

THE CHINESE JESUITS' ROLE IN THE ART WORKSHOPS OF TUSHANWAN

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Abstract: *Tushanwan, nei pressi di Xujiabui, è il luogo in cui, nel 1864, sorse uno degli orfanotrofi dei missionari gesuiti nel Jiangnan e divenne famoso per i laboratori artistici che vi si svilupparono nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento. Il presente articolo è dedicato al rilevante e poco noto contributo di due gesuiti cinesi, Lu Bodu (1836-1880) e Liu Bizhen (1843-1912), alla crescita di questa scuola d'arte che ebbe una notevole influenza su celebri artisti cinesi. Per decenni Lu e Liu insegnarono e lavorarono soprattutto alla trasmissione delle tecniche della pittura a olio, diffuse in Cina proprio grazie all'atelier di Tushanwan.*

At Tushanwan on November 22, 1864, 139 Chinese orphan boys moved into new modern quarters (Servière 1914a: 13). Thus began the cradle of Western painting in China and the vanguard of modern Shanghai, as described by illustrious painter Xu Beihong 徐悲鸿 (1895-1953).¹ Histories of the famous Jesuit-run Tushanwan (土山湾) and the nearby complex of Xujiabui (徐家汇) have too often privileged the returned Western missionaries who helped establish the orphanage and its workshops.² As the following paper argues, however, the art school and its influence on famous Chinese artists like Ren Bonian 任伯年 (also known as Ren Yi 任颐, 1840-1896), Xu Yongqing 徐泳青 (1880-1953), Zhang Yuguang 张聿光 (1885-1968) and Zhang Chongren 张充仁 (1907-1998) owes substantially much more to the labour of two Chinese Jesuit Brothers, Lu Bodu 陆伯度 (1836-1880) and Liu Bizhen 刘必振 (1843-1912) (Sullivan 1996; 2006; Farr 2007).

The desire to open an orphanage was long-held by the returning Jesuits; in fact, the first Jesuit superior Claude Gotteland (1803-1856), who had arrived in Shanghai in 1842, had spoken of his hopes on at least two occasions, once in March of 1845 and another time in December 1846. Gotteland wanted the Jesuits to have a community residence at the gates of Shanghai, where they could all gather. Unbeknownst to him, Gotteland

essentially described what became the large Christian centre at Xujiabui.

There would also be two large orphanages where the numerous visitors who passed through Shanghai could appreciate the work, and which would serve as a model for all of China. He was certain that France would supply the gentle and competent religious women to run the orphanage for the young women. After this, he said, I would like a small observatory. (Piolet 1900: 178)

Tushanwan was not the first orphanage the returned Jesuits started in Jiangnan. While the three earlier orphanages are clearly worthy of their own historical studies, for brevity it is enough to note that an institution at Caijiawan (1850 to 1860) was the most influential on the development of Tushanwan's art workshops (*Diarium* s.d.; Havret 1900).³ There was a workshop, students got paid a stipend and not all the students were orphans. All of these practices continued at Tushanwan. While the primary aim of all the orphanages was to save lives, and from among the young survivors raise good Christians who would then contribute to society, the secondary aim was to teach them skills. There was no point merely saving the lives of these abandoned unfortunates, rather, the infants also had to be given the means to grow into adults who could fend for themselves and make a worthwhile, meaningful living. To this end, once the Italian Jesuit director of Caijiawan, a Father Giaquinto, took over the orphanage from the two Franciscan priests who had founded the work he oversaw the development of a number of ateliers between 1851 and 1858. These served as models for later work at Tushanwan.

