Pedagogy, Display, and Sympathy at the French Jesuit Orphanage Workshops of Tushanwan in Early-twentieth Century Shanghai

By

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Professor Patricia Berger, Chair
Professor Todd Olson
Professor Wen-hsin Yeh

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Abstract

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This dissertation closely examines the art and craft workshops at the French-Jesuit-run orphanage of Tushanwan in the first decades of the twentieth-century. Founded in the 1860s, the workshops taught Chinese orphaned boys a wide range of vocational skills from painting to shoemaking in preparation for their entry into adulthood in a rapidly modernizing China. Using different art objects and projects created at the major workshops as my primary subjects of investigation, the dissertation analyzes the transmission, translation, and reinvention of modern Euro-American aesthetic ideologies and techniques at Tushanwan and their receptions. In the process I question the nature and motivation of commercial workshops like Tushanwan beyond the monetary and reframe its practices and operations in terms of the religious, institutional, cultural, and historical legacies of the Jesuits in China. I also expand the global scope of popular late-nineteenth-century European aesthetic movements such as the Arts and Crafts by accounting for the reinterpretation of those ideologies within the local context. Through the works and practices from the workshops, I describe a collage of interactions between China and the world united by a sense of common spiritual identity that supposedly transcended national and state boundaries, but instead reified and maintained the heterogeneity of identities.

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Acknowledgement

Writing is often a solitary act, but I was fortunate that at every stage of my academic career and throughout my dissertation research I was never alone. The birth of this dissertation could not have been possible without my extensive network of mentors, colleagues, friends, and family. Here I attempt to include all whom I have been indebted to in the past eight years, but memory can be fickle. I apologize in advance for leaving anyone out.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

> "Zi-ka-wei,—a flourishing little town on the outskirts of Shanghai and connected with the latter by electric cars,—is, in the opinion of many, one of the most interesting spots in the whole of China. Scarcely anyone ever goes to Shanghai, without being told on all sides and by all classes of men, that 'he must take a run out to Zi-ka-wei.' If he is a scientist, he will find there the famous zoological and botanical museums which contain a truly marvelous and complete collection of all the flora and fauna of the entire Orient. If he is an astronomer, his interest will be aroused by the fact that it is the site of an astronomical observatory that ranks with those of Tokyo and Manila by reason of the services rendered to astronomical science and more especially by reason of its historical connection with the first efforts made towards the Christianization of the Chinese, by Ricci, Schall and Verbiest, the eminent Jesuit scientists of the Seventeenth Century. If the visitor is interested in the study of seismic phenomena, Zi-ka-wei will appeal to him still more forcibly; for there is installed a seismographical plant, that is in direct telegraphic communication with all similar institutions throughout the world. Sea captains consult the Jesuit Fathers in charge of the weather bureau before they entrust themselves to the perils of the deep. Many a seafarer and many a precious cargo have been saved from destruction by the accurate prediction of date and path of impending storms. Students of Chinese history and of Chinese literature visit the institution to verify, if for no other reason, the report that the Jesuit library, in the distant Orient, contains over 100,000 volumes and that among these there are the most precious works extant in Chinese language. Students of art and architecture,—which, it may be noted in passing, are the most fascinating elements that enter into the strange composition of Oriental life,—find at Zi-ka-wei sufficient material to study these subjects in all their vastness and in all their luxury of detail."[1]

The above excerpt comes from the a little pamphlet written by the American Jesuit Dennis J. Kavanagh to accompany an exhibition for the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, where paintings, furniture, models, and other art objects made exclusively by young Chinese artworkers from Zi-ka-wei were exhibited. Making little mention of its religious goals, the excerpt paints an image of Zi-ka-wei, a flourishing Catholic community located just outside of Shanghai during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as a center of learning and research. It was both insular and well connected: shielded and separated from the foreign concessions to the urban east but far away enough from potentially hostile and unknown Chinese rural populations. Knowledge about China and the natural world were generated within its classrooms, labs, and libraries, as well as in collaboration with foreign and Chinese scholars, artists, scientists, adventures, diplomats, and businessmen.

"Zi-ka-wei" is the French transliteration of "Xujiahui 徐家匯" as it is pronounced in Shanghainese. Located just southwestern of Shanghai, it borders the French Concession to its immediate east.[2] The surname "Xu" refers to the Xu clan, descendants of the most important Catholic convert in the late-Ming, the statesman and polymath Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562-1633), who was also buried there.[3] The area has historically been an active center for Catholicism ever since.

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[1] D. J. Kavanagh, S.J. *The Zi-ka-wei Orphanage* (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, ca. 1915), pp. 5-6.

[2] Today Xujiahui is one of the most developed and commercial districts in the city.

[3] Xu's wife and five grandchildren and their wives were also buried here. "Hui," or "the meeting place of two rivers," refers to the confluence of Zhaojia bang 肇嘉浜 and Fahua jing 法華涇. The rivers, or perhaps more appropriately creeks, have long been drained and filled, but their names remained as street names in

The transformation of this countryside community into a hub of Catholicism in East Asia cannot be separated from the history of the Jesuits in China or nineteenth-century Chinese history. After decades of suppression, the Society of Jesus was restored by Pope Pius VII in 1814, marking a renewed period of evangelical zeal and growth. One of the biggest prizes was China; the pagan land had been the main target of proselytization since the beginning of the Order's history when the founder Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) sent Francis Xavier (1506-1552) on his first mission to Asia. Francis Xavier eventually passed away while attempting to enter Ming China, but his death inspired an entire generation of Jesuit missionaries to journey from Europe to China, devoting themselves to the service of God and the salvation of Chinese souls over the next 250 years. This first generation of Jesuits in China mostly targeted the literate elite class, eventually making their way to the Ming and Qing courts. By the eighteenth century their number and influence had begun to decline due to internal and external factors, among them the Rites controversy, the Yongzheng emperor's proscription of the Order in 1724, the Papal Suppression of the Order in 1773. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Order's presence in China had been reduced to a few aging specialists serving at the Qing court in Beijing.

The Order's fortune in China shifted dramatically in the nineteenth century, thanks in large part to European imperialism. The forced opening of China after its disastrous defeats in the First and Second Opium Wars (1839-1842; 1856-1860) against the British and French allowed the missionaries to return. Among others, the Treaty of Huangpu (1844), which was signed between the Qing government and the French forces, rescinded the Yongzheng emperor's prohibition of more than a century before, allowing different Catholic missionary orders to penetrate ever deeper into the Chinese interior.[4] At the invitation of Jiangnan Christians, the Apostolic Vicar of Shandong and Henan, Mgr. Louis de Bési asked Rome in 1839 to send missionaries to help minister the congregations in that area. The Jesuits François Estève, Benjamin Brueyre, and Claude Gotteland (Ch.: 南格祿, 1803-1856) answered the call and arrived in Shanghai on July 11, 1842 on a British supply ship during the First Opium War.[5] With help from a local Catholic family, in 1847 they purchased their first piece of land in Xujiahui.[6]

Shanghai today. See ZHANG Wei 張偉 and ZHANG Xiaoyi 張曉依 *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenming de yaolan* 土山灣：中國近代文明的搖籃 (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji, 2012), p. 14; and LI Tiangang, "Tushanwan: Shanghai jindai wenhua de zhongyao yuanyuan 土山湾：上海近代文化的重要渊源" in *Chongshi lishi suipian – Tushanwan yanjiu ziliao cuibian* 重拾历史碎片－土山湾研究资料粹编, ed. HUANG Shulin 黄树林 (Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 2010), p. 1.

[4] LI Tiangang reminds us that it was Catholics already in China before the signing of the Treaty of Huangpu who laid the groundwork for Claude Gotteland and others who established the Province in Jiangnan. See LI, "Tushanwan," p. 2. Writing decades later, the Jesuit historian Pascal D'Elia described these opportunities as a "renewal" for the Church akin to the resurrection from the catacombs. See Pascal M. D'Elia, S. J., *Catholic Native Episcopacy in China: Being an Outline of the Formation and Growth of the Chinese Catholic Clergy, 1300-1926* (Shanghai: T'usewei Printing Press, Siccawei, 1927), p. 49.

[5] Joseph de La Serviere, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiangnan. Jésuites de la province de France (Paris) 1840-1899*, vol. 1 (Zi-ka-wei, pres Chang-hai: Impr. de l'Orphelinat de Tóu-sè-wè), p. 53.

[6] LI, "Tushanwan," p. 2.

Unlike the Jesuit missionaries of previous centuries, Jesuits who went to China in the nineteenth century turned their attention to the common population at large, which included some of the most vulnerable in Chinese society at the time: the poor and the orphaned. The idea of an orphanage had originated at least as early as 1844, soon after their arrival in Shanghai. In a letter Gotteland expressed his wish to have "a religious congregation for the education of the girls, a hospital for the sick, and a hospice for the foundlings" to provide the latter with "the foundation of Christianity and skills needed to lead an honorable life."[7] With the announcement of the founding of the Holy Childhood Association (l'Oeuvre de la Sainte Enfance) in the following year from Paris, his dream became a step closer to reality. The Association was established in 1843 by a friend of Gotteland and de Bési, the Bishop of Nancy Charles-Auguste-Marie-Joseph de Forbin-Janson, with the explicit purpose of "the administration of baptism to children in danger of death and the purchase and adoption of a great number of others" in China and other places in Asia.[8] Recently historians Michelle King, Henrietta Harrison, and D. E. Mungello have reexamined claims of widespread infanticide in China, one of the main impetuses for the Holy Childhood Association.[9] This perception of Chinese infanticide had been noted by the first generation of Jesuits and was also used as a funding tactic.[10] The generation of Jesuits continually sustained the propagation and perpetuation of these claims through studies such as Gabriel Palatre's *Infanticide and the Holy Childhood Association in China* (*L'infanticide et l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance en Chine*), published at Tushanwan in 1878. Using purportedly empirical data collected through his network of native informants—mostly correspondence with a local literati activist and readily available printed materials—the study provided legitimacy to the work of the Catholic missionaries in China.[11] Founded with the explicit goals of saving the souls and bodies of unbaptized Chinese children, members of the Holy Childhood Association, mostly children, funneled money from around the world to support Catholic missionary work in China and elsewhere in Asia, connecting them to their peers in the international

[7] "…une congrégation de religieuses pour l'éducation des filles, un hospital pour les infirmes, un hospice pour les enfants trouvés… En 1845, cette dernière idée se precise; à l'annonce de la foundation à Paris de l'oeuvre de la Sainte Enfance, le Père supérieur tressaille de joie; il voit déjà de vastes orphelinats recueillant les petits chinois abandonnés, et leur donnant la formation chrétienne et technique qui les mettra à meme de mener une vie honorable." La Serviere, *Histoire*, p. 59.

[8] Quoted in Ernest P. Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 39. See also D. E. Mungello, *The Catholic Invasion of China: Remaking Chinese Christianity* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), p. 74.

[9] See Michelle King, *Between Birth and Death: Female Infanticide in Nineteenth-Century China* (Stanford University Press, 2014); Henrietta Harrison, "A Penny for the Little Chinese: The French Holy Childhood Association in China, 1843-1951," *American Historical Review* 113/1: 72-92; and D. E. Mungello, *Drowning Girls in China: Female Infanticide in China since 1650* (Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2008).

[10] For example, see letters between the patroness Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690-1762) and the Jesuits in Qing China, in Ronnie Hsia, *Noble Patronage and Jesuit Missions: Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690-1762) and Jesuit Missionaries in China and Vietnam* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2006). Historians King, Harrison, and Mungello have noted that the rate of infanticide in China in the nineteenth century was comparable to that in European urban centers.

[11] Michelle King has a lengthy discussion of the use of the evidence in Palatre's study: *Between Birth and Death: Female Infanticide in Nineteenth-century China* (Stanford University Press, 2014), Chapter 3, "Seeing Bodies: Experts and Evidence."

Catholic community.[12] Material and financial support also came from the Propagation of Faith (*Propagation de la foi*) in France, which collected charitable contributions to support overseas Catholic missionaries.

It was not a coincidence that the two main sources of funding, as well as the majority of the personnel for Xujiahui came from organizations based in France. For much of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, a system called the French Religious Protectorate oversaw all Catholic missionaries overseas; Catholics in China were claimed to be under the protection of the French state.[13] In this way, the expansion of the Catholic missionaries coincided with the imperialist expansion of France in Asia.[14] The French government provided both institutional support and protection in the form of gunboat diplomacy for the missionaries later in the century, ensuring the safety of its charges with threats of force to the local and central Qing government.[15] However as the historian J. P. Daughton has demonstrated in his study of French colonial rule elsewhere in the world, the "partnership" between the colonial authorities and the missionaries did not always go smoothly and was the origin of frequent tensions and frictions.[16] After all, the prevailing trend in the late-nineteenth century in France one of the general anti-clerical attitude by the secular state but the increasing and revived role of Catholic piety in the bourgeois masses, and both entities treated one another with mutual suspicion in the colonies. Thus the convenient lumping of Catholic missionaries and the French Protectorate as joined together in an overwhelming imperialist impulse, as many mainland Chinese historians have continued to do, is an oversimplification.[17]

Tushanwan Arts and Crafts Workshops

As the subject of this dissertation, the Tushanwan orphanage workshops cannot be separated from Xujiahui; it was physically, institutionally, and ideologically part of the community. Located in the southern part of Xujiahui, Tushanwan 土山灣, also known by its Shanghainese French-transliterated form as T'ou-sé-wé, translates to "the bay of the

[12] I take up the question of the circulation of images and sympathy through the network created by Jesuits and the Association of Holy Childhood at greater length in Chapter 5.
[13] Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony*, p. 1.
[14] The number of Vicariates or Prefectures Apostolic in China more than quadrupled in 78 years from 1848 to 1926. See D'Elia, pp. 49-50.
[15] This was particularly important for the movement of the missionaries in the interior of China, since they were often the targets of anti-Western and anti-Christian violence. See John K. Fairbank, "Pattern Behind the Tientsin Massacre," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3/4 (Dec., 1957), p. 482. The earlier practice of indirect intervention through pressuring local officials gradually became more direct in the second half of the nineteenth century, when European forces were sent onto Chinese soil to quell anti-Christian incidents. See Joseph Esherick's discussion of the Juye Incident and subsequent Jiaozhou Seizure in Chapter 5 in his book *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (University of California Press, 1988).
[16] See J. P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 6-7.
[17] The accusation that the missionaries were "tools of modern colonialism and imperialist" began almost as soon as the foreign missionaries left China in the early 1950s. See Harrison, "A Penny," pp. 90-91. For a more recent example from 2000, see Mungello, *Catholic Invasion*, p. 96.

little earthen mount", a reference to its original form as a hill composed of river mud dredged from two nearby rivers.[18]

According to Xujiahui's own historian, A. M. Colombel, the founding of Tushanwan and the Shengmu yuan (Holy Mother Courtyard) 聖母院 orphanages were direct responses to the flooding, famine, and epidemics that ravaged the Jiangnan region between 1849-1850.[19] Two previous iterations existed at Hengtang 橫塘 and Caijiawan 蔡家灣, but after the chaos of the Taiping Rebellion in 1863, Father Joseph Gonnet decided to acquire a new piece of land near Xujiahui to build a large complex that could meet the increasing demands and to consolidate the various orphanages that had been founded during the previous decade. The official date for the relocation was November 22, 1864.[20]

All the orphaned children were initially sent to Shengmu yuan to be reared by nuns and Chinese women. When the boys reached around the age of seven, they were sent to the Tushanwan workshops. The girls stayed behind to take care of the younger children until around the age of thirteen, when they began entered the female orphanage workshops to learn to sew and embroider.[21] The boys were not immediately placed in workshops, but instead undertook an elementary curriculum to teach them reading and writing, the catechism, and also offered basic lessons in drawing. At that stage, they sometimes were joined by children sent by their parents to study with the Jesuits in the hope for a better future. Between the ages of ten to twelve, the boys entered one of the workshops to begin their apprenticeship in metal-casting, woodcarving, painting, printing, shoemaking, or stained-glass making. Throughout the decades the workshops changed constantly; new ones were added (e.g., photography in early 1902) and others were consolidated due to the fluctuation of instructors and students. When the European missionaries were expelled in the early 1950s, only the Painting Workshop and the Woodcarving Workshop remained.[22] In addition to their labor being compensated, the orphans' education at Tushanwan was also partially subsidized. It usually took three to six years to graduate, but many chose to stay and continue to work in the workshops.[23]

In its heyday Tushanwan was a popular tourist destination, attracting Catholic and non-Catholics, foreigners and non-foreigners, artists and scientists, businessmen and

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[18] The two nearby rivers were Zhaojiabang 肇家浜 and Puhuitang 蒲匯塘; the mount was eventually removed. See GAO, Bei 高蓓, "Tushanwan gueryuan meishu gongchang yanjiu"土山湾孤儿院美术工场研究", (Ph.D. diss., Zhongyang meishu xueyuan, 2009), pp. 44-45.

[19] A. M. Colombel, *Depuis les commencements de Zi-ka-wei jusqu'à le rebellion des Tai-ping 1847-1852*, p 301.

[20] Hengtang began as a monastery in the foothill of Sheshan 佘山, the Catholic pilgrimage site west of Xujiahui. When the orphans accepted by the monastery exceeded its capacity, they were moved to a large house in Hengtang in 1847, not too far from Xujiahui. It continued to move with the monastery in 1850, where a building designated as Cimu tang 慈母堂 (Hall of the Holy Mother) was founded to house the increasing population of orphans at Caijiawan in Qingpu. See GAO, pp. 17-26.

[21] GAO, p. 39.

[22] From an interview with Mr. SHEN Xiyuan 沈錫元 (born 1934), November 22, 2008, in ed. HUANG Shulin 黃树林, *Chongshi lishi suipian*, p. 416.

[23] GAO, pp. 49-51.

diplomats, or simply the curious. Contemporary European travel accounts noted that Xujiahui and the workshops were popular stops on the way to see the famed Longhua Pagoda west of Xujiahui. The German visitor Anton Berg recalls,

> On the way back [from Longhua Pagoda] we went on foot to visit the Jesuit Mission House of Xujiahui ["Si-ka-be"], walking through flower-scented fields of beans. Standing alone in an open field, the institution is about three quarters of an hour from the pagoda and two from Shanghai [Shang-hae].[24]

Though Tushanwan was relatively well known outside of China because of the volume of both religious and secular publications from the Printing Workshop, its status as a tourist site was propagated in the writings of former visitors and the circulation of visual information, including photographs and postcards (fig. 1). In Chapter 5, I will discuss further the global circulation of Tushanwan and what this meant to perceptions of the Jesuit missions and of China.

Literature Review

Despite its popularity among foreign visitors, the orphanage remained relatively unknown in China until recently. After Liberation in 1949, much of the former buildings occupied by state-run industries, and nearly none of the paintings from the Painting Workshops survived the ensuing years.[25] When the orphanage was discussed, it was framed in terms of foreign imperialism and as an example of child abuse.[26] Even as many of the former buildings in Xujiahui were demolished or altered, the site and its legacy was collectively kept alive in the memory of Shanghai residents who were former orphans or neighbors, or who knew about the community; and through physical mementos, many of which are now part of the Tushanwan Museum collection.[27]

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[24] "Den Rückweg machten wir zu Fuss, um das Missionshaus der Jesuiten in Si-ka-be zu besuchen; man wandelte durch blüthen-duftende Bohnenfelder. Die Anstalt liegt einsam im freien Felde, etwa dreiviertel Stunden von der Pagode und zwei von Shang-hae entfernt." Anton Berg, *Die Preußische Expedition nach Ost-Asien, nach amtlichen Quellen*, Dritter Band (Berlin, 1873), pp. 396-7.

[25] For example thus far I have only found two extant oil paintings from the Painting Workshops, one at Tushanwan Museum and another at Saint Ignatius Church in San Francisco. The large painting of Matteo Ricci and Xu Guangqi at Tushanwan Museum today is a remake of the original.

[26] See Harrison, "A Penny," pp. 90-91. Harrison includes a photograph from the Wuchang orphanage showing rescued orphans standing behind rows and coffins of skeletons and skulls exhumed from the cemetery. The high incidence of child deaths at these orphanages may not have been a direct result of child abuse, though the standard for child rearing a century ago was quite different from today. It is more probable that the practice of collecting and baptizing near-death children in order to save their souls was the main reason behind the number of remains found at the different orphanages; the practice is discussed in King, *Between Birth and Death*, Chapter 4, "Missionaries and Redemption".

[27] It was a conscious effort by the Cultural Ministry of Xujiahui District, now one of the wealthiest in the city of Shanghai, to rediscover Tushanwan and its legacies through publications, conferences, and a museum. The Tushanwan Museum was opened on June 12, 2010 on Chinese Cultural Heritage Day. See the Tushanwan Museum official website: http://tsw.xuhui.gov.cn/about.aspx, accessed on January 9, 2012. Opening only a little more than a month after the public opening of the Shanghai Expo, this timing speaks

Recently scholars in China have begun to resuscitate the role of the orphanage workshops in local history and the history of modern Chinese art. Many of these works are brief or informal, done by Chinese scholars from or working in Shanghai. For example, Zhang Wei and Zhang Xiaoyi from the Shanghai Library, which includes the collection from the original Xujiahui Library, have utilized the available resources to highlight the different historical aspects of the workshops in articles and books.[28] The historian Li Tiangang has specifically focused on the contributions and legacies of prominent thinkers and modern reformers from the Catholic community, namely Xu Guangqi and Ma Xiangbo.[29] The foundational role of the Tushanwan Painting Workshop in Chinese art has been discussed by Chinese art historians Wan Qingli and Li Chao, who both see it as reinvigorating Chinese painting with new media and techniques, with the former attributing to the site a prescient novelty in the history of nineteenth-century Chinese painting and the later seeing it as the basis that paved the way for modern art in China.[30] Several masters' theses and at least one doctoral dissertation from mainland China have taken Tushanwan as their subject, though most are summaries of existing literature and pay little attention to the analysis of the objects themselves.[31] Outside of China, many studies have

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eloquently to the goals of the museum. The redbrick building is the only remaining structure from the original orphanage, much of which was torn down in the 1990s. Though only a few buildings remained in Xujiahui district, locals remembered their former functions. For example, a popular rumor circulated online named the Pacific Plaza 太平洋廣場 at Xujiahui as one of the most haunted places in Shanghai, with cries of children reverberating throughout the Plaza late into the night. The Plaza supposedly sits on the former site of the orphanage for the infants, though the actual location of the "Seng-mou-yeu," or Holy Mother Courtyard" (fig. 2) was located north of the Plaza. See "Shanghai shida naogui zhidi: Xujiahui Taiping guangchang you yinger kusheng 上海十大闹鬼之地：徐家汇太平广场有婴儿哭声," accessed on March 3, 2013, URL: http://qiwen.qianzhan.com/qnews/detail/430/141218-da6ab2fb.html.

[28] For a discussion of the Xujiahui Library, see Gail King, "The Xujiahui (Zikawei) Library of Shanghai." *Libraries and Culture* 32/4 (Fall, 1997): 456-469. Nicolas Standaert, et al. have published a list of the contents of the Xujiahui Library in *Xujiahui cangshulou Ming Qing tianzhujiao wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻 (Taipei: Fujen Catholic University Press, 1996). ZHANG Wei 張偉 and ZHANG Xiaoyi 張曉依 have several publications on Tushanwan, most notably *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenming de yaolan* 土山灣：中國近代文明的搖籃 (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji, 2012), which includes interviews they have done with several former orphans. ZHANG Wei worked at the Xujiahui Library for many years.

[29] On MA Xiangbo, see LI's article "Christianity and Cultural Conflict in the Life of Ma Xiangbo," trans. Ruth Hayhoe, in Ruth Hayhoe and Lu Yongling, *Ma Xiangbo and the Mind of Modern China*, 1840-1939 (M.E. Sharpe, 1996). A scholar and a former Chinese Jesuit, Ma left the order in order to reform the higher education system in China. He founded several universities in China that survived to today: Aurora University and Fudan University in Shanghai, and Fu Jen Catholic University, now in Taiwan.

[30] WAN Qingli 万青力, *Bingfei shuailuo de bainian: 19 shiji zhongguo huihua shi* 并非衰落的百年 (*The Century Was Not Declining in Art: A History of Nineteenth Century Chinese Painting*) (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2008), pp. 178-185. Li Chao 李超 discussed the Painting Workshop in *Zhongguo jindai waiji yimin meishu shi* 中国近代外籍美术史 (*The History of Art by Immigrants in China*) (Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2012) and *Zhongguo zaoqi youhua shi* 中国早期油画史 (*A History of Early Period Oil Painting in China*) (Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2004).

[31] Among these theses are ZHANG Aihong 张爱红, *Tushanwan meishu gongyi suo de lishi jiazhi tanxi* 土山湾美术工艺所得历史价值探析(Master's thesis, Shangdong University, 2007); HONG Xia 洪霞, *Tushanwan huaguan meishu jiaoyu de shentao* 土山湾画馆美术教育的探讨 (Master's thesis, Nanjing yishu xueyuan, 2009); and PENG Zunshan 彭尊善, *Xihua dongjian - zaoqi Zhongguo youhua de fasheng*

focused on the impact that the Printing Workshop had on print culture in early-twentieth-century Shanghai, but most ignore the religious nature of the missionary community.[32] One exception is Jeremy Clarke, himself a member of the Society of Jesus, who has written on the role Tushanwan and its invention of Our Lady of China as part of the process of nativization of Catholicism in China.[33] However this position had already been argued earlier for another Tushawan icon of Christ in the work of the cultural anthropologist Chu Xiaobai.[34]

My study expands the scope of previous studies by considering the practices and pedagogies across the different workshops and treating them as an integral whole, while at the same time narrowly focusing on specific objects made at the workshops. Building on previous scholarship, I attempt to search both for patterns of continuity and exception in the various workshop practices and focus on resituating the different roles that the community, teachers, students, and native helpers may have played in the final product, which included both the material manifestation of the object and its visual and experiential representations as circulated globally. Beyond giving an ulterior voice to the voiceless, the orphan art workers, this study also proposes a close connection between the process of creation, the object resulting from it, and the formation of the collective identity of its makers.

This dissertation is organized into four main chapters in addition to the introduction and a conclusion; each centers on a particular object or project in different media that the workshops produced as a way of orienting and organizing some of the arguments I will lay out in each. Focusing on the carved decorations on the exterior of the Chinese Pavilion in Brussels commissioned by King Leopold II of Belgium, Chapter 2 takes a grand view and examines the global circulation of European aesthetic movements and trends, their reinvention at the workshops in Shanghai, and their return to Europe as Oriental exoticism. By teasing out the different steps in the process of translation and transmission, I track the agencies and goals at each step and reposition the role of ornamentation in the expression of politics and ideologies in relationship to both the patron and the art workers. In Chapter 3, I investigate the origin and propagation of a new Marian image, Our Lady of China, created at Tushanwan Painting Workshop in the early 1900s. Here I note the intersection between religious and secular practice in the creation of the image as representative of the larger practice of cultural encounter. In

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yu fazhan 西画东渐—早期中国油画的发生与发展 (Master's thesis, Fujian Normal Univeresity, 2005). The sole dissertation in Chinese is by far the most comprehensive: see GAO Bei 高蓓.

[32] The Tushanwan Printing Workshop was a significant part of Christopher A. Reed's *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (University of British Columbia Press, 2004). For a brief discussion on the role of Tushanwan Printing and Painting Workshops and early-twentieth-century commercial posters in Shanghai, see Ellen Johnston Laing, *Selling Happiness: Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in Early-Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 62-64.

[33] Jeremy Clarke, *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History* (Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

[34] CHU Xiaobai 褚潇白, *Shengxiang de xiuci: yesu jidu xingxiang zai Ming Qing minjian shehui de bianqian* 圣像的修辞：耶稣基督形象在明清民间社会的变迁 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2011).

particular, one of the practices carried subtle yet significant political and historical ramifications for the late-Qing and the early-Republican period, which I attempt carefully to unpack in the chapter. Chapter 3 focuses on a set of carved pagoda models presented at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. The year was 1915 and the Republic of China had recently been founded. I discuss the various educational, archaeological, historical, and scientific roles that the pagoda models played in the re-presentation of a new way of seeing China to the world. Finally, Chapter 5 takes photographs taken at Tushanwan as exemplifying a set of social practices that linked the workshops and the art workers with a wider commercial and sympathetic network around the world. In all, the four chapters are efforts to answer the following framing questions in context:

Question 1: What was the historical and cultural relationship of Tushanwan to the Society of Jesus?

In many ways the Society of Jesus is a special order in Catholicism. Since its founding, Jesuit education has emphasized on the cultivation of interiority (through methods like the *Spiritual Exercises* of the Order's founder, Ignatius of Loyola) and prided itself on being balanced and comprehensive, focusing on the moral learning of the humanistic schools and the pursuit of the Christian truth, the latter including both religious truth and the sciences. Following the principles of Ignatius of Loyola, the Tushanwan School was designed to be a work of charity profiting the common good of society by helping to improve the lives of parents and students.[35] Training in the arts and sciences opened doors for Jesuits in the Ming and Qing courts, where they served as technicians for the emperors, but with their vows as missionaries unfulfilled. One could, however, make the argument that, in the context of Jesuit thought, the technical specialties of astronomy, painting, music, and medicine are all of part of the divine revelation.

For the Christian community at Xujiahui, the achievement of the first generation of Jesuits in China was deemed as a model worthy of commemoration and reproduction. The early policy of accommodation was practiced daily at Xujiahui, as European Jesuits donned Chinese costumes and even wore fake queues, and conversed with Chinese students and Chinese community members in the local Shanghainese dialect.[36] Also constants in their everyday life were regular reminders of the achievements of the early Jesuits, who were celebrated and commemorated through published texts and images. One particularly notable example is a set of four portraits sent to the San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. I shall return to a more in-depth discussion of the Exposition and the participation of the workshops in Chapter 4. The

[35] John W. O'Malley, S.J., "How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education," in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, ed. Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), pp. 56-74.

[36] For more on the policy of accommodation, see David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origin of Sinology* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1989).

four polychrome watercolors depict Matteo Ricci (Ch.: 利瑪竇, 1552-1610), Johann Adam Schall von Bell (Ch.: 湯若望, 1592-1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (Ch.: 南懷仁, 1623-1688), and the late-Ming statesman Xu Guangqi (Chr.: Paul, Ch.: 徐光啟, 1562-1633) (fig. 3a-d).[37] On the upper portion of each painting presents a long biography composed by the well-known Catholic Chinese educator and reformer Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯(1840-1939) and written by the calligrapher Xia Tingyi 夏鼎彝 in 1914, highlighting the important events and contributions each made during his lifetime.[38]

Each figure is surrounded by objects that make reference to his contributions to China. For example, Matteo Ricci is framed by a pedal-powered organ and a table, upon which are books, a small armillary sphere, and a measuring triangle, while behind him hangs a scroll of a Western-style Madonna and Child framed by two pairs of couplets. These represent Ricci's introductions to China: the musical instrument presented to the Wanli emperor (r. 1572-1620), Christian texts, European astronomy and mathematics, and the icon of Madonna and Child.[39] Another portrait worth mentioning is that of Johann Adam Schall von Bell. He had the unusual success of being made Director of the Imperial Observatory during the Qing dynasty, and so he is naturally surrounded by his mathematical and astronomical instruments. The spatial separation in the pictorial composition illustrates the transition of his service from the Ming to the Qing court. The loose-sleeved Han-style robe worn over a tight-sleeved Manchu style court robe and the long cap that he dons hint at his previous ties to the native Han-Chinese Ming dynasty. In the room to the right, the brilliant red color on the Qing official hat echoes that of the cap on his head, visually reinforcing Bell's achievements in officialdom.

Like depictions of saints, these heroes of recent Jesuit history in China were identifiable by their attributes. Stories of their lives were told and retold formulaically, not unlike the hagiographies of Catholic martyrs. Just as the martyrs and saints in Catholicism were spiritual models worthy of emulation and commemoration, these historical and intellectual forerunners served as models of aspiration and inspiration for the Catholic community at Xujiahui. One notable example was the celebrated painter

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[37] They are current at the Del Santo Room at the Ricci Institute for the Chinese-Western Cultural History on the campus of the University of San Francisco, San Francisco. For more information, see Appendix I.

[38] Fudan University professor LI Tiangang 李天纲 has shown that the biographies were written by Ma and not Xia. See LI Tiangang, " 'Shibo' jiezuo huigui 'Tushanwan' '世博'杰作回归'土山湾,'" T'ou-Sè-Wè Museum website, URL: http://tsw.xuhui.gov.cn/Article.aspx?aid=214. Accessed March 20, 2016. For the original text that Professor Li collected, see ZHU Weizheng 朱维錚, ed. *Ma Xiangbo ji* 马相伯集 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1996).

[39] Matteo Ricci did not actually bring a pedal-powered organ, specially noted in the painting by the large foot-pedals, since that innovation was not introduced until the late-eighteenth century. The musical instrument that Ricci presented to the Ming Wanli emperor is recorded as either a *clavicembalo* (harpsichord) or alternately as a *manicordio* (clavichord) in his journal. See Sheila Melvin and Jindong Cai, *Rhapsody in Red: How Western Classical Music Became Chinese* (Algora Publishing, 2004), p. 45. In my opinion, the instrument was likely to have been a clavichord, since it was the preferred instrument for personal use, and more importantly it was smaller, thus lending itself to easy transport across the oceans to China. The choice of the pedal-powered, or pump organ, was probably made because of their ubiquitous presence at the orphanage. See "Chinese Jesuit Portraits," accessed February 3, 2012, URL: http://www.ricci.usfca.edu/collection/exhibits/jesuitportraits/ricci.htm.

Giuseppe Castiglione (Ch.: 郎世寧, 1688-1766), who, having served under three Qing emperors with great acclaim, was a natural model for the young art workers to follow. But what the Jesuit teachers and Chinese students learned from Castiglione was not his adaptation of Baroque techniques to the Qing court or the results of his collaboration with artists from different backgrounds and ethnicities, but the superficial repetitive reproduction of his works. But in the process of repeated copying, the Jesuits and orphans were internalizing not only the external appearance of the works of their predecessors, they were attempting to connect with them on a spiritual level in ways perhaps reminiscent of young Jesuit novices who underwent the vigorous mental training and self-reflection of the Spiritual Exercises.

Question 2: The issue of artistic originality at the Tushanwan workshops.

The four portraits were based on earlier European illustrations of the Jesuits. The late Edward Malatesta, S.J., has identified the source for all four portrait as Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (1736) (fig. 4), but there is an earlier precedent for the portraits of Bell and Ricci that was available in Athanasius Kircher's *China monumentis, qua sacris qua profanes, nec non variis naturae & artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata*, first published in 1667 (fig. 5).[40] In comparison to Kircher's version, important changes were made to emphasize these figures' historical role as witnesses in the transition from the Ming to the Qing. Instead of confining the central figure to a single space, the setting was expanded into two rooms to signal this significant temporal movement.

The four portraits are signed at the lower-right corner as "On Tsing Zé" and "Ou Zeng Sun," but the identity of these two remains unknown.[41] The signatures do not appear in earlier versions of the paintings, now in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City (fig. 6a-c). Predating the Ricci Institute portraits by more than a decade, the smaller identical watercolors were collected along with other painted and printed religious materials at Tushanwan by the sinologist and anthropologist Berthold Laufer (1874-1934) during his 1901-1904 expedition to China. In other words, the Ricci Institute portraits were never intended to be original works of art.

The concept of originality has been held in high esteem in the practice of European art since the Renaissance, when the idea was tied to the concept of invention and the singularity of the artist himself. In the nineteenth century that idea was linked to

[40] Both were part of the original collection at the Xujiahui library and are included in well-known foundational texts on early Jesuitical understanding of China. See, for example, "Chinese Jesuit Portraits," The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the USF Center for the Pacific Rim, College of Arts and Sciences, accessed March 20, 2015, URL: http://www.ricci.usfca.edu/collection/exhibits/jesuitportraits/index.htm.

[41] Written in French-style cursive script and based on local Shanghainese, these two names probably correspond to the Chinese 翁俊才 for "On Tsing Zé" and 夏升堂 for "Ou Zeng Sun/Tun." See Appendix I for more details.

class, individualism, and most importantly was viewed as fundamentally Western.[42] The psychological community at the time linked general intelligence with the ability for artistic creation rather than the ability to copy well.[43] While the purpose of the workshops was ostensibly the propagation of these types of values in China, outside perceptions of them often reverted back to the stereotypes of the Chinese artisans as lacking creativity and innovation. After visiting the orphanage in 1861, Anton Berg commented on the state of the arts in China, "… they can only imitate, they cannot invent or create. That power and the sense of life that delighted us in Japan are missing."[44] While disagreeing with Berg on this particular point, another visitor A. H. Exner nevertheless reaffirmed that view by praising the products from Tushanwan as such accurate imitations that one could not tell the original from the copy.[45] Based on these kinds of statements, visitors could not distinguish between the work of Chinese artisans they encountered, whether inside and outside of the walls of Tushanwan; instead they based their aesthetic judgment mainly on the racial identity of the Chinese art makers. Yet as I will demonstrate in the following chapters, being original at the Tushanwan workshops must be considered within the perimeters of Jesuit culture and its legacy within the walls of Xujiahui and in the context of both European and Chinese studio practices. In another words, the criteria for originality must be defined in their own terms.

Much of the workshops enterprise operated under the principle of repetition: practicing and perfecting the craft, tracing and copying after the original, and reproducing the model as accurately as possible. The identity of individual artists did not matter, and if a few artists became well known after leaving the orphanage that was more often the exception than the rule. What was of foremost importance was the collective identity of art workers under the labels of Tushanwan and Xujiahui. Those were the names that guaranteed quality and were actively sought out by customers in China and beyond. Instead of "artist," "artisan," or "craftsman," I use the term "art worker", following the example of art historian Julia Bryan-Wilson, who uses the term in reference to the artists of the 1960s whose self-identity was defined by their practices and labor.[46] By calling them "art workers," I want to highlight the collective identity of these largely anonymous

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[42] Richard Shiff, "Originality," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, eds. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff, 2nd ed. (University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 145-146.

[43] In an influential study, the child psychologist Florence L. Goodenough notes that "children of inferior mental ability sometimes copy well, but they rarely do good original work in drawing. Conversely, the child who shows real creative ability in art is likely to rank high in general mental ability." According to her, these abilities are plastic. Using Chinese children from Chinatown as an example, she speculates that if "modern primitive races" were given the opportunity by missionary schools to have prolonged exposure to practicing drawing with "pencil and paper," they would master the field in "several months." See Florence L. Goodenough, *Measurement of Intelligence by Drawings* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: 1926), p. 9, 11, and 13.

[44] "…sie können aber nur nachahmen, nicht erfinden, schaffen; die Thatkraft fehlt und das muthige Leben, das uns in Japan freute." See Anton Berg, *Die Preußische Expedition nach Ost-Asien, nach amtlichen Quellen*, Dritter Band (Berlin, 1873), p. 385.

[45] A. H. Exner, *China, Skizzen von Land und Leuten* (T. O. Weigel Nachfolger, Leipzig, 1889).

[46] Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (University of California, 2009), p. 2.

Chinese orphans, who were also defined by their handiwork and the eventual products sold within China and worldwide.

Question 3: How unique was the pedagogy at the Tushanwan workshops?

An additional reason for avoiding the terms "artist" and "craftsman" is the confusion these labels create in my discussion of twentieth-century Chinese art, for these terms denote the distinction between the "fine arts" and "craft," categories that originated in Europe and were only transmitted to Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The corresponding Chinese terms *meishu* 美術 and *gongyi* 工藝 came to China via Meiji Japan, when the neologisms *kōgei* 工芸 (craft) and *bijutsu* 美術 (fine art), the latter of which includes *kaiga* (painting) and *chōkoku* (sculpture), were coined.[47] The creation of these words in 1870s, especially *bijutsu* to translate the world's fair category of *beaux arts*/fine art/*Schönekunst*, signaled the birth of "Japanese art" and a national aesthetic consciousness.[48]

Japan is a useful point of comparison for Tushanwan since its products were in direct competition with Chinese work in such international venues as the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Products made at the workshops, especially the wooden furniture, were attempting to capitalize on the extravagantly carved wooden furniture being exported to the West during the Meiji Period. Contemporary observers like Anton Berg contrasted the "decrepit, ossified" Chinese civilization to the "types of liveliness and dynamism" in the arts that he had encountered in Japan. This, according to him, was the "frozen product of education."[49] However, the Confucian-based traditional system of education involved more than simply teaching the boys how to read and write to prepare them for the civil service examination system. As the scholar Limin Bai has argued, it was moral training for the child embedded in a hope for the reconstruction of an ideal society.[50] But by the late-nineteenth century, this was quickly changing as the various levels of Chinese society began to selectively adopt and accept modes of modernization. For example, historians like Liang Qizi has suggested that native Chinese charity organizations began to incorporate vocational training to their Confucian-based cirrculum in the late nineteenth century precisely because the influence of missionaries programs such as Tushanwan.[51]

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[47] See Dōshin Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, Hiroshi Nara, trans. (Getty Research Institute, 2011), p. 34. Also see XU Chen 徐琛, *20 shiji Zhongguo gongyi meishu* 20 世纪中国工艺美术 (*The Theory Research of Chinese Art and Craft*) (Guangxi Normal University Press, 2011), p. 19.

