

Representing Religion*

— “Chinese Religions” at the 1893 Chicago
World Parliament of Religions —

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■ 논문분야

■ 주 제 어 Religion, World Parliament of Religions, trans-lingual practice, Missionaries, China

■ 요약문

The word “宗教” (“*zongjiao*” in Chinese, and “*shûkyô*” in Japanese) has been the translation of “religion,” and, as a concept, it has drawn the attention of many scholars. After reviewing the connotation of the “Chinese religions” represented at the 1893 Chicago World Parliament of Religions, this article discusses the issue of the translation of the word “religion” in modern China.

Missionaries who went to China in the nineteenth century used “教” (*jiao*) to translate “religion.” However, as Pung Kwang Yu pointed out, it is a misunderstanding to translate the word religion as “教” because “教” in Chinese means education and civilization, while religion is a faith, and, thus, the two terms are not inter-translatable. This was not an isolated point of view among Chinese intellectuals. Missionaries also knew this.

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At the Chicago Parliament, missionaries who came from China called Christianity a religion, a word they also used to label Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, thereby injecting diverse meanings into religion. Although missionaries finally compromised by using both “*Shangdi*” (上帝) and “*Shen*” (神) concurrently to translate “God,” Henry Blodgett mentioned “*Tianzhu*” (天主) in Parliament, which indicates that no translation could be perfect, or satisfy everyone. Religion, as a term, has a definite meaning. But, as a concept, its meaning becomes vague.

I. Introduction

From May 1 to October 28, 1893, the Columbian World Exposition was held in the U.S., in the city of Chicago to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the American continent’s “discovery” by Christopher Columbus. During the exposition, many international conferences were held, but probably the most remarkable was the World Parliament of Religions. Deputies from ten different religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Taoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) gave speeches or presented articles. After the end of the Parliament, organizer John Barrows compiled these texts into two volumes for publication.¹⁾

Naturally, there have been discussions of the significance of the World Parliament of Religions for the history of religions. In U.S. religious history studies, scholars have been concerned about how American society

looked at the issue of religion. For example, Donald H. Bishop thought that American Christians took the view that in the context of a diversity of religions there were three different approaches: exclusion, inclusion and pluralism.²⁾ Richard Seager pointed out that the Parliament encouraged the birth of religious pluralism in the U.S.³⁾ In addition, scholars have also studied the Parliament from the perspective of the acceptance in the U.S. of Eastern religions.⁴⁾ In a religious study about Japan, Koichi Mori summarized the Japanese religious personages who attended the Parliament;⁵⁾ and James Edward Ketelaar discussed the influence of the Parliament on Japanese Buddhism.⁶⁾ Different from the above studies, Chen Xiyuan and Yujilo Murada noticed the essay titled *Confucianism* written by the Chinese diplomat Pung Kwang Yu, and discussed how Pung understood religion.⁷⁾

The holding of the World Parliament of Religions was somehow related to the situation of Christianity in the West. At the end of the 19th century,

1) Barrows, John H. ed. (1893), *The World's Parliament of Religions: An Illustrated and Popular Story of the World's First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893*. Vol. I. Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company, p.19.

2) Bishop, Donald H. (1969), “Religious Confrontation, A Case Study: The 1893 Parliament of Religions,” *Numen* 16:1 (April), pp.63~76; Bishop, Donald H. (1970), “America and the 1893 World Parliament of Religions,” *Encounter* 31:4 (Autumn), pp.348~371.
 3) Seager, Richard Hughes (1893), *The World's Parliament of Religions: The East/West Encounter*, Chicago; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
 4) Jackson, Carl T. (1981), *The Oriental Religions and American Thought: Nineteenth-Century Explorations*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press; Fields, Rick (1981), *How the Swans Came to the Lake*, Boulder, Colorado: Shambhala Publications.
 5) Mori, Koichi (1990), “World's Parliament of Religions: In 1893,” *Doshisha American Studies*, No.26 (March).
 6) Ketelaar, James Edward (1990), *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
 7) Chen, Xiyuan (2002), “Zongjiang: Yi Ge Zhongguo Jin Dai Wenhua Shi Shang de Guanjianci,” *New History*, No.13-4, Taipei: 2002. 12; Murada, Yujiro (2004), “Higashi Aja no Sisou Renkan: Qingmatu Chuogoku Shukyoku Gainen O Megute”; Hiroshi Mitani, *Higashiajia no Kouron Keisei*, Tokyo University Press.

evolutionism spread in Western society and impacted theology in certain ways. In the meantime, Christianity was also impacted by comparative religions, as represented by Friedrich Max Müller; one outcome the religious outlook was the rise of relativism. “Religion is the greatest fact of history.”⁸⁾ This was the first sentence written by John Barrows in the preface to the collected works of the Parliament. It implied the intention to confirm the significance of Christianity in history and reality. However, Christianity’s ordained representatives and its laity have different or even widely divergent understandings of religion, so that when we look back at the Parliament one century later, we are still faced with the same old question, “What is religion?”

I am concerned about the World Parliament of Religions for this same reason: how were “Chinese religions” represented at the Parliament? Besides Pung Kwang Yu’s *Confucianism*, there were eight other articles from China. Some of these articles were read by the authors in person and some were disseminated at the Parliament, and represented the stances of Confucianism, Taoism, and Christianity, respectively. There were also Chinese and foreign missionaries. What similarities and differences were there in the “Chinese religions” represented by them? This is worth a comprehensive review.

In recent years, the word “宗教” (“*zongjiao*” in Chinese, and “*shūkyō*” in Japanese) has been the translation of “religion,” and as a concept it has drawn the attention of many scholars. When talking about the characteristics of conceptual history research, Koselleck compared “conceptual history” with “history of ideas” in its methodology, and

8) Barrows, John H., ed., *World’s Parliament of Religions*, p.vii.

thought that a word representing an idea would remain constant while a concept could be represented by different words.⁹⁾ In my opinion, when scholars think of how “religion” came to be thus translated, we have to study which Chinese words were translated as “religion” and its related concepts. After reviewing the connotation of the “Chinese religions” represented at the Parliament, I will discuss the issue of the translation of the word “religion.”

II. Confucianism’s understanding of religion

At 10:00 a.m. September 11, when the bell of the Columbian World Exposition rang ten times, 56 deputies came onto the platform of the World Parliament of Religions in the gaze of an audience of thousands, and they enacted a seventeen-day prologue to the Parliament.

