultivation of Conduct, the Law which is the Base of “Peace. It consists of twenty-eight characters, called the twenty “eight principal constellations (nakshatra), and also the twenty-“eight Precious Pearls of the Muni (i. e. the Sage, Buddha). These “I now give you, o my disciples; repeat them uninterruptedly, “and thus make them remain in existence from hour to hour. I “call it the Dharma fine and wonderful, expressed in a quatrain, “and also the Tathāgata’s Gate of Salvation”²⁾).

Now the attendants solemnly chant the wonderful verse:

“A string of precious pearls of five-coloured light
“The Tathāgata himself gives to the kings in the Dharma.
“Shining to all sides, that light fills the three thousand worlds,
“And sends down a web of colours into the great hells”³⁾).

Then the Initiator proceeds: “Now kneel down, bow your heads “to the earth, and before the golden lotus-throne of the Sage “Patriarch accept incense...

— incense-sticks are distributed among the novices —

“If, after having accepted the Commandments, you wish your “heart to be your ruler, and your believing mind to help you “in length of time out of the three Worlds —

viz. that of desire, that of form and matter, and that where no shape or matter exists

“then you must lend no ear to the approving or disapproving

1) 凡有聖諭六條、孝順父母、尊敬長上、和睦鄉里、教訓子孫、各安生理、毋作非爲。

2) 我聖祖三劫乾坤未開、此教外留下有一卷小乘真經法寶。名爲修行之理、平基之法。有二十八個字、稱爲二十八宿、號爲二十八個牟尼寶珠。付與你弟子、時時舉念、刻刻常存。叫做四句微妙法如來方便門。

3) 一串寶珠五色光
如來親付法中王

展開充滿三千界
放下色羅大地藏。

“Devas of the three Worlds, come and let your influence shine; “Eye and ear witnesses on both sides, witness our doings clearly”¹⁾).

The oath or vow having been thus taken, the Initiator continues as follows :

“This curse shall bind your mundane minds. Never sin “against the three Refuges or the five Commandments; never “allow yourselves to lose anything of the Dharma-jewel, the un- “written authentic Sutra for the Siáo-sing grade, then, O disciples, “the vow ye have taken will become for you a lake with lotusses “red and white, across which ye will travel to the West, to go “out and go home there in the company of the Buddhas. To “those who refine their conduct nothing but Heaven belongs; hell “is not their share a second time. So, if you can cultivate “virtue, and love the hill of spiritual life, then after your “departure (from this life) the rank of the Arhats shall be your “share. The field of bliss (now opened to you) in the third “kalpa, o ye disciples, take endless advantage of it; enjoy it “for ever; and whenever in improving and refining your con- “duct you make a mistake or commit an error, then, if you “behave in accordance with that vow, you will reap yourselves “the fruits of your own labour in that field”²⁾).

“You are not to involve in any difficulties the master “who has introduced you here (p. 203), nor shall you involve “your Initiator, nor any of the Buddhas (holy men?) of the “community”³⁾).

- 1) 上請師傅作主。三千諸佛作證。
四大元帥爲明甫。當空護法證威靈。
三界等神來照應。兩傍聽見證分明。

2) 這一句願頭乃是鎖你凡心。日後不犯三皈五戒、不準漏洩小乘無字真經法寶、將你弟子許得願頭化作紅白蓮池、徑往西方、與佛祖同出同歸。脩行之人只有天堂、再無地獄。若能修德好靈山、去了羅漢果位。這三劫福田是你弟子用之無盡、享之無窮、修行若有差錯者就依此願而行、是你自作自受。

3) 不許你連累引進師、不許你連累化渡師、不許你連累大眾諸佛。 In these plain words, which no doubt refer in the first place to betrayal to the authorities, fidelity to the community is imposed upon the neophytes.

“If after this your initiation you really remain faithful, then
 “I hope, humbly stooping down, that the Sage Patriarch may
 “confer upon you the power to stand up and follow him, and
 “that the Ruler of the Dharma (see page 213) may look down
 “upon your Salvation, and let his light shine upon it. May your
 “six roots

— the perceptions of eyes, nose, mouth, ears, body, and mind —

“O disciples, remain pure and clean, the five parts of your bodies

— sinews, veins, flesh, bones, skin, and hair —

“enjoy quietness and health, your homes be pure and happy,
 “the inmates enjoy rest and peace. May all you undertake be
 “crowned with success; may happiness and blessing come down
 “upon you in profusion!”¹⁾

No sooner has the Initiator uttered this series of wishes than a unanimous O-bi-tô hût resounds through the hall, and the prostrate initiates, to thank him, bow their heads three times to the earth. A general Sutra-reading brings the initiation to a close. Meanwhile one of the attendants sends a paper up on high, on which the wishes the Initiator has just pronounced, are written down in the form of a prayer; that is to say, he lights the paper at one of the candles, and places it on the ashes of the incense burner. In this manner the prayer reaches its destination: the Gold Lotus-throne of the Apex of Nothingness.

This initiation-ritual, copied word for word from the written documents of the sect, bears evidence in itself that it is no invention of some small, isolated religious club. It is no doubt the property of the whole Lung-hwa religion. As a matter of fact it is nothing else than a subdivision of the consecration-ritual of Buddhist monks. Of this we gave a survey in chapter XIV of “Le Code du Mahayāna en Chine”. We stated there (page 207) that, at the feet of an Upādhyāya or initiator, the candidates for monastic life receive a first or lowest consecration, which opens the way to the convent and to Salvation, by taking refuge in Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha, and making a vow upon the five Commandments. This consecration raises the male recipient to the rank of Upāsaka, rendered in Chinese by 信男, “believing man”,

1) 皈依以後若果有真心、伏望聖祖賜起隨身、護法觀照領道。弟子六根清淨、五體安康、家門清吉、人口平安。百事所求如意、大降吉祥。

and the female to that of Upāsikā or 信女, "believing woman", dignities which even without the tonsure and separation from one's family, lead to the sanctity of the Dēvas (see C. du M., p. 251). This sanctity is merely of a low degree. Hence the sectaries who have received this consecration from their Initiator, are called Siáo-sīng or Inferior Vehicles (supra, p. 202), i. e. Hinayāna.

Besides the intrinsically Buddhistic character of the sect, the ritual of the initiation shows us the syncretic spirit of it. The five fundamental Commandments of Buddha are, indeed, brought in connection with the five Constant Matters (五常) or Confucian fundamental virtues: benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies and rites, knowledge, and trustworthiness, which from time immemorial have played an important part in classical ethics. Following Mencius, who boldly declared that the first four of these virtues are innate ¹⁾, philosophers have always identified them with man's character, his *sing* 性, bestowed by heaven, and therefore intrinsically good. Hence they are, like this natural character, emanations from the Way of heaven, the Tao, so that to possess them is to be orthodox (*ching*), and all human instruction must be based upon their cultivation, which is equivalent to the banishment of the *sié* or heretical element. In fact, Tszě-szě 子思, the grandson of Confucius, said in the *Chung yung*, one of the classical bibles: "That which heaven has ordained or bestowed, "is called the character; therefore the following of that character is Tao, and the following of the Tao is effected by "instruction" ²⁾. The ground theme of Confucian ethics being thus essentially Taoistic, the Lung-hwa sect by adopting it gives itself a Taoistic character. Its syncretism goes further still, for novices are admonished by the Initiator to identify themselves with the five Elements of which the universe is composed. In truth, Taoist philosophers by mere speculation have come to the conclusion that benevolence is essentially connected with wood, that is, with vegetation created by benevolent nature, and that

1) "Man possesses these four principles just as well as his four limbs. We, who have "them in ourselves, must learn to give them all their full development and completion" 人之有是四端也猶其有四體也。凡有四端於我者知皆擴而充之矣; sect. 公孫丑, I, 6. "Benevolence, righteousness, ceremony and rites, and knowledge are not infused from without; we positively have them in ourselves" 仁義禮智非由外鑠我也、我固有之也; section 告子, I, 6.

2) 天命之謂性、率性之謂道、修道之謂教。

righteousness with metal, ceremony and rites are fire, knowledge is water, and trustworthiness is earth¹). And finally, the syncretism of the sect is evident from the compulsion laid upon the neophytes to obey six precepts of the Sage Edict. This is especially remarkable because this ultra-Confucian state-document of modern time, as we shall see in the next chapter, passes peremptory sentence on the Lung-hwa sect and other religious societies, prescribing their extermination on account of heresy. Thus the sect gives a clear proof of loyalty to its most implacable enemy, the persecuting State; thus also practically it makes true the doctrine proclaimed to the initiated (page 206), that its Dharma embraces all existing principles which keep erring man in the right path.

The reader will no doubt have glanced with peculiar attention over the quatrain of twenty-eight characters, a knowledge of which is imparted to the novices after having accepted the Refuges and the Commandments (see p. 212). What does this part of the initiation-ritual mean?

This question can only be answered and the verse explained, if we set forth that in the Chinese Mahayāna system, Buddha stands in the foreground as the Universal Light which saves the world. As such he is merely a part of the Dharma, and the chief power in the compound of all laws and forces that work in the world. Now a perusal of the verse will show that it represents that Light, radiant throughout the world, illumining and saving all beings that live within the sphere of the Dharma, and penetrating also into the deepest hells, to the same benevolent end. This Light is a five-coloured light, that is to say, it embraces the Universe in its five parts: the north, the east, the south, the west, and the centre, which, according to Chinese philosophy of all ages, are, respectively, black, blue, red, white, and yellow. The verse consists of as many characters as there are principal constellations; this means that it represents the Light that fills the sphere which those constellations divide into twenty-eight parts; and quite appropriately the Initiator calls the twenty-eight parts of the verse the shining Pearls of Buddha. Solemnly he imparts that Light of Salvation to the neophytes; with great emphasis he inculcates it on their hearts, their minds, their souls; admonishing them to recite it incessantly and thus never to let it be extinguished. In this wise, he asserts, this Light will be

1) This theory in its relation to psychology and ethics has been dealt with by us in Book II, Part I, chapt. 1 of *The Religious System of China*, to which we refer the reader.

“the principle enabling them to improve their conduct”, that is to say, steadfastly to walk in the path of Salvation, in which the initiation has placed them. Thus piloting them safely into the Land of Peace, the Verse of Light is the very “Base for Peace”; it is Buddha’s own light, and as such “the Gate of Salvation existing within the Dharma”. That the initiated swear a solemn oath, sealed by a curse, to lose nothing of it, shows that this Light is considered to be of the utmost importance, nay totally indispensable, for religious life and its sole aim and object: Salvation.

The initiation or first consecration in reality changes the recipients into Devas, unless they break their vow, renounce the Triratna, and sin against the five Commandments. It is therefore quite reasonable that, changing their persons into saints, they should also change their names. At Amoy, the initiated adopt a so-called pút hō 佛號 or “Buddhist title”, consisting of two words, the first of which is almost always P’ó 普, i. e. “Universal, All-embracing”, evidently referring to the all-embracing character of the Dharma and the Light of the World. We have known sectaries named P’ó-lō 普露 or Universal Dew, P’ó-tsing 普淨 or Universal Purity, P’ó-kién 普檢 or Universal Model, P’ó-hui 普輝 or Universal Refulgence, etc. Dissyllabic clerical names have been borne by Buddhist monks and nuns ever since the early centuries of our era; it is this example which the members of the Lung-hwa sect imitate.

After his initiation, every new member receives a diploma on red paper. This tells a few good things about the blissful Light of Salvation shed abroad over the world by the promulgators of the Dharma, among whom the Apex of Nothingness was the first; and finally it states that the Initiator and the Introducer, as proxies of the Plenipotentiaries (總勅), viz. of the Khong-khong and the series of his predecessors all mentioned by name — have conferred this certificate as proof that the initiation or consecration took place in all due form. It bears seal-stamps of the Initiator and the Introducer, of the principal witnesses of the ceremony, and of the writer of the certificate.

Among the initiated of the lowest degree there are always a good many who strive for higher perfection and sanctity. They accept for that purpose, on a later occasion, the ten Commandments, which are, beside the five which the reader knows, (6) to use no perfumes, balsams or flowers; (7) to abstain from singing and dancing; (8) to use no high or broad beds; (9) to take food

only at irregular times; (10) to possess no gold, silver, or precious things. The ritual of this second consecration is hardly different from that for the Siáo-sīng grade; but the Initiator adds a sermon about the five other Commandments, with the explicit admonition that, "if the ten Commandments are not followed, there "will be hardly a chance to mount up to Heaven; and if the "five are not made the sole end and purpose, the way which "leads man to the Deva-dignity is cut off" ¹). Those heavens are the six we have mentioned in "Le Code du Mahayāna en Chine" (p. 252). The recipients of this consecration bear the title of Tā-sīng (supra, p. 202): "Great or Superior Vehicles".

