

To Mr. K. Sasaki,
with the author's
best wishes

Sept. 15 1957.



The Painting recovered by Sir Aurel Stein, Kt.,
at Tun-huang in 1908

Frontispiece

Saeki, Yoshiro.

**THE
NESTORIAN DOCUMENTS
AND RELICS IN CHINA**

BY

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IN CHINA, ETC.**

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To
His Excellency
Unokichi Hattori, D. Litt.,
Professor Emeritus at the Tokyo Imperial University,
Member of the Imperial Academy of Japan,
and
Director of
the Tokyo Institute of the Oriental Culture Academy,
in token of Respect and Gratitude
this book is dedicated
by
the Author

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The First Edition of this book was all sold in a year after its publication, and the book was out of print from the autumn of 1939. The attempt of the Second Edition, however, was next to impossible under the most unpleasant circumstances in which the author was put during those protracted years of the most abhorred "Incidents" and "the wicked wars." So he had to give up the idea to have this book reprinted in Japan, in spite of the urgent demand repeatedly made for it at home and abroad.

But just at this juncture, a most unexpected thing happened. The two photographs of very important Nestorian documents reached the author by mail at the very end of 1943. These were sent to him by his friend, Mr. Yasushi Kojima, then in China. On deciphering these documents, the author was pleasingly surprised to find out that one of them is "the Nestorian Hymn in adoration of the Transfiguration of Our Lord", with the date of May 2, 720 A. D., and the other is some thirty lines of the last part of "the Nestorian Sûtra on the Origin of Origins", bearing the date of October 26, 717 A. D., whose first ten lines the author had the pleasure of publishing in the First Edition of the book.

Now it is a well known fact that none of the Nestorian documents either in the form of a Sûtra or in that of a Hymnal yet discovered in China had the date except these two. It is, therefore, very natural that such precious materials as these on the author's

hand should have urged him on, day and night, to make some special endeavour in getting the Second Edition published with the translations of the newly acquired documents added. The result is this new book.

Needless to say, these documents with the dates and the names of the transcribers together with the name of a place where the copy was made, are destined to throw abundant light on the History of the Nestorian Church in China.

But it is a great pity that the author could not have been able to present this new book, as he had done his old one, to the late Professor Paul Pelliot, to whom the author owes great deal in the Nestorian study ever since 1908.

Finally it is beyond expression how grateful the author is to Mr. Kojima. Without his timely dispatch of the new materials, the author would not have taken heart to renew his effort to have the book reprinted in Japan. And again, it is proper that the author should own his deep and hearty thanks to Dr. S. D. Sturton, C. M. S. Kwang-chi Hospital at Hang-chow, China, who very kindly gave the author in 1942 a most useful information regarding the present site of the old Nestorian Church at Hang-chow, mentioned by Marco Polo in his famous book.

Furthermore, the author is very much grateful to Miss S. C. Doubleday, an Anglican Church Missionary, at Hiroshima, who very kindly read the Manuscripts for the author.

Lastly, —but not the least— the author is very much grateful to the Messrs. Maruzen & Co., the very well

known publisher in Tokyo, who most kindly have extended the helpful hand to the author to get the book at length published in Japan, without which the publication of the Second Edition would have been almost impossible.

With these remarks this Second Edition is submitted to the public with a most humble prayer that the book may prove "the Macedonian Cry" for the cause of the Christian Churches in the Far East.

P. Y. Saeki,

Hatsukaichi-machi,

Hiroshima, Japan.

Whitsunday, 1950

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

More than twenty years have elapsed since the author's "Nestorian Monument in China" was published in 1916. During these years many valuable materials for the study of Nestorianism in China were brought to the author's knowledge in forms of documents and relics discovered at various places. For instance, a very rare Nestorian manuscript came to the possession of Mr. K. Tomeoka of Kyoto in 1917, and another very important and rare manuscript of the Nestorian sūtra was acquired by Dr. Takakusu of Tokyo in 1923. In addition to these, the two more equally precious manuscripts of Nestorian sūtra had already been procured by the Hon. Li Shêng-to of Tientsin, China, whilst Sir Reginald Johnston, Kt., happened to find out two blocks of marble with the Nestorian Cross at Fang-shan in 1919.

Over and beyond these Nestorian documents and relics in China and Japan, the world knows very well of the rare and important Nestorian documents and relics discovered by Prof. Paul Pelliot and by Sir Aurel Stein, Kt., at Tun-huang in 1908, besides those equally remarkable and valuable Nestorian documents and relics found out by Dr. A. von Le Coq at Kao-ch'ang in 1905. All these discoveries have naturally prompted the author to renew his efforts in his study on Nestorianism in China availing himself of these fresh materials. The result is this humble work before the reader.

The book consists of four parts. The translations of what the author calls the direct Nestorian documents

discovered in China and in Chinese Turkistan since 1905 form Part I, and the description of the Nestorian relics so far found out in China, Mongolia and Manchuria occupies Part II, while the translations of what the author calls the indirect Nestorian documents, viz., the quotations from the Chinese historical records are put in Part III in the form of Appendices, since they throw some light on the history of the Nestorian Church in China.

Apart from these three Parts of the book, the original Chinese texts for Part I are added to the end of the book under the title of "Chinese Text" forming Part IV. These Chinese materials are nothing but the original manuscripts of the Nestorian sūtras set in type with the necessary punctuations or "the reading marks," as called in the East, given by the author himself after he carefully corrected the transcriber's errors and supplied all the lacunas as best as he could. These Chinese texts will be indispensable for the verification of the translations in Part I.

The author, however, regrets to say that he had to refrain from adding the Chinese texts for the English translations of the Appendices in Part III. He did so on the ground that they are indirect Nestorian documents and can be found without much difficulty in the Chinese books, whilst the addition of the Chinese texts to each translation would naturally increase the pages of the book unnecessarily. Consequently, only the names and pages of the books from which he quoted or translated have been given in Chinese for the convenience of the reader who may want to find the original.

The main stuff of this book, therefore, consists of the translations of the direct and indirect Nestorian docu-

ments in China. And, if some sharp-witted critic should declare that the book is a mere collection of translations and nothing else, to such criticism the author is well prepared to own that it is just what the book is really intended for. All he has wanted to do is to give a good faithful translation of every material he has come across, for he entertains the view that a translation is an interpretation and a faithful translation can not be obtained without a correct understanding of the original meaning. And what the author attempts in this work is to usher the hitherto almost unknown and very much neglected *Nestoriana Sinica* into the learned Societies in Christendom through the medium of the English language. In other words, the author only hopes, if possible, to contribute a bit to the study he has taken his part in, in order that those who are interested in things Chinese may have a kind of Christian literature produced in the Land of Sinim during the Middle ages on the one hand, and that through these Chinese documents they may compare these thoughts of Oriental Christianity developed outside the sphere of the Graeco-Roman civilization with those of Western Christianity fostered within the Roman Empire on the other. The author believes that through these pages Western scholars would clearly see how Chinese thoughts confronted with the Nestorian missionaries some twelve hundred years ago as they do to-day with the Christian missionaries.

Regarding the Nestorian sūtras, it was once rightly declared by the famous professor of the Kyoto Imperial University and one of the greatest authorities on the subject that "these manuscripts are hopelessly difficult and almost impossible for any one to read through and

interpret correctly." And nothing is farther from the author's mind than to pretend that his translation and interpretation of the manuscripts are perfectly correct. Nothing of the kind. On the contrary, the author is most sincerely humble minded to be conscious of all the imperfections and defects of his translations more than any one else, since he has spent more than twenty years, on and off, for deciphering some of these Chinese Nestorian manuscripts. All the author wants to plead for the shortcomings and defects of this book is that it is a work of a pioneer,—a pioneer who expresses himself in a borrowed tongue. And every pioneer knows that his labour is very crude and imperfect.

Such being the case, with all the imperfections and shortcomings in his mind, the author decided to publish this book as the needs of times urged him to do, for no problem at present attracts more attention at home and abroad than that of China, while the future of the Christian Missions in the Far East can only be lighted by the lamp of the past — the history of the Nestorian Church in China. And if this small book should prove a sort of the Nestorian lampadary to the Western scholar, the author's labour would be more than amply rewarded, whilst the most disinterested assistance given to the author by the great scholars and publishers at home and abroad would not be in vain.

The author, therefore, cannot conclude his preface without expressing his hearty thanks to Prof. Paul Pelliot, who most generously has given the author the permission to publish any of the documents he discovered in Central Asia, and to Sir Aurel Stein, Kt., who not only has given the author the permission to reproduce the

very rare painting he recovered at Tun-huang, but also took a great trouble in behalf of the author to secure formal permission from the British Museum through the kindness of Mr. Basil Gray of the same great Institution, to whom the author's acknowledgment is equally due, and to Dr. Ch'en Yüan, President of the Catholic University at Peking, and to the Reverend Father A. Mostaert of the Scheut Mission and F. A. Nixon, Esq., in China as well as to Mr. Ishida, formerly of the Oriental Library, Tokyo, who all very kindly put various important materials at the author's disposal. The author is also greatly indebted to Dr. Hsü Hung-pao, Director of the National Museum in the Former Imperial Palace, Peking, who with his young friends, Prof. Ch'ien, Prof Hsiang and Prof. Liu, visited Chou-chih in 1933 for the attestation of the author's statement concerning the Ta-ch'in or Nestorian Monastery there.

Again, the author cannot but express his deep appreciation of the kind permission he got from Messrs. Dietrich Reimer, the publishers of *Chotscho* by Dr. A von Le Coq, and Messrs. Walter de Gruyter & Co., the publisher of Prof. Grünwedel's *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, and Messrs. Luzac & Co., and the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund, the publishers of Blochet: *L'Histoire des Mongols*. All these publishers most disinterestedly have given the author free and generous permission to reproduce some of the rare pictures and photographs in their respective publications of great value.

Then again, the author is very grateful to the Council of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, who permitted the author to publish in this book the author's translations which appeared in the Journals in

1934-5 and 1936 for the firsttime and the authorities of the Catholic University of Peking, who gave the author the permission to publish the photograph of the Christian Tomb-stone in their possession as well as the author's translations published in the Bulletin of the Catholic University, 1936, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, who gave the permission to publish in this book the translation of the Nestorian Inscription from the author's Nestorian Monument in China.

With regard to the translation of the Syriac, the author most sincerely expresses his hearty thanks to Dr. A. Mingana and Mr. C. Moss, while the author owes very much to the Rev. R. D. M. Shaw, D. D., and the Rev. W. A. Richards, M. A., who very kindly took great pains to read through the greater part of the author's manuscripts. But the author regrets most exceedingly that he could not submit the work to the late Mrs. Margoliouth, the authoress of the famous Dictionary of the Syriac language, and Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Kt., Prof. S. H. Sayce, the Hon. Mrs. E. A. Gordon, Dr. F. X. Biallas, Dr. Kuwabara, Dr. Sekino and other friends who ever since 1905, have kindly encouraged the author assisting him very much from time to time until their entrance into a happy eternity and made his difficult work much easier.

Above all, the author's sincere gratitude is due to Dr. Hattori, the Director of the Tokyo Institute of the Academy of Oriental Culture, and Professor Emeritus at the Tokyo Imperial University and Member of the Imperial Academy, and Dr. K. Shiratori, Professor Emeritus at the Tokyo Imperial University and Member of the Imperial Academy, Dr. Takakusu, Professor Emeritus at

the Tokyo Imperial University and Member of the Imperial Academy, Dr. Taki, Professor Emeritus at the Tokyo Imperial University and Member of the Imperial Academy, Dr. Haneda, Professor of Oriental History at the Kyoto Imperial University and Member of the Imperial Academy, and Dr. D. Tokiwa, a great authority on Chinese Buddhism, and other members of the Academy of Oriental Culture, without whose great assistance this book would never have seen the light.

Such being the way in which the book has come to existence, it must be said that it is nothing but the embodiment of the good will of these great scholars and publishers at home and abroad, and if anything good should come out of the book, it is mainly due to them, whilst the author alone is responsible for the shortcomings and defects. And with all these words of thanks and apologies the author most respectfully sends the book to its account.

P. Y. Saeki.

The Academy of Oriental Culture, Tokyo,
The 28th of March, 1937.

CONTENTS

PART I

| | |
|---|-----|
| INTRODUCTION | 3 |
| CHAPTER I: PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE NESTORIAN INSCRIPTION | 11 |
| (I) Historical observations..... | 11 |
| (A) The Study of Nestorianism in China..... | 11 |
| (B) Various Historical and Topographical questions regarding the Monument besides the genuineness of the Stone..... | 18 |
| (1) Where is this famous Monument to be found at present | 18 |
| (2) What is the Monument like..... | 25 |
| (3) Where and when as well as how the Nestorian Monument was discovered... | 26 |
| (4) Where was the Nestorian Monument originally erected in 781 A. D..... | 33 |
| (5) Who and What was the author of the Inscription | 33 |
| (6) Who is the donator of the Monument | 37 |
| (7) The calligraphical writer of this In- scription, Lü Hsiu-yen..... | 37 |
| (II) Philological observations..... | 41 |
| (III) Doctrinal observations..... | 46 |
| CHAPTER II: (A) THE TRANSLATION OF THE NESTORIAN INSCRIPTION | 53 |
| NOTES | 78 |
| CHAPTER III: PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE ALOPÊN'S DOCUMENTS..... | 113 |
| (I) Historical observations | 114 |
| (II) Philological observations | 117 |
| (III) Doctrinal observations | 121 |
| CHAPTER IV: (B) THE HSÛ-T'ING MESSIAH SÛTRA..... | 125 |
| NOTES | 147 |
| CHAPTER V: (C) THE PARABLE PART II | 161 |
| NOTES | 169 |
| CHAPTER VI: (D) THE DISCOURSE ON THE ONENESS OF THE RULER OF THE UNIVERSE..... | 174 |
| NOTES | 194 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| CHAPTER VII: (E) THE LORD OF THE UNIVERSE'S DIS- | |
| COURSE ON ALMS-GIVING | 206 |
| NOTES | 231 |
| CHAPTER VIII: PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON BISHOP | |
| CYRIACUS'S DOCUMENTS AND SO-CALLED | |
| BISHOP CHING-CHING'S DOCUMENTS | 248 |
| (I) Historical observations..... | 248 |
| (II) Philological observations..... | 258 |
| (III) Doctrinal observations..... | 262 |
| CHAPTER IX: (F) THE NESTORIAN MOTWA HYMN IN | |
| ADORATION OF THE HOLY TRINITY... | 266 |
| NOTES | 269 |
| CHAPTER X: (G) THE TSUN-CHING (THE BOOK OF PRAISE) | 273 |
| NOTES | 277 |
| CHAPTER XI: (H) THE SÛTRA ON MYSTERIOUS REST | |
| AND JOY | 281 |
| NOTES | 303 |
| CHAPTER XII: (I) THE TA-CH'IN LUMINOUS RELIGION | |
| SÛTRA ON THE ORIGIN OF ORIGINS | 312 |
| " " " " | 313A—313D |
| NOTES | 314 |
| CHAPTER XIII: THE NESTORIAN HYMN IN ADORATION OF | |
| THE TRANSFIGURATION OF OUR LORD... | 314A |
| NOTES | 314C |
| CHAPTER XIV: PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE SYRIAC | |
| MANUSCRIPTS RECENTLY DISCOVERED | |
| AT PEKING | 315 |
| CHAPTER XV: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SYRIAC | |
| MANUSCRIPTS..... | 320 |
| CHAPTER XVI: PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE SYRIAC | |
| MANUSCRIPTS DISCOVERED (IN TURFAN) | 334 |
| CHAPTER XVII: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SYRIAC TEXTS | 337 |

PART II

| | |
|---|-----|
| INTRODUCTION | 349 |
| CHAPTER I: THE REMNANTS OF THE NESTORIAN | |
| MONASTERY TO BE SEEN TO-DAY | |
| IN CHOU-CHIH..... | 354 |
| CHAPTER II: THE ANCIENT NESTORIAN MONASTERY | |
| VISITED BY FOUR CHINESE SCHOLARS | |
| IN A. D. 1933..... | 390 |
| CHAPTER III: THE MYSTERIOUS REFRAINS IN THE | |
| COMPLETE WORKS BY LÛ YEN, THE | |
| FOUNDER OF A NEW TAOIST SECT | 400 |

| | | |
|---------|--|-----|
| CHAPTER | IV: THE NESTORIAN RELICS IN SEMIRJE- CHESK, TURFAN, TUN-HUANG AND OTHER PLACES | 408 |
| | (A) Nestorian Tomb-stones in Semirjechesk.... | 408 |
| | (B) The Stone Tablet of a Persian Prince..... | 416 |
| | (C) The Painting discovered at Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein, K. C. I. E..... | 416 |
| | (D) The Wall Painting discovered by Dr. A. von Le Coq at Chotscho | 417 |
| | (E) The Sketch taken by Prof. Grünwedel..... | 418 |
| CHAPTER | V: THE CHINO-MONGOLIAN INSCRIPTION..... | 419 |
| | (A) The Literal Translation | 419 |
| | (B) The Translation of the same..... | 421 |
| CHAPTER | VI: THE ORDOS CROSSES AND SOME OTHER NESTORIAN RELICS OUTSIDE THE GREAT WALL | 423 |
| | (A) The Ordos Crosses | 423 |
| | (B) The descendant of the Erküd tribe, ancient Nestorian people (Garma Bassaar)..... | 425 |
| | (C) The Nestorian Relics discovered by Mr. N. Egami near Pai-ling-miao in Sui-yüan.... | 426 |
| | (D) Nestorian Relics in Shih-chu-tzū-liang in Sui-yüan | 426 |
| | (E) The Funeral scene of Chagatai Khan | 427 |
| CHAPTER | VII: THE NESTORIAN RELICS IN PEKING AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD | 429 |
| | (A) The Nestorian Tomb-stone in the posses- sion of the Catholic University of Peking.... | 429 |
| | (B) The Map showing the old site where Shih-fang-yüan stood | 430 |
| | (C) The Nestorian Relics at Fang-shan | 430 |
| | (D) The Yüan Dynasty Monument | 433 |
| | (E) The Liao Dynasty Monument..... | 433 |
| CHAPTER | VIII: THE NESTORIAN RELICS IN SOUTH CHINA | 434 |
| | (A) The Nestorian Tomb-stone at Chiang-tu- hsien, Kiangsu Province | 434 |
| | (B) The Christian Relic discovered in Ch'üan- chou by Father Serafin Moya in 1906..... | 435 |
| | (C) The so-called Zaitun Crosses to be found in the old book by Father Immanuel Diaz | 436 |
| | (1) One discovered near Wên-ling..... | 436 |
| | (2) One discovered near the Tung-ch'an Monastery | 437 |

| | | |
|-----------------|---|-----|
| | (3) One discovered near the Shui-lu Monastery | 438 |
| CHAPTER | IX: THE NESTORIAN RELICS DISCOVERED IN MANCHURIA..... | 440 |
| | (A) The Nestorian tile crosses' discovered by Mr. S. Umemoto | 440 |
| | (B) The bronze cross discovered by Mr. K. Susa | 441 |
| | (C) The Nestorian Tomb-stones discovered near Ch'ien-shan | 442 |
| CHAPTER | X: THE NESTORIAN RELICS IN JAPAN | 444 |
| | (A) The steel helmet of a Mongolian soldier.... | 444 |
| | (B) The Tomb of the Mongolian Envoys executed at Kamakura together with a Mohammedan soldier and one Uigur Secretary in the suite..... | 445 |
| CONCLUSION..... | | 448 |

PART III

Appendix No. I.

| | |
|--|-----|
| THE STONE-TABLET SET UP IN MEMORY OF PRINCE ABRAHAM | 453 |
|--|-----|

Appendix No. II.

| | |
|--|-----|
| THE IMPERIAL EDICT OF THE EMPEROR T'AI-TSUNG (T'ANG-HUI-YAO, VOL. 49) | 456 |
|--|-----|

Appendix No. III.

| | |
|---|-----|
| THE IMPERIAL EDICT OF THE EMPEROR HSÜAN- TSUNG CONFERRING THE OFFICIAL NAME OF "THE TACH'IN MONASTERY" ON "THE PERSIAN MONAS- TERY" FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 745 A. D. (T'ANG-HUI-YAO, VOL. 49)..... | 457 |
|---|-----|

Appendix No. IV.

| | |
|---|-----|
| QUOTATIONS FROM "THE CH'ANGAN TOPOGRAPHY" (CH'ANGAN TOPOGRAPHY, VOL. 10) | 457 |
|---|-----|

Appendix No. V.

| | |
|---|-----|
| QUOTATIONS FROM "TS'É-FU-YÜAN-KUEI" CONCERN- ING A PERSIAN ENVOY AND A NESTORIAN BISHOP (TS'É-FU-YÜAN-KUEI, VOL. 971 AND 975) | 459 |
|---|-----|

Appendix No. VI.

- THE PROTEST OF LIU-TZÉ, MEMBER OF CENSORATE,
AGAINST THE ACTIVITY OF THE NESTORIAN
BISHOP CHI-LIEH (TS'Ê-FU-YÜAN-KUEL, VOL. 546).....460

Appendix No. VII.

- (A) DR. TAKAKUSU'S ARTICLE ON ADAM, THE
NESTORIAN CHOREPISCOPUS, WHO COMPOSED
THE FAMOUS INSCRIPTION.....462
- (B) WHAT THE BUDDHIST PRIEST YÜAN-CHAO
WROTE ABOUT THE NESTORIAN BISHOP, ADAM...466

Appendix No. VIII.

- THE PROCLAMATION ORDERING THE DESTRUCTION
OF THE BUDDHIST MONASTERIES
(KU-WEN-YÜAN-CHIEN, CHÊNG-CHI, VOL. 29)471

Appendix No. IX.

- QUOTATIONS FROM TZŪ-CHIH T'UNG-CHIEN, (i. e.,
THE CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE T'ANG
DYNASTY (VOL. 248: PART 64)474

Appendix No. X.

- A QUOTATION FROM THE INSCRIPTION OF A
BUDDHIST MONASTERY (重巖寺).....475

Appendix No. XI.

- (A) TU FU (杜甫) ON THE STONE BAMBOO-SPROUTS
AT CH'ÊNG-TU (POETICAL WORKS OF TU FU,
VOL. 7)476
- (B) WU TS'ÊNG ON THE POET TU'S "THE STONE
BAMBOO-SPROUTS" (NÊNG-KAI-CHI-MAN-LU,
VOL. 6)478

Appendix No. XII.

- THE LIFE OF MA CH'ING-HSIANG (i. e., MAR SARGIS)
(THE HISTORY OF THE CHIN DYNASTY, VOL. 124).....480

Appendix No. XIII.

- (A) THE INSCRIPTION ON A MONUMENT ERECTED
ON THE SIDE OF THE AVENUE LEADING TO THE
TOMB OF THE HONOURABLE MA, THE GOVERNOR
OF HÊNG-CHOU (I-SHAN-WÊN-CHI, VOL. 24).....483
- (B) THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MA FAMILY
(CHIN-HUA-HUANG-HSIEN-SHÊNG-WÊN-CHI, VOL.
43).....488

Appendix No. XIV.

- THE LIFE OF Ê-NA-KO-ERH (ORIGINALLY
YÜEH-NAI-HO) (THE HISTORY OF THE YÜAN
DYNASTY, VOL. 134)489

Appendix No. XV.

- (A) THE EMPEROR HSIEN-TSUNG OR MANGU KHAN'S
OPINIONS ON BUDDHISM AND OTHER RELIGIONS
(PIEN-WEI-LU, VOL. 3)494
- (B) A QUOTATION FROM "CH'ANG-CH'UN'S TRAVELS"
(HSI-YU-LU, VOL. 2).....496

Appendix No. XVI.

- (A) CH'UNG-FU-SSŪ, THE GOVERNMENT BUREAU
CONTROLLING OVER THOSE WHO PRAY FOR THE
FELICITY OF THE EMPEROR AND THE EMPIRE
(EXCEPT THE TAOISTS AND THE BUDDHISTS WHO
WERE PUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF CHI-HSIEN-
YŪAN (集賢院) (i. e., COUNCIL OF THE WISE MEN)
(THE HISTORY OF THE YŪAN DYNASTY, VOL. 89) 497
- (B) MAR MOSES IN THE CH'UNG-FU-SSŪ
(THE HISTORY OF THE YŪAN DYNASTY, VOL. 113) 498
- (C) THE RANK OF THE CH'UNG-FU-SSŪ
(THE HISTORY OF THE YŪAN DYNASTY, VOL. 84) 498
- (D) THE SALARIES FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE
CH'UNG-FU-SSŪ (THE HISTORY OF THE YŪAN
DYNASTY, VOL. 96).....499

Appendix No. XVII.

- THE POST-HORSE CARRYING WINE BOTTLES ON
THE BACK (THE DIGEST OF THE LAWS AND REGU-
LATIONS OF THE YŪAN DYNASTY, VOL. 36)499

Appendix No. XVIII.

- REGARDING YEH-LI-K'O-WĒN RELIGION (THE DIGEST
OF THE LAWS AND REGULATIONS OF THE YŪAN
DYNASTY, VOL. 33).....506

Appendix No. XIX.

- THE LIFE OF AI-HSIEH (阿錫貢) (THE HISTORY OF
THE YŪAN DYNASTY, VOL. 134).....508

Appendix No. XX.

- (A) THE INSCRIPTION OF THE TA-HSING-KUO-SSŪ
(CHIH-SHUN-CHĒN-KIANG-CHI, VOL. 9).....511
- (B) THE OLD SITE OF A NESTORIAN MONASTERY
AT HANG-CHOU (HSI-HU-YU-LAN-CHIH, VOL. 16)516

Appendix No. XXI.

- PASSAGES REFERRING TO THE EXISTENCE OF
THE NESTORIANS UNDER THE NAME OF YEH-LI-
K'O-WĒN 也里可溫 OR TARSA (透屑 OR 達娑) FROM
THE CHINESE BOOKS AND EXTANT INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE YŪAN DYNASTY 517

APPENDICES

7

Appendix No. XXII
A TRANSLATION FROM CHO-KÊNG-LU (CHO-KÊNG-LU,
VOL. 2)519

Appendix No. XXIII.
THE SITE OF THE NESTORIAN CHURCH AT HANG-
CHOW BY DR. STURTON520

PART IV

CHINESE TEXT.....1-96

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| | Facing page |
|---|--------------|
| 1. The Painting recovered by Sir Aurel Stein, Kt., at Tun-huang in 1908..... | Frontispiece |
| 2. The Nestorian Monument standing at the back of the Chin-shêng-ssu previous to October, 1907..... | 10 |
| 3. The Nestorian Inscription with the names of the priests on both sides of the Monument and in the lower part of the same | 52 |
| | page |
| 4. The Syriac name and title of Priest Adam (A) | 70 |
| 5. The Syriac name and title of Patriarch Hannan Ishu II (B)..... | 70 |
| 6. The Syriac writings in the lower part of the monument..... | 71 |
| 7. The names in Syriac and Chinese on the left side of the monument..... | 74 |
| 8. The names in Syriac and Chinese on the right side of the monument..... | 77 |
| | Facing page |
| 9. The first eleven lines of the original manuscript of the Parable, Part I..... | 160 |
| 10. The first eleven lines of the original manuscript of the Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe Part II..... | 174 |
| 11. The first part of the original manuscript of the Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving, corresponding to the sixth and seventh Chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew..... | 206 |
| 12. The Nestorian Hymn discovered by Prof. Pelliot at Tun-huang in 1908..... | 266 |
| 13. The Nestorian Tsun-ching (i. e. Diptychs) discovered by Prof. Pelliot at Tun-huang in 1908..... | 272 |
| | page |
| 14. The last thirty lines of the original Manuscript of the Nestorian Sûtra on the Origin of Origins | 312—313 |
| 15. The Nestorian Hymn in adoration of the Transfiguration of our Lord | 314—314A |
| 16. The Syriac Manuscripts discovered at Peking | 321—332 |
| 17. The Syriac Manuscripts discovered by Dr. A. von Le Coq and transcribed by Dr. E. Sachau in 1905..... | 337—345 |
| 18. The old map showing the Ta-ch'in Monastery..... | 355 |
| | Facing page |
| 19. Sketch showing the position of the Nestorian Monas- | |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

9

| | | | |
|-----|---|---------|-------------|
| | tery at Chou-chih | 390 | |
| | | | page |
| 20. | The Buddhist Charm found in the Nestorian Tower | 396 | |
| 21. | The Chinese Texts containing the mysterious refrains (in Chaps. I and II) (A)..... | 404 | |
| 22. | The Chinese Texts containing the mysterious refrains (in Chaps. III and IV) (B) | 407 | Facing page |
| 23. | The tentative restoration of the original painting discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, Kt., at Tun-huang in 1908, by Mr. Furuyama, an artist..... | 408 | page |
| 24. | The Tomb-stone found in Semiriejchesk | 410 | |
| 25. | The Tomb-stone found in Semiriejchesk..... | 412 | |
| 26. | The Tomb-stone found in Semiriejchesk | 414 | |
| 27. | The Stone Tablet of Prince Abraham | 416 | Facing page |
| 28. | The wall painting discovered by Dr. A. von Le Coq at Chotscho in 1905 | 416 | page |
| 29. | Prof. Grünwedel's sketch..... | 418 | Facing page |
| 30. | The Chino-Mongolian Inscription with the interlineal English translation by the late Mr. Alexander Wylie..... | 418 | page |
| 31. | The Chino-Mongolian Inscription | 420 | |
| 32. | The Ordos Crosses..... | 423—424 | Facing page |
| 33. | The Nestorian relics discovered by Mr. N. Egami in 1935 near Pai-ling Miao, in Sui-yüan Province, China | 424 | Page |
| 34. | Garma Bassaar | 426 | Facing page |
| 35. | The Nestorian relics discovered at Shih-chu-tzu-liang, now preserved at the Bishop's Residence at Hsi-wan-tzu, Sui-yüan Province, China | 426 | Page |
| 36. | The funeral scene of Chagatai Khan..... | 428 | Facing page |
| 37. | The marble with the Cross and honey-suckle, excavated from the old site of Shih-fang-yüan, near Peking..... | 428 | |

| | Page |
|--|-------------|
| 38. The map showing the Shih-fang-yüan in the centre..... | 430 |
| | Facing page |
| 39. The marble with the Nestorian Cross with the Syriac writings, discovered by Sir Reginald Johnston, Kt., at Fang-shan in 1919..... | 430 |
| 40. The marble with the Nestorian Cross without the Syriac, discovered by Sir Reginald Johnston Kt., at Fang-shan in 1919..... | 430 |
| | page |
| 41. The front and the side of the Nestorian Stones discovered at Fang-shan and the sides of the two blocks..... | 431 |
| 42. The two blocks put together to take the rubbing thereof | 432 |
| | Facing page |
| 43. The Inscription with the date of 1365 A. D., describing how the temple came to be named "the Cross Monastery" by the Imperial Orders, found within the premises where the Nestorian relics (Plate XVIII) were found..... | 432 |
| 44. The Inscription with the date of 960 A. D., describing the existence of the Stone "ch'uang" (石幢), found standing by the side of the Nestorian relics (Plate XVIII) | 432 |
| | Page |
| 45. The Fragment of the Nestorian Tomb-stone..... | 434 |
| 46. The Christian relic in Ch'üan-chou..... | 435 |
| 47. The Zaitun Crosses..... | 436—437 |
| 48. The tile crosses found near An-shan-t'ien, Manchuria..... | 440 |
| 49. The bronze cross discovered by Mr. K. Susa at the alleged old site of Prince Nai-yen in 1936..... | 442 |
| | Facing page |
| 50. The Nestorian Tomb-stones with scenes of the Nativity, discovered near Ch'ien-shan, the South Manchuria Railway Station | 442 |
| 51. The Nestorian Tomb-stones with scenes of the Nativity, discovered near Ch'ien-shan..... | 442 |
| | Page |
| 52. The steel helmet with the Cross, at Fukuoka, Japan | 444 |
| 53. The Tomb recently erected in memory of the Envoys | 445 |
| 54. The old Tomb of the Envoys executed at Kamakura, Japan | 446 |

LIST OF MAPS

| | Facing page |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Chart showing the Fall and Decline of the Nestorian Church | 348 |
| 2. Map showing the Over-land Communication between the East and the West during the Middle Ages. | 350 |
| 3. Map showing the routes between China and Europe passed by the famous travellers during the Yüan Dynasty..... | 352 |
| 4. Map showing the Distribution of the Nestorian Churches. | 354 |
| 5. Map showing the Places in China, Mongolia and Manchuria where the Nestorian people lived..... | 356 |

THE
NESTORIAN DOCUMENTS AND RELICS
IN CHINA

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PART I

THE NESTORIAN DOCUMENTS
IN CHINA

INTRODUCTION

Hereby we purpose to write a small book on the Nestorian documents recently discovered in China by translating the Texts with preliminary remarks and annotations or foot-notes added thereto. By the words "The Nestorian documents" recently discovered in China originally we meant in the first place those Nestorian writings in Chinese only and in the second place those which have been discovered in China during the past three decades of our century. So we might have left out here all the Syriac manuscripts or any other Nestorian relics that have not been discovered either in China proper or in Chinese Turkistan. But we had the pleasure of translating the two Syriac manuscripts recently discovered in China into Japanese by the end of 1935, and now we feel it our bounden duty to add them here again translated into English as these Syriac manuscripts are nothing but the Nestorian documents also discovered in

China. Then as for the Nestorian relics we thought it better to treat them apart from the documents and we assigned to them the Part II of this book, since these relics are as good proofs as the Nestorian documents in showing us localities where the Nestorian community once existed.

We shall, however, exclude the Chinese writings which are indirectly related to the Nestorians in China unless they are so very important as to throw some light on the dark period of Nestorian history in China, since these materials, although they are in Chinese, are not the direct Nestorian documents. Generally speaking they are the materials written neither by the Nestorians in China nor those Chinamen who had any good knowledge of Christianity, whilst the number of those indirect materials is "legion." So we have selected some good ones out of all these and put them in the Appendices.

With regard to the direct Chinese Nestorian documents we are told on a very good authority that more than thirty of the Nestorian sūtras were translated into Chinese by the end of the T'ang Dynasty. (See the Tsun-ching, *infra*). And out of those thirty or more books we are glad to say that the originals of nine documents which we have here translated into English are extant in Japan and China. They were all discovered in China within the last three decades, although the rest are not yet discovered. Consequently, we shall confine ourselves in this book only to these direct Nestorian documents that are recently discovered since they were originally composed in Syriac or in Persian and then translated into Chinese by the Nestorian missionaries who came to China during the T'ang Dynasty. We shall,

therefore, have to discuss the Nestorian documents in Chinese first and then shall come to those in Syriac afterward for convenience' sake. And in doing so we have to take up the two Nestorian documents discovered by Prof. Paul Pelliot in 1908 at Tun-huang (燉煌), which are now so well known by the title of (I) "The Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion San-wei-mêng-to-tsan" (大秦景教三威蒙度讚), and which title may be literally translated "The Nestorian Three Majestic Motwa Anthem," but which we once translated "The Nestorian Three *imuda* Hymn" meaning "The Nestorian Baptismal Hymn in adoration of the Trinity." We did so on the ground that the Chinese words "Wei-mêng-to" (威蒙度) in the title are pronounced "Wi-mung-do" or "I-mung-dua" in the ancient Chinese sound and it corresponds to the Japanese sound "i-mu-do," which again corresponds to "I-mu-da" or "'muda" in the Syriac ܐܡܘܕܐ (imuda or 'muda) meaning "Baptism." But now we have come to the conclusion that the Chinese "Wei-mêng-to" must be divided into "wei" (威) and "mêng-to" (蒙度), the one being "Majestic" and the other probably the Chinese corruption of the Syriac Motwa (ܡܘܬܘܐ), meaning "Anthem sung whilst all sit." (II) "Tsun-ching" (尊經), which literally means "Honour-sûtra" but which is no other than the Diptychs of the Chinese Nestorian Church used in "Praying for the living and for the dead," as we read in the Nestorian Inscription.

Next to these documents discovered by Prof. Pelliot, we shall have to discuss also the Nestorian documents which came from China to the hand of Mr. Tomeoka in 1916, now commonly known by the name of "I-shên-lun" (一神論) as justly christened by Dr. Haneda, Pro-

fessor of the Kyoto Imperial University, several years ago, but which really consists of three different Nestorian *logidia* or "tracts" in Chinese, viz., (a) (III) "Yu-ti-erh" (喻第二) literally meaning "The Parable, Part II," (b) (IV) "I-t'ien-lun-ti-i" (一天論第一), which literally means "S'astra on one Deva" and may well be translated "The Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe, Part I," (c) (V) "Shih-tsun-pu-shih-lun-ti-san" (世尊布施論第三) literally meaning "The Lôkadjyêchṭha's Discourse on 'Dana' or 'Exhibition of Charity'" which may well be translated "The Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving."

Then we shall have to dwell on the Nestorian document called (VI) "Hsü-t'ing-mi-shih-so-ching" (序聽迷詩所經), but the "so" (所) in the title ought to be corrected "ho" (訶) and may well be translated "Jesus-Messiah Sûtra." This very important Nestorian writing was procured by Dr. Takakusu (文學博士高楠順次郎氏) from a Chinaman in 1922, right after the great earthquake of Tokyo and its neighbourhood.

And then we have to come to the three important Nestorian documents respectively known by the title of (VII) "Chih-hsüan-an-lo-ching" (志玄安樂經) which may well be translated "The Sûtra on Mysterious Rest and Joy" and (VIII) "Ta-ch'in-ching-chiao-hsüan-yüan-pên-ching" (大秦景教宣元本經) which may well be translated "The Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion Sûtra on the Origin of Origins" or "the Nestorian Teaching on the Origin of Origins," and (IX) The Nestorian Hymn in adoration of the Transfiguration of Our Lord.

But to these eight Nestorian documents in Chinese bearing the name respectively either of Sûtra (經 ching)

or of S'astra (論 lun) besides that of Hymn or that of *logidion*, we shall have to add (X) the famous Nestorian Inscription discovered a little over three hundred years ago, for no work on the Chinese Nestorianism is complete without the very important Inscription since this is the only Nestorian document we have at present which gives the history of the ups and downs of the Nestorian Church in China ever since its Mission headed by Bishop Alopên arrived at Hsian-fu in 635 A. D., until the time in which the Monument was set up in 781 A. D. And we believe that no one can rightly understand the full significance of all these important Nestorian documents in Chinese or in Syriac which we are going to discuss here, unless one is fairly well versed in the Inscription. And really it is not too much to say that the study of Nestorianism in China, as it began, ends with the Nestorian Inscription. Thus we shall make the Nestorian Inscription serve a good sort of clue or introduction to all other Nestorian documents recently discovered in China. And in doing so, we shall have to dwell at length on the Inscription because it will throw abundant light on the nine Nestorian documents, whilst these nine documents will also in their turn serve to verify many points in the Inscription which so far have not been proved by any other documents.

Such being the case, in this book we shall first take up the Nestorian Monument and shall have to give the translation of the Inscription, and then reversing the chronological order of the discovery or acquisition of each document, we shall take these nine Nestorian documents in Chinese, according to the chronological order of composition of the Texts as ascertained by various proofs,

and by giving their translations and notes together with some critical remarks.

Lastly—but not the least—we have to discuss the two Syriac manuscripts in question. One was found in a building attached to the Imperial Palace at Peking some twenty years ago and the other at Turfan in 1908. But, first of all, we shall divide these ten kinds of the Nestorian documents in Chinese, viz., one Inscription and nine documents, into three or four classes according to the authors. The first class we shall call Bishop Alopên (阿羅本) or Abraham's documents, the second we shall call Bishop Cyriacus's documents, and the third we call Priest Ching-ching's (景淨) or Adam's documents for convenience's sake, although the latter contains one document called "Tsun-ching" (尊經), which is commonly believed to have been composed by Priest Ching-ching, but which could not be so.

Needless to say, the first class of the documents or Bishop Alopên's belong to the beginning of the 7th century, and the second to the beginning of the 8th, whilst the third or Adam's documents belong to the end of the 8th century.

To the Alopên's documents belong

- (I) The Jesus-Messiah Sûtra (序應迷詩所經)
- (II) The Parable, Part II (喻第二)
- (III) The Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe, Part I (一神論第一)
- (IV) The Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Almsgiving (世尊布施論第三),

To the Bishop Cyriacus's documents we may assign

- (I) The Nestorian Hymn in adoration of the Holy Trinity

- (II) The Nestorian Hymn in Adoration of the Transfiguration of Our Lord
- (III) The Sûtra on Mysterious Rest and Joy (志玄安樂經)
- (IV) The Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion Sûtra on the Origin of Origins (大秦景教宣元至本經),

whilst to the so called Ching-ching's documents belong

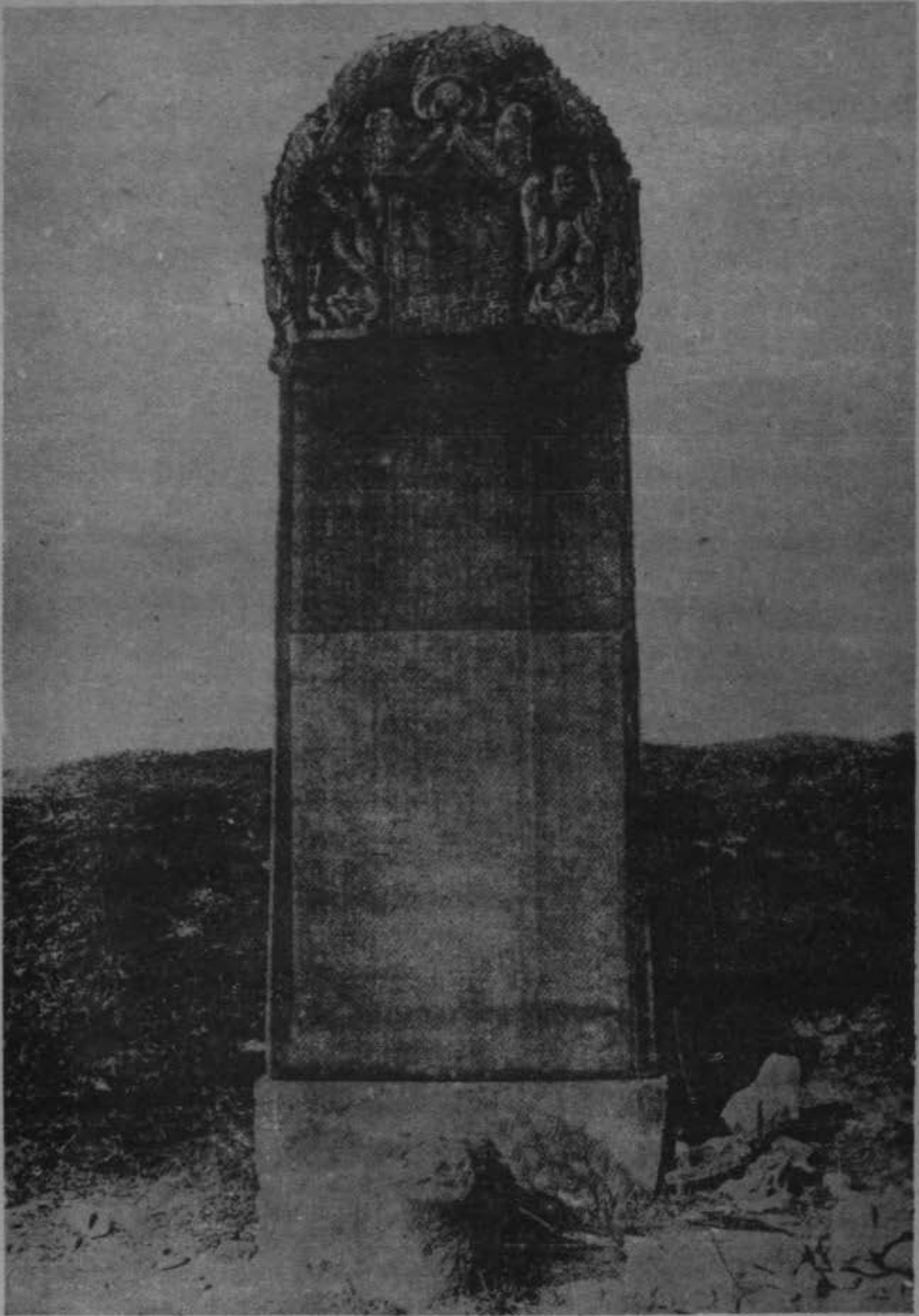
- (I) The Nestorian Inscription (大秦景教流行中國碑)
- (II) The Nestorian Diptychs (尊經) (strictly speaking, this ought not to be included among Priest Ching-ching's documents. For reasons see below.)

Consequently our order of discussion will be as follows :

- (A) The Nestorian Monument and Inscription
- (B) The Jesus-Messiah Sûtra
- (C) The Parable, Part II
- (D) The Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe, Part I (lit., "S'astra on one Deva")
- (E) The Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving (lit., The Lôkadjêchtha's Discourse on 'Dana' or 'Exhibition of Charity')
- (F) The Nestorian Motwa Hymn in Adoration of the Holy Trinity
- (G) The Nestorian Diptychs
- (H) The Sûtra on Mysterious Rest and Joy (lit., Sûtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy)
- (I) The Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion Sûtra on the Origin of Origins.
- (J) The Nestorian Hymn in Adoration of the Transfiguration of Our Lord.

After these Nestorian documents in Chinese we shall take up the Syriac manuscripts. But, as for the Syriac

manuscripts in question there is no knowing of the author who composed them. Nor do we know when and how they found their way into the Chinese territory. So we shall give only the translations with short preliminary remarks.



The Nestorian Monument standing at the back of the
Chin-shêng-ssü previous to October, 1907

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE NESTORIAN INSCRIPTION

In making preliminary remarks we shall make some historical and topographical observations to prove the genuineness of the Nestorian Monument, and shall have to give the description of the monument and discuss the old problems regarding the date and the place of the discovery of the stone, etc., and then, by making some philological observations we shall point out all the foreign words, such as Syriac, Sanscrit and Persian and others to be found in the Inscription and finally we shall turn our attention to some singular doctrinal points expressed in the Inscription. Consequently, our preliminary remarks will be divided into three, viz., historical, philological and doctrinal observations.

(I) Historical observations.

(A) The study of Nestorianism in China began, as it ends, with the Nestorian Monument. The whole study of the subject, therefore, may be said to depend entirely on the genuineness of the Nestorian Monument, and consequently a previous question to be settled is the genuineness of the Stone. And this naturally obliges us to dwell upon the genuineness of the Inscription since Western scholars have expressed their opinions against the genuineness of the Stone and its Inscription though there was no such doubt among the Chinese and Japanese scholars.

Prior to the nineteenth century, La Craze and Voltaire in France, Bishop Horne in England, and others contend-

ed that it could not be genuine, and they challenged it as "a Jesuit forgery."

Later on in the nineteenth century, Prof. Neumann of Munich, and Stanislas Julien of Paris, the great sinologist, who translated Hsüan-chuang's (Hiuen-tsiang's) Travels, and others, threw doubts more or less on the genuineness of the Stone; and in 1853, Prof. E. E. Salisbury published an article re-examining the opinion he had expressed in October, 1852, at a meeting of American Orientalists, "that the so-called Nestorian Monument was now generally regarded by the learned as a forgery."

Prof. Salisbury insisted that "seeing is believing," and that, since he had met no one who had seen it in China, nor had any of his friends ever met such an one, he was not sure whether such a thing did actually exist in the interior of China or not!

On the other hand, great sinologists like Alexander Wylie and James Legge of England, and M. G. Pauthier of France, confirmed its genuineness from various sources. Mr. Wylie published a translation of the Inscription at Shanghai in 1854. He then published in detail a series of discussions based on the consensus of Chinese authorities and on a great variety of historical and topographical notices, besides that of calligraphical notices of the T'ang era, and thus he contributed a great deal to prove the genuineness of the Stone and its Inscription.

In 1888, Dr. Legge published his translation of the Inscription together with the lecture which he delivered upon it at Oxford. As regards the Chinese text and translation, Dr. Legge's work stands very high. Short and insufficient as the lecture is, it is very suggestive

and truly helpful, and he also did very much in establishing the genuineness of the Nestorian Monument.

The time has changed and man's knowledge has been widened very much now. We do not hear any thing said against the genuineness of the Nestorian Inscription for the last fifty years. On the contrary, many scholars who published books on the Stone, all contributed some evidences or other to prove the genuineness of the Monument, and by the end of the 19th century, the so-called "Forgery" of the Stone or the falsification of the Inscription entirely and completely disappeared, thanks to the labour of Father H. Havret and Dr. Heller and others.

Apart from the authenticity of the Nestorian Inscription, in 1902 Dr. J. B. Chabot edited and translated "the Synodicon Orientale." In this book we can now read the names of Bishops who attended the Eastern Council held in 424 A. D., representing the Bishoprics of Ray, Naishabur, Herat, Gilan, and Merv which were four large towns not far from the River Oxus. And in 1908 Dr. A. Mingana published another important book titled "The History of Messiah-Zekha," whilst the same important book was again published by Dr. E. Sachau in "Abhandlungen d. Preus. Akad. d. Wiss. (1915)" under the title of the "Chronik von Arbela," besides the same famous scholar published "Zur Ausbreitung des Christentum in Asien." Owing to these and other important works at present we are in a position to speak of the subject of Nestorianism in Central Asia and in China proper with much more assurance than our predecessors even dreamed of thirty-five years ago.

And it is very interesting to notice that the very names of towns, where the Nestorian Bishoprics existed

in the 5th century, were also mentioned in the Chinese books which were written as early as the middle of the 5th century. For instance, the name of Merv is mentioned as Mu-lu (木鹿) in the After-Han-Book (後漢書) written in 445 A. D. As for the name of Gilan it is mentioned as Ch'i-lan (岐蘭) in the History of the T'ang Dynasty (648—907 A. D.) (The New T'ang Book (新唐書) written in 1060 A. D.) as one of the Western Lands which had friendly intercourse with the Imperial Court of T'ang. All these records in Chinese history, scanty as they are, agree with what is preserved in the Western records and make us appreciate more and more what St. Jerome (c. 346 A. D. —420 A. D.) wrote about the conversion of the Huns and Scythians: — “Hunni discunt Psalterium, Scythae frigora fervent calore fidei,” as well as what Bardaisan and Eusebius of Caesaria wrote about Christians existing in Bactria (i. e., Balkh), Parthia, and Gilan.

Besides these cultural streams which run overland between China and the Roman Orient, there were other overland communications of commerce between the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea and China which had been opened by assiduous Syrians and other peoples from very early times——much earlier than generally supposed ——as proved by Dr. Hirth in his famous book “China and the Roman Orient” (1888). And what Horace (65—8 B. C.) said of India may also correspondingly be applied to the relation of China and the Roman Orient. “Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos!” And if we compare this with what St. Jerome expressed, “Negotiatoribus et avidissimus mortalium Syris!” we can perceive how early commercial or economic com-

munications were opened between the East and the West.

Such being the circumstances under which both cultural and commercial overland communications were carried on between the East and the West, we should not wonder at all even if we happen to find in the Chinese Books the name of Marcus Antonius, the Roman Emperor, nor have we to be astonished at our finding records which will show that the immigration of great Nestorian families into the Chinese territory took place as early as 578 A. D., more than half a century before the Nestorian Mission arrived at Ch'angan in 635 A. D., as mentioned in our Inscription.

Besides these indirect proofs or circumstantial evidences, we have many more direct or positive evidences to prove the existence of the Nestorians in China apart from our Inscription. For instance, a Buddhist book written in 788 A. D., mentions the name of Ching-ching (Priest Adam) as "Persian Priest of the Nestorian Monastery" (*vide infra*). Again in 824 A. D., the famous Shu Yüan-yü (舒元興) composing an Inscription set up in the premises of the Ch'ung-yen-ssü (重巖寺) said: "Among the foreigners who came (to China) there are the Mo-ni (i. e., Manichean), the Ta-ch'in (i. e., Nestorians) and the Hsien (i. e., Zoroastrians). But if all the monasteries of these three foreign religious bodies combined, their number cannot come up to the number of Buddhist monasteries in our small village." Furthermore, in 845 A. D., the Imperial Edict was issued by the Emperor Wutsung, by which the Buddhist temples and monasteries were destroyed. In this Edict we read: "As to the monks and nuns who are aliens and who teach the religions of foreign countries, we command that these

over three thousand people of Ta-ch'in (i. e., Nestorians) and Mu-hu (i. e., Mohammedans) and Hsien (i. e., Zoroastrians) to return to the secular life and cease to confuse our national customs and manners," etc. And it was also reported that one hundred and twenty thousands of Jews, Nestorians and Mohammedans lost their lives on the capture of Canton by the army of the Rebel chief Huang Ch'ao (黃巢) in 878 A. D.

Over and beyond all these evidences, in 1908 Prof. Pelliot, as already referred to, discovered two very important Nestorian documents at Tun-huang, whilst a little later six other important Nestorian documents were discovered in China, most probably also in Tun-huang, which we have here translated. Besides such as these, Sir Aurel Stein also discovered a very important image in colours on silk, which may be seen in the frontispiece of this book. Furthermore, two big marbles, one with a Nestorian cross only, but the other with Syriac writings around the cross, were discovered by Sir Reginald Johnston in the summer of 1922 at Fang-shan, near Peking. (*vide infra*) Apart from all these, many other Nestorian relics—mostly crosses carved on the marbles or granites—and Syriac manuscripts as already referred to have been discovered. Such being the case, it is most natural that the so-called "Jesuit forgery" of the Nestorian Monument should entirely disappear before all these recent discoveries made in China. In consequence, our study of the subject must be said now to be based on a very much sounder basis than it was before

But the genuineness of the Nestorian Monument is one thing, whilst the reasonableness of what is written in it is quite another. Some of the subjects considered

in the Inscription by the author of the 8th century naturally may not stand against the test of the present geographical knowledge which we have in the beginning of the 20th century. For instance, we cannot endorse the description of Ta-ch'in Country given in the Inscription. It is, therefore, no wonder that Dr. Legge, despite all his knowledge of China and things Chinese, regretfully says: "I could wish this paragraph about Ta-ch'in had not been put in the Inscription, and it is difficult to perceive the object which it serves." We partly agree with this great sinologue. But apart from its original aim and purpose, does not this paragraph concerning Ta-ch'in reveal to us the progress of the world in the course of twelve hundred years? It was once so believed by the Nestorians and others in China!

Besides, such a description as this will show us how keen the missionaries were in describing the good things in their homeland. The land of Buddha had hitherto been described as the best country in the world, but now we find the Land of the Nestorian Religion described as the ideal country by the author of the Nestorian Inscription, and in doing so he is only quoting old Chinese books.

Finally, some of the expressions in the Inscription must be construed *cum grano salis*. For instance, "the Emperor Kao-tsung caused Monasteries of the Luminous Religion to be erected in every prefecture," etc., as we know that a similar thing is recorded in the Chinese history about the Empress Wu who "caused monasteries of the Great Cloud Religion (大雲寺) to be erected in every prefecture" in 690 A. D., and which no one can believe literally.

But except these few points, we must say that the

Inscription is the unique material giving the history of Nestorians in China for nearly 150 years—from 635 A. D. to 781 A. D.—and will remain invaluable as long as the world will exist and the history of Christianity in China be studied.

(B) Various historical and topographical questions regarding when and where and how the Monument was discovered, etc., besides its genuineness.

After the genuineness of our Inscription was once established beyond any dispute, it is our duty to speak about various questions which may naturally arise regarding the Stone and its Inscription. Among these questions we shall speak (1) about the place where the Monument is to be found at present, and (2) what is the Monument like, and (3) where and when and how was the Monument discovered, and (4) where was the Nestorian Monument erected in 781 A. D., and (5) who was the author of the Inscription, and (6) who was the donator of the Monument, and (7) who was the penman named Lü Hsiu-yen, and (8) what was the chief purpose of erecting the Monument?

(1) Where is this famous Monument to be found at present?

At present, this famous Stone can be seen at Hsian-fu (西安府), the great and most historic city of all China. The name of no other place in the Far East has been so differently pronounced as that of this ancient capital: Si-gan, Sengan, Si-ngan, Hsingan. It had been Ching-chao (京兆) or Ching-chao-fu (京兆府); Yung-chou (雍州); Shang-tu (上都). It was during the Ming Dynasty

that the city was for the first time denominated Hsian-fu (西安府), which was so differently spelled Hsi-an, Si-an, Si-gan, Sengan, Si-ngan, Hsingan, as is well known. In the eastern part of Hsian-fu which is known as Hsien-ning (咸寧) or Wang-nien Hsien (萬年縣), there is a place called Pei-lin (碑林) which means "the Forest of Tablets," where the Chinese keep not only all the precious historic monuments of the city and its neighbourhood, but also some from other cities. Since October 2, 1907, our precious Monument has been laid in the Pei-lin, well protected from wind and rain as well as from the mischievous hands of the children and careless visitors.

The late Dr. Kuwabara, Professor of Chinese Classics and Oriental History in the Kyoto Imperial University, who saw the very Stone standing on its old site in the back-yard of the temple ground, and by a fortunate chance witnessed its actual removal to the Pei-lin, "the Forest of Tablets" for preservation, thus describes it:

"In the autumn of 1907 A. D., intending to make an excursion to Hsian-fu and its neighbouring places of renown, we left Peking for Hsian on the 3rd of September. After spending sixteen days on the way, we finally reached Hsian-fu on the 19th of the same month. And spending a week in the ancient capital for sight-seeing and investigating many things in connection with our historical studies there, we finally went to the Chin-shêng-ssü (金勝寺), the Buddhist temple, behind which the famous Nestorian Stone stood.

"This Chin-shêng-ssü temple stands at a place a little more than a mile outside the Western gate of the city. Ch'ung-shêng-ssü (崇聖寺) was the name by which the temple was known in the tenth and twelfth centuries,

whilst Ch'ung-jên-ssü (崇仁寺) was the name given to it during the Ming Dynasty (1368—1661 A. D.) as well as in the Manchu Dynasty (1662—1911 A. D.). But Chin-shêng-ssü (金勝寺) is the common name for it.

“The building was burned down in 1862 A. D., during the Mohammedan trouble and nothing left but a heap of ruins. The old site and the remaining stones of the temple, however, speak volumes for its former glory, the site itself covering more than two acres of ground.

“The present temple is quite new, being recently built, and is very poor and unworthy, indeed. But behind this temple there is a ruined stone gateway built in 1584 A. D., inscribed with the four Chinese characters Ch'i-yüan-chên-ching (祇園真境), which means ‘the best of the Garden that was dedicated to Sakyamuni.’

“Not far from this ruin and standing almost opposite it, there are several monuments erected during the Ch'êng-hua (成化) (1465—1487) and Chia-ching (嘉靖) (1522—1566) Periods of the Ming Dynasty. They all record the past history of the temple.

“Behind the stone gateway and to the North of it we see, some sixty yards ahead, five comparatively large stones standing in a row. The second monument from the East is the famous Nestorian Stone! The rest are all monuments that were set up after 1738 A. D.

“The Nestorian Monument has no shelter. It is not protected at all from wind and rain as well as against mischievous hands. Two days after we saw this famous monument, we left the city for a week's trip to the northern part of the country. We returned to the city again on the 4th of October. On entering the Western gate that day, we met a body of coolies carrying a big

foundation stone shaped like a tortoise toward the centre of the city. This stone was not unfamiliar to us, but we were in a hurry to return to our hotel, and did not stop to make any enquiries about it.

“That night, however, we had a visit from a Japanese professor in connection with the Hsian-fu school. He told us that there had been a rumour that a certain foreigner had arrived in the city and had tried to buy the famous stone for a sum of 3,000 taels in order that he might sell it to the British Museum, and that this rumour had so startled the Governor of the Province of Shensi, that he had ordered the Nestorian Monument to be carried to the Pei-lin, the Forest of Tablets, and forbidden any one without the permission of the proper authorities even to take a rubbing of it.

“Hearing this, we concluded that the tortoise-shaped foundation stone we had seen being carried into the city through the Western gate a few hours before must have been the very stone, and we finally decided to visit the back-yard of the Chin-shêng-ssŭ temple the following morning, that is to say, on the 5th of October. We did so, and found (as we expected) that the stone had gone from its old site where it had stood for so many years ever since its excavation in 1623 A.D.

“We were rather glad to find this, because the stone thus carried into the Pei-lin is now under the protection of the Chinese authorities. We left Hsian-fu on the 9th of October for Peking. In the afternoon of the 12th of the same month, we halted at Fu-shui-chên (敷水鎮), and there we chanced to observe a very large cart passing by. It was, no doubt, constructed with a special purpose to carry something very heavy. It was drawn by seven

or eight horses, which had very great (unspeakable) difficulty with the weight of their heavy load, owing to the bad state of the road after the rain. On enquiring what it might be, the chief coolie replied that they were carrying a monument newly made at Hsian-fu down to Chêng-chou (鄭州). Then we could not but remember what we had seen and heard at Hsian-fu.

“We were curious enough to wish to peep at this monument. But owing to the incessant rain which had previously fallen, the road was too muddy to examine it, even if the stone had not been so well packed that there was no telling whether it was even a newly made one, as the coolie professed it to be or not!

“With much regret we left the stone and the coolies; and arrived at Peking on the 20th of October. In January, 1908, we received a letter from our friend and fellow-traveller Prof. T. Uno, together with a copy of “the Hankow Daily News,” in which we found the foreigner referred to above was no other than Dr. Frits Holm, a Danish Journalist; and that our visit to Hsian-fu was at the time when Dr. Frits Holm was doing his best to get the replica after failing to purchase the original stone.” (Translated from the Geibun (藝文), April, 1910.)

Now let us compare Prof. Kuwabara's account of the stone and its replica with Dr. Frits Holm's own description. He says:

“On the 10th of June, 1907, I first visited the resting-place of the unique monument. I went out alone on horse-back through the West gate, traversed the Western suburb, and, having passed some military barracks outside the Western suburb gate, had no difficulty in finding the old Buddhist temple, on the premises of which the

stone is situated. A large brick entrance in ruin and some remnants of a decayed loess wall show the former large entrance of the temple. Behind this farm temple is a piece of ground where a large stone arch and several memorial slabs are situated. In a row of five stones, the Ching-chiao-pei (i. e., the Luminous Religion Monument) is the fourth, counting toward the East. Like most stones of a similar kind it stands on the back of a clumsily worked stone tortoise, but nothing is left of a protecting shed, and nothing indicates, as some authors most wrongly assert, that the stone and its neighbours, which do not even stand in a straight line, have ever been built into a brick wall. But there is no trace of any niche around the Tablet, nor of any later wooden shed. And the 74 years old chief priest, who has been constantly on the spot for over 50 years, only remembers the stone standing free and frank and lonely — looking apart from the ramshackle shed of 1891.

“The monument is ten feet high, its weight being two tons. The difficulties in connection with the transport of the original or a replica were consequently appalling, as it would be necessary to transport the stone on a specially constructed cart over 350 miles to the nearest railway station, Chêng-chou (鄭州).

“I may briefly mention that I did everything in my power to obtain the original by applying to the local authorities in an indirect manner, etc., but, although the Chinese do not care more to-day for the stone than for any ordinary brick, they at once got suspicious, and I might as well have endeavoured to lift the Rosetta Stone out of the British Museum or take the Moabite Stone from the Louvre, as to carry away the Ching-chiao-pei

from Hsian!

“ I shall not dwell here on the almost insurmountable difficulties the officials and even some of the foreign missionaries laid in my way when I decided to confine my efforts to obtain and carry home to Europe or America a replica of the venerable Tablet. Suffice it to say that both the local, the transport, and, eventually, the Customs' difficulties were all overcome in due course, and after eleven months on Chinese soil, I was able to leave Shanghai on the last day of February, 1908, bound for New York.

“ This replica is one of the most beautiful pieces of Chinese workmanship I have ever seen. In the first place, there is not a measure, not a character, not a detail that differs from the original Tablet—even the weight is the same. In the second place, this piece of art was executed by four native stone-cutters in eleven days, including polishing after the huge slabs had been brought from the Fu-p'ing quarries to Hsi-an. In the third place, the Chinese artisans have been able to accomplish the miracle of carving the cross and chiselling the Syriac characters, which they did not of course know, to absolute perfection.

“ On the 16th of June, 1908, in accordance with the arrangement with Sir Purdon Clarke, Director, the replica was deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the City of New York, as a loan.

“ Although the replica is not yet the property of the Museum, there is a probability that it will never leave its new abode again; but the fact should not be overlooked that all the museums and universities of the world can now be supplied, if so desired, with plaster casts

of the Nestorian Tablet, casts which would not be more accurate, had they been taken from the original itself." (F. Holm: *The Nestorian Monument*, 1909, pp. 26—29).

(2) What is the Monument like?

Regarding the description of the original monument as it stands safe at present in "the Forest of Monuments," we are told that "the material is a black, subgranular oolitic limestone (with small oolites scattered through it), probably dating from the carboniferous formation of some 15 or 20 millions of years ago," and that the Monument is ten feet in height by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width, and a little under a foot thick. It was no doubt hewn out of the celebrated stone quarries of Fu-p'ing-hsien (富平縣).

The figure-head decoration of the Monument consist of an immense pearl between two creatures called "Kumbhira," which is described as "a monster with the body of a fish, but shaped like a snake and carrying pearls in its tail" by Dr. Eitel, but others say that it was a four-footed crocodile over 20 feet long.

In the centre of the figure-head right under the Pearl is the apex of a triangle, which forms a canopy over nine clearly carved large Chinese characters arranged vertically in three lines which form "the titular heading" of the Stone. Their literal meaning is "the Monument commemorating the propagation of the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom."

Observing narrowly this roof-shaped, triangular form, we can not but be struck by the unique and most suggestive symbolic signs, viz., the cross, the cloud, the lotus-flower and two branches of a tree or grass — which

may be taken either for a myrtle-branch, or a lily — the one a regular Buddhistic emblem, and the other a familiar Christian symbol. The cross on the Stone is said to be not very clear now, and must almost be searched for before it is found. But in the rubbing of the Inscription it comes out quite clearly.

The form of the cross is said to be "maltese cross" and somewhat resembles that on St. Thomas's Tomb at Meliapor in India, and like it, bursts into *fleurs de lis* at each point, just as Père Semedo describes. Be that as it may, the cross symbol is quite sufficient to prove that the Stone itself is a Christian Monument.

Beneath the cross — i. e., supporting the cross —, there is the cloud, which the Chinese describes as a "flying cloud" (飛雲) or "white cloud" (白雲). This is the characteristic symbol of Taoists as well as of Moham-medans in China. Underneath this cloud there lies a lotus-flower (蓮臺), the characteristic emblem of Buddhists. The design was doubtlessly used to denote that "the Three Religions are one."

Then comes the Inscription (which consists of one thousand nine hundred Chinese characters and about seventy Syriac words, besides so many Syriac names in rows on the narrow sides of the Stone with the corresponding Chinese characters which denote the Chinese synonyms or phonetics for the Syriac names). These will be all translated later on (*vide infra*).

(3) Where and when as well as how the Nestorian Monument was discovered?

Now we will consider the time when, and the place where, and under what circumstances the Nestorian

Monument was discovered for the first time. Regarding these important points there has been a long discussion. But nothing is clearly known with certainty as yet about them, whilst the Chinese sources and the European authorities do not agree at all about the time and the manner and the place the Stone was unearthed. Here we shall take up the question of how the Stone was discovered first. A great authority on Chinese archaeology says that some workmen found the Stone when they were digging a grave in the suburb of Ch'angan wherein to bury the child of a town official, and that the people of Ch'angan at that time believed the discovery to have been due to the guidance of the departed spirit of the child, who was a most earnest little Buddhist! (See 來齋金石刻考略) Another authority says that a farmer when ploughing happened to light on the Stone during the Period Wan-li years (1573—1619 A. D.) (錢謙益景教考).

But against all these Chinese authorities Father Emmanuel Diaz (陽瑪諾) in his Chinese book on the Nestorian Inscription titled 唐景教碑頌正詮 published in 1644 A. D., declares that "Indeed this monument was discovered under the foundation of a ruined wall at a certain place in Kuan-chung (關中), (lit., "within the four forts" defending the capital), while people were digging the ground by the orders of the Government during 1623 A. D. The extraordinary nature of the Inscription and archaic style of writing are beyond the reach of modern scholars. Thus the stone was put away within the premises of the "Chin-ch'êng-ssü" (是碑也。大明天啓三年。關中官命啓士。于敗牆基下獲之。奇文古篆。度越近代。置廓外金城寺中。)

That the Nestorian Monument was discovered at a

certain place in the district of Chou-chih (整屋) which is "within the four forts," is testified by Bartoli also: "en creusant pour jeter les fondations de je ne sais quel édifice près de Ceuce (Tcheou-tche), ville d'une importance secondaire, environ trente milles à l'Est de la capitale, les ouvriers rencontrèrent quelques restes de constructions, et en les déblayant il trouvèrent une grande plaque de marbre qu'on tira dehors et qu'on nettoya avec soin." (Bartoli's testimonials as translated into French by Father Havret) (La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou, II^e Partie: p. 34). Differing as these four accounts do, all agree on one point, viz., that the Nestorian Monument was dug out of the ground.

Only Father Trigault who examined the Nestorian Monument at Hsian-fu in 1625 A. D., says "Erat enim inventum in antiquis ruinis prope Cheu-che distantem 150 lis a Sigan" (Havret: Stèle Chrétienne, II. p. 71)

So much for how the Stone was found. Now let us turn to the time when was it found before we shall come to the question of the place where was it found at first.

It was in 1625 A. D., that the existence of the Stone attracted the attention of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Far East, who made it known to the Christian world in Europe. Although there are three different theories about the date of its discovery, it is generally believed to have been discovered in early part of 1625 A. D. But, first of all, Father Emmanuel Diaz in his book published in 1644 A. D., fixed the date of its discovery as 1623 A. D., as we already quoted (是碑也。大明天啓三年。關中官命啓土。于敗橋基下獲之)。 And we believe he was right.

Many authorities, however, agree in saying that it was

discovered not in 1623 A. D., but in 1625 A. D., since Nicholas Trigault who visited Hsian-fu in 1625 A. D., and inspected the Stone in the back-yard of Chin-shêng-ssü in October of that year, says that it was discovered in 1625 A. D.—*hoc Anno* (1625) *inventi*—as he has it. Besides, Dr. Leon Li (李之藻), as any one may have noticed, wrote on the 12th of June, 1625, using the word “recently” (邇者). So there may be some who would insist that the Stone was discovered in the early month of the year 1625 A. D. But it must have taken at least a few months for the rubbing sent by Chang Kêng-yü (張賡虞) to reach Dr. Leon Li, for the one was residing in about 130 miles west of Hsian-fu and the other was in the neighbourhood of Hang-chou-fu, at Chêkiang, many thousand miles away from Hsian-fu. We think, therefore, that the news of the discovery of the Nestorian Stone spread much more quickly after, not before, the Stone was removed from Chou-chih to Hsian-fu, and which removal we believe must have taken place by the end of 1624 or in the early part of 1625 A. D.

So Chang Kêng-yü must have heard of the Stone by the end of 1624 A. D., or in early 1625, and if he saw the Stone at all, we think it was at the Western suburb of Hsian-fu, not at Chou-chih, and it must have been sometime in March or April of 1625 A. D., that he got his rubbings made in order to send one copy of them to Dr. Leon Li in Hang-chou (杭州), since rubbing could not be made well in open air during the months of January and February at the background of Chin-shêng-ssü.

A Chinese authority on “the Inscriptions on the Stone and Metal” by the name of Mr. Ch’ien (錢謙益), a well

known scholar, already referred to, tried to fix the date of its discovery between A. D. 1573 and 1620, but which can not be accepted at once, although it may contain some truth in it.

Judging, therefore, from various evidences, we think the Stone must have been already discovered and removed to Hsian-fu in the early part of 1635 A. D. So it is quite safe, as we have already expressed, to say that the Nestorian Stone was discovered sometime between 1620 and 1625 A. D., most probably in 1623 A. D., as mentioned by Emmanuel Diaz.

Anyhow it must have been discovered before March in 1625 A. D., although its discovery may not be earlier than 1620 A. D., for in that year the famous Jules Aleni, one of the most energetic of the Jesuit missionaries, visited Shensi. Had the Stone been already exhumed, he would certainly have heard of it. We think that his complete ignorance of the Stone must have been due to the fact that it had not then been discovered.

Furthermore, this date of the discovery, viz., 1623 A. D. may be strengthened by the following facts that, first of all, "the digging of the ground by the orders of the Government during 1623 A. D.", as mentioned by Father Diaz, really took place between 1621 and 1623 A. D., during the governorship of Liang K'o-shun (梁克順) over the District of Chou-chih; and secondly, that there was a Nestorian Monastery very near the famous Lao-tzŭ Temple (樓觀) in the middle of the slope of the South Mountain (終南山), which place is called Wu-chün (五郡), 30 *li* South-east of Chou-chih and about 130 *li* South-west of Hsian-fu. This Nestorian Monastery at Wu-chün was rebuilt previous to 756 A. D., by the Emperor Su-tsung

(肅宗) as we read in the Nestorian Inscription, "The Emperor Su-tsung, accomplished and enlightened, rebuilt a Monastery of Luminous Religion (i. e., a Nestorian Monastery at Ling-wu (靈武) as well as at Wu-chün" (肅宗文明皇帝。於靈武等五郡。重立景寺)* And the traces of this Nestorian Monastery which was at Chou-chih may be seen even to-day as actually done by a few Chinese scholars in April of 1934; and thirdly, that this Nestorian Monastery was repeatedly visited by the famous Su Tung-p'o (蘇東坡) in 1062 A. D. and in 1065 A. D.; and fourthly, that the same Nestorian Monastery was also visited by General Yang Yung-i (楊雲翼) in 1200 A. D.; and fifthly, that Wu-chün (五郡) in the Inscription is the proper name of a place where the Nestorian Monastery was built previous to 756 A. D., as proved by several visits of Su Tung-p'o and Chang Chin-hsien (張景先) who was a Taoist priest of the T'ai-p'ing Shrine (太平宮) in 1086 A. D. Furthermore, in "the Topographical Notes of Ch'angan" by Sung Min-ch'iu (宋敏求), we read, "Wu-chün, a walled village, is situated in the distance of 30 *li* south-east of the District House of Chou-chih. The wall of Wu-chün is, however, only 3 *li* (i. e., less a mile and half) long round. According to an old tradition handed down to us from time immemorial, we are told that there came a band of fraternity consisting of five brethren to this place and settled down. But as for the exact date when the wall was built for the first time nothing is known for certain."

* The Chinese character 等 (Têng) meaning "equal to" may well be rendered in the English "and" or "as well as". The following sentence to be found in the Inscription of the Wan-fu-ssü (萬佛寺) in the 至順鎮江志 (丹徒縣): 臣僧請以萬佛祝萬壽。願萬壽等萬佛. may be a good example.

(五郡城在縣東南三十里。與古樓觀相近。舊說兄弟五人並居此。後爲道觀。)(重修整屋縣志)(五郡城在縣東南三十里。舊說有義兄弟五人。共居此城。不詳建立。)(長安志卷十)

Finally, in the seventh place, we read in "the Topographical Book of Chou-chih" (整屋縣志) written in 1563 A. D. (嘉靖四十二年) — 60 years before the Nestorian Monument was discovered — "The five-peaked Chiu-mu-shan (邱木山) is situated 35 *li* east of the District House of Chou-chih. In the middle of the hill-side which forms a table-land of the Tower Valley there stands the Ta-ch'in Monastery(大秦寺). This Ta-ch'in Monastery was repaired in the 4th year of Chien-lung (建隆) (963 A. D.) according to the old monument set up there." Within the premises of the Monastery ground there stands "Chên-hsien-pao-t'a (鎮仙寶塔)(lit., Guarding-immortals' Treasure-Tower). This Tower is an eight-cornered one, being seventy or eighty feet in the height, and is said to have originally been built by the Imperial orders of the Emperor T'ai-tsung (627—649 A. D.) of the T'ang Dynasty." (五羣邱木山在縣東三十里。塔谷山腰有大秦寺。舊碣記宋建隆四年重修。寺內有鎮仙寶塔。高約八丈八稜形。相傳爲唐太宗敕建。)

Such facts and traditions will prove beyond any doubt that there stood a Ta-ch'in Monastery at the adjacent ground of a place called Wu-chün (五郡) in the District of Chou-chih previous to the time when the Nestorian Monument was set up in 781 A. D. No body knows, however, where this Nestorian Monument of ours was set up in 781 A. D. Was it erected in the premises of that Ta-ch'in Monastery which was built in 638 A. D., at the I-ning Ward or not, no body knows, although it is generally believed that the Monument was set up at the I-ning Ward, because we did not so far know of any

other Ta-ch'in Monastery except only that one. But now we have discovered that there was and still is, another Tach'in Monastery at Wu-chün (五郡) in the District of Chou-chih, at a certain place of which District the Nestorian Monument was reported to have been unearthed in 1623 A. D., as we have above referred to. (See also Part II. Chapter I).

(4) Where was the Nestorian Monument originally erected in 781 A. D.?

Now the discussion regarding the question where the Stone was discovered will force us to settle the question regarding the place where was the Stone originally erected in 781 A. D. In other words, in which of the two Nestorian or Ta-ch'in Monasteries had this Monument been erected in 781 A. D.? Was it set up in the Nestorian Monastery at the I-ning Ward, in Hsian-fu, the Capital, where the Stone exists ever since 1635 A. D., or in that Nestorian Monastery in the District of Chou-chih which we found out recently? Regarding such question, we regret to say that we have not yet definite facts to decide it. Prof. Paul Pelliot and the late Prof. Kuwabara expressed the idea that the Monument must have been set up at the I-ning Ward. But if so, we cannot but doubt whether it would have survived the destructive measures enforced against Buddhists as well as Nestorians and Mohammedans in 845 A. D., better than it would, if it had been built in the District of Chou-chih? But we are far from having any definite fact to solve such a difficult problem at present.

(5) Who and what was the author of the Inscription?

The author of the Inscription was a Persian priest, Adam, whose Chinese name is recorded in the middle of the second line of the Inscription as Ching-ching (景淨), and he was designated in Chinese as "a Priest of a Tach'in Monastery who composed (the Inscription)" (大秦寺僧景淨述), whilst in Syriac he is described as "Adam, Priest and Chorepiscopus, and Papash' of Chinestan."

Beyond all doubts, it is now proved that this priest Adam or Ching-ching was a historic person actually doing a great work of evangelisation in China in the latter half of the 8th century. First of all, we find the name of Adam or Ching-ching (景淨) in a Chinese Buddhist book containing a Life of Prajna, a Buddhist Monk, who came to China from Kapisa, India, in 782 A. D.

Again, we find the name of Ching-ching (or Adam) in a note added to the last part of the Nestorian document by the name of "Tsun-ching" (尊經) discovered by Prof. Paul Pelliot at Tun-huang in 1908, and which document literally means "Honourable Sûtra" but which we have translated "Diptychs." According to the former our Ching-ching was engaged in translating the Satparamitta Sûtra from the Hu text (胡本), possibly from the Uigur text as we know from the Rev. Tachibana's discovery, and finished as many as seven volumes of the said Sûtra which consisted of ten volumes in all, whilst, according to the note added to the Nestorian document referred to, our Ching-ching translated more than 30 Nestorian books into Chinese while in China.

Furthermore, the two books out of these 35 books whose names are mentioned in the main part of the said Nestorian Diptychs (尊經) referred to, have recently been discovered in China and are now in possession of Hon.

Li Shêng-to (李盛鐸), Tientsin, China (*vide infra*).

Then again, our Ching-ching, a Persian priest, composed the Nestorian Inscription. And that was most probably in 780 A. D.,—since the Inscription itself bearing the date of “the 7th of the First Month of 781 A. D.,” or “In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks” as written in Syriac, which exactly corresponds to 781 A. D. But this date only shows that the unveiling of the Monument took place on that day, the Inscription itself being naturally composed previous to that date. After such event he engaged, as already referred to, in translating Satparamitta Sûtra sometime between 782 A. D., in which Prajna came to China and 788 A. D., in which a new and different translation of Satparamitta Sûtra was completed by Prajna alone after Ching-ching or Adam had been excluded from the work as a result of the Imperial decision as mentioned in Yüan-chao’s (僧圓照) book we referred to.

But the mere fact that our Ching-ching, a Nestorian missionary, had come to be associated with Prajna in the translation work of a Buddhist Sûtra through the kindness of General Lo-hao-hsin (羅好心), the Commander-in-Chief of the famous “God-grant-stratagem-army” (神策軍大將) shows how well our Ching-ching or Adam kept a friendly relation even with the Hindoo General in the service of the T’ang Government. We are, however, far from knowing how long Ching-ching continued to do his missionary work in China. But it may be of some interest to notice that the Buddhist monk Prajna was still enjoying good health and was known by the title of “the Master of Tripitaka (三藏法師)” when our Kobodaishi (弘法大師) visited Ch’angan in 804 A. D., and that Prajna kindly presented three bundles of Patra-sûtra together with a copy

of his "Newly translated Satparamitta Sûtra" in ten volumes, which Prajna himself translated anew single-handedly in 788 A. D., after he had separated from our Priest Ching-ching in the work of translating the said Sûtra from the Hu text as already referred to. This fact is mentioned in "the Catalogue of Sacred Books and Things brought over to Japan from China" (弘法大師請來目錄).

However, we have so far failed to find any thing mentioned by our Kobodaishi in his Complete Works, consisting of 50 volumes closely printed in all, about Ching-ching (or Adam) or a Ta-ch'in Monastery. And this silence of Kobodaishi either about a Ta-ch'in Monastery or a Nestorian Monastery is the more strange because the Hsi-ming Monastery (西明寺), where Kobodaishi stayed for a long while, was not far from the Ta-ch'in Monastery which was built in the I-ning Ward by the Imperial orders. It was only ten to fifteen minutes' distance on foot from the Hsi-ming Monastery to the Nestorian Monastery in the I-ning Ward judged from the old topographical description. And if the latter should have existed there in 804 A. D., as it had existed in 638 A. D., then it would not have escaped the sagacious eye of our Kobodaishi. But so far we failed to get any information about the Persian priest and the Nestorian Monastery from the Complete Works of Kobodaishi. But the fact that Priest Ching-ching engaged in the work of translation with Prajna alone may tend to indicate that Priest Adam belonged to the Nestorian Monastery at the I-ning Ward in the Capital, as such work could not have been done unless he had been in the Capital, whilst it was the oldest and the greatest of the Nestorian Monasteries in China.

But this does not necessarily mean that the Nestorian

Monument was set up in the premises of the Nestorian Monastery to which Priest Adam belonged. On the contrary, the Priest Adam designated himself in the Inscription, as "Composed by a priest of the Ta-ch'in Monastery" (大秦寺僧景淨述), besides in Syriac he had "Adam, Priest and Chorepiscopus and Papas of China." Such designation may rather be taken to indicate that the Nestorian Stone was set up somewhere else than the monastery to which Priest Adam belonged to, according to the Chinese custom.

Furthermore, the Monument was erected in honour of Priest and General I-ssü as mentioned in the Inscription. So we may not be in the wrong to presume that the Monument was set up in a certain place which had a special relation with Priest and General I-ssü rather than in the premises of the monastery where the Persian priest Ching-ching resided. But we are far from being able to decide this important question.

(6) Who is the donator of the Monument?

The donator who set up the Monument is beyond doubt Lord Yazedbouzid, the son of Priest Milis who was the Nestorian missionary from Balkh, Tahouristan as mentioned in the Syriac part of the Inscription. And the Chinese name I-ssü (伊斯) corresponds, no doubt, to the Syriac name Yazedbouzid. This I-ssü, Priest and General, was in service of the Chinese army during the reign of the three Emperors, viz., Su-tsung, Tai-tsung and Tê-tsung as described in the Inscription.

(7) The calligraphical writer of this Inscription Lü Hsiu-yen.

Lü Hsiu-yen, the penman of the Inscription, ever since the discovery of the Stone in 1623 A. D., or since its translation in 1625 A. D., has remained a mystery which baffled every attempt of the scholars, Chinese and foreign, who tried their hand on the Inscription, whilst many scholars left untouched this problem.

Strange to say, in spite of its extraordinarily beautiful handwriting — for, in spite of the abnormal form of some Chinese characters in the Inscription, it has always been quoted as the model of good handwriting — nothing was ever known about this Chinaman, Lü Hsiu-yen (呂秀巖). Neither in the field of “Stone and Metal Writings” (金石學), nor in the lists of the Chinese officials of the T’ang Dynasty do we find the name of Lü Hsiu-yen. This is very strange, indeed, since Lü Hsiu-yen as a calligrapher, could vie with any of the first class penmen or calligraphers of the time, such as Ch’u Sui-liang (褚遂良), Ou-yang Hsün (歐陽詢), and others.

Another point we must notice is that Lü Hsiu-yen, the calligraphical writer of the Nestorian Inscription had the Court rank of “Chao-i-lang” (朝議郎) which corresponds to “Ts’ung-liu-p’in-hsia” (從六品下), the Lower Sixth Rank, whilst as “T’ai-chou-ssu-shih-san-chün” (台州司士參軍) he could not have enjoyed a higher rank than that of the Lower Seventh Rank (從七品下) according to the official proceedings preserved in the book called “Six Codes of the Great T’ang” (大唐六典). This shows that officially he was of comparatively higher rank. He was a local official whose duty was to look after ports, canals, vehicles, inns and the general industry of the T’ai-chou District, Chêkiang Province (Kiangnan), standing at the foot of Mount T’ien-t’ai (天台山), the great seat of the

White-lotus sect of Buddhism, whither our Dengyodaishi (傳教大師) went to study in 804 A. D.

That Lü Hsiu-yen enjoyed a comparatively high official rank shows that he was a promising young man, who had done exceptionally well at his civil service examination, and also that he must have been between 19 and 30 years of age because to pass the examination at 19 years of age was supposed to show exceptionally uncommon ability, as we learn from the famous case of the well-known Han Yü (韓愈).

Such a good calligrapher, which in China always implies good scholarship, with such a comparatively high rank, could not have been employed as a local official unless he had been a young man in his twenties. Moreover, the style and character of the writing declare to the experienced eye that the handwriting of the Inscription was not done by an old man.

But so far we have failed to identify who this Lü Hsiu-yen is, although we suggested once that possibly Lü Hsiu-yen and Lü Yen must be the identical man, the middle letter "Hsiu" (秀) being omitted. It is, however, a well known fact that the names are very often cut short in Chinese books either to suit the occasion or the writer's own purpose. For instance, the name of the famous statesman of Chou, Chü Po-yü (遽伯玉) was shortened by omitting the middle character "Po" (伯), and he was commonly known as Chü-yü. (遽玉). Again, that of Su Tzū-chan (蘇子瞻) was shortened by omitting the middle character "Tzū" (子), and was known as Su-chan (蘇瞻), whilst Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (董其昌), the famous writer of the Ming Era, was frequently known as Tung-ch'ang (董昌). This omission of the *middle character* was so common

that after many years people could not tell which was the right form of personal names. As Ch'ien Ta-chin (錢大昕), a great authority on orthography, once said in his book on "Writing" called 養新錄: "Strange as it may seem to us, the cutting or dividing as well as the omitting of a *middle letter* of the personal names has been such a long established custom since the Han and Wei Eras that this was never thought strange." Such being a fact, who can say that the middle letter "Hsiu" (秀) was never omitted in this name of our Lü Hsiu-yen?

(8) The chief purpose of the erection of the Monument.

The nature of the Nestorian Monument is plain enough since it was titled "A Monument commemorating the propagation of the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom", besides it declared in Syriac that "My Lord Yazedbouzid, Presbyter and Chorepiscopus of Khumdan, City of King (i. e., the Capital), who is the son of the late Presbyter Milis from Balkh, City of Tahouristan, erected this stone monument in which the Law of our Saviour was written and that our forefathers preached (the same) to the Rulers of China." But judging from these facts regarding the special position of the donator himself occupied in the Chinese Army and the purpose of the Monument itself, it will be in favour of the supposition that the Stone was set up originally either in a place where Lord Yazedbouzid's Army was stationed or in a place where he resided.

And it is a well known historical fact that Chou-chih and its neighbourhood was occupied by the foreign mercenaries consisting of Mongolians, Turks, Uigurs and Persians among whom there were Nestorians, whilst there

were in Chou-chih and Hsian many people who came from various parts of India, among whom General Lo-hao-hsin, a cousin of Prajna (般若) was, and through this General, Prajna came to associate himself with Priest Adam or Ching-ching as already referred to. These mercenaries who occupied Chou-chih and its neighbourhood were known by the name of "Shên-ts'ê Army" (神策軍) (i. e., The God-grant-strategem Army). We read in the Annals of China that "in April of 785 A. D., the 'God-grant-strategem Army' was very rampant. And the greater part of this army was outposted in the Western frontiers of the Capital and stationed here and there along the Imperial domain." (貞元四年夏四月。乙未更命殿前左右射生。曰神威軍。與左右羽林龍武神武神策號曰十軍。神策軍尤盛。多戍京西。散屯幾旬。) (資治通鑑卷二百三十三唐紀四十九)

Such being the case, we firmly believe that the Nestorian Monument was erected at a place where it was discovered in 1623 A. D., which is located somewhere near that Ta-ch'in Monastery at the Tower Valley of the South Mountains, in Chou-chih — 30 *li* South-east from the District House of Chou-chih and 120 *li* South-west from Hsian-fu, although by many authorities it is insisted that the Stone must have been originally ~~at~~ built at the I-ning Ward, and that therefore it must have been exhumed ^{at} a place which corresponds to the Ta-ch'in Monastery at the I-ning Ward, in Hsian-fu. But of which no body knows with certainty at present.

(II) Philological Observations.

Needless to say, the Nestorian Inscription consists of more than 1,756 Chinese ideographs and some 70 Syriac

words in all, besides nearly as many proper names of Persians or Syrians, whilst some Syriac or Sanscrit words as well as some Persian words are written in the Chinese phonetization. It is, therefore, no wonder that our Inscription should be regarded as a most interesting thing from the philological point of view, since among the innumerable monuments in China none is so full of different kinds of foreign words in one inscription as this Nestorian Inscription.

In making philological observations, we shall confine ourselves here only to a few foreign words in the Chinese garbs found in the Inscription, leaving out all Syriac words written in the Syriac alphabet, which are not in the Chinese phonetization. We shall, however, explain these Syriac words——chiefly proper nouns——in questions in the notes as it is more convenient to do so.

The first foreign word written in the Chinese characters that we meet with in the Inscription is the Aloho (阿羅訶). This word is no doubt the Chinese phonetization of the Syriac word ܐܠܘܗܐ (Aloha) meaning God and is equivalent to the Hebrew Eloh ܐܠܘܝܡ or Elohim ܐܠܘܝܡ, although the three Chinese characters used here are exactly the same as those which the Buddhist translator Kâlayas'as employed to represent "Arhat," the fruit of Buddha, as is to be found in the Chinese translation of the Amitâyur Dhyâna Sûtra (佛說觀無量壽經), by Kâlayas'as in 442 A. D., whilst the same Chinese characters are used to represent Ârya, or literally holy or reverend. 是故當一心繫念諦觀彼佛多陀阿伽度阿羅訶三藐三佛陀 which may be translated: "Therefore, meditate ye with all your heart and vividly realize ye that Buddha who is known as Thathgata or as *arhat*, the one who deserved

worship, or as Samyak Saṃ Buddha.”

Then it must be noticed that these Chinese characters 阿羅訶 (Aloho) representing God do not once occur in what we call here the Alopên's Documents (*vide infra*), whilst the word “Aloho” is only found in the Ching-ching's Documents. Strange to say, the word “Buddha,” (佛) instead of “God,” is the word used in the Nestorian Documents composed by Bishop Alopên.

The next foreign word that we find in the Inscription is the word Satan (娑彈). And this is no doubt a Chinese phonetization of the Syriac ܣܬܐܢܐ, corresponding to the Hebrew שָׂטָן or the Greek Σάταν. It must be noticed that we find that two different ways of Chinese phonetization were used in the Chinese Nestorian documents. In the Nestorian Inscription the two Chinese characters 娑彈 (Satan) were used, whilst the three Chinese characters 娑多那 (Satana) were used for the devils in the Alopên's Documents, which is nearly 150 years older than the Nestorian Inscription. Furthermore, it must be mentioned that we have the Chinese characters 參怒 (San-nu), literally meaning “Three + anger” in the Alopên's Documents. These characters 參怒 are pronounced “San-nu” according to the modern Chinese, but these two characters are pronounced “San-do” according to the Japanese sound which, generally speaking, preserves many of the ancient Chinese sounds. We may, therefore, well identify the word “San-nu” or “San-do” (參怒) representing “the Chief of Satan with the Syriac word “Shada” (ܫܕܐ) which means diabolics.

Then there appears the word Mi-shih-ho (弥施訶) in the Inscription. Ching-ching, the author of the Inscription, always used the three Chinese characters 弥施訶 for the

word Messiah. He used them not only in this Inscription but also in other Nestorian Documents he composed (*vide infra*). But in the Alopên's Documents, as we shall see later on, several different Chinese characters were used. For instance, we have 迷詩所 (Mi-shih-so) (lit., confusing + poem + place) for Messiah. But this "so" (所) must have been a mistake for "ho" (訶) as already referred to, and the whole word must be pronounced Mi-shih-ho, literally meaning "confusing + poem + upbraid," besides we have 迷師訶 (Mi-shih-ho) literally meaning "confusing + teacher + upbraid" in the Jesus-Messiah Sûtra (*vide infra*).

Apart from these three Syriac words in the Chinese phonetization, we have some Sanscrit words also in the Inscription. Such as Sphatika or Kachâya in the Inscription. The Sanscrit "Sphatika" which is explained by "White pearl" or "Water crystal" is no other than the English "Crystal." This and other objects mentioned in the text were all *objects de vertu*, whilst Kachâya is used to signify an official robe of a priest—Nestorian or otherwise.

Then comes the word "Ta-sa" (達婆) in the Inscription. Regarding this word "Ta-sa," some say that the word is Sanscrit, whilst others say that it is a Persian word. M. Pauthier thinks that this word is the Chinese corruption of "Das'ârha", a Sanscrit term which denotes "Buddha" or "Buddhist." But Dr. G. Schlegel identified it with the Persian "Tarsa," which means "fearer of God," and might have been used to denote "Christians." We find the fact that the Chinese word "Tieh-hsieh" (迭屑) which is identified with "Tarsa" was commonly used to denote "the Nestorian Christians" by the Chinese

authors in the 13th century. For instance, Chin-hai (鎮海), afterward Prime Minister to the Mongol Emperor whose name was the Emperor Ting-tsung, (定宗皇帝) or Kû-yûk Khan (貴由汗), was called "Chin-hai, tieh-hsieh", or Tarsa, (鎮海迭屑) meaning "Ching-hai, the Nestorian."

We once suggested the Sanscrit word "Dasa" for this Chinese word Ta-sa, as the Sanscrit means "Servant," the well known phrase "Triratna-Dasa" being translated into "the Servant of the Three Precious Ones" or "the preciousness of Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood," whilst the Sanscrit name "Chandra-dasa," meaning "the servant of the moon" or "Arya-dasa," literally meaning "Holy servant," is the name of a famous representative of the Mahâsamñghikâh school. But now we are rather inclined to believe that Dr. Schlegel is perfectly right in identifying the word with the Persian "Tarsa."

Finally we find that there is the Chinese expression, "The great Yao-sên-wên day" in the Inscription. No doubt, "Yao-sên-wên" is a foreign word. We think that Mr. Wylie's identification of this with the Persian "Yakshamba", i. e., "the first day of the week," is correct, although Dr. Heller suggests that the word may be "Hosamba", which is the Syriac for "the first day." The great doctor says that the day was the Sunday before one of the Annual feasts and so might have been called "great". But as "Yao-sên-wên" is also found in a Buddhist book on Astronomy (宿曜經) which came to China in an early part of the T'ang Dynasty by way of Persia we are satisfied with Mr. Wylie's identification. The 4th of February, (N.S.) 781 A. D., to which day "the 7th day of the first month" of 781 A. D., mentioned in the

Inscription corresponds, was the Sunday, no doubt.

(III) Doctorinal Observations.

With regard to the Christian doctrines declared in the Inscription which are all common to the whole universal Church, we need not dwell upon here. Nor should we attempt any vindication of the so called Nestorian heresy, since the real heretical nature of what Nestorius himself taught has recently become very doubtful and almost incomprehensible ever since the discovery of Nestorius' own book called "the Bazaar of Heraclides". We shall, therefore, confine ourselves here only to make short remarks concerning some singular expressions in the Inscription as these expressions in the Inscription may throw some light regarding something of the manners and customs of the Nestorian Church in China as well as in Persia by the end of the 8th century.

Such being the case, we shall take up these unusual expressions in regular order as they happen in the Inscription, beginning with that mysterious expression "365 seeds" (三百六十五種) and ending with our remarks on the Imperial Rescript of the Emperor T'ai-tsung. First of all, we find this very expression "365 seeds" in another Nestorian document, very recently discovered in China, which is now known by the name of "The Tach'in Luminous Religion Sûtra on the Origin of Origins" (大秦景教宣元本經) (*vide infra*).

Needless to say, this expression "365 seeds" is one of the most difficult expressions in the Nestorian Inscription and, so far, seems to us, to have baffled the Eastern and the Western scholars who had their hands in the Nestorian Inscription. It is a fact that those

scholars coming between Father Trigault who translated the Inscription in 1635 A. D., and Prof. Moule who published his newly revised and excellent translation of the Inscription in 1930 A. D., all did not give us any satisfactory translation of this mysterious expression. The majority of the translators of the Inscription rendered the phrase "Three hundred and sixty-five sects", as the word "Chung" (種) may well be translated "sect" or "doctrine," although its original meaning is decidedly "seed" or "species". But now we can say with confidence that this mysterious expression "365 seeds" is no other than the Chinese form of *'Αβραξας*, which was originally used by Basilides of Alexandria, but which we now find was used also by the Nestorian missionary in China toward the end of the 8th century.

Regarding the questions why and how our author Priest Ching-ching came to use such a Gnostic expression here we are far from being in a position to say anything definite yet, but one thing is certain, that our author Priest Ching-ching was as well versed in Gnosticism—both Alexandrian and Syrian—as he was well versed in Buddhism and Taoism.

Secondly, as for the phrase "His ministers carry the cross with them as a sign, etc.", there is nothing peculiar, in it. It may, however, be interesting to the reader to notice that there is another peculiar reference made to the use of the cross by the Chinese Nestorians in an Inscription written by Liang Hsiang (梁相) preserved in *至順鎮江志* vol. IX p. 8—9. (1330—1332 A. D.). He says: "The cross is an image of the human body. They set it upon their houses, paint it in their churches, wear it on their heads, hang it on their breasts. They

consider it as a sign of the four quarters, the zenith and nadir." (大興國寺記).

Thirdly, that the Nestorians worshipped turning their face toward the East is a well known fact. Consequently, the expression in the Inscription, "They turn ceremoniously to the East" must be pronounced to be a regular Nestorian expression and will serve as one of many proofs to show the genuineness of the Stone. Another fact is that a Nestorian Bishop "worshipping standing on the top of a hill with his face turned towards the East" was mentioned in the famous book written by Thomas of Marga in 840 A. D. Such will also serve to show us that turning to the East was and is a regular Nestorian custom.

Fourthly, regarding the peculiar expression in the Inscription, "They preserve the beard, etc.," we must say that such symbolic explanation is very curious and that there will be no end to the possible reasons. But, strange to say, such a peculiar expression was only thought necessary by the Nestorian missionaries in China at that time either as a result of their own preconceived notion of the beard-growing custom among them, or as a sort of apology for their not shaving the beard as people do in China. The Nestorian priest in Syria, as we are told even to-day, is bound not to use a razor. "A clean-shaven man in the East is regarded as something emasculate, and in order to escape reproach one must wear at least a moustache. Laymen often shave the beard and whiskers, but a bishop or priest never shaves; and to shave a priest is esteemed as practically equivalent to unfrocking him." (Rev. W. A. Wigram and Sir Edgar T. A. Wigram: *The Cradle of Mankind*, 1914,

p. 113.

Compare this with the ancient tradition of the Church as Tertullian and Clemens Alexandrin have it. The practice of shaving the beard is a lie against our faces and an impious attempt to improve the works of the Creator! (Gibbon: The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: Chapter XV)

Fifthly, the expression "Seven times a day they meet for worship and praise and earnestly offer prayers for the dead and the living" will show that the Nestorians were great believers in prayer for the dead as well as prayer for the living. The personal names of the living and the dead written on the Nestorian Diptychs—which may well be identified with the Chinese "Tsun-ching" (尊經), discovered by Prof. Pelliot (*vide* Text G.)—are recited everytime at their worship which was generally conducted "seven times a day."

The idea of ancestral commemoration naturally led to prayers being offered for the departed as well as for those that are living, beginning with the Emperor or King coming down to the Patron of the Church and those who are suffering.

Furthermore, the fact that the Chinese Nestorian Church observed the Sacrament of Holy Baptism can be seen from the expression, "His law is to bathe with water and with the Spirit," whilst the fact that they kept a weekly Holy Communion or Eucharist can be clearly attested from the following sentences, "Once in seven days, they have a sacrifice without the animal (i. e., a bloodless sacrifice)." And this "once in seven days," of course, means "once in a week," and that "on the first day," because they kept Sunday, not the Sabbath or the

seventh day, as may well be inferred from the Persian word already referred to "Yao-sên-wên," the first day of a week (*vide supra*).

Lastly, — but not the least, — we have to call the attention of the reader to the Imperial Rescript in which the author of the Inscription took such great pride that he showed how the Nestorian Church in China was from the beginning under a special protection of the Emperor, which was not a bad thing at all. But the author forgot to notice that such favour often tends to file off the most essential points of so called Catholic doctrine of Christianity and to lead the whole Church into corruption and paganism. We cannot but notice that the real root of the evil by which the Nestorian Mission in China came to the ground after a few hundred years of its existence, practically lies in this very attitude which the Nestorian Mission took toward the reigning House of T'ang.

While our author Priest Ching-ching was most gloriously putting up this Imperial Rescript in the Inscription, he fully endorsed what the Emperor declared, "The Way had not, at all times and in all places, the selfsame name; the Sage had not, at all times and in all places, the selfsame human body. (Heaven) caused a suitable religion to be instituted for every region and clime so that each one of the races of mankind might be saved."

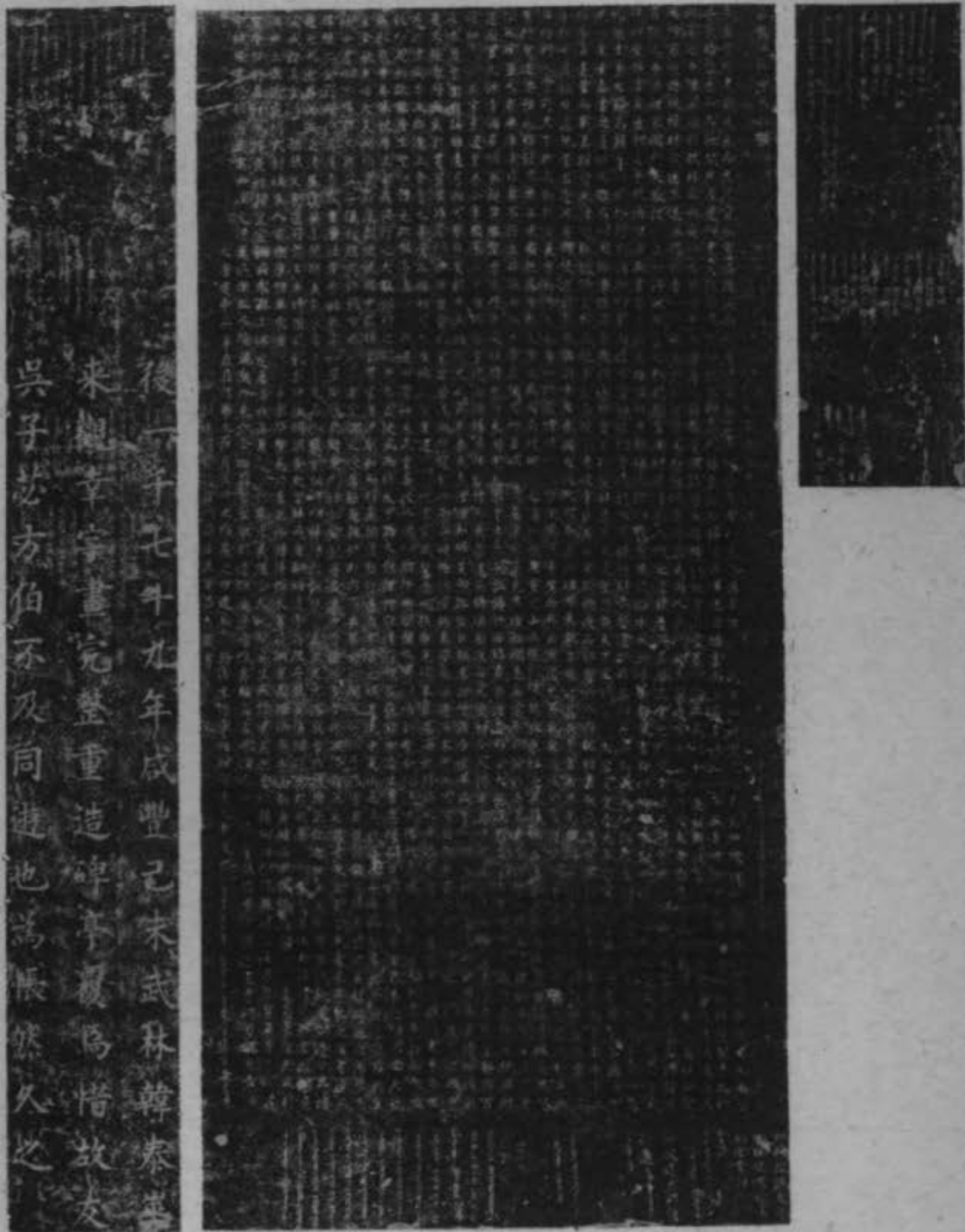
The Nestorian Church in China fully recognised and endorsed such Taoistic doctrine as this in 638 A. D. Then the whole course of the Nestorian Church in China can not but be easily inferred, and such will account for the Taoistic tendency so conspicuously shown in all the Nestorian documents other than this Inscription, which were either compiled by Priest Ching-ching or his prede-

cessors. And the final absorption of the Nestorians in China, after several hundred years, to the local cults or religions, respectively—such as Taoism and other Taoistic sects as well as other local religious bodies in China—is only a natural consequence of this concession made by the great missionary in China.

It is not, therefore, too much to say that, doctrinally speaking, the future of the Nestorian Church in China, as far as the most conspicuous doctrine of the Church is concerned, was glaringly betrayed by our author by his putting up the Imperial Rescript most proudly in the Inscription.

With these preliminary remarks we shall at once proceed to the Inscription itself.

大秦景
教流行
中國碑



The Nestorian Inscription with the names of the priests
on both sides of the Monument and in the
lower part of the same

CHAPTER II

(A) THE TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION (1)

A Monument commemorating the Propagation
of the Ta-ch'in (2) Luminous Religion in the
Middle Kingdom.

[The figures correspond to the Number in the Notes, pp. 78-112]

Eulogy on a Monument commemorating the Propagation of the Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom, with a Preface to the same, composed by Ching-ching, a priest of the Ta-ch'in monastery (3)

(in Syriac), Adam, Priest and Chorepiscopus, and Papash' of Chinastan (4). (*For the Syriac See p. 70, Fig. 1. (A)*)

Behold! there is One who is true and firm, who, being Uncreated, is the Origin of the Origins; who is ever Incomprehensible and Invisible, yet ever mysteriously existing to the last of the lasts; who, holding the Secret Source of Origin, created all things, and who, surpassing all the Holy ones, is the only unoriginated Lord of the Universe,—is not this our Aloha, the Triune, mysterious Person, the unbegotten and true Lord?

Dividing the Cross, He determined the four cardinal points. Setting in motion the primordial spirit (wind), He produced the two principles of Nature. The dark void was changed, and Heaven and Earth appeared. The sun and moon revolved, and day and night began. Having designed and fashioned all things, He then created the first man and bestowed on him an excellent disposition, superior to all others, and gave him to have dominion

over the Ocean of created things.

The original nature of Man was pure, and void of all selfishness, unstained and unostentatious, his mind was free from inordinate lust and passion. When, however, Satan employed his evil devices on him, Man's pure and stainless (nature) was deteriorated; what is just and noble was eliminated from that which is called right on the one hand (lit., in this place), and what is fundamentally identical (with wickedness) was abstracted from that which is named wrong on the other (lit., in that place).

In consequence of this, three hundred and sixty-five (spiritual beings) with different seeds (of error) arose in quick succession and left deep furrows behind. They strove to weave nets of the laws wherewith to ensnare the innocent. Some pointing to natural objects pretended that they were the right objects to worship; others got hold of (the idea that) non-existence (lit., Emptiness) and existence (are alike, after all). Some sought to call down blessings (happiness or success) by means of prayers and sacrifices; others again boasted of their own goodness, and held their fellows in contempt. (Thus) the intellect and the thoughts of Men fell into hopeless confusion; and their mind and affections began to toil incessantly; but all their travail was in vain. The heat of their distress became a scorching flame; and self-blinded, they increased the darkness still more; and losing their path for a long while they went astray and became unable to return home again.

Whereupon one Person of our Trinity, the Messiah, who is the Luminous Lord of the Universe, folding up Himself and concealing His true Majesty, appeared

upon earth as a man. Angels proclaimed the Glad Tidings. A virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Tach'in (5). A bright Star announced the blessed event. Persians saw the splendour and came forth with their tribute.

Fulfilling the old Law as it was declared by the twenty-four Sages (6), He (the Messiah) taught how to rule both families and kingdoms according to His own great Plan. Establishing His New Teaching of Non-assertion which operates silently through the Holy Spirit (7), another Person of the Trinity, He formed in man the capacity for well-doing through the Right Faith. Setting up the standard of the eight cardinal virtues, He purged away the dust from human nature and perfected a true character. Widely opening the Three Constant Gates, He brought Life to light and abolished Death. Hanging up the bright Sun, He swept away the abodes of darkness. All the evil devices of the devil were thereupon defeated and destroyed. He then took an oar in the Vessel of Mercy and ascended to the Palace of Light. Thereby all rational beings were conveyed across the Gulf. His mighty work being thus completed, He returned at noon to His original position (in Heaven). The twenty-seven standard works (8) of His Sûtras were preserved. The Great means of Conversion (or leavening, i. e., transformation) were widely extended, and the sealed Gate of the Blessed Life was unlocked. His Law is to bathe with water and with the Spirit, and thus to cleanse from all vain delusions and to purify men until they regain the whiteness of their nature.

(His ministers) carry the Cross with them as a Sign. They travel about wherever the sun shines, and try to

re-unite those that are beyond the pale (i. e., those that are lost). Striking the wood (9), they proclaim the Glad Tidings (lit., joyful sounds) of Love and Charity. They turn ceremoniously to the East, and hasten in the Path of Life and Glory. They preserve the beard to show that they have outward works to do, whilst they shave the crown (tonsure) to remind themselves that they have no private selfish desires. They keep neither male nor female slaves. Putting all men on an equality, they make no distinction between the noble and the mean. They neither accumulate property nor wealth; but giving all they possess, they set a good example to others. They observe fasting in order that they may subdue "the knowledge" (which defiles the mind). They keep the vigil of silence and watchfulness so that they may observe "the Precepts." Seven times a day they meet for worship and praise, and earnestly they offer prayers for the living as well as for the dead. Once in seven days, they have "a sacrifice without the animal" (i. e., a bloodless sacrifice). Thus cleansing their hearts, they regain their purity. This ever True and Unchanging *Way* is mysterious, and is almost impossible to name. But its meritorious operations are so brilliantly manifested that we make an effort and call it by the name of "The Luminous Religion."

But, at any rate, "The *Way*" would not have spread so widely had it not been for the Sage, and the Sage would not have been so great were it not for "The *Way*." Ever since the Sage and "The *Way*" were united together as the two halves of an indentured deed would agree, then the world became refined and enlightened.

When the accomplished Emperor T'ai-tsung (627—

649 A. D.) began his magnificent career in glory and splendour over the (recently) established dynasty and ruled his people with intelligence, he proved himself to be a brilliant Sage.

And behold there was a highly virtuous man named A-lo-pên (10) in the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in. Auguring (of the Sage, i. e., Emperor) from the azure sky, he decided to carry the true Sûtras (of the True Way) with him, and observing the course of the winds, he made his way (to China) through difficulties and perils. Thus in the Ninth year of the period named Chên-kuan (635 A. D.) (11) he arrived at Ch'angan. The Emperor despatched his Minister, Duke Fang Hsüan-ling, with a guard of honour, to the western suburb to meet the visitor and conduct him to the Palace. The Sûtras (Scriptures) (12) were translated in the Imperial Library. (His Majesty) investigated "The *Way*" in his own Forbidden apartments, and being deeply convinced of its correctness and truth, he gave special orders for its propagation.

In the Twelfth year of the Chên-kuan Period (A. D. 638) in the Seventh month of Autumn, the following Imperial Rescript was issued:—

“ ‘The *Way*’ had not, at all times and in all places, the selfsame name; the Sage had not, at all times and in all places, the selfsame human body. (Heaven) caused a suitable religion to be instituted for every region and clime so that each one of the races of mankind might be saved. Bishop A-lo-pên of the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in, bringing with him the Sûtras and Images, has come from afar and presented them at our Capital. Having carefully examined the scope of his teaching, we find it to be mysteriously spiritual, and of silent operation. Having

observed its principal and most essential points, we reached the conclusion that they cover all that is most important in life. Their language is free from perplexing expressions; their principles are so simple that they 'remain as the fish would remain even after the net (of the language) were forgotten.' This Teaching is helpful to all creatures and beneficial to all men. So let it have free course throughout the Empire."

