

Evolution of the Decalogue in China

—A Study on History of Chinese Christian Ideologies—

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(I)

In studying history of Chinese Christian thoughts, one of the basic tasks would be to examine how Christianity expressed and asserted its religious and ethical doctrines in various stages of its 1,300-year-long propagation in China, and also to analyze how it met and reacted reciprocally with the indigenous religious and ethical ideals which had already been firmly established before Christianity was introduced. As a prelude to such a study the writer has attempted in this brief paper to find out how the Decalogue, the basic precept of Christianity, was explained to and received by the Chinese in the three outstanding periods of Christian propagation—namely, Nestorianism during the T'ang dynasty (7th century), Catholicism at the end of Ming through the beginning of Chin (17th century), and Protestantism at the end of the Ching dynasty (19th century) as it was reflected in the pseudo-Christianity of Taiping Heavenly Reign. Such analysis using specific examples would shed light on the patterns of confrontation between Christian ethics and Chinese ethical codes, as well as modes of Chinese approach and understanding toward Christianity.⁽¹⁾

It is needless to say that the Decalogue, or the Ten Commandments given to Moses by God at Mt. Sinai, is made most of as the central precept not only by Judaists but also by Catholics and Protestants as well. The Ten Commandments in Catholicism is presented in a form that is said to have been fixed as far back as at the end of the 4th century by St. Augustinus.⁽²⁾ The first half of the commandments, as is clear from the table in the Appendix, describes man's religious obligations toward God while the latter half stipulates his moral responsibilities toward fellow human beings, and the entire tenet may be summed up in the two major teachings of the Bible—"You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second is like it. You shall love your neighbor as yourself."⁽³⁾

The Decalogue as such teachings of love is founded essentially upon the ethical drives innate in humanity. It is, as stated in *Catechism*, a "moral law of which man becomes naturally aware through the workings of con-

science that is inherent in man," and as such it is exactly as St. Paul stated: "When Gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires, they are a law to themselves, even though they do not have the law."⁽⁴⁾

In other words, the Ten Commandments, its ethical clauses in particular, is compatible with any pagan codes of ethics because of its universal character. And as we shall see later Confucian and Buddhist codes of ethics as practised in China also found much in common with the teachings of the Decalogue.⁽⁵⁾ Undue emphasis on the common feature, however, would lead to erroneous conclusion in disregard of the essential characteristics of respective religious creed. Despite its universal character the Decalogue continues to be the unique tenet exclusively of Judaism and Christianity in that the entire commandments are internally unified by the strong monotheistic assertion of "You shall worship me as your only God," and that the relationships between God and man, and between religious world and ethical-political world are grasped at the sole unifying point.

On the other hand, in Chinese systems of thoughts, particularly in Confucianism which is China's orthodox ideology, such monotheistic concept is underdeveloped or shrouded with ambiguity. Although it is not impossible to discern something similar to monotheistic view of Christianity in China's classic notions about "Tien" (Heaven) or "Shang Ti" (Emperor Above), and we do have an ancient philosopher like Mozi who went a step farther in that direction developing a unique religious philosophy of his own, Confucius did not discuss the "Way of Heaven"^(a) or "god"^(b) saying "I do not yet know life; how can I know death?"^{(c) (6)}

With the orthodox Chinese philosophies that succeeded to the above position of Confucius, interest in men and in their ethical-political world always preceded their interest in god or in religious world, and their lack of concern about the latter exhibited itself in their acceptance of polytheistic or pantheistic deities rather than falling into atheism that negates existence of any and all deities. And this attitude, in turn, resulted in their magnanimity toward diverse folk beliefs of mixed religious elements and foreign religions introduced to their land. But this leniency after all was exercised only so far as the alien faith recognized the superiority of the ethical codes of loyalty and filial piety that were the mainstay of the absolute patriarchal authority in their ethical-political world. Religious beliefs were tolerated only when they admitted and submitted themselves to the unquestionable supremacy of loyalty and filial piety.

Accordingly any study on history of Christian thoughts in China must concern itself primarily with the confrontation of the monotheistic outlook inherent in Christianity against Confucian ethics that uphold loyalty and filial piety above all things. In terms of the more specific theme here of the "evolution of the Decalogue in China," discussion will be developed along

(a) 天道 (b) 神 (c) 未知生, 焉知死

the interactions between the Christian mandate of "You shall worship me as the only Lord of Heaven" and the Confucian priority given to "You shall respect your parents."

(II)

When considering the evolution of the Decalogue in China from the above point of view, we must first look at the case of Nestorianism which was the first sect of Christianity to be introduced in China during the T'ang dynasty. It is well known that Nestorianism originated with Bishop Nestorius who was branded as heretic at the Council of Ephesus of 431.

The Nestorian propagation in the T'ang China was, according to the Chinese Stele on the Spread of Nestorianism in the Great Chin Empire^(a), quite successful for 150 years due to successive imperial patronage since 635 when the emperor Tai-tsung^(b) was reigning. Later fortune of the sect is not known but its influence seemingly subsided in the wake of the emperor Wu-tsung's^(c) persecution of Buddhism and its followers in 845. It is also claimed that Nestorianism was, even at its zenith, followed only by alien residents in China as were other foreign beliefs such as Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism. It is hard to tell to what extent Nestorianism was believed in by the Chinese people.

As many as seven Chinese translations of Nestorian scriptures, however, have been discovered to date,⁽⁷⁾ and a catalogue attached to one of the translations entitled *Sacred Scriptures*^(d) lists titles of a total of 35 Nestorian scriptures that were published in the indigenous language. It would prove that the Nestorian missionaries in the T'ang China made much efforts in trying to disseminate their faith among the natives by translating their scriptures, and the extant documents would make it possible for us to trace the evolution of Nestorian doctrine in China to a significant degree.

None of those extant scriptures, however, includes materials that give the Ten Commandments in its original form. Furthermore, since both *Moses' Scripture*^(e) and *Outline of the Scripture*^{(f)(8)} which are most likely to carry the text of the Ten Commandments are now lost, we have no way of ascertaining how much weight was given to the Ten Commandments in the Nestorian theology. Dr. Haneda, Toru called our attention to the "ten vows"^(g) or moral principles, which the followers of this faith were exhorted to observe, in the oldest extant document entitled, according to his deciphering, *Scripture of Jesus Messiah*^(h). This document was seemingly written within a few years of 635 when Nestorianism was first brought into China, and Dr. Haneda believes that these "ten vows" represent Nestorian modifications of the Ten Commandments.⁽⁹⁾

(a) 大秦景教流行中國碑文 (b) 太宗 (c) 武宗 (d) 尊經 (e) 牟世法王經 (f) 述略經 (g) 十願 (h) 序聽迷詩所經

The ten vows are not a faithful translation of the Ten Commandments, and Dr. Saeki, Yoshiro opines that these are "Christian teachings along the line of the New Testament patterned after the Ten Commandments,"⁽¹⁰⁾ and that they are derived from the teachings of the Twelve Apostles, "Two Ways of Life and Death," which is one of the apocrypha documents of the New Testament. In any case, it seems quite certain that this is a set of principles based on the Ten Commandments.

The original text of the *Scripture of Jesus Messiah* is written in such a poor Chinese extremely hard to read and comprehend with many words missing or in erroneous usage, thus giving rise to some controversial interpretations. For the purpose of the present paper, however, the ten vows were arranged by the writer as in Table A in the Appendix, putting into consideration views of both Dr. Haneda and Dr. Saeki.

A comparison of the ten vows with the Ten Commandments would reveal that, as a whole, the former is more worldly and ethics-oriented than the latter. The first half of the Decalogue that stipulates religious obligations are, in the ten vows, summed up in the first vow as "Man shall stand in awe of the Heavenly Holiness^(a), and worship of the emperor is inserted as the second item: "If people stand in awe of the Heavenly Holiness, they must also stand in awe and revere the emperor"^(b). Care and respect for one's parents is upgraded to the third position as "You shall stand in awe of your parents"^(c); and the fourth vow emphasizes benevolence as "Have good will toward all people without having anger or hatred"^(d), which is a comprehensive statement of ethical admonitions that follow and is a generalization of the virtues of filial piety and respect.

In order for Nestorianism to maintain and advocate its Christian precept, it must put forward its monotheistic view as the central theme. It was natural for them to place the worship of God as the first vow, exhorting people to "Stand in awe of the Heavenly Holiness and rectify their errors every day. All the people must stand in awe of the Heavenly Holiness and the Leader, because death and life of the people is controlled by all the deities under the Leader."^(e) Eternity, ubiquity and omniscience and omnipotence of the Heavenly Holiness, His being absolute and the one and the only God, together with His character as Creator and Leader are repeatedly expounded in the first half of the *Scripture of Jesus Messiah* preceding the explanation of the ten vows. Furthermore, these characteristics of the Heavenly Holiness are paraphrased and explained in detail in the *Treatise on God Being One*^(f) which appears to have been written simultaneously with or a little later than the *Scripture of Jesus Messiah*.

However, it would have been extremely difficult to have Chinese people

(a) 人合怕天尊 (b) 衆生若怕天尊, 亦合怕懼聖上 (c) 須怕父母 (d) 向一切衆生, 皆發善心, 莫懷離惡 (e) 人合怕天尊, 每日謙悞 (悞), 一切衆生, 皆各怕天尊並縮攝, 諸衆生死活管帶縮攝 渾神 (f) 一神論

fully understand such monotheistic view of Christianity at the time when their society was fully immersed in polytheism and pantheism of Taoism and Buddhism. It was probably because of this difficulty, Nestorian missionaries resorted to frequent use of Buddhist or Taoist terminology, as replacing the "Heavenly Holiness" with "Buddha"⁽¹¹⁾ and using Taoist words to explain the supernatural powers of God.⁽¹²⁾ It was a part of their efforts to facilitate Chinese understanding and acceptance of the Christian God, but nevertheless it served to undermine the religious independence of Nestorianism coupled with the subsequent stress they laid on the Chinese ethical values.

Concerning the absence of religious obligations except for the stipulation of the first vow, Dr. Haneda assumed the third vow missing in the extant text to be a commandment banning idolatry and exhorting observance of the Sabbath, remarking that the omission was "perhaps intentional in deference to Buddhism, or one of the two admonitions mentioned above was put down as the third vow that has since been lost."⁽¹³⁾

Prohibition of idolatry is, however, repeatedly mentioned in the earlier parts of this scripture, and it is quite likely that the Nestorians included the prohibition in the first vow as did the Catholics. Furthermore, it would make the style incoherent if such religious clauses as prohibition of idolatry and observance of the Sabbath were listed after the second item that treated an ethical virtue of filial piety.

Above observations may lead us to a conclusion that insertion of the second and third vows concerning worship of the emperor and parents can be called a unique feature of the Nestorian ten commandments. Needless to say, filial piety is a self-evident virtue with Christianity also as is clear from the many passages in the Old Testament, and reverence toward the emperor, too, is acknowledged as a matter of principle. St. Paul often stressed that submission to superior authority is a means of meeting Divine approval. It may be said that identifying the emperor with Divina was long-standing tradition since the days of the Roman Empire.

