

## Book Review

Roman Malek \*

**Huang Yi-long 黃一農**

*Two-head Snakes: The First Generations of Chinese Christian Converts in Late Ming and Early Qing (Liang tou she: Ming mo Qing chu de di yi dai Tianzhujiatou)* 《兩頭蛇：明末清初的第一代天主教徒》

Xinzhu: National Tsing Hua University Press (新竹：國立清華大學出版社), 2005, xix+557 pages. ISBN 957-29880-8-5

The encounter between Christianity with Chinese culture during Late Ming and Early Qing times for a long time was mainly seen from a “Christian Western,” eurocentric perspective. The same is true for research being done in this field. Only in the second half of the 20th century was it claimed that methodologically research should focus more on the Chinese side of this encounter.<sup>1</sup> But even before the “shift of paradigms” in the 1980s, there were approaches towards a new evaluation and assessment of the history

---

Manuscript received on: September 15, 2006, Manuscript approved on: November 23, 2006.

收稿日期：2006年9月15日，通過刊登日期：2006年11月23日。

\* Roman Malek is the director of the Monumenta Serica Institute and a professor at the Theological Faculty in Sankt Augustin (Germany).

作者馬雷凱係德國華裔學志研究所教授。

- 1 On this methodological shift, see especially N. Standaert's contributions “New Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in China,” in *Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997): 573-613, and “Christianity as a Religion in China. Insights from the *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One (635-1800)*,” in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 12 (2001): 1-21.

of Christianity in China, e.g., in the publications of the Chinese historians Chen Yuan 陳垣 (1880-1971) and Fang Hao 方豪 (1910-1980), which until today are of great relevance not only for mission history, but also for sinology. The breakthrough came only with the work *Chine et christianisme. Action et réaction* (Paris 1982) by the French sinologist Jacques Gernet (Xie Henai 謝和耐), which has also been translated into Chinese. This work introduced the question: “to what extent do the reactions of the Chinese, at the time of their first contacts with the ‘doctrine of the Master of Heaven’ [*Tianzhujiào* 天主教] in the seventeenth century)...reveal fundamental differences between Western and Chinese concepts of the world.”<sup>2</sup> The general reflection on the interdependence between Christianity and culture during that time also was advantageous for the study of Sino-Christian encounters on the basis of Chinese sources. During the 1980s and 1990s further books and articles in Chinese and Western languages were published, culminating in the *Handbook of Christianity in China*, edited by Nicholas Standaert (Zhong Mingdan 鐘鳴旦), with the first volume covering the period from 635-1800 (Leiden: Brill, 2001). So far, however, a comprehensive volume in Chinese that summarizes the results of recent research on the history of Christianity in China has been missing. Huang Yi-long’s book fills this gap. Coming from the natural sciences (physics), Huang Yi-long, a professor at National Tsing Hua University in Xinzhu, Taiwan, has been working on Christianity in China since the 1980s, and has a worldwide reputation because of his numerous publications that are characterized by exactness and the formulation of new questions. He is without any doubt one of the top scholars in the history of Christianity in China.

Despite the above mentioned “shift of paradigm” with regard to research on Christianity in China during the 1980s, the fact still remains that the Sino-

---

2 *China and the Christian Impact. A Conflict of Cultures* (Cambridge, 1982; repr. 1990), p. 1; German version: *Christus kam bis nach China. Eine erste Begegnung und ihr Scheitern* (München – Zürich, 1984, p. 5). For Chinese editions (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1993, and Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2003), see Huang Yi-long’s Bibliography, p. 526.

Christian encounter still has been mainly viewed from a perspective that might be called “Confucian-Jesuit.” This perspective includes mainly the “orthodox” aspects of Christianity as well as of the Chinese tradition, i.e., above all “Confucianism,” only rarely, Buddhism, and very seldom, the Daoist tradition. In his book, Huang Yi-long undoubtedly further extends this “orthodox” angle, but if we have a closer look at his work we will find that he also touches on the other traditions and some “unorthodox” aspects.

