

# Double-Edged Sword

## Christianity and Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction

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### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to help enlighten Western thought regarding Christianity as expressed through works of fiction by twentieth-century Chinese writers. The importance of these works is that they "separate the wheat from the tare," embracing what the authors perceive as vital in Christianity, and rejecting that which they perceive as destructive, non-productive, or just superfluous.

The metaphor of the double-edged sword is borrowed from the New Testament (Hebrews 4:12) and is used in this paper to depict the dichotomies created by the presence of Christ's teachings in twentieth-century Chinese fiction. One important thrust of the sword distinguishes between the actions of various Christians and the original intent of Christ's message. In general, a distinction is made between Christ's teachings in their pure sense and the distorted form they assume under the influence of an adulterated institution.

The Chinese response to Christianity has undergone dramatic changes during the course of this century—a fact best appreciated in the light of pre-twentieth-century Chinese writings regarding the presence of this foreign religion on Chinese soil. Those Ch'ing Dynasty essayists inevitably criticized it solely on the basis of Confucian orthodoxy and, as a result, their essays uniformly lacked any real attempt to judge Christianity on its own merits. Consequently, China required a period of intense iconoclasm (referred to now as the May Fourth Era<sup>1</sup>), involving a wholesale rejection of traditional Confucianism, before it could permit the "renaissance man" of the era, Ch'en Tu-hsiu<sup>2</sup>, sufficient leeway to candidly admit in a widely read 1920 article that "Hitherto we have not considered Christianity as important, but have regarded it as heterodox and having no significant relation to our lives, if

we continue as before to esteem it lightly (and) to say it is heterodox . . . . then we shall continue to reap confusion and disruption instead of benefits.”<sup>3</sup>

It is not at all surprising that the great majority of Chinese social critics prior to Ch'en Tu-hsiu were adamantly anti-Christian in their stance. For one thing, the Western missionaries in China not only represented a totally different religious tradition trying to win converts, but they were also immediately associated with the imperialist nations who began practicing a form of “gunboat diplomacy” with the Chinese emperor in the mid-nineteenth century. In the eyes of these critics, therefore, Christianity represented a very real threat to the whole socio-political structure of the Chinese empire. Consequently, until recent years Christianity has fared in China about as well as oil does in water: the foreign substance makes its presence felt, occasionally producing resplendent colors in the sunlight, but generally causing a rather messy result wherein the two liquids simply refuse to mix.

### The Anti-Christian Literary Tradition in China

Let us take a brief look at the rocky road which the religion has traveled in China; again, we shall see that Christianity—the religion of love—was initially associated with the sword, and a foreign one at that. As this present paper will demonstrate, the Chinese fiction writers of this century have responded by using a sword of their own—their pens—to expose aspects of the religion which were unacceptable to the majority of the young Chinese intellectuals at the forefront of the literary scene. One conclusion to be drawn after examining the message of these various authors of Christianity-related works of fiction is that the final result of this interaction need not be sharper and sharper swords so long as that message is conscientiously heeded by the Church; in fact, there is much evidence that even now the swords are beginning to be beaten into plowshares.<sup>4</sup>

Early Jesuits on the China scene, such as Matteo Ricci (1551–1610), were permitted by the emperor to remain in China due in large part to their willingness to “sinify” their religion, i.e., adapt it to the Chinese cultural milieu; but then they were expelled from China in the aftermath of the “rites controversy,” in which the Vatican opposed the Jesuits’ general acceptance of the Confucian order of things.<sup>5</sup> When the papal legate, Cardinal de

Tournon, arrived in Peking in 1705 to announce to the Emperor that the Vatican "reserved to itself full authority over Catholicism in China,"<sup>6</sup> the Chinese monarch simply countered by proscribing the presence of Christianity in China. So from the beginning, the history of Christianity in China has been marred by power plays on all sides; and today, the Church should not be surprised when history repeats itself, but, rather, it must learn from such repetition (for example, a December 20, 1981, report by the Associated Press states that four Chinese Catholic priests in Shanghai were accused of loyalty to the Vatican and trying to split Catholics away from the government-sanctioned church; they were found guilty of "relentlessly following the guidelines set by the Vatican"<sup>7</sup>).

This antagonism is fully reflected in the polemics of both the foreign missionaries in China and the Ch'ing essayists who constitute the anti-Christian literary tradition prevalent before the twentieth century. As mentioned above, these essays criticize Christianity on the basis of Confucian orthodoxy. For example, as early as the *Ming-shih* 明史 [History of the Ming Dynasty], compiled between 1679 and 1739, Christianity is typified as a deceptive heterodoxy, but the doctrines of the religion go virtually unexamined. Apparently the subtlety of the double-edged sword style of criticism—a mode which makes direct or indirect reference to Christ's teachings in pointing out the contradictions inherent in the Church—achieved by their scholarly heirs of this century was beyond the intellectual capacity of these early Chinese writers of anti-Christian polemics.

The Yung-cheng Emperor, however, briefly touched upon the Christian belief in the incarnation of Jesus Christ in an edict issued in 1727, citing it as the locus classicus of the "heterodoxy of the West."<sup>8</sup> While he readily accepted the Christian reverence of a "Lord of Heaven" (a belief which he considered common to all the religions in China), he regarded the notion that "Heaven came down to earth and transformed itself into a man" as a farfetched attempt to beguile the rash and ignorant in the name of "Heaven."<sup>9</sup> Yet, his fleeting reference to two key points of Christian theology—a transcendent Heaven and its incarnation on earth—represents a singular, albeit feeble, attempt to refute specific doctrines rather than simply engage in the type of calumnious essay undertaken by the majority of anti-Christian Chinese writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The style of the anti-Christian literature of these centuries purports to be objective reportage, but to the modern sensibility it seems more like

outright fiction. With very little discussion of Christian doctrines per se, the works of this genre, from the writings of Chang Chen-t'ao 張甄陶 (1713–1780) to the anonymously compiled *P'i-hsieh Chi-shih* 闢邪紀實 [A Record of Facts to Expose Heterodoxy] a century later, combine a few carefully chosen facets of Christian worship with a myriad of fantastic (mostly lewd) practices “calculated to repel most Chinese.”<sup>10</sup> This type of approach is obviously a far cry from the “double-edged sword” technique of the twentieth-century writers who employ genuine Christian standards to judge the *actual* behavior of Christians.

The *P'i-hsieh Chi-shih*, however, does contain an interesting “battle of the pens” between a foreign missionary and an anti-Christian Chinese traditionalist in which the latter refers to the writings of the former in order to refute the claims of Christianity. The English Protestant Griffith John (1831–1912) published his *Yüeh T'ien-lu Chih-ming* 闕天路指明 [An Examination of the Evidences of the Heavenly Path] in Hankow in 1862.<sup>11</sup> He discusses such doctrines as the Trinity, redemption and final judgment in the type of aggressive tone that makes the work “a model par excellence of the type of missionary literature which made little or no effort to adapt to Chinese surroundings.”<sup>12</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that John becomes quite perturbed upon learning that rebuttal of his exposition is contained in the latest edition of the widely read and extremely inflammatory *P'i-hsieh Chi-shih*. In fact, he becomes obsessed with locating its author—“an admittedly hostile Chinese intellectual”—who goes by the nom de plume: “the world’s most heartbroken man.”<sup>13</sup> A brief excerpt from each work demonstrates the manner in which the Chinese writer uses the words of the missionary to attack the foreign religion.

(John) Recently Protestant missionaries have come to your China and have spent over fifty years preaching the Holy Way and commending the Scriptures. The people throughout the land should all have repented and believed in the Lord. But, in the end, the believers are few and the non-believers many. This, again, is an obvious sign of human depravity. Hence you Chinese, according to the laws of God, are all truly sinful.<sup>14</sup>

(*P'i-hsieh Chi-shih*) This evidence of human depravity, this sinfulness of the Chinese, does it consist in the moral obligations which we uphold, the Confucian teachings? Fortunate it is that the believers are few and the non-believers many! If the Christians were to get their way in China and draw us all into their evil fold, there would no longer be any place for our

posterity.<sup>15</sup>

While far from being an advanced form of dialectics, this rebuttal by the author of the *P'i-hsieh Chi-shih* does represent a crude pre-twentieth-century attempt at the "double-edged sword" mode of critical writing. But since the sword cuts both ways, arrogance is revealed on both sides. Caught up in their respective ideological systems, each party views the foreign "other" as the embodiment of what Jungian psychology calls the "shadow"—that portion of the psyche which contains the repressed desires to break away from established moral constraints. Relegated to the unconscious because it does not conform to one's ego-ideal, it nevertheless manifests itself in projected form (i.e., seen in others) and this projection of something in oneself onto others is done quite unconsciously. Of course, at that time both Christians and Confucianists were prone to practice a type of legalism whereby they followed a rigid set of rules prohibiting any kind of "heterodox" or "sinful" behavior, seeking to avert the danger of this inner "shadow." Thus, through projection of the "shadow," the Western missionary views the Chinese race as "truly sinful," while the Chinese critic considers Christians to be members of an "evil fold." Neither writer appears capable of a higher morality requiring the confrontation of those repressed elements which made the moral prohibitions necessary in the first place. Only through such inner confrontation and resulting self-knowledge can truly differentiated moral attitudes be cultivated whereby projections are retracted as each party learns to perceive himself and the "other" as they really are (the result is generally an acknowledgement that the other party is not so different after all; hence, the above pair of cultural chauvinists are merely two sides of the same coin). This crucial consideration of psychological consciousness (or lack of it) is touched upon time and again in the Christianity-related Chinese fiction of the twentieth century.

### A New Departure in Anti-Christian Polemics

In his book, *China and Christianity*, Paul Cohen carefully demonstrates that for the nineteenth-century anti-Christian authors, "Christianity was simply the most conspicuous and irritating expression of a civilization which, in all its dimensions, they heartily detested."<sup>16</sup> In other words, "anti-Chris-

tian” was primarily “anti-foreign” (though one must assume that Christianity would have been vigorously opposed by the Confucianists even if it had been indigenous). In the twentieth century, however, Chinese nationalism somewhat ironically juxtaposed a rejection of the Confucian tradition with an acceptance of Western thought (be it American liberalism or Marxist socialism). Yet in order to maintain “face” vis-à-vis the West, Joseph Levenson argues in his scholarly work, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, the modern iconoclasts balanced anti-Confucianism with anti-Christian zeal. In fact, Levenson even maintains that “the whole story of the growth of iconoclasm in modern China, of how it came to be possible for Chinese minds to drift away from historical Chinese values, is implied in the modern history of the Christian Church in China.”<sup>17</sup>

Briefly to summarize his argument, Christianity not only failed to “infiltrate a living Confucianism,” it also failed to “succeed a dying Confucianism.”<sup>18</sup> Neither the aggressive tactic of attacking Chinese culture nor the reconciliatory tactic of implanting the Christian message within it proved successful. Finally, secular Westernization was deemed desirable, while the Christian religion was considered superfluous. Levenson concludes that

Iconoclasm was impossible unless it left unweakened the Chinese sense of cultural equivalence with the West. Only if its old rival, Western Christianity, were dispatched with it, could Chinese Confucianism be thrown to the modern Western lions.<sup>19</sup>

In centuries past, the Jesuits had received a modicum of acceptance in Peking not by virtue of their religious beliefs, which were deemed inferior to the Confucian orthodoxy, but by virtue of their scientific knowledge.<sup>20</sup> The traditionalist reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries embodied this key differentiation in the *t'i-yung* 體用 formula, which rationalized the introduction of Western learning (*yung*: “practical knowledge,” “function”) on a national scale in order to protect the special Chinese spirit (*t'i*: “essence,” “substance”) from, ironically, the onslaught of modern Western culture. This paradoxical approach to nationalism failed simply because modernization has necessarily meant a wholesale iconoclasm in which any remaining *t'i* unique to China must be seen in her particular application of European-based Marxism.

In the wake of this failure came the fiction writers of this century who

were willing to accept what they considered to be the essence of Christianity, while rejecting the institutional form in which it had spread to China. Their position is almost the *t'i-yung* formula in reverse, except that "essence" in this case refers to the exemplary character of Jesus Christ, without any accompanying theological considerations—in other words, a humanist standpoint. And the widespread closure of Christian colleges and hospitals during periods of intense Chinese nationalism (culminating, of course, after the Communist victory of 1949) indicates that even the seemingly beneficial *yung* aspects of Christianity were not to be tolerated under the new regime.<sup>21</sup>

Ch'en Tu-hsiu was the first modern Chinese intellectual of note to clearly differentiate the institutional expression of Christianity—and, indeed, the behavior of most Christians—from the actual teachings and lifestyle of Jesus Christ. In fact, the latter received his endorsement as an ideology for national renewal in the winter of 1920.<sup>22</sup> This endorsement does not, however, contradict Levenson's contention that "even when clearing the ground, Chinese wanted desperately to own the ground they stood on,"<sup>23</sup> for Ch'en was not advocating the acceptance of Christianity in its particular Western format. This sentiment was most emphatic in a 1921 article in which he attacked the "evils of the church," while emphasizing that it could not be considered as representative of true Christianity.<sup>24</sup> In short, Ch'en was deeply impressed with the historical person of Jesus Christ as revealed to him through his obviously extensive reading of the Bible. He concludes that

We should try to cultivate the lofty and majestic character of Jesus and imbue our very blood with his warm sympathetic spirit. In this way, we shall be saved from the chilly indifference, darkness, and filth into which we have fallen.<sup>25</sup>

Though Ch'en endorsed a positive reevaluation of Christianity, he nevertheless remained highly critical of many professing Christians in China, juxtaposing Christ's standard of behavior with those who "eat the religion" (rice-bowl Christians<sup>26</sup>) and those politicians who try to utilize the religion to their own advantage.

Our greatest fear is that politicians today are trying to make use of Christianity for their own purposes. To oppose a neighboring country, they raise such catch-phrases as "Christianity to save the country." They have forgotten that Jesus came not to save a country, but to save the entire

human race for eternal life. They have forgotten that Jesus teaches us to love our neighbor as ourselves. They have forgotten Jesus' command to love our enemies, and to pray for our persecutors. They attack communism as "the greatest evil of the future" and "the doctrine of chaos." They have forgotten that Christianity is the Good News of the poor and Jesus is the friend of the poor.<sup>27</sup>

Perhaps for Ch'en, if not for most Communists, the teachings of Christ and the communal lifestyle of first-century Christians (cf. Acts 2:44-45) represented an endorsement of the basic tenets of socialism. Seen in this light, his co-founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 can not be equated with a rejection of the person of Jesus Christ.

In sum: Ch'en Tu-hsiu's highly influential essays represent a much more enlightened position than that of the earlier authors of the anti-Christian tradition who forthwith threw the baby out with the bath water (without ever seriously examining the "baby"; they only knew that the "bath water" had to be thrown out of China). Furthermore, his essays served to set the stage for the Christianity-related fiction of the early 1920s—a corpus replete with similar instances of the "double-edged sword" coming down hard upon various Christians and the organized Church, yet at the same time expressing general approval of the character and teachings of Jesus Christ.

### The Christianity of Two Popular Romantic Authors of the May Fourth Era

The early works of two well-known romantic authors of this period—Yü Ta-fu and Kuo Mo-jo<sup>28</sup>—aptly reflect this heightened consciousness vis-a-vis Christianity. To cite a specific example: in a sermon delivered by Yu's protagonist in his 1921 satire, *Moving South*, the hostile legalism of some evangelical fundamentalists is brought to light through an insightful interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount. Condensing Christ's basic message into the single verse, Matthew 5:3 ("Blessed are the poor in spirit . . ."), the hero proceeds to delineate several types of "spiritual poverty" before describing the "poorest of the poor in spirit" as "those who know the nature of God's intentions and the quality of Jesus' love, but are unable to act upon such knowledge," despite a sincere desire to do so.<sup>29</sup>

However, in the persons of the highly judgmental legalists in the congregation who make life uncomfortable for the speaker, even the desire to love appears to be absent, thereby excluding them from the ranks of the truly "poor in spirit"—a condition which jeopardizes their "salvation" (psychological wholeness).

Ironically, it is the unceasing efforts of the legalists to maintain their "righteous" personae which ultimately deny them a larger inheritance of the "kingdom of heaven." Expressed in Jungian terminology, they need to become conscious of the "shadow" so that they may withdraw the projection of this dark, feared, unwanted side of the psyche from the person of the much maligned protagonist. They would then be free to experience the greater measure of God's grace especially granted to the genuinely "poor in spirit."<sup>30</sup> For Yü Ta-fu, therefore, God's standard of judgment is the degree of psychological honesty displayed by the individual (the "double-edge" still cuts both ways, however, for the hero fails to recognize certain projections of his own as well).<sup>31</sup>

Kuo Mō-jo's epistolary novel, *Fallen Leaves* (1925), expresses much the same viewpoint through the letters of a Japanese Christian nurse to her Chinese lover; indeed, Kikuko, the heroine, is surely one of Yu Ta-fu's "poor in spirit." Her problems begin when her decision to give her life in service at a mission hospital is strongly opposed by her conservative father—a minister of some importance in the Christian community—largely because the manual labor undertaken by Kikuko as part of her "calling" as a nurse is a source of embarrassment to him when he stands before other Christian preachers. So, as in the previous story, we see an overriding concern with "keeping face" (persona maintenance) in ironic opposition to the Christlike quality of unconditional love.

The above conflict is compounded by the fact that Kikuko and her lover spend a vacation of four days together, during which time they become sexually intimate (afterwards he returns to his school hundreds of miles away). This causes the sensitive heroine to vacillate between a warm love for him and an intense guilt induced by the moral teachings of her Church upbringing. At one point she writes: "Now as my mind goes back to it, I think how many terrible sins we committed! Of the life that was so happy, only a trail of fearful guilt remains."<sup>32</sup>

Though she finds some comfort in prayer and the knowledge of God's

grace, especially as seen in the story of Jesus and the woman about to be stoned for adultery (John 8:3-11),<sup>33</sup> in the long run, she is unable to lay claim to God's promise of forgiveness. On the one hand, she believes that "no matter what our transgression is, if with groans and tears out of our naked hearts we truly repent, concealing nothing, we can attain to complete salvation, and receive the enriching grace of complete forgiveness."<sup>34</sup> However, the comfort she experiences is only temporary, and by the time her lover joins a Christian church near his school, she feels that he has found salvation at the same time that she has lost it.

Writing in 1928, one critic concluded that "she is torn in the conflict between the beckoning arms of love and the stern, forbidding finger of Christian moral conventions . . . There seems to be no way to harmonize the melody of her heart's desires with the voice of her Christian ideals."<sup>35</sup> The case can be made, however, that her father with his rigid ethics based in traditional Confucianism—not the least of which is filial piety—has been superimposed upon her original vision of an all-loving, all-merciful Heavenly Father. In any case, the fact that he is an eminent pastor who lacks two of the most basic Christian attributes (acceptance and forgiveness) is Kuo Mo-jo's way of wielding the double-edged sword in his story.<sup>36</sup>

Explained from the psychological point of view, Kikuko projects onto God her father-complex with the result that her rebellion against her human father causes the relationship with her Heavenly Father to become irreconcilable (in her mind). She tries to replace this archetype of the stern father-figure with the gentle image of her loving Chinese "older brother" (*ko-ko*: a term of endearment), but, ironically, his conversion to Christianity seems to remove that possibility once and for all. In the end, she resolves to go to a remote hospital in the South Seas, thereby solving her dilemma by undergoing a life of penance away from it all. Once again, we see a highly destructive variety of Christian legalism—reinforced, in this case, by Confucian morality—stifling the natural urges of the protagonist toward psychological wholeness.

### *Yü-kuan* (1941): Depicting a Christian's Positive Integration of the "Shadow"

At the height of Kikuko's inner struggles, she comes to the realization that greater consciousness necessarily means more suffering—a fact which

almost causes her to submit to her father's will (including an arranged marriage with a match of his choosing). Despite this important insight, however, the pressures of her situation become more than she can bear—hence, her sudden departure for the South Seas.

An example of a Christian who remains in the thick of such psychological tensions and comes out on top is Hsü Ti-Shan's wonderfully human heroine Yü-kuan.<sup>37</sup> Like Kikuko, she is caught up in a process which C. G. Jung called "individuation" (the way that a person becomes his/her own unique, undivided, whole self), the first step of which is a recognition of the "shadow." In Yü-kuan's case, her "shadow" appears as a frightening presence one night when she feels passion for a night watchman of a country church where she has put up for the night. Let us first examine the relevant passage from the novel before commenting on its psychological and spiritual significance.

Yü-kuan hadn't had such an evening chat with a man since her husband died. Forgetting herself a bit, she talked with Ch'en Lien well into the night, until he finally showed Yü-kuan her sleeping quarters in the back . . . .

Yü-kuan closed her eyes and imagined Ch'en Lien's form under the light, retrospectively enjoying their chat. She felt a passionate impulse going through her entire body. Tossing to and fro, she was unable to sleep. She opened her eyes and listened to the many night sounds, growing more and more apprehensive as she listened. The more she grew afraid, the more certain she was that a devil was pressing down upon her . . . . She didn't dare blow out the oil lamp for fear of the dark. Once she closed her eyes, however, she didn't dare open them again, for she sensed the presence of a great shadow engulfing her. She was too petrified to move or even swat the biting mosquitoes. A cold sweat covered her body . . . .

At last, she got up and took her Bible out of her satchel and laid it on her bed, constantly reciting the Nicean Creed and the Lord's Prayer. This calmed her down a bit, but throughout the night, she felt almost suffocated by the devil's oppressiveness . . . .

When dawn finally broke in the east, she sat up and stared vacantly before her, tightly clutching her Bible. She thought to herself that Chinese devils probably didn't fear the foreign scriptures and prayers; otherwise, why didn't she obtain any respite during last night's ordeal . . . .

When she got up and went out, Ch'en Lien was already making break-

fast. He asked her how she slept, to which Yü-kuan could only reply that the mosquitoes were a bit on the numerous side. She glanced at a small book next to his pillow and asked about it. Ch'en Lien said it was the Book of Changes, for he too feared devils. Suddenly, Yü-kuan realized that the thing which Chinese devils feared was a Chinese sacred book!

The night's experience produced in Yü-kuan the deep conviction that devils in the world were for real . . . . After breakfast, she began to feel feverish . . . . Ch'en Lien nursed her the entire morning, but rather than go down, her temperature rose with yet another type of fever in her heart . . . .

After returning home, she laid in bed several days before her fever finally broke. Even then, she didn't feel quite herself, but she didn't dare tell a soul.<sup>38</sup>

As we can see from this insightful depiction of human nature in all of its vulnerability, psychosomatic illness is all too often the end result of consistent psychological repression. It is, of course, common knowledge that repressed elements do not stay nicely "bottled up" inside, and, for many Christians, the devil—an archetypal "shadow"-figure—is a favorite recipient of the unwanted attributes of the personality in the form of unconscious projections. Only a direct and honest confrontation with the "shadow" after the fashion of Christ's dialogue with Satan in the wilderness (cf. Matthew 4:3-11) can render it less fearful. Thus, Yü-kuan's methodical prayer and recitation of Christian creeds only serves to increase its shadowy countenance (and it is highly unlikely that the Book of Changes would have been any more efficacious under the circumstances).<sup>39</sup>

Fortunately, Yü-kuan eventually comes to terms with her "shadow" by consciously identifying the essentially false nature of her ego stance. Ever since her husband's death Yü-kuan has cultivated the persona of a virtuous widow, effectively assuming the role of a dedicated "Bible woman," in order to achieve her secret ambition of being permanently honored through the construction of a commemorative portal—her one hope resting in her son's ability to become an official and use his influence to make her dream a reality.<sup>40</sup> Her son, however, feels used and unloved, and refuses to comply with her wishes—a creative act on his part which, precisely because of its highly unfilial nature, serves to break down Yü-kuan's persona, causing her to review her past life with what Gabriel Marcel would call "the courage to reflect."<sup>41</sup>

She sat at home musing. She recalled that all her actions since widowhood, though preparing for her son's success, were at bottom selfish. Like a peddler in chinaware who uses at home only mended bowls, she had not benefited by religious teachings during the decades of her missionary life. The moment she realized this, she stood up suddenly, as if she had found an invaluable lesson from her life. She felt that the words with which her brother-in-law had taunted her when she had been a recent widow were after all right. She felt that her persistence in widowhood had been almost a form of hypocrisy, and that her present suffering was the natural consequence of her past actions. She wanted now to return to her villages to really engage in missionary work.<sup>42</sup>

As I have demonstrated elsewhere, Yü-kuan's spiritual "rebirth," or psychological "enlightenment," is a believable end result of her long interaction with the "double-edged sword"—a "weapon" possessing the power to bring about healing and wholeness when the person "struck down" has "the courage to reflect."<sup>43</sup>

### Ch'i-teng Sheng's "A Day of Piety"

Christianity has by and large disappeared as a topic for fiction in post-1949 Mainland China, but has enjoyed a remarkable revival on Taiwan during the last two decades.<sup>44</sup> For example, Taiwanese writer Ch'i-teng Sheng has provided his readers with a fantasy which raises the "double-edged sword" style of criticism to new levels of artistry.<sup>45</sup> In the following excerpt from his 1969 composition, "A Day of Piety," Ch'i-teng Sheng brilliantly depicts in his typically surrealistic fashion the dichotomy of Christ versus the institution of Christianity.

The pointed roof of the Presbyterian church stood erect between the government buildings on either side of it. Walking alongside, I peered into the dark sanctuary emitting its strange aura. On both sides of the altar were arranged large white candles, while an elder of rather large build was draped in a white robe. I walked up the front steps toward the sound of the hymns which flowed forth in an even more leisurely manner than usual. Standing in the doorway, I was about to enter as in the past when, unexpectedly, a man with a very common sort of face blocked my way.

I was an intruder—an outsider to this assembly of faithful churchgoers, for I had only recently engaged in the habit of joining the congregation at this moment for the singing of hymns . . . I needed a little of the feeling of comfort and warmth. I had never before seen this person who was now blocking my way, but when he stared at me, shaking his head, I suddenly realized who he was. He had an ordinary, unrefined appearance—definitely not the pretty, dolled-up look of superiority worn by the zealots when propagating their religion. His attire was simple and crude; covered with dust, his clothes were neither elegant nor without stain. He was a workman—thin, but with strength in his arms—and not a fleshy, effeminate student. It seemed as if he stood guard there both to ridicule and to protect, like a clown keeping watch over a pen of wild beasts. As for those people who use their fame and honor to represent him in the present world, at that moment, they were sitting solemnly upon their elevated platform, flashing those eyes filled with pompous illusions. The candlelight, symbolizing his spirit, flickered dull and weak in the dusk of this city. His true wonder lies in his marvelous feats of metamorphosis and omnipresence; just as suddenly as he had descended to stop me from entering, he likewise vanished without a trace.<sup>46</sup>

Unfortunately, the exigencies of time and space prohibit us from proceeding here with the type of close analysis that this richly symbolic fantasy rightly deserves<sup>47</sup>; the basic message of the piece, however, may still serve to aptly summarize the general thrust of the Christianity-related works of fiction written in China during the course of this century. Simply put: the “man” blocking the entrance into the church is none other than Christ Himself! Corresponding to Jung’s notion of the “Self” (the creative, inner Center of the psyche— “a Will greater and more purposeful than the will of our egos”<sup>48</sup>), Christ’s role in this dreamlike episode lies in presenting a standpoint in direct opposition to the one assumed by the narrator’s persona. In other words, just as the narrator is leaning toward an identification with a certain persona in his outer life (which has something to do with the church that he is trying to enter in the fantasy), the Christ/Self figure at the center of his unconscious gives him a symbolic message that such an identification would be psychologically regressive, resulting in a harmful repression of his true self—tantamount to aborting his quest for wholeness!<sup>49</sup>

If the fantasy is interpreted as addressing itself to “deficiencies of human consciousness”<sup>50</sup> on a larger scale, then the scope of the message might include the Christian Church, Chinese society, or even modern man. The basic point, however, would remain much the same, using a specific

instance to illustrate a more generalized admonishment to avoid the types of unthinking and unreflective modes of collective behavior which are, by and large, detrimental to the evolutionary process of attaining greater consciousness—the *raison d'être* of the “double-edged sword.”

## Conclusion

Virtually all of the Chinese literature on Christianity written before this century, and most of the Christianity-related fiction produced since the May Fourth Era, reinforce the conclusion that the religion's relationship with Western imperialist culture has been the primary stumbling block in the process of its spread into China. Many modern Chinese writers, however, have demonstrated the psychological acumen necessary for distinguishing the true nature of Christ's teachings from the superfluous elements of an essentially Westernized religious institution. The general consensus of these authors is that the brand of Christianity rejected by the majority of Chinese bears little resemblance to the original intent of Christ's teachings. What, then, is the main thrust of Christ's message as interpreted by twentieth-century Chinese writers, and how does this differ from what they consider to be an adulterated organized Church?

As discussed earlier, Ch'en Tu-hsiu was the first modern Chinese intellectual of note to clearly differentiate the institutional expression of Christianity—and, indeed, the behavior of most Christians—from the actual teachings and lifestyle of Jesus Christ. Most of the May Fourth writers were able to capture the essence of this key insight in their works of fiction. For both the innovative romantic authors (Yü Ta-fu and Kuo Mo-jo) and the early realist writers (Hsü Ti-shan and Mao Tun<sup>51</sup>), Christ's teachings and lifestyle represent a spiritual dynamic which can guide the individual in his or her quest for wholeness. This point is made most emphatically via the lives of the protagonists in *Moving South* and *Fallen Leaves*. Both stories juxtapose Christ's message of unqualified love with the ingroup hostility of the fundamentalist Church. And both authors stress the need for original, primary religious experience on the part of the individual, as opposed to relating to God only through the established religious structures that claim to lead people to God but in reality serve to keep people from God by burdening them with Church tradition, ritual and doctrine—all of which are decidedly

Western in nature.

The fiction of Hsü Ti-shan and the translations of Mao Tun, both of which I treat in my recent dissertation, are in much the same vein, their basic concern being the centrality of love in the teachings of Jesus. In the context of the stories, this love may be roughly defined as the will to extend one's self for the purpose of nurturing one's own or another's spiritual development. The common denominator in such love is an ongoing evolution of psychological consciousness in the only ways that this type of spiritual growth is ever possible: painful self-confrontation, reckoning with the past, and willingness to give up egocentricity in order to serve God. These noble goals at the very heart of Christ's life and death are beautifully depicted in the lives of Hsu Ti-shan's Yü-kuan, as discussed above, and Pa Chin's T'ien Hui-shih, as I have demonstrated elsewhere.<sup>52</sup>

One of the important themes relevant to any discussion of theology/psychology is the problem of man's "shadow": the repressed aspects of his psyche. The key lies in creatively integrating the energy of the "shadow" into consciousness in positive ways, which is precisely what Yü-kuan does toward the end of Hsü's novella. There is also, however, a layer of the "shadow" which should not be integrated because it has the power to act in evil ways—destroying, rather than creating. This dark side of man belongs to the collective unconscious<sup>53</sup> and rears its ugly head in terrible instances of inhuman behaviour, often archetypal in nature. It is precisely this dimension of reality which Lu Hsün deals with in his prose poem entitled "Revenge (II)," wherein he questions the basis of any belief in a loving God by juxtaposing Christ's death on the cross with the tragic fact that mankind is caught up in a senseless cycle of hate and killing on a vast scale.<sup>54</sup>

The "double-edged sword" style of criticizing Christianity comes into play as the teachings of Jesus are employed to point out the many ways in which Christians are caught up in spiritually and psychologically regressive and even destructive modes of behavior. Both Yü Ta-fu's hero and Kuo Mo-jo's heroine fight uphill battles against such tendencies in the Church, which are powerfully reinforced by collective thinking and collectively enforced norms of behavior. Of course, nowhere is this more dramatically depicted than in Ch'i-teng Sheng's fantasy "A Day of Piety," in which Christ Himself momentarily alights on earth to physically prevent the protagonist from entering a particular church. The message of this recent story brings us back full circle to Ch'en Tu-hsiu's important insight that real Christianity

is not to be equated with the actions of the organized Church. Indeed, many writers in Taiwan have expressed a similar point of view in the last few decades,<sup>55</sup> consistently stressing the point that the true essence of Christianity can only be witnessed in the "inner life" of the individual. Thus, there is no place for religious personae but only for honesty before oneself, before God, and before others.

Generally speaking, Chinese writers of Christianity-related fiction in this century tend to view Christ's teachings as a religious or spiritual ethos which the Church in China frequently failed to express in the original spirit of Jesus Christ. In the minds of these writers, therefore, the individual should not try to adhere to Christ through religious faith but must follow His teachings—when deemed desirable to do so—in a basically humanistic fashion.

But there are also many writers who go beyond strictly religious or humanistic interpretations of the religion to apply the teachings of Jesus Christ to the psychological and spiritual inner life of the individual. Faith is essential in this more creative approach, but it is faith placed not so much in the transcendental Christ (though that is also important to present-day Christian writers on Taiwan) as in the inner Christ—the archetypal wisdom behind life which urges us on to greater wholeness.

Such is the evolution of consciousness as seen in the history of Chinese literature dealing with the topic of Christianity. Obviously, Chinese writers have come a long way since the days of the highly calumnious and fantastically scatological *P'i-hsieh Chi-shih!* But has the Christian Church in China likewise evolved as a result of its growing pains? Most likely the Church has taken little notice of this literary corpus, though this "double-edged sword . . . discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart" (Hebrews 4:12) could be highly beneficial to its evolutionary process. One thing, however, is certain: the alternative to such self-examination is necessarily regressive in nature and could conceivably lead to the ultimate extinction of institutional Christianity in China.

## Notes

1. The actual date "May Fourth" refers to the student demonstrations in Peking on May 4, 1919, in protest of the government's surrender to the Twenty-One Demands from Japan, touching off subsequent literary and other reforms. The momentum for this movement originated in anti-Confucian calls for reform as

early as 1915. The weakness of the government was attributed to its stubborn allegiance to outdated values. The May Fourth Era covers roughly the decade of 1915–1925.

2. Ch'en Tu-hsiu 陳獨秀 (1879–1942) was an important promoter of the literary revolution of 1917, urging that the vernacular language be adopted as the written language in place of cumbersome classical Chinese. A popular mentor of nationalist youth, he founded, edited and wrote for *New Youth*, considered by many to be the chief organ of the renaissance movement. In 1921 Ch'en was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, serving as the first chairman of its Central Committee.
3. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, "Chi-tu-chiao yu Chung-kuo-jen" 基督教與中國人 [Christianity and the Chinese People], *Hsin Ch'ing-nien* 新青年 [New Youth], 7, no. 3 (February 1, 1920), p. 15; trans. Jessie G. Lutz, *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1965), p. 47.
4. Recently the representatives of 40 million churchgoing Americans met in San Francisco to "retreat from an earlier era of militant evangelism to China" and "to let Chinese Christians lead the way in China" (cf. "Church council may recant Chinese missionary tradition," *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*, May 8, 1983, p. B2). The governing board of the National Council of Churches issued a statement admonishing the West to remove the "foreign religion label" and "not attempt to restore a missionary enterprise of a past era." It goes on to state that "Too often Christians in the West have defined universal faith based on their own world," and that the unfortunate byproduct of Western armies being followed by missionaries at the turn of the century "was that the Gospel of Jesus Christ came to be identified in the minds of many Chinese not so much with the spirit of humility and the lowly as with the might of the Western world."

Rev. Ch'en Tse-min, vice-principal of the Nanjing Union Theological Seminary, estimated in a 1981 interview that there are one million to one and a half million professing Protestants in the People's Republic (cf. "In China's Garden Protestantism Blossoms, Too," *New York Times*, November 19, 1981, p. A2). And recently, the Administration of Religious Affairs in Peking estimated that there are up to three million Catholics in China (cf. "Four Chinese Priests Back Behind Bars," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1983, p. 15). Of course, the above figures do not take into account the remarkable growth of the Christian Church in Taiwan and Hong Kong, where Christianity as a topic for fiction has likewise enjoyed a dramatic revival (as witnessed in the recent outcrop of Christian publishing houses and prominent Christian writers; Taosheng 道聲, for example, publishes the works of three very successful Christian writers: Ti-jan 緘然, Chang Hsiao-feng 張曉風 and Pao Chen 保真).

5. The argument took place in the early years of the eighteenth century (though it had been festering for decades) and centered on whether Chinese Catholics should be allowed to perform the traditional sacrifices to ancestors (cf. David E. Mungello, *Leibniz and Confucianism: The Search for Accord* [Honolulu: Uni-

- versity of Hawaii Press, 1977], pp. 9–13). Today this issue is still far from resolved, and is, in fact, often treated in the Christianity-related works of fiction of this century.
6. Thomas A. Bresling, *China, American Catholicism, and the Missionary* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), p. 5.
  7. See "Four Priests Arrested," *China Post* (Taipei, Taiwan), December 21, 1981, p. 1. These four elderly Catholic priests in Shanghai were recently sentenced to up to fifteen years in prison for offenses that included "maintaining ties with the Vatican and sending abroad information about Catholics in China," cf. "Four Chinese Priests Back Behind Bars," cited above (note four).
  8. Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 14.
  9. Ibid.
  10. Ibid., p. 32.
  11. Ibid., p. 52.
  12. Ibid.
  13. Ibid. The Chinese for "the world's most heartbroken man" is "t'ien-hsia ti-i shang-hsin-jen," 天下第一傷心人.
  14. Ibid., p. 54.
  15. Ibid.
  16. Ibid., p. 60.
  17. Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and its Modern Fate: The Problem of Intellectual Continuity* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1958), p. 117.
  18. Ibid., pp. 118–123.
  19. Ibid., pp. 121–122.
  20. Cf. Mungello, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–13.
  21. Cf. Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Movement in China, 1890–1952* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 287–318, regarding the closing of Christian institutions by the Communists.
  22. Cf. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, *op. cit.*
  23. Levenson, *op. cit.*, p. xii.
  24. This article which appeared originally in the "Forerunner," is summarized and quoted at some length in Yau S. Seto, *The Problem of Missionary Education in China: Historical and Critical* (unpublished 1927 dissertation, School of Education, New York University), pp. 35ff.
  25. Ch'en, "Chi-tu-chiao yü Chung-kuo-jen," p. 17; translated in Lutz, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
  26. This term of contempt originally referred to those indigent or lazy (or both) people in China who would convert simply to take advantage of various types of material benefits, the most basic of which being a daily bowl of rice during times of famine. Later, the term was expanded to include any Christian who maintained a parasitic relationship to the Church (i.e., to have a debt rescinded, to

- obtain protection under the auspices of the foreign religion, the members of which enjoyed something akin to diplomatic immunity at certain times, etc.). Of course, the Church did indeed use material incentives, as well as other types of lures, in order to attract converts, though the degree to which such converts actually adopted the Christian faith is open to question.
27. Ch'en, op. cit., p. 22 translated in Lutz, op. cit., p. 50.
  28. Yü Ta-fu 郁達夫 (1895-1945) and Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) first met in 1914 as classmates in Tokyo, where romanticism flourished during the previous decade. Together they founded the influential "Creation Society"—an "art for art's sake" literary clique—in 1921, along with other Chinese students of the romantic persuasion who had befriended one another while studying in Japan. Their impact on the Chinese literary scene was substantial. Ironically, Yü died at the hands of the Japanese toward the end of World War II. Kuo lived well beyond the founding of the People's Republic, managing to retain important literary positions in China for three decades, despite the political vicissitudes of the Communist regime.
  29. Yü Ta-fu. *Nan-ch'ien* 南遷 [Moving South] (Hong Kong: Chih-ming Publishing Company, 1958), p. 70. The issues raised by Yü Ta-fu's protagonist in his sermon are reminiscent of St. Paul's struggles with the "shadow" (cf. Romans 7:14-26) and the problems posed for Christian consciences found therein.
  30. Many modern theologians affirm that the heart of Christ's message is, indeed, psychological honesty before oneself and God. Fritz Kunkel, for example, points out that the original Greek words for 'poor in spirit' mean literally 'beggars regarding the spirit'. He goes on to show that "begging for spirit presupposes the knowledge that there is Spirit, and that we do not possess it." Accordingly, he describes the "poor in spirit" as people who are "able to hear the inner voice, to distinguish between the creative voice of eternity and the destructive voice of egocentricity." Cf. Fritz Kunkel, *Creation Continues* (Waco: Word Books, 1973), pp. 67-69. Presumably, Yü Ta-fu's consciousness-raising approach to Christianity would consider such psychological and spiritual awareness an important goal.
  31. The "sword" cuts the protagonist insofar as he is himself quite inadequate in terms of the moral criteria he lays down in his sermon. As he stands before his accusers in the congregation, his only justification for making a rebuttal is that he has confronted this part of himself as honestly as he can (cf. John 8:7, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone"). Unlike those who have already passed judgment upon him, he does not attempt to maintain a persona of righteousness.
  32. Kuo Mo-jo. *Lo-yeh* 落葉 [Fallen Leaves] (Shanghai: Kuang-hua Bookstore, 1933), p. 18; translated by George Kennedy in his article "Christianity in the Literature of the 'Creative Society'." *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, 59.5 (May, 1928), p. 298.
  33. This particular episode in the ministry of Jesus had a deep impact on many Chinese writers, Christian and non-Christian alike. In fact, both Mao Tun and Pa

- Chin, two important Chinese novelists of this century who were nominated in 1975 for the Nobel Prize in literature, allude to this moving story of God's grace—Mao Tun includes it in his 1945 volume *Yeh-su chih Ssu* 耶穌之死 [The Death of Jesus] (it also serves as the climax of his 1934 translation of Maurice Maeterlinck's "Mary Magdalene" entitled "Yeh-su yü Yin-fu" 耶穌與淫婦 [Jesus and the Adulteress], as well as underscoring the message of Kazimierz Tetmajer's "Jesus and the Robbers," which Mao Tun translated the same year ["Yeh-su ho Ch'iang-tao" 耶穌和強盜] cf. *Wen-hsüeh* 文學 [Literature], 2, Nos. 3 and 5); Pa Chin mentions the episode as deeply affecting the Christian protagonist of his wartime novel *Huo* 火 [Fire], Part III (1945).
34. Kuo, op. cit., p. 23; translated in Kennedy, op. cit., p. 298.
35. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 298.
36. *Fallen Leaves* is very nearly an autobiographical piece, the main difference being that Kuo Mo-jo ended up marrying the Japanese nurse in real life. The other elements of the story are factual, including Kuo's 1916 conversion to Christianity. We do not know how long he considered himself a Christian, but his scathing anti-Christian satire, "Double Performance"—translated by W. J. F. Jenner in *Modern Chinese Stories* (London, 1978)—written in 1936, is more harshly judgmental than the Japanese pastor in *Fallen Leaves*—a good example of the "double-edged sword" wounding its user!
37. Hsü Ti-shan 許地山 (1893–1941), noted scholar and fiction writer, was a founding member of the Literary Association in 1920. Just as Yü Ta-fu, Kuo Mo-jo and other members of the Creation Society helped to introduce romantic literature into China, the Literary Association played a significant role in advancing the cause of realist literature. Hsü Ti-shan, a practicing Anglican Christian throughout his adult life, wrote several other Christianity-related works of fiction. For more on Hsü Ti-shan, see my article, "The Stories of Hsü Ti-shan: A Melting Pot of Literary Influence," *Phi Theta Papers* (Publication of the Oriental Languages Students Association, University of California, Berkeley), 15 (May 1983), pp. 102–21.
38. Hsü Ti-shan, "Yü-kuan" 玉官, included in *Wei-ch'ao Chui-chien* 危巢墜簡 [Letters From an Endangered Home] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1947), pp. 187–88 (my translation).
39. While a mindless recitation of the Book of Changes would be equally inefficacious, a genuine understanding of certain passages in the Chinese classic, especially Hexagram 36, Ming I 明夷 [Darkening of the Light], would greatly facilitate a positive integration of the "shadow." R. L. Wing, in his commentary on this line, says: "If one aggressively attempts to deny or ignore evil, then evil is often nurtured in one form or another . . . It is much easier to develop a sound character once evil is acknowledged and dealt with as a part of the world," cf. *The Illustrated I Ching* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1982), p. 89. I interpret 'evil' in the above commentary to mean something other than absolute evil, for the original Chinese indicates that the sun, a symbol of intelligence or consciousness, is "hidden within the darkness" (or, as Jung once said, the "shadow" is at least

- 90% gold—having a positive effect on one's psyche when properly reconciled to consciousness). John A. Sanford, Episcopal priest and Jungian analyst, points out that "the Self does include 'the devil,' as the personification for what has hitherto been rejected but can ultimately belong to the whole," cf. *Evil: The Shadow Side of Reality* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), p. 148. All of the above is very relevant to Yü-kuan's bout with her "shadow," as seen in her fear of "devils."
40. In traditional China, including the earlier part of this century, practically the only means for a woman to be publicly commemorated was a long and worthy widowhood.
  41. In Gabriel Marcel's system of analysis, "consciousness" is arrived at through several key processes. First, the chain of daily habit must be broken in some significant way, whereupon one finds oneself "being in a situation." This type of "broken world" is a prerequisite for (1) "primary reflection" (an alert recapitulation of the events that have unfolded), and (2) "secondary reflection": "a series of acts of recognition, a confrontation with what we discover and a readjustment as we recognize our responsibilities," cf. *The Mystery of Being* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1950), I, 88.
  42. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 223–224; translated by C. T. Hsia in his *History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 90.
  43. See my article, "'Yü-kuan': The Spiritual Testament of Hsu Ti-shan," *Tamkang Review*, 8 (October 1977), 147–68.
  44. For a full account of the revival of Christianity-related works of fiction in Taiwan during the last twenty years, see my study, "Christianity Through the Eyes of Taiwan Writers, 1963–1981," included in my doctoral dissertation *Double-Edged Sword: Christianity and Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction* (Department of Oriental Languages, University of California, Berkeley, 1982), pp. 324–562.
  45. The stories of Ch'i-teng Sheng 七等生 (1939– ) are almost invariably characterized by an incongruous juxtaposition or use of dreamlike elements—a highly unconventional style when compared to the mainstream of Chinese fiction. One critic has described it thusly: "Fancy operates in Ch'i-teng Sheng's fiction to expand and deepen reality, when the latter is clearly indicated, and sometimes to discover reality, when it is just vaguely outlined—as it often is," cf. C. H. Wang, "Fancy and Reality in Ch'i-teng Sheng's Fiction," in Jeannette L. Faurot, ed., *Chinese Fiction from Taiwan: Critical Perspectives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 194. In his commentary entitled *Yeh-su ti I-shu* 耶穌的藝術 [The Art of Jesus] (Taipei: Hung Fan, 1979), Ch'i-teng Sheng interprets the life and teachings of Jesus Christ on the basis of their symbolic value. Accordingly, on page 181 he states the following regarding Christ's resurrection:

If you were to ask me directly whether or not Jesus actually rose from the dead, I would say that no such thing occurred. But if I were the composer of this gospel, I would still arrange for His resurrection. The problem does not lie with the authenticity of the event, but with its significance vis-a-vis the message to be imparted. So for the sake of

this vital layer of meaning, Jesus rose from the dead.

Though not a work of fiction, *The Art of Jesus* is pertinent to our discussion because it represents a new evolutionary stage in the way in which Chinese intellectuals perceive Christianity. Ch'i-teng Sheng's criticism of the religious institution, as seen in "A Day of Piety," is nothing new, and his admiration for Christ's character, as expressed through *The Art of Jesus*, is simply one more expression of a sentiment which, in published form, dates back in China at least as far as 1920 when Ch'en Tu-hsiu wrote his seminal article "Christianity and the Chinese People." Ch'i-teng Sheng's particular contribution lies in his innovative emphasis on the symbolic significance of Christ's life and death and the necessity of internalizing it for the purpose of greater psychological/spiritual wholeness.

46. Ch'i-teng Sheng, "Ch'ien-ch'eng chih Jih" 虔誠之曰 [A Day of Piety], *Chiang-chu* 僵局 [Stalemate] (Hong Kong: Grass Roots, 1975), p. 8 (my translation).
47. In my doctoral dissertation cited above (*Double-Edged Sword: Christianity and Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction*), I employ the concepts of analytical depth psychology to interpret Ch'i-teng Sheng's fantasy on the level of a personal dream (cf. pp. 356-75).
48. Sanford, op. cit., p. 30. On page 39, Sanford further elaborates upon this key concept of Analytical Psychology:

The deepest urge or instinct within every living creature, Jung asserts, is to fulfill itself. In human life this urge toward fulfillment does not come from our conscious minds, but from the unconscious Center of our being, the Self.

49. The case can be made that the quest for wholeness is at the heart of most, if not all, literary endeavors. I have argued this point in my article "Pao-yu and Parsifal: Personal Growth as a Literary Sub-structure," *Tamkang Review*, 9 (Summer 1978), 407-26.
50. Wang I-chia 王淦嘉 points out on page 64 of his excellent study *Ching-shen Fen-hsi yü Wen-hsueh* 精神分析與文學 [Psychoanalysis and Literature] (Taipei: Wild Goose, 1980):

For Jung a work of literature resembles a dream and, therefore, possesses a revelatory nature. It functions in both compensatory and regulating capacities, the area of compensation being any "deficiency in human consciousness."

51. Regarding Mao Tun's Christianity-related works of fiction and translations, see note 33 above. I deal with the influence of Christianity on Mao Tun in my dissertation *Double-Edged Sword*, op. cit., on pages 93-117 and 276-94.
52. During the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-1945), Pa Chin (cf. note 33)

made a serious study of Christianity that resulted in his sympathetic portrayal of a patriotic Chinese Christian in his epic novel *Fire* (part three, 1945). The protagonist undergoes a social awakening—similar to the one experienced by Kikuko in Kuo Mo-jo's *Fallen Leaves*—in which the ideal of Christian service cancels out a former distaste for the religion resulting from the severity of the brand of Christianity practiced by his father, an extremely fundamentalist Christian minister (cf. *Double-Edged Sword*, op. cit., pp. 246–76 for an in-depth treatment of Pa Chin's *Fire*).

53. Perhaps Jung's most basic and far-reaching discovery is the collective unconscious or archetypal psyche. Through his researches he demonstrated how the individual psyche is not just a product of personal experience, but also has a pre-personal or transpersonal dimension manifested in universal patterns and images (as found, for example, in all the world's religions and mythologies); cf. C. G. Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, Volume 9, *Collected Works* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), i. par. 1–147.
54. "Revenge (II)" is contained in Lu Hsün's collection of prose poems entitled *Wild Grass* in its English edition (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1976). Lu Hsün's poem describes Christ's utter abandonment on the cross.
55. Besides the Taosheng trio of writers mentioned above (cf. note 4), other prominent writers on Taiwan who have written works of fiction along these lines include Chang Hsi-kuo 張系國 (cf. *P'i Mu-shih Cheng-chuan* 皮牧師正傳 [The True Story of Reverend P'i], Hung Fan, 1978), Ch'en Ying-chen 陳映真 (cf. "Wo ti Ti-ti K'ang Hsiung" 我的弟弟康維 [My Younger Brother K'ang Hsiung], translated in part in Jeannette L. Faurot, ed., *Chinese Fiction from Taiwan: Critical Perspectives*, Bloomington, 1980), Chu Hsi-ning 朱西寧 (cf. "K'u chih Kuo-ch'eng" 哭之過程 [In the Course of Crying] and "Ta Feng-ch'e" 大風車 [The Big Windmill], both included in his volume entitled *Yeh-chin-che* 冶金者 [The Metallurgist], Ch'en Chung, 1972), and, of course, Ch'i-teng Sheng (cf. note 45 above).