Obedience to one's parents and superiors in the Decalogue is, however, taught inclusively in "You shall honor your parents," and the reason therefor is explained in "Man must submit to authorities above him . . . for there is no authority that is not derived from God and the authorities that are in existence at present are all ordained by God."⁽¹⁴⁾

Worship of the emperor and one's parents provided for in the second and third vows in the Nestorian ten commandments was undoubtedly based on such Christian doctrine. At the same time, the Nestorian missionaries had their own reason for stressing reverence toward the emperor. Nestorianism was purged from the Roman Empire as heresy and was obliged to organize an independent church in the Persian Empire under the patronage of its emperors. When the missionaries traveled farther east and reached the capital of the great world power T'ang, they immediately saw that success or failure

of their mission depended exclusively on the will of the bright and dignified emperor, Tai-tsung. It would not be surprising if they placed particular weight on the provision of the reverence to the emperor.

Chinese Stele on the Spread of Nestorianism in the Great Chin Empire proudly pronounced: "If the Way is not sacred, it would not be propagated; and if the Sacred does not concur with the Way, it would not spread. When the Way and the Sacred coincide, the world is in peace^(a). This must be an outspoken expression of their feelings. Accordingly advocacy of the emperor worship in the second vow is very strong. "People must stand in awe before the Heavenly Holiness and also stand in awe and respect the emperor"^(b) is followed by "The emperor's former state was Happiness and the Heavenly Holiness assisted him. So there is no reason why we cannot identify him with the Heavenly Holiness. It is only that he assumed the status of the emperor."^(c)

In short, it is held that the emperor is the incarnation of the Heavenly Holiness having the same sanctity. Accordingly disobedience toward the emperor is held to be tantamount to rebellion against the Heavenly Holiness in "All people must do as the emperor commands. If one does not follow the imperial command and not submit to his orders, he is committing the sin of rebellion."^(d) It also states: "The emperors are all divine"^(e) and "The emperors are all free."^(f)

Worship of parents in the third vow is somewhat less emphatically expounded on compared with the emperor worship in the second vow, but the solemnity of filial piety is attributed to the fact that one owes his life to his parents, as in "All people must be filial to their parents and reverently abide by their words. Then they will find their abode in Heaven when they finished their life. . . . If people do not have parents how can they be born?"^(g) In connection with the first and second vows, the scripture states: "These three are the same thing. First serve the Heavenly Holiness, then the emperor, and thirdly one's parents."^(h)

Concept of filial piety in China is most systematically set forth in the *Book of Filial Piety*.⁽ⁱ⁾ It is deemed the highest and absolute ethical norm being the "Basic principles of Heaven and Earth"^(j) and the "Basis of all the actions and the eternal way of the world."^(k) Historically it has served as the powerful mainstay for China's patriarchal-authoritarian system of government. In the light of the importance attached by Tai-tsung and other early T'ang emperors to enhancing the ethical virtues of loyalty and filial piety in their enlightenment policies,⁽¹⁵⁾ we can appreciate the Nestorian efforts to approach Chinese ethical code by putting the vow on filial piety

(a) 惟道非聖不弘，聖非道不大，道聖符契，天下文明 (b) 衆生若怕天尊，亦合怕懼聖上 (c) 聖上前身福私〔社〕，天尊補任，亦無自乃天尊邪，屬自作聖上 (d) 一切衆生，皆取聖上進止，如有人不取聖上〔進止〕，驅使不伏，其人在於衆生，即是返逆〔叛逆〕僨 (e) 聖上皆是神生 (f) 聖上惣是自由 (g) 所有衆生，孝養父母，恭承不闕，臨命終之時，乃得天道爲舍宅，. . . 如衆生無父母，何人處生 (h) 此三事一種，先事天尊，第二事聖上，第三事父母 (i) 孝經 (j) 天經地義 (k) 百行之本，天下之常道

in the third position immediately following that of the clause on emperor worship. The fourth vow, as we have seen earlier, appears to be advocacy of benevolence. We shall not dwell on the fifth and subsequent vows, but except for some change in the order and difference in the terms used, the rest of the ten Nestorian vows may be taken as reproduction of the ethical teachings found in the latter half of the Decalogue.

To sum up, we may say that the ten commandments as presented by Nestorianism in the T'ang China exemplifies its effort to step up closer to China's Confucian ethics that lay great stress on loyalty and filial piety, although the topmost vow is dedicated to worship of the Heavenly Holiness. In other words, it is a modified reproduction of the Decalogue and signifies Nestorians evasion of confrontation with the Chinese ethics. Such conciliatory approach enabled Nestorianism to win a position of an acknowledged religion in the Great T'ang Empire, as is observed in the Chinese Stele on the Spread of Nestorianism in the Great T'ang Empire, and to enjoy lenient patronage of successive emperors.

At the same time, however, the conciliatory attitude on the part of Nestorians worked adversely to dilute the essence of Christianity in Nestorianism thereby weakening its influences later. Tai-tsung's decree of July, 638⁽¹⁶⁾ which includes his comments on Nestorianism reads as follows: "The way does not have a constant name and the sacred is different from its substance. They form their teachings in accordance with the situation and have strict discipline. A Persian priest, Alopen, came a long way to dedicate scriptures to the Emperor. Its doctrine is mysterious and excellent and to the points. It is not stated tediously and is founded on reason. It is useful and beneficial to man. Be it propagated widely."^(a)

The decree merely suggests that Tai-tsung saw in the conciliatory attitude of Nestorians toward the Chinese ethics a commendable allegiance to the throne similar to the traditional religions of Taoism and Buddhism and approved of it. At least it indicates that impact of Nestorianism as a monotheistic religion was not felt strongly, and the alien faith was deemed lacking in power to confront the legitimacy of traditional Chinese thoughts. In this sense conciliatory approach of Nestorianism towards the Chinese thoughts means a failure as well as success. On this point Catholic approach was somewhat different despite the general view that it was also conciliatory toward Chinese thoughts.

(III)

Catholicism was first introduced to China in the Yuan period (13th century). The fall of the Yuan Empire, however, brought an end to the

(a) 道無常名，聖無常體，隨方說教，密濟群生，波斯僧阿羅本，遠將經教，來獻上京，詳其教旨，元妙無為，生成立要，詞無繁說，理有忘筌，濟物利人，宜行天下

Catholic propagation in China and it was only toward the end of the Ming dynasty (late 16th century) when the Jesuit missionaries who inherited the fervent desire of Francisco Xavier,^(a) the "Saint of the Orient," brought about a rejuvenescence of Christian faith in China. We shall not go into the details of its missionary work. Suffice it to say that the success achieved through enthusiastic devotion of many Jesuit missionaries headed by Michael Ruggeri^(b) and Matteo Ricci^(c) marks a new era not only in the history of Christian propagation in China, but also in the history of East-West cultural intercourse, in terms of the far-reaching influence Christianity exerted on the philosophy and culture of China.

In-depth study could be made of various aspects of Catholic propagation in this period, and the writer also has made a study of the period from the standpoint of the history of thoughts during the late Ming dynasty. For the present, however, the writer will deal only with the propagation of Catholicism in the late-Ming-early-Ching period (17th century) as it relates to the evolution of the Decalogue in China.

In Catholicism the Decalogue is esteemed as the core of the commandments man should abide by. Jesuit missionaries in the 17th century China also made every effort to present and carefully explain the Ten Commandments to the Chinese people as is evidenced by the translations made respectively by such early missionaries as Matteo Ricci, Michael Ruggeri and Jean Soerio^(d).⁽¹⁸⁾ Later missionaries also authored various books main objective of which was exposition of the Ten Commandments. They were: *Preliminary Interpretation of the Ten Commandments of the West*^(e) by Alphonse Vagnoni^(f).⁽¹⁹⁾; *Exposition on the Ten Commandments of the Sacred Teaching of the Lord of Heaven*^(g) (1642) by Emmanuel Diaz^(h); and *Exhortation on the Holy Duty of the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven*⁽ⁱ⁾ (1650) by Francois Brancati^(j).⁽²⁰⁾ to cite some examples. Ferdinandus Verbiest^(k) also explained the Ten Commandments in detail in his *Introduction to Outline of the Teaching*^(l) (1670) which was designed for use as a catechism.

As was mentioned earlier Catholicism has its own fixed form in presenting the Ten Commandments, and its interpretation clearly reveals the Catholic dogma from the standpoint of the Church as is observed in the Catechism. Viewed in connection with the present theme we note that worship of the Lord of Heaven, and prohibition of sacrilege and superstitions are given topmost priority as the first stipulation, and reverence toward angels, saints, Virgin Mary, the Cross, and holy cards, statues and relics is recommended as a positive good deed.

Also noteworthy is the fourth commandment in which stress is given to the final absoluteness of the Divine Will thus placing religious authority over and above the secular one, although due attention is given to exhorting

(a) 沙勿略 (b) 羅明堅 (c) 利瑪竇 (d) 蘇如望 (e) 西學十誠初解 (f) 王豐肅 (g) 天主聖教十誠直詮 (h) 陽瑪諾 (i) 天主十誠勸諭聖蹟 (j) 潘國光 (k) 南懷仁 (l) 教要序論

virtues of reverence and obedience toward one's parents, who are agents of the Heavenly authority, and all other superiors.

Catholic missionaries in the 17th century China did not deviate from the basic Catholic line in their presentation of the Decalogue (See Appendix B), but some unique features are found in their arguments as they had to confront indigenous mores and thoughts of the Chinese people. The writer wishes to clarify the stand taken by the missionaries by means of the above-mentioned books, Matteo Ricci's outstanding book *The Truth about God* (1601)^(a) in particular, and then to point out the problematic points by reviewing the Chinese reactions to the Catholic propagation.