There was an episode at this opening ceremony. Since Pung’s knowledge of English was very limited, Barrows made a brief speech instead. As Barrows took the paper from Pung’s secretary, he was surprised that it was precisely the same sheet of paper which had come from the fingers of his own typewriter. He said, “As I read my own words, the people cheered and Mr.Pung bowed low.”¹⁰⁾ The group photo of the opening ceremony shows that Pung was slightly fat and short. According to Barrows, “the Honorable Pung Quang Yu, the rotund, big-headed, and

9) Koselleck, Reinhart (2002), *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

10) Barrows, Mary (1904), *John Henry Barrows: A Memoir*, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, p.285.

ever-smiling representative of the Celestial Empire. He was a man of very capacious and vigorous mind, as may be discovered from his treaties on Confucianism.”¹¹⁾ Pung was a junior official and there is little record of him. It can be confirmed that he was born in Chong’an County, Fujian Province, in 1844, and had participated in diplomatic negotiations in Korea before going to the U.S.¹²⁾

On the third day of the Parliament, it was the turn for Pung to speak. Pung’s speech was read by William Pipe. The lengthy article *Confucianism*, containing more than 30,000 words, was translated by Yong Kwai, translator of the Chinese Legation in the U.S.¹³⁾ In addition to the English version submitted to the parliament by Pung, there was also a Chinese version, entitled *Shuo Jiao*, which was submitted by the Zongli Yamen to the emperor in 1896 and published by the Imperial Tungwen College.¹⁴⁾ The Chinese version was attached with the emperor’s instructions and the report of Yang, the Chinese Ambassador in the U.S., Japan and Peru, for the emperor.

Why was it that a diplomat attended the World Parliament of Religions? It turns out that when the U.S. government had invited China to attend the Columbian World Exposition, it was refused by Li Hung Chong(Li Hongzhang), who stated, “China would have no exhibition at Chicago.”¹⁵⁾

11) Ibid., p.284.

12) Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Danganguan (1997), *Qingdai Guanyuan lili Dangan Quanbian*, Shanghai: Huadong Normal University Press, p.597.

13) Pung, Kwang Yu, “Confucianism,” in John Henry Barrows, ed., *The World’s Parliament of Religions*, pp.374~439.

14) Pung, Kwang Yu (1896), *Shuo Jiao*, Tungwen College.

15) Martin, W. A. P. “America’s Duty to China,” in John Henry Barrows, ed., *The World’s Parliament of Religions*, p.1138.

Afterwards, with the repeated invitations of Barrows, the Premier’s Office decided to assign Pung to attend the Parliament. Ambassador Yang said in his report for the emperor that Pung arrived in Chicago on August 9 to attend and stayed for nearly two months until October 1.¹⁶⁾ Pung said, “I went to America in 1886 as an envoy, and came back after the end of the Parliament in 1893.”¹⁷⁾

Pung felt great pride to in attending this Parliament, and once stressed that “I’m the first one to preach Confucianism to westerners across the ocean.”¹⁸⁾ What did Pung preach to westerners? The Chinese and English tables of contents of Pung’s speech must be looked at:

〈Table 1〉

說教	Confucianism
說教	To Rev. John Henry Barrows, D.D., Chairman of the Committee on Religious Congresses
帝教篇第一	Instruction by Rulers
師教篇第二	Instruction by A Teacher
天道篇第三	The Laws of Nature
神道篇第四	The Doctrines of Orthodox Scholars
人道篇第五	Heterodox Doctrines
儒學篇第六	The Laws of Humanity
異學篇第七	The Laws of the Spiritual World
外篇上	Supplement, part 1
外篇下	Supplement, part 2

16) “Chu Shi Mei Ri Mi Guo Dachen Yang Zou,” in Pung Kwang Yu, *Shuo Jiao*.

17) Pung, Kwang Yu, *Shuo Jiao*, 56a.

18) Ibid.

Besides the fact that the sequence of the English version's fourth to seventh chapters is wrong, the remaining part is consistent. Pung's supervisor Ambassador Yang revealed in his memorial to the throne that Pung "described the sources of China's Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism and their differences from and similarities with Christianity, and implied sarcasm against Western missionaries."¹⁹⁾ Indeed, Pung's article was divided into three parts: Part 1 discussed what was religion and whether there was religion in China from a Confucian perspective; Part 2 introduced the core Confucian thoughts; Part 3 discussed the "missionary problem" that had occurred when proselytisers went to China to preach Christianity. My paper will focus on Part 1.

Pung's English version was intended for westerners, but reference to the Chinese version, given in the accompanying notes, can help understand in what context the term "religion" was used. At the beginning of the Chinese version, Pung expressed a view completely opposite to the Parliament organizers, and called "The World Parliament of Religions" "The World Parliament on Nestorianism." The name "Nestorianism" has a specific meaning in Chinese, and refers to a branch of the Christian church, Nestorianism, that was introduced into China during the Tang Dynasty. Pung noted below the word "Nestorianism":

Nestorianism in The Nestorian Monument in China refers to ancient religion in the West, and differs from today's religion. The English name of today's religion is "Erlilijing"(爾釐利景). "Jing"(景) is used here to translate religion to be homophonic and comprehensible.²⁰⁾

19) "Chu Shi Mei Ri Mi Guo Dachen Yang Zou."

20) Pung Kwang Yu, *Sbwo Jiao*, p.1.

This paragraph is not found in the English version. Two points are noteworthy: First, Pung transliterated religion into "Erlilijing"(爾釐利景) using the pronunciation of "景"(jing) in "景教"(Nestorianism). Second, religion's translation into "Erlilijing" is not only a transliteration issue but is also one that concerns the interpretation of religion. He wrote:

Now take the word "religion," which is the subject under discussion. Toward the close of the Ming Dynasty, the Europeans in China used the word "kao" in the sense of Religion. But "kao" signifies properly "to teach," if used as a verb, or "instruction" if used as a noun.²¹⁾

Pung pointed out that Europeans translated religion as "kao"(Jiao) at the end of the Ming Dynasty, which was a mistranslation, because "kao" is the verb "teach" or the noun "instruction" in Chinese, and is different from religion as used by Europeans. He thought that this misunderstanding was related to Buddhists, Taoists and even Mohammedans. He wrote:

Even the term "Yu kao 儒教" or Confucian school, is employed only by the Taoists and Buddhists to distinguish the established system of instruction founded upon the principles of social relation, from their own systems of belief, which they call "Tao-kao" and "Foh-kao" respectively, by prefixing the word "yu" to the general term "kao." To these three systems of doctrine they sometimes give the name of "San-kao," or three systems of instruction. But Confucians refer to the two sects only as "heterodox system of doctrine."