The new site at Tushanwan underwent a period of rapid growth and the Jesuits applied the many valuable lessons they had learnt over the preceding tumultuous years. Mindful of the dangers of over-crowding, the Jesuits

constructed a number of additional buildings, with a second line of residences begun in 1866 and completed by April 1867. Both sets of buildings consisted of two levels, a reception floor and a space for classrooms, dining rooms and some workshops, the other for dormitories and the remainder of the ateliers (especially those that needed more light). Between these two rows of buildings was a space that was used by the orphans for recreation and which also featured a statue of Mary (Clarke 2013). Of the 342 orphans housed at Tushanwan in the early years, according to the French Jesuit historian Joseph de la Servièrre, there were “133 occupied in the diverse ateliers, 80 in the farm, 20 working in the garden and a further 109 who were too young for labor, and so remained in the school”.⁴

By 1869, there was already an impressive array of workshops in operation. The orphans were taught skills that would enable them to be carpenters, cobblers, sculptors and weavers. There was also a section that taught gilding, and produced such things as candles and other objects used in the celebration of the sacraments. Yet another workshop dealt with the manufacture of clothing. For some years in the initial period there was a small farm on the premises, run by seven workers and assisted by 24 orphans. It existed as much to ensure a supply of fresh rice for the orphans as to teach life skills but it did not last long, most likely because of the demands of space.⁵ By 1913 there was a new workshop producing stained glass and its creations could be found throughout Shanghai not only in church windows but also bank foyers, hotel restaurants and university halls.⁶ By far the most famous and influential of all of these workshops were the printery and the art atelier (Reed 2004).


Even by 1869, no visit to Shanghai was complete without a journey to Xujiahui and the orphanage at Tushanwan. A work by the famed Jesuit scientist Pierre Heude (1836-

1902), *La Compagnie de Jesus en Chine: Le Kiangnan en 1869*,⁷ noted that regardless of the religion or nationality of the foreigner, be they “English, Russian or Parsi, they run out of words of admiration with which to praise the work, the manner and direction of its operations.” As had happened before at Caijiawan, the visitors also included a significant number of dignitaries. For instance, the Russian Minister stationed in Beijing made it a point to visit Tushanwan during a busy period of work in Shanghai.

I only had three days to pass in Shanghai ... : two of them were spent taking care of my affairs, but on the third day I was scrupulous to ensure that I visited the house, of which so much had been told to me by the other foreign ministers in Beijing and in such glowing terms; and I must confess that in my opinion there was not a word of exaggeration. (Heude 1870: 55-56)

Not long after the boys’ orphanage at Tushanwan was founded, church authorities began a girls’ orphanage across the canal, called *Shengmuyuan* (圣母院). These two orphanages quickly became the flagships of Catholic charitable work in Jiangnan, and indeed throughout the country. In so doing they also became exemplars of the Catholic Church’s attempts to combat infanticide and thereby contribute to the development of a modern China. Both of these institutions also deliberately received the lion’s share of the Catholic Church’s attention.

Such orphanages as those like Tushanwan and *Shengmuyuan* are to be encouraged and developed, because of the good they achieve through the excellent impression they provide to both Chinese and European visitors. They also serve as an excellent and serious means by which Christian apprentices [i.e. those trained in the ateliers] can go out among the houses of the city. (Servièrre 1914b: 186)



These workshops and the apprentices who graduated from them were only as good as they were because of the leadership and training that they received. Contrary to what may be presumed, in most of the more renowned workshops Chinese Jesuits and Chinese craftsmen played the most significant roles. This was not only as regards the establishment of these enterprises but also their ongoing success, especially in the famed art studio. Over the next almost hundred years of its history, while there was always a priest in charge of the overall establishment, the development of Tushanwan was largely in the hands of an assortment of Jesuit Brothers, both Chinese and foreign.


The orphanage's art workshop officially began in 1865. That is, its doors opened for business not long after the first set of new buildings had been constructed at Tushanwan and the orphans had been moved from the overcrowded and unhealthy conditions downtown at their temporary abode at Dongjiadu. As a result of work that had been occurring elsewhere, under the tutelage of the Spanish Jesuit brother, Jean de Dieu Ferrer (1817-1856), the production of religious art in the custom-designed atelier was able to commence soon after. Among the new ventures started in the first decade after the arrival of the Jesuits was a cathedral for the bishop and a school for the bright boys of the wealthier and more influential Chinese Catholic families, named after the Society's founder, Saint Ignatius (*Collège Saint Ignace*). Not long afterwards, there was an observatory, a seminary and, in 1862, a novitiate (once the Jesuits were eventually allowed to begin one).