Concerning the first commandment it is natural that greatest stress is laid on "Worship the only Lord of Heaven who is above every and all things,"⁽²¹⁾ as it is the ultimate objective of man's life. His "having no beginning or end, being the only God with absolute and transcendental character who created and presides over the whole world"^(b) is repeatedly discussed beginning with the detailed exposition in the first chapter of Ricci's *The Truth about God* that states: "The Lord of Heaven having created the heaven and earth and all things within, presides over and nurtures all of them."^(c)

This monotheistic concept of God is far removed from the traditional Chinese thinking. So in order to make it more accessible to the native people, Ricci rejected the Buddhist and Taoist notions of "void" and "nothingness" that say "Things are born of nothingness and matters come out of void." He argued that the First Cause^(d) or the Reason^(e) that Sung Confucianists spoke about can not be the origin of all the things in the universe, and claiming that the whole world must be presided over by a transcendental Being, he concluded that the Lord of Heaven of whom they talk about is none other than the Shan-ti^(f) (Emperor Above), that is found in the Five Chinese Classics.⁽²²⁾

The theory that the "Emperor Above" is identical with the "Lord of Heaven" certainly was an effective argument, and it served as a breakthrough in mitigating Chinese misgivings about the alien faith and invoked Chinese people's favorable attitude toward Christianity. In fact this argument was often cited by such Chinese followers of Christianity as Hsü Kuang-chi^(g), Li Chih-tsao^(h), and Yang T'ing-yün⁽ⁱ⁾ who are thoroughly nurtured in Chinese culture when explaining their religious stand.⁽²³⁾ But undue stress placed on this interpretation harbors a danger of making ambiguous the monotheistic character of God which is the cardinal point of Christianity. So it is not surprising that this interpretation later became one of the central issues in the so-called Rites Controversy, creating dissensions among the missionaries themselves. Furthermore, as we shall see later, Christian assertion

(a) 天主實義 (b) 無始無終唯一絕對超越的創造主宰神的性格 (c) 論天主始制天地萬物而主宰安養之 (d) 太極 (e) 理 (f) 上帝 (g) 徐光啓 (h) 李之藻 (i) 楊廷筠

of the absolute authority of the Lord of Heaven was bound to come in conflict with the traditional Chinese ethics in which loyalty to the emperor and filial piety to one's parents were deemed supreme virtues.

Prohibition of sacrilege and superstitions was provided for in specific terms in view of the prevalent Chinese practices. "Do not serve Buddhist, Taoist or other local deities; do not chant sutra or practise charms; do not offer wine and incense to the altar; do not make pictures or statues of idols; do not construct temples; do not seek cure of illness; do not try to escape from sufferings; if childless, do not pray for a child: these are major offenses. Do not tell fortune by tortoise shell and divining rods; do not make decision by drawing a written oracle; do not say which day is lucky or unlucky; do not say which site is good or bad; do not consider directions when erecting house or tomb: these are minor offenses. Furthermore, do not tell fortune by dreams either good or evil; do not tell fortune by extraordinary phenomena in heaven and earth; do not consider barking dogs or crying birds as bad omens; do not avoid those in mourning clothes taking the encounter as a bad omen: all these are contrary to the right way."^(a) (24)

Worship of pagan deities of other religions is to be severely denied from the standpoint of Catholicism and it seemed to have been enforced quite thoroughly by Catholic preachers of those days. But their accusations in their turn were made the target of counterattacks by anti-Catholic proponents of the time. Especially came under fire was the Catholic esteem for pictures of Jesus Christ in suffering which they said were contradictory to what they taught.⁽²⁵⁾

The more serious problem that arose from the Catholic ban on worship of pagan deities was its frontal clash with the rites and rituals of ancestor worship and worship of Heaven and Earth that were authentic traditions of the Chinese. These points were taken up in subsequent Rites Controversy, but as far as Matteo Ricci and other Jesuit missionaries were concerned, they exhibited a conciliatory stance toward these traditions and customs regarding them as non-religious practices. Books on exposition of the Decalogue cited earlier also prudently avoided reference to the subtle issue, and did not make negative allusions to the Chinese mores and traditions. Nevertheless, the "Lord of Heaven being only One precisely means that no other deities or human beings may be worshipped"^(b) (26) necessarily includes prohibition of ancestor worship. It was a matter of course that opponents of Christianity took up this point to denounce the alien faith as "making all the people in the world disregard parent-child relationship,"^(c) and "an evil barbarian view in disregard of our intrinsic virtue of filial piety."^(d) (27)

(a) 如事釋道士神，誦經宣咒，齋醮獻香，塑繪偶像，崇緝寺觀，病求愈，患求解，貧求富，無子求孕，皆其大者也。他如灼龜筮，卜籤決蓍，簡日占卦，視地脉風水，立室營墳，亦其屬也。至若信休咎干夜夢，占吉凶于物變，見犬吠鳥鳴以爲不祥，途遇凶服者而心生惡忌，皆大背首誠也
(b) 所謂一天主者，明禁不拘何神何人，皆不當敬拜 (c) 率天下而無父子 (d) 以彼國忘親之夷風，亂我國如生之孝源

Emphasis on Christian monotheistic God eventually led the new faith to a confrontation with the traditional Chinese ethics of filial piety. How did this question develop in connection with the fourth clause that exhorts filial piety? From the ancient times filial piety was deemed the highest ethical norm in China and emperors in the Ming and Ching periods also made it the basic virtue which all the people must observe. "Six Admonitions"^(a) issued by T'ai-tsu^(b) of Ming began with "Be dutiful and obedient to parents and respect one's superiors"^(c) and so did Shêng-tsu^(d) of Ching's "Sixteen Sacred Admonitions"^(e) that began with: "Basic human ethics are filial piety and superiors' benevolence toward people below them"^(f).

Accordingly emphasis on this relationship would be a best means of harmonizing Christian ethics with Chinese ethics, and the discerning Jesuit missionaries were quick to take note of this common point. Basic gap existed, however, between the two systems of thoughts that would emerge eventually.

Let us first examine how individual exponents explained the virtue of filial piety. Emmanuel Diaz in his *Exposition on the Ten Commandments of the Sacred Teaching of the Lord of Heaven* spoke extensively about filial piety. He stated, "There are four kinds to filial piety—love, respect, obedience to orders, and taking care of parents," developing his theory somewhat along the Confucian line. He added that in the "parents" are included one's real parents, clan elders, men in positions, spiritual teachers, academic instructors and all other seniors in age, and went on to stress that although one must obey parental orders, there are two kinds of orders—orders that are in conformity with reason and those that are opposed to it—and concluded: "If one obeys orders that are not right, he would be committing a sin, and if he does not obey in such a case, he would be doing the right thing."^(g)

Francois Brancati also gave a similar view in his *Exhortation on the Holy Duty of the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven*. In his answer to a question, "If parental orders are unreasonable, should one still obey them?"^(h) he declared, "If parental orders are unreasonable, you should not listen to them. If a parental order is in opposition to the order of the Lord of Heaven, you should obey His order and not obey the parental order."⁽ⁱ⁾

Ferdinandus Verbiest was even more specific in his *Introduction to the Outline of the Teaching*: "If parental orders are against reason and harmful, you should not only disobey them but admonish your parents with all your heart. You must teach them and guide them in the right direction, for the Lord of Heaven is the great parent of all humanity and the Heavenly reason is the just one. Accordingly, filial piety has as its basis obedience to the

(a) 六諭 (b) 太祖 (c) 孝順父母，尊敬長上 (d) 聖祖 (康熙帝) (e) 聖諭十六條 (f) 敦孝弟以重人倫 (g) 若夫不義之命，順之者罪，逆之者功 (h) 父母之命，倘不合理，亦可聽其命否 (i) 不合理者，不可聽也，父母之命，反天主之命，則順主命而不可從父母

Heavenly command.”^(a)

Even more forthright and clear were the teachings of Matteo Ricci who preceded all these later missionaries. In his *The Truth about God* he stated as follows concerning the question of filial piety: “Everyone in the world has three fathers. The first father is the Lord of Heaven, the second is the sovereign of the state, and the third is the father of a household. . . . When the Way prevails in the world, there is no contradiction among the three fathers and a child can fulfill filial piety by obeying one father,”^(b) in a fashion somewhat resembling the Nestorian preaching on the subject. He goes on to say, however, “When the Way is lost, contradiction may arise in the orders of the three fathers. . . . In such an event, a child is deemed filial when he obeys the order of the Father Above even though it be against the orders of the earthly fathers; but if he listens to the earthly fathers not obeying the Father Above, he is gravely unfilial.”^(c) He declared emphatically, “Relationship between the sovereign and myself is that of ruler and subject; relationship between the head of household and myself is that of father and child; but when compared with the Lord of Heaven who is the Universal Father, sovereigns, subjects, fathers and children of the world are all like brothers on the same level.”^(d)

In other words they approved of the virtues of loyalty and filial piety, or respect of and obedience to parents and elders, only when they are related in anticipation to and subordinated to the worship and submission to the Lord of Heaven. Should contradiction or confrontation occur between the two relationships and one is obliged to choose between the two with no alternatives permitted, observance of the Biblical command, “We must obey God rather than men”⁽²⁹⁾ becomes obligatory. This is self-evident in light of Christian ethics which holds the Lord of Heaven as the Absolute Being, but from the view point of Chinese ethical code in which the highest authority is attributed to sovereign and father, the question is not so simple.

Especially shocking to the Chinese was Matteo Ricci’s pronouncement that father of a household and sovereign of a state are earthly fathers and that the distinction between sovereign and subject, between father and child is merely that of older and younger brothers in front of the superior and universal father, the Lord of Heaven. It was then not surprising at all that the opponents of Christianity made a vehement attack on the Church saying, “They revere the Heavenly Father alone calling him the great father of all the people in the world, requiring people to worship him day and night as the universal and paramount lord. They say that our father is so insignificant

(a) 若(父母)所諭或碍干理, 不但不可聽從, 尚須敬慎苦諫, 委曲善導, 令其開悟。蓋天主爲萬民大父母, 天理是其正命。故孝順, 以合主命爲要 (b) 凡人在宇內, 有三父。一謂天主, 二謂國君, 三謂家君。 . . . 天下有道, 三父之旨無相悖。 . . . 爲子者順乎一, 即兼三孝焉 (c) 天下無道, 三父之令相反, . . . 其爲之子者, 聽其上命, 雖犯其下者, 不害其爲孝也, 若從下者逆其上者, 固大爲不孝也 (d) 國君於我, 相爲君臣, 家君於我, 相爲父子。若使比乎天主之公父, 平世人雖君臣父子, 平爲兄弟耳焉

as not worthy of our love and that sovereign does not need to be respected. This means that they are making all the people disloyal and unfilial, and those who are disloyal and unfilial all say such things."^(a)

Strong denunciation was levelled against Matteo Ricci in particular. They cried out angrily, "We cannot tolerate with the one that makes such horrible statements . . . suggesting that we oppose parents and counter sovereign when it means being filial to the Lord of Heaven. . . . Reverence to sovereign and parents is not required when one is serving the Lord of Heaven, equalizing sovereign with subject and parent with child . . . such is contrary to humanity"^{(b) (30)}. Such was the keynote of their opposition to "evil doctrine" which, they reiterated, disregarded authority of father and sovereign.