21) Pung, "Confucianism," p.375: "按此會所議者, 於英文為爾釐利景(阿依而爾釐利景). 明末歐羅巴人誤為華文, 曰教者是也. 然華文教字之義, 虛字, 為英文題赤(梯依愛西贈, 安字為英文音司黠慮克慎請恩司梯阿尤西梯請高恩)." (*Sbwo Jiao*, 3a.).

Mohammedans call the Confucian system of doctrine “ta-kao,” or the great system of instruction. All these terms, however, can be traced to those who desire to separate themselves by a distinctive name from the general body of the people. They are not of Chinese origin. The only term that is of a Chinese origin is “li-kao,” or the proper system of instruction.²²⁾

Since Confucianism is not a religion, then is there religion in China at all? Pung's answer is negative. He continued:

I find “religion,” as defined by Webster, to be “the recognition” of God as an object of worship, love and obedience, or right feelings towards God as rightly apprehended,” “prophet” to be “a person illuminated, inspired or instructed by God to speak in his name or announce future events,” and “priest” to be “one who officiates at the altar, or performs the rites of sacrifice, hence, one who acts as a mediator between men and the divinity of gods,” pastors, ministers, missionaries being only different names for persons who perform functions quite similar to those of a priest. Now according to these definitions, “religion” has its proper Chinese equivalent in the word “Chuh.” As for those persons who can foretell the future events, they can find their associates in China in those who are versed in sooth-saying.²³⁾

22) Pung, “Confucianism,” p.375: “即儒教之名，亦由佛老之徒自稱為佛教 道教 遂於綱常禮教加以儒名，稱為三教 儒者但謂二氏為異學，回教人又稱儒教為大教 皆若輩立名所以自別，非中國本有此異名，中國禮教一而已矣”(Sbuo Jiao, 3a-b.).

23) Pung, “Confucianism,” pp.375~376: “餘考英文字書，解爾釐利景為教人順神拜神愛神，誠心事真神之理也。其人能知神事神言，著書立說，言未來事者，曰樸羅肺特(披阿窩披贈衣梯，譯曰先知師，或曰祭司)，能祝神及代人致祝者，曰樸釐司特(披阿窩依司梯，譯曰神甫)，曰帕司特爾(披愛司梯窩阿，譯曰牧司)，或曰彌泥司特爾(姆講恩講司梯依阿，譯曰教士)，或曰彌森訥爾來(姆講司司講窩恩愛阿 譯曰教士)。然則爾釐利景於華文當稱為巫，樸羅肺特，樸釐司特，帕司特爾，彌泥司特爾，彌森訥爾來諸名於華文當稱為祝，而預知未來事者，於華文

In Pung's eyes, religion is witchery, and is called “Chuh”(zhu) when applied to shamans, who were popular during the Han Dynasty. He further said that the genesis myth and religious thought of Christianity are similar to those of Taoism and Buddhism.

When Europeans first made their way into China, toward the close of the Ming Dynasty, they found it difficult to hit upon a proper Chinese word for God. They made use of the terms “Shang-Ti”(Ruler of the upper Religions), “Shen”(Spirit), “Chan Shen”(True Spirit), “Tuh-i-chi-Shen”(Only Spirit). Sometimes they merely translated the word “pater” and “Jehovah” by means of Chinese character. In their worship they made use of images. They had certain tradition on the subject of cosmogony. Their religious beliefs seemed to bear a strong resemblance to those held by Buddhist and Taoist priests.²⁴⁾

Pung finally pointed out:

There are some western scholars who say that the system of doctrines of Confucius cannot be properly called a Religion, and there are others who say that China has not Religion of her own. That the ethical systems of Confucius be called a Religion may be admitted without fear of contradiction, but that China has not Religion of her own must be taken as not well founded in fact.²⁵⁾

又當稱為——之學矣”(Sbuo Jiao, 3b-4a.).

24) Pung, “Confucianism,” p.376: “又考英文高德(基窩諦)，明季歐羅巴人譯為華文，曰上帝，曰神，曰真神，曰獨一之神，有名曰帕特爾(披愛梯依阿)，又名耶和華(再依贈窩靈愛贈)，有圖像，有創世紀，與佛老巫祝者為近”(Sbuo Jiao, 4a-4b).

25) Pung, “Confucianism,” pp.378~379: “近世西國承學之士，有謂孔子非爾釐利景者，有謂中國無爾釐利景者，謂孔子非爾釐利景，是矣，謂中國無爾釐利景殊非”(Sbuo Jiao, 5b).

It can be seen that in Pung's mind, Confucianism was higher than all religions, and religion per se is folk shamanism and at more or less equivalent to Buddhism and Taoism. Pung stressed at the end of the article that Christianity was only one of various schools of thought in China and Asia, and the reason for continual disputes of Christianity in China was that "the foreign missionaries that have for the past thirty years labored in China have come into contact only with the lowest element of Chinese society." "They make no attempt to study the political institutions and educational principles of the Chinese people, and aim only to carry out their own notions of what is right."²⁶⁾ This was the general view of the Qing government about missionaries in the 19th century.

At the World Parliament of Religions, Pung's article had considerable significance because he pointed out that "kao" in Chinese was not religion, and Confucianism was not a religion. In the translation of religion, he created the new noun "Erlilijing"(爾利景) on the basis of both transliteration and a free translation that used poetic license. In the deeper layers of his mind, the so-called World Parliament of Religions was but a parliament of "Christianity." He was "the other," who represented the stance of Confucianism to this parliament of Christianity.

III. Translated Confucianism and Taoism

The collected works compiled by John Barrows included two articles

marked "prize essay": one was Kong Xianhe's *Confucianism*,²⁷⁾ and the other was the titled *Taoism*.²⁸⁾ When we trace the origins of the two articles, we learn that the former was *Ru Lun(Confucianism)* by Kung Hisen Ho of Shanghai,²⁹⁾ and the latter was *Dao Jiao Lun(Taoism)* by Li Baoyuan from Zhenjiang,³⁰⁾ which were published in *Wang Kaob Kung Pao (WanGuoGongBao, A Review of the Times)* run by missionaries in Shanghai. At the end of *Ru Lun*, Timothy Richard(1845~1919), the English translator and a missionary of the English Baptist Mission, added a translation note:

The World Exposition in Chicago was an unprecedented event that exhibited various things. It was held in memory of the great achievement made by Spanish Columbus in his first arrival in America, which laid a foundation for the 4-century history of America. No one equals him in reputation was insurmountable. At the parliament, different countries will not only show their handiworks but also introduce their important religions. Before that, the organizers sent me a letter, hoping that I could ask famous intellectuals to write articles on Confucianism and Taoism, translate good ones into English and send them to the parliament for discussion. Many good articles were received. After I read through these articles, I asked two friends to help select the championship and second one, which have been published

26) Pung, "Confucianism," p.434: "專與下愚細民為緣, 不察中國政俗"(*Sbuo Jiao*, 48a).

