CHRISTIANITY IN MODERN CHINA

The Catholic Church in Taiwan

Problems and Prospects

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Christianity in Modern China

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To the Catholic Community of the faithful in Taiwan

Preface

This second volume on the Catholic Church in Taiwan is, like the first, a work of high quality. The research on which it is based is thorough. Its coverage of the Taiwan Church and its experiences, both past and present, is comprehensive and authoritative. It is remarkably frank in its analysis of the Church's shortcomings, both pastoral and administrative. Readers will find that this work is not just a well-designed history of Taiwan Catholic Church, nor does its usefulness lie just in acting as the standard reference work (together with the first volume) on the Catholic Faith in Taiwan. The book also lays the initial foundations for Taiwan to take its research into the wider world of Catholicism.

Space makes it impossible for this Preface to comment on all the chapters. It focuses, instead, on those which deal with issues of particular importance not only to Taiwan Catholics but to a wider Catholic community. The second chapter offers a fascinating account of the conflicting views among Taiwan's Catholic "literati" as to how to present the Faith in a Chinese world. One conclusion reached by the author after detailed analysis is that "integrating different faith traditions and forming an integrated culture with depth is an extremely time-consuming process." This admission is very revealing. Taiwan is repeating a well-known experience in the history of the Catholic Church. Indigenization of its theological and liturgical presentation has always been long-drawn out because "Christianization" of the indigenous culture has to be the first priority.

Chapter 3 deals with the nuts and bolts of this process and offers a detailed overview of efforts made to create a comparable match between local cultures and the Church's universal teachings. The careful tracking of

the progress made and the barriers encountered over the years offers readers an unusually well informed insight into how "modernization" of Catholic thoughts and teaching takes place. This chapter's conclusion includes a pastoral reality which is a defining experience of the church everywhere—by itself, theology does not win souls.

The book also reveals another hurdle to be overcome in seeking to create "an oriental way of spirituality", with Chap. 5's account of the work initiated by the Sheng Kung sisters in Tainan. The explanation the chapter offers for the slow uptake of "oriental" spirituality is convincing. It is difficult to compete with the Church's treasure chest of mystical prayer. "One has only to think of Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross and the Rhineland mystics among many others," the author points put. "The Eucharist together with the traditional vocal prayer of the Rosary and many other devotions nourish the spiritual life of Catholics." However, the contributor's conclusion is optimistic. An unexpected ecumenical contribution is now being made by the Pure Heart Spiritual Center. It remains sponsored by the Sheng Kung Sisters but is run by a Protestant pastor because, at the moment, Protestants comprise the majority of adherents who profit from input lacking in their own tradition of prayer.

There are also practical obstacles in the Church's day-to-day life, another aspect of which is, what should be the vernacular language of its liturgy in Taiwan? How are the diverse backgrounds of different groups of immigrant generations to be accommodated? And what will be their offsprings' "dialect" of preference for the future. Chapter 6 gives full attention to these important issues but offers no solution other than patience. This attitude is very sensible in our modern era where the rate of change, socially as well as technologically, is so rapid. The Catholic view of language in the liturgy adopted by the author provides another justification as to why the Church should accept the delay. "The faith itself is a mystery," the chapter notes, "Inculturation of liturgical language does not focus on the choice of language, but rather it is concerned with whether the liturgical language can penetrate the inner life of Catholics and influence their outer life."

The most innovative chapter in the book is titled "The Implementation of Catholic Social Teaching in Taiwan". This is a well-presented statistical study of Catholic attitudes to their Faith in terms of their religious duties and of their obligations to promote the social teachings of the Church. His analysis of the data is followed by an account of the Taiwan Church's mixed—and sometimes confused—responses to the repeated efforts of

Popes to raise the awareness of the duty of individual Catholics, as well as Catholic institutions, to promote social justice and defend the rights of the family and the workforce in particular. His conclusions are mixed. Catholics give the impression of having a poor record in this respect compared with some of their religious groups. But that is not because Church leaders have neglected their obligation to promote social justice, nor has there been a shortage of priests, for example, willing to face state penalties for their unwelcome activities. The truth is that the average Catholic in Taiwan, as everywhere else, belongs to the lower strata of society and is the victim—not the perpetrator—of whatever social injustice society practices. The local Church's duty is to promote the principles set out in the Bible and the teachings of Popes and Councils. The overthrow of unjust practices is a matter for political action aided by religious devotion rather than direct Church intervention, the author wryly suggests. The author concludes the chapter with the observation: " Are the bishops suggesting, like Fr. Thomas Merton, that social justice and contemplation should go hand in hand?" If it is appropriate to read it in this way, the future of our Church will be filled with hope.

A further area analyzed in Chap. 7 skillfully points out the extent to which the creation of new liturgical music to meet the inculturation goals of the Taiwan Church is difficult to achieve. Her presentation covers past and present, knowledgeably breaking new ground, and may well inspire and urge those with the requisite musical and administrative skills to unforeseen heights of creativity. The author's conclusion is both well informed and sensitive.

There is also a considerable awareness among the contributors of the potential threats to the Church's future in a society modernizing and globalizing as thoroughly Taiwan continues to do. This is an era in which religion appears to have lost its relevance. What is striking is the sophistication with which volume two deals with this crucial challenge to the modern Catholics. The contributors are well informed about the theological and liturgical controversies faced by the Church in recent decades and provide the much-needed foundations for further research into the needs and performance of the Church in an international context. Several contributors comment on the cause for concern over the loss of momentum in the Taiwan Church in recent years: vocations have declined, and membership is static. The laity is becoming selective about embracing the Church's social teachings. A widespread explanation for this situation has been that the Church has been badly hit by the collapse of the

"infrastructure" created in earlier times to transfer the Faith from one generation to the next, to encourage vocations to the religious life and to protect orthodoxy in its theological and biblical discussions. Current questions about the Faith's relevance to this world-class economic and political entity need comparative studies with Catholic communities elsewhere to better understand the distinction between the local and the international dynamics of Catholic belief, practice and culture. This book has laid ample foundations for such research.

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Leo F. Goodstadt

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Michael Hsueh-liang Wang director of the Ursuline Education Center in Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, majored in the study of religion, especially in theological anthropology and the psychological and spiritual development in Catholic belief inspired by Han Urs von Balthasar from Fu Jen University. Being a Chinese born in Taiwan, he is naturally interested in cultural issues including an understanding of Western Christian culture and the inculturation of Catholic belief in Taiwan. His recent studies have concentrated on the way of perfection of the laity in daily life.

List of Abbreviations

AIT	American Institute in Taiwan
AMOR	Asian Meeting of Religious Women
CBC	Chinese Bishops Conference
CBC	Committee of the Bridge Church
CBRC	China Bishops' Rome Convention
CCB	Catholic Central Bureau
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDD	Chinese Congregation of Disciples of the Lord
CICM	Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
CM	Congregation of the Mission
College of Apostles	Collegium Apostolorum
CPA	Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association
CR	Canons regular of St. Augustine
CRBC	Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference
CSA	*Correo SinoAnnamita*
CSJB	Congregation of St. John the Baptist
CSV	Clerics of St. Viator
CTC	Chinese Theologians' Colloquium
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DTCP	Department of Tourism and Communication, Pingtung
EATWOT	Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians
FABC	Federation of Asian Bishops Conference
HKSAR	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
IIUM	Institute of Inter-University of Macau

JLAC	Jesuit Liberal Arts College
KMT	Kuomintang
MEP	Paris Foreign Missions
MI	Order of St. Camillus
MM	Maryknoll Missionaries
OFM	Order of Friars Minor
OP	Order of Preachers
OSB	Order of St. Benedict
PCJP	Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace
PRC	Peoples' Republic of China
RCIA	Rite of Christian Initiation for Adults
ROC	Republic of China
SDS	Society of the Divine Savior
Service Centre	Service Centre of the Bridge Church Committee
Sheng Kung Sisters	Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception
SIT	Spaniards in Taiwan, the collection of documents
SJ	Society of Jesus
SMB	Bethlehem Mission Society
SSC	Missionary Society of St. Columban
SVD	Divine Word Missionaries
The Work Report	The Work Report on Bridge Church Service Centre under the Bridge Church Service Committee
UCANews	Union of Catholic Asian News
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Vatican II	Second Vatican Council
WWII	Second World War

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CHAPTER 1

The Introduction

Beatrice K.F. Leung

Introduction

Indigenization, which was launched according to the teaching of Vatican II, requested that the Catholic Church become "localized". The local Church then seemed to become more indigenized when it stopped using Latin in the liturgy, in theological teaching and in dispensing the sacraments. Also "local" clergy replaced missionaries in leading posts and the laity took an increased role in parish and diocesan life. In theory, the endeavor to indigenize the Taiwan Church could make the church more local, when theology was taught in Chinese, and the sacred liturgy was conducted in Mandarin or Minnan dialects which were also used in communication between foreign and local clergy. Paradoxically, the result of the indigenization has had reverse effects. The Taiwan Catholic Church has become more global and universal than before.

First, it has attracted more foreign missionaries to Taiwan now that Taiwan's religious vocations have been declining. In the three major Taiwanese cities, the foreign missionaries outnumber local clergy; the proportions of local and foreign priests are: Taipei 107:138; Taichung 30:39; and Kaoshiung 30:52. In the whole of Taiwan, the foreign missionaries

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outnumber local clergy (foreign priests 350; Chinese priests 276; foreign brothers 56; Chinese brothers 51) (*Catholic Church Directory Taiwan* 2014, 158, 304, 409). This phenomenon reflects that after Vatican II the Taiwan Church has become less local and national but more global.

Secondly, Taiwanese Catholics have paid attention to the Holy Father and to the papal message about the integration of Catholic faith into daily life (Catholic Truth Society 2011). An example is the latest Apostolic Exhortation entitled "Amoris Laetitia" dealing with the problems of family life and marriage. It was quickly translated into Chinese and studied by Taiwanese Catholics, who learned from the papal teaching how to deal with daily problems in the context of their Catholic faith. On 24 December 2016 Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, Kaohsiung, even invited Fr. Louis Gendron S.J., a moral theologian of Fu Jen Theologate, to explain the new pastoral approach to problems arising from marriage and family outlined in "Amoris Laetitia" as part of its Christmas celebrations.

Thirdly, now that overseas trips have become fashionable among Taiwanese Catholics, they have the opportunity of making a pilgrimage to Rome to see the Holy Father in person. They can also visit biblical holy places, such as those in Israel and Turkey, to discover on site what they have found in the Bible. Chinese Catholics in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Canada and Catholics round the world share the same beliefs and liturgy. Taiwanese Catholics migrate to Singapore, Hong Kong, the USA and Canada without needing to make any change in their belief, their religious obligations or their worshipping customs and continue to participate in the universal nature of their Catholic faith. They can even integrate with the Chinese Catholic communities in some parishes in major cities in the USA, Great Britain, Canada and Australia as they did in their home parishes in Taiwan. All this reflects that the universality of the Catholic Church with its dynamics interacts with indigenization. In the Catholic Church in Taiwan, indigenization has been growing without losing its characteristics of catholicity and universality. In the modern world, when globalization is prevailing, Taiwan's indigenization in every aspect of Catholic life has been taking place within the socio-political atmosphere of modernity. Moreover, this research was inspired by a significant event in 2015. The special event of that year, namely the fiftieth anniversary of the closing of the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), gave more vigor to research on indigenization within the Catholic Church in Taiwan.

The two fundamental steps in inculturation are to make the Word of God (the Bible) available in the language of the nation and also to make the liturgy available in that language.

Historically, this process began in China before Vatican II.

- Publication of a modern, expert translation of Books of the Old Testament began in Hong Kong in 1948 by a team of biblical scholars from Beijing, and the complete Old and New Testaments in Chinese were published in 1968.
- A Daily Missal in Chinese was published in Hong Kong in 1956.

The importance of these historical facts is that inculturation in terms of language has always been a vital part of the life of the Church. It began with the *Acts of the Apostles* ("Every man heard them speak in his own tongue", Acts 2:6). In China's case, the Holy Spirit chose the most colonized and Western-dominated part of China to ensure that the post-Vatican II needs of the Chinese people would be met in full. The important work of biblical translation was done in Hong Kong, a British colony in which Chinese language and Chinese studies tended to be slighted because the official language was English. In the 1970s though, when Vatican II requested liturgical reforms, the Bishop of Hong Kong, Francis Hsu Cheng-pin, admitted that Hong Kong did not have the personnel capable of providing translated liturgical texts. It was Taiwan which took up this heavy task, shouldering the burden with the help of experienced church scholars who had fled to Taiwan from Communist rule in the 1950s.

The fiftieth anniversary of the closing of the Second Vatican Council (1963–1965) turned a new page in the relationship of the Catholic Church with the world aiming at enhancing its capacity to evangelize in the modern world. The former Europe-centered Church changed its direction to the building up of local churches for different peoples. The Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC), one of the first fruits of Vatican II, held a meeting in Taiwan in 1974 and confirmed that the indigenization/inculturation of the Church and religious dialogue would be the major endeavor of the Catholic Church in Asia in the days to come (Lee 2010, 25).

In Taiwan, the 1949 civil war in Mainland China forced a great number of Chinese intellectuals to relocate to Taiwan, and elevated the parochial, provincial Taiwanese culture to become the national guardian of Chinese

culture with its National Palace Museum and Academia Sinica (Yang* 2015, 65–69). The Taiwan Catholic Church received an unexpected advent of well-educated human resources from the persecuted Church on the Mainland. Young church scholars, who had been sent from various dioceses on the Mainland to further their studies abroad, had to settle down in Taiwan after their foreign training in the post-1949 period. This group of bilingual and bicultural church scholars provided the Taiwan Church with a valuable human asset for theological and liturgical indigenization. Throughout the Chinese world, not even Hong Kong, which, from the point of view of the English, was more advanced in economic development and education, could take up the heavy responsibility of indigenization because it lacked the human resources with sufficient training in Chinese studies and Chinese language for the task.[1] Now, in 2017, it is time to recall and to discuss the indigenization of the Catholic Church in Taiwan from a proper perspective since the launch of the policy half a century ago.

The indigenization of the Taiwan Catholic Church took place in a society with an influx of refugees from the Mainland and within a newly created Catholic Church hierarchy, bedeviled with a scarcity of resources. Because of the rapid increase of Catholic population within a short period of twenty years (the 1950s to 1960s), Taiwan was divided into seven ecclesiastical territories. However, the indigenization of theology and the translation of liturgical texts was being quietly carried out by church scholars who had returned from abroad, and they worked on the projects with great seriousness.

Incidentally, in 2015, events in the Taiwan Church signified achievements of indigenization but prophesied that the sustainability of indigenization had come to a crossroad of hidden anxiety because there were now no outstanding scholars to sustain the good work of indigenization initiated by the great masters during the earlier years.

2015: A Significant Year in the Taiwan Catholic Church

The Catholic Church in Taiwan experienced some significant events in 2014 and 2015 marking a turn in Catholic life in society. Firstly, in February 2015, in the Holy Name of Jesus Church, a parish church in the third deanery of Kaohsiung diocese, wedding and funeral liturgies for the

same family were celebrated simultaneously without mourning sentiments.[2] The new theological orientations toward death and life were mobilized to justify the blending of the two events. A funeral is the culmination of a Christian life on earth; a wedding means the beginning of new Christian family life. In fact, sentiments of thanksgiving and joy filled the Church, which was packed with participants who came from many parts of the island for the Holy Mass celebrating this special event. This controversial ecclesiastical ceremony aroused theological discussions among Catholics inside and outside the island with arguments pro and con.[3] It could be a very positive sign of progress in Taiwanese pastoral care and the maturity of faith among grassroots Catholics. Ironically, the gradual shrinking of Taiwan's Catholic population during the last five years (290,000 Catholics in 2008 vs 230,000 in 2014)[4] gives us the darker side of the pastoral problems in the Taiwan Catholic Church (Fig. 1.1).

Fig. 1.1 Funeral and wedding held simultaneously at Kaohsiung diocese

Secondly, the monumental figure of indigenization of Chinese Catholic theology, Rev. Aloysius Berchmans Chang Chun-shen* S.J. (1929–2015) died on 15 March 2015 at the age of 86. Father Chang, the founder of the first Jesuit theologate in Taiwan, the St. Robert Bellarmine's Theologate of Fu Jen Catholic University, pioneered the sinicization of Catholic theology into Chinese culture and language. Throughout his life, through teaching, research and preaching, he took the lead to promote the indigenization of Catholic theology in the Chinese world. He left behind sixty-five volumes of monographs in Chinese on theological doctrine and spirituality as well as other writings in foreign languages. He was the patriarch of Chinese theology because most of his students, whether priests, sisters or lay persons, have served the Church in various fields. A few of his outstanding students have become theological professors in seminaries in Hong Kong, Macau and Malaysia. In other words, Catholic seminary teachers in Hong Kong, Macau and Malaysia received basic theological training from Father Chang, who laid the first brick in the foundations of the academic castle of Chinese Catholic theology. On the first anniversary of his death, 11–13 March 2016, the St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate organized an international conference entitled "The Contribution of Fr. Chang Chun-shen to Chinese Theology" commemorating his contribution to that discipline. The publication department of the same theologate planned to publish a complete collection of Chang's writings. Father Chang's death signified the success of the first stage of indigenization of Chinese Catholic theology and the beginning of the second stage of its indigenization or inculturation.

Thirdly, on 18 April 2015, the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference in Taiwan celebrated the ninetieth birthday of Rev. Andrew Zhao Yizhou*, the great translator of Vatican II's liturgical texts into Chinese. Father Zhao was appointed by the Taiwan Bishops' Conference as the chairman of the Translation Committee to engage in the translation of Latin liturgical texts into Chinese. His team consisted of learned scholar priests who were proficient in Chinese classics and language as well as in European languages including Latin. In the years between 1950 and 1970, they worked assiduously at the translation. The great contribution of Fr. Andrew Zhao lay in the simple fact that without translated Chinese liturgical texts, the reformed liturgy advocated by Vatican II could not be launched among Chinese Catholics throughout the world. Until recently, Father Zhao was the only one remaining after most of the translation team members had passed away. On 17 December 2015, a few months after the

birthday celebration, Fr. Andrew Zhao was called back to Heaven for his eternal reward. Thereafter, the translation work of religious literature could not be produced in Taiwan alone, so bishops of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau have planned a joint translation team for the future translation of Vatican documents.[5]

Fourthly, in 2014, Fr. M. Sanchez, O.P.* a Spanish Dominican missionary compiled the archival material on the Dominican province in Taiwan into a "historical record" of the Catholic Church in Taiwan. Strictly speaking, this book cannot be called the Catholic history of the Church in Taiwan, but it is a record of the Dominican missions in various villages in what was previously called Formosa. The book has been written in Chinese for the benefit of Chinese readers. It is the compilation of valuable church records, which contain very useful data for writing up church history in days to come.

1949: A Watershed for the Catholic Church in Taiwan

In this volume, 1949, with its related events is taken as the watershed of the old and the contemporary Catholic Church of Taiwan. After the 1949 civil war, Mao Zedong's persecution of Catholicism on the Mainland made the Catholic Church in Taiwan become the Chinese Catholic Church in exile. During the 1950s and into the 1960s, most Catholic churches on the island were staffed with priests and sisters who were Mainlanders, enthusiastic to establish themselves in Taiwan as their temporary home while hoping for an eventual return to the Mainland. It explains why most of them did not learn the Minnan dialect (Taiwanese) even though Taiwan provided them with a fertile area for evangelization. (Lin 2009, 324–336)[6] After Taiwan withdrew from the United Nations in 1971, the Mainlanders realized that it was unrealistic to consider returning to their ancestral home, so they began to think of putting down roots in Taiwan.

When the new Taiwan dioceses were established during the 1950s, they were headed by former bishops from the Mainland. According to Canon Law, the role of these clerics in Taiwan was a "surrogate" one of a temporary nature; their duties and responsibilities still rested in their own dioceses on the Mainland (Leung and Kuo 2014, 169–187).

A new period of Catholic development in Taiwan began in 1970, when Taiwan's industrial economy began to flourish making it one of the Four Little Dragons of Asia (Vogel 1993). However, the Taiwan Catholic

Church began to experience a fall in the number of new baptisms during the first decade after 1970. Later on, the Church witnessed a dramatic decrease in Catholic numbers when the Catholic population numbering 290,000 in 2008 dropped to 230,000 in 2014.[7]

Michael Chang Chuan-sheng employs Latin and Italian archival material to give an in-depth description and analysis of the Mainland priests' contributions and activities which shaped the landscape of the Taiwan Catholic Church (Chang 2003). Those priests devoted their efforts and action to the Mainland Mandarin speakers in Taiwan rather than to the Minnan dialect speakers who were the early settlers. Chang employs the "Y" shape theory in historiography to explain church development and how the two sources of cultural influence (one from the Mainland and the other from Taiwan before 1949) merged when the Taiwan Church expanded rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s.

Wang Hsueh-liang and Beatrice Leung in "the Taiwan Catholic Church's Indigenization Movement" discuss and evaluate the endeavor of theological indigenization under the leadership of Fr. Chang Chun-shen in the St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate, Fu Jen Catholic University, as well as the translation efforts of Taiwan Church scholars under the leadership of Fr. Andrew Zhao Yizhou in translating the Latin texts into Chinese for the launching of liturgical reform after Vatican II. The less successful indigenization of church architecture is discussed with reasons dating from the pre-1949 days, when the French missionaries were reluctant to cooperate with the Vatican's suggestion of inculturation and localization of the Chinese Catholic Church.

Marcus Wang Ji-jian engages in philosophical discussion on the indigenization of the Taiwan Church. He compares the inculturation of Christian doctrines by Matteo Ricci* in the late Ming Dynasty, when Ricci aimed at conversions among intellectuals, in the Qing Dynasty with the effort of Hong Xiuquan*, the leader of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864) who aimed at leading the ordinary people to embrace quasi-Christianity as advocated by the Taiping rebels. Wang suggests that the inculturation of Catholicism should target the grassroots Catholics with simplified doctrine and liturgy to fulfill their religious needs.

The inculturation of Catholic spirituality is an area which has received special treatment in this volume. Although the content was penned by Beatrice Leung, the content and references were given by the great teacher of Oriental spirituality and Zen contemplation, Sr. Agnes Lee Chunjuan*, who leads the Sheng Kung Sisters of Tainan and who has been following

the proposals of the 1974 FABC in indigenizing Christian spirituality. Since then, the Sheng Kung Sisters have been practicing Oriental spirituality as one side of the coin of inculturation of Catholicism in Taiwan, the other side being the inculturation of theology and liturgy. This article introduces the fruit of the pursuit of the Sisters through the methods employed by Oriental religions like Buddhism, Daoism and the teaching of Confucius to comprehend the union of man and the Almighty. The discussion of this chapter is the finger pointing at the moon for people who are interested in seeing the moon, but it is not the moon itself.

Rev. Huang Mincheng with his personal experience as a Minnan dialect speaker explores the question of liturgical languages in Taiwan: Mandarin and Taiwanese (Minnan dialect). Taiwanese (Minnan) is basically a spoken tongue, using traditional written Chinese as its written form. Some Minnan expressions have no written form. Huang complains that some readers can hardly function when reading the Bible in Minnan, one of the reasons being that those spoken Minnan expressions may not have any written form. It takes a classical education to teach people how to read and pronounce texts in the literary Minnan tongue as was the case of previous generations of educated people composing classical poetry in Chinese but pronouncing it in Minnan. The situation is very much like that of the older generation of Japanese scholars pronouncing classical Chinese and Japanese poems in Japanese rather than in Mandarin Chinese.

Huang, in his chapter, also raises a more crucial issue: it is culture, not language that he finds making conversion difficult. It is not the language but the cultural concepts that is the root of problem. The five points he lists in the article are Greco-Roman Christian concepts and values versus the Chinese/Taiwanese concepts that baffle people.

Church music has always been an important component in Catholic liturgy. There has been an evolution in church music from Gregorian chant to modern music in Taiwan. Liu Fengchuan writes an historical overview beginning from the dominant language "Latin" and other sacred musical forms in liturgy. Then she presents existing official sacred music in the Church and the outcomes that have been achieved in Taiwan. She analyses and discusses the classification of Chinese sacred music publications with the problems and limitations that are evident and need attention in the current situation.

Chang Hsiu-ya* and Wang Wen-hsing* are two prominent Catholic figures in Taiwan's literary field. Wang Wen-hsing is now the only one still living. His religious dialogue with the Buddhist Shan Dexing in a recent

interview recorded by Shan Dexing called "Look back at the path we trod". (*Que gu suolai jin*) (Shan 2009) describes Wang's Catholic faith embracing a universal dimension that he calls "one religion but many concurrent tracks or expressions" (*yi jiao duo zong*) while retaining intact the uniqueness of Catholicism. Francis So discusses Wang Wen-hsing's Catholic values in Wang's novel *Beihaide ren**. In his discussion centered on the chief character of *Beihaide ren*, he suggests that Ye, the chief character of the story, is a Catholic at heart who adopts an Asian outlook on faith versus the conceptual approach viewing life from an existential rather than a dogmatic point of view.

Johnson Chingshun Sheu discusses Chang Hsiu-ya's spirituality as embedded in her fiction, illustrating her Catholic sensibility via her short stories. He analyzes a representative selection of the stories highlighting various themes to translate how the principles of Catholic spirituality which Vatican II had emphasized, such as love and forgiveness, are embodied in the language of her fiction.

In this volume, all the writers in their special academic disciplines depict different aspects of the Taiwan Catholic Church. It is intriguing to learn how the multifaceted aspects of Catholicism in the Taiwan Catholic Church are revealed through history, philosophy, social science, linguistics, music and literature. Although it is a very rough portrayal and only of a groundbreaking nature, it outlines the human as well as the divine faces of the Catholic Church.

Notes

1. Spoken by Hong Kong's first Chinese Bishop, an Oxford scholar, Bishop Francis Hsu, who expressed this view during the first FABC. In Chap. 4 on indigenization, there is a detailed discussion on this issue.
2. The head of the family sent notification for the funeral of her husband and the wedding of her daughter on the same invitation card. Guests were reminded not to wear mourning dress but banquet attire for the Holy Mass.
3. It is true that Taiwanese very much avoid the sentiment of death. In Chap. 6 on liturgical languages Huang Mincheng raises this question.
4. The figure was given by the office of the Archbishop Office in the Archdiocese of Taipei in February 2015.
5. In July 2015, the author was informed by a Macau priest who was involved in the newly established translation team which was unable to do serious translation due to limitations in language ability of members of the team.

6. Lin tabulated the figures offered by other authors and made his own analysis. He came to the conclusion that two million was the nearest number of Mainlanders who fled to Taiwan following the 1949 Revolution.
7. These figures were given by the Taipei Archbishop's Office in February 2015 upon request.

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CHAPTER 2

Indigenization Efforts of the Catholic Church in Taiwan

Marcus J.J. Wang

Introduction

The Second Vatican Council ushered in a new era for indigenization within the Catholic Church, which was taken up worldwide with enthusiasm especially in mission areas. As far as China is concerned, Taiwan bears special importance for promoting indigenization of the Chinese Catholic Church, and, indeed, in Chinese Catholic communities worldwide. This chapter aims to present a brief overview of the history of the Taiwan Catholic Church's work on indigenization, make some reflections on it, then propose an evaluation of what has been achieved with a few recommendations as an action plan for the future.

Overview

Indigenization is the fundamental approach for Catholic evangelization. From the theological point of view, it may be defined as a particular cultural expression, born out of its own cultural context, of elements that

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come from other cultures. Hence, indigenization for the Catholic Church is a phenomenon, wherein the Gospel comes to life in different cultural contexts and among different groups of people. It is a source of inspiration, transformation and integration. For the Catholic Church and all the world cultures it encounters, indigenization enables "a new creation (Standaert 1990, 99)". With this in mind, one can see that throughout its history of evangelization, the Catholic Church has made effort to learn how to use local cultures to express the faith revealed through the Gospel. These indigenization efforts in turn helped to expand the reach of the Gospel to various cultures and regions. From Israel to Greece, Rome, and then Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, the spread of the Gospel has been a journey of integration through indigenization efforts.

Localized evangelization should include two dimensions: first, that the expression of the Gospel's value and essence should incorporate the receiver's cultural background and life experience. The second is that indigenization also invites those being evangelized to express their understanding of the Gospel from their own cultural experience. This can only be achieved after the local culture has gained an understanding of the Gospel. In other words, indigenization is an invitation to transcendence and renewal for both the evangelizing and the evangelized.

In the Chinese Catholic Church, indigenization is an invitation to mutual understanding, integration and creativity for two major world cultures—the Catholic Church and Chinese culture. Cardinal Yupin* once commented on indigenization, saying: "Make Christ Chinese and make Chinese Christians", which pinpointed the essence of this movement: to make known God's divine revelation, with an expression that is uniquely Chinese and allow the revelation to provide creativity and energy toward the formation of a new Chinese culture (Chang 1981, 3).

Late Ming to Early Qing Dynasty

The introduction of Christianity in China can be traced back as early as the Tang dynasty. However, from a macro historical standpoint, the arrival of Matteo Ricci* in 1582 is considered the beginning of the indigenization of the Catholic faith in China.[1] By his very appearance, he made himself acceptable to the Chinese intelligentsia of the day. His approach, work and achievements have been outlined elsewhere in this volume, but it must be noted once again that he was a pioneer of both evangelization and cultural exchange between China and the West. This would be his signature achievement bearing in mind that he also brought with him knowledge of

Western science. The respect he earned may have had more to do with the awe the Chinese scholars felt toward scientific knowledge and not as much to do with his sharing of the Catholic faith.

Some of his indigenization efforts, among them the controversy about rites of honoring ancestors, certainly brought challenges and had far-reaching effects on the growth of the Church not only in China but also in Japan and India.

The Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) was the most far-reaching civil war in China since the Qing conquest. Its progress and effects formed a startling contrast with the work of Ricci and his companions. The rebels claimed to worship God and the leader, Hong Xiuquan*, claimed to be the younger brother of Jesus. He based his movement on the translation of a booklet called "God's words for exhorting the age" written by Liang Fa (1789–1855), the first Chinese Protestant pastor in China. Hence some scholars refer to this rebellion as a "new religious movement (Thomas H. Reilly 2011)". Hong then added some personal interpretations and biblical ideas of his own. Why was he able to command a massive movement based on such a flimsy foundation? What implication does this have for indigenization? One of the keys is that while the ideology was loosely put together, its expression was completely Chinese and hence something that ordinary folk could relate to and grasp. This stands in clear contrast to Ricci's evangelization of intellectuals and officials. Hence the Taiping Rebellion had major implications for future indigenization efforts encompassing lower strata in society.

During the late Qing dynasty, Christianity found its way back into China again, propelled by the forces of Western "imperialism" and its military power. Evangelization became tinted with negative emotions from nationalism. Spreading the Gospel was often seen as an invasion of Western imperialism. This sentiment greatly eroded the foundation on which cultural exchange previously happened (Yupin 1966, 357–358). To reverse this trend, the Holy See lifted the ban on honoring one's ancestors and Confucius with a shrine in 1939. The Pope also appointed Thomas Tien Ken-sin* as the very first non-Caucasian Asian cardinal in 1945. However, the indigenization of the Chinese Catholic Church during this time was considered a failure (Chang 1981, 1). Chinese intellectuals believed that the strength of Western culture came from natural science rather than religion and faith. Thus, religious study received very little attention as compared to the study of science and democracy. To put it bluntly, the chosen religion of the Chinese elites of the day was the religion of science (Christian 2004, 59–79).

The Taiwan Catholic Church's Indigenization Endeavor After 1949

In 1949, Communists took over China and declared national atheism resulting in the forced move of many local and foreign Catholics to Taiwan. Consequently, Taiwan became the main stage, where Chinese and Western religions encountered each other and the tentative indigenization which had been taking place there over the years. The arrival of huge numbers of foreign religious followers probably did not help to further the trend creating a hiatus in the Taiwan Church's indigenization movement.

Before 1913, Taiwan was part of the Apostolic vicariate of Xiamen. Between 1949 and 1963, the number of Catholics in Taiwan rose rapidly at more than 10 percent per year. Between 1953 and 1963, that number grew a massive 876 percent, with Taipei and Hualian dioceses leading the increase. However, that growth rate fell dramatically after 1964. Eventually it became stagnant from 1966 to 1969 for all Taiwan dioceses across the board (Qu 1982, 129–154).

In 1962, Pope John XXIII called the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) in response to the challenges to the Church in the modern world. Vatican II not only emphasized the importance of localizing the Catholic faith, it also provided a platform for dialogue between theology and philosophy related to the indigenization movement. One of the landmarks of Vatican II is that it formally declared and acknowledged that the deposit of the divine truth is not exclusive to the Catholic Church, that it is possible for other faith traditions also to possess some elements of divine truth. This was to become the foundation for the Church to reach out to other faith traditions with respect and a possibility for dialogue. Another landmark of the Vatican II was a new emphasis on the role of the laity. Vatican II would open up more channels for the laity to participate in the life of the Church, thus paving the way to bring about more indigenization efforts.

After the Council, the Taiwan Catholic Church embarked on the task of developing localized theology. By 1981, it had built up a fairly substantial body of work in this field. Those who devoted themselves to the work were some of the eminent scholars of the day, including missionaries from both inside and outside Taiwan. Together, they built a strong foundation for furthering the integration of Catholic faith and Chinese culture. According to Fr. Chang Chun-shen*, theological indigenization in Taiwan dated back to 1959 when Tian Liang* first analyzed the Chinese concept of "filial" when explaining divine revelation in Catholicism. Tian Liang rejected the idea of using the Confucian virtue of benevolence for communicating

truths in Christianity. He did not think benevolence necessarily led to moral behavior but believed that the concept of filial would better appeal to the Chinese (Chang 1981, 4–5). The Austrian priest, Luis Gutheinz, S.J.,* and the German priest, Paul H. Welte O.P.*, both offered their views on "easternizing" Christian theology. Both priests had profound understanding of Chinese culture and insight into the thought processes of the Chinese people. Father Welte believed that the Chinese people are culturally more attuned to intuition and thus the effort of localizing Christianity should focus on connecting people to the mysteries of the Christian faith through intuition, rather than through logic (Chang 1981, 7). Father Gutheinz maintained that Chinese culture focuses more on the whole being of a person, and that humanism is widely accepted among Chinese intellectuals. Hence he promoted an integration between the East and the West based on a Christ-centered humanism. This is an extension of the Western belief that Christ is the model of perfect humanity. Christ is the only person who completes humanism (Chang 1981, 8–9).

On the other hand, Bishop Paul Cheng Shi-guang* claimed that Chinese morality is an ethics-based morality, in contrast to the law-based morality taught by the Catholic Church. Therefore, he maintained that in order to integrate Christianity into Chinese culture, one ought to combine Chinese morality with the Christian sacraments (Chang 1981, 10). Professor Xiang Tuijie* advocated doing away with categorizing doctrines, morality and ethics. He believed that Eastern theology should focus on "salvation and outlook on life" while Western theology should focus on "salvation history and human destiny". The former would study what the value systems expounded by Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism had in common with Christian salvation history. The latter would examine Christian salvation history and seek to add to what was previously lacking (Chang 1981, 11).

Cardinal Yupin offered the "three knowledge" theory—knowledge of the world, of the human person and of God. From these three areas of knowledge come four areas of studies: natural science, liberal arts, social science and religious study. These would become the cornerstones of Taiwan's college education. The "three knowledge theory" is the root of "the spirit of Fu Jen" University and its pursuit of openness and newness has helped to facilitate future dialogues between different faith traditions (Shen 2016, 29–30). Archbishop Stanislaus Lokuang* also offered systematic insights regarding the Chinese indigenization of theology. His study focused on the relationship between the core of Confucianism—benevolence—and the core of Christian faith—love. In addition, Father

Mark Fang Zhirong, S.J.*, basing his thought on biblical hermeneutics, offered three characteristics of exegesis for Chinese: (1) basis on a moral foundation; (2) reliance more on guidance than logic; and (3) allowing readers to inject their own subjective experience and insights (Chang 1981, 33). These became the guidelines for Chinese Catholics' hermeneutics. Father Aloysius Chang also took upon himself to build a framework for localizing theology through his prolific writings. From the point of view of evangelization, with many theologians and philosophers working in various fields ranging from philosophy, life experience, culture and religion, the goal of "making Christ Chinese and making Chinese Christians" was set on a firm foundation. At times, such progress seemed to be beyond the reach and need of the average, ordinary person.

After Vatican II, the Taiwan Catholic Church explored two other paths to the integration of faith and culture that are not based on theology or philosophy. One such path was ancient eastern spirituality seeking to lead people to the peak experience of prayer by way of Zen meditation. The other path was through dialogue with different faith traditions. Vatican II not only promoted interfaith dialogue, it also elevated it to being an essential part of evangelization:

> *Interfaith dialogue matters for all faith traditions. Now, more than ever, the Church recognized it as an important vehicle for evangelization in which the Catholic Church consciously takes part. Interfaith dialogue is not limited only to Catholics with other religions. Vatican II called on all religions and faith traditions to participate in this dialogue in earnest pursuit of the truth believing that God and the Holy Spirit will be in the midst* (Chang 1995, 1–7).

These paths were greatly strengthened by other foreign missionaries, mainly Jesuits. Among them, the best known were Fr. Yves Raguin and Fr. Poulet Mathis (Saso 2014, 174–182). They provided a wealth of opportunities for cultural exchange and dialogue through writings, conferences and spiritual retreats. The new directions out of Vatican II helped to cultivate their efforts and bring them to fruition.

Reflection on Issues in China: Taiwan Catholic Church Indigenization

When the Jesuit Matteo Ricci first entered China to evangelize, he gained acceptance and respect of the Chinese society by virtue of his own cultural insights and intellect. Studies of natural science in areas such as astronomy, geography, mathematics and the calendar provided a platform for cultural

exchange to flow through. Historians believe that the Jesuits' adaptation strategy also set up the framework for future cultural exchanges. "The Jesuits' adaptation strategy guided the way they shared faith and set up a framework for future cultural exchanges" (Huang 2010, 5).

The Taiping rebellion, however, stands on the opposite spectrum from that of Matteo Ricci. The mass appeal of the Taiping movement surely lent itself to the exploration of indigenization issues for those other than intellectuals and scholars. Even today, many Taiwanese elders, ignorant of the efforts of Ricci and his companions, are resistant to having their younger family members accept baptism, convinced as they are that Christianity is a Western import. They grapple with the dilemma of choosing sides—Chinese heritage or Western Christianity. The stigma still exists after centuries.

In 1962, a group of college students organized a "community for spiritual study" (the predecessor of the Chinese Christian Spiritual Community). Their mission statement revealed the dilemma these young intellectuals faced when accepting the Gospel.

> *….The average college student finds it difficult to accept the Christian faith which is heavily influenced by European culture. Christianity has been around in China for over four hundred years now and yet it still seems incompatible with Chinese culture and struggles to find acceptance by Chinese people who hold on to their customs. Most Chinese are bred on the moral and ethics of Chinese culture and believe that the purpose of religion is to exhort people to do good…. We hope to share our Christian faith with a Chinese expression in order to fulfill the call to bring Chinese to Christ.* (Wu 2005, 22–49)

Since Vatican II, Taiwan has gone a long way in building up a framework for localizing Christian theology. However, based on the author's observation, most catechists who teach the Rite of Christian Initiation for Adults (RCIA—the initiation of new Christians who seek baptism) do not incorporate an indigenized version of theology into their instruction. But faith is not born from reason alone. Catholic faith first developed in China because people were moved by the dedication of the early missionaries. However, Chinese culture dates back thousands of years and has well-established systems of thought and values. Evangelization entails the integration of different cultures, values and belief systems, among which value systems run deepest in a culture like the roots to a tree. All judgments and preferences flow from it, and therefore a value system is the most difficult to change. If evangelization is to go from adapting local

custom to changing the custom, a great deal of nurturing and adaptation with ongoing dialogue from both sides is required.

Relative to religion, Western scientific achievements and political systems both belong to a cultural phenomenon which can be easily identified, like the stems and branches of a tree as opposed to its roots. Ever since Western culture became acceptable in the East, many Chinese have studied science with zeal, but very few took the time to understand the essence of the Western culture which nurtured it. Similarly, the wave of cultural exchange has seen many Western scholars study to understand Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism without incorporating their principles into a lifestyle. Maybe this goes to highlight the problems inherent in a cultural exchange between the East and the West that still lacks depth.

Furthermore, during the time when East met West, both sides were also on the threshold of a dramatic period of change. Formerly, the Catholic faith spread mainly from Europe, but Europe now faces a serious crisis of distrust in church authority and a loss of faith. As for China, since the day when Western culture initially made contact, the country has gone through a time of struggle for survival. Now with the newly found economic success, there is a push for science and democracy within the country. Heightened individualism continues to challenge the faith and moral authority taught by the Church. The number of religious vocations continuing to decline also indicates the challenge of how to evangelize the younger generation effectively. All these phenomena point to the increased challenges for cultural integration especially after the turmoil and changes both cultures have undergone. Father Chang Chun-shen, pointed out that even though China has a very long history, its theology is still very young. To put it differently, even though theology has been developed for a long time in Europe, the exchange and integration with Chinese culture is still very new.

Even more importantly, Chinese culture is one with diversity. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism have coexisted in China for over a thousand years. While the intellectuals debate their respective thoughts and teachings, most people in Taiwan live under the influence of a fusion of all three traditions. Finding a way to communicate the authority of the Gospel while being sensitive to long-held religious belief becomes a major challenge in Taiwan's indigenization movement. The key to meeting that challenge is exactly interfaith dialogue. In recent years, this effort has not garnered much attention from Taiwan's Catholic Church for reasons which remain, on the whole, unclear. It is possible that a conflict between

interfaith dialogue and indigenization has not been brought to the fore. Also possible is the dearth of scholars to analyze the issue. In future, it should be an area well worth investing in.

From a historical point of view, four hundred years of a new culture in the making is relatively short. Therefore the focus is not about judging the success of the effort, but rather to ensure its ongoing direction and progress. The depth of any cultural exchange does not depend on a universal agreement on all things, but rather hinges on the personal journey of those who have gone before others. Therefore, the indigenization effort should be approached with attention to the personal conversion experience of individuals.

In addition, another gap for the Taiwan Catholic Church to bridge on the way to a true indigenization is the unity of all the faithful. After 1949, large numbers of religious and Catholic faithful flowed into Taiwan and overpowered the still young local Taiwanese culture within the Taiwan Church. To this day, communication still tends to be lacking, and this hidden gap requires healing.

Based on scholarly researches, after 1949, Mandarin-speaking Catholics from China to Taiwan tended to have higher educational qualifications and hence higher socio-economic status. Mandarin became the official language and the Republic of China government offered preferential treatment to Catholic missionaries from China. With these policies in place, the newly arrived Mandarin culture quickly became the mainstream in the Taiwan Catholic Church. This drew an invisible dividing line between the Taiwan Church and the majority of Taiwanese who had come from Fujian province a few hundred years earlier. It was harder for the Church to break in and attract these long-time residents of Taiwan. Similarly, the number of ethnic Hakka Catholics has also seen a considerable decline after 1949. The issue could be attributed to the absence of Hakka culture within the local Catholic parishes (Pan 2014, 125–163).

Evaluation

Therefore one can question whether the post-Vatican II Taiwan Church's indigenization effort is overly dominated by the Mandarin Chinese culture. With Taiwan becoming more open and democratic, the issue has surfaced more than ever. During the time immediately after 1949, the leadership in the Taiwan Catholic Church was almost exclusively made up by Mandarin Chinese. Catholic liturgies exclusively used Mandarin Chinese as their

spoken language. The above formed a kind of cultural segregation which perhaps helps to explain why, immediately post 1949, the converts to the Catholic faith were mainly Mandarin-speaking people from China and the aborigines of Taiwan. This might also explain why the number of newly baptized Catholics was greatly reduced after 1964.

It is a pity that the indigenization effort of the Catholic Church in Taiwan has tended to focus excessively on the Mandarin culture while ignoring the local Fujian and Hakka cultures. To the majority of Taiwanese who are Fujian and Hakka people, the indigenization efforts of the Church not only needed to adopt a more Chinese form of expression but also to ensure that the resulting culture spoke to local people's everyday life and cultural experience (Pan 2012, 199–239). As a contrast, one can also learn from observing the conversion experience of the Taiwan aborigines. A large number of Taiwanese aborigines converted to the Catholic faith between 1945 and 1968, the reason being that they believed the Catholic faith actually helped them to maintain their tribal culture and identity. As a result, the Taiwanese aborigines had a fairly open attitude toward the Catholic faith. The varying outcomes between Taiwan's different ethnic groups' integration with the Church culture helps us to see more clearly the challenges ahead (Lardinois et al. 2005, 204). As long as the division caused by differences in ethnic groups is not eliminated, the indigenization effort will continue to run into resistance. This struggle is historical, and the Catholic Church is not the only organization that has faced the issue. The ultimate purpose of reflection is to offer a direction for the future and a common ground for the integration effort. Be it churches in the West, China or Taiwan, an indigenization of the Catholic Church that is true to its call is one which incorporates the local cultures. In this globalized world, all cultural elements and the common values shared as a result are of importance. This is the true spirit of Vatican II with localized churches integrated into one that the Council wished to create.

Conclusion

As its history indicates, the Taiwan Catholic Church is one which encompasses Chinese, European and modern Taiwanese cultures. Looking to the future of the Taiwan Church, the author offers three recommendations:

1. Integrating different faith traditions and forming an integrated culture with depth is an extremely time-consuming process. In order for a genuine cultural exchange to happen between China and the

Western world, a long and sincere dialogue is required, and it needs to connect with people's everyday cultural experience. Vatican II has built a platform and a theological foundation for a cultural exchange in which both parties are considered equal counterparts. The Taiwan Church could reach out to the numerous faith organizations and offer more avenues for further cultural exchange and integration.

2. The Taiwan Catholic Church should focus its evangelization effort on the individual (especially lay persons) conversion experience. The modern age is a time of frequent and rapid change. Within a few hundred years, Europe has gone through modernism, postmodernism, globalization and neo-industrialization. Those who are most immediately impacted by the changes are usually not religious people but the laity. Most lay persons live "in the world" and therefore constantly need to reconcile their faith with their daily lives. Theirs is a real battleground between the sacred and the profane.
3. Vatican II heralded a new era for the role of the laity and it is considered a highly insightful event. Usually a breakthrough in any cultural exchange does not come from a popular vote, but rather from the personal success stories of a few lay persons (e.g. John C.H. Wu*'s religious conversion profoundly influenced by St. Therese of Lisieux), which illustrates the importance of the personal conversion experience. In order to reconcile universal experience with indigenization, the Taiwan Church should focus on a broader and more comprehensive approach to the laity's conversion experiences.

Interfaith dialogue is not a pure debate about singular or multiple truths nor does it dwell only in the religious domain. In fact, Christians live side by side with believers of many local religions. On a daily basis, there is hardly any need to identify or differentiate who belongs to which faith tradition. However, the beliefs people hold do inform many elements of their lives. Vatican II affirmed the important role interfaith dialogue has for evangelization. However, in Taiwan's past, the dialogue has tended to be limited to discussion about schools of thought and church doctrines and reserved for Church elders. In the future, it is hoped that the same equal and respectful approach to the dialogue can be maintained and its scope broadened to include laity from all walks of life. The author believes that after the culmination of hundreds of years of religious and cultural experience, it will be possible to enrich, transform and bring personal life and faith in the Taiwan Catholic Church to a new height but only if the above recommendations are taken seriously by those competent to enshrine them in reality.

Note

1. This article took Cardinal Yupin's view that in the Tang dynasty, some religions had been introduced in China, and celebrities followed them (such as Guo Ziyi). However, most people thought this was a personal religious choice with little cultural connotation. Not until Ricci's period did the real cultural exchange occur. See: Yupin, Comparison of Chinese and Western cultures, collected in John C. H. Wu and other people's papers. "Eastern and Western Culture Essays" (Taipei: Institute for Defense Analyses, 1966), pp. 356–398.

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CHAPTER 3

The Internal Development of the Taiwan Catholic Church: 1950s–1960s

Michael Chuan-sheng Chang

Introduction

From 1945 to 1950, well over a million mainlanders arrived in Taiwan, the total population of Taiwan in 1945 being some six million plus (Lin 2009, 323–336). According to statistics in 1948, Taiwan had 12,944 Catholics and 15 Catholic priests (Ku 1971, 85). After 1949, Taiwan Catholic Church population increased continuously and rapidly during the 1950s to 1960s (Fig. 3.2) indicating a huge expansion in Taiwan's Catholic Church. Exile, which means a temporary stay and not a permanent home, is the main theme of this chapter. It is also related to the relational factor of the Nationalist government and the mainlanders in Taiwan during this period.

This chapter aims at borrowing the "Y" shape theory from historiography to discuss the convergence of the dual sources of (mainland and Taiwanese) culture within the Catholic Church in Taiwan from the 1950s to the 1960s (Zhou 2011, 113–121).[1] The study is in the context of the Y shape theory to cover the following areas: (1) the arrival of refugee mainland clergy and their activities in Taiwan; (2) the warm Catholic-government

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relations developed in Taiwan in the political environment of the Cold War period and (3) direct Catholic evangelization and the rapid increase of conversions.

The Development of the Taiwan Catholic Church After 1949: Y Shape Theory

The Y shape has been a theory employed by scholars in Taiwan to treat the history of the Nationalist government after the 1911 Revolution till the present. When scholars deal with the history of the Nationalist government in Taiwan, they suggest that the Y shape of the historical sources can be mobilized to explain the historical development. The Y shape means there were "dual sources" or "dual legs" of historical development converging into one after 1949 with the arrival of the Nationalist government in Taiwan (Huang 2012, 38–42). In Taiwan Catholic Church history, there were two sources of influence after 1949; then the two sources converged into one and formed the Catholic development in the 1950s and 1960s.

The so-called two sources are as follows: (1) Massive migration of mainland Catholic personnel, priests and sisters and lay people to Taiwan. The migrated Chinese clergy with their experience in mainland China began religious activities which profoundly influenced activities in the Taiwan Church. (2) The foreign missionaries who had been arriving in Taiwan since 1859; their mission endeavor among the aborigines and the rural population also formed a tradition. The tradition introduced by the mainlander Chinese clergy plus the evangelization by foreign missionaries with aborigines after 1949 converging with that of converts by the Dominicans in the rural areas before 1950 became the mainstream of Taiwanese Catholic life in the period between the 1950s to 1960s (Sanromán 2013; Lardinois et al. 2005) (Fig. 3.1).[2]

Arrival of Refugee Priests

There is insufficient data on the small number of refugee Chinese lay Catholics from the mainland to Taiwan, but there are records of the arrival of their counterpart Catholic clergy. These priests first arrived in Taiwan almost without assistance either from the Church hierarchy or from their own family but only from their own fellow priests. On arrival, they had to face the problem of going through the Immigration Office of Taiwan, looking for accommodation and finding some kind of livelihood. The record of

Diagram of the "Y" Shape Theory:

1. Taiwan Catholics who could trace their origins from the Qing Dynasty and the Japanese Occupation Period. 2. Rural aborigines and some Han people converted to Catholicism before 1949 3. Mountain aborigines oppressed by the Japanese (they converted after 1949)	1. Catholics migrated from the Mainland 2. Relocated Mainlanders in Taiwan converted to Catholicism after 1949

("Y"Shape Theory with convergence of dual traditions)

Taiwan Catholic Church in the post 1949 period
with some 300,000 Catholics in 1969

Fig. 3.1 Diagram of the "Y" shape theory

a priest coming from Nanjing illustrates a little of the situation. He remembered:

> *Once the boat which I had boarded arrived at Keelung Port, I jumped out illegally. Without delay I went to Our Savior Catholic Church, Chung Cheng Road, Taipei to look for its parish priest, Fr. Lee Tianyi,* with whom I had acquaintance.*[3] *I wished to know from him how to get the Entry Permit to enable me to enter Taiwan legally. When I arrived in Keelung I had learned that it is essential to get the Entry Permit with the chop of a sponsor. So I prepared the reference letter and asked Fr. Li to chop the letter with the seal of the parish church. Then the next day, I presented this document to the Immigration Department which allowed me and a group of seminarians whom I had led from Nanjing to enter Taiwan and settle down there.* (Shao 2000, 67–70)

Not all the mainlander Chinese Catholic priests were lucky enough to get sponsors from the Catholic Church personnel during the martial law period. However, many turned to a Catholic Congressman, who happened to be a priest, for help. This priest-Congressman recalled the following event:

> *Since 1954, many more restrictions had been inflicted on sponsorship. Only congressmen could be sponsors; among the ranks of Military Attaches only a Colonel could be. In 1954, I managed to get ten Entry Permits at one time because some exiled priests had failed to get a sponsor and eventually they could not obtain the Entry Permit. It was due to more restrictions imposed on sponsorship so much so that many qualified people were not willing to sponsor someone whom they did not know too well. At this juncture I went to visit Mr. Yang*, a Catholic congressman, requesting him and his friends to help Catholic Church personnel. At this time each one could sponsor two applicants. Each sponsor could not guarantee more than ten times. No sponsors were allowed to leave the country. That was why many were not willing to be sponsors; it impeded their freedom of traveling abroad.*[4]

As far as housing is concerned, at that time, except for a few who could afford to purchase a house for residence, most of the refugee priests from the mainland were assigned to chapels in semirural areas without residential priests. One priest remembered the following:

> *Fr. Lee Tianyi, the city parish priest, was very good indeed. He tried not only to assign as many as possible of the exiled priests to the nearby city churches in Huashan*, and Horaicho* (Penglai ting). He also explored places to assign the newly arrived exiled priests in the nearby chapels which had no residential priest to do pastoral work. Such places were Luzhou, Tanshui, Keelung, Hsin Tien and Mucha. Fr. Jonnas Lee Tianyi, Fr. Raymundus Tu Mincheng* and Fr. Vincent Lee Weitim* were the only three diocesan priests born and raised in Taiwan at that time.*[5]

In 1954, Fr. Joannes Mao Zhenxiang*, a refugee priest, could afford to build his own church. In 1951, the US Catholic Relief Services and evangelization began to gain momentum in Taiwan and Fr. Mao was in charge of one of these offices. He tried to build churches for the new converts who were mainly refugees from the mainland (Shuliang 2002). Various types of building with raw materials like bamboo were set up. A theater was converted into a church, and in town, a restaurant was remolded into a seminary. It was really an acceptable type of building in an uncertain environment (Lin 2002, 156; Yayan 1994, 89). Foreign missionaries, more than Chinese priests, could accept this type of temporary settlement, because missionary work is a constant extension in an uncertain environment. For example, the refugee religious priests could set up a place for worship by making use of any old building remade with raw and cheap building materials, like bamboo and mud. Refugee diocesan priests did not

like temporary buildings with raw materials, with no sense of certainty and security but only reinforcing a sense of exile, abandonment and refugee status.

For these priests, economic consideration was one of the first priorities. When they had very minimal financial support from the church hierarchy in Taiwan, they had to work to survive.[6] In the context of the Y theory, these mainland priests in Taiwan had the following characteristics which deserve attention:

1. The refugee Chinese priests had to find ways and means to integrate themselves into Taiwan's church structures, which were very limited both in human and financial resources—dioceses were small in scale (Ku 1971, 85). After the assimilation of the mainland priests into the Taiwanese social environment, the orientation of the Taiwan Church began to turn a new page.
2. When the refugee priests had locations to settle down and begin pastoral work, only minimal care could be obtained from the Apostolic Prefecture of Taipei. Some of them were housed in the countryside of central Taiwan. They had to settle down in various sizes of churches and chapels with different living standards and working conditions (Yang 1973, 66). Sometimes these priests had to look for jobs to make a living outside Church circles such as engaging in non-Catholic primary to tertiary education.[7] Some even worked in poultry farms and orchid gardens in the rural areas. Some of the church buildings where they served were transformed from abandoned buildings formerly used for secular purpose such as theaters and restaurants. Many priests rented apartments as residences and for small chapels in urban settings. Some even transformed part of residential buildings and meeting places for university staff into chapels for public worship on Sundays. Church and chapel buildings were urgently needed at that time because of the rapid increase of new converts: from 12,000 in 1948, they increased to 300,000 between 1950 and 1969 (Ku 1971, 85; *Catholic Directory of Taiwan 1965*, 347, 1972, Appendix). Refugee priests on the island looked for new places of worship and evangelization and to cater to the needs of the newly baptized Catholics (Tian ren heyi 2001, 25).[8]

   The People's Republic of China (PRC) expelled missionaries beginning from 1951 because China and the USA fought during the Korean War which was a confrontation of the capitalist world

and the Communist bloc. The number of church personnel fled from China increased in both Taiwan and Hong Kong. There were not many lay Catholics from the mainland. Much more were the Catholic Church personnel, such as priests and sisters. However, the huge Catholic growth in Taiwan was due to conversions after their arrival on the island. Many Catholics in Taiwan were converted in the years between the 1950s and 1970s: they were mainly refugees from the mainland (Madsen 2012, v6 p. 54).[9]

Church-State Relations in Taiwan: During the Cold War

During this period (1950s–1960s), the growth of the Taiwan Catholic Church was greatly influenced by the developments in both domestic and international politics. In fact, some social structures established by the Nationalist government were favorable for the development of the Catholic Church in Taiwan. Scholars analyzing the social structure of church-state relations during the first stage of the martial law period (1949–1987) claim it showed three characteristics: (1) The authoritarian Nationalist government in Taiwan with the Catholic Church formed an interdependent relationship of alliance. (2) The Republic of China (ROC) and the Catholic Church were compatible in ideologies. (3) Within the Catholic Church and the Nationalist government, people from the same social class and ethnic groups constituted the majority (Kuo 2002, 57–101).

In this period, the mainlander clergy in Taiwan inherited the sentiments of patriotism handed down from their days in the mainland expressed in the cooperation between state and Church, forming an interdependent relationship. These were the basic principles of the interaction between the Catholic Church and the ROC in the 1950s to 1960s (Fang 1980, 192).[10]

There is much evidence to prove that the Nationalist government had created a favorable socio-political infrastructure for the development of the Catholic Church in Taiwan. To a certain extent the government enhanced the legitimacy of the Taiwan Catholic Church. For example, Taiwan's major newspaper *The Central Daily News* printed good coverage on many news events of the Catholic Church. Church activities such as the Eucharist Congress were introduced and reported in the editorials or on the front page.[11] In the rural areas, local government gave special favor to the Catholic Church looking for land for church construction (Verineux

1977, 141–145). Until the end of the 1960s, Catholic Church buildings were exempted from property tax, while this favor was not granted to other religions like Buddhism or Daoism (*United Daily News* 1964).[12]

Negative effects were also generated from the extra warm relations with the government. For instance, if Catholic Church personnel committed some legal offense, they could obtain special protection from the government which was criticized for infringing social and legal justice for the sake of protecting the Catholic Church. It happened in the 1950s that the Archbishop's Office in Taipei sold relief goods donated by the USA, shipping them into Hong Kong's black market for sale. From Hong Kong, goods were smuggled to Taiwan for a huge profit. When the issue was detected, it aroused tension in the archdiocese, the presidential office and the US Relief Service. The government based its consideration on the fact that the Catholic Church was a friend in the anti-Communism campaign and had helped the government in national reconstruction. Instruction was given to confiscate the smuggled goods only and release the offender. The archbishop, who should have taken up legal responsibility by going to jail, was free.[13]

During the martial law period, when White Terror prevailed, the Church and state enjoyed a harmonious relation at the highest level. However, at the grassroots level, some priests remembered that they came into conflict with members of the Kuomintang (KMT) who tried to plant its agents within Church circles but were refused by the Church authorities.[14] In the process of struggle between the KMT and the Catholic Church, some Catholic priests had to suffer from considerable pressure. Eventually the grassroots priests could not resolve the problems, so went to seek help from high-ranking KMT officials (Chang 2003, 73). The planting of party agents into the Church reveals the extent to which the KMT leaders perceived that the Catholic Church held an advantageous position for the advancement of its party.

The special protection offered by the Nationalist government to the Catholic Church prevailed for years. In the 1960s, the Catholic Church tried to cooperate with a gentleman, who was also a Congressman, to establish in Taiwan a language school which had its roots in the mainland. The principal of this mainland language school was Msgr. Joannes, who became the secretary of the Archdiocese of Taipei. Under the name of re-establishing this language school, the diocesan treasury was emptied by the Congressman because he used Msgr. Joannes' chop to issue dishonored bank checks. Eventually, the construction company of the proposed

school building came to claim the payment of the construction fee. The local court accepted the case of deception, but before the judge sentenced the charge on Msgr. Joannes, who was actually deceived by the Congressman but still had to bear the legal responsibility, the government sent an agent quietly to ask Msgr. Joannes to leave for Brazil to escape the court sentence. The government certainly knew beforehand that the court's decision would jail Msgr. Joannes and that such an action would seriously damage the Taiwan Catholic Church (Lei 1982, 217–220; Zhao 2001, 47–49).

The peak of the warm Catholic and Taiwan government relations was in the 1960s after Archbishop Yupin*'s return to Taiwan from the USA. Since the 1940s, Yupin was confirmed by the Nationalist government as its close friend following his previous endeavors to help the army combat the Japanese and his lobbying for the Nationalist government during the Sino-Japanese War (Chen 2001, 43–94). He was judged by the Taiwan government to be a most reliable partner.

In 1960, the year of Yupin's arrival in Taiwan, the government selected December 25, Christmas Day, to adopt the National Constitution and made the date a national holiday to honor Christianity (He 198130.5: 20).[15] In 1962, Yupin was appointed vice president of the Committee for Mainland Recovery while its president was President Chiang Kai-shek. In 1963, when the news of the death of Pope John XXIII was announced, the Taiwan government ordered all national flags to be flown at half-mast as a sign of condolence (Mao 1980, 20–21). In 1966, the heads of the five yuans (the Legislative yuan, Executive Yuan, Judicial Yuan, Examination Yuan and Control Yuan) hosted a big banquet to celebrate the 30th anniversary of Yupin's sacerdotal ordination (*United Daily News* Sept. 21, 1966, p. 2). In 1967, the Taiwan government set up the Committee of Renaissance of Chinese Culture in response to the cultural destruction caused by the Cultural Revolution on the mainland. Yupin again was selected as the vice president of this committee while the president was Chiang Kai-shek.

At the peak of the close relationship, the Catholic Church responded to the warm church-state relations with willingness. Reciprocally, it invited the chairman of Examination Yuan, Sun Fo, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the new Kengxin Catholic Hospital*, Taipei (*United Daily News* Sept. 21, 1966, p. 2). In 1967, an American missionary planned to construct a girls' hostel, and the First Lady, Madam Soong Meiling*, was invited to be the president of the Preparatory Committee (*United Daily News* Feb. 26, 1967, p. 2). In the same year, the First Lady was requested

to become a member of the Board of Directors of Fu Jen Catholic University. A few months later, after the death of Cardinal Tien, the incumbent Chairperson of the Board, Madam Soong Meiling was asked to replace him as Chairperson of the Board (Chen 2001, 240–241).

Archbishop Yupin was elevated to the cardinalate in 1969. He replaced Cardinal Thomas Tien as the supreme leader of the Taiwan Church indicating that he was not only honored by the government but also by the Church. Moreover, his support even went beyond that of the Church. Since 1940, he had supported a Friendship Association of Religious Believers to reflect his acceptance of multireligious faiths (Chen 2001, 358). His religious orientation continued to be the same after his arrival in Taiwan. His assistance went to everyone without any religious discrimination. Buddhist leaders went to seek his support for the establishment of a new Buddhist University. When he was sick, Buddhist Monk Taihsu prayed by his sick bed (Yu 2003, 43–47).

Warm church-state relationships in Taiwan lasted for about 20 years until the 1970s. When Taiwan left the UN in 1971, on the very same day, the Apostolic Nuncio left Taipei. This issue shocked the political and religious circles of Taiwan. The deaths of Chiang Kai-shek and Yupin in 1975 and 1978 respectively, coincided with the severance of Sino-US diplomatic relations. After that, the warm Catholic relations with the Taiwan government entered a new stage.

To Evangelize All People in Taiwan

After 1949, the numerous priests and sisters arriving from the mainland settled down as soon as they could with minimal material supplies but in a more favorable socio-political environment. They began to engage in mission work to evangelize people, inviting them to join the Catholic Church.

Traditional Catholic teaching suggested that the target of evangelization is to invite many groups of ethnically different people into the Catholic Church (Mark 16:15).[16] Here, in the context of the Y theory, the interactions between Catholicism and different ethnic groups were pursued by direct evangelization through direct preaching and teaching in church and mission centers.

During this period between 1950 and 1960, the wave of mass conversions had risen to 300,000 people.[17] Of course it was due to the effort of foreign missionaries and mainlander priests. However the aid of relief goods from the USA distributed among the Catholic people also played an important role.

From the statistics, a scholar held the opinion that the developmental growth of the Catholic population can be divided into two periods. The first period covered the years from 1949 to 1963. During this period the Catholic population's growth rate was 10 percent, and there was rapid expansion of the Church in Taiwan (Qu 1982, 129–154).

This rapid growth of the Catholic population would seem even more outstanding if the conversions were viewed in the context of global Catholic development. Bishop William Kupfer,* MM of Taichung remembered that in the first phase of the Vatican II Assembly when the Chinese bishops met Pope John XXIII, the Pope read the ecclesiastical report of the Chinese Church. When he came to the part on Taiwan, he learned about the great number of conversions which stood the first in the world. Thus, the growth rate of Taiwan Catholics aroused the attention of the Roman Curia in the Vatican (Cai Wenxing zhujiao, December 27, 1962). What was the reason behind the massive number of conversions in the 1950s to 1960s when Taiwan conversions stood first in the world? It indirectly reflected that this rapid massive conversion was not a natural phenomenon. This was unusual in the special social-political environment of a Cold War period. Such an environment was conducive to evangelization among people with uncertainty of social life especially among refugees who had left their homeland for political reasons. The global issue of Cold War was reflected in local issues in the religious sector of Taiwan.

During this period there were two ethnic divisions in the Taiwanese converting to Catholicism. One was the major population of the newly converted from the mainland arriving in Taiwan in the 1950s. Another major conversion community was among the aboriginal people in the mountain areas. These two groups constituted the two legs with differing origins in the Y shape theory (Fig. 3.2).

1. The Refugee Population from the Mainland

In the wave of rapid conversions in the 1950s to the 1960s, many refugee mainlanders knocked at the door of Catholic missions in Taiwan requesting religious instruction.

Fr. Mertens remembered that on one Sunday, which was also the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, when he was celebrating the Sunday Mass he noticed that there were more people in the Church than usual. Normally he knew most of the Sunday Mass goers. After Mass, when he was greeting the congregation, the newcomers told him that they were from the district of Taishan and that they would like to join the Catholic Church.

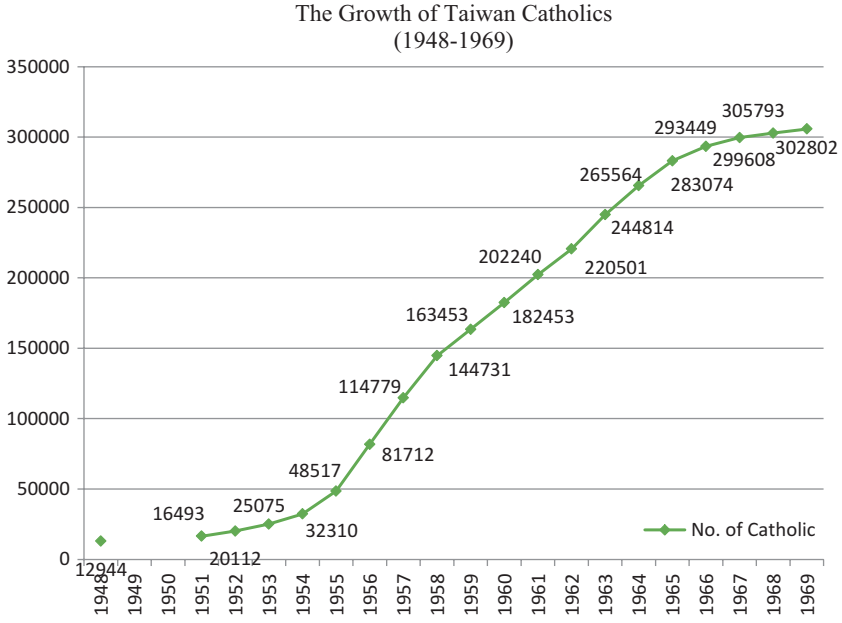

Fig. 3.2 The Growth of Taiwan Catholics (1948–1969)
Source: The data is from Ku Pao-ku, *1971. *Zhongguo Tianzhujiaoshi dashi nian* biao [Chronology of the Catholic Church in China] Taichung: Kuang-chi

Therefore he went to that district to instruct them in Catholic doctrine. Sister Lugard also worked with him to give instruction there. He claimed that he was the parish priest and had the duty to render pastoral care to those who had been newly baptized and give instruction to those who wanted to be baptized. In that area, most of the inhabitants were military dependents and refugees from the mainland to Taiwan. They found the church on their own initiative.[18] Since the Catholic Church was the most prestigious organization in Taiwan society, it attracted a lot of converts. Many refugees were attracted to the Church and experienced the appeal of its dynamics.

Scholars explained the phenomenon of conversion of refugees reasoning that they were relocated from the mainland and suffering from spiritual loneliness and psychological emptiness due to the detachment from their own home environment and separation from their own roots. When there was no social networking, lack of family connections, as well as separation

from kinship, the kindness and care rendered by the priests and sisters were needed. Thus, it was easy to attract them to Christian churches including the Catholic Church (Qu 1982, 129–154; Song 1995, 194–197). Viewed from the social position of the Catholic Church in Taiwan, it stood high with warm church-state relations. The Catholics and the government officials belonged to the same social class and the same ethnic group (Kuo 2002, 57–101). When these migrants in Taiwan were highly dependent on relief goods for their livelihood, they could get the needed relief commodities for their daily needs more easily from the Church than from the government.

Given the attraction to the Catholic Church of the availability of relief goods, this author agrees with the reflection of an American missionary priest in the 1980s observing the distribution of relief goods. The priest's observations and criticism on this issue were valid and deserve our attention. He wrote:

> *"Catholic Churches throughout the island became vehicles for the distribution of an awesome tonnage of American surplus farm products. This was a very visible portion of the Church's "wealth." In part the churches were given this function by default; local governments were not trusted to provide reliable lists of the needy. Thus the churches became willing instruments of a foreign government. This food program deserves a study of its own. Its place in the evangelizing program of the Church in those days cannot be ignored and possibly cannot be exaggerated. The Church was known, and may still be known, as the "flour church." Some priests were careful not to use relief goods directly as a means of evangelizing. Others were not so scrupulous. All of us used relief as an indirect means of evangelization. Though no doubt there were exceptions, it is time this general truth was openly acknowledged. And it was a most efficacious means. It succeeded in putting the Church on the map. And it is just possible that the growth rate on the graphs is in exact proportion to the amount of flour and milk powder and old clothes and medicines distributed. The Church gave unstintingly, and while it gave it grew.* (Collignon 1981, 399–406)[19]

Because the Catholic Church in this period could offer the much-needed material and spiritual aid to the refugees, it explains the magnetic force within the mainland refugees in Taiwan drawing them to the Church,

Above all, some Taiwan intellectuals in their conversions followed in the footsteps of the intellectuals of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Like their counterparts who accompanied Matteo Ricci, these Taiwan intellectual converts also believed that the Catholic faith was complementary to Confucianism.

Two cases of relocated Chinese intellectuals can illustrate this issue more clearly (*United Daily News*, Jan. 19, 1963, p. 2).[20] One is Jiang Fucong, the Curator of the National Palace Museum. He was also the Director of the Central National Library. In his book "Collected Essays on the Chamber of Precious Broom" [Zhenzhou zhai wenji] he argued that there was great harmony between Catholic doctrine and Confucianism. In fact, Catholic doctrine could even complement the inadequacy of Confucianism. He also remarked that he could not fully grasp the meaning of "self-discipline" or "turning to oneself" explained by Zhu Xi unless he read it in the context of the spirituality of Catholicism (Jiang 1985, 5–6).

Bao Zunpeng*, the Curator of the National History Museum, was another typical case of a Chinese mainlander intellectual's conversion. Bao confessed that his conversion to Catholicism was not due to his seeking spiritual dependence on Christianity. He admits that any religion has a common phenomenon that it leads people to goodness. "Goodness" is not only confined to doing good things. It should embrace more explanation from different directions. God treats human beings with their foolishness by granting them kindness and forgiveness enabling their conversion through realization of truth. It is the causal circle in natural law (Bao Zhao Yingjie 1973, 17). His statement revealed that in chaotic socio-political life, religion might lead men to approach ultimate goodness, something which was extremely important for a Chinese intellectual in a desperate situation.[21]

The priests who led these two intellectual converts to Catholicism were refugee priests from the mainland teaching in the National University of Taiwan since the 1950s. The paradigm of evangelization on these intellectuals seemed handed down from the Jesuit tradition since the days of Matteo Ricci. This paradigm of evangelization was quite different from those of the methodology Dominicans applied to Taiwan during the Qing dynasty and Japanese occupation period.

2. The Conversion of Aboriginal People of Taiwan

The conversion of the aborigines of Taiwan started from the Qing dynasty. The mass conversion of the Pingpu clan constituted the Catholic village of Wanjin (Huang 2006, 113–181). Evangelization of the aborigines in the mountain areas began to take place after World War II. The Jesuit priest, Fr. Olivier Lardinois SJ*, in his book *Church Alive: The Catholic Church among the Aboriginal People of Taiwan, Past, Present and Future* recalled:

> *This era saw a massive conversion of the indigenous people to Christianity, which was largely the fruit of missionary work carried out by the Presbyterian and Catholic Churches.* (Lardinois et al. 2005, 75)

His writing also collected and edited much data into the history of the conversion of aborigines after World War II. These clans are: Amis*, Atayal*, Bunun*, Paiwan*, Puyuma*, Rukai*, Saisiyat*, Tao*, Tsou*, Truku* and Sediq* (Taiwanese Aborigines).

Post-war mass conversion among the aborigines in this essay can be compared with that of the Taiwanese Han people whose conversion was carried out individually; how can we explain the massive communal conversion among the aborigines? Religious sociologists and anthropologists explained this phenomenon with the theory of "social reconstruction". During the Japanese occupation period, under the policy of economic development, forests were cut and aborigines were forced to move elsewhere. Furthermore, the "Japanization" policy launched by the colonial government imposed much interference and disturbance of the sociocultural life of the aborigines so much so that it caused great damage in their social structure, cultural heritage and production livelihood. For example, deforestation carried out under the economic policy of Japanese rule caused the disappearance of their self-sufficient lifestyle through hunting. In short, under the Japanese rule, the tribal life of the aborigines was greatly affected. It pushed the aborigines into a difficult situation. The elements of governance, medicine and religion in their social structure suffered from disintegration, causing the disintegration of their community life. The destruction could not ensure self-recovery by the aborigines themselves without external assistance because the whole clan lacked the energy for social mobility (Kuo 1985, 40–52). After 50 years of Japanese rule, one-tenth of the aborigines had died.

After World War II and the retreat of the Japanese, the aboriginal communities suffered from material and religious destruction. The Taiwanese government could not afford to help them in reconstruction.[22] In the 1950s, the US relief goods plus the massive movement of foreign missionaries into the mountain areas provided the human support and spiritual resources for the reconstruction of the society of the aborigines (Lardinois et al. 2005, 123). For fear of Communist penetration into the forests, Chinese clergy were not allowed to go there, but the foreign missionaries could do so according to the regulation of the Nationalist government.[23]

The reconstruction by the foreign missionaries enabled the revival of the aborigines. Within a short period, with the help of Catholic foreign missionaries, they could reconstruct their tribal life with medical and religious systems not only with better social services but also with the revival of their own culture blended with the new religious elements advocated by foreign missionaries. Thus the blending of old and new cultures made the new cultural life better than the old one with more financial support from foreign missionaries (Kuo 1985, 53–55, 159–161).

Some research findings revealed that the arrival of the Nationalist government in Taiwan was not very friendly to the aborigines either. In the martial law period, a decree on "The Control of the Mountain Areas" was launched to restrict the Han people from entering the mountain areas. Restrictions were also imposed on the poverty-stricken aborigines for security reasons (Macinanao 2004, 96–104). Therefore, the socio-economic pressure pushed them into the arms of Christian missionaries who were kind to them, aiming at converting them to Christianity. During the 1950s to the 1960s, the wave of conversion among the aborigines in Taiwan might seem like a postcolonial phenomenon. They had suffered at the hands of the Japanese and from the Han people through the Nationalist government: the result was mass conversion to a religion which enabled them to be free from oppression (Macinanao 2004, 96–104).

Due to the hard work of missionaries, one-third of the aborigines were converted to Catholicism constituting two-fifth of Taiwan's total Catholic population (Lardinois et al. 2005, 38, 89).[24] In fact in the early 1970s, 85 percent of the Taiwanese aborigines were converted to Christianity (Tong 1961, i).

3. Minnan (Hoklo) and Hakka People

After World War II, apart from the conversion of the two big groups of mainlanders and aborigines, there were two smaller ethnic groups which began to be interested in Catholicism; these were the Minnan (Hoklo) people and the Hakka people. Some have analyzed that this phenomenon was related to the poverty prevailing in Taiwanese society after World War II. The relief goods distribution through Christian churches by their compassionate church personnel drew the attention of the common people who first received a good impression of the Church, and then joined it (Jiang Chuande 2008, 258). It was true that the massive influx of more than 1000 exiled priests and religious women from the mainland provided good human resources to open the opportunity to all people in

every part of Taiwan to become acquainted with Christian churches and church personnel. Therefore, remote areas were open to contact, and the evangelization of Hoklo and Hakka in rural areas was possible because these ethnic groups were given the chance to meet the exiled priests or foreign missionaries who visited the villages and remote areas.

Many exiled priests were assigned to the old Catholic communities to help out in pastoral work. Old Taiwanese Catholic communities with Hoklo and Hakka ethnicity encountered Catholic mainlanders in Taiwan. The arrival of refugee priests injected new blood and vitality into the old Catholic rural communities, which were seldom visited by priests for Mass and the sacraments before 1949 because there were only 15 priests and among them three local Taiwanese priests whose mother tongue was the Minnan dialect. They were able to travel freely when all foreign missionaries were confined by the Japanese government without freedom to travel (Fang 1990, 272–3).

The following was a record written by a catechist who later was ordained as a priest. He wrote:

> *I went to Shalun to tell the two virgins that Bishop Niu* was planning to send a priest to Shalun Church. The two virgins were delighted indeed. They immediately spread the news to Catholics. Immediately, in the evening, many Catholics came to the church, first for evening prayers then for a meeting. I told them the news that there would be a priest permanently stationed at the parish church of Shalun. However Bishop Niu laid down the condition that the Catholics had to bear the expense of reconstructing the church including the priest's quarters of Shalun and Minxiong counties. After the meeting, a Catholic leader, Mr. Liu told me with a smiling face that it had been beyond his expectation to get a priest for these communities. For this purpose they did not care how much they would spend.* (Fang 1990, 272–3)

However, both the refugee priests and foreign missionaries needed help from local catechists who could speak Taiwanese enabling them to celebrate Mass and the Sacraments. With the immense help from these catechists, the refugee priests gradually established essential relationships with local people who were speakers of Taiwanese but not Mandarin.

During the Japanese occupation period, there were only three Taiwanese priests. They had all been transferred to the city parish churches in the new diocese of Chaiyi. In spite of being fewer in number, they were willing to render help to the exiled priests from the mainland, by giving language (Taiwanese dialect) instruction and instructing the newcomers in practical parish work. As soon as the Mainland priests arrived, Fr. Li Tianyi began to

instruct them in Taiwanese. Instruction was given every day with seven to eight priests in one group. Taiwanese was important for hearing confessions, because many Catholics from the southern parts or the rural areas spoke only Taiwanese but not Mandarin. Without a basic knowledge of Taiwanese, the priests in exile found it inconvenient to hear confessions which needed a minimum degree of verbal communication. Not only did Fr. Li teach the Taiwanese dialect, Fr. Raymundus Tu also taught newly arrived priests the dialect to enable them to communicate with Catholics. He also taught the Mainland priests about the culture and customs of Taiwan to facilitate pastoral service.

The Kaohsiung Apostolic Prefecture should not escape our attention. This ecclesiastical region in southern Taiwan had its mission foundation laid by the Spanish Dominicans in the nineteenth century. Between 1949 and 1961, the twelve years of demarcation of ecclesiastical regions, the vast territory had been immensely diminished. How did the Dominicans look at the waves of refugee priests from the Mainland and their work spreading over the entire island? In 1959, the Kaohsiung diocese planned to celebrate the centenary of the Catholic Church in Taiwan. Instead of celebrating this event within its own diocese, the Dominicans decided to call upon all the Taiwanese churches to commemorate the event.

For the celebration, Kaohsiung diocese played the role of the oldest diocese (the eldest brother) inviting the new ecclesiastical units to join it (Jiang 2008, 388–398). The role played by Kaohsiung signified the convergence of the mission of the exiled church personnel arriving in the 1950s and the old Catholic communities coming down from the Qing dynasty and the Japanese occupation period. After a century, with the convergence of the two traditions, the celebration of the centenary of the inauguration of the Catholic Church in Taiwan became the symbol of the convergence according to the Y theory. After the convergence, the Catholic Church in Taiwan has shown a new face generated from the efforts of the last 100 years.

Unresolved Problems Handed Down from the "Chinese Rites"

This liturgical question during the 1950s to 1960s did not experience much change in the form of worship even when the restriction on the controversial rites had been lifted. There were no further instructions from the Vatican about change. The directives of Pope Benedict XIV were still binding, especially the prohibition against open discussion and debate

about the "Chinese Rites", because the Roman Curia considered that debate would arouse chaos and confusion within the Church (Noll 1992, 88–89; Lokuang 1958, 88–90; Chen 2010, 100).

In Taiwan, how was the problem of ancestor veneration to be resolved? How could the newly converted Catholics honor their ancestors according to the Confucian tradition and at the same time use a ritual that would be acceptable to the Catholic Church? These were major concerns for the Taiwan Church. According to discussion within the Church in the 1950s, the open-minded missionaries who had contacted people on the street suggested that the content on the tablets for the ancestors' veneration was the focus of the problem. The name of the ancestor on the tablet had to be acceptable. If the words "shen wei" (the seat of the spirit) of the ancestors were written on the tablet, it was not acceptable. If the "veneration" of the tablet was changed into "worshipping", then the tablet became the seat of the spirit of the ancestor. The ritual became a religious rite and not a societal gesture like that of the "veneration of Confucius". Thus, with the ceremonial of the "veneration of ancestors" the rite of offering food, flowers, meats and burning of incense sticks with formal prayers became acceptable (Lokuang 1958, 88–90). That is why on major feast days like Chinese New Year Day, the veneration of ancestors is held after holy Mass with solemnity in Taiwan. This practice was not seen in other places in the Greater China Region. However, overseas Chinese Catholic communities as in Vancouver, New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles and London adopted this ritual.

Another question that came up in the Catholic Church of this period was folk religion and superstition. These questions had been discussed and a very flexible decision resulted for the convenience of evangelization. It was decided that if the folk religious and cultural practices did not appear as heresy, a green light might be given to them after careful and discreet examination. If these practices proved to be heretical, they would be prohibited.

Another problematic question was the translation of technical terms within Catholic circles especially the very fundamental term for "God" which Matteo Ricci had translated as Tian (heaven) or "Shangdi" (the god in the highest). Therefore, the debate within the Church was intense; in many Chinese writings the word "Tian" which means "God/heaven" often appears. Are Chinese Catholics forbidden to use this word and not read related material, in order to obey the papal order? The Dominican priest, José Arregui OP, the church leader of Kaohsiung, remarked that all Taiwan Catholics should follow the papal order. It was because in the

Dominican mission "Tianjiu" (God), had been used for long years. However, in the Catholic bulletin *Sin Touo Sheng* (New Priestly Voice), Lokuang gave the explanation that "the term 'Tian' and 'Shangdi' should be understood in the context of Chinese classics and Chinese Catholics should not change their meaning freely. The Church allowed Catholics to quote the Chinese classics even when the word 'Tian' was there."

Due to different ways of implementing the papal order in the north and the south of Taiwan, the confusion of religious terms prevailed for some years until 1962, when the call of the Second Vatican Council and the new concepts of Church and liturgy began to apply. Then the translation of religious terms was resolved.

Catholic Lay Associations from the Mainland Transplanted into Taiwan

The Church had preserved some lay Catholic associations for the new Catholic converts in Taiwan to join so that they might form a Catholic community with social and emotional support from people of the same religious faith. Above all, the clergy and missionaries wanted to organize the laity as helpers in pastoral work and in evangelization. So they encouraged them to practice special religious devotions such as praying the rosary and honoring the Sacred Heart of Jesus among others. This custom had been handed down from mainland China or handed down by the Dominicans for centuries after they arrived in the nineteenth century, for example the Confraternity of the Rosary in the Kaohsiung Prefecture.

The Legion of Mary which aimed at evangelization among the laity was persecuted in the mainland especially in the Shanghai Diocese. This lay organization was brought to Taiwan in 1950 together with Mainland priests who had been former spiritual directors in the Legion of Mary on the Mainland. Other lay associations like Catholic Action, Apostleship of Prayer and the Crusaders had been planted on the mainland and then transplanted into Taiwan; there they began to function among the growing population of Catholics.[25] These constituted one leg of the Y shape diagram coming from the mainland and were absorbed into Taiwanese society. However, Catholic Action in Taiwan lacked healthy development and did not grow steadily. It dried up after a while, and the Catholic Workers Association founded by Cardinal Joseph Cardijn from Belgium took its place for the pastoral care of the blue-collar class.

The Chinese Catholic University Students Association drew more attention because Father Fang Hao*, who in the 1950s taught in National Taiwan University, had experience in promoting Catholic faith among university students when he was teaching in Nanjing Central University before 1949. He carried on with pastoral care among university students in Taiwan and initiated The Chinese Catholic University Students Association in Taipei. After Father Fang, the same work was continued by the Jesuits. This Catholic university association trained many young Catholic students who became intellectuals and professionals in Taiwan integrating Catholic faith with their profession.[26]

The Wave of Conversions Terminated

By the mid-1960s, the attraction to the Catholic Church had been gradually falling and the number of baptisms began to drop. The vicar general of Kaohsiung Prefecture, Fr. E. Calderon OP* began to highlight the problem, seeking reasons and solutions (Calderon 1960, 24). From 1961 to 1965, the Catholic population increased annually by more than 20,000. The number dropped to 6000 in 1966. In 1968, the Catholic population increased by 3000 only. Two years later in 1969, fewer than 3000 people received baptism to join the Catholic Church. Furthermore, during this period, although numbers of missionaries steadily increased, they failed to curb the falling numbers of conversions (Li 1968, 47–48).

Apart from the decrease in conversions in the 1960s, a proportion of Catholics converted in the 1950s, after a few years in the Church, began to absent themselves from Sunday Mass, the basic religious service required of any Catholic believer. An old, retired priest once working in a parish in the northern part of Taiwan remarked as follows: In the first years of the 1960s, in his parish there were 300 baptisms in his church. Most of them were mainlanders newly arrived in Taiwan. Then he welcomed 250 newly baptized Catholics from other parishes.

The new converts had to know Catholic priests. After brief instruction in Catholic doctrine, within a very short period they had been baptized. After baptism, some disappeared from their parish church even for the basic Sunday Mass (Kuo 2003, 19).

In Taiwan, with the rapid growth of the Catholic population, the Taiwan Catholic Church adopted a process of “quick amalgamation” and administered the Church according to immediate needs; therefore, many problems surfaced in the 1960s and the years following. At the end of this period, more serious problems also appeared.

In 1965, the system of US relief goods was suspended with the result that part of the Catholic attraction diminished. Social networking was too narrow between the mainlanders and aboriginal people's communities. These two groups had been mostly converted after more than ten years of domicile in Taiwan. The mainlanders after nearly 20 years in Taiwan could stand on their own feet without waiting for too much external assistance. The need for religion decreased while living standards of the Taiwanese improved. Public servants traditionally relied on government, and when Church and government stood on an equal footing, the Church attracted conversions. However, when the Church did not provide relief goods, people had no need to rely on the Church but continued to rely on the government because the latter gave them enough support through a good and stable salary.

Even when church-state relationships grew closer, it did not prevent the decrease in conversions. Compared with the Church led by Yupin, who had highest contact with the government in 1962, the number of conversions at the grassroots level began to decrease. When the supply of relief goods came to an end, the wave of conversions sharply decreased from the beginning of the 1970s.

Seeds of Hidden Worries

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Taiwan Catholic Church had been experiencing other kinds of worries. Among these were the excessive numbers of clergy and religious sisters who had fled to Taiwan from the mainland. They were anxious to expand the Catholic population and neglected the importance of creating Catholics with sufficient religious formation. Thus, lay Catholics were not trained to act independently within the Church in pastoral work and evangelization. At the end of 1960s, some scholars observed the phenomenon and made the remark:

> *In the past, the Church had a policy of trying its best to absorb as many new converts as possible. Now we are facing a very serious problem when many Catholics have no time to learn the spirit of the Church and internalize the doctrine. Missionaries only provided them with very superficial knowledge about the Church and liturgy of worship. They had no way to have an understanding of the Gospel message and develop an interpersonal relationship with God. Church literature mingles old concepts of God and new ways to live Christian life and it does little to benefit the Christian life of Catholics. Thus I can say that the lack of Catholic laity training in Taiwan is a major problem*

> *we have to resolve. Otherwise the voice of Vat. II calling for the raising of the status of laity falls onto deaf ears in the Taiwan Church not to mention encouraging our Catholics to influence society with Christian values.* (Zheng 1968, 3–4)

Even though Vatican II (1962–65) called for the raising of the status of Catholic laity, in Taiwan its impact was minimal. In the nearby areas of Hong Kong and Macau, and even in the Chinese Catholic communities in Malaysia and Singapore, the whirl of reform and rejuvenation of the Church was pursued with study sessions, debates and discussions but not in Taiwan; the Taiwan Church was quiet as ever (Gao 1968, 23–25). Church media did not publish articles about discussions and debates on Church and social issues but remained full of eulogizing and flattering issues describing church leaders and church events (Yue 1968, 32). The Church lacked fresh air in responding to reality and, like the ostrich, buried its head in the sand (Li 1968, 47). Beginning from the 1970s, the Taiwan Church was challenged with fossilization having external form only but losing its energy and momentum as a church with real spiritual power.

Conclusions

After the 1949 civil war in mainland China, the refugees from the Church in China and the Cold War constituted two socio-political elements in the infrastructure of the Taiwan Catholic Church. In the context of the Y Theory, the two sources or elements (the mainland tradition and the Spanish missionary tradition) converged in Taiwan. Due to their greater number, the mainlander priests constituted the major building blocks of the Taiwan Church. Thus, these Chinese priests and the 300,000 newly baptized Catholics from mainland China and the indigenous peoples constituted the two major groups which had varying degrees of impact on the future development of the Taiwan Catholic Church in the days to come.

As far as social grouping is concerned, the newly converted Catholics during the 1950s and 1960s were mainly oppressed mountain dwellers whose social life had been destroyed by the colonizing Japanese while in the other group were the refugees who had escaped from Communist rule in the mainland and sought refuge in Taiwan.

On the international level, it was also the beginning of the Cold War period. The Nationalist government in Taiwan needed the influence of the

Catholic Church, which was a transnational organization and could get foreign aid in the form of relief goods to assist the poverty-stricken people as means to support domestic governance. Friendship with the Catholic Church, an international organization, served the Nationalist government's aim to stabilize its legitimacy in the political arena at the international level. Thus, the government granted some special privileges to the Catholic Church in Taiwan including rendering protection to it. On the other hand, the Catholic Church made use of this rare opportunity to engage in a rapid expansion of its endeavors and enterprises.

After 20 years of expansion in the 1950s and 1960s, the Taiwan Catholic Church had set up seven dioceses and two Apostolic Prefectures. To a certain extent, it fulfilled its mission of "ecclesiastical building" or "ecclesiastical development". Due to the refugee phenomenon leading to mass conversions with human weaknesses within personnel, it also generated some unwelcome occurrences opposed to the spirit of communion and charity, which are essential elements in Catholic life. Thus, the lack of a spirit of communion and charity also resulted in internal dissension and internal struggle within the Church itself. These had a negative impact for the future of the Church. Finally, we might say that the pattern of development of the Taiwan Catholic Church has had its remarkable success as well as its repercussions for the Church today and in the years to come.

Notes

1. "Y" Shape theory is a theory in historiography developed in Taiwan to explain the historical development of the Republic of China in Taiwan after the Nationalist Government moved there. The two streams of the "Y" shape denote how the history of local Taiwan and history of the Republic of China converged in 1949 becoming the main stream of historical development of the Republic of China in contemporary Taiwan. The discussion of the historical development of the Catholic church in Taiwan adopted this "Y" Shape theory.
2. Sanromán, Miguel Ángel. 2013. Meilidao: zhu de zhuangtian: Taiwan Tianzhujiaohui lishi.[the Island of the Lord: The History of the Catholic Church in Taiwan, 1859–1950]. Tainan: Window Press. On the Dominican mission activities among the rural population during the Qing dynasty, Japanese rule until the end of the World War II (WWII). Lardinois, Olivier et al. 2005 Huoli jiaoli: Taianzhujiao zai Taiwan yuanzhumin shihjie de guiqu xianzai weilai [A Living Church: Catholic

Church in Taiwan Aboriginal World Its past present and Future.] Taipei: Kuangchi. This book discusses the conversion of Taiwan aboriginals after WWII.

3. In fact Fr. Lee Tianyi was the only Taiwanese priest working in Taipei. He is one of the three Taiwanese priests of that time.
4. Report from an interview with Fr. Nicolas in 2000. Fr Nicolas was educated in Rome and was awarded a Doctoral degree. He was the bishop's representative of his original diocese in Shanxi. In Taiwan he was one of the three clerical members in the National Assembly.
5. Report from an interview with Fr. Nicolas in 5 April 2002.
6. In the following paragraphs there are discussions of this issue.
7. For example Fr. Xu Zheren to be the principal of the primary school for the children of the Air Force in Gangshan, Kaohsiung. Fr. Wu Zhenduo taught in Kaohsiung Middle School for Girls. Frs. Fang Hao and Gong Shirong taught in Taiwan University.
8. For example Fr. Edward Murphy S.J. made use of his own living quarters in National Taiwan University as a mass center for the university students. Fr. Fang Hao after working a few years in tertiary institutes was able to save up some money to purchase a small house near Taiwan University. He changed the house into a Catholic student activity center, and Mass center as well.
9. According to reports of senior Mainlander priests about the distribution of the Catholic population at that time even those clustered in the Greater Taipei district found the percentage of newly converted Catholics in Taiwan after 1949 was much higher than that of the Mainland Catholics who fled to Taiwan after 1949. This author does not agree with Richard Madsen, the American Sociologist, who held the opinion that the Taiwan Catholics were the Catholics baptized in the Mainland and came to Taiwan in the 1950s.
10. Fr. Fang Hao's homily in the Requiem Mass of Cardinal Yupi "Yu gu shuji aiguo fangong shentilixing wuda heyi": The late Cardinal Yupin's patriotic anti-communist practiced five in one. Fr. Fang Hao remembered the political orientation of Yupin on the question of Church-state relations. Yupin held the opinion that it would be perfect if Church and state had harmonious relations. It would be disastrous if Church and state were in conflict. Therefore the functions of government and of the Church have to be clearly different and may not contradict each other.
11. For example in the editorial of "Central News" on 27 May 1952, it reported on the Catholic Eucharist Congress in Taiwan and introduced the anti-Communist approach of the Catholic Church. On 31 October 1953 it was recorded on the front page on the greetings and homage of Catholic Church with the military and civil servants to Chiang Kai-shek on

the president's birthday. It was a sign that the ruling Kuomintang regarded the Catholic Church as an important cohort of citizens. On 24 December 1956, the Christmas eve, the same *Central News* spent half of a page to introduce the Catholic Church to readers.

12. Until 1964 all the temples in Taiwan had to pay tax, only Christian Church buildings were exempt from property tax. *United Daily News* 20 September 1964, p. 2.
13. Interview with the Vicar General of Taipei Msgr. Chi on 7 August 2007. For this issue Fr. Nicolas also sent a letter to Propaganda Fide on 18 October 1957.
14. Report from an interview. However, Professor Kuo Wen-ban, a religious sociologist also held the opinion that the KMT had not launched a formal presence within the Taiwan Catholic Church.
15. In 1947, when the first Constitution was ready to be launched to the whole nation, the Nationalist Government chose 25 December, Christmas Day, to do so. Therefore Christmas Day became a national holiday to commemorate the Constitution. However this holiday was not honored during the period around the 1950s until, in 1960, the day of commemoration of the Constitution was relaunched due to pressure from Yupin in the National Assembly.
16. Mark 16:15."Go out to the whole world; proclaim the good news to all creation".
17. The Figure of Growth of Taiwan Catholics (1948 to 1969).
18. Fr. Peter Mertens, a Belgian missionary came to Taipei to be the secretary of Archbishop Joseph Guo. He was interviewed on 6 March 2003.
19. James Collignon MM 1981 The Catholic Church in Taiwan An Interpretive Essay from The Church in Taiwan Profile 1980 Pp. 399–406.
20. Jiang Fucong and Bao Zunpeng in 1963 were knighted by the Pope with the title of "Pontifical Equestrian Order of St. Gregory the Great" as a token to thank them for their academic contributions to Catholic documentation and Catholic education. In the past. Celebrities like Lu Bohong, Wu Jingxiong and Xue Guangqian were also knighted by the Pope.
21. On 15 August 1954, Bao Zunpeng was baptized by Fr. Edward Murphy SJ. In 1959 he was entrusted by the current Jesuit Provincial to annotate the work of Xu Guangqi, the first group of Catholic officials in the Ming court. "1980 Xuwending gong moji de jiazhi [the Value of the calligraphy of Xu Guangqi]", in *Bao Zunpeng wencun* [the complete collection of Bao Zunpeng], Taipei; National Central Library. National historical Museum ed. Pp. 423–427.
22. According to the impression of a Catholic priest who had been working with the aborigine people for some time they seemed happy to take things as they came along and did not worry overmuch about planning ahead in life.

23. In 1910, the Japanese government in Taiwan had issued regulations concerning the Taiwan aborigines by separating them from Han Chinese and requesting them to surrender weapons. The Nationalist government in Taiwan employed the same regulations handed down from the Japanese to govern the aborigines until 1965 when a "Martial Law method of governing the mountain areas" was issued.
24. Almost 2/5 of the aboriginals were baptized as Catholics means some 100,000 aborigines out of 300,000 baptisms of Han people at the end of 1960s and early 1970s.
25. Report from the interview with Fr. Nicolas who was knowledgeable about this issue. The interview took place in 2000.
26. Recorded from the interview with Fr. Wang who was a diocesan priest from Beijing. The time frame mentioned by Fr. Wang was the 1940s. The interview took place on 11 March 2006.

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CHAPTER 4

The Taiwan Catholic Church and the Indigenization Movement

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Definition of Indigenization and Its History in China

From a theological point of view, indigenization or inculturation as defined by a contemporary sinologist, Nicolas Standaert S.J., is "the process whereby those belonging to a particular culture express from within that culture, what they have received from another culture. Theologically, the incarnation of the evangelical life and message in a particular cultural context and through the members of that culture appear, in such a way, that the Christian experience is expressed not only in terms of that culture (that would be a simple adaptation) but in such a way that it becomes a source of inspiration, transformation and unification, so as to bring about 'a new creation' which enriches not only the specific culture but the universal church" (Standaert 1990, 99).

By definition, "indigenization" is a term that is used in a variety of ways depending on the context. It is the fact of making something more native, transforming some service or idea to suit a local culture, for example, through

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the use of more indigenous people in administration, employment and so on,[1] which shares more or less the same meaning as Standaert's inculturation.

Cardinal Paul Yupin held the principle that Christianity should be sinicized, and China should be Christianized. The concept of sinicization means to manifest the revelation of God through the perspective of Chinese culture and to create a new dimension of Chinese culture stemming from divine revelation (Chang 1981, 3). The kernel of Christianity is "the Word was made flesh, and lived among men, (John 1:7)", in which the message of indigenization prevails when the invisible Almighty adopted the form of a human being born in the milieu of mankind. Thus, universal evangelization should implement Gospel values according to the receiver's cultural heritage and mode of life. Consider the Edict of Tours, AD 813, issued by the Council of Tours, whereby bishops and priests were requested to preach (in their homilies) not using Classical Latin but Vulgar Latin (i.e. the vernacular language or rustic romance language), so that their congregation could better understand the content. Cardinal Yupin only followed closely the Church's tradition to make Catholicism better understood by the Chinese.

The emphasis on indigenization[2] in the Second Vatican Council is really an announcement of the return to the message of the incarnation of Jesus Christ—the Word was made flesh and lived among men. From the beginning of the early Church, evangelization had spread from Israel to Greece, Rome, Europe, the New Continent and Asia through the inculturation of the Gospel message in a new local cultural milieu.

After World War I, the Catholic Church understood that the Western colonial model had become counterproductive to the evangelization of the Chinese. The Vatican defined a new strategy and promoted the principle of local churches with native bishops and priests. This movement of "inculturation", "indigenization" or "localization", officially announced in Pope Benedict XV's apostolic letter *Maximum Illud,* (1919), was launched by the first papal consecration of six Chinese bishops in St. Peter's Basilica (1922) (Coomans 2014, 125–144; Ticozzi 2014, 87–104). From a political perspective, the indigenization movement of the Catholic Church in China aimed at eradicating the control of foreign powers especially the French Protectorate (Ticozzi 2014, 87–104; Ha 2014, 36–42). From the 1920s to 1949, politically, economically and socially, the progress movement towards indigenization in China was hampered by civil war among the warlords and the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945); then followed by the civil war between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (1945–1949).

In such a chaotic political and social landscape, the launching of an indigenization movement in the Chinese Catholic Church was particularly difficult for two major reasons. First, externally, Chinese society and the Christian churches alike were confronted with political chaos resulting from the Japanese invasion and civil wars. They also encountered social tensions between modernity and the old traditions, crystallized in the May Fourth Movement, 1919 (Chow 1960; Hsu 1999). Second, internally, opposition stemmed from conservative apostolic vicars and foreign missionaries, in particular the French, who were losing their prerogatives (Ticozzi 2014, 87–104). When the Apostolic Delegate Celso Costantini was sent to China with the mission to implement the development of a local church there, the difficulties he confronted were considerable. Externally, signs of indigenization in architectural style could be found in very few churches, in some seminaries and educational institutes (Coomans 2014, 125–144). Moreover, the indigenization of theology had not yet begun to develop. However, the Chinese church had sent a handful of young clergy first to local universities for studies in the humanities and then to Europe for theology and philosophy, but when this group of well-educated church intellectuals was ready to work for indigenization, Mainland China's political landscape had changed. The atheist CCP (headed by Mao Zedong) came to power after 1949 and the Chinese Catholic Church began to suffer persecution. The well-educated priests could not return to their own dioceses in the Mainland but eventually came to Taiwan. It explains why the Taiwan Catholic Church became the reservoir of human resources for the indigenization movement in the 1970s.

Indigenization Movement in the Taiwan Catholic Church

When we discuss the Catholic Church in Taiwan and its development, we cannot ignore the very important element of its inculturation or indigenization of theology via the translation of liturgical texts into Chinese. Theology, by definition, is religious beliefs and theory when systematically developed (Oxford dictionary https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/theology). Thus, in the Catholic Church, the systematic study of the Bible, the Word of God and church tradition in accordance with the existential situations—time and locality—are necessary. At the time, both Catholic doctrine and liturgy were in non-Chinese languages, (mainly in Latin)

while the task of indigenization of Chinese theology was to integrate the Gospel teaching and the church traditions with Chinese culture. It was a challenging task indeed.

The Spanish Dominican missionaries who arrived in Taiwan from China between 1626 and 1949 had received their theological training in Latin. They had to bring translated prayers in Chinese from Fujian Province for the small clusters of Catholics in the rural districts of Taiwan because those Catholics did not speak Mandarin Chinese but only Taiwanese dialect which is a Fujianese dialect. They imported prayer books and religious literature in Fujianese from Fujian to help them in their work of evangelization.

In Taiwan, during the 1950s, with the influx of clergy and the religious from the Mainland, there was a dramatic increase of clergy from 15 in 1948 to 296 in 1954 and an increased number of converts—from 1,300 to 23,190 (Kuo 1999, 8; Chang 2003, 4). The newly converted Catholics came from various parts of Mainland China. With the considerable increase of church personnel, the Catholic population grew by 25% from 1952 to 1953. The peak of increase was in 1956 with 80,000 (Kuo 1999, 8). Msgr. Lokuang when he was still working in Rome in the Department of Propaganda Fide, and teaching in the Urbano University, before he was appointed bishop of the new diocese of Tainan in 1961, saw the need for the ongoing formation of clergy and religious. It prompted him to issue a magazine *Sin Touo Sheng** in Chinese for clergy and religious aimed at transmitting the message of the Church to the overseas Chinese clergy including those in Taiwan. This magazine was very necessary for the ongoing formation of Chinese clergy since most of their theological knowledge needed to be updated. One reason was because their theological instruction in the seminary had been conducted in Latin, which is a difficult language for the Chinese due to different cultural heritage and linguistic background. It was the first attempt at indigenization of Catholic theology, when Lokuang began to explain Catholic theology in the context of Confucius' teachings which is an essential component of Chinese culture.

From 1949 to the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965, Vatican II) which advocated the inculturation of Christianity, the indigenization of Catholic theology was carried on quietly, apparently from outside Taiwan, when educated priests who had studied Chinese classics and received Western formation fled the Mainland and remained abroad. Among them, was a Jesuit, Fr. Wang Changzhi, who had been trained in Chinese classics in Shanghai and then theology in Paris. Before Vatican II, he was the only

Chinese theologian who pioneered the integration of Chinese culture and Catholic doctrine in his immense output of Chinese writing. His work included the implementation of Catholic doctrine into daily life for the faithful as well as explanation of church doctrine to intellectuals enabling them to grasp more fully the Catholic faith (Chang 1979, 231–242).

Others, like Msgr. Lokuang and Bishop Cheng Shi-guang*, had received their tertiary education in China in the humanities and Chinese classics before they were sent for further theological training in Rome and in Louvain University in Belgium respectively. Like Fr. Wang Changzhi, Bishops Lokuang and Cheng Shi-guang were scholars in Chinese classics as well as in Western philosophical and theological studies. Lokuang and Cheng were armed with bi-cultural and bi-lingual ability and so were able to explain Catholic teaching in the context of Confucian teaching. For example, Bishop Cheng Shi-guang had written three volumes of writing to explain Catholic teaching in the Chinese language: *Tian ren zhi ji* [The Encounter of Heaven and Men]*, *Zhi yu zhi shan* [Targeting Perfection]* and *Taichu you dao [In the Beginning Was the Word]*. In these three volumes, the Bible and Catholic doctrine were interpreted in the context of Confucianism.

When the Catholic Church in Vatican II gave the green signal for indigenization, Taiwan, with the amalgamation of human resources from various dioceses of the Mainland, became the center of indigenization in the Greater China Region (Taiwan, Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau). Vatican II offered a platform for dialogue not only between theology and philosophy but with Christianity and other teachings. Vatican II did not emphasize that the doctrine announced by the Roman Pontiff had supreme authority but acknowledged that "truth" also rests in other religions. Thus this attitude of respect and tolerance laid the foundation of the communion of Catholicism with other types of cultural heritage. Vatican II also emphasized the role of the laity within the Church in evangelization. Thus lay Catholics after Vatican II became the bridge of communication between the divine and secular domains, at the same time nurturing an environment enabling indigenization of Church doctrine.

The Faculty of Theology of St. Robert Bellarmine, which had been established in 1929 in Shanghai for the formation of young Jesuits, moved to the Philippines in 1952 due to political and religious persecution at the hands of the Chinese Communist Party. It aimed to continue the formation of Chinese Jesuits who had been exiled from the Mainland. Jesuit formation in humanities and theology was carried on in this theologate.

Fig. 4.1 Photo of Fr. Aloysius Chang Chun-shen S.J. (1929–2015)

Theological and philosophical courses were taught in Chinese and Latin. Distinguished Chinese theologians, Scripture scholars and church leaders like Fr. Aloysius Chang Chun-shen S.J.*, Mark Fang Zhirong S.J. and Cardinal Paul Shan S.J.* were trained there. When the theologate moved to Taipei in 1968, Frs. Chang and Fang were appointed to the teaching staff of their alma mater while Fr. Paul Shan who also worked in Taiwan was eventually ordained a bishop and later a cardinal. During the 1970s, these Jesuit scholars began to take the lead both in church administration and indigenization of Catholic theology in Taiwan (Fig. 4.1).

Vatican II advocated the indigenization of the Church as stated in section 16 of the "Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity", consequently, scholars from St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate became the stronghold for those destined to carry out the indigenization movement in theology through teaching and research (Flannery 1975b, 831–833). Fr. Aloysius Chang was an outstanding dogmatic theologian, his whole career spent in the St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate from Shanghai to

Taiwan. He pioneered and led the indigenization of Catholic theology in the Chinese context through his teaching, research and interpretation. In 1968, the St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate moved to Taiwan and was affiliated to Fu Jen Catholic University. Frs. Aloysius Chang, Mark Fang and their Jesuit companions lost no time both in teaching and research by moving towards the goal of inculturation of the Chinese Church. They aimed at the development of theory and practice in evangelization which should be coloured with the characteristics of "Chineseness", which means that through the Chinese language, the revelations of God and the traditions of the Church could be comprehended by the Chinese mind and heart. As early as 1969, a Chinese theological quarterly journal *Collectanea Theologica Universitatis Fujen* was issued as a single publication amidst several series of Collections of Theology of Fu Jen Catholic University.[3]

As a matter of fact, the inculturation of the Chinese Church advocated by Vatican II was favourably responded to by local Asian churches. However, the task was immense. In 1971, Bishop Francis Hsu* of Hong Kong, who realized the importance of indigenization in the Catholic Church, invited bishops of Taiwan, Japan, Korea and Vietnam for a theological meeting to discuss the problem of inculturation of Catholic theology in the context of the Confucian cultural heritage.[4] Apparently local bishops of Hong Kong and Taiwan together with other bishops of other nations which shared the Confucian cultural heritage were eager to implement the Vatican II policy of inculturation or indigenization in the context of Confucian culture. However, Taiwan, not Hong Kong, became the potential focus for this inculturation or indigenization for the following reasons.

Bishop Francis Hsu Cheng-pin, the first Chinese Catholic bishop of Hong Kong, an Oxford scholar with bi-lingual and bi-cultural capacity, was prophetic enough to perceive the importance of the indigenization of the Catholic Church.[5] Even so, under his leadership, the Hong Kong diocese was unable to take the lead to work on inculturation in its Holy Spirit Seminary and College, mainly because the British colonial education in Hong Kong did not encourage the study of Chinese language, history and literature in primary and secondary schools. Although these subjects were taught, yet Chinese studies did not promise a good career as compared with the study of English. The only university in Hong Kong, the Hong Kong University, at that time, aimed at training local Chinese leaders to help the British to run the colony but not to promote liberal studies or Chinese classics. Because of the lack of scholars in Sinology and Chinese

studies both within and outside the Church circle of Hong Kong and Macau, and while the Church in Mainland China suffered from near extinction from the Cultural Revolution, Taiwan naturally became the only location in which inculturation could be launched. Fortunately Taiwan had cultivated and accumulated sufficient Catholic theologians and scholars of various disciplines as human resources for this important church endeavour. By then, the newly founded Hong Kong Chinese University did not give the impression to Bishop Francis Hsu Cheng-pin that it could train sufficient scholars of bi-lingual and bi-cultural abilities to do translation work within a short period of time.

The Taiwan Catholic Church in Indigenization of Theology

The Jesuit St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate, affiliated to the Fu Jen Catholic University in Taipei, took the leading role in the development of Chinese theology or the indigenization of Catholic theology in the Chinese context. Its Chinese quarterly journal, *Collectanea Theologica Universitatis Fujen*, published research findings of the teaching staff and students, recording the efforts of Catholic theologians in Taiwan. From the outset, it lost no time in launching the indigenization of Catholic theology in the context of Chinese culture while translating important works of distinguished Western theologians for Chinese students. For example, in the Spring issue 1971, the translations of distinguished Catholic theologian Karl Rahner's "On the Priesthood", and Bernard Lonergan's "Brief Today" were placed side by side with the dialogue between Fr. Aloysius Chang and a distinguished Chinese Philosopher Tang Tuan-cheng.* The dialogue theme was on "Hermeneutic Confrontation about Confucius" in which these two distinguished scholars discussed Confucius from Catholic and Confucian perspectives (Chang and Tang 1971, 231–244).

Academic conferences and workshops were convened by the St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate every two to three years to explore relevant theological questions in depth. At the request of the Chinese Bishops' Conference, which was anxious to pursue the indigenization movement of the Chinese Church, two workshops for this purpose were held in 1975 and 1976.

In January 1975, a theological workshop entitled "the Question of Salvation in the Taiwanese Context" was conducted. Invited speakers included not only Catholic theologians specialized in indigenization but

also academic leaders in Buddhism, Daoism and Islam who exchanged views on salvation, a fundamental question in Christianity as well as in non-Christian religions. It was also the ultimate concern of every religious believer in every walk of life in Taiwan.[6] A Theological Workshop was held in 1976 under the theme of "Evangelization and Chinese Society". The workshop first made a thorough study of contemporary Taiwanese society from the socio-economic and political perspectives. Then lectures focused on discussing the following three questions: In the light of the preaching of the prophets and message of Christ, what social implications does the Gospel contain? What is the attitude of the Church towards social problems? Finally, what does systematic theology have to say about the preaching of the Gospel in Chinese society? The synthesis of the workshop was brought up in a thematic lecture on "The Evangelical Spirit and Chinese society".[7] The themes of these workshops encouraged Chinese Catholics to think about the inculturation of Catholic theology in the context of Confucianism. It was the main axis of the indigenization of theology.

In 1979, ten years after launching the indigenization of Chinese theology, Fr. Aloysius Chang wrote a historical survey and evaluation on this endeavour. In his article entitled "A Critical Review of Chinese Catholic Theological Thinking", he reflected on and evaluated the endeavour of Chinese Catholic theologians in the work of indigenization of theology with an emphasis on building up the local Church (Chang 1979, 231–244).

Furthermore, in Biblical studies, Fr. Mark Fang Zhirong, in his essay "Biblical Hermeneutics in a Chinese Setting" integrated various books of the Bible into Confucian classical thought intending to bring the Bible closer to the Chinese mind (Fang 1979, 245–258).

In 1981, Taiwan's indigenization moved forward. According to Fr. Aloysius Chang, as early as 1959, Tian Liang* initiated the inculturation of theology by employing "filial love" to explain the contents of the divine revelation, and argued that "ren" (charity/love) was not solid and attractive enough to cultivate perfection in virtue, but "filial love" was more attractive and assertive in the context of Chinese culture (Chang 1981, 4–5).

An Austrian Jesuit, Fr. Luis. Gutheinz S.J.*, and a German Fr. Paul Welte O.P.* simultaneously advocated the idea of Orientalization of Christian Theology or Oriental Theology. Fr. Paul Welte O.P. had a deeper understanding of the characteristics of Eastern culture and the method of thinking among Chinese people. The so-called Oriental Theology suggested by Fr. Paul Welte is the amalgamation of the intuitive

method (not logical analysis) with the mystery of Christ. This way is suitable for the mind-set of Asian people (Chang 1981, 7). From contact with Chinese intellectuals, Fr. Gutheinz observed that the Chinese way of thinking is centred on the whole totality of a person. The humanistic approach is prominently workable among the Chinese; therefore, he suggested formulating Christ-centered humanities studies, which would stimulate cultural communion between the East and West. It is because Jesus Christ is the model of a perfect man that humanism, with the addition of Christian element, can move forward towards the perfect (Chang 1981, 8–9).

Bishop Cheng Shi-guang realized that among the Chinese people, virtue is the focus of morality, but the morality taught by the Church is built on law. Therefore, the indigenization of Catholic morality should be the interaction of Chinese morality and the Catholic sacraments (Chang 1981, 10).

Professor Theddeus Hang* suggested bypassing the church categorization of dogma, morals and liturgy and dividing the Eastern and Western theologies into two categories of studies: namely "Salvation and the Outlook of Life" and "Salvation History and Destination of Man". The Oriental study emphasized the common part of Asian values based on Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism which can be amalgamated into Christ's salvation (Chang 1981, 11).

Archbishop Lokuang and Fr. Mark Fang, S.J. organized systematic discussions responding to the issue of indigenization of Catholic Theology. Lokuang systematically compared the relationship between "ren"(charity) and "ai"(love), which are the core teachings of Confucianism and Christianity respectively. Fr. Mark Fang proposed the Chinese way of exegesis of the Bible with three characteristics. Firstly, the biblical message had to be supported by pragmatic deeds in daily life. Secondly, it was necessary not to have recourse to logical thinking but to go to the intuitive realization of the biblical message. Thirdly, the personal experience and feeling of the reader after contact with the biblical passage should be recognized (Chang 1981, 33).

Five years later, in 1983, the Taiwan Bishops' Conference again asked the same St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate to convene a theological conference to celebrate the quadricentennial of Matteo Ricci's arrival in China.[8] Matteo Ricci was the first missionary to direct the attention of the Church to the problem of integrating the Gospel message with Chinese culture. It was an excellent opportunity to intensify the work of inculturation

in Taiwan even though the indigenization of Catholic Theology was simultaneously developing in the academic field. Thus, in this conference entitled "The Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of Fr. Matteo Ricci's Arrival in China", the scope of inculturation was enlarged to Buddhism and not confined only to Confucianism. Two Chinese bishops, Lokuang and Cheng Shi-guang, who were distinguished scholars in Chinese philosophy and Chinese classics, presented their research works on "Fr. Matteo Ricci and Buddhism" and "Fr. Matteo Ricci and Confucianism". They explored how Buddhism and Confucianism had had their impact on Matteo Ricci and his methods in evangelization (Cheng 1983, 219–225). Lokuang's paper was outstanding because he was the first church leader to explore dialogue between Christianity and Buddhism in Taiwan, the major religion in Chinese society (Lokuang 1983, 227–237). It was an important channel opened for religious dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity which later, Cardinal Paul Shan pushed further with Buddhist leaders in Taiwan. The concluding lecture given by Fr. Aloysius Chang summed up the missionary activity of Matteo Ricci in the context of indigenization. In the same lecture, he also synthesized the experiments of Taiwan in indigenization by presenting a framework to the Church for the coming generation to work on in indigenization (Chang 1983, 339–351).

A little earlier, in the 1970s, socialism swept through the West, while Liberation Theology in Latin America began to gather momentum. Moreover, the inculturation of Theology advocated by Vatican II offered an opportunity for the birth of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT) in 1970. Liberation Theology was the backbone of the ideological orientation of the EATWOT. The so-called Third World theologians advocated that the Church should identify with the underprivileged class, while committing itself to the struggle for the liberation of the poor from oppression and exploitation as a means to achieve social justice, and the coming of the Kingdom. Followers of Liberation Theology believed that action should be taken for the poor and oppressed leading them to Jesus Christ, who is a liberator (Gutheinz 1979, 203–230). To a certain extent its theological orientation was very much influenced by Socialism if not Marxism especially when analysing it as a source of theological reflection. Action in struggle against oppression was very much encouraged but it could easily fall into violence.[9] The EATWOT held a meeting in August 1976 in Africa and planned to have two further meetings of theologians, one in Asia and another in Latin America since these two continents, like Africa, contained most Third World countries.

Influenced by the Asian meeting of the EATWOT, more than 40 theologians, both Protestant and Catholic, met in a Chinese Theologians' Colloquium (CTC) in Hong Kong from 2 to 10 February 1979. The participants all had great interest in the sinicization of Christian theology, the Chairman communicating the message that one aim of the meeting was to rethink Chinese theology after reflecting on the developments in Mainland China. However, due to different types of political ideologies among participants, different approaches to working on Theology emerged. There were three different points of departure to understanding Chinese culture: (1) traditional Chinese culture, (2) contemporary Chinese culture and (3) the subculture in every cluster/group of Chinese people.

In 1979, Taiwan sent a delegation of seven scholars to participate in the CTC. It included four teaching professors of the St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate led by Fr. Aloysius Chang and Fr. Mark Fang (Gutheinz 1979, 203–230). The orientation of the meeting can be highlighted by the number of participants who made their free choice for group discussion. Only 2 participants were in the group on Evangelization, 7 in that of Moral and Spiritual Theology, 6 in Culture and Theology, while 13 selected Political Theology. The number of participants in the various groups reflected that participants were more interested in the political aspect of theological indigenization than in traditional Moral or Spiritual Theology.

During the meeting, greatly diversified views emerged on the current situation in Mainland China and its church–state relations. Many of the participants were sympathetic to China under the influence of the EATWOT's pro-leftist orientation.

After this meeting, the CTC meetings during the next decades did not attract scholarly participation because of their political approach and their identification with Mainland China which, by that time, had imposed a strong grip on all religions. Also, theological teachers in the Hong Kong Holy Spirit Seminary and College did not produce substantial research to support the socialist approach of Chinese theology while St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate steadily and gradually conducted in-depth research to investigate theological questions of indigenization in the context of modern China.

With the prevalence of China fever, the CTC attracted attention in the 1970s because of intensified interest in China. When the question arose of the return of Hong Kong to the rule of Communist China in 1997, many Hong Kong church intellectuals in the 1980s were disillusioned with

Communist China and its religious policy of controlling Christianity. Thus, the political, theological approach advocated by the EATWOT gradually dissipated. Consequently, the St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate has remained the only distinguished location of inculturation of Chinese theology including liturgy until today.

Indigenization of Liturgy in Taiwan: The Translation of Latin Texts into Chinese

The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, launched on 4 December 1963, was the first document issued by the Council Fathers in Vatican II well before the completion of Vatican II (Flannery 1975a, 1–60). Its advocacy of the indigenization of liturgy was due to its respect for and fostering of the qualities and talents of various peoples. It stated:

> *The Church does not wish to impose a rigid uniformity in matters which do not involve the faith or the good of the whole community. Rather does she respect and foster the qualities and talents of the various races and nations.* (Flannery 1975a, 37)

In 1964, immediately after the launching of this Vatican II document, the Vatican set up a committee of implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (Consilium ad Exsequendam C. de S.L.) to rewrite a new standard text for liturgical rites and rubrics without losing the spirit of the reform. Therefore, after ten years of work by the Consilium, a standard Latin text for the new liturgy was issued. The Department of Sacred Liturgy of the Vatican in 1978 requested the National Bishops' Conferences to experiment with the new reformed liturgy for local churches. Translation of the Latin text of liturgical books into their own vernacular languages was the first priority for reformed liturgy in the local churches (Wu 1986, 167–173).

In the Greater China Region, Hong Kong, Macau and Mainland China all depended on Taiwan's Chinese translation of the essential texts for various occasions and for different kinds of liturgical services. The Taiwan Bishops' Conference instructed its Liturgical Committee to take up the very difficult but essential task of translating the standard Latin liturgical books issued by the Pontifical Committee of Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy into Chinese. These books included the rites and rubrics of the Holy Mass, books on prayers and rubrics on

rites of the seven Sacraments, and the Divine Office (daily Prayer of the Church) for bishops, priests, sisters and laity. Without the Chinese translations made by Taiwan Church personnel, liturgical reform in all the Chinese dioceses in the Greater China region and the diaspora Chinese Catholic communities in Europe, USA, Canada and South America could not be launched.

The *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* advocated the reform of liturgy while providing ample freedom to revise the liturgical books, indicating:

> *In general, provided that the substantial unity of the Roman rite is preserved, provision shall be made, when revising the liturgical books, for legitimate variations and adaptations to different groups, regions and peoples, especially in mission countries. This should be borne in mind when drawing up the rites and determining rubrics.* (Flannery 1975a, 38)

Fr. Andrew Chao Yi-chou*, the chairman of the Liturgical Committee of the Taiwan Bishops' Conference, who was responsible for the whole translation project, followed closely the spirit of liturgical reform which was the norm in his monumental work of translation (Fig. 4.2).

Fig. 4.2 Fr. Andrew Chao Yi-chou (2nd L.) attended a seminar in Fu Jen Catholic University

Fr. Chao recalled the challenges of taking up the heavy responsibility of translation. The translation work was very difficult in many ways. Not only had the translators to become proficient in Latin but also needed a very good command of the Chinese language, modern literature and the Classics. Taiwan was fortunate enough to have some Chinese priest-scholars of the older generation who had fled from the Mainland to Taiwan after their studies in Europe. Even so, although their Latin and Chinese were adequate, most of them had not been trained in translation (Chao 1986, 193–212). Therefore, most translators encountered problems either in accuracy, efficiency or elegance which are the three basic requirements for good translation.

Moreover, the translation of liturgical books for prayers and liturgical services is extremely demanding because the standard of translation had to be very high before it could be accepted by Catholics of every walk of life. The language in the translated text of prayers has to be elegant and well-tuned to the Chinese ear while its meaning must be accurate to the original text (Chao 1986, 193–212). The rites and rubrics in the liturgical books provided extra difficulties for translation because efficiency and accuracy are most essential to capture the spirit of the liturgy. Apart from the need for accuracy in understanding the original text, efficiency and elegance in both languages and clarity in the presentation are also requisite in the translated Chinese text so as not to arouse misunderstanding and misperception by the celebrants when they officiate at religious services (Chao 1986, 193–212). The process of production of the Chinese liturgical books, including typing, proof reading, editing and pagination and printing, required much more attention and craftsmanship than those of ordinary publications to match the solemnity of liturgy which is an act of worshipping God, the occasion of the meeting of God and man (Chao 1986, 193–212).

However, the translation of liturgical books is the most outstanding contribution of the Taiwan Catholic Church to all Chinese Catholics throughout the world. With these Chinese liturgical books, not only Catholic dioceses in the Greater China Region but also diaspora Chinese communities in the English-speaking cities in North America, Europe and Australia, could begin their community worship in vernacular languages in the new, reformed liturgical format. Chinese Catholic communities in New York, San Francisco, Vancouver, Toronto, London, Paris, Rome, Melbourne and Sydney all relied on these translated Chinese liturgical books for worship and every kind of liturgical service in the reform era of Vatican II.

The Indigenization of Architecture in Buildings

In 1922, the Apostolic Delegate, Celso Costantini had been sent to China with the mission to indigenize the Church there against the wish of foreign missionaries, especially the French, when the French Protectorate was coming to an end, and foreign influence over the Chinese Church would greatly diminish (Zhang 2002, 183–195). However, Costantini was an expert in the field of sacred art including the architecture of religious buildings, religious painting and religious sculpture and made great efforts to promote "Sino-Christian" architecture, art and furnishing (Costantini 1927, 7–15). Costantini wanted to promote this type of architecture because he was convinced that it was Rome's policy in indigenization, but he encountered considerable opposition for two major reasons. Firstly, many missionaries and bishops regretted the end of the French Protectorate, boycotting Costantini's indigenization while not promoting native clergy. Secondly, some opponents of "Sino-Christian" architecture wished to avoid a confusion of identities with Buddhist or Daoist temples, preferring Christian churches with bell towers and pointed spires. They were not interested in churches that looked like pagodas or Buddhist or Daoist temples (Coomans 2014, 125–144). Very few churches were built in the "Sino-Christian" architectural style except educational institutes for example Fu Jen University in Beijing and major seminaries including the one regional seminary in Hong Kong for southern China, which Costantini initiated with funds from Propaganda Fide of which he was the head (Coomans 2014, 125–144).

Liturgist Rev. Andrew Chao Yi-chou argued that in the early church, the Eucharist celebration was held in the ordinary residences of Christians. Thus, a church which is the place of the Eucharistic celebration should be in the style of domestic triplet formation in Chinese style in the context of inculturation. Unfortunately when Catholicism was brought into China, in Europe the church buildings were constructed as sumptuously as royal palaces with high bell towers and church spires signifying that their prayers went up to the high heaven. Naturally the domestic triplet formation of Chinese building did not arouse the interest of Chinese Catholics nor of the missionaries for the indigenization of church architecture. It was clear to see that mutual recognition between Catholic beliefs and Chinese culture still had another hurdle to overcome since the issue correlated with the kernel concept of home—earthly and heavenly.

Beginning from 1922, China suffered internal wars among the warlords, the invasions of the Japanese (1937–1945) and the civil war between

the Kuomintang and the Communist Party (1945–1949). During this period, practically no church buildings were constructed. Costantini continued to take care of the missionary activities of Taiwan when he was the deputy head of Propaganda Fide, the Vatican's bureau responsible for the care of Catholic missionary territories. The indigenization of church buildings in Taiwan had little momentum. Even the building of Fu Jen Catholic University in Taipei did not adopt the "Sino-Christian" architectural style. The Cathedral of Tainan diocese is an exception. It was remodelled by its first bishop, Lokuang, who headed the new diocese of Tainan. He well knew the intention of Costantini regarding indigenization. With financial support from Costantini's Propaganda Fide, he turned an old building into his cathedral in an authentic Chinese style with Chinese style of interior decoration. In many churches built after 1949, church building style was still in Western fashion, with Chinese flavor confined to interior decoration. Even the Cathedral of Taipei, does not capture a sense of "Chineseness" in the architectural style, although the huge mosaic wall picture of Our Lady behind the main altar, radiates the Oriental sense of tranquillity and contemplation. It is a step moving away from Western art towards Oriental style.

In spite of the fact that the external architectural style in Taiwan has not taken up the Sino-Christian style as Costantini advocated some decades ago, yet, the furniture and decorations in many churches do embrace the Chinese style. The ancestors' tablet placed on a side altar in memory of all the ancestors reminds the faithful to pray for the deceased. It follows closely the Chinese way of honoring the ancestors. On the first day of the Chinese New Year, the ceremony of honoring the ancestors, promoted earnestly by Cardinal Yupin, is performed in every parish. The simple but solemn ceremony takes place after the Mass on the first day of the Chinese New Year. The priest and the altar assistants approach a small altar which has been set up in front of the main altar. On this small altar, the tablet of the ancestors is placed in the center with an incense burner in front. Fruit and flowers are ceremonially offered to honor the ancestors. The priest officiates at the ceremony with prayers. He also leads the faithful to bow to the tablet as a sign of honoring and remembrance. The ceremony is simple but solemn and very much like the traditional manner of ancestor worship in every traditional Chinese family.

Reverence and memories for one's ancestors (shenzhong zhuiyuan) is one of essential elements in Chinese culture. From this perspective we can further discuss the sinicization of church architecture. The Taiwan Regional Bishops Conference has not set up concrete regulations on

where to put the tablet of ancestors in the churches (Chao 2008, 74). In fact, there are Catholic cemeteries and there are tablets for the ancestors in the church, where we may go to honor our ancestors. However, from a liturgical point of view, when the ritual of honoring the ancestors takes place immediately after Holy Mass, it arouses a sense of division in the mind and heart of the participants. Catholics do not feel any sense of division in the Mass of matrimony, when the sacrament is celebrated during the Mass and not after or before it. It seems that if the ritual of honoring the ancestors could be integrated into the Eucharistic celebration, a solution would be acceptable even though the ceremonial is not a sacrament.

Within local theological circles, many discussions are focused on the suitability and adaptability of honoring the ancestors, but very few in contemporary Chinese society discuss the implementation of a Christianized way of honoring them (Law 2009, 4–15).[10] Thus this issue leads us to reflect on the fragmentation between the understanding of faith and that of life, between the theories advocated by intellectuals and their implementation among the grassroots, and between academic development and spiritual cultivation.

Given the varied types of theoretical inculturation in liturgy and church buildings, the Taiwan Catholic Church shares the popular "shallow dish culture", because inculturation remains at an early stage of theological and upper-level discussion without its having taken root among the faithful in parish churches. For example, Taiwanese Catholics generally love solemn liturgy, but very few have the chance to be taught or to read the documents about the design and intention of the Eucharistic Celebration. Most of them still stay at the level of acquiescence to the rules. In other words, Taiwan's Catholics may begin to know and to accept information but still need to humble themselves to adopt a more self-emptying attitude, to know and understand Mother Church more deeply. In the meantime, Taiwan needs to practice the Catholic faith in depth, to cultivate union with the Almighty and be led by Divine Providence while engaging in the inculturation of its Church in Chinese society. Chinese society needs the implementation of genuine Catholic faith by its expression in the lives of religious believers with the virtues exemplified in the Catholic tradition as well as in the Chinese tradition. Inculturation is the response of the Catholic Church to the cries of Chinese society.[11]

The indigenization of the Catholic Church in Taiwan, in the discussion of this paper, has touched on three areas, namely theology, liturgy and architecture. Both human and financial resources have been invested in them. It is regrettable, however, that the Catholic Church in Taiwan, in

the last four decades, has moved from a budding period to the flourishing of growth and is now withering.[12] Although the Taiwanese dioceses have local bishops as leaders, yet the number of baptisms is in regression (Qu 1982, 129–154). The number of Taiwanese Catholics from 290,000 in 2008 decreased to 230,000 in 2014. The loss of 60,000 Catholics within the five recent years serves as an indicator reflecting problems in the development of the Catholic Church in Taiwan. One of the problems might be the insufficient implementation of indigenization at the popular level. In fact the decrease in the Catholic population was revealed when the Church made a comprehensive study on its situation in Taiwan in a report published in 1987 entitled "A Study of the Catholic Church in Taiwan, ROC". It noted that not only was the number of baptisms decreasing but also that the Catholic population was in decline (A Study of the Catholic Church in Taiwan, 307 appendix 11).

Reflection on the Chinese Church's Indigenization

The first Jesuits came to China with their strategy stemming from cultural cultivation. Consequently, they won the respect and acceptance of the intellectual and leading class. The Jesuits' accommodation policy in their mission strategy laid the foundation of their mission orientation in later years (Wong 2010, 5).

In China, the Chinese Rites controversy was a conflict between the Eastern and Western traditions. The rejection of the heterodoxy of the Church Fathers handed down from the Middle Ages came into conflict with the campaign of protecting the Confucian tradition. This is a miniature of the conflict of Western and Eastern cultural heritage, where both sides lack thorough understanding of the other, not only before the issue but also after the issue, with no side gaining in the conflict.

Then came the Taiping Revolution with patched pieces of simplified Christian doctrine and rules calling upon the mass of poor peasants for a social movement leading to revolution. Religion was a framing element to incite them with their different expectations to rebel. It reflected that religion had its role to play in Chinese culture. The destiny of religion does not rest only with the scholarly class or with only theology and religious knowledge as its roots. Matteo Ricci and the leaders of the Taiping Revolution had generated different types of impacts on the Chinese people through religion. Religious dialogue with grassroots Chinese was

lacking among Ricci and his scholars, but the Taiping Revolutionary leaders achieved it and drew the disadvantaged to revolt.

In the late Qing period, government officials perceived that missionary activities were intermingled with activities of cultural imperialism of the West; the Chinese could not distinguish which was which.[13] Within this political environment it was difficult to create authentic and meaningful cultural exchange between Chinese culture and Christianity when the Chinese were saturated with misunderstandings about the Christian religion. From the stated purpose of the undergraduates who set up a "Spiritual Group" in Taiwan, we catch a glimpse of the misconceptions about Christianity by the Chinese. Their Document states: "Christ's revelation which is saturated with European culture finds it difficult to enter the hearts of Chinese intellectuals. Christ's kingdom has been in China for more than four centuries, however it still cannot be harmonized with Chinese culture while Christian faith cannot absorb Chinese customs and habits … therefore this group aims at expressing our Christian faith in a Chinese way to fulfil the mission of Christ towards China" (Wu 2005, 22–49).

Conclusion: Looking to the Future

Since Vatican II, the creation of Chinese theology has played its role in the life of the Catholic Church in Taiwan. However, the practice of indigenization remains to be experienced at the parish and diocesan levels. For example, in the teaching of catechism, catechetical teachers seldom mention the indigenization of the Church. In parish life there are very few questions which touch upon matters of indigenization either in liturgy or in theology. Indeed, religious faith cannot be transmitted through reasoning. The hardships which foreign missionaries went through by risking their lives were something that touched the hearts of people and attracted conversions. Moreover, the long tradition of Chinese culture has its own established value system. While Christianity has its absolute domain and value, the integration of these two established systems needs tolerance and understanding on both sides. This kind of equal exchange and integration needs a long period of encounter with goodwill, tolerance and respect. In the long course of history, chances provided for this kind of exchange have been rare.

Above all, China allowed the coexistence of different religions. For more than a thousand years, Buddhism and Daoism existed peacefully

with Confucianism. Chinese intellectuals occasionally had ideological arguments, but among the grassroots, these three religious systems, Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism, have prevailed in the same society. It is a great endeavor to maintain the absolute authority of Gospel values, and to manifest them in a Chinese cultural context, simultaneously allowing Gospel values to coexist with popular folk religions. This is a big challenge that indigenized Catholicism has not yet faced.

Compared with religion, Western science and technology and sociopolitical systems are the fruit of culture but not the roots of culture. While the current exchange prevails, many go to study the science of the West, but very few go to the heart of the matter of the philosophy of science. Many flock to study the thought of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, but very few embrace and internalize the religious faith of these cults and practice it in daily life. This phenomenon also reflects the lack of a deep level of realization of religion of the Eastern or Western traditions.

Furthermore, at present, when there is more chance of exchange between the East and the West, both sides within their own domains are experiencing their own profound transformations in social and cultural life. In the past, Catholicism rooted itself in Europe; now the same Europe is experiencing the crises of the diminution of church authority and the withering of Christian faith. In Mainland China as well as in Taiwan, economic development, followed by the impact of scientific development, democratization, individualism and relativism, has expanded disproportionately; the moral authority of the Church is challenged. The decrease of religious vocations indicates that the path of evangelization does not attract as many young people as it formerly did. The cultural transformation in the East and West creates hard times for people to adjust themselves to this new socio-cultural environment, to say nothing of the conflict with Christian values. Father Aloysius Chang admitted that Chinese culture had gone through a long history, but that theology in China was very young. In a similar way, Christian theology has a long history of development in Europe but has a short span of life in China with somewhat superficial understanding by the Church of its culture.

From a historical point of view, Catholicism in China has a history of 400 years from the arrival of Matteo Ricci and his companions. Four centuries are a short period in the long river of human history. At this moment, we are not judging the success and failure of indigenization but attempting to chart a proper path for its future. It seems what is needed for the Catholic Church is a deeper understanding of the cultures of the East and

the West, then a movement forward. For the Catholic Church in Taiwan, the realization of the nation's cultural heritage does not rely only on knowledge or a common understanding of people in general but also on the personal experience of the pioneers. The conversion experience of Chinese lay Catholics might offer a platform to demonstrate the integration of Chinese culture and Christian faith in our modern age.

Notes

1. Indigenization: from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indigenization (Retrieved on 23 October 2014).
2. In the past, the Chinese term "bentu hua" has been translated as "indigenization", "inculturation", and "sinicization". Thus, these three terms are used in this essay with the same idea of "bentu hua".
3. This is from the mission statement of the editorial office of St. Robert Bellarmine Theologate. http://www.catholic.org.tw/theology/college-utf8/publish_edit.php (Retrieved on 08 January 2015).
4. The meeting was recorded in Cheng Shi-guang: Tian ren zhi ji [The encounter of Heaven and Men]. Tainan: The Window Press. 1975. 2nd edition. p. 1.
5. The second author is a personal friend of Bishop Francis Hsu and had been working under him from 1968 to 1971.
6. The articles from all speakers were published in *Collectanea Theological Universitatis Fujen*. Vol. 24. summer 1975.
7. *Collectanea Theological Universitatis Fujen*, Vol. 32. summer 1977, pp. 259–270.
8. *Collectanea* Theological *Universitatis Fujen*. Vol. 56, summer 1983 published all the lectures in that issue.
9. The second author participated in the student chaplains' training conducted by some theologians of the EATWOT 1975 held in Colombo, Sri Lanka. She was friends with Tissa Balysuriya, OMI, who was the backbone of the Asian meeting of the EATWOT.
10. Checking the articles of indigenization about the Chinese ritual of honoring of the ancestors, they all put the emphasis on the justification of its suitability and adaptability. However, Fr. Thomas Law's article raises many discussions on this question. On the website he has an enlarged article on this same issue (http://catholic-dlc.org.hk/law20090825.pdf).
11. As Alszeghy (1981) says "The cultural adaptation is produced and completed in the actual encounter of expressing the content of the faith" (p. 57). Also he concludes: "The cultural adaptation is to find an integrated system of thought among the biblical messages, the dogmatic view of ethic judgment, self-confidence. Therefore in the process of exchange

between the strong side and the weak side, there will be distinctiveness in the process when the strong side overshadows the weak side thus creating the phenomenon of cultural invasion."

12. The pastoral letter of the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference issued on 28 October 1986.
13. The term "invasion" emphasized that Western culture (including religion) has a high profile in the process of interchange. Chinese culture, by that time, was at the bottom of the valley without self-confidence.

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CHAPTER 5

Inculturation of Spirituality: Taiwan Experience

Beatrice K.F. Leung

Introduction: Calling of the Catholic Church, Both Universal and Local Churches

The Second Vatican Council required the creation of a Federation of Asian Bishops Conference (FABC) to discuss questions concerning and formulate policies for its own continent. Thus it sanctioned the meeting in Hong Kong of Catholic bishops, representatives of major Asian countries, hosted by Hong Kong Bishop Francis Hsu Cheng-pin* to set up the structure of the FABC. In April 1971, at the first FABC meeting, bishop-participants reconfirmed that the inculturation of Catholic life, religious dialogue with major Asian religions and serving the poor were the three indispensable keys to successful evangelization in Asia. They also realized that in the enterprise of inculturation they must take ownership of their Catholic spirituality, which meant that current Catholic spirituality in Asia which had been embedded in the Greco-Roman tradition should seek a change in orientation toward the Eastern tradition (Lee 2010, 24–27). As far as inculturation was concerned, the FABC bishops adopted the prophetic view of an Indian theologian, Fr. Felix Wilfred that the Church should become open to a new consciousness and respond to the need to preserve

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the multicultural traditions of Asia. The multiethnic Asian peoples have assuredly followed a similar path of spiritual development sharing common moral values and religious ethos (Fox 2002, 17).

In 1972, the Asian Meeting of Religious Women (AMOR) followed the orientation of the FABC to implement the theme of inculturation of Catholicism. In 1974, the theme of the AMOR meeting was "Asian Spirituality". The meeting was held in a very untraditional way without agenda or national reports and discussions usual during an international conference but adopting the form of a workshop aimed at learning Asian spirituality from its roots. This workshop laid the foundation of the inculturation of spirituality for all the Asian sisters, with "three speakers" who were prophets, masters, gurus and teachers in oriental spirituality. They were the Irish William Johnson S. J., the Japanese Fr. Shigeto Oshida, O.P.* and the Indian Sister Vandana, RSCJ. All were experienced practitioners of spirituality in the Buddhist, Daoist and Hindu traditions. The Asian sister-participants in the seven-day workshop were taught Zen contemplation, both with practice and explanation by these three Zen masters (Lee 2010, 27–35). Sr. Agnes Lee Chunjuan* and her Provincial superior, Sr. Chung of the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (Sheng Kung Sisters), were the two Taiwanese participants in this workshop.[1] Through this religious congregation, led by Sr. Agnes Lee and her companions, an Eastern style of spirituality in Taiwan began to take root and develop.

First Steps in Eastern Spirituality in Taiwan

In 1976, when the Sheng Kung Sisters held their provincial chapter, they responded to the 1974 request of the Chinese Bishops Conference to work at inculturation as a means to the building of a Chinese Church. While theologians worked for the indigenization of Chinese theology mainly in the Jesuit Theologate at Fu Jen University, the Sheng Kung Sisters in their provincial chapter resolved to begin the inculturation of spirituality starting from Tainan (Chang 2002, 1). The whole Taiwanese group of Sheng Kung Sisters, 60 of them, decided their different ways and means to research their common goal to open up a path of Eastern spirituality which was derived from Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. Some Sisters went to follow courses in Chinese philosophy at National Cheng Kung University, Tainan. Some Sisters prepared an assembly hall for prayer in the Buddhist tradition, and some even went for short stays in a Buddhist temple to learn the Buddhist way of religious life and their method of prayer. A few of them went to Japan to revisit the masters in

Fig. 5.1 Sr. Agnes Lee Chunjuan

Zen contemplation such as Fr. Oshida O.P. and Fr. Hugo La Salle S.J. to advance their experience of Zen contemplation, and their awareness of and union with God through Buddhist and Daoist traditions (Lee 2010, 27–35) (Fig. 5.1).

The Search of the Sheng Kung Sisters: Zen Contemplation and Workshops

After a few years of hard work, the infrastructure built by the Sheng Kung Sisters for the acquisition of Eastern spirituality began reaping its initial fruits through the daily practice of Zen contemplation and continuous learning through dialogue with Buddhist monks and nuns in Taiwan. With the collaboration of Sr. Agnes Lee and the distinguished theologian, Fr. Aloysius Chang Chun-shen*, a couple of workshops on Christian Zen contemplation were held for the whole congregation of Sheng Kung Sisters aimed at enabling them to acquire the method of Zen contemplation (sitting)[2] and put it into daily practice as the first step in practicing Eastern spiritual formation.

The search for Eastern spirituality not only prevailed within the religious congregation of Sheng Kung Sisters but gradually spread to the whole of Taiwan. In July 1982 and 7–13 February 1990, the Association of the Major Superiors of Religious Women in Taiwan held two workshops on Eastern spirituality. They revealed that the superiors of religious women in Taiwan were eager to promote Eastern spirituality (Lee 2010, 98–104).

The Ultimate, the Almighty, in Eastern and Western Traditions

Both in the Western and the Eastern religious tradition, the absolute, the infinite, the way, the Almighty, the ultimate, God, all refer to the highest. Religion refers to the relationship between the Almighty/the Ultimate and man. Thus, the concept of God/the absolute/the ultimate reveals the essential differences in Western religion—Christianity and the oriental religions. God, in the Western concept is the one supreme, infinite, personal being who creates and rules everything (Lee and Hand 1990, 12–13). Agnes Lee and Thomas Hand in their book *A Taste of Water* claim that the Western concept of God is to confine the boundless God within a boundary:

> *We put God into a category separate from the creature category. To separate the formless and the forms (its manifestations) into two is to place the formless into a category. … True, God's category is called infinite and absolute, but nonetheless it is a category. We have given boundary to the boundless. The east would say that such a conception of GOD is a product of relational experience. That it does not spring from the ultimate experience of the actual God. The real God is different from all such categorization. In the final experience of God there is no question of separation, distinction of relationship. The distinguishing intellect is useless and gives way to the intuitive seeing which is best described as being. … This experience of God is the cardinal point of the whole eastern view.* (Lee and Hand 1990, 12)

They employed Buddha's experience of God as a profound contrast to that of the Western tradition:

> *Shakyamuni Buddha was only interested in helping people to the experience of God. When he was asked about God and the divine nature he simply maintained a "noble silence". He taught the path of silence. The east prefers not to conceptualize the absolute*. (Lee and Hand 1990, 9)

Apart from adopting the Buddhist teaching to express the absolute/ultimate, the Daoist tradition in the classic *I Ching* was employed to express the ultimate; the "wu chi"* is the ultimate being behind the constant change of the world.

The *I Ching* speaks of wu chi. "Chi" means limit, "wu" is negative. Thus, it means the limitless; the infinite wu chi takes the form in tai chi. Tai chi is the manifestation of wu chi. Thus there are two fundamental principles underlying all reality. One is infinite and formless; the other is a limited form. Form is always emerging from and then returning to the formless wu chi. It is this movement that accounts for the whole of our constantly changing world (Lee and Hand 1990, 13).

Tao Te Ching, which is the classic bible of Lao Zi, the founder of Daoism, is a record of mystical experience. The frame of reference and the level of awareness that it expresses is not that of our usual state. One can examine this level of awareness more closely, particularly in the loss of self that is very much required for the union of man and heaven.

In the oriental tradition, there is no separation between God and human beings as the Tao Te Ching claims:

> *The Tao (way) that can be expressed is not the unchanging Tao,*
> *The name that can be named is not the unchanging name.*
> *Wu (formless) names the origin of heaven and earth.*
> *You (form) names the mother of the ten thousand things.*
> *Therefore, stay in wu if you desire to penetrate the mystery;*
> *Stay in you, if you desire to penetrate the manifestation.*
> *These two (wu and you) have the same origin, but are different names.*
> *Both are mystery, mystery upon mystery, the door of all wonders.*

In the final experience of God there is no question of separation, distinction or relationship. The distinguishing intellect is useless and should give way to that intuitive seeing which is best described as being. This experience of God is the cardinal point of the whole Eastern view, when the ultimate and man are one.

The Greek tradition is one of perceiving reality/the ultimate/the absolute/God, and affirming the attribute of reality/the ultimate/the absolute/God. It conceptualized God as "the only supreme, infinite personal being who creates and rules everything", while Buddha expressed the Reality as a "noble silence" and negation. It seems the clearer the expression of God, the more limitation is put on God. This is the boundary set up by language to confine the boundless, the form created to confine the formless.

The narration in Genesis of creation and Zhuangzi writing on "Ying Diwang no.7"* provides a sharp contrast in the expression of the relations between human beings and the ultimate in Eastern and Western traditions.

In "Ying Diwang no. 7" Zhuangzi described a very good being called Chaos who had helped the emperor to rule the state perfectly. Chaos had no holes/features, so the emperor decided that one hole per day should be carved on Chaos' countenance. After seven days, when seven holes had been carved, Chaos died. It revealed that the creation according to Zhuangzi is the formless being who does nothing (wu wei). In the Western tradition, the first chapter of the Old Testament records that before God engaged in creation, everything was in chaos. Then out of the chaos God created the universe, heaven and earth, nature, animals and human beings in six days with detailed descriptions and left the seventh day as the resting day (Genesis 1:1–31).

The concept of "chaos" constitutes a good comparison between the Western and Eastern expressions of the relations between God/ultimate and man through creation. For the East, chaos or the oneness is the ultimate aim which is the negation of the form. For the West, chaos is the beginning; creation is to affirm and separate the forms of creatures and creator, the creation of the dualistic relationship, and the individuality of all created beings. In the last century, Western philosophers, like Martin Buber, confirmed this dualistic concept between God and man by promoting the I-Thou relations in existential philosophy.

It revealed that both the East and West have different expressions of God/the ultimate. In the West, God has been conceptualized. For the East, God/the ultimate is formless but scattered everywhere and penetrates everything to be perceived in many aspects of life. In the Eastern world, take China for an example, Confucianism did not conceptualize God by putting God into a boundary with logical judgment, yet the description of God, the existence of the ultimate, can be found between the lines in literary works such as poems, prose, couplets, stories, folklore and mythology.

In the Eastern tradition, the sense of wholeness and oneness prevails while in the West, dualism or individuality prevails. Therefore, there is differentiation between Creator and creature in Genesis. In Zhuangzi, oneness and wholeness prevails. This is what the Chinese Confucian scholars call the unity of man and heaven (*Tianren heyi*), and they cultivate this union as the attainment of the spiritual. Chaos functions perfectly when it

remains formless and chaotic. In the last analysis, the West confined the boundless God into a boundary by definition, while the God/the ultimate reality in the East is free, empty, nothingness but existing everywhere.

The Theological Endeavor

Father Chang Chun-shen and Sr. Agnes Lee were the two major promoters of Eastern spirituality, and naturally they became instructors in these two workshops as also later in many retreats of this type. As usual, Fr. Chang's lectures affirmed oriental spirituality in the Buddhist, Daoist and Confucian traditions with theological explanations from the Gospel message and theology. He explained Zen contemplation through sitting as a means of entering into emptiness, which is the way to attain union with the ultimate, which is also conformed to Christian teaching because God is Life itself. God is the ultimate, and God is love which flows into human beings as the "supernatural" as defined by Western theologians (Chang 2002, 5–7; Lee 2010, 105–108). Sr. Agnes Lee in the workshop led the participants to practice sitting sessions in the Zen tradition four times daily as a way to acquire the techniques of Zen contemplation/ sitting/emptying oneself by regulating breathing, the mind and the body.

The workshop and retreats were only a beginning. Constant daily practice is the only way to pursue the emptying of self, which is the first step toward union with the Almighty or the ultimate who is omnipresent.

Within the Taiwan Catholic Church, Fr. Aloysius Chang Chun-shen and Sr. Agnes Lee Chunjuan had Catholic theological support in their pursuit of an oriental method of contemplation. Fr. Chang suggested that indigenization means that the church embraces the modern thinking of Chinese people so as to reveal to them the divine revelation of God while employing the content of revelation for the renewal or creation of a new Chinese culture. Chinese indigenization in the Catholic Church should take place within the Church with real universality or catholicity welding Eastern with Western culture. From a negative point of view, the Chinese indigenization of spirituality is not just returning to the ancient classics. It neither falls into isolationism nor follows the orbit of scholasticism within the monastic tradition (Chang 1979, 408). Sr. Agnes Lee furthered Chang's idea that indigenization is not returning to ancient times but takes place within the contexts of existential time and space. According to her, the endeavor to pursue indigenization of Catholic spirituality cannot be confined to Catholic elements alone. The indigenization endeavor

should be interdisciplinary, employing knowledge of literature, psychology, sociology and even the sciences (Lee 2016, 188–189, 307–324).

Fr. Chang, who was inspired by Bishop Cheng Shiguang and Prof. Fang Dongmei*'s suggestions to put the heavenly way and the human way in the same category, placed equal weight on honoring heaven and human action (Cheng Shiguang 1975). He suggested employing the idea of an "Oneness Paradigm"* in formulating Chinese Catholic spirituality. For him, "oneness" means the highest, and mankind is united into one. He suggested that "unity", "harmony" and "oneness", which are the anonyms of the "Oneness Paradigm", should be the cornerstones on which to build Chinese spirituality (Chang 1979, 2; 1420).

Union Between Heaven and Man: Spiritual Cultivation

For Confucius, with all one's heart, knowing one's nature, to know heaven and serving heaven, is the ultimate goal of attaining perfection or the unity of man and the ultimate. In the Western tradition, this religious term can be called spirituality, which means to know God and to be united with God. Both in the Western and the Eastern traditions, spirituality is indispensable for those who want union with reality/the ultimate. It is the final destination of man.

Thus, spirituality is the main axis of religious dialogue between Western and Eastern religious traditions, when man through spiritual exercise, cultivates the unity between man and heaven to resolve the inborn philosophical questions: "Who am I? Where am I going?"

The Indian Sr. Vandana, RSCJ's teaching in the AMOR workshop on the orientations of Eastern spirituality can serve as a frame of reference for the cultivation of self, which is geared toward the union of man and heaven (Lee 2010, 25–27). She remarked that the cultivation of self/nurture of the heart is the most essential part of the spirituality in the Eastern tradition. It is the emptying of our heart. In emptiness of heart, one enters into union with the absolute. In the wilderness of wu wo (self-abandonment), one will be in the presence of the infinite (Lee 2010, 34).

In Taiwan, the leading Chinese Catholic theologian Chang Chun-shen also affirmed that in the Chinese tradition, Mencius suggested the "Jinxin fuxing"*, which means to "dedicate wholeheartedly to the refolding of the natural self". The refolding of self means to allow heavenly light to shine through life; it is the refolding of heavenly light in ourselves.

Therefore, cultivation or refolding of natural self through silent sitting is to watch carefully the movement of the inner self and to absorb all the elements which will bury or erode our natural self (Chang Chun-shen 2002, 5). Viewed from a positive angle, the "refolding of natural self" is to let the heavenly Light or heavenly Life penetrate or infiltrate our personal Life. The Zen contemplation style of sitting aims at attaining the status of emptiness, the emptying of self, the disappearance of self and the unfolding of heavenly life within ourselves. In other words, the death or disappearance of self, the emptiness, is the means to "consciousness". Some Christian–Zen scholars call the emptiness of self, which paradoxically means the destroying of one's ego in order to enter into the Logos, the Word.[3]

Jesus once remarked on prayer saying "When you pray, go to your private room and shut your door and pray and your Father who sees all that is done in secret will reward you" (Matt. 6:6). Jesus alluded to this way of praying through complete silence by closing all the senses from contact with the outside world, remaining in emptiness to encounter the formless ultimate.

In the Western tradition, salvation, liberation from sin, is equivalent to self-abandonment and renunciation of oneself. Jesus once said "If anyone wants to be a follower of mine, let him renounce himself and take up his cross and follow me" (Matthew 16:24). In this statement, Jesus means that anyone who wishes to embrace the heavenly life by union with Him must lose himself, must abandon the faulty image of self. The abandonment of the faulty self, the ego, will lead us to freedom, to union with Him, the Word.

The eternal questions within man "Who am I? Where am I going?" can be answered through the long course of time in spiritual cultivation with experience of death of self, the abandonment of the ego, before the attainment of self-realization which means to know oneself and to know the root of life. The searching of self by negation of self which leads one to the root of life is a long journey of spiritual cultivation, which eventually can give answer to the mysterious questions of "Who am I?" and "Where am I going?".

Spiritual cultivation, in Eastern traditions such as Buddhism and Daoism, is the "cultivation of the heart". In daily life, our heart rests on those issues which draw most of our attention. Thus the cultivation of the heart has to go through the cultivation of attention, which is the essence of our being. Thus the cultivation of the heart must go through the exercise one can

handle—control of the attention or the consciousness. Experienced gurus reveal that the more the concentration of the attention, the more the heart and the vividness of life would coalesce, and the consciousness would be more sensitive and sharpened, and human nature—the heart—would be more elevated (Lee 2010, 249).

Fr. Chang Chun-shen expressed that "cultivation of the heart/self" or the "unfolding of nature" is a way leading to self-abandonment—the death of the ego. It means that one can overcome the limitation of human nature and enjoy inner freedom, which will lead to the union of the ultimate and man and which is the ultimate destiny of man (Chang 2002, 57–62). This is properly the best answer to the question "Who am I" and "Where am I going?" Sr. Vandana teaches that the daily practice of Zen contemplation, which requires concentration of attention/consciousness, is essential for spiritual attainment. This cultivation should be continuously practiced with self-discipline and should be a daily duty for any religious person (Lee 2010, 34), and not only because oriental spirituality through Zen contemplation is an exercise of one's effort and determination. It is a spiritual exercise obtained by self-effort or self-reliance. It is a good comparison with the Western tradition of Christian spiritual formation which may depend too much on Other reliance or heavenly effort and too little on one's own effort.

Eastern Spirituality and Dialogue Between Catholicism and Buddhism

In 1978, a group of seven Sheng Kung Sisters was allowed to make a short stay in a Buddhist Temple called Gu Yan Temple in Changhua, central Taiwan founded by the Buddhist Zen Master Baiyun* in 1971. The Sisters' aim of staying in Gu Yan Temple was to experience Buddhist traditional religious life as practiced by the young monks and nuns (Lee 2016).[4] At the same time, the Sisters hoped to learn more about the indigenization of Buddhism which came originally from India. They were interested to discover how Theravada Buddhism from India could go through the process of inculturation and absorb Chinese elements to become the Mahayana Buddhism prevailing in China for more than a thousand years. Also they wanted to know more about how Mahayana Buddhism could develop from an encounter with Daoism into Zen Buddhism and acquire an endless state outside sensation and feeling.[5] The Sisters in Gu Yan Temple were allowed to chant, to worship, to work and to study with the resident Buddhist nuns there. The Sisters claimed that

although they had not gone into the depth of the doctrine of Buddhism through the teaching of Master Baiyun, yet they had experienced the similarity of religious life in that temple with their own religious tradition. For example, the lifestyle of the Buddhist monks and nuns impressed the Sisters very much for its simplicity. They found that the asceticism and discipline in the temple within the Buddhist tradition were very much like that of the Catholic tradition (Lee 2010, 69–72).

The Sisters had a special affection for the communal chanting during prayer sessions in the prayer hall. The chanting is simply the repetition of the name of Buddha; however, they found that the chanting itself had an immense capacity to penetrate the soul. The chanters and the participants were easily uplifted to the state of self-forgetfulness while the inner self was absorbed into emptiness or united with the ultimate (Lee 2010, 70).

During their two-week stay in Gu Yan Temple, the Sisters were able to have two informal, small group meetings with the Buddhist nuns in an atmosphere of friendship and openness. These small groups sang with guitar and shared their vocations and experience of religious life in a Buddhist temple and a Catholic convent. The two weeks of residence in the Buddhist temple allowed the Catholic Sisters to realize that over and above the Catholic tradition of spirituality which is the endeavor depending on the Other/the Divine effort, the Buddhist tradition of self-reliance was a new area in the Catholic tradition (Lee 2010, 71). Apart from following the teaching on the divine help from above called “grace” in spiritual attainment in the Catholic tradition, they realized that the idea of self-reliance in the Buddhist tradition was also possible. The Buddhist way of spirituality opened a new area for the Sisters other than the Catholic tradition of Other reliance (Lee 2010, 71–72).

The interactions between the Buddhist and Catholic nuns initiated future interaction between this group of Catholic religious and Buddhist religious, when two years later, Master Baiyun led a group of young Buddhist nuns to participate in the Eucharistic celebration of the Sheng Kung Sisters on the occasion of the solemn ceremony of the final profession of one of the Sisters.

In fact the inculturation of spirituality began in 1976. The years between 1976 and 1982 were the initial period of this spiritual endeavor. They followed the new path to plunge into action—Zen contemplation (sitting), then from real experience, they grasped the meaning of the union with the ultimate through self-emptiness. It was the way of amalgamation of knowing and practicing.

For the last 30 years, the adoption of this method of spirituality has led to practicing the emptying of self and the union with the ultimate. Comparing and borrowing from the Chinese classics on Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism has enriched the understanding of the Gospel teaching of Christianity. The inculturation of spirituality has entered into a new stage of integrating the traditions of Catholicism and Eastern religions in theory and practice.

Also, within the last 30 years, the Sheng Kung Sisters have admitted that Eastern spirituality has taken root in their religious communities. However, the Sisters represented by their leader, Sr. Agnes Lee, expressed that they had suffered the dilemma that made them afraid they had possibly been tracing the wrong path and moving into Buddhism or Daoism, unknowingly leaving Catholicism. They had engaged in the study of the classics of Buddhism and Daoism only with the purpose of entering more deeply into their own spirituality. However, their worries were clarified by some of the great practitioners in Eastern spirituality: Fr. William Johnson S.J., Fr. Oshida OP and Sr. Vandana RSCJ, who confirmed to this group of sisters that their pioneering enterprise was on the right track (Lee 2010,

Fig. 5.2 Eastern spirituality-formation workshop

27–35). In Taiwan, the Sisters had the support of the leading theologian Fr. Chang Chun-shen (Chang 2002, 2–3), who had suggested that the Sisters engage in the inculturation of spirituality as early as 1976. When the Sisters took up the advice, he rendered essential assistance to the endeavor by mobilizing Christian theology to assure the legitimacy of the Eastern way of spiritual cultivation. The book entitled *Zhongguo lingxiu chuyi: A Preliminary Discussion on Chinese spirituality* was a record of his cooperation with Sr. Agnes Lee in giving spiritual training in the oriental style as a means to indigenize the Chinese Catholic Church through spirituality (Chang 2002, 1–3) (Fig. 5.2).[6]

Future Sustainability of Oriental Spirituality

During the period from 1978 to 2016, the pursuit of oriental spirituality has developed slowly and steadily. Master Baiyun with an open attitude toward ecumenism welcomed the Sisters to develop spiritual cultivation with him and his group of nuns and monks in Gu Yan Temple at any time in the future. It indicates that the Buddhist and Catholic dialogue can enjoy a bright future from this auspicious beginning. The Sheng Kung sisters are enthusiastic about the project. Other religious women's communities in Taiwan have had the experience of a Zen retreat under the direction of Sr. Agnes Lee and Fr. Chang Chun-shen. Not all Sisters who began Zen contemplation have continued the pursuit because the daily practice of Zen contemplation/sitting is a lonely endeavor which needs fortitude to continue, especially if the religious community is not sufficiently convinced about the idea to promote inculturation.

From a more negative side of the Taiwan church, some church leaders have denoted the Sheng Kung sisters as black sheep, because their search and trial of an oriental way of spirituality aroused suspicion and rejection. Some priests even sent written complaints to the Superior General in Rome accusing the Sheng Kung Sisters in Taiwan of lacking orthodoxy in spirituality and requesting action from the top leadership. However, the complainers had neither any real understanding of the Sisters' endeavor nor had they directly contacted any sisters about their religious orientation.

Suspicion and rejection from the Taiwan Catholic Church itself can be categorized as one obstacle among others. However, within the Sheng Kung Sisters congregation, oriental spirituality has been carried on till now. They have set up a prayer hall on the top floor of the big chapel of

their provincial house. The prayer hall is called "The Pure Heart Spiritual Center"* and is open to the public for spiritual exercise in Zen contemplation. The prayer hall is in Buddhist style and has places for more than 30 participants to practice Zen contemplation. Sr. Agnes Lee and a Presbyterian pastor lead the contemplation sessions and administer the center. There are regular programs on a monthly and quarterly basis for those who wish to practice Zen sitting under the guidance of Sr. Lee and Rev. Cheng Jieyu*, the Presbyterian pastor who claims Sr. Lee as his guru. The two of them have served the Pure Heart Spiritual Center for several years guiding laity and religious.

During the 1990s, following the development of oriental spirituality for nearly 20 years, and when religious dialogue between oriental and Western traditions had been nurtured, the differences between Eastern and Western traditions in religion were minimized, and the pursuit of spirituality was urged by religious believers regardless of denomination. Thus Sr. Agnes Lee changed the designation "oriental spirituality" into Contemplative Spirituality (Lee 2016, 307–324).

For the sustainability of Contemplative Spirituality, she made some suggestions to encourage this enterprise. Firstly, she developed the "Oneness Paradigm" suggested by Fr. Chang who had only explained the idea in its initial stage leaving further cultivation of this orientation to be done by the people coming after him (Fr. Chang passed away in 2015). There is ample room here to engage in research.

Secondly, "words become a problem of expression" in Christian theology. Lao Zi 's *Tao Te Ching* recalls:

> "*The Way that can be experienced is not true;*
> *The world that can be constructed is not true*".
> "*By many words is wit exhausted.*
> *Rather, therefore, hold to the core*". (*Tao Te Ching* 1, 5)

Eastern sages were aware of the way that the world and words were limited in expressing formless ideas. The clearer the language, the weaker the content. Expression of the ultimate or God in language is to confine the formless ultimate into a form. Will Catholic theology continue to be expressed by logical language? Can theological expression be embedded in description of the scene and situation, the narration of stories and the analogy of fables, or in beautiful poems and prose? (Lee 2016, 188–189, 320–321). Wang Wen-hsing*, a monumental giant in contemporary literature in

Taiwan remarked that many poems and couplets in Buddhist and Daoist temples both in China and in Taiwan conveyed religious doctrine in beautifully written literary style and language (Shan Dexing 2014, 19–128). He himself once explained the "Our Father" in the context of literature and the discourse was more spiritual than many religious preachers' homilies from the pulpit.[7]

Thirdly, in the spiritual intimacy with God the Father, and in the context of I-Thou relations, "the sighing of the Holy Spirit" and "the phenomenon of the Holy Spirit" demonstrate that the ultimate is on the highest level of human life's magnetic field. It means that the Holy Spirit and life is in oneness.

Fourthly, in practicing spiritual exercise, for instance in spiritual cultivation, the question of self-reliance should be more emphasized. In the past, the traditional Christian spiritual exercise taught the practitioner that one has to rely on God's grace and His help. This tradition handed down to us relies on external assistance waiting for God's grace but does not demand enough effort in overcoming difficulties in the pursuit of the ultimate. Learning from the Eastern tradition of acquiring spiritual union with the ultimate puts more emphasis on self-reliance; this may be a future development (Lee 2016, 188–189, 318–322).

From an institutional point of view, the Pure Heart Spiritual Center is working slowly but steadily to promote oriental spirituality through Zen contemplation. Sr. Agnes Lee cooperates with the Presbyterian pastor Rev. Cheng Jieyu, to offer training and practice in Zen contemplation for laity and religious both on a short-term and long-term basis. The Center at this stage of development needs to be made known both in Catholic and Protestant circles; therefore, the leaders often go out to local churches (mainly to Protestant churches) to introduce the Center and its Zen contemplation. In 2016, they visited eight churches for this purpose. In the 2016 agenda of the Pure Heart Spiritual Center, there were 14 sessions (each for an entire day) to train a core group of four to six people who aim to be future leaders of the Center in offering training and practice of Zen contemplation for the sake of the sustainability of this spiritual renewal movement. In 2016, there were two major activities, both promoted by the Tainan Protestant Seminary. One with the theme "Rowing to the Depth of Water" lasted five days with 123 participants. The other was a spiritual retreat camp organized for the women church workers of the Presbyterian Church. This was attended by 391 persons in two sessions. Apart from these two major functions, monthly whole-day gatherings in

the Center for practicing Zen contemplation were held throughout the year. Each time they attracted at least 30 participants. Quarterly retreats of three days were offered in the Center. The attendance was less than ten. According to the report of Rev. Cheng, they had contacted more than 2000 people, but fewer than 200 people had visited the Center for contemplation. It is because the prayer hall can hold only 30 people, while the major activities had to be held elsewhere but conducted by the staff of the Center according to the oriental spiritual tradition.[8]

A contemporary Catholic philosopher, Professor Vincent Shen, suggested the strategy of "strangification"* as a means for indigenization of the Chinese Catholic Church. For him, "strangification" is a philosophical term. It means after internal enlightenment/reflection, with great generosity, one tries to transcend his/her "self" to encounter the "many others" resulting in "mutual enrichment". This is the nature of dialogue with other religions as well as that of evangelization in the Catholic Church (Vincent Shen 2016, 35–45). Shen's internal enlightenment, and the transcendence of self to encounter the many others (multiple religions in Asia), had been implemented in Zen contemplation and religious dialogue advocated by the Sheng Kung Sisters under the guidance of Fr. Chang and the leadership of Sr. Agnes Lee and developed in the endeavors of the Pure Heart Spiritual Center.

Conclusions

At the present stage, although the inculturation of the Catholic Church has been in process for years, only a relatively small group of dedicated persons remains to marry the theology in the Jesuit theologate with indigenized Chinese theology. In the spiritual arena, there is the "Oneness Paradigm" launched by Fr. Chang who intended to employ this paradigm to attract the Chinese.[9] The multifaceted nature of the contemporary Taiwan Church raises problems in evangelization both on the grassroots level and with the secularization of religion and a Catholic population which has been decreasing since 1970.[10] On the other hand, there are the lonely voices of the Sheng Kung Sisters with some others who are still insisting on practicing oriental spirituality and teaching it to anyone who wishes to attain union with the ultimate through Zen contemplation.

Although the endeavors of the Sheng Kung Sisters were made to answer the call of the Chinese Bishops' Conference in 1974, and the Association of Religious Superiors offered two workshops for the promotion of this

type of spiritual formation to all Taiwanese Sisters, yet the acquired knowledge and method of controlling the mind, the heart and breath has to be preserved by daily practice which may be broken by overactivity in the experience of many religious sisters and priests.

Zen contemplation to attain union of heaven with man is a slow process of internalization which requires patience and fortitude with daily practice and special guidance. Oriental spirituality does not reap immediate fruit; thus it is easy to observe the phenomenon that many are willing to learn, but few can sustain it. The insistence of the Sheng Kung Sisters and the Pure Heart Spiritual Center on preserving oriental spirituality may make them seem like a lonely voice in the desert wilderness playing the role of John the Baptist. They have their mission to play in the barren spiritual desert of Taiwan, becoming one of the important factors for the rejuvenation of the Catholic Church, where the oriental spirituality of union of God and man and the experience of the ultimate is essential for anyone longing to embrace the Catholic faith firmly in personal experience.

It is true, however, that the Pure Heart Spiritual Center attracts more attention from the Protestants than from the Catholics for the time being. In fact, few clergy and laity in Taiwan, practice Zen contemplation. Is this because there is already a powerful tradition of mystical prayer in the Church? One has only to think of Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross and the Rhineland mystics among many others. The Eucharist together with the traditional vocal prayer of the Rosary and many other devotions nourish the spiritual life of Catholics, but Protestants do not have these resources.

However, cooperation between the Catholic director and the Protestant administrator in the Center opens up a new and fruitful field for religious dialogue between Protestants and Catholics through the common pursuit of Zen contemplation.

Notes

1. The Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception is a German missionary congregation and its branch in Taiwan, set up a distinguished high school for girls called Sheng Kung Girls' Middle School in Tainan. For the sake of convenience, this group of sisters was called Sheng Kung Sisters.
2. Fr. Oshida O.P. called Zen Contemplation "sitting".
3. It was revealed by an experienced Catholic lay person, who had practiced Zen contemplation for years, and who still employed the Catholic terminology the "Word" and the "Logos" to describe the Almighty.

4. Sr. Agnes Lee revealed this when she was interviewed on 27 June 2016 at the Sheng Kung convent in Tainan.
5. Lin Yutang. Tran. Wu Zanyun. The Journal of Faith. Xinyang zhili. Hong Kong: 1991. pp. 168–175.
6. Chang Chun-shen, 2002. *Zhongguo lingxiu chuyi A Preliminary Discussion on Chinese spirituality*. Taiwan: Kuang-chi Cultural group.
7. This writer listened to his discourse on the "Our Father" on 26 September 2015, in a meeting of Catholic academics in Taipei.
8. The figures were provided by Rev. Cheng Jieyu, who is the chief administrator of the Pure Heart Spiritual Center.
9. For the inculturation of theology, a detailed discussion can be found in Chap. 10 of this volume.
10. For the reasons for the decrease of the Catholic population, Michael Chang's Chap. 3 on the internal development of the book has a detailed discussion.

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CHAPTER 6

The Inculturation of Liturgical Languages: Taiwanese and Mandarin Chinese

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Human beings use language to exchange their ideas, opinions and thoughts with each other. A language is expressed and communicated through symbols, including text, sound, senses of sight and touch. Religious belief is communication between man and God. Believers practice their faith by worshipping in sacred liturgy. Religious belief is concerned with the ultimate values of life, such as exploring the origin of life, the meaning of earthly life, destinations after death and so on. As religious liturgies touch on these subjects about life, the inculturation of liturgical language is vital. China, well known for its ancient civilization and ceremonies, has a rich cultural heritage. There are very many meaningful, symbolic images in the everyday life of Chinese people. To make sacred

In this chapter, Mandarin Chinese refers to the spoken language which is also called Standard Chinese or *guoyu*, based on the Beijing dialect. As for written language, both Minnan and Hakka-speaking people use Chinese, because they do not have their own writing system.

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liturgy lead people's souls to an encounter with God, liturgical languages which can appropriately express the cultural and symbolic meaning of the assembly play a crucial role.

Catholicism was reintroduced in Taiwan in 1859. The liturgical language of the Church has been influenced by political changes since then. In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan. The government ordered civil and military officials to study *tuyu*, literally the vernacular. From 1902 onward, *tuyu* was renamed the Taiwanese language. In 1937, the year when the Second Sino-Japanese War began, the colonial government launched a campaign to force all Taiwanese people to learn Japanese and demanded that officials use Japanese on both public and private occasions.

After the surrender of Japan in 1945, Taiwan was taken over by the Nationalist (Kuomintang KMT) government. Two years later, the new government banned the use of Japanese in all schools, and Mandarin Chinese, which was mandated as the national language (*guoyu*), became the medium of instruction. In 1950, different levels of educational and social institutions were ordered to reinforce the implementation of the use of *guoyu*. Minnan Taiwanese was forbidden in schools and students were punished if they spoke the provincial dialect.[1] In 1957, the Nationalist government confiscated Bibles in Romanized Taiwanese text. The Ministry of Education wrote to the Ministry of Interior in 1984, asking it to command Christian missionaries to use *guoyu* as the language of instruction so as to match up with the education policy. It was not until 1993 that vernacular languages were incorporated into the curriculum of elementary schools in response to popular movements for the promotion of local dialects and languages. In 2007, the Executive Yuan passed the National Languages Development Bill, enshrining in law the official status of all indigenous dialects and languages.[2]

Political changes in modern Taiwan have had profound influences on Catholic evangelization. Since 1949, there has been a massive influx of clergy from various Chinese provinces. A result of the turbulent situation was that the Holy See, the local Catholic Church, Chinese clergy and foreign missionaries believed their stay in Taiwan was temporary so they expected to return soon to the mainland. Hence, they paid little attention to the issue of indigenization in Taiwan and did not help the Catholic faith to take root on the island. Most of the Chinese clergy did not learn the vernacular language of the Taiwanese people, nor did they encourage local priestly vocations, resulting in a 20-year gap in indigenous vocations. The Church cooperated with the government using Mandarin Chinese in liturgies and

the sacraments. Catholics in Taiwan seldom heard vernacular language during their first encounter with the Christian faith nor was there understanding when they celebrated religious liturgies. Therefore, on the one hand, Catholicism has long been regarded as a religion from outer provinces or dependent on the Nationalist government. On the other hand, Taiwanese civilians do not easily identify themselves with the Catholic faith because of the language barrier. As a matter of course, their desire to embrace the Catholic faith falls short.

The inculturation and indigenization of liturgical language in Taiwan is a most important issue and cannot be minimized. However, one does not need to identify the use of Mandarin Chinese in the Catholic Church with the Republic of China (ROC) government policy of promoting Mandarin at the expense of Minnan Taiwanese. The latter is purely a national language policy just as most modern states will have a national tongue for communication purposes with the exception of when education is universal and compulsory. Switzerland, Singapore and Canada do have a multilingual government policy. But India, where education is not universal, continues to be disjointed with its hundreds of languages. This chapter will study the use of languages in the liturgy.

Using the Mother Tongue as Liturgical Language

The island of Taiwan is located in the Western Pacific off the southeast coast of China. Waves of immigration over thousands of years have resulted in a great variety of ethnicity. The earliest known culture began with the arrival of Austronesian peoples (ancestors of today's Taiwanese aborigines, around 3000 BCE), followed by the Minyue culture (from an ancient Chinese kingdom in today's Fujian province, 334–111 BCE), and pirate culture and European cultures brought by Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish settlers (during the first half of the seventeenth century CE). Han Chinese from southeastern China moved to Taiwan after Cheng Cheng-kung* (Koxinga) fled to the island, built his kingdom (1662–1683) and began clearing extensive areas for cultivation. Since then, Chinese culture and religions such as Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism have taken root in Taiwanese society. From the mid-twentieth century to the present, thanks to the influence of post-war European and American cultures and the revival of native Taiwanese and aboriginal cultures, Taiwan has appeared in both traditional and modern cultural dimensions. Besides Austronesian languages of Taiwanese aborigines, widely spoken languages on the island

include Hakka, Minnan (Hokkien) and Mandarin Chinese, the lingua franca which is also called Putonghua in mainland China and Hong Kong.

Apart from foreign missionaries, the majority of Catholic clergy in Taiwan came from the mainland and therefore the Church's sacred liturgy and evangelization mainly use Mandarin Chinese. In fact, Taiwanese civilians speak Mandarin in school and civil service, but in everyday life, particularly doing the shopping in food markets and grocery stores, they naturally speak Minnan Taiwanese. Similarly, people use Mandarin during the mass, but greet each other in Taiwanese after the Eucharist. This segmentation in language use disconnects the faith and daily life. The Catholic faith cannot be brought down to earth, nor can daily life be integrated with the faith. The Acts of the Apostles records how the Holy Spirit came to the disciples at Pentecost: "They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak different languages as the Spirit gave them power to express themselves. They were amazed and astonished. 'Surely,' they said, 'all these men speaking are Galileans? How does it happen that each of us hears them in his own native language?'" (Acts 2:4, 7, 8) Native language is precisely the mother tongue, the language of life.

Let us take the Exodus as an instance. In around 1250 BCE, before Moses led the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt, he instructed each Israeli family to kill a male one-year-old sheep or goat and take some of its blood to put on both the doorposts and the lintel of their house. That night, when Yahweh went through Egypt to strike down all the first-born in Egypt, He passed over the doors marked with the blood so that those families could escape the destructive plague (Cf. Exodus 12:1–14). The Israelites had settled down in Egypt for 380 years and were deeply influenced by ancient Egyptian culture. Hence, the sign drawn with the blood of sheep or goats is the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic character Ankh that represents the concept of life (looped tau-cross). The Old Testament begins with Torah, the first five "Books of Moses," so its thought and language must be influenced by the culture of Egypt.

Likewise, although the Japanese colonialization lasted merely 50 years and ended 70 years ago, many Taiwanese daily expressions continue using Japanese pronunciation, for instance, young man (tsa-poo), young women (tsa-boo), toilet (pian-soo), motorbike (oo-too-bai), straightforward (at-sa-lih), feeling (khi-moo-tsih), slippers (su-lit-pah), apple (lin-goo) and lunch box (pian-tong). Accordingly, when a priest celebrates the Eucharistic liturgy and delivers his homily in the vernacular, parishioners feel warmer and are more willing to embrace the faith in their lives. Preaching the catechism

using the language of life allows people to understand and accept it more easily. They will no longer regard Catholicism as a foreign religion. Instead, employing the vernacular as a liturgical language arouses echoes in their hearts and inspiration in their lives.

Adjectives in native Taiwanese language are divided into one word, two words and three words. For example, when describing the color red, "ang" is red or light red; "ang-ang" means red in a comparative sense; a triplet of "ang-ang-ang" is the highest level, referring to bright red or deep red. And it becomes more vivid when matched with changing tones. The Minnan Taiwanese language has up to eight phonemic tones, with more cadences than the four-tone Mandarin. Taiwanese people would feel happy and experience a sense of identification when hearing authentic Taiwanese words in liturgical language. Therefore, the true essence of inculturation is expressed through a vivid liturgical language that touches people's lives and lifts up their hearts to God.

In a similar way, the clauses of sung prayers in the mass, such as the Kyrie and the Agnus Dei, are repeated three times, while the Sanctus begins with a triplet of "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus" to express the highest level of holiness. It seems as if the Minnan Taiwanese language coincides with Hebrew in expressing such concepts. Inculturation of liturgical language is a must, but regrettably, native Taiwanese clergy and lay Catholics can hardly read the Scriptures and prayers smoothly in their mother tongue and often make mistakes. It is because when, during the liturgy, they read the Mandarin Chinese lectionary in Minnan Taiwanese, the language cannot convey the meaning and thus results in stiffness and a lack of harmony.

Unique Culture of Taiwanese People

Most people in Taiwan tend to follow their family tradition when choosing a religious belief. When parents teach children values and norms, they also pass on their religious belief to the next generation. In addition, more than 30 percent of Taiwanese people embrace a religion for safety and security. About 20 percent want to find spiritual sustenance in a religious belief. Only 10 to 20 percent of believers embrace a religion because of its doctrines or practices.[3] It seems that Taiwanese religious believers, including Catholics, are rarely rooted in their faith and are not keen about seeking the ultimate values and meaning of life. This is the sticking point of Catholic evangelization work. Moreover, there are five unique features in the culture of Taiwan that contrast with the spirit of the Gospel:

The Culture of "Cows Eat Grass": Interest-Oriented

We borrow an example of the perception of relations among cows, chickens and grass to reflect on the culture type of Taiwanese people and the challenge of the expression of liturgical language. In several assemblies, when the author asked which two things are interrelated, over 80 percent of the participants chose cows and grass, because "cows eat grass." However, you may get a different answer in Europe and America. Western people usually think cows and chickens are interrelated because both are animals, whereas grass is a plant. This is a difference in culture and mentality. Eastern people, especially Taiwanese, live in the culture of "cows eat grass" and therefore they are particular about eating. Chinese people also think highly of humanity, livelihood, interests, practicality, unity, harmony and suchlike. These concepts belong to a realistic, horizontal, interpersonal relationship. They often ask: "What are the benefits?" or "Is it useful?" Hence, when considering religious belief, they tend to believe in gods who grant whatever is asked for. For instance, according to the traditional catechism, we believe in God for the salvation of our souls and to obtain eternal life; we attend Sunday Mass in order to fulfill the precepts of the Church and to receive Holy Communion. These are out of an interest-oriented mentality which is an expression of "seeking."

On the contrary, westerners and Christian doctrine attach importance to gradation, reason, logic, classification, essence, science, system, orderliness and so on. They belong to a vertical relationship between upper and lower positions. Western people care about meaning and self-enhancement in their life and faith. Besides concerning this-worldly matters, one of the essential doctrines of Christianity is to renounce the world and to pursue spiritual growth. It prompts the believers to be detached from fame and gain, and to seek the eternal life and the kingdom of God. Therefore, the mentality of "animals and plants are of different species" resembles religious dualism, for example, joy and sorrow, degradation and elevation, light and darkness, inward and outward, entering and renouncing the world, this world and the world to come, natural and supernatural, life and death.

"Cows eat grass," or a self-seeking attitude, symbolizes the horizontal cross-beam, and "cow and chicken" symbolizes the vertical one. They must be put together to form a full cross and are indispensable to each other. The Church often adopts the "cow and chicken" mentality and manner of expression in its liturgical language and evangelization. It puts

the emphasis on supernatural virtues and eternal life, but they seem impractical for ordinary people in Taiwan, as they care more about immediate interests. Therefore, they can find it difficult to identify themselves with Christianity and often subconsciously regard it as a foreign religion. This is a weak point of evangelization which is difficult to overcome.

The true spirit and the most difficult part of inculturation is how to translate "cows eat grass" into the meaning of "cow and chicken." Using language expressions that are easy for ordinary people to understand and identify themselves with would help Catholics to enhance their spiritual and religious life.

The Cultural Taboo on Talking about Death: Safety-Oriented

Taiwanese people avoid talking about death as they consider it taboo. They fear anything related to death and regard it as inauspicious. For instance, there is no fourth floor in hospitals and the last number on license plates cannot be four, because "four" sounds like "death" in Chinese. The taboo gives rise to a large number of synonyms in place of the word "death" when people want to mention it in a more tactful and elegant way. As death is unknowable, people believe that death is the most terrible misfortune.

However, the Church's preaching is frequently linked to the subject of death and it emphasizes that death precedes resurrection. Thus, words and expressions about death often appear in liturgical language and hit the nail on the head—Taiwanese people's taboo on talking about death. The cross, the principal symbol of the Christian faith, is the instrument of the crucifixion of Jesus. The altar is where Jesus sacrifices himself as a holocaust. Icons of the Stations of the Cross, which are commonly found in churches, focus on specific events of Jesus' passion and death. Would Taiwanese people feel uncomfortable when they enter churches full of death totems?

The Culture of Revenge: Material Justice

There is a common saying that "when a nobleman takes revenge, ten years is not too late." Chinese people's concept of retaliation is based on a shallow eye-for-an-eye code of justice. They believe that a murderer should be executed. Only after taking revenge, can a grudge be wiped out and the ghost of one who died unjustly be consoled and reincarnated. This concept is completely opposed to the Gospel spirit of love for enemies.

In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus exhorted the crowd that they would be blessed if they were "gentle," "peacemakers" and were "persecuted in the cause of uprightness" (Matthew 5:4, 9, 10.) He urged them "love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you" (Matthew 5:44.) Yet, a recent survey in Taiwan showed that 87.9 percent of the respondents oppose the abolition of the death penalty and 82 percent think that the death penalty could deter crime.[4] Immersed in such a hostile atmosphere, the Church's appeal for the abolition of the death penalty becomes an act of deviation from prevalent public opinion. As a result, the teaching of "love God and love your neighbor" is difficult to communicate to society.

The Culture of Shame and Arrogance

A devout Catholic layperson A invited his neighbor B to attend the mass on a Sunday. After the mass ended, A asked about B's impressions and B answered: "It's pretty good." A: "Which part is good?" B: "The hymns." A: "Our entrance hymn, offertory hymn and communion hymn were well sung. Which hymn touched you most?" B: "The Kyrie." It was an unexpected answer. Many Catholics may think the polyphony with threefold repetition sung in each mass is wordy and insipid, but why did it touch a person who participated in the Mass for the first time? It is disgraceful and inconceivable for Chinese people to ask for mercy from another person. However, the assembly in the church together prays for God's mercy. It not only astonishes but also moves non-believers that everybody sings aloud and in unison the prayer for mercy. Actually, Chinese people do not have the concept of sin in their culture, but only shame. Instead of seeking forgiveness and repentance, they tend to feel shameful and cover themselves when they are at fault.

During a family visit, a faithless, elderly man pointed to a scroll of calligraphy *Zhizhu changle* (happiness consists in contentment) hanging on the wall and said to me: "The attitude of *zhizhu changle* is enough for my life. Why do I need to believe in Jesus?" He also insisted that the profundity of Confucian ethics was not inferior to that in the Bible. Indeed many Chinese, including the ordinary people in Taiwan, take *zhizhu changle* as their motto. That is a lofty philosophy of life. However, from a religious perspective, it could become an arrogant attitude indicating that people do not need a Messiah for salvation. They can live happily provided that they are not bound by greed, and do not care for the ultimate goal of life.

Some people may even feel shameful if they admit they need the salvation of Jesus! Because of this national characteristic, Chinese people tend to accept Buddhist practices more easily, but embrace the doctrine of Christianity with difficulty.

Due to self-esteem and arrogance, our humanity prevents us from becoming humble and begging forgiveness easily. At the same time, we do not easily pardon other people. After Jesus was crucified on the cross, he prayed: "Father, forgive them; they do not know what they are doing" (Luke 23:34.) He also taught his disciples to pray for God's forgiveness: "Forgive us our debts, as we have forgiven those who are in debt to us" (Matthew 6:12.) Jesus interpreted the Gospel spirit of forgiveness in the parable when a master canceled all the debt of a servant and let him go (Matthew 18:23–35.) Such a spirit does not exist in Chinese culture. For the Chinese, to forgive or pardon means not to retaliate for the moment but it does not reach the extent of full acceptance. The Chinese generally perceive that forgiveness makes them look weak, condones transgressions, allows others to take advantage, equals to giving up principles and so on. Therefore, when prayers and homilies in Catholic liturgies repeatedly mention salvation, penance, confession and forgiveness of sins, the Chinese may feel uncomfortable when hearing them.

The Culture of Acquiring Tao and Becoming Celestial: Humanism

Chinese folk religion in Taiwan is polytheistic and syncretistic in nature. It is a mixture of Buddhism, Taoism and other folk beliefs. Contrary to the creator God in monotheism, some deities of folk religion were once humans who acquired the Tao and attained immortality. A few years ago, a worker who stopped at the Marian grotto in my parish asked, "Is Mary the highest god of Catholicism?" I said: "No, Catholicism is not a religion of the Blessed Virgin Mary. We worship the Most High God, one God in three divine persons. Mary is a human, not god. Jesus Christ is the Son of God and He is God." Then the worker asked: "Did Jesus achieve the Tao and so become God? And Mary is a human and not God, because she didn't achieve the Tao?" I replied, "No, Mary is a true acquirer of the Tao and Jesus is the Tao Himself."

In Chinese folk religion, human heroes who are deified after death, such as the Yellow Emperor (Huang Di), Guan Yu, Yue Fei*, Cheng Cheng-kung* and Mazu, are popularly worshipped by Taiwanese people

together with deities of nature and special deities for various walks of life. Do Taiwanese people regard angels and saints of the Catholic Church also as deities?

The word *bai* (to worship) is commonly used in Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese languages. It has four levels of meaning: (1) Worshiping God, the Lord of heaven (Tian Gong) or the Most High; (2) Worshipping sages, asking for their intercession and blessing, taking them as a model; (3) Worshipping ancestors, cherishing their memory and holding ceremonies to pray for their entry into heaven; (4) Showing respect to others in interpersonal communication, such as *koubai* (to bow down), *baituo* (to request a favor), *baijian* (to pay a formal visit), *baishou* (to offer birthday felicitations to an elder) and *ganbaixiafeng* (to admit inferiority.) When using the same word for different objects, we must make its meaning clear. Civilians who do not understand the Catholic Church may misconceive it as a religion that worships the Blessed Virgin Mary, and even consider her as the chief god whom Catholics worship. In addition, local people think that the Catholic Church should learn from folk religion to allow its faithful to burn incense to pay homage to ancestors.

Limitations of Vernacular Languages

According to the *Almanac of Taiwan Literature 2009*,[5] about 73 percent of people in Taiwan speak Minnan Taiwanese. It is a common language of everyday life, whereas Mandarin Chinese is the official language that Taiwanese people use in school and civil service. Both languages have their limitations in interpreting the Catholic faith and expressing the liturgical spirit.

"Love" Is Not a Common Word in Taiwanese

John the Evangelist says: "God is love" (1 John 4:16) and love is the nature of God. The creation of God the Father, the salvation of the Son and the sanctification of the Holy Spirit are done in love. Hence, the Bible, the Commandments, the teachings, catechism and liturgy of the Church are based on, elaborate on and end in love. Love is an interactive relationship, which is vital to our life. However, there is no "love" in Taiwanese. Teng is often used instead of *ai* to express the affection, for example, *tengxi* (to cherish) and grandpa *teng* his grandchildren. The meaning of "love" is equivalent to that of "mercy" (*cibei*) in Chinese

language. But the common people have a deep feeling for the Buddhist teaching of mercy, whereas they do not understand the Christian teaching of love.

Taiwanese people have a deviated concept of love (*ai*). Jesus said, "No one can have greater love than to lay down his life for his friends" (John 15:13). This is an altruistic sentiment of sacrificing oneself for others. On the contrary, Taiwanese people's cognition of love is self-interested, like a couple falling in love. Also because the pronunciation of "to love" is the same as "to want" in Taiwanese, both are *ai*, it strengthens the possessiveness of "love" in a literal meaning. When Taiwanese talk about love, except for affection between lovers, it must be comprehended in the context of the egoistic "want." As a result, Jesus' teaching of "love your enemies" is unacceptable for Taiwanese people. They are either indifferent or sick of scriptures and prayers in Catholic liturgy that mention about forgiveness and love for enemies. When Chinese people say "a man will not live under the same sky with the enemy who kills his father," how can they "like" enemies? In fact, the Gospel spirit does not demand us to be fond of our enemies, but to pray for them. At the present cultural level, Taiwanese people still have a long way to go if they want to raise their egoistic natural desire to altruistic supernatural realm.

Chinese Nouns Have No Gender and Plural

Besides a few pronouns and nouns such as he/him, she/her, mother, elder sister and younger sister whose gender can be recognized by the radicals of the characters, most Chinese words do not have a gender. Nor does the Chinese language have an explicit concept of plurality.

In the most basic Catholic prayer, namely the Sign of the Cross,[6] the Chinese version cannot show whether the word "name" is singular or plural while in English, "name" is singular although it refers to three persons. That means they are not three gods, but one God in Trinity. Due to the limitation of Chinese language, local Catholics may not realize the profound meaning of the Sign of the Cross and that they are proclaiming their faith in the Trinity whenever they make the sign.

Concerning the gender of nouns, for a further example, Chinese people only know that Church (*jiaohui*) and parish (*tangqu*) are communities, but in Italian, *Chiesa* and *parrocchia* are feminine, implying that both are like a mother who breeds and takes care of all Catholics.

Reading of Chinese Words Is more Important than Listening

Languages convey meaning by sounds. Most European and American languages are phonetic, whereas the Chinese language has a unique ideographical writing system. One character may have multiple meanings and a few characters form a term or an idiom. Both the sounds and written words of the Chinese language have an artistic conception. For example, when hearing the word *dajia*, one might perceive a physical conflict but when reading the two characters, they literally mean an interaction of attack (*da*) and resist (*jia*) between two or more persons. Television programs in Taiwan are usually equipped with Chinese subtitles at the bottom of the screen to satisfy viewers' desire to have a triple experience of sounds, images and words.

Before the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65), Chinese Catholics called the act of attending a Eucharist service *wangmisa*, literally looking at a Mass from afar. Because the laity could not understand Latin and the priest turned his back to the people, they could only look afar without any sense of participation. After the reforms, the laity could understand the Eucharist celebrated in the vernacular language and could see movements of the priest who faced them, but still they might need to read the Missal. Nowadays, many technologically advanced parishes use overhead projectors and PowerPoint displays during the Mass thus leading the participants to look at the screen rather than at the priest.

Direct Literal Translation from Mandarin Chinese to Taiwanese Is Impossible

The majority of parishes in northern Taiwan use Mandarin Chinese to celebrate their liturgies. Parishes in central and southern parts of the island use both Mandarin and Minnan Taiwanese languages. In the northwestern Taoyuan-Hsinchu-Maoli region, parishes use Mandarin and Hakka. As for aborigines, the liturgical language is mainly Mandarin. Different languages cannot dialogue with each other. In the case of parishes in southern Taiwan, Eucharistic celebrants often alternate Mandarin with Taiwanese when giving a homily. A reading in Taiwanese needs Mandarin translation. However, when Mandarin is directly translated into Taiwanese, it becomes meaningless and incomprehensible, or even makes people laugh. Indeed, many terms need to be replaced by completely different ones.

Ever since Catholicism was introduced into Taiwan by Spanish and other western missionaries, the Bible, the Missal and Church teachings have been translated from foreign languages into Chinese. For example, the terminology of spirituality comprises meditation, contemplation, spirituality, sanctification, supernatural, transcendence, adoration, worship, prayer, being filled with the Holy Spirit, harmony between God and man (or body and soul), practice of Christian virtues, among others. For such fruitful terminology, the translation must be precise. Due to the difficulty of translation and the aforesaid limitations of the vernacular languages, sometimes the translated scriptures and prayers fail to express what is meant. Therefore, they cannot lead people to comprehend the truths of the Catholic faith and to take in the Gospel spirit. Occasionally, the texts greatly reduce the rich meaning and spiritual liveliness of a liturgy. In short, the inculturation of liturgical languages needs all-round efforts to improve the quality of translation and training of Eucharistic celebrants and catechists.

Three Suggestions

Catholics may not be able to explain in comprehensible language some liturgical terms that they have taken for granted, such as the Eucharist, baptism, God, death, heaven, hell, salvation and amen, to people outside the Church. One day a group of devout Catholics made a pilgrimage to the cathedral. A non-Catholic girl, about 7–8 years old, was also inside the cathedral with her father. She asked the Catholics, "Why was Jesus crucified? And why do so many people believe in Him although he was crucified?" This is one of the most basic doctrines of the Church but none of those Catholics knew how to give an answer on the spot. Why could they not respond to the girl in good order and with good reasoning? The fact is that many Catholics have only vague ideas about this knowledge, because of the insufficient inculturation of liturgical languages and the gap between Chinese culture and the Gospel spirit. At the end of this essay, we propose three suggestions:

First, let the liturgical language touch people's lives. The context of Taiwan is very odd. In political terms, the identification of nationality is unclear. In the Eucharistic liturgy, the use of Mandarin Chinese may puzzle rural and elderly people; if Taiwanese is used, students and children can hardly respond, while people from other provinces cannot understand. As a result, the choice of liturgical language should be based on the habit of

the congregation. If it is impossible to satisfy both sides, the mother tongue of the majority is the choice. No matter whether Mandarin or Taiwanese is used, we should make it the language of life in the liturgy. Echoing the local culture, it should help Catholics to practice their faith life in communion.

Indeed the Church has not paid enough attention to indigenization in language use. But ever so slowly, there are remedial make-up actions. Hence, in prayers and hymns for the Mass, there are now an increasing number of occasions when Minnan Taiwanese is used, particularly in homilies. But then, of course, there are still minority groups whose mother tongue is Mandarin Chinese and who may not understand Minnan Taiwanese, not to speak of the aborigine residents. These can be explicated to show the difficulties the Church is facing in proselytization and therefore the church needs to encourage more inculturation. Truly, St. Paul spoke the commonly used Greek rather than only Hebrew many times when spreading the gospel among Jewish and gentile communities.

The inculturation of liturgical language aims at internalizing the faith among Catholics. On the one hand, since Taiwanese speakers account for the majority of the population, the Church in Taiwan should promote the use of Taiwanese as the liturgical language; however, it cannot be rigid or by compulsion but should allow the Church community to adapt to it naturally and slowly. The use of Taiwanese is to make local Catholics feel that the faith is not in external liturgies but is closely related to their personal lives. Hence, a homily given by the Eucharist celebrant should go deep into the essence of language and also touch the circumstances of everyday life. Needless to say, homilies should also fill the gaps in the meaning of the faith that liturgical language cannot fully express.

Second, the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference (CRBC) should form a committee for the indigenization of liturgical language. Language expressions are the surface level but culture is embedded in the deep structure. On a higher level, Archbishop Stanislaus Lokuang was most concerned with indigenization and the use of Chinese during Church activities and seminary education. He endeavored for many years to employ Confucian texts and interpretations alongside the Church's Greco-Roman Christian texts to help people understand Christianity better. But there is always a cultural gap, among common people and even among intellectuals. It was Cardinal Paul Yupin who finally received the Vatican endorsement that Chinese could pay homage and venerate their ancestors without its being labeled as heresy.

The quality of Church liturgies depends not only on sacred music, smoothness of the liturgy and the devotion of the congregation; the celebrant's homily and prayers also play a crucial role. The author suggests that the CRBC Commission for Sacred Liturgy form a committee for the indigenization of liturgical language. It would be responsible for Bible translation and revision of liturgical prayers as well as studying the use of liturgical language and expressions of the faith in vernacular language. For example, it should publish a corrigendum of Catholic terminology in Chinese language for parish priests and catechists, such as using *xuansheng** or *liesheng* *instead of *fengsheng** for canonization, as the latter word usually applies to a living person.

Third, the local Church should launch a vernacular language course for clergy. If the Church in Taiwan wants to promote pastoral work and evangelization in Minnan Taiwanese, it needs to publish Taiwanese Bible, missal and other liturgical books. But does the Church have enough experts in the translation of vernacular language today? Moreover, Taiwanese liturgical books would be useless if the people do not know how to use them. The Church needs to launch language courses for clergy, evangelization workers and lay catechists. Native Taiwanese believers and those who are accustomed to speaking Taiwanese also need re-formation, because the inculturation of liturgical language requires in-depth mutual learning so that such formation will achieve uniformity in language usage.

Conclusion

Liturgical language is an important tool in two-way communication between man and God. Through this communication, the truth and the wisdom of God's revelation can be manifested. At the same time, our lives are filled by God's grace, and then purified, transformed and elevated to the realm where we can share the life of God. The faith itself is a mystery. It is not easily expressed by limited human language. Inculturation of liturgical language does not focus on the choice of language, but rather it is concerned with whether the liturgical language can enter the inner life of Catholics and influence their outer life. That is why the Church in Taiwan should attach great importance to implementing the inculturation of liturgical language so that it can achieve the goal of bringing Catholic faith down to earth and integrating daily life with the faith. It can also shed the image of "foreign religion" which hinders its evangelization. Inculturation enables the laity to accept the Catholic faith as a

native religious belief and then to learn how to care for their ultimate destiny, the value and meaning of their lives. Its greatest efficacy is in supporting the laity to achieve sanctification of daily life, purification of life and enhancement of culture.

Notes

1. The author was punished for speaking Minnan Taiwanese at his elementary school (1961–1967). A placard with "I have to speak *guoyu*" written on it was hung around his neck.
2. Cf. "Taiwan yuyan zhengce dashi ji (Major Events of the Development of Taiwan's Language Policies)," the website of *National Museum of Taiwan Literature*, http://nmtldig.nmtl.gov.tw/taigi/02sp/04_list.html
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4. This survey result was released by the National Development Council on April 21, 2016. Cf. Alison Hsiao, "Nearly 90% against abolishing death penalty: poll," *Taipei Times*, April 22, 2016, http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2016/04/22/2003644522
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6. Catholics make the Sign of the Cross before and after their prayers, but in fact the Sign of the Cross is a prayer itself. The Trinitarian formula in English is: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

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CHAPTER 7

Chinese Sacred Music in Taiwan After Vatican II: Historical Review and Outcomes

Feng-chuan Liu

Introduction

Visible components and recognizable symbols such as paintings, totems, ceremonies and especially music are meaningful elements for knowing and understanding religions. Among them, ancient Latin songs sung in liturgical ceremonies have long been recognized as a valued legacy in the Catholic Church. The use of the Latin language in liturgies is traditional. However, this tradition needed to be modified in order to encourage people without knowledge of Latin to become involved in the liturgy, especially in rubrics, readings, prayers and chants.

The use of the vernacular language has been accepted officially since *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy 1963) was promulgated in 1963. The Constitution states that:

> *The use of the Latin language, with due respect to particular law, is to be preserved in the Latin rites. But since the use of the vernacular, whether in the*

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> *Mass, the administration of the sacraments, or in other parts of the liturgy, may frequently be of great advent to the people, a wider use many be made of it.* (Pope Paul VI 1963, Art. 36)

The first session of Vatican II examined liturgical texts and the levels of utilizing native languages to adapt to peoples of different cultures and regions and the powers and duties of regional Bishops' Conferences. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* promulgated at the conclusion of the Council contains detailed regulations and norms pertaining to different issues. The Catholic Church in Taiwan has made considerable effort to implement these Vatican directives and encourage people with musical talent to write sacred music in order to meet the demand for liturgy in the vernacular. It is now more than 50 years since *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was promulgated. However, no formal study has been made which focuses on the history of sacred music in Taiwan and the results that have been achieved.

In Taiwan many languages are spoken including Mandarin Chinese, Hakka and Taiwanese (derived from use in Fujian, China), as well as other indigenous dialects. For political reasons, Mandarin was adopted as the official national language; therefore the majority of parishes in Taiwan use Mandarin Chinese as a liturgical language. Consequently, most of the liturgical songs are written in or translated into Mandarin Chinese. This chapter concentrates on the creation of sacred music that has been written in Mandarin Chinese after Vatican II.[1] The first section of this article provides a brief historical overview of the dominant language "Latin" and sacred music forms in liturgy. The second part focuses on language in liturgy while the third focuses on a presentation of existing official Church sacred music and the outcomes that have been achieved in Taiwan. This chapter closes with an analysis and discussion of the classification of Chinese sacred music publications with the problems and limitations that occur in the current situation. Suggestions for future development of liturgical music also are proposed.

Sacred Music and the Latin Language

The music for liturgical ceremonies in the Catholic Church is called sacred music and described as "the musical tradition of the universal Church … a treasure of inestimable value greater even than that of any other art" (*Sacrosanctum Concilium* 1963: Art. 112). Its purpose is the glory of God and the sanctification of the faithful, and it is also understood as created for

the celebration of divine worship (Musicam Sacram 1967. Art. 4a). The divine worship of Catholics mainly consists of two categories of liturgical rites: the Divine Office or Prayer of the Church and the Holy Mass. The "hours" of the Divine Office: Office of Readings, Morning Prayer, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Evening Prayer and Night Prayer can be prayed as an individual or communal religious act. They are structured on a four-week cycle and follow the pattern of the Church's liturgical year: Advent, Christmas, Lent, Paschal time and Ordinary Time. However, the Mass is a communal celebration, described as the source and summit of the Christian life. It too, like the Divine Office, follows the pattern of the Church's liturgical year but on a three-year cycle to allow maximum access to biblical readings. Most sacred music is composed for different kinds of Masses that combine text and liturgical action. For example, the music created for a Mass can be categorized into three types: (a) melody with texts that are chanted by the priest alone, (b) the Ordinary that contains the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, and (c) the Proper that includes Introit, Gradual, Tract or Sequence, and Communion.

The use of Latin has been preserved as a Catholic tradition, even in the words of sacred music. Officially, mentioning the use of the vernacular in sacred music can be traced back to the papal document *Tra le Sollecitudini (Instruction in Sacred Music: Pope Pius X 1903)*. The Roman Church, however insisted on retaining the use of Latin as an official language in liturgy by promulgating many constitutions, such as *De Musica Sacra et Sacra Liturgica* (the *Instruction on Sacred Music and Sacred Liturgy, 1958*). In a situation where most lay people were not familiar with Latin, using Latin in the liturgy was still blocking their wholehearted involvement in worship, especially in mission lands. Although occasional exceptions were allowed, only when local Ordinaries judged it acceptable could the vernacular be adopted in liturgical worship. This rule not only hindered the dissemination of the Gospel message in lands all over the world, but also limited the creation of sacred music in vernacular languages. Eventually, *Sacrosanctum Concilium (Constitution on Sacred Liturgy)* was promulgated in 1963, and the comprehensive use of vernacular language in the liturgy was officially and finally granted. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* urged the creation of vernacular sacred music throughout the Church wherever it would foster the spiritual good of the faithful. Taiwan was one such place.

The Church claimed in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* that liturgical reform is an adaptation of culture. However, to understand how Christian evangelization could be adapted to different cultures, it is

necessary to realize that cultural adaptation is not something static; it is a process, a communication, an activity, also a kind of evolution (Alszeghy 1981, 52–7). If the adaptation to a culture only embraces the known factors of the local culture, without exploring its unknown content, adaptation remains a kind of intellectual exercise. Cultural adaptation may better be envisaged as a path from emotional sublimation to internalization. The Church now stated that while the substantial unity of the Roman rite should be preserved, it respects and fosters the qualities and talents of the various races and nations, and stresses that a rigid uniformity in matters which do not involve the faith or the good of the whole community is not helpful (cf. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 1963, Art 38).

Latin, long accepted as the single language provision in Catholic rituals, did not meet the needs of people and cultures around the world. In order to adapt to the culture of those for whom Latin was not familiar, a more pastoral use of language would play an important role. Therefore, the Church promoted the use of the vernacular:

> *But since the use of the mother tongue, whether in the Mass, the administration of the sacraments, or other parts of the liturgy, frequently may be of great advent to the people, the limits of its employment may be extended. This will apply in the first place to the readings and directives, and to some of the prayer and chant.* (Sacrosanctum Concilium 1963:Art. 36–2)

Other than the permission to use the vernacular, it also stated:

> *In certain parts of the world, especially mission lands, there are peoples who have their own musical tradition, and these play a great part in their religious and social life. For this reason due importance is to be attached to their music, and a suitable place is to be given to it, not only in forming their attitude toward religion, but also in adapting worship to their native genius.* (Sacrosanctum Concilium 1963:Art. 119)

To fully practice the adaptation to cultures instructed in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments later published a series of related documents, the Missale Romanum (1969) and Varietates Legitimae (1994) among others. They provided the specifications and instructions pertaining to issues in the indigenization of liturgy in dioceses.[2] The Church encouraged peoples to integrate native traditions into the expression of the Faith by allowing them to discover it from their known heritage and by experiencing the

significance of Christ through their church life. Overall, allowing churches worldwide to use vernacular language in liturgy is the cornerstone and milestone of liturgical reform.

The Official Leading Section of Sacred Music in Taiwan

Official involvement in the creation of liturgical music in the vernacular in Taiwan began from 1967, the time when the Section of Sacred Music and Art was first established under the supervision of the Bishops' Conference of the Catholic Church in China (the name changed in 1988 to the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference, CRBC). Based on the reform of administration, the official leading section for sacred music was restructured three times during the period from 1967~2016 (Liu 2015).

1. The Section of Sacred Music and Art (1967~1991)

During the pioneer years of the development of Chinese sacred music in the vernacular, the challenge was to create suitable Chinese sacred music in a short time to meet the requirements of liturgy. At that time, not all liturgical songs could be speedily composed in Chinese; consequently the original Latin music used in the Ordinary, such as Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, was temporarily retained, while the Proper was either adapted from a transliteration of the Latin or directly substituted with Chinese lyrics. Sometimes, parishes used songs composed by Protestants, or used the melodies of traditional folk songs and adapted the lyrics into Chinese religious texts. The various sources of music created inconsistency in the liturgy, a situation which raised problems for the Church in Taiwan. However, many pastors and music scholars did devote themselves to the composition of sacred music, making much effort in language translation, editing and composition to meet demands. Among them were Rev. Joseph Ly, Most Rev. Joseph Yu-Rong Wang, Msgr. Andrew Chao*, Msgr. C. M. Anthony Lau, Yong-Gang Li, Ou Kang and Te-Yi Liu.[3] Some of them persisted in the task and continued their commitment, even when transferred to other posts or sent for training abroad as was the case for Rev. Joseph Ly and Msgr. C. M. Anthony Lau. On the other hand, some composers simply gave up because they were over involved in their professional duties. This situation eventually brought the first stage of inculturation in sacred music to a close. However, progress was soon to begin again with a new administrative section called "The Editing Committee for Liturgical Songs".

2. The Editing Committee for Liturgical Songs (1991~2008)

Because of the importance of creating sacred music in Chinese, the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference restructured its administration for the development of sacred music, and established the Editing Committee for Liturgical Songs in 1991. Although a number of liturgical songs had been composed for the Ordinary and the Proper in the previous period, there was still much to be achieved. The foremost goals at this time were to harmonize the Chinese translations of liturgical texts, and to encourage the composition of more new Chinese liturgical songs. To maintain high musical consistency and quality, the committee announced a Policy on the Selection of Liturgical Songs as a standard to be followed.

In order to expand the source of collections in a short period of time, the committee commissioned some composers to create new works. Many were engaged; among them were Rev. Wu Hsin-haw, Hsu Jin-han, Lee Ho-jen, Lee Chung-he, He Guang-chen, He Kwan-chen, Fan Kwan-ji, Chang Hsuan-wen, Luo Cheng-rong, Chen Long and Su Kai-yi. The Committee set a four-stage working goal, namely the composition of responsorial psalms, composition of songs for Holy Week, songs for wedding and funeral Masses and an official publication of a liturgical songbook for all purposes.[4] The first three goals were completed and related songbooks were published; however, the fourth goal was left unfinished due to the further restructuring of administrative duties. Musical scholars or experts mainly composed the liturgical songs of this period therefore requiring a high level of musical literacy on the part of the singers. For this reason, in 2005, an Association of Responsorial Psalm Singers was organized in the dioceses in Taiwan to promote the newly composed songs for the parishioners. The final goal of an all-purpose official Chinese liturgical songbook has never been achieved.

3. The Commission of Sacred Music (2008~present)

The commission for Sacred Liturgy of the CRBC was restructured yet again in 2007 with new council members; a new section of sacred music was added under its supervision in March 2008 and named the Commission of Sacred Music. The objectives of this period included promoting the new Chinese liturgical songs, organizing educational workshops for musical literacy and sacred music for the faithful, and developing the research and composition of liturgical songs in the vernacular. Most of the work at this stage targeted promotion and education.

The Publication of Chinese Liturgical Songbooks

Due to the official implementation of the use of Latin in the Roman liturgy before Vatican II, the majority of parishioners did not find religious ritual, in itself, helpful as a source of grace and salvation for they could neither comprehend the meaning of the readings and the prayers nor sing together during the celebration (Wu 1980).

After the promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Church in Taiwan began official promotion of the production and circulation of Chinese liturgical songs. On the one hand, as previously mentioned, there has been no research to evaluate this kind of publication while on the other, for historical preservation, there is some urgency to collect and record these publications, especially noting those that are lost or out of print. For this chapter, publications of Chinese liturgical songbooks from around 1960 to the first half of 2015 were gathered based on the following sources,

1. Published literature: those discussed in these and related books.
2. Those mentioned by interviewers of the practitioners of sacred music in parishes, as well as in their personal collections.
3. The collections found in libraries.
4. Those used in parishes.
   From the sources mentioned above, 78 books were collected. Since no previous record or documentation has been devoted to the collection of liturgical music books in Chinese in Taiwan, it would be reasonable to assume the existence of many other books that could be missing or out of print and thus omitted from the data. Please see the appendix (Appendix 7.1) for the titles of books. Based on the content of those songbooks, three categories may be defined.

The songbooks can be divided into three categories, namely for the Missal (the Ordinary and the Proper), for the Breviary and for pastoral practice. To clarify their publication background and degree of use, the situation around the time of the promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* will first be described. Then will follow the development during the three reform periods, namely the Section of Sacred Music and Art (1967–1991), The Editing Committee for Liturgical Songs (1991~2008) and The Commission of Sacred Music (2008–present)

1. The situation before the promulgation of Sacrosanctum Concilium (circa 1660~1966)

Inculturation in liturgy, especially as regards language, was promoted officially by the promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in 1963. However, even earlier than the 1960s, some Chinese liturgical songbooks had been published. Six were collected for this research. *Mass for the Catholic Laity*[5] was written by Wang Ze-min and published by Kuangchi Cultural Group in 1959. This songbook was written in numerical notation and contained six pieces of liturgical music, including Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. *Collection of Sacred Songs*[6] was published in 1962 by Kuangchi, and issued by the Catholic Taichung Diocese. While the first edition was in staff notation, the later edition was changed to numerical notation in order to fulfill the need of most users who had difficulties in reading staff notation. This songbook comprises 495 songs; in addition to songs for Masses it also includes a complete collection of songs for liturgical celebrations, for example, for Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter and Ordinary Time, as well as songs for worship in the Church, for example, for the Lord, the Eucharist, the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Holy Mother of God. Most of the songs in *Collection of Sacred Songs* are translated from a variety of foreign song books, such as those in traditional Gregorian chant, some even translated by the sound instead of the meaning. It fails to render equivalent authorship, only either ambiguously listing the name of the composer or leaving it blank. Consequently, it is difficult to estimate the number of real liturgical songs that were composed in Chinese originally during this preliminary stage. This songbook was originally published for transitional purposes but has been greatly used over decades. It is also considered to be one of the most permanent liturgical songbooks in Taiwan. However, it has never been updated into a newer edition adapted to the changes and needs of the Church.

Songs for the Mass[7] is another music book printed by Kuangchi Cultural Group in the early 1960s. The first half of the content is readings and prayers for Masses, while the other half contains a selection of 78 liturgical songs. At the same time, a pocket-size (9.5 × 13 cm) book entitled *Four sets of Songs for the Mass* was printed in 1965 issued by the Archbishop Stanislaus Lokuang of Tainan Diocese.[8] This small book collects three original sets of songs for the Mass in Chinese with one original book in foreign languages translated into Chinese. Except for Missa in Re in the third book by-lined with the name of Dom Laurence Bevenot, no authorship is listed for the others. All the songs are printed using numerical notation.

In fact, numerical notation is one of the common features of books published during this period. Another characteristic is that the songs are mostly taken from other music books and are not new compositions. Moreover, the Chinese translations of readings and prayers in the Mass books are quite different from the current ones.

2. The Section of Sacred Music and Art (1967~1991)

The CRBC established the Section of Sacred Music and Art in 1967 promoting and supporting the development of Chinese sacred music in Taiwan. During this period, 33 songbooks were published by different institutions. Basically, these institutions can be divided into three types; one was the official Commission of Sacred Liturgy and the other two were religious orders and parishes in different dioceses.

At this time, The Commission of Sacred Liturgy revised the Latin readings used before Vatican II into Chinese and followed by adding new melodies with Chinese texts of the parts that priests chant in Masses, such as prefaces and the canon. All these solo melodies used by the priest in Masses were collected as a songbook called *New Melodies for the Prefaces and Canon of the Mass*. Subsequently, in 1987, this songbook was revised and entitled *Praising the Lord*.[9]

One of the most famous Chinese liturgical music composers was Rev. Joseph Ly. In 1972 he published his earliest liturgical songbook called *New Liturgical songs for the Choir*.[10] The book contains songs for the five stages of the liturgy: Entrance, Responsorial Psalm, Alleluia, Offertory and Communion, the five liturgical seasons: Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter and Ordinary Time, as well as weddings, and funerals. Other publications by Rev. Ly included *Simple songs for the Mass*[11] and *New Liturgical Songs for the Choir in Numerical Notation*.[12] His other songs were compiled with Msgr. Anthony Lau and Professor Ou Kang and called *Collected songs for the Mass*.[13] Owing to a lack of liturgical songs, *Hymns of Thanksgiving*[14] composed by Msgr. Anthony Lau was also published during this period of time. In order to fulfill the need of Masses, priests created many original Chinese liturgical songs for Masses that started the first step of inculturation in liturgical music in Taiwan.

Individual dioceses, deaneries and parishes in collaboration either edited or published song books. For instance, the Fourth Deanery in the Catholic Archdiocese of Taipei published *Catholic Sacred Music*[15] in 1988. Religious Orders also printed self-songbooks for liturgy. *Songs of the Sea*,[16] by the Congregatio Discipulorum Domini, contains a Chinese edition of

Gregorian chants translated by Fr. Peter Ma. In addition to liturgical songs, it also includes seasonal songs, for example, for Advent and Easter, and songs for pastoral occasions and activities. Besides all of those, a series of songbooks was produced by the Benedictine Fr. Ansley which included different sets of songs for liturgical usage, for example, Ordinary time, Feast days, Advent, Christmas and Lent. The Congregation of the Mission, Chinese Province, published *Selected Sacred Songs*[17] compiled by the St. Vincent de Paul Church, Linya District, Kaohsiung. It contains liturgical songs as well as selected songs for the Proper of the Mass and songs for pastoral activities. Most of the music books edited by dioceses, parishes or institutions aimed to be used for the Proper of the Mass, and for pastoral and prayer activities.

In 1970, 50 songs composed by Rev. Lucien Deiss was translated into Chinese and compiled by Fu Jen Faculty of Theology and published as *Biblical Hymns and Psalms*.[18] Before the beginning of each song, there are detailed directions for when and how these songs could be used so that parishioners could know how to properly apply them in liturgy. *Awake My Heart!*[19] is another songbook composed by Rev. Deiss published in 1986. It is considered the second volume of *Biblical Hymns and Psalms*. Both of them are for feasts and prayer activities. Although both are printed in five-line staff notation, numerical notation is inserted in the section for the Responsorial Psalm and four-part harmony for users who are not familiar with staff notation.

During this same period of time, the widely used hymn book *Hosanna*[20] was compiled and translated by the Fountain Pastoral and Liturgical Research Center and published in 1979. Although it is a comprehensive collection of 333 songs, most of the songs are translations from other languages. In addition to the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei for the Ordinary, others are for spiritual gatherings, and some are for the Proper, such as the Entrance, Offertory, Communion, and Recessional. The original resources for the songs were collected by editors while attending spiritual services in foreign countries as well as from a variety of liturgical music songbooks. Thus, only a small number of works in the book are original composition in Chinese and most of the songs do not list the name of the composer.

Songs and Hymns to Praise the Lord[21] one of the most popular and adopted songbooks for liturgy in Taiwan was published by the Association of Chinese Catholic University Students in 1983. It is adapted from *Age of Joy*[22] by Fu Jen Catholic High School. The 300 songs can be divided

into two types of music style: popular and sacred. While the songs classified as sacred music are supposedly to be used in the liturgy, the selection of popular songs for the Proper is left to be determined. That is, many of them need further assessment as to whether the musical style and lyrics accord with the religious atmosphere of a specific mass ceremony.

Some local dioceses (e.g. Kaohsiung Diocese), local parishes (e.g. Holy Rosary Minor Basilica in Kaohsiung), and a few Catholic institutions have printed a number of liturgical songbooks. Although Chinese was the language mostly used in the liturgy, it was equally important for the promotion of indigenization of the liturgy to produce content in Taiwanese language, the commonly used dialect in the southern part of Taiwan. Thus, Kaohsiung Diocese published a Chinese/Taiwanese sacred songbook entitled *Feasts of Sacred Music*[23] in 1986. *One Hundred Sacred Songs,*[24] edited by Brother Renato Marinello, published by Saint Mary's Hospital in Luodong in 1979, was compiled according to the sequence of the liturgy. Regardless of the quality of the musical work, it is a user-friendly reference book for music practitioners to select songs efficiently for each section of the celebration.

During the period of the Section of Sacred Music and Art (1967~1991), the managing Catholic administration vigorously promoted the composition of scores of songs for the liturgy, while a variety of Catholic institutions teamed up to produce musical liturgical songbooks. Most of these productions are translations of foreign works or edited works of old melodies with new lyrics. Only those songs produced by Catholic offices maintain a level of originality.

3. The Editing Committee for Liturgical Songs (1991~2008)

The Editing Committee for Liturgical Song was established to follow the norms and goals to produce songs mainly for liturgy. A series of books were published, for example, *Responsorial Psalms*,[25] *Common Responses for the Mass*,[26] *Prayers for Sundays and Feasts*,[27] *Celebrant's Prayers for Holy Week*,[28] *Gospel Readings for Holy Week*,[29] *A Liturgical Book for Holy Week,*[30] *Sacred Songs for Funeral and Memorial Services*,[31] and *Sacred Songs for the Sacrament of Marriage*[32] among others. Though the books produced aimed to accommodate the needs of the users, the writers and composers focused on artistic composition so that only those who were musically literate could use them with ease.

Similarly, a number of Religious Orders made efforts to compose liturgical music in Chinese. Rev. Alban Hrebic created five volumes of

liturgical music for Ordinary Time and Feasts, published by the Benedictine Order in Chiayi between 1993 and 1994. In 2005, the Little Sisters of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus published *the Music of Life*.[33] This is a book that contains both songs for the Ordinary and for prayer groups of the Communauté de Taizé. The songs were written either for pastoral activities or for the Proper in the celebration of Masses. In 2001, the Chinese Province of the Congregation of the Mission printed *Selected Sacred Songs*.[34] It bears the same title as another songbook published by the same Order in 1987. While the two books edited in two separate parishes have similar format and contents, the 2001 edition has more songs. The 2001 book seems to be an updated version of the 1987 book. However, no association was explicitly mentioned in the 2001 edition.

Some individual institutions possess their own song books. Holy Family Church, Taipei, one of the most well-known catholic churches there, uses *Prayers for the Sacrifice*[35] by the parishioners' choir group "The Horn". At the same time, the parish also uses one-page printouts of liturgical songs for Mass celebrations and many services and special occasions. *Prayers for the Sacrifice* contains translated songs as well as a number of original Chinese songs.

Proceeding from its work *Songs and Hymns to Praise the Lord* in 1983, the Association of Chinese Catholic University Students produced *Praise the Lord's Love in New Songs*,[36] 2002. It assembled about 30 songs for the celebration of Mass according to the liturgical calendar, plus over a hundred original works for the Mass, feasts and spiritual activities. Besides, two volumes of *New Songs for Evangelization*[37] were published in 1995 and 1999 with a collection of newly composed songs for pastoral activities and are highly accepted among young parishioners.

Liturgical music composed during this third period improved significantly both in quality and quantity. However, of the large number of songbooks published by the committee of the CRBC, only a few were adopted by parishes. Most of the parishes either followed their former practice and preference or conformed to the parish priest's wishes to use somewhat sub-standard liturgical music. Even worse was that a number of music books published by religious orders went out of print. Additionally, the goal to publish an all-purpose liturgical music book has not yet been achieved.

4. The Commission of Sacred Music (2008. 3~present)

During this period, *Music for a Mass of Faith*,[38] to celebrate the year of Faith (2014) proclaimed by the retired Pope Benedict XVI, is the only songbook published by the official Section for Sacred Music before the end of 2015. However, there is a publication plan for Chinese liturgical songbooks in process. As to the responsorial psalms in the liturgy, two works were published: *Responsorial Psalms for the Mass*[39] by Zhen Jiang, and *Responsorial Psalms for Sunday Mass*[40] for the three calendar years by Jerry Chu. The Fu Jen Academia Catholica of Fu Jen Catholic University reproduced a digitalized version of the three CDs previously created by Msgr. Lau and printed their musical scores. This series of three music books, titled *Hymns for the Liturgy*[41] comprised 60 original works composed by Msgr. Lau.

Discussion

Publication of original Chinese liturgical works slowed down during this phase (2008~present), and few institutions created usable music songbooks. Investigation indicates that the peak production of Chinese liturgical songs appears between the period of the Section for Sacred Music and Art (1967~1991) and the Editing Committee for Liturgical Song (1991~2008). The productions are for the Ordinary in the liturgy, as well as solo and responsorial pieces for priest, and deacons, and short chants. However, most of the songs are now out of print and used less frequently based on the result of interviews with choirmasters in a number of parishes and from field observation. As to the musical pieces for the Ordinary, namely the entrance song, offertory song, communion song and recessional, the majority are not originally composed in Chinese. This situation is well supported by the analysis of the contents of related songbooks based on the situation that a large number of parishes adopt songbooks published by institutions, such as *Hosanna* and *Songs and Hymns to Praise the Lord*. The majority of the songs are foreign music with new lyrics in Chinese simply added onto them. This model of production might have been acceptable in the early stages of developing acculturated liturgical music but it is debatable if it does not lead to the goal of the acculturation of liturgical music. However, based on the liturgical songbooks that have been published after the promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* there are aspects that can be discussed as orientation for the development of Chinese liturgical music.

The Quality of Chinese Liturgical Songs

The Chinese liturgical songs, including those for the Ordinary composed by Rev. Fr. Ly and Msgr. Lau and so on, the responsorial psalms by the CRBC, Chu and Jiang, and the works published by the official sections are all original compositions. Added to those, a substantial number of Chinese liturgical songs are translated versions from different places around the world. The songbooks of this type include *Collections of Sacred Songs, Hosanna, Anthology of Sacred Music* and *Songs and Hymns to Praise the Lord*. There are songs with Christian content but not approved according to the criteria of the Policy on the Selection of Liturgical Songs[42] promulgated by the CRBC. Therefore, until now, the selection of Chinese liturgical songs for the liturgy still remains inconsistent. It causes a mismatch with the norms and thus casts doubt on their appropriateness to be employed in liturgy.

As *Sacrosanctum Concilium* Art. 26 rules:

> *Liturgical services are not private functions, but are celebrations of the Church, which is the "sacrament of unity," namely, the holy people united and ordered under their bishop.*

Therefore, liturgical celebration is a collective and sacred practice. In order to sustain solemnity, any music that is published for liturgy should preserve the specific church music style in order to coordinate with liturgical practice. This demand of harmonization between liturgical music and liturgical practice sets high standards for the selection of liturgical songs regarding both the melodies and the lyrics. To create a sacrament of unity, it is necessary to rethink the real meaning of inculturation in Chinese liturgical music. It is not only a matter of translation of songs from foreign countries but creates and integrates the local music style and Christian lyrics into the composition of Chinese liturgical songs. Therefore, an official, formal Chinese liturgical songbook is needed in Taiwan.

The Consistency of Musical Format

The Chinese liturgical songbooks collected for this chapter use several modes of content order editing, for instance, by the number of strokes in the Chinese characters of the title, by themes or by the days and the feasts of the year. The result is that such editing causes inconvenience for parishioners. The users need to check backwards and forwards to different pages

as the liturgical ceremony proceeds. A liturgical music book should be arranged according to the progression of different parts of the liturgy so that the parish members find the songs with ease. However, based on observations in a number of parishes, worshippers do not utilize a particular music book for Masses. Instead, those responsible prefer a one-page printout, possibly because they could not find a suitable songbook to meet their liturgical needs. From the collection and investigation of liturgical songbooks that has been made for this chapter, it is easy to see that most songbooks are not fully designed to fulfill the procedure of the liturgy. Songs that would be helpful are scattered over different songbooks. It does not facilitate worshipful liturgy but indicates that Catholics in Taiwan might find it convenient to have an official liturgical songbook for general use in spite of the difficulty of deciding which songs should be collected. Even so, it is worth the attempt and does not prevent parishes using their own one-page song sheet if they prefer to do so.

Most liturgical songbooks in Taiwan are printed with numerical notation, while the books published by the official section of sacred music of the CRBC adopted staff notation more frequently. Numerical notation is widely accepted and used by parishioners in general because the system of music recognition is straightforward with numbers that are easy to remember. In order to achieve rapid circulation for universal use and to adopt an international music system of writing, it is suggested that using both staff notation and numerical notation for future publishing of official Chinese liturgical songbooks. This bi-notation method might serve as a substitute during the transitional period and give time to evaluate the possibility of universal staff notation at parish level.

The Need for an Official Liturgical Songbook

Drawing from the previous discussion and analysis, although substantial numbers of songbooks have been published during these 50 years, there still exists a widespread demand for Chinese liturgical songs, even an official liturgical songbook. Some suggestions for the publication of an official liturgical songbook are presented for consideration. The first task is to organize a committee of general professional musicians and core church music practitioners of liturgy in order to set up the norms for selecting liturgical songs. It can be done from two directions; one is critique of the existing songs, and the other is encouraging new compositions.

The norms for the composition of Chinese liturgical songs[43] were set by the Editing Committee for Liturgical Song in 2004. First, these norms can be used as professional criteria for critique of the existing songs, and they can also be followed as guidelines for new compositions. Secondly, the committee can establish other criteria as auxiliary references including the standards for transitional liturgical music style, their suitability for use in the liturgy, and the frequency and conditions of their use in the parishes.

Another important issue concerns authorship. Since most of the Chinese translated liturgical songs do not carry the names of the original composers and lyric writers, copyright is violated. If a new official Chinese liturgical songbook is to be compiled for general use among Catholics in Taiwan, the editors need to discover who the authors are, list their names, and obtain rights of reprinting and use. It could be noted here that no existing song book carries an *imprimatur*.

The situation has also emerged that a large number of the songbooks described in this research are out of print. Due to lack of the concept of historical preservation, many songbooks have been overlooked. For reasons of preservation, the Church in Taiwan should use digitalized technology to preserve old works. Setting up an electronic database of liturgical music resources would support the promotion of and education for Chinese liturgical songs. A further approach in the development of Chinese sacred music could be to set up an official web communication platform of Chinese Catholic sacred music to deliver and share information.

Additionally, a critical goal is to maintain a system to nurture young musicians in liturgical music. Only in this way, can original works be composed instead of relying on translations of foreign works. Possible plans might include a series of professional liturgical music training courses for the key musical practitioners in the parishes, and for religious Brothers and Sisters. An educational scheme treating liturgical music might have a profound impact on the development of the sacred music in Taiwan for future generations. However, the success of developing Chinese liturgical music will be promoted only by a deployment of human resources and financial support.

Conclusion

Inculturation was discussed over a long period of time but not widely adopted until the end of the 1970s (Criveller 2005). Though the term "inculturation" was not specifically mentioned in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*,

the document proclaimed that individual countries and dioceses should embrace the local language and culture as a norm for the reformation of liturgy. This request urged the Catholic Church in Taiwan to promote and develop inculturation in Chinese liturgical music. The publication of Chinese liturgical songbooks as presented in this research can be seen as one of the outcomes of inculturation in Taiwan. The result describes not only a "marriage" of western religious culture with Taiwanese culture, but also a faithful expression of the Christian faith in Taiwanese evangelization endeavor.

This chapter has reviewed the development of Chinese liturgical music in Taiwan over the past 50 years. The encounter of western and eastern culture gives rise to two conflicting situations, as Standaert (1993, 30–31) proposed; one is alienated acculturation, and the other is integration of inculturation. This phenomenon was proved by the collection of Chinese liturgical songbooks that presented a disregard of native musical style and the over-riding adoption of foreign liturgical music during the beginning stages. Standaert (1993, 37) claims that no foreign culture can be embraced in its entirety. Taiwan local musicians may begin to utilize unique native music components, for example, the pentatonic scale and language rhyme. Thus, through the developing process of Chinese liturgical music, the components of foreign music could be eventually integrated into local music. However, progress in inculturation of Chinese liturgical music is still slow to achieve renewal in the transformation of its musical style and arrive at its final stages.

The purpose of promoting Chinese liturgical music is for Catholics in Taiwan to better experience the depth of liturgical worship and true love of Christ through the vernacular culture. This further expresses the presentation of our Faith. However, the process of inculturation takes time. It could be hampered by imprudence but is achievable through informed and intelligent effort. It is impossible and would be naïve to set universal rules for inculturation since inculturation is only realized if closely connected to authentic native culture. On reviewing the development of Chinese liturgical music in Taiwan, it is clear that its creation closely imitated the heritage of the liturgy in Latin. Although the traditional Latin liturgical music still remains, new forms of Chinese liturgical music have been created step by step during the three periods of official church organizations of sacred music, but only slowly. Nevertheless, it is sure that these songs of praise to God will continue to be sung by generations yet to come.

Appendix 7.1 A List of Published Song Books for Eucharist Liturgy of the Catholic Church in Taiwan (1960–2016)

I. Initial Period (circa 1960–1966)

	Name	*Publisher*	*Date of Publishing*	*Contents*	*Remarks*
1	大眾彌撒 Dazhong misa; Mass for the Catholic Laity	Kuangchi Press	July 1959	Numbered notation / Ordinarium	Edited by James A. Collignan, M.M.
2	彌撒經曲 Misa jingqu; Songs for the Mass	Kuangchi Press	October 1960	Staff notation / Includes songs for all Mass sections	
3	聖歌薈萃 Shengge huicui; Collection of Sacred Songs	Kuangchi Press	1962 First edition	A collection of staff notation / Includes songs for all Mass sections	
4	聖歌薈萃 Shengge huicui; Collection of Sacred Songs	Kuangchi Press	1962 First edition	A collection in numbered notation / Includes songs for all Mass sections	
5	中文彌撒四曲 Zhongwen Misa Siqu; Four Sets of Songs for the Mass	Tseng-Tsiang Publishing Co.	1963 Second edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium	
6	團體彌撒 Tuanti Misa; Mass for Community	Kuangchi Press	1965 First edition	Staff notation and numbered notation / Ordinarium	

II. The Section of Sacred Music and Art Period (1967–1991)

	Name	*Publisher*	*Date of Publishing*	*Contents*	*Remarks*
1	信友歌唱彌撒 Xinyou Gechang Misa; Singing Mass for the Laity	CRBC Commission for Sacred Liturgy (ed. & trans.)	1968 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium and other Mass music	
2	新增頌謝詞及感恩經 Xinzeng songxieci ji gan'enjing; New Preface and Canon of the Mass	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1968 First edition	Staff notation / Other Mass music	
3	讚頌上主 Zansong xiangzhu; Praising the Lord	Chaozhou Dominican Order	1968 First edition	Numbered notation / Includes songs for all Mass sections and other liturgical songs	
4	聖經樂章 Shengjing Yuezhang; Biblical Hymns and Psalms	Kuangchi Press	1970 First edition	Staff notation / Proprium	
5	通俗中文第二彌撒合唱 Tongsu zhongwen dier misa hechang; Popular Chinese Second Mass Chorus	Lotung St. Mary's Hospital, Taiwan	1970 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium and other Mass music	Marinello Renato (馬仁光), M.I.
6	新禮彌撒合唱曲集 Xinli misa hechang quji; New Liturgical songs for the Choir	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1971 First edition	Staff notation / Proprium	Joseph Ly Zhen-bang (李振邦)
7	聖誕彌撒曲 Shengdan misa qu; Christmas Mass Songs	Holy Family Church	1972 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	

(*continued*)

(continued)

	Name	*Publisher*	*Date of Publishing*	*Contents*	*Remarks*
8	簡易彌撒曲 Jianyi misa qu; Simple Songs for the Mass	Music Section, CRBC Commission for Sacred Liturgy	1974 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium and other Mass music	Joseph Ly
9	海聲集 Haisheng ji; Songs of the Sea	Hua Ming Press	1976 First edition	Numbered notation / Includes songs for all Mass sections and other songs	Ma Hai-sheng (馬海聲) / Congregatio Discipulorum Domini (C.D.D.)
10	中華聖母彌撒曲(第二號) Zhonghua shenmu misa qu (di er hao); Our Lady of China Mass Songs (Number Two)	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1977 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium	H. Alers (安樂斯), C.M.
11	歡樂年華 Huanle nianhua; Age of Joy	Fu Jen Catholic High School	1977 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	
12	彌撒曲集伴奏譜 Misa quji banzou pu; Collected songs for the Mas	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1977 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium	Joseph Ly, Anthony Lau Chi-ming (劉志明) and Kang Ou (康謳)
13	賀三納 He san na; Hosanna	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1979 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	
14	聖歌百首 Shengge baishou; One Hundred Sacred Songs	Lotung St. Mary's Hospital	1979 First edition	Numbered notation / Proprium	Written and Edited by Marinello Renato, M.I.
15	主日詠讚 Zhuri yongzan; Hymns for Sunday	Music Section, CRBC Commission for Sacred Liturgy	1979 First edition	Psalms and sacred songs for morning, evening and night prayers, and other liturgies	

16	新禮彌撒(簡譜) Xinli misa (jianpu) Choir in Numerical Notation	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1980 First edition	A collection in numbered notation / Includes songs for other Mass sections	Joseph Ly
17	感恩禮讚(彌撒歌詠集) Gan'en lizan; Hymns for Thanksgiving	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1980 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	Anthony Lau
18	中華彌撒曲 Zhonghua misa qu; Songs for Chinese Mass	Science and Education Books Publishing Co.	1981 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium	Liu De-yi (劉德義)
19	輕歌讚主榮 Qingge zan zhurong; Songs and Hymns to Praise the Lord	Association of Chinese Catholic University Students	1983 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	
20	醒來吧!我心 Xinglai ba! Woxin; Awake My Heart	Andao Social Institute	1986 First edition	Staff notation / Proprium	
21	聖歌集 Shengge ji; Collection of Sacred Songs	Holy Rosary Cathedral, Kaohsiung	1986 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	
22	讚美主 Zanmei zhu; Praise the Lord	Xinwu Catholic Church	1986 Third edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	

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	Name	*Publisher*	*Date of Publishing*	*Contents*	*Remarks*
23	聖樂的饗宴 Shengyue de xiangyen Feasts of Sacred Music	Diocese of Kaohsiung	1986 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	
24	彌撒曲集 Misa quji; Collected songs for the Mass	Music Section, CRBC Commission for Sacred Liturgy	1987 First edition	Staff notation and numbered notation / Ordinarium	Joseph Ly, Anthony Lau and Kang Ou
25	歌頌上主(共祭與歌唱彌撒) Gesong shengzhu (gongji yu gechang misa); Praising the Lord (Concelebrated and Sung Mass)	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1987 First edition	Staff notation / Other Mass music	
26	聖歌選集 Shengge xuanji; Selected Sacred Songs	Congregation of the Mission, Chinese Province	1987 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	
27	歌唱彌撒 Gechang misa; Sung Mass	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1988 First edition	Staff notation / Other Mass music	
28	天主教聖歌集 Tianzhujiao shengge ji; Catholic Sacred Music	The Fourth Deanery, Taipei Archdiocese	1989 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	

29	殯葬禮儀 Binzang liyi; Requiem Liturgy	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1990 First edition	Numbered notation / Songs for requiem liturgy	
30	將臨期(主日和節慶) Jianglin qi (zhuri he jieqing) Advert (Sundays and Feasts)	St. Benedict Convent (ed. & print)	1990 First edition	Staff notation / A Collection of Proprium for Specific Masses	H. Alers, C.M.
31	聖誕期(主日和節慶) Shengdan qi (zhuri he jieqing) Christmastide (Sundays and Feasts)	St. Benedict Convent (ed. & print)	1990 First edition		
32	四旬期(主日和節慶) Sixun qi (zhuri he jieqing) Lent (Sundays and Feasts)	St. Benedict Convent (ed. & print)	1990 First edition		
33	追思禮儀 Zhuisi liyi; Requiem liturgy	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1990 First edition	Numbered notation / Songs for requiem liturgy	

III. The Editing Committee for Liturgical Songs Period (1991–2008)

	Name	*Publisher*	*Date of Publishing*	*Contents*	*Remarks*
1	聖歌大家唱 Shengge dajia chang Everybody Sings Sacred Songs	Pastoral and Evangelization Commission, Archdiocese of Taipei	1993 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	
2	常年期18–25主日 Changnian qi (18–25 zhuri) Ordinary Time (18th–25th Sundays)	St. Benedict Convent, Chaiyi	January 1993		Alban Hrebic (樂靄賓), O.S.B.
3	常年期26–34主日 Changnian qi (26–34 zhuri) Ordinary Time (26th–34th Sundays)	St. Benedict Convent, Chaiyi	July 1993		
4	慶節日1月~五月 Qingjie ri yiyue ~ wuyue Solemnities and Feasts, January–May	St. Benedict Convent, Chaiyi	October 1993		
5	慶節日6月~10月 Qingjie ri liuyue ~ shiyue Solemnities and Feasts, June–October	St. Benedict Convent, Chaiyi	October 1993		
6	慶節日11月~12月 Qingjie ri Shiyiyue ~ Shi'eryue Solemnities and Feasts, November–December	St. Benedict Convent, Chaiyi	September 1994		

7	江文也第一彌撒曲 Jiang Wenye diyi misa qu Prima Missa by Jiang Wen-ye	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1994 New Version for Choir	Staff notation / Ordinarium	
8	歌頌主是甘飴的 Gesong zhu shi ganyi de It's Sweet to Praise the Lord	Kuangchi Press	1995		Music and lyrics by The Horn (號角樂團)
9	原聲福音(一) Yuansheng fuyin (yi); New Songs for Evangelization (I)	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum	November 1995		Lyrics by Thaddeus Kao Cheng-Tsai (高征財), O.F.M. / Music by Francis Lien Chien-yao (連監堯) and Chen Ming-po (陳明博)
10	讚頌的祭獻 Zansong de jixian; Prayers for the Sacrifice	Holy Family Church, Taipei	1996 First edition	Numbered notation / Proprium	The Horn
11	答唱詠集 Dachangyong ji; Responsorial Psalm	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1997 First edition	Staff notation / Responsorial Psalm for the whole liturgical year	
12	彌撒常用應答 Misa changyong yingda; Common Responses for the Mass	CRBC Commission for Sacred Liturgy	1997 First edition	Numbered notation / Responsorial Psalms for the whole liturgical year	

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	Name	*Publisher*	*Date of Publishing*	*Contents*	*Remarks*
13	主日、節日主禮祈禱文集 Zhuri, jieri zhuli qidao wenji; Prayers for the Sundays and Feasts	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	1997 First edition	Staff notation / Sung prayers of the Mass celebrant for the whole liturgical year	
14	李河珍的聖樂 Li Hezhen de shengyue Sacred Music by Li He-chen	Yueyun Music Publishing Co.	1998	Staff notation	
15	原聲福音(聖父版) Yuansheng fuyin (shengfu ban); New Songs for Evangelization (the Holy Father version)	Franciscan Press	1999		Lyrics by Thaddeus Kao , O.F.M. / Music by Francis Lien and Chen Ming-po
16	聖週主禮祈禱文集 Shenzhou zhuli qidao wenji; Celebrant's Prayers for Holy Week	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	2000		
17	聖週福音宣讀集 Shengzhou fuyin xuandu ji; Gospel Readings for Holy Week	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	2000 First edition	Staff notation / Proprium of Holy Week liturgies	
18	聖週禮儀歌集 Shengzhou liyi geji; A Liturgical Book for Holy Week	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	2000 First edition	Numbered notation / Proprium of Holy Week liturgies	
19	聖歌選集 Shengge xuanji; Selected Sacred Songs	Congregation of the Mission, Chinese Province	2001 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	

20	殯葬與追思禮儀聖歌集 Binzang yu zhuisi liyu shengge ji; Sacred Songs for Funeral and Memorial Services	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	2002 First edition	Numbered notation / Proprium for special Masses	
21	婚禮彌撒聖歌集 Hunli misa shengge ji; Sacred Songs for the Sacrament of Marriage	Catholic Central Bureau, Taipei	2002 First edition	Numbered notation / Proprium of special Masses	
22	新歌傳主愛 Xinge chuan zhu'ai; Praise the Lord's Love in New Songs	Association of Chinese Catholic University Students	2002 First edition	Numbered notation	
23	龍倩聖樂作品 Long Qian shengyue zuopin Sacred Music by Lung Chien	Hsinhua Business Co.	2003 First edition	Staff notation / Choir songs of Ordinarium and Proprium	
24	主日彌撒答唱詠曲集 (朱建仁) Zhuri misa dachang quji (Zhu Jian-ren); Responsorial Psalms for Sunday Mass (Jerry Chu)	Yeon Wang Cultural Group	2004	Staff notation / Responsorial Psalms for the whole liturgical year	Jerry Chu (朱建仁) / One-volume edition of Years A, B and C
25	生命的樂章 Shengming de yuezhang; The Music of Life	The Little Sisters of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus	2005 First edition	Numbered notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	Edited by Zeng Li-da (曾麗達)
26	聖詠曲集 (姜震) Shengyong quji (Jiang Zhen) Responsorial Psalms for the Mas (Jiang Zhen)	Kuangchi Cultural Group	November 2009	Numbered notation / Responsorial Psalms for the whole liturgical year	Jiang Zhen (姜震)

(*continued*)

IV. The Commission of Sacred Music (2008–present)

	Name	*Publisher*	*Date of Publishing*	*Contents*	*Remarks*
1	信經彌撒曲 Xingjing misa qu; Music for a Mass of Faith	CRBC	April 2014	Staff notation and numbered notation	Su Kai-yi / for Mass celebrant, the laity, leading singers and keyboard instrument
2	禮頌I Lisong I; Hymns for the Liturgy I	Fu Jen Academia Catholica	2014 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium	Anthony Lau
3	禮頌II Lisong II; Hymns for the Liturgy II	Fu Jen Academia Catholica	2015 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium	Anthony Lau
4	禮頌III Lisong III; Hymns for the Liturgy III	Fu Jen Academia Catholica	2015 First edition	Staff notation / Ordinarium	Anthony Lau

Song Books without Date of Publishing

	Name	*Publisher*	*Date of Publishing*	*Contents*	*Remarks*
1	大禮彌撒曲 Dali misa qu; Songs for Solemn Mass	Holy Family Church (ed. & print)	(Not indicated)	Staff notation / Ordinarium and Proprium	
2	主日頌讚 Zhuri songzan; Sunday Hymns	C.D.D. Taiwan	(Not indicated)	Four-line staff notation / Includes songs for all Mass sections	New lyrics to Gregorian music

3	四旬期信友彌撒經書 Sixun qi xinyou misa jingshu; Missal of the Lent for the Laity		(Not indicated)	Numbered notation	
4	司鐸執事聖秩授予大典 聖歌選集 Siduo zhishi shengzhi shouyu dadian shengge xuanji; Selected Sacred Songs for the Rite of Ordination of Priests and Deacons	Archdiocese of Taipei	(Not indicated)	Numbered notation	
5	聖歌選集 Shengge xuanji; Selected Sacred Songs	Song Book of the Holy Family Church	(Not indicated)	Numbered notation / Includes songs for all Mass sections and other songs	
6	我們參加盛筵 Women canjia shengyan; We are Attending a Feast	Yung Chuan Catechetical Research Center	(Not indicated)	A Missal for children with appropriate songs for children to sing	Lu Wei (呂瑋)
7	救主彌撒曲 Jiuzhu misa qu Savior Missa		(Not indicated)	Numbered notation / Proprium	
8	聖歌選集(聖體軍友用) Shengge xuanji (shengti junyou yong); Selected Sacred Songs (for Members of the Eucharistic Youth Movement)		(Not indicated)	Numbered notation / Ordinarium	
9	聖歌集 Shengge ji; A Collection of Sacred Songs	Our Lady of Fatima Church / Huduli Catholic Church	(Not indicated)	Numbered notation / Songs for Church feasts	
10	彌撒曲 Missa	Cathedral of the Taipei Archdiocese	(Not indicated)	Numbered notation / Ordinarium	

Notes

1. References to the discussion of Chinese liturgical music and songs appearing in this article should be made to http://www.catholic.org.tw/vp3.php
2. Both the Council of Trent (1953–1954) and Vatican II discussed issues of language use in the liturgy. While the Council of Trent recognized that the liturgy had a significant value for catechesis, it failed to draw any conclusion for practical life. The Council ended with firm and prudent words: "Though the Mass contains great instruction for the faithful people, yet it did not seem expedient to the Fathers that it should be celebrated everywhere in the vulgar tongue." The turning point for vernacular use is Vatican II. Adopted from *Institutio Generalis Missalis Romani, in Chinese ed*. (Commission for Sacred Liturgy, CRBC, 2004, 10–12).
3. Rev. Joseph Wang Yu-rong and Msgr. Andrew Chao were responsible for the translation of the liturgy; Rev. Fr. Joseph Ly and Msgr. C.M. Anthony Lau were responsible for the liturgical music and songs. The music composed by Ly and Lau has been comprehensively used until today. Whether by the translation of the readings or by the musical works, both priests made a solid contribution to liturgical music in Taiwan.
4. Prof. Hsu and Fr. Wu were the two leaders who invited the musicians to the committee. Except for *The Sacred Music by Ho-Jen Lee*, most of the compositions were collected in *Responsorial Psalms. Liturgical Songs for Funeral and Memorial Services* and *Liturgical Songs for Marriage* are books for special occasions.
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14. Commission for Sacred Liturgy, CRBC (1980). *Hymns of Thanksgiving.* Taipei: Bureau of Catholic Affairs, CRBC.
15. The Fourth Deanery in Catholic Archdiocese of Taipei. (1988). *Hymns of Thanksgiving.*
16. Ma, Peter. (1976). *Songs of the Sea.* Taipei: Hua-ming Books.
17. St. Vincent de Paul Church, Linya District, Kaohsiung. (1987). *Selected Sacred Songs.* Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung Seminary, Congregation of the Mission Chinese Province.
18. Fu Jen Faculty of Theology of St. Robert Bellarmine. (1970). *Biblical Hymns and Psalms.* Taipei: Kuangchi Cultural Group.
19. Gabriel Taiwan. (1970). *Awake My Heart!* Taipei: St. Anthony of Padua Institute of Sociology.
20. Fountain Liturgical Research Center. (1979). *Hosanna.* Taipei: Bureau of Catholic Affairs, CRBC.
21. Chinese Catholic University Student Association. (1983). *Songs and Hymns to Praise the Lord.* Taipei: Chinese Catholic University Student Association in National Taiwan University.
22. Fu Jen Catholic High School. (1977). *Age of Joy.* Chiayi: Fu Jen Catholic High School.
23. Pan Qiong-Hui. (1986). *Feasts of Sacred Music.* Kaohsiung: Planning Feasts of Sacred Music.
24. Marinello, Renato. (1979). *Hundred Sacred Songs.* Luodong: Saint Mary's Hospital Luodong.
25. Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference CRBC. (1997). *Responsorial Psalms.* Taipei: Bureau of Catholic Affairs.
26. Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference CRBC. (1997). *Common Responses for the Mass.* Taipei: Bureau of Catholic Affairs.
27. Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference CRBC. (1997). *Prayers for the Sundays and Feasts .* Taipei: Bureau of Catholic Affairs.
28. Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference CRBC. (2000). *Celebrant's Prayers for Holy Week.* Taipei: Bureau of Catholic Affairs.
29. Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference CRBC. (2000). *Gospel Readings for Holy Week.* Taipei: Bureau of Catholic Affairs.
30. Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference CRBC. (2000). *A Liturgical Book for Holy Week.* Taipei: Bureau of Catholic Affairs.
31. Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference CRBC. (2002). *Sacred Songs for Funeral and Memorial Services.* Taipei: Bureau of Catholic Affairs.
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42. For detailed reference, please visit Commission for Sacred Liturgy: Section for Sacred Music, on http://openmind.catholic.org.tw/index.php/announcemet/38-2013-05-13-09-30-51/52-2014-01-14-09-31-26
43. It includes rules and standards to evaluate the lyrics and music used in liturgy. For instance, the lyrics should be related to the reading in the liturgy, and the music in the Proper needs to conform to liturgical practice, and so on. For detailed reference, visit Commission for Sacred Liturgy Section for Sacred Music, on http://openmind.catholic.org.tw/index.php/announcemet/38-2013-05-13-09-30-51/52-2014-01-14-09-31-26

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CHAPTER 8

The Implementation of Catholic Social Teaching in Taiwan

Wen-ban Kuo

It is already almost 20 years since Ecclesia in Asia (November 6, 1999) by Pope John Paul II appeared, to awaken the Asian Church to the need for a rebirth of awareness of the Church's social doctrine among the teeming populations of the region. He said: "In the service of the human family, the Church reaches out to all men and women without distinction, striving to build with them a civilization of love founded upon the universal values of peace, justice, solidarity and freedom, of all which find their fulfilment in Christ. … The Church in Asia then, with its multitude of poor and oppressed people, is called to live a communion of life which shows itself particularly in loving service to the poor and defenseless."

To follow up with further reflection, in 2004, the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* was promulgated by the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. Social teaching is now being systemized into wholeness and is given the status of "doctrine". Before the publication of this compendium, social teachings were understood as a series of papal encyclicals and Council and Synodal documents that can be traced back as far as Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* promulgated in 1891. Some can be

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traced even further back.[1] Though all social teachings are said to be drawn from the same source, mainly the Scriptures and the natural moral law, "the actual history of the construction of Catholic social justice teaching shows that … it has evolved more diversely, often inductively and pragmatically, as the Church has reacted to issues related to human rights, war, the death penalty, international debt of poor countries, property rights, the role of the state, and the development of civil society" (Palacio 2007, 27). It is therefore not only conceivable but even possible that inconsistency or changes may be discerned across documents (Curran and McCormick 1986; Noonan, John T. Jr. 1993). To amend this situation, the *Compendium* has made social teachings across ages more consistent; it presents the whole body of the teachings "in a complete and systematic manner" (8). Also, citing John Paul II, it asserts that "the teaching and spread of her social doctrine are part of the Church's evangelizing mission" (6) thus making it part of the core of Catholic Christian life.

That Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* has often been cited as the "modern" landmark of Church social teaching is worth noting. It directly addressed modern economic issues, especially workers' rights. The Church then began to move out of its former somewhat rigid mentality and become actively engaged in the modern world. Suffice it to say that things global, both "sacred" and "secular", have ever been in the Church's mind but tended to focus on "salvation". As the Compendium has it, salvation is not only of the soul, but "it also permeates this world in the realities of the economy and labor, of technology and communications, of society and politics, of the international community and the relations among cultures and peoples." Social doctrine is "an **integral** and **solidary** humanism" (Vatican website: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_doc_20060526_compendio-dott-soc_en.html).

However, for most local churches, "Social Doctrine" might seem to be a "Universality/Globality", originating mostly from pastoral and theological reflections on European and later Latin American experiences, handed down from Rome and simply applied to local situations. As globalization theorists would like to point out, globalization always involves glocalization through which "Universality/Globality" turns into "particularity/locality" if it wishes to be effective (Robertson 2003). By understanding social teaching from the perspective of glocalization, issues of indigenization might be involved and among them, the problem of incommensurability will be one.[2] Thus, selective interpretations and even selective applications have to find a place.

Given the bulk and complexity of the Church's social teaching, its implementation will not be clear and simple. In this chapter, three steps will be taken. Firstly, an overall evaluation has to be presented to give a general understanding of its implementation in Taiwan; for this we will rely on the result of a recent research project (Hao et al. 2014) that made comparisons across four dioceses of which Taipei was one. The result will be used as the point of departure for this study; secondly, the different performances of varying aspects of social teaching in the Taiwanese Church will be looked into. The data used for this purpose is the same set of data collected for the aforementioned research project; thirdly, the mechanisms that produced the effects of each aspect will be uncovered and traced through the possible historical trajectories that brought about the results of the different performances of the varying aspects.

General Background and Relative Standing of Taiwanese Catholicism

In general, the Taiwan Church has been regarded as one that is not particularly active in the public sphere, especially from the political scientists' perspective. Ever since Huntington (1991) coined the term "democracy's third wave" he indicated that one of the five major factors contributing to this wave of democracy is that "a striking shift in the doctrine and activities of the Catholic Church was manifested in the Second Vatican Council of 1963–65 and the transformation of national Catholic Churches from defenders of the status quo to opponents of authoritarianism". The role of the Catholic Church in promoting this wave of democratization was widely acknowledged. Later, Taiwan was singled out as one of the sources of third wave democracy (Gold 1997). It was only natural that political scientists studying Taiwan would look into the role played by the Church in particular and religion in general.

However, the study was rarely on Taiwanese Catholicism. Clark and Jones' (2003) book on religion in modern Taiwan, a project partially funded by American Catholic University, dedicated two chapters to religion and democratization, one to mainstream Buddhist organizations and the other to the Presbyterian Church. The Catholic Church was mentioned only in passing. Cheng and Brown's (2006) book gathered 11 researchers' studies on the religion and democratization of several nations in Asia. For Taiwan, Catholicism was not included; instead, as in the former publication,

Buddhism and the Presbyterian Church were presented. However, they did study the Catholic Church in Hong Kong and the Philippines and to a certain degree, the Church in South Korea. Madsen (2007), a Catholic scholar, when studying Taiwan's democracy, skips Christian churches altogether and focuses only on indigenous religions.

Finally, the latest study (Kuo 2008) treated essentially all major religions. In what concerns Christianity, in addition to specific sections on the Presbyterians, the Baptists and the Local Church, the Catholic Church was lumped together in the Other Denominations category and the author simply said that "due to the lack of either a democratic theology or a democratic ecclesiology, none of these large Christian groups have made a significant contribution to Taiwan's democratization either in theology or in practice" (p. 52). The author went on to comment that "Taiwanese Catholics developed neither a democratic theology nor a democratic ecclesiology before the lifting of martial law" (p. 53). This comment reflects the general impression of Taiwan Catholicism and in a way explains why Taiwan Catholicism was omitted in studies on democratization. For instance, Madsen (2007) in the aforementioned book also commented in passing that "with the exception of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church, which had long been an incubator of Taiwanese nationalism, most Christian organizations, both Protestant and Catholic, either cooperated with or remained neutral toward the ruling Kuomintang's (Nationalist Party, KMT) agenda" (Madsen 2007, 12).

The role of democratization is of course only a part of the Church's social teaching. More recently, Hao et al. (2014) published a paper on "Catholicism and Its Civic Engagement" and made comparisons across Catholicism in Hong Kong, Macau, Taipei,[3] and Shanghai. It is perhaps the most systematic study relevant for this paper and is therefore worth citing in detail.

The authors took a broad view of the Church's civic engagement and defined it "as composed of two parts: *social services*, including such work as education, health, care of the elderly, and care of the sick and the disabled; and *civic activism*, including such activities as protest rallies, demonstrations, and declarations of position on various social and political issues" (Hao et al. 2014, 50). In order to be able to fully compare the four places, they claimed to take an inclusive perspective called "an integrative model of political, cultural, and individual opportunity structures" (Hao et al. 2014, 51) for the analyses. Furthermore, it proposed that the three sets of variables jointly and interactively affected the Church's civic engagement:

"It is this interaction among the structural, cultural, and individual factors that affects the extent to which the Catholic Church engages in social services and civic activism" (Hao et al. 2014, 57).

The major results indicate that the direct services in the four places show the highest percentages among three kinds of works and that Hong Kong outperforms the others. And "the differences in social services' provision among the four dioceses are small"; however "the differences in participation in civic activities among the four dioceses are statistically significant: 47.4 percent in Hong Kong, 23.7 percent in Macau, 12.4 percent in Taipei, and 7.8 percent in Shanghai, with Hong Kong on one end of the continuum, and Shanghai on the other" (Hao et al. 2014, 59). To a certain degree, Shanghai's level is not surprising given its very sophisticated situation. However, the case of Taipei is somewhat strange. After all, Taiwan is the only democratic nation within Chinese culture and Taipei's performances in both social teaching and civic activities are not only insignificant but its participation in or sponsorship of events related to social teaching is even outperformed by Shanghai (Hao et al. 2014, Fig. 2, 60).

What this paper has revealed, though from a somewhat different angle, does reflect similarity to what the democracy study has laid out. That Taiwan Catholicism has been not very active in the public sphere; this can be established in comparison with either the Presbyterian Church on the one hand or with the Catholic Church in other cities on the other. Though civic engagement has to do more directly with social teaching than with political democratization, it is however not inclusive enough. In order to focus on the implementation of social teaching,[4] we need to expand the concept of "civic engagement" to be more inclusive.

The Implementation of Social Teachings

We employ the same set of data as in the aforementioned paper (Hao et al. 2014) but select a different set of 11 items of agency/parish self-evaluation on their own works; the result of factor analysis of these 11 items turns out to be a three-factor pattern: works on Social Justice, on Human Rights and on Life/Family values. These three factors serve as the three major dimensions of the implementation of social teaching. Further analyses and discussions will proceed accordingly.

The average self-evaluations of these three aspects are not very appreciable. On the scale from 1 "very little", 2 "not much", 3 "somewhat" to 4 "a lot", the mean of Social Justice (= 1.92) is even lower than the level

of "not much"; that of Life/Family values (= 2.59) lies in the middle of "not much" and "somewhat"; and only work for Human Rights (= 2.90) is close to a barely acceptable level of "somewhat". It appears that Human Rights as the general principle of social teaching has won wider circulation within the Church than the other two. Contrary to what one would expect, the works on Family/Life values are only second to Human Rights.

In order to identify the mechanisms that cause parishes/agencies to act differently, a set of regression analyses were used. The purpose of this analysis was to find out whether and how these three works were influenced by (1) agency/parish attributes (size, year of founding, the laity/customers' composition); (2) factors internal to the Church (laity support, prophetic role, devotion of the staff and emphases on church authority); (3) organizational field factors (governmental regulations and religious competition); and (4) experiences of societal impacts (If society at large supports the Church's prophetic role? Did society get better or worse? Will society get better or worse in the future?)

Before identifying the possible impacts of these four sets of variables, it will be helpful to brief their general profile as shown in Table 8.1. Among three church internal variables, the extent of the laity's support of the Church's prophetic role is a little higher than 3 (speak favorably)—a general attitude of basically positive yet not strongly positive; The agency/parish staffs apparently have sensed the Church authority's (the current bishops') emphases on the importance of works (measured by the rated importance of three works: serving the laity, pastoral work and evangelization); an average of 3.4 shows higher than the level of relatively important; the intensity of parish/agency's Mass attendance and Bible reading (together measure the intensity of pious practice) is 2.93, close to the extent of "relatively active". Averages of these three variables are all positive, yet not to the extent of extremely positive.

Scores of all variables in the organizational field are quite low, representing a very favorable situation. The average score of perceived strictness of governmental regulation is about the level of not agreeing that governmental regulation is strict; the average of evaluated regulation change in ten years is somewhat higher than lower. As to religious competition, a mean of 1.63 denotes that the situation is basically close to less competition. In all, the church abides in a very friendly organizational field where state regulation and religious competition are very limited.

The overall evaluation of societal conditions is quite "neutral": the average societal support of the Church's prophetic role is only approaching

Table 8.1 Descriptive statistics of independent variables

	Minimum[a]	*Middlepoint*	*Maximum*	*Mean*	*Std. deviation*
A. Internal factors					
Lay support prophetic voices	1	2.5	4	3.09	0.66
Church authority	2.5	2.5	4	3.40	0.54
Pious practice	1	2.5	4	2.92	0.64
B. Factors in the religious field					
Governmental regulation	1	3	5	2.07	1.07
Gov. regul. becoming stricter	1	2	3	1.63	0.59
Religious competition	1	3	4	1.63	1.05
C. Factors of societal evaluations					
Societal support of prophetic voices	1	2.5	4	2.70	0.76
Societal change evaluation	−10	0	10	−0.15	1.37
Future expectation	−10	0	10	0.57	1.96
Valid no. of cases (list wise) 148 cases					

[a]The minimum, middle point and maximum are a summary to represent the scale of the answers in the original questions. The minimum always means the most negative answer, the middle point means "neutral" and maximum the most positive answer. A mean larger than middle point means that respondents tend to give positive answers on average and a standard deviation is to show the degree of variations among all the respondents

"relatively favorable". Two variables are about evaluations of societal change: one on past changes, the other on future expectation. Their average attitude toward the societal changes in ten years (a combined evaluation of politics, economic and Social Justice) has a value of 0.5, on a scale of 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive); this number is right in the middle, but leans slightly toward the negative side; their expectation for the future (a combined evaluation of politics, economic and Social Justice) is only 0.57, still in the middle but leaning toward the positive side. These three sets reflect the overall evaluated situations of the Church: the internal conditions and the conditions in the religious field are positive; those of the religious field are even more so; as to societal changes, the overall attitudes seemed to be somewhat reserved, both for the past and the future. In what

follows, a summary of the results shown in Table 8.2 will be briefly enumerated and discussion of their implications will be left for the next section.

Among the organizational attributes, the size of parish/agency[5] is the single most important factor; it affects all three works positively. The larger the size, the more the parishes/agencies do on all three. Parishes ($N = 84$) did more than agencies ($N = 69$) only on Life/Family values. Organizations founded more recently, will work less on all three; lastly, only those mainly serving workers, in comparison with those serving a variety of people ($N = 56$),[6] will work more on Social Justice and Human Rights, but no difference is found among those serving mainly white-collar workers.

Generally speaking, the effects of three church internal variables are limited, with church authority seeming to be an exception. Church authority, a combination of contemporary bishops' emphases on serving the laity, pastoral work and evangelization is the most effective one. It has positive impacts on Human Rights (Beta = 0.16) and Life/Family values (Beta = 0.28), but no effect on Social Justice at a significant level. Lay Support is deemed to have positive effects on Human Rights (Beta = 0.16); and pious practice only affects Life/Family values (Beta = 0.16). Social Justice is essentially untouched by any church internal variables.

Among variables in the organizational field, perceived religious competition does not have any bearings on the three practices. Perceived strength of governmental regulations serves as a facilitator for the works of Social Justice (Beta = 0.21) and Human Rights (Beta = 0.16), that is, the stronger the governmental regulations evaluated, the more the parishes/agencies will work on these two, but not on Life/Family values. However, when the regulations are perceived to become stronger, the less the strength of Social Justice (Beta = −0.19) and the stronger the Life/Family values (Beta = 0.16).

Lastly, we come to external factors. These sets of variables measured how the agency/parish staff members perceived the situation of society on the whole. The perceived extent of societal support does not have any bearing on the Church's implementation of social teachings; the worse the societal changes during the recent ten years were perceived to be, the more the work on Life/Family values increased (Beta = −0.19). Society's expected future has a negative impact on Social Justice (Beta = −0.16); the better the expectations, the less the work will be, but it has a positive impact on Human Rights (Beta = 0.14).

Table 8.2 The final results of regression analyses on three parish/agency's works[a]

Dependent vars.	*1. Social justice (n = 145)*			*2. Human rights (n = 145)*			*3. Life/Family values (n = 145)*		
	B	*Beta*	*p-value*	*B*	*Beta*	*p-value*	*B*	*Beta*	*p-value*
Constant	−0.14	–	0.89	0.60	–	0.39	−0.93	–	0.23
1. Organization attributes									
Parish/agency	0.33	0.14	0.24	−0.17	−0.11	0.38	0.41	0.22	0.06
Year founded	−0.12	−0.19	0.04	−0.07	−0.15	0.10	−0.14	−0.27	0.00
Organization size	0.23	0.28	0.01	0.14	0.24	0.03	0.21	0.31	0.00
Serv. white collar (N = 69)	0.06	0.03	0.77	−0.14	−0.09	0.35	0.18	0.09	0.31
Serv. laborers (N = 28)	0.67	0.23	0.01	0.33	0.16	0.08	0.25	0.10	0.24
2. Internal factors									
Lay suprt. of prophetic role	0.18	0.10	0.23	0.19	0.16	0.06	0.18	0.13	0.11
Church authority	0.28	0.13	0.18	0.34	0.23	0.02	0.49	0.28	0.00
Pious practice	0.10	0.06	0.53	0.08	0.07	0.46	0.23	0.16	0.07
3. Interlacing factors									
Gov. regulation	0.22	0.21	0.01	0.12	0.16	0.05	0.10	0.11	0.17
G. regul becoming stricter	−0.37	−0.19	0.02	−0.06	−0.04	0.58	0.26	0.16	0.03
Religious competition	−0.08	−0.08	0.35	0.07	0.09	0.25	−0.08	−0.09	0.27
4. External factors									
Soc. suprt. of prophetic role	0.00	0.00	0.99	−0.01	−0.01	0.92	−0.03	−0.02	0.77
Societal changes evaluation	−0.01	−0.01	0.87	0.02	0.04	0.66	−0.13	−0.19	0.02
Future expected	−0.09	−0.16	0.05	0.05	0.14	0.08	−0.03	−0.06	0.43
Summary	R^2	Adj. R^2	Sig.	R^2	Adj. R^2	Sig.	R^2	Adj. R^2	Sig.
	0.30	0.22	0.00	0.29	0.21	0.00	0.36	0.29	0.00

[a]Owing to the small size of the sample, *p*-value is set to 0.1 as statistical significant level

Implications of the Findings

1. Too Much Specialization

From the patterns found for the organizational attributes, some implications can be singled out: (1) that the more recently the organizations were founded, the less the implementation of social teaching seems to reveal a "counter" social teaching tendency in the church, for social teachings only become a focus after Vatican II; (2) the patterns found for organization size and clients-serving sensitize critics to the very "technical" aspect of the Church: larger organizations perform better in all three aspects and only organizations serving mainly workers will emphasize Social Justice. Also parishes tend to pay more attention to Life/Family values. That larger organizations would pay more attention to social teaching is not, at first glimpse, surprising at all. However, a fairly large percentage of organizations are small ones (see endnote 7) and therefore the joint effects of the implementation of social teachings at the diocesan level could not be appreciable.

In a highly differentiated, modern society, a church with many small organizations can mean that it tries to be highly specialized and efficient. But it could also be problematic in that it could take the risk of giving up the "integral" claims of the social teachings (Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace 2004). It is possible that the Church can assure its "integral-ness" at the macro level, but not at the micro level. However, it does seem that even at the macro, the "integral-ness" is not assured when compared with the other three areas (Hao et al. 2014). Also among the three averages for the analyses in Table 8.1, only that of Human Rights is somewhat acceptable, but not the other two. Also, parishes performed better than agencies, but in our parish samples, one-third had only one single worker, that is, the priest, and another one-third of parishes had only an additional worker. Not only are the staff members few in parishes, but the average number of the laity is also small. Compared with the other three diocesan areas, Taipei has the smallest average number of laity per parish. The average number of lay persons per parish in Hong Kong is 9600, in Macau 3290, in Shanghai 1400 and only 450 in Taipei.[7]

Organization size being too small is, in fact, a problem known to the Church since the 1960s and some discussions/solutions of this problem appeared even at the Bishop's Conference level almost 50 years ago (CRBC 1972). Certain problems have been taken care of, for example, some weeklies, journals, seminaries, catechists schools, and so on were

either closed or merged with other similar ones, but apparently the problem still lingers into today. It appears that the Church around the island suffered from over-specialization with too many too small organizations that could only serve specific goals or fulfill only basic needs of their clients/parishioners. This organizational "defect" in the church does not only set limits to the implementation of social teachings, but it can also be a general problem for many other aspects of church life.

2. The Best Pattern Is Life/Family Values, Yet with a Question Mark

Even though there is a problem of too many and too small organizations in the Church, Life/Family values are still widely held. Among the three, this one is the most influenced by church internal factors. Furthermore, it is also the work that the Church insists on doing in spite of state regulations becoming stricter and a perceived deterioration in society. Putting all of these together, Life/Family values do assume some "prophetic" guise. Against secular tides and its forces, that is, that of the government and of society at large, the faith still prevails, though the governmental regulation is not really becoming so strict and the societal change is not really so detrimental, as we have already seen. Also, that the more negative the evaluations of societal changes in ten years, the stronger the practice seems to imply a spirit of the "prophets" of doomsday that Pope John XXIII warned about at the opening of Vatican II.

The Life/Family value issue is an age-old issue and has also been a major concern in the Church since Vatican II. In 1965, in the newly promulgated "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*)", a whole chapter was dedicated to "fostering the nobility of marriage and the family"; in 1968, Paul VI's "Humanae Vitae" was issued. Since then, church leaders, led by the late Cardinal Yupin, have been really active in the advocacy of Life/Family values, especially in the promotion of natural contraception (Ye Weimin and Liu Yuhua 1982, 281–298). In the same year as the issue of *Humanae Vitae*, the Cabinet of the Taiwanese government passed a new population policy guideline and began the process of legislating the abortion law. In 1974, when the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith announced its Declaration on Procured Abortion, the major church leaders together with the Nuncio held a press conference in the embassy (Chinese Catholic Culture 1974, 9). In 1980, "Family" was the theme for the Bishops' Synod in Rome, and it is also the year that the Taiwanese Bishops' Conference issued public statements twice against the Nationalist government's policy: the first one titled "Respect the unborn

babies' lives" and the second "Should abortion be legalized?" In 1981, Pope St. John Paul promulgated an encyclical titled "Family Group" and in 1982, the major theme of the Fujen University Theological Workshop was "Theology of Sexuality, Love, Marriage and Family" (*Collectanea Theologica* 52: pp. 281–298).

The Life/Family values issue is interesting in that there is a pattern emergent: Rome takes action first and the Taiwanese church leaders follow suit. And this pattern seems to work even into today. For instance, the late Cardinal Shan and the archbishop of Taipei, John Hung Shan-chuan, have been notable figures in the advocacy of the abolition of the death penalty in Taiwan, in spite of the pro-death penalty poll. According to Shan: "In the year 2000, the Pope appealed to all national leaders for the termination of the death penalty in his World Peace Day message … therefore I went to see President Chen and asked him to put an end to the death penalty or at least temporarily suspend its execution" (Shan Guoxi 2010).

Moreover, for the implementation of Life/Family values, the church leaders actively networked with whoever outside the church shared the same concerns, including other religious groups. They wrote letters of appeal to the president, collected letters of appeal and lobbied in the Legislature. In short, the Church did play an active role in civil society and this happened long before civil society talk emerged.[8] In recent Taiwan Religious Groups Care for the Family Alliance there is also one "official" Catholic representative, even though the role is less prominent. Also in 2014, the bishops continued to write letters to the President to "reiterate with President Ma Ying-jeow the following stance: 'Respect for life, abolish the death penalty'" (Bishops' Conference 2014c).

Ironically, the church's dedication to this work is not supported by the laity's attitude as shown in Table 8.2, or to be more exact, it may even be said to be contrary to the laity's attitude. For example, very few Catholics want to learn about natural contraception (Ye Weimin and Liu Yuhua 1982, 317), and very few Catholics signed to support the church's anti-abortion appeal. A Caritas religious sister recalled that "a few years ago, the church spoke out to protect life and when the Legislature began to process the abortion law, we did ask the laity to join our signing petition movement; we sent out more than 7,000 petition letters for the laity to sign, I don't even dare to tell you how many have returned, so few" (Bishops' Conference 1988, 285). Even in recent years when the church leaders spoke out for the abolition of the death penalty, the laity in general did not seem to approve of its abolition. A social survey in Hsinchu diocese

in 2010 shows the average level of approval among the laity is probably lower than that of the other three Protestant churches (Kuo 2010).[9]

3. Appreciable Level of Human Rights Driven by Both the Internal and External Factors

The average for Human Rights is the highest among the three. The Church authority and the laity's support are instrumental. Among the external factors, the perceived strict governmental regulations and the perceived better future of society also work to enhance it. It does seem that the level of support for Human Rights is owing to the joint effects of internal and external influences. Yet pious practice hardly makes any contribution. It has nothing to do with Church attendance or Bible reading.

The most notable of the Church's work on Human Rights perhaps has been the defense of unborn babies' lives that is related to Life/Family values according to our classification, but when things come to the adult level, the Human Rights issue becomes vague. For instance, Fr. Franz Leimer complained that in 1976, when he returned from Europe and found that he was accused of being a communist spy at the airport and was denied access into Taiwan, he had to appeal to the then Interior Minister Lin to rescue him. But "to my disappointment, Bishop X and the superior of Taitung made no response and even showed no sign of helping out" (Lei Huamin 1986, 66). Another instance was when in 1978, three Maryknoll Fathers took part in an ecumenical meeting held by the Presbyterians in Taichung and together prayed for the protection of human rights. Their action so enraged 215 Chinese priests that they jointly wrote an open letter to the three Maryknollers. In that letter, they said that "it sounds as though you are striving for freedom and justice, but in fact you are destroying the unity of the Chinese people. … You are destroying the work of the Church. We ask you to leave our country and go to any other place where you can make your ideals come true." The bishops seemed to agree with what these 215 Chinese priests had said only observing: "the measure they chose to manage this event was not absolutely right" (Madsen 2012, 70–71).

These are things of half a century ago. The 2014 data did reveal that Human Rights had become the major concern among the three and it was due to the joint effects of the internal and external influences. A case can be made for the Church's participation in Taiwanese society's dealing with the 228 Incident. Before 1990, the 228 Incident was rarely mentioned

within the Church and even when it was mentioned, cautions of not being used by "ambitious elements" were generally issued. In 1990, an opportunity seemed to appear to deal with it differently. A well-known social movement organizer/writer/publisher protestant Mr. Su Na-zhou launched a movement for "228 Peace Worship" almost on his own, with reconciliation and consolation as its major themes and he invited members of both the Mandarin and Taiwanese Protestant churches to take part. Catholics were also invited and both the then Archbishop of Taipei and the Chair of the Chinese Bishops' Conference were present. Twenty years later, Mr. Su Na-zhou wrote an article entitled "Unknown Heroes attending the 228 Incident". In that article, Mr. Su described how

> In the middle of March, 1991, when martial law was just lifted. … I got a call from a young pastor in Hualien. He planned to do something for 228 after Peace Worship, but felt threatened owing to the powerful security forces and weak manpower of Fu-lou in the Hualien area; With the company of the Hualien pastor … after visiting the survivors of Chiang Chi-lang's family, we also got generous and fervent promises from Bishop Shan, the Catholic bishop of Hualien. From allowing us the use of his name to contributing practical assistance, he has helped us without any reservation. The Ching Ming Worship for 228 in Hualien was then able to proceed peacefully against threatening opposition. The sincere, heroic and inspiring words to Brother Su, "for what is justice, never give up" of this barely acquainted Bishop Shan still lingers to this day. (Su Na-zhou 2012)

Perhaps the participation in the 228 Peace Worship marked the way external factors began positive interaction with internal factors to make the Church as a whole gradually move toward the cause of Human Rights. The changes were of course not so suddenly achieved. In 1999, a social survey around the island shows that when asking "How do you like it that the cause of Human Rights has become so elevated in this society?", the Catholic laity's average evaluation, while lying between good and very good, nevertheless is the lowest compared with all other religious believers and non-believers (Kuo 1999). However, things seemed to have changed. In the Hsinchu diocese the result of the same survey shows that the Catholic laity, on average, is stronger in supporting the church's advocacy of protecting human rights than members of two other Protestant churches and the general public, though still weaker than that of the Presbyterians (Kuo 2010).

4. Poorly Performed "Social Justice"

As we have already learned, the average evaluation of Social Justice is the lowest among the three. All the indicators for Social Justice in this paper are related to things contested most feverishly in these years and statistical results reveal that it is a "specialized" work within the Church, namely only those serving laborers will work on it. For this we will have in mind a few laborer centers of the Church in northern and southern Taiwan and also two priests' names in the history of Taiwanese labor movement (see Shen 2015). What is most interesting is that all three church internal factors have no bearing on it. On the contrary, it is highly sensitive to governmental factors: those who reported stricter governmental regulation would act more for Social Justice, but those who reported that the governmental regulations are becoming stricter will hesitate doing it. Furthermore, the better they thought the society's future will be, the less will they work on it. It does seem that even at a relatively low level, it is the kind of work ready to be given up if things changed even a little.

Does it mean that Taiwanese Catholicism neglected the Church's social teaching on Social Justice? Not at all. Similar to what we have seen in Life/Family values, the church leaders had always closely followed the promulgation of documents from Rome. For instance, in 1964, the then bishop of Tainan, Bishop Lokuang, applied John XXIII's encyclical *Mater et magistra* to the Taiwanese situation and discussed the contemporary problems of farmers, laborers and others (Lokuang 1996a, b). Furthermore, one can even observe that social concern had been one of the major concerns from the 1960s into the 1970s. The 1970s was the period of time when the Catholic Church, in fact all Christian churches, began to feel the strong, negative impacts of socio-economic change, the so-called modernization. A "Commission for Social Work and Lay apostolate" was set up at the formation of the Bishop's Conference in 1967. A series of pastoral and theological workshops were held afterwards in which socio-economic issues often appeared as topics to be studied. However, it was noticeable that such issues were directed to either matters of social work, social services or social development.[10]

In this context, the prophetic voices were reserved for anti-communism. As to the underprivileged, direct social services, certainly not striving for their entitled rights, would be provided. In the Draft for Building the Local Church (CRBC 1978, 101–142) which served as a marker document of the Catholic development after the Second World War (WWII), we read that "In spite of western influence, even some Christians are

treading the path of appeasement, dreaming of dialogue with the Communist bandits … we … have to be … even firmer, swear to go against and make effort to destroy the evil atheistic Communism, even to the point of death. And this, within the universal Church, will become the brave and heroic symbol of the Chinese Catholic Church which fears no powerful and evil forces" (CRBC 1978, 129). And to the non-privileged, the document goes on to say that "the Church has to take special care of the *welfare* of laborers and uphold *justice* for the weak, the poor and those tormented, so that the spirit of charity and the brotherly love of all will be diffused into all strata in society. *Social services of many kinds, now so prosperous within the Church, are worthy of everyone's support, both by prayer and action*" (emphasis added) (CRBC 1978, 130).[11] The thorny issues, for example, the exploitation of workers, deprivation of rights, the possibility of forming trade unions, lack of proper labor laws, all would be left for the attention of a few foreign missionaries (Wei Wei 2009, 158, 618–637; Shen 2015).

In 1989, two years after the suspension of martial law in practice since 1945, the two "radical" Catholic priests serving the laborers' causes ran into trouble with national security: Father Ellacuria's visa would possibly not be extended after expiration and Fr. Magill was "kidnapped" and deported by the police. According to Shen 2015, although these two priests "had some differences in terms of their pastoral practices and focuses, behind their actions lay the agreement of returning to the essence of the Gospel" (Shen 2015, 178). Whereas, through the eyes of the police, both were foreign agitators, interfering in domestic affairs and intruding into the state's autonomy it was the only time that the bishops stood together, some harder and others softer in tone, to defend the rights of Catholics to work on Social Justice. In retrospect, it was a good chance for Taiwanese Catholicism and the whole of society to develop a deeper understanding of what religion really means (Chang Chun-shen, 989.) However, the result of this finding shows that Taiwanese Catholicism, to a certain extent, wasted this opportunity.

However it is not all surprising. In a collection of reports and articles related to the Magill incident (Catholic Human Right Committee 1989), the pattern was already there. Many civil society elements, including public intellectuals and social movements, gathered to support Fr. Magill and Fr. Ellacuría. And the then Chair of the Bishops' Conference, Bishop Shan, their diocesan bishop did defend them; however, other prominent figures in the Church, including one bishop-to-be, were either lamenting

or angry with the said bishops' stance or statements. Only a few Jesuits, besides the outspoken bishops, spoke eloquently for Fr. Magill and Fr. Ellacuria. There were a few young lay persons who did speak out enthusiastically for the two priests, but they would and did disappear from the church platform soon after the incident. The bishops said what they had to on that very special occasion, but soon after the incident, the "mainstream" of the Church took the lead again. Two months after Fr. Magill's deportation, a pastoral letter of the Bishops' Conference was issued, and in that letter, the bishops said that, owing to the fact that social movements are easily exploited by others, no priests or religious would be allowed to take to the streets or participate in strikes (CRBC 1989).

Discussion and Questions

How good or bad is the implementation of social teaching in Taiwan? Drawing from the paper that compared four Chinese cities (Hao et al. 2014), the answer is certainly a negative one. However, when looking into details, it may be somewhat positive, though not without ambiguity.

Judging only from the absolute average scores, the work on human rights is the best, but when examining the patterns of how works were done, one has to conclude that Life/Family values was the best involving not only the Church's religious practice and the efforts of church members, but also the active interaction between church members and other civil society elements, namely the media, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other religions. Furthermore, it even actively lobbied for the "rights" legation by appealing to the prime minister and especially the legislative sector of the government. It really is the kind of action that aims at institutional building/change and therefore represents what the Church's social teachings are meant to be. The work on Life/Family values can therefore serve as a model for other works on social teachings.[12]

The pattern for the work on Human Rights is not the same. The originator was very probably from outside the Church but the church leaders reacted positively and generously to the outsider's efforts so that the Church initiated change in the right direction. But why did the same process not happen in the field of Social Justice? Did the church leaders just keep quiet about it? Not at all. A flurry of statements related to it can be read though with some uneasiness.

In the documents released at the closing of the two Evangelization Symposiums, in 1987 and in 2002, either uninterpretable or strange statements

can be found. In the document published in 1988, we read "In the signs of the times of democratization and liberalization … huge numbers of laborers, farmers and fishermen, who once were the strong motivating forces of the past economic miracle, now stand at the political crossroad. In the Symposium, many representatives have asked that the Church should be a symbol and publish its social thought on these 100 and more years. Even if we cannot solve all the problems, we cannot be accused of just standing alone"[13] (Commission for Evangelization, CRBC 1988, 60). And in the document of 2002, we read a single sentence under the section "causes that contribute to the poverty of modern society" which says "Admit and repent for the failure of being unable to take up the stance of justice" (e.g., human rights under martial law) (CRBC 2002, 113). The problem is that one cannot really know who this sentence refers to.

Yet in retrospect, these make sense when placed in their historical context. In the former section, we have mentioned that the Church has too many too small organizations, structurally speaking, which make it inefficient from many aspects. One should not forget that the phenomenon arises because of a special historical event, namely the withdrawal of the KMT government from China in the late 1940s. Almost all international religious and some diocesan priests and sisters fled abroad and a significant number of them came to Taiwan. A Church with ten or so priests in 1945 became a Church with about 800 priests in the 1960s. What is more important, as far as this chapter is concerned, is that these Church people's mindset, foreigners and Chinese alike, was shaped mainly by their experience of persecution by the Communists together with the infusion of an anti-communist spirit of the universal Church since the mid-twentieth century. What we have revealed in this paper can then be interpreted as that the Church is struggling out of its obsession with social order and national security toward a deep concern for individual rights and dignity, akin to modern social teaching.

In the 2015 Pastoral Letter from the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference entitled "Celebrating the Year of Consecrated Life", a pastoral letter addressed to consecrated religious—in the specialized sector particularly active in the works of Social Justice, the bishops say that "there are many significant social movements in Taiwan, and their scope is broad. In this context, there is no need for religious communities to establish or maintain their own small and similar social movements, but they should consider participating actively in the social movements led by others: environmental protection, human rights, social justice, the abolition of the death penalty,

and other international movements" (CRBC 2015, 339, 55).[14] Shortly after this paragraph, there is a whole section, about one-fifth of the whole letter, highly regarding and even specifically suggesting to the religious the "contemplative lifestyle" (CRBC 2015, 339, 56–58). Are the bishops suggesting, like Fr. Thomas Merton, that Social Justice and contemplation should go hand in hand? If it is appropriate to read it in this way, the future of our Church will be filled with hope.

Notes

1. For instance, Schuck (1991) added some 140 years earlier to what he called the Pre-Leonine period popes.
2. For instance, the core concepts of social teachings, for example "structures of injustice and sin (Hornsby-Smith 2006)", would sound totally "foreign" to the traditional Chinese religious spirit.
3. Here Taipei refers not to Taipei city but to the Taipei Archdiocese which includes the whole of northern Taiwan. The Taipei Archdiocese can serve as representative of the whole of Taiwan Catholicism given that it is the largest diocese in Taiwan.
4. The items included in the three factors are (1) Social Justice includes promoting of socio-economic and environmental justice plus the advocacy of democracy; (2) Human Rights factor includes promoting human dignity, human freedom and religious freedom; and (3) Life/Family values include anti-abortion and defending marriage and family values.
5. The size of each organization is measured by the number of full-time employees (including religious and the laypersons) of each organization. These numbers are recoded into new codes according to 0–1 into 1, 2 into 2, 3–4 into 3, 5–17 into 4 and 18 and above into 5. The corresponding percentages of the new recorded categories are 19%, 20.9%, 19%, 24.8% and 16.3% consecutively. Notice that organizations with four or less employees amount to 2/3 of all organizations.
6. Organizations are classified into three kinds in terms of the kinds of people they serve: (1) mainly workers, (2) mainly white collars and (3) serving no particular people. The third category was used as the reference group in the analyses.
7. For relevant statistics, Hong Kong (http://www.catholic.org.hk/v2/en/cdhk/a08statistics.html), Macau (http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dmacu.html#stats and http://www.catholic.org.mo/), Taipei (http://www.catholic.org.tw/catholic/2014/New%20Book/Handbook/2014Taipei.pdf) and Shanghai (http://www.catholicsh.org/NewListIn.aspx?InfoCategoryID=7 and https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/

%E5%A4%A9%E4%B8%BB%E6%95%99%E4%B8%8A%E6%B5%B7%E6%95%99%E5%8C%BA), accessed on March 23, 2016, 16:09. The number of Catholics in Macau is 29,611 in 9 parishes; those of Shanghai are about 140,000 in more than 100 churches.

8. See in Chinese Catholic Cultural Association (1990) for records of the Church's anti-abortion movements since the 1970s. Another case was the recent movement against homosexual marriage (CRBC 2014a, 42–55; 2014b, 2–13; 2014c, 19–20), but the Catholic role in that movement was not as central and active as it was in the anti-abortion movement.
9. When asked about whether they approve or disapprove of the abolition of the death penalty, among 559 laypersons, 46.3% disapproved, 44% conditionally approved and only 5.8% approved without conditions (Kuo 2010: Appendix I, p. 33).

   For instance, in 1972, the theme of the Workshop on Social Affairs was "Evangelization and Social Development" (Li Zhen 1978; CRBC 1978, 130). In 1975, a group for the design and evaluation of social development plans was set up under the Commission for Social Development (originally Commission for Social Work and Lay apostolate) in the Bishops' Conference and the sociology department of Fu-Jen University was instrumental in providing "scientific research results" for designing and evaluations of social development plans, for example, Vox Cleri Monthly (1975). Its social research for the church has extended at least to 1987 and "A Study of the Catholic Church in Taiwan ROC" was published for the Symposium on Evangelization in 1988 (Commission for Evangelization 1987).
10. This line of thought can even be traced back to an earlier time. In the above cited article to introduce Pope John XXIII's encyclical, the then Bishop of Tainan wrote: "As to life standards, the current wage level is too low and is not enough to support a family properly, but from the perspectives of manufacturers' economic conditions and the nation's public interests, labor wages should not be raised immediately. The nation's finance cannot afford it, otherwise, the whole nation and society will be disturbed immediately".
11. However, there is one problem, a serious one: it lacked the general support of the laity. Perhaps, things can be even worse than lacking the laity's support. I suspect that what Casanova (1996) pointed out, namely "the widespread rejection by lay Catholics of the church's teachings on sexual morality … and they were consciously dissenting from church doctrines, in good conscience, without thinking that they were acting immorally, and without believing that they were unfaithful to the Catholic Church" (368) may also apply to Taiwan.

12. It stated that: "Amidst the contemporary signs of liberalism and democracy, we discovered the vast cohort of blue collar class as well as fishermen and farmers who were the major labor force of Taiwan's economic miracle, are now on the cross road of politics. In the assembly representatives requested the Church should play the iconic role by expressing the social teaching of the Church which had begun some hundred years ago. Even at this stage we cannot resolve any social problem, yet we cannot allow history to accuse us that we stand aloof with folded hands."
13. In Taiwan there are many meaningful social movements on a big scale. Thus there is no need for Religious Orders to establish their own or to maintain their own small scale social movements with similar natures. Members of Religious Orders should actively participate in social movements led by non-religious groups like environmental protection, human rights protection, banning the death penalty and social justice. This can be regarded as a proper orientation of integrating into the world according to the teaching of Vat II.

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CHAPTER 9

Wang Wen-hsing's Religious Dimension: A Catholic Perspective

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It is often said but rarely fully elaborated or illustrated satisfactorily that the novels of Wang Wen-hsing[a*] carry themes transmitting strong religious flavor.[1] These are actually commonplace remarks or impressions that await further verification or explanation. Among them, one early illustrative article by Zhang Songsheng (1986, 108–119) capitalizes on the word "religion" in her title. Yet even there, Wang Wen-hsing's intricate religious traits and dimensions are sketchily described. Jeng Heng-hsiung, for another, focuses on the technical implications of the diction that convey possible religious sense (Jeng 2012). However, Wang is by no means a superficial writer. Anything that skims the surface is less than being fair, for Wang resolutely imprints such sense in all his writings. Indeed, as noted in Zhang's article, previous works of Wang Wen-hsing have touched on themes or topics such as fate, the uncertain future, sin, conscience, death experience and relationship between man and the heavens. But these contents are mentioned only in passing statements in Zhang's article. More in-depth analyses are needed to substantiate those observations. Recently, however, a young scholar Huang Qifeng has made sensitive attempts to interpret the

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religious implications of Wang Wen-hsing's novel *Beihaide ren*,[b*] arguing from the tragic ending of a humanistic atheist (Huang 2007, 173–190). To a considerable extent, the essay addresses more religious issues up front than Zhang's meta-criticism. After all, Wang Wen-hsing (b. 1939–; converted to become a Catholic in 1985) has openly professed his conversion. In that connection, he emulates the English scholar and writer C.S. Lewis (1898–1963) who made no pretense of his being a Christian and gladly defended his faith (see for instance his books *Mere Christianity* 1952 and *Surprised by Joy: the Shape of My Early Life* 1955). Both Wang and Lewis have spent time in search of a reassuring religion. In a recent talk with some interested academics held on September 26, 2015,[2] Wang explicitly acknowledged his indebtedness to such writers as Graham Greene, C.S. Lewis, François Mauriac, Heinrich Boll and two Chinese Catholic writers, Su Xuelin[c*] and Zhang Xiuya (i.e. Chang Hsiu-ya).[d*] Truly, in Wang's own writings, there are endeavors to search and address implications of religion though not necessarily Christianity as such. On another much earlier occasion, Wang explained in detail his soul-searching and conversion process as well as the impact made on him by writers including Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) and C. S. Lewis who attracted him mentally and spiritually (Cui "zongli xun ta qianbaidu"[e*] 1; Shan 2014b, 66).[3] Wang's close contact with and propensity toward religious matters is thus evident in his daily life. Though in the September 2015 afternoon talk he claimed to separate religion and writing in his daily life, it is the first part of his life as revealed in his works, however subtle it is, that we shall investigate (Fig. 9.1).

Larger Contexts of Religion

This chapter presents an investigation into the Catholic religious dimension of Wang Wen-hsing, focusing on his novel *Beihaide ren* (*Backed Against the Sea* 1981–1999). Unlike his earlier novel *Jiabian*[f*] (or *Family Mishap* 1978; Wang 1978) that has a clear story, *Beihaide ren* is unique and innovative in its narrative structure, making it difficult to read because there is little in the way of conventionally organized or perceivable plot. Narrative development often gives ground to psychological reflections while the typical stream of consciousness[4] technique adopted by the persona renders the coherence between the momentary thoughts and comments of the protagonist less than obvious to readers who look for organic unity. Nevertheless, the novel bears the unmistakable hallmark of religious

Fig. 9.1 Photo of Prof. Wang Wen-hsing
Source: Courtesy of Wang Wen-hsing digital archive, National Museum of Taiwan Literature

concerns throughout. Below, I shall explore such concerns through two domains: those of life and faith which are crucial to existential problems. These are characteristics of religion in general, not necessarily Christian in particular, though we shall not rule out such possibilities. Religion in Taiwan is often understood as acts of worship to deities, proselytization by various denominations and cultish rituals with little attention to man's inner relationship with the deities. For that matter, even folk beliefs that verge on magic, witchcraft, animatism or shamanism are treated as forms of religion in this culture. To differentiate, the sense of religion in this chapter adopts a different approach, taking into consideration the religious experience cherished by the writer and the manifestation of his deepened personal relationship with God as rational features that are found in *Beihaide ren*. There may be certain Christian elements and non-Christian elements as Wang in his talk (September 26, 2015) proposed that he believes in "one religion but many concurrent tracks or sources" (yi jiao duo zong).[g,*5] This notion is in line with the interfaith dialogue approach of the Catholic Church after Vatican II. Interestingly, Wang's assumption is quite comparable to that of the Nobel prize-winner Gao

Xingjian[h*] who holds the view that the origins of men's religious experience are various, particularly in investigating the mystical experience, hence the intricate expressions in his novel *Ling Shan*.[i,*6]

The mystical is, of course, often associated with the religious at a metaphysical level. This is another dimension that Wang Wen-hsing is partial to and shows great interest to explore (Shan 2014a, 51–55). But that will be the topic of further research. To show the subtle religiosity of *Beihaide ren*, we shall probe the contextual literary frame of a sense larger than life that may not be apparent to those who look for the conventional characteristics of religion. From the Catholic perspective, however, faith, hope and charity are fundamental virtues in Christianity, verifying a true understanding of the religion or rather the relationship between man and God. After all, theology when centering on divine self-revelation overlaps with religion to focus on answers to questions that are implied in human existence. In a broader sense religion offers guidelines to human existence such as man's relations with God, with his fellow human beings and with himself. Hence, perspectives of life and faith do address questions implied in human existence and logically they belong to the realm of religion.

One of the most discussed philosophers and theologians of the twentieth century is Paul Tillich whose famous expression of religion in a nutshell is the "ultimate concern," the basis and reasoning of which have been expounded in his *Dynamics of Faith* (1957), *Systematic Theology* (1963) and other works. Fascinating as it sounds, the notion is not without challenge when other thinkers say that religion should not be defined as the ultimate concern as there are other vital concerns in human existence. L. Scott Smith,[7] for one, takes issue with Tillich's idea to assert that theology should not be viewed as mere faith. Simply put, Smith assumes that faith is not equal to ultimate concern (Smith 2003). In principle, Tillich asserts that when a concern reaches the ultimate it acquires an essentially religious character (*Systematic Theology* 1:11). It then demands surrender of the self. Yet, other philosophers such as Irvin D. Yalom, short of engaging in a formal debate with Tillich, write from a Western stance proposing that there are four ultimate concerns in human life: death, meaninglessness, freedom and existential isolation (Yalom 1970).[8] Without claiming to be a theologian, Yalom engages in theological dialogue in terms of human existential problems that reach beyond the phenomenal world. From that angle, religion is not dealing with the One and the Ultimate. Else, there are other types of concern such as the cognitive, aesthetic, moral, social and political that are among the urgent and can be elevated to the level of ultimacy. Hence, without taking sides with any particular kind of ultimacy, we shall look

at the characteristics of religion and their dimensions from our perspective to configure what Wang Wen-hsing, a Catholic in heart, has to present to his readers. It will be from a generally existential rather than dogmatic point of view in that Wang Wen-hsing adopts an Asian outlook on faith versus the Western conceptual approach.

On the whimsical fluctuations in life the American poet Robert Frost (1874–1963) has an oft-quoted poem "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" (1923) in which the persona comes to the recognition that,

> The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
> But I have promises to keep,
> And miles to go before I sleep,
> And miles to go before I sleep. (Frost 1969, 224)

This is another way of saying that a sudden standstill during a trip may not be the end of the journey. Aesthetically and ethically the voice echoes what T.S. Eliot rhythmically says "In my end is my beginning."[9] On the surface, the poetic revelation has nothing to do with Wang Wen-hsing's narrative structure, nor does it have any literary impact on the making of Wang's work. But the sense of closure or rather open-endedness is certainly familiar and known to Wang who is attentive to the craft of fiction writing. Besides, as a professor teaching Western literature at National Taiwan University, Wang is well versed in the basic texts and techniques of Western classics, some of which he mentions in his writings. When turning to read *Beihaide ren* attentively, we are immediately attracted both by the open-ended frame right up to the appendix epilogue and by the language of the novel that took Wang 18 years to finish. Life itself has many stops but not necessarily a real end which portends further promises to keep. The protracted duration of the creation simply testifies to Wang's painstaking craftsmanship when coping with a larger than life open-ended frame.

We shall begin with the title of the novel. *Beihaide ren* literally signifies that the protagonist does not face the sea with pleasure. Rather, he turns his back on it. As the story reveals, he has just moved to an esoteric port village, Shenkeng Ao, that can be described as a poor fishing village and he is feeling deeply dejected. If John Millington Synge's play *Riders to the Sea*[10] dramatizes the tragic sense of rural people struggling against the relentless harshness of the sea, Wang Wen-hsing's *Beihaide ren*, too, treats of the sea. But it is not the sea in itself; rather he treats the sea in a somewhat nonchalant and apologetic manner. Indeed, it is not the sea, but the barren and unproductive harbor village that provokes the persona's

grudges and dissatisfaction. That sea is as deceptive as the one Synge has been dealing with in his one-act tragedy. Wang Wen-hsing's persona called Ye[*] (a self-proclaimed dignified person) immediately faces not a tragedy but the dismal environment and uncertain prospect of his future in the port village. The harbor appears to be dead because for more than a month there have been no fish to ship back (*Beihaide ren*, 3)[11] and the total number of the motor fishing boats berthed in the harbor only count about 20. The total population of the place does not exceed 500 of whom 100 are fishermen (p. 4). If Synge's play engenders something called fate in his drama, Wang's story similarly invokes a less than desirable new life in his novel. Both assert something realistic and mundane yet they appeal to a force that one has no control over. Wang Wen-hsing will call it fatalism.[12] Much more than how a lyric might present the sentiment of immediacy, the above dramatic and narrative situations appeal to a sense of urgency that correlates the persona's miserable existential problem to his awareness of a higher power that manipulates his luck. There is a built-in setup of Man–Supernatural power relationship in the plot. Besides, the persona Ye's curses and foul language manifest his dissatisfaction with that higher form of supernatural existence. Ye has not yet rendered or yielded his self and he certainly wants to assume an identity and make an independent choice for his life. Defiance, challenge, grudge, cynical remarks and political charges are some spontaneous reactions to show the persona's dissatisfaction with life. Implicitly these grudges reveal a yearning for a better reward in life manipulated by the higher power that Ye wants to reduce to a relentless mechanism. It may be an indescribable yet real driving force beyond his control. The episode of his passion for the Red Haired Harlot demonstrates such an experience. Ye is actually expressing existential or rather religious sentiments that he wants to overcome yet hates to admit.

Life as a Dimension of Religion

It is often noticeable that when people enjoy a pleasant life, they do not think of heavenly goodness. But when they encounter hardships or mishaps, they will either complain or possibly turn to seek help from above. The situation has most wonderfully been worded by George Herbert (1593–1633) whose poem "The Pulley" (1633) speaks for all. In the concluding stanza of the poem, it is God speaking, with the restless man (i.e. "him" in the poem) in mind to justify the way of the world:

Yet let him keep the rest [i.e., God's gifts],
But keep them with repining restlessness:
Let him be rich and weary, that at least,
If goodness lead him not, yet weariness
May toss him to my breast. (Herbert 2007, 547)

So it is, when *Beihaide ren* begins, the persona Ye is swearing and even using four-letter words. He claims that he encounters not only bad luck but ill fate. He, a one-eyed person with three kinds of illness: stomach disease, asthma and hemorrhoids, has incurred a heavy debt due to gambling and is wanted by the police on charges of assault and battery; he has come to an insignificant village port far away from the bustle of Taipei city. He is weary and far from being rich. His initial investigation of the place reveals it to be dismal, offering little attraction and prospect. One eye-catching sight is the four brothels. Upon arriving in the village he notices an unusual-looking building on the hill which is a Catholic church. He has subconsciously been struck by a symbol of an unfamiliar religion. The brothels, without his recognizing them, contribute to one of the three enemies in Christian dogmatic teaching—the world, the flesh and the devil. The hilltop Catholic Church stands in strong contrast to the foothill brothels. Ye is not a Christian, but he is sensitive enough to internalize religious awareness into moral issues. Thus begins his life, peppered with religious awareness, even on his first day in Shenkeng Ao. In the initial stage of the novel, Ye uses rather literary language to relate his feelings and experience, but as the story develops, he moves into a progressively esoteric form of language that is hardly rational thinking. This indicates that his quality of life has in no way improved. Internally he has joined the ranks of the negative forces in grudging and complaining about his ill fate. Such acts are the opposite of saying prayers. Another way to put it, he has sided with the dark powers to shame divine grace just because he finds life profoundly undesirable. From a catechetical point of view, both presumption and despair are sins. Ye's consistent grudges about his life are anti-catechetical though he is not aware of it. The "Pulley" mechanism that weariness will toss the restless person onto God does not work for him and he remains a loser in the competitive world of reality.

As an escapee or rather a run-a-way to this barren village, Ye has no defined position. He comes to seek an opportunity to hide out and can only rent a plain room in a house. The new job he acquires is a self-created one as a fortune-teller and diviner. It is ironic in that he earns some unstable income by telling peoples' fortunes, future and life although he is ambivalent about

the divine. More ironic is it that he cannot foresee that toward the end of the story he will need to resort to bribery to get a low-level position to stabilize his own life. Little does he know that he will fail to land even a humble occupation. He advises people on their future but he cannot perceive what will ultimately happen to him. However he does remain free as he is not tied to any employment. Nor is he bound by institutional demands because there are none for him. Life, for him, is full of unpleasant surprises. What he witnesses is poverty and a life promising misery. In fact, the acquaintances and non-fishermen residents he encounters in the village are all vitiated by greed, anger and concupiscence due to poverty. This is by no means a sinful place; rather it is an average, poor fishing village manifesting daily humdrums and existential problems. Ye has noticed that the village sells two major items that are of primordial concern to most residents—food and sex. There are five eating stalls, three courtesan teahouses and four brothels (pp. 17–18). Meanwhile regarding the notion of "being free" he comes to the awareness that "only after possessing money can one have freedom" (p. 40). He does not lack free time but wealth with which he can then have enjoyment and entertainment. In fact, to him, "without freedom, I am not happy; comes freedom, I am not happy either—this is life" (p. 42). He goes on to speculate that "freedom" may turn out to be a heavy burden for people. His reasoning is that when a person has no freedom that person will decidedly struggle to attain it. Once freedom comes, the person will have to face many issues, scores and hundreds of issues, and be so busy that he will find the situation hectic and overwhelming. Ultimately, nothing may be accomplished. That is verified by his personal experience after being discharged from military service (p. 42).

What the story tells or does not tell reflects that Ye, a dignified run-away, is a literate if not an intellectual of sorts. He has sharp observation skills regarding the environment, reflection on his previous life experience as well as rumination on metaphysical issues and even their problematics. He relates his close at hand eye-witnesses to the larger and broader social phenomena. To gain a niche in the small village, he sets up a fortune-teller booth, and spells out his specialty of oneiromancy, that is to say interpreting dreams and divination (p. 43). How well he has learned the trade has not been accounted for but when he comes to the village his baggage contains a few books of divination, indicating he is relatively ready for the trade and situation. Subsequently he puts it to practice and mentions several times his thoughts on physiognomy interpretation as fortune-telling (pp. 45, 74, 77, 121). Yet, derisively, he criticizes the "life-philosophers" of oneiromancy

and palmistry of whom he is one. As a fortune-teller, he speaks humbug to tyrannize his clients into being enslaved by his interpretations. All the same, Ye is not a self-defeating person; fortune-telling is merely a last resort for him to make a living because he really wants to find a steady job in a public institution. He desires stability and security which will make his life more meaningful. As a self-employed fortune-teller, he has freedom. Yet while the opposite of freedom is captivity, he is captured by his own whims and emotional outbursts of various kinds. He has not yet encountered individual choice. His curses and swearing mannerisms manifest his complaints about reality and his unsatisfactory status quo of etching a living. He is not a simpleton nor does he have an attractive appearance. The only voluntary choice he makes is while he is attracted to a red-haired prostitute; he rejects the goodwill of a young woman who wants to keep company with him. The latter woman, though poor and not particularly good-looking, comes from a decent family. In that light, his life is filled with contradictions: He is infatuated and rejects his original plan to dote on Red Hair and repels a modest girl. His desire and yearning for Red Hair lasts for a lengthy period (pp. 189–234); he remains aloof and does not take advantage of the vulnerable decent girl.

At a deeper level Ye reveals that he is capable of exercising intellectual evaluation though sometimes he is cynical. That signifies he is not appreciated or rewarded suitably by society which makes his life miserable. His maimed ego therefore turns to attention toward the disadvantaged and lower class in society, not by choice but by practical situation. Occasionally he will even help lower level people such as Zhang Fawu who needs to brush up writing skills (p. 100), since he intends to take an entry-level civil service examination which requires essay writing. The incident makes Ye feel that he is of use, although slighted, and now regaining some superiority complex. At the suggestion of Zhang Fawu, Ye goes to the former's work place to join a lunch group pact, a means to save a bit of money. Through this channel Ye comes to know a number of the staff of that work place. His own life has not substantially changed but his circle of acquaintances has widened and his purview of daily life and the incentives of his interior monologues are largely objectified. Though at times his diviner or a pseudo-priest identity is relegated to confront more pragmatic concerns, his conscience often surfaces to make ethical choices. Even while not playing the role of a life-philosopher, he still acts as a quasi-intellectual whose opinions are found in his version of Facebook—interior monologues. But because of his ill fate, he grumbles via interior monologues and we come

to understand better his existential ills and other people's fate in general. When somehow scrutinizing his situation, Ye calls on his own fate of "suffering" because he made the wrong judgment. He did not reject people's coercion to gamble and thus owed a heavy debt so that he is hunted by the underworld mafia. In that sense, Ye chooses his own anxiety, awkward financial status and vulnerability in life. Hence, his swearing and accusing the supernatural power signifies a moot question because it has not been nature that was unkind to him but his own judgment that makes life miserable. God, or the object whom Ye accuses, is innocent. Not in riches but in poverty, life is usually seen as closer to the Designer's unknown scheme, perhaps allegorically. What is interesting to note is that Ye never gives up hope in life despite his abjection. The narration does not spell it out, but it seems he keeps faith in perceiving that there are people having worse luck than he does.

Ye's social ties are not too complicated, and are sufficient to provide us with a cross-sectional view of the middle- and lower middle-class people whose art of survival demonstrates the socio-economic condition of society at the time. Through the tidbit news and social consciousness, ethics, aesthetics, politics, gender relationships, social well-being and envisioning of future, the meaning of people's daily life is represented. What makes the ordinary people's lives noticeable is that Ye, aside from being the narrator, is also a commentator on current affairs and previous events. In that sense, he acts as the voice of conscience when not cynical and functions as the community intellectual when sober. While most people that Ye deals with or comments on are not high-brow ones, each person seeks his or her means to obtain a better life. These people have not been inspired to seek happiness in life. Nevertheless, taking up an entirely different standpoint, Ye manages to philosophize many of the issues that he observes. His interior monologues are his ways of introspection that justify the significance of his living however humble it appears. Reflections they definitely are, but perhaps not yet reaching the stage of prayer because there is no sense of piety trying to communicate with the divine. The inner thinking self of Ye versus the socially unattractive Ye verifies that his life is not a sheer waste or entirely useless. In another dimension, the assurance of life's value is a proof that the deity speaks to Ye when the transcendental value is given as proposed in logotherapy, that is, therapy by means of meaning (Frankl 2000).[13] The reasoning process grants the self-meaning, or rather the search for meaning (Frankl 2006). Thinking and philosophizing therefore serve as

Ye's logotherapy. Such a form of self-healing, ever so subtle, lends the narrative voice a conviction and a religiously devout tone.

Faith as a Dimension of Religion

As a non-believer, Ye has no awareness of sacrilege while swearing, but such behavior does invoke irritation leading to his defying the supernatural. He has commented on the superstition of the villagers by saying that for everything they attempt to undertake they will seek the omens of Mazu[k*] (a goddess signifying compassion) who occupies an important position in the village (pp. 88–93). While faith usually integrates with one's personality, so it is in the case of Ye. From his observation on the importance of Mazu, Ye's mind moves on (in form of association of thoughts) to Liuzu[l*] (or the Sixth Patriarch, A.D. 632–713). Liuzu, a Buddhist monk, is the most celebrated interpreter of Zen Buddhism. Rather than taking Liuzu to be an eminent Buddhist thinker, Ye takes him as a renowned poet (pp. 93–96). This is based on Ye's critique of Liuzu's oft-quoted Zen Buddhist poem while he appreciates its literary merits:

> Bodhi essentially is no tree
> Neither a shiny mirror a set
> From the beginning there is no substance
> How can it gather dust?[m]

What this means is that Ye reveals his intellectual capacity in applying the poem to interpret and summarize the essence of *The Altar-Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*[n]. Regardless of whether Ye's interpretation is valid or not, the argument shows Ye is not an ordinary literate person. He does not follow blindly the mainstream ideas but develops his own independent thinking. Thus when he believes in anything he will do it with an intellectual approach or a rational approach. While Mazu signifies assistance from above (and in that town a symbol of superstition pp. 19, 90), the Sixth Patriarch signifies self-redemption. Ye's transition in thinking is not without reason. Though himself a kind of diviner, that is, fortune-teller, or loosely enlightened person by the divinity, he will not treat any religion with favor or prejudice and in fact, he is not an advocate of Buddhism or Taoism, the two largest religious denominations in Chinese culture. While appreciating the worth of poems Ye claims he, himself, is also a poet (p. 95) thus denigrating, to a certain extent, the religious significance of Zen Buddhism.

Several times during his reflections, this poet-turned-diviner digresses to mention the hilltop church or matters related to the Catholic Church (pp. 5, 16, 19–20, 139, 305, 306, 308, 315, 318, 321) even down to the end of the novel. With this full circle structural setup, Ye presents the symbol of the Catholic Church like T. S. Eliot's theme for *The Four Quartets*, "in my end is my beginning" (Eliot 1971, 129). Whatever belief or disbelief Ye has for the Catholic Church, his curiosity for this kind of religion is aroused. Furthermore, two dogmatic aspects of Catholicism are brought up in the narration though in a casual manner. One is that abortion is not allowed as advised by a Catholic priest and the other is the notion of almsgiving (p. 139). Ye does not comment or disclose his pro or con views on the dogma which is rather unusual for him as a thinking individual. Yet one can further pursue the question: Why bring up such ethical considerations of Catholicism in a non-Christian society? Why not those of other religious denominations? As Ye does not seem to esteem Buddhist and Taoist practices highly (pp. 91–92, 94), his attitude toward Catholicism rather than Christianity in general is particularly meaningful if not ambivalent. While Ye can rationalize Zen Buddhism poetically, he probably does not hold any prejudice against it. But what attracts Ye to place the symbol of Catholic Church so prominently in that barren fishing port is worth our reflection. One possible clue is that he has been listening to the story of an acquaintance Yu Shiliang, whose wife became mentally sick after giving birth to a baby. It was a Catholic priest who made the arrangement that the wife could be hospitalized without worrying about their medical bills. On a later occasion, Yu's wife was hemorrhaging after being operated on for a stillborn baby. Yu needed money to buy transfusion blood and so he went to seek help from the same priest who unfortunately was not at home (pp. 139–142). Though later Yu borrowed money from a kind neighbor, not the priest, that priest stands for the first person in his mind when help was needed. Using a third person to tell the life-and-death experience of the underprivileged class, Ye presents the case objectively. Yet, the religious sentiments of charity and compassion through the act of the priest are revealed and Ye has been impressed. While often faith is an act relevant to and informing our understanding of reality, Ye is given an eye-witness account of faith in a particular event and a particular religion. That encourages him later to try to get acquainted with a foreign Catholic priest.

Interestingly enough, Ye creates the opportunity to visit the Western priest in the church uphill (pp. 305–322). There is a follow-up excuse to visit the same priest three days later because Ye wanted to borrow money

from the priest whose church, for him, signifies alms-giving and a charitable institution (p. 312, 318–319). Even to a non-believer, the Catholic Church signifies a stereotype in Taiwan's society. Secular and mundane concerns aside, Ye is able to finally develop an intellectually gratifying dialogue with the priest. The initial questions have been: why do men have to suffer so much? If God is almighty, why cannot he make human beings suffer less? The embarrassed priest somehow manages to give a knock-out answer: Indeed God created men, but if God created gods instead, there would be no more suffering (pp. 314–315). This religious dialogue is significant in that Ye approaches the Catholic priest with a Buddhist perspective. Buddhism believes in treating worldly matters as void (*sunyata*) in order to eschew agony. Only by giving up desires can a person avoid misery and agony, thus no suffering. But it will be a person's reflexive determination that negates suffering rather than his assertive actions to eliminate suffering from the world of reality. As it is, Ye is not ready to live life in a void, hence his continuous agony day after day. Buddhism teaches people transcendence, leaving worldly cares behind, but that is not something most people can do. Now Ye learns that God is almighty and so he challenges the Catholic priest for an answer. This question is rather similar to a commonly posed theological disputation in saying that if God is good, why does he allow evil to take place in this world? Or to put it in the dialectics of Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274): The name God means that He is infinite goodness. If, therefore, God existed, there would be no traceable evil, but there is evil in the world. Therefore God does not exist (Aquinas *Summa Theologica* 1st pt. Q2, articles 2, 3 objection 1). Ye uses layman's language to pose a theological question to show his awareness of certain doctrines of Catholicism. Furthermore, before he adopts any religious faith, he intends to be persuaded rationally. It will be logic rather than faith that will convince him. The priest does not go into explaining moral evil and natural evil that make man suffer nor the necessity of evil, out of which to produce good. As Aquinas believes that evil did not exist for humans in the Garden of Eden, and it will be eliminated in a heavenly future, so does the Catholic priest using an analogy to defend the notion of suffering. Actually there is an understood ellipsis in the priest's reply in that man by nature is vulnerable and imperfect. Therefore, if God created gods instead of men, suffering would not bother the gods who are supernatural. Indirectly, the priest assures of God's goodness, untroubled by the evils and sufferings present in this world. His explanation is based on the realities of worldly suffering other than mere physical or conceptual phenomena in which evil is found. Stuck with further questioning or rebuttal,

Ye, albeit shame-faced, claims that he is grateful for the enlightenment. The very word "enlightenment" (kaidao)[o] sounds Buddhist. Before Ye leaves asking if he could come back for more instruction (a matter of courtesy), he is given two pamphlets on Catholicism which are useful for his understanding of the religion. Then the priest makes a sign of cross on Ye twice. Thus concludes the first round of interfaith conversation between a Chinese fortune-teller and a Western priest on fundamental deliberations concerning the meaning of human existence.

The above interlude however short discloses some very important messages. Ye, leaving his fortune-telling booth behind, visits a foreigner consulting if not summoning the latter about the meaning of life. He goes to the church as if he were a mere tourist visitor, but actually he plays the role of an inquisitive intellectual. While searching for the meaning of life is a basic concern in human existence, Ye's searching enables him to cross the threshold of the portal of religion. When demanding an answer for the reason why almighty God allows the existence of human suffering, he has already opened up several profound issues. First, he has to admit the existence of God which incidentally is the first topic that Aquinas discusses in his *Summa Theologia*. Without this presupposition Ye cannot ask his tough question. He cannot deny the existence of God and at the same time stipulate that God be responsible for things seemingly under his control. Second, by saying that God is almighty he has to recognize the concept of creation in which man is one element. He seems to have no bargaining chips despite his reluctance. But if he rejects God as the almighty and creator, man will not be part of the divine scheme; consequently no further argument on the issue of suffering is possible. Third, the notion of human suffering indicates our daily encounter with human affairs and man's meaning as well as the purpose of existence. If the meaning of human life is to seek happiness (eternal or temporary), indeed, suffering will defeat that purpose. A legitimate question is to ask why God creates or allows the creation of something that will ruin his own scheme. All in all, we detect in this episode the structure of Aquinas' topical cycle of *Summa Theologia* which builds on (1) the existence of God, (2) creation and man, (3) man's purpose, (4) Christ, (5) the sacraments and (6) God again. The first three parts are implied in Ye's questions. As to the fourth and fifth parts, there is no time and perhaps too abrupt a transition to dwell on such topics in the initial meeting between the two persons representing the East and the West. However, when the priest makes the signs of the cross on Ye, he has picked up indirectly and marginally parts four and five without Ye's objection. Moreover, the Catholic pamphlets given to Ye will strengthen

further memory of the latter and stimulate further curiosity if Ye takes time to read them. Hence, part six comes back to Ye as a reinforced impression of God. Very intricately, this episode functions as the structural frame of the *Summa Theologia* in the offing. If the entire corpus of the *Altar-Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* can be condensed to one Zen poem, likewise, Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologia* is encapsulated in the structure of the above episode. A modest way to depict the initial dialogue between Ye and the Catholic priest seems that the narrative has rephrased Wang Wen-hsing's understanding of Catholic theological discourse via literary means.

After the first meaningful rendezvous, Ye creates another occasion to meet the priest with further problematic interrogations. He has prepared three questions (pp. 319–321): (1) Are all human affairs predetermined or can they be willed by man? He will use Judas as a point of departure. If things are all predetermined, then Judas should not bear any responsibility for his betrayal of Jesus. If the sin is the result of Judas' own will, then the crucifixion of Jesus is not part of God's plan. (2) Between this life and the afterlife (i.e. eternal life), which is more important? If this life is more important, then why bother to pursue an agonizing eternal life? If eternal life is more important, then we need not live this life. The earlier we quit the better. If this life and the eternal one are equally valuable, then we may as well not live a single day of this life. (3) Are disasters sent by God or by the devils? If they are from God, then we should beg for his mercy and grace. If they are from the devils, then we should bow down to the devils for them to relieve us. Does that not seem more effective and more reasonable?

Obviously, Ye has made up some hard nuts for the Catholic priest to crack. Meanwhile these questions ring the bell to the Aquinas' frame of disputation. In a jovial mood Ye goes up to the hill again aiming to put the priest to embarrassment. He has no hostile intention but will be definitely thrilled to square out with the priest who has won the previous round. If somehow he is convinced by the priest's answers he will probably not get angry as he had not been the last time. Being mentally and spiritually gratified will not make him a loser though he wants to outsmart the priest with his sophistry. However, the church door is locked and the priest happens to have returned to his own country for three months. For that simple reason there is no part two of the Thomist answers from the priest. Ye has to turn back on his cultural experiences for resolutions. Failing to meet the foreign priest, Ye then lapses into wild speculation on the sex life and the daily eating habits of the priest. Eating and sex, as viewed by Confucius, are basic in human nature. Here then, departing from Western theological conceptions

of existence, Ye shows his eastern practice of begging the questions of fundamental human existence. God or the ultimate is not mentioned, but the pragmatic approach to the fundamental concern of human existence is processed. The eastern religious sentiment is implicitly presented.

What is evident in the episode is that this fortune-teller and self-dubbed philosopher's deep interest in the Catholic Church has been aroused. His awareness of this religion and some of the doctrines of faith have been evoked so much so that he asks intelligent questions that theologians raise according to their interest. To the extent of a non-Catholic, he comes up with deeper understanding and expectation than many ordinary lay people. He excels not in catechism, but in theological profundity. His dialogue with the absentee priest has not stopped; it continues in the philosophical arena where the two find themselves. If he takes that as promises to keep, he will have miles to go before he sleeps. While the priest stands for a professed faith, after the meeting, Ye begins to cherish faith in the priest as someone who understands religion rather than superstition. Failing to meet the priest again Ye's livelihood does not change; he remains poor. But the stream of consciousness mind moves on to matters of life and death. In this case it is not human life but that of a dog. Ye and the Cao family together kill a dog and eat its meat for supplementary nutrition. The killing and eating is symbolic as the persona says that the dog meat has become a sacrifice to the "Temple of Five Organs," that is, the body (p. 369). Even "the temple" has to be human-related rather than deity-related. Ye, failing to find proper communication with the vicar of the High God, the priest, chooses to become a fallen angel to deal with the mundane and pragmatic concern—eating as expression of primal nature. That perhaps is the ultimate concern of the body in an ironic way.

Conclusion

Despite his fame, Wang Wen-hsing's novels are sometimes said to be difficult to read and understand. However, if we properly construe the framework, techniques and the intricate craft of writing as well as the allegory of the narrative we will see not only the logic of the fiction's meaning but its aesthetic fabric too. Of these, one prominent feature is the religious dimension, with its nuances both Eastern and Western. It is not elusive or subversive though there is every attempt to refine or readjust the language toward a new mode of semantic delivery during the narration. After all, religious faith does not go by ratiocination alone. There are also leaps and

bounds in thinking that reach beyond the ordinary rungs of Jacob's ladder to a higher form of awareness, similar to the processing pattern of a true religious life. Ye discloses his own default life in search of an authentic understanding of a religion with answers that the familiar religions in his environment cannot provide and resolve. Although Wang Wen-hsing had already become a Catholic when he began to compose the latter part of *Beihaide ren* he does not blatantly insert a Catholic vision into it at the expense of other religions. Instead, he is true to his artifice incorporating various religious dimensions that are artistically appropriate, including that of Catholicism. But the option of choice and special traits of Catholicism are clearly laid bare and posit an overwhelming attitude. Freedom of choice by the readers and substantive intellectual persuasion in the work, after the portrayed characteristics are given, play an important role in the presentation and representation of the narrative. Free will rings the bell of the Catholic tenet apart from the notion of providence. Even when looking at the work from this angle, Wang Wen-hsing's novel exemplifies a Catholic perspective. Like his other works, *Beihaide ren* is a well-wrought piece of artistry filled with rich nuances that converse with unconventional voices on religious matters.

Notes

1. Hong Shanhui, for example, in her article "yigerende dubai—Wang Wen-hsing *Beihaide ren* 'Ye de yuyan tanxi," *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xuebao*, 16 (2013.04): 85–110, remarks that Wang Wen-hsing's discourses in *Beihaide ren* include life, old age, illness, death, religious belief, modern poetry and so on (Hong 2013). Jeng Heng-hsiung, too, reads the religious implications of the above novel from a semiotic point of view, "cong jihaoxuede guandian kan Wang Wenxing *Beihaide ren* shangcede zongjiaoguan." In *Xuanxiao yu fennu—Beihaide ren zhuanlun* (Taipei: Guoli Taiwandaxue chubanzhongxin, 2013), 223–251.
2. The date was September 26, 2015, a Saturday afternoon gathering at the Precious Blood Convent near the Tien Education Center in Taipei. The participants came from various universities in Taiwan. Wang's talk focused on his own praying and perception of religious experience and his indebtedness to other Christian writers during his search for faith.
3. This influence has been recorded in Cui Guorong's interview with Wang Wen-hsing in "zongli xun ta qianbaidu" p. 1. The same idea is also repeated in a later interview by Shan Te-hsing in "Zongjiao yu wenxue," *Quegu suolaijing* (Taipei: Yuncheng, 2014), p. 66.

4. It is a device that describes the mental processing state of the narrative characters whose thinking pattern and ideas may not seem to be related such that readers find the line of thinking skipping and leaping without sequential logic. The device is sometimes equated to interior monologue. Modern writers who apply such device include Marcel Proust, James Joyce and Virgina Woolf, among others. Wang Wen-hsing as a modernist writer subtly adopts the technique but few critics have pointed this out. Hong's article on the above treating the persona's monologue as if it were an act on stage misses the point, for dramatic monologue is different from stream of consciousness which pertains to interior monologue.
5. This assumption has been explicated in a previous interview in 2010. See Shan Te-hsing, "Wenxue yu zongjiao," in *Quegu suolaijing* (Taipei: Yuncheng, 2014), p. 45.
6. Gao Xingjian is a French novelist and painter of Chinese descent. *Ling Shan* was first written in Chinese dated 1989. The Chinese version was published in Taiwan (Taipei: Lianjing, 1990). Noël and Liliane Dutrait translated it into French as *La Montagne de l'âime* in 1995. Its English version was later translated by Mabel Lee as *Soul Mountain* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 2000). Mainly because of *Ling Shan*, Gao Xingjian won the Nobel Prize for literature in 2000.
7. L. Scott Smith, "What is Faith?: An Analysis of Tillich's 'Ultimate Concern.'" *Quodlibet Journal* 5:4 (Oct. 2003). This article is accessible in the internet public domain <http://www.quodlibet.net/articles/smith-tillich.shtml>.
8. Yalom first identified the four givens of human condition or basic ultimate concerns of life in his *Theory and Practice of Group Psychotherapy* (New York: Basic Books, 1970). Such notions are later elaborated further in his *Existential Psychotherapy* (New York: Basic Books, 1980).
9. T.S. Eliot wrote his "East Coker" around 1940 and it becomes part of his *Four Quartets*. "In my beginning is my end (p. 123)" forms the first line whereas "In my end is my beginning (p. 129)" the last line of "East Coker." The *Four Quartets* evinces Eliot's Anglo-Catholic background with Eastern and Western religious and cultural traditions to lay out man's relationship with time, the universe and the divine.
10. John Millington Synge (1871–1909) was an Irish playwright participating in the Irish Literary Renaissance movement. *Riders to the Sea* (1903; premiered in 1904) adopts the Hyberno-English dialect or the Irish-English language to feature Irish pride and nationalism. Synge intends to make the dialect a literary language through his writings. In a somewhat similar mood, Wang also tries out a unique type of language in *Beihaide ren*, sometimes involving dialects, other times phonetic symbols.

11. Hereafter citations of text of *Beihaide ren* are from Wang Wen-hsing, *Beihaide ren*, 2 vols. (Taipei: Hong Fan, 1981–1999). There is an English translation by Edward Gunn, *Backed Against the Sea* (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asian Series, 1993).
12. Huang Qifeng's article has noted that fate is one of the core issues of Wang Wen-hsing's various works. Fatalism is an implied theme of *Beihaide ren* (p. 174).
13. To Viktor Frankl, the motivational force of a person is to seek the meaning of life. Having gone through the Auschwitz concentration camp experience he comes to realize that there is the "will to meaning to sustain life." The concept has been theorized in his books, specifically, *Man's Search for Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy* (1946; Beacon, 2006) and *The Will to Meaning: Foundations and Applications of Logotherapy* (1969; New York: Meridian, 2000). James Crumbaugh provides a linkage of it to religion in his article, "Logotherapy as a bridge between religion and psychotherapy," *Journal of Religion and Health*, Vol. 18:3 (1979):188–191.

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CHAPTER 10

Spirituality in the Fiction of Chang Hsiu-ya: Through the Lens of Vatican II

J. Chingshun Sheu

Introduction

Any comprehensive overview of the public perception of Roman Catholicism in Taiwan should mention Chang Hsiu-ya (also rendered Zhang Xiuya or Cecilia Chang). Born in 1919 in Hebei Province, Chang had published over 80 books by the time of her death in 2001, making her the most prolific Catholic writer in Chinese of the twentieth century.[1] After her conversion while a college junior in 1940 (Chang 2005, 6:400),[2] her faith became a key part of her public image and served as the *raison d'être* for her work; indeed, it has been observed (Chou 2007, 28) that Chang cultivated an image of herself befitting her Christian namesake, St. Cecilia, and Chou even goes so far as to refer (30) to her as "Saint Chang Hsiu-ya."[3] Chang's literary fame also has a historical cause. With the Japanese return of Taiwan to the Republic of China after the Second World War (WWII), literary writers in Taiwan needed time to adjust to writing in Chinese. And closely following the handover came a period of profound political unrest among the people on the island of Taiwan, which led to a degree of self-censorship among Taiwanese writers for fear of being

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Fig. 10.1 Photo of Chang Hsiu-ya (1919–2001)

marked as political targets (Fig. 10.1). These two historical events created a gap in the cultural sphere of Taiwan at the end of the 1940s, which was filled by retreating Mainlanders—the youngest writer among whom was Chang, a rising star on the literary scene (Ya 2005, 12–13).[4]

Chang's writing career began early. She first had an essay published in the children's weekly edition of a major newspaper as an elementary school student in 1928 (Chang 2005, 5:161; Hou 2005, 445), and her first book, the short story collection *On the Bank of Dalong River*, at the tender age of 17. Across her career, she wrote in seemingly every genre: Known best as an essayist (Chung 2000, 25), with a number of essays out of her two dozen essay collections appearing in the middle-school curriculum, she also published fiction (8 collections and 2 novellas), poetry (4 books), biography, art history (11 volumes), scholarly articles,

newspaper columns, letters, and works in translation. Her translations, especially, are mostly related to her Catholic faith, but they also include the first Chinese edition of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* in 1973 (Chang 2005, 12:495–628), a product of Chang's Western literature background and admiration of literary modernism. This wide range of high quality and award-winning works helped to cement Chang's place in twentieth-century Chinese literary history, and her influence is felt not just in Taiwan and China but also throughout the overseas Chinese reading public, leading a US congressman to honor her and her works upon her death, as reported in the *Taipei Times* on 6 November 2001.[5] Wang Wen-Hsing, probably the most renowned modernist author residing in Taiwan, credits (pers. comm.) Chang's essays and translations as the cause of his own conversion to Catholicism.

Among the various genres of her *oeuvre*, fiction had a special place in Chang's heart. In college, she served as fiction editor for the influential literary periodical *Fu Jen Wenyuan* (Liu and Zhao 2015, 20).[6] Chang writes in 1956, "[C]ompared to poetry and essays, I write [fiction] with a more serious attitude" (2005, 10:74). In 1978, propounding on the subject of writing fiction, she exemplifies this seriousness: "To write fiction, one must present images of human life, but an author's mission never ends there: He [*sic*] must inspire in the reader an expansive ideal and a noble will—whether one accomplishes this mission is the difference between an outstanding author and a mediocre one"; she writes on the next page, "A fiction writer must at minimum feel sympathy, empathy, and intense love for people in order to write movingly" (2005, 6:317–318). Generally, Chang's fiction has a somewhat dour style, dubbed "emptily spiritual" by critics, referring to her focus on character sense perceptions and dialogue to the detriment of realist details and background information; this, contrasted with her often moralizing essays, helps to successfully "present images of *human* life" (my emphasis) and effectively illustrate her Catholic vision of "sympathy, empathy, and intense love for people." Agreeing with Guo, who ascribes her place in Taiwanese literary history to her fiction (1997, 96), I should like to illustrate Chang's Catholic sensibility via her short stories. I shall first attempt to characterize the spirituality of the Catholic Church, specifically as manifested in the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), and the translation of this spirituality into the language of fiction, before exploring a representative selection of Chang's short stories to see how it is embodied in her fiction.

Spirituality and Vatican II

Although Chang's major stories had already been published by the time of the convocation of Vatican II in 1962—indeed, even before Pope John XXIII announced his intention in 1959 to convoke it—we should not overemphasize the start or end date of the Council as if they, per se, somehow constitute a watershed in the history of the Church. The Council itself proclaimed no new anathemas or dogmas, and many religious believers would concur with Oakes in labeling Vatican II "a theologically conservative council" (2004, 206). Even O'Malley, whose main thesis is that something obviously did change to enable Vatican II to become such a celebrated occurrence, begins his argument by recounting this emphasized continuity (2006, 3–6). O'Malley accounts (2008, 291, 298) for this paradox of a Council in which nothing happened by locating the Council in the midst of already occurring changes, "realities already in place or in process" such as the "active role [of the laity] in the work of the church," having lay people "read the Bible for their spiritual profit," "that under certain circumstance it was not only permissible but commendable to worship with those of other faiths," and "efforts [on the part of Catholics] for peace and international cooperation" in the secular world. It is these larger historical trends that give the Council the appearance of manifesting "a generalized change." From this perspective, in order to understand what it means for Chang Hsiu-ya to have been a Catholic literary figure, it makes more sense to understand her faith through the lens of Vatican II than not to.

This chapter will not, however, proceed by linking certain passages in Chang's stories to passages in the published documents of the Council; something similar has already been done by Wu, who connects passages throughout Chang's oeuvre, mostly from her essays, to verses in the New Testament (Wu 2005, 7). The Catholicity of a work of fiction extends beyond its directly didactic passages or mere quotation or exemplification of Scripture or Council documents; as Waldmeir puts it, the Catholic authors whom he analyzes in his book "do not organize their texts historically around the Council, nor do they analyze their subject matter in theological language taken exclusively from Vatican II sources. Rather, they dramatize the results of its rhetorical breakthrough" (Waldmeir 2009, 5). This breakthrough is, in contrast with previous Councils, not one of new doctrines but, according to O'Malley, one of a new style of discourse and the mentality that it represents:

> The [C]ouncil taught a number of things. Among them is a teaching on the style of the Church. It did not "define" that teaching but taught it on almost every page through the form it adopted. Moreover, this teaching on the style of the Church was an implicit but an insistent call for a change in style—a style less autocratic and more collaborative, a style willing to listen to different viewpoints and take them into account, a style open and above-board, a style less unilateral in its decision-making, a style committed to fair play and to working with persons and institutions outside the Catholic community, a style that assumes innocence until guilt is proven, a style that eschews secret oaths, anonymous denunciations, and inquisitorial tactics. (O'Malley 2006, 31)

In other words, the major significance of the Vatican II documents, according to this view, is as a symbol and declaration of a shift in mentality. But in the wake of what Oakes calls "subjectivist" misinterpretations of Vatican II, the line between Catholic and secular literature has become especially fuzzy, tending to dissolve into (Western) literature's general inheritance of (and revolt against) Christian values in general (2004, 209–210). Greeley, drawing on David Tracy's theological concept of an "analogical imagination,"[7] posits a specifically Catholic sensibility constituted by a sense of the world as sacrament; as he puts it, "In the dictum 'grace is everywhere' the emphasis can be placed on any of the three words" (Greeley 2000, 10).

Two scholars of Catholic literature examine this idea in more detail, with implicit reference to Vatican II. Reichardt, in editing a collection of scholarly essays on "the Catholic vision" in literature, notes that, "[i]f a close and contemplative gaze on human beings interacting with their world is the author's domain, then a writer, no matter what his or her religious beliefs, shares that which is deeply integral to the Catholic vision" (Reichardt 2010, 1); Chang Hsiu-ya echoes this when she says that "one may not be religious, but as long as he [sic] is filled with love, he is a person of faith" (Chang 2005, 4:122). Reichardt further emphasizes two elements of Catholic literature: The "incarnational approach to the world" builds upon the idea that the "grace [bestowed by the Incarnation] builds upon nature: it does not scorn nature or destroy it but transforms it," while, relatedly, the "sacramental sensibility finds significance in all of creation at the same time that it constantly draws a line from that creation back to the Creator," thus becoming "open to supernatural mystery" (Reichardt 2010, 4).

In contrast with Reichardt's approach of locating the world within Catholicism, Labrie places Catholic writers in the world. Labrie offers an excellent overview of the intersections of Catholic thought and secular concerns (Labrie 1997, 2–19); particularly relevant for us is his take on didacticism, which deserves to be quoted at length. After reviewing authors on both sides of the question,[8] Labrie concludes:

> The best [Catholic] writers will be those who test their [faith] against experience. … In these writers, the fiction and poetry will often end with a lingering, unresolved air of complexity—even if the moral foundations of the universe have been made adequately clear to the reader. In adhering to the world as sacrament, Catholic writers have, whether deliberately or not, committed themselves to reality in whatever unwelcome and inconsistent form it might appear, in the expectation that God, the epitome and ultimate author of all reality, will thereby somehow be present. (Labrie 1997, 18–19)

In the words of "Gaudium et spes," Catholics must "distinguish eternal realities from their changing expressions" and "redee[m] the present time" (Holy See 1965, sec. 52). Labrie's concept of "sacramentalism" is slightly different from Reichardt's sacramental sensibility in that the former has an additional dimension of suffering: In a discussion of suffering, Labrie notes that "[i]n work after work American Catholic writers have demonstrated the necessary role of suffering, which results from the friction between the natural and the supernatural, in drawing humanity upward to God through the resistant flesh and ego" (Labrie 1997, 274). We might synthesize these ideas by understanding suffering as the manifestation of the tension between the two coexisting views of the world as both sacred and imperfect.

Chang Hsiu-ya concurred with Vatican II. Aside from writing a biography of her beloved Pope John XXIII, she also praises Pope Paul VI and his dedication to the successful conclusion of the Council, praising "his spirit of reform in striving to keep up with the times" (Chang 2005, 6:189). Chang's proposition that "true peace is indivisible from justice; only peace gained from carrying out justice is true peace" (Chang 2005, 6:245) echoes the constitution document "Gaudium et spes" when it "demands that a more humane and just condition of life be brought about" in order to preserve "social justice, equity, the dignity of the human person, as well as social and international peace" (Holy See 1965, sec. 29). More broadly, among her many calls for love and empathy, Chang's articulation of her fiction-writing method (as opposed to technique) is: "I observe, I ponder, I empathize, I am moved to tears" (Chang 2005, 10:76).

Methodology

Building upon the above understandings of Catholic "postconcilear" spirituality and its literary dimensions, I propose to read Chang Hsiu-ya's fiction in the light of the inherent tension of an imperfect world filled with grace, a tension that illuminates the spirituality infusing even experiences of suffering. Chang articulates this beautifully. On the one hand, in her review of Mary Webb's *Gone to Earth*, Chang notes how the protagonist "never understands this world, nor has it ever understood her, thus forming between them terrible conflict and contradiction" (Chang 2005, 4:249); on the other hand, she asserts, in her review of François Mauriac's *Le nœud de viperes*, that "[i]t is still possible to better the state of the world today, and among people one day will come harmony and the elimination of hate" (Chang 2005, 4:393). Critics, supported by Chang herself, agree that Chang's fiction advances along a trajectory from romantic idealism to realism and modernism (and sometimes even naturalism)[9]; I personally find this to be true only if one views her work from the broadest of perspectives. Critics also variously attempt to group her work into a number of phases, which, in my view, offers limited elucidation for analysis in its strict adherence to chronology over the structure of the stories themselves.

Instead, I propose grouping her stories into four categories, formulated inductively based on the structure of the stories themselves[10]: social criticism; character studies; tragic epiphanies, which resemble the *bildungsroman* in that the protagonist suffers but gains insight from the experience; and stories of grace, in which the protagonists overcome personal and/or spiritual challenges. I recognize that any categorization is arbitrary, but although each story comprises elements from more than one category, I believe that elements from a particular category dominate in any one story. This is a structural categorization; thus, for example, works of tragic epiphany or stories of grace refer not to a hoped-for change in the reader but to the progression of the protagonist—arguably, all the stories aim to induce an epiphany of grace. I shall first review the progression of her work as a whole while noting the roles played by each category within each short story collection before delving into a reading of a selection of stories within each category. I hope that the following analysis will shed light on one of the most prominent models of Catholicism available in the twentieth century to readers of literature in Chinese.

General Review[11]

Chang Hsiu-ya's first collection of short stories, *On the Bank of Dalong River* (1936), was published before she entered Fu Jen Catholic University in Beijing, where she was converted to Catholicism. Still, it is worth briefly mentioning works in this collection for their demonstration of the author's budding literary talent and their manifestation of the sensibility that later led her to the faith. The stories collected within are mostly works of social criticism and character studies.

Following her conversion to Catholicism, Chang published two didactic novellas in 1941, *Conversion* and *The Fount of Joy*, that star Catholic-minded characters attempting to apply the tenets of Scripture to their lives; since they have been comprehensively treated by Sun (2007), I shall not engage them here, except to note that the plot of the latter novella structurally resembles a later short story, "Eternal Melancholy," which changes the happy ending to a tragic one.

The 1944 collection *Miss Clotho* contains some of Chang's most thematically creative work. Four of these stories have to do with WWII, but their relation to it is not always straightforward; rather than propounding a blind chauvinism, these stories anticipate the call in "Gaudium et spes" for "[c]itizens [to] cultivate a generous and loyal spirit of patriotism, but without being narrow-minded. This means that they [should] direct their attention to the good of the whole human family, united by the different ties which bind together races, people and nations" (Holy See 1965, sec. 75). In the three works of tragic epiphany, two stories of grace, and one brilliantly acerbic work of social criticism collected here, the full power of Chang's psychological craftsmanship, arriving at spiritual development or insight only after having plumbed the darkest depths, is on display.

Chang's next collection, *Xunmeng Grass* ("grass for pursuing dreams") (1953), was her first collection of short stories published in Taiwan. It was also her first collection of stories since her husband became estranged from her and their two children, a son and a daughter. (They never divorced.) Along with these two themes of separation from her homeland and from her husband, a third theme in this collection is a somewhat moralizing tone. Perhaps unsurprisingly, more than half the stories here are works of tragic epiphany.

The year 1954 saw the publication of *Guqin* ("seven-stringed zither"), a collection of six new stories and a retitled reprint that seem to be united less by theme than by style; in the preface, Chang advocates for

the "new tradition, new forms" of modernism (Chang 2005, 11:8). She demonstrated it quite adeptly in a story here and in later stories highly praised by Fen-Ling Chou (2007, 27). The stories here are evenly divided between character studies, works of tragic epiphany, and stories of grace, with no social criticism, perhaps suggesting her gradual habituation to life in Taiwan; this collection also includes the aforementioned "Eternal Melancholy."

The Flower of Love, published two years later, and *Daughter's Journey* two years after that, represent the height of Chang's powers as a fiction writer.[12] Both collections revolve around the silver linings to the small tragedies and missed opportunities in life. *Flower of Love* includes a prominently modernist work, "A Quiet Afternoon," and "Older Sister E," in which dramatic irony plays a significant role in constituting the mood of the story. *Daughter's Journey* also features a modernist piece, what many critics, including Wang (2005, 356), call her best story: "Change in Weather," a work of proto-feminist social criticism. In fact, this collection is possibly Chang's best, including four heartwarming stories of grace (one of which, "Moonlit Night," is the only story of a married couple found in this category) and five works of tragic epiphany, one of which, "Letters from Fei," is a well-executed epistolary story.

The last two collections published by Chang, *That Cloud, Floating Away* (1969) and *Art and Love* (1970), are mostly reprints of earlier stories, with a few new ones added in. Of the new stories in the former collection, there is one work of social criticism and three each of tragic epiphany and of grace. Interestingly, two stories of tragic epiphany deal with disillusionment, while two stories of grace reveal that what appears illusory is in fact accurate. One story of grace in particular, "Winter Sun," I consider to be Chang's best. Finally, of the two new stories collected in *Art and Love*, one is a mediocre story of grace, and the other, "Caring for the Youngster," is a heartwarming character study.

The following analysis is not comprehensive, and the uncollected published stories in particular are left to a future scholar.

Social Criticism

Let us begin first with Chang's works of social criticism. As might be expected, these works were all quite in tune with the *Zeitgeist*, but even more than that, Chang's critical tone is usually not biting or bitter, rather choosing to emphasize the unlit corners of society that are worthy of

empathy, love, and redemption. Her aim in writing social criticism, fully in line with the attitude of social engagement embraced by Vatican II, is to illuminate and improve, not to condemn.

In *Dalong*, the stories are all aimed at the negative social effects of modernization, made more apparent by the period of general stability between the unification of revolutionary factions in 1928 and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. For instance, the growing gap between city and countryside is lamented in the title story of the collection, and in "Fraud," swindlers defraud country folk by playing on their fear of the immateriality of paper money. The significant wealth gap also created overly materialistic values, so that in "Xingzi," the bedridden mother of the titular teenage girl is more concerned about their poverty than about communicating adequate maternal love to her daughter. Although Chang, when writing these stories, was still a few years before her conversion, her concern for her fellow man and woman and her indictment of institutionalized social injustice already reveal an innate sympathy for the suffering of others and a sense that the lives of these ordinary people do, in fact, matter.

After her conversion, works of a predominantly socially critical nature accounted for a smaller proportion of her fiction, giving way to the more individual character studies and the more spiritually enlightening works of tragic epiphany and stories of grace, but when she did employ social criticism, it was hard-hitting and indignant. In *Clotho*, the only work of social criticism, "The Zoo," is a bitterly patriotic wartime satire in which Japanese imperialist ideology and thought control degrades the teachers and curricula at a private grade school. While it is easy to read this story as a mere outburst of nationalism, and although the indignant tone of the story threatens to tip over into hopeless condemnation, it should be noted that her criticism of the occupying Japanese is based on their degradation of the human dignity of Chinese people, and not on any intrinsic features of the Japanese or Chinese.

In *Xunmeng*, Chang's first story collection after arriving in Taiwan, the sole work of social criticism, "Freak," is the story of a refugee from the Communists, Ichou,[13] along with his coldhearted materialistic niece ("freak" is a description of the niece's moral character; she remains unnamed). The story is a triple-layered character study with all three layers revolving around the division of the nation by the Communists: There is Ichou's niece, who manipulates his kindness to take all his money; Ichou himself, who has lost his entire immediate family to the Communists and is traumatized to the point of compulsively repeating his life tragedy at every gathering of people; and the narrator, an authorial stand-in who is

sympathetic enough to the refugee's story to hear him out every time. The single historical event of the geopolitical rise of Communism and the sense of hopelessness engendered by the resulting Nationalist retreat to Taiwan links these three characters.

In *Flower* we have "Final Years," a criticism of lustful remarriage. Uncle Mushan's wife passes away, and he remarries a widow out of lust. His new wife spends all his money and runs off with her lover, only returning after his death to "make a show of crying" at his funeral in order to inherit his meager belongings (Chang 2005, 11:109). The widow unsurprisingly comes off worse in a comparison with Mushan's first wife, but even Mushan himself seems debased by the remarriage: Having seen him in long-suffering bereavement, the narrator says of him on his wedding day, "Although he was dressed to the nines, I felt that he was no longer as approachable and admirable as before" (Chang 2005, 11:106). To the narrator, Mushan abandons the memory of his wife for an unworthy remarriage, forgoing the sacramentality of suffering for superficial earthly delights, so his bad end is not unexpected.

Finally, the one work of social criticism each in *Daughter* and *Cloud* are both proto-feminist criticisms of the patriarchal nuclear family, and both feature female protagonists who, alone at home, feel alienated in their marriage and resolve to leave, before their respective husbands suddenly return, and they resignedly stay. The former story, "Change in Weather," is about the effects of the husband's desire for children, while the latter story, "Two Planets, Never to Meet," stars a singularly condescending husband, who dismisses a love letter to his wife as being, out of boredom, by her own hand. In both stories, the impugning of the dignity of women is the object of criticism, whether viewing them as mere child-bearers or as immature individuals; indeed, the internal anguish suffered by the women protagonists of these stories should serve to remind us of the importance of human dignity regardless of gender, and that "the legitimate social progress of women" is specifically and approvingly mentioned in "Gaudium et spes" (Holy See 1965, sec. 52) as a significant facet of the growing social engagement of the Church.

Character Studies

Chang's character studies strive to highlight the human dignity and holiness of each of her chosen individuals, two concepts that are key to the overall mentality of Vatican II. Whether the object of study suffers due to

social injustice or is notably touched by grace, Chang seems to suggest that we might learn something from them about our world and about ourselves.

The character studies in *Dalong*, a collection predominated by them, are all sympathetic sketches of pitiable people. The titular character of "Blind Old Bat," who has a bad eye and a crippled leg, is ridiculed by the community and by her own family to the point that her psyche is distorted and personality rendered mean and petty. A superstitious mother awaits the return of her son, not knowing that he has been arrested for going on strike for withheld factory wages ("Laoxingzi's Mother").[14] And, in "Wild Grass," a little girl born and raised in a poor man's brothel steals food and money not only to stay alive on the streets, but also for fun—as the textbook definition of the innocent sinner ("they know not what they do"), she does not know any better. Even these downtrodden people, Chang suggests, possess dignity and are worthy of our attention and love.

Chang later published fewer character studies, but they were used to great effect not just in portraying a social position but also in illuminating a soul. In *Xunmeng*, a German nun in a Chinese city whom the narrator calls "Sister Weiji" (also the title of the story) appears to be a strict dormitory mother, but the narrator realizes, after returning to school as an instructor, that she is a kindhearted mother figure whose faith motivates her to be strict and circumspect in her duties, both as dormitory supervisor and as a nun, especially when Weiji decides to stay and continue her work after the city falls to the Japanese. Here is a soul worthy of our emulation, especially in times of crisis and tribulation.

Lastly, in *Art* we find "Caring for the Youngster," a character study of an old cook whose wife and son are stuck in Communist China, but who is gradually cheered up by the presence of a young godson.[15] Children, for Chang, are a salve for the soul; as she writes in the preface to *Cloud*, "Children, singing and crying for no reason, are the most lovable characters in life; in their little eyes is the reflection of truth. Children's laughter is lovable, and even their tears gleam with lovable round light" (Chang 2005, 11:267). Indeed, the welfare and education of children, and their reciprocal beneficial influence on their parents, is a prime motivator for the positions on marriage and family propounded in "Gaudium et spes" (Holy See 1965, sec. 48–52). The pure hope and joy that children bring serve as a model for the spirituality advocated by Vatican II.

Works of Tragic Epiphany

The works of tragic epiphany are by far the most numerous of the four categories. These stories most directly convey the idea that suffering brings grace in the form of a clearer understanding of the dual nature of the world as both imperfect and holy, an incomplete actualization of a perfect ideal.

The two stories of tragic epiphany in *Clotho* demonstrate Chang's insight into the depths of the human psyche. In "Unfinished Masterpiece," Leon, a French WWII refugee, is separated from his beloved, Lucy, who stays in France.[16] Hospitalized in northern Africa and overtaken by suspicion and jealousy due to her declining to join him, Leon takes out his loneliness and pent-up lust on Beth, a nurse who loves him unrequitedly. He later discovers that Lucy has been working for the Resistance, and when she finally arrives, his treatment of and willingness to abandon Beth leads Lucy to leave him. On her way out, Lucy implores Leon to believe in something bigger: "Even if such insignificant specks [as we] could be happy, it would be so little; let us embrace a great ideal and dissolve the droplets of water [that we are] into the sea!" (Chang 2005, 10:354). She is referring to the war effort, but he has applied this moral to the love of his life, as the narrator listening to the now-elderly Leon's story observes: "As long as you affirm it, as long as you maintain this beautiful sentiment forever, then you have perfected it" (Chang 2005, 10:354). As Chang describes it, the beauty lies not in the love but in the commitment.

The other story, "Seeking out the Story," is also a wartime narrative. The protagonist's girlfriend seemingly leaves him for a Japanese officer, and only when he later reads about it in the newspaper does he understand that she went to seduce and assassinate the officer, sacrificing herself as well. Before that, however, they briefly meet once again, and a peculiar emotion emerges in the protagonist: "I felt a cruel delight, that beautiful, thin neck [of hers] (under the translucent skin, I could make out her light blue veins) was like a flower! I only needed to pinch hard enough, and, ah! that stalk would break in two" (Chang 2005, 10:363); fortunately, he does not follow through. She, in turn, utters something that he only understands at the end: "We suffer, but it's glorious. Why must we make our achievements known? We must be patient; only patience will bring success!" (Chang 2005, 10:360). The result of her patient suffering, the successful assassination, redeems her in his eyes. The allegorical reference to suffering as the path to grace is almost self-evident.

In *Xunmeng*, the tales of tragic epiphany are more cerebral. In "Art and Love," an art student marries her professor and later reveals to the narrator, "He feels more appreciation than infatuation for me, more ownership than passion; this is how one treats not a person but a work of art" (Chang 2005, 10:409); she later dies of sorrow. The protagonist learns that we ought to treat others, especially those we love, with respect for their autonomy and human dignity, but only after her heart and health have been irreversibly broken.

Also included in this collection is "Swan Song," which features a 28-year-old woman rejecting the advances of her younger brother's friend, saying that she has been hurt too badly to love again, while also questioning her young suitor's understanding of love:

> For instance, the love that you have for me now, is it true love? If you feel that you love me now, you must ask yourself how long it'll take for you to forget me. Is this a love born of mutual understanding or a mutual misunderstanding? Do you know me? Do you know yourself? Think about it. Have you misunderstood yourself, and at the same time misunderstood me? Have you borrowed my lonely shadow to temporarily decorate the empty window in your heart? Is this the true definition of love? How many kinds of love there are! Yet some are counterfeits. Some love to pleasure themselves, some to cheat themselves, some to ornament themselves—but true love is sacrifice. To suffer for the one you love, or at least not to let her suffer for your love … [*sic*] If, hypothetically, we're in love, can you name what kind it is? (Chang 2005, 10:438)

The boy finally understands that in pursuit of the truest love, to settle for less than the truth would be blasphemy. If we recall that grace is born of love, and that grace is both transcendent and in the world, then it is not difficult to see how these stories comment obliquely on grace and are thus infused with spirituality.

In *Guqin* we find "Eternal Melancholy," in which the lovers Hong and Wanqing are separated when Hong decides to aid the war effort from Chungking (Chongqing) while Wanqing decides to stay near Beiping (Beijing). Wanqing is converted to Catholicism, and upon reuniting with Hong, an avowed atheist, they clash repeatedly. They both agree that they must share one faith to have a long and happy life together, be it Catholicism or atheism. Hong says, "I love you, so I want you to inhabit my feelings, thinking, and faith. Only then will we have any happiness," and Wanqing concurs: "Those who live under the same roof must not

have two faiths and ways of thinking" (Chang 2005, 11:65–66). In the end, they separate, and Wanqing goes on to marry Wei, who is eagerly converted in order to be with her. However, their marriage is an unhappy one, and they become estranged. It fails on both their parts: his, because "he was converted not for the faith but for her, and ultimately, as the love faded, so did the power of religion to keep him" (Chang 2005, 11:68); and hers, because, "throughout one's life, one can only love one face though *One's love can never stop*,[17] and although one can have many relationships in a lifetime, unknowingly, one searches for the shadow of one's first love in subsequent lovers" (Chang 2005, 11:67). The structurally similar *Fount of Joy* ends happily when the unbeliever is converted to the faith for reasons unrelated to the relationship; however, in this story, Chang sacrifices the happy ending for the explicitly stated idea that even choosing the suitor of Catholic faith does not prevent an unhappy marriage if that faith is not for itself but in the service of worldly love, a shaky thing in comparison.

Flower includes the work of dramatic irony "Older Sister E." The narrator is childhood friend and sweetheart to the lower-class E,[18] but when he leaves the village to study in the city, he gradually looks down on her rustic habits and tastes, instead beginning a relationship with a city girl. And yet, he can never bring himself to draw his relationship with E to a close, until she confronts him and rejects his impulsive marriage proposal. E appeals to his conscience: "Village person, city-dweller, student, illiterate woman …, [*sic*] all are people, all have hearts" (Chang 2005, 11:127). Deep in his heart, he knows that he has done her wrong. The narrator's failure to fulfill his commitment is morally the same as abandonment—perhaps even worse.

Finally, *Daughter* has one story in this category that I should like to discuss. "Letters from Fei," a one-sided epistolary story, recounts in minute psychological detail Fei's joy at falling in love with Yu, and then his pain at finding out that she is his illegitimate paternal first cousin,[19] followed by agony that he must reject her without explaining why, in order to preserve her mother's honor. "Of course I'm in excruciating pain," he writes, "but the depth of my pain may perhaps decide the value of my spirit" (Chang 2005, 11:170). Here is perhaps the clearest example of the idea that suffering, in reflecting the tension of a sacred everyday world, is full of grace. Fei does not resent Yu's mother, rather viewing her honest confession to prevent their incestuous marriage as sacred and blessed: "She was so sincere, so honest, so full of repentance and self-blame, this kind old

woman; she has a past, a past that needed to be cleansed with the tears of regret, and, from her confession and her earnest tears, her soul has manifested infinite purity and sacredness" (Chang 2005, 11:167). Through the workings of grace, no sin is too great to be forgiven.

Stories of Grace

The stories of grace became more numerous as Chang's career progressed, but I shall start with a story that was being written as Chang was exploring the faith. Finished in the year of her conversion and collected in *Clotho*, "The Flower of Dreams," a fantastical story of diverging idealisms, is actually two stories intertwined, one of tragic epiphany, the other of grace. It is permeated with the atmosphere of the mysterious and symbolic; Chou used its title in the title of her essay (2013) on the genre-bending elements of Chang's work. Two girls, Shan ("coral") and Wei ("flower"), go on a trip to Pipa Lake and discover a beautiful garden behind their lodgings. Shan insists on seeing the lake, whereas Wei decides to stay behind in the garden. They each find something different: Wei meets a painter and they fall in love, while Shan finds a simple but pure girl, granddaughter of a fisherman, who emanates truth and beauty: "Only when one encounters a pure heart can one truly feel the reality of life" (Chang 2005, 10:334). Shan remarks of Wei's romantic love, "Everyone is but using the other's smile to relieve oneself of loneliness. Everyone thinks that he [*sic*] loves his beloved, when in fact they all seek their own pleasure; the two are like shooting stars, each following its own path, never to meet!" (Chang 2005, 10:331). As if to prove Shan's point, Wei's lover abandons her. Shan, meanwhile, proposes to the girl that they go on a long journey together; even though leaving everyone behind brings sadness, they accept the sacrifice for "that beautiful view in the distance" (10:337). They depart in a rowboat under cover of night, and Shan catches a glimpse of Wei's body underwater as they leave—she has drowned herself out of despair. The story ends on this uplifting line: "Shan said, that's not a lotus flower; it's the flower of dreams—worthy of our pursuit, that brilliant flower!" (Chang 2005, 10:339). The story starts off realistically but grows gradually fantastical as it proceeds, ending finally on a heavily symbolic level. Chang had a romantic temperament, but her pursuit of the transcendent revealed to her the empty vanities of romantic love. Here, the journey into the great beyond in search of truth, beauty, and dreams outshines the luminescence of romantic love, and this story, although not Chang's best, encapsulates many of the transcendent themes of her fiction.

A more typical story of grace appears in *Xunmeng*. In "Forgiveness," an old doctor serving a rural village discovers that the dying lady whom she is treating is in fact the woman who stole her husband, the pain resulting from which has led the doctor to remain unmarried. The lady has a daughter and, with her dying breath, asks for forgiveness on behalf of herself and her repentant husband, begging the doctor to adopt her daughter. The doctor forgives and agrees, notably citing Scripture: "I must forgive you, for the Bible says, 'Only those who forgive are forgiven'" (Chang 2005, 10:476).[20]

A less hackneyed, more poignant narrative unfolds in a story in *Guqin*. "Sunset" successfully dramatizes the moral that is stated in the story by Old Wang: "One lives a life, I guess, in order to find spiritual comfort in [one's] suffering for others" (Chang 2005, 11:27). Old Wang's daughter-in-law-to-be runs off with another man, and his son dies of heartbreak; years later, she returns full of repentance and takes care of him once a week. Rather than hold a grudge, Old Wang says, "She's a pitiable child, how could I blame her? I only blame my own bad fate. After I die, I plan to leave her my small savings and farmland, … [*sic*] for my own spiritual comfort" (Chang 2005, 11:32). As both of these stories attest, grace enables forgiveness even when it is unwarranted.

The last modernist story that Chang published in a collected work, originally appearing in *Daughter*, is "Moonlit Night," in which an unbridgeable gap exists between a man and his wife, both of whose states of mind are revealed in flowingly beautiful streams of consciousness. When he allows her to leave to pursue her own happiness, she ironically feels for the first time that he loves her, and she decides to stay. In a moment of grace, the gap is bridged, the marriage saved. After all the portrayals of failed relationships, this is the one time that Chang portrays a couple working out their differences, and the narrative thread from estrangement to empathy makes it, for me, the best and most uplifting of her experiments in literary modernism.

Daughter also includes a trio of heartwarming tales featuring children. A fifth-grader is forgiven when he returns the school janitor's newborn lamb, which he had stolen out of love for it ("The Old School Janitor's Lamb"). A kid forgives the girl he likes for stealing his animal balloons when he learns that she did so to repay her older brother ("Balloons"). And a poor single mother buys her daughter a bicycle rather than dash her daughter's hopes by correcting her gloriously childlike understanding of her uncle and the bicycle that she believes he will bring her ("Xiaomin's

Fantasy"). The third story, especially, demonstrates that grace lies not in the act of forgiveness itself, but in the transformation of resentment or detest into acceptance and, even, love.

A similar story in *Cloud* shows that grace can also emerge between human and animal. In "The Duck-Keeper," the protagonist, a lonely old man who longs for his home on the Mainland, comes across a duck which latches onto him and which he keeps as a pet. The story recounts the trials and difficulties that they endure together, and the newfound meaning that the duck brings to the man's life, before the old man, nearing death, bequeaths the duck to a girl who loves it just as much as he does.

The last story I shall discuss is one that I believe to be Chang's masterpiece of fiction, "Winter Sun," found in *Cloud*. Ai Reijun, office assistant in the Department of History, cannot help falling in love with the department Chair, the seemingly demanding and aloof Fang Shijia, who she ultimately discovers has also fallen for her. Fang one day starts to analyze Ai aloud, an analysis which the reader quickly realizes is very ingenious and accurate because it draws upon Chang's own conception of Ai as a fictional character while at the same time contributing to the characterization of Fang. That dialogue is too long to present here, but a later soliloquy by Ai, after she resigns from her post, has a comparable effect:

> *I love you, I've quietly loved you for a long time, but I didn't understand it at first; when I finally understood, I was in too deep. My resignation is an act of self-preservation; I want to escape from your sight, never to return! But you seem to know none of this, you scholar, you idiot! Maybe you love someone else, otherwise why are you kind to me one moment and cold the next? Are you doing this intentionally? I hate you; I hate myself; why did I have to fall for you? I refuse to be tormented by these feelings anymore; I'm leaving. I'll starve instead of being your assistant, goodbye!* (Chang 2005, 11:323)

The self-analysis ("I didn't understand it at first") is seamlessly interwoven with emotional outbursts ("you idiot!") to make this a passage of both verisimilitude and exposition. This makes the only moralizing line of the story convincing and unobtrusive: Fang says to Ai, "You should pick yourself up, accept the problems of reality with courage, do something worthwhile, and give your generation and generations to come something that you've completed with heart and soul; if you lead your life like that, you might be a bit happier" (Chang 2005, 11:319). The story ends on a note of grace, for Ai's prayers are answered, and the meaning that Ai lacks in her life is provided by her newly affirmed relationship with Fang. The "winter" of her spiritual poverty has been warmed by him, her "sun."

Conclusion

This study began with an account of Chang Hsiu-ya's life and thought, followed by an outline of the specific Catholic spirituality of Vatican II as manifested in the suffering engendered by the tension inherent in a secular world filled with transcendent grace, before moving on to a detailed discussion of Chang's stories oriented toward that spirituality. By examining these stories according to the structural narrative categories of social criticism, character studies, works of tragic epiphany, and stories of grace, we have gained an understanding of how suffering and grace shine within and through these stories, and how they are reflected in the abiding concerns of their author. Chang was a significant presence on the literary stage of twentieth-century China and Taiwan whose work has been regretfully underrepresented in academe; this study merely shines a light for scholars to come.

Notes

1. In a letter to Teresa Yu of 13 August 2001, Tsien (2003) notes that Chang was the last living Catholic writer in Chinese.
2. All quotations from Chang's works are taken from Chang 2005. There is anecdotal evidence of Chang's work being translated, but I could locate no existing English translations of either her essays or her fiction; thus, all quotations from primary sources are translated by me.
3. To my knowledge, there is no secondary literature in English on Chang Hsiu-ya's fiction; therefore, all quotations of secondary sources on Chang's life and works are translated by me. For the latest bibliography in Chinese, see Feng (2013).
4. Chang's daughter, Teresa, clarifies (pers. comm.) that Chang had no political leanings either way, and that she was already well-known in the literary sphere before the outbreak of political unrest.
5. See 147 Cong. Rec. 16,234 (2001).
6. For more on this periodical, see Zhang (1994, 56–59).
7. The analogical "language" of Tracy's theology refers to how "the event of Jesus Christ," which is "the primary focal meaning," serves as "the primary analogue for the interpretation of the whole of reality" (Tracy 1981, 408); for Catholicism, specifically the theology of Karl Rahner, Tracy points out that "reality not merely has analogies but *is* analogy through and through" (412; emphasis in original).
8. Greeley's stance on didacticism is clear: He observes that "a religious sensibility is passed on by storytellers" whose "narratives reside more in who they are and what they do rather than in what they say" (2000, 175).

9. The reader should bear in mind that, in this essay, these terms refer to *literary* movements, and that any evocation of schools or criticisms of theology is unintentional.
10. For a thematic categorization, see Huang (2007).
11. Of Chang's ten published books of fiction, the first five can be found in Chang (2005, vol. 10), and the last five (plus 14 uncollected stories) can be found in Chang (2005, vol. 11).
12. Fan concurs (2005, 41).
13. His name is given in English in the original.
14. Despite the title of the story, the arrested son is *not* Laoxingzi, who is actually the father (Chang 2005, 11:150). This seems to be an error on Chang's part.
15. In Chinese, the equivalent relational title for "god-" is *gan* (lit. "dry"), which is in no way religious.
16. The pinyin forms of the protagonists' names used in the original are Laiang and Luxi; Beth is Beisi. These are conventional translations of the Western names that I have employed.
17. The italicized clause is in English in the original.
18. This is a Chinese character, not an initial.
19. In traditional Chinese culture, marriage between maternal first cousins is allowed.
20. She seems to be referring to Luke 6:37, "[F]orgive, and ye shall be forgiven" (KJV).

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CHAPTER 11

After Words

Francis K.H. So

Editing a book that aspires to be multitudinous, multifarious and relatively panoramic is both interesting and challenging. Interesting in that it will hold the attention of those who care about the Catholic Church as an institution and provide readers with the necessary information, perspective and opportunity to review what we think we have already known. At the same time we get to see what we may have overlooked. Without reviewing the old a person can hardly be judged ready to face the new, so goes a Chinese saying. In reviewing and reflecting on the familiar or even the stereotypical, one actually refreshes one's interest in the field. Such an attempt effectively pledges continuous recognition and concern for the Catholic Church in this specific time and space. Challenging, on the other hand, is due to daring to tackle the breadth of the contents and the inevitable stance that the editorial team has to assume. Even when we try to be impartial and accommodating, there are times we have to pause, check, verify, consult, discuss, negotiate, offer input, persuade and make "correct" choices. Thanks to e-mail technology, aside from our mini-conference in June 2016 when all contributors had the opportunity to

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exchange ideas face to face, we were able to solve almost all issues while doing the various drafts. Yet, technology is a two-edged sword because, toward the winding-up period, we were often confused by various versions of the draft manuscripts drifting in cyberspace among the contributors and the editors. Sometimes we, the editors, have been passing to one another different versions when we were comparing notes. In every round of internal review, modification and referencing of the texts, standardization of place names, personal names, forms of Romanization, bibliographical notes as well as proper and nonpartisan labeling of institutions and historical incidents surfaced as quite an intricate task. On the one hand, we wanted to preserve the individual, idiosyncratic view as far as possible; on the other hand, we did not want readers to be convinced that we had a preoccupied mind-set. We simply tried to be soberly logical and fair to historical development. We are dealing with institutional issues from a scholarly point of view, not personal viewpoints and least of all political packaging. This kind of editing from a layman's perspective rather than an ecclesiastical one is much more than processing critical reading and making suggestions. Sometimes we can be gentle, sometimes we have to be firm, and still other times we need to be demanding and tough just short of offending our contributors. Fortunately most of our contributors are conscientious writers believing in the motto of one of the late bishops: *Instaurare omnia in Christo* [To sum up all things in Christ] (Eph.1.10).

As can be seen from the first few chapters in this anthology, the beginnings of the Church in Taiwan on the one hand presented a miniature of the intricate historical struggle of the island among various Western powers, China and Japan. On the other hand there was inevitable political pressure from various sources that intended to mold the ecclesiastical hierarchy into what the incumbent powers wanted it to be. Yet the Church prevailed, not because it journeyed with the favorable wind of political forces but because it transcended the boundary of the State and dislodged its imposed yoke even during the toughest eras. With clear conviction, it somehow went along with the cherished cultural value system that appeals to the faithful and non-faithful alike. Two examples will serve the purpose of illustration. During the Japanese Occupation period, Catholic school pupils in Taiwan were required to worship at the Japanese religious Shinto shrines. The tense situation was solved when the Congregation of the Propagation of Faith in the Vatican stated that while the "Catholic doctrine cannot be changed, Japanese Catholics have the duty to recognize

what is good in the Japanese national spirit." Likewise, during the Cold War period, there was libel in Rome that Archbishop Yupin was too political internationally speaking. It was said that the Pope (probably John XXIII) told whoever made the charge that Yupin was a Chinese citizen and he should help his country in time of need (in this case fighting against communism). Being loyal to one's country for a just cause while remaining a good Catholic should not present conflicting positions. In that sense, practically every chapter in this book demonstrates, in one way or another, that while eager to point out the strengths and weaknesses of the various aspects of the Church, the writers would wish that the Church fuse with local culture, or broadly speaking, integrate into the inculturation process. Only when we read the articles in this light shall we realize, with a renewed perspective, the importance of Church–State relationships. This has been true from the very origins of the Church. Among his many other contributions, St. Paul energetically preached among both Jews and gentiles. He certainly would have had many occasions to use Hebrew, his mother tongue, but he wrote his Epistles in Greek, intending to address the local culture of his mission territories as well as a larger international audience. Successful means of evangelization will have to keep close to the local culture yet not be confined by it. How to express the Catholic faith via sentiments and levels of Chinese culture in Taiwan has been the endeavor of the various chapters, and at the same time, they also intend to show the local Church as part of the universal Church. In that light, there is no single standardized perspective in treating the topics. Rather, there is intra dialog among contributors in the volume. This should not be taken as expressing dissenting opinions but as a multidimensional and healthy way of reflecting on the status quo of the Church.

On the basis of a common ground, we intended to recruit as many writers as possible so as to be comprehensive in scope. Yet that remained an ideal. Initially some areas had writers committed to writing a chapter, but despite the extension of deadlines, those papers were never turned in. Reluctantly, we had to accept the gaps. In writing scholarly papers, just as in handling church business, there is always room for improvement and we had to allow leeway for unexpected turns of development and non-scheduled modifications. Social welfare, in particular, is an area that the Church has pioneered and to which it has contributed well. Orphanages, asylums, student hostels, homes for the aged, hospitals and so on established their names while Taiwan was still developing. These mechanisms serve the stranded as well as the needy people regardless of their economic

and religious background. To this day, these Catholic institutions fill the gaps where governmental infrastructure fails to meet the prevalent needs. We would have a more balanced account of the social concern and services of the Taiwan Church but for the lack of contributors to write up a timely chapter.

One of the crucial objectives of most papers is depicting the mobility of the Church. That includes physical and structural mobilization at different levels of this enormous institution. Another way to put it is the formulation of technologies of maneuvering or governance. At various times distinctive kinds of know-how illustrated how to respond to situations or to make adjustments. Unlike social mobility which often involves shifting of social classes, church mobility requires a different mind-set. In the case of evangelization, one is reminded that in essence Taiwan is a Confucian society that shares little of the Greco-Roman mentality. Western means or approaches to evangelization have to be modified before the Gospel can reach the heart and mind of the Oriental people. St. Francis Xavier, Matteo Ricci, Johann Adam Schall and their kind learned that inevitable patience, intelligence and inculturation were necessary to pave the way to Christianity. Likewise in modern day Taiwan, similar means may be applicable. Furthermore, in the early years of proselytization among the aborigines and during the Japanese occupation period, protection of the grassroots proved to be an effective tactic to bring the people into the pastoral fold. Shortly after the Korean War, when the economy slumped and social morale was low, relief goods from the Second World War, aside from its overall protective umbrella, proved to be a welcome measure. But continuous attraction to the general public has to move along with the pace of social development. When in the 1970s, the economy in Taiwan began to escalate and no new attraction within the church was evident, the number of catechumens and baptisms became stagnant. The 1970s was the time when the church should have been pondering the relative importance of quantity or quality, or whether new strategies of evangelization needed to be adopted. If catechumens failed to come because they did not find the Church attractive or persuasive, how should our clergy and faithful exercise their attraction and draw the attention of a new class of people which was better educated? Moreover, as indicated in the relevant chapters, we have to ask how, without the numerous clergy and foreign missionaries who poured in from the Mainland, could the Church have been fully prepared to accommodate the needs in social services, educational demands, spiritual guidance, humane and health services so that outsiders could see

that every person is an image of God. That means the Church treats every individual with dignity, respect, care, charity and equality. The Catholic Church indeed has been keeping pace with the transformation and social mobility of Taiwan in more ways than one. The question to ask is: Did the Church mobilize itself fast enough to cope with the changes of the times without changing its doctrinal values?

Alongside that would be the education of seminarians which we have not been able to investigate in this book. Vocation is always a difficult task to promote (Mt. 9:37–38) and particularly so in recent decades. If seminarians are not well equipped and their number replenished, when they become priests they can hardly set a good example by living a decent Christian life and taking care of the flock. Furthermore, without new vocations it is predictable that soon the number of clergy will decline which is an anti-mobility move that causes anxiety. Rooted in that phenomenon, the Church in fact faces a serious problem which is not the decline of the number of faithful; rather, it is secularization that encroaches on the Church from many fronts. More and more people look at the Church from mundane and material perspectives and find fault with it. Fortunately, there are still those who show profound commitment to the spiritual though their voice is sometimes weak and often misinterpreted. It is especially because of this awareness that we treat the relevant chapters with care and attentiveness however meager that component appears. The lack of vocations and the decline in Catholic population may have to be evaluated in light of the decline in the birth rate and a consequence of economic development and rampant materialism here in Taiwan. The Church may not have a life-changing message for everyone, but it certainly boasts of something staunchly ethical and ideal yet often falling on deaf ears.

Another area that we are unable to incorporate in this volume set is that of the migrant workers who swarm to various parishes from Taipei to Kaohsiung every Sunday. According to the R.O.C. Labor Department's latest statistics (May 2017), there are altogether 647,000 plus foreign (migrant) workers in Taiwan. Of these more than 142,000 are Filipinos (from the Philippines) who are statistically 83% Catholic. Such figures alone, not including those workers from other Southeast Asian countries, on the one hand changes the demography of the dioceses and on the other hand energizes the actions, manpower, accommodation, liturgy and resources of the parishes in which they attend services. The Taiwan Catholic Church indeed serves as a bridging Church to the migrant work-

ers who take her as a venue of spiritual, physical and emotional solace. In this sense, the Catholic Church plays a visibly significant role in promoting social justice and relief to the needy. The Church has never ceased to be cross-cultural, transnational, cross-boundary while serving the essential needs of the domestic flock. It is this altruistic motive of the Church that enables Taiwan to have brought together more than 80 male and female religious denominations geared toward the many diversified spiritual and social needs in this mission territory.

During a relatively short period of 160 years, the Catholic Church in Taiwan has come a long way, moving from a single Apostolic Prefecture before the 1950s to the current seven dioceses. Compared with the two millennia tradition of the Universal Church, the Church in Taiwan, having learned many valuable lessons from the Old World, has come up with its own history, yet its mission is no less than that in other ecclesiastical provinces. How to illumine "caritas" in order to attract and strengthen the faithful is a challenge the Church faces in this century. Essentially this two-volume set bears ample witness to her call to indigenous evangelization.

Glossary, Volume II

Amis 阿美族
Atayal 泰雅族
Baiyun 白雲禪師
Bao Zunpeng 包遵彭
Beihaide ren 《背海的人》
Bunun 布農族
Calderon, Emilia 高道隆
Chang Chun-shen, Aloysius, S.J. 張春申
Chang Hsiu-ya 張秀亞
Cheng Cheng-kung, also Koxinga 鄭成功(國姓爺)
Cheng Shiguang 成世光
Ellacuría, José 古尚潔
Fang Chih-jung (Zhirong), Mark S.J. 房志榮
Fang Dongmei 方東美
Fang Hao 方豪
Fengsheng 封聖
Gao Xingjian 高行健
He Yiwu 何宜武
Hong Xiuchuan 洪秀全
Horaicho 蓬萊町
Hsu Cheng-pin, Francis 徐誠斌
Jiabian 《家變》

F.K.H. So et al. (eds.), *The Catholic Church in Taiwan*, Christianity in Modern China, https://doi.org/ 10.1007/978-981-10-6668-9

Jinxin fuxing 盡心復性
Kengxin Catholic Hospital 天主教耕莘醫院
Kupfer, William MM 蔡文興
Lardinois, Olivier 丁偉立
Lee Chunjuan, Agnes 李純娟
Lee Tianyi, Jonnas 李天一
Lee Weitim, Vincent 李惟添
Lei Huamin 雷化民
Liesheng 列聖
Ling Shan 靈山
Liuzu 六祖
Lokuang, Stanislaus, Archbishop 羅光
Magill, Neil 馬赫俊
Mao Zhenxiang 毛振翔
Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇
Mazu 媽祖
Oneness paradigm 一體範疇
Oshida, Shigeto O.P 押田成人
Paiwan 排灣族
Paul Welte O.P. 溫保祿
Pure Heart Spiritual Center 心潔靈修中心
Puyuma 卑南族
Richard Madsen 趙文詞
Rukai 魯凱族
Saisiyat 賽夏族
Sediq 賽德克族
Shan Kuo-hsi, Paul S.J., Cardinal 單國璽
Shangdi 上帝
Shen Muhua 沈牧樺
Shen wei 神位
Shenzhong zhuiyuan 慎終追遠
Sin Touo Sheng 新鐸聲
Soong Meiling 宋美齡
Strategy of Strangification 外推策略
Su Xuelin 蘇雪林
Sun Fo 孫科
Taihsu 太虛
Tang Tuan-cheng 唐端正
Tao 達悟族

Thomas Niu 牛會卿
Tian ren zhi ji 天人之際
Tien, Ken-sin Thomas 田耕莘
Tsou 鄒族
Wang Changzhi 王昌祉
Wang Wen-hsing, also Wang Wenxing 王文興
wu chi 無極
Xiang Tuijie 項退結
Xuansheng 宣聖
Yang Rubin 楊儒賓
Yi jiao duo zong 一教多宗
Ying Diwang no. 7 應帝王第七
Yue Fei 岳飛
Zhao Yizhou (see also Chao, Yi-chou), Andrew 趙一舟
Zhi yu zhi shan 止於至善
zongli xun ta qianbaidu 眾裏尋他千百度

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