It is rather surprising to note that Chinese followers of Christianity in those days did not make any penetrating counterargument on this issue. Perhaps it was because their understanding of the Christian doctrine was insufficient, theirs being a subjective and optimistic approach, with a strong inclination to evaluate Christian ethics in terms of its affinity to Confucian ethics. To cite an example, Hsü Kuang-ch'i^(c), a prominent Christian leader of the late Ming period, refuted the anti-Christian theorists' accusation that Christianity was opposed to ancestor worship and that it teaches people to be unfilial, with the following statements: "Serving the Emperor Above is the basis of all things . . . loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and love can be practised daily within that framework,"^(d) and "Learning how to serve the Heaven really helps the imperial reign and also the way of Confucianism."^{(e) (31)} Hsü also stated on the Ten Commandments, "Keep three virtues in mind and observe ten commandments,"^(f) and "There are ten specific acts that can be summed up in three principles."^{(g) (32)} The three virtues naturally are faith, hope and love which are Catholic virtues toward God. The three principles, however, can be interpreted to mean the three Confucian principles, and it suggests his view that included in the Ten Commandments are moral codes between sovereign and subject, parent and child, and husband and wife. If such interpretations were prevalent, it would have been difficult to arrive at the accurate understanding of the Christian faith in which everything is attributed to the Lord of Heaven. It is doubtful whether there was any serious attempt at grasping the significance of tense relationships between the Christian stress on the absolute authority of the Lord of Heaven and the authority of sovereign and father as understood by the Chinese.

In this connection it is noteworthy that persecution of Christians toward

(a) 獨尊天父，爲世人大父，宇宙公君，必朝夕慕戀之，欽宗之。是以親爲小而不足愛，以君爲私而不足敬也。率天下而爲不忠不孝者，必此之言夫 (b) 嗟乎斯言，心亦忍矣。 . . . 如拂親抗君，皆藉口孝天主可乎。 . . . 至尊者，莫若君親，今一事天主，遂以子比肩于父，臣比肩于君，則悖倫莫大焉 (c) 徐光啓 (d) 其說以昭事上帝爲宗本， . . . 以忠孝慈愛爲工夫 (e) 所傳事天之學，眞可以補益王化，左右儒術 (f) 秉心三德，守誠二五 (g) 其數有十，總以三綱

the end of the Ming dynasty was, in most cases, political or conventional persecution against foreign missionaries inspired by the Chinese hatred of foreign barbarians. Significantly there were almost no cases of persecution or martyrdom on account of faith on the part of the Chinese followers. This contrasts sharply with the case of Japan which also experienced Jesuit propagation at about the same time. To the Japanese followers of Christianity, to follow Deus or one's lord was a matter of vital choice and many martyrs were praised for their unfaltering faith.⁽³³⁾ The difference in the two peoples' attitudes depends, of course, on the patterns of control and persecution of Christianity on the part of political leaders in the respective country, but it might give us a clue in understanding the character of Chinese Christian faith at the end of the Ming dynasty, since it seems to contain more essential and ideological questions. The writer would like to expound on this point more fully at a later opportunity.

On the fifth commandment, "You shall not kill",^(a) Emmanuel Diaz inserted the word "people" as object of killing explaining, "We say 'You shall not kill people' instead of merely saying 'You shall not kill', because it is a sin to kill people whereas it is not a sin to kill animals . . . Many claim that it is cruel to kill, saying it is a righteous act to free captured birds and animals. They do not dare kill them because they believe in the transmigration of soul. They do not realize that they are seducing the public by spreading the false doctrine."^(b) In this Diaz is following the precedent set by Matteo Ricci who stated to the similar effect in the fifth chapter of his *The Truth about God*^(c) entitled *On the erroneous doctrine of the transmigration of soul through the Six Worlds and banning slaughter of all living things*.^(d) This offered a welcome opportunity for Buddhists to attack Christianity.

Controversial also was Christian emphasis on monogamy stipulated in the sixth commandment, which was destined to come in direct conflict with the Chinese approval of concubines on the theoretical ground that it is a gross want of filial piety not to have an heir to the family.^{(e) (34)} Matteo Ricci was the first to take up this question in the eighth chapter of his *The Truth about God* followed by Francois Brancati's *Exhortation on the Holy Duty of the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven*. Brancati stated in an answer to a query, "It is certainly right that one man should have one spouse, but when the wife produces no heir is it all right to have a mistress"?^(f): "When the reason is right why should we abandon it? We must not go against the right way or deviate from it Man and woman represent the Reason of Ying and Yang. Whether they produce a child or

(a) 毋殺人 (b) 不徒曰毋殺，而必曰毋殺人者，謂殺人則罪，殺牲非罪也。 . . . 惜哉多人妄疑，殺生爲忍，放生爲仁，不敢殺生，爲輪迴之故。不知輪迴之說，可以罔細民耳 (c) 天主實義 (d) 辨排輪迴六道戒殺生之謬說 (e) 不孝以無後爲大 (f) 一男配一女，理公道正，或無有後者，可娶妾否

not is not the doing of human beings but all depends on the Will of the Lord of Heaven. Keeping a concubine on account of having no heir is contrary to the Will of the Lord of Heaven and is against the universal reason."^(a)

It is noted that neither *Exposition on the Ten Commandments of the Sacred Teaching of the Lord of Heaven* nor *Introduction to Outline of the Teaching* made any direct reference to the right or wrong of keeping concubines, arguing only that one man and one wife is the right way. But their position on this question became another focal point of attack from their opponents who took it up as a sign that Christianity recommends disloyalty and disregard of filial piety. They claimed, "They say that all the men and women in the country should have only one spouse. . . . If so our holy men like Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wên and Wu cannot be saved from the fires of Hell. Ah, what a strange and outrageous argument it is! Their alien way is disrupting the supreme code of our country."^(b) (35)

It must have been extremely difficult for the missionaries to abolish the prevailing practice however zealously they might have tried. It reminds us of the fact that even such outstanding persons like Chü T'ai-su^(c) and Li Chih-tsao^(d) long hesitated to enter the faith solely on this account although they held a great esteem for Christianity.⁽³⁶⁾ There is much to be discussed in this connection but we shall not go into details now.

(IV)

Next we shall examine the case of Protestant propagation which began toward the end of the Ching dynasty (19th century). The leading figure among the American and European missionaries who visited China during this period was Robert Morrison^(e) who arrived in China in 1807. Their major aim was dissemination of the gospel and enlightenment of the natives mainly through the teaching of the Bible. They used diverse methods to actively push their missionary work, but their central efforts were devoted to producing and distributing Chinese version of the Bible and tracts which explained the gospel. Accordingly the Decalogue was explained in various tracts as well as being introduced as part of the text of the Bible. A. Wylie lists more than ten titles on the Decalogue in his bibliography—Chinese translations and annotations alone.⁽³⁷⁾ However, the writer has yet to ascertain whether all these books are extant and he has had no chance to carefully examine those that are extant. Moreover, in terms of the theme

(a) 理公道正，不論何故，必不可廢也。離正背公，而偏于邪，所不可矣。 . . . 且男女屬陰陽之理，其生子與不生子，不在於人，皆係于天主命也。若因無後而娶妾，是背天主之命，失道理之公

(b) 彼云國中男女配偶， . . . 止惟一夫一婦， . . . 所以我國之聖人如堯舜禹湯文武等，亦皆云不免於鍊清之獄也。 . . . 嗟夫何物妖夷，敢以彼國一色之夷風，亂我國至尊之大典 (c) 瞿太素

(d) 李之藻 (e) 瑪理遜

of the present paper it would seem more meaningful to examine the religious ideology of the Taiping Rebellion that was inspired by the Protestant propagation, rather than to concern ourselves directly with how the Decalogue was presented and explained by the Protestant missionaries themselves.

The Taiping Rebellion was an extensive peasant revolution of unprecedented scope which swept over almost all of China for 15 years since its outbreak in a corner of Kwangsi Province in 1850. Of immediate interest to us is the Taiping rebels' prominently para-Christian religious ideology which constitutes one of the main features of this rebellion. It is pointed out by a number of recent researchers that the so-called Christian ideology of the Taiping Rebellion is a slanted and distorted version of Christianity made too heretic and Chinized to be really called Christianity.⁽³⁸⁾ It would be meaningful, however, to trace the way how the Chinese people in the uprising modified and developed the Christian ideas by examining the distortions and revisions they added to the original doctrine.

The primary source of information and knowledge about Christianity that the Taiping rebels had came from a very limited contact Hung Hsiu-Ch'üan^(a) ringleader of the rebellion, had with the foreign religion. During his young days in Canton Hung happened to get hold of a tract *Good Doctrine for the World*^(b) authored by Liang Ya-fa^(c), known to be the first native Protestant missionary in China. Deeply impressed by what was written in the booklet Hung subsequently had his "visions" which made him a strong believer in the faith. Later in 1847 he again visited Canton and studied for two months under the guidance of an American Baptist missionary, Issachar J. Roberts^(d)⁽³⁹⁾. What other Christian literature beside *Good Doctrine for the World* he was able to read is not known, but he was able presumably to read the Bible in Chinese translation and some other tracts during his two-month-stay in Canton.

On the basis of what he learned he formulated the religious ideology of the Taiping Rebellion which is known to us today through some 30 officially compiled documents of the Taiping Tienkuo (Heavenly Reign). Those documents are inclusively called *Officially Ratified and Published Decrees*^(e), two of which, the *Sacred Book of the Old Testament*^(f) published in 1853 and the *Book of Heavenly Articles*^(g) published in 1852, are of particular concern and interest to the present paper.⁽⁴⁰⁾

It is obvious that the former is a Chinese translation of the Old Testament including the text of the Ten Commandments in Exodus. According to Boardman it was a reprint of a Chinese language Old Testament translated by a German missionary Karl Friedrich Güzlaß^(h). The book was published in 1848 under the identical title and was widely circulated during the late 1840s. The pattern of the Decalogue presentation in this Chinese version

(a) 洪秀全 (b) 勸世良言 (c) 梁亞發 (d) 羅孝全 (e) 旨准頒行詔書 (f) 舊遺詔聖書 (g) 天條書 (h) 郭實獵

follows the Protestant pattern by specifically listing the prohibition of idolatry in the second clause. (See Appendix)

The latter may be regarded as a kind of liturgy composed around the so-called "Heavenly Articles of Ten Clauses." The "Heavenly Articles" here are clearly based on the Protestant Decalogue to which they made certain modifications in the wording. (See Appendix) The leaders of the Taiping movement saw the "Heavenly Articles" as "Commandments of the Heaven" ordained by God himself, and gave it a special significance as their central creed and moral code that spiritually supported their religious revolutionary movement.

Let us now examine how the leaders of the Taiping Heavenly Reign presented and interpreted the Ten Commandments using these Heavenly Articles as the basis of discussion. In the first article their reverence toward the supreme and the only God is expressed as "Worship the Imperial Emperor Above"^(a) followed by the explanation: "The Imperial Emperor Above is the Universal Father of all the peoples in the world. People are nurtured by and helped by the Imperial Emperor Above. Therefore people must worship Him in the morning and at night to express their gratitude to His blessings."^(b) The "Imperial Emperor Above"^(c) is also called the "Emperor Above,"^(d) "Heavenly Father,"^(e) or "Holy Father of Heaven"^(f) and even "Heavenly Father - Lord Above - Imperial Emperor Above."^(g)⁽⁴¹⁾ The most frequently used name was "Imperial Emperor Above". We can see in the Appendix that this word was derived directly from the above-cited K. F. Gützlaff's *Sacred Book of the Old Testament*. But even prior to Gützlaff, the words the "Emperor Above" and "Divine Emperor of Heaven Above" were used in Liang Ya-fa's *Good Doctrine for the World* which provided Hung with his first knowledge about Christianity.