27) Kung Hisen Ho, "Confucianism," in John Henry Barrows, ed., *World's Parliament of Religions*, pp.596~604.

28) "Taoism, A Prize Essay," in John Henry Barrows, ed., *World's Parliament of Religions*, pp.1355~1358.

29) Kung Hisen Ho (1893), "Ru Lun," *Wang Kaob Kung Pao(A Review of the Times)*, No.54., 1893.7.

30) Li Baoyuan (1893), "Dao Jiao Lun," *Wang Kaob Kung Pao(A Review of the Times)*, No.55., 1893.8.

on Shun Pao(Shanghai News).³¹⁾

Timothy Richard explained the origin of the two articles clearly. At that time, Dr. Allen, chief editor of *Wang Kaob Kung Pao* returned to the U.S. for furlough, and Dr. Edkins, the other sinologist working for this newspaper, was in Europe.³²⁾ Richard translated the two articles after his takeover of the editor's position. The two articles won a prize because they expressed the core elements of Confucianism and Taoism concisely, and also because they reflected what the missionary Richard knew about Confucianism and Taoism. The translation of the two articles brings out the issue of re-creation through translation.

Confucianism appeared on the fifth day of the Parliament, but the author Kung was not present. The subject matter of Kung's article was the same as Pung's; it was to publicize the importance that Confucianism attaches to ethics. However, its mood and representation differed greatly. He wrote at the beginning, "The most important thing in the superior man's learning is to fear disobeying heaven's will. Therefore, in our Confucian religion the most important thing is to follow the will of heaven"³³⁾ Then, he began to demonstrate the vitality of Confucianism in its relationship with the Confucian classics and Chinese history, pointing out:

31) Kung Hisen Ho, "Ru Lun."

32) Richard, Timothy (1924), *Forty-Five Years in China*(London, 1916), p.222; William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, London, pp.175~176.

33) Kung Hisen Ho, "Confucianism," p.596: "君子之學, 首在畏天命, 故吾儒之學, 首在承天命"("Ru Lun").

That is what has caused Confucianism to be transmitted from the oldest times till now, and what constitutes its superiority to other religions is that it does not encourage mysteries and strange things or marvels. It is impartial and upright. It is a doctrine of great impartiality and strict uprightness, which one may body forth in one's person and carry out with vigor in one's life. Therefore we say, when the sun and moon come forth (as in Confucianism), then the light of candles can be dispensed with.³⁴⁾

By comparing the Chinese and English versions, we learn that although Timothy Richard translated the original text literally, nevertheless, there are some problems. Two paragraphs are chosen here for observation, and the pertinent words are underscored.

〈Table 2〉

程子曰: 鬼 <u>神</u> 者天地之功用, 而造化之跡也。朱子曰: 以二氣言, 則 <u>鬼</u> 者陰之靈也, <u>神</u> 者陽之靈也, 以一氣言, 則至而伸者為 <u>神</u> , 反而歸者為 <u>鬼</u> 。	Cheng Tsze says the <u>spirits</u> are the forces or servants of Heaven and earth, and signs of creative power. Chu Fu Tsze says: "Speaking of two powers, the <u>demons</u> are the intelligent ones of Yin, the <u>gods</u> are the intelligent ones of Yang; speaking of one power, the supreme and originating is called <u>God</u> , the reverse and the returning is <u>Demon</u> ."
中庸引孔子曰: <u>鬼</u> <u>神</u> 之為德, 弗其盛矣乎? 視之而弗見, 聽之而弗聞, 體物而不可遺, 使天下之人, 齊明誠服, 以承祭祀, 洋洋乎如在其上, 如在其	The Chung Yung, quoting Confucius, says: "The power of the <u>spirits</u> is very great! You look and cannot see them, you listen and cannot hear them, but they are embodied in all things without missing any, causing all men to reverence them and be purified, and be well

34) Kung Hisen Ho, "Confucianism," p.604: "而儒之所以 於古今, 勝於他教者, 則以不為索隱行怪, 無偏無倚, 皆大中至正之道, 可以身體而力行, 所謂日月而出而燭火之光自息也"("Ru Lun").

左右, 鬼神之情狀如此。所以易重卜筮, 取決於鬼神, 知鬼神實天地之氣, 雖無形而有氣, 若難憑而易知。特世間之大聖大賢忠臣義士孝子節婦, 秉天地浩然之正氣, 生而為英, 設而為神, 其氣歷久不散, 能有功於世。	adorned in order to sacrifice unto them.” All things are alive as if the <u>gods</u> were right above our heads or on our right hand and the left. Such being the <u>gods</u> , therefore the Yih King makes much of divining to get decision from the <u>gods</u> , knowing that the <u>gods</u> are the forces of Heaven and earth in operation. Although unseen, still they influence; if difficult to prove, yet easily known. The great sages and great worthies, the loyal ministers, the righteous scholars, the filial sons, the pure women of the world, having received the purest influences of the divinest forces of Heaven and earth, when on earth were heroes, when dead are the gods. Their influences continue for many generations to affect the world for good, therefore many venerate and sacrifice unto them.
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It can be seen from above that Timothy Richard chose different words to translate “神”(shen), “鬼神”(gui shen) and “鬼”(gui). *Shen* was translated as God, gods or spirits; *guishen* as gods or spirits; and *gui* as demons. This flexible translation expressed the translator’s understanding of Confucian terms in different contexts. This was also reflected in his understanding of religion. Consider the checklist of certain terms concerning religious practices and ideas.