Accordingly, the proper authorities built a Ta-ch'in monastery in the I-ning Ward (13) in the Capital and twenty-one priests were ordained and attached to it. The virtue of the honoured House of Chou had died away; (the rider on) the black chariot had ascended to the west (14). But (virtue revived) and "The *Way*" was brilliantly manifested again at the moment when the Great T'ang (Dynasty) began its rule, whilst the breezes of the Luminous (Religion) came eastward to fan it. Immediately afterwards, the proper officials were again ordered to take a faithful portrait (15) of the Emperor, and to have it copied on the walls of the monastery. The celestial beauty appeared in its variegated colours, and the dazzling splendour illuminated the Luminous "portals" (i. e., congregation). The sacred features (lit., foot-prints) (thus preserved) conferred great blessing (on the monastery), and illuminated the Church (i. e., the world of Law) for evermore.

According to the descriptive records of the Western Lands and the historical works of the Han and Wei dynasties (16), the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in is bounded on the south by the Coral Sea, and reaches on the north to the Mountain of all Precious Things; on the west it looks toward the Gardens of the Immortals and the Flowery

Forests. On the east it lies open to the Long Winds and the Weak Waters. The country produces asbestos cloth, the soul-restoring incense, the bright-moon pearls, and night-shining gems. Robberies and thefts are unknown among the common people, whilst every man enjoys happiness and peace. None but the Luminous teachings prevail, none but virtuous rulers are raised to the sovereign power. The territory is of vast extent; and its refined laws and institutions, as well as accomplished manners and customs, are gloriously brilliant.

The great Emperor Kao-tsung (650 — 683 A. D.) succeeded most respectfully to his ancestors; and giving the True Religion the proper elegance and finish, he caused monasteries of the Luminous Religion to be founded in every prefecture(17). Accordingly, he honoured A-lo-pên by conferring on him the office of the Great Patron and Spiritual Lord of the Empire. The Law (of the Luminous Religion) spread throughout the ten provinces, and the Empire enjoyed great peace and concord. Monasteries were built in many cities, whilst every family enjoyed the great blessings (of Salvation).

During the period of Shêng-li (698—699 A.D.) (18), the Buddhists, taking advantage of these circumstances, and using all their strength raised their voices (against the Luminous Religion) in the Eastern Chou, and at the end of the Hsien-t'ien Period (712 A. D.) some inferior (Taoist) scholars ridiculed and derided it, slandering and speaking against it in the Western Hao. But there came the Head-priest (or Archdeacon) Lo-han (19), Bishop Chieh, and others, as well as Noblemen from the "Golden" region and the eminent priests who had forsaken all worldly interests. All these men co-operated in restoring

the great fundamental principles and united together to re-bind the broken ties.

The Emperor Hsüan-tsung (712—755 A. D.), who was surnamed "the Perfection of the Way," ordered the Royal prince, the King of Ning-Kuo and four other Royal princes to visit the blessed edifices (i. e., monastery) personally and to set up altars therein. Thus the "consecrated rafters" which had been temporarily bent, were once more straightened and strengthened, whilst the sacred foundation-stones which for a time had lost the right position were restored and perfected. In the early part of the period T'ien-pao (742 A. D.), he gave orders to his general Kao Li-shih to carry the faithful portraits of the Five Emperors and to have them placed securely in the monastery, and also to take the Imperial gift of one hundred pieces of silk with him. Making the most courteous and reverent obeisance to the Imperial portraits, we feel as though "we were in a position to hang on to the Imperial bow and sword, in case the beard of the Dragon should be out of reach." Although the solar horns (i. e., the August and Majestic Visages) shine forth with such dazzling brilliance, yet the gracious Imperial faces are so gentle that they may be gazed upon at a distance less than a foot.

In the third year of the same period (744 A. D.) (20) there was a priest named Chi-ho in the Kingdom of Tach'in. Observing the stars, he decided to engage in the work of Conversion (lit., transforming influence); and looking toward the sun (i. e., eastward), he came to pay court to the most honourable (the Emperor). The Imperial orders were given to the Head-priest (Archdeacon) Lo-han, priest P'u-lun and others, seven in all, to perform services

to cultivate merit and virtue with this Bishop Chi-ho in the Hsing-ch'ing Palace. Thereupon the monastery-names, composed and written by the Emperor himself, began to appear on the monastery gates; and the front-tablets to bear the Dragon-writing (i. e., the Imperial hand-writing). The monastery was resorted to by (visitors) whose costumes resembled the shining feathers of the king-fisher bird whilst all (the buildings) shone forth with the splendour of the sun. The Imperial tablets hung high in the air and their radiance flamed as though vying with the sun. The gifts of the Imperial favour are immense like the highest peak of the highest mountains in the South, and the flood of its rich benevolence is as deep as the depths of the Eastern sea.

There is nothing which "The *Way*" cannot effect (through the Sage); and whatever it effects, it is right for us to define it as such (in eulogy). There is nothing which the Sage cannot accomplish (through "The *Way*"); and whatever He accomplishes, it is right we should proclaim it in writing (as the Sage's work).

The Emperor Su-tsung (756—762 A. D.), the Accomplished and Enlightened, rebuilt the monasteries of the Luminous (Religion) in Ling-wu and Wu-chün (21). The great Good Spirit continued to assist him and the happy reign began anew. Great blessings were given (to him and his people) and the Imperial inheritance was made secure.

The Emperor Tai-tsung (763—779 A. D.), the Accomplished and Martial, greatly magnified the sacred Throne to which he succeeded. He observed the rule of non-assertion and walked in The Way of the Silent-operation. Every year when the (Emperor's) birthday recurred (22),

he bestowed celestial incense (on the priests) wherewith to report (to Heaven) the meritorious deeds accomplished by him. He distributed provisions from his own table and thereby gladdened the congregation of the Luminous Religion. Moreover, Heaven blessed him with great blessings, and what he did cannot but reach far and wide. As the Sage is the Embodiment of the Original Way of Heaven, he completes and nourishes the objects of his favours.

Our present Emperor (who named the present period) "Chien-chung" when he ascended the throne (in 780 A. D.) is most sacred and august alike in the works of Peace and War. He developed the "Eight" (objects) of Government, and degraded the unworthy whilst he promoted the deserving. He exhibited the "Nine divisions" of the grand scheme of Imperial government; and thus imparted new life and vigour to his own Illustrious Mission. Conversion (i. e., the transforming influence) leads (the people) to the understanding of the most mysterious Principles. There is nothing to hinder us from offering our thanksgiving prayers for him.

That those who are noble and exalted may behave humble-mindedly; that those who are devoted to the Perfect Stillness may also be sympathetic and lenient to others; and that they may thus seek, with boundless mercy, to relieve the sufferings of all, and with unselfish benevolence extend their helping hand to all mankind, these are our great plans for daily discipline and training, and gradual elevation of our life. Furthermore, in order that the winds and rains may come in their due season; that peace and tranquillity may prevail throughout the Empire; that all men may act reasonably; that all

things may remain undefiled: that the living may flourish, and those who are dead (or dying) may have joy; that the words of the mouth may be in tune with their inmost thought as the echo follows the sound:—all these are the meritorious fruits of the power and operation of our Luminous Religion.

Our Great Donor, the priest I-ssü (23) who had the title of Kuang-lu-ta-fu (i. e., one of the highest titles conferred on an officer), with the decoration-rank of the Gold (signet) and the Purple Robe, and who was also the Lieutenant-Governor-General-of the Northern Region, and the Assistant Over-Seer of the Examination Hall, was honoured with the purple clerical robe. He was mild in his nature and was naturally disposed to charity! Ever since he heard of "The *Way*," he endeavoured to practise it. From afar, from the "City of the Royal Palace" (24), he finally came to the Middle Kingdom. His fame of learning was highly exalted during the three generations, (i. e., the reign of the three Emperors), whilst he enjoyed the full development of knowledge and skill in all the Arts. First performing certain faithful services to (the one who dwells in) the "Red Court" (i. e., the Emperor Su-tsung), he finally inscribed his name in the Imperial book (i. e., thus pledging himself to be a loyal subject).

When the Duke Kuo Tsü-i (25), a Secretary of State and Viceroy of the Fên-yang Province, was first appointed to the charge of the military operations in the Northern Regions (750 A. D.) the Emperor Su-tsung ordered him (I-ssü) to accompany the Duke to his command. Although he was so intimate with the Duke as to be admitted into his sleeping tent, yet so strictly and respectfully did he (I-ssü) behave that he made no difference between

himself and others on the march. He proved himself to be "claw and tusk" to the Duke; and "ear and eye" to the Army.

He distributed all his salary as well as the gifts conferred on him, and did not accumulate wealth for himself and for his own family. He made offerings (to the monastery) of the Sphatika (i. e., crystal) which had been granted to him by the Emperor himself, and dedicated to the monastery the gold-interwoven carpets which (despite his humble refusal) had been given to him by the Emperor's own favour. He also restored the old monasteries to their former condition, whilst he enlarged the worship-halls afresh. The corridors and walls were nobly ornamented and elegantly decorated; roofs and flying eaves with coloured tiles appeared like the five-coloured pheasant on the wing.

Still further, ever since he took refuge in the Luminous Portals, he spent all his income in benevolent deeds. Every year he assembled the priests of the four monasteries (26) to have their reverent services and earnest offerings of prayers for fifty days. The hungry came to be fed; the naked came to be clothed; the sick were cured and restored to health; the dead were buried and made to rest in peace. Among the purest and most self-denying Ta-so (i. e., Tarsa or God fearing man) of the Lord such excellent examples were never heard of; but we see this very man amongst the white-robed scholars of the Luminous Religion!

To the glory of God for all these eminent and meritorious events (above described), we engrave the following Eulogy in a form of poetical composition on this great Monument.

It is the true Lord who was Uncreated,
 And was ever profoundly firm and unchangeable.
 He created the Universe after His own plan,
 And raised the Earth and framed the Heaven.
 Dividing His God-head, He took human form
 And through Him, Salvation was made free to all.
 The Sun arising, the Darkness was ended.
 All these facts prove that He is the True Mystery.

The most Glorious and Accomplished Sovereign
 Surpassed all His predecessors in upholding "The
Way."

Taking Time at its flood, He so settled all disorders
 That Heaven was expanded and Earth widened.
 The brightest and most brilliant of all teachings —
 The teaching of the Luminous Religion —
 Took root deep and firm in our Land of T'ang.
 With the translation of the Scriptures
 And the building of convents,
 We see the living and the dead all sailing in one
 Ship of Mercy ;
 All manner of blessings arose, and peace and plenty
 abounded.

Kao-tsung succeeded to the Throne of his Fathers ;
 He re-built the edifices for Holy use.
 Palaces of Peace and Concord stood resplendent far
 and near ;
 The rays shining from them filled every part of the
 Empire.
 The truths of "The *Way*" were made clear to all
 men.

Setting up a new institution, he created "the Lord
Spiritual";

And every man enjoyed most blessed peace and joy,
Whilst the land saw neither pain nor grief.

When Hsüan-tsung commenced his glorious career,
With might and main, he pursued the Way of Truth.
The temple-names written by the Emperor shone
forth;

The tablets of the celestial hand-writing reflected
gloriously.

The Imperial Domain was embellished and studded
with gems,

While the least and the remotest places attained the
highest virtue.

All sorts of works undertaken by the people flourished
throughout the land;

And each man enjoyed his own prosperity.

When Su-tsung finally was restored to the Throne,
The Celestial Dignity guided the Imperial vehicle;
At length the sacred Sun sent forth its crystal rays;
Felicitous winds blew, and the Darkness fled;

Thus the precious Throne was made secure
To the Imperial family of the great T'ang.

The causes of calamity took flight—never to return;
Tumults were settled and men's passions subdued;
The ideals of the Middle Kingdom were at last
realized.

Tai-tsung was filial to his parents and just to all.
His virtues united with the great Plans of the Uni-

verse.

By his unselfish benevolence, he helped all mankind,
Whilst the greatest blessings were realised in the
abundance of wealth and prosperity.

By burning fragrant incense, he showed his gratitude ;
With benevolence he distributed his gifts to the
people.

The Empire became so enlightened as though the
glory of the Rising Sun in the Eastern Valley
And the full Moon in her secret cave were brought
together as one.

When our present Emperor ascended the Throne,
He took the reins of government and named the
"Chien-chung" (Period).

He devoted himself to the cultivation of the Luminous
Virtue.

His military sway quelled the tumults of the Dark
Sea in the Four Quarters,

Whilst his peaceful rule of Enlightenment purified
every part of the world.

As the light from a candle shines forth, so doth his
glory penetrate the secrets of men.

As the mirror reflects all things, so nothing is hid
from his observant eye.

The whole Universe gets life and light because of
him.

And even many of the rudest tribes outside the
Empire take pattern by his government.

How vast and extensive is the True *Way* :

Yet how minute and mysterious it is.

Making a great effort to name it,

We declared it to be "Three-in-one"!
 O Lord nothing is impossible for Thee!
 Help Thy servants that they may preach!
 Hereby we raise this noble Monument,
 And we praise Thee for Thy great blessings upon us!

Erected in the Second year of the Chien-chung Period (781 A. D.) of the Great T'ang (Dynasty), the year Star being in Tso-o, on the seventh day of the First month (the day being), the great "Yao-sên-wên" day; when the Spiritual Lord, the Priest Ning-shu (27) (i. e., "mercy and peace"), was entrusted with the care of the Luminous Communities of the East.

(In Syriac) In the day of our Father of Fathers, my Lord Hanan-isho, Catholicos, Patriarch. (*See p. 70 Fig. 1. (B)*)

(In Chinese) Written by Lü Hsiu-yen, with the title of Chao-i-lang (i. e., a court rank corresponding to the upper sixth rank of T'ang, and was the Superintendent of the Civil Engineering Bureau of T'ai Chou (i. e., a Department in Chekiang).

(Below the Inscription, partly in Syriac and partly in Chinese, are these notices) —

(In Syriac) In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks (1092-311=A. D. 781) my Lord Yazed-bouزيد, priest and chorepiscopus of Kumdan, the Royal city, son of the departed Milis, priest from Balkh, a city of Tahouristan (28), erected this Monument, wherein is written the Law of Him, our Saviour, the Preaching of

our forefathers to the Rulers of the Chinese. (cf., the Syriac transcribed and literally translated below)

(In Chinese) Priest Ling-pao (僧靈寶)

(In Syriac) Adam, deacon, son of Yazedbouzid (29), chorepiscopus; Mar Sergius, priest and chorepiscopus.

(In Chinese) The Examiner and Collator at the erection of the Stone Tablet, priest Hsing-t'ung (僧行通).

(In Syriac) Sabr-isho, priest; Gabriel, priest and archdeacon, and the Head of the Church of Khumdan and of Sarag (30).

(In Chinese) Assistant Examiner and Collator at the erection of the Stone Tablet, priest Yeh-li (僧業利), the Head-priest of the Monastery, who is honoured with the purple-coloured ecclesiastical vestment, and who is the Director of the Imperial Bureau of Ceremonies, Music, and Sacrifices.

(The Syriac Writings in the lower part of the monument transliterated and literally translated.) (*For the Syriac see Fig. 2, p. 71*)

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Basnath</i> | <i>alep</i> | <i>w'thes'in</i> | <i>w'tharthen</i> |
| In the year | thousand | and ninety | and two |

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>d'Iaounaie</i> | <i>mari</i> | <i>Yazedbouzid</i> | <i>kasisa</i> |
| of Greeks, | My Lord | Yazedbouzid | presbyter |

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>w' korepiskopa</i> | <i>d' Khoumdan</i> |
| and Chorepiscopus | of Khumdan, |

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|------------|-------------|
| <i>midinath</i> | <i>malkoutha</i> | <i>bar</i> | <i>nih</i> |
| city of | King, | son | of diseased |

nap'sa *Milis* *kasisa* *d'men*
spirit, Milis, presbyter from

Balkh *midinatha* *d' Thahouristhan*
Balkh, city of Tahouristan

akkim *laouha* *hana* *d' khepa*
erected monument this of stone

dakhathiban *beh* *madbarnoutheh*
are written in which the Law of Him,

d'paroukan *wa'khrozouthoun*
our Saviour, and the Preaching

d'abahain *da'louath* *malke*
of our forefathers to the Rulers

d'chinia : (31)
of China.

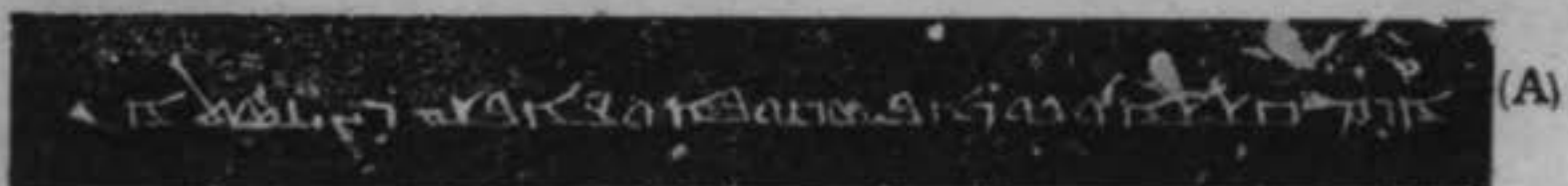


Fig. 1 THE SYRIAC REFERRED TO PP. 53 AND 68

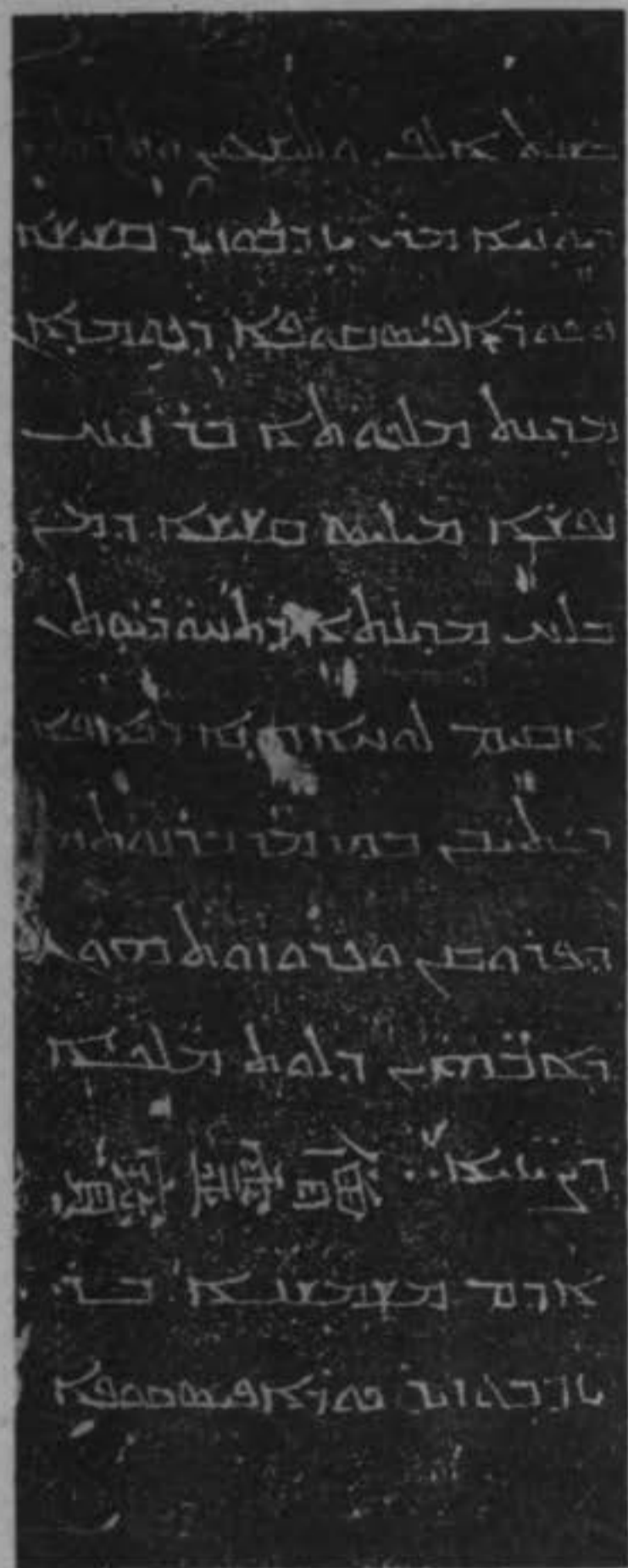


Fig. 2

THE SYRIAC AND CHINESE WRITINGS IN THE LOWER PART OF THE MONUMENT.

The Syriac names on the left-side

The First Row

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------|
| <i>Mari</i> | <i>Iouhanan</i> | <i>Episkoupa</i> | 大德曜輪 |
| Mar | John | Episcopus | |
| <i>Aisahak</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 日 進 | |
| Isaac | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Iouel</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 遙 越 | |
| Joel | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Mikael</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 廣 慶 | |
| Michael | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Giorgis</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 和 吉 | |
| George | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Mahadad</i> | <i>Gousnap</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 惠 明 |
| Mahadad | Gousnap | Presbyter | |
| <i>Mesihadad</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 寶 達 | |
| Messihadad | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Aphrim</i> (32) | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 拂 林 | |
| Ephraim | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Abi</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | | |
| Abi | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Daouid</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | | |
| David | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Mouse</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 福 壽 | |
| Moses | Presbyter | | |

The Second Row

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------|------------------|-------|
| <i>Bachous</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | <i>w'ihidaia</i> | 僧 崇 敬 |
| Bacchus | Presbyter | and Monk | |
| <i>Elia</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | <i>w'ihidaia</i> | 僧 延 和 |
| Elias | Presbyter | and Monk | |
| <i>Mouse</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | <i>w'ihidaia</i> | |
| Moses | Presbyter | and Monk | |

| | | |
|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Ebed-isou</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | <i>w'ihidaia</i> |
| Ebedjesu | Presbyter | and Monk |
| <i>Simeoun</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | <i>d'Kabra</i> |
| Simeon | Presbyter | of Kabra |
| <i>Iouhanis</i> | <i>masamsana</i> | <i>w'iada</i> |
| John | Minister | and Monk 僧 惠 通 |

The Third Row

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| <i>Ahroun</i> | 僧 乾 祐 |
| Aaron | |
| <i>Petrous</i> | 僧 元 一 |
| Peter | |
| <i>Ayoub</i> | 僧 敬 德 |
| Job | |
| <i>Louka</i> | 僧 利 見 |
| Luke | |
| <i>Mathai</i> | 僧 明 泰 |
| Matthew | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | 僧 玄 真 |
| John | |
| <i>Iesou'emeh</i> | 僧 仁 惠 |
| Jesu-ameh | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | 僧 曜 源 |
| John | |
| <i>Sabrisou</i> | 僧 昭 德 |
| Sabra-jesu | |
| <i>Iesou'dad</i> | 僧 文 明 |
| Jesu-dad | |
| <i>Louka</i> | 僧 文 貞 |
| Luke | |
| <i>Konstantinous</i> | 僧 居 信 |
| Constantine | |
| <i>Nouh</i> | 僧 來 威 |
| Noah | |



Fig. 3

THE NAMES ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE MONUMENT.
 (Translated pp. 72—75) (For the modern addition spoiling the original
 Inscription see p. 12 the Chinese Text (A) of this book.)

The Fourth Row.

| | |
|-------------------|-------|
| <i>Aizadsapas</i> | 僧 敬 真 |
| <i>Izadsafas</i> | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | 僧 還 淳 |
| John | |
| <i>Anoush</i> | 僧 靈 壽 |
| Enoch | |
| <i>Mar Sargis</i> | 僧 靈 德 |
| Mar Sergius | |
| <i>Aisahak</i> | 僧 英 德 |
| Isaac | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | 僧 冲 和 |
| John | |
| <i>Mar Sargis</i> | 僧 凝 虛 |
| Mar Sergius | |
| <i>Pousai</i> | 僧 普 濟 |
| Phuses | |
| <i>Simeoun</i> | 僧 聞 順 |
| Simeon | |
| <i>Aisahak</i> | 僧 光 濟 |
| Isaac | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | 僧 守 一 |
| John | |

The Syriac names on the right side

The First Row

| | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Pakoub</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 老宿耶俱摩 |
| Jacob | Presbyter | |
| <i>Mar Sargis Kasisa</i> | <i>w'korepiskopa</i> | <i>Shiangthsoa</i> (33) |
| Mar Sergius | Presbyter and Chorepiscopus | of Shiangtsou |
| 僧景通 | | |

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Gigoi</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | <i>w'arkediakon</i> | <i>d'khoumdan</i> |
| Gigoi | Presbyter | and Archdeacon | of Khumdan |
| <i>w'makrianea</i> | 僧 玄 覽 | | |
| and Doctor | | | |

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------------|--|
| <i>Poulous</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 寶 靈 | |
| Paul | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Samsoun</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 審 慎 | |
| Samson | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Adam</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 法 源 | |
| Adam | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Elia</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 立 本 | |
| Elia | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Aisahak</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 和 明 | |
| Isaac | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 光 正 | |
| John | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | 僧 內 澄 | |
| John | Presbyter | | |
| <i>Simeoun</i> | <i>Kasisa</i> | <i>w'saba</i> | |
| Simeon | Presbyter | and the Prior | |

The Second Row

| | | |
|------------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>I'akoub</i> | <i>Kankia</i> | 僧 崇 德 |
| Jacob | Temple-keeper | |
| <i>Ebedisou'</i> | 僧 太 和 | |
| Ebed-jesu | | |
| <i>Isou'dad</i> | 僧 景 福 | |
| Jesudad | | |
| <i>I'akoub</i> | 僧 和 光 | |
| Jacob | | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | 僧 至 德 | |
| John | | |

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| <i>Soubhalmaron</i> | 僧 奉 真 |
| <i>Sherbhalmaran</i> | |
| <i>Mar Sargis</i> | 僧 元 宗 |
| <i>Mar Sergius</i> | |
| <i>Simeoun</i> | 僧 利 用 |
| <i>Simeon</i> | |
| <i>Aprim</i> | 僧 玄 德 |
| <i>Ephraim</i> | |
| <i>Zakaria</i> | 僧 義 濟 |
| <i>Zacharia</i> | |
| <i>Kourikou's</i> | 僧 志 堅 |
| <i>Cyriacus</i> | |
| <i>Bakous</i> | 僧 保 國 |
| <i>Bacchus</i> | |
| <i>Emanouel</i> | 僧 明 一 |
| <i>Immanuel</i> | |
| The Third Row | |
| <i>Gabriel</i> | 僧 廣 德 |
| <i>Gabriel</i> | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | |
| <i>John</i> | |
| <i>Salimoun</i> | 僧 去 甚 |
| <i>Salomon</i> | |
| <i>Aisahak</i> | |
| <i>Isaac</i> | |
| <i>Iouhanan</i> | 僧 德 建 |
| <i>John</i> | |



Fig. 4

THE NAMES ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE MONUMENT.
(Translated, pp. 75—77)

NOTES ON THE NESTORIAN INSCRIPTION

(1) The translations and annotations of the Inscription were given by various authors during the past 300 years since the discovery of the Monument. Of innumerable works on the subject, we may only mention the following:

- (1) Father Trigault, S. J.: The Latin translation, 1625 A. D.
- (2) Father Diaz, S. J.: 唐景教碑頌正詮 1644 A. D.
- (3) A. Wylie: The Nestorian Tablet in Se-ngan Foo, 1854.
- (4) J. Legge: The Nestorian Monument of Hsi-an Fu, 1888.
- (5) H. Havret, S. J.: La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou, (Variétés Sinologiques: VII. 1895; XII. 1897; XX. 1902)
- (6) J. E. Heller, S. J.: Das Nestorianische Denkmal in Singan Fu, 1897.
- (7) T. J. Lamy et A. Gueluy: Le Monument Chrétien de Si-ngan-fou, 1897.
- (8) P. Y. Saeki: The Nestorian Monument in China, 1916.
- (9) C. E. Couling: The Luminous Religion, 1925.
(with the translation made by P. Y. Saeki)
- (10) 潘紳 (P'an Shên): 景教碑文註釋 1926.
- (11) I. Ying-ki and Barry O'Toole: The Nestorian Tablet at Sianfu, 1929.
- (12) Pelliot: A very instructive article by the great Professor on the subject may be seen in the T'oung Pao, 1914, pp. 624—626.

(13) L. Giles: *Bulletin Sch. Or. Stud.*, 1917, pp. 93—96; 1918, pp. 16—29; 1920, pp. 93—94.

(14) A. C. Moule: *Christians in China before 1550 A. D.* 1929.

(15) John Foster: *The Nestorian Church of T'ang Dynasty.* 1939.

(2) The word Ta-ch'in here meant that part of the Roman Province where our Lord was born, whilst a "Ta-ch'in" monastery in this Inscription clearly means a Nestorian Church in China (*vide infra*, Notes 3—4).

(3) *The Ta-ch'in Monastery*

This is the general name for a Nestorian Church or monastery in China. The temples or monasteries in China which enjoy the title of "ssü" (寺) were limited to those that were established or supported by the Government according to the Law of the T'ang Dynasty. The name of "Aranyakah" (蘭若) or Chao-t'i (招提) was used for the Buddhist temples which were not established or supported by the Government. The Ta-ch'in-ssü, the Nestorian Churches or monasteries, enjoyed the title of "ssü," and this fact alone shows that they were established or supported by the Government while some of the Emperors and high officials favoured the Syrian Christians in China. But how far the Chinese as a people were influenced by the Nestorians in China is a different problem altogether.

Ching-ching (景淨) or Adam is known by the designation of "priest of Ta-ch'in-ssü." This shows he belonged to one of the Ta-ch'in monasteries or Nestorian Churches in China at that time when he composed the Inscription. But to decide which Ta-ch'in-ssü or Nestorian monastery he belonged to, is not an easy problem to

solve as there were several Nestorian Churches in China. As far as we can know for certain there were at least four strong Nestorian monasteries — each with several chorepiscopus and archdeacons besides many priests whose total number amounts to more than 70 in all at the time when this Inscription was composed. One Nestorian monastery was at Ch'angan as mentioned in the Chinese part of the Inscription or at Khumdan, the Royal City, as mentioned in the Syriac part of the same (*vide supra*). But that one in the capital of T'ang was no other than that of the I-ning Ward (義寧坊) mentioned in the Inscription. The second was one that existed at the Hsiu-shan Ward (修善坊) of Loyang, the East capital of T'ang. That the Nestorian Church existed at Loyang may well be proved from the Imperial Edict of 716 A. D., as well as from the Syriac part of the Inscription describing Gabriel as "Priest and Archdeacon and Head of the Church at Khumdan and Sarag," since Khumdan stands for the Western capital, while Sarag is the Sanscrit word 娑囉譏 (सलोक) corresponding to "lo" (洛) in Chinese as mentioned in Pan-yü-chien-tzū-wen (梵語千字文) by I-ching (義淨) (大正新修大藏經五十四卷) (See Note 28, and the T'oung Pao, 1925 A. D.) The Imperial Edict of 716 A. D., says; "Know ye that the Persian Ching-chao (波斯經教) is originally from Ta-ch'in. Since its coming to, and spreading in, our Middle Kingdom, its monastery was built here for the first time and the name was given accordingly. But in order to make the Teaching widely known the fundamental idea of the Teaching must be cultivated. Therefore, we give orders that the name of the Persian monasteries in the *two capitals* should be changed into the 'Ta-ch'in monastery,' and that those

monasteries in the other places should also be adjusted to this rule."

The third Nestorian monastery was in Ling-wu (靈武), whilst the fourth important one was at Wu-chün (五郡) as is so clearly stated in the Inscription, although this fact was so far overlooked by all the translators of the Inscription. Regarding the geographical position of a place called Wu-chün in the District of Chou-chih (整屋), where even this day an old Tower which once belonged to the Nestorian monastery there can be seen, see Chapter I of Part II.

And it is plain that Priest Ching-ching did not reside in the Nestorian monastery at Ling-wu or at Loyang since he laboured with Prajna in translating Satparamitta Sûtra sometime between 782—788 A. D. Such a work could not be done unless Ching-ching was residing near the place where Prajna was. And this fact alone makes us to presume that Ching-ching was either in Ch'angan or in its neighbourhood — possibly in Ch'angan, whilst his having the title of "Papas of Chinestan" might have required him to stay in the Western Capital—Ch'angan or Khumdan—more than any other place. So we may not be in the wrong to conclude that Ching-ching was at the I-ning Ward where the Nestorian monastery was built by the Imperial orders in 638 A. D., although this does not necessarily mean that the Monument was, therefore, erected where Ching-ching was, for the Monument itself was erected in honour of Lord Yazedbouzid, son of Priest Milis and father of Deacon Adam, whose Chinese name was Ling-pao (靈寶) as mentioned in the Inscription.

(4) We have two different forms of Syriac words for

China in the Inscription. One is the form of Chinestan or Zhinestan, the other is that of China or Zhina. The former is a local designation of the country, meaning the "Land of the Chinese," whilst the latter is a legal appellation of the country meaning "The State of China" or "China and the Chinese." The word "China" in the title "Papas of Chinestan" which we read here is one, and "the ruler of China," which expression we find in the Syriac part of the Inscription, is the other.

Regarding this Syriac title which Ching-ching has, the Chinese "fa-shih" (法師), instead of "Papas," was suggested by some scholars. And they tried to identify this Syriac word in question with the Chinese Buddhist title of "fa-shih" (法師), whilst others insisted that the Chinese Buddhist title must be one of the three Chinese words, viz., fa-ssü (法司) or fa-shih (法士) or fa-shih (法師) (see the T'oung Pao, 1911, pp. 664—670; 1913, p. 428; Moule: Christians in China before 1550, p. 38; Heller: Das Nestorianische Denkmal, p. 41—42).

We, however, still keep our own old rendering this Syriac word ܡܦܫܐ "papas," although to transliterate it "papash'" may be correct. We are keeping our old view on the ground that, in the first place, the Syriac word for "papas" was so differently spelled, viz.,

- (1) paps (ܡܦܫܐ)
- (2) papas (ܡܦܫܐܫܐ)
- (3) papa (ܡܦܫܐ)
- (4) ppa (ܡܦܫܐ)
- (5) ppas (ܡܦܫܐܫܐ).

In the second place, the Syriac title "papas" like the Greek $\pi\alpha\pi\alpha\varsigma$ was not confined to mean either Pope or Patriarch only, whilst in the Eastern Church this title of

papas was commonly used for honourable title given to a priest in the ninth century, and finally, the Chinese Buddhist title "fa-shih" (法師) is another word for "Ho-shang" (和尚) as every one knows and is no other than the Sanscrit Upadhyâya, literally meaning "Self-taught teacher," and is used to designate Buddhist ecclesiastics of any rank. And it cannot be very appropriate to be used to designate a Nestorian priest with the rank of chorepiscopus.

(5) Refer to Matthew II. 1—12. "Ta-ch'in" here evidently means Judea or that part of the Roman Province of Syria where the Lord Jesus Christ was born.

(6) The number of the Sages corresponds to that of the names of the Books of the Old Testament.

(7) The Chinese characters "Ching-fêng" (淨風) literally meaning "pure wind" are nothing but *πνευμα ἁγιο* corresponding to Spiritus Sancta. It will be worth while to notice that in the Alopên's documents the Chinese characters "Liang-fêng" (涼風) literally meaning "cool wind" were used (*vide infra*).

(8) By "the twenty seven standard volumes of His Sûtras," of course, the New Testament is meant. But this is rather difficult to harmonize with the ordinary view, for the Syriac Churches accept only twenty-two of our New Testament books. The Nestorians of East Syria were slow to accept the four disputed general Epistles and the Book of Revelation. Nor did these ever find their way into the Peshito version. That they were recognized

by the Nestorians in the eighth century is an important point for consideration by students of the Syrian canon.

(9) Compare this expression with "the Sacristan rose up to beat the board to summon the congregation for the office of the night." (The Book of Governors, vol. II. p. 244)

(10) Regarding this word Alopên, various suggestions have been made ever since the Latin translation of the Inscription was published in 1625 A. D., by Father Trigault. J. S. Assemanus writes: "*Olopuen* Sinicum nomen est, si bene conjicio, ex Syriaco *Jab-allaha* formatum: nam *Allaha*, quod Deum significat Sinae pronunciabant *Olo*, ut supra dictum est § I. *Jab* verò, quod *dedit* sonat, aut brevitatis gratia rejectum est, aut ex genio linguae Sinicae in *Puen* mutatum, nominique *Olo* subjunctum." (p. DXL. Bibliotheca Orientalis, vol. III. part ii.)

The Rev. J. W. Etheridge after Assemanus identified the word Olopuen (or Alopên) with the Syriac words *Aloho punoya* (the Conversion of God), his ordinary name in Syriac being Jabh-allaha. M. Pauthier says that Alopên is the Syriac name of Alopeno (ܐܠܘܗܐ ܥܘܢܐ) signifying "return of God": "Ce nom est Syriaque; il s'écrit: ܐܠܘܗܐ ܥܘܢܐ Alopeno, et signifie retour de Dieu; la première partie du nom étant formée des deux premières syllabes du nom de Dieu, A lo ho: Eloha." L'Inscription Syro-chinoise de Si-ngan-fou, Monument Nestorian, p. 15, (1858). Sir Henry Yule suggested that O-lopen may be a Chinese form of the Syriac Rabban (Cathay and the Way thither, vol. I. p. 94). Perhaps Assemanus and Ethridge may be right to suggest "Yabh-allaha" for "A-lo-pên;" but we should like to stick to our old theory to identify

the word Alopên with Abraham. Our ground is that the word "Abraham" in the Inscription of Jews at K'ai-fêng-fu was designated with the Chinese characters 阿無羅漢 (A-wu-lo-han) or 羅漢 (Lo-han), whilst the Persian Prince by the name of Abraham was designated with the Chinese characters 阿羅憾 (A-lo-han) in the Inscription on the Stone-Tablet set up in 709 A. D., to commemorate the late great Persian Chieftain, the General and Commander of the Right Wings of the Imperial Army of Great T'ang. (大唐故波斯國大酋長右屯衛將軍上柱國金城郡開國公波斯君丘之銘). (See the Appendix No. 1. of this Book.)

Again, we have another Chinese designation 羅含 (Lo-han) in another part of the Nestorian Inscription, and which Lo-han may also well be identified with Abraham, different as are the Chinese characters, since the "A" sound in the first syllable is very often omitted in the Chinese transcription of the Syriac name.

From these and many other facts we are rather inclined to believe that to identify the word "A-lo-pên" (阿羅本) in question with "Abraham" is more reasonable than to identify the same word with Yabh-allaha or any other name.

(11) The ninth year of Chên-kuan (貞觀) Period exactly corresponds to 635 A. D. This was the year in which the Nestorian Mission under Bishop Alopên arrived at Ch'ang-an; and it is generally considered as the beginning of the Nestorian Church in China. But we must remember that this is the year in which the Nestorian Mission made a public and glorious entrance to the Capital by the special favour of the reigning Emperor, whilst the propagation of Nestorianism or the emigration of the

Nestorians into China must naturally have preceded this public entrance of the missionaries in 635 A. D., since it is recorded in Chinese History that even in 578 A. D., (宣政之季) already a great Nestorian family of Mar Sargis immigrated from the Western Lands to Lin-t'ao (臨洮), Kan-su (甘肅). (金史卷百二十四馬慶祥傳) (金華黃先生文集卷四十三) (遺山文集卷二十四恒州刺史馬君神道碑).

(12) *The Sûtras were translated, etc.*

We are not yet in a position to say that the whole Bible was actually translated. The word "Sûtras" may mean the Bible or Scriptures, but it may also mean the Church literatures. In one of the two Nestorian documents discovered by Prof. Pelliot in 1908 A. D., we read a list of some 30 Nestorian Sûtras (經) translated into Chinese. Although we can not identify them all, it is certain that the term "Sûtras" may be used for anything that resembles "a catechism" or "a commentary" as other Nestorian documents we have here translated will show (*vide infra*).

(13) *The I-ning Ward.* This is the name of a street in the Western part of the city of Ch'angan where the Nestorian monastery was built by the Government in 638 A. D., and twenty-one priests were ordained and attached to it. Not far from this place, that is to say, one ward or street lower and one ward or street towards the centre, would have been found the Buddhist convent by the name of Hsi-ming-ssü (西明寺), where a Buddhist priest Yüan-chao (僧圓照), the author of "the New Catalogue of the Books of Teaching of Shakya in the Period of Chên-yüan" (785—804 A. D.) was and in which con-

vent our Kobodaishi stayed when he was in Ch'angan during 804—806 A. D. And we feel it very strange that we do not find any trace whatever in the Complete Works of Kobodaishi, consisting of 50 volumes, concerning Nestorianism, or Priest Adam, whose Chinese name was Ching-ching, who laboured in translating Satparamitta Sûtra with Prajna in 786—787 A. D., because our Kobodaishi was under this very Prajna during his stay at the Capital during 804 A. D., and was given the newly translated Satparamitta by Prajna himself.

(14) This means that the great moral influence exercised by such men as the Duke of Chou (周公) (770—727 B. C.), and by Confucius (551 B. C.) and his followers, had departed long before the T'ang Dynasty arose to restore the moral code of the nation by means of its good government, since the chief reason for political revolution in China has always been the maintenance of the moral code of the nation. "The reign of the Duke of Chou" in Chinese thought means the Golden Age of the past and the ideal State of the future.

In Hebrew thought the Mosaic Age meant the same. And in China the past Golden Age or "ideally-fulfilled State" was the reign of the Duke of Chou. On the one hand the degenerated condition of China had continued ever since the virtue of the honoured House of Chou disappeared: and prevailing disorder was the result of this. And this fact was a very good reason why T'ai-tsung and his father should supplant the Sui Dynasty. On the other hand, "the rider on the black chariot" i. e., Lao-tzŭ (604 B. C.), having ascended to the Western Heaven, the Chinese people had been left without moral

guidance; and this might be utilised as a good argument for the Nestorians' coming to China and bringing a Religion for the Chinese millions. As in politics the T'ang supplanted the Sui Dynasty, so in religion the Nestorians ought to succeed the Taoists. These are the ideas conveyed in the expressions of the Inscription.

Regarding the expression "the rider on the black chariot," it is needless to say that the author alluded to the old philosopher Lao-tzŭ who is said to have disappeared from the country on such an animal, and was supposed never to have died.

Among the fragments of old documents found by Prof. Pelliot at Sha-chou (沙州) in 1908, there is a book entitled "The Sŭtras explaining Lao-tzŭ's ascent to the Western (Heaven) and his Incarnation in the Land of Hu" (老子西昇化胡經). In other words, it may be called, "The reincarnation of Lao-tzŭ in the Western Lands." The author of this book seems to suggest another Incarnation of the Tao (道) or "Way" (i. e., the Logos in the Chinese sense).

The personal name of the author of the book discovered by Prof. Pelliot is lost, and there is no knowing who and what he was; but he evidently tried to argue that the Sages in the West, whether Sakyamuni or others, were but reincarnations of Lao-tzŭ in their respective lands. He insisted that the Sages were all the same; and that if they were not the same, they could not be Sages. The differences between them, according to this author, are only in name or appellation.

And this view agrees with the opinion expressed by the Emperor T'ai-tsung as preserved in the Nestorian Inscription: "Sages have no fixed or immutable body."

(15) This must be the first time that the Chinese Emperor's portrait was ever painted on the wall of a Christian monastery. Many years afterwards when the Emperor Hsüan-tsung (742—752 A. D.) sent the five Imperial portraits to the monastery, he only followed the good example set by the Emperor T'ai-tsung in 638 A. D.

Fresco portraits painted on the wall were at that time quite fashionable, as is proved by those discovered lately at Khotan (于闐) and in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang (燉煌千佛洞) in Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein as well as Prof. Pelliot and the Rev. Z. Tachibana.

(16) "*According to the descriptive records of Western Lands, and the historical works of the Han and Wei Dynasties, etc.*" This description of Ta-ch'in by the Nestorian missionary priest in the eighth century makes the identification of Ta-ch'in rather difficult.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Dr. Legge, despite all his knowledge of China and things Chinese, regretfully says: "I could wish that this paragraph about Ta-ts'in had not been put in the Inscription, and it is difficult to perceive the object which it serves," whilst even the most thorough-going work of Dr. F. Hirth on the subject could not extricate him from the "Fu-lin Mystery" — the country of Fu-lin coincided with the ancient Ta-ch'in (p. 286, *China and the Roman Orient*). We partly agree with Dr. Legge. But, apart from its original aim and purpose, does not this paragraph reveal to us the progress of the world in the course of twelve hundred years? It was once so believed by the Nestorians and others in China.

Besides, this proves how keen the missionaries were.

in describing the good things in the home-land. The land of Buddha had hitherto been described as the best country in the world, but now we find the land of the Luminous Religion described as the ideal country by the author of the Nestorian Inscription, who is quoting old Chinese books.

(17) *“He caused monasteries of the Luminous Religion to be erected in every Prefecture. . . . He honoured Alopén by conferring on him the office of the great Patron and spiritual Lord of the Empire, etc.”*

We regret to say that we can not as yet find any trace of historical facts to verify these statements that the monasteries of the Luminous Religion were erected in every Prefecture, nor any trace that such an office as the great Patron and spiritual Lord of the Empire was ever instituted, although it is an historical fact that in 690 A. D., the Empress Dowager Wu, as Chinese history records, “caused monasteries of the Great Cloud Religion (大雲寺) to be erected in every Prefecture” (資治通鑑卷二百四唐紀二十), whilst the Japanese Sovereign, Shomu-Tennō taking a leaf out of the Chinese Rulers’ book caused a Buddhist monastery to be built in every province of Japan. This is what we call “the system of a State-established monastery in every province” (國分寺制) in the history of Japan. But as far as the Nestorian monasteries are concerned, we can not verify what is written here.

(18) *The period of Shêng li (聖曆)*. This is one of many year-names of the Empress Dowager Wu, and lasted only two years, viz., from 698 to 700 A. D. The Inscription thus passes from 683 A. D., in which Kao-tsung died, to

699 A. D., i. e., about the middle of the Empress Dowager Wu's reign, which practically began in 683 A. D., when she usurped the throne by displacing the Crown Prince, Chung-tsung, the legitimate eldest son of Kao-tsung and lawful heir to the throne, and appointing his illegitimate son Jui-tsung. This Jui-tsung was under her thumb, so to speak, and she managed to keep the reins of government in her own hand through that Prince until she died in 705 A. D., when Chung-tsung was restored to the throne.

During the Empress Dowager Wu's reign she changed the name of the Dynasty from T'ang to Chou (周). Hence there were two Capitals in China at that time, as the Inscription says.

The city of Loyang appears in the Inscription as "the Eastern Capital of Chou," and Ch'angan as "the Western Hao," which was the name of the Capital of King Wu, one of the greatest kings that ever ruled over China and the Chinese. The Empress Dowager Wu claimed descent from the great King Wu, and adopted all the old Chou names wherever possible.

The Period of Shêng-li corresponds to the fifteenth and sixteenth years of Ssü-shêng (嗣聖) of the Emperor Chung-tsung (中宗). The end of Hsien-t'ien (先天) was the first year of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung, and was the last year of the Emperor Jui-tsung, who succeeded Chung-tsung in 710 A. D. This came to pass, as Chung-tsung who had regained the throne from the Empress Dowager Wu in A. D. 705, was murdered in 710 A. D.

Chung-tsung was succeeded by Jui-tsung, who, however, abdicated in favour of his own son Hsüan-tsung in 712 A. D. This accounts for that year having had two names, the name of "T'ai-chi" (太極) as being the last

year of Jui-tsung, and that of "Hsien-t'ien (先天)" as being the first year of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung.

From 712 A. D. to the end of 755 A. D., China being under the glorious rule of Hsüan-tsung, might be called "the Periclean Era of Chinese history."

Hsüan-tsung, one of the greatest emperors who ever sat on the throne of China, was the second greatest after the Emperor T'ai-tsung during nearly three hundred years of the T'ang Dynasty.

But during some thirty years, i. e., from 683 to 712 A. D., the Luminous Religion was in the most difficult position, because the Buddhists were supreme in the reign of the Empress Dowager Wu, whilst the Taoists were very influential during the reigns of Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung, and also in the early part of Hsüan-tsung's reign.

How the Nestorians obtained their influence over the great Emperor Hsüan-tsung is not far to seek. In the first place, it must have been due to the persons of whom the Nestorian Papas Adam, Ching-ching (景淨), speaks in this Inscription. In the second place, through the foreign intercourse of the time, the Nestorians represented the advanced popular party. Without the aid of the Syrian Christians or of the Mohammedans, the Chinese could not easily procure "things Western."

(19) Both "Lo-han" (羅含) in this Inscription and "Lo-han" (羅漢) in the Inscription of Jews at Kai-fêng-fu were identified with "Abraham" together with Alohan (阿羅憾) of the Stone-Tablet of the Persian Prince as already stated (*vide supra*).

Bishop Chi-lieh (及烈) was identified with "Gabriel" by Dr. Heller (*Das Nestorianische Denkmal*, s. 48). He

may be right, but we must not forget that in this Nestorian Inscription Yeh-li (業利) and Kuang-tê (廣德) both represent "Gabriel." No doubt, the former is the Chinese phonetization of "Gabriel," whilst the latter is the translation of the Hebrew word Gabriel, which means "Hero of God." "Kuang-tê," in Chinese meaning "Extensive virtue," is the most important attribute to a "Hero of God." Again, "Yeh-li" (業利) in Chinese is pronounced "Gyo-ri" in Japanese, which is much closer to the old Chinese pronunciation of the T'ang Era than the Modern Chinese.

Judging from the fact that the name "Chi-lieh" is pronounced "Kyu-re-tsu" in Japanese, we thought that it must be some Persian or Syriac name whose first letter had the "k" sound whilst its old Chinese sound is "Ky-liat," and we concluded that the word ought to be identified with "Cyriacus" instead of "Gabriel."

Whether this Bishop Chi-lieh be identified with "Gabriel" or "Cyriacus" it is a conspicuous fact that this Bishop's name appears in the Chinese Annals of the T'ang Era. The Book called 冊府元龜卷九百七十一 says:

"In the twentieth year of the K'ai-yüan (開元) in the ninth moon (October) (732 A. D.), the King of Persia sent the chief P'an-na-mi (潘那密) (which name may be Ba-na-mi or Barnabi) accompanied by Bishop Chi-lieh to Ch'angan, the Capital, as the Persian envoy.

"The chief was decorated with the Imperial order of Kuo-i (果毅), 'Heroic-brave,' whilst the priest was presented with a purple-coloured vestment besides fifty pieces of silk."

This chief, whose name P'an-na-mi, may well be identified with "Bar-na-by" or "Barnabus," must have

been one of the noblemen from the "Golden Region" (i. e., the Western lands) mentioned in the Inscription. Doubtless there were others of whom as yet we are ignorant.

We do not know whether the Nestorians had recovered their influence before these Persians arrived in 732 A. D., or whether it was in consequence of their arrival. But, as the Emperor Hsüan-tsung ascended the throne in 713 A. D., what the Inscription records must have occurred before 732 A. D., in the Emperor's reign because we read in the book called 冊府元龜卷五百四十六:

"In the second year of K'ai-yüan (開元) (714 A. D.) Liu Tsé (柳澤) was appointed Censor of the Imperial Court and Supervising Censor over the Provincial Circuit of the South of the (Plum) Range (i. e., the two provinces of Kuantung and Kuangsi). Just at that time, Chou Ch'ing-li (周慶立) who was the Director of the Board of Foreign Trade and the Lieut. General of the Right (wing) of the Imperial Guard, presented to the Emperor various articles full of strange devices and wonderful designs, which he (i. e., Chou Ch'ing-li) had made by Chi-lieh (及烈), a Persian priest."

"The Nestorian Sûtra on "the Origin of Origins" with the date of October 26th, 717 A. D., and "the Nestorian Hymn in adoration of the Transfiguration of Our Lord" with the date of May 2, 720 A. D. (*vide infra*) very recently discovered in China will also prove what is written in the Inscription is true.

(20) *In the third year of T'ien-pao a priest by the name of priest P'u-lan.*

The Chinese ideograph for the "year" was first changed from "nien" (年) to "tsai" (載) in 744 A. D.,

by an Imperial Decree. Observing this; the author of the Inscription used 載 "tsai" instead of "nien" (年).

This is one of the many internal evidences in favour of the genuineness of the Nestorian Monument. The third year of T'ien-pao corresponds to 744 A. D. The Chinese "Chi-ho" is pronounced "Gi-wa" in Japanese and in old Chinese it is pronounced G'ïët-ruâ and may well be identified, with "Giwargis" (i. e., George). This priest Chi-ho must have been "Bishop George" who came from Ta-ch'in with a reinforcement of monks, having been encouraged by the news of the Mission's great success brought back by the Persian chief P'an-na-mi, whom we identified with Barnabus or Barnaby, and Bishop Chi-lieh.

Priest P'u-lun may be identified with the Syriac name of Paul, although we once thought that P'u-lun might be identified with "'Phrim" or "Ephraim."

(21) That Wu-chün (五郡) which literally means "five Countries" or "Prefectures" is the proper name of a place which is within the District of Chou-chih as was proved by our Articles on the subject. (see the Chapters I and II of the Part II of this Book, and the Journal of N. C. B. R. A. S., 1936) (See also 昭和七年十二月東方文化學院東京研究所發行東方學報所載「大秦寺の所在地に就いて」and 向達著唐代長安與西域文明附錄第二).

(22) *The Birthday Festival.*

Huc, Wylie, Havret and others take this festival to be the birthday of the Messiah, but Dr. Legge rightly pointed out that in this case the birthday of the Emperor was meant.

In Nien Ch'ang's Biographical History of Buddhism (佛祖歷代通載 XIV. p. 18) it is recorded that Tai-tsung also had a service performed for him by a large company of Buddhist priests on his own birthday. It is the more curious because the same phraseology in our text is found there too (cf., Legge, op. cit., p. 19.)

But the explanation is that the Emperor was equally kind and sympathetic to Mohammedans, Manichaeans and Buddhists as well as to our Nestorians.

(23) *Our great Donor was the Priest I-ssü, etc.*

The Chinese characters for "Ta-shih-chu" (大施主), the great Donor, are well known characters among Buddhists. They stand for the Sanscrit "Danapati", which means either "to give" or "one who gives".

The Priest I-ssü (伊斯) was a Nestorian Priest whose Syriac name was perhaps Yazedbouzid who erected the Monument as mentioned in the Syriac part of the Inscription. He was a son of Priest Milis who came to China from Baikh, a city of Tahouristan, and was a man of great power and influence in Civil as well as in Military affairs. He possessed all the decorations and honours recorded here on the Nestorian Stone. But this is not unprecedented in Chinese history, especially during the T'ang Era, as a Persian Prince was made General of the Chinese Army as we have already pointed out.

Even among the monastic orders we have seen many instances of priests serving as soldiers or secular officials. Priest Fa-chien (法堅) of the Hsi-ming Monastery (西明寺), Ch'angan, was the Chief Staff-officer of the rebel army at the siege of Fêng-t'ien (奉天), Hsi-an, in 783 A. D. It was this Fa-chien who introduced into China the

use of "Turrus Ambulatoria," "Testudo Arietaria," and "Testudo," and some other Roman military weapons, a little before 783 A. D. (資治通鑑卷二百二十八唐紀四十四).

Again, the famous Priest Huai-i (懷義) was an Imperial favourite and a great military commander under the Emperor Jui-tsung. There were many warrior priests who were also civil officials, amongst the Buddhist clergy both in China and Japan. The Priest I-ssü was no exception to the general tendency of the age.

Foreigners, especially those from Central Asia or Turkistan were best fitted for such commands, because the Imperial army of China was then composed of mercenaries from the Uigur and other tribes. It was an army of all races and tongues with different creeds. So the most important things for the generals were to understand the various languages employed in it. Even the Commander-in-Chief, General Kuo-tzŭ-i, (郭子儀), to whom our Priest Yazedbouzid was attached by the Emperor's special wish, was a man of foreign extraction and a great master of foreign tongues.

(24) *The city of the Royal palace.....Balkh.*

There were at least two places known by the name of "the Royal City." The first was the royal residence of Magadha, a Kingdom in Central India. Rajagriha, "Royal City," was the first Metropolis of Buddhism. Of the second, we read in the famous "Buddhist Records of the Western World" by Hsüan-chuang (玄奘), the Chinese Pilgrim, in 629 A. D.

He usually calls it "Little Rajagriha" (i. e., Royal City). This "Little Rajagriha" is no less a place than the city of Balkh in Bactria, which is some 20 *li* in

circumference. We think that "the Royal City" mentioned on the Stone is this "Little Rajagriha," because in the Syriac part of the Inscription we find that many of the Nestorian priests, — above all, the father of Yazedbouzid—came from Balkh. It is not very difficult to imagine why the adjective "little" was dropped. Its omission before "Royal City" in this case was something like adding the adjective "great" before the name of the country, like "great T'ang" at the close of the Inscription.

It would have been a sacrifice on the author's part to omit the important adjective "great" before "the great Donor," or "great T'ang," or "great Yasumband." But in the case of "Rajagriha," the author attained his purpose of glorifying the city by simply dropping the prefix "little." He could not call Balkh the "great Rajagriha," because the title belonged to the Royal City in Magadha.

In the year 802 A. D., a merchant named Isaac, the Jew, took an elephant, the sacred beast of Buddhism, across the Alps to Charlemagne as a gift from the Khaliph of Bagdad, Haroun Al-Rashid (786—809 A. D.). The Nestorian Patriarch, Timothy I., was a great friend of the latter.

(25) *Kuo Tzū-i, a Secretary of State, and Viceroy of Fên-yang Province.*

He died in 782 A. D., a year after the erection of the Nestorian Monument. He was one of the ablest commanders of the T'ang Era, and held the highest post during the reigns of Hsüan-tsung, Su-tsung, Taitsung and Tê-tsung. He was given the command over the Northern

region by Hsüan-tsung in 756 A. D. The Emperor again appointed the famous Li Kuang-pi (李光弼) to the same post in 760 A. D.

General Kuo Tzŭ-i was very popular amongst the Uigur tribes. A story is told of how the Uigur soldiers when on the verge of revolt were pacified by him when they saw him appearing on horse-back. They all smiled, and laying down their arms at his feet, became the most loyal servants of the T'ang Government.

But if the Priest Yazedbouzid accompanied General Kuo Tzŭ-i to the north, as the Nestorian Inscription says, he could not have done so as Vice-commander of the Army in 756 B. D., because Ko Shu-han (哥舒翰), was then Vice-commander and was taken prisoner after the disastrous battle. This Ko Shu-han is another famous foreigner, whose father was a Turk and mother an Uigur as declared by An Lu-shan (安祿山), whose father is an Uigur and mother a Turk (我父胡母突厥。公父突厥母胡。).

The title of Vice-commander given to our Priest Yazedbouzid in Inscription must therefore be *ex post facto*. We are inclined to think that he succeeded the unfortunate Ko Shu-han, and if so, he would have accompanied, as the Inscription says, General Kuo Tzŭ-i in his second expedition to the north in 762 A. D.

Yazedbouzid, like his predecessor Ko Shu-han, whose mother tongue was Uigur must have been a great master of the Uigur language, for he had several thousand Uigur mercenaries under him.

(26) *Four Monasteries.*

The translators differ in their rendering of this phrase. Abé Huc gives "the four temples" and Wylie "the four

churches," but Legge translated the same phrase "all the monasteries," whilst Prof. Moule "the surrounding monasteries." Dr. Legge suggests in a footnote that this might be translated "the monasteries of the four quarters" instead of "all the monasteries" given by himself.

But we are rather inclined to think that this expression means "the four Nestorian monasteries" that existed in China — in Ch'angan and in its neighbourhood at that time. We know there was one Nestorian monastery in the I-ning Ward (義寧坊), which was built in 638 A. D., by the Emperor T'ai-tsung's orders as mentioned in the Inscription. There was another in the Hsiu-shan Ward (修善坊) of Loyang, the East capital of T'ang, as mentioned in the Syriac part of the Inscription — "Kumdan and Sarag." By the word Kumdan the western Capital was meant, whilst by the word Sarag the eastern Capital, Loyang, was meant (*vide infra*). Then the Inscription says that between 756 and 762 A. D., one Nestorian monastery was rebuilt at Ling-wu (靈武) and another at Wu-chün (五郡) in the district of Chou-chih (整屋) as we recently discovered. The Nestorian monastery at Wu-chün, rebuilt by the Emperor Su-tsung, seems to us to have been the centre of the four monasteries and was greatly connected with our Yazedbouzid, Priest and General. (See chapters I and II of part II of this book.)

(27) *Priest Ning-shu* (寧恕).

This name literally means "Peace-mercy," and is really the Chinese name for Hanan-Ishu, which literally means "Mercy of Jesus" in Syriac. He was the Patriarch who succeeded the Patriarch Jacob in 774 A. D. The Nestorian Monument was erected or, to speak more

correctly, unveiled, on the 7th of January, 781 A. D. (old style), which corresponds to the 4th of February, Sunday, 781 A. D. The Chinese Inscription states that it was

“Erected in the second year of the Chien-chung (建中) Period (i. e., 781 A. D.) of the great T'ang (Dynasty), the year-star being in Tso-o, on the seventh day of the First Month, the day being the great Yao-sên-wên.”

And these dates are also given in Syriac :

“In the days of the Father of Fathers, my Lord Hanan-Ishu, Catholicos, Patriarch.” And again :

“In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks (1092—311=781 A. D.) was erected this Stone Tablet.”

So it is quite clear that the Monument was set up on the 4th of February (new style), 781 A. D., when Hanan-Ishu was Patriarch of the Nestorian Church. But this date does not agree with that of the Patriarchate of Hanan-Ishu, who, according to European writers, is generally said to have died in 778 A. D.

How can we account for this apparent discrepancy? Dr. Legge says : “This is an important note of time, and occasions some little difficulty. We know from the Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino Vaticana of J. S. Assemanus, that this Hanan-Yeshu (the same as Hanan-Ishu) was created Patriarch of the Nestorians at Bagdad in 774 A. D., and died in 778 A. D., whereas here is this monument erected in 781 A. D. But is not this discrepancy rather a proof of its genuineness? The news of the Patriarch's death had not reached them at Ch'angan. In fact, according to Assemani (vol. III. pt. i. p. 347) the canon for communication between more distant Metropolitan Sees and the Patriarchate required the interchange

of messages only once in six years." (Dr. Legge: The Nestorian Monument in Hsian-fu, China, p. 29 note).

But Dr. Wright says that Hanan-Ishu, the Patriarch, died sometime in 779 A. D., instead of 778 A.D., the date given by Dr. Legge; whilst Dr. Budge says that this pious Patriarch Hanan-Ishu succeeded Mar Jacob as Nestorian Patriarch in 774 A. D., and died in 780 A. D. (The Book of Governors, vol. I. p. 111, and vol. II. p. 379)

We think that the death of Hanan-Ishu probably occurred sometime in October or November of the year 780 A. D. Our ground for this is that as no two authorities agree about the date of Hanan-Ishu's death, we are compelled to adopt the date nearest to the date of the Nestorian Inscription, for the date on the Chinese Inscription could not be in the wrong, as a rule. And we all know from the stone and metal writings that the date given in our Monument supports Dr. Budge. And Sir Aurel Stein has pointed out the exceeding accuracy of all Chinese historical dates. Here we can correctly interpret the date given in the Syriac by the trustworthy date given in the Chinese characters. According to which it was in 781 A. D., not 779 A. D., as very strongly insisted on by Dr. Mingana, that the Monument was erected, as far as the Chinese dating is concerned.

On the other hand, we are told by Dr. Wright and others that eight months elapsed between the death of Hanan-Ishu and the final election of his successor, Mar Timothy. This brings the Consecration of Mar Timothy down to May, 781 A. D., and the Nestorian Missionaries in China could not possibly know of Hanan-Ishu's death by the end of 780 A. D., when the Stone was finished

and only waiting for the day when it should be unveiled, which took place on the day which mentions "the 7th of the 1st month (o. s.)", being the 4th of February (n. s.) of 781 A. D.

In the famous "Book of Governors" by Thomas of Margha, 840 A. D., this Hanan-Ishu is thus mentioned: "And when the pious Hanan-Ishu, this other Catholicus, died, and a Synod was assembled to appoint a Catholicus, the Election to the Patriarchate was ordered and prepared for the blessed Mar Isho-Yahbh by all Bishops and Metropolitans and heads of believers, so that he might become the Patriarch, etc." (The Book of Governors, vol. I. p. cxi, vol. II. p. 382)

But Mar Isho-Yahbh was not made Patriarch after all. Mar Timothy succeeded Hanan-Ishu in May, 781 A. D. (Dr. Wright says, 779 A. D., and Dr. Budge says 780 A. D., whilst Dr. Mingana says that Hanan-Ishu's death took place in 779 A. D., as we have already mentioned). "The Book of Governors," describing "how Timothy obtained possession of the Patriarchate by fraud, like Jacob who obtained by fraud the blessings of Isaac his father," says:

"And when Timothy saw the face of every man fixed upon our Mar Isho-Yahbh, he advised him secretly when they were alone together, and said to him, 'Thou art an old man, and thou art not able to stand up and meet the attacks of the envious, Ephraim of Elam, Joseph the son of Mari, and other opponents'; but do thou excuse thyself, and become one of my supporters, and I will make thee Metropolitan of Adiabene; and to speak briefly, Timothy was appointed Catholicus and Patriarch, and was proclaimed among the heads of the fathers." (Dr.

Budge: The Book of Governors, Vol. II, p. 383)

Furthermore, what Dr. William Wright wrote about Timothy in his excellent work, "A short History of Syriac Literature" throws a side-light which explains why in the early part of 781 A. D., the Nestorians in China had "Hanan-Ishu" as the reigning Patriarch of the Nestorian Church in the Inscription. Dr. Wright (p. 191—192). says:

"Timothy I. was a native of Hazza in Hedhai-yabh and had been a pupil of Abraham Bar Dashandadh at the school of Bash-ishu in Saphsāphā. He became bishop of Beth Baghest, and stood well with the Muhammedan Governor of Mosul, Abu Musa ibn Mus'ab, and his Christian secretary Abu Nuh al-Anbari.

"On the death of Hanan-Ishu II., in 779 A. D., several persons presented themselves as candidates for the dignity of Catholicus. Timothy got rid of Isho-Yabh, abbot of Beth Abhe, by pointing out to him that he was an old man. unfit to withstand his younger rivals, and by promising, if he himself were successful, to make him Metropolitan, of Hedhaiyabh, which he afterwards did.

"Meantime, Thomas of Kashkar and other bishops held a Synod at the Convent of Mar Pethion in Bagdad, and elected the monk George, who had the support of 'Isā, the Court physician: but his formidable opponent died suddenly.

"Having by a mean trick attained the support of the archdeacon Bērōë and the heads of the various colleges, about eight months after the death of his predecessor.

"He still, however, encountered strong opposition, Ephraim, Metropolitan of Gundē-Shābhōr; Solomon, Bishop of al-Hadithah; Joseph, metropolitan of Marū or Merv, Sergius, bishop of Ma'allethayam and others held a Synod

at the Convent of Beth Hale, in which they made Rustam, Bishop of Hēnāitha, Metropolitan of Hēdhaiyabh in place of Isho-Yabha, and excommunicated Timothy, who retorted with the same weapon and deposed Joseph of Merv.

“Joseph brought the matter before Caliph al-Mahadi, but, failing to gain any redress, in an evil hour for himself became a Muhammedan. Once more Ephraim summoned his bishops to Bagdad and excommunicated Timothy for the second time, with no other result than counter-excommunication and some disgraceful rioting, which led to the interference of ‘Isā and in the restoration of peace.

“Timothy was duly installed in May, 780 A. D. He made the Bishop of Persia subject to the See of Seleucia, and appointed over them one Simeon as Metropolitan with orders to enforce a stricter rule than heretofore.

“In his days Christianity spread among the Turks, and the Khakan himself is said to have become a convert. Timothy’s disgraceful response to the Caliph al-Rashid in the matter of the divorce of Zabaidah may be seen in B. O. III., p. 161. He is said to have died in 204 A. H. (819—820 A. D.) or 205 A. H. (820—821 A. D.); but if he really was Catholicus for forty-three years, his death can not have taken place till 823 A. D.”

But, in the Book of Governors (vol. I. p. cxi), Dr. Budge says: “Here (at Nineveh) Isho-Yahbh lived until he became an old man, and he performed the episcopal office with such success that on the death of Hanan-Ishu II., who sat from 774—780, the Bishops and Metropolitans made all arrangements to elect him to the Patriarchate.”

Again (vol. II. p. 379): “Hanan-Ishu II., who succeeded Mar Jacob as Nestorian Patriarch, A. Gr. 1085, (774 A.

D.) (A. H. 157); he died A. D. 780."

If Hanan-Ishu died in 780 A. D., as said by Dr. Budge, the installation of Timothy must have been in May, 781 A. D., instead of May, 780 A. D., because, as Dr. Wright says, there was a lapse of eight months between the death of Hanan-Ishu and the installation of Timothy.

Both Dr. Wright and Dr. Budge refer to the same authority, Assemani: "Bibliotheca Orientalis." But Oriental writers being sparing in their use of dates, the two English writers differ in their conclusion, whilst Dr. Mingana from the date mentioned in a new Syriac manuscript hitherto unknown insists that the death of Hanan-Ishu took place in 779 A. D. (The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia. p. 39)

The Chinese date given in our Monument in China, however, supports, as we already said, Dr. Budge. The death of Hanan-Ishu most probably occurred in October or November 780 A. D., but the distance and disorder combined were enough to prevent the news from reaching China before the erection of the Monument.

(28) *Balkh, a City of Tahouristan.*

This name is designated by 薄羅, 縛渴羅, 巴里黑, 班勒紇, 把万黑部 etc., in Chinese.

The city of Balkh was one of 24 Metropolitan Sees of the Nestorian Church previous to the 13th century (Assemannus : B. O. vol. II. pp. 458—9). It was once the capital of Bactria or Zariaspa and situated on the right bank of the Adirsiah or Balkh River. The modern town, enclosed by a mud wall and having a citadel, occupies but a fraction of the surface embraced by the ancient city, the remains of which cover a space of

twenty miles in circumference, and comprises eighteen aqueducts, besides buildings of various ages, all in utter ruin. The antiquity and the greatness of the place are recognized by the native populations, who speak of it as "*the Mother of Cities.*" At a very early date, it was the rival of Ecbatana, Nineveh, and Babylon, and is said to have dated back to Nimrod. For a long time, the city and country was the centre of the chief sect of the Zoroastrian religion; Zoroaster himself is said to have died within its walls.

From the Hsi-yü-chi (大唐西域記) of Hsüan-chuang, a Chinese Pilgrim, we learn that in his time in the seventh century (653—646 A. D.), there were in Balkh, or in its vicinity, about a hundred Buddhist convents, with 3,000 devotees, and that there was a large number of *stupas* and other religious monuments. There were several important trade-routes from Balkh, stretching as far as India and China, and the city itself was of a cosmopolitan nature in the Middle Ages.

In 1220 A. D., Genghis Khan sacked the venerable city, butchered its inhabitants, and levelled all the buildings; but Marco Polo describes it "as a noble city and a great," although it was far greater in former days. But the Tartars and other nations have greatly ravaged and destroyed it. There were formerly many fine palaces and buildings of marble, and the ruins of them still remain.

The people of the city state that it was here that "Alexander took to wife the daughter of Darius." (Sir Henry Yule: Travels of Marco Polo, vol. I. p. 152).

In 1348, Timur completed the work of devastation which Genghis Khan and others had left undone.

Again, the city of Balkh, we are told, formed the seat of the government of Aurungzeb in his youth.

In 1733 it was conquered by Nadir Shah. Under the Durani Monarchy, it fell into the hands of Afghans. It was conquered by Shah Murad of Kurduz in 1820, and for some time past has been subject to the Khan of Bokhara. (大唐西域記 pp. 29—32; Vambery's Bokhara, 1878; Bretschneider's Medaeval Researches, vol. I. pp. 280—288; vol. II. pp. 100)

(29) *Adam, deacon, son of Yazedbouzid.*

Adam was a deacon of the Nestorian Church. And he was a son of Yazedbouzid who was chorepiscopus but who could canonically lead a married life. We have several tombstones whose inscriptions will prove this fact. (See Pt. II. ch. IV of this Book and).

(30) *Khumdan and Sarag.* Both are foreign names for Chinese cities known to the foreigners. Khumdan is Ch'angan, the Western Capital of T'ang, whilst Sarag is Lo (洛) or Lo-yang (洛陽), the Eastern Capital of the same. The Fan-yü-tsa-ming (梵語雜名) by Li-yen (禮言) of the T'ang Dynasty gives Khumdana (矩畝娜囊) (कुमुताना) (Kumutana) as the Sanscrit equivalent of Ching-shih (京師) (lit., a great city) meaning the "capital" of a country (大正新修大藏經五十四卷一二三六頁).

But why the foreigners called the Western Capital or Ch'angan by the name of Khumdan and the Eastern Capital by that of Sarag, we do not know except that the Sanscrit word 𑖀𑖩𑖫𑖬 (娑囉識) was given by I-ching to correspond to the Chinese character "Lo" (洛) as we

already stated (see Note 3 *supra*). As for "Kumutana" which was given as an equivalent of the capital or great city meaning "Ch'angan" we may still think that the foreign name is possibly the corruption of 關內 "Kandai" as it is pronounced in the Japanese, meaning "The Capital within the four forts."

(31) For the Syriac word for China in "The Ruler of China," see note 3, *supra*.

(32) *Priest Fu-lin* (拂林).

Here in contrast to the Chinese characters "Fu-lin" (拂林) the Syriac word "'Phrim" or "Ephrim" was given. This fact alone will show us that the proper name "Fu-lin" is nothing but the Chinese phonetization of the word "'Phrim" or "Ephrim." And this fact will naturally give a clue to the mystery which baffled great sinologists. We believe that so-called "Fu-lin Mystery" will be solved by this Syriac name. But, so far no sinologists have ever noticed this proper name of Fu-lin corresponding to the name of Ephraim (see Dr. Hirth: *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 283—286: Sir Henry Yule: *Cathay and the Way thither*, vol. I. 57 and vol. II. 403: M. Chavannes: *T'oung Pao*, 1908: Dr. Shiratori: *The Shiga-kuzasshi* vol. XV. 54. (See also Note 2 *supra*).

Apart from the Priest Fu-lin whose Syriac name is Ephraim it will be worth while to notice that the country of Ta-ch'in, where the Lord Jesus Christ was born, was also known as "the country of Fu-lin." The very name of "the country of Fu-lin" whose capital was "Wu-li-shi-lien (i. e., Jerusalem)" appears in the Alopên's Nestorian document (*vide infra*). So the following notes from the Chinese books may not be useless after all.

The Book called Wei-shu 魏書, written previous to A. D. 572, embracing the period A. D. 386—556, says: "The country of Ta-ch'in is also called Li-kan. Its capital is the city of Antu (Antioch)." The Old T'ang Annals called "Chiu T'ang-shu" (舊唐書) written towards the middle of the 10th century A. D., embracing the period A. D. 618—907, says: "The country of Fu-lin, also called Ta-ch'in, lies above the western sea." The New T'ang Annals called "Hsin T'ang-shu" (新唐書), written during the middle of the 11th century with the preface dated A. D. 1060, says: "Fu-lin is the ancient Ta-ch'in. It lies above the western sea."

Ming-shih or the History of the Ming Dynasty, concluded in A. D. 1724, embracing the period A. D. 1368—1643, says: "Fu-lin is the same as Ta-ch'in of the Han Period. It first communicated with China at the time of the Emperor Huan-ti (A. D. 147—168). During the Chin and Wei Dynasties it was also called Ta-ch'in, and they sent tribute to the Middle Kingdom. During the T'ang Dynasty it was also known by the same name, and they sent a tribute several times." This last mentioned book endorses that the word Fu-lin appeared in the time of T'ang Dynasty when the Sui-shu (隋書) was compiled, in which we read for the first time that there was a country called "the country of Fu-lin, 4,500 *li* northwest of Persia." These quotations from the Chinese books alone will show us that the country of Fu-lin is another name for this country of Ta-ch'in where the Lord Jesus Christ was born. Regarding, however, the question of what country was really meant by the country of Fu-lin, so far no one could identify it, and it is no wonder that it should very often be called "the Fu-lin mystery" by

Dr. Hirth and others. But if we study the Chinese characters used in the Inscription to represent the sound of Fu-lin we may bring the problem nearer to solution by remembering that Ta-ch'in where the Lord Jesus Christ was born is that country of Fu-lin. Here we shall set before the reader all the Chinese characters representing the name "Fu-lin" country.

I. Fu-lin Kuo (拂憐國) mentioned in the Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-chi (大唐西域記) by Hsüan-chuang (玄奘). This book was completed in 646 A. D.

II. Fu-lin (拂林) mentioned in the Sui-shu (隋書) as we already stated.

III. Fu-lin (拂臨) (又小拂臨國傍海西北是即大拂臨國) (慧超往五天竺國傳殘卷) mentioned in the fragments of a book discovered at Tun-huang by Prof. Pelliot in 1908.

IV. Fo-lin (佛隰) in the Yen-pao-t'an-yü (偃曝談餘) 7, as quoted in Ko-chih-ching-yüan (格致鏡原) ch. 33, p. 31, has been preserved under the name of Fu-lin.

Pauthier (De L'authenticité, etc., p. 42, note 3) following the example of Mr. Jaquet advanced the theory of its derivation from the Greek accusative $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ as part of the expression $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ alleged to have been originally used as a name for the capital, Constantinople, and supposed to survive in the Turkish Istanbul.

We have, however, among the names of the priests recorded on the side of the Nestorian Monument, "Priest Fu-lin" (僧拂林) with the Syriac name ܦܠܝܢ (Ephrim) added to it. This will prove beyond any doubt that the original sound "Fu-lin" is the corruption of "e-fu-lin" standing for "'Phrim," or "Ephraim" in English as far as the sounds of the Chinese characters in 781 A. D., are concerned. Such being the case, we can say that

Ta-ch'in where the Lord Jesus Christ was born was known to China as "the country of Ephraim."

(33) *Shiangtsoa.*

Dr. Heller suggested the Chinese word "Hsiang-chu" (鄉主) for this Syriac word. He wanted to have for it a Chinese word corresponding to "a country Bishop," whilst Prof. Pelliot has identified this word with a Buddhist title (座主) or (上座) given to those who are privileged to preach and to become abbots. (The T'oung Pao, XII. p. 665—666)

We, however, still believe this Syriac word *Shiangtsoa* is the proper name of a place, not a Buddhist official name, since there was no need of transcribing the Chinese word 座主 into the Syriac because the Syriac writing in the Inscription was meant only for those who could read and understand Syriac. It would have been no use to have the Sanscrit word *Sthavira* (座主), which was used by the Buddhists in China, written in Syriac to represent the Chinese sound. The context of the word "*Shiangtsoa*" forces us to believe that it is a proper name, not a name of office.

CHAPTER III

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE ALOPÊN'S DOCUMENTS

There are four Nestorian documents which we called the Bishop Alopên's Documents. They are as already mentioned in the Introduction :

(I) I-shen-lun (一神論), or "Discourses on Monotheism," but which really consist of three different Nestorian *logidia* in Chinese, viz.,

1. Yu-ti-erh (喻第二), which literally means "Parable, Part II,"

2. I-t'ien-lun-ti-i (一天論第一), which literally means "S'astras on one Deva, Part I," but which we translated "Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe,"

3. Shih-tsun-pu-shih-lun-ti-san (世尊布施論第三), which literally means "The Lôkadjyêchṭha's Discourse on Dana or Exhibition of Charity," but which we translated "The Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving," and

(II) Hsü-t'ing Mi-shih-so-ching (序聽迷詩所經), which we translated "Jesus-Messiah Sûtra."

A beautiful collotype edition of all these four documents was published in 1931 by the Kyoto Institute of the Oriental Culture Academy with a very good and concise introduction to them by Prof. Haneda.

In our preliminary remarks on these four documents we shall make some historical, philological and doctrinal observations in order to prove the genuineness of the documents by ascertaining the date and the authorship of

each document.

(I) Historical Observations.

As far as we know, no scholars at home or abroad have ever expressed their opinion against the genuineness of these documents, whilst those who made a special study on the subject are all convinced of the genuineness of these Nestorian manuscripts from both external and internal evidences. Regarding the date and the authorship, however, no specialist has as yet committed himself to declare his judgment, except Prof. Haneda who pointed out the fact that one of the Tomeoka Documents contains the following passages: "Though it is only 641 years since the time of the birth of Messiah, 'consisting of the five attributes', yet (His name) is known in all parts of the world." (See 223 verse of "the Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving" *infra*). And another contains the passage, "A point of space in the world of tangibility, for instance, is like the point between Persia and Fu-lin (i. e., Ephraim)." (See 63 of "the Parable, Part II" *infra*). And judging from these passages it is right that Prof. Haneda should declare that the Tomeoka Documents must have been originally written in 641 A. D., at a certain place situated somewhere on this side of the Persian Territory.

But Prof. Haneda somehow refrained from expressing his own view definitely regarding the date and the authorship of the Takakusu Document and left us in the dark regarding the most important question of all to decide which document is the oldest of the four documents. In another word, the great professor did not give any hint to decide which is the older—the Tomeoka

or the Takakusu Document. In the above-mentioned collotype edition published with Prof. Haneda's introduction, the Tomeoka Documents are put before the Takakusu Document. But such arrangement of the documents was simply done according to the time of the acquisition, as Mr. Tomeoka procured his in 1916, whilst Dr. Takakusu bought his from a Chinaman in 1922. Such arrangement, therefore, could not be taken for the expression of Prof. Haneda's opinion regarding this important question of the date of the documents.

Under these circumstances, it is our first duty to decide the most important question, viz., which is the older of all these documents, whether the Takakusu Document is the oldest of all the Nestorian documents yet found in China, or whether those of Mr. Tomeoka are older than that of Dr. Takakusu. And it is our opinion that the Takakusu Document is prior in time to those of Tomeoka which contain, as Prof. Haneda pointed out, the date of 641 A. D. And the reasons for our judgment on the important question are not far to seek.

Now, we read in the Nestorian Inscription: "Thus in the ninth of the period named Chên-kuan (635 A. D.) Alopên reached Ch'angan. The Emperor despatched his Minister, Duke Fang Hsüan-ling, with a guard of honour, to the Western suburb to meet the visitor and conducted him to the Palace. The Sûtras (i. e., Scriptures or Christian literatures) were translated in the Imperial Library. (His Majesty) investigated "the Way" in his own Forbidden Apartments and, being deeply convinced of its correctness and truth, he gave special orders for its propagation. In the twelfth year of the Chên-kuan Period (638 A. D.), in the seventh month of Autumn, the

following Imperial Rescript was issued, etc.”

These sentences quoted from the Inscription will show to any one, that between 635 A. D. and 638 A. D., a certain kind of Christian literatures must have been translated or composed in Chinese either by Bishop Alopên himself or by his men with the assistance of native Chinese scholars, whilst the Emperor himself investigated “the Way” or the outline of the Nestorian doctrine in his own Forbidden Apartments by reading these Nestorian literatures that might have been written by Bishop Alopên or his men.

Apart from these most reasonable presumptions based on the historical records in the Inscription, there is another proof, which, as already referred to, will show that the Tomeoka Documents were originally composed in 641 A. D. Consequently, if the fact that the Takakusu Document is older than any of the Tomeoka Documents by a few years is proved, then it will naturally, by any candid mind, be concluded that the Takakusu Document must have been written between 635 A. D. and 638 A. D. In other words, the Takakusu Document must have been written prior to the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on the Nestorian Teaching.

Over and beyond these facts, the very contents of the Takakusu Document itself will testify that our presumption is right, since what is contained in it bears characteristics to show that the document was written with special intention to give the Emperor the outline or general sketch of the whole Christian Teaching. And this will account for the author’s putting the Nestorian ideas of “Emperor worship” and “Ancestral worship” so conspicuously in front and emphasizing the Christian

filial piety and other moral precepts for daily life in such a way as to solicit the Imperial favour for the Nestorian Mission just arrived at the Capital. And any one who went through the text of Hsü-t'ing Mi-shih-ho Sûtra or "the Jesus-Messiah Sûtra," as we have it, cannot but be convinced that the Takakusu Document contains a surprisingly complete outline of the fundamental doctrine of Christianity and that it must have been presented to some one in order to teach the outline of Christianity, and that, therefore, it must have preceded the Tomeoka Documents in the order of reading, since the latter contain more advanced Nestorian doctrines than the former.

Besides, such a tract as this "Jesus-Messiah Sûtra" was just the thing to be presented to the Emperor T'ai-tsung for his investigation of "the Way" in his own Forbidden Apartments in the leisure hours of his busy life devoted to the management of the State affairs both war and peace.

Judging from these facts as well as from the contents of the Tomeoka Documents we may rightly presume that the Takakusu Document must really be the very first Nestorian Sûtra that was ever composed in the Imperial Library between 635 and 638 A. D., and that this document must have been written before the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript in 638 A. D. And the philological observations will also prove beyond any doubt that the Takakusu Document was written before any of the Tomeoka Documents was composed in 641 A. D.

(II) Philological or ideographical observations.

In these four documents which we named the Alopên's

documents in contrast to those that we called, for convenience' sake, the Ching-ching's documents, we find many foreign words in the Chinese phonetization. Above all, we have several Syriac words such as Jehova, Messiah, Jesus-Messiah, Maryam, Adam, Johanan, Pilatos, Joseph, Caesar, besides the words Jordan, Jerusalem, Ephraim, Judea, Jew and Judas, as well as such words as Satana and Shada together with such Sanscrit words as Kachâya and Bhûta as well as Yakchas and Râkchasas.

All these, being in the Chinese phonetization, may be full of interest to the student of Chinese phonetization, but we have to confine ourselves here to some important Syriac words simply to prove that the Takakusu Document is older than any of the Tomeoka Documents by a few years at any rate. But then the Tomeoka Documents themselves are more than 140 years older than the Nestorian Inscription by Bishop Ching-ching or Chorepiscopus Adam, while they are 70 or 80 years older than the two documents ascribed to Bishop Cyriacus. Although one of so called Ching-ching's writings, viz., the Tsun-ching or Diptychs commonly and erroneously ascribed to Ching-ching must be four or five generations later as we have proved. (*vide infra*)

In making our observations we shall confine ourselves to only half a dozen words or so since these few words will sufficiently answer for our purpose to prove that the date of the Takakusu Document precedes that of the Tomeoka Documents. Now, let us take for our observations the Chinese phonetizations for such words as "God," "Messiah," "Holy Spirit," "Jesus-Messiah" and "Holy-Jesus." No words are more sacred and venerable to Christians than these words. But, if we

take any of these important words in the Chinese phonetization from the Tomeoka Documents and compare these with other Chinese phonetization for the same word in the Takakusu Document, we shall perceive at once that the latter is prior in time to the former. Compare, for instance, the word "God" which is I-shen (一神) (lit., One God) all through in the Tomeoka Documents, whilst in the Takakusu Document the word "I-shen" does not occur even for once. But in place of the word "I-shen," to our great surprise, the word "Buddha" (佛) is used! Against the seventy or more words "I-shen" (一神) used in the Tomeoka Documents, we find absolutely no words for "I-shen" (一神), and where the word "God" was required, the word "Buddha" is used instead, as we may see in the 25, 87 and 97 verses of the Hsüt'ing-mi-shih-ho Sûtra. What does this mean? We believe that this fact clearly shows us that the Nestorian missionaries in 641 A. D., came to know for the first time that the Chinese word "I-shen" (一神) was a better word for the Nestorian document than the word "Buddha" to designate God, whilst, on the other hand, it shows that the Nestorian missionaries at Ch'angan did not even know of the proper word for God when they composed the Takakusu Document.

Again, let us turn our attention to the word "Messiah." In the Tomeoka Documents the Chinese characters used in the phonetization of the Syriac word "Messiah" are all through unified "Full-Teacher-Upbraid" (弥師訶), which are not bad or unworthy for the name of the Saviour at all. And, in the Nestorian Inscription as well as all other Ching-ching's documents the Chinese characters 弥施訶 (Mi-shih-ho) literally meaning "Full-Giving-Up-

braid" are found, which are not bad also. On the contrary, only in the Buddhist book in the time of Priest Ching-ching we find 彌尸訶 (Mi-shih-ho), literally meaning "Full-Corpse Upbraid," which is not a very worthy name for the Saviour as far as the Chinese characters are concerned. These facts show us that the Nestorian Church in China used the Chinese characters 彌師訶 (Full-Teacher-Upbraid) and 彌施訶 (Full-Giving-Upbraid) for the word Messiah between 641 A. D., and 781 A. D., as well as in the 10th century also, as the Tsun-ching (i. e., Diptychs) shows it. But in the Takakusu Document, to our great surprise, we find that very unworthy Chinese characters are used in the phonetization of the word Messiah. For instance, we find in the 160th verse of Hsü-t'ing-mi-shih-ho Sûtra 迷師訶 (Mi-shih-ho), which literally means "Confused-Teacher-Upbraid," whilst in the title of the Sûtra we find "Mi-shih-so" (迷詩所), literally meaning "Confused-Poem-Place." The word "place" or "so" (所) in Chinese must be the transcriber's error for "ho" (訶) or "upbraid." Now, such heterodoxial and nonsensical, if not blasphemous, forms of the Chinese phonetization can only be accounted for, if this Takakusu Document was composed previous to 641 A. D., when the Chinese phonetization for the word Messiah was finally established to be the one form of "Full-Teacher-Upbraid," which is one of the three different forms of the phonetization to be found in the Takakusu Document, in which we have 迷師訶 (Confused-Teacher-Upbraid) and 迷詩所 (Confused-Poem-Place) as well as 彌師訶 (Full-Teacher-Upbraid).

But the first two forms are never found in any other Chinese document, Nestorian or otherwise, whilst in the Takakusu Document we find this most abominable form

in the combination "Remove-Rat-Confusing-Teacher" (移鼠迷師訶) for "I-shu-Messiah."

And again, the Chinese characters used for "Holy Spirit" are all "Liang-fêng" (涼風), literally meaning "Cool wind" in the Takakusu Document, whilst they are "Ching-fêng" (淨風), literally meaning "Pure wind," exactly corresponding to the original Greek or Syriac in the Tomeoka Documents as well as in the Nestorian writings of the 8th and 10th centuries.

Finally, the Chinese characters used in the phonetization of the holy word Jesus are 移鼠 (I-shu), literally meaning "Remove-Rat" all through in the Takakusu Document. But in the Tomeoka Documents such abominable forms of phonetization are carefully avoided and the better Chinese characters 翳數 (I-shu), literally meaning "Feather-screen-number" are used as they are done in the Nestorian Document of the 8th century in China.

Judging from these few decisive evidences taken out of many other proofs, it is natural that we should conclude that the Takakusu Document is older than any of the Tomeoka Documents which were written in 641 A. D.

(III) Doctrinal observations.

Doctrinally speaking, again, we cannot but see that the Takakusu Document must have been the first Nestorian document that was ever composed in Chinese. We have already mentioned above that the Nestorian missionary who composed this Takakusu Document—Jesus-Messiah Sûtra—very strongly emphasized "Emperor worship" and "Ancestor worship." In fact, the author solemnly declares in this sûtra: "Now, all the sacred Emperors (i. e., Rulers) are no other than a god born

into this world" (93 verse). "(We know that) the palaces of the sacred Superior are all given to him by the various Buddhas" (99 verse). "If people should fear the Lord of Heaven they ought to stand also in awe of the sacred Superior (i. e., the Ruler) also" (80 verse). "Therefore, may it not be more correct to call the sacred Superior the Lord of Heaven Himself (on earth) as the former himself was made to be such (by the latter)" (82 verse).

Besides these words of "Emperor or Ruler worship," the author very strongly emphasized loyalty and filial piety, saying: "If there be any persons who will obey the sacred Superior's commands, then they are counted among those who understand reason" (85 verse). "Honour thy father and mother. Consider obedience to what your father and mother commanded you of the same rank that which was either commanded by the Lord of Heaven or by the sacred Emperor" (88 verse). "The second vow is to preserve filial piety and to supply parental needs with respectfulness" (102 verse) and so forth.

Furthermore, regarding Christian precepts for daily life, the author of the Takakusu Document borrowed the materials from Didache or *Διδάχη κυρίου*, "the Two Ways of Life and Death" as may well be inferred from the passage, "These (short views), however, may well teach all people what is good and what is bad" (69 verse). That is to say "the Two Ways of Good and Bad" corresponding to "the Two Ways of Life and Death," whilst thirty passages contained between 105—134 verses of our translation of the Takakusu Document almost all correspond to the respective passages of Didache Duo (*Διδάχη δύο*) (See D. IV, 1, 2, 3; D. II, 7; D. II, 2; D. I, 1; D.

II, 2; D. II, 3; D. II, 6; D. V, 2; D. I, 3; D. IV, 8; D. IV, 8; D. IV, 9; D. IV, 7; D. IV, 3; D. III, 2—9; D. IV, 31, besides Matthew VI. 12; Leviticus XIX. 13; Deut. XXIV. 14; Malachi III. 5; I Corinthian VI. 1—3)

We find that no such social morals or Christian precepts for daily life were taught emphatically in the Tomeoka Documents. But in the Tomeoka Documents the doctrine of Monotheism was emphasized, together with the story of the Fall of Adam, besides the necessity of the vicarious death of the Messiah as well as His death on the Cross, and His Resurrection and Ascension, and even the story of the Pentecost were stated. No such statements were found in the Takakusu Document. Then the Tomeoka Documents contain that famous verse in the Book of Isaiah (chap 52 : 7). (See the 97 and 98 verses of our translation of the Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving).

Furthermore, the distinction of Soul (魂魄) and Spirit (神識) which is, as every one knows, one of the characteristics of the Nestorian theology (See 85, 86 verses of the Parable, Part II and the 33 verse of the Discourse of the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe) was discussed, whilst a reference was made even to that difficult doctrine of *idiomata communicatio* in the Tomeoka Documents (See 83—86 verses of the Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe).

All these rather technical or theological statements would naturally follow the publication of the general or common Christian writings in any Mission field, and China of the T'ang Dynasty was no exception. We, therefore, can not imagine that the comparatively difficult theological documents owned by Mr. Tomeoka were written

before the Takakusu Document which gives the outline and general view of Christian precepts for daily life.

Thus historically and philologically as well as doctrinally speaking, we must conclude that the Takakusu Document must have been composed, before the Tomeoka Documents were written in 641 A. D. And, if our conclusion is right, we may not be in the wrong to presume, as we have done, that the Takakusu Document was composed between 635 A. D. and 638 A. D. And if the date of this document is fixed between 635 A. D. and 638 A. D., whilst the Tomeoka Documents bear the date of 641 A. D., then the place where these precious Nestorian documents were composed must be somewhere in Ch'angan, if not actually in the Imperial Library as mentioned in the Nestorian Inscription, and the author of all these four documents — the Takakusu and the Tomeoka Documents must be rightly presumed to be the work of Bishop Alopên or his men as already referred to. With these preliminary remarks we submit our translation to the reader.

佛說經義難息事誰能說天尊在後

亦時稱師訶說天尊序娑法云異見多少
誰能說經義難息事誰能說天尊在後
顯何在停心在處其何諸佛及非人平章
天向羅漢誰見天尊在於衆生無人得見天
尊何人有成得見天尊為此天尊顏容似
風何人能得見風天尊不盈少時巡歷世間居
編為此人人居帶天尊氣始得存活然始
得在家安至心意到日出日沒已來居見想
心去處皆到身在明樂靜度安居在天皆
諸佛為此風流轉世間風流無處不到天尊

The first eleven lines of the original manuscript
of the Jesus Messiah Sūtra

By kind permission of Dr. Takakusu

CHAPTER IV

(B) HSU-T'ING MESSIAH (1) SÛTRA

or

(Jesus-Messiah Sûtra)

- (1) At that time, preaching the laws of Hsi-po (2) (i. e., Jehovah) who is the Lord of Heaven, the Messiah spoke thus :
- (2) There may be different views more or less, but who can discourse upon "the remarkable nobleness" (3) of the meaning of the sûtras?
- (3) Who can discourse concerning the whereabouts of the Lord of Heaven previous to His revelation? What really was the place where He had dwelt till then?
- (4) All the Buddhas (4) as well as Kinnaras and the Superintending-devas (? Yama) and Arhâns can see the Lord of Heaven.
- (5) No human being, however, has ever seen the Lord of Heaven abiding with people.
- (6) Who had ever the sublime dignity (of character) to see the Lord of Heaven?
- (7) And this is because the Lord of Heaven is like the wind in His countenance. And who could possibly see the wind?
- (8) The Lord of Heaven incessantly going around all over the world, is constantly present everywhere.
- (9) On account of this, every man existing in this world only obtains life and continues his existence

- by the strength of the Lord of Heaven.
- (10) Only then every man can peacefully remain in his own abode, and his mind and thought may be able to attain (a rest).
- (11) From sunrise to sunset, he remains in his home, and from what he sees there, he hopes in his mind to follow wherever he may be led to go to.
- (12) The Person (of the Lord of Heaven) is in brightness, joyous and peaceful, and dwells in Heaven in comfort.
- (13) All the Buddhas "flow and flux" (i. e., wander here and there) by virtue of this very wind, while in this world, there is no place where the wind does not reach.
- (14) The Lord of the Heaven remains always in a place of comfortable joy and peace. But there is not a single consequence of (human) actions that will not be known to Him.
- (15) People in this world can know the movements of the wind. They only hear the sound thereof, but they cannot see the form thereof. (5)
- (16) No one can tell what the countenance of the wind is, whether it is straight or upright. It is not yellow or white. Nor is it blue. Nor can any one tell where the wind is constantly remaining.
- (17) The Lord of Heaven has the divine dignity of His own, and dwells at one place. But no one can apprehend the place where He dwells.
- (18) He knows, indeed, neither death nor separation (6) (lit., separating from the world.)
- (19) Ever since (the time) when heaven and earth

- were created in co-operation, the divine dignity of God has never been but manifested, and it has never been but the cause of immortality enjoying everlasting happiness.
- (20) Man, therefore, in extremity, will always do honour to the name of Buddha.
- (21) There are, however, many people who are very ignorant to designate their gods, and try to compare some of them to a kind of the Lord of Heaven at their heart.
- (22) And they also compose their Sûtras (and say) how noble and how sweet are those doctrines set forth therein.
- (23) Every man now talks in his vernacular speech, saying: we have each our own special Lord of Heaven. Each faith has its abiding (merit).
- (24) The Lord of Heaven, however, gives man mind and wisdom not a little.
- (25) Therefore, whoever wants to return for the charity-favour of Buddha should have, by reflection and self-examination, a clear comprehension of his own sins and wicked deeds.
- (26) If he does so, he will obtain Heaven even though he may not be well versed in the teaching.
- (27) And, it is the divine power that will nourish human bodies and make them grow big.
- (28) Let all the human beings consider well the fact that both body and life, as well as the bodily organs and the breath of all mankind, are what the Lord of Heaven brought to existence.
- (29) Staying on this earth all living beings will have their "flow and flux" respectively, whilst all the

atoms even have to undergo transformation and vicissitude. (7)

- (30) All the living beings! Be awakened to do good, and reflect and consider well, for all living things have to die and return to dust.
- (31) All the living beings have each a fixed span of life because of this wind (i. e., breath) in them.
- (32) When life is no longer, and one is about to die, then is the time when this wind (i. e., breath) leaves one's body.
- (33) Thought and mind of all human beings are not the wind itself. They are things that owe their existence to the wind.
- (34) When this wind is leaving living beings, it is the critical time for them, indeed.
- (35) Why, then, can not any one see the wind when it leaves him? And what is the countenance of the wind like? Can it be red or green, or of any other colour?
- (36) But, because people can not see the countenance of this wind, they say: Where can the Lord of Heaven be found?
- (37) People also say, why can we not see the Lord of Heaven?
- (38) But, how can people, living in the sins of the world as they do, see the Lord of Heaven here?
- (39) The Lord of Heaven has not the same body as that of a human being; and consequently, how can any one possibly expect to see Him?
- (40) No ordinary living beings can dare approach the Lord of Heaven.
- (41) Only those living beings who are blessed with

virtue and virtuous deeds in life can see the Lord of Heaven.

- (42) The world never saw the Lord of Heaven, and how can they ever discern Him?
- (43) If living beings themselves can never see the countenance of the Lord of Heaven, and how can they cultivate virtue to receive His blessings?
- (44) But, so long as they do not fall to "the Wicked-Way-Hell," they may forthwith attain "the Way to Heaven."
- (45) But even though they once attain "the Way to Heaven," if they continue to lead a wicked life, they will fall (again) into "the Wicked Way."
- (46) Likewise, if they do not show bright fruits they can not attain the "Heaven-Way."
- (47) You living beings! Consider these things well!
- (48) The great space above Heaven and Earth is very "great and great."
- (49) Even very wicked people who devote themselves to the acquisition of their daily livings are diligent and assiduous.
- (50) And those who exert their mind for their own country are generally awarded with Government office; and they may also be granted (by the Government) a measureless quantity of various kinds of food (i. e., the fief or domain).
- (51) But if there are some people who, regardless of the Greatness of Heaven, commit all sorts of wickedness, not obeying what is commanded, then, they will not get a Government post. Nor will they get any official allowance or reward.
- (52) On the contrary, they will mostly be deported

- and generally they die at the place of deportation.
- (53) And does not such as this show the Greatness of Heaven ?
- (54) All the sins themselves have come to this world, because our original ancestor committed the sin of disobedience in "the Garden of seed-and-fruit bearing (trees)."
- (55) All the living beings then ought to consider "the consequences of actions in a previous state."
- (56) But the Lord of Heaven Himself received the bitter suffering (in His own body) and then, for the first time, He managed to keep all the livings from falling.
- (57) And consequently, all the livings and "the real Buddha" are made not to remain separated very far. (8)
- (58) He then exclusively devoted Himself to the work of keeping all people from falling.
- (59) And thus He made the real blessings to accompany the good of people and the evil consequences to the wickedness.
- (60) The foolish people, however, have come to make the images of camels, elephants, bulls, mules, horses, reindeer, deer, etc., with wood or clay.
- (61) Though these people may make these images with their respective outward forms and appearances, and yet they cannot impart to them life by any means.
- (62) If you have any wisdom, consider well and reflect on yourself and observe closely the concatenation of all the causes and effects, and know also that what is stated here is all true.

- (63) In this world there are very many (cases) in which people make themselves (the images of) common people. They, again, make (the images of) gentlemen or priests. In such matter, they pretended to imitate the Lord of Heaven. They, however, can by no means impart to them the life.
- (64) And they are, together with all the other people, led astray by deception; and they make the images of gold, silver and copper, besides those of clay or wood.
- (65) Besides, they make various images of all sorts of animals and beasts.
- (66) Making a figure of man, they make it to look like a man; making a figure of horse, they make it to look like a horse; making a figure of bull, they make it to look like a bull, making a figure of ass, they make it to look like an ass.
- (67) But all these (figures) which they make can neither move nor talk. Nor do they eat nor drink. They have neither flesh nor skin. Nor have they bodily organs nor bones.
- (68) All details of these things are too many to be stated out in full at once; they can only be given in outlines and sketches.
- (69) These short views, however, may well teach all people what is good and what is evil.
- (70) By drinking and eating plentifully we may taste the essence. But by taking even a little, we can perceive whether it is tasteful or not.
- (71) (So it is with the doctrine). Only those who serve the Lord of Heaven can discourse on the doctrines and can compose the Sûtras.

- (72) All things written here may be full of admirable causes, though the historical accounts of the same may be brief.
- (73) But only those persons who serve the Lord of Heaven can discourse on the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven.
- (74) If there be a person who, in fear of the laws of the Lord of Heaven, acts according to his good conscience and does good deeds, besides he admonishes others to do the same, then, this man is said to be a man who "received the teaching of the Lord of Heaven."
- (75) But if any person who received "the precepts" of the Lord of Heaven not only constantly commits evil deeds himself but also teaches others to do the same, he can not be called a person who "received the teaching" of the Lord of Heaven.
- (76) Such person shall be thrown into "the Wicked Way" and be delivered to the King Yen-la.
- (77) Those persons who have "received the teaching" of the Lord of Heaven and who always said, we have "received the precepts" and we have taught others to "receive the same," ought to fear the Lord of Heaven and to take daily heed against their negligence.
- (78) All the living beings should fear the Lord of Heaven and should correct themselves by repenting of the sins they have committed. (9)
- (79) Both life and death; failure and success as well as the correction by repentance, are subject entirely to the gracious will of God.
- (80) If people should fear the Lord of Heaven, they

- ought to stand also in awe of the Sacred Superior (i. e., the Ruler) also.
- (81) The previous state of existence of the Sacred Superior and His opulence and happiness all have been assigned and appointed by the Lord of Heaven.
- (82) Therefore, may it not be more correct to call the Sacred Superior the Lord of Heaven Himself as the former Himself happened to be such?
- (83) It is, therefore, natural that all people should subject themselves to the Sacred Superior. All the people should obey the Sacred Superior's commands and prohibitions.
- (84) If there be any persons who dare either to omit doing what the Sacred Superior commanded them to do or dare to commit what He forbids, these people will deserve to be punished for "treason."
- (85) If there be any persons who will obey the Sacred Superior's commands, then, they are counted among those who understand reason.
- (86) And if there be any persons who will not only obey what is commanded by the Sacred Superior to do good deeds themselves but also make others do the same without doing any thing wicked, then, these persons are counted among those who have "received the precepts."
- (87) If there be any persons who, though they have already "received the precepts" do not fear the Lord of Heaven, then, they cannot be counted among those who have "received the precepts," in spite of professing that they rely exclusively on the teaching of Buddha. They are, in reality,

traitors !

- (88) In the third place, honour thy father and mother. Consider obedience to what your father and mother commanded you of the same rank that which was either commanded by the Lord of Heaven or by the Sacred Emperor.
- (89) In fact, if any persons do not fail, above all, to serve their father and mother as well as the Lord of Heaven and the Sacred Superior, then, these persons cannot but get abundant blessings from the Lord of Heaven.
- (90) Of all these three things, the first thing is to obey the Lord of Heaven.
- (91) The second is to obey the Sacred Superior.
- (92) The third is to obey father and mother. It is plain that all things in this world should be done with a view to serve father and mother.
- (93) Now, all the Sacred Superiors are no other than gods born into this world.
- (94) Though we came actually to existence by our father and mother, if we are thoughtful enough and if we have any wisdom at all, we should fear the Lord of Heaven and the Sacred Superior, besides we should fear our father and mother and do good deeds.
- (95) Those who have "received the Law and Teaching" of the Lord of Heaven should not act contrary to "the precepts."
- (96) Those who have received the Lord of Heaven and His teaching must first teach other people to worship all Devas. (10)
- (97) Then, the Buddha will be worthy of the name

to receive the suffering and to set up the Heaven and the Earth and make this world exist only for perfecting the concatenation of the causes of existence in purity and dignity.

- (98) Regarding the Sacred Superior, it is necessary that He should be so diligent and assiduous as to observe (the teaching) so that he may be inducted to enlightenment and be a good pattern.
- (99) (We know that) the palaces of the Sacred Superior are all given to Him by the various Buddhas.
- (100) The person of the Sacred Superior is naturally in accordance with His own wish.
- (101) It is taught by the Lord of Heaven Himself that all the living beings who do wicked deeds do rebel against the Lord of Heaven. They are not filial to their parent, too.
- (102) The second vow is to preserve filial piety and to supply parental needs with respectfulness.
- (103) All the people who gain "the Heaven-Way" will make their abode there when life ends, if they are filial to their father and mother and do not fail to obey what is commanded by them. (11)
- (104) So should we serve our father and mother for there are no creatures living that have not come to existence without father and mother.
- (105) The fourth vow is that, if any one professes to have "received the precepts," he should, then, be kind and good to all the living beings; and that he should neither hate anybody nor hold an evil thought toward any.
- (106) The fifth vow is that all the people should not

only not take life themselves but they should also persuade others not to do so, for the life of all living beings is of equal value to the lives of men.

- (107) The sixth vow is that none should commit adultery with another's wife. Nor should she be persuaded thereof.
- (108) The seventh vow is that none should steal.
- (109) The eighth (vow) is that all the people, when they see another's money and property, should not covet another's riches or his social rank or his field or his house or his man-servant or maid-servant.
- (110) The ninth vow is that none should make a special plot to forge a false document against some one else who happened either to have a good wife or family or to have good gold or a good house.
- (111) The tenth vow is that none should serve the Lord of Heaven with another's deposited things or at another's expense.
- (112) Besides these, there are very many things to be considered. (12)
- (113) You should not deceive another person by taking advantage of his defencelessness. (13)
- (114) If you happened to see a poor child you should not turn away your face from him.
- (115) And if your adversary is hungry you should feed him well giving food and drink abundantly, besides forgetting and forgiving the cause that made him your adversary.
- (116) If you happen to see another person labouring very hard, you should assist him by giving him

your own power of labour together with a drink of pure milk.

- (117) If you happen to see another person without clothing, you should clothe him by giving him some clothes.
- (118) You should not retain your "field-labourer" even a day, suppose your "property" (i. e., rent) fail to be brought in.
- (119) This is because the family circle and other relatives of the field-labourer may, more or less, not be able to escape from the cold and the freezing.
- (120) If you happen to see any hired labourer abused, you must also remember that all gods have their majesty and power (to punish), and that he who abused the labourer would be sure to be visited with "fire from Heaven." (14)
- (121) If a poor man should ask for some money, you should give it if you have some.
- (122) But if you yourself have not enough money (to spare), then you should send him away explaining to him why you can not give him so much, giving him only as much as you can spare out of your scanty purse.
- (123) If you happen to find another suffering from a chronic disease, you should not laugh at him, for it is not his own choosing that he should be suffering from such a disease. (15)
- (124) If you (happen to) see a poor boy with a chronic disease, who is then without his clothing or in his tattered garment, indeed, you should on no account laugh at him.

- (125) You should not take another's property by means of fraud nor should you take the possession of a thing by force.
- (126) If any person should be accused of any thing, let him be judged according to the real fact. He should not be made to yield to the crooked decision. (16)
- (127) If the brotherless or sisterless or a widow or an orphan should bring a complaint against any, they should not be wronged about the matter nor should there be any false decision concerning the case.
- (128) You should not boast nor be proud. (17)
- (129) You should not make others quarrel with, or fight against, one another either by telling tales or by falling in with what one of the parties says. (18)
- (130) There is already the One (Person) born to the world, and, therefore, bring not your complaint before the magistrate of districts or provinces. (19)
- (131) Even if you know the details of the matter you need not give any information thereof.
- (132) Those who have "received the precepts" should all be humble minded and not hate another. (20)
- (133) Let all the people be awakened to do good deeds, and stop contemplating doing any wicked deed. (21)
- (134) For, if we do much good, we shall have less condemnation.
- (135) Let, therefore, every one do good deeds constantly to all mankind
- (136) If any person should make his vows good, he is said to be a person who has "received the pre-

- cepts ”.
- (137) If any person, whilst transcribing (a sÛtra), comes to observe what is written in the sÛtra, he is likewise one who has “received the precepts.”
- (138) But those people who do not observe (what is written in the sÛtras) they can not be considered “persons of the precepts”.
- (139) But all the disposition and decisions are entirely the prerogative of the Lord of Heaven.
- (140) Both those elders and the great and the small (men) who have passed away will stand before us and admonish for our good deeds.
- (141) But the first (thing) to do is to obey the decision of the Lord of Heaven.
- (142) All the living beings are dependent upon the Lord of Heaven.
- (143) And (the Lord of Heaven) will not allow living beings to be killed.
- (144) Even in the sacrifice or in the worship, it is not permitted to kill (a human being).
- (145) So it is, indeed, forbidden in this teaching for any one oneself to take life of any living creature.
- (146) Both in the sacrifice and in the worship meat and meat-soup are used, and most reverentially they bless God (for His mercy) and they sacrifice the sheep and other (animals). (22)
- (147) If all the living beings do not do good deeds, in accordance with this teaching, they will be counted among the persons settled up for the final judgment. (23)
- (148) All the living beings, however, have turned their face away from (God) and committed sins and

- finally rebelled against the Lord of Heaven.
- (149) Seeing such was their manner of living, the Lord of Heaven took great pity on them and admonished them to do good deeds, and not to trust to (the old teaching).
- (150) The Lord of Heaven, therefore, made "the Cool Wind" (i. e., Holy Spirit) to enter a virgin named Mo-yen (i. e., Mary).
- (151) Hereupon, the "Cool Wind" entered the body of Mo-yen in accordance with the instruction of the Lord of Heaven.
- (152) Suddenly Mo-yen became pregnant.
- (153) This was done by the Lord of Heaven because He knew that the virgin had no man-husband yet, and because He wanted also to show the whole world that without a man-husband a virgin can be made pregnant.
- (154) And thus He made the whole world to see and say that the Lord of Heaven had dignity and power.
- (155) And thus He made all people to have a believing heart with purity and caused them to return to "good relation."
- (156) After her conception, Mo-yen gave birth to a son named I-shu (i. e., Jesus), whose father was the above-mentioned "Cool Wind." (24)
- (157) There were, however, ignorant people who thereupon said that, if the above-mentioned "Cool Wind" had made the virgin to conceive a son and caused her to give birth to a son, then such son must be at the bottom of the world.
- (158) Moreover, suppose a Sacred Superior (of the kingdom) should issue an Imperial Decree (about

any matter), wherever that document should be sent, there all the living would make obeisance before it.