With the new orientation regarding contents and research methods on Christianity in China, more Chinese-language sources have been published and analyzed, among others, the publications of Chinese converts and tracts by opponents of Christianity. It could be expected that in the Chinese sources on Christianity, interesting aspects of the hermeneutics of the Chinese-Christian encounter or the acculturation of Christianity in China would be found. In this context, e.g., research was done on how individual converts integrated the Christian ideas into their traditional Chinese worldview and set of values. For Ming and Qing times, there exist already extensive studies on the “three pillars” of Christianity in China—Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 (1562-1633), Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565-1630), and Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (1557-1627)—and only few on other converts,<sup>3</sup> such as Wang Zheng 王徵 (1571-1644),<sup>4</sup> Li Jiubiao 李九標 (d. ca. 1646),<sup>5</sup> and Zhu Zongyuan 朱宗元 (ca. 1616-1660).<sup>6</sup> Huang Yi-long intentionally does not provide a detailed presentation of the “three

---

3 Publications on these converts are mostly mentioned by Huang Yi-long in his extensive bibliography. In my footnotes, I only give bibliographical data for the publications not mentioned by Huang.

4 For Wang Zheng, see Ren Dayuan, “Wang Zheng: A Scientist, Philosopher, and Catholic in Ming Dynasty China,” in R. Malek (ed.), *Western Learning and Christianity in China. The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592-1666)*. *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXXV/1-2* (Sankt Augustin – Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1998), pp. 339-368.

5 For Li Jiubiao, see the articles by A. Dudink in Huang Yi-long’s bibliography.

6 For Zhu Zongyuan, see D. Sachsenmaier, *Die Aufnahme europäischer Inhalte in die chinesische Kultur durch Zhu Zongyuan (ca. 1616-1660)*. *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XLVII* (Sankt Augustin – Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2001).

pillars.” He, however, offers an in-depth review of many others who to date have widely remained unconsidered. They are the other “pillars” of local Chinese Christianity. This group of Chinese converts has also left—as Huang Yi-long’s work proves—numerous traces that open up promising insights into Christianity in China. As the Chinese converts in most cases could and did not want to leave their “Confucian”<sup>7</sup>(or Buddhist or folk-religious Daoist) Chinese tradition behind them, they remained—to use the title of the work under review—“two-head snakes.” In their writings we find a very personal blending of the Chinese and Christian traditions. Their lives were an intellectual Odyssey of their own, starting from the Chinese tradition with its mainly (but not only) “Confucian” values and ideas, towards the “Teaching of the Heavenly Lord” where they found something new, which they had to integrate into and justify within their personal Chinese context. The “new faith” which developed here was to a certain degree a blending or a “syncretism” of Chinese culture and Christianity,<sup>8</sup> reflected also in the title of the presented work and the graphical arrangement on the cover. Huang mentions this “hybridity” (*rouhe* 揉和) and “conflict” (*chongtu* 衝突) already at the beginning of his preface (p. v), and both terms remain a kind of *leitmotiv* of his explorations.

Huang Yi-long’s work is certainly an important contribution for the understanding of this “Chinese shape” of Christianity in Late Ming and Early Qing (16-18th c.). The author’s interest lies not so much in the question of “introducing” Christianity to China or in the missionaries’ methods

---

7 There was, however, as Jerome B. Grieder points out (*Intellectuals and the State in Modern China: A Narrative History* [London: Free Press, 1981], p. 4), “no single and uniform ‘Confucian mentality’ nor was there, in any formal sense, a Confucian creed, acceptance of which distinguished the true believer.”

