

## MONOTHEISM IN BEIJING UNDER THE MONGOLS

## 蒙元时期北京的一神论信仰

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## Abstract

This article compares the situation of different representatives of a monotheistic faith in Mongol China, especially in Beijing, around the year 1300. The description centers around the Syrian Isa, most probably a Nestorian Christian, who served in high offices in Beijing after 1270, Shams al-Din (died in 1279), the famous Muslim general and administrator from Bukhara, and the Italian missionary Giovanni Montecorvino (1246-1328), who lived in Beijing for three decades in the early fourteenth century. For the three monotheist communities the rule of the Mongols in Northern China brought great opportunities, and the period around 1300 became a time of the establishment of Nestorian, Catholic, and Muslim communities in Beijing. The author tries to describe and compare the approaches and contexts of three representatives of the three traditions and elucidates the factors which were decisive for the relative success or failure of the religious traditions in Beijing.

## 摘要

本文比较了蒙古统治时期中国（尤其是北京）不同一神论信仰代表在1300年左右的情况。描述主要围绕叙利亚人伊萨（Isa，很可能是景教基督徒，1270年后在北京担任高官）、来自布哈拉的著名穆斯林将领和行政官员赛典赤·赡思丁（Shams al-Din, 1279年去世），以及意大利传教士孟高维诺（Giovanni Montecorvino, 1246-1328, 14世纪初在北京生活了三十年）展开。对于这三个一神论群体来说，蒙古在华北的统治带来了巨大机遇，景教、天主教和穆斯林社群1300年左右在北京建立。作者试图描述并比较这三个传统代表人物的事迹及其背景，并阐明决定这些宗教传统在北京相对成功或失败的关键因素。

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Mongol rule began with Genghis Khan (1162-1226) who unified the tribes in the northern regions of China and led his armies to central Asia and occupied the northern part of China. The great Khan also began a policy of religious tolerance. The religious tradition of the Mongols were a mixture of Shamanism and the worship of Heaven (*Tenggri*), but some of the Mongol tribes had adopted the faith of the Syriac Christians, perhaps already several centuries earlier. One of these Christian tribes was the tribe of the Keraits. Tolui, the youngest son of Genghis Khan, was married to a woman of the Keraits, and the name of this princess was Sorghaghtani (or "Sorkaktani"). This aristocratic lady was not only a Christian but also a keen political player. She knew how to arrange a power position for her four sons. These four sons were Möngke (he was in power 1251-1259), Hulagu (he ruled the Ilkhanate in Persia from 1258 to 1265), Ariq Boke (he triggered a civil war but had to cede power to Khublai), and Khublai, who ruled China from 1260 to 1294 and decided to move the capital to Beijing (Khanbaliq) around 1271. Sorghaghtani was widely praised for her wisdom, since she also cooperated with Muslims. According to Persian records she generously funded the erection of a Madrasa (Muslim college) in Bukhara.

Since the 1220s the Mongolian riders quickly expanded their control in Central and West Asia, and they established four Khanates, namely the "Golden Horde" (the regions north of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea), the Ilkhanate (Persia), the Chagatai Khanate (Central Asia) and the Mongol Dynasty in China. The Mongol rulers gradually accepted the Islamic faith. The first was Berke, the younger brother of Batu. He ruled the Golden Horde from 1257 to 1267 and attempted to strike an alliance with the Sultan of Egypt in order to attack the Ilkhanate. For this reason he accepted Islam. Around 1340 almost all Mongol rulers in the western regions had accepted Islam.

蒙古统治始于成吉思汗 (1162-1226)，他统一了中国北方的部落，率领军队进入中亚并占领了中国北部，也开始了宗教宽容政策。蒙古的宗教传统是萨满教和天神 (*tenggri*) 崇拜的混合体，但一些蒙古部落可能早在几个世纪前就已接受了叙利亚基督徒的信仰，其中之一是克烈部 (Kerails)。成吉思汗的幼子拖雷 (Tolui) 娶了克烈部的一位女子，这位公主的名字是唆鲁禾帖尼 (Sorghaghtani或Sorkaktani)。她不仅是一位基督徒，还是一位敏锐的政治家，懂得如何为自己的四个儿子安排权力地位。他们是蒙哥 (1251-1259在位)、旭烈兀 (Hulagu, 1258-1265统治波斯的伊儿汗国)、阿里不哥 (Ariq Boke他引发了内战，但不得不将权力让给忽必烈) 和忽必烈 (1260-1294统治中国，约1271年决定迁都北京)。唆鲁禾帖尼也与穆斯林合作，因其智慧而广受赞誉。根据波斯记载，她慷慨资助了在布哈拉建立一所伊斯兰学院 (Madrasa)。

自1220年代以来，蒙古骑兵迅速扩展了在中亚和西亚的控制，并建立了四个汗国，即“金帐汗国”（黑海和里海以北地区）、伊儿汗国（波斯）、察合台汗国（中亚）和中国的元朝。蒙古统治者逐渐接受了伊斯兰信仰，首先是拔都 (Batu) 的弟弟别儿哥 (Berke)。他1257-1267年统治金帐汗国，并试图与埃及苏丹结盟以攻击伊儿汗国，为此接受了伊斯兰教。到1340年左右，西部地区的几乎所有蒙古统治者都已接受了伊斯兰教。

For the three monotheist communities the rule of the Mongols in Northern China brought great opportunities, and the period around 1300 became a time of the establishment of Nestorian, Catholic, and Muslim communities in Beijing.



对三个一神教社区而言，蒙古在中国北方的统治带来了巨大机遇，1300年左右成为景教、天主教和穆斯林社区在北京建立的时期。

In 1258 Hulagu conquered Baghdad, the center of the Abbasids. He established the Ilkhanate. A later Mongol Ilkhanate leader, Arghun (in power 1284-1291), planned to ally with the Franks to attack Islam, but his son Ghazan (in power 1295-1304) formally accepted Islam.

Godan, the leader of the Chagatai Khanate, set up his throne in Liangzhou (Wuwei) in today's Province of Gansu. He adopted Lamaism, but in the 1330s the Mongol leader of the Chagatai Khanate converted to Islam for good. This implied that not only "high official positions were staffed with Muslims", but also the "imperial family and the subjects converted to Islam".<sup>1</sup> In other words, the Mongols did not curb the spread of Islam, and this was contrary to what the Europeans had hoped for.

In 1271 Kublai Khan proclaimed his rule as the Yuan Dynasty, and he transferred the capital from Karakorum (near modern Ulan Bataar) to Beijing. Kublai respected Confucianist scholarship, and he wanted to rule China with the help of native traditions. He welcomed scholars and talents from Central Asia or Europe. Among these were Isa, Shams al-Din, and the Italian missionary Montecorvino.

1258年，旭烈兀征服了阿拔斯王朝的中心巴格达。他建立了伊儿汗国。后来的一位蒙古伊儿汗国领袖阿鲁浑（Arghun, 1284-1291在位）计划与法兰克人结盟攻击伊斯兰世界，但他的儿子合赞（Ghazan, 1295-1304在位）正式接受了伊斯兰教。

察合台汗国的领袖阇端（Godan）在今天甘肃省的凉州（武威）设立了他的王庭。他接受了喇嘛教，但在1330年代，察合台汗国的蒙古领袖最终皈依了伊斯兰教。这意味着不仅“高级官职由穆斯林担任”，而且“皇室家族和臣民也皈依了伊斯兰教”。<sup>1</sup> 换句话说，蒙古人并没有遏制伊斯兰教的传播，这与欧洲人所希望的相反。

1271年，忽必烈宣布建立元朝，并将首都从哈拉和林（靠近现代乌兰巴托）迁至北京。忽必烈尊重儒家文化，并希望借助本土传统统治中国。他欢迎来自中亚或欧洲的学者和人才。其中包括伊萨、赛典赤·赡思丁和意大利传教士孟高维诺。

1 Fu Tongxian, 45.

1 傅统先，第45页。

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A special type of scholarly missionary who served in China for a long period (more than 50 years!) was Isa (in Arabic 'Īsa, in Chinese Aixue 爱薛, 1227-1308), who began his services at the Mongol court around 1247. He moved to Beijing around 1270 and died there. His name Isa means "Jesus", and he has been called an "Arab Nestorian".<sup>2</sup> According to the Chinese sources Isa came from "Fulin", and this vague expression may mean "Syria" in this case, although some state that his birthplace was "probably around the Caucasus region", which means present-day Azerbaijan or Armenia.<sup>3</sup> Isa came to Karakorum around 1246. There he entered the services of the Khan. Having easy access also to Sorghaghtani's court, and to her sons Möngke and Khublai, Isa married Hushinisha, a court lady from the Keraites, the tribe of Sorghaghtani. The Christian name of his wife was "Sarah", and their six children had typical names of the Syrian Christians in China, they were named Elijah, Dan, Hosea, Georgius, Luka, and Jona.<sup>4</sup> Isa became a translator in the service of the Mongol court and obtained a place in the imperial guard (*keshig*). Möngke and Khublai respected and trusted Isa who had become their relative by marriage.