The establishment of the school meant that the Jesuit apostolate of education was both now able to take on a formal focus, and utilize the facilities of the school buildings for a number of other functions as they came to mind. The Spanish brother Jean de Dieu

Ferrer proposed to the pastor of Xujiahui, Father Adrien Languillat (1808-1878), that the mission inaugurate an art workshop that could produce religious sculptures, reliefs and paintings for all the churches opening up around the region (Servière 1914a: 16-17).⁸ Languillat supported Ferrer's idea and thus in 1852 he allowed the Brother to open an atelier on the grounds of the new school at Xujiahui. Pre-Suppression Jesuits in China like Matteo Ricci and Giulio Aleni had likewise argued centuries before that pictures of religious themes were usually much more eloquent than even the most fluent catechist or missionary.

Ferrer was the son of a distinguished sculptor who had worked on large projects in Spain and clearly his father's profession had influenced his son. After the young Ferrer completed his artistic training in Rome, he joined the Jesuit province of Naples and promptly volunteered for the far-off mission of China. After his arrival in Jiangnan, Ferrer was based at Dongjiadu, just outside the Chinese walled city. From the beginning he assisted Jesuit priests Nicolas Massa (1815-1876) and Father Louis Hélot (1816-1867) with drawings for the designs of churches at Dongjiadu and also at Xujiahui. The opening mass and blessing of the Church of St. Ignatius at Xujiahui was a major event for the whole Christian community in Shanghai, and indeed for all the Europeans. The early relationships with both Chinese workmen and European fellow religious forged during his work at Dongjiadu and Xujiahui certainly stood Ferrer in good stead later on. His projects with Massa and Hélot were important relationships as the three Jesuits were all trained in fine arts in one shape or another: Hélot was an architect and Massa had also had training in painting; consequently they often had recourse to mutual conversation and contact.

After Languillat gave Ferrer permission



to go ahead, art classes were also soon incorporated within the curriculum at the college and Ferrer taught these as well. Brother Ferrer proceeded to train the workmen and students in his charge in sculpture, painting and drawing, and began to give special attention to those who showed the most aptitude. Some of the students in the atelier had worked with him on the building projects already mentioned, some were young men who had come to the attention of the Jesuits and yet others were boys enrolled in the college.


Contemporaries noted the extraordinary patience and creativity that Ferrer exhibited in the education of his pupils and the manner in which “he increased their appreciation for beautiful things and reduced their application of incorrect proportions” (Broullion 1855: 115). This shows again that not only was Ferrer a more than competent artist, he was also a compassionate and skilled teacher. The comment reveals much more, however, and that is that Ferrer was clearly teaching a Western – or European – aesthetic sensitivity in his atelier. This fact, and the subsequent implication that the pupils were learning new ways of doing things (which were, after all, only the ways within which Ferrer himself had been trained), is crucial to the evolution of the teaching of Western style painting (*xibua* 西画) in Shanghai, and indeed beyond.

Ferrer’s inspiration was guided by the desire that the church possess an art workshop that would produce items of benefit to the whole mission. To accomplish this task, the pupils at the school only needed to be taught relatively rudimentary skills and thus the atelier had numerous religious prints and paintings in its rooms that served as examples for the students. Consequently, so long as the students could copy these pre-existing models adequately enough, the church communities were satisfied with the replicated paintings

of the various saints and the Virgin Mary, since these had been hard to obtain in recent decades. Yet Ferrer was not content with merely training competent copyists. Given that he himself had had the opportunity to learn his profession surrounded by beautiful art in Rome’s churches, it is understandable that he wanted his pupils to create things of beauty as well. It is fair to suggest therefore that Ferrer thought hard about how to introduce a curriculum that turned the pupils into artists and not just replicators.

In this endeavor his old friend and collaborator Father Nicholas Massa assisted him; Massa was one of the seemingly ubiquitous Neapolitan Jesuit siblings, five of whom worked in Jiangnan (Sica 1892). This particular Massa had also studied painting in Europe and was an able proponent of the styles he had learnt in his youth. Thus these two European trained painters were clearly influential in everything from the establishment of the workshop, the choice of the curriculum taught to the students and the selection of works to use as the examples to copy. While these were overwhelmingly images of religious themes, there is a great difference between good religious art and bad religious art, and thankfully these two performed a great service by what they rejected as much as what they selected.