- (159) Likewise, the Lord of Heaven dwells in Heaven above and completely controls the whole wide world.
- (160) And when I-shu Mi-shih-ho (i. e., Jesus the Messiah) was born, all the people of the world saw bright signs in heaven and on earth.
- (161) At last, a new Star appeared in heaven above, which the people saw from their dwelling places.
- (162) The Star was as big as a cart-wheel (25) shining bright and clear over the place where the Lord of Heaven was to be found.
- (163) Just about that time, the One (Person) was born in the City of Wu-li-shih-lien (26) (i. e., Jerusalem) in the country of Fu-lin (i. e., Ephraim).
- (164) When He was born as the Mi-shih-ho (i. e., Messiah), after the elapse of "five times" of one year, He began to talk. (27)
- (165) And (afterward) He preached to the people admonishing them to do good deeds.
- (166) When He was over twelve years old, He came to a purifying place named Shu-nan (i. e., the Jordan) and sought to be baptized (lit., to be named or to have a name given). (28)
- (167) And consequently, He went to Yao-ku-hun (i. e., John) and was immersed for washing.
- (168) At first, the Messiah submitted to (Yao-ku-hun) as a disciple.
- (169) (This) sacred (man) dwelt in a wild ravine. He neither ate meat nor drank wine from his birth.

- He only lived on raw vegetables and honey,—
honey on the ground.
- (170) At that time, there were many people who came to Yao-ku-hun. They all worshipped him, and from him they also “received the precepts.”
- (171) And now, Yao-ku-hun thought it proper to make the Messiah enter the To-nan (i. e., ? the Jordan).
- (172) The Messiah, after finishing the washing, came out of the water, when the “Cool Wind” descended from the Heaven in appearance of a dove and sat upon the Messiah, whilst (a voice) sounded in empty-space, saying :
- (173) The Messiah is my son ; all the people in the world must do what is told by the Messiah, obeying His command to do good.
- (174) The Messiah, then, showed to all the living beings that “the Way of Heaven” is no other than the decided will of the Lord of Heaven.
- (175) His decided will is to make all the living beings give up serving false gods.
- (176) Therefore, if any living being should hear these words, let him give up serving these false gods. Let him stop evil deeds, and forthwith do the good work in faith. (29)
- (177) The Messiah, (from) the twelfth year of His age until He was little over thirty-two years old, sought for all people of evil life and made them to return to the good life and the right way. (30)
- (178) When the Messiah got as many as the twelve direct disciples, He proceeded finally to endure suffering.
- (179) The dead (31) (lit., those that withdrew from this

world) were restored to life. The blind received their sight, "the deformed and strangely coloured people" (i. e., ? lepers) got cured slowly, whilst the sick were healed and restored at once, and those who were possessed of devils got their devils cast out, and the lame were specially healed.

- (180) Those who had all sorts of diseases came to the Messiah and wished to touch or get hold of His *Kachôya* and they all were cured.
- (181) Those who did all sorts of evils and those who turned not their way toward "the Right way" and those who did not believe in the teaching of the Lord of Heaven, together with those who were unclean and covetous, should never be utterly forgiven even whilst in this world.
- (182) Those "literary men" (i. e., scribes) who were addicted to wine-drinking and meat-eating and who served their false gods were left to remain where they were.
- (183) Subsequently, however, these men came forward to accuse (the Messiah) falsely. They spent their time in looking for every opportunity to destroy Him. (32)
- (184) But there were a great many people who believed in this teaching (of Him), and, consequently, they could not kill the Messiah.
- (185) Afterward, these wicked men combined themselves together and formed a party against Him, assuming the appearance of men of earnest faith and pure heart. (33)
- (186) Thus these men endeavoured to get rid of the

Messiah by the administration of justice.

- (187) But hitherto they could not find any means to entrap Him.
- (188) Thereupon, they slandered Him to those who were about the Great King.
- (189) While these wicked men were planning secretly wickedness, the Messiah continued to do good deeds and put forth more "energy" (lit., "zealous advance") than ever in teaching all the people. (34)
- (190) When He was over thirty-two years of age, those men, who excelled in wickedness, came in to the presence of the Great King P'i-lo-tu-ssü (i. e., Pilate) and managed to state out before P'i-lo-tu-ssü himself :
- (191) The Messiah ought to be punished with death, O Great King! Do away with Him at once!
- (192) "Those followers of the wicked cause of existence" (i. e., Inveterate adversaries) all bore (false) testimony (against) the Messiah in the presence of the Great King P'i-lo-tu-ssü, saying : The Messiah ought to be punished with death.
- (193) Hereupon, the Great King desired to decide the case of that man, and said, a crime deserving the death-punishment I am not informed of yet, nor do I see it myself. This man ought not to be punished with death. Let this matter be decided by "these followers of the wicked cause of existence" as they like.
- (194) And the Great King then added: I can not kill this (man).
- (195) Then "these followers of the wicked cause of existence" said, if this man is not to be punished

with death, what will become of us both men and women?

- (196) The Great King P'i-lo-tu-ssü ordered water to be brought to him and washed his hands in front of "those followers of the wicked cause of existence" and came and stood before them and said, indeed, I discovered no cause to kill this man.
- (197) Then "these followers of the wicked cause of existence" repeatedly implored the King to do what they wanted, and they so strongly pressed him that he could not help killing this man.
- (198) The Messiah gave up His body to these "wicked men" to be sacrificed for the sake of all mankind and made the whole world know that a human life is so very precarious as a candle light.
- (199) Thus, in charity He gave up His life for the sake of all mankind, suffering death for them.
- (200) The Messiah at last gave His own body to charity accepting the death.
- (201) These wicked men caught the Messiah and brought Him to "the separated place," and after they washed his hair there, they led Him to "the placard place" (i. e., the place of execution) named Chi-chu (35) (i. e., Golgotha).
- (202) Subsequently, they bound Him upon the tree between two highway men, one being on the right and the other on the left.
- (203) That day on which they bound the Messiah upon the tree at the fifth hour was the sixth-day-fast.
- (204) It was at dawn that they bound Him upon the tree, but by the time the sun came toward the

west there was black darkness on every side, and the earth quaked and the mountains were rent, and all the gates of graves in the world were opened and the men got life.

- (205) Seeing these things, how can anyone gainsay that he does not believe what is taught in the sūtras?
- (206) Those who live or die only for the sake of the Messiah, are faithful believers, and consequently..... (36)

NOTES
ON
THE JESUS-MESSIAH SÛTRA

(1) The title: "The Hsü-t'ing Messiah Sûtra" means no other than "Jesus-Messiah Sûtra." The old sound of the first Chinese character used here for Hsü (序) (lit., "preface") is "ye" or "ie" according to the sound preserved in South China, whilst its Chinese sound preserved in Japan is "djo" or "jo." The second character T'ing (聽) (lit., "to hear") is pronounced "cho" in Japan, whilst its old Chinese sound is "chu." These two letters, therefore, will give us "Jo-cho" in Japanese and "Ye-chu" in old Chinese, and can correctly be identified with the Chinese sound "Ye-su" of the T'ang Dynasty (cf., *The Mélanges Naito*, pp. 105—6; *Moule: Christians in China*, pp. 58—62).

(2) *The Laws of Hsü-po, the Lord of Heaven, &c.*

The original Chinese is Hsü-so (序婆), not Hsü-p'o (序婆), as we read it. But 婆 "so" and 婆 "p'o" are so similar as to be easily mistaken and we are sure that the transcriber must have made a mistake in putting "so" instead of "p'o," which two characters are decidedly Buddhistic terms, being rarely used in the classical Chinese. Hsü-p'o, being sounded "ye-pa" or "ye-va" in the old Chinese of the 7th century, may well be identified with "Jeho-vah," whilst the context compels us to do so (cf., *The Mélanges Naito*, pp. 105—6).

(3) "The remarkable nobleness"

The Chinese words consisting of three letters Nan-hsi-shih (難息事) used here means literally "a matter difficult to stop (admiring)" or "a thing so remarkable and noble that it is almost impossible for any one not to admire." These three letters correspond exactly to the Chinese phrase "Wu-chih-shih" (無止事) introduced into Japan in the 7th century, and which still exist in Japan with the Japanese way of reading "Yan-go-to-na-ki," though both the phrases are not used in China at present. Only the present day Chinese "liao-pu-tê" (了不得) may almost exactly correspond to the ancient phrase Nan-hsi-shih. The Japanese "Yan-go-to-na-ki," to which the three Chinese characters "Wu-chih-shih" are given as above referred, according to the best authorities, has three meanings: (1) "difficult to stop" or "unavoidable," (2) "very unusual," (3) "very remarkable" or "very noble." (Refer to the Japanese dictionaries by Drs. Otsuki and Matsui and Modzume).

The use of this expression Nan-hsi-shih here must be counted, among many other things, as one of the evidences that the text before us must have been originally written in an early part of the T'ang Dynasty.

(4) "*All the Buddhas*" &c.

These are very unusual expressions to be found in the Nestorian writings, but may throw some side light on the history of the very beginning of the Nestorian Church in China. Such expressions may show that the Nestorian author of this document was assisted by a Chinese Buddhist scholar in composing this sūtra, if not under the influence of Chinese Buddhism, as far as his phraseology and diction were concerned.

The Chinese for "superintendent-deva" is "P'ing-chang-t'ien" (平章天), which must correspond to the Sanscrit "Lokapala", literally meaning "Guardian of the Universe." This title was often given to brave deities and saints. But by the word P'ing-chang-t'ien here, Yamā, as one of Lokapalas, may be meant by the author, whilst the idea of "the Ruler of Purgatory" was emphasized by the words King Yen-la in the 73 verse.

(5) Verses 14—16. cf., John III. 8.

(6) The word "li-sa" (麗婆) is a hybrid word consisting of Chino-Sanscrit elements. It literally means "separation from Saha," and the word "Saha" is the Sanscrit for "world," whilst the word "li" stands for the Chinese 離 or "separation."

(7) Verses 28—29. cf., The Li-ki. Bk. XXI. sect. II. 1; also Psalm CIV. 29; Eccl. III. 20.

(8) Verses 57—64. cf., Psalm CXV. 5; Jeremiah XVI. 20; also Dr. Giles: A History of Chinese Literature. 1929, p. 438.

(9) Verses 78—84 and 90, and 97—98.

These verses are all concerned with the Nestorian Teaching on "Emperor worship." Emperor worship, as well as the worship of other distinguished persons, was an old institution both in the East and in the West. Thucydides (471—401 B. C.) says that the people of Amphipolis offered animal sacrifice to Brasidas, a Spartan general, and refers to Chapels dedicated in

Athens to the Greek heroes. There was a temple at Sparta for the worship of Lycurgus. Ptolemy Soter was called "Zeus," and his son was called "god," whilst Ptolemy Philadelphus was worshipped as god, when he was still living, together with his deceased wife Bernice as early as 270 B. C.

These facts will show that the Greek rulers of Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor were worshipped from the early part of the third century before Christ, and we may safely say that the Emperor worship was a state cult of Greece, the Mother country of European civilisation.

With the rise of the Roman Empire, this cult was naturally introduced into Italy. Suetonius says that when Caesar died, he was apotheosized not only by a formal Decree of the Roman Senate but in the common belief of the people.

Ovid in his *Panegyric Epistles* calls Augustus the most merciful of the gods, whilst Josephus tells us that Palestine—the Holy Land of the elected people of God—was richly supplied with temples dedicated to the Roman rulers! Even the wretched Emperor Commodus (150—192 A. D.), who abandoned himself to his inclination for dissipation and cruelty was called "deified Commodus" in the Roman Inscription to the horror of the modern Protestant Christians. So were all Roman Emperors, according to the Justinian Code. It is, therefore, no wonder that our Nestorian author should declare here, "All the Sacred Superiors (i. e., the Rulers) are no other than the gods born into this world." But this must be said to be a new departure from the original Chinese thought, in which justice was the only bond to keep a good relation between a Prince and his people. And the

emperor or king may be divine or sacred as long as he is morally right and good, but not a moment longer.

He, however, will enjoy the great privilege of being an infallible exponent of right and wrong in human affairs as long as he is properly on his throne. Such being the case, the Chinese classical thought never admitted the blind worship of the emperor or king. This fact may be seen from the following words of Mencius (372 —290 B. C.).

“If while Shun himself was sovereign, his brother had been a common man, could he have been said to regard him with affection and love?” (Mencius V. i, 3:2).

“In the case of a private individual obtaining the throne, there must be in him virtue equal to that of Shun or Yü; and moreover there must be the presenting of him to Heaven by the preceding Sovereign” (Mencius, Bk. V. i. 6:3).

“The King said ‘May a minister then put his sovereign to death?’ Mencius said, He who outrages the benevolence proper to his nature is called a robber; he who outrages righteousness, is called a ruffian. The robber and ruffian we call a common man (i. e., a mere fellow). I have heard of the cutting off of the common man Chou (i. e., the last sovereign of the Yin Dynasty), but I have not heard of putting a sovereign to death in his case” (Mencius, Bk. I. ii. 8:1—3).

Apart from these quotations from the Chinese classical sources, which are against the so-called Emperor worship in China, Buddhism in China also started an anti-Emperor worship movement as early as the middle of the 4th century. The book entitled 沙門不應敬王者論 (i. e., Discourse on the reason why Shamen (i.

e., Buddhist Priest) should not worship the Ruler) by Hui-yüan (慧遠), who died in 417 A. D., at the age of eighty-three, may be mentioned as a typical book written against "Emperor worship." But at the same time, some of the Chinese Emperors also tried to enforce Emperor worship from time to time. For instance, once in the reign of the Emperor Ch'êng (成帝) (326—334 A. D.) of East Chin (東晉) and again by Huan-hsüan (桓玄) and again by the Emperor Hsiao-wu (孝武帝) (462 A. D.) and again by a well known scholar Yang Hsüan-chih (楊銜之) and again by the Emperor Yang (煬帝) of the Sui Dynasty (605—616 A. D.) and again by the Emperor Kao-tsung (650—683 A. D.) of the T'ang Dynasty, and so on.

But in spite of the Imperial decrees and the enforcement of the same, the Buddhist priests in China as a rule believed in "the doctrine of the anti-Emperor worship." According to a book called "the Outlines of the Shakya's Teaching" (釋氏要覽) written by Priest Tao-ch'eng (僧道誠) in 1019 A. D., there is the doctrine of "the four favours" (i. e., 四恩) (Ssü-ên in Chinese) which we have always to keep in mind. They are (1) the favours we receive from our parents, (2) those favours we receive from the Ruler, and (3) those favours we receive from the fellow creatures, (4) those favours we receive from Tri-yatara" (i. e., the Buddhist Trinity of Buddha, the Law, and Priesthood). This shows that the Buddhists in China in the 11th century gave up the anti-Emperor worship doctrine, even if they did not recognise Emperor worship clearly and generally. And such a record as this will agree with what we read in the Kuei-t'ien-lu (歸田錄) by Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007

—1072 A. D.).

“It is said that the Emperor T'ai-tsung once paid a visit to Hsiang-kuo-ssŭ (相國寺), a famous Buddhist temple in the capital. But when the Emperor came to the front of an image of Buddha he was at a loss what to do, and naturally he inquired whether he should worship the image of Buddha or not. The Chief priest of the temple humbly came forward and most reverentially answered, saying: 'May it please your Majesty to be informed that it is taught in our religion that the present and living Buddha (which is the Emperor) need not worship the past and by-gone Buddha.' And scholars consider that the priest's answer was quite right.”

These quotations from Chinese sources may help us to understand the rôle the Nestorian Mission played in China during the T'ang Dynasty (618—908 A. D.) and afterwards, regarding the burning question of Emperor worship or of anti-Emperor worship as we read in the Chinese books.

(10) The 96 verse may show clearly that our Nestorian author was guided (or rather mis-guided) by the Chinese Buddhists to make the Chinese sentence to mean “to worship all Devas” (先遣衆生禮諸天) while the author wanted to say “to worship God.”

(11) 103—111. Compare these verses with Didache I. 2: “The way of life is this: First, thou shalt love the God who made thee, secondly thy neighbour as thyself; and whatsoever thou wouldst *not* have done to thyself, do *not* thus to another.” Didache II. 2: “Thou shalt do no murder.” “Thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt

not commit sodomy; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods." Didache II. 5: "Thou shalt not commit perjury; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not bear malice." Didache II. 6: "Thou shalt not be covetous nor extortionate, nor hypocrite, nor malignant, nor proud. Thou shalt not make an evil plan against thy neighbour."

(12) 112—129. These verses may be said to cover, on the whole, moral precepts taught by the Nestorians in China. Every one of these moral rules are well established by the Nestorian Church on the authority of the Christian teachings contained in the Old and New Testaments.

(13) 110—113. These verses may correspond to Leviticus XIX. 14: "Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour. Neither rob him." The 114 verse may correspond to Matthew X. 42: "And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in nowise lose his reward," whilst the 115 verse may correspond to what is taught in Proverb XXX. 21: "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink," or what is taught in Rom. XII. 20: "Therefore, if thine enemy be hungry feed him; if he be thirsty, give him drink." Again as for the 114 verse, compare it with James II. 14—15: "If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart ye in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to body; what does

it profit?" The 117 and 118 verses may correspond to Leviticus XIX. 13 and Deut. XXIV. 10—15 respectively: "The wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning." "At his day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it." (cf., Malachi III. 5)

(14) 120—121. These verses may be compared with the following quotations from Didache: "Thou shalt not command in thy bitterness thy slave or thine handmaid" (IV. 107.). "If any man will take from thee what is thine, refuse it not—not even if thou canst" (I. 4). "Give to every one that asks thee and do not refuse, for the Father's will is that we give to all from the gifts we received" (I. 5). "Thou shalt not turn away the needy, but shalt share everything with thy brother, and shalt not say that it is thine own, for if you share in the imperishable, how much more in the things which perish?" (IV. 8)

(15) As for the 123—124 verses, compare them with what is said by Sir Matthew Hale: "Forbear scoffing and jesting at the condition or natural defects of any person," and compare the 124 verse with Leviticus XIX. 13.

(16) Compare the 126—128 verses again with Didache: "Thou shalt give righteous judgment; thou shalt favour no man's person in reproofing transgression. Thou shalt not be double-tongued, for to be double-tongued is the snare of death" (IV. 3). "Thou shalt not be of two

minds whether it shall be benefit or not" (IV. 4).

(17) Compare the 128 verse with Didache: "Be not proud, for pride leads to murder" (III. 2).

(18) As for the 129 verse, Leviticus XIX. 6 and Didache III. 3 may respectively be well compared with. "Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people." "Thou shalt not devise a schism. but shalt reconcile those that strive."

(19) The 130—131 verses may correspond to what is taught by St. Paul in I Corinth. VI. 1—6: "Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? But brother goes to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers.....why do ye not rather take wrong? Why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?"

(20) Compare the 132 verse with Matthew V. 44: "But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you."

(21) In the 133—145 verses our Nestorian author gives Christian moral principles to be applicable to the daily life of the Chinese people. He emphasized the commandment of "Thou shalt not kill," and tried even to prohibit suicide as well as human sacrifice. Compare these with what St. Augustine taught: "He who kills himself is a homicide, and so much the guiltier of his

own death, as he was more innocent of that offence for which he doomed himself to die" (The City of God, Bk. I. 26, translated by Marcus Dods).

(22) 146. To render this 146 verse as we did, we had to read "tsu" (祚) or "bless" for the original "cha" (詐) or "false," because the words "Cha-shên" (詐神) "false god" have here no meaning at all, whilst "to bless God" conveys the idea expressed by the context. Furthermore 祚 and 詐 are very similar and very often mistaken by careless transcribers.

(23) The 147—206 verses cover pretty well the Gospel story. They touch all the important events which took place between the Nativity and Crucifixion of Lord Jesus Christ. In the 150, 151 and 155 verses, the word Liang-fêng (涼風), literally meaning "cool wind" or "cool breeze" or "the north wind," is used for "the Holy Spirit." But such never happens in any other Nestorian document discovered in China except this Jesus-Messiah Sûtra (See the Preliminary Remarks *supra*).

(24) In the 156 and 160 verses we have the Chinese characters 移鼠 (I-shu) literally "remove-rat" as already referred to in the Preliminary Remarks.

(25) In the 162 verse we have "as big as the wheel of a cart &c.," which is the Chinese Buddhistic expression for the Sanscrit words "Sakatacatrapra munam."

(26) In the 163 verse we have "Wu-li-shin-lien in the country of Fu-lin" which may well be identified with

“Jerusalem in the country of Syria.”

(27) In the 164 verse we read that “the Messiah began to talk after the elapse of five times of one year.” The author meant to say that he could talk though he was younger than seven years of age and that He was the *infantiae proximi* of the Roman Law under which He lived. Then our Nestorian author says that the Messiah came to the River Jordan when he was over twelve years old (年過十二) (166 verse). How can we harmonise this Chinese record with those records in the Gospel story is a great question.

(28) In the 166—171 verses we have Shu-nan (述難) and To-nan (多難) for the Jordan and Yao-ku-hun (若谷昏) for John. But we regret to say that we can not explain why the “J” sound is preserved in the Chinese translation of the words “Jew and Jordan” in Shih-hu (石忽) (i. e., Jew) and Shu-nan 述難 (i. e., Jordan), whilst the “Y” sound is preserved in the Chinese Yao-ku-hun (i. e., John).

(29) In order to render the 176 verse as we have done, we had to correct the two Chinese letters and read 休 for 休 and 屬 for 瀾 in the text since we have 休事屬神 in the 175 verse instead of 休事瀾神.

(30) The 177 verse is a very remarkable declaration. Regarding the time allotted for the earthly ministry of the Messiah, there are diversity of opinions. Some regarded it as lasting only one year, whilst most scholars are agreed to say that it continued about three years

and a half, counting the number of Passovers mentioned in the Gospel according to St. John. But here lies before us the Chinese Nestorian document of 635—638 A. D., in which the author declares repeatedly that Our Lord's Ministry lasted for 20 years from His 12th year to His 32nd year of His age.

(31) The word Ch'ung-fei-chê (迴飛者) in the 179 verse, which we translated "dead" is quite different from an ordinary expression. It literally means "those who fly back" or "those who returned," and correctly may be translated "those that retired or withdrew from this world." The idea of the immortality of soul is more emphasized by the expression "Ch'ung-fei-chê" than the ordinary Chinese word for "the dead." Compare this expression with that of "*de saeculo recessit*" very often found among the Epitaphs on the Roman Catacombs of the 3rd century A. D. (cf., also Dr. Withrow: The Catacombs of Rome, pp. 419—420).

(32) Compare the 183—184 with Matthew XXVI. 4—5 and Mark II. 18; John. II. 53.

(33) In the 185 and 186 verses what is called the Judicial murder of the Messiah is stated by our Nestorian author very plainly. Pontius Pilate, the fifth Roman Procurator of Judea had his official residence in the Palace of Herod in Caesaria (Acts. XXIII. 35), but at the time of the Feast he usually went up to Jerusalem. He had military and judicial authority as well as the financial administration over the Roman territory of Judea.

But Judea, under the direct government of the Roman

Empire, enjoyed a large measure of local self-government. In Jerusalem, for instance, the Sanhedrin was the Supreme Court of the nation. Death sentences, however, had to be confirmed by the Governor-general or Procurator and executed by him. These facts must be borne in mind to understand these verses.

(34) Regarding the strange form of the letter 𪛗 for 惡, see Dr. Haneda's article in the *Mélanges Naito*. pp. 133—134. But we firmly believe that our reading is perfectly correct.

(35) In the 201 verse we have the Chinese word for Golgotha. "The place called Ch'i-chü." The Japanese sound for it is Kotsu-ku," which again must have been "Ko-ku" or "Go-gu" in the Chinese sound of the 7th century, and may well be identified with Golgotha, which is (ܠܘܠܘܬܐ) "Gogultho" in Syriac. It is a well known fact that foreign words are often shortened by the Chinese dropping generally the last syllable.

(36) The last parts of this writing must have been lost and they are lost forever to our great regret. The Chinese are very careless sometimes about the manuscript. They cut off the last few lines of the roll if that part happened to be soiled or very much spoiled by wear and tear in order to make the remaining part look nice and tidy! This precious manuscript suffered the same ill fate and lost that part for ever!

万物見一神一切万物既是一神一切所作若
見所作若見所作之物亦共見一神不別以此故
知一切万物並是一神所作可見者不可見者
並是一神所造之時當今現見一神所造之物
故能安天立地至今不廢天無柱支託若非一
神所為何目而得久立不從上落此乃一神術
妙之力若不一神所為誰能永久住持不落以
此言之知是一神之力故天得獨立以譬喻則
知一神神妙之力既是神力故知無天梁柱
天得獨立天既無梁柱託獨立則知天不獨
立一神力為此則若可見天梁天柱則知一

The first eleven lines of the original manuscript
of the Parable Part II

By kind permission of Mr. Tomeoka

CHAPTER V

(C) A DISCOURSE ON MONOTHEISM

(Lit., The Parable Part II) (1)

- (1) All things manifest the one God.
- (2) All things without exception are, therefore, no other than the one God.
- (3) Every thing that is made, without exception, is like the manifestation thereof.
- (4) (And) if what was made is like the manifestation, then all things that are, manifest the one God alike.
- (5) On account of this, it can be known that all things are made by the one God.
- (6) (And) there are things visible as well as things invisible, which have been all created by this one God.
- (7) (And) from that time (of creation) until the present all things that have been created by the one God are manifestly shown. (2)
- (8) This will account for heaven being made to remain at ease and earth being made safe until now without change.
- (9) There is neither pillar nor prop to support Heaven.
- (10) Unless the one God does so, how can heaven remain so long without falling from above?
- (11) This is due to no other than the mysterious and wonderful power of the one God.
- (12) Were this not for the action of the one God, who

could have supported (it) and have prevented it perpetually from falling?

- (13) From this (fact) we may conclude that heaven can stand alone securely because of the power of this one God. (3)
- (14) If an illustration is given, you will know that this divinely mysterious power of the one God is nothing but the power of God Himself.
- (15) And consequently we know that heaven can stand alone securely, although it has neither beam nor post.
- (16) Moreover, even when heaven appears to be standing alone securely without the help of any beam or post, nevertheless, we know that heaven is not standing alone securely, and that it is supported by the great power of this one God.
- (17) That is to say, even if we were to see either a heavenly post or a heavenly beam, we should know that the power of this one God does require neither beam and post nor fence and wall (for support) at all.
- (18) Man at present is considered to be at a place of rest betwixt heaven and earth. Man, however, has no place of rest.
- (19) On account of this, this (world) may be said to be a place of restlessness.
- (20) To place oneself securely (in this world) may be likened to one trying to place oneself securely upon the water.
- (21) Now, where and how could one place oneself securely upon the water?
- (22) Or could any one place oneself securely in the

air ?

- (23) Then, everything can not but fall to destruction.
- (24) (Or) were the wind to drive and carry along all things, not a single thing would be seen.
- (25) But the power of God exists, and by which all things without exception were made according to His will.
- (26) For instance, it is like a man shooting an arrow.
- (27) We see only the arrow fall, but we do not see the archer himself.
- (28) Although we do not see the archer, we know that this arrow can not come of itself, and that there needs must be some one who shot it.
- (29) For that reason, we know that by virtue of the Divine power of the one God heaven and earth are made neither to crumble nor to fall, and that, because of this Divine power, they will remain steadfast for ever and ever.
- (30) Although we do not see the upholder (of the world), we do know that a divine mysterious upholder (of the world) must exist.
- (31) For instance, as soon as the impetus given to an arrow by the archer is exhausted, the arrow must fall to the ground.
- (32) Likewise, if the Divine power were not working, heaven and earth must needs fall to pieces.
- (33) But, by virtue of this Divine power, we know that heaven and earth can not decay.
- (34) And (we know that) heaven and earth are nothing but that which exists by virtue of the power of the one God.
- (35) **Heaven** does not fall, and consequently we know

- that the mysterious power of this one God is infinite and can not be understood completely.
- (36) Such Divine power of this one God is possessed by no other gods.
- (37) (And) there truly exists the only one God from the beginning.
- (38) Though He himself is invisible, yet there has been, indeed, two manifestations (of the One Godhead). (4)
- (39) For instance, these may be likened to one's right and left hands or legs.
- (40) But there are no such distinctions of before and after or of upper and lower (between them).
- (41) They are so alike that one can not be distinguished from the other.
- (42) Likewise, the one Godhead begot the other one (person of the Godhead) out of one and the same substance and form.
- (43) With this idea somewhat adjusted, we may say that there can be no such distinction as left and right nor before and after, nor upper and lower.
- (44) Now, this one God entirely takes (the form of) one single Being, and there can not be, indeed, any second or a third (Being).
- (45) He is not created, and there can be no master-artist.
- (46) Nor can there be any one who can apprehend Him, nor, indeed, any who created Him. But this one God resides in and presides over heaven and earth.
- (47) Although we can not see how He holds heaven and earth, yet we can see clearly that He

abundantly provides for all living beings without exception.

- (48) For instance, as there is but one master for one house, so is there one soul for one body.
- (49) If a house has more than one master, then the house can not do any good.
- (50) If a man's body has more than one soul, then the man can not do good.
- (51) The soul of a man, therefore, can neither be two, nor three.
- (52) For instance, there can be only one master in one house.
- (53) There can not be two masters in one house, nor can there be three masters therein.
- (54) Likewise, there can be only one God in the universe, as there can neither be two nor be three (gods).
- (55) The one God exists in the universe; but He is invisible just as the soul existing in the body of man is invisible.
- (56) The soul existing in man can never be taken a view thereof. Likewise, (the one God) in the universe can not be seen.
- (57) The soul exists in a human body, and in consequence, every man wishes to take a view thereof.
- (58) But the Holy one of Great wisdom is (so invisible as to be) equal to Pure Emptiness itself, and can not be taken (a view thereof). (5)
- (59) This only one God is present everywhere all over the universe in the same manner as the soul of man pervades the whole of his body, indulging

to do as it pleases.

- (60) There is the only one God in the universe. He dwells in Heaven which is the world of non-tangibility.
- (61) But this one God neither need be in any one place, nor be attached to any place.
- (62) In the world of non-tangibility one point of space may be two points of space at the same time, whilst one point in a period of time may be equally but the same point at the beginning of a second period of time. (6)
- (63) A point of space in the world of tangibility, for instance, is like the point between this place and Persia or that point between Persia and Fu-lin (i. e., Ephraim).
- (64) A period of time in the world of non-tangibility is like the Holy master's reformation of public morals by His influence, which is the same to-day as it ever was.
- (65) From this, we may also say that the world of non-tangibility is no other than the world of non-action and non-creation, and that there can be no distinction between a first and a second period of time (in that world).
- (66) This only one God, therefore, is of the world of non-tangibility and of non-action and non-creation.
- (67) But it should not be inquired whether all things in the universe belong to the world of non-tangibility or to that of non-action and non-creation or to that of non-space and non-time.
- (68) Even if such an inquiry be made concerning the whereabouts of the one God, indeed, it can not

be known.

- (69) This one God is in the world of non-tangibility, and in that of non-action and non-creation.
- (70) Nor need you inquire when this one God was created or when He caused Himself to be created. Even if you should ask such questions you would not get them answered.
- (71) Continual existence is non-extinction, and continual extinction is non-existence.
- (72) (And) the dwelling place of the one God is in the very continual existence of all things in the universe.
- (73) This one God is of non-creation, and He is of continual existence and of exhaustlessness.
- (74) Wherever God is there is His Holy Son always.
- (75) Though invisible, this Holy Son, indeed, is with the One God throughout all time.
- (76) In the making of "Sûtras" and "Vinaya" there is, indeed, no distinction made between (them).
- (77) Each Person (of the Godhead) is Holiness itself, and is, indeed, exhaustlessness itself.
- (78) All things invisible and incorporeal in the universe are also created by the Lord of Heaven. And they are all to be disposed by the Lord of Heaven.
- (79) Of all things that exist, some things are all visible, whilst other things are invisible, which, nevertheless, actually exist.
- (80) For instance, one may strive to see the soul of man, yet no one can see it.
- (81) Man's possessing desire to see (the soul) seems to show that man has also a spirit or mind. (7)

- (82) All men without exception will see that these two grow together out of one and the same root.
- (83) For instance, it is like two kinds of corn growing out of one and the same root.
- (84) For instance, one human being with both a spirit and a soul will make one complete human being.
- (85) If a human being has not a human body, he is not complete. Likewise, if he has not a soul, then, as a human being he is not complete.
- (86) Nor is he complete if he has not a spirit besides.
- (87) Nothing visible in the universe can be complete of itself.
- (88) The things invisible in the universe, however, can be complete of themselves.
- (89) All things in the universe are of two kinds, growing as they are out of one and the same root.
- (90) If any one should inquire of you how do you know that all things are manifestations of the one God or where do invisible things exist, you may answer thus :
- (91) There are many things in the universe that are invisible.
- (92) (And) they are all made by the one God so invisible as they are.
- (93) But if any one should inquire how many things and how many men are created (by God) then answer :
- (94) All things in the universe may be traced back to four elements. (8)

(The Parable Part II)

NOTES
ON
THE PARABLE PART II

(1) This title: "The Parable Part II" is not found at the head of the Chinese text, but at the end of it. We think, however, we are not in the wrong after all in inserting this title here in our translation only for convenience' sake. The text before us must be a sort of "short discourse" called "*λογιδιον*" in Greek, lit., "little fable."

(2) Verses 1—7. Compare these seven verses with what the famous Taoist Lü Yen said: "All things that are included in the three Powers of Nature, viz., Heaven, Earth and Man, all come to existence and take forms by uniting with the Tao (i. e., Logos). All things that exist have the spirit in them. All things grow and all things decay; and these make plain how they all like to return (to the origin)." (The Complete Works of Lü Yen, the founder of a Taoist Sect, vol. X. 8.) (呂祖全書卷十).

Compare also these verses with the two words, the visible and the invisible, the material and the immaterial or spiritual world taught by Plato. The corporal world or physical nature is "a manifestation of God, generated from all His own substance and finally to be absorbed in Himself." (Prof. Cocker: Christianity and Greek Philosophy, p. 450).

Finally compare these with Rom. I. 19—21: "The invisible things of Him, even His eternal power and

God-head, from the creation are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."

(3) Verses 8—13. Compare these with what St. Augustine expressed: "The face of creation testifies that there has been a creator." (The City of God; Bk. I. 450).

(4) In the 38 verse we have the Chinese expression "erh-chien" (二見) which we translated "two manifestations." We have the same Chinese expression in "the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion Sûtra on the Origin of Origins": "He had manifested himself twice (to people) and was going to announce them once for all the true source of (His Teaching) (將與二見了決真源)," and may possibly be taken for the Chinese Nestorian expression for the Transfiguration of our Lord mentioned in Matth. XVII. 2; Mark IX. 2—3; Luke IX. 28—29.

(5) The expression "Pure Emptiness itself" in the 58 verse as well as other expression in this document will show us that, different from the Jesus-Messiah Sûtra, this writing before us was composed with the assistance of a Taoist, not that of a Buddhist.

(6) The expressions "the world of non-tangibility" and "the world of tangibility" used in the 60, 62 and 64 verses—the Chinese words "Wu-chieh-chieh" (無接界) (lit., non-connected-world) used here must correspond to the Chinese expression "Wu-pan-chieh" (無畔界) (lit., non-path-dividing-field-world) used in "the Nestorian Motwa Hymn in adoration of Trinity" discovered by Prof. Pelliot in 1908. These words may also be translated

“the world of eternity” or “the world of infinity,” whilst the words “K’o-chieh-chieh” (可接界) or “the world of tangibility” used here also may correspond to the words “Yu-chieh-chiang” (有界壇) (lit., “Boundaries of the finite”) in the Nestorian Motwa Hymn, which may be translated “the world of the finite” or “of tangibility.” Compare these with what Lao-tzŭ said: “Existence and non-existence are mutually conditioned, and existence comes from non-existence.” Also compare these with what St. Augustine taught, “For there was no time before the world was made” (The City of God: Bk. XI. 5).

(7) Verses 80—81. “The body, soul and spirit” are clearly mentioned in the Chinese words, “shên” (身) being for “body” and “hun-p’o” (魂魄) for “soul,” whilst “shên-shih” (神識) for “spirit.” Apollinarius who was one of the leading opponents of Arianism, and who distinguished himself in his resistance to Julian, is said to have begun to teach a little after the middle of the 4th century that man consists of three parts: body, soul and spirit. The body, as he taught, is the material frame in which man lives, and which he possesses in common with the lower animals. The spirit signifies the vital principle or life which man has in common with the rest of the sentient creature. The soul exists, as he says, only for man, which soul is immortal and is a supernatural gift of God. (De L. O’leary: The Syriac Church and Fathers, pp. 88—89).

Needless to say, Apollinarius made a great mistake to suppose that Christ had the indwelling Word (*λόγος*) in place of the soul and was strongly opposed by Theodore of Mopsuestia and others, who insisted that Christ was

truly man as well as God, and as such, possessed of a human soul sensible to pain and sorrow, the Divinity dwelling in One who was a perfect man.

It is very curious to know that the Nestorian missionaries who came over to China in the 7th century (635 A. D.) should still hold the three divisions of the body and soul and spirit, although we do not find, in any of the Nestorian documents we have, what they taught about the soul of Christ.

(8) By the expression "the four elements," of course, earth, water, fire and air are meant, as mentioned in "the Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe." (*vide infra*).

It is no wonder that the Nestorians who are said to have been the Aristotelian, should introduce this Greek theory into their Chinese canonical writings in the 7th century, since we find that the idea was one of the most vital ideas even in Europe until the 18th century. For instance, "He is pure air and fire; and the dull elements of earth and water never appear in him," (Shakespear's Henry the Fifth: III. vii. 22) or "Does not our life consist of four elements?" asked by Sir Toby Belch in the Twelfth Night (II. ii.). A fifth element, the *quinta essentia*, which was supposed to unify the others, was added afterwards and became the common place science in the day of Shakespeare as all we know.

In China, Wu-hsing (五行) or the five elements, were originally (1) water, (2) fire, (3) wood, (4) metal, (5) earth. (The Li-ki: Bk. IX. iii. 7). But ever since the introduction of the Mahayana Buddhism the Wu-hsing has come to mean (1) earth, (2) water, (3) fire, (4) air,

(5) ether. The Chinese for whom this Nestorian document was prepared might have easily understood what was meant by the author.

CHAPTER VI

(D) THE DISCOURSE ON THE ONENESS OF THE RULER OF THE UNIVERSE (1) (lit., "S'astras on one Deva," Part I)

- (1) It is asked, " what man is made of? "
- (2) It is answered, " (man is made) of the things visible and invisible. "
- (3) What does constitute the visible and what the invisible?
- (4) The visible (things) are those things made of the four elements in the universe.
- (5) Earth, water, fire and air are all created by the power of God.
- (6) It is asked, " what then are the four elements made of? "
- (7) It is answered that there is not a single thing in the universe that is not created.
- (8) And that there is not a single thing that is not created by the one God.
- (9) But if there had not been (in the beginning) this one God in the universe, then there would not have been any one to make a request for (the creation of) the universe.
- (10) For instance, it is like building a house. The first thing to do is to go to a carpenter's and request him what to do.
- (11) Such may be what the one God did, and what He undertook to do came at once to existence at His will.

問曰人是何物作答曰有可見無可見何在
作何無作有可見則是天下從四色物作地水
火風神力在問曰有何四色作也答曰天下
無一物不作一神亦無一物不作一神亦無在
天下無求請天下譬如作舍先求請作舍人
處求請此並神所舉意即成如憐一切衆
生見在天下憐故畜生一神分明見天地並一
神所作由此處分神力意度如風不是實身
亦神識人眼不見少許神力所遣神力所喚
物當得知餘物何處好不任是何彼相茲大
有万物安置一神舉天下共神力畜生虫庶

The first eleven lines of the Discourse on the Oneness
of the Ruler of the Universe Part I
By kind permission of Mr. Tomeoka

- (12) Being compassionate to all the living beings, He manifested Himself unto the world.
- (13) And, even in the act of compassion toward all living beings, the one God is manifested clearly and distinctly.
- (14) From this it must be concluded that the whole universe is the creation of this one God.
- (15) The Divine power of God may be something like the wind.
- (16) It is not in the form of flesh, but of spirit, and it can not be seen even a little by human eyes.
- (17) But that which the Divine power of God brings forth and that which the Divine power of God calls into existence may be easily known.
- (18) But any other thing (than the Divine power) can nowhere create anything whatever.
- (19) And how could any other thing be made after that Likeness of His? (2)
- (20) All things in this great and prosperous universe have the one God placed in them.
- (21) All things in the universe share the Divine power of God in common.
- (22) But neither wild beasts nor insects nor deer understand speech, and on that account, they are said to have no mental faculties. (3)
- (23) Of all the created things, each of but two is not, or two out of three are not, similar to each other or to one another.
- (24) And not every thing in the universe is visible to the human eye. And consequently, in his suspicion man cherishes thoughts that even other gods (than the True God) may also create all

- things distinctly after that Likeness of His.
- (25) Even if there were still other kinds of gods, yet it is plain that none of them could ever create any thing after that likeness of His.
- (26) From this (fact) it may be known clearly that any other god (than the one God) did not create any things after that Likeness of His.
- (27) All things both visible and invisible, therefore, are of two kinds. And it is clear that they are all created by One Being.
- (28) For instance, all human beings are of two kinds.
- (29) If they were but of one kind, nothing further could be said about them!
- (30) If they were but one, nothing further could be said about them! If they were but one, nothing further could be said!
- (31) Without creating the two kinds (of all things) at first, how God could ever have been able to produce all men and things after their kinds, no one can tell.
- (32) The whole universe are from the two kinds, placing One (Person of the Godhead) in each. Likewise, all creation is of two kinds and two natures. (4)
- (33) One nature of the human life in one world, for instance, is that which consists of the body and the spirit.
- (34) And again there is the second (nature in the) world, which resembles that which exists in a world where living beings consist only of souls.
- (35) With what shall all mankind under Heaven have to join?

- (36) The human body has only a limited existence, but the soul shall enjoy the continual existence, and will suffer neither injury nor damage.
- (37) For instance, the soul of man is immortal.
- (38) It is the Divine power of God that gives life (to man).
- (39) And as soon as the soul returns to him, man flows and moves. (5)
- (40) Both the soul and the spirit are made up of "the five attributes."
- (41) They, therefore, can see all, can hear all, and can speak and move at will.
- (42) As soon as the soul gives life to man, nothing becomes invisible to the human eye, and no action impossible to the human hand, and no movement impossible to the human legs.
- (43) For instance, both one and two mutually depend on each other. (6)
- (44) Likewise, the sun and the fire are two things with one and the same nature.
- (45) For this reason fires often come out of the sun.
- (46) (The sun and the fire) are of one and the same nature with different attributes.
- (47) But the sun does not burn away (as the fire does).
- (48) But, by its own light, the sun gets its own brilliance.
- (49) Only by burning, can fire get its own light; but if fuel is not added, it can not burn to attain its own brilliance.
- (50) Hence we know that fire itself is not self-illuminating.

- (51) For instance, though the sun is of one and the same nature as fire, yet the sun is self-burning and self-illuminating, whilst fire can not get its brilliance without fuel. (7)
- (52) And in like manner, by the Divine power of God we can discriminate diversity in similarity and similarity in diversity.
- (53) And the Divine power of God without the assistance of human power brings every thing to completion by a natural way.
- (54) And all this is accomplished by the Divine power of the one God.
- (55) For instance, it is like the soul of man, which can not be perfect with "the five attributes" alone.
- (56) Furthermore, without "the five attributes" the soul itself can not exist at all.
- (57) There is absolutely no other creator.
- (58) Therefore, only by securing the hand of "the five attributes," can mankind under Heaven enjoy continual existence and non-extinction, whilst all things in the world are brought to perfection.
- (59) This may be likened unto the soul being clothed with the man.
- (60) Or the five tastes may be likened to "the five attributes" making up the soul, the delicious flavour of man. (8)
- (61) And the soul (or man) seems to know that Likeness of His.
- (62) For instance, it is said: The dwelling of the soul in a human body is like a corn being first placed

- in the ground whereby it grows and bears seeds after.
- (63) As "the five attributes" are to the human soul, so is the ground to the corn.
- (64) A grain of wheat produces the seed, but the seed will again produce corn.
- (65) Both the corn and the seed, however, will grow each in a natural way, requiring neither manure nor water.
- (66) When corn is put in to a cellar after it is reaped, it will again grow when exposed to the warm wind even without manure or water.
- (67) Likewise, the soul in the body does not require either food or drink. Nor does it need clothing.
- (68) When Heaven and Earth shall pass away, and when all the dead shall rise again, surely the human soul shall return again to the body consisting of "the five attributes."
- (69) And it will be perfected in a natural way, requiring neither food nor clothing any more.
- (70) And it will enjoy the happiness of eternal-existence and "the idle sports of spiritual penetration" (i. e., riddhi vikridita), being free from any material (destitute) which may press the body.
- (71) For instance, such happiness may be like that of "flying immortals" (i. e., angels) in Heaven.
- (72) It is like "the idle sports" (i. e., vikridita) of a soul in the full enjoyment of happiness. (9)
- (73) The happiness in that world may be likened to the happiness of a soul doing "the idle sports" while in the human body (in this world).
- (74) Such a soul as that taking a human appearance

seems to dwell in the abode of happiness in (this) world.

- (75) But if a soul be united with "the five attributes" and appear in this world taking the form of man, then he can not but enjoy the same happiness here as he would over there.
- (76) For instance, this would be like a soul taking the form of a human body and dwelling here in this world.
- (77) And, indeed, it may also be said that this is nothing but "the five attributes" taking a form (of man) and dwelling in this world, whilst the soul is enjoying "sorrowless happiness" in that world.
- (78) And, all such is what the Divine power of "the Lord of Heaven" caused to do.
- (79) As observed above, what the flavour is to the food is what the soul is to the body.
- (80) If you venerate "The Lord of Heaven" respectfully, all things will be revealed to you clearly and distinctly.
- (81) The doings of all mankind in this world shall be meted to recompense to the soul according to what is done here in this life.
- (82) A soul and "the five attributes" join together and take form of man, and will ever abide in the world as if they were host and guest.
- (83) If the soul happened to find abundant wealth somewhere, and advances to "the five attributes" what he may have previously borrowed for himself, none could ever be made the poorer. You must not doubt this (truth) one way or another.

- (84) If "the five attributes" are poor and can not redeem the debt, then the soul, being rich, will give of its wealth to "the five attributes."
- (85) If "the five attributes" are poor, whilst the soul is both rich and full of food, then without doubt the former will not be able to redeem the debt.
- (86) From such discourse as this it may be said that "the five attributes" are poor but the soul is rich. And this is, indeed, doubtlessly true, for the reason that "the five attributes" are only of clay, while the soul is (not) so in the least. (10)
- (87) A human body seems to consist of both "the five attributes" and the soul forming one complete being.
- (88) The knowledge (i. e., wisdom) of God is the knowledge (i. e., wisdom) you have been given (by God). But it is not the knowledge (i. e., wisdom) given to this world.
- (89) Nevertheless, both the knowledge (i. e., wisdom) of God and (the soul) that was given by God precede the knowledge (i. e., wisdom) of this world, and therefore may be called the knowledge (i. e., wisdom) of that world.
- (90) Furthermore, one may know that He will be in future as He is at present, and, indeed, as He was in the past.
- (91) Therefore, in His previous existence, He dwelt not in the womb.
- (92) Hence we know that He existed long before He was born from the mother's womb. (11)
- (93) It is taught that any one who wants to work must do so whilst in this world.

- (94) A man's work in that world will only take effect at the time of his being born again into this world.
- (95) Even though he be born thus into this world, yet, indeed, he will not enjoy eternal existence here.
- (96) Man is, however, born to this world in order that he may prepare himself for existence in that (eternal) world by the result of sowing good seeds.
- (97) For he that seeks that world may attain it, if he sows the seed first whilst in this world before he departs therefrom. (12)
- (98) But where is that world really to be found? It is to be found right here in this world. (13)
- (99) What the mother's womb is to her child is what this world is to that world.
- (100) Now, the consequence of all things must follow what is done beforehand.
- (101) If any man seeks (to enter) that world, he must seek to do so here previously while he can in this world.
- (102) Let all this be preached clearly and distinctly.
- (103) It is only the intelligence of human beings in the world that enables them to perceive clearly whatsoever their eyes may see.
- (104) There are also numberless speeches and voices or sounds which their ears want to hear distinctly.
- (105) Likewise, there are numberless kinds of scent which their noses want to smell distinctly.
- (106) There are numberless kinds of food which their mouths likewise want to taste.

- (107) There are numberless kinds of action which their hands want to do.
- (108) What is said here about "the five attributes" is not applicable to what comes to existence in this world.
- (109) It is only applicable to what comes to existence in the mother's womb.
- (110) Even if the said "five attributes" should appear unexpectedly, they would, nevertheless, come in perfection without lacking anything in the least out of the mother's womb.
- (111) It seems that each and all the human beings (born) in the world were formed in the mother's womb.
- (112) In no other place can any human being be formed.
- (113) If a human being is to be formed in this world at all, it is first formed in the mother's womb.
- (114) Likewise, if there be any who seek (to enter) that world they must do so whilst in this world.
- (14)
- (115) If he can not do (good deeds) whilst in this world, he can not do so even if he would enter that place.
- (116) All good and meritorious deeds must necessarily be done here in this world. These can not be done in that world.
- (117) You should neither kneel down to demons nor worship them.
- (118) You should do good deeds whilst you are here in this world as you cannot do so in that place.
- (119) Be sure not to act contrary to what is com-

manded by the one God.

- (120) You can do good deeds whilst you are in this place, but not in that place.
- (121) For instance, if you want to do meritorious deeds you should first of all do them here in this world, for you can not do them when you go to that place.
- (122) Meritorious deeds of giving things to others in charity can be done only here in this world.
- (123) In that place, even if you wish to give a thing in charity, you certainly can not do so!
- (124) Being "awakened to the intelligence," one should be generous and magnanimous; not be narrow-minded.
- (125) Now you can be generous and liberal in your acts only whilst you are here in this world. You can not be so in that world.
- (126) Therefore, consider well, and try to get rid from your heart of all malice, resentment, envy, revenge, hatred and prejudice.
- (127) You can get rid of all these things whilst you are here in this world, but you can not do so in that world.
- (128) You may purify both your mind and body, and worship and adore (God) with reverence or observe His disciplinary rules with strictness, violating none of them, whilst you are here in this world, but not in that world. (15)
- (129) If you worship the Lord of Heaven with the utmost sincerity all your sins will be forgiven.
- (130) You can worship God here in this world, but not in that place.

- (131) If there be any one who is going to depart from this world, let him sow the seeds whilst in this world, so that he may fully reap their consequences in that world. But in that world his sowing would not be of any avail.
- (132) In that world you can enjoy happiness and ease only, and you will partake of nothing else.
- (133) This one God is a self-sanctifying God. His power of self-sanctification is superior to all things that were created.
- (134) He provided thus for all mankind, before He left that world of His (for this).
- (135) In quest of the liberation of mankind from their sins there was no suitable means found.
- (136) He, therefore, bore all the sins of mankind, and for them He suffered the punishment Himself.
- (137) No meritorious deed is necessary (for salvation).
- (138) This man of "boundless forgiveness" has already appeared. If any man can realize who sent "the Lord of Heaven" then let him serve sole-heartedly this one God, the Lord of Heaven.
- (139) Let him worship this one God! Let him obey only what is commanded by this one God.
- (140) Unless you understand the meaning of a meritorious deed in this sense, it is not a meritorious deed at all. (16)
- (141) It may be a meritorious deed of other place (i. e., sect), but it cannot be a meritorious deed of this place (i. e., sect).
- (142) To do a meritorious deed, for instance, is like a man building a house. First of all, before he builds it, he makes the piles for the house. He must,

- above all, fix these piles firmly and strongly.
- (143) For, if the piles are not firm and strong, the house can not be set up.
- (144) For instance, if a man wants to do any deed of merit he has, first of all, to observe all the rules and precepts of life set up (by God) and to prepare himself perfectly for the deed.
- (145) And, indeed, all men have to know that there is this one God placed (over the world) for worship.
- (146) All men have to worship (Him) and receive divine grace from the one God, and then they will do more meritorious deeds than ever.
- (147) And there is another such as may be called a meritorious deed of praise and adoration by the word of mouth, and it must be known that such is no other than a work of merit.
- (148) For instance, as it is taught, we must do good deeds at all times.
- (149) Without regard to whatever or whomsoever we consider "the Lord of Heaven" in our mind, we must do the meritorious deed always.
- (150) If any one is off guard of his mind, he is like a foolish man who wants to build a house without fixing the piles in the ground.
- (151) If the piles of a house are not fixed in the ground, the house will be blown down and carried away when the wind blows.
- (152) But if the piles are fixed firmly and strongly into the ground the wind can not carry it away. (17)
- (153) If a meritorious deed done by a man does not

bear the testimony of "the Lord of Heaven," then it will not come to perfection.

- (154) If a man wants to see the manifestation of the one God, he has only to be pure in heart, for then he can see God. (18)
- (155) You should consider well what is taught in these words.
- (156) Now, even if "the five attributes" have innumerable number of muscles and limbs, it seems that every one of them differs from each other.
- (157) Both the body and the soul consisting of "the five attributes" have all perfectly independent existence.
- (158) All the muscles and limbs are of physical forms suitable for existence in this world.
- (159) All mankind in this world are divided into several kinds (of races).
- (160) "One and two" (i. e., each and all) of them seem to resemble (the image of) the one God.
- (161) "One and another" (i. e., all) have been created by the one God, and are completely provided for and developed (by Him).
- (162) Therefore, let all people worship God and declare that at the time of eternal-existence and non-extinction all shall be submitted to His judgment. (19)
- (163) This is to take place as certain as spring and autumn succeed each other, and winter and summer come and go, and thus the four seasons complete the year.
- (164) Besides, it is as certain as day and night follow each other, whilst the sun and the moon and

- the stars go on their orderly course.(20)
- (165) This one God is wise and holy, and His wisdom is self-created. He is ever changeless: neither waning nor waxing.
- (166) For instance, it is like the self-existence of a clear echo. As it is self-existing, it is both self-created and self-responsive. (21)
- (167) This one God is absolutely perfect and is self-existing, and self-creating, and, therefore, in Him Law and Teaching are perfected, and He is far superior to all "the Sons of Heaven."
- (168) It is said that both people in general (i. e., gentiles) and "the people in special relation (with God)" (i. e., Jews) have adversaries.
- (169) They are the devils and demons. They lead people astray, and make them so deaf that they can not hear, or make them so blind that they can not see, His disciplinary rules.
- (170) Now "people in general" tried to follow their own good Gods, and first of all they tried to do themselves good deeds. (22)
- (171) But, because of their foolishness, they were led astray by the devil, and consequently they could not understand the innermost fact (i. e., truth).
- (172) For instance, this is like a man who takes for himself extracts of a book in order to learn the difference between the good and the evil, and yet goes astray in spite of this, and thus fails to be enlightened and to receive the blessing and grace of God.
- (173) And consequently they make themselves no better than a four-footed beast.

- (174) For these very reasons, the human heart has become like that of a beast's heart and consequently, it has become impossible for a human being to understand the truth and attain "the liberation from sorrow." (23)
- (175) And, therefore, they have neither discernment nor right understanding.
- (176) Such will account for the fact that the four-footed beasts, having neither intelligence nor understanding, do not understand how to worship this one God. Nor do they understand the meaning of worship and sacrifice.
- (177) The devils, together with others of their kind, keep people away from (God) leading them astray and into the temptation.
- (178) Of all "the wicked adversaries," none can surpass the devils.
- (179) There are, however, the foolish people who are led astray, and fall into "the wicked way." (24)
- (180) On this account, of all these adversaries of mankind, none can surpass the devils in leading people astray.
- (181) And, in consequence, the foolish people come to apply an appellation of "God" to wood and stone.
- (182) On account of this, those who talk of the devil, now apply to him the name of "the adversary of man." (25)
- (183) Furthermore, it ought to be known that such name designates the reality of the thing to mankind, and it will make us to know good from evil as well as the deep from shallowness.

- (184) If there are people who lack in consideration it is because they are led astray by the devil and are made not to cultivate good deeds.
- (185) Let us, therefore, reflect on the devils.
- (186) If any one could pacify the devils and make them to attain the "awakening to the intelligence" (i. e., the enlightenment), then these devils might become the same kind of Beings as "the flying immortals" (i. e., angels) in Heaven.
- (187) But, the devils, of their own accord, resorted to evil deeds and turned themselves toward "the wicked way."
- (188) For instance, this is like a case of "those stupid people," who acting contrary to good opportunity of turning away from the wicked, commit evil deeds.
- (189) Thus gradually and steadily they begin to nurture wicked thoughts and act accordingly.
- (190) Therefore, such men came to differ very little from "the wicked adversaries of man" who rebelled against this one God and his people.
- (191) And by falling and going astray, the devils finally had to depart from "the Great Residence," (26) because of the anger of God.
- (192) They, therefore, not only had to depart from the "three regions" (27) but also to be cut off and be separate from all good human relationship.
- (193) And now these devils are called devil-demons, or under a different appellation, they are called "satana."
- (194) This is, for instance, a "barbarian" appellation for the devil.

- (195) Therefore "satana" and "the devil" are the different words for one and the same thing. (28)
- (196) Indeed, the devils seem to turn themselves toward "the wicked-way." They also make many people to go astray and to turn toward wickedness.
- (197) All the foolish people who are led astray because of the devils and those who turn their mind toward the wickedness may be called by the same appellation as given to devils.
- (198) They are also like "evil-spirits" (of mountains and rivers), who make people to turn toward "the wicked way" and finally cause them all to depart from Heaven.
- (199) And the most wicked place under Heaven is the actual abode of the devil. And this is so since God makes them dwell therein.
- (200) Now, we are taught that evil customs prevail again in the world, and wicked deeds exercise like influence over the people as the devils themselves do.
- (201) These devils are the adversaries of men, and remain undisturbed in the wicked place and there they will dwell everlastingly.
- (202) And the worst and the greatest of all the devils is known by the appellation of "San-nu."
- (203) But it is only the outsider who by degrees has come to call him by the appellation of "Kuei."
- (204) But these demons and devils had to leave Heaven and its bright (place) and turned themselves toward "the wicked way."
- (205) Owing to the fact that "San-nu" has always

been active in setting up various kinds of wicked devices for the seduction of mankind, many people go astray.

- (206) Being jealous the devils envy people doing good deeds. And, on account of this, the devils do not leave any man free to worship and adore the one (God).
- (207) As the devils spend their time exclusively upon wicked deeds, so they devote their time in making the whole mankind to go astray, and cause them to fall into "the wicked way."
- (208) And, because they are led astray by the devils, the foolish people have ceased both from worshipping and adoring the one God in their hearts.
- (209) They believe in the crooked and their views have become degraded.
- (210) They, therefore, first of all, will fall into the middle of "the three wicked ways," and into the midst of the devils and demons. (29)
- (211) And afterwards they will get re-born into this world, but they will have to live among the low and the poor in "out-of-the-way place."
- (212) Therefore, one prayer (to God) will be equal to "the kalpa of formation," (30) and "the law of the myriad kalpa" will remain for ever without change!
- (213) But the devils, because of their wickedness, only try to discover wickedness and devote their time in scheming the wicked deeds.
- (214) Thus, living in the midst of wickedness, the devils turn toward the wicked.
- (215) On the other hand, under four quarters of

- Heaven, there is one Being who gives people a desire to do good and causes them to do so, and this very Being is no other than the one (God.)
- (216) And under the four quarters of Heaven there are those who devote their time in doing wicked deeds and try to make all mankind to fall into "the wicked way," and these are, indeed, the devils.
- (217) Therefore, those who pray to the one God unceasingly shall be satisfied.

The Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the
Universe, Part I

NOTES
ON
THE DISCOURSE ON THE ONENESS
OF THE RULER OF THE UNIVERSE

(1) The title was not here but was at the end of the text as in the case of the preceding document. That this text has a close connection with the preceding one may clearly be seen from such expressions as "four elements" or "things visible and invisible" and some other expressions used in this writing, whilst the words "Part I" may indicate that there must have been Part II to follow, if not Part III.

(2) The Chinese "tzü" (茲) in the 19 verse is a particle or an expletive corresponding to "tsai" (哉). So it is not to be translated "here" or "therefore" or "now."

(3) In the 22 verse the author emphasised the idea that the speech is the gift to mankind only.

(4) In the 28—32 verses the author betrays that he was under the strong influence either of the Chinese theory of Cosmogony — the Yin (陰) and Yang (陽) or of the Persian dualism. Why our Nestorian author inserts such heretical doctrine into this Discourse on Monotheism we are far from being able to account for.

(5) 33—39. The Nestorian distinction of "the spirit and the soul and the body" is referred to here again.

The body and the spirit according to the author, form one kind of human life in this world, whilst in that world another kind of human life (i. e., eternal life) exists in the form of soul without the body. That is to say, the soul is eternal but the body is not so. Here we may think that the Nestorian doctrine of impassibility is alluded to in the words, "The soul will suffer neither injury nor damage," as it is a well-known fact that "Nestorius denied that the Incarnation involved any change in the Godhead, or any suffering on the part of the Divine Logos who, as divine, is by nature impassible." (G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson: *The Bazaar of Heracleides*, p. xxxii).

(6) 37—43. The immortality of human soul is emphasized in these verses, whilst the soul is said to be the root of all life and activities of the human body, which consists of "five attributes" or *pantcha skandha* in the Sanscrit, as the Buddhist has it. The union of these "five attributes," viz., (1) Form (rûpa), (2) Perception (vêdanâ), (3) Consciousness (sañdjñâ), (4) Action (karman), (5) Knowledge (vidjñâna) is said to contribute a personal being.

(7) 44—51. Compare these verses with what Patriarch Timothy I (781—820 A. D.) said: "O our King, that He is a Son and one that is born, we learn it and believe in it, but we dare not investigate how He was born before the times, and we are not able to understand the fact at all, as God is incomprehensible and inexplicable in all things; but we may say in an imperfect simile that as light is born of the sun and word of the soul,

so also Christ who is Word, is born of God, high above the times and before all the worlds." (Timothy I: Apology. 17) (Woodbrooke Studies. II).

"Jesus Christ is one nature with God; like light is one with the sun." (Timothy I: Apology. 53).

Patriarch Yabhallaha III., also said :

"Dixit Deus faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. (Gen. I. 26). Sicut etiam videmus in sole ipsum corpus solare, et radium sive lucem ab ipso exeuntem, et calorem ab utroque manantem : quae tria unum solem dicimus et non tres, sic et tres personas unum Deum." (Mosheim : Hist. Tart. Eccles., Appendix No. 43 ; Chabot : Histoire du Patriarche, p. 253)

(8) Verses 59—60. The words "five tastes" or "five flavours" were found in the Book of Rites or the Li-ki. According to the book, they are "salt, bitter, sour, acrid and sweet" and the combination of these five flavours produces "the delicious taste." It says : "Therefore, man is the heart and mind of Heaven and Earth, and the visible embodiment of the five elements. He lives in the enjoyment of all flavours, the discriminating of all notes (of harmony), and the enrobing of all colours." (The Li-ki. Bk. III. sect. iii, 1—9). Our Nestorian author evidently tried to make good use of these Chinese expressions to their purpose.

(9) Verses 70—72. "The idle sports of spiritual penetration" is the Chinese translation of the Buddhist expression of "Riddhi vikrîdita samâdhi." A degree of samadhi is called "the idle sports of spiritual penetration," while "samâdhi" is explained by "correct fixity" or "self-

possessed" or by "listless," being one of "the seven branches of understanding," or "seven degrees of intelligence," viz., (1) Memory (Smriti), (2) Discrimination (Dharmapravitchaya), (3) Energy (Vîrya), (4) Joy (Prîti), (5) Tranquility (Pras'rabdhi), (6) Ecstatic contemplation (Samâdhi), (7) Indifference (Upeckchâ). Here samâdhi may be understood to be mastery of abstract contemplation and tranquillity.

(10) Verses 83—86. Compare these queer expressions with Nestorius' own words: "The person of the nature is in debt and as Adam's son we all have to pay the debt." "Therefore, Christ took upon Him the person of the nature which was in debt, and by means of it a son of Adam paid the debt." (Translated from Sermo IX. See Loof's Nestoriana, p. 225).

(11) Verses 88—92. These are most difficult verses to translate. But as far as the context is concerned, our translation, we believe, conveys the author's own idea fairly well. The whole thought of these verses is that the knowledge of God surpasses all the knowledge of the world. It is not only the source of wisdom but the very first step of the salvation through His grace. Furthermore, the doctrine of the Pre-existence of Christ is stated in the 91 and 92 verses, which is also beyond the knowledge of this world.

(12) 93—97. These verses teach us that we have to prepare ourselves for Heaven by doing good deeds as much as we can whilst we are here in this world, which is the only Gate for us to enter Heaven.

Both Christian and non-Christian writers teach the same truth sometimes. Plutarch, for instance, was a firm believer in the divine government by reward and punishment both in this world and in that world to come, as the Chinese and other Oriental people do. It was also believed by Plutarch as well as by philosophers in the Far East that this world is a proper training ground for human virtues. We must enter Paradise whilst we are in this world, as the Japanese Buddhist would say. Compare these with what is taught in the so-called "Cause and Effect Sûtra" (佛說因果經) or the doctrine which teaches that good causes produce good results, whilst bad causes produce bad results (因果應報). Of course, such doctrines as this do not contradict the words of Lord Jesus Christ: "Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree can not bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." (Matth. VII. 17—18). Only in Chinese Buddhism such doctrine of retribution is commonly construed to mean that "conduct in a previous life inevitably produces a corresponding result in this life" and is applied to account for, if not to explain away, the alleged injustice of this world. Needless to say, this "Cause and Effect Sûtra" is not included in the Tripitaka, although such doctrine is commonly ascribed to Buddhism. (See Dr. Oda's (織田博士) Dictionary of Buddhism)

When our Nestorian author wrote these words, of course, he had at heart these words of our Lord as well as the words of His Apostle who taught, "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." (Galatians. VI. 7)

(13) Compare the 98 verse with Luke XVII. 20—21 ;
“And when He was asked by the Pharisees, when the Kingdom of God cometh he answered them and said, the Kingdom of God cometh not with observation : neither shall they say, Lo here ! or, Lo there ! for, behold, the Kingdom of God is within you.”

(14) 103—113. In these verses the reference is made again to “the five attributes” whose activity being described in details. According to the Buddhist doctrine, the union of these “five attributes” dates from the quickening moment of birth and contributes to a personal being. The five organs of sensation mentioned in the verses between 104 and 108 are eye, ear, nose, tongue, body. To keep these pure organs besides the mind is called “to keep the six organs of sensation pure and undefiled” and to do so seems to have been the aim and purpose of the devotional prayer of the Buddhists as well as that of the Nestorians. If these organs could be kept pure and undefiled man would attain to the unsurpassed degree of good. In the 110—113 verses, our Nestorian author also alludes to the idea that even the Son of God must be born of the Virgin Mary.

(15) In the 114—128 verses again the meritorious deed in this world was emphasised and was repeatedly taught that any one who tries to get into that world (i. e., Paradise) must go through this world. Compare these with the verses between 97—102 and 120—134.

(16) In the verses between 135—140 the justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and the idea that the

salvation is the gracious gift of God freely given to all mankind were emphasised, whilst the vicarious death of Christ for all the sins of mankind was clearly stated.

(17) If we compare the 142—152 verses with Matth. VII. 24—27 and Luke VI. 48—49, we shall find that our Nestorian author seems to have followed more closely to the wording in St. Luke than in St. Matthew. We find also such is the case in the document following this as we shall show later on.

(18) Compare the 154 verse with St. Matthew V. 8 :
“Blessed are pure in heart : for they shall see God.”

(19) The 159—162 verses may possibly be the Chinese version of the 7th century, corresponding to “the parable of wheat and tares” mentioned in St. Matthew XIII. 24—30.

(20) The 163—164 verses are regular Chinese classical expression borrowed from both “The Book of Change” or the Y-king, and the “Book of Rites” or the Li-ki with suitable modifications. (The Y-king : Appendix. sect. II. chaps. 5—22 ; The Li-ki. sect. III. 2)

(21) What the author meant by the expression “a clear echo” in the 166 verse is not clear at all. But what he wanted to express might have been this : “An echo is the repetition of a sound. As an original sound is, so is the echo. Since one can not differ from the original sound. The changelessness of God is as sure as the changelessness of an echo.”

(22) "People in general" (衆人) (chung-jên) and "the people in special relation (with God)" (緣人) (yüan-jên) in the 168 and 170 verses as well as in other parts of the document might have been used here by the author to designate either the gentiles and Jews or non-Christians or Christians.

(23) "Liberation from sorrow" (chieh-t'ò) (解脫) is no other than the Chinese translation of the Sanscrit word "Mokcha" meaning literally "liberation" or "emancipation." It is, however, used here somewhat differently from the Buddhistic sense of the word, since strictly speaking the Sanscrit word "Mokcha" means "exemption from all moral activity," whilst our Nestorian author used the words "chieh-t'ò" in the sense of "correct enlightenment" or "right understanding" as the context will show us.

(24) "The wicked way" is the Chinese Buddhistic expression for the Sanscrit "Nâraka" or 捺落迦 as given in the Chinese, which may mean "man's wickedness" or "prison under the earth" or Niraya (地獄) or "Prefecture of Darkness" (冥府)

(25) The 177—182 verses convey the idea that the devils are the "adversaries of men" and that the devils made people ignorantly to bow down to wood and stone in their blindness, contrary to the Lord's great command: "Ye shall make no idol nor graven image, neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it; for I am the Lord of Your God." (Levit. XXVI. 1)

(26) "The great residence" in the 191 verse may mean "the residence *par excellence*" here, although literally it means "great place." The expression was often used by the Chinese scholars during the T'ang Dynasty. Liu Yü-hsi (劉禹錫) (771—842 A. D.), for instance, once composed a poem in praise of Ch'angan, the Capital of China, and said, "Ch'angan, the great Residence, indeed!" meaning the city is the capital *par excellence* with millions and millions of the Chinese people for many years.

(27) "To depart from the three regions" is a regular Chinese Buddhistic expression for the Sanscrit "Trailokya" literally meaning "Three Religions of Earth, Heaven and Atmosphere." But here by these words it was meant that "devils have absolutely no regions to remain in." "People who have departed from the three regions", therefore, may mean to be "the people who have absolutely no regions to remain in."

(28) Satana (娑多那) in the 193 and 195 verses is the Chinese transliteration of the Syriac word (ܫܕܢܐ). Compare this with Sa-tan (娑彈) which is used in the Nestorian Inscription, and again compare the same word with San-nu (參怒) used in the 202 and 205 verses which may well be identified with the Syriac "Shada" meaning "diabolis," as the old Chinese sound of these Chinese characters 參怒 (San-nu) was "Shan-do" beyond any doubt.

Besides these Syriac words for devils and diabolis it will be worth while to notice that in the 189 verse of "the Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving" the author uses the Sanscrit word Bhûta (拔脫) to denote

“demon,” whilst we find some other words like Wang-liang (魍魎) or “the evil spirit” in the 198 verse or Kuei (鬼) in the 203 verse. According to St. Augustine, “demons are of animal nature, passive in soul, rational in mind, aerial in body, eternal in time.” (The City of God: Bk. VIII. 16—24). But needless to say, no modern scholars would accept the explanation given by the Nestorian author any more than what is given by the Holy man of Africa some 1500 years ago.

(29) “The three wicked ways” in the 210 verse is another Buddhistic expression corresponding to “The lower three of the six paths or ways,” which are called Gâti (六道) in the Sanscrit. They are three conditions of transmigration with the three conditions of the soul. (1) Those that are in hell (Nâraka), (2) Those that are in condition of Prêtas (餓鬼) (i. e., Hungry demons), (3) Those that are in condition of animals. These are the lower three of the six conditions of sentient-existence, whilst the higher three of the six conditions of the same are Dêvas (i. e., Gods), men, and Asûras (lit., not-dêvas). But the expression “the three wicked ways” or “the three lower paths” has gradually come to be used as a general term for the various divisions of hell where these beings who exist in the three lower conditions of existence are to remain. According to the Buddhist doctrine there are four divisions of Hell. (1) The first is the hot Hell, whose number is said to be 136 in all. (2) The second is the cold Hell, eight in all. (3) The third is the dark Hell, eight in all. These are called “vivifying Hells” because any being, dying in the first of these Hells, is at once re-born in the second, and so forth, life being to last

500 years in each. (4) The fourth is the cold-edge Hell, situated on the edges of the universe, whose number is ten in all, but each having 100 millions of smaller hells attached.

Besides these there are 84,000 smaller "edge Hells" so called, which are situated on mountains or on water, or in deserts. There are different torments used in different hells, whilst the length of life also differs in each class of hells.

People are re-born in one of these hells according to their previous merits or demerits, as each individual must pass through all those hells. The decision lies entirely with Yama—the twin rulers Yama and Yamî—being both judge and criminal, restraining evil doers. He settles the case for us all in what hell each of us should be put or what kind of torments should be applied. The king Yama is assisted by 18 judges besides hosts of demons in the procedure. Now, "the three lower paths" are mentioned here, whilst the expression to live "in out-of-the-way place" is found in the 211 verse. Such as well as others which we see in the 212 verse also will show that our Nestorian author was assisted by the Chinese Buddhist, not the Taoist, when this document was prepared.

(30) "The Kalp of formation," etc.

This is another Buddhistic expression. Kalp, according to the Buddhist doctrine, means a period of time, during which a physical universe is formed and destroyed. But Kalp can not be rendered by months or years. It is, however, divided into three kinds, the small, the middle and the great. The small kalp is said to be 16,800,000

years, and twenty of the small kalpas —336,000,000 years— will make the middle, whilst four of the middle will make the great kalpa 1,344,000,000 years. What is called here “the Kalp of formation” (i. e., the Chinese translation of the Sanscrit Vivartta Kalpa) means 20 small kalpas during which there will arise worlds, and each world will successively evolve human beings and sentient beings. (For further information refer to Dr. Eitel’s Hand-Book of Chinese Buddhism and Dr. Oda’s Dictionary of Buddhism, respectively).

Such expressions as these were used by the Nestorian author, as we believe, with the purpose of teaching the mass of the Chinese people the Nestorian thought that one day to the True God is more than all these kalpas by making use of the Buddhist expression then in common use in China as it has been ever since.

CHAPTER VII

(E) THE LORD OF THE UNIVERSE'S (1) (2). DISCOURSE ON ALMS-GIVING

(lit., "The Lôkadjyêchṭha's Discourse on 'Dana,'
or Exhibition of Charity" Part III) (3)

- (1) "The lord of the Universe" (lit., "one who is honoured by the universe" or "the Lord of the universe") thus spoke:
- (2) If any one gives alms, he should not give it to man. (4) But, first of all, he must give it to the Almighty Lord of the universe and only then shall he give his alms. (5)
- (3) Let not your *right* hand know what your *left* (6) hand giveth.
- (4) When you worship (God) you should not allow it to be seen or to be heard by others.
- (5) You must wait for the manifestation of the one God Himself, and only then you can worship Him.
- (6) When you pray, you should not be selfish and wordy (in your prayer.) (7)
- (7) When you pray, you must, first of all, forgive other men's transgressions against you.
- (8) And then, if you turn toward God and pray for the forgiveness of sins you have yourself committed, you may also be forgiven.
- (9) If you forgive those that trespass against you, only then will the One (Person of the Godhead), also forgive you.
- (10) By your own forgiveness of others you will know that your sins are forgiven.

世尊曰知有人布施時勿封人布施會須遠
世尊如識然始布施若左手布施也令右手
凡若禮拜時勿能水人眼見外人知則會須
一神目見然如禮拜若其乞願時勿得乞願
時先故人却若然後向空處空處過法亦還
救法如若救得一即救得法如其當家救得家
一星客若得數有財物不須救置地上感特
施則感時首錢更行去財物皆須向天堂上
必竟不壞不夫計論人持而滿性命天下一

一夫得二所施財物若無財物與善文顯也
如此三思喻知持性兒子故破无賦即文無
財者何物去法法事唯索一物當不一神家
乞食三罪過若改善得福意更甘三思
如汝等怒是一弟子離常乞願若人等近蓋
是日猶自在欲變則看此其一神所有人生
看福報上去五層上衣反時一所有食飲或
其衣服在能怒不能與惟有飛鳥亦不種不
則亦無倉塔可守喻如一在積粟食飲不
強無擊性亦不言衣裳並蘇於諸雲亦不忌
食自乞食已身上明莫看能家過唯看他家
身上云身自家身不能云所以欲得成餘人
以如法柱著自家眼業則向能人說言安眠
家有物何却因合此語假鳩先向除眼業漢
柱莫淨潔安人似弟言語似真殊莫前意人
此人似情也畏諸人欲不堪用此草著於口嚼
不用意却故嘆責何為不自知從一乞願打
門他乞法門所以一神乞願必得打門也乞
則若省乞願不得者亦知打門不開是此乞
願不得要索索亦不得自家身上有者從法
等於又違索餅即得若從索石恐其自忘即
不得若素魚亦可若未地想黃法為此不
具住此事亦云意智亦無善雲向清受重
必有善雲向又作此意是何物意知以索者
亦可其者亦不可不然者俱與不與之是何
物此子索亦須與一願其有意指亦無意
智安有善雲有能善雲不相和在上頂蓋
學亦不須言索物不得所以不得有不可索
索不得你煩煩者餘人索餘人須亦你從家
餘人於你上所作你逐願債去於惡道
五口道道法住天上波雲有少許人於寬
道土行向在微樂如入地眼亦有人謀於飲
給善思如此一法法寺智為法命能德法未
止深神河任如雲不覺道經由三羊六箇月

The first part of the Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Almsgiving, corresponding to the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew
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- (11) For this One (Person of the Godhead) is no other than the K'o-nu I-shu (8) (i. e., Holy Jesus).
- (12) If you have treasures, you ought not to leave them alone upon the earth, where sometimes they may be destroyed and plundered, whilst at other times they may be stolen and carried away by thieves and robbers.
- (13) You ought to lay your treasures high up in Heaven, where they will neither be destroyed nor lost.
- (14) When we consider man, we find that there are two lives, which are one to all mankind.
- (15) One is for "the Lord of Heaven" and the other is for the treasure.
- (16) If you have no treasure, you will lack both food and raiment, but trouble not your heart too much therefor.
- (17) For instance, your (conditions) may be found to be like a newly born babe attacked by cruel bandits, and you would have nothing whatever left for your food and raiment, but (you should not trouble yourself).
- (18) I say unto you: Seek ye the one thing only. Come and ask the one God, and all your sins and shortcomings will be forgiven.
- (19) If you ask Him for raiment, you shall be clothed according to your own wish.
- (20) Therefore, do not trouble yourself too much about such things.
- (21) The One (Person of the Godhead) *knows* (9) that you must have all these things.
- (22) Let any of the disciples of the One (Person of

the Godhead) approach "the Lord of Heaven" in prayer, and their prayer will be answered freely and spontaneously.

- (23) Whatever food or raiment you are in need of, all belong to the one God's own will.
- (24) Man at his birth is invested with both "an upper clothing of soul" and another "upper clothing of the five attributes." (10)
- (25) At one time, the One (Person of the Godhead) gives food and drink, whilst at another, raiment.
- (26) Other (gods) can give us nothing at all.
- (27) Only look at the birds in the air. Indeed, they neither sow nor reap. They have neither barns nor cellars to guard.
- (28) For instance, such is because the one (God) is even in the desert. There they never lack in food and drink. They have no need to plough. Nor talk they about their raiment.
- (29) You are better than all these things, and you should not, indeed, trouble yourself too much therefor.
- (30) Remember you well that in accordance with your own (personal) eye-sight, you should not discover another's sins and shortcomings. (11)
- (31) Try only to find the uprightness of another's conduct and try to find why you can not yourself be so upright.
- (32) For, (whilst you yourselves are not upright,) if you try to make another upright, it is something like your asking the other person to allow you to take out a mote from the other's eye whilst you have a beam in your own eye.

- (33) Therefore, to such a one, I give these words: Liar, (12) first, cast out the beam out of your own eye.
- (34) Do not put what is holy and pure before "quasi-persons" (i. e., dogs) lest they despise it.
- (35) Do not present your pearls to "the Liao-yang-people" (13) who are like swine, lest they trample them under their feet and make them useless.
- (36) Such act of self-sacrifice on your part will not be appreciated but it may incur their anger and rebuke the more. Wherefore are you so ignorant about it?
- (37) Ask this One (Person of the Godhead), and you shall be given.
- (38) Knock at the door, and He will open it for you.
- (39) For every one that asks the one God will surely be given what he asks.
- (40) If you knock at the door, He will open it for you.
- (41) But, if you do not obtain what you ask, or if the door is not opened unto you when you knock at it, that is because you are not permitted to ask erroneously.
- (42) Indeed, even if you should ask, you would not obtain that which is harmful to yourself.
- (43) If you go to your father and ask him for bread, you will immediately get it.
- (44) But, if you should ask for a stone, you would not get it for fear it may hurt you.
- (45) Likewise, if you ask for a fish, you will get it.
- (46) But, if you should ask for a serpent, it is feared that it may perhaps bite you. On that account,

- it will not be given to you.
- (47) These things are done by you who are foolish and wicked.
- (48) Then how much more will Our Father, who is compassionate and merciful and gracious, be willing to give all these!
- (49) What is this will which decides what to ask and what to give and what needs must be given?
- (50) What are the two things, one that is to be given and the other that is not to be given?
- (51) If your children ask you for anything, will you not give him such thing?
- (52) In the mind of the One (Person of the Godhead) there are neither the wise nor the unwise. There is a difference only between the righteous and the unrighteous, which can not be in harmony.
- (53) Needless to say, one who is above will support one who is below.
- (54) But if you cannot get what you asked for, it is because you asked for what you ought not to have. What you erroneously asked for you cannot obtain.
- (55) Whatsoever you would others do for you, others would also the same to be done by you. What others need to be done by you, you may naturally need to be done by them. (14)
- (56) Whatever others would do to you, you should again do to them so as to reward and compensate them.
- (57) Depart ye from the wicked way. For instance, enter the closed-mouth (i. e., narrow) way, and it will lead you to Heaven. Few there are that

find it.

- (58) Those who travel upon the broad way make joy and merriment, but it will lead them to Hell.
- (59) There may be some men who will preach you words of various false doctrines.
- (60) But the good is plainly known from the evil by you.
- (61) For your sake, you are to come and listen to the law.
- (62) What the Messiah did was all in accordance with what had been foreordained.
- (63) After His awakening to "the intelligence of Way," three years and six months thus passed.
- (64) During which He behaved and practiced so assiduously as to be worthy of a great scribe.
- (65) And in His own death He was hanged on high.
- (66) There was a Shih-hu man (15) (i. e., a Jew). He was at first a follower ; but, afterward he raised his hand against (his Master).
- (67) Three days before He met His death, this man had already made an agreement (of betrayal).
- (68) Thereby all men without exception might be raised from the dead and ascend up to Heaven even as He.
- (69) For instance, this work seems to have been done for sanctifying transformation.
- (70) And He appointed a certain period of time for the preaching to all mankind saying : " After the expiration of full three years and six months, you must decide yourself whether what actually happened in the past was as had been written or no."

- (71) Now, the Shih-hu men (i. e., the Jews) caught Him on the charge, as they said, that He talked about His own Person.
- (72) They said: "This 'Son of the Lord' expressed of Himself in His own words, 'I am the Messiah Himself.'"
- (73) "Now, did any man ever boldly dare to make such a declaration? This man is not the Messiah. He is an imposter. We want to arrest this man, and we beseech you to think of some convenient means to do so."
- (74) On that account He himself went to Fu-lin. (16)
- (75) And it was then in the reign of Chi-hsi (i. e., Caesar).
- (76) Even if Chi-hsi (17) had not arrested Him, there would have been, indeed, a good reason why He did not escape from braving death.
- (77) And when He was arrested and was delivered to those who were learned in the law, they examined Him very minutely concerning every thing.
- (78) And even as it was foreordained, He was hanged on high.
- (79) Indeed, He was already brought under the power of the law; but he was so carefully dealt with to be punished by hanging on high.
- (80) You said that you have your own law, and that according to that law of yours, He ought to be put to death because He himself made such a declaration concerning His own Person.
- (81) Now, who in the world could say "I am the Lord of the Universe?"
- (82) But let us cease from arguing! When the time

to tell the truth comes, you will find that the temptation to deceive is not (confined to) yourself alone. Such is (of the nature) of Adam.

- (83) That man (Adam) was the very first, and from the very fact that all human beings have descended from him, we know that such a man existed.
- (84) Now, who could boldly come forward and dare pretend "I am the Lord of the Universe?" Would not such (an imposition) be discovered easily?
- (85) That man (Adam) not obeying the commandment of the Lord (of the Universe) ate the fruit of that tree.
- (86) This act of eating the fruit of the tree was no other than the eating of the fruit "in one's mind."
- (87) From the moment when he ate the fruit he made himself (equal to) "the Lord (of the Universe)." Apparently, in his mind, it seems that he made himself (equal to) the Lord of the Universe Himself.
- (88) This man (Adam), therefore, lost peace with God.
- (89) Likewise, if any man should pretend himself to be God, then that very man ought to be put to death.
- (90) The Messiah, therefore, is not the Lord (of the Universe) Himself, but He made the Lord (of the Universe) known to all the mankind.
- (91) The Messiah Himself did the work of Sanctifying Transformation in a limitless measure.
- (92) What He did shows that He is not the seed of man. On the contrary, what he did shows that

- He is the seed of the Lord (of the Universe).
- (93) Now, there was also the beloved (part of Adam's) body. And this one was his tempter.
- (94) Therefore, this (tempter) is to have one and the same punishment as Adam.
- (95) It is because the old (seed) of the tempter exists in you that you are to be punished.
- (96) Had it not been for these acts (of Adam and Eve) the (following) announcement (of the Glad tidings) would not have been expected. (18)
- (97) "Only He was like a sheep that was led to the slaughter, and He opens not His mouth nor does He bleat and complain.
- (98) "So He did not open His mouth but remained so silent when He was examined and He came to suffer the punishment on His body in accordance with the law."
- (99) Thus He suffered the punishment in love for you in order that the seed and nature of Adam in you may be won and transformed by Him.
- (100) For instance, it seems to be plain, therefore, that though the Messiah suffered death in His body of "the five attributes," His life did not end therewith. (19)
- (101) On account of this, even the foolish tempters are made to escape death like other seeds of Adam.
- (102) They, therefore, need not die necessarily such death as to end the life therewith even if they suffer death.
- (103) Only by succour of the Holy Mystery through the Messiah can all people be saved.
- (104) Now, in such a convenient way, the Messiah is

to be received (as the Saviour) by all mankind through His sufferings.

- (105) To receive Him, however, is not to remain without strength (i. e., effort). But to receive Him is not the act requiring strength (i. e., effort).
- (106) Hereupon, by enforcing the law in His own appointed time they hanged Him on high.
- (107) And consequently, when He yielded up the ghost, the earth did quake and the mountains did crumble, and the rocks were broken, whilst the temple veil which was made of good woolen cloth, and which had been hung across (therein) was rent in twain from the top to the bottom by reason of this Sanctifying Transformation.
- (108) There were (many) graves which opened of themselves, and we are told that bodies of the virtuous arose from the dead to life, and that they appeared to many people. (20)
- (109) And He remained with them for fourteen days and one month, (21) and (during which) not a day passed without His appearing unto them in dark places.
- (110) The Sanctifying Transformation was done in such a way three times a day.
- (111) For instance, it is plain that in the dark nothing can be seen by human eyes.
- (112) But, now (this) Sanctifying Transformation is to be heard with your own ears, and can be seen with your own eyes.
- (113) And because of the fact that the Messiah was hanged on high, He is acknowledged to be the true Lord of Universe.

- (114) For instance, every thing (in His life) took place as it had been written.
- (115) Now, when it was dark, there came a man who was a flesh-relation of "the five attributes" of the Messiah, and who was devoted to the Lord of the Universe and was called Yao-hsi (22) (i. e., Joseph) at the change of name.
- (116) This man, observing the law of the country, went to the house (of Pilate) and begged the body (of Jesus).
- (117) (Joseph) wrapped the body (of Jesus) in a new clean cloth, and buried Him in a new graveyard, where was a new tomb, which had recently been hewn out on the side of the broken-off hill.
- (118) A great stone was placed at that place, and then the seal was put over the cover-stone. (23)
- (119) The kinsmen of the Shih-hu also had a watch set up to guard the tomb.
- (120) They said: "We remember that this Messiah said (whilst He was yet alive), 'In three days, I will rise again from the dead.'
- (121) "Now do not be deceived. His disciples will come for this sacred coffin of yours.
- (122) "Do not allow them to steal it and to declare falsely to the world that He has risen from the dead."
- (123) So saying, the kinsmen of the Shih-hu had the Messiah watched for three days.
- (124) For instance, they also went to the place where the tomb was and kept their eyes at the seal from the outside.
- (125) For instance, there were some female disciples

who followed Him from the time of the betrayal. And there were also others besides these women, who were eye-witnesses. They all thus (described):

- (126) There was an angel whom the Lord of the Universe made to wear a white raiment looking, for instance, like frost and snow, and who was made, coming down from Heaven upon the great stone, to face toward the place where the guards were stationed.
- (127) Now, there was that great stone, by the side of that old door of the tomb.
- (128) But, when (the door) was opened, and the angel was found sitting on the stone.
- (129) The guards saw that the appearance was exactly like an angel.
- (130) They at once went into the tomb and looked for "the five attributes" (i. e., the body of Jesus) but found nothing.
- (131) At last, they said: "Let us give up the burial place and go away."
- (132) At that time those who eye-witnessed what happened went to the Shih-hu men and told them the details.
- (133) The Shih-hu men gave a great amount of money (to the guards), and asked them many pretended questions and kept them loitering on.
- (134) And then they said afterward: "If the guards had seen anything, why should they not have spoken about it at the time?"
- (135) But these guards said that the One (Person of the Godhead), according to what was prophesied,

is the Messiah, and that His rising from the dead is also what was written in the prophecy.

- (136) Then, the women, preparing themselves with all things necessary in accordance with the law, also came to the place where He had been buried.
- (137) (Some of) the Shih-hu men, also very early in the morning of the third day, came to the tomb and wanted to make sure concerning Him.
- (138) Behold! The Messiah had risen and departed!
- (139) (The women), therefore, reported the fact to another, and they all went where the disciples were met together.
- (140) For instance, it was like the women's first predecessor in the world, who credulously and carelessly conveyed to Adam that lie which had been told to her and which brought all the sins of mankind into this world.
- (141) So, for instance, it was these women who had been to the tomb and brought again the tales (of the Resurrection).
- (142) But, behold, the Messiah himself appeared to the disciples and told them that what the women reported to them was true.
- (143) And (the Messiah) coming in the midst of the disciples who had met together at "the place where they make themselves virtuous" (i. e., the place where they assemble for prayer and worship), showed Himself to them and then to the world.
- (144) After this, those who came to Him all went away filled with the faith in Him.
- (145) The disciples of the Messiah understood clearly

and decided distinctly what to do and went forth into all parts of the world, (doing what was commanded by Him) saying :

- (146) "Preach ye my words to all the races of mankind. And when they come forward to water, mark them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Wind (i. e., Spirit), and make them decide to observe completely what was taught by me. Observe ye all that which is taught by me for I shall be with you even to the end of the world." (24)
- (147) It is said that the Messiah was on the earth for thirty days after He had risen from the dead and taught (the disciples) saying : " You shall be given power over all the creation without exception and shall understand even all speeches and languages."
- (148) He also added a promise saying : " the Holy Wind (i. e., Spirit) shall be granted from Heaven to those of you who will come forward and pray for it."
- (149) Behold ! Heaven opened and the Messiah, coming into the transparent place of heaven, appeared in the sky.
- (150) Up in heaven there was a figure of man, sitting amidst " the Wind of Great Mercy."
- (151) Thus the Great Sanctifying Transformation of all mankind was done.
- (152) But at the same time, it was also seen that the devils, aroused of malicious envy, behaved so badly as to attack man from above in the same way as they throw "offerings" (i. e., the Chinese

- for the Sanscrit Pûdjâ) down upon the earth.
- (153) But those whom the Lord of the Universe gains to Himself, He rescued them all from a state of suffering.
- (154) The devils also raised the hand against men, and getting hold of them, made them utterly useless.
- (155) In consequence, the human beings were made to suffer greater afflictions and troubles than ever.
- (156) And in fear and dread, (the devils) made the human beings depart far from the Lord of the Universe and raise their hands against the Messiah.
- (157) But, all the human beings who have faith will come to the Lord of the Universe.
- (158) If there are any who have no faith in this, it must be said that, because of their unbelief, their eye can not see Him.
- (159) But He who is the Creator Himself is from the beginning complete and perfect, and shall be, indeed, ever so.
- (160) And this very Person (who is the Creator) exists at this very moment.
- (161) And consequently, the living, indeed, need not be in doubt and anxiety so long as they live. Nor should they need fear death in their mind.
- (162) For instance, their death will be like the death of their forerunners.
- (163) Now, is any of them possibly lost for ever?
- (164) They that have faith in the Messiah Himself will not be in doubt and anxiety about rising again from "the Yellow-spring," and that all the human beings without exception shall rise again.
- (165) Ten days after the Messiah had ascended into

the Heaven, He again added more faith to the disciples, and "admitted them into the secret of the Way," and gave them the Holy Wind (i. e., Spirit). (25)

(166) And from on high He looked on His disciples, and saw clearly that they were all filled with the Holy Wind (i. e., Spirit) manifestly and fully.

(167) For instance, a light of fire sat upon the head of the disciples, which appeared like tongues as of fire.

(168) When they were given the Holy Wind (i. e., Spirit), they had power to teach all nations and races of mankind the Messiah, and could make the whole of mankind to see clearly the judgment of the Lord of Heaven.

(169) Behold! Who is this (man) that has come to this world from your Father and perfected the work of Sanctifying Transformation?

(170) For our own transgression and sins, from His own choices He made His own Person responsible and suffered the death of His "five attributes of body."

(171) And in three days, He rose from the dead, and this was by the power and strength of the Lord of Heaven on high above.

(172) A thing like that was never heard of before!

(173) This world is for the Messiah's own praise and glory.

(174) He will make all people without exception rise again.

(175) All the human beings that are dead will rise into this world, whilst those that (died) without hear-

ing (the Gospel) will also be made to submit to the judgment of the Messiah at the end of this world.

- (176) Rising from "the Yellow-spring," all people are made to come to "the Place to substantiate the Law" (i. e., the judgment seat) in order that they may receive life (eternal).
- (177) For instance, this is no other than the time of the judgment, when all the people in this world will either be rewarded or punished.
- (178) Those that have the faith (in Him), indeed, will be taken to the abode of the Messiah.
- (179) Those that worship the Lord of the Universe will enter the place of the Messiah's Father, or Heavenly abode and dwell there everlastingly.
- (180) They shall also be given the joy of eternal life there.
- (181) In that abode of the Messiah's, every act done will be found perfect and complete, and will never be passed without being rewarded.
- (182) The Lord of the Universe, for instance, is no other (Person) than He who was sent from the Father.
- (183) If you do not worship (Him), then you will worship the devil and will remain in impure and unholy places.
- (184) And you who will (not) take delight in what is decided for you, shall be carried to "the dark earth-prison" (i. e., Hell).
- (185) And there, departing from the Good Place forever you will have to live together with the devils and demons.

- (186) Manifesting Himself clearly and distinctly in the world, He taught people His judgment.* And, how perfect and complete is that which He taught, indeed!
- (187) Those direct disciples of the Messiah were not seeds of men. They are the seeds of men regenerated by the Lord of the Universe.
- (188) Consequently, these disciples, in the name of the Messiah, healed the sick, and cured all people of their ills.
- (189) There are the devil-demons, whose side-name is Pa-t'o. (26) Living on dead human beings, the devil-demons make the disciples of the Messiah the object of hatred in this whole world.
- (190) In every thing and at every place, the devil-demons competed with, and tried to conquer, the Messiah's disciples.
- (191) And they also succeeded in getting hold of the above-mentioned man of Shih-hu.
- (192) Consequently, those who do not receive (the Messiah) have only to remain in the state of innumerable sufferings, and will finally be led into "the last of the eight hot hells." (27)
- (193) Now, this (country of) Shih-hu (i. e., the Jew) is no other than (that of) Fu-lin (i. e., Ephraim).
- (194) And inside the walled city of Ita (28) (i. e., Judea) in the Rock-country (i. e., Syria) that man (of Shih-hu) destroyed himself by breaking his "entrance of voice" (i. e., the throat).
- (195) This happened, indeed, to him according to his own measure.
- (196) Besides, the people of Shih-hu were all killed, and

afterwards all the rest of the inhabitants (of that country) were either plundered or carried away into captivity. (29)

- (197) In consequence, they were scattered all over the world; and thus the disciples of the Messiah were increased the more.
- (198) It is said, however, that those who made "open announcements" of the Lord of the Universe, and those who served the Lord of the Universe were the object of hatred.
- (199) But in (things) small or great, the rest of people, without any other consideration, only tried to get on well in their trades.
- (200) The disciples of the Messiah were all martyred, and the (worldly) dignity of the nation to which they belonged was lost.
- (201) But on that very account they came to receive the teaching (of the Messiah) the more perfectly.
- (202) Now, be it known that the work of Sanctifying Transformation of the Lord of the Universe will take place at an unknown hour just as before.
- (203) It is right, therefore, that people should be prepared well against His coming.
- (204) Let any one of you who serves the Lord of the Universe consider well and let him examine himself closely so that he may keep "the wrong doctrines" away.
- (205) For even good deeds (you do), however perfect and complete they may be, would not be of any avail at all in attaining your desire.
- (206) The Lord of Universe has now been reconciled to all human beings.

- (207) All the kings and the people have come to dwell in harmony with one another.
- (208) But, both in Fu-lin (Ephraim) and in Persia, the laws were made against those people who held this doctrine; and by which laws they were searched out to be martyred. (30)
- (209) All who raised their voice against (these laws) were martyred, being destroyed either in mounds or in pit-holes so that they need not be deported from their own countries.
- (210) How, then, could there have been any one to serve the Messiah within the boundaries of these countries?
- (211) But it is said that the name and appellation (of the Teaching) show clearly and distinctly that this world is the place of action.
- (212) But the mysterious art of the Lord of the Universe is the Sanctifying Transformation of the different races of men.
- (213) Meditating on the various devices and plans (of salvation) is what other sects would do.
- (214) But in the teaching of the Lord of the Universe our prayer is all that is needed to have our desire completely fulfilled.
- (215) And He alone may, indeed, well be called "the Holy Lord of all the kings."
- (216) Whosoever went to Fu-lin and whosoever went to Persia were all martyred on account of the wicked laws that existed there.
- (217) For those who bore (the Messiah's name) the strict search was made which was almost impossible to bear.

- (218) But, for that very reason, all the people of Fu-lin have now come to worship the Lord of the Universe.
- (219) There are still a small number of people in Persia who, being led astray, are co-operating with the devil-demons in their wicked deeds. They are the people who worship the images made of earth.
- (220) But, the rest of the people (of Persia) all worship the Lord of the Universe and are united in declaring that I-shu (i. e., Jesus) is the Messiah!(31)
- (221) Although these people have been carrying out the Sanctifying work of the Lord of the Universe throughout the world, they have not been so for many years yet.
- (222) Nevertheless ever since the time when the Messiah revealed Himself clearly and distinctly to the world, He has ever been manifesting Himself to all the people in this world.
- (223) Though it is only 641 years (32) since the time of the birth of the Messiah, consisting of "the five attributes," yet (His name) is known in all parts of the world.
- (224) Any one who has the wisdom to understand may see what this manifestation as well as the mysterious art of Sanctifying Transformation is.
- (225) In your tender years, you perhaps learned that human beings themselves are not capable of "adding the power to themselves" (i. e., to save themselves).
- (226) Only by the Divine Power of the Lord of Heaven all human beings will get wisdom.
- (227) All things that exist owe their existence entirely

to the Divine Power of this one God.

- (228) Therefore, the Messiah chose his own direct disciples and sent them abroad (saying):
- (229) Go you unto the world and preach all things that I have taught you and declare the same to all people. (33)
- (230) What I do is different from what the sacred masters or kings of this world do.
- (231) They chose their disciples from among the rich and the noble.
- (232) But I chose my disciples from among the poor and obscure people.
- (233) And such is the law of the Messiah's prayer and supplication, which was taught (by Him).
- (234) All the rest will be perfectly and completely fulfilled. And, indeed, all the people will also know that this is what this one God wills.
- (235) Therefore, it must be said that this law which speaks (of salvation) is the one God's own.
- (236) Whosoever wants to get "the self-liberation," this one God will grant it.
- (237) Again, whether the soul shall go up to Heaven or not, indeed, must also be decided in accordance with the following law: (34)
- (238) You must not commit any act of deception or of seduction or of falsehood. Nor must you express even any foolish words. Nor must you lead a sinful life. The law shall be so to all men without exception.
- (239) Those who go astray from the Way will lead a sinful life, because they act in pursuance of the perverted Way.

- (240) But if there are those persons who strive to forsake a sinful life in order to return to their former substance, they could do so by walking in the Way of the one God, and by obeying the determined will of the one God.
- (241) There is no other way (of salvation) except this.
- (242) All mankind should turn toward Heaven, and try to know the One (person of the Godhead), the Lord of Heaven and His determined will only.
- (243) But the rest shall all be destined to be judged by the one God.
- (244) If there are any who go astray from the Way, they are those who are in fear of men or who give themselves up to the worship of the sun, the moon, and the stars and even the fire-gods. (35)
- (245) Those who are in fear of men, or who give themselves up to devils and demons and the Yakchas and the Râkchasas. etc., will fall into the hot Hells and have to remain there forever.
- (246) In order to gain "the (former) state to substantiate the law," they ought not to rely on the greatness of faith.
- (247) But in doing the acts of faith, if they do not work in accordance with the determined will (of God) they will remain only with the devils and Yakchas and Râkchasas and other demons, etc. (36)
- (248) And in composing their Sûtras, they only copy out from the Law Books of the one God.
- (249) In these last days, when the end of the world is drawing near, the devils will possess persons and appear in their forms, and will cause to bring

the judgment (of God) upon all mankind by innumerable deeds through their arts of seduction and temptation.

- (250) Acting thus, the devils will spoil and hurt all mankind and make them to go astray, from the one God, and cause their own figures to be placed here and there.
- (251) Therefore, (the Lord) declared Himself and taught the disciples, saying: "I am the Messiah. For three years and a half I shall exercise my "reforming and curing influence."
- (252) At the end of three years and six months, all those who are skilful in wicked deeds, and those who are wicked by nature will be shown quite clearly.
- (253) Any one who wants to return to the (former) substance must do meritorious deeds. Is there any one who can face the judgment of the Lord of Heaven without faith in Him? They are none other than the devil-demons that appeared in this world taking the form of men.
- (254) The Messiah together with the one God sees (us all) distinctly and clearly from Heaven.
- (255) On the last day of the world, when the dead shall be raised again, these shall be all judged.
- (256) Therefore, you who have already embraced the faith, or you who do all kinds of meritorious deeds, or who will walk in His way with an honest heart, shall all enter Heaven and remain in that abode of happiness for ever and ever.
- (257) But those who have the full knowledge of the one God and His right way (taught) in the good

sûtras and yet do not themselves do what is commanded therein, or those who do not obey the determined will of the one God, still continuing to do wicked deeds, worshipping devils and demons or Yakchas and Râkchasas, shall all fall into the Hell together with those who worship the devils and demons.

- (258) They shall remain there forever, existing in a state of hardship and misery, in the great fire which will burn endlessly in that place.
- (259) Those who want to be saved, harken unto these words and do what is commanded.
- (260) And all who listen to these words must also do as was commanded therein.
- (261) If there be any who does not take delight to hear these words (of God), let him examine himself fully for what is taught here concerns both his body and his soul.
- (262) If there be any who neither delight (to hear these words) nor desire to listen to what is preached here they are in company with the devils. They shall be cast out into the Hell forever.

The Discourse on Monotheism, Book III.

NOTES
ON
THE LORD OF THE UNIVERSE'S
DISCOURSE ON ALMS-GIVING

(1) The title, "The Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving, Part III," or literally "The Lôkadjyêchth's Discourse on Dana, Part III," quite different from the two preceding documents, was added to this document at the head of the text. The words "Part III" may be taken as a proof that there were Part I and Part II of the Discourse on Monotheism. But judging from the fact that the Discourse on Monotheism consists of these three documents before us we may take "the Parable, Part II" for the Part I of the Discourse on Monotheism and "Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe" for the Part II of the same, since these three documents are interrelated and show us the thought on Monotheism all through.

(2) "The Lord of the Universe"—the Chinese word for it is "Shih-tsun" (世尊), literally meaning "The world (shih) and honoured (tsun),"—was originally an epithet for a certain Buddha, but afterwards came to be used as a common epithet of Avalôkitês'vara or Kwanyin (觀音). "Kwan" (觀) which stands for Avalôkita, literally means "Looking on," whilst "yin" (音) which stands for "svara," literally means "sound" (of prayers).

Here our Nestorian author borrowed a well established Buddhist epithet to designate our Lord Jesus Christ. In translating this Buddhist epithet into English we thought

it proper to use the title of the "Lord of the Universe" instead of "the world honoured One," though the latter may be more literal.

That the title "Lord of the Universe" was used here to designate our Lord may be clearly seen from the fact that "the Sermon on the Mount" as recorded in the 6th and the 7th chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew is given here as the Teaching of the Lord of the Universe.

(3) The Chinese word "Pu-shih" (布施) is for the Sanscrit "Dana," literally meaning "exhibition of Charity" or "Alms-giving." Needless to say, Alms-giving is the first of six means necessary for salvation. In other words, those who want to be saved must observe the six means which are (1) Alms-giving, (2) Keeping vows, (3) Bearing reproaches with patience, (4) Progress in clear knowledge, (5) Contemplative reveries, (6) Wisdom or enlightenment. Compare these with what was taught by Our Lord, "Go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven (Mark X. 4), or what Emerson said "Charity is the first step of religion and the goal of life," then we shall find that all such is common truth, not only to Buddhism and Christianity, but also to every true religion worthy of the name.

(4) 1—62. With some very slight modifications, these first sixty-two verses will be found to correspond to the 63 verses contained in the 6th and 7th chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew in the authorised Version. We can not find, however, "the Lord's prayer"

in our Nestorian document of 641 A. D. How to account for the absence of such an important prayer ascribed to Our Lord is very difficult and may bring forth again the old, old serious questions regarding the genuineness of the Lord's prayer, since the Chinese Text before us belongs to 641 A. D., and is really one of the oldest texts extant in the world.

(5) Shih-tsun-chih-shih (世尊知識), literally meaning "the world (shih)-honoured one (tsun)-knowledge(chih-shih) or "Lord of the Universe with unsurpassed perfect intelligence." And we think that the Chinese epithet "Chih-shih" (知識) used here must be the abridged form of the Chinese "shan-chih-shih" (善知識) corresponding to the Sanscrit word "Dharma Yanamitra," which is an epithet given to one who makes people get Anuttara Samyak Sambodhi (lit., unexcelled perfect intelligence) (阿耨多羅三藐三菩提) (See 法華經妙莊嚴王品), and here the epithet is used to express the unexcelled and perfect wisdom and experience of the Lord of the Universe.

(6) In the 3 verse, "let not your *right* hand know what your *left* hand gives," we notice that the Chinese transcriber took the character "yu" (右) (i. e., right) for "tso" (左) (i. e., left) which is so very similar and so easily confused as every body knows. We point out this transcriber's mistake because such may be counted as one of many evidences for the genuineness of our Nestorian writing.

(7) The 6—10 verses practically correspond to the

intent and purpose of the Lord's prayer although our Nestorian document does not have the Lord's prayer as such.

(8) The K'o-nu I-shu (客怒翳數) is the modern Chinese; but it must have been pronounced in the ancient Chinese sound "Ku-do" or "Kaku-do" as in the Japanese pronunciation, which preserves the ancient Chinese sound as every body knows. We do not have such words as these in the 6th chapter of St. Matthew in the authorized Version, but we believe this verse may possibly correspond to the 14th and 15th verses of the same chapter. The Chinese word K'o-nu-i-shu, literally means "guest-(客) angry-(怒) screen-(翳) number-(數)" which makes no sense at all, and will show that all the words are the transliteration of a foreign word and may well be identified with the Syriac word ܩܘܕܫܐ ܝܫܘܥ (kudsha-ishu), literally meaning either "Holy Jesus" or "Just Jesus." Judging from the force of the context we think that the whole sentence must come to mean that "if ye forgive not other men their trespass, neither will your father forgive ye your trespass, for He is just and holy as His only begotten Son Jesus is."

(9) Regarding 12—17 verses, we may see that the 12—13 verses correspond to Matth. VI. 19—20, whilst the 14—15 verses to Matth. VI. 25. But in the 17th verse our Nestorian author has shown some departure from the original by way of explaining Matth. VI. 25—31, and has forgotten to translate the most important words, "But no man can serve two masters." To translate the 21st verse as we did, we had to read "chih" (知) (i. e.,

to know) for "ju" (如) (i. e., if; as) so easily mistaken by the transcriber, or else we can not make sense of the sentence at all.

(10) The 24 verse is quite foreign to the text preserved in the English authorised Version as well as in the Peshito. Such, therefore, must be considered the insertion of the Chinese or Persian Nestorian Church. But the 25—29 correspond respectively to Matth. VI. 30—34.

(11) The 30—62 verses cover pretty well the whole of the 7th chapter of St. Matthew. The most conspicuous part is the very poor way in which the Golden Rule is rendered into Chinese in the 55th and 56th verses of our Nestorian documents (see our note (4) on the 55—56 verses *infra*).

(12) 33—34. The word "liar" in the 33 verse is the literal translation of the Chinese characters "chia-chiao" (假矯) corresponding to the word "hypocrite." The word "quasi-person" or "Jên-shih" (人似) literally means either "one which is akin to a person" or "one that imitates a person," but is a very queer expression for "dog."

(13) "The Liao (tung) people" (遼人) used for "the swine" in the 35 verse. The Liao people here of course means "the Liao-tung" (遼東) people who were so ignorant as to be pleasingly surprised at a white pig as is told in the very well known Chinese story, and in fact the story was so commonly known that the words "the Liao-tung" and "the swine" have almost become inseparable in the

association of thought. Besides such a proverbial connection of these words there is another reason to believe that the people of Liao-tung were supposed to be very ferocious savages at the time when this document was composed—in 641 A. D., as in November of that very year Li Shih-tsê (李世勣) was appointed Minister of War, and an expedition was once more carried out against Korea and Liao-tung, and ever since 631 A. D., “The people of Liao” had become the object of hatred and contempt to the Chinese people with their capital in Ch’angan. It would be no surprise at all to find “the people of Liao” used as the synonym of the word “swine” as we do here. On the other hand, the Nestorian Mission met with a cordial reception of the Emperor T’ai-tsung in 635 A. D., and the Scripture began to be translated into Chinese under the auspices of the Emperor who sent the expedition army to Liao-tung in 641 A. D. Under these circumstances it might not have been impossible that the Chinese officials and courtiers with whom our author had to do great deal might have called the enemy “people of Liao” by the name of “swine” as is often the case with the Chinese who call the enemy by very nasty names such as “vermin” or “swine.”

(14) The 55—56 verses are our translation of the text as the best we could do. They, of course, correspond to the Golden Rule preserved in Matthew VII. 12; Luke VI. 31. Judging from the wording of the original Chinese text, we must conclude that our Nestorian author whoever he might have been, did not know of the Confucian Golden Rule, for if he had known of them he would not have given us such poor Chinese wordings for such

precious Christian Golden Rule as we have in our Chinese text here.

If any one, however, should suggest that the Chinese Golden Rule or Silver Rule is all in negative form, whilst the Christian Golden Rule is in positive form, and that such might have been the reason why our Nestorian author did not utilise Chinese materials in translating this very important moral Rule, then we must remember that in some manuscripts in "the Apostolic decrees" as well as in Jewish literature we meet with the negative form, the word "not" or "μή" being inserted. For instance, "Whatsoever thou wouldst *not* have done to thyself, do *not* thou to another." (Πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐάν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει.) (The Didache, Bk. I. 2). So the negative form of the Chinese Golden Rule was no excuse for our author's not utilising the Chinese classical expression. Furthermore, the Nestorian author of "the Jesus-Messiah Sûtra" has quoted so many passages from Didache in his writing, as we have shown above. And such alone will prove beyond any doubt that the Nestorian author who composed what we call the Alopên's document was well versed in the Didache, and might have known very well that the Golden Rule he had in the Didache was in the *negative form* and did not disagree in letter and spirit with those Chinese Golden Rule, and that he might have adopted the Chinese classical forms and writings. But quite contrary to our expectation, the Nestorian author of our text expressed these very important Christian Golden Rule in very poor and undignified forms. Such also may indicate that our Nestorian author of the 7th century did not know of the Chinese Golden Rule. And that may also indicate that

our Nestorian author of 641 A. D., could not have been informed of the Chinese Golden Rule at least between 635 A. D. and 641 A. D. But our Nestorian author could not be blamed for such ignorance after all, because even the great missionary Father Matteo Ricci who came to China in 1582 A. D., was said to have reported to Rome for the first time that the Chinese had got something like the Golden Rule in their classics, some ten years after his arrival at Canton.

(15) The word "shih-hu-jên" or "shih-hu man" (石忽人) in the 66 and several other verses of this document (see 71, 119, 123, 132, 133, 137, 191, 193, 194, 196 verses) involves most difficult problems regarding the identification of the word as well as the date of the document itself. The 66 and 67 verses surely speak of the Betrayal of Our Lord by Judas, the Iscariot. Needless to say, the transliteration of the word "shih-hu" consists of the two Chinese characters "shih" (石) (i. e., stone) and "hu" (忽) (i. e., carelessness). These two Chinese characters, no doubt, stand for the sound "Dju-hud" or "Yu-hud," corresponding to the modern word "Jew."