8 It certainly is problematic to talk about a “syncretism” in the context of the encounter between Chinese tradition and Christianity, however, John H. Berthongs’ remark might be quoted here, namely that “the notion of religious identity is not as exclusive or rigid as it is when defined by modern Western religious professionals” (*All Under Heaven: Transforming Paradigms in Confucian-Christian Dialogue* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994], p. 178).

of “implanting” it in Chinese soil, but in its reception and interpretation by the Chinese themselves (converts and opponents as well). The question, therefore, is how the Chinese-Christian encounter has been shaped from a Chinese viewpoint, i.e., from a traditional Chinese, but in a certain sense “syncretistic” perspective of the converts, whom Leung Yuen-sang 梁元生 ascribes a “hyphenated identity” by saying: “The Confucian-Christian synthesis actually occurred within him [e.g., one of the first converts Li Zhizao], if not outwardly in society. His case shows us that the hybridization and hyphenation of two cultures, to a certain degree, is not totally unattainable.”<sup>9</sup>

Huang Yi-long tries to portray various developmental phases of this “syncretistic” Christianity in China by presenting concrete examples of the “hyphenated identity.” In order to describe the great variety of contents and topics in this very clearly arranged work, the following review gives a presentation of its structure and main contents.

The book consists of an introductory preface (“Zixu” 自序, pp. v-xi), thirteen main chapters, a chronological table, a list of missionaries, a bibliography, and a detailed index. Huang Yi-long had presented some of the chapters already as conference contributions and in other publications. However, he supplemented or filled them with new data for this volume; in some cases he even revised his former opinions and therefore added an epilogue (“Houji” 後記) to the respective chapters.

---

9 Leung Yuen-sang, “Towards a Hyphenated Identity: Li Zhizao’s Search for a Confucian-Christian Synthesis,” in *Monumenta Serica* 39 (1990-1991): 130. Wang Xiaochao (*Christianity and Imperial Culture: Chinese Christian Apologetics in the Seventeenth Century and their Latin Patristic Equivalent* [Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998], p. 202) writes on this Confucian-Christian synthesis of the converts in Late Ming and Qing times: “The Chinese apologists as the receivers of Western culture could not entirely give up their own tradition. They were not born Christians, but were converts with a strong Chinese background. They always attempted to assimilate Christianity, interpreting Christian teachings by the standards of Confucianism to fit Chinese culture. They did not reject Western culture and Christianity, nor did they replace Chinese culture with Western culture, but tried to combine them organically to create a new culture which contained merits from both sides. It was still Chinese culture.”

The individual chapters step by step reveal the complex questions and difficult problems associated with the reception of Christianity in China. The titles of the chapters are formulated in such a way that the reader might get a first idea about the main *problematik*. This systematic and layer-by-layer disclosure of the questions and problems enables Huang Yi-long to construct a Chinese-Christian history of ideas.

The first chapter, “The Cross in the Age of Discovery” (“Dahanghai shidai zhong de shizijia” 大航海時代中的十字架, pp. 1-32), is an excellently conceived description of the European context of the new mission history that started with the geographical discoveries. It also describes the missionary endeavours of the Societas Jesu (S.J.), founded in 1540, in India, Japan, Indochina, Brazil, Paraguay, Mexico, and Africa. Before this background Huang first presents the mission strategy of the Jesuits with regard to China, which resulted in the mission of Michele Ruggieri (Luo Mingjian 羅明堅, 1543-1607) and Matteo Ricci (Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552-1610). Using various graphically emphasized appendices (*fulu* 附錄, which are placed within boxes) he introduces the most important concepts, terms, persons, institutions, as well as the Jesuit missions outside of China (Japan, Vietnam). This way of presentation will surely be of great value especially for the Chinese reader. These contents are, furthermore, supplemented by illustrations and tables.

The second chapter “The Christian [Convert] Qu Rukui and his ‘family difficulties’” (“Tianzhujiaotu Qu Rukui ji qi jianan” 天主教徒瞿汝夔及其「家難」 pp. 33-64), portrays the first convert, Ignatius Qu Rukui (1549-1611), his contacts with Matteo Ricci, his family background including the genealogy and the dating of his death. Huang Yi-long then discusses in detail the question of the “family difficulties” (*jianan* 家難) of this convert and describes the difficulties he faced (e.g., observance of the traditional mourning rites, concubinage, etc.). In such a way the first and fundamental layer of reception and acceptance of Christianity in China is brought to the surface, namely the family. The feature panels or information boxes in this chapter present

Qu's brothers and some questions regarding Ming society, such as, for example, the rules of marriage at that time. Qu Rukui is for Huang Yi-long an example and—if one might say so—a “result” of the Christian strategy of “complementing Confucianism and replacing Buddhism” (*bu ru yi fo* 補儒易佛).

