

**The Inculturation of Taiwanese Catholicism:
The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church**

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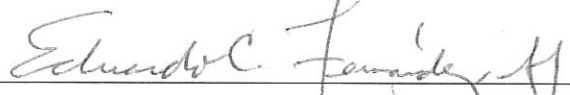
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ABSTRACT

THE INCULTURATION OF TAIWANESE CATHOLICISM: THE YANSHUI HOLY SPIRIT CHURCH

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Taiwanese Catholicism shows the signs of regression from previous efforts on inculturation of Christian arts. The images of Jesus and saints displayed in public still retain their Western features. However, Taiwanese-indigenized Christian arts have made progress in the last few decades. The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is a very important example. The Catholic Church has also highlighted the importance of making an authentic local Church, especially after the Second Vatican Council. The Federation of Asian Bishop's Conferences (FABC) has made concrete guidelines for building an Asian local Church, which is in dialogue with the life reality of the Asian people (especially the poor), cultures, and religions. Through a genuine triple dialogue, the local Church is able to engage in the reality of her own context in imitation of her Lord Jesus Christ who incarnated into the world as the Emmanuel, God is with us.

Indigenized Christian arts directly communicate the salvific story of God's love to local people from a local perspective, which make the message of the gospel more accessible to God's people. In a similar way, the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church integrate Christian traditional themes with Taiwanese cultural arts to present the good news of God's salvation to Taiwanese people. Through the murals in the sanctuary

area, the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church truly engages triple dialogue with the reality of Taiwanese society and becomes an excellent example of Taiwanese theology of inculturation through Christian arts.

The introduction of this research explores the issue and context of Taiwanese Catholicism as well as the methods, procedures, and scope of the research. The first chapter analyzes the historical development of the Taiwanese Church and focuses on the progress of Christian arts. The second chapter introduces the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church and analyzes their artistic expressions. The third chapter demonstrates the development of the concept of inculturation in the Church and how the Yanshui murals serve as a model of theology of inculturation.



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Introduction

The world-famous mural *The Last Supper* (Fig. I.1) painted by Leonardo da Vinci exists not only in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan but also appears in an “Asian form” in Taiwan. The images of Jesus and His disciples depicted as East Asian men (Fig. I.2) have been painted on the mural of the Last Supper inside the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church in a small town in Tainan County and have been *in situ* since 1986. As Leonardo portrayed the residents of Florence and Milan in their clothing and eating habits as his models of Jesus and the disciples, he narrated not only the story of Jesus and His disciples during the Passover Supper but also the story of his models’ daily lives in his time.¹ Similarly, the “Asian form” Last Supper also manifests local characteristics, such as local dishes and tableware, which reflect the traditional daily diet of the local people and communicate God’s love. However, this mural was obscure for more than two decades until it caught the media’s attention after a 2009 Taiwanese film *Somewhere I Have Never Traveled* (Fig. I.3).² A scene of that film was shot inside that church. The director Fu Tian-Yu chose that church in her film as a metaphor of inculturation. It was an expression of her ideal Taiwanese film, which was to absorb local elements to communicate the director’s idea with the audiences in the same way that the church

¹ Ross King, *Leonardo and The Last Supper* (New York: Walker and Company, 2012), 124-125.

² 「帶我去遠方」，文化部影視及流行音樂產業局。[“Somewhere I Have Never Traveled,” Bureau of Audiovisual and Music Industry Development, MOC, last updated October 24, 2018, accessed December 7, 2018, <http://www.taiwancinema.com/Film/FilmContent/?ContentUrl=54221>.]

already did.³ After the film hit theaters, the Yanshui Holy Spirit became a hot spot for tourists, and the Taiwanese-style mural got the title “*The Oriental Last Supper*.”⁴

If we consider Christian art as a way of expressing Christian faith, it becomes a medium to guide the viewers to dialogue with the Gospel message. Then, the way in which Christian artists capture their viewers’ attention and speak in their visual language becomes an essential element. Christian art is a form of evangelization, for it expresses God’s salvation in such a tangible way to God’s people. Therefore, Cecilia González-Andrieu, a theologian of aesthetics, talks about “seeing as salvation.”⁵ She argues that Christian art expresses humanity’s deepest longing and functions both sensually and theologically for the viewers. It integrates viewers’ senses and spiritual seeing, which refers to a fullness of life in God depicted in the Christian art as a wholistic experience. It is in the process of “seeing” this work of art and engaging the Christian imagination that the viewers may allow the message of God’s salvation to respond to their deepest longing. Therefore, seeing *is* salvation. Moreover, the image of Christ is credible to access God’s salvation because Jesus is the incarnated image of God in the world. Jesus said, “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God” (Matt. 5:8).

³ 毛雅芬，「旅行的意義：《帶我去遠方》導演傅天余專訪」，財團法人國家電影中心。
[Ya-Fen Mao, “The Meaning of Travel: An Interview with Tian-Yu Fu, the Directress of *Somewhere I Have Never Traveled*,” Taiwan Film Institute, last updated September 4, 2009, accessed May 6, 2018, http://www.funscreen.com.tw/headline.asp?H_No=262.]

⁴ 顧守昌，「最後晚餐東方版：包子筷子全上桌（2012年7月28日）」，TVBS新聞。
[Shou-Chang Gu, “The Oriental Last Supper: Buns and Chopsticks All on the Table (July 28, 2012),” TVBS News, May 16, 2016, accessed February 21, 2019, <https://news.tvbs.com.tw/fun/25808>.]

⁵ Cecilia González-Andrieu, *Bridge to Wonder: Art as a Gospel of Beauty* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), 46.

Those who see the image of Christ with pure hearts see God. That is why Alexios Aristenos—a twelfth-century canon lawyer—said, “Thou shalt paint the likeness of Christ Himself.”⁶ Because images indicate Christ’s fulfillment of scriptural types and the affirmation of his incarnation. In sum, Christian art provides the essential visual language to articulate the viewers’ deepest longings and depicts God’s promise to respond to the viewers’ need through the encounter with the images of Christ. Hence, God’s salvific work manifests in the viewers’ spiritual seeing of the work of art.

The Issue and the Context of the Research

If we review the history of Christian faith in Taiwan, we see that it was first introduced around the seventeenth century and Catholicism has been propagated in Taiwan since 1856. Nevertheless, Taiwanese Catholicism still resembles the European rites and traditions, including the iconic images of Jesus, Mary, and the saints (Figs. I.4, I.5). As Peter Phan comments, “Since Christian mission in Asia was intimately bound with Western imperialism, the imported portrait of Jesus was what has been called the Colonial Christ, that is, Jesus as the white, male, all-powerful lord conquering souls and empires for God and implanting his own church.”⁷ Most of Taiwanese church architecture also mimics its European church architecture origins. Michael Amaladoss speaks of a similar phenomenon through the post-colonial Catholic Church in India. “Our

⁶ Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God’s Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 51-52.

⁷ Peter C. Phan, *Christianity With an Asian Face: Asian American Theology in the Making* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), 98.

Church still has the distinctive look of foreign architectural styles.... Our ministers—bishops, priests, sisters—are largely identified by their foreign dress patterns. The medium of our worship and discourse, even when it is an Indian language, has a foreign tone and idiom.”⁸ What results is a foreign Church that alienates Catholics from their own society and culture. Amaladoss continues to describe the seriousness of the issue that the Asian Christians live in two different worlds: one being the biblical and ecclesial world integrated with Hebraic, Greco-Roman, and later European cultures; the other being in a world with their own cultures which nurtures and constitutes their perspective of world and lives.⁹ The “official” images and symbols of their worship—such as church architecture, statues of saints, liturgy, and devotional items—are mainly foreign and need interpretations to be comprehended. These foreign cultural resources, symbolic systems, and historical memories are out of their own contexts and are difficult for Asian Christians to understand. Since these symbols lose their power to communicate the deeper religious meaning to local Catholics and, more so, to non-Catholics, they become merely irrelevant signs.¹⁰ Living in this dilemma, Taiwanese Catholics do not feel at home.

Facing such alienation in their own culture and society, Taiwanese Catholics continue searching for their own identity with difficulty. There are many ways to strengthen one’s Catholic identity: one is a top-down approach by promoting the

⁸ Michael Amaladoss, *Beyond Inculturation: Can Many be One?* (Delhi: Vidyajyoti Education & Welfare Society, 2005), 2.

⁹ Amaladoss, *Beyond Inculturation*, 20.

¹⁰ Amaladoss, *Beyond Inculturation*, 3.

understanding of the traditional ecclesial doctrine and symbol system through Church so the faithful may become better “Roman Catholics.” Another way is a bottom-up approach by figuring out proper local cultural elements and the common religiosity in the local society in order to express the Catholic faith in a local way. Seeing it from a local perspective may make the Catholic faith accessible to the locals and enrich Catholics’ understanding of God and the Church. According to the documents of The Federation of Asian Bishop’s Conferences (FABC), “The decisive new phenomenon for Christianity in Asia will be the emergence of genuine Christian communities in Asia—Asian in their way of thinking, praying, living, communicating their own Christ-experience to others.... If the Asian Church does not discover its own identity, they will have no future.”¹¹ Hence, the bottom-up approach is confirmed by FABC and characterized as the ideal model of the Asian Church.

If we are to take this statement of FABC seriously, this discontinuous phenomenon of inculturation mentioned above indicates a crisis of identity of Taiwanese Catholicism. Then, some questions may emerge from this discontinuous phenomenon. First, what are the historical factors that have allowed Taiwanese Catholicism, and especially expressions of the faith through art, to retain primarily Western features? Second, what work of inculturation in Taiwanese Catholicism has been done in the past? Third, how can the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church serve as an example of

¹¹ James H. Kroeger, “Dialogue: Interpretive Key for the Life of the Church in Asia,” *FABC Papers* 130 (May 2010): 7, accessed May 5, 2018, <http://www.fabc.org/fabc%20papers/FABC%20paper%20130.pdf>.

Taiwanese theology of inculturation through Christian art that reflects and contributes to the dialogue and values among faith, culture, and local community?

Thesis Statement, Methodology and Procedure

In response to the questions raised above, this research will try to tease out the causes behind the phenomenon and reclaim Taiwanese Catholic own identity through Christian art expressed through the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church. I will argue that Taiwanese Catholicism stands between a transitional point that involves multiple aspects of Taiwanese identity. Taiwanese Catholicism has to discover the seed of the Word of God that has been planted in Taiwanese soil and allow it to grow toward maturity by communicating the Catholic faith in its own way. I argue that this can be done especially through symbols and iconography as expressed, for example, in the murals—an important and integral feature of the architecture of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church—which speak directly to local people through local elements. The methodology of this research includes a cross-disciplinary approach drawing from the fields of Taiwanese Church history, art history (and especially iconographic analysis), comparative religion, and theology of inculturation. The approach follows the FABC's statement mentioned above in a bottom-up model.

The procedure of this research is as follows: after a brief introduction of the issue, context, methodology, scope, and contribution in the introduction, the phenomenon of Taiwanese religiosity, a brief Taiwanese Catholic history, the development of inculturation, and hindrance of inculturation will be addressed in the first chapter. The second chapter will analyze the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church as a model of

Taiwanese theology of inculturation which exemplifies an ideal true Asian local Church in triple dialogue with the people (the poor), their cultures, and their religions.¹² In the third chapter, I will discuss the divine-human encounter from the Christian perspective and the Church documents of inculturation, and I will develop a Taiwanese theology of inculturation through Christian art.

The Scope, Audiences, and the Contribution of the Research

In this research, the case of inculturation will be limited to the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church in Tainan County of Taiwan in order to provide a focused case study; in particular, the murals in the sanctuary area inside the Church will be closely examined. The model allows for some temporal scope, from the time of the first evangelization in Taiwan to the present. The potential audience will be pastors, docents, Christian artists and historians of East Asian religious art, students of theology, and those who are involved in interfaith dialogue. This research will significantly invoke a voice of building an authentic local Church to Taiwanese Catholicism to pay attention to Taiwanese theology of inculturation through Christian art which has already existed since 1986 but is neglected by current the Taiwanese Church. Through rediscovering its richness, Taiwanese Catholicism should boldly reclaim her own identity as a genuine local Church and continue to develop her own ways of thinking, living, and expressing her faith through dialogue among Taiwanese people, cultures, and religions.

¹² Kroeger, "Dialogue," 13.

Chapter One: The History of Taiwanese Catholicism and the Work of Inculturation

Coming to Taiwan almost four centuries ago, Catholicism has been established in the island through the three waves of evangelization. These waves structure the main movements of growth and identity in Taiwanese Catholic history. In this chapter, the religiosity of Taiwanese society will be introduced as the context of Taiwanese Catholicism. Then, these three waves of evangelization will be brought in. The discussion of each wave will include a brief Taiwanese Catholic history in that period and the work and hindrance of inculturation.

1.1 The Religiosity of Taiwanese Society

Taiwan is an island and country full of religiosity. In a pilot project of “A Comparative Study of Religious Experience” by Yen-Ren Tsai and his research team in 2011, 84.1% of Taiwanese claim that they are religious. Even though 15.4% of Taiwanese claimed they are atheists, only 2% of them do not worship and pray; the majority of religion is popular religion, which occupies 38.4%; the remaining percentage can be seen in the following sequential order: 18.6% is Buddhism, 13.1% is Taoism, 5.1% is the syncretism of Buddhism and Taoism, 4.9% is Christianity, and so on. The majority are popular religion, Buddhism, and Taoism. Christianity has remained about 5% for many years since 1994.¹³ Christianity remains in the minority. In terms of

¹³ 蔡彥仁，「臺灣地區宗教經驗之比較研究——一個跨學科研究的案例」，*人文與社會科學簡訊*，第13卷，第3期（2012年6月）：178-179，[Yen-Ren Tsai, “A Comparative Study of Religious

religious buildings in Taiwan, there are 12,225 temples and 1,840 churches.¹⁴ Generally speaking, there are 605 temples or churches in every county and every ten thousand Taiwanese own 6.5 temples.¹⁵ To further propagate the urgent need of Taiwanese religiosity, the business of temple factories is booming. Such temple factories receive hundreds of orders every year and are able to build a temple within two days (Fig. 1.1).¹⁶ As shown above, Taiwanese people deeply hunger for a religious life in order to contact the divine and comprehend the meaning of life.

Not only are the majority of Taiwanese religious, these religions are diverse in Taiwan society. Hsun Chang, an ethnologist, summarizes a brief history of Taiwanese religious diversity as follows: the aboriginals of Taiwan belong to one of Austronesian peoples. Their early religions were based on animism. After the Han people immigrated from mainland China to Taiwan in the seventeenth century, they propagated Buddhism, Taoism, and Chinese Religions of Fasting. During the period of colonization by Spaniards and Dutch in the eighteenth century, they introduced Catholicism and Protestantism as well as Canadian and British Presbyterian Churches in the nineteenth century. After the Japanese occupation during the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, their

Experience: An Interdisciplinary Case Study,” *Information of Humanities and Social Science* 13, no. 3 (June 2012): 178-179,] accessed November 22, 2018, <https://www.most.gov.tw/hssnq/2010-12/201206-No.13-3/index.html>.

¹⁴ “The Statistic of Religious Communities,” National Religion Information Network, accessed November 23, 2018, <https://religion.moi.gov.tw/Home/ContentDetail?cid=Report&ci=1>.

¹⁵ “The Development of Taiwanese Religions, High Density of Temples and Churches,” Cultural Resources Geographic Information System, accessed December 20, 2018, <http://crgis.rchss.sinica.edu.tw/info/news/2010082001>.

¹⁶ Liu Zi-Wei, “Legend of the Taiwanese Temple Factory: Build a Temple in Two Days and Send It to Nanyang in a Week,” BBC News, February 12, 2018, accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/chinese-news-42901642>.

religious policy had a strong influence on the development of religions in Taiwan even though their Shintoism disappeared after they left. After the civil war between the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party in the mid-nineteenth century, the immigrants from mainland China spread Chinese Buddhism, Chinese Taoism, *I-Kuan Tao*, and Islam to Taiwan. After 1960s, immigrants from China founded *Tiendiism* (Lord of Universe Church), *Tiendeism* (Holy Church of Heavenly Virtue), *Xuanyuanism* (The Emperor of Xuanyuan), and the Taiwanese-founded *Cihui* (Charity) Temple as well. Meanwhile, *Soka Gakkai* and *Tenrikyo* were introduced from Japan, Unificationism was introduced from Korea, *Bahá'í* Faith was introduced from Iran, and Mormonism was introduced from the US. The multiple religions in Taiwan thrive because of the policy of religious freedom.¹⁷

As shown above, religions in Taiwan are characterized by popularity and diversity. The development of these religions can be evidenced through the historical accounts of civil wars and a turbulent social environment, such as the Chinese Civil War between 1927 to 1949 when the mainlanders withdrew to Taiwan. The variety of religions became the shelters of uneasy souls. Living in a such multi-religious society, Taiwanese people develop an attitude of tolerance and inclusiveness toward religious diversity. Visiting temples, churches, and sacred sites is a common practice for the Taiwanese, especially on the occasions of Chinese New Year, weddings and funerals, vacation, etc. Since the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is a famous attraction of Tainan City

¹⁷ Hsun Chang, "Religious Research and Contemporary Taiwan Society," *Information of Humanities and Social Science* 11, no. 2 (March 2010): 9, accessed November 22, 2018, <https://www.most.gov.tw/hssnq/2010-12/201003-No.11-2/index.html>.

(Fig. 1.2), there are about 539 tourists who visit this church every month, and the murals of the church play an important role of communicating the Catholic faith and the value of the gospels that meet the need of people's religiosity.¹⁸

In this context of Taiwanese religiosity, we will trace back the history of Catholicism and see how the missionaries introduced the Catholic faith to Taiwan. The history of Taiwanese Catholicism may be simplified by three waves of evangelization.

1.2 The First Wave: The Period of the Spanish Occupation (1626-1642)

The first wave of evangelization was initiated between 1626 and 1642 by Spanish missionaries. According to the studies of Miguel Angel San Román Pérez¹⁹ and José Eugenio Borao Mateo,²⁰ the competition of colonial powers between the Dutch and the Spanish resulted in the evangelization of Taiwanese Catholicism. The Dominican missionary Bartolomé Martínez was assigned by the Governor of the Philippines, D. Fernando de Silva, to lead a Spanish expedition to occupy the north of Taiwan in order to expand the Crown's territory against the Dutch. In 1626, they landed at a harbor known as Keelung today. The Spanish soldiers established the fort and city of Salvador while the Dominicans constructed the church of Todoslos Sandos on Heping Island at the

¹⁸ The number of visitors is calculated by the author according to the guestbook of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church from September 2017 to June 2018. The total number of visitors is 4851. The mean of the visitors every month is about 539.

¹⁹ 山樂曼，*美麗的島·主的莊園：1859-1950*（台南市：聞道出版社，2013），63-66。
[Miguel Angel San Román Pérez, *Formosa, Fields of God: 1859-1950* (Tainan: Catholic Window Press, 2013), 63-66.]

²⁰ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, "The Formosa Catholic Mission, 1626-1895," in *The Catholic Church in Taiwan: Birth, Growth and Development*, ed. Francis K. H. So, Beatrice Leung, and Ellen Mary Mylod (Singapore: Macmillan, 2018), 16-18.

entrance of Keelung harbor.²¹ As the model of the city of Salvador shows in the picture (Fig. 1.3), it was a rhombic shape fort with four bastions. The architecture looks similar to another Spanish fort called Castillo de San Marcos in Florida during the 1670s. Hence, we may speculate that the architecture built in Spanish colonies during the period of its colonial expansion characterized the similarity which also displayed the superiority of its colonial power.

During this period, the residents in Keelung were made up of people from the Basai tribe and migrants from China and Japan. The immigrants who married local indigenous people introduced the Dominican missionaries to the tribes, and the missionaries started to evangelize the indigenous people. By 1632, they began to establish churches and Catholic communities near the Tamsui river after the Spaniards established several forts around that area (Fig. 1.4). From 1634 to 1635, the evangelization reached its climax. The Dominican missionary Teodoro Quirós baptized 320 people in 1635.²² The early success could be attributed to two factors. On one hand, the indigenous people asked for baptism because they were under the protection of the missionaries against the Spanish force. On the other hand, the missionaries were mediators when they needed help from the Spaniards to fight against their opponents.²³

²¹ According to the official policy of translation system in Taiwan, the Executive Yuan—the executive branch of the government of the Republic of China—has adopted Chinese pinyin (漢語拼音 hanyu pinyin) as official translation system since 2008. Therefore, regarding the names and places mentioned in this research, the translations will use Chinese Pinyin unless they have already conventionally been used or appeared in official websites up to 2019. See 「中文音譯音轉換系統」, 中華民國教育部。[“Chinese Translation System,” Ministry of Education, accessed April 19, 2019, <http://crptransfer.moe.gov.tw/instruction.jsp>.]

²² Mateo, “The Formosa Catholic Mission,” 18.

²³ Mateo, “The Formosa Catholic Mission,” 22.

The baptisms during the first wave of evangelization numbered approximately four thousand, which were contributed by thirty-one missionaries.²⁴

In 1638, however, the Spaniards suddenly abandoned the ambitious plan of occupying all of Taiwan. They gradually withdrew their garrisons from Tamsui because of the deficiency of food, the lack of laborers and funds for the reconstruction of the fort, and the scarcity of the ships and hospitals.²⁵ The retreat of Spanish forces result in the locals' hostile attacks to the Church and the decline of the number of Catholics because the presence of the missionaries still symbolically associated with the imperial force. Even worse, the Dutch navy struck at the Spanish fortress of Keelung and defeated the rest of the Spanish army in 1642. All the missionaries were captured and transferred to Zeelandia Fort in Tainan. The Dutch then sent them to Batavia in Indonesia.²⁶ Hence, the Dutch occupation of Keelung led directly to the end of the first wave of evangelization in Taiwan as the missionaries' efforts vanished under another new colonial power.

As we observed the architecture in this period (see Figs. 2.3 and 2.4), the Spaniards established their cities, forts, and churches in the form of their own architecture. The architecture—perhaps also included the church—still retained its

²⁴ 山樂曼，*美麗的島·主的莊園*，63-66。[Pérez, *Formosa, Fields of God*, 63-66.]

²⁵ 陳宗仁，「1632年傳教士 Jacinto Esquivel 報告的解析——兼論西班牙佔領前期的台灣知識與其經營困境」，*台灣文獻*，第 61 卷，第 3 期（2010 年 9 月）：31，[Tsung-Jen Chen, “An Analysis of Fr. Jacinto Esquivel’s Report ‘Memoria de las cosas pertenecientes al estado de la Isla Hermosa,’” *Taiwan Literature* 61, no. 3 (September 2010): 31,] accessed May 4, 2018, https://www.th.gov.tw/new_site/05publish/03publishquery/02journal/01download.php?COLLECNUM=401061301.

²⁶ Miguel Sanroman，「道明會第一次來台開教」，潘貝頌譯，*道明會*，[Miguel Sanroman, “The First Evangelization of Dominican in Taiwan,” trans. Pei-Chi Pan, Order of Preachers,] accessed March 15, 2019, http://dominicanfamily.catholic.org.tw/taiwan_history_firsttime.htm.

European appearance. Not only the architecture but also the dressing of the missionaries still characterized European tradition. Hence, we may conclude that the first encounter between the Catholic faith and Taiwanese culture did not achieve much inculturation of Catholicism. After all, it was just in its initial stage.