As far as we know there are ten or eleven different ways in Chinese to designate the English word "Jew," besides that which we have in this text. The following is the list of the Chinese words meaning "Jew." Of these, the first eight are the transliteration of the sound of the word "Jew," whilst Nos. 9, 10 and 11 are the words coined in China to represent the Jews.

(I) Transliteration of the word "Jew":—

| The Chinese characters | The Chinese sound | The literal meaning of the Chinese letters |
|------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| (1) 尢 忽 | Shu-hu | lead-plant + carelessness |
| (2) 朱 灰 | Chu-hui | Red + ashes |
| (3) 珠 赫 | Chu-ho | Pearl + bright |
| (4) 朱 乎 得 | Chu-hu-tê (Jehoud) | Red + interrogative + |
| (5) 主 語 | Chu-yü | Master + word |
| (6) 猶 太 | Yu-t'ai | Still + excessive |
| (7) 一賜樂業 | I-tz'ü-lo-ye (Israel) | One + gift + enjoy |
| (8) 如 德 亞 | Ju-tê-ya | as-if + virtue + ugly |

(II) The Chinese word meant for the Jew:—

- (9) 清 真.....Ch'ing-chên...Pure + true
 (10) 刀 筋 教.....Tao-Chin-Chiao...Cut + Sinew + Teaching
 (11) 挑 筋 教... T'iao-Chin-Chiao ... Extract-Sinew-Teaching

But the Chinese characters 石忽 (shih-hu) which we have in this document for "Jew" are somewhat different from all these mentioned in the above list. The two Chinese characters used in the text are "stone + carelessness" (shih-hu), and the second character of these two has exactly the same sound of "hu" as of the above-mentioned "shu-hu" (尢忽). Now, the words "shu-hu" (No. 1) or "chu-ho" (No. 3) or "chu-hui" (No. 2) all stand for the Chinese sound for "Dju-hud," and appeared for the first time in the History of Yüan Dynasty compiled in 1372 A. D., covering 1280—1367 A. D., whilst "yu-t'ai" (No. 6) and "Ju-tê-ya" (No. 8) and others are found in the Chinese writings of the Ming Dynasty (1369—1661 A. D.) and afterwards, although "ch'ing-chên" (No. 9), "Tao-chin" (No. 10) and T'iao-chin (No. 11) are all the translated names for "Jew" of old. Judging from these Chinese names for the word "Jew"

we firmly believe that we are perfectly right in identifying the word "shih-hu" in our document with the word "dju-hud" or "Jew." Again all authorities agree in saying that there were Jews in China at least as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618—907 A. D.). But if we are to believe the Kai-fêng-fu Inscription of the Jews, built in 1444 A. D., the Jews came to China during the Han Dynasty (206 B. C.—220 A. D.), whilst we are told by two Mohammedan travellers, who happened to be in China in 877 A. D., that when the city now called Hang-chou, Chekiang, was captured by a rebel named Banshoa (i. e., identified with Huang-ch'ao 黃巢) between 120,000 and 200,000 foreign settlers perished, including Mussulmans, Jews, Christians (i. e., Nestorians) who had settled in the city nearly 120 years before. If we are to believe such records as these Mussulmans, Jews, and Christians must have come there to settle in the town in the middle of the 8th century—many years before the erection of the Nestorian Monument of 781 A. D. (See Sir Henry Yule: *Cathay and the Way thither*: LXXX; Mr. James Finn: *The Jews in China*, pp. 61—62).

"The Jews in China" is one thing well proved, but how the sound "J" or "Dj" did come to represent the "Y" sound of the word "Yu-dai-oi" (*Ἰουδαῖοι*) of the original Greek, or "Jehud" of the Semitic word, is another thing. And we regret to say that we can not understand why our Nestorian document which bears the date of 641 A. D. in it, should have the Chinese word "shih-hu" to represent "Dju-hud" or "Jews," for, as we all know, the "J" sound could not be traced as far back as the 10th century and "the Jew" of the 7th

century could not have been called "Jew" or "Dju-hud" or "shih-hu." We believe they must have been called then "Yu-dai-oi" or "Yu-hud." This philological difficulty of the "J" sound throws some shadow of doubt over the date of our Nestorian document with the date of 641 A. D. In another word, we are far from being able to harmonise the history of the "J" sound with the date of 641 A. D., mentioned in the 223 verse and there is no explaining such apparent discrepancy at present until we shall have further information of the history of "J" sound.

(16) Fu-lin. Regarding the so-called "Fu-lin" mystery, Dr. Hirth concluded in his invaluable book: "We may say, in a few words, Ta-ch'in was Syria as a Roman province; Fu-lin was Syria as an Arab province during the T'ang Dynasty, and as a Seldjuk province during the Sung Dynasty" (China and the Roman Orient, p. 301). But as far as the etymology of the word Fu-lin is concerned we are convinced that the word was originally Ê-fu-lin (遏拂林), the Chinese transliteration of Ephraim as we found in the Nestorian Inscription (*vide supra*). This verse will correspond to John XI. 53—54: "Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him death. Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews; but went thence unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his disciples."

(17) "Chi-hsi" (寄悉) in the 75—76 verse must correctly be identified with the word "Caesar." The word Chi-hsi may be pronounced "Kie-seik" or "Kie-sil"

according to the old Chinese pronunciation preserved in the Southern provinces—in Fukien, above all, whilst the same is pronounced in the Japanese “Ki-sitsu” or “Ki-shichi.” We, therefore, think the Chinese “Kie-seik” or “Kie-sil” must have been the nearest pronunciation that the author could get for the word “Caesar.”

(18) The verses 96—98 correspond to Isaiah. LIII. 7: “He was oppressed and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.” They also may correspond to Acts VIII. 32: “The place of the Scripture which he read was this, He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb dumb before his shearer so opened he not his mouth.” We shall therefore find that this Nestorian document contains “the Sermon on the Mount” as well as the words from the prophet Isaiah, besides very many other quotations from the Gospels.

(19) The 100 verse worth noticing for our Nestorian author makes it clear in this verse that it was only the human nature of Christ that suffered death for us, whilst His Divine nature remained impassible. The same careful attention is paid in the 115 verse to express the relation of our Lord with Joseph.

(20) Compare the verses 106—108 with Matth. XXVII. 51—53: “And behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent. And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection,

and went into the holy city, and appeared unto them."

(21) The verse 109 says our Lord remained with the disciples "one month and 14 days" instead of 40 days written in the Peshito version as well as our English version. "To whom also he showed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proof, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God." (Acts I. 3).

(22) The Chinese word Yao-hsi (姚喜) may rightly be identified with Joseph of Arimathia mentioned in Matthew XXVII. 57—59.

(23) The verses 118—132 correspond to Matth. XXVII. 62—66, and Matth. XXVIII. 2—5, and Matthew XXVIII. 11—15.

(24) The verse 146 corresponds to Matthew XXVIII. 19—20: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and Lo! I am with you always even unto the end of the world, Amen." But to translate this verse as we did we had to read "t'u" (途) (i. e., "way") for "mi" (迷) (i. e., confusion) in the text.

(25) Compare the 165—168 verses with Acts II. 1—13, and 171 verse with Matth. XVI. 21; XVII. 23; Luke IX. 22, where we read the prophecy concerning His resurrection on the third day after His crucifixion.

(26) The Chinese Pa-t'o (拔脫) in the 189 verse is correctly identified with the Sanscrit Bhûta, meaning demon. Here again, we notice that our Nestorian author must have been assisted by a Chinese Buddhist, not by a Taoist as afterwards in the 8th Century.

(27) The Chinese words for "the last of the eight hells" in the 192 verse are "Mo-chien-ti-yü" (末間地獄) or "Wu-chien-ti-yü" (無間地獄) which correspond to the Sanscrit word "Avitchi," explained by "the last of the eight hot hells" where the culprits are said to die and to be re-born without interruption.

(28) In the 193 verse we have the country of Shih-hu which is identified with Fu-lin (拂林), whilst "the walled city of I-ta" (伊大城) is described to be in Shih-kuo (石國) or "Rock-country." The word "Tzur" or "Rock" is derived from "Sur" or "Tyros," the literal translation of the word being "Tzuria" or "Syria." Syria therefore is "Stone-country" or "Rock-country." Again, her ewhat we translated "the entrance of voice" (聲處) means "the throat." It must be noticed that the Chinese word is no other than the Chinese translation of the Buddhist word "S'abda-yatanam," "S'abda" being for "voice" and "yatanam" meaning "entrance." Therefore, "the entrance of voice" means "the throat" and corresponds to Matth. XXVII. 5: "And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple and departed, and went and *hanged himself.*"

(29) The verses 196—197 are evidently referred to the history of dispersion of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A. D. 70, which was prophet-

ically declared by Our Lord: "O, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killst the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together even as a hen gathered her chickens under her wing and ye would not!" (Matth. XXIII. 37).

And again, another reference may be made here to that uprisal of the Jews under Hadrian, who are said to have perished whilst the survivors were all dispersed.

(30) In the 208—210 verses, the persecutions of Christians by the Jews at first and then by the Heathens afterwards are referred to, but more especially, these are referred to those persecutions carried out against Christians between 64 A. D. and 313 A. D., by the Roman emperors, and those carried out by the Sassanide kings of Persia between (cir.) 325—641 A. D. The names of Nero (64 A. D.) and Domitianus (303 A. D.) belong to the former, whilst Sapor II (309—379 A. D.), Isdigerd I (399—419 A. D.), Isdigerd II (440—457 A. D.), Chosroes I (531—579 A. D.) and Chosroes II (589—628 A. D.) are associated with the latter.

It is said that in October, 610 A. D., Phocas, the murderer of Maurice, gave place to the valiant Heraclius and shortly afterwards the war broke out again between Persia and Rome, and in 613 A. D., Damascus was taken by the Persians, and in June 614 A. D., Jerusalem fell, and to the horror of all Christians, "the precious and life-giving Cross" went into captivity. Only on the 4th of Sept., 629 A. D., the Holy Cross was sent back from Ctesiphon through the Nestorian Patriarch and which Heraclius solemnly re-erected in Jerusalem.

The expression "ruined in the pit-holes" of course means "buried alive" as was often done in ancient times in China and other countries.

(31) The Chinese characters representing the sound of I-shu Messiah 翳數彌師訶 (lit., "screen-number-full teacher-upbraid") are worth noticing, for they are very different from what we have in the Jesus-Messiah Sûtra which is "remove-rat-confusing-teacher-upbraid" as already referred to (*vide supra*).

(32) The verse 223 is a very important verse as it contains the record of the date—641 A. D., in which this document seems to have been written, and consequently it gives us a sure clue to the authorship. The Nestorian Mission arrived at Ch'angan in 635 A. D., and in 638 A. D., the Imperial Rescript was issued giving the sanction for the Nestorian church to be built, and "the Scriptures were translated in the Imperial Library."

The year 641 A. D., therefore, must be the sixth year of the Nestorian church in China, and it is very natural for us to presume that the author of this text must be Bishop Alopên or one of his men.

(33) The verse 229 corresponds to Matth. XXVIII, 19—20, whilst the verses 230—232, corresponds to Mark X. 42—45 and Matth. XX. 25—28: "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the gentiles exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them. But so shall it not be among you; but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant

of all," etc.

(34) The idea that the soul goes up to heaven as expressed in the 237 verse, was also known to the old Chinese writers. Compare this expression in the 237 with the Li-ki: Bk. IX, sect. iii, 7: "The animal element in the soul and body returns to the earth. But the intelligent spiritual part of soul returns to heaven."

(35) The worship of the sun, the moon, and the stars and even the fire-worship is referred to in the 244—245 verses.

The sun worship is said to be one of the oldest forms of the natural religion. We see it both in Egypt and in India as well as Greece and Rome. Here, of course, the reference was made by the author chiefly to the Persian Zoroastrism, whose temple also existed almost side by side with the Nestorian monastery in Ch'angan, the capital of China. As Parsees do to-day, the ancient Persians worshipped the fire and the sun and stars as the source of light.

(36) Regarding "Yakchas" and "Râkchasas" in the 245, 247 and 257 verses and other demons, we must say that "Yakcha" is a class of demons, its name being explained by "hurtful" or "daring." It devours men and women, and moves very fast—as fast as shooting stars, whilst Râkchasas is another kind of demons which are generally explained by "demons which devour men." These are all Buddhist words as well as "the Hot Hells" which is another such. All these and others will show that our author was assisted by a Buddhist scholar.

CHAPTER VIII

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE BISHOP CYRIACUS'S DOCUMENTS AND THE SO-CALLED BISHOP CHING-CHING'S DOCUMENTS

There are five different kinds of Nestorian documents generally ascribed to Bishop Ching-ching besides the Nestorian Inscription which was actually composed by him. Two of these five documents are in France, which were discovered by Prof. Pelliot in 1908 as already referred to in our Introduction. The other three are in possession of Hon. Li Shêng-to, Tientsin, China. He also got these very important documents from Tun-huang in the end of 1908 as we are told.

Regarding these Nestorian documents we must decide the date and the authorship by making some historical, philological or ideographical and doctrinal observations.

(I) Historical Observations.

Now, to confess the truth, there are no historical records concerning these four documents except a short historical note added to the last part of one of Prof. Pelliot's documents, which bears the title of the Tsun-ching (尊經), literally meaning "Honour-Sûtra," but, which we translated "The Book of Praise" (dedicated to the Living and the Dead). (See the Nestorian Inscription). And we identified this "Book of Praise" with the Nestorian Diptychs in China, since the main object of a Diptychs or Triptychs in use of the ancient churches — the Eastern and the Western — was

originally no other than to offer prayers and thanksgiving to God for the living and the dead.

Needless to say, this Tsun-ching or Diptychs contains more than twenty-two names of Holy men or Saints and thirty-five names of books or sūtras. And for the memory of these men and books, prayers and praises seem to have been offered seven times a day as mentioned in the Nestorian Inscription.

In the last part of this precious document, as already referred to, there is in somewhat smaller handwriting a short note added, which contains the following passages: "In the ninth year of the Chên-kuan Period in the reign of Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang (Dynasty)Fang Hsüan-ling and Wei Chêng reverentially submitted the matter to the Imperial information when the petition was translated. *Afterwards*, by the Imperial orders, Priest Ching-ching, a Bishop of this religion was summoned to the Imperial Court and the above-mentioned thirty books were translated."

From these passages it is generally believed by many scholars that the four documents before us were composed by Bishop Ching-ching. But by making a closer observation any candid-minded scholar will not fail to discover that the author of this Tsun-ching or of the said note, simply wrote "the Emperor T'ai-tsung," and did not use the most important honorific title of the Country "the Great T'ang (Dynasty) (大唐)." This omission of the word "great" is rather a commission of sin against the diction strictly observed by both native and foreign writers of the time on such an occasion. This point may well be proved by the date given in the end of the Nestorian Inscription.

“Erected in the second year of the Chien-chung Period of the *Great T'ang* (Dynasty).” It may also be proved from the wording used by the Japanese Government in addressing private persons enjoying the nationality of the T'ang Empire, which shows that even foreigners observed this rule of diction. We have two Japanese documents written in 853 A. D. One is a pass-port issued by the Japanese Government on the 11th of February, 853 A. D., in which we read “Wang Ch'ao and others, the merchants of the *Great T'ang*” (大唐商人王超等) and the other is a tablet written on the 1st of July, 853 A. D., by the Japanese Priest Yüan-chên (僧圓珍) (En-chin) of Yen-li-ssû (延曆寺) (Enryakuji), to whom the said pass-port was granted by the Japanese Government. In which pass-port we read “Wang Ch'ao, Li Yen-hsiao, the merchants visiting this country from the *Great T'ang* (Empire)” (大唐商客王超李延孝等) (See 仁壽三年二月十一日日本國大宰府牒 同年七月一日江州延曆寺僧圓珍牒).

In consequence, we may say that this omission of the word “Great” before “T'ang Dynasty” in the note added to the Tsun-ching may well indicate that even this Tsun-ching itself was not composed during the reign of any of the T'ang Emperors who sat on the throne between 781 A. D.,—in which the Nestorian Monument was set up—and 906 A. D., in which “The Great T'ang Dynasty” practically came to the dust. Furthermore, such being the case, we can not say that this Tsun-ching or Diptychs, very important as it is, could by any means be composed or written by Priest Ching-ching, although commonly reported so.

Still further, the passage we mentioned above, quoting from the note, will show to any candid mind that it

betrays a kind of anachronism. Fang Hsüan-ling (房玄齡) and Wei Chêng (魏徵) lived in the 7th century, whilst Priest Ching-ching lived in the latter part of the 8th century—nearly 150 years apart—as every one knows. So, unless we insert the words “some 150 years” before the word “*afterwards*” in the passage and make the whole sentences run as below, we can not harmonise the anachronism: viz., “(Some 150 years) *afterwards*, by the Imperial orders Priest Ching-ching, a Bishop of this religion, was summoned to the Imperial Court and the above mentioned thirty books were translated.” Now, it is logically plain that the Emperor T'ai-tsung to whom Fang Hsüan-ling and Wei Chêng reverentially submitted the matter in 635 A. D., could not summon Priest Ching-ching, who lived toward the end of the 8th century.

Then who could ever have been this Emperor who summoned Priest Ching-ching to the Court as mentioned in this note? We really believe that the Emperor Tê-tsung (780—804 A. D.) might possibly have been the very Emperor who summoned Priest Ching-ching to translate the Nestorian sūtras, as the latter was personally known to that Emperor, which fact is fully proved by the Imperial decision given to Prajna and Ching-ching regarding the trouble they had with translating the Satparamitta sūtra together sometime between 786 and 787 A. D. In that Imperial decision, as preserved in the Buddhist book (貞元新定釋教目錄), we read the Emperor's own words as recorded by a Buddhist priest, “Ching-ching must preach the teaching of Messiah (Mishihho) and the Buddhist monks and priests shall make widely known the sūtras of Buddha” (景淨應傳彌尸訶教。

沙門釋子弘闡佛經。) And such a testimony given by the Buddhists or anti-Nestorian writers on such an occasion about our Ching-ching, still more clearly gives the idea that the Emperor Tê-tsung possibly might have summoned Priest Ching-ching to the Court to translate the Nestorian sūtras, which was indispensable to the fulfilment of the Imperial orders, "Ching-ching *must preach* the teaching of Messiah." Unless our logical interpretation regarding the word "*afterwards*" in the said note be accepted there will be no harmonising the anachronism resulting from the literal interpretation of the said note. But so far we have failed to find any other evidences to prove positively that Priest Ching-ching ever enjoyed such an Imperial favour as mentioned in the note in question.

Under these circumstances, it is plain as every one can see that the Tsun-ching or Diptychs and its note could not have been written by Priest Ching-ching. But, on the contrary, any candid-minded person would come to the conclusion that this important Tsun-ching and its note must have been written a great many years afterwards—perhaps three or four generations—after the time of Priest Ching-ching. That is to say, at a time when such an anachronism could not have been known to the author, although the author had heard the church traditions concerning Priest Ching-ching. In other words, the great and good deed which Priest Ching-ching had done in old days gone by was well remembered, and Ching-ching's memory was still alive, vaguely and confused as it was, among the Nestorians in China.

At the same time, it goes without saying that this very important document in question could not have been

composed after 1036 A. D., at which time the door of the stone-cave at Tun-huang (燉煌石室) was finally closed and deeply covered with sands, and remained so until it was discovered and opened by Prof. Pelliot in 1908. Consequently, we must conclude, roughly speaking, that this document must have been written sometime between 906 A. D. and 1036 A. D. In other words, we must try to fix the date of this important document within some one hundred and fifty years after the time of Priest Ching-ching. We believe that the document most probably belongs to the 10th century. But there is no knowing when it was actually written.

Anonymous and undated as it is, this Tsun-ching and its note are destined to render a great service to our study by throwing abundant lights on various problems of the Nestorian history in China. Above all, it is beyond our expression how the Tsun-ching gives very important information regarding the number of the Nestorian books or sūtras which the Nestorian church had either translated into Chinese or otherwise. Furthermore, the document gives a clue to the other four documents roughly ascribed to Bishop Cyriacus which we have below translated. Apart from such valuable service that can be rendered by this precious document, the Tsun-ching and its note, would also do the same kind of great service to the other four documents ascribed to Cyriacus as the Nestorian Inscription would do to these five documents—the Tsun-ching and four other documents—as well as to those of the Alopên's documents. For it is plain from the internal evidences that the remaining four documents whose names are mentioned in the Tsun-ching must naturally

have been composed or written *before* the Tsun-ching, and that these four documents must have been written by Bishop Cyriacus as we shall see presently.

But, as we have said somewhere, we had no historical records regarding these documents except this Tsun-ching and its note. Fortunately, however, very recently two documents with the date were discovered. And from these dates we have concluded that these documents must be ascribed to Bishop Cyriacus. And here we can not do better in our preliminary remarks than to ascertain the nature of these documents by making philological or ideographical and doctrinal observations of all the Nestorian documents concerned.

But before we proceed further, we must spend a few words on the list of the Nestorian books mentioned in the Tsun-ching and the whole number of the Nestorian books mentioned in the said note. The said note says: "The list of all the religious books of this church of Ta-ch'in are 530 works in all, and they are all on *patra* leaves in the 'Sanskrit' (i. e., in fact meaning here Syriac or Persian or Uigur?) tongue. Bishop Ching-ching of this religion translated the above mentioned 30 books. The greater part of the remaining sūtras, however, are all on *patra* leaves or on parchments bound together and are not yet translated." Among the list of 35 books mentioned here, thirty only were translated by Ching-ching if the note is to be trusted for it declares so. But 5 books must be Manichean or other books. Of the 30 Nestorian books given in the Tsun-ching we find the four documents which we have translated below. They are

(1) The Hsüan-yüan-chih-pên-sūtra

which we translated "Sûtras on the Origin of Origins" in our translation below, although the fragment we translated has not the word "chih" (至) as in the list, and

(2) The Chih-hsüan-an-lo-sûtra, which we translated the "Sûtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy," and

(3) The San-wei-tsan-sûtra, literally, meaning "The Three Majestic-Praise Book," which may rightly be identified with "The Ta-ch'in-san-wei-mêng-to-tsan" discovered by Prof. Pelliot together with the Tsun-ching or Diptychs.

(4) The T'ung-chen Sûtra, This is an abbreviated name of "the Ta-shêng *T'ung-chen* Kuei-fa Tsan," literally meaning "the Eulogy on the Holy One's leading (people) to the Truth and making them to return to Law." (*vide infra*)

Besides these four Nestorian works which we possess at present there are thirty-two names of books. Of the remaining 32 books we are informed by Dr. Chavannes and Prof. Pelliot that the three books, namely,

(a) The San-chi-sûtra, (三際經)

(lit., The Three Spheres Book), and

(b) The Ning-ssü-sûtra (寧思經),

(lit., Peace-thought-sûtra or The Ning-wan-sûtra) (寧恩經), and

(c) Ssü-men-sûtra (四門經),

(lit., Four Gates Book)

are Manichean books and do not belong to the Nestorian church. So we must *prima facie* presume that Priest Ching-ching did not translate these three books.

But out of the remaining 28 books we are positively

sure that 18 books are Nestorian books, and that they can not be Manichean from either the name or the nature of the books. They are

- (1) David Sacred King Book (i. e., Psalter),
- (2) St. Paul Book
- (3) Zakarias Book
- (4) Gewargis Book
- (5) Eliah Book
- (6) Ephraim Book
- (7) The Messiah Self-existing Book
- (8) Mar Sergis Book
- (9) Hosana Book
- (10) A-ssü-ch'u-li-yung Sûtra (阿思瞿利容經)

which we once identified with "Athulitha" (*Ἀθουλιθα*), a book of Martyrs (?), but which may now correctly be read "A-wan-ch'u-li-yung Sûtra" (阿恩瞿利容經) as suggested by Prof. Pelliot and Dr. Chavannes (*Un traité manichéen*, p. 160), and will be well identified with *Evangelium*.

(11) The Shih-li-hai-sûtra, which we identified with the Syriac word Shlikha (i. e., Apostle).

(12) The Tz'û-li-po sùtra, which we identified with the Syriac word "Tsulibha" (i. e., Cross)

(13) The Ning-yeh-tun sùtra, which we identified with the Syriac word "Ni-dha" or "A-nidh" meaning a Burial Service.

(14) The San-wei-tsan sùtra, which, literally meaning "The Three-Majestic-Praise-Book," may really be identified with the Nestorian Hymn discovered by Prof. Pelliot and which we have here translated below.

(15) The Ch'ang-ming-huang-lo sūtra,
 literally meaning "Eternal Enlightenment and Kingly
 Joy Book,"

(16) The T'ien-pao-tsang sūtra,
 literally meaning "Heavenly Treasure House Book" but
 which may well be identified with the Nestorian Book
 of "Gezza" as they call it "Treasures," and

(17) The Pao-hsin-fa-wang-sūtra,
 which literally meaning "Saint announcing tidings," may
 well be identified with the Book of Isaiah, if not the
 book on St. John, the Baptist,

(18) The Ch'ing-i sūtra (馨遺經),
 which may well be translated "the Book on Charity,"
 since it literally means "Giving-all-they-possess Book,"
 whilst these two Chinese characters "ch'ing-i" (馨遺)
 are found in the Nestorian Inscription which we
 translated, "They neither accumulate property nor
 wealth; but *giving all they possess*, they set others a
 good example (示馨遺於我).

Such being the case, we have only to search out two
 more books of the remaining 10, which either were not
 translated by Ching-ching or do not belong to the
 Nestorian church, if we believe the note which says
 Ching-ching translated 30 books only, whilst there are 35
 books mentioned in the list but the three were proved
 by the two great scholars to belong to the Manichean,
 not to the Nestorian.

In another word, among the remaining 10 books, we
 may be able some day to discover, as Prof. Pelliot and
 Dr. Chavannes have done, two more Manichean books
 to the verification of the number of the Nestorian books
 alleged to have been translated by Ching-ching.

So much for general remarks on the 35 names in the list of books given in the *Tsun-ching*. Now we shall turn to the philological observations.

(II) Philological Observations.

In making philological or ideographical observations we shall confine ourselves here chiefly to the comparison of several Syriac words or proper names to be found in the Nestorian Inscription with those words or names that are to be found in these documents rightly ascribed to Bishop Cyriacus as well as those in that very important anonymous document named "*The Tsun-ching*" (i. e., *Diptychs*) which was written, as far as we can make out, in the early part of the 10th century.

Now, first of all, we shall notice that the Chinese characters used to represent the two important words, "*Aloho*" (阿羅訶) and "*Messiah*" (彌施訶) in these four documents—three by Bishop Cyriacus and one by an anonymous author—are exactly the same as those used in the Nestorian Inscription, but to signify the Holy Spirit the Chinese characters "*ching-fêng*" (淨風) or "*pure wind*" are used both in the "*San-wei-mêng-to-tsan*" (三威蒙度讚) or "*the Nestorian Motwa Hymn in adoration of Trinity*" and the Nestorian Inscription, whilst in "*the Sûtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy*" the Chinese characters "*lo-chi*" (囉嵇) and in the *Tsun-ching* (i. e., *Diptychs*) the Chinese characters "*Lu-ho-ning-chü-sha*" (盧訶寧俱沙) are used to signify the Holy Spirit. The Chinese letters for "*Lu-ho-ning-chü-sha*" are pronounced in Japanese "*Ru-ha-nei-gu-sha*." Needless to say, the Japanese pronunciation is very close to the ancient sound of the Chinese letters, and we can easily identify "*Lu-ho-ning-chü-sha*" with the Syriac "*Ruha de*

Kudsha" meaning "Holy Spirit," whilst the word "lu-ho" in "the Sûtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy" is nothing but "Ruha," or "spirit," the shortened form of the same, dropping "de kudsha", literally meaning "of Holiness."

We have already seen somewhere above that the Chinese word "Liang-fêng" or "cool wind" was the oldest form for the word "Holy Spirit" used in the 7th century, whilst "Ching-fêng" or "pure wind" was the regular form used in the 8th century. But here we meet "lo-ho" or "lu-ho-ning-sha" or "spirit" for "Holy Spirit" respectively, and we believe the introduction of the Syriac word in the Chinese phonetization will tend to indicate a fact that the Tsun-ching which has "lu-ho-ning-sha" must be later in the time of composition or writing than the other three documents. But if any one should inquire why then the Syriac word "lo-ho" (i. e., Ruha) appeared in "the Sûtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy" which is rightly ascribed to Bishop Cyriacus judged from all the evidences, external and internal, our answer is that the author used "lo-ho" (i. e., Ruha) there because he could not avoid doing so, for he could not have used a single Chinese character for it.

He could not translate the Syriac word "Ruha" into the Chinese "fêng" or "wind" (風), although the word is perfectly correct, and actually was so used in connection with other words "ching" or "pure" as in "Ching-fêng" (淨風) or "pure wind." Nor could he have translated "Ruha" alone into the Chinese "ling" (靈) meaning "spiritual or "divine," as we do to-day, for fear that doing so would spoil the Chinese sentence

concerned. Such being the fact, this occurrence of the Chinese phonetization "lo-ho" in the sūtra will not impair the validity of what we said about the authorship of the said sūtra as will be shown later on.

And again, if we compare the Chinese characters used in the phonetization of the personal names in the Nestorian Inscription with those in the Tsun-ching we can at once discover that there must have existed a long distance of time between the two documents. By comparing the following characters used in the phonetization any one who is well versed in the Chinese literature will at once perceive that the one is far more classical than the other.

| Names on the Stone. | Names identified. | Names in Diptychs. |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 和 佶 | Ho-chi | George (Gewargis) |
| 利 見 | Li-chien | Luke |
| 寶 靈 | Pao-ling | Paul |
| 拂 林 | Fu-lin | Ephraim |
| | | 宜和吉思 I-ho-chi-ssŭ |
| | | 盧 伽 Lu-chia |
| | | 寶 路 Pao-lu |
| | | 遏 拂 林 Ê-fu-lin |

Furthermore, any experienced eye will discover that a shorter form is older than a longer one, whilst the longer and more faithful form of the Chinese phonetization is more recent than a shorter form as may be seen from the comparison of such words as "I-ho-chi-ssŭ" (宜和吉思) with "Ho-chi" (和佶) and "Ê-fu-lin" (遏拂林) with "Fu-lin" (拂林).

Lastly, we have to spend a few words regarding the relation between "Ch'en-wen-sêng Law-king" or "St. Ch'en-wen-sêng" in the Tsun-ching (i. e., Diptychs) and "Ch'en-wan-sêng-ch'ieh" in "the Sūtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy" as well as the relation of "the San-wei-tsan Sūtra" in the Diptychs and "the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion San-wei-mêng-to-tsan." Although a

letter or two are omitted in the wording of the Diptychs, they must mean one and the same thing as in the case of "The Hsüan-yüan-chih-pên Sûtra," whose fragment we have translated below, which bears the full title of "the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion Sûtra on the Origin of Origins."

Regarding the identification of the above-mentioned Ch'en-wên-sêng-chia (岑穩僧伽) Dr. Haneda, Professor of the Kyoto Imperial University, proved to the whole world for the first time that "Ch'en-wên" is the Chinese phonetization for "Simon," whilst the word "sêng-chia" is the Chinese phonetization of the Sogdian word "sang" meaning "stone" or "petros" or "kephas," and it ought to be identified with Simon Peter. Far be it from us to contradict what Dr. Haneda expressed. But all we want to say is that "Ch'en-wên" is no doubt "Simon," but regarding "sêng-chia" (僧伽) which he identified with the Sogdian "sang" or "petros" we should like just to call the attention of the reader to the fact that in "the Sûtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy" (the 100th verse of our translation) we have the following passages: "It should be known that the real limit of both the benefit and the advantage resulting from this very sùtra can not be exhausted with all the teaching or preaching of 'the deva of the priesthood'" (衆天說之。不窮真際。). In other words, the Sanscrit word "Samgha deva," literally meaning "deva of the priest," is rendered "chung-t'ien" (衆天) in Chinese as has been done by our Nestorian author. And according to the common idea of the Nestorians, "Simon Samgha deva" is a very suitable title to be given to St. Peter as it means "Simon, the head of Priesthood."

Such being the case, whether "sêng-chia" (僧伽) means "petros" in the Sogdian as Dr. Haneda suggested or "Samgha deva" or "chung-t'ien" (衆天) as we think, both words will eventually come to mean one and the same thing "Simon Peter, the head of Priesthood."

(III) Doctrinal Observations.

By reading over all these five documents, we can not but notice that the Tsun-ching, anonymous as it is, decidedly shows the Nestorian characteristics, with the Nestorian Hymn in adoration of the Holy Trinity among the list, although it contains—perhaps inserted by the careless mistake of the transcriber—the three Manichean sūtras and, as we believe, two more non-Nestorian sūtras which were not composed or translated by Priest Ching-ching as already referred to.

As for "the Nestorian Motwa Hymn in adoration of the Holy Trinity," there is not the slightest doubt that it is a Christian Hymnal. So much so that it is rightly called the Chinese version of the "*Gloria in Excelsis Deo*." Besides, this Nestorian Hymn contains the words "Bright world of infinity" (無畔界) and "Boundaries of the finity" (有界壇), which correspond to "the world of non-tangibility" and "the world of tangibility" (60 verse) in the "Parable, Part II." (*vide supra*)

With regard to "the Sūtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy" and the fragment of "the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion Sūtra on the Origin of Origins," the reader will be surprised at their being almost entirely Taoistic. Neither of them bears any characteristics to show that it is a Christian book except such words as "Messiah" (3, 36, 38, 45 verses etc.) and "lo-ho" or

“Ruha” (i. e., Spirit) (26 verse) and “the true Luminous Teaching” (真景教) which are found in the one, (25 verse) and the word Nazareth (那薩羅城) which is found in the other (1 verse). But the former sūtra contains the sentences which are most decidedly Taoistic in the letter and the spirit, likening the Messiah to Lao-tzū himself, saying, “Know you Simon Samgha that, for instance, it is like my own self, with a strange and rare appearance besides curious markings on my face (as Lao-tzū had). But all these ‘ten streaks’ (that Lao-tzū had) may be assumed to signify (my) attainment of wisdom penetrating the four quarters, etc.,” (11—13 verses) (See the Life of Lao-tzū in 明王世貞輯次汪雲鵬校梓列仙全傳卷之一). Besides these it has so many other Taoistic expressions that one might not perceive it is a Christian document if it had not the Syriac word Ruha (i. e., Spirit) phonetized “lo-ho” in Chinese and the word Messiah.

And the fragment of the latter Sūtra is very short and would hardly be taken for a Christian document were it not for the word Nazareth. And this fragment also has a Gnostic expression *Ἀβραξας* or “365 seeds” as we have in the Nestorian Inscription already referred to. Furthermore, there are in “the Sūtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy” innumerable phrases and quotations borrowed from the Taoistic books. Above all, we find in this Nestorian sūtras exactly the same phrases and words used by Lü Yen (呂巖), the founder of a Taoist sect, whom we are rather inclined to identify with Lü-hsiu-yen (呂秀巖), the Chinese scholar who wrote the Chinese characters of the Nestorian Inscription. For instance, if any one compare such expressions as “the River of Love” (1 verse) and “Now only in the world of entity none can

exist in a state of Rest and Joy" and so forth (38 verse) with such expressions as "Those who are greatly covetous, can not be pure. How they could get out of 'the River of Love'?" (Lü Yen's Complete Works, Bk. IX.) and "only out of non-existence something can come to existence" (Bk. X). (呂祖全書卷十).

Needless to say, these and many other phrases both the Nestorian and Taoistic writers borrowed from the Buddhist books. One of which says, "If the River of Love ever gets dried up, then you will be emancipated from it." "Many people who are deeply affected will be lost in the Sea of Love and Desire." (See the Chinese Translation of Mahayana Lañkâvâtra Sûtra 大乘楞伽經). From such facts as these we may not be in the wrong to presume in our conclusion that

(1) "the Nestorian Motwa Hymn in adoration of the Holy Trinity" must have been composed by Bishop Cyriacus or his men sometime before he composed

(2) the Nestorian Hymn in adoration of the Transfiguration of Our Lord, in 720 A. D. The name T'ung-chen Sûtra (通真經) mentioned in the list of the T'ung-chen (尊經) must be the abbreviated form of the Ta-shêng T'ung-chen Kwei-fa Tsan (大聖通真歸法讚)

(3) "the Sûtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy," and

(4) the Nestorian Sûtra of the Origin of Origins" must have been composed sometime before 717 A. D. or at latest in 717 A. D. as the date given at the end of the

Sûtra.

With these words we may introduce the reader to the four documents by Bishop Cyriacus and one anonymous document of, as we believe, the 10th century.

CHAPTER IX

(F) A NESTORIAN MOTWA HYMN IN ADORATION OF THE HOLY TRINITY (1)

The highest heavens profoundly adore Thee!
The great earth repeatedly calls to mind (Thy) universal
peace and good will!
Man in his original true nature had the trust and rest
in Thee,
For Thou art Aloha, the Merciful Father of Three Powers
(Heaven, Earth and Man).

All good people of God worship Thee in sincerity!
All the Enlightened sing in Thy praise:
May all human beings without exception be restored to
look up respectfully to Thee!
For, receiving Thy holy gracious Light, they will be all
freed from evil spirits.

Incomprehensible and unattainable is Thy Uprighteous-
ness, Truthfulness and Eternity!
Oh, Merciful Father! Oh, Glorious Son! O "Pure
Wind" King! (2)
Among all the rulers on earth, Thou art the Master
Ruler of all.
Among the world-honoured Ones, Thou art the Emperor
of Law.
Thou dwellest from eternity to eternity in the my-
sterious bright world of infinity, (3)
And Thy Brightness and Majesty thoroughly search out

普救眾生度世

諸天深敬教大地重念善安和人光
真性常懷止三才慈父所羅河一切善度
至誠此切慧性權讚我一切合真靈歸所
蒙聖慈也故離塵雜身其及善其
常慈父明子淨況王於諸帝中為師帝
於諸世等為法皇帝居妙明無畔界
光祿靈察有界漫自始無人常得見
復以色見不可相性相然此清淨
非獨坤成無等力唯獨不辨儼然存
蒙善報本復無累我令一切念慈恩
彼妙樂照此國結願青華大聖
廣度苦界救世傳法命王慈慈美
大善能苦不辨勞引捨群生積重罪
善護真性得無絲毫子端任父右座
其座復起無新高大師引使乞靈讚拜
縱使免火江沫大師是我等慈父
是我等聖主大師是我法王大師
普救度大師慈力助諸靈歸國福
聖形復與枯壤降世露所有榮潤善
根酒大聖善尊你施詞我歡慈父海
蒙慈大聖慈及淨以性清從法耳不
思哉

大善能苦不辨勞引捨群生積重罪

The Nestorian Hymn discovered by Prof. Paul Pelliot at Tun-huang in 1908

By kind permission of Prof. Paul Pelliot

the boundaries of the finite.
And yet no mortals have ever been able to see Thee,
Nor can any eye of flesh form Thy (glorious) Image.

Thou alone art the perfection of pure and purified virtue
beyond description.
Thou alone art the changelessness existing with majestic
dignity.
Being the Root and the Origin of all goodness, Thy Good-
ness is boundless.

We now call to mind all Thy Mercy and Grace,
And sigh for such mysterious Joy coming to enlighten
this part of our world.
O Messiah! Thou art the Greatest and the Holiest of
the Universally honoured Beings!
Widely delivering, Thou savest innumerable souls from
the sorrows of life.

Thou art the King of Eternal Life and the merciful
Lamb of God!
Greatly and universally pitying all suffering ones, Thou
dreadest not to labour for them.
We pray Thee to take away the accumulated Sins of
all men,
And to make them recover their true original nature
that they may be out of trouble.

Thou art Holy Son who worthily sittest on the Throne
on the Father's right hand side,
Whose Throne is matchlessly high above all.
Great Master, We pray Thee that Thou wilt to hear

the supplication of all people,
And send down the salvation Raft (4) from on high to
make them escape from being tossed on the stream
of fire!

Great Master, Thou art the very Merciful Father of
ours,

Great Master, Thou art the very sacred Lord of ours!

Great Master, Thou art the very Law King of ours!

And Great Master, Thy wisdom and strength can save
all who are gone astray!

All eyes are steadfastly lifted up to Thee, and that
without wavering for an instant!

So Thou, for the sake of the withered or parched, send
down sweet dew,

In order that all living things may be watered and the
root of goodness be nourished.

O Thou most Holy and Universally honoured Messiah!
We adore Thee, O Merciful Father! for Thy Mercy is
as boundless as the ocean!

O Thou who art Most Holy! Thy Meekness is ingrafted
in the Nature of Pure Wind (i. e., Holy Spirit).

Whose Purity is absolutely embodiment of Law beyond
all thought! (5)

A Nestorian Motwa Hymn in Adoration of the Trinity.

NOTES
ON
A NESTORIAN MOTWA HYMN IN
ADORATION OF THE HOLY TRINITY

(1) The title: A Nestorian Motwa Hymn in adoration of the Holy Trinity. Regarding the translation of this title no scholars are perfectly agreed. Prof. Pelliot rendered it "Eloge des trois Majestés de la Religion Brillante du Ta-ts'in, par lesquelles on obtient le salut," in 1908 (B. E. F. E. O. VIII. p. 519) and we once translated this title "the Nestorian Baptismal Hymn in Adoration of Trinity" in 1915 (The Nestorian Monument in China p. 66), whilst Prof. Moule gave "A Hymn of the Brilliant Teaching to the Three Majesties for obtaining Salvation" in 1930 (Christians in China, p. 53). The reason why we once translated it "the Nestorian Baptismal Hymn" was on account of the Syriac word "imuda" or the English "Baptism" because we took "wei-mêng-to" (威蒙度) in San-wei-mêng-to-tsan (三威蒙度讚) for the Chinese transliteration of the Syriac "imuda" or "muda" which means "Baptism" in English, since the modern Chinese "wei-mêng-to" is pronounced "i-mo-do" in Japanese which retains the ancient pronunciation of the Chinese words, as every body knows, whilst the Chinese "San" (i. e., three) rightly stands for the word "Trinity." But now we think we must change our view, since "San-wei" (三威) lit., meaning "three Majesties" ought not to be separated as we once thought, for we find now that "San-wei" expresses the meaning of "Holy Trinity" in

the Chinese better than the word "San" (i. e., three) since "San" alone is not sufficient, whilst the combination of the two words "San-wei" (i. e., three Majesties) is more suitable. But, regarding the word "Mêng-to" (蒙度) which we separated from "Wei-mêng-to," we identified it with the Syriac word "Motwa" (ܡܘܬܘܐ), and we are now fully convinced that our new translation is much better than our old one. These Chinese letters "mêng" (i. e., "stupid" or "to receive") and "to" (i. e., "measure" or "to save") in question would look rather difficult to translate "for obtaining or receiving salvation." Nor could we so easily translate "mêngto" into English "by which one obtains salvation" or into French "par lesquelles on obtient le salut," because if we were to adopt the former translation, grammatically speaking, one who receives or obtains the salvation would necessarily be "the three Majesties," which is impossible, whilst "par lesquelles on" or "by which one" is not in the original text, although such insertion is perfectly right and well justified to make a sense out of "mêng-to" (蒙度).

But so far we have failed to find the phrase "mêng-to" in any of Chinese works on the one hand, whilst we find the name of this very Hymn is mentioned simply as "san-wei-tsan" (三威讚) omitting "mêng-to" altogether, among the list of sùtras mentioned in the Tsunching or the Nestorian Diptychs (*vide infra*) on the other. If the Chinese words "mêng-to" (蒙度) had really meant "obtaining salvation" or "par lesquelles on obtient le salut," such an omission would not have happened because these words are too important to be omitted. But the fact that "san-wei-tsan" (三威讚), which literally means "Eulogy on three Majesties" was used in place

of "san-wei-mêng-to-tsan" in the Tsun-ching may show us that the Chinese words "mêng-to" (蒙度) are not such serious and important words as "obtaining the salvation" on the one hand, whilst "mêng-to," being not a very important word, can be done without very well on the other. That is to say, "San-wei-tsan" and "San-wei-mêng-to-tsan" practically must mean one and the same thing in the author's mind. And such an omission we believe can only be accounted for, if we identify the words "mêng-to" with the Syriac "motwa" (ܡܘܬܘܐ), a sort of rubric word designating that the Hymn is to be sung while the congregation is sitting. Consequently, we may translate the "san-wei-mêng-to-tsan" into "A Hymn in adoration of Trinity *to be sung while sitting*," and we may not be in the wrong, to translate "mêng-to" for "motwa" by presuming that that was the very reason why in the Tsun-ching the rubrical direction was omitted as it was so well known among the Nestorians in China at the time when the Tsun-ching was written.

(2) "Pure wind king" is a literal translation of "Ching-fêng-wang" (淨風王) meaning the Holy Spirit, one Person of the Holy Trinity. "Ching-fêng" (淨風), the Holy Spirit, is found in the Nestorian Inscription and all other Nestorian documents except the Jesus-Messiah Sûtra in which we have "liang-fêng" (涼風) or "cool wind" instead of "pure wind" as we have already pointed out (*vide supra*). Besides, the same Chinese characters "ching-fêng" (淨風) also are found in the fragment of the Manichean document discovered at Tun-huang (波斯經殘卷燉煌莫高窟本。今歸京師圖書館). (cf. *Un traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, pp. 14, 19, 23, 27, 29, 32,

34, 35, 40, 60, 61, 71, 125—126).

(3) Compare these with the 60—68 verses of the Parable Part II. (*vide supra*)

(4) "The salvation Raft" may correspond to "the vessel or mercy in the Nestorian Inscription (*vide supra*). As the "vessel of Mercy" is decidedly Buddhistic so is "the salvation Raft." The Raft is a common Buddhist figure for salvation. Kwan-yin (觀音) or Avalôkitês'vara, who is the Saviour of the faithful, is generally represented with a ship behind her owing to the commonly accepted tradition that Kwan-yin saves people from shipwreck. One may understand by this that "the salvation Raft," as far as the Chinese is concerned, corresponds to Kwan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy, which is called "the Boat of Mercy" or "the salvation Raft."

(5) "Beyond all thought" here may correspond to "forever, Amen!" But not so always. It is decidedly a Buddhistic phrase expressing an infinite thought of admiration. And it may be translated sometimes "are mysterious and beyond one's imagination" or "beyond our understanding" as the case may be. (See the 31 and 35 verses of "the Sûtra on Mysterious Rest and Joy" below where 不可思議 happens instead of 不思議).

尊經

敬禮妙身皇父阿羅訶 應身皇不除
離身虛訶字俱沙 已上三身同歸一體

輪字法王 靈伽法王 摩矩錘法王 明表法王

牟世法王 多惠法王 景通法王 寶路法王

千眼法王 耶寧遠法王 珉覽法王 摩薩法王

正和吉思法王 摩漢吉思法王 岑穩僧法王 法華法王

善善耶法王 寶善耶法王 彌沙法王 法華法王

寶善法王 報信法王

教禮常明皇樂經 空光法王經 法華法王經

天寶藏經 多惠法王經 阿思羅法王經

渾元經 通真經 寶明經 傳化經

兼雲經 述略經 三際經 寶路法王經

宣義經 耶利海經 寶路法王經 別河法王經

靈利月界經 寧耶爾經 儀則律經 毗尼律經

三藏經 牟世法王經 耶利耶經 迦林經

佛信法王經 摩薩法王經 四門經 報信法王經

摩薩法王經 靈利法王經 高沙都經

蓮花法王經 日蓮法王經 法華法王經 法華法王經

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The Nestorian Tsun-ching (i. e. Diptychs) discovered by Prof. Pelliot at Tun-huang in 1908
By kind permission of Prof. Paul Pelliot

CHAPTER X

(C) THE BOOK OF PRAISE

(dedicated to the Living and the Dead) (1)

Let us reverentially adore Aloha who is the Almighty Father and the Mysterious Person ; and Messiah who is the Almighty Son and the Incarnated Person ; and Lu-ho-ning-chü-sha (2) (i. e., Ruha-de-Kudsha, meaning the Holy Spirit in Syriac) who is the Witnessing Person : Those above Three Persons uniting together into One and the Same Body.

(Let us pray also for the memorial of)

St. John (lit., Yohanna law-king), (3)

St. Luke (lit., Luka law-king),

St. Markos (lit., Ma-kis law-king),

St. Matthew (lit., Ming-t'ai law-king),

St. Moses (lit., Mu-shih law-king),

St. David (lit., To-hui law-king),

St. Ching-t'ung law-king (lit., Luminous (Teaching) thoroughly understanding Saint),

St. Paul (lit., Pao-lu law-king),

St. Ch'ien-yen (lit., "The Thousand-Eyed law-king),

(This may mean "the vigilant and watchful Saint"
i. e., St. Gregory(?)),

St. Hanan-ishu (lit., Na-ning-i law-king),

St. Simeon (lit., Min-yen law-king),

St. Mar Sergius (lit., Mo Sa-chi-ssü law-king),

St. Gewargis (i. e., George), (lit., I-ho-chi-ssü law-king),

St. Mar Bucchus (lit., Mo Mu-chi-ssü law-king),

St. Simon Peter (lit., Ch'en-wên-sêng law-king),

The Twenty four Sacred law-kings

(i. e., the authors of the twenty-four books of the Old Testament),

St. Hananiah (lit., Hsien-nan-yeh law-king),

St. Hosea (lit., Ho-sa-yeh law-king),

St. Michael (lit., Mi-sha-i law-king),

St. Silas (lit., So-lo law-king),

St. Gur (lit., Chü-lu law-king),

St. Pao-hsin (4) (lit., announce-tiding law-king)

(The Saint announcing the Glad Tidings: St. John, the Baptist (?)),

Let us reverentially adore (the Lord) (for the sake of the following books):

The Ch'ang-ming-huang-lo Sûtra (5) (lit., Eternal-Enlightenment Kingly-Joy Book),

The Hsüan-yüan-chih-pên Sûtra (lit., Declaring-Origin-reaching-the-Cause Book),

The Chih-hsüan-an-lo Sûtra (6) (lit., Aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy Book) (See the English translation below),

The T'ien-pao-tsang Sûtra (lit., Heavenly Treasure-House Book),

The To-hui-shêng-wang Sûtra (lit., David Sacred King's Book),

The A-ssü-chü-li-yung Sûtra (7) (*A-wan-chü-li-yung*: Evangelium),

The Hun-yüan Sûtra (lit., Self-existing Life Book),

The T'ung-chên Sûtra (lit., Comprehending-Truth Book),

The Pao-ming Sûtra (lit., The precious bright (Pearl Book)),

The Chuan-hua Sûtra (lit., Conversion-handed-down Book),

The Ch'ing-i Sûtra (lit., Giving-everything Book: The

- Book on Charity), (See p. 257)
The Yüan-ling Sûtra (lit., Origin-soul Book),
The Shu-lüeh Sûtra (lit., Stating outlines Book),
The San-chi Sûtra (8) (lit., The Three Spheres Book),
The Chêng-ch'í Sûtra (lit., Restraint-fulfilling Book),
The Ning-ssü Sûtra (8) (lit., Peace-thought Book),
The Hsüan-i Sûtra (lit., Declaring Meaning Book),
The Shih-li-hai Sûtra (lit., Shlikha (i. e., Apostle in the Syriac Book)),
The Pao-lu fa-wang Sûtra (lit., Paul law-king Book),
The Shan-ho-lü Sûtra (lit., Zakarias Book),
The I-li-yüeh-ssü Sûtra (lit., Gewargis Book),
The Ning-yeh-tun Sûtra (lit., Anidha Book),
The I-tsê-lü Sûtra (lit., Ceremony-order-rule Book),
The P'i-ê-ch'í Sûtra (?),
The San-wei-tsan Sûtra (lit., The Three-majestic-praise Book) (The Nestorian Hymn in adoration of the Holy Trinity),
The Mu-shih fa-wang Sûtra (lit., Moses law-king Book),
The I-li-yeh Sûtra (lit., Eliah Book),
The Ê-fu-lin Sûtra (lit., Ephraim Book),
The Pao-hsin fa-wang Sûtra (lit., Announcing-tidings law-king Book),
The Mi-shih-ho tzü-tsai-t'ien-ti Sûtra (lit., The Messiah-self-existing-heaven-earth Book),
The Ssü-mên Sûtra (8) (lit., Four Gates Book),
The Ch'í-chên Sûtra (lit., Reveal truth Book),
The Mo Sa-chi-ssü Sûtra (lit., Mar Sergius Book),
The Tz'u-li-po Sûtra (lit., Tsuliba (i. e., Cross) Book),
The Wu-sha-na Sûtra (lit., Hosanna Book),
(A note added)

Hereby (9) most respectfully we declare that we

examined the list of all the sūtras and have found that there are in all five hundred and thirty sūtras belonging to this Religion of Ta-ch'in. They are, however, all on *patra* in the Brahmin tongue. In the ninth year of Chên-kuan Period in the reign of the Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang (Dynasty), Priest Alopên, Bishop of the Western Lands, arrived in the Middle Kingdom and humbly presented a petition to the Throne in his native tongue.

Fang Hsüan-ling and Wei Chêng reverentially submitted the matter to the Imperial information when the petition was translated.

Afterwards, by the Imperial Orders, Priest Ching-ching, Bishop of this Religion was summoned (to the Court) and the above-mentioned thirty books were translated. The greater part of the sūtras, however, are all on *patra* leaves or on parchment bound in wrappers and are not yet translated.

NOTES
ON
THE BOOK OF PRAISE
(DEDICATED TO THE LIVING AND THE DEAD)

(1) The title: the Chinese words "Tsun-ching" (尊經) literally mean "Honour Sûtra" or "Honoured Book," but which we have translated "the Book of Praise, dedicated to the Living and the Dead," on the ground that to be honoured or to be honourable is nothing but to have given high respect or to be glorified by others. In other words, the Tsun-ching may be translated "the Book of Honour given to the Living and the Dead." Furthermore, the content of the Tsun-ching is nothing but the praise dedicated to those who have left this world as well as the books written by them. And we are convinced that the "Tsun-ching" is the Nestorian Diptychs *inserted* in China. Some may, however, prefer "the Honoured Persons and Sacred Books" as Prof. Moule gives in his book (Christians in China, p. 55) to our translation. But the names of "Honoured Persons and Sacred Books" must really be what forms the Diptychs (see the Nestorian Inscription *supra*).

(2) Lu-ho-ning-chü-sha (盧訶寧俱沙) are pronounced "Lo-kha-ni-gu-sha" in the ancient Chinese sound and may correctly be identified with the Syriac words "Ruha-de-Kudsha" i. e., "Spirit of Holiness" or "Holy Spirit" (for details *vide supra*: the Preliminary Remarks on the so-called Bishop Ching-ching's documents).

(3) "Law-king" (法王) may correctly be translated "Spiritual Lord" or "Spiritual King" and may correspond to either Saint or Nestorian Patriarch as may be seen from these names. As every one knows either 法王 or 法主 is the Buddhist term commonly applied to the chief priest of a sect in China.

(4) The Chinese characters used for "Pao-hsin-fawang" (報信法王) which may literally be translated "the Saint announcing the Tidings," may be rightly identified with St. John, the Baptist, who was no other than the Forerunner who announced the coming of Christ. Compare the Chinese characters "Pao-hsin" (報信) which we translated "announcing the tidings," with "Pao-hsin" in the 139 verse of "the Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving," where we had to give "report the fact of the resurrection," for the same expression, and compare "Pao" in the verses 140 and 141 with "Pao-chih" (報知) in the 96 verse of the same, which we rendered "Had it not been for these acts (of Adam and Eve) the following announcement (of the glad tidings) would not have been expected," then our identification will be seen amply justified.

(5) The Hsüan-yüan-chih-pên Sûtra (宣元至本經) here mentioned is no other than "the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion Hsüan-yüan-pên Sûtra" (大秦景教宣元本經) whose fragmental portion we have translated below, although the title of our fragment has not "chih" (至), since it is a well known fact that whether this Sûtra has the Chinese letter "chih" or not, does not change the meaning of the whole title to be translated "the Ta-ch'in Luminous

Religion Sûtra on the Origin of Origins" as we have done (*vide supra*). The original document is owned by the Hon. Li Shêng-to, T'ientsin, as mentioned above (see the Introduction).

(6) The Chih-hsüan-an-lo Sûtra (志玄安樂經). This is one of the most complete Nestorian documents ever found in China, although it has the lacuna of some eighty Chinese letters. But nearly sixty letters were presumably supplied by us and translated as in the next chapter.

(7) Regarding the suggestion to read A-wan (阿恩)-ch'u-li-yung Sûtra 瞿利容經 instead of the A-ssü (阿思)-ch'u-li-yung Sûtra, see *Un traité Manichéen*, p. 160 and our Preliminary Remarks on the so-called Bishop Ching-ching's documents.

(8) Regarding the San-chi Sûtra and the Ning-ssü Sûtra and the Ssü-men Sûtra, these are Manichean books, and as such, strictly speaking, ought not to have been included in the Nestorian Diptychs, (see *Un traité Manichéen*, pp. 157—168 and 波斯經殘卷 (燉煌莫高窟本今歸京師圖書館 and 大正新脩大藏經五十四卷)

(9) Regarding this note added, a certain great authority declared that "this last note is a different hand from that of the Hymn and the lists of persons and books." He may be perfectly right. But we are afraid that the oriental people who are accustomed to read Chinese manuscripts will perhaps not agree with such. On the contrary, we firmly believe that this last note in question

is in one and the same hand as may easily be perceived from the comparison of the following letters in the two documents in question. If any one will compare the Chinese characters "huang" (皇) ("Almighty" or "imperial") and "pên" (本) ("root" or "origin") and "ching" (景) ("Luminous") and "a" (阿) and many others in the Note and in the Tsun-ching, he will at once know that the hand of the Tsun-ching and of this note in question, is one and the same judged from the forces of the Chinese brush used in the formation of those characters. For further information on this last note in question the reader is requested to refer to the Preliminary Remarks.

CHAPTER XI

(H) THE SÛTRA ON MYSTERIOUS REST AND JOY (1)

(Sûtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy)

- (1) At the time when these greatest and most wonderful words were preached (to us), (the Messiah), the peerless and unique (Lord) of Eternity was with those who are emancipated from "the River (2) (of Love)" (I) (i. e., the region of desire), and who have inherited a place in "the Temple of Pure Emptiness." (Simon) (3) Samgha together with the crowd of people (II) sat from left to right forming a ring, and attended (Him) with the utmost respect and reverence.
- (2) At the head of the crowd (Simon) Samgha (III) rose up, and holding the fore arms across the heart.....(and adoring Him said) (IV) "we people

There are lacunas here in the text. What was supplied by the translator was mentioned in the blankets figured I-IX correspondingly.

(I) Here 10 characters must be missing in the first line as we judge from the number of the Chinese characters used in the other lines in the text. But nearly all of them can justly be supplied as has been done by the translator.

(II) 10 characters are missing here also, but can not be supplied except eight characters.

(III) 10 characters are missing here also. Only 4 characters can be supplied.

(IV) 10 characters are missing, and nearly all of them are supplied.

are all in error (for long time), (unless) (V) there are some means to save and protect "the affectionate beings" (i. e., mankind) (how can they attain the way of Rest and Joy?) (VI).....The Messiah answered him, saying: Excellent is (your question! Excellent is your question!) (VII)..... If there be any living creature who (wants) to participate in the blessing of "the Victorious Law," (4) you (must listen attentively to what I say unto you) (VIII)

- (3) All the classes and kinds of (the living creatures) may find (the Way to) Rest and (Joy), which is only sunk and buried and can not be seen easily (IX).
- (4) For instance, it may be likened to the reflection of the moon in the pond. If the water be muddy, then the image of the moon can not be seen on that very account. It may be likened to fire in a heap of grass. If the heap be wet, the fire can not manifest its bright light on that very account. Likewise, that which is the essence of life may be so sunk and buried as these.
- (5) Know you Simon Samgha that if any of you wants to prepare himself for "the Victorious Way," as a rule he must get rid of both "motion" and "desire" before every thing else. If he be

(V) 10 characters are missing, but can not be supplied except three characters.

(VI) 10 characters are missing and nearly all of them are supplied.

(VII) 11 characters are missing but all are supplied.

(VIII) 11 characters are missing but five of them can be supplied.

(IX) 10 characters are missing but eight of them can be supplied.

“of non-motion” and “of non-desire,” then he may be “of non-solicitation” and “non-assertation.”

- (6) If he is “of non-desire” and is “of non-action,” then he may be pure and serene.
- (7) If he can be pure and serene, then he may understand and demonstrate (the truth). (5)
- (8) If he can understand and demonstrate (the truth) then he will be “all illumining” and “all pervading.” (6)
- (9) And to be “all illumining” and “all pervading” is nothing but the concatenation of cause and effect which will lead (people) to the state of Rest and Joy.
- (10) Know you Simon Samgha that, for instance, it is like my own self, with a strange and rare appearance besides curious markings on my face (as Lao-tzŭ had). But all these “ten streaks” (that Lao-tzŭ had) may be assumed to signify (my) attainment of wisdom penetrating the four quarters. (7)
- (11) However, I have no self-knowledge of “the attainment of wisdom penetrating the four quarters.” Nor do I have any self-perception of “these ten streaks” (of virtues) on myself because I myself am assuming a human form.
- (12) So it is only by a false name of a living man that I am known.
- (13) But in this true Religion “knowledge” and “perception” are not recognized, indeed. And why is it so? For, through “knowledge” and “perception,” man will come to exert himself,

inasmuch as man must exert himself to cherish the thought of life.

- (14) Those who cherish the thought of life must have a desire to act. And if any one has a desire to act he is said to have "motion and desire." Those who have "motion and desire" may be deemed not to have escaped from every variety of worldly passions in life. And how can they attain the state of Rest and Joy?
- (15) Therefore, I say (unto you) that "non-desire" and "non-action" would make you first cut yourself off from environment that would tend to defile your mind and would then bring you to "the fountain of all Purity."
- (16) If you could cut yourselves off from the things that defile you, then you could be as pure as "the State of Pure-emptiness" itself, and would send forth the gracious light so that all things might be brilliantly enlightened. As it enlightens all things, it is called "the Way of Rest and Joy." (8)
- (17) And again, know you Simon Samgha that I am in all Heavens. I am in all the Earth. Sometimes in the way leading to the grave-yard, (9) sometimes among the livings.
- (18) I have to protect and support all those who are "related to the virtuous causes of existence," whether they be of one and the same race or of different races, or they be wise or unwise.
- (19) All those who are doomed to receive retribution for all their wicked deeds I have to rescue. But nothing has hitherto been made to be heard of

such succour or protection. It has not been made known as "Pure emptiness" itself and has been free from all the outward appearance of merit.

- (20) Why is it so? For, if any man has a merit, a fame will follow it. And if he has fame, he will think himself different from other people. If he thinks himself different from other people, then he is no better than a common man with worldly desires. And those common men with worldly desires will glory in themselves and take pride in all the things they do: They are not emancipated from worldliness, nor are they enlightened. How much more impossible must it be for them to attain the perfect understanding of Rest and Joy!
- (21) Therefore, I say (unto you) that those who think themselves to be of "non-virtue" and of "non-reputation" would come to trust to the course of their destiny and exercise their sympathy, and to enlighten all the human beings and emancipate them (from the worldly desires) and make them to depend on the "spiritual penetration." (10)
- (22) Therefore, they understand the correct Truth. And to understand the correct Truth perfectly is no other than the very Way to Rest and Joy.
- (23) And again, know you Simon Samgha that in the law of eye, I can have the limitless perception of form. By the law of ear, I can have the limitless perception of sound. By the law of nose, I can know the limitless sense of smell. By the law of tongue, I can discriminate the

- limitless (kind of) flavours. By the law of body (i. e., feeling) I can have the limitless variety of sense. By the law of mind, I can penetrate the limitless perception of mind. (11)
- (24) These six laws being completely prepared, "the stern majesty" will be attained, and all the human beings may become (people of) the true "Luminous Teaching." (12)
- (25) From the "non-beginning" all have come to existence through the concatenation of cause and effect, and then they may accumulate boundless blessings of the incessantly-working spirit (i. e., the Chinese word "lo-chi" or "lu-ki" used here is identified with the Syriac ܪܘܚܐ (ruha) meaning "spirit") (13).
- (26) Being constantly increased and accumulated, that happiness will be extremely boundless. It will be as exalted as the highest peak. Nothing could be compared with it.
- (27) But what ought to be done is to begin to call good people into congregation.
- (28) The correct Truth will get all-illuminating and all-penetrating by virtue of its (power of) giving enlightenment, and thus being gradually elevated it will take you to "the region of Rest and Joy" by triumphing over all hindrances and obstructions, and will accomplish a perfectly changeless life (in you).
- (29) Know you Simon Samgha that such is the measureless blessing of the incessantly-working "Spirit," and the advantages of such universal salvation are mysterious and beyond your imagi-

nation, indeed!

- (30) But, as I now reflect on it, I find no means to demonstrate it.
- (31) Why is this so? Because we can not demonstrate it by any means even if we want to express it. Since we can not designate "limitlessness" by any name at all.
- (32) Therefore, I say unto you that "non-desire," "non-action," "non-virtue" and "non-demonstration" will be known by the term of "the four laws."
- (33) Those laws will not make people praise themselves, but will make them free from all other doctrines. Being tender and merciful to all, and doing "the great act of compassion" quietly and silently, people will become free from boundless desire, and will make all people to obtain "the most Victorious (law)" of all the teachings.
- (34) And as this (teaching) makes all people to obtain "this most Victorious (law)," it is called "the Way of Rest and Joy."
- (35) Hereupon Simon Samgha rising again and adoring the Messiah, said in praise of Him: "Great is the peerless and supreme Lord! Great is the peerless and supreme Lord! Thou hast declared so clearly (to us) "the Victorious law" which is very profound and mysterious. Its great profoundness is, indeed, beyond our understanding: For my part, I do not fully understand the meaning of Thy Teaching, and I pray thee to teach and instruct (us) more.
- (36) Thou didst say a while ago that "non-desire,

non-action, non-virtue and non-demonstration" are the four means to attain "the Way of Rest and Joy." But I cannot clearly see how joy can exist in the world of non-entity. (14)

- (37) The only Lord, the Messiah, said, "Strange is this question of yours! Strange is this question of yours! You must listen very attentively as I will tell you once more: Now only in "the world of non-entity" something can exist, whilst in "the world of entity" none can exist in a state of Rest and Joy.
- (38) Why is this so? For instance, it may be likened to a lonely, uninhabited mountain full of all sorts of forests and trees, which have numerous leaves and branches spreading in all direction and throw shadows and afford shelters.
- (39) Although this mountain and its forests do not invite birds and beasts to come, yet all kinds of birds and beasts will seek this mountain and its forests, and come and settle there of their own accord.
- (40) Or, it may be likened to a great sea, which is so wide as boundless and so deep as fathomless, and into which all streams of water run.
- (41) Although this great sea does not invite the scaly family to come, yet all kinds of the scaly family come and live there of their own accord.
- (42) Such may be the case with those living beings who seek for Rest and Joy by virtue of the concatenation of cause and effect. All you have to do is always to practice to live quietly and to put your mind at rest.

- (43) One who constantly practices our religion does not seek for Rest and Joy, but Rest and Joy itself will naturally come to him. This may show you that there is a law which makes entity to come to existence out of non-entity.
- (44) Again, the Messiah spoke to Simon Samgha and to a great crowd of people, saying: Know you that what is taught here in this Sûtra is profoundly mysterious and is beyond all human understanding, and there is no teaching or religion bequeathed by sages and wise men that is not based upon this profoundly mysterious true Religion.
- (45) For instance, what this Religion is to all other religions may be likened to what the sun is to the movements of all the living things that have eyes. They all must needs depend on the sun for light to see any distance ahead.
- (46) Know you (Simon) Samgha that this Sûtra will show to those who have a mind to do good in the present as well as in the future the Way to Rest and Joy, and consequently will prove itself to be the fundamental root of all the teachings bequeathed by the various saints.
- (47) And if there be any one who, hearing the discourse on this Sûtra, takes pleasure in inviting his relations and friends to be instructed in it and makes offerings, and recites (the Sûtra) and upholds the law (or takes the vows of a priest), then let him know that he and his ancestors, not only for one or for two generations, but for all generations will be inseparably connected with the good concatenation of cause and effect.

- (48) Owing to the roots of good deeds stored in the past such a man must, as a believer of our Religious Teaching, bear fruits of respectfulness and reverence.
- (49) And owing to the special care and protection, such a man will naturally cherish the wish of attaining a state of Rest and Joy.
- (50) For instance, it may be likened to a spring rain. It moistens and sprinkles all things. Those things that have roots will be made to shoot out all the buds and sprouts. Those things that have no roots, however, will not grow at all.
- (51) Know you Simon Samgha that you are like those (that have roots). You may well ask me questions (concerning) the Victorious Law you are seeking for. And it is because of the merits of your father and grandfather and other ancestors and all relations in consanguinity and by affinity for generations past that you can do so now. And it is plain that the good and evil deeds done by any of them will bring their consequences upon you.
- (52) Simon Samgha again rose up and with reverence and respect he saluted the Lord most humbly, and said to Him: O, Lord, thou art Peerless and Unique, and thou art the most merciful and most compassionate! Have mercy on us! Thou alone art most merciful and benevolent to us who, on account of our foolishness and stupidity, are unworthy to receive the guidance which Thou hast given us so freely and so admirably.
- (53) For our own sake, and for the sake of all the

living beings as well as for the sake of their forefathers in millions and millions of generations past, and for the sake of our parents as well, let us strive to obtain Rest and Joy through the concatenation of cause and effect of existence not only for the present but also in the future.

(54) Only we are sunk and lost in darkness and filth, and though we try very hard to attain the promotion and cultivation we can not succeed to arrive at such a goal yet. We do not know fully yet by what process the concatenation of the cause and effect of existence can be gradually effected.

(55) The Unique Lord, the Messiah, said: Verily, verily, I say unto you. It is exactly as you say. For instance, it may be likened to "the Precious Mountain." (15) Its "jade" forests and "pearl" fruits, with transparent clearness and shining brightness, have sweet and excellent perfume and can cure a man of hunger and thirst, whilst they can heal all kinds of illness immediately.

(56) There was a sick man who happened to hear of this mountain. Day and night the thought and idea (to get to) the "Fruit-forest" would never leave him.

(57) But alas! The way was far and the mountain very high and steep, whilst he was hunch-back and was too weak to climb up. In vain he tried to have his passionate desire fulfilled. He was frustrated in his long-cherished desire. There was, however, a near relation of his, who had complete wisdom and perfect ingenuity, and set

up scaling ladders and stone steps for the sick man, and caused him to be pulled up from above or pushed from below, and finally succeeded in bringing him to his goal. Then, all at once, his chronic disease was cured and healed.

- (58) Know you Simon Samgha that the people who should come to this mountain were for a long time much puzzled and kept in misery on account of their worldly passions. But as soon as they heard that "the non-desire fruits" were to be found in this "Rest and Joy mountain," they tried to get themselves elevated and taken upward to the top of that mountain. But love and faith in them had almost disappeared!
- (59) Hereupon, the Almighty Lord (i. e., the Chinese "Shan-Chih-Shih," for the Sanscrit "Dharma-yamitra" lit., "good-knowledge") made Himself the "near relation" of the people, and taught and instructed them so ingeniously that they understood Him to be both the scaling ladders and the stone steps for them and made them understand the True Way and drive away their accumulated confusions for ever.
- (60) For such purpose there are naturally "Ten Ways of contemplation," (16) which would prove to be the Paths leading you gradually to the goal.
- (61) What are these which you call "the Ten Ways of contemplation"?
- (62) The first contemplation is that the body and life of all the human beings, as we see, get old and gradually decline and that there are no men that do not decay and die in the end. For instance,

a human life may be compared to a way-side inn where a traveller (in the journey of life) can avail himself of lodging only for the night. The bedding and furniture put in the room for him and the delicious dainties abundantly set before him are not really his own. Then, how can we say that these things are greatly concerned with the affairs of man? For we must all go away from this world leaving these things behind us. Who amongst you can ever remain forever in this world?

- (63) The second contemplation is that all human beings must in the end be separated from their near relations or dear ones in the family. They can not remain in union or in close association with any of them forever.
- (64) For instance, this may be likened to the thickly growing leaves of a tree. As soon as the autumn wind begins to blow or the frost comes, both branches and trunk at once would begin to wither, and all the leaves can not prevent themselves from falling or being scattered abroad. And no leaf will possibly be left remaining!
- (65) The third contemplation is that some people are found great and noble whilst others glorious and prosperous. Nevertheless all their greatness and nobleness as well as all their prosperity and glory can never be constant at all.
- (66) For instance, we may liken this to a moon in the night. The bright light of a full moon is shining brilliantly in all directions. But suddenly clouds or fogs arise (to hide the moon) or there

is the faintness of the moon during the last and the first parts of the month. How long then could we depend upon her brightness, even if she herself had her own radiance?

- (67) The fourth contemplation is that there are some people who act aggressively in lawlessness, whilst there are others who try to gain profit for themselves at the expense of others. But all these selfish people will be found in the end to be the sufferers.
- (68) For instance, they may be likened to insects or moths that fly at a light. Seeing a bright light in the night, they turn around and fly at it, and put themselves right into the flame. They thought that they were doing a right and proper thing. But they were not aware of the danger of losing their lives in the flame.
- (69) The fifth contemplation is that all human beings try to pile up or store away wealth and treasure. And for these ends they either wear out their energy or afflict their body. But they will find out that what they gained in such a way is useless after all.
- (70) For instance, such may be likened to a man who tries to put all the water of a lake or of the sea into a small bottle which can contain only a pint. It would be impossible for the bottle to hold more water than what it would hold filled up.
- (71) The sixth contemplation is that all human beings are addicted to erotic passion, which arises from a human nature, but which proves only the grievance of the same.

- (72) For instance, such may be likened to grubs on a tree. The grubs will bore into the tree and do lots of harm to the nature (i. e., life) of the tree, whilst they will eat it to the core. Thus they will finally make the tree rotten and die, or they will make it naturally break or snap off.
- (73) The seventh contemplation is that all human beings go to excess both in drinking and in pleasure-seeking, wandering about and falling in sin, and become so intoxicated that they can not discriminate between right and wrong.
- (74) For instance, such may be likened to a pond with clear water. The pond can reflect on its surface the images of all things that have forms and can reflect them distinctly.
- (75) Suppose mud and mire were thrown into the pond, and then the images and shadows would suddenly vanish and disappear, because, as soon as the water gets dirty or muddy, not a single thing can be seen.
- (76) The eighth contemplation is that all human beings are, so to speak, sitting to amuse themselves at theatrical performances, wasting their time and taxing or wearing out their mental energy.
- (77) For instance, such may be likened to an insane person's flower-viewing. He looks at the flowers passionately, either by climbing up or by bending the tree. Day and night he will exercise his hands and feet incessantly until his muscular power is exhausted. But all this effort will prove no good to him.
- (78) The ninth contemplation is that all human beings

- act very energetically in accordance with heterogeneous teachings. But this only proves a hindrance to their acting straightly and correctly.
- (79) For instance, such may be likened to an ingenious workman making figures of cattles. He may paint them all "stern and majestic" just as pleased. Their appearance may be close imitation of the real ones. But if any one were to attempt to take these cattle to the field for farm work, he would find it impossible to make work.
- (80) The tenth contemplation is that those human beings who pretend to imbibe right Teaching are only trying to be popular with the people. Such men are too ignorant to be aware of the fact that they are deceiving themselves.
- (81) For instance, such may be likened to an oyster containing a bright pearl. On that very account, the fisherman breaks the oyster's shell to get the pearl at the cost of the oyster's life. It is only the "competent fine man" that does not mind his own grievance and affliction (for the Salvation of others).
- (82) Meditating on these "Ten Ways of Contemplation," if any man can harmoniously protect his body and mind and can make his conduct agree with what he professes, then he may be called faultlessness and may be advanced to the goal of the above-mentioned four states of the Victorious Law.
- (83) What are the names of these so-called "four states of Victorious Law"? The first is the state of "non-desire." If there is what may be called

an "active desire" at heart, it will surely show itself in one form or in another successively, and will prove to be the cause of a multitude of evils. The man himself naturally must be over-powered and subdued by the evils. Let not, therefore, be aroused your desire abruptly.

- (84) And why is it so? For instance, such may be likened to the roots of a plant buried deep in the soil. If the roots are injured somewhere, then, however invisible from outside the injury may be, it is certain that all the buds of the plant or heads of corn would wither and die.
- (85) So it is with man. If he has a desire at his heart though it may not be known from outside, his "four limbs" and "seven holes" (i. e., according to the Chinese idea: two eyes, two nostrils, two ears and one mouth) will not only lose all their power of (doing) goodness but also be strengthened in doing all sorts of wickedness. Thus he will be cut off from Rest and Joy. Therefore, first of all, you must practise the Law of "non-desire" in your mind.
- (86) The second is the state of "non-action." What a man makes himself busy in "the outward action" of a man does not all conform to the (true) Law of nature and life. Consequently a man may be said to be pursuing the empty and erroneous concatenation of the cause and effect of existence. Such, therefore, ought to be avoided and shunned, and ought not to be suffered to approach you.
- (87) Why is it so? For instance, this may be likened to those who go on the great ocean in a ship.

Being driven by the wind on the sea, the ship can not but move and roll, or go adrift as the waves carry her. There would be fear that she might sink at every moment. And there would be no peace for those who were in the ship.

- (88) Human beings may exactly be likened unto those in that ship. The "outward actions and calculation of ways and means" only form the backbone of the worldly Teachings, whose aim is progress and wealth. And they do not think of the grievous toils needed therefor, whilst they ignore and forget all the good concatenation of the cause and effect of existence. Therefore, walk in the way of "non-action" outwardly.
- (89) The third is "non-virtue." (What is meant by the expression) is not to enjoy being talked about for any meritorious deed that one does. It is only to do acts of great mercy in order only to lead the fellow-creature to Enlightenment without making known one's own merit, but at the same time rather longing to make oneself be more capable of doing good yet further.
- (90) And why is it so? For instance, such may be likened to the Great Earth which gives life and food to all living creatures, according to the proper need of each one's nature. All the advantage and benefit one receives are beyond description. Likewise if any one of us upholds this supreme Victorious Law and performs (what is taught by) "the Luminous Teaching," and thus brings the living creatures to "the knowledge of the truth," then he will have "Rest and Joy" in

common with other creatures. But with regard to any admirable work of one's own, no mention of it will be made at all to anybody else in order to attain his own praises. Such is called "the non-virtue."

- (91) The fourth is "non-demonstration." (This is meant) by not being inquisitive of various facts and by forgetting right and wrong, and perfectly equalizing both the virtuous and the unvirtuous (in treatment). Though the sun is self-existing, yet it looks so profoundly empty and hollow.
- (92) Why is it so? For instance, this may be likened to a bright mirror, which reflects on it all things whether be green or yellow or whether be of variegated colours or of any sorts of forms long or short. There is not a thing that a mirror does not reflect truthfully. Yet the mirror itself is not conscious of the fact. We, therefore, ought to behave likewise.
- (93) He who understands the nature of the true way and attains the mind of Rest and Joy ought to manifest everywhere the fruits of all the concatenation of the cause and effect of existence so that other people may thoroughly understand the Way and may be completely awakened to the truth, whilst he himself perfectly forgets all his own meritorious deeds. Such is called "non-demonstration."
- (94) The Messiah said again: If there be any one who is going to enter a military camp as a soldier, he must be equipped with arms and armour for the protection of his own body. If

the armour and arms are good and strong enough, he need not be afraid of robbers and murderers. Only the Law-writings of the Supreme Victorious Law of this "Luminous Teaching" will prove for all living creatures to be the armours and arms to defend them from their "robbers" of the worldly passions.

- (95) Again, if any one wants to sail over the great ocean, he must have a ship or boat to do so. Though the boat may be able to sail over the windy sea, yet he may not arrive on the opposite shore, if the boat itself is already (wrecked).
- (96) Only the Law-writings of the Supreme Victorious Law of this "Luminous Teachings" can impart the life (to the dead) and can save all people from "the sea of life and death" and will lead them all to "the other Shore of Nirvana" full of precious fragrance of Rest and Joy.
- (97) Suppose pestilence or dangerous disease breaks out, and many people die of the epidemic. And now, if any of those who are dead should smell of the mysterious Power of the "Soul-restoring incense," he would be restored immediately, and all the miseries of disease would leave him at once. (17)
- (98) Only the Law-writings of the Supreme Victorious Law of this "Luminous Teaching" will restore true intellect and life to all living beings, whilst they will make all the miseries of sins to be extinguished.
- (99) Any man or woman who will assiduously try to imbibe the Supreme Law in accordance with what

I teach, and who, reflecting on it day and night, will try to free himself or herself from all sorts of pollution and to bring out completely the brightness of the nature of Pure-serene Truth, then he or she shall know that he or she is morally emancipated from passions and vices. It should be known that the real limit of both the benefit and the advantage resulting from this very Sûtra can not be exhausted with all the teaching or preaching of "the Deva of the Priesthood."

- (100) If any man, who has only a small portion of faith and love, tries very hard to tread "the Bright Way" without being wearied by any kind of distress or without rushing against any kind of calamity even, whilst in "the Dark Way," such a man will attain Rest and Joy by one means or another. Then how much more so will a person who devotes himself entirely to the cultivation (of faith).
- (101) Go ye, therefore, unto the world, my disciples and all who have heard my doctrines. Go and do as I have taught you in this Sûtra. You must protect and preserve the frontier in behalf of a Prince or a King who may happen to be a ruler over you.
- (102) For instance, such may be likened to a great Shining Light on the top of a high mountain. There is no person in the country that does not see it.
- (103) The Noble and August King or Prince who is over you may be likened to that high mountain, whilst the benefit and advantage of this Sûtra of

ours may be compared to that Great Shining Light on the top.

If used well the Light, while shining brightly there, may throw its luminous rays all over the place.

- (104) Simon Samgha, hereupon, rose up and respectfully asked to discourse more. But the Messiah answered, saying: (Simon,) you better stop asking now. Do not ask me any more. For instance, (my preaching) may be likened to a good well from which the water will never fail. But, even if you are recently recovered from sickness (by water) you should not take too much water, for fear indigestion caused by it might bring you to grief again. Likewise, your good nature may be stirred up at the beginning, but hearing too much may lead you into doubt. Therefore, I better not preach to you any more now. (18)

- (105) Listening to these words all the crowds were filled with happiness and joy. Saluting the Messiah most respectfully, they all retired and acted in accordance with the orders of the Lord. Here endeth the Sûtra on the utmost Pure-serene Rest and Joy.

NOTES
ON
THE SUTRA ON MYSTERIOUS REST
AND JOY

(1) The title and the authorship: Regarding the title, see note⁶ 5 on "the Book of Praise, dedicated to the Living and the Dead" (*vide supra*). The whole book consists of about 2,400 Chinese characters making more than one thousand sentences which we divided into 105 verses in our translation for convenience' sake.

^{Bishop}
^{Byriaces} The authorship of this Sûtra is correctly ascribed to ~~Priest Ching-ching~~ as we have stated already in the Preliminary Remarks (*vide supra*).

(2) Regarding the River (of Love) (i. e., the Region of desire) in the 1st verse, we are justified in supplying the Chinese letter "ai" (愛), before "ho" (河) making the Chinese "Ai-ho" (the River of Love). This is a regular Taoist-Buddhist phrase originally borrowed from the Buddhist expression for the "Region of desire" or Ikamadhata in the Sanscrit, consisting of the physical worlds of Form and Sensual Gratification. It is said that the immoral characters of desire all are subject to metempsychosis. To conquer or to be victorious over desire is the aim and purpose of "the Victorious Law" or "All conquering Law," a different appellation of Buddhism. But to our great surprise our Nestorian author tried to identify his religion with "the Victorious Law" in various places of this sûtras as we shall see presently. Such

being the case, it is no wonder that our Nestorian author should make use of the expression "Ai-ho" here, as we presume, though the Chinese letter "Ai" (愛) is actually lost. We read in the famous "*Rescripta Apologiae*" issued by the Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (梁武帝) (502—549 A. D.) who defended himself when he became a devoted believer in Buddhism: "The high mountain of Eternal Rest stands high on the deep "River of Love" (長樂高山出愛河之深隆). Again, his successor, the Emperor Chien-wên (簡文帝) (550—551 A. D.) expressed himself in the Inscription erected in honour of Buddhist Priest Chih-chi written by the Emperor himself: "Priest Chih-chi did cross safely over the River of Love and was victorious over the Net of Desire." (梁簡文帝智寂大師墓銘：善度愛河。能賽欲網)

The Chinese translation of Mahayana Lañkāvatāra Sūtra (楞嚴經) also says: "If the River of Love ever gets dried up then you may be emancipated from it" (愛河乾枯。令汝解脫), whilst another Chinese Buddhist sūtra by the name of "Zui-yin-kin" (瑞應經) translated into Chinese by K'Khien of the Wu Dynasty (222—280 A. D.) says: "many people who are deeply affected will be lost in the Sea of Love and Desire" (感傷世間沒於愛欲之海).

Finally, Lü Yen (呂巖), the founder of a great Taoist sect, whom we identified with the Chinese official Lü-hsiu-yen of the Nestorian Monument, says in one of his works: "The people in this world are foolish. They do not do any good or meritorious deed themselves. But they pretend themselves to be equal to the saints or holy men of old. Furthermore, they are very greedy and covetous. Those who are very greedy and covetous,

must know that they can not be pure. How could they get out of the River of Love?" (Bk. IX. 14: The Complete Works of the Founder of a Taoist Sect) (今世愚人。妄言著魔。寸德不施。期步大羅。誇己若仙。嗜廣貪多。貪嗜不淨。焉出愛河。)(呂祖全書卷九正忠示教品第四)。

(3) "(Simon) Samgha" in the second verse needs some explanation. In the original we read only the Chinese character 伽, which must be presumed to be the latter half of the Chinese "Samgha" (僧伽) as we find the word Samgha in various places of this sūtra (see verses 5, 10, 17, 23, 35, 44, 46, 51, 52, 58, 104). Again, we find that these Chinese characters are used together with Ch'ên-wên (岑穩) or Ch'ên-wên-sêng-ch'ieh (岑穩僧伽) as the modern Chinese pronunciation has them. But such may correctly be pronounced by the Buddhists "Ch'ên-wên Samgha" according to their way of pronunciation, and we went to identify them with "Simon Samgha," but some may prefer "Simon Peter" as Professor Haneda did it to ours. (東洋學報第十八卷第一號十三頁)。

We believe as we already expressed (*vide supra*) that the Chinese word "Sêng-ch'ieh" (僧伽) stands for the Sanscrit "Samgha" meaning "Priest," whilst the Chinese word "Ch'ên-wên" which is correctly identified with Simon as the same Chinese characters may be pronounced "S'im-won" according to the T'ang Dynasty sound as well as it is pronounced "Shin-won" according to present day Japanese.

According to Professor Haneda, however, the Chinese characters "Sêng-ch'ieh" (僧伽) ought not to be identified with the Sanscrit "Samgha," but they must be identified with the Sogdian "Sang" which means "stone." And in

consequence, "Ch'ên-wên-sêng-ch'ieh" is not to be rendered "Sim-won Samgha" as we did, but they ought to be identified with "S'imon Peter."

Judging from the fact that the word "Chung-t'ien" (衆天) used in the 100 verse of this sūtra, which is the Chinese translation of the Sanscrit Samgha-deva (i. e., Deva of Priesthood), we should like to retain our own translation of Simon Samgha (岑穩僧伽), literally meaning "Simon, the chief of Priesthood" instead of "Simon Peter" as identified by the great Professor of the Kyoto Imperial University as mentioned above.

(4) "The Victorious Law" or "the Victorious Way" or "most Victorious Law" is to be found in the verses 2, 5, 34, 35, 51, 83, 90, 96, 98, 99. The Chinese "shêng-fa" (勝法) is the translation of the Sanscrit Abhidharma which is literally explained by "the Conquering Law" or by "Peerless Law" or by "Overcoming the Law." Here, as well as in other places of this sūtra, "the Victorious Law" or "the Victorious Way" is meant for the Nestorian Christianity which is no other than "all conquering teaching."

(5) 5—7. The expressions like "motion and desire" or "non-motion and non-desire" as well as "pure emptiness" or "pure serene" are typical phraseology of the Taoist and could be traced back to the sayings of Lao-tzū, the old philosopher, who is said to have lived in 600 B. C., and 150 years before Sakyamuni Buddha (see Tao-tê-ching 老子道德經).

(6) 8—9. The expressions like "all illumining" and

“all pervading” are regular Buddhist terms used by the Chinese scholars to explain the Sanscrit word “Vairo-tchana” (lit., “all illumining”), the personification of essential Bodhi (lit., truly-awakened) and absolute purity. And it is a well known fact that this Vairo-tchana teaching was known as Ta-jih-chiao (大日教) in Chinese or Dai-nichi-kyo (大日教) in Japanese, both of which literally mean “the great-sun-religion,” and was very flourishing in China through the great influence and efforts of the great Buddhist monks like S’ubhakarasi-mha (善無畏), Amogha Vadjra (不空金剛) and Vadjra Bodhi (金剛智) and others as early as 725 A. D. On the other hand, we find that the Nestorian missionaries christened their Religion “Ching-chiao” (景教), which means “Ching-religion” but, ideographically speaking, the letter “ching” (景) consists of two letters——“sun” (日) and “great” (京)——and officially it began to be called “The Sun-great-religion” or “Luminous Religion” in 749 A. D. It must be said, therefore, that it got its name some twenty-four years after the great-sun-religion or Vairo-tchana Teaching.

(7) 10—11. A rare appearance and unusual spots on the face &c——These expressions are all from the Taoist books. Compare these with “Behold, my feet standing on ‘the two five’ (i. e., ten). My hands grasp the ten streaks” (列仙全傳卷之一) (*vide supra*), whilst “ssŭ-ta” (四達), which we translated “penetrating the four quarters” is another Taoist phrase (The Tao-tê-ching, chap. 10).

(8) 16. Compare “the State of Pure emptiness” and “the Temple of Pure emptiness” in the 1st verse of this

Sûtra with the similar expression in the 58 verse of the Parable Part II (*vide supra*) and then compare them with what Lao-tzŭ said: "Tao (i. e., Reason) is empty, but its use is inexhaustible" (Lao-tzŭ, chap. 4). "Attain Emptiness's Completion and guard tranquillity's fullness" (chap. 16).

(9) 17. The Chinese "shên-tao" (神道) has two different meanings, viz., "the spirit-road" or "the black art." Here the context compelled us to translate as we did—"The avenue leading to a graveyard."

(10) 21. "Of non-virtue and non-reputation." See the note 4 *supra* and compare the meaning of "non-virtue" and that of "non-demonstration" in the 90 and 92 verses *infra* also.

(11) 23—24. The six laws are regular Buddhist expressions. They are the laws or precepts observed by the devotees to keep the six organs of sensation pure and undefiled, so that eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind may not prove the cause of a sinful act whilst they may discharge their proper function so that they may lead man to be awakened to Enlightenment.

(12) 24. "The Luminous Teaching" which means "the Nestorian Teaching" appears here for the first time, then in the 96 and 98 verses, but in no other verses of this Sûtra.

(13) 25. The word we translated "Spirit" in the 25 verse as well as in the 29 verse is the Chinese transliter-

ation for the Syriac word "Lo-chi" (囉嵇), whose ancient Chinese sound being "Lu-ki," may rightly be identified with "Ruha" (ܪܘܚܐ) (i. e., Spirit)—the simplified form of "Ruha de Kudsha" or "Holy Spirit."

(14) "The world of entity" and "the world of non-entity" in the 36, 37 and 43 verses are the regular Taoist expressions. Compare these with "Existence and non-existence are mutually conditioned. The difficult and the easy are mutually definitional. Therefore, the sage abides by non-assertion in his affairs and conveys his instruction by silence" (Lao-tzŭ, chap. 2). Again, Lü-yen, the founder of a Taoist sect says, "Only out of non-existence something can come to existence" (無中生有), (The Complete Works of Lü-yen, the founder of a Taoist sect, Bk. X. 19) which may well be compared with 於无中能生有體 of this Sûtra which we translated, "Now only in the world of non-entity something can exist," (the 37 verse), or with "There is a law which makes entity to come to existence out of non-entity" (无中能生有法) (the 43 verse). And every one knows that 無中生有 and 無中能生有 are exactly the same, and will see that the words of Lü-yen are found in the Nestorian document rightly ascribed to priest Ching-ching.

(15) 55. Compare this expression with "the Mountain of All Precious Things" in the Nestorian Inscription.

(16) 60—83. "The Ten ways of contemplation" mentioned in the verses between 60 and 61 may be summed up; (1) That the living must die; (2) That the meeting is the beginning of separation; (3) That glory and pros-

perity can not remain long and eternal; (4) That the wicked and lawless as well as the selfish people are the losers after all; (5) That greed and covetousness should be shunned; (6) That licentious passion should be subdued; (7) That drinking and pleasure seeking should be refrained from; (8) That time and energy should not be wasted about much ado; (9) That the wrong or heterodoxical Teaching should be avoided; (10) That popularity should not be sought for.

We may say that these are really the Christian morals the Nestorian missionaries taught to the Chinese ever since 635 A. D. The comparison of these Nestorian Teaching with the two Scriptures — “A scripture to awaken the world” (感應篇) and “The Book of Rewards and Punishment” (因果經) will be a very interesting study.

(17) 97. The expression “the Soul-restoring incense” or “Life-giving incense” is also mentioned in the Nestorian Inscription together with “the Mountain of All Precious Things.” As far as the Chinese literature is concerned this incense was mentioned for the first time in a Book called “The Shih-chou-chi (十洲記), the Description of the Ten Islands inhabited by the Immortals.” The book is alleged to have been written sometime between 25 A. D. and 250 A. D. It says: “In the Island of Chü-k’u (聚窟) (lit., “collected caves) where those who enjoy immortality live in these caves, there grows a tree which is called ‘Soul-restoring Tree’ or ‘Life-giving Tree.’ The Immortals of the Island take the small root of this tree and boil it in a kettle made of precious jade. When it is boiled down, the water being

evaporated, it will become like glue, enough to make pills of the glue-liquid. These pills are the elixir of life and are known by one of the three names of 'The Spirit-stirring-incense' or 'The soul-restoring-incense' or 'the incense that drives away death,' because as soon as the dead should smell the smoke arising from the incense burned, they would revive at once."

The Chinese Book called "A treatise on Incense" (香譜) says: 'The soul-rest-restoring incense' is a kind of incense which, when burned, will manifest the departed in the smoke arising."

(18) 104. "But hearing too much may lead you into doubt" is a regular Taoist idea, and is not a Christian thought. Compare this with "Those who have much (knowledge) will have to doubt." (Lao-tzŭ, chap. 21).

CHAPTER XII

(I) THE TA-CH'IN LUMINOUS RELIGION SÛTRA ON THE ORIGIN OF ORIGINS

- (1) At that time when He spoke, Ching-t'ung, the Patriarch, (Lit., Law-King) was sitting on the Throne of Precious Law surrounded by the Holy Clouds. And that Throne was set at the Palace of Peace and Enlightenment, situated in the City of Nazareth in the country of Tach'in.
- (2) He had manifested himself twice (to people) and was going to announce to them once for all the true source of (His Teaching). Then, all kinds of happy omens resounded throughout and all kinds of auspicious clouds from seven directions gathered together round (the place).
- (3) There stood those who were known as the men of the Enlightenment and Purity, beside all kinds of Angels together with the King of Mysterious Law and those who were awakened to Perfect Enlightenment together with the 365 (Spiritual) beings (1) as well as people holding strange views, all listening to Him attentively.
- (4) The multiplicity of those different kinds of beings and peoples is boundless and limitless.
- (5) But they all complain (themselves) that their own views and ways (of salvation) are all in vain and helpless (to save themselves even), and in consequence, they now all confess that they have lost their own clue to the true source of salvation.



The last thirty lines of the Nestorian Sutra on
the Origin of Origins.
(Dated October 26, 717 A. D.)

- (6) They, therefore, all got together at the Palace of Enlightenment in order that they might be saved and they listened to Him in all attention, not to loose a word from His lips.
- (7) Hereupon, Patriarch Ching-t'ung proceeded very solemnly and prayed very earnestly. He was taken up to the Clouds over the Temple Palace, and from on high He spoke solemnly what Himself heard from God, the Father, to the beings and people below, saying: It is well that you should come here.
- (8) Let you who hold the Law of God attain the utmost pure Emptiness. Know you that now the barriers (in your way) have been taken away, and life can ever be given to all as death was destroyed for ever!
- (9) Let each one of you, therefore, understand the true meaning of our teaching according to the position and knowledge of each (i. e., all sorts and conditions of men).
- (10) If you understand (the meaning of) the non-origin or non-creation, your stumbling block of doubt will melt away at once.
- (11) And at the moment when you understand the truthfulness of Mysterious Creator you will attain (the state of non-creation, non-expression, non-religion and non-connection as well as mysterious existence and mysterious non-existence profound and serene. And I

x x x x x x x x

(The translator's Note: The Manuscript of this Sūtra was unfortunately torn here and there was no knowing

what became of the rest of the Sûtra. But very fortunately through the kindness of Mr. Yasushi Kojima, my friend then in China, some thirty lines in Chinese bearing the same title of "Sûtra on the Origin of Origins", came to my hand in the year 1947 about ten years after I had the pleasure of translating the above mentioned nine lines of the Sûtra in 1937 for the first time. But between those above mentioned nine lines and these thirty lines translated below there must have been several hundred lines lost to our great regret. We most sincerely hope—though much against the hope—some day these missing lines will be discovered in China or elsewhere.)

× × × × × × × ×

If we do not either destroy or get rid of (hatred and quarrel from within us, it seems as if we have accepted the Way of devils and demons. As to the non-existence of hatred or quarrel, none can exceed the Law-King of ours.

Our Law-King makes good use of humility and meekness. He can associate Himself with all creation and influence the same, while He saves all mankind by banishing both devils and demons. This marvellous Way (of our Law-King) contains the fountain head of the mysteries of all creation. It is, therefore, no other than the marvellous Reason corresponding to the absolute truth and the right nature of the mankind. These (mysteries) are so subtle as to be beyond the human understanding. Such being the case, this marvellous Way is called the Palace of the two supernatural faculties. It grows and completes itself by containing and including all creation therein since all souls, however

great and noble, can not but be included therein. So it naturally becomes the Palace of the supernatural things and is the Treasury of good people. These good people who walk in the path of belief (in God) will succeed in finding out the true nature of this marvellous Way and and the good roots of theirs will be restored completely and will be treasured up as their precious things.

(But) those wicked unbelievers try to keep tenaciously to themselves those things that should not be kept by any means, while those people who follow the prevalent customs are addicted to loiter in the material region, their natural disposition and passions being stupidly quarrelsome. How can such people be the possessors of the two supernatural things! How can they ask for the privilege to see marvellous brightness even from the distance!

Now, it is right that good and kind words should be given to the town-people, while the noble and charitable act ought to be done to the others. But the wicked unbelievers' thoughts and actions are treacherous notwithstanding their words are sweet and flattering. They are accustomed to the use of ornamental languages as if they were tradesmen aimiⁿg only for gains. They consequently can neither behave toward the weak with meekness nor admonish others to be humble. They give priority to material gains at the expense of their own persons. They put their own good acts and noble deeds before the people, ignoring better ones of others. If such are behaviors of wicked unbelievers, they will prove themselves that they are very far from the Way (of God). The Holy One-equal-to-God will not abandon even the stupid people or the ignorant rustics. He will

extend His mighty hand of (boundless) mercy to them. Such being the case, how would He abandon people on account of their sins only? How would He point out repeatedly the "barrier" or offences of people only?

The marvellous Way of the Holy One-equal-to-God is lying always open to the next world leading people thereto. The Divine Majesty (of the Way) is matchless, extending His Salvation to all the creations far and near. Therefore, although mankind is far from being good, He would not abandon them. How would He? Will He make their heart bright and wise turning them to be thoroughly merciful and far more helpful to others? Now it is clear that by the power of the faith in this Way (of God) we can conquer all the devils and demons and can come out victorious to enjoy the eternal life as well as the perpetual happiness, while we all shall be saved from being tossed about and made to go astray on the Great Sea (of Doubt). But what is the real reason of this Way (of God) being revered far above all others? What does this mean?

Only for some beneficial purpose, we do not refer to the Sûtras. But whenever we (refer to the Sûtra) searching for the truth it never fails to give us the proper words of guidance at once. These people who obtained Enlightenment once by this Teaching are eye-witness of the Way. Those who are troubled too much about the cares of this world are very often much hindered from being enlightened. But if the people once got (their true nature) restored, they would be all pardoned and saved from the results of the sins—mortal or not—committed since the beginning of world. Such is due to the mysterious power of God, and the reason why this

Teaching is revered by all mankind under the Heaven. All the holy men (of God) can contribute something more or less toward making people to do their work more assiduously, and in consequence some people will work the harder. But these people will not disturb social peace and justice on that very account. This is because those people act in such a way as to conform to the Way of Faith, and the Marvellous Convention (existing between God and man).

They do not lose the sight of the Beacon of the True Faith, the marvellous Reason of the True Religion which, however brightly may shine out, will not disturb the peace and justice (of a Society). Whatever may take place, the rules to be applied to such cases are already established. When inside (the Church) the truth is shining out brightly, they behave as if they had none. When outside (the Church) the things are taking place, they behave as if nothing had happened. Thus they will not be disturbed when they act either inside or outside (the Church). The Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion Sûtra on the Origin of Origins. (endeth here).

On the Second of October, the 5th year of Hai-yüan (717 A. D.) by Chang-ku, a member of the Church, this copy of the Sûtra was made at the Ta-chin Temple, Sha Chow (Kansu, China).

NOTE
ON
THE TA-CH'IN LUMINOUS RELIGION
SÛTRA ON THE ORIGIN OF ORIGINS

(1) The expression 三百六十五種 is also found in the Nestorian Monument. When we translated the Inscription many years ago, we rendered the Chinese expression into English "three hundred and sixty-five different forms (of error)" (The Nestorian Monument in China, p. 166) and construed the phrase: "'different forms of errors which daily arise,' taking 365 for the days of a year." (p. 190). But now we came to the conclusion that the Nestorian expression of 三百六十五種 (lit., 365 seeds) must be the Chinese form of $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\xi\alpha\varsigma$ used by the Nestorians in 717 A. D. and 781 A. D. Abraxas exactly stand for 365 according to the Greek reckoning by the letters —

| | | |
|-------------|---|------------|
| α | = | 1 |
| β | = | 2 |
| ρ | = | 100 |
| α | = | 1 |
| ξ | = | 60 |
| α | = | 1 |
| ς | = | <u>200</u> |
| | | 365 |

We translated, therefore, the Chinese expression here "365 (spiritual) beings" by which the Nestorian author might have meant in secret expression "those who worship the Sun God daily."

(2) Ching-t'ung, (lit. meaning "all comprehending the luminous") may here mean the Messiah or Saviour.

大秦景教大聖通真歸法讚

敬禮大聖慈父阿羅訶皎皎玉容如日
月此施功德起凡聖德音妙義若金
輝深意廣被億萬生衆靈昧却一
性身被万毒失本真推我

大聖法皇高居無等界聖慈照入為沃
廣聖神覺鬼為日輒百道妙法存平
仁今大聖慈父能以慈力救此億兆
聖慈慈起法海使我瞻拜心安誠一
切善業普尊奉同歸大法垂天輪

敬禮

瑜珈聖法王位下

多惠聖王經

阿羅羅利律

大秦景教大聖通真歸法讚一卷
沙州大秦寺法徒索元
定傳寫教誦
開元八年五月二日

The Nestorian Hymn in adoration of the
Transfiguration of Our Lord.
(Dated May 2. 720 A. D.)

CHAPTER XIII

(J) THE NESTORIAN HYMN IN ADORATION OF THE TRANSFIGURATION OF OUR LORD

We all adore Thee! O Saviour! Thou art the Holy
One equal to God!

Thou art the Merciful Father, the Aloha, Himself!

Thy raiment is like the Precious Gem glorified in the
Sunniest of the Sun and the brightest of the Moon!
Thy virtues, lofty and majestic, ever excel those of all
the Saints and Sages!

The Glad-tidings of Thine! Oh, Thy Teachings of
Wonderful Love!

These are sounding (throughout the world) like the
Golden Bell!

The gracious influences of the Merciful Laws of Thine!
These are permeated throughout the world,
lest all the souls be lost forever!

Being in the dark, these piteous souls are to be lost,
were it not for Thy Great Mercy!

For they have already lost their true nature in
consequence of all poisons (i. e. evils) they received.

Thou alone art the Holy One who is equal to God
Almighty!

Thou art our King and Redeemer!

Dwelling in the Divine Light of peerless effluence
(visible only to the Saints),

Thou reignest over us all from on high!

In the form of the sacred streaks, Thy Mercy shines
forth far and near,

Rendering all kinds of iniquities to ashes in order to
purge all the evil ones from the world!

Thus Thou showest to us clearly and distinctly that
Thou art the real Protector of Thy people!

And by many excellent ways and means Thou governest
All the nations,

keeping Thy own people from going astray!

And thus for them Thou preservest Thy merciful
Way of benevolent life!

We now come to know that Thou art the Holy One
equal to God, the Merciful Father!

With Thy boundless Mercy and almighty Power, Thou
canst save all the human beings in the world!

We now come to know that the Majestic Glory of the
Holy Angels of God is high above "the Sea of Law",
looking down upon us and encouraging us to trust in
Thee without fear!

These Holy Angels thus greatly help us to have perfect
peace and rest at our heart!

Thus all the faithful of the Congregation are united to
worship Thee,

And to take a ride on the Heavenly Wheel (of Law) with Thee in making return to the Great Law!

(*Note: The Hymn (Lit., The Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion's Eulogy on the Holy One-equal-to-God's leading (people) to the truth and causing (them) to return to Law, ends here. But it is followed by the rubrical writings.*)

Adoration to all the Saints! Beginning with Law-King Yohanan (i. e. Saint John) *et cetra*.

Here (the priest) shall read a lesson (1) from "The Heavenly Treasury Sûtra (i. e. an Epistle of St. Paul, the Apostle (?))

(2) from the Sacred King David Sûtra (i. e. Psalm) and (3) the Euangelion Sûtra (i. e. the Gospel).

The Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion's Eulogy on the Holy One-equal-to-God's leading (people) to the truth and making them to return to Law (endeth here).

On the Second Day of May, the 8th year of Hai-yuan (720 A. D.), Su-yüan, a member of the Ta-ch'in Temple at Sha-chow, (Kansu, China), made this very copy and recited the same after he had ascertained the authenticity of this document.

CHAPTER XIV

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT PEKING

The following eight photographs of the Syriac manuscripts consisting of nearly 2000 Syriac words were brought to Japan by a party of Chinese scholars who visited Tokyo on their Cultural Mission some time ago and presented to the Oriental Library, which is commonly known by the name of "the Morrison Library." Through the kindness of Mr. Ishida, the then Librarian, a set of photograph copies of the same was kindly given to us in the winter of 1929, conferring on us at the same time the privilege to publish them.

All the information, however, we got from the said Librarian is that these photographs were taken from the original Syriac manuscripts then in possession of "the Association organised for putting in order the historical materials of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties collected" (明清史料整理會), attached to the Peking University.

But we could not get the full information concerning the exact date when the original manuscripts were discovered. Nor the name of a person by whom the manuscripts were discovered for the first time. All the information we could gather here in Japan about the manuscripts is that they were found at the upper storey of the Wu-men (午門) or "Horse Gate" of the Imperial Palace in Peking.

Needless to say, previous to the Revolution which

took place in 1912, the famous Imperial Library of the Palace known by the name of Wên-yüan-ko (文淵閣), stood within the distance of a stone's throw from the Horse Gate upper storey where the manuscripts were found. And as the Catalogue of this Imperial Library (文淵閣書目：龍威秘書) proves, there were many books in the Library which were written in Arabic, Tibetan, Nü-chên (女真) and other "Barbarian tongues" (胡書蕃文). It seems to us possibly the manuscripts in question might have been carried from the Imperial Library to the Horse Gate storey in order to protect the manuscripts from the leaking of rain during 1898—1899, when the Library building began to collapse from wear and tear of wind and rain—above all, from the negligence. There the manuscripts in question might have remained since 1899 till they were discovered sometime in 1925 or 1926.

So much for the place where these Syriac manuscripts were discovered and the Peking University Association which possesses the original manuscripts. Now, let us turn to the manuscripts themselves, and answer the questions what these manuscripts are and how old are they and how they possibly came to Peking, etc.

First of all, these are a portion of the Nestorian Hymns in the Nestorian Service Book, commonly known by the name of "Kdham Dwathar" or more strictly "Dakdham wa-dhathar," literally meaning "Before and After," according to the rubric in the Khudra (lit., cycle), the Nestorian Service Book, used on Sunday throughout the year. But as early as the 10th century "the Hymns Before and After" became a separate book to be used in the Church Service independently. We are sorry to

say that there is no knowing whether the manuscripts in question are a portion of the Hymns taken directly from the Khudra or from the Dwathar, as we do not have the pleasure of seeing the whole of the original manuscripts. All these and other important matters we leave to the scholars and specialists in Peking who may examine the manuscripts themselves and settle all these questions in future.

With regard to the date of the manuscripts we can not say anything definitely since the manuscripts contain no dates at all. Testing the hand-writings of the manuscripts by Dr. Julius Euting's *Tabula Scripturae Aramaicae* we can not say that the manuscripts before us are earlier than the 9th century. Again, comparing the photographs of the manuscripts with those of the Syriac manuscripts discovered at Kao-ch'ang (高昌), Chinese Turkistan, in 1905 by Dr. Le Coq (See Dr. Eduard Sachau: *Litteratur-Bruchstücke aus Chinesisch-Turkistan, Sitzungsberichte de K. Preu. Akad. d. Wissen. XLVII. 1905*), we can not but come to the conclusion that our Peking manuscripts must be much later than the said Chinese Turkistan ones, whose date Dr. Sachau rightly thinks to be in the latter part of the 9th century or the earlier part of the 10th century.

Besides, all the great authorities——such as Sir E. Wallis Budge Kt., Dr. A. Mingana, and Mrs. Margoliouth and others to whom we had the pleasure of submitting our humble opinion by sending these photographs——all agree in saying that the manuscripts, judging by the photographs only, seem to be of the 12th or 13th century or earlier. Such being the case, we now believe these manuscripts might, like the famous Syriac

manuscripts which P. de Mailla found at Peking in 1725, whose copy is said to be now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, have been brought to Peking by one of the Nestorian missionaries during the Yüan Dynasty at latest (Notices et Extracts des Manuscrits, tome XII pp. 277—286) (Dr. A. Mingana: *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and Far East*, pp. 38, 42—3).

Furthermore, one very important point in the text is the fact that the names of the Chinese Martyrs are mentioned in the Hymn. But it is a pity that the martyr's names had not been given in Chinese. One can not but wish their names had been given in Chinese if they were Chinamen. But possibly they might not.

Another important point is that some of Martyrs in China were merchants as mentioned twice in this Hymn. This mentioning "merchant" is very interesting as the fact agrees to a certain extent with what we find among the Chinese records during the T'ang Dynasty. For instance, such is the case which is written (714 A. D.) in the Book called 冊府元龜. (See Appendix No. VI.)

We now believe that "the noblemen from the Golden region" as mentioned in the Nestorian Monument may be construed as "the Nestorian merchants from the west" whose commercial activity was so well known in Central Asia and China.

Finally, we can not but conclude the preliminary remarks without expressing our hearty thanks once more to the late Mrs. Margoliouth, very famous Syriac scholar, without whose disinterested and most painstaking correction, the translation was impossible, and our deep regret for her departure from the world before we could present a copy of this book to her. All mistakes and

shortcomings of the translation, however, are entirely ours. The great authoress of the famous Syriac Dictionary has absolutely no responsibility with regard to the translation.

Lastly, it must be noted that the brackets in the translation mean that any words enclosed in them are not in the text, and that the "R" stands for the rubrics, which we only got italicised, without being printed in red as they should be, for they are all in red letters in the original Syriac Texts, whilst we added the Biblical references as far as we could identify them. Needless to say, the Syriac has no points nor capital letters on the one hand, although we only added these in the translation as they are helpful. On the other hand, the Syriac has so many redundant "ands", and some of which we had to leave out. With these words we introduce the reader to the translation.

CHAPTER XV

THE TRANSLATION OF THE SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS.