In the third extensive chapter “‘Scholars from the West’ and the dialogue with the Chinese literati” ( “‘Taixi rushi’ yu Zhongguo shidafu de duihua” 「泰西儒士」與中國士大夫的對話, pp. 65-130), Huang Yi-long describes the first attempts of a dialogue between the Jesuits, which were regarded as the so-called “Scholars from the West,” and the Chinese scholars, taking the example of the first converts and opponents. First of all, the chapter presents Ricci's evangelization method, i.e., “evangelization with the help of knowledge” (*zhishi chuanjiao* 知識傳教), which formed the basis of this dialogue. Then short biographies of the first Chinese converts and their contribution to the dialogue follow: Cheng Qiyuan 成啓元, Ruan Taiyuan 阮泰元, Li Yingshi 李應試 (1560-1620), Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 (1562-1633; with genealogy, Tab. 3.2), Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565-1630), Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (1557-1627; with genealogy, Tab. 3.3), Xu Leshan 許樂善 (1548-1627; with genealogy, Tab. 3.4), Sun Yuanhua 孫元化 (1581-1632), Zhang Geng 張賡 (ca. 1570-1646), Li Tianjing 李天經 (1579-ca. 1600). Among the sympathizers the following are portrayed: Guo Zizhang 郭子章 (1543-1618), Feng Qi 馮琦 (1558-1603) with genealogy (Tab. 3.5), Zhang Wenda 張問達, Ye Xianggao 葉向高 (1559-1627) with genealogy (Tab. 3.7), Feng Yinjing 馮應京 (1555-1606) with genealogy (Tab. 3.8), Han Kuang 韓爌 with genealogy (Tab. 3.9), Xiong Mingyu 熊明遇 (1579-1649) with genealogy (Tab. 3.10), Qian Shisheng 錢士升 (1575-1652) with genealogy (Tab. 3.11). Furthermore, the well-known opponents of the “Teaching of the Heavenly Lord,” like the famous Shen Que 沈淮, Wang Qiyuan 王啓元, and Xu Dashou 許大受 are mentioned, since through their criticism they too have contributed to the Sino-Christian dialogue. In one information box of this chapter the not easily

accessible collection of Christian texts, *Tianxue jijie* 天學集解, which is hosted in Saint Petersburg, is presented. Information box 3.2 reviews the at that time urgent question of the veneration of Buddha statues and the attitude of the Catholic Church towards this religious practice.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the “Confucianized convert,” taking Wang Zheng as an example (“Rujiahua de Tianzhujiatou: yi Wang Zheng wei li” 家化的天主教徒: 以王徵爲例, pp. 131-174). Huang Yi-long not only discusses the family background, genealogy, descendants, life and work of Wang Zheng (1571-1644), but also draws our attention to the problematic of the conversion of a scholar via the prism of the question of concubinage and the Catholic ideal of virginity (*zhennü* 貞女). Much attention is also given to the significance of *xixue* 西學 (Western learning) and *xijiao* 西教 (Western religion)—terms and ideas which are closely connected with the identity of the converts.

The fifth chapter, “The Cross and the Memorial Tablet of Loyalty and Piety: Wei Xuelian’s Life and Work” (“Zhongxiao paifang yu shizijia: Wei Xuelian qi ren qishi kao” 忠孝牌坊與十字架: 魏學濂其人其事考, pp. 175-227), is dedicated to the life and work of Wei Xuelian (1608-1644). Here a further layer in the reception of Christianity in China is revealed: the conflict between the traditional Chinese virtues of loyalty and piety and the Cross, i.e., the Catholic teaching. Wei’s genealogy (Tab. 5.1.) and his work *Zhongxiao shiji* 忠孝實紀 (Tab. 5.2) are presented. Furthermore, various, thus far unknown, opinions of the posterity regarding Wei Xuelian are included, like those of various scholars (e.g. Sun Qifeng 孫奇逢 and Li Wen 李雯). Thus, Huang Yi-long tries to describe the attitudes of Ming and Qing scholars towards *xixue* and *xijiao* and shows that the penetration of Christian ideas into the world of the gentry was much more intensive than has been assumed.

