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Heavenly Teaching or Heterodox Teaching: The Construction of the Heterodox-Teaching-Image of Catholicism in the Ming China

Sun Xuliang¹

¹ Department of History, University of Macau, Macau, China

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Abstract

Ever since Jesuits were first allowed to stay in China in 1583, persecutions against them have never been ceased. Some of them were initiated due to their as foreigners while others were directly targeted their identities as Catholic missionaries. In such anti-Catholic persecutions, Catholicism was particularly accused and depicted as a heterodox teaching and was therefore classified into the same category with other traditional Chinese heterodox teachings like the White Lotus Sect, the Non-Action Sect, and so forth. This is actually a very strange, yet interesting phenomenon given the fact that Catholicism and traditional Chinese heterodoxy teachings share almost nothing in common whether in terms of doctrines, organization patterns or cultural backgrounds. Based on the research conducted by Barend ter Haar on the White Lotus Teaching tradition that the heterodox teachings in China represented by the White Lotus Sect is nothing but a political construction, which has no relevance to its actual religious beliefs, this paper aims at a detailed analysis on the process of the construction of the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism in the Ming China through a thorough study on the three labels that are repeatedly employed by anti-Catholic official-scholars, which are “assembling at night and dispersing at dawn” (夜聚曉散), “men and women indiscriminately mingling together” (男女混雜), and “sorcerers and sorcery-performing” (師巫邪術) respectively. Besides, the necessity and significance of the construction of the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism in the anti-Catholic persecutions will also be elaborated.

Keywords

anti-Catholic persecutions, heterodox teaching, “assembling at night and dispersing at dawn”, “men and women indiscriminately mingling together”, “sorcerers and sorcery-performing”

1. Introduction

It can be said without any exaggeration that ever since Jesuits were first allowed to stay and build residence in China in 1583, harassments and persecutions against them have never been ceased (Note 1). Some persecutions were initiated due to their identities as foreigners, given the fact that foreigners at that time were usually considered dangerous to the local or even national security (Note 2). While other persecutions were directly targeted against their identities as Catholic missionaries, particularly after their true intention of coming to China to introduce and spread a brand-new religious belief was known to Chinese (Note 3). In such persecutions, Catholicism was usually accused as a heterodox teaching (Note 4) and therefore was classified into the same category with other traditional Chinese heterodox teachings like the White Lotus Sect, the Non-Action Sect, and many other secret societies which were usually considered with subversive characters.

As a matter of fact, such accusation was quite popular among the writers of anti-Catholic literatures. They saw their criticism against Catholicism as a campaign against heterodoxy, which can be revealed through the titles of their works, like *Pixie jie* (闢邪解 On Exposing Heterodoxy) by Huang Wendao (黃問道), *Pixie zhaiyao lueyi* (闢邪摘要畧議 Summary on Exposing Heterodoxy) by Zhang Guangtian (張廣湑), *Pixie guanjian lu* (闢邪管見錄 Humble Opinions on Exposing Heterodoxy) by Zou Weilian (鄒維璉), and *Zhuxie xianju lu* (誅邪顯據錄 Obvious Evidence on Exterminating Heterodoxy) by Li Wangting (李王庭), etc. (Note 5). Apart from the anti-Catholic literatures composed by Chinese literati, accusations against Catholicism as a heterodox teaching can also be found in official proclamations or even the imperial memorials presented to the emperor.

For instance, during the 1616 Nanjing anti-Catholic persecution, Liu Zongzhou (劉宗周) presented an imperial memorial to the emperor, in which it is explicitly stated that, “What is meant by heterodox teaching? Apart from Buddhism and Taoism, now it particularly refers to the so-called western learning (Catholicism)” (Note 6). Later when Johann Adam Schall von Bell was recommended to be in charge of making European style cannons in 1642, Liu Zongzhou expressed his strong opposition to it by claiming that,

“As to the barbaric foreigners like Johann Adan Schall von Bell, they have always advocated for the heterodox teachings to incite people. On this ground, they should not be accepted by our holy society. Now their crime of tempting the heart of our emperor by the diabolic tricks and wicked crafts is even more unforgivable. I beg the emperor to expel these foreigners back to their homeland, so that the heterodox teaching will be prohibited, and our Chinese Confucianism will be followed permanently” (Note 7).

Moreover, right after the anti-Catholic persecutions in Fujian province in 1637, the Provincial Surveillance Commission issued an official proclamation in which Catholicism was publicly compared to the Non-Action Sect, “Sects like the Non-Action Sect and the Catholicism all belong to the category of heterodox teachings. They spread heresies and shall be strictly forbidden by the law” (Note 8).

As such accusation became too serious, Jesuits as well as their Chinese followers had to devote large passages to clarify it. One of the “three pillars of the China Catholic Church”, Yang Tingyun (楊廷筠) particularly wrote an apologetic article called *Xiaoluan bubingming shuo* (《鴉鸞不並鳴說》 The Owl and the Phoenix Do not Sing Together) for the sake of not only refuting the saying of Catholicism and Chinese heterodox teachings being the same kind, but more importantly demonstrating that they are completely opposite to each other whether in terms of doctrines, organization and activity patterns or cultural backgrounds, etc. (Note 9).

Accusing Catholicism as a heterodox teaching in the Ming China is actually a very interesting phenomenon. In Europe, after the Protestant Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church strove to maintain its orthodoxy by accusing the new-born Protestantism as heterodoxy. While in China, in the early stage of Catholicism being introduced into China, it earned the reputation of heavenly teaching (天教) among many Chinese due to the cultural accommodation preaching strategy adopted by Jesuits and the introduction of Western scientific knowledge during the missionary process (Note 10). On all accounts, Catholicism and Chinese heterodox teachings share absolutely nothing in common, and yet these two completely distinct and uncorrelated religious beliefs were considered identical to each other by Chinese anti-Catholic official-scholars. This paper is an attempt to make an in-depth analysis on this interesting phenomenon including the process of the construction of the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism as well as its significance in the anti-Catholic persecutions.

2. Heterodox Teaching in the Politico-Religious Relation of Imperial China

In the study of the politico-religious relations in China, Zhang Jian (張踐) points out that the politico-religious relation in the imperial China belongs to the category of “God-auxiliary politics” (Note 11). Under such politico-religious relation, religion is no longer a national political ideology, but merely as a part of political culture, playing the auxiliary role in political power. Due to the fact that the political ideology in imperial China has always been dominated by humanistic Confucian political philosophy which emphasizes the supremacy of secular monarchical power, so there is no possibility for various religions to gain the status of state religion, but only play a supportive role. Therefore, a “politics dominance-religion obedience” relation was formed.

