

Liu Qinghua

Textual Research on “The Scenic Illusion Painting of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang” in National Library of France

Abstract: National Library of France keeps a scenic illusion (or Tongjing) painting of a Catholic church, an anonymous painting in Qing Dynasty combining Chinese and Western styles, which was purchased from an auction house in Paris in 1968 and collected in National Library of France in 1974. Because of its unknown origin, the painting was not recorded in the early electronic catalogue of National Library of France and was simply marked as *Ceremony in front of a church in Beijing* in the catalogue of the epigraphy paintings printed for library internal use in 1990. In recent years, it was confirmed to be “Beitang” (the North Church) which Emperor Kangxi had ordered to be built for French Jesuit missionaries at Canchikou in Beijing, the more details of this painting has been gradually unveiled. Compared with the works of Chinese Catholic art at that period, this painting is not only different in style, but also unique for the study on religious practices of urban Catholic communities in modern China. This paper attempts to re-examine the correspondence of French missionaries and the relevant historical data of Jesuit court painters, infer the approximate date of this painting and its author, and briefly review the historical changes of Beitang.

Key words: Beitang; tongjing; scenic illusion; Jesuit; Lazarist; Catholic art

In 1686, Louis XIV dispatched the six missionaries bestowed the title of “Royal Mathematicians” to China, namely, Jean de Fontaney (1643-1710), Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730), Jean-François Gerbillon (1654-1707), Louis Le Comte (1655-1728), Claude de Visdelou (1656-1737), and Guy Tachard (1651–1712). This was a group of Jesuits representing the interests of the French King. They had not obtained the approval of the Jesuit General Curia in Rome or the permission of the Holy See beforehand, bypassed the control of the Portuguese Patronage of the East, and had not sworn to the Vicar apostolic of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Apart from Tachard, the other five missionaries arrived in Beijing in February 1688. They successively served in the Qing Palace, providing political and



Fig.1: *The Scenic Illusion Painting of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang*, Bnf (National Library of France)

personal services for Emperor Kangxi.¹ In return, in 1692, Kangxi issued “the Edict of Tolerance” (Le Comte 1697; Zhang Xianqing 2006, 72-87; Standaert 2012, 308-358), which allowed Catholicism to be spread in China as long as the Jesuits followed “the Matteo Ricci Rules”. In the following year, at Canchikou 蚕池口 in Beijing, French Jesuits were granted a house so that they could live separately from Portuguese missionaries. In 1699, Emperor Kangxi approved and allocated the Ministry of Works *Yinliang* (silver used as currency) for the construction of a Catholic church beside their house. At the request of Bouvet and Gerbillon, together with Louis XIV’s generous donation, at the end of 1703, a magnificent baroque church rose up in the capital, historically known as “Beitang 北堂”.²

National Library of France keeps a scenic illusion (or Tongjing 通景) Painting of a Catholic church, an anonymous painting in Qing Dynasty combining Chinese and Western styles, which was purchased from an auction house in Paris in 1968 and collected in National Library of France in 1974 (No. BN-1974-No. 1146) (Fig.1). Because of its unknown origin, the painting was not recorded in the early electronic catalogue of National Library of France and was simply marked as *Ceremony in front of a church in Beijing* (*Cérémonie devant une église de Pékin*) in the catalogue of the epigraphy paintings printed for library internal use in 1990. At first, the library thought that the church in the painting was “Nantang 南堂” (the South Church) in Xuanwu Gate of Beijing. Later, it was confirmed to be “Beitang” (the North Church) Emperor Kangxi had ordered to be built for French Jesuit missionaries at Canchikou in Beijing (Gall 1990, 4; Séguy 1976, 228-230; Wang Lianming 2014, 309-310). In recent years, many questions about this Tongjing painting of a Catholic church in Qing Dynasty have been gradually revealed. However, there still remains much doubt about the painting’s date and author.

THE DISCOVERY AND QUESTIONS OF THE PAINTING National Library of France keeps a Tongjing painting of a Catholic church in Qing Dynasty. At first, the National Library did not specify the origin of the painting. According to the purchase book of National Library of France (1963-1987), the author finds that the painting has been purchased from the

¹ Six missionaries were originally sent to China, including Guy Tachard, who temporarily withdrew from Siam foreign affairs. See: Isabelle Landry-Deron 2001, 423-463; Lv Ying and Yan Guodong 2012 (2), 74-80; Lv Ying, 2012 (2), 95-102.

² For the establishment of Beitang and its changes in the eighteenth century, Liu Qinghua 2017.

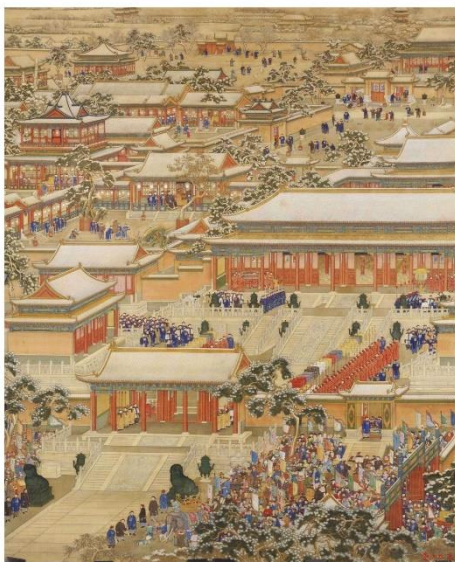


Fig.2: Silk Tongjing Painting of *Ten thousand countries paying tribute to China* by a Palace painter during the Qianlong Period of the Qing Dynasty

Ader-Picard Auction House in Paris on December 30, 1968. the National Library commissioned Camille Schmitt, a Chinese painting and calligraphy restorer, to restore it from September to December 2010, and then deposited it outside Paris in a warehouse of France National Library, no longer on public display. At present, all the images of the painting used for scholarly researches, are the photos taken before and after Schmitt's restoration, except the one displayed on the National Library web page.

Lined with Xuan Paper, this painting is 187 cm in length and 119 cm in breadth, without axis. The picture is dim, yellowish, and the use of color is unknown. The heart of the painting has been mounted with the yellow paper with diamond patterns. The lower half and the upper left part of the picture have been cracked and decayed to varying degrees.¹ Some researchers believe that "Judging from the cracking lines, the material used is less likely to be silk, and more likely to be a paper material like Koryo paper" (Wang 2014, 309-310).

Koryo paper is a kind of manually processed paper with 100% mulberry fiber, popular in the reign of Qianlong in Qing Dynasty and generally used as the paper for mounting Tongjing paintings. Judging from the photos, this painting should be one of the Tongjing posters popular during the Qianlong reign which were widely used in the Forbidden City, the Yuanmingyuan Palace, the Summer Palace, and various other palaces of Qing Dynasty. and the sizes of the paintings were usually very large, ranging from 3 to 5 meters in length and breadth (Nie Hui 2006, 86-94). The materials used in Tongjing paintings of the Qing Palace were not only Koryo paper, but also silk. *Ten thousand countries paying tribute to China* (*Wanguo laichao tu* 万国来朝图) drawn by the Qing Palace painters is such a large Tongjing painting (297 cm x 206.5 cm) with silk color hanging in the Yangxin Hall. It depicts the celebrations of the New Year's Day in the Forbidden City during the reign of Qianlong and is now collected in the Palace Museum of Beijing (Fig.2) (Jiang Peng 2010, 25-26; Lai Yuzhi 2014, 56-69). The paintings of a Catholic church in Qing Dynasty collected in National Library of France should be a paper Tongjing painting popular during the reign of Qianlong in the Qing Dynasty. The painting has no title. According to the study of M. R. Séguy in 1976, the library initially recorded it as *A Solemn Parade in the Garden of Nantang* (the courtyard of the

¹ Please refer to the French National Library website for image and instructions (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b541001700/f1.item>).



Fig.3: Elevation of the Roman Jesuit Church
(Façade of the Gesù, Vignola)

Portuguese mission), believing that the painter could have been a western missionary working in the Qing Palace, and the painting time has been assumed to be later than the seventh year of the Shunzhi Period in the Qing Dynasty (1650) (Séguy 1976, 228-230).

In the thirty-second year of the Kangxi Period (1693), Emperor Kangxi fortuitously suffered from malaria, and several doses of traditional Chinese medicine he had taken proved to be ineffective. When Father Gerbillon and Bouvet, the priests of the French Jesuit mission in Beijing at that time heard about it, they immediately offered up quinquina, a western medicine. Kangxi was very happy when he recovered from his illness, and became very fond of the foreign missionaries. On July 4, 1693, he summoned priests Gerbillon and Bouvet, and granted the Canchikou residence to the French missionaries in return. In addition to allowing them to build houses at Canchikou, Emperor Kangxi also granted tens of thousands of *Liang* (a unit of the weight of silver) for the construction of church. In the thirty-eighth year of Kangxi (1699), French Jesuits Gerbillon, Jean de Fontaney and Claude de Visdelou petitioned Emperor Kangxi for his permission to build a church on the basis of a small chapel at Canchikou within the gate of Xi'an of the imperial city (LEC III 107-108; Lv Ying 2012, 119-125).

After four years of construction and decoration, the catholic church was built at Canchikou in the Imperial City on December 9th, the forty-second year of the Kangxi Period (1703). The church adopted the baroque architecture style and was named the “Saint-Sauveur church” (Jiushi tang 救世堂). Developed on the basis of Italian Renaissance architecture in the 17th and 18th centuries, this kind of architecture is usually characterized by its free form, pursuit of dynamics, rich decoration and sculpture, intense color, and intense use of interpolated surface and elliptical space. Its style is free and unrestrained, complex and changeable. The Church of the Gesù, designed by Giacomo B. Vignola, a late Renaissance Italian architect, facing the Vatican’s Basilica Sancti Petri across the Tiber River, is known as the world’s first baroque building (Fig.3, Moore 1905).¹ The first church built by the French Jesuits at Canchikou in Beijing was built in the baroque style. It was described in a letter of French Jesuit Pierre Jartoux (1668-1720), as

¹ For the study of the architectural visual arts of the Jesuits, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey 2003. With the spread of Jesuits abroad in modern times, similar baroque buildings were rapidly replicated and popularized in Asia, America and other places, see also Bailey 2006, 38-89.

follows:

On entre d'abord dans une cour large de quarante pieds sur cinquante de long ; elle est entre deux corps de logis bien proportionnés ; ce sont deux grandes salles à la chinoise : l'une sert aux congrégations et aux instructions des catéchumènes, l'autre sert à recevoir les personnes qui nous rendent visite. On a exposé dans cette dernière les portraits du roi, de monseigneur, des princes de France, du roi d'Espagne régnant, du roi d'Angleterre, et de plusieurs autres princes, avec des instruments de mathématique et de musique. On y fait voir encore toutes ces belles gravures recueillies dans ces grands livres qu'on a mis au jour pour faire connaître à tout l'univers la magnificence de la cour de France. Les Chinois considèrent tout cela avec une extrême curiosité.

C'est au bout de cette cour qu'est bâtie l'église. Elle a soixante et quinze pieds de longueur, trente-trois de largeur et trente de hauteur. L'intérieur de l'église est composé de deux ordres d'architecture: chaque ordre a seize demi-colonnes couvertes d'un vernis vert; les piédestaux de l'ordre inférieur sont de marbre; ceux de l'ordre supérieur sont dorés, aussi bien que les chapiteaux, les filets de la corniche, ceux de la frise et de l'architrave. La frise paraît chargée d'ornements qui ne sont que peints; les autres membres de tout le couronnement sont vernissés avec des teintes en dégradation selon leurs différentes saillies. L'ordre supérieur est percé de douze grandes fenêtres en forme d'arc, six de chaque côté, qui éclairent parfaitement l'église.

Le plafond est tout à fait peint; il est divisé en trois parties ; le milieu représente un dôme tout ouvert, d'une riche architecture: ce sont des colonnes de marbre qui portent un rang d'arcades surmonté d'une belle balustrade. Les colonnes sont elles-mêmes enchâssées dans une autre balustrade d'un beau dessin, avec des vases à fleurs fort bien placés; on voit au-dessus le Père éternel assis dans les nues sur un groupe d'anges, et tenant le monde en sa main.

(The English version is as follows:)

[The entrance to the church is a large courtyard, about 50 feet long and 40 feet wide. On its both sides are two well-proportioned buildings, namely, two Chinese halls: one for the education of monks and beginners of mathematics, and the other for the reception of visitors. Portraits of Louis XIV, the Archbishop of France and monarchs of all ages, the Regent of Spain, the King of England and many other

monarchs, as well as mathematical instruments and musical instruments, are displayed in the living room. In order to show the whole world the luxury of the French court, here are also exhibited the fine engravings collected from published books. The Chinese look at them with great curiosity.

At the end of the courtyard, the church itself is 75 feet long, 33 feet wide and 30 feet high. There are two rows of pillars in the church, each row has 16 semi-cylinders painted green. The base of the lower row is made of marble while the base of the upper row is golden. The small feet of the lintel, the middle lintel and the lower lintel on the chapiters and the top plates of the chapiters are also golden. It seems that there are some colored ornaments on the eaves. The other components of the top decoration are glazed, and the color varies with the prominence of the components. The church has 12 large arched windows, 6 on each side, which make the hall bright and spacious.

The top of the church is decorated with pictures which consist of three parts: an open sky in the middle, with a splendid layout; several marble pillars supporting a row of arcades with exquisite railings; the pillars themselves are placed between another row of well-conceived railings, beside which are well-placed flower pots. One can see God sitting in the high clouds, holding the earth in his hand. Below a group of angels crowd around him.] (LEC III, 143-144)

The church described by Pierre Jartoux is exactly the church painted in the scenic illusion painting of the catholic church in Qing Dynasty kept in National Library of France. In 1993, Noël Golvers, a Belgian scholar, discovered in the painting of the church a plaque with the inscription of “Catholic church built by imperial order,” thus deduced that the church was exactly the “Beitang” built by the imperial order from Emperor Kangxi in 1703 who had granted funds for the instruction of the church for the French Jesuits at Canchikou in Beijing (Golvers 1993, 12-13). In 2012, National Library of France renamed the painting *Beitang church with a bird’s eye view, with characters in procession in the gardens of the Imperial Palace* (Église du Beitang en vue plongeante, avec personnages en procession dans les jardins du Palais impérial), dating it between the fortieth to forty-third year of the Kangxi Period (1701-1703).

It is noteworthy that two paintings named *The torture suffered by Christians* (les supplices subis par les chrétiens) are among the three



Fig.4: *The Torture Suffered by Christians* kept in National Library of France

paintings purchased from the Ader-Picard auction house at the same time and the total price added up to 1,853 francs. These two paintings contrast sharply with the previous Tongjing painting (Fig.4) in contents.¹ The period from the mid-late eighteenth century to the signing up of the unequal treaties in the Opium War has been called the “period of prohibition” by Christian historians, the images of the prohibition of religion spread more widely in the mid-late Qing Dynasty.² Therefore, this Tongjing Painting is not only different in style, but also valuable for the study of the religious practice history of the catholic communities in this period. At present, there still remain several questions about the painting: 1) the interpretation of its religious ceremonies; 2) the date of the event recorded in the picture and the date of painting; 3) the inability to identify the author (Is the author a palace missionary painter or a local painter? Based on the comparison between Chinese and western historical texts and image materials, combined with Schmitt’s report on the restoration work and other image materials, this paper adopts the research approach of philology and social history of religion, emphatically investigates the European Catholic rituals and their practices in modern China, gives a historical account of Beitang and clarifies many basic questions of the painting.

TWO LETTERS FROM THE BEITANG MISSIONARIES

Pierre-Martial Cibot, a French Jesuit, was born in Limoges, France, on August 14, 1727. He joined the Jesuit in Bordeaux on November 7, 1743 and became a priest in 1756. On March 7, 1758, the French Jesuit society sent him to China with J.-F.-Marie d’Ollières to make up for the vacancies of missionaries in Beijing. They set off from Lorient, France, headed for China aboard the battleship Agenson and landed in Macao on July 25, 1759 (LEC IV, 284).

On September 29, 1759, Guangdong Governor Li Shiliang 李侍亮 and others escorted the French missionaries J.-F.-Marie d’Ollières and Cibot to the capital city. On April 29, 1760, the Minister of Imperial Household

¹ The two images were reproduced by the author from the collection of image materials in National Library of France. The Purchase Book of National Library of France shows that *The Picture of Qianlong’s Victory* (*Qianlong desheng tu* 乾隆得胜图) was purchased on March 4, 1969, totaling 13,000 francs. The French bronze engraving was drafted by Giuseppe Castiglione, Jean-Denis Attiret, Ignatius Sichelbart and Jean-Damascène Sallusti, and painted and colored on Xuan Paper which was then sent through Guangdong Customs by The Grand Council to Paris, for the bronze engraving undertaken by the famous engraving technician Cochin. From the 29th year of Qianlong (1764), Copper prints were ordered to be made by the Palace workshops, and by the 42nd year of Qianlong (1777), all the copperplate engravings and paintings became available.

² About the reaction of modern Chinese people to the Christian Icons, see Anthony E. Clark 2008, 5–22.

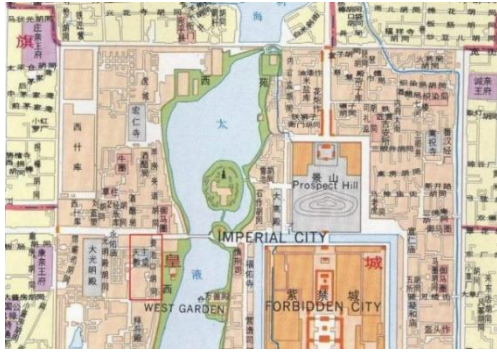


Fig.5: Beitang as seen on the map of Beijing in the 15th year of the Qianlong Period in the Qing Dynasty (1750)

Department, Fu Heng 傅恒, petitioned the emperor for his request that these two French men who were familiar with astronomy and *Shuifa* 水法 (fountains) be arranged to render a service to P. Michel Benoist (1715-1774), a French missionary who was in charge of the Grand Fountain site in Yuanmingyuan. Emperor Qianlong preached: “No additional staff is needed in The Fountain site now. J.-F.-Marie d’Ollières and Cibot can both live in Catholic churches. Respect this (DASL vol. 4, 558).” In Beijing, the Catholic missions successively built four churches in Beijing, namely, Nantang at Gate Xuanwu (1605), Dongtang 东堂 at Bamiancock 八面槽 of Wangfujing 王府井 (1655), Beitang at Canchikou (1703) and Xitang 西堂 at Gate Xizhi (1723) (Zuo Zhe 1985, 28-29). The Catholic church where Cibot was living was the “Beitang” which emperor Kangxi had ordered to be built by the Ministry of Works for the French Jesuit missionaries at Canchikou (now on the middle west of Zhongnanhai 中南海) (Fig.5, Hou Renzhi 2013).

Shortly after arriving in the capital city in September 1760, Cibot was able to serve in the Qing Palace, and “made a water clock in the imperial palace with spraying water columns, bird calls and changeable animal images” (LEC IV 97). The Qing Palace Archives mentioned that Cibot lived in the Cathedral at Canchikou inside the Xi’an Gate and was “very skillful with *Shuifa*” (DASL vol. 4, 558). The so-called “animal image water clock” was the bronze statue of the animal heads of the twelve Zodiacs in Yuanmingyuan, which was originally a copper component of the Grand Fountain in the Haiyan Hall of Yuanmingyuan. In 1860, the Anglo-French Union fired Yuanmingyuan, and the bronze heads of the twelve Zodiacs were lost overseas. In 2012, the bronze animal heads, such as the ox head, monkey head, tiger head, pig head and horse head returned to China from overseas. Now they are in the Poly Art Museum in Beijing (Fig.6) (Zhu 23-25). According to the archives of the Qing Palace, on November 12, 1766, the 31st year of Qianlong Reign, the Grand Council consulted and reported to the emperor that the six French priests, including Cibot, who stayed in Beijing, were rewarded with “two large satins” and “two official satins” (DASL vol. 4, 558).

During his 20 years in China, Cibot not only served as a machinist and horticulturist for Qing Emperors, but also wrote a large number of articles on Chinese language, scriptures, traditional Chinese medicine, minerals, gardens and plants. In view of his outstanding contribution in the field of



Fig.6: Copper heads of the twelve zodiac animals in Poly Art Museum, Beijing

Sinology, Cibot was awarded the title of Academician of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences. His articles on Chinese sheep and fruit trees even influenced British biologist Darwin and were quoted in his famous book *The Origin of Species*. In short, Cibot contributed to the history of Sinology and Sino-Western exchanges in the 18th century, and died in Beijing in the forty-fifth year of the Qianlong Reign (1780) (Lundbæk 2005, 60; Liu Ting 2015, 7).

On June 11 of an unknown year in Beijing, Cibot wrote a letter to a French Jesuit, which said:

Nous sommes ici à la veille d'une grande fête, dont les apprêts nous coûtent beaucoup de soins et de travail ; c'est la fête du Sacré Coeur de Jésus, qui, comme vous savez, est établie à Pékin depuis plusieurs années. Permettez que je me borne à vous entretenir aujourd'hui de cette solennité, dont le récit vous édifiera. Le lieu où elle se célèbre est la chapelle de la congrégation du Saint- Sacrement ; cette chapelle est à la droite de l'avant-cour du parterre, environnée d'une galerie couverte qui est devant notre église ; la grande cour est à peu près comme celle des pensionnaires de La Flèche ; on en sort par un portique qui fait face au frontispice de l'église : elle a trois grandes portes sur l'avant-cour où est la congrégation.

[It is on the eve of a major festival here, and we have to do a lot of preparations. As you know, this is the feast of the Sacred heart of Jesus which has been confirmed in Beijing many years ago. So let me just talk to you today about this grand festival,... The ceremonies will be held in the Chapel of the Congregation of Saint Sacrament. This chapel is located on the right side of the garden front yard, surrounded by a covered veranda, which is right in front of our church. The courtyard is a bit like the courtyard of La Flèche boarding school. People enter and leave the courtyard through a colonnade facing the main facade of the church, which has three doors leading to the front courtyard, where the Congregation is located.] (LEC IV 186)

Though both the date and the recipient of the letter were missing, at the end of the letter, Cibot wrote,

Nous sommes sous le couteau de la persécution ; on a voulu y comprendre les missionnaires, mais la cour s'y est opposée. J'attends le mois de novembre pour vous en donner des nouvelles.

[We are under the threat of persecution. Some people want to

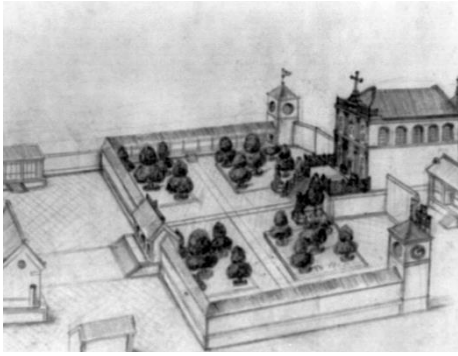


Fig.7: *Catholic church with walled courtyard garden in Beijing*, collected in the Library of Congress of the United States

persecute the missionaries, but the court opposes it. I'll let you know in November.] (LEC IV 188)

The chapel mentioned in Cibot's letter is exactly the "Beitang" built for the French Jesuits by the imperial order of Emperor Kangxi. In the Yudin Collection of the Library of Congress, there is a sketch of a baroque church with a garden titled *Catholic church with walled courtyard garden in Beijing* (Fig.7).¹ It has been dated from year 1860 to year 1900 in the Manual of the Library of Congress, which is not surely correct. In terms of the architectural style and layout, this church was built by Emperor Kangxi's Ministry of Works for French Jesuits at Canchikou in Beijing. In 1838, the Qing government ordered the demolition of the church (Tong Xun 1999, 42-47). Therefore, the painting date should have been no later than year 1838.

On November 3, 1771, Cibot wrote a letter in Beijing to Father D of the Jesuit Province of France about how foreign missionaries like himself had been persecuted by "idolaters" (Buddhists and Taoists) in Beijing in those years. In his letter he wrote:

Nous aurions tous été renvoyés, sans une protection spéciale de l'empereur, qui, connaissant mieux que personne la fausseté des accusations dont on nous charge ici, met toute sa gloire à nous défendre, et nous conserver dans ses États. Dieu, qui tient dans ses mains le coeur des rois, l'a tellement disposé en notre faveur, que nous avons beaucoup à nous louer des bontés dont il nous honore. C'est un prince, qui voit tout par lui-même; plein de droiture et d'équité, il ne souffre pas qu'on commette la moindre injustice. Doux et accessible, il écoute avec plaisir l'innocent qui se justifie; mais prompt et sévère, il humilie et punit l'oppresser. Il ne paraît pas que l'adulation ait beaucoup d'empire sur son esprit; il a des courtisans comme tous les princes de la terre; mais sa modestie et son rare mérite le mettent au-dessus de leurs louanges intéressées et de leur fade encens.

[Emperor Qianlong knows more than ever that the charges imposed on us are wrong and does everything he can to protect us and keep us in his country. He is very kind to us and judges by his own observation. He is just and fair, intolerant of anything unjust. He is also gentle, approachable and good at listening. He punishes persecutors severely. Flattery does not work for him. His humility and extraordinary merits

¹ See the homepage of the Library of Congress (<https://www.loc.gov/item/2011660670/>).



Fig.8: Engraving of the Virgin Marguerite-Marie Alacoque holding a Sacred Heart drawing

make him not be confused by other ulterior praise and dull compliment.] (LEC IV 183-184)

All these indicate that the exact year when the letter was written by Cibot on June 11 was the year 1711. We also found that the recipient, Father D, was Father Dervillé of the Jesuit Province of France, who had written a letter to him on November 7, 1764 (LEC IV 97).

THE DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART IN MODERN

CHINA The Catholic church designates June as the “month of the Sacred Heart of Jesus” and the first Friday after the annual feast of the Corpus Christi as the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in order to express the special worship to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In the 17th century, at the Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary (1610-) in Paray-le-Monial, France, the Sacred Heart of Jesus appeared several times to the Virgin Marguerite-Marie Alacoque (1647-1690) (Fig.8).¹ In 1673, at the Saint John feast, Margarita first saw Jesus revealing his sacred heart to her. Then, during the eighteen months from 1673 to 1675, Jesus reappeared many times and conveyed to Margarita the main forms and meanings of the devotion to the sacred heart: warming up heartless hearts through respect for the sacred heart; receiving the Holy Communion on the first Friday of each month; worship the Holy Communion on Thursday’s “holy hour” to meditate on the suffering of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane; and celebrating the feast of the sacred heart. In June 1675, when Jesus appeared for the last time, he pointed to the sacred heart with a crown of thorns. Later, under the guidance of Father Claude La Colombière (1641-1682), Margarita gradually recorded these manifestations. In 1676, Colombière was sent to England, but he kept correspondence with Margarita and recorded many conversations and thoughts in his spiritual diary. Father Colombière died in 1682, and his diary was published as a catalyst for the worship of the Sacred Heart. Later, the Society of Jesus became the main force to promote the devotion the Sacred Heart (Alacoque 1993). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the overseas missionary undertakings of Jesuits expanded rapidly, and the devotion to the Sacred Heart began to be implemented in Asia and South America.

According to church regulations, the devotion to the Sacred Heart was celebrated on Friday, after the octave (eighth day) of the feast of Corpus

¹ Reproduced in *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*, 25, No.10 (October 1890), 720. See David Morgan 2008.

Fig.9: List of the feast in Beitang in the 7th Year of Yongzheng Reign (1729, AFSJ Brotier 142)

Christi (usually in mid-June), which was called “the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus” (Sun Zhengqing 1993, 22-24). According to the Catholic flexible festival table, when the date of Easter in 1771 was known to be on 31 March, it could be inferred that the 50th day after Easter is the Pentecost on May 19th. According to the Catholic etiquette system at that time, there were eight days of celebration for the Pentecost, i.e. the Holy Trinity. The feast of Corpus Christi was on May 30, and the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was on June 7 after the eight day of the feast of the Corpus Christi. Therefore, in 1771, the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was observed on June 7, 19 days after the Pentecost. To deduce the rest from this: Easter in 1770 was on April 15, the Corpus Christi on June 14 and the feast of the Sacred Heart on June 22; Easter in 1769 was on March 26, the Corpus Christi on May 25 and the feast of the Sacred Heart on June 2. The aforementioned letter written by Cibot on “the Eve of the feast of the Sacred Heart” in 1771 described how the French Jesuit Church held the feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang. Then, the celebration of this festival should have been held on June 22, 1770 (the thirty-fifth year of the Qianlong Reign) in Beitang.¹

The previously mentioned Cibot’s letter showed that the feast of Sacred Heart in Beitang had been carried out “many years ago.” An original List of the feast in the year 1729 found in the French Jesuit Archives (ASJF) showed that the feast had been implemented that year in the Beitang (Fig.9).

Among the letters from other Jesuits in Beitang, a letter dated back to the year 1712 from Father François Xavier d’Entrecolles, to the Procurator

¹ Louis Pfister had indicated that the dates he estimated might be in 1773 or in 1776. But he had not confirmed which year it was. See Louis Pfister 1932-34. Translated by Feng Chengjun, 1960, 1118.

of China and India revealed that the Feast of the Sacred Heart had been launched in Beitang at the beginning of the church's establishment and had been gradually developing in this community and other French missionary areas:

La dévotion au Sacré Cœur de Jésus, qui croît de plus en plus en France, est très commune parmi nos chrétiens, et produit dans leurs cœurs un grand amour pour la sainte humanité du Sauveur. Le livre qu'on a composé sur ce sujet, et qui nous a été apporté par le feu père de Broissia, a été traduit à Macao en portugais: j'espère que, par le moyen de cette traduction, une dévotion si solide passera jusque dans les îles Philippines et dans l'Amérique espagnole. J'ai envoyé un de ces livres à M. le marquis de Puente, notre insigne bienfaiteur. Ce sont là des particularités que je devrais peut-être me dispenser de vous écrire: je ne le fais qu'afin que dans l'occasion vous profitiez de ces connaissances pour nous procurer un nouveau secours de prières des personnes qui, en France comme ici, ont une dévotion particulière au sacré cœur de Jésus.

[The growing devotion to Jesus' holiness in France is equally common among our Christians here, and it gives them a strong love for the savior's holiness in their hearts. The works written on this subject and brought to us by the late Father de Broissia (Li Shengxue) have been translated into Portuguese in Macao. It is hoped that this strong feeling of admiration will be further transmitted to the Philippine islands and Western America with the translated works. I have sent one of these books to our distinguished patron, Mr. Marquis de Puente. These may be some minor issues that I shouldn't have written to you. However, it is my hope that you would provide us further help relying on these acquaintances when possible, because they hold the same special admiration for the Sacred Heart of Jesus in France, just as they do here.]
(LEC III 191)

In 1723 (the first year of the Yongzheng Reign), the Qing government gradually tightened the policy of Catholic missionaries because of the Fu'an 福安 case. Until 1732, except for a small number of missionaries continuing serving the court in Beijing, missionaries in other places gathered and stayed in Guangzhou, gradually making it the center of Catholic activities. In 1732, the Catholic Church's extensive expansion in Guangzhou caused unease among local governments. Omida 鄂弥达, the governor of Guangdong



Fig.10: De Mailla's *Shengxin guicheng* ca. 1738
(Bnf MS ch. 7442)

Province at that time, wanted to expel missionaries living in Guangzhou to Macao (Tang Kaijian 2014, 1-33).

At that time, Father J-F-M de Mailla (1669-1748) of Beitang was still in charge of the compilation of *Shengxin guicheng* 圣心规程 in Beijing (Fig.10): “Almost all people (missionaries) take the advantage of the limited leisure time from their preaching duties, and compose excellent books on religion, or translate them into very useful ones. In particular, Father De Mailla has just finished translating Father Croiset’s *Life of the Saints* (*Shengnian guangyi* 圣年广益), and the abridged version of *Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (*Shengxin guicheng*). These books widely circulate among Christians and even among the infidels, produce the greatest fruits.” [Presque tous emploient le peu de loisir que leur laissent leurs fonctions apostoliques à composer d’excellents livres sur la religion ou à en traduire de fort utiles. Le père de Mailla en particulier vient de traduire la *Vie des Saints* du père Croiset et un *Abrégé de la dévotion au sacré Cœur de Jésus*. Ces livres répandus parmi les chrétiens, et même parmi les infidèles, produisent les plus grands fruits.] (LEC III, 775)

Besides, the word “Congregation” mentioned in Cibot’s letters in 1771, has the meaning of “religious community”. It is usually understood as Catholic religious institutes, such as the Society of Jesus (SJ), the Congregation of the Mission (CM) and the Missions étrangères de Paris (MEP), etc. In fact, in Catholic organizations, there is another meaning of the term, namely, the “fraternity” of the laity, which was called the “shenghui 圣会” in the Chinese context in Ming and Qing Dynasties. Therefore, the Feast of the Sacred Heart as mentioned by Cibot earlier in this article was held in the chapel of the “congregation”, which was, in fact, not the society of priests. Like other Catholic congregations such as the Notre Dame Congregation, they belonged to the laity under the direction of the Jesuit and other Catholic missions.¹ In Ming and Qing Dynasties, the Chinese indigenous Catholic congregations, such as the local “xianghui 香会”, were easy to be used and developed. Another article of the author will be devoted to these congregations and their religious life in Beitang.

PAINTERS OF BEITANG AND THE TONGJING PAINTINGS OF THE QING PALACE In 2014, Wang Lianming wrote a paper to discuss about the Tongjing painting of the Qing Dynasty. He found that the couplet

¹ Relevant discussion for this “Congregation”, Wang Lianming 2014, 327.



Fig.11: The Couplet of the Festooned Gate of Beitang

of the festooned gate of the church originated from the Chinese Nestorian Stele in Xi'an, not the couplets written by Emperor Kangxi to Nantang, which proved that the church was by no means Nantang (Fig.11). He also pointed out that the Feast of the Sacred Heart depicted in the painting had been held in the French Catholic Beitang around the twenty-fifth year of the Qianlong Period (1760), so he renamed the painting *Sacred Heart Picture* (*Shengxin tu* 圣心图, Wang 2014). However, since Cibot first arrived in the capital in 1760, and the Feast of the Sacred Heart should have been held after he had become the Bishop of Beitang, the painting could not have been painted in the twenty-fifth year of Qianlong. We have noticed in the painting that the festival celebrations in which 40 musicians dressed in white participated is exactly the Feast of the Sacred Heart held in Beitang during the thirty-fifth year of Qianlong (1770), as mentioned in the letter from Cibot to Father Dervillé on June 11, 1771, so this painting should be called *The Scenic Illusion Painting of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang* (*Beitang shengxin zhanli tongjing hua* 北堂圣心瞻礼通景画). It might have been a fresco of a building in Beitang. The authors could have been French Jesuit missionaries in China in 1770, most likely to be Louis Poirot and Giuseppe Panzi, who worked in the Qing Palace Painting Academy. After the death of Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1776), they and Ignatius Sichelbart, the Jesuit of Nantang, became royal court painters of Emperor Qianlong.

Beitang painters once played an important role among the group of palace painters in the mid-Qing Dynasty, especially Jean-Denis Attiret (1702-1768) and Michel Benoist, who not only served Emperor Qianlong, but also participated in the construction of Yuanmingyuan 圆明园. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, European paintings in China remained unknown and books, prints and religious paintings donated by missionaries had just been distributed on a small scale in society in the 17th century. However, as early as the Kangxi Period, the two Beitang painters, Giovanni Gherardini (1655-1723) and Charles de Belleville (1657-1730), had been enjoying great popularity, and both of them were related to the construction of Beitang.

The scenic illusion painting was unique to the imperial court of the Qing Dynasty in the 18th century, often decorated in the favorite and most frequently visited places of Emperor Qianlong inside and outside the capital. Italian painter Giuseppe Castiglione played an important role in perfecting these extraordinary works, especially in the combining of traditional

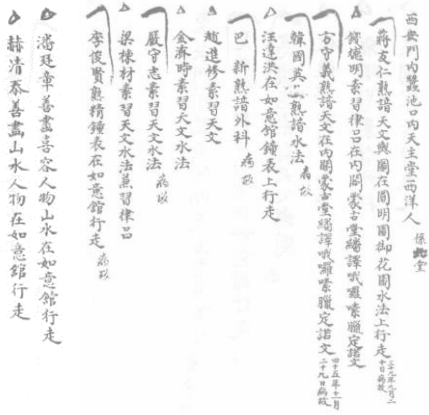


Fig.12: List of Westerners of the church of Canchikou within Xi'an Gate (DASL 4, 479-480.)

Chinese painting motif, aesthetic taste and European monumental fantasy painting, which could be regarded as the peak of the exchange of Chinese and western art in the Qianlong Period. Different from Kleutghen's translation of "Tongjing Hua" into "Scenic Illusion Painting," Liu Hui literally translated it into "Tongjing painting" (Kleutghen 2012, 2015; Liu Hui 2017). This baroque Quadratura represented the peak of Trompe-L'oeil painting, an art form brought to China by Jesuit painters and pioneered in decorating baroque church buildings. Giovanni Gherardini was the first documented western artist who drew European Trompe-L'oeil and ceiling paintings in Beijing church. He also taught western painting techniques in Qing Palace Oil Painting Room. The linear panorama, which combined European Trompe-L'oeil painting with Chinese traditional painting decorative forms such as Tongjing screens and stickers, highlighted the combination of western painting techniques and local cultural context (Liu Hui 2017).

On March 1, 1698, Charles de Belleville followed Bouvet and other missionaries on board the *Amphitrite* and arrived in Guangzhou on November 2 while the Italian Giovanni Gherardini was introduced by Bouvet to live in Beitang. Charles de Belleville was responsible for the architectural design for the French Jesuit Missionaries in Guangzhou and Beijing (Beitang). Giovanni Gherardini was responsible for the interior decoration. "This painting (Beitang ceiling painting) is from the hands of Giovanni Gherardini (Cette pièce est de la main de M. Gherardini). On both sides are two oval paintings full of joy and pleasure. There are paintings on the decorative screen at the back of the altar as well as on the ceiling; the vision on both sides makes the church appear even more profound. It's a great pleasure to see Chinese people come here and visit what they call the church behind the altar. When they got here, they stopped, stepped back a few steps and then came forward. Then they touched the paintings with their hands to verify whether it was really neither elevated nor deep." (LEC III 143)

Before the dissolution of the Jesuit Society (1773), there left the last two painters in Beitang: Giuseppe Panzi and Louis de Poirot. According to the fourth volume of DASL, a list of missionaries who "served" in Beitang within Xi'an Gate around 1770 was found: "He Qingtai (Louis de Poirot) is skillful at painting landscape figures, working in Ruyi Pavilion, living at Canchikou within Xi'an Gate; Pan Tingzhang (Giuseppe Panzi) is skillful at

painting happy characters and landscape, work in Ruyi Pavilion (Ruyi guan 如意馆) and living in the cathedral at Canchikou within Xi'an Gate (Fig.12)". According to the first volume of the documents, we can also infer the specific situation of his arrival in Beijing to perform his duties: "According to the detailed report of Nanhai County transferred by Yao Chenglie 姚成烈, Minister of Political Affairs of Guangdong Province, Pan Tongwen 潘同文, a merchant of a foreign trade, claimed that there was a Westerner, Li Junxian 李俊贤 (Hubert de Méricourt), who was 35 years old and skillful at handling clocks and watches. Pan Tingzhang (Giuseppe Panzi), who was 33 years old and skillful at painting. In the 36th year of Qianlong, he boarded the Blulian Merchant Ship from the State of Francisco to Guangzhou, preferring to serve in Beijing..... Imperial decrees: His coming to Beijing is allowed. On May 22, the thirty-seventh year of Qianlong" (DASL, vol. 4, 558; vol. 1, 297).

Giuseppe Panzi, born in Italy in 1734. He had been enjoying a prestigious reputation in Europe and was good at oil portraits. He came to China in the 36th year of the Qianlong Reign (1771) and arrived in the capital two years later. On the recommendation of Michel Benoist, he entered to serve in the palace and died in the 16th year of the Jiaqing Period (1811). In the thirty-eighth year of the Qianlong Period (1773), there were many references to Giuseppe Panzi's paintings in the archives of the Palace workshops of the Imperial Household Department in the Qing Dynasty. He had also been ordered to paint oil portraits for the Emperor of Qianlong. In addition to painting in the palace, he painted many religious murals for the churches in Beijing. *The Picture of worship of Danielle Prophet (Da ni er le xianzhi baishen tu 达尼厄乐先知拜神图)* he drew in the thirty-eighth year of the Qianlong Period (1773) was highly praised by Michel Benoist who believed that its was not subtlety under Giuseppe Castiglione's works. Few of his works, only the *Gurkakungma Elephant Picture (Kuo er ka gong ma xiang tu 廓尔喀贡马像图)* in the Palace Museum co-painted with Louis de Poirot survived, in which the two horses at the rear part of the painting were done by Giuseppe Panzi (Nie Chongzheng 1990, 62-64). On May 30, the fortieth year of Qianlong (1776), Giuseppe Panzi also painted four oil painting hanging panels on the fairy tower of Ningshou Palace 宁寿宫仙楼 (Nie Chongzheng 1995, 29; Zhang Shuxian 2014, 212).

	Painter	Chinese Name	Nationality	Service in Beijing	Parish
1	Matteo Ricci	利玛竇	Italian	1601-1610	Nantang
2	Christophe Fiori	费约理	Italian	1694-1705	Nantang
3	Giovanni Gherardini	聂云龙 (年修士)	Italian	1698-1711	Beitang
4	Charles de Belleville	卫嘉禄	French	1698- 1707	Beitang
5	Matteo Ripa	马国贤	Italian	1711-1723	Xitang
6	Giuseppe Castiglione	郎世宁	Italian	1715-1766	Dongtang
7	Jean-Denis Attiret	王致诚	French	1738-1768	Beitang
8	Michel Benoist	蒋友仁	French	1744-1774	Beitang
9	Ignatius Sichelbart	艾启蒙	Bohemian	1745-1780	Dongtang
10	Jean-Damascène Sallusti	安德义	Italian	1765-1781	Xitang?
11	Louis de Poirot	贺清泰	French	1770-1814	Beitang
12	Giuseppe Panzi	潘廷璋	Italian	1773-1811	Beitang

Table 1: List of Beijing Palace missionary painters

Source : Liu Qinghua 2017, 106; Pfister 1932-1934; Picard 1973, 63.

Louis de Poirot, born in 1735 in Lorraine, France, moved to Italy with his family in his early years and grew up in Rome. He was educated in Florence Seminary of Jesuit in 1756. On March 20, 1770, the thirty-fifth year of Qianlong, he and another Jesuit Luigi Cipolla headed for China on the Merchant Ship Masiak from Port Lorient. On September 29, 1771, the two Jesuits received an edict from Emperor Qianlong to go to Beijing from Guangzhou. Later, he entered the Qing Court as a professional painter. In 1793, King George III sent a delegation headed by his special envoy George Macartney to visit Emperor Qianlong. Louis de Poirot and the lazarist Nicholas Joesph Raux (1754-1801) of Beitang undertook the translation of the exchanges between the British Mission and the Qing Court (Liu Li 2014, 82).



Fig.13: *Acceptance of Surrenders of Qianlong Pacified the Rebels in the Two Jinchuan* painted by a Qing Palace painter

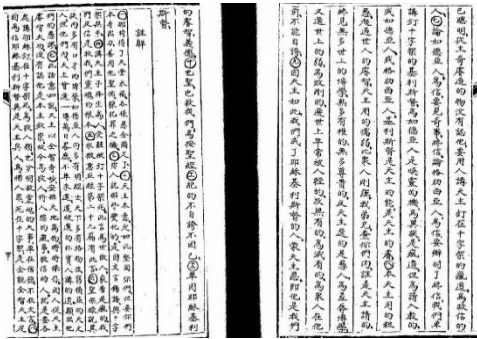


Fig.14: Louis de Poirot's translation of *Ancient and New Bible*, ca. 1790-1805

Louis de Poirot was one of the representatives of the Western painters of the Qing Palace after Giuseppe Castiglione. He was good at landscape painting, flower and bird painting, animal painting and figure painting. The Palace Museum's *Ben Deer Picture* (*Ben lu tu* 贡鹿图) is exactly his work which is of paper color, 198.3 cm in length and 93 cm in breadth. Although he had never been trained professionally, he successfully taught himself and his art of painting was appreciated by Emperor Qianlong who ordered him to work in the Ruyi Pavilion, the Royal Academy of Painting. Inherited the style advocated by Giuseppe Castiglione, which integrated Chinese and western styles, he had repeatedly been instructed to copy Giuseppe Castiglione's paintings, and spent nearly a year with another Western painter, Giuseppe Panzi, to copy Giuseppe Castiglione's masterpiece *One Hundred Horses* (*Bai jun tu* 百骏图). As an imperial painter, Louis de Poirot had not only been ordered to draw decorative Tongjing paintings for the Western Tower of Yuanmingyuan, but also participated in the production of copperplate prints depicting the Qing army's frontier war. On the tenth day of March, the fortieth year of the Qianlong Period (1775), Louis de Poirot painted a figure line painting of *The Western New Year Festival* on the west wall outside the greeting door of the West Warm Pavilion of Yangxin Palace. In forty-second year of the Qianlong Period (1777), he and Ignatius Sichelbart revised the draft of *Qianlong Pacified the Rebels in the Two Jinchuan* (*Qianlong pingding liang jin chuan desheng tu* 乾隆平定两金川得胜图), which had been originally painted by Xu Yang 徐扬, a Chinese painter of the Qing Palace (Fig.13) (Nie Chongzheng 1995, 29; Zhang Shuxian 2014, 212).

It is worth noting that even though Emperor Qianlong had given special treatment to the missionaries in Beijing, they could only conduct "semi-public" missionary activities in Catholic Churches. Louis de Poirot stayed in Beitang, one of the four churches in Beijing. His holy duty was limited to preaching and receiving confessions in the church. Except when he was called to the Inner Court to paint, Louis de Poirot spent most of his time in Beitang as a translator. He translated the *Bible* into Manchu and Chinese, the Chinese version of which was titled *Guxin shengjing* 古新圣经 (*Ancient and New Bible*) (Fig.14) (Song Gang 2015, 24-203). Louis de Poirot failed to complete the translation of all the seventy-two volumes of the *Biblia Vulgata* of the fifth century. In his lifetime, he had translated 37 volumes of them, amounting to more than 1.4 million words, based on

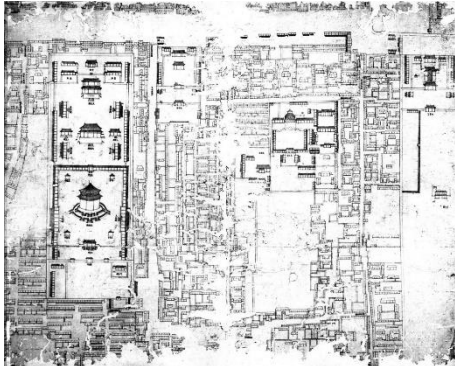


Fig. 15: Daoist Hall of Great Light (left) and Catholic church Beitang (right) (In 1750, *The Full Map of the Capital City of Qianlong* by Giuseppe Castiglione and others)

Jerome's (340-420) *Latin Vulgate*. These included the rest of *the Old Testament* and *the New Testament*, except for the *Song of Songs* and the books of some Prophets. Scholars who study the Chinese translation of the *Bible* mostly started with the Marshman's Version and Morrison's Version, the earlier works, however, have been neglected. Current research shows that the Catholic version of the *Bible* by Louis de Poirot and Jean Basset had a great influence on the translation of the early Protestant Bible into Chinese. Today, the authoritative Bible of Catholicism, *Studium Biblicum version of Chinese Bible* (*Sigao shengjing* 思高圣经), has also been completed on the basis of his editor's reading of Louis de Poirot's *Ancient and New Bible* (Ma Min 2019, 5-24; Zhao Xiaoyang 2019).

Louis de Poirot lived a miserable life in his later years. After the Vatican dissolved the Jesuit, he applied to join in the Jesuit in Russia in 1785. Although consent granted, he didn't formally acceded to the Jesuit. During the reign of Emperor Jiaqing, when the ban on religion was increasingly strict, Louis de Poirot was involved in the case of Adeodato Agostino Santa. he had been under such a thorough investigation by the Qing Court that even his letters sending back to Europe had been officially checked and examined. Emperor Jiaqing later decided to repatriate the rest of the missionaries except the four missionaries who were skillful enough at translation, calendar, and mathematics and continued serving in the Imperial Board of Astronomy. Louis de Poirot was seventy-eight years old at that time, so the Qing Court agreed that he could stay in Beijing, but he was "not allowed to get out of Western churches, nor was any outsider allowed to get in without imperial permission." In the sixteenth year of the Jiaqing Period (1811), Louis de Poirot requested to return home, but he was unable to go because of illness. On July 18, the 19th year of the Jiaqing Period (1814), he ended his days in Beitang (Zhang Xiping 2014, 68-88).

On November 20, 1704, Pope Clement XI promulgated a strict ban on ancestral sacrifices and to Confucius, which was translated into Chinese later on January 18, 1721 and presented to Emperor Kangxi. Emperor Kangxi went furious after reading and issued an imperial decree that "Preaching of Westerners will not be allowed in China. It is forbidden so as not to cause too much trouble. Respect this." He also wrote: "It's a paradox to refer to Confucius' doctrine as a heresy: China calls heaven God, and people of different social status call it consistently the same; while you westerners call God Deus in Italy, and the way of addressing God varies in

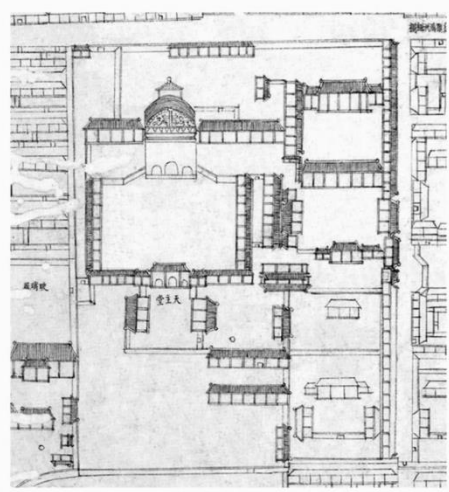


Fig. 16: The whole picture of Beitang as seen in *The Full Map of the Capital City of Qianlong*

other countries.” After Emperor Yongzheng succeeded to the throne, another ban was issued that missionaries residing in China be confined to the four churches. In 1724, Yongzheng authorized the Ministry of Rites to issue an injunction to all provinces: those Chinese Western religion believers either abandon their religions or be sentenced to death; Western priests in all provinces have to leave the country within half a year for Macao. All 300 churches in China were confiscated and converted to barns, Guandi Temples, Tianhou Palaces or academies. Although Western missionaries serving in the Qing Palace during the Qianlong Period were well received, they could not publicly preach in China (Li Tiangang 1998; Standaert 2016, 95-103). The festival celebrations painted in *The Scenic Illusion Painting of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang* should have been an “underground” religious activity held by French Jesuit missionaries in Beitang.

CHANGES OF BEITANG As mentioned earlier, *The Scenic Illusion Painting of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang* depicts the Catholic Church built by Emperor Kangxi for French Jesuits at Canchikou in Beijing. The specific address is the old site of Canchikou in Ming Dynasty, west of Ziguang Pavilion on the West Bank of the Central South China Sea and south of Beekeeping Trail, which was the residence of Suksahar, the assistant Minister of Qing Dynasty. The plan of the church can be seen in *The Full Map of the Capital City of Qianlong (Qianlong jingcheng quantu 乾隆京城全图)* in the Fifteenth Year of the Qianlong Period (1750) (Fig.15-16). In 1935, the map was found in the map room of Palace workshops in the Imperial Household Department of the Beijing Palace Museum.

Taking the urban area of the capital (today’s Beijing) as the object, the map draws in detail all the buildings in the city, including every single Royal palace, courtyard, residential house and room. The original map has no title. It is a folded album page version, composed of seventeen rows, each of which consists of three volumes, namely, the left, right and middle, totaling fifty-one volumes. The composite map is 14.1 meters high and 13.5 meters wide, with at a ratio of 1 to 650. According to the archives of the Qing Palace, the Italian painter Giuseppe Castiglione was the technical director, and the Qing Palace painters Shen Yuan 沈源 and Tang Dai 唐岱 both participated in the production of the map. In 1940, the Investigation Institute of the North China Liaison Department of the Asia Revitalization Academy of Japan (K. ain Kahoku Renrakubu Seimukyoku Ch. sajo) published the thumbnail print of the map (the ratio was changed to 1:2600), under the

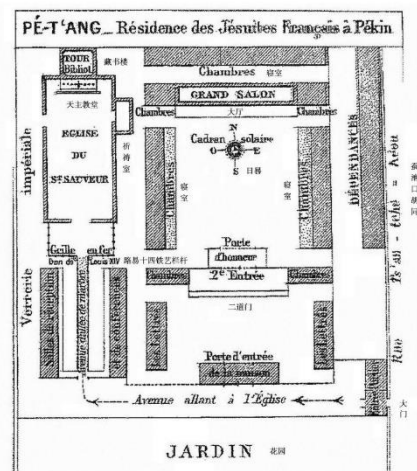


Fig.17: *Beitang - the French Jesuit Residence in Beijing* painted by P. Moreau

name of *The Full Map of the Capital City of Qianlong* which was compiled into seventeen volumes with illustrations and indexes (Giuseppe Castiglione et al. 1940; Yang Naiji 1984, 8-24). In the same year, the Beijing Palace Museum also named it *The Full Map of the Capital City collected in the Imperial Household Department* (at the ratio of 2400:1) and photocopied it as a loose-leaf letter, with *The Arrangement Picture (Pailie tu 排列图)*.

From this we can see that the French Jesuit residence were stationed in a slightly rectangular area in Beijing in the middle west of Zhongnanhai. The right half of the courtyard building is the mansion built by the Ministry of Works obeying the imperial command for the French Jesuits in the thirty-second year of the Kangxi Period (1693), which is adjacent to the Canchikou Hutong in the east. The left half is the church built by the Ministry of Works following the imperial command near the mansion in the thirty-eighth year of the Kangxi Period (1699), which is adjacent to the Royal Glass Factory in the west, also known as “Beitang.” *The Scenic Illusion Painting of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang* only depicts the Catholic Church and its courtyard garden, which were completed in 1703. It is worth noting that the proportion of the residence and the church of Beitang in *The Full Map of the Capital City of Qianlong* is not the same as that of Beitang in P. Moreau’s *Beitang—the French Jesuit Residence in Beijing* (Fig.17).

Towards the middle reign of the Qing Dynasty, Chinese anti-Catholic folk forces were in repeated conflicts with churches. In the seventh year of the Daoguang Period (1827), the Qing government confiscated Beitang. During the ninth year of the Daoguang Period (1829), the French priests in Beitang were persecuted, and the missionary center moved to Xiwanzi 西湾子 Village outside the Great Wall (the present Chongli 崇礼 County in Hebei Province).¹ In the eighteenth year of the Daoguang Period (1838), the Qing government ordered the demolition of Beitang, and the foundations were sold to an official with the surname Yu 余 and then to Huilue 惠略,

¹ Xiwanzi was one of several missionary sites around Beijing of early French Jesuits. During Qing Dynasty’s prohibition of missionary activities for more than a hundred years, because of its remote location, Xiwanzi became the refuge of Beitang clergies and Christians. In 1829, priests such as Matteo Xue were expelled from Beitang, and moved this missionary center outside the Great Wall. Xiwanzi then gradually became a Catholic-dominated parish village. In 1834, French Lazarist Joseph-Martial Mouly (1807-1868), came to China to preach. In 1838, the Holy See established an apostolic vicariate in Liaodong areas from the Church of Beijing, responsible for missionary affairs in the north area of the Great Wall. On August 20, 1840, the vicariate of Liaodong were divided into Mongolian and Liaodong Manchurian apostolic vicariates, which were respectively assigned to the Lazarists and the Paris Foreign Missions Society. The first bishop of the Mongolian apostolic vicariate was Mouly. The cathedral was located in Xiwanzi. Since then, Xiwanzi has officially become the missionary base of Catholicism to Mongolia. See Liu Qinghua 2017.



Fig.18: Fan Guoliang 樊国梁, Bishop in Beitang
(Pierre-Marie-Alphonse Favier)

a member of the imperial clan (Tong Xun 1999, 42-47). In 1897, the French Lazarist P. M. Alphonse Favier (1837-1905, Fig.18) wrote the book *Peking: Histoire et Description*, which included “The plan of the Beitang in the Kangxi Period.” However, the bell towers on both sides of the church and the three-bay festooned gate in the front of the courtyard have disappeared. Left only the iron skill fence presented by Louis XIV (Favier 1897, 167). This picture presented the same image of Beitang as that in the map drawn by P. Moreau.¹ It was not later than the 18th year of the Daoguang Period (1838) when the Qing government ordered the demolition of Beitang.

However, some buildings in Beitang seemed to have been preserved until the 11th year of the Xianfeng Period (1861). From 1860 to 1861, Catherine de Bourboulon, wife of the first French ambassador to China, arrived in China with her husband. In her book *Travel to China and Mongolia (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie)*, she introduced what she had seen and heard about while living in Beijing. According to her recollection:

Les établissements des missions chrétiennes se sont multipliés rapidement à Pékin, et y ont repris une partie de leur splendeur passée. On compte déjà dans la capitale quatre établissements catholiques : le Peh-tang ou mission du nord, situé dans l’enceinte de la ville Jaune, le Namtang ou mission du sud qui contient la cathédrale non loin de la porte de Tchouen-lche, enfin les missions de l’est et du nord-ouest, placées dans les quartiers correspondants de la ville mongole. Ces deux derniers, qui sont plutôt des écoles pour les néophytes chinois, n’ont qu’une importance secondaire et nous les passerons sous silence ; quant au Peh-tang et au Nam-tang, qui ont appartenu aux jésuites français et aux franciscains portugais au XVIII^e siècle, ils présentent assez d’intérêt, au point de vue architectural, pour que nous en donnions la description.

Le Pch-tang, situé non loin de la mer du Milieu, contient toute une série de pavillons à un étage, séparés par de vastes cours, et une ancienne chapelle avec une tour entourée d’une balustrade en fer formant terrasse sur laquelle on peut monter. On jouit sur cette terrasse de la vue d’un immense panorama ; elle a servi à faire les premières épreuves photographiques qu’on ait essayées à Pékin et que nous devons au zèle

¹ Alphonse Favier arrived in Beijing in 1862 and settled in the Beitang at Canchikou. Favier had not seen the first old Beitang at Canchikou. His drawing of “The Old Beitang in Kangxi Dynasty” (Favier 1897, 126) should have been based on P. Moreau’s drawing *The Sketch Map of the French Jesuit Residence in Beijing*. See Yu Sanle, 2006, 271.

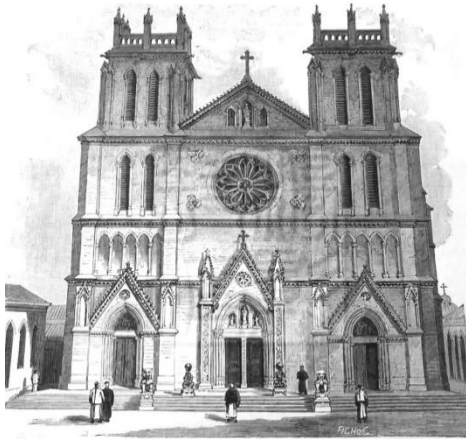


Fig.19: The 1888 Copper Print of Beitang at Canchikou , completed in the fifth year of Tongzhi (1866)

du révérend provicaire apostolique. Le parc du Peh-tang est superbe et tellement vaste que les Chinois lui donnent le nom de forêt, ce qui n'a rien d'exagéré pour qui a visité ces ombrages deux fois séculaires.

Cet établissement, vendu tout récemment aux missions françaises, deviendra de la plus haute importance. Il avait été complètement ravagé au temps de l'expulsion des jésuites, mais les efforts de la populace de Pékin ont été impuissants contre l'enceinte de la chapelle formée de grilles fleurdelisées en fer massif qu'on n'a pu desceller, mais qui porte encore visiblement les empreintes de la fureur populaire. On y voit aussi une porte d'honneur monumentale, en style du temps de Louis XIV, avec des colonnes doriennes, des feuilles d'acanthé, et deux vases grecs qui la surmontent; elle fait le plus singulier effet au milieu de l'architecture fantastique du pays.

[The buildings of Christian missions have increased rapidly in Beijing and have restored some of their past glories. Nantang and Beitang, which had belonged to the French and Portuguese Jesuits¹ in the 18th century, attracted me to their architectural forms. Beitang, not far from the Central South China Sea, was full of a series of single-storey pavilions separated by a courtyard, and a tower surrounded by iron railings. It was an old church with a rooftop terrace from which people could see a panoramic view of the yard. For the first time, we tried to take pictures of Beijing from there. This was the devoted passion of a noble apostle. The garden in Beitang was so beautiful and vast that the Chinese called it "the forest". For those who had experienced the darkness in this century, this was no exaggeration. The institution had recently been sold to the French Mission and would therefore become the most important institution. When the Jesuit was deported, it had been completely destroyed. Though the efforts of the people of Beijing could not have broken through the closed church surrounded by iron fences, and some inevitable traces of destruction have left, we could still see the Louis XIV greeting doors, Dorian pillars, leaf panels and two Greek vases placed on them which became the most unique scenery in this wonderful building.] (Poussielgue 1866, 92-93)

On October 24, the twenty-fourth year of the Daoguang Period 1844

¹ The original text is "Franciscans Portugais", see M. Achille Poussielgue, *Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. de Bourboulon, ministre de France, et de Mme de Bourboulon, 1860-1861*, Paris, 1866, 93.



Fig.20: Iron railings and cast iron balls presented to Beitang by King Louis XIV of France

the Qing government and France signed the Huangpu Treaty in Guangzhou, which stipulated that the French could build catholic churches in the “five ports.” On December 28 of the same year, Emperor Daoguang officially approved the lifting of the ban and the return of the Catholic churches, but foreigners were still not allowed to enter the Mainland to preach. After the Second Opium War, the Qing government returned the church land to the missions. In the third year of the Tongzhi Period (1864), the bishop Joseph-Martial Mouly (1807-1868) in Beijing, began to rebuild the Catholic church at the original site of Beitang, which was completed in the fifth year of the Tongzhi Period (1866). The new Beitang was much larger than the old one and had adopted the Gothic architecture style similar to Notre Dame in Paris. The new church was 50 meters long and 21 meters wide. In 1871, when John Thomson, a British photographer, visited Beijing, he took a picture of Beitang, which was built at Canchikou in Beijing in 1866 (Thomson 1875, 537). The Gothic Beitang was also seen in the bronze prints of Beitang published with M. Batault Morot’s photo in the 1888’s French weekly newspaper *L’illustration* (Fig.19). On both sides of the main entrance of were the exact cast iron balls in front of the iron railings painted in *The Scenic Illusion Painting of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang* (Fig.20).

Regarding the architectural layout of the Gothic Beitang at Canchikou, the Qing Palace Archives recorded in *Respectfully Present the List of Renovations for Canchikou Church and Rooms of the Mercy Hall for Royal View* (*Jin jiang canchikou jiaotang ji renci tang fangjian dengwu shanju qingdan gongcheng yulan* 谨将蚕池口教堂及仁慈堂房间等物缮具清单恭呈御览) read as follows:

BEITANG 北堂

大堂一座（本注：堂中大风琴一具，琴内音笛九百四十一条，栏杆外备用音第五十八条）。堂前石狮子一对，凉亭一座，石山子一座，花果树四十二株，柏树二十二株，南院槐、榆、楸、枣不可胜数，井八眼，大小房共二百六十六间。 [One lobby (Cathedral) (Note: There is one accordion in the hall, 941 pipes inside the organ and 58 spare parts outside the balustrade). A couple of stone lions in front of the hall, a pavilion, a stone hill, 42 flower and fruit trees, 22 cypress trees, countless pagoda trees, elms, catalpa bungei and jujube trees, eight wells, a total of 266 large and small rooms.]

THE THINGS IN BIRD HALL 百鸟堂诸物

第一架各等走兽三十二只，第二架中土各飞禽分六层（本注：

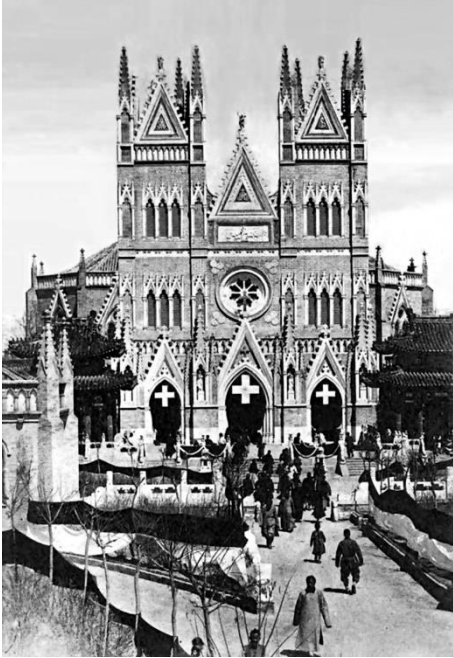


Fig.21 : Xishiku Beitang, completed in 1888, photographed in 1908-1910

上层一百零九件，二层一百一十一件，三层五十四件，四层八十九件，五层六十四件，六层六十二件)。第三架外国飞鸟二百零四种，第四架海中珍奇一百一十二种，第五架海中各物九十件，第六架海中虫介七十件，第七架海中物九十件，第八架各色走兽七只，第九架中土蝴蝶四百零四色，第十架中土蝶介昆虫五百六十种，第十一架外国蝴蝶虫介二百九十七件，第十二架地中各螺丝五十六种，第十三架虎象熊骨各鸟卵三十二种，第十四架酒浸各虫蛇十七瓶。柱上悬挂各兽角十四件。以上通共二千四百七十四件。[Thirty-two beasts on the first shelf and a total of six floors of Chinese birds on the second shelf (Note: 109 on the upper level, 111 on the second level, 54 on the third level, 89 on the fourth level, 64 on the fifth level and 62 on the sixth level). 204 foreign birds are on the third shelf, and 112 rare species in the sea are on fourth shelf. The fifth shelf contains 90 marine organisms, the sixth 70 marine insects, the seventh 90 marine organisms, the eighth seven beasts, the ninth 404 Chinese butterflies, the tenth 560 Chinese butterflies and insects, the eleventh 297 foreign butterflies and insects, the twelfth all kinds of central China screws, the thirteenth 32 various kinds of tiger, elephants, bear bones and bird eggs, the fourteenth 17 bottles of insect and snake wine. Fourteen beast horns were suspended from the pillars. The total number of the above items is 2,474.]

MERCY HALL [CHAPEL] 仁慈堂

小堂一座，大小房共二百一十二间，井四眼，葡萄四架，大小树二十株。[There is a small hall with 212 rooms, 4 wells, 4 shelves of grapes and 20 trees.](QMJA, 469-470)

In the twelfth year of the Guangxu Period (1886), the Qing Court extended the Xiyuan Garden for the rest and recuperation of Empress Dowager Cixi, and the Gothic Beitang at Canchikou in Beijing was also demolished. After the negotiation between the Qing government represented by Li Hongzhang, governor of Zhili, and the The Holy See and the French government, the Catholic mission agreed to move the church to Xishiku within the gate of Xi'an with the funding of the Qing government. In the fourteenth year of the Guangxu Period (1888), the New Beitang was officially completed, located at 33 Xishiku Street, Xicheng District, Beijing today. Above the arch gate in the middle of Beitang, a wooden plaque read *The Catholic Church built by Imperial Order (Chijian tianzhu tang 敕建天主堂)* in the 13th Year of the Guangxu Reign. Behind the church altar hang



Fig.22: The ancient western books of Beitang in the National Library of China

a replica of the plaque *All Things Are True* (*Wanyou zhenyuan* 万有真原) bestowed by Emperor Kangxi to Nantang (Lu Chenglan, 1996, 33-34).

The main building of Xishiku Church in Beijing is a three-storey Gothic building with 11 minarets at the top and a cross-shaped plane. The building area is about 2200 square meters and the tip of its 16.5 meters bell tower is up to about 31 meters high. It was once the tallest single building in the inner city of Beijing (Fig.21). The facade of the church has three cusp arch shaped entrances between which are carved four holy images of St. John, St. Paul, etc.. The doors and windows on the facade of the building are decorated with white marble carvings. There is a magnificent round rose window on the main span of the main entrance, and 80 glass windows of different sizes around the church. Surrounding the Gothic church building is the traditional Chinese platform base, surrounded by white marble railings. The railings and their decoration are both in Chinese traditional art style. In front of the hall, there is a pavilion on both sides which are decorated with yellow glazed tiles on their double eave gable roofs. Two imperial tablets of the Qing Dynasty are placed inside the courtyard. And within the pavilion are four Chinese stone lions and a pair of stone offerings (Cao Jia 2016, 105; Liu Yang 2010, 97).

In addition to the Gothic church itself, the Xishiku Beitang also had many subsidiary buildings, including the library, back garden, printing house, orphanage, hospital, Guanghai Women's Middle School, Joseph's Convent and the Bishop's residence of Catholic North China diocese. Today, only the convent of Joseph on the northwest side of the church is left. In 1958, the Xishiku church was transferred to the State during the "Movement of Offering Churches and Temples" (*Xian tang xian miao* 献堂献庙). All the books in Beitang Library were handed over to Beijing Library (today's National Library of China). According to Hubert Germain Verhaeren, the curator of Beitang Library in 1949, besides French, Latin, Italian, German, Greek and Dutch, there are also 7,000 western ancient books in Portuguese, Spanish, English, Hebrew, Polish and Slavic (Fig.22), including the cradle Bible (Verhaeren 1979; Ren Jiyu 1999, 220; Mao Ruifang 2007, 112-118; Liu Chongmin and Wang Yanting 2011, 64-73), which are collected in National Library of China and Ningxia Library at present.¹

¹ Around 1972, part of Beitang's collection of books in late Qing Dynasty and Republic of China was transferred to Ningxia Library. Up to now, the latest progress of Beitang's special collection in Ningxia Library can be seen in Liu Qinghua, "The Beitang Collection in Ningxia and the

CONCLUSION From the discussion of the full text, we mainly obtain the following understandings. Firstly, the letter written to a gentleman by Cibot on June 11 in a certain year in Beijing should have been written to Father Dervillé of the Jesuit Province of France on June 11, 1771. On the eve of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in 1771, he described the Sacred Heart Worship Ceremony as an “underground” religious activity held by French Jesuits in Beitang in mid-June of the thirty-fifth year of the Qianlong Period (1770). Secondly, the scenic illusion painting of the anonymous catholic church in Qing Dynasty kept in National Library of France should be called *The Scenic Illusion Painting of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang*. The painters were probably Louis de Poirot and Giuseppe Panzi and other missionaries of France, who served in the Qing Palace in 1770. Thirdly, three churches of Beitang had been built successively in Beijing in the Qing Dynasty: the first was a baroque church built by the Ministry of Works in the fortieth year of the Kangxi Reign (1703) at Canchikou in Beijing for French Jesuits, which was demolished by Emperor Daoguang of the Qing government in 1838; the second was a Gothic church built by Joseph-Martial Mouly, the bishop of the Beijing Diocese of the French Lazarist mission during the fifth year of the Tongzhi Period (1866); and the third was a Gothic church built in Xishiku in 1888. The baroque church depicted in *The Scenic Illusion Painting of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in Beitang* was the first Beitang built by the French Jesuit mission at Canchikou in Beijing.

Thus it can be seen that the progress of art history requires not only a material investigation of the origin of images, but also a comparative study of more texts and images on the origin, events and the process of the production and dissemination of the images. Based on the particularity of religious art, many facts about religious rituals and religious practice should also be explained. Only by combining textual demonstration, image investigation with religious practices can the history of religious art continue to open up new perspectives for research.

Note: The author want to express sincere gratitude to Camille Schmitt, specialist in the conservation and restoration of works of art from the Far

Lazarist Mission Press in the Late Qing Period”, in *History of the Catholic Church in China, From Its Beginning to the Scheut Fathers and 20th century*. K.U. Leuven, 2015, 419-442. See also Ju Qiufang, “Overview of Western Church Documents in Ningxia Library (II)—Origin of Beitang Collection (2)”, *Tushuguan lilun yu shijian*, 2014(8), 99-100.

East, for sharing the original photos of restoration of this painting; Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, for tracking the source of this painting in BnF; Father Robert Bonfils, for the French Jesuit archives in Vanves; and Lin Meicun for his remarks on history of art and relics of Beijing. This study is rewritten and corrected on the partial discussion of my PhD thesis in EPHE-PSL in 2017. This publication is the result of the project supported by National Social Science Foundation of China entitled “Beitang Parish and the Localization of Christianity in Modern China” (19BZS090).

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AFSJ: Archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus, Vanves

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France (National Library of France)

DASL: Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 中国第一历史档案馆 (The First Historical Archives of China) Ed. *Qing zhong qian qi xiyang tianzhu jiao zaihua huodong dang'an shiliao* 清中前期西洋天主教在华活动档案史料 (Archives Concerning Western Catholic Missions from the Early to Mid Qing Dynasty in China). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003, 4 volumes.

LEC: *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Paris: A. Desrez, 1843, 4 vols. QMJA: The First Historical Archives of China, Ed. *Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan xubian: Qingmo jiao'an* 中国近代史资料丛刊续编：清末教案 (Continuation of Series of Modern Chinese Historical Materials: Religious Cases at the End of Qing Dynasty). Volume 2, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998, 469-470.

Works Cited

LEC III, 107-108. Lettre du Fontaney au P. de la Chaise, le 15 février 1703.

LEC III, 143-144. Lettre du père Jartoux au père de Fontaney, le 20 d'août 1704.

LEC III, 191. Lettre du père d'Entrecolles au père procureur des missions de la Chine et des Indes, à Raozhou, le 27 août 1712.

LEC III, 687. Lettre du père de Mailla, à Pékin, ce 18 octobre 1733.

LEC III, 775. Lettre du père Loppin, ca. 1740.

LEC IV, 97. Extrait d'une lettre du père Cibot au père Dervillé, de Pékin, le 7 novembre, 1764.

- LEC IV, 183-184. Lettre du révérend père Cibot au révérend père D, à Pékin, le 3 novembre 1771.
- LEC IV, 186. Lettre du révérend père Cibot, à Pékin, le 11 juin 17.
- LEC IV, 284. Extrait de quelques lettres de Pékin.
- Alacoque, Marguerite-Marie. *Sainte Marguerite-Marie Alacoque - Sa vie par elle-même*. Paris-Fribourg, Saint-Paul, 1993.
- Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- “Le style jésuite n’existe pas:” Jesuit Corporate Culture and the Visual Arts, in O’Malley et al., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, 38-89.
- Castiglione, Giuseppe et al., *The Full Map of the Capital City of Qianlong*, the Investigation Institute of the North China Liaison Department of the Asia Revitalization Academy of Japan, photocopy of 1940.
- Cao Jia 草家. “Gete shi jianzhu: beijing xishiku jiaotang 哥特式建筑——北京西什库教堂” (Gothic Architecture - Xishiku Church in Beijing). *The Urban Construction Archives Magazine*, 2016(5), 105.
- Clark, Anthony E. Early Modern Chinese Reactions to Western Missionary Iconography. *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*, 30, 2008, 5–22.
- Favier, P. M. Alphonse. *Peking, histoire et description*. Peking: Impr. Lazaristes, 1897.
- Gall, Anne. *Inventaire avec indication de provenance des collections d’albums d’estampes et de peintures*. Paris, 1990, 4.
- Golvers, Noël. *The “Astronomia Europea” of Ferdinand Verbiest, S. J. (Dilligen, 1687): Text, Translation, Notes and Commentaries*. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1993, 12-13.
- Hou Renzhi 侯仁之, Editor-in-Chief. *Beijing lishi dituji zhengqu chengshi juan* 北京历史地图集政区城市卷 (Beijing Historical Atlas. Volume Urban Administrative Region). Beijing: Wenjin publishing, 2013.
- Jiang Peng 姜鹏. “Qianlong chao ‘suichao xingle tu’, ‘wanguo laichao tu’ yu shihei kongjian de guanxi jiqi yihan 乾隆朝 “岁朝行乐图”、“万国来朝图”与室内间的关系及其意涵” (The Relations and Celebration of New Year’s Day and Ten thousand countries paying tribute to China and Interior Space). Master Thesis of the Central Academy of Fine Arts, 2010, 25-26.
- Ju Qiufang 菊秋芳. “Ningxia tushuguan guancang xifang jiaohui wenxian gaikuang (2): yu beitung cangshu de yuanyuan 宁夏图书馆馆藏西方教会文献概况(二)——与北堂藏书的渊源” (Overview of Western Church Documents in Ningxia

- Library (II)—Origin of Beitang Collection). *Library Theory and Practice*, 2014(8), 99-100.
- Kleutghen, Kristina. Scenic Illusion Paintings and the Legacy of Giuseppe *Palace Museum Journal*, 161, 2012(3), 77-88.
- *Imperial Illusions: Crossing Pictorial Boundaries in the Qing Palaces*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.
- Lai Yuzhi 赖毓芝. “Gouzhu lixiang diguo: zhigong tu yu wanguo laichao tu de Zhizuo 构筑理想帝国:《职贡图》与《万国来朝图》的制作” (Building an Ideal Empire: Royal Tribute Picture and Ten thousand countries paying tribute to China). *The Forbidden City*, 2014(10), 56-69.
- Landry-Deron, Isabelle. Les Mathematics envoyes en Chine par Louis XIV en 1685. *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 55, 2001, 423-463.
- Le Comte, Louis. *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine. Tome troisième. Contenant l'histoire de l'édit de l'empereur de la Chine, en faveur de la religion chrétienne*, Paris: Jean Anisson, 1697.
- Li Tiangang 李天纲. *Zhongguo liyi zhizheng: lishi, wenxian he yiyi 中国礼仪之争: 历史、文献和意义*(The Chinese Rites Controversy: History, Literature and Significance). Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1998.
- Liu Hui 刘辉. *Ouzhou yuanyuan yu bentu yujing: cong huanjue zhuangshi dao Qinggong xianfa tongjing hua 欧洲渊源与本土语境: 从幻觉装饰到清宫线法通景画*(European Origin and Local Context: From Illusional Decoration to the Line Method of Tongjing painting of the Qing Palace). Beijing: Palace Museum Press, 2017.
- Liu Li 刘黎. “Yichang xiazi he longzi de duihua: chonggou yingshi magaerni fanghua de fanyi guocheng 一场瞎子和聋子的对话: 重构英使马戛尔尼访华的翻译过程” (A Dialogue between the Blind and the Deaf: Reconstructing the Translation Process of British Ambassador Margaret's Visit to China). *Shanghai Journal of Translators*, 2014(8), 82.
- Liu Chongmin 刘崇民 and Wang Yanting 王燕亭. “Wo guo yaolan ben de faxian 我国摇篮本的新发现” (New Discovery of the Cradle Book in China). *Library Development*, No. 10, 2011(10), 64-73.
- Liu Qinghua 刘清华. *Missions et chrétientés en transition : La paroisse urbaine de Pékin au XVIIIe siècle*. PhD Thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études, PSL University, 2017.
- “The Beitang Collection in Ningxia and the Lazarist Mission Press in the Late Qing Period”, in *History of the Catholic Church in China. From its beginning the Scheut Fathers and 20th century. Unveiling Some Less Known Sources*,

- Sounds and Pictures*, Ferdinand Verbiest Institut, K.U. Leuven, 2015, 419-442.
- Liu Ting 刘婷. *Laihua yesu huishi Han guoying yu zhongguo wenhua de xichuan* 耶稣会士韩国英与中国文化的西传 (The Western Biography of Jesuit Pierre-Martial Cibot in China and Chinese Culture). Master Thesis, Beijing Foreign Studies University, 2015, 7.
- Liu Yang 刘阳. “Beijing chengqu de si da jiaotang 北京城区的四大教堂” (Four Cathedrals in Beijing Urban Area). *Journal of the Second Academic Forum on Protection and Innovation of Construction Technology*, 2010(4), 97.
- Lu Chenglan 陆成兰. “Qingdai xishiku tianzhutang 清代西什库天主堂” Church of Xishiku in Qing Dynasty). *The Forbidden City*, 1996(5), 33-34.
- Lv Ying 吕颖. “shiqi shiji mo faguo yu xianluo waijiao de woxuan zhe 17 世纪末国与暹罗外交的斡旋者——塔查尔” (French Diplomacy with Siam at the End of the 17th Century Mediator-Tachard). *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2012(2), 95-102.
- “Qingdai lai hua huangjia shuxuejia chuanjiaoshi hong ruohan yanjiu 清代来华“皇家数学家”传教士洪若翰研究” (A Study of Jean de Fontaney, a Missionary of “Royal Mathematician” in China in Qing Dynasty). *The Qing History Journal*, 2012(3), 119-125.
- Lv Ying, Yan Guodong 阎国栋. “Luyi shisi paiqian ‘huangjiashuxuejia’ chuanjiaoshi lai hua de beijing 路易十四派遣“皇家数学家”传教士来华的背景” (The Background of Louis XIV’s Missionary “Royal Mathematician” in China). *Collected Papers of History Studies*, 2012(2), 74-80.
- Lundbæk, Knud. translated by Gao Jianhui 高建惠, “Han guoying: zhongguo zuihou de suoying pai 韩国英——中国最后的索隐派” (Pierre-Martial Cibot : China’s Last figurists. *International Sinology*, 2005(2), 60.
- Ma Min 马敏. “Niu jin cang ma shi man wenxian ji qi xiangguan xueshu yanjiu shulun 牛津藏马士曼文献及其相关学术研究述论” (Commentary on the Mashman Documents and Related Academic Research Collected in Oxford). *Journal of Macao Polytechnic Institute*, 2019(1), 5-24.
- Mao Ruifang 毛瑞芳. “Beitang shumù: jilu xixue dongjian de zhongyao lishi wenxian 《北堂书目》: 记录西学东渐的重要历史文献” (Bibliography of Beitang: Important Historical Documents Recording the Eastern Spread of Western Learning). *Journal of Historiography*, 2007(4), 112-118.
- Moore, C. H. *Character of Renaissance Architecture*. The Macmillan Company, 1905 (reprinted in *Biblio Bazaar*, 2009), Fig. 49.
- Morgan, David. *The Sacred Heart of Jesus: The Visual Evolution of A Devotion*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008.

- Nie Chongzheng 聂崇正. “Qingdai waiji huajia yu gongting huafeng zhibian 清代外籍画家与宫廷画风之变” (Foreign Painters in Qing Dynasty and the Change of Palace Painting Style). *Art Research*, 1995(1), 29.
- “Wang zhicheng, Ai qimeng he Pan tingzhang de youhua 王致诚、艾启蒙和潘廷章的油画” (Oil Paintings by Wang Zhicheng, Ai Qimeng and Pan Tingzhang). *Art*, 1990(10), 62-64.
- Nie Hui 聂卉. “Tieluohua jiqi zai qingdai gongting jianzhu zhongde shiyong 贴落画及其在清代宫廷建筑中的使用” (Poster Painting and Its Use in Qing Dynasty Palace Architecture). *Cultural Relics*, 2006(11), 86-94.
- Pfister, Louis. *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne Mission de Chine: 1552-1773*. Chang-hai, Imprimerie de la Mission catholique, 1932-34. Translated by Feng Chengjun. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1960, 1118.
- Poussielgue, M. Achille. *Voyage En Chine Et En Mongolie de M. de Bourboulon, Ministre de France, Et de Madame de Bourboulon, 1860-1861*. Paris, 1866, 92-93.
- Ren Jiyu 任继愈. Editor-in-Chief, *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan guji zhenpin tulu 中国国家图书馆古籍珍品图录* (Atlas of Ancient Books of the National Library of China). Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 1999, 220.
- Séguy, M. R. À propos d'une peinture chinoise du cabinet des Estampes à la bibliothèque nationale. *Gazette des Beaux-arts*, 88, 1976, 228-230.
- Song Gang 宋刚. “‘Benyi’ yu ‘tuyu’ zhijian: qingdai yesu huishi heqingtai de ‘shengjing’ hanyi ji quanshi ‘本意’与‘土语’之间: 清代耶稣会士贺清泰的<圣经>汉译及诠释” (Between “Original Meaning” and “Local Language”: The Chinese Translation and Interpretation of The Bible by Louis de Poirot, a Jesuit of the Qing Dynasty). *International Sinology*, 2015(12), 24-203.
- Standaert, Nicolas. The ‘Edict of Tolerance’ (1692): A Textual History and Reading, in Artur K. Wardega & Antonio Vasconcelos de Saldanha eds, *In the light and shadow of an emperor: Tomas Pereira, SJ (1645-1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit mission in China*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, 308-358.
- The Chinese Voice in the Chinese Rites Controversy. *Fudan Journal*, 2016(1), 95-103.
- Sun Zhengqing 孙政清. “Tianzhujiao yidong zhanli tuisuan fa 天主教移动瞻礼推算法” (The Algorithms of Catholic Mobile Etiquette). *Chinese Catholicism*, 1993(7), 22-24.
- Tang Kaijian. Research on Expulsion of Missionaries to Guangzhou during the

- Yongzheng Period. *The Qing History Journal*, 2014(2), 1-33.
- Thomson, John. *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China, and China*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1875, 537.
- Tong Xun 佟洵. “‘Beitang’ de bianqian “北堂”的变迁” (The Change of “Beitang”). *Journal of University of Science and Technology Beijing (Social Sciences Edition)*, 1999(3), 42-47.
- Verhaeren, Hubert Germain. *Catalogue of the Pei-T'ang Library*. Peking: Lazarist Mission Press, 1949.
- Wang Lianming 王廉明. “Bali cang qingren wuming kuan ‘shengxin tu’ kaoxi: neirong, tushi ji yuanliu 巴黎藏清人无名款《圣心图》考析: 内容、图式及其源流” (Celebrating the Feast of Sacred Heart: An Eighteenth Century Chinese Painting in the Bibliothèque nationale de France). Volume 16, *Yishushi yanjiu*, edited by the Center for Art History Research, Sun Yat-sen University Press, 2014, 309-310; 327; 337.
- Yang Naiji. A Textual Study of The Full Map of the Capital City of Qianlong. *Journal of the Palace Museum*, 1984(3), 8-24.
- Yu Sanle 余三乐. *Zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu de lishi jianzheng: mingmo qingchu beijing tianzhu jiaotang 中西文化交流的历史见证——明末清初北京天主教堂* (Historical Witness of Cultural Exchange between China and the West-Beijing Catholic Church in Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties). Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Publish house, 2006, 271.
- Zhang Shuxian 张淑娴. “Cong sanxi tang tongjing hua kan qianlong shiqi tongjing hua de yanbian 从三希堂通景画看乾隆时期皇宫通景画的演变” (Observing the Evolution of Palace Scenic Illusion Painting in Qianlong Period from Sanxi Hall's Scenic Illusion Painting). *Journal of Gugong Studies*, 2014(1), 212.
- Zhang Xianqing 张先清. “Kangxi san shi yi nian rongjiao zhaoling chutan 康熙三十一年容教诏令初探”(A Preliminary Study of the Edict of Tolerance in the Thirty-first Year of Kangxi). *Historical Research*, 2006(5), 72-87.
- Zhang Xiping 张西平. “Qingong zhong de zuihou yiming faguo yesu huishi He qingtai 清宫中的最后一名法国耶稣会士贺清泰”(He Qingtai: The last French Jesuit in the Qing Palace). Chao Zhiqiang, editor-in-chief, *Manchu Studies Series*, Volume 4, Liaoning Ethnic Publishing House, 2014, 68-88.
- Zhao Xiaoyang 赵晓阳, *Yuwai ziyuan yu wan Qing yuyan yundong: yi “sheng jing” zhongyi ben wei zhongxin 域外资源与晚清语言运动: 以《圣经》中译本为中心* (Foreign Resources and the Chinese Movement in the Late Qing Dynasty: Centered in the Bible in Chinese). Beijing: Beijing Normal University

Publishing House, 2019.

Zhu Di 朱迪. “Yuanmingyuan shouhou tongxiang de kanke mingyun (圆明园兽首头像的坎坷命运)” (The Rough Fate of the Bronze Statue of Animal Heads in Yuanmingyuan). *Yunnan Archives*, 2013(5), 23-25.

Zuo Zhe 作喆. “Kangxi di yu Beijing tianzhu tang de xiujian 康熙帝与北京天主堂的修建” (Emperor Kangxi and the Construction of Beijing’s Catholic Churches). *The Forbidden City*, 1985(4), 28-29.

The Library of Congress

(<https://www.loc.gov/item/2011660670/>).

National Library of France

(<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b541001700/f1.item>).

Author: Liu Qinghua, Lecturer, Institute of Modern Chinese History, Central China Normal University, Wuhan, China; PhD in History, EPHE, PSL Research University Paris.
Email: liu.qinghua@mail.ccnu.edu.cn