[48] Chelsea Foxwell, "Introduction," in Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State,* p.1.

[49] "… die Thatkraft fehlt und das muthige Leben, das uns in Japan freute. Der heutige Chinese ist so zu sagen das todte Erzeugniss seiner Erziehung; die Gesittung muss altersschwach, verknöchert und ohne treibende Kraft sein, die kein neues schaffendes Leben, keine thätigen Geister weckt." Berg, p. 385.

[50] Limin BAI, *Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China* (Chinese University Press, 2005).

[51] LIANG Qizi 梁其姿, *Shishan yu jiaohua: Ming Qing shiqi de cishan zuzhi* 施善与教化：明清时期的慈善组织 (Beijing: Beijing Normal University Publishing Group, 2013), p. 197.

At the different schools at Xujiahui, the missionaries attempted to gradually displace this Confucian-based moral training with a new curriculum suitable for a changing and modernizing world that was based on practical knowledge and techniques, which included skills in the arts. Before the orphans received training at the workshops, their study of the Confucian classics proceeded alongside courses in mathematics, history, European languages (mainly French and Latin), religion, and drawing (fig. 7).[52] As the art historian Molly Nesbit has shown, drawing became a standard part of the French education curriculum in the nineteenth century as demands grew to train technical draughtsman for an increasingly industrialized European world and its colonies.[53] This was apparently the intention of Tushanwan as well; their library contained many volumes and treatises on technical drawing.[54]

Thus despite the title given to the Painting Workshop, L'École de Beaux-Arts or L'École de Saint Luc, it was not truly an atelier for the fine arts as defined by the European academies. While some painting techniques based on surviving textbooks were taught, such as shading and the rendering of volumetric forms in space (fig. 8), other staples of European academic trainings such as perspective and anatomical studies were rejected. When the latter techniques were added by Painting Workshop Director Faustin Laimé (1825-1862; Director: 1860-1862), the Chinese students did not understand the need for these theoretical practices, since they were only there to learn how to paint in oil.[55] Thus despite attempts by some European Jesuits to remake the workshops after European academic models, the Painting Workshop as nothing more than a craft workshop for them to learn a trade skill, with drawings and paintings no more special

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[52] One visitor from 1857, Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, made the special distinction between the different methods of educating Chinese children in China and at the missions, "Instead of cramming nothing but texts down their throats, they [Xujiahui] teach them the Chinese classics, Confucius, etc., so as to enable them to compete in the examinations." Kavanagh, S.J., *Zi-ka-wei Orphanage*, p. 10.

[53] See Molly Nesbit, *Their Common Sense* (Black Dog Publishing, 2000).

[54] They are now in the collection of the Xujiahui Library, a branch of the Shanghai Library. A partial list: Stanislas Petit, *Petits Exercises de dessin linéaire* (Paris: Monrocq Freres); *Le Dessin linéaire*, *recueil d'Exercices choisis et variés a l'usage des jeunes élèves* (Paris : Monrocq fr., 19 ??); *Encyclopédie Théorique et Pratique des Connaissances Civiles et Militaires, Partie Civile, Traité de Perspective par Georges Tubeuf, architecte ancien élève de l'école nationale des Beaux-Arts* (Paris : Fanchon et Artus); J. Adhémar, *Traité de Perspective Linéaire*, troisième édition (Paris : Armand Colin, 1870); John Weale, *Architectural Engineering and Mechanical Drawing Book: Series of Instructive Examples illustrated by Thirty Large Folio Engravings, for the use of Students in the several Colleges and the Various Scientific schools now being established with descriptive letter press in duodecimo* (London: John Weale, 1842);

[55] "Le P. Laimé, auquel on demandait de former quelques Chinois capables d'exécuter pour les églises des tableaux à l'huile, suivit la méthode que tout autre eût suivie à sa place : il les appliqua successivement aux éléments de la figure, puis à la bosse et à l'académie. Quelques leçons de perspective et d'anatomie devaient les préparer à prendre les pinceaux. Tout cela fatigua les élèves. Ils voulaient en quelques mois devenir peintres à l'huile, et voilà qu'on leur proposait des études interminables ! Le cadres de l'enseignement lui fut tracé : faire en sorte que l'élevé pût transporter au carreau le dessin d'une gravure d'Europe, puis lui apprendre la manière de la peindre proprement à l'huile, telle fut sa tâche, rien de plus. Pour un artiste c'était renier toutes ses idées : le sacrifice était grand. Le P. Laimé, aussi bon religieux que bon peintre, le fit généreusement. La tâche prescrite fut fidèlement accomplie." Adolphe Vasseur, S. J., *Mélanges sur la Chine, par le P. Vasseur. Premier Volume: Lettres illustrées sur une école chinoise de Saint-Luc, auxiliaire de la Propagation de la foi* (Paris: Société générale de la librairie Catholique, Palmé, ed., 1884), p. 30.

than the "lesser" applied arts like shoemaking and woodcarving, which were also taught at the other workshops.

Question 4: What were the Legacies of the Tushanwan Workshops in Modern Chinese Art?

Tushanwan was touted as liberating Chinese children from the rigidity of the education system in China, and this new approach to the general education of the child was an important part of late-nineteenth century modernization reform. After the two Opium Wars, many in the Qing government recognized the need to modernize through industrialization, resulting in a series of reforms that came to be known as the Self-Strengthening Movement (ca. 1861-1895). Central to these reforms were Western science and technology. Government sponsored schools, called Tongwen guan 同文館, appeared in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, where foreigners taught Chinese students Western languages and different science subjects.[56] Chinese children were also sent to the United States to be educated in the Chinese Educational Mission (1872-1881), but they were recalled after less than a decade, one of the reasons being the fear that they would become too Americanized.[57] None of these efforts included artistic training. It was not until the 1910s that the educator and reformer Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940) first began to speak about the essential role of art education in a holistic education for modern Chinese and the modern Chinese nation.[58] Beginning in the late 1910s into the 1920s Cai's theory of art education would be put into practice in the creation of Art Academies in Beijing, Hangzhou, Nanjing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou.[59] Tushanwan provided a critical gap between the failed education reforms of the 1860s and Cai's success in the 1920s. Artistic education was incorporated into the standard curriculum at Tushanwan not only because of the demands for precise representation driven by industrialized modernity, but also because of the increasing recognition of the critical role of art in the formation of a modern citizen.

One of the most often repeated statements praising Tushanwan came from the famous twentieth-century artist, Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953):

> Since Catholicism came to China, Shanghai Xujiahui was one of its main centers to make important contributions to the communication between Chinese and Western cultures. *There were paintings being done at Tushanwan, which became the cradle of Western painting in China*. Several figures were educated there, such as Zhou Xiang 周湘 (1871-

[56] For more on this, see Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West: a documentary survey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 74-79.
[57] For more see Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World: the Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, 1872-81* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).
[58] See CAI Yuanpei's speech made on February 11, 1912, "Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian 对于教育方针之意见," first published in *Linshi zhengfu gong bao* 临时政府公报 13, in *Cai Yuanpei meiyu lunji* 蔡元培美育论集 (Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1987), pp. 1-8.
[59] See LI Chao 李超, *Zhongguo xiandai youhua shi* 中国现代油画史 (*The History of Chinese Modern Oil Painting*),(Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2007), pp. 81-83.

> 1933), the founder of the earliest Art School in China; Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 (1885-1968), Xu Yongqing 徐咏青 (1880-1953), and other gentlemen all became famous in society.[60] (emphasis mine)

As one of the most important figures in modern Chinese painting and as an artist trained in Europe in *beaux-arts* technique, Xu's assessment was high praise and a validation for the workshops. Indeed, Xu himself championed, at least in the first half of his career, the use of artistic media and styles of Europe similar to those Chinese orphans learned at Tushanwan to revolutionize Chinese painting, though he received his training in Paris.

But Tushanwan was not the first training ground for Western painting in China; two of its precursors in China were established by Jesuits. In 1614, Giovanni Niccolò (1560—?) fled persecution from Nagasaki to Macao, bringing with him students and the Academy of St. Luke he had established there, and thus the first art school in China teaching Western-style art was born.[61] Like Tushanwan, the school was meant to supply religious objects for the growing Catholic communities in Asia, and the scale was comparatively small. In the eighteenth century, Giuseppe Castiglione and other missionaries taught artists in the Qing court at the Forbidden City Western artistic techniques, adapting and translating European technical works such as the *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* of Andrea Pozzo in collaboration with court officials.[62] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, commercial painting studios in the southern port city of Guangzhou also produced large volumes of export paintings of various subjects and types for consumption by a mostly Euro-American market. However none of these examples compare to Tushanwan in scale or in the systematization of the curriculum.

Xu was correct in the weight he placed on Tushanwan as the training ground for several important figures in modern Chinese art, but their real contributions were the students they would eventually mentor and the people they would influence. Of the three figures Xu Beihong mentions in the excerpt quoted above, only Xu Yongqing could be verified to have been trained at Tushanwan.[63] Beginning his studies in 1893 at the age of

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[60] "天主教入中國，上海徐家匯亦其根據地之一，中西文化之溝通，該處曾有極珍貴之貢獻。土山灣亦有可畫之所，蓋中國西洋畫之搖籃也。其中陶治處之人物: 如周湘，乃在中國最早設立美術學校之人; 張聿光，徐咏青諸先生俱有名於社會。" in XU Beihong, "Zhongguo xinyishu yundong de huigu yu qianzhan 中國新藝術運動的回顧與前瞻," *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報 (March 15, 1943).

[61] See Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*, revised and expanded edition (University of California Press, 1997), pp. 8-9.

[62] Sullivan, p. 50. See also Elisabetta Corsi, "Envisioning Perspective: Nian Xiyao's (1671-1738) Rendering of Western Perspective in the Prologues to 'The Science of Vision'," in Antonion Forte and Federico Masini, eds., *A Life Journey to the East: Sinological Studies in Memory of Giuliano Bertuccioli* (1923-2001) (Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 2002), pp. 201-244; and Kristina Kleutghen, *Imperial Illusions: Crossing Pictorial Boundaries in the Qing Palaces,* Chapter 2 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).

[63] Other than the statement made by Xu Beihong, there is not yet any further evidence to suggest Zhou Xiang and Zhang Yuguang had any direct relationship with Tushanwan. See LI Chao, *A History of Early Period Oil Painting in China*, pp. 357-360. The researcher GONG Chanxing 龚产兴 believed that Xu Beihong made this mistake because Zhou Xiang's Oil Painting School was situated next to the Catholic Church at Dongjiadu 董家渡; Zhou's widow verified that he was not Catholic and was never involved with

thirteen, he changed his surname from Wang to Xu. He later earned his name by designing calendars and other commercial prints in Shanghai.[64]

Even though influential artists like Xu Beihong or Ren Bonian 仁伯年 (1840-1896) did not formally study at Tushanwan, the workshops were an artistic center that gave a number of Chinese artists access to examples of Western painting and technique. Former orphans remembered important artists like Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1894-1994) and Yan Wenliang 顏文梁 (1893-1988) as frequent visitors to the Painting Workshop, staying until closing time to peruse and copy images of famous paintings from France and Italy.[65] A famed painter of the Shanghai School, Ren Bonian was a friend of Liu Dezhai 劉德齋 (1843-1912), the head of the Painting Workshop; Ren was said to have studied drawing with Liu at the workshops.[66] Though this claim cannot be substantiated through surviving documents, Ren's later paintings do show signs of Western technique, in particular in his more fully sculptural faces, which are similar to those found in Tushanwan workbooks.[67] After 1949, Tushanwan continued to exert its influence on a new generation of Chinese artists. For example, the Painting Studio founded by Zhang Chongren 張充仁 (1907-1998), one of Tushanwan's more prominent graduates, boasted more than a hundred students in the period after Liberation, teaching watercolor painting to artists like Ha Ding 哈定 (1923-2004).[68]

Question 5: What was the Role of Tushanwan within the Colonial or Semi-Colonial Context of Early-Twentieth-Century Shanghai?

Shanghai in the early twentieth century was a gathering place for people from around the world and for people from various parts of China, each with their own

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the Tushanwan workshops. "Zhou Xiang shi 'Tushanwan huaguan' taozhi zhi huajia ma 周湘是'土山湾画馆'陶治之画家吗," accessed March 13, 2016, URL: http://tsw.xuhui.gov.cn/Article.aspx?aid=751.

[64] For more on Xu's career, see Laing, pp. 125-131.

[65] From an interview with Mr. Shen Xiyuan 沈錫元 (1934-) on November 22, 2008, in HUANG Shulin 黄树林, ed. *Chongshi lishi suipian*, p. 415.

[66] This claim, repeated by several scholars, was first made by the Chinese scholar and former director of Shanghai Museum Shen Zhiyu 沈之瑜 (1916-1990) in "Guanyu Ren Bonian de xinshiliao 关于任伯年的新史料," *Wenhuibao* 文汇报 (September 7, 1961).

[67] See Chapter 4 of Chialing Yang, *New Wine in Old Bottles: The Art of Ren Bonian in Nineteenth-Century Shanghai* (Saffron Books, 2007). The version I used is a Chinese translation, YANG Jialing 楊佳玲, *Huameng Shanghai: Ren Bonian de bimo shijie* 華夢上海: 仁伯年的筆墨世界, trans. SHAO Meihua 邵美華 (Taipei: Diancang xishu jiating gufen youxian gongsi, 2011). Yang noted in the book that the signs of Western techniques could also be due to the Ren's exposure other elements in the visual culture of Shanghai at the time such as photography.

[68] MIAO Rui 苗瑞, "Chuanjiaoshi meishu dui Zhongguo zaoqi shuicaihua fazhan de yingxiang 传教士美术对中国早期水彩画发展的影响," *Neiminggu nongye daxue xuebao (shehui kexue bao)* 内蒙古农业大学学报(社会科学报), (2007 3/9):270-271.

individual niches and identities established by choice or by civil authority.[69] Information and ideas, carried by modern media like newspapers, photography, and other printed materials spread quickly in the urban sphere and beyond along new networks of transportation and communication. Tushanwan was an active participant in this new mediascape; its printing press were especially important in contributing to the print culture in Shanghai because they published and printed everything from popular religious pamphlets to multi-volume scholarly studies. Beyond being a focal point for lay tourists, Xujiahui and Tushanwan provided a crucial forum for the exchange of intellectual ideas within China and with the world beyond. They were active participants in the sinological and scientific worlds in Shanghai; Xujiahui Jesuits were frequent visitors to and lecturers at organizations such as the Northern China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. These networks allowed the free flow of information, which included ideas coming into the community from Chinese reformers.[70] As I argue in Chapter 3, this would manifest itself as a different type of Chinese nationalism, controlled and tempered under the tutelage of the Jesuit teachers.

In *English Lessons: the Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China*, James Hevia argues that in the second half of the nineteenth century, European imperial powers used cultural institutions as well as guns to impose their will on China. The "lessons" of imperialism were taught through the circulation of photographs and Qing imperial artwork on the international art market.[71] To be sure, the lessons taught at the Tushanwan workshops were those of colonial imposition on terms set by European missionaries, as I will show in the next four chapters; but Xujiahui was not China nor was it even Shanghai. To call Xujiahui and Tushanwan extensions of the European imperialist project would be a gross simplification, no different from the accusation that the Communist Party leveled against the missionaries after Liberation. As J. P. Daughton and Ernest P. Young have demonstrated, the goals of the missionaries did not always match those of the French colonial project; rather they engendered a host of different types of interactions: symbiotic, parasitic, collaborative, contradictive, and more.[72] Though Xujiahui and Tushanwan embarked on what could be considered colonialist projects in the excavation of knowledge, both scientific and sinological, through the imposition of their own systematic classification and aesthetic criteria, they inevitably enriched and enabled the orphans themselves in the understanding of and proud participation in their own culture. The orphans, though mostly unknown today, were active participants in this project of knowing and making of the self.

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[69] For the interaction and formulation of Chinese ethnic identities in Shanghai, see Emily Honig, *Creating Chinese Ethnicity: Subei People in Shanghai, 1850-1980* (Yale University Press, 1992); for a broader discussion from the perspective of food, see Mark Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai* (Stanford University Press, 2008).

[70] For example, see contemporary discussion on Sun Yat-sen's Three People Principle by the noted Jesuit Sinologist Pascal M. D'Elia, *Le Triple Démisme de Suen Wen* (Shanghai: Tushanwan, 1929).

[71] See James Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Duke University Press, 2003).

[72] See Young and Daughton.

Chapter 2:

Tushanwan Workshops and the Chinese Pavilion in Brussels

> "Each workshop is led by a Jesuit lay brother, assisted by master craftsmen chosen from the most skillful, themselves often former students at Tushanwan. Along a huge courtyard are the vast halls for the working population; in the middle of the courtyard, visible from all the rooms, is a beautiful statue of the Blessed Virgin blessing two small kneeling Chinese. On the right, the rooms of the draughtsmen, gilders, varnishers, woodworkers, sculptors; these workshops particularly kindle the admiration of the European visitors, where exquisite Chinese furniture is copied from antique models. …
>
> The rooms of the painters, the photographers, and the Chinese and European printers occupy the left side of the courtyard. Religious images, if made in honor of missions in China, come almost entirely from here. In addition to being modest image-makers, the draughtmen and painters of real values have followed the lessons of the old Brother Liu. … Tushanwan's press is celebrated in all of the Far East; it is one of the most active instruments of the apostolate in our mission: books of doctrine and piety, once written by Jesuits in Beijing or translated from different European tongues, classical works destined to bring the true notions of 'European science, so strangely understood sometimes by the official establishment, first to our schools and then hopefully to others, Christian periodicals, major publications for European intellectuals such as the *Sinological Varieties*, the *Bulletins and Reports* of the Observatory, the Memoirs of the Director Fathers of the Museum; all make their way into the Yellow World and beyond."[73]

This was the world of the Tushanwan orphanage art and craft workshops. A contemporary photo-postcard illustrates this (fig. 1); the courtyards and its workshops readily identifiable by a pavilion housing "a beautiful statue of the Blessed Virgin blessing two small kneeling Chinese" in the center. Though now emptied of people, the courtyard was a public space for festivals, celebrations, and recreation for the several hundred of Chinese orphans. Yet as Tushanwan's own anonymous writer points out in the excerpt above, the spatial configuration of the workshop courtyard elucidated the close connections between the different workshops; in practice, this arrangement allowed for movements of students, teachers, designs, and ideas to flow between the seemingly compartmentalized quarters. While many studies of the Tushanwan workshops have focused on a particular workshop, most often devoted to painting or printing, I argue in this dissertation that all the workshops operated together and as an organic whole,

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[73] "Chaque atelier est dirigé par un frère coadjuteur jésuite, assisté de maîtres ouvriers, choisis parmi les plus habiles, souvent eux-mêmes anciens élèves de T'ou sè-wè. Le long d'une immense cour, de vastes halls abritent cette laborieuse population; au milieu de la cour, visible de toutes les salles, une belle statue de la Sainte Vierge bénissant deux petits chinois agenouillés. A droite, les salles des dessinateurs, doreurs, vernisseurs, menuisiers, sculpteurs, ces ateliers surtout excitent l'admiration des visiteurs européens; il y a là des meubles chinois copiés sur d'antiques modèles, vraiment exquis.

Les salles des peintres et des photographes, les imprimeries chinoise et européenne, occupant le côté gauche de la cour. L'imagerie religieuse, si en honneur dans les missions de Chine, sort presque tout entière d'ici. A côté des modesties imagiers, des dessinateurs et des peintres de vraie valeur ont suivi les leçons de vieux Frère Lieou. … L'imprimerie de TSW est célèbre dans tout l'Extrême-Orient; c'est un des instruments d'apostolat les plus actifs de notre mission. Livres de doctrine et de piété, composés jadis par les jésuites de Pékin, ou traduits des diverses langues européennes; ouvrages classiques destinés à porter, dans nos écoles d'abord, puis, espérons-le, dans le autres, les vraies notions de ces 'sciences européennes' si étrangement comprises parfois dans les établissements officiels; périodiques destinés aux chrétiens, grandes publications à l'usage de l'Europe savante, telles que les *Variétés sinologiques*, les *Bulletins et Mémoires* de l'Observatoire, les *Mémoires* des Pères directeurs du Musée; tout cela fait son chemin dans le Monde jaune et dans l'autre." See *Ateliers de Sculpture et d'Ebénisterie: Orphelinat de Zi-ka-wei, Shanghai (Chine)* (Shanghai: L'Orphelinat de T'ou-sé-wè, Zi-ka-wei, 19??).

affecting not only everything within the enclosed space of the courtyard, but also the practices and intellectual community that immediately surrounded it.

In this chapter, I follow the development of a particular type of ornament derived from its origin as decorative vernacular architectural elements commonly found in the Lower Yangtze region, then becoming a part of a large study on Chinese superstition printed at the Printing Workshop, to their proposed integration and uses as the "Chinese styles" on the façade of King Leopold II's Chinese Pavilion outside of Brussels. The goal of the chapter is to examine how art products made at the Tushanwan workshops were shaped by both the practical and erudite environment of the Jesuit mission at Xujiahui and the appropriation and reinvention of current European aesthetic ideas as the material objects and ideas circulated across the globe.

Aloysius Beck and Workshop Training

Despite the many publications in Chinese on the Tushanwan workshops' practices, much still needs to be done. Part of the problem is the availability of archival material and its dispersal after the closing of the workshops in the 1950s, making it difficult to accurately capture practices at all the workshops over nearly one hundred years of history. Here I will attempt to make a few general remarks about the overall practices to emphasize the integration and connectivity among the workshops.

In addition to undertaking a regular academic curriculum, at around the age of eight Chinese orphans would be selected to enter a certain workshop depending on their talents. They could be assigned to one of several workshops: shoemaking, stained-glass making, woodcarving, metal-casting, oil painting, etc. Each workshop was supervised by a Jesuit brother with assistance from older Chinese graduates. For the Woodcarving Workshop, the supervisor was the Bavarian Jesuit Aloysius Beck (1854-1931). Arriving in Shanghai at the age of thirty-eight as a Jesuit missionary in 1892, he was trained Abraham Cooper at the Royal Academy in England.[74] In addition to his European academic art training, he also brought with him aesthetic pedagogy and techniques from his native Munich, a region historically famous for their woodcarvings. After his arrival to head the Woodcarving Workshop, its operation greatly expanded into different specializations.[75] In addition to making retable, altars, and other religious objects, the workshop made European types of furniture with Chinese ornaments.

Most of the workshop directors had received training at academies in Europe. For example, Beck took lessons from Abraham Cooper, a nineteenth-century English painter

[74] Pius L. Moore, S. J., "Coadjutor Brothers on the Foreign Missions," in *The Woodstock Letters: A Record of Current Events and Historical Notes Connected with the Colleges and Missions of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. LXXIV (Woodstock College, 1945), p. 111.
[75] Vasseur, *Mélanges sur la Chine,* p. 27; Obituary for Brother A. Beck, *The North-China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette* (1870-1941), October 13, 1931.

of the Royal Academy.[76] Others such as the oil painter and director of the former Painting Workshop Faustin Laimé (1825-1862), who received his training at the prestigious School of Fine Arts (École des Beaux-Arts) in Paris before entering the mission, attempted to introduce a curriculum more in line with those found in Europe but had to ultimately compromise and adjust to the commercial and craft nature of the workshops at Tushanwan.[77]

A common practice at any Tushanwan workshops was for students to copy a model placed before each of them directly; in fact, the exit exam for the painting workshop was dependent on how accurately could one copy another painting (fig. 2). At the Woodcarving Workshop, a wooden or plaster model was set up in front and the novice tried to replicate it exactly with his carving knives while under the watchful eyes of his European teachers (fig. 3). Starting with small basic motifs and gradually moving to larger pieces, most of the models used were European in origin, often Renaissance masters such as Raphael and Fra Angelico, and the same process was applied to models that were obtained locally.

The stereotype of China and its people as timeless and unchanging has a long history that predates the nineteenth century.[78] Chinese were seen as industrious imitators, never as creators; thus artworks from China were often perceived as "craft" rather than "art"—a reified category in Western art history that was additionally associated with levels of civilization. Though artistic training in the European academies also began with copying, it was meant to provide the basic components for proper original creation. Yet even at this moment artists in Western Europe were rejecting this model of the academies by seeking alternatives in the primitive, the medieval, and the Far Eastern.

Origin of the Chinese Styles

For use as either teaching tools or as original models for the creation of the Chinese ornaments at the woodcarving workshop, Beck amassed a collection of woodcarvings from areas surrounding Xujiahui.[79] One original example can be found nearby, still standing though in a ruined state after more than two hundred years of war,

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[76] Vasseur, p. 27; Obituary for Brother A. Beck, *The North-China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette* (1870-1941), October 13, 1931.
[77] Vasseur, p. 27.
[78] For one such discussion, see Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (University of California Press, 2004), pp. 41-42.
[79] The collection was likely destroyed in a fire in December of 1919, see reports of the fire, "Shanwan gongyi chang huojing xuzhi 山灣工藝廠火警續志" *Yishizhu ribao* 益世主日報 9/1 (1920), and also "Xujiahui tianzhutang gongchang beifen 徐家匯天主堂工場被焚," *Shenbao* 申報 (December 18, 1919). None of the original architectural pieces from Beck's collection were ever identified, and if they were not destroyed they could have easily returned to other local collections and disappeared. However this highly likely hypothesis about Beck's collection and workshop practice of using original native architectural ornaments as models was corroborated by the Tushanwan Museum in Shanghai, where mannequin art workers can be seen copying native architectural fragments in its diorama of the woodcarving workshop.

political and ideological vandalism, and modern development: the former residence of the Qianlong period official Shen Chu 沈初 (1735-1799), the Shuyinlou 書隱樓.[80] Heavily weathered, discolored, and rotting, some of the carved ornament on this once grand mansion is still visible, obscured by overgrown vines and grasses. In this example (fig. 4) from the horizontal beam in a pavilion that once stood in the middle of a pond, two servants with lanterns are leading a man into a building to the right. The central figure, a bearded man, holds a long thin petition plaque, indicating his position as an official. He looks back at a female figure holding a *ruyi* 如意 scepter, perhaps an immortal, gesturing to him with two fingers pointing heavenward. The entire scene is framed by two structures, with the roofs receding at an angle mirroring each other, thus creating a theatrical space for the action. The doors are opened, suggesting the possibility of movement along this beam. Lastly all the figures are covered by an ancient pine tree, so large that most of its foliage is not included in the frame, leaving only a few oblong clusters of chrysanthemum-like radiating needle-blossoms at the top edges.

Similar compositional techniques and motifs are found in many of the carvings from Tushanwan. See, for example, the lintel above the front entrance of Leopold II's Chinese Pavilion which I will return to later in the chapter (fig. 5). The gilded figures once stood out vibrantly against the brilliant red background.[81] The scene depicts a combat between four main figures, with two just emerging from the city gate on the right. According to Beck's annotations (see below), the scene illustrates the famous episode from the *Romance of the Three Kingdom* popularly known The Battle between the Three Heroes and Lü Bu (三英大戰呂布).[82] Like the previous example, this scene is framed by a group of mountains and two flags representing an encampment on the left and a walled city to the right, which recedes toward the main scene. Pine clusters are visible, though much rounder than the previous example. Clearly, the Jesuit fathers were collecting and looking at Jiangnan architecture.

Many of the woodcarvings were integral parts of vernacular architecture. Many were rebuses or auspicious signs, appropriate and necessary for both the sacred and secular spaces. Popular operas and stories made up a majority of scenes depicted in architectural decoration by craftsmen; many of the scenes were placed in areas visible not only to the devotees but to the gods, thus serving as perpetual entertainment for the gods as well as for ordinary devotees, who would know these operatic scenes by heart.[83] In

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[80] Shen Chu was the Assistant Editor of Qianlong's *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 Bureau. See Guo Junlun 郭俊纶, "Shanghai Shuyinlou zhuandiao 上海书隐楼砖雕," *Gujian yuanlin jishu* 古建园林技术 (1/1988): pp. 57. Guo is the current owner of the residence, who still lives in Shuyinlou.

[81] Archival photographs taken during the 1985 restoration from the Museums of the Far East: Chinese Pavilion-Japanese Tower-Museum of Japanese Art in Brussels suggest that the gilding was reapplied at that time. See photographs from the folder titled Pavillon Chinois: Identification des Frises Sculptees a Shanghai, in the archives of the Museums of the Far East, Brussels.

[82] Lü Bu 呂布 is probably the second figure on the left. The three heroes are Guan Yu 關羽, Zhang Fei 張飛, and Liu Bei 劉備. Guan Yu can be identified by his long flowing beard, and it is likely to be the figure on the extreme left. Liu Bei is said to have pulled out his sword to help his sworn brothers and then rushed out of the walled city. This suggests that the figure actually fighting Lü Bu must be Zhang Fei.

[83] The sinologist Wolfram Eberhard's study of fifty temples Taiwan and Hong Kong in the mid-1960s gives a sense of the dominance of popular narrative decoration: 55.8% of all recorded temple decoration were

addition to their performances and replication in popular media, these operatic scenes were also replicated in other architectural elements, such as brick carvings, mural paintings, and stone carvings that were placed throughout the exteriors and interiors of major buildings.[84]

The "native" style in this context was not limited to Shanghai, but also to Jiangnan and the lower Yangtze region, Anhui, and Zhejiang. These areas boasted no less than three distinct local styles of woodcarving: Huizhou 徽州, Dongyang 東陽, and Ningbo 寧波. Both Huizhou and Dongyang carvings rely on a single flattened background with figures carved in shallow relief; the composition of Huizhou carving is much more compact and the carving deeper than that of Dongyang (fig. 6 and 7). The Ningbo style, in comparison, is much more ostentatious, not the least because of the deep relief and liberal application of gilding and cinnabar red as background (fig. 8).[85] The unity of the styles, perhaps due to their geographic proximity, is highlighted when placed against another well-known woodcarving style much further to the south, the Chaozhou style from the northeastern corner of Guangdong province (fig. 9). There is no singular plane where the actions are grounded; instead many of the fully-gilded figures are carved in the round and are independent of each other, each existing its own isolated three-dimensional space cell; depth is not only dependent on the positioning of the figures against the background plane, but on the positioning of each figure in relationship to others. Not surprisingly, Tushanwan carvings shared many characteristics with their neighbors, especially with the Dongyang style. Set against a flat background, each figure in low relief is individuated from the others and clearly readable. The legibility of the narrative was paramount, since many of the Tushanwan carved figures on the façade of the Chinese Pavilion in Belgium were labeled, and all were gilded and set against a cinnabar red background like most of Ningbo and some of Dongyang woodcarvings. This mixing-and-matching of styles, themselves the result of different competing lineages of woodcarving workshops in the area, probably reflects the diversity of Beck's original collection.[86]

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scenes from "novels and plays." See Wolfram Eberhard, "Topics and Moral Values in Chinese Temple Decorations," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87 (1967), p. 25. Marianne Wong (黃佩賢), "Yueju shengong xi yu miaoyu waxi gongzai zhuangshi 粵剧神功戏与庙宇瓦脊公仔装饰" (unpublished conference paper presented at *Tuxiang yu yishi: Zhongguo gudai zongjiaoshi yu yishushi de ronghe huiyi* 图像与仪式：中国古代宗教史与艺术史的融合会议, Fudan University, December 4, 2011).

[84] For a short discussion of these decorations in English, see David Johnson, "Opera Imagery in the Village," *Performing Images: Opera in Chinese Visual Culture* (Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 2014), pp. 51-52.

[85] For a longer discussion of the three styles, see HE Xiaodao 何晓道, *Jiangnan Ming Qing jianzhu mudiao* 江南明清建筑木雕 (zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 2012), pp. 37-40.

[86] Given the common cultural milieu in the economically prosperous Jiangnan region, it is perhaps possible to generalize these common features as reflecting the "period eye," a concept that the art historian Michael Baxandall coined in his study of the disparate styles of woodcarvings in Renaissance Germany to suggest some common features specific to the culture and time. See Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 143-163. While it is not the goal of this dissertation to investigate the origins of the different woodcarving styles in China, I would disagree with Baxandall's claim of an "individual style," and perhaps focus the different styles as both interactions between different artistic communities and the identifiable affects of different craft lineages.

Historically Beck was in the right place at the right time to collect these architectural fragments. By the early 1860s, the Taiping rebels had laid waste to much of the Jiangnan region and had pushed many refugees, among them Catholic missionaries and their precious possessions, to seek protection within the walls of Shanghai, which had been made impenetrable by the presence of Western military powers. In the aftermath of the rebellion, magnificent temples and splendid residences of the wealthy elites were in ruin, easily dissembled for reuse (as firewood or as fuel) or sold in pieces as art and as souvenirs for a growing market of foreign visitors in Shanghai; these would provide ready material references for both Beck and Henri Doré. What made these architectural fragments attractive for foreign buyers was not only driven by their desire to possess a material manifestation of their fantasies of China or a souvenir of their experience, they were also conditioned by their collective cultural memory to aestheticize the fragment in the classical Greco-Roman tradition.[87]

The high degree of similarity in composition, style, and technique suggests a real and tantalizing possibility: that the workshops were employing local non-Christian craftsmen to teach or work at the orphanage. Yet my research has failed to yield any textural or photographic evidence of this scenario.

Henri Doré's *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*

First published and printed in 1911 at Tushanwan, Henri Doré's multivolume *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* is considered a classic study of folk religious beliefs in China.[88] Doré was a Jesuit active in the field for over twenty years in Jiangsu and Anhui provinces. During that time, he "visited cities and hamlets, temples and monasteries, questioning the people about their Gods and Goddesses, their local divinities and deified Worthies" in order to understand the religions and "the countless superstitions which swayed the social and family life of the [Chinese] people."[89] This was done, according to the English translator M. Kennelly, S.J., to present a genuine and real China "in a manner which interests and charms the general reader."[90]

[87] More on the aesthetics of fragments and ruins and Tushanwan workshop products in Chapter 4.
[88] Henri Doré, S. J., *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine* (Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission catholique à l'orphelinat de T'ou-sé-wé, 1911-?). There are at least 18 volumes, and they continued to be published as late as 1938. The work was quickly translated into English, first by M. Kennelly, S.J., starting in 1914, and the later volumes were translated by D. J. Finn, S.J. See Henry Doré, S. J., *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, translated from the French with notes, historical and explanatory by M. Kennelly, S.J., vol. 1 (Shanghai: T'usewei Printing Press, 1914).
[89] Doré, Kennelly, trans., vol 1. p. 1. As evident by the footnotes and bibliography, in addition to his fieldwork Doré relied, at times quite heavily on studies done by other Westerners such as De Groot and Doolittle, as well as extensively on published Chinese sources. The illustrations were taken from albums collected by the Xujiahui Library, many of which collected directly by Doré himself from the Chinese population.
[90] Doré, Kennelly, trans., vol. 1, p. 2.

The purpose of the publication was twofold. Wishing to understand the real Chinese people's "mentality and beliefs" deep in the interior, Doré recorded and organized the "superstitious" traditions of local Chinese to "help his fellow Missionaries in the field" with the "knowledge of what the people believe and worship … [so that] they will offend less native prejudice and promote better the great work of implanting Christian truth in the land."[91] The second goal was aimed at the general European public: to generate sinological knowledge about China and to benefit "science."[92] Again, "science" here refers to the systematic organization and empirical production of knowledge found in previously unknown areas of Sinology, in this case the study of religious beliefs and practices in China.

While there are specific volumes in the publication devoted to Buddhism and Daoism, the work is generally divided into three parts dealing with "superstitious practices in general," "biography of Gods and Goddesses," and "popular history of the Founders of the three great religions of China: Confucius, Lao-tze and Buddha."[93] Yet the title *Researches into Chinese Superstitions* is telling. The categories of superstition and religion carried with them unambiguous values about moral legitimacy and perhaps even national modernity. As the historian Rebecca Nedostup has argued, the category of religion during this period in China was always framed under the terms of European and American powers, especially vis-à-vis Christianity.[94] The need to construct and legitimize a specific religion within a modern nation was made during the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, when many representatives of Asian nations spoke against Western imperialism and attempted to valorize their own religions (and by extension their own nations) as equals.[95]

Researched and written by a Jesuit missionary active in the field, and published and printed at a Catholic printing house, it is not a surprise that the "superstitions" in the study refer to all non-Christian practices and beliefs in China. Thus Kennelly concludes that:

> China's popular religion is, therefore, a medley of superstitions, varying according to places, but essentially the same in their fundamental features. Hence the popular adage, "*the three religions are one," San-kiao wei-yih* 三教為一. Each person in fact selects or adopts what suits best his fancy, or meets his present requirements.[96]

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[91] "… pour connaître leur mentalité et toutes leurs croyances… " Doré, vol. 1, p. 3.
[92] "Si, de plus, ce petit travail peut être de quelque profit pour la science, s'il agrée aux hommes désireux de s'instruire sur la religion et les mœurs chinoises, je n'aurai qu'à me réjouir de ce double profit." Doré, vol. 1, p. 4.
[93] Doré, Kennelly trans., vol. 1, pp. IV-V.
[94] Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), p. 7.
[95] Nedostup, pp. 6-7. On this, Kennelly hinted at the utility of the study for "the large and ever increasing number of scholars interested in the study of 'Comparative Religion'." See Doré, Kennelly trans., vol. 1, p. III. Some scholars like Lionel M. Jensen have argued that the Jesuits first brought the concept of religion to China with their arrival in the late Ming. See Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997). However Nicolas Standaert argues against that view, especially disputing Jensen's claim in his review of the book, "The Jesuits Did NOT Manufacture 'Confucianism,' *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine 16* (1999): 115-132.
[96] Doré, Kennelly trans., vol. 1, p. IV.

By denying that China ever had a single true religion and dismissing all other religious beliefs as superstitious, Kennelly and Doré justified their missionary work in China as the promotion of the "true faith." And in doing so, they rejected the claims made by native nationalists in Asia to find a link between the national essence and the nation's native religion. All three religions were reclassified in the study not as distinct entities, but reorganized according to their practices, histories, and biographies. By branding all three as a "medley of superstitions," the study delegitimizes the right of any one of them to represent a nascent modern Chinese nation, leaving a gap to be filled by the "true faith," Catholicism.

No longer were they interested in finding parallels or analogies to their own Old Testament figures, as the Figurists from the previous generation of Jesuits in China had done; instead they were interested in the classification and categorization of native Chinese religious practices and beliefs, in ways resonant with contemporaneous "scientific" practices.[97] The need to understand the religious belief of the pagans was no doubt partly motivated by the Catholic Church's own insecurity on the role of images in their religion.[98] Doré's twenty years of evangelization in Jiangsu and Anhui and his intimate knowledge of the people he worked with made him a type of "incidental ethnographer," a term the anthropologist Jean Michaud uses in reference to the French Catholic missionaries from the Foreign Missions of Paris (M.E.P.) working in northern Vietnam during the same time period.[99] The reliance on native Chinese texts was an approach also taken by the Sinologist and anthropologist Berthold Laufer during his expedition to China.[100] Both Doré and Laufer supplemented their works with material examples acquired from the local people, which were reproduced faithfully through photolithography in Doré's volumes.

Though I have yet been able to locate the albums that provided the illustrations for Doré's study (as mentioned in the Preface), it is not be difficult to reconstruct their original sources. Most of the illustrations seem to be reproductions of the original prints obtained from local Chinese population, others were replicated with slight corrective variations, such as the addition of a ground and shadows (fig. 10 and 11). The source material ranged from Daoist charms (*fu* 符) to New Year prints to folk icons,

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[97] See M. Lackner, "Jesuit Figurism," in T. H. C. Lee ed., *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1991), pp. 129-149.

[98] This was on full display at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, when Tushanwan was showcasing their own workshop products, and the local Protestant communities accused them of promoting the Catholic faith using idols. See "Ten Months."

[99] Jean Michaud, *"Incidental" Ethnographers: French Catholic Missions on the Tonkin-Yunnan Frontier, 1880-1930* (Brill, 2007).

[100] Doré did receive help with his Chinese sources from his research assistance P. Pierre Hoang. See Doré, *Recherches,* vol. 1, p. 3. Tushanwan was a popular destination for Western visitors to Shanghai, including many scholars; Laufer was one them and almost certainly had met Doré. Laufer stopped in Shanghai at least two times during his China Expedition between 1901-1904; he was charged by his teacher Franz Boas with the mission to collect the daily lives of the Chinese people indiscriminately and comprehensively, from the everyday to high art. The materials he collected, including artworks from Tushanwan, are now in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, where he was a former curator.

characterized by the bold use of bright colors, simple yet legible lines, minimal backgrounds, and easily identifiable attributes.