Under such particular politico-religious relation of imperial China, religion is always affiliated to and has never been independent from politics, so the term heterodox teaching is not so much a religious discourse as it is a political discourse. This can be well evidenced by the creation and employment of the term *yinsi* (淫祀), which is usually used to refer to the same folk beliefs or secret societies that are labelled as *zuodao* (左道), *yiduan* (異端) or *xiejiao* (邪教), alternative Chinese names of heterodox teaching. *Liji* records that “sacrificing to the deities that should not be sacrificed by the one with unqualified identity is called excessive sacrifice, which does not grant blessing” (Note 12). It can be understood that one could neither sacrifice to the deities that are not recognized by the state nor could he mistakenly sacrifice to the deities that should not be sacrificed by him in his identity. It regulates two

significant elements of sacrifice: the objects of sacrifice should be the deities that are officially recognized by the state and the subjects of sacrifice should behave in accordance with their identities. For example, it is regulated the only the emperor (the son of Heaven) have the right to sacrifice to the Heaven and only the legitimate son is allowed to sacrifice to ancestors; it is also regulated that people are only allowed to sacrifice to the deities that received official recognition (Note 13). With the rapid development of folk beliefs, many deities that were worshipped by large amounts of people but did not receive any official recognition were condemned as *yinsi*, which were usually considered with subversive nature. As has been proven again and again that such folk beliefs, especially those with messianic hopes of the coming of a peaceful, equal and just society, were, as stated by Jacques Gernet, “were how all the great rebellions in history started” (Note 14), and were extremely effective in arousing rebellions against the ruling dynasties. The overturn of the Yuan dynasty and the establishment of the Ming dynasty is the best example of the dangerousness and effectiveness of heterodox teachings in instigating commoners for subversive purposes. Therefore, the matter of heterodox teachings has always been the primary concern for dynastic rulers, and the accusation against heterodox teaching became more like a political rather than a religious issue.

Among all the heterodox teachings in the history of China, the most notorious and well-known should be the White Lotus Sect. In Barend ter Haar’s monograph *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, he points out the fact that the “White Lotus Teaching” used to be a real tradition dating back to the fifth century. However, started from the sixteenth century, this term was not an autonym anymore, but a label invented by states in repressing all sorts of secret societies with religious trait and rebellious nature (Note 15). In other words, the term “White Lotus Teaching” transmitted from a designated phrase for the particular lay religious organization with the White Lotus tradition to a politically-created generalized phrase for all kinds of lay religious organizations with similar characters of subversiveness. During this process, the true features or doctrines of the lay religious organization were completely out of the discussion.

In the study of the political construction of the White Lotus Sect, ter Haar puts forward the usage of three labels or stereotypes, which are “assembling at night and dispersing at dawn” (夜聚曉散), “men and women indiscriminately mingling together” (男女混雜) and “eating vegetables and serving the devil” (食菜侍魔) (Note 16) respectively. In the discourse of Chinese politico-religious relationship, as long as one religious organization was labelled these three stereotypes, they would be recognized as heterodox teachings, during which process the true doctrines, or the actual organization and activity patterns are completely insignificant. In other words, to accuse other religious beliefs as heterodox teachings, one only needs to stick these three labels on them.

Actually, this is exactly the principle followed by official-scholars in their efforts to construct the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism in the Ming China. Whether in the anti-Catholic literatures by literati or in the anti-Catholic memorials by officials, there three labels were repeatedly used to accuse Catholicism for the sake of making the image of Catholicism the same with traditional Chinese

heterodoxy teachings. Therefore, in this paper, the analysis on the process of constructing the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism shall be conducted through these three labels.

3. “Assembling at Night and Dispersing at Dawn” (夜聚曉散)

Both in the records of Jesuits and the anti-Catholic literatures by Chinese, Catholicism was constantly referred to as a religious organization whose members assemble at night and disperse at dawn. In the memorials of Yu Maozi (余懋孳), he stated that, “In Nanjing, the previous capital, foreigners like Alphonse Vagnoni and Emmanuel Diaz Junior had already incited more than ten thousand commoners and the number of the instigated commoners who worship on the first and fifteenth days of each month is usually more than one thousand... Now they publicly assemble at night and disperse at dawn just like (followers of) the White Lotus Sect and the Non-Action Sect” (Note 17). In the official proclamation of the Nanjing Ministry of Rites about the capture and punishment of Jesuits and their followers, it is recorded that, “According to *Daming lv*, behaviors like ‘privately worshipping the *Tian* (天 heaven)... and assembling at night and dispersing at dawn’ are all prohibited... Is not their (Jesuits and Chinese converts) behavior of assembling at the night of certain days and holy days of each month and dispersing in the daybreak precisely the so-called ‘assembling at night and dispersing at dawn?’” (Note 18).

Some scholars insist that the label “assembling at night and dispersing at dawn” is an objective description that the followers are engaged in the agricultural work or other daily routine and only have time to assemble at night. However, some officially permitted folk festivals (like Double Seven Festival) or religious convocations, their members also assemble at night but have never been labeled as “assembling at night and dispersing at dawn”. Therefore, instead of being an objective description, it is actually a prejudiced term to attack the activities of heterodox teachings regardless of whether their followers actually gather at night or not. Moreover, among the ruling circles of imperial China, there has always been a tradition of hostility towards the mass gatherings, especially those held at night, which are always seen as gestures of rebellious intention. The accusation in this regard is usually very effective in arousing the attention of the government. Therefore, “assembling at night and dispersing at dawn” gradually became a designated term for the description of threats in terms of security issues, and the frequent usage of this term demonstrates the fact that the security issue is one of the biggest concerns of officials and literati in attacking missionaries.

As has been shown in the records of Matteo Ricci that every time foreign missionaries obtained pieces of land to build residence or simply bought houses, rumors speculating their purpose of residing would circulate rapidly. Some suspected that these foreign missionaries would base their newly built residence to accommodate more foreigners and made Zhaoqing the second Macau (Note 19); some directly accused missionaries of building blockhouses rather than normal houses and an army of 40 foreign soldiers were harbored there (Note 20). Apart from that, due to the close connection between Catholic missionaries and Portuguese living in Macau (Note 21), missionaries being considered as spies

dispatched by *Folangji* (Note 22) is also frequently mentioned in the anti-Catholic literatures. For example, in a petition by Fuzhou local military officials together with some low-level gentries, the authors analyzed the “international situation” by stating that,

“They (Catholic barbarians) have already occupied the territories of Luzon, Djakarta, Zamboanga and Kutoulang which used to be our vassal states. Besides, they also took up our Macau, Taiwan, Keelung and Tamsui as the portal through which they planned to invade Fujian and Guangdong provinces. Once the barbarians outside and inside of China acted in cooperation with each other, how are we going to defend ourselves?” (Note 23)

In another anti-Catholic literature, the author made similar narration but in a more exaggerative way, “These scheming barbarians did harms to every country they went to and invaded them by approaching them gradually. Till now, there have already been more than 30 countries being occupied by them... they murdered the kings of these countries and controlled commoners. Only several of them were able to occupy one entire country” (Note 24).

Obviously, there were people in the Ming dynasty who had already realized the action of aggression conducted by Portuguese and Spanish in the Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan and Japan. They took them as lessons of not allowing foreigners, especially missionaries to reside in China in case that they may collect military information and cooperate with military forces from outside.

Apart from collusion with outside powers, there were also accusations related to missionaries cultivating and supporting rebelling forces within China. In December 1606, a leader of the Non-action Sect in Nanjing called Liu Tianxu (劉天緒) plotted a rebellion but was suppressed before its breakout (Note 25). Both *Wanli yehuo bian* (Note 26) and *Kezuo zhuiyu* (Note 27) have detailed narrations on this incident. Actually, this plotted insurgency *per se* had nothing special and did not differ from other traditional rebellious activities in imperial time. However, there were rumors saying that the missionaries were the real initiators of this incident which “disordered the mission and decreased the number of followers” (Note 28). This is actually a very interesting incident as missionaries for the first time being recognized as the initiators of domestic peasant rebellions. In collecting “evidences” of missionaries launching or participating rebellious activities in Nanjing, Shen Que, the main initiator of 1616 Nanjing incident offered a record from a neighbor of missionaries.