The dignity of Sam-sīng or Third Vehicle (p. 202) requires re-ordination in another set of Commandments. Members of the sect have assured me that this is the case also with the still higher dignities. Each of these represents a higher stage on the road to Salvation, in which the dignitaries are expected to keep the five Commandments with correspondingly greater zeal, and several others besides, and at each re-consecration they make a vow to this effect.

A few male members of higher rank attain to such a measure of piety, that they can repair to a monastery authorised by the government to consecrate clergy, and there receive the consecrations which involve special vows to observe the five Commandments, the ten Commandments, the 250 rescripts of the Pratimoksha, and the 58 of the Sutra of Brahma's Net ²). Thus they attain to the dignity of Bodhisatwa even here on earth, and become clergy diplomated by the state, wearing the clerical dress even in everyday life; and like all Buddhist monks, they have their heads clean shaved in every part. Of course they mostly remain in close contact with their sect, and as high title-bearers preside as leaders at meetings in the vegetarian halls and in the dwellings of the sectaries. They carry on no trade or profession. To attend to the flock is henceforth their calling; but besides, as often as they please, they accept invitations from non-sectaries to read masses for the souls of the departed, or to perform other ceremonies. Like the sect itself which they serve, they may any day, any hour, fall into the persecuting hands of the mandarin; but it seems they generally pass unnoticed, as ordinary clergy living among the laity (comp. pp. 120 and foll.). Such a Lung-hwa priest apparently was Wu Shi-tsi (see p. 160), who in 1753 paid the penalty of death for pointing out a

1) 十善不修天堂難上、五戒不專人天路絕。

2) See the description in "Le Code du Mahayāna", chap. XIV.

road to Salvation extremely dangerous for the lives of His Imperial Majesty's subjects. And poor Wang Shu-hiun, who persuaded high officials and sturdy Confucians to take refuge with the Triratna and to keep the Commandments, evidently was a priest of the same stamp.

§ 3. Religious Meetings and Festivals.

As already noticed, the members of the Lung-hwa sect at Amoy, in order to promote their individual and mutual Salvation, hold quiet religious meetings for the worship of their Saints and Buddhas, and for the reciting of Sutras, liturgical prayers, and powerful Tantrāni. These meetings do not generally take place on fixed dates, but at the convenience of the participators. Sometimes, when a persecution threatens or has actually broken out, no meetings are held for months together, and the religious work is carried on exclusively at home by each member for himself, or by a very few together, until better days dawn. Frequently also, to avoid discovery, the sectaries meet after sunset or late at night; and this has the advantage of enabling the men to attend, who in the daytime are tied to their trades or professions.

Moreover, the sect has a number of so-called pài-kìng jít 拜敬日 or "days of worship", being calendar days devoted to the worship of special Saints. These are:

- I. 5th of 1st month, in commemoration of the Patriarch Lo, the founder of the sect.
- II. 9th " 1st " in honour of the God of Heaven.
- III. 15th " 1st " in honour of the Rulers of the three Worlds.
- IV. 19th " 2nd " in honour of Kwan-yin.
- V. 19th " 3rd " in honour of the Lord of the Great Light (大陽公), the Sun.
- VI. 8th " 4th " birthday of the Buddha Çakyamuni.
- VII. 6th " 6th " the opening of Heaven.
- VIII. 19th " 6th " in honour of Kwan-yin.
- IX. last " 7th " birthday of the Lord of Hell, Ti-tsang Wang 地藏王.
- X. 15th " 8th " chief festival of the Moon.
- XI. 19th " 9th " in honour of Kwan-yin.
- XII. 17th " 11th " birthday of the Buddha Amita.
- XIII. 23rd " 12th " on which the gods ascend to heaven.

In this list the syncretic character of the sect is especially conspicuous. No less than five of these thirteen days are heathen

calendrical festivals of the people in general, viz. the second, third, seventh, tenth and thirteenth; we have described them elsewhere at large ¹⁾. Buddhistic yearly feasts of the laity are the fourth, eighth, and eleventh; and the sixth, ninth and twelfth day are taken from the calendar of Buddhist monastic life. The first alone is the special property of the sect. The list shows that the principal Saints of the sect are the same as those of the Chinese Mahayāna church in general. It goes without saying that many parishes increase the number of meetings according to the piety of their members, and also that in some halls the meetings are far better attended than in others.

In the early morning of the feastday cups of tea are placed upon the altar of the hall, to refresh the Saints residing there. And some of the most pious members betake themselves to the spot, for the purpose of reciting formulas and prayers; but we have not been able to discover any connection between these and the proffered tea. Successively more members make their appearance, until the male or female leader is of opinion that enough of them are present to commence the great service.

Rice, vegetables, fruit and tea are now placed upon a table in front of the altar, together with fragrant incense, for the benefit of the Saint whose festival is being celebrated. A smaller portion is in like manner allotted to each of the other principal Saints of the hall, and the members range themselves in one or more long rows along the side-walls of the apartment, the men, attired in the long ceremonial robe and with a conical straw hat overlaid with red fringe, to the left of the saints, and the women to the right. In both rows the highest graduates are nearest to the altar. With closed eyes, and the palms of the hands pressed together before their breasts, all mumble unanimously a series of formulas and extracts from Sutras, one of them tapping with a wooden knocker on a hollow wooden bowl at every syllable pronounced. And the first word of every strophe is marked by a stroke on a metal bell. When this pious work has been continued for some little time, the men come forward, two by two, and kneel in front of the sacrifice, respectfully saluting the Buddhas and Saints on the altar by touching the ground nine times with their foreheads. After them the women do the same, only at a somewhat greater distance from the altar. This act of devotion ended, the dishes with food are removed

1) "Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emouï"; Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. XI and XII.

from the altar, and converted into a vegetarian meal, of which all the brethren and sisters may partake. True to the national rules of etiquette, the fair sex seat themselves at separate tables, or if there be a lack of tables, they sit on the floor. When the meal is over, each member takes leave of the head of the parish with a courteous bow, thanks him, and departs.

On the four annual days specially devoted to Kwan-yin and Amita, and, if desired, on any other festival, either immediately after this first meeting, or later on in the day, the fraternity assembles again. This second meeting is called that of the pan-jia tsûn 般若船, "the Ship of Pradjna or Wisdom", i. e. the highest of the Pārami or perfections by which Nirwāna is reached.

A small barge or boat of bamboo and paper, intended to convey departed souls to the Paradise of the West, is placed in the open court in front of the hall. The sails, flags or pennons, and other parts of the rigging are decorated with inscriptions bearing upon this spirit-journey. At the rudder is a paper effigy of Kwan-yin, the high patroness of the Mahayāna church, and as such, supreme guide of its members on the road to Salvation. Her satellite Hwan-shen-tsai holds the sheet, her female attendant, called the Dragon's Daughter, stands on the fore-ship, holding up a streamer on which is written 接引西方, "be admitted and introduced into the West (the Paradise)". Several other Buddhist saints, such as Brahma, and Weda-deva 韋陀神 or Indra, do duty as sailors¹). Round this Bark of Mercy (慈航) the members of the sect range themselves, and under the guidance or not, as the case may be, of one or more of their number, who are consecrated monks, they hold a series of Sutra-readings, interspersed with invocations and Tantrani, to induce the holy Kwan-yin to take souls on board and convey them to the land of bliss. And finally, under the shout of O-bi-tô repeated many hundred times, the ship with all its contents is burned on the spot. Thus, through fire and flame, the Bark of Wisdom plies right across the sea of transmigration to the promised Nirwāna, where the highest Intelligence prevails. If the sea-shore is near, the bark is sometimes launched there on a plank, and allowed to drift away with the tide.

After the departed souls have thus been suitably released from their earthly woes, some of the devout sectaries still remain in the hall, for the purpose of holding another Sutra-reading in

1) Comp. the plate opposite page 230, and the Frontispice. For Hwan-shen-tsai and the Dragon's Daughter see "Les Fêtes à Emoui", pp. 194 and 195.

the evening, during which tea and sweetmeats are offered to the Saints. The majority however go home, after saluting and thanking the leader, and politely taking leave of the brethren and sisters.

Another solemnity, performed on many of those festivals, is called pài tsien hùt 拜千佛, "Veneration of the thousand Buddhas". All present stand in rows, with the palms of their hands pressed together before their breasts. Some who can read have a small table in front of them, on which the Sutra lies. They mumble an All-saints litany, every sentence of which is "Namah Buddha So and So" followed by a slow semi-genuflexion. In this manner, at least a thousand names are recited, even two or three times successively; but as it is impossible to keep up the knee-drill long, the litany is now and again broken off, and the interlude filled up with a piece of another Sutra, or with invocations without genuflexions. The object of this litany is to obtain pardon of sins by exciting internally, at the invocation of each name, a feeling of deep repentance. It is therefore called "The Sutra of Repentance of the Names of a thousand Buddhas", 懺悔千佛名經. The members who cannot read the litany and do not know it by heart, only mumble in their mind. This act of repentance plays an important part in monastic life, and is performed in many different forms. It is prescribed by one of the Laws of Brahma's Net; in our work about those laws we gave some attention to it 1).

The principal and most frequently celebrated religious ceremonies of the Lung-hwa sect are herewith mentioned. It stands to reason that in several parishes they are increased to a far greater number, if the leaders possess sufficient ability and zeal to induce the members to attend. The religious repertory of conventual life here offers to the sect a large choice of matter, the daily business of the monks being indeed, at all seasons, an unbroken chain of rites and ceremonies to promote their own Salvation and that of others. We venture to assert, that this same work of Salvation would spread very greatly in the sect, if fear for the authorities did not necessarily reduce its meetings to a minimum. Under these circumstances it follows of necessity that the religious occupations of the members are chiefly reduced to solitary pious exercises at home, to which we must also pay attention for a few minutes.

1) "Le Code du Mahayāna", p. 211 and foll., and other places mentioned there in the Index under "Péchés".

§ 4. Religious Work at Home.

As in the meeting-halls, so in private houses Sutra-readings form an essential part of the great practice of Salvation. These readings are performed either standing or kneeling, and often the worshipper accompanies himself by tapping rapidly on a hollow wooden bowl, and at intervals on a metal bell, as the monks in Buddhist convents are wont to do. Very few sectaries understand what they recite. Most of them have only learned by heart the sound of the characters, and do not know their meaning, or merely understand what they are saying in so far as the sense of it has been explained to them. Their work therefore is a mere mechanical muttering of formulas, of which some have a good many stored up in their memory, others only a few. Those who can read use printed or manuscript Sutras.

The understanding has nothing to do with the meritoriousness of this pious work. For the Sutras are the sacred books which make known the roads that lead to Salvation, and to proclaim them at all times, together with the Winayas or religious rescripts which serve to keep mankind in those roads, is the highest duty imposed upon the sons and daughters of Buddha by more than one article of the Sutra of Brahma's Net, the Code of the Mahayāna church. He who fulfils this duty is deserving in the highest degree. What then does it matter whether he understands what he recites? The mighty salvation-working power contained in the Sutra or Winaya loses nothing by it, and moreover — who can tell? — perchance there are myriads of unseen spirits on the spot listening to the recital, and obtaining Salvation thereby.

But there is more. Where these holy writings have once been sanctioned as the means towards the attainment of the very highest felicity, they necessarily must have a salutary influence in matters of minor import. A power able to accomplish the elevation of every being, even the meanest animal or infernal spirit, to the dignity of Buddha, can accomplish everything. On all occasions, thus says the 39th commandment of the Mahayāna Code, Sutras and Winayas shall be read: — in times of sickness, or when the realm is in danger; in times of rebellion; on the birthdays of parents, brothers and religious teachers, and on every seventh day after their death, until the forty-ninth; at meetings designed for the seeking of Salvation by avoiding sin; when travelling for one's livelihood; during conflagrations and inundations; when storms harass ships, or giants and devils bring distress; also when one is struck by disasters or punishment; when one has

fallen into the nets of the law, or is fettered and put in the cangue; when there is much ignorance, or opposition against the religion; during epidemics, etc., etc. We have shown in our essay on that Code ¹⁾, that in the great Buddhist convents this commandment is faithfully kept. Sutra-readings indeed are the essence of monastic life. The holy scriptures which the Mahayāna church in the course of centuries has placed within the reach of seekers of Salvation, and translated into Chinese, form quite a library. Can we then be surprised that the offspring of that church, the Lung-hwa sect, seek Salvation by the reading of Sutras?

In quiet domestic solitude, this pious work is usually performed before Kwan-yin, whose image stands on almost every house-altar, and in the bedroom of most female members of the sect. Many wash their face and hands, and put on clean clothes before beginning the reading. A very common custom is to place a cup with some dry tea upon the altar, and when the recital is over, to pour hot water on the tea and drink it, as highly beneficial to health; or else the tea is put away as a medicine for future use. In fact, it goes without saying that under the mighty influence of the sutra-readings, the tea acquires beneficial properties. Then, if pushed on by an idol they carry with them, people apply to the house for remedies for some poor sufferer ²⁾, a little of this tea is kindly given them. Fruit and other dainties which during the recital of Sutras have stood on the altar for the refreshment of the Saints, are also considered extremely salutary to those who eat them.