That the Society of Jesus was once again an order spread across the globe was also an important although sometimes overlooked factor in the ongoing development of the atelier. For instance, the Jesuit artists opted to teach their students how to paint with oil, which was not readily available in China at this time. In choosing to teach oil painting these two foreign Jesuits were early and key instigators of what became the *xibua* ‘western’ (as opposed to *guohua* 国画 ‘national’) art movement, even though Ferrer and Massa were not aware of the consequences of their decision and history has



underplayed their role; this is because they provided the means and the genre for the new movement to take place.⁹ Such a choice of styles not only required that the Jesuits imported the otherwise unprocurable oil paints, it also necessitated the purchase of art brushes and other materials different from those available in China. Thus all this equipment had to be sourced from abroad, initially from Europe but then later from Japan, and also entrêpôts like Hong Kong, Macau, Mumbai and Goa that were connected to international trading routes.


Tushanwan was one of the few reliable and plentiful sources for oil paints in China, even into the twentieth century. The presence of this precious material is one further reason for the popularity and renown of both the small art workshop at Xujiahui and then the custom-built atelier at Tushanwan, and also of the reputation of its teachers among the early Western-style painters of Shanghai. Thus, in this instance, the international nature of the Catholic Church was essential not only for the knowledge that was brought to China but also for the supply of materials to enable such knowledge to be transmitted. Importantly, apart from during these very early foundational years, the real transmission of competency and skill did not take place as a result of the presence of the European Jesuits, Ferrer and Massa. The knowledge transfer came about as a result of the devotion and professionalism of some of their earliest Chinese students, in particular two of the earliest Chinese Jesuit brothers of the returned period (Brothers Lu Bodu and Liu Bizhen). Ferrer had trained both of these artists in his small art school at Xujiahui, at the newly opened college, and histories of the period even go so far as to describe them as his disciples. There is even some evidence to suggest that Lu had first met Ferrer when the Spanish brother was based at Dongjiadu and was working on building projects

throughout the region.

Yet, as it is known that Lu was one of the earliest students at Xujiahui, it is thus more than likely that he completed his apprenticeship with Ferrer there, if only practically and not formally. That is, whereas in later years students were in fact sent to complete apprenticeships with craftsmen around the city, Lu stayed at Xujiahui with Ferrer and continued to learn from him rather than going off to work throughout the region. Given that Ferrer was teaching something new, and since there was not as yet an oil painting industry within Shanghai itself, it was not actually possible for him to go anywhere other than Ferrer's proto-atelier. It is true that some of the graduates from the earlier orphanage at Caijiawan – the one run for a time by Father Giaquinto – had established their own workshops or businesses throughout Shanghai, and these took apprentices from the new Tushanwan as soon as it was open, but as there had been no formal painting school at Caijiawan this was not yet an option.

The art workshop moved out of Xujiahui to Tushanwan after the first row of the new wing of buildings was completed in November 1864. At around the same time the atelier moved across from its small place in the high school into one of the purpose built rooms in the new line of buildings; thus the famous art workshop of Tushanwan began formally in the new year of 1865.¹⁰

While art as a subject continued to be taught at Saint Ignatius College, the larger commercial enterprise only traces its beginnings from when Tushanwan was ready for operation. The lag time is significant. As is known, Brother Ferrer died in 1856, having taught at Xujiahui until his death, and thus the ongoing transmission of knowledge was already out of his hands before Tushanwan was constructed. The teaching of oil painting at Xujiahui was now the responsibility of his



students, and other Jesuits like Massa who were also involved (Massa died in 1876). Furthermore, while Ferrer's pioneering influence cannot be in any way diminished or ignored, it must be remembered that he was given permission to open his school at Xujiahui only in 1852 and then taught there for a mere four years before his own death at the relatively young age of 40.