“In many evenings of that year, in the name of sacrament, the missionaries convened gatherings that were constituted of thousands of men and women and they were dissolved and went back home in the daytime. Each new convert would be registered on a roster and were given 5 ducats that were made by alchemy. When they were accepted they would be given strange foreign names and were taught to make the sign of cross for the sake of distinguishing themselves from others when in revolt. Moreover, they were caught of hiding weapons in their houses...” (Note 29).

All the above-mentioned accusations against foreign missionaries focused on the issue of social security and was launched in the name of “Catholics gathering at night and dispersing at dawn”. Besides, other terms like “deceiving and alluring silly commoners” “*zuodao* corrupting politics”

“pretending to perform good deeds but actually instigating commoners” (Note 30) that were previously dedicated to the description of traditional heterodox teachings can also be found constantly in anti-Catholic literatures. The fact that after the introduction and spread of Catholicism in China, such terms, without changing a bit, were borrowed to attack Catholic missionaries and Catholicism demonstrates us that the attempts of Chinese official-scholars to create the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism follows the same logic and pattern of condemning the White Lotus Sect and the Non-Action Sect as heterodox teachings.

4. “Men and Women Indiscriminately Mingling Together” (男女混雜)

Under the gender system of Confucian patriarchal social order in imperial China, the issue of woman is so sensitive that the simple body contact would be considered as unethical, let alone the sexual misconduct. To Confucian apologists, the violation and corruption of Confucian ethics equivalents to the challenge against the entire social order and stability. In this sense, the employment of this label is rather essential and effective in accusing one religious belief as a heterodox teaching. Prior to the introduction of Catholicism in China, the term “men and women indiscriminately mingle together” is exclusively used by Confucian apologists to criticize the mass gatherings in which people of opposite sex interact with each other (Note 31). For instance, the followers of White Lotus Sect are generally believed to assemble regardless of the gender at night in the name of studying Dharma (Note 32). Another heterodox teaching, Dacheng Sect is said to attract people with the doctrine of samsara and the promised life beyond with its members gathering together on the first and fifteenth day of each month regardless of the sex (Note 33). Other heterodox teachings like the Non-Action Sect, Luo Sect and Wenxiang Sect all share similar accusations in official records.

With Jesuits entering into China, this term started to be employed to attack them. In the very beginning, under the creed of “men and women are forbidden to have intimate contacts” (男女授受不親), contacts between missionaries and local women became extremely difficult and sensitive. For fear of causing any unnecessary trouble, missionaries decided to simplify or change some rituals. For instance, they set up separate halls particularly for women and preach sermons to women with barriers separating them away. Besides, they had to use tweezers rather than their thumbs to anoint women converts and when conducting unction, the touch of pelma and waist could be omitted (Note 34). Besides, they performed confession only in special places easily monitored by males of the household (Note 35).

Discreet and cautious as they were, the infrequent contacts with women still aroused lots of accusations. Ricci has left many accounts of incidents accusing missionaries of having improper sexual relations with Chinese women, some of which even led to lawsuit at court. The first one occurred soon after Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci residing in China, a previous converter made up a couple of lies and accused Michele Ruggieri of fornicating with a local woman and even the husband of the accused woman was one of the conspirators of this slander (Note 36). Another incidents occurred to Nicholas Longobardo who was also charged with committing adultery with a local woman in Shaozhou (Note

37). Both of these two incidents were aroused by rumors of missionaries having improper sexual relations with local women and were proved to be initiated for blackmailing missionaries for money. Apart from rumors and accusations from commoners, some official-scholars also expressed their hostile attitudes towards missionaries in terms of suspicion of sexual misconduct.

For instance, Huang Zhen (黃貞) used to accuse Catholicism of “secretly introducing and alluring followers with men and women indiscriminately mingling together” (Note 38). In the official proclamation issued by Xu Shiyin (徐世蔭), it is also recorded that, “(Followers of Catholicism) do not worship their ancestors and men and women indiscriminately mingle together. There is nothing more unethical than it” (Note 39). *Xiedu shiju*, made similar accusation by stating that “they (missionaries) distributed philters that were stored in churches to converted women. After breasts and secret places being touched by missionaries, they would conduct sexual intercourse. By expressing the evil powers to these women, missionaries earned their trust and then were believed firmly” (Note 40). Similar narration can also be found in *Quyí zhiyan*, “whether married or not, the beautiful ones would be picked up either to do households in the yard of the church or to serve *Liaoshi* (Jesus) and were sexually infringed by the priests” (Note 41).

The accusation of missionaries in terms of sexual misconducts created sharp contrast of their claimed image as fully devoted to the Lord of Heaven and never get married or conduct sexual behavior, and therefore is more effective in arousing the hatred among local Chinese. Just as stated by Zhong Shisheng (鐘始聲), “the (Catholic) missionaries boasted themselves sexual abstinence and marriage-resistance, but they advocated the absurd sayings of holy water to allure the silly males and females to conduct obscene behaviors privately” (Note 42).

If these accusations were only products of personal behavior from those who held resentment against missionaries, then the incidents that I am about to narrate belong to the category of collective behaviors which revealed how accusations of improper sexual relations would lead to collective resentment and reaction.

Matteo Ricci recorded a gathering like a parade in Shaozhou by a bunch of actors coming from Macau. The main contents of this parade were to mock Portuguese of doing something that were regarded as stupid and vulgar. The actors drew pictures of men and women indiscriminately mingling together which prompted derisive laughter among the audience. And of course, Catholicism was the critical target of such parade (Note 43). Besides, *Hechos de la Orden de Predicadores en el Imperio de la China* also recorded similar masquerade in Fuan where over 300 men dressed in Catholic costumes, and some posing as women. The masquerade was full of insults against the image of missionaries, converts and Catholicism. The highlights came on stage when a character dressed as a woman and kneeled before the phony friars. She begged to be baptized and got undressed under the instruction of the phony friars. They acted the story of Virgin Mary and ridiculed pregnancy while remaining virginity. Then the friars told the woman to become a nun so that he could “embrace her and engage in other amorous and obscene actions with her” (Note 44).

By accusing Catholicism of “men and women indiscriminately mingling together” the official-scholars tried not only to condemn the corruption of social morals brought by Catholic missionaries, but more importantly to point out the challenges brought by Catholicism against the Confucian ethics as well as the incompatibility between Catholicism and Confucian social order. Therefore, this term became the crucial point of constructing the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism.

5. “Sorcerers and Sorcery-Performing” (師巫邪術)

In the official communication to the Censorate of Nanjing in 1617 regarding the transfer of Alfonso Vagnoni and Alvaro Semedo who were captured and trialed in the recently occurred persecution against Catholics, Wu Ercheng (吳爾成), the head of Bureau of Reception criticized that “they (Catholic missionaries) discussed *tianxing* (天性 heaven nature) with literati, and *shenshu* (神術 divine spells) with commoners” (Note 45). This is indeed a very precise observation of the preaching methods of the Jesuits, as it revealed the two parallel strategies adopted by them in the late Ming China: the discussion of cultural accommodation to Confucianism when talking with Chinese scholar-officials and the emphasis on faith in the narration of miraculous tales when evangelizing Chinese commoners.