It is the quantity of the recited matter that is of chief importance. One single passage recited a hundred times over, benefits as much as one recital of a hundred different passages; hence — also because few of the male sectaries, and scarcely any of the female, can read — the greater number confine themselves to the endless repetition of one or a few fragments learned by heart. Tantrani — foreign sounds transcribed in Chinese characters, the sense of which is understood by none — and short invocations of Buddhas and Saints, are sometimes substituted for sutra-fragments, and have the same, if not a greater miraculous power and efficacy.

Many recitals are done in fulfilment of promises. For it is a very usual thing for the sectaries to make a vow to some Saint, especially to Kwan-yin, that they will recite so and so many

1) Le Code du Mahayāna en Chine.

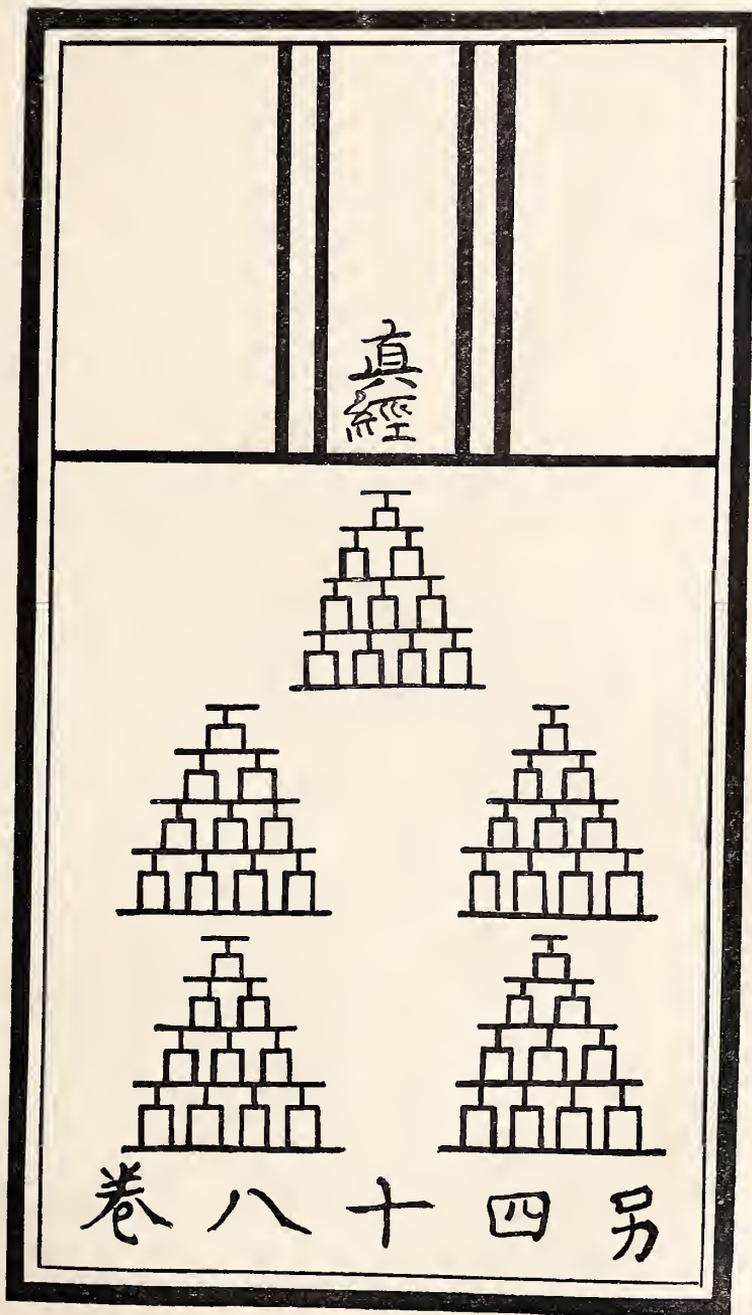
2) "Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui", p. 288 and foll.

sutra-fragments if this or that favour be granted them; and then, when the favour has been vouchsafed, they fulfil the vow to the letter. This custom leads to a good deal of bartering. For instance, the pious man begins by promising say a thousand recitals, and throws down the divining-blocks. If these fall in a position which signifies denial, he takes it for an intimation that he has promised too little; so he promises a few hundred recitals more, and throws the blocks again, and so on, until a consenting answer of the Saint by the blocks settles the bargain. If afterwards the Saint is wronged by the petitioner not exactly paying him his due, there is every reason to believe he will vent his wrath upon the delinquent. Hence it is of the utmost importance to be careful in the counting. Where only short formulas or fragments are recited, the sectaries generally use a so-called sò-tsu 素珠 or chaplet, consisting of a cord threaded through stones of fruit or wooden beads, and the ends fastened together; the number of chaplets counted off is remembered by dotting down strokes on a piece of paper, or by putting small coins in a box, or by other similar childish tricks. Especially to female sectaries, the chaplet is an object of value and significance, for under the influence of the holy work in which it is used, it acquires an ever-increasing virtue and sanctity, which shows itself in warding off devils and the evils they bring, such as sickness and misfortunes of all kinds.

For larger numbers of recitals, the counting is done by means of so-called Sutra-pagodas, king t'ah 經塔. These are sheets of paper about the size of a hand, bearing in coarse woodcut print pyramidal piles of the figure 百 (See the reproduction on next page). After every hundred recitals a stroke is added to one of these figures, changing it into the character 百, one hundred. Thus it can be ascertained at any moment how the meritorious work is progressing. At the top of the sheet are the characters 眞經, "authentic Sutra", with a blank to fill in the name of the special sutra; and at the bottom is printed "plus forty-eight chapters", that is to say, this quantity should be added to make up for any eventual miscounting. Sutra-pagodas are more than substitutes for the memory. By means of a seal of wood or stone, they are stamped by the owner in the top corners with his name, and he also inscribes there his address, and any other information he desires to give to the Saints; and they are then forwarded to the

1) About this method of consulting gods and saints see "Le Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui", page 56.

abodes of bliss by means of fire, to be entered to his credit in the books of justice, or to the credit of the departed for the salvation of whose soul he has done the good work.



Sutra Pagodas.

Quite a variety of sacred books are in use among the sectaries, but in each particular parish the number is small. Often one or more Sutras or formulas are for a time in special esteem in one parish, while in another some others are in vogue. The whole sect however agree as to the efficacy and high value of a booklet which, as we have always seen it, consists of scarcely a dozen pages, bound together under the title of 高王觀世音經, "Sutra of the High King Kwan-shi-yin". It contains a coarse portrait of Kwan-yin; then three unintelligible Tantras, to be read for the cleansing of the mouth, for the cleansing of the body, and to give rest to the spirits dwelling in the ground. Further it contains a litany of some Buddhas, Bodhisatwas and other Saints or personified ideas, to whose names the salutation Namah (see page 223) is prefixed; then again follow some Tantras, and various verses expressing a promise to Kwan-yin and all Bodhisatwas to spare the life of all creatures and to endeavour to lead them to Salvation, as also to read Sutras in great numbers, all for the purpose of being able to withstand fire and arms, to convert anger into bestowal of favour, death into life. A eulogy on Kwan-yin, her benefits and power, constitutes the main part of this sacred little book.

If the members of the sect are asked for the reason why Kwan-yin occupies so prominent a place among their patron saints, the ready answer is to the effect that she has constantly proved herself a faithful deliverer of all victims of misfortune and oppression who invoke her. We possess quite a number of stories gleaned from various Chinese sources, describing apparitions of this goddess especially to persons languishing in prison, with death before their eyes, and to others in imminent danger or distress; such apparitions are always the forerunners of deliverance. No wonder that the sectaries, over whose heads the sword of persecution ever pends, and whom the prospect of martyrdom always harasses, confidently entrust themselves to her. The above-mentioned Sutra, devoted to her, is boldly asserted to bring deliverance to victims of persecution if only it be read often enough; and to this day it is unquestionably recited ardently by sectaries in prison, while their brethren outside do the same on their behalf, thus enabling them to bear their hardships with fortitude and resignation. The stories about deliverance brought by Kwan-yin, most of them centuries old, generally represent her appearances to have been called forth by the reading of Sutras dedicated to her.

Very zealous sectaries recite at least once a day; many do

so twice, in the morning and in the evening, not counting the extra readings on calendar feastdays and sundry special occasions. When a sick man or woman is to be comforted or cured by means of Sutras, the reading of these is benevolently performed at the bedside by one or more brethren, who, in conclusion, burn a written prayer on behalf of the patient, addressed to Kwan-yin.

A printed Sutra consists of one strip of paper, yards long, and as broad as the book, printed on one side only, and folded to the required size by turning the strip over and over, accordion-fashion. At each extremity a piece of pasteboard or a thin board of wood is fixed, cut to size, and between these the unbound volume lies firmly protected. Many Sutras, however, are made and bound like ordinary Chinese books. They are as a rule not difficult to procure, being printed in large quantities by the sect. Devout members sometimes deserve well of Buddha's holy Church by having several copies printed, either entirely at their own expense, or in combination with others. These copies are then deposited in temples and chapels, where they can be had gratuitously, or by a gift of a few coppers to the custodian of the building. Publishing a new edition of a Sutra is a pious work of high merit, mostly done in fulfilment of a vow. Sutras usually contain an appendix of a few pages with exhortations to obey some special religious precept or other, and thus they are made subservient to propagandism. Several religious writings are in circulation amongst the sectaries in manuscript only, and therefore not easily accessible to outsiders.

For those who cannot read, or cannot learn Sutras by heart, there exists an easy, and therefore very popular method of obtaining Salvation. This consists in repeating hundreds and thousands of times one and the same Saint's name, with the prefix lâ-m-bû (Namah). And here the name of Amita, the Lord of Paradise, is of paramount efficacy. Women in particular try to gain Paradise in this way, especially slave-women, who have no leisure hours to set apart for religious exercises, but can at all times, while engaged in their domestic work, easily mutter lâ-m-bû O-bi-tô hût. The chaplet and the box with coins are very useful here; but still more useful is the Bark of Mercy and Wisdom. A woodcut print is procured, of which we insert here a somewhat reduced photographic reproduction. It represents that wonderful ship of Salvation, sailing across a sea of lotuses, with the holy crew as described on page 222, and filled with passengers of both sexes, bound for Paradise. Above the print we see an

inscription in large characters, which tells us that "The Buddha Amita receives the virtuous who recite (the names of) the Buddhas, and they are to be reborn in the West". The ship is entirely covered with little circles, and each time the devout owner of the print has repeated a hundred times the name of Amita, he ticks off one of these circles in red ink. The frame is also composed of circlets, and when these have likewise been ticked off, the print represents the holy name about 150,000 times. Amita himself, standing on his lotus-throne, guides the ship by the light which emanates from his right hand.

On either side are printed directions about the manner of using the print, and a demonstration of the excellence of this mode of Salvation. None of the many other methods that exist, it says, is so good as this, or so easy to perform. The person who, in fulfilment of some vow or for any other reason, piously recites the holy name so many times until all the circlets are ticked off, can burn the paper before the image of the Buddha, to secure Salvation in the Western Paradise, either for himself, or for his parents. In the same manner he can obtain from the Buddhas restoration of health, or earthly prosperity and happiness. The dead can be conveyed out of hell into Amita's Paradise by burning the print either on their grave, or on the altar erected for the celebration of Buddhist requiem-masses on their behalf; this should be done preferably on the Festival of the Tombs, or on that of the Winter-solstice, or on some other day which, like these two, is specially set apart for the worship of the dead. Thus, united by faith, and striving together to be friends of virtue, all shall behold the face of Amita, and enter into the Paradise of highest delight. And the sail of the bark proclaims the miraculous power contained in the name of Amita. There we read: "The mere word Amita is a precious sword cutting down all heresies. It is a brave general who defeats hell. It is a bright torch shedding its light in the blackest darkness. It is a bark of mercy which carries us across the ocean of misery (earthly existence) into Paradise; the shortest path to lead us out of the wheel of transmigration; a salutary means to help us out of existence. It is a mysterious, magic word which makes us immortal, a remedy imbued with spiritual power, which renovates our bones. The 84,000 schools of the Dharma are contained in those six words (lâ m-bû O-bî-tô hú t); those words are one sword-stroke which cuts through 1700 dolichos stalks. If one mutters nothing but the word Amita, one need not even trouble to clap one's fingers, in order to reach the West".