Among the most well known of Ferrer's students at Xujiahui was Lu Bodu, or Pierre/Peter Lu as he was referred to in European-language works (Bodu 伯度 was a variant on the more common transliteration of Peter, Bide 彼得); at this stage Lu was a young man, having been born in 1836. Thus he learnt from Ferrer between the impressionable ages of sixteen and twenty, from 1852 to 1856.¹¹ After Ferrer's death, Lu remained painting in the Xujiahui art workshop for a few more years until he came to a momentous decision, one that had a significant impact on the growth of the *xihua* style and oil painting in China. Like many of the other Catholic students at Saint Ignatius College in its pioneering years, once the opportunity presented itself to be able to join the Society of Jesus, Lu took it. Initially the Jesuits were prevented from opening a novitiate after their return to Jiangnan. When the ban was lifted in the early 1860s, a number of young Chinese Catholic men presented themselves willingly to the Society. Through his association with the Jesuits at Xujiahui and especially the example set for him by his art master, Brother Ferrer, Lu had clearly had the vocation of a Jesuit life modeled before his eyes and he chose to follow these men into their religious order.

As history would have it, when Lu joined the novitiate he became part of the first batch of Chinese-born Catholics to enter the Society after its return to Jiangnan, in 1862. In that year, on May 29, Father Angelo

Zottoli (1826-1902), the master of novices, welcomed eleven novices. Among them was Ma Xiangbo (马相伯, 1840-1939) (Zhu, Guy 2002). Many of the eleven young men would have already known Zottoli – and he them – because of his work as principle at the College of St. Ignatius from 1852. Lu Bodu, who was 26 years old at the time, became the tenth of this initial batch and the 549th Jesuit to have worked in the China mission since Francis Xavier died off its coast in 1552.¹²

His novitiate lasted slightly more than two years (the usual amount of time for a religious brother) and consisted of the standard formational experiences, including caring for the sick throughout Shanghai and undertaking the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius in their complete form. Unlike his novitiate companion Ma Xiangbo, however, Lu had joined to be a brother and not a priest. In doing so, Lu began what was to become a long-line of illustrious Chinese brothers whose vocation journeys were much influenced in the ateliers of Jiangnan, and by the men who worked there. When the first line of new buildings were completed it was not yet possible to open the art studio because no-one was considered able to run it. Even though Massa was still teaching some art classes at Xujiahui, this was not his major occupation, given his priestly ministrations.

At any rate, without compelling evidence to the contrary, it is possible to suggest the Jesuit superiors were waiting for Lu to finish his novitiate so that he could take up an office for which he had long been preparing, ever after his first encounter with Ferrer. While this meeting possibly took place at the Dongjiadu church, where the young Lu had already come to the attention of the new superior of Xujiahui, Father Languillat, the more significant relationship certainly began in Ferrer's art




classroom at Saint Ignatius College. After Lu Bodu pronounced his first vows as a Jesuit in 1865, he was quickly appointed the director of the orphanage's art atelier and it opened in the same year. Lu not only took over the work that Ferrer had initiated, he also inherited Ferrer's vision. He was just shy of thirty years old.


As well as supervising an atelier where much needed Christian art would be produced by orphan boys under the care of older skilled workmen (who, in the decades to come, were themselves often graduates of this atelier), Lu would also continue a small school where he would teach the skills that Ferrer had passed on to him, especially as regards painting with oils. This is borne out in the archival documentation where it is noted in the catalogues of the French province that Brother Lu was "responsible for teaching students from among the alumni of St. Ignatius as well as the orphans" (*Catalogus* 1879). Thus, even from the very beginning of the art ministry within the walls of the orphanage, it is apparent that the Jesuit craftsmen of Tushanwan were transmitting their knowledge to a circle broader than the few talented orphan boys in their charge. The catalogues do not mention that among the external students who came to Brother Lu and his successors were several who were not in fact former students of Saint Ignatius (like Xu Beihong in fact). Thus, Tushanwan and Brother Lu's influence was even broader still.