〈Table 3〉

故吾儒之學, 首在承天命。	Therefore, in our Confucian religion the most important thing is to follow the will of Heaven.
中庸所謂修道之為教也。	The Chung Yung calls the practice of wisdom religion.
吾儒既深知天命, 故其視天下一家。	Our religion well knows Heaven’s will, it looks on all under Heaven as one family.
辭讓之心, 禮之端也。	a yielding disposition is the beginning of religion.
若仁又包夫義禮智。	As to benevolence, it also includes righteousness

	religion and wisdom.
(孔子)刪詩書, 定禮樂, 贊周易, 修春秋, 而言治國。	(Confucius) edited the odes and the history, reformed religion, made notes on the “Book of Changes,” wrote the annals of spring and autumn, and spoke of governing the nation.
自后, 雖時代變更, 斯道昭於天壤。	After this, although the ages changed this, religion flourished.
朱子集其成, 斯道燦然大明。	Chu Fu-Tsze collected their works and this religion shone with great brightness.
曠覽歷代, 其關係於治國而他教不能勝之處, 亦有明驗。	On looking at it down the ages there is also clear evidence of results in governing the country and its superiority to other religions.
漢興, 雖尚黃老, 然百姓苦秦之暴久, 故易於為治, 叔孫通之制禮, 故不足重, 而經籍之發明, 多由漢之諸儒。	Then the Han dynasty arose (B.C.206~A.D.220). Although it leaned towards Taoism, the people, after having suffered so long from the cruelties of the Tsin, were easily governed. Although the religious rites of the Shu Sun-tung do not command our confidence, the elucidation of the ancient classics and books we owe mostly to the Confucianists of the Han period.
明太祖立, 定禮制樂, 号称太平。	When the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty (A.D.1368~1644) arose, and reformed the religion and ritual of the Empire, he called it the great peaceful dynasty.

It can be seen from the above text that religion, as used by Timothy Richard, had three characteristics: First, it refers to an ideological system; second, it refers to “禮”(Li) or “禮樂”(Li Yue)—institutions; third, it refers to “修道”(Xiu Dao)—the way of practicing a faith.

Wang Kaob Kung Pao published *Taojiao lun* soon after *Ru lun*. The English translation of *Taojiao lun* was put in the “scientific section” of the collected works. Compared to the Chinese version, the English version was very simple; it was a selected translation of the original text.

At the beginning of *Taoism*, the author complained about the decline of

Taoism, “Alas, why has our religion declined to this situation today?”³⁵⁾ This question was not found in the English version at all, which read, “Taoism and Confucianism are the oldest religions of China. Taoism originated with the originator of all religions.” When did Taoism begin to decline? The English version read, “Chang Lu used charms in his teaching, and employed fasting, prayer, hymns and incantations to obtain blessings and repel calamities; and Taoism’s fundamental doctrines had utterly disappeared.”³⁶⁾ This text differed slightly from the original Chinese text, but had the same meaning. Let’s look at how Timothy translated religion below.

〈Table 4〉

惟吾教与儒教爲最先.	Taoism and Confucianism are the oldest religions of China.
吾教起初實創於元始. 一再傳之老聃, 老聃生於東周時, 爲柱下史.	Taoism originated with the originator of all religions. He transmitted it to Lao-tsze, who was born in the Chow dynasty (about B.C.604), was contemporary with Confucius, and kept the records.
考漢志所錄, 道家三十七部, 神仙家十部, 本不相同.	In the Han dynasty Taoism had thirty-seven books and the genii religion ten. These are different at first.
吾教中有好異者, 以爲清靜無爲之說 不足動人之聽聞, 乃以修煉內丹外丹諸術, 以炫耀其奇靈.	Taoism ceased to think purity and peaceableness sufficient to satisfy men, it became the genii religion (magic and spiritualism), though still called Taoism.
何謂承天命? 盖道之大原出於天, 人身一小天地也. 稟陰陽二氣以生.	What does Taoism mean by the phrase, carry out heaven’s will? It means that heaven is the first cause of religion, that man is produced by two forces, Yin and Yang.

35) Li Baoyuan, “Dao Jiao Lun.”

36) “及魯立教, 以符錄祈禱教人; 北魏寇謙之等又以齊醮章兄求福禳災, 怪誕支離, 每況愈下, 而吾教中之宗旨全非矣”(“Dao Jiao Lun”).

真心學道之人, 養其性, 存其神, 斂其氣, 收其心.	Those who really study religion, cultivate their spiritual nature, preserve their souls, gather up their spiritual force, and watch their hearts.
又吾教中微妙之造詣 有非他教中所能及者.	Comprehension of the hereafter is one of the mysteries in which no religion can equal Taoism.
綜論吾教之興衰, 知道家與神仙家已合爲一.	Taoism and the genii religion have deteriorated.
誠有一人焉, 以振興吾教爲己任.	Oh! That one would arise to restore our religion.

Here, “吾教” and “道”(Taoism) are translated as a religion, and religion refers generally to Taoism. In addition, besides religion, there is also a translated term “genii(genie) religion,” referring to “alchemists” and “immortals,” that are lower than religion. The author thought that Taoism began to fall since the Han Dynasty and turned from a religion to a genie religion. Through his translation, Confucianism and Taoism as seen by Western Christians were systems of thought located between spiritual faith and atheism.

IV. Chinese religions represented by missionaries

The collected works of the Parliament included articles by six missionaries from China—Issac T. Headland, W. A. P. Martin, George T. Candlin, Y. K. Yen, Ernest Faber, and Henry Blodgett. The articles of the first four were discussed in the formal agenda of the Parliament, and the latter two articles were compiled into the scientific section in abstracts, and seemingly not included in the agenda. In addition, I cannot confirm whether all six missionaries were present. In fact, some missionaries visited

the exposition but did not attend the World Parliament of Religions, an example of which was the missionary Calvin W. Mateer. It is said that he stayed at the exposition for nearly one month.³⁷⁾ How the six missionaries represented Chinese religions according to the use of the word “religion” should be looked at.

On the eighth day of the Parliament, Issac Headland, professor of Peking University, made a report titled “Religion in Peking.”³⁸⁾ The author used “religion” twice in his article to refer generally to all religions of China, especially the four major religions of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism. The author said at the beginning that foreigners made a great mistake by thinking that China was too poor to support Christianity. In fact, without regard to the four major Chinese religions, Headland felt that anyone who takes a glance at any town or village could see that there is sufficient reason to believe that “whatever the Chinese want to do, they have enough ability to do that.” There were poor people everywhere in Peking City, and 400 were frozen to death outside of Qianmen (one of the great city gates) last winter. However, there was more than mere poverty: the number of temples in Peking was more than that of the churches in Chicago. There were giant Lamaist, Confucian, and Taoist temples, and even twenty-one mosques; in addition were the state sites, such as the Temple of the Sun, the Temple of the Moon, and the Temple of Agriculture. Headland also mentioned Biyun Temple and the Miaofeng Mountain especially. He thought that Chinese temples were built luxuriously while monks were remained beggars. One thing is

37) Fisher, Daniel W. (1911), *Calvin Wilson Mateer: Forty-Five Years A Missionary in Shantung, China*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.