Furthermore, it is also noted that the first religious group that Hung organized in 1845 (most probably before he had access to Gützlaff's Chinese translation of the Old Testament) was named Society for Worshipping the Emperor Above^(h). As mentioned in the Part III, identification of the "Lord of Heaven" with the "Emperor Above" was prevalent in the Catholic propagation in the late Ming period, but in the wake of the Rites Controversy the Catholic Church banned the use of the word "Emperor Above," and there is no evidence to support the assumption that the Taiping leaders borrowed the word from the Catholic precedent. In any case, when they used the term the "Emperor Above" or the "Imperial Emperor Above" they remembered the use of these terms in the Chinese classics, and the terms were familiar and more palatable to the Chinese masses.

On the other hand, the usage contained the danger of distorting the

(a) 崇拜皇上帝 (b) 皇上帝爲天下萬國大共之父，人人是其所養所生，人人是其保佑，人人皆當朝晚敬拜酬謝其恩 (c) 皇上帝 (d) 上帝 (e) 天父 (f) 天聖父 (g) 天父 (上主) 皇上帝 (h) 拜上帝會

concept of Christian God along the notion peculiar to the Chinese. The "Emperor Above" in the traditional Chinese consciousness had a certain ambiguity as to his being the monotheistic divinity. In other words, he was the highest deity in the hierarchy of gods but was not necessarily the only god, and room was left for existence of other deities. Related perhaps to this way of understanding is the fact that the expression in the *Book of Heavenly Articles* of "Worship the Imperial Emperor Above"^(a) is not so forceful and imperative compared with the intensely prohibitive wording in the Bible of "You shall have no other gods before me"^(b) or "I am the Lord your God. You shall worship me as your only God."^(c)

This shortcoming in the first article, however, is offset by the second article that reads, "You shall not worship evil deities,"^(d) and the "Imperial Emperor Above states, 'I am the only God and there is no other god beside me.' All other gods beside the Imperial Emperor Above are evil gods that harass and harm people. You shall not worship them by any means."^(e) Furthermore, there are frequent references to the God being the only one God as in "Heavenly Father is the only true god. He is supreme"^(f); "The Emperor Above is the only true god who created the universe"^(g); or "There is only one true god in the universe. Everything was created by him. From the ancient the only true god is the Emperor Above."^(h) (42) Emphatic expression of such stand attests to their efforts in giving their Imperial Emperor Above a new personality of being the "only true god" while making use of popular familiarity with the traditional Chinese concepts.

In this connection our attention is drawn to the fact that when the Taiping leaders attempted revision of the *Officially Ratified and Published Decrees*⁽ⁱ⁾ they eradicated from the text quotations from Chinese classics that tended to make the character of the Emperor Above ambiguous.⁽⁴³⁾

The Imperial Emperor Above who is the "only true God"^(j) is very much like Jehovah of the Old Testament in that he is not only a jealous god who does not tolerate people worshipping gods other than himself, but also is an angry and militant god against all things evil. Revolutionary actions of the Taiping Heavenly Reign, namely their challenge against the reigning Manchurian regime, are justified as the righteous war commanded by the Imperial Emperor Above who appears in person to reveal his functions and authority at the decisive moments of war.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Simultaneously he resembles the God of the New Testament in his paternalistic and universal character. The Imperial Emperor Above as "Father in Heaven" is also called "Heavenly Father"^(k) or "Holy Father in Heaven"^(l) and is described as the "Emperor Above has been our father all

(a) 崇拜皇上帝 (b) 毋在本面崇異神焉 (c) 欽崇一天主萬有之上 (d) 不好拜邪神 (e) 皇上帝曰，除我外不可有別神也，故皇上帝以外，皆是邪神，迷惑害累世人者，斷不可拜 (f) 天父為獨一真神，尊無二上 (g) 開闢真神惟上帝 (h) 胥知真神祇獨一，要識造化總由天，從古真神惟上帝 (i) 旨准頒行詔書 (j) 獨一真神 (k) 天父 (l) 天聖父

along”^(a) or “Heavenly Father is the Lord Above; the Imperial Father Above is our divine father and our own father.”^{(b) (45)} His being the father of all humanity is described in such words as the “Imperial Emperor Above is the universal father of all the world”^(c), “All people share our Heavenly Father, the Emperor Above”^(d) or “The Emperor Above is the father of all the peoples of the world”^{(e) (46)} in the above-cited *Book of Heavenly Articles*. These interpretations are derived from the concept of God in the New Testament but traditional esteem of paternal rights and notion of the “Heaven’s Decree”^(f) or of the “unified whole world”^(g) probably facilitated their understanding.

Taiping Heavenly Reign’s divine rights theory by which position of its leader Hung is given authority as the “Heavenly King”^(h) ordained by the Heavenly Father also is a utilization of the Confucian view of Heaven’s decree. When we consider these points we may conclude that the central doctrine that characterizes religious ideology of the Taiping Heavenly Reign is found in their advocacy of worship of the Imperial Emperor Above as the “only true God,”⁽ⁱ⁾ the concept of which was a modification through Christian monotheism of the classical and traditional concept of the “Emperor Above.”

Next in the Protestant Decalogue is prohibition of idolatry which is stated in the *Sacred Book of the Old Testament*^(j) as “You shall not make for yourself a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath.”^(k) In the second clause of the *Book of Heavenly Articles*, however, it is changed to read, “You shall not worship evil gods”^(l) supplemented further by a strong statement of “The Imperial Emperor Above says, there is no other gods beside himself. So all the other gods beside the Imperial Emperor Above are evil gods that harass and harm people. You shall not worship them.”^(m)

Since Christianity negates all idols and antagonistic deities, ban on worship of pagan gods is a natural consequence, but the words “image” or “likeness” in the original text are replaced by the stronger word of “evil gods,”⁽ⁿ⁾ and it is asserted that “all other gods are evil gods”^(o) suggesting the fanatic exclusiveness of the Taiping Heavenly Reign in its worship of the Imperial Emperor Above. According to them “evil gods” meant all gods and deities except their own Imperial Emperor Above. More specifically they referred to deities in Buddhism, Taoism and various other folk beliefs prevalent in the then China. Their intention in advocating anti-idolatry was to abolish all kinds of idolatry and superstitious practices. In *The Original Way Instructions to Awaken the World*^(p), which is one of the *Taiping*

(a) 上帝原來是老親 (b) 天父上主皇上帝，是神爺是叢爺 (c) 皇上帝為天下萬國大共之父 (d) 天父上帝人人共 (e) 上帝是天下萬國人民親爺 (f) 天命思想 (g) 天下思想 (h) 天王 (i) 獨一真神 (j) 舊遺詔聖書 (k) 毋自作偶像與凡偶像彷彿天上或地上 (l) 不好拜邪神 (m) 皇上帝曰，除我外不可有別神也，故皇上帝以外，皆是邪神，迷惑害累世人者，斷不可拜 (n) 邪神 (o) 皇上帝以外，皆是邪神 (p) 原道覺世訓

Decrees^(a), a history of worshipping evil gods in Taoism, Buddhism and all other folk beliefs since the days of Ch'in and Han is related in a tone of intense censure.

Temples and idols of Buddhism and Taoism as well as miscellaneous folk beliefs came under vehement attacks which were extremely destructive. Initial religious activities of Hung as reported in the *Taiping Heavenly Days*^(b) and other documents are characterized by his fanatic destruction of idols and temples dedicated to superstitious deities in Kwansi, and it was such violence that first attracted the attention of the authorities to the Taiping movement as a serious religious insurrection.

More notable is that their negation of idolatry went so far as to challenge the authority of Confucianism. Hung's first religious awakening was marked by his demolition of Confucian tablet enshrined in his family altar and it symbolized his subsequent course of action.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In the later military operations of the Taiping forces destruction of Confucian shrines and halls of learning were frequent and thoroughgoing. Tseng Kuo-fan's^(c) *Manifesto on suppressing rebels in the Kwangtung Province*^(d)⁽⁴⁸⁾ reads in part: "The rebels burnt down the school buildings in the area, destroyed wooden images of Confucius and of the ten philosophers, and their behavior is truly outrageous. Whenever they pass temples and shrines, they wreck them. Even grand shrines dedicated to the Emperor Kuan-yu and King Yao-fei were broken down and their heads severed from the statues. Buddhist temples and Taoist shrines were no exception. Shrines of the city god and local shrines were set fire and there were no statues that were not torn down."^(e) It shows plainly how violent their destruction of idols was. Ironically the same frenzy for idol destruction was turned also on Catholic churches in the area.⁽⁴⁹⁾

In short, demolition of all kinds of idols, that is, negation of all deities except their own Imperial Emperor Above was their most direct way of expressing their fanatic faith, and it is one of the prominent features that characterize the pseudo-religious movement of Taiping Heavenly Reign. Their commandment of "You shall not worship evil gods"^(f) does not in essence contradict the principles and spirit of Christianity but they made many errors and excesses in practice.

Stipulation of religious obligations in the articles 3 and 4 seem outwardly to be faithful observance of the Christian Decalogue. It is doubtful, however, whether Taiping leaders truly grasped the meaning of the commandment prohibiting blasphemy and false oath in "You shall not call the Emperor's name in vain."^(g) For, explaining the article it is stated: "The original name of the Imperial Emperor Above is Jehovah. People should not call his name indiscriminately. Those who call the name of the Imperial Emperor Above

(a) 太平詔書 (b) 太平天日 (c) 曾國藩 (d) 討粵匪檄 (e) 粵匪焚郴州之學宮，毀宜聖之木主，十哲兩廡，狼籍滿地，祠是所過郡縣，先毀廟宇，即忠臣義士，如關帝岳王之凜凜亦皆污其宮室，殘其身首，以至佛寺道院，城隍社壇，無廟不焚，無像不滅 (f) 不好拜邪神 (g) 不好妄題上帝之名

without reason, who make blasphemy against the Heaven violate the Heavenly Articles.”^(a) It is evident that Yeh-huo-hua^(b) written in the three Chinese characters is the Biblical Jehovah, but the explanation given can be interpreted to mean the Chinese custom of avoiding the use of those characters—deferentially refraining from the use of the characters of “imperial”, “emperor”, “above”, “yeh”, “huo”, and “hua.”^(c) (50)

The fourth article on the Sabbath is represented as “On the seventh day you shall worship and gratefully praise the blessings of the Imperial Emperor Above”^(d) followed by an explanation: “The Imperial Emperor Above spent first six days creating heaven and earth, mountains and seas, and men and all other things, and he rested on the seventh day after completing everything. The people who received His blessings must worship Him with special veneration on the seventh day and praise the Imperial Emperor Above for the blessings given”^(e) in a genuine Christian fashion based on the story of the Creation in the Bible. Not only that, the Taiping Heavenly Reign actually revised their calendar and adopted the Western method of counting days setting aside the Sabbath day and observing it very strictly.^(f)