In the midst of our injuries, may we be guarded by your prayers, ye Blessed ones. (Ps. CXL. 2). *My prayer as incense.* Censers of reconciliation and pure offerings may ye be, ye Blessed. He rejoiced in you and the Father accepted you and the Son and the Holy Spirit crowned you. (R.) *Their hearts shall rejoice.* Triumphant at your words and may the remembrance of your conflicts gladden us for, for the sake of Christ, ye were crowned so that ye shall reign with Him on high. (R.) *The Isles shall rejoice.* All the company of holy virgins shall rejoice in Mary that one of their company bare the Christ, the Deliverer of the children of Adam. (R.) *Glory.* Glory to the Lord who hath brought you near to adoption of life that those who are distressed and tormented may take refuge in you and may be saved. (R.) (Ps. XC. 2.) *From everlasting.* As a spiritual treasure to us is thy chaste body, Mar George, which by its many benefits enriches our neediness. (R.) *On Wednesday at dawn.* (2 Thess. III. 3). *Faithful is the Lord.* Your labours are not rejected, ye martyrs, King Christ (or the anointed King) has not passed by whom ye have loved in the land of Sin (China). Your bones which are illustrious in the Book of Life, your names, lovers of the Son. (R.) *Righteous in all.* (Ps. XLV. 17). Not on account of the riches of the world have we loved, say the martyrs, affirming in confidence, but because we know in truth that Thy

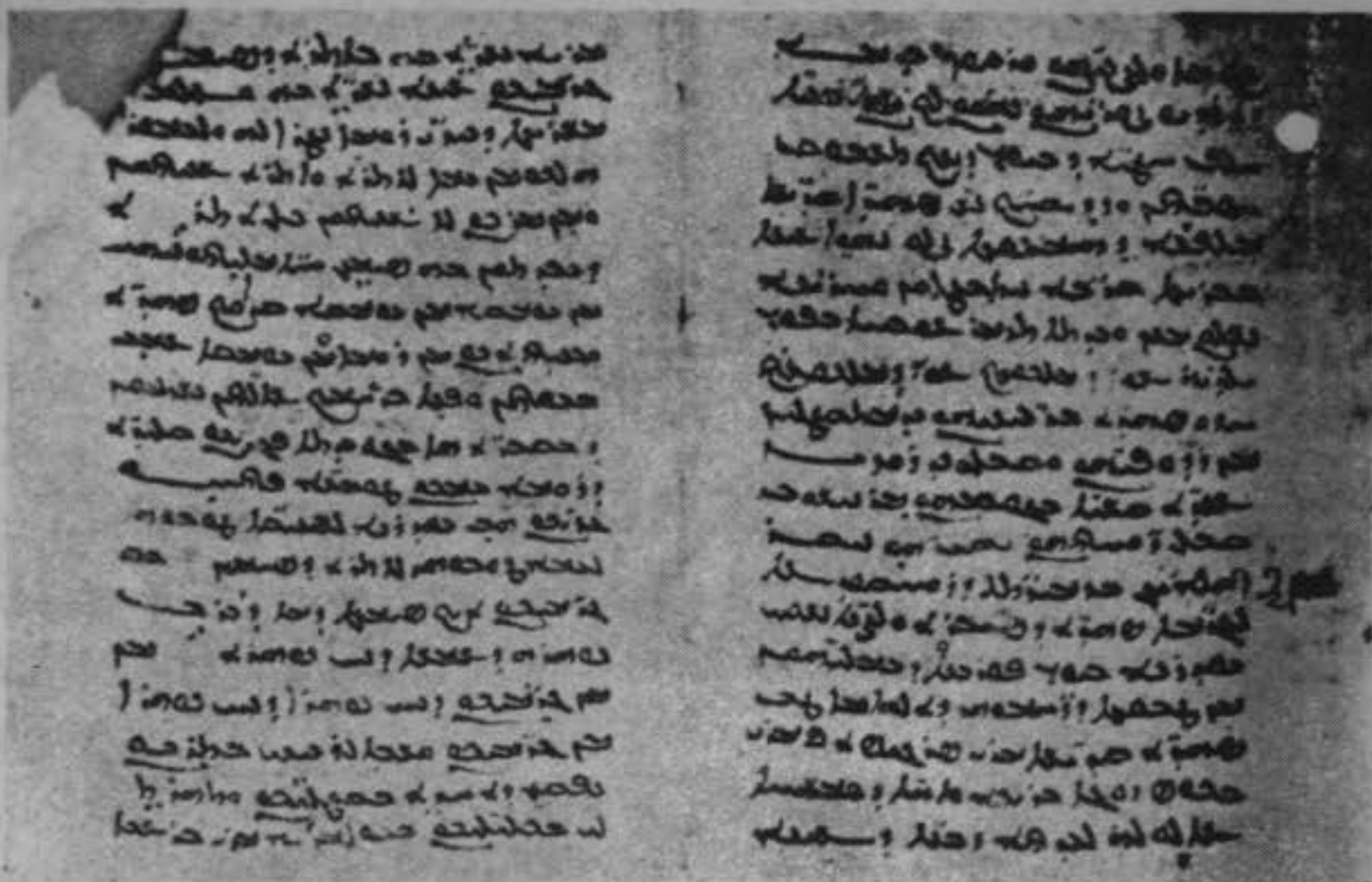
Kingdom and Thy Godhead are imperishable. Well say the martyrs to each other, Come let us go forth and make error to cease for it waxes strong in the four corners (of the earth) and in the Name of Jesus let us rebuke Satan as the walls of Jericho fell of old. (R.) *Among the mountains.* Among the mountains and heights the king commanded that the limbs of the blessed martyrs should be cut off and the Holy Spirit went with them to the agony (contest) and made them triumph at the Judgment seat before the persecutors. Lord, hear the prayer of the martyrs who died for Thee for they saw Thee on Golgotha above the Tree: withhold the sword of wrath which hath laid waste creation.



(They called) on Thee in their tribulations and thou hadst compassion. By the blood which their throats poured out may be to Thee, Our Lord, suppliants for sins so that in the Day of Judgment Thou mayest remit our debts. (R.) (Ps. CXXX. 35) *Just are Thy Judgments.* Holy martyrs, Teachers of the Faith, pray (that) there

may be peace on the Creation, may wars cease from among us and quarrels be appeased and may the Church sing glory by the mouth of her sons. (R.) (Ps. CXLV. 11) *The glory of Thy Kingdom.* The martyrs beheld in their minds the glory of Thy Kingdom until they were killed by their persecutors and they accepted, rejoicing, severe torments in their bodies: Our Lord Jesus, receive their Spirits. (R.) (Ps. CXV. 15) *Precious is.* Let us honour with Psalms of the Holy Spirit the bones of the martyrs who endured afflictions; let us find aid in the day of retribution, and that by their words of the grace from the lovers of God. How good are the holy martyrs, Mar Sergius with Mar Bacchus, the blessed couple of brethren who, in Christ, entreated for the Church, times of tranquillity. (col. b) Lord, may tranquillity dwell in the land wherein their bones are laid, may peace dwell in it. May the host of watchers on high guard the dwelling-place. They travelled from the sea to the land, (from) the land ye have departed, from your Lord ye have not departed. Wheresoever ye have made a treasury of life ye have filled it. (R.) (Ps. CXXX. 1) *Out of the deep.* Out of the deep He has called you, Martyrs; Thou hast answered them from on high and out of the deep; hear our supplication and answer in thy Mercy our requests. (R.) *May they be esteemed worthy.* For, lo, in tombs within the church (are) your bodies, the keys of heaven are with you ye saints, open your treasures, give aid to the needy. (R.) (Ps. XXXIII. 12) *Blessed are the people.* Blessed is the land wherein your bones are laid as a treasury; for when the light of the sun sets light shines forth from your bones and takes captive my mind. It came to pass that I shall rejoice in your murders and I marvel at our

crowns, Beseech Lord Mar Bar Saboe.



Thence shone forth the Anointed King (King Christ) who crowns them,—prophets, apostles, blessed martyrs; He sets on their heads unfading crowns of glory. Pray that with them we may inherit the Kingdom. (R.) (Ps. XCII. 2) *To show forth early in the morning.* At daybreak Daniel arose from the pit and the animals had no power over his body. Lord, let not the Evil One have power over the company of Thy worshippers, redeemed by Thy blood, saved by Thy cross. (R.) (Ps. LXXXVIII. 13) *early shall my prayer.* At daybreak Jacob went forth from his father's house and came to Bethel and beheld the revelation, the ladder on earth and its head came to heaven and, lo, a company of angels settled upon it; they sang to the Lord at daybreak, the holy angels sang in their Hallelujahs hymns of thanksgiving to God who reconciled those on high with those below in the being of His Son and frightness of His substance. (R.) (Ps. XCIII. 9) *He comes to judge it.* At the great dawn

when Thou comest to judge the earth and the inhabitants thereof. (col. b). With spiritual insight (lit., with the eye of the Spirit) the martyrs beheld the anointed King and they all cried with one accord, Glory to Thee, Our Lord, Glory to Thee Jesus, for in Thee do we believe and in Thee we take refuge; leave us not in the hand of the erring heathen haters of the truth. (R.) (Ps. LXXVII. 3) *I remembered God.* The murder of Stephen have I considered, admiration and wonder have seized me that he endured so much, they stoned him with stones and he prayed, his eyes gazed towards heaven: Our Lord, forgive them. The King's daughter, the holy Virgin Mary, blessed among women, the mother of Jesus our Saviour, the heavenly bridegroom: make petition and desire of Christ that by thy prayers peace and tranquillity may abide on the faithful Church. (R.) *Glory.* Glory to Thee, good Lord, for, for thy love, the martyrs triumphed in their agonies; they endured all tortures, they trampled upon and despised all enticements of pleasures and put



to shame their persecutors.

By the Might of the eternal cross, our shining Father, Mar Bar Saboe, of blessed memory (lit., blessed thy remembrance), Christ our Saviour be worshipped, that thou didst accomplish thy agony, that thou didst gladden the heavenly watchers by the manner of thy labours and didst cause the companies of those below to rejoice by the firmness of thy confession: thy reward is sure and thy remembrance is inscribed with the just who have pleased Christ. Be a suppliant for all of us that we may be counted worthy of forgiveness. *For Wednesday morning.* (R.) *Praise Ye.* Righteous martyrs, be ye merchants, lo, your treasure is in heaven, ye have bought the Pearl with the pure blood of your necks. (R.) Ps. XXXIII. *Praise is comely for the upright.* Martyrs, ye have been merchants, ye have travelled on sea and dry land, by your blood ye have departed. In your prayers confess Him, ye martyrs who have mounted above, ye have come to Jerusalem on high, ye have attained by the blood of your necks the land for which we wait. (R.) *Be ye therefor.* Hitherto the sea is not able to break through the wall which your love encompasseth nor does Satan bear sway in the land where your bones are laid to rest. (col. b). Love to her priests and propitiation to her children. (R.) (Ps. XLV. 13). *The King's daughter.* The holy Virgin Mary, Bearer of Christ, all generations shall call thee blessed that thou wast esteemed worthy to carry in thy womb Emanuel whom the prophets prefigured in their mysteries. (R.) *Glory.* Glory to that power which dwells in the holy bones; its voice resounds in the four corners; they are laid in the churches and from them gush forth benefits

and truth is revealed by the might of their words. (R.) *From everlasting.* The love of chastity all the days of our lives. Thou wast a spotless martyr to Christ and by thy conduct in the holy dwellings, lo, thy soul dwells with the angels. (R.) *At daybreak. The Lord at daybreak.* At daybreak the martyrs cried out at the judgment seat before the persecutors, we have not denied the heavenly King for He delivers us from the hands of evil men and clothes our bodies with glory in His Kingdom. (R.) (Ps. V. 3) *Early in the morning will I direct.*

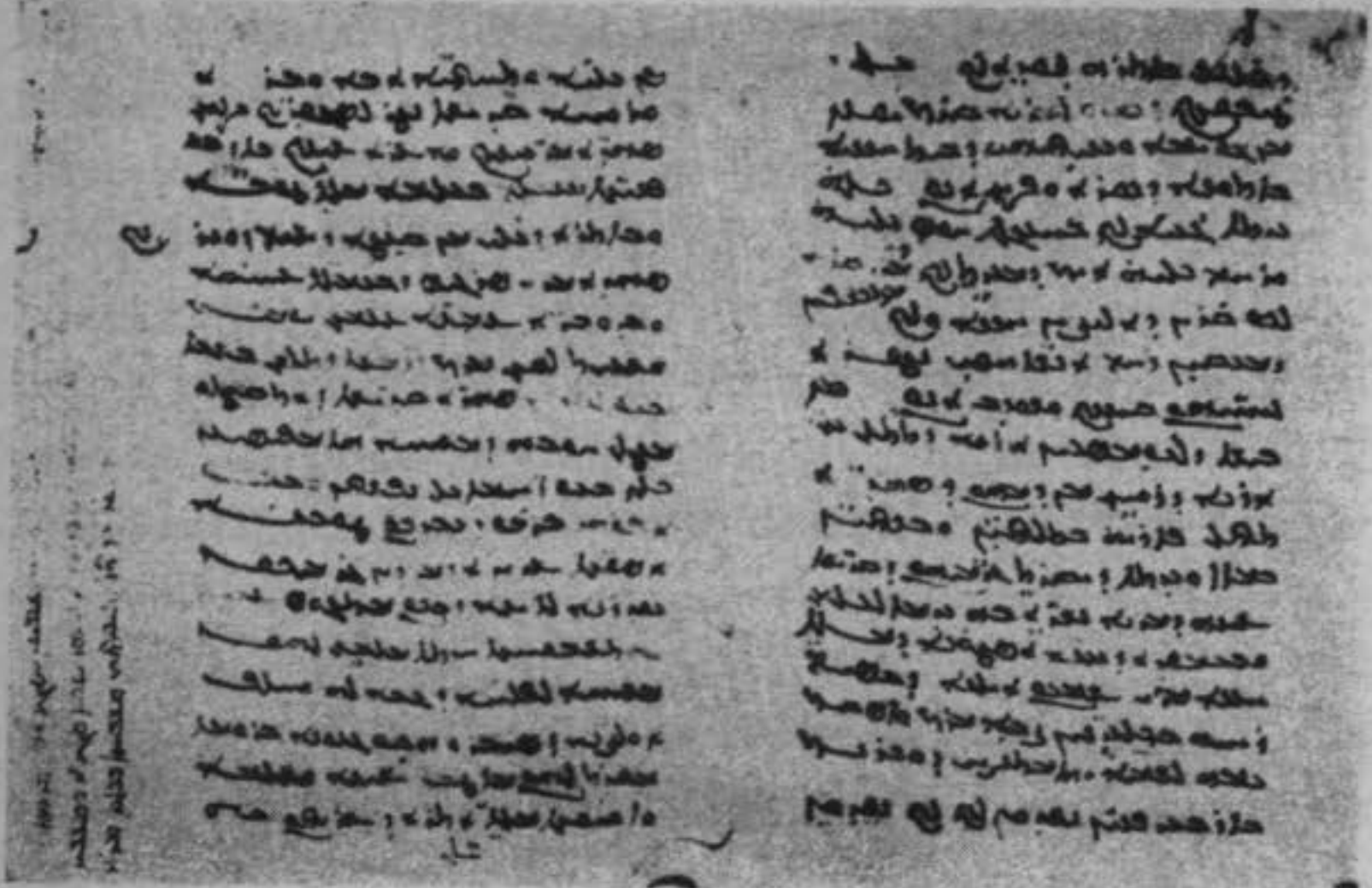


That every one in his place shall praise Thee for thy loving kindness for they have called unto the Lord. Jonah called unto Thee from within the sea and Thou heardest him from the mercy seat; in the fiery furnace and Thou didst deliver them. The whole Church cried on Thee with groaning, have pity on her and have mercy on her as Thou art wont. (R.) *Lord, we called on Thee.* To Thee we call for we need Thy grace and Thee do we implore for we are distressed. O Lover of men, be Guardian of

our life in Thy grace and save them from the Evil one for in Thee do we hope. (R.) (Ps. LXXXV. 12) *The earth shall yield.* May the earth which is watered by the blood of the martyrs yield her fruits thirtyfold, sixtyfold and an hundredfold, and the Church which has honoured the bones of the Saints may have the peace of the Lord abiding on it forever. The pillar of cloud, the column full of mercy, Mar Shimun, tree of sweet fragrance, thy Lord was well pleased at all times and made thee ascend with Him to heaven. Lo, thy commemoration is celebrated in the four corners. (R.) *We proclaim Thee holy.* Thee do we proclaim holy by (col. b) those on high and those below, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit who guardest Thy worshippers by the prayer of the martyrs. (R.) *Lord, Thine eyes.* And may Thy peace rest on the four corners for ever in the blessed age and in the land exalted above fear. Thy commemoration is appointed, O Martyrs. Mar Sergius, for in harassing labours and in heavenly conduct thou didst fulfil thy days and didst depart to be with thy Lord. (R.) *On Tuesday evening.* Beseech the Lord, Ye holy martyrs, claim for the love of Christ, lo we all implore, beseech mercy on our souls. (R.) (Ps. cv. 4) *Seek ye His face.* Blessed be He who made you blessed, true physicians whose bones shed forth succour for whoso takes refuge in you. (R.) (Ps. XXXIII. 3) *Praise Him with a new song.* Christ clothes His soldiers whom He hath chosen for himself and instead of the sufferings they endured He made them dwell in the bridal chamber on high. How blessed are tranquillity and peace and concord fills the whole land wherein ye dwell.

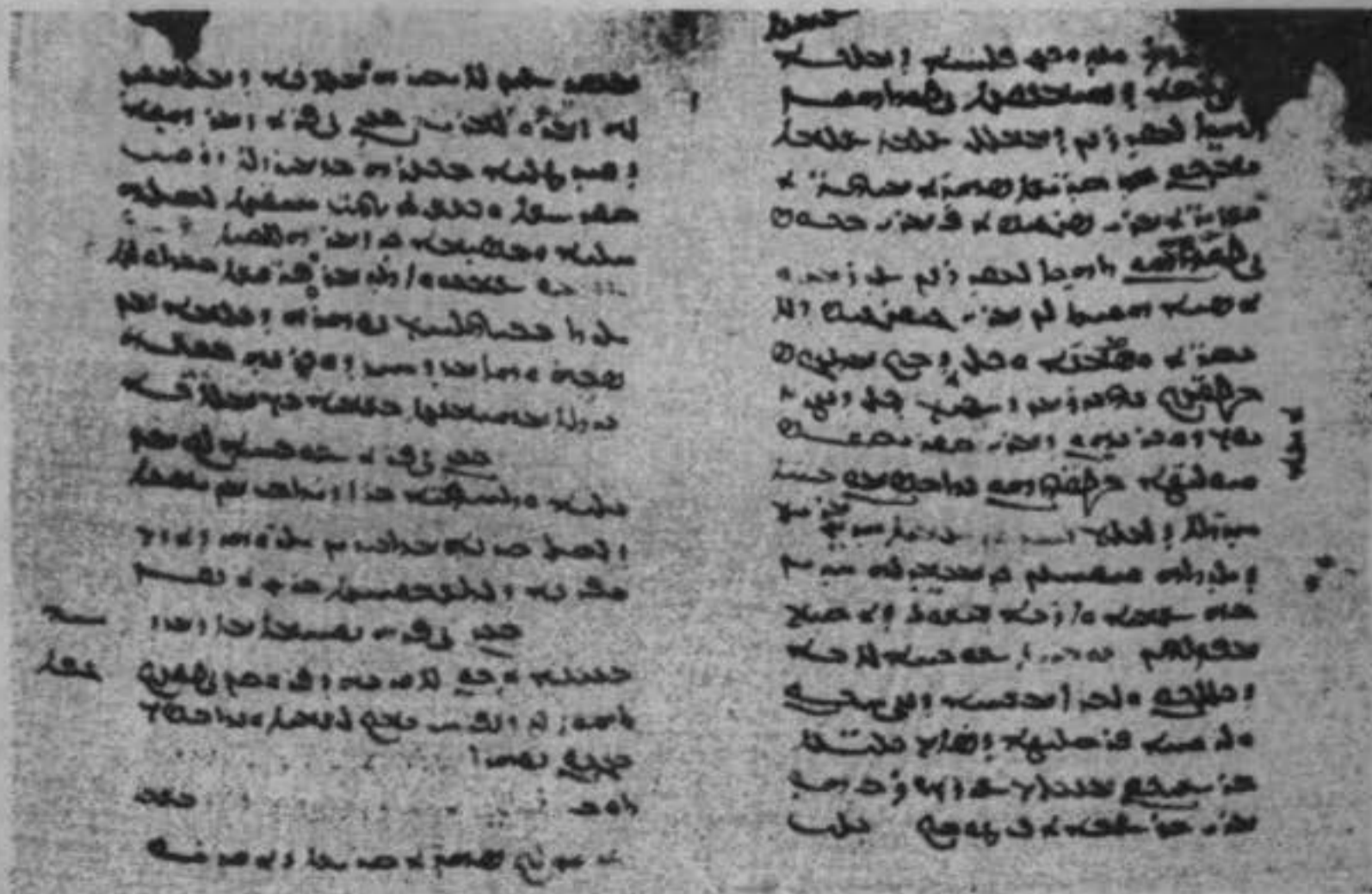
(margin) (. Now see Thy Godhead from the

Heavenly (abode). Adorable is Thy Majesty
praised and extolled the adorable and glorious
Name of Thy ever glorious Trinity, O Lord.)



(The first two words are blackened.)—and instead of the soldiers of the heavenly king—of faith. May their prayer be to our ranks that which speaks peace. Peace be with you, holy, virtuous martyrs, and true, Mar Sergius and Mar Bacchus! May their prayers be for our help. (R.) (Ps. CVII. 20). *He sent his word.* Thou wast a physician to us, Mar George, without drugs or medicines and all who so takes refuge in thee by thy prayers may they be helped. (R.) (Ps. CVII. 43) *Whoso is wise.* All those who keep the day of commemoration of Mar Cyriacus and Juliet by their prayers may they enjoy new life for evermore. (R.) (Ps. XCVI. 11) *Let the heavens rejoice.* Mary rejoiced that she bare Him and John when he baptized Him heaven and earth rejoice in Jesus who raised out fall. (R.) *Glory.* Glory to the Father who crowned you and to the Anointed Son who caused you

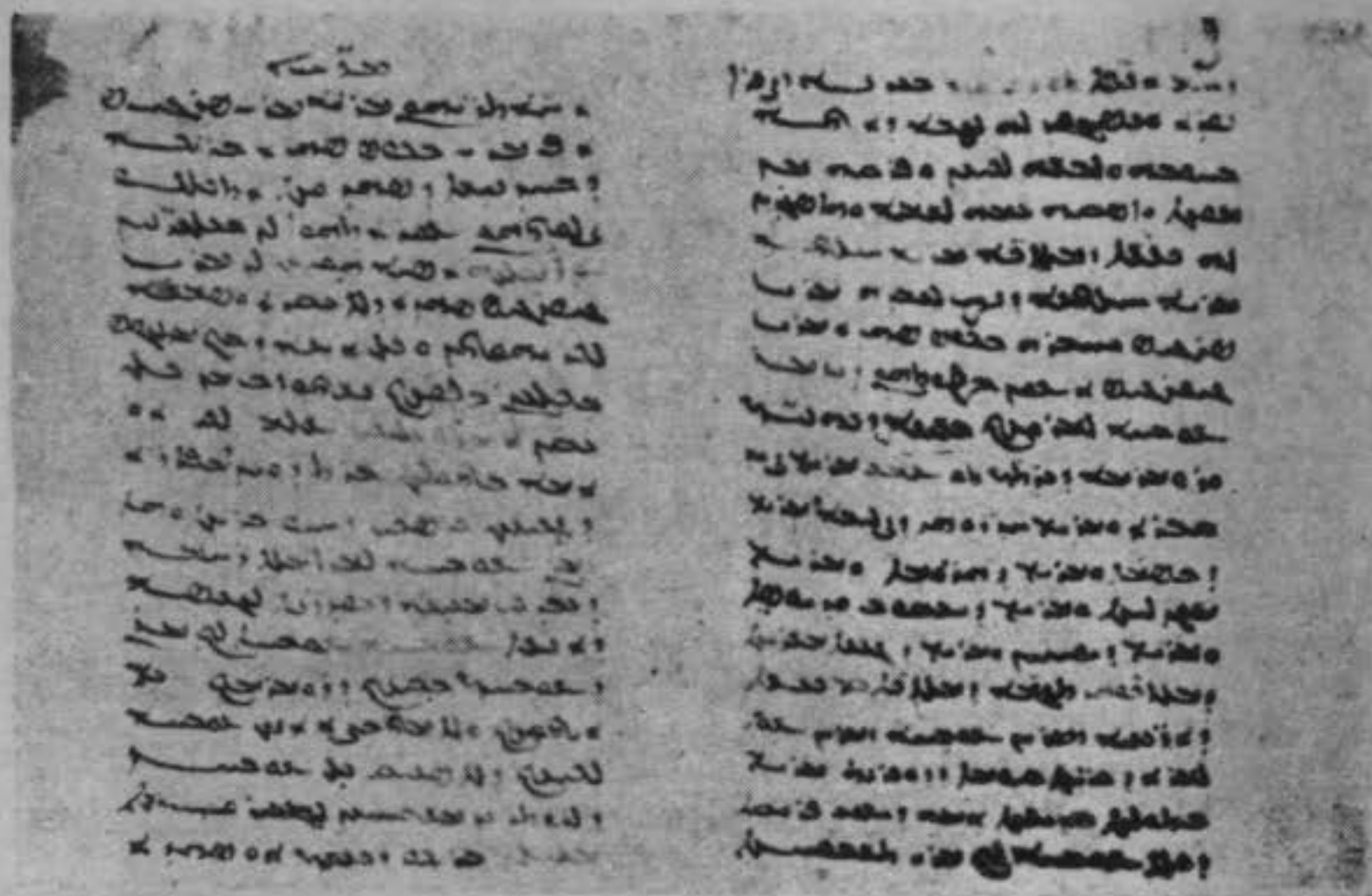
to triumph and to the Spirit, the Paraclete who sets eternal crowns on your heads. Thy truth is great, Lord, on high and Thy bliss exalted. (col. b) His honour do the angels who serve Him proclaim holy. (R.) (Ps. XC. 1) *Sing unto the Lord.* At daybreak David, the lad, sang to his harp with songs of the Holy Spirit and he gathered together and brought animals to his sweet and pleasant voice as he sang Hallelujah. (R.) *Hear, hear and wonder, ye prudent:* at the Virgin who bare in Bethlehem the Light of the entire world and, lo, we commemorate Him in the whole faithful church in heaven with the angels. (R.) *Glory, at daybreak.* Glory to Thee from those on high and those below, (O!) Son, who sittest at the right hand beyond. The sons of earthly Adam are roused by the trumpet for Thou didst creat them to praise. (R.) *From everlasting.* At daybreak of resurrection (or on Easter dawn), when Thou wast borne on the clouds, our Father, to meet our Saviour, may Thy prayer be wings to us that we may fly with Thee to heaven and



delight in the chamber of light. (R.) *Finis. Martyrs on Sunday. Again I write for Monday evening.* Let the holy Martyrs confess (or praise) Thee who did confess.

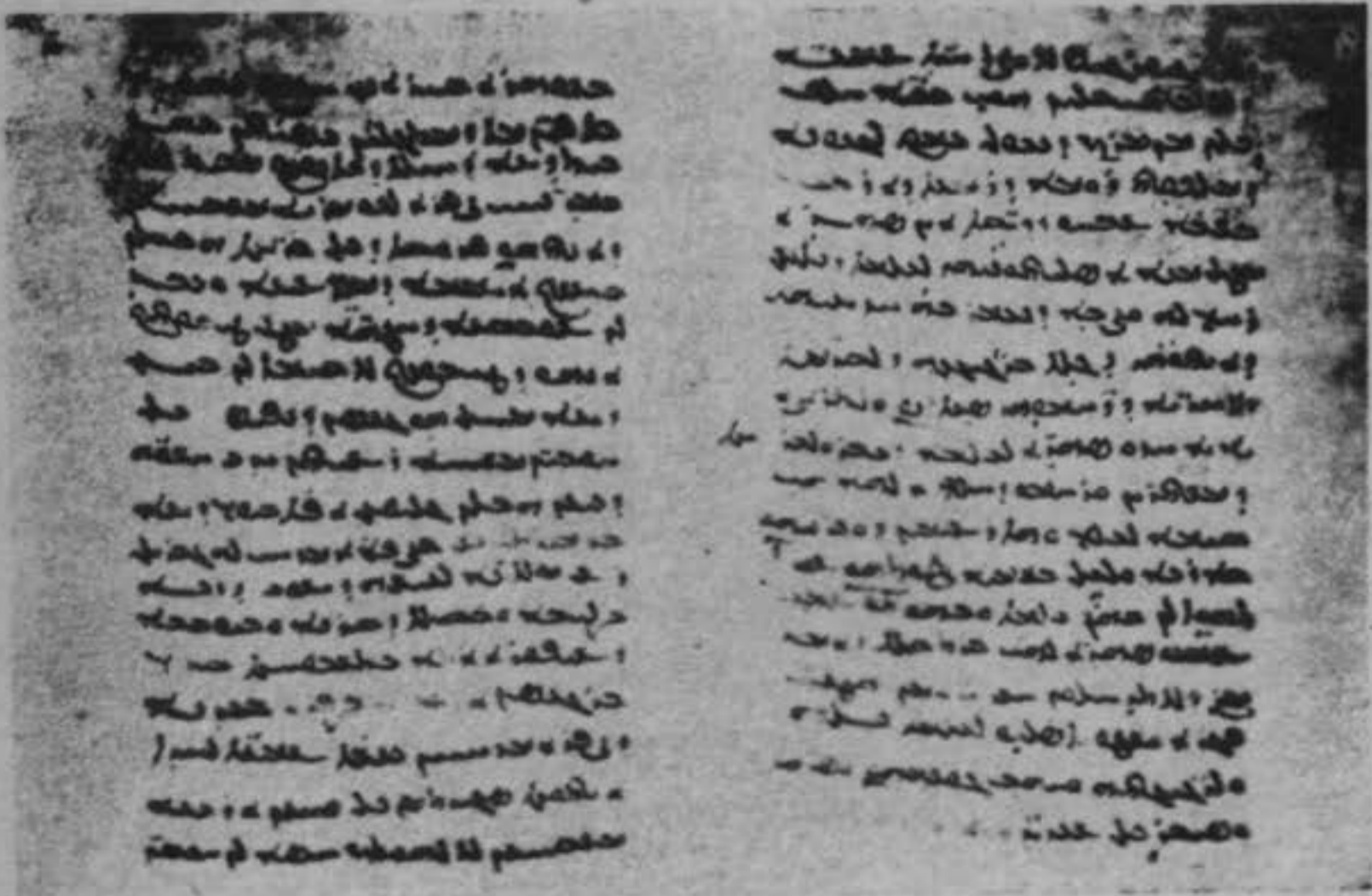
Lover of men. (R.) (Ps. XCV 6) *Come, let us kneel.* At daybreak, Let us thank and worship the Good, who came in love and put on our nature and saved it from death and raised it with Him to heaven and, lo, the companies of angels worship Him, the Mighty God. Mighty God who made His servant, Mar Sergius, to triumph, and his companions, Mar Bacchus the Martyr and Mar George, make us worthy by their prayers to sing glory to Thy Majesty in the peace of Thy priests and the exaltation of Thy churches. (R.) (Ps. LXVI 16) *Come hear.* Mary at the sepulcher and Mary around the cross, Mary of the ointments and Mary of the spices and Mary Magdalen and Mary of Jacob and Joses, and Mary of John and Mary of the gardener : the host of her angels, the ranks of angels with the companies of earthly beings sing glory to the Lord of Creation, in the day of commemoration of Mary, the holy Virgin, the Mother of Jesus, the Saviour of all : glory to Thee, Lord, praise. (col. b. heading). The Lords (or Mars). Both brother Mars, Mar Sergius and Mar Bacchus, blessed martyrs who were crowned on the Sunday of their martyrdom ; may their prayers be a wall to us at all times. (R.) (Ps. CVII 20) *He sent His word.* Thou wast a physician to us, Mar George, the Martyr, without drugs and medicines for our sickness, and whoso takes refuge in Thee, at any time, may he be saved from all adversities. (R.,) (Ps. CXXI 9) *I will speak concerning Thee.* Peace to Thee, O Mother Virgin, daughter of David of Ephrath, for Thy womb bare (Him by whom) the creation gained life and, lo,

they sing glory to the merciful Lord who made Thee a source of benefits for the human race. (R.) *Glory.* Glory to Thee, our Lord, for Thy glory in Thy nature of exaltation with Thy Being. Thou art unsearchable : Glory to Thy nature which needs not our praise for our advantage do we glorify the Perfection. (R.) (Ps. XLI. 13) *From everlasting.* Blessed be He who summoned thee, O Martyr,



Mar George, to the store-house of heavenly, incorruptible life : be a suppliant for all of us from thy Lord that we may enter with Thee the chamber of the Kingdom on high. (R.) *On Wednesday evening.* Praise, ye righteous, yea martyrs, wherefore have ye despised the world who entirely loved it and desired to dwell in it. Thou hast seen that it is deceitful in its lusts for it hates the holy and his other friends. (R.) (Ps. XXXIII 1) *Praise is comely for the upright.* Martyrs beheld the world that it passes away and the creation that it perished and they loved the fear of God which stands for ever ; and lo, their commemorations are inscribed on

earth and above in heaven : May their prayer be a wall to us in that. (R.) (Ps. XXXIV 11) *Come, (ye children) hear-ken.* Hear ye martyrs that word which Our Lord spake: "Fear not, ye faithful, those who slay the body"; they despised and contempered the whole world and its lusts and gave their bodies to the torturers and endured all torments. (R.) *They looked to Him and believed* (col. 2) in the light. Thou dost prove Thy Grace. May He be our champion when hidden things are revealed at that terrible tribunal of Thy Justice. (R.) *I hope in the Lord.* At the rising of the day, Thee, Lord, we glorify, for Thou art the Saviour of all creation. Grant us in Thy mercy peaceful days and work for us remission of sins by reason of Thy goodness. Unless Thy goodness aid us at the judgment seat, our race is too weak to implore concerning our sins. Christ, our first fruits, who knoweth the passions of our nature : grant us confidence in the day of judgment. (R.) *With songs will we praise at dawn.* Gabriel, the Chief of Angels, carried in triumph the



standard of Jesus who conquered by the cross and to the sound of the horn and clangour of the trumpet goes in glory before our kindred (or He of our race) (R.) *I will praise Thee at dawn.* At daybreak do the heavenly companies extol the One Being worshipped by all and we earthly beings glorify Thy Godhead who pardons our sins.

CHAPTER XVI

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS DISCOVERED

by Dr. A. von LE COQ IN 1905.

These Syriac texts which we have here translated were transcribed and published by Dr. E. Sachau for the first time in No. XLVII of the "Sitzungsberichte der Koniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften" in 1905. According to this great scholar, the original Syriac manuscripts of these texts before us were discovered at Kao-ch'ang (高昌) by Dr. A. von Le Coq in June 1905. Dr. Le Coq may it be known discovered at the same time four sheets of manuscripts written on both sides. But only three of them were found to be of the Syriac language, whilst the remaining one sheet proved any language but Syriac, although it was written in the Syriac alphabet, and to this day we do not know to what language this one sheet of writing belongs. But the Syriac manuscripts were easily read and carefully transcribed and published with necessary corrections by Dr. Sachau. He expressed a great deal of his learned comments and scholarly criticism on the manuscripts, which are very helpful to us, indeed. According to this famous scholar, the first sheet of these three stray fragments is a sheet detached from a Nestorian Church Service Book, and contains a part of the Church Hymnal to be sung on Christmas Day. The second sheet is another such containing the first part of the Hymn to be sung on the Feast Day commemorating St. Mary. This Feast falls on Friday

following Christmas. (See p. 311 of "the Chronology of Ancient nations" by Albiruni translated by Dr. C. Eduard Sachau, 1879). Again, judging from the handwriting of the original manuscripts, the same great scholar declared that the first two sheets belong to the 11th or 12th century, whilst the third sheet belongs to the 9th or 10th century at latest. This last sheet is a portion of the Nestorian Church Book known by the name of (ܟܘܕܪܐ), Khudra, which literally means "a cycle" but which is a very important Nestorian book giving the names of proper Anthems, etc., to be used on Sundays and the Church Festival days for the whole year—*πινακίδιον τῶν τάξεων καὶ κανόνων τῷ κύκλῳ παντὸς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ*—as proved by the 12th verse of our translation of the sheet III: 2.

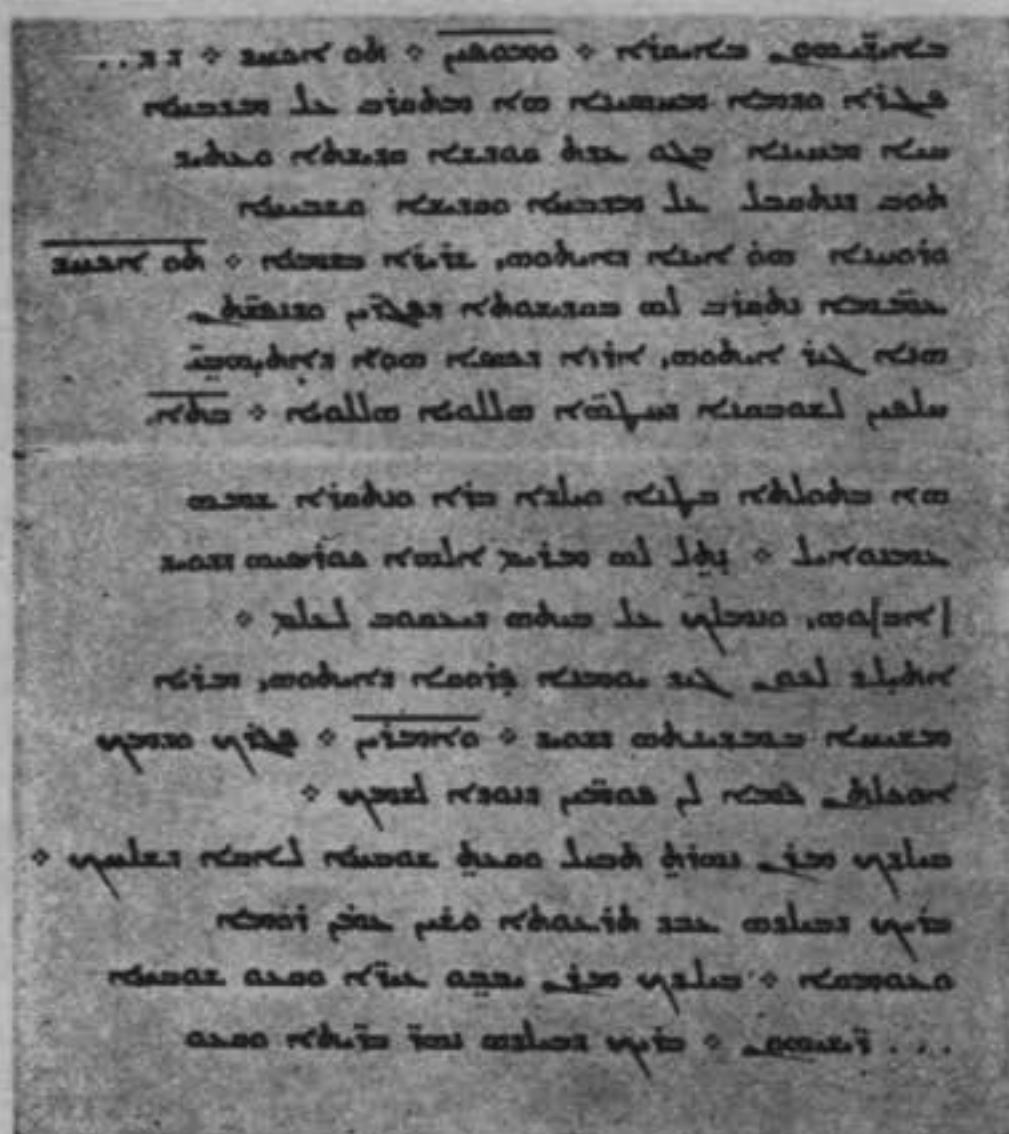
Such being the case, the nature of this Hymn, it is no wonder that the last part of such hymn as we have before us should form the first part of another Hymn following, which is known by the name of the Hymn to be sung on the Feast of "Sanctification of the Church" (ܟܘܕܪܐ). "On this feast which was also called Ma'al'thâ (i. e., Ingressus) they wander from the naves of the Churches up to their roofs in commemoration of the returning of the Israelites to Jerusalem. This Ma'al'thâ or "Sanctification of the Church" is celebrated on the first Sunday of Tishrin II, if the 1st of this month falls on a Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, but if it falls on a Monday or Tuesday, the feast is celebrated on the last Sunday of Tishrin I. In other words, this Sanctification of the Church mentioned in the 15th verse of the following III: 2, is to take place on a Sunday coming between the 30th of October and the 5th of November. (The Chronology of Ancient Nations. p. 307).

Again, the Khudra gives the priests all the holy days to be observed in the Church throughout the year according to the Church Calender—returning after a cycle again to the Festival days, Sundays and Saints' days or Commemoration days (ܟܘܕܪܐ). The Hymn has a heading in each stanza—such as “Of the prophets” or “of the Martyrs” etc., as may be seen in our translation. This means that those who are saying prayers—priests or congregations—are asking for the intercession of the prophets or the martyrs, etc. Then comes the Rubrical instructions concerning how to conduct the Church Service for the Sanctification of the Church. But it seems to us that the great Dr. Sachau thought it unnecessary to translate them into any European language as these manuscripts are the fragments of hymns to be sung in praise of St. Mary and are very familiar to the members of the learned Society in Europe and America. We, however, thought it our duty to have them translated into English since we have them already translated into Japanese. Besides, the manuscripts were also found in Chinese Turkistan and may naturally be included our collection of the Nestorian documents in China.

CHAPTER XVII

THE TRANSLATION OF THE SYRIAC TEXTS

I : 1



- 1 In their hands
in honour. (R.)
And they end:
Come ye to-
gether.....
- 2 Behold! The
body and the
blood of the
Holy One who
pardons (our
sins) are offered
upon the Altar
of Life,
- 3 In the midst of

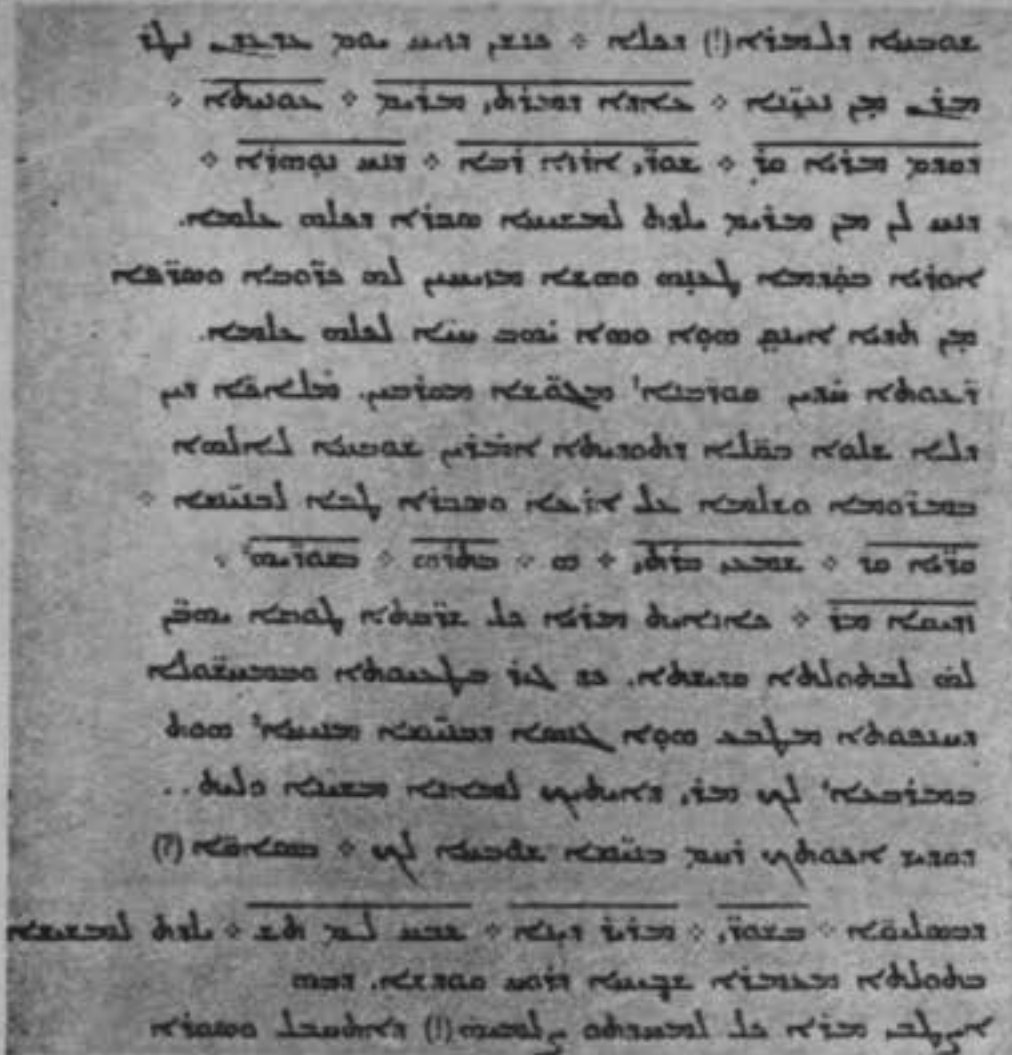
the holy congregation of holiness,

- 4 And He is about to be received again upon the holy
and glorious and spiritual Altar of life,
- 5 He who is the true one in heaven. (R.) *Come ye
together.* O ye people! Let us draw near to Him in
the holiness of our bodies and souls;
- 6 For this is the Mystery which was hidden, and
which was given for our sake
- 7 For the forgiveness of sins. Hallelujah! Hallelujah!
(R.) *Verses.*
- 8 Behold! The Virgin conceives and bears a son!
And His name shall be called Emmanuel.
- 9 May the Lord God give Him the throne of David

- his father,
- 10 And may He reign over the House of Jacob for ever!
- 11 For this day to you a Saviour is born from Mary in our nature, (as)
- 12 The Messiah is born in the City of David!
- 13 (R.) *And they say*: Thou hast given as thy body and blood to eat, but our mouths trembles at thy name.
- 14 By thy Advent, O our Lord, Thou didst enlighten the habitable earth, and didst make it to shout: "Glory to the Father who didst send Thee!"
- 15 Blessed be the Lord who through His Advent brought the reconciliation,
- 16 And caused the height and the depth (i. e., heaven and earth) to be at peace with us!
- 17 At thy Advent, O our Lord, the watchers made a joyful noise and their chiefs shouted:
- 18 "Glory!" Blessed be He at whose birth the creatures were enlightened and shouted:

I : 2

- 1 Glory to the Lord of all! Preserve, O our Lord, from harm our congregation which has solemnized thy Festival day.
- 2 (R.) *The Festival Day of (Holy) Mother Mary. The response. Of "Before and After" Hymn in praise of Mary. The beginning. The Great Mystery. Light shone forth.*
- 3 From Mary, the Mother of Christ, there shone forth (to us) the hope of the whole world.
- 4 At first into the manger from Her womb He



descended, but now Cherubim and Seraphim escort Him.

5 And from Her breast He suck- ed, but behold! He giveth life to the whole world.

6 The shepherds rejoiced ; and the Magi from

the East offered the offerings ;

7 Angels (were) singing at the top of their voice inces- santly the hymns of Praise :

8 " Glory to God in the height (i. e., heaven) and peace on earth and good hope to men "

9 (R.) *Hear, O my daughter. After it. At the beginning of it. Righteous Lord.*

10 Rightly, O Lord, do all generations call the holy virgin blessed :

11 For, while the race of men were drowning in error and in the storms of paganism,

12 She in the womb was pleasing thee, O Lord, who art a calm haven.

13 And there is none who is holy like thee (sc. Christ), O Lover of men.

14 Glory to thee of the basilicas.

15 (R.) *At the beginning. Bitter is death. Utter praise.*

16 Mother of Christ! Virgin! Glorious dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit,

- 17 On account of whom the Lord of all was pleased to renew our image which had become corrupt.
- 18 And a letter

II : 1

ܘܒܩܪܬܐ ܕܠܗ ܥܠܝܢ ܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܠܘܪܪܐ
 ܕܝܫܘܒܝܢ ܠܘܪܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܒܝܢ ܠܘܪܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܒܝܢ
 ܕܝܫܘܒܝܢ ܠܘܪܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܒܝܢ ܠܘܪܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܒܝܢ
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 ܕܝܫܘܒܝܢ ܠܘܪܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܒܝܢ ܠܘܪܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܒܝܢ

- 1 To the people from error (?)! And they turned away (from the idol) that
- 2 They honour, as it will come to naught. (R.) God sent. To Nazareth
- 3 The harp (i. e., Gabriel) was sent that he might announce Her conception

of our Saviour ;

- 4 And he gave the salutation of mercy to the Virgin as
- 5 He was commanded, (saying) : Thou shalt receive a miraculous conception and thou shalt bear
- 6 The child of wonder who rules over the height and depth (i. e., heaven and earth).
- 7 Harken and be firm ! The Lord will scatter those that are exalted.
- 8 The (Holy) Spirit was in the Virgin's ears, and there sprouted from his proclamation the ear of corn (i. e., Christ)

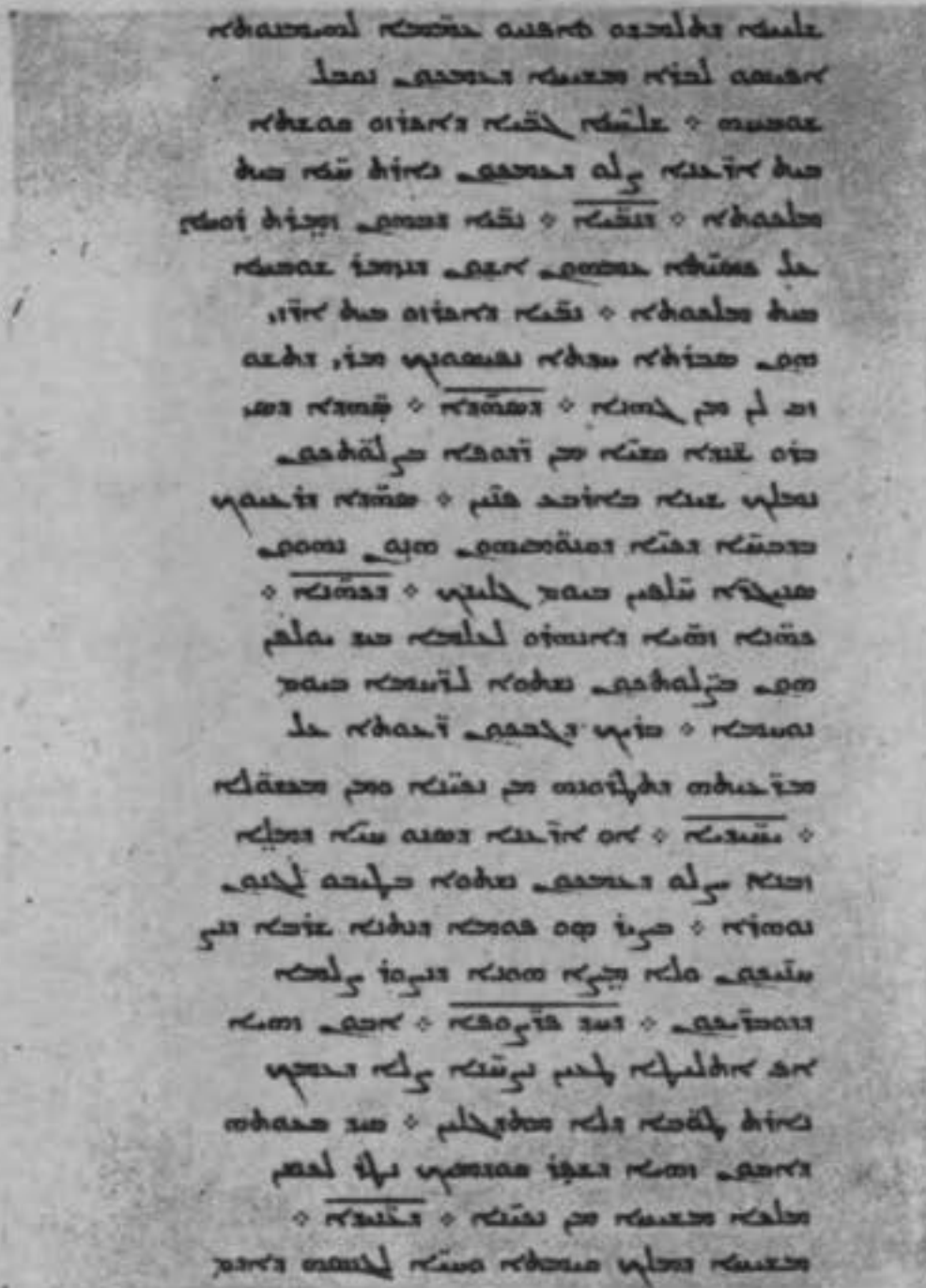
- 9 Which gives life to all the people, when he announced the command of him who sent him
- 10 In Nazareth, the City of Galilee. Blessed be the Father who sent him to our race.
- 11 (R.) *Hear this.* The Holy Child and the Glory of our race
- 12 Did the daughter of David bear! Herod was sorrowful and (sighed) and he devised
- 13 A plot in his heart. The shepherds and the Magi
- 14 (Who saw) how greatly he was distressed. And behold! he pretended (to offer) "Glory" to the Lord (to be born),
- 15 (R.) *May the Lord give.* On the day when the race of mortals received
- 16 The Good Tidings of reconciliation, the angels stood in astonishment,
- 17 Because they had learnt the Mystery which had been hidden, (viz.,)
- 18 That men were to be freed from the bondage of destruction
- 19 By Christ who was born with flesh and blood like ours. (R.) *Light hath shone forth.*

II : 2

- 1 of all and in the form The splendour of his majestic power
- 2 Because it was impossible that he should appear in the nature of his Godhead,
- 3 He put on our body and joined it to his essence.
(R.) *Come, let us bend the knee.*
- 4 Let us worship the Child that was born from the Holy Virgin Mary.

- 16 (R.) *Joy in everything.* There was great joy for us in heaven and earth.
- 17 At the birth of Christ. The heavenly hosts were crying out, saying :
- 18 Glory to the Father in the height, hope
- 19 On earth for mortals, the Saviour of the world has been born !

III : 1



- 1 O ye Apostles who taught the truth and made the people turn to the true faith,
- 2 Persuade the Son, the Messiah, so that together with you, we may receive his Glory.
- 3 O ye chosen disciples who proclaimed the truth,
- 4 Among the

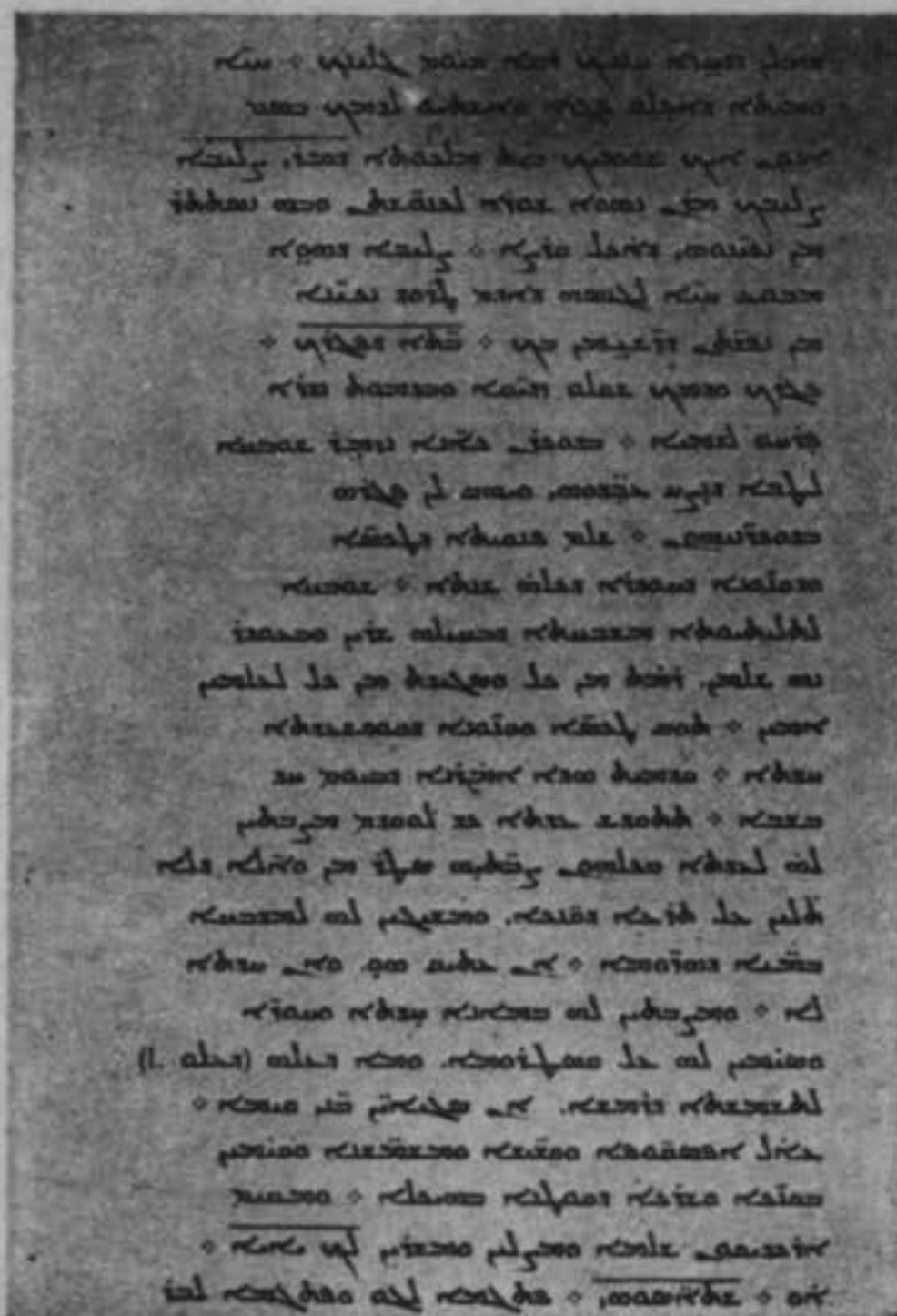
dwellers on earth, pray that, together with you, we may inherit life in the Kingdom (of God).

- 5 (R.) *Of the Prophets.* Make thou us worthy that, together with the prophets, those through whom the Spirit sang
- 6 Concerning hidden things of people of Jesse, we

- may chant praise in the Kingdom.
- 7 May the prophets who proclaimed among their mysteries
- 8 The new Gospel persuade thee, Lord, to deliver us from Gehenna.
- 9 (R.) *Of the Martyrs.* O ye martyrs who endured
- 10 Cruel torments from persecutors, may peace reign
- 11 In the four quarters (of the earth) through your prayers.
- 12 May the martyrs who propitiated thee through the pure sacrifices of their persons
- 13 Be advocates for us on the day of thy manifestation.
- 14 (R.) *Of the Priests.* Resplendent (lit., virtuous or chaste) priests who illumined the world with your doctrine,
- 15 Through your prayers may we be deemed worthy of mercy on the day of resurrection.
- 16 Blessed be he who chose you as shepherds over his flock
- 17 That you might keep it from harm and from stumbling.
- 18 (R.) *Solitaries.* O dwellers on earth who hated the life of this world, pray that
- 19 Together with you we may be deemed worthy of the bridal chamber of light.
- 20 Unworthy is the mouth to tell the story of your triumphs,
- 21 Nor can the mind depict the likeness of your acts.
- 22 (R.) *Of the one Parsopa* (πρόσωπον).
- 23 O our glorious Father, yea, victorious Athlete,
- 24 Pray that thy people may inherit blessings which are not subject to disappointment.

- 25 Through the supplication of our glorious Father who was found pleasing before thee,
- 26 Preserve our congregation, O Messiah, the King from harm.
- 27 *Of the departed.* O Messiah who promised resurrection and life to the race of Adam,

III : 2



- 1 Grant us that we may see thy great compassion on the day of thy manifestation,
- 2 And make the living and the dead who have eaten thy body and drunk thy blood to rejoice according to thy promise in the Kingdom.
- 3 (R.) *Of the Cross of the Lord.* May thy Cross,

O our Lord,

- 4 Be our fortification (to defend us),
- 5 And through it may we be protected from the injuries of the adversary.
- 6 (Thy) Cross which wast a fountain of life to the race of Adam banishes harm

- 7 From our souls which have been inscribed by thee.
8 (R.) *The Verses of "Thy body"*. The righteous
received thy body and thy blood and like an eagle
9 They have flown to heaven. In memory of the Just
let us sing praise,
10 To the Good one who caused his servants to triumph
and gave us his body,
11 On their commemorations. (R.) *Here cometh the end
of the book of the Offices*
12 *And of the Canons of the Khuara of the whole year.*
Glory
13 To the glorious Trinity by whose might we began
and with whose aid we have ended.
14 (The Trinity), high above every one and adored by
everyone, for ever,
15 Amen! (R.) *Again the offices and canons of the
Sanctification of a new Church.*
16 *First I say this that on a Sunday shall the Church
be consecrated.*
17 *First they shall adorn the Church with all its adorn-
ments,*
18 *Except the veils which do not hang over the door of
the chancel.*
19 *And, if it is an old one, they shall wash the altar*
20 *With sweet-smelling water (lit., water of sweet spices).*
21 *But if it is new they need not do so. And they adorn
it with a new and white*
22 *Cloth and they put it on the chancel-steps,*
23 *And when they have entered for the evening service,*
24 *If the clergy are many, the bishop and priests and
deacons enter and*
25 *They stand in the chancel and the rest of the people*

(i. e., the laity) (stand) in the nave.

- 26 *And the archdeacon intones the "Peace be with you",
and they pray and begin "To thee praise is fitting"*
- 27 *Or "His foundations", a phrase inside the Church
and a phrase outside it.*

PART II

THE NESTORIAN RELICS IN CHINA

INTRODUCTION

Regarding the Nestorian relics which are to be treated here in the Second Part of this book we must say that we shall discuss them according to the orders mentioned in the following chapters, arranged or classified neither by a strict chronological order nor by a geographical position as they were discovered, but rather by a relation which these Nestorian relics or remnants bear to the history of the Nestorian Church in China. We shall, therefore, dwell on at length in the first two or three chapters the remnants of the Nestorian Church still existing in China, as these facts have not been recognised fully by the scholars at home and abroad. We shall, for instance, discuss the Nestorian monastery in Chou-chih, a town in the District not far from Hsian, where we can see, as the Chinese friends of ours did a few years ago, at present an old Tower once belonged to the Nestorian monastery mentioned in the Nestorian Inscription as "the Nestorian monastery at Wu-chün." Then we shall call the reader's attention to the mysterious refrains found in the Complete Work of Lü yen, the founder of a new Taoist sect, who lived very close to the Nestorian monastery at Wu-chün, in Chou-chih, because these are Nestorian relics in a wide sense.

In the remaining chapters we shall speak about the Nestorian relics in a narrow sense. First of all, we shall

take up those Nestorian tomb-stones discovered in Semirijechesk or Semirechensk and those paintings discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun-huang in 1908 and those by Dr. Le Coq and Prof. Grünwedel at Turfan in the year 1905, besides the Inscription of a Persian Prince by the name of Abraham who died in China in the seventh century. After these we shall have to make close observations on the Mongolian Inscription which contains the word Yeh-li-k'o-wên or "Nestorian Christian" as well as the words used in the beginning of the Imperial decree: "By the Power of the Eternal God and by the Protection of the Great Felicity." Then we shall come to the Nestorian remnants and mementoes discovered in the Ordos District and its neighbourhood either in form of a human race or in those forms of marbles and metals bearing the Nestorian crosses and some other symbols.

And then we shall discuss the Nestorian relics at Peking and its neighbourhood in order to trace, if possible, the old site where a Nestorian church possibly stood in old days gone by. From Peking we shall go down to the South and shall search for the Nestorian relics in Fukien and other places. And again, we shall come back to the North and shall trace the Nestorian foot prints left on the sands of time throughout the wild of Manchuria or Manchukuo otherwise than the Nestorian relics in the form of the Syriac alphabets to be discovered in the Manchu writings which are nothing but the greatest Nestorian relics of all, and finally we shall discuss the Nestorian relics in Japan, which came from China, and which were hitherto altogether ignored even by the Japanese scholars devoted to the study of the history of Japan. So our order of discussion regarding



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the Nestorian relics shall begin with those in a wide sense ending in those in a narrow sense of the word.

But before we enter into the discussion of the Nestorian relics we have to introduce the reader to the Chronological Chart we have made for the purpose of showing the decline and fall of the Nestorian churches all over the East and to the four maps we have also attached here. The first map will show us what may be called by the historians "the Land Bridges" or the Overland Communication Routes between China and Europe existing from time immemorial, over which the eastward movement of the Early Christianity took place. The Nestorian missionaries and merchants as well as Nestorian mercenaries in the service of the Chinese Rulers came over to China merely following the wake. The second map will show us the overland routes passed on by those famous travellers both European and Chinese in the Middle ages either in coming to, or going away from, the Far East. For instance, Zemarchus, Probus and Marco Polo as well as the two Chinese Nestorian monks—Sauma and Mark sent by the Emperor Khublai Khan for gathering the informations concerning the things then taking place in the Western Lands. The third map will show us the distribution of the Nestorian churches together with that of other Churches of the Orthodox Faith in the East. The fourth map will show us the localities in China where the Nestorian churches once existed as proved by the relics found there or by the historical records preserved somewhere else.

With regard to our Chronological Chart we must say we have given the names of Bishoprics, Archbishoprics and Patriarchates together with Chinese names in case

where such names were known to the contemporary Chinese authors on one hand, but we carefully avoid to coin the Chinese words for those names for which we could not find the Chinese names in the Chinese books on the other. We left those names vacant in the Chart. Regarding the fact that the Chart has the beginning of the 5th century for the date of the beginning of the Nestorian Church, we have to confess that it is not, strictly speaking, perfectly correct since the Nestorian schism only began in 428 A. D. But owing to the fact that these churches in the Chart began as we marked and then afterward turned to the Nestorian faith when the schism arose and became rampant. They may, therefore, be called rightly "Nestorian" *post de facto*. So we treated these churches as Nestorian and marked their dates as we have done.

Lastly we must not forget to acknowledge very useful information and various hints we got from the following books and maps, and we express our hearty thanks to the authors and publishers.

Joseph Assemanus: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. 4 vols.
1719—25.

Le Quien: *Oriens Christianus*. 3 vols. 1740.

Sir Henry Yule and Cordier: *Cathay and the Way thither*. 3 vols. 1915—19.

E. Sachau: *Chronik von Arbela*. 1915.

E. Sachau: *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien*.
1919.

J. B. Chabot: *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits: Synodicon Orientale*. 1902.

G. P. Badger: *The Nestorians and their Rituals*. 1852.

A. Sahel Grant: *The Nestorians*. 1841.

Map showing the routes between China and Europe passed
by the Roman travellers during the T'ang Dynasty.

MAP II



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- A. Mingana: *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East*. 1925.
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- Paul Pelliot: *Various useful articles in the T'oung Pao*.

CHAPTER I

THE REMNANTS OF THE NESTORIAN MONASTERY TO BE SEEN TO-DAY IN CHOU-CHIH

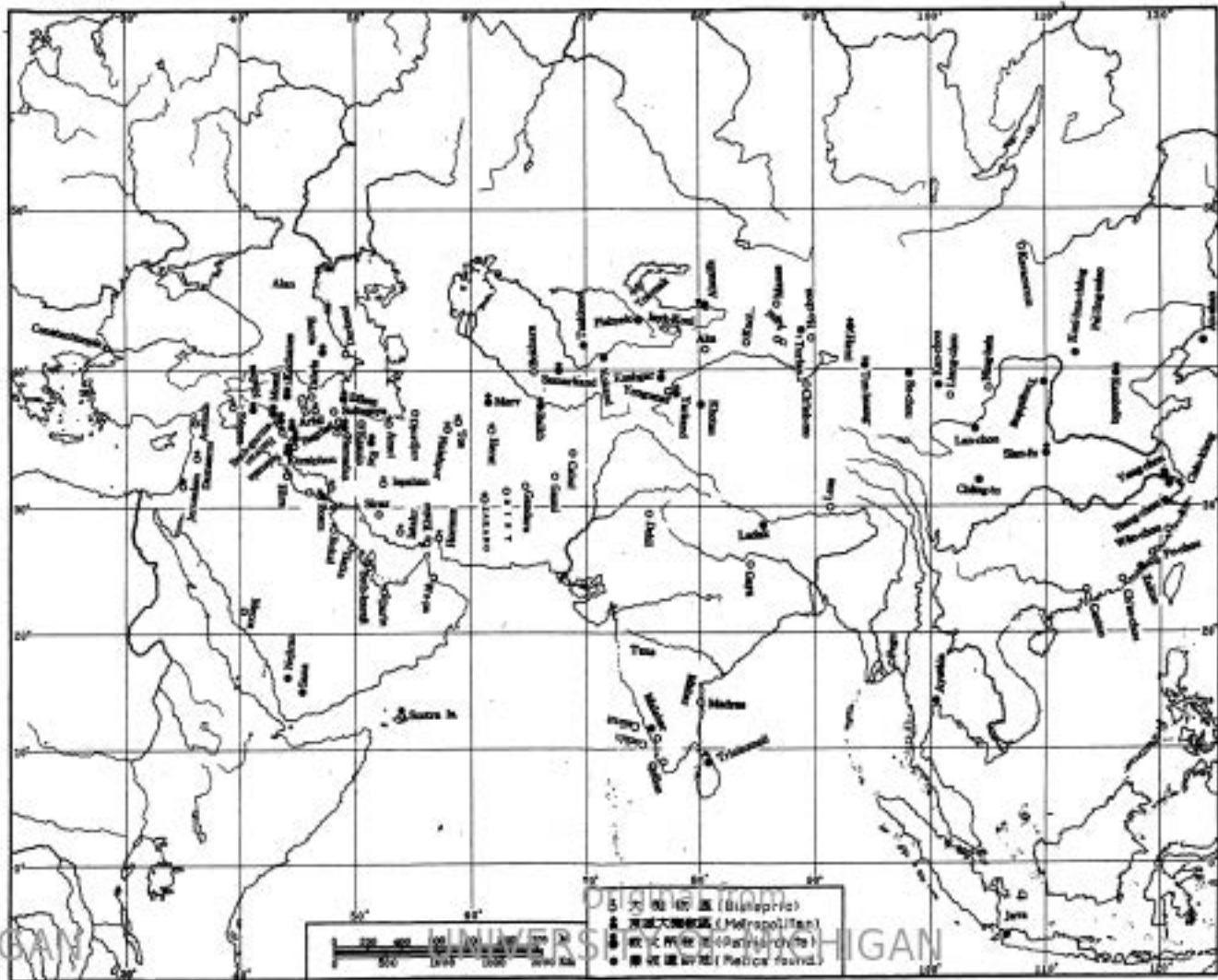
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It may not be too much to say that the Nestorian monument and the Nestorian monastery still existing in China are no doubt the most important relics of all the remarkable things left behind by the Nestorians in China. But about the famous Nestorian monument and its Inscription we have already discussed in the Part I of this book. So here we shall only speak about the Nestorian monastery still existing at Wu-chün, in Chou-chih, not far from Hsian. It exists to-day not as a Nestorian but as a Taoist Temple, with the name of Ta-ch'in-ssü, the once sacred name of the Nestorian Church in China during the T'ang Dynasty. The following article which was published in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1936 may serve to prove the existence of the Nestorian monastery at Wu-chün, whilst it will show us that the famous Nestorian Stone must have been unearthed somewhere near the Nestorian monastery at Wu-chün. We will quote from the Journal:—

Needless to say, it is now more than three hundred years since the Nestorian Monument in China became known to the world. Ever since the Latin translation of the Inscription by Father Nicholas Trigault (金尼閣) was published in 1625 A. D., for the first time, a great deal has been done in the West in way of the criticism or of the elucidation of this unique Christian Monument. And

MAP III

Map showing the Distribution of the Nestorian Churches.



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MAP IV
 Map showing the Places in China, Mongolia and Manchuria where the Nestorian people lived.



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Fig. 1 The Old map showing the Ta-ch'in monastery.

really the names of books written during last three centuries about this Nestorian Stone might well be said to be "a legion." Out of the multitude of these numberless books and booklets written abroad, Dr. Heller made a selected list of 75 books on the Monument together with a list of several translations of the Inscription itself, and added them to the front of his well known book called "Das Nestorianische Denkmal in Singan Fu" in 1895. Now, such a list of the Nestorian literature alone may show how keen the Western world has been by the end of the 19th century on the subject of Christianity in China. But a mere fact that more than a dozen books have already been published after Dr. Heller's time or rather in the first three decades of the present century, besides almost innumerable essays and dissertations, great or small, written on the subject at home and abroad, will show us that the problem of Nestorianism in China belongs to the future.

But there may be some who think that enough has been done about the Nestorian Monument by great scholars at home and abroad and they even may blame us for our bothering the reader by 'adding extra feet to the centipede' as we say in the Far East. It must, however, be confessed that there remains much to be done with regard to the external and internal problems of the Nestorian Monument. Even after a very exhaustive work on the subject has been published, for instance, by such a great scholar as Father Henri Havret in his "La Stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-Fou" (1895, 1897, 1902), there still remains not a little to be said concerning either the Chinese expressions or the Syriac phrases and words in the Inscription, not to say the 74 names of the Nestorian bishops and presbyters and deacons written both in Syriac and in Chinese, which alone will prove to be almost a unique and an invaluable material for those who want to make a study on the vocal sound of the Chinese letters in the Middle Ages.

We shall, however, confine ourselves here to the external problems of the Monument only since all these internal problems have already been discussed (in Chapter I of Part I.) Furthermore, the external problems concerning the place where the Monument was originally discovered or the time when it was unearthed for the first time are rather burning questions of the day, so to speak, ever since these problems were rekindled by Prof. Paul Pelliot in 1914 for the first time and seconded and followed by the late Prof. Kuwabara in 1923. We shall, therefore, take up here these problems of the time and the place of the discovery of the Nestorian Stone, and its transportation to Hsian-fu, etc.

HOW THESE EXTERNAL PROBLEMS
STAND AT PRESENT

Now roughly speaking, there are so far three different places and three different dates suggested regarding the discovery of the Nestorian Stone. According to the first theory, it is said that the Monument was originally discovered in the District of Chou-chih (整屋縣), not in Hsian-fu (西安府). But, according to the second theory, it is insisted that the Stone must have been discovered in Hsian-fu, not in Chou-chih; whilst the third theory solemnly declares that the Stone was dug out at a certain place in Kuan-chung (關中) which means literally "within the (four) forts" defending Hsian-fu, the ancient capital of China. And, of course, both Hsian-fu and Chou-chih are included in the expression "within the four forts." And consequently this third theory cannot be treated as an independent theory, and we are only to decide which is in the right, the first theory or the second. But even these two opponent theories are not really so antagonistic as they appear at first, for they may mean in reality the same thing if we see the both sides of the shield well enough, because Chou-chih belonged to Fêng-hsiang-fu (鳳翔府) during the Sung dynasty, when the famous Su Tung-p'ò (蘇東坡) visited the place as we have to show presently, but the same Chou-chih was included within the territorial Division of Hsian-fu during the Ming Dynasty, when the Nestorian Stone was discovered. Such being the case, to say that the Stone was discovered at a certain place in the Western suburb of Hsian-fu may practically mean the same thing as to say that the Stone was discovered in Chou-chih, since Chou-chih, in fact, formed the western part of the territorial

Division of Hsian-fu at the time of its discovery. The only important point to be settled is whether the Stone was originally unearthed in the premises of the Chin-shêng-ssü (金勝寺), where the Stone stood ever since 1625 A. D. till the 2nd of October, 1907 A. D., when it was removed to the Pei-lin (碑林) (literally 'the Forest of monuments,' where many ancient monuments are kept as the National Treasures of China), as insisted by some, or the Stone was first discovered in the District of Chou-chih and then was transported to Hsian-fu afterward as maintained by others.

As far as the question of the place of discovery is concerned, we shall have only to decide whether the Stone was found in the District of Chou-chih or no, on the strength of newly discovered facts. But with regard to the time of discovery, we must remember that there are three theories. One theory says that the Stone was discovered in 1623 A. D., but another theory declares that the discovery took place in 1625 A. D., not in 1623 A. D., whilst a third theory insists that the date of the discovery of the Stone belongs to a certain period of Wan-li years (萬曆) (1573—1620 A. D.). So here we are to decide which of these three dates is right. Was it in or about 1620 A. D., that the stone was discovered as suggested by the third theory or was it discovered in 1623 as insisted by the first theory, or did the discovery take place in 1625 A. D., as commonly believed?

THE PROS AND CONS EXPRESSED

Of these three theories concerning the date and the two theories of the place, it was our humble opinion that the Nestorian Monument was originally discovered in Chou-chih and then transported to Hsian-fu as testified by

Father Trigault in 1625 A. D. And now we must say we found some facts to substantiate our theory concerning the place of the discovery, whilst these new facts may also ensure the credibility of 1623 A. D., against 1625 A. D., as the date of the discovery. In other words, we now have come to believe more than ever that the discovery of the Stone took place in the District of Chou-chih while the town of Chou-chih was under the administration of the District Governor Liang K'o-shun (梁克順), whose terms of office over Chou-chih covered between the Spring of 1620 A. D. and that of 1623 A. D., whilst the transportation of the Stone from Chou-chih to Hsian-fu most probably took place sometime afterward when Governor Liang was promoted to the higher post, and made a member of the Censorate (御史) and came to reside in Hsian-fu in the Autumn of 1623 A. D. And what proofs we produce here, we hope and trust, will serve as evidences to substantiate what we say.

We are told, however, that we are in the wrong, and that the Stone was originally unearthed in Hsian-fu, not in Chou-chih, by those who hold the second theory we mentioned above. They say that whatever is, in a sense, is discovered right there! The following may well be called the representative of the second theory. For instance, Prof. Pelliot says: 'Enfin je tâcherai d'établir deux théories qui n'ont guère été envisagées jusqu'à présent: 1° L'inscription n'a pas dû être retrouvée à Tcheou-tche, mais dans le faubourg occidental de Si-ngan-fou, là même où elle se dressait encore il y a quelques années, c'est-à-dire en fait sur l'emplacement qu'elle avait toujours occupé, dans l'enciente même du monastère fondé au VIIe siècle par A-lo-pên. 2° L'inscription n'est

à aucun degré un monument funéraire; elle a été érigée à l'occasion d'une de ces réunions annuelles qui se faisaient aux frais d'un nestorien de haut rang, le prêtre Yi-sseu, dont l'éloge occupe toute la dernière partie du texte chinois avant le morceau versifié.' (The T'oung Pao, vol. XV, 1914, p. 625). Thus, according to the great professor, the Nestorian Stone must have been dug out at a spot not far from the place where the Stone stood from 1625 A. D. until 1907 when the Stone was removed to the Pei-lin for the protection and preservation.

Apart from what Prof. Pelliot expressed in 1914, the late Professor Kuwabara also expressed himself very much against the Chou-chih theory in 1923. The following are the gist of what Dr. Kuwabara said, if we translated his words correctly. He says: 'Regarding the place where the Nestorian Monument was discovered we hear that it was originally unearthed at a certain place in Chou-chih. And this story was handed down to us from Father Trigault who happened to be the first eyewitness of the Monument among the Europeans in China. And when Father Bartoli published his book 'China' in 1633, he also mentioned Chou-chih as the place where the Stone was originally found. Consequently many have come to think that Chou-chih was the place of the discovery. Not many years ago, Father Havret published his very thorough-going scholarly book—*La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, and in it he supported this view, and this view is also followed by Mr. A. C. Moule of England and Mr. Saeki of Japan. But I am afraid very much that this Chou-chih theory cannot be substantiated by any means whatever from the following reasons:

(1) That the Persian priest, Adam, whose Chinese

name was Ching-ching (景淨) is mentioned in the Inscription as the priest of the Ta-ch'in Temple (i. e., the Nestorian Monastery). He, therefore, must have been in the very temple built in 638 A. D., by the orders of the Emperor T'ai-tsung at the I-ning Ward (義寧坊) in the city of Ch'angan as mentioned in the Inscription. If such be the case, we must conclude that the Monument must have been originally set up within the premises of the Ta-ch'in Temple of Ch'angan in 781 A. D. The Nestorian Monument, therefore, could not have been unearthed at any place in the District of Chou-chih.

(2) That we so far never heard that there was any other Ta-ch'in Temple built anywhere within the District of Chou-chih. Consequently this Monument in question could not have been discovered in Chou-chih.

(3) That we cannot even suppose for a mere supposition's sake that this Nestorian Stone, which as we believe was originally set up at Ch'angan, was removed to Chou-chih at any period of time. We cannot even dream such a thing. Nor can we find any trace of a fact giving us a slightest indication to indulge in such a supposition.

(4) That both Chang Kêng-yü (張賡虞), a Chinaman who sent the rubbing of the Inscription to Dr. Leon Li (李志藻) and Father Alvarez Semedo who was the second European eye-witness of the Stone examining it in 1628 A. D., say to the effect that the stone was unearthed *near the western suburb of Ch'angan*. On the contrary, both Semedo and Chang do not leave any testimonials to the effect that the stone was dug out at Chou-chih and transported to Hsian-fu.

(5) That the fact that the present site, which the Chin-

shêng-ssŭ (金勝寺) occupies and within whose premises the Nestorian Monument stood from 1625 A. D. until 1907, exactly corresponds to the old site of the I-ning Ward of Ch'angan, where the first Nestorian Monastery was built in 638 A. D., is more than accidental, for such a fact only can be attested by modern scholars who devoted their time in that line. I cannot, therefore, imagine the Chinese mandarins of the Ming Dynasty could accidentally hit the marks so well in the alleged transportation of the Monument from Chou-chih to Hsian-fu.

(6) It is, therefore, impossible to imagine that the Stone was discovered originally in Chou-chih, and then transported to Hsian-fu afterward.'

Such are the gist of the strong statements made by the late Prof. Kuwabara against the theory that the Nestorian Monument was originally dug out from a certain place within the District of Chou-chih and then transported to Hsian-fu.

A NEW LIGHT THROWN ON THESE DARK POINTS

Thus we are in for it! and we have to defend ourselves against the imputation of fault loaded upon us. But if we are to prove positively that there existed a Ta-ch'in Temple (大秦寺) (i. e., A. Nestorian Monastery) in Chou-chih quite contrary to the expectation of many scholars and that very Ta-ch'in Temple does still exist in Chou-chih to-day, we are sure that we can take off the stings of all our opponents and will nullify various points put forward against us by the great Japanese professor. So we have to prove, first of all, that there was a Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih, and in the second place, we have to produce as much evidence as we can to prove the fact that the digging of the ground (官命

啓士) as mentioned by Father Diaz for the purpose of constructing canals or systems of irrigation of the District of Chou-chih was actually ordered by a mandarin by the name of Liang K'o-shun (梁克順) between 1620 and 1623 A. D., during his governorship over the District of Chou-chih. If we can prove these points, then we may well say that the transportation of the Nestorian Monument, very heavy as it is, took place afterward, as we are told by Father Trigault and Father Bartoli, when Governor Liang was promoted to the honourable post of a Censor and came to reside in Hsian-fu in 1623 A. D. We are bound, therefore, to set before the reader various facts to prove all these points. The following facts will speak volumes to any who has so far paid some attention to the problems.

First of all, we must quote from the writings of the famous Su Tung-p'ò (蘇東坡) who visited this very Nestorian Monastery in 1062 A. D. and 1065 A. D. According to Su Tung-p'ò's writings, this famous man of letters visited the Ta-ch'in Temple twice during the year 1062 A. D. —once in February and another time in November of the same year. But his third visit to the Nestorian Monastery took place sometime in 1065 A. D., as proved by poems composed by him and his younger brother Su Tzŭ-yu (蘇子由), another famous man of letters. The following poems we have translated will prove to the whole world that there was a "Ta-ch'in Temple" in Chou-chih apart from that famous "Ta-ch'in Temple" which was built in the I-ning Ward of Ch'angan in 638 A. D. We will begin with the great writer's introductory remarks to his poems. He says: 'In February of 1062 A. D., the Imperial Edict was promulgated and all the prefectual

officials were ordered to visit each local district concerned in order to make inspections so that the gracious will of the Emperor may well be administered and realized regarding the matter either in the pardon of those prisoners who were to be set free or in the mitigation of penalty of those who were to be kept in prison. Therefore, on the 13th of February, we left the District House for the country districts assigned to us on the official tour visiting the four districts of Pao-chi (寶鷄) Kao (虢), Mei (郿) and Chou-chih (整屋). After all our official duty was discharged well, we proceeded to pay a visit to the T'ai-p'ing Shrine (太平宮) early in the morning, and thence we walked on and on until we reached 'the Valley of the South Mountain' and came to rest ourselves at a place called 'the South Ravine.' There we found a villa standing by the stream and there we decided to stop over that night. The next morning we started to stroll on westward along the paths of the South Mountain. We first came to the Lao-tzū Temple (樓觀) and the Ta-ch'in-ssū (大秦寺) (i. e., The Nestorian Monastery) and the Life-prolong Temple (延生觀) and then to the Lake of Immortality (仙游潭). Finally, on the 19th of the month, we got back to the District House safe and sound at length. Composing a long poem consisting of 100 verses, I sketched out what happened during our most pleasant official tour and very happy excursion, I presented the same to my younger brother Tzū-yu" (壬寅二月(嘉祐七年)有詔。令郡吏分往屬縣減決囚禁。自十三日受命出府至寶鷄虢郿整屋四縣。既畢事因朝謁太平宮而宿於南谿谿堂。遂並南山而西至樓觀大秦寺延生觀仙游潭十九日乃歸。作詩五百言以記凡所經歷者寄子由。)

This poem of which we read in his Complete Works

consisted of 100 verses—each verse containing five words—is too long and too difficult a task to be rendered into the English verse for the present, whilst the poem itself contains almost no words directly concerning the Ta-ch'in Temple except that, only in one of the footnotes added by Su Tung-p'o himself, the reference was made to the Ta-ch'in Temple. This note we translated here as it is more necessary to our present purpose than the long poem itself. The great writer's note runs as follows:

“We visited (on the 17th of February) the Ta-ch'in Temple accompanied by Chang Kao-chih (張杲之) and there we took our repast with all who were with us in the Temple. A Taoist priest by the name of Chao Tsung-yu (趙宗有) who had joined our party from the T'ai-p'ing Shrine (太平宮) happened to have carried a musical instrument called ch'in (琴) with him, and he kindly played a classical tune for us expressing farewell wishes in token of love and good will” (是日(二月十七日)遊崇聖觀。俗所謂樓觀也。乃尹喜舊宅。山脚授經臺尙在。遂與張杲之同至大秦寺。早食而別。有太平宮道士趙宗有。抱琴見送至寺。作鹿鳴之引乃去。)

Again, on the 3rd of November, 1062, Su Tung-p'o made a rambling tour over the same place for the second time. This time he visited the Ta-ch'in Temple and Wu-chün (五郡). He writes: “Starting from Ching-p'ing-chên (清平鎮) we made our rambling tour for four days visiting the Lao-tzŭ Temple (樓觀), and Wu-chün (五郡) (lit., five prefectures) and the Ta-ch'in Temple (大秦) and the Life-prolong Temple (延生) and the Lake of Immortality (仙游). I composed several poems sketching out our pleasure excursion and showed them all to my

younger brother Tzū-yu soliciting him to compose his own poems about the same thing adopting the rhyme I used in mine." (自清平鎮遊樓觀五郡大秦延生仙游。往返四日。得詩寄子由同作。)

Su Tung-p'o's own poem on the Ta-ch'in Temple (i. e., the Nestorian Monastery) at Chou-chih runs as follows:

On the Ta-ch'in Temple

1. How bright, how vast, how smooth the Rivers flow
From out the feet of the green clad hills, below!
2. Behold yon tower, through the distance, dim,
Lonely, outstanding 'gainst the mountain grim!
3. Onward I wander through this sheltered place,
When, sudden, from below, upon my face,
I feel the wind, and startled would retrace!
4. When glancing downward, there lay field and farm
Like some grand Ocean, spacious, gentle, calm
And Eastward flowing rivers, breathing charm.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 大 | 秦 | 寺 | |
| | | 蘇 | 東 | 坡 |
| 晃 | 蕩 | 平 | 川 | 盡 |
| 坡 | 陔 | 翠 | 麓 | 橫 |
| 忽 | 逢 | 孤 | 塔 | 廻 |
| 獨 | 向 | 亂 | 山 | 明 |
| 信 | 足 | 幽 | 尋 | 遠 |
| 臨 | 風 | 却 | 立 | 驚 |
| 原 | 田 | 浩 | 如 | 海 |
| 滾 | 滾 | 盡 | 東 | 傾 |

Whilst that of Su Tzū-yu may be translated as follows:

On the Ta-ch'in Temple

1. Though far away from where it stands
Of the Ta-ch'in Shrine I sing
For when I was high on the temple lands
My thoughts, with the stream took wing,
To lands afar where my visions are,
Where flows our river Ch'in.
2. Deep and dark are the glens and dales
Covered with flowers and trees,
Cattle are scattered through field and vales
Grazing at peaceful ease.
3. On the mountain side where the temple stands
Is ground for the barley grain,
But never a priest there understands
Dhyana—or seeks to attain.
4. I turn to the North—to the distant view,
Ch'angan with its lofty wall,
The Mother City in mystery hue—
Greater, grandeur than all,
Floats in the haze before my gaze,
Yet stands a great castle of yore!

聞子瞻重遊南山大秦寺

蘇子由

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 大 | 秦 | 遙 | 可 | 說 |
| 高 | 處 | 見 | 秦 | 川 |
| 草 | 木 | 埋 | 深 | 谷 |
| 牛 | 羊 | 散 | 晚 | 田 |
| 山 | 平 | 堪 | 種 | 麥 |

僧 魯 不 求 禪
北 望 長 安 市
高 城 遠 似 烟

These poems alone will prove beyond any doubt to the candid mind that there existed a "Ta-ch'in Temple" (i. e., a Nestorian monastery) at Chou-chih in the 11th century, quite different one from that Ta-ch'in Temple built at the I-ning Ward, Hsian-fu, in 638 A. D., by the Imperial orders as mentioned in the Nestorian Inscription. These poems also prove that this Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih was situated at a certain place on the South Mountain side lying in the distance of 120 or 130 *li* south-west of Ch'angan, but 30 or 35 *li* south-east from the District House of Chou-chih according to the Topographical Description of Chou-chih (整屋縣志).

Now, judging from Tzū-yu's words, "Never a priest there understands Dhyana—or seeks to attain," we may conclude that the traces of the Chinese Nestorian Church were entirely lost among the natives in the course of 280 years—between 781 A. D., when the Nestorian Monument was set up by Lord Yazedbouzid, the great donator of the Nestorian Church in China, and 1062 A. D., when this Nestorian Monastery was visited by the famous Su Tung-p'ò — since both Su Tung-p'ò and his younger brother as well as all their friends, the Taoist priests, must have taken this "Ta-ch'in Temple" for either a Buddhist or Taoist temple. They never could have dreamed that this temple in which they took their repast and the very temple whose priests were so ignorant about Dhyana, had once been a Nestorian Monastery. Such a fact alone is enough to show that all the traces

of the Nestorian Christianity were completely lost in China by the end of the 10th century, even among the learned and the well-informed classes of the people and agrees perfectly with what is reported to us from the foreign sources, as we read in the historian an-Nadim, that Nestorian Christianity had quite died out in China by the end of the 10th century—987 A. D. He writes: "What the monk of Najran told me who came from the land of China in the year A. H. 377 (987 A. D.). Now this man of the people of Najran had been dispatched some seven years before this date by the Catholicus to the Land of China, there being sent with him five other men of the Christians, of those whose business it is to attend to the affairs of religion. He said in conclusion that the Christians who had been of old in the Lands of China were now disappeared, and that their possessions had perished, so that in the whole land hardly one Christian now remained alive; though in ancient times the Christians there had a church, this also now in ruins" (Fihrist, p. 349, quoted by G. Le-Strange in "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," p. 213)

And again, it is no wonder, therefore, that the famous Taoist scholar, Chia Shang-hsiang (賈善翔), who compiled the Life of Lao-tzū (猶龍傳) during the reign of the Emperor Chê-tsung (1086—1110 A. D.), should classify the remnants of the Chinese Nestorians among the ninety-eight kinds of heretical cults or religions then known to the Taoists. He named it "The Messiah heretics" (彌施訶外道), and put it in the 49th of the ninety-eight heretical cults or religions prevailing in the eighty-one countries around Liu-sha and its neighbourhood. (猶龍傳

卷四. 流沙化八十一國九十六種外道)

Furthermore, we find that in the year 1200 A. D., General Yang Yüng-i (楊雲翼) happened to visit this Ta-ch'in Temple at Chou-chih as is seen from a poem composed by him. But at that time all the traces of Christianity were lost not only among the Chinese people of the Han race (漢人種) but even among the Chinese Turks whose ancestors were the Nestorians three or four generations back. The General's poem on the Ta-ch'in Temple at Chou-chih may well be translated;

On the Ta-ch'in Temple

- 1 The temple is in ruins—he who laid
Its firm foundation laboured but in vain.
- 2 No longer do the pious folk invade
Its courts; now only peace and quiet reign.
- 3 The soft green moss has mantled every tile
To rob the luster of its delicate green.
- 4 But still against the hill, the slender pile
Stands dazzling white in golden rays of even.
- 5 Over the valley hang the passing clouds
A few lone birds go winging on their way,
- 6 Towards their mountain home; the dusk beshrouds
The land; the smoke climbs upward silver grey.
- 7 Those days have gone in dust; my dream is over,
Now I may muse on waters clear and pure.

大 秦 寺
楊 雲 翼

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 寺 | 廢 | 基 | 空 | 在 |
| 人 | 歸 | 地 | 自 | 閒 |
| 綠 | 苔 | 昏 | 碧 | 瓦 |
| 白 | 塔 | 映 | 青 | 山 |
| 暗 | 谷 | 行 | 雲 | 度 |
| 蒼 | 煙 | 獨 | 鳥 | 還 |
| 喚 | 回 | 塵 | 土 | 夢 |
| 聊 | 此 | 弄 | 澄 | 灣 |

This poem by General Yang, short as it is, describes sufficiently in what state the old Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih was nearly 140 years after the time of Su Tung-p'o, endorsing still more fully the words of the monk of Najran as mentioned above. Yet at the same time these poems show us clearly that there was a 'Nestorian Monastery' at Chou-chih.

But those who do not accept the Chou-chih theory regarding the place of the discovery of the Nestorian Stone may say: "Yes, these poems prove beyond any doubt that there was a Ta-ch'in Temple at Chou-chih apart from the one at the I-ning Ward, Hsian-fu, but nothing more. These poems do not prove in any way the fact that either the Nestorian Stone was originally set up at Chou-chih or the Stone was unearthed from Chou-chih. Nor do they prove the Stone was transported to Hsian-fu."

THE WORD WU-CHÜN (五郡) THE PROPER NOUN OF A PLACE
WHERE A NESTORIAN MONASTERY STOOD.

Such being the case, our next burden of proof is to show the fact that this Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih, as far as we can know, existed at a place called Wu-chün in the District of Chou-chih previous to 756

A. D. It existed more than twenty-five years at least before the Nestorian Monument was set up in 781 A. D. In proof of this we must call the reader's attention to what is written in the Inscription: "The Emperor Su-tsung, Accomplished and Enlightened, rebuilt a Monastery of the Luminous Religion (i. e., a Nestorian Monastery) at Ling-wu as well as at Wu-chün." (肅宗文明皇帝於靈武等五郡重立景寺). And this Wu-chün was and is located in the District of Chou-chih, and at the adjacent site of Wu-chün there stood the Ta-ch'in Temple which was visited by Su Tung-p'o and General Yang as we have seen. Judging from the force of expression used in the Inscription, the Nestorian Monastery at Wu-chün seems to have preceded to that of Ling-wu in rank and in grandeur since the Nestorian Monastery at Wu-chün served the model to that which was to be rebuilt at Ling-wu in commemoration of the Enthronization of the Emperor Su-tsung which took place at Ling-wu in July, 756 A. D.

But it must be confessed that we once translated the Chinese sentences in question: "The Emperor Su-tsung, Accomplished and Enlightened, rebuilt the Monasteries of the Luminous Religion in Ling-wu and four other countries" (lit., five countries including Ling-wu). We now discover that the word 'Wu-chün,' which we translated 'Ling-wu and four other countries' is not a common noun but it is a proper noun of a place in Chou-chih where the Nestorian Monastery stood early in the 8th century. To our great surprise, we find that the words Wu-chün (五郡) and Ta-ch'in (大秦) are two names for one and the same thing. Only in the former expression the name of the place is emphasized, whilst in the latter expression the name of the temple is emphasized. The

Ta-ch'in Temple stood once only half a mile apart from the old site of Wu-chün. The following are the poems composed by Su Tung-p'ò and others on Wu-chün (五郡) which show that in 1065 A. D. the place was still known by that name.

The Monastery at Wu-chün.

- 1 Over-shadowed by forests of cedar
 Stands the ancient monastic fane.
 On precipice height, the guardian of light,
 Looking over the fertile plain.
- 2 And often, with labouring footsteps,
 From the villages far below,
 Come the peasants to draw the waters that pour
 From Springs and the windswept snow.
- 3 Some are rivers that roll on grandly,
 Some are streamlets that dally in play.
 Yet great and small, they one and all
 Flow North till they join the Wei
- 4 Ye birds on the wing! Have you been sent forth
 To meet these snow-born rivers?
 For ye seem not to fly in the Southern sky
 Past the hills where the sun-light quivers.
- 5 See the Taoist priests, in their priestly robes
 As their vows they solemnly render!
 No wit less grand than they who stand
 In the blaze of Imperial Splendour.
- 6 The peasants who dwell below the height
 The incense of joy are burning;
 For they sought a boon,—and the silk cocoon
 Of the Spring will be rich in earning.
- 7 But in my mind is a thought, O priest!

Can your teacher now unfold
What is really meant by the Law once sent
To that wondrous Sage of old?
8 To the Mountain Spirits, the darkest things
May be as clear as noon;
Yet they'll never divine the mystery benign
Imparted to Lao-tan!

五 郡
蘇 東 坡

古 觀 正 依 林 麓 斷
居 民 來 就 水 泉 甘
亂 溪 赴 渭 爭 趨 北
飛 鳥 迎 山 不 復 南
羽 客 衣 冠 朝 上 象
野 人 香 火 祝 春 蠶
汝 師 豈 解 言 符 命
山 鬼 何 知 託 老 聃

Adopting the rhyme to this poem, the younger brother Su Tzū-yu composed the following:

The Monastery at Wu-chün.

- 1 We who come from the Province of Shu,
Can't accept, at once, as true
All that is said of the River Ch'in
By those who favour its waters blue.
- 2 Men, as a rule, in eating cane
Begin from the tip, and later gain
That succulent part where the sweetness lies;
So pleasure is always reached through pain!
- 3 Strolling along by the river's strand,

- I'm forced to think of my own dear land
That lies to the North of the Yangtze River
So sweetly familiar are dust and sand!
- 4 I notice, too, how the bamboos grow,
I see the streamlets, and well I know
How alike they are in that far-off land
To the South, where the Yangtze waters flow,
- 5 The Temple, see through the evening air,
Seems to take the shape of a mountain deer,
Its hind legs rest on the cliff above
As it bends to drink from the water clear.
- 6 In the mulberry groves, the silk worms feed,
While up the vale, the Spring mists speed,
Stealthily wrapping the sacred shrine;
In gossamer veiling the peaks recede.
- 7 And still there stands, as in days of old,
An ancient Priest, with a heart of gold,
Whose smile, as he greets his welcome guests,
Refreshes the sorrowful,—warms the cold!
- 8 And he, thus waiting in sun and rain
To welcome all to this holy fane,
This grey-haired priest is perhaps,—who
knows—
Lao-tan, the great One, —born again!

五 郡

蘇子由

蜀人不信秦川好
食蔗從梢末及甘
當道沙塵類河北
依山水竹似江南
觀形隨阜飲溪鹿

雲氣侵山食葉蠶
獨有道人迎客笑
白髮黃袖豈非聃

To these poems on Wu-chün we may well add another poem by Chang Ching-hsien (張景先) who was a Taoist priest of the T'ai-p'ing Shrine (太平宮) in the latter part of the 11th century. In 1086 A. D., he composed the following poem in which he sings of the old tradition connected with the monastery at Wu-chün, which tradition conveys the idea that the original monastery of Wu-chün was rather unlike an ordinary Buddhist monastery. His poem has a title added to it, "A Thought on the Old Monastery at Wu-chün," and runs as follows:

- 1 From North to South,—From East to West, two lines;
Here, on this spot, they meet, beneath the pines;
Deep is the Truth that from this meeting shines!
- 2 To Brethren five, long years ago, there came
A call; five Heroes answer, each the same:
And henceforth men as brethren all acclaim!
- 3 The provinces, both small and great, are made
At last to unite beneath th'Imperial Shade
Cast by the crimson banner,—unafraid!
- 4 And through these Brethren, this new brotherhood
Of rich and poor will share a wondrous good,
Will be partakers of the Immortals' food!
- 5 For long I mused, with many a loving thought
Of these five Brothers, and the peace they brought
From this, their Monastery, to souls distraught.
- 6 But as, in solitude, I meditate,

I grieve that such no more illuminate
A world in pain. —men are degenerate!

五 郡 懷 古

張 景 先

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 南 | 北 | 與 | 東 | 西 |
| 相 | 逢 | 似 | 有 | 期 |
| 一 | 言 | 生 | 義 | 氣 |
| 四 | 海 | 作 | 連 | 枝 |
| 列 | 郡 | 衣 | 紅 | 錦 |
| 全 | 家 | 茹 | 紫 | 芝 |
| 孤 | 懷 | 本 | 無 | 間 |
| 惆 | 悵 | 不 | 同 | 時 |

THE OLD TRADITION CONCERNING WU-CHÜN.

“In reference to the old tradition in connection with Wu-chün, of which this Taoist priest lauds so much in his poem and of which even to-day the Topographical Books of the District of Chou-chih make much, we may quote what is recorded by Sung Min-ch‘iu (宋敏求) in his book called the “Topographical Notes of Ch‘angan,” published for the first time in 1075 A. D. The author recorded: “Wu-chün, a walled village, is situated in the distance of 30 *li* south-east of the District House of Chou-chih. The wall of Wu-chün is, however, only 3 *li* (i. e., less than a mile and a half) long around. According to an old tradition handed down to us from time immemorial we are told that there came a band of fraternity consisting of five brethren to this spot and settled down. But as for the exact date when the wall was built for the first time nothing is known for certain.” (五郡城在縣東南三十里。周三里。舊說有義兄弟五人。共居此城。不詳建立。)

Very short and scanty as this record of the 11th century is, it is sufficient to prove to any candid minded people that the word "Wu-chün" (五郡) was and is the proper name of a place in the adjacent of which "the Ta-ch'in Temple" of Chou-chih stood and that "the White Tower" of the Ta-ch'in Temple is still standing there this very day.

In our humble opinion the word "Wu-chün" (五郡) which literally means "five prefectures" must originally mean Wu-ch'ün (五羣) which literally means "a company of five" or "a group of five" indicating this old tradition. We believe the word Wu-chün is very unappropriate to designate such a small place as this whilst the word Wu-ch'ün (五羣) is a very appropriate name for this tiny walled village as it signifies the old tradition as well. Be it as may, we read in "the Topographical Book of Chou-chih" (整屋縣志): "The five-peaked Chiu-mu-shan (邱木山) is situated 35 *li* east of the District House of Chou-chih. In the middle of the hill-side forming a table-land of the Tower Valley stands the Ta-ch'in Temple (大秦寺). This Ta-ch'in Temple was repaired in the 4th year of Chien-lung (建隆) (963 A. D.) according to the old monument found by its side. Within the premises of the Temple ground there stands "Ch'en-Hsien-Pa-T'a" (鎮仙寶塔) (lit., "Guarding-Immortals' Treasure Tower"). This Tower is an eight-cornered one, being seventy or eighty feet in the height, and is said to have originally been built by the Imperial orders of the Emperor T'ai-tsung (627-649 A. D.)" (五峯邱木山在縣東三十五里。塔谷山腰有大秦寺。舊碣記宋建隆四年重修。寺內有鎮仙寶塔。高約七八丈。八稜形。相傳爲唐太宗敕建。)

Such facts and traditions will prove beyond any doubt

that there stood a "Ta-ch'in Temple" at the adjacent ground of a place called Wu-chün (五郡) in the District of Chou-chih previous to the time when the Nestorian Monument was set up in 781 A. D. No body knows, however, where the Nestorian Monument was set up in 781 A. D. We only took it for granted that the Monument was set up in the premises of that "Ta-ch'in Temple" which was built in 638 A. D., at the I-ning Ward, because we did not know of any other Ta-ch'in Temple than that. But now we have discovered another Ta-ch'in Temple at Wu-chün in Chou-chih, whilst at a certain place in the District of Chou-chih the Nestorian Monument was unearthed in 1623 A. D., as we have said above. But where was it originally set up? In which of the Nestorian Monasteries mentioned in the Inscription, the Monument was originally set up in 781 A. D.? In order to decide this question we must refer to the Inscription once more.

THE FOUR NESTORIAN MONASTERIES MENTIONED IN
 THE INSCRIPTION IDENTIFIED.

Now, there were four Nestorian Monasteries of note in 781 A. D. As we read in the Inscription: "Still furthermore since the priest I-ssü (伊斯) took refuge in the Luminous Portals, he spent all his income in benevolent deeds. Every year he assembled the priests of the four monasteries to have their reverent services and earnest offerings of prayers for fifty days." (更効景門。依仁施利。每歲集四寺僧徒。虔事精供。備諸五旬). We will try to identify these four Nestorian Monasteries with those in the four different places mentioned in the Inscription itself. First of all there was, no doubt, one Nestorian Monastery at the I-ning Ward (義寧坊) in Hsian-fu, originally built in 638 A. D. This must have existed at the time the

Monument was set up in 781 A. D., although we have not any positive evidence to prove whether the Nestorian Monument was set up there or no. There was another Nestorian Monastery at the Hsiu-shan Ward (修善坊) in Loyang. The Syriac name of Loyang was Sarag(ܣܪܘܓ) as mentioned in the Syriac part of the Inscription. Then, as we read in the Inscription the third Nestorian Monastery was no doubt at Wu-chün (五郡) in Chou-chih, whilst the fourth was rebuilt at Ling-wu (靈武). Let us examine these four Nestorian Monasteries once more. The fact that the Nestorian Monastery was at the Hsiu-shan Ward (修善坊) in Loyang (洛陽) previous to 781 A. D. can be proved in various ways. First of all, it was by the Imperial Edict of 744 A. D., that the two Persian Monasteries, each of which was at the Eastern Capital (Loyang) and the Western Capital (Ch'angan), shall be hereafter called by the name of 'Ta-ch'in Monastery' and all other Persian Monasteries in the country places shall also be made to conform to this rule." (天寶四載敕曰...其兩京波斯寺宜改爲大秦寺。天下諸府郡者亦宜準此。)

This Imperial Edict shows that there was at least one Nestorian Monastery in the Eastern Capital, Loyang. In the second place, the expression in the Syriac part of the Inscription, "Gabriel (業利), priest and archdeacon and head of Church of Kumdan(ܟܘܡܕܢܐ) and Sarag (ܣܪܘܓ)", is now so scholarly proved by Prof. Pelliot (The T'oung Pao, 1928, pp. 91—92) that Sarag is no other than the foreign name for Loyang. Finally, we are told by Hsü Sung (徐松) in his book on the "Two Capital Cities of T'ang" (唐兩京城坊考) that there was a Persian Temple in the Hsiu-shan Ward (次北修善坊波斯胡寺) other than the Zoroastrian or the Manichean Temple. As for

the existence of two other Nestorian Monasteries at Ling-wu and Wu-chün the new translation of the sentences concerned which we mentioned above is sufficient to prove that one Nestorian Temple was at Wu-chün and the other was rebuilt at Ling-wu. Judging from the forces of the expression, "The Emperor Su-tsung. rebuilt a Monastery of the Luminous Religion at Ling-wu as well as (lit., making it equal to) that existed at Wu-chün" conveys the idea, as we said, that the Nestorian Monastery at Wu-chün was much earlier in time and higher in rank and more grandeur in appearance.

Furthermore, as we have mentioned above, the Nestorian Monastery at Wu-chün had an old tradition that it was founded by "a company of five brethren" as well as the tradition that the White Tower of the Ta-ch'in Temple at the adjacent ground to Wu-chün was built by the Imperial orders of the Emperor T'ai-tsung who welcomed the Nestorian Mission in 635 A. D. If such traditions as these should contain any grain of truth in them, it is certain that Wu-chün had a very early connection with the Western Lands and that this White Tower of the Ta-ch'in Temple at Wu-chün must be as old as the first Nestorian Monastery built by the Emperor T'ai-tsung in 638 A. D., if not older. Here we may presume, tentatively as it may be, that the Ta-ch'in Temple at Wu-chün with its White Tower will come, in order of time, next to the Temple built at the I-ning Ward, Hsian-fu, although it will precede to that which was built at Loyang as well as Ling-wu.

CHOU-CHIH IN THE HISTORY OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY.

Now, historically speaking, this place in Chou-chih where a "company of five" settled very early was really

a very important place in the history of the T'ang Dynasty. It was the Rubicon or the Waterloo for Li Yüan (李淵), the founder of the Dynasty. We read in the annals of China, it was at Chou-chih and its neighbouring towns that Li Yüan gained his territorial foothold to march on to the capital in 617 A. D. (資治通鑑隋紀八) (李氏徇整屋武功始平皆下之) and it was in the "Imperial Bamboo Garden" of Chou-chih along the Valley of South Mountain—only a few miles from the place where the Nestorian Monastery stood—that Ho P'an-jen (何潘仁) who is said to have been originally "a Foreign Merchant from the Western Lands" (西域胡商) established himself as "the Chief of a great band of brigands" consisting of more than thirty or forty thousand men. Then, it was also from Chou-chih that Li Shih-min (李世民), better known as the great Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang Dynasty marched on Ch'angan, the capital of China, at the head of one hundred and thirty thousand men rallied together under his banners in the summer of the same year. By the time when the Nestorian Monument was set up in 781 A. D., Chou-chih and its neighbourhood was occupied by the foreign mercenaries consisting of Turks, Mongolians, Uigurs and Persians as well as peoples from various parts of India. These mercenaries who occupied Chou-chih and its neighbourhood were known by the name of "Shên-ts'ê Army" (神策軍) (i. e., "The God-grant-Strategem-Army), as we read in the Annals of China that "in April of 785 A. D. 'the God-grant-Strategem-Army' was very rampant. And the greater part of this Army was out-posted in the Western frontiers of the Capital and stationed here and there along the Imperial domain" (貞元四年夏四月。神策尤盛。

多戍京西。散屯畿甸)

To such official records we may add a quotation from the famous Liu Tsung-yüan (柳宗元) (773—819 A. D.). In one of his writings entitled "On the completion of the new Banquet Hall of Chou-chih (盤屋縣新食堂記)" he wrote in 802 A. D., "since the first outbreak of the Rebellion (i. e., that of General An Lu-shan (安祿山) in 755—756 A. D.) followed by that of General Shih Ssü-ming (史思明) the Western District of the Imperial City became an important strategic point in the defence of the Capital; and Chou-chih was made one of the out-post headquarters of the Imperial Army for twenty-six years" (自兵興以來。西郊捍戎。縣爲壘二十有六年). Such as these will show us clearly Chou-chih was the center of activity for the foreign mercenaries consisting of Nestorian Turks and Uigurs and Persians as well as Buddhist Hindoos more than a quarter of a century.

Furthermore, what Chou-chih is to the Taoist is what Mecca is to the Mohammedans. It is at Chou-chih that the great Temple of Lao-tzŭ stands and the sacred House of Yin Hsi (尹喜) where Lao-tzŭ spoke his last words of instruction still exists besides many other things equally sacred. And Chou-chih was made more sacred and more sanctified than ever since the T'ang Dynasty came in power over millions of China, because Li Yüan (李淵), the founder of the Dynasty, happened to have the same family-name as that of the old Sage or Lao-tzŭ whose "lay" name was Li Tan (李聃), and the Emperors of the T'ang all claimed that they were the descendants of the old Sage and that they were thus more worthy of sovereignty than any other family. And it must be remembered that it was at Chou-chih that the Nestorians in China proper

came to the closest relation or nearest contact with the Taoists, and this fact will account for, to a certain degree, why the Chinese Nestorian writings so far discovered—the Inscription and the other Nestorian documents—carry such strong Taoistic tendency in them.

Still furthermore, it must not be forgotten that Chou-chih was the town that was passed by Alopên at the head of his Nestorian Mission in 635 A. D., as it was passed through afterward by an other Nestorian Mission sent to Ch'angan in 732 A. D., with Bishop Cyriacus (大德僧及烈) at the head of it (冊府元龜九十一卷三頁九頁). Then it must be remembered that it was Chou-chih that the Nestorian Priests passed through when they were driven away from Ch'angan as a result of the Imperial Decree of Prohibition ordered by the Emperor Wu-tsung in 845 A. D. But as we all know, the Nestorian soldiers in the service of the Imperial Army of the T'ang and the Nestorian traders and merchants in China were not forced to leave the country at all, whilst not a few of the Nestorian Missionaries possibly stayed with the Nestorian mercenaries around Chou-chih.

Such being the case, it was no wonder that Chou-chih with its Ta-ch'in Temple and White Tower at the adjacent ground to Wu-chün should have been the real centre of the Nestorian activity over a quarter of a century between 755 A. D.—781 A. D. And it is again very natural that the Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih should have been the centre of "the four Monasteries" mentioned in the Inscription. And who knows that the Nestorian Monument was not originally set up at the Nestorian Monastery in Chou-chih? But what we are chiefly concerned is that the Nestorian Monument was discovered at Chou-chih

in 1623 A. D. Therefore it must have been originally set up somewhere between the town of Chou-chih and Hsian-fu, quite contrary to the theory which simply insists that the Nestorian Monument must have been unearthed not far from the place where it was found standing in 1625 A. D., because it was simply supposed by those who hold such theory that the Monument must have been originally set up at the I-ning Ward in 781 A. D., in spite of the fact that any positive evidence to prove that very point is not found so far!

NEW PROOFS FOR THE OLD TESTIMONIALS

So much with Chou-chih in the history of the T'ang Dynasty as well as the Ta-ch'in Temple and Wu-chün in the District of Chou-chih besides the greatest probability of the Nestorian Monument's being set up somewhere in this centre of the Nestorian life and activity — somewhere there the influence of the Nestorian Priest and General I-ssü was very strong.

Now let us re-examine what the Jesuit Fathers testified. Father Trigault wrote — in pago cheuche decem leucis a metropoli distante lapis repertus est, and Father Bartoli reported also to us that the Monument was discovered in Chou-chih whilst Father Emmanuel Diaz wrote in his Chinese book (是碑也。大明天啓三年。關中官命啓士于敗橋基下獲之。奇文古篆。度越近代。置廓外金城寺中。) "Indeed this Monument was discovered under the foundation of a ruined wall (at a certain place) within the four forts (defending the Capital) while people were digging the ground by the orders of the Government during 1623 A. D." Then, again, both Father Dunyn-Szpot and Father Bartoli testified, as we are told, that the Monument was discovered at Chou-chih and then transported to Hsian-

fu afterward by the orders of a mandarin who was *previously* the District Governor of Chou-chih.

Father Havret quotes the words of Father Dunyn-Szpot on these very important points translating the Latin into the French: "*Le Gouverneur (le préfet) de la ville de Sigan* accourut aussitôt et vénéra par une profonde inclination du corps cette antiquité, qu'il ordonna de transporter à Sigan dans un monastère ou couvent Tao-su (Tao-che) qui s'y trouve: ou l'avait en effet trouvé dans des ruines anciennes, auprès de Cheuche (Tcheou-tche) située à 150 *li* de Sigan." Again, the Father gives a very important quotation from what was written by Father Bartoli regarding the transportation of the Monument to Hsian-fu. He says: "Près de Ceuce (Tcheu-tche) *ou il était gouverneur*"—The monument was discovered "near Choû-chih where he was governor."

Now judging from these testimonials given by the Jesuit Fathers it is plain that the transportation of the Nestorian Monument to Hsian-fu was ordered by "*Le Gouverneur (le préfet) de la ville de Sigan*" who was formerly the District Governor of Chou-chih—"ou il était gouverneur." Now who in the world could be this governor of Hsian-fu—le préfet de la ville de Sigan—who was once the District Governor of Chou-chih? In our opinion this governor in question must have been Liang K'o-shun (梁克順) as we have mentioned in the beginning of this article of ours. "*Le mandarin de Koantchong 關中 ayant donné l'ordre de creuser la terre, on trouva (cette pierre) sous les fondements d'une muraille en ruine.....et on la déposa hors des faubourgs, à l'intérieur du monastère Kin-tch'eng-se (金城寺)*" must correspond to what is written about Liang K'o-shun in the historical

books of China. Above all we read in the "Topographical Book of Chou-chih" (整屋縣志): "Liang K'o-shun (梁克順) whose fancy name or pseudonym was Chuan-i (篆一) was the District Governor of Chou-chih. He was the native of Yen-ling (鄢陵) in the province of Honan. He had only the second degree of licentiate. But he was elder brother to Liang K'o-ts'ung (梁克從), the former District Governor of Chou-chih, and through the great influence of his younger brother, Liang K'o-shun was appointed to the post of District Governor of Chou-chih in the 48th year of Wan-li (萬曆) (1620 A. D.) in spite of the fact that he had only the second degree of licentiate. But he was a man of great ability and proved a very successful magistrate. His decision was fast but fair, whilst his management of affairs was to the purpose. Everything tended to go to wrack and ruin was revived all at once. Among innumerable deeds of great merit he did, however, none can surpass our admiration than the vigorous measures he took in defending his people from robbers and murderers as well as in rescuing the inhabitants from the calamities of all sorts. He had also agriculture encouraged among the inhabitants of the District and gave orders to have many canals opened and many drains built and the roads to be repaired or newly constructed. Thus he improved every facility of the water-supply and every means of the irrigation of the locality, and made his beneficial administration almost immortalized. It is no wonder therefore that he should be made, by the special selection of the Emperor, a member of the Censorate (御史) as soon as his term of office in Chou-chih expired. He wrote a book called "An Outline of the Government of the post-

erior Liang Dynasty.”

“The venerable name of Liang K'o-shun was added to the list of distinguished government officials to be remembered in the daily worship, besides a shrine was dedicated to his name at Ta-chien-shê while he was still alive. Fêng Shao-hsü of Ch'angan composed the Inscription therein describing the meritorious deed of the District Governor of Chou-chih. (梁克順號篆一。河南鄆陵舉人。前令克從兄。由舉人萬曆四十八年任。具雄才政務振肅。剖決如流。廢墜悉舉。其德澤之最深著者。莫如捍寇恤災。勵士勸農而開濬渠通。大興水利。則百世猶賴之。任滿擢御史。著有後梁政略。祀名宦祠邑大監社立生祠。長安馮少墟撰碑記。)

In comparing these Chinese records with those above mentioned quotations from the records kept by the Jesuit Fathers of the 17th century we can not fail to see that they agree in two important points. In the first place, “the digging of the ground carried out by the orders” as recorded by Father Diaz and others exactly corresponds to the very digging of the ground executed in the District of Chou-chih by the orders of Governor Liang during his terms of office which lasted full three years—between the spring of 1620 A. D. and that of 1623 A. D., as far as the time and place of the excavation in question are concerned, whilst in the second place, the transportation of this historic Christian Monument from the District of Chou-chih to Hsian-fu took place after the governor was promoted to the higher post and came to reside at Hsian-fu as a member of the Censorate, who had generally the title of governor honoris causa. And if these points are once established on the proofs of these Chinese writings in black and white then all the Jesuit

Fathers' records bearing testimony regarding the time and place of the discovery of the Nestorian Monument will be accepted with much stronger force than ever, and we shall come to find that even what is reported to be Father Semedo's words often used to prove against the Chou-chih theory — "non loin de laquelle on l'avait trouvé, c'est à dire, pres de Sigan fu, Capitale du la province du Xensi" — would not disagree after all, for what this great Jesuit Father who came and saw and examined the Monument in 1628 A. D., simply says that this Monument was discovered *not far from Hsian-fu*. He does not declare that the Monument was discovered within the City Gate of Hsian-fu or in the premises of the old Taoist Temple where he closely examined the Monument, although Father Semedo's words are very often used otherwise. He never used the words to negate that the Stone was discovered in Chou-chih, one of the Western Districts of Hsian-fu at the time of the discovery.

And in conclusion we only have to say if all these various facts and words we quoted from different authors at home and abroad as well as ancient and modern should help solving the old problems — so far remained unsolved — concerning the time and place of the discovery this unique Christian Monument in China, then our labour, humble and insignificant as it is, may not be in vain and we shall exculpate ourselves from the blame that we have been carrying too much coal to Newcastle.

CHAPTER II

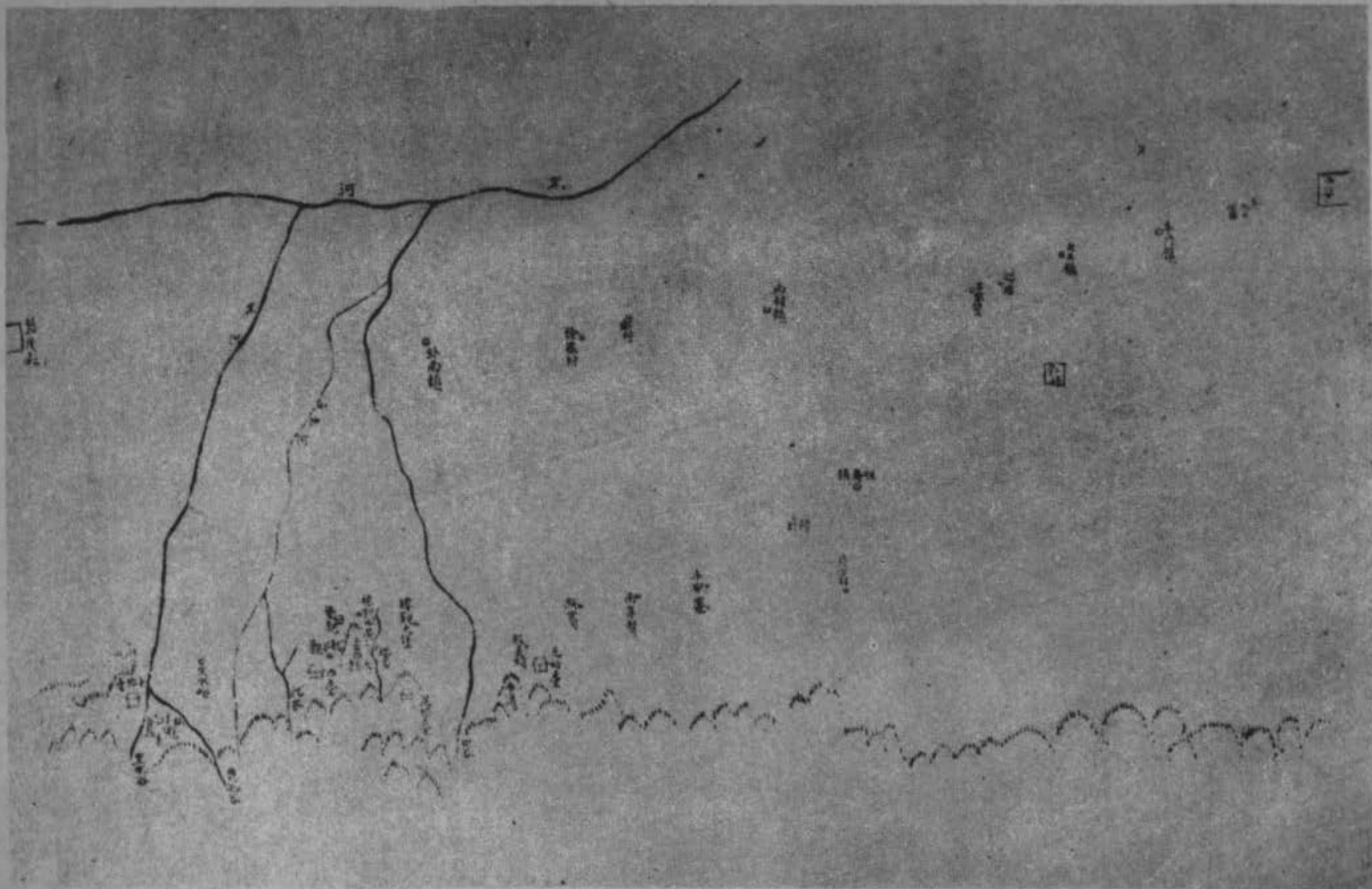
THE ANCIENT NESTORIAN MONASTERY VISITED BY FOUR CHINESE SCHOLARS IN 1933. A. D.

(The following is a summary translation of an account of a trip made to Chou-chih (整屋) by Dr. Hsü Sên-yü (徐森玉) and three other scholars in order to verify what we wrote in Japanese regarding the old site of a Nestorian monastery at Chou-chih in "The Journal of Oriental Studies" (東方學報) published by the Tokyo Institute of the Academy of Oriental Culture in Dec., 1932. One of the party, Prof. Hsiang Ta (向達) wrote the account of their trip and published it in "The Yen-Ching Journal of Chinese Studies" (Monograph Series No. 2) published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Peiping, China, 1933. Needless to say, the party was promoted to make the inquiry trip to Chou-chih by the said Japanese article on the Ta-ch'in monastery at Chou-chih by us and, we are very grateful to these scholars for their accomplishing what we could not. They surely contributed a great deal in verifying what was expressed by us.)


"Chou-chih is on the north of Nan-shan (南山), being 150 *li* in the north-west of Hsian-fu, the capital of Shensi province. The Ta-ch'in-ssü (i. e., the Nestorian Monastery) in question is at Lou-kuan-t'ai (樓觀臺) where the famous temple dedicated to Lao-tzu stands. Our party set out of the West gate of Hsian on the 24th of

Sketch showing the position of the Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih

The District House of Chou-chih



Hsian-fu

The mark  shows the old Tower once belonged to the Nestorian Monastery of Wu-chün at Chou-chih

April, 1933, and made for the south-west and reached Tu-men-chên (斗門鎮) after we had walked 40 *li*. Going on, 20 *li* more from this place we got to Ta-wang-chên (大王鎮) and beyond this place we came to Hu-hsien, (鄠縣), a well known town. Going twenty *li* farther south-west we reached Lao-tien (潑店), a small town situated on the border of the District, as beyond this place we enter the District of Chou-chih (盩厔縣). By going a little southward for 20 *li* more our party came to a small village called Shang-tson (尚村) and walking 20 *li* more southward our party was brought to Hsiu-nan-chên (終南鎮), a good-sized military station in the District of Chou-chih. Going beyond this town we found an almost boundless rice-fields lying on all sides of us which reminded us of the scenery we often saw in the south of the River Yangtzekiang. Through the rice fields runs a large stream across, while a forest of big oaks extends alongside. Lou-kuan-t'ai, the alleged site where the Nestorian Monastery stands, is situated at the end of this oak forest, being some twenty *li* south away from Hsiu-nan-chên.

"Our party were put up for the night at the famous Taoist temple of Lou-kuan-t'ai, which commands, indeed, a most beautiful view over the streams and fields far below. The scenery around this temple is also exceptionally charming. Above all, a most prominent feature of this Lao-tzu temple is a Tower rising up high into the sky at the foot of the hill. Of this tower a great deal has been made by Su Tung-p'o (蘇東坡) and others in their poems.

"Our party wanted to make a thoroughgoing inquiry regarding the two places of importance, viz., Lou-kuan-t'ai

(樓觀臺) and Wu-chun (五郡) mentioned in the Topographical Book of Chou-chih (整屋縣志) which was compiled and published in the Ch'ien-lung Period (1736—1795 A. D.). So our party got up early in the morning and went out of the East side gate of Lou-kuan-t'ai and turned to the West. After a short stop on the way we finally came to a place where the above-mentioned White Tower stands firm and steady as ever. One of our party then produced Mr. Saeki's article referred to it and read it again and incidentally found that there remained by this tower a monastery in ruin, and to our satisfaction we were told that this ruin was the remnant of the Ta-ch'in-ssü (i. e., the Nestorian monastery) of which Mr. Saeki dwelt in his Japanese article on the subject —It was indeed a lucky hit we made! We discovered the tower and the (Nestorian) monastery at last!

“The tower and the monastery in question stood from time immemorial in the same position as Su Tung-p'o (蘇東坡) and others described them in the poems on the Ta-ch'in-ssü (大秦寺) and Wu-chün (五郡). While we were joking at first that this monastery in ruin must be the very monastery referred to in Mr. Saeki's article, a village boy happened to come along and we asked him of the name of the monastery in ruin. And to our pleasing surprise the boy answered “Ta-ch'in-ssü!” (大秦寺) (i. e., the Nestorian monastery). So we started at once, and got into the precinct of the ruined monastery and made a close observation. But we could not find very many things. We only found a bell with the date of the Chêng-t'ung Period of the Ming Dynasty (A. D. 1444) and a monument of the Ch'ien-lung Period (乾隆) (1736—1795 A. D.) besides a broken stone tablet

with the date of the Hsien-fêng Period (1851—1861 A. D.).

“(1) The Iron Bell. This bell was cast in the 9th year of the Chêng-t’ung Period (A. D. 1444). It was originally hung on under the west eave of the main building of the monastery. Only the inscriptions on the north and east sides of the Bell were legible, whilst the other two were illegible. One of the inscriptions gives only a list of persons who contributed the necessary fund needed for the casting of the bell. But the other contains a writing which gives a description of the place, saying “that this place was called the village of Ta-ku (大峪里) in the Yü-hsien section (遇僊鄉) of the District of Chou-chih (整屋縣), Hsian-fu, Shensi Province, and that this monastery was originally built on the spot in accordance with the Imperial order of the Emperor T’ai tsung of the T’ang Dynasty. His State minister Wei Chêng (魏徵) and General Wei-ch’ih Kung (尉遲恭) had the honour to undertake the supervision of the work of building this monastery. During the reign of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung (玄宗), the monastery was destroyed by an earthquake. And it remained a ruined monastery ever since until the time of the Ming Dynasty, when Priest Wu-chin (無盡禪師), the Abbot in charge of the monastery, rebuilt it. The bell, however, could not be got, at the time when the repairing was completed, owing to the deficiency of the fund. So the Abbot determined to have it made afterward, and collected the necessary fund for the purpose by appealing to his disciples and believers in general and finally got the bell cast in 1444 A. D.

“(2) A Commemorative Tablet for Priest Liu Ju-ching. This tablet was set upon the elevated seat which was originally intended for the Throne of Buddha on the

south-eastern side in the Main Hall. It was dedicated to Abbot Liu Ju-ching (劉儒清). He was said to have studied at the village of Ta-ku (大峪里), in Chou-chih of Hsiu-nan-shan (終南山). He was in charge of this monastery called Ta-ch'in-ssü (大秦寺) in Wu-fêng (五峯), Chiu-mu-shan (丘木山). The Abbot was buried in the grave-yard attached to the monastery. This commemorative tablet bears the date of the 57th year of the Ch'ien-lung Period (A. D. 1792) and this place was called the Ta-ch'in-ssü (大秦寺) or the Nestorian monastery.

“(3) The Fragments of a Monument originally set up for Abbot Hai-k'uo, discovered in the Premises of the Monastery. This monument was fallen off its base-stone and was lying in the barely field to the west of the temple-gate. The stone was broken asunder into two while the lower half was lost. From the legible section of the remaining Epitaph, however, we understand that the stone was originally dedicated to a priest by the name of Hai-k'uo (海闊), who once took charge of this monastery. It was further ascertained from the remaining epitaph that the monastery had been called “The Ta-ch'in-ssu (大秦寺)” ever since the time of the T'ang Dynasty, and was so named at the time when the stone was set up.

“In addition to this, we were told that there stood another stone tablet describing the repairs undertaken in the 4th year of the Chien-lung Period (建隆) (A. D. 963) of the Sung Dynasty. But the new Topographical Book of Chou-chih, published a few years after the Revolution in 1912 A. D., says that this important stone tablet which formerly used to stand in the premises of the Monastery was removed from there to Hsien-chung,

or the court-yard of the District House of the Chou-chih District. There was no knowing whether the stone tablet referred to in this topographical book was the stone that described only the repairs of the monastery in 963 A. D., or the very stone of the Nestorian Inscription which had been standing right here in this spot before it was removed to Hsian-fu (in 1625 A. D.) But it was a great pity that from various causes we could not extend our trip to Hsien-chung (縣中) in order to get more light thrown on this important question. We were in a hurry to come back to Peiping while Hsien-chung was 30 *li* farther away from Lou-kuan-t'ai.

“So much so of these relics found in the Nestorian monastery at Lou-kuan-t'ai which was very recently pointed out in Mr. Saeki's article. Now we shall return back to the Tower standing in the old site of the Nestorian monastery and the two poems Mr. Saeki quotes. One by Su Tung-p'o of Sung and the other by General Yang Yün-i of Chin (for the translation of all these and other poems refer to the previous chapter). Judging from these poems this tower must have been a most prominent feature of the valley from the ancient time and as a matter of fact, there stands to-day as prominently as ever. It is an octagonal tower of seven storeys standing some 40 feet apart to the east of the monastery. This tower is mentioned in the Topographical Book of the Place as “the Chen-hsien-pao-t'a” (鎮仙寶塔) similar to the famous tower known by the name of the Great Wild Goose Tower” (大雁塔) in Hsian-fu. This fact alone may well indicate that the time of the erection of this Nestorian Tower belongs to the T'ang Dynasty. It is, therefore, natural that the people around the place should commonly

believe that this (Nestorian) tower was built of the surplus materials for the said famous tower in Hsian-fu. Such a tradition as this may not be well attested of course, but as far as the shape of the two towers is concerned we must pronounce that they have a close similarity. And it is beyond any doubt that the Tower in (Wu-chün or) Lou-kuan-t'ai belongs to the T'ang Dynasty.

"Then we succeeded with a great difficulty in climbing up the Tower, and to our great surprise, the clay-images of Kuan-yin (觀音) (i. e., Goddess of Mercy) were found on the second and the third storeys. These images were very beautifully and excellently made by the master artists either of T'ang or Sung. On the 7th storey we found two pieces of bricks with unknown characters carved on, above the south and the west door ways. As we had nothing to get a rubbing taken of these writings, we made our second climbing to the tower on the following day and got several copies of rubbings made of these mysterious characters and brought them back to



Fig. 2 The Buddhist Charm found in the Tower.

Peiping. These writings, however, proved to be Tibetan writings corresponding to the Buddhist Lu-tzū-chên-

yen (六字真言) or the Charm in the six letters as ascertained by a friend of ours. (Fig. 2) These were therefore nothing significant. The carving of these characters and other things, however, established the fact that these bricks were set in there many, many years ago. Some of our party supposed these bricks to belong to the Period of T'ang. But so far there are no knowing to which period of time they belong.

Another satisfactory result of our trip to Chou-chih was that we found out a mistake made by the author of the old Topographical Book of Chou-chih (整屋縣志) with regard to the site of the Ta-ch'in-ssü (大秦寺) (i. e., the Nestorian monastery). The old book mentions the Valley of Hei-shui (黑水谷) as the place where the Nestorian monastery stood. But such description does not agree with what was described by the famous Su Tung-p'o's own note attached to his poems. According to this note Su Tung-p'o visited Lou-kuan-t'ai and then went to the Ta-ch'in-ssü (大秦寺) and farther down to Yen-shêng-kuan (延生觀). Then he proceeded westward, walked more than ten *li*, turned to south and reached the Valley of Hei-shui (黑水谷). The position described and the distance given by Su Tung-p'o regarding each of these places are accurate as attested by our trip while the old Topographical Book was not correct.

Furthermore, we found that the surroundings of the land where the Ta-ch'in-ssü (大秦寺) Tower stands at present perfectly agree with what was described by these famous poets some nine hundred years ago. But our attempt to find the old site of Wu-chün (五郡) proved rather fruitless. At present, no people around the place in question could tell where it was originally

situated, although Wu-chün is recorded in the old Topographical Book to the effect that it was 30 *li* east of the District House of Chou-chih. But judging from Su Tung-p'o's poems, Wu-chün (五郡) must have been between Lou-kuan-t'ai and the Ta-ch'in monastery. But we could not find any trace whatever about it.

With regard to Mr. Saeki's suggestion to the effect that Lü Hsiu-yen (呂秀巖), the well-known calligrapher of the Nestorian inscription might possibly be the same as Lü Yen (呂崑), the middle character "hsiu" (秀) being very often omitted in China, we must say we have found some evidences going against Mr. Saeki's theory. In fact, on our way back from Hsian-fu we stopped over at Loyang, where we had the pleasure of eye-witnessing a newly unearthed grave epitaph of Lü Jang (呂讓) who is father of Lü Yen or Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓). According to this epitaph, Lü Jang was the youngest of the four brothers whose names were Wên (溫), Kung (恭), Chien (儉) and Jang (讓). This youngest Jang had five sons, but one died very young whilst the third son was named Yü (煜). This Lü Yü was no other than the famous Lü Yen or Lü Tung-pin himself. What we read in the epitaph quite agrees with what is written in "the Genealogical Tablet of the Lü family at Hsin-an" (新安呂氏家乘). According to this Genealogical Tablet, Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓), the founder of a new Taoist sect, was the third son of Jang, and Tung-pin's original name was Yü (煜) but which name he afterward changed into Yen (巖). He was, therefore, Lü Yen before he called himself Lü Chun-yang (呂純陽) or Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓). Neither the epitaph nor the Genealogical Tablet of the Lü family mentions any name of Lü Hsiu-yen. Under these circumstances we came

to the conclusion that Mr. Saeki's theory trying to identify Lü Hsiu-yen, the calligrapher of the Nestorian Inscription, with Lü Yen, the founder of a new Taoist sect, must be too premature to be accepted until we shall find further evidences in favour of such theory."

CHAPTER III

THE MYSTERIOUS REFRAINS IN THE COMPLETE WORKS BY LÜ YEN, THE FOUNDER OF A NEW TAOIST SECT

The following are extracts from "the Complete Works of Lü Yen, the founder of a new sect of Taoism" (呂祖全書) compiled by Liu T'i-shu (劉體恕) in 1744. The book consists of 32 volumes in all. The text we translated is found in the 22nd volume under the title of "Charms and Anathemas (呪文)."

With regard to the birth of Lü Yen, the founder of the sect, no authorities agree, whilst at least four different dates are commonly given concerning Lü Yen's birth day. The first theory puts the birth of Lü Yen in the year 646 A. D., the second on the 9th of January, 742 A. D., and the third on the 14th of April, 755 A. D. But the fourth theory puts the birth of Lü Yen as late as 819 A. D. If "the Genealogical Tablet of the Lü family" at Hsin-an (新安呂氏家乘) is trusted (for which refer to Chap. II of this Part) the fourth theory seems to be a correct one. But how far the said family record can be trusted is another question. So we may not be in the wrong altogether still to believe with the majority of the Chinese scholars that Lü Yen was born either in 742 A. D. or in 755 A. D.

It is, however, certain that Lü Yen, whoever he may have been or whenever he may have been born, lived a mile from the Ta-ch'in-ssü or Nestorian monastery at Wu-chün as recently discovered within the District of Chou-chih, the west of Hsian-fu. And again his "Complete Works"

contain how he worked several miracles among which the following may be mentioned with interest. For instance, "he changed water into wine" (化水成酒). "He gave sight to the blind" (江陵醫眼). "He cured the lame" (趙州醫跛). Then above all he worked his great miracle "feeding several hundred priests to full with a handful of flour" (大雲會食). (旬日携少許麩至自炮設。數百僧皆飽足).

Such are the miracles of this mysterious Lü Yen, the founder of a new sect of Taoism. But still more mysterious are the refrains we find in his "Charms and Anathemas," which we had the pleasure of translating into English some years ago and submitted our English translation to several great scholars at home and abroad in order to know whether this extremely mysterious refrains in our translation be Sanscrit or Syriac or any other languages. The famous Dr. Alphonse Mingana kindly informed us that "As you say the refrains found at the end of every verse are neither Sanscrit nor Arabic nor Tibetan. They are either Sogdian, that is to say, Middle Persian, as used by the Manichean in the countries situated beyond the Oxus, or else Syriac. The question seems to me to be decided in favour of Syriac by the word "Mashiha" and the word "ishoh" which are found in them. Further, I tried to find a meaning in them through Sogdian, but was unable to do so."

But against such view as this, Dr. Kawaguchi, the famous Tibetan scholar, still holds the view that the refrains must be Sanscrit. Such being the case, we must confess that nothing is settled definitely yet. We, therefore, publish here both the Chinese Text together with our translation so that "more light" might be thrown on the subject.

THE TRANSLATION

Chapter I

On the Profoundness of Heaven

- (1) With the head on the ground, O, Lord of Heaven, we pray thee! Thy original peace pervadeth everywhere We pray thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life! An ch'a na li la niu ta chi ma sha ho. (*in Chinese*) (*If Sanscrit*) Ōm kṣhaṇa līlā hūm takṣhaṁ ma svāhā.

ॐ शान्तिं क्षणं लीलया कुम् तक्षमं म स्वहा ।

O three Spirits! May we be awakened to cut ourselves off the pleasure of a moment and be saved!

(*If Syriac*) An shana lirabrbātha mashīha. .

ܐܢ ܫܢܐ ܠܝܪܒܪܒܐ ܬܗܐ ܡܫܝܗܐ

Yes, the Christ did go up to high things!

- (2) Ever being in communion with the Great God, thou thoroughly and completely givest the shining Light to the human soul! We pray thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An ch'a na li la niu ta chi ma sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

- (3) At all times and at all places, Thou canst save all the living beings without exception! We pray thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An ch'a na li la niu ta chi ma sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

- (4) (Thy) holy wisdom revealth the True Religion and safely keepth the purity and brightness (of man) for ever! We pray thee, the God of Great Mercy and

Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!
An ch'a na li la niu ta chi ma sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

Chapter II

On the Truthfulness of Earth

- (1) With the head on the ground, O, Lord of Earth, we pray thee! The yellow surface (of Earth) faces the Ling-t'ai! (i. e., a famous tower built by Wên Wang: an emblem of Peace and Plenty). We pray Thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An ma li ta to tu la p'an i sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

(*If Sanscrit*) Ōm mali tat tara pani svāhā.

ॐ मलि तन्न मंत्रं स्वाहा ।

O three Spirits! May the Evils be destroyed at once.

(*If Syriac*) An marūta tithar la-han ishoh.

ܐܢ ܡܪܘܬܐ ܬܝܗܪ ܠܗܢ ܝܫܘܗ

Yes, (May) the divine Majesty protect this Jesus!

- (2) Looking up to Thee, O, Lord, we receive thy power from on high, and thus we can build up all our action on the fundamental root of kindness. We pray thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An ma li ta to tu la p'an i sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

- (3) May the mountains and the rivers remain for ever as fixed and determined by Thee! May the rivers not overflow, and the mountains not be subverted! We pray thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An ma li ta to tu la p'an i sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

- (4) Existing in serenity and ruling over all things in

silence, Thy peerless virtue protectest the mysterious soul! We pray thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!
An ma li ta to tu la p'an i sha ho. (*in Chinese*)



Fig. 3 (A) The Chinese Texts for Chaps. I and II.

Chapter III

On the Testimonial of Immortality

- (1) The Great Emptiness is the Embodiment of Immortality, O, Lord! With the head on the ground, we adore Thee, O, Pure-Teacher! We pray Thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An ya li niu su li to ta mi sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

(*If Sanscrit*) Ōm yā lī hūm sūri tādami svāhā.

ॐ याम् री हुम् सूरिताडामि स्वाहा ।

O three Spirits! May the progress (of the Evils) be stopped and (the evils themselves) destroyed!

(*If Syriac*) An narīm sorita da mashīho.

ܐܢ ܢܪܝܡ ܣܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘ.

Yes, let us exalt the image of the Christ!

- (2) At one ride (on the back of the white-crane, the emblem of longevity) Thou openest the Way for awakening to intelligence! And inside "the Yellow Chamber," Thou nourishest the Babe! We pray Thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An ya li niu su li to ta mi sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

- (3) Thou tastest neither birth nor death. Once making up thy mind, Thou keepest "The Happy River" (i. e., the Ganges, the water with sin-cleansing power) safe and sound. We pray Thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An ya li niu su li to ta mi sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

- (4) And thus the sun and the moon shine forth their light constantly! Thou polishest the root of Heaven for eternity! We pray Thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An ya li niu su li to ta mi sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

Chapter IV

On the Embodiment of Tao (i. e., the First Cause)

- (1) Thou once distinguished the First Mysterious Cause but afterward the Yin and the Yang united in the Great Absolute! We pray Thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An kao p'an ta su li to ma chi sha ho. (*in Chinese*)
(*If Sanscrit*) Ōm shāsam da sūri tamāsvāhā

ॐ शाम् द सूरि तमस् स्वाहा

O three Spirits! Grant us your commandment that we may destroy the darkness!

(*If Syriac*) An kahana da sorita malk ishiho.

ܐܢ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܐܫܝܗܘ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ

Yes, the Priest of the Image of the King is this Jesus!

- (2) Thou didst open Heaven and didst make the Shaft of Earth! And the four seasons and the five elements are all stored up in Thee! We pray Thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life.

An kao p'an ta su li to ma chi sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

- (3) The Precious Stone which shines bright is hanging down from Heaven and resembles to the moon! Its luminous light shines nooks and corners of 8,000 sacred Places! We pray Thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An kao p'an ta su li to ma chi sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

- (4) At all times, with the heart pure and serene, we worship the Lord of Law with our head on the ground. We pray Thee, the God of Great Mercy and Sympathy, to save us from all the miseries of life!

An kao p'an ta su li to ma chi sha ho. (*in Chinese*)

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| <p>太虛仙之體。稽首禮真師。大慈悲。救苦難。唵。哪哩吽。藕 唵哆。陀密安訶。</p> <p>一乘開覺路。黃房育嬰兒。大慈悲。救苦難。唵。哪哩吽。藕 唵哆。陀密安訶。</p> <p>不爲羞生死。立志守恆河。大慈悲。救苦難。唵。哪哩吽。藕 唵哆。陀密安訶。</p> <p>日月亘其光。天根萬劫磨。大慈悲。救苦難。唵。哪哩吽。藕 唵哆。陀密安訶。</p> <p>體道章第四</p> | <p>自一分支後。太極合陰陽。大慈悲。救苦難。唵。丕靈靈陀。 藕唵哆。嘛唧娑訶。</p> <p>開。天成地軸。四時五行。大慈悲。救苦難。唵。丕靈靈陀。 唵哆。嘛唧娑訶。</p> <p>黍珠懸似月。照徹八千場。大慈悲。救苦難。唵。丕靈靈陀。 唵哆。嘛唧娑訶。</p> <p>常以清淨心。稽首禮法王。大慈悲。救苦難。唵。丕靈靈陀。 唵哆。嘛唧娑訶。</p> <p>王帝聞說章畢。慶雲燦處。放十七光明。而說偈曰。化起</p> |
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Fig. 3 (B) The Chinese Texts for Chaps. III and IV.

CHAPTER IV

NESTORIAN RELICS IN SEMIRIJECHESK, TURFAN, TUN-HUANG AND OTHER PLACES

(A) These are a very few examples of the Nestorian relics discovered in Semirijechesk, in Russian Turkistan, not far from Almalik. More than a half century ago, in autumn of 1885, two Nestorian grave-yards were discovered. One was smaller than the other. The smaller one was situated not far from the ruined Fort known by the name of Burana on "the Alexander's Route." The larger one is in Alamendina, which is the home of the Kara Khirgis tribe and is at a distance of some 7 miles from Pishpek, the capital of Tokmak province. The former which is called the Tokmak grave-yard for convenience' sake, was discovered by Dr. Porjakoff whilst the latter by M. Andreff. From these two grave-yards as many as 610 Nestorian tombstones with crosses and Syriac Inscriptions carved on them were discovered. In 1888 and 1897 Dr. D. Chwolson published most elaborate and painstaking reports on these stones together with 112 photographs of the stones. According to Dr. Chwolson 432 stones of these had the dates inscribed on them but the rest had no dates at all. The oldest date that could be found among them was 858, A. D., which was followed by those of 911 and 1201 A. D., whilst the latest one is that of 1342 A. D. We notice among those tomb stones which are dated 1338 and 1339 are almost all given the pest as the cause of death. We selected here only three rather interesting stones from Dr. Chwolson's



The tentative restoration of the original painting discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, Kt., at Tun-huang in 1908, by Mr. Furuyama, an artist

work, as two of them will show the fact that the Nestorian priest led a married life, while one will show the activity of Nestorian teachers in those then unknown parts of the world.

Needless to say, the Syriac writings printed on the back page of each are what we transcribed word for word and got typed, whilst their translations are given respectively underneath the Stone.

For further details, see Dr. D. Chwolson's *Syrisch-Nestorianische Grabinschriften*, *Memoires de L'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, VIIe série, Tome XXXIV, No. 4, 1886; XXXVII, No. 8, 1888; 1895. F. Nau: *Les Pierres Tombales Nestoriennes du Musée Guimet*, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1914, pp. 301—2, and Dr. D. Chwolson: *Sapiski*, Tome I, pt. II, III.



Fig. 4 The Tombstone found in Semirijechesk

“In the year 1578 (i. e., 1267 A. D.) which is the Hare year. This is the Tomb of Periodeut Shah-Malyk, the son of Gewargis (i. e., George) Altuz.”

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Fig. 5 The Tombstone found in Semirijeckesk

“In the year 1618 (i. e., 1307 A. D.) which is the Sheep year, (and) Turkish Kui (sheep). This is the Tomb of Julia, the beloved young lady, the bride of Chorepiscopus' Johan (John).

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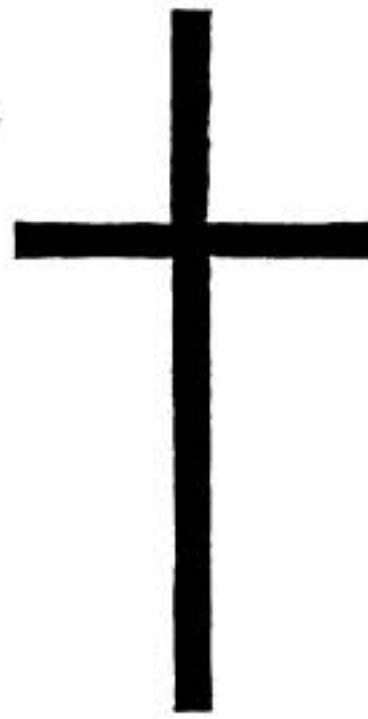


Fig. 6 The Tombstone found in Semirijechesk

“In the year 1627 (i. e., 1316 A. D.) which was the year of the Eclipses, and the Turkish Luu (i. e., Dragon). This is the Tomb of Shelicha, the famous Exegete and Preacher who enlightened all the Cloisters with Light, being the son of Exegete Peter. He was famous for his wisdom, and when preaching his voice sounded like a trumpet. May our Lord unite his enlightened soul with those of the righteous and of the forefathers so that he may be worthy of participating in all glories.”

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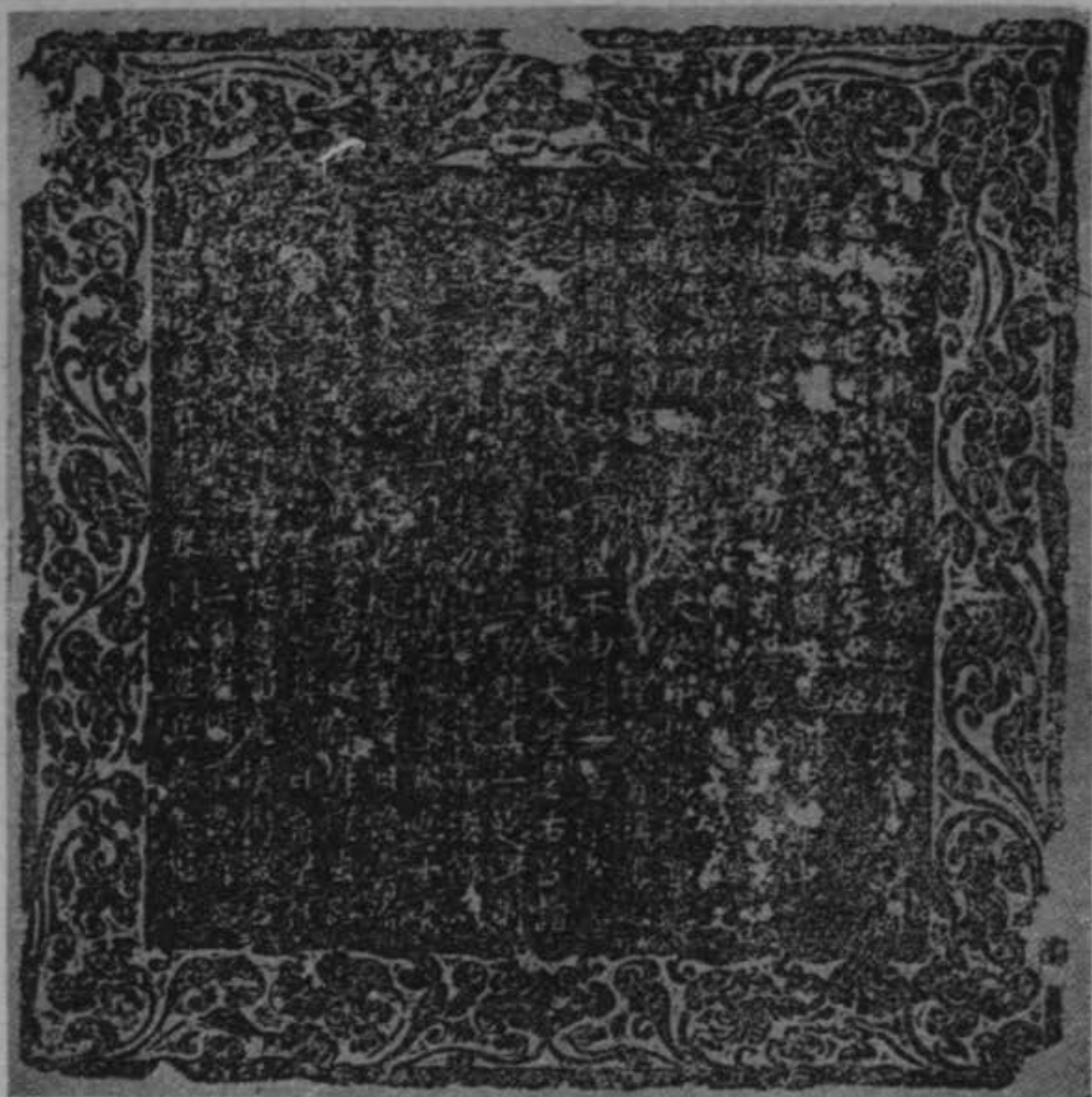


Fig. 7 The Stone Tablet of Prince Abraham

(B) The Stone Tablet of a Persian Prince. This is a rubbing taken from the stone tablet set up in memory of Abraham, a Persian Prince, who died in China on the 1st of the 4th month, the first year of the Ching-yün Period (710 A. D.) at the age of ninety-five years. For the translation of this Inscription see the Appendix No. I. The Size: 18in × 18in.

(C) The Plate No. I which is to be found in the frontispiece was copied by Mr. Furuyama, an artist, from the painting found at Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein, K. C. I. E., in 1908. The Size: 2 ft. 11 in. × 1 ft. 5 in.



**The wall painting discovered at Chotscho
by Dr. A von Le Coq in 1905**

**By kind permission of the Publishers Dietrich Reimer,
Berlin, taken from A. von Le Coq, Chotscho, Ergebnisse
der Kgl. Preuss. Turfan-Expedition**

For details, refer to "XLVIII, Christian Saint (?)" of Mr. Arthur Waley's "Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein, K. C. I. E."

The Plate No. XI shows the Restoration we made of the same painting discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, K. C. I. E. Compare these two pictures with what is written in the Nestorian Inscription about the Image and what is written about the Nestorian use of Crosses, in the Inscription of Ta-hsing-kuo-ssü (大興國寺記) (Appendix No. XX).

(D) The Plate No. XII is a picture reproduced with the permission of the Publishers Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, from the famous wall painting discovered in a ruined Nestorian Church at Chotscho by Dr. A. von Le Coq in 1905. The picture seems to us showing a scene of the Palm Sunday. Some may, however, still prefer to think the picture to be a scene of the Baptism service as suggested by some great scholars. But we believe the painting to be a scene of the Palm Sunday or the Sunday of Branches, on the ground that the deacon or subdeacon proceeding from the left hand side to the right is carrying a thing looking like an incense box in his right hand whilst what may be called the "purifying" smoke arising from the incense burner carried in his left hand: and that three persons — one woman and two men — are carrying each red willow-like branches which are often used in the Syrian Church instead of the Palm. Furthermore, we see two feet of a horse in the upper part of the painting. And we believe that the rider on this horse must be Christ himself being judged from the picture sketched by Prof. Grünwedel as we see in the next

picture. For further details, the reader is requested to refer to Chotscho by A. von Le Coq: Tafel 7, and to the Sitzungsberichte der Koniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften of 1905 and 1912 as well as to the "Abhandlung" published by the same Institution in the same year.



Fig. 8 Prof. Grünwedel's sketch

where the painting was found was too dark to take the photograph of the picture. So Prof. Grünwedel managed to sketch it as best as he could. The result is the original sketch he published in his book titled "Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan, 1913." Compare this sketch with the Restoration we made of the painting discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun-huang in 1908 as mentioned above. For further details, see p. 339 of Prof. Grünwedel's famous book.

(E) This figure is reproduced from Prof. Grünwedel's famous book with the permission of the Publishers Walter de Gruyter & Co. He ascertained the horse whose feet we see in the wall painting discovered by Dr. A. Le Coq, and also the identity of the rider. The place

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The Chino-Mongolian Inscription with the interlineal English translation by the late Mr. Alexander Wylie

CHAPTER V

A CHINO-MONGOLIAN INSCRIPTION

This is a photograph of the famous Inscription written in Mongolian and in Chinese. The Monument is to be found at Chou-chih, 150 *li* west of Hsian-fu, the Capital of Shen-si Province. But we find more than ten of very similar Chinese Inscription containing the word "Yeh-li-k'o-wên" (i. e., Nestorian Christian) and the phrase "Being the Emperor by the Power of the Eternal God and by the Protection of the Great Felicity" in the "Collection of Inscriptions on Metals and Stones" (金石萃編) by Wang Ch'ang (王昶) and 金石萃編續編 金石萃編補正.

(A) The literal translation.

The Restoration of the Mongolian Inscription after Mr. Alexander Wylie's, with a transcription in the modern Mongolian character, the Chinese version and the literal English translation being given interlinear.

As the Chinese version and the English translation are given separately we shall give here the literal English translation for convenience' sake as the collotyped one may not be clear enough. The numbers given correspond to each line of the Plate XIII.

1. Eternal God's power by
2. Great felicitous Majesty's protection by
3. Emperor command our
4. Military officers you military men of city
5. Chiefs you officers you travelling going messengers
6. Command power let be fulfilled



Fig. 9 Chino-mongolian
Inscription

7. Genghis Emperor's
8. Ogdai Emperor's
9. Setchen Emperor's
10. Olchaitu Emperor's
11. Guluk Emperor's command by priests Irkehuns teachers any public service altogether not give
12. God to supplicate blessing that he might bestow to be appointed such like being now according to former
13. Command's stipulation any public service altogether not give
14. God to supplicate blessing that he may bestow appointed Fung-yuen lu in all Ta chung-yang Wan-show Kung in
15. also Hea Yuen Kung Kwang in dwelling teachers you take act not (out?)
16. Command give these Kung Kwang Gon meau in houses in messengers not may descend post-horse to provide not
17. May take tribute not may give Kung Kwang clearly pertaining to land water people beasts garden mills
18. Store deposit teen koo warm water reservoir boats carriages to the end thus saying also Mei Pei Kan laou

19. And three particularly waters' cut off Le Kan-Yo Hill which we determined also not permit to reach
20. Ceasing drawing not many take these also
21. Commands abandoning manners understanding actions not may perform should they perform not fearing verily
22. Command our
23. Tiger year autumn first month
24. Its twenty eight Chahan Tch'a
25. Chang being by written.

(B) The translation of the same Mongolian Inscription.

The Emperor by the power of the everlasting God, and the aid of felicitous destiny:—

Our Command:— All you military officers, troops, city, chiefs, civil officers, and commissioners, do you give heed to this command.

By the command of Ghenghis, Ogdai, Satchen Olchaitu and Guluk Khans, it was ordered that the priests, *erkehuns*, and teachers shall be exempt from all official service and shall give themselves entirely to the duties of supplicating the blessing of God.

It is now in like manner commanded, that they be exempted from official service, and devote themselves to supplicating the blessing of God. Let this command be complied with by all teachers in Ta-chung yang Wan-show kung, with the lower Halls, oratories, and cloisters in Fung Yuen loo to whom it is given.

In the buildings belonging to these, oratories, cloisters, nunneries, and temples, let no official messengers halt to rest; let no relays be furnished for the post service;

let no taxes be paid; but the water, land, people, cattle, garden, mills, buildings, sheds, stores, baths, carriages, or whatever else pertains to the aforesaid oratories and cloisters; as also all connected with Mei pei, Kan-laou, the three waters, and Le-kan-yo hill shall be protected from forcible appropriation, nor shall any fraudulently seize upon such.

Whoever sets at nought this decree acts in an un-principle course, which it is not permitted to follow; and he who follows it, will be restrained by no Imperial decree.

Written by Chahan Tsang, on the 21st day of the 7th month, of the Tiger year.

The Priest mentioned here are Buddhist priests, the Teachers are Taoist priests; but native scholars can give no explanation of the meaning of Erkehun, except that it designates an order of religionists. The Chinese characters for *erkehuns* are 也里可溫 Ya-le-k'o-wan, the same as in the original Yüen History. In the Suh wan heen t'ung kaou (續文獻通考), it is also written 也里克溫 Ya-le-kih-wan. In the new Edition of the Yüen History, the name is given as 伊嚧勒昆 E-loo-lih-kwan. We learn from the history, that in the year 1272, an Imperial Rescript ordered "that such of the Buddhist, Taoist, and Erkehun priesthood as had abandoned celibacy, and were not living in the observance of the prescribed laws, should be numbered among the people."

Again in the year 1282, another edict ordered "that the Buddhist, Taoist and Erkehun priests in Ho-se, who had wives and households, should pay taxes the same as the people." I have no doubt the unknown term here, points to the Nestorian priesthood, whom every account leads us to believe they were very numerous and influential in China, during the Yüen Dynasty, while there had been a considerable decadence in their manners, with regard to true vital Christianity. Should this conjecture be correct, then it is probable the above term is a transcript of the Persian word ارکون arkhun, a prince, chief, archon, high priest, patriarch, abbot, or any chief of religion among the eastern Christians. (Richardson's English, Persian and Arabic Dictionary Vol. I. p. 35)
(Note by Mr. Alexander Wylie.)

CHAPTER VI

THE ORDOS CROSSES AND SOME OTHER NESTORIAN RELICS OUTSIDE THE GREAT WALL

(A) These are the samples of "the Ordos Crosses" in possession of Mr. F. A. Nixon whose collection of these crosses we believe is now more than several thousands. Regarding these "crosses" Father Mostaert, the great authority on things Chino-Mongolian, said that he witnessed that "the Mongols constantly dig them up, from old graves and elsewhere: they know nothing of their history, but wear them on their girdles, especially the women, and use them with a lump of mud to seal up doors." Again, the Reverend Father says that the people belonging to the Erkiüd tribe (i. e., Erkehums or Nestorians)

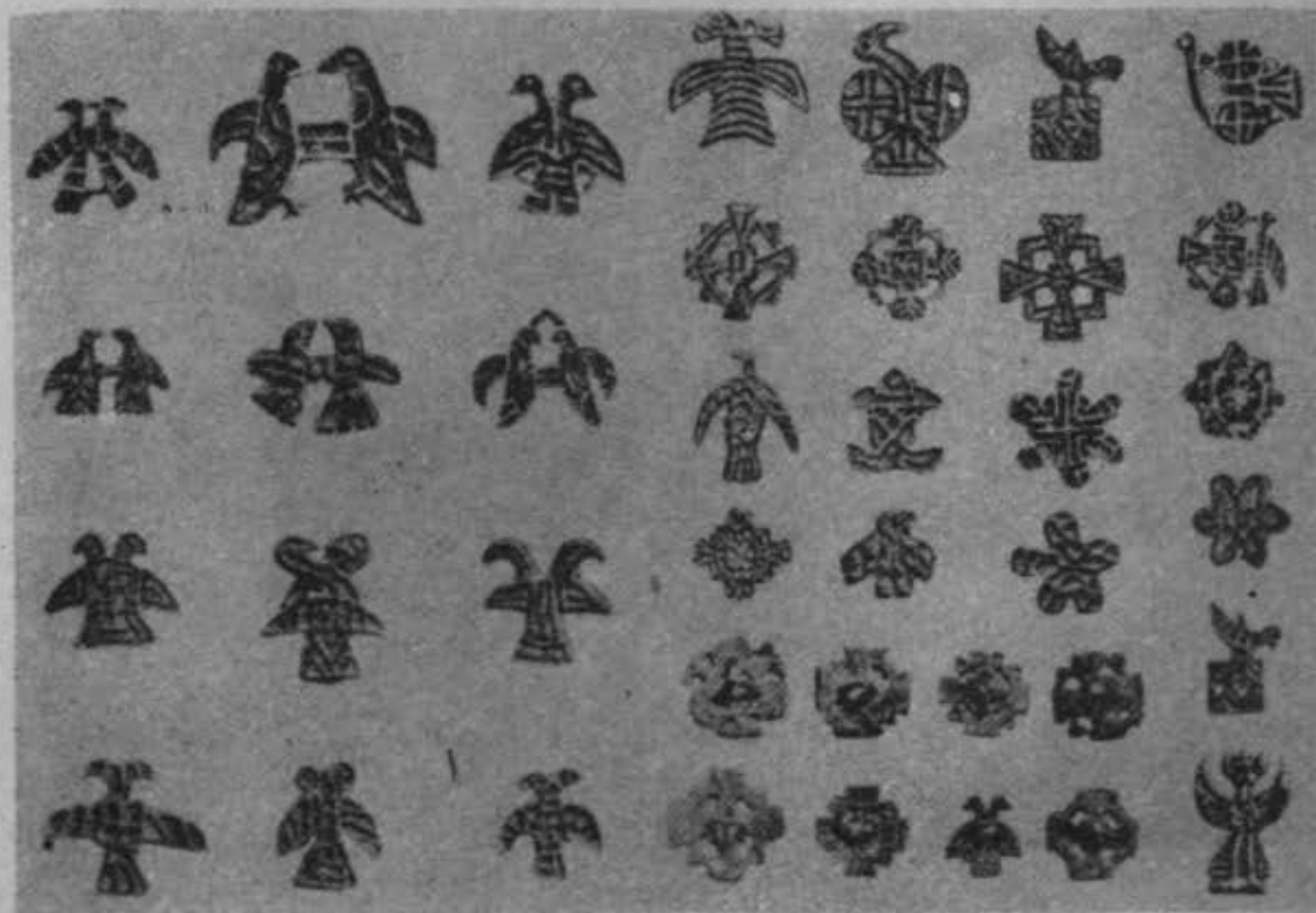


Fig. 10 The Ordos Crosses

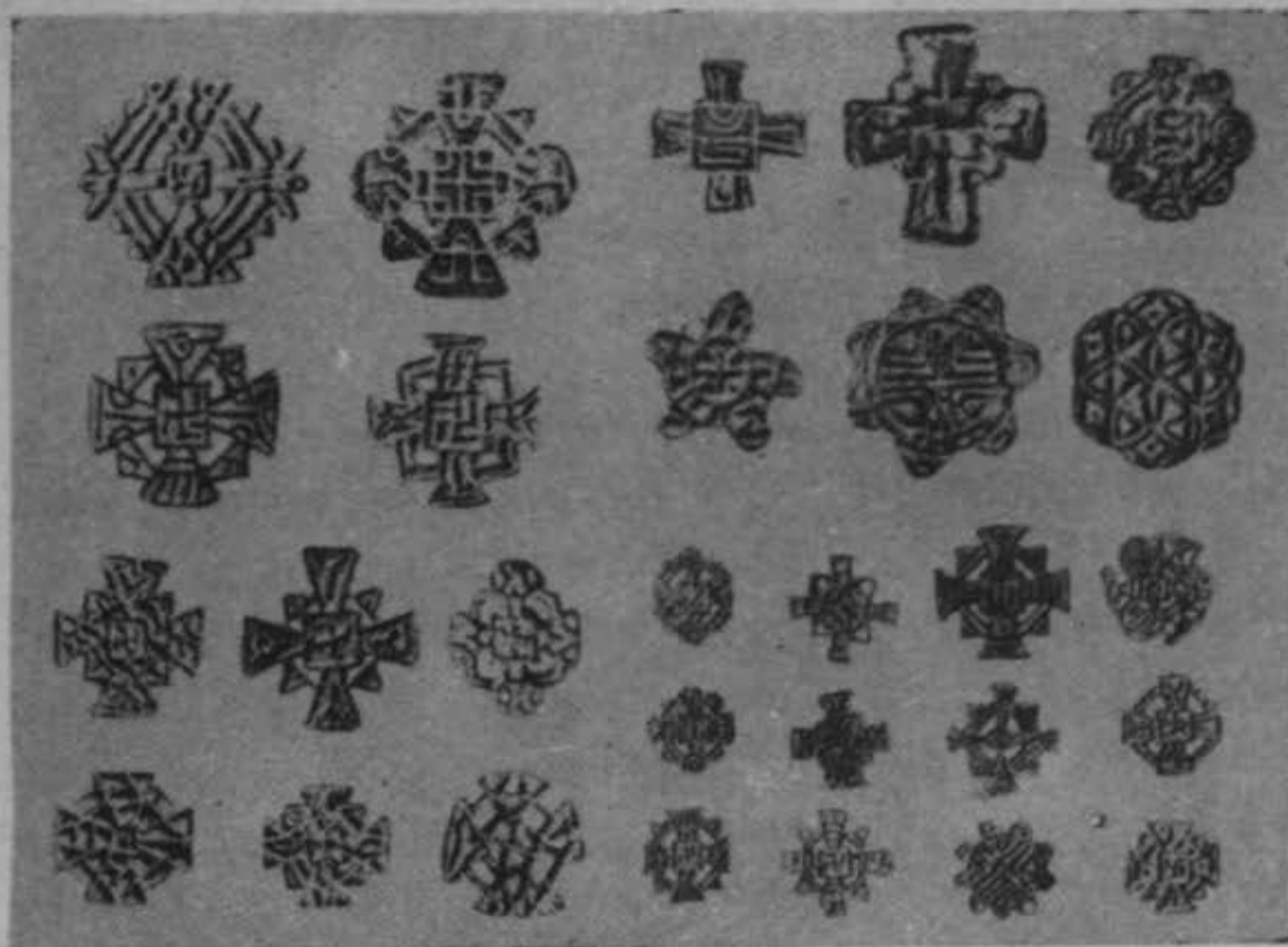


Fig. 11 The Ordos Crosses

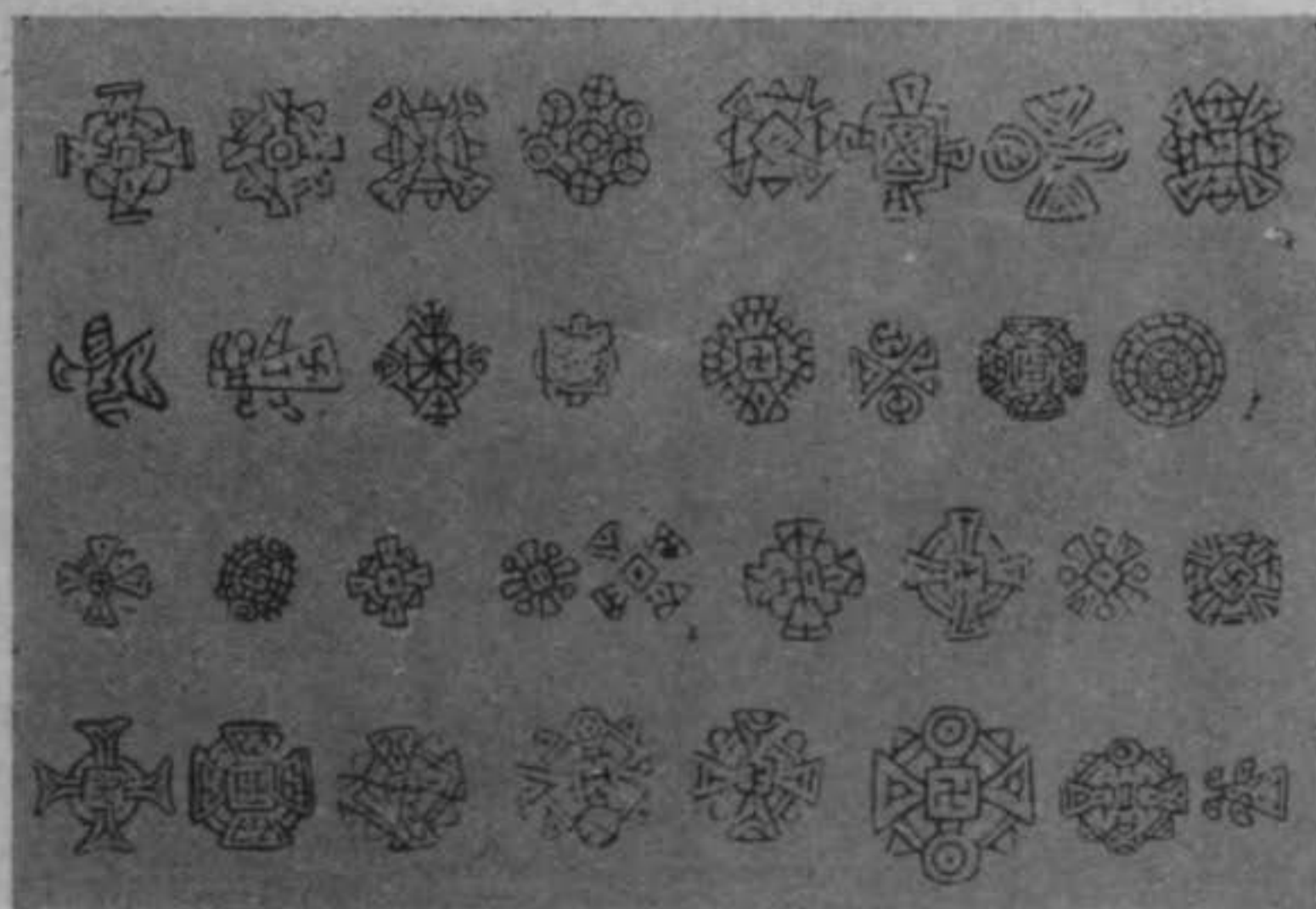
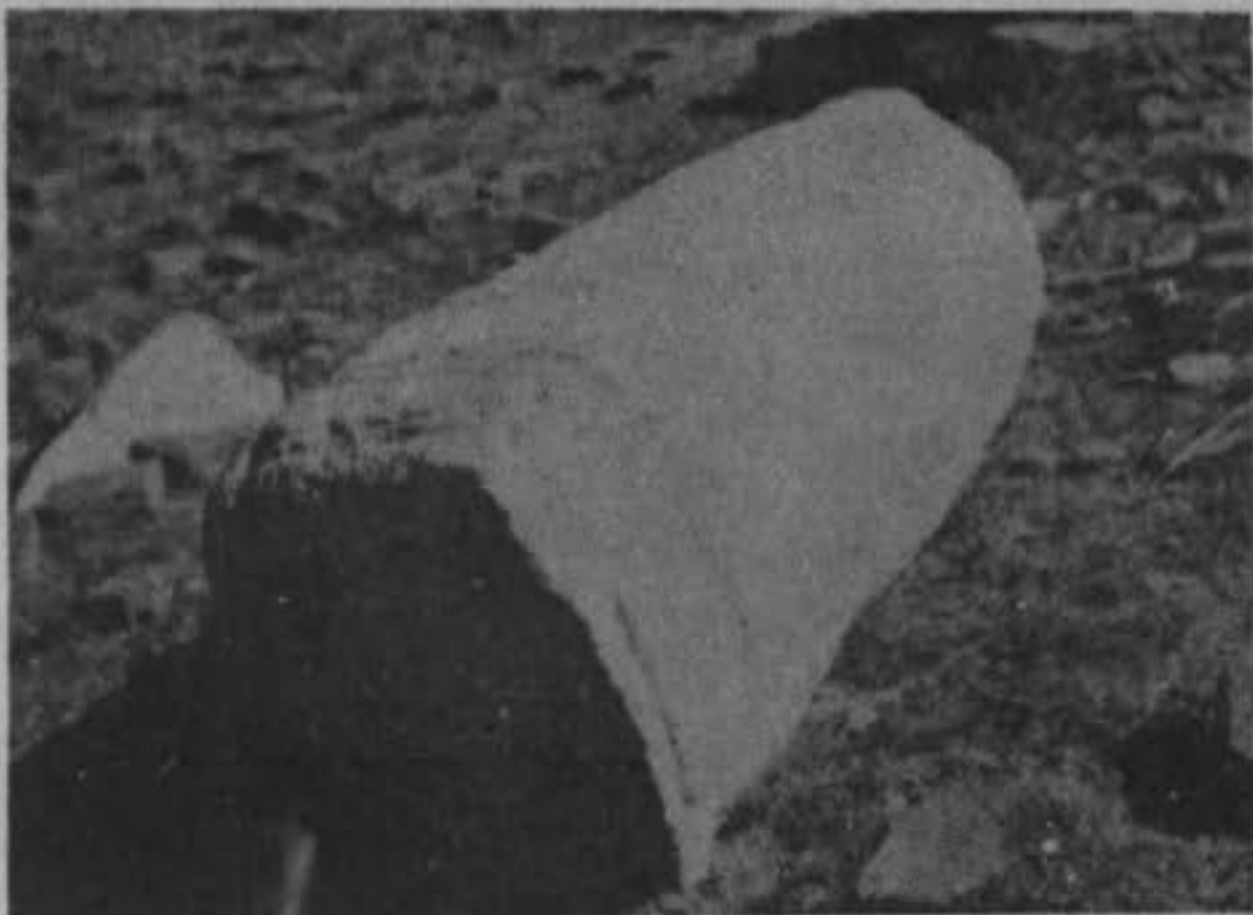


Fig. 12 The Ordos Crosses



The Nestorian relics discovered by Mr. Egami in 1935 at Pai-ling Miao, in Sui-yüan Province, China

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prefer the cross with Swastika to the ordinary cross without it. We believe, however, it was the Rev. P. M. Scott of the S. P. G. Mission that rightly christened these "Ordos Crosses" in 1930, when he published his views on these Crosses in the "Chinese Recorder" (Feb. 1930). Dr. White, Bishop of Honan, China, however, expressed his opinions against our believing "the Ordos Crosses" relics of Nestorians or Christians. Then in 1931 Prof. Pelliot in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* expressed his most careful view on the subject concluding these Ordos Crosses to be the amulets belonging to the Nestorians of the Yüan Dynasty. Lastly—but not the least,—Professor J. M. Menzies published the whole collection of Mr. Nixon's in the "Cheeloo University Journal" in 1935 (齊魯大學齊大季刊青銅十字專號), whilst Mr. Nixon himself kindly informed us that a friend of his after making close observations on all these crosses came to the conclusion that some of the letters which look like signs on the crosses could not but be the Chinese letter design meaning "God" or "Shên" (神).


For further information the reader is requested to refer to the "Chinese Recorder," 1930, Feb. pp. 37—40; the "Chinese Recorder" 1930, April pp. 251—2; A. C. Moule: *Christians in China*, 1930, pp. 92—3; "Revue des Arts Asiatiques," No. 1. Mars. Tome VII, 1931, and Father Mostaert's *Ordosica* (Bulletin No. 9 of the Catholic University of Peking pp. 14—15).

(B) The picture shows a Mongolian Chief of Udin tribe. The Chief is known by the name of Garma Bassaar, and is the descendant of an ancient family belonging to the

Erküd race in the Ordos District.



Fig. 13 Garma Bassaar

The word Ye-li-k'o-wên (也里可溫) by which name the Nestorian people was commonly known during the Yüan Dynasty is nothing but the corrupted form of  Erke'ün or Erkehum meaning "Nestorian" or "Christian." Then again, we must not forget the word Erke'ün or Erkehum itself is no other than the Chinese corruption of the Persian "Arkun" meaning Archan, chief, high

priest, patriarch, etc., whilst the Mongolian word Erküd is the plural form of Erke'ün or Erkehum as we see in the Mongolian Inscription, whose English translations together with the photographs are to be found in the Chapter V of Part II. For further details refer to Father Mostaert's *Ordosica*.

(C) The Plate XIV shows the Nestorian relics discovered by Mr. Namio Egami, a member of the Academy of Oriental Culture, on the 2nd of October, 1935, in the ruined fort some 60 *li* from Pai-ling-miao (百靈廟), Sui-yüan Province, China.

(D) The Plate XV shows the Nestorian relics discov-



**The Nestorian relics in the Bishop's Residence at Hsi-wan-tzū,
in Sui-yüan Province**

By kindness of Father A. Mostaert

ered for the first time in August, 1890, in Shih-chu-tzŭ-liang (石柱子梁), 150 *li* north-west away from Kalgan (張家口) and afterwards removed to the premises of the Bishop's Residence at Hsi-wan-tzŭ (西灣子) lying 50 *li* from Kalgan, Sui-yüan Province, for the preservation. We owe to the kindness of Father Mostaert for all these photographs and informations.

In one of these marked (C) we can see the end of the cross resting upon the Lotus flower design. Rough as this is, this can be well compared with the same design which we see in the Nestorian Stone (*vide supra*) as well as those of Fang-shan Crosses to be found in the Chapter VII given below. Regarding (A) here, refer to what is written about the cross in the Inscription given in Appendix, No. XX.

These Nestorian relics may well be compared with those given by Dr. Munsterberg on the pages 158, 194—5 vol. I of his book titled "Chinesische Kunstgeschichte."

(E) This is a photograph taken from Rashid Ed-din's *Djami et Tevarikh* edited by Blochet.

The picture gives us a vivid picture of the funeral scene of the Emperor Chagatai, the second son of Chingis Khan, the founder of the Mongol Empire. The Emperor Chagatai (or Tchagatai) was reported to have been a Nestorian Christian. Blochet explains:

"Funeralles de Tchagatai; son cercueile est placé devant la porte de sa tente; a droit on voit ses femmes qui se lamentent, et a gauche, des prêtres nestorians." (Blochet: *Djami et Tevarikh*, 2.)

The Persian writing on the coffin may be transliter-

ated

Sultan ul-'alimul-ādil, khāqan ul-azam,

السُلطانُ العالِمُ العادلُ خاقانُ العظمى

and translated :



Fig. 14 The funeral scene of Chagatai Khan

“His Majesty, most enlightened [and] just [and] the very great khakan.”

But it is very strange that we should not find the bearded Nestorian priests here among the priests except only two, the rest being without beards, which is rather against the Nestorian custom ancient and modern (see the pp. 48, 56 of Part I of this book and the page 113 of the Cradle of Mankind by Rev. W. A. and Sir Edgar T. A. Wigram, 1922.



**The Marble with the Cross and Honey-suckle excavated
from the old site of the Shih-fang-yüan
near Peking**

By kind permission of the Catholic University, Peking

CHAPTER VII

THE NESTORIAN RELICS IN PEKING AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

(A) The Plate XVI is the Nestorian tomb-stone with honey-suckle and crosses. This is a white marble tomb-stone beautifully carved and is in possession of the Catholic University of Peking. We see a big cross on the face and several smaller crosses on both sides of the stone. It is 94 cm (37 in.) high and 29 cm (11.4 in.) broad and 24 cm (9.4 in.) thick. It has no carving on the back as well on the upper and the lower edges. This stone was originally discovered by a German Professor, Dr. Roussell, in the premises of a house he lived in. The house, however, was built on the site where originally had stood the destroyed old Temple known by the popular name of Shih-fang-yüan (什方院) or Shih-fang-ssü (十方寺).^{*} This temple-name resembles Shih-tzŭ-ssü (十字寺) or "the Cross temple" as far as the Chinese characters are concerned, if not in the Chinese sound. Who knows that the original name of the destroyed Temple was not Shih-tzŭ-ssü or "the Holy Cross Temple" in old days gone by? The place is a few miles west of the Western Gate—Kuang-an-men (廣安門) of Peking. It is situated closely to the present Race Course or P'o-ma-chang. The Map given on the next page will show where the stone was discovered.

* See the Appendix No. XX. B. *infra*.

(B) The map shows the old site where the Shih-fang-yüan (十方院) stood in old days and from which site the stone was discovered by Prof. Roussell.



Fig. 15 The map showing the Shih-fang-yüan in the centre.

(C) The Plates XVII and XVIII show the Nestorian relics discovered at Fang-shan by Sir Reginald Johnston in summer, 1919. Sir Reginald published how he happened to discover these relics in the "China Review" of 1919 under the pseudo-name of "Christopher Irving."

The Plate No. XVII (1) shows two blocks of white marble. One stone has the cross upon the lotus flower. The other has the cross upon the lotus flower and white clouds with Syriac writings around the cross. The Syriac may be translated, "Look ye unto it, and hope in it." The original photographs of this plates No. XVII and No. XVIII are taken from the rubbings we made on



The left side

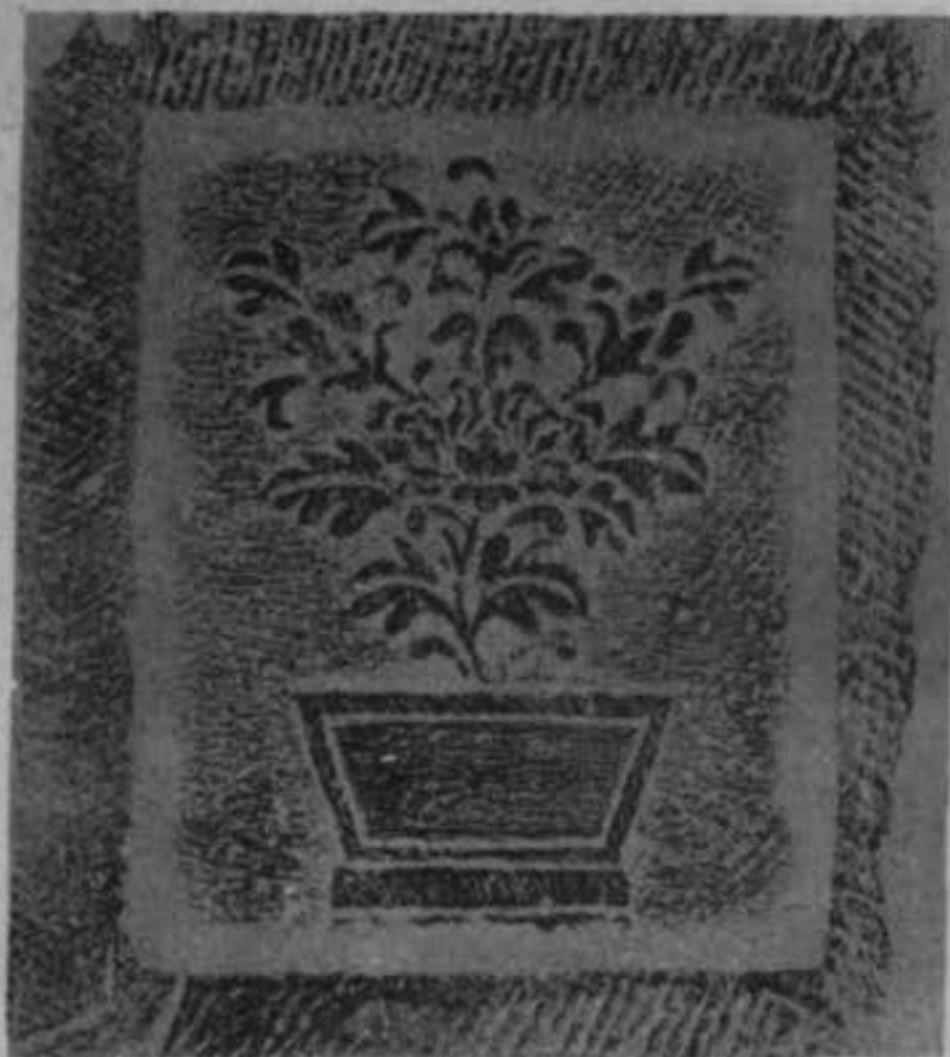


The front



The right side

The Marble with the Nestorian Cross and the Syriac writings discovered
by Sir Reginald F. Johnston, Kt., at Fang-shan, in 1919



The left side



The front



The right side

The Marble with the Nestorian Cross without Syriac writings discovered
by Sir Reginald F. Johnston, Kt., at Fang-shan in 1919

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the spot in the summer of 1929.



Fig. 16 The front and side of one block
and the side of the other.



Fig. 17 Showing the sides of the two blocks.

This (Fig. 18) is a photograph of the rubbing of the two marble blocks with the crosses in front and the flower pots on the sides, taken at the upper edges in order to show the chisel marks on the edges and the hollowness of inside.

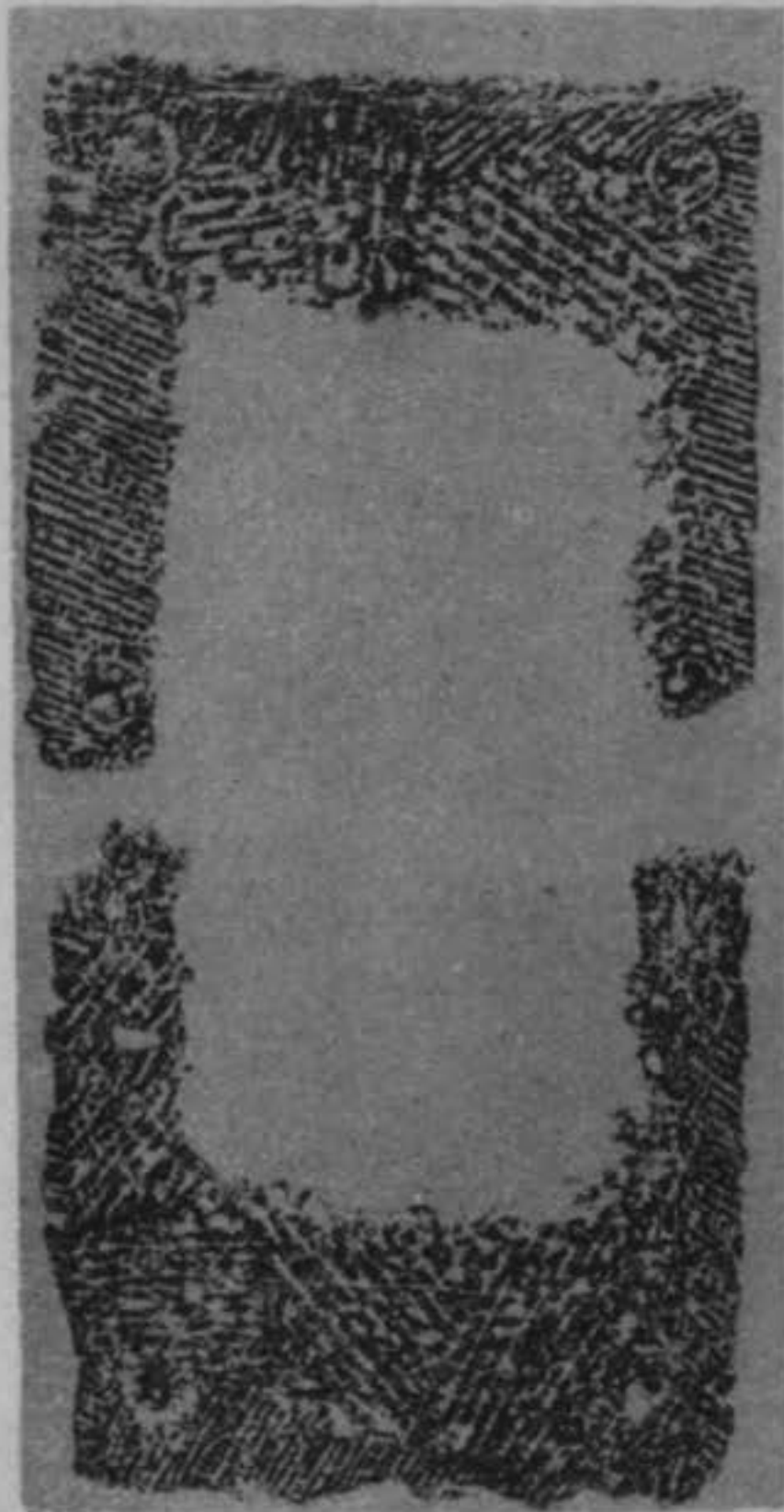
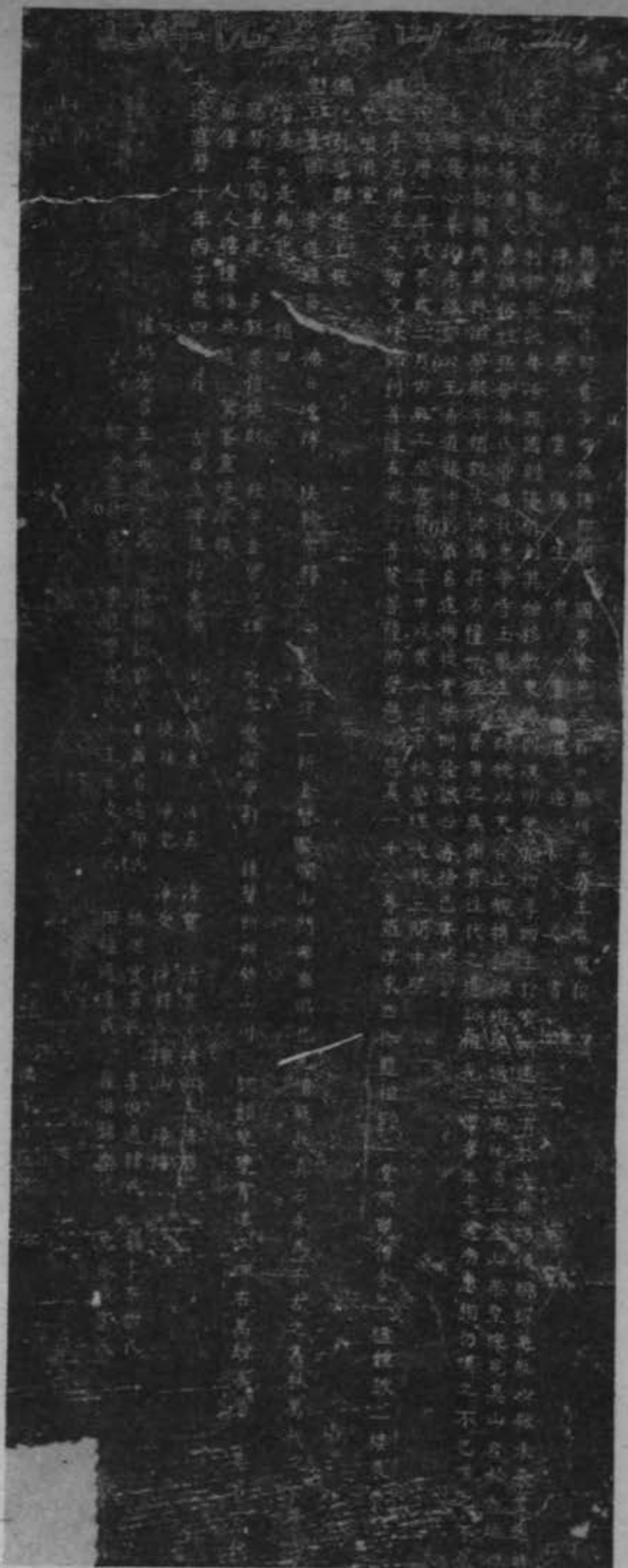


Fig. 18

The two blocks put together to take the rubbing thereof.



The Inscription with the date of 1365 A. D., describing
"the Cross Monastery" where the Nestorian
relics of Plate XVIII were found



The Inscription with the date of 960 A. D., describing
the Monastery where the Nestorian relics of

Plate XVIII were found

(D) The Plate No. XIX is a photograph of the rubbing "The Yüan Dynasty Monument" set up in January, 1365 A. D., to commemorate the promulgation of the Imperial Edict by which the name of "the Holy Cross Temple" or Shih-tzū-ssü (十字寺) was conferred upon this temple.

The Inscription says in one place:

"A Long time ago, a priest came to this place from the Western Lands" — "The old stone ch'uang still exists" (石幢) (i. e., a stone pillar set up in temples in token of thanksgiving, which corresponds to the Sanscrit Dhvaja), etc.

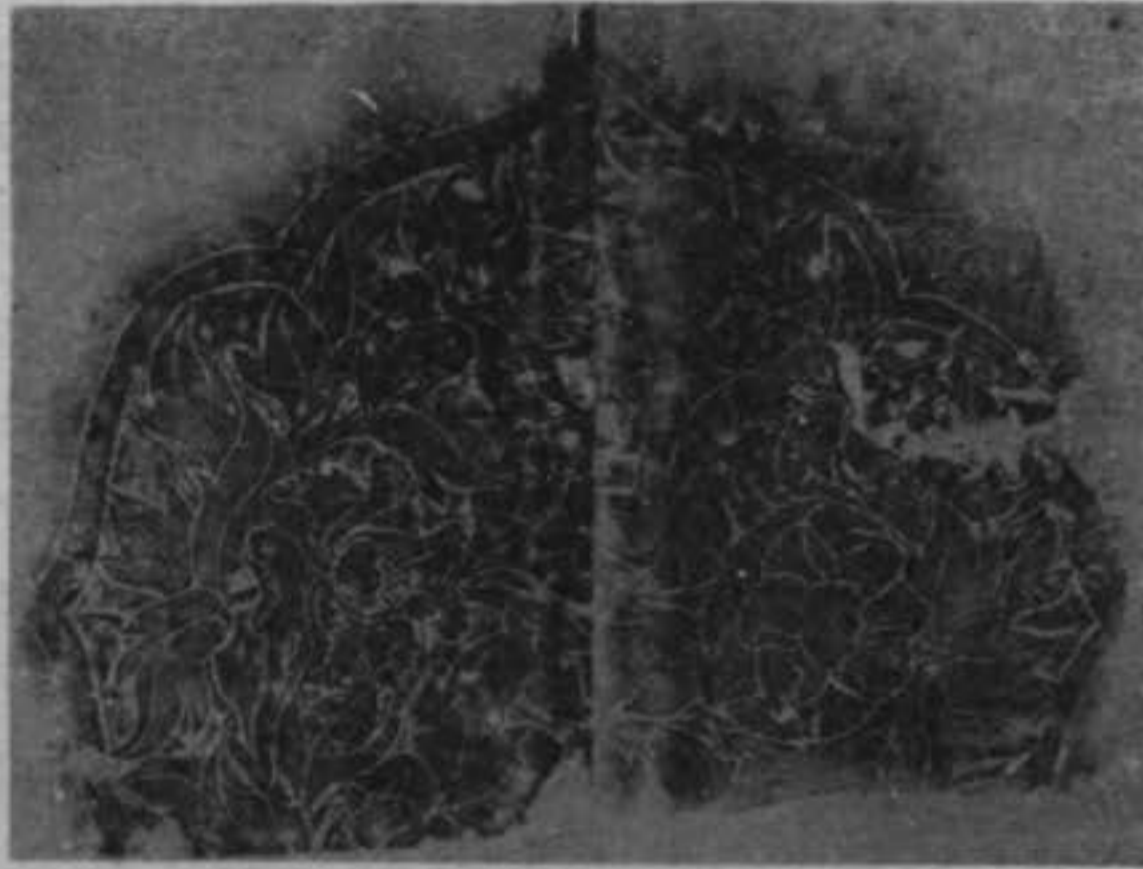
(E) The Plate No. XX is a photograph of the rubbing taken by us from the Monument of the Liao Dynasty set up in 960 A. D., to commemorate the rebuilding of the Temple in 952 A. D. The Inscription refers to the mysterious Stone ch'uang existing in the premises of the old temple by the name of 崇聖院 which name was afterwards changed to "the Holy Cross Temple" by the Imperial Edict of 1357 A. D., as mentioned in the Inscription of 1365 A. D. (See the above (D)). But this Inscription does not contain any letters indicating words "the Cross," except that the Stone ch'uang had existed for several hundred years before it was rebuilt in 952 A. D. For details of these two Inscriptions see "The Critical Study on Nestorianism" in Japanese by the author, published in 1935.

CHAPTER VIII

NESTORIAN RELICS IN SOUTH CHINA

(A) The fragment of a Nestorian Tomb Stone discovered at Chiang-tu-hsien, (江都縣), Kiangsu Province

(1)



(A)

(2) (A) The back



(B)

Fig. 19 (B) The front.

in 1929 A. D. The town where this stone was discovered is no other than the very famous historic town of Yang-chou (揚州). At present, the stone is in the possession of a Mohammedan Temple there. The size of the stone is 3 dm (some 12 in.) high and 2 dm (some 8 in.) broad at bottom. The point marked (1) in (A) coming to the point marked (2) in (B), will show us the back of the fragment of the tomb stone, which is only 3 dm (some 12 in.) in length, the rest being lost. The cross itself is 1.1 dm (some 4.5 in.) long in each line. The cross and lotus-flower and other things of this stone are very much similar to what are seen in Fig. 20.



Fig. 20 The Christian relic in Ch'üan-chou.

(B) This is copied from the photograph kindly given by Prof. Pelliot. It was discovered in Ch'üan-chou (泉州) by Father Serafin Moya in 1906, and published for the first

time by Prof. Pelliot in the *T'oung-pao*, Dec. 1914. We regret very much to hear that this precious relic was already lost in 1909, and there remains now no definite data to decide whether this was a Nestorian relic or Franciscan Mission's, whose missionaries landed on Ch'üan-chou for the first time in the 14th century. But judging from various causes—such as the wings of the image and the crown, besides the small cross on the lotus-flower being put on the chest, as well as the cloud-like design, etc., we came to the conclusion that this Christian relic must be one of the Nestorian relics in China.



Fig. 21

(C) These three crosses before us are now generally known by the name of the Zaitun Crosses.

(1) This (Fig. 21) is a copy of the woodcut which was inserted in "a Commentary on the Nestorian Monument at Hsian-fu" (唐景教碑正詮) by Emmanuel Diaz, S. J. (陽瑪諾), which was published at Hang-chou in 1644 A. D., for the first time. The following is the translation of the Chinese writing describing the cross.

"Indeed! This is a Holy Cross carved on the old stone. It had been lying at the Eastern suburb of Wên-ling town (溫陵) for an unknown number of years. People had not taken notice of it in their coming and going by it. In the spring of Mou-yin of the Ch'ung-

chên Period (1638 A. D.) while in my devotion to God, our Heavenly Father condescended to enlighten me and led me as well as my friends in the cause of the same faith to find the very stone. We begged the priest to set it up inside the Church at T'ao-yüan. (The above was written by Chang K'êng."



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

(2) This (Fig. 22) is another photograph taken from the woodcut in the above mentioned book by Father Emmanuel Diaz, J. S. The Chinese note added to this cross says: "At a distance of a little more than 3 *li* outside of Jên-fêng-men (i. e., the Gate of Charity Wind) of the City of Ch'üan-chou-fu (泉州府) in Min, there on the shore of the East Lake formerly stood the Tungch'an monastery (i. e., the East Dhyana Monastery). The Topographical Book of

the place says: The people of this locality built this monastery during the years of the Ch'ien-fu Period of the T'ang Dynasty (874—879 A. D.) and the residing monks that were attached to the monastery kept the precepts well. In the first year of the Kuang-ming Period (874—879), the name of the monastery was changed to the present name of Tung-ch'an Monastery. But later it ceased to exist. Not far from the old site of the monastery—a little more than a hundred paces from the monastery stood an ancient stone with a cross carved on it, on the way side of a field. But no one took any notice of it before. In the 2nd month of the eleventh year of the Ch'ung-chên Period on the fourth day of the Resurrection of our Lord (7th of April of 1638) some members of the Church found it while they were paying a worshipping visit to the graves on the day preceding to the full moon in the third month, and those of the same religion reverentially carried the stone into the Church and placed it therein."

Compare this Nestorian relic with those of the fragments of a Nestorian Tomb-stone given in Fig. 19 and the Christian relic in Fig. 20.

(3) This (Fig. 23) is another photograph taken from the same book. The Chinese in it says:

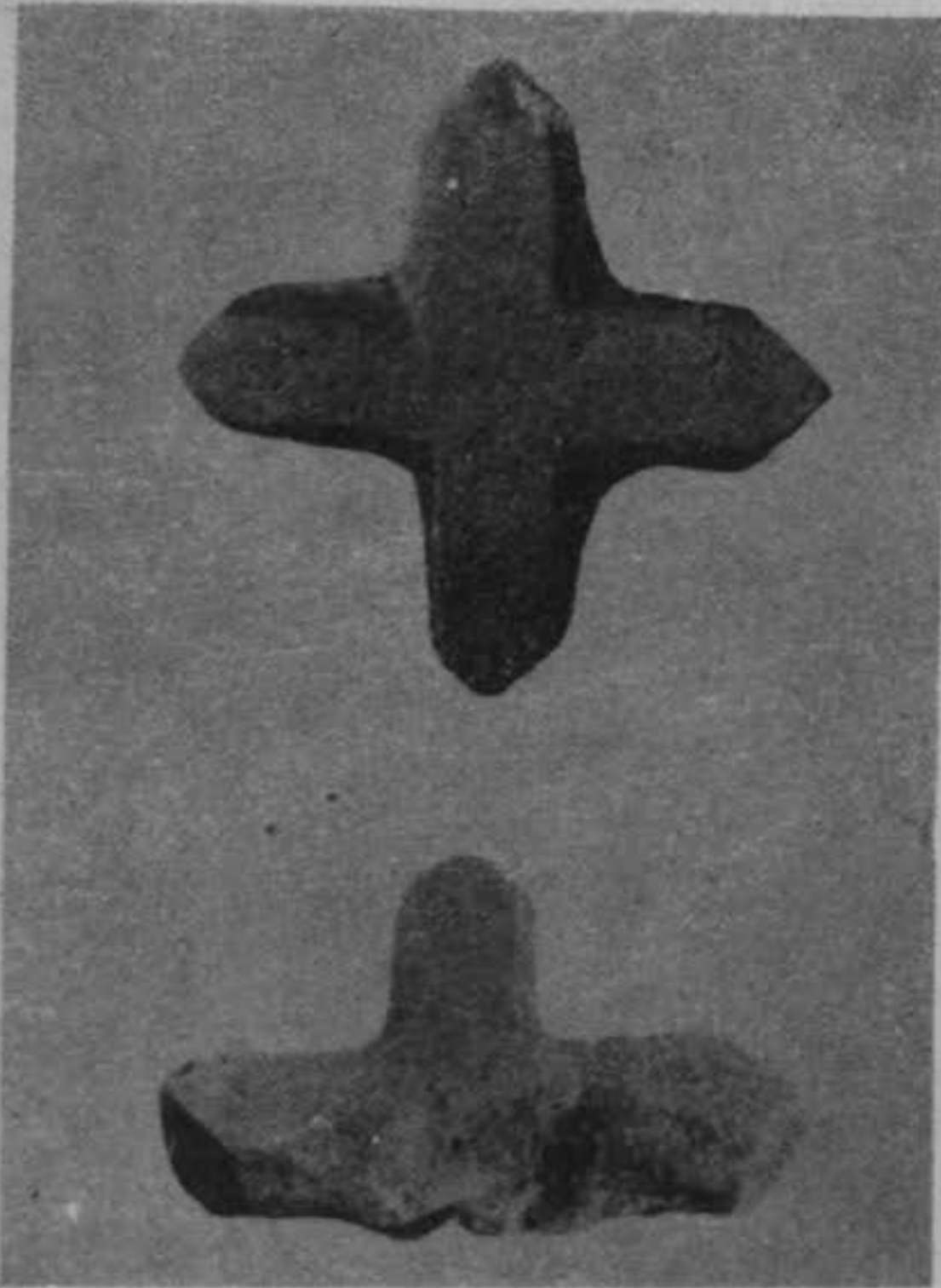
"In the Shui-lu monastery in the City of Ch'üan-chou in Min there was a cross carved on an ancient Stone. This very stone was acquired by the Honourable Father of Mr. Su Shih-shui, the President of the Court of Criminal Justice. In the second month of the eleventh year of the Ch'ung-chên Period (March, 1638 A. D.), certain members of the Church saw it, and on the day preceding to our Lord's Passion, they carried it into the Church

and placed it therein. According to the Topographical Description of the place, the Shui-lu monastery was built in the sixth year of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang Dynasty." But the sixth year of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung in this description may either be the 6th year of the K'aiyuan Period (718 A. D.) or that of the T'ien-pao Period (747 A. D.) respectively. We, however, believe it most probably to have been the year 718 A. D.

CHAPTER IX

THE NESTORIAN RELICS DISCOVERED IN MANCHUKUO

(A) These are photographs of earthen or tile crosses originally discovered by Mr. Shunji Umemoto, who was then in the service of the South Manchuria Railway Company. One was in a perfect condition, but the other was broken and lost the lower half of the cross. These were found among the remains, when a great old Tomb was excavated near An-shan-tien (鞍山店) during



the summer of 1927, together with several Chinese coins of the Sung Dynasty bearing the dates of 998 A. D. and 1006 A. D. In this great old Tomb more than seven persons were buried and originally a cross seems to have been set up to each of them. But only these two crosses were saved from de-

Fig. 24 The tile crosses found near An-shan-tien.

struction in the course of the excavation, while the rest were all broken to helplessly small pieces. These are no doubt the Tomb of a great Nestorian family in Liao-yang, the old city in Manchukuo. There is, of course, no knowing whose tomb was this, except that it is a Nestorian tomb. But if a modern Nathaniel should throw any doubt to what we say here and should declare that anything so good could not come out of Manchuria, our answer to such a modern Nathaniel is that he is requested to read what we have in the Appendices No. XII. No. XIII. (A) and (B) and No. XIV. These quotations from the Chinese books will show to any candid mind the historical fact that a great number of Nestorian family were emigrated to Liao-yang from Ti-tao, Lin-t'ao, between 1114 A. D. and 1117 A. D.

Then it is now an established fact that the Manchu Alphabets are nothing but the modified forms of the Nestorian scripts introduced into Mongolia and Manchuria long before such a historical fact as the emigration of the Nestorian family took place.

(B) This (Fig. 25) is a bronze cross discovered by Mr. Kakitsu Susa (須佐嘉橋), who has devoted his time to the study of Mongolia and Manchuria, at a certain place along the River Tung-k'éen (通肯河) running in the west of Hai-lun (海倫). Judging from several other findings he made at the place, Mr. Susa concluded that the place where he discovered this bronze cross must be identified with the old site where Nai-yen had established his rule for many years until he rebelled against Khublai Khan in the 24th year of the Chihyüan Period (1287 A. D.). It is a well-known fact that Nai-yen who was mentioned in

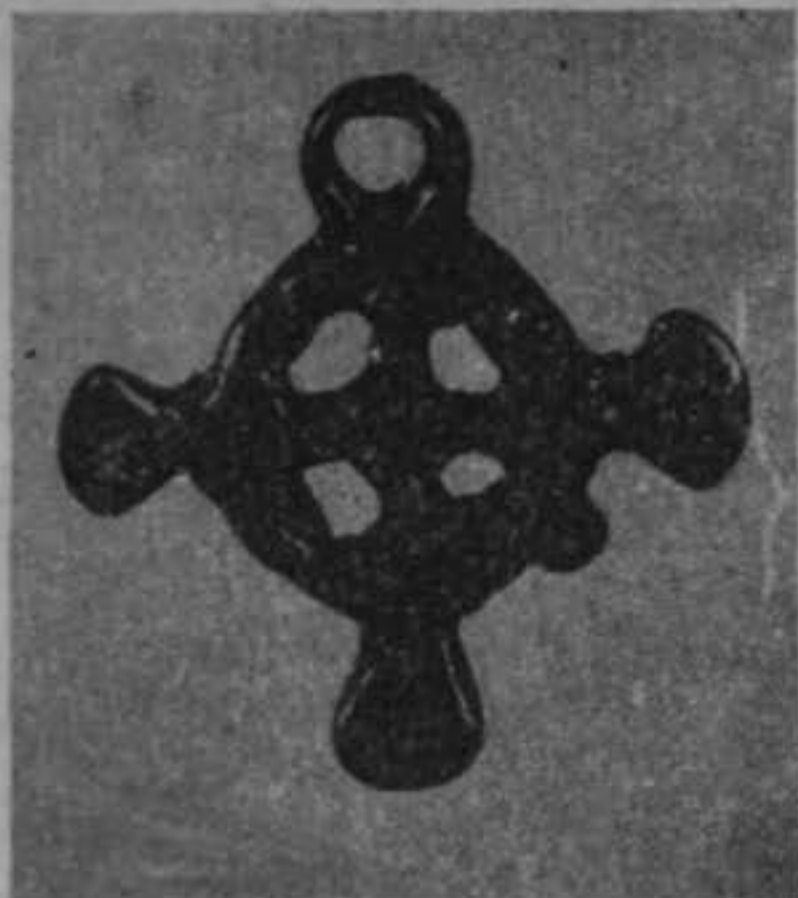


Fig. 25 The bronze cross

the Chinese History of the Yüan Dynasty with the title of "Tsung wang" or the Prince of the Imperial blood (宗王) was one of the Chiefs in Mongolia and Manchuria who held the Nestorian belief. And we read in the Chinese Book called 輟耕錄 that soon after Nai-yen rebelled and was killed by the Emperor

Khublai, the remnants of the rebels were deported to the south. For which translation see the Appendix No. XXII.

For further information regarding how King Nai-yen led his rebellion with the banner of Cross at the head of the Army against the Imperial Army and how he was defeated and executed see the vivid description left to us by Marco Polo (Sir Henry Yule's Marco Polo. vol. I. pp. 333, 334.) This bronze Cross before us is a small one measuring only 4 cm × 4 cm. Compare this cross with some of the Ordos crosses (*supra*).

(C) Besides these, we are told that several Nestorian relics are found in Manchukuo. Among them the most remarkable are tomb stones with scenes of the Nativity carved on, which were discovered near Ch'ien-Shan (千山) and are now preserved in the Mukden Museum (See the Plate Nos. XXI—XXII.) and a metal cross found by Dr. Torii (鳥居龍藏博士) at Tao-nan, (洮南) the site of the old city of the Liao Dynasty. But we regret to say that we could not get a photograph of the latter by the time of



The Tomb-stones with the scenes of the Nativity discovered
at Ch'ien-shan, Manchukuo



The Tomb-stones with the scenes of the Nativity discovered at Ch'ien-shan, Manchukuo.

the publication of this book. (See Dr. Torii's article on these appeared in No. 2, vol. XXVII, Feb., 1937 of the Journal of Archaeological Society.)

CHAPTER X

THE NESTORIAN RELICS IN JAPAN.

(A) This is a steel helmet belonging to a great soldier — possibly a general — of the “invincible Mongolian army” who were completely defeated in the great battle fought off the Bay of Hakata, Kyushu, in 1281 A. D., by the Japanese. It is a well-known fact that the invading Mongolian Army consisted of the Mongolians, the Chinese, the Mohammedans and the Uigurs besides the Koreans as the following relics will show. Notice the silver cross in the inlaid decoration of the “heart” design. The cross is both in black and white forming the central point of the whole decoration worthy of a Christian soldier. This



Fig. 26 The steel helmet with the cross.

helmet is still preserved in the Mongolian Invasion Museum at Fukuoka, Kyushu, but it never called the attention of any till this day as a Nestorian relic in Japan.

- (B) These are photographs taken by us to show:—
- (1) the old Tomb of the envoys from Khublai Khan who were executed at Tatsunokuchi, Kamakura, Japan, on the 7th of Sept. (O. S.) in 1280 A. D., and
 - (2) the Monument which was set up in 1925 in commemoration of the tragical death of those envoys and



Fig. 27

The Tomb recently erected in memory of the Envoys.



Fig. 28
The old Tomb of the Envoys.

his suite.

The old site where the execution is supposed to have taken place is not far from Tatsunokuchi, Kamakura.

According to the authentic history kept in Japan regarding the execution,

- 1 Chief-envoy Tu-shih-chung 杜世忠, a Mongolian, aged 34,
 - 2 Vice-envoy: Ho-wên-cho (何文著), a Chinese, aged 38,
 - 3 Attaché Saladin (撒魯都丁), a Mohammedan, aged 32,
 - 4 Secretary, Kuo (果), a Uigur, aged 32,
 - 5 An interpreter Chiang-hsü (將徐), a Korean, aged 33,
- were all beheaded and buried at the spot we have here-in (Fig. 28).

This may be the first time in the annals kept in Japan that a Mohammedan blood was ever shed in the great Island Empire, whilst possibly the Secretary Kuo, a

Uigur young man might have been the first Nestorian died in Japan, since Nestorian Uigurs almost monopolized the Secretariate office throughout the Yüan Dynasty as we read in the records bequeathed to us by William of Rubruck and Marco Polo and others.

CONCLUSION

“It were long to tell, and sad to relate” how the Nestorian Church came to the dust in China after some seven hundred years of its existence—from 635 A. D. to 1367 A. D.

And these Nestorian documents recently discovered in China which we have translated here are not many, considering the length of time the Nestorian Church existed in China. These documents, therefore, must be said to be unspeakably scanty, not at all coming near the total number of innumerable books and documents as well as inscriptions in China, or not being well compared with the books and inscriptions the Buddhists have in China. Yes, these Nestorian documents are infinitesimal in comparison with almost innumerable volumes of the Buddhist sūtra—whose number was reported to have been 5048 volumes in the eighth century according to 唐開元錄. (713—741 A. D.) And all these Buddhist books were either translated or composed in China during some seven hundred years of the development of Chinese Buddhism between 66 A. D. and 741 A. D.

But, insignificant as they are, these Nestorian documents will speak as many volumes as those of Buddhists to those who take interest in the study of the history of Nestorianism in China, for the study of these Nestorian documents will reveal to us the real history of the Nestorian Church in China. They will show us one of the many causes of the decline and fall of the Chinese Nestorian Church on one hand, and the way by which the descendants of the Nestorians in China have been all swallowed up, either

by the local cults or Taoist Sects, as well as by Mohammedans and other religious bodies, on the other.

For instance, by comparing these Nestorian documents we shall find that some sūtras look more like Christian documents than others. If we compare such documents as "the Jesus-Messiah-Sūtra" and "the Discourse on the Monotheism," which were composed or written a little before the middle of the 7th century, with such documents as "the Sūtra aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy" or "the Ta-ch'in Luminous Teaching on the Origin of Origins," which were written or composed in the early part of the 8th century, we shall find how the change took place in the course of less than a hundred years, since we find the latter look more like Taoist books than Christian literature.

That those latter documents were greatly influenced by the Taoist or Buddhist ideas is too conspicuous to the reader so that we need not dwell on it any more. But at the same time such a tendency shown in the Nestorian documents betrays how it has paved the way for the degeneration and final destruction of the Nestorian Church in China.

Had the Nestorian Mission in China had a much stronger Mother Church than it had,—all through from its beginning to the end—to protect the Nestorian Mission in China from time to time by re-inforcing the missionaries in the field and overseeing their work, so that they might have been kept from the leaven either of Taoism or of other local cults, which proved actually detrimental to the cause of the Gospel, the Nestorian documents written by the missionary priests in China might have been quite different from what we have before

us in the form of these Documents.

Furthermore, had the Nestorians in China not been intercepted on the way by the Mohammedans in the regions lying between Syria and China, or between Persia and China, the Nestorians in China might have enjoyed much stronger Christian influence from the Home Church very much longer than they actually did, and the Nestorian literature left behind them would have been otherwise than those we have.

Needless to say, those few Nestorian documents we have here are very scanty, whilst they are somewhat fermented by the Taoist leaven or by the local cults yeast as they are, yet they bear testimony in various ways to make clear what is written in the Nestorian Inscription. They also prove that the Nestorian Inscription is genuine, although several points in the Inscription remain unverified yet. We have, however, full confidence that in future some more Nestorian documents and relics will be discovered in China to verify those doubtful points which still remain unverified in the Nestorian Inscription as well as in the other documents. Under these circumstances all we have to do at present is to "learn to labour and to wait" for further discoveries in China.

APPENDICES

Appendix No. I

THE STONE-TABLET SET UP IN MEMORY OF
PRINCE ABRAHAM OF PERSIA

大唐故波斯國大會長右屯衛將軍上柱國金城郡開國
公波斯君丘之銘

(The following is the translation of the newly discovered inscription which can be seen in the Imperial Museum, Ueno, Tokyo. The original stone belonged to the late Governor-general Tuan Fang (端方), whose collections of "Metals and Stones" are well known. The rubbing itself is about 18 inches square and contains 306 Chinese letters. Only eighteen letters are illegible, the rest being quite clear.)

"The Inscription on the Stone-tablet set up in memory of the late Great Persian Chieftain, the General and Commander of the Right Wings of the Imperial Army of T'ang (i. e., China) with the title of Grand Duke of Chin-Ch'êng-chün (in Kansu) and the Rank of Shang-chu-kuo (上柱國) (lit., 'The first-class Corner Stone of the Empire'):

"This is the Stone-tablet erected in memory of A-lo-han (阿羅憾), a Persian Prince by birth and the most illustrious of the whole tribe. During the period of Hsien-ch'ing (656—661 A. D.), the then reigning Emperor Kao-tsung the Great, hearing of the meritorious service and illustrious deeds of this Persian prince sent a special messenger to invite him to his own Palace (*here are two illegible characters*).

"As soon as the Prince arrived at the capital, the Emperor appointed him Generalissimo, and charged him

with the responsibility of defending the Northern Gate (i. e., the northern region of China) (*here is one illegible character*) and sent him as the Imperial Envoy to the tribes of Tibet, Ephraim, and other countries.

“On the western borders of Ephraim, he set up a stone monument which is still visible and is still preaching the essence of the Holy Teaching to the wild tribes; ever since all the surrounding countries (i. e., around the monument) have become very peaceful.

“This is mainly due to the virtuous deeds and wise guidance of our great General, the Prince of Persia, who ruled over those peoples, and invited several foreign tribes to organize the Imperial Guards as well as the other Army Divisions. So his meritorious service to the country and its Rulers is manifold.

“His name should be written forever on the walls of Ch'i-lin-ko (麒麟閣) (1), whilst his peerless wisdom and priceless talents are worthy of being inscribed on this stone. Surely his name should be numbered as one of the Faithful in the Yün-t'ai Hall (雲臺閣) (2).

“On the 1st of the 4th moon, the first year of the Ching-yün Period (710 A. D.) at the age of ninety and five years, the Prince died suddenly at his own private residence in the eastern Capital.

“O woeful day on which we lost this great Prince, the Generalissimo and Leader of the Tribes! When he died, the wind that blew over the mountain-tops sighed more

1) Ch'i-lin-ko is the name of an Imperial Palace Hall where the Chinese Emperor had the portraits of eleven illustrious men painted in 51 A. D., and is a Chinese Walhalla of the first century.

2) Yün-t'ai-ko is another Imperial Palace Hall where the Chinese Emperor had the portraits of thirty-two famous generals painted, and is a Chinese Pantheon of the third century.

sorrowfully than ever! The sun that shines over us peered most drearily through the dark clouds! Even the birds refrained from singing on that sad day because of his death! How could we, therefore, restrain ourselves from shedding tears! The pine-tree suffers from the drought, and we feel the silence of the waterless fountain the harder to bear. So felt all who followed him to the grave on that sorrowful day. O woe betide the day!

“On the (*illegible*) day of the month (*illegible*) his son and heir Chü-lo (俱羅) (i. e., Gur) and his friends, weeping and lamenting most sincerely with ceaseless tears and afterwards faithfully observing Spring and Autumn Festivals every year, finally buried the Prince in the suburb outside the Chien-ch'un Gate, Lo-yang, and made a small grave-mound so that his soul might rest in peace!”

(The names of neither the author nor the calligraphical writer of the Inscription are given).

Appendix No. II

THE IMPERIAL EDICT OF THE EMPEROR T'AI-TSUNG 唐會要卷四十九大秦寺 (T'ang-hui-yao, vol. 49)

In the Twelfth year of the Chên-kuan Period (638 A. D.) in the seventh month of Autumn, the following Imperial Rescript was issued:—

“‘The Way’ had not, at all times and in all places, the selfsame name; the Sage had not, at all times and in all places, the selfsame human body. (Heaven) caused a suitable religion to be instituted for every region and clime so that each one of the races of mankind might be saved. Bishop A-lo-pên of the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in, bringing with him the Sûtras and Images, has come from afar and presented them at our Capital. Having carefully examined the scope of his teaching, we find it to be mysteriously spiritual, and of silent operation. Having observed its principal and most essential points, we reached the conclusion that they cover all that is most important in life, and that this Teaching is helpful to all creatures and beneficial to all men. So let it have free course throughout the Empire. Accordingly, the proper authorities built a Ta-ch'in monastery in the I-ning Ward in the Capital and twenty-one priests were ordained and attached to it.”

Appendix No. III

THE IMPERIAL EDICT OF THE EMPEROR HSÜAN-TSUNG CONFERRING THE OFFICIAL NAME OF "THE TA-CH'IN MONASTERY" ON "THE PERSIAN MONASTERY" FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 745 A. D.

唐會要卷四十九 (T'ang-hui-yao, vol. 49)

"The Luminous Religion of Persia was originally started in Ta-ch'in. It is long since this Religion came to be preached here. Now it is practised by many, spreading throughout the Middle Kingdom. When they first built monasteries we gave them the name of "Persian Temple" (because of their supposed origin). But in order that all men might know the (real and true) origin of what are commonly known as "Persian Monasteries" in the two Capitals, (the names) are henceforth to be changed to the Ta-ch'in Monasteries. Let those also which are established in all parts of the Empire follow this (example)."

Appendix No. IV

QUOTATIONS FROM "THE CH'ANGAN TOPOGRAPHY"

長安志卷十 (Ch'ang-an Topography, vol. 10)

The Ta-ch'in monastery mentioned in the book called "Ch'ang-an Topography" (長安志) by Sung Min-ch'iu (宋敏求) in 1076 A. D., who thus describes it:—

(A) "To the East of the Li-ch'üan Ward, the ancient

Persian monastery stood. This was built there in the second year of the I-fêng (儀鳳) Period (677 A. D.), by the three brothers of Firus (卑路斯), who obtained leave from the Chinese Emperor to build it.

“During the Ching-lung (景龍) Period (707—709 A. D.) of the Emperor Chung-tsung, Tsung Ch‘u-k‘o, (宗楚客), the favourite of the Emperor and once Prime Minister, occupied the monastery site as his residence and removed the monastery to the south-west corner of the Pu-chêng Ward and to the west of the Zoroastrian temple.”

(B) In the I-ning Ward, to the north-east of the Cross Street, there is the foreign monastery of Persia. The next lying in the south is the Chü-tê Ward (居德坊).

The I-ning Ward, originally called the Hsi-kuang Ward was changed in the first year (617 A. D.): In the North-east of the Street is the foreign monastery of Persia built in the twelfth year of Chên-kuan by the Emperor T‘ai-tsung for A-lo-ssü (阿羅斯), (i. e., this must be a misprint for A-lo-pên (阿羅本) a foreign monk from the Kingdom of Ta-ch‘in.)

Appendix No. V

QUOTATIONS FROM "TS'Ê-FU-YÜAN-KUEI" (vols. 971 and 975) CONCERNING A PERSIAN ENVOY AND A NESTORIAN BISHOP

冊府元龜卷九百七十一, 九百七十五,

(A) "In 732 A. D., the King of Persia sent a Chief named P'an-na-mi (潘那密)* together with Bishop Chi-lieh (及烈) and this Bishop Chi-lieh was decorated with the Imperial honours."

(B) "In the twentieth year of the K'ai-yüan Period (開元), in the eighth moon on the day of Kêng-hsü (i. e., 7th Dog) 庚戌 (732 A. D.), the King of Persia sent the chief P'an-na-mi (潘那密) accompanied by Bishop Chi-lieh to the Imperial court as the Persian Envoy.

"The Chief was decorated with the Imperial Order of Kuo-i (果毅), 'Heroic-brave,' whilst the Priest was presented with a purple coloured vestment besides fifty pieces of silk. And they were sent back to their country."

*The nearest sound of "P'an-na-mi" is Ba-na-bi or Barnaby and may well be identified with the Christian name "Barnabas."

Appendix No. VI

THE PROTEST OF LIU-TSÊ, MEMBER OF CENSORATE, AGAINST THE ACTIVITY OF THE NESTORIAN BISHOP CHI-LIEH

冊府元龜卷五百四十六 (Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei, vol. 546)

“In the 2nd year of K'ai-yüan (開元) (714 A. D.) Liu-tsé (柳澤) was appointed Censor of the Imperial Court and Supervising Censor over the provincial Circuit of the South of the (Plum) Range (i. e., the two provinces of Kuangtung and Kuangsi). Just at that time, Chou Ch'ing-li (周慶立) who was the Director of the Board of Foreign Trade and the Lieut-General of the Right (wing) of the Imperial Guards, presented to the Emperor various articles, full of strange devises and wonderful cunnings, which he (i. e., Chou) had made by Chi-lieh (及烈), a Persian priest.

“Hereupon, Liu presented his official address to the Emperor adomnishing the same in the following words: ‘May it please your Majesty to say that I, your most humble servant, have heard that one ought not to take a look of a thing which one may covet, in order that one should not allow one's heart to be disturbed by any means. But it is certain that if a man sees what he covets his heart can not but be disturbed.

“Sire, I am informed that Ch'ing-li and his party got some artful things cut or cast, besides they had some curious and wonderful apparatus manufactured. Anything unsubstantially artful they admire as curious and rare things, while anything mysterious and tricky they

call a treasure of wonderful and extraordinary value.

“Such being the case, he (and his party) must be pronounced a great grub in wood (i. e., the depredation of dishonest officials to prey upon the Emperor’s country) from the view point of preservation of the national welfare, besides what he (and his party) is (are) doing is strictly prohibited by the Sacred superiors under the pain of severe punishment, since these things are apt to throw the Sacred plan into disorder and to derange the established laws and customs of the country.

“In old times, as your Majesty is well aware-of, when the Emperor found that a balcony to be built for him was too expensive, not from the Imperial opulence, but from the ordinary people’s standard of wealth, the wise Emperor could not be persuaded by any means to have it built, while even that pair of ivory chop-sticks, which were not objectionable things in themselves, caused many faithful and loyal subjects to come forward to protest against it indignantly.

“It is written in the King’s Regulations that ‘Any one who makes a strange dress or a curious apparatus shall be punished with death,’ while it is written in the Book of the Commands of the Month that ‘It is prohibited that any one should make unsubstantially artful and licentious things and dissolve the superior man’s mind.’

“Now, the word “artfulness” here means anything unusual and strange which will excite curiosity, and the word “dissolution” means anything to tempt anyone to passions and desires.

“If your Majesty condescend to believe in him (i. e., Chou Ch’ing-li) and suffer him to continue to do such a thing, then it would be altogether better for your Majesty

to undertake to command the whole people under heaven to go to excessive lavishness and prodigality.

“If, however, Ch'ing-li did such a thing in opposition to the Imperial will, then he shall be forfeited of all the Imperial grace of pardon.

Your Majesty has ascended to the throne recently, but the myriad regions have absolute confidence in your Majesty and it is very necessary that your Majesty should decree against mean and trifling manners to enforce frugality and thrift throughout the country. Then, all the myriad families will be happy and prosperous.”

Appendix No. VII

(A) DR. TAKAKUSU'S ARTICLE ON ADAM, THE NESTORIAN CHOREPISCOPUS, WHO COMPOSED THE FAMOUS INSCRIPTION

“Now the same Adam (King-tsing), (1) who composed the Inscription, is mentioned again in a Buddhist book, which in a way gives light on the activity of Nestorian missionaries in China. While I was referring to the Buddhist canonical books of China, the other day, I came across a book called the Chên-yüan Hsin-ting Shih-chiao Mu-lu (貞元新定釋教目錄) i. e., ‘The Catalogue of (the books of) teaching of Shakya in the period of Chên-yüan’ (A. D. 785—804), compiled by Yüan-chao (圓照), a priest of the Hsi-ming Monastery (西明寺). For this

(1) The Monument was erected by Yazedbouzid, Chorepiscopus of Kumdan. Adam, whose Chinese name was King-tsin (or Ching-ching) (景靜), composed the Inscription.

book see Bodleian Library, Japanese, 6500, vol. VII. fol. 5vo. In this I found a Passage relating to the Nestorian missionary which I translate as follows:

“ ‘Prajna, a Buddhist of Kapisa, N. India, travelled through Central India, Ceylon, and the Islands of the Southern Sea (Sumatra, Java, etc.) and came to China, for he had heard that Manjusri was in China.

“ ‘He arrived at Canton and came to the upper province (North) in A. D. 782. He translated together with King-tsing (景淨), Adam, a Persian priest of the monastery of Ta-ts'in (Syria), the Satparamita-sûtra from a Hu (胡) (2) text, and finished translating seven volumes.

“ ‘But because at that time Prajna was not familiar with the Hu language nor understood the Chinese language, and as King-tsing (Adam) did not know the Brahman language (Sanskrit), nor was versed in the teaching of Shakya, so, though they pretended to be translating the text, yet they could not, in reality, obtain a half of its gem (i. e., real meaning). They were seeking vainglory, privately and wrongly trying their luck.

“ ‘They presented a memorial (to the Emperor) expecting to get it propagated.

“ ‘The Emperor (Tê-tsung, A. D. 780—804), who was intelligent, wise and accomplished, who revered the canon of the Shakya, examined what they had translated, and found that the principles contained in it were obscure and the wording was diffused.

(2) The Hu text here mentioned must be the Uigur text into which the Sanscrit text had been translated. The Rev. Tachibana's discovery confirms this view.

“Moreover, the Sangharama (monastery) of the Shakya and the monastery of Ta-ts'in (Syria) differing much in their customs, and their practices being entirely opposed to each other, King-tsing (Adam) handed down the teaching of Mi-shih-ho (Messiah) (彌尸訶), while the Shakyaputriya-Sramans propagated the Sûtras of the Buddha. It is to be wished that the boundaries of the doctrines may be kept distinct, and their followers may not intermingle. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy are different things, just as the rivers King and Wei have a different course.’

“So much for the extract from the book of Yüan-chao. As to the identity of Adam with King-tsing there is no doubt whatever, as the parallel texts of the Inscription clearly show.

“It is very interesting to have this little contemporary notice of the Nestorians from a Buddhist source.

“Christianity in China, in the seventh and thirteenth centuries, as Gibbon remarks in his famous history, is invincibly proved by the consent of Chinese, Arabian, Syriac, and Latin evidences. In addition to these we have now a reference made by an eye-witness in a Buddhist work. It was under the Emperor Tê-tsung (A. D. 780—804) that King-tsing (Adam) had erected the Monument; under the same Emperor, he was recorded to have been translating a Buddhist Sûtra.

“I have some doubt as to whether the translation took place before the erection of the Monument or after it, though from what is read in the above extract, the translation seems to have been made after the Inscription. Prajna came to the upper province in A. D. 782, while the Monument was erected in A. D. 781. But the

year in which they were translating the Buddhist book is not given.

“Their united work, however, seems to have been stopped by an Edict, no doubt as a result of the jealousy of the Buddhist priests. Tê-tsung, the ruling Emperor, was claimed as a patron by both Buddhists and Nestorians, and was praised by both parties. It might have been so, as such has often been the case in China as well as in India. If we compare the statements of both parties we can easily understand the Emperor's attitude toward the Religions of his time.

“Adam, on his part, seems to have adopted many Buddhist terms in expressing himself. In the Inscription we find a number of Buddhistic expressions. He used the Buddhistic words or ideas for ‘Monastery,’ ‘Priest,’ etc., as Dr. Edkins has already remarked. This fact can now be explained as the result of King-tsing's study of Buddhism, for we have the evidence that he was engaged in translating Buddhist works.

“It was most natural for him to be anxious to get a knowledge of Buddhism in order to learn the right religious terms for expressing himself to the people.

“As to the characters representing ‘Messiah’ they are exactly the same as in the Inscription.

“We should like to know what has become of the book which Adam was translating. That sūtra is indeed preserved in the Buddhistic canonical books, but it is ascribed entirely to his colleague Prajna (see No. 1004 ‘Nanjio Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka.’)

“Whether or not the translation is the same as that which was made by both together we can not tell.”

(B) WHAT THE BUDDHIST PRIEST YÜAN-CHAO WROTE
ABOUT THE NESTORIAN BISHOP, ADAM

大唐貞元續開元釋教錄卷上

The following is what was written by Yüan-chao, the priest of Hsi-ming-ssü (Monastery) at Ch'angan, the Western Capital (長安西明寺).

"The Notes kept concerning the translation of the sūtras by Prajna San-tsang-fa-shih (般若三藏法師) (i. e., the Great Teacher of Tripitaka) say: 'A long time ago when there was the ruling Family of Yao in the Kingdom of Chin, the interlocking trees grew in the Imperial Court yard.

'Then Kumaradjiva of Kucha passing through the West Liang came and presented a tribute. Now our Emperor is profoundly wise and interjoined vine melons grow in the Imperial park. The 'dragon and elephant' man (Naga and Nagaga man) of Kapisa floating on the south sea, came to the Court of Our Emperor. In his hand he carried Paramita Sūtras in Sanscrit.

'The State ministers heard of his arrival and reported it to the Throne. The Emperor graciously accepted the report and gave orders to the authorities concerned to appoint most carefully selected scholars with great virtues to assist him in the translation of the sūtra at the Hsi-ming-ssü. The translation was completed, and the petition thereof was presented to the Throne.

'One who reported the completion of the work for the Imperial information was no other than the very "San-ts'ang-fa-shih" (i. e., The Great Teacher of Tripitaka). Fa-shih's Sanscrit name was Prajna (meaning wisdom in

the T'ang language). He was a man of the kingdom of Kapisa in Northern India. By birth he was of Ch'iao-ta-ma (i. e., Gautama) family. Heaven sent him clever and sharp wits. When he was seven years old his mind was awakened to the truth. So contrary to the expectation of his parents to have him as son serving them, he determined to devote himself to San-pao (i. e., Triratna).

' Then from the Great virtue (i. e., abbot) he was called by the name of "Vinaya Soldier." He chanted four Agan Sûtras and completed one hundred thousand Gatha (i. e., hymns and chants) and more than twenty thousands of Abhidharma Gatha. And he followed his master to Chia-shih-mi (i. e., Kashmir) and by the age of twenty he had fully mastered the rules of the Lü (i. e., Vinaya), and chanted some forty thousand Gatha of Sarvâstivâdâh, and twenty eight thousand Gatha of Abhidharma kôcha S'âstra and Mahâvihâra S'âstra. He was given to understand the true meaning of the Teaching and for seven years he devoted to the study of the smaller vehicle in this country.

' When he was twenty-three years old he went to the monastery of Na-lan-t'ô (i. e., Nalanda) in Middle India and received the doctrines of the greater vehicle as taught in Vidyâ Mâtra S'âstra, Madhyânta, S'abda Vidyâ S'âstra, besides he studied Vadjra Sûtra (lit., Diamond Sûtra), Hêtuvidyâ S'âstra (lit., the treatise explaining the causes), Tchikitsa Vidyâ S'âstra (lit., illustration of medicine), S'ilpsthâna Vidyâ S'âstra (lit., illustration of mechanics) Vinaya Nidâna S'âstra under the guidance of the three great S'âstra masters, Chih-hu (智護) Chin-yu (進友) and Chih-yu (智友).

' Then he wandered about the vicinity of "twin Trees and eight Towers" and in going and coming spent eighteen

years for worshipping. Then he heard that there still existed the Bright and Precious Tripitaka in South and at once starting for the south, he reached his destination. There he consulted his master about many things and got clearly stated of things which he did not know before. There was the Murddhadja Teacher whose name was Fa-chêng (i. e., Dharmayas'as), from whom he (Prajna) received the Yoga Teaching and attained the secret of Mandarâva and that of Samanta Bhadra or the mark of the five forms of translation of Buddha.

'Thus reverentially receiving instructions and leading a devotional life he passed one year chanting more than three thousand and five Gatha. He had heard of the Great Country of Chih-na (China) and that Wên-chu (Mandjus'ri) was in that country. So travelling eastward to reach the great Empire of T'ang, he vowed to preach the Teaching of Buddha there. Sailing on the sea, he went to the east, meeting with many dangers on board the ship. He had almost reached Kuang-chou when he was driven back by a violent gale and he was sent back to the east coast of the Country of the Lion (i. e., Ceylon).

'Again materials and provisions were collected together for his ship, and the ship was well repaired. And passing all along the South Sea route, he wanted to arrive in the Country of T'ang. In the second year of the Chien-chung Period (781 A. D.) he had almost reached Kuang fu (i. e., Kuang-chou), when a violent gale began to blow and the ship was wrecked, whilst many other boats were completely destroyed. It began in the fifth watch (3-5 A. M.) and kept on blowing till sunrise. The result was some boats were found floating whilst others were sunk, but lucky for his ship a fair wind began.

'The personal goods he had been carrying with him and his Sanscrit books of Sûtra and S'âstra were all missing and he did not know where they have gone. But when he managed to reach the sea-shore, there he found a great bamboo tube, in which his books were, on the white sand of the beach, and which had been carried there by a wonderous miracle unheard of. He now recognised clearly that the deep-rooted relation of Satparamita Sûtra with the great T'ang Empire has not been lost and would come to bear fruit.

'Having travelled eastward for half a month he reached Kuang-chou at last. In the third year of the Chien-chung Period (782 A. D.) he came to the upper province. In the second year of the Chên-yüan Period (786 A. D.) he found that a relative from his native land was there. This man was Lo-hao-hsin, the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Army named Shên-ts'ê-chün (神策軍) (lit., God-grant-strategem-army) who was son of the uncle of Prajna San-tsang (i. e., Prajna, the Great Teacher of Tripitaka). The two men wept and laughed and comforted each other. They at last went together to Lo-hao-hsin's house. (The Commander-in-Chief) treated his relation with extreme kindness, and kept him for a long time to make him hold a religious service in his house making consolation presents to the departed.

'Lo-hao-hsin believed in Buddha and revered San-pao (i. e., the Triratna) and requested him to translate the Buddhist Sûtra. Whereupon collaborating with Ching-ching (or King-tsing) (Adam), a Persian monk of the Tch'in Monastery, he translated the Satparamita Sûtra from a copy of the Hu text (胡本) and finished as many as seven volumes. But because at that time Pajna (i. e.,

Prajna) was not familiar with the Hu language nor understood the T'ang language, and Ching-ching (Adam) did not know the Brahman language (i. e., Sanscrit), nor was versed in the Teaching of Shakya, so, though they pretended to be translating the text, yet they could not, in reality, obtain a half of its gem (i. e., real meaning). They were seeking vainglory, privately and wrongly trying their luck. They hereupon reported to the Throne for Imperial information, expecting to get it propagated. His majesty, who was intelligent, wise and accomplished, and who revered the canon of Shakya, examined what they had translated, and found that the principles contained in it were obscure and the wording was diffused.

'Moreover, the Ch'ieh-lan (i. e., Sangharama) monastery of Shakya and the monastery of Ta-ch'in differing much in their customs, and their religious practices being entirely opposed to each other, it was ordered that Ching-ching (Adam) should hand down the Teaching of Mi-shih-ho (Messiah), while the Shakyaputriya-Sramans should propagate the sūtras of the Buddha. It is to be wished that the boundaries of the doctrine may be kept distinct, and their followers may not be intermingled. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy are different things, just as the rivers Ching and Wei are not alike. When the net is on the rope, the result is order and not confusion. And this is really what Heaven and man should most revere and then the Four Classes of people would come to know their destiny. To the authorities concerned the Emperor issued the necessary regulations.'

Appendix No. VIII

THE PROCLAMATION ORDERING THE
DESTRUCTION OF THE BUDDHIST
MONASTERIES (毀佛寺制)

古文淵鑒正集卷二十九 (Ku-wen-yüan-chien
chêng-chi, vol. 29)

“ We learn that there was no such thing as Buddhism prior to the Three Dynasties, i. e., Hsia (夏), Yin (殷), and Chou (周). After the dynasties of Han and Wei, the Image-Teaching gradually began to flourish. And once established, in that degenerate age, this strange custom prevailed far and wide, and now the people are soaked to the bone with it. Just now the national spirit begins to be spoiled unconsciously by it; and, leading the heart of the people astray, it has put the public in worse condition than ever. In the country—— throughout the nine Provinces, and among the mountains and fields as well as in both the capitals—— the number of priests is daily increasing and the Buddhist temples are constantly winning support.

“ Wasting human labour in building, plundering the people's purse by golden decorations, neglecting both husband and wife by their vigil-keeping, no teaching is more harmful than this Buddhism. In breaking the laws of the country and injuring the people, none can surpass this Buddhism. Moreover, if a farmer neglects his field, many suffer the pangs of starvation from his negligence; if a woman neglects her silk-worm culture, many suffer the calamity of being frozen to death through her negli-

gence. Now there are at present so many monks and nuns that to count them is almost impossible. They all depend on farming for their food, and upon silk-worms for their clothing!

“The public monasteries and temples, as well as private chapels and shrines, are innumerable; and all of them so gigantic and imposing that they vie with the Imperial Palace in splendour! In Dynasties Chin (晉) (317—420 A. D.) and Sung (宋) (420—476 A. D.), Ch’i (齊) (479—501 A. D.), and Liang (梁) (502—557 A. D.), the resources of this Empire were exhausted and the country gradually declined, whilst its manners and customs became flippant and insincere, solely because of this Buddhism.

“Our Imperial ancestor T’ai-tsung put an end to confusion and disorder by his arms, and built up the glorious Middle Kingdom and governed his people by his accomplished learning and culture. The right of ‘the pen’ (i. e., peaceful rule or civic administration) and ‘the sword’ (i. e., war) belongs to the State, and they are the two weapons wherewith to govern the Empire. How dare the insignificant Teaching of the Western Lands compete with ours? During the periods of Chên-kuan (貞觀) (627—649 A. D.) and K’ai-yüan (開元) (713—755 A. D.), things were bettered once for all, but the remnants were smouldering, and poverty began to grow bigger and wider and threatened to set the country ablaze!

“After closely examining the examples set by our Imperial predecessors, We have finally decided to put an end to such conspicuous evils. Do ye, Our subjects at home and abroad, obey and conform to Our sincere will. If ye send in a Memorial suggesting how to exterminate these evils which have beset Us for many Dynasties,

We shall do all We can to carry out the plan. Know ye that We yield to none in fulfilling the laws of Our predecessors and in trying to be helpful to Our people and beneficial to the public.

“Those 4,600 monasteries supported by the Government shall be confiscated and, at the same time, 260,500 nuns and priests shall return to the secular life so that they may be able to pay the taxes. We shall also confiscate 40,000 private temples with the fertile and good lands amounting to several tens of millions of acres; and emancipate 150,000 slaves and make them into free, tax-paying people. Examining into the teaching from the foreign lands in the Empire, We have discovered that there are over 3,000 monks from Ta-ch'in and Mu-hu-fu; and these monks also shall return to the lay life. They shall not mingle and interfere with the manners and customs of the Middle Kingdom.

“More than a hundred thousand idle, lazy people and busy-bodies have been driven away, and numberless beautifully decorated useless temples have been completely swept away. Hereafter, purity of life shall rule Our people and simple and non-assertive rules prevail, and the people of all quarters shall bask in the sunshine of Our Imperial Influence. But this is only the beginning of the reforms. Let time be given for all, and let Our will be made known to every one of Our subjects lest the people misunderstand Our wish.”

Appendix No. IX

QUOTATIONS FROM TZŪ-CHIH T'UNG CHIEN 資治通鑑卷二百四十八唐紀六十四 (The Chronological History of T'ang Dynasty Vol. 248 ; Pt. 64,)

“In the seventh month, autumn, in the year of the Hui-ch'ang Period, the Emperor hating to see the priests and nuns preying upon all the people of the Empire determined to cease them. The Taoist priest Chao Kuei-chên (趙歸真) and others also urged the Emperor to execute His plan. Consequently homes for monks (i. e., Sanscrit *Kuti*) and hermits' cells (i. e., Sanscrit *Layana*) scattering over the country places were ordered to be destroyed. Only two Buddhist Monasteries in each Capital—Ch'angan and Loyang—were suffered to exist. Then the Imperial Edict was proclaimed, and by which to these (four) monasteries only 30 priests each were allowed to remain, whilst they were all put under the direct control of the highest provincial Governor of the Empire. And only one monastery was allowed to continue its existence in each of T'ung-chou (同州), Hua-chou (華州), Shang chou (商州) and Hsü-chou (汝州). The monasteries in the provinces were divided into three classes. A monastery belonging to the uppermost class was allowed to have 20 priests, the middle class 10 priests and the lowest class only 5 priests. (The annotation of the Book says: It is said that 4,600 monasteries were destroyed, whilst 260,500 priests and nuns ceased to continue their profession as such). The rest of the priests and nuns besides the priests of the Ta-ch'in (i. e., Nestorian), Mo-ho

(i. e., Mohammedan) and Hsien (i. e., Zoroastrian) religions were made to return to the secular life. Any monastery which could not get permission to continue its existence was destroyed at once. Then the Imperial Censors were sent out to each province to oversee the execution of the Imperial Edict. All the property—movable or immovable—which was owned by the monastery was confiscated to the Government. The materials used in all the monastery buildings were utilized for the construction of public buildings, whilst all the copper and bronze of which the Buddha's images were made together with the bells and gongs were appropriated for the coinage of the Empire."

Appendix No. X

A QUOTATION FROM THE INSCRIPTION OF
A BUDDHIST MONASTERY (重巖寺),
WRITTEN DURING THE T'ANG DYNASTY

唐鄂州永興縣重巖寺碑銘并序

"Therefore, even a small village consisting of ten families or a town consisting of a hundred houses had a Buddhist temple to the glorious decoration thereof. Even since our Imperial Dynasty has begun to reign over the land and the people of China the number of the Buddhist temples gradually increased. And many foreigners also came to this country and among those foreigners that have come to us there are the Mo-ni (i. e., Manicheans), the Ta-ch'in (i. e., Nestorians) and the Hsien-shên (i. e., Zoroastrians). But all the monasteries belonging to these

three kinds of foreign religions in the Empire, even if they were put together, will not come up to the number of our Buddhist monasteries existing in a small town."

Appendix No. XI

(A) TU FU (杜甫) ON THE STONE

BAMBOO-SPROUTS AT CH'ENG-TU

杜工部詩集卷七 (Poetical Works of Tu Fu, Vol. 7)

(Tu Fu (712—770 A. D.), a well known poet, whom the Chinese rank as second only to the famous poet Li T'ai-po, composed a sort of blank verses on "the Stone Bamboo-sprouts at Ch'êng-tu (成都)," the capital of the Province Shu (蜀) or Szechuan (四川省). But Tu Fu's verses in question do not mention any thing concerning a Nestorian monastery at all. It is the Commentaries on Tu Fu's verses that give the idea that Tu Fu's verses on the Stone Bamboo-sprouts had something to do with the Nestorian monastery at Ch'êng-tu. Such being the case, we translate here only the words of the commentators concerned.)

Tu Tien (杜田), the commentator says: "The said Stone Bamboo-sprouts exist outside the West gate of Ch'êng-tu. They consist of a pair of two stone pillars standing high. One pillar is in the south and the other in the north. The north Stone Bamboo-sprout is 16 feet high and 9 feet around at the largest. The south one is 13 feet high and 12 feet around at the largest. The south one got broken at the time of Kung Sun-shu (公孫述) (23—25 A. D.) and this is why the south one is shorter than

the north one." The same Tu Tien says: "According to the book called 'The Description of the Stone Bamboo-sprouts' written by Tu Kuang-t'ing (杜光庭), it was said that these stone Bamboo-sprouts had five different names for the selfsame thing besides 'the Stone Bamboo-sprouts.'" Again, Y'en-fa writes: "According to the book called 'the Description of Ch'êng-tu' (成都記), it was said that, on the site where the Stone Bamboo-sprouts still remains, the stone which once belonged to the attached pavilion also remained. When a rain is over, people are sure to find small pearls there. Some pearls are greenish-yellow and look like millets. They also have small holes through which silk-thread can be passed." Mêng-pi also writes: "According to the book called 'the Old Traditions of the Ancient Capital of Shu Province' (i. e., Ch'eng-tu) (蜀都故事), it is said that the Stone Bamboo-sprouts originally formed the foundation of the Pearl Tower. A long time ago there came certain foreigners here and built a monastery at that place, and it came to be known by the name of a Ta-ch'in (i. e., Nestorian) monastery. The gate tower had ten rooms and all these rooms had the blinds made of strings of pearls and blue jades. Afterwards they were all destroyed and fell to the ground. But the original foundations still remain. Every time when a great rain falls the people in front and behind often pick up many pearls, sê-sê (瑟瑟) (i. e., a rare kind of precious stone), gold, and blue jade besides some other rare things."

(B) WU TS'ËNG ON THE POET TU'S "THE STONE
BAMBOO-SPROUTS" 能改齋漫錄卷六杜石筍行

(Nêng-kai-ch'i-man-lu. vol. 6)

(Wu Ts'êng (吳曾), a scholar flourished under the Sung Dynasty wrote a comment on the famous Poet Tu's "the Stone Bamboo-sprouts." The following are Wu-ts'êng's own words.)

"The poet Tu Fu's verses on the Stone Bamboo-sprouts says: when a heavy rain falls people pick up sê-sê (i. e., a rare kind of precious stones). According to the Book called 'the Description of Hua-yang' (華陽記), K'ai-ming's family built a tower with "The Seven Precious Things." The tower had the blinds made of the strings of pearls. But in the reign of the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, a great fire broke out in the Province of Shu and burned down several thousand houses and this famous tower was also reduced to ashes. In our own days, people very often light upon pearls in the sand around the place. Then again, according to the Book called 'The Old Traditions of the Capital of Shu Province' written by Chao Ching-hsien (趙清獻), the Stone Bamboo-sprouts existed outside the West gate of the City. These Bamboo-sprouts were said to have consisted of two stone pillars standing in a pair. They were the foundations of the Pearl-Tower. A long time ago, there came some foreigners here. They built at this place a monastery and named it the Ta-ch'in (i. e., a Nestorian) monastery, whose tower-gate had ten rooms. And every one of them had a blind made of strings of pearls, blue jades and white gems. Afterwards these

were all broken to pieces and fell to the ground. To this day, the original foundations of the building exist. Every time when there was a great rain, the people who happened to be in front of or behind the monastery often pick up pearls, sê-sê, gold and blue jade besides many other curious things. Thus what people call 'the Stone Bamboo-sprouts' are not things originally intended to be a tower. Only the Pearl Tower happened to be built very close to the old site where the Stone Bamboo-sprouts stood. And it is said that the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in produces stones like jaspers, besides pearls and night shining precious stones. From this place, the water canal-way leads to Yung-ch'ang-chün, I'chou (益州永昌郡) of Shu Province where many rare things are produced. And that is the reason why this very monastery came to be built by the people who came from the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in. But quoting from the book called 'Yu-yang-tsa-tsu' (酉陽雜俎) against this, Tu Tien once said to the effect that the city of Shao-ch'êng in Shu Province was beautifully decorated with gold, gems, pearls and blue jades, and that General Huan Wên (桓溫) got very angry at such luxurious decorations and burned down the city so that the people of the city might not have anything to do with the Ta-ch'in people. But what Tu Tien said was entirely in the wrong."

Appendix No. XII

THE LIFE OF MA CH'ING-HSIANG (i. e., Mar Sargis)

金史卷一百二十四馬慶祥傳

(The History of the Chin Dynasty, vol. 124)

Ma Ch'ing-hsiang whose full-age name was Gui-ning (lit., Auspicious of peace). But his original name was Sargis. His ancestors had a long time ago immigrated into the Chinese territory from the Western Lands and settled at Ti-tao, Lin-t'ao (in the Province of Kansu). And his family name at last has come to be known in China by "Ma" (lit., *Horse* but it is really the corruption of the Syriac *Mar*). Afterwards the family was transferred to (the foot of) T'ien-shan, in Ching-chou. During the years of the T'ai-ho Period (1201—1204 A. D.), he was appointed an assistant translator in the Grand Council.

In the beginning of the Ta-an Period (1209—1211 A. D.) Prince Wei (of the Chin Dynasty), for the first time, attempted at establishing a friendly relation with the great Yüan Empire, and the Prince nominated (Sargis) as an attache to assist the chief envoy on the Mission (to the great Yüan Empire). The Prince then said that Sargis was wise and eloquent, besides he was well versed in six languages, and he would not, therefore, prove unworthy of the great mission entrusted to him. When he returned home discharging successfully his commission, the dignity of the Governor of K'ai-fêng-fu was conferred on him. In the defence of the frontier posts he showed a great ability and what he did was said to have been very satisfactory as he could accomplish all things without

making any noise.

But soon afterward, the army of the Great Yüan marched towards the right hand side direction of Shen, and the Government appointed (General) Wan-yenchung-yüan the Commander-in-Chief of Fêng-hsiang and Ma Ch'ing-hsiang, Vice-Commander-in-Chief, and then the Prince himself declared that he gladly sanctioned such an appointment as this, since it perfectly agreed with his real intention. And he added that a most painstaking labour should be taken in the fortification for defence. Hereupon, he (Sargis) received the honour to do homage on appointment as the Governor and Commander of the military forces of Fêng-hsiang-fu Circuit. In the winter, the 11th month of the first year of the Yüan-kuang Period (1222 A. D.), the alarming news that General Mêng-ku-pu-hua (of the Yüan Army) was marching on Fêng-hsiang reached and the Provincial Government summoned (Ma) Ch'ing-hsiang and Vice-Governor Hsü-ch'ien to war and ordered them to clear the field along the different roads before the enemies approach.

On leaving his home to the front, he got his own portrait painted by an artist and bequeathed it to his family. Some one (of the family) saw it and protested, saying, "You are so young and strong, why do you do such a thing as this which bodes unlucky?" (Ma) Ch'ing-hsiang calmly replied: "You may not understand (at present) what I mean by it, I am sure." The next day he marched at the head of his army against his enemy. His vanguard, however, fell in with the main force of his enemy near the River Kuei, but the battle was unsuccessful to the vanguard. In spite of all this, he marched on and on fighting hard, and he was

on the point of entering the walled city (of Fêng-hsiang), when the overwhelming forces of the enemy met his army and attacked them on their way back to the city. He knew at once that there was no escaping for him. So he gave battle orders to his cavalry crying aloud, "we have all received great favours beyond measure from our country and now it is our bounden duty to do our best and die for our country." All the soldiers under him answered "Yea!" And they all fought well until their arrows and other weapons were all used up and they themselves became utterly exhausted, while the overpowering forces surrounded him and his men in several lines as the enemy wanted to make him surrender and carry him as a prisoner of war. So they repeatedly tried to persuade him to lay down his arms but in vain. He fought and finally fell in battle. He was then forty-six years old.

The Field-marshal Kuo Chung-yüan ordered Ma Ch'ing-hsiang's corpse to be carried from the battlefield with honour due to him and to be buried to the east of the monastery called P'u-men-ssü at Fêng-hsiang. When his brilliant heroic deed was reported to the Throne, the Prince issued a proclamation to confer on him the dignity of State-helping Great-General and Governor of Hêng-chou (恒州刺史) with the posthumous title "Loyal and Merciful."

Appendix No. XIII

(A) THE INSCRIPTION ON A MONUMENT ERECTED
ON THE SIDE OF THE AVENUE LEADING TO
THE TOMB OF THE HONOURABLE MA, THE
GOVERNOR OF HÊNG-CHOU 恒州刺史馬君神道碑
遺山文集卷二十四 (I-shan-wên-chi, vol. 24)

(We translate from the Inscription only those parts which will give a personal history of Ma Ch'ing-hsiang.)

“His personal name was Ch'ing-hsiang and his full-age name was Jui-ning while his family name was Ma (lit., *Horse* but the corruption of the Syriac *Mar.*) But, while young he was commonly known by the name of Hsi-li-chi-ssü (i. e., Sargis). By birth he belonged to the noble family of the Uigur tribe. Towards the end of the Hsüan-chêng Period (578 A. D.), his ancestors settled at Ti-tao, Lin-t'ao (Kansu) together with others of the same tribe. There was, however, no knowing exactly whence they all emigrated to that district. But at the time when the Army of the Chin Empire conquered the territories lying on the right hand side of the Shen, all the families (of the Uigurs) there were carried to Liao-tung; and in consequence they had to make their new home there.

The Emperor T'ai-tsung (of Chin) (1113—1134 A. D.) once went out for hunting and fell into a confusion of vision for a short while. Whilst he was in that condition he saw a vision that a golden figure of man came forward clasping the sun under his arm. The Emperor was greatly alarmed and very much frightened and could not

look up and see any longer. So he gave up the hunting and returned to his Palace and issued a proclamation searching for this golden figure of man whom he saw in his vision. Some one informed to His Majesty to the effect that what His Majesty had seen must have been perhaps the transfigured manifestation of Buddha himself.

There was not, however, any Buddhist tower or temple in Liao-tung as yet, and the image of Buddha could not be got at all. Only there was one image (worshipped) in the House where the Uigurs meet and sing the "Buddhist" hymns. So some men were despatched by the Emperor to get hold of this image (lit., portrait) worshipped by the Uigurs and to present it to the Emperor. To the great surprise of all, this image which was presented to the Emperor exactly coincided with what the Emperor had seen in the vision. His Imperial Majesty was greatly pleased and reverentially expressed his admiration and finally ordered to have "the field of happiness" attached to the House (where the Uigurs meet and sing the "Buddhist" Hymns) as a token of the Imperial gratitude to the appearance of the image (of Buddha). (The Uigurs on the other hand) begged the Emperor and succeeded in having all the Uigurs kept as male and female slaves (in Liao-tung) emancipated and be made common people with the Imperial gift of money and other presents.

One of the ancestors of Ma Ch'ing-hsiang was known by the name of Tieh-mu-erh Yüeh-ko (i. e., Timur Eka), whilst Ma Ch'ing-hsiang's father was Sao-ma Yeh-li-ch'u (i. e., Sauma Elijah). His ancestors once more were removed to T'ien-shan in Ching-chou (from Liao-tung), and it was said then that the four generations passed since his

ancestors re-settled down there. His home at T'ien-shan was situated near the frontier towns and the places of commerce. He could engage in the exchange of commodities, besides he could rear domestic animals and raise corns and other food materials in the fields. His family members were very assiduous and led economical lives. So what by working hard in ploughing up new land and what by rearing domestic animals, his family became at length very wealthy and powerful.

His father had three sons but the two brothers (of Ma Ch'ing-hsiang) died very young and he alone survived. Ma Ch'ing-hsiang's natural disposition was clever and active, whilst his capacity and ambition were great and far reaching, and none of his companions could surpass him in anything. Before he reached the age, he already mastered the six languages and was able to write and read them freely. During the years of the T'ai-ho Period (1201—1204 A. D.), he was appointed to a post of assistant translator in the Grand Council, and then promoted to that of a regular Interpreter. He was appointed afterward to be a member of the suite attending to the Envoy sent to Li-hsia. In the beginning of the Ta-an Period (1209—1211 A. D.), Prince Wei-shao opened a negotiation to establish a diplomatic relation with the great (Yüan) Empire for the first time, and appointed (Ma Ch'ing-hsiang) Vice-envoy of the Mission sent to the Court of Yüan. By going and coming back (between the two Courts) he succeeded in submitting the details of the negotiations to the Imperial information.

The Emperor (of the Yüan Empire) was attracted by him and greatly admired his eloquence of speech, besides his business ability, and wanted very much to keep him

at his Court. But with a great difficulty Ma Ch'ing-hsiang managed to have himself set free from the detention and returned home safe and sound and submitted the whole matter to the Prince (Wei-shao).

In that very year, I-li-chih (i. e., Elijah), (the Envoy of the Yüan Empire), visited the Court (of Prince Wei) carrying the translation of the diplomatic documents and made inquiry for the meaning (of the words and sentences) in many places. Ma Ch'ing-hsiang informed previously to the different officials under him all the meanings of the many sentences and phrases in question separately, so that, when each official reported one meaning at a time, the whole questions might be clearly solved whilst he himself need not express anything openly. And thus he could not avoid receiving a well deserved honour of having done anything useful in the matter.

But when I-li-chih (i. e., Elijah) had the audience of Prince Wei, he informed the Prince that Ma Ch'ing-hsiang was the very man that did the real work of solving all these questions and that he deserved for the honour. Hereupon, the Prince summoned Ma Ch'ing-hsiang into his presence and inquired of the matter. Then he was granted special favour to have the honour to inform personally to His Royal Highness and implored most earnestly to spare him of forfeiting the honour from his men by disclosing what he had done out of kindness. The Prince was deeply moved by his deeds and words, and treated him most graciously by bestowing on him a special reward in granting the Prince's own gold besides the gold coins of the Royal Household.

When the Emperor Hsüan-tsung (of the Chin Dy-

nasty) removed his capital to Pien-liang (in the 5th month of 1214 A. D.) I-li-chih visited the Court (of Chin) for the second time. He again searched for Ma Ch'ing-hsiang regardless of the latter's official position. The Government (of Chin) was very eager in soliciting for peace with the Yüan Empire, and asked Ma Ch'ing-hsiang again to undertake this great mission. He gladly assented to take the responsibility and was determined to sacrifice his own life for it. But the Government (found that it was too late to ensue for peace and) gave up the idea to send the Envoy altogether. But since that time the Emperor and his ministers reposed confidence in him and treated him as very trusty adviser to the Emperor and Empire. His official position was promoted every year until he was appointed Military General with the title of Governor of Kai-fêng-fu. In the construction of the frontier posts for defence he was appointed Manager-in-Chief. When the defence was completed he was promoted to the Governor-General of the Fêng-hsiang-fu Circuit.

In the autumn of the 2nd year of the Yüan-kuang Period, the great invading army (of Yüan) marched on carrying devastation far and wide. The Provincial Government appealed and urged him to defend the country from the enemy. Ma Ch'ing-hsiang and Hsü (Ch'ien), the Vice-Governor at once ordered the soldiers to clear land and field along the different roads. But one day when Ma Ch'ing-hsiang was at a place not more than three or four *li* (i. e., less than two miles) from the city wall, he was suddenly attacked by the enemy's flying company of Cavalry, and was surrounded by them together with his son San-ta. The enemy wanted to make him and his son prisoners of war and tried to

persuade him to surrender himself by laying down arms but in vain. At last he fell fighting hard. He was forty six years old, when he died on the 22nd of the 11th month (of the year 1222 A. D.)

That very night, however, his son, San-ta, managed to escape from the enemy's hands and reported to his army about his father's death. The Commander-in-Chief was very much distressed because he could not have saved him from the enemy's hand at such a short distance, and he at once sent out one thousand cavalry to carry back the corpse of General Ma Ch'ing-hsiang with the honour due to his illustrious merit. All the soldiers of the Chin Empire were grieved very much and wept for his death, whilst all the people——both officials and non-officials——continued to come to make obeisance to his corpse for three days until he was buried. When his heroic deeds and noble death was reported to the throne by the special post horse, a proclamation was issued conferring upon him the Dignity of State-helping Great-general and Governor of Hêng-chou and ordering his statue to be set up in the Pao-chung-miao (lit., Rewarding + Loyalty Temple) and to be worshipped, whilst one of his sons was made to wait upon the Prince at Court. All these were extraordinary favours specially conferred on him.....

(B) THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MA FAMILY

(Chin-hua-huang-hsien-shêng-wen-chi, vol. 43)

(金華黃先生文集卷四十三)

The ancestors of the Ma family (lit., *Horse*, but the corruption of the Syriac *Mar*) were the descendants of

the Nie-ssü-t'o-li (i. e., Nestorian) noble family in the Western Lands. The first man of the family that came to the Middle Kingdom was known by the name of Ho-lu-ch'ih-ssü (i. e., Wargis or George). He was clever and daring in his natural disposition. And being full of hope and without fear, he determined to do something which would turn a meritorious service to the world. Once he happened to observe the geographical features of the different countries and was very much delighted to find the soil around Lin-t'ao very fertile and suitable for every purpose. During the years of the Hsien-yung Period (1065—1073 A. D.) of the Emperor Tao-tsung of the Liao Dynasty, he (Georges) had the honour to present nine pieces of great pearls to the Emperor. The Emperor was gracious enough to confer on him an official dignity, but which Imperial favour he politely declined and preferred to lead a pastoral life rearing domestic animals around Lin-t'ao. The Emperor with his special favour permitted him to do so. Thus his family came to settle in Ti-tao, Lin-t'ao (in the Province of Kansu).

Appendix No. XIV

THE LIFE OF E-NA-KO-ERH (ORIGINALLY YÜEH-NAI-HO)

元史卷百三十四額訥格爾傳

(Vol. 134 of the History of the Yüan Dynasty)

E-na-ko-erh (originally Yüeh-nai-ho) (i. e., Johannes) (the translator believes that this name must have been originally E-ko-na-erh or Yüeh-ho-nai but the Chinese transcriber made a mistake in writing the name by changing

the position of *ko* and *na* or that of *ho* and *nai* of the original letters) whose personal name was Chêng-ching. His ancestors belonged to the Yung-ku-to (i. e., Ongut) tribe. His tribe had been settled at Ti-tao, near Lin-t'ao (in Kansu). The Emperor of the Chin Empire conquered that part of the Province and ordered to have the tribe removed to Liao-tung. Yüeh-nai-ho's (i. e., Johannes) great-grand father was T'ieh-mu-erh-yung (originally T'ieh-mu-erh E-ko) (i. e., Timur Eka) who entered into the service of the Government of the Chin Empire and was promoted to the Commander of the horse-soldier and foot-soldier (i. e., Cavalry and Infantry) of Chin. From the mere fact that his official name bears the letter "horse" (i. e., the commander of horse-soldier) his Chinese family name was made Ma (lit., *Horse* but as we believe it must be the corruption of the Syriac *Mar*). His grand-father Po So-ma I-erh (i. e., Bar Sauma Elijah) transplanted the whole family to the vicinity of T'ien-shan in Ching-chou. Becoming very wealthy and powerful there he came to lord over the people in the frontier. When the Emperor Hsüan-tsung removed his capital to Pien (in 1214 A. D.) Yüeh-nai-ho's (i. e., Johannes) father Shih-la-chi-su (i. e., Sargis) was appointed at first assistant-translator to the Grand Council and then promoted to the Governor of K'ai-fêng-fu, and finally was made the Governor-General of Fêng-hsiang-fu Circuit, but he fell in battle fighting for his country. He was decorated with the posthumous titles of "the Country-helping-Marshal and the Governor of Hêng-chou, whilst a shrine of Pao-chung (i. e., loyalty rewarded) was erected by the Emperor and was dedicated to his honour.

While Yüeh-nai-ho was young he was very much disposed to learning and was assiduous, but not a little

conceited. When his father died in battle, he was seventeen years old, but he courageously faced the sad event and bravely took off his cap and threw it on the ground and said: "My father has sacrificed himself to the cause of his country. Why cannot I do any thing to support my family?" Just about this time, the invading army of Yüan happened to capture Pien, the capital of Chin. The people had to run away from the city with difficulty. Consequently, escorting his mother he escaped and proceeded to the North, braving all sorts of dangers throughout. When he reached (the capital of Yüan in) the North and was received in audience by the Emperor Hsien-tsung (i. e., Mangu Khan), he showed a great ability in every way. But, above all, in observing the Court etiquettes, his behaviour captivated the heart of the Emperor. Hereupon the Emperor appointed him Djorgatchi or the magistrate to take charge of the whole affairs regarding the administration of justice in the ancient city of Yen. Reluctantly but bravely he accepted the appointment and very faithfully discharged all his official duties with satisfactory results of administration.

In the 11th year of the Ch'un-yu Period (1252 A. D.), the census of the whole people belonging to the Middle Kingdom was taken by the Government. Yüeh-nai-ho (i. e., Johannes) gave an official instruction to the authorities concerned to the effect that the Confucian scholars who passed any of the classics in the civil service examination should be deemed as a man of title and ought not to be treated as common people in the classification. Thus the Confucian scholars came to be exempted from military service generally imposed on common people. Indeed, this good precedent was established for the

first time under the Yüan Government by him. He was kind and merciful in his nature and well disposed to giving in charity. It was he that introduced (to China) the system of the Ch'ang-p'ing-tsang (lit., Constant-level-granary) or the nationalisation of corns against bad years on the one hand, and for the purpose of keeping their prices constant on the other. He was also reputed for having recommended the wise and worthy men to the service of the Government to the benefit of the Emperor and the Empire

In the year of K'ai-ch'ing (1259 A. D.), when just before he came to the throne, Khublai Khan himself leading his expedition army against the Sung Emperor in the South, left the Northern Capital for the South. Again the Emperor did not forget Yüeh-nai-ho and appointed him to be among the Imperial staffs. The Imperial army marched on as far as Pien. Yüeh-nai-ho (i. e., Johannes) concentrated his energy and skill to the transportation of ammunitions and victuals, and succeeded in transporting several million cattles of salt from Chi-nan to the south. All these deeds proved an unspeakable benefit both to the expedition forces and to the common people in the South. Wherever the Imperial army marched on under Khublai it carried everything before him, and subjugated Pien, Tsai, Ju-chou, Ying-chüan and other places on the way. The people at large, tradesmen as well as farmers and peasants, were pacified and remained undisturbed and continued to do their daily works quietly. Consequently both the civil and military administration was carried on satisfactorily. And such was almost entirely due to Yüeh-nai-ho's wise and far-sighted policy.

When Khublai Khan came to the Throne and was

declared the Emperor Shih-tsu (世祖), the Emperor rewarded Yüeh-nai-ho amply and granted him the Imperial Rescript declaring how he appreciated Yüeh-nai-ho's well deserved merit for Him and his people. When the Emperor was starting on an expedition against the country of Ê-tsa-pu-ko, Yüeh-nai-ho himself quietly managed to purchase 500 warhorses on his own account and had the honour to present these horses to the service of the Imperial army. The Imperial Rescript on the appreciation of the deed was issued in which the Emperor acknowledged Yüeh-nai-ho's loyalty. Yüeh-nai-ho was finally appointed the Minister of the Board of Rites and was decorated with "the Gold Tiger Tablet." In the 4th year of the Enthronisation (1263 A. D.), it was reported that the Southern provinces became so much unrest as to be led easily into disturbances. Yüeh-nai-ho submitted to the Imperial information his plan to have markets opened at Kuang-chou, Ying-ch'uan and other important places, and that by doing so, the Government would get nearly 1,037,000 catties of iron per annum, and that, out of such, 200,000 pieces of agricultural tools could be made and that these could be exchanged for 40,000 shih (石) of corns to be in use of the Government in need. Such economic policy, he argued, would not only be beneficial to both the Government and the people but also would prove very effective as a means of pacifying the disturbances in the southern provinces. The Emperor issued an edict bestowing on him an additional domain of 3,000 houses with the title of the Director of the Government Iron Works, besides he was made Commander-in-Chief of both the Mongolian and the Chinese armies when he died at the age of 48. The various posthumous honours bestowed

on him in commemoration of his illustrious and meritorious deeds for the Emperor and the Empire

Not a few of his posterity entered into the Government service and naturally came to occupy important positions. In the reign of the Emperor Jên-tsung, Yüeh-nai-ho's great grandson Ma Tsu-ch'ang, a young scholar with great literary fame and attainments, passed the first and the second civil service examinations with the highest honour. He was afterward made a member of the Han-lin Academy (i. e., the Imperial Academy) and was subsequently became a member of the Censorate. But his honest and out-spoken words incurred the displeasure of the Emperor and he was dismissed. Then he retired and led a quiet life at Fu-kuang for several years, when he was recalled from the retirement again and reappointed a member of the Han-lin Academy. And after several promotions, he was made a member of the Censorate for the second time, and became the senior censor when he died with the posthumous title of Wên-chên (lit., Literature and Fidelity) conferred on him.

Appendix No. XV

(A) THE EMPEROR HSIEN-TSUNG OR MANGU
KHAN'S OPINIONS OF BUDDHISM AND
OTHER RELIGIONS

辯偽錄卷三 (Pien-wei-lu vol. 3)

“The Emperor summoned the Buddhist priests to his presence and said to them: ‘Our State has come into

existence and is now enjoying its prosperity and great glory by the grace and mercy of Buddha. Buddha's teaching, therefore, ought to be carefully observed by us. Every time, however, the Taoist Teachers see Us, your Emperor, and Our people believe in Buddhism, they seem to rouse an ill feeling of envy in their minds and endeavour unjustly to throw obstructions to prevent the Buddhist priests from making their converts among the Taoists. But we know that both Buddhism and Taoism do not contradict with each other. So it is not fair and just for any religious teacher to force another man to his own religious belief at the expense of any other religious beliefs. Suppose now Taoists say that Taoism is the best religion, whilst the Confucian literati declare that Confucianism is by far superior to any teaching in the world. Then again, the men of Tarsa (迭屠) who believe in the Messiah earnestly profess that they are all to be born again in Heaven, whilst the Ta-shih-wan (i. e., Mussulman) pray aloud to Heaven saying they thank God for His mercy and blessings on them. If we dig deep into the root and consider well all details of the matter we can not come to the conclusion that all these (religious sects above referred to) could not be compared favourably with Buddhism.' ”

With these words, the Emperor showed his hand before them, and said : “ All these teachings we just spoke about may well be likened to the five fingers of the hand. All these fingers branch out from the palm. Buddhism is the palm, so to speak, whilst the other religious teachings are the fingers. The teachers of other religions than Buddhism have failed to trace back to the root of all the teachings, and yet they remain blindly

proud of their own ignorance.

Such reminds us of the famous story of "the Blind men and the Elephant." Just at that time the cold winter season was approaching and those Taoist teachers who had been summoned also were tallying on their way as they were not willing to come up to the Court. Thereupon the Emperor said to the Buddhist priests: "The Taoist Teachers have not come after all. Perhaps so, because they had no doctrines to insist on." The Emperor most graciously commanded the authorities concerned that all these Buddhist priests and their congregations, who happened to be with them, should be sent back to Yen (i. e., Peking) on the post-chaise. This happened on the 10th of the ninth month of the Ping-ch'en year (i. e., Fire and Dragon) (1256 A. D.).

(B) A QUOTATION FROM "CH'ANG-CH'UN'S TRAVELS"
(Hsi-yu-lu, 西遊錄 vol. 2)

"On the second day of the ninth month (Sept. 19th), we started out again, travelling west for four days; after which we camped to the east of Lun-t'ai. The head of the Tarsa came to meet us."

Appendix No. XVI

(A) CH'UNG FU SSŪ, THE GOVERNMENT BUREAU CONTROLLING OVER THOSE WHO PRAY FOR THE FELICITY OF THE EMPEROR AND THE EMPIRE (EXCEPT THE TAOISTS AND THE BUDDHISTS WHO WERE PUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF CHI-HSIEN-YÜAN (集賢院) (i. e., Council of the Wise Men).

元史卷八十九 (Yüanshih, vol. 89)

The Bureau of Ch'ung-fu (崇福司) (i. e., the Administration Bureau controlling over religionists other than the Taoists and the Buddhists) shall enjoy the fixed salary of the second court rank. The Bureau has the jurisdiction over Ma-êrh (i. e., Mar or 𐎠𐎡𐎣, the honourable title given to a Nestorian Bishop), Kên-hsi (i. e., the corruption of Kasisa or 𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎢, meaning "presbyter"), Lieh-pên (i. e., Rabban or 𐎠𐎢𐎣 lit., "great teacher"), Yeh-li-k'o-wên (i. e., Arkehum or Archon, meaning Nestorians.) Their duties are to engage in the service of sacrifice and other similar service.

The Bureau consists of four directorate members enjoying the lower grade of the second court rank, two sub-directorate members of the lower grade of the third court rank, two acting-directorate members of the lower grade of the fourth court rank, two deputies of the lower grade of the fifth court rank, one chief of employees enjoying the lower grade of the seventh court rank, one acting-chief of employees, enjoying the upper grade of the eighth court rank, besides two annalists, one inter-

preter, one usher and two couriers, (enjoying no court ranks). This bureau was created in the twenty-sixth year of the Chih-yüan Period and in the second year of the Yen-yu Period it was raised to the Council Board (院) with one President over it to direct the whole affairs of the Board. To this Council Board all the affairs of the Yeh-li-k'o-wên were transferred after seventy-two offices in the Empire were abolished, which had controlled over the Yeh-li-k'o-wên's affairs. Seven years afterward, however, the Council Board was made the Bureau again, and the above mentioned officials were attached to it.

(B) MAR MOSES IN THE CH'UNG FU SSŪ
(History of the Yüan Dynasty, vol. 113)

元史卷百十三

In the 18th year of the Chih-chêng Period 1358 A. D. (the year star being Mou-hsü), Ma Mou-huo-chê (i. e., Mar Moses) was appointed Ts'an-chih-chêng-shih (參知政事). But in the eleventh month (December) he resigned the Presidency of the Ch'ung-fu-ssŭ."

(C) THE RANK OF THE CH'UNG FU SSŪ
(History of the Yüan Dynasty, vol. 84)

元史卷八十四

The Bureau of Ch'ung-fu-ssŭ is an administration office ranked equal to the Tu-hu-fu (都護府) and Chüan-fu-ssŭ. The officials attached shall be ranked according to the following rule: Those who shall be appointed on completion of the examinations either by the Grand

Council or by the Board of Rites shall take office in the upper grade of the seventh court rank. The others (than these) shall be appointed one degree lower."

(D) THE SALARIES FOR THE MEMBERS
OF THE CH'UNG FU SSÜ

元史卷九十六

(History of the Yüan Dynasty, vol. 96)

The Ch'ung-fu-ssü: The directorate members of the Bureau shall receive 82 kuan and 66.6 in cash and 8 shih in rice for their salary. The sub-directorate members receive 70 kuan in cash and 7 ½ shih in rice, the acting-directorate members 59 kuan 33 in cash and 6 shih in rice, deputies 39 kuan 33 in cash and 3 ½ shih in rice, the chief of employees 28 kuan in cash and 3 shih in rice, the office-manager 26 kuan and 66 in cash and 2 ½ shih in rice and the acting-chief of employees 22 kuan in cash and 2 shih in rice. (The rest are hired by the day or by the month and not treated as a civil servant with official rank and annual payment).

Appendix No. XVII

THE POST-HORSE CARRYING WINE BOTTLES
ON THE BACK.

元典章卷二十六鋪馬馱酒

"In the 7th month of the 4th year of the Yen-yu Period (A. D. 1317), the Provincial Governor (of the

Huai-tung) (i. e., the provinces lying in the east of the River Huai) had the honour to receive an instruction from the Grand Council (中書) to the effect that the Imperial Censorate (御史臺) had received a report from the Judicial Commissioner of the Huai-tung, which ran as follows: "On the 30th of January of the 4th year of the Yen-yu Period (1317 A. D.), the Imperial gifts were ordered. Hereupon, (General) Ch'ê-ch'ê-tu (i. e., Tchik-tchito) (徹徹都) and General Chan-ssü-ting (苫思丁) (i. e., Justin) raised four horses and came to Yang (chou), (as) the Emperor graciously sent forth the incense to the Yeh-li-k'o-wên's Cross Monastery in order to bestow it on the leader of Merit and Virtue. But (instead of the incense) silk cloth and wine and other things arrived at (the place). On the second day of the month (following), when T'o-t'o-ho-sun (脫脫禾孫) (i. e., Tok-to-khos, the officer looking after the industry besides reward and punishment in the Circuit) happened to be posted in Wu (i. e., the Province of Kiangsu). This officer went to the Ch'ung-fu-yüan carrying (the silk and the wine). Chan-ssu-ting and his men, however, had been sent there before (the T'o-t'o-ho-sun) proceeded to the (Ch'ung-fu-yüan) office to examine the said instruction and argued the matter against it. When Chan-ssu-ting examined the instruction in question he found that the Imperial gifts of wine and sweet wine were not mentioned in it at all. Whereas a petition was presented to the Throne by the Ch'ung-fu-yüan, whilst the sacred command from the Emperor orders silk cloth for coat and lining to be given to A-la-han (i. e., Abraham) Lü-ko (i. e. Luke). But even in this sacred command, the Imperial gifts of wine and sweet wine were not mentioned at all.

Seeing that sincerity must go before every thing in the right way of government, whilst the greatest weight must be put on the faithful observance of the laws and ceremonies with regard to the way of reward and punishment, it is very natural that "the sacred son of Heaven" should bestow special gifts on those members of the Imperial clansmen or on those officers and officials who did great services in founding the present Dynasty or on "the Emperor's legs and arms" (i. e., chief ministers of States as well as Generals) or on the ministers or others who laboured very diligently and faithfully for the cause of the Emperors. The Emperor does this in order to make their merits manifest by bestowing on each of them silk articles, wine and sweet wine or some such things. But what is the said Ao-la-han (i. e., Abraham)? Was he not only a Yeh-li-k'o-wên? He surely had neither literary pursuits worthy of a name of culture nor military merits (to deserve such Imperial gifts). He was a mere rich tradesman at Yang-chou and enrolled (there) as a common people. It is true that his father had a name for building monasteries, but great many years have elapsed from that time. At first, by means of false representations Ao-la-han managed to enter into the service of the public works and then he begged Gen. Hu-ch'a, (i. e., Khoitcha) the Hsüan-wei-shih, (i. e., the military officer administrating the civil government over newly pacified territories) and secured to his own hand the power to collect the wine duties in the General's jurisdiction. Being greedy by nature and coveting after large profits, he made his fortune at the expense of the people in general. So he was arrested and he admitted all his crimes and was sentenced for 57 blows in the judgment. He, how-

ever, succeeded in presenting a petition to the Throne by making manifest that the decision against him was contrary to the law.

On the next day (after the petition reached the Imperial information) the Emperor condescended to issue the timely Imperial proclamation for his (Abraham's) pardon and (ordered the authorities concerned to) see whether what he stated out in his petition would stand to the test.

Such class of people as this, however, never enjoyed the honour to wait upon in the presence of His Majesty. Nor did such ever belong to any family of rank and position. And it is very natural that His Majesty should not even be informed of the name of this man (Abraham).

Now, the Ch'ung-fu-yüan had transmitted to the officials by the words of mouth the sacred command which they had the honour to receive previously, and the officials concerned ordered Chan-ssu-ting and his men to raise four horses for the transportation of the two bottles of wine and sweet wine as far as Yang-chou and there (Chan-ssu-ting) delivered (what he mistook for the gifts mentioned in) the sacred command to the Ch'ung-fu-yüan as he believed they had the honour to receive these things from the Emperor.

Now such as this is the very case in which people receive reward without merit. How much less deserving must be the action which was taken by the Ch'ung-fu-yüan to present such petition as this to the Throne for the Imperial gift and to have succeeded in having the honour to receive the said sacred command. But it was clear in our mind that there were not mentioned the two bottles of wine in the sacred command at all. And we inquired of

the Ch'ung-fu-yüan and found out that, plainly speaking, the Ch'ung-fu-yüan never presented the said petition for the Imperial gifts of wine and sweet wine.

Such being the case, this present office now got hold of the letter of instruction in question, which had already been reported to the superior authorities and made the case very clear. Whereas, on the tenth of January of the 4th year of the Yen-yu Period (1317 A. D.) the very timely Imperial proclamation for his pardon was issued. Respect ye this!

Again, whereas among the matters reported to the Throne on the 27th of February of the 2nd year of the Huang-ch'ing Period (1313 A. D.) by the Grand Council, there was one case regarding which the following instructions were given: "Those official messengers going on their mission to their destinations and those official messengers going to reside in four quarters and those officials being sent abroad will purchase wine and other kind of spirits. In case they want to carry them away with them they would often say that they are entitled to take these things with them because these things are the Imperial gifts bestowed on them. There are many such persons among us who carry away (wines) with them. These persons are similar to such kind of men who carry away wine and other kind of spirits by means of fraud. It is said, therefore, that the most careful attention should be directed to such persons as these."

Again, I-lieh-ch'ih (亦烈赤) (i. e., Ilatchi) and his men transmitted the sacred command by the word of mouth, saying: "As I (i. e., I-lieh-ch'ih) deliberate on the matter, I think it will come to this that there may be many officials or officers who are going abroad, and the

Imperial gifts of wine and other kind of spirits are bestowed on them. If any of them wants to take the Imperial gift away then let him either have a permit through the Hsüan-hui-yüan (i. e., the Court of Imperial Entertainments) with the official stamp of the Board of War, or let the Board of War issue a permit with the official stamp and the written characters of Pieh-li-k'ò (別里哥), and make it a rule that only those articles that bear on them those marks of Pieh-li-k'ò may be carried away with them. If the bottles of wine they are carrying away with them have not the written characters of Pieh-li-k'ò marked on them by the Board of War, the T'o-t'ò-ho-sun posted along the road shall interrogate those who carry the wine and detain that which is going to be carried away and shall give them the mark for it. But if these officials should give names (to the authorities concerned) and take away the wine in question with them, then I had the honour to report to the Throne about it. When I had the honour to submit the question what steps ought to be taken in case any crime or transgression should happen to be discovered, the sacred command was given to me to the effect that I am permitted to do what I like. Respect ye this!

(Again,) on the 27th of February of the 2nd year of the Huang-ch'ing Period (1316 A. D.) the Empress Dowager's command was issued, by which she showed a great mercy to those officials who, having wine and other kind of spirits, cannot carry them away for want of a necessary permit, and she most graciously gave orders to the Hui-chêng-yüan to issue a permit with the stamp of the Board of War. Every officer or official under the Board of War carrying wine with him shall act in ac-

cordance with this law. But when what to do with the written characters of Pieh-li-k'ò in such a case as this was submitted to the Empress Dowager's decision, Her Majesty condescended to give command to the officials concerned to the effect that they were permitted to do what they liked. Respect this!

Now judging from what was reported to this Censorate it must be concluded that, properly speaking, the Ch'ung-fu-yüan had never presented the said petition to the Throne, whilst they only had the honour to receive the Imperial gift of incense. But the wine and sweet wine was never bestowed on Ao-la-han (i. e., Abraham). Again, the wine and sweet wine and other things came to the possession of (him) without passing through either the Board of War or the Hsüan-hui-yüan.

Such as this, therefore, was done against the established law. But the matter belongs to the case of action done before the 10th of January of the 4th year of the Yen-yu Period (in which such offence was generally pardoned).

But after this day, if any should act contrary to this law he shall be punished according to the law. Therefore, all people shall respect the sacred commands of the Emperor and the Empress Dowager and shall act in accordance with what is implied in the sacred commands.

Still more, it is ordered to those Boards concerned to exchange necessary communications with one another regarding the matter and make themselves well informed. And thus making the instruction of the Board of War and the Grand Council manifest, it is urged that they should enforce the laws in accordance with what is mentioned above." (From "the Digest of the Laws of Yüan")

Appendix No. XVIII

REGARDING YEH-LI-K'O-WÊN RELIGION

元典章卷三十三也里可溫教

Yeh-li-k'o-wên are prohibited taking precedence in public worship service.

In the eighth year of the Ta-tê Period (1304 A. D.), the Provincial Government of Chiang-chê received an instruction from the Grand Council. According to which instruction, the Board of Rites had the honour to receive a report presented to it from the Chi-hsien-yüan (集賢院) (the Bureau controlling over Taoist Religion) which was forwarded to the Board of Rites with the endorsement of the Provincial Government, notifying people of the Circuits (路) in the south of the River (江南) to the effect that in the Circuit of Wên-chou there are Yeh-li-k'o-wên (i. e., Nestorians) who opened an office for the control of their religion, and invited the people around to enlist as members of their religious body and attempted even to take Taoist teachers of magic and to convert them, and thus they gradually came to usurp the power and authority of the Taoist. And when they come to the place where the prayer for the Emperor was offered or when they go away from the place of supplication they always insist to precede the Hsien-shêng (i. e., the Taoist Teachers). Sometime, going to the extreme, they dispute with him. Once they took the Hsien-shêng (先生) and his people and bate them. Such is very grievous to the Taoist people. Therefore they begged the Chi-hsien-yüan to forward on the complaint to the superior authority concerned that

such rude acts may be put an end to. When this complaint was forwarded, the authorities concerned found that the South of the River from old times until now there had been only two churches, Sêng (僧) (Buddhist) and Tao (道) (Taoist), each religion with its own Jurisdiction, but there had been no Yeh-li-k'o-wên body besides. Recently there have been in each Circuit a class of people who elude the personal service to the Emperor by enlisting themselves as the members of the (Yeh-li-k'o-wên) Religion, and these people attempt at to open their own office in each place and gradually encroach both the power and the authority of the Taoist Teaching by taking the Magic teachers. Such things should not be suffered by the authorities concerned. Therefore, they reported the case and applied for the inquiry. Hereupon, they obtained the President's favourable decision and transferred it and submitted it to the judgment of the Board of Rites. The decision was given to the effect that when they all proceed to the Imperial Court for the Audience or the Congratulation or on the occasion of the Festivals the order should be this that the Ho-shang (和尚) (Buddhist priests) and Hsien-shêng's (生先) (Taoist priests's) prayers and praises should precede to those of the Yeh-li-k'o-wên's, who have attempted at to entice the people and enlist them to their own body on their own account and control over the magic teachers.

Therefore, it is requested that the said provincial government of the Circuit (路) should be ordered to enforce the prohibition more strictly than ever, conforming to the spirit of the reports and the judgments concerned. On receipt of this the Grand Council authorities gave necessary instructions commanding them to act accordingly

and to issue prohibitions in accordance with the above, and in turn to instruct all their subordinate officials and the Buddhist Control Office and the Yeh-li-k'o-wên Control Board to act in accordance with the above. (Ditto)

Appendix No. XIX

(A) THE LIFE OF AI-HSIEH (阿錫貢) (愛薛 i. e., Isaac)

元史卷百三十四

(the History of the Yüan Dynasty vol. 134)

Ai-hsieh was a man from Fu-lin (i. e., 'Phrim or Ephraim) in the Western Lands. He was well versed in the languages of all the tribes of the Western Lands. He had a very good knowledge of Astronomy and Medicine. While being in the service of the Emperor Ting-tsung (Güyük) he spared not himself in remonstrating with the Emperor by speaking plainly. At the time when Khublai was still living in the Prince's Court, Khublai valued him highly. In the 4th year of the Ching-ting Period (1263 A. D.) the Emperor ordered him to take charge of the affairs of the two offices of the Western-land Astronomy and Medicine. Afterwards, the office of Medicine was changed into the Kuang-hui-ssü, but he was again placed over it. Khublai Khan once gave a strict command that there should be a great Buddhist religious performance to be held at a certain place in the Capital. When they gather together professional musicians and singers and dancers for the Emperor, he despatched one of his generals with a guard of honour to meet these musicians, singers and dancers and conduct them into the place.

Ai-hsieh presented a memorial protesting against such action, saying :

“Korea has only very recently subjugated. Shan-tung only has begun to be pacified. Chiang-nan is not yet subdued. The Empire, however, is impoverished and worn out. Nothing could be more useless than such extravagance as this.” The Emperor most graciously accepted this memorial. In the 5th year of the Chih-yüan Period (1268 A. D.) he accompanied the Emperor in the hunting at Pao-ting. As many days had been wasted in pleasure, Ai-hsieh spoke, in the presence of the Emperor, to the people who were helping the hunting, saying: “Will not such hunting as this hinder your ploughing?” The Emperor hearing this stopped the hunting. In the 13th year of the Chih-yüan Period (1276 A. D.) when the Prime minister Pai-yen(Bayan) came back to the Capital, a certain wicked man in the Imperial service spread a rumour and slandered him. Ai-hsieh, with his head on the earth, protested to the Emperor, and obtained pardon for Pai-yen. After this, Ai-hsieh received an Imperial order and was sent to the Palace of Ê-lê-huan (i. e., Argun) the North-west King. On his return, he was asked to take duties of P’ing-chang-chêng-shih, but firmly yet respectfully declined the honour. He was promoted to the chief of the Imperial Secretary and had the Control of the Chung-fu-ssü. He was transferred to the President of the Han-lin and the Board of the History Compilation. In the 1st year of the Ta-tê Period (1297 A. D.) he was appointed P’ing-chang-chêng-shih. In the eighth year (of the same period) (1304 A. D.) there was an earthquake in the Capital (and its neighbourhood). The Emperor was displeased very much, and summoned him to the

private room and asked him whether such miraculous calamity might not be possibly caused by the faults of the subjects. Ai-hsieh answered: "How should Heaven and Earth declare rebuke to the people? The Emperor Ch'eng-tsung died, and the Empress issued an edict and ordered Ai-hsieh to search out the secret causes of the stars for the Imperial death. Ai-hsieh sternly refused to comply with the order. In the reign of the Emperor Jên-tsung, he was created Ch'in-kuo-kung and died. He was granted the posthumous titles of T'ai-shih (i. e., Great Teacher) K'ai-fu-i-t'ung San-ssü, Shang-chu-kuo, and Fulin chung-hsien-wang (lit., the Loyal and learned King of Ephraim). He had five sons: Yeh-li-ya (Elijah) who enjoyed the title Ch'in-kuo-kung and was the directorate member of the Ch'ung-fu-ssü; Tien-ho (Denha), President of the Han-lin-yüan; Hei-ssü (Isaac) President of the Kuang-lu-ssü; K'o-li-chi-ssü (George), Sub-director of the Chih-h'üan-fu-yüan; Lu-ho (Luke), President of the Kuang-hui-ssü.

(B) In the Book called 雪樓集 vol. 4 there is the Imperial Decrees giving reasons for conferring on Ai-hsieh (i. e., Isaac) and his wife Sarah (沙刺) the highest posthumous honour.

(C) In vol. 5 of the same book, we have the monument set up in memory of the loyal and learned King of Ephraim (拂林忠獻王神道碑.)

Appendix No. XX

(A) THE INSCRIPTION OF THE TA-HSING-KUO SSŪ

至順鎮江志卷九大興國寺記

(Chih-shun-chên-kiang-chi, vol. 9)

“The Ta-hsing-kuo monastery is in the Chia-tao lane. It was built in the eighteenth year of the Chih-yüan Period by Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ (i. e., Sargis), sub-Ta-lu-hua-ch'ih (i. e., Sub-Darughachi), (sub-prefect or Assistant Governor) of this Circuit. An inscription commemorating the monastery was written by Liang Hsiang, Director of the Classical College of the District. It says: ‘Hsieh-mi-ssŭ-hsien (i. e., Samarkand) is situated from the Middle Kingdom in the distance more than a hundred thousand *li* to the North-west. It is a land where the religion of Yeh-li-k'o-wên prevails. When my humble self made an inquiry about this so-named religion, they said that between Heaven and Earth (i. e., the world) there were twelve monasteries of the Cross.

One of them had a “Buddha-palace” (i. e., chapel), whose four pillars were forty feet high, each being an enormous wood. One of the pillars hanging in the air was more than a foot from the floor. Ma-erh Yeh-li-ya (i. e., Mar Elijah), the founder of the sect, it is said, worked miracles 1,500 or more years ago. This Ma-hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ (i. e., Mar Sargis) before us belongs to the same religious body. The religion teaches its people to worship by turning their faces toward the East regarding it as a very important thing in their religion. This religion is different from the Nirvana Religion of India. Furthermore, it is the fact

that the Sun rises in the East, that the four seasons begin in the East, that all things are born in the East. The East belongs to (the Nature of) Wood and presides over birth. On this account, Chaos were parted and heaven and earth were made to go on (revolving) without ceasing, and the sun and the moon made to go on their way and the human races were made to increase and multiply. Such are the principles of ceaseless production of life. Therefore they call it the Eternal Heaven. The Cross is originally formed imitating the image of a human body. They set it up in their houses, paint it in their palaces (i. e., chapels), wear it on their heads, and hang it on their breasts. The four quarters together with the zenith and nadir are thus indicated by the Cross. Hsieh-mi-ssü-hsien (i. e., Samarkand) is the name of a place, whilst Yeh-li-k'o-wên is the name of a religion.

His Excellency's grand father K'o-li-chi-ssü (i. e., George), his father Mieh-li (i. e., Melick) and his maternal grand father Ch'ê-pi (i. e., Kepha) were all Court physicians. When the Emperor T'ai-tsu (i. e., Chingis Khan) first conquered their country, the Crown Prince, Yeh-k'o-na-yen (i. e., Tului) fell ill. His Excellency's maternal grandfather administered sherbet while the Ma-li (i. e., the Mar used here to mean Bishops) and Ha-hsi-ya (i. e., Kasisa or Presbyters) and the congregation prayed, whereupon the Prince got recovered. He was appointed the Imperial Shê-li-pa-ch'ih (i. e., sherbet-maker) and Tarkahn of the Yeh-li-k'o-wên of his native place.

In the fifth year of the Chi-yüan Period (1268 A. D.) the Emperor Shih-tsu (Khublai Khan) ordered His Excellency to proceed to the Imperial Court. His Excellency went forward post-haste to present sherbet and was rewarded

very liberally. Sherbet is made from fragrant fruits by boiling them and mixing with honey. Shê-li-pa-ch'ih (i. e., a man of sherbet) is the name of an office (which makes sherbet). His Excellency had the hereditary skill (in the method of making sherbet), and it had often miraculous effect. The Emperor specially granted on him a gold tablet and made him to devote himself solely to the office.

In the ninth year (of the same period) (1272 A. D.) he went to Yün-nan with P'ing-chang (i. e., minister of State), Sai-tien-ch'ih (i. e., Savyid Ajal Shams ud Din Omar). And in the twelfth year (of the same period) he was sent to Min and Chê (i. e., roughly corresponding to the two provinces of Fukien and Chêkiang). In each case it was for the purpose of making sherbet that he went. In the fourteenth year (of the same period) (1277 A. D.) he was appointed sub-darughachi of Chênkiang-fu Circuit receiving a Tiger Badge and the title of Great-commander-in-chief of Huai-yüan.

Although he was promoted to so high a position full of marks of distinction, he held himself to his religion all the more closely and did all he could to help the propagation of the religious faith. One evening he dreamed a dream in which he saw seven gates were opened in heaven and two angels appeared to him. These angels said to him: You must build seven monasteries. And so saying they gave him some thing white as a token. When he awoke he felt surely he had an inspiration, and finally he retired from government duty and devoted himself to building the monasteries.

First at the T'ieh-wêng gate he gave up his own house and built there the Pa-shih hu-mu-la (i. e., Papas 'mura

𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰) or Ta-hsing-kuo monastery. Next he got the Shu-t'u hill at Hsi-chin and built the Ta-shih hu-mu-la (i. e., Tarsa 'mura 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 or Yün-shan monastery) and the Tu-ta-wu-erh hu-mu-la (i. e., Tatrapolon 'mura 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰) or four gate monastery) or Chü-ming-shan monastery. Below these two monasteries he founded a free cemetery for the Yeh-li-k'o-wên. Again at K'ai-sha in the district of Tan-t'u he built the Ta-lei humula (𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 Tala 'mura or Grace Church) or Ssü-tu-an monastery. On the Huang hill outside the Têng-yün Gate he built the Tilien-hai-ya hu-mu-la (i. e., Tsuliba 'mura 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 or Cross Church) or Kao-an monastery. By the side of the Ta-hsing-kuo monastery he built also the Ma-li chieh-wa-li-chi-ssü hu-mu-la 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 (i. e., Mar Gewargis or George Church) or Kan-chüan monastery. In Hang-chou at the Chien-ch'iao Gate (杭州薦橋門) he built the Yanghsüan hu-mu-la 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶𐌰 (i. e., Yo-shua Church) (樣宜忽木刺) or Ta-p'u-hsing monastery. All these seven monasteries were truly due to His Excellency's zeal.

His Excellency's loyalty to the Emperor and patriotism to the Empire did not make himself conspicuous whilst he himself devoted to make his monasteries so. Prime Minister Wan-tsé presented a memorial to the Throne informing that His Excellency had the goodness of his heart to build seven monasteries. Whereupon. His Excellency was favoured with a patent stamped with the Imperial seal to protect (these monasteries). An immediate grant was made of thirty *ching*—about 500 acres—of Government arable land in Chiang-nan, and thirty four *ching* of privately owned arable land in Chê-hsi were

procured and endowed for the perpetual maintenance of the seven monasteries.

His Excellency held office in Chênkiang for five years. While carrying out continually such building work in general, he did not oppress any of the common people in the least degree. Those who received vows were all deemed Yeh-li-k'o-wên. (His Excellency) reverentially invited the Ma-li Ha-hsi-ya, Ma-erh Shih-li (i. e., Silas) ho-pi-ssü hu-p'a of the Kingdom of Fu (i. e., invited Bishop and priest in person of Silas, Chorepiscopus from the Kingdom of Fu-(lin) (佛(林)國), who expounded the innermost secrets of the religion and reverently deposited the sūtras. Then, for the first time, the Chapels of the seven monasteries became complete. Furthermore, he commanded his sons and grandsons to maintain these (churches) as long as river-water runs. Sherbet-making was an hereditary business to be carefully fostered, and must not be decayed. These precepts and instructions were designed to secure a perpetual inheritance and succession, and are a further illustration of His Excellency's thoughtfulness. Such being what I heard I have brought them to form a record.' The Kan-chüan monastery is by the side of the Ta-hsing-kuo monastery.

"The Ta-kuang-ming monastery is south of the Tanyang post-house. An-ma-chi-ssü (i. e. Han Markos) built it in the first year of the Yüan-chên Period (1295 A. D.).

(B) THE OLD SITE OF A NESTORIAN
MONASTERY AT HANG-CHOU.

西湖遊覽志卷十六

(Hsi-hu-yu-lan-chih, vol. 16)

The Shrine dedicated to the honour of the Three T'ai-fu or Grand Tutors of the Emperors exists in the East of the Chien-ch'iao (Gate) (1). The place where this Shrine stands is the old site where the Shih-fang-ssü (2) (i. e., the Monastery of Cross once stood to the west of the Hsi-ch'un Chiao (Gate)). This monastery of Cross was said to have been built by a Yüan priest of Yeh-li-k'o-wên. But it has ceased to exist a long time since. In the 21st year of the Chia-ching Period, Hsieh Pei, the Vice-president of the Board of Civil Office built this Shrine in the old site to commemorate the meritorious deeds rendered to the Emperor by the Three Grand Tutors respectively, viz., Hsieh An, on whom the posthumous Dignity of the Grand Tutor of Chin was conferred, and by Hsieh Shên-fu, on whom the posthumous Dignity of the Grand Tutor of Sung was conferred, and by Hsieh Ch'ien on whom the posthumous Dignity of Grand Tutor of Ming was conferred.

(1) See the Appendix No. XX. A

(2) Shih-fang-ssü (十方寺) must be a misprint of Shih-tzü-ssü (十字寺) as often is the case as we have pointed out in the Chapter VII of the Part II of this book.

Appendix No. XXI

PASSAGES REFERRING TO THE EXISTENCE OF
THE NESTORIANS UNDER THE NAME OF
YE-LI-K'O-WÊN 也里可溫 OR TARSA (迭屑 OR
達娑) FROM THE CHINESE BOOKS AND EXTANT
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE YÜAN DYNASTY

元史卷五. 九十三. 三十三. 百九十七佩文齋書畫譜卷三十七
(Yüan shih, vols. 5, 5, 93, 33, 197 and P'ei-wên-
chai-shu-hua-p'u, vol. 37)

(A) The third year of the Chung-t'ung Period (1262 A. D.) on the Chi-wei (24th), the 3rd month (March): Strong and able men of the Mu-su-man, Wei-wu-erh, Ye-li-k'o-wên and Ta-shih-man families are enlisted as soldiers."

(B) In the first month of the first year of the Chih-yüan Period 1264 A. D., Kuei-mao 26th in Spring (February). It was ordered that artisans enrolled as citizens should all pay taxes; that the families of Ju (儒) (a Confucian teacher), Shih (師) (a Buddhist monk), Tao (道) (a Taoist monk), Yeh-li-k'o-wên (也里可溫) or a Nestorian, and Ta-shih-man (達失蠻) or a Mohammedan who were formerly exempted from the duty to pay both the land tax and the customs duty should now all pay them."

(C) In the fifth year of the Chung-t'ung Period (1264 A. D.) it was decreed that Sêng (僧) (Buddhist monk), Tao 道, Ye-li-k'o-wên, Ta-shih-man and Ju people engaging in agriculture should pay taxes at the rate of 3

shêng per mu on white lands and 5 shêng per mu on water lands. Those who should enter the military service were to be exempted from taxation on 4 ch'ing (this is equal to 400 mu) of land: the rest of people are all to be taxed."

(D) On the Ting-ch'ou (19th day) of the 3rd month (April) in the T'ien-li year (1329), Sêng, Tao, Ye-li-k'o-wên, Chu-hu (珠忽) (i. e. Jew), and Ta-shih-man, who are engaged in commerce and trade shall pay customs-duty according to the old regulations. (元史卷三十六文宗紀)

(E) Ma Ya-hu (i. e. Mar Jacob) was of the Ye-li-k'o-wên family. He was poor, but serving his step-mother who came from the Chang family and his father's concubine by the name of Lü, charged all his duties as a son of such father.

(F) Ha-la (哈刺), whose another name was Yüan-su, was a Ye-li-k'o-wên man. He passed the civil service examination with honour and got a government post and finally was promoted to Chung-chêng-yüan-shih. He was a great and good writer besides he was a famous calligraphical penman belonging to the school of the most renowned Teacher K'uei-chêng-chai. (Translated from 佩文齋書畫譜卷三十七書家傳十六)

Appendix No. XXII

A TRANSLATION FROM 輟耕錄卷二
(Cho-kêng-lu, vol. 2)

In the 24th year of the Chih-yuan Period (1287 A. D.) Nai-yen, the Prince of the Imperial Family, rebelled against the Emperor, but he was soon defeated and executed. The remnants of the defeated rebels were all deported to a place called Ting-hai-hsien at Ch'ing-yüan (in the province of Chêkiang). During the years of the Yen-yu Period (1314-1340 A. D.), while Prince I-na-t'o-t'o was ruling over the place as the Governor-General of Chê (-kiang) Province, these deported people are said to have very often complained to the Prince that "the land and water" of the place did not suit them at all and begged him to transfer them to some better place. Then the Prince was said to have replied to them, saying: "I hear your folks were seeking to enter a Kingdom (lit., field) where all the people enjoy eternal life. Shall I have to deport you to that Kingdom, shall I not?" Then they all became quiet and never complained again.

Appendix No. XXIII

THE SITE OF THE NESTORIAN CHURCH AT HANG-CHOW

This was at last discovered by Dr. Sturton in March, 1942. The following notes on the subject by him are published here with his kind permission.:

It is a well known fact that there was formerly a Nestorian Church at Hang-chow, capital of the province of Chekiang, but so far the writer is aware its exact site has been long forgotten.

Marco Polo mentions this Church in his description of the wonders of Kuinsay, or Hangchow as follows: "et si ya une église tant seulement en la cité, des crestiens nestorins." (Le Livre de Marco Polo. p. 506, édition Pauthier). The Latin Codex in the Toledo Cathedral Library states "Ibi est solummodo una ecclesia Xristianorum Nestorianum." (Marco Polo: Description of the World, Moule and Pelliot. p. XI viii). Moule and Pelliot (Marco Polo: Description of the World Vol. 1 p. 339) give a composite translation of the various manuscripts as follows:

"In this city there is, in so great a number of people, no more than one very beautiful Church of Nestorian Christians only."

M. Vissiere, as a result of his collaboration with the Rev. A. C. Moule (afterwards Professor of Chinese at Cambridge) mentions this Church in "L'Islamisme à Hang-tcheou" (Etudes Sino-Mahometanes). He quotes the Archimandrite Palladius as having discovered a

document of the years 1330-1332, entitled "Chih-shun-Chen-Kiang-Chi (Vol. 9)" 至順鎮江志, in which Mar Serghis 馬薛里吉思 who is identical with the "Mar Sarguis" of Marco Polo, is mentioned as having built a Church at Hang Chow.

This passage is translated in full by Prof. P. Y. Saeki in his "Nestorian Documents and Relics in China", the portion relating to Hang Chow reading as follows:

"In Hang-chow at the Chien Ch'iao Gate 杭州薦橋門 he built the Yang hsüan hu-mu-la (i. e. Yo-shua Church 樣宣忽木刺 or Ta-p'u-hsing Monastery").

The above passage, is also quoted by Prof. A. C. Moule in his "Christians in China before the year 1550".

Valuable light has been thrown on the site by Professor Saeki in his "Nestorian Documents and Relics in China" by his translation from the "Hsi-hu-yu-lan-chih," Vol. 16. (西湖遊覽志) which states:

"The Shrine dedicated to the honour of the Three T'ai Fu or Grand Tutors of the Emperors exists in the East of the Chien Ch'iao Gate". The place where this Shrine Stands is the old site where the Shih-Fang-ssu (i. e. Monastery of the Cross) once stood to the west of the Hsi-ch'un Ch'iao (Gate). This monastery of Cross was said to have been built by a Yüan Priest of Yeh-li-k'o-wen. But it has ceased to exist a long time since. In the 21st year of the Chia-ching period, Hsieh Pei, the Vice-President of the board of Civil Office built this Shrine in the old site to commemorate the meritorious deeds rendered to the Emperor by the Three Grand Tutors respectively. viz., Hsieh An, on whom the posthumous Dignity of the Grand Tutor of Chin was

conferred, and by Hsieh Shên-Fu, on whom the posthumous Dignity of the Grand Tutor of Sung was conferred, and by Hsiéh Ch'ien on whom the posthumous Dignity of Grand Tutor of Ming was conferred."

The writer of these notes has long been interested in finding the site of the Nestorian Church in Hang Chow, but has hitherto been unsuccessful, even after reading what Prof. Saeki had published on the subject, with the important clue of the Shrine of the Three Grand Tutors. Searches near the supposed site of the Chien Ch'iao Gate failed to reveal any Shrine of the "Three Grand Tutors" and none of the small temples near by bear any name resembling this. Old Chinese residents stated that there was such a Shrine in the city, but that it was in some other part. The writer recently noticed a small stone tablet over a Gate in 長生路 near the West Lake in the former Manchu city, bearing inscription "Shrine of the Three Grand Tutors Hsieh" 謝三太傅祠, and on examination of the Shrine found that it was a single room, not much more than a hovel, with the honorific tablets of the Three Grand Tutors on an altar. On being questioned the woman who appeared to be in charge of the Shrine stated that it had not always been on that site, but had been removed from the "Mo Lao Hsiang", and that nothing now existed on the old site. The Mao Lao Hsiang is a lane with a right angled bend, on the south side of the Hsin Min Road, about 100 yard South-West of the Kwang-Chi Hospital in which the writer works.

There are two small temples in this lane, but neither of them bears a name in any way suggesting the "Three Grand Tutors".

The name is, however, loosely applied to the district rather than the lane only, as the next street, whose proper name is Chin Ch'ien Hsiang (金錢巷), is also locally known as "Mao Lao Hsiang".

Further enquiries among old residents elicited the fact that the Shrine had stood where there is now a small fish and vegetable market on the North side of the Ch'ien Ch'iao Street, about three hundred yards West of the supposed site of the Ch'ien Ch'iao Gate. Immediately East of the market there is a narrow lane, now ending blindly, and known as Ta Tung Shan Lung (大東山街) which is almost exactly co-linear with the West arm of the Mao Lao Hsiang. That this is definitely the site of the Shrine of the "Three Grand Tutors" and therefore of the Ancient Nestorian Church is proved beyond doubt by the presence of a stone obelisk in the North East corner of the market, commemorating the removal of the Shrine in the 7th year of the Republic of China (1918) when the market was established.

The site is somewhat the shape of a Church, having a long portion corresponding to the nave of a Church, and a wider portion corresponding to the transepts, while beyond this there is a small house containing a stone altar. behind which are three vacant Panels, and to have been occupied by the tablets of the "Three Grand Tutors" Is it too fanciful to suggest that this altar or at any rate its materials, may have survived not only from the "Shrine of the Three Grand Tutors" but also from the Nestorian "Monastery of the Cross" which stood here before the Shrine?

There remains one other interesting point, viz., why

was the site of the Shrine said to be in the Mao Lao Hsiang and what does this name signify? The Ta Tung Shan Lung now ends blindly as stated above, and old residents say that it has been done so for at anyrate fifty years, but it is only separated from the Mao Lao Hsiang by two or three blocks of mud walled houses, and it appears quite possible that they joined before Hang Chow as devastated at the time of the T'ai Ping Rebellion. In any case, as remarked above, Mao Lao Hsiang seem to be loosely applied to the district as well as the actual lane. The Mao Lao Hsiang bears the characters 茅郎巷 on its walls, but a recent Map of Hang Chow gives the name as 毛廊巷. In either case, the name has no meaning, and both the characters 郎 and 廊 are pronounced "lang" in Hang Chow dialect, except in the name of this lane, where they are pronounced as "Lao". In the country dialects, spoken immediately to the West of the city, they are pronounced as "La". The writer ventures to suggest that the name "Mao Lao" may be a survival of the Syriac "Mura", meaning Church, which was transliterated into Chinese as 木刺, pronounced "Moh la" in Hang Chow dialect. If this be true then the "Mao Lao Hsiang" is "Church Lane", and was perhaps so named after the Nestorian Church which once stood in or near this lane, or at anyrate the district bearing the name of the lane.

In conclusion I wish to thank my colleague Mr. F. B. Wood who has accompanied me on many trips during this investigation, and my colleague Mr. Norman Shen who has helped with the local enquiries.

These notes are affectionately dedicated to the memory of that great sinologist George Theodore Moule,

of Hang Chow, whose twenty years of friendship meant much to the writer, and who passed away less than twenty four hours after he heard that the site had been discovered.

(by Stephen D. Sturton, M. A., M. D. Cantab.)

I N D E X

A

- Aaron 73
 Abhidarma (Abhidharma) 306,
 Gatha 467 ;
 Kôcha S'astra 467
 Abhandlungen d. Preus. Akad. d.
 Wiss, 13, 418
 Abi, priest, 72
 Abraham 8, 85, 92, 416, 500, 501, 502 ;
 Bar Dashandadh 104 ;
 Prince of Persia 350, 453
 'Αβραχας (Abraxas) 263, 314
 Abûe Faraj, (Bar Hebraeus) 353
 Abu nuh al-Anbari 104
 Abu Musa ibn Mus'ab 104
 Academy, Oriental Culture . . 113,
 390, 426
 Adam, deacon 69, 81 ;
 fall of, 123, 197 ;
 priest, 8, 15, 34, 37, 53, 76, 79, 87,
 108, 118 ;
 Son of, (man) 213, 320, 342, 345,
 462-464, 466, 469, 470 ;
 Papas 92
 Adiabene 103
 Adirsiah 106
 Administration of justice, 145
 Adoration 186
 Adultery 136, 153
 Advent 338
 Adversary 136, 189, 201 ;
 inveterate 144
 Agan Sûtras 467
 Ai-ho 303, 304
 Ai-hsieh (Isaac) 508, 510
 Air, 174
 Alamendina, 408
 Aleni, Jules, 30
 Alexandria, 47
 Almalik, 408
 Alms-giving, . . 6, 113, 202, 206, 231,
 232
 A-lo-han, 85, 92, 453
 Aloho (Aloha,) . . 42, 43, 53, 84, 258,
 266, 273 ;
 punoyh, 84
 Alopên, . . 8, 43, 44, 57, 59, 83, 84, 85,
 109, 113, 116, 117, 124, 253, 276,
 359, 384, 456, 458
 Alps, 98
 A-lo-ssü, 458
 Altar of life, 337
 Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in
 Chinenish-Turkistan, 418
 Altuz, 410
 Amitayur Dhyana sûtra, 42
 Amogh Vadjra, 307
 Ancestor-worship, 116, 121
 Andreff, M., 408
 Angels, 179, 190, 217, 312
 A-nidha, 256, 275
 An-lu-shan, general, 99, 383
 An-ma-chi-ssü, 515
 Annales du Musée Guimet, . . . 409
 Announce-tiding Law-King . . 274, 275
 Anointed King 320, 323
 Anuttara-samyak-sambodhi, . . . 233
 An-shan-tien, 440
 Antioch, (Antu) 109
 Antonius, Marcus, 15
 Antu, (Antioch) 109
 Ao-la-han, 500, 501
 Apollinarius, 171
 Apostles, 256, 275, 343
 Arabian, 464
 Arabic, 316, 401, 422
 Aranyakah, 79
 Archan 426
 Arhat, 42

- Archer, the, 163
 Archbishoprics, 351
 Archon, 497
 Arianism, 171
 Aristotelian, 172
 Arkhun, 422, 426
 Arkehum, 497
 Arrow, an, 163
 Arya-das, 45
 Asbestos, 59
 Ascension, 123
 Asia Minor 150
 Assemani, (Assemanus) . . . 101, 106
 Assemanus, 106, 352
 A-ssu-ch'u-li-yung-Sûtra, . . 256, 274,
 279
 Assyrian Church, 353
 Astronomy, 508
 Athens, 150
 Athlete, 344
 Atlas der Katholischen Missions
 Geschichte, 353
 Augustine, St., . . . 156, 170, 171, 203
 August King, 301
 Augustus, 150
 Aurungzeb, 107
 Avalôkita, 231
 Avalôkitê svara, 231, 272
 Avitchi, 244
 Awakening to the intelligence,
 184, 190
 Awan-ch'u-li-yung, sûtra, . . . 279
 A-wu-lo-han, 85
- B**
- Babylon, 106
 Bacchus, priest, 72, 77;
 Mar, 322, 328
 Bactria, 14, 97, 106
 Badger, Rev. G. P., 352
 Bagdad, 101, 104, 105;
 during the Abbasid Caliphate,
 369
 Ba-na-bi, (Banami) 459
 Band of fraternity, 377
 Banshoa, 240
 Beth Baghest, 104
 Balkh, . . . 14, 37, 68, 70, 98, 99, 106,
 107
 Bamboo Garden, the Imperial, . . 382
 Bamboo sprouts, Stone . . . 476, 477
 Ba-na-mi, (Barnami) . . . 93, 459, 460
 Bandits, 207
 Baptism, holy, 49, 143
 Baptist, John the, 274
 Bar Hebraeus, (Abûe Faraji) . . . 353
 Barbarian tongues, 316
 Bardaisan, 14
 Barnabi, (Ba-na-bi) 93, 97, 459
 Barnabus, 93
 Bar-na-by, (Barnabi) 93, 95, 459
 Barns, 208
 Bartoli, Father, . . . 28, 360, 363, 386
 Bash-ishu, 104
 Basilides of Alexandria, 47
 Bazaar of Heraclides, 46, 195
 Beam, the, 209
 Beard, the, 56;
 they preserve the, 48
 Bearer of Christ, 325
 Beasts 175, 189
 "Before and After," 338
 Beloved part of Adam's body, . . 214
 Bernice, 150
 Bērō, 104
 Beth Abhe, 104
 Beth Hale, 104
 Bethel, 323
 Bethlehem 329
 Betrayal 211, 217
 Bibliotheca Orientalis, . . 86, 101, 106,
 352
 Birds in the air, 208
 Birth-day Festival, 95
 Bishoprics, 351
 Black art, 308
 Black chariot, 87

Blind, the, 143;
 men, 496
 Blochet, 427
 Blood, 321, 325
 Board of Rites, 493, 506
 Board of war, 504, 505
 Bodleian Library, 463
 Body . . . 170, 173, 178-182, 186, 194,
 195;
 of Jesus 217
 Bokhara, 108
 Bondage of destruction, 341
 Book of Bees, 353;
 of Governors, . . . 102-106, 353;
 of Praise, 273;
 of Rewards and Punishments,
 310;
 of Rites, 196
 Bones, of martyrs, 322, 325
 Bottle, a small, 294
 Boundaries of finite, 171
 Boundless forgiveness, 185
 Brahman language, 470;
 (Brahmin) tongue, 276
 Brasidas, 149
 Bread, 209
 Breath, 128
 Bretschneider, Dr., 108
 Bridal chamber, 327
 Bridegroom, The heavenly, . . . 324
 Brigands, the Chief of, 382
 Bright-way, 301
 Brilliance, 177, 178
 British Museum, The, 21, 23
 Browne, W. H., 353
 Buddha, the land of, 17;
 for the word God, . . . 119, 126-
 129, 134-137, 153;
 the image of, 484;
 the palace of, 511;
 the sūtras of, 470;
 the teaching of, 495;
 the by-gone, 155;
 the living, 155;

the real, 130
 Buddhás, all the, 148
 Buddhism, in China, . . 47, 153, 448;
 declared harmful, 471;
 the palm, 494, 495;
 Biographical History of, . . . 95;
 Chinese 151, 152
 Buddhist, 96-98, 199, 383, 507;
 book on Astronomy, 45;
 Control office of, 508;
 Hymns, 484;
 Monasteries, the destruction
 of, 471;
 Monk, 517;
 Priest 496, 507;
 Records of the Western world,
 97;
 Temples, 471;
 Trinity, 154
 Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, . . 102-107,
 317, 353
 Bulls, 130
 Burkitt, Prof. F. Crawford, . . . 353
 Burana, 408

C

Caesar, 118, 150, 212, 241, 242
 Caesaria, 159
 Caliph, al-Mahadi 104;
 al-Rashid 105
 Camels, 132
 Canton, 462
 Cart-wheel, the star like, 141
 Catalogue of the Book of teaching
 of Shakya in the period of
 Chên-Yüan, 462
 Catalogue of the Imperial Library,
 316
 Catalogue of Paintings recovered
 by Sir Aurel Stein, Kt., . . . 417
 Cathey and the Way thither, . . 84,
 109, 352
 Catholic doctrine, 50

- Chi-lieh, Bishop, .. 59, 94-96, 459, 460
 Ch'i-ling-ko, .. 454
 Chin, .. 110, 466, 472, 480, 488, 490, 491
 China, .. 3, 12-14, 70, 82, 109, 248,
 318, 320, 349, 351, 358, 369, 440,
 463, 465, 468
 China and the Roman Orient,
 .. 14, 91, 111
 Chi-nan, .. 492
 China Review, the .. 430
 Chinesisch-Turkistan, .. 418
 Chinestau, (Chinastan) (Zhinestan),
 .. 34, 53, 81, 82
 Chinese, in, .. 351, 356, 419, 463
 Chinese armies .. 493
 Chinese authors, .. 352
 Chinese Empire, .. 483
 Chinese Golden Rule, .. 238
 Chinese language .. 463
 Chinese Pilgrim .. 98, 109
 Chinese Martyrs, .. 318
 Chinese Nestorian monks, .. 351
 Chinese Recorder, the, .. 425
 Chinese rulers, .. 69, 351
 Chinese Turkistan, .. 3, 317
 Chinese Turks, .. 370
 Chin-hua-huang-hsien-shêng-wên-
 chi, .. 488
 Ching, the river, .. 470
 Ch'ing-chên, .. 239
 Ching-ching (King-tsing,) .. 8, 15,
 34, 36, 47, 50, 53, 79, 80-82, 94,
 120, 248, 250-254, 257, 258, 262,
 264, 265, 276, 277, 279, 303, 361,
 448, 469, 470
 Ching-chao, (fu), .. 18, 80
 Ching-chiao, .. 307
 Ching-chiao pei, .. 23, 24
 Ching-chou, .. 480, 484, 490
 Ching-fêng, .. 83, 123, 161, 258, 259,
 271
 Ch'ing-fu-yüan, .. 502
 Ching Tung, Patriarch, .. 273, 312
 Chosroes I, .. 245;
 II, .. 245
 Chotscho, .. 417, 418
 Chou, The Dynasty, .. 91
 Chou-chih, .. 28, 33, 41, 81, 95, 100,
 349, 354, 357-371, 377, 379, 381-
 385, 388, 391, 393-398, 419
 Chou-ch'ing-li, .. 94, 460, 461
 Christ, .. 109, 110, 150, 157, 199, 200,
 320, 322, 326, 327, 344;
 King, .. 323;
 pre-existence of, .. 181, 197
 Christianity, in China, .. 18, 117, 355,
 370, 464;
 and Greek philosophy, .. 169;
 early, .. 351;
 early Eastern, .. 353;
 early Spread of, .. 318, 353
 Christian Documents, .. 449
 Christian Monument, .. 354, 388
 Christian Moral Principles, .. 156
 Christian Precepts, .. 123
 Christian relic (the), .. 436
 Christians in China, .. 147, 353
 Christian Symbols, .. 26
 Christian Teaching, .. 116
 Christians, .. 240
 Christians, Protestant .. 150
 Christmas, .. 334
 Chronik von Arbela, .. 13, 352
 Chronological Chart, .. 351
 Chüan-chou, .. 435-437
 Chüang, the stone, .. 433
 Chuan-hua, Sûtra .. 274
 Chu-ho, .. 239
 Chu-hu, .. 518
 Chu-hui, .. 239
 Chu-hu-tê, .. 239
 Chü-lo, .. 455
 Chü-lu, the law-king, .. 274
 Chü-ming-shan, Monastery, .. 514
 Chung-fu-ssü, (-yüan) .. 497-500
 Chung-jên .. 203
 Chung-jên-ssü, .. 20
 Ch'ung-shêng-ssü, .. 19

- Chung-t'ien, 261, 262
 Chung-tsung, 91, 458
 Ch'ung-yen-ssü, 15
 Chü Po-yü, 39
 Chütê ward, the, 458
 Chu-yü, 39, 239
 Chwolson, Dr. D., 408, 409
 City of David, 338
 City of Galilee, 341
 City of God, 170, 171
 Clay, 132, 181
 Clarke, Sir Purdon, 24
 Clothing, 179
 Collection of Inscriptions, the, . . 419
 Commandment, 213
 Commodus, Emperor, 151
 Communications, economic, . . . 14
 Compassion, 175
 Comprehending Truth Book . . . 274
 Company of five brethren, . . 378, 381
 Concatenation of the cause and
 effect, . . . 130, 135, 291, 297, 298
 Conclusion, 448
 Confucius, 87
 Confucian scholars, 491;
 literati, 495;
 Teacher, 517
 Confucianism, 495
 Confusion, of vision 483
 Consequences of actions in a
 previous State, 131
 Constant Gates, three, 55
 Constant-level-granary, 492
 Constantine, Emperor, 73
 Constantinople, 111
 Contemplation, Ten ways of,
 292, 296
 Continual existence, 177
 Conversion-handed-down-book, . . 274
 Cool-wind, 83, 141, 142, 157
 Coral-sea, 58
 Cordier, Prof. H. Henri, 352
 Corn, 178, 179
 Cosmogony, 194
 Couling, C. E., 78
 Council Board, the, 498
 Country of the Lion, 468
 Cover-stone, the, 216
 Cradle of Mankind, the, 48
 Creation, 174, 322
 Creator, 178, 220
 Cross, the, . . 47, 53, 55, 123, 256, 325,
 345, 511;
 the tile, 440;
 Church, the, 514
 Crucification, 157, 243
 Cultural-streams, 14
 Ctesiphon, (Ktesiphon) 245
 Cycle, 316, 336
 Cyriacus, Bishop, 77, 93, 384
- D
- Dai-nichi-kyo, 307
 Dakdham wa-dhathar, 316
 Damascus, 245
 Dana, 6, 206, 232
 Daniel, 323
 Darius, 107
 Dark-way, 301
 Dasa, 45
 Das'ârhas, 44
 Daughter, king's, 324, 325
 David, presbyter, 72;
 City of 338;
 daughter of 341;
 Sacred king, 255, 273, 274,
 329, 330
 Dead, prayer for, (the) 49, 248, 249;
 rise from, (the) . . . 142, 159, 179
 Death-punishment, 144
 Debt, 181, 197, 321, 343
 Decision, crooked, 138, 139
 Declaring-origin-reaching-cause
 sûtra, 274
 Declaring-meaning-book, 275
 Deer, 130, 175
 Demons, 183, 188, 192, 223

Dengyō Daishi, 39
 Denha, 510
 Desire, active, 284, 297
 Devas, 134, 149, 153, 301
 Devils, . . . 143, 188-192, 220, 222, 228,
 230
 Dharma Yanamitra, 233, 292
 Dhvaja, 433
 Dhyana, 367, 368
 Diaz, Emmanuel, J. S., . . 27, 28, 30,
 78, 363, 385, 388, 436
 Didache, Duo, . . . 122, 153-156, 237
Διδαχη κυριό, 122
 Diptychs, 34, 118, 120, 248, 250,
 252, 255, 258
 Disciples, His, 216;
 direct 223
 Disciplinary rules, 184, 188
 Discourse on the Oneness of the
 Ruler of the Universe, Part I,
 8
 Diversity, unity in, 178
 Divine Grace, 186;
 Power, . . . 163, 164, 174, 178, 226,
 227
 Djami et Tevarikh, 427
 Djorgatchi, (Darughachi) 491
 Dju-hud, 238, 240, 241
 Doctrinal observations, 46, 123
 Doctor, 76
 Dods, Marcus, 157
 Domitianus, Emperor, 245
 Donor, our great, 63
 Door, knock at the, 209
 Double-tongued, 155
 Dragon-writing, 61
 Dream, a, 513
 Drink, 179, 208, 295
 Driver, Dr. G. R., 195
 Dunyn-Szpot, Father J. S., . . 385, 386
 Durni Monarchy, 107
 Dwathar, the, 317

E

Earth, the, 146, 174;
 prison, the dark, 222
 East Dhyana Monastery, the, . . 437
 Eastern capital, 91, 380;
 Chou, 59;
 Church, the, 82
 East Syria, 83
 Ebedjesu, 73, 76
 Ecbantana, 106
 Echo, 188, 200
 Edkins, Dr. J., 465
 E-fu-lin, 109, 260;
 sūtra, 275
 Egami, Mr. Namio, 426
 Egypt, 150, 247
 Eight virtues, 55
 Eight Towers, 467
 Eitel, Dr. Earnest J., 25, 205
 E-ko-na-erh (E-na-ko-erh) 489
 Elements, four, 168
 Elia, priest, 72, 76
 Elish-Book, 256, 275
 Eiljah, 486, 510;
 Bar Sauma, 490
 Elixir of life, 310
 Elohim, 42
 E-loo-lih-kwan, 422
 Emancipation, 201
 Emblem, Buddhistic, 26
 Emmanuel, 30, 325, 338
 Emperor's birthday, 61
 Emperor-worship, (Anti-Emperor-
 worship) . . 116, 121, 122, 149-153
 E-na-ko-erh (E-ko-na-erh) 489
 En-chin, 250
 England, 360
 Enlightenment, 190
 Enoch, priest, 75
 En-ryaku-ji, 250
 Entity, the world of, 288
 Entrance of voice, 223
 Ephraim, . . . 72, 77, 95, 103, 104, 109,
 111, 118, 141, 166, 223, 225, 241,

260, 454, 508;
 of Elam, 105;
 Book, 256, 275;
 King of, 510
 Ephrath, 330
 Erh-chien, (two manifestations) 170
 Erkehun, 421-423, 426
 Erke'un, 426
 Erküd, 423, 426
 Established Monastery, the system
 of the, 92
 Eternal-Enlightenment-and-kingly-
 joy-book, 256, 274
 Eternal-existence, 179, 182
 Etheridge, Rev. W., 84
 E-tsa-pu-ku, 493
 Eusebius, of Caesaria, 14
 Euting, Dr. Julius, 317
 Evangelium, 274
 Existence, continual, 169, 309

F

Fa-chien, priest, 96
 Fa-chêng, 468
 Fan-hsiang-ling, Duke of, . . 57, 117,
 249, 251, 276
 Fa-shih, 82
 Fa-ssü, 82
 Fang-shan, 16
 Feather-screen-number, 121
 Feeding several hundred priests, 401
 Fêng-hsiang-fu, Circuit,
 357, 481, 482, 490
 Fêng-shao-hsü, 388
 Festival Day, 339
 Filial piety, 135
 Filirist, 369
 Finite, boundaries of the, . . 202, 267
 Finn, Mr. James, 240
 Fire, 174, 177, 178, 221
 Fire-worship, 247
 Firus, three brothers, 458
 Five attributes, . . 114, 177-183, 187,

195, 214, 221

Five fingers, (of hand), 495
 Five flavours, 196
 Five organs, (of sensation), . . . 199
 Five tastes, 196
 Flowery Forests, 58
 Forbidden Apartment, 115-117
 Forest of Tablets, 19, 21, 358
 Forgiveness of sins, 174
 Four elements, 174
 Fourteen days and one month, 215
 Four Gates Book, 275
 Four gate monastery, 514
 Four monasteries, 99, 379, 384
 France, 248
 Franciscan Mission, the, 436
 Feng-t'ien, 96
 Fukien, 242, 350, 513
 Fukuoka, 444
 Fulin, . . 72, 109-113, 141, 157, 166, 212,
 223-226, 241, 244, 260, 508, 515
 Fu-p'ing-hsien, 25

G

Gabriel, priest, 69, 77, 94, 95;
 the Chief of Angels, 332, 343, 380
 Ganges, the river, 405
 Garden of Immortals, 58
 Garden of seed-and-fruit bearing
 trees, 132
 Garma Bassaar, 425
 Gatha, 467
 Gati, 203
 Gautama, 467
 Gehenna, 345
 Geibun, the, 22
 Genghis Khan, 107, 420, 421
 Gentiles, 188, 201
 George, priest, 72;
 Bishop, 97, 260;
 Mar, 320, 328, 330;
 Monk 103, 104, 260;
 Church, 514;

- a Chinese Nestorian, .. 489, 512
 Gewargis, (Giwagis), (George)
 95, 260, 273, 410, 514
 Gewargis book, 256, 275
 Gezza, 257
 Gibbon, Edward, 464
 Gigoï, priest, 75
 Gilan, 13, 14
 Giles, Dr. L., 79, 151
 Giving-everything book, 274
 Glad-tidings, 54, 56, 214
 Gnosticism, 47, 263
 God, Eternal, 350
 God, the city of, 157, 203
 God, false, 157, 188
 God-grant-stratagem-army,
 35, 41, 382, 469
 Godhead, .. 164, 167, 195, 228, 321, 341
 Gogultho, (Golgotha) .. 145, 160, 321
 Golden figure of man, 483, 484
 Golden region, 59, 94
 Golden rule, Christian, 210, 235-238;
 Confucian, 236
 Gold-tiger-tablet, 493
 Golgotha, 145, 160, 321
 Good deeds, 183-188
 Gospel, 158, 159, 222, 344, 449
 Governors, the book of, 84, 353
 Grace Church, 514
 Grand Council, 480, 485, 490, 498
 503, 507
 Grant, Mr. A. Sahel, 352
 Great-cloud-religion, 17, 90
 Great Felicity, the, 350
 Great Patron and Spiritual Lord,
 the, 59
 Great-Religion, Sun 307
 Greater Vehicle, 467
 Great Wall, the, 423
 Greece, 150, 247
 Greek reckoning, 314;
 rulers, 152;
 word 43
 Greeks, 35, 69, 101
 Gregory, St., 273;
 Abûe Faraji (Bar Hebraeus) 353
 Gueluy, Mr. A., 78
 Guluk, 420, 421
 Gunde-Shabhor, Metropolitan of,
 104
 Gur, St., 274, 455
 Güyük, 508
 Grünwedel, Prof., 350, 417, 418
 Gyori, 93
- H
- Hadrian, Emperor, 245
 Ha-hsi-ya, 512
 Hai-k'uo, abbot, 394
 Hai-lun, 441
 Hakata, 443
 Ha-la, 518
 Hale, Sir Matthew, 155
 Hallelujah, 323, 329, 337
 Han, 58, 89, 110;
 Dynasty, 240, 478;
 race, 37
 Hananiah, St., 274
 Hanan-isho, 68, 102-105, 273
 Hand book of Buddhism, 205
 Handbuch der kirchlichen
 Geographie, 353
 Haneda, Prof.,
 5, 113-115, 261, 262, 305
 Hang-chou, 29, 514, 515
 Han-lin (Academy), 494, 509
 Han Yü, 39
 Harnack, Dr. A. Von., 353
 Haron al-Rashid, 98
 Harp, i. e., Gabriel, 340
 Harvard-Yenching-Institute, 390
 Ha-hsi-ya, 512
 Havret, Father Henri,
 13, 28, 78, 95, 356, 360, 386
 Hazza, 104
 Head of the Church, 69
 Head-priest, 69

- Heavenly-beam, 162
 Heavenly host, 162
 Heavenly Treasure-house-Book, 256
 Heaven Way, the, 129, 135
 Hebrew thought 87;
 word 42, 43
 Hedhaiyabh, 104
 Hei-shui, 397
 Hei-ssü, 510
 Hell, 211, 222
 Heller, Dr. T. E.,
 13, 45, 78, 82, 92, 111, 355
 Hēnāitha, 104
 Henry, V., King, 172
 Heraclius, 245
 Heracleides, the Bazaar of, . . . 195
 Heretical cults, ninety-eight
 kinds of, 369, 370
 Herod, 159, 341
 Hero of God, 93
 Heterodoxy, 464, 470
 Heterogenous teachings, 296
 Hetuvidjā S'āstra, 467
 Highway men, two, 145
 Hirth, Dr. F., 14, 89, 110, 241
 Histoire du Patriarce, 196
 Historical observation, 11, 114
 Historia Tartarum Ecclesustia, . . 196
 Ho-lu-ch'ih-ssu 389
 Ho-chi, 260
 Hodgson, Mr. L., 195
 Holm, Dr. Frits, 22
 Holy Clouds, 312
 Holy Communion, 49
 Holy Cross Temple, the, 429
 Holy Jesus, the, 207, 234
 Holy Ghost, the, 243
 Holy Land, the, 150
 Holy One, 55, 165, 337
 Holy Spirit, the, 118, 121, 140, 259,
 268, 271, 277, 309, 320, 322, 327
 Holy Teaching, 454
 Holy wind, 219, 221
 Homicide, 156
 Honan, 387
 Honey, 142
 Honour Sūtra, 5, 248
 Ho P'an-jen 382
 Ho-Pi-ssü-hu-p'a, 515
 Horace, 14
 Horne, Bishop, 11
 Horse-Gate, 315, 316
 Hosamba, 45
 Hosana-book, 256, 275
 Ho-sa-yeh, Law-king, 274
 Hoshang, 83, 507
 Hosea, St., 274
 Ho-wên-cho, 446
 Hsia, 471
 Hsian, (Si-an) 7, 18, 19, 24, 28, 29, 96,
 349, 354, 357-359, 362, 363, 368,
 379, 386-390, 393, 395, 400, 419
 Hsiang-kuo-ssü, 153
 Hsiang Ta, Prof., 390
 Hsiao-wu, Emperor, 152
 Hsi-chin, 514
 Hsi-ch'un Chiao, 516
 Hsieh An, 516
 Hsieh Ch'ien, 516
 Hsieh-li-chi-ssü, 511
 Hsieh-mi-ssü-hsien, (Ma) 511
 Hsieh shên-fu, 516
 Hsien, 15, 16, 475
 Hsien-chung, 395
 Hsien-nan-yeh, Law-king, 274
 Hsien-ning, 19
 Hsieh Pei 516
 Hsien-shêng, 506, 507
 Hsien-tsung, Emperor, 491
 Hsi-hu-yu-lan-chih, 516
 Hsi-kuang ward, the, 458
 Hsi-li-chi-ssü, 483
 Hsi-ming, Monastery, 36, 86, 462, 466
 Hsingan, 18, 19
 Hsing-ch'ing Palace, 61
 Hsing-t'ung, priest, 69
 Hsin T'ang-shu, 110
 Hsiu-nan-chên, 391

- Hsiu-nan-shan, 394
 Hsiu-shan ward, the, 100, 380
 Hsi-wan-tzū, 427
 Hsi-yü-chi, 107
 Hsü, 487
 Hsüan-chuang, 12; 97, 107, 111
 Hsüan-hui-yüan, 504, 505
 Hsüan-tsung, Emperor, T'ang
 Dynasty, 60, 66, 91, 92,
 96, 98, 393, 439, 457, 490
 Hsüan-tsung, Emperor of Chin
 Dynasty, 486
 Hsüan-wei-shih, 501
 Hsüan-yüan-chih-pên-Sûtra, 254, 274
 Hsü-ch'ien, Vice-Governor, 481
 Hsü-chou, 474
 Hsü-po, the law of, 147
 Hsü Sên-yü, Dr., 390
 Hsü-sung, 380
 Hsü-ting Mi-shih-so-ching,
 113, 125, 147
 Hu, 88, 463, 469, 470
 Hua-chou, 474
 Huai-i, priest, 96
 Huai-tung, 500
 Huai-yüan, 513
 Huan-hsüan, 152
 Huan Wên, general, 479
 Huang ch'ao, 240
 Huang hill, 514
 Huang-ti, Emperor, 110
 Hua-yang, the Description of, . . 478
 Huc, Abé, 95, 99
 Hu-ch'a, 501
 Huai, the river, 500
 Hui-yüan, 152
 Humula, 514
 Hunni, 14
 Hun-yüan Sûtra, the, 274
 Hymns before and after, 316
- I**
 I-ching, 80
- I-chou, 479
Idiomata communicatio, 123
 Idle Sports, of spiritual penetration,
 179, 196
 I-ho-chi-ssü, 260, 273
 Ilatchi, 503
 I-li-ch'ih 486, 487, 503
 I-li-yüeh-ssü Sûtra, 275
 Immanuel, (Emmanuel) 77
 Immortals, flying, 179, 190
 Immortality, the Lake of, 365
 Impassibility, 195
 Imperial Edict, . . . 15, 80, 363, 380,
 456, 457, 474, 475
 Imperial library, 57
 Imperial portrait, 60
 Imperial Rescript, . . . 49, 50, 246, 493
 Imodo, 269
 Imuda, 5; 269
Ioudaiot 240
 Incarnation, the, 195, 273
 Incense, A treatise on, 311
 driving away death, 311
Infantide proximi, 158
 India, . . . 14, 26, 107, 247, 382, 463,
 465, 511
 India, Middle, 467
 India, North, 467
 Infinity, the world of, 262, 266
 I-ning ward, the, . . 32, 33, 36, 41, 58,
 80, 100, 361, 362, 368, 379, 385,
 456, 458
 Inscription of Jews, 92
 Irkehuns, 420
 Irving, Christopher, 430
 Isā, 104
 Isaiah, book of, 123, 242, 257
 Isdigerd I, II, 245
 I-shan-wên-chi, 483
 I-shên-lun, 5; 113
 Ishida, Mr., 315
 Ishoh, 401
 Isho-yahbh, 104, 105
 Isaac, 72, 75, 77, 508, 510

- I-shu, 140, 157, 226
 I-shu-messiah, 120, 143, 246
 Issu, priest, 63, 97, 100, 379
 Issu, general, 37, 385
 Istanbul, 111
 I-ta, (Judea) 244
 Italy 150
 I-t'ien-lun, the, 6
 I-tsê-lü sūtra, 275
 I-tzū-lo-ye, 239
 Izadsafas, 75
- J**
- Jab-allaha 84
 Jacob, 323, 330;
 priest, 75, 76;
 Mar, the Patriarch, 100, 105
 Japan, 350, 360, 444-445
 Java, 463
 Jehovah, 147
 Jehud, 240
 Jên-shih, 235
 Jên-tsung, Emperor, 494
 Jericho, 321
 Jerome, St., 14
 Jerusalem, 109, 118, 141, 158-160, 244
 245, 325,
 Jesu-ameh, priest, 73,
 Jesudad, priest, 76
 Jesuit forgery, 12, 16
 Jesus, 100, 110, 111, 121, 140, 157,
 216, 226, 234, 241, 321, 324, 328,
 330, 333;
 Christ, 83, 111, 199, 231, 322;
 Lord 322;
 Messiah-sūtra, 8, 44, 117, 125,
 147, 449
 Jews, 16, 118, 158, 188, 201, 211,
 212, 223, 238, 240, 241, 245, 518;
 at K'ai-fêng, 85;
 in China 240;
 dispersion of the, 244
 Job, priest, 73
- Joel, priest, 72
 Johan, Chorepiscopus, 412
 Johannan, 118
 Johannes, 489, 490
 John, Mar, 72
 John, priest 73, 75-77, 141, 241
 John, St., 159, 257, 273, 274, 330
 Johnston, Sir Reginald, 16, 430
 John Rylands Library, the, 318
 Jordan, the, 118, 141, 158
 Journal of the North China Branch
 of the Royal Asiatic Society,
 354
 Joseph, 103, 104, 118, 216, 242;
 of Arimatia, 243;
 of Merv, 104
 Josephus, 150
 Ju-chou, 492
 Judas, the Iscariot, 118, 238
 Judea, 83, 159, 223
 Judgment, day of, 312
 Jui-tsung, Emperor, 91, 96, 483
 Julia, 412
 Julian, 171
 Juliet, 328
 Julien, Stanislas, 12
 Justification by faith, 199
 Justin 500
 Justinian code, 150
 Ju-tê-ya, 239
- K**
- Kachâya, 44, 118, 143
 K'ai-fêng-fu, 480, 487, 490
 Kai-ming, 478
 K'ai-sha, 414
 K'ai-yüan 93, 94
 Kalgan, 427
 Kalpa, the, 192, 204, 205
 Kamakura, 445
 Kan-chüan, Monastery, 514, 515
 Kandai, 108
 Kansu, 480, 483, 489

- Kao, 364
 Kao-an Monastery, 514
 Kao-ch'ang, 317, 334
 Kao-li-shih, 60
 Kao-tsung, Emperor,
 17, 59, 65, 90, 152
 Kapisa, 34, 463, 466, 467
 Kara Khrgis, 408
 Kashmir, 467
 Kasisa, 497, 512
 Kawaguchi, Dr. E., 401
 Kdham Dwathar 316
 Kēpha, 512
 Kên-hsi, 497
 Khoitcha, 501
 Khudra, 316, 336, 346
 Khublai, 351, 353, 441, 492,
 508, 512
 Khumdan, 69, 76, 80, 108, 380
 K'khien, 304
 Khotan, 89
 Kiangsu, 434, 500
 Killing a human being, 139
 Kingdom of Fu (lin,) 515
 Kingdom of God, 199, 343
 King-tsing (Ching-ching,)
 434, 462-465, 470
 Kinnara, 125
 Kin-tch'eng-se, 386
 Kie-seik, 241
 Kie-sil, 241, 242
 Ki-situ, 242
 Koantchong, 386
 Kobodaishi, 35, 36, 87
 K'o-chieh-chieh, 171
 Ko-chih-chung-yüan, 111
 K'o-li-chi-ssü, 512
 K'o-nu-Ishu, 207, 234
 Korea, 509
 Koreans, 444, 446
 Ko-shu-han, 99
 Kotsu-ku, 160
 Kuang-an-men, 429
 Kuang-chou, 468, 469, 493
 Kuang-si, 94, 460
 Kuang-tê, 93
 Kucha, 466
 Kuang-hui-ssü, 508
 Kuang-tung, 460
 Kudsha, de, 259
 Kuei, 191, 203;
 river 481
 K'uei-chêng-chai, 518
 Kuei-t'ien-lu, 152
 Kuyuk Khan, 45
 Kui, Turkish, 412
 Kumardjiva, 466
 Kumbhira, 25
 Kumdan, 100, 108
 Kung Sun-shu, 476
 Kuo, 446
 Kuo, Chung-yüan, Field Marshal,
 482
 Kuoi, 93
 Kuo Tzū-i, 98, 99
 Kurduz, 107
 Kuti, 474
 Kuwabara, Dr.,
 19, 22, 33, 356, 360, 362
 Ku-wen-yüan-chien, 471
 Kwan-yin, (Kuan-yin) 231, 272, 396
 Ky-liat, 93
 Kyuretsu, 93
 Kyoto Institute, the, 113
 Kyushu, 444, 445
- L
- Labourt, J., 353
 Lake of Immortality, the, 364
 Lame, cured, the, 401
 Lamy, J. J., 78
 Land Bridges, the, 351
 Lao-tan, 374, 375
 Lao-tien, 391
 Lao-tzū 39, 88, 171, 263, 308, 311,
 383, 391;
 the life of, 369;

- Lao-tzu's re-incarnation in the
western Lands, 88;
Temple of, 30, 364, 365
Law-writings, 300
Layana, 474
Liang, 466, 472;
Dynasty, 304, 388;
Governor, 388
Liang-fêng, 83, 121, 157, 259, 271
Liang Hsiang, 47, 511
Liang K'o-shun 30, 359, 363, 386-388
Liang K'o-ts'ung, 387
Liao Dynasty, the, 433, 489
Liao-tung, 235, 236, 483, 484, 490
Liao-yang, 209, 441
Liberation, the, 185;
from sorrow 189, 201
Li-chien, 260
Li-ch'üan, 457
Lieh-pên, 497
Life, 134;
eternal, 195, 222, 519
Life-giving-incense, 310
Life-giving-tree, 310
Life-prolong Temple, 364, 365
Li-hsia, 485
Li-kan, 109
Li-ki, 149, 172, 196, 200, 247
Li Kuang-pi, 198
Ling-pao, priest, 69, 81
Ling-t'ai, 403
Ling-wu, 31, 61, 81, 100, 372, 380, 381
Liu-sha, 369
Liu-t'ao 86, 441, 489, 490
Lisa, 149
Li Shêng-to, Hon., 35, 248, 279
Li Shih-min, 382
Li Shih-tsê, 236
Litteratur-Bruchstücke und
Chinesisch, 317
Liu Ju-ching, priest, 393, 394
Liu T'i-shu, 400
Liu Tsé, 94, 460
Liu Tsung-yüan 383
Liu Yü-hsi, 202
Li-yen, 108
Li Yen-hsiao, 250
Li Yüan, 382, 383
Le Coq, Dr. A. Von,
. 334, 350, 417, 418
Le Quien, 352
Le Strange, G., 369
Legge, Dr. James,
. 12, 17, 78, 89, 95, 99, 101
Legs and arms, Emperors, 501
Leon Li, Dr., 29, 361
Lepers, 143
Lo-chi, 258, 309
Lo-hao-hsin, General, 35, 469
Lo-han, 59, 60, 85, 92
Lo-ho 259, 260
λογος (Logos,) 88, 169, 171
λογιδιον, λογιδια, (logidion, logidia,)
. 6, 7; 113, 169
Lôkapâla, 149
Lokadjyêchtha, 6, 113, 206
Long winds, the, 59
Look ye unto it, and hope in it, 430
Loof, Dr. F., 197
Lord of Heaven, 127, 130, 131,
134-136, 184-187, 207, 208
Lord's prayer, 232, 233
Lord, the unique, 291
Lord of the Universe, 206,
212, 213, 217, 220, 224, 231, 232
Lou-kuan-t'ai, 390, 391, 395-397
Louvre, the, 23
Loyang, 80, 81, 91, 100, 108, 380,
455, 474
Lu-chia, 260
Lü family at Hsin-an, 398, 400
Lu-ho, 510
Lu-ho-ning-chu-sha, 258, 273, 277
Lü Hsiu-yen,
. 38, 39, 68, 263, 264, 304, 398, 399
Lü Jang, 398
Luka, Law-king, 273
Luke, priest, 73, 260;

- Abram, 510;
 Saint, 273;
 the president of the Kuang-
 hui-ssü, 510
 Lü-ko, (Luke) 500
 Luminous Religion, 23, 53, 56,
 65, 92, 372, 457;
 Communities, 68;
 Sûtra, 46;
 Teaching, 263, 286, 298, 300, 308
 Lun-t'ai, 496
 Luu, Turkish, 414
 Lü Tung-pin, 398
 Lü Yen, 39, 169, 263, 264, 304,
 309, 349, 398-401
 Lycurgus 150
- M**
- Ma'al'thâ, 335
 Ma Ch'ing-hsiang, . . 480-482, 485-488
 Maclean, Bishop, A. J., 353
 Madhyânta, 467
 Ma-erh, (Mar) 497;
 Shih-li, (Silas) 515;
 Yeh-li-ya, 511
 Mahadad, priest, 72
 Magadha, 97, 98
 Magdalen, Mary, 330
 Magi, 340, 242
 Mahavihâra S'âstra, 467
 Mahayana Buddhism, 172
 Mahayana Lankâratâra Sûtra,
 264, 304
 Mailla, P. de, 318
 Ma-kis, Law-king, (St. Markos) . . 273
 Ma-hsieh-li-chi-ssü, (Mar Sargis),
 511
 Ma-li, (Mar) 512, 54;
 Chieh-wa-li-chi-ssü (Mar
 Gewargis), 514
 Maltese cross, 26
 Ma Mou-huo-chê, (Mar Moses),
 498
 Manchester, 318
 Manchu Alphabets, 441;
 Dynasty, 20;
 Writings, 350
 Manchukuo, 350, 440, 442
 Mandarâva, 468
 Mandjus'ri, (Wen-chu) 364, 468
 Manger, the, 338
 Mangu Khan, 491, 494
 Manichean, 15, 96, 254, 262, 271,
 279, 381, 401, 475
 Manifestations, two, 164, 170, 187
 Mar Bacchus, 273, 330
 Mar Cyriacus, 328
 Mar Elijah, 511
 Mar Isho-yahbh, 103
 Mar George, 330
 Mar Jacob, 518
 Mar Moses, 498
 Mar Pethion, 104
 Mar Sargis, (Sergius), 86,
 Darughachi 511;
 Book, 275;
 Saint, 273, 330
 Marco Polo, 351, 442, 446
 Margoliauth, Mrs., 317, 318
 Martyrs, 322, 326, 327, 345;
 Merchant, 318, 325, 351
 Markos, St., 273
 Mark, (the Chinese monk).
 161, 351
 Marû (Merv) 104
 Mary (Mo-yen) 140, 320, 330, 339;
 St., 334, 337;
 Holy Mother, 339
 Maryam, 118
 Mashihâ, 401
 Matteo Ricci, 238
 Matthew, St., 232, 273
 Maurice, 245
 Ma Yahu, 518
 Mecca, 383
 Medicine, 508
 Mediterranean Sea, the, 14

- Melanges Naito**, 147, 160
Melick, 512
Meliapor, 26
*Memoires de L'Academie Imperiale
 Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, . . 409
Mencius, 151
Mêng-ku-pu-hua, 481
Mêng-pi, 477
Mêng-to, 5, 270, 271
Menzies, Prof. J. M., 425
Merchant, a foreign, 382
Meritorious deed, 185, 186, 229
Merv, (Marū) 13, 14, 104
Messiah, 44, 54, 55, 114, 118,
 125, 141-146, 158, 211-213, 215,
 218, 219, 323-227, 229, 258, 268,
 273, 281, 282, 287-289, 291, 299,
 302, 339, 344, 346, 470, 495,
 the abode of, 222;
 heretics 369;
 king, 343;
 self-existing-book, 256, 275;
Messihdad, priest, 72
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
 the, 24
Michael, priest, 72;
 Saint, 274
Middle Kingdom, the, 25, 40, 63,
 66, 80, 110, 457, 472, 473, 489,
 491, 511
Mieh-li, (Melick) 512
Milis, priest, 37, 68, 70
Military Service, exempted from
 Confucian Scholars, 491
Min 513
Minds, two, 155-6
Ming, 516;
 Dynasty, 19, 20, 357, 362, 392, 393
Ming-shih, 112
Mingana, Dr. A., 13, 102-106,
 317, 318, 401
Ming-t'ai Law-king, 273
Min-yen Law-king, 273
Mi-shih-ho, 43, 119, 120, 141,
 464, 470;
 tzu-tsai-t'ien-ti Sūtra
*Mission und Ausbreitung des
 Christentums, Die*, 353
Moabite Stone, the, 23
Mo-chien-ti-yü, 244
Mohammedans, (Muhammedan)
 16, 92, 96,
 105, 383, 443, 445, 448, 449, 475
Mo-ho, (Muhammedan) 474
Mokcha, 201
Mo Mu-chi-ssü, Law-King, 273
Monastery, the Cross, 516;
 the Tach'in, 477, 478
Mongolia 449
Mongolians, 40, 382, 419, 423,
 441-445, 493
Mo-ni, (Manichean) 15, 475
Monotheism, the Discourse on,
 113, 123, 230, 231
Morrison Library, the, 315;
 Mo Sa-chi-ssü, Sūtra, the, 275;
 the Law-king 273
Mosaic Age, the, 87
Moses, priest, 72;
 Saint, 273;
 the Law-king Book, 275
Mosheim, 196
Mostaert, Father, A., 423, 425-427
Mosul, 104
Mote, a, 208
Mother of Cities, the, 106, 367;
 of Christ, 239, 240
Mother Church, 448
Moths, 294
Motion, 284
Motwa 5, 258, 262, 266, 270, 271
Mou-hsü, 498
Moule, Prof. A. C., 47, 82, 99,
 147, 269, 277, 353, 360
Mountain of all precious things,
 310
Mo-yen, (Mary) 140
Mu-hu, 16

Mu-lu, (Merv) 14
 Muraddhadja, 468
 Mu-shih, the law-king, . . . 273, 275
 Mussulmans, 240
 Mystery, 338, 341, 342

N

Nadir Shah, 107
 Naga, 466
 Nagaga, 466
 Naishabur (Naishapur) 13
 Nai-yen, 442, 519
 Najran, (Nejran) 369, 371
 Na-lan-t'ò, 467
 Nalanda, 467
 Nan-hsi-shih, (Wu-chih-shih) . . . 150
 Na-ning-i, Law-king, 273
 Nanjio, Catalogue of the Chinese
 Tripitaka, 465
 Nan-shan, 390
 Naraka, 201, 203
 Nationalisation of Corns, the, . . 492
 Nativity, the, 157, 442
 Natural Religion, 247
 Natural way, 178, 179
 Nau, Dr. F., 353, 409
 Nazareth, 263, 312, 340, 341
 Nestorian, Baptizmal Hymn, . . 5, 8;
 Bishop . . . 13, 48, 278, 459, 497;
 Christian 350, 419;
 Christianity 369;
 Church, 50, 80, 148, 349, 351-353;
 Community 4;
 Cross . . . 350, 417, 440, 511, 512;
 Grave-yard discovered . . . 408;
 Inscription, Latin translation
 of, 354;
 Literature 116, 356;
 Mercenaries 351;
 Merchants 318;
 Mission 15, 50, 85, 117,
 153, 246, 384, 448;
 Missionaries 4, 172, 310, 351, 353;

Monastery . . 349, 354, 361-364,
 366, 368, 371, 381, 394, 397, 400,
 515;
 Monument 7, 11, 27;
 the discovery of, . . 28-31, 100,
 354, 356, 357, 360-362, 380, 384,
 385, 389, 390;
 Motwa Hymn 170;
 Noblemen 59;
 Priest 409;
 Relics 3, 349-351, 423,
 429, 434, 436, 438, 440, 443;
 Removal of, 29, 395, 396;
 Replica of, 24;
 Sûtras 4, 86, 264;
 Teachers 409;
 Teaching 149;
 Theology 123;
 Tomb stones 408, 429, 434, 441;
 Tower 396;
 Transportation of, 356, 359, 388;
 Uigurs 446;
Nestoriana 197;
 Nestorianism, in Central Asia
 13
Nestorienne en Asie, L'expansion,
 353
 Nestorians, in China, 4, 6, 7, 11, 15,
 16, 199, 354, 356, 384, 369, 384,
 475, 478, 497
Nestorians and their rituals, . . . 352
 Nestorius, 46
 Nero, Emperor, 245
 Nêng-kai-ch'i man-lu, 478
 New castle, 389
 Neumann, Prof. 12
 New Star, a, 141
 New T'ang Annals, the, 109
 New Testament, 154
 New York, City of, 24
 Ning-kuo, 60
 Ning-shu, priest, 68, 100
 Ning-ssü-sûtra, the, . . . 255, 275, 279
 Ning-yeh-tun Sûtra, the, . . 256, 275

Ni-dha, (A-nidh) 256
 Nien Chang, 95
 Nie-ssü-t'ò 487
 Nineveh, 105, 106
 Nirvana Religion, 511
 Nirvana, shore of, 300
 Niraya, 201
 Nixon, Mr. F. A., 423, 425
 Noah, priest, 73
 Non-action, . . 166, 253, 284, 287, 288,
 297, 298
 Non-assertion, 283
 Non-beginning, 286
 Non-connected world, 170
 Non-connection, 313
 Non-creation, 166, 313
 Non-desire, 284, 287, 296, 297
 Non-demonstration, 287, 288
 Non-entity, 288
 Non-existence, 309, 313
 Non-expression, 313
 Non-extinction, 178
 Non-motion, 283
 Non-origin, 313
 Non-path-dividing-field-world, . . 170
 Non-religion, 313
 Non-reputation, 285, 308
 Non-solicitation, 283
 Non-space, 166
 Non-tangibility, the world of, . . 166
 Non-time, 166
 Non-virtue, 285, 287, 288, 298, 299, 308
Notices et extraits des Manuscrits,
 352
 Nü-chên, 316

O

Objects de vertu, 44
 Oda, Dr., 198
 Ogdai, 420
 Olchaitu, 420, 421
 Old T'ang Annals, the, 109
 Old Testament, 83, 154, 274

O'leary Dr. De L., 171
 Olopuen, 86
 Omission of the middle character,
 39, 40
 One master in one house, 165
 Oneness of the Ruler of the
 Universe, the Discourse on
 the, 113, 172, 174, 194
 One (person) of the Godhead,
 138, 141, 208, 210, 217, 228
 Ongut, 490
 Ordos cross, the, . . . 423, 425, 442;
 District, 350
Ordosica, 426
Oriens Christianus, 352
 Origin of the Origins, the Sûtra
 of, 46
 Origin-soul Book, 275
 Original way of Heaven, 62
 Orthodox Faith, 351
 Orthodoxy, 464, 470
 O'Toole, Dr. Barry, 78
 Ou-yang Hsiu, 155
 Ou-yang Hsün 38
 Overland Communication Routes,
 the, 351
 Ovid, 150
 Oxus, the River, 13, 401

P

Paganism, 339
 Palace of light, the, 55
 Pai-ling-miao, 426
 Pai-yen, (Bayan), 509
 Pajua (Pranja) 469
 Palestine, 150
 Palm Sunday, the 417
 P'a-na-mi, (Bana-mi) . . . 93, 95, 459
 P'an Shên, Mr., 78
 Pañtcha skandha, 195
 Pantice Epistles, 150
 Pan-yü-chien-tzū-wên, 80
 Pao-chi, 364

- Pao-chih, 278
 Pao-hsin Fa-wang, 278;
 St., 274;
 Sûtra, 257, 275
 Pao-ling, (Paul) priest, 76, 260
 Pao-lu (Poulous) (Paul) 76, 260;
 Law-king, 273
 P'ao-ma-chang, 429
 Papa 82;
 Papas, 82;
 Papash 34, 53;
 Ppa 82;
 Paps, 82;
 παπας, 82;
 of China, 37
 Papas 'mura, 513
 Parable, Part II, 8, 161, 169
 Paramita Sûtra, (Satparamitta) 461
 Parsees, 247
 Parsopa, 344
 Parthia, 14
 Pa-shih-hu-mu-la, 513
 Pa-t'ò, 244
Patra, 276
 Patriarchites, 351
 Patron, the great, and spiritual
 Lord, 90
 Paul, priest, 76, 260;
 St., 156, 273;
 Book 255;
 Law-king Book, 275
 Pauthier, M. G., 12, 44, 84, 111
 Pearl, 59, 209, 291, 296, 325, 477, 479;
 Tower 477-479;
 the bright-moon, 59;
 Book, 274
 Pei-lin, the, 19, 21, 358
 Peiping, (Peking) 395
 Peking, 21, 316, 318, 350, 429;
 University, the, 315, 316
 Pelliot, Prof. Paul, 5, 16, 33, 34, 49,
 78, 86, 88, 89, 111, 170, 248, 255
 -257, 269, 356, 359, 360, 425, 436
 Pentecost, 123
 Periclean Era, the, 92
 Perjury, 154
 Persia, 93, 166, 225, 226, 245, 453;
 Bishop of, 107;
 King of, 93, 459
 Persian 55, 254, 382, 383, 422;
 dualism 194;
 Envoys 93, 459;
 Monasteries, 380, 457;
 Monk 469;
 Nestorian Church, 235;
 Priest, 15, 34, 361, 460;
 Prince, 92, 350, 416
 Peshito (version) 83, 235
 Peter, Priest, 73;
 Exegete, 414
 Pharisees, the, 199
 Philological observations, 41, 117
 Phocas, 245
 'Phrim, (Aphrim) Priest, 72, 95,
 109, 508
 Phuses, Priest, 75
 P'i-e-ch'i Sûtra 275
 Pieh-li-kô, 504
 Pien-liang, 487, 490
Pierres Tombales Nestoriennes
 du Musée Guimet, 409
 Pilate. Pontius, 120, 161, 146, 216
 P'i-lo-tu-ssü (Pilate) (Pilatos) 144, 145
 Ping chang-t'ien, 149
 P'ing-chang-cheng-shih, 509, 513
 Place, that, 184;
 this, 184
 Place of execution, the, 145
 Place to substantiate the law,
 the, 222
 Plato, 169
 Plutarch, 198
 Portrait 481;
 of the Emperor, faithful, 58, 89;
 the five Emperors, 60, 89
 πόλιν 111;
 εἰς τὴν 111
 Porjakoff, Dr., 408

Rubicon, the, 282
 Ruha, 259, 286;
 de Kudsha, 258, 259, 273, 277, 309
 Rûpa, 195
 Rustam, Bishop, 104

S

Sabbath, 49
 S'abda Vidyâ S'astra, 467
 Saboe, Mar Bar, 325
 Sabr-isho (Sabra-jesu) priest, 69
 Sabra-jesu (Sabr-isho) priest, 73
 Sachau, Dr. Edward, 13, 317, 334, 352
 Sacred Superior, the,
 133-135, 140, 150
 Sacrifice, 56, 139
 Sacristan, the, 84
 Sacculo recessit, de, 159
 Saeki, P. Y. 78, 360, 392, 395, 398, 399
 Sage, the, 56
 Saha, 149
 Christian Saint, the painting of, 417
 Saint Announcing the Glad
 Tidings, 274
 Sai-tien-ch'ih, 513
 Sakatacatrapra munam, 159
 Sakyamuni, 20;
 Buddha, 306
 Saladin, Attaché, 445
 Salisbury, Prof. E. E., 12
 Salomon, Priest, 77
 Salvation, 59;
 raft, 268, 272
 Samanta Bhadra, 468
 Samarkand, 511
 Saṃdjñâ, 195
 Samgha-deva, 262, 281, 305, 306
 Samson, Priest, 76
 Samyak Sam Buddha, 42
 San-chi- Sûtra, the, 255, 275, 279
 Sanctification of the Church,
 336, 346
 Sanctifying transformation,

. 211, 125, 221, 224, 225
 Sang, 305
 Sangharama, 464, 470
 San-nu, 43, 191, 202
 San-pan, 467
 Sanscrit, 254, 305, 401, 463
 San-ta, 487, 488
 San-wei-meng-to-tsan, 5, 255, 256,
 269-271;
 San-wei-tsan, 270, 271, 275
 Sao-ma Yeh-li-ch'u. (Sauma
 Elijah,) 484
 Saphsapha, 104
 Sapor, II, 245
 Sapiski, the, 409
 Sarag, 69, 80, 100, 380
 Sarah, 510
 Sargis, (Sergis, Sergius,) 481
 S'astras on one Deva, 113, 174
 Satan, 43, 54, 202, 321, 325;
 Satana, 43, 120, 190, 191, 202
 Satchen, (Setchen) 421
 Satparamitta, 34-36, 81, 89, 463, 469
 Sanhedrin, 160
 Sauma, 351
 Sauma Elijah, (Sao-ma Yeh-li-ch'u,) 484
 Saviour, the, 70, 215, 340-343
 Scent, 182
 Schism, 156
 Schlegel, Dr. G., 44
 Scott, Rev. P. M., 425
 Scribes, 143
 Scriptures, 57, 115;
 to awaken the world, 310
 Scythae, 14
 Sea, the, 294;
 of Love and desire, 264
 Seal, the, 216
 Secret Expression, 314
 Sect, 185
 Seeds, 179;
 good 182
 Three hundred and

- sixty five, 46, 265
- Seldjuk, 241
- Self-burning, 180
- Self-existence, 190
- Self-existing-life book, 276
- Self-illuminating, 177, 178
- Self-liberation, 227
- Self-sanctification, 185
- Self-sanctifying God, 185
- Semedo, Père, (Father)
 Alvarez, 26, 361, 389
- Semiriechensk (Semiriechesk)
 350, 408
- Sêng, 507, 517, 518
- Sengan, 18, 19
- Sêng-chia, 261
- Sêng-ch'ieh, 305
- Separated place, the, 145
- Separation, 126, 149
- Seraphim, 340
- Serafin Moya, Father, 435
- Sergis, (Sergius) 482, 490, 511
- Sergis Book, Mar, 256
- Sergius, Mar, Bishop, 69, 75, 77, 104
- Sergius, Mar, St.,
 313, 322, 327, 328, 330
- Sergius, priest, 75
- Sermon on the Mount, the, 232, 242
- Serpent, a, 209
- Servant, Maid, 136;
 Man, 138
- Sê-sê, 477, 479
- Setchen, (Satchen) 420
- Seven, holes, 297;
 Monasteries, 513, 515;
 Precious thing, 478;
 times a day, 48, 49, 56
- Sha-chou, 90
- Shada, 43, 120, 202
- Shah-Malyk, Periodeut, 410
- Shah-Murad, 107
- Shakya, 463, 470;
 the New Catalogue of the Books
 of Teaching of, 86
- Shakyaputriya-Sramans, 464, 470
- Shakya's Teaching, the out lines
 of the, 152
- Shan-chih-shih, 233, 292
- Shang-chou, 474
- Shang-chu-kuo, 453, 510
- Shanghai, 12, 24
- Shan-ho-lü Sûtra, the, 275
- Shang-tson, 391
- Shan-tung, 509
- Shao-ch'êng, the city of, 479
- Sheep, a, 214
- Shelicha, 414
- Shê-li-pa-ch'ih, 512, 513
- Shêng-fa, 306
- Shên-shih, (Spirit) 171
- Shensi, province of, 21, 393
- Shen-t'sê, Army, 41, 308, 382
- Shen-t'sê-chun, 469
- Sherbet, 512, 513, 515
- Sherbhalmaran, priest, 77
- Shiangtsoa, 75, 111, 112
- Shih, 517
- Shih-chou-chi, the, 310
- Shih-chu-tzū-liang, 426
- Shih-fang-ssü, 429, 516
- Shih-fang-yüan, 429, 430
- Shih-hu, (Jew) 158, 211, 216-218,
 223, 224, 239-241, 244;
 jên, 238;
 men, 212
- Shih-kuo, 244
- Shih-la-chi-su, (Sargis) 490
- Shih-li-hai-Sutra, the, 256, 275
- Shih Ssü-ming, General, 383
- Shih-tsu, (Shih-tzu,) Emperor,
 (Khublai Khan) 493, 512
- Shih-tsun-pu-shih-lun-ti-san, 6, 113
- Shimun, Mar, 327
- Shlikha, 256
- Shu, 476, 478, 479;
 the old tradition of the ancient
 capital of, 477
- Shu-hu, 239

- Shui-lu Monastery, the, 438
 Shu-lüeh Sûtra, the 275
 Shun, 151
 Shu-nan, (the Jordan) 141, 158
 Shu-t'u Hill 514
 Shu Yüan-yü, 15
 Shallowness, 189
 Shakespeare, William, 172
 Sick, healed, the, 143
 Si-gan, (Hsian) 18, 19, 28, 386;
 fu, 389
 Sight, given to the blind, 401
 Silas, Bishop, 515;
 St., 274
 Silk cocoon, the, 373
 S'ilpsthâna Vidyâ S'âstra, 467
 Silver, 133;
 Rule, 237
 Similarity, 178
 Simon, priest, 73, 75, 76, 77;
 Metropolitan, 105;
 Peter, St., 262, 273, 282-290,
 292, 302, 305, 306;
 Sim-won, 306
 Si-ngan, (Si-gan) 18, 19, 359
 Sins, (Sin) 130, 139, 185, 208, 221
 Sitzungsberichte der Koniglich
 Preussischen Akademie der
 Wissenschaften, 334, 418
 Six Codes of the Great T'ang, 38
 Six laws, 308
 Sixth-day-fast, the, 145
 Slaughter, the, 214
 Slaves, male and female, 484
 Slender pile, the, 370
 Sodomy, 154
 Sogdian, 262, 305, 401
 Solitaries, 344
 Solo, the Law-king, (St. Silas) 274
 Solomon, Bishop, 104
 South Mountain, the,
 30, 215, 364, 382;
 Ravine, 364
 Sons of Heaven, the, 188
 Son of the Lord, the, 212, 344
 Soul, the, 167, 179-181, 194, 195
 Soul-restoring incense, 59, 300, 310
 Sounds, 182
 S. P. G. Mission, the 425
 Spartan General, a, 149
 Speeches, 182
 Sphatika, 44, 64
 Spirit, the, (a) 55, 123, 167, 170, 176,
 177, 194, 219, 221;
 Holy, 308, 341
 Spirit-road, the, 308
 Spiritual king, (Law-king) 278
 Spiritual penetration, 285
Spiritus Sancta, 83
 Ssü, the title of, 79
 Ssü-men-sûtra, 255, 275, 279
 Ssü-ta, (Four+penetration) 307
 Ssü-tu-an Monastery, 514
 Star, (a new) 141;
 Stars, 228, 247
 Stating-outlines-book, 275
 Stealing, 136
 Stein, Sir Aurel, K. C. I. E., 16,
 89, 102, 350, 416, 417, 418
Stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-Fou,
 La, 356, 360
 Stephen, the martyr, 324
 Stewart, Rev. J., 353
 Sthavira, 112
 Stone Bamboo-Sprouts, 478, 479
 Stone-Country (Syria) 244
 Striking (of the wood) 56
 Sub-darughachi (Sub-Ta-li-hua-
 ch'ih) 511
 Subhakarasihmah, 307
 Sub-Ta-li-hua-ch'ih (Sub-
 darughachi,) 511
 Su-chan, (for Su Tyü-chan) 39
 Suetonius, 150
 Sui, the Dynasty, 87, 88, 152
 Sui-shu, 110
 Sui-yüan, 'Province, 426
 Sumatra, 463

- Sun, the, 177, 178, 187;
 worship, 247;
 God, 314;
 Great religion, 307
 Sunday of Branches, 417
 Sung, 396, 472;
 Emperor, 492;
 the Dynasty, 394
 Sung Min-ch'iu 31, 377, 457
 Superintending-devas, 125
 Supreme Victorious Law, 300
 Susa, Mr. Kakitsu, 441, 442
 Sü-ting-mi-shih-so-ching, 6
 Sûtra on Mysterious Rest and
 Joy, the, 8, 302, 303, 448
 Sûtra on the Origin of Origins,
 the, 279
 Su-tsung, Emperor, 31, 37, 61,
 63, 66, 98, 372, 381
 Su Tung-p'ô 31, 363, 365, 366, 368,
 371-373, 391, 392, 395, 397, 398
 Su Tzu-chan (Su-chan) 39
 Su Tzu-yu, 363, 364, 366, 374
 Sutra, of Cause and Effect, 198
 Symbols, 350
Synodicon Orientale, 352
 Syria, 83, 150, 158, 223, 244,
 449, 463, 464
 Syriac, the, 356, 401, 430, 464;
 Alphabets, 350;
 Churches, 83;
 Church and Fathers, 171;
 Discovery, the manuscripts,
 315-319;
 Literature, a Short History
 of, 103;
 Manuscripts, 3, 7, 315, 320-334;
 Names, 380,
 Part, of the Inscription, 380;
 The translation of, 320,
 Texts, 337-342;
 Writings, 409
 Syrian, 14, 47;
 Church, 417;
 Christians, 92
- T**
- Tabula Scripturae Aramaicae*, 317
 Tachibana, Rev. Z. 89;
 Discovery of, 34
 Ta Chung-yang Wa-show-kung, 420
 Ta-chien-shê, 388
 Ta-ch'in, 53, 55, 58, 60, 89, 109, 110,
 312, 361, 372, 474-478;
 Ching-chiao-hsüan-yüan-pên-
 ching, 6;
 Country of, 17;
 Kingdom of, 57, 456, 458;
 Luminous Religion, 5, 25, 40;
 Sûtra on the Origin of
 Origins, 8, 9, 170, 448;
 Monastery, 32, 37, 79, 80, 380,
 457, 467;
 Temple, 362, 363, 365, 368, 370,
 379;
 -ssü, 354, 364, 390, 392, 394, 397,
 400
 Tahouristan (Tahoristan,
 Tahristan,) 68, 70, 96, 106
 Ta-hsing-kuo-ssü, 417, 511, 514, 515
 T'ai-chou, 38, 68
 T'ai-chou-ssü-shih-san-chün, 38
 T'ai-fu, 516
 T'ai-shih 510
 T'ai-ping Shrine, 31, 364, 365, 376
 T'ai-tsung, Emperor, 32, 46, 56, 88,
 89, 92, 236, 251, 276, 361, 378,
 381, 382, 456, 458, 472;
 of Chin 483;
 of Sung, 153
 Tai-tsung, Emperor, 37, 61, 66, 95,
 98, 494
 Ta-jih-chiao (Dai-nichi-kyo) 307
 Takakusu, Dr. J., 6, 115-117, 124, 462;
 Document, 114-124
 Ta-ku, village of, 393, 394
 Ta-kuang-ming Monastery 515

- Ta-la 'mura (humra) 514
 Tale-bearer, the, 156
 Ta-lei humra ('mura) 514
 T'ang, 58, 91, 396;
 Emperor of, 383;
 Empire of, 468, 469;
 the Great, 66, 249, 250;
 House of, 50;
 Land of, 65;
 Language of, 470;
 Two Capital Cities of, 380;
 Dynasty of, . . 4, 79, 87, 110, 123,
 148, 152, 153, 250, 274, 276, 354,
 382, 383, 393, 396, 438, 439;
 hui-yao, 456
 Tangibility, the world of, 166
 Tan-t'u 514
 Tan-yan, the post house of, 515
 Tao Ch'eng, priest, 152
 Tao, 88, 405, 507, 517, 518
 Taoism, 47, 495
 Taoist, the, 88, 383;
 idea, 311;
 priests, 507;
 sects, 349, 448;
 Teachers 495, 496, 506;
 Temple, 354
 Tao-chin-chiao, 239
 Tao-tsung, Emperor, 489
 Tao-têh-ching, the, 307
 Ta-p'u-hsing Monastery, 514
 Tares, wheat and, 200
 Tarkahn, the Yeh-li-k'o-wên, . . 512
 Tarsa, 44, 45, 64, 495, 496, 517;
 'mura (humra) 514
 Taste, the dedicious, 196
 Ta-shih humula, (humra) 514
 Ta-shih, man, 517, 518;
 wan, 495
 Ta-so, 44
 Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-chi, the, 107, 108, 111
 Tatra-polon 'mura, 514
 Ta-tsin (Ta-ch'in,) 89, 463, 464
 Tatsunokuchi, 444
 Ta-wang-chên, 391
 Tchagatai, 427
 Tcheou-tche, (Chou-Chih) 28,
 359, 386
 Tchikitsa Vidyâ S'astra, 467
 Tchi-ktchito, 500
 Teachers of the faith, 321;
 of Tripitaka, 466
 Telling tales, 138
 Temple-veil, the, 215
 Temptation, the, 189
 Tempter, the, 214
 Têng Yüan Gate, 514
 Ten Streaks, the, 283, 307
Testudo Arietaria, 96
 Tê-tsung, Emperor, . . 37, 98, 463-465
 Thathagata, 42
 Thaurén, Dr. P. Johannes, 353
 Theatrical performances, 295
 Theodore of Mopstestia, 171
 Thieves, 207
 Things, precious, 58
 Thirty-two years (of the
 Ministry,) 142, 144
 Thomas, St., 26;
 of Kashkar, 104;
 of Marga, 48, 102-103
 Thousand-eye-Law-king, the, . . . 273
 Three days, 216
 Three Dynasties, 471
 Three Grand Tutors, 516
 Three hundred and sixty-five
 forms of errors, 314;
 Sects, 47;
 Spiritual beings, 54
 Three-in-one, 68
 Three Majestic Praise Book, . . 275;
 Majesties, 269;
 Eulogy on, 270
 Three powers, 260
 Three-spheres Book 275
 Three years and six months, . . 211
 Throat, the, 223, 244
 Thucydides, 149

- T'iao-Chin-Chiao**, 239
Tibet, 454
Tibetan, 316
Tidings, Glad, 55
Tieh-hsieh, (Tarsa) 44, 45, 517
Tieh-mu-erh-Eko, 490
Tieh-mu-erh Yüeh-ko, 484, 490
Tieh-wêng Gate, 513
Tien-ho (Denha) 510
T'ien-pao-tsang Sutra, 256, 274
T'ien-shan, the, 484, 485, 490
T'ien-t'ai, Mount, 38
Tientsin, 35, 248, 279
Tiger Budge, the, 513
Ti-l'ien-hai-ya humula, 514
Timothy, Mar L., 103-106, 195
Timur, 107;
 Eka, 484, 490
Ting-hai-hsien, 519
Ting-tsung, Emperor, 45, 508
T'in-shan, 480
Ti-tao, 441, 480, 483, 489
Titus, (Roman general) 244
To-hui Law-king, (St, David) . . 273
Tokmak, 408
Tok-to-khos, 500
Tokyo, 6, 453
Tomb, the, guarded, . . 216, 218, 322,
 350;
 Stones discovered, 408-415;
 Stones with scenes of the
 Nativity, 442
Tomeoka, Mr. K., 5, 114-117;
 Document of, . . 114-121, 123-124
To-nan, (the Jordan) 142, 160
T'o-t'o-ho-sun, 500, 504
T'oung Pao, the, 78, 80, 82, 353,
 360, 380, 436
Tower, the, Nestorian, 81, 366, 396;
 The Great Wild Goose, . . 395;
 Guarding-immortals
 Treasure, 378;
 Valley, 378;
 White, 378, 381, 384
Tracts, Nestorian, 6
Transfiguration, 170
Transformation, 213, 226
Transgressions, 206, 221
Travels of Marco Polo, . . . 107, 351
Treason, 133
Treasures 207, 257, 294
Trigault, Father Nicholas, . . 29, 46,
 78, 84, 354, 357, 360, 363, 385
Trinity, 54, 262, 266, 271
Tripitaka, 465, 466, 468
Triratna, 467, 469;
 -Dasa, 45
Triune, 53
Tri-yatara, 152
Tsai, (for Nien) 94, 194, 492
T'sen-wên-sêng chieh, 305, 306
Tso-o 68
Tsu-chang, Ma 494
Tsulibha, 256, 275;
 'bura 514
Tsun-ching, the, . . 5, 8, 34, 118, 249,
 253, 257, 260, 271, 277, 519
Tsung Ch'u-k'o, 458
Tuan Fang, 453
Tu-fu, 476
Tu-hu-fu, 498
Tu-kuang-t'ing, 477
Tu-lui, 512
Tu-men-chên 391
T'ung Chang, (T'ung Ch'i-chang)
 39
T'ung Cheng sûtra, 274
T'ung Ch'i-chang, 39
T'ung-chou 474
Tung-huang, . . 5, 16, 34, 89, 253, 271,
 356, 408, 416-418
Tung K'ien, the river, 441
Turfan, 8, 350, 408
Turkistan, 97;
 Chinese, 3;
 Russian, 408
Turks 105, 382, 383
Turning eastward ceremoniously, 55

- Turris ambulatoria*, 96
 Tu-shih-chun, 445
 Tu-ta-wu-erh, 514
 Tu Tien, 476, 477
 Twelfth Night, the, 172
 Twelfth year, of age, 141
 Twelve, direct disciples, 142
 Twenty-four Sages, 55;
 Sacred Law-king, 274
 Twenty-seven standard works, 55
 Twin Trees, 467
 Two kinds, 170, 176;
 Natures, 176;
 Ways of life and death, 122
 Tzū, 194
 Tzū-chih-t'ung Chien, 474
 Tzu-li-po Sūtra, 256, 275
 Tzuria, (Syria) 244
- U
- Ueno, the Museum, 453
 Uigur, the, 34, 97, 99, 254, 282,
 383, 443, 445;
 text, 463;
 tribe, 425, 483
 Umemoto, Mr. Shunji 440
 Uno, Prof. T., 22
 Upadhyāya, 83
 Upper clothing of soul, an 208
 Unrighteous, the, 208, 210
 Upholder, the, 163
- V
- Vadja Bodhi, 307
 Vadja Sūtra, (Diamond Sūtra) 467
 Vairochana 307
 Vambery, Bokhara by, 108
 Vêdanâ, 195
 Vegetables, 142
 Vehicle, the smaller, 467;
 the greater, 467
 Victorious Law, 282, 287, 290, 298,
 306;
 from States of, 296;
 way, 282, 306
 Vidjñāna, 195
 Vidya Mâtra S'âstra, 467
 Vinaya, (Lü) 467;
 soldier, 467
 Virgin, the, 55, 142, 330, 340;
 the ears of, 340;
 Mary, 199, 325;
 Saviour, 324
 Visible, the, 174
 Vision, a, 483, 484
 Voice, the entrance of, 244
- W
- Waley, Mr. Arthur, 417
 Wang Chao, 250
 Wang Chang, 419
 Wang-liang, 203
 Wang-nien Hsien, 19
 Wan-yen-chung-yüan, 481
 Wargis, (George) 489
 Water, 174, 179;
 into wine, 401
 Waterloo, the, 382
 Way, the, 56, 61, 63, 65, 88, 117;
 of Heaven, 144;
 Way-side inn, a, 293
 Weak waters, the, 59
 Wealth, 181, 294;
 abundant, 180
 Wei, Han and, 58;
 Dynasties, 89, 110, 471;
 Prince, 480;
 River, 464, 470
 Wei Chêng, 249, 251, 276, 393
 Wei-ch'iah Kung 393
 Wei-mêng-to, 5, 270
 Wei-shao, Prince, 485, 486
 Wei-shu, 109
 Wei-wu-erh, 517
 Wên, 398

- Wên-chü, (Mandjus'ri) 468
 Wên-ling, 436
 Wên-yüan-ko, the Library, 316
 Western district of the Capital, 383;
 suburb, 57, 357
 Western Capital, the, 380
 Western Hao, the, 59, 91
 Western lands, 58, 89, 94, 351,
 381, 480, 489, 508;
 world, 356
 Wheat and tares, 200
 White-cloud, 26
 Wicked, the, 189;
 adversaries of man, 190;
 cause 144, 145;
 deeds, 192;
 devices, 192;
 Way, 129, 132, 147, 189-193, 201;
 way-Hell, 129
 Wife, another's, 136
 Wigram, Sir. Edgar T. A., . . 48, 428;
 Rev. W. A., 48, 353, 428
 William of Rubruck, 447
 Wiltsch, J. E. T., 353
 Wind, the, 125, 128, 186;
 Cool, 142;
 of great mercy, 219;
 Pure, 266
 Wine, water into, 401
 Wisdom, the great, 165, 181
 Withrow, Dr. W., 159
 Witness, the false, 154
 Witnessing-person, 273
 Womb, the, 181, 182
 Woolen cloth, 215
 Wood, the images of, 130
 Woodbrooke studies, 196
 Word 171
 Work (of a man,) 182
 World, 180;
 of entity, 309;
 of eternity, 171;
 of the finite, 171;
 of infinity, 171;
 of non-entity, 309;
 of non-tangibility, 170;
 of tangibility, 170, 171;
 that, 182;
 this, 181, 182, 197
 Worldly Teachings, the, 298
 Worship, ancestor, 121, 153;
 Emperor, 121, 149-153;
 anti-Emperor, 151-153
 Wright, Dr. William, . . 101, 103-106
 Wu 500;
 Emperor, 304, 478;
 Empress Dowager,
 17, 90-92, 504, 505
 Wu-ch'ie-chieh, 170
 Wu-chien-ti-yu, 244
 Wu-chih-shih (Nan-hsi-shih) . . . 148
 (see Yangoto-naki)
 Wu-chin, priest, 393
 Wu-chün, 30-33, 61, 81, 95, 100,
 264, 349, 354, 365, 372-380, 392,
 397, 398, 400;
 the Monastery at, 372, 376
 Wu-fêng, 394
 Wu-hsing, 172
 Wu-li-shih-lien, (Jerusalem) . . . 109,
 143, 159
 Wu-men, 315
 Wu-pen-chieh, 170
 Wu-sha-na Sûtra, 275
 Wu-tsung, Emperor, 15, 478
 Wylie, Mr. Alexander,
 12, 45, 78, 95, 99, 419
- X**
- Xensi, 389
- Y**
- Yabh-allaha, 85;
 Patriarch, 196
 Yakchas, 118, 228, 230, 247
 Yakshamba, 45

- Ya-le-kih-wan 422
 Yama, 125, 149, 204
 Yami, 204
 Yang, the, 194
 Yang, Emperor, 152;
 General, 372
 Yang-chou, 435, 500-502
 Yan-go-to-naki, 148
 (See Wu-chih-shih)
 Yang Hsüan-chih, 152
 Yang-hsüan humula, 514
 Yangtze, the River, 475, 391
 Yang Yün-i, General, . . 51, 370, 395
 Yao-hsi, (Joseph) 216, 242
 Yao-ku-hun, (John) . . . 141, 142, 158
 Yao-sên-wên, 45, 49, 68, 101
 Yasumband, (Yao-sên-wên) 98
 Yazedbouzid, Priest and
 General, (Yazdbuzid, Yezd-
 buzid) . . 37, 40, 68, 69, 81, 99-100,
 108, 369
 Ye-chu, 147
 Yeh-k'o-na-yen, 518
 Ye-k'o-wên, 426
 Yeh-li, priest, 69, 93
 Yeh-li-chü, Sao-ma, 484
 Yeh-li-k'o-wên, 350, 519, 497,
 498, 501, 506, 507, 511, 514-518;
 Control Board 508;
 Cross Monastery, 500
 Yeh-li-ya, 510
 Yellow-chamber, the, 405;
 Spring, 220, 222
 Yen, 491
 Yen-fa, 477
 Yen-la, the King, 132, 149
 Yen-ling, 387
 Yen-li-ssü, (Enryakuji) 250
 Yen-pao-t'an-yü, 111
 Yen-shêng-kuan, 397
 Ye-su, 147
 Y-king, the, 200
 Yin, the, 194;
 Dynasty, 151;
 Hsi, 383
 Ying-chüan, 493
 Ying-ki, Mr. I, 78
 Yi-sseu, le prêtre, 360
 Yoga Teaching, the, 468
 Yohanna, the Law-king, 273
 Yü, 151, 398
 Yüan (Yüen) Army, the, 481
 Yüan Dynasty, the, 318, 422,
 433, 446, 489
 Yüan Empire, the, 480, 485, 491
 Yüan Government, the, 492
 Yüan Chao, priest, 35, 38, 462,
 464, 466
 Yüan-chên, (En-chin) 250
 Yüan-jen, 201
 Yüan-ling Sûtra, 275
 Yüan-su, 518
 Yu-chieh-chiang, 170
 Yu-dai-oi, (Jew) 240, 241
 Yüeh-ho-nai, (John) 489-492
 Yüen (Yüan) Dynasty, 318, 422
 Yü-hsien section, 393
 Yu-hud, (Jew) 238, 241
 Yule, Sir Henry, 84, 107, 240,
 352, 442
 Yung-chang-chün, 479
 Yung-chou, 18
 Yung-ku-to, (-Ongut) 490
 Yün-nan, 513
 Yü-shan Monastery, 514
 Yu-t'ai, (Jew) 239
 Yün-tai, Hall, 454
 Yu-ti-erh, 6
 Yu-yang-ta-tsu, 479
- Z
- Zabaidah, 105
 Zacharia, priest, 77
 Zaitun Crosses, 436-439
 Zakaria's book, 256, 275
 Zariaspa, 106
 Zemarchus, 351

| | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|---|---------|
| Zeus, | 150 | Zoroastrianism, | 247 |
| Zhina, (China) | 82 | Zui-yin-kin, the, | 304 |
| Zhinestan, | 82 | Zur Ausbreitung der Christentums in Asien, | 13, 352 |
| Zoroaster, | 107 | | |
| Zoroastrian, | 16, 107, 381, 458, 475 | | |

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 雲座。將與二見。了決真源。應樂咸通。七方雲集。有
 諸明淨士。一切神天等妙法王。无量覺衆。及三百
 六十五種。異見中。如是族類。无邊无極。自嗟空
 昧。久失真源。罄集明宮。普心至仰時。景通法王。端
 嚴進念。上觀空皇。親承印旨。告諸衆曰。善來法
 衆。至至无來。今柯通常。啓生滅死。各圖其分。靜
 諦我宗。如了无元。礙當隨散。卽宣玄化。匠帝真
 常(者)。无元。无言。无道。无緣。妙有非有。湛寂然吾

能

行用。則如光明自然照耀。岑穩僧伽。重起請益。彌師訶曰。汝當止。止勿復更言。譬如良井。

水則

无窮。病苦新念。不可多飲。恐水不消(化)。便成勞。

復汝等如是。善性初興。多聞致疑。不可更說。

時諸大眾聞是語。已頂受歡喜。禮退奉行。

志玄安樂經。

圓明。卽知其人終當解脫。是知此經所生利益。

衆天說之。不窮真際。若人信愛。少分脩行。

能於明道。不憂諸難。能於闇道。不犯諸災。能於他方異處。常得安樂。何況專脩。汝等弟子及諸聽衆。散於天下。行吾此經。能爲君王安護。

境界。譬如高山上有大火。一切國人。无不覩者。

君王尊貴。如彼高山。吾經利益。同於大火。若

教勝上法文。能爲含生禦煩惱賊。如彼甲仗
 防護身形。若復有人。將渡大海。必資船舶。
 方濟風波。船舶旣破。前岸不可到。惟此景教
 勝

上法文。能與含生度生死海。至彼（彼岸安樂道）

寶香。若復有人。時逢疫癘。病者旣衆。死者復

多。若聞反（返）魂寶香妙氣。則死者反（返）活。疾苦消

念。惟此景教勝上法文。能令含生反（返）眞智命。

凡有罪苦咸皆滅除。若有男女依我所言。勤

脩上法。晝夜思惟。離諸染污。清淨眞性。湛然

含生便同安樂於彼妙用。竟无所稱。是名无德。四者无證。於諸實无所覺知。妄弄是非。

混齊德失。雖日自在。邈然虛空。何以故。譬如明鏡鑑照一切。青黃雜色。長短衆形。盡能洞微莫知。所以人亦如是。晤真道性。得安樂心。

遍

見衆緣。悉通達於彼覺了。忘盡无遺。是

名无證。彌施訶又曰。若復有人。將入軍陣。必資

甲仗。防衛其身。甲仗既堅。不懼冤賊。唯此景

有所爲造。非性命法。逐虛妄緣。必當捨棄。勿令親近。何以故。譬如乘船入大海。水逐風搖蕩。隨浪遷移。旣憂沈沒。无安寧者。人亦如是。外形有爲。營造俗法。唯在進取。不念劬勞。於諸善緣。悉皆忘廢。是故外形履无爲道。三者无德。於諸功德。不樂名聞。常行大慈。廣度衆類。終不辭說。將爲所能。以何故。譬如大地生養衆物。各隨其性。皆合所宜。凡有利益。非言可盡。人亦如是。持勝上法。行景教。因兼度

但能美人不知己苦。觀此十種。調禦身心。言行相應。卽无過失。方可進前四種勝法。云何四種。一者无欲。所謂內心有所動欲。求代上事。作衆惡緣。必須制伏。莫令輒起。何以故。

譬如草根藏在地下。內有傷損。外无見知。見是諸苗稼。必當凋萃。人亦如是。內心有欲。外不

見知。然四支七竅。皆无善氣。增長衆惡。斷安樂。因是故。內心行无欲法。二者无爲。所謂外形

亂。不辨是非。譬如清泉。鑑照一切有形之物。皆悉洞明。若添淤泥。影像頓失。但多穢濁。諸无可觀。八者觀諸人間。猶玩戲劇。坐消時日。勞役精神。譬如狂人。眼花妄見。手足攀撓。盡夜不休。筋力盡疲。竟无所獲。九者觀諸人間。施行雜教。唯事有爲妨。失直正。譬如巧工。尅作

牛畜。莊嚴彩畫。形^(貌)類真。將爲田農。終不收獲。十者觀諸人間。假脩善法。唯求衆譽。不念自欺。譬如蚌蛤。含其明珠。漁者破之。採而死。

朔遷移。雖有其明。安可久恃。四者觀諸人間。
 強梁人我雖欲自益。及爲自傷。譬如虫蛾^(蟲)。逢
 見夜火。旋飛投擲。將以爲好。不知其命滅在
 火中。五者觀諸人間。財寶積聚。勞神苦形。
 竟无所用。譬如小瓶。纔容升升。酌江海水將
 注瓶中。盈滿之外。更无所受。六者觀諸人
 間。色慾耽滯。從身性起。作身性冤。譬如蝎
 虫。化生木內。能傷木性。唯食木心。究竟枯
 朽。漸當摧折。七者觀諸人間。飲酒淫樂。昏迷
 醉

觀法。爲漸脩路。云何名爲十種觀法。一者觀
 諸人間。肉身性命。積漸衰老。無不滅亡。譬如
 客店。暫時假宿。施床席^(席)。具足珍羞。皆非我有。
 豈關人事。會當弃去。誰得久留。二者觀諸
 人間。親愛眷屬。終當離坼。難保會同。譬如
 衆葉共生一樹。風霜既至。枝榦卽凋。分散零
 落。
 略无在者。三者觀諸人間。高大尊貴。榮華興
 盛。

終不常居。譬如夜月。圓光四照。雲霧遞起。晦

譬

如寶山。玉林珠菓。鮮明照耀。甘美芳香。能療
飢渴。復痊衆病。時有病人。聞說斯事。晝夜

想念。下離菓林。然路遠山高。身羸力弱。徒積
染願。非遂本懷。賴有近親。具足智功。爲施梯
橙。(橙)

引接輔持。果尅所求。乃蠲固疾。岑穩僧伽。當
來衆心久纏惑惱。聞无欲菓。在安樂山。雖念
進脩。情信中殆賴善知識。作彼近親。巧說訓
喻。(論)使成梯橙。(橙)皆能晤道。消除積迷。當有十種

獲祐。故懷願樂。譬如春雨霑灑。一切有根之物。悉生苗牙。若无根者。終不滋長。岑穩僧伽。汝等如是能於我所求問勝法。是汝等數代。父祖親姻戚。善尤多轉及於汝。岑穩僧伽。恭敬悲賀。重起作禮。上白尊言。大慈大悲。无上至尊。乃能如是仁愛。於我不以愚蒙曲成讚誘。是則爲我及一切衆。百千万代。其身父母。非唯今日得安樂緣。但我等積久沈淪昏濁。雖願進脩。卒未能到。不審以何方便作漸進緣。一尊彌師訶曰。如是如是。誠如汝言。

諸大衆曰。此經所說。神妙難思。一切聖賢。

流傳法教。莫不以此深妙真宗。而爲其本。譬

如有目之類。將遊行。必因日光。方可遠見。岑

穩僧伽。此經如是。能令見在。及以未來。有善

心者。見安樂道。則爲凡聖諸法本根。若使復

有人。於此經文聞說。歡喜親近。供養讀誦。受

持

當知其人及祖乃父。非一代二代。與善結緣。

必

於過去。積代善根。於我教門。能生恭敬。因茲

尊

彌施訶曰。妙哉斯問。妙哉斯問。汝當審聽。(我)與
 汝重宣。但於无中。能生有體。若於有中。終无
 安樂。何以故。譬如空山。所有林木。數條散葉。
 布影垂陰。然此山林。不求鳥獸。一切鳥獸。自
 求栖集。又如大海。所有水泉。廣大无涯。深
 濬不測。然此海水。不求鱗介。一切鱗介。自住
 其中。含生有緣。求安樂者。亦復如是。但當
 安心靜住。常習我宗。不安求樂。安樂自至。是
 故无中能生有法。彌施訶又告岑穩僧伽及

術

已。能離諸言說。柔下无忍。潛運大悲。人民无
无邊欲。令度盡於諸法中。而獲最勝。得最

勝。故名安樂道。爾時岑穩僧伽。重起作禮讚

言。大哉无上一尊。大哉无上一尊。乃能演說。

微

妙勝法。如是深奧。不可思議。我於其義。猶未
了

晤。願更誨諭向者尊言。无欲无爲。无德无證。

如是四方(法)名安樂道。不審无中云何有樂。一

入无礙形。我於心法。通无礙知。如是六法。具足莊嚴成就。一切衆真景教。皆自无始暨因緣。初累積无邊囉耜洩福。其福重極萬億。圖齊帝山。譬所莫及。然可所致。方始善衆會合。正真因茲惠明。而得遍照。玄通昇進。至安樂鄉。超彼凝圓。无轉生命。岑穩僧伽。如是无量囉耜洩福。廣濟利益。不可思議。我今自念。實无所證。何以故。若言證。則我不得證。則我不得稱无礙也。

是故我言。无欲无爲。无德无證。如是四法。不

无所聞。同於虛空。離功德相。何以故。若有功德。

則有名聞。若有名聞。則爲自異。若有自異。則同凡心。同凡心者。於諸矜夸^(誇)。猶未度脫。況於安樂。而獲圓通。是故我言。无德无聞者。任運悲心。於諸有情。悉令度脫。資神通。故因悟正真。悟正真。故是安樂道。次復岑穩。僧伽。我於

眼法。見无礙色。我於耳法。聞无礙聲。我於鼻法。知无礙香。我於舌法。辨无礙味。我於身法。

何以故。若有知見。則爲有身。以有身故。則懷生想。懷生想故。則有求爲。有所求爲。是名動。

欲。有動欲者。於諸苦惱。猶未能免。況於安樂而得成就。是故我言。无欲无爲。離諸染境。入諸淨源。離染能淨。故等於虛空。發惠光。明能照一切。照一切。故名安樂道。

復次岑穩僧伽。我在諸天。我在諸地。或於神道。或於人間。同類異類。有識無識。諸善緣者。我皆護持。諸惡報者。我皆救拔。然於救護。實

如水中月以水濁故。不生影像。如草中火。以草濕故。不見光明。含生沈埋亦復如是。岑穩僧伽。凡脩勝道。先除動欲。无動无欲。則不求。不爲。无求无爲。則能清能淨。能清能淨。則能晤能證。能晤能證。則遍照遍境。遍照遍境。是安樂緣。岑穩僧伽。譬如我身奇相異誌。所有十文。名爲四達。我於四達未嘗自知。我於十文未嘗

自見。爲化人故。所以假名。於真宗實无知見。

[H] 志玄安樂經

聞是至言時。无上(一尊彌施訶。在與脫出愛)
 河。淨虛堂內與者(俱。□岑穩僧伽□與諸人)
 衆。左右環遶。恭敬侍(坐。□□□□。岑穩僧)
 伽。從衆而起。交臂(而進作禮讚。白彌施訶言)
 我等人衆迷惑固(久。□□□□□□非以)
 何方便救護。有情(者。何可得安樂道哉。一尊)
 彌施訶。答言。善(哉斯問。善哉斯問。汝等欲衆)
 生求預勝法。汝(當審聽。□□□□□如是)
 一切品類皆有安(樂道。□□沈埋而不見。譬)

上本音。房玄齡魏徵宣譯奏言。後召本教大德僧景淨。譯
得已上卅部。卷餘大數具在貝皮夾。猶未翻譯。

天寶藏經。多惠聖王經。阿思瞿利容經。

渾元經。通真經。寶明經。傳化經。罄遺經。

原靈經。述畧經。三際經。微詰經。寧思經。

宣義經。師利海經。寶路法王經。刪河律經。

藝利月思經。寧耶頤經。儀則律經。毗遏啓經。

三威讚經。牟世法王經。伊利耶經。遏拂林經。

報信法王經。彌施訶自在天地經。四門經。啓真經。

摩薩吉斯經。慈利波經。烏沙那經。

謹案諸經目錄。大秦本教經。都五百卅部。並是貝葉梵音。

唐太宗皇帝。貞觀九年。西域天德僧阿羅本。居于中夏。並奏

敬禮。妙身皇父阿羅訶。應身皇子彌施訶。
證身盧訶寧俱沙。已上三身同歸一體。

(敬禮) 瑜罕難法(王)。 盧伽法王。 摩矩辭法王。 明泰法王。

牟世法王。 多惠法王。 景通法王。 寶路法王。

千眼法王。 那寧逸法王。 珉艷法王。 摩薩吉思法王。

宜和吉思法王。 摩沒吉思法王。 岑穩僧(伽)法王。 廿四聖法王。

憲難那法王。 賀薩那法(王)。 彌沙曳法王。 沙羅法王。

瞿盧法王。 報信法王。

敬禮。 常明皇樂經。 宣元至本經。 志玄安樂經。

根滋。大聖普尊。彌施訶。我歎慈父海
藏慈。大聖謙及淨風性。清凝法耳。不
思議。

大秦景教三威蒙度讚一卷

衆善根本。復無拯。我今一切。念慈恩。歎
彼妙樂。照此國。彌施訶。普尊大聖子。
廣度苦界。救無億。常活命王。慈喜羔。
大普耽苦。不辭勞。願捨群生。積重罪。
善護真性。得無繇。聖子端任。父右座。
其座復超。無彘高。大師願彼。乞衆請。降
機使免。火江漂。大師是。我等慈父。大師
是。我等聖主。大師是。我等法王。大師能爲。
普救度。大師慧力。助諸羸。諸日瞻仰。不
暫移。復與枯焦。降甘露。所有蒙潤。善

[F] 景教三威蒙度讚

无上諸天。深敬歎。大地重念。普安和。人元
 真性。蒙依止。三才慈父。阿羅訶。一切善衆。
 至誠禮。一切慧性。稱讚歌。一切含真。盡歸仰。
 蒙聖慈光。救離魔。難尋無及。正真
 常。慈父明子。淨風王。於諸帝中。爲師帝。
 於諸世尊。爲法皇。常居妙明。無畔界。
 光威盡察。有界壇。自始無人。嘗得見。
 復以色見。不可相。惟獨絕凝。清淨德。
 惟獨神威。無等力。惟獨不轉。儼然存。

得上天堂。到快樂處無有盡時。所有萬識
 一神直道。向好經不行。亦不取一神處分作罪
 業者。於惡魔夜叉諸鬼所禮拜者。向地獄共
 惡鬼等一時隨(墮)入地(獄)。常在地獄中。住辛苦處。
 於大火中火(永)住無有盡時。有欲得者聽此語
 能作。亦皆聽聞亦是作。若有不樂者可自思
 量。共自己魂魄一處。若有不樂不聽者。卽
 共惡魔一處。於地獄中永不得出。

一神論卷第三

一神律法書寫。於天下劫欲末時。惡魔卽來。於人上共作人形。向天下處分現見。於迷惑術法中作無量種罪業。作如此損傷一切人。離一神遠近已身處安置。所以如此說言。我是彌師訶。三箇年六月治化。於後三年六箇月。所有造諸惡業惡性行人者。可得分明見。誰向實處作功德者。亦有無信向天尊處分者。唯有惡魔鬼等。作人形現者。彌師訶與一神天分明見。向末世俗死人皆得起依處分。所以於汝向有信者作諸功德者。誰依直心道行者。

須依次法行所以可見。不是虛誑。亦不是迷惑。亦不妄語。^(亦)不無罪業。法須如此一切人。浪行者其作罪業從錯道行。亦從罪業裏欲得迴實。亦須依一神道上行。取一神處分。自餘無別道。人須向天堂。唯識一天尊亦處分。其人等人受一神處分者。若向浪道行者。恐畏人。承事日月星宿。火神禮拜。恐畏人。承事惡魔鬼夜叉羅刹等。^(隨)向火地獄裏常住所。爲向實處。亦不須信大。作信業不依一神處分。唯有惡魔共夜叉羅刹諸鬼等。其作經文

誰有智慧者。此變見并化術若爲。向天下少時。聞亦不是人處。傍能處。所以天尊神力。因於一切人智。一切萬物見在者。惣是一神神力。所以弥師訶自家弟子。選將去也。汝等發遣向天下。我所有言教。並悉告知。不是聖主國王。能自作富貴種性人中。選弟子。所以於貧賤無力小人中。選取。是弥師訶情願法。所是汝許語。自餘一切具足。亦於一切人知。此是一神所作。所以知是言法。亦是一神自家許。一切人誰欲解。於一神處。分具足。於魂魄上天堂。亦

道名字分明見。是天下所作〔作〕處。世尊化術。異種作聖化。計按籌量。亦是他家所作。唯有世尊情願具足。欲此諸王等聖主。誰向拂林。誰向波斯並死。亦是惡律法。於所著者爲怛索到不堪處。所以一切拂林如今並禮拜世尊。亦有波斯少許人。被迷惑行與惡魔鬼等。所作泥素形像禮拜者。自餘人物禮拜世尊。數數彌師訶並云。此等向天下世尊聖化行。亦無幾多時。所以分明自尔(示)已來。彌師訶向天下見也。向五蔭身六百四十一年不過。已於一切處。

抄掠將去。從散普天下。所以有彌師訶弟子。
 有言。報知於世尊。及事從世尊。一切人爲
 怨家。大小更無餘計按。唯有運業能得。彌師
 訶弟子並煞却滅祚。可以遣具足受業。此云
 向說世尊聖化預知。後於無量時預前湏
 自防備。^(備)汝等誰事世尊。自儻量^(籌)按計。惡說
 欲非來。是好事亦不具足得汝情願。世尊共
 人相和。一切王打百姓自由。在拂林向波斯律
 法如此。作怛索惣煞。諸聲打破。破作丘坑。^(坑)
 亦不湏放。向自家國土。有誰事彌師訶者。亦

情取汝處分。於黑闇地獄發遣去。常處共

惡魔鬼同。永去善處。明見於天下。教詔處分

所教亦具足兮。向自家弟子不是人種。世尊種性。所以弟子向彌師訶名。有患並療得差在。

惡魔鬼傍名拔脫。從人處死得活。更此作箇

是普天下。使彌師訶弟子作怨字。一切(人)亦共一(切)

處。相覓得勝於彌師訶弟子。得亦於先石忽

人。所以不受處。無數中辛苦處。示竟所以至末(未)

間。石忽不他。所以拂林。向石國伊大城裏。聲處破

碎。却亦是向量從。石忽人被愆。餘百姓並被

向天下。亦作聖化。爲我罪業中於已^(巳)自由身上
 受死。五蔭三日內從死起。憑天尊氣力。尙上
 天來。末^(未)也聞。此天下是弥師訶自譽處。起於
 一切人。有死者從起於天下。向未聞亦於天下
 向弥師訶處分。起從黃泉向實法處。生欲
 與一切人。喻如思量時。此天下亦報償。亦有信
 者向弥師訶處。取禮拜世尊者於弥師訶父
 處。將向天堂至常住處。亦與長命快樂處。於
 彼弥師訶處。無行不具足。受處分世尊。喻
 如自父。不禮拜乃向惡魔禮拜。有不淨潔處。意

向彌師訶(起)手。一切人有信。共向世尊來。若無信者。向如此言。所以眼不能見。所作者。由來具足。亦如是。此人卽今見在。生人亦不疑慮。意中恐_(不恐)不死。喻如前者人死。如許人等誰死者。有信向彌師訶處。亦不須疑慮。起從黃泉。一切人並得起。於後彌師訶向上天十日。使附信與弟子。度與淨風。從天上看弟子分明。具見度(與)淨風。喻如火光住在弟子邊。頭上欲似舌舌。彼與從得淨風。教一切人。種性處有彌師訶。天下分明見得天尊處分。誰是汝父來。

明處分。向一切處。將我言語示語一切種。人來向水字於父子淨風。處分具足。所有我迷汝在。比到盡天下。聞有三十日中。於彌師訶地上。後從死地起。於一切萬物所有言話。並向汝等具說。亦附許來。欲得淨風。天向汝等。彌師訶從明處空中看見。天上從有相。大慈風中坐。爲作大聖化。於天下示見。惡魔起惡妬。向人上從如供養。擲下於地。世尊所得。並於一切辛苦處。亦於惡魔起手向人配。惣不堪用。所以受大辛苦。恐畏將人遠離世尊。

奢^(寬)五蔭不見。自曰遂棄墓田去。當時見者
向石忽人具論。於石忽人大賜財物。所以借
問逗留。有何可見。因何不說。此持更人云。一依前
者所論。彌師訶。從死起亦如前者說。女人等就
彼來處依法。石忽人於三日好看^(看)向墓田。將來
就彼分明見。彌師訶發迷^(途)去。故相報信向學
人處。喻如前者女人。於天下寄信(女)。妄報於阿
談。因有此罪業。向天下來。喻如女人向墓田來。
彌師訶見言是實。將來於學人就善處。向天
下來。於後就彼來將信去也。彌師訶弟子分

索。向新牒布裏裏。亦於新墓田裏。有新穿
 處。山擘裂。彼處安置大石。蓋石上搭印。石
 忽緣人使持更守掌。亦語弥師訶有如此
 言。三日內於死中欲起。莫迷。學人來是。汝靈
 柩勿從被偷。將去語訖。似從死中起居。如此
 作時。石忽人三(日)內^(納)弥師訶。喻如墓田彼印從外
 相。喻如從起手從女生。亦不女身從證見處。此
 飛仙所使世尊着白衣。喻如霜雪。^(現)見向持更
 處。從天下來此大石。(石)在舊門上。在開劫。於
 石上坐。其持更者。見狀似飛仙。於墓田中來。

術。於彌師訶得免。如此方便。受彌師訶於辛苦處。受他不是無氣力。受亦無氣力處作。

執法上懸高。於彼時節。所以與命。地動山

崩。石磬上毳毼踰壁。彼處張設聖化。擘作兩

段。彼處有墓自開。聞有福德死者。並從死

得活。起向人處來。亦有十四日一月。亦無時日

不見閻所。聖化爲此三時日如此。喻如閻裏一切物。

人眼不能得見。聖化可(耳)聞眼見。所以彌師訶上懸

高。求承實世尊。喻如說書。當向閻處。彌師訶

五音身人。世尊許所以名化姚霽。執捉法從家

卽作尊。明於自家意似作世尊。所以是人不合。將自家身詐作神合死。所以彌師訶不是尊。將身作人有尊。自作於無量聖化。所作不似人種。所作尊種。亦有愛身。是彼𩶛家。所以共阿談一處。汝等處(分)所以。𩶛家舊(種)在。亦不其作。不期報知。唯有羊將向窄處去。亦無作聲。亦不唱換。作如此無聲。於法當身上。自所愛以受汝。阿談種性輸與他。喻如彌師訶於五蔭中死。亦不合如此於命終。所以無意智𩶛家。亦如此阿談種免死。從死亦非不合死。於相助聖

訶。何誰作如此語。此非是彌師訶。誑惑。欲捉。汝作方便。爲此自向拂林。寄悉在時。若無寄。悉捉道理。亦無不敢死。若已被執捉。配與法家。子細勘問。從初上懸高。若已付法。方便別勘。當。所以上懸高。汝等語當家有律文。據當家法亦合死。所以從自身作此言。誰道我是世尊。息論。實語時此。餘家不是汝自家許。所以阿談。彼人元來在。從一切人所以知是在。誰捉提身詐言。是世尊。忽如此可見也。亦喫彼樹。尊處分勿從。喫作如此心喫。若從喫時

王(枉)口道。遣汝住天上。彼處有少許人。於寬
 道上行。向在歡樂。如入地獄。亦有人語於餘
 語。善惡如此一樣。汝等智(知)。爲汝命能聽法來。
 並彌師訶作如處分。覺道經由。三年六箇月。
 如此作行如學生。於自家死亦得上懸高。有
 石忽人。初從起手。向死預前三日。早約束竟。
 一切人於後欲起從死。欲上天去。喻如聖化作。
 也營告此天下亦作期限。若三年六箇月滿。
 是汝處分。過去所以如此。彼石忽人執亦如(此)
 從自家身上作語。是尊兒口論。我是彌師。

等於父邊索餅卽得。若從索石。恐畏自害卽不得。若索魚亦可。若索虵恐螫汝。爲此不與。作此事亦無意智。亦無善處。向憐愛處。亦有善處。向父作此意。是何物意。如此索者。亦可與者。亦不可不與者。須與不與。二是何物。兒子索亦須與。一(神)智裏無有意智。亦無意智處。有善處有罪業處。不相和。在上須臺舉。亦不須言。索物不得。所以不得有不可索。浪索不得。你所須者。餘人索。餘人(所)須亦你從索。餘人於你上所作。你還酬償。去於惡道。喻如

量自記。從已(己)身上明。莫看餘罪過。唯看他家
身上正身。自家身不能正。所以欲得成餘人。
似如梁柱。着自家眼裏。倒向餘人說言。汝眼
裏有物。除却。因合此語。假矯。先向除眼裏梁
柱。莫淨潔安人似。苟言語。似真珠莫前遼人。
此人似瞎(瞎)。恐畏踏人(之)。欲不堪用。此辛苦於自身。
不周遍。却被嗔責。何爲不自知。從一乞願。打
門。他與汝門(開)。所以一神乞願必得。打門亦與汝
開。若有乞願不得者。亦如打門不開。爲此乞
願不得妄索。索亦不得。自家身上有(害)者。從汝

一天尊二卽是財物。若無財物。喫着交闕。勿如此三思。喻如將性兒子被破兇賊。卽交無喫着何物。我語汝等。唯索一物。當不一神處。乞必無罪過。若欲着皆得稱意。更勿三思。一如汝等物。是一弟子誰常乞願在天尊近。並是自猶自在。欲喫欲着。此並一神所有。人生看^(着)魂魄上衣五蔭上衣。惑^(或)時一所與食飲。或與衣服。在餘神物不能與。唯看飛鳥。亦不種不刈。亦無倉壻可守。喻如一^(神)在磧裏。食飲不短。無犁作。亦不言衣裳。並勝於諸處。亦不思

[E] 世尊布施論第三

世尊曰。如有人布施時。勿對人布施。會須遣。世尊知識。然始布施。若左手布施。勿令右手覺。若禮拜時。勿聽外人眼見。外人知聞。會須一神自見。然始禮拜。若其乞願時。勿漫。乞願時先放人却。若然後向汝處作罪過。汝亦還放汝却。若放得一(神)即放得。汝知其當家放得罪。一還客怒翳數。有財物不須放置地上。惑(或)時壞劫。惑(或)時有賤盜將去。財物皆須向天堂上。必竟不壞不失。計論人時兩箇性命天下一。

生人間。邊地下賤中生。以是一願成劫。萬劫法
 恒常住。永無異時。然惡魔緣惡雖見惡爲思
 惡。故故惡中將向惡處。但四天下常令念善願
 成好者。一(神)是也。四天下思惡。迷惑衆人。使墮惡
 道者。惡魔也。是故一神始末願惣成聖。

一天論第一

離於天堂。天下惡所是其住處。依其神住。說言惡風還在天下。惡行還如魔。是人間怨家。樂着惡處住者。然其下處惡中最大號名。參怒。自外次第號爲鬼也。然此鬼等卽與惡魔離天堂。其明同歸惡道。緣參怒常設數種惡方便。迷惑衆人。故使其然也。惡魔嫉妬衆人爲善。以是緣不令人遵敬一神。故惡魔專思爲惡。故還欲迷(惑)衆生。人使墮惡道。以是惡魔迷惑故。愚癡人等無心尊敬一神。信邪倒見。故先墮三惡道中。惡魔鬼中。後於天下

悟。其惡魔亦如天上飛仙等同一種。以是自
用惡故迴向惡道。喻如愚癡人。亦背善緣自
用惡故。轉轉便思惡見緣惡見。故此人卽是一
神及諸衆生等惡怨家無異。便遂飄落離
於大處。緣神惡故。非獨一身不離三界。亦出離
衆善眷屬。因卽名惡魔鬼。改名娑多那。喻
如胡號名惡魔。以是故惡魔〔以是故魔〕等同
一字。亦如惡魔有迴向惡道。亦如迷惑衆人
迴向惡。愚癡(人)皆緣惡魔迷惑。故迴心向惡者。
名字同鬼。亦如魍魎。並皆迴向惡道。遂便出

心同四足。故難爲解說。難得解脫。而無分別。是
 知四足之等緣無識解。不解禮敬一神。亦不解
 祠祭。惡魔等與惡魔相遠(逐)使人迷惑。惡入
 惡怨家。無過惡魔等。但有愚人皆是惡魔
 等迷惑使墮惡道。以是因緣此人(聞)怨家莫
 過惡魔迷惑人。故使有癡騃在於木石之上
 着神名字。以是故說。惡魔名爲是人間怨家。
 是以須知名字爲人論說。使人知善惡淺深。若
 人不解思量者。還是緣惡魔迷惑不能脩
 善。以是亦須思惡魔。若人能靜惡魔。使逐覺

育成就。皆須禮拜自言。常(住)不滅時節。惣受處分。亦是春秋迎代。寒暑往來。四時成歲。將兼日夜。相添足。泐辰。還緣一神賢聖智惠自然。常定無虧無盈。喻如善響自在。故自然還自應。一神圓滿自在。故自然法教具足。勝於諸天子。衆人緣人聞有怨家。惡魔鬼迷(惑)。令耳聾眼瞎。不得聞戒行。衆人先自緣善神。先自有善業。爲是愚癡緣(人)被惡魔迷惑。未得曉中事。喻如人自抄錄善惡。人還自迷惑。不覺悟。不知神之福祚。乃如四足畜生。以是等故。

人皆須禮拜。須領一神恩。然後更別作功德。

此是言語讚歎功德。亦不是餘功德。亦須知。喻

如說言。須作好善意。智裏天尊何誰。別在功

德處。不勤心時。如似人無意智。欲作舍。基脚

不着地。被風懸吹將去。如舍脚窄。風亦不能懸

吹得。如功德無天尊證。即不成就。若人欲得見

見^(現)一神。自身清淨心見。盡須如是思量。如五

蔭有無量筋脉。一一各不相似。五蔭身及魂魄

一是自在。一切筋脉是處相固。於一切天下有數

種。一與二皆須似一神。一共彼惣一神所作。養

人。於此處種果報得具足。彼處雖種不得具足。
 於彼天下唯見快樂。亦不見阿誰。一神自聖化神。
 自聖化神力作在先。安置天下。然後彼天下
 去。須解無便宜。辛苦處於人一切於自家。辛
 苦處不覓功德。此大如人^(怨)在先。知天尊誰置。
 唯事一神天尊。禮拜一神。一取一神進止。不
 是此意知。功德不是。餘處功德。此處功德
 不是。功德處喻如人作舍。預前作基脚。先須
 牢固安置。若基脚不牢固。舍即不成。喻如欲
 作功德。先脩行具^(戒備具足)戒備足。亦須知一神安置。

德。須此處作。不是彼處作。莫跪拜鬼。此處
 作功德。不是彼處。一神處分莫違。願此處得
 作。彼處不得作。喻如作功德。先須此處作。不
 是彼處。布施與他物功德。此處施得。彼處雖
 施亦不得。發心須寬大。不得窄小。卽得作寬
 此處得作。彼處作不得。以此思量。毒心惡意
 怨酬增嫉物。須除却。此處除可得。彼處除不
 可得。身心淨潔。恭敬禮拜。不犯戒行。此處作
 得。彼處作不得。至心禮拜天尊。一切罪業皆得
 除免。此處禮(拜)得。彼處禮(拜)不得。若有此天下去

天下是何處。此處。須母胎。卽預作若箇萬物。
彼天下。須。此天下。須在前。此間。須作分明宣說。但
天下明。須眼所看之處。並須明見。亦有無量
種語聲音。亦須耳明聽。無量種香。亦須鼻
嗅香分明。無量食種。亦須口嘗其味。無量種
作。須手自作。此五蔭說言。非此處作。是母胎中作。
若忽然有此五蔭。少一不具足。母胎中出。如天
下人盡皆是母胎中所作。餘處不能作。若見
此處作。可作母胎中作。如彼天下。須者。此間
合作。此間若不合作。至彼處亦不能作。一切功

債。如魂魄富飽。貸債與五蔭。五蔭若貧。魂魄富飽。因此無疑不能償債。得此說言。五蔭貧。魂魄富飽。亦無別計真實。所以五蔭物是泥土。魂魄少許。似身兩共五蔭。共魂魄自一身。神知若知。亦無此天下知。雖兩共先此處知。亦彼天下知。更在後。亦如在。亦如在先。作胎中不住。所以知在先。母胎中生。如此聞。湏作者此天下。彼處作在後。生時此天下。如是此天下。生亦不生。常住此處。爲如此生。能脩善種果報。彼天下。湏者。皆得在先。此天下種於後去。彼

食。常住快樂。神通遊戲。不切物資身。喻如
 飛仙快樂。若快樂身遊戲。彼天下快樂亦如魂
 魄遊在身上快樂。彼魂魄如容^(客)在天下快樂
 處。於此天下五蔭身共作容^(客)。同快樂於彼天下。
 喻如魂魄作容^(客)此天下。亦是五蔭身。此天下作
 容^(客)。魂魄彼天下無憂快樂。爲是天尊神力
 使然。如前^(說)魂魄於身上氣味。天尊敬重。一切
 萬物分明見。天下須報償。如魂魄向依。魂魄共^(五)蔭
 作客主。天下常住^(寬)。看魂魄何許富在。前借
 貸五蔭誰貧。彼此勿疑。若五蔭貧不能償

之力。喻如魂魄五蔭不得成就。此魂魄不得五蔭故不能成。既無別作神。因此故。當得五蔭手。然後天下常住不滅。萬物莫不(成)就。由如魂魄執着。五味如五蔭。爲天下魂魄美味。魂魄知彼相似。譬如說言。魂魄在身。上如地中麥苗在(而)後生。生子。五蔭共魂魄。亦言麥苗生子。種子上能生苗。苗子亦各固自然生。不求糞水。若以刈竟麥入窖。卽不藉糞水。暖風出。如魂魄在身。不求覓食飲。亦不湏衣服。若天地滅時。却更生時。魂魄還歸五蔭身來。自然具足。更不求覓衣。

二天地似彼天下共魂魄。合天下誰共。身合有
 盡共。魂魄合常住無損傷。譬如魂魄不滅。神力
 種性。人魂魄還卽轉動。魂魄神識是五蔭所作。
 亦悉見亦悉聞。亦言語亦動。魂魄種性。無尖眼
 不見。無肉手不作。無肉脚不行。譬如一與二兩相
 湏。日與火二同一性。由此知日中能出火。一物別
 性日不然。^(燃)自自光而自明。火然。^(燃)自光。不^(得)柴草不
 得自明。故知火無自光。譬如日火同一性。日自然。^(燃)
 有明。火非^(有)柴草不能得明。猶此神力。能別同而同。
 別異而以。^(似)此神力不用人力。自然成就。皆是一神

有萬物安置一神。舉天下共神力。畜生虫鹿
不解言語。無意智。所以因此。若箇萬物二共一
三共二不相似。一一天下不可見。是(以)人疑心中思
餘神。彼相分明萬物作。更有神彼相誰不分明
作萬物。因此餘神彼相。不分明萬物作。所以可見
萬物亦無可見萬物。向盡兩種。一人作分明。譬
人有兩種。一種不可言得。一不可言得。一不可言
得。未有兩種神誰作此人物。亦不言誰得。天下
由此兩種神理別。一神作兩種。安置一神。亦兩
種。二天下作也。一箇天下。譬如身合神識。更第

(D) 問曰。人是何物作。答曰。有可見無可見。何在^(有)

作何無作。有可見則是天下從四色物作。地水火風神力作。問曰。有何四色作也。答曰。天下無一物不作。一神亦無一物不作。一神亦無在天下。無求請天下。譬如作舍。先求請作舍人處。求請此。並一神所舉。意即成。如憐一切衆生。見在天下。憐敏畜生。一神分明見。天地並一神所作。由此處分。神力意度如風。不是失身亦神識。人眼不見少許。神力所遣。神力所喚。物當得知。餘物何處好不作。是何彼相茲。大

處。天下有者並可見。亦有無可見。譬如見魂魄。人不可得見。有可見欲。似人神識。一切人見二種。俱同一根。喻如一箇根共兩種苗。譬如一人共魂魄並神識共成一人。若人(無)身不具足。人無魂魄。人亦不具足。人無神識亦不具足。天下所見。獨自無具足。天下無可見。獨自亦具足。天下在兩種一根。若有人問有何萬萬物一神(作)知。又不見者何在。如此語。此萬物不能見者天下在。如一神所使者。如許箇數幾許多人起作天下萬物盡一四色。

論
喻第二。

接界時節。如聖主風化見今。從此無接界亦不起作。第一第二亦復不得。此一神因此。既無接界亦無起作。一切所有天下亦無接界。亦無起作。亦無住所。亦無時節。不可問。亦非問能知。一神何處在。一神所在無接界。亦無起作。一神不可問何時作(何時起。亦不可問得。亦非問所得。常住不滅。常滅不住。一神所在。在於一切萬物常住。一神無起作。常住無盡。(一神所在處。亦常尊在。無(見)亦常尊在。一神作經律亦無別異。自聖亦無盡。天下無者天尊作。天尊

身饒魂魄。則人不得爲善。故人魂魄無二。亦無三。譬如一箇舍。一舍主。無兩主。亦無三。天地唯有一神。更無二。亦無三。一神在天地不可見。亦如魂魄在人身。人眼不可見。魂魄在身。既無可執見。亦如一神在天下不可見。魂魄在身。人皆情願執見。大智之聖等虛空。不可執。唯一神遍滿一切處。將魂魄在身。中自檀意亦如此。天下有一神。在天堂無接界。物是一神。亦不在一處。亦不執着一處。亦無接界一處兩處。第一第二時節。可接界處。喻如從此至波斯。亦如從波斯至拂林。無

由是神力。天地不敗。故天地並是一神之力。

天不墮落。故知一神妙力不可窮盡。其神

力無餘神。唯獨一神既有。不見亦有二見。譬如

左右兩手兩脚。或前或後。或上或下。相似不

別。又如一神一機內出一神。（因此斟酌）因此而言。故知

無左無右。無前無後。無上無下。一神共捉一

箇物。無第二亦無第三。不可作得。亦無作師。

亦無捉人。亦無作人。見一神住立天地。不見捉

天地。而能養活一切衆生。則是可見。譬如一箇舍。

一箇主人。（一身）魂魄。若舍饒主。則舍不得好。一人

立。一神力爲此。則若可見天梁天柱。則知一神之力。不須梁柱墻壁。人見在天地安置處。人亦無安置處。因此道是無安置處。安置爲是水上安置。水何處安置。風上安置。爾許時不崩不落。轉運萬事。不見一物。但有神力。使一切物。皆得如願。譬如人射箭。唯見箭落。不見射人。雖不見射人。之箭不能自來。必有人射。故知天地一神任力。不崩不壞。由神力故能得久立。雖不見持捉者。必有以神妙捉者。譬如射人力既盡。箭便落地。若神力不任。天地必壞。

[C]

萬物見一神。一切萬物。既是一神。一切所作若見。所作若見。所作之物亦共見一神不別。以此故知一切萬物並是一神所作。可見者不可見者。並是一神所造。之時當今。現見一神所造之物。故能安天立地。至今不變。天無柱支託。若非一神所爲。何因而得久立不從上落。此乃一神術妙之力。若不一神所爲。誰能永久住持不落。以此言之。知是一神之力。故天得獨立。以譬喻則知一神神妙之力。既是神力。故知無天梁柱。天得獨立。天既無梁柱託獨立。則知天不獨

惡緣人等更重諮請。非不熬不得。彌師訶將
 身施與惡緣人。爲一切衆生遣世間人等。知其人
 命如轉燭。爲今世衆生布施。代命受死。彌師
 訶將自身與遂卽受死。惡業人乃將彌師訶
 別處。向沫上拈拈處。名爲訖句。卽木上縛着。
 更將兩箇刳道人。其人比在右邊。(左)其日將彌師
 訶。木上縛着五時。是六日齋。平明縛着。及到
 日西。四方闇黑。地戰山崩。世間所有墓門並
 開。所有死人並悉得活。其人見如此。亦爲不信
 經教。死活並爲彌師訶。其人大有信心人。卽云

師訶。無方可計。卽向大王邊惡說。惡業人平(章)
惡事。弥師訶作好。更加精進。教衆生。年過卅
二。其習惡人等。卽向大王毗羅都思邊言。告
毗羅都思前卽道。弥師訶合當死罪。大王
卽追。惡因緣(人)共證。弥師訶向大王毗羅都思
邊。弥師訶計當死罪。大王卽欲處分。其人
當死罪。我實不聞。不見其人。不合當死。此
事從惡緣人自處斷。大王云。我不能煞此(人)。惡
緣(人)卽云。其人不當死。我男女(如何)。大王毗羅都思
索水洗手。對惡緣等前。我實不能煞其人。

衆生。遣迴向好業善道。彌師訶及有弟子
 十二人。遂受苦。迴飛者作生。瞎人得眼。形容
 異色者遲差。(遲)病者醫療得損。被鬼者趨
 鬼。跛脚特差。所有病者求向彌師訶邊。把
 着迦沙。(裝)並惣得差。所有作惡人。不過向善道
 者。不信天尊教者。及不潔淨貧利之人。今
 世並不放却。嗜酒受肉。及事瀟(屬)神文人。留在
 着遂誣。或趨覩遂欲煞却。爲此大有衆生。卽
 信此教。爲此不能煞彌師訶。於後惡業(人)結朋
 扇趨覩信心清淨人。卽自平章乃欲煞却彌

生已來。不喫酒肉。唯食生菜及蜜。蜜於地上。
 當時有衆生。不少向谷昏渾禮拜。及復受
 戒。當卽谷昏遣彌師訶。入多難中洗。彌師
 訶入湯了後出水。卽有涼風。從天求(來)顏容
 似薄閣。坐向彌師訶上。虛空中問道。彌師訶
 是我兒。世間所有衆生。皆取彌師訶進止。所
 是處分皆作好。彌師訶卽似衆生。天道爲是天
 尊處分。處分世間下。衆生休事屬神。卽(所)有
 衆(生)當聞此語。休(休)事屬(屬)神。休(休)作惡。遂信好業。彌
 師訶年十二。及只年卅二已上。求所有惡業

產一男。名爲移鼠。父是向涼風。有無知衆生
 卽道。若向(涼)風懷任生產。但有世間下。

聖上放勅。一紙去處。一切衆生甘伏。據此。天

尊在於天上。普著(署)天地。當產移鼠。迷師訶。

所在世間居。見明果在於天地。辛星居。知在

於天上。星大如車輪。明淨所天尊處。一尔前

後生於拂林園(國)烏梨師。斂城中。當生弥師訶

五時經。一年後語話。說法向衆生作好。年過

十二求於淨處。名述難。字卽向若(谷)昏人湯(谷)。

初時是弥師訶弟伏。聖在於碓中居住。生

分。衆生依天尊。依莫使衆生煞。祭祀亦不遣
 煞命。衆生不依此教自煞生。祭祀喫尖噉美。(美)
 將瀾詐神。(詐)卽煞羊等。衆生不依此教作好。處
 分人等。衆生背面作惡。遂背天尊。天尊見衆
 生如此。憐愍不少。諫作好不依(舊法)。天尊當使涼風
 向一童女。名爲末艷。涼風卽入末艷腹內。依
 天尊教。當卽末艷懷身。爲以天尊使涼風
 伺童女邊無男夫懷任。(懷)(姓)令一切衆生見無
 男夫懷任。(姓)使世間人等見卽道。天尊有威
 力。卽遣衆生信心清淨。迴向善緣。末艷懷後。(懷)

碎。實莫喫。莫欺他人取物。莫枉他人。有人披^(被)
 訴^(訴)。應事實莫屈斷。有悖獨男女及寡女婦
 中訴。莫作窻屈。莫遣使有窻實。莫高心。莫
 誇張。莫傳口合舌。使人兩相鬪^(打)。一世已求^(來)。莫
 經州縣官告。無知答。受戒人。一下^(切)。莫他惡。向
 一切衆生。皆常發善心。自惡莫願惡。所以
 多中料少。每常造好向一切衆生。如有人見
 願。知受戒人。寫^(經)。誰能依此經。卽是受戒人。如有
 衆生不能依^(此經)。不成受戒人。處分皆是天尊。向
 諸長老及向大小。迎相諫^(作)好。此爲第一^(事)。天尊處

有好妻子并好金屋。作文證(莫)加謀他人。第十
 願者。受他寄物。并將(他)費用(莫事)天尊。并處分事
 撫(極)多。見弱莫欺他人。如見貧兒。實莫迴面。及宛(怨)
 家飢餓。多與食飲。割捨宛事(怨)。如見男努力。與
 努力。與湏漿。見人無衣。卽與衣着。作兒財物。
 不至一日莫留。所以作兒規徒(親)。多少不避寒
 凍。庸力見若莫罵。諸神有威力。加罵(者)定得
 灾。鄣。貧兒如要湏錢。有卽湏與。無錢可與。
 以理發遣。無中布施。見他人宿痲病。實莫
 嘆他。此人不是自由。如此痲病。貧兒無衣破

得。聖上身物是自由。天尊說云。所有衆生。

返^(叛)逆^(逆)諸惡等。返^(叛)逆^(逆)於^(天)尊。亦不是孝。第二願者。

若孝父母并恭給。所有衆生。孝養父母。恭

承不闕。臨命終之時。乃得天道爲舍宅。第三願者。所有衆生爲事

父母。如衆生無父母。何人處生。第四願者。如有

受戒人。向一切衆生。皆發善心。莫懷睚惡。第五

願者。衆生自莫煞生。亦莫諫他煞。所以衆

生命共人命不殊。第六願者。莫^(姦)他人妻。

子自莫^(怨)宛。第七願者。莫作賊。第八願者。衆生錢財

見他富貴并有田宅奴婢。天^(无)睚妬。第九願者。

父母將比天尊及聖帝(所)以若人先事天尊及聖上及事父母不闕此人於天尊得福不多。此三事一種。先事天尊。

第二事 聖上。第三事父母。爲此普天在地。

並是(事)父母行據此。聖上皆是神生。今世雖有

父母見存。衆生有智計。合怕天尊及

聖上。并怕父母(作)好。受天尊法教。不合破戒。天

尊所受(人)及受(天)尊教(人)。先遣衆生禮諸天。佛爲佛

受苦置立。天地只爲清淨威力因緣。

聖上唯湏勤伽習俊。聖上宮殿。於諸佛求

天尊。每日諫悞。^(悞)一切衆生皆各怕天尊並縮攝。
 諸衆生死活。管帶縮攝渾神。衆生若怕天尊。
 亦合怕懼。聖上。聖上前身福私。^(利)天尊補任。亦
 無自乃天尊耶。屬自作。聖上。一切衆生。皆取
 聖上進止。如有人不取。聖上進止。駝使不伏。其
 人在於衆生。卽是返^(叛)逆^(逆)償。若有人受。聖上
 進止。卽成人中解事。并伏駝使及^(作)好之人。并諫
 他人作好。及自不作惡。此人卽成受戒之所。如
 有人受戒。及不怕天尊。此人及一依佛法。不成
 受戒之所。卽是返^(叛)逆^(逆)之人。第三須怕父母。^(祿)承

驢。唯不能行動。亦不語話。亦不喫食。(無)息無肉無
 皮。無器無骨。令一切由緒不爲具說。一切(由)緒內(納)畧說
 少見。多爲諸人說。遣知好惡。遂將飲食。多中。嘗
 少(即)得知何食有氣味無氣味。但事天尊之人
 爲說經義。並作此經。一切事由。大有歎處多。
 有事節由緒少。但事天尊人及說天義。有人
 怕天尊法。自行善心。及自作好。并諫人好。此人
 卽是受天尊教。受天尊戒。人常作惡。及教他
 人惡。此人不受天尊教。突墮惡道。命屬閻羅王。
 有人受天尊教。常道我受戒。教人受戒。人合怕

至。爲先身緣業種果團圓(團)(圓)犯有。衆生先須想

自身果報。天尊受許辛苦。始立衆生。衆生

理佛不遠。立人身自專。善有善福。惡有惡

緣。無知衆生遂(作)灑木馳衆牛驢馬(及麀鹿)等。衆生(及

麀鹿)雖造形容。不能與命。衆生有智自量。緣

果。所有具見。亦復自知。並卽是實爲此。今世有

多有衆生。遂自作衆。衆作士。此事等皆天尊。

遂不能與命。俱衆生自被誑惑。乃將金造象。銀

神像及銅像。并灑神像。及木神像。更作衆衆

諸畜產。造人似人。造馬似馬。造牛似牛。造驢似

衆生在於罪中。自於(得)見天尊。天尊不同人
身。復誰能(得)見。衆生無人敢近天尊。善福善緣
衆生。然始得見天尊。世間元不見天尊。若爲得
識。衆生自不見天(尊)。爲(若)自(得)脩福。然不墮惡道地
獄。卽得天(道)。得如有惡業。衆(生)墮落惡道。不見
明果。亦不得天道。衆生等好自思量。天地上大
大。諸惡衆生。事養者勤。心爲國多得賜官
職。并賜雜菜。無量無量。如有衆生不事天
大。諸惡及不取進止。不得官職。亦無賜償。卽
配徒流。卽配處死。此卽不是天大。諸惡自由

意智不少。誰報佛慈恩。計合思量明知。罪惡不習天通。爲神力畜養人身到大。亦合衆生等思量。所在人身命器息。惣是天尊使其然。衆生皆有流轉關身。住在地洛。爲此變造微塵。所有衆生皆發善心。自紀思量。生者皆死。衆生悉委(委)衆生身命爲風。無活臨命之時。風離衆生。心意無風。爲風存活。風離衆生。有去留之時。人何因不見風去。風顏色若爲。若緋若綠。及別色。據此不見風若爲。衆生卽道。天尊在何處。衆生優道(復)。何因不見天尊。何因

諸佛爲此風流轉。世間風流無處不到。天尊常在靜度快樂之處。果報無處不到。世間人等誰知風動。唯只聞聲(韻)。一不見形。無人識得。顏容端正若爲。非黃非白非碧。亦無人知風居強之處。天尊自有神威。住在一處。所住之(處)無人捉得。亦無死生。亦無麗姿。相值所造天地已求(來)。不會在世間無神威力。每受長樂仙緣。人急之時每稱佛名。多有無知之人。喚神比天尊之類。亦喚作旨尊旨樂。人人鄉俗語。舌。吾別天尊。多常在。每信每居。天尊與人

[B] 序聽迷詩所經一卷

尔時弥師訶說天尊序娑(婆)法云。異見多少。

誰能說經義難息事。誰能說天尊在後

顯何在。停止在處其何。諸佛及非人平章

天阿羅漢(漢)誰見天尊在於衆生。無人得見天

尊。何人有威得見天尊。爲此天尊顏容似

風。何人能得見風。天尊不盈少時。巡歷世間居

編(編)爲此人人居帶天尊氣始得存活。然始

得在家安。至心意到。日出日沒已來。居見想

心去處皆到。身在明樂靜度。安居在天。皆

老宿耶俱摩

僧玄覽

僧景通

僧寶靈

僧審慎

僧法源

僧立本

僧和明

僧光正

僧內澄

僧德建

僧保國

僧志堅

僧義濟

僧玄德

僧利用

僧元宗

僧奉真

僧至德

僧和光

僧景福

僧太和

僧崇德

僧德建

僧去甚

僧廣德

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僧福壽
 僧日進
 僧遙越
 僧廣慶
 僧和吉
 僧惠明
 僧寶達
 僧拂林
 僧來威

僧崇敬
 僧延和
 僧惠通

僧來威
 僧居信
 僧文貞
 僧文明
 僧照德
 僧曜源
 僧仁惠
 僧玄真
 僧明泰
 僧利見
 僧敬德
 僧元一
 僧乾祐

僧守一
 僧光濟
 僧開順
 僧普濟
 僧凝虛
 僧冲和
 僧英德
 僧靈德
 僧靈壽
 僧還淳
 僧敬眞

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後一千七十九年。咸豐己未。武林韓泰峯來觀。幸字畫完整。重造碑亭覆焉。惜故友吳子苾方伯不及同遊也。爲悵然久之。

The modern addition on the left side which has greatly injured the original inscription translated as follows:—

“One thousand and seventy-nine years later, in the year Chi-wei of the Hsien-fêng period (i. e., 1895 A. D.), I, Han T'ai-hua of Wu-lin (i. e., Hang-chou), came and saw this stone. Fortunately, the characters were perfect and complete. I rebuilt the pavilion to protect the Monument. But, alas! my late friend Wu Tzŭ-pi, the Treasurer, was not able to accompany me on the visit. I grieved greatly on this account.”

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖書

助檢校試太常卿賜紫袈裟寺主僧業利

檢校建立碑僧行通

僧靈寶

檢校建立碑僧行通

僧靈寶

僧靈寶

檢校建立碑僧行通

門。依仁施利。每歲集四寺僧徒。虔事精供。備諸五旬。餒者來而飫之。寒者來而衣之。病者療而

起之。死者葬而安之。清節達娑。未聞斯美。白衣景士。今見其人。願刻洪碑。以揚休烈。詞曰。真主无元。湛寂常然。權輿匠化。起地立天。分身出代。救度無邊。日昇暗

滅。咸證真玄。赫赫文皇。道冠前王。乘時撥亂。乾廓坤張。明明景

教。言歸我唐。翻經建寺。存歿舟航。百福偕作。萬邦之康。高宗纂

祖。更築精宇。和宮敞朗。遍

滿中土。真道宣明。式封法主。人有樂康。物無災苦。玄宗啓聖。克

修真正。御榜揚輝。天書蔚映。皇圖璀璨。率土高敬。庶積咸熙。人賴其

慈救衆苦。善貸被群生者。我修行之大猷。汲引之階漸也。若使風雨時。天下靜。人能理。物能清。存能昌。歿能樂。念生響應。情發自誠者。我景力能事之功用也。大施

主金紫光祿大夫同朔方節度副使試殿中監賜紫袈裟僧伊斯。和而好惠。聞道勤行。遠自王舍之城。聿來中夏。術高三代。藝博十全。始効節於丹庭。乃策名於王

帳。中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀。初惣戎於朔方也。肅宗俾之從

邁。雖見親於臥內。不自異於行間。爲公爪牙。作軍耳目。能散祿賜。不積於家。獻臨恩之頗黎。布

辭憇之金鬪。或仍其舊寺。或重廣法堂。崇飾廊宇。如翬斯飛。更効景

佶和。於興慶宮修功德。於

是天題寺榜。額戴龍書。寶裝璀璨。灼爍丹霞。睿札宏空。騰凌激日。寵賚比南山峻極。沛澤與東海齊深。道無不可。所可可名。聖無不作。所作可述。

肅宗文明皇

帝。於靈武等五郡重立景寺。元善賚而福祚開。大慶臨而皇業建。

代宗文武皇帝。恢張聖運。從事無爲。每於降誕之辰。錫天香。以告成功。頒御饌。以光景衆。且

軋以美利。故能廣生。聖以體元。故能亨毒。我建中聖神文武皇帝。披八政以黜陟幽明。闡九疇以惟新景命。化通玄理。祝無愧。心至於方大而虛。專靜而恕。廣

高宗大帝。克恭纘祖。潤色真宗。而於諸州各置景寺。仍崇阿羅本。爲鎮國大法主。法流十

道。國富元休。寺滿百城。家殷景福。聖曆年。釋子用壯。騰口於東周。先天末下士大笑。訕謗於西鎬。有若僧首羅含大德及烈。並金方貴緒。物外高僧。共振玄綱。俱維

絕紐。玄宗至道皇帝。令寧國等五王親臨福宇。建立壇場。法棟暫撓而更崇。道石時傾而復正。天寶初。令大將軍高力士送聖寫真。寺內安置。賜絹百

疋。奉慶睿圖。龍髯雖遠。弓劍可攀。日角舒光。天顏咫尺。三載大秦國。有僧佶和。瞻星向化。望日朝尊。詔僧羅含。僧普論等一七人。與大德

年秋七月。詔曰。道無常名。聖無常體。隨方設教。密濟群生。大秦國大德阿羅本。遠將經像。來獻上京。詳其教旨。玄妙無爲。觀其元宗。生成立要。詞無繁說。理有忘筌。

濟物利人。宜行天下。所司卽於京義寧坊造大秦寺一所。度僧廿一人。宗周德喪。青駕西昇。巨唐道光。景風東扇。旋令有司。將帝寫真。轉模寺壁。天姿汎彩。英朗

景門。聖迹騰祥。永輝法界。按西域圖記及漢魏史策。大秦國。南統珊瑚之海。北極衆寶之山。西望仙境花林。東接長風弱水。其土出火統布。返魂香。明月珠。夜光璧。

俗無寇盜。人有樂康。法非景不行。主非德不立。土宇廣闊。文物昌明。

無拘擊木震仁惠之音。東

禮趣生榮之路。存鬚所以有外行。削頂所以無內情。不蓄臧獲。均貴賤於人。不聚貨財。示罄遺於我。齋以伏識而成。戒以靜慎爲固。七時禮讚。大庇存亡。七日一薦。

洗心反素。眞常之道。妙而難名。功用昭彰。強稱景教。惟道非聖不弘。聖非道不大。道聖符契。天下文明。太宗文皇帝。光華啓運。明聖

臨人。大秦國有上德。曰阿

羅本。占青雲而載眞經。望風律以馳艱險。貞觀九祀。至於長安。帝使宰臣房公玄齡。惣仗西郊。賓迎入內。翻經書殿。問道禁闈。深知正眞。特令傳授。貞觀十有二

法羅。或指物以託宗。或空有以淪二。或禱祀以邀福。或伐善以矯人。智慮營營。思情役役。茫然

無得。煎迫轉燒。積昧亡途。久迷休復。於是 我三一分身。景尊彌

施訶。戢隱真威。同人出代。神天宣慶。室女誕聖於大秦。景宿告祥。波斯覩耀以來貢。圓廿四聖

有說之舊法。理家國於大猷。說 三一淨風。無言之新教。陶良用於正信。制八境之度。鍊塵成真。啓三常之門。開生滅死。懸景日以破暗。府。魔妄於是乎悉摧。棹慈

航以登明宮。含靈於是乎既濟。能事斯畢。亭午昇真。經留廿七部。張元化以發靈關。法浴水風。滌浮華而潔虛白。印持十字。融四照以合

[A] 景教流行中國碑頌并序

大秦寺僧景淨述

𐌺𐌹𐌸 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹

粵若常然真寂。先先而无元。杳然靈虛。後後而妙有。惣玄樞而造化。妙衆聖以元尊者。其唯我三一妙身。无元真主阿羅訶歟。判十

字以定四方。鼓元風而生

二氣。暗空易而天地開。日月運而晝夜作。匠成萬物。然立初人。別賜良和。令鎮化海。渾元之性。虛而不盈。素蕩之心。本無希嗜。泊乎娑殫施妄。鈿飾純精。間平大於

此是之中。隙冥同於彼非之內。是以三百六十五種。肩隨結轍。競織

CHINESE TEXT