The sixth chapter is entitled “The Christian [Convert] Han Lin Amidst a Chaotic World” (“Dingge shibian zhong de tianzhujiatou Han Lin” 鼎革世變中的天主教徒韓霖, pp. 229-252). The chapter focuses on the convert Han

Lin (ca. 1598-1649), who had to assert that he was Christian amidst socio-political changes (here especially during the transition from Ming to Qing). His loyalty towards the Ming dynasty and his being Christian after the fall of the Ming stood in question, since he—as a Ming loyalist—should have committed suicide (also to safeguard the reputation of his family), but as a Christian was not allowed to do so. The chapter presents his genealogy (Tab. 6.1) and introduces his family and brothers. In the information boxes Huang Yi-long presents Han Lin's work *Shengjiao xinzheng* 聖教信證.<sup>10</sup>

The seventh chapter, “*Duoshu guoshang guanfang secail de Tianzhujiào xiàngyue*” 《鐸書》：裹上官方色彩的天主教鄉約 (pp. 253-285), deals with the official position of Christianity in China on the basis of the work, *Duoshu* (The Book of the Warning Bell, ca. 1640), which was compiled by Han Lin according to the six maxims from Ming Taizu's Sacred Edict (*Shengyu liuyan* 聖諭六言). Information box 7.3 includes the names of the collaborators of this work, explains the relevant question of the tabooing of names (*bihui* 避諱) at the end of the Ming and the beginning of Qing (box 7.2),<sup>11</sup> and, finally, the role of *difangzhi* 地方志 as a source for the history of Christianity in China (box 7.4).

The eighth chapter, “*Ming Qing Tianzhujiào zai Shanxi Jiangzhou de fazhan ji qi fantan*” 明清天主教在山西絳州的發展及其反彈 (pp. 287-310), discloses the local dimension of the development and reception of Christianity in China. Taking Jiangzhou in Shanxi as an example, Huang describes the reactions of the local gentry towards Han Lin and his Catholicism. In detail, he deals with the great opponent Li Shengguang 李生光 (b. 1598) and the

---

10 For Han Lin, see also P. Rule, “The Jesus of the ‘Confucian Christians’ of the Seventeenth Century,” in R. Malek (ed.), *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, vol. 2. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series L/2 (Sankt Augustin – Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2003), pp. 499-516. Besides Han Lin, Rule elaborates also on the converts Liu Ning, Zhu Zongyuan, and Matthias Xia.

11 Monumenta Serica Institute in Sankt Augustin is preparing for publication Heinrich Busch's (1916-2002) translation of Chen Yüan's *Shihui juli* 史諱舉例 (On Avoiding Tabooed Names), relevant also for Ming and Qing times.

Dongyong Academy 東雍書院. This academy seems to be an example of the attitude of academies at that time towards Christian ideas. Furthermore, the author introduces Qianlong's 乾隆 *Jiangzhou zhi* 絳州志, as well as local anti-Christian tendencies reflected in the local gazettes (*difangzhi* 地方志).

The following two chapters give an overview of a quite unknown side of the history of Christianity in China, namely the time of the Southern Ming dynasty (Nan Ming 南明) and the role of the missionaries and converts during the time of the dynastic change.<sup>12</sup> The ninth chapter, “Nan Ming zhongchen dui Tianzhujiao de taidu” 南明重臣對天主教的態度 (pp. 311-346), describes the role of Catholicism in various families during that Dynasty, namely those of Qu Shisi 瞿式耜 (genealogy, Tab. 9.1), Jin Sheng 金聲 (genealogy, Tab. 9.2), and Jiao Lian 焦璉. Information box 9.1 introduces the materials relevant to the Southern Ming dynasty found in the Spanish National Library in Madrid. The chapter closes with a summary of the relationship between the literati and Catholicism during Ming times (pp. 340-344).