Previously, in order to emphasize their role as the “forerunners of cross-cultural communication between China and the West”, the “first generation of giants” represented by Matteo Ricci were usually depicted more as the disseminators of Western culture and scientific knowledge in China as well as the transmitters of Chinese knowledge to the Western world in the narrations of stories of Jesuits’ mission China. Therefore, their cultural accommodation to Confucianism which highlighted the spirit of mutual understanding and respect of indigenous culture in cross-cultural communication became the most intensively and extensively studied research subject in relation to the preaching strategies adopted by Jesuits in the Ming China. However, this does not show the whole picture of Jesuit missionary work as it only tells the story of Jesuits’ evangelization among Chinese “upper-class” while the most majority of converts in the Ming China are commoners, not scholar-officials.

It is only after the excellent works of Jacques Gernet on the anti-Catholic polemics (Note 46) and Eric Zürcher on the Chinese Christian community in the late Ming Fujian province (Note 47) that the prominent role played by faith—faith in the Lord of Heaven’s superior power to exorcise demons, foretell the future, inflict or heal diseases, answer prays for male hires or rain—in Jesuits missionary work in the Ming China started to be noticed and developed by scholars (Note 48). Zhang Qiong even pointed out that “the discourse about God, demons, and miracles had never been peripheral to the Jesuit scheme of conversion but instead occupied a central role both in their daily encounters with the Chinese and in their scholarly publication” (Note 49).

The earliest record of Jesuits performing miracles like exorcism in China occurred in Zhaoqing, a few years after Jesuits’ arrival. It is recorded that:

“There was a man living across the river. At one night, he passed by a graveyard all alone. Whether because it was merely out of his extreme fear, or because there were actually demons wandering

around, or only because he thought he had seen the ghosts, he acted like being obsessed by demons. His parents invited Buddhist monks to perform Buddhist rites to cast the demons away. They pasted the figures of idols which looked like demons themselves all over the house. However, that man still did not come to reason despite all the efforts made by the monks. His father was told of the virtue and power of the Catholic missionaries, so he invited one padre to his house, begging them for the recovery of his son. After arriving at his house, Padre did not consider it as a demonic possession event neither did he do much. He merely teared off all the figures of idols and various paper slips of runes drawn by monks right in front of their faces and burnt them down. Then the Padre prayed for the healing of his disease, hanged the reliquary on his heck, and persuaded him to convert to Catholics. Soon, he miraculously recovered and went to the church to convert with the company of his father. It turned out to be not only himself, but his entire family converted to Catholics. Later he told everyone whom he met that it was the Padre that saved him from demons” (Note 50).

Similar narrations can be found everywhere in Jesuits’ letters, reports and Chinese converts’ records. They usually follow the same pattern: someone is accidentally possessed by demons or suffered from strange and serious diseases. Their family will usually first seek help from Buddhist monks, Daoists or masters of folk beliefs who are considered as competent exorcists. When they fail to complete the task, the parents will turn to Catholic missionaries for help. After the expulsion of demons from the possessed or the miraculous healing of the strange disease, either as the gesture of being convinced by the superior power of the Lord of Heaven or simply showing gratitude, the cured patients together with their families, friends or neighbors will usually convert to Catholicism.

In the very beginning, the performing of such miracles did bring great benefits to Jesuits, including the enhancement of their reputation among Chinese and the direct conversion of Chinese commoners (Note 51). However, employing miracles or miraculous tales as preaching methods is not without a price. Due to the despise of the discourse of superstition shared among Chinese official-scholars as well as the superficial resemblance shared between the ritual when performing Catholic miracles and that of Chinese heterodox teachings, it gradually became the convenient and persuasive excuses to demonize Catholic missionaries and further accuse Catholicism of being identical to Chinese heterodox teachings.

For instance, in the rite of baptism, missionaries would chant scriptures and sprinkle holy water on the forehead of the converters, representing that their original sin was absolved. However, the ritual of sprinkling holy water was not exclusive to Catholicism in China. Taoism and folk beliefs like the cult of Avalokitesvara, cult of Patriarch of Pure Water (清水祖師) and the White Lotus Sect also had the tradition of sprinkling holy water with the purpose of curing diseases, exorcising demons, granting blessing, and so forth. Even after the establishment of the PRC, the tradition of sprinkling holy water still exists in China (Note 52). Unfortunately, the popularity of the worship of holy water made it very easy to be taken advantages of by some folk beliefs with subversive characters. For instance, as early as

late Eastern Han dynasty, the masters of the of Taiping Path (太平道), a rebellious religious organization, were recorded to give holy water to patients to drink or sprinkled holy water to “wash away” the diseases. Those whose illness were cured would follow the rebellious Taiping Sect (Note 53). Besides, the White Lotus Sect also has stories of using holy water to cure diseases or dispelling demons. Therefore, when Chinese official-scholars witnessed or heard of the ritual of baptism, they would naturally link it to the tradition of worshipping holy water in Chinese heterodox teachings. In this sense, it is not difficult to understand their efforts of constructing the image of missionaries as evil sorcery-performers and Catholicism as a heterodox teaching.

As early as in Zhaoqing, there were rumors condemning that “the reason why these people (missionaries) took care of the dying person was because they had already seen the gem in the head of that person and when he died, they would take possession of the corpse and take out the priceless gem” (Note 54). More picturesque descriptions of missionaries performing sorceries can be found in *Quyizhiyan*.

“Their teaching (Catholicism) is not only erroneous, but also full of sorceries. They buried the corpses in the church and then dug out the remains after 50 years and cremated them into oil by virtue of sorceries. The oil was distributed into 5 churches and anyone who stepped into the churches would be anointed his (her) forehead so that he (she) would become numb and follow their teachings blindly” (Note 55).

Similar narrations can also be found in *Maiyou ji*.

“It was said that those who were willing to follow their teachings would be ordered to drink a bowl of water that could perplex their minds... if the followers were about to die, their masters would dispatch two people to chant and use cloth to cover the corpse. Some believed that they gouged out the pupils of the deceased person... there was a person whose family was poor. He knew that converting to Catholicism would be given 50 gold. He told his family to get ready for pouring in decoction when he came back from the church to vomit the water offered by the missionaries. When he came back he was already bewitched by Catholicism and was about to destroy shrines... after drinking the decoction he started to vomit pure water first and then spitting out blood. The blood was dispersed overnight but there was still one thing left which was in a shape of a human being, or should I say, the shape of the master (missionary) himself” (Note 56).

These are only few examples of demonizing missionaries by accusing them of performing sorceries in the Late Ming China. However incredible and stupid they may sound today, the wide circulation of such rumors at that period indicates that there were actually many people believed or at least wanted to believe the authenticity of these rumors. With foreign missionaries being accused as evil sorceries performers, their advocated religion would naturally be considered as a heterodox teaching.