Simon Liu Bizhen was among the young men who transferred with Lu Bodu from Xujiahui to Tushanwan in 1865, once the atelier opened (Servièrè 1914b: 15-17 especially footnote 2, where he cites a letter from Jesuit Gabriel Palatre 1830-1878, which was written on 27 November, 1865, in *Nouvelles Mission*, 5, 266). Like his new master Lu, Liu Bizhen had also been described as one of the more talented disciples of Ferrer. Liu

held the dual distinction of being both an orphan and an alumnus of Xujiahui College. Contemporary records state that his family was one of the many Christian families of Jiangnan that were affected by the Taiping Rebellion. One time, when these troops were harassing the outskirts of Shanghai, Liu's father had been press-ganged by the Taiping forces and was never seen again (*Cent Ans sur le Fleuve Bleu* 1941). Since Liu's family was Catholic, the young boy was accepted into the newly established college at Xujiahui. Turning to the biographical data contained in the Jesuit catalogues once more, it seems that Liu was born in 1843. He too was one of the early students of Ferrer – who only taught between 1852 and 1855 – and thus Liu was anywhere between the ages of 9 and 12 when he became a disciple of his artistic master (*Catalogus* 1871). These were impressionable years, especially for one who had only recently lost his father to violence.

Servièrè noted that when Lu started the painting studio at Tushanwan and transferred the atelier and the school from its location at Xujiahui, he took the best and most talented of the other young students and assistants, including Liu Bizhen – "*et recruterent des disciples parmi les orphelins les mieux doués*" [and recruits his students from among the most gifted of the orphans] (Servièrè 1914a: 15-17). At the time, Liu was twenty-two years old and still a layman. The two disciples of Ferrer then proceeded to recruit art students from among the young orphans, especially those who showed the most talent. In the intervening years between the death of Ferrer and the opening of the Tushanwan atelier it is clear that both Lu and Liu continued working in the art school at Xujiahui, although Liu would also have had the rest of his schooling to complete as well, and Lu was away in the novitiate at the end. By the time the studio was opened in the new buildings at Tushanwan in 1865 – thus, ten years after the death of Ferrer – Liu had





certainly finished his schooling by then as well, and had been working as a painter and painting instructor for a few years. Lu Bodu continued almost uninterrupted as the director of the Tushanwan art atelier until his death in 1880. He had been a Jesuit for eighteen years and the director of the work for almost fifteen years, with the exception of one year at the foreign concession in 1871.

During that year a foreign Jesuit, Father Alphonse Vasseur (1820-1902), ran the workshop. He oversaw the production and subsequent copying of a large number of Christian images that could be used as models by the young orphans and their older supervisors. These were eventually put together in a book, which itself became a model for other art education books used throughout Shanghai. The idea of printing a book of images for copying became significant during the early twentieth-century when a number of young graduates or workmen associated with the Tushanwan art atelier (and a few who came along in the evenings to learn from the Jesuits and their workers) went on to create their own private art schools around Shanghai, Zhou Xiang 周湘 (1871-1933) and Liu Haisu 刘海粟 (1896-1994) in particular, and they often simply replicated what they had learnt themselves in Tushanwan, pedagogically and practically.

In 1867 Liu Bizhen, had also entered the Society of Jesus as a brother novice. He was one of a total of thirteen men who joined the novitiate on September 7 of that year. Having completed his novitiate in the usual manner, one finds Liu straight back at the orphanage upon the pronouncement of his vows.

From 1870 till 1912, even during the brief time of Vasseur's inter-regnum, the catalogues indicate that Liu Bizhen was stationed at Tushanwan's atelier. Until the death of Lu Bodu in 1880, his job was listed

- in the Latin abbreviations previously used in Jesuit catalogues – as “*pict.* (i.e. “*pictor*”) or painter, and then after the death of his long-time friend and brother in the Lord, as “*praes. pict.*” or director of the painting workshop. When Liu died in 1912 at the age of 70, he had been a Jesuit for 45 years, all of which (apart from the two years of his novitiate, which was also spent in Shanghai) had been lived out in the service of the art workshop. Additionally, because he had first studied under Ferrer in 1852, Liu had spent an impressive 61 years in the study and pursuit of art as an expression of the Christian vocation.