The tenth chapter, “Nan Ming Yongli chaoting yishi Ouzhou kao” 南明永曆朝廷遣使歐洲考 (pp. 347-385), provides a review of the relations between the Yongli court (1647-1660) during the Southern Ming, Westerners (i.e., missionaries) and the Western Church, *xijiao*, namely the Holy See (pp. 349-357). The role of the Polish Jesuit Michael Boym (Bu Mige 卜彌格, 1612-1659) is emphasized in this chapter.<sup>13</sup> Huang introduces six important documents of that time, regarding the Yongli court and the Catholic Church (pp. 357-370). He, furthermore, elaborates in detail the titles (*zunhao* 尊號 and *huihao* 徽號) of the empresses of the Southern Ming dynasty (pp. 370-380) since they are of relevance for the authenticity of certain documents, in particular, the letter to the Pope. Information box 10.1 deals with the authorship

12 For this period, see also Erik Zürcher, “In the Yellow Tiger’s Den: Buglio and Magalhães at the Court of Zhang Xianzhong, 1644-1647,” in *Monumenta Serica* L (2002): 355-374.

13 There is also a new Polish publication on Michael Boym: A.W. Mikołajczak and Monika Miazek, *Studia Boymiana. Bu Mige yanjiu* 卜彌格研究 (Gniezno: Collegium Europaeum Gnesense, 2004), in Polish with English and Chinese abstracts.

of the *Lingbiao jinian* 嶺表紀年, one of the best primary chronicles of the Yongli time.

In the eleventh chapter, “‘Zhongguo liyi zhi zheng’ bei hulüe de shengyin” 「中國禮儀之爭」被忽略的聲音 (pp. 387-435), Huang Yi-long introduces the reader into another dimension of Chinese Christianity within the context of the Rites Controversy, which is explored here from a very different perspective than the usual one. He discusses the local voices in the Rites Controversy, who at that time were either unheard or ignored. It becomes obvious that the Rites Controversy from the converts’ viewpoint primarily was a question of (their) Chinese-Christian identity. Thus, for example, information box 11.1 portrays the first Catholic opponent of the “Chinese Rites”—Guo Bangyong 郭邦雍 (ca. 1582-1649). The other boxes outline the theological backgrounds (11.2), the Malabar Rites Controversy (11.3), and the closing of the Rites Controversy in the year 1939 (11.4). This chapter furthermore includes a documentation with the most important written contributions of Chinese Christians to the Rites Controversy, namely *Tianxue shuo* 天學說 (pp. 401-404), the works of Yan Mo 嚴謨 (b. ca. 1640), including the *Ditian kao* 帝天考 (pp. 404-412), the *Kaoyi* 考疑 (pp. 412f.), and the *Bianji* 辨祭 (p. 413), with a table of his works (Tab. 11.1). In addition, Huang reviews *Liji jili paozhi* 禮記祭禮泡製 (Courant 7157), *Jisi wenda* 祭祀問答 (Jap.-Sin. I, 40), and other texts. A further box illustrates the traditional Chinese ancestor tablet, which was one of the important points in the Rites Controversy.

Chapter 12, “Ming mo Qing chu *Ditian shuo* suo yinfa de lunzheng” 明末清初「帝天說」所引發的論爭 (pp. 437-462), first of all discusses the attitude and argumentation of the early missionaries regarding the characters *di* 帝 and *tian* 天, which were used for the Latin term *Deus* (i.e., *Shangdi* 上帝 or *Tianzhu* 天主). The author then comments on the differentiated attitudes of the Chinese scholars towards this terminology. This is followed by a reflection on this terminology in the light of the “four religions” (Catholicism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism) and its decisive role in

the Rites Controversy. As background, information box 12.1 introduces the preoccupation of the Jesuits with the Chinese classical works as well as with figurism. Box 12.2 deals with the translation of *Deus* in Japan. And in box 12.3 we find an early version of the Ten Commandments, already using the term *Tianzhu* 天主.