6. Significance of Constructing the Heterodox-Teaching-Image of Catholicism

From the analysis above, we can see that great efforts were devoted to creating the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism by anti-Catholic commoners and official-scholars. As to the discussion of the reasons behind such phenomenon, there is one point that must be emphasized, that is the extremely cautious and hostile attitude of the Ming government towards heterodox teachings.

Since the Shang dynasty, rulers of China have been paying great attention to the issue of sacrifice, seeing it as one significant part of maintaining legitimacy and rationality of their reigns (Note 57). Therefore, they considered heterodox teachings, which centered on the worship of illegal deities, as a significant potential threat to the stability of the entire society. Besides, heterodox teachings usually have the character of strong seductiveness which can easily instigate commoners. The overthrow of the Yuan and the establishment of the Ming dynasty is the best example and lesson to the Ming emperors and officials. The first emperor of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋) first started his striving for the throne by participating in the peasant uprising in the late Yuan dynasty which was led by Han Shantong (韓山童) who claimed himself as the hierarch of the White Lotus Sect. By personally experiencing the peasant uprisings led by heterodox teachings, Zhu Yuanzhang was extremely impressed the destructiveness and dangerousness of them as well as the significance of controlling sacrifice and folk beliefs by way of regulating worship of various deities. Therefore, in the first year of his reign, he issued orders by way of central secretariat to all prefectures, asking them to search for deities that ought to be sacrificed to. Famous mountains and great rivers, wise emperors and sagacious kings, loyal courtiers and martyrs, all those that are used to make great contributions to the state and showed benevolence towards commoners were listed on the records of rituals. In the second year, the emperor issued another imperial edict stating that those deserved well of the commoners and had their deeds well known, even though they were unapt to be sacrificed to, their temples could remain unharmed. In the third year, various deities' titles were conferred, and all the flattered appellations were repealed. All those that were not on the list were seen as excessive sacrifice and officials concerned should not offer any sacrifice to them.

Apart from that, *Daming huidian* also gave detailed narration on what deities should be sacrificed to as well as which deities should be sacrificed by whom. It records that,

“In the very beginning of this dynasty, the sacrifices to the Heaven, Earth and imperial ancestors, to the gods of soil and grain belong to the category of orthodoxy sacrifices... the Heaven, Earth and imperial ancestors, the gods of soil and grain, the gods of mountains and rivers should only be sacrificed by the son of Heaven... In the first few years of Hongwu, all the prefectures and counties sacrificed the Three Sovereigns, but it was banned later. Only officials concerned were allowed to set up temples to sacrifice gods of soil and grain, gods of wind, could, thunder and rain, gods of mountains and rivers, city gods, Confucius, banner decorated with bird features and ghosts uncared-for. Commoners could sacrifice local god of earth, local ghosts uncared-for, ancestors and god of stove. All the other sacrifices were prohibited” (Note 58).

It revealed the eagerness of Zhu Yuanzhang regulating the chaotic sacrificial system to meet the demands of orthodox rites. Besides, by distinguishing the officially recognized folk religion from the unauthorized beliefs the government could act more effectively in conducting supervisory control and repressing heterodox teachings. His extreme cautious attitude against heterodox teachings was well inherited by his descendants as the crimes related to the practice of heterodox teachings were all taken seriously and punished severely.

“Anyone performing witchcraft and descending the evil gods, drawing magic figures and charmed water, fortunetelling and praying; anyone self-claiming as sorcerers and witches; any society self-claiming as Maitreya, White Lotus, Mingzun (明尊), White Cloud; any witchcrafts including privately hiding pictures of illegal deities, gathering to burn incenses, assembling at night and dispersing at dawn; instigate commoners in the name of doing good deeds, the leaders will be sentenced to be hanged and the followers will be beaten one hundred times with wooden sticks and exiled three thousand *li* away (Note 59).

Through the imperial edicts and laws of the Ming dynasty we can sense the strong hostility and vigilance of the Ming government towards heterodox teachings. Taking advantages of such cautious attitude, the opponents of Catholicism tried to make links between Catholicism and heterodox teaching for the sake of classifying them into one category. In this way, the hostile and cautious attitude toward heterodox teachings would also be used to deal with Catholicism as well. Besides, by putting Catholicism and heterodox teachings together, the government had legal basis to abide by in persecuting Catholicism; the local gentries had tradition to follow in writing anti-Catholic literatures; the commoners had convenient ways to get to know Catholicism and further repelled it.

7. Conclusion

In China, the existence of various folk beliefs with subversive characters is an inevitable consequence of a dominant tradition which integrated religion with political order (Note 60). As one significant way of maintaining reign, regulating sacrifices and beliefs was emphasized a lot by imperial emperors. Those that did not receive official recognition and with subversive nature became the target of repression and were classified into the category of heterodox teachings. As in Chinese history, many rebellions, including those eventually overthrowing the previous dynasties, were initiated in the form of religious movements, the imperial court had to devote into the precaution and suppression of any heterodox teaching that had potential of becoming extensive in range, massive in numbers and threatening to local and national security. Under such circumstances, the efforts of creating the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism became reasonable and significant in persecuting Catholicism in the Ming dynasty.

During the process of constructing the heterodox-teaching-image of Catholicism, the three labels, “assembling at night and dispersing at dawn” “men and women indiscriminately mingling together” and “sorcerers and performing sorceries” were frequently and constantly employed by anti-Catholic

official-scholars in their anti-Catholic literatures. Instead of being objective descriptions, these three labels are actually prejudiced phrases particularly designed to attack whatever religious organizations they considered with subversive nature. Therefore, the construction of heterodox teaching is a construction of state political discourse in which the actual doctrines and organization and activity patterns of the suspected Catholicism were completely irrespective.

Notes

Note 1. According to the calculation by Alvaro Semedo, the number of persecutions against Catholic missionaries had already amounted to 54 before the breakout of the 1616 Nanjing anti-Catholic persecution, the first national-wide anti-Catholic incidents in China. See Alvaro Semedo, English translation version, *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China* [Relacao Da Grande Monarquia Da China], (London: John Crook, 1655), p. 174.

Note 2. Apart from the traditional ideology of *yixia zhifang* (夷夏之防), such xenophobia sentiment shared by Chinese in the Ming dynasty was also a result of a series acts of aggression from foreigners, for instance, the Japanese pirates harassments in the southeast coast of China, the naval battles between Portuguese and the Ming China in the coastal areas of Guangdong, Zhejiang and Fujian provinces, the war between China and Japan in Korea in 1592-1598, and so forth. As to the Japanese pirates harassments, please see 陳懋恒 Chen Maoheng, 《明代倭寇考畧》*Mingdai wokou kaolue* [A Study of the Wokou during the Ming Period] (北京[Beijing]: 北京人民出版社 [Beijing Renmin Chubanshe], 1957); the description of the sea battles in Zoumaxi island (走馬溪) Shuangyu Island (雙嶼) between Chinese and Portuguese, please see Fernão Mendes Pinto, translated by Rebecca D. Catz, *The Travels of Fernão Mendes Pinto* [*Peregrinaçãõ*] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); the war between China and Japan in Korea, please see James B. Lewis ed., *The East Asian War, 1592-1598: International Relations, Violence, and Memory* (Routledge, 2017).