Doré's *Researches into Chinese Superstitions* as a Reference Book

While the influence of Doré's work continues in the field of Chinese religious studies, my aim is to consider how was it used by the different workshops and across the different media. Within the Tushanwan workshops, the study was treated like a reference book. Subjects, themes, and motifs could all be found and were readily available for applications on a variety of surfaces or in different contexts. This was unlike the practice of using a pattern-book in other workshops, which had the advantages of ensuring the stability of the image qualities, the efficiency of a modular method of production, and the creation of a unique style specific to the workshop. One example can be found in a painting on the side of the Outlook Pagoda model made at the workshops in 1915. The appearance, choice of costume, and even gesture were clearly taken from the *Superstitions* entry on that same mythological figure (fig. 12 and 13).

On the one hand, this practice was consistent with the intention of the Jesuit fathers to neutralize the power of the native religion, demythologizing, and rationalizing through the imposition of a new system of classification. Significantly they rendered the pagan images on the margins (fig. 14) or as surface-oriented ornamentation through painting or low relief carving (fig. 15). Their substantive and mysterious powers were elided, leaving behind only agreeable, empty smiles. On the other hand, the application of Chinese deities and motifs across different decorative media created a signature style for Tushanwan products, whether they were functional, aesthetic, or religious, and spoke to the driving need of contemporaneous artistic sensibility to create total works of art (*Gesamtkunstwerken*). The Wagnerian concept was prevalent in most art movements throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century, including Arts and Crafts, Art Nouveau, the Nabis, and of course the Gothic Revival, all of which strove to create a utopic living environment by unifying artistic style from the interior to the exterior and from the largest mural decoration to the smallest dining utensil.[101]

Vasseur's *Mélanges sur la Chine* (1884) and Medieval Revivalism in France

[101] The boundaries between the various aesthetic movements were not entire strictly observed, and important theorists like John Ruskin and William Morris had profound influences on all. The subtlety of the interaction between them is beyond the scope of this dissertation. For more on individual movements, see Katherine Kuenzli, *The Nabis and Intimate Modernism: Painting and the Decorative at the Fin-de-siècle* (Ashgate, 2010) for Nabis; Amy F. Ogata, *Art Nouveau and the Social Vision of Modern Living: Belgian Artists in a European Context* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), and Nancy Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France: Art Nouveau to Le Corbusier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) for Art Nouveau; and for Medieval revivalism, see works by Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz cited below.

The connection between the ideologies behind different aesthetic movements and the Tushanwan workshops at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries should not come as a surprise. At the same time as knowledge and visual examples of Chinese religious ornament were actively being produced by the Jesuit fathers at Xujiahui, the Tushanwan workshops were also making products that were ostensibly Gothic in appearance; altarpieces (fig. 16), stained-glass (fig. 17), metal works, and book illustrations (fig. 18) all revealed their debt to the styles inspired by Medieval and Renaissance Europe. Commercial workshops such as Tushanwan were certainly making things to meet the demands of their European clients, but were they also exercising a certain idealism associated with these movements?

The Medieval revival was first popularized in England in the earlier part of the nineteenth century by such theorists as John Ruskin and Augustus W. N. Pugin, who linked the Gothic period and style with a specific moral attitude and credited their creation to the community of artisans.[102] In France the trend for all things Medieval was accelerated after the 1870s. Laura Morowitz and Elizabeth Emery have argued that this revival of Medievalism in France was very much a phenomenon both driven by popular market demands and fueled by the intellectual elites, but it had an impact on every level of society through contemporary exhibitions, studies, festivals, literature, music, and domestic décor.[103] The idealism behind it was expressed differently by various interest groups: the secular Republicans saw the French Gothic as the crowning artistic achievement created by ordinary French artisans working cooperatively, but the French Catholics saw Gothic things as divinely inspired products and the result of the shared piety of the artisans. The great Gothic cathedrals, many destroyed at the hands of the secular revolutionaries half a century before, were not Romantic picturesque ruins, but a nostalgic reminder of a time when France was bounded and ordered by the Catholic faith and community.[104] For these French Catholics, the revival of the Medieval style, especially the Gothic, took on a more urgent and substantial calling as they were also part of the Catholic revival in the face of ever encroaching secular French society at the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed the renewed effort for overseas missionary work, many by lay organizations like the Propaganda of Faith or the Association of Holy Childhood, were part of the effort of the French church to take advantage of the newly colonized landscape of the nineteenth-century globe to resuscitate itself through the exciting possibility of exploring new worlds and winning new converts.

Many of the Symbolist and Nabis artists involved in the Gothic revival envisioned themselves as Medieval artisans, working in small communities cooperatively to produce artwork as an expression of their deeply held piety instead of for material gain.[105] Some

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[102] Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), pp. 4-6.
[103] See Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz, *Consuming the Past: The Medieval Revival in Fin-de-siècle France* (Ashgate, 2003). Emery has written or edited other books on the subject. See also Elizabeth Emery, *Romancing the Cathedral: Gothic Architecture in Fin-de-siècle French Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), and Elizabeth Emery and Richard Utz, eds. *Medievalism: Key Critical Terms* (Cambridge: D. S. Brwer, 2014).
[104] Emery and Morowitz, p. 106.
[105] Emery and Morowitz, p. 43.

formed "brotherhoods" to create alternative living conditions that would bring them closer to Medieval ideals. They also adopted pre-industrial techniques.[106] Stylistically they emphasized flatness, oversimplification, or glistening surfaces in imitation of stained glass or fresco. Their paintings drew from Medieval subjects, emphasizing the mystical experience of Christianity. Yet they moved away from detail, favoring instead broad and abstract forms (fig. 19). [107] They focused on invention rather than faithful transmission.

Even with their anti-modernist and anti-academic rhetoric, late-nineteenth century French artists emphasized personal invention. However, for the purpose of the Church and its instrumental construction of the past, the individual was subsumed under the larger community in the service of God. Thus normative values held by the artists of the "fine arts"—creativity, expressivity, innovation, etc.—were underplayed. Instead other qualities of art—decorative and functional values—were elevated in the context of the late nineteenth-century Medieval revival in the Catholic Church. These values, along with their connections to the nation, handicraft, and morality, were all expressed in the pedagogy and products of the Tushanwan art and craft workshops.

Recently a long-lost reel of film was discovered in the Ricci Institute at the University of San Francisco. Entitled *Ageless China*, the film was made in 1947 by American Jesuit missionaries traveling to China to document the state of Catholicism in different Chinese cities after World War II, and it contains the only known footage of the orphans at Tushanwan and their workshops. Describing the art workers as "human reclamation," the narrator praised them, "In the best spirit of Catholic medieval Europe, [the orphaned art worker] devotes his talents to the honor and glory of God."[108]

As late as the 1940s orphaned workers were still being compared to Medieval artisans, but we can trace this to at least 1884 if not earlier to a publication in two volumes printed in Paris to introduce the "Chinese School of Saint Luke" entitled *Mélanges sur la Chine.* Written by the French Jesuit missionary Adolphe Vasseur (1828-99), he was put in charge of the printing workshop to advertise the range of designs and subjects his workshop could produce. Since he was ostensibly addressing members of the Catholic hierarchies of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (*Propagation de la Foi*) and the Association of Holy Childhood (*L'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance*), the main funder of the missionary activities in China, he wrote at length about the operations and goals of the Tushanwan workshops. In a letter to Monseigneur Garnier, Apostolic Vicar of Jiangnan,

> … For if we come to see, on the one hand, that in regenerating Christian iconography we are determined to recapture the purest sources from the last period of the Middle Ages and the School of Mystic Painters that immediately followed, on the other, we note that this situation is especially encouraging to our Chinese iconographic work, since we find ourselves roughly at the same point of departure as the new schools of which we have just spoken.

[106] Emery and Morowitz, P. 50.
[107] Emery and Morowitz, p. 52.
[108] *Ageless China* (1947), film, 25:00, 16mm/m4v, Ricci Institute Francis A. Rouleau Archives, University of San Francisco.

> Indeed, except for Christian inspiration, the drawing, style, and processes of Chinese art today are not too different from what art had been in Europe, at the time of the miniatures in the thirteenth century, in the works of Cimabue, Giotto, Fra Angelico, and in those produced in the Mystical School. One sees that these Chinese works are rather poorly reproduced — scenes from the life of Confucius, the illustrated drama of *Pipaji*, the decorative mosaics and the bird-and-flower ornaments that border these pages — and one recognizes that with a sound method one could take the richest part of these elements to compose a special iconography that would benefit all the missions in the Far East.[109]

The traditional art of China according to Vasseur, was compared to the works of Medieval Europe, which were naïve, godly, and pure.[110] At Tushanwan, Vasseur and other Jesuit instructors envisioned a community of pious art workers creating works not for individualist gain or for personal fame, but for the glory of God. Divinely inspired, these diligent art workers would draw inspiration from their own native tradition, in its primitive form sharing many characteristics with the Medieval art of Europe, and thus create a new artistic language that would more appropriately address the Catholic converts in China and other East Asian nations by sharing in cultural similarities.

Later in the same catalogue, Vasseur clarifies his position and his attitudes toward the orphan art workers at Tushanwan by claiming that there is very little difference between "artist" and "artisan" in China:

> It is undeniable that art exists in China, even though it is not understood in the same way as we understand it. This, in addition, is a circumstance which can be admirably used for our apostolic goals, since art in China is more popular and more popularized than here: in this country one finds many painters who in France would be greeted with the name of "artist" and worthy of a salary of twenty to thirty francs a day, but in China they are content with the simple title of artisan and wages thirty or forty times lower. They draw freehand the most diverse topics: letters, figures, flowers, ornaments, and their colors possess a richness, an inimitable freshness.[111]

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[109] "… Car si nous venons de voir d'une part que pour régénérer l'iconographie chrétienne on s'est déterminé à en reprendre les sources les plus pures dans les dernières époques du moyen âge et dans l'école des peintre mystiques qui a immédiatement suivi, de l'autre nous constatons cette circonstance spécialement encourageante, que pour notre œuvre chinoise d'iconographie, nous nous trouvons sensiblement au même point de départ que les nouvelles écoles dont nous venons de parler.

En effet, sauf l'inspiration chrétienne, l'art chinois actuel, quant à l'art du dessin, et quant au style, et aux procédés, ne diffère pas beaucoup de ce qu'était l'art en Europe, au moment où il produisait les miniatures du treizième siècle, le œuvres de Cimabue, de Giotto, de Fra Angelico, et enfin celles de l'école mystique. Que l'on voye ces œuvres chinoises assez médiocrement reproduites, les scènes de la vie de Confucius, celles du drame illustré le Pi-Pa Ki, le mosaïques décoratives et les ornements d'oiseaux et de fleurs qui encadrent ces pages, et l'on avouera, qu'avec une sage méthode on tirera le plus riche parti de ces éléments pour composer une iconographie spéciale en faveur de toutes les missions de l'extrême Orient." Vasseur, p. 6.

[110] "Le professeur Klein s'est acquis une renommée européenne par ses nombreuses et admirables compositions, où se reconnaissent la naïveté, la piété, la grâce du plus pur moyen âge." Vasseur, p. 5.

[111] "Il est incontestable que l'art existe en Chine, bien qu'il n'y soit pas compris de la même manière que nous le comprenons. De plus, circonstance qui peut être admirablement utilisée pour notre but apostolique, l'art en Chine est plus populaire et plus vulgarisé que chez nous : c'est au point qu'on trouve en ce pays nombre de peintres qui, en France, seraient salués du nom d'artistes et jugés dignes d'un salaire de vingt à trente francs par jour, tandis qu'en Chine, ils se contentent du simple titre d'artisans et d'un salaire trente

Vasseur and the Design for a New Church

Putting this idea in practice, at least on paper, Adolph Vasseur proposed a church design that combined Chinese ornamentation with a European architectural form. Vasseur's design greatly departs from contemporaneous Catholic buildings erected in port cities, such as the Sacred Heart Cathedral from 1863 in Guangzhou built by the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris (Société des missions étrangères de Paris, or M.E.P.) (fig. 20). Modeled after another nineteenth-century neo-Gothic cathedral in Paris, the Basilica Saint Clotilde, the Sacred Heart Cathedral followed a pattern of importation of Neo-Gothic or Gothic-inspired architecture into China.[112] This was meant to create a direct visual and spiritual link to the origins of Catholicism outside of Asia, as the foundation stones labeled "Roma 1863" and "Jerusalem 1863" kindly reminded its congregants. Erected at a treaty port city and built shortly after the signing of the second sets of Unequal Treaties following the Second Opium War, the cathedral stood proudly tall above the rest of the much shorter Chinese urban landscape. The cathedral was a visible projection of foreign imperialist power even as it served as a landmark of Christianization in the panoramic cityscape of Guangzhou that had once so iconically represented the possibilities of China decades before (fig. 21).

Yet Vasseur deliberately rejected this type of ostentatious flaunting:

> In seeing a Gothic chapel in the middle of a village surrounded by pagodas and palaces with curved roofs, the Chinese would say immediately, "Here are the foreigners again!" … The impression is analogous to seeing a tropical plant flower in the middle of our northern plains. It can live a few days, we think, but it could never acclimate. Thus, the French Gothic or Romanesque, the Italian Greek or composite of the two, will not find the necessary conditions for acclimation, neither in the climate, nor in the material, nor in the taste of the country.[113]

Though the exterior was what they had hoped to build, the interior was supposedly modeled on "exactly the interior of a church built following the native procedures."[114] Vasseur did not reveal the identity of the church, and I have not yet discovered it during my research. It is likely that it would have been similar to the Phat Diem Cathedral in

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ou quarante fois moins élevé. Ils dessinent main levée les sujets les plus divers, lettres, figures, fleurs, ornements, et leur coloris est d'une richesse, d'une fraîcheur inimitables." Vasseur, p. 43.

[112] See Thomas Coomans, "Indigenizing Catholic Architecture in China: From Western-Gothic to Sino-Christian Design, 1900-1940," in *Catholicism in China, 1900-Present: The Development of the Chinese Church*, ed. Chindy Yik-yi Chu (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 126-128. Coomans links the development of the Sino-Christian church design to the rise of the Apostolic Delegate Celso Costantini in the 1920s and 30s.

[113] "En voyant une chapelle gothique se dresser au milieu d'un bourg que couronnent des pagodes et des palais aux toitures recourbées, le Chinois dit immédiatement : « Ici demeurent des étrangers ! » Même réflexion devant un tableau religieux dont le faire et la couleur contrastent de la manière la plus étrange avec leurs propres peintures. L'impression faite sur lui est analogue à celle que nous éprouverions en voyant fleurir une plante tropicale au milieu de nos plaines du Nord. Elle pourra vivre quelques jours, pensons-nous, elle ne s'acclimatera jamais. Ainsi, le gothique ou le roman des Français, le grec ou le composite des Italiens, ne trouveront ni dans le climat, ni dans les matériaux, ni dans le goût du pays, les conditions nécessaires pour l'acclimatation." Vasseur, p. 42.

[114] "Le dessin qui suit, représente très exactement l'intérieur d'une église bâtie suivant les mêmes procédés indigènes…" Vasseur, p. 47.

Vietnam (fig. 22). Built in 1891 by the Father Tran Luc, the bishop of the region, the Phat Diem Cathedral reflected the typical temple architecture found throughout southern China and Vietnam by extensively incorporating its ornamental elements and decorative programs. Similar to most large Chinese buildings, the rectangular floor plan was divided into sections as organized by the bay system; however, unlike other Chinese buildings the direction of flow was longitudinal instead of latitudinal. Instead of located at the center on the length of the building, the main entrance was opened at one of the widths. The change in the flow of the building naturally directed congregants toward the altar at the end opposite end, and the entire experience was framed and ordered by large undecorated columns. The building material for both is the same as native architecture: wood. Though many of the pagan religious motifs have been exorcized, a significant amount of native ornamental detail was kept, such as the lotuses generally found in native temples as beam support (fig. 23).

In Vasseur's case, native Chinese ornamentation becomes dominant throughout the church inside and outside, though the form of a Cathedral was retained, which included the pointed gable and the rosette above the front entrance (fig. 24). Like Phat Diem, the flow of the building was redirected length-wise from one end to another. The roof slopes away to create a gable that is visible from the interior. Illustrations are contained within the cartouches on each large horizontal beam running down the nave that separates each bay, which is repeated in smaller versions in the aisles, reminiscent of illustrations in the horizontal beams typically found in covered walkways in Chinese gardens (fig. 25). Round stone bases under each wooden pillar serve the function of preventing rot and termites – a feature found throughout temples in southern China. Thus there seems to be more evidence of Chinese architectural practices in play than in an example like the Phat Diem Cathedral, which was designed and built by a Vietnamese Catholic bishop as a statement to declare his identity as a member of the Vietnamese native elite.[115]

Further evidence of the church being based on a Chinese architectural plan is the telling use of the term "*traveé,*" which is often translated as "bay," singled out as a unit for discussion in Vasseur's work (fig. 26). The bay, or *jian* 間 in Chinese, is the fundamental unit that determines the size of each building and thus the function of each. Yet the Chinese *jian* is not simply the distance between two outer column posts; it also includes the depth as well. In most Chinese buildings there is an odd number of *jian* lengthwise, allowing the central one to be the central doorway. Here, there are four bays longitudinally since the door is moved to one of the shorter sides, further deviating from the Chinese model.

But perhaps more important to Chinese architecture is the use of bracket sets (*dougong* 斗拱). As the Chinese architectural historian Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–1927) wrote, "the tou-kung [*dougong*] plays the leading role, a role so important that no study of Chinese architecture is feasible without a thorough understanding of this element,

[115] See Lan Ngo, S.J., *Life and Works of Tran Luc* (Master thesis, Berkeley, CA: Graduate Theological Union, 2006).

the governing feature of the Chinese 'order'."[116] The brackets are clearly visible in Vasseur's illustrations, but the question remains whether they served a structural function or were merely a decorative element added to signify a Chinese building. Two types of brackets are depicted: one major and one minor. On the horizontal beam immediately above the bracket sets, circular and semi-circular patterns of natural wood grain are visible, suggesting that at least some of the building materials were timber. Yet if, according to Liang, the length and width of a building were determined by the number of bracket sets, the simplicity of the brackets seem meager to support "300 Christians."[117] Indeed, the bracket is stripped down to its most basic elementary parts: two *sandou*s 散斗 (at both ends) and one *qixindou* 齊心斗(in the middle) on top, with a receded and flattened lotus-decorated *shuadou* 耍斗 that supported them all. In the illustrations, they show very little sense of volume, further highlighting their flattened ornamentality.

Indeed, as Western or Western-trained architecture begin to adopt Western technologies and apply them to Chinese architecture, many Chinese architectural technologies became indexical signifiers of an essential Chineseness, obscuring the structural modernity that lay behind the decoration. Thus while bracket sets could still be found in abundance in the 1920s and onward, architects like the American Henry Murphy (1877-1944), Lü Yanzhi 呂彥直 (1894-1929), and even Liang Sicheng added brackets to the sides of Chinese-style building using masonry, or more likely the latest and most popular material in the age of the skyscraper - concrete (fig. 27).[118] If this was a possibility, then the wood grain on the horizontal beams was most likely painted ornamentally as well. It is, however, equally possible that the entire structure was made with a combination of timber and concrete, as in the case of Phat Diem.

The ornamental role of the bracket sets was certainly partially influenced by contemporaneous ideas about Chinese ornament. Owen Jones, for example, famously derided the superficial colors and designs of "all Eastern nations," attacking the "addition of grotesque or other unmeaning ornaments, built up upon the surface."[119] This was also made in the context of European decorators' suspicion of three-dimensional ornaments. Lastly, this was also a result of the technology of printing.

Each bay is visible in the interior of the church. The subjects of the two symmetrical panels were taken from the Old and New Testaments and the Four Last Things, situated in the center at eye-level.[120] Captions in Chinese were placed immediately above, arranged in four-characters lines, no doubt to facilitate memorization for the native congregants, since the format is reminiscent of the popular primer *One*

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[116] Liang Sicheng 梁思成, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* 图像中国建筑史 (Sanlian shudian, 2011), p. 217.
[117] Liang, p. 225; Vasseur, p. 47.
[118] Murphy considered this the "adaptability of Chinese architecture" or a "Chinese architectural renaissance," the latter in reference to the re-invention of traditional vernacular Chinese architectures. See Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914-1935* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, and Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 4.
[119] Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (Quaritch, 1910), p. 86.
[120] Vasseur, p. 48.

Thousand Characters (Ch.: *Qianziwen* 千字文).[121] The panels are at the base level farthest away, followed by two carvings of censer-swinging angels amid two types of clouds: the more dynamic and fluid over the geometrically hardened style often found in Chinese carved furniture. The last layer is also the highest on the page, showcasing the three bracket sets and the large beam. Though there are three distinct spatial layers presented here, the overall effect is that of a singular, overly crowded flat surface on the same plane; respite for the eye can be found in the relative clarity of the Biblical scenes and texts. Unlike the works of their predecessors at the Qing imperial palace, whose main goal was to fool the eye through the manipulation of the material and visual effects of painted and sculpted surfaces that use the same architectural composition (fig. 28), efforts were made to distinguish the successive layers through the use of hatching. Cross-hatching was used on the right to suggest a light source from the upper left. But there are moments of uncertainty and hesitation separating the different layers, some of which are rendered only with lines (fig. 29).

Furthermore, the flatness of the ornamentation was praised as a virtue, "to realize in the native style a church interior comparable, with respect to ornamental richness, to what one knows of this genre in our European art [i.e. religious art of the Middle Ages]"[122] As Vasseur further generalizes and at the same time advertises as the benefits of the "Chinese style" of art, it is "principally characterized by line, simple execution and bold colors; its perfection will be in the purity of the lines, in the brilliance, and in the contrast and harmony of colors."[123]

We have thus seen how the interconnectedness of the workshop practices and ideologies circulating within Tushanwan and with the worlds beyond worked together to produce a new kind of Chinese-style ornament. While some of have characterized this as merely the latest attempt at *chinoiserie*, I would argue, especially when juxtaposed against other popular "Asian" styles, that there was a pressure for this particular kind of Chinese ornament to stand out and become something more. An exemplary case of this is the Chinese Pavilion outside of Brussels built in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The Chinese Pavilion

Though Vasseur's church was never built, it was partially realized in King Leopold II'sChinese Pavilion in Brussels. Located on the northern edge of the royal Laeken Park, Chinese Pavilion (fig. 30a) was part of a group of structures that also included a Chinese octagonal gazebo (fig. 30b) and a Japanese pagoda (fig. 30c). The

[121] Only some of the captions match the scenes below; others are repeats. This fits the function of the Mélange as a sample catalogue of the Tushanwan workshop.
[122] "… réaliser dans le style indigène un intérieux d'église comparable, sous le rapport de la richesse ornementale, à ce que sait faire en ce genre notre art européen." Vasseur, P. 47.
[123] "Ce style est principalement caractérise par la ligne, l'exécution simple et les tons francs; sa perfection sera donc dans la pureté des lignes, dans le brillant, le contraste et l'harmonie des couleurs." Vasseur, p. 72.

ornamental programs on the façade of the pavilion and gazebo were carved and painted in Shanghai by the Tushanwan orphan art workers under the direction of Father Aloysius Beck; they constituted the biggest and most important commission the workshops had ever received.

It is generally believed, or at least repeated, that Leopold II first encountered the works of Tushanwan at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1900 after seeing the intricate models the Tushanwan orphans presented of their residence at Tushawan (fig. 31).[124] However there is little evidence to suggest Leopold II directly knew the woodwork were made by Chinese orphans. Since the archival materials are incomplete, only a partial picture can be reconstructed. Contact between the Parisian architect Alexandre Marcel (1860-1928), who designed the complex and the Tushanwan Woodcarving Workshop, was never made directly; it was mediated through the representation of the French firm J. J. Chollot and under the supervision of the Belgian consuls-general Daniel Siffert, both in Shanghai. The director of the workshop Beck was simply listed as the contractor.[125]

What Leopold II did see was the Panorama of the World Tour (Panorama du Tour du Monde; hereafter: Tour), a hodge-podge of exotic styles of building designed by Alexandre Marcel and meant to recreate the world-traveling experience in the popular novel *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873) by Jules Verne in about an hour (fig. 32).[126] Leopold was so taken by the structures at the Tour that parts of it, including the porch (fig. 33 and 34), were removed, transported to Brussels, and directly incorporated into the Japanese Pagoda; it is unclear whether any part of the Chinese Pavilion came from the Tour but the structure was certainly influenced by Marcel's thinking on the architecture of the East and the Far East, in which he wished to create an ensemble that was both "picturesque and harmonious," though the end result is more a chimera of various styles and forms.[127]

King Leopold II (1835-1909) is now mainly known for his colonial exploitation in the what was known as the Congo Free State, and his various public building projects in Belgium and its colonies. These "Asian" structures were part of that legacy, since they also signaled his ambition to expand trade and even colonialism in East Asia in competition with other imperial powers on the European continent.[128] But like the other

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[124] For example, see ZHANG Wei 张伟 and ZHANG Xiaoyi 张晓仪, "Cong Shanghai dao Bulusai'er: yizuo zhongshi louyu de bainian chuanqi 从上海到布鲁塞尔:一座中式楼宇的百年传奇" in *Chongshi Tushanwan suipian* 重拾土山湾碎片, vol. 1, ed. Huang Shulin 黄树林 (Shanghai: Shanghai jixiu wenzhang chubanshe, 2012), p. 380.

[125] Chantal Kozyreff, *The Oriental Dream: Leopold II's Japanese Tower and Chinese Pavilion at Laeken*, trans. Margaret Clarke (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 2001), pp. 65-66. In fact, in the archival materials from the Royal Palace Archives at Brussels, letters from Siffert expressed frustrations about the speed of the progress that Beck was making.

[126] Roger Benjamin, "Colonial Panaromania," in *Empires of Vision: A Reader,* eds. Martin Jay and Sumathi Ramaswamy (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), pp. 120-122.

[127] Alexandre Marcel, *Orientalisme et Architecture Contemporaine: Compositions Décoratives et Architecturales Exécutées et Projetées par Alexandre Marcel, Architecte* (Paris: Albert Morancé, 1924), p. 5.

[128] As Kozyreff claims, the buildings "must rank first and foremost as incitements to a more east-ward-looking economic policy." But the urge to look East could be traced to a period before his ascension to the

European monarchs before him, who also created these types of full-sized Oriental fantasies, this "Oriental Dream," as the former curator of the building's current occupant the Museums of the Far East calls it, was a statement of imperial grandeur and imaginative play.[129]

It is unclear how much of the building was Marcel's design and how much input Beck or other Tushanwan Jesuits had, but the general architectural style reflects an undeniable debt to architecture in Shanghai: the exaggerated curves on the eaves, and the use of golden finials were features also found at the Shanghai Teahouse (fig. 35), where the long rows of consecutive windows on the upper level were made optimal for circulation, a essential feature for architecture built to accommodate the hot and humid southern Chinese region, but perhaps a bit impractical for the frigid Belgian climate. There is also the stepping undecorated wall-façade on the annex building that served as the garage, reminiscent of the white walls of similar design found in many residential buildings in the Jiangnan region (fig. 36), but the clearly Japanese-inspired central roof over the garage entrance is a reminder that the Chinese Pavilion should not be perceived as a purely Chinese work of architecture in any way.[130] Like the furniture from Tushanwan, the Chinese Pavilion was essentially a European brick building with borrowed elements and characteristics borrowed from China and Japan. What is clear, however, is that the basic design of the pavilion had largely been formed by 1903, as is evident in Marcel's blueprint for the building without the added elements from Tushanwan (fig. 37). Thus, the ornamental pieces and columns from Tushanwan were the final cosmetic pieces needed to "authenticate" the building, linking it across time and space to China through the intervention of the Catholic missionaries.

As with any good cosmetic surgery, the new façade was integral to the identity of the building project and to the future direction of the Belgian empire; however, the question remains how the Chinese Pavilion should be situated within the achievements of the Tushanwan workshops in Shanghai. What does this project tell us about the nature of Chinese ornament as it was understood by the Jesuit fathers in Shanghai and in the popular historical perception current in Western Europe? What, if anything, does this reveal of the conflicting goals and values generated by art making in these two separate contexts?

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throne in the 1850s. See Kozyreff, pp. 26, 30, and 32. The projects were seen as part of the larger urban expansion for Brussels. For example, the busy throughway Avenue Van Praet that separates the Chinese Pavilion and the Japanese Pagoda was part of the original plan.

[129] For example, the buildings of Frederick the Great's Chinesisches Haus at Sanssouci Park in Potsdam and Catherine the Great's Chinese Village at the Alexander Park in Tsarskoye Selo.

[130] In addition to Beck and others at Tushanwan, there might be other possibilities to explain what influenced Marcel's choice to incorporate Jiangnan-inspired architectural elements into his work. By that time, both French colonial power in Shanghai and the Catholic missions in the Jiangnan region under the protection of the French Protectorate had established a firm hold. Additionally, Shanghai at this period was arguably the most photographed city in China, as many European visitors inevitably stopped there. Marcel would have had many opportunities to encounter the architecture of Shanghai and the Jiangnan region either through travelers' accounts, paintings, or photographs.

First and foremost the project should be understood as a business transaction, even if it was one motivated by economics and religion. Simply put, the Jesuits were meeting the demands of a prominent and important European patron willing to pay a large sum for their work, in the process gaining a powerful financial and spiritual patron for their missionary works in Shanghai. Additionally, this was also a major opportunity for publicity and a three-dimensional advertisement at a Catholic stronghold in Western Europe, their primary customer base.

Marcel understood the popular styles at the time, many of which originated from Paris but were dominated by Orientalist aesthetics. Japonisme was all the rage, fueled by collectors and dealers like the Goncourt Brothers (Jules and Edmond), Siegfried Bing, and inspiring artists from Edouard Monet to Vincent Van Gogh. Japanese and Chinese art were often lumped together and as Ting Chang has argued, they often served as critiques of French art. Discerning aesthetes like Edmond Goncourt generally preferred Japanese art because of its "modern aesthetic" in comparison to Chinese, no doubt a prejudice carried over from the ruinous condition of the Chinese empire at the end of the nineteenth century.[131] At the same time, this interest coincided and probably mutually fueled the rise of the Art Nouveau, where a new aesthetic was created based on reviving Rococo designs and styles of the *ancien régime*. A significant part of that style, or at least a central focus of the new interpretation of that eighteenth-century style, was its elements of *chinoiserie*. Evidence for this can be found in many places throughout the Chinese Pavilion, but none more visually dazzling than in its interiors, where nodding Chinese porcelain figurines *en pagode* on the wall seem to leap off the canvases of François Boucher or the wallpapers of Jean-Baptiste Pillement (fig. 38 and 39). Raised and gilded vines and foliage twist and turn, slowly migrating up toward the curved ceiling painted with additional foliage, and giving "fruit" to elegant but precarious chandeliers (fig. 40). The over-the-top interior is a reminder of the intended function of the space as a luxury Chinese- or Chinese-themed restaurant serving elite clients, many of whom would certainly have been members of the royal family and their friends.[132] This function is further highlighted by the presence of the garage, meant to house the latest status symbol at the turn-of-the-century, the automobile (fig. 36).

The Rococo-inspired interior is a striking contrast to the decorative program on the outside. Though also gilded, ornaments on the exterior are mostly confined and contained within individual frames that direct the eye toward reading the narrative within specific scenes.[133] In fact, the only places where the ornament seems to overwhelm its frame (either because of the excessive overlapping of floral elements in the glazed reliefs

[131] This sentiment was shared by others like Théodore Duret and Henri Cernuschi. See Ting Chang, *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-century Paris* (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 126-127.
[132] See Kozyreff, p. 55. All of the surviving blueprints by Marcel were labeled "Restaurant Chinois."
[133] The last restoration effort took place in the mid-1980s, and it was through looking at those files and photographs at the archives of the Museums of the Far East: Chinese Pavilion-Japanese Tower-Museum of Japanese Art that I got a close-up glimpse of the woodcarvings, since the building was closed again for restoration when I visited in the fall of 2014. For architectural rendering made during the restoration in the 1980s, see Marie-Hélène Corbiau, *Trente années de photogrammetrie architecturale au ministère des travaux publics 1955-1985* (Ministère des Travaux Publics, Service de Topographie et photogrammétrie, 1988).

(fig. 41), or by liberating the composite tile works from the ordering of the grid) (fig. 42), were done by French or Belgian companies. Other companies used the opportunity to highlight the superiority of their own glazes to imitate the look of oxidized bronze, an interesting appropriation of *trompe l'oeil* ceramic technology that had once been dominated by China (fig. 43). Other European manufacturers emphasized the appearance of racial types by exaggerating the otherness of the Chinese bodies and Chinese expressions, reverting to earlier Western stereotypes of the stoicism of the Chinese people (fig. 44).[134]

In contrast, patterns found in Chinese gardens, such as the ice-crackle, grape vines, swastikas, etc., provide frames to highlight vignettes and niches for auspicious symbols (e.g. the character for longevity *shou* 壽, peony flowers, etc.) or popular scenes from well-known myths or operas (fig. 45). The contrast provided by gilded figures against a red or black background further bring attention to the main figures in the narratives, making the characters in relief even more readable from a distance. The rudimentary techniques of spatial recession and the dominance of lines on these flattened compositions had previously been cited as a fault of Chinese art, but seen in the context of the Gothic Revivalism at Tushanwan and sweeping through Catholic Europe at the time, they were now seen as a virtue, a sign of artistic purity and innocence in works done by young Chinese labors enlightened by Christianity.

For Leopold, the most important features of these exteriors was not the fact they were made by Catholic orphans and that he was supporting and propagating the Catholic faith in Asia, but that they showcased to the public his commitment to expand his sphere of influence in Asia by symbolically and publicly presenting an authentic piece of Asia.[135] As Art Nouveau was essentially a style of the interior—intimate and private and appropriately confined inside the Chinese Pavilion—the exterior decorative program was public, available for viewing by the general public in the green area surrounding the building.[136]

But Leopold's public statement of the Chinese authenticity carried within itself its own voices and meanings. It was designed to contain knowledge pre-digested by the Jesuit fathers in Shanghai and repackaged in ways palatable to a European audience through the vocabulary of medieval piety and scientific objectivity. Along with the carved pieces sent to Belgium, Beck had intended to send a large richly illustrated album

[134] One of the enduring nineteenth-century stereotypes about Chinese bodies was their ability to endure pain without expressing it emotionally, a trait that, as the scholar Eric Hayot has argued, continued well into the twentieth century. See Eric Hayot, *The Hypothetical Mandarin: Sympathy, Modernity, and Chinese Pain* (Oxford University Press, 2009). Larissa Heinrich has also made a similar argument in her book, *The Afterlife of Images: Translating the Pathological Body between China and the West* (Duke University Press, 2008). The exaggerated cranial feature and the yellow glaze may be additional overt references to the Chinese race.

[135] Major parts of the Japanese Pagoda and the Chinese Pavilion came from East Asia, and Marcel's willingness to wait spoke volumes on where his priorities were placed.

[136] This engagement with the public continued when the to buildings were quickly converted to museums and exhibition spaces for Far Eastern objects from 1909-1910, soon after the death of Leopold a few years before; it is now part of the Museums of the Far East. See Kozyreff, pp. 123-124.

to explain the various figures, scenes, and ornament (fig. 46). It was never received. The album was printed using a combination of different methods that included engraving and both photo- and chromolithography, where the traces of the brush could be maintained. In fact, the entire album was handwritten in cursive French, annotated with Chinese characters in standard script, and decorated with hand-painted colorful motifs and patterns like the ones found in the *Mélange*; the overall look is that of childlike naivety and sincerity, much like some of the more personal scrapbooks that the Jesuit fathers or Chinese orphans made for each other (fig. 47). An attached letter, written by "J. L." on July 21, 1941 ended with the statement that "circumstances prevented" the presentation of this album to Leopold, but the author remained silent on what those "circumstances" were.[137]

The frontispiece was a bust portrait of King Leopold II, "reverently" painted by Meng Xingtang 孟杏棠, one of the few named artists from the workshops (fig. 48). The pheasants, butterflies, and peonies on the margins, symbols drawn from popular Chinese motifs, seem to convey a general sense of good wishes and auspiciousness rather than any specific wordplay.[138] The rest of the album is filled with photographs of the orphans posing with their finished products and explanatory notes on specific scenes and figures on the various carved surfaces (fig. 49 and 50). To further secure the identities of the figures and stories, Chinese names were inscribed next to many of the figures (fig. 51).

Most of the stories came from popular folk operas like the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, legendary and mythological figures like Fuxi 伏羲 and Pangu 盤古, important Jesuits in China like Johann Adam Schall von Bell and Ferdinand Verbiest, and famous contemporary figures like King Leopold II and the Qing Guangxu emperor (r. 1875–1908) (fig. 5).[139] The author, most likely Beck himself, annotated each detail of the carvings, which were reproduced through photographs taken at the workshops, and also wrote a brief description for each figure. All of the explanatory notes were accompanied by names of the figures in Chinese. Examining Beck's predecessor Gabriel Palâtre S. J.'s widely circulated work *Infanticide and the Holy Childhood in China* (1878), which was printed at the same workshop and used similar techniques to reproduce Palatre's cursive handwriting, poorly written Chinese characters, and collected Chinese illustrations, the historian Michelle King has called attention to the inclusion of Chinese characters as part

[137] "L'intention première du Fr. Beck était de faire presenter cet album au roi ou à l'intendant de la liste civile, baron de Goffiné. Des circonstances particulières s'y opposerent." From *Cet album contient la description d'un pavillon chinois exécuté en 1903 dans les ateliers de sculpture, menusiserie et vernissage de T'ou-sè-wè sous la direction du Fr. Beck* (Chang-hai: Imprimerie de L'Orphelinat de T'ou-sé-wé, 19??). It is unclear who J. L. was. This volume from the collection of the Xujiahui Library was the only copy I could locate, and it seems to be a later reprinting from 1941. Archivists from both the Royal Palace Archives and the archives of the Museums of the Far East did not seem to know about this album in their collections, confirming J. L.'s account.

[138] While butterflies and peonies together are an appropriate pun for *fudie fugui* 福疊富貴, or "may you have an accumulation of blessings, wealth, and high social status," the two pheasants do not quite work since they are either birds that signify marital bliss or a pun on a phrase that signifies a middling bureaucratic position. See Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art* (Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2006), p. 33.

[139] In the next chapter I will discuss the significance of the placement and the choice of the Guangxu emperor opposite King Leopold II on this prominent lintel.

of Palatre's strategy to counter his critics (and those of the China missions in general) by "combining all of these Western obsessions with visual, enumerative and textual evidence together in the name of science" for his European readers.[140] But for a project where the "authenticity" of China was evident in the carvings and the hand of the Chinese art workers, the choice to include Chinese characters seems redundant. Instead, given that they came right after the names of the figures transliterated into the Roman alphabet, according to the local Shanghainese tongue and using French pronunciation, the addition of the Chinese characters seemed to be a necessary step to ensure the stability of the identity of these figures, in the same way that scientific names were used as the standard for botanists and zoologists. Chinese characters that accompanied each figure in the carvings served a similar function.

Conclusion:

Thus the album was intended to be an inseparable part of the Chinese Pavilion commission and was the key to reframing the Chinese Pavilion commission from the perspective of Tushanwan. There was no doubt that the carvings were meant to demonstrate the technical virtuosity of the Tushanwan art workers, with the added bonus that these were works that were spiritually pure, risen out of the medieval piety of the Catholic workshops in Shanghai. The carvings were also a new type of *chinoiserie*, one that distinguished itself from the industrial-made, Japanese-inspired, racially-charged, and fantasy-driven decorations that surrounded them on the exterior of King Leopold's Chinese Pavilion. Though appealing to the same desire for exoticism, ornamentality, and fantasy as European *chinoiserie*, this type of *chinoiserie* from Tushanwan proudly grounded itself in the empirical and the folk. Its value lay in its handmade-ness and authenticity.

Though the handmade-ness was part of the fantasy of China, here it must be interpreted in the context of the different nineteenth-century movements elevating craft and handiwork in opposition to the industrial and machine-made. The Chinese orphans being trained at Tushanwan were not only reforming the world spiritually, but also changing it physically.

[140] Gabriel Palâtre S. J., *L'infanticde et l''oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance en Chine* (Shanghai: Mission Catholique, l'Orphelinat de T'ou-sè-wè, 1878). See Michelle King's discussion in *Between Birth and Death,* p. 102.

Chapter 3:

Our Lady of China

"Voilà, nous dit-il, ce qui convient pour une N. D. de Chine."[141]

With that comment from Monsignor Celso Constantini, made during his visit to the Tushanwan workshops on May 22, 1924, a new Marian image began her journey in becoming the official Marian image for all China. Nearly one hundred years later, her image and her iconographic descendants would find their way into any Catholic churches around the world that catered to a significant Chinese congregation. Why was the image made at the Painting Workshop? What prompted Constantini, who saw a number of Marian images at the workshop, to make this the choice? What is it about this particular image that appealed and continued to speak to Chinese Catholics?

In this chapter I focus on that particular Marian image, the so-called Our Lady of China (fig. 1). This Marian image has been the subject of several recent studies, including works by Jeremy Clarke, S.J., Jean-Paul Wiest, Zhang Xiaoyi, and Gao Pei.[142] These scholars have either focused on the sinification of Catholic practices or concerned themselves with the chronology of the different versions. Though these views will inform my larger argument presented in this chapter, my goal here is to situate the painting in workshop practices at Tushanwan, and therefore attempt to tease out some underlying patterns of the interaction of cultures in religious art.

First I will lay out the history the image with special attention to the production and reproduction of the image at Tushanwan. Through it I will address larger issues surrounding artistic workshop practices, such as the process of translation between cultures and media. What were the implications when a sacred image was copied over and over again in the Chinese context? How was this particular sacred image manipulated to meet the specific needs of a local religious community? How was the image used further to the project of nationalism and the reification of a Chinese Catholic identity in the early twentieth century?

The Commission

[141] "Here, he tells us, is a suitable Our Lady of China." See P. J. de Lapparent, S. J., "Correspondance et Renseignements: N. D. de Chine – Regina Sinarum," *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin,* 1941, p. 359.
[142] See Jeremy Clarke, S.J., "Our Lady of China, Marian Devotion and the Jesuits," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 41/3 (Autumn 2009), pp. 1-47, and Chapter 3: Our Lady of Donglu in his book *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History*. Jean-Paul Wiest. "Marian Devotion and the Development of a Chinese Christian Art during the Last 150 Years," in *Jidu zongjiao yu Jindai Zhongguo* 基督宗教与近代中国 *Multi-aspect Studies on Christianity in Modern China*, GU Weiying 古伟瀛 and ZHAO Xiaoyang 赵晓阳, eds. (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2011), pp. 187-221. ZHANG Xiaoyi 张晓依, "Tushanwan《Zhonghua shengmu xiang》canzhan Banama Taipingyang shibohui beihou de gushi 土山湾《中华圣母像》参展巴拿马太平洋世博会背后的故事," *Xuhui wenmai* 徐汇文脉 2 (2014), pp. 58-67, and a related article by the same author online, "Diancang tebie qihua: Zhongxi hunxue de Tushanwan 《Zhonghua shengmu xiang》 典藏特别企划:中西混血的土山湾《中华圣母像》," accessed April 5, 2016, URL: http://www.360doc.com/content/15/0928/16/9722372_502029096.shtml. GAO Bei 高蓓 has also discussed and studied the image in her dissertation on the Tushanwan workshops, pp. 154-162.

The image in question was commissioned in 1908 by the Lazarian missionary René Flament to decorate his church at the village of Donglu 東閭, in Hebei province.[143] With the money received from the reparation following the Boxer Uprising, Flament was able to construct a new building devoted to the Virgin Mary.[144] As a centerpiece, he wanted "a beautiful painting of the Holy Virgin" as a thanksgiving for her central role in the protection of the Church and the lives of Chinese Catholics at the village during the Uprising eight years earlier.[145] Largely initiated and perpetuated by the native secretive and militant society, Boxers United in Righteousness (*Yihequan* 義和拳), the anti-Western and anti-Christian movement swept through much of northern China between 1899 and 1901, destroying any Western institutions and violently persecuting any foreigners, with Christian missionaries and buildings often the main targets.[146] With the tacit support of the Qing court, the violence culminated in the summer of 1900 in the siege of the foreign legations in Beijing, followed by the rescue and occupation of Beijing months later by an alliance of eight foreign armies. The village of Donglu was near Baoding 保定, which was the site of intense punitive violence from the allied forces.[147] Boxers, mandarins, and ordinary Chinese were killed, while the European Christian dead were reburied and memorialized. The city would become, as James Hevia has argued, the symbolic stage for the process of "reterritorialization that was designed to inscribe on the land and on the minds of the Chinese a perpetual memory of Christian martyrdom."[148] Indeed as I shall demonstrate below, the motif of the Virgin Mary and Child would also be part of this process of "reterritorialization" and reinscription by the European colonial powers.

During the Uprising, miraculous stories associated with the protective power of the Virgin Mary begin to circulate. One missionary claimed that during combat with the Boxers in Tianjin, many including the "pagans . . . saw the Blessed Virgin in the middle of the Christians."[149] In 1901, during the siege of Beijing's Northern Church (Beitang 北堂, also known as Xishuiku 西什庫 Cathedral), devotees claimed that every night "a

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[143] ZHANG Xiaoyi suggests the prototype for Our Lady of Donglu began in 1904 for the Saint Louis World's Fair and was commissioned for the Fair by a mysterious person, and implied that person was either the Prince Pu Lun 溥倫 or someone related to him. See ZHANG Xiaoyi, "Tushanwan." See my discussion of the Saint Louis World's Fair later in this chapter. Citing Father SONG Zhiqing 宋稚青 and his account in the book *Zhonghua shengmu lijing shihua* 中華聖母禮敬史話 (Taiwan: Tianzhujiao wendao chubanshe, 2005), GAO believes that the painting was done by an unnamed French painter working with Flament. However since Father Song was born in 1918, many years after the creation of Our Lady of Donglu in 1904 or 1908, and was only 6 years old in 1924 when Our Lady of China was officially installed, I have reasons to question the accuracy of his account.

[144] ZHU Zuohao 朱佐豪, *Chao shengmu jianyan* 朝聖母簡言 (Shanghai: Tushanwan yinshu guan, 1934), p. 29.

[145] "Notre-Dame de Chine," *Bulletin Catholique de Pèkin* 141 (May 1925), p. 172.

[146] "Boxers United in Righteousness" was used by the British at the time, and the shorten term "Boxers" became the common appellation for the group. I am adopting this here since the historian Joseph W. Esherick used it in his definitive study on the subject, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (University of California Press, 1988).

[147] For more on the punitive expedition by the allied forces, see Hevia, *English Lessons,* pp. 224-230.

[148] Hevia, p. 292.

[149] *Annales de la Mission* 65, p. 533. Cited on the website: "Our Lady of Peking or Deliverance," accessed March 6, 2014, http://www.catholictradition.org/Mary/peking.htm.

white Lady walked along the roof" and that the balustrade was "lined with white soldiers with wings."[150] Beitang was thus saved, making it and the church at Donglu the only churches still standing in northern China after the Boxer Uprising.[151]

The choice of Tushanwan was suggested by Monsignor Stanislas Jarlin, C.M. and Joseph-Sylvain-Marius Fabrègues, C.M. from Baoding.[152] The original commission for Our Lady of Donglu ("Notre-Dame de Tonglu") was sent along with a photograph of a portrait of the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835-1908) (fig. 3-4) and a reproduction of the Virgin of the Host, most likely the painting by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (fig. 5); the Christ child was supposedly modeled after the Infant Jesus of Prague (fig. 6).[153] The commission was received by Liu Bizhen 劉必振 (Siméon Lieou) (1843-1912), who was the aged, august supervisor of the Painting Workshop from 1869 on.[154] After mapping out the commission, he delegated one of his best students, Fan Yinru 范殷儒 (c. 1870 - ?), to complete the work.[155] The finished painting Our Lady of Donglu was put on a train, arriving at Donglu on March 17, 1909. It was then placed behind the main altar in the church, replacing an image of Mary painted by a local Chinese consecrated virgin.[156]

Escaping the Taiping rebels in the 1850s, Liu had come to Shanghai as a child with other refugees. He settled in the Catholic community of Xujiahui, where he studied painting with Lu Bodu 陸伯都 (Pierre Lo) (1836-1880), the first Chinese Jesuit to study Western painting with the Jesuit priests. Lu officially founded the painting workshop and Liu eventually took over the responsibility of the workshop from his teacher completely. Liu's signature appears in engravings from the *Collected Illustrations of the New Testament* (*Xinshi xiangji* 新史像集) (1894), published and printed at Tushanwan. Among his many students, Fan Yinru and Xu Yongqing 徐咏青 (1880-1953) were

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[150] Recorded by the Vicar Apostolic of Northern Zhili Pierre-Marie-Alphonse Favier. Cited on the website: http://www.catholictradition.org/Mary/peking.htm, in Jeremy Clarke, S.J., "Our Lady of China" p. 25, and his book *The Virgin Mary,* p. 87.

[151] GAO, p. 155.

[152] My version of events derived from the three articles published in *Le Bulletin de Pékin* in 1915, 1917, and 1941. While even these sources were problematic, for example one continued to insist the misconception that Our Lady of China was modeled after Katherine Carl's oil painting of Cixi, I consider these sources more reliable given that two were published soon after the elevation of Our Lady of China in 1924 as articles to legitimize the action, and one of the articles included the correct photograph of Cixi as the model. See "Notre-Dame de Chine," p. 172.

[153] ". . . le tableau de, envoya alors, comme indications et documents principaux, d'une part, la photographie du Portrait de l'Impératrice Tze-His, et d'autre part, une image, que nous croyons être une reproduction de la Vierge a l'Hostie." See *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pèkin* 161 (January 1927), p. 3. The references to Ingres and Infant Jesus of Prague came from ZHU, p. 29.

[154] See LI Chao 李超, "Mayigu he Liudezhai – Tushanwan huaguan youhua yanjiu 马义谷和刘德斋 — 土山湾画馆油画研究，"in 土山湾记忆 *Memory of T'ou-sè-wè* (Shanghai: Xuelin chuban she, 2010), p. 147.

[155] "… 後來寄至上海土山灣就由劉相公分配整理後, 末由范先生繪成的。" ZHU, p. 29. FAN Yinru was sometimes written as 范應儒.

[156] See "Notre-Dame de Chine", p. 172. According to Father SONG, the original Virgin Mary and Child was painted by a local virgin, but Flament thought it was too busy and not artistic enough. See SONG Zhiqing, p. 82.

among the best.[157] Although it was Xu who eventually had a larger impact on the history of modern Chinese art, Liu saw Fan, the older of the pair, as the more skilled student. Entering the Painting Workshop in 1882, he specialized in oil painting, which was a more difficult medium and fetched for a higher price commercially. Upon his graduation in 1888 he stayed behind at the workshop and even enrolled his eldest son there.[158] Since very few of their paintings are known to have survived, it is difficult to assess their artistic achievements and legacies. But based on Liu's engraved illustrations (fig. 7), it is clear that they were closely following academic models for history paintings established in France.

Fan Yinru Painting

At least one painting by Fan Yinru has survived, which also happened to be the painting in question in this chapter; it is currently housed at the Saint Ignatius Church in San Francisco.[159] (fig. 1) A signature in red "Wei-Yn(?)-Zu", the French transliteration of Fan's name in Shanghainese, can be found in the lower-right corner on the red floral carpet.[160] A richly dressed lady wearing a crown is enthroned, with a child standing on the left side of her lap. The similarity of their crowns and the symmetrical familiar likeness of their European faces establish their relationship as that of mother and son. Her left hand emerges from under the child's red cape to steady him, presenting him as if he were a sacred implement. She holds a scepter capped with a gilded lily in her right hand. Her feet are hidden under her elaborate dress of gold and blue (the color blue being typically of Mary's mantle and the color red symbolizing Christ foretelling his Passion, both typically found in Renaissance paintings of the pair), the front of which is covered in a pattern of wisteria vine and bordered with medallions of the stylized character of *shou* 壽, "IHS," its alternate form of an S with three vertical lines, and the *labarum* (Chi-Rho).

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[157] The reputation of Xu had been established during the first-half of the twentieth century. For example, in "Yanghua yundong guocheng jilue 洋畫運動過程紀略," the writer and artist CHEN Baoyi 陳抱一 (1893-1945) calls him "one of the prominent painters favoring Western-art." See *Shanghai yishu yuekan* 上海藝術月刊 6 (April 1942).

[158] ZHANG Wei 張偉, *Xifeng dongjian: wanqing minchu shanghai yiwen jie* 西風東漸：晚晴民初上海藝文界 (Taiwan: Yaoyouguang, 2013), pp. 38-41.

[159] The painting has been hanging high up in the back of the church and I was not able to examine it in detail. However it was taken down for the exhibition *Partial Views: Recoding Sacred Objects* (October 4, 2014 – February 13, 2015) at the Manresa Gallery in the church, when I had a chance to rediscover the signature in red concealed in the red carpet on the lower right corner. It is unclear how the painting came to San Francisco. ZHANG Xiaoyi has suggested that it came, by mistake, for exhibition at the P.P.I.E. See ZHANG, "Tushanwan 'Zhonghua shengmu xiang'." In his letter to the head of the Woodcarving Workshop Aloysius Beck, the American Jesuit in charge of the P.P.I.E. exhibition mentioned that all the religious images were removed due to the protest of local Chinese Protestants, which would explain its absence from the official photographs; however he did not make any mention of this very new type of Marian image in the lengthy letter. It is possible that the painting came to San Francisco later, as more and more Californian Jesuits went to China beginning in the 1920s. Attempts to rediscover the provenance of the painting in the church and provincial archives have been unfruitful.

[160] In both variations of his names, either with 殷 or 應, are pronounced in the same way in Shanghainese. I thank ZHANG Xiaoyi for helping me with the pronunciation and translation of the name.

The pair's presence is amplifieded by the stately throne and by the red screen behind them. Beyond the screen is a bucolic scene of nature, typical of those found in European history paintings. On the ledge, vines of pink roses are presented as offerings for Mary. In the mid-ground, two deep blue vases of white lilies, a historical reference to the Virgin's purity, flank the pair.

Many versions similar to this painting exist (fig. 8), yet without clearly dated examples as signposts, it is difficult to definitively establish a genealogy of the various copies, though many have tried.[161] Zhang Xiaoyi and Jean-Paul Wiest have argued that the Our Lady of China desk-screen (fig. 2), which is claimed to have been exhibited at the Saint Louis World's Fair in 1904, predated the Our Lady of Donglu commission in 1908; however, this is unlikely.[162] I shall return to this issue of multiple copies later in the chapter, but the fact that the newly rediscovered painting was signed by Fan and the presence of several distinct characteristics suggest that the painting is one of the earliest

[161] See Clarke's book chapter on the subject and GAO Bei's treatment in her dissertation.

[162] See ZHANG, "Tushanwan" and "Zhongxi"; and Wiest. Most recently ZHANG Xiaoyi has published an interesting theory that the screen was made specifically for the seventieth birthday of Cixi and commissioned by Prince Pu Lun 溥倫 the Qing representative to the Saint Louis World's Fair, where it won a gold medal. I have yet to find evidence to substantiate her claims. Like Zhang and Wiest, other scholars also assert that the desk-screen went to the Saint Louis World's Fair, for example Yuan Wei 袁玮 , "Tushanwan yu shibohui de 'bainian qingyuan' 土山湾与世博会的'百年情缘'," *Xinmin wanbao* 新民晚报 November 29, 2009, reprinted in HUANG, Shulin 黄树林, ed. *Chongshi lishi suipian: Tushanwan yanjiu ziliao cuibian* 重拾历史碎片:土山湾研究资料粹编 (Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 2010), pp. 374-375; and of course, the desk-screen's former owner TONG Bingxue 仝冰雪, in his book *Shibohui Zhongguo liuying* 世博会中国留影 *China's Images at the World Expos (1851-1937)* (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2009), also makes this claim. All of them rely on a single label found on the back of the screen, claiming that it was exhibited at the Chinese Village at the Saint Louis World's Fair in 1904. After following this rabbit-hole for a long time without yielding any significant results (including research on the Chinese Village and the Saint Louis World's Fair, email exchanges with Tong, and several instances of contact with the original seller from North Carolina), I have come to the conclusion that the table-screen, though most likely made at Tushanwan based on the subject, stylistic traits, and medium, was probably not exhibited at 1904 Fair for the following reasons:

- The circular label on the back of the screen has large printed pixels and was poorly cut, its rounded edges straightened by a pair of scissors.
- Joseph de La Servière, S. J., in the 1910s listed Tushanwan's achievements (which included the Chinese Pavilion and the pagodas discussed in this dissertation) and the participations of the Woodcarving Workshops in different international venues did not mention the screen or the Saint Louis World's Fair. "Les ateliers de menuiserie, ébénisterie et sculpture, ont obtenu plusieurs médailles d'or aux expositions de Paris (1900), Hanoï, Liège, Dresde. Les travaux les plus considerable exécutés sont une maquette de tous les établissements de Zi-ka-wei (Paris), une maquette d'un quartier de ville chinoise, (Dresde), le pavillon chinois construit en 1906, sur la commande du roi Léopold II, pour les jardins de Laecken. Une superbe collection de reproductions en bois des principales tours et pagodes de Chine va partir pour l'exposition de San Francisco*."* See *L'Orphelinat de T'ou-sè-wè: Son histoire, Son état présent* (Zi-ka-wei, Shanghai: L'Orphelinat de T'ou-sè-wè, 1914), p. 35.

In the newly discovered film made by American Catholic missionaries *Ageless China* (1947), an unnamed carver shows off his newly finished desk-screen of the Virgin Mary and its printed model. The work was done in pyrogravure, and like the Our Lady of China desk-screen, it too was surrounded by a frame of repeated pattern of raised lines and placed on a stand guarded by two round spheres. Since the film is dated to 1947, this raises additional doubts about a 1904 date for the creation of the desk-screen (fig. 9). See *Ageless China* (1947). The issue remained unresolved. For now I remain skeptical until further evidence.

surviving versions.[163] One of these is the gesture of the Infant Christ's raised right hand. If the first version of Our Lady of China used the Infant Jesus of Prague as its model, as Zhu Zuohao recalled, then the version closest to it is the newly discovered painting by Fan Yinru now in St. Ignatius, San Francisco. While the Infant Jesus of Prague raises his right hand in the gesture of blessing (fig. 6), Fan's Jesus awkwardly extends his foreshortened right hand at around the level of his mother's heart. Other visual similarities, such as the style of the crowns, the sweet round faces, and the soft curled hair, further point to their close connections. In the later versions the problem of the unconvincing foreshortening is solved by straightening the right arm to stretch at a 45-degree angle, symmetrical to his left (fig. 8).

Another characteristic is that the painting shows multiple signs pointing directly to the original Cixi photograph, more so than the later versions. Scholars who have written on Our Lady of China have often made the observation that she resembles the Empress Dowager Cixi; their arguments mostly relied on the mistaken claim that the new Marian image was made after the American painter Katherine Carl's oil painting of Cixi found in some of the original sources.[164] My research, however, indicates that Our Lady of China was not only inspired by a photograph of Cixi, it was a trace-copy. The discovery was made when I superimposed an image of the painting on top of the Cixi portrait (fig. 10), matching the uneven wavy contours of the right sleeve and the lower part of the robe. Their scarves, with the medallions, the stylized rectangular *shou* character, down to the number of pearls, lined up perfectly. Even the complicated and tangled wisteria vines and flower pattern at the front of their robes overlapped and fit. These characteristics suggest that the robes were not ordinary, regulated Qing imperial court uniforms; they point directly back to Cixi, who favored these particular patterns in overseeing and designing her own clothes.[165] The same overlapping exercise has yielded similar results when done on another version (fig. 11), but certain details in one version seemed more convincing than others. For example, upon close inspection of Cixi's right shoulder, a deep groove is created by the stiffness of the fabric as her right sleeve is folded over. This groove and the distorted band of *shou* medallions are much clearer and remain unaltered in the painted version and not in the carved wood screen, despite attempts to obfuscate the details with a white veil in both (fig. 12).

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[163] And I should add one of the few surviving oil paintings from Tushanwan.

[164] For sources from the early twentieth century, see "Notre-Dame de Chine," p. 172 in 1925, ZHU, p. 29 in 1934, and de Lapparent, p. 359 in 1941. Contemporary scholars continue to repeat this mistaken claim. For examples, see Clarke, *The Virgin Mary*; and Wiest.

[165] See ZONG Fengying 宗凤英, *Qingdai gongting fushi* 清代宫廷服饰 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2004), pp. 182-185. Her Lady-in-Waiting YU Deling 裕德齡 (1885-1944) recalls, "Turning to one of the Court ladies, she [Cixi] ordered her to fetch a yellow gown as although, as she put it, she did not like yellow, she thought it would be the best color for a portrait. She selected one from a number which the Court lady brought, embroidered all over with purple wisteria. Her shoes and handkerchiefs matched. She also wore a blue silk scarf, embroidered with the character "Shou" (long life). Each character had a pearl in the center. She wore a pair of jade bracelets and also jade nail protectors. In addition she wore jade butterflies and a tassel on one side of her headdress, and, as usual, fresh flowers on the other side." See The Princess Der Ling, *Two Years in the Forbidden City* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1912), p. 231.

Becoming Our Lady of China

Officially Our Lady of Donglu became Our Lady of China through the conscious intervention of the Delegate Apostolic Celso Costantini (1873-1958) in 1924; however, as I demonstrate in the rest of the chapter, this process had begun long before then. By the early twentieth century Catholic missionaries had been in China for more than three hundred years, yet the number of converts remained small, and there were voices within the Church questioning the existing strategy of proselytization. For example, the French priest Léon Joly thought the problem was that Christianity had been seen as a foreign religion, and he proposed that Catholic churches should be run by the Chinese themselves.[166] Pope Pius XI appointed Costantini in response to these concerns in 1922. A trained artist himself, Costantini outlines his vision for Christian art in China in the essay "The Universality of Christian Art (L'Universalité de l'art chrétien)," advocating strongly the adaptation of local artistic style and language to suit the goal of the Catholic missions. It "always seems," as one Catholic missionary wrote in 1925 on the origin of Our Lady of China, "perfectly logical to speak in Chinese in front of the Chinese."[167]

Costantini called the first plenary council of the Catholic Church in China in Shanghai, which convened from May 15 to June 11, 1924. Dedications, processions, pilgrimages, and establishment of national prayers reinforced a specific form of Marian devotion, which, according to Jeremy Clarke, was integral to the Chinese Catholic identity.[168] Weeks before his consecration of St. Ignatius Church in Xujiahui to the Virgin Mary, Costantini visited Tushanwan, which was around the corner from the church, and after seeing a number of Marian images, he handpicked the Lady of Donglu and elevated it to Our Lady of China. He then asked that a large number of copies of it be printed for distribution on the last day of the council; each print was to include the title of "*Zhonghua shengmu* 中華聖母," or Our Lady of China.[169] In 1941, Pope Pius XII designated a feast day for Our Lady of China on the Catholic liturgical calendar on the same day as Mother's Day.[170]

The rest of the chapter will be divided into three parts. In Part I, I will lay out the historical circumstances of Jesuit missionary image-making and Cixi's own project of reclaiming her public image, and how the motivations and the goals of the two inevitably converged in Our Lady of China. Part II will address the visual and linguistic ambiguities that exist in the Marian image and how they were used to further the aims of Chinese nationalism in the early twentieth century. Finally, I will use the image to

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[166] Léon Joly, *Le Christianisme et L'Extrême Orient* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1907), cited in Henrietta Harrison, *The Missionary's Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village* (University of California Press, 2013), p. 3.

[167] ". . . car s'exprimer en chinois devant les Chinois m'a toujours paru parfaitement logique. . . " in "Notre-Dame de Chine," p. 171.

[168] See Clarke, *The Virgin Mary*, p. 125.

[169] See Clarke, *The Virgin Mary*, p. 131.

[170] See "Our Lady of China," The Cardinal Kung Foundation, accessed on April 10, 2015, http://www.cardinalkungfoundation.org/pm/PMourladyofchina.php.

explore the collaborative nature of work at Tushanwan by tracing how various motifs and ornaments were translated across media in the different workshops.

I. THE PORTRAITS OF TWO LADIES

The Virgin and Child in China

The image of the Virgin and Child has a long history in China. Probably the earliest is a depiction in the city of Yangzhou of the Madonna of Humility at the apex on a gravestone of a Genoese trader's daughter, Katerina Vilionis, who died in 1342.[171] (fig. 13) Though seated on a Chinese-styled circular platform, the image clearly derives from the Byzantine Hodegetria ("She who shows the way") image. Reputedly painted by St. Luke in the presence of the Virgin and Child, the *hodegetria* were relic-icons that were physically translated to Italy, where they became popular after the fall of Constantinople in 1204.[172]

The art historian Lauren Arnold has argued that Christian artifacts like the Vilionis tombstone suggest the presence and popularization by early Christians of the Madonna and Child icon in China before the arrival of Jesuits, a distant-memory that now survives in the form of the Child-giving Guanyin, though such an assessment ignores native Chinese religious and Buddhist precedents.[173] It is undeniable that the identity of the Virgin and Child did become enmeshed with the Child-giving Guanyin, and the process was accelerated by the formal introduction of Marian images to China by the Jesuits in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[174] Indeed, early Jesuit missionaries allowed and even encouraged their Chinese and Japanese neophytes to misidentify of the

[171] The gravestone was discovered by the Jesuit Francis Rouleau just before all the foreign missionaries were expelled from Communist China in 1952; the original rubbing of the tombstone is now at the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History on the campus of the University of San Francisco, which was founded in memory of Rouleau. See original article Francis Rouleau, S.J., "The Yangchow Latin Tombstone as a Landmark of Medieval Christianity in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17, 3/4 (December 1954): 346-365.

[172] See "Berlinghiero, *Madonna and Child*," Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed on July 4, 2014, http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/435658.

[173] For example, depictions of Hariti holding a child were found in Buddhist sculptures predating both the Vilionis tombstone and the popularization of Child-giving Guanyin in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Lauren Arnold lays out her argument in the book *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures: The Franciscan Mission to China and its Influence on the Art of the West 1250-1350* (San Francisco: Desiderata Press, 1999).

[174] Craig Clunas and others have suggested that the later popularization of Child-giving Guanyin was due to the introduction and popularization of the Madonna and Child by Catholic missionaries arriving in southern China. See Craig Clunas, *Art in China* (Oxford University Press, 2009), p.129. Others take a more cautious view, noting the converging coevality of the two forms. See Chün-fang Yü, "Guanyin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteshvara," *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, and University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), p. 173. After the explosion of Catholicism from Japan, Guanyin (Jp: Kannon) was used as a substitution for the Virgin and Child.

Virgin and Child as a foreign type of Guanyin.[175] As Gauvin Bailey observes, the early Jesuits "capitalized upon the Madonna/Guanyin phenomenon, which is why the Madonna became such a common image in Macao and China."[176]

Images of the Virgin and Child were an integral part of the earliest Jesuit missions in China. As Matteo Ricci recounts in his journal on the mission houses in Zhaoqing, "… everyone … paid reverence to the Madonna in her picture above the altar, with the customary bows and kneeling and touching of the forehead to the floor. All this was done with an air of real religious sentiment."[177] In fact, the Marian image had become so popular that the Jesuits had "to remove the picture of the Virgin Mother from above the altar and replace it with one of Christ the Saviour" because the Chinese visitors were beginning to believe the Jesuits "adored a woman as … God."[178] Such passages also reveal the flexibility and willingness of early Jesuit missionaries to manipulate or make adjustments to holy images further to refine a specific doctrinal idea.

But the Jesuits were not the only ones blurring distinctions between the Christian deity and Buddhist goddess. Contemporary Chinese artisans in Macau, Guangzhou, Jingdezhen, Dehua, and even Manila were remaking existing images of Guanyin for the foreign markets. Thanks to the modular system of production in Chinese workshops, parts could be easily added, subtracted, or replaced to meet customers' demands.[179] An excellent example is the Dehua Madonna and Child from the collection of the Peabody Essex Museum (fig. 14), where a cross and a child were added to a Guanyin with a clearly visible *ushnisha*, the cranial protrusion generally associated with the Buddha. The forcible imposition of the attached Christ-child is evident in the gaps around the arms and hands of the Guanyin, the imperfect seams between the Child's body and his awkwardly placed legs. The positioning of his smooth and elongated right leg in Mary's hand strongly resembles the stem of a *ruyi* scepter and its placement in contemporaneous images of Guanyin from the Dehua kilns; it was a simple procedure of replacing the *lingzhi* fungus head with that of the body and head of a European child (fig. 15).

In a way, the invention of Our Lady of China fits into the larger pattern of the practice of accommodation in the Jesuit missions.[180] Early Jesuits of the sixteenth and

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[175] The scholar Gang Song has called this identification of Guanyin as the Virgin an "aggressive substitution," but I argue this was generally not the case, especially for the devotees socially below the literati class; this has been demonstrated in the recent works of Chen Hui-hung, cited in this chapter. See Gang Song, "Between Bodhisattava and Christian Deity: Guanyin and the Virgin Mary in Late Ming China," *The Constant and Changing Faces of the Goddess: Goddess Traditions of Asia*, eds. Deepak Shimkhada and Phyllis K. Herman (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), p. 102.

[176] See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 89.

[177] Matteo Ricci, S. J., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610*, trans. Louis Gallagher, S. J. (New York: Random House, 1953), pp. 154-155.

[178] Ricci, pp. 154-155.

[179] This modular system of production lends itself particularly well to the making of export art driven by foreign market demands. See Lother Ledderose's chapter "Factory Art," *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, c. 2000).

[180] For example, Jesuits adopted existing Andean concepts and practices to explain and Christianity in the sixteenth century. See Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 254-261.

seventeenth centuries adopted Chinese dresses, learned Chinese classics, and attempted to fit into the Chinese society in order to win new converts. They called themselves "monks from the West" and were slow to correct any misidentification by natives as Buddhists to further their gradual penetration into Ming China. Despite the protections offered by the French Protectorate in the nineteenth century, Catholic missionaries in China selectively resumed the earlier missionary strategy of accommodation. The impetus to reform and enact this missionary strategy became more urgent after the Boxer Uprising, which violently highlighted the foreignness of the Catholic religion, and eventually led to the appointment of Costantini to nativize Chinese Catholicism. One contemporary Catholic missionary makes the explicit analogy between the adaptation of Our Lady of China for the Chinese congregation, comparing "…the image of Our Lady of Donglu, adopted so easily by Chinese Christians as the preferred model for Our Lady of China," to "European missionaries wearing Chinese dress to go on a mission and to live in the interior of China."[181]

II : FROM THE EMPRESS DOWAGER CIXI TO OUR LADY OF CHINA

Why was the Empress Dowager Cixi chosen as the model for the new Chinese Marian image? After all, she was seen as a proponent of the Boxer Uprising and thus as an antagonist of the Chinese Catholic community. Her historical image was and continued to be viewed as highly negative inside and outside of China. Here I caution against a broad generalization of public attitude against her in the post-Boxer period and advocate for a nuanced reading of her reception by the public through her visual and linguistic overlapping with Our Lady of China.

The confusion between the American artist Katherine Carl's (1865-1938) painted portrait and the photographic portrait of Cixi that made its way to Tushanwan provides a productive and important opening for discussion. First, it is a reflection of both the well-publicized, well-published, and widely circulated nature of the Empress Dowager's official image. Second, it underlines the interchangeability of the photographic and painting media in the early twentieth century. The portrait mentioned in contemporary sources was painted by Carl and sent to the Saint Louis World's Fair in 1904 (fig. 16 and 17).[182] Though unprecedented, this grand gesture was only one of Cixi's many efforts to restore her public image as the *de facto* female ruler of the Chinese empire in the eyes of an international audience. Her tacit support of the anti-Christian populist society and movement, the Boxers United in Righteousness, during the Boxer Uprising of 1900

[181] ". . . en voyant l'image de Notre-Dame de Tonglu, adoptee si facilement par les Chrétiens Chinois pour le type préféré de Notre-Dame de Chine; aux Missionaires européens revètant l'habit chinois pour aller en mission et vivre à l'intérieur de la Chine…" See *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pèkin* 161, January 1927, pp. 4-5.

[182] At least two versions exist. The one exhibited in Saint Louis, which has recently been cleaned and conserved, is currently at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. The other is at the Palace Museum in Beijing.

confirmed to the Western powers their worst suspicions against her and the Qing government, and her image in the aftermath of the Uprising was severely vilified and dehumanized in the press (fig. 18).[183] To win back the "friendship" of the foreign powers, whose destructive potential was fully on display in the looting and violence that took place in the name of liberating the foreigners trapped in the Foreign Legation, Cixi began to invite foreign ladies as guests to the imperial palace after her return from exile in 1902. Carl was invited to paint her official portrait in her presence, and about the same time photographs were taken for the first time inside of the Forbidden City, which were then sent to heads of states and bestowed on foreign visitors.[184] Using Western media and allowing her imperial visage to be visible to a greater public, she was attempting to regain control of her own image and at the same time acknowledging the legitimating power of the public.[185]

That public was domestic as well as international. The portrait photographs were immediately made available for sale at the same time her photographs were distributed as gifts and her oil portrait was on display in Saint Louis. While the Qing government did not approve the sales of the portraits, they were reproduced and sold, probably leaked by the diplomats who received them or from inside the court.[186] Advertisements of her portrait photograph could be found in the Shanghai-based newspaper *Shibao* 時報 from 1904-1905 as part of a series on celebrities, which also included important politicians as well as famous prostitutes, feeding the hunger for the photographic image in urban centers in China.[187] The hunger was not only a desire for the mimetic experience reproduced in the sense of virtual reality presented in these photographs, but also a chance for an encounter with the imperial and the forbidden. Historically the "sacred likeness" of members of the imperial family, especially of the emperors, was not circulated in the same way as those of their counterparts in Europe. Portraits were made

[183] For a discussion of this dehumanized portrayal of Cixi by Western media, see Cheng-hua Wang, "Going Public": Portraits of the Empress Dowager Cixi, Circa 1904," *Nan Nü* 14 (2012): pp. 135-136. The image of China with a despotic absolute ruler had a long history that could arguably be traced back to the image of the Khan in Marco Polo's memoir, but it was in the nineteenth century that the enlightened tyrant was shortened to simply "the tyrant." Adding to this was the *fin-de-siècle* fear of the *femme fatale*, whose beauty and femininity were the cause of downfall, in this case, of an ancient empire.

[184] For example, a colored photograph portrait was sent to President Theodore Roosevelt. A copy of the photograph that was used as a model for Our Lady of China was given to President Roosevelt's daughter Alice Roosevelt Longworth on her visit to Beijing in 1905. See David Hogge, "The Empress Dowager and the Camera: Photographing Cixi, 1903-1904) – Diplomacy, " MIT Visualizing Cultures, accessed on April 14, 2016, URL: http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/empress_dowager/cx_essay03.html. The photographs were generally believed to have been taken by the Yunling (ca. 1880-1943), the brother of Yu Deling and Rongling.

[185] Rosaline Yi Yi Mon Kyo has arrived at a similar conclusion examining the same Cixi photographs, though our methods diverged. See Rosaline Yi Yi Mon Kyo, "One, Two or None at All? Doubles and Mirrors in the Photographic Portraits of Empress Dowager Cixi" (Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2009).

[186] This was a real possibility. The collection of Cixi photographs at the Smithsonian came from the estate of Yu Deling (1885-1944), who kept and brought the photographs her brother took of Cixi to America. David Hogge of the Smithsonian points out that there were certain discrepancies between the ones donated by Yu Deling's descendents and the ones in the Palace Museum. He suspects that photographs in Yu's collection, which included the negatives, were the rejected ones.

[187] See Wang, pp. 154-158.

to commemorate special events and celebrations, and full-length portraits like the ones the photographs were modeled were meant only for ritual purposes in ancestral temples. They were not simply a representation of the deceased; they were the deceased made present again (fig. 19).[188]

While the photographs were among Cixi's efforts to control and rectify her public image, she could not control her "sacred likenesses" once they left the Forbidden City. As James Hevia has noted, this "desacralization" of the Qing dynasty had begun decades earlier with the looting and selling of imperial objects after the burning of the Yuanming Yuan summer palaces in 1860; these photographs only continued "the process of disenchantment" of the Qing monarchy.[189] The public appearance of her imperial visage legitimatized her governance of Qing China in the eye of Western powers, but at the same time it destabilized her symbolic imperial authority through the accessibility and the reproducibility of her image.

It is most likely that Flament or another Catholic missionary obtained one of these pirated copies of a Cixi portrait. The portrait photograph reproduced in *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin* from 1927 was closely cropped around Cixi with her title above, pointing to its illegitimate origin (fig. 3). In this sense then, the deliberate manipulation and remaking of Cixi's portrait into a Marian image could be seen as a tacit acknowledgement of the legitimacy of Qing and its female sovereign (the Xinhai Revolution that would overthrow the Qing was still three years away) and a visual makeover for both the Empress and the Virgin Mary.

Political Ambiguity

For Flament, Costantini, and others, the biggest challenge facing the Chinese Catholic church in the aftermath of the Boxer Uprising was to find a way to remake the Church so that Chinese, Catholic or not, could share a sense of connection and identification with the foreign religion. How would one make a foreign religion native? Unlike Christ, whose life story and naked, abused representations ran counter to native Chinese sensibility and had to be heavily edited and translated to make them suitable, the nativitization of the Virgin Mary was comparatively smooth thanks to her resemblance to popular native female deities like Guanyin 觀音 or the Daoist goddess Mazu 媽祖. But as Catholic missionaries spread, there was a greater orthodox need to disambiguate Mary and the pagan goddesses. At the same time, the importation of foreign types of Virgin and Child evoked sentiments of curiosity, exoticism, and even eroticism in viewers. The creation of a new Marian image was partly the answer to these potential confusions, but in choosing to base the new painting on a portrait of Cixi, the ambiguous doubling shifted

[188] Records of her photographs and paintings were recorded in *Shengrong zhang* 聖容帳 or *Register of Sacred Likeness*. Cixi had no idea that she was being used as a model for the "Mother of God in China" according to the Jesuit reports, "Elle ne se doutait pas alors qu'elle préparait ainsi le décor d'un image, qui devait devenir populaire, de la Mère de Dieu en Chine." See "Notre-Dame de Chine," p. 172.
[189] Hevia, *English Lessons*, p. 265.

from Mary/Guanyin to Mary/Cixi. While the doctrinally controversial mixing of the pagan and Christian was avoided, the imposition of the religious atop the political was perhaps the safer choice.

The original commissioner of the painting, René Flament, along with the two Baoding superiors who referred him to Tushanwan, were members of Congregation of the Mission, or Lazarians; Flament eventually became a priest at the Northern Cathedral (Xishiku 西什庫) in Beijing. All three accounts of Our Lady of China were published in *Le bulletin catholique de Pékin*, a Lazarian publication. The Lazarians were headed by the Vicar Apostolic of Northern Zhili Pierre-Marie-Alphonse Favier (1837-1905), who was at Northern Cathedral at the time of the Uprising, and who believed the Empress Dowager was friendly to Catholicism. In his published writings, which include his diary and official reports to the Vatican, he excused Cixi's action, explaining that she was forced by the current politics and conditions at her court. In fact, days before the Boxers laid siege on the Northern Cathedral, Favier wrote a letter and sent a gift to the Empress Dowager to ask for protection.[190] Even as the death toll reached 400 inside the Cathedral, Favier maintained that Cixi was in command of the government and that her "long public experience, an intelligent wish for peace and the counsels of responsible ministers [will be] predisposed to goodwill toward us."[191]

The Holy Mothers

It is interesting to note that the iconographies of Our Lady of China emphasize the Virgin Mary as an enthroned European monarch, indicated by the scepter and her crown matching that of the Christ child. She is not only the "Queen of China who art in Heaven (在天中國之后)," she is the Queen Mother to the King of Men (fig. 20).[192] By including the title *Zhonghua shengmu* 中華聖母 in the Our Lady of China prints distributed at the Shanghai plenary, Costatini ensured that the Queen of Heaven was not only localized but also recognized in her role as the Queen Mother for a Chinese audience. The term *shengmu* is not a direct translation of "Our Lady;" it literally means "Holy Mother."[193] The English title of "Our Lady of China" is a direct translation of the French term "*Notre Dame de Chine*," which emphasizes the more abstract metaphysical concept of her role of as an intercessor between God and the worshippers; the possessive pronoun "our/*notre*"

[190] See Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony*, pp. 75-76. The letter and gift was sent on June 3, 1900. See Favier's diary, ed. Rev. J. Freri, D.C.L., *The Heart of Pekin: Bishop A. Favier's Diary of the Siege, May-August, 1900* (Boston: Marlier & Company, Ltd., 1901), pp. 6-8.

[191] See Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony* p. 76, and Favier to Ledochowski, Rome, December 23, 1900: PropA, n.s. 262 (1903), p. 277r., cited in Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony*, fn. 97, p. 289.

[192] The missionary P. Jacques Tchang in Mongolia translated this term awkwardly as 在天中國之后, or "the Queen of China who art in Heaven," probably to consciously avoid the term *tianhou* 天后, the Queen of Heaven, because the latter in Chinese is a well-known title for Mazu, the protectress of mariners and sailors in southern China. See Lapparent, p. 359.

[193] The Latin name for "Our Lady of China" is "Regina Sinarum," translatable to "Queen of China".

presumes her predisposition in favoring her subjects.[194] "Holy Mother," on the other hand, stresses her role as the mother of God.[195] In Chinese, the term *shengmu* was also used as an honorific title for the Empress Dowager Cixi; it was included in the title in all the official portrait photographs and paintings, including the photograph that served as the model for Our Lady of China, in which a long white board above Cixi is inscribed with "The Incumbent Holy Mother Empress Dowager of Nation of the Great Qing, (May she live)Ten Thousand Years" (fig. 3-4).[196] Though in other instances additional honorifics could also be found attached to her name, *shengmu* was always immediately preceded *huangtaihou* 皇太后, or the Empress Dowager. The honorific was a reference to her role as the biological mother of the Tongzhi 同治 emperor (1862-1874), and then the ceremonial mother to the next emperor, Guangxu 光緒 (1871-1908).[197]

To further complicate the picture, *shengmu* was also used to refer to a host of popular native Chinese female deities that included Guanyin and Mazu. Like the visual ambiguity between the Virgin and Child and Child-giving Guanyin, the linguistic ambiguity between the Holy Mother of the Christianity and Chinese popular religion was exploited by early Jesuits in China.[198] Hui-hung Chen has recently uncovered an early version of the *True Record of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu shilu* 天主實錄) by Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607). One of the earliest Christian texts in Chinese, it was the first to describe Mary as *shengmu*. The term is also found in the invocation *Ave Maria* at the end of the text in the phrase *shengmu niangniang* 聖母娘娘.[199] The addition of *niangniang*, a term generally attached to the names of folk female deities, is a concrete indicator of Ruggieri's deliberate borrowing from native religious tradition to assist in the goal of Christian evangelization.[200] It would not be the last time.

Cixi herself also was also known to have reinvented herself as popular Buddhist deities, in particular the bodhisattva Guanyin (fig. 21). The same project of 1903-1904

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[194] This sentiment is made apparent in popular prayers like *Ave Maria*, a prayer that has been in circulation since the early 1500s. "Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus (Holy Mother, Mother of God, pray for us sinners)." See Herbert Thurston, "Hail Mary," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* VII (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910).

[195] This is also highlighted in *Ave Maria*, "…benedictus fructus ventris tui, Iesus (… blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus)."

[196] "大清國當今聖母皇太后萬歲萬歲萬萬歲"

[197] Yuhang Li, *Gendered Materialization: An Investigation of Women's Artistic and Literary Reproductions of Guanyin in Late Imperial China* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, June 2011), p. 142, fn. 1.

[198] One of the major concerns that Matteo Ricci and other early Jesuits were intimately concerned with the compatibility Chinese terminologies to transmit complicated and abstract doctrinal ideas like the use of *shangdi* 上帝 or *tianzhu* 天主 for God, since each had their own native Confucian significations that could mislead Chinese neophytes. See Gianni Criveller, *Preaching Christ in Late Ming China: The Jesuits' Presentation of Christ from Matteo Ricci to Giulio Aleni* (Taipei: Ricci Institute for Chinese Studies, 1997), p. 63.

[199] Hui-hung CHEN, "An Interdisciplinary Perspective to a Historical Issue: A Jesuit Madonna Case in the Seventeenth Century," Harvard-Yenching Institute Working Paper Series (December 11, 2013), pp. 15-16, accessed June 4, 2014, URL: http://www.harvard-yenching.org/sites/harvard-yenching.org/files/featurefiles/Chen%20Huihung_An%20Interdisciplinary%20Perspective%20to%20a%20Historical%20Issue.pdf.

[200] According to Hui-hung CHEN and others, this was one of the reasons why he was recalled from China.

produced photographs where she dresses and poses as the Guanyin of the Southern Sea (Nanhai Guanyin 南海觀音). The art historian Li Yuhang argues that she was not merely masquerading as the Goddess of Compassion in these photographs, but that they "allowed Cixi to maintain her own identity even as she became Guanyin."[201] The mimetic quality of photography allowed Cixi's true visage to be captured, giving visual credence to the claim that Cixi was the bodhisattva Guanyin. There were earlier Chinese historical precedents for imperial powers to iconographically borrow and even transform into divine beings for political legitimacy. For example, her Qing predecessor, the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-95), had himself represented as the bodhisattva Manjushri (whose emanation he was understood to be) or perhaps even closer to Cixi in circumstances, the Tang-dynasty female emperor Wu Zetian's (624-705) who promoted herself as Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future.[202]

Thus when *shengmu*/Holy Mother was invoked in China during the last decade of the Qing and during the early years of the Republic, the mental image conjured would have depended on the context and the audience. She could be an efficacious local Chinese goddess, the Christian Mary, or the Empress Dowager Cixi. The same name could have simultaneously generated a different image, or two, or three at once depending on the audience: Guanyin/Cixi/Virgin Mary for a Catholic neophyte in Shanghai, Guanyin/Cixi for a member of the Qing court, Cixi/Virgin Mary for the non-Chinese Christian viewers, and so on.

Mothers of the Nation

The semantic ambiguity of *shengmu*/Holy Mother takes on another layer of signification when it is appropriated for a nationalist agenda in the same time period; the key lies in "*mu*," or "mother." Motherhood or maternal instinct is expressed by the character *ci* 慈, and the adjective was used to qualify "*mu*." Thus *Cimu tang* 慈母堂, or the House of the Compassionate Mother, was where abandoned babies and infants were sent before their entry into Tushanwan; this was used in favor of the common Chinese term for orphanage, Yuying tang 育嬰堂, or the House for Raising Infants.[203] In case there were any doubts about who the Compassionate Mother was, the house was also known as Shengmu yuan 聖母院, or the Courtyard of the Holy Mother (fig. 22). In the absence of parents, the Mother of God became the nurturing and protecting parent for all the parentless. *Ci* was also the first character in the title for the two Empress Dowagers,

[201] Yuhang Li, "Oneself as a Female Deity: Representations of Empress Dowager Cixi as Guanyin," *Nan Nü* 14 (2012): 117.
[202] For Qianlong as Manjusri, see David Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no. 2 (June 1978): 5-35. Wu was a wife to two emperors (father and son), and, like Cixi, she served as the regent to her son after the death of her husband, and gradually completely took control of the imperial court. One difference is that Wu declared herself the Emperor and established a new dynasty (Zhou), and did not assume the more conventional title of Empress Dowager.
[203] See Gao, p. 28.

Cixi and Ci'an 慈安 (1837-1881); the titles were received after the death of their husband the Xianfeng emperor (1831-1861) to emphasize their immediate roles as compassionate mothers to the boy-emperor Tongzhi (Cixi's biological son), and by extension the compassionate mothers to the Great Qing empire as they served jointly as the emperor's regents.[204]

Despite the negative press Cixi received in the last years of her life, she became a rallying figure for Chinese nationalism for some. As Lydia Liu has pointed out, she was deliberately compared to Queen Victoria in an attempt to equate the sovereignty of Qing China with that of other nations in the aftermath of the Boxer Uprising. Liu cites Ku Hungming (Gu Hongming 辜鴻銘) (1857-1928), who was the translator to the Qing representative Viceroy Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909) during the negotiation with the foreign nations after the Uprising.[205] In an English essay entitled "*Moriamur pro Rege, Regina*! A Statement of the True Feelings of the Chinese People Towards the Person and Authority of H.I.M. the Empress Dowager," Ku reaffirms the loyalty of the Chinese people to their monarch:

> . . . by the first fundamental law of state in China, resting upon the principle of absolute obedience of children to parents (以孝治天下), the supreme authority in the Chinese body politic of H.I.M. the Empress Dowager as the mother of the nation (國母) or country, admits of absolutely no question or doubt.[206]

While the statement could be read as a reference to the type of relationship that bonded the subjects of a nation to their ruler as "children to parents," the Chinese 以孝治天下 (which was part of the original) clarifies the type of relationship in discussion. Literally translated as "governing the world through (the principle of) filial piety," the phrase comes from Chapter 8 of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經), which outlines the proper responsibilities of a ruler to his subjects: performing the proper rites, caring for the weak, care of the weak, etc.[207] The filial relationship described in the text seems to refer to a masculine moral obligation rather than a feminine affective connection to the subject. Cixi herself was keenly aware of the gendered expectations of a ruler as

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[204] "*Ci"* is awkwardly translated as "kindly" in the latest book on Cixi, Jung Chang's *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China* (Random House UK Limited, 2013). Yuhang Li and Harriet Zurndorfer's translation of "motherly" is much closer to convey the proper meaning of the character in this context. See their introduction "Rethinking Empress Cixi through the Production of Art," in *Nan Nü* 14 (2014): 3.

[205] See Lydia Liu, Chapter 5: "The Secret of Her Greatness," *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Harvard University Press, 2004).

[206] See Ku Hung-ming, M.A., "*Moriamur pro Rege, Regina*! A Statement of the True Feelings of the Chinese People Towards the Person and Authority of H.I.M. the Empress Dowager," in *Papers from a Viceroy's Yamen, A Chinese Plea for the Cause of Good Government and True Civilization in China* (Shanghai Mercury, Ltd., 1901), p. 3.

[207]"子曰：「昔者明王之以孝治天下也，不敢遺小國之臣，而況於公侯伯子男乎？故得萬國之懽心，以事其先王。治國者，不敢侮於鰥寡，而況於士民乎？故得百姓之懽心，以事其先君。治家者，不敢失於臣妾，而況於妻子乎？故得人之懽心，以事其親。夫然，故生則親安之，祭則鬼享之，是以天下和平，災害不生，禍亂不作。故明王之以孝治天下也如此。《詩》云：『有覺德行，四國順之。』」, Chapter 8: "Governing by Filial Piety," *The Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經.

she performed the role of "the mother of the nation (國母)." Her Lady-in-Waiting Yu Deling recalls, "Her Majesty always wanted to be a man and compelled everyone to address her as if she were actually one."[208] Instead of mother, Cixi often insisted that her nephew, the Guangxu emperor, address her as father.[209]

In this light, the transformation of Cixi into Our Lady of China by the Jesuit community can be seen as a deliberate attempt to return her to the feminine role of a moral mother; this was an important political message that Xujiahui Catholic community was tacitly promoting. Though not recorded until several sensational Western publications appeared a few years after her death in 1908, rumors of her libidinous life of excess and debauchery were commonly and popularly traded before then.[210] Our Lady of China returned Cixi to her maternal role: mother to China and mother to Christ, and not in the masculine role of a secular ruler. She was recast as the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception, whose supernatural quality of having been "conceived without sin" was central to the nineteenth-century Marian cult.[211] This particular political reading is supported by a detail from an earlier work from Tushanwan on the lintel above the entryway to the Chinese Pavilion at Laeken, discussed in Chapter 2 (fig. 23). At two ends of the scene depicting the Battle between the Three Heroes and Lü Bu are a portrait of the patron King Leopold II and a portrait of the Guangxu emperor. Notably the Guangxu emperor appears as the counterpart of Leopold and not Cixi.[212] After the failed Hundred Days' Reform spearheaded by Guangxu, he was put under house arrest until the end of his life, while the Empress Dowager Cixi was acknowledged internally and internationally as the real power-holder in Qing China.

After the fall of the Qing in 1911, the association between Our Lady of China and the Empress Dowager Cixi had begun to unravel, and there was no longer any need for the Catholic communities in China to take sides in an internal imperial family drama. Our Lady of Donglu was transformed into Our Lady of China even before Costantini "offered the whole of China to the Holy Mother"; she became a spiritual mother who offered protection and love to all.[213] In a hymn written in 1918, Xu Zhefu 徐哲夫 links the fate of China to Our Lady of China:

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[208] See *The Princess Der Ling*, p. 68. Also see Liu, p. 151.
[209] See Liu, p. 151.
[210] The most famous and popular is J.O.P. Bland and Edmund Backhouse, *China Under the Empress Dowager* (London: William Heineman, 1910). Decades later Backhouse included in his memoir his sexual encounters with Cixi, which turned out to be completely fictional. See "Summer Palace Nocturne," *Décadence Mandchoue: The China Memoirs of Sir Edmund Trelawny Backhouse*, Derek Sandhaus, ed. (Hong Kong: Earnshaw Books, 2011). Cixi's deviant sexuality continued to be a point of fascinated, for another example see Charles Pettit, *La femme qui commanda à cinq cent millions d'hommes: Tseu-Hi, impératrice de Chine (1835-1908)* (Paris: Éditions du Laurier, 1928).
[211] Wiest, p. 4. The dogma was revived and enshrined by Pope Pius IX in 1854, who had a big role in pushing missionary works in China.
[212] These two portraits were identified in the album that Aloysius Beck had created for King Leopold II. Because they were unlabeled, Guangxu has been misidentified as the prominent Qing diplomat Li Hongzhang. See Kozyreff, p. 33.
[213] ". . . 把中華全國奉獻於聖母。" See "Zhonghua shengmu zhanli 中華聖母瞻禮," Ciyi*n, Shanghai jiaoqu Xujiahui Sheng Yinajue gongxue shengmu shitaihui huikan* 慈音，上海教區徐家匯聖依納爵公學聖母始胎會會刊 7/6 (1941): 166.

"Praise to Our Lady of China"

I. Carrying the Holy Child, the Holy Mother descends to China;
Bamboos sprout new shoots and apricots bloom,
Oh multitudes! All come worship the Holy Mother!
The Queen of China who art in Heaven,
Sincerely pray for me.

II. The Holy Child and the Holy Mother both express joy.
Both hearts possess the same passionate warmth.
Ardently love the Lord of Heaven. Rescue China from danger!
The Queen of China who art in Heaven, pray for us![214]

This was the period of uncertainty and disunity in China, and dangers were everywhere; the new Republic fell into fractious warlordism, and foreign colonial forces continued to demand extra-territorality and threatened Chinese sovereignty. Two decades later when China was under the threat of Japanese invasion, the church at Donglu became a popular site where pilgrims came to pray for the "the revival of the Chinese nation and the construction of the country" before the original painting of Our Lady of China.[215] Under Japanese occupation in 1941, the Bishop of Shanghai expressed his gratitude to Our Lady of China for "becoming the mother empress (母皇) for all China."[216] Her protection was invoked again in the midst of the civil war between the Communists and Nationalists in the late 1940s.[217]

Mother and Father of China

[214] "中華聖母讚"（上）聖母抱聖嬰降臨中華｜竹在長新枒，梅也生花：｜人啊！都來朝拜聖母罷！｜在天中國之后，｜為我摯祈！（下）聖嬰和聖母表示快樂。｜兩顆的心。同是一般熱。｜熱愛天主。救中華困危！｜在天中國之后，為我等祈！See Xu Zhefu 徐哲夫，"Zhonghua shengmu zan 中華聖母讚," *Nanxing zazhi* 南星雜誌 (February 8, 1933).

[215] "蔡總主教袂（？）在東閘天主堂中華聖母像前獻此大善願：河北保定東閘聖母堂. . . 祈求聖母恩賜中國民族復興國家建設早日完成，社會和平，聖教廣場早日實現。" From the article "Qiqiu Zhongguo minzu fuqing: guojia jianshe zaori wancheng, shengjiao guangchang zaori shixian 祈求中國民族復興：國家建設早日完成，聖教廣場早日實現…" *Gongjiao zhoukan* 公教周刊 (September 2, 1937).

[216] ". . . 做我們中華全國的母皇。" See "Zhonghua shengmu zhanli." There are similar appropriations and elevations of a female maternal deity, though mostly local, to that of the national mother in India and in Japan during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. For example, Martin Collcutt has argued that the revival of Buddhist art with the focus of the popular devotion to the "Child-bearing Kannon" (Komochi Kannon) in works such as Kano Hogai's rendering of Kannon as the Compassionate Mother, might have been a "subliminal message of motherhood in the service of the nation." See Martin Collcutt, "The Image of Kannon as Compassionate Mother in Meiji Art and Culture" in *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art*, ed. Ellen P. Conant (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), p. 197-198. SONG Zhiqing 宋稚青 has a long discussion on the religious role and meaning of Our Lady of China throughout much of twentieth century Chinese history; see his book *Zhonghua shengmu lijing shihua*.

[217] For example, see the hymn by Zhang Fanxing 張帆行, "諸寵中保中華聖母歌 Zhuchong zhongbao zhonghua shengmu ge," in 聖體軍月刊 *Shengtijun yuekan* 14/5 (1948).

By the Republican era, Our Lady of China was no longer overtly associated with the Manchu imperial family, but her symbolic power in the contemporary political climate had not diminished. She became a figure for Chinese nationalism, which fit into the agenda of the ruling Chinese Nationalist Party (Guomindang 國民黨) of creating new symbols for a new China in the 1920s and 1930s. Unlike other efforts by the Nationalists, such as the standardization of the national flag or the consecration of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, this was independently initiated from the grassroots level and promoted by private organizations with the goal of creating a different kind of national identity.[218] From the perspective of the Catholic missionary in China, this was a natural continuation of the process to transform Catholicism into a Chinese religion.[219]

The connection between Our Lady of China and Chinese nationalism was made visually explicit in an undated advertising booklet from Tushanwan that offered for sale two "bas relief" panels: "Our Lady of China and principal cathedrals of the world" and "Mausoleum of Suen Wen [Sun Yat-sen] and pagodas of China" (fig. 24a-b).[220] The intended educational function of these panels is made clear on the verso: "Chinese art specimens for museums, exhibitions, etc." Though they could be sold individually they were presented and intended as a pair; they have the same price ($900), the same dimensions (136 x 96 cm), the same technique and material (carved cedar), and the same composition: a central rectangular panel with a central subject surrounded by a frame covered with carved reliefs of architecture.

Although no date is given, the appearance of the mausoleum places the pair in 1929 or later since that was the year of Sun Yat-sen's entombment. The construction and the burial of Sun were among the first and most significant politically symbolic acts that Chiang Kai-shek executed after the success of his Northern Expedition, according to Henrietta Harrison. Sun's mausoleum, constructed on the Purple-Gold Mountain outside of Nanjing, capital of the Nationalist government, was intended to consolidate and legitimate Chiang's government.[221] As a result, the overall design and ground layout of the memorial was infused with nationalist political messages to become, in the words of

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[218] For more on the creation of national symbols and rituals during this period, see Henrietta Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China, 1911-1929* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

[219] Though initially "exasperated" by the growth of Chinese nationalism, prominent Xujiahui Jesuit-scholars like Pasquale D'Elia eventually accepted Chinese nationalism with reservation. This was the reason for his French translation of Sun Yat-sen's Three People Principle: *Le Triple Démisme de Suen Wen* in 1929, wishing to show the possibility of being "good Christians while remaining Chinese." See Pascal M. D'Elia, S.J., *Catholic Native Episcopacy in China* (Shanghai: Tushanwan, 1927), p. 91; and D'Elia, *Le Triple Démisme de Suen Wen*, p. ix; both cited in Peter Fleming, "Chosen for China: The California Province Jesuits in 1928-1957: A case study in mission and culture" (Ph.D. diss., Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1987), p. 182.

[220] The advertisement is "Chinese art specimens for Museums, exhibitions, etc." China Mission Vertical File 1310, Zikawei Orphanage, Book Catalogs, Order Forms, Box 26 R-S, California Jesuit Archives, Santa Clara University. The panels are described in XU Weinan's 徐蔚南 classic *Zhongguo meishu gongyi* 中國美術工藝 (Zhonghua shuju, 1940). The appearance of the two panels could be seen in the newly discovered *Ageless China* (1947) (fig. 25).

[221] See Harrison; also Frederic Wakeman Jr., "Mao's Remains," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, eds. James Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (University of California Press, 1988).

the historian Frederic Wakeman, "a new sacral center for the Republican state."[222] A long flight of steps leads to the mausoleum. It was on these steps on June 1, 1929 that the public ritual of burial was performed by prominent members of the Nationalist Party to accompany the entombment of Sun's coffin.[223] Orthogonal lines point viewers toward the mausoleum at the summit. Flattened and reduced to a façade, the mausoleum is recognizable by the upturning eaves and the three arched pathways representing Sun's famous Three Principles of the People (*sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義); it was to become the icon of a newly reunified nation. In the next decade, the icon was replicated on currency and stamps (fig. 26).

In addition to the construction of Sun's tomb, other symbolic political gestures included the use of the epitaph "*guofu* 國父," or "Father of the Nation." As early as 1925, the year of Sun's death, publications had begun to refer to Sun as the "Father of the Nation, Mr. Sun Yatsen," comparing him to George Washington; this title was quickly shortened to "Father of the Nation," as the association between Sun and the title was accepted.[224]

On the opposite page is Our Lady of China. The extra steps from the earlier versions have been eliminated, as have details like the white lilies, making her presence much more immediate. Her image, like that of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, has become an iconographic one.[225] Yet while Sun would forever be enshrined as the National Father of China, circumscribed geographically and culturally through the pagodas behind the Mausoleum and on the intricately carved frame, Our Lady of China as Mary transcended geographical and cultural boundaries. Though dressed as the Empress Dowager of China, she reigns over the entire spiritual world as Queen of Heaven. The cathedrals on the frame around her (the most recognizable is immediately above: the Square of Saint Peter at the Vatican marked by the Egyptian obelisk in the center) are monuments declaring the catholic nature of Catholicism. Through visual analogy and repetition, the intentional pairing drove home parallels between the imagined pair and gave an orphaned nation in crisis its new Spiritual Mother and a National Father. The Republic of China, awakened by the National Father of the Christian (though a Protestant) Sun Yat-sen under the spiritual protection of the Holy Mother Mary could now join the community of civilized and Christian nations.

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[222] The Cornell University-educated Lü Yanzhi ¨呂彥直 (1894-1929), whose design of the mausoleum won in a nation-wide design contest, was the architect for both the mausoleum and the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Guangzhou. See Rudolf G. Wagner, "Ritual, Architecture, Politics, and Publicity during the Republic: Enshrining Sun Yat-sen," in *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts,* eds. Jeffrey W. Cody, Nancy S. Steinhardt, and Tony Atkin (University of Hawai'i Press and Hong Kong University Press, 2011), pp. 243-245; Wakeman, p. 258.

[223] Wakeman, p. 258.

[224] See Harrison, pp. 146-147. She translates *guofu* as "Father of the Country."

[225] Thus far I have avoided the terms "icon" and "iconic" in reference to Our Lady of China because the potentially distracting theological implications in reference to Holy Icons; here I am using the terms colloquially.

III: MAKING OUR LADY OF CHINA IN PHOTOGRAPHY, PAINTING, AND WOODCARVING

In this last part of the chapter, I use Our Lady of China to examine the the transference between different media at the Tushanwan workshops and the urban visual culture of early-twentieth-century China.

Heteropraxis: Photography, Painting, and Woodcarving

Since its introduction to China in the mid-nineteenth century, photography had been dominated by foreigners, both as the producers and the consumers of the medium. Chinese photographers at this time were looking into the camera lens through the colonial eye, choosing to depict subjects and compositions that would appeal to the Western understanding of China: the picturesque, the ancient, the ageless, the monstrous, the ruinous, and the ethnographically interesting.

Whenever the photographic medium was used by Chinese artists it was treated as an intermediary, an imperfect medium that required the intervention of the brush.[226] Thus photographs or negatives were subjected to inscription (fig. 27), the addition of color (fig. 28), seals (fig. 30), or even added compositional elements to suit the Chinese aesthetic sensibility (fig. 29). Unlike the colored photographs of Western photographers like Felice Beato (fig. 31), these manipulations were not simply to heighten the effect of virtual reality; on the contrary many of these photographic adjustments serve to undermine the illusion of reality. The moment when the shutter closed did not entirely determine the final state, but marked the beginning of the captured image's subsequent transformations; the image was never finished. The aesthetic choices made by various Chinese photographers and artists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were attempts to integrate this foreign technology within their own Chinese visuality. Cast in a different light, if the camera lens was seen as a tool of Western colonialism and imperial power, as many have claimed, then the manipulations could be seen as nativist interventions intended to neutralize or appropriate that threat.[227]

At the same time, the mimetic quality of the photograph and other artistic technologies originated from the West was deemed instrumental in reproducing the natural likeness of a person, in particular in the face. Earlier in the Qing, imperial patrons like the Qianlong emperor utilized the painting skills of European Jesuit artists like Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) to render the subject as if he were present, by painting

[226] Several scholars have noted the instrumentality of the photograph as a Western technology. For example, see Gu Yi, "What's in a Name? Photography and the Reinvention of Visual Truth in China, 1840-1911," *The Art Bulletin*, XCV/1 (March 2013): 121.

[227] For a small sample of those studies, see Geoffrey Belknap, "Through the Looking Glass: Photography, Science and Imperial Motivations in John Thomson's Photographic Expeditions," *History of Science* 52/1 (March 2014); James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); and Hevia, *English Lessons*. Contemporary artists like Wangechi Mutu and Kenyatta A.C. Hinkle have recovered the postcolonial subjectivities of colonized bodies by "pasting on, cutting into and drawing over images of bodies." See Kanitra Fletcher, "Re-covered: Wangechi Mutu, Kenyatta A.C. Hinkle, and the postcolonial potentiality of black women in colonial(ist) photographs, *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies* 40/1 (2014): 181.

and inserting his highly naturalistic face into whatever the situation demanded (fig. 32). With the arrival of photography, the medium substituted European painting technique to recreate the facial likeness of the portrait subject quickly, cheaply, and more accurately. The photographed face was sometimes copied and translated onto a painting done in traditional Chinese ink brush, as seen in Yu Ming 俞明's double portrait of the general police commissioner Huang Jinrong and the gangster Du Yuesheng (fig. 33).[228] The mimetic reproduction of one's likeness, though increasingly important to the goal of representing oneself, nonetheless remained secondary to the costumes and surroundings. Dressed in scholar's long robes and surrounded by symbols of literati cultivation—the pines, the bamboos, the rocks, and the calligraphic brushwork—the duo reinvented themselves as a pair of respected and quiet learned men. In other words, photography could capture a person's external likenesses, but it failed in making visible his/her "true" inner self.[229] Seen in this light, the inserted head of the Virgin Mary from Ingres in Our Lady of China can be seen as a recognition of her Western origin and her external appearance. Mary's true appearance, however, lies in her imperial costume, her Christ Child, and her symbol-laden surroundings. Like the Qianlong emperor himself, who was able to use his ambitious artistic vision to address multiple audiences at the same time within his ethnically diverse empire, Our Lady of China included a wide array of symbolic signifiers to address multiple audiences inside and outside of China, Christian and non-Christian, Qing loyalist and Republican; she was indeed universal.

Photography was also a useful aid for painting; painters realized the instrumental quality of the medium soon after its invention in Europe. Katherine Carl, for example, used photographs of the Empress Dowager as a model for her oil paintings (fig. 34).[230] The same attitude toward the medium was also found at Tushanwan, as photography competed with and at times replaced printed images of European paintings as the models for the Painting Workshops. When the photograph of Cixi was sent to be used in the creation of the first Our Lady of China, it was used as a template upon which to trace and copy an outline for the painting. This was a common and foundational practice at the Painting Workshop, as remembered by a graduate of the workshop, Zhang Chongren, who began his training by tracing flowers and birds with a Chinese brush on transparent paper.[231] The drawings were then transferred to other media in other workshops to wood panels, canvas, printing plates, etc., where each would be finished and embellished accordingly. The translation and transmission between media within the workshops was made easy due to several factors: the close spatial proximity of the various workshops, the collaborative nature of all the workshops, and most importantly the linear nature of the line drawings. Though created by a variety of tools for making lines—pencils, pens,

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[228] For more on the portrait, see the catalogue entry for the painting in *Shanghai: Art of the City* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2010), p. 81.

[229] Similar points have been made by Angela Zito in "Silk and Skin: Significant Boundaries," in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, eds. Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 131-156, and Wu Hung, in *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (The University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[230] Yu Deling 裕德齡 and Yu Rongling 裕容齡, *Zai taihou shenbian de rizi* 在太后身邊的日子 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2009), pp. 197-293 and 237-38.

[231] CHEN Yaowang 陈耀王, *Suren suji suchunqiu: Zhang Chongren zhuan* 塑人塑己塑春秋:张充仁传 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2013), p. 24.

paint brush, burin, woodcarving knives, pyrogravure burners, etc.—they were able to accurately replicate the same outlines and contours according to different needs. For example, when creating a work in pyrogravure such as the Our Lady of China desk-screen, the Tushanwan art worker was skilled enough to control the burner as effectively as any stylus, creating black lines on the wooden surface (this was demonstrated in the film *Ageless China* from 1947). The precision of the outline would have ensured the correct replication and stability of the drawn image, forming the foundation for the final product; yet the outline was neither limiting nor restrictive. As the initial outline made its rounds through the various workshops and across different media, each station and each hand shaped and reshaped Our Lady according to the demands of the medium or the customer or his own creativity. Thus "IHSs" replaced the Chinese characters of *shou*, heads were replaced, and backgrounds were changed over and over again (fig. 8).

Such individualistic artistic choice, generally thought to be absent in a commercial workshop setting, has been recently observed to be a common occurrence.[232] Take for example, the dragon on the right chair arm in Our Lady of China (fig. 35). Comparing three dragons from three different Our Lady images, it is clear that two are more closely related than the other. That particular arm of the chair was used to elaborate what a carved imperial dragon should have looked like according to individual interpretation, ranging from the animated face of the dragon with a pair of upturned eyes peering whimsically at Mary, to a flattened wooden ornament that is shaded and pushed back to be better integrated with the carved backboard of the chair. These variations tantalizingly invite reconstruction of the hand or hands behind each work.

Some of the variations were responses to the demand of each workshop. Because of the close connectedness of the workshops, people, motifs, techniques, and ideas moved fluidly, resulting in greater collaborative projects. The same motif or ornament could be found in several media in unexpected ways. For example, the *arhat* Mahakassapa (fig. 36) illustrated in *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine* by Henri Doré reappears on a stained glass door of a cabinet (fig. 37), both made at Tushanwan.[233] The same figure is also found painted on a pagoda model sent to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. While the same figure was perfectly repeated in a different medium, the background changed. The illustration was included in *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine* to demonstrate the typology of different deities in Chinese Buddhism. Mahakassapa, being the eldest discipline of the Buddha, is seen holding a scroll in his hand; thus the illustration highlights his role in transmitting the word of the Buddha. However when Mahakassapa appears in the stained glass on the cabinet, his role is purely decorative; hence he is grounded with yellow earth sprouting tufts of grass and emerald hills to suggest distant space.

Orthopraxis: Photography, Painting, and Woodcarving

[232] For example, Winnie Wong's investigation of the painting workshops at the Dafen Village in Shenzhen. See her book *Van Gogh on Demand: China and the Readymade* (University of Chicago Press, 2014).
[233] Doré*, Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine,* vol. 7 (1912), fig. 76.

To be sure these variations were possible because of the introduction of extraneous elements, secondary to the main figural group of the Virgin and Child, which remained relatively unchanged in different versions to ensure the production of the "correct" Our Lady of China. Despite the variations, all versions of Our Lady of China were immediately recognizable, even the influence of the Cixi photograph could be sensed by many who could not pinpoint the exact source.[234] To offer a counterexample, without the institutional control of Tushanwan, recent paintings of Our Lady of China have radically departed from the original (fig. 38). But why was the institutional control in place? Was it to simply to meet costumer demands? There are two ways to consider the institutional control of Tushanwan workshops and its impact: artistic training and spiritual training.

By the 1880s, the painting workshop under Liu Bizhen had already been through several changes in its short life. The multilevel master-apprentice pedagogical program usually took four years, but oil painting added another. In addition to basic courses on mathematics, history, and religion, artistic training was offered in drawing, sketching, coloring, and calligraphy. The official artistic pedagogy was centered on tracing and copying of both three-dimensional sculptures and famous religious paintings.[235] The graduation exam at the painting workshop was based on the ability to copy a given sacred painting. Filling every inch of available wall space at the atelier, the orphans were copying reproductions of European masters from the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation, the works of the latter characterized by the spiritually affect that religious paintings were able to inspire in the viewers. In other words, these reproductions of artworks preconditioned the students to a particular way of visualizing and reproducing the sacred image (fig. 39).

Thus it is important not to lose sight of the nature of Marian images and the role of holy images in modern Catholic devotion. Writing about modern religious visual culture, David Morgan reminds us that seeing a religious picture is "an act of worship, an observation of awe, but also a constructive act that transforms the spiritual into the material."[236] It is about spiritual communion with the divine, thus in Our Lady of China, Mary's gaze looks down while the Christ-child looks out. From below, worshippers would have met Mary's merciful gaze and asked for her intercession on their behalf rather than engaging with Christ's gaze directly.

The role of the sacred images in nineteenth-century Catholicism in China is clarified by the Chinese Jesuit Fang Dianhua 方殿華 in the "Record of the Image (*Xiangji* 像記)" from *The Concise Collection of Doctrines* (*Daoyuan jingcui* 道原精萃) (1886) printed and published in Tushanwan.[237] The purpose of sacred images, Fang

[234] For example GAO Bei, ZHANG Wei, LI Chao, etc. See bibliography for references.
[235] ZHANG and ZHANG, *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenhua de yaolan*, p. 27.
[236] See David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (University of California Press, 2005), p. 20.
[237] The version I am using is the second printing 1924 edition from the Fudan University Rare Book Collection in Shanghai.

"humbly thinks," is dependent on the audience. The illiterate masses ("the foolish, crass, or average people") will see holy pictures as if past stories and people are coming alive right before their eyes; the educated, however, will use the images to ruminate and remember what they have read in the text. Thus, Fang writes:

> …The Holy Image is the remembrance of the Rosary. [It] is a bright mirror. [It] is a true illumination. It recalls the events of the past, awakens understanding of doctrine, and enlightens the sacraments.[238]

Fang continues that because Christ and the saints have ascended to heaven, believers have only pictures to remember their visages; therefore the faces are "transmitted spiritually and painted with colored."[239] In other words, all sacred images are divinely created. The most famous story of the origin of divinely painted images was Saint Luke and his painting of the Virgin and Child, who appeared to him in a vision as an angel guided his paintbrush. Thus that original painting, supposedly the basis for the Byzantine style of *hodegetria,* was reproduced over and over again. While the setting and costumes may have changed, the gestures and basic form of the Virgin and Child remained the same because it could be traced back to that moment of divine revelation and creation.

Though Our Lady of China is not a *hodegetria*, its replication falls within this Christian tradition of sacred image making. One of the *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin* articles reminds the reader that as "we retrace ('*retraçon'*) the image of His Blessed Mother, remember that being a woman of the same nature as us, she conceived and bore the Almighty."[240] By tracing and copying sacred models painted by their European forefathers, the Catholic orphan art workers were following the artistic and spiritual footsteps of Saint Luke; every time an art worker painted an image of Mary he was retracing and reliving the moment of divine inspiration. Being a Jesuit institution, these types of imaginative exercises should not have been unfamiliar to the Jesuit teachers or the orphans, since they would have had practiced the *Spiritual Exercise* of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, the goal of which was to reach spiritual communion through meditating on the experience of being present at the Passion. While each person's imagination of the place or the types of people he encountered at the Crucifixion might differ, the event of the Crucifixion and the visage of the protagonist would remain constant, stabilized through the daily encounter with and standardization of Catholic sacred images.

Conclusion

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[238] "竊思愚魯庸人。不解文字。觀聖像則前人故事。如寓目中。較六書象形之義。尤加 一等。彼文人學士。固能博覽軍經。然閱時稍久。回首茫然。惟祝聖像 則因物思人。愈於溫故。夫然。聖像。記珠也。明鏡也。真照也。所 以記往事。悟道義。昭教禮。"See Fang Dianhua 方殿華, S. J., "Record of the Image (*Xiangji* 像記)" in *The Concise Collection of Doctrines* (*Daoyuan jingcui* 道原精萃) Vol. 1 (Shanghai: Tushanwan yinshuju, 1924), p. 7.

[239] "神傳面目。筆寫丹青。" See "Record of the Image (*Xiangji* 像記)."

[240] ". . . . nous retraçons pareillement l'image de sa sainte Mère pour faire souvenir qu'étant femme de même nature que nous, elle a conçu et enfanté le Tout-Puissant." See *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pèkin* 161 (January 1927), p. 5.

By reworking a trace-copy of a photograph portrait of the Empress Dowager Cixi and replacing her likeness with the visage of an European Virgin Mary and a Christ child, Liu Bizhen and the orphan art workers obscured the identity of the problematic authority figure Cixi by giving her a new identity as the Queen of Heaven and Mother of Christ. Cixi's personal imperial insignia and symbols were reappropriated for a new use, and a new Marian image was thus born. Our Lady of Donglu, then Our Lady of China, was put into service to promote a specific form of Chinese Catholic nationalism independent from the Nationalist project of the early twentieth century; this was spiritual nationalism with an eye toward the world and aimed to integrate with the larger Christian world. The appropriation, reuse, and circulation of specific images, iconographies, and figures at the different Tushanwan workshops reified their own unique identity existing on the periphery of the most important urban center in China at the time.

For our modern eye, the composite nature of Our Lady of China can be seen as uncanny. The Marian image is collage-like: transitions between figures and ground and the different parts of the painting are abrupt, disparate elements seem to clash rather than harmoniously fit together. This effect is the result of the collaborative nature of the Tushanwan workshops and the instrumental attitude toward the role of photography. However one can also reimagine the process of creating Our Lady of China as a form of cross-cultural encounter. As one dominant ideology is laid on top of another, the general outline is maintained and often emphasized to foster a sense of familiarity. Yet specific details are obscured and "corrected" in order to function properly in a new environment and a new context. The end result will always be a collage, where sometimes the spatial relationships between the top and the bottom, the original and the copy, the active and the passive, the colonializer and the colonized, are never clear. When viewed up close the interaction of individual elements is always strange and uneasy, but pulling back the success or failure of the overall effect is often plain and evident.

Chapter 4:

Tushanwan Pagoda Models and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1915)

In the desk screen version of Our Lady of China, a scene of idyllic tranquility is depicted on the horizon behind her: a village with a gateway to the right marking the entrance, simple houses, ponds, trees, and rising above everything else a single pagoda, which locates the village in China (fig. 1). For centuries the addition of a pagoda has been used as a visual strategy by Europeans and Americans to situate a particular setting in distant China, thus when the Association of Holy Childhood needed to demonstrate their charity works in China visually in membership cards intended for a European audience, a pagoda was added to the background as missionaries busily rescue drowning orphans in the foreground (fig. 2a and 2b). The lone pagoda in both the Marian panel and in the Holy Childhood membership cards provided a geographical and cultural context.

Why did pagoda become associated with the idea of China? Though the answer to this question is not the main purpose of this chapter, it does provide an explanation for the impetus behind a large project that preoccupied the woodcarving workshop in the first few years of 1910s: a collection of pagoda models made for the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (P.P.I.E.) in San Francisco. Here I ask how the pagodas were illustrated, depicted, and displayed at the P.P.I.E. and in catalogue text and photographs that accompanied the exhibition. By focusing on issues of presentation, re-presentation, and interactions with the pagodas as objects I argue that the pagodas opened a new way of seeing Chinese art, Chinese architecture, and ultimately China in the early twentieth century.

I. THE 1915 PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION IN SAN FRANCISCO (P.P.I.E.)

The Tushanwan workshops were no strangers to international expositions, religious or secular. They are documented to have participated at the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris, the 1902 Hanoi Exposition, the 1915 P.P.I.E. in San Francisco, and the 1925 Vatican Universal Missionary Exhibition. The goals of these expositions, made explicit in their publications, were to celebrate and promote missionary charity works in China while advertising their handmade products with the hope of attracting new commissions and patrons. Tushanwan's participation in P.P.I.E. stood out from the rest in terms of the scale and ambition of the displays, and the attention they attracted.

Meant as a celebration of both the fourth centennial in the discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Vasco Núñez de Balboa and the American completion of the Panama Canal, the P.P.I.E. signaled an important geographic shift in the economic and political attentions of global colonial powers. With the opening of a passage linking the two great oceans, it "reduce[d] the size of the earth at the equator by one-third," according to the Reverend Josiah Strong.[241] He further predicted a new regional entity, a "new Mediterranean" that would create a unified economic and political community based

[241] Josiah Strong, *Expansion Under New World Conditions* (New York: Bakers and Taylor, 1900), p. 139.

around the Pacific Rim.[242] In actuality the opening of the Panama Canal was only the latest expansionist project upon which the United States had embarked. Vying with other colonial powers for greater economic, political, and colonial control in the Pacific, the US government also annexed the Hawaii Territory in 1898, colonized of the Philippines between 1898-1901, and was involved in the allied forces' suppression of the Boxers in 1900 Beijing. The city of San Francisco was chosen as the site for the new international exposition because of its strategic location and the vital role it would soon take in this "new Mediterranean." It was also a perfect opportunity to rebuild the city after the devastating Great Earthquake and fire of 1906.[243] The exposition opened on February 20, 1915 and closed on December 4 the same year.

"Expositions are not 'fairs,'" notes the official P.P.I.E. historian Frank Morton Todd. They are "displays, demonstrations, vast exemplifications of the works of man; self-conscious and intelligently directed." He adds: "they are very modern. . . [the] agency of progress."[244] To be part of that progress was to be modern, and all participants in the exposition understood this and strove to make these goals explicit in their displays.

The Republic of China

The Republic of China's participation in the P.P.I.E. was, in Todd's words, the "first official revelation of modern China to the modern world."[245] The young Chinese nation had been founded only three years earlier after the fall of the last imperial dynasty in 1912, and was eager to show itself to the world, even though much of the world was still skeptical of its survival.[246] With support and funding largely coming from Chinese Chambers of Commerce and prominent merchants, businessmen, and trade associations in Shanghai, the Republican government saw the Exposition as an opportunity to showcase their nation's products and to reinstate confidence from foreign investors.[247] Keenly aware of the significance of the Panama Canal and the potential economic opportunities offered by the P.P.I.E., the official Commissioner General Chen Qi 陳琪

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[242] Strong, p. 139.
[243] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p.214.
[244] Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition, being the official history of the international celebration held at San Francisco in 1915 to commemorate the discovery of the Pacific Ocean and the Construction of the Panama Canal*, vol. I (New York, London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), p. xv.
[245] Todd, vol. III, p. 287.
[246] The president of P.P.I.E. Charles C. Moore was very concerned whether the State Department in Washington D.C. was going to recognize the newly established Republic, thus its legibility to participate. See Night Letter, Charles C. Moore to Charles F. Wilson, September 21, 1912; Night Lettergram, Charles F. Wilson to Charles. C. Moore, September 23, 1912; Letter, Charles F. Wilson to Chas. C. Moore, September 24, 1912; and Night Letter, Ira E. Bennett to Charles. C. Moore, October 14, 1912; in Folder 3, China, 1913, Carton 135, Panama Pacific International Exposition Records, 1911-29. Bancroft Library, University of California – Berkeley.
[247] *Banama saihui Zhili guan hui congbian* 巴拿馬賽會直隸觀會叢編 *Collected Materials of Zhili Province at the Panama (-Pacific) Exposition* (Zhili: Shiye ting, 1921), vol. 1, pp. 2-3.

(1877-1925) publically urged China to join the United States in expanding its own commercial strength across the Pacific.[248]

With a budget of 300,000 dollars (or 190,274 yuan[249]), the organizers were able to procure two-and-a-half acres of space for the official China Pavilion, which would eventually include a pagoda, two teahouses, a Chinese gateway (*pailou* 牌樓), a replica of a domestic residence, and a reduced replica of the Hall of Supreme Harmony (Taihedian 太和殿) in the imperial Forbidden City.[250] Most of these spaces were very loosely based (or not at all based) on specific models in China. Rather, they created a superficial appearance of China as imagined by Americans; they were mainly spaces for entertainment and leisure. The only exception was the China Pavilion, which was a reduced replica of the Hall of Supreme Harmony, the largest building at the Forbidden City in Beijing (fig. 3). Designed in Beijing by engineers from the Department of the Interior, constructed in Shanghai, and rebuilt on the Exposition grounds in San Francisco by workmen from Shanghai, the official China Pavilion fueled the Orientalist imagination of American visitors like Frank Morton Todd.[251] The replica of the Hall of Supreme Harmony, though still quite distant in form from the original, synecdochically represented the entire imperial complex and China's embarrassing recent past. In the chapter entitled "The Forbidden City," Todd transported his reader to Beijing and envisioned a space "where for three centuries the Manchu rulers received ambassadors and great vassals, and whence the Empress Dowager issued those intolerant and tyrannous edicts that led to the downfall of a dynasty." But now, the ironically-named Forbidden City "was visited by hundreds of thousands who derived from it deeper and truer impressions of the nature of the Chinese people as expressed through their art than could have been obtained in any other way."[252] A similar sentiment was echoed by the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

> It is characteristic of the new feeling of China, which has declared for modern ways and put the old behind it, that it has chosen for the model of its exposition pavilions one of the palaces which it would have been sacrilege to reproduce while China was ruled by the Manchu Emperors.[253]

Though the P.P.I.E. presented an opportune moment for China to reinvent itself as a modern and progressive nation, the official representations retreated back to the comforts of Orientalist stereotypes by constructing and presenting a miniature fantasy of China's imperial past, upon which both the Chinese Republic and the American media capitalized: a distant and mysterious country recently liberated from the grip of a despotic tyrant.

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[248] Chen was not new to expositions; he was part of the Chinese delegation at 1904 Saint Louis World's Fair. See Susan Fernsebner, *Material Modernities: China's Participation in World's Fairs and Expositions, 1876-1955* (Ph.D. diss., University of California – San Diego, 2002), p. 148.
[249] *Banama saihui Zhili guan hui congbian*, vol. 2, p.1.
[250] Todd, vol. III, p. 289.
[251] Todd, vol. III, p. 289.
[252] Todd, vol. III, p. 290.
[253] "The Forbidden City at the Exposition: China's Contribution to the World's Capital for 1915," in *San Francisco Chronicle* (May 2, 1915).

Tushanwan Exhibition

Of the 6,000 exhibits representing China, the Tushanwan exhibition was located at the Palace of Education known as "The Roman Catholic Mission of Nanking Province, Zikawei Orphanage Shanghai, Art and Technical School Department." (fig. 4a-b) Frank Morton Todd and others considered the strong showing at the Palace of Education as "outward and visible signs" of China's liberation from the old Confucian-based style of education to a new and modern style of education.[254] It is telling then that the Grand Prize awarded to the Tushanwan exhibition at the Palace of Education was not for the quality of the artworks, as many Chinese scholars have claimed, but for the orphanage workshops' achievement in the education of Chinese orphans.[255]

Although other Tushanwan workshops were represented with works, including the four watercolored portraits of early Chinese Jesuits (fig. 5-8), the exhibition was dominated overwhelmingly by works from the woodcarving workshop.[256] Visitors were first greeted by a large wooden gateway, *pailou*, completely carved and decorated with traditional Chinese motifs (fig. 9). Then, entering the exhibition, visitors would

> … find themselves in a very forest of miniature Chinese pagodas, surrounded on all sides by an immense variety of statues, paintings, wood-carved furniture, teakwood chests, camphor boxes, antique lacquer screens, century-old temple gongs, artistically mounted, and a profusion of wood-carving that for delicacy of touch and microscopic detail, have no rival in the entire Exposition.[257]

Pieces of furniture, functionally European in form, were ornamented with traditional Jiangnan architectural motifs and elements like the ones found on King Leopold's Chinese Pavilion. "Antique" lacquer screens, probably not made at the workshops but collected and refurbished there, became some of the most sought after items purchased by wealthy visitors.[258]

But by far, the most prominent feature of the exhibition was the collection of pagoda models, which attracted attention and praise from the American media and public.[259] Todd describes them as "the most remarkable collection of models of Chinese

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[254] Todd, vol. IV, p. 56.

[255] "Shanghai jiaoyu pin saihui dejiang ji 上海教育品賽會得獎紀," *Shenbao* 申報 (January 1, 1916).

[256] The four portraits depict Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), Adam Schell von Bell (1592-1666), and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), and Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 (1562-1633); they are currently on the wall in the Del Santo Reading Room at the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History on the campus of the University of San Francisco.

[257] Kavanagh, "Foreword," in *Zi-ka-wei Orphanage*.

[258] "Ten Months," p. 33.

[259] The number of pagoda changes. Frank Morton Todd records in the official history of the P.P.I.E. that there were "56 wonderful models of pagodas," while the number commonly circulated among Chinese historian is "86"; "56" was most likely taken from the number of packing cases into which the pagodas were loaded for transportation to Chicago at the end of the Exposition. Even Dennis Kavanagh, S. J., the organizer and curator of the exhibition, has two numbers: "82" in *The Pagoda: Type of Chinese Architecture*, a pamphlet on the pagoda models published specifically for the P.P.I.E., and "72" in *Zi-ka-wei Orphanage*, another pamphlet published for the same exhibition. I personally counted the pagoda models and arrived at 84.

pagodas ever seen in the West."[260] An entire colored page in the *San Francisco Chronicle* was devoted to the "Mysterious Pagodas of the Chinese," where the author Elizabeth Young touts that "among the wonderful exhibits the Chinese have brought to the Panama-Pacific Exposition not one attracts more attention from the curious, or compels more admiration from the thoughtful student of history and art than the collection of pagodas."[261] In contrast, the Chinese press generally ignored the Tushanwan exhibit, focusing instead on the official Chinese Pavilion and the nation's representations in other exhibition halls. Reporting only picked up after Tushanwan garnered several awards for its art products that included a few bronze and silver medals and the Grand Prize for excellence in education.[262]

The exact nature of the relationship between the Tushanwan exhibition and the official Chinese Republic's delegation is difficult to ascertain based on available documentation. Archival materials suggest that although the exhibit was officially part of the Chinese contingent, it did not receive much support, financial or otherwise, from the Chinese government or from its representative Chen Qi, who only interfered when complaints were received or issues of money were at hand.[263] The initiative seemed to have been taken up mainly by Tushanwan, which initially contacted the American Consular Service in Shanghai to obtain the necessary application forms and rules for entering the exposition.[264] The global Jesuit network was subsequently deployed in the shipping, financing, communicating, and displaying of the exhibition, and as we will soon see, was behind the creation of the pagodas as well.

Indeed the exhibition was mostly conceptualized and executed by Jesuits on both sides of the Pacific, with the Jesuits (mainly the German Aloysius Beck, director of the Woodcarving Workshop) of Tushanwan planning, designing, and executing the objects and the American Dennis Kavanagh, S.J. receiving and curating them for the P.P.I.E. Details of the exhibition presented in this chapter were taken mostly from an 80-page report that Kavanagh sent to Beck at the conclusion of the P.P.I.E. entitled "Ten Months at the Exposition."

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[260] Todd, vol. III, p. 55.

[261] Elizabeth Young, "Mysterious Pagodas of the Chinese: Begin to take on meaning in scientists' eyes," *San Francisco Chronicle* (October 10, 1915).

[262] For example, the prominent newspaper in Shanghai *Shenbao* 申報 included the orphanage in a list of Palace of Education awardees from Shanghai. See "Shanghai jiaoyu pin saihui dejiang ji 上海教育品賽會得獎紀," *Shenbao* (Januray 1, 1916). For some of the judging forms, see Folder 47, Awards: Education, A-CRO, Carton 109, Panama Pacific International Exposition Records, 1911-29. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[263] See "Ten Months at the Exposition," Dennis J. Kavanagh, S. J. to Aloysius Beck, S. J., China Mission Vertical File 1310, Zikawei Orphanage, "Ten Months at Exposition," 1915, Box 29 T-Z, California Jesuit Archives, Santa Clara University. His complaints included the accusation of Chinese infanticide from the American press and local Chinese Protestants' protest against the presence of Catholic icons at the exhibit.

[264] Letter, Amos Parker Wilder, American Consular Service in Shanghai, March 5, 1913, Folder 3, China, 1913, Carton 135, Panama Pacific International Exposition Records, 1911-29. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. In the letter, it emerges that the pagodas were the focus of exhibition from the beginning, "For one, the Sicawei [sic] Catholic establishment, Shanghai, notifies me that its wood carving department would send replicas of some thirty or forty representative pagodas in China, executed to scale, some of them five to six feet high, from choice and varied woods."

Additional presentation of the pagoda models appeared in two publications that were published in conjunction with the P.P.I.E. display (fig. 10 and 11). The first is *The Marvels of Chinese Architecture*, with the insert title given as: *Collection of Chinese Pagodas, Achieved by the Siccawei Catholic Mission, Industrial School, Near Shanghai, to the World's Panama Pacific Exposition, 1915.* The album consists of a map of China proper and its 18 provinces that marks the location of the pagodas, a table showing basic information about each pagoda, photographs of all the pagoda models, and a paper given by an unnamed French Jesuit and delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society, Northern China Branch, in Shanghai on May 13, 1915. The relationship between the Royal Asiatic Society and Xujiahui will be explored later in the chapter, but the "unnamed French Jesuit" was most-likely Aloysius Beck, S.J., who conceived the project.[265]

The second publication, written by the San Francisco-native Dennis Kavanagh, S.J., who oversaw the exhibit, is *The Pagoda: Type of Chinese Architecture*, was published for the exhibition at the P.P.I.E.[266] Kavanagh professed his "ignorance of Chinese art" and gives a very generalized discussion on the architectural form of the pagoda, while he focusing on Tushanwan and its workshops. He published an additional pamphlet on Xujiahui as well.[267] The same photographs from the first publication were cropped, reduced in size, and reused, but otherwise remained same. For the rest of the chapter, I will use the two catalogues and the exhibition as two different modes of presenting the pagoda models to discuss the innovations generated from these two ways of seeing.

The Pagoda in Western Imagination

For many Western viewers, the pagoda is synonymous with the culture and country of China, though the architectural form—an elaboration of the *harmika* (finial mast) of South Asian Buddhist *stupa*-reliquaries—is found throughout East Asia.[268] The word "pagoda," derived from the Portuguese term *pagode*, was itself borrowed in the sixteenth century from either Persian or Sanskrit, where it refers to a Hindu or Buddhist deity. This meaning was probably the origin of the term as it was applied to a small decorative porcelain idol popular at the height of *chinoiserie* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe.[269] The earliest visual encounter most Europeans

[265] Though originally from Germany, Beck was part of the Catholic mission, which was run by the French Protectorate.
[266] Dennis J. Kavanagh, *The Pagoda: Type of Chinese Architecture* (San Francisco: James H. Barry Company, 1915?).
[267] See "Ten Months," p. 9. Kavanagh, *Zi-ka-wei Orphanage*.
[268] In fact, two of the models were of pagodas found in Korean territory: the Stone Pillar (cat. 130377) and the Xingfasi Pagoda (cat. 130378).
[269] Cole Roskam, "Translating Architecture: The Tushanwan Workshop Pagoda Collection," *Orientations* 43/4 (May 2012): p. 58. Nancy Steinhardt has traced the term to the worship of *bhagarvati* (divine female) on the coast of Malabar in southern India; see her book *Liao Architecture* (University of Hawaii Press, 1997), p. 383.

had with China was probably through export porcelains. As marks of status and power, these luxury commodities helped to launch an exotic style that swept through Europe and the Americas starting in the late seventeenth century as the so-called *chinoiserie* that permeated architecture, fashion, music, literature, and art.[270] One of the most recognizable features of the *chinoiserie* style was the exaggerated upturning eaves of buildings painted on blue-and-white ware, which eventually developed into a popular pattern in eighteenth-century England, the Blue Willow. Any buildings with upturning eaves were called pagodas, tower-like or not, and these pagodas then became indexical landmarks for a decadent Oriental fantasy.

Though most pagodas known in the West remained nameless, one fueled the European imagination—the so-called Porcelain Pagoda in Nanjing. Named *Bao'en* 報恩 in Chinese, or "Repaid Gratitude," the European name for the fifteenth-century pagoda probably derived from its well-known tiles in polychrome glazes. One of the first descriptions came from the Dutch traveler Johan Nieuhof (1618–1672), who wrote about a tower in Nanjing that was made entirely of "Porcelane," where "the outside is all Glaz'd over and Painted with several Colours, as Green, Red, and Yellow." He proclaimed that it "far exceed all other Workmanship of the Chinese in cost and skill; by which the Chinese have declar'd to the World the rare Ingenuity of their Artists in former Ages."[271] (fig. 12). Important to note here is that what impressed Nieuhof was the artistry of the multi-colored glazed tiles and their resulting effects, unsurprising given the fascination most Europeans had with the material qualities of porcelain at the time, and not the multi-story architecture of the pagoda itself.

Almost a century later, drawing inspiration from the Porcelain Pagoda and most-likely Nieuhof's vision of it, the British architect and designer William Chambers (1723-1796) built his own Porcelain Pagoda at Kew Gardens outside of London (fig. 13).[272] Kew's Porcelain Pagoda has been detached from its original setting of the Bao'en Temple 報恩寺. Placed within the Kew Gardens, the tower was used as a focal point and destination for a specific view of the garden as seen from a particular vantage point.

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[270] In fashion, to be *en pagode* was to partake in a popular style of fashion in France, characterized by the loose and exaggeratedly flared edges of hats, sleeves, or collars. See Adrienne Ward, *Pagodas in Play: China on the Eighteenth-Century Italian Opera Stage* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), p. 54.

[271] Johannes Nieuhof, *An embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, emperor of China: delivered by their excellencies Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, at his imperial city of Peking wherein the cities, towns, villages, ports, rivers, &c. in their passages from Canton to Peking are ingeniously described by John Nieuhoff; also an epistle of Father John Adams, their antagonist, concerning the whole negotiation; with an appendix of several remarks taken out of Father Athanasius Kircher; Englished and set forth with their several sculptures by John Ogilby* (1673), p. 78.

[272] Despite his claim of authenticity from having been to China during the 1740s, foreigners like Chambers would not have been able to freely venture beyond of the narrow and tightly restricted area outside of Guangzhou's city wall, not to mention the Porcelain Pagoda in Nanjing, which was more than 700 miles away. The connection between his Porcelain Pagoda and Nieuhof's is evident in the shared long and ringed finial (Nieuhof calls it the "pineapple") and the widened arcade at the bottom. See Richard E. Strassberg, "War and Peace: Four Intercultural Landscapes," in *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to Early Nineteenth Century*, eds. Marcia Reed and Paola Demattè (Getty Research Institute, 2007), p. 126.

Though Chambers probably did not see the Porcelain Pagoda in person, he most likely saw the Huangpu Pagoda 黃埔塔 and the Flower Pagoda 花塔 while he was in Guangzhou.[273] Situated within the Manchu quarters in the western part of the walled city, the Flower Pagoda and a nearby minaret (the so-called Smooth Pagoda 光塔) were unique identifiable landmarks for the cityscape of Guangzhou. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Flower Pagoda appeared in every panoramic view of Guangzhou intended for a foreign audience: in oil paintings, wallpaper, porcelain, silver, ivory, etc. (fig. 14). Created by Cantonese artists at local commercial workshops similar to the ones at Tushanwan, these souvenirs, brought home by European and American sailors and merchants after making or losing their fortunes at the only Chinese port opened to the West for commercial trade, these objects were concrete proof of their adventures in the Far East. For their loved ones at home, these were relics from the real China that provided real connections to a far-off land and fueled their dreams and imaginations of the exotics. Yet as others have recently and convincingly argued, these types of landscapes were fundamentally European in composition and perspective (fig. 15).[274] In other words, the city depicted in these panoramas could have been any European city if not for the presence of the pagoda.

However the pagoda was more than a visible sign marking a strange land in the Far East; it often served as the subject of a romantic China. While the Flower Pagoda was behind the high city wall of Guangzhou and unapproachable by foreigners, the Huangpu Pagoda on the Pearl River was easily reachable by sailors and captains traversing the waterways. Sketches and paintings like the ones done by Captain Robert Elliot were commonplace at the end of the eighteenth and throughout much of the nineteenth century (fig. 16). Set in a hazy atmosphere, the aged pagoda stands alone on a small mount in the mid-ground dotted by small houses and indistinguishable Chinese fishermen, as several small junks peacefully glide across the tranquil water. It is an idyllic scene, faithful to the idea of the picturesque.[275]

The cult of the picturesque was very much in vogue in Europe at this time, especially in England where artists and writers ventured out into the natural world to seek out the sublime and to capture the perfect "picture." A "picturesque" China necessitated the presence of ruins. In his study on the topic, Wu Hung traces the origin of "Chinese

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[273] There was two other "pagodas" often visible to foreign visitors looking into the walled city and often included in export paintings of the city. One was a ninth-century minaret (*Guangta* 光塔 or "Smooth/Light Pagoda") and the other was a five-storied Ming-dynasty military fort (*Zhenhai lou* 鎮海樓, or The Pavilion to Pacific the Ocean) atop the highest point on the northern stretch of the city wall.

[274] Hong Kong Museum of Art, *Apprentice to Master: How Western Techniques were Used in Chinese Export Painting* (September 23 – November 23, 2011) demonstrates this with many visual comparisons. See *Artistic Inclusion of the East and West: Apprentice to Master* 東西共融 (Hong Kong Museum of Art, 2011).

[275] The concept of the picturesque overlaps to a certain extent to the idea of *jing* 景, often but inadequately translated as "scene" or "view." In fact, one reason for the popularity of the Whampoa Pagoda was the fact it once consisted as one of the Eight *Jings* ("eight beautiful scenes") of Guangzhou. See MIT Visualizing Cultures, accessed on February 9, 2013, URL: http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/rise_fall_canton_04/cw_gal_01_thumb.html. However while the picturesque is limitless and dependent on the viewer, the *jings* are ways to organize and to know a landscape, and thus independent of the viewer.

ruins" to the decadent and decaying motifs featured in *chinoiserie* fantasies. The look of the ruin was central to the desire to see China through the lens of the picturesque. Architectural ruins evoked "pleasing melancholy" as once they returned to the state of nature.[276] Thus Captain Elliot's Huangpu Pagoda seemed tired and broken, showing signs of age and erosion. This was not a pagoda "Glaz'd over and Painted with several Colours, as Green, Red, and Yellow;" rather the apathetic black lines seem to melt into the monochromatic washes.

After photography was invented in the 1840s, it was quickly taken to China. The picturesque frame was transferred to the new technology. Photography offered a promise of an objectified reality, and later additional photographic improvements, such as the shadow box and stereoscope, offered a heightened sense of virtual reality, bringing distant and exotic lands and people to virtual proximity for a consuming audience worldwide. Trained with a "picturesque" eye, Western photographers like Felice Beato (1832-1909) and John Thomson (1837-1921) brought this visual frame with them to China. In Beato's *Tung Chow Pagoda* (fig. 17), as in Captain Elliot's sketch, the pagoda takes the mid-ground again. Though slightly off center, the structure stands as the lone subject, towering over the simple huts below. While the moist atmosphere is absent, the mirror-like river and its blurred surfaces set a romantic tone for the composition.

Felice Beato famously took these photographs as one of the first war photo-journalists to accompany the advancing Anglo-French troops toward Beijing during the Second Opium War in 1860. Almost a decade later the Scottish photographer John Thomson went to China and saw it through a different frame. Informed by contemporary trends in social science, many of his photographs of China's people and places were taken with what Thomas Prasch has called an "anthropological eye."[277] In Thomson's *Illustrations of China and Its People* (1874), most of the photographs of Chinese people are not individual portraits, but portraits of types. Isolated against a stark background, specific features of each person are heightened through the manipulation of the light source and lens focus (fig. 18). Every wrinkle of the face, every strand of hair, and every fold in the dress, is rendered visible under Thomson's controlled scrutiny.

A similar pictorial strategy was applied in the photograph of a pagoda from Chao-chow-fu (fig. 19). The camera is positioned below the pagoda on the hill, slightly tilting upward to give the appearance of impressive height. The angle of viewing recreates the gradual experience as one approaches the pagoda from the bottom of the hill, while revealing the "beauty and skill with which the stone slabs are dove-tailed into the uprights of the balustrade."[278] All the other identifiable architectural traits are clearly lit and focused: the masonry exterior, the various levels, the different facades, the complex

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[276] See Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruins: Presence and Absence in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 99.

[277] Thomas Prasch calls this Thomson's "anthropological eye," see Thomas Prasch, "Mirror Images: John Thomson's Photographs of East Asia" in *A Century of Travels in China: Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to the 1940s*, eds. Douglas Kerr and Julia Kuehn (University of Hong Kong Press, 2007), pp. 55-58.

[278] John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and Its People: A Series of Two Hundred Photographs with Letterpress Descriptive of the Places and People Represented*, vol. 2 (London: 1873), p. 35.

tiers of bracket sets, the glazed tiles, etc.; three Chinese men are positioned at the bottom, providing a sense of scale. Thomson has made the deliberate choice of containing the pagoda in an oval shape to emphasize the verticality of the architectural form set against a fairly clear sky. Extraneous elements are cropped out; the Han River the pagoda was meant to subdue is barely visible on the left. The tightly managed oval cell removes the pagoda from its spatial and temporal specificities and renders it visible and knowable.

In sum the history of the representation of the pagoda in the West prior to the twentieth century has been an ahistorical one that focused on the superficial and ornamental qualities of the pagoda, or its ability to evoke a specific set of Eurocentric aesthetic ideologies or fashions.

Tushanwan Pagoda Models as Scientific Illustrations

This trend for a typological (or anthropological) visualization, as exemplified by Thomson's photographs, has been argued in several recent studies as exemplifying an imperialist gaze associated with the colonial ways of thinking current in Great Britain and France at the time.[279] The same "ethnological" traits found in Thomson's photographs also appear in the photographs of the pagoda models.[280]

The illustrations in both booklets came from the same set of photographs. In *The Marvels of Chinese Architecture*, the pagoda models are placed against a uniformly light-colored background, haphazardly stitched from large pieces of rough canvas-like cloth, before which the pagodas are lined up side-by-side in a row on a narrow ledge (fig. 20). The pagodas were arranged according to their height and size, alternating to generate a formal contrast: a short next to a tall one, a large multi-storied one next to a small short one, one with exaggerated eaves next to a plain one, etc., with the light evenly diffused throughout the photographs. All the pagodas were positioned frontally toward the camera lens, which was set up parallel to the models, creating a flattening effect that accurately captured the façades. This particular arrangement was a typical practice also found in the Tushanwan sales catalogues (fig. 21) and at the displays at the nearby Siccawei (Xujiahui) Museum (Musée de Zikawei) of natural history (fig. 22), to standardize and optimize the quality and clarity of the information presented for different agendas. One of the objectives highlighted by this approach, according to Kavanagh and Beck, was to emphasize the "scientific" quality of the collection.[281] It was surely this claim to scientific objectivity that motivated Ernest Boerschmann to use the same

[279] Prasch, pp. 55-56. Concerning the colonial projects of typology and classification, two recent examples may be Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Colonial Botany and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (University of Chicago Press, 2012); and Fa-ti Fan, *British Naturalists in Qing China: Science, Empire, and Cultural Encounter* (Harvard University Press, 2004).
[280] According to Kavanagh, Beck spoke of the "archaeological and ethnological value of the Pagodas." See Kavanagh, "Ten Months," p. 38.
[281] See "Ten Months," p. 35; and Kavanagh, *The Pagoda*, p. 29.

photographs of the pagoda models to illustrate his study of the history of Chinese architecture, *Die Baukunst und Religiöse Kultur der Chinesen* in 1931.[282]

The photographic illustrations and accompanying text in both publications stripped clean the original pagodas' cultural, religious, functional, and local context, leaving the pagoda model and its iconic reference as the pure object of examination. Readers and visitors could not have gained any sense of the place the actual pagoda had had in its monastic complex or its geomantic function within the local landscape; the stories and myths surrounding the pagoda, or what Eugene Wang has called the *topos*, which were integral to the conceptual construction of the pagoda in China, were either underplayed or simply dismissed.[283] In this way, though the Jesuits and their pagoda models departed from earlier modes of seeing the pagoda symbolically or ornamentally, they still favored the construction of a decontextualized architectural sign. But now that sign was turned into sets of measurements, locations, classifications, and descriptions, organized into charts and maps, reclassified according to geographical location and physical characteristics: height, diameter at base, thickness of walls, and so on. (fig. 24 and 25).

By placing the pagoda models in a row, the display inadvertently revealed that it shared in the modern anxiety for progress and height. The P.P.I.E. was a celebration of feats of human engineering, with its famous poster by Perham Wilhelm Nahl showing the opening of the Panama Canal as the thirteenth labor of Hercules (fig. 26). Major metropolitan cities in developed nations in the West were competing to build larger and taller buildings at this moment in time: the Statue of Liberty (1886), the Eiffel Tower (1889), the Chicago Stock Exchange Building (1893), the Masonic Temple Building in Chicago (1909), among others. China did not yet have this kind of magnificent structure, but it did have pagodas. In the same way that older monuments were overlapped with newly constructed miracles of architectural engineering in contemporaneous popular illustrations (fig. 27), pagoda models were lined up to demonstrate their relative impressive height and the technological feats they embodied; thus the display makes the claim that the modern tendency for height and monumentality had existed in China long before the current modern taste.

The flattened frontal view, the meandering human figures for scale, the starkly empty background, were all traits also found in a Western architectural system of rendering, where the elevation and façade were part of a Beaux-Arts classical architecture tradition of drawing. As later students of architecture in China would find out, this type of Western configuration revealed little information about most Chinese timber-frame architecture. The architectural historian Zhao Chen, who was trained in the Beaux-Arts method as a student of architecture, finally concluded, "there is no such thing as a true

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[282] See Ernest Boerschmann, *Die Baukunst und Religiöse Kultur der Chinesen,* vol. III Pagoden (Berlin and Leipzig: Verglag von Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1931).

[283] Eugene Wang, "Tope and Topos, The Leifeng Pagoda and the Discourse of the Demonic," in *Writing and Materiality in China,* eds. Judith Zeitlin and Lydia Liu (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 488.

façade in Chinese wooden architecture."[284] While earlier renderings of Chinese architecture emphasized the individual modular part, in particular the bracketing system (fig. 28), the mode of architectural rendering adapted and propagated by the famous Cornell-educated Chinese architectural historian Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901-1972) was comprehensive, and central to that was the frontal facade. In his rendering of the Liao-dynasty pagoda in Yingxian 應縣 (fig. 29), the architectural features are measured and proportional, with all the minute details visible and flattened.

What made Liang, who advocated for a scientific method (*kexue fangfa* 科學方法) in the study of Chinese architecture, a revolutionary in his field was the privileging of the original object and seeing (見) instead of over-reliance on text as had been done historically.[285] Near two decades before, however, the Tushanwan Woodcarving Workshop had attempted what Liang envisioned in the creation of a systematic way of seeing architectural variations in the different structures and forms in one place. To achieve his goal, Liang and his wife Lin Huiyin traveled throughout China in the late 1920s and 1930s to measure, draw, and photograph major standing Chinese structures in situ.[286] Beck and the orphans did not have that luxury, nor did they have the time, so they had to rely on information gathered through their own Jesuit networks. According to Kavanagh:

> Detailed information was sent to him [Beck] from all parts of China, descriptions and photographs of every Pagoda as it stands today were secured, historical data were sifted and the result was a clearer knowledge and a wider information than any previously obtained.[287]

The result was that the comprehensive ambition and scope of Beck's collection exceeded the later works of Liang, such as his classic volume *Chinese Architecture: A Pictorial History*, even though Beck's collection was full of inaccuracies and included some outright fabrications.[288]

Finally the pagoda models were intended for education. As models, they illustrate the various forms and ornaments discussed in the two publications with great veracity and immediacy. The emphasis on education was expressed in Beck's insistence that the pagoda models be kept together as a collection at the end of the exhibition rather than selling them individually, though the latter would have generated more revenue. In the

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[284] Zhao Chen, "Elevation or Façade: a Re-evaluation of Liang Sicheng's Interpretation of Chinese Timber Architectuer in the Light of Beaux-Arts Classicism" in *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*, eds. Jeffrey W. Cody, Nancy S. Steinhardt, and Tony Atkin (Univeristy of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu; Hong Kong Press, 2011), p. 195.

[285] See Introduction to LIANG Sicheng 梁思成, "Jixian Duleshi Guanyinge shanmen kao 薊县独乐寺观音阁山门考"(1932), collected in *Zhongguo gujianzhu diaocha baogao* 中国古建筑调查报告 (*The Record of Chinese Architecture*), vol. 1 (Sanlian shudian, 2010), p. 1.

[286] For an account of their collaborative fieldworks, see Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

[287] Kavanagh, *The Pagoda*, p. 25.

[288] For example, the paintings on the ground floor of the Liuhe Pagoda seem to have been lifted directly from *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine.*

final days of the P.P.I.E., as Kavanagh was desperately trying to find buyers for the collection, he solicited it to so many institutions that "not a single Museum [was] overlooked." Plans for the collection to be sent to the University of California at Berkeley fell through when the University's chief patroness, Phoebe Hearst, lost four million dollars in the revolution in Mexico.[289] Finally, after much haggling and negotiation, the collection was purchased by and installed at "the first educational institution in the United States," the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago.[290]

The Pagoda as Monument

One of the earliest and most often repeated criticisms of traditional Chinese architecture was of its impermanence. Encountering Chinese architecture for the first time in the late sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci observed:

> When they [Chinese] set about building, they seem to gauge things by the span of human life, building for themselves rather than for posterity. Whereas, Europeans in accordance with the urge of their civilization seem to strive for the eternal.[291]

Such sentiments were echoed by Chinese architect Han Baode, when he observed in his defense of Chinese architecture that permanence was difficult to achieve when working in wood, the Chinese material of choice.[292]

Both of these attitudes were hardly neutral; they had to do more with the imposition of Western definitions of architecture and its function onto Chinese examples. Made from wood, Chinese buildings were in a state of constant flux because of regular renovation, expansion, replacement, reduction, and reconstruction. The mutability and adaptability characteristic of Chinese architecture was due to its fundamental structure, which was based on a system of post and beam. This system of construction naturally lends itself to these types of frequent changes, since it is essential a modular system. As an individual wooden module, whether a bracket, column, or bay, aged and decayed, it could be easily repaired or replaced without undermining the overall structural integrity of the building.[293] These were not "monuments to record the past," as the nineteenth-century architect and historian James Fergusson put it; for most part, they were utilitarian lived spaces.[294]

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[289] "Ten Months," p. 36. The story with Hearst was separately confirmed through Hearst's archives concerning her involvements with P.P.I.E. in the Bancroft Library, University of California – Berkeley.
[290] "Ten Months," p. 2.
[291] See Ricci, *The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610*, pp. 19-20.
[292] HAN Baode 汉宝德, *Mingqing jianzhu erlun: tougong de qiyuan yu fazhan* 明清建筑二论：头栱的起源与发展 (Sanlian shudian, 2014), pp. 46-47.
[293] See Chapter 5: "Building Blocks, Brackets, and Beams" in Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
[294] James Fergusson, M.R.I.B.A., *Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1855), p. 135.

For both Beck and Kavanagh, one of the central goals of the pagoda models was to reinscribe this particular Western notion of monumentality onto the original structures.[295] In *The Pagoda*, Kavanagh compares Chinese pagodas to the pyramids of Egypt, the hanging gardens of Babylon, the Doric and Ionic temples of Greece, the triumphal arch, the forum, the amphitheater, and villas of Rome.[296] Just as these classical structures formed the basis of Western civilization, the various forms of the pagoda surely served as the foundation of Chinese civilization. Just as modern Western civilization had evolved based on the rediscovery of the classical past in the ruins of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, so too woould a new China become modern once her own classical past was reorganized and understood.

But the comparison also brings to mind the classical monuments current fragmented and ruinous state, as relics and material souvenirs from a distant yet golden past. Calling them "the most remarkable collection of models of Chinese pagodas ever seen in the West," Frank Morton Todd praised the "photographic fidelity of the subjects, where signs of decay had begun to appear: broken lintels, crumbled arches, traces of missing ornament, which gave great romantic interest to this exhibit." (fig. 30)[297] The ghost of the picturesque ruins lingers. While there was little doubt that visitors like Todd saw these signs of ruin and decay as adding to the "romantic interest" of each tableau, conditioned by their previous and more common encounter with the structures as part of a picturesque China, the original intent was to move away from this by emphasizing the "archaeological" nature of these models.[298] In reproducing their state of decay, the models captured the current condition of the original structures. As in the photographic medium, the models documented and preserved these archaeological monuments as many of the originals continued to crumple.

Indeed the original pagodas were monumental, even when they were reduced to typological specimens. Their size was highlighted by the small figures at the bottom of the models and by the static data of their height found on their labels or in the booklets (fig. 31), and their historical significance was emphasized by constant references to a distant past. Andrew Jones has described nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs of architectural ruins in East Asia as "portable monuments" that circulated globally.[299] Similar ideas about mobility and monumentality are applicable to the photographic and textual descriptions of the pagodas. The publications, especially

[295] In fact, Kavanagh states this, "It is an admitted fact that, at least, in the period of Chinese history that corresponds to our Middle Ages, some Pagodas were erected for monumental purposes." See Kavanagh, *The Pagoda*, p. 12.
[296] Kavanagh, *The Pagoda,* p. 8.
[297] Todd, Vol. 4, pp. 55-56.
[298] Kavanagh called Aloysius Beck and his associates "the pioneers in this particular field of archaeological research." See Kavanagh, *The Pagoda*, unpagiated page. This was echoed by the *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Elizabeth Young, referring to Beck as the "pioneer archaeologist of China." See Young. This repeated terminology was perhaps a reflection of the effective media campaign on which Kavanagh embarked for the exhibition. See Kavanagh, "Ten Months," p. 38.
[299] Andrew Jones, "Portable Monuments: Architectural Photography and the 'Forms' of Empire in Modern China," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 18/3 (Winter 2010).

Kavanagh's, were widely distributed at the P.P.I.E., and they found their way to major libraries around the United States and Europe and remain the earliest books in English on the subject of the pagoda.

III. CONCLUSION

By presenting a collection of pagoda models at a large international venue just years after the founding of the Republic of China, the Tushanwan Jesuits and art workers were eager to capitalize on a ready foreign audience with an appetite for China, thus the pagoda became a natural choice. However the old China, with its unstable and constructed perceptions ranging from the romantic picturesque to the exotic, could no longer be represented as before. The pagodas were thus presented anew, as a comprehensive developed system of monumental architecture, on par with their European counterparts. Implicit in their presentation was that the Chinese nation, now a modern Republic, could also stood alongside other great world nations. This was also a direct response to Eurocentric projects for internationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to understand art and architecture around the world in relationship to a Euro-American center. Projects such as James Fergusson's *Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries* (1855) mapped the relationship of different architectural traditions in the world. He placed China's architecture together with that of Mesoamerica, and proclaimed that "China possesses scarcely anything worthy of the name of architecture," a quotation that was reproduced in another encyclopedic project on the arts with an international scope, Owen Jones's the *Grammar of Ornament* (1856).[300] By re-presenting the pagoda as monumental architecture through models and as educational tools for the objective study of the history of architecture in China, Tushanwan directly repudiated previous and contemporary claims about Chinese art and architecture.

Unfortunately this message was not received in America. During the exhibition, Kavanagh was fearful that visitors would pick clean the "little bells and little statues" on the pagodas to take home as souvenirs.[301] He further recorded the comments of the passers-by, who referred to the pagoda models as "pigeon houses" or "strange houses."[302] After 81 of the 84 pagoda models were deacessioned from the Field Museum in Chicago, their current owner placed them next to Ming vases and Tang horses around the living room of his home overlooking Central Park in New York.[303] In both cases, the pagoda models were seen as individuated works of miniature, decorative, ornamental, and playful, despite the accompanying "scientific" labels and booklets.

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[300] See Fergusson, p. 133; and Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), p. 85.
[301] "Ten Months," p. 12.
[302] "Ten Months," p. 35.
[303] See the photograph opposite the first page of the Introduction in *A Collection of China's Pagodas: 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (Mee-Seen Loong Fine Art LLC, 2011).

It is equally curious that though both Beck and Kavanagh touted the scientific and historical values of the pagoda models as a tool of education, by the time they were deaccessioned they were no longer seen as such. In the 90 years the pagodas were kept at the Field Museum, individual pagodas were occasionally exhibited, but never the entire collection.[304] To Beck and Laufer, the value of the pagoda models resided in the entirety of the collection, demonstrating the variety and diversity of architectural form, construction, and ornament. As early as the 1980s, there were talks of deaccession to make room for additional space. The issue came up again in 1998, when it was suggested by the curators in a memorandum that the collection be broken up and "sold singly or in lots of four or five. . . as decorations for homes and Chinese restaurants." By 2007, the reason given by the curators at the Anthropology Department was that they do not "add scientific merit to the collections. . . [and they] represent a western view of Chinese culture, and they were never used by Chinese people" and thus did not fit the mission of the Anthropology Department.[305] Given the state of museums and public institutions today, the need for additional storage space and revenue is understandable, however it is problematic to be so quick to dismiss the pagodas as the "western view of Chinese culture" by returning to patrol the imagined boundary between China and the West. Indeed, as I have hoped to demonstrate in this chapter and others, the construction of China and Chinese art involved many hands and deserved a much more nuanced reading.

[304] For example, when the Jehol Pagoda Model was exhibited in 1933 he wrote a small article on it. See Berthold Laufer, "The Jehol Pagoda Model," *Field Museum News* 4 (April 1933): 1.
[305] All the documents are in A-4369, Deaccession of Pagoda Model, File 10F4, Field Museum of Natural History archive, Chicago, IL.

Chapter 5:

Photographing Tushanwan Products

Let us return, once again, to the photographs from the catalogue of the *Marvels of Chinese Architecture* examined in the previous chapter (fig. 1a). Instead of focusing on the pagoda models, let us turn our attention to the fabric backdrop. Visible seams and stitches, wrinkles and creases stretch across its surface, no doubt created in a hurry for the catalogue photographs. But it is precisely that uneven surface that draws our eye to scan across it for breaks or holes.

And one is easily found—a hand that emerges on the edge of the board on the last page of the catalogue (fig. 1b). The hand is small, holding the canvas board at an angle. The owner of that hand is clearly a child, too short to hold the board up straight. As soon as one gap is spotted, the eye searches for additional breaks on the surface of the backdrop (fig. 2a and 2b). In his classic *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Roland Barthes speaks of the moment of subjectivity, of disruption in the photograph, calling it the *punctum*.[306] For him the moment is personal, providing the viewer with access to the emotive power of the image. This accidental moment of the hand then, reminds us in a most literal way of the hands and the human bodies that made the pagoda models; behind each objectively presented pagoda stands an orphaned artworker.

In the previous chapters, the art and craft products of the Tushanwan workshops were examined to understand the larger aesthetic program and pedagogy of the orphanage and its interactions with a new modern China and the world. In the present chapter, I shift my focus to the examination of the other, arguably the main, product of Tushanwan: the Chinese orphans themselves and how they were depicted in the medium of photography. By focusing on how they were "produced" in the photographs and on the economies in which they took part in, we can better understand how the orphanage and its workshops were integrated into a global visual culture of sympathy in the early twentieth century.

The Photographic Medium

Despite competing native claims to the invention of true photography, the medium was largely a Western import.[307] Only a few years after the invention of photography (as daguerreotype) in Europe in 1839, the technology was brought to China. The amateur daguerreotypists were no ordinary tourists; they arrived along with the European forces that participated in the First Opium War (1839-42). Surviving daguerreotypes from China were taken by the French customs officer Jules Alphonse

[306] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (Hill and Wang, 1982), p. 28.

[307] Recent scholars have noted that the Guangdong scholar Zou Boqi might have independently invented the wet-plate photographic process in the 1850s, but because of his reclusive nature it was not known beyond his immediate circle. See Oliver Moore, "Zou Boqi on Vision and Photography in Nineteenth-Century China," in Kenneth J. Hammond and Kristin Stapleton, eds., *The Human Tradition in Modern China* (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 2008) and Edwin K. Lai, "The History of the Camera Obscura and Early Photography in China," in *Brush and Shutter: Early Photography in China*, eds. Jeffrey W. Cody and Frances Terpak (Getty Research Institute, 2011), pp. 19-20.

Eugène Itier (1802-1877), who was part of the delegation at the signing of the Treaty of Whampoa in 1844—the same treaty that paved the way for the return of the Catholic missionaries under the French Protectorate.[308] From the beginning, the medium was associated with European colonial projects. "Photography as a tool," writes the historian Geoffrey Belknap, "was perfectly suited to the project of imperial expansion." This is because it "acted as a precise way for English audiences to conceptualize foreign spaces, places and peoples."[309] Whether they were attempting to capture picturesque China or pursuing an ethnological project aimed at collecting images of its various peoples, the photographers retained a sense of spatial and social distancing from their subjects.[310]

After the Second Opium War (1856-60), more and more European photographers poured into China. Photography studios were established in Shanghai and other treaty port cities like Guangzhou and Hong Kong in the 1860s; these were first operated by foreigners, who were soon followed by Chinese from the south.[311] As photographic equipment became more portable in the second half of the nineteenth century, newly arrived missionaries continued to bring cameras and take photographs, both for their own use and as a tool for documentation and an attraction for potential converts. But as more and more missionaries appeared in the interior of China, their presence and their foreign machines were often feared and rejected by rural communities. There were reports that local villagers thought the camera would take away their souls, and accusations were made against the missionaries for stealing children's eyes to make photographs.[312] Thus in the nineteenth century, photographic technology was perceived differently by different Chinese depending on their previous exposure to it and their social position, but it was always associated with the Christian missions and foreign imperial powers.

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[308] There were other (British) daguerreotypists in China during this period as well, as noted by Terry Bennett, but their photographs have not survived. See Terry Bennett, *History of Photography in China 1842-1860* (Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 2009), pp. 9-15. For more on Itier, see Lai, p. 20.

[309] Geoffrey Belknap, "Through the Looking Glass: Photography, Science and Imperial Motivations in John Thomson's Photographic Expeditions," *History of Science* 52/1 (March 2014), p. 75. For a larger in-depth study on the topic, see James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). In regard to the use of the photographic technology as a tool of European imperialism, see Part III: "Making China Perfectly Equal" in Hevia, *English Lessons*.

[310] In contrast, Christopher Pinney has argued that photography actually pushed anthropologists closer to their subjects. See Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd. 2011).

[311] GE Tao 葛涛 and SHI Dongxu 石冬旭, *Juxiang de lishi: zhaoxiang yu qingmo minchu Shanghai shehui shenghuo* 具象的历史:照相与清末民初上海社会生活 (Shanghai cishu chubanshe 上海辞书出版社, 2011), pp. 14-15.

[312] Lai, p. 29. These rumors would eventually led to violent confrontations like the Tianjin Massacre in 1870 even before the Boxer Uprising. The writer LU Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936) satirized this superstitious belief in his short story "On Photographs 論照相之類" (1925), "Did the foreign devils actually eat these pickled eyes in place of pickled vegetables? Surely not, although I understand they did put them to several practical uses. ... Second, for photography. Here the reason is clear enough, and there is no need to elaborate, for one has only to be face to face with someone and a little photograph of oneself is bound to appear in these pupils." Translated by Kirk A. Denton, in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature, 1893-1945*, ed. Kirk A. Denton (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 197-198.

The Photography Workshop at Tushanwan

On the same vessel as Itier was the Jesuit missionary Claude Gotteland 南格祿 (1803-1856), one of the founders of Xujiahui. He brought along with him a daguerreotype camera that he hoped would attract potential converts in the 1850s.[313] Starting in the 1860s, Casimir Hersant 翁壽祺 (1830-1895) took photographs around Xujiahui, documenting the daily life of the mission.[314] After the death of Hersant, Beck took over the duty of documenting the people and events at Xujiahui, in addition to his other responsibilities with the woodcarving workshop and the marching band.[315] Demand for the photographic medium continued to grow, mainly to answer the scientific and sinological need for empirical visual evidence. Technological improvements made at the printing workshop enabled faster and cheaper methods of reproducing both text and image in their publications, which circulated around the world.

One of these advances was developed by the Jesuit Henry Eu 安敬齋 (1865-1937) (fig. 3), the first director of the Photography Workshop when it was founded in 1902. During an interview with Zhang Legu and Lang Jingshan in 1890, Eu claimed to have been the first person in Asia to produce a glass collotype.[316] Eu began to experiment with the glass collotype when he was assigned to repaint and redraw specimens in the collection of the Xujiahui Museum (which was founded by Father Pierre Heude) because he wanted to make the visual records as "refined and realistic" as possible.[317]

The son of an Irish custom's officer and a Chinese mother, Eu's father left him to the care of the orphanage after his mother passed away when he was three.[318] Raised by the Xujiahui community, his early experience was perhaps typical of other Chinese-born art workers. Showing promise in painting at an early age, he was trained in the painting workshops along with others. He received his first appointment at the Xujiahui Museum, followed by another at the meteorological observatory at She Mountain 佘山. His first encounter with photography was perhaps with Hersant, with whom he had studied the mechanics of clocks and watches.[319] In 1901, he was put in charge of the Photography Workshop, as Beck sought to completely devote himself to the Woodcarving

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[313] According to MA Xiangbo 馬相伯 (1840-1939), who witnessed the process as a 12-year-old boy in 1950, taking a picture with the daguerreotype camera took more than 30 minutes, throughout which the sitter had to be perfectly still. See GE and SHI, pp. 12-13.

[314] See ZHANG and ZHANG, *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenhua de yaolan,* p. 201.

[315] ZHANG and ZHANG, *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenhua de yaolan,* p. 203.

[316] This is the famed twentieth-century Chinese artist Lang Jingshan 郎靜山 (1892-1995). "據安氏生前親自告我，他是第一個試驗成功, 遠在玻璃版印刷術以前。在遠東可以算是最早應用玻璃版於印刷術的發明人。" See ZHANG Legu 張樂古, "Yiyuan: An Jingzhai de yishu shengya 藝苑:安敬齋的藝術生涯," *Wenzao yuekan* 文藻月刊 1/7-8, 1937, p. 54, quoted on ZHANG and ZHANG, *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenhua de yaolan,* p. 207.

[317] ZHANG and ZHANG, *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenhua de yaolan,* p. 208.

[318] ZHANG and ZHANG, *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenhua de yaolan,* pp. 192-210.

[319] ZHANG and ZHANG, *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenhua de yaolan,* p. 201.

Workshop.[320] For the next 36 years, most photographs from Tushanwan were taken by him or by the students under his supervision.

Officially a subdivision of the Printing Workshop, the main responsibility of the Photography Workshop was to supplement the publications of the Printing Workshop with photographic illustrations. Previously illustrations had been manually inserted into the text after the text was printed.[321] Eu's innovations made simultaneous printing of the text and photograph on the same page possible. In comparison to the Woodcarving or the Printing Workshops, the Photograph Workshop was small. In 1914 there were three workers and five students at the workshop; many played active roles, from mixing the chemicals to developing the negatives and manipulating and refining the final product, and much of their training mirrored that of Eu.

At the end of his life, the Tushanwan graduate and sculptor Zhang Chongren 張充仁 (1907-1998) recounted his apprenticeship with Eu in the 1920s.[322] He began by washing the silver gelatin from the negative plates and copying the labels on the bottles of chemicals used to develop the film. He was so familiar with the chemical process that he experimented with sourcing and attempted to make chemicals used in the collotype process. At the same time, he was taking drawing and drafting lessons from Eu. As with other artworkers at Tushanwan, he began by tracing figures with a Chinese brush, followed by copying Western works, including drawings of Armand Cassagene (1823-1907), using a pencil. Then he moved on to charcoal and watercolors, taking studio casts or outdoor scenery *en plein air* as his subjects. Later Zhang's responsibility at the workshop was to manipulate the negatives of the avian specimen collection from the Xujiahui Museum by removing the background and using a small knife to highlight certain features for identification, such as their body contours and feathers (fig. 4).[323]

The founding of the Photography Workshop sheds light on several features common to practices at the Tushanwan workshops in general. The training of both Eu and Zhang was grounded in the practice of tracing and copying, and painting was still the foundation of their approach. Furthermore, the relationships between the different workshops and with the missionary community are evident in the ease of mobility of human resources, knowledge, and technologies. Not only did they complement each other, one often provided the impetus for the other. For example, the Printing Workshop's need to find a way to print and reproduce text and image accurately and quickly was met by both Eu and Zhang's experiments with the collotype process, and the demand to generate visually accurate data from the Xujiahui sinological and scientific

[320] Obituary, "Shanwan zhaoxiangguan An xiushi shishi 山灣照相館安修士逝世," *Shengjiao zazhi* 聖教雜誌 26/7, 1937.
[321] ZHANG AND ZHANG, *Tushanwan: Zhongguo jindai wenhua de yaolan,* p. 210.
[322] In 1931 he went to study Western art at the Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, where he met Hergé (née George Remi (1907-1983)), creator of *The Adventures of Tintin*, and he became the informant and model for "The Blue Lotus" (1936). See Chapter 8 in CHEN Yaowang 陈耀王, pp. 95-109.
[323] See CHEN Yaowang, pp. 23-25.

communities led to a greater utilization of photographic technology and eventually to the official establishment of the workshop.[324]

Looking Back

Other than Zhang, the identities of most of the art workers from the Photography Workshop have remained as unknown as those of other Tushanwan orphans. Recent scholarship on Tushanwan has attempted to recover these anonymous voices by recuperating and reconstructing their lives.[325] Often photographic evidence is used support these claims, yet they neglect the agency of those who stood behind the camera. However this was not a simple case of the Western gaze looking in; the photographic subjects of the mechanical gaze and those who operated the camera belonged to the same social sphere.

The question of the identity of the cameraman can be easily answered by another photograph (fig. 5a-b). Excerpted from the catalogue *Ateliers de Sculpture et d'Ebenisterie: Orphelinat de Zi-ka Wei, Shanghai (Chine)* and printed at the orphanage, this photograph was intended to showcase a carved fireplace mantle for King Leopold II of Belgium, likely destined for the Chinese Pavilion, the subject of Chapter 2.[326] Neatly contained within the boundaries of columns intricately carved with rising dragons, four figures are visible: an older man, a young man, and two teenagers.[327] Each stands at one of the four corners around a black-hooded camera on a tripod that occupies the center. Behind them is a rocky grotto, from which a white female figure emerges. A mirror is installed behind the fireplace mantle frame, allowing the reflection of the camera and the photographers to be included in the final photograph. The orphan to the left of the camera stands confidently with his legs apart echoing the stance of the tripod; his head is cocked toward the camera and the slope of his shoulder is repeated by the black cover. Framed between the highly focused ornate columns, he and his fellow artworkers do not look caged; rather they seemed perfectly casual and comfortable. In this self-conscious manipulation of the photographic medium is accomplished with a high degree of control: the focus on the carved details, the addition of the mirror, the placement of the camera, the stance of each figure, the composition of the photograph, and so forth. The photograph highlights not only the technological and artistic abilities of the art workers

[324] The same kind of need to accurately reproduce visual empirical evidence provided by natural history specimens was taking place in China and was driven by British naturalists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They commissioned Cantonese export painters to collect local flora and fauna specimens and to produce paintings of them. The use of photography fit into this larger European project of colonial knowledge production. See Fan.

[325] Much of the work has been done by Chinese scholars and reporters as revisionist attempts to look at their own recent urban cultural history. See the Introduction for further discussion on the lives of the Tushanwan orphans.

[326] The illustration is on page 35. It is undated. However since the catalogue makes reference to the Chinese Pavilion (ca. 1903) but not the pagoda models (1914), I place the date of the catalogue to the late 1900s to early 1910s.

[327] It is unclear to me whether the older man was Eu.

from the Photograph Workshop, but also recognizes the degree of control the art workers had in the presentation of their own identities.

While the subject and the object are one and the same, the sense of in-group identification can also be seen in other photographs. Figure 6 shows the interior of a workspace at the Woodcarving Workshop, with the camera set up in the center at one end of the room. Two rows of carved saints line the upper shelves of the art workers' stations, progressively receding toward a well-lit room in the back, where the silhouette of a wooden cross can be seen in the process of being raised. Besides the clear iconographic reference to Christ's Cross on the Road to Calvary, the cross conveniently serves as the vanishing point. The composition further evokes the interior of a church, where the saints stand on elaborate wooden corbels elevated on columns, and the cross is placed in the apse with the altar.

Busy at work, some of the art workers have decided to look up and engage with the camera, while others concentrate on the task at hand with their heads down. Nonetheless, everyone would have been aware of the mechanical intrusion into the workspace. The critic Susan Sontag has commented about the aggressive "predatory" nature of the camera, but here the gaze of the camera was not an invasive violation, despite the appearance of voyeurism.[328] The orphans acknowledged and engaged with that weapon of aggression. Comparing this with a photograph from another Catholic orphanage workshop, the Tushanwan orphans' individual choices seem significant. In a photograph labeled "Fr. Netto and his Boys (fig. 7a)," all the little Chinese workers consciously hang their heads low and avoid directly eye contact with the camera; everyone except for one little boy on the lower right corner pushing a wood plane, who mischievously takes a quick peek at the camera (fig. 7b).[329] The difference is at least two-fold. For the Tushanwan orphans, the camera had become ordinary, and for some it was even a regular part of their workshop training. Furthermore they knew the people behind the camera. At the moment the shutter was closed, each art worker made the split-second but individual decision either to look up or to look down at their work, with the full knowledge of the consequence of indecision—the blurring of the final image; indeed, few of the photographs from Tushanwan feature any blurred figures.

In her analysis of Michelangelo Antonioni's 1972 documentary *Chung Kuo (Cina)* (1972), Rey Chow refutes Susan Sontag's claim about the same work that the Chinese subjects' uncomfortable reactions to the director's camera were "primitive."[330] Instead she suggests that

> The way they responded was meant to return, and to counter, the aggression that they sensed in the camera's gaze. . . instead of letting down one's guard before the camera, one needs to consciously perform, showing (off) one's most positive features. Rather than being primitive in the derogatory sense, the Chinese reactions indicate that photography

[328] Susan Sontag, "In Plato's Cave," *On Photography* (New York, NY: Picardor, 1997), pp. 14-15.
[329] The photograph is from the Xavier Mission Guild album at the Irish Jesuit Archives in Dublin, Ireland. I thank Fiona Loughnane for sharing her work with me.
[330] See Sontag, pp.169-175. "Primitive" was the term used by Chow to describe Sontag's generalization of Antonioni's *Cina*. See citation below.

> is about social space – in particular, how social space is, or should be, negotiated in relation to one's surroundings and fellow human beings, including in particular the photographer, who is armed.[331]

The comfort that the Chinese art workers felt toward the camera was precisely because both the photographers and the objects belonged to the same social space. Having been brought up in an environment surrounded by Brothers, Sisters, Fathers, and the Holy Mother, their relationship was both familiar and familial. This sense of belonging and community extended beyond Tushanwan or Xujiahui. Through the circulation of these photographs, that shared sense of familial intimacy and familiar common spiritual identity was reproduced throughout the Catholic world, contributing to the marketplace of sympathy, which I shall discuss below.

Reproducing Chinese Orphans

In figure 6a the composition was carefully planned, so that the camera and the photographers were centered in the mid-ground with the grotto directly behind them to give the appearance that it was rising above them. The grotto, repeating the triangular composition of the hooded tripod camera and the orphan in white, was most likely a replica of one of the most famous Marian icons of the nineteenth-century Catholicism, Our Lady of Lourdes, further signaling the orphanage's integration within the larger global Catholic community.[332] But the overall composition within the wooden frame closely mimicked a certain membership card issued several decades earlier by the Association of the Holy Childhood (L'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance), which was a major funder for the orphanage (fig. 8). In the membership card, the child-like Virgin Mary appears in the clouds as an apparition to bestow blessings onto the suffering Chinese children, who are in the process of being rescued by Catholic priests and nuns. The out-of-focus Lourdes grotto in the photograph encouraged viewers to read its blurred surface texture as white clouds. The four sides of the carved wooden frame enhanced its formal resemblance to a membership card; thus the photograph could be read as an update on the progress of charity works in China sponsored by the Association of the Holy Childhood. Whereas the illustrator of the membership card was drawing a lesson in catechism by paralleling the priests' and nuns' rescuing of abandoned drowning Chinese infants with the story of baby Moses' abandonment on the Nile River, in the updated version the

[331] Rey Chow, "China as documentary: Some basic questions (inspired by Michelangelo Antonioni and Jia Zhangeke)," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 17(1) (2014): p. 20.

[332] In the spring of 1858, a young peasant girl in the south of France repeatedly witnessed a white apparition at the Lourdes grotto. The apparition was later known as Our Lady of Lourdes, and the grotto became a pilgrimage site; both were replicated throughout the Catholic world. Water from Lourdes, claiming to have miraculous healing power, was also sent internationally to cure different ailments, further fostering a sense of the "universality of the supernatural." See Chapter 5, "Lourdes Water and American Catholicism," in Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (Yale University Press, 1995).

intrepid missionary handmaidens of Catholicism were replaced by a new tool of salvation: the camera.[333]

Moved by stories detailing the supposedly common practice of drowning unwanted (mostly female) infants in China, the Bishop of Nancy Mgr. Charles Conte de Forbin-Janson (1785-1844) founded the Association of the Holy Childhood in 1843 with the explicit goal of raising "money from French children to rescue Chinese babies from infanticide," so they could be baptized into the Catholic faith.[334] These little members were encouraged to give a small monthly donation to be used in China for the baptism of abandoned children, and Association of the Holy Childhood membership cards were delivered to the Catholic schoolchildren after they had completed a year's subscription. As a bonus, each subscription ensured an entry in a lottery, where the winners would have a chance to give baptismal names for the "poor infidel" Chinese children as their distant "godfathers and godmothers."[335] Some of the cards were explicit about the connection between the charitable action of the French children and its effects on the other side of the world. For example, a late-nineteenth century membership card shows a mother helping her daughter to stand on a chair so she can drop a donation into the collection font, and, to the right in the distance, a Catholic priest intervenes as a typically racialized Chinese man is on the verge of throwing a naked baby into a body of water by offering him a purse of coins (fig. 9).

The historian Michelle King has referred to these membership cards as "visual lessons" to "curate . . . catechism."[336] As the French children considered the importance of their own actions through an analogy with the biblical past, the story of the infant Moses, the familiar composition of the membership card and the photograph helped to foster a sense of empathy for the distant other. As emotional and sentimental values were accrued through repeated representations of poor Chinese infants, the cards created added incentives and urgency to contribute funds to the Association of the Holy Childhood and to Catholic missions in Asia.

When these French children entered adulthood, photographs of the Tushanwan orphans replaced the Holy Childhood membership cards; these were often illustrations for catalogues and religious publications aimed at a mostly non-Chinese international audience (fig. 10). While the text introduced the workshops, the photograph offered the readers an intimate glimpse of the orphans. The descriptive vivacity of the text and the mimetic quality of the illustration, even though often in low definition, complemented each other to create a sense of familiarity and recognition for far-away readers who never would have the chance to visit the workshops. Since the workshops were a frequent site of curiosity for foreign visitors to Shanghai, this was the next best thing. The gray tonality of the black-and-white photographs effaced the visible racial differences between infanticidal Chinese pagans and Catholic missionaries, which were heightened in the membership cards. This erasure was further aided by a policy of accommodation

[333] See King, *Between Birth and Death*, p. 129.
[334] Harrison, "A Penny," pp. 72-73. Also see King, *Between Birth and Death*, pp. 118-123.
[335] King, *Between Birth and Death*, p. 120.
[336] King, *Between Birth and Death*, pp. 128-129.

pioneered by the previous generation of Jesuit missionaries, which was continued at Xujiahui as European Jesuits completely adopted native costumes and partially adopted the local Shanghainese dialect. In fact, without the racial mark of the queue, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish older Chinese art workers from the European Jesuits who were in charge in the photographs.[337]

Through the circulation of these photographs, Tushanwan and its supporters were able to foster a sense of community that transcended political and national boundaries, but the interaction within the community was maintained through what I term an economy of sympathy. In this model, sympathy for the less fortunate was produced and marketed at Tushanwan, whence it was then exported. Moved by the images, stories, and art objects produced at Tushanwan, potential patrons and buyers in return sent money back as donations or as commissions to sustain the charitable operation. As Harrison and King have both shown, this strategy was wildly successful, at least initially, and membership in the Association of the Holy Childhood grew exponentially and quickly spread beyond the French border.[338] Jesuits at Xujiahui were active participants in this economy of sympathy in their wide circulation of publications advertising the orphanage and the workshops and their frequent invitations to foreign visitors to tour the workshops and to see the art workers in action. When doubts rose about the extent of infanticide in China, implicitly questioning the *raison d'état* for the Association of the Holy Childhood and the purpose of the Catholic missions in China, Xujiahui Jesuit Gabriel Palatre (1830-1878) attempted to quash the critics with a comprehensive and exhaustive study: *Infanticide and the Association of the Holy Childhood in China* (*L'infanticide et l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance en Chine*, 1878).[339]

Sympathy was not the only product actively exported from the Tushanwan workshops. In addition to the beautifully carved furniture and the architectural ornaments found on the Chinese Pavilion in Brussels, paintings and prints of Our Lady of China, and scientific models of famous Chinese pagodas, all of the workshops also created new Chinese bodies; a product that was arguably more important than all the others. This was done through a formal educational curriculum based on European pedagogical practices and a vocational training program that focused on applied skills. The bodies of the orphans were further shaped by the clothes, food, and shelter provided for them at the orphanage. Images of these new Chinese bodies, as captured in photographs, postcards, or illustrations in publications, were then sent around the world in an economy of sympathy designed to solicit vital funding for the organization.

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[337] The queue was a hairstyle imposed on all Han-Chinese male citizens by the Manchu rulers during the Qing Dynasty, the removal of which was considered as an act of sedition. For more see Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Harvard University Press, 1990). Ironically, even as the reinforcement of this requirement gradually eased by the beginning of the twentieth century, many Chinese loyal to the Qing Dynasty, in China and overseas, retained and embraced them as part of their racial identity. The queue also became a negative trait for the Chinese race in the Western eye.

[338] See Harrison, p. 73; and King, *Between Birth and Death*, pp. 121-123.

[339] The book was printed at Tushanwan Printing Workshop. Michelle King has done an extensive study on his work. See King, *Between Birth and Death*, Chapter 3. Also see Mungello, *Drowning Girls in China*.

The display of Chinese bodies took several forms. The first showcased daily lives at Tushanwan, capturing the children and their caretakers during holidays, festivals, performances, etc. (fig. 11 and 12). Going beyond the workshops, these same orphans happily greeted the camera with smiles and grins, excited by the opportunity to be seen worldwide. Viewers could see them playing, eating, and learning, no different from other children in the modern West. Instead of resembling characters in a Dickens novel, these orphans were seen to be well-fed, well-clothed, and well-cared for in the photographs, claims supported by recent scholarship and confirmed in accounts from former orphans.[340] These new Chinese bodies departed from coeval stereotypes of Chinese bodies circulated in the West. "Diseased, atrophied, and feeble," was the scholar Eric Reinders's characterization of Western missionaries' widespread view of China and its people throughout the nineteenth century.[341] This was epitomized by images of the opium smoker, emaciated and weak, whose faculties were poisoned and clouded by drugs (fig. 13).[342] The only cure, according to Protestant and Catholic missionaries, was Christianity.[343] The new Chinese bodies also differed from images of Chinese children shown in the membership cards (fig. 8), where the naked white flesh of drowning Chinese children stresses their untainted innocence and affinity with their French "godfathers and godmothers", and contrasted with the depiction of highly stereotypical, racialized Chinese adults—costumed *en pagode*, wearing pointed hats and elongated mustaches. Other racially negative traits such as bound feet and queues were banned at the Catholic missions. The removal of the queue, done at Xujiahui to Chinese orphans years before the collapse of the Qing Dynasty would permit all Han citizens the freedom to do so, was significant. For Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the queue was an outward sign of the subservient and feminine nature of Chinese men, which was an imposition by the Manchus to signal their rule.[344] Thus the new Chinese bodies presented in these photographs conformed to normative standards that came to be expected by the West: they were literate, healthy, industrious, and masculine.

In the second category of presentation, the art workers are barely visible in the photographs. They are not the main focus, which was the works produced at the workshops. Usually found in sales catalogues, such as *Ateliers de Sculpture et d'Ebenisterie: Orphelinat de Zi-ka Wei, Shanghai (Chine)* (fig. 14 and 15), the products were placed front and center. The products' large size was exaggerated through close cropping of the final photograph and their contrast in scale with the little art workers posing on either side. Pushed to the side, their tiny bodies are further reduced by having them cut-off at the edges, their very presence threatened within the composition. But the art workers *were* intended to be included in the composition; besides providing a living scale for the finished products, they were essential contributors to the overall values of the products that they framed in at least two ways.

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[340] See Introduction.
[341] See Reinders, p. 40-44. In fact, many Protestant church records warned the danger of coming to China because the diseased atmosphere.
[342] See Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (University of California Press, 2001), pp. 95-97.
[343] Reinders, p. 51
[344] Reinders, p. 60.

First the presence of the orphans was a visual guarantee that they were the real and skillful teenage artisans who had carved objects displayed in the center. The same hands that supported the carving in the middle had also made it. The differential between the size of the finished product and the little orphans only underscored the Herculean feat that the Tushanwan art workers had accomplished. It was a reminder of the success of the Catholic mission to produce useful members of a modern society and the orphanage's care for healthy and content Chinese citizens for the future. Furthermore this was proof of the authenticity of the art objects that were advertised for sale, which were both authentically Chinese and authentically handmade. In Chapter 2 I suggested that part of the appeal of the Tushanwan workshops for the international audience was their claim of carrying on an medieval artisanal ideal: here was a community of anonymous artisans working tirelessly and selflessly, motivated only by piety. Thus the presence of the Tushanwan orphans in the photographs confirmed the exotic origin of the products and catered to an aesthetic spiritual fantasy in harmony with the Catholic taste of the time.

It was appropriate then, that it was a hand that served as the Barthesian punctum, to reach out and command the emotional attention of viewers (fig. 1a-b). This was the hand that stood for the rest of the orphaned body, the organizational body of the orphanage, and the enterprise of the Catholic missions around the world. The motif of the hand appeared repeatedly in circulated photographs of the Tushanwan workshops as a working hand: carving, shaving, chipping, drawing, engraving, and polishing. (figs. 16-19); these were not idle hands. These images countered the prevalent Western perception of the Chinese people as lazy and lethargic.[345] Even when the hands were at rest, they were positioned close to works of art or otherwise remained prominently visible, despite the sometimes cold temperatures suggested by the heavily padded jackets.

But what about the orphans themselves? What can we recover from these photographs beyond a few smiling faces? While the working hand of the orphan was celebrated, the non-working hand was hidden or even edited out. Always shown in contact with workshop products or with their tools—even the boy in the mirror seems to have lost his arm to the ominous hooded device next to him—viewers never got a chance to see the full integrity of these orphaned bodies. Their identity, their social function, their relationship to each other, their relationship to the world, were all defined by the workshops and the tools of their trade (fig. 16-19). Likewise, it is difficult to find portrait photographs of individual orphans or individual Jesuits. In group photographs, individual features are subdued, and the uniformity of the group portrait is heightened by the similarities of their costumes (fig. 20 and 21). Their identity and existence depended on being part of a group and of a community, one that was linked to the larger global spiritual Catholic community.

Conclusion

[345] Reinders, p. 46.

Benedict Anderson famously coined the phrase "imagined communities" as a framework for the discussion of nationalism, a point to which I shall return in my final conclusion. He attributed the foundation of this new level of group consciousness to "print-capitalism," which would surely include the circulation of both texts and images.[346] But, in comparison to text, photographic images carried with them a more immediate and emotive appeal, and were thus better equipped to operate more efficiently as "print-capitalism." In the case we have been considering, this did not translate into the formation of a "national consciousness," as Anderson would put it, but rather a religious, global one. Viewers found commonality and connections across space and time with others who shared the same faith; this was an identity that was reinforced through the exchange of prayers, images, art products, and money in an economy of sympathy.

Within this larger global framework, the photographs also reflected an internal dynamic that reassigned subjecthood to those who were photographed. The subject and the object were one and the same because of the conscious addition of the mirror. The French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan had described this as a moment of self-discovery, or the Mirror Stage, which occurs when an infant discovers his own reflection for the first time and thereby forms an impression of himself as a subject "before its social determination, in a fictional direction."[347] It is an incomplete formulation of the Self and its knowledge of the world, where the child's movements are awkward and jerky, becoming part of his own constructed image of himself.[348] Lacan's theory is useful here because the generalized view of European Jesuits and Catholic audiences at the time did construct Chinese bodies as infantile and in need of being rescued by the West: helpless and naked, both their souls and bodies would be lost without the salvational intervention of Western modernity. This then, also became the construction of the Chinese Self throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[349] Yet photographs like this from Tushanwan suggest otherwise. The self-image "before its social determination" exuded confidence and pride; there was never a Mirror Stage. It was a Self that was constructed in conjunction with the social group of which it was a part. The Self was, in fact, the social group.

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[346] Benedict Anderson, Chapter 3: "The Origin of National Consciousness," *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 2006).
[347] Jacques Lacan, "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the I as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience," in *Contemporary Critical Theory*, Alan Sheridan, trans., Dan Latimer, ed. (Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovih, 1989), p. 503.
[348] Lacan, p. 503 and 505.
[349] This sentiment is reflected in historical movements like the Self-Strengthening Movement (ca. 1861-1895).

Chapter 6:

Conclusion

The final days of Tushawan were a gradual decline rather a sudden termination. There were no more large projects to be embarked after the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. Many of the publications on the workshops I have cited came from the 1930s and 1940s, suggesting a steady pace of operation. The Japanese occupation of Shanghai beginning in 1937 only minimally interrupted the work at Tushanwan, partly because it was still under the jurisdiction of France and was relatively far from the violence.[350] Real changes took place after the Communist Party took power in China in 1949. As connections with the West were severed, demands for Tushanwan products plummeted. Add onto that was the suspicion with which the foreign missionaries were met and the caricatures of them as tools of Western imperialism. Targeted arrests were made, and finally all foreign missionaries were expelled 1953.[351] By 1956 there were 118 remaining workers at Tushanwan, and the different workshops were eventually taken over by various state-run companies. The year 1960 marked the end of the art and craft workshops of Tushanwan.[352]

Throughout this dissertation I have attempted to understand the Tushanwan workshops in different contexts using different approaches. A few concluding generalizations can perhaps be teased out from the discussions and analyses in the dissertation.

As commercial workshops, Tushanwan provided an invaluable service for the nascent Catholic communities in East Asian and overseas (the sales catalogues were written in both Chinese and in English or French) by supplying them with a steady supply of affordable and quality objects for religious purposes. In those instances where customers, especially foreign, came with a certain expectations, the objects were wholly European in nature. In fact, in many cases they were using French models, which also meant replicating Neo-Gothic examples to meet the increasing demand for that particular style as a popular expression of Catholic devotion at the time. In this way, the workshops were in line with their predecessors: the paintings of Madonna and Child from the Niccolò School in the late sixteenth century or the portraits of George Washington produced by the Canton Painting Factories two hundred years later.

Tushanwan departed from this mode of operation when they first began to make secular objects for the same audience, and later religious ones such as Our Lady of China. What was significant was that they used local models, made readily available by the urban visual culture of Shanghai in the early twentieth century and by the research done at the Xujiahui community, whether it was using the photograph of the Empress Dowager Cixi as a model for Our Lady of China or borrowing architectural elements from local buildings. The shift from using European models to Chinese ones was more than the visual parallel to the development of the nativization movements that emerged at the same time early in the century because this trend developed decades before the official Vatican policies were in place. Instead this was a reversal of the pattern of modernization

[350] GAO, pp. 112-113.
[351] For more, see Chapter 3 of Paul P. Mariani, *Church Militant: Bishop Kung and Catholic Resistance in Communist Shanghai* (Harvard University Press, 2011).
[352] GAO, p. 117.

efforts in China in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. The fact that the orphanage and the Catholic community were isolated in Shanghai but connected to the world allowed them to sit on the sideline as China was making itself more "Western." Ironically Tushanwan was seen as part of this effort of modernization and Westernization, as Xu Beihong famously noted and as is demonstrated by the number of non-orphans sent there by their Chinese parents. But the type of "modernization" found at Tushanwan was mainly based on nostalgically looking at the West's own idealized past, the revival of a foregone era of pious simplicity, translated and replanted on Chinese soil using Chinese materials.

When I speak in public on the topic of Tushanwan, one of the most common questions I receive from the audience, regardless of academic background, is about the orphans. In many respects they are the subject of this dissertation, just as they were the focus of this missionary enterprise. The concept of the child was key, both for the Jesuit missionaries and for a rapidly modernizing China; they were indeed the future. While the focus of the missionaries was the salvation of their souls and the practicalities of making a living as adults, for China in the early-twentieth-century, "the child," according to Andrew Jones, "became an object of sustained investment and intense anxiety, a beacon for developmental aspirations shadowed by the brutality of a colonial world order in which heredity seemed tantamount to destiny."[353] In other words, the child "figured as an agent of national redemption," whose development was inextricably linked to the development of the Chinese nation.[354] The Jesuits knew this and consciously presented and promulgated renewed baptized Chinese children as the faces of sympathy and the hope for a new Chinese nation. This was achieved literally through images of the Chinese orphaned art workers and implicitly through the branding of the products of the Tushanwan orphanage.

The remaking of both orphaned bodies and the metaphoric national body is further highlighted by the perceived parallels between the two. The Tushanwan workshops and its products could be considered as an alternate type of reconstitution after the major episodes of violence of European imperialist on Chinese soil and the countless bloody encounters between Christianity and China throughout the nineteenth century. What remained from those events were mere fragments: broken traditional societal structures, displaced families, multitudes of the wounded and executioned, lost fortunes, and crumbling buildings. The orphans were the most direct results of the breaking up of society and family, and Xujiahui and its charitable organizations were founded explicitly to function as surrogate families for the incomplete and immature children, who were casualties of war, famine, or economic misfortune. Among the victims too were historical buildings and houses, which suffered from neglect, disrepair, or the passage of time; foreign invasions and domestic rebellions like the Taiping Rebellion accelerated their demise, especially in the Jiangnan region. This did not only allow the broken fragments of the architectural ornaments to be collected, studied, copied, and classified in the modern and Western system of knowledge production.

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[353] Andrew Jones, *Developmental Fairy Tales: Evolutionary Thinking and Modern Chinese Culture* (Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 5.
[354] Jones, p. 105.

While ruinous structures such as the Thunder Peak Pagoda were frozen in the present-day with all of their signs of dilapidation and neglect and "preserved" for posterity in the Tushanwan models sent to the P.P.I.E., destroyed structures such as the Porcelain Pagoda were made anew to complete the set; after all how could the most famous Chinese pagoda be absent from a collection of China's pagodas.[355] Without the necessary resources and power at their disposal, the Jesuits could only use this scaled-down method of preventing further loss and fragmentation of the original sites in a time of increasing destruction due to antique trafficking out of China. Completed sets of architectural ornaments and "superstitious motifs" were recovered and cloned from their fragmented states, and reconstituted on new things based on European models, be they English cupboard cabinets or stained glass windows.

What was the appeal of Tushanwan's products? Were they simply a new type of *chinoiserie*, responding to the continued Euro-American fascination and delight in Oriental things? If solely based on the reactions described by Dennis Kavanagh of the some of the American visitors, the answer seems to be "yes." But as I hope I have demonstrated throughout these pages, these ornamented surfaces and objects were the final products of intense research and fine collective craftsmanship, the culmination and total expression of the collaborative work of the Xujiahui community, the Jesuit directors, and the orphaned Chinese art workers. Thus the importance of these works resided in their erudite and ornamented surfaces; they were not statements of playful *chinoiserie* frivolity, but serious and concrete externally manifested expressions of the identity of Tushanwan and its orphaned art workers.

Tushanwan products were also authentic, or at least made that particular claim. Their authenticity not only derived from the fact that they were made by Chinese hands or based on models gathered through sinological research, they were specific verifiable indices referencing a historical past, whether that of the first generation of Jesuits who served in the Ming and Qing courts or traditional architecture in the form of the pagoda models. Tushanwan art products were appealing not merely because they kindled the consumers' desire for technically skillful carving or beautiful rendered paintings, they were able directly to elicit personal and intimate emotions from consumers by drawing connections to their little original makers.

[355] Currently the Porcelain Pagoda model is in the collection of the Chicago Field Museum, one of the three from the complete set that the museum kept when it sold them in 2007.

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Appendices

Appendix I:
Tushanwan Objects exhibited at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (P.P.I.E.)

All of the following objects were exhibited at the "The Roman Catholic Mission of Nanking Province, Zikawei Orphanage Shanghai, Art and Technical School Department" (Tushanwan) exhibition at the Palace of Education at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (P.P.I.E.) in 1915. In addition to the set of pagoda models, lacquered screens, carved furniture, carved statues, a Chinese gateway, and paintings were sent to the P.P.I.E. The following are some of the objects I have been able to uncover in my research, though the list is by no means comprehensive. In some ways Dennis Kavanagh's description in his report was helpful as a guide, but in others it was ineffective because of the vagueness of his descriptions and the issues associated with record keeping.

For example, following Kavanagh suggestion I searched for a bronze bell at the Mission Inn in Riverside, CA. Several "Chinese" bronze bells were kept in storage but none could be definitely be linked to Tushanwan or P.P.I.E. In the letter, Kavanagh suggested that Morgan had purchased a screen that eventually became one of the first works collected by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. However the screen donated by J. Pierpont Morgan was given in 1909, too early to be the screen from the P.P.I.E., and other candidates were donated by other donors long afterward.

The objects and their exhibition at P.P.I.E. are confirmed either by the presence of an official P.P.I.E. sticker affixed to the work or through visual identification with contemporary photographs.

1. *Pailou* (Chinese Gateway)


3a. Tushanwan exhibition at P.P.I.E. in 1915. San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library.
3b. Photograph of the Gateway at the Field Museum in Chicago ca. 1916. Chicago Field Museum Collection. It was erected on the eastside of the Rotunda at the main hall.
3c. Chinese Gateway today at the Tushanwan Museum, Shanghai.

Provenance[356]

Originally made for the entrance to the Tushanwan exhibition (3a), the gateway was sold to the Field Museum in Chicago along with the Pagoda Models at the end of the P.P.I.E. for the amount of $2500. It was placed on display at the eastern end of the main hall at the museum, and was later exhibited at the 1933 A Century of Progress International Exposition in Chicago.[357] At the conclusion of that Exposition, George Chan of China Café, who was a member of the exhibition group, purchased it.[358] Though some have claimed that it was exhibited at the 1939 World's Fair in New York, this cannot be substantiated.