1.2.1 The Work of Inculturation

As shown above, the Spaniards' sixteen-year short stay in northern Taiwan did not bring about much fruit of inculturation. We know very little about the application of Christian art in this period because the archaeological research of this period is still in its initial stage.²⁷ There are not sufficient archaeological findings for reconstructing the missionaries' life in that period. However, Miguel Sanroman, a Dominican historian, mentioned that the missionaries once brought a Marian statue from Manila in a special procession to celebrate the inauguration of Our Lady of the Rosary Church in Guandu.²⁸ Therefore, we may speculate that the missionaries probably employed most of its Christian art from their Asian Headquarters—the Province of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Philippines. Another historical record was the missionaries' study and translation of the local languages. Dominican missionary Francisco Váez compiled the materials on the

²⁷ A team of archaeologists discovered four relics of European buried in the archaeological site of Dominican monastery in Heping island. The city of Salvador still has not yet been excavated. See the news report: Yi-Jie Chen, "Encounter after 392 Years: The Story of José Eugenio Borao Mateo and Heping Island," Up Media, May 8, 2018, accessed March 15, 2019, https://www.upmedia.mg/news_info.php?SerialNo=39670.

²⁸ Sanroman, 「道明會第一次來台開教」。[Sanroman, "The First Evangelization of Dominican in Taiwan."] Note that the Taipei government use Pinyin spelling as the official translation system. See "Taipei City Government Bi-lingual Search Engine," Taipei City Government, accessed April 15, 2019, <https://bilingual.gov.taipei/Default.aspx>.

native languages for the purpose of evangelization. Another missionary Teodoro Quirós also contributed two books after his ten-year stay in Taiwan: one is the grammar book *Arte de la lengua de Formosa (The Art of Language in Formosa)* and another is the dictionary *Vocabulario en la misma lengua (Vocabulary in the Native Tongue)*. Probably, these two books were made by updating the materials from Jacinto Esquivel and Francisco Vázquez.²⁹ Unfortunately, these two books are lost and only the titles are mentioned in Jacinto Esquivel's report.³⁰ As the evidence shows above, the first wave of evangelization was just in its early stage of encounter between the Catholic faith and Taiwanese culture in sixteen years. The Catholic faith was translated into the local Tamsui language and probably most of the Christian arts were imported from the missionaries' own culture. No evidence indicates the fruit of inculturation in Christian arts.

In comparison with the barren inculturation of the Taiwanese Church, the mission in China bore much more fruits of inculturation after Matteo Ricci's arrival in 1582. Ricci abandoned his European clerical clothing and dressed himself as a Chinese scholar,

²⁹ Mateo, "The Formosa Catholic Mission," 16-17.

³⁰ It is not clear what kind of native language these books refer to. There were thirty-seven tribes—an estimates of seven thousand plain indigenous people—living around the area of Tamsui river and they spoke different tribal languages in the seventeenth century. They were all called *Ketagalan*. According to Spanish missionaries' records, most of the tribal people learned *Basay* language in order to communicate with one another. The information is synthesized from 李壬癸, 「巴賽語的地位」, *語言暨語言學*, 第2卷, 第2期 (2001年4月1日): 156, [Paul Jen-Kuei Lee, "The Linguistic Position of Basay," *Language and Linguistic* 2, no. 2 (April 1, 2001): 156,] accessed April 13, 2019, http://www.ling.sinica.edu.tw/files/publication/j2001_2_05_7243.pdf and 「凱達格蘭社會文化」, 流動的歷史軌跡與收藏的平埔記憶: 噶瑪蘭與凱達格蘭, 台灣大學人類學系, ["The Social Culture of Ketagalan," *Shifted Historical Trajectories and Collected Pingpu Memories: Kavarán and Ketagalan*, Department of Anthropology of Taiwan University,] accessed April 1, 2019, http://www.pinpu.digital.ntu.edu.tw/overview_a1.php.

exchanged the knowledge of Western civilization with Chinese scholars, and made friends with them respecting Chinese culture and manners (Fig. 1.5).³¹ He made himself acceptable to twenty-three Chinese elites and gained a good reputation among them as well as with the Chinese emperors. Under his indigenized strategy of evangelization, Christian art and Chinese traditional paintings had mutual influences. The *Foreign Lohan* (Fig. 1.6) painted by an unknown Chinese artist in his time was influenced by Christian art. The Lohan with the red cloak and the stick look like the Good Shepherd Jesus. Perhaps the Chinese artist used the portrait of Christ as his model to depict the Buddhist holy figure.³² Another icon, *Madonna of Saint Luke* (Fig. 1.7) painted by an unknown artist, was an adaptive artwork from Giuseppe Valeriano's copy of *Salus Populi Romani* (Fig. 1.8). In this Marian icon, the artist made alterations to the clothing and appearance of Mary and Jesus so that they both looked Chinese. Another effort of inculturation in Christian art was the printed books of indoctrination. Some series of printed books were made in corporation with Chinese artists who utilized the indigenous technique of woodblock printing to demonstrate Christian faith. For instance, the illustration *Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 1.9) was adapted from the one of Nadal's gospels *The Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 1.10). The artist translated every line into Chinese equivalent and added some items of Chinese landscapes, furnishing, and clothing in this picture.³³

³¹ Marcus J. J. Wang, "Indigenization Efforts of the Catholic Church in Taiwan," in *The Catholic Church in Taiwan: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Francis K. H. So, Beatrice Leung, and Ellen Mary Mylod (Singapore: Macmillan, 2018), 14.

³² John O'Malley, Guavin Alexander Bailey, and Giovanni Sale, eds., *The Jesuit and the Arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003), 333.

³³ O'Malley, Bailey, and Sale, eds., *The Jesuit and the Arts 1540-1773*, 340.

Consequently, the illustration was not simply a transplanted European design but an integration with Chinese artistic technique and aesthetic taste.

As we observe these two examples of indigenized Christian arts, the tendency is to use the original paintings or faithful copies as models and translate them into a Chinese style. The local artists utilized the indigenous techniques and materials to reinterpret the Christian messages in a Chinese way. As we will see later, this early trend of inculturation in China would impact the way of making the Yanshui Holy Spirit murals, which will serve as an example of inculturation using visual means in Taiwan. However, it was a long road from the seventeenth century to the present.

1.2.2 The Hindrance of Inculturation

Unfortunately, the retreat of the Spaniards from Taiwan terminated the good work of the missionaries. The failure of the first evangelization in Taiwan demonstrates a serious political issue within the history of mission. Christian evangelization has historically accompanied imperial force. Though the missionaries tried to differentiate themselves from the Spanish military, the local people still felt hostile toward the Spaniards, whether soldiers or churchmen, and saw Catholicism as a foreign religion. The lack of indigenized Catholic faith and practice led local people to conflate Catholic faith with colonial power. Furthermore, the integration of a new religion into the local society takes time. Even after the sixteen years of the missionaries' endeavor for evangelization, it was like a flash in the pan after they left.

1.3 The Second Wave: The Return of Missionaries in 1859

The second wave of evangelization started in 1859. It crosses three periods of governance—the Qing dynasty (1859-1895), the Japanese occupation (1895-1945), and the Republic of China (1945-1949).

1.3.1 Qing Dynasty

Before 1858, the emperor of the Qing dynasty banned missionaries from evangelizing its territories, including Taiwan. However, after the United Kingdom and France defeated the Qing dynasty in the second Opium War in 1858, the Qing government was forced to sign the Treaties of Tianjin with the United Kingdom and France. It promised to open the ports of Taiwan, including Anping, Tamsui, Keelung, and Takao, for allowing trade between empires and to permit missionaries to evangelize and establish missions.³⁴ On this opportunity, missionaries re-entered into Taiwan similar to the first wave of evangelization: the Western conquerors invaded Taiwan for the purpose of commerce. Therefore, the Catholic faith for locals became a mixing of the symbols of the faith with the symbols of conquest and commerce.³⁵ As we will analyze later the evidence of being a foreign presence is the European architecture of the church which

³⁴ 古偉瀛，*近代台灣天主教史的三階段研究：清末、日治及戰後國府統治初期*（台北市：台灣大學歷史系暨研究所，2005），24，[Wei-Ying Ku, *A Three-Stage Research of Modern Catholicism in Taiwan: The End of Qing Dynasty, Japanese Colonization, and After World War Two* (Taipei: Department of History of Taiwan University, 2005), 24,] accessed April 26, 2018, <http://ntur.lib.ntu.edu.tw/handle/246246/21272>.

³⁵ 李長瀚，「反思百年來基督宗教在台的現代化歷程」，東吳大學社會系研究生研究計畫暨論文發表會論文，[Chang-Han Lee, “Reflection on the Process of Modernization of Christianity in Taiwan for a Hundred Years,” master’s thesis, Department of Sociology of Soochow University,] accessed March 27, 2018, <http://www.scu.edu.tw/society/publish/official/95-1/conference/001.pdf>.

abruptly established among the Taiwanese rustic villages. Hence, the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church, which manifest an approachable form of inculturation, become very precious in a dialectic manner of being an authentic local Church.

With some confusion of purpose, Dominican missionaries Fernando Sáinz Morales and Angel Bufurull Samsó started their mission with three catechists and a missionary family. They landed in Takao harbor, known as Kaohsiung today, in 1859. Originally, they planned to contact Catholics who had accepted the faith in the seventeenth century. But it proved difficult because the area of the first evangelization lay north 232 miles from Kaohsiung. Fortunately, they met a young fisherman, Tat-a, who offered his small boat for them to stay. Moved by the missionaries' good deeds and passionate faith, Tat-a decided to follow their example. His charitable offering to the missionaries gave himself an opportunity to learn the Catholic faith. Five months later, Tat-a was baptized and became the first Catholic of the second evangelization. This first fruit of the second evangelization signified a shoot of the Catholic faith re-sprouting from the land of Taiwan.³⁶ This was the typical model of how missionaries evangelized before they established a mission station. Pérez concludes the steps of this model as follows: first, they occasionally encountered someone or contacted some families; second, they stationed themselves in a potential area to teach catechism; third, after two to three years of catechism, they established a small catechism hall, chapel, and the residences for the missionaries and the catechists.³⁷ The missionaries set a mission base in Kaohsiung, then

³⁶ 山樂曼，*美麗的島·主的莊園*，95-99。[Pérez, *Formosa, Fields of God*, 95-99.]

³⁷ 山樂曼，*美麗的島·主的莊園*，78。[Pérez, *Formosa, Fields of God*, 78.]

they expanded their mission of evangelization to the south villages of the Taiwanese plain indigenous peoples—Wanchin, Koutzuch’ien, and Laopi—with much labor and many difficulties because their evangelization also involved the conflict between the Taiwanese plain indigenous peoples and the Hakka people.³⁸ Before the missionaries came to Wanchin, the hostility between Taiwanese indigenous people and Hakka people had already existed because they fought for land.³⁹ After many Taiwanese plain indigenous peoples converted to Catholicism, the Wanchin Church—which was built in 1870—became the target of the Hakka people. Its Spanish castle appearance also manifested a foreign presence (Fig. 1.11). Two towers popped out from the façade of the church and the whole church was painted in white. A bell was placed on the top of the right side of the tower. Most of the materials and builders were imported from the south of China—Fuzhou, Xiamen, and Penghu. Because of its foreign appearance, the church attracted many local people to look at its architecture. Even the missionaries tried to indigenize some design of the local folk art, such as the sedan-style chair used in Marian processions, which was mixed with the Gothic decoration in its upper part and the Chinese floral ornament on its base (Fig. 1.12), the whole look was still considered

³⁸ 山樂曼，*美麗的島·主的莊園*，79。[Pérez, *Formosa, Fields of God*, 79.]

³⁹ In the South of Taiwan, there were many plain indigenous peoples or lowland tribes. They lived in the plain area before Han peoples immigrated to Taiwan. The tribe of Wanchin belongs to Makatao tribe. When Hakka people moved in, they frequently fought for land. Hakka people is one of Han peoples. It is estimated to contribute to 3.6% of Han peoples. Hakka people originally lived in the south of China including Guangdong, Fujian, Jiangxi, Hunan, Hainan, Guangxi, and Sichuan. See 「平埔族群」，原住民委員會。[“The Plain Indigenous Peoples,” Council of Indigenous Peoples, accessed April 15, 2019, <https://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=A9E092C6104ACAD5>.] and 林修澈，「台灣客家人的原鄉」，客家委員會。[Hsiu-Ch’e Lin, “The origin of Taiwanese Hakka,” Hakka Affairs Council, last updated April 15, 2019, accessed April 15, 2019, <https://www.hakka.gov.tw/Content/Content?NodeID=624&PageID=36595>.]

alien.⁴⁰ After all, the process of inculturation of the Catholic faith was still in its initial stage.

Before long, the Dominican missionaries turned toward north prefecture Tainan to look for Catholics who were sheep without shepherds since 1642. Tainan was the prefecture of Taiwan under Qing's rule from 1684 to 1885. After the Treaties of Tianjin in 1858, its harbor, Anping, was forced to open its door for trade. Hence, Western merchants set trading posts near the remains of Fort Zeelandia. As the prefecture of Taiwan, Tainan became the most international, educational, and cultural city. This was the context when Sáinz arrived in Tainan and tried to find some tribal Catholics in 1859.⁴¹ Occasionally, a young local introduced him to an indigenous village which mistook the villagers as Catholics. However, that encounter paved the way for future evangelization. Seven years later, Sáinz got several invitations from that village to teach them catechism. He went and stayed in Tainan for two months, establishing a base for mission. Then, he entrusted a catechist to cultivate the mission and returned to Kaohsiung. The next year, Sáinz harvested the first fruit of catechism in Tainan: the candidate's baptized name was Francis de Sales.⁴²

Southern locals were xenophobic during that time. Even Qing officials promoted hostility toward foreigners among locals by circulating rumors about the Christian

⁴⁰ 陳怡君，「慶典、聖像與地方形成：以屏東萬金天主教的社群為例」，*考古人類學刊*，第 78 期（2013 年 6 月）：87，[Chen, I-Chun "Festival, Statue of Virgin Mary, and Place-Making: A Case Study of a Catholic Village in Taiwan," *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* 78 (June 2013): 87,] accessed March 30, 2019, <http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~anthro/download/journal/78-3.pdf>.

⁴¹ 山樂曼，*美麗的島·主的莊園*，175。[Pérez, *Formosa, Fields of God*, 175.]

⁴² 山樂曼，*美麗的島·主的莊園*，176-178。[Pérez, *Formosa, Fields of God*, 176-178.]

missionaries. They allowed locals to harass the missionaries and the Catholic communities. Many churches were burned; catechists were persecuted. A Tainan official even prohibited Sáinz from buying local land for erecting churches.⁴³ This situation grew less severe after May of 1868. After Sáinz was assigned to Hong Kong as a Dominican Provincial the next year, Ramon Colomer became the new pastor of the Tainan parish in 1871. He dedicated his parish to St. Thomas Aquinas—the famous and knowledgeable theologian—because Tainan was also famous for its rich cultural heritage and talented people in this city. However, his ambitious desire to dialogue with the Taiwanese culture did not bear much fruit. The evangelization did not make much progress during those years. Twenty-four converts were the only fruit of Colomer’s endeavor within four years. After Colomer left, the situation became worse: the parishioners decreased in the 1890s due to the lack of pastors and the increased migration of local Catholics out of the city. When Angel Mariá Rodríguez came in 1923, this situation improved. First, he invited several Catholic families to move in and establish a school for catechesis. Then, he taught Roman literature and religious songs, which attracted many people to the Church. After two years’ labor, he erected a new church dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. That year eighty converts joined the Church community.⁴⁴ During this period, the missionaries utilized some strategies of evangelization in order to convert the Taiwanese. The churches were decorated with splendor of decorations as gorgeous as the local temples and the processions were held with firecrackers on the feast days as lively

⁴³ 古偉瀛，*近代台灣天主教史的三階段研究*，32-34。[Ku, *A Three-Stage Research of Modern Catholicism in Taiwan*, 32-34.]

⁴⁴ 山樂曼，*美麗的島·主的莊園*，173-175。[Pérez, *Formosa, Fields of God*, 173-175.]

as the popular religious processions.⁴⁵ The missionaries tried to adopt and integrate some popular religious practices, but it was still in a very initial stage.

1.3.2 The Japanese Occupation

During the Japanese occupation period (1895–1945,) the development of the Church was stable. Wei-Ying Ku points out three advantages and disadvantages that summarize the development of Catholicism in those years. In terms of advantages, the first is the stability of Taiwanese society under Japanese governance. It helped the development of the Church. Second, some Japanese were Catholics and the government had better knowledge of Catholicism than Qing officials. Third is the progress of training lay missionaries, missionaries' language skills, and the development of diocese. In terms of disadvantages, the Japanese government utilized its force to maintain the stability and security of Taiwan society. At the same time, it limited the rights of missionaries and inhibited the development of Catholicism. Second, Catholicism lacked financial and human resources to expand its territory. Competition sharply arose as Protestant missionaries integrated advanced medical care with their methods of evangelization, which effectively converted many Taiwanese. Third, popular religion intertwined deeply with the locals' social relationships. The perceived incompatibility between the Catholic faith and local popular religious practice made conversion very difficult and particularly costly due to its subsequent disintegration of the social fabric of local life.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ 古偉瀛，*近代台灣天主教史的三階段研究*，46-49。[Ku, *A Three-Stage Research of Modern Catholicism in Taiwan*, 46-49.]

⁴⁶ 古偉瀛，*近代台灣天主教史的三階段研究*，75-77。[Ku, *A Three-Stage Research of Modern*

1.3.3 The Republic of China

After World War II, Japan withdrew from Taiwan. Then the Republic of China took over. The Taiwanese Church struggled to survive due to financial hardship; to maintain the expense of the mission and to redevelop after the war seemed an impossible monetary feat. After ninety years of this second wave evangelization, only three native priests—Min-Tseng Tu, T'ien-I Li, and Wei-T'ien Li—from Taiwan had emerged. Ku attributes the stalled growth of Taiwanese Catholicism to a lack of awareness to promote the local vocation.⁴⁷

1.3.4 The Work of Inculturation

During this second wave of evangelization, some work of inculturation had been created, and we can see the results reflected in the visual religious culture. The missionaries decorated the churches with splendor of decorations as the local temples and firecrackers were used in the processions as other popular religions so as to increase the cheerful atmosphere of celebration. The Marian sedan chair was integrated with the decoration of Chinese floral ornament. Lay missionaries were assigned by the missionaries as the pioneer for evangelization before baptism. The missionaries introduced lay catechists from mainland China, especially from Fukien, to evangelize the local people because they spoke of the same languages and did so more fluently than

Catholicism in Taiwan, 75-77.]

⁴⁷ 古偉瀛，*近代台灣天主教史的三階段研究*，87-88。[Ku, *A Three-Stage Research of Modern Catholicism in Taiwan*, 87-88.]

foreign missionaries. After a period of catechism, the foreign missionaries baptized the catechumens. Hence, lay catechists became important assistants in the mission of evangelization. Second, some liturgies and celebrations were adopted in order to attract the local people. Third, a catechist school was established in the long run of evangelization in 1873. They selected some pious lay people and trained them for evangelization. Fourth, Romanized Taiwanese (Poh-eh-ji) was used for the printed religious books, and a hymn book was published in Taiwanese in 1927.⁴⁸ As shown above, some strategies of evangelization were adopted in order to attract the locals and made Catholicism more accessible through art and material culture.

However, if we inspect the development of the Catholicism and Christian art in mainland China during this period, we may discover many inspiring events and work of art. One of the inspiring events was the appointment of Cardinal Celso Benigno Luigi Costantini as the Apostolic Chancellor in China in 1922. To understand the significance of this appointment, it is noteworthy to remember that after the Treaty of Peking between the Qing dynasty of China and France in 1860, the French Empire claimed its monopoly of protectorate of missions in China. Hence, it was difficult for the Holy See to establish a diplomatic relationship with China. A few years before Costantini's appointment, Pope Benedict XV published an apostolic letter on Catholic mission *Maximum Illud* in 1919 to rectify the improper attitude of missionaries and promote the local cultures and local churches. When Costantini came to China, he took *Maximum Illud* seriously and

⁴⁸ Wei-Yi Ku, "Catholic Church in Taiwan During the Japanese Occupation," in *The Catholic Church in Taiwan: Birth, Growth and Development*, ed. Francis K. H. So, Beatrice Leung, and Ellen Mary Mylod (Singapore: Macmillan, 2018), 47-48.

considered that his mission was to promote an authentic Chinese Catholic Church, which was hindered by some missionaries who prioritized their national benefit—such as the consideration of their mission as the expansion of their national territories, a lack of appreciation of Chinese culture, and the neglect of training the local clergy—over the benefit of Chinese Church.⁴⁹ He invited a Benedictine architect, Dom Adelbert Gresnigt, to design the architecture of Fu Jen Catholic University (Fig. 1.13) and South China Seminary—now known as the Holy Spirit Seminary (Fig. 1.14).⁵⁰ These two buildings were designed according to the model of the traditional Chinese Palace. He also encouraged the Chinese artist Yuan-Du Chen (also known as Lucas Chen, 1902-1967)—who converted to Catholicism and later became the faculty member and the chairman of the Department of Fine Arts of Fu Jen Catholic University—to create indigenized Christian arts. Chen painted several Christian works of art in the way of traditional Chinese painting, such as *Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ* and a series of paintings illustrating the life of Christ. The former depicts Mary and baby Jesus dressed in Chinese traditional clothing with the pine tree, peony flower, and background of a Chinese landscape. This Chinese-style icon was popularly published in many Catholic magazines and eventually became the theme of the Vatican stamp in 1961 (Fig. 1.15).⁵¹ Chen also

⁴⁹ 陳方中，「中國教會脈絡下的剛恆毅樞機」，輔仁大學校史室，[Fang-Zhong Chan, “Cardinal Celso Benigno Luigi Costantini in the Chinese Context,” The History Office of Fu Jen Catholic University,] last updated September 2006, accessed March 31, 2019, <http://www.fuho.fju.edu.tw/sketch/writing/20081200.pdf>.

⁵⁰ “The Architecture of the Holy Spirit Seminary,” The Holy Spirit Seminary of the Catholic Diocese of Hong Kong, accessed March 30, 2019, <http://www.hss.org.hk/places.html>.

⁵¹ 燕飛，「陳緣督及其繪畫研究」（碩士論文，浙江理工大學，2012），38，[Yan Fei, “A Study on Chen Yuandu and His Paintings” (master’s thesis, Zhejiang Sci-Tech University, 2012), 38,]

published a book, *The Life of Christ*, which contained a serial illustration of the mysterious life of Jesus Christ. One of these paintings, viz *The Last Supper* (Fig. 1.16) even influenced the composition of the mural of *The Oriental Last Supper* in the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church.⁵² One observes that the background of *The Last Supper*—which was inspired by Chinese traditional natural landscape paintings with pine trees, river, and mountains (Fig. 1.17)—became the model of the mural of *The Oriental Last Supper* (see Fig. I.2). By the influence of Chen's position as the chairman of the Department of Fine Arts of Fu Jen Catholic University, he summoned many artists to create indigenized Christian art and held a Christian art exhibition in Shanghai in 1935.⁵³ This trend of indigenized Christian art eventually impacted Taiwanese Christian art. We will identify these elements in the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church.