Note 3. In the early stage of Jesuits residing in China, for fear of arousing suspects of Chinese people, Matteo Ricci hid his ultimate purpose of coming to China but just claimed to be attracted by China's prosperity, peace and admirable culture. See 利瑪竇 Matteo Ricci and 金尼閣 Nicolas Trigault, 《利瑪竇中國札記》*Limadou zhongguo zhaji* [De Catholica Expeditione apud Sinas Suscepta ab Societate Iesu], 何高濟 He Gaoji, 王遵仲 Wang Zunzhong and 李申 Li Shen 譯 (北京[Beijing]: 中華書局 [Zhonghua Shuju], 2010), p. 96.

Note 4. Heterodox teaching is a combined translation of the Chinese terms like *xiejiao* (邪教), *yiduan* (異端), *zuodao* (左道) and *yinsi* (淫祀), etc., which are usually employed to refer to religious beliefs that receive no official recognition and are usually considered with subversive characters in the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Note 5. These literatures are all included in *Shengchao poxie ji* edited by Xu Changzhi (徐昌治). See 《聖朝破邪集》 *Shengchao poxie ji* [Collection of the Exposure of Heterodoxy], 夏瑰琦 Xia Guiqi 編 (香港 [Hong Kong]: 建道神學院 [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1996).

Note 6. “何謂異端之教？則佛老而外，今所稱西學者是” See 劉宗周 Liu Zongzhou, <辟左道以正人心以扶治運疏> “Pi zuodao yi zhengrenxin yi fuzhiyun shu” [Memorial for Exposing Heresy to Restore Justice and Maintain National Stability], 於《劉宗周全集》 *Liu Zongzhou quanji* [The whole collection of Liu Zongzhou], 吳光 Wu Guang 編, 卷三 [Vol. 3] (杭州 [Hangzhou]: 杭州古籍出版社 [Hangzhou guji chubanshe], 2007), p. 204.

Note 7. “至湯若望，西番外夷，向來倡邪說以鼓動人心，已不容於聖世。今又創為奇技淫巧以惑君心，其罪愈不可挽，乞皇上放還彼國，以永絕異端，以永遵吾中國禮教冠裳之極”。 Wu Guang, *Liu Zongzhou quanji*, p. 236.

Note 8. “若無為、天主等教，悉屬左道。妖妄邪言，律禁森嚴”。徐世蔭 Xu Shiyin, <提刑案察司告示> “Tixing anchasi gaoshi” [Official proclamation of Provincial Surveillance Commission] 於 Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxieji*, p. 133.

Note 9. 楊廷筠 Yang Tingyun, <鴞鸞不並鳴說> “Xiaoluan bubingming shuo” [The Owl and the Phoenix do not Sing Together], 於《明末清初耶穌會思想文獻彙編》 *Mingmo qingchu yesuhui sixiang wenxian huibian* [Collection of Literature on Jesuits Ideology in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties] 鄭安德 Zheng Ande 編 (北京 [Beijing]: 北京大學宗教研究所 [Institute of Religious Studies Peking University], 2003) 卷三 [Vol. 3], pp. 150-151. As to the detailed contents of the list of 14 distinctions, please see Appendix I.

Note 10. As to the cultural accommodation method adopted by Jesuits, please see David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), pp. 44-72.

Note 11. 張踐 Zhang Jian, 《中國古代政教關係史》 *Zhongguo gudai zhengjiao guanxi shi* [History of Politico-Religious Relations in Ancient China], (北京 [Beijing]: 中國社會科學出版社 [Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe], 2012), 卷一 [Vol. 1], p. 37.

Note 12. “非其所祭而祭之，名曰淫祀，淫祀無福”。李雪勤 Li Xueqin, 《十三經注疏：禮記正義》 *Shisanjing zhushu: liji zhengyi* [Annotations and Commentaries on the Thirteen Confucian Classics] (北京 [Beijing]: 北京大學出版社 [Peking University Press], 1999), pp. 155-156.

Note 13. As to the name list of the officially recognized deities, please see 李東陽 Li Dongyang, 《大明會典》 *Daming huidian* [The Collected Statutes of the Great Ming] (揚州 [Yangzhou]: 廣陵書社 [Guangling Shushe, 2007], 卷八十一 [Vol. 81].

Note 14. Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*, translated by Janet Lloyd (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 112.

Note 15. Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), p. 8.

Note 16. Eating vegetables and serving the devil” is the term particularly used to describe the secret societies in the Song dynasty. In the Ming dynasty, this term is seldom used and can barely be seen in historical records, while another term, “sorcerers and sorcery-performing” (師巫邪術) referring to similar accusations, started to be widely employed by officials. There is one category in Daming lv called “Prohibiting Sorcerers and Sorcery-Performing” (禁止師巫邪術). Therefore, in this paper I will use the term “sorcerers and sorcery-performing” rather than “eating vegetables and serving the devil”. 黃彰健 Huang Zhangjian, 《明代律例彙編》 *Mingdai lvli huibian* [Collated edition of Ming-era statutes and substatutes] (臺北 [Taipei]: 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 [Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo], 1979), 卷十一 [Vol. 11], p. 589.

Note 17. 乃留都王豐肅、陽瑪諾等，煽惑群眾不下萬人，朔望朝拜動以千計……今公然夜聚曉散，一如白蓮、無為諸教。張廷玉 Zhang Tingyu, 《明史》 *Mingshi* [Official History of Ming] (北京 [Beijing]: 中華書局 [Zhonghua Shuju], 1977), 卷三百二十六 [Vol. 326], pp. 8458-8461.

Note 18. “《大明律》禁私家告天……夜聚消散等款……其每月房、虛、星、昴、大小瞻禮等日，俱三更聚集，天明散去，不為夜聚曉散乎？”<拿獲邪黨後告示> “Nahuo xiedang hou gaoshi” [Official proclamation of the capture of the heterodox society], in Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxie ji*, p. 117.

Note 19. Filippo Mignini, 《利瑪竇：鳳凰閣》 *Limadou: Fenghuang ge* [Matteo Ricci. *Il chiosco delle fenici*], 王蘇娜 Wang Suna 譯 (鄭州 [Zhengzhou]: 大象出版社 [Daxiang Chubanshe], 2012), p. 104.

Note 20. Matteo Ricci, *Limadou zhongguo zhaji*, p. 269.

Note 21. As to the particular status and contribution of Portuguese living in Macau to the entire China Catholic mission in the Ming and Qing China, please see 湯開建 Tang Kaijian, 《明清天主教史論稿：從澳門出發》 *Mingqing tianzhujiao shi lungao chubian: cong aomen chufa* [Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties: Setting off from Macau] (澳門 [Macau]: 澳門大學出版社 [University of Macau Press], 2012), pp. 25-63.

Note 22. As to the elaboration of the term *Folangji* (佛朗機), please see 戴裔煊 Dai Yixuan, 《明史佛朗機傳箋正》 *Mingshi Folangji zhuan jianzheng* [Commentaries on the Record of *Folangji* in the History of Ming] (北京 [Beijing]: 中國社會科學出版社 [Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe], 1984).