The strict observance of the Sabbath was, together with baptism, a most prominent example of their adoption of Christian rites. And yet there remains certain doubts as to whether their rites could really be called Christian rites in its true sense. A great deal of Chinese elements was added to their rites. It is true that the “*Taiping Dynasty Fields System*,”^(g) one of the Taiping documents, specifically states on the Sabbath services: “On the day of worship each group leader leads men and women to the hall of worship and they listen to the sermon with men and women sitting in separate seats, and they pay homage to and worship the revered Father in Heaven, Lord Above, Imperial Emperor Above.”^(h)

However, the Ching regime’s investigation report *On the Conditions of the Rebel Forces*^(h) gives the following detailed descriptions in its volume 9: “On the day before the service they send around a leader with a banner, beating a gong and calling aloud, ‘Tomorrow is the service day. You should be pious and not negligent.’ In each house, at the middle of night, they light two candles, offer three cups of tea, three plates of food and three bowls of rice, beat the gong and all sit in a circle. The leader of the group sits in the middle of the ring with others sitting around him, and they all chant hymns. The teacher then takes up a yellow-covered book in which names of all those present are written. The teacher kneels down and recites the names while all others kneel and make a deep long bow. When it is over

(a) 皇上帝本名爺火華，世人不可妄題。凡妄題皇上帝之名，及咒罵天者，是犯天條 (b) 爺火華 (c) 皇，上，帝，爺，父，華 (d) 七日拜禮頌讚皇上帝恩德 (e) 皇上帝當初六日，造成天地山海人物，第七日完工安息日，故世人享皇上帝之福，每七日要分外虔敬禮拜，頌讚皇上帝恩德 (f) 天朝田畝制度 (g) 凡禮拜日，伍長各率男婦，至禮拜堂，分別男行女行，講聽道理，頌讚祭尊天父上主皇上帝焉 (h) 賊情彙纂

they burn the book and then share the food offered. This is how they observe the seventh day services."^(a) Various other documents also give similar descriptions of the Taiping practices.⁽⁵²⁾

Ethical provisions included in the fifth and the subsequent articles indicate near-accurate understanding of the spirit of the Decalogue, except that efforts were made to make them better suited to the conditions prevalent in the Taiping Heavenly Reign community by making some modifications or adding appropriate explanations.

As we have already seen, filial piety toward parents stipulated in the Decalogue was readily accepted as it was the basic ethical principle of the Chinese, but they added to the stipulation, "Be filial and obedient to your parents,"^(b) an explanation that read: "Those who go against their parents violate the Heavenly Article."^(c) Similar statements are found in other documents also: "To be filial to one's parents is being filial to the Heavenly Emperor. If you nurture the roots flowers will bloom beautifully. Going against your parents is going against the Heavenly Emperor. If you demolish the roots the plant will fall";^(d) "Serve your parents with piety, serve your lord with loyalty. Then you will meet the approval of Heaven and will receive the Heavenly blessings;"^(e) and "When one learns to be filial to his parents he will revere Heaven even more. Reverence toward Heaven is more important than piety toward parents; heartfelt reverence toward Heaven is the same with respect of parents."^{(f)(53)} As these statements indicate Taiping Heavenly Reign put greater weight on expounding the unity of filial piety and loyalty with the worship of the Imperial Emperor Above.

Given the Chinese mental background it was quite appropriate that the sixth article, "You shall not kill"^(g) was revised to read, "You shall not kill or harm people,"^(h) and it is interesting to note that in the seventh and tenth articles that admonished against adultery and avarice, prohibition of such contemporary practices as opium eating, gambling, prostitution and concubine keeping is included. The ninth article also is extended to include ban on all kinds of demagogues and gossips.⁽ⁱ⁾ In the "Original Way Salvation Song,"^(j) which is reported to be made by Hung in the early period of his life and is included in the *Taiping Decrees*, are listed the so-called six "wrongs"^(k) which are adultery, disobedience to parents, murder, robbery, charms and telling fortune, and gambling.^(l) These also can be regarded as another way of paraphrasing the ethical clauses of the ten

(a) 禮拜先一日，偽帥遣人負禮拜旗一面，鳴鉦於市，大呼明日禮拜，各宜虔敬，不得怠慢。各館卽於是夜三更交子時後，點燈二盞，供茶三杯，肴三盛，飯三盂，鳴鑼集衆，環坐一堂。賊目及充先生者，即坐於正中所設數座上，群賊兩傍雜坐，齊誦讚美畢，充先生者繕成黃表奏章，盡列一館賊名。此時手執奏章，跪地朗誦，群賊長跪，讀訖焚化，則以所供肴饌共享，此七日禮拜之儀也 (b) 孝順父母 (c) 凡忤逆父母者，是犯天條 (d) 孝親卽是孝天帝，培植本根適自榮，逆親卽是逆天帝，戕伐本根適自傾 (e) 盡孝事親，盡忠報主，如此方合天心，得享天福 (f) 人知孝親，愈知敬天，能知敬天勝於孝親，虔誠敬天，何殊敬親 (g) 勿殺 (h) 不好殺人害人 (i) 不好講謊話 (j) 原道救世歌 (k) 不正 (l) 淫爲首，忤父母，行殺害，爲盜賊，爲巫覡，爲賭博

admonitions.

In summary we may say that the "Ten Heavenly Articles," which is their "Ten Commandments," is of great significance as the central creed of Taiping Heavenly Reign. Especially the religious codes provided for in the first half of the commandments, namely worship of the Imperial Emperor Above, negation of evil gods and idols, and services on the Sabbath are worthy of note as the main features of their religious ideology. According to them, the Ten Heavenly Articles were stipulations set down by the Imperial Emperor Above and were to be observed at all times.

The *Heavenly Dynasty Fields System* also stated, "All the people in the world, both officials and private people, must observe the Ten Heavenly Articles."^(a) The *Taiping Regulations*^(b) shows that men in the military service were required to strictly abide by these stipulations as their fundamental military discipline. In this connection we note the emphasis laid on strict discipline between men and women in the military as is seen in the following statements: "Deceiving Heaven is to violate the seventh article, but the eye of Heaven is sharp that you can not escape."^(c) (54) "Around your head are tight rings of the Ten Articles. If you observe them faithfully you will be happy, but should you dare violate the seventh article your sin will never be forgiven no matter whether you may be on the clouds or under snow."^(d) (55)

Judging from the descriptions of the *On the Conditions of the Rebel Forces*^(e) observance of the Heavenly Articles in the Taiping Army seems to have been even more stringent than in the Japanese Army that venerated the Imperial Mandate Given to the Military during the past militaristic period. For example, we find the following stipulations: "All brothers must carefully read and esteem the Heavenly Articles. If one fails to master them after three weeks, he shall be beheaded",^(f) and "If one fails to observe them and violates any of the clauses in the Heavenly Articles, he shall be beheaded."^(g)

Revolutionary forces generally require strict observance of military discipline to gain popular support, but "You shall be beheaded" is in itself a violation of the sixth article. Even more extraordinary is an episode recorded in *Taiping Heavenly Reign Unofficial History*^(h) about Hsiao Chao-kuei,⁽ⁱ⁾ one of the Taiping leaders, who is said to have slain his own parents for their having violated the seventh article. By this act of ascendant homicide, he himself committed crimes listed in the articles 5 and 6.

Gross degradation of discipline and ensuing corruptions and depravity toward the end of the Taiping Heavenly Reign made it impossible to

(a) 凡天下官民，總遵守十款天條 (b) 太平條規 (c) 瞞天犯第七天條，天眼恢恢那得逃 (d) 頭頂緊關十天條，款款遵守福祿高，第七天條些犯着，雲中雪下罪難饒 (e) 賊情彙纂 (f) 凡兄弟俱要熟讀讚美天條，如過三個禮拜不能熟記者，斬首不留 (g) 凡天條書中各條，如有違犯，斬首不留 (h) 太平天國野史 (i) 蕭朝貴

observe rules they themselves set, and as is pointed out in the *Summary of the Events that Occurred in Nanking in 1853-1854*^(a) (56) they brought about their own fall from grace by committing sins of disobedience to parents, manslaughter, adultery, robbery, falsehood and avarice. This gives rise to serious doubts as to the real nature of the so-called Taiping Heavenly Reign Christianity, together with the distorted understanding of the Christian doctrine pointed out above. For the time being, however, the writer wishes only to refer the readers to a peculiar pattern of the evolution of the Decalogue in China in the Ten Heavenly Articles that constituted the core of the religious ideology of Taiping Heavenly Reign.

* * * * *

Through the three cases treated above the writer has attempted to analyze the evolution in China of the Ten Commandments. Some difficulties, however, were involved in the pursuit: the three cases occurred in different periods of history and Christian dogmas stressed also differed with respective period and mission. Accordingly it was not possible to look at the problems from the identical standpoint thus causing some incoherence and duplication in the discussion.

In the first case of Nestorianism, for instance, the faith was too unfamiliar to be fully assimilated into the Chinese way of thinking, and the only dependable extant document was written in such poor Chinese that it was difficult to read and understand. In the second case of the 17th century Catholicism, the writer has examined the Chinese language works of foreign missionaries to see how they explained the Catholic tenets while reviewing also the arguments put forth by the anti-Christian Chinese intellectuals. Finally in the case of Taiping Heavenly Reign, he paid attention to distortions and modifications they made on the Ten Commandments in order to pinpoint the pattern of understanding on the part of the Chinese.

Despite such diversity the writer believes that as the Decalogue can be regarded as a precise, concentrated expression of the Christian creed, the observations made on the above three cases may in their turn indicate the whereabouts of problems in evolution of Christianity in China. We must therefore pay attention first to the intrinsic differences between Christianity and traditional Chinese thoughts as well as to some common points that exist between the two. If Christianity wants to maintain and assert its own stand in the alien land of China, a realization of certain definite limits in its accommodation would be necessary, and assessment of degree of success (or failure) would probably depend on the extent of the accommodation.

Looking at the problem from the Chinese side, the question would be to what extent and in what manner they would accept the foreign religion, and it is not rare, or rather it is more frequent, that their Chinese way of

(a) 金陵癸甲紀事略

understanding has grossly distorted the original character of Christian ideology. In that case we can certainly argue whether it can still be called Christianity. From the point of view of studies on Chinese thoughts, however, we may give more attention to the manner in which they received and distorted Christianity in the course of its evolution in China. We can at least say that the agitations and influences caused by contact with Christian ideology served as motivating factors in formulating the peculiar character of Chinese thoughts. Studies on Christianity in China so far have rather neglected to pay attention to this aspect of the problem. The writer is of the opinion that the more thorough examination and pursuit of the problem would help in developing a more systematic history of Christian thoughts in China.