38) Headland, Issac T. “Religion in Peking,” pp.1019~1023.

noticeable to people who pass through the country villages. The houses were all built of bud, mud wall, mud roof paper, windows, and a dirt floor. But no matter how poor the people may be, nor what the character of their houses, the village temple made of good brick. By quoting the estimate of missionary Mateer, he thought that the Chinese spent about US\$120 million on ancestral worship per annum, which was a great waste.

The famous article by W. A. P. Martin(1827~1916) appeared at a symposium on the thirteenth day; it was titled “America’s Duty to China.”³⁹⁾ As the title indicates, this president of the Imperial Tungwen College showed something different from the other missionaries. Aiming at the rift in China-U.S. relations that arose from the “Chinese Exclusion Act,” he proposed that “China is our neighbor,” and the U.S. had a duty to China, which was just where American interests lay. He finally appealed to “Let a wise diplomacy supersede these obnoxious enactments by a new convention which shall be fair to both parties; then will our people be welcomed as friends, and America may yet recover her lost influence in that great Empire of East.”⁴⁰⁾

As a missionary of the Presbyterian Church, Martin thought that “it is unnecessary to stop to prove that religion is our chief good” at this Parliament of Religions. In his article, he described his view about Chinese religions in the following way. The “religion” that he used referred generally to all religions. However, when designating Christianity, the author thought it to be beyond the Chinese religions. For Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, he made concise comments. About Confucianism, he described a Chinese professor in the Imperial Tungwen College, a

39) Martin, W. A. P., “America’s Duty to China,” pp.1137~1144.

40) Ibid., p.1144.

mathematics professor proficient in Western learning. “He was a Confucian and believed in an over-ruling power, which he called “Shang-Ti” or “Tien.” He also had some slim notion of a life to come, as evidenced by his worship of ancestors; but his religion, such as it was, was woefully wanting in vitality, and marked by that Sadduceean indifference which may be taken as the leading characteristic of his school despite the excellence of its ethical system. For Taoism, he differentiated Laozi from Taoism, and thought that “Lao Tse did indeed express some sublime truths in beautiful language.” “His followers have become sadly degenerate; and not to speak of alchemy, which they continue to pursue, their religion has dwindled into a compound of necromancy and exorcism.” About Buddhism, he said, “Buddhism has a nobler record.” However, “Its priesthood has lapsed into such a state of ignorance and corruption that in Chinese Buddhism there appears to be no possibility of revival.” Displaying a knowledge of Japanese Buddhism, Martin emphasized that the latter “appears to be more wide-awake.” Finally, he summed up, “The religion of the state is a heterogeneous cult, made up of ceremonies borrowed from each of these three systems.” “To the august character of Shang-Ti, the Supreme Ruler, known but neglected, feared but not loved, Christianity will add the attraction of a tender Father, bringing him into each heart and house in lieu of the fetishes now enshrined there.” By the time of the publication of this article, Martin had lived in China for over 40 years. His aforementioned views about the three Chinese religions are expressed in greater detail in his works. The basic views about Taoism and Buddhism in this report were from his famous work *Hanlin Papers*.⁴¹⁾

41) Martin, W. A. P., *Hanlin Papers*(London and Shanghai, 1880), pp.126~162.

On the fifteenth day, missionary George T. Candlin(1853~1924) from the British Methodist Church in Peking made a speech.⁴²⁾ Although this missionary was dressed in the Confucian style and arrived from China, his speech had little to do with China, and his main aim was to appeal to different Christian organizations to be united in their common aims. He thought that, “Religion wherever we find it makes appeal to the human conscience, addresses itself to the faculty of worship and makes a stand, effective or ineffective, against evil. However ineffective, to make the attempt at all is better than to let the flood roll irresistibly. China is better than Africa because she has better religions. China without Confucius would have been immeasurably worse than China with Confucius.” Candlin had some positive thoughts about Confucianism, but emphasized that Confucianism endowed an external force of integration only to the Chinese Empire: “P’ing T’ien Hsia”—to pacify all under heaven, while what Christianity was going to bring to China was not external peace but a Christendom that believed in itself as a religion and not as a national agenda.

On the seventeenth day of the Parliament, the Chinese priest Y. K. Yen from Shanghai also talked about his views about Chinese religions in an essay.⁴³⁾ He used “religion” nine times in total, and thought that Chinese religions included Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, which could be combined into one religion called “national religion.” He said:

Under the providence of God, this religion has fulfilled a very important function in the civilization of our country. It has kept alive in our people the

42) Candlin, George T., “The Bearing of Religious Unity on the Work of Christian Missions,” pp.1179~1191.

43) Yen, Y. K., “What Has Christianity Done for the Chinese?,” pp.1311~1312.

ideas of God, of the evil of sin, of retribution, of the need of pardon, of the existence of the soul, and has given all the blessings which flow from these ideas, Like the law of the Jews, though in a less degree, it has been a schoolmaster leading our people to Christ. The relation of Christianity to our National religion is the same as its relation to natural religion in general. It comes not to destroy, but to fulfill.

This suggests that the national religion of China has accomplished its historical mission. Yen thought that Christianity's significance for China had two aspects: First, spiritual and moral benefits. Spiritually, the idea of God given us by the National religion is vague and rudimentary, and being left to itself has degenerated into the grossest materialism. Christianity can bring new ideas about God to China, from the coarseness of earth to the spirituality of heaven. Yen thought that Christianity could improve the sense of morality of the Chinese, and change the lack of mutual trust and the discrimination against women. Indeed, certain issues have arisen in the political and social life of China because "the religion which has shaped our character is surely amiss." Second, there are ideological and material benefits. Chinese education is a learning about ancient times and lacks knowledge about human welfare. The Christian church introduced western "liberal sciences," published many books, and also popularized medicine by running 105 hospitals in China(1890).

The German missionary Ernest Faber(1839~1899) from Shanghai wrote the article *The Genesis and Development of Confucianism* for the Parliament.⁴⁴⁾ The original text was titled "Confucianism," but as included

44) Faber, Ernest, "Genesis and Development of Confucianism," pp.1350~1353.

in the collected works the article was shortened by the editors. After Faber died, P. Kranz found the original text and included it in the republished work.⁴⁵⁾ According to Kranz, Faber read this article on an occasion before the Parliament.

Ernest Faber came to China in 1865, and gained fame among missionaries for his views on China and the West as shown in his *Civilization*, serialized in *Wang Kaob Kung Pao* during 1879~1883.⁴⁶⁾ This serial was compiled into a volume and published in Hong Kong in 1884 under the same title. The book proposes ways of improvement from the perspective of Christianity, based on comparing the advantages and disadvantages of Chinese and Western civilizations, and believes that the root problem is Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. "These three religions are not clear about the foundation of worship at all, so that they make people so uncultured."⁴⁷⁾ In his book, Ernest Faber did not use the word "zongjiao/religion." However, what he discussed was related to religion.

In his article, Faber discussed the religious factors of Confucianism, factors that he dated back to many centuries before the birth of Confucius. Pre-Confucianism included, "Mankind was regarded as subject to a superior power called Heaven, the supreme ruler(Shang-ti), or God(Ti). Under him many minor deities ruled as ministering spirits over lesser or larger spheres." "Under the Chow dynasty(B.C.1123?), ancestor-worship

45) Faber, Ernest (1902), *A Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius*, translated from the German by P. G. von Möllendorff, second edition (The General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society of Germany), pp.100~115.

46) Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China*, pp.219~220. William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, pp.174.

47) Hua Zi An (2002), *Zi Xi Cu Dong*, Shanghai Shudian Press, p.225.

became the most prominent religious service.” Finally, he pointed out that the ideals of Confucius and Mencius were not realized in China, and the gods worshiped in the temples were not advocated by them.

The last article related to China in the collected works was written by missionary Henry Blodgett(1825~1903) of the America Board from Peking.⁴⁸⁾ It outlined the Chinese translation of the much disputed “holy name” (Elohim, Theos, God) among missionaries in China. About this issue, Protestant missionaries were divided into two schools since the beginning of the nineteenth century, in which one, composed mainly of British missionaries, thought this should be translated into “Shang-Ti,” as recorded in ancient Chinese books; and the other, composed mainly of American missionaries, thought it could only be translated as “Shen.” Blodgett once translated the Bible together with Mateer et al., and knew quite a bit about this issue. He wrote:

At present there are three ways of representing the word God in translation of the Scriptures into Chinese, and large editions are published with each. One has used Shen, which many Protestant and all Roman and Greek missionaries use for Spirit when speaking of the Holy Spirit. Another uses Shang-Ti, which the Roman Catholics after long controversy rejected as inconsistent with doctrinal purity, and to which the Greek Church does not use. The third way is to use Tien-Chu, which is used by the Latin and Greek Churches.

48) Henry Blodgett, “Why Protestant Missionaries in China Should Unite in Using *Tien-Chu* for God,” pp.1378~1379.

For the above three views, Blodgett thought that the experience of eighty-years since Dr. Morrison had proven that Shen was insufficient as a translation. In addition, the word “Shang-Ti” had always been the name of the chief object of worship in the national cult. Finally, he thought that “Tien-Chu” should be used for the following reason:

No word in Chinese language has more of religious reverence attached to it than Tien(Heaven). To this Chu(Lord) has been added by Christianity to make it personal, and to show that not the creature, but the Creator of all is to be worshiped. Thus Tien-Chu will ever stand in Chinese as a protest against nature worship, and significant of the true God.

Thus, Blodgett did not use “Shen” for the holy name like most American missionaries, but echoed Matteo Ricci, who went to China at the end of the Ming dynasty. However, over many years of controversy, the translations “Shen” and “Shang-ti” had become two parallel views in the world of missionary work, and were alternative translations in different versions of the Bible. Blodgett could no longer arouse a wave of controversy.

Through the preceding overview of the six missionaries’ articles, what conclusion can be arrived at? First, as to whether there was religion in China and whether the Chinese had a religious mind, the six missionaries thought there was religion in China and that the Chinese did have a religious mind. However, with the exception of the ethical function of Confucianism, they gave poor grades to China’s own Confucianism directly or indirectly based on their Christian points of view. Some stressed that Confucianism and Taoism deviated from the religious spirit of ancient

times. In addition, whether there is any similarity between the Chinese religions and Christianity was also a common concern of missionaries in China, because this determined whether their missionary work could be carried out successfully. At the Parliament, the favorable comments of Martin, Candlin, and others on Confucianism reflected this inclination. However, there were some differences among the missionaries as to how to translate the Bible by means of Confucian concepts. Blodgett's article shows that even if the missionaries compromised on the translation of "God" as "Shang-Ti" and "Shen", there was an irremediable gap between different religions—that being monotheism versus polytheism.

V. From religion to *Zongjiao*

On September 27, the seventeenth day, the World Parliament of Religions ended. Whatever people may think of the Parliament, its significance for the history of religious thought must be noted whether or not any substantial exchanges were made among the different religions, the participants were brought into contact with the existence of others besides themselves. J. W. von Goethe once said, "He who knows one, knows none."

From the comparative religion perspective, what messages did "Chinese religions" send at the Chicago Parliament?

As we know, missionaries who went to China in the nineteenth century used "教" (*jiao*) to translate "religion." Robert Morrison used "教丁" or "教" in *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, and translated the "Three Instructions" of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism as "The three

religions in China," and "教主" as a founder or head of a religion; Christianity became Catholicism, or Western religion.⁴⁹⁾ Later, W.H. Medhurst, *An English and Chinese Dictionary*,⁵⁰⁾ and Wilhelm Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary*,⁵¹⁾ followed the same translation strategy. However, as Pung pointed out, it is a misunderstanding to translate religion as "教," because "教" in Chinese means education and civilization, while religion is a faith, thus the two terms are not inter-translatable. This was not an isolated point of view among Chinese intellectuals. In 1899, famous translator Yan Fu commented when translating A. Michie's *Missionaries in China*(1892), "Religion is to believe in Heaven or God and all inapprehensible things before birth and after death." "Therefore it is obvious that Confucianism in China cannot be referred to as a religion together with Taoism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Nestorianism."⁵²⁾ Missionaries also knew this. For example, Rev. John Ross pointed out in *Our Attitude Towards Confucianism* in 1887 that:

Confucianism is usually designated a religion. It is, however, open to question whether Confucius himself would have been willing to accept this term in our sense of it as a correct classification of his system. The term seems to have been adopted from the fact that Confucianism is called with Buddhism and Taoism the Three Chiao of China. But the term means, not

49) Morrison, Robert(1815~1823), *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, Honorable East India Company's Press.

50) Medhurst, W. H.(1842~1843), *A English and Chinese Dictionary*, Mission Press, Shanghai.

51) Lobscheid, Wilhelm(1866~1869), *English and Chinese Dictionary*, Hong kong: Daily Press Office.

52) Yan Fu, "Zhina Jiao An Lun"(A. Michie, *Missionaries in China Yan Fu Ji*, 4. Zhonghua Press), p.850.

“religion,” but “instruction,” a “system of teaching.”

Ross thought, “We therefore desire to classify Confucianism not with the religion but with the moral systems of the world.”⁵³⁾

It is interesting that after realizing that “教” could not be translated as “religion,” Pung transliterated religion as “爾釐利景”(Erlilijing). From the perspective of word construction, its meaning is “making clear and being good to Nestorius.” The “景”(Jing) here refers to “Nestorianism.” Pung’s understanding of religion is a Confucian one and is limited to Christianity. This is not unique. In the early twentieth century, when translating *Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Yan Fu wrote that, “Religion referred to in Western countries today is ‘魯黎禮整’(Lulilizheng). Its original meaning is the same as ‘proclamation’ to Buddhism. Therefore, any religion so called in the world must be related to demons and spirits, and there must be compulsory disciplines in litanies in order to unite and constrain followers.”⁵⁴⁾ The Chinese meaning of “魯黎禮整” is to “impose etiquette on those uncivilized to regulate them”; In Confucianism, “禮”(Li) and “整”(Zheng) have implications of “civilizing.” It is meaningful that unlike the standpoints of Pung and Yan, Kang Youwei emphasized that Confucianism was a religion and used the transliteration “釐利盡”(Li-li-jin), which means “to remove all interests.” He said, “‘釐利盡’ means the ability to set a tenet to call on followers.”⁵⁵⁾ This word has a

53) Ross, Rev. John (1887), “Our Attitude Towards Confucianism,” *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* Vol.18, No.1, January, p.4.

54) Yan Fu, “Yuan Fu,” Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1901~1902, Shanghai Nanyang Gongxue, *Yan Fu Ji*, 4, p.910.

55) *Kang You Wei Qaunji* 4, p.36.

tinge of Confucian thinking.

It can be seen that since “教”(instruction) means education and civilization in Confucianism, it cannot be commensurable with religion. Even if they realized this, Pung’s “爾釐利景” and Yan’s “魯黎禮整,” which used transliteration, still implied religion with Confucian concepts. Thus, it is not strange that Kang Youwei, who wanted to create Confucianism by imitating Christianity, chose “釐利盡.” In fact, whether people approve of the linguistic linking of “教” and “religion,” they have to use “教” to translate religion. In Timothy’s translation, we not only see how missionaries translated Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism as religions, but also see that what was sometimes translated as religion was in fact simply the “禮” or “禮樂” that stemmed from ancient Confucianism and referred to court(and also broader) institutions of hierarchic symbols and regularized music and choreographic formations used at state services.

Translating “religion” as “教” is inaccurate from the perspective of Confucianism, and the conversion from instruction to religion involves the special term “Buddhism,” as explained next. It is generally thought that “宗教”(religion, *shūkyō*) emerged as a new term soon after the 1868 Meiji Restoration, and was generally accepted in the 1880s.⁵⁶⁾ It can be seen from a comparison of several versions of *A Japanese and English Dictionary* that the first(1867) and second(1872) editions used “教”(kyō), “法”(bō) and “道”(michi, dō), and the term “宗教” was not added until the third edition(1886).⁵⁷⁾ The term “宗教” originated from Chinese Buddhist

56) Tetsujirou, Inoue (1882), *Tetsugaku Jikai*, Tokyo University, p.77.

57) *A Japanese and English Dictionary, With an English and Japanese Index by James Curtis Hepburn* (Rutland, Vt.: C. E. Tuttle, 1867, 1872, 1886).

classics and means tenet or school. Inoue Tetsujiro, a professor at Tokyo University and a founder of the science of religion in modern Japan, stressed this very clearly. Indeed, not only was religion understood through Buddhist concepts in early Meiji Japan, but also “宗教” as the translation of “religion,” and meaning the doctrine of one specific school, referred specifically to Christianity.

It was because of this relationship that when “宗教” in Japanese returned to China, it caused positive and negative reactions. Huang Zunxian mentioned “宗教” in *The History of Japan*,⁵⁸⁾ and Kang Youwei used “宗教” directly in *Bibliography of Japanese Books*. However, when it comes to the origin and semantic formation of “宗教” the primary voice that was translating “religion” as “教宗”(Jiaozong), namely, Yan Fu’s, was countered by Kang, who refused to use “宗教.”⁵⁹⁾

When we look at the articles of the missionaries at the Chicago Parliament, to analyze which Chinese concepts were translated as religion becomes an important issue for research. When missionaries called Christianity a religion, they also used it to label Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, thereby injecting diverse meanings into religion. Although missionaries finally compromised by using both “Shangdi” and “Shen” concurrently to translate “God,” Blodgett mentioned “Tianzhu” at the Parliament again, which indicates that no translation could be perfect and satisfy everyone. Religion as a term has a definite meaning, but as a concept, its meaning becomes vague. Although some Chinese intellectuals eschewed “教” and “宗教” as translations of “religion,” “教” has not only

become the term of choice in translations from western languages, but also a commonly used term in Chinese speech since the early twentieth century. In 1908, “宗教” appeared in a major dictionary for the first time. The explanation was as follows: “a mode of thinking,” “feeling,” “acting for the holiness or God worshiped.”⁶⁰⁾ What is extraordinary is that the Editor Yan Huiqing later became the famous Minister of State of the Republic of China, and his father was Priest Yen, who spoke at the Chicago World Parliament of Religions fifteen years previously.

58) Huang Zun Xian (1887), *Ri Ben Guo Zhi* Vol.32.

59) Huang Xin Tao (2009), “Xin Mingci De Zhengzhi Wenhua Shi,” *New History* Vol.3, Zhonghua Press.

60) Yan Hui Qing eds. (1908), *Yinghua Da Cidian(English Chinese Dictionary)*, Commercial Publisher.

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