阿彌陀佛接引善人往生西方

修行徑路方便多門。直捷簡易。無如念佛。念佛一法。謂之求生西方。又謂之修淨土。言西方極樂世界。是清淨佛土。故三藏十二部經。經經導歸極樂。八萬四千萬門。門門勸往西方。念佛法門。乃最勝第一。無上方便之法門也。古德云。餘門學道。如蟻子上高山。半時一步。淨土修行。似風帆行順水。須臾千里。一入西方。永無退墮。上品即登佛階。下品猶勝天宮。其功最高。其行甚易。不論貴賤賢愚。老幼男女。喫葷喫素。出家在家。皆可行之。奉勸十方善男信女。有緣遇此。即發信心。一心念佛。求生西方。如或家務牽纏。緣未了。不能一心者。或每日持念三千五百。作為常課。如再不能。念此圖一張。為一願。念一百點。一圖點滿。共計一十五萬。



或為自身。求生西方。或為父母。求生西方。或為父母。保病祈安。增福延壽。

皆佛前焚化。或追薦過去父母。六親眷屬。靈前及墓上焚化。佛前亦可。或酬謝神明。或祭祀宗祖。或

每年清明冬至。七月十五。臘月。年夜。念此佛圖。林化孤墳。義冢。濟度無祀孤魂。俱可仗乘佛力。超生淨土。或一願。或多

願。隨力所成。所獲功德。不可思議。普願同發信心。同為善友。同見彌陀。同往極樂。

猛將。一句彌陀。是斬群邪之寶劍。一句彌陀。是破地獄之海之慈航。一句彌陀。是照黑暗之明燈。一句彌陀。是渡苦脫生死之良方。一句彌陀。是出輪迴之徑路。一句彌陀。是換骨之神丹。八萬四千法門。六字全收。一千七百。是換骨之神丹。八萬四千法門。六字全收。一千七百。是換骨之神丹。八萬四千法門。六字全收。一千七百。是換骨之神丹。八萬四千法門。六字全收。一千七百。

板存廈門海岸集文書坊敬刊

接引西方

生死關頭念佛第一

人天路上作福為先

Other prints of this kind, in our possession, bear similar inscriptions, but represent Salvation somewhat differently. Here (see the Frontispiece) Amita stands in the ship, which sails in a shower of flowers, while several devotees, recognisable as people of either sex and of various social position and age, in kneeling attitude, and with hands folded as in prayer, crowd a strip of light which emanates from his hand. Thus the bark in full sail draws them along by this Buddha's light of Salvation towards Paradise.

§ 5. Observances on behalf of the Dead.

The foregoing pages have shown, that the pious work of saving the dead by prevailing upon Kwan-yin to convey them into the Western Paradise of Amita, forms one of the chief items in the religious program of the Lung-hwa sect. Doubtless this work is its vital point, as the prospect of being piloted by brethren and sisters in Buddha to those regions of supreme felicity must be the strongest motive for most neophytes to join the sect. What will become of my soul and body after death? is the great question which occupies the minds of the whole Chinese people, and *a fortiori* of those who strive after ideals, the realization of which lies in a future world. Is it to be wondered at that so many childless concubines and widows take refuge with the sect? They know well, that in the human society in which they live, where begetting sons is one of the highest moral duties (comp. p. 51), they are looked upon as worthless creatures, only deserving of being buried in a poor style by indifferent relations, or even by public charity; they know well that, but for the religious community to which they entrust themselves, only a trifling sum will be spent on religious ceremonies on behalf of their souls.

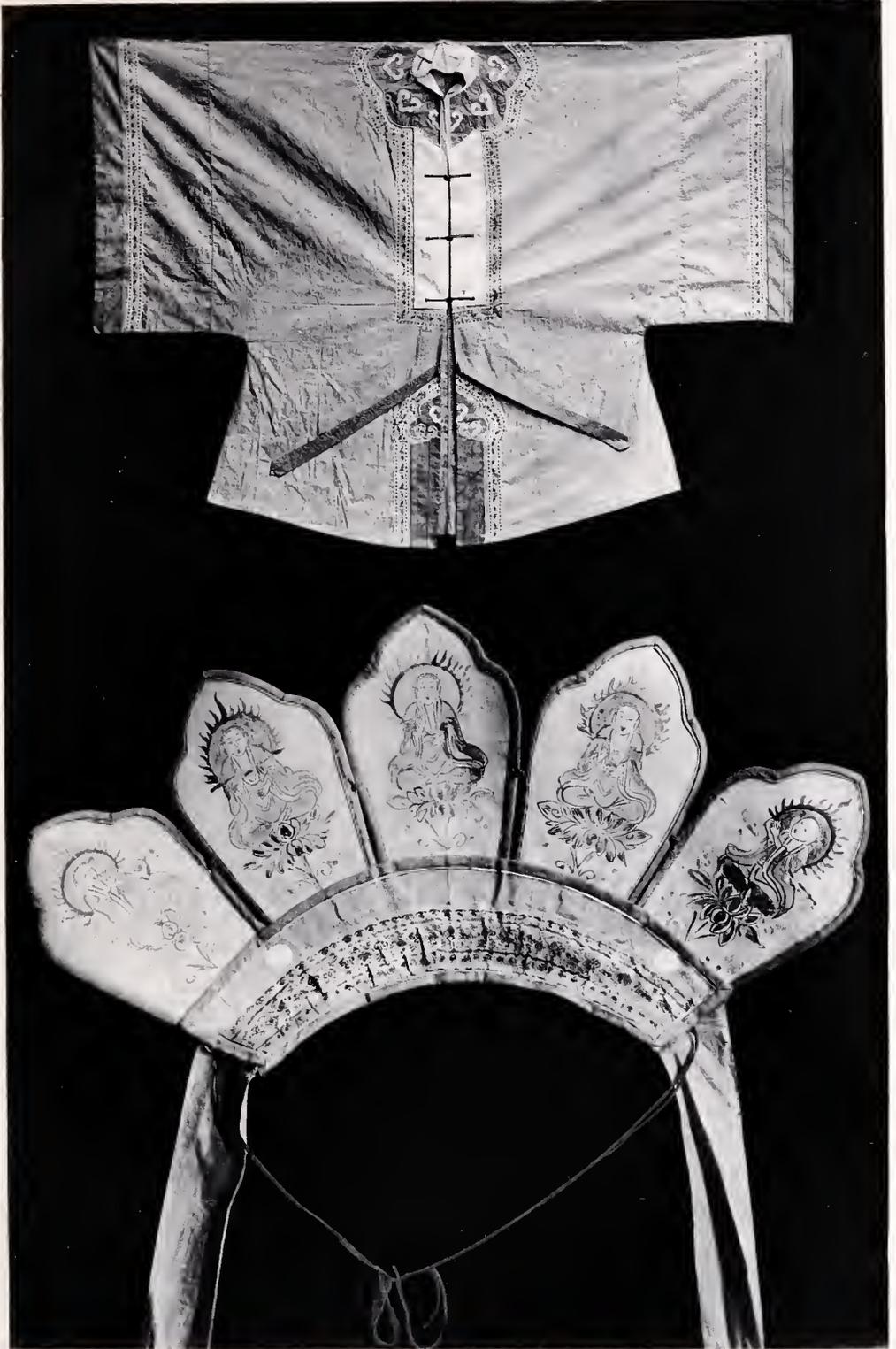
The devotion of the sectaries to their deceased brethren and sisters is shown immediately in their readiness to wash and dress the corpse. This office is performed exclusively by those of the same sex with the defunct. A male corpse is often dressed in a so-called *ch'im i* with a cap, both described and reproduced by us elsewhere ¹). For this garment is supposed to be one of grey antiquity, still worn by the gods and the saints, who, of course, do not keep pace with earthly fashions; and in cut it resembles

1) The Religious System of China, Book I, p. 52.

the everyday gown of the Buddhist clergy, the typical dress of those who walk in the path of Salvation. The dress of the women consists of a white petticoat, with a blue pú-t-só ó 佛祖襖 or "robe of the Buddhist Patriarch", generally understood to mean the robe of Kwan-yin (see Plate III). It is a kind of cloak, coming down as far as the knees. It is fastened on the chest, without lapels, by linen knots and loops, serving as buttons and button-holes. The sleeves are short, but their width is nearly two-thirds of the length of the whole garment. They are edged with a frill of embroidery. A broad embroidered collar is stitched round the neck, and falls in two frills of the same breadth down along the breast-seam, as far as the stomach. A similar ornament is stitched along that seam below the stomach. Such is, to judge from their painted and carved images, the robe worn by the Bodhisatwas; and on this reasonable ground it has become the suitable attire for a woman who, for her exemplary Buddhistic life, may believe, hope, and expect to be admitted to the ranks of those Saints.

To this garment belongs, especially for women who have held a high position in the sect, a blue ngó hút ùi 五佛帷, or "veil of the five Buddhas" (see Plate III). This is a band of stiff linen or silk, five to six c.m. broad, the lower edge bordered with embroidery; it is fastened round the head behind, with ribbons. Two long ornamental streamers are sewed on near these ribbons, and fall down over the back. This headgear bears a row of five pointed arches, made of the same stiff material as the band. In each of these arches a Buddha is embroidered, in the sitting posture of Dhyāna, contemplation or musing, his luminous head surrounded by a halo. The arches represent flames, the fire of Buddhahship, the Light of the World, of which the five Dhyāni Buddhas are the highest representatives. Deep and steady meditation upon Nirwāna produces assimilation with the same, and in this way the Buddhahship is attained, the glorious object of all existence. Therefore, whosoever binds these five Dhyāni Buddhas round his head, and thus concentrates their meditative power and light upon himself, strengthens his own Dhyāna, and absorbs the Buddhahship in the best possible way. This same headgear forms a part of the ceremonial dress of the Buddhist clergy of both sexes.

After the dressing, the corpse is placed in a chair, in sitting posture. In one hand is a chaplet, and in the other a sut-bí 拂尾 or "waving-tail", consisting of a horse's mane, the ends of which are fastened together at the top of a small stick which serves as a handle. This object also belongs to the equipment of the pious monk. For having to abstain absolutely from



ROBE and CAP
for deceased female Sectaries.

the killing of living beings, he is only allowed to ward off in the gentlest possible manner the gnats and flies which interrupt his pious meditations; and the object which serves this purpose by slowly waving it about, is in itself a badge of his obedience to the greatest of all commandments.

Now the saving-process of the dead begins. Candles are lighted in the apartment, and particularly near the body; incense is burnt in considerable quantities, and some sectaries recite together various sanctifying Sutras, repeating the name of Amita hundreds and hundreds of times. The death of a Buddhist who walked in the path of Salvation is called deliverance from the ocean of earthly woe, transition from an existence of imperfection and misery to one of perfection and felicity, therefore a most joyful event. Hence — unless they do not share the views of the sect — the relatives of the deceased do not spend the day in loud wailing and weeping, as the old and orthodox Confucian doctrine urgently prescribes; none of the inscriptions on red paper, adorning the outer and inner doors, are pasted over with white as sign of mourning; no furniture is removed from the apartment where the corpse lies, not even the domestic altar is taken away, to save the Saints whose animated images stand thereon, the spectacle of death, which might possibly bring them disaster. Mock paper money, which no true Confucian will omit to burn in large quantities to enrich his departed in the other world, is not used by the sect. The Buddhist, who forsakes the world and keeps the Commandments, ought to loathe riches, and shall he mar the felicity of his dead co-religionists by forcing treasures upon them? In the manuscripts of the sect I read concerning the inventor of this paper money — an unknown worthy — that he was plunged into hell, as was the inventor of intoxicating drinks, and that they cannot be delivered from there by any means whatever.

When the day and the hour have come, the body with rosary and mosquito-flapper is placed in the coffin. A linen satchel is hung round its neck, containing a certificate or petition on linen or paper, signed and issued by notables of the sect in their quality of proxies of the Khong-khong. A copy of this document is forwarded to its address through fire, and the ashes, carefully wrapped in paper, are also put in the satchel. This writing is called a *kui ka bân-toa* 歸家文單, “document for the journey home”, which shows that Nirwāṇa is looked upon as the real home of man, and earth as a place of exile. We give here a copy of such a remarkable document, followed by a translation:

伏以
歸去來兮歸去來脫入凡胎入聖胎

今據

中華世界南瞻步洲

大清國福建省泉州府同安縣廈門鄉居住奉

佛齋戒拔度超昇左枝普柏公派下普應公普聰公代師行化普標公代理祖堂普籌公

普習公續傳普斗公總勅普輝公派下龍華堂弟子姓陳名勳本命生於國號道光

十三年四月初三日申時蒙叩

太上無極聖祖大開法門歸依正道領受如來九品道職妙法重宣偈當空法名普順領

道以來後五戒精專十善堅持今歸於國號光緒十二年十一月十四日卯時脫凡

歸西大數註定陽壽已滿廻向

太上無極聖祖金蓮臺前普同證明彩門派下依師科教上不燒錢下不化馬講說西來

妙意懺悔東土冤愆超拔尊靈同進西方快樂永離地獄苦海一點靈光隨

佛超昇証菩提道場圓滿將牒文妙義付道職普順覺靈收照前往靈山抵考判福還原

以為永劫根基以懺今生罪孽以聚不盡功德上報四重恩下資三宥法界有情同

登彼岸須至給付者

掌教當空給付者

在堂獲教當空作證

右給普順一點靈光執炤

“Most humbly we hope that the defunct, on going home (to “Nirwāṇa), may be exempted from entering again any terrestrial “wombs, and may enter into the womb of sanctity.

“This is to certify about an inhabitant of the place Amoy, “situated in the district of Tung-ngan, which belongs to the “department of Ts^uen-cheu in the province of Fuhkien, ruled “over by the Great Ts^{ing} dynasty and situated in the Central “Empire of Flowers, the southern Jambudwipa. By worshipping “the Buddhas, and by abstinence from forbidden food he has been “drawn up to Salvation and carried to a higher condition. P^u-“peh, a member of the left branch (a male member of the sect), “handed the Religion over to P^u-ying and P^u-ts^{ung}, and they “replaced him, their leader, in the work of improvement; and “P^u-piao managed after him the Hall of the Patriarch (the meeting-“hall of the sect). P^u-ch^{eu}, and after him P^u-shib, delivered “the Religion to P^u-teu, the general chief (of the sect), and to “P^u-hwui, who delivered it to Ch^{en} Hiun, a disciple of the “Lung-hwa Hall.

“He was born in this life on the third day of the fourth month “of the thirteenth year of the dynastic period called T^ao kwang, “at the hour shen. Humbly bowed down to the ground, he saw “the gates of the Dharma opened wide for him by the Highest “Apex of Nothingness, the Sage Patriarch; he took refuge in “the orthodox doctrine, and accepted the excellent laws of the “Tathāgatas, which lead to the nine religious degrees. The pro-“mulgated Gāthas he held in high esteem, and by proxy of the “Khong-khong he bore the religious name of P^u-shun; and so “having accepted the Religion, he earnestly applied himself “to this day to the keeping of the five Commandments; and “the ten Commandments too he steadfastly kept. Now he has “gone home. On the 14th of the eleventh month of the twelfth “year of the dynastic period called Kwang sū, at the hour “mao, he withdrew from this earthly life, to take up his abode in “the West. His great destiny is herewith settled, and the years of “his life in this world of light are accomplished; so we turn “towards Thee, most high Apex of Nothingness, Sage Patriarch, “to declare all together before Thy Lotus-throne that he, an “offspring of the beautiful Religion, has followed the instruction of “his teachers and thus obtained degrees; that he has burnt no “(paper) money (for the spirits and gods) on high, nor (paper) “horses for (the souls in) the infernal regions; that he has pro-“mulgated the admirable principles come to us from the West, “and has felt sorrow and remorse over the iniquities of the East

“(China). Save and deliver his worthy soul; make it enter into “the wonderful delight of the West, and keep it for ever away “from the sea of misery in hell. Let the light of his soul follow “the Buddhas on high, to witness the perfection of the Altar of “Wisdom (Bodhi).

“We give this good certificate to the wise soul of P^cu-shun, “graduated in our Religion. He will travel with it first to the “Mountain of the Souls¹⁾, and have it examined there for determi- “nation of the share of felicity to be allotted to him; and then he “will return to his origin (Nirwāṇa), to be rooted and grounded “therein for everlasting kalpas, to sorrow over the sins and “vices of the present life, and to gather inexhaustible blessings. “May (his soul) from on high receive fourfold grace, and distribute “here below threefold forgiveness, so that those in this Dharma- “world who cherish love for him may together with him ascend “on high towards that same shore.

“May this script reach its destination.

“Issued in the name of the Khong-khong by the Leader of the “Religion: (seal-mark).

“The witness^a in the place of the Khong-khong, Patron of the “Religion in the Hall: (seal-mark).

“The above document is given to the luminous soul of P^cu- “shun as a certificate”.

A letter to Kwan-yin and Amita, issued by the person who introduced the deceased into the sect (p. 204), is also placed in the satchel. It is synonymous with the above certificate, until the communication that the bearer has departed this life and gone to the West; from that point it reads as follows:

“Now that his great destiny is settled and the years of his life “in this world of light have been accomplished, we, bowing down “to the earth, express the hope that Fuh-tsu (Kwan-yin), most “gracious, most merciful, will vouchsafe to receive the luminous “soul of this brother and be its guide towards its home, so that “it may ascend in the suit of the Buddhas to the pure region of “highest delight in the West. There may it for ever be witness “of the golden body (of Amita); there, throughout a series of “existences, may it hear the preaching of the Dharma, and from “one century into another listen to the Sutras. May it exist there “for ten thousand kalpas, wandering in marvelous felicity, and

1) This is the T^cai-shan 太山 or Great Mountain, in Shantung, where the tribu- nals of the infernal regions hold their sessions, and where the souls on their way to hell or paradise have to pass through.

“sustain and protect the families of its relations and neighbours; “may its sweet dew drop equally down over them as favours of “conversion and education (in virtue), so that all who live in “the central world between the four cardinal points may rely “on its infinitely perfect protection.

“May this petition reach its destination.

“Carefully presented to Buddha Amita.

“The Introducer P^u-i, under whose guidance this brother “who now returns home, took refuge (into the Religion), bows “his head a hundred times to the earth. (Seal-stamp).

“In the year ping-suh of the revolutions of the heavens, on “the fourteenth day of the eleventh month, the Hall (name) sends “this document on high¹⁾”. (Stamp of the parish).

Still a third letter is added to those documents. It begins much in the same way as the others, and then continues to the effect that, on account of the death of this member of the parish, pure sacrifices will be prepared in the Hall and Sutras recited in honour of Amita, Çākṣyamuni, Maitreya, Kwan-yin, the King of Hell, and other Saints of the sect, trusting that they and the Devas may of their goodness and mercy vouchsafe to receive this soul into Paradise, so that it need not descend into Hell, but may bring down blessing and protection upon the members of the sect.

The coffining of the body also is accompanied with vigorous sutra-reading. When this work is about to commence, one of the members, preferably the male or female leader of the community, reads a verse or Gāthā of the following tenor:

“To lift this defender of our Religion is no heavy work,

“For the four parts of the Universe with zenith and nadir “permit us to do so,

1) 大數註定、陽壽已滿、伏望佛祖大慈大悲接引歸家弟子一點靈光、隨佛超昇西方極樂淨土。永證金身、生生聽法、世世聞經。逍遙快樂、萬劫長存、庇佑親鄰眷屬、甘露均沾化育之恩、凡在四序之中悉賴萬全之庇。

須至稟者。

謹疏上獻阿彌陀佛。

引進普義帶領歸依弟子歸家一名叩首百拜。

天運丙戌年十一月十四日。堂上單。

"And the gods of the three worlds surround and sustain us,
 "And let all possible disasters change into dust.
 "Ye Buddhas of antiquity, open your mouths,
 "And show your Tathāgata-hands,
 "Speak profound miraculous sentences,
 "To make the evil Maras flee.
 "These bones, as lean as firewood,
 "Have been cleansed from dust in a basin of fragrant water.
 "Go now, freed from dust, to thy home,
 "And may thine intelligent soul not again have to enter a
 "woman's womb.
 "Abstinence from forbidden food has enlightened his heart
 "and his mind,
 "By reciting the names of the Buddhas he has swept away
 "the dust;
 "Relations, together lay your hands on him,
 "And carry hither his changeable body" 1).

When the hammer is taken up to nail down the coffin-lid, the verse runs:

"Claps of thunder, resound through the animated skies,
 "That the Maras of heterodoxy be all seized with fright;
 "Penetrate on high beyond the thirty-three heavens,
 "And below, through the gates of Hell, into the realm of darkness" 2).

Under the guidance of members who are consecrated Buddhist priests, a service is now celebrated which has for its object to convey the soul into Paradise. It is called *téng se-hong* 轉西方, "going or sending home to the West". I refer the reader to the

1) 舉起護法不非輕
 四維上下任我行
 三界神祇皆擁護
 一切災殃化爲塵
 古佛親開口
 現出如來手
 吐出玄妙訣
 邪魔盡奔走

這個骷髏瘦似柴
 一盆香水洗塵埃
 洗得塵埃歸家去
 覺靈再不入胞胎
 吃齋明心性
 念佛掃塵埃
 親人齊下手
 擡出幻體來。

2) 霹靂靈空响壹聲
 外道邪魔盡吃驚

上透三十三天外
 下徹幽冥地府門。

description I have given of it elsewhere¹). The altar erected for the occasion, is adorned with portraits in water-colours of some principal Saints of the sect. Those of the three Apexes may on no account be absent. The chief of this triad, the Apex of Nothingness, the personification of the Nirwāṇa-Paradise into which the deceased is expected to be received, hangs in the middle.

The time which elapses between the confining and the burial is devoted by the brethren and sisters to the reading of Sutras and formulas. And all through the funeral rites consolatory discourses are addressed to the departing soul, with oft repeated wishes for its safe arrival in Paradise and its participating there in the various felicities. Ardent wishes being believed really to produce all they imply, they form one of the principal means of Salvation in the Mahayāna church of China²).

And when, on the day of the burial, the body has been placed outside the housedoor, to enable the sorrowing relations and friends to offer the *khí ts'â-t'âo* sacrifice³), the members of the sect, with closed eyes and folded hands, stand grouped round the coffin, reciting Sutras, formulas, and Amita's name, and beating time on wooden bowls and metal bells. Then they accompany the procession to the grave, reciting all the time; but the women only go a little way, and then return home. As a rule, the performers of this pious work are assisted by Buddhist priests belonging to the sect.

In the procession are seen the coloured banners of the Buddhas of the six cardinal points, which did duty at the *téng se-hong* ceremony, and other banners with inscriptions alluding to the soul's glorious journey towards Paradise. These banners are carried by shaven boys, too young for the pig-tail and therefore looking somewhat like bald Buddhist priests, the more so when, as is often the case, they wear the monk's gown. Then we notice in the procession broad strips of blue cloth, each of which is stretched over a bamboo frame of like dimensions, and thus carried on high on the top of two poles by two members of the sect or bald-headed boys. These strips are inscribed in white letters with allusions to Paradise and the journey thither, such as: 登極樂園, "ascend to the realm of highest bliss"; 樂歸西土, "return joyfully to the West"; 接引西方, "be introduced into the West", etc. Some of these frames are so-called *hi u^{ng} p'âi* 香牌 or "in-

1) The Religious System of China, Book I, pp. 121 and foll.

2) "Le Code du Mahayāna", chap. IX.

3) The Religious System of China, Book I, pp. 142 and foll.

cense-panels", because along the lower edge of the cloth they are set with incense-sticks, the smouldering ends of which are turned downward.

On the way to the grave the following verse is recited at intervals:

"For several dozen years thou hast kept the fast unbroken,
"And now thou travellest home, and returnest to thine origin.

"At the assembly on the Mountain of Souls ¹⁾ mayest thou have
"pleasant meetings;

"We hope that in the West thou mayest be seated on a
"precious lotus.

"To-day, on this journey homeward, all things cease for thee
"to exist,

"Thou hast nothing further to do with springs and autumns
"of human life;

"Depart then to-day quickly to the West,

"There take thy stand on a lotus-throne, to ascend step by
"step ever higher thereon.

"*Namah, Buddha Amita*" ²⁾). At this salutation, repeated several
times, the brethren wave their folded hands up and down.

The members continue actively working in this way the salvation of the deceased, until the grave is reached, when they unite in one final vigorous recitation of Sutras and "*Namah Amita*". According to the orthodox Buddhist notions of the sect, their dead should not be buried, but by means of fire transformed into flaming, luminous Bodhisatwas or Buddhas. The laws of the State however forbid cremation on severe penalty ³⁾, and only tolerate it for the Buddhist clergy. The privilege of being burned is consequently reserved for the few members of the sect who have received consecration in a convent, though, occasionally, high graduated or particularly pious pillars of the sect, who have solicited it during their lifetime, are cremated in secret. In case of cremation, the body is placed in a sitting posture, with rosary and gnat-whip, in a square cupboard, closed in front by

1) See the note on page 236.

2)	你吃長齋數十年 今日歸家還本源 靈山會上好逢會 願在西方坐寶蓮	今日歸家萬事休 不管人間春與秋 今日速往西方去 足踏蓮臺步步昇。
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南無阿彌陀佛。

3) The Religious System of China, Book I, page 1413.

means of a trap-door, and is thus carried to some lonely spot in the fields or hills. There some dry firewood is piled up around and under this cremation-coffin, and amid the reading of Sutras and recital of Amita's name, everything is set on fire, and devoured by the flames. This ceremony with all its details is likewise derived from monachism.