Thus, apart from the four years of Ferrer's tutelage, and then the one year of Vasseur's appointment (when Liu was still working at Tushanwan), between the two Chinese Jesuit artist-brothers they had worked or taught in oil painting for a total of sixty unbroken years. Both their little-understood and under-appreciated role in the transmission of oil painting techniques to a new generation of artists and their encouragement of the searching young men who came to their door, was thus massive. It is little wonder that one of these neophytes, Xu Beihong, spoke in such glowing and yet matter-of-fact terms of their legacy when he wrote many years later in 1942 “Tushanwan was the cradle of modern oil painting in China.” As has been shown very briefly here the hands that rocked the cradle were not as much those of the returned Jesuits as the new Chinese Jesuits who were attracted to their cause.

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Notes

¹ Xu Beihong made this statement in an article called "The new art movement: a review and a prognostication", published in the war time capital of Chongqing on March 15, 1943 in *Shishi Xinbao* 时事新报 (*Current Affairs Newspaper*). Xu's article has been often cited, including in Zhang Wei and Zhang Xiaoyi (2012: 8, footnote 2).

² Xujiahui (徐家汇), rendered as Zikawei in much contemporary French missionary literature, literally means Xu family village. It was so named because the famous late Ming-era statesman, scientist, farmer and early Christian, Paul Xu Guangqi (徐光启, 1562-1633) was buried there. His descendants subsequently settled around the cemetery to show respect. It became a significant Christian settlement and this fact was one of several reasons the French Jesuits resettled there, and made it the centre of their operations.

³ Also rendered as Tsa-ka-wei, in an at-

tempt to render the Shanghainese pronunciation.

⁴ Cited from Gabriel Palatre, 27 November 1865, *Nouvelles Missions*, 5, 264.)

⁵ Servièrre (1914b: 275) noted that Fr. Palatre was a strong supporter of the farm, arguing that not only was it needed as a means of guaranteeing supply but also as a means of protecting the orphanage from the vagaries of the market, especially in times of shortage when market prices for staples like rice soared.

⁶ The café restaurant in building number 3 of the Ruijin Hotel, Shanghai (originally owned by the Benjamin Morris family, proprietors of the *North China Herald*) features an original Tushanwan stained glass window, depicting a tiger drinking at a waterhole.

⁷ There is some conjecture that Alois Pfister, not Heude, authored this work.

⁸ Yet, Nicolas Broullion (1855: 115) argues for 1853 as the date for the beginning of the Xujiahui atelier. Although Broullion's is the more contemporary record, given Servièrre's extensive historical research of the period from primary documents, I choose the earlier date, 1852.

⁹ While work on Tushanwan has become now so popular as to almost constitute its own sub-field in Shanghai studies, major works on the history of Chinese painting by scholars like Michael Sullivan largely overlooked the influence of Ferrer and Massa although some recent work by Chinese scholars is rectifying the situation. Such

work, however, can be hindered by the authors' capacity to obtain the European sources, and whether they understand the nuances of a religious community.

¹⁰ "Des les mois de juillet, on commençait à tou-se-we les fondations l'orphelinat actuel, la ligne meridionale des batiments etaait termine trois mois après, et le 22 novembre les enfants en prenaient possession" (Servièrre 1914a: 13). "Aussitot le fondation de Touse-we les FF. Loh et Lieu, S.J., elevés du F. Ferrer, y transferent leurs ateliers et leur ecole, et recruterent des disciples parmi les orphelins les mieux doués" (Servièrre 1914a: 16-17, where he cites a letter from Palatre, written on November 27, 1864). Lu was a Jesuit brother by this time, but Liu was not yet, so it is anachronistic for Servièrre to state that Liu had entered the Jesuits by this stage.

¹¹ One of the Jesuit histories of the period, *Relations de la Mission de Nanking de la Compagnie de la Jesus* (1875: 26) states that Languillat had met Lu at Dongjiadu and had entrusted his education to Ferrer, who taught him for 8 years at Xujiahui. This seems hard to corroborate, since Ferrer only began his school in 1852. Given Ferrer did arrive in the mission in 1847, however, it is not impossible all the same. Lu, however, would have begun his education with Ferrer quite young, at the age of 11, although again this is not impossible.

¹² As cited by Li Tiangang (1996: 108 footnote 36) (his source is Alois Pfister's *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum*).