The closing chapter, “*Liang tou she zu de suming*” 「兩頭蛇族」的宿命 (pp. 463-482), is a summary of the fate of the “two-head snakes generation.” The fate of the converts—not only during Ming and Qing times—was their “hybridity.” This “two-headedness” was for the converts like a stigma and is represented in the book by the motif of the “two-head snakes,” which derives from a Chinese legend and had been retold by the convert Sun Yuanhua (see p. vii). The Sino-Christian identity of the converts always included the danger of the “one head,” i.e., the total return to the—however understood—Confucianism (and this could possibly mean the break with the Catholic Church), or a complete “Christianization,” which meant a withdrawal from traditional culture as well as an isolation from family and society. There also was the danger that one head of the snake became larger than the other and that the other might have to be cut off. Two of the nearly insoluble questions the first generation of the literati converts was confronted with were, for instance, the question of marriage or concubinage and the question of the patriotic, loyalistic suicide (e.g., after the fall of a dynasty) and the reputation of the family connected with it. Huang Yi-long illustrates his closing remarks with tables, e.g., Tab. 13.1, which deals with the question of marriage of Chinese scholars and the relevant attitude of the missionaries. Tab. 13.2 gives statistical data on the number of Christians in China before the Opium Wars, e.g., the 19th century. Among the information boxes there is one on Matteo Ripa and his efforts to establish the Collegium Sinicum in Naples.<sup>14</sup>

---

14 For Ripa and the Collegium Sinicum, see also K.J. Rivinius, *Das Collegium Sinicum zu Neapel und seine Umwandlung in ein Orientalisches Institut. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte. Collectanea Serica* (Sankt Augustin – Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2004).

The last chapter, as well as the whole book, demonstrates that the manifold influence of *xixue* and *xijiao* on Chinese society at the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Qing was much greater than known so far, which, by the way, is well verified by the genealogies of the individual converts Huang Yi-long purposely has included in nearly all chapters in this book. The many Chinese sources without any doubt hide further evidence of the significance of Christian ideas in Ming and Qing times.

A chronological table 大事年表 (pp. 483-488), a list of Western and Chinese names of the missionaries 傳教士姓名對照表 (pp. 489-493), an extensive bibliography of Chinese and Western sources (pp. 495-512), Chinese, Japanese, and Western secondary literature (pp. 512-537), a Chinese index arranged according to the number of strokes along with Western equivalents (pp. 539-557), supplement Huang Yi-long's book.

Alone this schematic description of Huang Yi-long's work gives an idea of its richness in content. The individual chapters are very well balanced and arranged. It is hard for a critic to find any faults. Rare typographical mistakes in the Western names (e.g., pp. 103 and 551 should be H. Verhaeren not Vernaeren) or in the bibliographical data in no way diminish the outstanding value of this book, which is an excellent example of mutual influence and fusion of research results of Western and Chinese scholarship regarding the history of Christianity in China. It will surely remain a standard work in Chinese for a long time. And it will without doubt be helpful to Western scholars in their research work and teaching.

The strength of this book lies, among others, in the fact that Huang Yi-long uses Chinese sources as well as the results of Western research (this was also the case in his earlier publications). To some of these sources the Western as well as Chinese researchers have only limited access. At the same time the illustrations, information boxes, and tables are to be mentioned because they also could serve as excellent teaching material. It seems that Huang Yi-long's first aim was not to argue or convince, but to introduce and

describe, to present facts and materials; he is, so to say, a “phenomenologist” of the history of local Chinese Christianity in Ming and Qing times. Thus, his work might also be characterized as a “phenomenology” of Christianity in Late Ming and Early Qing.

This work then stands in the best tradition of Chinese scholarship—one might only recall Chen Yuan and Fang Hao—and is a milestone in the systematic research and description of the history of Christianity in China. It can be fully recommended to all those who work on the history of Christianity in China, especially those teaching and studying in this field. It doubtlessly also suits as a practical textbook, as even complicated facts and contexts are clearly presented to the Chinese reader. It is my urgent postulate to prepare a translation of this work into one of the Western languages.