In conclusion, unless the relations of the deceased demur, the parishioners arrange for the celebration of the masses which in southern Fuhkien are read for every dead person who has left children. By this service the mourning family saves a good deal of expense; they have only to feed the members thus officiating, and, according to the law of politeness, must have those who live at any distance fetched and taken home in palankins at their cost. Afterwards also, the relations are expected to make a present to the community, either in money, or otherwise; and such gifts are never refused, being ostensibly offered to the presiding Saint of the hall. Those requiem-masses need no description here, for they are not peculiar to the sect, and have been described by us elsewhere ¹).

But it is worth recording that among the sectaries it is held to be highly meritorious also to read masses for the dead not belonging to their sect, or, at any rate, to hold sutra-readings on one or more of the days on which those masses are celebrated. Invitations to come and do so are not always waited for patiently, but are often sought by means of friendly connections. It shows the good reputation the sect enjoys amongst the people, and the confidence placed in its religious work, that the well-to-do consider it rather respectable and fashionable to have the masses for their dead relations said or attended by its members.

1) Buddhist Masses for the Dead at Amoy, in vol. II of the Proceedings of the Sixth Congress of Orientalists at Leyden.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTICES ON SECTARIANISM AND HERESY-HUNTING.

The information which our researches about the sects of China have enabled us to place before the reader in the three preceding chapters, is in truth scanty and defective. Yet it may be sufficient to give a general idea of what Sectarianism is there, and to point out the religious spirit which has created it and kept it alive to this day, in spite of the antagonism of the Confucian State, which frequently vents itself in cruel persecution. Perchance our weak efforts may induce others also to do some work in this field especially Christian missionaries, who from the very nature of their own Salvation-work, will be sure to find friends rather than enemies in the members of those religious communities.

The results of our researches naturally arouse a few after-thoughts, and, with regard to the character and influence of Sectarianism and its political status, prompt to a consideration of some points which have so far passed unnoticed. In the first place, we note that the sects bear irrefutable evidence to the blending of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism into a single religion, notwithstanding that the Confucian State steadily molests, and even persecutes the other two. We have seen that they seek wisdom and virtue alike with Buddha, Lao-tszě and Confucius, and that the system of the Lung-hwa community in particular, is built up mainly of Buddhistic materials, upon a foundation of cosmological theology, ethics, and universalism, borrowed from the three religions alike. To the sects, the three prophets are beings of equal worth. Lao-tszě is a luminous Buddha of the past (p. 179); and Confucius, the father of the one sole classical system of political philosophy, is not only identified with the Apex of Imperialty, but, according to many, he even was an incarnation of Maitreya, the Buddhist Messiah.

That spirit of syncretism, actually leading to fusion, is accentuated by nothing more strongly than by the fact, already noticed on page 217, that the Lung-hwa sect, in initiating novices, unconditionally exacts of them obedience to the precepts of the Sage

Edict, a state-document promulgated by the reigning dynasty with the object of keeping the Chinese race in the path of correct Confucian principles, and peremptorily prescribing, to this same end, the extermination of all religious societies. We have stated (page 144) that this edict must be regularly read and explained throughout the empire, being considered a wonderful antidote against heresies, miraculously effecting the people's steady conversion to orthodoxy. But we have not yet acquainted the reader with its history, nor with its contents, in so far as these refer to Sectarianism. This seems to be the suitable moment to acquit ourselves of this task.

When Shing Tsu 聖祖, the "Sage Ancestor", the great emperor of all the Chinese in the Khang hi period (1662—1723), swayed the rod of supreme authority, he loved his people so ardently that, to make them happy, he endowed them with a set of politico-ethical maxims, sixteen in number, each composed of seven characters. They prescribed the cultivation of sixteen virtues, without which mankind in China can never fare well, nor the government prosper, to wit: — respect and submission to parents and elder brothers; harmony and concord in clan-life; peace and tolerance among fellow-villagers; application to agriculture and silk-industry; frugality; the establishing of college-buildings for the furtherance of classical studies; the expulsion of heresies; interpretation of the laws of the State; explication of the rules of social life; diligence in the pursuit of one's calling; instruction of one's children and juniors in all that is good; suppression of calumnious accusations; refusing shelter to fugitives sought by the authorities; promptitude in tax-paying; the uniting of wards into circuits for the suppression of theft and robbery; the settling of mutual differences.

And in 1724, fourteen months after Shing Tsu had departed this life, there appeared on the second day of the second month (25 Febr.) a decree of his son and successor Shi Tsung 世宗, bringing to the nation the happy news that this sovereign had condescended to make these precious maxims the texts of sixteen discourses, together containing about a myriad characters, which were to be printed and published for the good of the people under the title of *Shing yü kwang hiün* 1) or "Amplification of the In-

1) 聖諭廣訓. The *Shing yü* or "Sage Edict" is, of course, Shing Tsu's set of maxims. Perhaps this translation is not quite correct, as *Shing yü* may mean "the Edict of the Sage", viz. of Shing Tsu, "the Sage Ancestor". It may also simply mean the Imperial Edict, a reigning emperor being in China a Sage *per se*.

structions of the Sage Edict", and with a preface by his own imperial hand¹). Up to this day these discourses are read and expounded in public under the auspices of mandarins and notables on every new moon and full moon day, but — in theory only, for when staying in China, one does not hear much of them. This official Book of Homilies is doubtless one of the most instructive sources for a knowledge of the internal polity of the ruling dynasty. A translation was published in 1815 by the Rev. Milne, and reprinted in 1870 by the American Presbyterian Mission at Shanghai. An elaborate discussion of each sermon was written in 1878 in the sixth volume of the *China Review*, probably by Dr. Legge.

Only the seventh sermon bears upon our topic. Its text runs: 黜異端以崇正學, Exclude Heterodoxy (i t w a n), in order to elevate the study of Orthodoxy (c h i n g). It goes without saying that it is a clear reflection of the Confucian political principles regarding heresy and persecution, expounded in the first chapter of this work. It runs, in almost verbal translation, as follows:

"We consider that, desiring to render manners and customs (f u n g - s u h) good and abundant, we first have to make the "hearts of men orthodox (c h i n g); and in order to render the "human heart orthodox, we must first of all guide study in the "straight and correct (t w a n) direction"²).

"Man exists and lives because he has received something of "the core of heaven and earth;

— viz. a soul, which according to old, orthodox Confucianism, consists of celestial ether; and a body formed of terrestrial, material substance.

"Hence it is from these powers that, for the learned as well as "for the unlearned, the dogma of the Relations comes forth, which "operates every day.

These Relations, mentioned in the Classics, represent the duties imposed by the natural bonds of social life, viz. between the sovereign and his ministers, father and son, brothers, husband and wife, and friends. They are the ground-theme of the Confucian system of ethics.

"But the Sage, the Wise Man (Confucius), borrowed nothing from "the examination of occult matters, or from the performance of "strange and extraordinary things.

He paid no attention to extramundane matters or religious feats, as Taoists and Buddhists continually do. In the *Chung yung* (chap. XI) we read: "Confucius said:

1) That decree, containing also the preface, is to be found in the *Shing hiun* of Shi Tsung, chap. 9.

2) 朕惟欲厚風俗先正人心、欲正人心先端學術。

“To scrutinize occult matters and perform strange and extraordinary things, this is what I do not do” 子曰、素隱行怪吾弗爲之矣。

“The *Yih* says, that the works of the Sage should be used to “educate the ignorant in orthodoxy. And according to the *Shu* “(see the Deluge Plan), the Tao of the sovereign (see p. 189) should “be cultivated, which is without deflection, without unevenness, “which does not move backward, nor with sidelong deviations. “And those works of the Sage, that Tao of the sovereign, are “the roots for orthodox study. But the writings that are not “those of the Sage, those unclassical (puh king) books which “frighten mankind and alarm the people, so that disorder and “confusion arise and gnaw at the wealth of the people as cor- “roding insects — those it is which constitute heterodoxy (i twan) “and ought to be excluded and exterminated”¹⁾.

“Soldiers and people! surely the majority of you are sincere “and careful in point of your purity and simplicity; yet there “are sometimes among you those who stray off into other paths, “and thus by mere ignorance have to smart under punishment. “We much pity such persons”²⁾.

“From ancient times, three religions have been propagated in “all directions, viz. the school of the Jū (Confucianism, see p. 13), “and those which exist outside this, to wit, that of the Immor- “tals (Taoism), and that of Çākya. The philosopher Chu (Chu Hi) “says, that the religion of Çākya does not take notice of the things “in heaven and earth and between the four cardinal points, but “only rules the heart, and that the religion of Lao-tszě merely “aims at the preservation of the ethereal soul. This correct defi- “nition given by Chu-tszě, enables us to understand the funda- “mental objects of Buddhism and Taoism. But from these reli- “gions a class of loafers come forth without a fixed livelihood or “abode, who, assuming the names in vogue in those religions, “corrupt the science of the same. The greater part of them use

1) 夫人受天地之中以生。惟此倫常日用之道爲
智愚之所共由。素隱行怪聖賢不取。易言、蒙以
養正聖功以之。書言、無偏無頗無反無側王道以
之。聖功王道悉本正學。至於非聖之書不經之典、
驚世駭俗紛紛藉藉起而爲民物之蠹者、皆爲異
端、所宜屏絕。

2) 凡爾兵民愿謹淳樸者固多、間或迷於他岐以
無知而罹罪戾。朕甚憫之。

“(their doctrines about) calamities and felicity, misfortune and “happiness¹⁾ to sell for money their foolish magic and unreliable “talk. They begin, by mere seduction, to appropriate to themselves “the goods and money of others, in order to fatten themselves “therewith; and then gradually they proceed to hold meetings “for the burning of incense, in places where males and females “mingle promiscuously. Farmers and craftsmen forsake their bu- “siness and trades, to go to meet those men who talk so much “about extraordinary things; and, which is worst of all, rebellious “and revolutionary individuals and heretical miscreants glide “in among them, establish clubs, and bind them to each other “by oath. In the night they are assembled, during the daytime “they disperse; thus they spoil your reputation, sin against their “duties, mislead mankind, and deceive the people — until one “morning the matter takes wind, the culprits proper are brought “to justice, and those connected with them arrested; they are “cast into prison themselves, but their wives and children are also “involved. The chiefs of the sects are treated as principal cul- “prits; those men, who passed as the causes of felicity and bliss, “have become the source of all this misfortune! Sects such as those “of the White Lotus and of Smelling Incense (comp. p. 166) are “instances of it. So also, the religion of the Western Ocean (Europe) “and its Lord of Heaven (God) belong to the unclassical products; “it is only because its followers are thoroughly versed in chronology “that the Dynasty employs them; understand this well!”²⁾

1) This refers, of course, to Paradise and Hell.

2) 自古三教流傳、儒宗而外厥有仙釋。朱子曰、
釋氏之教都不管天地四方、只是理會一個心、老
氏之教只是要存得一個神氣。此朱子持平之言
可知釋道之本指矣。自遊食無藉之輩陰竊其名
以壞其術。大率假災祥禍福之事以售其誕幻無
稽之談。始則誘取貲財以圖肥己、漸至男女混淆
聚處爲燒香之會。農工廢業相逢多語怪之人、又
其甚者奸回邪慝竄伏其中、樹黨結盟。夜聚曉散、
干名犯義、惑世誣民、及一旦發覺、徵捕株連、身
陷囹圄、累及妻子。教主已爲罪魁、福緣且爲禍
本。如白蓮聞香等教皆前車之鑒也。又如西洋教
宗天主亦屬不經、因其人通曉歷數故國家用之、
爾等不可不知也。

“Indeed, the misleading of the people by “left Tao” is a thing “which the Law (on Heresy) does not pardon, and against the “heterodox practices of leaders and priests the realm has constant “punishments. The object of the Court in creating laws is none “other than to keep the people back from evil deeds, and thus “guide it to virtuousness; it is none other than to exclude heresy “and elevate orthodoxy, in order to remove dangers and bring man “to peace. You soldiers and people, you have been born from the “bodies of your parents in days of universal peace, which were “not troubled by anything; so you are sure of raiment and food, “and free of cares and concerns with regard to those whom you “look down upon (your wives and children) and whom you look “up to (your parents). If, nevertheless, you obscure your firm- “ness of character so much as to form connections with rebellious “parties, thus violating the principles of the government and “transgressing the dynastic laws, do you then not show yourselves “the biggest of fools? ’).