In 1262, soon after Khublai ascended to the throne, Isa dared to suggest to the Khan to cancel the celebration of Buddha's birthday. Also on other occasions Isa suggested to Khublai not to commit too much time to certain ceremonies: "Isa wrote this petition: 'As it is now, Korea has recently been

伊萨（阿拉伯语'Īsa，中文爱薛，1227-1308）是一位特殊类型的学术传教士，在中国服务了很长时间（超过50年！）。他大约在1247年开始在蒙古宫廷服务，于1270年左右迁至北京并在那里去世。他的名字伊萨意为“耶稣”，学者称他是“阿拉伯景教徒”。<sup>2</sup> 根据中文资料，伊萨来自“拂林”，这个模糊的表达在这种情况下可能指叙利亚，尽管有人认为他的出生地“可能在高加索地区附近”，即今天的阿塞拜疆或亚美尼亚。<sup>3</sup> 伊萨大约在1246年来到哈拉和林。在那里开始为大汗服务，也能轻易接触到唆鲁禾帖尼的宫廷以及她的儿子蒙哥和忽必烈。伊萨娶了忽什尼沙（Hushinisha），一位来自唆鲁禾帖尼部落克烈部的宫廷女子。他妻子的基督教名字是“撒拉”，他们的六个孩子具有中国叙利亚基督徒的典型名字，分别是以利亚（Elijah）、但（Dan）、何西阿（Hosea）、乔治乌斯（Georgius）、路加（Luka）和约拿（Jona）。<sup>4</sup> 伊萨成为蒙古宫廷的一名翻译，并在禁卫军（怯薛）中获得了一个位置。蒙哥和忽必烈尊重并信任已成为他们姻亲的伊萨。

2 See Standaert, 68.

3 Kim, 255, 256.

4 See Fu Tongxian, 59. See also *Xin Yuanshi* 新元史, Biographies, 96: "六子: 也里牙, 光禄大夫、秦国公、崇福院使, 领司天台事, 以与文宗逆谋, 惠宗时诏暴其罪; 腆哈, 翰林学士承旨、兼修国史; 黑厮, 光禄卿; 阔里吉思, 同知泉府院事; 鲁哈, 广惠司提举; 咬难, 宿卫兴圣宫。" However, some of the origins of the names are hard to ascertain: 也里牙 Elijah、腆哈 Dan, Denha?、黑厮 Hosea?、阔里吉思 Georgius、鲁哈 Luka、咬难 Jona?

2 参见 Standaert, 第 68 页。

3 Kim, 第 255、256 页。

4 参见傅统先, 第 59 页。另见《新元史》, 列传第九十六: "六子: 也里牙, 光禄大夫、秦国公、崇福院使, 领司天台事, 以与文宗逆谋, 惠宗时诏暴其罪; 腆哈, 翰林学士承旨、兼修国史; 黑厮, 光禄卿; 阔里吉思, 同知泉府院事; 鲁哈, 广惠司提举; 咬难, 宿卫兴圣宫。" 然而, 一些名字的来源难以确定: 也里牙 Elijah、腆哈 Dan, Denha?、黑厮 Hosea?、阔里吉思 Georgius、鲁哈 Luka、咬难 Jona?

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conquered, but the regions of south China are not yet under Mongol rule. The people are tired, thus one should not waste resources in these useless things, thus I suggest not to hold the sacrifice to the god of the land and the god of grain (Sheji社稷). The emperor accepted this suggestion...”<sup>5</sup>

His first government office was the appointment to the Office of Medicine and Pharmacy (Yiyaoyuan医约院) in 1263. In 1273 the Office of Medicine and Pharmacy which Isa helped to established in Beijing was renamed *Guanghui si* (广惠司), and he continued to direct it. Affiliated to this office was a hospice where handicapped and poor people received medical treatment. Isa even “established the Muslim Pharmacy Bureau (回回医药院), which was directed by his wife Sarah.”<sup>6</sup> Also in 1263 Isa held a position at the Office of Western Astronomy (*Xiyu xingli si*西域星历司), and after the new observatory in Beijing (*sitian tai*司天台) had been established in Beijing in 1271, he helped the famous Muslim astronomer Jamal al-Din (died c. 1289) to introduce the Muslim calendar to China.

According to the records of *Xin Yuanshi* (新元史, New Mongol History), whenever Isa disliked something, he frankly admonished the emperor. In the year 1279 some Muslims caused trouble, because they demanded that no other meat should be eaten besides their mutton. Responding to these quarrels Khublai prohibited Muslims to slaughter lambs in their homes and severely punished offenders against this decree. Khublai’s anti-Muslim laws of 1280 are recorded in Chinese, Persian, and European sources, and the Persian author Rashid al-Din (died 1318) notes that Isa urged an even stricter edict, but it is doubtful if Isa was involved in these prohibitions.<sup>7</sup>

5 See Fu Tongxian, 59. *Xin Yuanshi* 新元史, Biographies, 96.

6 *Chinese Encyclopedia of Islam*, 60.

7 Kim, 258.

1262年, 忽必烈即位后不久, 伊萨大胆地向大汗建议取消庆祝佛诞日。在其他场合, 伊萨也建议忽必烈不要在特定仪式上花费太多时间: “伊萨写此奏章: ‘如今, 高丽刚被征服, 但中国南部地区尚未处于蒙古统治之下。人民疲惫, 因此不应在这些无用之事上浪费资源, 因此我建议不举行祭祀社稷之神的仪式。皇帝接受了这个建议...’ ”。<sup>5</sup>

他的第一个政府官职是1263年被任命为医药院 (Yiyaoyuan) 的职务。1273年, 伊萨帮助在北京建立的医药院更名为广惠司, 他继续领导该机构。隶属于该机构的是一个收容所, 残疾人和穷人在那里接受医疗。伊萨甚至“建立了回回医药院, 由其妻撒拉领导”。<sup>6</sup> 同样在1263年, 伊萨在西域星历司 (*Xiyu xingli si*) 任职, 1271年北京新天文台 (司天台) 建立后, 他帮助著名的穆斯林天文学家札马鲁丁 (Jamal al-Din, 约1289年去世) 将伊斯兰历法引入中国。

根据《新元史》记载, 每当伊萨不喜欢某事, 他会坦率地劝谏皇帝。1279年, 一些穆斯林制造麻烦, 要求除了羊肉外不应食用其他肉类。针对这些争吵, 忽必烈禁止穆斯林在家中宰杀羔羊, 并严厉惩罚违反此法令者。忽必烈1280年的反穆斯林法律记录在中文、波斯文和欧洲文献中。波斯作者拉施特 (Rashid al-Din, 1318年去世) 指出伊萨敦促制定更严格的法令, 但伊萨是否参与制定这些禁令是值得怀疑的。<sup>7</sup>

5 参见傅统先, 第59页。《新元史》, 列传第九十六。

6 《中国伊斯兰百科全书》, 第60页。

7 Kim, 第258页。

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Isa grew up in a multi-lingual environment, and he was known as an “interpreter” (*kelemechi* in Mongol language). In 1283, he and his son Asutai accompanied the famous minister Bolod Aqa to the Ilkhanate, where Isa met Arghun Khan in the following year. In 1285 Arghun wrote a letter to the Pope in Rome in order to ask his cooperation in the campaign against the Muslims in Egypt. Isa was ordered to accompany Ilkhan Arghun’s mission to Pope Honorius IV. From Rome the mission soon returned to Persia. In 1286 Isa was sent back to Beijing. In 1287 Isa was appointed head of the Imperial Library Directorate. In 1289 the Mongol ruler established the institution of the “Bureau of Religions” (*Chongfu si* 崇福司, also translated as “Office for Christian Clergy”), and this bureau was in charge of religious worship, including the “Cross Pagodas” (*Shizi si* 十字寺, i. e. Christian churches). Isa headed this bureau, directing or controlling the worship ceremonies of the bishops (*Mar hash* 马儿哈昔) and of the priests (*rabban* 列班) of the Syrian Christians in their churches (*shizi si*).<sup>8</sup> After Isa his son Elijah (Yeliya 也里牙) served as second director of the bureau. According to the records, Mar Moses (Ma Mouhuozhe 马某火者), the last director of the bureau, retired in the year 1358. Besides members of the Syrian Church in China, also Muslims served in the bureau, and up to nineteen assistants were assigned to serve in that unique institution.<sup>9</sup>

Isa died in Beijing in 1308, and his “family retained its hold on positions in the central government, especially posts related to ‘Isa’s accomplishments, including the Office for Christian Clergy, offices related to medicine, and offices related to documents and translations, such as the Imperial Library Directorate and the Hanlin Academy.”<sup>10</sup>

8 Standaert, 85.

9 Ibid., 85.

10 Kim, 265.

伊萨（即爱薛）在多语言环境中长大，并以翻译（*kelemechi*，蒙古语）闻名。1283年，他和他的儿子阿速太（Asutai）陪同著名大臣孛罗（Bolod Aqa）前往伊儿汗国，次年伊萨在那里会见了阿鲁浑汗。1285年，阿鲁浑写信给罗马教皇，要求他在攻打埃及穆斯林的战役中合作。伊萨奉命陪同伊儿汗阿鲁浑的使团前往教皇洪诺留四世（Honorius IV）处。使团很快从罗马返回波斯。1286年，伊萨被派回北京。1287年，伊萨被任命为秘书监（Imperial Library Directorate）的主管。1289年，蒙古统治者设立了“崇福司”（*Chongfu si*，也译为“基督教教士司”），该司负责宗教礼拜，包括“十字寺”（*Shizi si*，即基督教堂）。伊萨领导该司，指导或控制叙利亚基督徒的主教（*Mar hash*，马儿哈昔）和牧师（*rabban*，列班）在他们教堂（*shizi si*）中的礼拜仪式。<sup>8</sup> 伊萨之后，他的儿子以利亚（也里牙）担任该司的第二任主管。根据记载，该司的最后一任主管马某火者（Mar Moses）于1358年退休。除了中国的叙利亚教会成员外，穆斯林也在该司任职，有多达十九名助手被分配到这个独特的机构服务。<sup>9</sup>

伊萨于1308年在北京去世，他的“家族保留了在中央政府中的职位，特别是与伊萨成就相关的职位，包括崇福司、与医药相关的职位以及与文件和翻译相关的职位，如秘书监和翰林院”。<sup>10</sup>

8 Standaert, 第85页。

9 同上，第85页。

10 Kim, 第265页。

Compared to Isa and Shams al-Din, Montecorvino faced much greater challenges, and, speaking in human terms, he was the least successful missionary.... Only his connections to the international Catholic Church and especially his links to Rome ensured that his labors were honored and continued in some way. Neither the Muslims nor the Nestorian Christians had congregations of celibate friars who were ready to dedicate their lives to mission work abroad.

与伊萨和瞻思丁相比，蒙高维诺面临着更大的挑战，从人的角度来说，他是最不成功的传教士……唯有他与国际天主教会的联系，特别是与罗马的关系，确保他的劳动以某种方式得到尊崇并延续。无论是穆斯林还是景教徒，都没有愿意献身于海外传教工作的独身修士团体。

Being also an expert in astronomy, Isa cooperated with the famous astronomer and geographer Zhamaluding (Jamāl al-Dīn, c. 1235-1289), the first director of the Islamic Astronomical Bureau in Beijing, who introduced the Islamic calendar to China. Because of this, some Chinese Muslims have listed Isa as a “Muslim Scholar”, but according to most historians he “was almost certainly a Nestorian, not a Muslim”.<sup>11</sup> His career “is an example for the often-overlooked contribution of Western migrants to the intellectual life of Yuan China.”<sup>12</sup>

One of Isa’s Muslim contemporaries was Sayyid Shams al-Din (*Saidianchi zhansiding* 赛典赤·瞻思丁, 1211-1279). His Arabic name means “Mister Sun of Religion”. The word *shams* (sun) may remind a Jew or Christian of the “Mister Sun” in the Old Testament, namely the hero fighter Samson, whose name comes from the Hebrew word for “sun” (*shemesh*).

伊萨还是一位天文学家，他与著名的天文学家和地理学家札马鲁丁 (Jamāl al-Dīn, 约1235-1289) 合作，后者是北京伊斯兰天文局的第一任主管，他将伊斯兰历法引入中国。因此，一些中国穆斯林将伊萨列为“穆斯林学者”，但根据大多数历史学家的说法，他“几乎肯定是一位景教徒，而不是穆斯林”。<sup>11</sup> 他的职业生涯“是西方移民对元代中国知识生活常被忽视的贡献的一个例子”。<sup>12</sup>

伊萨的一位同时代穆斯林是赛典赤·瞻思丁 (Sayyid Shams al-Din, 1211-1279)。他的阿拉伯名字意为“宗教的太阳先生”。*shams* (太阳) 一词可能让犹太人或基督徒想起《旧约》中的“太阳先生”，即勇士参孙 (Samson)，其名字来源于希伯来语“太阳” (*shemesh*)。

11 Leslie, 155.

12 Kim, 265.

11 Leslie, 第155页。

12 Kim, 第265页。

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Like Jamāl al-Dīn, also Shams al-Dīn came from Bukhara in central Asia (today in Uzbekistan). He was appointed guardian of Genghis Khan and later of Ogodai Khan. From 1230 to 1250 the young Shams al-Dīn was appointed governor of several regions, including Datong in Shanxi Province, Hohot in Inner Mongolia, and later he was put in control of Taiyuan and the southern districts of Shanxi. Under Mōngke Khan (1251-1259) he served as governor of the area around Beijing, known as Yanjing lu, and in 1261 he was involved in the finance administration of the central government. When he held office, the Mongol government for the first time issued regular paper money. In 1264 Shams al-Dīn was Central Manager of Governmental Affairs (*Zhongshu sheng Pingzhang Zhengshi* 平章政事) in charge of Shenxi and Sichuan, because the Mongol armies had wrested these provinces from the control of the Song ruler. Shams al-Dīn spent his last years in Yunnan, because in 1274 he was appointed governor of Yunnan.

His first duty was to follow the demands of the Mongol rulers who were pressing on with their conquest of the southern regions of China. Shams was known as a tolerant governor.<sup>13</sup> One of the results of Mongol rule was that transportation across long distances became much more efficient, and Shams al-Dīn improved the connections between north China and Yunnan by establishing courier stations.<sup>14</sup> He also cared for agriculture, education, and medical supply by establishing the Land Survey Office (*Cejing suo* 侧景所) and the Charity Pharmacy (*Huimin yaoju* 惠民药局). In 1277 he founded a school in Wuhuashan (五华山) near Kunming.

和札马鲁丁一样，瞻思丁也来自中亚的布哈拉（今乌兹别克斯坦）。他被任命为成吉思汗的卫队人士，后来是窝阔台汗的卫队人士。从1230年到1250年，年轻的瞻思丁被任命为多个地区的总督，包括山西省大同、内蒙古呼和浩特，后来他被委以掌管太原和山西南部地区的责任。在蒙哥汗（1251-1259）时期，他担任北京周边地区（称为燕京路）的总督，1261年他参与了中央政府的财政管理。当他任职时，蒙古政府首次发行了常规纸币。1264年，瞻思丁担任中书省平章政事，负责陕西和四川，当时蒙古军队已从宋朝统治者手中夺取了这些省份。1274年他被任命为云南行省平章，并在云南度过了他最后的岁月。

他的首要职责是遵循蒙古统治者的要求，加紧征服中国南部地区。瞻思丁以宽容的总督而闻名。<sup>13</sup> 蒙古统治的结果之一是长途运输变得更加高效，瞻思丁通过建立驿站改善了华北和云南之间的联系。<sup>14</sup> 他还设立测景所（*Cejing suo*）和惠民药局（*Huimin yaoju*），负责农业、教育和医疗供应。1277年，他在昆明附近的五华山创办了一所学校。

当赛典赤·瞻思丁进入云南时，他的大批穆斯林追随者也定居在该省，因此直到今天，云南仍有少量穆斯林人口，其传统可追溯到蒙古时代。<sup>15</sup> 在宗教事务上，赛典赤·瞻思丁非常投入；他的头衔“赛义德”表明他本人是穆罕默德的后裔。根据历史记载，他在大理建立了十二座清真寺。

13 Quoted in Fu Tongxian, 49.

14 *Chinese Encyclopedia of Islam*, 478.

13 引自傅统先，第49页。

14 《中国伊斯兰百科全书》，第478页。

15 今天云南的59万穆斯林占该省人口（4700万）的百分之一以上。

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When Shams al-Din entered Yunnan, also large groups of his Muslim followers settled in that province, and thus until today Yunnan has a small population of Muslims with a tradition dating back to the Mongol era.<sup>15</sup> In religious matters Shams al-Din was very committed; his title “Sayyid” suggests that he was a descendant of Muḥammad himself. According to historical records, he established twelve mosques in Dali.

Shams al-Din had five sons. The oldest son Nasraddin (Nasulading纳速刺丁) became governor of Yunnan (Pingzhang zhengshi平章政事), and in his itinerary Marco Polo mentioned Nasraddin.<sup>16</sup> The other sons of Shams al-Din also made contributions to the development of Islam in Yunnan.

Inscriptions in Shams al-Din’s honor have been preserved, and “at least two tombs” and several tombstones are commemorating him.<sup>17</sup> A number of Chinese and non-Chinese historians have told the story of his life. In the year 1911 the French scholar d’Ollone published his *Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois* in Paris, a study of 471 pages, which contains a description of the Muslims in Yunnan, documents concerning Shams al-Din, and related inscriptions of steles in Arabic and Chinese.<sup>18</sup>

Seen from his “efficiency as missionary”, Shams al-Din could be seen as having successfully implanted Islam in the soil of Yunnan, and even until today Yunnan is one of the important centers of Muslim culture and scholarship in China. Similar to Shams al-Din, there was a successful Catholic missionary active in China in the Mongol era. His name was Giovanni Montecorvino.

赛典赤·赡思丁有五个儿子。长子纳速刺丁（Nasraddin）成为云南行省平章政事，马可·波罗在他的游记中提到了纳速刺丁。<sup>16</sup> 赡思丁的其他儿子也为云南伊斯兰教的发展做出了贡献。

纪念赛典赤·赡思丁的碑刻得以保存，并且“至少有两座墓葬”和几块墓碑纪念着他。<sup>17</sup> 许多中外历史学家都讲述了他的生平故事。1911年，法国学者多隆（d’Ollone）在巴黎出版了他的《中国穆斯林研究》（*Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois*），这是一项471页的研究，包含了对云南穆斯林的描述、有关赛典赤·赡思丁的文献以及相关的阿拉伯文和中文碑刻。<sup>18</sup>

从“作为传教士的成就”来看，赡思丁可以说是成功地将伊斯兰教植根于云南的土地上，甚至直到今天，云南仍是中国穆斯林文化和学术的重要中心之一。与赛典赤·赡思丁类似，蒙古时代还有一位成功的天主教传教士在中国活动。他的名字是乔凡尼·孟高维诺。

通过与拉班·扫马（Rabban Sauma，他于1287年访问了罗马）的联系，天主教教廷意识到蒙古大汗实际上欢迎传教士到他的宫廷，因此教皇尼古拉四世决定派孟高维诺前往东方。这位方济会修士于1247年出生在意大利，当他于1289年5月踏上漫长旅程时，已经四十多岁了。

15 Today the 590 thousand Muslims in Yunnan constitute more than one percent of the population of the province (47 million).

16 Leslie, 153. “Nasr-a-dinh” means “supporter of the faith”.

17 Ibid., 153.

18 See Leslie, 204-205.

16 Leslie, 第153页。“Nasr-a-dinh”意为“信仰的拥护者”。

17 同上，第153页。

18 参见 Leslie, 第204-205页。

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Through the contacts with Rabban Sauma, who in 1287 visited Rome, the Curia of the Catholic Church was aware that the Mongol Khan actually welcomed missionaries at his court, and thus Pope Nicholas IV decided to send Montecorvino to the East. This Franciscan friar was born in Italy in 1247, thus when he set out on his long journey in May 1289 he was already over forty years old. He was accompanied by the Dominican Nicolas de Pistorio and the Venetian merchant Pietro de Lucalongo. They traveled first to Persia, then they stayed in India for thirteen months, and Nicholas died there. At the end of 1293 the remaining travelers reached Quanzhou, and continued their journey to Beijing on the Great Canal.<sup>19</sup>

There were only a few Europeans living in Beijing then. Montecorvino's letter from 1306 only mentions two: one Italian physician who had settled down in Beijing in 1303, and one German Franciscan friar from Cologne, who had arrived in Beijing in 1306.

In 1294 or 1295 Montecorvino reached Beijing, and since he was an envoy from the Pope, the Great Khan Temur, (reigned 1295 to 1307), received him honorably. Montecorvino submitted the letters from the Pope to the Khan and invited the Khan to accept the Christian faith. Temur Khan did not embrace the faith, but he allowed Montecorvino to rather freely move around in his empire, and soon the Italian missionary came to know Kuolijisi 阔里吉斯 (Prince George), the leader of the tribe of the Onguts. Like the Keraits also the Onguts belonged to the Jingjiao Christians (Nestorians). The Onguts lived in the regions north of Shenxi, in what is Inner Mongolia today. Their capital was at Olon-sume 敖伦苏木, of which only ruins have remained. In the years 1938 and 1941 the Japanese scholar Namio Egami discovered the remnants of the church which Montecorvino built in the former capital of the

他由道明会修士尼古拉·德·皮斯托里奥 (Nicolas de Pistorio) 和威尼斯商人彼得罗·德·卢卡隆戈 (Pietro de Lucalongo) 陪同。他们首先前往波斯, 然后在印度停留了十三个月, 尼古拉在那里去世。1293年底, 剩下的旅行者到达泉州, 并继续沿大运河前往北京。<sup>19</sup>

当时只有少数欧洲人居住在北京。孟高维诺1306年的信只提到两个人: 一位是1303年在北京定居的意大利医生, 另一位是1306年到达北京的来自科隆的德国方济会修士。

1294或1295年, 孟高维诺到达北京, 由于他是教皇的使者, 大汗铁穆耳 (Temur, 1295-1307在位) 隆重接待了他。孟高维诺向大汗递交了教皇的信函, 并邀请大汗接受基督教信仰。铁穆耳汗没有皈依信仰, 但他允许孟高维诺在他的帝国内相当自由地活动, 很快这位意大利传教士就认识了汪古部 (Onguts) 首领阔里吉思 (Prince George)。和克烈部一样, 汪古部也属于景教基督徒 (聂斯多略派)。汪古部居住在陕西北部地区, 即今天的内蒙古。他们的首都在敖伦苏木 (Olon-sume), 现在只剩下废墟。1938、1941年, 日本学者江上波夫 (Namio Egami) 发现了孟高维诺在汪古部首都敖伦苏木 (今天称为敖伦苏木遗址) 建造的教堂遗迹。然而, 该遗址没有留下带铭文的遗物。<sup>20</sup> 从1295年到1298年, 孟高维诺住在那里并学习了蒙古语言和文字。他还开始将《新约》和《圣咏集》翻译成蒙文, 并安排了用当地语言举行拉丁弥撒。他试图将这个景教部落转变为罗马天主教。

19 Standaert, 74.

19 Standaert, 第74页。

20 Standaert, 第60页; 另见 Malek, 《Jingjiao》(景教), 第540页。

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tribe of the Onguts in Olon-sume (today known as relics of Aolun sumu 敖伦苏木 in Inner Mongolia). However, there are no relics with inscriptions from that site.<sup>20</sup> From 1295 to 1298 Montecorvino lived there and learned the Mongol language and script. He also began to translate the New Testament and the Psalms into that language, and he arranged for the celebration of the Latin Mass in the local language. He attempted to convert this Nestorian tribe to the traditions of Roman Catholicism. Although he encountered some opposition, he continued with his efforts until the year 1298, when his most crucial supporter, Prince George, died in battle. After that the relatives of the prince effected that the tribe returned to their former Jingjiao customs.

Montecorvino came to Beijing in 1298, and in the capital he erected two churches so as to attract some of the inhabitants in the city. According to his letters, he built a bell tower with three bells in one of the churches. The second church had a large red cross on the roof. The two churches in Beijing became the centers of two communities of believers, and in one of them he established a kind of monastery or convent.<sup>21</sup> In this convent a group of people cultivated religious practices and learning. Montecorvino trained around forty boys or young men in the convent. He taught them Latin songs and prayers, and in this way he was able to perform some solemn and attractive liturgies.

In the year 1313, a messenger from the Curia in Rome consecrated Montecorvino bishop, and he was given the title Archbishop of Khanbaliq (Beijing). Although Bishop Montecorvino possibly baptized several thousand people in the capital, these Christians belonged mainly to the “foreign tribes” (*semu ren* 色目人) and not to the Han-Chinese. The fact that he was a Roman Catholic and thus did not

尽管遇到了一些反对，但他继续努力，直到1298年，他最关键的拥护者乔治王子（阔里吉思）在战斗中阵亡。此后，王子的亲属促使部落恢复了他们以前的景教习俗。

孟高维诺于1298年来到北京，在首都建造了两座教堂以吸引城市中的一些居民。根据他的信件，他在其中一座教堂建造了一个带有三个钟的钟楼。第二座教堂的屋顶上有一个大的红色十字架。北京的两座教堂成为两个信徒群体的中心，在其中一座教堂里他建立了一个修道院或女修道院。<sup>21</sup> 在这个修道院里，一群人进行宗教实践和学习。孟高维诺在修道院里培养了大约四十名男孩或年轻人。他教他们拉丁语歌曲和祈祷文，通过这种方式，他能够举行一些庄严而有吸引力的宗教礼仪。

1313年，来自罗马教廷的代表祝圣孟高维诺为主教，并授予他汗八里（北京）总主教的头衔。尽管孟高维诺主教可能曾在首都为数以千计的人施洗，但这些基督徒主要属于“色目人”（外国部落），而不是汉人。他是罗马天主教徒，因此不被景教基督徒（聂斯多略派）认同，这导致了与景教人士的冲突，他也在信中提到了这些冲突。

尽管这位总主教在北京发展的天主教社群并未经历繁荣和持久的发展，但孟高维诺在几个方面都可以算作重要的先驱。他是第一个将《圣经》部分内容翻译成蒙语的人；他在北京建造了第一座天主教堂；他是第一个教授拉丁语和拉丁歌曲的人，并且他使用基督教艺术来吸引信徒。在他的教堂里，他悬挂了一些宗教绘画，并附有三种语言（拉丁、蒙语和波斯语）的铭文来解释图片的含义。在翻译和宗教教育领域，他也是一位先驱。

20 Standaert, 60; see also Malek, *Jingjiao*, 540.

21 Standaert, 89.

21 Standaert, 第 89 页。

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identify with the Jingjiao Christians (Nestorians) also led to conflicts with the Jingjiao people, and in his letters he mentions these conflicts.

Even though the Catholic communities which this Archbishop developed in Beijing did not enjoy a prosperous and lasting development, Montecorvino can count as an important pioneer in several respects. He was the first to translate parts of the Bible into Mongol language; he built the first Catholic church in Beijing; he was the first to teach Latin language and Latin songs, and he used Christian art to attract believers. In his churches he hung up some religious paintings and added inscriptions in three languages (Latin, Mongolian, and Persian) to explain the meaning of the pictures. In the fields of translation and religious education he was a pioneer.

Compared to Isa and Shams al-Din, Montecorvino faced much greater challenges, and, speaking in human terms, he was the least successful missionary. Unlike the Muslims and the Jingjiao Christians he could not build upon the traditions of already existing groups of believers but had to start from zero with converting people. He did not found any institution officially recognized by the Mongol rulers. He held no office, and thus his name is not mentioned in any records in China. His tomb and his churches have not been preserved. He did not have sons who may have continued his work. Only his connections to the international Catholic Church and especially his links to Rome ensured that his labors were honored and continued in some way. Neither the Muslims nor the Nestorian Christians had congregations of celibate friars who were ready to dedicate their lives to mission work abroad, and this factor was to determine much of the development of Catholic missions in China up to 1950.

与伊萨和瞻思丁相比，孟高维诺面临着更大的挑战。他也可以被看作是比较不成功的传教士：与穆斯林和景教基督徒不同，他无法在已有的信徒群体传统的基础上发展教会，而必须从零开始使人皈依。他没有建立任何得到蒙古统治者正式承认的机构。他没有担任任何官职，因此他的名字没有出现在中国的任何记录中。他的坟墓和教堂没有保存下来。他没有儿子来继续他的工作。只有他与国际天主教会的联系，特别是与罗马的联系，确保他的努力以某种方式得到尊重和延续。无论是穆斯林还是景教基督徒，都没有愿意将一生奉献给国外传教工作的独身修士团体，即修会（方济各会）；直到1950年，“传教修会”这一因素在天主教在中国传教活动的发展中都起着相当重要的作用。

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