Appendix—Table

A) "Ten Vows of Nestorianism" (From *Scripture of Jesus Messia*) ca. 630

- (1) Man shall stand in awe of the Heavenly Holiness.
- (2) If people stand in awe of the Heavenly Holiness they shall also stand in awe and respect the Emperor.
- (3) Also stand in awe of one's parents.
- (4) Have good will toward all people without having anger or hatred.
- (5) People must not kill or instigate others to kill.
- (6) Do not violate other man's wife.
- (7) Do not rob.
- (8)* Do not make false testimony on wife, and property to cheat others.
- (9)* Do not envy others of their wealth, fields, house or servants.
- (10) Do not take people's gifts or money so that they cannot serve Heavenly Holiness.

*Items (8) and (9) are reversed in order to facilitate comparison with other columns.

B) "Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven" (From *Exposition on the Ten Commandments of the Sacred Teaching of the Lord of Heaven*) 1462

- (1) You must worship the only Lord of Heaven above all.
- (2) Do not call upon the name of the Lord to tell lies.
- (3) Keep the day of cult.
- (4) Respect father and mother.
- (5) Do not kill people.
- (6) Do not commit impurity.
- (7) Do not steal.
- (8) Do not say false testimony.
- (9) Do not covet other man's wife.
- (10) Do not covet other man's goods.

C) "Ten Commandments of the West" (From Gützlaff's *Sacred Book of the Old Testament*), 1848

- (1) You shall have no other gods before me.
- (2) You shall not make yourself a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in Heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath.
- (3) You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain.
- (4) Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.
- (5) Honor your father and mother.
- (6) You shall not kill.
- (7) You shall not commit adultery.
- (8) You shall not steal.
- (9) You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor.
- (10) You shall not covet your neighbor's house; you shall not covet your neighbor's wife, or his manservant, or his maidservant, or his ox, or his ass, or anything that is your neighbor's.

D) "The Ten Heavenly Articles" (From the *Book of Heavenly Articles of Taiping Heavenly Reign*), 1852

- (1) Worship the Imperial Emperor Above.
- (2) Do not worship evil gods.
- (3) Do not call the name of the Imperial Emperor Above in vain.
- (4) Hold services on the seventh day to praise and thank the Imperial Emperor Above for his blessings.
- (5) Be filial and obedient to your father and mother.
- (6) Do not kill or harm people.
- (7) Do not commit adultery.
- (8) Do not steal.
- (9) Do not tell lies.
- (10) Do not be covetous.

Appendix: List of Dialogues in Chinese Translation:

[A] 景教十願 (『序聽迷詩所經』) 唐貞觀年間 (630頃)	[B] 天主十誡 (『天主聖教十誡直詮』) 明崇禎 15 年 (1642)	[C] 摩西十誡 (『郭實獵譯舊遺詔聖書』) 清道光 11 年 (1848)	[D] 十款天條 (『太平天國天條書』) 太平天國 2 年 (1852)
(1) 人合怕天尊	(1) 欽崇一天主萬有之上	(1) 毋在本面崇異神焉	(1) 崇拜皇上帝
(2) 衆生若怕天尊 亦合怕懼聖上		(2) 毋自作偶塑與凡偶像彷彿天上或地上	(2) 不好拜邪神
	(2) 毋呼天主聖名以發虛誓	(3) 毋瀆稱汝上主皇上帝之名	(3) 不好妄題皇上帝之名
	(3) 守瞻禮之日	(4) 汝誌安息日以成聖之	(4) 七日禮拜頌讚皇上帝恩德
(3) 須怕父母			
(4) 向一切衆生皆發善心莫懷睚惡	(4) 孝敬父母	(5) 孝敬父母	(5) 孝順父母
(5) 衆生自莫殺生亦莫諫他殺	(5) 毋殺人	(6) 勿殺	(6) 不好殺人害人
(6) 莫姦他人妻子	(6) 毋行邪淫	(7) 勿姦	(7) 不好奸邪姪亂
(7) 莫作賊	(7) 毋偷盜	(8) 毋偷	(8) 不好偷竊劫搶
(9)* 有好妻子并好金屋作文證(莫)加(謀)他人	(8) 毋妄證	(9) 毋對他人証證	(9) 不好講謊話
(8)* 衆生(見他錢財)富貴並有田宅奴婢无睚妬	(9) 毋願他人妻	(10) 毋貪他人之屋毋貪他人之妻僕婢牛驢及凡他人之所有	(10) 不好起貪心
(10) (莫)受他寄物并將(他)費用(莫事)天尊	(10) 毋貪他人財物		

* (8) and (9) are reversed in order to facilitate comparison with other columns.

NOTES

- (1) The present paper is a part of a study on "History of Christian Thoughts in China" undertaken in 1949 through 1950 with a grant from the Ministry of Education for studies in sciences. The gist of the study was reported at the 4th convention of the Society of Japan for Chinese Studies under the title of "Evolution in China of Moses' Decalogue," held at Keio University on October 18, 1951.
- (2) *Catholic Encyclopaedia* compiled by Sophia University, Vol. 1, p. 297, "Commandments."
- (3) The Gospel According to Matthew 22: 37-39. In the Catechism it is stated, "You shall love the Lord your God above all, and shall love your neighbor as yourself."
- (4) The Letter of Paul to the Romans, 2: 14.
- (5) Particular attention is called in this connection to the great similarity between the ethical clauses in the Decalogue and the ten or five admonitions in Buddhism (Do not kill; do not steal; do not commit adultery; make no false statements; and do not drink wine.) Timothy Richard, a prominent Protestant missionary in the late 19th century China, pointed out these common features and maintained that there was much in common between the two religions in his anonymous book *On Common Features between Buddhism and Christianity* 佛教耶蘇教會通論. (Dr. Saeki, Yoshiro, *Study on Christianity in the Ch'ing China*, 清朝基督教の研究, pp. 543-564.)
- (6) *The Analects of Confucius* 論語, Chapters; Shien Chin 先進, Kung-ye-chang 公冶長, and Shu-erh 述而.
- (7) (1) *Scripture of Jesus Messiah* 序聽迷詩所經, (2) *Treatise on God Being One* 一神論, (3) *The Praise of the Magnanimity of the Trinity* 三威蒙度讚, (4) *Sacred Scriptures* 尊經, (5) *Scripture on the Mystic Paradise* 志玄安樂經 (6) *Scripture on the Origin* 宣元本經, of which another source quotes a remaining volume as *Scripture on the Supreme Origin* 宣元至本經, (7) *In Praise of the Holy and True Sanctification* 大聖通眞歸法讚. On these documents refer to Dr. Saeki, Yoshiro, *A Study on Nestorianism* 景教の研究 and Appendix to *Study on Christianity in Ch'ing China* 清朝基督教の研究, and also Dr. Haneda's monographs on (1), (2), (5) and (6).
- (8) *Moses' Scripture* 牟世法王經 is considered to be a translation of the Five Books of Moses or of their excerpts. *Outline of the Scripture* 述略經 is, in the opinion of Dr. Saeki (*A Study on Nestorianism*, p. 621), presumably a Nestorian catechism.
- (9) Dr. Haneda, Toru, *On the Scripture of Jesus Messiah, A Nestorian Scripture in the Collection of Sinological Papers in Commemoration of the Sixtieth Birthday of Dr. Naito* 内藤博士還曆祝賀支那學論叢 1925.
- (10) Dr. Saeki, Y., *A Study on Nestorianism*, p. 687.
- (11) "People call the name of Buddha when in emergency" 人急之時每稱仏名 or "Everyone should return Buddha's benevolence" 誰報佛慈恩 (*Scripture of Jesus Messiah*.)
- (12) "There is One who is true and firm, who, being uncreated, is the Origin of the Origins; who is ever Incomprehensible and Invisible, yet ever mysteriously existing to the last of the lasts; who, holding the Secret Source of Origin, created all things, and who, surpassing all the Holy ones, is the only unoriginated Lord of the Universe—is not this our Aloha, the Triune, mysterious Person, the unbegotten and true Lord?" 常然眞寂, 先先而无元, 睿然靈虛, 後後而妙有, 愍玄樞而造化, 妙衆聖以元尊者, 其唯我三一妙身无元眞主阿囉訶歟.
- (13) Dr. Haneda, above cited paper, p. 133.
- (14) The Letter of Paul to the Romans, 13: 1.
- (15) There are numerous cases where Tai-tsu stressed Confucian ethics of loyalty and filial piety. One prominent example may be found in his call for submission to sovereign, father and superiors found in the clauses on rebellion, treason, want of filial piety and immorality which are included in the ten evils in the Statute of T'ang.
- (16) *Compendium of T'ang Dynasty's Documents* 唐會要, Vol. 49. Almost the same state-

- ment is found in the *Chinese Stele on the Spread of Nestorianism in the Great Ch'in Empire*.
- (17) *Christian Influences on the Confucian Thoughts during the late Ming-Early Ch'ing Period*, a study made with a grant of the Ministry of Education for studies in sciences, 1947 (not yet in print); *The Late Ming Thoughts and Christianity*, a public lecture at the Eastern Culture Academy 東方文化學院, October, 1947; and *Interactions among Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity in the Late Ming Period*, a lecture at the regular meeting of the Sinological Society of Tokyo, September, 1948.
 - (18) Henry Bernard 斐化行, *Record of Christian Propagation in 16th Century China* 天主教十六世紀在華傳教誌, translated by Hsiao Chün-hua 蕭濬華, p. 195; Henry Bernard, *Rev. Matteo Ricci and the Contemporary Chinese Society* 利瑪竇司鐸和當代中國社會, translated by Wang Chang-se 王昌社, Vol. 1, p. 97; Aloys Pfister 費賴之, *Biographies of Christian Missionaries Who Visited China* 入華耶穌會士列傳, translated by Feng Ch'eng-chün 馮承鈞, p. 75.
 - (19) This book is not listed in A. Pfister's list (See Note 18), but it is given on page 180, Vol. 3 of Dr. Saeki's *A Study on Christianity in China*. The book was published in 1624. *Bibliography of Japanese and Chinese Books related to the History of Christianity in Japan* 日本基督教史關係和漢書目錄, compiled under supervision of Dr. Ebisawa, Arimichi lists the following four titles: (a) A. Vagnoni 王泰隱, *Brief Interpretation of the Ten Commandments of Heaven* 天學十識誠解略; (b) *Brief Interpretation of the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven* 天主十誠解略, 1624; (c) *Preliminary Interpretation of the Ten Commandments of the West* 西學十誠初解; and (d) *Preliminary Interpretation of the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven* 天主十誠初解, (Series of Seven Books on the Western Teaching 洋教七種本). The writer has not seen any of them but they probably refer to the book in question.
 - (20) Of these two books the writer has only seen the revised editions so the date of publication is taken from A. Pfister's list. The writer is indebted to Prof. Ebisawa, Arimichi of the Sacred Heart College, Tokyo for having permitted him the perusal of *Exhortation on the Holy Duty of the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven* 天主十誠勸諭聖蹟 and *Introduction to the Outline of the Teaching* 教要序論, both of which are in the possession of the college.
 - (21) "Worship the only Lord of Heaven who is above every and all things" 欽崇一天主萬有之上. But the character 在 (to be) is added to make it read 欽崇一天主在萬有之上 in *Exhortation on the Holy Duty of the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven*.
 - (22) *The Truth about God*, Chapter 2, "Explaining People's Misunderstanding of the Lord of Heaven" 解釋世人錯認天主.
 - (23) "The Lord of Heaven is identical with the Emperor Above that is found in the Confucian books" 天主即儒書所稱上帝也, (Hsü Kuang-ch'i 徐光啓, *Collected Works of Hsü Kuang-ch'i* 文定公集, Vol. 1, *Reply to People of My Home Province* 答鄉人書, "The theory clarifies that serving the Emperor Above is most fundamental" 其說以昭事上帝爲宗本, (*ibid.* Vol. 5, *Explanation in Defense of the Teaching* 辨學章疏, "It teaches to serve exclusively the Lord of Heaven. Our Confucian scholars knew the doctrine of Heaven and the service of Heaven and the service of the Emperor Above" 其教專事天主, 即吾儒知天事天事上帝之說 (*ibid.*, Appendix, Li Chih-tsao 李之藻, *Preface to Explain Holy Water* 刻聖水紀言序) "Worshipping the Lord of Heaven is what our Confucianists said about serving the Emperor Above" 夫欽崇天主, 即吾儒昭事上帝也 (Yang T'ing-yün 楊廷筠, *Preface to How to Overcome Seven Desires* 七克序文).
 - (24) *Exposition on the Ten Commandments of the Sacred Teaching of the Lord of Heaven*, Vol. 1, The First Commandment—8.
 - (25) "According to what he says the whole nation must worship one Lord of Heaven. No one should worship other gods or erect other shrines. . . If one worships at other shrines or other gods, it will be a breach of the commandments of the Lord of Heaven . . . they dared to take away statues of the gods and throw them into the dung hole.

Then they ordered all the provinces, counties and districts to erect each a hall for the Lord of Heaven and to enshrine that criminal who was crucified. Ah, how strange and barbarous it is! It is to disrupt the traditional teachings of our country with the barbarous way which is practised in their country alone.” 據彼云國中惟尊崇一天主，不祀他神，不設他廟。．．．如別奉他廟他神，則犯天主之誡。．．．取其像而投諸糞窖之中，然後檄令省郡州縣，各建一天主堂，以奉安彼刑架之罪夫。嗟夫何物奸夷，敢以彼國獨祀之夷風，亂吾國萬代之師長 (*Collection of Arguments in the Ming Dynasty against Impious Doctrines* 明朝破邪集, Vol. 5, Chang Kuang-t'ien 張廣濤, “Resumé of Discussion to Attack Heresy” 闢邪摘要略議; “The statues of the Goddess of Mercy, the Sacred Emperor Kwan, the Emperor Tzū-t'ung, Lord K'ui-hsing, the Emperor Lā-tsu and others were all ordered by those followers of the faith to be brought to their place and were beheaded; some were thrown into the lavatory, some into the fire. When we hear about such things we are outraged; we feel pains in the heart and our nerves cannot stand it. That the people of that faith force others to go against the sages is so outrageous. This is a great crime and great treason. “觀音菩薩，關聖帝君及梓潼帝君，魁星君，呂祖帝君等像，皆令彼奉教之徒，送至彼所，悉斷其首，或置廁中，或投火內。語及此令人毛髮上指，心痛神傷。．．．此其教人叛聖殘忍莫甚，大罪大逆者 (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, Huang Chen 黃貞, *Against the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven* 闢天主教書; “They say that the Emperor Above may not be engraved or painted, but Matteo Ricci made his Jesus the Lord of Heaven and painted an imaginary picture of him with disorderly hair. Which is more abusive of the sacred? 且上帝不可形形，不可像像焉。瑪竇執彼土耶蘇為天君，散髮槌，繪其幻相，瀆孰甚焉 (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, Chen Hou-hsien 陳侯先, *In Defense of the Teaching* 辨學僞言)。

- (26) *Introduction to the Outline of the Teaching, Ten Commandments—2.*
- (27) *Collection of Arguments in the Ming Dynasty against Impious Doctrines*, Vol. 1, Chen Ts'ui 沈灌, *On My Travels to Far Away Barbarians* 參遠夷疏; Vol. 5, Chang Kuang-t'ien 張廣濤, *Resumé of Discussion to Attack Heresy*.
- (28) *The Truth about God*, Chapter 8.
- (29) The Acts of the Apostles 5: 29.
- (30) *Collection of Arguments in the Ming Dynasty against Impious Doctrines*, Vol. 5, Chen Hou-hsien 陳侯先, *In Defense of the Teaching*.
- (31) Hsü Kuang-ch'i, *Collected Works of Hsü Kuang-ch'i*, Vol. 5, *Explanation in Defense of the Teaching*.
- (32) *ibid.*, Vol. 1, *On the Wording of Each Clause* 規誠箴贊 and *On the Wording of the Ten Commandments* 十誠箴讚.
- (33) Ebisawa, Arimichi, *Interactions in Ethical Thoughts between Bushido (Way of Warriors) and Christianity in A Study on History of Christianity in Japan*, pp. 36, 53.
- (34) *Discourses of Mencius* (孟子), Chapter Li Lou 離婁(上), first part.
- (35) *op. cit.*, *Resumé of Discussion against Impious Doctrines*.
- (36) *op. cit.*, *Matteo Ricci and the Contemporary Chinese Society*, Vol. 1, p. 36 and Vol. 2, p. 28.
- (37) The Ten Commandments was translated into Chinese under the title of the “Ten Commandments of the True God” 眞神十誡 by: Jehu Lewis Shuck, Charles Taylor and Miles Jestus Knowlton respectively. John Chalmer's translation is entitled *Sacred Ten Commandments of the Emperor Above* 上帝十條聖誡, and Dyer Ball's is *Sacred Ten Commandments of Jehovah* 爺華十條聖誡. As for expository works there are: *Exposition on the Ten Commandments of the True God* 眞神十誡註釋 by Michael Simpson; *Exposition on the Ten Commandments of the Emperor Above* 上帝十誡註釋 by Lyman Birt Peet; *Exposition on the God's Ten Commandments* 神十誡註釋 by Jestus Doolittle; and *Exposition on the Ten Sacred Commandments of the God in Heaven* 神天十條聖誡註釋 by Walter Henry Medhurst 麥都思 and its revised editions of *Clarification of the Ten Commandments of the God in Heaven* 神天之十條誡註明, *Brief Exposition on the Ten Commandments* 十條誡著略, and *On the Ten Commandments*

- 十條誠諭. (A. Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*, 1867.)
- (38) Eugene Powers Boardman, *Christian Influence upon the Ideology of the Taiping Rebellion*, 1952. The writer has referred frequently to this book in writing this paper, but for the sake of brevity detailed notes are omitted here.
- (39) Theodore Hamberg, *The Vision of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and the Taiping Heavenly Days* 太平天日.
- (40) Quotations hereafter from the *Sacred Book of the Old Testament* are taken from the above book by Boardman. Quotations from the *Book of Heavenly Articles* and other documents of the Taiping Heavenly Reign are, unless otherwise specified, taken from the Series of Documents on Modern Chinese History, *Taiping Heavenly Reign*, Vol. 1.
- (41) "The Emperor Above" 上帝, "Heavenly Father" 天父, "Sacred Father in Heaven" 天聖父, "Heavenly Father, Imperial Emperor Above" 天父皇上帝 (*The Book of Heavenly Articles*); "Heavenly Father, Lord Above, Imperial Emperor Above" 天父上主皇上帝 (*Decree Handed Down to All by Heavenly Father* 天父下凡詔書).
- (42) *The Taiping Decrees* 太平詔書, *The Original Way Salvation Song* 原道救世歌; *Taiping Salvation Song* 太平救世歌.
- (43) Ichiko, Chuzo, *Revision of the Taiping Heavenly Reign's Decrees*, in; *The Tōyō Gakuhō*, 33-2.
- (44) *op. cit.*, *Decree Handed Down to All by Heavenly Father*, (1).
- (45) *The Original Way Instruction to Awaken the World* 原道醒世訓, in *The Taiping Decrees; Decrees and Purports Commanded by Heaven* 天命詔旨書).
- (46) *The Original Way Salvation Song*, in *The Taiping Decrees; On Heaven Creating, Nurturing and Saving All the Things in the World* 救一切天生天養論, in *Officially Ratified and Published Decrees*.
- (47) *op. cit.*, T. Hamberg, *The Vision of Hung Hsiu-ch'ün*.
- (48) Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩, *Collected Works of Tseng Kuo-fan* 曾文正公文集, Vol. 2.
- (49) K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Mission in China*, p. 300; G. L. Wolseley 吳士禮, *Record of Observations of the Taiping Heavenly Reign* 太平天國觀察記, translated into Chinese by Chien Yü-wen 簡又文, (*Miscellaneous Notes on the Taiping Heavenly Reign* 太平天國雜記, Vol. 1, p. 108.
- (50) According to *On the Conditions of the Rebel Forces*, Vol. 8, their substitution of the characters was as follows: 皇→黃, 上→尚, 帝→諦, 爺→牙, 火→夥 or 炎, 華→花.
- (51) *Officially Ratified and Published Calendar* 頒行曆書.
- (52) Hsieh Chie-he 謝介鶴, *Summary of the Events That Occurred in Nanking in 1853-1854* 金陵癸甲紀事略; *Collection of Summaries of Military Affairs in Nanking* 金陵兵事彙略.
- (53) *The Original Way Salvation Song*, in *The Taiping Decrees; Taiping Salvation Song*.
- (54) *Taiping Heavenly Reign*, Vol. 2, *Poems of Father in Heaven* 天父詩.
- (55) Above cited *Summary of the Events That Occurred in Nanking in 1853-1854* states: "The Heavenly Ten Articles forbid people to rob and those who commit it are killed Parents and brothers are all scattered and far apart so how can filial piety be practised? When the man and wife are together they accuse them of adultery. When the treacherous rebels steal women from people, they do not call it a crime. They tell lies and falsehood ever so often and they frequently rob people of their properties. Avarice and lewdness are their true nature and yet they prohibit others. With this, you will probably get the gist of their heavenly Ten Commandments doctrine." 十天條, 賊以禁人, 犯則殺. . . . 父母兄弟離散, 從何處孝敬. 夫妻相處, 亦為奸. 惟逆賊逼奪民女, 則不犯. 謊話賊常有, 搶掠賊常有. 貪淫賊之本心, 但禁人而已. 十天條之說, 可概見矣.