“My Sage Ancestor, the Benevolent Emperor, imbued his people “with benevolence, and polished it with dutifulness. His highest “capacities he employed to give and maintain a series of “decrees and instructions glorious and brilliant, which show how “extremely profound and far-reaching were his projects to trace out “for mankind a line of behaviour and to rule the minds of men. “You soldiers and people, you ought to look up respectfully to “those good intentions of the Sage, and to realize them; there- “fore, respectfully obey the precept of the Sage and drive away “heresy (i t wan), as if it were robbers and rebels, floods and “fire. The damage caused by floods and fire, by rebels and rob- “bers, affects the body only, while the injury done by heresy “injures the heart. In its original condition the heart contains “orthodoxy, and not heresy. So, if you remain master of it, “it cannot go astray of itself, and if you walk in every respect “in the straight and correct road, no heresies can possibly conquer “orthodoxy. Concord and obedience will then reign in your homes,

— because everybody will mind nothing but the duties of the five Relations (p. 244);

1) 夫左道惑衆律所不宥、師巫邪術邦有常刑。朝廷立法之意無非禁民爲非導民爲善、黜邪崇正去危就安。爾兵民以父母之身生太平無事之日、衣食有賴、俯仰無憂。而顧昧恆性而卽匪彝、犯王章而干國憲、不亦愚之甚哉。

“and when troubles come, they will convert these into felicity. “To serve one’s parents with submissive devotion, and one’s ruler “with fidelity, and to attend to the human occupations to the “utmost, suffices to accumulate heavenly bliss; and by not seeking “things which lie beyond the sphere of duty, and by abstaining “from doing what should not be done, merely attending to one’s “own business and trade, all felicities may be received which the “spirits bestow. (Ye people), devote yourselves to your ploughs; “(ye soldiers), talk together of military matters; keep quietly to “your constant duties with respect to (the production of) woven “stuffs, pulse and rice, and yield to the (official) work of con- “version which brings general peace and orthodox correctness; “then heresies (i t wan) will not wait to be driven away, but “of themselves cease to exist”¹).

Here we see it written down by the supreme Imperial Heresy-hunter himself, that the sects, which have to be exterminated root and branch, are the creations of zealots proceeding from the Taoist and Buddhist religions; that these people are looked upon by their followers as promoters of their well-being and happiness, that is to say, of their Salvation; and that this work for the good of others rests on what the Edict calls delusive magical talk. That work is, of course, the religious practices, several of which the reader has become acquainted with in our chapter upon the Lung-hwa sect. We see also that by order of this same Sage Edict, humanity must seek their happiness in no other than the purely materialistic direction pointed out by Confucianism; only a few standard virtues preached by the Classics man has to cultivate, and — all blessings that may possibly be hoped for, shall be bestowed on him by Heaven and the

1) 我聖祖仁皇帝漸民以仁、摩民以義。藝極陳常煌煌大訓、所以爲世道人心計者至深遠矣。爾兵民等宜仰體聖心、祇遵聖教擯斥異端直如盜賊水火。且水火盜賊害止及身、異端之害害及人心。心之本體有正無邪。苟有主持自然不惑、將見品行端方、諸邪不能勝正。家庭和順、愚難可以成祥。事親孝、事君忠、盡人事者卽足以集天休、不求非分、不作非爲、敦本業者卽可以迓神慶。爾服爾耕、爾講爾武、安布帛菽粟之常、遵蕩平正直之化、則異端不待驅而自息矣。

gods. But cultivation of religion and formation of religious communities are execrable heresy and rebellion against the laws of the State.

To hear the Confucian Persecutor-in-Chief also expressing his horror about the fact that in the sects males and females mingle, cannot much surprise us; for does not one of the Classics, in its zeal against promiscuous contact between the sexes, even forbid the hanging of male and female clothes side by side? "Males and "females", thus says the holy *Li ki*, "do not use the same stand "or rack for their clothes. The wife does not presume to hang "anything on the pegs or racks of her husband, nor to put any-"thing in his boxes or coffers. According to the rules of propriety "for husband and wife, they may deposit their things in the "same place, without separation, when they are seventy years "old" ¹⁾. But we, non-Confucians, prefer to look upon these mixed assemblies in a different light. We take into consideration that the Mahayāna Church regards the saving-doctrine of the Buddhas as bestowed on both sexes alike, and recognizes no distinction between male and female beings on the road to Nirwāṇa and Paradise. Its doctrine that even animals and infernal beings may attain to the Buddhahood would hardly be compatible with exclusion of woman from the road which leads thereto. Of necessity therefore she must be allowed free access to the offices of devotion and worship, for what are these but steps in the direction of Salvation? Even titles and dignities, corresponding to the degree of sanctity attained, cannot reasonably be withheld from her. On the other hand, on her also rests the obligation of saving others. In short, in the Lung-hwa sect, the woman, like the man, is title-bearer, propagandist, religious leader, parish-chief.

Buddhism thus working, like Christianity in its early ages, at the elevation of womanhood, we naturally find woman the cornerstone in its Sectarianism. The great personification of the religious equality of the sexes is Awalokiteçwara or Kwan-yin, for this chief pilot on the road to Salvation, never too highly praised, who (see p. 222) steers the Bark of Mercy across the ocean of worldly misery towards the shores of felicity, is not she a woman? No wonder that the female members of the Lung-hwa sect without exception entrust their salvation to her, and

1) 男女不同櫛枷。不敢懸於夫之櫛枷、不敢藏於夫之篋笥。夫婦之禮惟及七十同藏無間。Section 內則, "on the Rules for in-door Life", II, folios 14 and 15.

pay her much special homage in their private apartments, ardently and regularly reciting there the famous Sutra that bears her name (p. 228).

We saw (p. 239) that the Lung-hwa sect, carrying on its salvation-practices to the brink of the grave, performs them sometimes in public. And so the question arises, how can these things be done in the face of the Law against Heresy, and in defiance of the Sage Edict? Are we to conclude then, that the heresy-persecution in China is after all not so serious a matter as those state-documents lead us to believe?

Though it is extremely difficult to realize the practical working of laws in China, yet it is possible to account reasonably for the phenomenon just mentioned. In the first place we must set forth, that in an autocratic Asiatic empire a Code of Laws acts quite differently from a Code of Laws with us. Its rescripts, indeed, are not intended for the good of Society only, and to be carried out under all circumstances and at all times. Their one and only object is to insure to Society a correct and regular course on behalf of the upholding of absolute Imperial authority. Occasionally, the State, constituted by the Emperor and his mandarinates, may give itself the airs of a power in the service of Society, — cold reality as a rule shows the reverse. And so the laws made by that State become practically nothing more than guides for magistrates, to be employed when they deem it advisable to do so for the maintenance of their authority. For the rest the Code is hardly better than a closed book; and the people are expected to govern themselves with the help of a compound of Li, or rules of private and social life (see p. 8), within the precincts of a well-developed family- and village-autonomy.

Looking upon the Law against Heresy from this point of view, it becomes clear that, though always a dangerous sword against the sects in the hands of the authorities, it is a sword in its sheath. It is only drawn — though too often, alas — by Prefects when in a fit of Confucian zeal; which generally comes upon them when influential men of letters in the district raise a cry for persecution. Then Confucian propriety demands a sudden outburst of official indignation; then — lest the literate *élite* should lodge complaints against them with the high provincial authorities, the Censorate, or even the Emperor himself — these same Prefects are forced to awake for a time from their Confucian *wu-wei* torpor. Under such conditions, it is always within the power of every unscrupulous enemy of a member of a sect, or a small clique of conspirators amongst the learned,

to plunge a number of people with their wives and children into a sea of woe. Fortunately, in that land of venality, it is not difficult for the sectaries to buy some sort of safety. And so the Law against Heresy virtually becomes a money-extorting instrument, worked especially, for their own profit, by lictors and yamen-runners. In many cases, greed and rapacity on the part of these people is the sole and direct cause of persecution. With the Christian missions it is quite an established axiom that outrage, extortion and persecution generally originate from the literati, and that, when the common people rise against Christian chapels and converts with fire and sword, such Confucian braves are sure to be behind the scenes as instigators, in brotherly harmony of mind with the mandarins, their winking accomplices (comp. page 14).

To avert these always impending dangers, it is for every sect or parish a matter of high moment to count among its members relations of mandarins or of literary graduates, or better still, such persons themselves. The influence of one such man is often sufficient to hush persecution for years, and it may be taken for certain that most parishes avail themselves of this happy circumstance to procure a considerable degree of safety. In the country-districts the sects doubtless enjoy more safety than in the towns. Indeed, in most villages the population is composed of members of one clan descended from a common stock, or of a few clans connected by intermarriage; and solidarity of family-life is strong enough in China to render it almost impossible for any member of such a community to find it in his heart to bring the others to grief by denouncing them to the authorities for a crime the criminality of which he does not even see. And the third article of the Law on Heresy, which threatens village-chiefs with punishment if they venture to hush up heresies in their jurisdiction (see page 138), does not greatly tend to endanger the sects, the chiefs also being almost always members of the village-clan, maintained in their chieftainship by common consent of the rest.

And so we necessarily arrive at the conclusion that the Chinese State with its rigorous anti-heretical legislation misses its great object, the extermination of heresies, but perfectly succeeds in making the sects often enough a prey of persecution, and in exposing them constantly to fanatical and covetous passions, thus keeping them in perpetual anxiety and alarm. Doubtless, all this greatly fosters fraternization and solidarity among the members, a spirit of mutual help, devotion, and

even sacrifice; virtues much furthered moreover by the general spirit of altruism which characterizes the Mahayāna system. The dangers in which the sectaries live enhance their faith in the protection of their Saints, more particularly of the Triratna, Awalokiteçwara and Matreya. Hence their high devoutness and piety, raised to a still higher pitch by the never-fading prospect of receiving one day a crown of martyrdom.

In one respect the Law against Heresy is perfectly effective. Suppressing, as it does, all public action of religious communities, it forms an unsurmountable obstacle to the free development of religious instincts in the people. In that suffocating atmosphere of danger and dread, in which all religious life is doomed to breathe, the sects stand out in a charmingly tragic light. Weary of a human society where selfishness, untruth and mercilessness reign supreme, they dream of something better and higher, and expect to find it in a doctrine of Salvation founded on the Universal Law as it has existed from all eternity, a Salvation obtainable by practising that which destroys worldly evil, namely, compassion for all that breathes, love of truth, continence, suppression of selfish desires, prayer-readings, the seeking of help from Saints who have already cast off the trammels of earthly woe. And, prompted by the principle of universal altruism, they betake themselves to their fellow-men, to make them participate in the blessings of Salvation by introducing them into the meetings devoted to such pious work. But here the arm of the Law rudely interferes, with the rope, the scourging-rod, and banishment. We cannot say for how long, but certainly the State has for a great many centuries thus raged. And yet Sectarianism is not destroyed, but still stands a powerful witness to the fact that religion, nourished by a desire for higher good, dwells in the hearts of the Chinese nation, nay, abides therein as a fire which the rude foot of a Confucian mandarin is unable to trample out. Where is the power to relieve the people from this tyrannical fanaticism? Is the steadily increasing influence of the Powers predestined to bring them the religious liberty for which they have yearned for centuries? Or is this beautiful task to be fulfilled by Christianity, by charitably receiving all the sects within its pale?

Thus doomed by the State to live and to labour in secret, and branded as dangerous to the official morality and, consequently, to the prosperity of the dynasty, the sects have been inconsiderately ranked, by foreigners, among the various secret societies and seditious clubs, which apparently abound on the soil of the Central Empire, and which, as is universally supposed, work at the over-

throw of the reigning dynasty. Against such preposterous identification we must earnestly raise our voice. Only from the Confucian political point of view can there be a semblance of correctness in it. In the eyes of the Chinese government, the exercise of religion, that is to say, of the only true classical religion (see page 15), is a most important state-affair, and the extermination of all non-conformity is consequently a state-concern of the first rank; therefore, can any heretical community be anything else in the estimation of that same government than an association directed point blank against its institutions and its polity? Besides, does not history convincingly prove that such societies have frequently stood in arms against the State, or have fostered agitation, turbulence and sedition, nay, even provoked rebellions which raged for years? Of course we do not find the picture revised, and the question raised whether such armed opposition were the outburst of suppressed exasperation provoked by centuries of oppression, or by endless tribulations fanned into a frantic desire once for ever to rid the country of the cruel yoke of state-fanaticism. China's historiography does not enter into such trifles. A fruit of the tree of Confucianism, as it is, it acknowledges only one Confucian alpha and omega, viz. the State, its standpoint, its interests; he who thwarts or opposes the State for whatever reasons or under whatever circumstances, be it even in natural self-defence, is a rebel, a criminal of the highest order.

Another reason why religious societies are so readily identified with mutinous political clubs, is the circumstance that for the latter it is a fairly well established custom to worship some deity or other as patron saint, and to bear the name of the same. But this is done by almost all associations, no matter what their purpose or tenets, so that here again it is appearance which deceives. The best argument against that wrong identification is afforded by the Chinese legislator himself. For although, in his eyes, all religious communities are most positively opposed to the State and its interests, he has ranked the articles for their persecution and extermination, which we gave in Chapter IV, in a great section of the Code which only embraces the so-called Li luh 禮律 or Laws on the Rules for Social Life (see p. 8), ceremonies, rites and the State-religion inclusively, — instead of inserting them, like the articles against political and non-political clubs, cabals and conspiracies of all kinds, in the great section of Hing luh 刑律 or Penal Laws. A title of this section, called 謀叛, Plotting of Mutiny, teaches us, that leaders and members of associations of persons between

whom there exists no tribal affinity, are considered to be equally culpable with leaders and members of religious communities (see p. 137), because they must be punished, respectively, with strangulation, and with 100 strokes with the long stick followed by banishment to a distance of 3000 miles. Hence in China the right of association signifies just as much as liberty of religion, which is nil. But the fact that the Law against Heresy is inserted in the section devoted to the Li, certainly tells us emphatically that the State does not persecute the sects in the first place for rebellion, but for another reason of high importance, namely, for corruption of the sacred, orthodox Li of the Confucian system.