As to the Chinese knowledge of *Folangji* in the Ming dynasty, please see 沈德符 Shen Defu 《萬曆野獲編》 *Wanli yehuobian* [An unofficial History during Wanli Reign] (北京 [Beijing]: 中華書局 [Zhonghua Shuju], 1959) 卷十七 (Vol. 17), 卷二十 (Vol. 20) and 卷三十 (Vol. 30) and 張燮 Zhang Xie, 《東西洋考》 *Dongxiyang kao* [Researches into Eastern and Western Oceans] (北京 [Beijing]: 中華書局 [Zhonghua Shuju], 2000), 卷四 (Vol. 4) and 卷五 (Vol. 5).

Note 23. “且吞我屬國呂宋及咬囉吧、三寶顏、窟頭朗等處，複據我香山澳、臺灣、雞籠、淡水，以破閩粵之門戶，一旦外犯內應，將何以御？”鄒維璉 Zou Weilian, <闢邪管見錄> “Pixie guanjian lu” [Humble Opinions on Exposing Heterodoxy], in Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxieji*, p. 292.

Note 24. 此夷……至一國必壞一國，皆即其國以攻其國，歷吞已有三十餘……俱皆殺其主，奪其民。只須數人，便壓一國。此其實實可據者歟。蘇及宇 Su Jiyu, <邪毒實據> “Xiedu shiju” [True Evidence of Heterodoxy] in Xia Guiqi, ed., *Shengchao poxie ji*, p. 310.

- Note 25. Zhang Tingyu, Mingshi, “Biography 109”, Vol. 221.
- Note 26. Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuobian*, p. 755.
- Note 27. 《庚巳編，客座贅語》 *Gengsi bian, Kezuo zhuiyu* [Compilation in the year of Gengsi and superfluous words in the Parlour] 譚棣華 Tan dihua and 陳稼禾 Chen Jiahe 編 (北京 [Beijing]: 中華書局 [Zhonghua Shuju], 1987), p. 68.
- Note 28. Matteo Ricci, *Limadou zhongguo zhaji*, p. 591.
- Note 29. Alvaro Semedo, *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China*, p. 252.
- Note 30. “煽誘愚民”，“誑誘愚民”，“左道亂政”，“佯修善事，煽惑人民” 沈淮 Shen Que, <參遠夷疏> “Can yuanyi shu” [Memorial of impeaching distant barbarians], <再參遠夷疏> “Zaicun yuanyi shu” [Second memorial of impeaching distant barbarians], <參遠夷三疏> “Can yuanyi sanshu” [Third memorial of impeaching distant barbarians], in Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxie ji*, pp. 59-63.
- Note 31. Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, p. 47.
- Note 32. 《中國佛教百科全書 歷史卷》 *Zhongguo fojiao baike quanshu: lishi juan* [Encyclopedia of Chinese Buddhism: History Volume] 潘桂明 Pan Guiming 編 (上海 [Shanghai]: 上海古籍出版社 [Shanghai Guji Chubanshe], 2000).
- Note 33. 《雍正朝漢文硃批奏摺匯編》 *Yongzheng chao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* [Collected Chinese-language palace memorials of the Yongzheng reign] (北京 [Beijing]: 第一歷史檔案館, 江蘇古籍出版社 [First Historical Archives and Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe], 1989-1991), 卷二十三 [Vol. 23], p. 709.
- Note 34. 劉萍萍 Liu Pingping, <明末清初傳教士對婦女的宣教> “Mingmoqingchu chuanjiaoshi dui funv de xuanjiao” [Preaching among Chinese Women by Missionaries of the Late Ming and Early Qing Periods], 《婦女研究論叢》 *Journal of Chinese Women’s Studies*, 9(2002), p. 30.
- Note 35. Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins and Friars: Catholicity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2009), p. 305.
- Note 36. Matteo Ricci, *Limadou zhongguo zhaji*, pp. 203-204.
- Note 37. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
- Note 38. “暗招密誘，男女混雜” 黃貞 Huang Zhen, <尊儒亟鏡> “Zunru jijing” [Mirror for Honoring Confucianism], in Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxie ji*, p. 162.
- Note 39. “祖宗神主不祀，男女混雜無分，喪心乖倫莫為此甚”，Xu Shiyin, “Tixing anchasi gaoshi” in Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxieji*, p. 133.
- Note 40. “教中默置淫藥，以婦女入教為取信，以點乳按秘為皈依，以互相換淫為姻緣。示之邪術，以信其心，使死而不悔”。Su Jiayu, “Xieju shiju” in Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxie ji*, p. 180.
- Note 41. “不論已嫁未嫁，擇其有姿色者，或罰在院內洒掃挑水，或罰在院內奉侍寮氏，則任巴禮淫之矣”。黃廷師 Huang Tingshi, <驅夷直言> “Quyí zhiyan” [On exposing barbarians] in Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxie ji*, p. 176.

Note 42. “傳教士們自謂絕淫不娶，而以領聖水之妄說，誘彼愚夫愚婦私行穢鄙”。鐘始聲 Zhong Shisheng, <天學再徵> “Tianxue zaizheng” [Another Evidence of Heavenly Teaching] 《天主教東傳文獻續編》 *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* [Second Volume of the Catholic Materials in the East] (臺北 [Taipei]: 學生書局 [Student Book Company], 1965). 卷二 (Vol. 2).

Note 43. Matteo Ricci, *Limadou zhongguo zhaji*, p. 459.

Note 44. Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins and Friars: Catholicity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*, pp. 59-60.

Note 45. 吳爾成 Wu Ercheng, “<日署郎中主事吳爾成移南京都察院諮> “Rishu langzhong zhushi Wu ercheng yi nanjing duchayuan zi” [Official Communication from Wu Ercheng, head of Bureau of Reception to Nanjing Censorate] in Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxieji*, pp. 78-79.

Note 46. Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*.

Note 47. Eric Zürcher, “The Lord of Heaven and the Demons: Strange Stories from a Late Ming Christian Manuscript” in G. Naundorf and H. Schmidt, ed., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien, Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65. Geburtstag* (Würzburg, 1985), pp. 359-375.

Note 48. Zhang Qiong, “About God, Demons, and Miracles: The Jesuit Discourse on the Supernatural in Late Ming China”, in *Early Science and Medicine*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1999), p. 5.

Note 49. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Note 50. Matteo Ricci, 《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》, *Yesuhui yu Tianzhujiao jinru zhongguo shi* [Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesu e della Christianità nella Cina], 文錚 Wen Zheng 譯 (北京 [Beijing]: 商務印書館 [The Commercial Press], 2017), p. 137.

Note 51. As to the benefits of performing miracles, please see “Miracles and Miraculous Tales in Jesuit’s Mission in the Ming China”, in 《澳門歷史研究》 *Aomen lishi yanjiu*, Vol. 18 (Macau: Associa ção de Estudo de História e Cultura de Macau, 2019), pp. 397-410.

Note 52. Steve A. Smith, “Local Cadres Confront the Supernatural: The Politics of Holy Water (Shenshui) in the PRC, 1949-1966” in *The China Quarterly*, No. 01 (2006), pp. 999-1022.

Note 53. 劉九生 Liu Jiusheng, <張角符水咒說療病考> “Zhangjiao fushui zhoushuo liaobing kao” [Research on curing disease by holy water and incantation by Zhang Jiao] in 《新疆大學學報》 *Xinjiang daxue xuebao*. Journal of Xinjiang University, No. 01 (1987), pp. 77-80.