1.3.5 The Hindrance of Inculturation

There was no profound reflection on how to integrate the Catholic faith with that of Taiwanese culture at this time, so we can begin to see how radical it was to finally do so once the Yanshui murals were installed. Nevertheless, in the second wave of evangelization, some conditions obstructed further growth of inculturation. First, the

accessed April 2, 2019, <http://61.181.120.82:8081/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?filename=1012371926.nh&dbcode=CMFD&dbname=CMFD2012>.

⁵² This book originally published by Yuan-Du Chen in 1939. Later on, Nonny Hsueh edited it and reprinted it in 2012. Nonny Hsueh, *The Life of Christ*, illustrated by Yuan-Du Chen (Taipei: EHGBooks, 2012), 44.

⁵³ 燕飛,「陳緣督的基督教美術」,《現代裝飾理論》,第4期(2011):80,[Yan Fei,“The Christian Art of Chen Yuan-Du,” *Modern Decoration Theory* 4 (2011): 80,] accessed March 20, 2019, <http://61.181.120.82:8081/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?filename=XDZS201104068&dbcode=CJFD&dbname=CJFD2011>.

unstable political environment limited the development of Taiwanese Catholicism. The Taiwanese comprised of different ethnic groups and spoke different dialects, such as Fukien, Hakka, and the languages of Taiwanese indigenous people. Conflicts and flights occurred from time to time among these groups. Because of Catholicism's foreign feature, such as foreign missionaries and the usage of Latin in the liturgy, some rumors of Catholicism—such as practicing witchcraft to harm the locals—circulated among the local people and resulted in hostility toward Catholicism, even in some cases causing severe persecution during the period of Japanese occupation.⁵⁴ Second, unattractive salaries for lay catechists brought about fewer local Catholics involved in the mission of catechism. The missionaries could not afford reasonable payment to local lay catechists due to insufficient budget for mission. Third, the missionaries did not take into consideration the need to train local clergy. The missionaries were only concerned with training lay catechists but ignored to promote local clerical vocation until the early twentieth century. Dominican missionaries' strategy of evangelization targeted the lower class of Taiwanese society, such as immigrants from mainland China or Taiwanese indigenous people. They had less interest in cultural exchange with elites of Taiwanese society.⁵⁵ As a consequence, the work of inculturation did not progress much.

⁵⁴ Ku, "Catholic Church in Taiwan During the Japanese Occupation," 50-52.

⁵⁵ 古偉瀛，*近代台灣天主教史的三階段研究*，52。[Ku, *A Three-Stage Research of Modern Catholicism in Taiwan*, 52.]

1.4 The Third Wave: The Arrival of Missionaries with the Kuomintang Government after 1949

The third wave impacted by the arrival of hundreds of missionaries who retreated with the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) government from mainland China after 1949. A tremendous change occurred after the Communist Party of China took over the whole of China and established its government in 1949. The Kuomintang government lost its control of mainland China in the civil war and retreated to Taiwan. In 1950, the People's Republic of China banned all the activities of missionaries in China and drove away foreign missionaries. Hence, hundreds of missionaries moved to Taiwan and expanded the territory of the Taiwanese Church. According to Taiwan Catholic statistics in 1948, only fourteen Dominicans, four diocesan priests, and ten sisters served 13,000 Catholics in Taiwan. However, by 1954, 374 priests shepherded the reported 32,310 Taiwanese Catholics. Ten years later, the faithful numbered 283,074 and priests increased to 731. The number of foreign priests made up more than half of the total clergy.⁵⁶ Different congregations and plenty religious dedicated themselves to ministries of evangelization, education, medical service, social work, publication, etc.⁵⁷ Before 1949, there were only fourteen churches, twenty-two mission stations, one minor seminary, and one girls school. However, the number increased up to 480 churches in 1965. The number of churches continued increasing up to 824 churches all over Taiwan

⁵⁶ In 1949, there were only eighteen priests in Taiwan; after 1949, the number of priests increased up to forty-five in 1950; the numbers of priests dramatically raised to 296; in 1954, the number became 374; in 1965, the number grew up to 731. 古偉瀛, *近代台灣天主教史的三階段研究*, 231-232。[Ku, *A Three-Stage Research of Modern Catholicism in Taiwan*, 231-232.]

⁵⁷ 古偉瀛, *近代台灣天主教史的三階段研究*, 101-106。[Ku, *A Three-Stage Research of Modern Catholicism in Taiwan*, 101-106.]

in 1981. There were seven seminaries in 1965. Regarding the development of education, there were 492 kindergartens, six primary schools, seventeen high schools, five technical schools, and one university in 1965.⁵⁸ As shown above, ample missionaries devoted themselves to the evangelical mission of the Taiwanese Church and bore abundant fruits. However, even though Taiwanese Catholicism expanded so fast, the concept of inculturation was still weak after the government's retreat from mainland China. According to *The New York Times* article on "Recovery of Mainland Still Taiwan's Stated Goal" (October 7, 1971), the ideology of the Taiwanese government and society then still considered recovery of the mainland was someday possible. Therefore, this ideology also influenced Taiwanese Catholicism as well. The Church did not pay much attention to the issue of establishing a local Taiwanese Church.

In order to have a better comprehension of the dramatic and complex change of Taiwanese Catholicism, Michael Chuan-Sheng Chang, a Catholic historian, borrows the Y-shape theory of historiography to demonstrate this cultural fusion of Taiwanese Catholicism both from Taiwanese and mainlanders after 1949. He argues that Taiwanese Catholicism was formed by these two sources: First, the original Taiwanese Catholics who could traced their origins back to Qing dynasty and Japanese occupation periods, rural aborigines, and some Han people converted to Catholicism before 1949, and mountain aborigines converted after 1949. Second, the Catholic mainlanders migrated with the nationalist government and the relocated mainlanders in Taiwan converted to

⁵⁸ 古偉瀛，*近代台灣天主教史的三階段研究*，96-106。Ku, *A Three-Stage Research of Modern Catholicism in Taiwan*, 96-106.]

Catholicism after 1949. Both sources shaped Taiwanese Catholicism from 1950s to 1960s and contributed to the number of the Taiwanese Church up to 300,000.⁵⁹ Along with this trend of the fusion of two sources, the expression of Taiwanese Christian art was also influenced by the movement of indigenized Christian art in mainland China before 1949, especially the influence of Chen and his artist friends who devoted themselves to promote indigenized Christian art.

1.4.1 The Work of Inculturation

After the Second Vatican Council, Taiwanese Catholicism embarked on developing a Taiwanese theology. Some eminent scholars, such as Luis Gutheinze, Paul H. Welte, Bishop Paul Shih-Kuang Ch'eng, Cardinal Yupin, Aloysius B. Chang, and Mark Chih-Jung Fang, both native and foreign, built up a solid foundation for a Taiwanese theology of inculturation.⁶⁰ A trend of discussing Chinese theology rose among the scholars, theologians, and pastors in Taiwanese Catholicism in 1972.⁶¹ They defined theology of inculturation as the promotion of God's revelation via the contemporary thoughts of Chinese as well as creation of new Chinese culture via the revelation of God. He listed several scholars, such as Liang T'ien, Luis Gutheinze, Paul H. Welte, Shih-Kuang Ch'eng, Mark Chih-Jung Fang, and Aloysius B. Chang, who

⁵⁹ Michael Chuan-Sheng Chang, "Internal Development of the Taiwan Catholic Church: 1950s-1960s," in *The Catholic Church in Taiwan: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Francis K. H. So, Beatrice Leung, and Ellen Mary Mylod (Singapore: Macmillan, 2018), 29.

⁶⁰ Wang, "Indigenization Efforts of the Catholic Church in Taiwan," 17-18.

⁶¹ Aloysius B. Chang, "The Inculturation of Theology in Chinese Church: A Record for Twenty Years," in *The Exploration of the Church's Inculturation (Jiaohui benwei hua zhi tantao)*, 2nd ed. Theological Book Series 14 (Taipei: Fu Jen University Press, 1994), 3.

contributed the theology of inculturation. Liang T'ien was the first one who systematized the Chinese concept of filial to Chinese theology in 1959. He divided his argument into three parts: the meaning of the concept of filial piety, the theory and the outline of filial piety, and the value of the theology of filial piety. He claimed that filial piety is grounded in Confucianism and is practical for common people; hence, it is worthy for promotion among Chinese Catholics. Austrian Jesuit Luis Gutheize advocated a Christ-center humanism which integrates the Eastern and Western perspectives. Seeing that the Chinese people were more inclined to intuition, German Dominican Paul H. Welte suggested that the effort of Chinese Christian inculturation should connect people to the mysteries of Christian faith through intuition and contemplation. Bishop Paul Shih-Kuang Ch'eng argued that Chinese morality is an ethics-based morality rather than a law-based morality. Hence, he claimed that the combination of Chinese morality and Christian sacraments helps Christianity integrate itself into Chinese culture. Jesuit Mark Chih-Jung Fang introduced three characteristics of biblical exegesis for Chinese: based on a moral foundation, relying on guidance rather than logic, and allowing the integration of a reader's subjective experience and insight.⁶² Jesuit Aloysius B. Chang was a prolific theologian. His systematic writing built a framework for a Taiwanese theology of inculturation.⁶³ As demonstrated, the diversity of Taiwanese theology of inculturation offered by different theologians and scholars in different fields formed a concrete ground for Christian faith embedded in the Taiwanese culture.

⁶² Aloysius B. Chang, "The Inculturation of Theology in Chinese Church," 4-10, 33.

⁶³ Wang, "Indigenization Efforts of the Catholic Church in Taiwan," 18.

Besides the development of Taiwanese theology of inculturation, some development of indigenized Christian artists is also noteworthy. Monica Liu is a famous Catholic artist. She mastered Chinese ink wash painting. Having studied Christian art in Rome, Liu integrates Christian themes into Chinese artistic expression.⁶⁴ For instance, in her artwork *Intimate Whisper* (Fig. 1.18), she depicts Mary sitting under a pine tree with infant Jesus standing on her lap, whispering intimately to his mother. Both Mary and Jesus are dressed in Chinese clothing. American Jesuit artist, Keith Barry Martinson, decorates his indigenous Qingquan Church with the elements of Atayal culture.⁶⁵ He made the indigenized mosaic to demonstrate the biblical stories through Atayal's perspective. He depicts David as an Atayal warrior who dresses in traditional loincloth and fights against the giant Goliath (Fig. 1.19). He uses Atayal red traditional color as the main color of the clothes in his mosaic. The blue background color sets off the red color and makes the main characters in his mosaic more attractive. Another pastor artist Yung-Hsiung Tu designed twelve churches with Rukai and Paiwan cultural artistic decorations.⁶⁶ In his design of the Immaculate Conception Church, he utilizes twelve

⁶⁴ Mu-Han Yen, "Localization of the Roman Catholic Arts—A Study of the Influences of Cardinal Celso Costantini on Taiwan" (master's thesis, Chinese Culture University, 2014), abstract, accessed April 20, 2019, <http://ir.lib.pccu.edu.tw/handle/987654321/28349>.

⁶⁵ Atayal people is one of the Taiwanese Highland indigenous tribes. The Qingquan Church is located in the Atayal area of Hsinchu County. Keith Barry Martinson serves as pastor of the Qingquan Church from 1976. He spent decades to decorate the church with indigenized Christian arts, such as murals, stained glass, and mosaics. Chun-Fang Chen, "Enriching Lives in Qingquan: Father Martinson," Taiwan Panorama, last updated March, 2017, accessed April 24, 2019, <https://www.taiwan-panorama.com/tw/Articles/Details?Guid=70d9f6a1-5275-4379-b9d8-0e0ad53573d8&CatId=2>.

⁶⁶ Rukai and Paiwan are two of Taiwanese indigenous tribes in the south of Taiwan. Tu himself is a Rukai Catholic priest and serves these two tribes for many years. He is talented in arts even though he has never received any professional art training. He designs twelve churches with the localized cultural elements and aesthetics in order to make Catholic churches more like local sanctuaries. "The Photography Exhibition of the Indigenous Catholic Churches: The Record of the Beauty of the Twelve Churches," Information and International Affairs Department of Pingtung County Government, last updated July 27,

Paiwan traditional carved house posts to decorate the pillars surrounding the church (Fig. 1.20). In these twelve carved house posts, he carves the Apostles in Paiwan features to represent the localized tribal ancestors and house guardian spirits who also participate in the sacred liturgy.⁶⁷

Regarding the development of Protestant Christian arts in this period, Taiwanese religious art scholar Su-Chi Lin also introduces several contemporary artists in her dissertation. Chris Chou's abstract illustration of biblical narrative of *Six Jars* is one of the examples in her study (Fig. 1.21). Chou uses six organic circles to present the joy of life which the wedding brings about. The warm color, colorful dots, and flower pattern make the entire artwork cheerful.⁶⁸ Another Taiwanese Christian photographer, Stanley Fung, utilizes camera to capture the images of God incarnated in human beings. In one of his photographs called *The Virgin Preparing* (Fig. 1.22), he successfully integrates the biblical story of the waiting virgin and the Taiwanese elements into an eternal-like icon. An innocent Taiwanese girl with a long Chinese robe and a flower held in her hands is seemingly looking at the viewer, which creates a dynamic force between the icon and the viewers.⁶⁹ As shown above, some indigenized Christian art has developed in recent years.

2018, accessed April 20, 2019, https://www.pthg.gov.tw/plantou/News_Content.aspx?n=B666B8BE5F183769&s=28D6622CE8BE703E.

⁶⁷ 國立台灣博物館, 「祖先雕刻屋柱——守護神在此停駐」, *原住民族文獻*, 第8期 (2013年4月): 33-34, [National Taiwan Museum, "Carved House Post: The Guardian Spirits Stay Here," *The Indigenous Literature* 8 (April 2013): 33-34,] accessed April 30, 2019, <https://ihc.apc.gov.tw/Journals.php?pid=615&id=716>.

⁶⁸ Su-Chi Lin, "Intercultural Mediation: A Visual Cultural Study of Art and Mission in Contemporary Taiwan" (PhD diss., Graduate Theological Union, 2017), 124-125.

⁶⁹ Lin, "Intercultural Mediation," 136.

On one hand, Catholic art is more connected with Chinese traditional aesthetic expression and pastoral application in church architecture and decorations. On the other hand, Protestant art is more creative and liberal. The media of creation is more diverse.

1.4.2 The Hindrance of Inculturation

As Catholics are the minority in Taiwanese society, the dialogue between Christian art and the Taiwanese culture becomes necessary for the proclamation of the Gospel and the evangelization for salvation. Because the indigenized Christian art is a concrete visual presentation of Christian faith which communicates directly with the viewers through their familiar cultural symbols and visual languages. It draws the viewers closely to the messages of the Gospel. Hence, it is an effective way of evangelization. The mural of *The Oriental Last Supper* seems to manifest the endeavor of this dialogue and inculturation of Taiwanese Catholicism in the past. However, this dialogue between Christian art and Taiwanese culture seems not to progress much after the achievement of the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit. Beatrice K.F. Leung, a Sino-Vatican-Taiwan relations scholar, observes that three phenomena may contribute to the regression of inculturation. First, after Vatican II, the Taiwanese Church became less local but more global. The foreign missionaries outnumber the local clergy in three major cities, Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung by a ratio of 350 to 276; foreign brothers and Chinese brothers are 56 to 51 in 2014. Second, the Taiwanese Church actively keeps updating the teaching of the universal Church synchronically and quickly puts it into practice. For instance, the Apostolic Exhortation titled *Amoris Laetitia* regarding family and marriage was promptly translated into Chinese and studied by Taiwanese Catholics.

Third, the Taiwanese Catholic migrants easily integrate into the overseas Chinese communities, such as those in Singapore, Hong Kong, the USA, and Canada, for they practice the same universal Catholic worship customs without difficulty.⁷⁰ While Taiwanese Catholics are paying much attention to the teaching of the universal Church, they seem pay less attention to what the Church's teaching on the issue of inculturation.

As a result, the Taiwanese Church has been gradually losing her identity as an authentic local Church but embracing more universal Catholic identity—a more “Western form” of identity. One example of this disconnect is the presence of Christian lanterns exhibited in the Lantern Festival—an important celebration in Taiwan society to conclude the celebration of the Chinese New Year—which attract hundreds of thousand tourists every year. Many large lanterns are placed to represent the values which Taiwanese society treasures. In recent years, Catholic communities also actively participate in this celebration and present the Christian faith and values through huge lantern artworks, such as *Endless Love: Railway to Happiness* in 2018 (Fig. 1.23), and *The Transformation of Water into Wine at the Wedding of Cana* in 2019 (Fig. 1.24). As observed in these figures, however, the depictions of Jesus still display Western features. In comparison with the lanterns of the other religions (Figs. 1.25, 1.26), the Christian God looks like a foreigner, not a local. By contrast, the Yanshui murals do not only reflect the culture and community of the church in which they are placed, but also play an

⁷⁰ Beatrice K. F. Leung, “Introduction,” in *The Catholic Church in Taiwan: Problem and Prospects*, ed. Francis K. H. So, Beatrice Leung, and Ellen Mary Mylod (Singapore: Macmillan, 2018), 1-2.

important role in the formation of the identity of the Taiwanese Catholics who worship there.

According to the study of Michael Hsueh-Ling Wang and Beatrice K. F. Leung, in the last four decades, the Taiwanese Church has experienced her budding period to the flourish period of evangelization and prolific Taiwanese theology of inculturation, and now is declining. The number of Taiwanese Catholics from 290,000 in 2008 decreased to 230,000 in 2014. There are many complex factors involve in the decline of the number of Taiwanese Catholics. One of the factors might be the insufficient implementation of inculturation at the popular level. Even most theologies of inculturation were developed in the level of academic and the school of theology, the practice of inculturation is still experienced at the parish and diocese level. In fact, there are few issues of inculturation involved in the parish life either in liturgy or catechism. Most foreign pastors are struggling with hardship of touching the hearts of people in the local's way and attracting conversions.⁷¹ Therefore, the theology of inculturation discussed in the academic level seems less impact on Taiwanese Catholics' lives.

If the theological reflection and inculturation is disconnected from the popular, it may isolate it from the real life of Catholics. Hence, as we observe above that applying indigenized Christian arts as a mean of evangelization and Christian formation to the popular level—such as Liu's devotional Marian paintings, the works of Martinson and Tu in church architecture and decorations, and the artworks of those artists mentioned in

⁷¹ Michael Hsueh-Ling Wang and Beatrice K. F. Leung, "The Taiwan Catholic Church and the Indigenization Movement," in *The Catholic Church in Taiwan: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Francis K. H. So, Beatrice Leung, and Ellen Mary Mylod (Singapore: Macmillan, 2018), 75-77.

Lin's research—becomes an important issue. That is why developing indigenized Christian art for reaching the popular level is crucial and the significance of the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church call attention to Taiwanese Catholicism in order to remember her ever being an authentic local Church.

Chapter Two: The Murals in the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church

In this chapter, I will introduce the background of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church: its brief history and context. Then, I will analyze the structure of the Church, focusing especially on the murals at the sanctuary area. Further, I will analyze the engraved icon on the altar, the murals of *The Last Supper*, and of *The Holy Trinity*.

2.1 The Background of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church

The mission of evangelization in Tainan was initially carried out by the Dominican missionaries. After 1952, Congregatio Missionis (Congregation of the Mission) also moved in and started their mission in Tainan. Fr. Leo T. Fox established an Inquiry Center for Catholic Doctrine and resulted in four hundred new members joining the Church in that year. In 1953, the Franciscan missionaries also arrived and started their missions in Hsinying, Matou, Chiali, Paihe, and Yanshui, etc.⁷² After the endeavor of creating these three congregations, the number of Catholics increased in Tainan. Finally, Tainan Diocese was founded in 1961 and Stanislaus Lo Kuang was the first bishop who became an important promotor of Taiwanese Catholicism of inculturation.

The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is located at Yanshui district in Tainan (Fig. 2.1). The word “Yanshui”, literally means “salt water,” refers to an old inland port located at the confluence of the branch of Jishui river and the lagoon in the north of Tainan. It

⁷² The Committee of the Golden Jubilee of Tainan Diocese, *Catholicism in Tainan: 1961-2011* (Tainan: Catholic Windows Press, 2012), 6.

played an important role for waterway transportation and in trade in Southern Taiwan. Because of its shape, the port came to be known as “moon port.” During the Qing dynasty (1636-1912), its flourishing businesses brought it fame as the fourth most prosperous area in Taiwan. Pious devotion to religions went along with prosperity.⁷³

The temple of Matsu—goddess of the sea worshipped by the people along the coast of East Asia—is the public temple of Yanshui where all villagers worship (Fig. 2.2). As Matsu’s temple got the name 護庇宮 *Hupi* Temple which literarily means the temple of shelter, many Matsu statues were enshrined here and it gradually became a spiritual shelter for all villagers. The first statue of Matsu was from 湄洲 *Meizhou*—the birthplace of Matsu—of mainland China. A sugar merchant brought the statue and established the temple in 1623. Afterward, the other Matsu statues were also enshrined here one after the other, such as the Matsu statues from the clothes merchants, oil merchants, and groceries merchants. Hence, *Hupi* Temple united all the merchants and inhabitants of Yanshui and became the religious center. During Japanese occupation, the temple was destroyed by Japanese government under the policy of Japanization. After World War II, it was re-established in 1959 and concluded its construction in 1972. When Matsu’s feast is celebrated, the route of the procession covers the entire Yanshui district.⁷⁴

⁷³ 台南市政府文化局，「鹽水區境內庄社」，〈《台南學》電子報，第208期〉，[Tainan Municipal Government Cultural Bureau, “The Villages of Yanshui Area,” *E-Journal of Tainanology* 208,] last updated April 7, 2016, accessed May 3, 2018, <http://nanying.pixnet.net/blog/post/43601872>.

⁷⁴ 張耘書，「護庇宮」。[Chang Yun-Shu, “Hupi Temple,” accessed April 13, 2019, <http://crgis.rchss.sinica.edu.tw/temples/TainanCity/yanshuei/1102007-HBG.>]

Besides *Hupi* Temple, several small temples sprung up around the area of Yanshui in this period, including a famous martial temple dedicated to Duke Guan Yu, the general of the warlord Liu Bei during East Han dynasty (Fig. 2.3).⁷⁵ The legend of martial temple depicts how a serious plague of cholera permeated Yanshui villages around 1860. The population declined precipitously as well as the economy in twenty-five years. In response, the pious believers of Duke Guan Yu decided to have a procession of Duke Guan Yu across the whole region. As the palanquin of Duke Guan Yu passed through each village, worshippers lit abundant firecrackers to welcome him causing sulfurous smoke to diffuse throughout the choleraic place. As a consequence, the plague disappeared, and the believers attributed this to a miracle of Duke Guan Yu. Every year they light firecrackers or beehive fireworks in the end of the Lunar New Year to commemorate this event.⁷⁶ Hence, the celebration attracts numerous visitors and makes Yanshui district a famous tourist attraction.

2.2 The Construction of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church

In this region of popular religiosity and surrounded by dense temples in Yanshui district, the Franciscans established a church and dedicated it to the Holy Spirit (Fig. 2.4). The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church was founded by Franciscan Father Hugolino Schorr

⁷⁵ 台南市鹽水區公所，「廟宇」，旅遊美食，[Tainan City Yanshuei District Office, “Temples,” Tourism and Dining,] Yanshuei District Office, last updated July 14, 2015, accessed May 3, 2018, <http://web.tainan.gov.tw//ysdo/page.asp?nsub=E0A600>.]

⁷⁶ 中華民國內政部，「鹽水蜂炮」，台灣宗教文化資產，[The Ministry of the Interior, “Yanshui Beehive Fireworks,” Taiwan Cultural Assets of Religions,] last updated May 4, 2018, accessed May 4, 2018, https://www.taiwangods.com/html/cultural/3_0011.aspx?i=86.

in 1955 in Tainan Diocese. At the beginning, he built a wooden church that unfortunately was consumed by termites after just ten years (Fig. 2.5). In 1970, another Franciscan Father Conradus Ly succeeded as the pastor. He observed that the locals were country dwellers without much education. Hence, he envisioned a local church which would communicate Catholic faith with them through the localized Christian arts so that they might comprehend better the Catholic faith by accompanying the reading of Christian arts.⁷⁷ As a talented Chinese scholar, Fr. Ly devoted himself to the vision of building a localized church that encompasses Taiwanese color symbolism, artistic styles, and religious symbols.⁷⁸ After visiting many local temples and Chinese-style churches, he started fundraising for the reconstruction of the church. He invited friends and Catholics from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau to contribute to the reconstruction. He supervised every detail of the whole project, even every single mural on the walls of the church. The whole project took three years (1983-1986). When the new church was finished, Fr. Ly

⁷⁷ 余嘉齡，「台灣鹽水聖神天主堂壁畫之研究」(碩士論文，國立台灣師範大學，2009)，28。[Jia-Ling Yu, “The Icons of Yenshui Holy Spirit Church in Taiwan” (master’s thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2009), 28.]

⁷⁸ Fr. Ly was born in Gaoling County, Shaanxi Province of China in 1919. He was ordained in the Diocese of Fengxian, an ecclesial Province of Xi’an in China, in 1946. During the Chinese Civil War, he joined the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, a Bible society in Hong Kong which translated the Bible into Chinese. He came to Taiwan to serve as the acting principle of Saint Francis High School in 1961. He also taught Greek in Fu Jen Catholic University. Fr. Ly was a knowledgeable Confucian scholar and litterateur. He even translated the Psalms and the Song of Songs into magnificent Chinese. He served the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church as pastor for twenty-third years (1969-1992) until he retired. The Yanshui Church was his masterpiece during his term of office. He passed away in Tainan in 2007. See 蕭世偉，「同在樂園裡：從臺南鹽水天主堂探討天主教本地化議題」(碩士論文，國立台灣大學，2015)，32 [Shih-Wei Hsiao, “Research Inculturation from the Murals of Yenshui Holy Spirit Church in Taiwan” (master’s thesis, National Taiwan University, 2015), 32] and 梵蒂岡電台，「東南亞通訊：居台李少峰神父安息主懷，月前與鳳翔主教弟弟團聚」，[Radio Vaticana, “Southeast Asia News: Fr. Conradus Ly Passed Away in Taiwan after Reunion with His Brother, the Bishop of Feng-Xian Diocese, One Month Ago,”] last modified May 28, 2007, accessed December 9, 2018.

named it 祭天殿 *ji tian dian*—which means “The Temple of Sacrifice to Heaven”

(Figs. 2.6, 2.7).⁷⁹

The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is built in the style of Chinese palace architecture with a rectangular instead of cross shape. Three layers of reddish orange roof tiles cover the whole building. The walls are painted in ivory, vermilion, and jungle green colors which are used by the local temples (see Fig. 2.2, 2.3). Round and square windows in red decorate the walls and bring light into the church. The traditional longitudinal orientation of the church building is west-east, with the entrance on the west side and the altar on the east.⁸⁰ Although the longitude of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is longitudinally west-east oriented, but it does not follow the traditional design. Its altar is on the west side and the entrance is on the north side.⁸¹

Inside the church, the decoration is full of gorgeous Chinese patterns. Two rows of red pillars are lined up in parallel fashion at both sides of the nave with couplets on each of the pillars (Fig. 2.8, 2.9). The ceilings are decorated with Catholic symbols and embellished with Chinese patterns, such as the symbol of rosary, the Sinicized angels,

⁷⁹ Regarding the study of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church, there are several theses study on this topic. For instance, the theses of Jia-Ling Yu and Shih-Wei Hsiao are mentioned above. Yu’s thesis focuses on the entire project of the Yanshui Church and its artistic expressions. Therefore, her thesis is a good resource to provide a panorama of the Yanshui Church. On the other hand, Hsiao’s thesis generally covers some Taiwanese Catholic history, the persecution of Chinese Martyrs in mainland China, the development of inculturation during Vatican-II, and Franciscan’s mission in Tainan Diocese. Hsiao’s short thesis is a good reference for an instant glance of the context of the Yanshui Church and the issue of inculturation. In this research, my focus will be to connect the artistic expression of the sanctuary murals with the theological reflection of inculturation in order to provide a deeper consideration of inculturation.

⁸⁰ Richard Taylor, *How to Read a Church: A Guide to Images, Symbols and Meaning in Churches and Cathedrals* (London: Rider, 2003), 23.

⁸¹ 余嘉齡, 「台灣鹽水聖神天主堂壁畫之研究」, 35。[Jia-Ling Yu, “The Icons of Yanshui Holy Spirit Church in Taiwan,” 35.]

and dragons (Fig. 2.10). The tone of the entire church looks warm because a large amount of warm colors like ivory, orange, vermilion, yellowish brown, and tan are used.

Actually, the entire colorful decorations were made by the deliberative cooperation of Fr. Ly and the local painters. Fr. Ly asked a local painter, Tian Guo and his team to transform both Chinese and Western-style artworks, such as Chen's *The Last Supper* (see Fig. 1.16) and Leonardo's *The Last Supper* into new ones. Thus, the decorations and murals manifest a unique Taiwanese-style Christian art.

Guo was a suitable choice because he grew up in a famous painter's family in Chiayi County.⁸² They had a family-owned business and offered their service for several temple decorations and mural paintings around Chiayi County and neighborhood. Before he reached sixteen years old, Guo engaged in *Koji* pottery—a kind of pottery that is used to decorate the roof of the temple. However, he shifted his work from *Koji* pottery (Fig. 2.11) to paintings of gods on the doors (Fig. 2.12) and beams of the temple (Fig. 2.13) after he accidentally fell down from a roof. The topics of the mural painting which Guo favors are the legendary novels of history, immortal persons, and morality of the Chinese literary classics, for examples, 三國演義 (*The Three Kingdoms*), 封神榜 (*Investiture of Gods*), and 二十四孝 (*The Twenty-four Filial Exemplars*).⁸³ Since Guo

⁸² The Art Annals of Chiayi County record the biography and artworks of Tain Guo. His grandfather Wen Su, his father Zi-Ran Guo, his brothers Jun-Cheng Guo and Kun-Sheng Guo, and he himself all work as local temple painters. They are recorded in the Art Annals because many murals of the temples and restoration projects of famous murals were made by their company.

⁸³ 李淑卿、明立國、翁徐得編修，「民間彩繪」，嘉義縣誌：藝術誌 336-349，嘉義縣文化觀光局，[Shu-Qing Li, Li-Guo Ming, and Xu-De Weng, eds., "Popular Paintings," The Art Annals of Chiayi County 336-349, Culture and Tourism Bureau of Chiayi County,] last modified March 11, 2019, accessed March 11, 2019, https://www.tbocc.gov.tw/ModuleMsg/News_Detail.aspx?id=932&page=2&&SearchPagingSize_Data=20&SearchDisplay=close&SelectData_KeyWord=66&NewsClassID=61&lang=tw.

was a professional painter, he modified the given Chinese and Western-styles templates into the features that he was familiar in the painting of temples. For instance, he modified the faces and clothes of Jesus, the disciples, and the Holy Trinity into the legendary people. After Guo made the initial localized sketches, he discussed with Fr. Ly who would evaluate the sketches according to his Christian faith and Confucian values before giving permission to Guo and his companions to draw on the walls.⁸⁴

The process of painting the murals was like this: first, the painters put white paint on the walls as bases. Then, Guo drew the outlines of the sketches on the white walls. The last step was the cooperative work of the team to paint colors on the sketches. It took six local painters' cooperation—Tian Guo, his father Zi-Ran Guo, his brother Kun-Sheng Guo, his friend Wen-Sheng Huang, and his two apprentices—and four months to finish all murals. The total cost for the painting was around sixty-seven thousand US dollars then.⁸⁵

2.3 The Analysis of the Murals: The Icon of the Altar, *The Oriental Last Supper*, and *The Holy Trinity*

The most attractive murals, according to frequent mentions in the news media, are centralized in the area of sanctuary. Two major murals—*The Holy Trinity* and *The*

⁸⁴ During the visit to the Yanshui Church, the author asked for any original information or files regarding Fr. Ly's design of the Church, such as the mural sketches, manuscripts, and blueprint. Unfortunately, they were all destroyed during a flood in 1989. Hence, the information about the design of the murals mentioned in this research is based mainly on Jia-Ling Yu's interview with Tian Guo in her thesis in 2009.

⁸⁵ 余嘉齡，「台灣鹽水聖神天主堂壁畫之研究」，27-29。[Jia-Ling Yu, "The Icons of Yenshui Holy Spirit Church in Taiwan," 27-29.]

Oriental Last Supper—and one engraved icon of a Chinese martyr under the altar constitute the main imagery of the sanctuary (Fig. 2.14). In this section, we will first analyze the liturgical space of the area of sanctuary; then, examine these three main images.

As we observe the area of sanctuary, a skylight is situated right above it which is decorated with seven doves, symbolizing the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 2.15). The light luminates the area of sanctuary from here as well as from the windows on both sides of the sanctuary during daytime (Fig. 2.16). The gentle light makes the warm colors of the murals bright and pleasant, especially the mural of *The Holy Trinity* just right below the skylight. *The Oriental Last Supper* looks a little bit dim because of its location on the semi-arched and sagged wall. The interaction of the light and space also differentiates the upper half and lower half of the wall in tone. The upper half of the mural demonstrates the beatitude of heaven with the Holy Trinity whereas the lower half of the mural depicts the supper before Jesus's passion. The tone of the upper half is bright and joyful while the lower half seems a little subdued. These different tones show the fullness of salvation that Jesus brought to the world is still in hope until seeing God face to face in heaven.

The area of the sanctuary is an important sacred space for liturgical celebrations, especially the Eucharistic liturgy. The focus of the celebration of the Holy Communion is on the ambo and the altar. The liturgical congregation face toward this area, listen to the Word of God, and receive communion from the altar. Therefore, the decorations of this area very often represent the core values of Catholic faith and the meaning of the liturgical celebrations. In what follows, I will introduce the area of sanctuary of the

Yanshui Holy Spirit Church and analyze imagery of the three major decorations, namely the engraved icon on the altar, *The Oriental Last Supper*, and *The Holy Trinity*.

2.3.1 The Icon of the Altar

The altar is a cuboid shape and made of cement and covered with black marble slabs. The front altar is engraved with an icon of Chinese martyr St. Maria Wang Luo Mande (Fig. 3.17). The words engraved on the marble read: Blessed Maria Wang Luo Mande, the martyr during the reign of Emperor Xian-Feng of the Qing dynasty, was born in Guizhou in 1802 and martyred in 1861. She was beatified by Pope Pius X in 1908.⁸⁶ In this icon, St. Maria Wang is depicted as sitting indoors with a traditional spinning machine, oil lamp, and knitting tools beside her. She is facing toward the shining cross on the wall in the center of the icon and looks like she is praying. Three cats and two dogs are crouching, sitting, or standing around her. A cock and a hen with eight chicks are spread over the backyard. Behind the cock and the hen, there is a chicken cage. A drying rack with clothes stands above the cage. A piece of damaged wall with some exposed bricks near the spinning machine is a sign of St. Maria Wang's life lived in poverty. The outside looks brighter than the inside because of the large area of incised carving of the sky. The icon represents a rural landscape where the saint lived. St. Maria Wang was a country woman who lived a simple life in poverty and prayer. She was introduced to Catholic faith by a catechist and moved by the missionary's passion for saving souls. She became pious and devoted herself to the service of the Church. She worked as a cook in a

⁸⁶ St. Maria Wang Luo Mande was canonized as a saint with the other 119 Chinese martyrs by St. Pope John Paul II in 2000. When the new church was finished in 1986, she was still a blessed then.

seminary without asking for wage. When the religious persecution occurred (1856-1861), she courageously risked her life to feed the captured Catholics. In the end, she herself was also caught by the government officials and was killed as a martyr.⁸⁷

Fr. Ly dedicated this altar to St. Maria Wang Luo Mande in order to encourage parishioners to pursue sainthood like her. Most of the parishioners of the Yanshui Church are country dwellers who are not well-educated and know little about Catholic doctrines. Hence, Fr. Ly promoted the idea of achieving sainthood by living out a good Christian life in their own conditions rather than knowing how much doctrines. As living in a similar condition as St. Maria Wang, the parishioners may still imitate her exemplar—who lived her ordinary life in her poor condition, sacrificed herself for serving others with enthusiasm, and witnessed God’s love by her life—and become saints.⁸⁸ Therefore, as Fr. Ly recommended St. Maria Wang as the patron saint of his parishioners, he demonstrated the value of the beatitude through the localized icon: “Blessed are you who are poor, for yours is the kingdom of God” (Luke 6:20). By exalting the life of St. Maria Wang, Fr. Ly communicated the love of God for the poor with his parishioners and dialogue this gospel value with the locals who live the same simple life as well.

⁸⁷ 蕭世偉，「同在樂園裡」，15。[Shih-Wei Hsiao, “Research Inculturation from the Murals of Yanshui Holy Spirit Church in Taiwan,” 15.]

⁸⁸ 余嘉齡，「台灣鹽水聖神天主堂壁畫之研究」，37。[Jia-Ling Yu, “The Icons of Yenshui Holy Spirit Church in Taiwan,” 37.]

2.3.2 The Oriental Last Supper

Among the many murals inside the Yanshui Church, the one that attracts the most visitors is *The Last Supper*, situated behind the altar. Some news reports compared it to *The Last Supper* of Leonardo, even calling it “*The Oriental Last Supper*.” *The Oriental Last Supper*, as I will continue to refer to it here, was drawn on a semi-arched and recessed wall just right behind the altar. Instead of furnishing a traditional crucifix as the main imagery connected to Jesus’s sacrifice, Fr. Ly had the mural of *The Oriental Last Supper* put right behind the altar to demonstrate what happens in the Eucharist celebration.⁸⁹ At the Eucharist, the liturgical assembly celebrates the ritual sacrificial meal that recalls and makes present Christ’s life, death, and resurrection.⁹⁰ The furnishing of *The Oriental Last Supper* coincides with these principles and facilitates the assembly to remember the origin and historical event of the Eucharist. It connects that supper to the current celebration of the Eucharist so that it visualizes the love of Jesus for mankind, and deepens the meaning and experience of the Eucharist celebration.

The composition of *The Oriental Last Supper* inside the Yanshui Church was inspired by Lucas (Yuan-Du) Chen’s and Leonardo’s *The Last Supper*. As mentioned before, Fr. Ly gave the pictures of Chen’s and Leonardo’s *The Last Supper* to Guo as templates and asked him to adapt them into a Taiwanese-style last supper. If we analyze

⁸⁹ Actually, the crucifix is hidden near the Chinese style caisson above the altar (see Fig. 3.17).

⁹⁰ For this reason, the Committee on the Liturgy of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops emphasize that the design of the sanctuary should convey the organic relationship between the action of the Eucharist and the prayer and actions of the entire liturgical assembly. Refer to the Committee on Liturgy of United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Built of Living Stones: Art, Architecture, and Worship*, St. Francis de Sales Parish, accessed December 14, 2018, <http://www.sfdslg.org/Church/Documents/ChurchReno/Built%20of%20Living%20Stones.pdf>.

the details of *The Oriental Last Supper*, we will discover that the idea of the composition of the table and the arrangement of the seats of Jesus and the disciples came from Leonardo's *The Last Supper* (Fig. 2.18). The composition of the background of *The Oriental Last Supper* was influenced by the style of Lucas Chen. As we observe, the traditional style of natural landscape painting was applied to these two artworks. The compositions of both are similar: the railing, the pine or cypress tree, the sun or moon, the crane, the Chinese palace lantern, the room divider, the mountains, clouds, waterfalls, and trees (Fig. 2.19). In comparison with Leonardo's *The Last Supper*, some questions may arise when we study Fr. Ly and Guo's version of *The Oriental Last Supper*. What are the differences between these two iconic Christian paintings? What is the message of Fr. Ly and Guo's *The Oriental Last Supper* trying to convey?

In the composition of *The Oriental Last Supper*, Jesus sits at the center of a long table with the disciples. Jesus and the disciples look like typical Chinese people and are dressed in traditional Chinese clothes. Some wear buns and others let their hair fall on the shoulders. Instead of bread, glasses, and plates in Leonardo's *The Last Supper* (Fig. 2.20), *The Oriental Last Supper* features 包子 *pao-tzu* (steamed bun) and 鹽水意麵 *Yanshui Yi-noodles*, 爵 *jue* (an ancient Chinese tripod goblet to serve warm wine), and chopsticks in its table setting (Fig. 2.21). Four red candles represent the four gospels to narrate the love story of the supper. On the one hand, the red clothing of the figure of Jesus is associated with the passion narrative from the Christian point of view. On the other hand, red clothes are also attributed to local gods and used symbolically to this end in the local visual art.

The original composition of Leonardo's *The Last Supper* groups the disciples into four clusters, each with three persons. They are bunched together as they physically touch their neighbors or lean across one another.⁹¹ The distribution is uneven and the facial features create a tenor of suspense and even anxiety. However, the groupings in *The Oriental Last Supper* are even, and their features look less tense (Fig. 2.22). By the composition of his groupings, Leonardo's painting looks more dynamic and dramatic; however, *The Oriental Last Supper* looks more harmonious (Fig. 2.23). Jesus's facial expression in Leonardo's painting is solemn and calm, even a little sad, and His gesture forms a triangular shape, segregating him from the disciples and making him the focal point of the tension and disturbance from the disciples' gestures on both sides. The atmosphere at the table is both dramatically tense and solemn (Fig. 2.24). On the contrary, Jesus's facial expression in *The Oriental Last Supper* is amiable and at ease. He is not isolated from the disciples. His composure brings harmony among the disciples (Fig. 2.25). As we notice that the face of Judas, who betrayed Jesus, is much dimmer than the other disciples in Leonardo's *The Last Supper*. A shadow is cast on his face that makes him as an opposition in comparison with "the beloved" disciple, John the evangelist. In a different way of expressing this tragic character, he has been drawn without a halo in *The Oriental Last Supper* (Figs. 2.26, 2.27). These different artistic expressions reflect two perspectives of human nature: the previous one emphasizes the evil and darkness within Judas; the latter one expresses that evil is the lack of holiness, which reflects the preconception of intrinsic human good in Confucianism.

⁹¹ King, *Leonardo and The Last Supper*, 148.

Regarding the composition of space, perspective is emphasized in Leonardo's painting. Before he started painting the color on the sketch, he hammered a nail into the plaster.⁹² The nail marked the center of the mural which is the convergent point of all lines (Fig. 2.28). Therefore, diagonals along both sides of the ceiling converge on Jesus's face, and the eyes and gestures of the disciples point toward Him so that Jesus becomes the focal point of the image. Similarly, in *The Oriental Last Supper*, the central axis penetrates the palace lantern, the crane, and Jesus. The eyes and movements of the disciples point toward Jesus as well; therefore, Jesus becomes the focus of the whole mural (Fig. 2.29).

Another dimension of space in the Western image is the segregation of indoors from outdoors. In Leonardo's painting, three windows behind Jesus are used to segregate the outdoor landscape from the indoor refectory. However, in *The Oriental Last Supper*, the outdoor landscape is integrated into the whole picture as if this supper was held in nature. Only curtains, the room divider, the Chinese palace lantern, and the railing indicate that the venue is an indoor setting. Some pine or cypress trees are painted in the landscape. The evergreen leaves symbolize newness, youth, and longevity.

In addition, a traditional graphic crane folds its wings in a circle above the head of Jesus (Figs. 2.30, 2.31). In Chinese mythology, the crane is a spiritual bird that accompanies gods and serves as a riding livestock. It becomes an intermediate between heaven and earth. It is also a symbol of longevity because the crane accompanies the immortal gods; hence, the idiom 駕鶴西歸 *jia he xi qu* ("riding a crane to the west")

⁹² King, *Leonardo and The Last Super*, 141.

expresses the euphemism of one's death and the transformation of life from the body to the spirit. Furthermore, nobility and morality also associate with the crane.⁹³ In the context of *The Oriental Last Supper*, the crane becomes a symbol of immortality. Catholics believe that by eating the Body of Christ and drinking His Blood, the faithful share the eternal life of God. Moreover, the crane symbolizes nobility and purity. Therefore, it indicates the innocent death of Jesus: "He was numbered with the transgressors; yet he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors" (Isa. 53:12).

The local symbols speak louder than non-local ones because they communicate the common cultural memories with the locals. By presenting the daily eating habits of the local people, such as *pao-tzu* and Yanshui Yi noodles and chopsticks, *The Oriental Last Supper* catches visitors' attention, provides them with a common visual language, and draws them into conversation with Jesus and the disciples in the mural. Because the visual symbols are local and common to all, there is no need to translate and interpret written language; therefore, by the power of local symbols, dialogue between visitors and the Christian faith becomes possible.

⁹³ 林逸欣，「紐約大都會藝術博物館：靈物——中國織品與漆器中的動物形象」，典藏藝術網。[Lin, Yi-Shin, "Metropolitan Museum of Art: The Spiritual Objects—The Animal Images of Chinese Fabric and Lacquerware," ARTouch.com, last updated January 9, 2018, accessed December 16, 2018, <https://artouch.com/artouch2/content.aspx?aid=2018010916429&catid=03>.]

2.3.3 The Holy Trinity

The Holy Trinity was painted on the upper wall of the apse (Fig. 2.32)—the iconography of God as the divine triplets standing abreast.⁹⁴ They wear traditional vermillion robes, green belts and cloaks, and flying belts around their arms, which are associated with gods or goddesses who are capable of flying to the heavens. The scepters and the symbolic objects they hold manifest their attributes. The one in the center—whose scepter has the image of a *blessing hand* on its tip, and whose left hand holds an earth image—is God the Father. The *blessing hand*—a gesture that symbolizes blessing and sending—signifies God the Father as the origin of all things and points to His authority as the creator. The earth on His hand depicts Him as the creator of the world and the sovereign of the universe. The one who sits at the right hand of the Father is God the Son. He holds in His arm a lamb that signifies Him as both the Lamb of God and the Good Shepherd. A *crucifix* on the tip of His scepter represents Jesus' passion and salvation. In other words, He is the savior of the world. The One on the left side of the Father is God the Holy Spirit. Both the *dove* that He holds and the *torch* on the tip of His scepter are traditional symbols of the presence of the Holy Spirit. There are three sun-like halos with crosses behind each of the three divine persons. The horizontal lines of the crosses touch one another to form one line, which symbolizes the unity of the Trinity. Above the Trinity, there are two horizontal inscribed boards. On the upper one is written

⁹⁴ Because of the flood in 1989, there is no information about how the mural of *The Holy Trinity* was painted. The author speculates the origin of its model comes from the traditional triplet of the Holy Trinity which is different from the image of the Holy Trinity: the Father, the Son, and the dove which symbolizes the Holy Spirit. However, the color of *The Holy Trinity*, especially the color of clothes, may be influenced by Guo's experiences of painting the door of gods (see Fig. 3.14). He was in favor of the complementary colors, such as green and vermillion colors, to create the strongest contrast for this pair of complementary colors when they were placed next to each other.

God's name in Hebrew, “יהוה” (YHWH, “I am who am,” from Exod. 3:14), with Greek letters “Α” and “Ω,” which mean that God is the origin and the end. On the lower one is written the Chinese characters 萬有真原 *wan you zhen yuan*, literally translated as “the true origin of all things.” There are two words on both sides of the board: 無始 *wushi* (without origin) and 無終 *wuzhong* (without end), which mean that God is the creator and God exists without origin and without end. Surrounding the Holy Trinity are the clouds (of Chinese motif) from which many childlike angels and local saints emerge. The whole mural presents the beatitude of heaven and its tone is warm, bright, and joyful.

In Christian art history, there are many types of artistic expression of the Holy Trinity. Two motifs remain dominant in early iconographical expressions. One of the prevailing motifs is the baptism of Jesus (Mark 1:9-11 and parallels)—we may call it the “New Testament Trinity”—in which God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are all present. For instance, *Christ's baptism in the Rabbula gospels* (Fig. 2.33) painted by an unknown artist in the sixth century depicts a hand from heavens pointing at Jesus as he is baptized by John the Baptist. A dove descends from the hand and flies unto Jesus. Other Christian artworks depict the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in different ways, especially some visualize the Father as an old man. *The Holy Trinity* (Fig. 2.34) painted by Renaissance artist El Greco (1541-1614) in 1577 is one of the examples. God the Father looks like a bishop but with motherly features and tenderly holds the corpse of the Son in His bosoms. The Holy Spirit is depicted as a dove soaring above both of the Father and the Son.⁹⁵ *Divine Fatherhood* (Fig. 2.35) from School of Novgorod in the

⁹⁵ Sarah Coakley, *God, Sexuality, and the Self: An Essay 'On the Trinity'* (Cambridge: Cambridge

fourth century is another example. God the Father sits on the throne with His son Jesus Christ as a little boy and the Holy Spirit as a dove is held by Jesus. This icon shows the Cappadocian doctrine of the Trinity—the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.⁹⁶

Another dominant motif is the so-called “Old Testament Trinity” of Genesis 18:1-10, in which three mysterious angels appear to Abraham and Sarah. In fact, the triplet of angels who represent the mysteries of the Holy Trinity appeared very early in third-century catacomb art (Fig. 2.36). The three angels who stand in front of Abraham all look similar and it is hard to distinguish their identities. However, in this early era, the trinitarian theology was not yet fully developed. Hence, reading Genesis 18 through Angelological or Christological perspectives was common then.⁹⁷ Later on, *The Old Testament Trinity* (Fig. 2.37) drawn by Andrei Rublev (1360-1430) in 1411 shows different theological interpretation of Genesis 18. The three angels of Abraham’s mysterious visitors represent the Holy Trinity and this icon was confirmed by Ivan VI’s Hundred Chapter’s Council in the sixteenth century as a model for the Old Testament Trinity. Rublev drew the three angels who visited Abraham and Sara as *identical*—a metaphor for the Holy Trinity. These three angels sit around an altar-like table with a chalice (containing a calf’s head) on the table. This setting alludes to the sacrifice and the Eucharist. The blue color distributed to the three of them stands for the uncreated light

University Press, 2013), 215-216.

⁹⁶ Coakley, *God, Sexuality, and the Self*, 215-236.

⁹⁷ Coakley, *God, Sexuality, and the Self*, 199-200.

and energies common to the three persons. The angel in the center, with two fingers pointing to the chalice, signifies the Son who incarnates in the world and sacrifices Himself through his passion for the salvation of humanity. Both the Son and the angel on the right (the Holy Spirit) tilt their heads toward the one on the left who symbolizes God the Father, the source of the Godhead. The Holy Spirit also stretches His hand toward the chalice to signify His part in the Eucharist as the one who sanctifies the gift offerings. The Father blesses the chalice as a sign of confirming the salvific work of the Son and the Holy Spirit.⁹⁸ The eyes of the angels move around and form a circular motion which signifies their interrelationships. On each of their left hands holds a stick as they are on a journey.⁹⁹ This artistic expression is similar to the Yanshui Trinity who also hold scepters on their hands. However, the scepters on the Yanshui Trinity's hands convey much more their identities rather than their way of journey.

Here, the Yanshui Holy Trinity resembles the similar type of depicting the triplet's divine images found in *The Holy Trinity* (Fig. 2.38) originally painted by Mexican artist Augustín Davíla (1805-1848) and his native neophytes on the ceiling of Santa Clara Mission Church at Santa Clara University (SCU). This Spanish-Mexican image of the divine triplets was chosen by the early Franciscan missionaries to demonstrate the doctrine of the Holy Trinity to the native people for better

⁹⁸ Priscilla Hunt, "Andrei Rublev's Old Testament Trinity Icon in Cultural Context," in *The Trinity-Sergius Lavra in Russian History and Culture*, ed. Vladimir Tsurikov, Readings in Russian Religious Culture 3 (Jordanville, NY: Holy Trinity Seminary Press, 2006), 112-115, accessed December 27, 2018, http://phslavic.com/Priscilla_Academic/Publications_files/Rublevcoloropt.pdf.

⁹⁹ Coakley, *God, Sexuality, and the Self*, 254-255.

comprehension.¹⁰⁰ The divine triplets sit or stand side by side, wearing the same robes and cloaks. They have the same halos with several rays behind their heads and the same sign of crosses on their chests. There is no clue to their identities except the differences of their gestures and the number of their feet. The one in the center holds a scepter on His left hand—the same scepter is also held by the other two persons sitting beside Him. However, the central one who holds the upper part of the scepter and the scepter is also placed on His chest, perhaps symbolizes that He is the origin of all authority, and the other two persons share in His power. This scepter held by the three may also symbolize their unity. The gestures of the three are different. The center one raises His right hand as a gesture of blessing. The left one's hand points to the central one. The right one hangs down his hand. Besides the gesture, the numbers of their feet are dissimilar. The central one and the left one only has single foot for each, but the right one has two feet. As we observe that this type of the triplets of the Holy Trinity expresses the unity of the Holy Trinity by drawing the same features, colors, and clothes which are similar to the expression of the Yanshui Holy Trinity.

¹⁰⁰ This mural is a copy painted by I. S. Schultz in 1928, which replaced the original one painted by Augustín and his native neophytes around 1834. In 1926, a fire destroyed Augustín's mural. After the reconstruction of the church, the SCU Administration commissioned Schultz to restore Augustín's mural. In the mural, the three men with beards are the Holy Trinity. The Franciscan missionaries of the early 1800s tried to convey the challenging concept of the Holy Trinity for the Ohlones to comprehend so they thought this image of triplets would give them a handle on it. In fact, the image of the triplets of the Holy Trinity is not a novelty, as Coakley mentioned above that the image existed already in the third-century catacomb art. Yet, when it came time to repaint this image of the Holy Trinity in Santa Clara Mission Church in 1928, it was known that this depiction of the Trinity was actually illicit during that time—as there is no reference in Scripture to portray God the Holy Spirit as a man. So, the SCU Administration appealed to the Vatican to consider its historical integrity as part of their restoration. Given this reason, the Vatican reluctantly gave permission for repainting the original image provided that it would NOT serve as a “teaching tool” for explaining the Holy Trinity. The information is synthesized from the author's correspondence with Charles White, the Director of Santa Clara Mission Church as well as from Edna E. Kimbro, Julia G. Costello, and Tevvy Ball, *The California Missions: History, Art, and Preservation*, Conservation and Cultural Heritage 8 (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications, 2009), 200-201.

As shown above, the image of the Yanshui Holy Trinity is derived from the motif of the Old Testament Trinity. The artistic expressions of this motif from the simple depiction of the three angels through Angelological and Christological perspectives gradually developed to the usage of symbols, gestures, postures, colors, and objects by which identify and differentiate the persons of the Holy Trinity. The depiction of the triplets expresses the unity of three persons of the Holy Trinity. Instead of merely drawing three individual persons, the Yanshui Holy Trinity depicts the unity of three persons through same posture, gesture, and dressings. In addition, a connecting horizontal line behind their heads to add emphasis on the unity of the three persons as one God. Expressing the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in such an artistic way makes the mysteries of the Godhead easily accessible.

As discussed above, Franciscan missionaries established the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church in the midst of popular religiosity in an area of dense temples. The pastor Fr. Ly tried to dialogue with the local people, cultures, and religions so as to make Catholic faith more accessible to the local people. Through the first dialogue between Fr. Ly and Guo, the murals of the Yanshui Church integrated Fr. Ly's ideas of Christian faith and Confucian culture with Guo's local culture and aesthetic expressions. Therefore, when the viewers see the murals, these religious and cultural ideas through local artistic expressions manifest from within. The murals become carriers of the common experiences of Fr. Ly, Gou, and the viewers, and invite the viewers to reflect, inquire, and communicate. Thus, the second dialogue through the Yanshui murals among viewers, others, murals, and Christians, becomes possible (Fig. 2.39).

Chapter Three:

A Developing Taiwanese Theology of Inculturation through Christian Arts

In this chapter, I will develop a Taiwanese theology of inculturation through Christian arts, which I will use as a lens through which to analyze the divine-human encounter and the Church documents and theologians' perspectives of inculturation. Finally, I will demonstrate that the imageries of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church serve as an exemplar of Taiwanese theology of inculturation which the authentic Taiwanese Catholicism engages triple dialogues with the people, the culture, and the religion via the icon and murals of St. Maria Wang Luo Mande, *The Oriental Last Supper*, and *The Holy Trinity*.

3.1 The Divine—Human Encounter and Incarnation

As mentioned previously, Taiwanese people have a deep need for seeking the meaning of life and contacting the divine. Therefore, religious artistic imageries play an important role for people in concrete ways to communicate with the divine. This deepest desire focuses on pursuing religions and asking the divine for its blessings evidenced by the numerous temples and churches in Taiwan. Such religiosity is part of human nature. From a Christian perspective, it is God who first instills a restless desire in human beings.¹⁰¹ This restlessness in seeking God reflects human nature as seen in the *imago*

¹⁰¹ St. Augustine of Hippo also confesses such restless searching in his heart remains unsettled until it reposes in God. See Augustine of Hippo, *The Confessions*, trans. Edward Bouverie Pusey, accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/augconf/aug01.htm>.

Dei, the image of God. David B. Perrin, a scholar of Christian Spirituality, argues that the image of God is less about specific characteristics possessed by human beings and more about how people live out the relationship with God and each other.¹⁰² God interacts with human beings in each individual relationship, as testified in the Bible when God revealed to Moses that God is the God of the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob (Ex. 3:16). Amaladoss calls this personal relationship between God and human beings “the divine-human encounter.” He argues that God reaches out to every human being in various ways and has one plan for the universe.¹⁰³ As shown above, human beings are *imago Dei* and their religiosity is in the relationship with God. It is God who first calls and reaches out to all human beings and puts a restless desire for Godself in human hearts. Religions become a media that help people encounter with God, the Divine.

According to Christian theology, the divine-human encounter took a definite place in the Christ event—the Divine made flesh. The incarnation of the Divine is the first act of inculturation, namely how Divinity descends to humanity and becomes human, growing up in the human way of living. The infinite God confines Godself in a specific time, space, and culture in order to bring salvation to all the humankind. By

¹⁰² The traditional understanding of the image of God associates with human rational thought and free-will. Here Perrin follows Martin Luther’s explanation that this free-will refers to the unique relationship with which human beings share with God. See David B. Perrin, *Studying Christian Spirituality*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 122-123.

¹⁰³ He quotes St. John Paul II’s encyclical *Redemptoris Missio* saying that the Holy Spirit is present and active in all cultures and religions. Where God is present and active, salvation is ongoing. The purpose of God’s plan, as St. Paul tells the Corinthians, the Ephesians, and the Colossians, is to gather all things together until God is “all in all” (1 Cor. 15:28; Eph. 1:3-10; Col. 1:18-20). See Michael Amaladoss, *Interreligious Encounters: Opportunities and Challenges*, ed. Jonathan Y. Tan (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2017), 163-164.

reason of Jesus's incarnation, the whole human activity and culture are exalted to a certain dignity that the Word of God has assumed mystically all the cultures in his humanity. From this point of view, the specificity of culture becomes the meeting place of God's salvation. Furthermore, by sending down the Holy Spirit to the world, every culture has benefited from the universal salvation of Jesus. Robert J. Schreiter indicates the universal salvific presence of the Lord as the good news of Jesus Christ who has existed as the foundation and guidance of the local community before the arrival of missionaries, and the prophetic Spirit challenging the culture and the larger church.¹⁰⁴ Hence, St. Ignatius boldly claims that Christians are able to "find God in all things" because of God's presence among various races and cultures. Since the incarnation of the Word of God is God's first act of inculturation, the imperative mission of the Church also follows this way of her Savior. Therefore, in the following section, we will review the development of theology of inculturation and the Church documents.

3.2 The Development of the Theology of Inculturation and the Church Documents

The term "inculturation" derives from cultural anthropology. Several terms are used to describe the phenomenon of the interaction of cultures. "Acculturation" simply denotes the encounter among cultures and mutual influence. "Enculturation" indicates an individual in the process of becoming inserted in his culture. "Inculturation" signifies how the Church, with her own distinct cultural features, manifests in a given culture.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books: 2015), 24.

¹⁰⁵ This term and others, such as "adaptation," "accommodation," and "contextualization," express the similar concept of contact between the Church and a given culture. However, the term "inculturation"

Because this term combines the theological principle of incarnation with the social-science concept of acculturation, it precisely describes that the dynamic of encounter between Christian faith and other cultures.¹⁰⁶ “Inculturation” is not simply a superficial contact, but a profound insertion, by which the Church becomes part of a given society.¹⁰⁷ Yves Congar noted that “inculturation” signified planting the seed of faith in a culture and allowing it to bloom, to express itself according to the resources and genius of that culture.¹⁰⁸ When Christian faith is introduced by missionaries to a given culture, it takes time to process and integrate herself and become part of the culture. The process of becoming a local Church and a part of the given society is so called “inculturation.”

The mission of the Church associates inculturation starting from the early Church because the faith encounters people in their own contexts and life experiences. When one examines the New Testament writings, no single standard church represents the entire Church because early Christianity was formed by Semitic-Jewish Christians, Jewish Hellenist Christians, and Gentile Christians. Each Christian community exercised freedom to formulate the kerygma—to articulate their faith, to organize worship, and to

has gained a broader acceptance in Roman Catholic circles and appears in many documents of congresses and episcopal conferences. For instance, John Paul II considered inculturation as the same as acculturation, both of which express the components of the mystery of the incarnation of the Word of God. See Ary A. Roest Crollius and Théoneste Nkéramihigo, *What is So New about Inculturation?* Inculturation: Working Papers on Living Faith and Culture 5 (Rome: Centre “Culture and Religions”, Pontifical Gregorian University, 1984), 4-6; Mariasusai Dhavamony, *Christian Theology of Inculturation* (Roma: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997), 92.

¹⁰⁶ Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 24.

¹⁰⁷ Crollius and Nkéramihigo, *What is So New about Inculturation?*, 2-4.

¹⁰⁸ Dhavamony, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 91.

structure the ministry—according to each own socio-cultural situation.¹⁰⁹ Evangelization requires the expression of local languages, cultures, and religious experiences and makes Christian faith accessible to the locals. Hence, becoming a local Church means making an intentional effort to continuing dialogue within the given culture.

The term “inculturation” was first presented in 1959 during the discussions in the Twenty-ninth *Semaine de Missiologie* of Louvain, which dealt with the problem of mission and non-Christian cultures.¹¹⁰ Later on, the Church developed more concrete ideas of inculturation in 1970s. First, in 1974, the First Plenary Assembly of the Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conferences (FABC) was held in Taipei.¹¹¹ After the meeting, FABC promulgated the following statement:

The Local Church is a Church incarnate in a people, a Church indigenous, inculturated. And this means concretely a Church in continuous, humble and loving dialogue with the living traditions, the cultures, the religions—in brief, with all the life-realities of the people in whose midst it has sunk its roots deeply and whose history and life it gladly makes its own.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Jose Panadan, *Inculturation and Local Church* (Gujarat: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 2015), 30.

¹¹⁰ Dhavamony, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 89.

¹¹¹ Pope Paul VI visited Asia and met with 180 Asian bishops in November 1970. He encouraged them to engage more deeply in the life experience of all God’s peoples in Asia and asked them to take the teaching of the Second Vatican Council as their guide to contact and cooperate with all peoples and all religions in order to establish a more perfect and universal reign of justice and peace. The participants confirmed this dialogical approach which includes the inculturation of life and message of the Gospel to engage the Asian peoples in all their life-realities. First, they proposed the respect for Asian cultures and traditions. Second, they promised to an open, sincere, and continuing dialogue with other great religions of Asia. Third, they committed to be the Church of the poor. Afterward, the triple dialogues became a concrete direction for being a local Church in Asia. This meeting inspired the participates to establish a permanent structure among the Asian Episcopal conferences. As a result, the Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conferences (FABC) was established in November 16, 1972. See Kroeger, “Dialogue,” 1-2.

¹¹² Dhavamony, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 90.

In 1977, Jesuit General Superior Pedro Arrupe introduced his concepts of inculturation to the Synod on Catechesis. He argues that inculturation is as the incarnation of Christian life and the Christian message in a particular cultural context. This Christian life experience and Christian message find proper expressions through the proper cultural elements without superficial adaptation but become a principle that animates, directs, and unifies the culture, transforming and remarking it thereby bring about a new creation.¹¹³ He also assumed that the absence of inculturation is one of the main obstacles to evangelization. Catechesis presupposes the inculturation of faith, because faith reaches humanity in the most profound experience of life, even to the extent of influencing one's way of thinking, feeling, and acting under the inspiration of the Spirit of God. All cultural values may make contribution to the service of the Gospel; and inculturation leads to a continued sharing between the Word of God and the rich varieties of human expressions.¹¹⁴ For instance, like Fr. Yung-Hsiung Tu expresses the gospel messages through his design of church architecture which deepens his and his communities' comprehension of the Word of God and their traditions in the process of construction and reconstruction of their churches.

In 1979, this term inculturation entered to the official Magisterium of the Church by John Paul II, who introduced it in his address to the Pontifical Biblical Commission

¹¹³ Pedro Arrupe, "On Inculturation, to the Whole Society," Boston College Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies, accessed December 22, 2018, https://jesuitportal.bc.edu/research/documents/1978_arrupeinculturationsociety.

¹¹⁴ Dhavamony, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 91.

(April 26, 1979).¹¹⁵ He conveyed the idea of cultural integration of the divine revelation that God communicates His marvels through the medium of language and experiences of humankind.¹¹⁶ He also emphasized the importance of the dialogue of the Church and culture for the future of the Church and the world. Therefore, in 1982, he created a specialized curial body, the Pontifical Council for Culture, to deal with faith and culture.¹¹⁷ More concretely, inculturation has its legislated foundation in the Conciliar documents of the Second Vatican Council. In *Gaudium et Spes*, the Council drew lessons from the first experience of inculturation in the Greco-Roman world and enunciated some urgent duties of Christians regarding culture, such as defense of the right of all to a culture, promotion of an integral culture, and harmonization of the links between culture and Christianity. Furthermore, *Ad Gentes* (the Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity) and *Nostra Aetate* (the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions) also developed similar positions regarding the issue of culture.¹¹⁸

After Vatican II, the Church became more sensitive to the relationship between faith and culture. Theologians and Church leaders urged more concerted mission efforts of inculturation to establish authentic local churches. From this point of view, Taiwanese Catholic Church seems to get off track—such as using European images of Jesus and

¹¹⁵ “Address of His Holiness John Paul II to Members of the Pontifical Biblical Commission,” Libreria Editrice Vaticana, accessed April 15, 2019, https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1979/april/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19790426_pont-com-biblica.html.

¹¹⁶ Dhavamony, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 92.

¹¹⁷ International Theological Commission, *Faith and Inculturation* (Vatican: The Holy See, 1988), no. 4, accessed July 27, 2018, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_cti_1988_fede-inculturazione_en.html.

¹¹⁸ International Theological Commission, *Faith and Inculturation*, passim.

saints to represent the Taiwanese Catholicism in public—in her development of inculturation and needs more effort to communicate Catholic faith in local ways. Catholicism in Taiwan should take her course to root in Taiwanese society not only by superficial adaptation, or even worse, by maintaining or insisting on European forms of practice, but by finding the local elements to express her faith by which the Church animates, directs, and unifies the culture, and transforms the culture from within. From this point of view, the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church, then, are an example of a developing Taiwanese theology of inculturation. As the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC) characterized the Asian Church for her mission of triple dialogues—with the poor, with the culture, and with religions, the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church visualized this triple dialogue in its murals. In this section, I will analyze how the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church—the icon of the altar, *The Last Oriental Last Supper*, and *The Holy Trinity*—communicate to the poor, the culture, and the religion as an example of being an authentic Asian local Church.

3.3 The Yanshui Church's Imageries as Examples of Taiwanese Theology of Inculturation in Taiwan

As the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is a local attraction, many tourists visit this sacred place. The image of St. Maria Wang Luo Mande, *The Oriental Last Supper* and *The Holy Trinity* which integrate with Taiwanese people's living, cultural and religious artistic expressions may evoke the visitors' imagination and inquiry that relate to their own experiences; therefore, they may serve as platforms for life, culture, and interfaith dialogues with the local people.

3.3.1 The Dialogue with the People via the Icon of St. Maria Wang Luo Mande

As the icon of St. Maria Wang Luo Mande on the altar symbolically praises the sainthood of the poor and lay people, it significantly communicates the gospel message of God's preferential love with the poor. It becomes an example how an authentic local Church cares about the living reality of the locals. As mentioned before, the population and economy of the Yanshui district began to wane after the impact of plague of cholera. In addition, the American air force seriously bombed this area before the end of the World War II even caused its poverty.¹¹⁹ Missioning in this poor area, Fr. Ly noticed the reality of the local's lives: most of his parishioners and the locals were country dwellers without many opportunities to access education. Therefore, the strategy of evangelization in his mind perhaps did not much rely on the intellectualized doctrine but much more relied on the visualized one—through the Christian arts. The icon of St. Maria Wang he chose as the patron saint of his parishioners shows his response to the dialogue with the living reality of the local people. Just as the *imago Dei* discussed before, the icon of St. Maria Wang manifested her sincere relationships with God and others in her time may also inspire the parishioners of the similar living condition to pursued the vision of sainthood on their journey to God.

This consideration of the local living reality characterizes an authentic local Church which is called to be with people and serve the people. Therefore, the icon of St. Maria Wang Luo Mande becomes an important mark that shows this effort of the

¹¹⁹ 「台南市政府文化局，「鹽水區境內庄社」，《台南學》電子報，第 208 期，[Tainan Municipal Government Cultural Bureau, “The Villages of Yanshui Area,” *E-Journal of Tainanology* 208,] last updated April 7, 2016, accessed May 3, 2018, <http://nanying.pixnet.net/blog/post/43601872>.

Yanshui Holy Spirit Church to be an authentic Taiwanese Church through her concern for her people.

3.3.2 The Dialogue with Confucianism via *The Oriental Last Supper*

Dialogue happens on both sides when they find the common similarities which connect to each other. By presenting the locals' daily eating habits, such as *pao-tzu* and Yanshui Yi noodles and chopsticks, *The Oriental Last Supper* catches visitors' attention, provides them with a common visual language, and draws them into conversation with Jesus and the disciples in the mural. Because the visual symbols are local and common to all, there is no need to translate and interpret; therefore, by the power of the local cultural symbols, dialogue between visitors and the Christian faith becomes possible. Moreover, *The Oriental Last Supper* utilizes traditional Chinese painting aesthetics—the integration of human beings with the nature—and creates an atmosphere of harmony among Jesus, the disciples, and the nature. Jesus is among the disciples, even at the last moment before his passion. Nature in the background is not cut off from them. This togetherness and the sense of community represent traditional Confucian ideas about the integration of heaven, earth, and human beings. In *The Book of Change*, The Three Elements—the heaven, the earth, and the human beings—is described as an ideal of a great man who harmonizes with heaven and earth:

The great man is he who is in harmony, in his attributes, with heaven and earth; in his brightness, with the sun and moon; in his orderly procedure, with the four seasons; and in his relation to what is fortunate and what is calamitous, in harmony with the spirit-like operations (of Providence). He may precede Heaven, and

Heaven will not act in opposition to him; he may follow Heaven, but will act (only) as Heaven at the time would do (*The I-Ching* 6:34).¹²⁰

In Confucianism, human beings were born by the integration of Heaven and Earth. Therefore, Heaven (天 *tian*) is called as father and Earth (地 *di*) is called as mother. Human beings share the innate virtues which are endowed by Heaven; therefore, the perfection of human beings is to manifest bright virtue from within. The monistic Oneness between heaven and humanity (天人合一 *tian ren he yi*)—which is the representative expression of the relationship among humanity, Heaven and Earth—may be achieved as a result of the manifestation of human’s virtues.¹²¹ From this point of view, Jesus as well as Confucius are the ideal great men who lived out their innate virtues and followed the Will of God (Heaven). As a result, they achieved the harmony with Heaven, Earth, and their fellow human beings.

As *The Oriental Last Supper* depicts this harmony between Jesus, the disciples, and the nature, the symbol of the crane indicates a spiritual world beyond death, which is reunion with the Holy Trinity in heaven. Jesus’s Paschal mysteries reconciled Heaven (God), earth, and human beings. *The Oriental Last Supper* represents this hidden eschatological idea of Confucianism through the cooperation of Confucian scholar Fr. Ly and local painter Guo.

¹²⁰ F. Max Müller, ed., *The Sacred Book of East*, vol. 16, *The Sacred Book of China: The I-Ching*, trans. James Legge, 2nd ed. (1899; repr., New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 417, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://www.biroco.com/yijing/Legge1899.pdf>.

¹²¹ See Paulos Huang, *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation: A Systematic Theological Analysis of the Basic Problems in the Confucian-Christian Dialogue* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2009), 168; 「三才」, *中華百科全書*, [Chinese Encyclopedia Online, s.v. “Three Elements,”] accessed April 16, 2019, <http://ap6.pccu.edu.tw/Encyclopedia/data.asp?id=1010>.

Jesus, who is portrayed as a Confucian ideal great man in *The Oriental Last Supper*, is not afraid of facing his destiny of death. He is amiable and joyful having supper with His disciples. Similarly, Confucius himself also expressed this attitude of calmness and confidence when he and his disciples were in danger of being encompassed in 匡 K'wang city. When Confucius and his disciples were traveling around the countries and passed by K'wang city. He was misrecognized as the enemy of people of K'wang; Therefore, they were imprisoned for five days. In this moment of crisis, he comforted his disciples that Heaven had entrusted the propagation of the cause of truth to him; if Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then he would not have been entrusted to do so. While Heaven did not let the cause of truth perish, the people of K'wang could not do any harm to him (*Confucian Analects: The Tsze Han* 5:1-3).¹²² Even though Confucius did not discuss life after death with his disciples, he still trusted his destiny to Heaven because he followed the Will of Heaven. Therefore, this Confucian confident attitude of facing life and death manifests in *The Oriental Last Supper* and sets a tone of confidence in Heaven/God even during trial or agony, which is different from Leonardo's *The Last Supper*.

The betrayal and death of Jesus cause a sorrowful atmosphere and turmoil in Leonardo's *The Last Supper*, but Fr. Ly retells the story in *The Oriental Last Supper* through another lens. In *The Oriental Last Supper*, the death of Jesus is depicted as a

¹²² See 傅佩榮主編，*孔子辭典*（台北：聯經出版，2013），25 [P'ei-Jung Fu, ed., *Confucian Dictionary* (Taipei: Linking Publishing, 2013), 25] and James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics: Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of Mean*, vol. 1, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893), 217-218, accessed April 16, 2019, https://books.google.com/books?id=3_vZAQAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=zh-TW&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.]

metaphor of transformation by the insertion of the image of a crane, which Jesus will ascend to eternity. Hence, *The Oriental Last Supper* is not a tragedy but an eschatological promise of hope: by sharing the table with Jesus and eating his body and drinking His blood, human life will be transformed, as symbolized by the pine, cypress, and crane, into immortality and eternity. Therefore, *The Oriental Last Supper* becomes an eschatological sign of the full integration of heaven, earth, and human beings into a new creation with a harmonious end.

As *The Oriental Last Supper* is the fruit of the dialogue between the Christian faith and Confucian culture, the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church as an authentic Church takes her mission seriously to discover the seed of the Word of God—the ultimate ideal of the unity among heaven, earth, and human beings—which has already existed in Confucianism before the missionaries’ arrival. Fr. Ly was able to draw it out from traditional culture and integrated it with Christian faith into the mural of *The Oriental Last Supper*. Therefore, the mural of *The Oriental Last Supper* becomes what Arrupe described a fruit of inculturation which transforms and remakes the Taiwanese culture in order to bring about a new creation.

3.3.3 The Dialogue with Buddhist Doctrine and Devotional *Trikaya* via *The Holy Trinity*

The mural of *The Holy Trinity* takes the form of the divine triplets which is similar to the image of Buddhist doctrine *Trikaya*.¹²³ Hence, the image of *The Holy*

¹²³ The basic meaning of *Trikaya* is “three bodies of Buddha.” It is a common Buddhist doctrine, especially in Mahayana Buddhism. Mahayanists believe that the essence of the universe manifests itself in three aspects or bodies: *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya*. The *dharmakāya*, the so-called Essential (or True) body, is a reference of form and realization of true “thusness”. It is the primordial,

Trinity may arouse Buddhist visitor's imagination and questions which associate with their doctrine and make the dialogue between Christians and Buddhists possible.

3.3.3.1 Taiwanese devotional Trikaya

While the Buddhist doctrine of the *Trikaya* is well known in Taiwan, popular devotion takes different groupings of three, especially the grouping of *Amitabha* Buddha, *Sakyamuni* Buddha, and *Bhaisaiya* Buddha as the devotional *Trikaya* (Fig. 3.1).¹²⁴ These devotional *Trikaya* Buddhas reign in different worlds. *Amitabha* Buddha rules the Western Pure Land of Ultimate Bliss. He is responsible for welcoming the dead to the Pure Land. In the *Trikaya* statues or paintings, *Amitabha* Buddha is positioned at the left side. His left hand holds a lotus seat and his right hand has the mudra (i.e., a symbolic Hindu hand gesture) of *Shuni*, which is associated with heading off the demons and keeping negativity and diseases away.¹²⁵ *Sakyamuni* Buddha is seated at the center. He

unmodified, formless, eternally existing self, and is essentially of Bodhi or divine being. The *sambhoga-kāya* is the buddha-body that is called “reward body” or “body of enjoyment of the merits attained as a bodhisattva.” It is the reflected body, wherein dwell the Buddhas of meditation and other enlightened beings of human form. The *nirmāṇa-kāya* is the body manifested in response to the need to teach sentient beings. It is the body of incarnation in the human form which includes the historical body of Gautama Buddha on earth. In sum, Buddha has three dimensions: his exemplification of the true nature of beings as *dharmakāya*, his reward body as *sambhoga-kāya*, and his physical presence as *nirmāṇa-kāya*. See *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. “三身” [Three bodies (of the Buddha),] accessed April 13, 2019, [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4e.xml+id\(%27b4e09-8eab%27\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4e.xml+id(%27b4e09-8eab%27)); P. G. Yogi, “The Doctrine of Kaya (Trikaya),” *Bulletin of Tibetology* 36, nos. 1-3 (2000): 14, accessed March 19, 2019, https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/bitstream/id/637211/bot_1999_03_notes.pdf/; Paul William, *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 173.

¹²⁴ 「三寶佛」，宗教知識，全國宗教資訊網，[“Sanbao Fo,” Knowledge of Religions, National Religion Information Network,] accessed December 30, 2018, <https://religion.moi.gov.tw/Knowledge/Content?ci=2&cid=235>.

¹²⁵ Buddha Glove, “Buddhist Mudras: Hand Gestures,” Balance Blog, accessed December 29, 2018, <https://blog.buddhagroove.com/buddhist-mudras-hand-gestures-of-the-buddha/>.

reigns over the *Saha* world—that is, the endurance world—and he bears responsibility for the education of all suffering living beings. His mudra is *Dhyana*, which signifies enlightenment.¹²⁶ *Bhaisaiya* Buddha is seated at the right side of the other two Buddhas. He reigns over the Pure Land of Crystal Radiance and is responsible for healing the sick and protecting the people from all disasters. He holds a pagoda on his right hand—which signifies the elimination of disasters and karma, and the promotion of longevity and blessings—and has a mudra of *Shuni* on his left.¹²⁷ As observed, the *Trikaya* Buddhas look almost the same except for the objects they hold, the mudras they perform, and perhaps the color of their clothes.

After the Qing dynasty, it has become popular that the devotional *Trikaya*—*Amitabha* Buddha, *Sakyamuni* Buddha, and *Bhaisaiya* Buddha—is enshrined in Buddhist temples in Taiwan. However, no evidence shows the combination of these three Buddhas as the *Trikaya* in the sutra. It has developed more likely a popular devotion that reflects the needs of the Buddhist rituals. Generally speaking, *Sakyamuni* Buddha is the founder of Buddhism, therefore, his statue is usually placed at the center of the temple for the adherents' worship. There are several rituals performed in a Buddhist temple, such as the celebrations of Buddhist feasts, the services for the dead, and the services for the blessings and health for the living. If the ritual is for the dead, *Amitabha* Buddha is summoned. If it is a prayer of supplication asking for blessings and health for the living,

¹²⁶ “Mudra: What Do Buddhist Hand Gestures Mean?”, *Tricycle*, Fall 1996, accessed December 29, 2018, <https://tricycle.org/magazine/mudra/>.

¹²⁷ 「藥師佛何以持塔之意義略探」，佛法教學，喇嘛網，[“The Meaning of Holding Pagoda on *Bhaisaiya* Buddha’s Hand,” Teaching of Buddhism, Lama Website,] accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.lama.com.tw/content/edu/data.aspx?id=3277>.

Bhaisaiya Buddha is invoked. As a consequence, these three Buddhas were put together as a triple group for all purposes.¹²⁸

As we discuss above, the doctrine of *Trikaya*—*Dharmakaya*, *Nirmanakaya*, and *Sambhogakaya*— is not in favor with Taiwanese popular devotion because the grouping of *Amitabha* Buddha, *Sakyamuni* Buddha, and *Bhaisaiya* Buddha as *Trikaya* is more related to people's liturgical life and needs than the abstract doctrine. In a similar way, the image of the triplets of the Holy Trinity is easier for common people to comprehend the mysteries of the Holy Trinity rather than the symbolized Holy Spirit as a dove. Perhaps this is the reason why the Franciscan missionaries chose the image of the triplets of the Holy Trinity to demonstrate Catholic doctrine to native people in Santa Clara Mission Church as well as Fr. Ly's choice in the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church.

3.3.3.2 Similarities and Differences between The Holy Trinity and Trikaya

Since the mural of *The Holy Trinity* in the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is the divine triplets—which somehow reflects some elements of the *Trikaya* in Buddhist belief—the Buddhist visitors who come and see the mural of *The Holy Trinity* may find some similarities and differences between these two divine images: *The Holy Trinity* and the *Trikaya*. Regarding the similarity in their artistic expressions, both the Christian and the Buddhist's divine triplets show the unity of the three individuals in terms of having resembling visages. *The Holy Trinity*, for instance, shows the oneness of Godhead through the same depiction of the persons' looks and features, and the horizontal line

¹²⁸ 「三寶佛」，宗教知識，全國宗教資訊網。[“Sanbao Fo,” Knowledge of Religions, National Religion Information Network.]

connecting the three images. In a similar fashion, the *Trikaya* shows the same Dhamma shared by the three Buddhas, either in the doctrinal *Trikaya* or the devotional *Trikaya*. Another similarity between *The Holy Trinity* mural and the Buddhist's *Trikaya* is the way they distinguish the identities of the three individuals in terms of their gestures and the sacred symbols and objects that they hold. The cross, the lamb, the blessing hand, the earth, the torch, and the dove are the indicators to identify the persons in *The Holy Trinity*, whereas, the different mudras and objects, such as the lotus seat and pagoda, signify the difference in identity between the three Buddhas.

With regard to the differences between *The Holy Trinity* and the *Trikaya*, the postures and the clothing are the key elements. *The Holy Trinity* is in standing posture but the *Trikaya* is in a lotus position. *The Holy Trinity* shows the three persons in Chinese garments, while the *Trikaya* appears in Indian traditional dress. Another difference between the two is their artistic form. Most of *The Holy Trinity* images are expressed in paintings and very seldom in sculptures. On the contrary, the devotional images of the *Trikaya* in the temples are mostly in the form of sculptures. Of course, if we compare *The Holy Trinity* to the *Trikaya* in terms of doctrinal perspectives, their differences are much more pronounced—e.g. in terms of cosmology, soteriology, and eschatology, etc.—which we just superficially mentioned in this research.

3.3.3.3 The Images of Divine Triplets function in Christians and Buddhists Experiences

Christian art is an intuitive language used in the Church for evangelization, worship, and devotion. The viewers somehow perceive in these aesthetic representations of the divine their spiritual experiences. As Fr. Leo Jiang, a Taiwanese Franciscan, shared

his meditation on *The Holy Trinity* with the author that how he comprehended the mystery of the three persons in one by its artistic expression. He was aware of the similarity of the faces of these three persons and the horizontal line which penetrates the halos of them unifies the three persons in one. In their similar features—the similar faces, clothes, and gestures—yet differentiate their identities by the objects they hold and the symbols on the top of their sticks, he somehow captured the mystery of the Holy Trinity—three different persons yet one God.¹²⁹ Through their forms, colors, texture, gestures, postures, composition, and especially religious symbols, these artistic divine representations activate the religious affection of the faithful toward the mystery of God and the beatitude of the saints.

The Buddhist art has the same function as well. *The Holy Trinity* of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church expresses the mystery of the Trinity in a form that represents the Holy Trinity as three persons whom the faithful may relate with. In a similar way, the devotional *Trikaya* in the temples also has this grouping of the three functional Buddhas as triplets, so that the faithful may pray to any of them whose functions correspond to the faithful's prayer intentions. Since the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is a famous tourist attraction and its mural of *The Holy Trinity* reflects the local Taiwanese culture, this often tends to raise inquiries in the minds of both Christian and non-Christian visitors as regards the similarities and differences between *The Holy Trinity* and similar triplets of divine images. For instance, Jia-Ling Yu associates the image of *The Holy Trinity* with Taoist Three Pure Ones in her research and argues that the image of *The Holy Trinity* is

¹²⁹ Leo Jiang, interviewed by the author, the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church, June 25, 2018.

an imitation of the image of Taoist Three Pure Ones without providing any evidence.¹³⁰

Perhaps this is why the images of divine triplets may easily trigger people's association and comparison with their religious experiences. Therefore, the similar visual experiences of viewing divine triplets, which may evoke human religious experiences of the divine in diverse ways yet remain in unity, may help interreligious dialogue in ways of exchanging the common experiences and the artistic expressions in different symbol systems.

Therefore, the mural of *The Holy Trinity* may serve as a medium and platform for interreligious dialogue between Buddhist viewers and local Catholics.

The iconographies of God or Buddha as triplets capture the human experience of the divine in diverse ways while maintaining its unity. Therefore, the mural of *The Holy Trinity* evokes in the human person this religious experience of “diversity in unity.” In other words, it invites both Christian and Buddhist viewers to share their own experiences and comprehension of the divine mystery, promoting mutual understanding and harmony between Christians and Buddhists alike.

As discussion of the triple dialogue with the poor, the culture, and the religion, the icon and murals of the altar, *The Oriental Last Supper*, and *The Holy Trinity* mark the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church as an authentic Taiwanese Church which truly sinks its roots in Taiwanese soil and makes all the life-realities of Taiwanese people—living reality, the culture, and the religion—its own (Fig. 3.2). Through the murals of the Yanshui Church, Christian arts function as a window into a dialogical approach to respond to the reality of people's life, proclaim the gospel through the aesthetics of local culture, and compare the

¹³⁰ 余嘉齡，「台灣鹽水聖神天主堂壁畫之研究」，51。[Jia-Ling Yu, “The Icons of Yenshui Holy Spirit Church in Taiwan,” 51.]

similarities and differences between Christian faith and other faiths. Therefore, the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church becomes an exemplar of a developing Taiwanese theology of inculturation through its Christian arts.

Conclusion

In this conclusion, I will briefly summarize some key points of previous chapters. Second, I will discuss the meaning of inculturation of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church for the construction of future Taiwanese Catholicism. Third, I will suggest some possible research topics which this research does not cover and discuss for further study.

Summary

This research presents the current issue of Taiwanese Catholicism which seems to discontinue her mission as an authentic local Church in the aspect of developing indigenized Christian arts. Because the author observes the Catholic imageries, such as the images of Jesus and saints, exhibited in public still appear Western features which were introduced by early missionaries. The Christian arts for the liturgical worship or public exhibitions may be used as one of the indicators to evaluate a local Church in her depth of inculturation. Because Christian arts in the process of commission and of the censorship by Church authority for public veneration evince a sense of identity of a local Church and the involvement in the efforts of inculturation. Taiwanese Catholicism has been developing her identity as a local Church throughout the history of three waves of evangelization.

During the first and second waves of evangelization, Catholicism was associated with the colonial power and remained her most part of foreign appearance even the missionaries had strived to adjust some practices of celebration and church decorations into the local context. However, on the other side of Taiwan strait, the development of

inculturation of Christian arts was much more progressive in mainland China. Under the influence of Matteo Ricci's strategy of inculturation in the sixteenth century, many indigenized Christian arts thrived. Many indigenized Marian and biblical images took the local aesthetic expression to deliver Christian messages. In the twentieth century, Cardinal Celso Benigno Luigi Costantini promoted an authentic Chinese Church and encouraged the works of indigenized Christian architecture and arts. Leading by artist Yuan-Du Chen, many Chinese artists created several significant indigenized Christian arts that made Christian faith expressed in local ways.

The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is one of the indicators of her inculturation as a local Church which communicates her faith with the local living reality: the poor, the culture, and the religions. Through the icon of St. Maria Wang Luo Mande on the altar, the Yanshui Church dialogues with the poor in the Yanshui district; through the mural of *The Oriental Last Supper*, the Yanshui Church expresses Christian story from a Confucian perspective and depicts the ultimate ideal of Christian and Confucianism; through the mural of *The Holy Trinity*, the Yanshui Church captures the diversity-in-unity religious experiences of Christians and Buddhists and indigenizes the image of God so that it may serve as a platform for interfaith dialogue.

After 1949, the trend of inculturation influenced Taiwanese Catholicism by a great number of immigrants of mainlanders. The indigenized Christian arts of Taiwanese Church blossomed and marked Taiwanese Church as an authentic local Church with the integration of the local culture. The incarnation of the second person of God is the model of the inculturation of the Church. Therefore, the mission of the Church is to deliver God's message to God's people and serve them in the ways of their thinking and

proceeding. The writings of the gospels, theologians, and the Church documents confirm that God's good news is proclaimed accordingly to the local contexts and local needs. Therefore, the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church becomes an exemplar of a local Church which has truly engaged the dialogue with the local context and promulgated Christian faith in the local ways.

The Meaning of Inculturation of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church for the Construction of Future Taiwanese Catholicism

In this research, we have discussed that how the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church actively plays the role of the agent of inculturation by communicating the Christian faith with Taiwanese living realities, Taiwanese aesthetic expression, the eschatological ideal of Confucianism, and the similar religious artistic expression of Buddhism. Through immersing the salvation story into traditionally Taiwanese symbolic systems, Fr. Ly enables the salvific meaning of the gospel to be depicted to local people through local artistry. He confirms that God has already animated Taiwanese culture by planting the seed of the Word of God in its soil. The expression of Christian faith through the murals allows the hidden seed of the Word of God to sprout from Taiwanese soil and to become conspicuous in front of the visitors of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church. Through this dialogical approach with the all life-realities of Taiwanese society, the Catholic faith no longer acts as a Western imperial religion; Jesus is no longer a colonial Christ. Instead, Jesus manifests Himself as Emmanuel, who concerns the poor, closes to God's people, shares a meal with friends, and promises the eschatological beatitude—united with heaven, earth, and human community in God—to Taiwanese people.

The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church manifests a genuinely Taiwanese Christian identity and demonstrates a new way of being the Church of Taiwan, a religious, cultural, and symbolic incarnation of the Christian story in local symbols. Hence, it becomes a paradigm of Taiwanese theology of inculturation which responds to the Taiwanese people's religiosity of searching the meaning of life and the desire for the unity with the divine. As Taiwanese Catholicism living in the twenty-first century, her mission must draw the wisdom and spirit from the past such as the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church alike and keep dialogue with the contemporary Taiwanese society so that the gospel messages may attune to Taiwanese people. The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is not only a church that attracts visitors to appreciate her beauty but even more than a prophetic voice to the current Taiwanese Catholicism to be an authentic Taiwanese Church.

Further Study

This research is limited by the resources and time that only focuses on three images—the icon of St. Maria Wang Luo Mande, *The Oriental Last Supper*, and *The Holy Trinity*—in the area of sanctuary. There are many other murals in the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church such as the creation (Fig. C.1), the way of cross (Fig. C.2), the Chinese martyrs (Fig. C.3), the saints (Fig. C.4) and the Catholic symbols (Fig. C.5) on the roof, and the ornaments (Fig. C.6), which were arranged by Fr. Ly inside the Church as one holistic design. Therefore, these murals may be also worthy of study in order to comprehend Fr. Ly's theology of inculturation. Taiwanese Catholicism comprises different ethnic groups, such as Chinese mainlanders, Hokkien people, Hakka people, and sixteen Taiwanese indigenous peoples. The murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church

only present the fruit of dialogue among Christian faith, the culture of Chinese mainlanders, and the culture of Hokkien people. The further studies on Catholic faith dialogue with Hakka and indigenous cultures are also needed so as to manifest all aspects of the efforts of inculturation of Taiwanese Church.

As the murals of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church were the fruits of dialogue with Taiwanese people, culture, and religions in 1980s, they responded to the need of that time. The Taiwanese society experiences a rapid change during the last decade: globalization, global climate warming, network generation, immigrant issue, and the tension of the cross-strait relations between mainland China and Taiwan, etc. How Christian arts dialogue with Taiwanese living realities in the contemporary era is also worthy of study.

Inculturation is an imperative and continuous mission of the Church. If the Church stops to dialogue with the local living realities, she will lose her own identity as an authentic local Church and always present among the local society as an alien religion. The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church has successfully transformed herself as a genuine Taiwanese Church through dialogue with the Taiwanese society and expression of indigenized Christian arts. For the contemporary Taiwanese Catholicism which is facing the rapid change of Taiwanese society and out of her track to be an authentic local Church, the witness of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church still valid and sound today.

Illustrations: Figures



Figure I.1. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, 1490s, Cenacolo Vinciano, accessed October 14, 2018, <https://cenacolovinciano.vivaticket.it/>.



Figure I.2. *"The Oriental Last Supper"*, 1986, the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church. Photographed by the author.



Figure 1.3. The scene of *Somewhere I Have Never Traveled* in Yanshui Holy Spirit Church. “Somewhere I Have Never Traveled: Encounter a Taiwanese Church,” Liberty Times Net, last updated August 19, 2009, accessed May 12, 2018, <http://ent.ltn.com.tw/news/paper/326798>.



Figure 1.4. The decoration of the iconic images of Jesus and saints behind the altar. “The 157th Anniversary Mass of the Wanchin Basilica of the Immaculate Conception,” posted by Paul Pan (December 15, 2018), screenshot from YouTube, accessed March 8, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6v16of-O6HU>.



Figure 1.5. The Marian image with Mazu. Zhi-Xuan Guo, “The Encounter of the East and the West Holy Mothers and Let the Love fly via Hot Air Balloon-Pool,” *Central News Agency*, October 20, 2018, accessed March 8, 2019, <https://www.cna.com.tw/news/alloc/201810200192.aspx>.



Figure 1.1. The factory builds a temple within two days. Screenshot by the author from Zi-Wei Liu, “I Build a Temple within Two Days: A Big Business of Temple Manufacturing,” BBC News, accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/chinese-news-42901634>.



Figure. 1.2 The map of Tainan Yanshui tourist attractions. The attraction circled in red is the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church. 「米其林三星—鹽水月津港漫遊」, 台南旅遊網, 台南市政府觀光局, 存取日期 2019 年 3 月 7 日, <https://www.twtainan.net/zh-tw/media/publicationlist?page=1>. [“Michelin Three Star—Yanshui Yuejin Harbor Map,” Travel Tainan, Tourism Bureau of Tainan City Government, accessed March 7, 2019, <https://www.twtainan.net/zh-tw/media/publicationlist?page=1>.]



Figure 1.3. The model of the city of Salvador. “The City of San Salvador,” The Story of Taiwan, National Museum of Taiwan History, accessed March 13, 2019, <https://the.nmth.gov.tw/nmth/zh-TW/Item/Detail/d7d638e9-59ac-4408-b379-6fdbb3b88cee>.

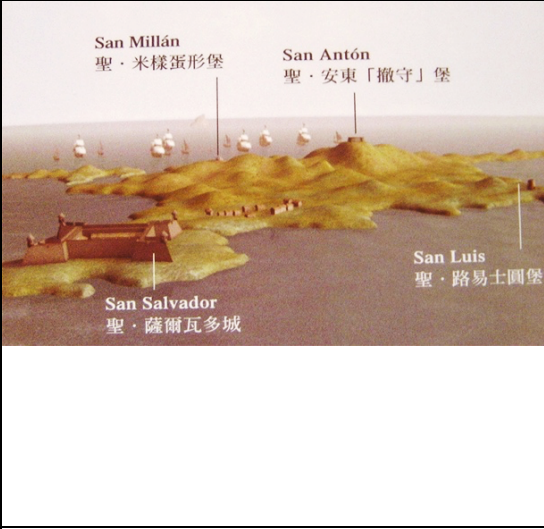


Figure 1.4. The several forts where the Spaniards established in the North of Taiwan. Xiao-Feng Li, “The Story of the Name of Keelung,” *Taiwan People News*, last modified January 29, 2017, accessed March 13, 2019, <https://www.peoplenews.tw/news/849a3006-3f07-4841-a7c4-7b813f35382a>.



Figure 1.5. Matteo Ricci and Xu Guanqi—an official of Qing dynasty and good friend of Ricci. Matteo Ricci dressed in blue and Xu Guanqi dressed in red. Benoit Vermander, “Matteo Ricci and Xu Guanqi, Two Saints the Chinese Church Deserves to Venerate Together,” AsiaNews.it, last modified March 26, 2014, accessed March 16, 2019, <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Matteo-Ricci-and-Xu-Guangqi,-two-saints-the-Chinese-Church-deserves-to-venerate-together-30667.html>.



Figure 1.6. Anonymous, *Foreign Lohan*, 1729, oil on silk, Beijing. Photographed by the author from John O’Malley, Guavin Alexander Bailey, and Giovanni Sale, eds., *The Jesuit and the Arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2003), 333.



Figure 1.7. *Madonna of Saint Luke*, painted by an unknown artist, ink and colors on silk, late 16th–17th century. Photographed by the author from John O’Malley, Guavin Alexander Bailey, and Giovanni Sale, eds., *The Jesuit and the Arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2003), 338.

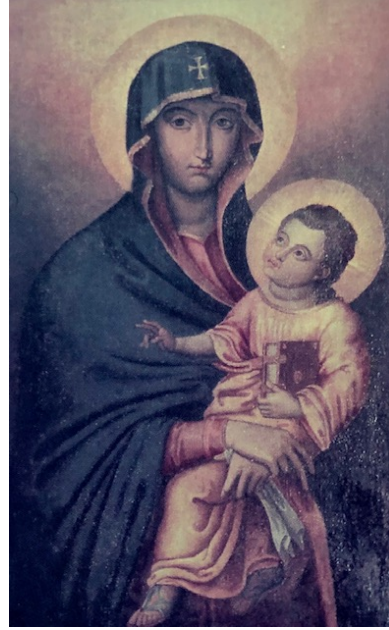


Figure 1.8. Giuseppe Valeriano’s *Salus Populi Romani*, oil on canvas, 16th century. Photographed by the author from John O’Malley, Guavin Alexander Bailey, and Giovanni Sale, eds., *The Jesuit and the Arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2003), 126.



Figure 1.9. *Agony in the Garden*, Woodblock printing from *Song Nian Zhu Gui Cheng* in 1608. Photographed by the author from John O’Malley, Guavin Alexander Bailey, and Giovanni Sale, eds., *The Jesuit and the Arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2003), 340.



Figure 1.10. *The Agony in the Garden*, by Livio Agresti, Giovanni Battista Fiammeri, and others in 1607. Photographed by the author from John O’Malley, Guavin Alexander Bailey, and Giovanni Sale, eds., *The Jesuit and the Arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2003), 341.



Figure 1.11. Wanchin Catholic Church (Wanchin Basilica), built by Dominicans in 1870. Screenshot by the author from “Wanchin Catholic Church,” National Cultural Heritage Database Management System, accessed March 29, 2019, <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/advanceSearch/monument/19851127000085>.



Figure 1.12. The Marian Sedan Chair of Wanchin Holy Mary. Photographed from Shou-Yan Zhao, “Wanchin Catholic Marian Procession,” Taiwanese Religious and Cultural Assets, last updated March 31, 2019, accessed March 31, 2019, https://www.taiwangods.com/html/cultural/3_0011.aspx?i=33.



Figure 1.13. The College of Clergy of Peking Fu Jen Catholic University in 1937, designed by Dom Adalbert Gresnigt. Photographed from Qing-Zhen Mao, “Regarding the 90th Anniversary of Fu Jen Catholic University,” The Observer, accessed March 31, 2019, <https://www.observer-taipei.com/article.php?id=1188>.



Figure 1.14. The South China Seminary (now known as the Holy Spirit Seminary) designed by Dom Adalbert Gresnigt in 1931. “Architecture,” the Holy Spirit Seminary, accessed March 31, 2019, <http://www.hss.org.hk/places.html>.



Figure 1.15. *Nativitas D. N. I. Christi* (Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ) painted by Yuan-Du Chen, the stamp of Vatican in 1961. “The Adoration,” Arago, Smithsonian National Postal Museum, accessed March 31, 2019, https://arago.si.edu/record_194814_img_1.html.



Figure 1.16. *The Last Supper* painted by Yuan-Du Chen in 1939. Nonny Hsueh, *The Life of Christ*, illustrated by Yuan-Du Chen (Taipei: EHGBooks, 2012), 44.



Figure 1.17. Dong Qichang, *The Booklet of the Natural Landscape Paintings*, 16th-17th century, The Palace Museum, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/230734.htm>.



Figure 1.18. Monica Liu, *Intimate Whisper*, 2010, ink wash painting. “2010 Christmas Card,” Catholic Aurora Association, last modified July 8, 2013, accessed April 20, 2019, <http://www.caauroora.org.tw/caauroora/?p=51>.



Figure 1.19. Keith Barry Martinson, *David and Goliath*, 2000, mosaic, the Qingquan Church. Photographed by the author.

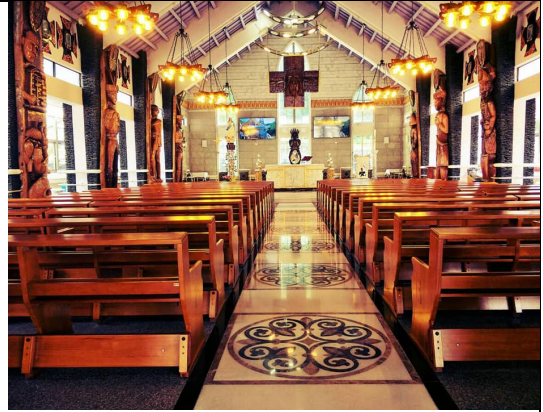


Figure 1.20. Yung-Hsiung Tu, the Immaculate Conception Church, 2016, Taiwu. Wan-Te T'ang, post to the Immaculate Conception Church's Facebook, December 15, 2018, accessed April 20, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2161650057418203&set=a.1487455574837658&type=3&theater>.



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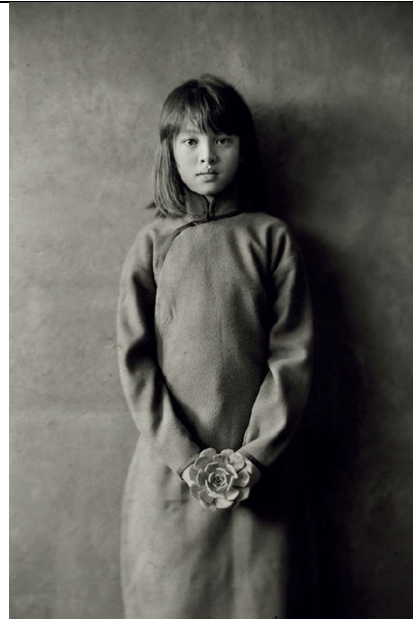


Figure 1.22. *The Virgin in Preparing*, 2011, photography, Taiwan. Screenshot by the author from Ruth Wang, "Stanley Fung's 'Dust Icon': Disseminating the Fragrance of the Gospel through Art," *China Christian Daily*, April 14, 2016, accessed April 30, 2019, http://chinachristiandaily.com/news/culture/2016-04-14/stanley-fung-s--dust-icon---disseminating-the-fragrance-of-the-gospel-through-art_1015.



Figure 1.23. The lantern of *Eternal Love: Railway to Happiness*, 2018. “Endless Love: Happiness Railway,” Catholic Church Chiayi Diocese Facebook, last modified February 12, 2018, accessed November 20, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/CatholicChiayiDiocese/photos/pcb.1095355463961361/1095354913961416/?type=3&theater>.



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Figure 1.25. The lantern of *Mazu*, Taoism. “Album: Lantern Festival,” Epoch Times, last modified March 2, 2018, accessed November 20, 2018, <http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/18/3/2/n10183987.htm>.



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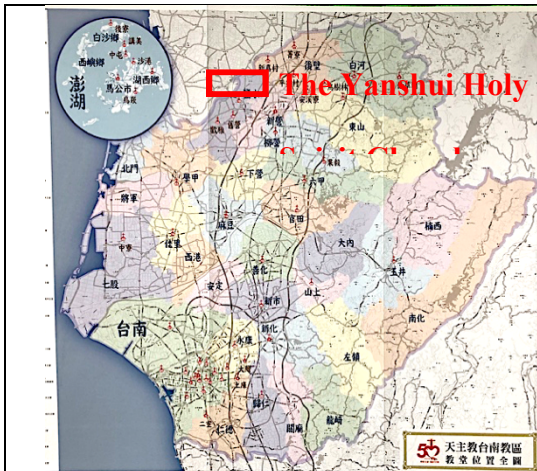


Figure 2.1. The Map of Tainan Diocese. The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church is located in the north-west of Tainan and belongs to Tainan Diocese. Photographed from *Catholicism in Tainan: 1961-2011*, ed. Tainan Diocese (Tainan: Catholic Window Press, 2012), appendix.



Figure 2.2. The temple of Matsu. “Temple,” Tainan City Yanshui District Office, last modified March 3, 2019, accessed March 10, 2019, <https://web.tainan.gov.tw/ysdo/cp.aspx?n=8378>.



Figure 2.3. The temple of Duke Guan Yu. “Temple,” Tainan City Yanshui District Office, last modified March 3, 2019, accessed March 10, 2019, <https://web.tainan.gov.tw/ysdo/cp.aspx?n=8378>.



Figure 2.4. The temples in the Yanshui District. The buildings marked in red frames are temples. The one in yellow frame is the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church. Screenshot and edited by the author from *Roaming around the Yanshui Moon Port*, Travel Tainan, Tourism Bureau of Tainan City Government, last updated March 12, 2019, accessed March 12, 2019, <https://www.twtainan.net/zh-tw/media/publicationlist>.



Figure 2.5. The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church in 1955. “Catholic Holy Spirit Church 60th Anniversary,” posted by Zhao-Xin Zheng (June 7, 2015), screenshot from YouTube, accessed May 12, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8-2Y2JGXEhM>.



Figure 2.6. The Yanshui Holy Spirit Church, 1986. Photographed by the author.



Figure 2.7. The Title of the Yanshui Holy Spirit Church—祭天殿 *ji tian dian*—means “The Temple of Sacrifice to Heaven”. Photographed by the author.

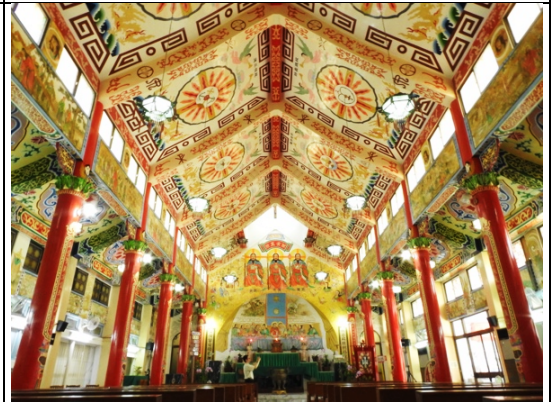


Figure 2.8. Two rows of red pillars situated at both sides of the nave. Photograph and authorized use from Liu Cheng Chung.



Figure 2.9. The pillar with couplet written on it. Photographed by the author.



Figure 2.10. The ceiling is decorated with the pattern of rosary. Photographed by the author.



Figure 2.11. Koji pottery on the roof of the temple. Screenshot from Shi-Wei Xie, "Koji Pottery," National Religion Information Network, accessed March 11, 2019, <https://religion.moi.gov.tw/Knowledge/Content?ci=2&cid=63>.



Figure 2.12. The painting of Tain Guo: *The Door of Gods* in the Ci-Ji Temple of Min-Xiong in Chiayi County. Screenshot from "Folk Paintings," The Art Annals of Chiayi County 336-349, Culture and Tourism Bureau of Chiayi County, last updated March 11, 2019, accessed March 11, 2019, https://www.tbocc.gov.tw/ModuleMsg/News_Detail.aspx?id=932&page=2&&SearchPageSize_Data=20&SearchDisplay=close&SelectData_KeyWord=66&NewsClassID=61&lang=tw.



Figure 2.13. The painting on the beam of the temple. Hong-Ming Zhuang, “The Painting of the Beam,” Encyclopedia of Taiwan, Ministry of Culture, last updated September 9, 2009, accessed March 11, 2019, <http://nrch.culture.tw/twpedia.aspx?id=13738>.



Figure 2.14. Two major murals and one engraved icon of a Chinese martyr under the altar—behind the incense burner—constitute the main imagery of the sanctuary. Photographed and demonstrated by the author.

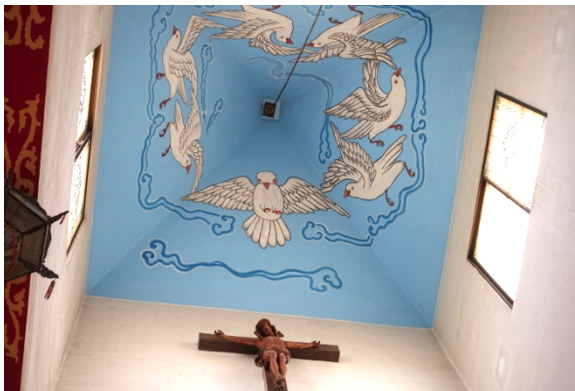


Figure 2.15. The Chinese style caisson is right above the area of sanctuary. The light shines from here and illuminates the altar. Photographed by the author.

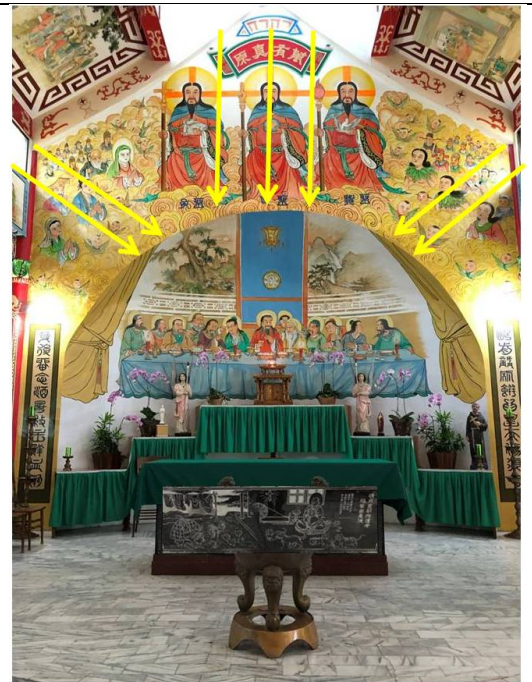


Figure 2.16. The light (the yellow arrows) shines from above and the sides upon the area of the sanctuary. Photographed and demonstrated by the author.

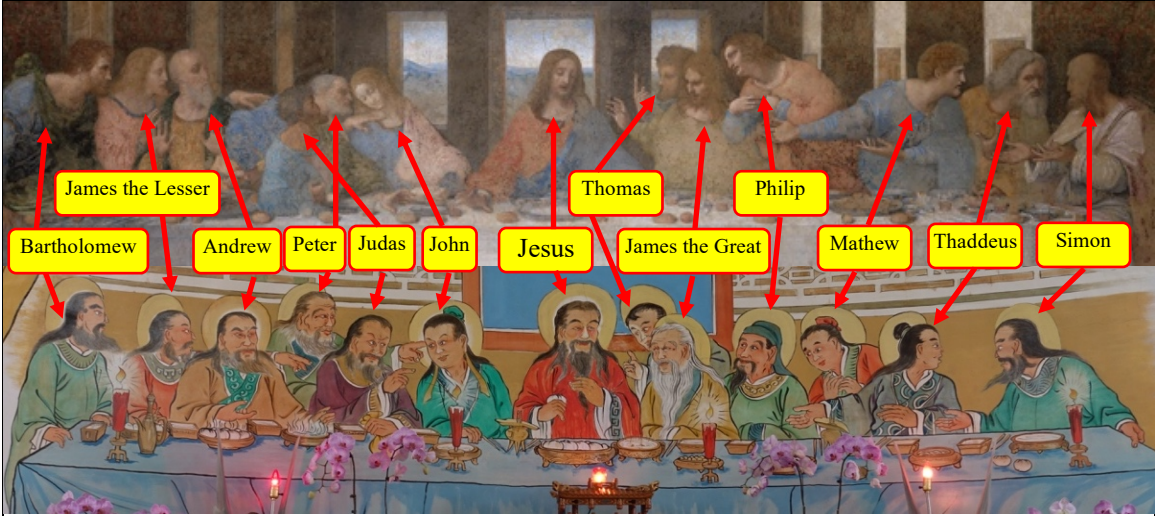


Figure 2.18. Fr. Ly gave no information about the identities of the 13 figures in *The Oriental Last Supper*. Yet one can identify them (Jesus and the 12 disciples) by referring to the identification made on *The Last Supper* by Ross King, *Leonardo and The Last Supper* (New York: Walker & Company, 2012), xi. Comparison and demonstration by the author.

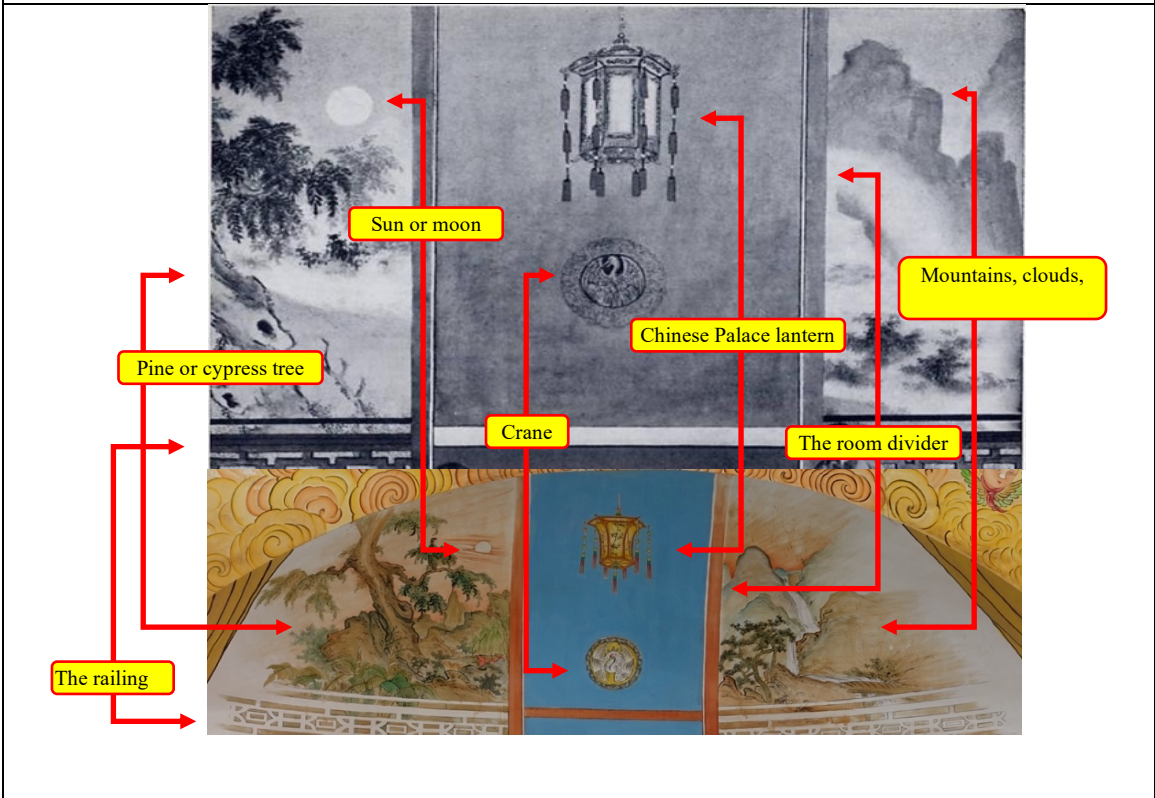


Figure.2.19. The compositions of the back ground of *The Last Supper* painted by Yuan-Du Chen (above) and *The Oriental Last Supper* (below). They are similar in the compositions: the railing, the pine or cypress tree, the sun or moon, the crane, the Chinese palace lantern, the room divider, the mountains, clouds, waterfalls, and trees. Comparison and demonstration by the author.

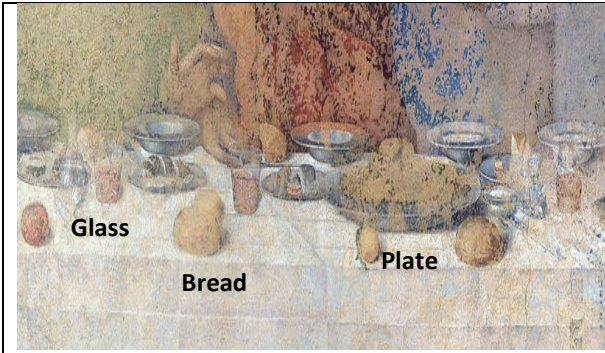


Figure 2.20. The table setting of Leonardo's *Last Supper*.

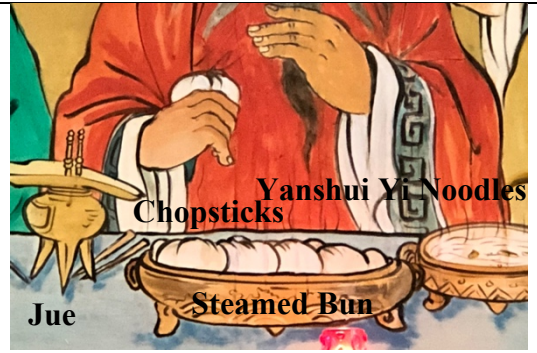


Figure 2.21. The table setting of *The Oriental Last Supper*.



Figure 2.22. The groupings—above: more clustered; below: more even. Demonstrated by the author.

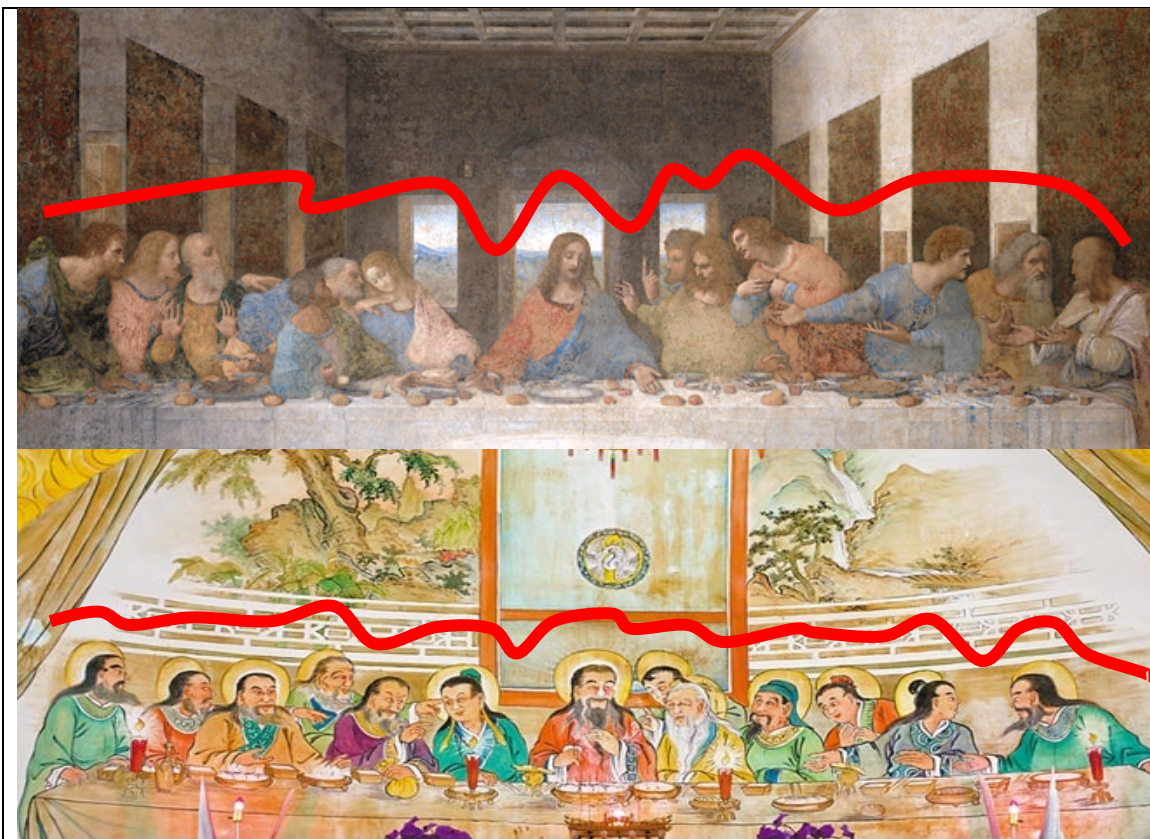


Figure 2.23. The dynamics of the groupings—above: more clustered and dramatic; below: more even and more harmonious.

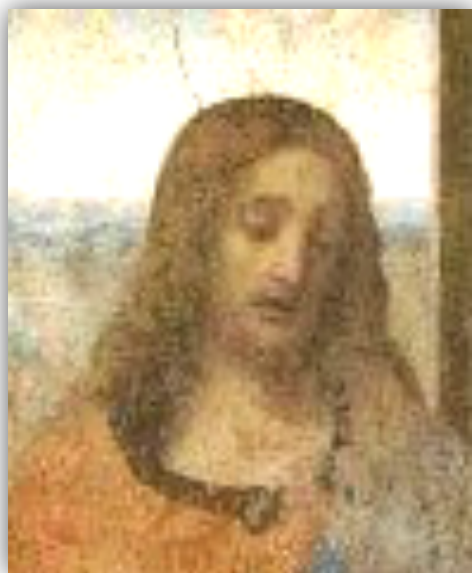


Figure 2.24. Jesus's facial expression: solemn, calm, and a little bit sad.



Figure 2.25. Jesus's facial expression: amiable and harmonious.



Figure 2.26. The shadow on Judas's face. "The Codes and Codswallop Surrounding Leonardo da Vinci," *The Spectator*, accessed December 16, 2018, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/2018/04/the-codes-and-codswallop-surrounding-leonardo-da-vinci/>.



Figure 2.27. No halo behind Judas's head.

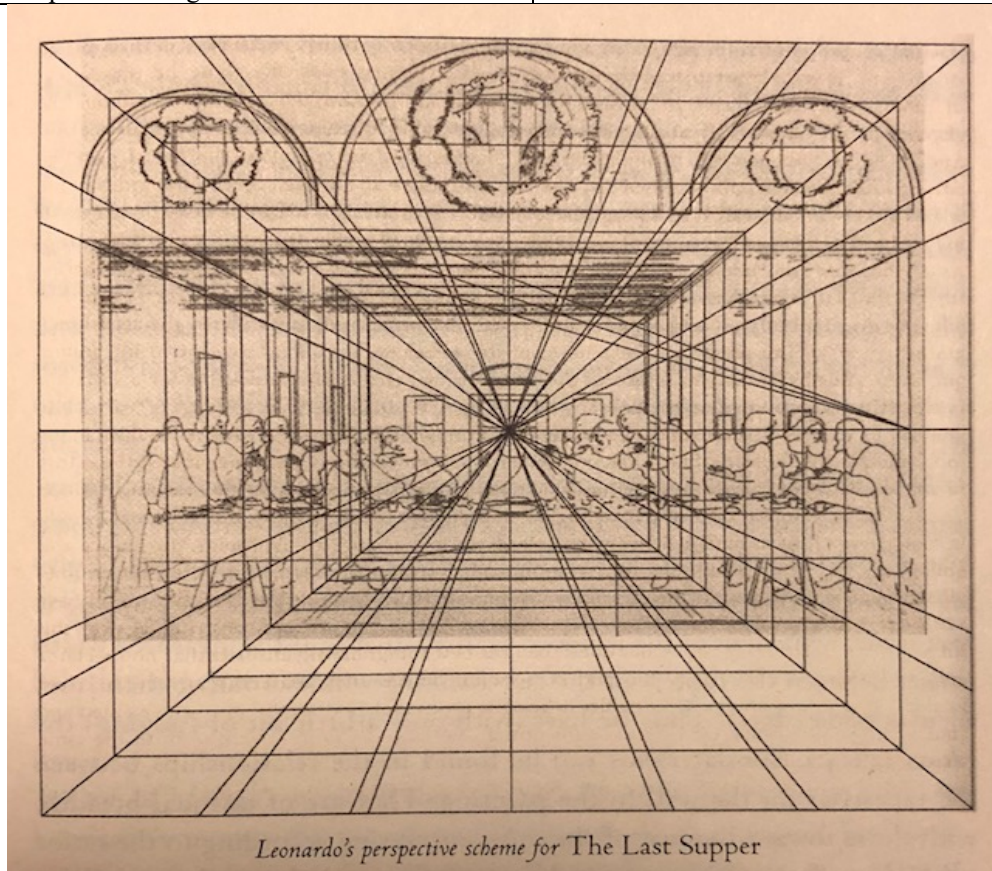


Figure 2.28. Leonardo's perspective scheme for The Last Supper. Photographed from Ross King, *Leonardo and The Last Supper* (New York: Walker and Company, 2012), 143.

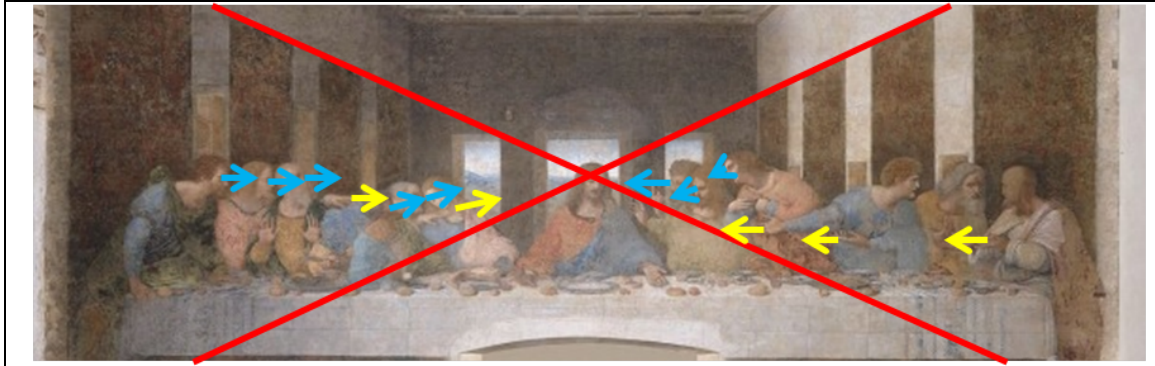


Figure 2.29. The focus on Jesus by the direction of eyes and gesture—blue arrows: eye direction; yellow arrows: hand gesture movement; red line: spatial perspective.



Figure 2.30. A crane folds its wings in a circle above the head of Jesus. Photographed by the author.



Figure 2.31. “Woman’s Coat with Crane Medallions” of the late Qing dynasty, donated by an anonymous donor to Metropolitan of Art, New York, 1949. Metropolitan of Art, “Woman’s Coat with Crane Medallions,” accessed December 19, 2018, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/69899>.



Figure 2.32. The mural of *The Holy Trinity*. Photographed by the author.



Figure 2.33. Unknown artist, *Christ's Baptism in the Rabbula Gospels*, sixth century. The photo is taken from Sarah Coakley, *God, Sexuality, and the Self: An Essay 'On the Trinity'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 202.



Figure 2.34. El Greco, *The Holy Trinity*, 1577, Museo Dei Prado, accessed April 15, 2019, <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-holy-trinity/8b502bfc-bc6d-43d1-b72b-b047ecea033c>.



Figure 2.35. Unknown artist, *Paternitas* (Divine Fatherhood), fourteenth century, School of Novgorod. "Icon Gallery," On-Line Novgorod, accessed April 15, 2019, <https://www.novgorod.ru/english/read/information/icons-sorted/end-XIV>.



Figure 2.36. Unknown artist, *Abraham's Vision at Mamre*, 3rd century, the catacomb of the Via Latina, Rome. "Icon of the Holy Trinity," A Reader's Guide to Orthodox Icons, accessed April 15, 2019, <https://iconreader.wordpress.com/2011/02/20/icon-of-the-holy-trinity>.



Figure 2.37. Andrei Rublev, *The Old Testament Trinity*, 1411, Art Way, accessed March 13, 2019, <http://www.artway.eu/content.php?id=730&lang=en&action=show>.



Figure 2.38. *The Holy Trinity* (a copy painted by I. S. Schultz) on the ceiling of Santa Clara Mission Church. The original one was painted by Mexican artist Augustin Davila and his native neophytes around 1834. Photographed by the author.

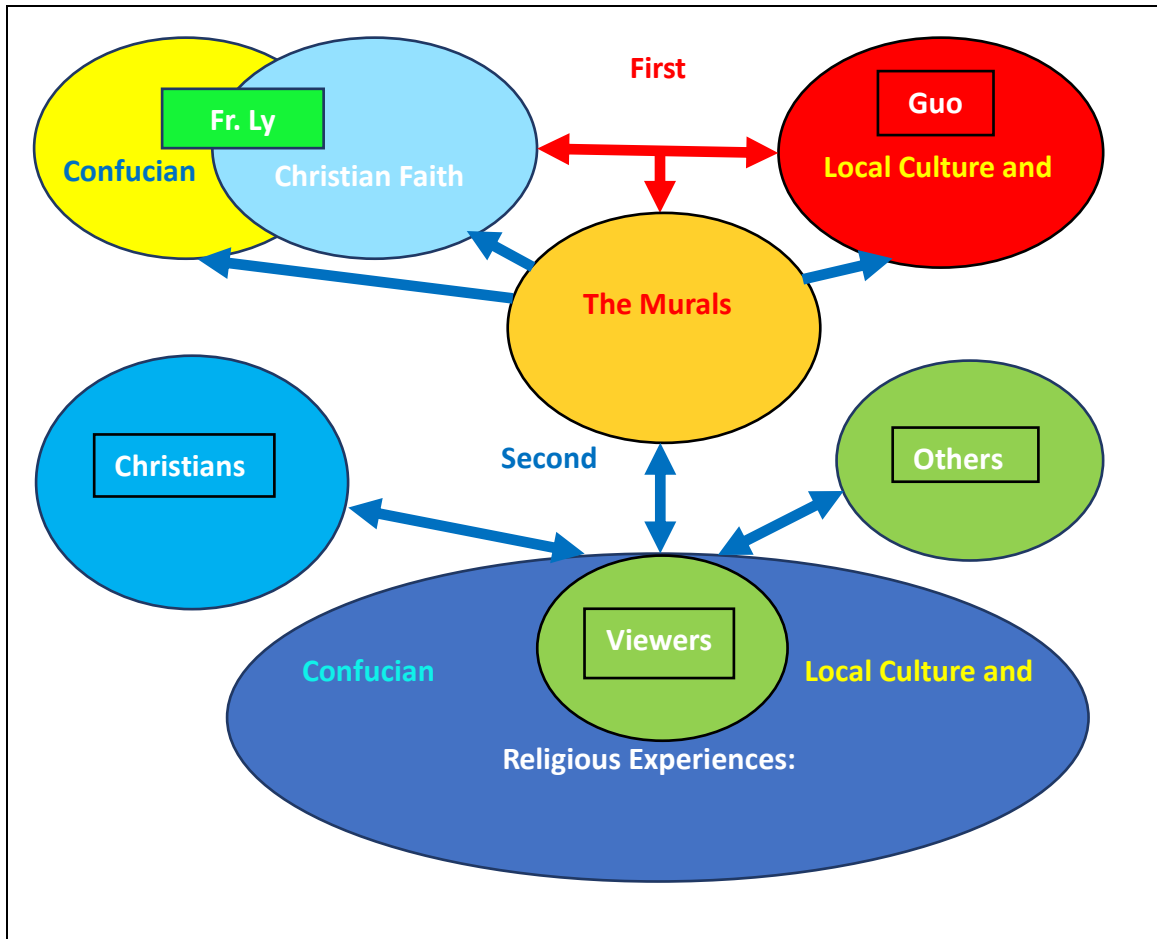


Figure 2.39. The process of making the murals and the dialogue among Confucian culture, Christian faith, local culture, and local visual aesthetics. The red arrows indicate the process of dialogue between Fr. Ly and painter Guo (first dialogue). The blue circle indicates viewers' background and personal experiences. The blue arrows indicate how viewers access the murals with their own experiences and how the dialogue—among murals, viewers, Christians, and others—become possible (second dialogue). Illustrated by the author.



Figure 3.1. *The Trikaya Buddha*. From left to right: Amitabha Buddha, Sakyamuni Buddha, and Bhaisaiya Buddha. Screenshot from Buddhist Temples in Taiwan, accessed March 13, 2019, http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/taiwanbudgis/photoAlbum.php?temple_id=950A4T&id=950A41.

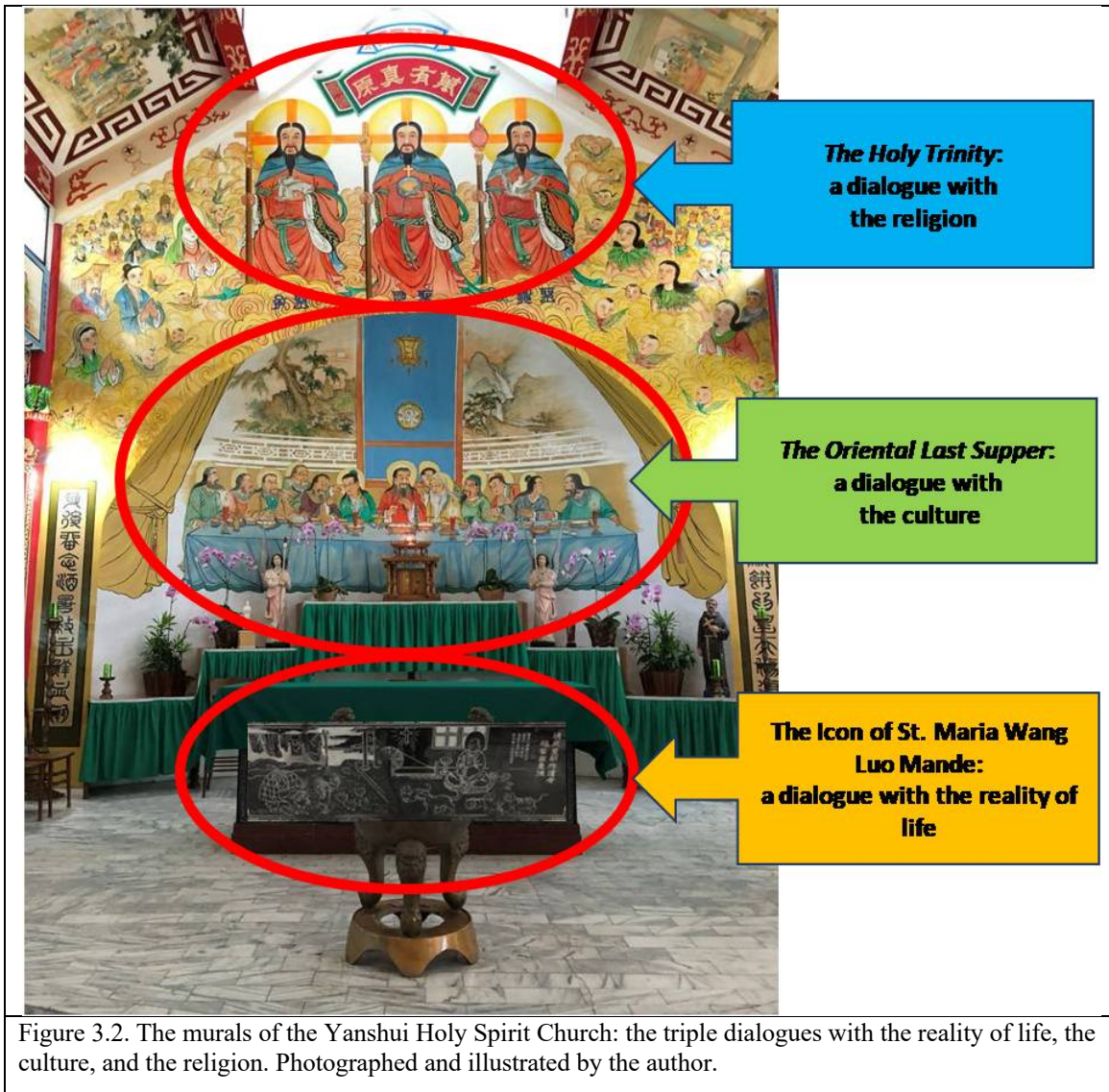




Figure C.1. The mural of creation. Photographed by the author.



Figure C.2. The mural of the way of the cross: Jesus carries the cross. Photographed by the author.



Figure C.3. The Chinese martyr St. Lo T'ing-Yin. Photographed by the author.

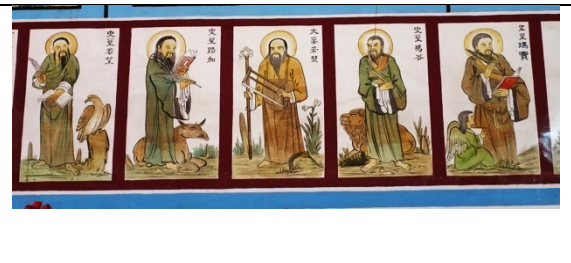


Figure C.4. The murals of St. Joseph (center), St. John the evangelist, St. Luke, St. Mark, and St. Mathew (from left to right). Photographed by the author.

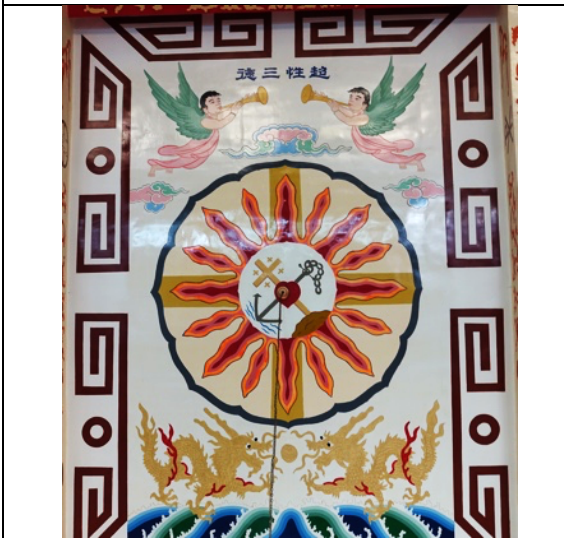


Figure C.5. The mural of Christian symbol: the anchor and the crucifix on the roof. Photographed by the author.



Figure C.6. The decorations on the top of the pillar. Photographed by the author.

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