This fact however does not save sectaries from easily falling under the law against rebellion, and thus being always exposed to the most frightful legal punishment that exists, viz. cutting to pieces, with extermination of all their nearest relatives. It all depends upon the light in which the judge thinks it proper and suitable to view the circumstances of their heresy and its collision with the authorities. Suppose they capture a leader or member of a sect, and he is delivered out of the hands of the yamen-runners by the confraternity, or liberated from prison by means of a riot, then this incident is immediately ranked with open rebellion. This is even the case if, in the event of an arrest, there should be a tumult raised, or some passive resistance offered; nay, the slightest outburst of exasperation, a mere utterance of wrath or indignation, may be interpreted and punished as actual mutiny. A special supplementary article in the Code allows every facility for putting aside the Law against Heresy and applying that against Rebellion. It was enacted in 1769, and revised in 1801, and it is appended to the fundamental Law against Rebellion and Serious Resistance (謀反大逆) which forms the first title of the 23rd chapter of the Code. It reads:

“Apart from actual rebellion or resistance, as also from the assembling of people to undertake an armed attack upon the authorities or to overturn a prison, and from the setting up of a heretical sect with propagandism, by which the multitude are misled and thus the peace is disturbed, in which cases the relations of the culprits by blood and marriage shall be punished along with these according to the fundamental law — apart from all this, only the principal culprits shall be sentenced according to the fundamental law, and all his family be exempt from punishment when sentence is passed for rebellion and resistance or the plotting of mutiny, in any of the following cases:

“If the individuals concerned had, from their own stupidity

“or recklessness, composed writings entailing senseless (objectless) “opposition ;

“If a heretical sect had been set up for the purpose of defrauding “people of their money and goods, without converts having as yet “been made or the multitude having been misled, or without their “books about heresies having yet inflamed or misled the hearts” 1).

This article demands no comment. It states clearly enough that every religious propagandist can with the greatest facility be proclaimed as a rebel. According to the fundamental law to which this supplementary article refers, such a criminal, whether he be a chief culprit or an accomplice, shall be slowly cut to death, and — “his paternal grandfather and father, his sons and their “sons, his brothers, and all who dwelt with him, not excepting “members of other tribes; furthermore, his father’s brothers, his “brothers’ sons, irrespective of whether they still dwell in the “family-home or have separated themselves therefrom; all these, “if above the age of sixteen, shall be beheaded, even if they be “irrecoverably ill or infirm. Such males under the age of sixteen, “as also the culprit’s mother, daughters, wife, concubines, and “sisters, together with the wives and concubines of his sons, shall “be given as slaves to families of deserving officers; and the possessions of the culprit shall be confiscated” 2).

A supplementary article of the year 1801, revised in 1814, 1830, 1835 and 1845, ordains that the sons and grandsons of a rebel cut to death, if it be ascertained that they were quite ignorant of the rebellious intents, both adults and children, shall be sent up to the Department for the Regulation of the Imperial Household (內務府), there to be castrated and sub-

1) 除實犯反逆及糾眾戕官反獄、倡立邪教傳徒惑眾滋事、案內之親屬仍照律緣坐外、其有人本愚妄書詞狂悖、或希圖誣騙財物興立邪教、尙未傳徒惑眾、及編造邪說尙未煽惑人心。... 比照反逆及謀叛定罪之案正犯照律辦理、其家屬一概免其緣坐。

2) 祖父父子孫兄弟及同居之人、不分異姓、及伯叔父兄弟之子、不限籍之同異、年十六以上、不論篤疾廢疾、皆斬。其男十五以下、及母女妻妾姊妹、若子之妻妾、給付功臣之家爲奴。正犯財產入官。

sequently sent to the New Frontier Province (Sin-kiang), to become there slaves of the soldiers of the government. The young boys are to be preserved in prison, to undergo this mutilation when they are eleven years old, after which they are again to be confined there until manhood, then to be sent into slavery in Ili and Urumchi. And the boys between eleven and sixteen shall be castrated without respite, and then kept in prison until manhood, for despatch to the same regions.

These laws, which place the cruel character of the State-persecution in a still sharper light than the Law against Heresy does, have undoubtedly, alongside with the latter, most freely and frequently been applied under the present dynasty. We shall have ample opportunity of showing this in the Second Volume, which will be specially devoted to the persecutions that have raged under this dynasty, and the rebellions provoked thereby. We shall there frequently read of sectaries slashed to death for rebellion which apparently was mere self-defence, or for opposition simply consisting in propagandism of their faith; and now we know beforehand that, in reading of such executions, we have to think at the same time of additional scenes of almost incredible human savagery.

Our views about the distinction which ought to be made between heretics and rebels, fully corroborate the fact that in the sectarian manuscript writings studied by us, there is not one word savouring of resistance or revolt, but on the contrary much that exhorts to strive after what is good, and even to be faithful to the persecuting powers that be. Edkins, who consulted books and writings of sects in Shantung, likewise stated, in a lecture delivered at a meeting of the Peking Missionary Association in December 1887¹⁾, that "there was much therein in favour of loyalty, and no word against the government". They were, as he explained, of a mixed Buddhistic, Taoistic, and Confucian character, containing admonitions to goodness, loyalty, devotion and submission to parents, chastity and suppression of the passions, together with exhortations to abstain from the killing of living beings, from sins of the tongue and the pen, from spirituous drinks, and opium. He arrived on that occasion, as regards these Shantung sects, at very much the same conclusion as we have come to for those in Fuhkien. "The smaller religious sects in "China have all one good thing in common. They spring, parti-

1) This lecture may be found in full in the Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal for 1888.

ally at least, out of a common desire to know the infinite and the eternal. The awakened soul puts out feelers, and these cross the void which separates us from the unseen, and take hold of the being or beings beyond. Not only do men who rank as philosophers feel after God; many of the weary combatants in the battle of life, familiar with poverty and hardship, also feel inexpressible longings to know what and who God is. Such men have founded and developed the various so-called "secret" sects of China, and by their manifest faith in what they teach, have drawn into the communities which they lead, a multitude of followers. There is another way of looking at the sects. This is the sympathizing and favourable view..... If we would know where the movement of religious thought is most active in modern China, can anyone say that it is not among these sects, obscure as they are and despised by the ordinary literati?"

Neither is there in the other publications of Edkins about the sects anything to prove that he has discovered symptoms of their agitating against the government. Finally we may here take into consideration, that the principal Buddhist commandment "Thou shalt not kill" — carried out even to the prohibition of meat and fish — points to something very different from rebellion and mutiny, which in China are always identical with most tremendous slaughter of human lives.

The implacable hostility of the State against the sects is considerably enhanced by the mere fact that they are societies. Indeed, a dread of everything in any way resembling association weighs most heavily upon the State and its whole officialism, as proved by the rigorous laws mentioned on page 254. All societies therefore, except those of fellow-clans people, have to be exterminated, like the sects, with strangulation, flogging, and banishment. This dread of conspiracy — a proof of the tyrant's self-conscious weakness against his oppressed and discontented people who have already more than once resorted to arms by millions — has never been so emphatically expressed in writing as by the American missionary Arthur H. Smith, whose "Chinese Characteristics" so fully deserve their world-wide renown: — "There seems the best reason to believe that both the higher and the lower officials alike are more or less jealous of the large and powerful literary class, and the officials are uniformly [suspicious of the people. This last state of mind is well warranted by what is known of the multitudinous semi-political sects, with which the whole Empire is honeycombed. A District Magistrate will pounce down upon the annual gathering of a temperance society such as the well-

“known Tsai-li, which merely forbids opium, wine, and tobacco, “and turn over their anticipated feast to the voracious “wolves “and tigers” of his yamen, not because it is proved that the “designs of the Tsai-li society are treasonable, but because it has “been officially assumed long since that they must be so. All “secret societies are treasonable, and this among the rest. This “generalised suspicion settles the whole question, and whenever “occasion arises, the government interposes, seizes the leaders, “banishes or exterminates them, and thus for the moment allays “its suspicions”’).

Thus, whereas the Chinese State is totally unable or unwilling to distinguish between a religious society and any other association, it equally dooms both categories to annihilation. Another trustworthy writer, Dr. O. Franke of the German Consular Service, enables us to learn how in China the position taken up by the government towards religious corporations is regarded by the Buddhist clergy, who certainly may be believed to be here a good authority. In the fifth volume of the *Thoung Pao* (pp. 299 and foll.) he relates, that in the last week of 1893 there arrived in Shanghai a certain Dharmapāla, Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta, which aims at the revival of Buddhism in India. Accompanied by the English missionary Timothy Richard, and Dr. Franke, he repaired on the 28th December to the Lung-hwa convent already known to the reader (p. 197), for the purpose of celebrating a solemn religious service; but although he had previously visited the convent in company with Dr. Edkins, and acquainted the monks with his intention to come back, and had even fixed the day and the hour on which the service should take place, he found no preparations whatever made. He unpacked a stone image of Buddha, three feet high, 1800 years old, obtained from Buddhagaya. He put it up, and solemnly explained to the assembled monks the object of his mission, asking their support for the restoration of the Church in India, the re-building of the holy places in their former grandeur, and the translation of Chinese Buddhist books into the Indian tongues.

This announcement entailed some discussion, in which particular stress was laid upon the question, what is the position of the Indian Government as regards this matter. Holy relics which Dharmapāla brought with him, were examined; a leaf of the saint Bodhi-tree at Buddhagaya, and some sand from holy places were presented by him to the monks, and they in return pro-

1) Chap. XXIV, Mutual Suspicion; second edition, p. 257.

mised to print an account of his designs. The visitors then returned to Shanghai; but on the very next day two monks came to the town as emissaries from the convent, to beg to be released from their promise, the fulfilment of which, they declared, would bring them into the greatest difficulties. They would rather make known the matter by word of mouth, throughout the provinces. "Das "war", thus Franke concludes, "eine in chinesischer Form gegebene Absage des buddhistischen Chinas an die Hülfe suchenden "indischen Glaubensgenossen. So unverständlich nun dies Resultat "den letzteren vielleicht erscheinen mag, für jemanden der die "Dinge im heutigen China einigermassen aufmerksam beobachtet "hat, kann es kaum etwas überraschendes haben. Der Ausdruck " "Gesellschaft" hat in China zumeist einen düsteren, unheimlichen "Klang angenommen, vor dem der ehrliche Mann schauerend sein "Ohr verschliesst. Unwillkürlich verbindet er damit den Begriff der "politischen, geheimen, staatsgefährlichen Verbindung, und eine "solche wird von dem chinesischen Beamtenthum erbarmungslos "zertreten und vernichtet wie ein giftiges Gewürm, wo immer "man nur Spuren davon zu finden vermuthet".

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

- Page 21, line 14: *for* congregations of sects *read* meetings of sectaries.
- „ 22, note, line 1: *for* 吏 *read* 史.
- „ 25, „ , „ 4: „ 低 „ 依.
- „ 43, line 7: *for* 750 *read* 650.
- „ 60, „ 12: „ that nationality *read* whatever class.
for lines 21 and 22, *read* settlements of the Uigurs, and, in the two capitals, all the ruling officers wearing the cap and girdle should sequestrate
- „ 69, at the foot of the page, add: This last statement occurs in the Old Books of the T^{ang} Dynasty in the following terms: “In the eleventh month of the fifth year of the “H wui ch^{ang} period (845) the emperor ordained, with “regard to the fields for charitable purposes and the “wards for the sustenance of the sick, that, whereas “the Buddhist clergy of both sexes had returned to “secular life and therefore no one superintended those “fields any longer, — lest the infirm and the sick should “no more derive any revenue therefrom — fields of “convents were to be measured out for their sustenance “in the two capitals, and in the districts abroad from “seven to ten k^{hing} assigned for the same purpose. “And every mandarin in his jurisdiction should select “a person from among the elders, to administer (those “fields) and provide those wards with grain” 會昌五年十一月勅悲田養病坊緣僧尼還俗、無人主持、恐殘疾無以取給、兩京量給寺田賑濟、諸州府七頃至十頃、各於本管選者壽一人勾當、以充粥料. Chap. 18A, fol. 26.
- „ 100, line 27: *for* Shi Tsung *read* Shing Tsu.
- „ 174, „ 12: „ Guildhall „ Goldhall.
- „ 216, last line: *omit* that.

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