Note 54. Matteo Ricci, *Limadou zhongguo zhaji*, p. 171.

Note 55. “說既謬而又佐以邪術，凡國內之死者，皆埋巴禮院內。候五十年取其骨化火，加以妖術制為油，分五院收貯。有入其院者，將油抹其額，人遂癡癡然順之”。Huang Tingshi, “Quyì zhiyan”, in Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxie ji*, p. 176.

Note 56. 朱梅叔 Zhu Meishu, 《埋憂集》 *Maiyou ji* [Collection of Burying Sorrows] (長沙 [Changsha]: 岳麓書社 [Yuelu Shushe], 1985), pp. 244-245.

Note 57. Poo Mu-chou, Imperial Order and Local Variation: The Culture of Ghost in Early Imperial China in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 56, No. 2/4 (2003), p. 300.

Note 58. “國初以郊廟、社稷、先農俱為大祀……凡郊廟、社稷、山川諸神，皆天子親祀……洪武初，天下郡縣皆祭三皇。後罷。止令有司各立壇廟，祭社稷、風雲、雷雨、山川、城隍、孔子、旗纛、及厲。庶人祭里社、鄉厲及祖父母、父母，並得祀灶。餘俱禁止” Li Dongyang, *Daming huidian*, Vol. 81.

Note 59. “凡師巫假降邪神，書符，咒水，扶鸞，禱聖，自號端公，太保，師婆，及妄稱彌勒佛，白蓮社，明尊教，白雲宗等會，一應左道亂正之術，或隱藏圖像，燒香集眾，夜聚曉散，佯修善事，煽惑人民。為首者絞，為從者各杖一百，流三千里”。 In Huang Zhangjian, *Mingdai lvli huibian*, Vol. 11, p. 589.

Note 60. Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*, p. 115.

Appendixes

The list of 14 distinctions between Catholicism and Chinese heterodox teachings in *Xiaoluan bubingming shuo* and its English translation are as follows:

邪惡引人為惡，西教必引人向善。 一不同也。

邪教事不傍理，西教必窮理盡性以至於命。 二不同也。

邪教夜聚曉散，藏匿甚秘。 西學偏於通都大邑，卜宅無人不可見。 三不同也。

邪教所誘，皆鄉愚之最下者。 西士則與卿相諸名人遊，以其所信向而各出序頌褒美之。 四不同也。

邪教之書，皆市井俚語村，學究不屑觀。 西書有圖、有說、有原本、有譯本，每一種出，可以考三王，可以俟後聖，亦可以達。 尊而付史館，是當與三藏五千卷□是□與五部六回論邪正。 五不同也。

邪教斂錢自潤，或用以圖謀惡事。 西士皆自食其力，非禮錢一文不受。 又教人不貪非分之財，亦不得妄想非分之財。 六不同也。

邪教妄言禍福，又以術使人見依冠影像，欺人以非望之富貴。 西教但論人死後，善者得真福，惡者得真禍。 又教人輕賤世福，忍受世禍。 七不同也。

邪教男女混雜。 西士自守童貞，又教人守貞。 或守童身之貞，或守鰥寡之貞，或守一夫一婦之貞。 凡淫言、淫行、淫心，悉禁絕之。 八不同也。

邪教重人引進，各相約束。 西教不輕進人，審其能悔罪克己志定而後受之。 與人為友不為師，不受人一拜一揖。 九不同也。

邪教入門必設立重誓，所傳秘密之語，寧死不洩與教外之人。 西教明白正大，所傳經典教規人人能知之、能言之，但能守、能信者則入焉。 十不同也。

邪教必按愚俗之所便，人喜易從。 西學教人，求福必須為善，免禍必須改過；違人之便，人苦其難。 十一不同也。

邪教多以幻法托名神通以動人。 西士無求於世故，不祈動人；惟以人倫日用為宗，而究推生死去來之目，以相勸勉。 十二不同也。

邪教惟以咒禁嚇人，不容人與辯。 西學惟求人多辯，有百折而百不止者。 十三不同也。

邪教始於煽惑眾聚，究竟圖為不軌。 西教十誡中，以孝順為人道第一。 始於事父母，終於事君上，事官長如事父母，不得有違，違者為犯戒。 又以為道德忠孝節義等事而受惠難刑戮者，乃是真福。 十四不同也。

- 1) Heterodox teachings instruct people to do evil; while Catholicism exhorts people to do good deeds.
- 2) Evil teachings are impervious to heavenly nature; while western scholars exhaust themselves probing into the heavenly nature.
- 3) (Members of) heterodox teachings gather together at night and disperse at dawn, hide themselves extremely mysteriously; while western scholars prefer to live in big cities and their residences can be visited by anyone.
- 4) Those allured by heterodox teachings are all rural silly commoners; while western scholars make acquaintances with prestigious scholars who preface westerners' literatures in which they speak highly of them.
- 5) The books of heterodox teachings are all baseless inferior sayings that even school tutors from villages are contemptuous of them; while the contents of the books of western scholars include pictures and profound doctrines and each book, both original and translated version, can stand up to scrutiny. They are obviously more orthodox than Buddhist sutras and Wubu liuce (Five Instructions in Six Books, 五部六册) of the Non-Action sect.
- 6) Heterodox teachings collect money to profit themselves or to conspire to conduct malicious deeds; while western scholars are all self-reliant and do not accept money from people except for gifts. They also teach people not to covet money that does not belong to them.
- 7) Heterodox teachings groundlessly talk about weal and woe and perform sorceries to promise people the visionary wealth; while western scholars only teaching people with doctrines that the good will be granted fortune while the bad misfortune. They also teach people to neglect the secular fortune and endure secular misfortune.
- 8) Heterodox teachings allow men and women to indiscriminately mingle together; while western scholars keep virginity and teach others to keep theirs, like the virginity of children, of widowers and widows, and of monogamy. Any obscene language, behavior or desire shall be forbidden.
- 9) Heterodox teachings recruit members indiscriminately and order them restrain each other; while western teaching does not accept followers easily and only those with repentance and strong determination shall be accepted. Western scholars are more like friends rather than teachers to followers as they do not accept rituals like kowtow or bow.
- 10) Being admitted by heterodox teachings requires serious vows, and the secret languages that are taught by heterodox teachings shall never be revealed to people who do not belong to them; while the spread of western teaching is fair and square, and its doctrine can be known to everyone but only those who can keep the doctrine and act in accordance with it shall be accepted as followers.
- 11) Heterodox teachings follow the silly yet convenient custom and alter in accordance to people's preference; while western teaching teaches basic principles to conduct oneself: one must do good if they want good fortune and correct mistakes for avoid misfortune.

12) Heterodox teachings usually impress people with phantoms and illusions in the name of shentong (supernatural power); while western scholars only take human relations according to Confucian ethics as basic tenet to inquire into the ultimate purpose of life and death.

13) Heterodox teachings employ incantation to horrify people and leave no room for argument; while western scholars are keen for more debate with others.

14) Heterodox teachings start with instigating crowds and conspire rebellious acts against society; while filial piety is listed the first in the Ten Commandments when related to human relations. It is ordered that one must treat the emperors and rulers as his (her) parents and the violation of it is considered as violation of Commandments. It also admits the true fortune to martyrs who suffered and died for abiding to ethics, loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness.