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Articles



Between Scriptural Language and Devotional Translation:

Chinese Rosary Manuals in Seventeenth-Century China

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Abstract: This article examines Chinese Rosary manuals produced between 1616 and c. 1665 as a case study in early modern Chinese Christian translation and Sino-European cultural encounter. Focusing on the Rosary, an explicitly devotional text rather than a formal biblical translation, the study argues that prayer manuals nonetheless constituted an important site for the transmission and transformation of scriptural language in late Ming and early Qing China. While not biblical translations in the strict sense, these texts incorporated biblical narratives and formulae in ways that confronted many of the same linguistic, conceptual, and doctrinal challenges faced by Bible translation.

The analysis proceeds in two stages. First, it compares the Portuguese Rosary original with the earliest Chinese translation (1616), highlighting shifts in intended audience, pastoral needs, and local cultural sensibilities as the text was rendered intelligible within a Chinese literary and religious framework. Second, it compares three extant Chinese versions (1616, 1628, c. 1665), tracing their evolution in style, layout, and translation strategies for liturgical concepts, divine titles, and Catholic personal names. Across these versions, Catholic personal names tend to remain transliterated with relative consistency, while divine titles and liturgical concepts increasingly rely on neologism and semantic extensions, drawing on classical and Neo-Confucian vocabulary.

These textual developments reveal a growing orientation toward literati's intellectual framework and aesthetics, which may have created a gap between literary ambitions and the major devotional audiences according to missionaries' reports. By situating Chinese Rosary manuals alongside contemporaneous Chinese versions of the Hail Mary and contrasting them with a Rosary text and critiques from other Catholic orders, this study highlights a persistent tension between concerns for doctrinal accuracy and the pragmatic need for cultural accommodation. It argues that devotional texts functioned as a distinctive mode of scriptural mediation, shaped by missionary strategies, literary norms, and pastoral realities in the early Sino-Christian encounter.

Keywords: early Chinese biblical translation, Chinese Rosary manual, translation and cultural negotiation



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Biblical Translation Efforts in the Late Ming and Early Qing

From the late sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, when European Catholic missionaries were active in China, the Jesuits' commitment to the "Apostolat des Presse" fostered sustained collaboration with Chinese literati, giving rise to a vibrant sphere of cross-cultural intellectual exchange and a substantial corpus of Chinese Christian texts.¹ A wide variety of Chinese translations of Western learning thus emerged, covering subjects such as mathematics, mechanics, astronomy, and natural philosophy. Nevertheless, endeavors to translate the highest Catholic canon, the Bible, seemed comparatively limited. No complete Bible translation appeared during this period; instead, missionaries produced only partial translations of biblical passages or adaptations derived from scriptural content (Song 2024, p. 58). Confronted with a culture profoundly grounded in its own textual and canonical traditions, the Jesuits ultimately entered into only a constrained dialogue with the Chinese canonical *jing* 经 (scripture, canon) tradition.²

Such a situation of biblical translation in China cannot be separated from developments in Europe. In the wake of the Protestant Reformation, which promoted *sola Scriptura* (by Scripture alone) and widespread vernacular Bible reading, the Catholic Church reaffirmed the authority of the Latin Vulgate at the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Out of pastoral caution rather than doctrinal objection, the Church placed restrictions on vernacular Bible translation and circulation, especially after the publication of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (*The Index of Forbidden Books*) in 1564 under Pius IV.³ As a result, Catholic

1 The Jesuits who first arrived in China were impressed by the highly developed printing culture and the widespread reverence for books, and consequently placed greater emphasis on written materials in their mission work, though oral preaching continued to play an important role in spreading the Gospel. See Standaert (2001, pp. 600–632). For a comprehensive examination of Chinese Christian texts produced at the time, see Standaert and Van den Bosch (2022, pp. 130–91). For the more recent Chinese translation of this article, see Standaert and Van den Bosch, trans. Xu and revised. Chen (2023, pp. 1–67).

2 See Standaert (1999, pp. 46–47, 53–54). Chen Yanrong 陈妍蓉, on the other hand, elaborates on the birth of a Christian biblical tradition in the Chinese culture of *jing*, which she translates as 'sacred texts'. She emphasizes that from the late sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the Chinese Christian texts which conveyed biblical words and messages collectively laid a textual foundation of Chinese reception of the Bible. See Chen (2021, pp. 661–681).

3 "As a matter of fact, the Sacred Congregation of the Index, in 1559 with Pope Paul IV and then in 1564 with Pius IV, by promulgating the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, prohibited printing and keeping a Bible in vernacular language without a special

missionaries arriving in China since 1583 did not consider the production of a complete Chinese Bible to be an immediate priority. Their primary pastoral concern was to introduce essential elements of the Christian faith and doctrine which included biblical passages, through vehicles such as concise catechisms, small prayer books, and Sunday readings (Marchioron 2023, p. 44).

Even against this background, the Jesuits were granted permission by Rome to translate the Bible in 1615, yet objectively speaking, they missed this valuable opportunity by prioritizing other projects. From the late seventeenth century onward, the restrictive policy of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples), which deemed new Bible translations unnecessary, further prevented such endeavors. Consequently, despite the efforts of several missionary individuals to render the Bible into Chinese at their own initiative, their works were never permitted to be printed (Standaert 1999, pp. 38–39). These efforts included several valuable attempts before c. 1800. In the late seventeenth century, Jean Basset [M.E.P.] (Bai Risheng 白日升, 1662–1707) translated most of the Vulgate New Testament into Chinese, including the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and Paul’s Epistles. In the early eighteenth century, Antonio Laghi [O.F.M.] (Mei Shusheng 梅述圣, ?–1727) rendered Genesis and parts of Exodus into colloquial Chinese. His translation was later revised by Francesco Jovino [O.F.M.] (Mai Chuanshi 麦传世, 1677–1737), who considered the original too literal; moreover, Jovino also continued translating, reaching as far as the Book of Judges and possibly Tobit and Daniel. Finally, at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Louis Antoine de Poirot [S.J.] (He Qingtai 贺清泰, 1753–1831) completed a full translation of the New Testament and a partial translation of the Old Testament, titled *Guxin shengjing* 古新圣经 (*Old and New Holy Scripture*, 1803) (Standaert 1999, pp. 31–33).

The entire printed version of the Scriptures did not appear until 1822, translated by Johannes Lassar (1771–c. 1835), an Armenian born and raised in Macau, and Joshua Marshman (1768–1837), a British Baptist missionary in India. This absence of full Bible translations in the earlier period likely contributed to a tendency noted by Song: scholarship on the history of the Bible in China has largely centered on Protestant translations of the nineteenth century and beyond, whereas Catholic efforts in the preceding two centuries have remained marginal and understudied in the literature (Song 2024, p. 59).

Although European missionaries were relatively slow to undertake direct Bible translation and failed to produce a complete version of the Scriptures between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, they nonetheless composed a

permission. This measure contributed particularly to restrict the use of the Holy Scripture”. See Marchioron (2023, p. 43).

range of texts that conveyed biblical narratives and teachings “in the concrete context of pastoral application: catechetical teaching, prayer life, meditation, preaching and liturgy”, which were often used in practical preaching (Standaert 1999, p. 53). The rich and diverse collection of Chinese biblical and para-biblical texts, alongside images, played a crucial role in facilitating the Chinese reception of the Bible.¹ Two well-known examples from the 1630s are Giulio Aleni, S.J. (Ai Rulüe 艾儒略, 1582–1649)’s *Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilüe* 天主降生言行纪略 (*Short Record of the Words and Deeds of God’s Incarnation*, 1635), a chronological account of Jesus’ life based on the Gospels, and Manuel Dias, Jr., S.J. (Yang Manuo 阳玛诺, 1574–1659)’s *Sheng jing zhi jie* 圣经直解 (*A Direct Explanation of the Holy Scripture*, 1636–1642), an exegetical work combining translation and commentary on the Sunday Gospel readings (Standaert 1999, pp. 39–48). Building on this, Song has identified a wider body of Chinese Christian texts which incorporate biblical material, including Alfonso Vagnone, S.J. (Gao Yizhi 高一志, 1568–1640)’s *Shengmu xingshi* 圣母行实 (*The True Deeds of the Holy Mother*, 1631), the first biographical account of the Virgin Mary’s life, which, though based on the Gospels, underwent intentional changes and anonymous manuscripts like *Sheng shi* 圣史 (*The Sacred History*, 1582–1840) and *Shansong xingshi* 衫松行实 (*The True Deeds of Samson*, 1700–1800), adapted respectively from the two Books of Maccabees and the *Book of Judges* in the Catholic Old Testament. His analysis, which is conducted from the three perspectives of key concepts, narrative patterns, and terminology, reveals that missionary translators tended toward interpretive and adaptive renderings (*yishu* 译述, to translate and expound) rather than faithful renderings, reflecting both practical needs for preaching and cultural negotiation (Song 2025, pp. 172–177; Song 2024, pp. 57–83).

Scripture in Devotion: Prayer as a Medium of Biblical Transmission

Within this landscape, prayer occupies a distinctive position. Many essential Catholic prayers are themselves scriptural compositions: the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Psalms, among others. The first two were translated soon after the Jesuits’ arrival, appearing in Michele Ruggieri, S.J. (Luo Mingjian 罗明坚, 1543–1607)’s *Tianzhu shilu* 天主实录 (*The True Record of the Lord of Heaven*, 1584), reflecting the understanding that the formation of faith begins with learning what to pray and how to pray. In addition, prayer

1 Chen Yanrong’s book clearly demonstrates that in the context of the lack of an authorized Chinese Bible, “the biblical content was verbalized in the Chinese language at the levels of words, verses, and accounts, and the Chinese Christian books communicated biblical messages to Chinese audiences from the late sixteenth century through the eighteenth century”. Please refer to Chen (2021, p. 221 ff).

books such as the series of *Shengjiao rike* 圣教日课 (*Daily Exercises of the Holy Teaching*) combined translated prayers, prayer guides, and biblical passages like the Ten Commandments and the Passion narrative. The prominence of prayer-based biblical translation was also closely tied to pastoral realities. As the number of Chinese Christians grew rapidly within two decades of the Jesuits' first arrival, which far outpaced the number of missionaries, it became increasingly necessary to translate the scriptural passages required for Sunday Mass, major feasts, oral preaching, and daily devotion. The purpose was pedagogical: to lead catechumens and newly baptized believers into the core of Christian life, and the means included the elaboration of useful guidebooks of prayers (Marchioron 2023, pp. 44–45).

Prayer-based biblical translation was therefore not incidental, but a historically conditioned strategy shaped both by Catholic Church policy in Europe and by the pastoral needs of a rapidly growing Christian community in China. Although less studied than the partial Bible translations of Basset and de Poirot, or the catechisms and biographical narratives of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints, Chinese prayers and prayer books offer a valuable lens to examine how scriptural language, translated with cultural adaptation and reshaped into a ritual, became woven into the everyday devotional lives of converts.¹

Notably, it is likely that these prayers were utilized particularly by Chinese female converts during the period in question. In this context, their relationship with translation did not lie in producing a translated text, as is typically seen in the collaboration between Chinese (male) literati and missionaries, but in “practicing” a translated text as a ritual. According to missionaries' accounts, Chinese Christian women were more pious and eager to practice rituals than men. Ricci noted that his fellow missionaries diverted their attention to converting women, as many were more devout than men, which could be supported by numerous incidents. He gave an example of a literatus surnamed Zhong, whose mother, grandmother, and sister-in-law were all baptized. After that, the three women invited their neighbors to have gatherings in their household (Ricci and Trigault 2010, p. 313). The Portuguese Jesuits André Ferram and António de Gouveia (He Dahua 何大化, 1592–1677)

1 There has been an increase in recent scholarship on efforts of translating Bible in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but much of it centers on the works of Jean Basset and de Poirot. Relevant studies include Zheng (2012), Li (2013), Song (2015), Yu (2023), and Chien (2024). Other than that, studies on this topic have also examined the biblical content in catechetical works and biographical accounts in print or in manuscript. For example, see Standaert (1999), Song (2024) Song (2025), and Dudink (2008).

repeatedly mentioned in their reports the great number of women's confessions, which easily outnumbered men's confessions (Ferram 1659 and de Gouveia 1995–2005, cited in Amsler 2018, p. 108). Annual letters by Francisco Furtado and André Ferram indicated that women attended congregational meetings organized for pious activities with great zeal and suggested that women in many places were more ardent participants than men were in congregations (Ferram 1656 and Furtado 1640, cited in Amsler 2018, p. 108).

This phenomenon was also reported by missionaries from other orders. In the seventeenth-century Mindong (Fujian, China), Dominicans and Franciscans found that women were enthusiastic while men were resistant to the faith (Menegon 2002, p. 213). Missionaries often “complained about the colder reception of their religion among men, while praising women's interest in Christianity and piety” (Menegon 2002, pp. 185–186). Dominican sources also suggested that in Fu'an, a county in Mindong, “although women were probably only 40% of the total population of Mindong, they made up over half of the baptisms” (Menegon 2002, p. 186). Jean Basset, a missionary from the Paris Foreign Mission Society (*Les Missions étrangères de Paris*, MEP) who worked in Sichuan from 1702 to 1707, praised Chinese Christian women for their great innocence and fervor in life (*dans une grande innocence et ferveur*) when they were free to attend gatherings where Mass was celebrated and when they had a missionary who lived nearby. He also felt pity for the lack of education among these women. He believed that if they had as much knowledge as their fervor, the religion would be preserved and propagated much more effectively than it then was. Moreover, he stated that it was important for women to engage with religious texts like the Bible (*elles ne pourront mieux faire que de s'appliquer à lire et à méditer l'Écriture*), beyond just memorizing prayers (Basset 2012, p. 103, 160). The last source in particular implies that female converts devoted considerable energies to offering prayers.

This phenomenon may be partly due to Chinese women's long-standing role in presiding over rituals. The strict segregation between men and women in traditional Chinese society established two distinct spheres: *nei* 内, the internal or domestic realm, and *wai* 外, the external or public realm. Women, expected to remain within the home and fulfill familial duties, were traditionally responsible for performing rituals within the *nei*-sphere. For instance, according to the *Book of Rites* 礼记 (*Liji*), which outlines the ceremonial practices from the Zhou through the Han dynasties, a girl would cease going out and begin observing and assisting with domestic rituals as early as the age of ten.¹ Such “division of religious labor” still endured in late

1 “女子十年不出，姆教婉婉听从，执麻枲，治丝茧，织纴组紃，学女事以共衣服。观于

imperial China, where women oversaw most religious activities, while men primarily participated only in occasional large-scale community rituals (Amsler 2018, p. 104). In a similar fashion, once women converted to Christianity, they often became active agents in promoting faith and religious devotion within the *nei*-sphere of the family (Standaert 2001, p. 395).¹ Therefore, they developed a strong oral tradition when dealing with translated prayers, which were internalized through recitation or chanting, rather than through reading.

Despite widespread illiteracy that inhibited female converts from reading prayer texts, they still managed to learn them, mostly through oral transmission, and actively participated in Christian devotion. For example, a woman might have initially received instruction from her husband and, following her conversion, transmitted what she had learned to her children, female family members, or even women outside her household. Similarly, prayers could be passed from mother to daughter, between female relatives, from a female master to her servant, or even between neighbors, forming a network of oral transmission among women. They would passionately recite prayers on various occasions and in different settings, either individually or in groups (Amsler 2018, Chapters 5–8). The prayers they learned were mostly found in translated Chinese prayerbooks circulated at the time. Praying, which was interwoven into their everyday life, helped form, reinforce, and preserve their Christian identity.²

Among the prayer genres, the Rosary manuals stand out as particularly significant. Rooted in scriptural prayers (the Hail Mary and the Our Father) and meditations on the mysteries of Christ's life rooted in the Bible, Rosary manuals do more than reproduce scripture: they frame, structure, and interpret these scriptural passages, telling believers when, how, and what to pray, with adaptations to local cultural contexts. Therefore, they function as

祭祀，纳酒浆、筍豆、菹醢，礼相助奠。”(“A girl at the age of ten ceased to go out [from the women's apartments]. Her governess taught her the arts of pleasing speech and manners, to be docile and obedient, to handle the hempen fibres, to deal with the cocoons, to weave silks and form fillets, to learn [all] woman's work, how to furnish garments, to watch the sacrifices, to supply the liquors and sauces, to fill the various stands and dishes with pickles and brine, and to assist in setting forth the appurtenances for the ceremonies.”)

1 In addition, as for the intermediaries for women's evangelization and the organization of women's religious practice within the gendered spatial arrangements of Chinese households, see Amsler (2018, pp.51–55).

2 The author of this present paper has collected materials to elaborate on the space, time, mode and pursuit of these female converts' practices of praying. This topic may deserve a separate paper.

devotional literature anchored in scripture, mediating between the Scripture and the lived practice of devotion.

Because the Rosary is fundamentally a Marian devotion and the most popular form of it, understanding these manuals requires us to situate them within broader traditions of Marian piety in both Europe and late Ming–early Qing China. The following section therefore contextualizes the place of Mary and Marian devotion in these intersecting religious worlds.

The Context of Marian Devotion and the Rosary in Europe and China

Marian devotion held a prominent place in both European and Chinese Catholic communities of the period. In Europe, within the post-Tridentine Catholic Reformation from the mid-sixteenth century onward, the Rosary and Marian piety came to symbolize a revitalized Catholicism, especially during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Marian devotion not only endured but often thrived under conditions where the public practice of Catholicism was suppressed (Mitchell 2009, p. 20). The Rosary itself had medieval origins, but it underwent significant development before reaching its early modern form: meditations on the cyclical “life of Christ”, combined with repetitive prayers of mainly the Ave Maria (Hail Mary) and the *Pater Noster* (Our Father), recited with the aid of beads that served as counters. These prayers were grouped into sets of ten Hail Marys, or “decades”, with a complete rosary comprising fifteen decades. From early on, the Rosary gained wide popularity. Its portability, accessibility to both clergy and laity, ease of memorization, and reliance on imaginative meditation rather than on literacy made it especially appealing. It also became closely associated with visual and material culture, as well as with the growing print culture of the late fifteenth century, when Rosary books with illustrations circulated widely (Mitchell 2009, pp. 18–19). These same characteristics that contributed to the Rosary’s popularity in Europe appear to have been retained in its transmission to China and may help account for its appeal there, especially among ordinary believers with limited literacy. Notably, the Chinese reception of the Rosary also included illustrated editions, suggesting both continuity with European practices and adaptation to local devotional contexts.

The Virgin Mary holds a particularly esteemed position in Chinese Catholic communities, and the practice of reciting the Rosary was introduced as early as the 1580s, when Jesuit missionaries first settled on the Chinese mainland. A notable early adopter was the father of Wang Pan 王泮 (1535–?), the local official who invited Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, S.J. (Li Madou 利玛窦, 1552–1610) to Zhaoqing, Guangdong, in 1583. Reportedly, Wang’s father recited the Rosary daily, kneeling before a picture given by the two missionaries (Bernard 1937, cited in Yang 2024, p. 2). Scholarship on early

Marian prayers and Mariological texts in Chinese has revealed a complex interplay between the culturally adapted image of Mary and its reception by different audiences. A comparison of different Jesuit translations of the *Ave Maria* from 1584 to c. 1665 demonstrates that missionaries consciously sought to “establish a model image of Mary in line with both the Catholic veneration of the Mother of God and the Chinese concern about ideal womanhood” (Song 2018, pp. 325–326). In the same vein, in Mariological texts, Jesuits “consciously modified and reinterpreted these concepts to accommodate the dominant Chinese ways of thinking, especially Confucian ideology and morality” (Song 2018, p. 329).

Among the educated elite literati, this strategy was effective: Mary was often portrayed in literary texts as a model of Confucian moral perfection. This portrayal was shaped through mutual influence, as literati formed their impression from Jesuit writings, while Jesuits simultaneously adapted their depiction to align with Confucian ideals. These prayers thus reveal not only how Christianity was understood, but also how it was deliberately framed to appear acceptable to its intended elite audience, an adaptation that in turn influenced the reception of Christianity among these readers. In contrast, among commoners, Mary was worshipped less as a Confucian exemplar and more as a goddess with miraculous power, reminding one of Buddhism, Daoism, and popular religious traditions (Song 2018, p. 337). The divergence highlights a tension: while the Jesuit translations aimed to appeal to elite literati by presenting Mary as a figure with Confucian moral values, many ordinary believers received and venerated her in ways shaped by their own religious frameworks. The devotional practices of female converts further complicate this picture. As Amsler notes, Chinese Christian women venerated Mary as a child-granting goddess, driven by their personal desire for offspring rather than by Jesuit strategies of cultural accommodation. For these devotees, the distinction between the Catholic Virgin Mary and local fertility deities was often blurred, as both were believed to possess miraculous powers to grant children. The Jesuits, however, maintained a clearer boundary, ensuring that Mary retained recognizable Christian attributes while still adapting her image to the Chinese cultural and religious context (Amsler 2018, pp. 91–94).

These observations suggest that within the Chinese context, different social groups emphasized different attributes of the Virgin Mary. Certain aspects of her image found resonance in the translated *Ave Maria*, but the reception varied according to class, gender, and devotional needs.

Building on this scholarship, the present study turns to the Chinese Rosary as another case of Marian prayer in translation. In seventeenth-century China, it typically appeared in the form of a Rosary manual, which instructed believers how to pray, what to recite or meditate on, when to perform this

devotion, and what benefits this practice would bring. The main body of this paper thus examines four Rosary manuals: one Portuguese edition and three Chinese translations produced in the seventeenth century. It first compares the Portuguese source with its earliest Chinese version, thereby revealing strategies of adaptation that shaped these texts: where its first Chinese translation expands or omits Gospel details or source notes, where it adopts semantic or lexical adaptation for local concerns, and where it introduces the dialogical form to instruct new readers. It then compares the three Chinese manuals to trace how later versions reconfigured earlier ones in terms of textual style, liturgical concepts, and divine titles, among other features. By attending to these differences, one can better understand how prayer texts served as a vital site where biblical narrative, Marian devotion, and Chinese religious sensibilities converged.

The original Portuguese work on the Rosary is *A Maneira de Rezar o Rosayro de Nossa Senhora*, a guide to properly praying the Rosary, composed by Inácio Martins (1531–1598). This text, along with an illustration for each mystery, appears at the end of the expanded edition of the Portuguese catechism *Doctrina Christam Ordenada a Maneira de Dialogo, para ensinar os meninos* (*Christian Doctrine Arranged in the Manner of Dialogue to Teach Children*, 1592) authored by Marcos Jorge (1524–1571).¹ Since it was the catechism that was translated into Chinese at the time, this study discusses it as the original. The three translated manuals of the Rosary in Chinese, on the other hand, are João da Rocha, S.J. (Luo Ruwang 罗儒望, 1565–1623)'s *Song nianzhu guicheng* 诵念珠规程 (*Regulation for Reciting the Rosary*, 1616),² Gaspar Ferreira's *Song nianzhu guicheng* 诵念珠规程 (*Regulation for Reciting the Rosary*, 1605–1625), which is included in the prayer collection *Nianjing zongdu* 念经总牍 (*Compendium of Recited Prayers*, 1628), and another version of it in the c. 1665 standard prayer collection *Shengjiao rike*, titled alternatively as *Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan* 圣母玫瑰经十五端 (*Fifteen Points of the Rosary for the*

1 See Ji Fu (2016, p. 106ff) that identifies the link. This Portuguese book was reprinted in 1653. The full Rosary guide in the reprinted version can be accessed on National Library of Portugal, while merely a small part of the Rosary can be found in the original edition via the National Library of the Czech Republic. Due to this, the reprinted edition will be mainly quoted in the following text.

2 According to the CCT Database, the date, which is often referred to as 1619–1622, and authorship are contested. Some scholars attribute this work to Gaspar Ferreira rather than da Rocha. The date is indicated as “1616 [?], (1619–1622) or after 1623: 1628” in the database. In this study, I adopt the year of 1616. For a detailed description, see: <https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/chinese-studies/english/cct/database/index.php/Detail/objects/1919>.

Holy Mother).¹ These three versions were chosen for several reasons.

First, since primary sources hardly specify which edition of the Rosary manual was used by Chinese Catholic women, an important reason for selecting da Rocha's text is its likely connection to Candida Xu 徐甘第大 (1607-1680)'s devotion to the Rosary. Da Rocha had baptized Xu Guangqi 徐光启 (1562-1633) and remained a close friend of the Xu family, making it plausible that his version was used in their religious practices (Amsler 2018, pp. 123–124). Candida Xu, granddaughter of Xu Guangqi, was an influential Chinese Catholic who saw herself as a missionary. She actively supported the Catholic mission in China, not only through generous donations to missionaries but also by providing financial assistance to new Chinese converts. This study also includes two versions of Ferreira's guide on the Rosary: the *Regulation for Reciting the Beads* included in the 1628 prayer collection *Nianjing zongdu* and *Fifteen Points of the Rose Prayer to the Holy Mother* included in the c. 1665 standard prayer collection of *Shengjiao rike*.² Examining these versions allows for an exploration of how an important Marian prayer like the Rosary evolved over time, from an earlier form to its standardized version. Additionally, comparing Ferreira's versions with da Rocha's possibly widely circulated version provides insight into how different Jesuit authors shaped the prayer's textual development. Other Rosary works attributed to Jesuits also existed before the standard version, such as Aleni's *Shengmu*

1 The three Chinese Rosary manuals used in this study are: (1) Da Rocha's *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), BnF, Chinois 7382; (2) Ferreira's *Song nianzhu guicheng*, included in *Nianjing zongdu* (1628), in *Fandigang tu shu guan cang Ming Qing Zhong Xi wen hua jiao liu shi wen xian cong kan: Di yi ji* 梵蒂冈图书馆藏明清中西文化交流史文献丛刊: 第一辑 Vatican Apostolic Library Series on Sino-Western Cultural Exchange in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, First Series (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2014), vol. 16, pp. 1–478; and (3) Ferreira's *Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan*, included in the *Shengjiao rike* (c. 1665), BnF, Chinois 7353-IV.

2 Fundamental prayers such as *Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster* were translated as early as not long after Ruggieri and Ricci had entered the Chinese mainland. The Chinese versions were included in Ruggieri's catechism dated 1584. Since then, separate prayerbooks and collections of Chinese prayers were constantly produced. Among them, the series under the same title *Shengjiao rike* deserves special attention. This title refers to a comprehensive compilation of various kinds of prayers intended for the use of Chinese Catholic converts. According to the CCT database, nine editions of *Shengjiao rike* were published between c. 1602 and c. 1800. The third edition, attributed to Buglio and Verbiest and published around 1665 (though the exact date remains debated), became the standard (*ne varietur*) version and remained so for subsequent editions. For more relevant research results, see Brunner, (1964, p. 84). See also H. Busch's review of Brunner's book in Busch (1965, p. 467).

meiguijing shiwu duan tuxiang 圣母玫瑰经十五端图像 (*Images of Fifteen Points of the Rosary for the Holy Mother*, 1637). During the same period, there were also works to propagate the Rosary attributed to non-Jesuit missionaries, such as *Renlei zhen'an* 人类真安 (*The True Peace of Humankind*, c. 1680), a manuscript written by the Dominican missionary Arcadio del Rosario (Ou Jialüe 欧加略, 1641–1686), the first comprehensive book on the Rosary in Chinese.¹ However, due to the limited scope of this paper, the comparison is confined to the three Chinese Rosary guides listed earlier.

Comparison Between Portuguese Original and Chinese Translation

As mentioned earlier, da Rocha's Rosary manual, *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), is adapted from Martins' Rosary guide, *A Maneira de Rezar o Rosayro de Nossa Senhora*, which appears in the Portuguese catechism *Doctrina Christam Ordenada a Maneira de Dialogo, para ensinar os meninos* (Christian Doctrine Arranged in the Manner of Dialogue to Teach Children, 1592). This study thus uses Martins' text in *Doctrina Christam*.² Regarding the extratextual factors of the catechism, it was published in late-sixteenth-century Catholic Portugal, aimed at reinforcing Catholic devotional practices and supporting catechetical instruction in the context of Counter-Reformation and post-Tridentine reforms. As indicated by the title, the primary recipients of this work were Catholic children who were expected to learn the foundations of Catholic doctrine. As for intra-textual factors, the main body is a catechism in dialogue form teaching Christian doctrine, with supplementary devotional material. It presupposes minimal doctrinal knowledge, guiding learners through the basics. The illustrations, providing paratextual visual guidance, serve as crucial non-verbal elements in the work, which help learners to comprehend and memorize the gospel scenes attached to each mystery, making the Rosary prayer more accessible. The inclusion of catechetical instruction and devotional material in this work suggests its function as both referential as teaching doctrine and prescriptive as guiding practice.

When Jorge's *Doctrina Christam* was adapted for the Chinese context, it resulted in two translations: a catechism titled *Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng* 天主圣教启蒙 (Primer on Holy Teaching of the Lord of Heaven) and a Rosary manual titled *Song nianzhu guicheng*. Published around 1616, these two texts were often bound together according to the CCT Database.³ The Chinese

1 See more about this manuscript in Yang (2024). As for what Marian prayers were available before 1722, please refer to Yang (2024) and Song (2018).

2 A digital version of Jorge's *Doctrina Christam* (1653) is accessible on <https://purl.pt/24091>, and Martins' Rosary guide can be found in 78a–95a.

3 This was mentioned under both entries of the two works in the database. Pl

catechism and the beginning of the Chinese Rosary follow the dialogue form in the original Portuguese catechism between the master and the disciple. The non-verbal illustrative elements alongside each mystery in the original are also present in the Chinese version. However, they were rather adapted from Jerónimo Nadal's S.J. (1507-1580) *Evangelicae historiae imagines ex ordine evangeliorum, quae toto anno in missae sacrificio recitantur*, a collection of 153 large folio prints of gospel scenes which was published posthumously in Antwerp in 1593.¹ The Chinese texts were primarily addressed to neophytes to equip them with a systematic introduction to the fundamentals of Catholic doctrine and ground them in concrete devotional practices. Unlike the case in the Portuguese original, the Chinese translations were not specifically targeted at children. Given the short timespan between 1616 and 1583 when European missionaries first arrived in the Chinese mainland, the new Chinese Catholics at the time were mainly adults. Moreover, they were mostly commoners with basic literacy, male and female included. In terms of the function, like Jorge's *Doctrina Christam*, the Chinese translations provide both systematic theological knowledge and practical spiritual formation.

The two introductions above provide profiles of the Portuguese source text and the Chinese target texts. Their differences and similarities are more clearly demonstrated after comparing them according to five categories following Christiane Nord's model of text analysis: Intended text functions, addressees, time and place of text reception, medium, and motive (Munday 2016, pp. 131–134).

The profiles point to hypothesized textual outcomes in translation, according to which the two texts share the same intended function and medium. Their divergences, however, concern addressees, time and place of reception, and motive. The shared catechetical function indicates that translations would consistently retain a didactic, instructive tone across contexts. The differences, by contrast, suggest the kinds of shifts likely to have occurred when the Portuguese source text was rendered into Chinese.

The Portuguese original, intended primarily for children, employed simple, child-oriented language to facilitate memorization. The main body of the work, consisting of catechetical instruction, was dialogical and pedagogically oriented, and thus easily comprehensible. However, the supplementary Rosary section is more sophisticated in style and appears to

ease refer to <https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/chinese-studies/english/cct/database/index.php/Detail/objects/1919> and <https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/chinese-studies/english/cct/database/index.php/Detail/objects/2611>.

1 See <https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/chinese-studies/english/cct/database/index.php/Detail/objects/1919>.

target adult readership. Ideally, since the Chinese version was directed at adults, its register needed to be elevated compared with the Portuguese text. However, whereas Portuguese children were Catholic insiders, born and raised in the faith, the Chinese addressees were often adult commoners with only moderate literacy who were entering the faith for the first time. This shift implies that explanations would have to be expanded in translation, while the style would need to remain accessible and less literary. Moreover, differences in time and place of reception shaped potential translation choices as well. In 1592 Portugal, Catholicism was the dominant religion, whereas in 1616 China it was a marginal, foreign faith within a culture characterized by the interplay of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. Thus, knowledge that could be assumed in the Portuguese catechism could not be presupposed in Chinese. Translating the original therefore amounted to translating a different worldview. The translator might “move the reader toward the author” or “the author toward the reader” or adopt a middle ground (Bernofsky 1997, pp. 176–177). In this process, presupposed Catholic concepts and terms may be removed, or, if not removed, be translated through tactics such as transliteration, semantic extension, and neologism creation.

Finally, divergent motives also conditioned the translations. In Portugal, within the Post-Tridentine context, the catechism sought to emphasize doctrinal uniformity among young learners already born within the Catholic faith. In China, by contrast, the catechism and Rosary served primarily to introduce the faith and persuade potential converts. Accordingly, adaptation could be employed to map Catholic elements onto Chinese conceptual frameworks, thereby rendering the religion more intelligible, familiar, and acceptable to Chinese recipients. This process overlaps with the translation tactics mentioned above to introduce new Catholic concepts and terms.

The following table illustrates the comparison between the Portuguese original and the Chinese translation, assessing whether the hypothesized preservation and changes elaborated previously can be confirmed. Since this study focuses on prayer texts, the translated catechism *Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng* will not be examined; only the translated Rosary *Song nianzhu guicheng* falls within the scope of this study.

Before turning to the broader patterns summarized in the table below, one example may serve as a good illustration. The Portuguese text begins with a brief narrative explanation of the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary, arranged in the sequence of *Os cinco g[lo]zozos... Os cinco dolorosos... Os cinco gloriosos* (The five joyful [mysteries]...The five sorrowful [mysteries]... The five glorious [mysteries]...), followed by a straightforward introduction to how to

pray (*Hase de rezar desta maneira*).¹ In the Chinese translation, however, this opening is reshaped into a dialogue between a teacher and a pupil. At the very beginning, the teacher asks: “What daily practice do you undertake to nourish the life of your anima (*ni ya-ni-ma de shengming* 你亚尼玛的生命) and to preserve your virtue of loving the Lord of Heaven (*ni ai Tianzhu de de* 你爱天主的德)?” The pupil responds: “Each day I recite one full Rosary of the Lord and the Holy Mother (*Tianzhu Shengmu quan nianzhu yichuan* 天主圣母全念珠一串), and I meditate on the fifteen supernatural deeds (*shiwu chao xing zhi shi* 十五超性之事) that constitute the life of our Lord Jesus.”² The dialogue then continues by explaining the composition of the fifteen mysteries and the proper method of praying the Rosary.

Table 1: Comparison between Martins’ *A Maneira de Rezar o Rosayro* and da Rocha’s *Song nianzhu guicheng*

Category	Original Portuguese Rosary Manual (1592/1653)	Translated Chinese Rosary Manual (1616)
Form	Narrative introduction; main text in offering–petition structure	Dialogue-form introduction; main text in offering–petition structure
Style	Adult-oriented	Overall colloquial, intelligible
Additions	Concise narration of mysteries; assumes biblical knowledge	Expanded Gospel details
Omissions	Inclusion of religious terms and Gospel source notes	Omission of certain religious terms, Gospel source notes, and certain Gospel details
Semantic adaptation	Often found in the translation of petitions	Petitions reshaped with different effects
Lexical adaptation (word choice/imagery)	Catholic terminology	Adoption of translation strategies including transliteration, semantic extension, neologism creation

In terms of form, the main text of both the Portuguese original and the Chinese translation remains consistent: after the title of each mystery, the text is divided into two parts: *offerecimento* (offering) and *oração* (petition), which

1 *Doctrinam Christam* (1653), 78a–79a.

2 *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 1a.

are rendered as *xian* 献 (dedication, offering) and *qiu* 求 (petition, prayer) in the Chinese Rosary.¹ The offering consists of a dedication to the Virgin Mary together with a description of a biblical scene connected to her or viewed from her perspective (e.g., *vosso filho*, “your son”). The petition presents the requests directed to Jesus, made through Mary’s intercession. Some have speculated that the offering-petition structure in the Chinese Rosary may have derived from traditional Chinese worship rituals (Wang 2015, p. 42). The Portuguese original, however, clearly contradicts this view.

The speculation likely arises from the cultural and religious connotations carried by the two Chinese terms *xian* and *qiu*. In Daoism, for instance, the five ritual objects presented to the gods—incense, flowers, lamps, water, and fruit—are collectively called *wu xian* 五献 (five offerings) (Hu 1998, p. 176). In Buddhism, supplicating the Bodhisattva is commonly phrased as *qiu Pusa* 求菩萨 (to petition the Bodhisattva). The verb *qiu* further recurs in popular devotional practice, as in *qiu zi* 求子 (praying for offspring), *qiu cai* 求财 (praying for wealth), and *qiu hunyin* 求婚姻 (praying for marriage). Comparable patterns are also observed in Confucian state rituals. According to *Da Ming ji li* 大明集礼 (Collected Rites of the Great Ming), a compilation published in 1530 of all kinds of official ceremonies down to the early Jiajing period 嘉靖 (1522-1566), the Great Sacrifice to Heaven (*jitian* 祭天) includes four phases concerning the presentation of offerings, each titled with the term *xian*: *chu xian* 初献 (First oblation), *ya xian* 亚献 (Second oblation), *zhong xian* 终献 (Final oblation), and *fen xian* 分献 (Separate oblation).² The term *qiu* also appears in the text of *Da Ming ji li*, indicating the invocation of gods. For instance, when explaining the type of jade ritual objects to be offered to Heaven, the text notes: “For the rite of honoring the gods takes place at the beginning of invoking them” (*gai li shen zai qiu shen zhi chu* 盖礼神在求神之初).³

The resemblance between the pair *offerecimento–oração* and the pair *xian–qiu*, both denoting acts of dedication and supplication in a religious sense, is thus evident. In this sense, these familiar terms were drawn on by the translator(s) not because they dictated the structure, but because they allowed Christian devotional practice to be framed within an existing Chinese

1 For example, see the first joyful mystery in *Doctrina Christam*, 80a–80b and that in da Rocha’s *Song nianzhu guicheng*, 4a–4b.

2 Nicolas Standaert listed these phases with translations in his article which compares the Chinese Great Sacrifice to Heaven and the European Catholic Mass where the sacrifice is offered to God. See Standaert (2007, pp. 521–543).

3 *Da Ming ji li*, volume 2, para. 23. Accessible on <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=233599&remap=gb>.

religious vocabulary already understood by the Chinese audience.

Where the two texts differ, however, is the form of the introduction. The Chinese Rosary begins in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and a pupil, mirroring the catechetical section of the original Portuguese catechism. This dialogue introduces the benefits of praying the Rosary, outlines the fifteen mysteries, and explains both the method and the appropriate times for prayer. The translator may have adopted this format to follow the dialogical, instructive tone characteristic of the catechism. In contrast, the Portuguese Rosary opens with a purely narrative style, presenting only the content of each mystery and the manner of prayer. While both introductions share the same basic purpose, the Chinese text often expands upon the Gospel scenes of the mysteries, adding details absent from the Portuguese version. It also specifies the function and timing of the Rosary, which are not found in the source text. For example, in the Portuguese version, the scene of the first sorrowful mystery was introduced as *A Oração de Christo N. Senhor quando suou sangue no Horto* (The Prayer of Christ Our Lord when He sweated blood in the Garden), whereas in the Chinese version it reads: *Ye-su shounan qian yi xi zai Aliwa shan yuan zhong daogao Tianzhu Ba-de-le sanci* 耶稣受难前一夕在阿利瓦山园中祷告天主罢德肋三次 (On the eve before the Passion of Jesus, he prayed to *Pater* the Lord of Heaven three times in a garden on the Mount of Olives). The origin of these additions, however, remains uncertain.

In terms of the style of the Chinese Rosary, the text appears overall colloquial and easy to follow. This is in contrast to, for example, the literary, philosophical, and apologetic approach of *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主实义 (*The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* by Matteo Ricci, 1603). Such a difference suggests that the Chinese Rosary targeted mainly common believers with basic literacy rather than elite literati. This feature will be discussed later in detail in the comparison of the three Chinese Rosary versions. Moreover, the profile analysis above suggests that the Chinese translation would need to provide more explanations than the Portuguese original, since Catholicism was the dominant religion in Portugal but a new faith in China. A comparison of the Chinese and Portuguese Rosary texts confirms this expectation: instances of additions frequently appear in the translation of offerings. For example, in the second joyful mystery concerning Mary's visitation to Elizabeth, The Portuguese offering covers only the routine offering of prayers (10 *Ave Marias* + 1 *Pater Noster*), Mary's joy in visiting Elizabeth, John's sanctification in the womb, Mary's recognition as the Mother of God, and the intonation of the *Magnificat*.¹ By contrast, the Chinese translation, while retaining the same

1 "Offerecimento. O Virgem singular, beata entre todas as mulheres, eu vos ofereço humilmente dez Ave Marias, e hum Padre nosso à honra do gozo, que vossa alma

prayer offering and basic visitation narrative, expanded the description with many details, including the specific identification of Elizabeth as Mary's "elder cousin" (*biaojie* 表姐), explicit mention of Elizabeth's six months of pregnancy, John's recognition of Jesus, and Jesus' act of forgiving him of original sin.¹ Furthermore, it integrates direct biblical quotations of Elizabeth's exclamations: "Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the child you will bear!" and "But why am I so favored, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" (Luke 1:42–43, NIV), which are inexplicit in the Portuguese text.² The explicit quotation of Elizabeth's words seems to assume readers' unfamiliarity with the biblical story, a reasonable assumption for Chinese converts at the time, who were often unacquainted with biblical narratives and thus needed explicit explanations. Similarly, the addition about Jesus forgiving John's original sin in the womb reinforces Catholic doctrine on original sin and God's grace for this new audience.

However, it appears to have been relatively common for certain Gospel

sentio quando com abraço da charidade fostes apressadamente te visitar vossa parenta S. Isabel, em cuja visitaçã o menino S. Ioam no vente da mãy com prazer se aluroçou, & ficou santificado. E vós Senhora, sendo por mãy de Deos conhecida, & louvada, entoastes o ditissimo cantico da Magnificat." ("Offering. O singular Virgin, blessed among all women, I humbly offer you ten Hail Marys, and one Our Father in honor of the joy that your soul felt when, with an embrace of charity, you went hastily to visit your cousin Saint Elizabeth, in whose visitation the child Saint John, in the mother's womb, with joy leapt, and was sanctified. And you, Lady, being by Mother of God known and praised, intoned the most worthy hymn of the Magnificat."), in *Doctrina Christam* (1653), 81a–81b.

- 1 “谕若嘉俾辄尔。又以尔表姊意撒伯尔。受娠的奇事。奉报于尔。尔乃大发热心的圣爱。速往看他。在他家内管顾。他的受孕有六个月。天神报说。该唤名为若翰。是时若翰在胎。就知尔在他母之前。又知尔已怀胎是将生救世的天主。其在胎中。不胜欣跃。尔子耶稣。在尔胎中。即便赦其所负原祖之罪。” (“The angel Gabriel informed you about your cousin Elizabeth's miraculous conception. Out of fervent holy love, you hastened to visit and care for at her household. As the angel had announced, she was already six months pregnant, and the child was to be named John. Though still a fetus in the womb, John knew you were present before her mother and that you carried the world's Savior. He was overwhelmed with joy in the womb, and at that moment, your son Jesus, while still with you, absolved him from his original sin.”), in *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 6a–6b.
- 2 “意撒伯尔荷蒙天主赐他认识尔为天主之母。不胜欢呼称赞。说道女中尔为殊福。尔胎中子。尤为殊福。我何德能。而使吾主之母。远来顾我。” (“Elizabeth, thanks to divine favor, recognized you as the Mother of God and joyfully proclaimed, ‘Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the child you will bear! But why am I so favored, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?’”), in *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 6b.

elements to be phased out in the translation process. In some instances, this seems to reflect a shift in emphasis, where one element is substituted for another. For instance, in the same offering, the *Magnificat* (*cantico da Magnificat*) is missing in the Chinese translation. Instead of Mary's song of praise to God, the text highlights Elizabeth's recognition and proclamation of Mary and Jesus, an additional emphasis not explicitly stated in the Portuguese original. In other cases, key terms central to Catholic theology and spiritual practice in the Portuguese Rosary, such as *Messias* (Messiah), *graça* (grace), and *recolhimento* (recollection), were omitted in the Chinese version. Moreover, all the notes that precede the offering of each mystery and identify the Gospel sources of the scenes (e.g., *Luc. 2, Mat. 26*) were also left out of the Chinese text. Regarding the instances where Catholic concepts and terms were preserved rather than removed, these involved translation strategies of transliteration, semantic extension, and neologism creation. These strategies will become more apparent when comparing the three Chinese Rosary texts and will be addressed in the subsequent analysis.

Finally, cultural adaptation can be examined on semantic and lexical levels. At the semantic level, this adaptation is most evident in the translation of petitions. Many petition translations demonstrate limited correspondence to the Portuguese original. For instance, in the petition from the second joyful mystery, the Portuguese text begins by asking the Virgin Mary to intercede with her precious Son, followed by requests to "seek good conversations, walk on good paths, and have fervent charity toward neighbors" (*buscar sempre boas conversações, & andar em bons caminhos, & ter fervente charidade para com meus próximos*), all "for the satisfaction of my soul" (*em satisfação da minha alma*).¹ While the Chinese text similarly opens with the request for Mary's intercession with her Son Jesus, the remainder was reshaped to different degrees. The original's simple, practical requests for "good conversations" and "good paths" in the source text were omitted entirely and replaced with petitions that tied more closely to interior moral and spiritual self-cultivation: a fervent heart to love people (*airen de rexin* 爱人的热心), forgiveness of sins for my *anima* (*wo de ya-ni-ma zuiguo zhi she* 我的亚尼玛罪过之赦), accumulation of holy grace (*sheng'en zhi ji* 圣恩之积), and knowledge of God's matters and understanding of supernatural matters (*xiao Tianzhu shili chao xing zhi shi* 晓天主事理超性之识). The original's final request for "fervent charity toward neighbors" was generalized as fervent love of all the others. Additionally, the Chinese version concludes with "Amen", which is absent from the Portuguese original.² This shift from external practical conduct to inner faith and salvation suggests that

1 *Doctrina Christam* (1653), 81b.

2 *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 7a.

the translator favored catechetical reinforcement over literal equivalence.

This adaptive strategy is also visible in the devotional invocations to the Virgin Mary at the beginning of each offering. In many cases, the modifiers used in the Portuguese originals were reinterpreted in the Chinese translations, shifting the emphasis of Mary's virtues or constructing a localized Marian image. One example of the first kind of change appears in the fourth joyful mystery. In the Portuguese text, Mary was praised as "most pure and mirror of humility" (*O Virgem puríssima, espelho de humildade*), highlighting her purity and humility. The Chinese version, however, renders it as "of exceptional grand beauty" (*feichang shengmei Ma-li-ya* 非常盛美玛丽亚), redirecting attention from concrete moral virtues to the more general physical or moral beauty. Concerning adaptations that introduce a localized Virgin Mary, one example appears in the fourth glorious mystery. In the Portuguese original, Mary was described as "*O Soberana Virgem, senhora do gene humano, fermosura do Ceo*" (O Sovereign Virgin, lady of mankind, splendor of Heaven). The Chinese version translated it into "high-above mother-lord" (*gao shang mu zhu* 高上母主) and "supreme queen of heaven and earth" (*tiandi yuanhou* 天地元后). The honorific title *yuanhou* 元后 (supreme queen) originally denoted the emperor or the sovereign, and later also the emperor's primary, legitimate wife or the sovereign's principal consort. Its use here highlights Mary's exalted status while imparting an archaic tone. In the same vein, the term *tiandi* 天地 (heaven and earth), a familiar compound in Chinese thought immediately recognizable to Chinese recipients, expands the Portuguese reference to "Heaven" alone.¹ This adoption of the compound situates Mary in the Chinese cosmological and philosophical traditions and infuses the translation with a sense of cultural resonance.

At the lexical level, adaptation manifests in two primary ways. First, Chinese culturally loaded concepts were sometimes adopted, such as translating *obediência* (obedience) as *xiao* 孝 (filial piety) in the fifth joyful mystery's petition.² Second, the source text imagery unfamiliar to the target

1 The compound of *tiandi* often refers to nature in Chinese philosophical traditions. It appears in the discussions of different philosophical schools. Please refer to the entries that contain this term in Fang (1991, pp. 79–80).

2 The Portuguese original is "A leçaimo Senhora minha, buscar a meu Deos cõ prãde dor, & sentimento de o ter perdido, e graça pe nunca mais o perder, & perfeita obediência a todos meus superiores. Amen" (Grant me, my Lady, to seek my God with heartfelt sorrow and deep regret for having lost Him, and the grace to never lose Him again, and perfect obedience to all my superiors. Amen), whereas the Chinese translation is "今我虔恭求尔。为我转求尔子耶稣。与我患难之时。赐我神慰。使我时时事事。合于圣旨。成谦成孝。能事天主。亚孟。" (Now I piously and respectfully beseech you: intercede for me with your Son Jesus. In times of affliction,

audience was sometimes removed. For instance, in the third sorrowful mystery, the *cana* (reed) which Roman soldiers placed in Jesus' hand as a scepter and used to strike his head was removed and replaced with "shabby garments worn by kings" (*wangzhe suo chuan de po yi* 王者所穿的破衣). These adaptations reveal a translation strategy that prioritizes cultural comprehension and doctrinal clarity over strict formal equivalence.

Comparison of the Three Chinese Translations

Beyond the original-translation comparison, the study also investigates how the later Chinese Rosary versions evolved from the foundation laid by the 1616 text. The comparison of the three versions of the Rosary guide is presented below. The major differences are analyzed from the following perspectives: layout, presence of illustrations, style and rhythm, person, translation of certain Catholic names, titles, and concepts, and time schedule of praying the Rosary. An overview can be found in Table 2.

Table 2: Comparison of the Three Chinese Rosary guides

Category	<i>Song nianzhu guicheng</i> (1616)	<i>Song nianzhu guicheng</i> (1628)	<i>Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan</i> c. 1665
Format	Introduction in dialogue form; main text in offering-petition structure	Introduction in narrative prose; main text in offering-petition structure	Introduction in narrative prose; main text in offering-petition structure
Layout	Additional space before religious names and divine titles; a separate column for "offering" and "petition"; the heading "offering" placed before the title of each mystery	No additional space; no separate column for "offering" and "petition"; the heading "offering" placed after the title of each mystery	The same as the 1628 edition
Illustrations	Fifteen woodblock illustrations	No illustrations	No illustrations

grant me with divine grace, so that at all times and in all matters, I may conform to the divine will, practice humility and filial piety, capable of serving the Lord of Heaven. Amen). For Portuguese, see *Doctrina Christam* (1653), 84a-85a. For Chinese, see *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 12b.

Style & Rhythm	Colloquial; longer sentences	Colloquial; longer sentences	Literary and elegant; shorter sentences with more four-character phrases
Person	Second person (“you”)	Second person (“you”)	Third person (“Holy Mother”)
Religious Names	<i>Maria: Ma-li-ya</i> 玛利亚 <i>Jesus: Ye-su</i> 耶稣 <i>Gabriel: Jia-bi-e-er</i> 嘉俾铎尔	<i>Maria: Ma-li-ya</i> <i>Jesus: Ye-su</i> <i>Gabriel: Jia-bi-e-er</i>	<i>Maria: Ma-li-ya</i> <i>Jesus: Je-su</i> <i>Gabriel: Jia-bi-e-er</i>
Divine Titles	<i>Christus: Ji-li-si-duo</i> 基利斯多 <i>Deus: Tianzhu</i> 天主 (Lord of Heaven) <i>Pater: Tianzhu Ba-de-le</i> 天主罢德肋 (Lord of Heaven <i>pater</i>) <i>Spiritus Sanctus: Si-bi-li-duo-san-duo</i> 斯彼利多三多	<i>Christus: Ji-li-si-duo</i> <i>Deus: Tianzhu</i> (Lord of Heaven) <i>Pater: Tianzhu ba-de-le</i> (Lord of Heaven <i>pater</i>) <i>Spiritus Sanctus: Si-bi-li-duo-san-duo</i>	<i>Christus: Ji-li-si-du</i> 基利斯督 <i>Deus: Tianzhu</i> (Lord of Heaven) <i>Pater: Tianzhu ba-de-le</i> (Lord of Heaven <i>pater</i>) <i>Spiritus Sanctus: Si-bi-li-duo-san-duo, Shengshen</i> 圣神 (holy spirit)
Liturgical Concepts	<i>amen: ya-meng</i> 亚孟 <i>gratia: e-la-ji-ya</i> 额辣济亚 <i>anima: ya-ni-ma</i> 亚尼玛, <i>sheng ya-ni-ma hun</i> 圣亚尼玛魂 (holy <i>anima</i> soul) <i>angelus: an-ruo</i> 谙若	<i>amen: ya-meng</i> <i>gratia: e-la-ji-ya</i> <i>anima: ya-ni-ma, linghun</i> 灵魂 (spirit-soul), 圣灵魂 (holy spirit-soul) <i>angelus: an-ruo</i> , <i>tianshen</i> 天神 (heavenly god)	<i>amen: ya-meng</i> <i>gratia: e-la-ji-ya, sheng chong</i> 圣宠 (holy grace) <i>anima: linghun</i> (spirit-soul), <i>zhisheng linghun</i> 至圣灵魂 (most holy spirit-soul), <i>sheng xing</i> 圣性 (holy nature) <i>angelus: tianshen</i> (heavenly god)
Prayer Schedules	First 5 decades: 2nd & 5th day; Second 5 decades: 3rd, 6th, 7th day; Third 5 decades: 4th day & Sunday	First 5: 4th & 7th day; Second 5: 3rd & 6th day; Third 5: 2nd, 5th day & Sunday	First 5: 2nd & 5th day; Second 5: 3rd & 6th day; Third 5: 4th, 7th day & Sunday

Layout differences are among the most visible features of the Chinese Rosary editions. Changes appear between the earliest 1616 edition and the 1628 edition, while the standard c. 1665 edition follows the 1628 format. The main differences concern spacing before certain terms, the use of separate columns for the headings “offering” (*xian* 献) and “petition” (*qiu* 求), and the placement of the heading “offering”. In the 1616 edition, an extra space of one character was reserved before religious names such as Jesus (*Ye-su* 耶稣) and divine titles such as *Deus* (*Tianzhu* 天主). This practice disappears in the later editions. In addition, in the 1616 text both “offering” and “petition” occupy their own column, followed respectively by the mystery title and the prayer text. By contrast, in the 1628 and c. 1665 editions these titles are embedded directly into the body of the text rather than set off in a separate column. Lastly, the placement of “offering” also differs. In the 1616 edition it precedes the mystery title, while the offering content comes after the mystery title, with the introductory instruction (to recite ten *Ave Marias* and one *Pater Noster*, and to meditate on the mystery) placed before the heading “offering”. The later editions reverse this order: the mystery title is placed above the instruction, and title “offering” is set directly above the offering content. Another change in the later two editions is the addition of the word “point” (*duan* 端) to mystery titles: for example, “the first sorrowful mystery” (*tongku yi* 痛苦一) in 1616 became “the point of the first sorrowful mystery”.

Another difference, also related to visual presentation and parallel to layout features, is the use of illustrations. The 1616 edition includes fifteen woodblock illustrations, one for each mystery, whereas they were omitted entirely in the later two editions.

Regarding stylistic differences, the c. 1665 standard version appears more elegant and concise with a sophisticated use of classical Chinese compared with the earlier two versions which appear more colloquial. For example, at the beginning of the first joyful mystery, the Virgin Mary was described as “most virtuous, most blessed” (*ji you de ji you fu* 极有德极有福) in the 1616 and 1628 texts. These two attributes were alternatively rendered as “with abundant virtues and supreme blessings” (*sheng de chong fu* 盛德崇福) in the c. 1665 text.¹ They convey the same meaning but differ in style. The latter feels more sublime and literary than the former. With two precise and well-chosen adjectives, it becomes brief yet expressive, eliminating the need for repetitive emphasis using the word “most”. The third joyful mystery in the earlier two versions contains another instance of oral repetition in what the angels say when announcing Jesus’ birth. They proclaim “perpetual, perpetual glorious

1 *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 4a; *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1628), 2b; *Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan* (c. 1665), 32a.

blessings” (*yong yong rongfu* 永永荣福) alongside the Lord of Heaven (God) high above, and “perpetual, perpetual peace” (*yong yong heping* 永永和平) among all the good people down on the earth.¹ This repetitive structure creates a grammatical issue due to the lack of main verbs to anchor the sentences. In contrast, verbs are supplemented in the standard version, where angels declare that God “receives and enjoys” (*shou xiang* 受享) glorious blessings in heaven” and that righteous men “receive and enjoy” peace on earth.² The repetition is removed and these sentences read more compact.

The colloquialism of the earlier version is further evident in the fourth sorrowful mystery, where the language closely resembles later written vernacular Chinese (白话). In the 1628 text, the introduction to this mystery’s gospel scene states that “Jesus himself carrying the cross, went up the mountain to receive his death” (*Ye-su ziji bei zhe shizijia wang shanshang shousi* 耶稣自己背着十字架往山上受死). The standard version, however, renders it as “Jesus burdened with the cross ascending the mountain to receive his death” (*Ye-su fu shizijia zhi shan shousi* 耶稣负十字架陟山受死).³ The verb *fu* 负 (to shoulder or bear) is more concise and literary in tone than the phrase *ziji bei zhe* 自己背着 (himself carrying), which sounds more accessible and familiar to modern Chinese readers. The use of the word *beizhe* already implies that he is carrying the cross on his own, making the explicit use of *ziji* redundant. The employment of the single character *fu* in the standard version avoids this problem. Moreover, *fu* carries the connotation of “being burdened with”, thereby emphasizing the weight of Christ’s suffering in a more evocative and poetic manner.

The earlier two texts are also characterized by the overuse of the possessive marker *de* 的 (of) and the possessive pronoun *ta* 他[的] (his). In the standard version, however, *de* is either replaced by the more classical word *zhi* (之) or is deleted. As for the pronoun *ta*, the sentences containing it are in the former two versions are often restructured in the later version so that it is no longer necessary. From a modern perspective of translation practice between Chinese and English, the frequent, even excessive use of possessive articles and possessive pronouns is seen as a sign of the Europeanization of the Chinese language. In classical and traditional Chinese, the subject of a sentence is often omitted, particularly if it is inferable from the preceding context. Similarly, possessive pronouns are not always necessary.

The increased use of the possessive marker *de* is closely tied to the vernacular movement of the early 20th century, which has contributed to a

1 *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 8b; *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1628), 5b.

2 *Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan* (c. 1665), 34b.

3 *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1628), 11a; *Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan* (c. 1665), 38b.

growing sense of redundancy in modern Chinese writing (Tsai 1998, pp. 242–248; Yu 1994, pp. 267–283). The more often such possessive structures appear in a Chinese text, the more it tends to resemble European syntactic patterns, often resulting in language that feels cumbersome and aesthetically less refined. Thus, the frequency of possessive constructions has become a key stylistic marker in evaluating the quality of a Chinese translated text. Applying this standard to the three versions of the Rosary, we may conclude that the standard version, compared to the other two, preserves a more traditional syntactic structure, reflects a more refined vocabulary, and shows a reduced influence from European languages, achieving greater clarity and stylistic elegance.

Changes can also be found in rhythm: Many expressions are adapted into a four-character format in the standard c. 1665 version compared to the earlier two version, making the text sound more rhythmical when reading. For instance, as with the offering in the first joyful mystery on the Annunciation in all three versions, there is a depiction of the Virgin Mary's humble attitude in her reply upon hearing the news from the Archangel Gabriel. In the earlier two versions, it is rendered as "At such moment, you replied in a humble and respectful manner, saying..." (*er yu shi shi qiangong chouda shuodao* 尔于是时谦恭酬答说道). In the later c. 1665 version, however, this phrase became more compact and rhythmical with the latter half being adapted as another four-character expression: "At such moment, you bowed humbly and said..." (*er yu shi shi fugong qian yan* 尔于是时俯躬谦言).¹ By producing more four-character expressions in a row, rhythm is enhanced, making the narration more emphatic, with key details emphasized in fewer words.

Another notable shift lies in person. The second person is adopted in both offering and petition of each mystery to refer to the Virgin Mary in the earlier 1616 and 1628 versions. In the c. 1665 version, the second person remains largely the same in each offering. However, the exception is that the first sentence of each offering, which serves as a dedicatory statement to the Virgin Mary, is shifted from the second person to the third person. That is to say, every "I humbly dedicate this offering to you" (*qian gong bai xian yu er* 虔恭拜献于尔) becomes "I meditate on the sorrow of the Mother's heart" (*mo si mu xin tongku* 默思母心痛苦). Furthermore, in each petition, every 'you' (*er* 尔) is replaced by the third person 'the Holy Mother' (*Shengmu* 圣母). The use of the second person suggests intimacy between the faithful and the Holy Mother they pray to, while the third person creates greater distance but at the same time underscores her exalted status.

1 *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 4b; *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1628), 3a; *Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan* (c. 1665), 32a–32b.

The translation of Catholic terms also witnesses continuities and changes. These terms are divided into three categories: religious names, divine titles, and liturgical concepts. As shown in Table 2, more than half of the Chinese translations of these terms result from transliteration, also called phonetic translation, which means to render the sound of the original word. Meanwhile, a trend can be observed toward alternative translations that rely on semantic extension, adopting an existing Chinese word and broadening its meaning; or on neologism creation, that is, coining a new term to render the foreign concept. Ultimately, in some cases in the c. 1665 version, the transliteration is abandoned in favor of neologism or semantic extension.

In the 1616 version, the prevailing method for translating these terms is transliteration. Exceptions are with the translation of *Deus*, *Pater*, and *anima*. *Deus*, the Latin word for God, is translated as *Tianzhu* 天主, a neologism which means the Lord of Heaven.¹ *Pater*, the Latin word to denote God the Father, is rendered in Chinese through a combination of transliteration and neologism as *Tianzhu Ba-de-le* 天主罢德肋 (Lord of Heaven father). *Anima*, the Latin word for the Christian soul, has two translations. The first, *ya-ni-ma* 亚尼玛, is a transliteration. The second, *sheng ya-ni-ma hun* 圣亚尼玛魂 (holy *anima* soul), combines transliteration with an explicative element that marks *anima* as holy, and further employs semantic extension by adopting the existing Chinese term *hun* and imbuing it with an extra Christian sense. Compared to the 1616 version, the majority of Chinese renditions remain the same in the 1628 version, with the exceptions of the translation of *anima* and *angelus*. The transliteration of *anima*, *ya-ni-ma*, still stays in the latter version, whereas the “sacred *anima* soul” gives way to two alternative translations: *linghun* 灵魂 (spirit-soul), a neologism; and *sheng linghun* 圣灵魂 (holy spirit-soul), a blend of neologism and the explicative element of “holy”. Similar to *anima*, the transliteration of *angelus*, *anruo*, remains in use, but a new translation also appears: *tianshen* 天神 (heavenly god), a coined neologism.

The c. 1665 Rosary manual shows more variations than the earlier two editions. A notable example is a slight adjustment in character choice within the transliteration strategy, a special case not found between the 1616 and 1628

1 The translation of God aroused a term controversy in China since the 17th century, which lasted for over a century. There appeared mainly three types of translation of the word: firstly, *dousi* 陡斯, the transliteration of *Deus*; secondly, words such as *shangdi* 上帝 (supreme sovereign) that have appeared in ancient Chinese classics whose meanings were semantically extended with another Christian sense; thirdly, *tianzhu* 天主 (Lord of Heaven), a neologism created to render the term. In the end, the neologism was approved by Rome as the standard translation of God. It is still used by Chinese Catholics today.

texts. In the earlier two texts, *Christus* is rendered as *Ji-li-si-duo* 基利斯多, while in the later text it appears as *Ji-li-si-du* 基利斯督. This latter form more closely anticipates the modern standard translation of Christ as *Ji-du* 基督. Other shifts are related to *Spiritus Sanctus*, *gratia*, *anima*, and *angelus*. The c. 1665 text preserves the transliteration of *Spiritus Sanctus* as *Si-bi-li-duo-san-duo* 斯彼利多三多, already present in the earlier two texts, while also adding a neologism, *shengshen* 圣神 (holy spirit). Similarly, while the transliteration of *e-la-ji-ya* 额辣济亚 for *gratia* continues from the earlier texts to the c. 1665 text, this version also introduces a new neologism: *shengchong* 圣宠 (holy grace).

However, the transliterations of *ya-ni-ma* for *anima* and *anruo* for *angelus* completely disappear in the c. 1665 version. In the end, on the one hand, the neologisms *tianshen* (heavenly god) and *linghun* (spirit-soul), introduced in the 1628 edition to render *angelus* and *anima* respectively, are retained. On the other hand, two additional translations of *anima* appear in the c. 1665 text: *zhi sheng linghun* 至圣灵魂 (most holy spirit-soul), which builds on the previous translation *sheng linghun* (holy spirit-soul) by adding an emphatic modifier, and *shengxing* 圣性 (holy nature), a neologism whose meaning diverges somewhat from the other new coinages for *anima*.

Finally, discrepancies appear in the guidance on the appropriate timing for praying the Rosary among the three versions. As listed in Table 2, the 1616 version instructs that the first five decades, the Joyful Mysteries, should be recited on the second and fifth days of feast celebrations; the second five decades, the Sorrowful Mysteries, on the third and sixth days; and the final five decades, the Glorious Mysteries, on the fourth day and on Sundays.¹ The 1628 version partly reverses the schedule for the first and final sets while leaving the second largely unchanged: it assigns the first five decades to the fourth and seventh days; the second five decades again to the third and sixth days, and the final five decades to the second and fifth days, as well as Sundays.² By contrast, the c. 1665 version fully reverses the allocation for the first and final sets in relation to the 1628 text, while once again leaving the second unchanged: it prescribes the first five decades for the second and fifth days, and the last five decades for the fourth and seventh days, along with Sundays.³ At first glance, such inconsistencies raise questions about the rigor of the translation and review processes that produced these manuals. However, similar guidance on the exact dates to pray the Rosary is absent from the original Portuguese version itself. In this light, it would be an oversimplification to dismiss these phenomena as mere “mistakes”. The

1 Song *nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 3a.

2 Song *nianzhu guicheng* (1628), 1b.

3 *Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan* (c. 1665), 31b.

observed inconsistencies may instead reflect efforts to reconcile the Catholic prayer schedule with the local calendar, to accommodate the devotional practices and daily rhythms of particular groups of converts, or to emphasize certain mysteries on specific days in response to local circumstances. A detailed investigation of these possibilities lies beyond the scope of the present article, but it remains a promising avenue for future research.

The table and analysis above indicate that between 1616 and c. 1665, Chinese Rosary manuals evolved from a colloquial, direct second-person address to a more literary and refined style with a third-person devotional perspective centered on the Holy Mother. Although the translations of the same Christian terms remain broadly consistent across the three Rosary texts (as shown in the table above), variants in transliteration (*Christus* from *ji-li-si-duo* to *ji-li-si-du*) and semantic refinement (e.g., *anima* as *linghun* [spirit-soul], *sheng linghun* [holy spirit-soul], *zhi sheng linghun* [most holy spirit-soul], and *sheng xing* [holy nature]) reveal a trend toward increasing localization and sophistication. The key conceptual terms such as *hun* 魂 (soul), *shen* 神 (spirit), and *xing* 性 (nature) constitute shared terminology and cultural resources across Chinese thought, utilized by various schools since the Warring States Period (c. 475–221 BC). Notably, the term *xing*, which already appeared in *Zhuangzi* (specifically the Outer Chapter “Correcting the Nature”, *shanxing* 繕性) during that same period, later became one of the most debated topics in Chinese Buddhist writings, and ultimately attained central importance in Song dynasty (960–1279) Neo-Confucian thought, particularly within the Cheng-Zhu school, which is famously known as the “School of Nature and Principle” (*xing li xue* 性理学). Notably, liturgical concepts, compared to other categories of terms in the table above, underwent major adaptations, reflecting the deepest extent of cultural negotiation. One important reason for this may be that how liturgical concepts are expressed makes a clear difference to believers regarding their understanding about essential Christian doctrines, their spiritual cultivation when they announce words like *gratia*, and their practical life where their perception of Christian concepts would guide their ultimate behavior.

These changes in the rendering of all these Christian terms suggest that over time, transliteration was not always the preferred method for rendering foreign words and concepts. Instead, Chinese translations of Christian terms increasingly relied on interpretative strategies, especially neologism creation, coining new terms, and semantic extension, which adapts existing words with expanded meanings. Consequently, the Chinese vocabulary was enlarged or nuanced with new layers of Christian connotations, allowing for greater cultural accessibility. Still, when Christianity was only in its embryonic stage at the time in China, this approach carried the risk of evoking meanings

shaped by the recipient culture, potentially diverging from the original Christian doctrines.

Before moving on to the next section, to give readers a sense of the textual character of all four Rosary guides (one in Portuguese and three in Chinese), I offer an appendix that includes the first joyful mystery from each version. This concludes the preceding two-tiered comparison, which centers on the analyses of the categories derived from the comparison between Portuguese and Chinese versions, as well as among different Chinese texts.

Parallels and Tensions in Early Chinese Prayer Translation

The evolution of Chinese Rosary manuals parallels the development of Chinese translations of the *Ave Maria*. Song Gang compares Ruggieri's earliest version with five subsequent translations found in works by Ricci around 1610,¹ by Alfonso Vagnone [S.J.] (Wang Yiyuan 王一元/Wang Fengsu 王丰肃/Gao Yizhi 高一志, 1568-1640) in 1615, by da Rocha in 1619, by an anonymous author between 1650 and 1700, and by Lodovico Buglio [S.J.] (Li Leisi 利类思, 1606-1682) around 1665. According to his observations, the Daoist and folk religious elements in Ruggieri's incipient translation gradually disappeared. In their place, later Jesuit versions "used classical Chinese to imbue the text with elegance and erudition" (Song 2018, p. 328). Notably, the four translations that followed Ricci's version are nearly identical to his. This suggests that Ricci's translation likely set a stylistic and lexical model for later Jesuits: the prayer should be rendered in an elegant style using classical Chinese terms that catered to elite Confucian scholar-officials' literary tastes. As Brunner points out, Matteo Ricci, though heralded as the pioneer of the missionary adaptation (*le grand champion de l'adaptation*), nonetheless exercised caution in adopting existing Chinese terms to translate theological concepts, such as the Holy Spirit or the Holy Trinity. Instead, he adopted the prevailing missionary practice at the time (*la méthode des missions d'alors*), transliterating the corresponding Portuguese sounds into Chinese characters (Brunner 1964, p. 22). He also acknowledges that Ricci's translations possess "such exactitude and elegance that no one since was able to do better" (*avec tant d'exactitude et d'elegance que personne depuis n'a encore pu faire mieux*) (Brunner 1964, p. 23).

However, discordance in translation style and strategy has existed across

1 This refers to *Shengjing yue lu* 圣经约录 (A Synopsis of the Holy Scriptures), which is the reprint of Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu jiaoyao* 天主教要 (Essentials of the Teachings of the Lord of Heaven, 1605) with minor revisions. There seems only copy of the original 1605 text, discovered by Pasquale D'Elia in the Propaganda Fide Archives in Rome in 1934 and described in his *Fonti Ricciane* (1942-1949) For further details, see Dudink (2002, pp. 38-50).

Catholic orders. As discussed previously, Jesuit Mariological texts were adapted to Confucian morality, the dominant Chinese mode of thought, especially among elite literati. By contrast, in Dominican missionary del Rosario's work on the Rosary, *The True Peace of Humankind*, the essential Confucian virtue of filial piety (*xiaodao* 孝道), which Jesuits had emphasized since Ricci's time by associating it with Catholic devotion, is not given the same prominence (Yang 2024, p. 7). For another example, the MEP missionary Jean Basset, who held a critical attitude towards the Jesuit accommodation strategy, sharply criticized the Chinese prayers then in circulation, probably composed by Jesuits. In his well-known *Avis sur la Mission de Chine* (Viewpoints on the Chinese Mission), Basset expressed his concern about additions and alterations in some common prayers.¹ For Basset, these translation issues may have not only caused problems for devotional practice, but also have fostered misunderstandings that strayed into heresy. He lamented, for example, cases where some Christians claimed that Mary surpassed God in importance.²

Furthermore, there was also tension within the Jesuits themselves. Compared to Ricci's "model", which favored the use of transliteration to preserve the authentic theological concepts, the Chinese Rosary manuals still deviate from it since they increasingly rely on semantic extension and neologism creation, likely an adaptive and pragmatic response to local pastoral realities. This approach would make translations more intelligible to Chinese recipients, but at the risk of compromising doctrinal accuracy. The latter was precisely the concern raised by Basset in the early eighteenth century. The creative grafting of Christian concepts onto existing Chinese vocabulary, and the doubt and criticism this practice provokes, suggest a broader pattern observable when a new religion enters a culture with a rich and well-established philosophical tradition: a perpetual tension emerges between the pursuit of doctrinal purity and the practical necessity of accommodating local cultural sensibilities.

1 « quelques prières des plus communes comme le Pater, l'Ave, le Credo, le Salve Regina, les commandements de Dieu et de l'Église, les litanies des saints, de la Vierge, plusieurs autres litanies et prières ad libitum où il y a bien des choses qui n'y devraient pas être » (Some of the most common prayers such like the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Hail Holy Queen, the [Ten] Commandments of God and [the Six Precepts] of the Church, the litanies of the saints, of Virgin Mary, several other litanies and prayers at random, in which there were indeed things that should not be there). See Basset (2012, p. 112).

2 « la Sainte Vierge est plus grande que Notre Seigneur » (Mary the Saint is more important than Our Lord). See Basset (2012, p.153).

Conclusion

To summarize, the comparison between the Portuguese original and the earliest Chinese translation dated 1616 highlights the kinds of shifts that proved inevitable when a Catholic devotional text was transplanted into a markedly different cultural milieu. These shifts were shaped not only by linguistic constraints, but also by pastoral considerations, assumptions about readers' doctrinal knowledge, and Christianity's marginal position within the Chinese religious landscape. The subsequent comparison of the three Chinese versions (1616, 1628, c. 1665) further reveals a clear trajectory of stylistic and lexical development, with the later versions displaying greater literary refinement, rhythmic balance, and reliance on classical Chinese terms. Across all three versions, Catholic personal names are consistently rendered through transliteration, though with minor variations that became standardized over time. Divine titles and liturgical concepts, however, are translated less through transliteration than through semantic extension and neologisms, drawing on terms with established cultural resonance in early Chinese classics and Neo-Confucian discourse. These strategies reflect Jesuit efforts, starting with Ricci, to render Christian devotion intelligible and respectable within elite literary culture.

These findings point to a persistent tension between stylistic development and devotional functionality. While the evolution of the Chinese Rosary manuals appears increasingly oriented toward the tastes and expectations of educated readers, their devotional use was likely shaped by audiences whose engagement with the texts may not have aligned with the literary ambitions embedded in them, among whom ordinary female converts played a major role. Although terminological variation may have carried theological implications, the present study cannot determine how such differences were understood or internalized by this specific group of believers.

All the observations so far invite us to reconsider what Bible translation meant in the earlier phase of Sino-Christian encounter before the nineteenth century. Rather than the production of a stable full scriptural text, biblical transmission often occurred through excerpted and adapted translations, including devotional texts that incorporated, recontextualized, and adapted scriptural language. The Chinese Rosary manuals examined here illustrate how scripture was mediated through prayer, and how translation was shaped by shifting cultural alignments and pastoral priorities, outcomes of negotiation between self and other. In this sense, devotional translation emerges not as a subsidiary activity, but as a central arena where Christian texts with biblical references were rendered meaningful within a new cultural, intellectual, and religious milieu.

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Appendix:

The First Glorious Mystery in Portuguese and Chinese Rosary Manuals, Divided into "Introduction", "Offering", and "Petition"¹

	<i>Doctrina Christam (1592/1653)</i>	<i>Song nianzhu guicheng (1616)</i>	<i>Song nianzhu guicheng (1628)</i>	<i>Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan (c. 1665)</i>
Introduction	MYSTERIOS GOZOSOS. O primeiro mysterio. Consideraçã da Anunciaçã, & Encarnaçã. Luc. 1. (JOYFUL MYSTERIES. The first mystery. Consideration of the Annunciation and Incarnation. Luke 1.)	诵念珠首一分的规程 诵念第一次。亚物十遍。在天一遍。讠。略停片时。默想圣母欢喜条内的第一件。然后献祈如左。 (Regulations for the First Decade of Reciting and saying the Rosary The First	欢喜首一分 欢喜一端 天神嘉俾轭尔。朝拜圣母。报说天主选他为母。念亚物十遍。在天一遍。 (The First Decade of the Joyful Mysteries The First Joyful Mystery: The	欢喜首一分 欢喜一端 (天神朝拜童贞玛利亚。报曰。天主特选为母。诵亚物十遍。在天一遍) (The First Joyful Mystery: The angel visits the

¹ The punctuation was included in the text and replicated in this table. So was the seemingly extra blank space between the words. See the four quotes respectively in *Doctrinam Christam* (1653), 91a–91b; *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1616), 24a–24b; *Song nianzhu guicheng* (1628), 12a–13a; *Shengmu meiguijing shiwu duan* (c. 1665), 40a–41a.

		Recitation. Ten times of <i>Ave Maria</i> and ten times of <i>Pater Noster</i> . When finished, rest briefly. Meditate in silence on the first item under the Joyful Mysteries of the Blessed Virgin. Offer the following prayer.)	Angel Gabriel visits the Holy Mother and announces that the Lord of Heaven has chosen her to be His mother. Say ten <i>Ave Marias</i> and one <i>Pater Noster</i> .)	Virgin Mary and announces that the Lord of Heaven has particularly chosen (her) to be His mother. Recite ten <i>Ave Marias</i> and one <i>Pater Noster</i> .)
Offering	<i>Offerecimento. O Virgem Santissima chea de graça, eu vos offereço humilmente dez Ave Marias, & hũ Padre Nosso. A hora do gozo que recebestes, quando estando em vosso recolhimento, do Anjo S. Gabriel fostes saudada com aquellas doces palavras: Deos vos salue chea de graça, o Senhor he com vosco. E vos anũciou como o Filho de Deos vinha fazerse homem em vossas virginaes</i>	献 欢喜一极有德。极有福。童贞玛利亚。我念这亚物十遍。在天一遍。虔恭拜献与尔。敬祝尔欢喜。昔日谳若嘉俾軀尔。奉天主的命。来报于尔。致恭致敬。说道亚物玛利亚。满被额辣济亚者。主与尔偕焉。又奉报于尔。说道天主费略。选尔为母。将降孕于尔最净最纯的圣胎。为人救世。尔于是	献 极有德。极有福。童贞玛利亚。我念这亚物十遍。在天一遍。虔恭拜献与尔敬祝尔欢喜。昔日天神嘉俾軀尔。奉天主的命。来报于尔。致恭致敬说道。亚物玛利亚。满被额辣济亚者。主与尔偕焉。又奉报于尔。说道。天主费略。选尔为母。将降孕于尔最净最纯的圣胎为人救世。尔于是时。谦恭酬答说道。我乃主	献 盛德崇福。童贞玛利亚。我献此经。敬祝尔圣宠无涯之喜。昔日天神嘉俾軀尔。奉天主之命。恭报于尔云。亚物玛利亚。满被额辣济亚者。主与尔偕焉。又云天主费略。选尔为母。将降孕于尔最净最纯

<i>entranhas pera remedio dos homens. E vós, Senhora assegurando o voto de vossa virginal pureza cõ profunda humildade deste contentamento dizendo: Eis aqui a Serua do Senhor, faça-se em mim segundo vossa palavra.</i> (Offering. O Most Holy Virgin, full of grace, I offer you humbly ten Ave Marias and one Our Father. At the hour of joy that you received, when being in your recollection, by the Angel St. Gabriel you were greeted with those sweet words: God save you, full of grace, the Lord is with you. And he announced to you how the Son of God came to make himself man in your virginal entrails for the	时。谦恭酬答。说道我乃主之婢女。愿赐成于我。如尔之言。 (Offering O Mary, most virtuous and most blessed, I recite this Ave Maria ten times and the Pater Noster once, offering them devoutly and humbly to you in honor of your utmost joy. On that day, the Angel Gabriel came to you at the command of the Lord of Heaven to make an announcement. With deepest respect and reverence, he said: "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee." He then proclaimed to you, saying that	之婢女。愿赐成于我。如尔之言。 (Offering O Mary, most virtuous and most blessed, I recite this Ave Maria ten times and the Pater Noster once, offering them devoutly and humbly to you in honor of your utmost joy. On that day, the Angel Gabriel came to you at the command of the Lord of Heaven to make an announcement. With deepest respect and reverence, he said: "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee." He then proclaimed to you, saying that God the Son had chosen you as his mother	之圣胎。为人救世。尔于是时。俯躬谦言。我乃主之婢女。愿赐成于我。如汝之言。 (Offering O Mary, Mother of Abundant Virtues, Supreme Blessings, and of Virginitly, I offer this prayer in praise of your boundless joy of grace. On that day, the Angel Gabriel came to you at the command of the Lord of Heaven, announcing respectfully that "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee",
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	remedy of men. And you, Lady, assuring the vow of your virginal purity with profound humility of this contentment, saying: Behold the servant of the Lord, let it be done unto me according to your word.)	God the Son had chosen you as his mother and that you would conceive in your womb the holy child, most pure and clear, who would take flesh as human for the salvation of the world. At that moment, you replied in a humble and respectful manner, saying that "Behold the handmaid of the Lord. Be it done unto me according to your word.")	and that you would conceive in your womb the holy child, most pure and clear, who would take flesh as human for the salvation of the world. At that moment, you replied in a humble and respectful manner, saying that "Behold the handmaid of the Lord. Be it done unto me according to your word.")	and that God the Son had chosen you as his mother and that you would conceive in your womb the holy child, most pure and clear, who would take flesh as human for the salvation of the world. At that moment, you bowed humbly, saying that "Behold the handmaid of the Lord. Be it done unto me according to thy word.")
Petition	<i>Oração</i> <i>Peçõuos humilmente me alca[n]ceis verdadeira alegria</i>	求 今我虔恭求尔。为我转求于尔极爱之子耶稣。赐我完	求 今我虔恭求尔。为我转求于尔极爱之子耶稣。赐我完	求 今我虔祈圣母。转祈圣子耶稣。赐我

	<i>de boa consciencia, & que minha alma resuscite em nua vida, & costumes, & firmemente creaos mysterios da fé que ensina a S. Madre Igreja de Roma. Amen.</i> (Petition) I humbly ask you to obtain for me true joy of good conscience, and that my soul may rise again into a renewed life and conduct, and that I may firmly believe the mysteries of the faith taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome. Amen.)	全之谦。使我诸凡行事物之间。自能顺承天主至圣之旨。亚孟。 (Petition) Now I pray to you devoutly and humbly to intercede for me with your beloved Son, Jesus, that He may grant me utmost modesty, so that in all my words and deeds amidst the affairs of this worlds, I may freely submit to the most divine will of the Lord of Heaven. Amen.)	全之谦逊。使我诸凡行事物之间。自能顺承天主至圣之旨。亚孟。 (Petition) Now I pray to you devoutly and humbly to intercede for me with your beloved Son, Jesus, that He may grant me utmost humility, so that in all my words and deeds amidst the affairs of this worlds, I may freely submit to the most divine will of the Lord of Heaven. Amen.)	谦逊之德。使我诸凡行为。自能顺承天主至圣之旨。亚孟。 (Petition) Now I devoutly entreat you, Holy Mother, and through you our Lord Jesus, that He may grant me the virtue of humility, so that in all my words and deeds, I may freely submit to the most divine will of the Lord of Heaven. Amen.)
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Secularization and the Subjectification of Belief:

A Comparative Analysis of Max Weber and Mircea Eliade

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Abstract: In the field of religious studies, this paper revisits the important concept of secularization through the distinctive lenses of Max Weber and Mircea Eliade. Weber interprets secularization primarily as a historical process of rationalization and disenchantment, driven by the Protestant ethic and culminating in the world-mastering individual. In contrast, Eliade approaches it through the phenomenological dialectic of the sacred and the profane, viewing secularization as desacralization—a transformation rather than an eradication of the sacred, wherein the sacred retreats into the private realm or the unconscious. Despite these divergent methodologies—one socio-historical, the other phenomenological—both perspectives converge on a crucial point: the modern shift elevates the individual subject while relativizing or internalizing the cosmic and sacred frameworks that once encompassed the individual subject. This paper ultimately contends that the concept of secularization inadequately captures the core transformation in modern religious life. Rather than observing the mere privatization or decline of religion, we are witnessing the subjectification of belief: belief itself has become a matter of personal, reflexive appropriation, making the individual not merely a private believer, but the very subject and locus of belief.

Keywords: Secularization, Max Weber, Mircea Eliade, Subjectification

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Secularization has long served as a dominant narrative for interpreting religion in modernity¹. It is frequently used to describe the differentiation of religious and secular spheres, the decline of religion, or the privatization of faith. However, the term has accumulated such expansive and varied meanings that its analytical utility has become limited. When a concept becomes too broad and generalized, it risks losing precision as an effective tool for scholarly discussion. While widely invoked to describe the condition of modern religions, the terms analytical utility remains debated. Scholars like José Casanova have compellingly argued that secularization is not synonymous with religious decline, noting the persistent public role of religion (Casanova 1994). Similarly, Charles Taylor challenges the subtraction story of secularization, portraying it instead as a complex shift in the conditions of belief, leading to what he famously termed a secular age characterized by the immanent frame (Taylor 2007). This paper intervenes in the contemporary debate by proposing that a comparative analysis of two foundational yet contrasting perspectives—exemplified by Max Weber and Mircea Eliade—can shed new light on the nature of this complex transformation that Taylor analyses.

The choice of Weber and Eliade is deliberate. They represent two archetypal—and in certain respects, arguably antithetical—perspectives on the fate of the sacred in the modern world. Weber, the sociologist of historical process, provides an analysis of secularization rooted in the *rationalization* of the human spirit and life conduct, which leads to the disenchantment of the world. Eliade, the phenomenologist and historian of religions, examines the sacred directly, interpreting secularization as *desacralization*: a shift in the manifestation of the sacred within the eternal dialectic of the sacred and the profane. By placing these two thinkers in dialogue, this paper aims not to synthesize their ideas, but to trace how their distinct paths lead to a remarkably similar destination: the emergence of the self-determining individual and the consequent relocation of ultimate meaning. This convergence, this paper argues, moves beyond the concept of secularization toward a more precise diagnosis: the subjectification of belief.

I. A Diachronic Analysis: Rationalization and Secularization

Max Weber's analysis of secularization is fundamentally diachronic, tracing a unique and irreversible historical trajectory. Unlike Émile Durkheim,

1 Casanova outlines several interpretations of secularization within the field of religious studies (Casanova 1994). My argument focuses primarily on two theses: "the decline of religion" and "the privatization of religion" (Casanova 1994, 25-35, 35-39).

who, in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, sought the universal social foundations of religious belief by examining its role in creating and sustaining collective solidarity (Durkheim [1912] 2001), Weber was preoccupied with religions transformative, world-altering power. His method sought to explain the specific historical shift from a world permeated by sacred meaning to one governed by impersonal, rational calculation. This shift, for Weber, is not merely the decline of religion but a complex process best understood as rationalization—a process that, paradoxically, was initially propelled by a specific religious ethos: inner-worldly (this-worldly) asceticism. The culmination of this process is the disenchantment of the world, a state that defines the modern condition and creates the social-psychological arena for the subsequent subjectification of belief.

Rationalization as a Historical Process

Weber conceives of rationalization (*Rationalisierung*) as the master historical trend towards ordering life through calculable rules, systematic methods, and impersonal institutions, displacing orientations based on tradition, magic, or charismatic authority. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, he meticulously reconstructs how this process, in the economic sphere, originated from a religious source. Weber distinguishes between traditional capitalism, the age-old pursuit of gain, and modern rational capitalism, characterized by the systematic, disciplined organization of free labor, the separation of business from household, and, above all, a distinctive spirit or "ethos" (Weber [1905] 2001, pp. 17, 30, 111). Weber contends that the distinct spirit of modern capitalism cannot be sufficiently explained by material or economic factors. In his view, its crucial source is found in the inner-worldly asceticism of Protestantism, especially the Calvinist doctrine that shaped a methodical, rational approach to work and wealth.

The catalyst was the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. The belief that ones eternal fate was immutably decreed by God created what Weber terms an "unprecedented inner loneliness" in the individual believer (Weber [1905] 2001, p. 60). To assuage the crippling anxiety this produced, pastoral guidance² taught that intense worldly activity in ones God-given vocation (*Beruf*) could serve as a subjective sign of ones elect status. Success in ones worldly duty became interpreted not as a cause of salvation, but as a potential symptom of it. This theological innovation, as Wolfgang Schluchter notes, redirected religious energy into the world rather than away from it. Weber

² Weber bases this argument primarily on the pastoral writings of Richard Baxter (1615–1691) and other leading Puritan and Pietist divines of the period.

"goes on to distinguish inner-worldly from world-fleeing asceticism and inner-worldly from world-fleeing mysticism" (Schluchter 1981, p. 161). The believer was thus called to master and shape the world through labor, not to flee from it.

Inner-Worldly Asceticism as the Engine of Change in Lives and Spirits of People

This orientation constitutes what Weber famously called "inner-worldly asceticism" (*innerweltliche Askese*). Unlike the otherworldly monk who renounces the world to seek salvation, or the traditionalist who accepts the world as given, the inner-worldly ascetic strives to work upon the world systematically as a field of divinely ordained duty. Every aspect of life—work, leisure, consumption—became subject to rigorous discipline and rational planning. Idleness and spontaneous enjoyment were sinful; frugality and relentless work were spiritual virtues. As Gordon Marshall summarizes: "Hard, methodical, continuous, manual and mental labour in a legitimate calling is required of all: it is Gods commandment that they who shall not work shall not eat" (Marshall 1982, p. 76).

This asceticism had profound socio-economic consequences. By sanctifying methodical labor and condemning luxurious consumption, it generated both a disciplined workforce and a compulsive drive for the accumulation and reinvestment of capital. Profit was pursued not for hedonistic pleasure, but as proof of diligence in ones calling. Weber quotes the Puritan Richard Baxter:

If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way ... if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be Gods steward (Weber [1905] 2001, p. 108).

This created a "non-rational" commitment to work from a eudaimonistic standpoint, yet one that was supremely rational as a consistent method of life-conduct (*Lebensführung*). The "spirit" of capitalism was, therefore, born "from the spirit of Christian asceticism" (Weber [1905] 2001, p. 123). It was a religiously motivated rationalization of economic conduct.

Disenchantment as the Historical Outcome

The final, ironic stage of this historical sequence is disenchantment. The religiously inspired rationalization of worldly activity eventually achieved its own autonomy. The methodical, calculating, and instrumental attitude, once

nourished by faith, became self-sustaining. "The religious roots died out slowly," Weber writes, "giving way to utilitarian worldliness" (Weber [1905] 2001, p. 119). The means (rational economic activity) became the end, and the original religious purpose withered away, leaving behind what Weber would later call the iron cage (*Stahlhartes Gehäuse*) of materialistic pursuit.

In his lecture *Science as a Vocation*, Weber offers his most famous and sweeping diagnosis of this outcome: "Our age is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization, and above all, by the disenchantment of the world" (Weber [1919] 2004, p. 30). Disenchantment signifies that "in principle, then, we are not ruled by mysterious, unpredictable forces, but that, on the contrary, we can in principle control everything by means of calculation. That in turn means the disenchantment of the world" (Weber [1919] 2004, pp. 12–13). The cosmos is no longer viewed as a meaningful, morally ordered whole, as it was for pre-modern societies and as Durkheim described in the collective effervescence³ of ritual (Durkheim [1912] 2001, p. 283). Instead, it is seen as a causal mechanism, knowable through science and available for technical exploitation. The magician, the priest, and the prophet are replaced by the scientist, the engineer, and the bureaucrat.

This disenchantment fundamentally alters the individuals relationship to the world and to ultimate meaning. As Schluchter argues, it leads to "the different value spheres" — science, politics, art, and erotic love — each developing its own intrinsic logic, which often conflict with one another (Schluchter 1979, p. 78). The individual is forced to choose among these competing values without the guidance of a unified religious cosmology. This existential condition, where "the ultimate and most sublime values have withdrawn from public life" (Weber [1919] 2004, p. 30), is the direct product of the rationalization process Weber traced. The world, stripped of its sacred enchantment, ceases to be a cosmos embodying inherent meaning or purpose. It is reduced to a value-neutral, objectified domain of facts—a stage for human action, yet devoid of any ultimate telos of its own.

The Emergence of the Sovereign Individual

Crucially, this diachronic process of rationalization and disenchantment forged the very type of individual capable of becoming the subject of belief. Protestant inner-worldly asceticism, by placing the unbearable burden of proof of election squarely on the solitary individual, broke the mediating

3 In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim discusses at length the state of collective effervescence in rituals, which reveals one aspect of how collective life shapes the individuals connection to the outside world. Here, integrating into an external collective is meaningful for the individual.

authority of the church. Jack Barbalet cautions that Weber's formulation presents an "ideal-type account of Calvinist individualism", which may overstate the actual historical scope and coherence of such a self-contained, disciplined religious agent (Barbalet 2008, pp. 215–216). Nevertheless, Weber's fundamental and enduring insight lies in his identification of a novel historical-psychological pathway. He revealed how a specific theological ethos, through its practical demands, could cultivate a form of religious subjectivity characterized by internal discipline, self-reliance, and a direct, unmediated relationship with the transcendent. It is this psychological groundwork that laid the indispensable foundation for the modern sovereign individual, who would later become the locus of subjectified belief.

By the time the religious foundation had eroded, the autonomous, disciplined, and calculating individual remained—now standing alone not only before God, but before a disenchanted universe and a plurality of competing values. This individual, liberated from the constraints of traditional communities and cosmic hierarchies, is the historical precondition for the subjectification of belief. When the sacred canopy of a unified world order has disintegrated through disenchantment, and the individual has been constituted as a sovereign agent via the legacy of inner-worldly asceticism, belief can no longer be a given of collective life. It must instead become a matter of personal, reflexive choice and inner conviction. Thus, Weber's historical narrative does not simply describe the secularization of society; it uncovers the intricate process that produced the modern subject to whom belief—now privatized, internalized, and subjectified—must necessarily belong.

II. Synchronic Analysis: Desacralization and Secularization⁴

Mircea Eliade offers a synchronic analysis contrasting with Weber's diachronic approach. He frames secularization as desacralization—a shift in the structure of experience, not the end of the sacred. For Eliade, the sacred manifests across four dimensions—space, time, nature, and human life—organizing reality into a meaningful cosmos. Humans uniquely exist as a microcosm, their lives reflecting and participating in the sacred macrocosm through ritual, myth, and symbol. Desacralization occurs across these same dimensions: space flattens into homogeneity, time becomes linear, nature is

⁴ When discussing secularization, Mircea Eliade employs distinct terms. In some contexts, he uses "secularization", while in others—particularly when framing it in direct opposition to *the sacred*—he utilizes "the profane". In this paper, "secular" and "secularization" are generally adopted. The term "the profane" is reserved for discussions explicitly related to or contrasted with *the sacred*.

stripped of transcendent meaning, and the micro-macrocosmic link is severed. Human life, once embedded in the desacralized space and time, is reduced to biological and historical existence. The world grows "opaque, inert, mute" (Eliade [1957] 1987, p. 178). Yet the human need for meaning persists, now turned inward. This rupture creates the modern condition: an ontologically isolated self in a disenchanted world, a *homo religiosus* (religious person) haunted by absence — and thus a vacant space ripe for the emergence of subjective belief.

The Sacred and the Profane: A Synchronic Dialectic

Eliade's methodology seeks to describe the universal structures of religious experience, largely irrespective of historical epoch or cultural context. He argues that for *homo religiosus*, the world is not homogeneous; it is divided into the sacred and the profane (Eliade [1957] 1987, pp. 14–16). The sacred manifests itself in the profane world through *hierophany*—any act, object, or phenomenon that reveals the sacred within ordinary reality. This manifestation is not a human projection but an irruption of the transcendent into the immanent. As Bryan Rennie's careful reconstruction clarifies, Eliade does not posit the sacred as a separate ontological realm or "entity" (Rennie 1996, p. 42). Instead, the sacred constitutes an *a priori* structure of human consciousness—a mode of signification that, by manifesting itself within the profane world, establishes a realm of "absolute reality" in contrast to "the nonreality of the vast surrounding expanse" (Eliade [1957] 1987, p. 21). This manifestation, or hierophany, does not create a second world beyond this one but transfigures the given chaotic world into a meaningful cosmos by revealing its deeper, transcendent significance for human beings. Crucially, this is a dialectical, not a substitutive, relationship: the profane, chaotic world eternally persists; the sacred does not eliminate it. Conversely, the profane never succeeds in eradicating the sacred. The study of religion, therefore, is the analysis of these meaning-bestowing hierophanies and the coherent, sacred order (cosmos) they disclose amidst potential chaos. This phenomenological approach is intrinsically synchronic, seeking the timeless logic of sacred manifestation as it structures human experience and understanding, in contrast to Weber's historical approach to secularization.

The Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Time, Nature, and Humanity

Building upon the premise that the sacred is a mode of signification rather than a separate entity, Eliade meticulously details how this meaning-bestowing force structures the fundamental dimensions of human reality. This force does not build a new world atop the old, but transfigures the existing,

profane world from within, investing its spatial, temporal, natural, and anthropological coordinates with ultimate significance. This transformative process is what Eliade calls sacralization, and its architecture can be mapped across four primary, interconnected dimensions.

First, the world or cosmos is ontologically founded through sacralization. For *homo religiosus*, space is not homogeneous; it possesses breaks and fissures where the sacred irrupts. Any such location—a temple built on a revealed site, a home consecrated by ritual, a simple stone marked as divine—becomes an *axis mundi*, namely a Center of the World. This center establishes a fixed point of orientation, organizing the surrounding chaos into a meaningful, habitable cosmos (Eliade [1957] 1987, pp. 20–24). As Bryan Rennie emphasizes, this is not the creation of a new geographical entity, but the disclosure of a qualitative, existential position or location within the neutral expanse. The profane world of amorphous, undifferentiated and therefore "unreal" space persists all around, but from the sacred center, reality itself radiates. Second, time undergoes an analogous transformation. Profane time is linear, historical, and irreversible—a succession of empty, insignificant moments. Sacred time, in stark contrast, is a Great Time, a "mythical time" of origins that is eternally present and reversible (Eliade [1957] 1987, pp. 68–72). Through rituals, festivals, and the recitation of myths, participants abolish profane duration and reactivate the primordial time when the gods performed foundational acts. This is not an escape into a different temporal entity but a periodic revaluation of time itself, where the transient and the historical are saturated with the permanence of the archetypal (Eliade [1957] 1987, p.76). Profane time is not destroyed; it is periodically interrupted and re-founded by these returns to the sacred source.

Third, the entire natural world is rendered transparent to the sacred. Celestial bodies, landscapes, stones, and water are not merely physical objects but hierophanies—they manifest specific modalities of the sacred. The sky reveals transcendence and sovereignty; the earth manifests fertility and stability; a tree can symbolize the cosmos and regeneration (Eliade [1957] 1987, pp. 128–129, 138–141, 147–151). Nature thus becomes a vast system of symbols, a sacred lexicon. Crucially, the natural object retains its physical properties; a sacred rock is still a rock. Yet, by manifesting the sacred, it acquires an additional, meta-empirical stratum of meaning, bridging the phenomenal world and the transcendent order of being.

Finally, and most critically, human life itself is sacralized. Biological events—birth, initiation, marriage, death—are transfigured from natural occurrences into rites of passage. These rituals do not merely mark social transitions; they integrate the individual into the sacred history of the community and, ultimately, into the order of the cosmos itself. Consequently,

human existence is lived on a "twofold plane": the natural and the supernatural (Eliade [1957] 1987, p. 167). The human being thus becomes a microcosm — a concentrated reflection of the sacred macrocosm. This establishes what Eliade terms an "anthropo-cosmic" system: a participatory ontology in which the structures of the human body, society, and psyche consciously mirror and are woven into the structures of a divinely ordered universe (Eliade [1957] 1987, pp. 169–170). The sacred thereby completes its architectural function not by constructing a separate ontological entity, but by embedding human life within the meaningful fabric of the cosmos, creating an existential homology between the person and the whole. It is precisely this integrative bond — this micro-macrocosmic link — that the process of desacralization will later rupture, producing the modern condition of an isolated individual, a microcosm adrift and seeking to reconstitute its connection to a lost macrocosm.

***Homo Religiosus* in a Desacralized World**

A central paradox in Eliade's work is that the modern "non-religious" individual remains, at a fundamental level, a *homo religiosus*. For Eliade, desacralization does not signify the disappearance of the sacred but its camouflage and degradation within the profane. Non-religious individuals "still hold to pseudo religions and degenerate mythologies" (Eliade [1957] 1987, p. 209). The modern individual may no longer inhabit a public, sacred cosmos, yet they still experience non-homogeneous space—investing profound and singular meaning in a birthplace, a childhood home, or a national monument. Similarly, they mark non-homogeneous time through personal anniversaries, cultural holidays, or collective memorials that interrupt the linear, undifferentiated flow of profane history. Modernity is characterized not by the extinction of the sacred, but by its privatization and subjectivization. The sacred retreats from the public, cosmic order into the depths of the individual, transforming into what Bryan Rennie terms a "secular mysticism"—a search for transcendent meaning and profound experience conducted within a framework that consciously rejects institutional religion (Rennie 2008, p. 332). However, this subjective retreat occurs within a profoundly altered ontological landscape: the desacralized world itself. In this world, the cosmos—as a sacred, meaningful, and ordered whole—has been dismantled. Space reverts to a neutral and geometric extension; time is reduced to a uniform and quantitative sequence. The world ceases to "speak". It becomes, in Eliade's phrase, "opaque, inert, mute; it transmits no message, it holds no cipher" (Eliade [1957] 1987, p. 178).

The Loss of the Cosmic Telos and the Emptying of the World

The ultimate consequence of radical desacralization is the loss of a meaningful cosmos. For *homo religiosus*, the world was a coherent, sacred whole, a cosmos speaking a divine language. The existential security afforded by the sacred and participatory order—the anthropo-cosmic system—is dissolved. The desacralized world is stripped of intrinsic purpose (telos) and reduced to a mere aggregate of natural facts and historical accidents. This is Eliades equivalent of Weber's disenchantment, but with a crucial difference: whereas Weber's disenchantment results from rationalization, Eliades stems from the withdrawal of hierophanies. The world is not so much explained away by science as it is emptied of transcendent significance. From a certain perspective, within Eliades framework of desacralization as secularization, the emptying-out of the world itself is even more radical than the disenchantment described by Weber.

In this emptied cosmos, the relationship between the human and the divine is catastrophically simplified. Eliade observes that in modern Christianity, "salvation is a problem that concerns man and his god", and in this intensely personal relationship, "there is no place for the cosmos" (Eliade [1957] 1987, p. 179). The sacred is no longer mediated through a cosmic order but is sought in a direct and private confrontation between the individual soul and a transcendent God. This final stage—where the cosmos loses its sacred meaning and the individual stands alone before the divine—completes the structural precondition for the subjectification of belief. The world, having been drained of its inherent and collective sacredness, becomes a blank slate. The task of finding meaning, connecting with the sacred, and constructing a coherent existential world now falls irrevocably to the individual subject. Thus, Eliades synchronic analysis, while denying secularization as a historical terminus, provides a profound structural description of the very condition that makes the modern subjective believer possible: a desacralized and meaningless cosmos demanding a personalized sacred.

III. Convergence: Towards the Subjectification of Belief

Weber's diachronic investigation traces secularization to a specific historical-psychological origin: the inner-worldly asceticism of Calvinist Protestantism, which instilled a disciplined, rational, and individualized spirit, first as a religious duty and later as an autonomous economic ethos (Weber [1905] 2001⁵). His investigation begins within the individual believer, for

⁵ Regarding the relationship between the two, for a detailed discussion, please refer to Chapter 5 of Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

whom faith became an engine of worldly rationalization. In stark contrast, Eliade's phenomenological and structural approach brackets historical causality to analyse the constitutive logic of the sacred and the profane. He is less concerned with a point of origin than with describing the enduring dialectic between the sacred and the profane, and how disruption of the sacred—desacralization—manifests as the modern secular condition. For Eliade, the sacred is an a priori structure of consciousness (Rennie 1996, p. 20), and its recession does not erase but reconfigures the human need for meaning.

Divergent Paths to a Common Focus

The analyses of secularization by Weber and Eliade, though divergent in methodology and theoretical perspective, ultimately converge upon a common and transformative modern phenomenon. They arrive at a shared diagnosis of secularization—the rise of the individual subject in a disenchanted or desacralized cosmos—through radically different intellectual paths. Weber's narrative locates the engine of change within the psychological transformation of the individual believer—a disciplined, calculating agency emerging from "inner loneliness" (Schluchter 1979, p. 238). For Eliade, *homo religiosus* experiences reality through hierophanies that establish a meaningful cosmos. Desacralization, then, is not the end of the sacred but its recession and camouflage in private life, leaving the world "opaque, inert, mute" (Eliade [1957] 1987, p. 178).

Despite these different starting points—one in the historical ethos of the believer, the other in the timeless structure of religious experience and consciousness—both frameworks compellingly redirect our focus to a triadic existential relationship that is fundamentally reconfigured in modernity: that between the human being, the world (or cosmos), and the divine. Secularization, in its deepest sense, is not merely a social process but an ontological shift in this triad. The central question—"What is human being?"—becomes inextricably linked to the questions "What is the world?" and "Does the world possess intrinsic meaning?" Weber and Eliade, from their unique vantage points, provide complementary answers that lead us to the core thesis of this paper: the modern transformation is best understood not as the decline and privatization of religion, but as the subjectification of belief.

The Emergence and Advancement of the Individual Subject

Weber's analysis reveals that the modern individual subject is the historical product of a specific spiritual discipline. The Calvinist doctrine of predestination, by generating an "unprecedented inner loneliness", forced the believer into a solitary confrontation with the question of salvation (Weber

[1905] 2001, pp. 60–61). The pastoral guidance of figures like Richard Baxter did not only offer communal solace but reinforced this disciplinary individualism, framing diligent work in one's worldly vocation as the paramount spiritual duty and the primary sign of divine favor (Weber [1905] 2001, pp. 103–105). This inner-worldly asceticism thus forged a new type of agency: the individual as a self-monitoring, rationalizing sovereign over his own life. The development of this sovereign subject extends beyond the Reformation. The early modern individual, shaped by Calvinist anxiety of inner loneliness, operated under divine sovereignty, striving to order life as a sign of election. Its contemporary counterpart, however, has acquired a more radical, reflexive sovereignty of agency. "Self-command", as Jack Barbalet argues, "is equivalent to the core mechanism of Weber's concept of *Beruf*, calling or vocation, which underwrites the ethos of the capitalist spirit" (Barbalet 2008, p. 117). With the historical process of rationalization, responsibility was fully internalized. Consequently, the modern subject emerges in a condition where the world appears entirely within its grasp. This sense of mastery goes beyond the early Calvinist discipline of rationally ordering life for God's glory, to a self-legislating, subjective sovereignty stripped of any transcendental purpose or final accounting. The "third witness"—whether the religious community or a cosmos resonant with sacred meaning—has withdrawn.

The Evacuation of Meaning from the World

Eliade's framework complements the advancement of the individual subject by describing the ontological vacuum into which this sovereign individual steps. The desacralized cosmos no longer provides any pre-given matrix of meaning. The advance of the individual subject, therefore, is a dual movement: a positive formation through socio-historical processes (Weber) and a negative liberation occasioned by the retreat of the sacred cosmos (Eliade). Eliade's narrative elucidates the profound consequence of desacralization: the evacuation of transcendent meaning from the cosmos itself. For modern non-religious people, they assume "a new existential situation", they exist "as the subject and agent of history", and refuse "all appeal to transcendence" (Eliade [1957] 1987, p. 203). This is not merely a change in belief but an ontological impoverishment of reality as it is experienced. Randall Studstill notes that within Eliade's phenomenology, the sacred is related to the fundamental "existential predicament" of human life (Studstill 2000, p. 185). The evacuation of meaning, however, is the collapse of this existential framework provided by the sacred, leaving the world an empty vessel.

This transformation from a meaningful cosmos to a neutral universe has

been an important focus in the analysis of secularization. This is encapsulated in Weber's observation that the disenchantment of the world led to the fragmentation and disappearance of a unified hierarchy of values, where "the different value systems of the world are caught up in an insoluble struggle with one another" (Weber [1919] 2004, p.22). Charles Taylor describes the "pre-modern state" as "based in the Great Chain of Being" (Taylor 2007, p. 713), a teleological cosmos in which everything had its appointed place and purpose, and humans found their identity and value within this encompassing hierarchy. The process of secularization, as traced by Weber, led to the disenchantment of the world, where the cosmos was stripped of intrinsic moral and spiritual significance and reconceived as a mechanism of causal laws (Weber [1919] 2004, pp. 12–13). This disenchantment was both a liberation and a loss. The individual, once securely situated within a divinely ordained cosmos, now confronts a contingent, purely immanent universe. This "world", devoid of the sacred syntax described by Eliade, is reduced to what Weber foresaw: a stage for instrumental action, where meaning is no longer discovered but must be willfully constructed by the sovereign individual subject. In this context, meaning is no longer discovered within an objective order but becomes a matter of personal choice and responsible commitment in a realm of rationalization and intellectualization (Weber [1919] 2004, pp. 30–31).

From the Privatization of Religion to the Subjectification of Belief

While Weber and Eliade follow divergent paths, they jointly delineate a transformation far deeper than the mere "privatization of religion". As Casanova has compellingly argued, religion has not truly exited the modern public sphere; rather, it continues to participate in public life in new forms—whether institutional, cultural, or as social movements (Casanova 1994, p. 215). However, the public presence of religion cannot obscure the fundamental metamorphosis that has occurred at its core: namely, the subjectification of belief itself.

This process is not merely about religion retreating from the public square into the private living room, but about a shift in the nature and locus of belief. Religion as a social institution, ritual system, and form of community, while partially privatized, retains its visible structure and voice in the public domain. Belief, however — that direct, inward, meaning-and-salvation-bearing relation between the individual and the transcendent or the sacred — has been radically transformed into a matter solely between the person and God (or some ultimate reality). It has become a highly internalized state of mind, a form of personal conviction whose authenticity and certainty are, in Charles Taylor's account, ultimately a matter of internal adjudication. "My

ultimate purposes are those which arise within me, the crucial meanings of things are those defined in my responses to them" (Taylor 2007, p. 38). Building on his philosophical-historical inquiry into the problem of the self, Sorabji also traces "the inward turn" within the history of human thought (Sorabji 2006, p. 51). This latent tendency, however, manifests with particular visibility and force in the context of religious secularization, where the individual emerges as the ultimate arbiter of meaning and the enclosed site of experience. This philosophical "inward turn" provides a crucial context for understanding shifts in religious life.

Therefore, within the philosophical interpretation of secularization, the focus of discourse has long shifted away from the question of whether religion can continue to exist. In the domain of postmodern philosophy of religion, the central question has seemed to evolve into that of "a return to God or an awakening of a new experience of the divine" (Oppy 2015, p. 36). The world ceases to be a purposeful macrocosm resonating with human existence and is reduced to what Weber termed a disenchanted, value-neutral stage for action. In this condition, belief is no longer *discovered* through participation in a cosmic order, but is *constructed* or *chosen* by the individual confronting an empty universe within their own subjectivity.

In *A Rumor of Angels*, Bergers project is to explore how signals of the transcendent (what he calls "rumors of angels") might yet be discerned within this so-called secular world (Berger [1969] 2011, chs. 1–2). It is widely acknowledged that the thesis of religious decline has largely receded from contemporary debates on secularization, a shift closely linked to the critique of the privatization thesis. Crucially, this privatization of religion is made possible by a prior transformation in the very structure of the self. The desacralized modern self no longer inhabits a cosmos that inherently bestows meaning. Instead, it has become what Taylor calls a "punctual self", which "is defined in abstraction from any constitutive concerns", and the "only constitutive property is self-awareness" (Taylor 1989, p. 49). This self, abstracted and sovereign, is the necessary condition for belief to become a matter of private, individual choice—a shift from being *given* by the world to being *held* by the subject. This paper contends that the privatization of religion is itself a misleading formulation, for it rests on a fundamental conflation: that of belief with religion. At a structural level, belief constitutes the core of any religious engagement—it is the direct, intentional nexus between the believing subject and the object of belief (Duan 2022, pp. 202–204). The privatization narrative, by framing the issue merely as religions retreat from the public sphere, obscures the more profound question of the status of the believing subject itself.

IV. Conclusion

The comparative analysis of Weber and Eliade reveals that their divergent paths converge on a fundamental transformation in modern religious life: not the decline or mere privatization of religion, but the subjectification of belief. Weber's diachronic narrative traces the historical process of rationalization and disenchantment, culminating in the autonomous, world-mastering individual. Eliades synchronic phenomenology frames secularization as desacralization—the retreat of the sacred from a cosmic order into private experience and interpretation. Both diagnose a world stripped of inherent meaning, where the individual is no longer embedded within a pre-given sacred cosmos but becomes the active subject who must construct meaning from within.

This shift finds a deep resonance in Charles Taylors diagnosis of modernitys malaise, marked by the rise of individualism and "the primacy of instrumental reason" (Taylor 1991, ch. 1). Weber's disenchanted world and Eliades desacralized cosmos depict a reality where external sacred orders have dissolved, leaving individuals without a stable ontological framework. In such a condition, myth—which, as Strenski notes following Eliade, once provided an orienting narrative linking humanity to the sacred cosmos—also loses its power to furnish a collective frame of meaning (Strenski 1987, p. 72). Taylor frames this transition as a process of "disembedding", wherein belief becomes a matter of personal choice rather than a given of cosmic order (Taylor 2007, p. 146). Anthony Giddens further elaborates from a socio-economic perspective, showing how disembedding mechanisms operate at the level of everyday life (Giddens 1990, pp. 21–29). Ultimately, the subjectification of belief does not merely transform the individual; it actively reshapes the world we inhabit.

In conclusion, the core of the modern religious condition lies not in religions public disappearance but in the internalization and subjectification of belief itself. The individual is no longer merely a believer within a tradition but has become the sovereign subject of belief—the locus where meaning is reflexively appropriated, negotiated, and held. This is the deeper transformation signified by the narrative of secularization.

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Weaving Love into Sacred History:

Early Rabbinic Interpretation of the Song of Songs

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Abstract: Throughout the interpretive history of the Song of Songs, the theme of love has undergone successive transformations shaped by shifts in interpretive agents and methodologies. In early rabbinic interpretations, the theme of love was inscribed into the framework of sacred history. This process was rooted in two interconnected developments: first, the canonization of the Song of Songs within the Hebrew Bible, which invested it with sacred authority; and second, the rabbinic practice of conducting verse-by-verse parallel interpretations that anchored the text in the Torah. Early rabbinic interpretations transcended the Song of Songs' literal depictions of love, reconfiguring its secular themes into commemorations of sacred history and articulations of the divine-human relationship. The love portrayed in the text, functioning as a textual thread, is intertwined with sacred history as an interpretive thread: rabbinic exegesis employed the former as a vehicle for religious meaning, using it to foreground the latter as the text's true theological core. By analyzing the Mishnah and the midrashic work *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, this article elucidates how sacred history absorbs and reframes the theme of love within its narrative.

Keywords: Song of Songs, Midrash, *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, Intertextuality

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Introduction

The Hebrew Bible comprises a collection of texts, all of which underwent a rigorous canonization process before being enshrined as authoritative scripture. Canonization, defined as the process by which a text gains normative status through communal recognition, serves as a concentrated expression of a group's cultural identity and spiritual aspirations (Tian 2023). Among these biblical books, the Song of Songs stands out for its bold poetic language and unique thematic focus—centered on intimate love—which distinguishes it sharply from other scriptural works. Its integration into the biblical canon was notably more contentious and protracted than that of most other texts.

Key evidence of this canonization debate is preserved in the Mishnah, a core component of the Talmud and a compilation of ancient Jewish oral law structured primarily as rabbinic dialogues and question-and-answer exchanges. The destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE and the subsequent Jewish Diaspora heightened the role of rabbis—learned spiritual leaders whose lineage traces to the first century CE (Rao 2010, p. 38)—in preserving communal identity. By teaching and interpreting the Hebrew Bible, rabbis sought to consolidate faith and sustain the hope of returning to the Promised Land. The compilation of Tannaitic literature (rabbinic exegetical works attributed to the Tannaim, active 70–300 CE) was completed in the third century, marking the conclusion of the Tannaitic period.¹ This literature encompasses discussions of legal precepts, religious customs, and personal ethics, including verse-by-verse biblical exegesis—much of which employs Midrash, the dominant interpretive strategy of early rabbis. As such, midrashic texts have become indispensable for investigating early Jewish theological thought and legal concepts.

Traditionally, rabbinic literature is divided into two categories: Halakha and Aggadah (Tian 2016, p. 108). The former refers to casuistic interpretations of Torah law, while the latter uses folk legends, anecdotes, and symbolic narratives to elucidate legal and moral teachings—both ultimately serving the dual goals of legal exegesis and ethical formation. Like other canonical texts, the Song of Songs received detailed verse-by-verse commentary from early rabbis, preserved in midrashic literature.² Among these, *Shir Ha-Shirim*

1 The “early” period used in this article is the Tanner period, which is the period from the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE to the compilation of the Mishnah in the 3rd century CE.

2 It is generally believed that only the books established as canon can be interpreted in the midrashic way. Before this, the works could only be read. To this end, the earliest Midrash commentary on the Song of Songs dates back to 65 CE. See Samuel

Rabbah is the oldest and longest surviving early rabbinic exegetical work on the Song of Songs (Kadari 2023, p. 55). Composed between the first and fifth centuries CE—with the Song of Songs itself dating to the late sixth or early seventh century BCE—this midrashic text belongs to the Aggadah tradition (Kadari 2023, p. 55). It holds foundational significance for understanding how rabbis conceptualized and interpreted the love depicted in the Song of Songs, while its interpretive methods exemplify the distinctive rabbinic approach to biblical interpretation.

Scholarly research on rabbinic interpretations of the Song of Songs has centered on two core strands: textual criticism and intertextual analysis. Textual studies investigate the formation, redaction history, variant readings, and internal hermeneutical strategies of these exegetical works. For instance, Tamar Kadari has conducted pioneering research on *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, exploring its discovery, critical edition, and complex redaction process (Kadari 2012), as well as illuminating its transmission and textual variations through the identification of new manuscripts and fragments from the Cairo Genizah (Kadari 2016a) and the Cambridge Genizah (Blanc 1999). Intertextual studies, by contrast, examine the dialogue between these interpretations and other Jewish exegetical traditions, such as the Aramaic Targum and medieval commentaries.

In terms of hermeneutical methods and ideological content, Kadari (2016b) offers a systematic literary analysis of rabbinic exegetical strategies, arguing that the allegorical interpretations of core imagery (e.g., milk, mother, brother) likely emerged from early Jewish-Christian polemics over chosen identity and interpretive authority regarding the Torah (Kadari 2017). Girón Blanc (1987) similarly identifies allegory as a defining feature of *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*. Comparative studies have also revised established assumptions: for example, research indicates that the Aramaic Targum of the Song of Songs did not directly depend on *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, but both drew from a shared late antique exegetical tradition (Junkermann 2011). Further comparative work extending to the medieval period highlights the divergence between midrashic allegory and the rationalist exegesis of commentators like Abraham ibn Ezra (Blanc 1987).

Building on this scholarly foundation, the present study aims to address three core questions: How did ancient rabbinic interpretations shape the form of love depicted in the Song of Songs? What interpretive processes and strategies were employed to construct this love? And what are the essential characteristics and ideological underpinnings of this rabbinically reframed love? By focusing on *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* as a primary source, this research

Tobias Lachs (1965, p. 238).

seeks to uncover the transformation of the love in the Song of Songs from its literal romantic connotations to a symbol of the divine-human covenant, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of early Jewish hermeneutics and the theme of love.

Canonization: The Foundation of the Legitimacy of Sacred Interpretation

The first topic to be discussed is the canonization process of the Song of Songs. Canonization is an indispensable link for a text to enter the biblical corpus, and its connection to interpretation lies in the fact that the process of canonization lays the foundation and delineates the boundaries for interpretation. The establishment of the Song of Songs as sacred during its canonization marks the starting point of its acceptance as a biblical text worthy of interpretation. Simultaneously, invested with the new identity of a religious text, its interpretive pathway is linked to a transcendent realm of meaning. The canonization process is one of the origins of the long-standing debate over the sacredness or secularity of the love depicted in the Song of Songs, and it also represents the first interpretation of the Song of Songs as it is known today. Without canonization incorporating it into the biblical canon, the Song of Songs would not have garnered such a broad and numerous readership as it enjoys currently.

Due to its unique content and style, the Song of Songs' canonization was fraught with controversy. Mishnah *Yadayim* 3:5 records a debate concerning its canonization, particularly addressing whether the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes defile the hands. This constitutes one of the earliest surviving documented commentaries on the Song of Songs. Some scholars regard it as the first text to position the Song of Songs as a sacred love poem.³ For the Song of Songs, the core of this debate centered on whether the love it depicts is sufficiently sacred. Rabbi Akiva (c. 50–135 CE) lavished high praise on the Song of Songs, affirming its supreme sanctity and profound significance for Israel, thereby directing the interpretation of the love in the Song of Songs toward the sacred.

Mishnah *Yadayim* presents the debate among rabbis regarding the purity of the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. Two rabbis held differing opinions: Rabbi Judah (c. 135–170 CE) maintained that the Song of Songs defiles the hands, but there is controversy concerning Ecclesiastes, while Rabbi Yose (c.

³ One view holds that the period when the Song of Songs was interpreted as a divine love song began in the early second century CE. Other scholars argue that such an interpretation emerged in the first century BCE, when certain groups including the Pharisees interpreted the Song of Songs as sacred in order to curb the trend of regarding it as a “profane” wisdom. For detailed research, see Kaplan (2010, p. 45).

135–170 CE) argued that Ecclesiastes defiles the hands, with controversy surrounding the Song of Songs. More intriguing, however, is the premise set forth earlier in the passage: “All sacred writings (כְּתוּבֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ) defile (מְטַמְּאִין) the hands; both the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes defile the hands” (Mishnah, *Yad.* 3:5). The verb “defile” (מְטַמֵּא) raises questions: is it used in a positive or negative sense, and are the subjects (writings, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes) beneficial or harmful to humans?

Rabbi Shimon ben Azzai (c. 110–135 CE) recounted that he learned a tradition concerning the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes from the Seventy-Two Elders—on the day he was appointed academy dean, he heard the elders declare that both texts defile the hands. This claim was immediately refuted by Rabbi Akiva, whose eulogy of the Song of Songs became a classic proof of its sacredness for later generations: “Far be it from me! No one in Israel disputes that the Song of Songs does not defile the hands. For the entire world is not worthy of the day the Song of Songs was bestowed upon Israel; for all writings are sacred (שְׁכָל הַכְּתוּבִים קֹדֶשׁ), but the Song of Songs is the holy of holies (קֹדֶשׁ קֹדָשִׁים). If there was any dispute, it was only concerning Ecclesiastes” (Mishnah, *Yad.* 3:5).

Rabbi Akiva's praise, concluding the entire debate, can be regarded as the Mishnah's response to the issue: the Song of Songs is the holy of holies. However, this conclusion does not resolve inherent contradictions. For instance, Rabbi Akiva's emphatic assertion that “all writings (works) are sacred” seemingly conflicts with the opening statement that “all sacred writings defile the hands.” Questions such as whether “works” are subordinate to or equivalent to “sacred writings,” and whether sacredness and “defilement” constitute an absolute binary opposition, remain elusive.⁴

These contradictions are not unfounded. The author of Ecclesiastes questions God from the perspective of human suffering, while the Song of Songs openly celebrates human love in secular settings—neither text frequently mentions the divine name YHWH, yet both stood at the threshold

4 Three common resolutions to such contradictions include: the debate is recorded merely to highlight Rabbi Akiva's high regard for the Song of songs; “works” is equivalent to “sacred writings”, the passage emphasizes that all works under discussion are sacred; or certain scrolls defiling the hands signifies their canonical status, equating canonicity with defilement. A more plausible explanation is offered by John Barton: defiling the hands is a consequence of the devotional practice of holding the writings, separate from the inherent nature of the writings (sacred or impure). Thus, the sacredness of the writings is not the cause of the practitioner's action, nor can the value of the scrolls be equated with the outcome of the practice. See Barton (1997, p. 2). And another interpretation of the writings directly refers to the Ketuvim in the Hebrew Bible. See: Edmée Kingsmill (2009, p. 9).

of biblical canonization, a process that is itself riddled with mysteries. For the Song of Songs, the form of love it depicts was crucial to confirming its orthodoxy, and vice versa. The purity debate reveals that the Song of Songs and canonization engaged in a dynamic, mutually influential process. On one hand, the sacredness or impurity of the Song of Songs shaped the meaning of “defilement” and other recorded concepts. On the other hand, Rabbi Akiva’s exaltation of the Song of Songs sparked enduring questions about the nature of its love. How could this love be consistent with tradition and deemed acceptable? Could it be identified as the literal secular love between men and women? How did allegorical and other interpretive methods shape the form of this love?

In addition to praising the Song of Songs as the holy of holies and emphasizing its immense value to Israel, Rabbi Akiva made another assertion in *Tosefta Sanhedrin* 12:5, a classic of oral law: those who chant the Song of Songs aloud in taverns and treat it as a secular song will forfeit their place in the world to come (*Tosefta, Sanhedrin* 12:5). A similar statement, unattributed to Rabbi Akiva but nearly identical in content, appears in Talmud Sanhedrin 101a:2: anyone who reads verses from the Song of Songs and interprets them as a form of secular song rather than a sacred text, or reads any biblical verses at feasts not in their proper time but merely as entertainment, introduces evil into the world (*Talmud, Sanhedrin* 101a:2). Furthermore, Rabbi Akiva made an even more forceful claim: if the Torah had not been given, the Song of Songs alone would suffice to guide the entire world (Kingsmill 2009, p. 10).

Whether a text defiles the hands may be related to its mode of reception. Rabbi Akiva attached great importance to the sacred value of the Song of Songs and its proper reading. By the time of canonization at the latest, the Song of Songs could be read in a relatively casual manner and circulated secularly. Ilana Pardes notes that numerous clues in the Song of Songs’ history and text indicate it was once sung at festivals, with the Hebrew term “שִׁיר” (shir) encompassing both poem and song (the two were not strictly differentiated at the time). Additionally, some scholars argue that the Song of Songs is an inspired collection of poems influenced by Mesopotamian sacred marriage hymns and rituals (Pardes 2019, pp. 13–14). It is plausible that prior to the debates over its canonization, the secular meanings and values accumulated during its folk circulation had already permeated people’s perception of the text. The form of love in the Song of Songs evolved with changes in the text’s status. When the Song of Songs appeared in secular settings as a festival or ritual song, its love—central to its poetic value—took on a secular joyfulness; when interpreters represented by Rabbi Akiva sought to elevate it to the status of a religious classic, the love in the Song of Songs became sacred.

The core conflict regarding the love in the Song of Songs has emerged through records related to canonization: secular love versus sacred love. The love depicted in the Song of Songs directly refers to secular scenes and experiences, but Rabbi Akiva's declaration of its sacredness indicates that this superficial meaning is insufficient to define the love in the Song of Songs as secular romantic love between men and women. When he issued a prohibition against the secular use of the Song of Songs by Jews, he established its sacredness, which seemingly contradicts its secularity. Rabbi Akiva's positioning of the Song of Songs marks the starting point for interpreting the love in the Song of Songs in rabbinic literature: the Song of Songs cannot be used as entertainment in secular venues, and its love is not a portrayal of earthly romance but is reconstructed as the sacred love between God and Israel.

Intertextuality: The Context and Methods of Early Rabbinic Interpretation

As the Song of Songs was incorporated into the canon, its value orientation toward love underwent a transformation. On one hand, the outcome of this love—marriage as the consummation of a relationship—was emphasized. On the other hand, its erotic and emotional dimensions were largely discarded, replaced by solemn historical retellings and doctrinal exhortations. Central to this transformation was the rabbis' intertextual interpretive approach, which transposed Torah themes onto the Song of Songs' love narratives. This bridged the gap between a relatively new biblical text and an ancient historical tradition.

In rabbinic tradition, the PaRDeS interpretation (literally meaning "orchard," referring to a mystical realm of contemplation in rabbinic thought) extracts the four consonants of "PaRDeS" as designations for four interpretive approaches. These four methods are: Peshat (פְּשָׁט, "plain"), the literal interpretation; Remez (רֵמֵז, "hint"), the allegorical interpretation; Derash (דִּרָשׁ, the root of which means "to seek"), the homiletical interpretation; and Sod (סוּד, "secret"), the esoteric interpretation (Fishbane 2015a, pp. xxxv-xxxviii). Among them, the noun form of "Derash" is "Midrash," and rabbinic literature can be regarded as a process of seeking meaning in sacred texts. Works of Derash-type interpretation primarily center on the Torah, emphasizing the sacred value of studying the Torah and the religious significance of remembering the experience of suffering. To facilitate in-depth exploration of the Torah, rabbis developed an intertextual interpretive method—when interpreting a specific text, they transpose portions of the Torah's texts or narratives to serve as explanatory tools. Such transposition may involve directly extracting sentences and plots from the Torah, or applying meanings derived from the Torah tradition to the target text. However, this is not a

simple textual collage but rather the spreading of wings for the ascent of understanding. Fishbane argues that the intertextual method of Derash is not merely a textual practice but also an expansion of the Bible's spiritual guiding role, as its use is driven by the text's recipients and the desire to convey strength to them (Fishbane 2015b, pp. 168–170). *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, an early rabbinic commentary on the Song of Songs, is a Derash text that employs the intertextual interpretive method. In reading the Song of Songs through *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, readers revisit tradition through the literal depiction of love and further receive transcendent guidance. This act of constructing meaning within a textual framework resembles allegorical interpretation, yet their constructive processes are fundamentally distinct. Daniel Boyarin incisively points out that the rabbis did not adopt the widely assumed allegoric method but instead intertextually connected different signifiers directly; allegory, by contrast, delves deeply into symbols to find a signified that can be linked to the signifier (Boyarin 1990, p. 223). Another distinctive feature that sets Derash apart from the allegorical method is its greater emphasis on investigating etymology and textual structure (Kadari 2023, p. 59), which is followed by repeated citation on this basis. Sophisticated repetition includes the thorough and recurring study of stories, discourses, and key vocabulary, ultimately aiming to unearth the spiritual meaning of the Torah. As Boyarin notes, in midrashic literature, the highest level of reading is intertextual reading—connecting the immediate text with the ultimate Text—rather than allegorical reading, which connects the text with abstract concepts (Boyarin 1990, p. 226).

From the perspective of a linear conception of history, it was not until the Hellenistic Jewish period when Philo lived, or the later period when Judaism came under the influence of Neoplatonism, that allegorical methods of interpretation came to supplant the early interpretative approaches exemplified by Derash. However, it cannot be denied that features of allegorical interpretation are present in the midrashic literature. Rabbi Akiva's assessment sets a precedent: the love between man and woman in the Song of Songs was sanctified in rabbinic thought. That is to say, there exists a metaphorical understanding that views secular love as a prelude to divine love, with the text's ultimate meaning residing beyond its literal surface. Thus, textual meaning is divided into superficial and deeper layers—a fundamental interpretive tendency that later developed into allegorical exegesis. The widely accepted interpretation in Jewish exegesis posits that the lovers represent God and Israel, and their love signifies the union between God and Israel. It is inferred that the Song of Songs was incorporated into the Hebrew Bible precisely because this religious system lacked sacred texts addressing eros (Pardes 2019, p. 12). As a force that draws two parties closer together, eros is not an ancient Greek philosophical concept to which later generations

applied the Christian term ‘agape’ by way of comparison, nor does it refer to love in a sexual sense. When examining early rabbinic literature, the introduction of the concept of eros can be used to describe an extraordinary attraction and connection, pointing to the mysterious force behind it that drives everything. For instance, in the Derash method, the tradition-oriented act of interpretation links textual content from different sources to form a shared world of meaning with the reader; this can be attributed to an adhesive force of eros.

Overlapping Narratives: The Dual Imagery of Marriage and Covenant

Within the narrative of the Song of Songs, two distinct relational frameworks emerge: the romantic bond between male and female lovers, and the marital bond between a bridegroom and a bride. The terms “bridegroom” and “bride” may function as affectionate epithets or carry symbolic weight, but they do not definitively confirm the lovers’ eventual marriage—the text only mentions King Solomon’s marriage, and Solomon’s role as the male protagonist remains unconfirmed. Nevertheless, if we assume the narrative depicts the protagonists’ marriage, this union represents the apex of their love, signifying an identity transformation and the fruition of their affection. In traditional rabbinic interpretation, the bride and bridegroom symbolize God and Israel respectively, and their marriage embodies the supreme covenant between them.

Early rabbinic exegesis circumvented love as emotion or desire, focusing instead on love as covenant and commitment. Through allegorical analogy, this love transcended literal romantic love to symbolize the relationship between God and humanity. Rabbis sanctified marriage and its underlying covenant, making this covenant the core theme of their interpretation of the love in the Song of Songs. *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* frequently employs a parable: God, likened to a king, seeks to wed a woman of noble lineage and sends a messenger to propose. Upon hearing the proposal, the woman consents to be his handmaid yet yearns to hear the betrothal directly from the king. The messenger returns joyful, but his words are unintelligible to the king—who infers from his expression that the woman has consented and desires his personal proposal (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:2:3). Here, the messenger symbolizes Moses, framing the allegory as Moses leading Israel in covenant with God: as God’s intermediary, Moses conveyed divine messages but struggled to translate human response into divine language. Israel, God’s chosen “wife” of noble lineage, remains separated from God by an uncrossable boundary. This parable accompanies the commentary on Song 1:2 (“Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth! For your love is better than wine”). Rabbi Shimon ben Yochai (c. late 2nd century CE) and Rabbi Johanan

bar Nappaha (c. 180–279 CE) both linked this verse to the Israelites' ascent of Mount Sinai (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:2:1–2)—the site where Moses established the covenant between God and Israel (Exodus 24:12–31:18). This interpretation reframes human romantic love as the positive relationship between God and humanity, casting marriage as a symbolic covenant and attributing to the text a meaning not inherently present. By interpreting love through the lens of marriage, rabbis introduced covenantal obligations into the divine-human relationship, inviting audiences to participate in this narrative. The interpretive focus shifted from the unfolding of romantic love to its covenantal consequences—a quintessential example of intertextual interpretation cloaked in allegory, wherein rabbis superimposed an external narrative onto the target text rather than deriving meaning from its inherent symbols. Tradition, as a meaning system, thus constructed a shared spiritual world within the Song of Songs.

This parable alone does not fully illustrate how marriage shapes the interpretation of the Song of Songs' love. Biblical tradition abounds with divine-human marriage metaphors: Isaiah declares that God has called Israel “a wife forsaken and grieved in spirit” (Isaiah 54:6) and that “as the bridegroom rejoices over the bride, so shall your God rejoice over you” (Isaiah 62:5); Jeremiah recalls Israel's “love as a bride” in following God through the wilderness (Jeremiah 2:2); Hosea portrays Israel as an adulterous wife who “has a lover” (Hosea 3:1) by worshipping idols. These metaphors stem from God's covenant with Israel, which demands unwavering fidelity—mirroring marriage's core requirement. Israel's idolatry, framed as adultery, undermines the divine-human covenant's sanctity. A critical question arises: how do these marital emphases in other biblical books connect to the love in the Song of Songs, and how do divergent textual perspectives influence its exegesis? *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* provides an answer through its interpretive method.

When the Song of Songs expresses love through calls and kisses, *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* supplements detailed covenantal interpretations: the “kiss” is framed as an affirmation of the divine-human relationship. Rabbis note that the Torah contains 613 commandments, of which Moses conveyed 611 to the people—the first two of the Ten Commandments were heard directly from God. This direct divine-human interaction, they argue, is the “kiss” invoked in Song 1:2 (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:2:2). Similarly, the kiss is interpreted as God sending fire to accept Israel's sacrifices in the Tabernacle (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:2:1), signifying the authenticity and intimacy of the divine-human bond and God's unique recognition of Israel. In emphasizing these themes, rabbinic commentary bypasses the Song of Songs' poetic evocation of emotional and sensory experience—instead mapping its verses onto Torah narratives and prophetic sayings to form a “shadow-like commentary.” As

Daniel Boyarin observes, rabbis regarded later biblical works as unified interpretations of the Torah; the Song of Songs thus served as an exegetical key to the Hebrew Bible, yet in the process lost the key to its own interpretation⁵. When a single text bears the narrative of another, meaning loss is inevitable—yet within the Derash interpretive pathway, such a trade-off is necessary.

Notably, the Song of Songs is grouped with Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as three Torah-commentary texts attributed to Solomon. In interpreting *Song* 1:1 (“The Song of Solomon, the Song of Songs”), *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* devotes significant space to emphasizing the text’s sacred authorship, repeatedly stating: “The Holy Spirit rested upon him (Solomon), and he composed these three books: Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes” (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:1:5–10). The Rabbis thus framed these works as divinely inspired through Solomon, endowing the Song of Songs with sufficient sacredness to serve as a “key” for unlocking the Torah and deepening Israel’s understanding of it. Boyarin argues that in functioning as a Torah commentary, the Song of Songs lost its own interpretive key—a view rooted in the premise of biblical self-exegesis through internal texts. Importantly, the hermeneutical transformation of the love in the Song of Songs predated both rabbinic Midrash and the canonization debates in the Mishnah: when the text’s depictions of love sparked canonization controversy, its transformation into divine love was already underway. Entry into the biblical canon enabled the love in the Song of Songs to be integrated into biblical tradition as a homologous element.

This raises a critical question: did the Song of Songs’ marital narrative exert a reverse influence on Torah interpretation, or transplant its literal meaning into Torah exegesis? Despite its enduring linguistic charm and evocative portrayal of romantic love, the Song of Songs’ emotional core did not permeate rabbinic interpretation—a discrepancy tied to the intertextual method. Intertextuality involves two texts: an earlier one incorporated into the interpretive framework and a later one. Jonathan Kaplan notes that when a later text cites an earlier one, the earlier text receives commentary and undergoes a meaning shift (Kaplan 2010, p. 48). However, the Song of Songs’ commentary on the Torah is not achieved through direct quotation but through its deployment as an interpretive key by the rabbis—a method that frames later texts as commentaries on earlier ones. As the rabbis held interpretive authority over the Hebrew Bible, Midrash became the dominant

5 This allusion stems from a first-century commentator (attributed to Saadya): “My brother, know this: regarding the interpretation of this Song of songs, you will find many differing opinions, for the Song is like a lock whose key has been lost.” See Kingsmill (2009, p. 11).

exegetical mode, consigning the Song of Songs' love to a subordinate role. This intertextual relationship was hierarchically preordained: love's potential remained unexplored, ceded to earlier texts. Thus, the Song of Songs and other later texts functioned as unidirectional commentaries on the Torah—history and law, deemed worthy of commemoration, were subjected to deep excavation, while the Torah remained unchanged by the Song of Songs' commentary, achieving self-explanation through it. Within this framework, the love in the Song of Songs was reduced to a state of hermeneutical impoverishment: its interpretation was reduced to the divine-human relationship, yet failed to bridge the chasm between secular and divine love—as the two texts never developed organic interaction in Midrash. The transformation of love's meaning can therefore only be explained by invoking rabbinic interpretive authority and sanctioned methods, with no further answers found within the interpretation itself.

Nevertheless, when the Song of Songs became an “earlier text,” its references in later works resonated with its inherent meaning. Through subtle interpretive “quotation,” the Song of Songs' love was understood and applied differently across texts. For example, in Ezra and Revelation, the text's love is implicitly framed as divine, borrowed to emphasize male figures' leading role in restoration. The Song of Songs' emotional fervor is amplified to affirm the exclusivity and indestructibility of God's love for humanity, while serving as a lens to refract the essence of Israel's relationship with God (Kaplan 2010, pp. 65–66).

Spiritual Transformation: From Physical Depiction to Divine Love

The purpose of rabbinic interpretation is to serve the exegesis of the Torah, and its subject matter, though rooted in the relatively secular imagery of the Song of Songs, ultimately aligns with Aggadah. As Edmée Kingsmill observes, Rabbi Akiva emerges as the pivotal figure who elevated the Song of Songs' status—yet this elevation merely reduced the text to a tool for interpreting the Torah (Kingsmill 2009, p. 192). In fact, the Song of Songs, alongside Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, functions not only as a textual commentary on the Torah but also as a narrative of Israel's national history. As previously argued, the romantic love depicted in the Song of Songs is transformed in rabbinic exegesis into the establishment and consolidation of the divine-human covenant. This process simultaneously accomplishes the commemoration and repetition of foundational historical memories—from the Exodus to the covenant-making at Mount Sinai. Thus, under the primacy of historical memory in Israelite tradition, the love in the Song of Songs enters a distinct hermeneutical domain.

The Song of Songs employs vivid metaphorical rhetoric to describe the

human body, drawing comparisons primarily from the natural world and everyday life. These depictions brim with passion, embodying heartfelt praise between lovers, while carrying subtle erotic undertones that express their desire. *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, however, interprets the human body with deliberate restraint, sidelining both its erotic and lyrical dimensions. Instead, it deconstructs the text of the Song of Songs and juxtaposes it with Israel's collective historical memory.

The Song of Songs' striking bodily descriptions center largely on the female form, with Chapter 4 offering a paradigmatic example⁶:

1 How beautiful you are, my love,
how very beautiful!
Your eyes are doves
behind your veil.
Your hair is like a flock of goats,
moving down the slopes of Gilead.
2 Your teeth are like a flock of shorn ewes
that have come up from the washing,
all of which bear twins,
and not one among them is bereaved.
3 Your lips are like a crimson thread,
and your mouth is lovely.
Your cheeks are like halves of a pomegranate
behind your veil.
4 Your neck is like the tower of David,
built in courses;
on it hang a thousand bucklers,
all of them shields of warriors.
5 Your two breasts are like two fawns,
twins of a gazelle,
that feed among the lilies.
(Song 4:1–5)

In the commentary on the opening line “your eyes are doves behind your veil” in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, the eyes are likened to the Jewish Sanhedrin, signifying the eyes of the congregation (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:1:2). This is followed by a series of parallels drawn between the dove and the people of Israel. Beginning with the discovery of a new subject (the Sanhedrin), followed

6 Chapter 7 shares many similar bodily descriptions with Chapter 4, though its sexual allusions are more explicit. However, *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah's* interpretation of Chapter 4 is rich and representative, hence Chapter 4 remains the chosen example for illustration.

by a point-by-point enumeration of similarities or connections between the metaphor and the subject (the Sanhedrin, like the dove, is pure and spotless, conspicuous, humble, and vulnerable), and concluding with references to other books—this constitutes a relatively typical interpretive structure in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*. More broadly, this process involves (a) understanding the text, (b) understanding national history, and (c) shaping Israel's theology and worldview (Langer 2023, p. 78).

Indeed, when the meaning of love in the Song of Songs leaps from romantic love to divine relationship and national history, this expression of love becomes ubiquitous. The phrase “Your eyes are doves” alone reveals the rabbis’ profound care in their commentary, using the dove’s nature to emphasize the need for self-restraint among the Israelite people. The following interpretation, composed of five parallel clauses, further details the path of understanding the relationship between God and humanity and the interpretation of historical memory (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:1:2).

“Just as the dove, from the time it meets its mate, does not exchange its mate for another, so too did Israel: from the time it came to know the Holy One blessed be He, it did not exchange Him for another” (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:1:2). This affirms the nature of the relationship between God and the nation of Israel, declaring Israel’s unwavering loyalty to God. It also responds to the first commandment among the Ten Commandments: “You shall have no other gods besides Me” (Exodus 20:3).

“Just as the dove enters its nest and knows its nest, its dovecote, its fledglings, its chicks, and its windows, so are the three rows of Torah scholars when they sit before them, each and every one knows his place” (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:1:2). This statement is addressed to Torah scholars, effectively linking the function of the eyes with the habits of doves. On one hand, seeing-recognizing-learning the Torah forms a sequential relationship; on the other, recognizing the order of things and the scholars’ awareness of their own positions create a parallel, reflecting the orderly and well-structured hierarchical system within Judaism. Specifically, the “three rows of Torah scholars” describe the scene of the Jewish Sanhedrin deliberating over new judges. The three rows of scholars sit before the Sanhedrin members, serving as candidates for new judges, from whom the Sanhedrin makes its selection (*Sanhedrin* 37a).

“Just as the dove, even though you take its fledglings from beneath it, it will never forsake its dovecote, so too did Israel: even though the Temple was destroyed, it did not have the three annual pilgrimage festivals abrogated” (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:1:2). This pertains to the historical destruction of the Temple. Despite the destruction of both the First and Second Temples and the two exiles of the Jewish people, the pilgrimage festival customs continued to

be observed and practiced. This demonstrates the remembrance and commemoration of the historical traumas of Judaism. Moreover, this interpretation underscores the profound significance of the Temple as a dwelling place and the Promised Land as homeland for the faithful Israelites—marking their identity even in exile.

“Just as the dove produces a new brood each and every month, so too did Israel renew for itself Torah, mitzvot, and good deeds each month” (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:1:2). This interpretation reinforces the status of the law. Moreover, the rabbi who uttered these words was himself producing “a new brood”—that is, regenerating the Torah through the act of interpreting the Song of Songs.

“Just as the dove travels far afield and yet returns to its dovecote, so too did Israel” (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:1:2). This reveals that exile and diaspora were not Israel’s final destination. The rabbis exhorted the Israelites: even while journeying far, they must remember their mission to return home.

This single metaphor encompasses the divine-human covenant, religious institutions, national history, festival customs, legal obligations, and national destiny—nearly every facet of Israelite religious life. While the original text uses the dove simply to evoke the beloved’s eyes, the rabbis expanded it into an all-encompassing narrative, leveraging the interpretive space left by the poem’s concise, emotionally resonant language.

Beyond linking the Song of Songs’ metaphors to the Torah, *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* transforms the text’s metaphorical objects into new “metaphors” for national and religious themes. For example, the verse “Your two breasts are like two fawns, twins of a gazelle, that feed among the lilies” (Song 4:5). is interpreted as a symbol of Moses and Aaron—just as breasts embody a woman’s beauty and nourishment, Moses and Aaron represent Israel’s spiritual sustenance and glory (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:5:1). Their equality is emphasized through a secondary metaphor: “A king placed two fine pearls on a balance scale—neither outweighed the other; so too did Moses and Aaron” (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:5:1). This chain of equivalences forms a self-referential interpretive cycle, leaving little room for the original romantic context.

Other bodily metaphors receive similar treatment:

“Your hair is like a flock of goats” (Song 4:1) refers to the twelve thousand Israelites who fought against Midian, whose spoils were offered to God (Numbers 31:5, 54) (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 6:6:1).

“Your teeth are like a flock of ewes” (Song 4:2) symbolizes the 248 positive commandments and 365 negative commandments (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 4:1:2; 4:2:2).

“Your navel is a rounded bowl” (Song 7:2) represents the Sanhedrin—its

“roundness” evoking the circular chamber where rulings were issued, and its “pivotal role” mediating between God and Israel (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 7:3:1).

In this way, the Song of Songs’ physical imagery loses most of its erotic and romantic connotations in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*. Desire and emotional expression are subsumed by extensive Torah references, yet the rabbis implicitly weave erotic undertones into the divine-human relationship—suggesting that God’s love for Israel inherently carries a passionate, almost erotic tension (Wolfson 2023, p. 131). Before the full maturation of allegorical exegesis, this love remains tightly bound to the text, presenting a state of “chaotic unity” between literal and symbolic meaning.

The Repetition of Tradition: The Ascent of Love into History

Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah articulates and reinforces two core convictions: God is Israel’s unique, supreme deity, and Israel is God’s chosen, one-of-a-kind beloved. These two convergent perspectives are both articulated and reinforced in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, by means of the same method of intertextual construction through historical references and quotations from other books. Moreover, the interaction between God and humanity is vividly portrayed through Israel’s transgressions and God’s salvation, forming a pivotal turning point in the love between God and humanity.

(i) The Most Excellent Beloved

From Israel’s perspective, *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* emphasizes God’s uniqueness and paramount importance to Israel. The line “What is your beloved more than another beloved?” (Song 5:9) is interpreted as the nations of the world addressing Israel, asking in what ways Israel’s God surpasses other gods. The immediate response, “My beloved is all radiant and ruddy” (Song 5:10), is interpreted as Israel’s answer. *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* explains that white symbolizes God’s attribute of mercy, while red represents His attribute of justice—both of which Israel’s God possesses to a greater degree than others. Another interpretation expands the meaning of red to encompass the Exodus crossing of the Red Sea and the fiery nature of the Law (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 5:9:1). Regardless, for Israel, their God remains the supreme deity—metaphorically, the ultimate Beloved. God is Israel’s Beloved, and even in times of spiritual absence, Israel clings to faith. “Where has your beloved gone, O fairest among women?” (Song 6:1) *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* imbues this question with a malicious tone, suggesting it is the mockery of the nations toward Israel. But the congregation of Israel would respond: You have no share in Him; why do you ask? Since I am joined to Him, how can I depart from Him? Since He is joined to me, how can He depart from me? Where He is, there I will be? (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 6:1:1) This is Israel’s confident

declaration, showing that its trust and faith in God are unshakable, undisturbed by other nations or beliefs.

(ii) The One and Only Beloved

Mirroring the previous section, Israel is God's chosen, one-of-a-kind beloved, possessing a unique identity bestowed by God. In the narrative of love, God's love for Israel is almost always mentioned first. "For love is strong as death, passion fierce as the grave" (Song 8:6). The Rabbinic commentary explains that the waters and floods represent the nations of the world. Throughout Israel's history of exile and dispersion, the oppressive forces of these nations could not extinguish God's love for Israel. In interpreting the phrase "love is fierce as death", the primary meaning referenced is God's love for humanity: may God bless your love, as strong as death. Furthermore, the desire or longing for a beloved and for love in the Song of Songs is also reflected in the interpretation of the relationship between God and humanity. *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* records three kinds of desire: first, the desire of Israel, directed solely toward their God, which is precisely the heartfelt cry of the Israelite people: "I am my beloved's, and his desire is for me" (Song 7:10); second, the desire of a woman, directed solely toward her husband; and finally, the desire of sin, directed only toward Cain and his kind (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 7:11:1). Ultimately, Israel often possesses beauty in God's eyes, and His praise resembles the adoration of a lover. "You are beautiful as Tirzah, my love, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners" (Song 6:4); "How fair and pleasant you are, O loved one, delectable maiden!" (Song 7:6). According to *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, both passages describe the beloved Israel as beautiful and delightful because they observe the commandments, practice circumcision, engage in prayer, and perform repentance (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 6:4:1), and even though idols were ubiquitous in Jerusalem and Samaria, they did not worship them (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 7:7:1).

(iii) Sin and Redemption

The rabbis recorded in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* had evidently witnessed two Temple destructions. They were deeply concerned with Israel's transgressions and God's subsequent punishments, seeking within their interpretations ways to mend the relationship between God and humanity. "I opened to my beloved, but my beloved had turned away and was gone" (Song 5:6). This signifies God's withdrawal from Israel, while Israel repents for His departure (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 5:6:1). Specifically, chapter 5 narrates a story of opening and closing doors. After hesitation, the female protagonist finally decides to open the door for her lover who urgently seeks her, only to find him gone upon opening it. She then goes out searching for him, is beaten by

the guards, and pleads with the women to help her find him (Song 5:1–16). In *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, the rabbis interpret that God was initially soothed by Israel opening the door, leading to the first decree permitting the Jews to return and granting permission to rebuild the Temple (Ezra 1:1–4). However, Israel's subsequent conduct angered God, causing Him to turn away again. Thus, the rabbis express a heartfelt lament from Israel's perspective: "I sought God and called Him, but the seventy years of the Babylonian exile had not yet been completed, and He did not answer me" (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 5:6:1). Another interpretation of this passage suggests that after God established the covenant with Israel at Mount Sinai, some Israelites made a golden calf, provoking God's anger. This motif appears elsewhere, such as in "passion fierce as the grave" (Song 8:6). *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* indicates this reflects God's wrath after Israel provoked Him through idol worship (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 8:6:4). This historical context receives more detailed commentary in the exposition preceding this section. Rabbi Shimon ben Yochai notes that this verse refers to the punishment described in Exodus following Israel's transgression: "Therefore the Israelites stripped themselves of their ornaments, from Mount Horeb onward" (Exodus 33:6). While other rabbis disputed the causal connection, there was broad agreement regarding the Israelites' transgression. For instance, Rabbi Shimon ben Harafta remarked: "Wretched is the bride who sins under the wedding canopy" (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 8:5:1). As mentioned earlier, marriage is a central theme in rabbinic discussions of the Song of Songs' love, precisely because of the parallels between covenant and matrimony. The story of the golden calf represents a breach of the covenant. It can be seen as the female protagonist in the Song of Songs seeking her departed lover only after damaging the relationship, thereby isolating herself and facing persecution from the patrols.

Overall, the tension in Israel's relationship with God is most pronounced during times of sin. The climax of this love is manifested in Israel's repentance, prayers, and cries to God after being abandoned, followed by God's miraculous return to Israel to bring salvation. For instance, the commentary on verse 7 of chapter 11 mentions that the Israelites daily anticipated and hoped for the blessing of the Holy One to bring their redemption, reciting the words from Deuteronomy: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord is our God, the Lord alone" (Deuteronomy 6:4). The commentary on verse 8 of chapter 7 draws upon the narrative in Daniel, where the Israelites refused to bow to Nebuchadnezzar's command to worship the golden image, regardless of whether God would deliver them (Daniel 3:17–18). Regarding "If she be a wall" in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 8:9, one interpretation offered is that God declares: if Israel remains steadfast in its conduct like a wall, He will establish and save it (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 8:9:2).

Furthermore, in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, the roles of God and humanity are distinctly defined: God is the male figure who enacts salvation, while Israel is the female figure who calls for salvation. An absolute hierarchy exists between them, yet simultaneously, a pattern of communication akin to lovers' affection is present. *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* records this interpretation: "She lauded Him and He lauded her. She lauded Him from top to bottom, and He lauded her from bottom to top. She lauded him from top to bottom, because He was On High and rested His Divine Presence on earth. He lauded her from bottom to top, as she is on the lowest level and He is destined to elevate her" (*Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah* 5:16:6). This mutual praise, shaped by unequal stations, may also reflect the gender dynamics of romantic relationships in the rabbinic era.

Conclusion

In the Rabbinic commentary on the Song of Songs in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, the religious function of love in the Song of Songs is vividly manifested: it retells national history and deepens the relationship between God and humanity, thereby cultivating and shaping the religious consciousness of the Israelites. As Gerhard Langer observes, this understanding of history within the midrashic literature is itself shaped by biblical faith; a conviction that core events in Israel's history and those pivotal to its identity formation are all found within the Hebrew Bible (Langer 2023). This very premise underpins the extensive use of intertextual methods in the interpretation of *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*. Consequently, the love depicted in the Song of Songs, while presenting the relationship between God and humanity, also serves as a vehicle for recalling and summarizing significant historical events. Examples include the covenant narratives frequently referenced in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbah*, the incident of the golden calf, and the circumstances of the exile following the destruction of the Temple. Rabbinic interpretations of the Song of Songs' love narrative commenced even before the canonization debates arose. This interpretive journey consistently revolved around the rabbis' historical and theological perspectives, finding expression and extension through the biblical text. However, the beauty of secular love as captured in the original text of the Song of Songs—or rather, its literal meaning—and the implicit portrayal of secular life it contains, fall outside the scope of this interpretation. This approach bears a striking resemblance to Origen's, as both avoid allowing the Song of Songs' themes to lean toward secular love. Rather than constructing the sacred by denouncing secular love and its carnal imagery, the rabbis adopted a positive interpretive strategy. They established the Song of Songs as a holy book, restricting its usage contexts; they deconstructed the texts forming its love theme, weaving love into sacred history. Thus, sacred history and the relationship between God

and humanity became central and irreplaceable themes in Rabbinic interpretation. The intertextual Derash method serves as a key to understanding the transformation of the form of love in the Song of Songs: it reveals how rabbis of the time perceived, accepted, and addressed exceptional texts and ideas, as well as how they transmitted them to other indirect readers through interpretation. However, the construction of a specific realm of meaning is accompanied by the loss of broader interpretive space. Given the limited means by which people accessed and comprehended scriptures at that time, how the abandonment of secular love should be approached hermeneutically remains a question difficult to answer. When rabbinic interpretation used the Song of Songs to open the door to the study of Torah and sacred history, the question is no longer what method to use to unlock the Song of Songs, but whether to acknowledge the realm of meaning accumulated by the Song of Songs before it became the “holy of holies.”

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Hermeneutical Trajectories of the Hemorrhaging Woman

(Mark 5:25–34)

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Abstract: This study traces the hermeneutical trajectory of the healing of the hemorrhaging woman (Mark 5:25–34) to illuminate how changing interpretive frameworks have shaped understanding of Markan miracles. It then undertakes a socio-rhetorical interpretation of the narrative to offer a contemporary understanding of the text. Historically, this narrative was read apologetically, foregrounding the miracle as proof of Jesus's divinity and a model for the efficacy of faith. The form-critical shift reclassified it as a *Novelle*, prioritizing its *Sitz im Leben* for early community instruction and Christological confession. Contemporary scholarship, however, engages its literary artistry, particularly its function as a theological intercalation within the Jairus narrative. This hermeneutical trajectory reveals a critical development within the interpretation of Markan miracles in that they are no longer seen merely as a display of power but as sophisticated rhetorical devices. Hence, the narrative is a vehicle designed to draw vulnerable persons to Jesus and to demonstrate that the power of Jesus to heal is above his peers.

Keywords: Mark 5:25–34, hermeneutics, miracles, vulnerability, rhetoric, illness, faith

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Introduction

The narrative of the hemorrhaging woman's healing (Mark 5:25–34) stands as one of the most poignant and literarily sophisticated miracle narratives in the Gospel of Mark. Traditionally, this περιελθοῦσα (around him, to go around) account was interpreted through an apologetic lens, valued as a historical attestation to Jesus's divine power and a straightforward paradigm for the efficacy of personal faith (Taylor 1966, pp. 294–295). These initial readings, however, belie the complex rhetorical and theological depth of the passage. The history of its interpretation reveals a fascinating hermeneutical development, mirroring broader methodological shifts within New Testament scholarship itself. This article illuminates how the rhetoric of Markan miracles operates to present Jesus as superior to his peer miracle-workers of the first century CE and to form readers. An examination of the evolving scholarly engagement with socio-rhetorical analysis allows us to discern a critical movement: Mark's miracles are not merely wondrous events, but are sophisticated rhetorical tools designed to subvert social hierarchies, redefine purity and discipleship, and articulate the disruptive. This study will chart this hermeneutical journey to demonstrate how the hemorrhaging woman's narrative provides a crucial key for understanding the persuasive artistry and theological argument embedded within Mark's presentation of the miraculous.

The socio-rhetorical interpretation propounded by Vernon K. Robbins is used for the exegesis of the narrative. Socio-rhetorical interpretation is composed of five (5) main textures: (i) inner-textures; (ii) inter-textures; (iii) socio-cultural textures; (iv) ideological textures; (v) sacred textures. Each main texture is a web of sub-textures expected to express the node of coaxing through key topoi in the narrative. The inner texture is selected for the exegesis of Mark 5:25–34. It consists of repetition, progression, narrational, opening-middle-closing, argumentative, and sensory aesthetic textures (Robbins 2004, p. 2; 2016, p. xxii; 2016, pp. 329–364). Due to limited space, the repetitive and narrational textures are considered in this study. The article contributes to the discussion of Markan miracle catenae and their rhetorical conceptual blending to demonstrate the power of Jesus over that of other miracle workers and healing shrines in the first century CE. Mark 5:25–34 is a synoptic narrative (cf. Matthew 9:20–22 and Luke 8:43–48), with varied emphasis and theological concentration. The rationale for choosing the Markan version of the healing of the hemorrhaging woman is the considerable details that it provides. The details would help in examining the failed attempt by the woman to seek healing from medical personnel and other religious personages of the ancient world.

First-Century Medical Services and the Hemorrhaging Woman (Mark 5:25–34): An Argument Concerning Treatments Received and the Causes of Their Failure

The account of the hemorrhaging woman in Mark 5:25–34 provides one of the most detailed glimpses into first-century healthcare experiences preserved in ancient literature. The text explicitly states that the woman “had endured much under many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and was no better but rather grew worse” (Mark 5:26). This brief but devastating summary invites historical investigation into what medical attention a woman with chronic hemorrhaging would have received in first-century Palestine, and into why those treatments failed. The woman’s failed medical treatments reflect the limitations of ancient gynecological knowledge, the syncretistic blend of empirical remedies and magical practices characteristic of Greco-Roman medicine, and the profound social and religious consequences that transformed a physical condition into an experience of total marginalization.

First-century medicine represented a complex fusion of Hippocratic traditions, Alexandrian anatomical studies, and practical gynecological knowledge. The most significant medical authority for this period was Soranus of Ephesus, who practiced in Rome during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian (late first to early second century CE). Soranus’ work *Gynecology* represents the most comprehensive ancient treatment of women’s health, and his methods likely reflect practices available somewhat earlier in the century. Soranus described the pelvic organs, the process of labor, the use of vaginal specula, and various therapeutic interventions. The first century also saw the work of Aulus Cornelius Celsus (c. 25 BCE–50 CE) whose *De Medicina* Book III recorded observations on various medical conditions, and later Galen would synthesize much of this knowledge. Significantly, women also practiced medicine during this period; historical records mention female physicians including Aspasia, Metrodora, and a young Cleopatra who contributed to gynecological knowledge.

For a woman suffering from chronic hemorrhaging—likely menometrorrhagia potentially caused by fibroids, adenomyosis, or a bleeding disorder, first-century physicians would have prescribed a range of interventions. Soranus recommended wool tampons soaked in various astringent substances including wine, myrrh, or alum. These treatments aimed to create local coagulation and stem blood flow through chemical means (Weissenrieder 2017, pp. 265–285). Dietary restrictions would also have been imposed, based on humoral theories that certain foods promoted or inhibited bleeding. Patients might have been advised to rest and avoid physical exertion, and physicians sometimes recommended particular

positions or behaviors following intercourse for women experiencing reproductive difficulties (Pliny the Elder ca. 23–79 CE; Pedanius Dioscorides c. 40–90 CE).

Beyond Greco-Roman medicine, the woman would likely have encountered traditional Jewish remedies. The Talmud preserves approximately eleven treatments for gynecological hemorrhages, some of which reflect the syncretistic blend of empirical observation and folk practice characteristic of ancient medicine. These included carrying the ashes of an ostrich egg in a linen bag (the bag material changing with seasons), drinking wine mixed with powdered rubber, or carrying a barley kernel found in the dung of a white female donkey. While some of these recommendations post-date the first century in their written form, they likely preserve older folk traditions that would have been available to Jewish women seeking healing (Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 110b). That notwithstanding, the woman was more likely to undergo Greco-Roman medical services due to their availability during the ministry of Jesus in the first century CE.

1. The Causes of Medical Failure

The limitation facing first-century physicians was their incomplete understanding of female reproductive anatomy and physiology. While Soranus and others had made significant observations, the internal nature of female reproductive organs limited diagnostic capabilities. Without understanding the hormonal regulation of menstruation, the nature of fibroids or other structural abnormalities, or the mechanisms of coagulation, physicians could only treat symptoms empirically. The abrupt cessation of the woman's hemorrhage after touching Jesus's garment—described with the Greek adverb *εὐθὺς* (immediately, instantly, at once), represents a type of cure entirely beyond ancient medicine's capabilities. As modern medical understanding confirms, chronic organic bleeding cannot be resolved through psychogenic response or placebo; placebo cannot ligate ruptured vessels or shrink leiomyomas instantaneously (Dumont 1992, pp. 493–505).

The text's observation that the woman "spent all that she had" reflects the economic reality of ancient healthcare. Without insurance, governmental support, or charitable medical institutions, patients bore the full cost of repeated medical consultations and treatments. Each failed intervention consumed additional resources, creating a downward spiral of diminishing finances alongside deteriorating health. This economic dimension of suffering parallels contemporary observations about chronic illness and bankruptcy, though without any social safety net to cushion the fall. The cumulative cost of twelve years of treatment would have reduced a woman of even moderate means to destitution.

2. The Convergence of Physical and Ritual Impurity

Perhaps most significantly, the woman's condition carried religious consequences that compounded her medical suffering. Leviticus 15:25–27 rendered a woman with a chronic discharge ceremonially unclean, isolating her from synagogue worship, community gatherings, and normal social contact. This ritual impurity meant that her physical condition produced social death—she could not attend religious services, receive visitors without contaminating them, or experience physical touch. Archaeological discoveries of mikveh installations at first-century sites including Magdala and Jerusalem confirm the centrality of purity practices and the social ostracism that would have accompanied prolonged impurity. The woman's desperate act of touching Jesus's garment in a crowd represented a violation of these norms, risking public censure and potentially contaminating others. The woman's condition could render her infertile, adding grief over childlessness to her other sufferings. The twelve-year duration of her illness precisely matches the age of Jairus' daughter, creating a deliberate narrative parallel and rhetorical contrast between the woman whose womb could not produce life and the child who stood at the threshold of reproductive maturity. This literary structuring underscores the completeness of the woman's marginalization—she embodied the opposite of what her culture valued in women.

The hemorrhaging woman's twelve-year ordeal represents the convergence of multiple failures in first-century healthcare: the empirical limitations of ancient gynecological knowledge, the economic unsustainability of chronic illness, the social isolation imposed by purity regulations, and the psychological burden of unrelieved suffering. Her experience of having endured much under many physicians while growing worse reflects not the incompetence of individual practitioners but the structural limitations of an ancient medical system that lacked effective treatments for chronic gynecological conditions. The narrative's preservation of these details—the failed treatments, the depleted resources, the ritual impurity—establishes the completeness of her desperation and the corresponding magnitude of her healing. The medical failures of the first century thus serve, within the narrative, to highlight by contrast the comprehensive restoration that Jesus provides.

Analysis of the Various Interpretations of Mark 5:25–34

Mark 5:25–34 is not a novel narrative for Markan scholars or interpreters. Judith König offers a re-reading of the hemorrhaging woman by centering the analysis on power dynamics. She engaged narratological tools and concepts from social psychology as a heuristic framework. König argues that the

unnamed woman, whom she renames “the woman who took the initiative”, is an agentive figure (König 2025, pp. 134–145). The article’s core contribution lies in its differentiation between social and personal power. While readers may be convinced that Jesus possesses inherent social power, König demonstrates that within this specific narrative, Jesus does not actively exercise it. Conversely, the woman, despite holding no social power, displays personal power derived from her knowledge, desperation, and bold initiative to touch his garment.

König (2025, pp. 134–135) supports this thesis with a close reading of the narrative to highlight that to describe the woman as *παθοῦσα* (suffering) (Mark 5:26) is attributed to specific failed physicians and financial ruin, not merely her illness. Furthermore, the woman is not incapacitated but is among the few Markan patient-characters who act on their own (König 2025, p. 139; Marcus 2005, p. 358; Laurence 2013, p. 94). The argument of König encourages a re-evaluation of both figures: the woman—the patient without patience and Jesus—the passive healer to provide a fresh vocabulary for understanding agency and faith, solidifying the woman’s role as a central actor in her own healing narrative.

Emily Reimer-Barry’s (2004, pp. 283–299) article offers a methodologically ambitious and pastorally urgent interpretation of Mark 5:25–34 by reading the text in solidarity with women who have experienced pregnancy loss and abortion. Drawing upon historical-critical, feminist, and postcolonial interpretive strategies, Reimer-Barry foregrounds the ambiguity within the text to open up new possibilities for meaning. She argues that Jesus’s response to the bleeding woman created space for her to tell her story without shame or blame and blessed her so that she could go in peace, which provides a paradigm for how the church might reframe its approach to women who have experienced reproductive loss. The article’s strength lies in its constructive theological proposal: that Jesus’s response models solidarity rather than judgment, creating conditions for testimony and blessing. Reimer-Barry’s (2004) inclusion of abortion within the category of reproductive loss aims to challenge ecclesial approaches that have often prioritized condemnation over accompaniment. By reading across interpretive methods, she demonstrates how biblical texts can speak directly to contemporary pastoral crises. However, her focus on pregnancy loss and infertility might mean that she considers the possible consequences of hemorrhaging for a long period more than the hemorrhaging itself. It raises a question that requires further research to ascertain whether the woman is within child-bearing age or not in the context of the first century CE gynecology.

In addition, the article’s brevity limits its engagement with potential tensions. The category of reproductive loss risks eliding significant differences

between miscarriage and abortion, particularly regarding questions of agency and moral responsibility that many women themselves experience as salient. While Reimer-Barry (2004) draws on postcolonial strategies, the application remains underdeveloped; the article might have benefited from sustained attention to how colonial histories shape both the narrative's production and contemporary reproductive politics. Nevertheless, as a work of pastoral theology, the article offers a timely and compassionate model for ecclesial practice that centers on women's experiences and voices.

Musa W. Dube (2004, pp. 115–140) expanded her interpretation of Mark 5:25–34 to cover Mark 5:21–43 in the context of HIV/AIDS in Africa. The expanded scope of her interpretation represents a landmark in postcolonial feminist biblical interpretation. Reading from and for the African context, Dube reconfigures the hemorrhaging woman as emblematic of Africa, a continent bleeding from colonial exploitation, neo-colonial economic policies, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic that disproportionately devastates women. Dube (2004) reads with accountability to those dying, asking not simply what the text meant but what it might mean for survival and healing.

Methodologically, Dube (2004) models a multi-sectoral approach that integrates historical criticism with postcolonial theory, feminist analysis, and epidemiological data. She demonstrates how biblical texts have been weaponized to stigmatize those with HIV/AIDS—framing illness as divine punishment—and instead recovers the Markan narrative as a resource for resistance and solidarity (Dube 2004, pp. 120–123, 130–132). The woman's desperate reaching for Jesus's garment becomes a metaphor for African women's agency amid structural violence.

The primary limitation of the work of Dube (2004) is its succinctness, though a large text (Mark 5:21–43) was considered as a chapter in an edited volume. It requires gestures toward arguments that deserve fuller development. The analogy between the woman's hemorrhage and Africa's bleeding risks flattening historical specificity, which are colonialism, structural adjustment and viral transmission. These are distinct phenomena that require careful differentiation. Nevertheless, as a programmatic statement, the work demonstrates how contextual reading can generate theological meaning that serves life rather than death. It remains essential reading for anyone seeking to understand postcolonial biblical interpretation as a practice of justice.

Candida R. Moss's (2010, pp. 507–519) "The Man with the Flow of Power: Porous Bodies in Mark 5:25–34" renders a counterintuitive reading that upends conventional interpretations of the hemorrhaging woman narrative. Moss argues that interpreters have been so focused on the woman's bleeding body that they have overlooked the parallel phenomenon: Jesus himself

becomes a bleeding (or rather, “power-flowing”) body. Reading through the lens of ancient medical and philosophical understandings of porosity and permeability, Moss demonstrates that Mark presents Jesus’s body as remarkably open and vulnerable, where power flows out of him involuntarily, without his conscious control.

The essay’s central methodological contribution lies in its careful reconstruction of ancient physiological frameworks. Moss draws upon Galen, Aristotle, and Hippocratic traditions to show that ancient audiences would have understood bodies as porous, constantly exchanging substances with their environments (Moss 2010, pp. 511–514). Within this framework, Jesus’s experience of power leaving him (Mark 5:30) is not a unique miracle but an intensification of normal bodily processes. This reading destabilizes assumptions about Jesus’s absolute sovereignty and highlights his genuine humanity and vulnerability. Moss (2010, pp. 515–516) further argues that this porous Jesus stands in stark contrast to the “many physicians” (Mark 5:26) whose treatments failed precisely because ancient medicine lacked understanding of the dynamics of porosity. The woman intuitively grasps how bodies connect and how healing might travel across permeable boundaries. The essay thus repositions both characters: the woman as a knowledgeable agent and Jesus as a receptive, even passive, participant in his own power’s outflow.

The article’s primary achievement is its demonstration that attending to ancient embodiment frameworks transforms interpretation. Moss (2010) avoids anachronistic projections of modern individualism onto first-century bodies, instead recovering a worldview in which selves were always already interconnected, vulnerable, and permeable. The key limitation of the article is its relative brevity, because the argument could be extended to consider how this porous Christology might inform contemporary theological anthropology or ecclesiology. Nonetheless, as a piece of historical criticism, its attentiveness to both medical and literary texts is significant.

The selected works reviewed demonstrate both contextual readings and historical-textual readings. The contextual readings by Reimer-Barry (2004) and Dube (2004) represent an attempt to use the narrative to respond to contextual issues that may be pastoral, anthropological, political, and social. It demonstrates the use of the ancient text to respond to contemporary issues. This approach, without neglecting the historical context of the text, makes the narrative of the hemorrhaging woman relevant as a framework for providing solutions to contemporary issues. The historical-textual readings by König (2025) and Moss (2010) emphasize how the narrative could be understood in the context of first-century CE medical, gender and embodiment. While Reimer-Barry (2004), Dube (2004), and König (2025) focused on the woman as

the fulcrum of interpretation, Moss moved her attention to the body of Jesus that equally discharges power to heal. This article offers a socio-rhetorical interpretation of Mark 5:25–34 to argue that the implied narrator seeks to present Jesus as being above physicians and other competing miracle-workers of the first century CE. The narrative is a rhetorical piece to attract the vulnerable persons with chronic illnesses to Jesus. In the realm of religious discourse or compositions, rhetoric emerges as an incredibly potent instrument that significantly influences the formation of beliefs and the execution of practices, utilizing a diverse array of persuasive techniques that can sway individuals and communities alike. Some scholars (Henderson 1989, pp. 20–39; Thomas and Graham-Hyde, 2004; Reid 2008, pp. 109–142) argue that the goal of rhetoric is to persuade an audience to achieve the objective of the speaker/author, and the long-standing goal of religious discourse is to eventually persuade audiences. This does not mean that the event of the healing of the hemorrhaging woman did not take place. It is not within the scope of this study.

While scholars like Reimer-Barry (2004), Dube (2004), König (2025) and Moss (2010) have advanced the study of Mark 5:25–34, their approaches exhibit two methodological weaknesses that necessitate an inner texture socio-rhetorical analysis. First, they prioritize ideological frameworks over textual-rhetorical constraints. König's (2025, p. 134) analysis imposes contemporary power dynamics onto the text, missing that Mark presents divine power as something Jesus embodies rather than wields. Moss's (2010) reading applies Greco-Roman medical models of bodily porosity to conclude that Jesus is also weak, misreading Mark's rhetorical strategy where Jesus's apparent vulnerability reveals superabundant divine power. Reimer-Barry's (2004, p. 112) solidarity hermeneutic risks hermeneutical colonization by reading contemporary pregnancy loss onto the woman's hemorrhage, potentially silencing the text's particular voice.

Second, these scholars neglect the passage's literary-rhetorical composition within Mark's narrative architecture. None adequately addresses how the pericope functions as the center of an intercalation with Jairus' daughter, where the twelve-year parallelism, healing by touch, and fear motifs create a theological argumentation through structural contrast. An inner texture analysis would attend to Mark's syntactical choices—like the long periodic sentence in 5:26 that enacts the woman's deferred hope—and to how Jesus's question "Who touched me?" rhetorically distinguishes faithful touch from mere physical contact, revealing divine authority. These weaknesses demonstrate that beginning with contemporary concerns risks hearing only one's own echo. Inner texture analysis, by attending to Mark's rhetorical strategies first, allows the text's transforming word to speak before asking

what implications it might hold for today.

Persuading Through Texture: The Rhetorical Design of Mark 5:25–34

Examining the inner texture of Mark 5:25–34 reveals sophisticated literary and rhetorical strategies embedded in the text. The passage demonstrates Mark's use of linguistic features to create theological meaning.

1. Twelve Years, One Touch, Lasting Faith: Repetition as Persuasion in Mark 5:25–34

The Gospel of Mark employs sophisticated rhetorical strategies to persuade its audience. This is particularly evident in the healing of the hemorrhaging woman (Mark 5:25–34). Within this pericope, Mark deploys a dense network of repetition of time, action, and verbal patterns that functions persuasively to shape the reader's understanding of faith, healing, and the identity of Jesus. This inner texture analysis argues that Mark's rhetorical use of repetition constructs a persuasive argument about the nature of faith and its power to restore, even as it prepares the reader for the larger theological claims of the gospel.

The most conspicuous repetition in the narrative is the twofold reference to the woman's twelve-year affliction. Mark 5:25 introduces the woman as one "who had been suffering from hemorrhages for twelve years" (οὐσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος δώδεκα ἔτη). The number recurs in verse 42 when Jairus' daughter is identified as being "twelve years old." This is not coincidental but represents a deliberate rhetorical strategy of intercalation, which can be termed a "Markan sandwich," where one story is inserted within another to create mutual interpretation. Intercalation functions to create dramatized irony between two or more characters and their actions in the separate stories, with the resulting ironies speaking to major theological themes in Mark, especially Christology and discipleship (Strauss 2014, pp. 167–168; Allison Jr. 2011, p. 150; Shepherd 1991).

The repetition of "twelve years" functions rhetorically to forge an inescapable connection between the two women. The number carries symbolic weight, representing the twelve tribes of Israel, which suggests that these narratives concern the restoration of God's people. Both women function as "representations of Israel," with the cumulative weight of seventeen literary elements in Mark 5:21–43 creating a rather strong argument for this symbolic interpretation (Kubiś 2020, pp. 346–355). More immediately, the repetition insists that the reader hold these two figures together: one at the beginning of life, the other suffering through what should have been the prime of life; one surrounded by family and a synagogue leader father, the other utterly alone and ritually unclean; one healed by Jesus's intentional action, the other by a

clandestine touch. The rhetorical effect is to demonstrate that Jesus's power operates across the entire spectrum of human need and social location.

Mark's rhetorical brilliance appears most strikingly in the syntactical construction of verse 26. The verse's grammatical structure demands careful attention from interpreters. It consists of a long periodic sentence employing a series of participles that describe the woman's condition before the main verb finally appears (Decker 2014). The text presents the woman as one "having suffered many things from many physicians" (παθοῦσα πολλά ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἰατρῶν), "having spent all that she had" (δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς πάντα), "having not benefited" (μὴ ὠφεληθεῖσα), and "having grown worse" (εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐλθοῦσα), before the long-delayed main verb: she touched (ἥψατο) Jesus' garment.

This accumulation of participles, each representing a stage of suffering and failed hope, creates a rhetorical crescendo that makes the final verb all the more instrumental in the narrative. The repetition of suffering through the participle chain enacts linguistically what the woman experienced temporally: twelve years of relentless, compounding misery. Each participle adds another layer of desperation, and the delayed main verb creates suspense that mirrors the woman's long wait for healing. When the verb finally comes, it carries the accumulated weight of all that preceded it. This syntactical repetition persuades the reader that this touch is no ordinary contact but the climax of years of suffering and hope. The rhetorical power of this construction lies in its ability to make the reader participate in the woman's experience. This is persuasion through form. Mark does not simply tell the reader that the woman suffered; he makes the reader feel the weight of that suffering through syntax.

Verse 28 reports the woman's internal speech: "For she kept saying, 'If I but touch his clothes, I will be made well'" (ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὅτι Ἐὰν ἅψωμαι καὶ τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ σωθήσομαι). The imperfect verb ἔλεγεν (she kept saying) indicates repeated, habitual action. This repetition of inner speech serves a persuasive function: it demonstrates that the woman's faith is not a momentary impulse but a settled disposition. Her repeated self-address constitutes a form of faith formation. The rhetorical effect on the reader is to present this woman as a model of persevering faith, one who stands in stark contrast to the disciples who will later flee and deny Jesus. In the reception history of the passage, the woman has frequently functioned as a "model of empowerment against the forces of death" and an "exemplar of life-giving action," displaying "bold, risk-taking action" that has "inspired subsequent generations of interpreters" (Joyes 2012, p. 117).

Furthermore, the content of her repeated speech emphasizes the minimal condition for healing: "if I but touch his clothes." The particle καὶ (even, only) underscores the modesty of her request. She does not demand Jesus's

attention, a public healing, or even a word. Her faith is so robust that she believes even the most indirect contact will suffice. This repetition of humble expectation persuades the reader that authentic faith trusts not in elaborate formulas but in the sheer power of Jesus's presence.

The narrative presents a remarkable parallel between the woman's perception and Jesus's: "Immediately her hemorrhage stopped, and she felt in her body that she was healed of her disease. Immediately aware that power had gone forth from him, Jesus turned about in the crowd and said, 'Who touched my clothes?'" (Mark 5:29–30). The adverb *εὐθύς* (immediately) appears in both clauses, creating a parallel structure that links the woman's healing to Jesus's perception. This repetition of "immediately" with two different subjects creates a rhetorical synchronization of experience. The woman knows she is healed at the same moment Jesus knows power has left him. Their knowledge coincides, suggesting a profound connection that transcends normal human interaction. The repetition persuades the reader that this healing involves not merely physical cure but relational encounter. Jesus and the woman are drawn into mutual awareness.

The disciples' response provides comic relief but also rhetorical contrast: "You see the crowd pressing in on you; how can you say, 'Who touched me?'" (5:31). Their question, repeated in substance from their perspective, highlights the distinction between merely physical contact (crowd pressure) and faith-filled touch (the woman's intentional reaching). Jesus's persistence in seeking the toucher, despite the disciples' protest, demonstrates that this distinction matters. The repetition of the question asked by Jesus, challenged by the disciples, and answered by the woman drives home the point that faith transforms ordinary contact into saving encounter. When the woman comes forward, Mark reports that she "came in fear and trembling, fell down before Jesus, and told him the whole truth" (5:33). The phrase "fear and trembling" (*φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τρέμουσα*) echoes traditional theophanic responses to divine presence throughout Scripture. This reaction repeats patterns established in Israel's encounter with God, suggesting that the woman recognizes she has entered sacred space.

The woman's testimony, telling "the whole truth" (*πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν*), reiterates and makes public what the reader already knows from the narrator's earlier account. This repetition serves a forensic function: what was hidden (the clandestine touch, the private healing) becomes public testimony. The woman's words mirror the narrator's, confirming the accuracy of the account and providing multiple witnesses to the event, a crucial consideration in a rhetorical culture that valued testimony. Jesus's response includes a term of address not used elsewhere in the gospels: "Daughter" (*θυγάτηρ*). This familial designation, repeated in his blessing, transforms the woman's identity.

No longer an anonymous sufferer, no longer defined by her uncleanness, she becomes part of Jesus's family. The repetition of "daughter" in verse 34 echoes and fulfills the earlier reference to Jairus' daughter, creating another link between the two stories and suggesting that both women now share in the same familial relationship to Jesus.

Jesus's final words to the woman contain a threefold blessing: "Daughter, your faith has made you well; go in peace, and be healed of your disease" (5:34). The phrase "go in peace" (ὑπάγε εἰς εἰρήνην) repeats a standard Hebrew farewell (לְפָנֶיךָ לְשָׁלוֹם) but carries deeper resonance here. The peace Jesus offers is not merely absence of conflict but šālôm: wholeness, completeness, restoration. The final clause, "be healed of your disease" (ἴσθι ὑγιῆς ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγός σου), might seem redundant given that she has already been healed. This repetition serves a persuasive purpose: it confirms that the healing is permanent and comprehensive. The present imperative ἴσθι (be) suggests a continuing state. She is to remain healed. The word μάστιξ (scourge, affliction) emphasizes the severity of what she has suffered, making the healing all the more remarkable.

This threefold blessing: declaration of faith's efficacy, gift of peace, confirmation of healing repeats and expands the healing already experienced. The rhetorical effect is to show that Jesus's words do not merely acknowledge what has happened but complete it, adding dimensions of relational restoration and communal reintegration that the clandestine touch alone could not accomplish. These narrative structures "manifest profound theological engagement of the evangelist" and "merge different episodes with distinct theological purposes," concerning themselves with "the most essential topics of the Markan theology, such as Christology, especially in relation to suffering, requirements of true discipleship, vision of the future ecclesiastical community" (Kusio 2015, pp. 265–274).

The full persuasive force of repetition in this passage emerges only when we consider how the hemorrhaging woman's story repeats and inverts elements of the Jairus narrative that frames it. Both feature female figures associated with the number twelve. Both involve desperate situations beyond human remedy. Both require faith—Jairus' initial plea, the woman's persistent trust, Jairus' renewed faith when told his daughter has died. Both culminate in Jesus calling the female "daughter" (θυγάτηρ in 5:34; κοράσιον, "little girl," in 5:41, but with the same familial implication).

Yet the stories also invert each other. The woman acts secretly; Jesus raises the girl publicly. The woman is healed by her own initiative; the girl is raised by Jesus's initiative. The woman's healing delays Jesus's arrival and causes the girl to die; the girl's resurrection demonstrates that delay does not diminish Jesus's power. These repetitions with variation persuade the reader that

Jesus's authority extends over both chronic illness and death itself, over both the ritually unclean outsider and the synagogue leader's daughter, over both those who approach secretly and those who request openly.

The rhetorical power lies precisely in their juxtaposition; each story illuminates the other, and together they make a case for Jesus's identity that neither could make alone. It follows an A-B-A schema, where the 'B' story seems unrelated to both the 'A's. Yet this apparent unrelatedness masks a profound theological connection: both characters are desperate to receive a blessing from Christ, and through the intercalation, Mark employs irony by having the woman healed first, demonstrating that she has the greater faith.

Mark's rhetorical use of repetition in 5:25–34 operates on multiple levels to persuade the reader. The repetition of "twelve years" connects two stories and two women, demonstrating the scope of Jesus's power. The accumulation of participles in verse 26 enacts linguistically the weight of suffering. The repeated inner speech of the woman models persevering faith. The parallel "immediately" statements link human experience with divine awareness. The woman's public testimony repeats and confirms the narrator's account. Jesus's threefold blessing completes and expands the healing. And the intercalated structure of the two stories creates a web of repetition and inversion that makes a comprehensive case for Jesus's identity and authority. Through these varied repetitions, Mark persuades his audience that faith—persistent, humble, risk-taking faith—opens the way for Jesus's saving power. The woman who suffered for twelve years, who touched one garment, models a faith that lasts.

2. Whose Story? Whose Truth? Narrative Persuasion in Mark 5:25–34

The healing of the hemorrhaging woman in Mark 5:25–34 presents a question for any reader: whose story is this, and whose truth does it tell? At first glance, the answer seems obvious: this is a story about Jesus, demonstrating his power to heal. Yet a closer examination reveals a more complex narrative strategy. Mark employs sophisticated techniques of narrative persuasion that shift the reader's allegiance between characters, creating a dynamic interplay of perspectives that ultimately serves the gospel's larger theological purposes. Through the use of privileged information, intercalated structure, and deliberate ambiguity of point of view, Mark persuades his audience to adopt multiple, sometimes competing, truths about healing, faith, and identity.

The hermeneutical question embedded in the subtitle is: whose story is this? The answer is not as straightforward as it might appear. "The implied reader is provided with background information about the history and motivation of the hemorrhaging woman. Rather than focusing solely on the

protagonist Jesus, the narrator shifts the focus of the story onto the woman and explains her unsuccessful attempts, over the years, to find a cure for her ailment” (Miceli 2016, pp. 139–160). This shift of focus is not accidental but represents a deliberate narrative strategy. The narrative presents multiple issues: the woman’s issue about her suffering and hope, the disciples’ issue about the pressing crowd, Jesus’s issue about the power that has gone forth from him, and the narrator’s issue that encompasses and interprets all of these. Mark does not simply declare one of these matters to be correct and others false; rather, he orchestrates them in a way that persuades the reader toward a more comprehensive understanding.

One of the most striking features of Mark’s narration is the asymmetry of knowledge between characters and between characters and readers. “The account offers the audience the ability to see previous events from the woman’s point of view in order to understand her tragic struggle and emotionally connect with her inner thoughts” (Miceli 2016, p. 140). This privileged information—the woman’s twelve-year suffering, her failed treatments, her financial ruin, and most importantly, her internal deliberation (she kept saying, “if I but touch his clothes, I will be made well”) creates a bond between reader and woman that transcends the narrative’s temporal frame. “Many minor characters remain without backstory or insight into their motivation in the Markan narrative, even though they are woven into the story’s fabric quite expertly” (König 2025, p. 137). The woman’s backstory is exceptional in Mark’s gospel, where characterization is typically spare and action-oriented. This exceptional treatment signals to the reader that this character matters, that her perspective deserves attention.

The rhetorical effect of this privileged information is complex. On one hand, it aligns the reader with the woman. The readers know why the woman touches Jesus’s garment; the readers share her hope and understand her desperation. When Jesus asks “Who touched me?” the answer is even known before the woman comes forward. This shared knowledge creates what narratologists call “dramatic irony”—a situation in which the reader knows more than a character does. But the irony is layered: Jesus knows something the reader does not (that power has gone forth from him), while the reader knows something Jesus does not (the woman’s identity and motivation). Neither possesses the full information; both must come together for the narrative to reach its completion.

“The nameless woman’s affliction undoubtedly serves as a motivator for the scene’s plot. Clearly the woman is moved to act in the way she does by the affliction” (König 2025, p. 140). Yet the text is remarkably restrained in describing the affliction itself. Instead, Mark focuses on the woman’s suffering at the hands of physicians (Mark 5:26). This emphasis is rhetorically significant.

By detailing the failure of human medicine, Mark persuades the reader that the woman's situation is hopeless from a human perspective. She has exhausted every conventional resource: medical, financial, and presumably social, given her uncleanness. Her issue is one of complete desperation. Yet alongside this desperation, Mark presents another issue about the woman: her initiative. She was not incapacitated by the affliction. She is indeed among a minority of patient-characters in the gospel of Mark who take initiative and do not wait passively to be healed (König 2025, p. 141). This active dimension of her character challenges any reading that would reduce her to a passive recipient of Jesus's power.

The disciples offer a competing issue, one grounded in empirical observation. When Jesus asks "Who touched my clothes?", the question is absurd from their perspective—many people are touching Jesus, and any distinction between kinds of touch is invisible. The disciples' response is not false, merely incomplete. The crowd is indeed pressing upon Jesus; many touches are occurring. Their observation accurately describes the visible reality. Yet their response misses what Jesus knows: that one touch is qualitatively different from all others. Jesus's persistence in seeking the toucher, despite the disciples' protest, demonstrates that "this Jesus can heal even when he does not initiate it. The disciples' response, limited to the observable, cannot account for the invisible reality of faith-filled touch. The rhetorical function of the disciples' interjection is to highlight by contrast what the reader already knows from the privileged information about the woman. Their incomprehension serves to validate the privileged position while also reminding the reader that truth is not always accessible to casual observation.

Unlike many healing narratives where Jesus speaks words of healing or performs deliberate actions, here he is initially passive. The power flows from Jesus without his conscious direction; he "immediately knew in himself that power had gone forth from him" (Mark 5:30). This passive experience of power is theologically significant. Jesus's statement includes a dimension of divine agency that operates through him, perhaps even beyond his conscious awareness. Yet his subsequent action by seeking the one who touched him demonstrates that this passive experience does not exhaust his enquiry. He actively pursues connection, insisting on bringing the hidden healing into public acknowledgment. When the woman comes forward "in fear and trembling" and tells him "the whole truth" (Mark 5:33), Jesus responds with words that transform her identity: "Daughter, your faith has made you well; go in peace, and be healed of your disease" (Mark 5:34). Mark had introduced the woman by calling her a woman with 'an issue of blood.' She had no name, no relationships, no geographical location; her disease is the sole marker of her identity. But in this verse, Jesus gives her a new identity marker: she is his

daughter (Smith 2018). Jesus then, is not merely about power but about relationship.

The narrator's orchestration of multiple perspectives serves a persuasive purpose. Allowing the reader access to the woman's inner life, the narrator creates emotional investment in her healing. By showing Jesus's passive experience of power and his active pursuit of relationship, the narrator deepens the reader's understanding of Jesus's identity. Through the inclusion of the disciples' incomprehension, the narrator warns against superficial readings. The narrator demonstrates the universal scope of Jesus's saving power. The narrator's issue, then, is not reducible to any single character's perspective but emerges from their juxtaposition. The final question—"whose truth?"—must include the reader, whose understanding is shaped by the narrative's persuasive strategies. The reader's truth, constructed through engagement with the narrative, includes both the woman's perspective and Jesus's, both the desperation and the healing, both the hidden touch and the public acknowledgment. Faith as the woman models it is: persistent, risk-taking, humble yet confident. Jesus is one whose power operates irresistibly yet who insists on personal relationship. Healing encompasses not just physical restoration but identity transformation and communal reintegration. This readerly truth is not simply imposed by the text but emerges from the reader's active engagement with multiple perspectives. The methodology of perspective criticism enables us "not only to recognize point-of-view moves in a passage of biblical narrative, but also to discern the significance of these moves for the interpretation of the passage" (Miceli 2016, p. 141).

Mark 5:25–34 demonstrates that narrative persuasion often works not by declaring a single truth but by orchestrating multiple truths in dynamic relationship. The woman's truth of desperation and initiative evokes empathy. The disciples' truth of empirical observation provides contrast. Jesus's truth of power and relationship reveals his identity. The narrator's truth of intercalated structure demonstrates universal scope. And the reader's truth, constructed through engagement with all these perspectives, becomes a model of persevering faith.

The question "whose story? whose truth?" thus receives a complex answer. This is the woman's story, yet it is also Jesus's story. This is the truth of desperate faith, yet also the truth of divine power and the truth of human incomprehension and the truth of restoration. Mark persuades his audience not by simplifying but by layering, not by reducing but by multiplying perspectives. In the end, the reader is invited to inhabit all these truths, to move with the woman from hidden desperation to public restoration, to marvel with the disciples at Jesus's strange question, to wonder with Jesus at

the power that flows from him, and to trust with both women—the hemorrhaging woman and Jairus’s daughter—that faith opens the way to healing and new identity. The story’s persuasive power lies precisely in its refusal to let any single perspective have the final word, insisting instead that truth emerges from the faithful interplay of all who seek Jesus.

Reading the Miracles: Implications of Inner Texture Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark 5:25–34 for Understanding Miracles in Mark’s Gospel

Inner texture rhetorical analysis, which attends to the literary, syntactical, and narrative strategies by which a text persuades its audience, yields significant implications for understanding the broader function of miracle narratives in Mark’s Gospel. The healing of the hemorrhaging woman (Mark 5:25–34), when subjected to this mode of analysis, reveals patterns of persuasion that illuminate how Mark deploys miracle traditions to shape his readers’ understanding of Jesus’s identity, the nature of faith, and the meaning of salvation. This essay argues that inner texture analysis of this pericope demonstrates that Mark’s miracle narratives function not primarily as proofs of divine power but as complex rhetorical instruments designed to persuade readers toward faith, redefine purity boundaries, and construct a vision of comprehensive restoration that encompasses physical, social, and spiritual dimensions.

Rhetorical devices in Mark demonstrate that miracle narratives function as deliberate tools to galvanize the readers’ response to the oral gospel they have already received. Mark deploys miracle narratives to both challenge and encouragement, simultaneously condemning its audience’s lukewarm response to the gospel they have heard preached while seeking to inspire obedience, faith, and whole-hearted passion for that same gospel (Karura 2020, pp. 101–121). This insight reorients the understanding of Markan miracles, showing that they are not merely records of past events but persuasive compositions aimed at forming contemporary readers.

The hemorrhaging woman narrative exemplifies this rhetorical purpose. Mark’s construction of the narrative privileges the reader with access to the woman’s inner thoughts, details her twelve-year suffering through an accumulation of participles, and structures the whole as an intercalation with Jairus’s daughter serves to draw the reader into the woman’s experience. By presenting faith in this active, embodied manner, Mark persuades his readers that authentic trust in Jesus requires not passive waiting but courageous initiative.

The rhetorical pairing of fear and faith throughout the narrative further illuminates Mark’s persuasive strategy. The woman approaches with

boldness but responds with “fear and trembling” when called to account (Mark 5:33). This repeated pairing functions rhetorically to position the reader between these two possibilities, inviting self-examination: will we respond to Jesus’s power with fear or with faith? The implication for understanding Markan miracles is significant: each miracle story contributes to this ongoing rhetorical project of reader formation. Miracles are not isolated displays of power but carefully crafted narratives that model appropriate responses to Jesus and warn against inappropriate ones. The hemorrhaging woman models faith as bold, risk-taking action. The disciples often model fear and incomprehension. Readers are subtly persuaded to identify with the woman rather than with the disciples.

Inner texture rhetorical analysis of Mark 5:25–34 reveals that miracle stories in Mark’s Gospel are far more than simple accounts of supernatural events. They are sophisticated rhetorical compositions designed to form readers. The hemorrhaging woman’s story, read with attention to its rhetorical strategies, illuminates patterns that recur throughout Mark’s miracle traditions. This finding carries significant implications for contemporary interpretation. Readers who approach Markan miracles seeking only historical information or proof of divine power miss their rhetorical purpose. These stories were composed to persuade, to move readers from fear to faith, from exclusion to inclusion, from desperation to restoration. They continue to perform this persuasive work when read with attention to their literary artistry and theological depth. The miracle stories of Mark’s Gospel, read rhetorically, do not merely inform but transform—inviting readers to become, like the hemorrhaging woman, those who reach out in faith and receive far more than they sought.

Conclusion—Above All Healers: The Supremacy of Jesus in Mark 5:25–34

The healing of the hemorrhaging woman in Mark 5:25–34 functions within its first-century context as a deliberate rhetorical argument for Jesus’s supremacy over contemporary healers, both the physicians of Greco-Roman medicine and the miracle-workers of Jewish and pagan traditions. Mark constructs this narrative to demonstrate that Jesus operates on an entirely different plane from other healers: where physicians fail utterly, Jesus heals effortlessly; where magical practitioners require ritual manipulation, Jesus’s power flows irresistibly through faith alone; where other healers are constrained by purity boundaries, Jesus transcends them. Through careful narrative contrast and theological emphasis, Mark persuades his audience that Jesus is not merely one healer among many but the unique embodiment of divine healing power.

1. The Failure of Physicians as Rhetorical Foil

Mark's introduction of the woman establishes an immediate contrast through his unflattering portrait of conventional medicine, and creates a rhetorical crescendo emphasizing the complete failure of human medical intervention. This stands in marked contrast to Luke's more diplomatic account, which simply notes that she could not be healed by anyone (Aryeh 2025, pp. 233–242).

The woman's experience reflects a world where "health was prized as the ultimate good" and where debilitating illness could mean "descent into poverty and an untimely death" (Remus 1997, p. 1). The woman's twelve-year ordeal and financial ruin would have resonated with first-century readers familiar with the limitations of contemporary medicine. The rhetorical function of this medical failure is to establish a stark contrast. The physicians, despite their numbers, could only worsen her condition. Jesus heals instantly and completely with no apparent effort. The power that twelve years of human medicine could not produce flows forth from the moment faith makes contact.

The woman's approach, touching Jesus's garment from behind, would have evoked familiar associations with contemporary magical practices. The Taylor & Francis monograph on magic in Byzantium notes that in this pericope, "Jesus is functioning in this narrative exactly like the magico-medical amulets made of hematite which were meant to prevent or cure hemorrhaging: somebody makes purposeful contact with a supernaturally charged medium (Christ's person or at least his clothes) and is instantly healed through its immanent power." First-century Judaism and Hellenism were replete with beliefs about the transfer of power through sacred garments, priestly vestments, and the fringes of a rabbi's cloak (Petropoulos 2008, pp. 1–7).

This particular miracle "comes as close to the essence of Graeco-Roman magic as any in the Bible." A pagan would probably have construed it as an act of magic (Petropoulos 2008, p. 4). This context is crucial for understanding Mark's rhetorical strategy. Yet Mark distinguishes Jesus from magical practitioners. While magical amulets required proper ritual handling and correct formulas, Jesus's power operates through a different mechanism. Furthermore, Jesus's response transforms the encounter from anonymous transaction to personal relationship. Where magical practice seeks impersonal power transfer, Jesus seeks personal connection.

2. Comparison with Asclepius and Greco-Roman Healers

Recent scholarship has explored comparisons between Jesus's healing

methods and those of Greco-Roman healers, particularly Asclepius, the Greek god of medicine. These comparisons illuminate Mark's rhetorical strategy. The Asclepius cult was widespread in the first-century Mediterranean world, with healing temples (asclepieia) where suppliants would sleep, dreaming that the god would touch them or prescribe remedies. The parallels are striking: both involve sick people seeking divine intervention; both involve touch; both result in reported healings. Yet Mark's presentation distinguishes Jesus in crucial ways. Where Asclepius healings typically required incubation rituals, offerings, and purification ceremonies, Jesus heals spontaneously and without ritual preparation. Where Asclepius's power was localized in specific temples, Jesus's power operates wherever he goes, even in crowds, even without his conscious direction. Where Asclepius's healings were often gradual or required follow-up rituals, Jesus's healings are instantaneous and complete. The woman's experience of immediate healing, public acknowledgment, personal address contrasts favorably with the more ambiguous and ritual-bound experiences associated with Asclepius.

Perhaps the most profound distinction between Jesus and other healers lies in what he gives beyond physical cure. Jesus addresses the woman as "Daughter," a term used nowhere else in the Gospels. No physician, no matter how skilled, could bestow such identity. No magical amulet, no matter how powerful, could confer such belonging. The woman who approached as an anonymous, unclean outcast leaves as a beloved daughter. This restoration distinguishes Jesus from every competitor in the ancient healing marketplace.

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The Interactions Between Local Society and Mission Hospitals in Modern China: A Case Study on Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital

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Abstract: Since the First Opium War, Western medicine entered China extensively alongside missionary activities, leading to the gradual proliferation of mission hospitals across the country. Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital 宁波华美医院 stood among the earliest of such institutions and is still of great importance. However, existing research has paid limited attention to this institution, especially in terms of the in-depth interaction between the mission hospital and local society, as well as the concrete processes of its localization—factors that are crucial for understanding how these institutions became established in China. As bearers of a heterogeneous culture, mission hospitals encountered a series of challenges in China—including social alienation, conflict, integration, and adaptation—yet they ultimately gained acceptance within local communities and achieved a degree of localization. Hwa Mei Hospital was accepted relatively early by local society, secured considerable financial support from indigenous sources, and managed to survive and develop within Ningbo’s relatively moderate political climate. However, the nursing school affiliated with Hwa Mei Hospital was regarded, amid the surge of nationalism, as an instrument of “cultural aggression” and consequently encountered opposition and resistance. At the cultural level, the hospital’s responsibility for religious propagation likewise encountered a comparable predicament. The twofold mission of the mission hospital, providing medical services and propagating religious faith, gradually grew unbalanced. The preservation of its secular functions alongside the constraints on its spiritual and cultural dimensions exemplifies both the necessary trajectory and the inevitable outcome of modern mission hospitals taking root in Chinese local societies.

Keywords: Hwa Mei Hospital, mission hospitals, modern China, Ningbo society

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As one of the earliest Western mission hospitals established in China's treaty ports, Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital 宁波华美医院 underwent profound development and transformation, eventually evolving into a leading modern comprehensive medical institution. Its establishment played a pioneering role in the introduction and dissemination of Western medicine in Zhejiang Province and beyond. As institutions embedded within a foreign cultural framework, mission hospitals in modern China faced substantial challenges in adapting to a sociocultural environment markedly different from their origins. In recent years, scholarly attention to this topic has increased significantly, with studies addressing both individual cases and broader institutional patterns of mission hospitals. The existing literature generally recognizes the contributions of mission hospitals to local healthcare, Western medical education, and social welfare.

Most of these studies are regionally focused, particularly on areas such as Guangdong, Fujian, Guangxi, Anhui, Henan, Shanxi, Hubei, Sichuan, Jiangxi, Beijing, Shanghai, and Chongqing (F. Liu 2021; Zhao 2017; C. Li 2001; C. Hu 2010; C. Hu 2012; W. Hu 2010). Liu Yuanming has pointed out: "Limited by human, financial, and material resources, and hindered by the Qing government's uncooperative attitude, Western medical activities primarily relied on clinics... During this period, there were very few establishments that could truly be called 'hospitals,' notable examples being Guangzhou's Boji 广州博济医院, Shanghai's Renji 上海仁济医院 and Tongren 同仁医院, and Ningbo's Hwa Mei 宁波华美医院" (Y. Liu 2009, p. 124). Compared to research on hospitals like Boji and Renji mentioned above, studies on Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital, another pioneer of Western medicine, have been relatively limited, failing to adequately reflect its historical significance.

Furthermore, current research on Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital remains fragmented, primarily focusing on historical overviews and the hospital's impact on Ningbo society (L. Zhang 1998; Xu 2010; Xie 2010; L. Wu 2010; Wu and Gao 2015). However, existing scholarship has paid limited attention to the in-depth interaction between mission hospitals and local society, as well as to the concrete processes of their localization—factors that are crucial for understanding how these institutions became established in China. This article seeks to fill this gap by offering a detailed case study of how early mission hospitals in China engaged with local society in the course of their localization.

Acceptance and Support: Changes in Local Attitudes toward Western Medicine and Localization of Funding Sources

Chinese attitudes toward Western medicine underwent a gradual shift

from suspicion and rejection to acceptance. The successful establishment of early mission hospitals in China generally depended on two interrelated factors: the proactive efforts of medical missionaries and the positive responses of local society. Among these, the attitudes of local officials and members of the gentry were particularly decisive in shaping the success or failure of missionary-run hospitals.

The supportive stance of local officials and the gentry was typically manifested in two respects: first, the recognition and practical use of Western medicine by officials; second, the acceptance of missionary medicine by the gentry, which in effect functioned as an important signal for broader social endorsement. As Yuet-wah Cheung has observed, such favorable attitudes often derived from several considerations. First, many had received treatment from medical missionaries and were impressed by the therapeutic efficacy of Western medicine. Second, some respected foreign powers and feared possible diplomatic or political repercussions. Third, others were drawn to Christianity or to what they perceived as “modern civilization.” Last but not least, support from foreigners could serve to safeguard their political and economic interests (Cheung 1988, p. 91).

Among these, the recognition of the therapeutic efficacy of Western medicine constituted one of the most important factors facilitating its acceptance in China. In the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese knowledge of Western medicine remained extremely limited, and it was therefore often regarded with suspicion or even apprehension (Yang 2019, pp. 88-95). To mitigate such concerns, early medical missionaries commonly employed free charitable medical services as a means of attracting patients, while simultaneously using these encounters to disseminate Christian teachings (He 2006, p. 131).

When Daniel J. Macgowan (1814–1893, hereafter Macgowan), the founder of what would later become Hwa Mei Hospital, first arrived in Ningbo, he adopted this strategy by offering free medical treatment in order to build a patient base. He concentrated on relatively simple yet visibly effective procedures, such as minor ophthalmic surgeries, through which he was able to establish both trust and a professional reputation. In the initial stage, those who sought treatment were primarily poor patients who could not afford the services of traditional physicians. As the effectiveness of Western medicine became increasingly evident, however, members of the local elite also began to seek treatment, arriving in sedan chairs and dressed in fine clothing (TCR 1844, p. 111). Local officials were among these patients. One notable case involved Lin Gui 麟桂, the Daotai 道台 (regional governor) of both Ningbo and Shaoxing. On 5 June 1848, Macgowan was summoned through the British Consulate to treat Lin, who had been prostrated by the summer heat after

standing for several hours while awaiting an inspection by the provincial governor. After local physicians had failed to produce any improvement, the authorities turned to Macgowan for assistance. Under his care, Lin regained consciousness and gradually recovered. In gratitude, Lin reportedly praised Macgowan as a “doctor from the Celestial Kingdom,” in terms so effusive that Macgowan himself remarked that they might appear exaggerated even to Eastern ears (Hwa Mei Hospital Report 1923). This episode not only illustrated the perceived efficacy of Western medicine but also contributed significantly to the enhancement of its reputation among both local officials and the wider public. Medical missionaries also made deliberate efforts to secure recognition and support from local society. Many of them recognized that the success of their medical work depended to a considerable extent on obtaining the backing of local officials and socially influential elites. Stephen P. Barchet (1843–1909), who succeeded Macgowan, was particularly adept at cultivating such relationships. He was keenly aware of the importance of maintaining constructive ties with local officials and members of the gentry. In the summer of 1884, Xue Fucheng 薛福成 was appointed as the Daotai of Ningbo and Shaoxing. Zhang Meiyi 张美翊, a prominent local scholar and gentry figure, joined Xue’s administration and also served as Chinese tutor to Xue’s son. As a leading figure in the Self-Strengthening Movement (Yangwu Yundong 洋务运动) and an experienced diplomat, Xue attached great importance to the study of English alongside classical Chinese learning. Upon his arrival in Ningbo, he therefore sought an English tutor for his son, a position that was filled by Barchet (Hwa Mei Hospital Report 1920). These connections provided an important social and political foundation for the subsequent development of Hwa Mei Hospital and helped to ensure its continued support from local elites. They also created favorable conditions for Barchet’s successor, Dr. James S. Grant (1861–1927, hereafter Grant, Lan Yagu 兰雅谷), who was able to benefit from the institutional and social networks that had already been established.

Owing to Barchet’s sustained efforts, Hwa Mei Hospital entered a period of steady growth. A major turning point in its development came with the support of a customs official Mr. Hong. Suffering from diabetes, Mr. Hong had previously sought treatment from practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine, but found little relief. He subsequently turned to Western medicine, and under Barchet’s care his condition improved markedly. In gratitude for this recovery, Mr. Hong not only made a substantial personal donation to the hospital but also mobilized members of his social circle to contribute. With the financial support of Mr. Hong and his associates, the hospital was able to expand its facilities through the construction of a two-storey women’s ward. Dr. Grant, who succeeded Barchet as director of the hospital, later recalled this

episode as a pivotal moment in the institution's history:

"Only a few days ago, I met Mrs. Hong and her sons, who spoke very gratefully of Dr. Barchet; in fact, their favorable impression of foreign things dated from the time Mr. Hong was treated with foreign medicine. What is true of them is true of hundreds, nay thousands of others. From a small beginning, the work increased until between the years 1880 and 1890, over 6,000 dispensary and 250 in-patients were annually treated at the Baptist Hospital. Much seed was sown in the hearts of both dispensary and in-patients." (Grant 1905)

Under Barchet's leadership, the positive response from local society was manifested not only in the recognition and acceptance of Western medicine but also in the willingness to provide substantial financial support for its further development. It was during Barchet's tenure that Hwa Mei Hospital formally instituted a system of medical fees. Charitable medical work required considerable financial resources, and early mission hospitals in China were frequently confronted with chronic funding shortages, which at times constituted their most serious constraint on institutional growth. In their initial stages, most mission hospitals depended heavily on donations from Western churches, the general public, and foreign residents in China. For instance, when William Lockhart established the Peking Hospital (Beijing shi yiyuan 北京施医院), its funding came entirely from consistent donations by British officials, civilians, and merchants (Gao 2009, pp. 232–233).

The initial scarcity of local financial support for mission hospitals in China can be attributed to two main factors. First, in the aftermath of the First Opium War, heightened cultural tensions and conflicts between China and the West fostered widespread suspicion and even hostility toward foreign missionary activities. Under such circumstances, financial donations from Chinese society to the mission hospitals were exceedingly rare. Second, this lack of monetary support was also related to traditional Chinese modes of expressing gratitude. Patients who benefited from charitable medical services typically conveyed their appreciation by presenting commemorative plaques or gifts to hospitals, clinics, or individual missionaries, rather than by making direct financial contributions. A telling example is provided by Stephen P. Barchet, who once received a plaque inscribed "Together Enjoy Longevity (Tong ji ren shou 同跻人寿)" from Xue Fucheng as a token of esteem for his medical services (Wang et al. 2018, pp. 205–206). The situation faced by Macgowan, an even earlier medical missionary, was more difficult still. Despite treating wealthy patients and high-ranking officials, he reportedly received no material remuneration beyond lavish verbal praise (Hwa Mei Hospital Report 1923). These cases illustrate the severe lack of local financial contributions during the early days of mission hospitals in China, highlighting

the significant challenges they faced in achieving sustainable development.

In the aftermath of the Second Opium War, medical missionaries extended their activities to the newly opened treaty ports and gradually moved further into China's interior. In these regions, however, they frequently encountered far more acute financial constraints than in the earlier treaty-port cities, where sources of funding had been relatively more accessible. As a result, some missionaries found it increasingly difficult to sustain a model of entirely free medical care. Under these circumstances, the introduction of fee-based medical services emerged as a practical response, and James Gentle was among the pioneers in implementing this approach (C. Li 2015).

In the 1860s, to sustain his clinic in Zhenjiang 镇江, James Gentle began charging patients a small fee, becoming the first medical missionary to do so (Wong and Wu 1936, p. 389). This marked a significant shift in the nature of mission hospitals, from purely charitable institutions to ones seeking financial sustainability through local contributions. It also signaled the beginning of a transition in funding sources from total reliance on foreign donations to increased local financial support. The period from the 1870s to the 1890s was a time of rapid growth and transformation for mission hospitals. This development was underpinned by three key factors. First, the expansion of missionary activities under the protection of the treaty system provided legal and diplomatic guarantees for the wider dissemination of Christianity in China and facilitated a broader geographical outreach. Second, within missionary circles, medical work came to be increasingly recognized and institutionalized as an integral component of evangelical activity, and its practical and strategic value was accorded growing priority by missionary organizations. Third, after more than three decades of sustained missionary practice, the Chinese population's knowledge of and confidence in Western medicine had expanded significantly, rendering patients more willing to pay for medical services (C. Li 2015). Against this backdrop, mission hospitals flourished. By 1877, Protestant missions had established 16 hospitals and 24 clinics in China (Latourette 1929, p. 452). By 1890, these numbers had increased to 61 hospitals and 44 clinics (RGCPMC, 1890, p. 735), reflecting the rapid expansion and growing influence of Western medical services in the country.

During the same period, mission hospitals' funding underwent significant changes. Starting with James Gentle in the 1860s, charging patients for medical services became increasingly common in the 1870s. Many mission hospitals established formal fee structures, though the decision to implement fees was met with varied opinions among medical missionaries. In 1877, the issue was a topic of debate at a Protestant missionary conference in China. John G. Kerr advocated for charging fees to patients who could afford to pay,

excluding the poor and sick. He argued that this approach would help address financial shortages and instill a sense of value in the patients: "By paying for treatment, patients will cherish the results more, having invested in their own recovery." (RGCPMC, 1877, p. 118) Kerr also proposed special charges for certain groups, such as patients in private rooms, opium addicts, and those suffering from diseases due to immoral behavior (RGCPMC, 1877, p. 118). His views gained support from some medical missionaries who believed that fees would help Chinese patients understand the value of the medical services they received (RGCPMC, 1877, p. 128). However, other missionaries disagreed. William Gauld, for instance, opposed charging fees, as most of his patients were impoverished. He even suggested that those who could afford medical costs could make voluntary donations to the hospital fund instead (RGCPMC, 1877, p. 125).

Despite differing opinions within the medical missionary community regarding patient fees, many hospitals began implementing fee systems in the 1870s, each driven by its own considerations. Some transitioned from offering free services to charging patients, while others introduced fees from their inception. At Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital, Macgowan initially provided free consultations and even distributed medications at no cost. However, financial challenges were a constant concern for him, despite receiving considerable financial and material support from foreign donors. By the 1870s, during Stephen P. Barchet's tenure, the question of charging patients became a topic of broader discussion among medical missionaries. Barchet supported charging a small fee to wealthier patients to sustain medical operations. After consulting with several local Christians, he decided to introduce a nominal fee of "half a cent" for outpatients. Notably, the number of patients continued to grow even after this fee was introduced (Grant 1926). Although these early fees generated only modest income, their implementation marked a crucial shift. Local funds began contributing steadily to the hospital's operations, signaling a significant transformation in Hwa Mei Hospital's financial model and reducing its reliance on foreign donations.

Introducing fees to address financial shortfalls became an important strategy for some mission hospitals. Even with the implementation of fees, these hospitals retained their charitable nature, offering special care for the poor and disadvantaged. Overall, most mission hospitals continued to rely heavily on funding from their home churches or other foreign donations. Many medical missionaries also promoted their work by publishing articles or using opportunities during furloughs abroad to raise awareness of medical missions in China. These efforts helped attract donations and sustain their operations (C. Li 2015). For instance, the total annual revenue of the Foochow Medical Missionary Hospital 福州圣教医馆 from March 1895 to March 1896

amounted to 1,433.65 yuan. Of this sum, patient fees contributed only 54.55 yuan, foreign donations 443.40 yuan, and local donations 376.80 yuan (Ponasang Missionary Hospital Report 1896, p. 41), indicating that donations other than patient fees comprised the majority of the funds. However, a notable development was the significant increase in local Chinese contributions.

During the Republic of China era, especially in the 1920s, mission hospitals experienced a significant increase in local financial support. Donations from Chinese officials and citizens became common nationwide, far surpassing the levels seen before 1900, both in the number of contributors and the total amounts donated. This increase was driven by two primary factors: on the one hand, Western medicine was gaining increasing acceptance in society, with the public willing to pay for it; on the other hand, individual medical missionaries were also actively advocating for donations (C. Li 2015). Data from Hwa Mei Hospital's annual reports between 1919 and 1921 highlighted this trend: Chinese donations totaled 1,133 yuan in 1919, while foreign contributions were 373.6 yuan (Hwa Mei Hospital Report 1919). In 1920, Chinese donations surged to 2,416.16 yuan, compared to 468.5 yuan from foreigners (Wang et al. 2018, pp. 224–226). In 1921, Chinese contributions amounted to 1,180 yuan, with foreign donations at 792.5 yuan (Wang et al. 2018, pp. 277–279). For three consecutive years, Chinese contributions exceeded foreign donations. This marked a significant shift toward local financial support. By this period, Hwa Mei Hospital had achieved financial stability. In 1920, the hospital's total revenue was 23,236.76 yuan, with expenditures of 15,045.66 yuan (Wang et al. 2018, pp. 224–226). In 1921, revenue increased to 27,288.87 yuan, while expenditures were 23,490.98 yuan (Wang et al. 2018, pp. 277–279). Notably, these revenues did not include church subsidies; they came primarily from donations by both Chinese and foreign philanthropists, as well as medical service fees. This financial self-sufficiency signified a major milestone: even without church funding (excluding costs for foreign medical staff), Hwa Mei Hospital operated smoothly and sustainably, with an increasing share of its funding coming from local sources.

A notable aspect of the local donations to Hwa Mei Hospital was the significant contribution of the famous Ningbo merchants' group, the "Ningbo Bang 宁波帮", which played a crucial role in the rapid development of Hwa Mei Hospital and other Western-style hospitals in the region. Since the late Qing dynasty, the Ningbo Bang, benefiting from its advantageous position, swiftly became involved in the emerging foreign trade sector. This group was represented by comprador merchants and import-export traders, forming a new class of merchants. In the 1880s, the Ningbo Bang expanded its influence

from Shanghai to other major trade hubs such as Tianjin and Hankou. The rapidly rising Ningbo Bang not only had substantial economic power and extensive social connections but also possessed a strong sense of modernity and social responsibility. Their business activities spanned various sectors, including industry, commerce, finance, and shipping. Additionally, they invested in areas that benefited the public, such as education, culture, and healthcare (The Culture and History Committee of the Ningbo CPPCC ed. 2004, pp. 8–15). This made a significant contribution to the advancement of modern Chinese society, including the support of mission hospitals like Hwa Mei Hospital.

In May 1923, the hospital director, Dr. Grant, began fundraising for the hospital's expansion. Zhang Meiyi, a local gentry figure who had previously interacted with Hwa Mei Hospital and benefited from its medical services, wrote a fundraising appeal titled “Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital Fundraising for New Hospital Construction (宁波华美医院募建新医院启)” to call for donations (M. Zhang 1923). He also actively facilitated connections for the hospital's expansion through his network. Zhang Meiyi had served as the vice president of the Ningbo-Shanghai Association from 1916 to 1917 and as its president from 1918 to 1920. The Ningbo-Shanghai Association's mission was “to unite fellow townsmen and promote self-governance,” and it was dedicated to uniting fellow townsmen, serving their needs, promoting their welfare, and contributing to the development of their hometown (J. Li 2000, pp. 251–252). Most of its members were from the Ningbo Bang. At Zhang Meiyi's call, many notable Ningbo Bang members made generous contributions to the construction of the new Hwa Mei Hospital, motivated by their desire to support medical charity in their hometown. Some of these prominent figures included Zhou Zongliang 周宗良 (who donated 4,000 silver dollars), Sun Meitang 孙梅堂 (2,620 silver dollars), Zhu Baosan 朱葆三 (1,000 silver dollars), Yu Qiaqing 虞洽卿 (500 silver dollars), and Lou Xunru 楼恂如 (1,250 silver dollars) (Wang et al. 2018, pp. 227–237). As the hospital continued to develop, the names of Ningbo merchants and their businesses often appeared on the donation lists for the hospital's funding efforts, such as He Feng Spinning Mill (Hefeng Shachang 和丰纱厂), Da Feng Dyeing Factory (Dafeng Ranchang 达丰染厂), Yongyao Electric Company (Yongyao Dianli Gongsi 永耀电力公司), Siming Telephone Company (Siming Dianhua Gongsi 四明电话公司), and Jie Mei Sugar Company (Jiemei Tanghang 捷美糖行). Beyond Shanghai and Ningbo, the influence of the Ningbo Bang extended to Tianjin, Beijing, and even nationwide, significantly contributing to the fundraising for Hwa Mei Hospital (Wang et al. 2021, pp. 147–156).

As demonstrated above, the establishment of a fee system and the

increase in local donations significantly changed the financial structure of mission hospitals. This change can be attributed to the following factors: First, the remarkable effectiveness of Western medicine. After years of development, the Chinese public's attitudes toward Western medicine had shifted from unfamiliarity, rejection, and fear to gradual acceptance and trust, laying the foundation for the introduction of fees. Second, the proactive efforts of medical missionaries. Many missionaries recognized that in order for the medical missionary work to thrive, gaining the support of local officials and the public was essential, for instance, the Ningbo Bang's support in the Hwa Mei Hospital case. As a result, the funding sources of mission hospitals, including Hwa Mei Hospital, underwent a significant change. They no longer relied solely on funding from their home-country churches and donations from foreign nationals, but instead moved towards greater local involvement and support.

Conflict and Integration: Hwa Mei Hospital and Its Attached Nursing School amid the Nationalist Wave

Since the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement in 1919, anti-imperialist and patriotic activism in China expanded rapidly and grew increasingly radical. From the early 1920s onward, successive waves of nationalist mobilization swept the country. Beginning with the nationwide Anti-Christian Movement in 1922, followed by the Movement to Recover Educational Rights (Shouhui Jiaoyuquan Yundong 收回教育权运动) in 1924, and culminating in the large-scale anti-imperialist struggle that erupted in the aftermath of the May Thirtieth Incident (Wusa Yundong 五卅运动) in 1925, Christian missionary activities in China came under sustained political and social pressure.

Following the May Thirtieth Incident in Shanghai, news quickly reached Ningbo, prompting local people from all walks of life to launch their own anti-imperialist movements in solidarity with the students and workers in Shanghai.

On June 2nd, the Ningbo Student Union (Ningbo xuesheng lianhehui 宁波学生联合会), a patriotic student organization formed during the May Fourth Movement (Wusi Yundong 五四运动), resumed its activities. At its first representative meeting, the union resolved to suspend classes citywide beginning the following day. After the meeting, students began posting anti-imperialist slogans and distributing political posters throughout the city (Party History Research Office of the CPC Ningbo Municipal Committee 2021, pp. 30–31).

On June 3rd, students from all secondary schools and above (including

mission schools) went on strike. They fanned out into both urban and rural areas to deliver speeches and to mobilize merchants to join the movement. On June 4th, the Ningbo Chamber of Commerce (Ningbo Zong Shanghui 宁波总商会) issued a notice instructing all factories and shops to suspend operations for one day beginning the following day. On June 5th, a citywide general strike, school shutdown, and market closure were fully implemented. More than 20,000 people gathered at the small drill ground (Xiao Jiaochang 小校场) in Ningbo, where a mass rally was held, followed by a demonstration (Party History Research Office of the CPC Ningbo Municipal Committee 2021, pp. 4–7). The North Bank of the Yong River had been a foreign settlement since the opening of the port, and as the procession passed in front of the British Consulate, the crowd shouted slogans such as “down with imperialism,” “reclaim the concessions,” and “abolish consular jurisdiction.” The sheer scale of the protest forced the British Consulate to close its gates, unable to take action. From June 5th to June 11th, the anti-imperialist movement in Ningbo inspired people in nearby towns and counties, such as Zhenhai 镇海, Cixi 慈溪, Xiangshan 象山, Yuyao 余姚, and Fenghua 奉化, to hold their own demonstrations and protests. This led to an unprecedentedly large-scale anti-imperialist and patriotic movement throughout Ningbo and its surrounding areas (Party History Research Office of the CPC Ningbo Municipal Committee 2021, p. 31).

From the end of May until the conclusion of the movement in September, the local political environment in Ningbo became increasingly inhospitable to foreign residents, as protests and demonstrations occurred with growing frequency and intensity. Local newspapers, such as the *Current Affairs Bulletin* (*Shishi Gongbao* 时事公报) and the *Siming Daily* (*Siming Ribao* 四明日报), were filled with reports of conflicts between foreigners and Chinese citizens. Public opinion against Christianity, as well as calls to boycott educational institutions run by British and American churches, were also commonly featured in the press. This period reflected the intensification of nationalist sentiment and the escalation of anti-foreign mobilization, which together contributed to the formation of a broader climate of resistance to imperialist influence.

Due to the strict internal management of mission schools, students from these institutions were rarely seen participating in movements such as the May Fourth Movement in 1919 or the Anti-Christian Movement that began in 1922. However, the rigid control could not stop the students from absorbing external ideas and participating in the patriotic movement. The Ningbo Student Union mobilized students from church schools to leave their campuses. Eventually, students from schools such as Feidi Middle School (Feidi Zhongxue 斐迪中学), Yongjiang Girls' Middle School (Yongjiang Nvzi

Zhongxue 甬江女子中学), Chongde Primary School (Chongde Xiaoxue 崇德小学), and the Nursing School affiliated with Hwa Mei Hospital (Huamei Huxiao 华美护校) all left their campuses. They publicly declared their determination by posting statements such as “I swear never to return to this school,” “I swear not to return to Yongjiang,” and “I swear never to enter a missionary school again,” demonstrating their rejection of “enslavement education.” (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925a) With these actions, they joined the anti-imperialist struggle.

As an affiliated institution of the Hwa Mei Hospital, the Hwa Mei Nursing School had long been administered by foreign missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society, and its internal regulatory regime was widely regarded as highly disciplinary. Students were frequently subjected to severe reprimands and, in some cases, even expulsion for relatively minor infractions. Against the backdrop of the rising anti-imperialist and patriotic movements, these students began to articulate grievances that had accumulated over time. In the aftermath of the May Thirtieth Incident, students from Hwa Mei Nursing School joined the Student Union and, together with their counterparts from other mission schools in Ningbo, became actively involved in a wide range of anti-imperialist and patriotic propaganda and protest activities. Through these forms of participation, they were drawn into the broader national movement, marching across both urban and rural areas to disseminate political messages and to publicly articulate their opposition to imperialism.

On the evening of July 30th, the students of Hwa Mei Nursing School convened a meeting to deliberate on institutional reform. The meeting produced a list of ten demands, two of which were particularly central. First, given that Hwa Mei Hospital was financed jointly by Chinese and American contributors, the students argued that administrative authority should likewise be shared rather than monopolized by the American side; specifically, they called for the new appointment of a Chinese vice principal.¹ Second, they demanded a comprehensive revision of the school’s regulations in order to dismantle what they characterized as entrenched autocratic practices. After the meeting, four student representatives—two male and two female—presented the resolutions to Principal Harriet N. Smith and Vice Principal Emma S. Irving. However, both American administrators rejected these demands. Vice Principal Irving, in particular, not only refused their requests but also publicly reprimanded them. She even went as far as suggesting that

1 The students of the Hwa Mei Nursing School also served at Hwa Mei Hospital as interns, and the principal of the nursing school concurrently held the position of head nurse at the hospital.

the school would only consider their demands if all the students left the institution. The representatives subsequently reported the outcome to their fellow students. In response, the student body collectively signed a resolution declaring their intention to leave the school and vowing not to return until their demands were met. On the same day, nine female and three to four male students departed immediately, while others followed in the subsequent days (*Shen Bao* 申报 1925).

On the afternoon of July 31st at 3 p.m., the Student Union convened an emergency meeting at Houle Garden with representatives from various church-affiliated schools affected by recent student walkouts. Wang Huafang 王华芳, a representative of the Hwa Mei Nursing School, presented a detailed account of the causes and course of the collective withdrawal. She declared the nurses' determination to follow the example of other students by "leaving foreign-run schools" and affirmed that they "would no longer work in any foreign hospitals." (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925a) Wang Huafang also requested support from the Student Union. The Union's chair and members commended the Hwa Mei nurses for their resolve and patriotism and pledged their full support. Wang then outlined three specific requests: First, housing. She pointed out that if students returned to their individual homes, their collective strength would be weakened. Therefore, she requested that the union arrange a communal residence for the nurses. Second, financial support. The nurses had not received stipends while working at Hwa Mei Hospital, leaving them without funds for living expenses upon departure. She asked for financial aid from the Student Union. Third, employment assistance. One of the nine nurses who left urgently needed work due to severe family financial difficulties. Wang requested help for this nurse in finding a job at a Chinese-run hospital (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925a).

The meeting's representatives unanimously agreed to support the nurses, forming a dedicated relief committee. Female nurses were temporarily housed at Qiming Girls' Middle School (Qiming Nvzi Zhongxue 启明女子中学)²,

2 In early 1925, in order to unite patriotic and progressive young teachers and students, resume teaching, and embrace revolutionary ideas, members of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Youth League in Ningbo, under the direction of their organizations, collaborated with local enlightened gentry to pool funds and establish Qiming Girls' Middle School. Many young teachers who had been dismissed from mission schools for participating in anti-imperialist patriotic movements joined the school's faculty. See Party History Research Office of the CPC Ningbo Municipal Committee, *Zhongguo Gongchandang Ningbo Lishi Yanjiu Diyi Juan, 1925–1949* 中国共产党宁波历史第1卷 1925–1949 *The History of the Communist Party of China in Ningbo, vol. 1: 1925–1949* (Ningbo: Ningbo Publishing House, 2021), pp. 19–20.

while male nurses stayed at the Xiangshan Guild Hall (Xiangshan Huiguan 象山会馆). The Union also took responsibility for covering food and lodging costs and promised to help secure employment opportunities (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925a). On August 1st, all nursing students officially left the school. By August 2nd, they published a public notice in the newspaper announcing their permanent separation from Hwa Mei Hospital (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925a). On August 5th, they issued a formal declaration:

To Our Fellow Compatriots,

We have endured unbearable humiliation and oppressive control under the pretext of charity at this American-run nursing school, a front for cultural aggression. Recently, they have even forbidden us from participating in patriotic activities. We are determined to reclaim our dignity as nurses and to resist cultural imperialism. With these two goals in mind, we have made a resolute decision and, with hearts full of determination, collectively left the school, declaring our opposition. Our hearts are set on justice, and truth is our foundation. The tragic incident in Shanghai, where unarmed students, workers, and citizens were killed by British imperialists, has left the streets soaked in blood. How could anyone with a conscience not feel pain and righteous anger? This is why we must resist imperialism in every form. Since the Shanghai Incident, we nurses have demanded the right to strike in solidarity with the broader anti-imperialist movement. Our principal reluctantly approved the strike, yielding to the circumstances. As nursing students, our commitment to this struggle is even stronger than that of students from national schools. We pledge our full efforts alongside the Student Union, striving for diplomatic victories and hoping for the end of unequal treaties. While we have embraced the patriotic mission, we have not neglected our nursing duties. We entrusted our responsibilities to fellow nurses who stayed behind. However, the American supervisors, Smith and Irving, remain relentless in their attempts to undermine our cause and prevent us from engaging in this struggle...³ (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925b)

3 This is translated by the author. The original Chinese text is: “亲爱的同胞们，我们在美人以慈善事业为名义，实行文化侵略所办的护士学校学看护，真真忍不起他种种侮辱和高压，而且最近的不许我们干爱国运动，要争回护士的人格，要反对文化的侵略，我们认定了此两大的目标下之极大的决心，约有血心看护一致离校，与他们宣战，我的心向目标，脚踏真理，谁错谁是，终有一天显明，此次英国帝国主义、在上海惨死我手无寸铁们学生市民工人，血流满地，凡有天良的，谁不痛心谁不激于义愤，作种种反抗帝国主义之举动，我们护士学校，自此次惨案后，即要求罢课，与外界一致进行，本校长因逼于时势，不能勉强，赞成罢课，我们罢课，是奋斗出来的，当然要比国立学校学生干得起劲些，所以我们不敢居各界之后，竭尽心力，与学生会一致进行，以谋外交胜利，冀得取消不平等条约，然而我们既负了爱国运动的使命，同时不能放弃看护的责任，所以我们把看护的工作，委托了几位不外出干活动的护士代劳，我们以为看护责任，已经委托他人，那末可以专心干爱国运动了，不料美人 Smith, Irving 等中心耿耿，想各种的方法来破坏我们不许再干这勾当。”

The collective withdrawal of students from the Hwa Mei Nursing School quickly attracted widespread public attention and elicited support from a range of social organizations, including the Ningbo Students Union and the Jiangbei Youth Support Association (Jiangbei'an Shaonian Fuchihui 江北岸少年扶持会). However, the situation took a notable turn after a few days of media coverage. Several parents of the departed students, identified as Li, Wu, Zhou, and Chen, published a joint statement in the newspapers asserting that their children had acted rashly and had been misled. They argued that the withdrawal should not be interpreted as a genuine expression of patriotism but rather as the result of manipulation by individuals with ulterior motives. The parents expressed their disagreements with the students' decision and indicated their willingness to send them back to the school, citing efforts by hospital staff to mediate the situation (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925b).

Ten days later, Hwa Mei Hospital released a formal statement to clarify its perspective on the incident (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925c). The hospital emphasized the traditionally harmonious relationship between teachers and students, asserting that the recent turmoil was not genuinely linked to the patriotic "May Thirtieth Incident" but rather instigated by a few disruptive individuals. While acknowledging that some of the students' ten demands had merit, the hospital explained that key administrators, including the principal, were away when the situation escalated. The vice principal, the only senior figure present, lacked the authority to make immediate decisions. The hospital suggested that had the students remained on-site and continued discussions while maintaining their duties, a more constructive resolution could have been reached. However, the hospital stated that the students, "showing no understanding or consideration, engaged in unreasonable behavior, collectively signed declarations to leave the hospital, leaving no room for negotiation" (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925c).⁴ The hospital claimed that it had neither the intention nor the need to issue a public statement but felt compelled to do so after the students repeatedly published declarations, announcements, and accounts of the incident in the newspapers. From the hospital's perspective, these reports were "distorting the facts and reversing right and wrong," which they considered to be unreasonable and disruptive. To prevent misunderstandings among the public, the hospital offered the following clarifications:

The hospital addressed the accusations that it suppressed patriotic activities by the nursing students, stating, "How could we have oppressed

⁴ It is translated by the author. The original Chinese text is "该生等不谅人情，一味无理取闹，纷纷自行发誓签约告退，当时急如烈火，既无磋商余地"。

them when, during the May Thirtieth Incident, we allowed the students to suspend classes, join demonstrations, and participate in fundraising activities? They even contributed their Dragon Boat Festival allowances and previous donations, clearly demonstrating their genuine patriotism without any restriction from us." Regarding the ten demands raised by the students, the hospital clarified: "There was a rule that if students damaged equipment, they were responsible for compensation after the second incident—paying half or one-third of the cost of a third item. There was no arbitrary demand for payment for others' damages. As for supervising staff, nurses had the right to monitor them but not to dismiss them. The students are young men and women, and strict school regulations are necessary. For example, if they presented a letter from a parent, leave was granted without issue." The hospital concluded that most of the demands lacked real substance and were merely suggestions rather than matters that warranted conflict. They felt the students acted unreasonably and were intent on creating disruption. However, the hospital expressed a willingness to show leniency: "If any students who left now regret their actions and wish to return, we are willing to accept them back. Those who do not wish to return are free to make their own decisions" (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925c).⁵

Interestingly, alongside the hospital's announcement, the same newspaper page featured a notice titled "Announcement of Return to Hwa Mei Hospital Nursing School (华美医院看护学校离校学生返校启事)". In this notice, nursing students Mao Zongjue 毛宗觉, Sun Xiuju 孙秀菊, and Shen Guiying 沈桂英 publicly stated that the decision to leave the school had been a mistake on the students' part. A few days later, another student, Lin Chuanhui 林传慧, published her own announcement. She clarified that she had taken leave a week before the incident due to her mother's illness. Upon returning to Ningbo, she learned about the student walkout and felt that such actions were inappropriate. She had already returned to the hospital to resume her duties. Lin also emphasized that her name had been included in the collective declaration of withdrawal without her consent, stating that she had no involvement in the incident (*Shishi Gongbao* 1925d).

5 It is translated by the author. The original Chinese text is: "护士生谓本院压迫爱国运动, 何以五卅时令该生等亦停课游行募捐, 加入学生会议募捐, 时又将端节用费以及从前所仗粥与二十元一并附入, 可见出于真正爱国, 并未禁阻, 至要求十条中学生损坏器具, 每人本有限止, 如损坏二件以上, 第三件须赔偿半价或三分之一, 并无他人损坏之物, 硬迫赔偿之事, 佣人如有不守规则, 护士本有督促之权, 而无斥革之理, 护士等均系青年男女, 校规不能不严, 如持有家长信函而请假者, 本无不允, 以上数条实无要求价值, 至其余数条只有提议请求之目的, 而无借此挟迫之权力, 该生等不度情理, 以取闹为目的, 现在本院仍有体恤之意, 如出院生中有自悔觉悟, 仍愿来院服务者, 本院仍行招收, 如不愿者听其自便。"

The intense wave of the Nursing School's collective student walkout ultimately concluded with various statements and the students returning to the hospital. The entire incident, lasting less than twenty days, caused no substantial disruption to the hospital's operations. Although this episode might seem like a student-driven drama, it reveals a deeper shift: Chinese students were beginning to evolve from passive recipients of medical education into active contributors and participants. This transformation highlighted their growing enthusiasm to engage critically with their education and shape the future of medical practice in China.

Unlike the turmoil experienced by the Nursing School, the internal environment of Hwa Mei Hospital during the May Thirtieth Incident remained relatively calm, with no reports of Chinese doctors going on strike or leaving the hospital. Externally, despite the widespread anti-foreign sentiment in society at the time, the foreign doctors at Hwa Mei Hospital were protected by the local community due to their reputation for compassion and medical expertise. The hospital's director, Dr. Grant, mentioned in his 1925 annual report: "There has been such an unhappy atmosphere between Chinese and foreigners since May 30th that it seemed wise not to do any active work in regard to the Hospital Campaign ... Never since the Boxer year have I so many times been called (Yiang Kwe Ts)⁶ foreign devil. The surprising thing is that one hears from little children who can hardly realize what they are saying as well as from boy 8-12 years of age [sic]." (Grant 1925) At that time, the hatred towards foreigners reached a high point, with frequent incidents of attacks, looting, and destruction targeting foreigners. The foreign settlement in the northern part of Ningbo was often the site of such violent incidents, and Hwa Mei Hospital and the residences of the foreign doctors were located nearby, making them vulnerable to these attacks. On one occasion, when a mob was heading toward Dr. Grant's house, which was located near other houses already damaged by the mob, someone in the crowd called out "That is Dr. Grant's house. He saves lives. We must spare his life" (Grant 1925). As a result, Dr. Grant was spared from harm.

In light of the prevailing social and political tensions, Dr. Grant judged it imprudent to initiate any major action concerning the Hospital's construction plans. By 1925, a project for a new building had already entered the stages of fundraising and land acquisition, but he feared that further controversy might jeopardize or delay its implementation. These concerns, however, ultimately proved unfounded. The construction plan received unanimous support from the local gentry and various government officials in Ningbo, who generously contributed to the funding. Among the supporters were the local officials such

⁶ Yiang Kwe Ts refers to Yangguizi 洋鬼子 in Chinese.

as Huang Hanzhi 黄涵之, the Governor of Kuaiji Dao 会稽道, Sun Baoxuan 孙宝瑄, the Supervisor of the Zhejiang Maritime Customs, Jiang Ruo 姜若, the Magistrate of Yin County 鄞县, the aforementioned local gentry Zhang Meiyi 张美翊, and many prominent members of the Ningbo gentry (Wang et al. 2021, pp. 147–156). In the same year, the Hospital also built a new residence for the newly arrived Dr. Claude H. Barlow (1876–1969). By the end of 1926, the construction of the new inpatient building began smoothly. To mark this occasion, the hospital held a groundbreaking ceremony, which was attended by prominent figures from various sectors of society, including the gentry and officials who had made significant contributions to the fundraising for the building. During the ceremony, both the Chinese and American national flags were flown, symbolizing Sino-American cooperation.⁷

Overall, during the wave of nationalism in the 1920s, Hwa Mei Hospital did not encounter significant turbulence. On one hand, due to the protection of the treaties, the Beiyang government (Beiyang Zhengfu 北洋政府) generally maintained a protective policy toward church-affiliated institutions. On the other hand, despite the mission hospitals being associated with foreign imperialism and religious infiltration, from a pragmatic perspective, healthcare, as a public service, had its unique social value, and protecting and utilizing it made more sense than destroying it. In comparison, church educational institutions like Hwa Mei Nursing School were more easily seen as tools of imperialist "cultural invasion" and were thus subject to opposition and resistance. After the May Fourth Movement, students, whose nationalism had been strengthened, were more easily incited in the anti-imperialist movement, driven by youthful passion. Furthermore, the strict management of church schools, coupled with the fact that Hwa Mei Nursing School students had to balance both academic tasks and hospital services, added to the pressure they faced. The prevailing anti-foreign sentiment at the time also contributed to psychological stress for church school students. With these multiple pressures, it was inevitable that students would seize an opportunity to vent their frustrations. Therefore, Hwa Mei Hospital and Hwa Mei Nursing School experienced different social reactions during the wave of anti-imperialist sentiment.

Obstacles and Constraints: The Impact of Local Religious Beliefs on the "Medical Mission" Efforts

Although medical missionaries made great efforts in their long-term practice of medical evangelism in China, the results seemed to fall short of

⁷ See a stone stele entitled "History of Hwa Mei Hospital" collected in the history museum of Ningbo Huamei Hospital (Ningbo No. 2 Hospital).

expectations. The actual effectiveness of using medicine as a means of evangelism was not as successful as hoped. After practicing medicine and evangelizing in Ningbo for five or six years, Dr. Macgowan still faced the problem of having very few converts: "Only those apply for relief who have been reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty by indulging in the vice, or who are likely to lose situations in consequence, the pleasure it affords is so great, and the distress connected with its relinquishment is so painful, that a reform amongst those who can meet the expense will seldom occur ... no class of patients are so grateful for cure, and none receive exhortations to faith and repentance better than reformed opium smokers." (TCR 1849, p. 510) If Chinese patients were not suffering from unbearable physical pain or if their illness had not severely disrupted their daily lives, they were unlikely to feel especially grateful for the medical treatment they received, let alone convert to Christianity.

Many medical missionaries felt frustrated and disappointed with their evangelical efforts, as despite years of work, the number of patients who were truly led to Christianity through medical services remained very limited. Some missionaries questioned why, after doing all that was required — alleviating the patients' physical suffering, erasing the bias against Western medicine—these actions still failed to lead to an understanding of "the one true God and His son, Jesus". (CMMJ 1901, p. 220) Some missionaries believed the lack of dedicated gospel preachers in the hospitals was the major cause. For instance, as there were initially no full-time evangelists in Hwa Mei Hospital, medical missionaries such as Dr. Macgowan and Dr. Barchet held dual roles, serving as both doctors and preachers. Later, the hospital employed more full-time evangelists (holding prayer sessions and preaching in the wards every day) and medical missionaries only needed to focus on medical care. Nevertheless, in the 1920s, the full-time doctors (including medical missionaries and Chinese doctors) in Hwa Mei Hospital was seven while the number of full-time evangelists was only three, far fewer than the doctors (Hwa Mei Hospital Report 1922). However, the deeper reason why the evangelistic work yielded such limited results lay in the constraints imposed by local cultural and religious belief systems. In the eyes of medical missionaries, curing physical ailments was seen as the first step toward saving the soul, not the ultimate goal. Yang Nianqun argues, "The Chinese believe that physical suffering is unrelated to the spirit, and there is no fundamental difference or progression between the healing of the spirit and the body, as there is no religious hierarchy in this regard." (Yang 2019, p. 51) As a result, the direct physical healing ironically blocked the way for spreading the religious gospel because the shock caused by the scientific, tangible healing coincided with the traditional Chinese focus on the practical utility of actions.

However, it did not mean that the Chinese considered a separation between physical pain and mental or spiritual effects. On the contrary, traditional Chinese folk religions and local beliefs had long had the practice of attempting to cure physical illness through spiritual means. What set them apart, however, was the pragmatic and utilitarian approach to faith, which often led to formalized practices, such as offering incense, kneeling in prayer, or reciting mantras to invoke blessings for health. Besides, the tradition of seeking divine intervention through rituals to alleviate physical pain actually provided an opportunity for medical missionaries. After using medical science to treat physical ailments, they could potentially introduce religious faith, though this possibility was constrained by the local belief system and required great patience and effort on the part of the missionaries.

This difficulty mainly arose from the exclusivity and uniqueness of Christianity, as the conflict between monotheism and the pluralistic religious structure in China became a limiting factor for medical evangelism. While the miraculous healing power of Western medicine indeed impressed many pragmatic Chinese patients, abandoning deeply rooted indigenous religious beliefs in favor of Christianity was still not an easy task. The religious situation encountered by missionaries in Chinese society derived from a tradition of thousands of years, and this religious culture included multiple philosophical elements, folk beliefs, and customs. By the time missionaries began their most widespread contact with the Chinese from the 19th to the 20th centuries, the Chinese religious sensibilities had already been shaped by various movements. The so-called “local religions” were, in fact, a mixture of different stages of religious development and traces of foreign influences (Latourette 2009, p. 9). For instance, various religions and folk beliefs, including Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, had already shaped the spirituality of Chinese people from all walks of life. Moreover, the Chinese mode of belief often did not have exclusivity or singularity. As long as there was no significant conflict, multiple beliefs could coexist in the spiritual lives of the Chinese people, and individuals could choose what suited them best. A further example in Ningbo is the common worship of the “God of the Kitchen” (Zaoshen 灶神). Michael S. Culbertson, a Presbyterian missionary in Ningbo, wrote: “The God of the Kitchen is an object of almost universal worship. No family would feel safe without a shrine over the cooking range for this important and influential member of the household” (Culbertson 1857, p. 132). Although the “God of Kitchen” is a Daoist deity, the worship did not prevent the local people from respecting the Confucian values of rejecting superstitions, nor did it hinder their reverence for Buddhist teachings. According to local records, at least since the Qing Dynasty, Buddhism had been the mainstream religion in Ningbo society. The worship and veneration

of Buddhist bodhisattvas, such as Guanyin 观音, Wenshu 文殊, and Dizang 地藏, were still commonly practiced at that time. In addition to Daoism and Buddhism, the local people also held Confucius and Confucianism in high esteem.

The simultaneous belief in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism might stem from the secular application of religion by the Chinese. However, it was more likely because they had difficulty distinguishing between the specific identities of various deities and understanding the true essence of each religion, leading to a muddling of different gods in their minds. This was also a concern for missionaries when presenting the Christian image. In any case, within the established, comprehensive, and mutually coexisting indigenous spiritual life model, it was indeed quite difficult for ordinary people, who were first exposed to Christianity and Western medicine, to convert to Christianity — especially given its monotheistic foundation — while abandoning their previous belief systems.

In his report to the mission board, Dr. Grant recorded two cases where patients successfully converted to Christianity after receiving treatment at Hwa Mei Hospital. One was a 47-year-old woman who had an ovarian tumor. After a surgery, she recovered and was able to rid herself of the debilitating “large belly” that had hindered her mobility. She was overjoyed and deeply grateful for the miraculous effects of Western medicine, and decided to listen attentively to the hospital’s gospel preaching. When she learned that the Buddha statue she had been worshiping was merely a “man-made object” and that vegetarianism would not benefit her in the afterlife, she was greatly shocked. It wasn’t until after her discharge that she accepted the Christian faith, and upon returning home, she destroyed the statue of Buddha in her kitchen. Another woman, severely afflicted by complications from her illness, also converted to Christianity after receiving treatment at Hwa Mei Hospital. Like the previous woman, she had been a Buddhist and a vegetarian, but after converting to Christianity, she began eating meat. When her husband found out she had converted, he became furious and abused her in various ways. However, her life improved, and she became more loving and attentive to her children. Eventually, her husband stopped tormenting her and became curious about what belief had transformed his wife into a better mother. In the end, the couple both converted to Christianity (Hwa Mei Hospital Report 1919). These two examples show that breaking away from previous beliefs and reconstructing a new spiritual life was not only difficult for the believers themselves, but also a challenge for their families. Moreover, both of these women were dealing with serious health issues, and their conversion seemed more like a gesture of gratitude for the healing power of Western medicine, rather than a true understanding of the deeper meaning of Christianity

beyond physical relief. As for the transformation of their family members, it aligned with a sharp insight by Frank J. Rawlinson: Christianity is not accepted for its theology, but for its ability to make good people (Rawlinson 1922).

The above-mentioned Dr. Grant's cases occurred after Christianity and Western medicine had been spreading in Ningbo for over seventy years. During this period, the demand for medical services at Hwa Mei Hospital was steadily increasing, but the hospital's influence as a space for religious propagation seemed to still be limited. Dr. Thomas (Harold Thomas), a physician who had been working at Hwa Mei Hospital for over two years, recorded a particularly memorable story. One evening, he was urgently called by the family of a woman he had helped deliver a baby the day before. As he made his way there, he heard a series of rhythmic sounds from the streets—gongs and drums—and also faint cries of grief. At first, he thought it was some strange and beautiful music, but as he soon realized, it was the mourning and ritual of a funeral for a deceased person. He was deeply struck and puzzled, wondering, "Where are we at in all of this? [sic] Where is there room for Christ? Can it be that Christ in any measure can ever reach these people? Have not his messengers for the last 70 years been walking these streets? Is it not after all a losing game?" (Thomas 1921) Eventually, Dr. Thomas concluded that, despite the strong resistance posed by local beliefs and customs to the acceptance of Christianity, medical missionaries still had a duty to diligently spread the gospel, with the ultimate goal of transforming people's religious beliefs rather than merely treating their physical ailments.

Although the Chinese were not unfamiliar with the practice of using spiritual power to heal illnesses and avert disasters, the results of the medical evangelism were highly imbalanced due to the obstacles and constraints imposed by the utilitarian and pragmatic nature of local, multi-religious beliefs. In 1919, in his annual report to the mission, Dr. Grant noted that only six people were baptized through the hospital that year, while twenty-seven male and forty-two female patients expressed interest in converting. In contrast, the total number of outpatient and inpatient visits reached 8,297, with 1,013 inpatient admissions (Hwa Mei Hospital Report 1919). The situation in 1920 was similar: the total number of outpatient and inpatient visits reached 8,411, with 1,083 inpatient admissions. However, only eleven people were baptized through the hospital's evangelistic work, and fifty-two men and fifty women showed interest in the faith (Hwa Mei Hospital Report 1920). The number of inpatient admissions was particularly emphasized because, compared to outpatients, inpatients had more time and opportunities to be exposed to the gospel. Prayer services were conducted in each ward every day, and missionaries were assigned to preach and conduct religious

services at patients' bedsides. Despite these efforts, the number of baptisms was still significantly lower than the number of inpatients.

In fact, this imbalance became apparent at the very beginning of medical evangelism, and the growing disparity that followed forced medical missionaries to reconsider their work. The functional layout of "medicine" and "evangelism" in mission hospitals, as well as the atmosphere of religion and secularism, indeed underwent changes as a result. Initially, the primary goal of medical missionaries was to combine healthcare with evangelism, but eventually their efforts became increasingly disproportionate, as medical work came to overshadow religious conversion. This prompted a reevaluation of their approach, as missionaries sought to adjust their methods to better integrate the two functions and address the challenges posed by local beliefs and cultural norms.

Conclusions

Established as a mission hospital in modern China, Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital underwent a complex process of localization characterized by successive phases of suspicion, acceptance, tension, and partial integration, as well as by an increasingly uneven development between its medical and evangelical functions. In this process, the Hospital survived and has continued to the present day⁸, preserving its secular function of healing and saving lives, while gradually diverging from its original objective of medical evangelism. The reasons for this transformation may be summarized as follows.

First, for a pragmatically oriented Chinese society, the therapeutic efficacy of Western medicine proved far more compelling than its religious associations. The acceptance of the mission hospital and the willingness to provide financial support were largely grounded in this practical appeal. One of the decisive factors in the success of the institution was the favorable attitude of local officials and members of the gentry toward Western medicine. In Ningbo, a number of influential figures—including Lin Gui, Xue Fucheng, Huang Hanzhi, and the prominent gentry leader Zhang Meiyi — had themselves received treatment at Hwa Mei Hospital. They not only fostered a positive evaluation of Western medicine but also supported the hospital's establishment and expansion, including assistance with land acquisition and financial donations.

⁸ In 1951, Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital was officially taken over by the government, completing its transformation from a mission hospital to a government-owned hospital. In 1954, it was formally renamed Ningbo No.2 Hospital. At present, the hospital has reverted to its historical name, Ningbo Hwa Mei Hospital, and is one of the ten tertiary Grade A hospitals in Ningbo.

Moreover, many of these officials and gentries were associated with the Self-Strengthening Movement, a group of early reform-minded elites in late Qing China who had begun, in their own terms, to “open their eyes to the world (睁眼看世界).” Their intellectual orientation was commonly articulated in the formula “Chinese learning as essence, Western learning for practical use (中体西用)”. Within this framework, “Western learning for practical use” referred primarily to the selective appropriation of Western science and technology. The Self-Strengthening Movement thus placed particular emphasis on the instrumental value of Western knowledge, regarding it as a set of practical tools rather than a comprehensive cultural system. As a key component of Western science and modern civilization, medicine naturally fell within the scope of their interest and support. In addition, leading members of the modern Ningbo merchant network (the “Ningbo Bang”) also played an important role in the hospital’s development by providing substantial financial assistance, especially in connection with the construction and expansion of its facilities.

Furthermore, it was precisely this pragmatic orientation that led mission hospitals and mission education to experience markedly different trajectories amid the political turbulence of modern China. Notwithstanding the association of mission hospitals with foreign imperialism and religious encroachment, from a utilitarian standpoint, healthcare—as a public service—possessed an inherent social value that rendered its preservation and utilization a more rational course of action than its outright rejection. By contrast, church-affiliated educational institutions, such as the Hwa Mei Nursing School, were more readily perceived as instruments of imperialist “cultural invasion,” and consequently became targets of pronounced opposition and resistance. That is why during the surge of nationalism in the 1920s, Hwa Mei Hospital suffered less impact than its affiliated nursing school.

A similar tension characterized the evangelical mission of the hospital at the cultural level. The religious propagation was persistently constrained by deeply rooted local belief systems, and it proved exceedingly difficult for Christianity to penetrate China’s indigenous religious traditions and popular folk practices through medical work alone. Even after decades of sustained effort, the outcomes of the medical missionaries’ “dual mission”—that is, healing and evangelization—remained profoundly uneven, with the medical function far outstripping the religious one in both social acceptance and institutional durability. From this perspective, such a pattern of interaction may be understood less as an anomaly than as a historically conditioned and, to some extent, inevitable pathway through which mission hospitals became embedded and localized within Chinese society. This disjunction between medical care and religious instruction within mission hospitals fundamentally

constituted a process of secularization, which itself represents an integral component of the hospitals' broader localization. The localization of Hwa Mei Hospital represents, in effect, a specific case study of the sinicization of Christianity. Whether, to what extent, and through which mechanisms this process shaped the sinicization of Christianity requires further study.

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Abbreviations

CMMJ	The China Medical Missionary Journal
RGCPMC	Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China
TCR	The Chinese Repository

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The Pattern and Function of Manchu Shamans' Guardian Spirits

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Abstract: The Manchus use *Amba Weceku* to refer to the guardian spirits of the *Amba Samans*. The guardian spirits are arranged in rows, with each row consisting of one leading spirit and several helping spirits. Mastering the guardian spirits is an important criterion for examining and certifying the status of an *Amba Saman*. The formation of the concept of guardian spirits in shamanism not only reflects the needs at the unconscious level but also incorporates conscious construction under specific historical conditions. The fantastical construction of the guardian spirits in Manchu shamanism has a solid real social foundation. Compared with the shamanism of other Tungusic tribes, its structure places greater emphasis on “hierarchy” and “seniority”, and its content highlights “heroes and war gods”. As a symbolic system of emotional form, these guardian spirits represent different states of psychological imbalance. Shamans use their guardian spirits to dispel harmful spirits or regulate imbalances in the soul.

Keywords: *Amba Saman*, guardian spirits, pattern, function

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Introduction

The Manchu ethnicity took shape in the middle of the 17th century, primarily derived from various Jurchen tribal groups. Constrained by blood lineage and geographical factors, Manchu shamanism inherited the traditional beliefs of the Jurchen people dating back to the Jin Dynasty, as well as the religious traditions prevalent in northern China.

After the Qing troops entered the Shanhaiguan Pass, Manchu shamanism underwent a highly complex process of evolution and institutionalization under the influence of imperial authority. To curb extravagance and waste in shamanic rituals and prevent shamans from deluding the public with fallacies and ecstatic rituals, Qing rulers issued decrees banning all excessive religious practices and wasteful ceremonies. The *Draft Veritable Records of Emperor Taizong of Qing* stipulates: no one shall collude in wicked deeds, fabricate tales to foretell fortune and misfortune, or mislead the populace; violators shall be sentenced to death. Among the Jurchen people at that time, there was no formal medical treatment for illnesses. Instead, shamans and priests would perform rituals to pray for recovery, slaughter pigs, and burn paper offerings to invoke spirits—hence the enormous consumption of paper and pigs among the tribal communities (History Department of Liaoning University 1978, p. 13).

Nevertheless, to preserve ancestral traditions, the Qing authorities allowed the continued existence of the priestly class. Successive emperors from Nurhaci and Hong Taiji to Kangxi and Qianlong made continuous efforts to regulate shamanic practices. The Manchu Ritual of Heaven and Spirit Worship, finalized during the Qianlong reign, later became the standard sacrificial code followed by all Manchu clans. A core outcome of the transformation of Manchu shamanism was the shift of religious authority from folk shamans to official court priests. The ultimate consequence was that the original sacrificial system and ecstatic ritual practices were banned. The sacrificial norms and rituals formulated by the imperial household were established as the standard for all Manchu clans. A unified new sacrificial tradition was thus established across Manchu society. Over time, most Manchu people gradually lost the inheritance of ancient shamanic traditions and came to regard the standardized clan ancestral worship as an age-old indigenous custom.

However, both in the notes compiled by scholars of the Qing dynasty and in the ethnographic studies conducted by modern scholars, it can be found that shamanism centered on ecstatic rituals was still practiced in some clans in Manchu folk society. For instance, *Liubian Jilue* 柳边纪略, compiled in the early years of the Kangxi reign, records: when the Manchu people suffered from illnesses, they would invite a shaman to preside over a seance. Shamans were selected from among female witches or clan members' wives. The shaman would tie bells around her waist, making sounds as she shook the bells, while

simultaneously beating a drum with her hand. The shaman's drum was covered with cowhide and reinforced with iron; its handle was adorned with several metal rings. The shaman struck and shook the drum at the same time, producing a soft drumming sound. During the seance, the shaman's chants were indistinct. When the prayer ritual came to an end, the shaman would jump and spin continuously (Yang, Fang and Wu 1985, p. 109). The *Longsha Jilue* 龙沙纪略 records: "The witches who channel spirits into their bodies are called "sama". They perform horse offerings and use copper mirrors to dispel evil spirits." (Yang, Fang and Wu 1985, p. 212).

In the 1980s, Song Heping and Meng Huiying conducted an ethnographic investigation into Manchu shamanism. They identified two ritual forms—namely clan domestic sacrifice (家祭) and wild spirit sacrifice (野祭)—and drew distinctions between them according to their respective characteristics. The clan domestic sacrifice mainly involves the practitioners of *Boigon Saman* (家萨满), and the wild spirit sacrifice mainly involves the practitioners of *Amba Saman* (大萨满) (Song and Meng 1998, p. 318). According to Manchu belief, one of the most important distinctions is that an *Amba Saman* masters a group of spirits, is able to receive spirit possession at will, and can assist people afflicted with misfortunes caused by wandering souls or malevolent spirits (Shirokogoroff [1935] 2025, p. 559). To date, research on the Manchu *Amba Saman* has focused on the selection process and ecstatic states of the *Amba Saman* (Yuan Jie 2012, p. 89; Guo Shuyun 2007, p. 32), but has relatively neglected the exploration of the spirit group mastered by the *Amba Saman*—namely, the guardian spirits of the *Amba Saman*. Regarding the issue of the guardian spirits, Russian ethnologist Sternberg conducted an investigation of the Hezhe 赫哲 ethnic group's shamanism. He explored the relationship between the shaman and his (or her) guardian spirits: male and female shamans who are primarily elected by a mere whim of the spirits, graduate into professional priests, their functions then being to amuse their deities, not only with music, dance, glorification etc., but in the first place by gratifying them with sexual intercourse, either directly in dreams, or indirectly through earthly men or women, in whom the gods and goddesses incarnate themselves (Sternberg [1925] 2004, p. 127).

Sternberg highlighted the sexual relationship between shamans and guardian spirits, and inspired us to explore the pattern of guardian spirits, the process by which shamans and guardian spirits establish and maintain relationships, and the function of guardian spirits in shamanic practice. On this account, this paper makes use of the literature, physical objects and field investigation materials to explore the structure of guardian spirits, the relationship between *Amba Saman* and guardian spirits, and the function of guardian spirits in the practice of *Amba Saman*. This paper aims to propose

ideas and methods to analyze the guardian spirits of *Amba Saman*, and enrich the academic understanding of Manchu shamanism.

The Pattern of Guardian Spirits

In Manchu folk society, the guardian spirits are symbolized by pictures and idols. In clans with a tradition of *Amba Saman*, the guardian spirits of *Amba Saman* are a component of clan spirits. Although the guardian spirits vary among different clans, there are some shared features of these groups of spirits. These commonalities are directly expressed through spirit pictures and spirit idols, especially the internal structure of guardian spirits. The following four cases are from different Manchu clans. We can analyze the characteristics of the guardian spirits through their pictures and idols.

Case 1.

From 1915 to 1918, Russian ethnologist Shirokogoroff conducted an ethnographic investigation of Manchu shamanism. He described a picture of guardian spirits but did not indicate the clan to which it belonged. The entire system of guardian spirits is divided into eleven rows and consists of four pictures. The contents are as follows.

The first painting depicts four rows of spirit deities. Each row of spirits dwells in a pagoda-like tower. In the middle of the first row, Grandfather Shaman and Grandmother Shaman are seated at the very center of the pagoda. Beside the pagoda stand two spirits beneath a tree; they are deities adopted from the Northern Tungus. The spirits of the second row are partly inside the pagoda and partly outside it. The leading spirit of the second row is the Mute Spirit, surrounded by warrior spirits referred to as *manni* in the Manchu vernacular. These spirits are endowed with extraordinary supernatural powers: for instance, casting coins from molten metal, walking barefoot over burning charcoal, twisting red-hot iron bars around their waists, treading barefoot on scorched iron plowshares, and climbing knife ladders with bare feet. The third row consists of a dragon spirit, a snake spirit, and a python spirit with human-like forms. The fourth row features a tree painted with five cuckoo spirits perched on its branches, with two bird spirits standing underneath the tree.

The second painting shows the following content: in the fifth row, a Grandmother Shaman sits in the centre. The sixth row consists of several female spirits. The presiding spirit of the seventh row is a heroic spirit adept at archery. He is clad in official robes and mounted on horseback, surrounded by eight Tungus spirits.

The third painting shows the following content: the leading spirit of the eighth row is the Army Leader Spirit (*čooḥa janggin* in the Manchu vernacular),

though the subordinate spirits under its command cannot be identified. Shirokogoroff was unable to recognize the spirits depicted in the ninth and tenth rows.

The fourth painting shows the following content: the eleventh row mainly portrays “wild spirits”, including several Tungus spirits, as well as tiger spirits, raptor spirits, and leopard spirits. The chief spirit in this painting is the “Blue Tiger Shaman” (Shirokogoroff [1935] 2025, p. 350).

Case 2.

This system of guardian spirits belongs to the Kerga Clan of the Aihun area and was investigated and recorded by Shirokogoroff. The entire painting is set against a vast, pristine mountain landscape. Among the massive mountain rocks lies a small settlement. At the centre of eight pairs of trees stands a multi-storey pagoda, with twelve rows of spirit deities arranged within it. Each row of guardian spirits is headed by a leading spirit (*Dalaha Weceku* in the Manchu vernacular). The supreme deity governing all these spirits is *Agjuran Saman*, the primordial founding shaman of the Kerga Clan. The details are as follows.

The first row of guardian spirits is described as follows: the leading spirit of this row is *Agjuran Saman*, holding a ritual drum. He is attended by eight helping spirits: *Erinbuku Saman*, skilled in wrestling and wielding a throwing spear; *Agjana Age*, who rides a chestnut horse and carries a halberd; *Cagjana Manni*, mounted on a sorrel horse and holding a pair of arrows; *Arsulan Age*, who rides a colourful horse and bears a pair of ritual staffs and is tasked with gathering intelligence and handling all manner of affairs; *Ajilan Age*, holding a harpoon; and the sister spirits *Salinju* and *Selinju*, each carrying a square silk kerchief.

The second row of guardian spirits is described as follows: the leading spirit is a fearless heroic spirit seated in the pagoda amid jagged rocky cliffs, who descends holding a drum. His helping spirits include: *Ajan Beise*, descending with a javelin; *Agulai Age*, armed with twin swords and a toothed spear; *Juru Mergen*, descending with a spear; *Doholon Age*, descending with a drum; *Durjire Dutu*, descending with a javelin; *Sesereku Age*, riding a dark horse and wielding a halberd; the sister spirits *Erinju* and *Weriju*, each descending with a pair of copper mirrors; the sister spirit *Yingwu*, holding a silk ribbon; and the sister spirits *Jinji* and *Yinji*, each bearing a drum.

In the third row of guardian spirits, these guardian spirits dwell in walled settlements nestled among mountains and rivers. Their leading spirit is *Seimeju Saman*. The helping spirits include *Daifu Mama*, the two Green Snake Sister spirits (each holding a pair of silk kerchiefs), as well as golden and silver carp spirits.

In the fourth row of guardian spirits, this group of spirits is situated in the mountain pine forest. *Amba Daimin* serves as the leading spirit, assisted by *Narhun Daimin*, *Kuri Daimin*, *Kekesere Gasha*, *Fulgiyan Daimin*, *Gjohun*, and *Jilhu*.

The fifth row of guardian spirits is described as follows: at the heart of the high mountain lies a settlement, where is an ornate colourful pagoda. This row of spirits is enshrined within the pagoda. The leading spirit is *Jatungga Saman*. His attendants include: *Seletu Age*, riding a horse and wielding an iron bar; *Seletai Age*, holding a long halberd; and *Jergule Age*, bearing twin swords.

The sixth row of guardian spirits is described as follows: at the mountain's centre stand two pairs of trees, with a radiant pagoda erected between them. The leading spirit *Balan Baturu* sits inside the pagoda holding a javelin. The helper spirits are: *Agjan Beise*, carrying a battle axe; *Sergudai Age*, wielding a narrow spear; *Aisuldai Age*, holding a toothed spear; *Beisuldai Age*, bearing a drum; and *Salhudai Age*.

In the seventh row of guardian spirits, these guardian spirits are distributed among jagged rock formations. The central leading spirit is *Sebehun Saman*, clad in an iron helmet and holding a toothed spear. His leading spirits include: *Sele Sèčè* with a toothed spear; *Sele* with twin staffs; *Sele Mergen* with a javelin; *Sele Setu* with an iron bar; *Sele Serinju* holding silk ribbons; the sister spirit *Sele Wukunju*; and *Sele Erinju*.

In the eighth row of guardian spirits, the leading spirit *Ingeljl Saman* dwells in the settlement at the centre of the high mountains, holding a ritual drum. His helping spirits include: *Durgide Dutu* with a drum; *Belinbe Tece* with a spear; *Holhodai Age* — a spirit that steals worldly goods upon descending into a shaman's body; *Doholon Age*, holding a drum; *Imjin Mama* with a drum; and two *Guniang Sefu* spirits, each bearing a drum.

The ninth row of guardian spirits is described as follows: in the mountain's centre, enclosed by high walls, lies a settlement situated between two lines of pine trees. The leading spirit is *Wukunju Mama*, who holds a drum and is accompanied by two servants. The helping spirits include: *Temtule Age*, riding a chestnut horse and carrying a javelin; *Temtule Baturu*, mounted on a black horse and holding a drum; *Sarhudai Age*, riding a grey-chestnut horse and wielding a sword; and *Narhusan Age* with a drum.

In the tenth row of guardian spirits, these guardian spirits reside among birch trees. The leading spirit is *Bilen Buku Tasha*. The helping spirits consist of *Tarin Tasha*, *Muhan Fisü*, *Alha Fisü*, *Lebsere Sefu*, *Sayan Sulen*, and *Sayan Tasha*.

In the eleventh row of guardian spirits, this set of spirits is located among towering crags. The leading spirit is *Karangga Saman*, holding a drum. His helping spirits are: *K'ilergi Age*, carrying two spears; *K'ilin*, a mighty hero mounted on a white horse and wielding a spear; and *K'ilerčan Age*, riding a black horse with a spear.

In the twelfth row of guardian spirits, the presiding spirit is *Naijulan Saman*, who descends holding a drum. The helper spirits include: *Algudai Age* with a spear; *Alire Manni* with a toothed spear; *Sukara Manni* with an iron bar; *Fangkara Manni* with twin swords; *Sele Sece* with a spear; the nine-foot-long spirit *Muduri*; the eight-foot-long spirit *Jabjan*; as well as *Cecerku Meihe* and *Aisin Menggun Ingali* (Shirokogoroff [1935] 2025, pp. 351–361).

Case 3.

In the 1990s, Chinese scholar Yin Yushan discovered painted scrolls and statues of guardian spirits belonging to the Manchu Wusu Guan Clan. During the Qing dynasty, the Wusu Guan Clan was classified as part of the *Fe Manju* and affiliated with the Zheng Blue Banner.

The ancestral homeland of the Wusu Guan Clan was a village west of Wuzala along the Ussuri River. After the mid-Qing dynasty, the clan migrated extensively and finally settled in present-day Jilin Province. The clan preserves two guardian spirit painted scrolls. Both are crafted on plain coarse white linen and are rectangular in shape. The edges of the scrolls are framed with decorative cloud and thunder patterns, and painted predominantly in black, white, blue and green. According to Yin Yushan the guardian spirits of the Wusu Guan Clan are arranged in four rows, with each row separated by floating cloud motifs.



(Picture 1. Guardian spirits of Wusu guan clan, provided by Yin Yushan)



(Picture 2. Guardian spirits of Wusu Guan clan, provided by Yin Yushan)

In the first row of guardian spirits, the leading spirit is Grandmother Shaman, seated in a golden pagoda. Two female spirits stand sideways with their hands folded before their chests in a reverent bow toward her. On the left and right sides stand male ancestral spirits facing one another. Also present is a female spirit holding a copper mirror, alongside a young shaman standing upon a knife ladder. Additional spirits include a human-faced weasel spirit with sharp claws, two heroic spirits wielding steel knives in both hands, four eagle spirits, and three sculptor spirits.

In the second row of guardian spirits, the leading spirit is the Shaman Spirit. To her left stand seven female spirits, some playing bamboo flutes, some holding torches, some carrying spears, and others bearing three-pronged harpoons. On the right side are helping spirits: a middle-aged female shaman in a bowed posture, an elderly female shaman, two bear spirits holding steel knives, a male shaman with a ritual drum, another elderly female shaman seated sideways in a reverent bow, and a human-bodied, beast-faced spirit holding a toothed staff.

In the third row of guardian spirits, the leading spirit is an elderly male shaman, sitting on a chair with his hands clasped before his chest. On the left side are: a hunting heroic spirit holding a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right; another heroic spirit wielding steel knives in both hands; a shaman holding a copper mirror in each hand; and a shaman assistant standing with his hands bound. On the right side are: an elderly male shaman, a middle-aged shaman, a heroic spirit holding a spear, the fire spirit, and two additional heroic spirits.

In the fourth row of guardian spirits, the row of guardian spirits consists of the green snake spirit, flying tiger spirit, leopard spirit, jackal spirit, and bear spirit. (Yin Yushan 1992, pp. 96–97)

Case 4.

In the Manchu language, the Shi Clan is referred to as *Sikteri Hala*. During the Qing dynasty, it belonged to the *Fe Manju* group and was affiliated with the Zheng Yellow Banner. According to clan genealogical records (jiapu 家谱) and ancestral oral tradition, the Shi Clan originally descended from the Huifa Tribe of the Haixi Jurchens during the Ming Dynasty. In the early Shunzhi reign period, the clan migrated to the Wula area of Jilin Province and came under the jurisdiction of the Wula Sacrificial Supervisor's Office. The Shi Clan lineage has continued to the present day. Since 2012, the author has conducted several field investigations into the clan's shamanic traditions and collected relatively complete documentation of its guardian spirits.

The clan's guardian spirit scroll measures approximately two metres in length and one metre in width, commonly known as *Shenlouza* (神楼). Unlike the previously mentioned spirit paintings, the Shi Clan's scroll is relatively simple in composition. It features the Army Commander Spirit (*Coochai Janggin* in the Manchu vernacular), alongside six shamanic ancestral spirits arranged in generational order. These are: the first-generation patriarch Chongjide, the second-generation patriarch Dakabu, the third-generation patriarch Wulinba, the fourth-generation patriarch Donghai, the fifth-generation patriarch Duominga, and the sixth-generation patriarch Guihai. All are depicted sitting upright inside pagoda pavilions.

The background of the scroll portrays mountains and rivers, the sun and the moon, as well as green pines and cypresses. On either side of the altar top, two tiger spirits are illustrated among the mountain landscapes, one of which is a flying tiger spirit. At the bottom left of the painting, a shaman holds a spear, ready to perform the ritual of "drilling ice eyes". At the bottom right, another shaman is shown walking barefoot across burning charcoal while holding a spear.

It is worth noting that these rituals are performed during the official inauguration ceremony of the *Amba Saman*. After invoking a designated spirit from the *Amba Weceku* pantheon to descend and possess their body, shamans carry out either "drilling ice eyes" or "running through the fire pool". These performances serve to demonstrate that the shaman has mastered the cold and hot spiritual powers endowed by the corresponding deity. At the bottom of the scroll lies a cluster of animal spirits, including the wolf spirit, the jackal spirit, and the wild boar spirit.



(Picture 3. Guardian spirits of Shi Clan, photographed by the author)

Unlike the previously mentioned spirit paintings, the Shi Clan's *Amba Weceku* (guardian spirits) painting mainly depicts the leading spirit of each row. The helping spirits are represented by woodblock statues. Through the Shi Clan's shamanic documents, we can identify the relationship between the helping spirits and the shamanic ancestral spirits: *Amba Manni*, who holds a pair of copper mirrors, and *Huyaci Manni*, who holds a spear are the helping spirits of the first-generation patriarch Chongjide. *Seletai Manni*, who wields an iron bar, and *Bakta Manni*, who holds a spear, are the helping spirits of the second-generation patriarch Dakabu. *Jakta Manni*, who carries a pair of knives, and *Huyan Manni*, who holds a three-pronged spear, are the helping spirits of the third-generation patriarch Wulinba. *Chahan Buku Manni*, who holds an iron hammer, is the helping spirit of the fourth-generation patriarch Donghai. *Silageci Manni* is the helping spirit of the fifth-generation patriarch Duominga. *Sala Buku Manni*, who holds a spear, is the helping spirit of the sixth-generation patriarch Guihai.

“Master and Servants”:

the Relationship between Shamans and Guardian Spirits

According to the Manchu people, the *Amba Weceku* are the spiritual beings under the command of the *Amba Saman* (great shaman). Shamans can invoke these spirits to possess their bodies at will and utilize the spiritual powers of the *Amba Weceku* to expel or subdue the spirits that cause misfortune. The *Amba Saman* holds regular sacrificial rituals to the guardian spirits. During these ceremonies, spirit possession is demonstrated to prove the shaman's ability to control the spirits (Yu Yang 2013, p. 74).

The shamanic documents of the Wusu Guan Clan record the details of a shaman inviting a guardian spirit to possess him (or her): “Offer sacrifices to the ancient spirits of the Guan Clan, offer sacrifices to the *Amba Weceku*, and let the shaman born in the Year of the Horse pray... Please gather around the head of the shaman master, descend and dwell in his (or her) waist, and penetrate his (or her) body”¹. The aforementioned “shaman master” indicates that the shaman is the ruler of the *Amba Weceku*, while the phrases “descend to the waist” and “penetrate the body” signify that the shaman can be possessed by the *Amba Weceku*.

Then, how did the shaman establish a connection with the *Amba Weceku*? Since the concept of spiritual harm was deeply rooted in the people's minds, after the death of an *Amba Saman* (great shaman), members of the clan would demand the emergence of a new shaman. Shirokogoroff once described the severe situation that occurred in Manchu clans after the death of a shaman: After a shaman's passing, the spirits under his (or her) command became unruly. Severe and unexplained “illnesses” broke out within the clan; adults fell into a state of mental tension, committing unexplained violent acts or even crimes. Widespread excitement prevailed, accompanied by a hysterical tendency to attack. These pathological behaviors led to an increase in misfortunes and deaths, bringing the normal order of people's lives to a halt. Sometimes, the entire clan faced the danger of destruction (Shirokogoroff 1935 [2025], p. 548).

In his 1915 investigation, Shirokogoroff provided cases that help understand the manifestations of Manchu shamans when they experienced “spirit calling”. The first case detailed the process of a woman becoming a shaman: both her grandfather and father had been shamans. After the soul of a deceased shaman possessed her, she rushed into the mountains and forests, quickly climbed a tree, and sat on the treetop. A few days later, she returned home (Shirokogoroff 1935 [2025], p. 526). According to the oral tradition of the Shi Clan, the fifth-generation shaman “Duo Minga” returned to life after his

1 Sacrificial Documents of Wusu Clan, 1834, provided by Song Heping.

death and rushed into the Changbai Mountains. Three years later, he came back home and became an *Amba Saman*. According to the oral tradition of the Shi Clan, the fifth-generation shaman *Duo Minga* came back to life after his death and ran into the Changbai Mountains. Three years later, he returned home and became a shaman (Yuan Jie 2008, p. 90).

According to the author's investigation, the Shi Clan's *Amba Saman* Shi Qingshan, at the age of nineteen, overturned his carriage while driving. He fell into a trance, during which he kept reciting the names of the six generations of deceased shaman ancestors. In the end, he became a shaman. The current *Amba Saman* Shi Zongduo has also described his shamanic dream to the author: in his dream, the sixth-generation deceased shaman ancestor helped him master the python spirit and the eagle spirit. In conclusion, among the disorders experienced by shaman candidates, if a candidate is possessed by a certain spirit, "mastering spirits" will be one of the important ways to achieve healing.

Among the Manchu people, after a shaman candidate shows signs of becoming a shaman, he (or she) needs to be taught knowledge about spirits and rituals by elders in the clan who have shamanic experience. After a series of special training and a "public recognition" ceremony, he (or she) will be regarded as a formal shaman. This process usually lasts for three years or even longer. The underlying idea is that if the *Amba Saman* can command the *Amba Weceku*, then these spirits will not harm other members of the clan.

The most important element of a shaman's "public recognition" ceremony is the verification of the candidate, whose ability to command spirits must be confirmed through a successful performance. During the shaman's examination process, the spirits in the *Amba Weceku* will possess the candidate one by one. While the spirits are possessing the candidate, experienced elders will ask for the names of the spirits. The shaman candidate needs to answer the names and histories of all the spirits—for instance, who the spirit once was, where it lived (which mountain or river), and which shaman once commanded it. At the same time, the candidate also has to answer many other questions to convince the audience that the spirit is indeed within his (or her) body.

Among the *Amba Weceku* commanded by Manchu shaman candidates, some spirits possess the abilities of "cold" and "hot" manipulation, some can dive, and others can wield weapons such as arrows, halberds, and harpoons. If a shaman claims to command the presiding spirit of a certain row, he (or she) must master all the manifestations of that row of spirits. Among these, the tests for "cold" and "hot" abilities are relatively common. According to the author's investigation, in the Manchu Shi Clan, shamans must demonstrate "running through a fire pool" or "drilling ice eyes" to prove their spiritual powers.

In 1953, during a public recognition ceremony, Shaman Shi Dianfeng performed "drilling ice eyes." The details are as follows: on the surface of the

Songhua River, several members of the Shi Clan chiseled several holes at a certain distance from each other. After Shi Dianfeng invoked the fifth-generation patriarch "Duominga" to possess him, he entered one ice hole, emerged from another adjacent ice hole, and then entered a third one. In total, he went through nine ice holes in sequence. In 2014, during another public recognition ceremony, after Shaman Shi Zongduo invoked the first-generation patriarch "Chongjide" to possess him, he ran through a burning charcoal pool that was 10 metres long and 2 metres wide. Only by passing these tests can a shaman candidate be regarded as having mastered the spirits and become a real shaman.

Shirokogoroff's investigation provided a case of failure. Among the Manchus in the Aihun area, a man claimed to have mastered the spirits. Although clan members opposed him becoming a shaman, he persisted. An experienced shaman decided to test his ability: he asked some people to set a pile of wood on fire. When the wood turned into burning charcoal, the elder shaman rolled up his trouser legs and pulled the candidate into the fire pool. The underlying assumption was that if the candidate had truly mastered the spirits, he would not be burned by the fire; if he refused to enter the fire pool, it would indicate that he had not mastered the spirits. In the end, the candidate abandoned his idea of becoming a shaman (Shirokogoroff [1935] 2025, p. 733).

Mastering the spirits is an important symbol of the identity of a Manchu *Amba Saman*, and this concept runs through the entire process of judging, training, and examining shaman candidates.

The Types and Functions of Guardian Spirits

Once a shaman candidate becomes an *Amba Saman*, he (or she) begins to assume the role of the spirits' master. In the Manchu vernacular, the shaman is called *Saman Ejen*, which means "master," and the relationship between the shaman and the guardian spirits is called *Ejen Be Kicemlembi*, which means "the spirits work for the master." These spirits have different origins and mainly include the following types: (1) ancient male and female shamans (usually regarded as the founders of shamanism) and shaman assistants; (2) groups of female spirits; (3) groups of *Buku*, *Baturu*, and *Manni*; (4) groups of animal-related spirits; (5) spirits borrowed from other ethnic groups; (6) other spirits.

In the process of shamanic practice, the shaman needs the assistance of spirits in different forms of manifestation. For instance, when a shaman guides the soul of the deceased to the underworld, he (or she) will encounter obstacles such as rivers and mountains along the way. Therefore, he (or she) must be possessed by spirits whose manifestations can help cross rivers, traverse mountains, and so on. When a shaman confronts other spirits, he (or she) sometimes needs to take the forms of birds, insects, and various animals to

catch up with the spirits. The following section specifically discusses the different types of spirits.

The first type consists of the spirits of shaman ancestors. Among the aforementioned cases, the shaman ancestor spirits of the Shi Clan are special: the guardian spirit painting depicts the founder of shamanism, namely *Coochai Janggin* (Army Commander Spirit). This is the spirit that governs all the souls of shamans. In the minds of Shi Clan members, the souls of deceased *Amba Saman* will return to *Coochai Janggin* in the Changbai Mountains. A few years later, these souls return to their own clans to select shaman candidates.

According to Shirokogoroff's investigation, *Coochai Janggin* is the first shaman of the Manchus. After his death, he became a spirit. During the Jin Dynasty, a war broke out between the Jurchen ancestors of the Manchus and the Han Chinese. The Han Chinese emperor captured *Coochai Janggin* and ordered his beheading. However, after being beheaded, the shaman did not fall. The Han Chinese emperor then regarded his soul as a divine spirit (Shirokogoroff [1935] 2025, p. 573). Unlike the Shi Clan, the shaman ancestor spirits among the *Amba Weceku* of the other three clans are all "grandmother shamans" and "grandfather shamans." According to the Manchus, these were shamans who commanded spirits.

The second type consists of female spirits. Female spirits are sometimes classified as a special group, forming a unique row of spirits. They are called "woman" (in the Manchu vernacular, *Hehe*, *Gehe*), "girl" (in the Manchu vernacular, *Gege*), or "aunt" (in the Manchu vernacular, *Dede*). These female spirits are generally the souls of female shamans. The shamanic documents of the Wusu Guan Clan mention the functions of some female spirits. For example: *Arhuci Mama*, who cures eight types of diseases; *Suyuli Gehe*, who governs fifty households; and *Dersulan Gege*, who covers the sun's face with a flowered handkerchief.

2

The third type consists of hero spirits. Among the guardian spirits of the *Amba Saman*, this group of spirits is called *Buku* (wrestlers), *Baturu* (hero), or *Manni* (hero), with diverse names. These spirits originate from the souls of shamans or souls similar to those of shamans. They are skilled in using various weapons, such as javelins, spears, swords, and sabers, and serve as the shaman's attendants.

The fourth type consists of animal spirits. It should be emphasized that these spirits originated from the souls of animals. After a shaman commands them, he (or she) can take on the corresponding animal manifestations. When an animal spirit possesses a shaman, the shaman can imitate the animal's sounds and actions but cannot speak. According to Shirokogoroff's

2 Sacrificial Documents of Wusu Clan, 1834, provided by Song Heping.

investigation, when a Manchu shaman is possessed by a carp spirit, he can move under the ice like a fish (Shirokogoroff [1935] 2025, p. 771). In the shamanic documents of the Wusu Guan Clan, the eagle spirit can go to the underworld to retrieve souls.³

Conclusion

A compelling ideal type of Siberian shamanism, defined by the idea of ecstasy experiences to a celestial supreme being, was popularized by Eliade and has been used by countless other authors as a point of comparison for their own regions. In recent years, scholars have begun to recognize the limitations of this perspective. Among cultural anthropologists, there is widespread distrust of general theories about shamanism, which run aground in their efforts to generalize. By contrast, recent ethnographic research has explored the connection of shamanic practices to broader social processes (Atkinson 1992, p. 308). Based on this shift, this paper explores the important constituent element of Manchu shamanism—the shaman's guardian spirits. The paper points out the basic methods for analyzing the guardian spirits.

The first method focuses on analyzing the pattern characteristics of the guardian spirits. Compared with the shaman's guardian spirits of other Tungusic ethnic groups, the Manchus have a unique classification of guardian spirits, which are distributed in different rows. Each row is headed by a principal spirit. Most of the principal spirits are shaman ancestors, while the attendant spirits include hero spirits, female spirits, and animal spirits. The pattern of guardian spirits highlights "seniority" and "hierarchy," with hero spirits occupying the central position among the guardian spirits.

The second method examines the relationship between shamans and guardian spirits. The Manchus regard the shaman as the master of guardian spirits. Mastering spirits is the most important sign of becoming a shaman. Shamans can freely invoke guardian spirits to possess them and must master several spirits with different abilities. The number of guardian spirits is constantly changing. When first assuming the role of a shaman, the new shaman masters at least one guardian spirit. With the help of this spirit, the new shaman gradually masters other spirits.

Thirdly, the function of guardian spirits. Shamans use guardian spirits to symbolize and categorize the psychological imbalances of groups and individuals. The guardian spirits symbolize various types of harmful psychological states that arise when a group or individual adapts to its living environment. These spirits can be commanded by shamans and obey their will. The troubles caused by harmful psychological states can be solved through the

³ Sacrificial Documents of Wusu Clan, 1834, provided by Song Heping.

shaman's mastery of the spirits. Therefore, the shaman is the "safety valve" of the spiritual life of the Manchu clans.

Fourthly, the guardian spirits are a cumulative construction based on a specific social and cultural context. The guardian spirits of Manchu shamanism are not immutable. Although the guardian spirits are a habitual force in Manchu culture, they have also undergone a process of continuous revision, negotiation, and variation in the course of historical evolution. The latest transformation of the guardian spirits of Manchu shamanism was very likely influenced by the Eight Banners system and the slavery system during the Qing dynasty.

In the past, scholars tended to explain the objects of belief in shamanism based on totemism, animal worship, or ancestor worship. To some extent, these viewpoints overlooked indigenous interpretations of shamanism. The guardian spirits pattern of Manchu shamanism proposed in this article aims to emphasize the variation of "animism" in Manchu shamanism and its corresponding local interpretations. Of course, these efforts are still at a preliminary stage, and there are still more issues that need to be explored in depth.

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Documents



Selected Abstracts of PhD Dissertations from China on Religions: 2020–2022

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* This section is dedicated to sharing abstracts of PhD dissertations from China on religions with the academic community.

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Title: A study on the *vīthicitta* and the *bhavaṅgacitta* in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*

Abstract: The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* is an important work of the Theravāda school, written by a Sri Lankan monk named Anuruddha sometime between the 11th and the 12th century. Concepts of mind found in this text are inherited from prior canon and works of literature, such as the *Paṭṭhāna* and Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, yet it is represented in a more systematic way which builds up a clearer stratified map of the mind. As a result, this work has become one of the most influential texts of Theravāda Buddhism and has been the standard primer for abhidhamma studies of the Theravādin. This dissertation focuses on the analysis of the “*vīthicitta*” (process consciousness) and the “*bhavaṅgacitta*” (stream consciousness), the two concepts in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, divided into two parts: its development in the Pāli scriptures and the comparison study with the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra* 大毗婆沙论 of the Sarvāstivāda school, also with the *Vijñāptimātratāsiddhi* 成唯识论 of the Yogācāra school. The comparison has been separated into two frameworks, epistemology and the continuity of mind, to establish the position of the Theravāda Buddhism in the philosophical concept of mind.

The analysis of Pāli literature reveals that although the concepts of the *vīthicitta* and the *bhavaṅgacitta* did not appear in the Nikāya (or the Āgama), they are based on the theory of *paṭiccasamuppāda* (dependent arising), related to the two meanings of *viññāṇa*: *viññāṇa* as cognition and its role in the continuity of *saṃsāric* existence (*viññāṇa* enters into the womb at the time of conception). Theravāda abhidhammika systematized it by developing two meanings of *viññāṇa* into the theories of *vīthicitta* and *bhavaṅgacitta*, and comprehensively elaborate on the relationship between mind and the world. These relationships are emphasized in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* by using *vīthicitta* to clearly explain as to how the mind function in choosing an object to be cognized; while the

concept of bhavaṅgacitta has been used to show that it is the mind that results in the destiny (gati) to which a sentient being belongs.

The explanation in the second part is based on the theories of the vīthicitta and the bhavaṅgacitta, compared to the Sarvāstivādin's realist doctrine of "sarvam asti" (everything exists) and the "vijñaptimātra" (thought only) of the Yogācāra school, to show that although the Theravāda Abhidhamma affirms the existence of rūpa (form), it still believes the outside world to be functioned by the mind, which means that for the Theravādin, the mind is the major cause of existence. The Sarvāstivādin interprets the epistemology by endorsing the existence of the twelve āyatanas at which the six forms of consciousness arise. However, Theravāda Abhidhammika states that the mind in three states: cakkhuviññāṇa (seeing), sampaticchana (receiving) and santīraṇa (investigating), are the result of past action (vipāka) as its kammic status, thus a being's experiences on either good or bad environment are due to their past kamma which is related to their minds. That is to say, the Sarvāstivāda sees the existence of objects as the major cause of perception, while Theravāda sees the mind as the main factor that affects the experienced object of a sentient being. Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda, therefore, have different points of view in elaborating the epistemology theory. While the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda accept the realist of the external world, the Yogācāra school completely denies the existence of it. Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi base its explanation on the theory of ālayavijñāna and the four bhāga (divisions of consciousness), explaining the cognitive process of mind, as well as maintaining that the object of cognition is not an external real world, but the phenomenal world that arises in dependence upon the activities of the mind.

In explaining the continuity of beings in saṃsāra, the Sarvāstivāda is the only school that need not explain the continuity of personality, since its realist doctrine of sarvam asti already gives the view that past, present and future dhamma all exist. This school also accepts the existence of the intermediate-state or antarābhava to illustrate the connection of the five aggregates between the

previous and next birth. The Theravādin and the Yogācārin both believe that only *nāma* could be transferred from the previous life; they cite *bhavaṅgacitta* and *ālayavijñāna* respectively, as the subject to be reborn in the cycle of birth and death, and say that they are the major factor of rebirth. The difference between the two schools is while the Theravāda explains the nature of the *bhavaṅgacitta* as the result of *kamma* that causes the destiny of sentient beings, the Yogācāra further says that the world in which the sentient beings exist is the product of pure ideation.

Through the analysis of the epistemology and the continuity of mind in *saṃsāra* of the three schools, the Theravāda's concepts of mind tend to see the mind as the major cause of existence. The way it explains the cognition and continuity of mind is different from the other two schools which maintain the realist of the external world or completely deny its existence. By using the *vīthicitta* and the *bhavaṅgacitta* theories, the Theravādin interprets the importance of mind than of that the external world, which expresses its special view on the activities of the mind.

Keywords: Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha; Anuruddha; Vithicitta; Bhavangacitta; Buddhist epistemology

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Date: 2020

Title: Power discourse and faith identity on the idea of “superstition” in the view of comparative religious study

Abstract: “Superstition” is a basic concept in the field of religious studies. This term is mainly used to criticize the others’ beliefs in intellectual history. This article does not pre-determined one or several phenomena as superstitions, but explored the idea of superstition included in religious criticism in the way of comparative religious study. This article discovered and describe how the

conception and idea of superstition was shaped, and why specific phenomena were judged to be “superstitious” in different historical period which including Roman-Christian period, late Ming and early Qing periods, enlightenment period, and modern China.

Briefly, Greek philosophers’ critique of Athens’ beliefs essentially based on their metaphysical judgment of “God does not do evil”; Confucianism’s recognition or exclusion of folk sacrifice based on its classic principle of rites. The reason why Confucianism and Christianity criticize each other as “superstitious” rooted in the contradiction between non-monotheistic and monotheistic; and the criticism of religion from science actually only proves the ineffectiveness of miracles in explaining nature, but do not dispel religion itself.

By analyzing the criticism in the relationship between “philosophers and the populace”, “Chinese religion and Western religion” and “science and religion”, this article indicated that the conflict manifested by using “superstition” as the key word is not a conflict between “rational” and “irrational”, but a conflict between different metaphysical foundations or different customs. The word “superstition” actually represents the connotation of faiths that are irreducible and difficult to reconcile between different religions or between different faiths. In these conflicts, the idea of “superstition” has a dual aspect of destruction and construction.

As far as the aspect of destruction is concerned, it represents a kind of discourse power in religious effects, which is mainly reflected in the intellectuals’ critique of others’ faiths in a rational way, making this discourse a source of power that destroys and depreciates popular religions or heterogeneous beliefs because of the intimate relationship between religion and politics. And at the aspect of construction is concerned, the idea of superstition not only shows that the subject of critical behavior declares his belief boundary in a negative way, but also shows the connotation of the criticized person in a derogatory narrative. Therefore, the issue of “superstition” actually expressed faith in the differences between the contradictory parties. And the ultimate formation of idea of superstition does not

depend on reason, but on power. This power is not only embodied as political power, but also as the discourse power of the intellectual elites.

Keywords: Superstition; Yinsi; Religion; Power Discourse; Faith Identity

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Date: 2020

Title: Spatializing popular religion in the Song-Jin-Yuan dynasties in southeast Shanxi: evidence from architectural remains

Abstract: The southeastern region of Shanxi Province, China, is composed of relatively independent geographical units of Changzhi and Jincheng Basins, and its administrative divisions were relatively stable during the Song-Yuan Periods. A large number of ancient buildings in the Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties are preserved in this area, and they are mostly located in temples. These relics have always been valued by the academic community. There are constantly new discussions especially on building structure and technology by architectural historians, and on popular belief by Chinese historians.

This research attempts to understand the ancient architectures from the perspective of the nature of the religions. Combined with material remains and written historical records, we could discuss the related space issues created by the temples, which were built and used by local people, including specific architectures, the lay-outs and the sites of the temples, the networks between the temples, or the sphere of a certain belief or of a certain temple. Meanwhile, these spaces are places where people practice their worship.

The space of architectural remains in the temples relates to its nature, function, the strategy of its development and so on. Thus, this study sorts out the typical cases according to different categories of religions, such as popular local beliefs, state sacrifices, Buddhism and Taoism. The research has found that the Erxian Temple series, which is one of the temple series for local belief, had a

certain hierarchical structure in the Song and the Jin dynasties, and it was consistent with the sphere of belief of a particular temple. The lay-out of Eastern Marchmount (Dongyue) Temples in local villages was similar to the characteristics of the temples of local belief, which reflected the local feedback when the government promoting the state sacrifice nationwide. The Quanzhen Taoism that flourished in the early days of the Mongolian Times embodied the appearance of the Taoist temples that had not yet been fully regulated. In the Zezhou area, the lecture halls of the Buddhist temples were generally expanded during the Jin Dynasty, which reflected the popularity of Zen in this period there. As to the geological sites, it could be seen from the research that the main temple and the branch temples of local beliefs have different features. The former focuses on the answer of praying for rain, thus was always located near the water, and the latter focuses on the worship needs of people, thus usually stood on higher places. Temples with official backgrounds could be constructed inside the city wall, but temples of local belief were difficult to obtain such “honor”. The construction of Buddhist temples in the area has had a long history, and they had been located everywhere, including cities and villages, or in the mountains. The Quanzhen Taoist temples built after the Jin-Mongol war, faced with the fact that there were already temples of other religions, chose to build their temples in the village or close to the village, rather than being away from any settlement.

The sphere of a certain temple or religion and the networks of the temples are the spatial expression of people’s religious behavior. In southeast Shanxi during the Song-Yuan Periods, the specific influential belief in praying for rain could cover an area of 70–100 kilometers. Within the same belief, the different levels of distances of certain temples’ belief spheres were: within 10 kilometers; 10–20 kilometers; above 20 kilometers, and the average distance was basically further than 5 kilometers. Within religious organizations, temples were not isolated ones, they supported each other by establishing a network within a certain area. This kind of network appeared in the form of “main temple” and “branch temple” (“Xing

Ci”) in local belief temples, while in Buddhism and Taoism it mainly appeared in the form of mentorship or “Dharma brothers”. For the people outside the religious organization, their belief was relatively simple, could participate in different types of religious activities at the same time.

Keywords: Southeast Shanxi; the Song-Jin-Yuan dynasties; architecture; temple, religion

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Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2020

Title: Science, religion and modernization: a study of the Catholic apologetic thoughts of Li Wenyu in late Qing China

Abstract: Focusing on Li Wenyu (1840–1911), a famous Jesuit priest in late Qing China, as well as an erudite theologian, philosopher, educator and pioneer of modern newspapers, this dissertation tries to sort out and classify his biography and works, thereby analyzing and discussing his apologetics from three aspects: science, religion and society. Among the 78 works Li wrote or translated, those related to Western Studies met the social need of modern China to learn from the West, and therefore objectively promoted China’s modernization.

Concerning the spread of the Western science, Li’s works present his selective position: on the one hand, he actively introduced the natural science knowledge and technology that he considered to be beneficial to the social life; on the other hand, he criticized the theory of evolution that he suspected to threaten the orthodoxy of the Catholic doctrines. From a free and flexible theological point of view, he adjusted the interpretation of Genesis with reference to stratigraphy, demonstrating that there was no conflict between science and the basic Catholic doctrines. To him, science itself was a creation, a tool created by God for human beings to know the world. As for the theory of evolution, he grasped its theoretical vulnerabilities – the lack of discussion on the origin of the “elementary matter”

and the absence of transitional fossils in the strata. By incorporating the elementary matter into the sequence of creations, he formed his own unique “theory of evolution”.

After encountering each other in modern China, Catholicism and Protestantism were engaged in a variety of competitions and polemics in order to gain more power of discourse and market for mission. These polemics deepened the public suspicions concerning Christianity. The polemic topics mostly focused on the issue of “which is the ‘true religion’”. In the debates, Li paid more attention to the controversial issues that had persisted after the European Protestant Reformation than to the relationship between Catholicism and Protestantism in contemporary China.

Concerning the preaching of the Catholic doctrines, Li inherited the missionary strategies of “restoring Confucianism and replacing Buddhism” from the Jesuits in Ming and Qing dynasties, trying to demonstrate the basic Catholic doctrines with reference to Revealed Theology. As for Chinese traditional Buddhism and Taoism, Li criticized them mainly as folk beliefs without engaging in any doctrinal arguments.

Because of the natural relationship between the missionaries and colonialism, the Chinese populace had been doubting the real purpose of the Catholic missionaries to China. By introducing the Catholic commandments about patriotism and loyalty to the throne, the history of Catholicism in China and the fact that some missionaries had helped to suppress the Taiping Rebellion, Li tried to illustrate that the missionaries were not colonists. According to him, the wars that the European countries had waged against China were by no means due to any Catholic Pope’s intention, but out of the necessity of protecting their native missionaries and merchants, or because of the commands of their national leaders. The frequent missionary cases, in his opinion, were mostly caused by the public ignorance of Catholic doctrines and rituals. Facing the public accusations that some missionaries had interfered with litigation, he still defended them by

claiming that they had intended to protect the Chinese Catholics. Having neglected the facts that some missionaries had actually been involved in aggression or interfered with the administration of justice, these apologetic methods and ideas should not be deemed rational apologetic methods.

Concerning the social thoughts, Li believed that the Catholic thoughts were helpful to the enlightenment of Chinese society. On the basis of Catholicism, he criticized the absurdities of dream-interpretation, physiognomy, geomancy, divination, fortune-telling and glyphomancy in terms of Chinese ancient classics and the words and deeds of saints. He advocated the equality for everyone, freedom of marriage and monogamy; on the other hand, he opposed some Chinese traditional teachings, such as “lack of talent for women is a virtue” and “having no male heir is the gravest of three cardinal offenses against filial piety”. He proposed to establish social charities and improve public infrastructure facilities, such as orphanages, girls’ schools, asylums for the blind, public libraries, etc. These suggestions contributed to the social enlightenment and, to some extent, promoted the development of the modernization of the social thoughts in modern China.

Given Li’s double identities as a Chinese scholar cultivated by the Confucian traditional Private-School education and a Catholic priest with the systematical theological training of Jesuit Education, it is probable that his apologetic method was not only a strategic attachment to the ancient Confucians, as had been applied by the Jesuits in Ming and Qing dynasties, but an organic combination of Confucianism and Catholic doctrines. To a certain extent, his apologetic thoughts promoted the localization of Catholicism in China.

Keywords: Li Wenyu; Apologetics; Science; Religion; Social thoughts

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Date: 2020

Title: A study about construction and narrative of Sanmao Religion

Abstract: The following paper expresses views that Sanmao Zhenjun 三茅真君 is a key topic of discussion, characteristics of both Taoism and Folk Belief are conveyed. The story regarding Sanmao Zhenjun in these two religious systems are extremely contrasting from one another. In order to clarify these reasons, this paper selected a different circulation range, user and instructions of the Sanmao narrative coincided together to discuss the story form of the gods in these concise literatures.

The first chapter is organised within the scholars' previous study results, from which it can be discussed further and used in a variety of ways.

The second chapter explores the narratives appearance of Sanmao's deeds in common literature, which is not limited by time and space. This part of nature within the literature is more complex, in which the difficulty of Taoist's content also added folk tales and legends. Therefore, depending on the user identity of the literature, this study divides them into "Taoism internals" as well as "Common public" talking. "Lord Mao", *Shenxian Zhuan* 神仙传 as the starting point chose to represent content of the dynasties, analyzing changes in their narrative patterns, as well additionally focusing on the analysis of six main operational aspects such as: "Time course" and "Ancestral information".

The third chapter primarily focuses on the most important shrine regarding Sanmao: Mao Shan, in Jurong City, Jiangsu Province. Beginning with classifying the evolution of Sanmao's religious ceremony in modern times, using oral history to record the restoration of Mao Shan's Taoist temple and temple fair. Following this, certain texts were utilized discussing content used by Taoism throughout the ceremony regarding the narrative of *Sanmao Baochan* 三茅宝忏. Observe the "Shanghai" (abbreviation) *Sanmao Baochan* used. "Add titles to ancestors" and "Elevate title for self" to create faith of the god, were generated alongside with the creation of an institution of the god by many of the god's names. These methods

spread the knowledge of Taoism in Mao Shan. In addition, the analysis of the Sanmao narrative focuses certain parts by observing the combination of texts and rituals. The baochan 宝忏 of Taoism and the baojuan 宝卷 belong to the Folk Belief. We find baochan with a stable ritual, with its narrative content relatively simple. In contrast, the ceremony of the baojuan is not fixed, so it needs to use a significantly increased amount of the plot to help raise the sanctity of gods.

Chapter four analyses the version about the fifteen Sanmao Baojuan, balancing between Taoism and Folk Belief. Content of the Sanmao Baojuan was identified to have two crucial systems, consisting of “Name of Mao” and “Name of Jin”, there are three micro-different versions of each complex. After analyzing the form of the narrative, it is evident that the Name of Mao’s volume is from Taoism, and the Name of Jin’s volume is from the Folk.

To conclude the fifth chapter discusses the Sanmao Baojuan in Jingjiang, which is a combination of Folk Belief and local ceremonies. The ceremony with Sanmao as the protagonist displayed to us that there are three Sanmao Baojuan belonging to Jingjiang, their same and different narrative form was once again analyzed. The “Name of Zhao’s book” Sanmao baojuan was used as an example to discuss ritualized narrative content. Although we were unable to see the live context regarding Sanmao Baojuan in Jingjiang, we still attempted to reproduce the context in other telling scriptures.

Throughout this study I attempted to analyze Sanmao’s narrative text to calculate and come to a conclusion on how to develop two religions concerning Sanmao Zhenjun.

Keywords: Sanmao Zhenjun; Folk Belief; Baojuan; Narrative; Form

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Date: 2020

Title: A study of Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao

Abstract: Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao (Summary of Important Ceremonies, Rules and Codices to be Practiced), edited and wrote by Zhu Faman (Zhu Junxu) in 8th century of Mediaeval China. It is also an encyclopaedia of Taoist Scriptures, many Taoist Scriptures of the Six Dynasties' period were well preserved in this book. The editor and writer, Zhu Faman, had the panoramic image view of Taoism in the early period of the Tang dynasty. Many evidences which can promote studies of Taoism in the early period of the Tang dynasty had hid in Zhu Faman's book. This paper is the first paper for the researching topic of Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao, it also clears the way for the analysis and use of the extensive Taoist scriptures in the book.

Chapter One is the basis for all chapters of this paper, this chapter explains the theoretical and practical significance of the topic, and summarizes the research methods and theories. This chapter also have the textual research about editor and writer, Zhu Faman. The sacred geography of Dadi Mountain is the focus of research. At the end of this chapter, the specific questions in the whole topic were created by the review of academic history about Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao.

Chapter Two is the keystone of this paper, This chapter provides enough philology basis for the whole topic. Based on a detailed analysis of the structure of the eight parts of Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao, this paper was separated Zhu Faman's critical text from the main body of the Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao, no longer mixed with the original text of the Taoist Scriptures of the Six Dynasties' period. The two religious dimensions in the Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao, one is the dimension of practicing of Taoist religious system, from Taoist Scriptures transmission in Taoist groups, to the conception of death and funeral practice in Taoist groups; the other one is the dimension of the individual Taoist religious life cycle, from receiving the Taoist Scriptures and Taoist Lu (Taoist Registers) as a religious child, to the completing religious and social death as a high rank Taoist (Just like Guanzhu the administrator of Taoist temple in the early period of the Tang dynasty).

Chapter Three and Chapter Four have great importance for this paper's whole topic, basis on the formation of Taoist Rules and Codices System under the background of "Chinese Monasticism", Centered on Text Study of Taizhen Ke, the related conclusions were came out: Taizhen Ke is of great significance to the initial formation of the Taoist Rules and Codices System. The Rules and Codices that were lacking in the Six Dynasties' Taoism for a long time to regulate the practicing, temple life and temple economy began to be supplemented by Taizhen Ke, and the Taoist Rules and Codices system of Mediaeval China Taoism began to form; one volume edition Taizhen Ke, the basis edition of three volumes edition, which have most possibility created between A.D. 437 and A.D. 627. Basis on three chapters above, Chapter Four was specified "Chinese Monasticism" interacts with the formation of Taoist Rules and Codices System, and drew the conclusion that Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao made an essential role in integration and completion of Taoist Rules and Codices System, this system was perfected and formally formed in the early period of Tang dynasty.

Chapter Five was related to Taoism interacts with the Secular World of Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao in the early period of Tang dynasty. In this issue, the core of Taoism interacts with the Secular World of Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao is Zhai yi (The Taoist priests' ritual practice); the way about specific is maintaining the temple economy; the core rule for regulating the interpersonal relationship between Taoist and Layman (The man from secular world) is preserving the Transcendence of Taoism.

Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao is the milestone during the development process of Taoist Rules and Codices System. It is not only the summary of Taoist tradition of Six Dynasties' period, but also the rectification of Taoist rules and codices in the Tang dynasty which unified and continuous improving period in the Mediaeval China. By this paper, the blank of the academic research of Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao was been filled, and the relevant research on the history of Taoism was been enriched.

Keywords: Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao; System of Taoist Rules and Codices; Taoism Interacts with the Secular World

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Date: 2020

Title: The Journey to the West, Monkey King, folk beliefs, discourse construction

Abstract: This doctoral dissertation takes the Monkey King belief in Fujian as a field case, using literature analysis and fieldwork methods, focusing on the narrative and belief, the interactive propositions of supernatural novels and folk beliefs, to explore how supernatural novels have become a discourse resource for the construction of folk beliefs, and serve for the construction of the narrative of faith, the field of faith, the expansion of faith, and the ancestral land of faith.

This doctoral dissertation first regards the belief of Monkey King in Fujian as a homogeneous whole and studies its historical context of survival, development and stereotypes. Since ancient times, there have been many simian animals in Fujian. The ancient people gradually developed simian worship when they ran calamities and avoided disasters. Before the Ming dynasty, there were still some stories about The Journey to the West in Fujian, and the monkey image in the stories also influenced the evolution of the ape worship in Fujian. The spread and acceptance of The Journey to the West by the Ming dynasty finally contributed to the stereotypes of the belief of Monkey King in Fujian.

The influence of The Journey to the West on the belief of Monkey King in Fujian continues to the present age. Based on contemporary fieldwork, this doctoral dissertation focuses on how the Journey to the West is used to construct the belief of Monkey King in the contemporary context, and analyzes the narrative resources in The Journey to the West transform to the belief of Monkey King narrative system. The specific ways of life experience narrative, efficacious

narrative, temple building narrative, namely, The Journey to the West by intercepting, grafting, derivative, conversion into the local belief narrative discourse. On the spatial level of sacred temples, the original narration of The Journey to the West becomes the image of gods and the symbol of sacred space in the form of “materialization”. In the aspect of ritual behavior, the source narrative is transformed into specific ritual performance activities in a “ritualized” way, and becomes the “script” of ritual performance, endowing ritual with symbolic meaning. In short, after entering into the sacred narration, sacred space and sacred ritual behavior of folk belief, The Journey to the West is transformed into the sacred discourse resources of belief, serving to play the function of belief.

In terms of the application of faith discourse, this doctoral dissertation further discusses the different ways of using faith discourse resources among heterogeneous groups in the belief circle of Monkey King. One is a marginal, weak local monkey god attached to the dominant, powerful belief in the divine. Among them, the Great Sage of Danxia, a monkey in Fuzhou, adopted the ways of “transforming” and “tying the knot” to adhere to the belief of Monkey King. The nine Fairy rock Monkey King, on the other hand, obtained the resources of the heavenly Sage belief by means of “naming”, so as to obtain the living space. The motivation for the weak gods to attach themselves to the strong gods mainly comes from the folk elite group composed of sorcerers, deacons and folk intellectuals. Taking the holy land of Baoshan in Shunchang, and Pingshan in Fuzhou as examples, both of them used the faith discourse resources of The Journey to the West to trace and reconstruct the “tradition” of their holy land. In terms of construction motivation, the folk elite group composed of government officials, folk intellectuals and cultural others in Baoshan of Shunchang, mainly constructed the landscape narration of The Journey to the West and the relationship between the “Double Holy Tomb” and The Journey to the West. The construction motive force of Fuzhou Pingshan mainly comes from the folk elite group spontaneously formed by sorcerers and deacons, among which sorcerers play a leading role in the

narrative construction of holy land. Believers in Fujian province, Taiwan, Southeast Asia and other regions also choose the holy land according to different interests. The game between these two holy lands also presents the difference between rural and urban in the dynamic of discourse resources.

In short, after the classic narrative *The Journey to the West* of animals becoming gods entered the folk faith, it became the discourse resource of the Monkey King through narrative transformation, materialization and ritualization. Discourse construction services such as contemporary construction of beliefs, expansion of beliefs, and games between the holy land of beliefs. Supernatural novels can construct sacred beliefs through grafting and transformation. This case is helpful to advance the study of the interactive relationship between literary narration and folk beliefs.

Keywords: The Journey to the West; Monkey King; Folk beliefs; Discourse construction

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Date: 2020

Title: A study on the legend and belief of the Lin Guniang Goddess in Thailand

Abstract: The objects of study in this thesis are the legend and belief relating to the Lin guniang (Lim Koniao) Goddess in Thailand. The purposes of the thesis are: 1) To collect and compare the different versions of the Lin Guniang legend and analyze its plot structure. On the basis of written sources in both Chinese and Thai, in combination with the information obtained from fieldwork in Pattani, Thailand, the study discusses the origins, evolution, historical and cultural meanings of the Lin Guniang legend, as well as its relation to local legends in China. 2) To conduct field research at the Ling Ci Gong temple (Lin Guniang temple) in Pattani, and three recently emerged temples in the central region of Thailand: the Zi Zhu Lin temple in Nakhonpathom, the Lin Guniang temple of Ratchaburi, and the Lin Guniang

temple of Pattaya. The study first compares the four temples in different aspects, including their background and history, architectural style, structure and layout, management, worshipping methods, rituals and ceremonies, then proceeds to examine the historical and cultural importance of the Lin Guniang belief.

Through comparison of the different versions of the legend, it is found that the plot structure of the Lin Guniang legend can be summarized as: 1) Lin Daoqian (Lim Tokhiam) arrives and settles down in Pattani; 2) Lin Guniang comes to Pattani in search of her brother; 3) Lin Guniang appeals to her brother to return to China, but he refuses; 4) Lin Guniang dies by suicide. The legends are told differently by the Chinese and the Malay Muslims. While the Chinese endeavor to embellish the characters of Lin Guniang and Lin Daoqian, thus elevating them to the status of cultural heroes, the Malay Muslims place more emphasis on the significance of religious faith in both the development of the story and the relationship between the two ethnic groups. The study suggests that it is highly possible that the Lin Guniang legend shares its origin with the “hero and his sister bury treasure” type story from China. The hero and his sister bury treasure type story has as its main character one of the four historical figures from the Ming and Qing periods: Lin Daoqian, Wu Ping, Zheng Chenggong, and Lin Shuangwen. The main plot of this story is: 1) The hero (or the hero and his sister) buries his treasure at a certain location; 2) The sister dies; 3) The sister becomes the object of remembrance or worship of local people. The study argues that the Lin Guniang legend of Thailand and the Lin Daoqian legend of Taiwan were developed through interactions between people from both places, and the Minnan (Hokkien) Chinese in Pattani played a crucial role in the development of the characters and plots of both the Thai and Taiwanese legends.

Relying on data gathered through fieldwork, the thesis discusses the transformation of Lin Guniang from a fictional character to a worshipped deity, and the relationship between the legend and the folk belief. The author then explores the historical and cultural significance of the Lin Guniang belief by

focusing on the four following topics. 1) Relationship between Lin Guniang belief and Minnan-Chaoshan (Teochew) cultures. The author first examines the role of the Minnan Chinese in Pattani in the creation of the Lin Guniang story and belief, then analyzes the influences of the Minnan and Chaoshan cultures on the types of deities worshipped in the Lin Guniang temples and the rituals surrounding the Goddess, such as the annual celebration of Lin Guniang and the birthday of Lin Guniang. 2) Lin Guniang belief and ethnic relations in Thailand. It is found that while the ethnic Chinese have continued to preserve their Chinese cultural identity, they have also actively assimilated into the Thai cultural mainstream and established close ties with the Thai authorities, through the belief and practices related to Lin Guniang. The study argues that the emergence of the new Lin Guniang temples in Thailand is in part a consequence of the South Thailand insurgency that erupted in 2004. 3) Characteristics of newly created deities of ethnic Chinese in Thailand. After comparing Lin Guniang with such deities as Princess Soidokmak, Zheng He, Chaopo Yi Go Hong, Khunpu Sriracha, Chaopo Nu, and Chaopo Ko Chang, the author finds that they share the following characteristics: the new deities are usually regarded as cultural heroes by the ethnic Chinese; the related legends and beliefs originated in the coastal areas of Thailand, and the stories revolve around the relationship between the Chinese and the native people; the new deities are a reflection of the mergence between the Chinese folk religion and the Thai Buddhist culture; the new deities draw influences from other deities which have long existed in Chinese culture. 4) Relationship between Lin Guniang and folk beliefs in Thailand. The study first analyzes the unique position of Lin Guniang in the context of the Thai folk beliefs, then explores the ways in which the newly emerged Lin Guniang temples display many of the same characteristics as the “spirit medium cult”, the distinctive cultural phenomenon in contemporary Thai society. Those similar characteristics are: being centered around the spirit medium; emerging in the urban areas;

creating a sense of belonging and community for the believers; emphasizing the role of females; displaying a tendency towards commercialism.

Keywords: Lin Guniang; Thailand; Legend; Belief

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Date: 2020

Title: Friedrich Max Müller’s idea on mythology and its reception in Victorian Britain

Abstract: “Myth” is a word with rich intention and wide extension, attracting lasting attention of scholars and writers. Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) was a pathbreaker in making the study of mythology a discipline in Victorian Britain. He was also the most well-known mythologist at his time. Müller’s theory of mythology is notoriously labeled as “solar mythology” and “mythology as a disease of language”. This dissertation studies the making of Müller’s idea on mythology, its gist, development, and reception in Victorian Britain, by analyzing Müller’s original works in English and contextualizing his works in the intellectual context in the eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Britain and Germany.

“Comparative Mythology” (1856) presents the rudiment of Müller’s theory of mythology. This book-length essay both follows and transcends Müller’s predecessors in four aspects—its research question, approach, materials, and its intellectual concern—making the study of mythology “the science of mythology”. By combining comparative philology and his first-hand study of Rig-Veda, Müller quests for the origin of Greek mythology and other Indo-European myths in the Early Indo-European civilization and thus illustrates “solar mythology” and “mythology as a disease of language”. Müller also breaks through Christian apologetics’ frame of mind. All these features were epoch-making contributions in Victorian Britain.

Müller deepened and broadened his theory of mythology in his works since the 1860s. He goes further to give an insight into the metaphoric nature of language, highlights the dialectic relation between language and thought, and concerns for degenerations (for example, “disease of language”) in the evolution of language. Moreover, Müller, using his poetical sympathy and rational philosophical thinking, also understands the incomplete inter-relation between the religious sentiment and its expression in language. In Müller’s eyes, ancient people in the Mythopoeic age have genuine religious sentiment evoked by natural phenomena such as the sun, but they can’t fully express this unspeakable sentiment, owing to the limits of their language and their cognition as human beings. Consequently, they have to resort to metaphor featuring personification, which is vivid yet has the germ of generating misunderstandings and (mis)leading to the birth of personified gods and their stories.

The reception of Müller’s idea on mythology among Victorian writers is diverse. George Eliot continually pays attention to Müller’s works. Her novel *Middlemarch* has multi-dimensional dialogues with Müller’s study of mythology. The fictional mythographer Mr. Casaubon is a contrast with Müller in the real life. Meanwhile, they share certain similarities. Will’s image as a “sun god” both echoes Müller’s solar mythology and differs from it. To some extent, Dorothea’s interrelations with nature—such as the dawn and spring—echoes Müller’s solar mythology and dialogues with it: both emphasize nature’s intimation of divine spirit and man’s agency in perceiving nature. *Middlemarch* cares more for man’s sympathetic feelings, words and actions which have sunlike, divine, redemptive power on man, while Müller’s solar mythology concerns more for the interrelation between man and nature.

Müller’s idea on mythology has a multi-dimensional relation with Victorian anthropology. The relation between Andrew Lang’s view on mythology and Müller’s is complex and subtle. Lang shares the similar research question with Müller, questing for the origin(s) of primitive myths. Different from Müller’s

argument that the origin of mythology incorporates the ancients' religious sentiment, Lang emphasizes that savage mind of the primitive is the source of mythology. However, towards the end of the Victorian era, Lang, in line with Müller, also acknowledged primitives' religious sentiments. Although Müller is surpassed by Victorian anthropologists, he cautiously criticizes Lang and other contemporary anthropologists for their speculations on primitive mind and their inadequacy in knowing the native tongues of primitive tribes. Müller' insightful criticism anticipates some of twentieth-century scholars' critical reflections on Victorian anthropology.

Keywords: Max Müller; Victorian Britain; Mythology

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Date: 2020

Title: Construction of modern state power and ethnic and religious society—a case study of Turpan (1884–1949)

Abstract: At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, from the preparatory constitution of the Qing government to the establishment of the Republic of China, China also began the process of building a modern country. In the process of building a large-scale state power and system, they also began to reconstruct grassroots society. In this process, the state power encountered many obstacles and difficulties in the rural society in the mainland, while in the frontier ethnic and religious society, the expansion of state power faced more complex challenges. Studying the reasons why state power had failed to sink effectively in ethnic and religious societies is helpful for us to deepen our understanding of modern China's transition issues.

The research on the interaction between modern state power construction and grassroots social changes has three main perspectives: one is to observe the impact of the sinking of state power on grassroots society from the perspective of

the expansion of state power; the second is to explore the adaptation of the grassroots society, especially the changes in the adaptability of the gentry class to state power; the third is to directly discuss the interaction between the state and society from the relationship between the state and society.

Different from the existing research that focuses on mainland society and the simple “from policy to effect” and “shock-change” models, this paper takes Xinjiang Turpan Uyghur society as a case, and uses the process of modern state power construction as a clue, enlarges the horizon and lengthens the time, and conducts a systematic study on the efforts made by the Central Government and the Xinjiang Provincial Government in the Turpan Uyghur grassroots society, the difficulties encountered, and the responses and changes of the grassroots society in the process of modern state power construction from a comprehensive perspective.

This study shows that from the establishment of the province in Xinjiang to the end of the Republic of China, the Central Government and the Xinjiang Provincial Government had been in constant contact with the grassroots society in Turpan. Different levels of efforts had been made in the fields of reconstructing grassroots political power, rectifying fiscal and taxation, reforming the judiciary, implementing government-run education and national education, and finally made the Turpan Uyghur society present changes different from those before the establishment of the province.

But overall, the above efforts of the Central Government and the Xinjiang Provincial Government failed to effectively achieve the sinking of state power. The reason for this is that, since the establishment of the province, in order to strengthen the direct rule of the Turpan Uyghur society, the state power had established state and county officials on the one hand, which had weakened the political power of the princes of Turpan and other traditional nobles; on the other hand, in order to maintain the political stability of the grassroots society, and in the face of the objective language and religious barriers, the state power had to

rely on the princes and grassroots ethnic religious leaders to rule the local society. However, because the state failed to establish a coherent administrative system, the grassroots society had formed a double power network composed of government officials, ethnic and religious leaders, and between the leaders. Due to the lack of economic and social resources, the state could not properly arrange the economic foundation of local officials and grassroots leaders, nor could it smoothly promote education and judicial construction to train new-type talents, coupled with the state's adaptation and maintenance of grassroots religious power, this dual power network was gradually consolidated without innovation, which hindered the effective sinking of state power during this period.

Keywords: Construction of state power; Turpan; The establishment of the province in Xinjiang; Uyghur society

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Date: 2020

Title: Research on Bernard of Clairvaux, a western European monastic reformer of the 12th Century

Abstract: This dissertation focuses on the research of the famous spiritual master and religious leader of the 12th century, Bernard of Clairvaux, aiming to investigate the relationship between Church and secular world and the development of monasticism and Christian Humanism. In the 12th century, monasticism entered a new phase of development. The existing Benedictine monastery system failed to meet the religious need of the expanding western Europe feudal society. The church, which just had undergone a series of reforms, needed powerful figures to grease its relationship with feudal lords ever expanding their power. Monastic reform therefore became pivotal to furthering the church reform. Bernard of Clairvaux was one of the leading figures in the monastic reform. He tried to regulate the entire Christendom with monastic ideals.

Rebuilding moral standards and order was his instrument with which he tried to advance his concept of ideal Christendom.

Bernard's mystic monastic theology lays emphasis on the initiative of man and perceptual experience. However, he also realizes the importance of reason in human history. Meanwhile he combines personal piety and social practice, stating that the love for God must experience "acting love" to reach the higher level of "contemplative love". Love is no longer limited in the ethic sphere. It can be transformed into a cognitive behavior of practical value. Under the direction of Bernard, Cistercian Order and monastery of Clairvaux demonstrate a unique dualism of retreating from the world and intervening in secular affairs.

With his unique monastic theology of both acting and contemplative love, Bernard established a system of 160 monasteries. Also, he made efforts in dealing with the schism of 1130, defending the papal authority effectively and supporting further church reforms in the 12th century from the monastic perspective. He managed to regulate the behavior of feudal lords with Christian ideologies. The establishment of new religious and social order in these times owed much to his thought and practice. However, from the perspective of modern society, he also contributed much to the suppression of heretics and pagans in the high Middle Ages.

As a monk in the Middle Age, Bernard glows with the light of Christian Humanism unique to the 12th century, embodying historical sense, literature tradition, high moral standard, educational heritage. His thought and action represent a trend in Western culture of combining heavenly perfection and earthly pursuit. To some medieval and modern critics, Bernard of Clairvaux is always a monastic giant and also a powerful dangerous figure.

Keywords: Bernard of Clairvaux; Clairvaux monastery; Cistercian Order; Monasticism; Christian Humanism

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Date: 2020

Title: A study on doors in ancient Egyptian funerary texts and religious rituals

Abstract: The long tradition of ancient Egyptian funerary culture offers a rich collection of funerary literature, which served as guidebooks for the afterlife. These include the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom, the Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom, as well as the Books of the Netherworld. Within these compositions, the door is a significant symbol of the trials and difficulties faced by the deceased individual during the journey to the afterlife. The different treatment and representation of doors in the funerary literature of each period reflect hierarchies and restrictions in afterlife beliefs.

In architectural contexts, doors have the dual functions of imposing separation and granting access. By engraving or painting false doors and images of doors on tomb walls, stelae, and coffins, the significance of architectural doors was mobilized in an afterlife context, supplying passage for the deceased between this world and the beyond. The funerary literature indicates that several doors were encountered during the journey to the afterlife. Of obscure significance, these include “the sky’s door”, “the cool waters’ door”, and “the horizon’s door”. Various rituals related to doors are also attested in tomb, temple, and domestic contexts.

The development of the imagery of doors between the Old and New Kingdoms is complex. On the one hand, there were differences between the king and non-royal people with regard to “entering the door”, reflecting the position of kingship in afterlife beliefs as well as the gradual secularization or “democratization” of these beliefs. On the other hand, rituals related to doors in tombs, houses, and temples developed simultaneously at both official and private levels.

During the Old Kingdom, the king monopolized access to the door to the afterlife, and acted as an intermediary between humans and gods. The political fragmentation of the First and Second Intermediate Periods, as well as

Akhenaten's religious reforms, loosened these hierarchical restrictions. This process of the "democratization of the afterlife" culminated in the New Kingdom. Meanwhile, collections of cosmological knowledge dedicated to pharaohs, such as the Book of Gates, were inscribed in the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. These 'Books of the Netherworld' demonstrate the pharaohs' efforts to reconstruct the religious and political order, and reveal social stratification in afterlife beliefs. This stratification between pharaohs and non-royal people in the New Kingdom did not conflict with the trend of the secularization of afterlife beliefs. Their co-existence reflects the complexity of the development of theocracy in ancient Egypt.

The ancient Egyptian tradition of funerary culture is closely related to social cohesion and the rise and fall of kingship. Surrounding this tradition are the parallel systems of text, image, and ritual, which shared a common set of symbols and shaped daily life through political culture, temple economy, and funerary industry. Studying this symbolic system and its development can provide insight into the ancient Egyptians' spiritual and material life. Through an investigation of doors, this thesis aims to open new doors for the interpretation of ancient Egyptian funerary culture and afterlife beliefs.

Keywords: Ancient Egypt; Doors; Funerary Literature; Rituals

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Date: 2020

Title: The evolution of Chinese Islamic thought and education system

Abstract: Since the introduction of Islam to China, it has been continuously adapted to the Chinese society on the basis of keeping the core of the Islamic faith and the basic doctrines and rules unchanged. Islam, which from the beginning was a foreign religion with Muslims from abroad as its main body, has gradually become a localized religion with the Hui nationality born in China as the main body.

Little by little, Chinese Islam has formed its own thought and educational system with Chinese characteristics.

The emergence of the Chinese Islamic education system in mosques started in the period of the Ming and Qing dynasties, which was also the infancy period of the Chinese Islamic thought. For fear of the situation about the shortage of Muslims' knowledge and the lack of Islamic scholars at that time, Hu Dengzhou had established education in mosques which took Chinese old-style private schools as examples. After the development of Islam during Ming and Qing dynasties, a complete set of the education system in mosques had been formed, and this education system prepared the soil for the formation of the system of Chinese Islamic thought. On the basis of the education in mosques, the activities of merging Islam with Confucianism developed vigorously, as is represented by Wang Daiyu, Liu Zhi, Ma Zhu, Ma Dexin and etc. In the nearly-three-hundred-year period, Chinese Islamic scholars had explored and practiced various ways to integrate Islam into the Chinese society, like recognizing and interpreting Islam by Chinese language, Chinese cognition and Chinese thinking mode. Due to that, they had translated the original Islamic doctrines and Fiqh into Chinese language. Also, in accordance with the situation of the Chinese society, they had complied and explained the Islamic scriptures selectively. Among which the most typical were Muslim scholars whose expertise were in 'four different religions'. They explained the theories of Islam using concepts of Chinese traditional cultures, and interpreted the theories and concepts of Chinese traditional cultures in conformity with similar theories and concepts of Islamic cultures. From the perspective of the confluence of Islam and Confucianism, the system of Islamic thought with Chinese characteristics had been formed preliminarily in the aspects of Kalam, social norms, ethics and morality, and so on.

From late Qing dynasty to early Republic of China, the Chinese nation had faced severe challenges from home and abroad. At the moment of saving and safeguarding the country, Muslims of Hui nationality awakened their patriotic

consciousness just as other Chinese nationalities did. They proposed to set up modern education, founded various newspapers and magazines, and established the “HUIMIN” primary and secondary schools. Some clergies and secular elites began to write books, and interpreted the thought of Islamic doctrines according to the social situation at that time. They proposed some concepts and thoughts, such as “Patriotism is a part of the faith”. They also gave “Jihad” and “Watan” new explanations which were not only quoted from the Qur’an and Hadith, but also met the requirements of the times. The spirit of loving the country and religion, with which the Chinese Muslims’ hearts were tied to the fate of the country when they strived to make the country strong, had become the main characteristics of the Chinese Islamic thought in that period.

In modern times, Chinese Muslims devote themselves to the construction of the socialism. Meanwhile, in order to achieve social development, they interpret relative problems according to the needs of the new era as well as by the Qur’an and Hadith. Taking the socialist core values as the guide and leading Islam to be adapted to the socialist society are the main characteristics of the modern Islamic thought.

Taking the development of the Chinese Islamic thought and the education in mosques as the focus point, this article has made a historical retrospect on the interaction and development of the Chinese society and Islam after the latter’s introduction to China. It also provides an analysis on the studies of the confluence between Islamic thought and Chinese traditional culture, and thus it has explored and studied on the ongoing and ever-changing process of Islam in Chinese society. It can be said that the changes of the Islamic thought and education in different times reflected the characteristics of the Chinese society at each time respectively, and this process of historical evolution also embodied the localizing adaption of Chinese Islam. Today, based on the demands of the development in the new era, guided by the socialist core values, and taking the mainstream values of Islam as the core, we need to construct the modern Chinese Islamic thought system which

not only meets the requirements of Chinese society development but also conforms to the real development situation of Islam in China and absorbs the Chinese cultural connotations into Islam, and to improve the Chinese Islamic education system perfectly. These are the tasks of the healthy development of Chinese Islam in our time.

Keywords: Chinese Islamic; Islamic thought; Education system

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Date: 2020

Title: The interaction and integration between Christianity and Miao Culture—A Case Study of Hei Miao in the Bala River of Southeastern Guizhou and Hua Miao in the Wumeng Mountain of Northwestern Guizhou

Abstract: Since Protestant Christianity was introduced into China in the early 19th century, it has continuously interacted with Chinese society and culture, eventually achieving different forms of co-existence and interaction. What does the interaction between Christianity and Chinese culture look like today, two centuries after Robert Morrison? How can we assess the relationship between the “alien” religious culture and Chinese native cultures? Considering the general historical backdrop of increased communication between East and West over the past 200 years, there are many reasons to examine the past and present interactions between Christianity and Chinese local cultures more closely; overall, this study is part of ongoing research into the Sinicization of Christianity.

Early on, the Protestant missionary endeavor was generally concentrated in the towns and cities, mainly targeting Han Chinese. At this stage, the missionaries had made few converts. In order to achieve the aim of missionary work, and turn the adverse tide of their initial in their favor, the missionaries adopted a strategy of indigenization aimed at adapting Christianity to local societies. The strategy of “cultivating the Miao region” adopted by the China Inland Mission in southwestern

China constituted such a practice of local Christian indigenization. The present study discusses the status Christianity has attained among two particular people groups in southwestern China, focusing on the past and present interaction between Christianity and these minority cultures and its impact on local cultural development. This is the theme of my doctoral thesis.

The two communities selected as case studies for this research are the Black Miao (Hei Miao) in southeastern Guizhou and the Flower Miao (Hua Miao) in northwestern Guizhou. Although these two communities belong to one “nationality”, they are separated by a vast distance, and differ from each other in terms of their natural environments and socio-economic conditions. The Black Miao in southeastern Guizhou were ruled and oppressed by the Han bureaucracy. This community lives by the central waterways of Guizhou. They have access to convenient transportation, a superior living environment, rich natural resources, good economic conditions and enjoyed early trade relationships with the Han. The original culture of the Black Miao was passed down from generation to generation and survived in a self-sustaining way. The region inhabited by the Flower Miao in northwestern Guizhou is filled with natural dangers and ill-suited to human settlement. In addition, the Flower Miao were politically subjected to the Han feudal ruler as well as to Tusi, the noble of the local Yi people, while being economically exploited by the Tusi. As the culture of the Flower Miao remained stagnant and their ancient culture withered away, which caused by the reality of their suffering, the Flower Miao were unable to uphold their community spirit when they faced with reality of suffering. These differences in environment and socio-economic standing resulted in different reactions of the two communities when faced with the introduction of Christianity. The former had rejected Christianity for a long time, even reverting to violent conflict. The latter launched a large scale of converting movement. To explain this kind of interaction phenomenon and its complicated condition in the real life, we can use three different theories in this area: Impact-Response Theory, Deprivation Theory and

Religious Market Theory. Impact-Response Theory is certain kind of description to the form of interaction of the initial encountering among cultures, it explains a passive response of weak culture to strong culture. Deprivation Theory focuses on the real root of religious actions and religion choices. Religious Market Theory focuses on the rational choice to religion which is based on the assumption of 'Economic Man'. We found these theories above are effective when they are used to explain the different reaction of two communities in the same nationality to the same religion, but it is not enough to describe the real condition of the culture interaction and integration. Therefore, it become a main problem to solve in this thesis. Only through a detailed analysis on the history of Christianity introduction into the two communities and through an investigation on its real condition, can we confirm the interpretative effectiveness and shortages of those theories. Then we can find a new theory to explain the culture interaction between Christianity and Miao community nowadays. By combing the historical materials, analyzing the introduction history, and investigating the reality, this thesis attempts to make a response to these theories and explore a new one.

As a lifestyle and system of belief, Christianity has not only changed the beliefs of the Miao, but also affected their living conditions. Christianity has exerted significant influence on Miao Christians, changing their ways of life, rituals, customs and habits. At the same time, Christianity also adapted itself to the local culture (for example, by appropriating or "reforming" some of the original folk customs and selectively adopting certain aspects of the culture), so as to address the inevitable tensions with regard to native traditions and culture, and Christian got the real rationality in the Miao regions.

In recent decades, the Black Miao in southeastern Guizhou and the Flower Miao in northwestern Guizhou have also been affected by urbanization and the commodity economy. With changing means of livelihood, the spiritual lives and belief systems of the Miao have been subject to major transitions. Miao Christians have to face the new challenge of reconciling their Christian and ethnic identities.

By making relevant adjustments, they have come to accept their dual identities as Miao Christians.

From the perspective of interaction and cultural fusion, this thesis synthesizes methods of religious historiography, religious sociology, and religious anthropology to investigate the Christian development in the two ethnic communities of Guizhou, using the research approaches of literature research and field research. The study explores the lives and beliefs of the two ethnic communities by observing the present situation and past changes to their beliefs, as well as discussing the challenges and difficulties that Miao Christians are currently facing, their efforts to solve these problems and its result.

The thesis is divided into seven parts, including an introduction and six main chapters. The introductory part introduces the significance of the subject, the research content, secondary literature in Chinese and other languages, as well as the research methods. The first chapter, entitled “Gui fang and the Miao area,” it discusses the natural environment and cultural habitat of the Miao in order to explain the cultural customs and beliefs when Christianity was introduced into the Miao communities. By investigating the situation economic, political, cultural and spiritual milieus of the two communities, it explores the root causes of their differing reactions to Christianity.

The second chapter, entitled “Christian Cultivation of the Miao Region,” It summarizes the basic historical facts relating to the introduction of Christianity into Guizhou and the strategy of “Cultivating the Miao Region,” adopted by the missionaries in the ethnic minority regions of Guizhou. It discusses the reaction of different ethnic communities in Guizhou to Christianity. Moreover, it examines the successes of the missionary endeavor and what led to these.

The third chapter is entitled “The Mission and development of Christianity among the Black Miao in southeastern Guizhou”. It recounts the mission strategy of the China Inland Mission in southeastern Guizhou. This thesis provides detailed historical account of Christian missionary activity among the Black Miao in

southeastern Guizhou. From the perspective of ecclesiology, this thesis draws the conclusion that the missionary endeavor failed in the Black Miao without marked effect. In this chapter I claim that although the actual number of Black Miao Christians remains rather small, Christianity has still been an influential belief for them, deeply impacting their living world and spirit area. With the background of a new environment caused by modern commodity economy today, the thesis further discusses the changing of lifestyle and beliefs that the Black Miao are facing with the acceleration of urbanization.

The fourth chapter is entitled “The Missionary Effort and Development of Christianity Among the Flower Miao in northwestern Guizhou.” It is based on the foreign missionary archives, missionary diaries and related literature, as well as local chronicles. It systematically investigates the mission history of Christianity among the Flower Miao in northwestern Guizhou. Through the investigation of the missionary histories of two missionary societies working among the Flower Miao in northwestern Guizhou, it analyzes the effectiveness and causes of their missionary work, and examines how Christianity has affected the local culture of the Flower Miao based on daily customs and rituals such as courtship, marriage and funerals. How the commercial economy has affected Christian beliefs among the Flower Miao is also discussed here.

The fifth chapter, “Mutual Accommodation and Symbiosis” analyzes the secularization and contextualization of Christianity among Miao, vividly describing the interaction between Miao culture and Christianity, and further analyzes the indigenization of Christianity among Miao. It shows how Christianity has become a kind of ‘local knowledge’ and achieved mutual accommodation and symbiosis in Miao people’s concrete lives. It compares the Miao culture with the Christian culture, Miao Christians with Miao non-Christians on equal terms, showing the role of Miao Christians in the progress of Christian indigenization. It discusses the tensions of integration between ethnic identity and Christian

identity, as well as highlights the efforts that Miao Christians have made in terms of constructing their dual identities.

The sixth chapter is entitled “Conclusion and Discussion.” It recalls the three theories—Impact-Response theory, the Deprivation theory, and the Religious Market theory—and analyzes their effectiveness and limitations in turn, further confirming the persuasiveness of the theory of “mutual accommodation and symbiosis” in trying to understand and interpret the cultural phenomenon of the Miao Christian communities of Guizhou.

Keywords: Christianity; Black Miao in southeastern Guizhou; Flower Miao in northwestern Guizhou; Culture integration; Mutual accommodation and symbiosis

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Date: 2020

Title: Research on the Tang Buddhist palace chapels

Abstract: This dissertation, which is based on the textual research of the Tang Buddhist palace chapels in the western capital called Chang’an and the eastern capital called Luoyang, expounds the definition, historical evolution, and religiopolitical functions of the palace chapels, does research on the palace chapels and the saṃgha of the palace chapels formed under the influence of royal Buddhist beliefs in different periods of the Tang dynasty, conducts some special researches on the special Buddhist system formed and miraculous monks lived in the palace chapels, in order to comprehensively investigate the historical status and religiopolitical values of the palace chapels from a variety of perspectives, and conduct detailed academic discussions on its impact at that time and later generations.

This dissertation is divided into six parts:

The introduction part mainly elaborates the reasons for selecting the topic, the research significances, the relevant research literature reviews, the research methods, the chapter structures and the basic contents. In addition to using common historical materials, official edicts and articles of conferring titles of nobility, the materials of Buddhist history and monk biography, the author also pays attention to collecting and using unearthed materials of inscriptions, collections of poems and essays in the Tang dynasty and fictions(etc.), in order to construct the palace chapels which are closest to the historical truth and the vivid images of the saṃgha of the palace chapels as much as possible.

The first chapter “The Definition and Origin of the Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels”, defines the Tang Buddhist palace chapels as the Buddhist activities with political purposes and religious nature held in the royal palaces of the Tang dynasty (that is, “nei-zhong-seng-shi”), or it is officially recognized as a ceremonial place within the palace or a Buddhist temple and a nunnery which are separately established (that is, “nei-si”). Regarding the question about the origin of the Tang Buddhist palace chapels, it first denies the statement about the origin of the belief of Huang-Lao in the Han court and does textual research on the statement about the origin of the palace chapels of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317–420), the Northern Wei Dynasty (386–534), the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581), Emperor Liang Wu (464–549) and Emperor Sui Wen (541–604). Combined with the three elements of the establishment of the palace chapels that the author believes-specific areas, the saṃgha of the palace chapels and the system, Emperor Liang Wu’s ChongYun chapel can be regarded as a relatively complete palace chapel.

The second chapter “Textual Research on the Functions of the Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels”, divides the functions of the Tang Buddhist palace chapels into six aspects: translation of scriptures, Buddhist rituals(including the worship of Buddha’s bone relics), placement of Buddhist nuns of the palace chapels, discussion and “the ten bhadanta-monks”, sorts out the existing historical literatures, and does textual research separately on the palace chapels installed

during the reign of the emperors of the Tang dynasty and their specific functions. It should be emphasized that the Tang Buddhist palace chapels play multiple complex religious and political roles. They are set in response to the Tang emperor's own political purposes and religious needs in each period. Their different locations and different functions are their distinctive features, because they are always exclusive institutions serving the royal family.

In the third chapter “The Ten bhadanta-monks and the Palace Chapels”, the author first does textual research on “the ten bhadanta-monks” of Gaozu in the early Tang dynasty and “the ten bhadanta-monks” in the outer chapels, and then focuses the research on “the ten bhadanta-monks” of Empress Wu's Da-Biankongsi chapel and “the ten bhadanta-monks” of Zhongzong's Linguang chapel. It is believed that the system of “the ten bhadanta-monks” is a special product because it originates from the Tang Emperors' use and restriction on Buddhism. It is impossible to obtain fixed positions in the national religious management system, and it can only choose to be set up or abolished according to the needs of the emperors.

The fourth chapter “Tang Miraculous Monk Called Wanhui and the Palace Chapels”, mainly does textual research on Wanhui's family background, religious and political roles and religious relations, constructs Wanhui's image as a miraculous monk, and does research on the internal reasons about the formation of the belief of Wanhui as a miraculous monk from the palace chapels to populace, with a view to explaining as clearly as possible the connotation of the inseparable political and religious relationship between the Tang miraculous monks and the palace chapels.

The conclusion part points out that, in the final analysis, the Tang Buddhist palace chapels are exclusive institutions and sacred spaces which are placed in the imperial palace to serve for the religious and political needs of the royal family. The close relationship between the saṃgha of the palace chapels and the emperors has a profound influence on the political trend and historical development of the

Tang dynasty. The Tang Buddhist palace chapels are a form of tentative practice formed by the relationship between managing religion through politics and serving politics through religion in the process of the sinicization of Buddhism.

Keywords: Palace chapels; Ten bhadanta-monks; Miraculous monks; Belief of Buddha's bone relics; Buddhist nuns of the palace chapels

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Date: 2020

Title: The Kharakhoto Bodhicittotpādasamādānavidhi collection and its origins

Abstract: Due to its special geographical location and political history, the Tangut Buddhism, which prevailed in the territory of Tangut, was also deeply influenced by the Sino and Tibetan Buddhism, showing the characteristics of both Sino and Tibetan Buddhism. Huayan thought, especially the Liao Huayan Sect has profound influence on Tangut Buddhism. A set of Tangut bodhicittotpāda rituals excavated in Heishui City. The fundamental work is the Tangut translation of the Bodhicittotpādasamādānavidhi and its commentaries. It also includes some recitations. These texts have printed and transcripts, which are numerous and form a text group with slightly different contents. It is conceivable that the bodhicittotpāda spread wildly in Tangut, which is also very unique in the Tangut Buddhist. At present, the research on this series of bodhicittotpāda texts is still in its infancy.

I do my research on this set of Tangut text bodhicittotpāda rituals and find that the bodhicittotpāda is closely related to “Puxian Xingyuan / Seven Branches”, that is, these texts belong to the system of Huayan thought. In the religious practice, bodhicittotpāda maybe also use the rituals of Tibetan Buddhism. The ritual of bodhicittotpāda is actually a link between the Bodhicitta precepts and esoteric

teachings, and the bodhicittotpāda is a necessary prerequisite for pedestrians to engage in any dharma practice.

Bodhicittotpāda is an important concept of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and as Mahāyāna Buddhism tends to tantricism, this concept has become more and more important, and its special rituals became the first widespread popularization in the Liao Dynasty where tantricism flourished. One of the reasons for the widespread popularity of Tangut rituals of bodhicittotpāda should be that its thoughts are related to the emphasis on Puxian in Huayan religion. In addition, according to my analysis, the introduction of this series of texts into Tangut may also be related to the Kadam and Ningma factions. This article will also briefly discuss the possible relationship between the “awakening of faith” and the bodhicittotpāda in the Tiansheng Law Code in the Tangut Reign.

Keywords: Bodhicittotpādasamādānavidhi; Puxian Xingyuan; Tangut; Sino-Tibetan buddhism

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Date: 2020

Title: On the new mythology theory of the early German romanticism: focusing on Friedrich von Schlegel's study

Abstract: “We must have a new mythology, but this mythology must be in service of the ideas. it must be a mythology of reason.” These words come from the Oldest Systematic Programme of German Idealism. Although the author of this paper, whether is Hegel or Hölderlin or Shelling or anyone else, has always been speculated and questioned by scholars, there is no doubt that this article embodies the most central ideas of the Early German Romanticism. the slogan “New Mythology” has also become the symbolic theoretical conception of the Early German Romanticism.

Friedrich von Schlegel is the core figure and theoretical founder of the Early German Romanticism. He had been pursuing the ideal of “New Mythology” during his lifetime. This study focuses on Schlegel’s texts to explain the “New Mythology” in various dimensions, including classics, poetics, philosophy, socio-politics and oriental studies. This study finally unveils the theoretical blueprint of the “New Mythology” as a “Poetic Utopia” that Schlegel strives to build in the modern context of Enlightenment.

This paper is divided into eight parts:

The introduction part mainly introduces the background and theoretical characteristics of the early German romanticists who put forward the slogan “New Mythology”. It also offers a general overview of relevant international and domestic studies as well as the organization of this paper. In my opinion, there is no doubt that Schlegel’s poetics and the early German romantics’ poetics in general are mostly influenced by Plato’s aesthetics and poetics. His thought and exploration of love and beauty in “The Symposium” deeply influenced the Early German Romanticism. This paper also presents a “Symposium” of the new mythology theory of the Early German Romanticism.

The first chapter first clarifies a view that the Early German Romanticism is not anti-enlightening, but a part of the enlightenment spirit. It is the aesthetic enlightenment, a re-enlightening of rational enlightenment. Its purpose is to truly realize the individual spirit of independence, integrity and freedom. This chapter mainly analyzes two texts (The Oldest Systematic Programme of German Idealism and Schlegel’s Essay on the Concept of Republicanism occasioned by the Kantian tract ‘Perpetual Peace’) in order to show the social, cultural and political ideals of the new mythology theory of the Early German Romanticism.

Focusing on Schlegel’s classical study, the second chapter analyzes his theory of the ancient Greek mythology, comedy, poem, etc., with a view to explore the ancient Greek thoughts as the sources and spiritual homeland for the Early German Romanticism’s new mythology conception.

The third chapter discusses Schlegel's philosophical view of Early German Romanticism from the perspective of feminism. In his discussion of Diotima, an important figure whose idea was referenced in Plato's *The Symposium*, Schlegel examined the knowledge and social status of ancient Greek women to show his progressive view of valuing women's freedom of thought and liberation of behavior. In a sense, the Early German Romanticism represented by Friedrich Schlegel can be regarded as the forerunner of feminist philosophy. It is well known that women in the early German romantic circles such as Karolina, Dorothea, Norvalis' girlfriend Sophia, and even Mrs. Stael who had a close relationship with the early German romanticists, were crucial to the formation and creation of romanticism. In his *On Philosophy: To Dorothea*, Schlegel re-interprets the oldest concept of "Philosophy" as "love wisdom", which means the unity of the myth of love and the supreme wisdom of life that the early German romantic philosophy tried to re-embrace. This chapter focuses on exploring Schlegel's view of women.

The fourth chapter is a multi-level and multi-dimensional interpretation of the definition of "poetry" by Schlegel and the Early German Romanticism. In the view of the early German romantics, "poetry" is a metaphorical expression: all the literary genres pointing to the highest spirit behind them can be called poetry. Therefore, not only "poetry" is Poetry, fragment is also Poetry. Poetic theory is also Poetry, as long as they conform to the creative and spiritual nature of "Poetry". "Poetry" can of course be divided into different types due to its different emphasis on means and operation methods, such as character poetry, transcendental poetry, teaching metaphor poetry, etc. The historic, philosophical and poetic (divine) theory is also "Poetry".

The fifth chapter further explores the connotation of "Poetic", the core concept of the Early German Romanticism's poetic theory. "Poetic" is also the most intrinsic spirit of the new mythology. If "poetic" refers to the soul of individual and human nature as well as the spirit of creating works of art, then "New Mythology" is more concerned with the external attributes of social politics, religious culture,

aesthetic education and so on. Furthermore, this chapter also discusses the “poetic” people—the characteristics that Schlegel considers to be true geniuses and poets.

Chapter six discusses the characteristics of the theme of this paper, “New Mythology”, as well as novel, which is regarded by Schlegel as the most typical new myth genre in modern literature and art. Furthermore, it also explores the requirement of the New Mythology: people need to receive cultural upbringing. Cultural upbringing (*Bildung*) can be treated as a core idea of Early German Romanticism, which can be seen from their extensive discussion and enormous praises of the growth novels (*bildungsroman*) in the Enlightenment era. Only if people receive cultural upbringing through education can they really have complete human nature and noble spirit. Only then is it possible for the world of new mythology to come.

Chapter seven describes in detail Schlegel’s late research focus: Oriental Studies. This chapter mainly introduces Schlegel’s Oriental thoughts in a comprehensive way by focusing on his Chinese cultural studies and comparing them to his Indian cultural studies. The reason that Schlegel devoted to studying Oriental thoughts in the later period was that he expanded the New Mythology theory and traced the origin of mythological theory from ancient Greece to the older oriental civilization. In this way, the New Mythology theory of Early German Romanticism has become a bridge across the wisdom of eastern and Western cultures. This chapter offers the most original contribution of this study.

The appendix includes my translation of “The Oldest Systematic Programme of German Idealism” and the “Essay on the Concept of Republicanism occasioned by the Kantian tract ‘Perpetual Peace’” for readers’ reference.

Keywords: New Mythology; Poetic; Enlightenment; Love; Orientalism

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Date: 2020

Title: The development of socialism religion theory with Chinese characteristics

Abstract: The socialism religion theory with Chinese characteristics, is the latest achievements of the chinization of Marxist View of Religion. As an important component of the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the theory is a guide for us to understand the nature of religion, deal with religious issues and do religious work well. It is a theory that we must insist for a long time, and the development of this theory has experienced four stages: creation, framework, enrichment and latest achievements.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the second generation of the party's central collective leadership with comrade Deng Xiaoping at its core, had formed a theory that including the nature and developmental law of religion, as well as the five basic characteristics of Chinese religion; including freedom of religions belief and legal restriction of religions behavior; including the united front of the party and the religions circles. These contents constitute the party's basic views and policies on religious issues in the new period, which have become the theoretical pioneering stage of the religious theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Since the Forth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the third generation of the party's central collective leadership with comrade Jiang Zemin at its core, had formed a theory that including some scientific judgments on the basic characteristics of Chinese religious, that is to say, Chinese religious issues are long-term, mass and complex issues; including a systematic summary of the basic principles of the party's religious work; including specific requirements for strengthening the party's centralized and unified leadership over religious work, that is to say, we must attach great importance to religious issues, resist the infiltration of religion by foreign forces, and focus on strengthening the party's leadership over religious work. These contents constitute the party's "three natures" and basic principles of religious work in the

new stage, which have laid a basic framework for the religious theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Since the 16th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the CPC Central Committee with comrade Hu Jintao as its general secretary, had formed a theory that including the basic guide of building a harmonious socialist religious relations, the main approach of giving full play to the positive role of religion, the important guarantee of administration of religious affairs in accordance with the law, the fundamental guarantee of resisting foreign infiltration forces and strengthening the party's leadership of religious work. All policies and practices has established strategic objectives, adhered to positive guidance, resolutely stopped illegal and firmly defended the position. These contents constitute the party's theory on constructing harmonious social religious relations in the new century, which is the enrichment and development of the religious theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Since the 18th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the CPC Central Committee with comrade Xi Jinping at its core, had formed a theory that including basic views about systematical interpretation of religions attributes, accurate analysis of religions issues, top-level designs of religions work, scientific summaries of historical experiences; including basic strategies about maintaining a guiding attitude, a chinization direction, a legal approach and a harmonious target; including strategic deployment over traditional and non-traditional religions issues; including systems and mechanisms about strengthening and improving the leadership of the party. These contents constitute the religious theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, which has become the latest achievements of the religious theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Each leadership group has its own innovation and development in religious theory. It is necessary to extract the core content of each period, so as to show the relationship between its inheritance and development, and present its historical

logic of continuity. This “combination” of theory and practice not only profoundly expresses the fundamental connotation of Marxist theoretical logic, but also highlights the internal unity of historical logic and theoretical logic of the religious theory.

Keywords: Socialism religion theory with Chinese characteristics; Development; Chinization of Marxist view of religion

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Date: 2020

Title: *Kingship, church and Christian political community: a study of Richard Hooker's Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*

Abstract: Richard Hooker is a theologian and political thinker in England in the 16th century, and the theoretical founder of the Church of England. In the 16th century, the Tudor Dynasty of England carried out a unique religious reform and founded Anglican Church, which made the Church of England independent from the control of the Vatican. However, at the same time, the forces of Puritanism in England are gradually increasing. They oppose the institutional arrangement of the state religion and demand more radical reform measures. In this historical background, Hooker systematically expounds his political thoughts through the book *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, and defends the church system of England. This dissertation will study Hooker's political thoughts in the context of the British political and religious crisis, analyze Hooker's criticism on the Puritan movement and even the European Reformation tradition, and focus on the idea of Hooker's restoration of the Christian civilization order, as well as the enlightenment of Hooker's political and religious thoughts for the modern world.

Keywords: Richard Hooker; Anglicanism; Reformation; Kingship

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Date: 2020

Title: Between God and the Man: a historical study of Erasmus' Humanism

Abstract: Desiderius Erasmus is an important figure in the history of Western thought. During the transition period from the Middle Ages to modern times, his humanistic thought had a huge impact on the Christian society. However, Erasmus is also a controversial thinker, and his evaluation in the academic world has been mixed for nearly a century. Generally speaking, Erasmus' educational thought has been generally praised by the Western academic circles. To a certain extent, he can be regarded as the founder of modern classical disciplines. His theological and socio-political thoughts have been interpreted by scholars; it is often barren and complicated. In the eyes of assertive modernity scholars, Erasmus is often regarded as a conservative, which is sympathetic to Catholicism, while in the eyes of contemporary medieval historians, church historians, and theologians, Erasmus is instead defined as a radical Reformation leader. In addition, there are many scholars who only regard it as a mere writer, poet or linguist. The reason for this is because the academic community recognizes that Erasmus lacks systematic thinking on socio-political issues, and they are more inclined to study the achievements of Erasmus in a certain area and a certain field and refused to make a overall approach. However, the early authors of his biography provided some inspiration for this research. Whether Huizinga, Zweig or Bainton would not deny the life element of Erasmus's humanistic thought and the eclecticism of his intellectual stance; But what does life mean to Erasmus, and how does the idea of eclecticism permeate the inner texture of his thought, They did not provide a clear and persuasive answer.

However, through some basic research and analysis work in this study, the author believes that the basic path of Erasmus's humanistic thought is to gradually seek a certain Christian lifestyle. This lifestyle is based on the moral training system *Bonae literae et Sacrae literae* in his educational thoughts, which is represented as rhetorical theology in methodology, and is called *philosophia Christi* in the field of special metaphysics and moral philosophy. In fact, they will

implement the religious reforms of Erasmus in the socio-political field. In general, both the ruling class, the intellectual elite, and the secular Christians have an obligation to seek Christian lifestyle with virtue and piousness. As long as they fulfill such lifestyle, the Christian community will be in God's Guided to the peace, harmony and order.

This study is divided into six parts. The introduction of the first part will provide some in-depth ideological foundations for the in-depth study, that is, the definition of related issues will trace the concepts of Humanism and Scholasticism. The author believes that both Humanism and Scholasticism tend to place God in a higher position when dealing with the relationship between God and man, that is, the divinity will overflow to human nature, that is, before human nature lacks divine presence, people will fall into a kind of nihilism. In other words, during the Renaissance, the vast majority of humanists and even theologians were committed to advocating for the well-being of the Christian community, rather than destroying and dismantling the old system.

In the first chapter, the author will explain that this humanistic tradition has influenced Erasmus. Especially in two aspects, the humanistic lifestyle and the humanistic rhetoric tradition. Through the analysis of several texts and related experiences, it is found that Erasmus in his youth understood the above tradition deeply and merged it into a lifestyle based on *imago Dei*. The second chapter will further extract the educational concept that this lifestyle relies on *Bonae literae* et *Sacrae literae*. Erasmus, by establishing the intrinsic link between language and reality, compared the process of studying ancient literature and the text of the Bible to the necessary path to cultivate his own morals, piety, and other qualities. The letters, proverbs, and fables in *Bonae literae* all have a certain degree of moral education, and the words and experiences of Christ and the Apostles in *Sacrae literae* have actually become Christians' moral life practice guides. As a result, the third chapter of the humanist political thought is in fact explaining the moral qualities of the ruling class and the priesthood of the church, and its reverence for

God largely determines the governance of the Christian kingdom. Unlike Machiavelli, this good state rationality is ultimately implemented in the universal peace of the Christian community. The interpretation of the social thought in Chapter fourth also depends on the deepening and spreading of this lifestyle. Unlike the first chapter, the social life in *Moriae Encomium* is deeply connected with Plato's allegory of the Cave. From the perspective of behavioral philosophy, Erasmus provided a social process of sublimation of Neo-Platonism for his social thought. The experiences and texts of the above youth, his views on education and politics are all contained in this masterpiece. To exhort the world to return to the root of social life. Subsequent views on death and marriage are also manifestations of this concept. In the final chapter, the debate between Erasmus and Luther will reveal the essential distinction between Humanism and the idea of Reformation, that is, the different approaches to the free will and the relationship between man and God determine the choices facing crisis of faith are also different.

The conclusion of this research is that Erasmus's humanism is based on some kind of Christian eclecticism. He wandered between rhetoric and philosophy, Humanism and Protestantism, Church and Lutheran, in fact all because of his idea between God and man. Such eclecticism determines that his attitude is at a loss when facing the Reformation. Between radical and conservative, he also chose a paradoxical path, and the huge gap between reality and ideal forced his path eventually join Mohr's Utopia turned into a floating shadow wall.

Keywords: Renaissance; Erasmus; Humanism

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Date: 2020

Title: Inter-construction and symbiosis: research on Christianity in the local society of Jingpo nationality in Yunnan

Abstract: Since the 1980s, with the revival of the religious conversion wave, the religious research in academia has entered a period of rapid development. Whether it is in theoretical research, empirical research, or methodology, it presents a prosperous scene. One of them, the localization research of Christianity is the most prominent. In the localization research of Christianity, the development of empirical investigation research has gradually surpassed that of theoretical research. With the continuous expansion of its research coverage, Christianity in Yunnan minority areas has gradually developed into an important part of Christian empirical investigation research. The academic circles' empirical investigation and research on the localization of Christianity in Yunnan's minority areas comprehensively covered 23 ethnic minorities with varying degrees of Christian beliefs, including the Miao, Yi, Lisu, Jingpo, Hani, Wa, Lahu and Dulong ethnic groups, and Almost all of them adopted the dualism paradigm of "impact-reaction" by John King Fairban.

This paper attempts to jump out of the universal inherent paradigm of the empirical investigation and research on the localization of Christianity in Yunnan ethnic minorities, and explore the inter-construction and symbiosis relationship between Christianity and Jingpo local society in the specific life situation of Jingpo local society, which was originally only an abstract conceptual framework. Christianity is placed in the living world of Jingpo people, which gives Christianity a more concrete local expression. Different from the "subject-object" interaction mode in the previous research paradigm, this paper defines the interaction between Christianity and Jingpo local society as a dynamic generation process of "subject-subject-(New)subject". In this process, Christianity and Jingpo local society went through four stages of reverse conflict, heterogeneity correspond, syntropic inter-construction and positive harmonic transformation, and finally

achieve inter-embedding, and contributed to the formation of Jingpo local Christianity, that is Glocalization of Christianity in Jingpo local society.

The study of Christianity in the local society of Jingpo nationality in Yunnan is based on the theory of social inter-construction of Mr. Zheng Hang Sheng, the context and clues of the daily life practices of the Christian believers of Jingpo nationality, and the pointcut of the evolution process of the relationship between the Christian believers of Jingpo nationality and the society of Jingpo nationality. This paper analyzes the characteristics and regular patterns of inter-construction between Christianity and the local society of Jingpo nationality, and explores the question of “how is Christianity possible in local society”. Therefore, this paper first expounds the three aspects of the breaking up of Jingpo and Jingpo society, the rebuilding of the relationship between Jingpo and Jingpo society, and the inter-embedding of Christianity and Jingpo daily life, then this paper analyzes and discusses the reconstruction of Christianity and Jingpo local social order, which is promoted by previous three chapters, and finally summarize the characteristics of the interaction between Christianity and the Jingpo local society, and discusses the relationship between Christianity and the modern adaptability of Jingpo local society.

Keywords: Inter-construction and symbiosis; Jingpo nationality; Christianity; Local society

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Institute/University: Renmin University of China

Date: 2020

Title: A study of the theological mutual intelligibility of Christianity and early Islam: centered on John of Damascus

Abstract: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are collectively referred to as “Abrahamic religions”. Although many stories about Jewish prophets and Christ Jesus are reproduced in the Qur’ān, the basic Islamic Holy book, it is not a simple

restatement, but a reinterpretation exclusively based upon Islamic religious narrative. Although Christianity and Islam share the same root, they have major differences on some key doctrines. Since the 7th century, the history of the Byzantine Empire, the Arab Empire and the Sassan Empire, had been intertwined together, and there had been a frequent, comprehensive and in-depth interactions between Christians and Muslims. In the 7th -8th centuries' Damascus, and the 9th-10th centuries' Baghdad, the Melkite, Nestorians, Monophysite, Monothelitism, Qadariyah, Mu'tazilah, Islamic Traditionalism, Ash'arites, as well as Jews and Manichean, lived together in a mixed way, expressing their opinions and arguing about some theological issues. In this historical context, Christian theology and early Islamic kalām cannot develop independently, but must be in a state of collision and interaction with each other. In this series of collision and interaction, John of Damascus, a Christian Melkite theologian who lived in the Arab Empire, occupied a decisive role. As far as the materials found so far, John's account about Islam is considered as the earliest and most comprehensive one in Christian world.

This dissertation focuses on John of Damascus' account about Islam, and combines the discussion of Muslim and Christian thinkers who were the John's contemporaries and the late-comers, then selects three theological issues that are the most controversial in Christianity and early Islam respectively. That is, the issue of "predestination and free will", "humanity and divinity of Christ" and "trinity" in Christian theology, and the issue of "predestination and human ability", "the creation of the Qur'ān" and "divine attributes" in Islamic theology, these six issues formed three groups of comparison objects. The detailed discussion and comparative research of these three groups theological issues constitute the main content of this dissertation. Through comparative research, it is found that there can be some correspondence or close relationship between Christian theology schools and Islamic theology schools. This is not to say that their specific theological views are close, but that the philosophical foundations under their

theological views are close. In other words, only from the perspective of philosophy can we understand this correspondence and close relationship better.

From a philosophical perspective, the three groups of theological issues enumerated in this dissertation can be reduced to three more essential and general issues. In particular, the Christian debate on “predestination and freedom” and the Muslim’s debate on “predestination and the ability of people” both essentially embody the tensions between the God’s “just” and “almighty” in the monotheism. The dispute about “humanity and divinity of Christ” in Christianity and the “creation of the Qur’ān” in Islam both essentially reflects the conflict between the transcendence of creation and the experience of salvation in religion. The argument about the trinity in Christianity and the divine attributes in Islam both can be explained by philosophical debates on “Nominalism-Realism” and “One and Many”, which further embodies the tensions of two philosophical tradition’s idea of “substance”, which I mean Platonism and Aristotelian philosophy. It is under this philosophical reduction analysis that this dissertation defines the relationship between Christian theology and early Islamic theology as “Mutual Intelligibility”, that actually is, a relationship between languages or dialects in which speakers of different but related varieties can readily understand each other without prior familiarity or special effort. Obviously, it’s an appropriate definition if we consider Christian theology and early Islamic theology as two related varieties of languages.

The research of theological “Mutual Intelligibility” of Christianity and early Islam finally reveals that some essential and general questions may be commonly faced by all human beings. The answers to these questions are also similar among different nations and cultures, but just presented by different cultural languages. The research of “Mutual Intelligibility” of different religious thoughts will help eliminate misunderstandings and estrangements between different religions and help establish a harmonious interreligious relationship. In a broader sense, enhancing the study of “Mutual Intelligibility” between different civilizations will

help promote civilizations exchanges and mutual learning, and provide a cultural basis for building community with shared future for mankind.

Keywords: Christianity; Islam; Theology; John of Damascus

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Date: 2020

Title: Between reason and revelation—research on Lessing’s theological-political thinking

Abstract: This article is devoted to combing and analyzing Lessing’s “Theological-Political” works from four aspects: writing style, historical context, close reading of text, and comparative research.

The introduction of the paper contrasts and analyzes two manuscripts on the issue of “reason and revelation” written by Leo Strauss in the middle of his philosophical inquiry. Strauss clearly stated that the speculations in these two texts fully benefited from Lessing. In these two manuscripts, he pointed out why reason and revelation could not refute each other, and suggested a possible path for reason to refute revelation.

The first chapter reviews Lessing’s lifetime and after. Since his youth, Lessing has devoted himself to “theological-political” thinking. Lessing at his maturity was independent of Lutheran orthodoxy, pietism, neology, enlightenment rationalism, or other sects and trends of thought. After his death, his ultimate position became an open case. Since the 20th century, Lessing scholars have disputed whether Lessing has established a philosophical system and its nature, but the profound aspect of Lessing’s thought seems to be lost in the debate.

The second chapter explores Lessing’s understanding of esoterism and its differences from Strauss. Lessing reveals Leibniz’s esoterism in his two articles “Leibniz on eternal punishment” and “Andreas Wissowatius’s Objections to the Holy Trinity”. Different from Strauss’ emphasis on esoterism transmitting two

kinds of teachings (exoteric and esoteric) at the same time and exoteric teachings being lies, Lessing 's esoterism emphasizes its two ways of presentation (exoteric and esoteric) and exoteric expressions having their truth. Lessing used esoterism as a mean of education, and its fundamental purpose is to lead different sects to the truth or opinions approximate to the truth.

The third chapter reveals the direct context of Lessing's "the education of the human race" by combing the origin of "The fragments controversy" and carefully reading Lessing's "Counter-propositions of the editor". The author of "Fragments" Reimarus carried on Spinoza's biblical critique. By the miracle critique and falsification of the biblical history, he tried to refute revealed religion and advocate deism. Lessing noted that this trend of biblical criticism provided support for the neology movement within Protestantism. Lessing was dissatisfied with these two trends of thought and even orthodox theology. He published "Fragments" in order to arouse a higher level of debate between revelation and reason.

The last chapter proposes that "The education of the human race" is a "fable" Lessing used to respond to Spinoza's theological-political theory. The first section starts from the "fable" problem pointed by the inscription of text, combs the young Lessing's understanding of fable, and points out how Lessing's fable theory helps to understand "the education of the human race". The second section analyzes the overall "presuppositions" which "the education of the human race" as a "hypothesis" based on, pointing out that its presuppositions are different from orthodox theology and also Spinozism; from these presuppositions, Lessing intends to respond to the latest biblical critique, and at the same time carry out an exoteric education. The third section is devoted to excavating the "hidden dialogue" between "the education of the human race" and Spinoza's "Theology-Politics Treatise". Spinoza desanctified the "history of revelation" based on a completely new biblical hermeneutics. His interpretation of Bible served his political ideal of democracy. In this regard, "the education of the human race" is an attempt to maintain the sacredness of "history of revelation" under the premise of accepting

Spinoza's many assertions, in which Lessing also put forward an understanding of the moral nature of common people different from Spinoza.

Keywords: Conflict between reason and revelation; Exoterism; Fragments controversy; Biblical critique; History of revelation

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Date: 2020

Title: A study of Stanley Hauerwas's Christian Pacifism

Abstract: The relationship between Christianity and virtue is one of the core issues in the study of Christian ethics and also an important part of the system of Christian ethics. Since the Enlightenment, the research approach of normative ethics in terms of "universal rationalism" has been interesting in accommodating to the trend of modern demands. Aristotle's moral-ethical tradition, which once played an important role in the moral life of human beings, has been gradually eliminated from the moral lifestyle of modern people. The Enlightenment has wide influence and is the cornerstone of the modern western cultural spirit and western moral values. Man, as the only rational being, has been endowed with the ability to customize his moral code and to make it a universal rule of life. Modern society with emphasis on rationality, improving the social system and moral norms, putting the discussion of the actor in ethics into the dimension of "ought to be", however, ignoring the inner virtue of the actor as the moral subject. This process leads to ethics becoming an assembly line of rulemaking, while the actor is either lost in the face of numerous optional rules, or goes his way, or actively participates in the formulation of new rules, which makes moral authority lose its binding force and moral belief fragmented. Christian virtue ethics is not spared by such changes. Secular studies on religion are impacted by the scientific field brought by the Enlightenment, which has made Christian ethics shift from the study on the normative nature of theology to the study on religion in the fields of humanities

and science, and the focus of the research changes to how religious belief can be trusted by modern society. Because of this, a revival of moral ethics should be advocated.

Stanley Hauerwas (1940–present), a famous American Christian theologian, is one of the representative figures in the field of post-liberal theological studies in the United States. At the time of the revival of the western protestant moral ethics, his reflection on the protestant moral life with the outset of “virtue” and “character” became a force in parallel with another theologian who was committed to the revival of the moral thought of Thomas Aquinas in the 1970s. Hauerwas’s ethics of character is based on the criticism of the North American protestant ethic. He emphasizes that the mission of the church is not simply to participate in social activities but to witness the possibility of the peaceful kingdom of God, which is clearly shown to the audience in the narrative of the bible. Hauerwas argues that the church is a group called to testify to the peaceful character and peaceful state of Jesus Christ, which have been realized in the life, suffering, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The life of Jesus has been fully presented in the church instead of the world, so Christians need to be followers of Jesus and faithfully witness of God’s peaceful kingdom.

Therefore, “pacifism” becomes the core doctrine of Hauerwas’s Christian ethics, which is the factor for his ideas to spread widely beyond the mainland of the United States, and become one of the theoretical bases for countries that were suffered from invasion to think about the issue of “reconciliation”. Based on this, Hauerwas, who believes that the significance of the existence of church groups is not to use external ethics rules or doctrine for reference to change the society accordingly, but to imitate the character of Jesus Christ, internalize it in their own words and deeds and apply it to social practice, in this way, the moral character of Jesus Christ is presented, making the church a virtuous community. The reason why “character” is especially used to express and discuss virtue ethics is that Hauerwas believes that character has a broader denotation and connotation than

virtue because the word “character” comes from Aristotle and mainly refers to the moral character, which means that a person can decide to become the people contrary to their natural nature. Starting from this definition, Hauerwas, rejected the “ambiguity” response of general ethics to the liberal ideology popularized in the American society in the 1960s, believing that such uncertainty can only lead to a decline of traditional morality, and the Christian church gradually lost its social function of moral restraint. Hauerwas argues that Christian ethics should return to the Aristotelian moral tradition. That is, the main concern of Christian ethics is not “how do I make the right decision?” but “what are we supposed to be?” What we can do is to create a situation that helps us make decisions in one way rather than another. According to Aristotle, human virtue can be formed by teaching and habits. Hauerwas believes that teaching and habits need to include two elements: apprenticeship and community. The former refers to the apprentice who points out the right and wrong by the wisdom of the master. The latter refers to the apprentice who becomes a member of a group and learns from the group life to achieve the virtue of goodness. For Christians, this group is the church. Because they are called to be disciples of Jesus, they must live and learn to be disciples in the church community. In short, Christians are people who look at their lives according to the textual narrative of the bible, and their character and behavior need to be shaped in a community like the church. Therefore, the special moral reason that Jesus presents in Christian ethics through the narrative meaning of the story, such as the interrelation between narrative, character, virtue, and tradition, jointly achieves the core connotation that Christian ethics is committed to building peace. Among them, the narration is to understand how to practice the important concept of imitating God, and to obtain the multi-layered connotation of peace in the history of the bible by interpreting the ethical significance of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. And the church’s responsibility is strived to connect with the grand narrative of God. The so-called “connection”, in addition to relying on the church to preach and interpret the truth of the Bible, also requires Christians to

know the connotation of the doctrine, these are not from a certain regional system of “Christian culture”, but from the traditional inheritance of Christians through common practice in the church group, and make the group they serve and the grand narrative of the Bible can be blended into one in this practice process.

Because Hauerwas’s thoughts are the masterpiece of many philosophers and theologians, readers may have a lot of interpretations or even misinterpretations of his pacifism thought of Christian ethics. This paper hopes to sort out his ideological tradition and explore the unchanging core part of his thought, that is, what Jesus Christ has done is to set an example for “peace”, so that the disciples will know and manifest the peace of God in their lives. And this paper tries to clarify Hauerwas’s ethical thoughts on his pacifism.

Keywords: Hauerwas; Christian ethics; Character; Pacifism; Narrative theology

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Date: 2020

Title: Study on the history and protection of hierarchic and folk culture and religious architecture in Southern City of Beijing from the field view

Abstract: Under the background of the national “cultural confidence” initiative and the capital’s “cultural center” positioning, given the importance of research of medium scale regional history and culture and heritage conservation in Beijing old city, in addition to the present stage of the insufficiency of the perspective and method, this paper taking the Ming and Qing dynasties, and nowadays the southern area of Beijing old city as the range of time and space, with the help of GIS, GeoDa technology platform, using multi-source big data combined with spatial quantitative analysis, as well as qualitative analysis method, based on field theory framework, studies the regional hierarchic and folk culture history and protection, including monograph of religious architecture culture history and protection. The Main contents and conclusions include the following: first, on the

spatial correlation of religious belief change and the location, mainly taking the western part of Beijing outer city of the Ming and Qing dynasties as there presentative area, deducting to the northern cities of the corresponding time, based on analysis of road network centrality, it is found that from the Ming to the Qing dynasty, the overall distribution of temples in the city was “by the center to the edge”; the location advantage of Sian (Buddhist temple) and Cimiao (temple of folk belief) “shifting”. It respectively projects that the importance of the religious belief in the northern city function experienced a significant decline; in the time, the decline of Buddhism accelerated, whereas the folk belief became more and more developed. Second, on analysis of the historic causes of the harmonious coexistence and development of multiple religions, selecting Niujie and Huashi as two representative districts, from the angle of historic culture comparison within multivariate religious architecture, including the four aspects of overall distribution, building named/gifts, layout form, social function, “seeing from the small”, it explains and proves that the harmonious development of multi-religious beliefs in contemporary China is a continuation of history. Third, in the study of the spatial field of hierarchic culture in the Beijing outer city of the Qing dynasty, the core area of hierarchic culture was defined as the “double-kidney” area in the middle and middle north of the western part of the outer city. It had well-developed transportation, and was close to the folk culture area which it had no absolutely clear boundary, reflecting the exclusion and dependence, infiltration and complementation between the both cultures. The spatial correlation inside the subfield of the core region is characterized by the hierarchical spatial structure of “chain type” and “center - transition center” with “three elements and two clusters”. It is quantitatively verified that “the feeling of hometown” was the driving force of celebrity residences and guild halls gathering. Fourth, on the spatial field correlation of hierarchic and folk culture in outer city of Qing dynasty, based on the model of “three-layer theory of culture”, it is elaborated the relationship structure between the hierarchic-folk culture and culture, emphasizing the

concept of hierarchic-folk culture from a dialectical perspective. The spatial relation types between hierarchic culture and hierarchic-folk culture of temples are summarized. The scope of the commercial culture area in outer city, and the spatial correlation characteristics between the hierarchic and the folk culture area are clarified. Based on the theory of cross-cultural adaptation, it is also discussed the contact and relationship between western religious culture invasion and the local hierarchic-folk culture in the late Qing dynasty. Finally, by using the network big data of cultural heritage and business formats combining with GIS spatial analysis and data statistics, as well as qualitative methods. Firstly, it is promoted the conception of traditional Hierarchic and folk culture protection, analyzed the spirit and physical space, clarified the architectural carrier and the value of the remaining block. It is also given four method logic of the field reconstruction, and the practical strategy of physical space field and its mutual construction from the perspective of field subject, as well as established the field reconstruction model. Secondly, it is introduced field research information, classifying the status, and expounding the value of cultural heritage of the religious architecture in south of the old city. Then on the principle basis, the protection and utilization strategies are put forward from the perspective of location.

Keywords: Beijing old city; Hierarchic and folk culture; Field; GIS; Religiousarchitecture; Cultural heritage protecti

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Date: 2020

Title: The sound of Buddha and revolution: a study of Zhang Taiyan's Buddhist thought

Abstract: As a major part of his philosophy, Zhang Taiyan's Buddhist thought has always been known for its complexity and depth. The activation of Buddhism as a universal religion by the new scholars of the late Qing dynasty is a necessary

context and foresight for understanding Zhang Taiyan's Buddhist thought, of which Yogacara appeared on the intellectual map of the late Qing dynasty mainly as a 'specialized science'. Shen Zengzhi's approach to Yogacara was based on that of the Qianjia school of simple learning, and thus Yogacara was treated as one of the new schools of Daoxian and became a continuation of the Qianjia school of 'specialised learning'. Xia Zhenyou, on the other hand, treated Vaisnava as a counterpart of Western philosophy and adopted a 'scientific' approach of analysis and synthesis, also treating Yogacara as a 'specialised study' similar to Western philosophy and logic. The influence of Huayan, on the other hand, was mainly concentrated on the Xinwei thinkers, where the doctrine of the origin of the Dharma world, which emphasised one as everything and equality, was replaced by a utopian imagination that emphasised the evolution of the three worlds and the interconnection of human beings and the self, while the doctrine of Buddha nature, which had originality as the core of reality, was replaced by a call for the political subject's. When the two were superimposed into real political action, they were expressed as "bodhisattva actions" that were courageous and fearless, with "all beings" in mind. It was under the influence of the intellectual circles of the late Qing dynasty that Zhang Taiyan assimilated Yogacara and Huayan and applied them in two different directions: deconstruction and construction. In his deconstructive critical philosophy based on Yogacara, Zhang Taiyan developed a theory of occurrence based on a critique of the ontological thinking of the Reformist thinkers, with "fungus-delusion" at its core, and then transformed it into the anti-purpose theory of "all-divide evolution" of the period of the People's Daily. The philosophy of history. Another important component of Zhang Taiyan's deconstructive critical philosophy is his philosophy of language, which highlights the prerequisites of language for human cognitive structures and the finiteness of language itself through the use of 'name for name'. On this basis, Zhang Taiyan criticised the modern discourses of 'civilisation' and 'ism', and ultimately criticised and deconstructed all political orders based on linguistic nominalism, using the

framework of the three natures of Yogacara. In his constructive thinking based on Huayan Buddhism, Zhang Taiyan developed a philosophy of “Tattva” about the revolutionary subject and the historical nation. In the philosophy of subjectivity, which is based on self-knowledge, the True Reality, as the ultimate essence of the existential dimension, provides the universal basis for the revolutionary subject to support his bodhisattva practice. In the philosophy of “equality of all things”, “the true essence” provides a transcendental point of view to settle differences and particularities. Ultimately, Zhang Taiyan’s ideal order of ‘equality in all things’, based on Huayan, is on the one hand a resistance to and a critique of the imperialist expansion of the nineteenth century, and on the other a solution to and a settlement of the national question on the basis of a modern national-state order, which is Zhang Taiyan’s ‘historical nation’. This is Zhang Taiyan’s vision of the ‘historical nation’.

Keywords: Zhang Taiyan; Yogacara; Huayan; Modern Buddhism; Critical Theory

Author: Hao Yingting

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: A study of Chinese religious ethics in contemporary Taiwan

Abstract: The Chinese culture traditionally lays emphasis on morality and ethic. Religious ethics is an indispensable part of Chinese traditional culture, and has an important impact on social development. This paper has chosen Taiwan as the study object of the contemporary development of Chinese religious ethics. Based on the relevant literature and data, we first understand the development process of contemporary society and religion in Taiwan, and then focus on three religious categories: institutional religions, soteriological religions and folk beliefs to develop our study. Buddhism, I-Guan-Dao and Mazu belief has been chosen as the representative religions to study their development of ethics. Through the study

of Chinese religious ethics, we can further understand their development in modern society and interaction with society.

Specifically, the development of modernization and industrialization in Contemporary Taiwan transforms the traditional social structure, and then changes the traditional belief concepts. The secularization of religion in Taiwan is a process of decline, transformation and rise, and it is also a process of reinterpretation of religious ethics. In the process of modernization, some traditional elements have not been completely eliminated, but carried forward in other ways.

In the aspect of institutional religion, contemporary Buddhism has taken Humanistic Buddhism as the main core of the development of ethics, which is to break the traditional Buddhism's thought to practice of salvation into the world instead of pursuing the redemption of afterlife. Overall, the development of contemporary Buddhism in Taiwan has become a more inner worldly and international religion.

Regarding the soteriological religion, I-Guan-Dao has experienced many ups and downs in the past century, and the special process shows the result of its self-transforming. Syncretism is the foundation of soteriological religions which develop their unique ethics through combining different religious doctrine and teachings. The strong motivation of salvation and redemption has led every disciple to be self-cultivation and helpful.

Concerning folk belief, Mazu belief has transformed from a sea goddess to a high-level protection god during the past thousand years, which is formed by both authority and public. The great tradition and little tradition have created a boundaryless belief. Folk beliefs not only provide comfort to the spirit of modern people, but also carry on the remain of traditional patriarchal clan.

The study supports that Chinese religions in contemporary Taiwan are continually developing and transforming their ethics and doctrines to adapt to the changing society. The common and distinctive ethics are generated. The

distinctive ethics are developed depending on the traditions, structures, and doctrines of the religions. The common ethics are mainly expressed in four aspects: the spirit of equality and mutual help, the improving of moral quality, the responding of social needs, and the combining of individual and group.

Through the analysis and interpretation of Chinese religious ethics in contemporary Taiwan, it is supported that the traditional virtue of Chinese religions is remain in modern society. The tolerance and communication of Chinese religions are in accord with the trend of global religion dialogue. It is believed that the ethics of Chinese religions could bring great benefit to our society and the world.

Keywords: Chinese religion; Religious ethic; Institutional religion; Soteriological Religion; Folk belief

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Date: 2021

Title: The relationship between religion and state in the Republic of China—
A study based on “Huijiao”

Abstract: The period of the Republic of China was the transition period of Chinese traditional society from a feudal country to a modern country, and the religion-state relationship also evolved from the relationship between the feudal monarchy and religion to the relationship between the modern state and religion. In the Republic of China, Islam was called “Huijiao” (in 1956, the State Council of the People’s Republic of China required it to be called “Islam” and no longer called “Huijiao”). The controversy over the concept of “Huijiao, Huimin, and Huizu” can be described as a complicated theoretical and political issue. The issue of “Huijiao” is an important problem in the religion-state relationship in the Republic of China, and it is also an important part of the issue of ethnic minorities in the country’s political construction. Taking “Huijiao” as a model to explore the religion-state

relationship has important theoretical value and practical enlightenment for a deep understanding of the relationship between “religion and state, state and ethnicity, religion and ethnicity” during the Republic of China.

In the Republic of China, under the premise of establishing the principle of separation of religion and state, it also inherited the tradition of the religion-state relationship in the past dynasties of China, and maintained close interaction between religion and state. Muslims in the Republic of China combined patriotism with love for religion, and constantly strengthened their national consciousness. Especially after the entire Chinese Nation’s mobilization during the Anti-Japanese War, “Huijiao is China’s Huijiao” and “Huizu is a member of the Chinese Nation” as an ideological identification and theoretical construction, has been accepted by Muslims. However, the ethnic consciousness of the Huizu was also growing and fought for the political rights of the Huizu becoming an important activity in the politics of the Republic of China. The government of the Republic of China did not recognize the legitimate ethnic status of the Huizu and pointed the issue of Huizu to the issue of Huijiao, which led to the involvement of religions in national political activities and complicated the religion-state relationship. The Communist Party of China recognized that Huizu is an ethnic group, and divided Huizu and Huijiao into ethnic and religious issues, and put them into practice in the Anti-Japanese Base. This theory and practice laid a solid foundation for the ethnic and religious theories and policies in the People’s Republic of China.

This article mainly discusses the management of Islamic affairs (including mosque management, pilgrimage affairs, diplomatic relations between China and Islamic countries, translation of the Quran, etc.), the relationship between Huijiao and education, and Muslims’ participation in politics in the Republic of China, recognizing that the Republic of China government gave more support and funding to Huijiao. The reason is that Huijiao has a strong ethnic character. The government’s implementation of differentiated policies was not to support the development of Huijiao, but to strive for the support of the Muslim society for the

national government. At the same time, although the Communist Party of China distinguished Huizu and Huijiao into ethnic and religious issues, it had adopted policies that were different from other religions in specific practices, such as mosque construction, Muslim groups, and Muslim education. It shows that the ethnic character of Huijiao is an issue that every political group has to face and pay attention to.

This article believes that to properly handle the religion-state relationship in modern countries, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of separation of religion and state, the equality of all religions, and the principle of separation of religion and education. At the same time, the state power should adopt practical and realistic approaches to the specific problems of different religions, and the governance policy should reflect the organic unity of principle and flexibility. In particular, it is necessary to attach great importance to the religions of ethnic minorities, firmly grasp the characteristics of minority populations, and accurately understand the boundaries of their ethnic consciousness, religious sentiment, and identity, and understand their status and demands in the political life of the country. The purpose is to continuously enhance the national identity and Chinese Nation's identity of all ethnic groups and religions, and better safeguard the overall interests of PRC.

Keywords: Religion-state relationship; Republic of China; Communist Party of China; “Huijiao”; Ethnic group/Ethnicity

Author: Wang Yanming

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: The depiction of mythical beings in the tombs of the Northern Dynasties

Abstract: This thesis systematically analyses the images of deities and mythical beasts in the tombs of the Northern Dynasties (386–618 CE), in order to

investigate the changing form and function of the religious motifs in the tombs of the Han Tang Period. This has been done in order to examine the role of foreign culture and the rise of new customs and rituals in the transformation of traditional culture. By combining archaeological and art historical research methodologies, this thesis catalogues the depiction of mythical beings found in tomb murals, on burial utensils and epitaphs, and the figurines. These depictions can be divided into three systems of motifs: the protection of the tomb, the depiction of the cosmos and representations of mythological personages such as spirits and immortals. This thesis starts by presenting detailed thematically and chronologically structured catalogues of each of these systems.

Protective figures emphasize physical power, there are three main types *lishi*, lions or tigers, and animal headed figures. This proliferation of forms appears to have peaked in Pingcheng period of the Northern Wei (398–494 CE). During this period, the strong influence of Buddhist culture led to the development of many new forms of protective motifs. Meanwhile, the combination of two types of tomb guardian figurines became standardised.

Those images which depict the cosmos are intended to provide a physical representation of the abstract concepts of time and space. Those themes include Fuxi and Nüwa, the spirits of the four directions and the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac. During the Luoyang Period of the Northern Wei Dynasty (494–534 CE), depictions of the cosmos can be most clearly seen in the decoration on epitaph stones with slanted sides, the box-formed coffins and the domed tomb chambers. From the late Northern Dynasties to the Sui Dynasty (534–618 CE), the use of the spirits of the four directions as the primary motif and twelve creatures of the zodiac as secondary motifs through which to depict the cosmos becomes more popular.

The representation of spirits and immortals are either used to depict life in heaven or as decorative motifs. The most commonly themes are depictions of ‘immortals’, *Wei-shou* ‘Grotesques’ and other animistic spirits. These themes

follow on from the image system of immortals in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). The Wei-shou ‘Grotesques’ are a traditional form of defense against mythical creatures, but which came to hold new forms of significance in the Northern Dynasties. The depictions of animistic spirits are drawn from a variety of traditional and foreign sources. The process of cultural change is most evident and complex in the spirits and immortals theme. is the most complex, and the difference in the connotations of the interaction between different images reflects the depth of foreign cultural influence.

Figures of mythical beings that appeared during the Northern Dynasties are formed of a mixture of elements of both local and external origin. This is manifested in the creation of hybrid forms. The funerary art shows that aesthetics changed a couple of times during the Northern Dynasties, reaching two apexes: the first during the Luoyang period of the Northern Wei and the second during the Sui Dynasty. During the Luoyang period the art form was delicate and the themes consisted predominantly of immortals and spirits. This was the birth place of many motifs which later came to be considered archetypal. Following the fall of the Northern Wei and through the Sui a large number of foreign themes start to emerge, this change in aesthetics indicates a shift in the interaction between Chinese and foreign peoples.

One key element that led to the transformation of the mythical repertoire was the spread of Buddhist culture. Not only did it enrich the style and the meanings of protective representations, but it also boosted the progress of artistic techniques and the spread of foreign decor and motifs. These changes greatly impacted traditional depictions of immortals and spirits, which moved from being the primary focus of art within the tombs to form elements in the protective and cosmological systems. Moreover, following the spread of geometrical border decorations, the dynamic and undisciplined images of spirits and immortals came to be more and more constricted, with a secular value of the décor becoming

increasingly present as the function of the tomb art moved away from its original religious function.

Although belief in immortals and Buddhist teachings formed an important role in day-to-day religious life, they did not form a fundamental part of the religious content of Northern Dynasties tomb art. Although there were significant changes to the burial customs during the Han Tang Period, only those figures intended to depict the cosmos were preserved their ancient forms. Together with protective figurines, they became part of the standardised elements of tomb art. Both of these themes were born from the popular tradition of the yin and yang numerology. This demonstrates the way in which these key ancient core elements give local Chinese culture its identity and reflect the continuity of the basic Chinese models of thought.

Keywords: Northern Dynasties; Archaeology; Tomb art; Religious art; Intercultural interaction

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Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: Comprehensive study on Taiyi belief during the Warring States, Qin and Han dynasties

Abstract: Taiyi belief was the most important element in national religion and folk beliefs during early ancient China. Since the middle of the Western Han dynasty, Taiyi became the highest god of supreme state sacrifice, and had a profound impact on folk beliefs. The first three chapters of this thesis analyze the changes in characteristics of Taiyi belief in chronological order. Chapter four divides the images related to the Taiyi into three categories for research, and reacts the development of the Taiyi belief in the Han dynasty from the side.

The first chapter discusses the reason why the “Tai” recorded in the slips of divination and sacrifice was also known as “Taiyi”, and Taiyi was not the supreme

god in Chu region according to the standard of sacrificial supplies. Meanwhile, putting the name “Taiyi the Eastern Emperor” in the context of the Han dynasty to understand, and comparing it with concepts such as “Two Emperor”, “Three Emperor” and “Western Emperor”, concluding that “Eastern Emperor” was referred to Taihao (also known as “Fuxi”). On that basis, proposing that although Taiyi was not the supreme god in the state sacrifice of the Qin Dynasty, Taiyi belief still deeply influenced the society of the Qin Dynasty.

The second chapter introduces Xianyang City in the Qin Dynasty with archaeological materials, summarizes its architectural pattern as “imitating the astronomical landscape to build the capital”, and divides this pattern into two stages. In the early stage, Xin Palace was the symbol of the celestial pole; in the late stage, Epang Palace replaced Xin Palace’s position, and Xianyang Palace Group as a whole continued to develop to the south. Besides, putting forward a statement that there were similarities between the Tianqi sacrifice in north of Chang’an city during early years of the Western Han dynasty and the Taiyi sacrifice during the mid-late Western Han dynasty. Combing the process of Taiyi became the highest state sacrificial god during the Emperor Wudi of the Han dynasty. On that basis, pointing out that Taiyi had the attribute of a spiritual being, and this feature was closely related to the witchcraft of the Chu region.

The third chapter demonstrates from the perspective of Confucian classics, and makes a point that the Celestial Emperor belief during the Eastern Han dynasty and the Taiyi belief during the Western Han dynasty were in the same line. Not only that, but the religious reformation in the mid-late Western Han dynasty was a game between Confucian scholars, alchemists and official priests. This thesis expounds that divination and variation of pole star in astronomical observations led to changes in the structure of beliefs and state rituals. For these reasons, the mid-late Western Han dynasty and the middle Eastern Han dynasty were two important time nodes for changes in the persona of Taiyi. On that basis, analyzing the body-god system in early Taoist literature, and clarifying that its source of

thought was related to the differentiation of Taiyi's persona. Besides, listing the table and counting the word examples of "Celestial Emperor" and "Yellow God" found in the burial documents of the Han dynasty, and illustrating that since the period of Emperor Xuan of the Western Han dynasty, the Celestial Emperor belief had been spread among the people. According to the Taoist documents in the Wei and Jin period, "Yellow God" and "Yuezhang" were two different gods, and "messenger of the Celestial Emperor" was referred to the human sorcerer possessed by a spirit.

The fourth chapter starts from the handed down documents, and points out that it was a popular theme to depict the travel of Taiyi in poems and images during the Warring States, Qin and Han dynasties. Then according to the image and inscriptions of the silk painting named "Taiyi is going to travel", demonstrating that the main god in the center of the image was Yu the Great, the whole painting was related to "Yu's quick spell", and depicted the vanguard of Taiyi's traveling team. In the meantime, listing the table and summarizing the number of known bronze mirrors with animal patterns and the "Taiyi is on the edge" inscription, and once again confirming that Taiyi was the Celestial Emperor. Besides, proving that the main god on top of the T-shaped silk paintings unearthed from Mawangdui Han Tomb was the soul of the tomb owner by comparative research. Finally, listing the table and summarizing the number of known bronze mirrors with animal patterns and the "Five Emperors and Celestial Emperor" inscription, and explaining that these bronze mirrors were the products of the Taoist Taiyi belief.

Keywords: Taiyi; State sacrifice; Folk beliefs; Divination and alchemy; Early Taoism

Author: Lin, Xieyu

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: A study on the thought of “insentient things possess Buddha-nature” from the perspective of Buddhism exchange between China and Japan

Abstract: “Insentient things possess Buddha-nature” is an important proposition in the history of Chinese Buddhism. For a long period of time, various Chinese Buddhist schools focused on the issue of Buddha nature. Zhanran’s interpretation in the Diamond Scalpel is regarded by many modern scholars as the most systematic, comprehensive and clear demonstration in the history of “insentient things possess Buddha-nature”. At the same time, it is also one of the important contents for Japanese monks to go to China to seek Buddhist scriptures and solve questions, which runs through the whole process of buddhism communication between China and Japan.

With Saicho’s entering China to seek Buddhism, the thought of “Insentient things possess Buddha-nature” was introduced into Japan. Later, it deviated from the tradition of Tiantai Sect in China and went on the road of independent evolution. Japanese Tiantai monks’ understanding of “Insentient things possess Buddha-nature” has changed with the passage of time. The interpretation of “Insentient things possess Buddha-nature” by Saicho’s and Yizhen is still based on the core meaning of Tiantai. They regard “Insentient things possess Buddha-nature” in the realm of Zen practice. But Yuancheng,Guangding,Deyuan and others changed their understanding of “Insentient things possess Buddha-nature” from the perspective of specific things, and changed the realm originally in the practice of Zen into the realm of plants are all Buddha.

In China and Japan, the thought of “Insentient things possess Buddha-nature” presents two different ways of development. In Japan, the thought of “Insentient things possess Buddha-nature” of Tiantai Sect develops along the path of Esoteric Buddhism, emphasizing that plants are all Buddhas. In China, Tiantai Sect always adheres to expounding “Insentient things possess Buddha-nature” from the standpoint of meditation. Plants have never been given the status of Buddhas, and

the establishment of Buddha nature is always inseparable from people's Zen practice.

Keywords: Insentient things possess Buddha-nature; Plants are all Buddha; Tiantai School; cultural exchanges between China and Japan

Author: Huang Yuehong

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: Research on the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order in Ottoman Empire

Abstract: The Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order is one of the most numerous and widely spread Sufi order in the world. Today, the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order is mainly distributed in Anatolia, Central Asia, South Asia and Western Europe. It was founded in Central Asia and Khurasan in the 14th century. It was deeply influenced by the Sufi thought of The Malāmatiyya and Ibn `Arabī's "waḥdah al-wujūd" theory. After it was introduced into Anatolia from Central Asia in the 15th century, it gradually took root in the Ottoman Empire. After adapting to the social and political ecology of the Ottoman Empire, the order gradually integrated the characteristics of the Sufism atmosphere of the Ottoman Empire, but still inherited the traditional doctrines and became an inseparable element in the traditional culture of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire was a military country with the unity of religion and politics. Because of the long history and vast territory of the Ottoman Empire, this dissertation discusses the order in the territory of the Ottoman Empire in today's Turkey. Based on the relationship between the order, the branches, the society and the state, this paper explores the historical origin and development of the Naqshbandiyya Order from the perspectives of orthodoxy, ideology, religious rites, imperial society and politics, and discusses the offshoots of the order in the Ottoman Empire: the Aḥrāriyya, the Kāsānīyya, the Urmawīyya, the Mujaddidiyya and the Khālidiyya. The Ottoman Empire as research background, this paper

explores the interaction between these branches and the imperial government and society. The main arguments are as follows: first, the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order was founded in Central Asia and developed in India. In the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire became the main development and communication center of the order. Secondly, the system and doctrines of the Sufi orders are not immutable but are constantly developing and updating according to the different times and places, and new branches are constantly emerging. The same is true of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order, but the traditional doctrines are still “continuous”. Thirdly, the change of social structure affected the Sufi orders, which objectively required the Sufi orders to achieve timely transformation according to the change of social structure. The Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order has successfully achieved this kind of adaptation in the more than 500-year history of the Ottoman Empire, so it became one of the most influential Sufi orders in the late Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. Fourth, although the Ottoman Empire attached great importance to Sunni Sufism, to maintain the central power and national security, it also took strict precautions against the Sunni Sufism, including the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order.

Keywords: Sufism; the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order; Ottoman Empire; Turkey

Author: Ai Wendi

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: A study of Rappaport’s ritual theory

Abstract: The thesis focuses on Rappaport’s ritual theory. It is selected because of its great influence on religious ritual study society and of its ideological affinity to Taoism, the main ideology of Chinese native religion.

He applies a comprehensive formal study on religious rituals and explores the domain of holy, including occult, numinous, sacred, divine. It is demonstrated in the thesis that such experiences are acquired from the structure of the liturgy which unites the ever-change and never-change.

Ritual is regarded as meta-communication, meta-performance, meta-order, and meta-frame. The occult is a feeling of certainty of the future produced by the credibility of the social message from ritual communication; the numinous is an experience of the *tempos* mingling of change and changeless in ritual performance; the sacred is meta-order inherent in the liturgy, the divine is the substantiation of sacred, the holy is a meta-frame which united the consciousness and unconsciousness. The homeostasis of society is acquired by the regulation of hierarchic sanctification which is established in the ritual performance. He takes holy as a better substitute epistemology, compared to that of discovery from science and of money from capitalism.

Rappaport enjoyed the benefit of ritual theory development in the last century, especially the legacy of Durkheim, who attempted to found epistemology on ritual. Inspired by cybernetic, Rappaport indicates that ritual is meta-communication, the construction of common sense, the root of humanity, and the foundation of social conventions. Influenced by the idea of adaptative, he found that it is the presence of the stylized ritual that encumbers the flexibility of language, which makes good use of language possible. His theory is a combination of ritual theory, cybernetic, and adaptationism.

Rappaport suggests that ritual is the basic social act which mainly basic on his observation of fieldwork, and the Jewish tradition. However, it is still under doubt, whether the claim is applicable in the complex modern society. It will make his discussion under the tension of scientific verification and theology discourse, if the ritual is taken as a fundamental epistemology different from and superior to that of science. Besides the definition of religion by its form instead of the substance, will blur the boundary of religion and finally dissolve the religion as a specific institution.

As for Chinese native religion study, the profit is not only on his unique theoretical frame on the ritual study but also on the methodology he proposed. A

comprehensive formal analysis is conducive to catch the inner frame of complicated religious phenomena in Chinese native religion.

Sacrifice (祭祀) is the basic form of Chinese native religion, on which other religious elements accrete, such elements can be categorized into three classes, Heaven (天), Earth (地), Human (人). There is a triad among them, the human is in the center. Using Rappaport's phrase, sacrifice is the basic social act in China, it is a performance of relation construction with burning joss stick as a root metaphor.

Keywords: Rappaport; Ritual theory; Epistemology; Chinese native religion; Sacrifice

Author: Guo Hancheng

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: *In Aeternitatem Praes Ens: A aetaphysical study on Augustine's doctrine of creation*

Abstract: The myth of creation, as a general sort of primitive memory and collective subconsciousness to mankind, is indeed the primary thinking method and universal psychological structure of human beings on tracing the origins for their own existence in both individual and collective aspects. With this being the case, the entire ontological and metaphysical exploremment in Augustine's theology thence found its very base and premise within the biblical account of creation: As the created beings who had been created in the ontological principle of Being, through the affirmation and confession to this metaphysical foundation that constructed in the first place within the divine creating action, by which the whole universe is brought forth into being, whence the human is able to be and to think on his ontological and metaphysical being.

From the articles that are currently existing, we can find basically five of Augustine's interpretation-works on the biblical account of creation in Genesis I-

III, which are the two books of *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, the uncompleted task of *De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus*, the tenth to thirteenth book of *Confessiones*, the twelve books of *De Genesi ad Litteram* and the eleventh to fourteenth book of *De Civitate Dei*. This paper hence is mainly composed of a metaphysical study to Augustine's doctrine of creation based on these five pronounced works.

The introduction in the first chapter will be a problematic setup, which consists of the problem proposal, the historical issues, the aim, concern and theoretical method of Augustine and the methodology of this paper. The following second and third chapters will be focusing on Augustine's metaphysical doctrine of creation and theological ontology, which mutually discuss on the theological and philosophical approach to each other regarding the problem of creation. Based on the above metaphysical grounding, the following fourth, fifth and sixth chapters will respectively discuss within the realm of Augustine's doctrine of creation on his theological and philosophical anthropology, his metaphysics of good and evil, so as his theology and philosophy of history. Last but not least, a brief review for entire discussion is summarized in the seventh chapter.

Keywords: Augustine; Creation; Ontology; Metaphysics; Christian Philosophy

Author: Huang Jingzhe

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Date: 2021

Title: Thomas Aquinas on cognition: the problem of species

Abstract: In Aquinas's epistemology, there are two dominant principles, one is "every agent produces its similitude (*omne agens agit sibi simile*)", another is "what is received is received according to the mode of the receiver (*unumquodque recipitur in aliquo per modum sui*)". In the aspect of the cognized natural reality, the process of the cognition follows the principle *omne agens agit sibi simile*; in the aspect of the cognitive subject, the process of the cognition obeys the principle *unumquodque recipitur in aliquo per modum sui*. It is also what Aquinas defends

as the interplay of spontaneity and receptivity; for in the process of cognition on the natural reality, the natural reality spontaneously diffuses its similitude, and the cognitive subject receives this similitude according to its existence mode simultaneously. In consequence, the cognized object in its natural reality exists in the natural existence mode (*esse naturale*), in the sensitive soul the sensible existence mode (*esse sensibile*), in the rational soul the intellectual existence mode (*esse intelligibile*); the sensible existence mode of the similitude of the natural reality is sensible species (*species sensibilis*), the intellectual existence mode of the similitude of the natural reality is intelligible species (*species intelligibilis*); in this sense, soul cognizes the natural reality in a simultaneous cognition immediately and without falsehood.

Keywords: Thomas Aquinas; Epistemology; Problem of Species

Author: Xu, Ke

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: From Taoist idea to vulgar deities: a study of secularization of Sanguan God

Abstract: Narration and faith coexist, just as the two wings of a bird, driving the continuous evolution of the whole faith activity, whether in orthodox religion or folk faith. From the beginning of the establishment of Taoism, the Taoist system contains a rich interpretation of the Sanguan beliefs, including some broadly narrative materials, while the narrative material of the folk Sanguan belief is vaster. The main focus of this paper is to investigate the changes of the Sanguan beliefs in Taoism and folk belief system, compare the similarities and differences between the Sanguan deities images in Taoism and folk belief system, and try to outline the process of the transformation from Taoist worship to folk deity.

This paper adopts the HTF research method (History, Texts, and Fieldwork) proposed by Overmyer, a scholar of religious history. Through the combination of

literature search and Fieldwork, this paper grasped kinds of documents, including local records, literati writings, folk literary works, folk legends and stories, etc. On this basis, combined with case study to carry out the work.

Under the three officials of the ministry, there are two kinds of officials: “water government officials” and “heaven and earth water officials”, and the latter one can be regarded as an absolutely mainstream “Sanguan” theory. In this paper, “heaven, earth and water” is taken as the main research object, and at the same time, it will also take into account the intersection of “the gods of Sanguan”.

The second chapter investigates the system of Taoist classics related to Sanguan Gods. The concept of “sanguan” in Taoism firstly appeared in the “San Guan Shou Shu”, which was the core of the concept and ritual of the early Heavenly Master to solve sins. The Lingbao school born in the Six Dynasties continued and reshaped the belief concept of the three officials, transformed the three officials from the virtual concept to the physical form of the divine officials, and established the fixed operation mechanism and functions of the divine authority. However, the Sanguan Jing, born in the Yuan and Ming dynasties, not only simplified the functions of the Sanguan, but also transformed the identity of the Sanguan into a mortal who cultivated the Tao. From the beginning of Taoism to the Ming and Qing dynasties, this system of Sanguan classics shows the sequence from the virtuality to the entity, and from the respect for gods to the fairy.

Associated with heaven, earth and water gods in the third chapter focus on the efficacy of narrative, through combing the text and category, can clearly see the extend of Sanguan’s abilities, accompanied by the Sanguan gods’ image shift for many times, that is, from primary Taoism is god to record the supervision of the human good and evil, as the three gods is further popular in China, the Sanguan accept localization transformation and become god of the localization.

The fourth chapter focuses on the narrative texts related to the legends of three gods’ life experiences. These texts reflect the increasingly complex social identity network of Sanguan, and several narrative texts all appear new characters

related to Sanguan. This chapter will use the method of refining the form of legend and analyzing the context of belief to continue to enrich the process of shaping the image of three officials among the people. The newly developed narrative structure of life experience represents the further deepening of the commonness of the Sanguan gods' identity and reflects the folk belief of Sanguan gods reinforcing.

The fifth chapter focuses on the evolution of the Sanguan beliefs since the Ming and Qing dynasties. The nature of Sanguan gods' worship places can be basically transformed in the Ming dynasty. Firstly, the emergence of Sanguan Temple built by the people after the Ming dynasty; Secondly, the monks participated in the construction and management of the Sanguan Temple. The Sanguan gods was no longer the exclusive deities of Taoism but also the god of the Buddhist temple. The expansion of Sanguan-faith groups corresponds to the rich levels of the Sanguan narrative texts, which highlights the popularity of Sanguan.

Keywords: Folk belief; Folk narrative; Taoist gods; Sanguan gods; Noble deities; Local god; Legendary morphology

Author: Li, Meng

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: The parallax view—on missionaries' writings of the Ming-Qing transition

Abstract: Missionaries are important participators and recorders of the Ming-Qing transition. This dissertation purports to discuss the texts about the Ming-Qing conflict written by Johann Adam Schall von Bell, Martino Martini, Michel Boym and Domingo Fernández Navarrete, who were in China during the late Ming and early Qing period. Through the analysis on their unique writing styles, modes of interpretation, their textual dialogues as well as the religious, political, historical and cultural context revealed in their books, compared with the writings of the

same topic by Chinese historians, the dynastic changeover from Ming to Qing that took place in China during the seventeenth century will be re-examined.

Through a comparison between the four missionaries' works on the Ming-Qing transition with that of the Chinese historians in the early Qing dynasty, the first chapter summarizes three writing styles of the missionaries. Michel Boym's *Briefve relatione de la notable conversion des personnes royales, & de l'estat de la religion chrestienne en la China*, and Adam Schall's *Historica narratio, de initio et progressu missionis Societatis Jesu apud Chineses, ac praesertim in regia Pequinensi*, place the Ming-Qing transition in the narrative framework of Chinese missionary history. With a focus on the wars during the transition, Martino Martini's *De Bello Tartarico Historia* describes how the Manchu conquered the Ming dynasty step by step. Domingo Navarrete's *The Author's Travels*, from a personal point of view, records his own experience of touring in China during the wars. These three different writing strategies, provide readers with three different types of narratives of the Ming-Qing transition, representing the missionaries' unique observations of that complicated history from three perspectives of "religion", "war" and "travel".

The second chapter explores how missionaries interpret the Ming-Qing transition. On the one hand, they use religions of the western world as a reference and consider the Ming-Qing conflict as a part of God's Plan and the fall of Ming as God's punishment. On the other hand, using the history of the West, especially war history, as a reference, they compare Zhu Changfang (Lovangus) with Codrus, the collapse of the Ming dynasty with the fall of Troy and the Roman Empire, the Ming-Qing wars with the contemporaneous Thirty Years' War. These interpretations bring us new knowledge, recognizing the significance of Zhu Changfang's turning point in the history of the South Ming dynasty, as well as the comparison and the interaction between the Ming-Qing transition and European history.

The parallax not only means differences in writing styles and modes of interpretation between the missionaries and the Chinese authors, but also in

understanding of the Ming-Qing transition within the missionaries. The third chapter is centered on the conflict of opinions among Adam Schall, Martino Martini, Michel Boym and Domingo Navarrete. It reveals that their disputes are related not only to the turmoil in China, but also to the intricate political and religious struggles among European countries and Catholic orders at that time. All this can be taken as an indication of the complexity of the Ming -Qing transition.

The fourth chapter probes more deeply into how the writings of missionaries expand our scope to observe the Ming-Qing transition by putting it in the Sino-European interactive relationship. The missionaries intervened in the dynastic change and started political and military cooperation with the Ming and Qing regimes. Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands and other countries were also involved in this turbulence in order to compete for the privilege of free trade with China. The missionaries' written records have also been widely disseminated, translated and adapted in Europe. The role that missionaries' writings of the Ming-Qing transition play in China-Europe relations is further demonstrated through an analysis of changes in narrating the transition images as well as a comparison with the writings from the perspective of global history.

Re-examining the Ming-Qing transition from different perspectives of the missionaries, on the one hand, can complement the traditional Chinese historical narratives, further deepen our understanding of the link between the Ming-Qing transition and Europe or even the world at that time. On the other hand, we must also be clearly aware that the mission of "the Christian Occupation of China" and the complicated religious and political struggles in Europe severely affected the writing of missionaries, so that prejudices coexist with insights in their texts. The different perspectives of the missionaries constitute the particularity of the world's understanding of China, also constitutes the possibility for us to reflect on the Ming-Qing conflict.

Keywords: Missionary; Ming-Qing transition; History writing; Seventeenth-century Europe

Author: Xu, Shuang Shuang

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: *Fu Jen University and Chinese-Western cultural exchange (1925–1952)*

Abstract: Fu Jen University (the Catholic University of Peking) is a typical case of Chinese- Western cultural exchange in the first half of the 20th century. Its establishment and development not only benefited from cultural exchange, but also enhanced the mutual understanding between China and the West. Accordingly, this dissertation examines the idea exchange, knowledge transfer, personnel mobility, academic production, and artistic creation in this institution. It tries to explore how the academic ideas, systems and methods were introduced into China, also how Chinese traditional culture was preserved and promoted, and then transmitted to the West through university's press, Catholic organizations, and personal linkages.

The rise of Fu Jen originated from three driving forces: Chinese intellectuals, the Vatican, and American Benedictines. In early Republic of China, Chinese Catholic intellectuals claimed to inherit ideals of Jesuits in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. The Vatican soon emphasized on Christian education in the Far East and the policy of indigenization. Later on, the Benedictines utilized historical experience of restructuring the cultural order in the Middle Ages. The entanglement of various ideas formed the academic style of this Catholic university which placed emphasis on liberal arts, especially Chinese studies, making it different from other Christian universities.

The evolution of discipline system reflects both the integration of academic resources at home and abroad and the intersection of modern Chinese and Western knowledges. In this process, the interaction between Chinese and Western factors was permeated. On one hand, Chinese scholars embraced western

academic system and integrated modern methods to develop traditional scholarship. On the other hand, western missionaries cooperated closely with Chinese to transplant the discipline model that Western orders advocated and featured. This process was also affected by relationship among university, government and the church, as well as various practical conditions.

The experiences of foreign teachers show how Chinese and Western cultures are extended and expanded through personnel mobility. Many missionary scholars were sent by the Western orders to serve in this university. While bringing new perspectives and approaches to Chinese higher education and academic development, they were in turn influenced by these experiences. After leaving Fu Jen, foreign scholars carried on previous research projects in other institutions, or brought back the knowledge and materials accumulated in China, or told Western public about Chinese history and reality, therefore continued to promote the dialogue and communication between the East and the West.

Academic publications, especially those of high standards reveal Fu Jen's international orientation and integration with Sinology across the world. For instance, *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking* gradually developed from school bulletin to academic journal; *Monumenta Serica* was published as one of the most important sinological journals in the 20th century; *Folklore Studies* reflected anthropological accomplishments of Society of the Divine Word. The common interest of Chinese and Western scholars could be found in the purposes and contents of these journals, meanwhile, the degree of internationalization of this university could be seen from the succession of them and their connection with other domestic and overseas journals.

Fu Jen University is also the birthplace and proving ground of Chinese Catholic art. The design of main building integrated thinking and exploration of Sino-Christian architectural style of western architects. Department of Fine Arts later gathered a group of Chinese and foreign painters to create a series of

Christian paintings by absorbing Chinese and Western expressions, which opened a new field of Chinese religious art and had a lasting impact at home and abroad.

In summary, the history of Fu Jen University as a Catholic cultural and educational institution demonstrates the tension between missionary and cultural missions, the two-way flow of Chinese and Western culture in the 20th century, and the mutual construction of globalization and indigenization.

Keywords: Fu Jen University; Chinese and Western exchange; Catholic Church; Indigenization; Sinology

Author: Li, Le

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: Study on the modern Islamism in Sudan: 1949–2010

Abstract: The modern Islamism is an important phenomenon in the development of modern Middle Eastern politics and societies. It is one of the main thoughts and political movements emerging in the Middle Eastern societies in response to modernization. It advocates that politics and social affairs of Muslim countries should be guided by Islam, criticizing political systems and laws introduced from the West. Islamist movements are usually in tense relationships with the regimes of Middle Eastern countries, but details of that relationship vary from country to country. In regard to this, the case of Sudan is one worth studying, where the Islamist movement successfully took power by infiltrating state institutions, which is the only case in the Middle East. A study on it is helpful to understanding modern Islamism in a better way, and contributes to broadening and deepening the country study on Sudan.

This dissertation studies the origin and development of modern Islamism in Sudan, as well as the interaction between the Islamist movement and the ruling political and military elites of Sudan. The modern Islamism emerged in the era of nationalist struggle in Sudan, supporting the cause of nationalism—ending the

colonial rule and achieving self-determination, but further asked for establishment of an “Islamic” social and political order after that. The Sudanese political and military elites who inherited state power from the colonialists were not interested in establishing an Islamic order, focusing on maintaining their own political and economic hegemony. The leftist officers taking power by a coup in 1969 tried to reform the structure of economy and society radically, and clashed with the modern Islamist movement. However, the reform of the military regime didn’t produce positive results as planned. It had to adopt the Islamist discourse and policies of Islamization to strengthen its legitimacy. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the modern Islamist movement enlarged its social influence and managed to infiltrate the army.

Through its constituency in the army, The Islamist movement took power by a coup. The design for political expedients made the regime established by the coup flawed from the first place. The institutions of the Islamist movement were weakened after establishment of the regime, which made it incapable to command the regime in an institutionalized way. The Islamist regime was no different from the previous authoritarian regimes in the structural perspective, failing to solve the structural problems of Sudan. On the issue of nation building of Sudan, the Islamists’ longing for an Islamic constitutional order cannot reconcile with building a national identity which embraces diverse ethnicities and religions.

The modern Islamist movement failed to achieve its goal of reforming the politics, economy and society of Sudan systematically. The regime it established left a situation of political fragmentation, economic deteriorating and social disorder. The movement itself divided into factions fighting against each other. However, partly due to endeavor of this movement, a large number of political and military elites accepted Islamist ideas, and the Islamist discourse is widely used in the public space. The modern Islamism still enjoys some influence as a thought in the Sudanese society in the current time.

Keywords: Modern Islamism; Sudan; Sharī‘a; Islamic state; Nation-state building

Author: Zhang, Jin

Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2021

Title: A study on the relationship between scholar-officials and Buddhism in the Northern Song dynasty

Abstract: This paper mainly focuses on the general picture of Buddhism and scholar-officials in the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) and the change of their relationship, since this period has witnessed a new developmental stage of Chinese Buddhism.

The academic world, from the standpoint of Buddhism, has long believed that this religion fell into decline after the Song dynasty. However, Chinese Buddhism, after experiencing social changes between the Tang and Song dynasties, took on some new characteristics. For example, Buddhism penetrated almost all aspects of daily life; Buddhist historiography flourished unprecedentedly, with more biographies of monks, excellent recording of inheritance, and detailed general history; Various sects, Zen, Tiantai, Pure Land Buddhism, etc., became inclusive and integrated with one another; Buddhism also communicated with Confucianism and Taoism deeply, and, together with them, provided important sources for School of Principle in the Song and Ming dynasties. During this period, the most typical literati politics in Chinese history was fully formed. The evolution of Buddhism relied on the participation of this scholarly community, while the latter's thoughts and views were in turn profoundly impacted by the former through their close contact. Therefore, their relationship serves as a critical clue for interpreting the exchange and interaction of politics, ideology and religion in this period.

This paper first reviews the formulation and development of Buddhist policies in the Northern Song dynasty. At the beginning, the emperors adopted

supportive and manipulative religious policies, establishing a harmonious relationship between political regimes and Buddhism. This relationship generally remained stable throughout the dynasty, except for a temporary resistance to Buddhism and appreciation of Daoism by Emperor Huizong. Then, the changes of scholar-officials from the end of Tang dynasty to the Northern Song dynasty are presented in later chapters. Free from the turmoil of the Five Dynasties (907–979), the literati group gradually gained political and cultural dominance at the beginning of the new dynasty. Hence a new type of scholars represented by Fan Zhongyan and Ouyang Xiu, and a typical political structure dominated by scholar-officials.

At the beginning of Song dynasty, as rulers advocated Buddhism, the scholars, deeply involved in religious affairs, became the direct executors of religious policies and the de facto administrators. At the same time, although some of them believed in Buddhism, the community had strong desires for restoring the dominant position of Confucianism in the ideological system, which finally led to the resistance to Buddhism. Their relationship also varied with the development of literati politics. When Buddhism was appreciated and supported by emperors, the scholars mainly followed suit. In the middle of the dynasty, the political structure of scholar-officials took shape. While leading political and cultural reforms, the scholar-officials continued to carry forward Han Yu's policy of resistance to Buddhism, which was believed as social ill infringing on the fundamental status of Confucianism. When the resistance to Buddhism later became the mainstream of the society, Buddhists among scholar-officials bravely protected their religion. When factional rivalry escalated and many scholars were deprived of their political power in the struggle, they would likely make friends with Buddhist priests and devoted themselves to Buddhism. Through literature and social practice, they integrated Buddhist spirit into their life. The scholar-official community, whether they worshipped or rejected Buddhism, or

somewhere in between, made contributions in different respects to the localization and secularization of this religion in this period.

Taking Yang Yi, Su Shi, Huang Tingjian and Zhang Shangying as typical cases, on the one hand, this paper discusses Buddhists among scholar-officials and their role in supporting, spreading, and protecting Buddhism. Taking Ouyang Xiu as an example, on the other hand, this paper reviews the development of anti-Buddhism thought, and analyzes the interactions between Buddhism and those in opposition to this religion. Affected by anti-Buddhism thoughts, the connotation of the term Ning Fo (Excessive Worship of Buddhism) changed significantly in the dynasty and was commonly used to criticize the excessive worship of Buddhism among scholar-officials. The transformation of the concept “Ning Fo”, under the joint influences of pro-Buddhism and anti-Buddhism thoughts, reveals the complexity of the relationship between the literati group and Buddhism in the Northern Song dynasty.

Keywords: Northern Song dynasty; Buddhism; Scholar-officials; Literati politics; Ning Fo

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Date: 2021

Title: “My calligraphy is Dharma” —research of Master Hongyi’s calligraphy

Abstract: Master Hongyi’s calligraphy is “plain, quiet, and diffuse”, which is a representative of monk calligraphy. He said: “My calligraphy is Dharma.” He uses calligraphy as a convenient method for his practice, and he also uses his calligraphy to promote the Dharma. His calligraphy journey is a result of the changes in the time axis of his temperament, insight, and his comprehension of the law of calligraphy.

The learning and experience in his early years laid the foundation of his life, and his practice tempered his character and contributed to the sublimation of his

calligraphy. Master Hongyi advocates “the essence of Tao and the end of art”, and “sincere and respectful” in all situations is his nature of mind method. When writing is also when practicing. Not obsessed with the law, he blended the seal script, the official script, the running script and the cursive, and wrote a mellow calligraphy, with the mind of all bodies. He blended dramas, comics and other arts, combined them into his writing brush, and showed his smart expression. The creation of “Husheng Painting Collection” is full of compassion, which is a major cause of the thin “Yangzhi script”. In his early years, he was deeply influenced by “The Stele of Zhang Menglong”, and in his later works, the inner knot body was also developed. His calligraphy is comfortable, compassionate and unique. In his later years, his writing style became more and more innocent and lively. The last writing and ink “combination of sadness and joy” is indistinguishable and unbelievable. It can be described as a convenient method for masters to open to future generations.

Master’s works are to remove arrogance and distracting thoughts, cleansing subtleties. Contrary to the tradition of “power” in calligraphy, he presents a kind of castrated space, and also brings a sense of time that transcends rhythm and flow. With the ancient style, the slow strokes, the current freshness, the spring and autumn. The master’s calligraphy is sparse and desolate, and he has no intention of making connections, but there is no separation. Behind it is the time to cut off the improper thoughts and solve the knot. His words are in round feet and round living without dwelling. The seemingly soft and feeble lines are blindly pure and quiet. The mage shows directly with his words. He said that his characters revealed “plain, quiet, and diffuse”. The three have deep meanings and internal connections.

The master’s writings not only promote the Buddhist principles in the written content, but the calligraphy itself is quite meaningful, and his seal and signature also have the effect of showing the Dharma. From “Yi Yin” at the beginning of the monkhood to “Er Yi Old Man” in his later years, the master has changed from time to time in signing and signing, reaching more than 200. You can explore his wonderful deeds of following the text into the concept, showing the wonderful

meaning of “no self” and “infinite possession”. The use of the Buddha statue stamp and the location of its stamp are also very particular.

The main method of this article is to read the works carefully. From the method of calligraphy, the image of calligraphy, the breath of calligraphy and the meaning of calligraphy of the master, the different levels are introduced, and the changes are reviewed to experience the state and the state behind them, and the enlightenment they bring.

Keywords: Master Hongyi; Calligraphy; Aesthetics; Buddhis

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Date: 2021

Title: A study of K. H. Ting’s contextualized Christology

Abstract: Bishop K. H. Ting (Ting Kuang-hsun, or Ding Guangxun, 1915–2021) is the thinker and central figure of the Protestant Church in modern China. Without taking his life story and thoughts into consideration, modern Chinese Christianity cannot be fully understood. In 1951, Ting returned to China to serve the motherland. He promoted ‘Theological Reconstruction’ in China, a movement in theology parallel to the development of the People’s Republic of China. His life-story, and the way his thinking developed reflected process of continual dialogue between the Church and modern society in China. After retiring from his leadership in the China Christian Council and Three-Self Patriotic Movement (CCC&TSPM), Ting remained a representative figure in the Church in China, a respected leader in the universal Church. To put it more accurately, Ting is a practical, rather than a systematic, theologian. His theology focuses on the goal of ‘running the Church well’ and serves the sustainable development of the Church in modern China. In his theological thought, Ting pays particular attention to the correlation between ‘Christology’ and ‘the context in modern China’. Indeed ‘contextualized Christology’ runs throughout Ting’s exploration of theology. This

paper therefore uses the perspective of Christology to study Ting's contextual theology. By using a systematic analysis, it examines the sources of Ting's thoughts, the particular issues to which Ting's Christological thought was a considered response, the essential content of his Christology itself and the analysis on how Ting applies his theory into Chinese context. This in turn can provide a directional and decisive guidance for the current and future development of Chinese Christianity, as well as Chinese insights into the development of contextual theology for the universal Church. This paper is composed of five sections. The first part discusses Ting's life story and its impact on his Christology. Main sources of Ting's contextualized Christology will be explored: the Bible, the Christian tradition, the Chinese cultural and historical context, and the influence of fellows such as the theologian Y. T. Wu (Wu, Yao-tsung 1893–1979). The second part traces the particular issues to which Ting's Christological thought was a considered response. He was committed to reinterpreting the doctrine of justification by faith and removing the image of Western Christianity from the Chinese church. He was critical of the limitations of traditional Christology and was concerned to honor the truth, goodness and beauty found outside the church. He proposes the way as how to think of the political and pastoral meaning of "Three-Self" and an approach to theological exploration with its goal of "running the Church well in the socialist society. The third part elaborates Ting's contextualized Christology in details. This includes God's image in Christology, Incarnation, the unity of creation and salvation, an emphasis on "original grace" over "original sin" in terms of the views on grace and humanity, the Christ of reconciliation, the cosmic Christ, the resurrected Christ and the Biblical interpretation of Christology. The fourth part delves into the practical implications and commentaries of Ting's contextualized Christology which includes the themes as the incarnate Christ and Chinese identity, incarnate Christ and the "common language" with Chinese people, the cosmic Christ and "cultural Christians", cosmic Christ and interreligious dialogues, the relationship between Christology and running Church well, and the way

promoting the image of the Christianity in China in the universal Church. The fifth part evaluates the thought of Ting's contextualized Christology. It points out that Ting's contextualize Christology enlightens the exploration of "making the Church in China Chinese" (MCCC). It begins with the multiple understandings of MCCC, whereafter, demonstrates my own assessments on Ting's thinking and practice of MCCC, namely, its subjectivity, initiative, particularity, doctrinal interpretation, methodology, universal vision and also its development in a dynamic, grassroots and deep level. This part also displays the critical dimension of Ting's thought, such as insufficient reference to the classical sources of Chinese culture. The paper concludes that Ting's theology is significant to the instruction and foresightedness on exploration of MCCC, which has become an epitome of the theological construction of Chinese Christianity in history, especially after the reform and opening up. And thus, Ting's contextualized Christology cannot be omitted in the history of Christianity in modern China. What's more, Ting has been an indispensable member among contextual theologians in the history of Asian theology.

Keywords: K. H. Ting; Contextualized Christology; Making the Church in China Chinese

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Date: 2021

Title: How religion shapes politics through transnational corporations: viewed from CSR Movements of American and European Christian organizations

Abstract: In the era of economic globalization, transnational capital flow has fostered the rise of global supply chains (value chains) and the global production network, which are systems featuring the close interconnectedness of politics and economy, and the pervasive existence of power relations. Transnational

corporations, as crucial nodes in global supply chains (value chains) and the global production network, wield enormous power in the world economic and political processes. Religious organizations from the civil society have noticed the significant influence of transnational corporations, and tried to control the corporate power through a type of “counter movements”, i.e. corporate responsibility movements, to achieve their political and social goals.

Though the “separation of politics from religion” is thought as a fundamental principle in modern politics, complex interactions can be found between religion and politics in reality. Religion can shape politics through a spiritual system made up of religious teachings, and an organizational system consisting of religious institutions. In the era of economic globalization, however, transnational corporations have become an important way for religion to influence transnational politics. To study “how religious organizations shape politics through transnational corporations”, this paper takes American and European Christian organizations as examples, and draw from the resource dependency theory to make three case studies: the Anti-apartheid movement, labor governance in the garment industry of Bangladesh, and global climate governance. This paper reveals the specific mechanisms through which religious organizations try to control the corporate power via corporate responsibility movements. Put simply, through corporate responsibility movements, religious organizations can wield the “investor power” inside corporations to seek the “internal control”; they can also mobilize the “consumer power” and “public power” outside corporations as social activists to pursue the “external control”. By positive and negative incentives, religious organizations can exert effective impact on resources essential to the existence and development of target corporations, including capital, reputation, market, and favorable policies and laws, and push the target corporations to act as desired by religious organizations. Transnational corporations have different responses to such pressures. When they cannot avoid such pressures, they can only choose to adapt to them, or some corporations may

voluntarily adapt to achieve competitive advantages. When corporations follow the will of religious organizations and their allies, they use their structural power, instrumental power and discursive power, as preferred by religious organizations, to influence political and economic elites in target countries and domains, by taking advantage of their dependence on the resources that these corporations control: capital, technology, market, energy, tax, legitimacy, among other things. In this way, they can shape both the “high politics” and “low politics” of a sovereign state, as well as the global public affairs. Apart from intentionally “using” the corporate power to achieve their goals, religious organizations and their allies can also “restrain” the use of power by corporations to make way for their preferred goals, also through the control of resources necessary to target corporations. In a word, based on the rationale of resource dependence, religious organizations can influence the behaviors of transnational corporations, and thereupon exert impact on politics in target states and domains. This is a “transmission of control”. The transmission of control is made possible because of resource dependence and power exercise.

The “transnational corporations’ approach” through which religion shapes politics as proposed in this paper bridges analyses at the international and domestic levels, and manifests a holistic logic that includes “state–market–society” within one analytical framework. It puts religious organizations from the domain of “society”, transnational corporations from the domain of “market”, and public power institutions from the domain of “state” into the same transnational networks of relations, and examine their interactions therein. In this way, this paper unveils a special mechanism through which “social actors” can influence transnational politics via “market actors” in the era of economic globalization. This can deepen our understanding of the role of non-state actors in transnational politics in this era.

Keywords: Religion; Christian organization; Transnational corporations; Corporate responsibility movement; Transnational politics

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Title: A study on theological resources in W. H. Auden's poetry

Abstract: W. H. Auden is one of the most important English poets since T. S. Eliot. He converted to Christianity in 1940, since then he changed from a left-wing poet to a religious poet. In his later period, Auden contacted with varied theologians, they wrote letters and reviews for each other, forming close relationship and improving each other's thoughts as a result. This research is a study on the resources in Auden's poems based on these letters and reviews, with special attention to the question he was influenced by and responded to the thoughts of Charles Williams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Kierkegaard and so on.

The first chapter focus on Auden's opinion about equality and justice, trace back to theological reason and personal background about his change, aiming to reveal classic virtue and its philosophical significance and artistical expression in his later poems. Auden changed his idea about social equality from the perspective of political economy to religion; this change is closely related not only to the Second World War but also to Niebuhr and Williams. Niebuhr criticized the church for the traditional understanding about original sin as real historical event not as symbolic event. He explained his thought about sin in a symbolical way. Sin is caused by anxiety, in which people are so afraid of loss of safety that they exaggerate their ability and power, this eventually leads to pride that is basic sin in Christianity. Besides, Williams believed that injustice will only gain significance when Christ existed and suffered for the sinful people. All these had great influence on Auden, which will explain his emphasis on the virtue of humility in his later letters and poems. Thus, Auden pay tribute to Horace who applaud the classic virtue in his poetry. But different from Horace's 'carpe diem', Auden's depiction

of daily life is fully of guilty of sin because of his symbolic understanding of original sin.

The second chapter focus on Auden's understanding of co-inherence and reciprocal relationship to explain his idea about Christian marriage and reveal philosophical background of his dialogical poetics in later period. Concerning to Auden's thought about love, he changed from Freud's eros in early period to Christian marriage in later poetry, this change is mainly due to Kierkegaard and Denis de Rougemot. For Auden, Christian marriage doesn't mean traditional moral constrain but a reciprocal relationship between the self and the others. In marriage, people are asked to abandon the selfish self and gain a new spiritual attitude, this is contrary to romantic love that asks people to die in passion and regard themselves as gods. People make subjective choices to be loyal to their vows, aiming to defy various uncertainties, the couple in marriage form reciprocal relationship in such a way. Auden's understanding of Williams' theory of Co-inherence, exchange and substitution for each other, is clear expression of reciprocal relationship. In Auden's later poems, he uses reciprocity to express love and use dialogical poetics to form love in literary action. Auden thinks poetry as a talk between one and another, he believes poets should focus on two points to reveal different side of the dialect, and he realized this dialogical poetics in his longer poems in later period.

The third chapter takes Auden's understanding of the relationship between "poetry and truth" as the center of discussion, and explains his reflection on the social function of poetry, thus explaining the personal background, the situation of the times, and the ideological reasons for the changes in his "Ars Poetica". In his later years, Auden revised and even deleted some of his earlier poems because he found there was a misunderstanding in public and even some poets who held that "art makes anything happen". Contrary to this, he believed that "poetry makes nothing happen" and the only social function of poets lies in warning, an action of keeping the artists vigilant on the fact that any attempt to get closer to the truth

will probably result in deviation from it instead. This is not only Auden's alert sent to the artists against their attempt to endorse the truth around World War II, but also his confession to the "dishonest", "frivolity" and "demagogy" similarly reflected in his early poetry. This shift is closely related to Kierkegaard and others. According to Kierkegaard, truth is subjective, and man needs to maintain a balance between his inner passion and objective uncertainty. Influenced by this, Auden emphasizes that man must "know his own subjectivity objectively", and therefore he cannot accurately grasp the truth. In his late longer poem "The Sea and the Mirror", which represents his later "Ars Poetica", Auden transforms the magical Prospero in Shakespeare's play *The Tempest* into an old man who laments his past as an artist. In Auden's version, Prospero finds himself "under seventy thousand fathoms deep" of uncertainty and he says that "the way of Truth was a way of silence".

The fourth chapter focuses on "Poetry and Rite", discusses Auden's understanding of vision and rite, explores the cultural factors and philosophical resources contained therein, and thus explaining his thoughts on the nature of poetry and imagination. With the outbreak of World War II, Auden began to reflect on the optimistic view of history and the social culture obsessed with reason. Then he became more interested in Williams' "negative way" and its associated mystical meditations, this inspired Auden to pay more attention to mystical visions and rite in his later years. However, as a Christian, Auden rejected the vision of God and celebrated the vision of Dame Kind, Eros, and Agape because he did not want to equate vision with prophecy, he preferred to think of vision as a "supernatural illumination". Although he is fascinated with vision, he does not mistake it for reality, he sees it as a way of integrating experience into the literary imagination. His understanding of rite is similar. Rather than understanding rite as a procedure, Auden sees rite as related to poetry, "A poem is a rite". Rite is "a community in action", and poetry expresses the desire for community in an imaginative way. In an age obsessed with reason but poor of symbols, poetry can build an imaginary

world, and sustain emotions such as the desire for a better community in this imaginary world. Thus, for Auden, vision and rite are transcendental and imaginary, analogies to utopia on the level of words rather than imitations of the real, complement to reason rather than substitution for reason.

Auden accepts Niebuhr's symbolical interpretation of original sin, not in order to condemn people but to applaud the virtue of humility; he draws on Kierkegaard's understanding of marriage, not to bind people's hearts with moral chains, but to resist uncertainty through "reciprocal relationship"; he recognizes that "poetry makes nothing happen", not to criticize poetry for its uselessness and give up writing, but to war people to be vigilant about poets' attempts to substitute personal understanding for universal truth; he is concerned with visions and rites, not in pursuit of mystery or transformation into prophetic prophet, but in building up an imaginary world where reason flourishes but spirituality is barren.

These theological resources enriched Auden's thought and brought about transformation of Auden's poetics. But his poetry is not merely a statement, but rather a literary practice and expansion of these ideas. In his later period, Auden replaces the earlier pilot's perspective with a limited private perspective, this is a poetic response to the virtue of humility. He replaces Eros with marriage in love, extending the "dialogue" from the marital couple to large number of citizens, this is a democratic expression of the "reciprocal relationship". He replaces pride of "art makes everything happen" with humility of "poetry makes nothing happen" and "the way of Truth was a way of silence", this is the literary practice of "subjective truth". He creates the imaginative world with visions and rites, providing a harbor for feelings in the world where reason flourishes but with meaning missed, this is an interpretation and complement to "Negative Way".

Keywords: W. H. Auden; Virtue; Reciprocity; Humility; Negativity

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Date: 2021

Title: Research on socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics

Abstract: In April 2016, General Secretary Xi Jinping put forwards the important proposition of socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics for the first time at the National Conference on Religious Work, forming the religious chapter of socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics. It answers important theoretical and practical questions about how to understand religion, how to deal with religious issues and how to do religious work well in socialist society. The aim of studying the socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics is to analyze its internal logic and levels, to deeply understand and grasp its rich connotations, to explain the characteristics and positions of each part, to promote the continuous development of socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics.

The socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics is a highly concise and self-improvement theory, which has a profound source basis for its formation and improvement. Firstly, it inherits the views, strategies and methods of dealing with the religious issues of Marxism. The basic experience of the Party's in understanding of religious attributes, dealing with religious problems and doing religious work well comes from the Marxist view of religion. It has enriched and developed the Marxist religious view by combining it with the Chinese religious reality. Secondly, it has taken shape in the course of developing socialism with Chinese characteristics. It inherits the Party's basic views on religion in the primary stage of socialism. The Chinese Communists, mainly represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, emphasized the correct understanding and handling of religious issues. The Chinese Communists, mainly represented by Comrade Jiang Zemin, pay attention to the relationship between religion and socialism. The Chinese Communists with Hu Jintao as the main representative discussed the harmony between religion and socialist society. The CPC Central Committee with Xi Jinping as the core carry built a new construction of religious theory, deepening the party's understanding of religion and making clear the handling of religious

issues. Thirdly, it is rich in religious practice in China and the world. Religious issues have always been a major issue that the Party must properly handle in governing the country. The Socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics has strong problem orientation and realistic concern. It has developed and improved in the process of solving religious issues, and has distinctive practical and innovative characteristics.

The Socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics has clear level, rich connotation and distinctive characteristics:

The theory of the attribute of religion reflects the scientific nature and innovation of the socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics. The Party on understanding of the nature, law of development and social function of religion conforms to the basic principles of Marxist religious view. And on the basis of innovation, it has made innovations, realizing the organic unity of scientificity and innovation of religious theory. The first point is that it adheres to the basic understanding of religion of Marxism and explains the basic connotation, basic law and basic function of religious attribute, and holds that religion is the reflection of illusions in the mind of external forces that dominate people's daily life. The emergence, development and extinction of religion is a historical process with its own laws, which has brought important influence to human society. The second point is that it creatively develops Marxism's basic understanding of the attribute of religion, points out that religion is a special culture and becomes the focus of dealing with religious issues. On this basis, it proposes to grasp the "five characteristics" of Chinese religion and treat dialectically the social role of religion in China. Religion has both positive and negative effects, which is a social phenomenon that are both positive and negative effects exist together. The third point is that we should constantly deepen the understanding of the nature of religion, build the cornerstone of socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics, and guide the practice of religious work from the perspective of

human social development, socialist construction and promoting the modernization of national governance.

The theory of religious work highlights the practicality and guidance of socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics. Since the new period, the Party's religious work has made progress because of the guidance of the socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics. The socialist religious work with Chinese characteristics has obvious advantages in three aspects: adhering to the core socialist values to guide and educate religious figures and believers, adhering to the basic political stance of putting people first, and adhering to the main goal of building a positivity and health; The theory of religious work of socialism with Chinese characteristics has three main contents: the Party's basic policy, basic ideas and basic evaluation criteria for religious work, which enriches and develops the the practical connotation of the religious theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics; The theory of religious work of socialism with Chinese characteristics is based on China's religion itself and the great united front work to understand the international and domestic situations. It improves its systems and mechanisms and helps build a patriotic united front between the Party and the religious circles. It demonstrates the role of religions in China's economic development, social harmony, cultural prosperity, ethnic unity and national reunification, which opens up new ideas for promoting the religious work of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The theory of the religious governance system highlights the strategic and long-term nature of socialist religious theory with Chinese characteristics. The Party and the government actively promoted the reform of the religious system and established a socialist religious system under the leadership of the Party after the founding of New China. Since reform and opening up, the Party has combined the "particularity" of the religious system with the "generality" of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics. The main purpose is to grasp the characteristics and advantages of socialism with Chinese characteristics, grasp the

overall situation of socialism with Chinese characteristics and operate it efficiently, which establish the basic framework of the socialist religious system with Chinese characteristics. It includes the party's leadership system for religious work, the government's governance system for religious affairs, and the religious groups' own management system, which embodies the authority and guidance, characteristics and pertinence, effectiveness and operability of the system. In the process of removing obstacles and barriers, we should fully absorb and draw on useful experience, integrate various resources and forces, coordinate religious relations, handle religious affairs through the participation of the state, society and the masses, and constantly promote the standardization and modernization of the socialist religious governance system with Chinese characteristics.

The religious theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics is full of vitality. It is a scientific theory gradually summed up by our Party in the long course of revolution, construction and reform, which has important value. Firstly, it has important historical value. We should understand the three aspects of religion: "God", "society" and "man". The Party, the state and the nation jointly handle religious issues. We must coordinate "the law of human development", "the law of socialist construction" and "the law of the ruling of the Communist Party", and coordinate the relationship between religion and socialism. Secondly, it has rich theoretical value. It is the latest achievement of the Sinicization of Marxism, which injects vigor and vitality into the Marxist religious view, the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communists, and the religious chapter of the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Thirdly, it has important practical value. This theory insists on innovating the way of work, changing the attitude, idea and mode of religious governance, constantly improving the level of religious work, promoting the modernization of national governance system and governance capacity, and contributing programs and wisdom to the construction of a community of shared future for mankind.

Keywords: Socialism; Religious theory; Religious work; Religious governance system

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Date: 2021

Title: A study on the religious work of the Communist Party of China in Liaoning Province (1948–1966)

Abstract: The issue of religion has always been a major issue that our Party must deal with well in governing the country and government. Religious work concerns the overall work of the Party and the state, and concerns the flesh-and-blood ties between the Party and the people. “The essence of religious work is Mass Work,” General Secretary Xi Jinping said. “Through religious work, we will give full play to the positive role of people from religious circles and further strengthen the relationship between the Party and religious believers. We will consolidate and develop the patriotic United front between the Party and religious circles, and guide religious believers in their efforts to serve economic development, social harmony, cultural prosperity, national unity and the reunification of the motherland.”

The subject of this paper is the religious work of the Communist Party of China in Liaoning Province from 1948 to 1966. It is especially pointed out that during this period, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Party committees and governments at all levels in Liaoning region, according to the historical conditions of Liaoning region, the work carried out in the light of the specific reality of religion in Liaoning Province. After the liberation of northeast China, the present situation of religion in Liaoning Province and the problems existing in the religious circles present the following characteristics: firstly, it forms a mixture of pluralism. Liaoning has five major

religions, not only Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Catholicism and Christianity co-exist, there are also native shamanism. As a result of the large-scale population flow since modern times, gradually formed by the Central Plain Han nationality as the main body, multi-ethnic coexistence of “immigrant society”, making religious culture blend blend. In the belief system of the people at the bottom, the feudal superstition thought is very strong, which provides the breeding ground for the feudal superstition activities and the Secret Society Gate. Liaoning is a multi-ethnic region with a large number of people from Mongols who believe in Tibetan Buddhism, mainly in the areas of Fuxin and Chaoyang. In some cities and counties, large numbers of people from Hui people who believe in Islam also live in a large number, there is the complexity of the interweaving of religious and ethnic issues. The Government of the People’s Republic of China’s ability to govern is being tested by how it deals with the relationship between religious and non-religious groups; third, religious acceptance of state power is generally weak. Since the late Qing Dynasty, the sovereignty has been lost, and the northeast government has changed several times, especially during the period of Japanese puppet government, Japan used the religious circles to form the “religious Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” to enslave the religious people, under the collusion of Western missionaries with the Japanese and puppet governments, Christianity was “de-sinicized” (with the words “China” and “northeast” removed) and replaced by “Manchuria” , under the control of the upper and lower levels of religious circles, who were actively or passively supported by the Japanese and puppet governments, the identification of the religious circles and believers with the state power was generally weakened. Catholic circles are more typical. The power of the Holy See in China has long played up the argument of “religious supranational, ethnic supranational, and super-class”, weakening the patriotic thought of Catholics and replacing it with the love of religion. Catholics in Liaoning generally believe that “love religion more than patriotism”; fourth, the religious circles’ understanding of the Party and its freedom of religion policy tends to be

negative. Since the great revolution, the old regime in the northeast has been trying to create negative public opinion against the Communist Party of China. As a result, religious circles generally lack trust in the party-led people's power and doubt the party's freedom of religion policy. Since the late Qing Dynasty, there have been frequent wars and social unrest. Most religious personages have a passive attitude of avoiding the world. Some religious personages are reluctant to get close to the Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China. Or retreat to the temple, the mountains and forests do not talk about politics, or perfunctorily blame the People's democratic political power of political ideas. Their dependence on religion is more stubborn, unable to complete independent innovation, adapt to the new society; Sixth, the background is complex. Buddhism, Taoism and Islam in Liaoning are closely related to feudal politics, ethics and culture. There are a large number of Catholics and Christians in Liaoning Province, and the religious undertakings undertaken by the church cover a wide range. The church is under the control of the western powers and is deeply influenced by imperialism.

After the Liberation of the Northeast, Party committees and governments at all levels dealt flexibly with the issue of religious land and real estate in the newly liberated areas and suburban areas, and strategically accepted religious organizations and their undertakings. In the struggle against feudalism, the Reactionary Church Gate led by Guan Dao was banned, leading the Christian and Catholic circles to sever the connection between the Church and imperialism. After the Party Committee of Liaoning Province took over the religious work in November 1954, it further strengthened the reformation of the religious circles. First, in the campaign against "counter-revolutionaries" to further clean up the Christian religious community to block the movement's counter-revolutionary and their influence. The conservative elements and forces in Tibetan Buddhism and Islam that are not in line with the development of the new society have been reformed and swept away. In line with the socialist transformation, religious figures were given certain political status and financial subsidies to ensure their

previous standard of living. Second, Party committees and governments at all levels in Liaoning Province, on the one hand, guide religions to adapt to the new society, such as assisting religious circles in setting up new organizations and expanding their opportunities to participate in international exchanges, tourism and visits were organized to give them a real sense of the changes and developments in New China, and to thoroughly resolve the issue of religious property, which was of concern to the religious community. As a result, the majority of religious circles closer to the party and the government, consciously into the new society. On the other hand, Party committees and governments at all levels in Liaoning Province, in coordination with the central work of each period, have been subtly implementing the collectivism values in various forms to the religious circles and religious believers, as a result, religious personages and believers broke the small circle of individual religious belief, gradually accepted the shaping of the collectivism spirit and took part in the socialist construction. Under the guidance of the Party and the government, the religious circles and the religious masses in Liaoning came out of the shadow of being colonized and enslaved, sincerely supported the leadership of the party and the People's democratic dictatorship, and transformed themselves into Protestants adapting to the new society. In the late 1950s, the religious work in Liaoning Province once made a rash mistake, but on the whole, the achievements of the religious work in this period from 1948 to 1966 were the main achievements.

Based on the original archives, newspapers and periodicals, literature and history materials, this paper tries to comb the development course of the religious work of the Northeast Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and the provincial Party Committee of Liaoning Province, and summarize the historical experience so as to bring reference and reference to the present and future religious work. This paper is divided into three parts: Introduction, text and conclusion.

The text contains the following four chapters:

The first chapter, the theme is “back to history”. This paper analyzes the background of the party’s religious work in Liaoning Province. This chapter mainly discusses the complexity of religious work in Liaoning Province. For reasons of geography and history, the mass base of the Communist Party of China is weaker in the whole northeast than in other liberated areas and base areas in Guannei. Having long accepted the negative propaganda of the old regime against the Communist Party of China, the religious circles in northeast China generally have a negative understanding of the Communist Party of China, not to mention their understanding of the party’s religious policy. After the Liberation of northeast China, the followers of various religions changed from subjugated slaves to “freedom of religion” new Chinese in just over three years. During this period, the Northeast Bureau of the CPC Central Committee led the Rural Land Reform, dealt with the feudal exploitation of religious land, and accumulated the first experience in dealing with religious land issues.

The second chapter, the preliminary exploration, the theme is “preliminary exploration”. This paper probes into the leadership of Party committees and governments at all levels over religious work during the Northeast Bureau period of the CPC Central Committee. The main contents of this chapter are “the separation of the links with imperialism” and “the elimination of religious feudal exploitation system”. After the liberation of the northeast, Catholicism recovered quickly. Under the direction and support of the Holy See, the foreign clergymen quickly returned to the northeast parishes. The majority of Christian foreign missionaries, with the exception of a few who stayed in individual cities, chose to leave on their own. Under Chen Yun’s leadership, Shenyang has smoothly taken over religious groups and their institutions. Subsequently, under the Unified Command of the Public Security Department of the Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the northeast region launched a nationwide campaign against reactionary feudal societies. Under the

leadership of Party committees and governments at all levels, the Christian religious circles in Liaoning cut off their ties with imperialism. In addition, the author discusses the deviation of the Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in the “Three-Self” Movement.

The Third chapter, discard old disease, the theme is “get rid of the old”. This chapter discusses the merger of the Province in 1954, the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee took over the initial religious work in Liaoning Province. The reactionary elements and forces in some religions have not been completely eliminated, and the ideological consciousness of some religious elites and religious believers has not yet been raised to the level of patriotism. In 1955, when the national “first five-year plan” was fully implemented, religious work in Liaoning Province should not only be carried out smoothly in line with the “first five-year plan”, but also reverse and make up for the deviations and loopholes left by the northeast bureau, and focus on the religious United front. After the first religious work conference of Liaoning Province was held, the religious work of Liaoning Province was repositioned, and the experience and lessons of previous religious work were summarized, he has completed the reform of the religious system of Tibetan Buddhism, which is believed by the masses in Mongols, and Islam, which is believed by the Chin Haw. Due to the proper measures, the work is progressing smoothly. Under the leadership of the Party and the government, the religious circles in Liaoning have removed the conservative elements and forces that are not in line with the development of socialism.

The Fourth Chapter, the collective renewal new, the theme is “cloth new”. This paper mainly discusses how the Party Committee and the government of Liaoning province guide the religious circles to integrate into the new society. After the completion of the three major reforms, the socialist system has been basically established in China. Under the guidance of the Party and the government, Liaoning Province, as a province developing heavy industry in the era of planned economy, has enlightened and implemented the collectivism’s value concepts to

religious circles and believers in various forms, and fully mobilized the spiritual driving force of collectivism, guide the religious circles to complete self-adjustment, give full play to their advantages, participate in socialist construction, and finally make the religious circles and believers adapt to the new society. Influenced by the domestic and international situation, the “left-leaning” thought gradually took the leading position in the late 1950s, and the religious work in Liaoning Province gradually went through a rough patch, however, the main leaders in charge of religious work in the province still abide by the party’s consistent advocacy of religious work and adhere to the solidarity work with the religious community. The epilogue is an evaluation of the historical status of religious work in Liaoning Province from 1948 to 1966. During this period, the religious work in Liaoning Province laid a historical foundation for the steady development of the religious work in Liaoning Province. During this period, party committees and governments at all levels in Liaoning led the religious circles in cleaning up the influence of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and severing the links between religion and the old society, the old times and the old system. These efforts enabled the religious circles in Liaoning to get rid of the shadow of being colonized and enslaved, and to transform themselves into Protestants in socialist countries.

The conclusion part is the evaluation of the historical status of religious work in Liaoning Province from 1948 to 1966. During this period, the religious work in Liaoning Province has laid a historical foundation for the steady development of the current religious work in Liaoning Province. During this period, the party committees and governments at all levels in Liaoning led the religious circles to eliminate the influence of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and cut off the connection between religion and the old society, the old era and the old system. These works made the religious circles in Liaoning get rid of the shadow of being colonized and enslaved, and enhanced their sense of independence. Taking collectivism values as an important guiding way is the historical experience

of religious work in Liaoning Province in this period. In the era of planned economy, Liaoning Province exerts its own advantages, imperceptibly implements collectivism values to religious circles and believers in various forms, inspires the consciousness of religious believers, and guides religious circles and believers to consciously report to the party and government. This has strengthened the party and the government's solidarity with religious circles and believers. And it has certain enlightenment significance for the development of today's religious work, that is, firmly grasp the leadership and leading power of ideological work, and strive to grasp the mainstream ideological and public opinion of the times. In the religious circles and believers to open up a variety of forms to implement the socialist core values, will inevitably lead to religion and socialist society constantly adapt.

Keywords: Northeast Bureau of the CPC Central Committee; Liaoning Province; Religious work; Historical status

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Title: Return to the foundation of life: Hegel on the absoluteness of Christianity

Abstract: Hegel's philosophy of religion addresses the main problems of modern reason. The main object of Hegel's analysis of modern rationality is Kant's philosophy. In *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel divides the main themes of Kant's philosophy into relatively smooth discourses. Hegel regarded Kantian philosophy as a philosophical explanation and justification of the order of modern life. Taking Kantian philosophy as a specimen, Hegel pointed out that the problem of modern reason is that there is no concrete content, but only an abstract scale without the law of contradiction. On this scale, everything can appear to be rational, which means that for modern people, everything is reasonable, and therefore, nothing is

reasonable. It is tantamount to saying that within the horizon of modern reason there is no reason at all. The scales of good, evil, good and bad have all disappeared within the framework of modern reason. Modern people regard the perceptual life as the absolute real thing, so the rational thing is the thing that can satisfy the perceptual desire. This completely materialized life means that modern people have fallen into a thorough nihilism. The representation of this way of life in philosophical form is subjective reason. Modern people, trapped in subjective reason, cannot grasp the actual content, but can only grasp the abstract objects of thought. In contrast, Hegel's philosophical goal is to grasp things as they are. Kant's philosophy is a typical theory of subjective ideas. Therefore, Hegel's analysis starts from the criticism of Kantian philosophy and transforms the division of "phenomenon/thing in itself" into experience. Hegel's experience is the idea of emotion, knowledge, and action as one, and there is nothing else behind it. Experience is the presence of the Absolute. The present mode of experience has two meanings, one is that it determines the content of human subjective consciousness, and the other is the degree to which the Absolute is conscious of himself. In the course of experience, Hegel's own thoughts are constantly deepening. In the spiritual stage, Hegel returns to the analysis of Kant's moral philosophy. From the perspective of spirit, Hegel divided the meaning of the world into two modes of existence. This is a problem with traditional Christianity, and it's a feature that persisted until before Hegel's own philosophy came along. Only in the view of truth of the dual world can there be room for enlightenment. Elevation is the abandonment of unimportant things on the margins and the orientation towards the essence. And the distinction between essence and edge is precisely defined by the double development of the civilized world. Modern people see through the mystery, and with the view of subjective idea theory, the feature of modern civilization is to tell modern people that all civilization is false. Thus modern man has fallen into the deepest spiritual confusion. All elements of truth are lost, everything is lost, and in this case, consciousness comes to the threshold

of religion. The world revolves around the sensuous needs of consciousness, making it clear that it belongs not to any party but to the infinite. Consciousness thus has the underlying structure of God's self-consciousness. In this case, Hegel shows that the ultimate truth of the Absolute in the form of an empirical presence is that God is incarnated and becomes a concrete human being in flesh and blood. This is God's only revelation. Through the union of the highest conception and the shallowest immediate being, human self-consciousness at last attains an infinite self-consciousness. That is, to be aware of the innermost unity of all things, which is expressed as experience. So, this religious consciousness is the enlightenment direction of human truth consciousness. So, Christianity, like philosophy, expresses the truth. Hegel provides a powerful defense for the truth and absoluteness of Christianity in the context of Enlightenment through his explanation of Christianity's philosophization.

Keywords: Subjective idealism; Experience; Cultivation; Truth; Christian; Self-consciousness

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Date: 2021

Title: The Islamic movement from the perspective of the State-centered Theory: a comparative analysis of Islamic movements in Maghreb

Abstract: Comprehending the religious changes in the contemporary era is a core issue in religious studies. In the context of globalization, religious revival and religious politics have become a prominent issue in contemporary religious changes. As two important aspects of global religious politics, the contemporary phenomenon of "politicization of religion" and "religionization of politics" not only has an impact on the principle of separation of church and state, which has dominated the political science field in modern times, but also poses a challenge to the theory of secularization in the field of sociology. Because of its

representation in these two aspects, Islam is regarded as the mainstream of global religious revival and religious politics, and the study of Islamic movements has therefore become one of the important topics for comprehending the contemporary religious changes. Based on the understanding of new power, authority, and the relationship between politics and religion, the study of this issue will help us to achieve a good national and global governance.

Islamic movement is a new phenomenon that accompanies the establishment, construction and modernization of modern states. There were no similar Islamic movements in the pre-modern period. As a political entity that monopolizes legal means of violence and administrative power, the modern state plays a decisive role in the rising, development, and results of the Islamic movements. On the contrary, the Islamic movements also have an important influence on the political stability and legitimacy of the state. It can be said that there is a “two-way shaping” relationship between them. In view of the important role of the state in Islamic movements, this dissertation taking the Islamic movements in Maghreb as the subjects start from the perspective of the State-centered Theory to analyze the occurrence mechanism and the law of development of Islamic movements in this area, examining the structure, nature, behaviors of the state and the relationship between state and society and its influence on social movements. In addition, it attempts to explain how the political structure and its behavioral patterns affect the Islamic movements in the context of a modern nation-state. In short, this dissertation answers the following three important questions from the perspective of the State-centered Theory: Why did the Islamic movements rise? How did the Islamic movements develop? What were the results of the Islamic movements?

In this dissertation, Islamic movement is regarded as a combination of social movement and Islamic discourse. It is defined as a type of collective action that Muslims attempt to maintain and strengthen the influence of Islamic value in modern times, which is witnessed by the expanding power of state and its

modernization. In order to find a possible explanation for the occurrence mechanism and development laws of the Islamic movements, and to find the causal relationship between the state and society, this study adopts the analysis method of comparative history. While presenting the Islamic movements in the Maghreb countries separately, it selects some fragments from their respective historical trajectories, organizational structures, development processes and subsequent influences as comparative units, analyzes their particularities and differences, and finally concludes a general explanation based on the study of Islamic movements in this area.

Chapter 1 reviews the historical background of the rising of Islamic movements in Maghreb. The middle three chapters describe the development trajectory and political influence of Islamic movements in different countries. In order to examine the structure, nature and behaviors of different states and their influence on Islamic movements, as well as the differences in the type, scale and intensity of Islamic movements in each country, this dissertation discusses each country from different perspectives focusing on the main issues existing in every country to construct the framework. Specifically, along the timeline from the practice of constitutional socialism in the Bourguiba period to the liberalization reforms in the Ben Ali period, and to the exploration of the democratization since Arab Spring, Chapter 2 examines the development of the mainstream Islamic movement, that is Renaissance Movement, in Tunisia in different periods. Chapter 3 takes political transformation as the starting point to present the interaction and changes of the relationship between politics and religion in the process of Algerian political development. Focusing on the issue of authority and legitimacy, Chapter 4 discusses the impacts and challenges encountered by Morocco under the monarchy in the contemporary Islamic movements, and analyzes the influence of the traditional authoritarian system on the Islamic movements. Based on the discussion of different cases of Islamic movements in Maghreb in the previous chapters, Chapter 5 attempts to conclude a comprehensive summary about the

role of the state in Islamic movements on the basis of comparative analysis, and to explain the influence of the nature, structure and behaviors of the states on Islamic movements.

Finally, concluding with the “Islamic movement to the state”, this dissertation draws the following conclusions: (1) The wave of nationalism in the mid-20th century, the third wave of democratization in the 1970s, the third oil crisis in the 1980s, and the evolution of the bipolar pattern of the international system towards multi-polarization in the early 1990s constituted the international environment and world historical background for the rising and development of the Islamic movements; and the consolidation and transformation of the bureaucratic authoritarian system in Maghreb countries, the bankruptcy of Arab socialism, and the economic difficulties brought by the oil crisis constitute the internal motivation for its development. (2) The Islamic movement has undergone an evolution from ideological trends, socialization and politicization, and finally, with the help of domestic and international factors, it has emerged as a social movement. (3) The Islamic movement organizes and mobilizes through religious beliefs, symbols, and values, and is involved in politics on the basis of limited integration with democratic procedures, expressing political Islamic tendencies, and partially promoting the reform of political systems in various countries. In this sense, the wave of Islamic movements is the prelude to the Arab Spring lately breaking out in 2011. (4) Due to the limitations of the Islamic movement itself, its vision of establishing an Islamic regime not only failed to be realized, but also caused turmoil in various countries for a certain period of time, posing a challenge to political stability and national security. But an important result is that after a long-term adjustment with the state, moderate Islamic parties began to enter the political arena and participated in the process of modernization. (5) The state played a tremendously important role in the Islamic movement. The establishment, construction, and modernization of the state were accompanied by the Islamic movement. The nature of the state and its structural behaviors

determined the development of the Islamic movement, and the governance of the state and government policies determined the result of the Islamic movement.

Keywords: Perspective of the State-centered Theory; Islamic movements; Maghreb

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Title: An analysis of the reasons for the growth of Chinese Christian since 1978

Abstract: The classical theory of secularization points out that, the Christianity drop out from the social public sphere to Private life, the influence on social and public affairs has been reduced. People no longer live in a holy society. Christianity is no longer an ideology guaranteed by the coercive power of the state, so its spiritual bondage to the individual is loosened. In addition to Christianity, people have more choices. Jurgen Moltmann call it “the freedom of human’s spirit” in his “theology of Hope”. On a deeper level, the described phenomenon of classical secularization theory is that: the changes in the social structure cause the decline of traditional ideas, a void appeared in the field of thought, people need a new and unified order in mind. It’s a logic of replacement in people’s minds, and provides a tool to analyze the changes in the number of Protestantism in China, especially the growth after the reform and opening-up policy. The classical theory of secularization gives an enlightenment, my article borrows its logical model, but at the same time, I try to avoid simplification, and thinking about the explanatory power of classical secularization theory for the social phenomena in China from beginning to the end. There are many academic achievements in the study of China’s modernization, religion is also an important topic, but my article focus on the religious result of China’s modernization, the growth of Protestantism after the

reform and opening-up policy is a representative social phenomenon. It has the same logic between China and Europe in the ideological sphere: economic relations become the core of the social structure, the influence of traditional ideas declined, people establish a new ideological value system in mind. For Western societies, this new system is secularization and capitalism; for China, the influence of Confucianism declined, and socialist ideology and systems were established. But the same logic doesn't mean the same outcome, just like an equation, if you put in different variables, you will get different results. For Europe, the results maybe were the decline of Christianity, but for China, the results may have created conditions for the spread of Protestantism, because the macroscopic social system and an unified values can't solve the spiritual problem of individuation completely, Protestantism may rely on its own characteristics, dissemination advantages, social problems, policy environment and other conditions to achieve the growth, some of the conditions appeared after the reform and opening-up.

Keywords: Protestantism; Secularization; Modernization; Reform and opening-up; Analysis

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Title: Design of freedom: Spinoza's critique of religion

Abstract: The research object of this article is Spinoza's political philosophy. Spinoza was the first philosopher who put forward the idea of freedom and democracy in the early modern era, and was of groundbreaking significance in the history of political thought. This article focuses on Spinoza's famous work *Theologico-Political Treatise*, using the method of close-reading of the text, under the premise of restoring Spinoza's life and thoughts, analyses the preface and the first six chapters of this canon, that is the six themes of "religious criticism" covering prophecy, prophets, chosen people, divine law, ritual law, and miracles,

and finally tries to understand the meaning and role of “freedom” in Spinoza’s political philosophy.

This article is divided into the following parts: the introduction starts with two representative thoughts in contemporary Western politics, “Political Theology” and “Civil Religion”, which reflect the secularized liberal democratic system trying to reclaim religion and remedy its belief in sovereignty and universal morality, but it failed. Therefore, I tried to return to the early modern era where liberal democracy originated, and through the religious criticism initiated by Spinoza, I restored the original meaning of the value of “freedom” that modern political philosophy insisted on. Finally, the introduction introduces the structure, editions and current research status of *Theologico-Political Treatise*.

The first chapter describes Spinoza’s life and thought background, divided into four major themes: first, Spinoza’s Marrano origin and the way to solve the “Jewish problem”, and the conclusion falls on his similarity with Machiavellianism; second, Spinoza’s Excommunication, which concluded that it was a tragic conflict between Spinoza’s philosophical freedom and Jewish religious freedom; third, Spinoza’s contemporaries Zevi’s Messianic Movement, concluding that this religious mysticism is exactly the “superstition” criticized by Spinoza, and its failure is inevitable; fourth, the history of the Republic of the Netherlands from its prosperity to decline, the conclusion agrees with Spinoza’s judgment that the freedom of democracy ultimately endangers the survival of the Netherlands.

The second chapter explains the preface, including three themes: First, Spinoza equates revealed religion with superstition by criticizing superstition; second, by praising the freedom of the Republic, Spinoza implies that political freedom is not equal to philosophical freedom; Finally, through examining Strauss’s twice turnings in his research on Spinoza, I clarified that the overall purpose of the book is “freedom of philosophizing”, for which reason a radical and public political esoterical art of writing is used throughout.

The third chapter explains the critique of Prophecy in the first chapter of *Theologico-Political Treatise*. On the one hand, it points out that the knowledge of prophecy does not have the reliability of knowledge. On the other hand, it points out that Spinoza uses the literal interpretation of the Bible to serve his intention of philosophical interpretation.

The fourth chapter explains the critique of Prophet in the second chapter of *Treatise*, based on the difference of reason and imagination in Spinoza's philosophy, and analyzes the three characteristics of prophet, namely imagination, signs, and moral certainty. Finally, it is pointed out that the rhetorical method of prophecy is ad hominem, which is a secularized variant of biblical religion, and it is also the rhetorical method that Spinoza suggests that philosophers should learn.

Chapter 5 explains the critique of Chosen People in Chapter 3 of *Treatise*. On the one hand, it presents Christianity, especially Calvin's doctrines on election, predestination and grace, and on the other hand, it analyzes that Spinoza uses the political philosophy based on "human power against chance" to criticize the conception of chosen people, while proposing a secular solution to the Jewish problem.

Chapter 6 explains the critique of Divine Law in Chapter 4 of *Treatise* and points out how Spinoza criticized the divine teleology system established by Christianity by using natural law-theological law, turning the divine law into the natural law of philosophical life, which is the philosophical way of life.

Chapter 7 explains the critique of Ritual Law in Chapter 5 of *Treatise*, comparing Machiavelli's and Spinoza's views on political religion, and points out Spinoza's intention to make Judeo-Christian to serve the needs of political life, which means the plan of rational religion.

Chapter 8 explains the critique of Miracle in Chapter 6 of *Treatise*, summarizes Spinoza's philosophy of naturalism, and points out that Spinoza restores God to nature and destroys the fundamental significance of miracles for biblical religion, which leads to Spinoza's "pantheism".

The conclusion summarizes Spinoza's religious criticism, emphasizing that on the one hand, his concept of freedom is rooted in the mechanistic worldview of natural science, on the other hand, it completely abolishes the Christian political tradition of good and evil ethics, and creates the huge split between philosopher and ordinary people inside the community. These difficulties show that Spinoza's liberalism has a private intention which only serves philosophy, and therefore has a considerable degree of "apolitical". It not only destroys the traditional foundation of the political community, but also makes it difficult to establish the natural ties of political life again. The result is the potential dangers of Western secularized liberalism, and also leads to the later dilemma that religion could not return to politics.

Keywords: Freedom; Philosophy; Politics; Nature; Theological-Political Problem

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Date: 2021

Title: Research on the Chuandu and Zouzhi of Taoism in Han and Tang dynasties

Abstract: The Chuandu and Zouzhi are the foundation of the construction of the Taoist mission system and the basic guarantee for the development of the mission's religious activities. The Chuandu means that Taoism believers become Taoists through rituals and Zouzhi is to confer Taoist Legal profession to Taoism believers, so that they can become Taoists who have clergy and disseminate religious doctrines. Since the Forefather Zhang Daoling founded the mission and established the Chuandu ceremony of absorbing believers into Taoism, The Chuandu and Zouzhi always play an irreplaceable role in the historical inheritance of Taoism, and show distinctive characteristics in different historical periods, so the Taoism can continue to inherit and develop. The academic circles at home and abroad only have some scattered studies on the Chuandu and Zouzhi of Taoism,

therefore the paper attempts to make a systematic and in-depth study of if in the Han and Tang dynasties.

This paper consists of introduction, chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and conclusion. In the introduction, the purpose and significance of the topic are clarified, the concepts of the Rudao, Chuandu and Zouzhi are defined, and the problem consciousness of transmission research is pointed out; Then it reviews and prospects the current research situation, as well as analyzes the academic research results on Chuandu and related issues; Finally, it explains the ideas and methods adopted in this study.

The first chapter focuses on the thought of transmission and discusses the origin of the thought of the Chuandu and the theoretical construction of its ceremony through the transformation of the identity of folk believers by Taoism, and it discusses the transformation of Confucian sacrificial rites and the absorption and promotion of Taoism tradition, so as to realize the identification of individual and group in Taoism.

The second chapter focuses on the construction of the organization and system of the order, and discusses the identity transformation, organization construction and ritual transition of the Taoists through the role played by the Chuandu, and it discusses the guarantee of Chuandu to the foundation construction and religious activities of the Taoist mission. It also analyzes the role of the Chuandu and Zouzhi in unifying thought, improving understanding, so as to establish highly consistent belief ceremony, organization and management system of the religious order, and to play a role in Taoist identity construction.

The third chapter focuses on the construction and inheritance of the Taoist Scripture system, in the period of Wei, Jin, southern and Northern Dynasties, Taoism strictly abides by belief and innovates, discusses the establishment of the Taoist Chuanjing and Chuandu ceremony, and expounds the contribution of the Taoist Chuanjing and Chuandu system to the social identity of Taoist culture.

The fourth chapter focuses on the religious policies of the Sui and Tang dynasties. Through the Chuandu system established by the Sui and Tang dynasties

and Taoism, it reviews the Dudie system and the Taoist legalism of the Sui and Tang dynasties, and analyzes the influence of the Chuandu ceremony under the Dudie system and the Taoist legalism on the identity construction of Taoists and the influence of the royal power on the political identity of Taoism.

Through the above discussion, this paper discusses the “Qing treaty” characteristics of Chuandu in the early Taoism, the “oath of alliance” characteristics in the Wei, Jin, southern and Northern Dynasties, and the “system” characteristics in the Sui and Tang dynasties, so that Taoism Chuandu can be placed in the historical inheritance, the construction of the Confucian system, the construction of the Taoist identity, and the Taoist cultural identity. The conclusion part summarizes the conclusion of this paper from six aspects on the Chuandu and Zouzhi of Taoism in Han and Tang dynasties.

Keywords: Taoism; Chuandu; Zouzhi; Identity construction; Cultural identity

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Date: 2021

Title: The study on images of the Sistine Chapel

Abstract: The Sistine Chapel is a chapel of papal which exerts important ceremonial functions. It occupies a leading position in the history of Christianity since its construction. The frescoes of different times were distributed around the chapel, and the semantic meaning of the images constitutes an important part of religious representation. The theme of this dissertation is to discuss what kind of narrative clues the frescoes follow and what grammatical logic they have.

The images of the chapel illustrate the scriptures of the Bible, and they also serve the needs of their clients, the popes, to consolidate the authority of the church. In the image system of the Sistine Chapel, the relationship between the Old and New Testaments and the relationship between Christianity and Paganism are two main logical clues running through dissertation.

The first chapter introduces the crucial position of the Sistine Chapel in the history of Christianity, the historical background of its construction as well as spatial structure of the chapel. Then, this chapter focuses on the commission history of images through four different periods spanning more than half a century. They are sidewall frescoes and their commissioner Sixtus IV; the ceiling fresco and its commissioner Julius II; the Raphael tapestries and their commissioner Leo X; and the Last Judgment and its commissioner Clement VII and Paul III.

The second chapter focuses on the narratives of Moses and Christ commissioned by Sixtus IV. The first part analyzes the theoretical and graphical structure of typology, and then summarizes the use of this doctrine on the Sistine chapel sidewall image. The second section analyzes a pair of frescoes on the south and north wall which represent the rite of joining church. And the third section chooses a pair of frescoes which represent authorized ceremony. The aim is to analyze their typological structure. The fourth section starts from the intention of the client, Sixtus. And we analyze the metaphorical Pope's deeds in the image and the representation of the papal power. The fifth section discusses the other frescoes commissioned by Sixtus, namely, the series of papal portraits and the original altarpiece: the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

The third chapter analyzes Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling fresco Genesis and other ceiling images. The first section reviews the previous images of the Renaissance chapel ceiling and discusses the structure of the Sistine ceiling. The second section analyzes the Sistine ceiling frescoes in three groups. The nine central images form an independent system that tells the story from Genesis. Their contents can be divided into three groups. The first group is about God creating the world, which contains Separation of Light from Darkness, Creation of the Sun and Moon, and Dividing Water from Heaven. The second group is about God creating human and the fallen of human beings, which contents the Creation of Adam, the Creation of Eve, the Fall of Man and Banishment from the Garden. The third group is about sin and punishment of human beings, which contains the

Noah's sacrifice, the flood, and Noah's drunkenness. According to the viewing order, the image would start from God's punishment; go through the fall of human beings, the creation of human beings, and finally the process of God's creation. The changes in the contents of the ceiling can be explained by the Neo-Platonic concept of soul sublimation and transcendence. Besides above content, this chapter also introduces four narrative pictures from the Old Testament in four triangle corners of the ceiling. They represent the history of salvation in the Old Testament. The series of Christ Ancestors on the spandrel and the lunette has special significance. As ordinary people, the Christ Ancestors have the identity of "the otherness". They are in the midst of daily life, but witness the birth of the Savior.

Chapter four discusses the pagan motive in the ceiling. It is divided into two sections: nude images of the ceiling, and prophets and sibyls. The 20 "Ignudi" in the ceiling have paganized bodies, and they are the perfect body made by Michelangelo. "Ignudi" replace the decoration of the frame; they are the image redundancy, but they cannot be ignored as the mediator. Another pagan motive is embodied in the five pagan witches who foretell the coming of Messiah in the Old Testament times. They are the people who connect the Old and New Testaments. The witches together with Jewish prophets portend the integration of the synagogue and the pagan church, which are significant in theology.

The fifth chapter analyzes Michelangelo's altarpiece "The Last Judgment". It guides the viewers from the history of Judaism and Christianity to the final judgment, offers the viewers self-examination and leads them to the salvation. The first section sorts out the images of the Renaissance "trial". The second section analyzes the image in the Sistine Chapel, which is Michelangelo's doomsday imagination. It first introduces the vortex structure of altarpiece and then discusses theological theme of the altarpiece. Next, we analyze its historical significance as an autobiographical work of Michelangelo. Finally, the dissertation analyzes the reason why this fresco had caused great controversy from the

perspective of acceptance and discusses people's capability of accepting naked images at that time.

At last, the epilogue summarizes Sistine Chapel frescoes' narration of Christen history and the specialty of the sacred gaze.

Keywords: Typology; Paganism; Ignudi; Salvation

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Date: 2021

Title: The impact of religious belief on social cognition: evidence from research on referential process, perspective cognition and cognitive transformation function

Abstract: People are the products of society, and social attributes are the essential attributes of people. Self is derived from philosophy and is categorized as one of the important topics in psychology research. Self-concept includes both individual attributes and social attributes. In China's multi-ethnic environment, all ethnic groups have long been struggling to survive the torrent of history by consolidating their core social value system. Among them, many compatriots of various nationalities have created or chose religion as the spiritual pillar supporting their national social formation. The Tibetan Mahayana Buddhists and Dai Hinayana Buddhists cultures belong to the Buddhist cultural system, and they have chosen different religious branches according to the needs of their respective ethnic groups in their development, which has also caused corresponding differences in the social cognitive abilities of individuals in their ethnic groups. This study uses behavioral experiments to investigate the impact of differences in religious beliefs on individual differences in social cognition in ethnic regions.

First, this article reviews relevant research on self and social cognition, as well as related paradigms and recent research results. At the same time, due to the particularity of ethnic groups under the influence of religious culture, it briefly

summarizes the religious social culture to which they belong. On the basis of related research conducted in the past, it also focuses on the differences in the individual cognitive conversion functions of Tibetans and Dais under the influence of religious culture.

The study 1 investigated the self-referential situation of Tibetan Buddhist believers and Dai Buddhist believers by extracting and inducing forgetting. There are both commonalities and differences between the two groups. Due to doctrinal restrictions, both groups have suppressed self-reference, while the Tibetan Buddhism subjects included the concept of mother and other people as self-reference, justifying the impact of religious and cultural doctrines on the ability of self-recognition of people in different social environments.

Study 2 shows that because Tibetan Buddhism and Southern Buddhism both belong to the pan-Buddhist cultural system, the individual cognitive conversion abilities possessed by the two ethnic groups are not only in terms of pure abstract numbers, but also similar in terms of social cognition. This conclusion shows that the religious social and cultural characteristics of ethnic minorities can be reflected in the individual's cognition level, and further confirms that both the Tibetan and Dai subjects have a conversion cost in the social cognitive conversion function, and confirms that the Tibetans are Tibetans. The traditional Buddhist group will have a greater conversion cost in the conversion of social cognition than the Dai's Southern Buddhist group, which proves that the self-repression and the promotion of altruistic ideas in Tibetan Buddhist teachings can affect the social cognitive conversion of the ethnic group. Ability, so that the group of subjects under Tibetan Buddhism culture can represent the tasks of their peers to a greater extent. At the same time, it can be proved after investigation that the conversion cost is not the rotation cost caused by interference factors, making the research results real and reliable.

Study 3 focuses on the impact of perspective on the individual self-cognition ability and social sensitivity of the two groups of subjects. The conclusion based

on the perspective-taking paradigm proves that Tibetan subjects are better at third-person perspective processing than first-person perspective processing, while the difference between Dai subjects is not significant. This shows that the Tibetan religious culture that the Tibetans live in is not simply due to the suppression of the self, but the suppression of the subjective self of the individual, resulting in a significant processing advantage of the object self over the subject self. It is in line with the cultural characteristics of Tibetan Buddhism that deems self and emphasizes others. The social sensitivity experiment confirms that the Tibetans do have a higher level of theory of mind ability, that is, their culture has a stronger tendency to try to understand and relate the intentions of others than the Dai group. This conclusion is based on the fact that the Tibetan and Dai cultures belong to the Buddhist cultural system, and provides a factual basis for the differences in social cognitive functions between the two ethnic cultures.

Based on the above proven conclusions, this study shows that: (1) Tibetan and Dai religious and cultural systems have similarities; (2) The comparison within the religious and cultural systems of the same Buddhism shows the characteristics that the individual social cognitive abilities of Tibetans are stronger than those of Dais; (3) The difference in cognitive abilities between Tibetan and Dai nationalities stems from the differences in perspective cognitive ability and social sensitivity caused by their ethnic, religious and cultural situations. The above conclusions, as a part of improving the understanding of border ethnic culture and understanding the differences of different ethnic cultures, provide further evidence for the study of cultural functionalism theory and contribute to the study of ethnic and religious psychology in our country.

Keywords: Religious beliefs; Individual cognition; Social cognition; Cognitive transformation; Executive function; Perspective

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Date: 2021

Title: Research on the legalization of the governance of religious groups in China

Abstract: Religious governance is a significant issue that each modern nation-state must face. By examining the development process of religious affairs in various countries, the nature of religious governance is how to define the boundary between secular society and religious world; or alternatively how to maintain the balance between state administration and religious autonomy. And the right of religious autonomy can be regarded as the collection and extension of the basic right of religious freedom. The Rule of Law is a sufficient method and basic guarantee for modern state governance, and also an inevitable option to achieve the goal of religious governance in the most of nations. Although people generally share the same concept of the Rule of Law, there is no a certain universal path or construction mode of the Rule of Law, given the huge differences of developmental approaches in history, philosophical and cultural traditions, social and economic conditions among these nations. Different nations naturally adopt their own mode of the Rule of Law in order to solve such significant and complicated issue in practice.

Since the founding of People's Republic of China (PRC), Chinese government has implemented the policy of religious freedom to protect citizens' right to religious freedom. However, influenced by the tradition of the politico-religious relationship, the dominant ideology of atheism, considerations on national political security and other factors, religious issues have long been regarded as highly politicized issues in China, the Communist Party of China (CPC) and Chinese government bring religion into the scope of United Front Work for all-round control, which is realized through the constraint-management religious administrative mode that centered with social order as the value goal. The advantage of this kind of constraint-management mode, which centered with social order as its value goal, lies in its high efficiency. It played an active and important role in the socialist transformation of Chinese religions at the beginning

of the founding of PRC and the implementation of religious policies at the beginning of reform and opening up. However, with the rapid development of economy and the continuous improvement of market economic system, the social subjects are becoming more and more diverse, and the consciousness of rights is constantly awakening. The administrative mode of constraint-management on religions with social order as the value goal is becoming difficult to be adapted in the new situation that calls for the transformation and upgrading of the right based governance mode of the Rule of Law. It is worth mentioning that, affected by various factors, the politicization of religious issues in China will exist for a long time in the future, and the Rule of Law is not the most effective way to solve religious issues. Under the background of comprehensively promoting the modernization of the national governance system and governance capacity and comprehensively promoting the Rule of Law, how to establish and gradually improve the religious governance model with distinctive Chinese characteristics and the characteristics of the times can not only achieve the goal of stable and harmonious governance, but also fully implement the policy of religious freedom and effectively guarantee the freedom of religious belief. It's a question we have to think about and answer.

Although the research on this issue can be carried out from multiple perspectives, it is undoubtedly a more practical choice to cut in from the perspective of religious communities. Because no matter from the standpoint of religion itself or the interaction between religion and secular society, religious communities are the core of the religious governance system. This paper takes religious communities as the starting point, takes the Rule of Law as the breakthrough, studies the relevant countries' religious governance mode, focuses on the current situation of religious governance in China, and discusses the feasibility model of religious community governance in China, in order to provide a reference for the development and improvement of the legalization of religious work in the new era.

The article is divided into six parts, which are summarized as follows:

The first chapter donates to the introduction, which mainly raises questions. First of all, it is an urgent problem to clarify why and how to legalize the governance of religious communities. It is pointed out that the motivation of the legalization of governance of religious communities is directly related to the institutional progress and internal limitations of the legalization of governance of religious communities in China. The path of the Rule of Law in the governance of religious communities directly faces the reform incision and system construction in the transformation stage of the Rule of Law in the governance of religious communities in China. On this basis, this paper expounds the significance of the research on the Rule of Law of religious communities, analyzes the religious communities and related concepts, and makes a comparative analysis of religious management and religious governance, religious legal system and religious Rule of Law. Finally, on the basis of combing the research results of the Rule of Law in the governance of religious communities at home and abroad, this paper puts forward the analysis framework and research methods.

The second chapter is the theoretical logic and comparative study of the governance of religious communities, which is the exploration of the theoretical basis and practical reference of the governance of religious communities. First of all, from the perspective of modern political experience and political theory, this paper analyzes the basic logic and elements of the concept of religious Rule of Law. Then, based on the types of political and religious systems, this paper focuses on the typical mode of the Rule of Law of religious governance in the world from four indicators: religious overview, relationship between politics and religion, the mode of the Rule of Law and governance framework. Under the system of separation of politics and religion, France implements strict republican Rule of Law, the United States implements free Rule of Law with religious tolerance, and Germany implements cooperative Rule of Law with religious tolerance. Under the system of integration of politics and religion, Iran pursues the national Rule of Law

under the control of Allah, while Brunei pursues the authoritarian Rule of Law under the leadership of Sudan. Finally, it points out that with the profound transformation of China's political and religious relationship system from politics dominate and religion subordinate to politics and religion harmony, the harmonious Rule of Law mode of religious coordination is more suitable for the governance mode of religious communities in China.

The third chapter is the historical evolution of the governance of religious communities in China, which is the summary of the practice of governance of religious communities in China. Taking the founding of new China as the starting point, this paper divides the historical change process of the governance of religious communities into four stages: politicization stage (1949–1977), policy stage (1978–1990), institutionalized stage (1991–2011) and legalization stage (2012–present). On this basis, this paper summarizes the evolution logic of the governance of religious communities in China: first, in terms of governance relations, from political dominance and religious attachment to political guidance and religious coordination, that is, from the government playing a leading role in religious management and religious communities accompanying gradually to the government playing a guiding role in religious governance and religious communities enjoying a certain degree of autonomy. Second, in the aspect of governance emphasis, from the political field to the social field, that is, to guide the focus of religion to adapt to the socialist society from the political field to the economic, cultural and social fields. Thirdly, in terms of governance objectives, the focus has gradually changed from only giving play to the political function of religious communities to giving more play to the social service function of religious communities.

The fourth chapter is about the improvement of the Rule of Law in the governance system of the religious communities in China, which is the institutional design of the Rule of Law in the governance system of religious communities in China. Mainly from the following four aspects: firstly, we should

improve the policy system of religious communities from three aspects: the basic policy (the policy of freedom of religious belief), the policy guidance (turn to right based religious incentive policy) and the system transformation (the legislative linkage mechanism of religious policy). Secondly, from the constitution, laws, administrative regulations three levels to improve the legal system of religious communities. Thirdly, we should improve the protection system of religious rights from three aspects: the optimization of legal form, the refinement of substantive rights and the simplification of procedural rights. Fourthly, we should improve the system of religious rules from three aspects: autonomy (internal governance of religious communities), self-interpretation (interpretation of religious rules) and co-governance (functional linkage of national laws and religious rules).

The fifth chapter is about the improvement of the Rule of Law in the governance capacity of religious communities in China, which is the institutional mechanism assumption of the Rule of Law in the governance of religious communities in China from the perspective of improving the governance capacity. Mainly from the following four aspects: firstly, establishing the legal decision-making mechanism of religious work and the legitimacy review mechanism of significant decision-making, improve the decision-making ability of religious work. Secondly, we should strengthen the capacity of religious law enforcement by clarifying the main body of religious law enforcement and strengthening the construction of religious grass-roots law enforcement team. Thirdly, we should enhance the ability of religious judicial guarantee by improving the mechanism of multiple settlements of religious disputes and strengthening the judicial governance of cult organizations. Fourthly, we should enhance the ability of religious law popularization through in-depth publicity of religious law popularization and the establishment of a discourse system of religious Rule of Law.

The sixth chapter is the conclusion, which summarizes the research characteristics and route selection of the Rule of Law in the governance of religious

communities in China, and makes a supplementary explanation of the reliability and limitations of the research conclusions. At the same time, it further emphasizes the research focus of this paper, that is, based on China's current harmonious political and religious system, from the perspective of national governance system and governance capacity modernization, to explore the institutional advantages of the harmonious Rule of Law mode of religious coordination and the practical logic of collaborative religious governance strategy.

Keywords: Religious communities; Religious governance; Legalization

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Date: 2021

Title: A study on Jung's answer to Job

Abstract: Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) is the founder of analytical psychology. He focuses on the cultural interpretation through psychological approach. Cultural interpretation occupies a central position in Jung's work, and it is also the key to linking the history of analytical psychology with contemporary academics. Answer to Job (1952) is Jung's mature work in his later years, and it is also Jung's masterpiece of his interpretation of Western culture. The importance of Answer to Job in Jung's writings is well known, but the existing studies have failed to fully explore its contemporary value. One of the reasons is that, the anti-traditional image of God created in Answer to Job is difficult for readers familiar with the Christian tradition to accept. More importantly, people are not familiar with the psychological concept on which the Answer to Job reconstructs the text of the Bible—individuation. Therefore, taking the concept of individuation as the starting point and re-examining the culture concern of Answer to Job is the key to reassessing the contemporary value of this work.

From the perspective of the interdisciplinary dialogue between psychology and literature research, many concepts of analytical psychology have influences

beyond the scope of psychology. However, if viewed from the overall context of Jung's work, the concept at the core of his theory has been ignored by many researchers. This concept is individuation. In the context of analytical psychology, the life-long development of personality is referred to as individuation, which points to the ability of the individual's mind to integrate the content from both consciousness and the unconscious realm, and to evolve towards a full level of consciousness. Individuation is Jung's most important psychological concept, and it also links all the important concepts of analytical psychology together. Jung believes that the developments of both individuals and cultures follow the law of individuation. He uses the concept of individuation to interpret the Eastern and Western cultures extensively. These interpretation practice makes the concept of individuation goes beyond the category of psychology and gains culture value. Because of the existing misunderstanding of Answer to Job and the unfamiliarity of the concept of individuation among the researchers, the value of Answer to Job can be obtained by two interrelated ways.

First, decode Answer to Job based on the concept of individuation. Individuation is the psychological concept that underpins Answer to Job, but Jung did not systematically and theoretically discuss this concept in this work, but express his idea in a symbolic way instead. Therefore, this article reconstructed the text of Answer to Job based on the concept of individuation. We take three important archetypes in the process of individuation—shadow, anima, and self—as clues, and uses the three stages of individuation as the basis for the division of the text. The five roles of Job, Wisdom, Prophet, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit are highlighted and analyzed carefully, because they are important in Jung's interpretation of the Bible. Through this way, we can understand the moral concern in Answer to Job.

Second, investigate the formation of both Answer to Job and the concept of individuation at the same time. Answer to Job is not an isolated text. Its formation is based on the entire cultural interpretation practice of in the middle and late

stages of Jung's thought. It first echoes the mythological images recorded and described by Jung in the creation period, and secondly responds to the psychological phenomenon similar to individuation found in the Eastern alchemy literature by Jung. Finally, through the interpretation of Western alchemy and astrology texts, Jung forms the core idea towards Christian God-image, and express it in *Answer to Job*. This clue parallels to the formation of the concept of individuation. Therefore, the study of *Answer to Job* also has a broader concern. Through the investigation of the formation of *Answer to Job* in the lens of individuation, we can get deeper understanding of the cultural interpretation potential of the psychological concept individuation.

In the light of the concept of individuation, the contemporary value of *Answer to Job* is embodied in two aspects. First of all, the image of God constructed by Jung in *Answer to Job* implies a dimension of cross-cultural interpretation, which is inseparable from the eastern cultural origin of the concept of individuation. The image of God elucidated in *Answer to Job* is neither Christian God nor completely Eastern god, but a spiritual ideal proposed by Jung based on the comparison of Eastern and Western cultural psychology. Secondly, *Answer to Job* contains the concerns of the reality which embodied in Jung's discussion of the problem of evil through the concept of individuation. In *Answer to Job*, Jung explores the problem of evil by describing the shadow of God's image. In this regard, the story of God told by Jung in *Answer to Job* can also be understood as a moral fable. In Jung's view, the tension between consciousness and unconsciousness puts modern people in a deep predicament. This opposition makes modern life prosperous in the worship of material, technology, reason and order. On the other hand, the suppressed irrational factors are nowhere to be released, and they eventually explode in a very destructive way. Jung believes that the two world wars were the result of the outward eruption of shadows accumulated in the collective unconsciousness of the Europeans. In this context, the God constructed by Jung in *Answer to Job* is no longer a light and benevolent God, but a unity of light and

darkness. Jung hopes to use this new image of God to help people restore the balance between consciousness and unconsciousness and regain their spiritual integrity. This is the deep concern behind Jung's Answer to Job.

Keywords: Carl Gustav Jung; Answer to Job; Individuation; God-image; Self

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Date: 2021

Title: Form, material and idea: a study of revolving book-case in ancient China

Abstract: The object of this dissertation is to discuss the revolving book-case (转轮经藏), which was used to store the Buddhist Tripitaka and Taoist Sutra in ancient Chinese temples or grottoes from the 5th to the 18th century. On the one hand, I trace the multiple identities and historical legends of Fu Xi who was the inventor of revolving book-case; on the other hand, I investigate the process of the construction, configuration, viewing, writing and imagination of various types of revolving book-case by means of two materials: documentary records and physical relics. Finally, I want to discuss the anxieties on immortality of ancient Chinese literati, the construction of the Jing Zang (经藏) and the concept of the worship of the Buddhist Sutra in the East Asian countries, and even the profound material and cultural communication and the Buddhist localization which was revolved around the revolving book-case by the whole word people.

I firstly explain the definitions of the revolving book-case and its related concepts, discussing the Fu Xi (伏羲) from the historical views and the process of his continuously annotated sanctification. On the basis of searching related historical documents such as local chronicles, temple records, inscriptions, rubbings, scripts and anthologies etc. in the order of historical dynasties and

sorting out the historical appearances of the revolving book-case which were recorded in the paper literature, I examine the changes and differences in terms of people's mentalities and concepts during different historical periods through the writings of revolving book-case recorded by the authors of different identities.

Based on the standards such as form and media, I divide the relics of revolving book-case of Han area into four types: rotating wooden revolving book-case, non-rotating wooden revolving book-case, non-rotating stone revolving book-case and Jingmu pagoda (经目塔). And the main contents of the dissertation are respectively discussing their specific shape, configuration, thoughts and influences on later generations in the specific space-time environments. Taking the rotating wooden revolving book-case existing in these eleven temples such as Longxing Temple in Zhengding, Fazang Temple in Yixing, Yunyan Temple in Jiangyou, Jinxian Temple in Penglai, Baoen Temple in Pingwu, Tayuan and Luohou temples in Wutai Mountain, Yonghe Palace in Beijing, Summer Palace, Pudu Temple and Xumi Fushou Temple in Chengde and their cultural relics as examples, I discuss aspects of the mostly and importantly existing rotating wooden revolving book-case and the conceptions behind it. Taking the Beijing Zhihua Temple as an example, I discuss the forms and conceptions of the non-rotating wooden revolving book-case in history. Differing from the context of the temple and taking the Cave 136 of Wheel of the Universe on North Hill of Dazu and the Cave 14 of Buddha Vairocana on Banding Mountain as examples, I mainly discuss the configuration of the non-rotating stone revolving book-case in the context of the Cave and their surrounding gods and the people's thoughts at that time. Taking the Peacock Cave of An Yue and two Jingmu pagodas located at the Small Buddha Bay of Banding Mountain of Dazu as examples, I firstly discuss the origins and differences between the revolving book-case and these two pagodas, and then try to understand the religious concepts of the Zhao Zhifeng Sangha behind the change of form. The gradual evolution of the four types of revolving book-case is not only a progressive process,

but also a process of tracing back to the ancestral type which is caused by different ideas.

And then, expanding the sight to East Asia where North Korea, Japan, and Vietnam are located and Europe, I discuss the new forms and concepts of the revolving book-case in East Asia and Europe under the influence of the spread of the ancient Chinese revolving book-case. Then, I firstly bring the perspective back to China and then discuss the transformations and variations of revolving book-case. There are three dimensions. Firstly, how the huge and bulky Han revolving book-case in ancient China was transformed into a small prayer wheel (转经筒) after it was introduced into Tibetan Buddhism. Secondly, it is the form and function of the revolving book-case in the print of Journey to the West. Thirdly, it is the relationship in originality between the Wanli Medicine Cabinet and revolving book-case.

In the final conclusion part, I consider the ancient Chinese people's anxieties on the permanent existence of Buddhism, the expectations of immortality and how the people of the world accepting, communicating, and reforming the Buddhist culture through specific material forms to adapt to the local situations under the worship of the Buddhist Sutra.

Keywords: Revolving book-case; Documentary records; Physical relics; Idea; Cultural communication

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Date: 2021

Title: Study on the utilization of Chinese Buddhist heritage in Beijing from the perspective of social space

Abstract: Chinese Buddhist heritage is one of the most important religious and cultural resources in Beijing. In ancient times, it not only served as a place for

worship but also a place for different social exchanges, festival trade, and leisure outings. It is also an important material carrier for recording the urban development and cultural changes of Beijing. In the process of urbanization, nowadays this kind of heritage has to face the changes of social concept and public needs, and gradually produces new demands of space renewal and utilization. However, most of the existing research and practice on the heritage of Chinese Buddhism in Beijing regard it as a static and immortal material heritage, focusing on its historical value or the material state before the occurrence of its utilization practice, while the occurrence mechanism, operation process and practice results of its utilization activities are relatively lack of attention.

Therefore, in order to expand the research boundary for this kind of cultural heritage, and enrich the cognition of its contemporary cultural significance and social function from the perspective of value epistemology, this study regarded the utilization practice of Chinese Buddhist heritage as a cultural phenomenon and social process, and summarized the core idea and philosophical context of “three-dimensional dialectics”. Following the development logic structure of “historical basis—formation mechanism—occurrence process—social feedback” of heritage utilization practice, this study used different qualitative and quantitative analysis methods to make a diachronic and synchronic study on the utilization of 128 officially protected monuments and sites of Chinese Buddhism in Beijing.

First of all, through the methods of historical argumentation and field research, this study concluded the historical context and development process of the Chinese Buddhist heritage in Beijing from a diachronic perspective, and summarized its material characteristics before 1840, the turbulent transition stage between 1840 and 1949, and the material composition and social role changes of heritage transformation and diversified development stage after 1949. On this basis, from the three aspects of spatial distribution, heritage types, and cultural heritage value composition, this study expounded the current situation

and material characteristics of Chinese Buddhist heritage in Beijing after the development and evolution in different historical periods.

Secondly, based on the overall analysis of the macro level, the study explored the social formation mechanism of the utilization practice of Chinese Buddhist heritage from the aspects of social context change and social actors of heritage practice. By analyzing the changes in the social context of national cultural relics protection policy, religious policy, and urban development demand after the founding of new China, this study summarized the social causes of the phenomenon of the utilization of Chinese Buddhist heritage. Then from the four aspects of role category, space practice motivation, heritage value preference, and space practice mode, this study explored the roles and functions of different social actors and made it clear that the utilization practice of this kind of heritage is a “productization” process of Cultural Heritage, which based on government decision-making, public use and the transfer of heritage use rights among different social actors. On this basis, by using the theory of public goods, the utilization modes of Beijing Han Buddhist heritage were divided into four categories: pure public goods, quasi-public goods under the government-led operation, quasi-public goods under the market capital led operation, and non-public goods.

Thirdly, from the perspective of specific interpretation of micro space, the study explored the occurrence process of the utilization practice of Chinese Buddhist heritage in Beijing. Based on the theory of actor-network, this study analyzed the following aspects: Cishou Temple Pagoda (pure public goods utilization mode), Badachu (quasi-public goods utilization mode under the government-led operation), and Cishou Temple Pagoda (pure public goods utilization mode). Specifically, this study made a qualitative analysis of the contemporary utilization process of Tanzhe Temple (quasi-public goods utilization mode under the market capital led operation) and Nianhua Temple (non-public goods utilization mode), then extracted and compared the interest goals and action logic characteristics of social actors under the four types of

heritage utilization modes. After that, this study analyzed the specific interaction, participation mechanism and spatial influence of the object and subject of heritage utilization in the process of heritage practice.

Finally, this dissertation made an empirical study on the public feedback of the practical results of the utilization of Chinese Buddhist heritage. By using Python language and R language to process 10970 open network data, this study revealed the overall public cognition of the built environment cases of Chinese Buddhist heritage through emotional analysis and topic model in the field of natural language processing. On this basis, it constructed the contemporary public experience evaluation system of the built environment of the Chinese Buddhist heritage; Based on the theory of three factors of satisfaction, this study utilized the gradient boost decision tree algorithm in machine learning to analyze 880 questionnaire data and explores the differences of experience needs of the public for the built environment under different public product heritage utilization modes.

In a word, from the perspective of social space interaction, this study integrates different factors of social production into the analysis of the changes of the material function and social role of heritage space, which can help to make the research content closer to the realistic context of Beijing urban development, and breakthrough the duality of the previous heritage research content. Therefore, it can help to better interpret the influence of modern social activities on this kind of heritage more comprehensively, and the connotation of the transformation of historical and cultural space.

Keywords: Social space; Chinese Buddhism; Cultural heritage utilization; Beijing

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Date: 2021

Title: An analytical study of Pure Land thought in Vietnam

Abstract: In countries with a large number of Buddhists, Vietnamese Buddhism is considered relatively special though accepting both Theravada and Mahayana traditions, and also accepting the Mendicant school with many indigenous cultures in the South. In this rich environment of schools and thoughts, Vietnam receives Pure Land as a pure ideology, in combination with Zen and Vajrayana, which form these three main schools to the Vietnamese Buddhism. Due to its existence as an ideology, unforced by the inheritance school, Pure Land here has a high flexibility in adapting. As a result, after a period of imported, this ideology was combined with the Zen schools, creating a trend of “Zen and Pure Land parallel developed” in the Middle Age, and establishing the basic reason for the trend of “Pure Land of the Human World” in modern time. During the Revival of Buddhism, this ideology became a powerful mean of spreading Buddhism, fostering monks and connecting Buddhist organizations, receiving and communicating with Chinese Buddhism through the propagations’ path of Pure Land from Ming-Qing Zen Masters. In addition to contributing to the revival of Buddhism, Pure Land ideology is also used in combining the cultivate by reciting the name of the Buddha and working charity that help for society, creating a tendency to “Simultaneous Cultivation of Merits and Wisdom”. This is considered as a flexible and consistent expression with the Engaged spirit of Vietnamese Buddhism in the historical flowing. After the reunification of the country (in 1975), the people had a need to focussing on spirit and psyche, Pure Land again became the main practice for the Buddhists monks and nuns diligently development in daily life, and organized Buddhist associations reciting the name of the Buddha, taught the dhammas and practiced of goodness to the lay Buddhists. It can be said that depending on each period of the social situations, this ideology has spread towards different directions. Although the form and method of expression are different, but the ideal is to help the practitioners calm down the mind and body, develop the seeds of goodness, build a life towards kindness in the present and attain Nirvana in the

future, which is expressed in the Pure Land language as “Establishing the Pure Realm of the Human World to cultivate the pure cause and conditions for the West Pure Land in the future”. The Pure Land ideal as above has profound similarities with the journey of pursuit of human happiness in society, so widely spread, in addition to some cultivated and active associations in the religious spiritual, the Vietnamese people also receive them as a kind of positive religious custom. From here, formed the practice of “purification of sīla and recitation of the Buddha’s name” to pray the Blessing for people in this world, the images and the name of the Buddha has also become close, the Buddhist teachings are gradually more popularized and massified. Since then, this current of thought has inspired and become the main method in some religions borned in the South in the twentieth century and existed until today such as: Buu Son Ky Huong (Bǎo Shān QíXiāng), Tu An Hieu Nghia (Sì Ēn Xiào Yì), Phat giao Hoa Hao (Hé Hǎo Buddhism). Therefore, Pure Land ideology is considered not only to be important as the practice and propagate the dharma, but also as a powerful means to connect the Buddhist community, as well as at the interconnect religions and interconnect nationalities. In addition, it also contributes to the journey of bringing the Buddhist Teaching into Vietnamese’ hearts, supporting the cultured preservation of the national tradition through typical works of architecture, art and social culture in the historical and modern background. From the above situation, it would not be too much to think that here to understand the history of Buddhism in Vietnam, it is impossible to ignore the process of development and spread of the Pure Land ideology. In contrast, the study of Pure Land ideology and of its effections in Buddhism and in the religious life of Vietnamese belief sand social culture will provide a right view of the importance and application value of this ideology in the flow of Buddhism and Nation. By the research method of philosophy, history and culture, the thesis puts Pure Land thought in the flow of time, from the beginning to the import into Vietnam. After becoming an official element of Buddhism in this country, Pure Land was again placed in relation to the structural system of

Buddhism and Vietnamese culture to learn about its' development performance and consider the impact of influences between factors. This action can provide basic documents on the source and inner of Pure Land ideology, and understand the development trends, forms of expression and the extent of its influence in Vietnam. Thereby, contributing to the recognition, evaluation and orientation of the development path of this line of thought in the present and future, to promote maximum its dedications in the journey of "Engaged to serving Released", "Depend on conditional and invariant" with the wishing liberation of Enlightenment in the Buddhist practitioners.

Keywords: Recitation of the Buddha's name; Pure Land in the West; Pure Land thought; Vietnamese Buddhism; Pure Land of the human world

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Institute/University: Zhejiang University

Date: 2021

Title: Research on the spatial evolution and field of Jiangnan Buddhist temples

Abstract: Buddhist temple is an important part in architectural history research. Buddhism was introduced into Jiangnan in East-Han dynasty. In Jin and South-North dynasties, Buddhism developed rapidly when the basic space layout of Jiangnan Buddhist temple were gradually formed, showing the pagoda in front and the palace in the rear. During Sui and Tang dynasties, the development of Buddhist temple in Jiangnan reached its peak, gradually formed a courtyard which takes the Main Hall as the core. After Tang dynasty, Jiangnan Buddhist temple entered into a stable period, forming a multi-axis and multi-courtyard layout around the temple. Later then, despite the decline, the spatial layout and constitutive elements of the Buddhist temple in Jiangnan still effect today's Buddhist architecture. Nearly two thousand years of historical evolution, Jiangnan Buddhist temple mixed Chinese traditional architecture culture and technology, constructing its Chinese functional

space, as well as becoming a communication place for the integration of foreign and traditional Chinese culture. Furthermore, its ritual was evaluated from the original sacred worship of the towers to the cult of the gods, promoting the palace to gradually become the core of Buddhist temple, forming Buddhist temple field with gradient characteristics. Nowadays, as a historic and cultural resource, Buddhist temple gradually became a hot spot for tourism. However, due to the insufficient research on cultural resources and cultural space as well as inappropriate effective measures for protection and utilization, the constructive destruction which its survival and development field depend on have been destoried, that has become urgent problem. This dissertation introduces the “Field” from Physics and the “Field Theory” from Sociology, taking Jiangnan Buddhist Temple as a complex social field system, revealing the field characteristics of the Buddhist temple space under the influence of political, economic, and cultural factors, as well as explaining the conversions and functions of three major functional elements namely rites, propaganda and monks through the spread of Chinese Buddhism in Jiangnan during different historical periods, promoting the development of the Buddhist temple field. Based on the establishment of a basic database of Buddhist temples, this dissertation also analyzes the relationship between spatial distribution, towns and rivers based on GIS, constructing the field and gradient relationship model of Jiangnan Buddhist temples. Furthermore, taking the key Buddhist temples in five cities, namely Hangzhou, Suzhou, Nanjing, Zhenjiang and Yangzhou in the Jiangnan region as samples, to analyze its composition and characteristics in different fields such as environment, community, architecture, and micro-environment. Finally, on the analysis of the perceptual experience, field construction and field perception of Yangzhou Buddhist temple field through Perceptual Phenomenology, Urban Imagery and Gestalt psychology, aiming to propose a gradient conservation method and strategy for the Jiangnan Buddhist temple field, which provides a basis of the dynamic and appropriate conservation method for Buddhist temples, as well as

provides a reference for the conservation method of other traditional architectural types.

Keywords: Architectural space; Jiangnan; Religious architecture; Field; Dynamic conservation

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Date: 2021

Title: Tibetan Buddhist paintings in Mongolia during the Ming and Qing

Abstract: In terms of time and space, the connotation of Tibetan Buddhism art in Mongolia is very rich. It is not easy to explain the Mongolian painting art of more than 700 years under the influence of Tibetan Buddhism in terms of subject matter, form and style as well as the law of evolution. But find out, from the macro to grasp the Mongolia region of Tibetan Buddhist painting art characteristics is very necessary, because only through the typical cases in the brushwork of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolian region, analyses its main content, form, etc. on the basis of the development and changes of mastering the art of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolian region painting rule. It is convenient to explain the meaning of theme, symbol and implication in its cultural context. The author consult about Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolian region, on the basis of painting materials, through the on-the-spot investigation called temple, visit the museum, interview experts and local called temple monks and other methods, and contrast analysis of Tibet and Nepal, the central plains, the similar subject matter works of art, and combining with history, folklore, art and other comprehensive treatment. In order to fully appreciate the Tibetan Buddhist painting art in Mongolia during the Ming and Qing dynasties, we first understand the historical roots and influencing factors leading to the emergence of Tibetan Buddhist painting from the historical and religious classical historical books related to Tibetan Buddhist painting, and then comb the transmission routes of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia. Secondly, through the

investigation and analysis of the remaining Tibetan Buddhism paintings in the Ming and Qing dynasties in Mongolia, combined with the painting history data, we can read the themes and images in the Tibetan Buddhism paintings with the principle of image record. Thirdly, it explores the religious function, social value and influence category of the image. Finally adopt the imagology analysis has gained recognition, trying to the image belonging to a broader cultural context, explain why chose this image, further to find the image of the source and evolution of traditional and like system, summarized the characteristics of Tibetan Buddhism painting development in Mongolian region and the law, points out its in multi-cultural communication, integration, molten form. It formed a new artistic style. The painting art of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia develops with the spread of different sects of Tibetan Buddhism. Its main features are that some images retain traces of Tibetan Sakya tradition. Along with the development of “Longqing Peace Council” and five-mouth exchange during the period of Alatan Khan, the painting form draws lessons from the style of Karma Kagyu School. During the Qing dynasty, the imperial court took measures to build Buddhist temples and to offer great lamas, and the Gelug Sect tradition was prevalent. At the same time, it absorbed multiple factors such as palace paintings, frescoes of Yongle Palace in Shanxi and Harina in Mongolia, which reflected the diversified characteristics of Tibetan Buddhist paintings in Mongolia. In terms of content, it is almost the same as the traditional Tibetan Buddhist paintings, but it also adds new contents, such as Mongolian historical stories, secular customs, and the portraits of ancient Zhe Bu Zundemba Hutuktu, which show the historical authenticity and realism of the painting works. In the technique, the painter skillfully integrated the painting techniques of the Central Plains with the aesthetic consciousness of the region in the traditional Tibetan Buddhism painting, which developed into an art form with Mongolian characteristics. In terms of composition, Mongolian elements are chosen, but they are in line with all relevant Buddhist art theories and principles.

It looks very beautiful and has Mongolian characteristics. It fully shows the artistic trend of Tibetan Buddhism painting in Mongolia.

Keywords: Mongolian area; Tibetan Buddhism painting; Artistic characteristics

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Institute/University: Xizang University

Date: 2021

Title: *Between the holy and the vulgar: the income problem in the temple economy of Wu Tai Mountain in the Ming dynasty*

Abstract: The influence of the four famous Buddhist mountains in China is enormous, but the academic circles have not achieved many results of systematic research on the economic problems of the four famous mountains and monasteries. Mount Wutai ranks first among the four famous Buddhist mountains, and its status and influence are self-evident. To ensure the construction of temples, the normal life of monks and nuns, and the normal operation of temple Buddhist activities, there must be a strong economic backing and sufficient monastery income to guarantee. This topic is based on the perspective of the income of the Wutaishan monasteries in the Ming dynasty, and systematically studies the source of the economic income of the Wutaishan monasteries in the Ming dynasty and related issues. Through the in-depth analysis of the income from the incense of the Wutaishan temples in the Ming dynasty, the income from the temple fields, and the income of the property related to the temple economy, the development of the Wutaishan temple economy and its influencing factors are clarified, in order to have an objective truth about the historical scene of the Wutaishan temple in the Ming dynasty. Awareness. At the same time, studying the economic income of the Wutaishan monastery is also valuable for reference on how to strengthen and innovate temple management, establish a sound long-term temple management mechanism, and play the important role of Buddhism in social governance. Most emperors of the Ming dynasty believed in and supported Wutaishan Buddhism,

and the economy of the Wutaishan monasteries continued to develop. Incense income was the main source of the Wutaishan monastery economy in the Ming dynasty. As far as the source of incense income is concerned, it is consistent with the spatial flow of pilgrims. The spatial flow of monks has a greater impact on the incense income of the Wutaishan monastery. In particular, the eminent monk of You Fang used his social influence to raise funds and build temples. And for; members of the royal family and senior officials are important contributors to incense donations, the so-called “people in the palace who are vegetarians and Buddhas”; officials at all levels are keen to buy incense from the mountains and “build a dojo”; “Sifang Tanxin is popular ‘Wind’”, the folk incense association constitutes the social foundation of the incense income of the Wutaishan monastery. As far as the types of incense income are concerned, Wutaishan incense mainly includes two categories: physical objects and services. The physical incense includes currency, grain, soil, Buddhist supplies, etc. As far as the expenditure of incense income is concerned, Wutai Mountain incense is firstly for the purchase of supplies for religious activities, secondly for the purchase of fields, and thirdly for the construction of temples. Among them, the construction and repair of temples is an important form of incense income solidification. Due to the special geographical conditions and social environment, the construction of the Wutaishan Temple in the Ming dynasty cost a lot of money, with the characteristics of a long construction period, a large number of rebuilt temples, and a diverse identity of participants. The income of temple fields was an indispensable part of the income of Wutaishan monasteries in the Ming dynasty. From the perspective of the source of the fields, there are three main channels for obtaining the fields of the Wutai Mountain monastery: namely, granting fields to the temples, reclamation of the surrounding areas, and social charity. In terms of land composition, the monastery land includes the main temple land, the lower court land, the private land of the monks, the monks sublet the temple land, the tenant farmers rent the temple land, and so on. In the Ming dynasty, due to the small

amount of land granted from the central government, finding out the historical evidence of temple foundations or temple sites was an important way to build temples and obtain legal property rights. In the Ming dynasty, Wutaishan temple fields were divided into three categories according to the quality of the land: the first category was “desirable land” with relatively high yield, the second category was “unbearable land” with lower output, and the third category was the territories attached to the army. As an important source of monastery income, Terada became the object competition for all social forces. In order to protect its own interests, the monastery played a game with the government because Terada received food, and because Terada met with the army, it competed with the army because of Terada’s protection. In the Ming dynasty, there was an uninterrupted conflict of interests between the monastery and the local government, the military and the local tycoons. Forestry, animal husbandry, mining and commerce derived from the Wutaishan products were also part of the income of the Wutaishan monasteries in the Ming dynasty, and they were the objects of competition for all social forces. In terms of forestry, mining development, and animal husbandry development, they all face the dilemma of choosing between religious resources and commercial resources. In the context of the rapid development of the commodity economy, the local mining industry in Mount Wutai is developing rapidly, and the monks have also participated. Official trade in the monastery was the main business model at the time. The above analysis of the sources of income of the Wutaishan monasteries in the Ming dynasty believes that the economy of the Wutaishan monasteries in the Ming dynasty experienced a process of development from a downturn to a gradual recovery. A series of religious reform and rectification policies at the beginning of the Ming dynasty made the economy of Wutaishan temples fall into a downturn at the beginning of the Ming dynasty with the idea of “clearing what happened.” Since Yongle, “the harem and all the people worshipped”, the economy of Wutaishan temples began to improve; after Wanli, Due to the further development of the commodity economy and the

deepening of the social division of labor, social fashions have become increasingly extravagant with the economic prosperity. The socialization and marketization of the Wutaishan monastery economy has promoted the revival of the monastery economy. First of all, the reform of “dividing monasteries and Qingzong” directly led to the specialization of the division of labor in the monasteries, the large-scale monk team, and the socialization of Buddhist services, which opened the trend of the secularization of Buddhism in the Ming dynasty. Reorganization of the monks led to the merger of small monasteries into large monasteries. It directly affects the overall income of the monastery. However, the mountain forest monasteries represented by Mount Wutai cannot compare with the monasteries in cities such as Beijing in terms of income level, living conditions, and business exchanges. Secondly, influenced by the commodity economy, the Wutaishan monastery economy presents market-oriented characteristics. On the one hand, Buddhist policies are formulated to encourage monks to support themselves, and on the other hand, the paid services of religious affairs also provide a new channel for Shanlin monastery’s own income. In the process of the sinicization of Buddhism, the temples that were born not only connected with the secular, but also served the secular. The monastery is not only a place for Buddhist affairs, but also a place for the people’s spiritual sustenance and services for the people. When the monastery receives various incense income, it will return part of it to the society in the form of social relief. This is to a large extent It reflects the mutual aid of economic ethics and secular interests of Buddhism in the Ming dynasty. Although due to political advantages and geographical advantages, the development of urban temples represented by the two capitals and the mountain forest temples represented by Wutai Mountain has been unbalanced. However, the identification of the sacred mountain of Mount Wutai is conducive to both national governance and social governance; it not only solves the problem of spiritual conversion of monks, but also opens up an inexhaustible source of income for the monastery. The identity of the sacred mountain and the writing of the sacred mountain made

the Wutaishan monastery rooted in the profound history and culture remain anecdotal and exquisite, which further promoted the economic development of the Wutaishan monastery in the Ming.

Keywords: Ming dynasty; Wutai Mountain; Monastery economy; Monastery

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Institute/University: Shanxi University

Date: 2021

Title: A comprehensive study on Nālandā Mahāvihāra, the 5th to the 7th century

Abstract: Nālandā-saṃghārāma (Ch. Nalantuo si, hereafter Nālandā) (located ninety kilometers southeast of current-day Patna, Bihar) was built during the Gupta Empire (early 4th to late 6th century CE) by King Śākrāditya. Its site represented the most influential Buddhist monastery and institution of Buddhist study in Indian history and held deep connections with Buddhist lineages of ancient China. This study focuses on the Nālandā site and its legacy from the 5th to the 7th century. It examines the historical reasons for its Monastery becoming the most significant Buddhist site in India's early medieval period.

Chapter one discusses the origin of the name Nālandā and surveys the records of its site in early historical documents. This chapter also focuses on the historical development of its monastery from the 5th to the 13th centuries.

Likewise, this study analyzes the period between the 5th and the 7th centuries, representing a critical phase of the Nālandā Monastery, from its early nascency to its age of great prosperity.

In addition, Chapter two focuses more carefully on the political situation of North India and the development of Buddhism during this historical stage. The aim is to provide the necessary background and foundation for more intensive study of the Nālandā Monastery. From the perspective of regional history, the 5th to 7th centuries mark when Indian Buddhism flourished in the Magadha kingdom

of Central India. It was against such a backdrop that Nālandā's site emerged and gradually achieved prosperity. Following the Hephthalites (i.e., 'White Huns') infiltration, the Gupta Empire's rule in Northern India was destabilized and destroyed. Likewise, India's divided political structure and geographic and cultural diversity made regional differences even more pronounced, further undermining the oversimplification of linear historical narratives of this period.

Chapter three analyzes Nālandā's spatial distribution in great detail. A monastery's physical space directly represents its material wealth and prosperity. Nālandā's location served as a site where Buddhism, Jainism, and Brahmanism co-existed and interacted since ancient times. Furthermore, after Nālandā Monastery's establishment, the tradition of diversity in this area continued to thrive. By the 7th century, Nālandā had already become the largest saṃghārāma in India.

Combing historical documents and archaeological materials, it becomes evident that the layout of Nālandā Monastery remained intact from the 7th century until its final period of destruction. As far as the monastery's structure is concerned, inside the Nālandā Monastery, there are shrines and pagodas of different formats on the west side and standardized monk quarters and yards on the east side. The two sides form an arrangement of buildings and extend in the direction of north and south. An open field separates the groups of buildings on the eastern and western sides. Thus, the area containing stupa-halls and monk quarters present distinct spatial units fulfilling distinct functions of worship and living.

Chapter four discusses Nālandā's economic system of operation. An effective monastic economic system helped to establish Nālandā's long-term prosperity. Nālandā's system of donations and patronage was not unique. It derived from the religious land grants tradition that developed in ancient India and became embedded in India's feudal system in the early medieval period.

As the recipient of such land grants, the Nālandā Monastery enjoyed privileges granted by local kings over land, households, and ‘public resources’. Additionally, the Brahmanical elements found on most village seals indicate that relationships between Buddhist monasteries and the communities to which they belonged were secular and the product of feudal dependency. The laypeople (Ch. Jingren) who entered and served in monasteries formed personal attachments with the monastery or individual monks. The regular donations of more than two hundred villages likewise became the economic foundation that supported the prosperity of Nālandā and allowed it to become an important religious and academic center in India and Asia in the early medieval period.

Nālandā Monastery’s ‘study tradition’ (Ch. Sixue) also served as an essential element of its success. Chapter five discusses Nālandā’s tradition of study. The seventh century witnessed the pinnacle period of the development of Indian Buddhist philosophy. Great scholars of Nālandā such as Dharmapāla, Sthiramati, Śīlabhadra, Prajñāprabhā, Xuanzang, and Ratnasimha brought Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism to its peak. The disciples of Nālandā masters such as Shenfang, Jiashang, Puguang, and Kuiji extended the dharma lineage of its Monastery into foreign regions.

Nālandā served as early medieval India’s academic center and the most important site of Buddhist learning in the world at that time. For a thousand years, Nālandā represented a vital contact zone and bridge for Buddhism in India, East Asia, and Southeast Asia. Even more valuable is that as the most internationally influential religious institution in India, Nālandā attracted many non-Buddhist figures to study at its Monastery due to its famous pedigree of masters and its overall reputation and influence at the time. In this sense, the educational and cultural value of Nālandā not only contributed to the splendor of its Monastery’s legacy but also allowed its Monastery’s history and tradition to achieve a kind of immortality.

Keywords: Nālandā; 5th to 7th Century; North Indian History; North Indian Culture

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Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2022

Title: Aesthetic autonomy and religious concepts in the context of confessionalism—a study on Droste-Hülshoff’s poetry

Abstract: In Europe, the 19th century was a period of great change, including the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars and the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. The secularization process that began in the 18th century further undermined the old system dominated by the monarchy and Roman Catholic Church, and revolutionary undercurrents continued to flow even during the Restoration. Germany not only faced a confrontation between the restoration and revolution, which impacted all of Western Europe, but also witnessed the sectarian rivalries between Catholicism and Protestantism throughout the 19th century, and the political conflicts that accompanied it.

In Europe, the Catholicism and Protestantism enjoy the same status after the Reformation only in Germany. The divisions in the religious sphere had a profound impact on the course of German history and were reflected in the difficulties of unifying political ideas, i.e. the long-standing and deep conflict between Greater German nationalism and state patriotism. At the same time, Confessionalism (Konfessionismus) spread to all aspects of social life.

In terms of literary production, Protestantism and Catholicism placed emphasis on different themes: the former focusing on aesthetic autonomy, philosophical reflection and poetic innovation, the latter on the continuation of Catholic tradition and religious piety. The two sides went on to establish different literary canons. This shows that the criteria and standards for evaluating literary works are in fact based on interpretative paradigms, standpoints and value

identifications, so a deep ideological struggle is concealed behind the confrontation of aesthetic interests. Literary research needs to take this historical and cultural context fully into account. Therefore, the introduction of a confessionalism perspective not only helps researchers to grasp the connotations of the works, but also to identify the basic positions of various academic articles and to capture the gist and orientation of the research literature.

This paper takes the poetry of Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797-1848, hereinafter referred to as Droste) as the research object because of its close relevance to the above issues. Described as “the greatest female writer in Germany”, her canonization came into being alongside the sectarian conflicts. Droste experienced Germany’s transition from a feudal agrarian society to a modern industrial society and from a cultural to a political nation. On the one hand, she was imbued with the ideas of the Enlightenment and technological progress, while on the other hand, she could not escape the political ideas and ethical norms based on the Catholicism. Thus, she pulled herself from rigid or fanatical religious fervour, breaking the shackles of religious dogma on her literary production, and meanwhile tried to counter the challenge to tradition posed by the neutrality of modern values by affirming the core values of the Christian religion.

In Droste’s poetry, such characteristics are embodied in the tension between a self-conscious aesthetic awareness and a religious literary philosophy. In other words, Droste’s poetry is a representative of the manifestation of confession struggle in literature throughout the 19th century, as well as a reflection of the ideological crisis arising from the encounter between tradition and modernity.

Taking the interaction between politics, religion and literary aesthetics as a starting point, this thesis begins by outlining the historical context of the 19th century German confessional landscape, the relationship between the Prussian government and the Catholic Church and the manifestation of sectarian rivalries. With this as the reference frame, employing close reading and through a philological and literary hermeneutic approach, the thesis reveals the tendency

towards aesthetic autonomy and the concepts of religious literature in Droste's poetry, respectively. The former focuses on the departure from the literary tradition of cultivation, the awakening of the subject consciousness and the sense of humanistic writing; while the latter focuses on the transcendental view of nature, the notion of order and the writing on tradition in her work. Both discussions take into account the political and religious context in which her work was produced and received, and the interaction between literary and historical context.

In the process of analysis and interpretation, this thesis attempts to analyze the poetic characteristics of the poems, such as theme, genre, form and rhetoric, and to make them effective in the service of revealing the connotation of the works and interpreting the issues. The thesis concludes with a summary of the tensions in Droste's works and ideas, revealing the echoes between literary works and political reality in the context of confessionalism.

Keywords: Droste; Poetry; Confessionalism (Konfessionismus); Aesthetic autonomy; Religious concepts

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Date: 2022

Title: Papal authority and the regularized religious life: the 11th-Century Reform of the Western Church revisited

Abstract: The 11th-Century Reform of the Western Church is one of the most important issues in the medieval and ecclesiastical history of Western Europe. Traditional studies have tended to highlight the power struggle during the Reform based on documents such as *Libelli de lite Imperatorum et Pontificum*. Recent studies have not sufficiently interpreted the relationship between the Reform's renewal of moral concepts and its reconsideration and rearrangement of power within the church. The author argues that this Reform responded to the demands

of the time, pursuing the ultimate goal of establishing an ideal, unified norm of religious life, while reformers called for the reestablishment of papal authority as the necessary mean to carry out the goal. The rearrangement of power in this Reform was intended to regulate the religious life throughout the Western Church.

Before the 11th century, the structure of the Western Church was relatively loose, papal influence was restricted, and religious affairs were strongly influenced by feudal ruling class. There were no strict and uniform norms for religious life. As society had developed, the demand for higher-standard religious life grew fast. The 11th-Century Reform of the Western Church responded to the demand and advocated a unified norm of religious life with *vita apostolica* in the reformers' mind as its core, recentered the pope as the leader of the norms and the construction of a universal order of religious life. Gregory VII insisted on the idea of the Reform and wanted to work with local religious leaders and secular rulers while strengthening their respect for papal authority at the same time. Under his influence, the 12th-century work *De Aedificio Dei* by Gerhoch of Reichersberg summarized and developed the ideas of the Reform, and painted a picture of ideal Western Church. The 11th-Century Reform of the Western Church contributed to the reshaping of the spiritual world of Western Europe, and the foundation for the relatively unified religious and cultural atmosphere of later generations to a certain extent. Its influence has remained until now.

Keywords: 11th-Century Western Church; Church reform; Papal authority; *Vita Apostolica*

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Date: 2022

Title: The hidden crisis—a study on the church-state relationship in Poland, 1945–1989

Abstract: The church-state relationship is an important topic in the study of politics in the socialist period of Poland (1945–1989). During this period, the Polish government and the church cooperated and clashed. The government used the church to maintain social order, while the church tried to influence politics through various means. In the 1980s, Polish Catholic Church played an important role in the Solidarity movement and the upheaval of Polish People's Republic (PRL). The Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) government couldn't restrict Church's influence on politics, but hoped to cooperate with it instead. The Polish Church's high influence in political affairs is the result of its long-term cooperation and conflict with the government, which is closely related to the church-state relationship in the socialist period of Poland.

This dissertation collects and analyses the existing research literature at home and abroad, uses the archives of the Polish government, the Polish Catholic Church in Catholic Association Civitas Christiana, and Vatican in Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, focuses on the history and influencing factors of the evolution of the church-state relationship in Poland during the socialist period based on the guiding ideology of Marxism historical materialism. Catholicism has a far-reaching influence in Polish history. There was a close relationship between the church and Polish state. In the process of helping the Polish nation resist foreign aggression, Catholicism gradually integrated with the Polish national identity and accumulated a high moral reputation. Therefore, the Polish Workers' Party did not use violence to suppress religion after it came to power, but chose to coexisted peacefully with the church. With the introduction of the Soviet model after 1948, the religious policy of the PZPR government became stricter, and the church-state relationship became tense. In 1956, Gomulka returned to power and relaxed the religious policies, easing the church-state relationship. However, the church and the government still had conflicts from time to time. Since Gierek came to power

in 1970, the government's religious policy further relaxed, giving the church more room to act. While at the same time, the church became more political and started to contacting the opposition. After the establishment of the Solidarity in 1980, the government's dependence on the church increased, and the two sides formed a *do ut des* coexistence model. The church helped the government consolidate its ruling position, while the government agreed that the church could guide government policies in a certain extent, and also considered giving the church legal person status. In the process of Poland's Round Table Meeting, the church coordinated the relationship between the government and the opposition on the surface. In fact, it was more inclined to support the opposition, which promoted Poland's social upheaval. After the upheaval, the church-state relationship formed in the Socialist's Period no longer existed.

This dissertation holds that the ups and downs of the church-state relationship in the socialist period of Poland was the result of the joint action of various factors. The PZPR government was able to handle the church-state relationship comprehensively during most of its ruling time. However, in the 1980s, facing the severe domestic and international political environment, the Polish government made too many concessions and compromises to the church, making itself and the Polish Church become tools of the game of great powers, leading to the tragedy of Socialist Poland. Experience and lessons from the church-state relationship in the socialist period in Poland has reference value for understanding religious issues and properly handling the church-state relationship in socialist countries.

Keywords: Church-state relationship; Religious policy; Polish United Workers' Party; Polish Catholic Church

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Date: 2022

Title: The reception of the myth of the Queen Mother of the West in ancient Korea

Abstract: The myth of the Queen Mother of the West (西王母神话) is not only important in Chinese culture, but also has a great influence overseas. Only a century ago, the Queen Mother of the West was one of the most popular goddesses in Korea and her prominence in the history of exchanges between China and Korea is remarkable. Therefore, this paper examines the reception of the myth of the Queen Mother of the West in ancient Korea from the standpoint of comparative literature and reception aesthetics.

Firstly, it summarizes the formation of the myth and the process of developing it into a myth system gradually in China. On this basis, the dissemination period of the myth and the reasons for its acceptance are explored. It can be speculated that it has spread to the Three Kingdoms period (三国时代) at least. Regarding the reasons for acceptance, this paper proposes several possibilities, such as the geographical location, the myth of the “Shan Hai Jing (山海经)” contains most of the myths of the Dongyi (东夷) people and probably has ethnic affinity with the Koreans, and the goddess belief in the Korean Peninsula.

Secondly, it discusses the acceptance and use of it by the ancient Koreans from three aspects: court culture, literati culture, women and folk culture. In the court feasts, the myth belongs to the Confucian ritual system. The Queen Mother of the West is not a religious object for people pray for as in China, but a concrete manifestation of the core concept of “ritual and music (礼乐)” and an effective symbol for the purpose of praying for blessings. Analyzing the literature of the literati of Goryeo (高丽) and Joseon (朝鲜), it is found that although the myth of the Queen Mother of the West has been diluted in its religious nature, it basically maintains its original appearance in the narrative and symbolic sense, which is highly consistent with that in China. This is the result of acculturation in the form

of “addition” and behind this phenomenon lies the concept of Sinocentrism as “civilization standard” with Confucianism as the core. They revised the myth to meet the requirements of Confucianism; its religious character was eliminated which was not suitable for Confucianism and its function of wishing a long life was selected and carried forward. Finally, it analyzes the myth in the works of female literati and folk culture. In the traditional period, neither women nor the common people had the right to learn Chinese characters or to write. In the hands of these people, the myth embodies the characteristics of folk, entertainment, and individuality. This is not only attributable to the characteristics of the creator itself, but also to the influence of the times.

The main findings of this study include the following three points: first, the religious character of the myth of the Queen Mother of the West hardly exists on the Korean peninsula. Instead of it, the symbol of longevity is emphasized, which is widely used as an effective tool for culture of Confucian ritual and music; second, the myth has undergone acculturation in the form of “addition”. In ancient Korea, the myth of the Queen Mother of the West was not fully accepted and new forms of expression appeared to meet the needs of local culture and politics. However, the selected narrative and symbols of it have not changed much, which is highly similar to that of China. The key is that the intellectuals of this period regarded the concept of Sinocentrism centered on Confucianism as the highest standard of human civilization. Hence, increasing the function of wishing longevity can only meet the social and cultural needs under the domination of Confucianism. In other words, the same symbols have different internal motivations; thirdly, in the past, it was generally believed that folklore like myths only had an impact on common people’s lives. However, the myth of West Queen Mother can be found between the rational thinking and upper culture, wild thinking, and folk culture of ancient Koreans.

Keywords: Myth of the Queen Mother of the West; Symbol; Comparative literature; Reception study; Ancient Korea

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Date: 2022

Title: A study on the publishing activities of Buddhist nuns in post-retrocession Taiwan

Abstract: Taiwan got rid of the Japanese rule in 1945 when Buddhism in Taiwan was under strong impact from Japanese Buddhism. Buddhists who came to Taiwan from mainland China began to restructure the thoughts and precepts of Buddhism in Taiwan, bringing it back to the system of Chinese Buddhism. Along with the social and economic changes in Taiwan, Buddhism in Taiwan is booming, with many outstanding Buddhist nuns playing influential roles in and making significant contributions to the Buddhism, charity, education and publication sectors. The Buddhist nuns interpret and translate the Buddhist teachings, write books, note down major Buddhist events, and publish articles in Buddhist journals. Many Buddhist nuns in Taiwan play an essential role in the printing of Tripitaka and the compilation of Taisho Tripitaka, or in the publication of academic and popular readings. This is unprecedented in this Buddhist history and a result of complicated factors. This paper discusses the book publications led by the Buddhist nuns after 1945, summarizing the characteristics, impact and significance of these publication activities.

Apart from the introduction and conclusions, this paper is composed of four parts. Firstly, the paper reviews the history of Buddhist nuns, particularly their activities and related literature before, during and after the Japanese rule. Secondly, this research makes a systematic examination of the publications led by the Buddhist nuns, classifies the publications into different stages based on their characteristics, and analyzes the publication amount, features, publishers and authors based on this historical context, thereby presenting the publication pattern led by the Buddhist nuns in Taiwan after 1945. Thirdly, there are two types

of Buddhist nuns after 1945. One type is the famous Buddhist nuns, who live across the Japanese-rule period and the revival of traditional Chinese Buddhism after 1945. They are the founders of most Buddhist sanghas or Bodhimandas. There is a few number of them, but they made two-thirds of the publications by Buddhist nuns. Also, these nuns are often the leaders of major publication campaigns or institutions and have the right to decide on the publication directions and styles. The other type is the general Buddhist nuns, who made publications other than those by the famous Buddhist nuns. The comparison of the patterns, themes, content forms and writing styles between the two types, and the examination of the publishers, publication types and social contexts in Taiwan, help deepen the understanding of the complete publication patterns and impact of the Buddhist nuns in Taiwan. Fourthly, this research makes a case analysis on the publications by the Luminary International Buddhist Society. With all members being female, the Luminary International Buddhist Society is led by nuns as well. It is not leader-centered and has no restrictions on publications, which is exceptionally unique. Therefore, this paper further explores the publication characteristics of the Buddhist nuns.

The conclusion part discusses the particularity of the publications by the Buddhist nuns in Taiwan after 1945 from three aspects, namely Buddhism promotion and national rejuvenation, human Buddhism, and feminism. During the re-construction of Chinese Buddhism in Taiwan, the Chinese spirits are passed on. The human Buddhist ideas are adopted as the new promotion approach, which provides a bright prospect for the Buddhist nuns in Taiwan. Lastly, it is wished that the findings on Buddhist publications by nuns provide reference on the inheritance of the Chinese and other Buddhism, and on the interactions between religion and females and cultural society. This research would serve as a useful literature reference of related studies at home and abroad.

Keywords: Buddhism in Taiwan; Buddhist nuns; Female; Publications

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Date: 2022

Title: The secular canopy

Abstract: What does it mean to live in a secular age? This is the starting point of the dissertation. Modern society has been undergoing a shift from the sacred canopy to the secular canopy, in which the legitimacy previously provided by God or other ultimate realities is challenged and the empirical world no longer has a necessary, solid, and permanently rational foundation, and modern society is thus facing a crisis of legitimacy. This dissertation responds to the question of how the legitimacy of modern society has changed in this process of transformation, and how it responds to this crisis under the secular canopy in order to provide new support for a fragile and contingent world.

The dissertation focuses on two aspects: first, starting with the revolution of secularity, which is concerned with the transformation of people's understanding of secularity. Secularity implies a shift in the ontological situation of human beings, from the omnipresence of God, to the emergence of divided social spheres free from their connection to God and the consequent establishment of their own autonomy, secularity allows people to be intrinsically attentive to the surrounding situation and not to rely on an external, transcendent other. In dealing with the revolution of secularity, this dissertation revolves around three different models, one of which is the transformational model, the other is the reoccupation model, and finally the framework of immanence that synthesizes the two. Transformational model places the legitimacy of secular society on the eternal external, absolute sovereign; reoccupation model emphasizes the replacement of dependence on external authority with individual self-assertion, thus placing the legitimacy of modernity on human agency. In the framework of immanence, the legitimacy of secular society is neither derived solely from eternal external authority nor from individual agency, but offers an optional and open field in

which secularity is neither a continuous story of constancy nor a story of decline, but a story of reassembling spiritual life in new forms.

Secondly, there is the revolution of sacredness. Starting from Durkheim's sacred society, this dissertation first criticizes the limited setting of the power of sacredness in the service of the construction of order, and then further radicalizes sacredness in an analysis of Bataille and others, thus responding to the political and social crisis brought about by a repressive force. Instead of the absolute, monolithic, and central image of sacredness forcefully imposed on the individual, sacredness presents itself as a more fragmented, fluid, private, and eventful image of power. Sacredness no longer inhibits individual agency, but becomes an important source of agency, releasing a radical pluralism that transforms the presentation of sociality, so that communication between people no longer depends on homogenous elements, but finds a more authentic and thorough communication in heterogeneous elements, which is the basis for the revival of community. It promises a community without community, revealing that in an increasingly uncertain and dynamically variable world, the most important thing about community is not to provide a sense of permanence and stability, but to emphasize a non-persistent continuity that allows instability to become a space to be cherished and enjoyed, while at the same time maintaining this unstable non-persistence. Finally, the sacred revolution is essentially a refusal to essentialize and materialize sacred power, thus avoiding the pushing of sociality into a position of supreme sovereignty; what it asserts is that the sacred ceases to be centrally present and becomes the event. The latter decentralizes sovereign power with an absent, messianic event, thus contributes to a sovereignty without sovereignty, and offers a restructuring scheme in a way that weakens the absolute sovereignty. In this restructured scheme, life is the event full of intensity that gives us a possibility, a possibility that points to something new, which is always unpredictable, characterizing a break with the present and the potential of the future.

Ultimately, we show a dialectical movement between secularity and sacredness, and it is this dialectical movement that allows us neither to simply fall into nihilism nor to lose our individual agency, but to explore the fullness and meaning of life in a space of possibility, to continue thinking about ways of being as well as the value of living under the death of God.

Keywords: Secularity; Sacredness; Temporality; Subjectivity; Community; Event

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Date: 2022

Title: An ethnographic study of Jingpo nationality's myth inheritance

Abstract: Munaujaiwa, the Creation Epic of Jingpo nationality, is a representative project of national intangible cultural heritage of folk literature, Munao Zongge, its performance context, is a representative project of national intangible cultural heritage of folk custom. Munaujaiwa contains the myth of the origin of heaven and earth, the myth of flood, the myth of war and the myth of cultural invention, known as the Encyclopedia of Jingpo nationality. The relationship between mythology and history and the sanctity of mythology have been discussed for a long time in mythological circles. The Jingpo language “jaiwa” means history, and “Munaujaiwa” means the song of history. Jingpo people call the narration of “Munaujaiwa” as “telling history” and believe that it is the true history of the nationality. Through the study of the typical case of Munaujaiwa, we can not only extend the timeline of sacred narration from ancient times to the present and break the gap between contemporary people's concepts of “myth” and “history”, but also clarify the boundary between sacred narration and fairy tales. Context is the soil of myth generation and inheritance, and there has been no ethnographic research on the important areas of Jingpo's myth inheritance. This doctoral dissertation collected the living myths among the contemporary Jingpo people through field investigation, try to promote the research of Jingpo's oral myths, and on this basis,

promote the field research and theoretical construction of the living myths of China's ethnic minority.

This doctoral dissertation, starting with the introduction and ending with the conclusion, is divided into five chapters. The introduction part makes a literature review of Jingpo's mythology and its related research, expounds the research methods and field investigation situation, and explains the important key words related to This doctoral dissertation.

In the first chapter, the author combs the basic situation of Jingpo nationality and its cultural tradition, including population distribution, ethnic origin, language, social structure, religious beliefs and living customs, presents the regional space of the author's fields myth inheritance and a variety of local mythological expressions. It focuses on the national characteristics of Jingpo's myths, including the world outlook of the coexistence of human beings, gods and ghosts, the circular concept of male and female creation and "rejuvenation", and taking the bamboo tablet as the material carrier to express the sanctity.

In the second chapter, the author discusses the myth performance practice in the ritual context, and finds that Jingpo's myth still plays the sacred narration function in Jingpo's major festivals, weddings and funerals and other ritual occasions, guiding the people's ritual life practice, providing it with legitimacy in the narrative level, as the people preserve and inherit their national history through myth. The mythological narration on Munao Zongge expresses the ethnic group's ancestral identity and ethics. The mythological narration on wedding ceremony strengthens the marriage ethics and the family's ancestral identity. Mythology occupies an equally important position with history in the structure and function of the ceremonies. Mythological narration and ritual performance together strengthen Jingpo's historical identity and social order.

In the third chapter, the author collects, arranges and analyzes the oral myths spreading among the people in Kachang and Longchuan areas. On the premise of respecting the local knowledge system and according to the classification and

properties of Jingpo' s myths, the author divided it into two categories: myths related to sacrifice and myths unrelated to sacrifice. The author makes a comparative analysis between the folk oral myths and the published written myths of Jingpo nationality. In addition, it also makes a cross regional comparative analysis of the different narrative texts of the same myth in Longchuan and Kachang areas. The author display that the Jingpo folk oral myth has the characteristics of richness, nationality, regionality and hybridity, and the myth narrative presents a rich and diversified orientation. It is summarized and analyzed from the perspectives of myth content, myth structure, myth function and myth thinking.

In the fourth chapter, the author divides Jingpo' s mythology into four categories according to their mastery of mythological knowledge and their position and discourse power in village sacrifice activities: performance inheritors, writing-telling inheritors, national cultural elites and ordinary people. It also summarizes the inheriting content, methods and motivation at different levels. In terms of inheriting content, the myths related to history are mostly controlled by the narrative inheritors represented by Jaiwa and other priests, showing systematicness, richness, integrity, tradition and sanctity. In terms of inhering context, narrative inheritors mainly perform the myths in sacrificial ceremonies and festival fields. In daily life occasions, they rarely have time to tell the myths with a long narrative timeline. The other three types of inheriting occasions are not restricted.

In the fifth chapter, the author discusses the internal motivation and external thrust of myth inheritance, trying to show the vitality of myth in living form in the folk after thousands of years. The internal motivation of myth inheritance is the function and characteristic of myth as an independent genre, which is mainly reflected in the status and function of myth in Jingpo' s local religious beliefs, major festivals and ceremonies. The external thrust of myth inheritance is the efforts made by Jingpo' s myth inheriting subjects and government cultural departments,

Jingpo society and other social organizations in the context of intangible cultural heritage.

Keywords: Jingpo nationality; Oral myth; Performance practice; Inheriting subject; Inheriting motivation; Ethnography

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Date: 2022

Title: The Chinese offspring of Mani: a study of Cao'an from the perspective of anthropology of religion

Abstract: This study is based on a fourteen-month field study of the only remaining Manichean relic in the world, “Cao'an” (草庵) and the clan village around it, “Sucun” (宿村), to examine the interaction between foreign Manichean knowledge and traditional Chinese society.

This paper points out that this interactive process is based on the fundamental opposition between the historical-moral concept of the clan village and the Manichaeism doctrine “theory of two substances and three time periods” (二宗三际论). There are two main aspects: (1) Historical consciousness: the historical regime of the people in the village has a structure of family system “the first ancestor-distant ancestor-near ancestor-present”, by which “present” exists in the continuous historical context starting from the ancestor. While Manichaeism advocates the linear view of history “past-present-future”, which by nature is a stage theory of history and includes future salvation resulting in a substantially break with the present and the past; (2) Moral system: Manichaeism emphasizes the dual opposition of the Lightness (Good) and the Darkness (Evil). And the struggle between Good and Evil constitutes the main thread of world history. On the contrary, according to the view of the people in Sucun, the “goodness” resides in the ideal normal life and in the historical context that stretches from the

ancestors to the present, and the “evil” is a deviation from the goodness and normal life. Both the historical system and moral system of Sucun have “home” as their core concern. The retribution from ancestors, ghosts and gods to the living is also carried out within the structure of the family system. Thus, retribution contributes to the social moral foundation and reinforces the institutions of ancestral societies.

Sucun people replaced Manichaeism “theory of two substances and three times periods” with historical consciousness and moral genealogy based on ancestral society, and they also reconstructed fragmented Manichean knowledge into the local Manichean narrative. Integrating ancestors and themselves into the big history, they obtain corresponding moral resources, enriches and strengthens the way of life of the ancestral society by those Manichaeism elements.

The historical consciousness of Sucun people is revealed by the local stories of Manichaeism and their complex ancestor sacrifice system. The villagers obtained information from classical Manichaeism and the historical study of Manichaeism under the paradigm of the peasant revolution. They then constructed the narrative of “our ancestors were Manichaeans”. They first call their ancestors revolutionaries, and currently as “patriots” and “protectors of traditional culture”, by which they aim to emphasize their own justice. At the same time, they reject the stage theory of history and historical progressivism of Manichaeism and the peasant revolutionary study, which is firmly based on the historical consciousness of the continuity of “I” and ancestors. Ancestral halls (祠堂), ancestral houses (祖厝), genealogy, and tomb offerings together constitute a complete historical system. The first ancestor is the beginning of the history of the village; the distant ancestors, abstract and highly moralized, are enshrined in the ancestral hall, becoming a moral model and providing a life picture of “life, death, marriage and birth”; the near ancestors within the five generations are enshrined in the ancestral houses, and the living still has specific emotions and memories

with them. From generation to generation, the living continues to pass away and become the ancestors of the ancestral house. Therefore, the succession of descendants is essentially important for the ancestral society. Once the offspring is extinct, the entire ancestral world will collapse, and the dead will become wandering spirits (游魂), and the social order of the living will be endangered. The ancestral historical consciousness of Sucun people shows their strong wish of family breeding. Correspondingly, marriage and birth in a family are highly social.

The moral genealogy and concept of good and evil of the people in Sucun are also based on their historical system. The “good” resides in normal life and in the context that stretches from the ancestors to the present, while “evil” is a deviation from this normal life and manifests as “retribution”. “Retribution”, as an inevitable causality, traces the cause of evil and disaster to the moral imperfection of the ancestors of three or five generations. At the same time, this is the same scope of the ancestors enshrined in the ancestral houses. Therefore, the moral lineage of Sucun is consistent with the structure of the historical regime of ancestors. Furthermore, the villagers emphasize bad retribution and neglect good retribution, because they regard ideal family life itself as good and hence do not pursue a transcendent life. And since retribution often occurs on the whole family which is most important for the villagers, it forms moral rules as well as regulates the family and social order to prevent immoral “ruthlessness” and “excessive greed” from damaging the family and the village. The idea of retribution also shaped their historical understanding of the decline of the village, by which it became a moral allegory and an exhortation for the villagers’ daily behaviours.

The historical-moral system of the Sucun people strongly organizes their lives, builds their culture firmly on the cornerstone of the ancestral society, and serves as the foundation for them to face and deal with the unfamiliar Manichean knowledge. They do not blindly reject or accept the latter, but understand and utilize it through their complex social and cultural mechanism. Therefore, this

article somehow responds to the original concern of Wang Guowei (王国维), Chen Yuan (陈垣) and others in the study of “the sinicization of Manichaeism” in the early 20th century: how Chinese civilization faces the alien tradition.

Keywords: Manichaeism; Ancestral society; Historical consciousness; Retribution; Family system.

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Date: 2022

Title: The evolution of official discourses on Alevi in Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey

Abstract: The Alevi is one of the religious minorities in Turkey, second only to the Sunnis in population. The academic community generally believes that the Alevis were gradually evolved from Kızılbaş of the Ottoman Empire. From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, there have been several major transitions in the official discourse on Alevis. These transitions are closely related to the specific historical course of Ottoman-Turkey. During the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, like the Kurds, the Alevis were also regard as a minority group which needed to be heavily governed. The official discourse and its transitions are the reflection of the government’s policies and propositions against the Alevi.

In the early 16th century, when the conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Safavid dynasty was in full swing, the Kızılbaş were basically in the category of “religious heresy”. By the time of Sultan Abdullah Hamid II, under the influence of the Pan-Islamism, the official discourse of Alevi began to undergo a major shift, from being denounced as a religious heresy to incorporating them in the Muslim world. In this process, the derogatory “Kızılbaş” was gradually replaced by the new name “Alevi”. When The Young Turks and Mustafa Kemal came to power successively, Turkism was regarded as the guiding ideology for nationalists to save

their country. Especially when Mustafa Kemal was in power, the government deliberately obliterated the religious identity of Alevi from the perspective of assimilation. In the official discourse, Alevis are described as “Pure Turks”, preserving the traditional culture of the Turkish people before the Islamization. Since the mid-1960s, right-wing parties have become the dominant force in Turkish politics, and the Alevis have been labeled as “Pro-communist” due to their support for left-wing parties represented by the Republican People’s Party. When the Justice and Development Party came into power in 2002, it proposed a so-called “New Thinking” policy, which try to distinguish national identity and ethnic identity, claiming that Turkish citizens can be the “main identity”, Alevi can be the “sub-identities”. Since then, when it comes to Alevi, Erdogan and other leaders will always call it “Our Alevi Brother”.

Discourses are representations of certain phenomenon, and these discourses are not intended to pursue objectivity, but often reflects an unequal power relationship. The evolution of Ottoman-Turkish official discourse on Alevi reflects the efforts and tendencies of the powerful central government to discipline minorities in different historical periods. Therefore, the exploration of these discourses and their transformations will help us understand the historical process of centralization from another perspective.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire; Turkey; Kızılbaş; Alevi

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Date: 2022

Title: Painting Taoist images: a study on Taoist Zhaijiao paintings in the Ming and Qing dynasties

Abstract: This paper mainly takes the scroll paintings, used in Taoist rituals in the Ming and Qing dynasties, as the research object. A comprehensive investigation and further in-depth research have been made on these materials, in view of their confusion with Buddhist water and land paintings and other ritual paintings. The

introduction reviews the academic naming and perception of these materials. According to the fact that Taoist rituals have been called “Zhaijiao” (齋醮, Taoist rituals for salvation, petition, etc.) since Medieval times, the images should be newly named as Zhaijiao paintings.

Chapter II to IV focus on the “internal issues” of Zhaijiao paintings, and carries with analysis on details within three aspects: text, image, and historical context.

The second chapter starts from the literature analysis, and concludes that the narrow concept of Zhaijiao painting refers to the image materials arranged in a Taoist ceremony. By sorting out the relating records in Daozang, it was clearly written down that Zhaijiao paintings were early used in Taoist ceremonies in the Song dynasty, standardized arranged in the Ming dynasty and handed down to nowadays. In addition, the broad concept of Zhaijiao painting refers to the scrolls domestically worshiped by the believers. The broader concept includes deity paintings on the Taoist ritual utensils.

The third chapter sorts out the images of the Ming and Qing Zhaijiao paintings, examines their dating, and summarizes their deity systems. The basic image types of Zhaijiao paintings are therefore generalized, and the similarities and differences between the northern and southern Zhaijiao paintings at that time are clearly summarized.

The fourth chapter investigates the historical context and social culture of Zhaijiao paintings’ era, and finds that combinations of Zhaijiao paintings were suitable for various Zhaijiao ceremonies, which reveals the multiple functions of Zhaijiao paintings. The content and subjects of Zhaijiao painting reflect the mutual learning between Buddhism and Taoism, the social fashion of the integration of all three religions, and the prosperity of folk beliefs and civic culture in the Ming and Qing dynasties.

The last two chapters focus on the “external issues” of Zhaijiao painting, that is, the relationship between Zhaijiao painting and water and land painting in the

Ming and Qing dynasties. The fifth chapter makes a comparative analysis of the two from a macro perspective. The similarities and differences are examined from four perspectives: text, visual, media and believers.

The sixth chapter starts from a microscopic point of view, taking Zhaijiao painting and water and land painting collected by the Wuwei Museum as an example, and investigates the relationship between these two kinds of paintings produced by the same painting workshop at a similar time. It is found that although different religious attributes, they cross the religious boundary and show a certain degree of interaction and integration at the level of folk image production.

Keywords: Zhaijiao painting; Taoist ceremony; Water and land painting; Water and land ritual; Religious ritual image

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Date: 2022

Title: “Paṭiñṇā” society: a study of the ritual “Paṭiñṇā” in the Nanlan River region along the Sino-Myanmar border

Abstract: Nanlan River marks the border between China and Myanmar today. There are many minority ethnic groups of China living along this river, such as Bulang, Hani, Lahu, Dai and so on. Paṭiñṇā (巴蒂然) is a kind of ritual which is still practiced by people in the Nanlan River area, Sino-Myanmar Border today. Until now, there are few researches related to Paṭiñṇā. As a result, on the one hand, studying Paṭiñṇā contributes to the enrichment of the current ritual theories. On the other hand, it has important value and significance for understanding the society, history and culture of China’s southwestern border areas.

What is the term Paṭiñṇā means for the local people? How the ritual Paṭiñṇā is practiced by people in Nanlan River? When did this ritual first appear in Nanlan River areas? Why is Paṭiñṇā still practiced today? To respond on the above

questions, this thesis is not limited to the research framework of “classifying distinct ethnic groups in order to write ethnography” (分族写志) or village research paradigm, but systematically studies the ritual Paṭiñṇā through field investigation of different ethnic groups and multiple villages in Nanlan River Basin, collecting, sorting and translating folk documents (such as ritual texts, village chronicles, Legends and so forth) written in Tham Script (经典傣文(/Tuo Tham)) by local ethnic groups. At the same time, this thesis is not limited to the synchronic study, but to put Paṭiñṇā in different periods and different socio-historical context for a long-time scale investigation. Generally, the essence of ritual is regarded as the symbolic meaning added by participants to the ritual practice. Based on this viewpoint, through the comparative analysis of the process of Paṭiñṇā practice between villages observed in the fieldwork, the ritual texts written in Tham Script by local ethnic, the historical text of villages and other folk documents, as well as the collected oral historical materials, physical objects, Chinese historical records and so forth, this thesis finds that while maintaining the same form, the Paṭiñṇā ritual present an “accumulative” structure embodying meanings of the ritual in different regions and socio-historical context of different times. Therefore, even if the same ritual is practiced in different spaces and different periods, the meaning of ritual will be different, specifically, it presents the process of the invention or reconstruction of tradition. In addition, for different ethnic groups in different regions and varied socio-cultural backgrounds, their patterns are also very different in the process of people giving ritual meaning. Based on the above discussion, the research content of this thesis is mainly carried out from the following five aspects.

Firstly, the term Paṭiñṇā is Tham Script . From the etymological point of view, this term comes from the Pāli Language “Paṭiñṇā”, which means the act or ritual related to “oath”. According to the practical situation of Paṭiñṇā, it also refers to the relationship between two or more villages (or subjects). Through the analysis of

Paṭiñṇā held in the two villages, this thesis finds that Paṭiñṇā is a ritual in accord with the form of the covenant rites of the Spring and Autumn period. Differently from the form of the covenant rituals in the present research of many scholars, Paṭiñṇā is a specific oath ritual, in which the participants of the two or more villages visit each other periodically, and engage in every time in gift-exchange. As a ritual of oath, the religiosity of Paṭiñṇā locates in its binding mechanism, presenting the opposing and complementary relationships between Buddhism and the other religious concepts. From the perspective of the social “field setting”, the Zhaixin (寨心) sacrifice, the Summa (苏玛) among different villages, and Paṭiñṇā constitute the Territorial Cult system of Nanlan River region. This system makes a village or a tribe that is mobile in its physical and administrative space become stable. Among the three rituals, Paṭiñṇā is the highest-level ritual and expresses the worship of the tribal alliance. The characteristics of this Territorial Cult system represents the basic order of opposition and unity, hierarchy and equality in Nanlan River region, which makes the Territorial Cult system in this region contrasts to that in Southeast China.

Secondly, Paṭiñṇā is practiced not only in one village or tribe, but also by different villages in Nanlan River region. For different villages, their relationships through Paṭiñṇā were constructed over different periods, and the reasons for establishing ritual relationship between them are also different. On the one hand, at the latest in the middle and late Ming dynasty, Paṭiñṇā had appeared in Nanlan River region. The relationship of Paṭiñṇā between different regional villages present varied social and historical situations in different periods of Nanlan River region, such as immigration, religious communication, land division and so forth. On the other hand, although the reasons for establishing Paṭiñṇā relations between different subjects are different, similarly, this ritual was used to coordinate the competition of different subjects for land resources.

In addition, even when the *Paṭiñṇā* is practiced in the same group of villages or tribes, it still showed its accumulation of meaning in different historical periods. Although the ritual text of villages who have *Paṭiñṇā* relationship is brief, it preserves detailed historical memory of this area, which is missing in both the Official Historical texts and the Local Genealogy of Tusi (土司) during the Ming and Qing dynasties. In the early Qing dynasty, *Paṭiñṇā* was used as the tax system of Cheli Xuanweishi (车里宣慰使) in his mountainous area. This system was an adjustment system used by the local Tusi in the process of applying the Qing policy of bureaucratization of native officers in the Southwest during the reign of Yongzheng (雍正). However, the mountain communities were not passive in this process, they obtained their competitive advantages over the other groups with the help of the authority of Tusi.

As an oath ritual, *Paṭiñṇā* is not the only form of covenant ritual in Nanlan River region. Since the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the Ming Empire established a ritual reciprocity system between the Empire and Tusi through an oath of alliance. Since the middle and late Ming dynasty, the Tusi in Cheli imitated this system and established a ritual reciprocity between Tusi and the officials under his jurisdiction. Cheli Tusi also built the ritual reciprocity system with the “leaders” (touren 头人) of the mountain communities in his jurisdiction. Despite the influence of Theravada, the “divinity” of Cheli Tusi has not developed. Recognizing the imperial power of Ming and Qing Empire, *Paṭiñṇā* is different not only from what happened with the Kangding Tusi (康定土司), but also from the situation in Southeast Asia such as Thailand and Myanmar. The “intermediate” (zhongjianxing 中间性) authority established by Cheli Tusi, officials under the Tusi area, and the mountain leaders helped them all to have obtained their advantageous position over other groups with the support of the external authority of the Ming and Qing Empire. This shows a process of copying from “galactic politics” to the border.

Differently from the idea of traditional political philosophy of empire forced local resistance, on the one hand, this process is not completely imposed by foreign forces while local people can also misappropriate of foreign things to gain their competitive advantage over other groups. On the other hand, local areas also maintain differences with “the other” during its assimilation.

Finally, Paṭiññā is not a disappearing tradition. After the emergence of the modern contract law, local people still use the ritual of Paṭiññā in their contractual exchanges. Behind Paṭiññā, it is the non-exchangeable and non-transferable “sacred object” of social relations, which occurs before all exchanges including contractual exchanges. Periodic practice of Paṭiññā in Nanlan River region is the concrete symbol of this “sacred object” and serves as the basis for other contractual exchanges and social exchanges. Different villages or tribes in the gift-exchange during the practice of Paṭiññā create their own society, and enable the social production and reproduction continue in the continuous gift-exchange.

Keywords: Paṭiññā; Covenant ritual; Accumulation of meaning; Ming and Qing Empire; Contract

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Date: 2022

Title: The development of ideas of Dhyāna in Jin and Song dynasties and its influence on art

Abstract: The translation of the concept of “Dhyāna” in the Han and Jin Buddhist scriptures has undergone several changes, but Dhyāna is at the core of the Buddhist practice system. Early Buddhism focused on spreading the concept of “Dhyāna” and did not yet divide the idea of “Dhyāna”. The Jin and Song literati began to accept Dhyāna monks and Dhyāna studies. The contradiction between aesthetics and meditation seemed irreconcilable in Hinayana Buddhism, but Mahayana Buddhism accommodated aesthetics. The concept of unclean

meditation penetrated deeply into the spiritual world of Chinese culture, especially the view of female sex changed the view of beauty and ugliness in the Jin and Song dynasties, and the unclean meditation led to the gradual departure of the “trial of women” from the core of Buddhist doctrine and its rapid growth into a common subject of popular literature. Unlike Northern Buddhism, which emphasized the actual practice of Ānāpāna meditation, Jin and Song Buddhism preferred to talk about it. From a series of historical documents, the Taoists of Laozhuang did not pursue the immortal path of “eternal life” as their fundamental pursuit, and the indigenous method of “blowing and breathing” is different from Ānāpāna meditation in practice and theory. The concept of “Nembutsu Dhyāna” was introduced to China along with Mahayana Buddhism, starting with the “Prajna Samadhi” translated by the Shiloh Gautama lineage. The starting object of the chanting meditation is the statue of Buddha in solemn appearance, and the sacred sound seen in the meditation is unexpectedly encountered. The creation of a Dhyāna forest by Huiyuan in Lushan, the excavation of the Cave of the Shadow of Buddha, and the practice of nembutsu meditation by Huiyuan’s order and the community of Buddhist priests brought art into the realm of Buddhist aesthetics and created the Buddhist artistic concept of unrestricted spirituality. The translation of the sutras by Hata Ma Rashi introduced the idea of the reality of all dharmas into Chinese Buddhism, and the idea of realistic meditation achieved a breakthrough in the unclean meditation and nembutsu meditation. These ideas enabled Sengzhao’s aesthetics to bridge the relationship between Mahayana Buddhism and Dhyāna Buddhism and to create the artistic spirit of “Daguan”.

Keywords: Dhyāna; Art; Unclean meditation; Ānāpāna meditation; Nembutsu samādhi; Realistic meditation

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Institute/University: Peking University

Date: 2022

Title: Research on Sarvatraga-caitasika theory of Yogācāra School

Abstract: Ever since Abhidharma has come up with the framework named as “five categories”, caitasika becomes an important classification which covers all aspects of mental activity. Furthermore, Yogācāra reconstructs the Sektarian Buddhism’s framework of caitasika, by dividing the caitasika into six-group (sarvatraga-pratiniyataviṣaya-kuśala-kleśa-upakleśa-anyatha), in which the ten mahābhūmika are separated into five sarvatraga and five pratiniyataviṣaya.

According to the definition given by Yogācāra School, attention (manasikāra), contact (sparśa), sensation (vedanā), representation (saṃjñā) and volition (cetanā), which company every mental activity, play indispensably basic roles in the process of consciousness. This essay intends to investigate the sarvatraga-caitasika based on the three stages of the Yogācāra School. By clarifying the original meaning of the text as well as the theoretical development, this essay will also reflect and criticize the whole theory of caitasika.

This essay consists of seven chapters, chapter two to six will focus on each five sarvatraga-caitasika. Moreover, every chapter contains three sections which successively explore the Yogācārabhūmi, Sthiramati’s exegeses and Faxiangzong’s works. Due to its significance of the sarvatraga-caitasika, each of them has more than one kind of expression. Therefore, we have to include all its expressions, in order to cover all these meanings. However, in addition to intention, the other four caitasika have independent cognitive functions which grants they a dual-identity, namely “active ability” and “cognitive result”.

Chapter seven will firstly point out two main features that of the caitasika theory: functionalism and individualism. The former one will not only help to understand the difference between “characteristic” (lakṣaṇa) and “usage” (karma) in texts, but also efficiently prove that the caitasika are impermanent (anitya) and “without-I” (anātaman). As for the latter one, based on the argument that “whether the whole exceeds the sum of the parts”, this paper demonstrates that the caitasika theory, which highlights that the consciousness can be segmented into many

caitasikas without any remainder, is a typical individualism system. Under the linkage of these two features, consciousness can be transversely segmented. Secondly, the Sectarian Buddhism considers the time, which totally depends on the emergence and extinguishment of dharmas, is not the existence of the first ranking. Meanwhile, being the smallest unit of time, instants(kṣaṇa) are discontinuous points, upon which can segment consciousness longitudinally. As for the Yogācāra School, since they accepts nearly all viewpoints above, they will also approve the dual-segmentation toward consciousness. Thirdly, the dual-segmentation of consciousness will give birth to a lot of theoretical difficulties. On the one hand, the transverse segmentation will roughly cut down the relationship between caitasikas, as well as lead to the debate that the caita-caitasikas are identical or not and whether caitasika function simultaneously or successionally. On the other hand, the longitudinal segmentation must establish upon the viewpoint of reflection, otherwise they cannot distinguish “this consciousness” from “that consciousness”. Such a reflective narrative will not only dissimilate the consciousness into a normal “thing”, but also defilade the “directly manifestation”.

Keywords: Caitasika; Consciousness; Sarvatraga; Functionalism; Kṣaṇa (momentariness)

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Date: 2022

Title: A study on the relationship between the literature in the Mid-and-Late Tang dynasty and Taoism

Abstract: After fully researching the relationship between literature and Taoism and especially the influences of Taoism on literature in the middle and late Tang dynasty, the academic circle has obtained rich results. However, some subdivisions and problems shall be further explored and clarified. In the past researches, scholars have observed the reflections and influences of literati on Taoism during

this period. As the receivers of Taoism and creators of literature, scholars' concepts and thoughts have influenced the appearance of Taoism consciously and unconsciously, which were reflected in literature naturally. Based on this basic fact, this paper pays less attention to past researches and investigates some individual cases; with individual cases as the entry point and literati's literature preference and ideological trend as the clue, the relationship among literati, literature and immortal Taoism during this period is explored.

The first and second chapters of this paper, taking the contradictory attitude of scholars towards alchemist in the literature of the middle and late Tang dynasty and the disposal methods of secular families in the immortal theory as examples, respectively, discuss the acceptance and change of Taoist doctrine by scholars under the special political environment of the middle and late Tang dynasty and the subjective desire of scholars for rejuvenation. The third and fourth chapters of this paper take Jade Emperor and Qu Tong as examples to discuss the infiltration of Taoist immortal images and stories by literati and folk consciousness in the middle and late Tang dynasty. The fifth chapter of this paper discusses the construction of the underworld, which is different from the earlier secularization in the middle and late Tang dynasty, and its relationship with the mentality of literati. The sixth chapter of this paper discusses the influence of the wide spread of Taoism on the new words, artistic conception and themes in the middle and late Tang dynasty literature.

The academic innovation of this paper is divided into three points: firstly, through sorting out texts, the influences of literati's Confucian concepts on Taoism and its expression in literature are discussed. After An Lushan Rebellion, Royal Family Li changed from flourish to decadence, and literati in the middle Tang dynasty generally had a dream of resurgence with Confucian down-to-earth spirit. In the politico-religious relationship, they more criticized religions based on the political stand of the Confucian school, while the part violating against the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues and ethnics in religions was reflected

and criticized in social life. In order to meet the moral ideas of literati, Taoism reduced its isolation from social relationships as a religion, while early Taoism enhanced its color of entering the world. In literature, it is reflected that literati held a completely different attitude towards imperial warlock skilled at medical treatment and quack warlock and highly praised the latter, showing the image of the immortal entirely different from that in the early Tang dynasty. Next, literature chatting the immortals and admiring the immortals greatly focused on how to settle the secular families after isolating from social relationships.

Secondly, immortal images during this period are explored deeply. This paper mainly discusses Jade Emperor and Qutong. Through investigating literature materials and sorting out the non-Taoism literature and Taoism works in the Tang dynasty, this paper argues that Jade Emperor was formed in the middle and late Tang dynasty and even the late Tang dynasty as an independent godhood, and the works of non-Taoism literati promoted this progress. However, Taoism vacillated due to the limitations of early Taoist scriptures and did not make up for the identity and experience of Jade Emperor until the Song dynasty as officially advocated. Qu Tong flying toward the sun was one of few Taoism stories popular among literati without the praise and publicity in the imperial court in the Middle Tang dynasty. Through analyzing this story, sorting out and investigating the creation and coming-down processes, this paper believes that this is a piece of miraculous works created by the illustrator Huang Dongyuan. Due to the completely conformance to the imagination of the Peach Garden among the literati in the middle and late Tang dynasty, this story was widespread among literati and in the civil, and there were a lot of works with Huang Dongyuan as the protagonist in the late Tang dynasty.

Thirdly, through sorting out and analyzing the descriptions of the ghostdom in the records or writings about weird, uncanny or supernatural things in the middle and late Tang dynasty and combining with the imaginations of the hell and ghostdom in local beliefs represented by the writings of mystery and supernatural

in the Wei and Jin Dynasties, Taoism and Buddhism, the differences in enjoyment between the works about the ghostdom during this period and in the early Tang dynasty are compared, and it is argued that local beliefs and Taoism influenced the secular bureaucratic system in the records or writings about weird, uncanny or supernatural things and the construction of ghost officials, while the creation motives of literati explained why the records or writings about weird, uncanny or supernatural things broke through the Buddhist view on the ghostdom with penal code and retribution for sin as the core. Finally, through the new changes in Taoism during this period and the relationship between Taoism and literati during this period, the influences of Taoism on the languages, concepts and themes of literature are discussed.

Keywords: Mid-and-Late Tang dynasty; Taoism; Literature; Literati

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Date: 2022

Title: Woodblock printing of Lotus Sutra frontispieces: a study of the scripture illustrations from Song dynasty

Abstract: Buddhist scriptures have been produced in large numbers by woodblock printing technology since Song dynasty (960–1279). The Lotus sutra printed during Song dynasty often accompanied by one to seven frontispieces to narrate the text. This study will explore 22 sets of the Lotus Sutra frontispieces preserved in different facilities across the world which have been published in public. By the configuration of image and text, those frontispieces could be roughly divided into two types: 1. the “Seven fascicles accompanied by seven illustrations”, which means a frontispiece appears before each volume; 2. “Seven fascicles with one frontispiece”, a large-scale engraving transcribes the entire seven fascicles of Lotus sutra.

However, scholarship on the Lotus Sutra frontispiece primarily focuses on case studies dominated by formal analysis and iconographic study whereas largely overlooks a whole perspective. According to the information that has been published at present, this study examines the basic status of frontispieces such as its time, size, preservation, etc. and identifies links between various motifs and texts. Furthermore, compares the frontispiece from “Seven fascicles with seven illustrations,” which bear remarkable resemblance to each other, and identifies the source of templates and the modification and appropriation appeared in the printings produced in the later era. On the basis of this, this dissertation proposes two significant iconographies applied in the Song Lotus Sutra frontispiece prints and responds to the different composition and logic behind their production.

Only 5 out of the 22 sets of frontispieces were actually produced in the Northern Song dynasty, and the rest were all printed after the 12th century. The striking similarities between frontispieces produced in the Northern and Southern Song dynasty indicate that the latter is derived from earlier pictorial conventions developed during Northern Song dynasty. The earliest extant Southern Song frontispiece print could be found in a set of “seven illustrations” preserved in Ritsukyokuan 栗棘庵, Kyoto, Japan. Meanwhile, the rest of “seven illustrations” prints based on the same or similar templates of Ritsukyokuan sets. Standard templates of Lotus sutra frontispiece which contain 61 motifs had shifted the emphasis to represent the merit accumulated by patronizing the printing of sutra and frontispieces.

“Preaching at Palace” and “Pagoda offerings” are the two crucial pictorial vignettes of underpinning the production of frontispieces in Southern Song Buddhist prints. The “Preaching at Palace” is a specific iconography of the Pure Land belief that stem from mural tableaux of Lotus Sutra which were popular in caves from Guiyi Army period. This motif transformed into a representative of the rebirth in the Pure Land of the Lotus Sutra through a given ritual of repentance.

The iconography of “Pagoda offerings” designed by Chengao 陈高 is influenced by the folk tradition of tableaux of Nirvana and the transformation of function of North and South Buddhist pagodas. These two kinds of iconographies gradually diminished in the middle and late Yuan dynasties. The change of motifs in Lotus Sutra frontispiece prints offer an excellent perspective for reevaluation of transformation of East Asian Buddhism occurred in the 11th–13th centuries.

Keywords: Song dynasty; Lotus Sutra; Frontispiece; Woodblock print painting; Repentance ceremony

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Date: 2022

Title: Research on the group of annotated commentary texts on the Anban shouyi jing—centered on three Dunhuang manuscripts

Abstract: If one word could describe the state of early Chinese Buddhism, it would be ‘chan shu’ (i.e., meditation and the numerical categories of dharmas). “Chan shu” study begins with the Parthian translator An Shigao (fl. 147–168). Among the classical texts translated by An Shigao, the Anban shouyi jing [Skt. *Ānāpānasmṛti sūtra] (hereafter, ABSYJ), describing the practice of ‘respiratory concentration’ (ānāpāna-smṛti), has had the most significant and far-reaching influence.

Centered on ABSYJ and its related corpus of commentaries, this study traces the origins and evolutions of this work and attempts to clarify its textual development, translation, and dissemination. Additionally, this study also examines the ABSYJ’s corresponding doctrinal commentaries, hermeneutical development, and process of Sinicization. In total, this study includes four major sections:

In the first section, the author investigates the interpretations of ānāpāna-smṛti (Ch. Anban nian) in early Buddhist scriptures and sectarian doctrinal texts.

According to the records of biographies of the Buddha, the beginnings of ānâpāna-smṛti, based on Yogic practices is the result of Gautama's selection and assimilation of methods starting from 'closed-breath meditation' to 'free-breath meditation'—ānâpāna-smṛti. Before the middle of the 2nd century CE, various commentaries on ānâpāna-smṛti methods already existed in India and Sri Lanka, which we can divide into northern and southern traditions. The southern tradition centered on the Wu'ai jiedao 無礙解道 and the Jietuo daolun 解脫道論; the Northern tradition centered on the Poxumi suoji lun 婆須蜜所集論 and the Xiuxing daodi lun 修行道地論 [Skt. Yogācārabhūmi]. With the development of doctrinal commentaries by the different sects (Nikāyas), the ānâpāna-smṛti practice evolved from its emphasis centered on the 'sixteen forms or grades of meditation or contemplation' 十六特勝 to one centered on the 'four concrete matters—the six faculties of vision' 四事—六事. The compilation of these scriptures and the group of sectarian commentaries that emerged during this period became the source materials for a new corpus of doctrinal texts, which led to the source text of the ABSYJ that An Shigao translated into Chinese.

In the second section, this study carefully examines An Shigao's translation of the ABSYJ. The author argues that An Shigao's translations of the ABSYJ and the Shi'er men jing 十二門經 [the Scripture on the Twelve Gates] were not random choices, but rather a conscious selection of texts made to correspond with the methods of Gautama's path to Buddhahood recorded in the Buddha's biography. By examining the relationships between the Chinese translation of the ABSYJ and multiple extant sectarian commentaries, we can observe that the large and small editions of the ABSYJ represent a compendium of ānâpāna treatises collected from various sources. Additionally, this study also analyzes and chronologically reconstructs the layers of the ABSYJ's textual components from earliest onwards.

The third section of the study represents the thesis' central argument and includes Chapters Four, Five, and Six, focusing on the author's discussion of three newly examined Dunhuang manuscripts. These three manuscripts provide the primary sources of commentaries of the ABSYJ at three different points in time; respectively in the Eastern Han dynasty, the Eastern Jin dynasty, and the later period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties period. A review of these key primary sources allows us to place the ABSYJ in a historical context and give a more coherent analysis.

Chapter Four discusses the Dunhuang manuscript fragments of the Chanshu zashi. The appearance of this manuscript confirms the existence of the ABSYJ's two versions, namely the large and small translations, as well as the existence of the 'oral explanations' of the ABSYJ and Shi'er men jing. These sources offer a more thorough understanding of the textual characteristics of the ABSYJ's so-called 'Chen Hui commentary' edition, and the commentary section of the Shi'er men jing in the Kongōji temple 金剛寺 edition.

Based on the 'oral interpretation' material in the Chanshu zashi, the author argues that the "Buddha's words (buddha-vacana)—asking questions/difficulty-questions-teacher's words" three-segment oral interpretation structure offers an objective rubric/model for identifying An Shigao's translation of the scriptures. Likewise, based on this assumption, the author poses that the Zhi yi jing 治意經, Zhi shen jing 治身經, and Ma yi jing 罵意經 are all attributable to An Shigao.

Chapter Five examines the Anban shouyi jing zhu preserved in the beginning portion of S. 4221, which the author confirms represents the previously lost Eastern Jin dynasty version of the Smaller anban commentary' Xiao anban zhu attributed to Xie Fu 謝敷. Xie Fu's commentary primarily showcases lexical annotations, which are conservative and offer little idiosyncratic interpretation. Moreover, this commentary fully reflects the medieval Chinese scholar's careful

attitude in the face of new cultural material. Xie's citations of classic texts are also very prudent and seem to make a conscious effort to not deviate from An Shigao's text or his discussions on chan methods. In addition, Xie's annotations also showcase the following characteristics: 1. The introduction of 'foreign' elements in annotations; 2. The proposal to distinguish between 'sutra writers/compiler's' and 'sutra experts/masters'; 3. The extensive use of categories of Buddhist concepts in his commentaries.

Chapter Six investigates the Dunhuang manuscript S.2709. This manuscript is a typical sinitic text. The appearance of the Anban shouyi xiuxing fa in the first portion of the manuscript represents a huge advancement in the Chinese Buddhist commentary tradition. Commentaries no longer relied on the strict textual exegesis of the classics and began to move towards more individualized interpretive writing.

The theoretical framework presented in the Anban shouyi xiuxing fa is more extensive than earlier commentaries. It incorporates and absorbs a variety of Buddhist ideas from popular sources current to its time, far beyond the scope of pure Chan meditation. Additionally, the Shiliu tesheng jing in the lower portion of the manuscript represents an "apocryphal work" integrating elements of traditional Chinese culture, such as discussions of 'the five elements' wuxing, Daoist meditation methods, and traditional Chinese medicine. The Shiliu tesheng jing not only influenced Tiantai masters Huisi (515–577) and Zhiyi (538–597), but it also influenced the creation of the apocryphal Japanese work the Sanzhong xidi podiyu zhuan yezhang chu sanjie mimi tuoluonifa [Secret Dhāraṇī Method of Three Attainments which Destroy Hell and Reverse Karmic Hindrances in the Three Worlds] and the Wuzang sanmodi guan 五藏三摩地觀 attributed to Kōgyō 覺鑊 Daishi Kakuban 興教大師, founder of the 'New Meaning' 新義 branch of Shingon via the Mohe zhiguan.

Keywords: Ānāpānasmṛti sutra; An Shigao; Dunhuang manuscripts; Buddhist Commentaries

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Date: 2022

Title: A comparative study on the materials and techniques of murals in the 15th century—a case study of the Water Moon Avalokitesvara and Annunciation

Abstract: This paper takes the representative murals of the East and the West in the same period of the 15th century: the Water Moon Avalokitesvara of Fahai Temple in the Ming dynasty and the fresco of Saint Martin monastery of Sandro Botticelli in the Renaissance as the research object to explore the multi-dimensional comparison of materials and skills. Both are mural art styles based on religious buildings (temples and monasteries). Monasteries are the architectural achievements of Buddhism at a certain stage, providing places for believers to worship, and accompanied by the development of Chinese history and culture and the rise and fall of religion. Similarly, in the European Renaissance, murals were also widely depicted in religious architectural spaces such as cathedrals, which had the same state and similar artistic forms and functions as traditional Chinese temple murals.

“Water Moon Avalokitesvara” and Fahai Temple mural art are representatives of royal construction skills and model works of court painting in the Ming dynasty. Its content not only echoes and inherits orderly with the early cave murals, but also makes new breakthroughs and development in the art of painting materials. For example, the exquisite and luxurious use of colors is unmatched by Dunhuang murals and Yongle Palace murals. Not only a large number of mineral pigments are used, but also the amount of gold is amazing. The palace artists use the difficult gold expression skills such as gold pasting, gold mixing and gold painting in the

painting of murals, which is also the Royal beauty that Dunhuang murals or Yongle Palace murals do not have. These gorgeous gold decoration, colorful mineral pigments, delicate linear performance, gentle character depiction, noble and elegant color setting method and extreme detail depiction jointly tell the painters' deep understanding of the perfect female image of Water Moon Avalokitesvara. Therefore, it is undeniable that in terms of the inheritance and application of materials and techniques, Water Moon Avalokitesvara and Fahai Temple murals still represent the peak works in the history of murals in the same period and even in the whole of China.

The 15th century was also the rising period of Western civilization. At that time, Italy was in the golden age of prosperity under the influence of Neo Platonism, and became the banner leading the European Renaissance. Botticelli, as a representative artist of Florence's linear style, created many images full of the beauty of harmony and unity of human nature and divinity. This piece of "the Annunciation", created at the end of the 15th century, is one of Botticelli's representative frescoes. The use of precious raw materials and exquisite skills represent the artist himself and the typical European frescoes in the 15th century. From the perspective of the history of civilization, it is at the turning point of the rise of civilization. It gathers the essence of eastern and Western cultures, thus promoting the development of the Renaissance. Therefore, in the cross-cultural perspective, this paper will connect the material skills and aesthetic comparative studies of the eastern and Western murals, provide a perspective for the comparison of Chinese and foreign art to supplement, and use this to throw bricks and attract jade. On this basis, it is divided into four chapters to logically explain the theme of the comparative study:

The fourth chapter is the exploration of the transformation of material skills based on conservation and restoration: first, compare the differences of "material skills" between the two works at the current level of conservation and restoration. Based on the transfer advantages of the frescoes stripped off by the Annunciation,

the innovative restoration and transfer methods of traditional frescoes are proposed. Secondly, on the basis of innovative restoration and transformation, we should integrate the craftsmanship spirit, the inheritance and development of traditional materials and skills and the construction of disciplines, and explore the path of combining the above elements with the current art education. Finally, the construction concept of “mural scene experience classroom” is proposed to provide reference ideas for traditional art education and new museum construction.

The second chapter makes a diversified aesthetic comparison of the theme “material technology” on the basis of clarifying the relevant background concepts. It is divided into three aspects: the first is the category of material technology and aesthetics. This part focuses on the aesthetic relationship between material technology and works of art and their unique aesthetic value from the perspective of “aesthetic integrity”. Secondly, in the context of eastern and Western classical culture, trace the origin of the “beauty of traces” of murals, and combine the aesthetic cultural origin of mineral materials with the aesthetic expression of “light” in religious art.

The third chapter focuses on the traditional concept of materials and skills of murals in the Ming dynasty and the Renaissance, and explores the technical production process of dry and wet murals through the creative level of the Water Moon Avalokitesvara and the Annunciation. which are depicted by the extreme of transparent fabric, The unique performance of gold technology and gold dripping and powder pasting technology is taken as a case to further explain the similarities and differences between their creation from concept tradition to technical production.

The fourth chapter is the exploration of the transformation of material skills based on conservation and restoration: first, compare the differences of “material skills” between the two works at the current level of conservation and restoration. Based on the transfer advantages of the frescoes stripped off by the Annunciation,

the innovative restoration and transfer methods of traditional frescoes are proposed. Secondly, integrate the craftsmanship spirit, the inheritance and development of traditional materials and skills and the exploration of discipline construction, implement the three into the creative transformation practice of traditional murals, and explore the path of combining them with the current art education. Finally, the construction concept of “mural scene experience classroom” is proposed to provide reference ideas for traditional art education and new museum construction.

In short, this paper responds to the call of the times and the needs of the reality from the perspective of the comparison between the eastern and Western murals Water Moon Avalokitesvara and the virgin leading newspaper. It is a multi-angle interpretation and extension of its “material technology”. It raises the material and technical comparison of the common and simple material technology to their respective aesthetic culture, and discusses the artistic differences between the East and the West in a multi-dimensional way, which is a supplement to the comparative study of traditional mural material technology. Similarly, it will provide some new ideas for the research and development of Fahai Temple art represented by Water Moon Avalokitesvara. At the same time, the goal is more directional, combined with the current social needs for the revival of traditional culture, and then discusses how to better “activate” and sustainable development of “immovable” material and cultural heritage such as architectural murals and traditional materials and skills, and provides a reference way and way.

Keywords: Traditional murals; Material skills; Aesthetic connotation; Fahai Temple Art; Renaissance

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Date: 2022

Title: On basic legal attributes of houses of worship

Abstract: The analysis of basic legal attributes of houses of worship has to be based on the comprehensive analysis of nonprofit corporations. For a long time, however, there is no comprehensive analysis of both nonprofit corporations and houses of worship in the civil law academia in China. This Dissertation makes a comprehensive analysis of the rationale and basic legal attributes of houses of worship, from the perspective of nonprofit corporations, especially the donative nonprofits, providing a systematic theoretical foundation for a better understanding of houses of worship, as well as for the governance and regulating.

The articles of nonprofit corporations, especially of donative nonprofits, in CCPRC provide research framework of the analysis of basic legal attributes of houses of worship. Through system explanation of Article 92, Paragraph 2 of CCPRC, this Dissertation argues that houses of worship shall be legal persons. Legally established houses of worship shall apply for legal person registration. In term of legal form, houses of worship can only be donative nonprofit corporations, and cannot be incorporated organizations.

The three basic legal attributes of houses of worship which are argued in this Dissertation are organically embodied in the rationale of houses of worship. The “three failures theory”, which currently dominates the analysis of nonprofits, has some explanative power of houses of worship, but with substantive flaws. The rationale of nonprofits based on giving, which is argued in this Dissertation, can provide a better explanation. According to giving-based theory, the nondistribution constraint and fixed-purpose constraint which are necessarily embodied in nonprofit formation provide a quasi-contract for believers, which satisfies the concerns that believers have relating to resources allocation by houses of worship. Meanwhile, the legal framework of houses of worship also provides more possibilities for the organization to better fulfill its organizational purpose. The legal framework is as follows: Houses of worship are legal persons, and they have no equity-owners; Houses of worship themselves are the ultimate

owners of their assets, but all resources that houses of worship have are subject to fulfillment of the organizational purpose; The logical connection between the provision of capital and the acquisition of control does not necessarily exist anymore in the context of houses of worship.

First and foremost, houses of worship have attribute of compulsorily being nonprofit. The attribute of being nonprofit is manifested in two points. One is the nondistribution constraint. It prohibits houses of worship, during its existence as well as when it is terminated, from distributing any net assets to anyone, rather than merely certain groups of people. The other is nonprofit-purpose constraint. It requires houses of worship have to be established and be operated for nonprofit purpose. It can obtain profits in factual sense, but commercialization is prohibited. The attribute of being nonprofit is legally compulsory for houses of worship. It means that all houses of worship are subject to the attribute of being nonprofit. Houses of worship do not have freedom to choose organizational formation between for-profit corporations and nonprofit corporations.

Houses of worship have attribute of fixed purpose. It requires houses of worship to use all resources they have to fulfill their fixed specific organizational purpose, rather than top fulfill for-profit purposes or other nonprofit purposes. The fixed specific organizational purpose of houses of worship is to provide regular religious service for the believers. Such a purpose is different from other specific nonprofit purposes, including public benefit purposes. Attribute of fixed purpose requires that all behaviors that houses of worship can undertake, during its existence, are the behaviors that are necessary for the fulfillment of its fixed specific organizational purpose. It can undertake public benefit activities only to the extent that these activities are necessary for the fulfillment of its fixed specific organizational purpose as well. Furthermore, attribute of fixed purpose also requires that the residual assets of houses of worship when it is terminated shall also be used for the fulfillment of the organizational purpose. That is, to donative

these residual assets to other geographically nearby houses of worship which belong to the same religion.

Houses of worship have attribute of being donative. Attribute of being donative involves both the issue of the relation between donative nonprofits and donations, and the issue of the relation between donative nonprofits and donors. Attribute of being donative requires that houses of worship have to be established based on donated assets, but it does not require that the revenues of houses of worship, during its existence, are exclusively from donations. Houses of worship have exclusive authority to receive religious donations from public believers. On the issue of the relation between the action of donating and the control structure of the corporation, houses of worship are quite different from other donative nonprofits. Given the attribute of being donative which is imposed on houses of worship, the factual action of providing capital does not entail the right of acquiring the right of control over houses of worship. Contrarily, the factual action of providing capital hinders capital providers from getting the right of control. The control structure of houses of worship is formed through the democratic consultative process. Although donors cannot acquire the right of control over houses of worship via factual action of providing capital, donors do have the right-to-know and the right to bring derivative action, both of which are granted by Article 94 of CCPRC. A broad interpretation shall be applied to Article 94, in order to provide enough protection of donors and to improve the governance of houses of worship.

Although houses of worship are subject to self-governance, the laws impose extensive restrictions and regulations on its decision-making process, management, and supervision. In the future, the Religious Affairs Agency shall provide detailed guideline for houses of worship to reach the better self-governance which is based on attributes of compulsorily being nonprofit, of fixed purpose, and of being donative.

Keywords: Houses of worship; Attribute of compulsorily being nonprofit; Attribute of fixed purpose; Attribute of being donative

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Title: Study on the relationship between religious expression form and ritual function of “Confucianism”—centered on the sacrificial practice of “Shidianli”

Abstract: Under the topic of “Confucianism” as a religion, this paper takes “shidianli” as the research object and takes it as a ceremony with the significance of religious belief. Through the functional analysis of its sacrificial practice and combined with the relevant theories of religious sociology, this paper expounds the religious connotation of “Confucianism”. This paper holds that the practice and function of “shidianli” can reflect that “Confucianism” is a human-centered belief in “sheng” form, which is different from the “holy” religious expression form of western religion with “God” as the core. This “sanctity” shows that people can reach the sacred height of “sheng” in their faith. It is the “human-based” dynamic practice rather than the “sanctity” experience of transcendental existence “God” in Western religions. Therefore, the belief concept expressed by “Confucianism” is the form of human “sanctity”, which is named “rensheng” in this paper.

In terms of research ideas, firstly, through the literature review and the combing and definition of relevant concepts first studied by the academic circles, this paper focuses on the investigation, analysis, interpretation and demonstration of this paper in the order of “religion-Confucianism-shidianli”. In the debate about taking “Confucianism” as a religion, the academic circles pay more attention to the theoretical perspectives such as ancestor worship, the view of life and death and the view of soul, and lack of in-depth research on the practice of “Confucianism” as a social phenomenon. The concept of Saint worship and the belief form of “holiness” contained in “shidianli” are precisely the characteristics of “Confucianism” as a

religion, and it is also an important expression of the religious function and enlightenment function of “Confucianism”. Therefore, instead of studying whether “Confucianism” is a religion, it is better to directly investigate what kind of religion “Confucianism” is in order to reveal its unique form of religious expression. Therefore, this paper first makes a historical investigation on “Confucianism” as a religious expression form, then analyzes the internal relationship between this expression form and ritual function through the ritual function of “shidianli”, reveals the dual functions and characteristics of “Confucianism” in belief and enlightenment, and finally uses the relevant theories of religious sociology, Analyze its rich connotation as a religion. In terms of research methods, this paper uses the methods of literature analysis and philosophical interpretation, combined with the research perspective of “social facts” of religious sociology, that is, grasp the relevant theories of religious expression form through the relationship between ritual function and belief, and analyze, demonstrate and elucidate the religious meaning of “shidianli”. Specifically, Durkheim believes that religion is social and the product of collective thinking. People produce collective ideas and collective emotions in their common actions and experience the power beyond themselves. Therefore, ritual plays a leading role in religious life. “shidianli” can be understood as the religious ceremony of “Confucianism”, which is a sacrificial practice of “Confucianism” in society. Through this behavior mechanism of strengthening collective identity through joint action, we can investigate the belief characteristics of “Confucianism” from outside to the mainland. At the same time, it also draws lessons from Hideo Ishimoto’s research thoughts of “religious phenomenon”, and grasps this social fact as a “religious phenomenon” on the basis of fully combing out that “Confucianism” is a kind of Chinese ideological and cultural history and social fact. Then, by combining the theory of ritual in religious sociology, this paper explains the expression form of “shidianli” as a religious ritual of “Confucianism” to sacrifice the ancestors and teachers, and reveals the religious connotation and essential characteristics of “Confucianism”.

In the logical structure of the full text, the first chapter first combs the connotation and development of the word “Confucianism”, and summarizes and locates the research status of “Confucianism”. Through literature review, it can be seen that the concept of “Confucianism” in China came into being after the Han dynasty. It has a variety of linguistic expressions, which is generally related to the functions of education and enlightenment. Under the historical trend of the coexistence of three religions and the collision of Western religions brought by western missionaries, it has produced self-reflection and confirmation of the meaning of “religion”. Since then, as the focus of debate on whether to establish “national religion” in the late Qing dynasty and the early Republic of China, the discussion of “Confucianism” has continued to the contemporary academic circles. With the deepening of academic discussion, the research on “Confucianism” has shifted from ideological criticism to ontological analysis and construction. The problem of “whether Confucianism is a religion” has also shifted to the analysis and grasp of “what kind of religion Confucianism is”, so as to interpret its own traditional cultural religious consciousness and manifestation. It can be seen that in order to surpass the definition of the religious essence of “sanctity” with the characteristics of “divine nature” dominated by the western academic system, we should locate the religious expression form of “Confucianism” based on the “sanctity” belief of “human nature” by investigating what kind of religion “Confucianism” is, rather than persistent in exploring whether “Confucianism” is a religion. Therefore, on the basis of the above combing, confirmation, analysis and disclosure, we enter the discussion center of this paper, that is, taking the religious expression form of “shidianli” as the “Confucianism” as the starting point, and through the analysis and elaboration of the social education and belief functions of religion, enlightenment and so on played by this phenomenon of sacrifice and etiquette that really exists in the traditional historical society, Complete the interpretation and discussion of the religious expression form of “Confucianism” using the method of combining theory and practice.

After the above grasp of the local tradition and academic research of “Confucianism”, the second and third chapters of the paper focus on the issue of “shidianli”, including the historical evolution and institutional research of “shidianli”. The second chapter first combs the historical evolution of “shidianli” through the investigation of historical documents, and analyzes its special status and social and cultural functions in Chinese history. This paper analyzes in detail the intersection of the two clues in the formation of “shidianli” as a “Confucian” ceremony. The first clue is the name of offering sacrifices to ancestors and teachers related to education, which exists in the text of “Three Rites” in the classical literature and describes the sacrificial activities of the Zhou dynasty. Since the Northern Wei Dynasty, it has been inherited as the official ritual system of offering sacrifices to “teachers as ancestors” of Confucianism, and was officially established as the special name of offering sacrifices to Confucius after the Tang dynasty; The second clue is the sacrificial behavior of Confucius as the ancestor of Confucianism after his death. The combination of the two has become the so-called “shidianli” in the general sense since the Han dynasty, showing the characteristics of “consistency of sacrifice and education” and the dual functions of belief and enlightenment, and analyzing how to promote the “holy” belief of respecting Confucius to a wider administrative region and even overseas through the institutionalized means of “unity of sacrificing and study space”. Based on the confirmation and grasp of the above historical evolution, the third chapter enters the specific instrument system analysis and research of “shidianli”. In this regard, the research mainly takes the Kaiyuanli of the Tang dynasty as the main research text. The paper analyzes and expounds the official system of the “shidianli” from three perspectives: the scale and institutionalization of the “shidianli”, the ritual process of the “shidianli” and the text carrier of the “shidianli”. The specific practical characteristics of belief form and enlightenment function in the three aspects of ritual process and “engraving” memory. Finally, through the interpretation of ritual practice, symbolic significance and sacred atmosphere, this

paper reveals the “unity of sacrifice and education” contained in the “interpretation and memorial ceremony” and how Confucius’s sage image is gradually internalized, which forms the problem of collective memory shared by the Chinese nation.

With regard to “shidianli”, after the above grasp of the vertical historical evolution and horizontal instrument system practice, the fourth chapter directly takes “shidianli” as a religious form expressed through ceremony, analyzes the religious nature of “shidianli” from the perspective of ritual function, and uses “social facts” and “rite of passage” “collective memory” and other related sociological theories of religion analyze the expression of “Confucianism” as a religion from the perspectives of the relationship between ritual and religion, the sociality and social function of ritual, the way of collective memory and the formation of social memory. Specifically, from the perspective of local tradition, “shidianli”, as one of the Confucian sacrificial acts and ritual-music systems, has the consciousness of “returning the original to the beginning”, and forms the tradition of the concept of saints through institutionalized and orderly means. From the perspective of sociology of religion, “shidianli”, as a kind of ceremony, on the one hand, made participants and spectators have a social religious experience in practice, on the other hand, it continued the early “religious enthusiasm”, and formed “Confucianism” as an “official religion” in the function of social integration, Through the repeated behaviors of the ceremony of “shidianli” and the construction of symbolic space, this “sacred belief” is strengthened, and a stable common social memory of “Confucianism” is formed. Finally, combined with the “secular”, “dispersion” and “sanctity” of “Confucianism” in sociology of religion, this paper completes the interpretation of the human nature performance, political dependence and the construction of “sheng” belief of “Confucianism” from the perspective of “interpretation and ceremony”, and reflects the “rensheng” belief essence of “Confucianism”.

Through the above analysis, this paper can see that the “shidianli” of “Confucianism” has played its religious function and nature as a ceremony. “shidianli” not only carries the religious concepts related to sacrifice, the concept of life and death and the worship of saints in the tradition of “Confucianism”, but also shapes the “sense of holiness” with religious implication and the sense of belonging of social groups in the ritual behavior. The belief in human “holiness” formed by it is not the “divine nature” of western religion but based on a religious experience of “human nature”. Thus, the corresponding social enlightenment significance of this belief is brought into play, and its historical continuation as a religious phenomenon is presented in the collective memory of the nation about “Confucianism”.

In particular, it should be pointed out that in “Confucianism”, there is continuity between saints and vulgarity, and between this continuous connection, people can play a positive role through practice, that is, human-centered, reaching the sacred height through “learning to become saints”, which not only highlights the rational spirit, but also shows the characteristics of secular. In the belief form of “Confucianism”, man has absolute subjectivity, which is manifested in the belief essence of “rensheng” with the characteristics of “humanism”. At the same time, the social function of “Enlightenment” embodied by “Confucianism” realizes the “unity of sacrifice and education” through the complementarity of education and sacrifice, forms the “sheng” belief, constructs the religious facts of “Confucianism” through the official institutionalized force, and forms the historical characteristics of its long-term coexistence with politics. The expression of “Enlightenment” meaning and the presentation of social function of “Confucianism” and the two-way construction of the essence of “rensheng” belief are exactly what is different from the religion in the general sense and the “holiness” belief with the characteristics of “divine nature” of western religion, which shows the unique wisdom of Eastern religion.

Keywords: Confucianism; Shidianli; Ritual function; “Human-based” religion; Belief in “sheng”

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Title: A study on Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia—centered on the Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia

Abstract: The emergence of Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia and the establishment of the YBAM (Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia) have a far-reaching influence on the overall development of Buddhism of Malaysia. In particular, the “younger” development tendency of Buddhism based on the current pluralistic society is of realistic enlightening significance to the modernization of Buddhism. Therefore, it is a subject worth exploring in the academic circle. The Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia in the 1950s sprang up in the post-colonial period of Malaya and around the year when Federation of Malaya became an independent country. The diversified social environment provided a good platform for local development of different religions. This study aims at exploring how Venerable Sumangala, a religious leader with “Charisma” peculiarity from the U.S., promoted and led the emergence of the Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia. Venerable Sumangala introduced the Christian concept of “youth league” to Malaya, leading a group of Buddhist youths with advanced ideas to promote the “absorption of more youths into Buddhism” and reforming unsuitable traditions. He changed the misunderstanding of educated youths about Buddhism, stimulated their enthusiasm for Buddhism and eventually led them to promote the establishment of emerging Buddhist youth groups. Based on that, the paper will discuss the cause for and the features and limitations of earlier Young Buddhist

Movement in Malaysia launched by Sumangala. It is of great significance and research value in the overall development history of Buddhism of Malaysia. Both internal and external factors have contributed to the emergence and the restrictions of the young Buddhist movement in Malaysia. At first, the restrictions and pressures were formed by racism and unfair ethnic and religious policies. In the 1990s, emerging overseas Buddhist groups flocked into Malaysia to seek development, which have posed tremendous impacts on local Buddhism. Faced with the challenge of the new era, YBAM has sought self-improvement through contacts with foreign emerging Buddhist groups, experience absorption, cooperation launch, and other channels. In order to ensure sustainable development, YBAM has actively sought subjectivity construction, strengthened the social foundation of Buddhism in the new-century development, played a role of public function in family life and communities and got involved in public affairs with a positive attitude. While maintaining the rights and interests of Buddhism, YBAM has expressed realistic care. In the new century, YBAM has proposed the concepts of engaged Buddhism and diversity. However, this development trend is not without the hidden worry of excessive secularization, subjecting Buddhism to the crisis of the loss of sanctity. In particular, with the introduction of “humanistic Buddhism” and “engaged Buddhism” concepts, YBAM’s so-called engaged and diverse claim subtly reveals the form of religion removal. Ostensibly, it is similar to Western religions or Taiwan’s humanistic Buddhism; in essence, there is the possibility of evolving toward a postmodern society. Since the advent of the artificial intelligence (A.I.) era, new challenges and opportunities are posed for YBAM’s development under the postmodern context. YBAM should not only continue adapting to ethnic and religious problems, but also should cope with transformation impacts arising from the Internet and A.I., especially the challenges caused by amendments to youth regulations. In view of the above, YBAM representing the young Buddhist movement in Malaysia needs to reflect on its own

development process so as to benefit society in the future development. Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia is an emerging one, so there are few studies both at home and abroad. Taking “Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia” as a research subject and case, this paper made an exploration by adopting relevant theories and knowledge of historical and sociological methodology in the hope of making some achievements. Starting from historical background, this paper has expounded the internal and external factors for the emergence of Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia, the development of the YBAM movement in different periods, the organizational structure and discourse feature of YBAM, the overseas religions and modernization and rise and decline of religious movements as themes of each chapter studying the YBAM movement. The structural thoughts of the main chapters are as follows: The theme of the paper is A Study on Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia - With Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia as the Center. It will make an exposition from six aspects. Therefore, the paper can be divided into seven chapters including the introduction part. The introduction part mainly expounds the reason for selecting the topic, sorts out the current research status, and presents the research significance and methods. First, it briefly sorts out and comments on the current research status, and expounds the significance for selecting “Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia” as a research object and the value of filling the academic “gap”. The main research method is to make an induction and analysis through in-depth interview, field investigation and data quantification based on Buddhist historical materials and sociological theories so as to find out the features of Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia. Chapter I Background Analysis for the Emergence of Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia can be divided into two parts. The first is the era background for the emergence of Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia, mainly analyzing the social and religious development status of Malaya in the British colonial period and intensively discussing how “immigrant Buddhism” introduced by immigrants in the British colonial period realized “localized” development in Malaya, and through the

constitution of “sacred space”, eventually formed diversified features of Buddhism of Malaysia. Then, from the perspective of social change, it discusses the challenges posed by Western religions. Through joint efforts of northern and southern monks among the immigrant Buddhist groups, the conservative and boring Buddhist spreading methods were changed for promoting the dissemination of emerging Buddhism. Based on that, it further analyzes the unique opportunities and demands of pluralistic society of Malaysia and reviews the internal and external factors for the emergence of Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia. Chapter II discusses the influence of the core figure of the paper, i.e. Sumangala, an American monk, also called “Father of Young Buddhists” upon Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia, mainly presenting his position and role from his biography and deeds of Buddhist spreading. First, it analyzes the special growing background of Venerable Sumangala, who has a Charisma peculiarity. Born in a family of priests, Venerable Sumangala changed his religious belief when growing up. He became a monk in Japan, was initiated into monkhood in Laos, and spread Buddhist in Charisma. Then, it analyzes the features and restrictions about Sumangala launching Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia, his Buddhist spreading process, behavior style not subject to factions and contributions to Buddhism of Malaysia. Based on the sacredness and authority of his own “Charisma” peculiarity, Sumangala guided the Young Buddhist Movement. However, the feature became one of the restrictions of the Young Buddhist Movement. The paper will focus on discussing how to break through the restrictions. The paper points out that the breakthrough is to establish “rational” and “disenchanted” mature organizations by changing from relying on Charisma personality traits to Charisma’s “spiritual concepts”. Chapter III to Chapter V is the main part of the paper. Actually, what keeps to and corresponds to the core themes is the motivation for the researches of the paper. Chapter III Establishment of Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia and Its Operation Way can be divided into three parts. First, it expounds the social dynamics for Young Buddhist Movement around the year when Federation of Malaya became an

independent country, analyzes the reason for and the process of the establishment of Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia, and reviews the important social functions of YBAM as a social organization in Malaysia from the perspective of management. The second part expounds the setting of YBAM's organizational system and its institutionalized management, including location of members' missions and prospective modern management systems and institutions. At last, it discusses how YBAM can make a prospective layout agreeing with the era, for example, to make a six-year development blueprint, promote resource platforms and activities in favor of the development of Buddhism by taking advantage of the rights stipulated by the national constitution, promote the steady development of organizational management, formulate a self-sufficient program for gaining an economical source and afford Buddhist youths solid education and cultivation practice, so as to highlight the significance of the Young Buddhist Movement. Chapter IV Challenges and Response of Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia in the Initial Stage can be roughly divided into three parts. First, it expounds the time-and-space background of YBAM in the initial stage, analyzes the challenges to YBAM movement arising from social racism and new ethnic and religious policies at that time, and the pressure and restrictions from national policies increasingly strengthening the "Islamic" color. In order to cope with the challenges, after the establishment, Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia realized that it cannot be self-secluded and must get rid of the practices of sticking to conventions. Therefore, it made a comprehensive adjustment regarding its organizational structure, management system, operation mechanism and economic support as to actively adapt to the national policies and the increasing "Islamic" social system. YBAM adopted diversified ways. On the one hand, it followed the mass route to be skillfully integrated into society and promote the adaption of Buddhist groups to secularized society. On the other hand, it surpassed the circle of Buddhism or even national boundaries to open up a new situation for Buddhism of Malaysia. The early development of YBAM can be divided into two stages: the quiet stage of the

initial period (1970–1975) and the exploration and integration stage (1976–1985). In the exploration stage, encouraged and enlightened by Taiwan's Master Hsing Yun, YBAM began to integrate resources, actively engage in social affairs, eradicate dogmatism and keep on changing itself according to the adjustment of social realities and government policies. It is a feature of organization management that YBAM proposed a "six-year program" blueprint for promoting stable development. It not only promoted educated youths to learn Buddhism, but also made Buddhism stay active and improved its social image and influence. At last, it discusses how YBAM broke through conservative traditions, stipulated young lay Buddhists to spread Buddhism, and at the same time, enforced a socialized "mass route", promoted the new pattern for establishing and extending Buddhist associations and youth leagues and formed a new phenomenon for safeguarding Buddhist association interests and carrying forward Buddhist association cultures.

Chapter V Up-to-date New Development of Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia can be mainly divided into two parts. First, it presents that as the economy of Malaysia flourished in the 1990s, the Young Buddhist Movement entered a prosperous new stage. In the global context, overseas emerging Buddhism organizations seized commercial opportunities to set branches in Malaysia and make diversified expansion in activities. At the same time, the development of Buddhism of Malaysia faced more complicated realistic situations and challenges. The introduction of emerging religious groups has a distinctive modern feature, thus causing discussions of the local circle of Buddhism about "unique opinions of each teacher", "sectarianism" and "localization". The disadvantages and restrictions of local Buddhism were revealed, for example, the variation and transition between two generations of young Buddhists have affected the development of the Young Buddhist Movement. At last, it expounds the subjectivity construction of Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia facing the challenges from the new century. The paper attempts to analyze how YBAM took

an initiative to absorb experience from overseas emerging Buddhist groups and adjust the cooperation with emerging Buddhist groups to overcome disadvantages of local Buddhism. It includes information management and applying new media and other transmission ways to attract excellent youth groups to learn Buddhism. It can be said that in the new century, in order to guarantee sustainable development, YBAM is taking an initiative to make subjectivity construction and strengthen the social foundation for the development of Buddhism in the new century. Through Buddhism-based family life and communities, YBAM has cultivated excellent young lay Buddhists and a good relationship between monks and laymen, eventually given full play to the role of public function of community Buddhism associations, established hub social organizations effectively contacting governments and public spaces for spreading Buddhism in the contemporary age, and promoted the stable and orderly development of society. Therefore, YBAM is coping with crises by keeping pace with the times and changing them into opportunities. Chapter VI Reflection on Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia and Future Challenges can be divided into three parts. First, it expounds the inheritance of member groups and factions subordinate to YBAM, and the mutual support and benign competitions with Buddhist Association of Malaysia. Then, it analyzes the development of Taiwan's emerging Buddhist groups in Malaysia. YBAM representing the Young Buddhist Movement in Malaysia has been sticking to the pulse of era development, exploring a Buddhism development mode suitable for pluralistic society of Malaysia in the process of adapting to the era and taking on a posture of mutual learning, accommodation, diversity and integrity. The second part mainly explores the introduction of "engaged Buddhism" and "humanistic Buddhism", which are different from each other. The so-called claim for engagement and diversity of YBAM has faintly taken on a form of "religion removal". The division of the religious function makes Buddhism lose sacredness. Based on the social values of modern citizens, in recent years, Buddhist organizations of Malaysia attach great importance to public problems, often

express Buddhist standpoints and safeguard Buddhist rights and interests on just grounds. The third part mainly expounds the challenges faced by organizations of Buddhism of Malaysia in the postmodern context, including the adjustment of ethnic and religious problems, impacts brought by the internet and A.I. and especially the influence brought by amendments to youth regulations. Judging from the features of YBAM in local Buddhism, it can be deemed as a reference model in the domestic circle of Buddhism in Malaysia; however, viewed from an international perspective, there are still disadvantages and room for improvement. Reflecting on the past and looking forward to the future, the YBAM movement in the postmodern context can better benefit the society in the future development only through making reasonable adjustment based on the situation, making Buddhism continuously gain new vitality and avoiding vulgarization and excessive engagement in social affairs.

Keywords: Malaysia; Young Buddhist Movement; Sumangala; Engaged spirit; Diverse route

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Title: A study on master Juzan's thought and practice of "New Buddhism"

Abstract: Master Juzan is a typical representative of patriotic and religious monks in contemporary Chinese Buddhism. He is politically progressive and patriotic, and has made outstanding contributions to the restoration and development of Buddhism in New China by cooperating with the COMMUNIST Party of China with sincerity. Juzan received higher education and participated in patriotic progressive activities before becoming a monk, but was suppressed by the authorities. Due to the enlightenment of Master Taixu, coupled with his own belief in Buddhism, juzan master fled to the Empty Gate in his youth and devoted himself to practicing Buddhism. Master Juzan has a high level of Buddhist literacy and has gained

prominence in the Buddhist circle since he became a monk. He has actively participated in monk education founded by Master Taixu and served as a teacher in many Buddhist colleges. His Buddhist attainments have been praised by both monks and laymen. Master Juzan highly recognized Master Taixu's concept of Buddhist reform and proposed the concept of "new Buddhism" based on the inheritance of Master Taixu's concept of monastic reform and combining the actual situation of Chinese Buddhism. He not only made great efforts to improve his thinking, but also actively explored in practice. The concept of "new Buddhism" was formed in the agrarian Revolution period, matured rapidly in the era of the founding of the People's Republic of China during the Anti-Japanese War, and was fully practiced in the recovery period of The Buddhist cause of New China. The thought and practice of "new Buddhism" is not only the result of the buddhist revival movement in modern China, but also a practice of exploring the relationship between politics and religion in new China after the Communist Party of China gained power. It is also a religious practice of adapting Buddhism in new China to socialist society. The core of the thought and practice of "new Buddhism" is "buddhist academic and Buddhist production". The two aspects complement each other to solve the problem of the existence of monastics on the basis of economy, and to re-establish the economic foundation of monastics by changing the way of buddhist economic distribution. In the aspect of promoting Buddhism, we should solve the problem that monks' Buddhist literacy is not high, and promote academicalization to improve the level of buddhist preaching and meet the social and cultural needs. The "new Buddhism" thought and practice proposed and practiced by Master Ju Zan ended due to the influence of the political movement in the 1960s. However, the "New Buddhism" thought has a far-reaching influence on Chinese Buddhism, and has provided a "road map" for the development of Chinese Buddhism from the perspective of Buddhist innovation. From the perspective of self-construction of Buddhism, it provides a strong prescription for the construction of the sangha. The construction of "new

Buddhism” advocated by Master Juzan is a theoretical exploration and practical attempt to realize the “Sinicization of Buddhism” in modern And modern China, or the active “adjustment” of the Buddhist belief system to adapt to the needs of the development of The Times, and the “cultural consciousness” of the buddhist group in response to the “revolutionary era”. The direction of Chinese Buddhism in the new era is both a historical and a realistic proposition. The “new era” needs “new Buddhism” more than ever. It is urgent to respond to the propositions of The Times, such as what historical mission should the new Buddhism in the new era accomplish, what direction should the new Buddhism in the new era develop towards, and how to strengthen its own construction and actively adapt to the socialist society. The “new Buddhism” thought and practice proposed by Master Juzan did not form a perfect guiding theory, but the theoretical logic and practical motivation contained in it can provide effective reference for the development of new Buddhism in the new era.

Keywords: Juzan; “New Buddhism” thought and practice; Sinicization of Buddhism

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Date: 2022

Title: A study on Tianjin religious work (1949–1966)

Abstract: Religious issues have always been a major concern of the Communist Party of China in the governance of the country, and religious work is related to the overall work of the party and the country. The reason why religious work can be carried out smoothly is because of the strong leadership of the party government, and the patriotic tradition of the religious circles also plays a crucial role. In the process of carrying out religious work, the party and government give full play to the patriotic traditions of the religious circles, closely on the patriotic religious believers, establish a patriotic united front with the religious circles,

actively guide the religious circles to play an active role in maintaining social stability and promote the smooth development of social governance. It has contributed to economic development and cultural prosperity.

The religious work of the Communist Party of China refers to the work carried out by the Communist Party of China to formulate correct principles and policies for dealing with religious issues and properly deal with Chinese religious issues according to the theory of Marxism Leninism on religious issues and the specific reality of Chinese religion. It is an important part of the Party's united front work and mass work. Religious work in Tianjin refers to the work carried out by Party committees and governments at all levels in Tianjin under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, according to their own historical conditions and in combination with the specific reality of religion in Tianjin. From 1949 to 1966, Tianjin formulated corresponding policies to give full play to the strength of patriotic religious circles, rely on patriotic and religious people, carry out religious innovation, and promote the effective development of social governance, so as to make the religious circles constantly adapt to the new society.

Since the Second Opium War, Tianjin due to its special geographical location and the infiltration of Western forces. The religious situation in Tianjin is relatively complicated. Since the liberation of Tianjin on January 15, 1949, in addition to the five major religions of Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Catholicism and Christianity, it also includes a small number of Orthodox, Sikhism, and Judaism. In addition, there are active social organizations holding religious banners, such as Legion of Mary, Yiguandao (a reactionary secret society which, under the cover of religious activities), Ethical Society, World New Buddhist Association, the Gongjiao Serving the Country and People's Jianguo Society. Among them, Buddhism, Taoism, Islam and feudal forces are closely related. Catholicism, Christianity, and Orthodox Christianity are controlled by imperialism. Many reactionaries spread anti-China and anti-Communist remarks, disrupting social order. At the same time, the vast

majority of religious believers are dependent on religion and believe in religion to varying degrees. According to the characteristics of religion in the city, Tianjin has actively formulated policies to deal with these complex issues.

In order to completely solve various problems in the religious circles, Tianjin eliminated the political and economic control and influence of feudal forces and imperialism on the religious circles, including screening and registration of religious groups; Organizations such as Ethical Society, the Gongjiao Serving the Country and Legion of Mary, etc.; accept various schools, hospitals, nurseries and other social organizations undertaken by the church; take back the excess land of temples, Taoist temples, mosques, and churches, and merge mosques. At the same time, establish new religious organizations, carry forward the spirit of patriotism and love of religion among religious people, actively guide them to participate in labor and regular study, carry out the Catholic “patriotic pact” movement, organize heart-to-heart movement and “fairy associations”, and play their social roles.

Through this series of measures, Tianjin’s religious circles have been shattered and established, and they have been actively guided to adapt to the new society. The remnants of the feudal forces of Buddhism, Taoism, and Islam were removed, Christianity and Catholicism were freed from imperialist control, and achieved autobiography, self-support, and self-governance. Reactionary organizations under the banner of religion were banned, and society was purified to a certain extent. Due to changes in the international situation, Orthodox, Sikhism, and Jewish believers have left Tianjin one after another, and their property has been nationalized. Activities in Tianjin have since become history. During this process, patriotic religious figures and the vast majority of patriotic religious believers gave full play to their patriotic traditions, actively cooperated with religious reforms under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, helped to establish new religious organizations, and worked hard to integrate into the new society to give full play to their positive attitudes. role, interpreting the importance of patriotism.

Based on the relevant archives, this article sorts out the religious work in Tianjin from 1949 to 1966. The main text is divided into four chapters. The theme of the first chapter is “foundation”, that is, the basic conditions for Tianjin to carry out religious work. It mainly introduces the historical background of Tianjin’s religious work in the early days of liberation, as well as the Chinese Communist Party’s religious theory and practical preparations. As an important historical and cultural city, Tianjin has been penetrated by Western powers earlier in modern times, so Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Catholicism, Christianity, and Orthodox Christianity have been stationed in Tianjin since the Second Opium War. Due to Indian colonies or Jewish refugees, a small amount of Sikhism and Judaism also have a long history of activity in Tianjin. On the eve of the liberation of Tianjin, the religious situation was complicated and the imperialist and feudal forces were powerful and had far-reaching influence. Therefore, it was extremely necessary to carry out reforms in the religious circles after the liberation of Tianjin. In the long-term historical development process, especially since modern times, although the religious circles have been controlled by imperialism and feudal forces, the religious circles in Tianjin still maintain the tradition of patriotism, which has become an important reason for the smooth development of religious work after the liberation of Tianjin. In addition, Tianjin City made a study and analysis of the situation at that time, combined with the religious policies and regulations of the Communist Party of China, made concrete preparations for religious work, and established a functional department to manage religious affairs.

The theme of the second chapter is “old-fashioned”, which discusses that in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement in Tianjin, the old religious relations were abolished, and the political and economic ties between the religious circles and imperialism and feudal forces were cut off. Including the review and registration of religious groups; canceling the economic support of the United States, Britain, France and other countries to religious groups and the Holy See’s control of Catholicism; accepting Catholic and Christian church properties;

expelling foreign missionaries and eliminating reactionaries in religious circles ; Ban the reactionary Taoist sects, confiscate excess land of Buddhism, Taoism, Catholicism, Christianity, Orthodox Christianity and other religions. During this process, Tianjin City closely relied on patriotic religious figures and religious believers, and cooperated with the three major campaigns of suppression of counter-revolution, resistance to U.S. aggression and aid Korea, and land reform. The city's religious circles completed the historical task of anti-imperialist and anti-feudalism, and reformed the old religion. The relationship freed the religious circles in Tianjin from the control of imperialism and feudal forces, and cleared obstacles for helping the religious circles to establish a new religious system in the future.

The theme of the third chapter is “establishing new”, that is, to help the city's religious circles establish a new type of religious organization and religious system. Under the wave of the establishment of national religious organizations, major religious sects in Tianjin have successively established their own religious organizations; the municipal party committee and the municipal government have helped religious groups and people in the religious circle to achieve economic self-sufficiency, improve living conditions, and solve the problem of real estate in religious sites. To solve problems, accept the religious property of Orthodox, Sikhism, and Judaism, and educate religious people on patriotism and the crimes of imperialist aggression against China. The establishment of new religious organizations and the establishment of a new religious system laid the foundation for continuing to deepen religious work and guiding the religious community to adapt to the new society. The religious community in the city also carried forward the tradition of patriotism and contributed to the patriotic production increase movement.

The theme of the fourth chapter is “deepening”, which is to guide the religious circles in Tianjin to adapt to the new society. The religious circles participate in socialist construction, continue to study and receive education. Under the wave of

the “Great Leap Forward”, the People’s Commune and other movements at that time, Tianjin led religious people to participate in the reconstruction of the Haihe River, and went to work in factories and farmland; carried out regular study, organized Catholics to carry out the “Patriotic Covenant” movement, and at the same time in the city Religious circles carried out activities such as the “Heart-to-Heart Movement” and “Sacred Immortals Association” to unify the thinking of the religious circles. Influenced by the mistakes of the “Left”, some rash mistakes occurred in the religious work in Tianjin, which affected the normal progress of the work.

The conclusion part, that is, the experience summarization part of this paper, summarizes the historical experience and lessons of Tianjin’s religious work from 1949 to 1966, evaluates its historical status, and gives inspiration to reality. Tianjin has been under the influence of imperialism and feudal forces for a long time, and the task of religious reform after the founding of New China is arduous. Under the leadership of the Central Committee and the State Council, Tianjin, proceeding from reality, unites patriotic religious figures and religious believers, and plays their active role. In the process of cooperating with the anti-revolutionary movement, resistance to U.S. aggression and aid Korea, land reform and other movements, Tianjin has realized the breaking of the old and the establishment of the new in the religious circles, uniting the religious circles under the banner of patriotism and serving the socialist society. In the later period, due to the wrong influence of the “Left” and insufficient understanding of the “five natures” of religion, some deviations occurred in the work. But on the whole, Tianjin’s religious work has completed the task of reform, realized the breaking of the old and established the new, adapted to the new society, and accumulated valuable historical experience. Religious work in Tianjin from 1949 to 1966 was an important part of the party and government’s transformation and governance of the old society, and promoted the smooth progress of social governance. At the same time, the 17 years of experience in religious work have both successes and

failures. These experiences have become an important part of Tianjin's religious work since the new era, and it is one of the important reasons for the continuous success of Tianjin's religious work.

Keywords: Tianjin; Religious work; Innovation movement; Socialist transformation

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Date: 2022

Title: The research of Niutou Buddhism with special focus on the integration of Niutou Buddhism into Zen Buddhism

Abstract: Niutou Sect 牛头宗 is a Buddhist sect centered on Niutou Mountain, Jinling. It is generally believed that Niutou Sec was born in the first half of the 7th century, with Farong 法融 (594–657) as its initial ancestor, forming a lineage of Farong – Zhiyan 智岩 – Huifang 慧方 – Fanchi 法持 – Zhiwei 智威 – Huizhong 慧忠. In the middle of the 8th century, during the period of Huizhong (683–769) and Xuansu 玄素 (668–752), Niutou Sect flourished in the east of the Yangtze River, competing with the Southern Sect 南宗 and the Northern Sect 北宗. After Huizhong's disciple Foku Yize 佛窟遗则 (752–830) and Xuansu's disciple Jingshan Daoqin 径山道钦 (714–792), Niutou Sect gradually declined. Since then, the heir of Niutou Sect had frequent negotiations with the Southern Sect and gradually disappeared in the Southern Sect. Until the middle of the 9th century, there was no independent inheritance of the Niutou Sect. Niutou Sect existed for only about 200 years from its birth to extinction.

Later Zen history books generally take Farong the first ancestor, as the disciple of Daoxin 道信, and Niutou Sect as the second branch of Daoxin, who was

traditionally counted as the fourth patriarch of the traditional Chan lineage. However, in the light of its origin, Farong actually belongs to the Sanlun Sect 三论宗, which hold the basic position of prajna empty view, are essentially different from the Dharma Meditation, which emphasizes the combination of Prajñā 般若 and Tathāgatagarbha 如来藏. How Niutou Sect evolved from one branch of the Sanlun Sect to one branch of Zen Sect 禅宗 is the problem that this paper wants to explore.

Chapter one is an introduction to the Niutou Sect, which introduces the basic situation of the Niutou Sect from five aspects: the Zen history background of the Niutou Sect, the dharma origin of the Niutou Sect, the characteristics of Farong's theory, the cultivates and practises of Farong, and the sectarian characteristics of the Niutou Sect.

The second chapter analyzes the efforts made by the descendants of the Niutou Sect, who are trying to make the relationship between the Niutou Sect and Zen Sect much closer, mainly including three aspects: The first is to make up the idea that Fachu was one of Hongren's 弘忍 ten disciples. The second is to construct the legend that the first ancestor Farong was taught by Daoxin, which happened in the time of Huizhong (683–769) and Xuansu (668–752). The third is to reconstruct the inheriting relationship of Farong-Zhiyan-Huifang-Fachu-Zhiwei-Huizhong, this relationship was developed and perfected by later generations, and gradually became the conclusion of Buddhism after Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) wrote Yuan Jue Sutra Da Shu Shi Yi Chao 圆觉经大疏释义钞 (about 823–828).

The third chapter focus on the writings of Niutou Sect, and seeks for the ideological track of Niutou Sect assimilated by Zen sect by analyzing the evolution of the content of Jueguanlun 绝观论 and Xinming 心铭 in the process of spreading.

Chapter four focuses on the ideological evolution of Niutou Sect. In the thought system of Farong, the first ancestor of Niutou Sect, the main idea is that emptiness is the tao 虚空为道本, Non-active and laissez-faire 无心用功. However, when it developed to the period of Anguo Xuanting 安国玄挺, the main idea becomes to be 应无所住而生其心, which is obviously influenced by the *Diamond Sutra* 金刚经, the interpretation of seeing nature 见性 is also influenced by *Altar Sutra* 坛经. In the course of its development, Niutou Sect 牛头宗 gradually showed a tendency of drawing close to Zen sect 禅宗. Finally, it is fully integrated into Zen and becomes a branch of Zen.

Chapter five is the conclusion of this paper. As Niutou Buddhism gradually integrates into Zen Buddhism, the trend of assimilation by Zen Buddhism becomes more and more obvious.

Keywords: Niutou Sect; Farong; Zen Buddhism; Jueguan Lun; Sanlun Sect

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Date: 2022

Title: Research on Baoming Temple and Dacheng Sect in Ming and Qing dynasty

Abstract: Baoming temple and Dacheng sect belong to the category of folk religion or secret religion. Their establishment and development run through the Ming and Qing dynasties and extended to the Republic of China. They are typical in the development history of folk religion. Different from other sects with obvious rebellious character, the sect system of Baoming temple is closer to the so-called “ordinary cult” in the eyes of the government. On the whole, its belief color is stronger and its combination with civil society is deeper and wider. In fact, this relatively mild development form is also the norm of most folk religious sects in

the Ming and Qing dynasties. This paper mainly takes the development history of temples as the vertical timeline, and takes the interaction between the royal family, sects and government forces with the temple as the transverse angle, and attempts to resort out and explore relevant issues, and on this basis, try to correct some biased conclusions that may exist in previous studies. Trying to restore the role and influence of various roles in different historical periods and historical conditions as much as possible, trying to reveal how the folk sects skillfully use the national power to expand themselves, and how to find a place to survive in the suppression gap of the strong state power, and outline the complex dynamic development relationship between them.

For a long time, there have been some problems in the research of the Baoming temple and the so-called “Western Dacheng sect”. Yingzong emperor went to war, A nun surnamed Lv stop the emperor’s driving, Tumu Crisis, Nangong Restoration, The emperor granted her to his sister, And so on, such a series of narratives and legends. It seems to have completed the perfect closed loop of the relationship between Baoming temple and “Western Dacheng Sect”. In fact, most of these auras are made up by later generations and sects. Based on the more timely and objective inscriptions and bell inscriptions, we see another narrative about the construction of temple and the given name, which reveals the historical truth of the origin of the temple.

The real particularity of Baoming Temple lies in the long-term and stable protection relationship between Baoming temple and the imperial harem of the Ming dynasty. The firmness of this relationship is incisively and vividly reflected in the strong policy of destroying the temple and eliminating nuns by Emperor Jiajing. Although we paid enough attention to the relatives led by the Empress Dowager of the two palaces in this unprecedented disaster of destroying the temple, in fact, we just ignored the important role of temple Abbot Yang Miaojin. From the perspective of the religious school to which Yang belongs, her Dharma inheritance is likely to come from Caoxi beizong Chan of Heze Shenhui, and this Buddhist

school is consistent with the general environment of Caoxi Chan, which was widely popular in the society at that time. In addition, the Buddhist nunnery characteristics of Baoming temple and the tradition of Guanyin worship, The Baoming temple under the abbot of the Yang successfully won the favor and trust of the Royal harem headed by the Empress Dowager and even the upper aristocratic women in the whole capital. It was with these conditions that the Yang gradually opened up a wide range of interpersonal relationships between the imperial court and imperial harem and gained valuable contacts. After the death of the Yang, this network of contacts continued smoothly to the three generations of Abbot Zhang shancong.

Sectarian factors began to enter Baoming temple after Wanli, and there were two sectarian forces have invaded the temple system of Baoming temple. The first sect to infiltrate into the temple is the Dacheng sect created by “Guiyuan”. However, in fact, this “Guiyuan” sect is likely to come from one of the branches of Luo sect, the Dacheng sect founded by Luo Foguang, the daughter of Luo Zu. In the early years of Wanli, this Dacheng sect entered Baoming temple. At the same time, it actively seized and utilized the existing Buddhist dharma vein and network pedigree in the temple. At that time, the Dharma vein in Baoming temple was inherited from Xizhu Chan master sect under the lineage of Linji sect, and it also followed the order of generation in the inheritance pedigree of this sect, This is also the legal source of the name-words order of “Guiyuan” and the later sect system of Baoming temple. The second sect force invading Baoming temple is the Dacheng Tianzhen Yuandun sect. At the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Qing dynasty, the rising Dacheng Yuandun sect came into power and dominated the sect system of the temple. Although the Dacheng Yuandun sect and the previous “Guiyuan” Dacheng sect belong to different sect branches, they have many similarities in sect origin, sect tradition and main doctrines, And they are closely related to Luo sect and Dacheng sect of Luoguang.

Since modern times, the trend of merger between Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism had led to the further secularization and popularization of the three religions in the society of the Ming dynasty. Under the environmental influence of the government's pragmatic religious policy and religious secularization, the society of the Ming dynasty, especially since Wanli, ushered in a large-scale "Making Immortal" movement. The upper class was represented by Empress dowager Li's being regarded as the "nine lotus Bodhisattva", The Civilian class was represented by the worship of new immortals such as "wusheng mother" and "Guanyin mother" in various folk sects. Moreover, female immortals occupied an important position in the belief worship during this period, which was inseparable from the popularity of Guanyin belief.

Under the changing situation of the Ming and Qing dynasties, various Dacheng sects made the political choice of uprising or taking refuge. Baoming temple and Dacheng Yuandun sect took an active attitude of cooperation with the new regime, successfully won the support of the dignitaries of the new dynasty, and realized a smooth transition in the alternation of the old and new regimes. In the sect network of Baoming temple, Wuming sect and Jingkong sect were closely related to it. Both sects had frequent exchanges with the sect system of Baoming temple in the process of establishment and subsequent development. From the Wuming Baojuan of which published during the reign of Emperor Qianlong, we can see not only the development and changes of sects themselves, but also the changes of the times and society. Although Baoming temple since Kangxi was honored by the emperor and given the name Xianying Si, the strong and rock like reliance behind the temple from Ming royal family had long disappeared, which also made the sect system of Xianying Temple adjusted to a certain extent in its missionary strategy, that is, it no longer relied too much on the political protection from the Royal dignitaries. Instead, it focused more on the folk line and penetrated the tentacles of development into a wide range of temple systems. Therefore, traces of the

existence of its sect system could be found in many temples and nunneries inside and outside the capital of the Qing dynasty.

Because of its mild sectarian characteristics, it can be almost ignored in tens of millions of “cult” cases in the Qing dynasty. Occasionally, Xianying Temple sect was seen in the involvement of other sectarian cases, but it was often not the protagonist of the case, but these cases showed the interaction and infiltration relationship between sects. Influenced and affected by the Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813, Xianying temple was formally and thoroughly investigated during the Jiaqing period. From this, we can observe some situations of Xianying temple and “Lvzu sect” in sectarian construction and missionary practice at that time. During the Jiaqing, Daoguang period, the relatively strict “cult” policy once suppressed the missionary cause and temple fair activities of Xianying temple, but its temple foundation and sect network had not been uprooted. Since the late Qing dynasty and the Republic of China, the financial support of Xianying Temple mainly comes from civil society, which is mainly donated and sponsored by various pilgrim associations and charities associations composed of its believers. Xianying temple itself had also increasingly participated in urban life, showed obvious characteristics of folk customs, while its sectarian color was hidden.

Keywords: Baoming Temple; Western Dacheng sect; Xizhu Chan master; Sect inheritance

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Date: 2022

Title: Social imaginary of the master narrative: a study of Charles Taylor's anthropology of religion philosophy

Abstract: One of the important philosophical themes in the twentieth century is the attention to human being, which is still galloping in the first twenty years of the twenty-first century. Inspired by Heidegger's powerful discussion about what

is a human being, and influenced by thinking such as Maurice Merleau-Ponty's description of the phenomenology of bodily existence, the Canadian philosopher Charles Margrave Taylor (1931–) had unique views regarding philosophical anthropology ever since his early engagement in philosophical research. The important opinions and theories formed by these unique views became a part of his basic thinking in philosophy of religion. Taylor never constructed intentionally his own theoretical system of anthropology of religion philosophy, however, in some of his important works in the master narrative way, tracing the origin of Western modernity and elaborating the phenomena of modernity and secularization in Western society, he described changes and shifts in human being's various religious orientations, with social imaginary as the core theory. Taylor also revealed that human being's religious being has presented a multilayer and multidimensional nature during the complex evolution of history.

The thought of the mirror game (*das Spiegel-Spiel*) of sky, earth, mortals, and divinities in the fourfold (*das Geviert*) in Heidegger's later thinking is the holistic view from which Taylor thought about the life style and meaning of human being as religious being. Since the Protestant Reformation in the 1500s, promoted by elite theory and common people's social imaginary, the spiritual dimension of people in the West has made deep transmutation and transformation, which generated various trends of humanistic thinking, and the latter and the former composed polyphonic tension. The dissertation collects historical clues from the phenomena of modernity and secularization in the Latin-Christian society elaborated by Taylor, and it is based on the theory of social imaginary. This dissertation discusses all these from four orientations, including God, cosmos, self, and body, in the hope of drawing the outline of Taylor's thinking about anthropology of religion philosophy. One may say that Taylor's exploration on the general context of Western people's belief, experience, and search augments many profound insights through the master narrative has spawned many profound insights, which are also of great inspiration to people of different civilizations and

areas. Although certain religious characteristics discussed by Taylor are social phenomena with irreducible complexity, his relative thinking and theories of philosophy of religion will be an important reference for understanding human being and religion in different contexts.

Keywords: Charles Taylor; Anthropology of religion philosophy; Social imaginary; Secularization; Modernity

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Title: A study of the True Jesus Church in Henan

Abstract: In the 1920s, a number of local Christian sects appeared in China, such as the True Jesus Church, Christian meeting places and Jesus Family. This paper chooses the True Jesus Church in Henan as the research object, applies the theoretical paradigm of church and denomination in sociology of religion, and describes the establishment, development and globalization process of the True Jesus Church in Henan in modern China through combing and analyzing the history, theology and contemporary practice of the True Jesus Church in Henan on the basis of first-hand field investigation data. This paper introduces the influence of traditional Chinese culture on the thought, ethics and ritual of the True Jesus Church in Henan, presents the local cultural characteristics of the True Jesus Church in Henan, and shows the significance of the theoretical and practical innovation of local small denominations for the Sinicization of Christianity.

The True Jesus Church was founded in Beijing in 1917 by Paul Wei, who was originally a Pentecostal Christian and later advocated “correcting all the bad Canon rules of the church of all Nations”. The True Jesus Church was founded in Beijing and Tianjin at the earliest. It was introduced to Henan in 1918 and gradually spread throughout the country and overseas. At present, the True Jesus Church covers more than 60 countries and regions around the world, with about 1.5

million people. It is a Christian sect originated in China and spread all over the world.

The development of the True Jesus Church in Henan can be divided into three periods. The 1920s to 1940s was the period of creation and growth, which was the most prominent in the overall conversion of other Christian sects. From the 1980s to the 2020s, the True Jesus Church in Henan was in the period of recovery and development, with about 220,000 followers up to now. After the COVID-19 outbreak in 2020, the True Jesus Church in Henan has entered a new stage, showing special advantages in gathering followers and self-support.

The True Jesus Church, while maintaining Christian faith, combined with traditional Chinese culture, constructed its unique doctrines and ethical thoughts, including the basic doctrines of “five righteousness and salvation” and “Twelve standards”, and the ethical thoughts of “seven ethical”. In the aspect of theological construction, the True Jesus Church uses the unique method of numerical seclusion and textual coexistence exegetics.

The True Jesus Church emphasizes that it is a self-reliant, self-governing, self-sustaining and autobiographical church that is patriotic and caring for the people. The identity of the True Jesus Church believers is mainly reflected in four aspects: the identity of the political system of the host country, the identity of Confucianism and traditional Chinese culture, the identity of Christians, and the identity of the True Jesus Church. Identity overlap is an important ideological basis for the global development of the True Jesus Church.

The religious practice of the True Jesus Church in Henan is characterized by sinicization and localization, which is mainly manifested in joint worship, gender order, festival culture and religious music. The contemporary the True Jesus Church in Henan continues and develops on the basis of the implementation of the joint worship of the Chinese church, which embodies the unique “harmony theology” of the Chinese church. The True Jesus Church in Henan continues the male-centered gender order, and integrates the “differences between men and

women” and “equality between men and women”. It not only recognizes the equality of men and women, but also emphasizes the differences between men and women. In terms of festival culture, the True Jesus Church in Henan integrates Judea-Christian culture and Traditional Chinese culture, creating the Festival of Respect for the Elderly and The Feast of Holy Communion with unique theological meaning, integrating the Passover festival of Chinese Spring Festival, and rejecting Christmas. The music of the True Jesus Church in Henan is also deeply influenced by traditional Chinese culture and infused with rich local cultural elements.

The integration and innovation made by the True Jesus Church in Henan between Christianity and Chinese traditional culture is of enlightening significance for promoting the Sinicization of Christianity. On the political level, the True Jesus Church in Henan has realized the combination of patriotism and love of religion. On the cultural level, the True Jesus Church in Henan organically integrates the elements of Christian culture and traditional Chinese culture. On the organizational level, the True Jesus Church in Henan explores the path of survival and development of small denominations in contemporary China. The case of the True Jesus Church in Henan reflects the experience of independent establishment, survival and development of Chinese Christians, deepens the recognition of the role and value of Chinese Christians in Chinese society and the universal church, and shows that the Sinicized Christianity is and will increasingly take on its own significance in the “world Christianity” lineage.

Keywords: True Jesus Church; Protestant Christianity in China; Indigenous sects; Sinicization of Christianity;

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Title: Study on contemporary Islamism of Aceh, Indonesia

Abstract: Indonesia's Aceh region is known as the "Mecca Corridor" because of its strong Islamic culture compared to other Muslim areas in the Malay Archipelago. After the Indian Ocean Tsunami, the degree of Islamization in Aceh has increased dramatically compared to the past, which is highlighted by the beginning of the full implementation of Sharia law. The overall enhancement of the degree of religionization in Aceh is particularly prominent in the context of the decline of the Islamic Revival Movement in the world in recent years. It is also of special significance in Indonesia, a state that has been adhering to the principle of separation of religion and state since its independence. So, Aceh's Islam has a great of research value. For a long time, the study of Aceh in Chinese academic circles is mostly focused on the issue of Aceh separatism, but lacks in-depth understanding of other aspects of Aceh, especially the specific situation of its religious aspect. This paper holds that contemporary Islam in Aceh shows obvious "Islamism" characteristics, and systematically discusses the historical origin, major developments, realistic embodiment and practical influence of Islamism in Aceh, to present the overall face of Islam in Aceh.

In the history before modern times, Islam once brought great glory to Aceh, which makes the national pride of the Aceh people deeply bound with Islam. In the Aceh War when the Aceh people fought against the Dutch invaders, Islam almost became the only spiritual weapon supporting the Aceh people for a long time. In this war, Aceh, which had a very loose political and social structure, was integrated into a whole by Islam, and the real Aceh nation was formed at this time. From 1920s to 1960s, Aceh's Reformist Islam formatted, developed and became extremely powerful. Also in this process, Aceh's Reformist Islam have extreme resistances to the "Westernized Aceh" strategy of Dutch colonial government as well as the secular nationalism route of the central government of Indonesia, resulting that Aceh in modern times is almost not strongly affected by any secular ideologies. All of these have contributed to the profound historical origins of

contemporary Aceh's Islamism. Under Suharto's "New Order", Aceh's religious power was suppressed and dormant, but its potential remained enormous. Following the enactment of Law on Governing Aceh in July 2006, Aceh began a sustained, stable and effective Islamism. Islamism in Aceh can be on the front desk, the main factors is neither active behaviors of Aceh's Islamism forces, nor a direct hit from the Islamic Revival Movement, but the four sessions of the central government of Indonesia in post-Suharto era to govern Aceh separatism by using means of devolution. So far, devolution has proved effective in governing separatism in Aceh. But Indonesia's central government, which insists on separation of religion from politics as well as religious pluralism policy, has also paid some prices, allowing or even supporting Islamism in Aceh being one of the heavier ones. In short, Islamism in Aceh experienced a major development at the turn of the century: It moved from a latent ideology and force to reality, that is, "from hibernation to the fore".

As soon as the post-Suharto era began, the Indonesian central government allowed Sharia law to be enforced in Aceh. Since 2000, Aceh has promulgated a series of religious laws, forming a comprehensive religious legal system covering all areas of Aceh. Aceh, too, has largely enforced these religious laws on the ground, largely without outside interference. In order to ensure the full implementation of Sharia law, The Islamists in Aceh are deeply involved in politics, thus creating a situation of political and religious unity in Aceh. For now at least, There is widespread support for virtual Islamism in Aceh, which they see as the only path to progress. These conditions in contemporary Aceh fit almost perfectly with the academic definition of "Islamism" today.

The current Islamism in Aceh is having a great impact on the internal political operation, economic development and social atmosphere of Aceh. But objectively, the impact of Islamism in Aceh is, at least for now, more negative. Aceh's economic and social development under the influence of Islamism is far from satisfactory. The problems of Islamism have also tarnished Aceh's and Indonesia's image

abroad. In addition, Aceh's adherence to Islamism at the present stage is actually a necessary price paid by Indonesia's central government for the governance of Aceh's separatism. Therefore, for Southeast Asia, the "Aceh Solution" that effectively governs separatism while allowing the extreme strengthening of religious forces in relevant regions can provide a reference for other countries with similar separatism problems. For such countries in Southeast Asia, although choosing this path will bear a series of negative effects brought by the strengthening of local religious power, it is still well worth the huge loss of national division.

It can be said that the historical development of Aceh's Islam since modern times has obvious particularity in the entire Islamic world, and Aceh has always been a region with a special status in Indonesia. From the perspective of the whole Islamic world, Islamism in Aceh is really special in its historical origin and realization path, and especially, its relationship with the contemporary Islamic Revival Movement since the late 1960s has been generally overestimated. But at the same time, Islamism in Aceh is unquestionably part of contemporary global Islamism, with the same core characteristics and circumstances as Islamism in other parts of the Islamic world. This thesis takes the Islamism in Aceh, Indonesia as the starting point to study the local particularity of contemporary Islamism movement in different regions and provide cases for in-depth understanding of the development of contemporary Islamism.

Keywords: Aceh; Indonesia/Islamism/Islam

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Title: Textual research on the origin and development of Taoist “Sanqing” (Three Pure Ones) images

Abstract: “Sanqing” (Three Pure ones) is the common name of the three highest deities in Taoism. They are Treasured Lord of the Celestial Realms of Jade Clarity, the Heavenly Worthy of the Numinous Treasure in the Highest Clarity Realm and the Heavenly Worthy of the Dao and Its Virtue of the Supreme Clarity Realm. Taoist Sanqing image is an important object of Taoist art history research. The theoretical system of the emergence and development of Sanqing image is controversial, so it is necessary to study it in depth. It is mainly reflected in the theoretical source of “Tao generates one, one generates two, two generates three, three generates all things”, the influence of the beliefs of Three Officials and Three Emperors, the influence of the image system of three Buddhas, the theoretical construction of Lao Tzu’s three clear in one breath and its evolution of popular culture. Sanqing is closely related to the development and changes of Taoist factions. The concepts of Three Heavens – Three Territory – Three Caves – Three Treasures - Sanqing have developed and merged, and gradually formed the Sanqing belief and its image system. There are many one or two of Three Pure Ones as well as Three Pure Ones images, all has the value of systematic research. The thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter “Sanqing image source” includes four parts: tangible and intangible, one master and two slaves and single statue, double master and multi master Taoist statues and mixed images of Buddhism and Taoism, and three master images. The second chapter “Sanqing image formation and development” includes four parts: the images of the Supreme master and Sanbaojun, the stereotypes and dissemination of Sanqing images, the status virtualization, and its existing forms of Sanqing images, and the image forms of one of the three Qings independently existing. The third chapter “analysis of the reasons for the change of Sanqing image” includes four parts: Taoist sacred space and its carrier, the environmental impact of political culture, image change and its form analysis,

image aesthetics and channeling. The research methods used in this paper include but are not limited to iconology, philology, fieldwork, formal analysis, comparative research, interdisciplinary research, etc. Through the research paper, it is proposed that the “Three Supreme Deities” (i.e. the gods of Sanqing) appeared in the Northern Zhou dynasty, which has no corresponding relationship with the Sanqing Territory; In the Tang dynasty, the Three Treasure Kings (tianbaojun, lingbaojun, shenbaojun) correspond to the Sanqing realm; The gradual integration of the Three Treasures of the Song dynasty with the Three Supreme Statues formed a stable Sanqing belief and its image system in the Huizong Dynasty. The emergence process of the image can be summarized as follows: Lao Tzu – Laojun – Laojun, Tianzun – Laojun, Tianzun, Sakyamuni Buddha (or Amitabha Buddha) – Three Treasures – Three Qings (three religious images coexist). The connotation and reasons of image change include the integration and differentiation of Confucianism and Taoism, the aid of Buddhism to Taoism, the struggle and integration of Buddhism and Taoism, the complementarity and integration of Confucianism and Taoism, the integration of the three religions, etc., which are related to the changes of the times, regionality, image changes, cultural traditions and influences, and we cannot ignore the role of people(creators, meritorious masters, believers and audiences) and the material and cultural existence displayed by visual materials (the particularity of materials and creative techniques, visual effects and aesthetics, and functions).At present, most of the research results of Sanqing’s images have been discussed on specific works, or special research on dating, region, or type of Lao Jun’s image, or combing some documents. Due to the different emphasis of the research, the research on Sanqing image has not formed complete systematic research on Sanqing image, which is the key research content of the paper and the innovation of the paper. The innovation of research methods is mainly reflected in the analysis of image works and the comparative discussion of literature, considering the immortal pedigree and regional cultural characteristics of different factions, taking into account the

individual appeals of creators and sponsors, and using multiple evidence method to analyze the evolution of Sanqing images. The material innovation is firstly reflected in the systematic discussion of the Sanqing images in sculpture, scroll painting, printmaking, especially in zhajiao painting and paper horse. Secondly, it is discussed that the materials used in the interpretation of the Five Parties and Five Lao Monarchs in the statue monument are less used in previous studies, and directly affect the author to put forward new ideas. The relationship between the Three Supreme Statues and the Three Treasures in the niche statues of Sui and Tang Grottoes in Sichuan and Chongqing has rarely been discussed before. There is also a new discussion on the mixed statues of Buddhism and Taoism this time, mainly based on new materials such as niches 2-5 of Shengshui temple in Weicheng, Mianyang. The innovation of views is mainly reflected in the following aspects: in addition to the Supreme Lord, there are also one or more of the five sides of the image of the old emperor in the Northern Dynasty, the Three Supreme Lords coexist in the image of the Tang and Song dynasties as the ancestors of Taoism and the three Treasure Kings coexist as the Heavenly Emperor, the Three Qing territories and the Three Supreme Lords correspond to form the Three Qing beliefs and their images are finalized in the Huizong Dynasty at the end of the Northern Song dynasty, and the status of the image of the Three Qing in the Ming and Qing dynasties is virtualized and its reasons are discussed.

Keywords: Taoism; Sanqing (Three Pure Ones); Laojun (Supreme Venerable Lord); Tianzun (Heavenly Worthy); Laozi

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Date: 2022

Title: Research on the Tibetan Buddhism architectural cultural landscape in Mongolia from the perspective of cultural geography

Abstract: In the middle of the seventh century AD, Buddhism evolved into Tibetan Buddhism in Tibetan areas and spread uninterruptedly to other regions, of which the Mongolian region is the area with the largest number of Tibetan Buddhist temples outside the Tibetan area, according to relevant literature statistics to the 17th century, there were nearly 3,000 Tibetan Buddhist temples in Mongolia. The historical Mongolian region involves many provinces in China and Mongolia and other regions, and the Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape in this region as a whole shows the characteristics of spanning a wide geographical range and a long historical context. Therefore, from the perspective of cultural geography, this study takes the Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape of Mongolia as the specific research object, and reveals and interprets the spatio-temporal evolution of the Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape in Mongolia, the characteristics of diversity and morphology, and the characteristics of regional culture. The Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape in Mongolia is a unique cultural landscape type that is different from the Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape in Tibetan areas, with strong Mongolian character and regional characteristics, and is an important historical and cultural landscape and historical and cultural heritage of the region. At present, the research on the Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape in the Mongolian region at home and abroad focuses more on the current administrative division of the research category, and it is urgent to analyze and study the full-time spatial and spatial integrity of the Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape in the entire historical Mongolian region from a macroscopic perspective. Based on years of fieldwork and a large number of first-hand information, through analysis and interpretation, it is known that there are significant differences between the Tibetan Buddhist architectural cultural landscape in the Mongolian region influenced by multiple cultures and the Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape in Tibetan areas, and have distinct

Mongolian regional characteristics. The architectural heritages of great cultural and historical value are an important part of China's ancient architectural cultural heritage. Through literature interpretation, statistical analysis, comparative research and other methods, this study comprehensively sorts out the cultural landscape of Tibetan Buddhist architecture in Mongolia from multiple levels such as culture, history and geography. First of all, it clarifies the spatio-temporal evolution of the Tibetan Buddhist cultural circle, divides the hierarchy of the Tibetan Buddhist cultural circle, and reveals the identity of the spatio-temporal evolution of the architectural and cultural landscape of Tibetan Buddhism and the spread of Tibetan Buddhism from the inner, secondary to the outer layer of the cultural circle; On this basis, the spatial and temporal distribution, transmission routes, transmission methods and diffusion effects of Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape in Mongolia are further revealed; At the same time, the characteristics of the significant complex diversity of Tibetan Buddhist architectural culture in Mongolia and the causes of the multi-dimensional and detailed analysis are carried out, and it is pointed out that this diversity is presented in a special state of mixing and coexisting; In addition, the characteristics of the Tibetan Buddhist architectural and cultural landscape in Mongolia are interpreted, revealing its correlation with the unique regional culture, and interpreting the reasons for the formation and continuation relationship of the regional architectural cultural characteristics. Compared with previous studies, this study strives to innovate and make break throughs in research methods, research scopes and research contents, and promotes the improvement of research on the cultural heritage of Tibetan Buddhist architecture in Mongolia from a macroscopic cultural level.

Keywords: Mongolia; Cultural landscape of Tibetan Buddhist architecture; Spread and diffusion; Cultural diversity

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