The next time it appeared was after World War II, when it was purchased by the Indiana University and kept in storage at Oberlin, Ohio. In the 1980s, it was sold to an American antiques dealer, who took it apart to sell in pieces. In 1985 with the help of the University, the Swedish architect M. Woeler was able to acquire the remaining sections of the gateway, which he transported to Sweden in 1986. In 2009, in preparation for the opening for the Tushanwan Museum, the gateway returned to Shanghai and became the main attraction in the museum when it opened in 2010.[359]

Description

Much of the gateway has shown signs of age and suffered the effects of dissembling by the antiques dealer. The Tushanwan Museum hired woodcarvers from Zhejiang to repair and recarve missing pieces using a different color of wood. However despite their best efforts, without the original designs and detailed photographs, there were minor variations between the original and the reconstruction.

Carved out of teak wood, the entire structure is a miniaturization of the Chinese architectural form of the gateway. Though its exaggerated upturning eves suggest an affinity to the style found in the immediate area of Shanghai, other architectural elements seem to be inconsistent with the Jiangnan region. Except for the fact that it was not gilded, the gateway shares many similarities in techniques, motifs, and themes with the Chinese Pavilion in Belgium, which was made ten years prior.

[356] Provenance information mostly derived from "Ten Months at the Exposition," Dennis J. Kavanagh, S. J. to Aloysius Beck, S. J., China Mission Vertical File 1310, Zikawei Orphanage, "Ten Months at Exposition," 1915, Box 29 T-Z, California Jesuit Archives, Santa Clara University.

[357] For more on the Gateway at the Field Museum, see Berthold Laufer, *The Chinese Gateway*, in the Field Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology leaflet 1 (Chicago, 1922).

[358] William H. Ma, "The Tushanwan Pagoda Models," in *A Collection of Pagodas: 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco* (Mee-seen Loong Fine Art LLC, 2014), p. 26.

[359] YUAN Wei 袁伟, Tushanwan yu shibohui de "bainian qingyuan," pp. 346-347.

2. The Pagoda Models[360]

Provenance

Originally part of the Tushanwan exhibition at the P.P.I.E., all were sold to the Field Museum in Chicago for the sum of $5000 after several failed attempts to search for a buyer. One potential buyer was Phoebe Hearst, who had intended to donate them to the University of California, Berkeley, but was not able to do so because of financial troubles caused by the war in Mexico. Except for a few rare occasions when individual pagodas were displayed, they were never exhibited as a set at the Museum. Through the help of Sotheby's, all but three were deaccessioned by the museum for being "scientifically inaccurate" and "difficult to clean." Sold to the private collector Christopher Jeffries in 2007, they were kept at the warehouse in Somerville, MA. On the occasion of the P.P.I.E. Centennial in 2015, a near-comprehensive exhibition of the pagoda models took place at the San Francisco Airport Museum in the main terminals.[361]

Description

The exact number of the pagoda models varies depending on the publication: 56 in Frank Morton Todd's official history of the P.P.I.E., 82 in Kavanagh's booklet about the pagodas, and 72 in his *Zi-ka-wei Orphanage* pamphlet, and the number 100 circulates in accounts from China today. The catalogue *The Marvels of Chinese Architecture: Collection of China's Pagodas, Achieved by the Siccawei Catholic Mission, Industrial School, Near Shanghai, to the World's Panama Pacific Exposition 1915* has photographic images for 85 of the pagoda models, but only 60 on the accompannying chart. I personally counted 84 pagodas: 3 stayed at the Field Museum of Chicago and 81 in the Jeffries Collection, and that is the number I use in throughout the dissertation.

Almost all the pagodas were modeled after famous pagodas found throughout the 18 provinces of China proper, but examples from Korea and Tibet were also included. Though generally speaking the structures were originally built for Buddhist or other folk Chinese religious sites, one minaret was also included. All were carved out of wood with added details either in varnished wood or polychrome painting. The larger pagodas were constructed in small sections and then fitted together.

The models were meant to be faithful reproductions and reductions (at the ratio of 1:15) of the original structures in their contemporaneous states, which included the marks of vandalism, dilapidation, and signs of neglect; these states of decay were recreated with the paintbrush.[362] Additional buildings and figures were added for scale. However, many of the smaller details on the pagoda models were quite different from the original pagodas.

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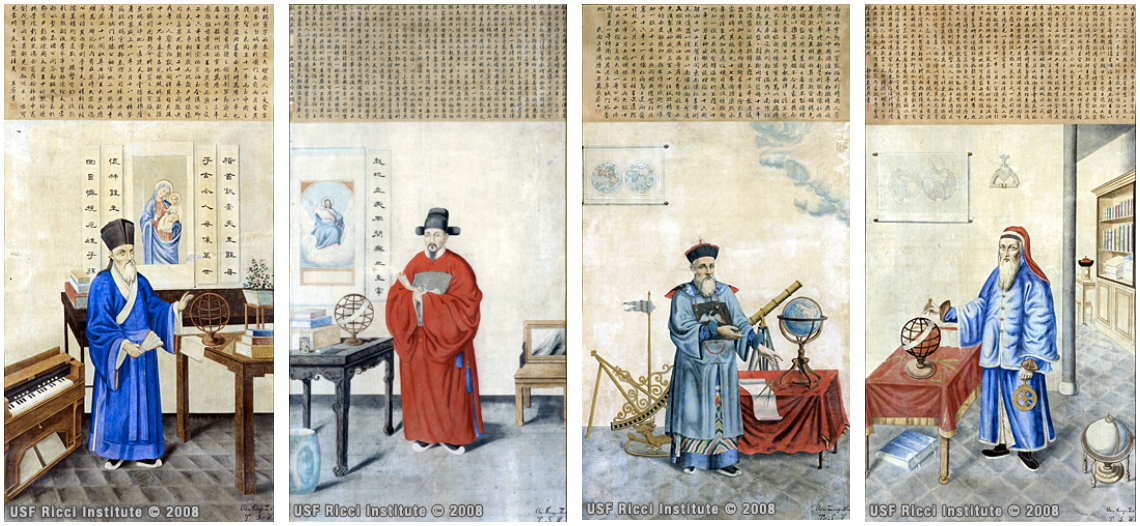
[360] For more see Chapter 4.

[361] See *The Tushanwan Pagodas: Models from the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, accessed July 10, 2016, http://www.flysfo.com/museum/exhibitions/tushanwan-pagodas-models-1915-panama-pacific-international-exposition.

[362] Some of the paint used was possibly lead-based. One of the three pagoda models at Chicago needed to undergo treatment to stabilize the lead paint.

3. Portraits of Matteo Ricci, Xu Guangqi, Ferdinand Verbiest, and Adam Schall von Bell



3a-d. Portraits of (left to right) Matteo Ricci, Xu Guangqi, Ferdinand Verbiest, and Adam Schall von Bell, 1914. The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco.

3e. Detail showing the Ricci portrait at the Tushanwan exhibition during the P.P.I.E. in 1915. San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library.
3f-h. Portraits of (left to right) Matteo Ricci, Xu Guangqi, Ferdinand Verbiest, and Adam Schall von Bell, collected in 1903 by Berthold Laufer. The American Museum of Natural History, New York City.

Dimensions: 58 inches x 30 inches

Provenance

The four portraits are currently in the Del Santo Room at the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History on the campus of the University of San Francisco. Documentation of their provenance is unavailable but most likely they were purchased for or donated to the diocese by Dennis Kavanagh, S.J. The Ricci portrait is visible in the photograph of the Tushanwan exhibition at the P.P.I.E.

Description

The four paintings were done in polychrome watercolors based on portraits taken from older European Jesuit sources. The figures represent early pioneering Jesuits in China, each surrounded by objects associated with their contributions and influences. The top portion of each has a long inscription giving the biographic details of each figure signed by the calligrapher Xia Dingyi 夏鼎彝. The date of "Summer July 1914" was included in the inscription for the Verbiest portrait. The former director of the Ricci Institute, the late Edward Malatesta, S.J. (1932-1998), undertook research on the paintings and his results are summarized here: http://www.ricci.usfca.edu/collection/exhibits/jesuitportraits/. Since the website is fairly thorough, I will only offer some addenda and a few corrections:

- The Tushanwan and P.P.I.E. photographs suggest that the paintings were originally mounted with wooden frames and not as scrolls. As the surviving works on paper from the American Museum of Natural History suggest, paintings mounted as scrolls were intended for teaching catechism, which was not the function of these commemorative paintings.
- During his tenure at the Ricci Institute, the historian Li Tiangang 李天纲 from Fudan University in Shanghai identified the author of the biographies as the Chinese Catholic scholar and reformer Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯 (1840-1939).[363]
- Using a list of students from the Painting Workshop from 1909 and matching the signatures with Xujiahui dialect of Shanghainese, the scholar Zhang Xiaoyi 张晓依 had helped me identify the painters as the following:
    - 翁俊才 = On Tsing Zé
    - 夏升堂 = Ou Zeng Sun (Tun) [364]

  I independently verified the pronunciation using online dialect dictionaries. Both were students of Fan Yinru 范殷儒 and specialized in watercolor; unfortunately biographical details on the two are not available at this point. I continue to have reservations about the identity of Ou Zeng Sun. To make the sound of 堂 in Shanghainese, the syllable should be "Tun" and not "Sun" as signed on the painting, and the formal constructions of the French cursive "T" and "S" are distinct. This means that either a mistake was made in signing the painting or that there was another painter.
- Malatesta attributed the models for all four figures to the 1736 edition of *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde. Earlier models that more closely resemble the portraits are available in the 1667 edition of *China illustrata* by Athanasius Kircher (for the portrait of Adam Schall von Bell and Matteo Ricci).
- Nearly identical to the Ricci Institute portraits are the paintings from the

[363] See Li, " 'Shibo' jiezuo huigui 'Tushanwan''世博'杰作回归'土山湾,'" T'ou-Sè-Wè Museum website, accessed on March 20, 2016, URL: http://tsw.xuhui.gov.cn/Article.aspx?aid=214. For the original text, see ZHU Weizheng 朱維錚, ed., *Ma Xiangbo ji* 馬相伯集 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1996), pp. 27-32.

[364] The list of students from 1909 can be found in ZHANG Wei 张伟, "Tushanwan huaguan chutan 土山湾画馆初探," *Chongshi Tushanwan suipian* 重拾土山湾碎片, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai jinxiu wenzhang chubanshe, 2013), p. 281.

American Museum of Natural History, which are dated to 1903, at least twelve years earlier. They were collected at Tushanwan by AMNH former curator and anthropologist Berthold Laufer (1874-1934) during his expedition to China from 1901-1904.

4. Camphor Boxes


4a. The camphor boxes as first rediscovered at the Alameda Flea Market on August 2, 2015.
4b. Detail from photograph of Tushanwan exhibition at P.P.I.E. in 1915. San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library.

Dimensions
Exterior 35.5 x 35.5 x 24.5 cm
Interior: 13.5 x 27 x 27 cm

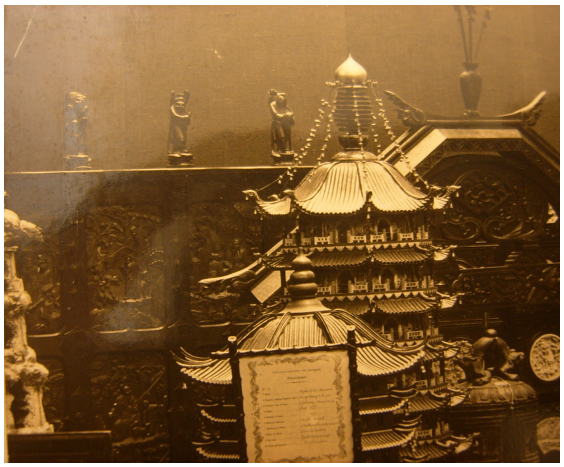
Provenance
Acquired at the Alameda Point Antiques Faire (September 6, 2015) by the author for the amount of $800 on behalf of the Xujiahui District Ministry of Culture (徐家汇文化局). They are now at the Tushanwan Museum in Shanghai.

Description
Both boxes are carved out of camphor as can be detected by the residual scent. The cover and legs are attached to the main box by hinges or nails. The main square body is composed of four pieces joined together with a carved dragon column, each with a moveable ball in its mouth. Dragons are also carved in shallow relief on the four edges of the cover. The boxes' feet are lions' claws clutching a ball, with a stylized lion's face atop each.

Box A: the four panels depict the Eight Immortals, identified by their attributes: Cao Guojiu: two long sticks forming an "X"; He Xiangu: the lotus flower; Li Tieguai: the crutch; Lan Caihe: the basket; Lü Dongbin: the sword; Han Xiangzi: the flute; Zhang Guolao: a bamboo tube with two sticks; Zhongli Quan: the fan.

Box B (cover slightly warped): the four depict the eight immortals. Two of the panels are repeated with similar characters and gestures but different background showing Zhang Guolao and Cao Guojiu.

5. The Field Museum Screen

5a. The Chicago Field Museum screen photograph taken by Berkeley professor Winnie Wong.
5b. Detail showing the screen from the Tushanwan exhibition during P.P.I.E. in 1915. San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library.

Provenance

Currently at the Chicago Field Museum library. According to the museum archivist Armand Esai, it was formerly kept in the office of Marshall Field.[365] This claim is supported by Kavanagh's letter and exhibition photograph. [366]

Description

The screen seems to have been made with two types of wood. The darker colored provides the frames for 15 panels carved in lighter colored wood. Each panel depicts a narrative story taken from popular folklore or history. Originally figures of the Eight Immortals were attached to the top, but they have now been lost.

[365] Verbal communication with the author in February 2014.
[366] Mrs. Marshall Field's visit to Tushanwan Exhibition at the P.P.I.E. was documented by Kavangh, "One day Mrs. Marshall Field, a very rich and a very charitable lady, who had come from Chicago in a private car, called at our exhibit. She fell I love with the big screen and fell so enthusiastically in love with it, that Mrs. Mackin saw her chance to make a good sale. When asked the price she said that the screen was priceless and that we were waiting for offers to be made by those who were interested. She spent hours in examining it. She sent experts to give an opinion as to its antiquity and artistic qualities, and in a few days we had increased our treasury by $8,000. Mrs. Marshall Field bought two screens, the large white and black one of the first shipment, and one of the larger ones of the second shipment." See "Ten Months at the Exposition." Additionally, photograph of the screen can be found in the Berthold Laufer Study Photographs archival file under the folder "Furniture" at the Chicago Field Museum library archives, with the words "Mrs. Marshall Field's Screen" written on the back of the photograph. Similarly the verso of several photographs in the same folder also have the note "Panama Pacific Exposition," and based on the architecture they were indeed from the Palace of Education.

6. St. Ignatius Church Cabinet



6a. Cabinet in the back of the gift shope at the St. Ignatius Church today.
6b. Cabinet at the Tushanwan workshop in Shanghai before it was sent to the P.P.I.E.
6c. Detail showing the cabinet from the Tushanwan Exhibition at the P.P.I.E. in 1915. San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library.

Provenance

Currently at the gift shop of the St. Ignatius Church on the campus of the University of San Francisco. Provenance documents unavailable but most likely it was purchased for or donated to the diocese by Dennis Kavanagh.

Description

Nearly the entire surface of the cabinet is covered with carving, ranging from rebuses to auspicious symbols to operatic scenes to figures of the Eight Immortals standing on the canopy.

7. St. Ignatius Church Corner Cabinet




7a-c. The corner cabinet (a) and details (b and c) in the music room of St. Ignatius Church, San Francisco. **7d**. Detail showing the cabinet from the Tushanwan exhibition during the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. Taken from photographic illustration in *Banama saihui Zhili guan hui congbian* 巴拿馬賽會直隸觀會叢編 vol. 1 (Zhili: Shiye ting, 1921).

Provenance

Currently in the music room at the St. Ignatius Church on the campus of the University of San Francisco. Provenance documents are not available but most likely it was purchased for or donated to the diocese by Dennis Kavanagh. The cabinet is visible in the P.P.I.E. exhibition photograph.

Description

Corner cabinet in three levels with uppermost fitted with multi-colored stained-glass windows. The border is carved in imitation of old wood trunks, with sprouting fruits and leaves on top. A band of stylized four-petals roses, derived from Catholic iconography, separates the mid-section from the bottom.

8. Small Storage Cabinets (2)

8a-c. The small storage cabinets (a and b) and detail of cabinet a (c). Storage room of St. Ignatius Church, San Francisco.

Provenance

Currently in the storage room at the St. Ignatius Church on the campus of the University of San Francisco. Provenance documents are not available but most likely it was purchased for or donated to the diocese by Dennis Kavanagh. It was likely a part of the P.P.I.E. exhibition.

Description

The two small hanging cabinets have multi-colored stained-glass windows on the doors like the windows on the tall corner cabinet in the music room, both sharing the same curved fan shape with four lead ribs radiating from a quarter circle at the lower bottom corner. While the colors alternate in different patterns, both have the same colors: dark orange, deep blue, violet, emerald green, teal green, and topaz yellow. Also like the music room cabinet, the edge is carved in imitation of old wood trunks, sprouting leaves at the top. The four-petals rose can also be found on the side panel, where they generate from tulip-like floral stems. Based on these similarities, it can be deduced that these two cabinets were part of a set along with the corner cabinet in the music room. Since the corner cabinet was exhibited at the P.P.I.E., these two were most likely also a part of the Tushanwan exhibition.

9. Ricci Institute Carved Panels (2)




9a-b. The two carved panels. The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco.
9c. Photograph of the original screen from the St. Ignatius Church taken in the 1980s.
9d. Detail showing the screen from the Tushanwan Exhibition during the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library.

Provenance

Currently at the Ricci Institute collection on the campus of the University of San Francisco. They are the two remaining panels from a large carved wooden screen that was stolen in the 1990s. Provenance documents are not available but most likely they was purchased for or donated to the diocese by Dennis Kavanagh.

Description

The two unpainted panels, done in a modified Dongyang style of woodcarving typical of the Tushanwan Woodcarving Workshop (see Chapter 2), depict scenes from popular stories and dramas such as *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. They must have contrasted nicely as they were inserted into the ornately carved screen, which was varnished with a brownish stain similar to other Tushanwan furniture from the exhibition. Unlike other "antique" screens at the exhibition, this seems to be a fully realized creation of the workshop, drawing inspiration from screens placed behind imperial thrones in the Forbidden City.

10. Tushanwan Museum Cupboard

10a. Cupboard at the Tushanwan Museum, Shanghai, today.

Dimension: 2.13 x 1.52 x 0.14 m

Provenance

The cupboard was acquired in 2015 by the museum from Dr. Donald L. Cary (唐纳德 L. 卡瑞博士) of Oklahoma, who had acquired the cupboard in an auction in the 1970s when he was living in San Francisco.[367] Though the cabinet does not appear in available photographs from the exhibition, a clear intact label from the P.P.I.E. is affixed to its back.

Description

The most striking aspect of the cupboard is the windows on the door. Divided into three sections, the mid-section is a green dragon created with stained-glass technique. The other two sections are divided into six narrative panels in painted glass, each depicting various popular stories taken from folk dramas or histories. Some of scenes are signed with "T'ou-sè-wè," or Tushanwan.

[367] Despite my best efforts, I was not able to contact Dr. Cary. The name is a transliteration of the Chinese characters 唐纳德 (Donald) 卡瑞 (Cary) from the article about the rediscovery of the cabinet. See Song Haojie 宋浩杰, "Baonian Tushanwan caihui boli diaohua chugui zhong huigui 百年土山湾彩绘玻璃雕花橱柜终回归," in *Xuhui wenmai* 徐汇文脉 2 (2014): pp. 68-72.

Appendix II:
Other Tushanwan Objects Encountered during Research

The following items are objects I encountered during my research at Tushanwan. Aside from Our Lady of China, I did not have a chance to see the objects in person; however both stylistic determination and historical documentation have confirmed their origin as products of the orphanage workshops.

1. Our Lady of China[368]

1a. Our Lady of China, St. Ignatius Church, San Francisco.

Provenance

The painting is currently hanging in the sacristy of the St. Ignatius Church on the campus of the University of San Francisco. No documents related to its provenance are available.

Description

This painting is extremely significant in several ways: 1. It is one of the earliest versions of Our Lady of China known today. 2. It is one of the few extant oil paintings from Tushanwan.[369]

It is unclear how the painting arrived at St. Ignatius Church. It has been suggested that it came along with other works during the Tushanwan exhibition for the Panama-Pacific

[368] For more see Chapter 3.
[369] Most of the paintings were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

International Exposition in 1915; however this remains to be definitively proven since it was not documented visually or textually.[370] Another possibility is that it came along with the return of a significant number of Californian Jesuits who went to Shanghai in the 1920s, which has been documented by the late Peter Fleming.[371]

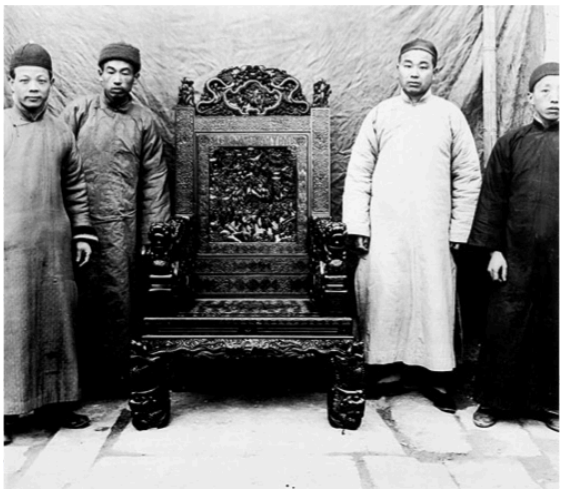
One of the many significant aspects of the painting is the fact that it was signed by the original painter of Our Lady of China, which would date it to around 1908. The painter was Fan Yinru 范殷儒, whose signature in red "Wei-Yn(?)-Zu" is found on the lower right corner on the red carpet; the name was the French transliteration of Shanghainese pronunciation.[372]

[370] ZHANG Xiaoyi claims that the painting was exhibited at P.P.I.E., but her photograph demonstrating this was completely illegible. See ZHANG Xiaoyi 张晓依, "Tushanwan 《Zhonghua shengmu xiang》 canzhan Banama Taipingyang shibohui beihou de gushi 土山湾《中华圣母像》参展巴拿马太平洋世博会背后的故事," *Xuhui wenmai* 徐汇文脉 2 (2014): p. 59.

[371] See Peter Joseph Fleming, "Chosen for China: The California Province Jesuits in China, 1928-1957: A Case Study in Mission and Culture" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, 1987).

[372] I thank ZHANG Xiaoyi for her help with the Shanghainese pronunciation and the identification of the painter. See her article "Diancang tebie qihua: Zhongxi hunxue de Tushanwan《Zhonghua shengmu xiang》典藏特别企划：中西混血的土山湾《中华圣母像》," accessed April 3, 2016, http://www.360doc.com/content/15/0928/16/9722372_502029096.shtml. For more on Fan, see Chapter 2.

2. National Eisteddfod Chair

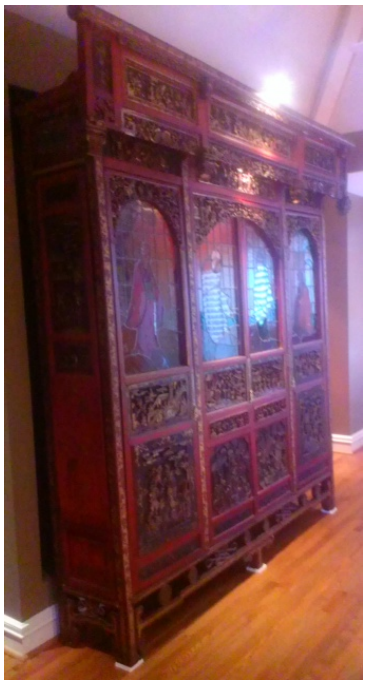


Provenance
Commissioned by Shanghai Welsh Society at the instigation of Dr. John Robert Jones (1887-1976), a leading figure in the Shanghai branches of the Royal Asiatic Society and Cymdeithas Dewi Sant. Currently at the National Museum of Wales.[373]

Description
Commissioned for the chairing of the bard ceremony at the National Eisteddfod of Wales in 1933 for bard Trefin (Edgar Phillips) for his poem *Harlech* at the Wrexham Eisteddfod. It took 16 months to make this chair. Both Chinese and Welsh inscriptions were carved on the chair.[374]

[373] Made in China: the 1933 Eisteddfod Chair, accessed on January 14, 2016, http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/articles/2010-07-25/Made-in-China-the-1933-Eisteddfod-chair/ (July 25, 2010).
[374] Eisteddfod Chair, *A History of the World*, Accessed on January 14, 2016, http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/pAGy4pKFQ1S4oOTnzG9YLQ.

3. Painted Glass Cabinet with Buddhist Figures



Dimensions
Glass pane (4x): 36 x 18 in.

Provenance
The two French moving labels attached suggest that it was in France, possibly for the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris, where Tushanwan also participated. It is currently in a private collection in Atlanta after it was purchased online from Florida.[375]

Description
There are about 37 carved and gilded panels in addition to the four painted glass panes. The panels seem to be in similar styles and depict similar subjects as the Chinese Pavilion (see Chapter 2). On one of the glass panes, it is signed "土山灣" on the bottom right. Though unlabeled, the glass panes depict four figures from Buddhism (left to right in the above image): the monk Yixing, Mahakasyapa, Kumarajiva, and Nagarjuna; all taken from *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, the multi-volumes study by Henri Doré published at Tushanwan.[376]

[375] Physical description of the cabinet was provided by the current owner through email communication with the author.
[376] Yixing is taken from volume 8, while the rest are taken from volume 7. See Doré, *Recherches*.

Chapter Images

Chapter 1 Images

Figure 1. Tushanwan Orphanage, courtyard with a pavilion and a statue of the Virgin Mary in the center, early 20th c. Postcard.

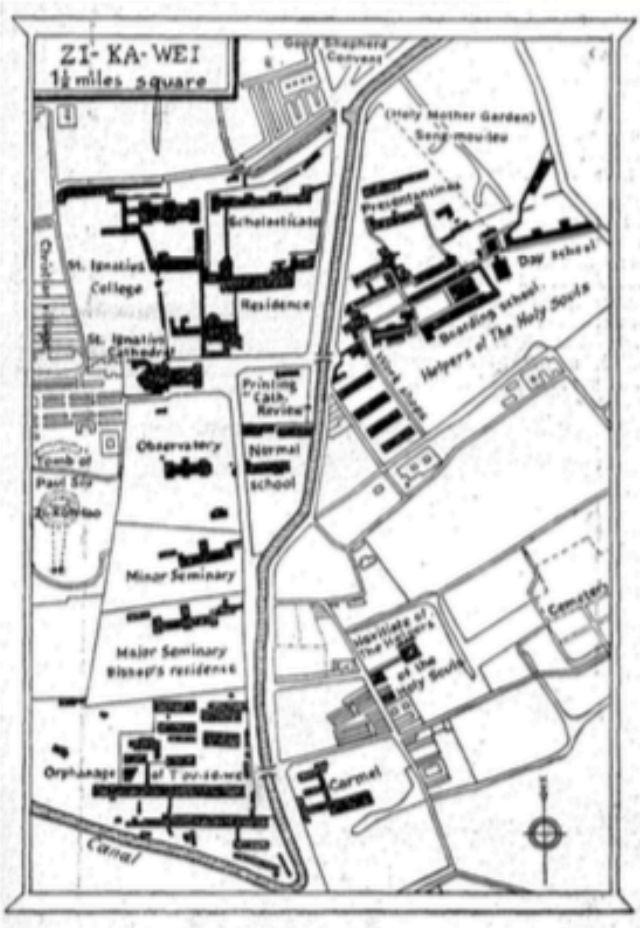


Figure 2.
1937 map of Xujiahui

Figure 3a-d. Portraits of (from left to right) Matteo Ricci, Xu Guangqi, Ferdinand Verbiest, and Adam Schall von Bell, ca. 1914. The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco.

Figure 4. Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall von Bell, and Ferdinand Verbiest in *Description* (1736) by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde.

Figure 5.
Adam Schall von Bell in *China Illustrata* (1667) by Athanasius Kircher.

Figure 6a-c. Portraits of Matteo Ricci, Xu Guangqi, Ferdinand Verbiest, and Adam Schall von Bell, collected in 1903 by Berthold Laufer. The American Museum of Natural History, New York City.

Figure 7. Young Chinese orphans at Tushanwan learning how to write with a Chinese brush.

Figure 8.
A page from a Tushanwan textbook.

Chapter 2 Images

Figure 1. Tushanwan Orphanage, workshops' courtyard with a pavilion and a statue of the Virgin Mary in the center, early 20th c. Postcard.

Figure 2.
Exit exam for the oil painting students at Tushanwan.

Figure 3. A Tushanwan art worker carving a statue of a dog. Still from *Ageless China* (1947).

Figure 4. Horizontal beam from Shuyinlou, Shanghai, 18th century.

Figure 5. Lintel above the front entrance to Chinese Pavilion, Brussels.

Figure 6. Example of Huizhou woodcarving

Figure 7. Example of Dongyang woodcarving.

Figure 8. Example of Ningbo woodcarving. Peabody Essex Museum.

Figure 9. Example of Chaozhou woodcarving. Guangdong Provincial Museum.

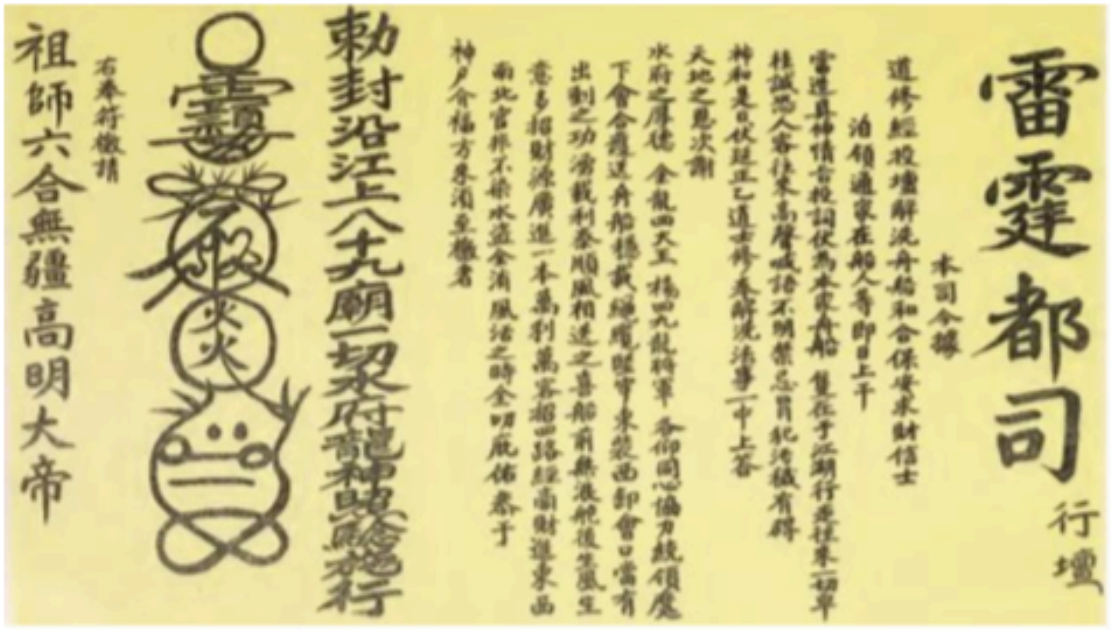


Figure 10. Excerpt from *Researches into Chinese Superstitions.*

Figure 11.
Excerpt from *Researches into Chinese Superstitions.*

Figure 12. Detail of a mural from the Outlook Pagoda model. Made by Tushanwan woodcarving workshop, 1913-1915 and sent to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

Fig. 124. Suen-heou-tse (Ou-k'ong).

Figure 13. "Suen-heou-tse," in *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine* by Henri Doré.

Figure 14. Detail from the Tushanwan cabinet at St. Ignatius Church, San Francisco.

Figure 15. Detail from a Tushanwan pagoda model sent to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

Figure 16. Carved wooden altar and its orphan makers.

Figure 17. Example of stained-glass from Tushanwan.

Figure 18.
Example of "Gothic" prints. From Doré's *Superstitions*.

Figure 19. Detail from Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, St. Geneviève Cycle, 1877. The Pantheon, Paris.

Figure 20.
Sacred Heart Cathedral,
1888, Guangzhou.

Figure 21. Roman Catholic Cathedral, Canton, early twentieth century. Postcard.

Figure 22. Interior of Phat Diem Cathedral, 1891, Vietnam.

Figure 23.
Detail of the cross beams above the aisles, interior of Phat Diem Cathedral, Vietnam.

Figure 24.
Sino-Western Church design, façade, from Adolphe Vasseur, *Mélanges sur la Chine. . .*

Figure 25. Sino-Western Church, interior looking toward the altar, from Adolphe Vasseur, *Mélanges sur la Chine. . .*

MODE VULGAIRE DE CONSTRUCTION EN CHINE : INTÉRIEUR D'ÉGLISE.

Figure 26. Sino-Western Church design, interior façade, from Adolphe Vasseur, *Mélanges sur la Chine. . .*

Figure 27. Entrance to the main structure to the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, Nanjing, 1926-29.

Figure 28. Exhibition view, Yao Wenhan, et al., Tieluo in the Hall of the Retreat for Cultivating Harmony, ca. 1774-77.

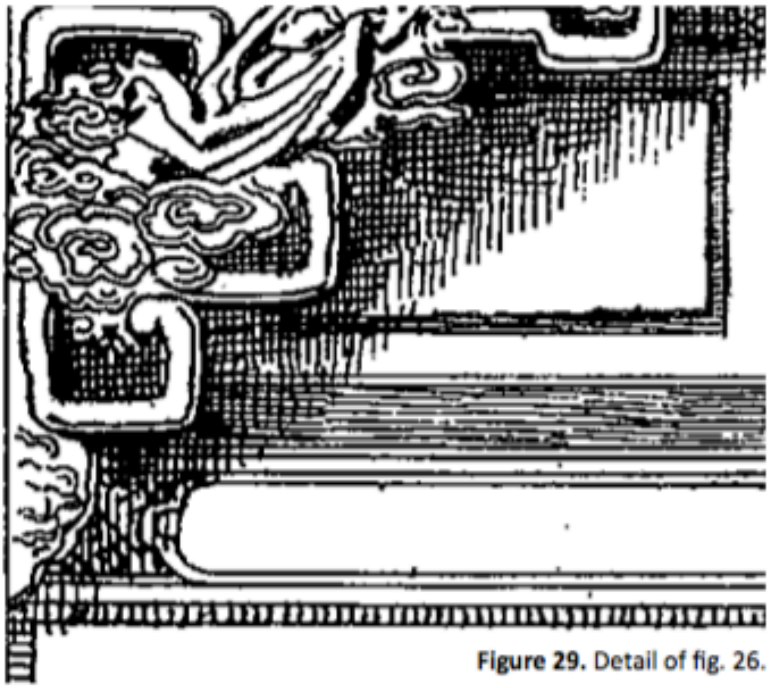


Figure 29. Detail of fig. 26.

Figure 30a. Chinese Pavilion, Laeken Park, Brussels.

Figure 30b. Chinese Octagonal Gazebo, Laeken Park, Brussels

Figure 30c. A view of the Japanese Pagoda, Laeken Park, Brussels.

Figure 31. Tushanwan workshops, Model of Xujiahui, exhibited at Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900.

Figure 32. Illustration of Panorama of the World Tour, Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900.

Figure 33. Façade of the annex building for the Japanese Pagoda, Laeken Park, Brussels.

Figure 34. Section of Tour du Monde from the 1900 *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, designed by Alexandre Marcel. Film negative in the collection of his grandson Xavier Marcel.

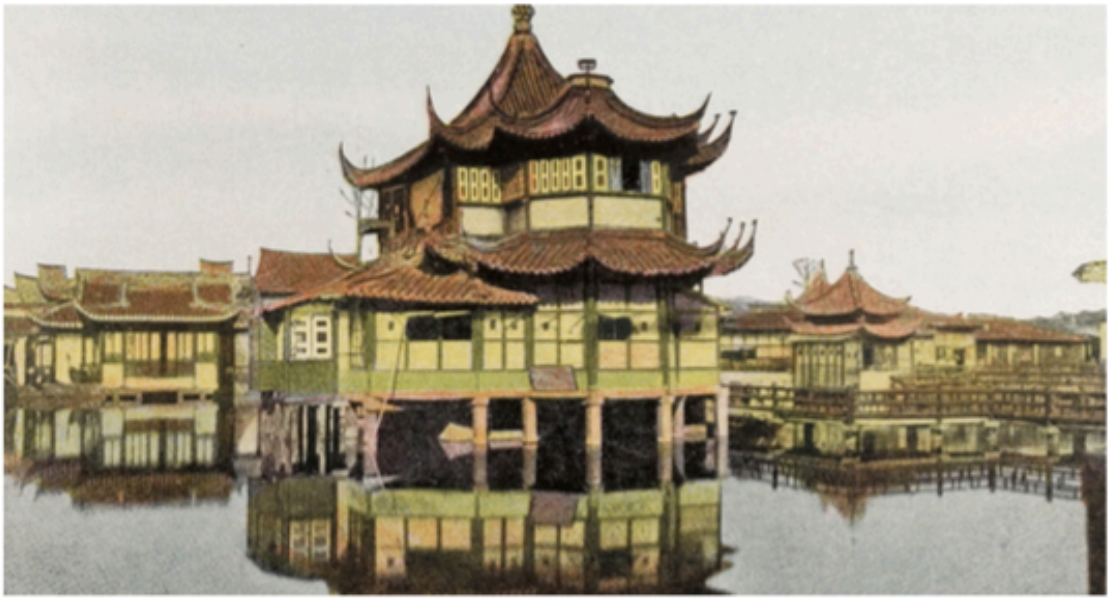


Figure 35. *Public Tea Gardens*, 1890-1900, tinted photograph.

Figure 36. The garage behind the Chinese Pavilion, Laeken Park.

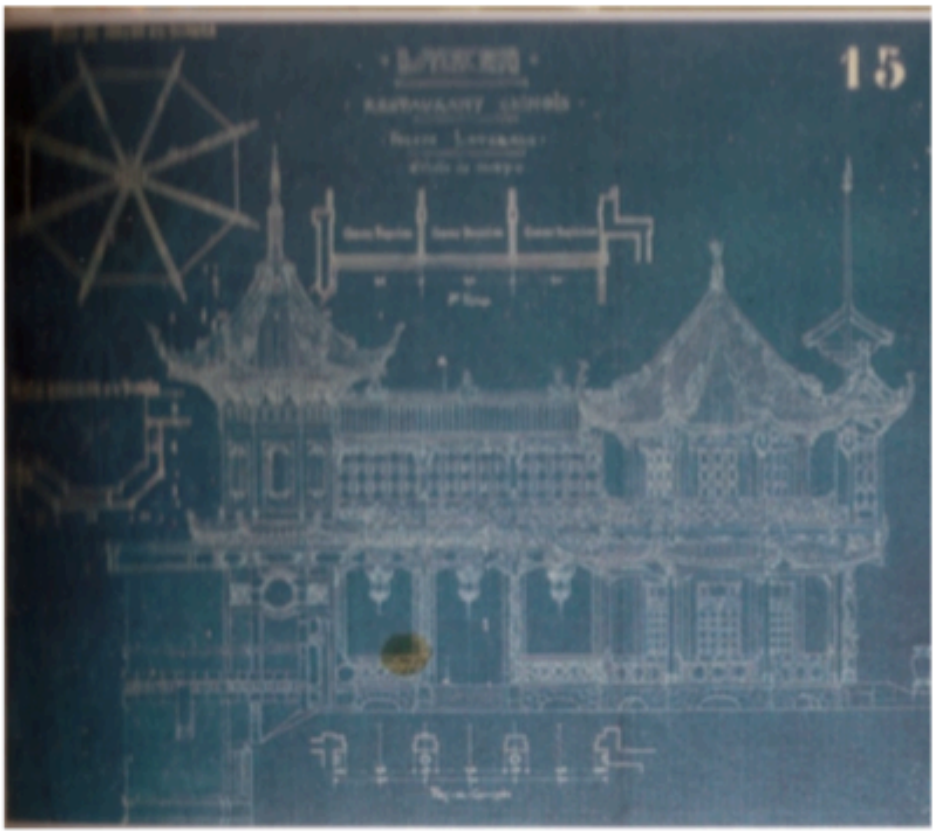


Figure 37. Alexandre Marcel, blueprint of Chinese Pavilion.

Figure 38. Chinese figurine *en pagode*, interior of the Chinese Pavilion, Brussels, ca. 1904.

Figure 39. François Boucher, Designs for *Chinoiserie* Ornament, 1730-60. Drawing.

Figure 40. Interior of Chinese Pavilion.

Figure 41. Section of lower façade, the Chinese Pavilion.

Figure 42. Side of the Chinese Pavilion.

Figure 43. Detail of the Chinese Pavilion.

Figure 44. Detail of the gateway to Chinese Pavilion.

Figure 45.
Detail of the Chinese Pavilion.

Figure 46. From *Cet album contient la description d'un pavillon chinois...*

Figure 47.
A page from a scrapbook from a Tushanwan orphan.

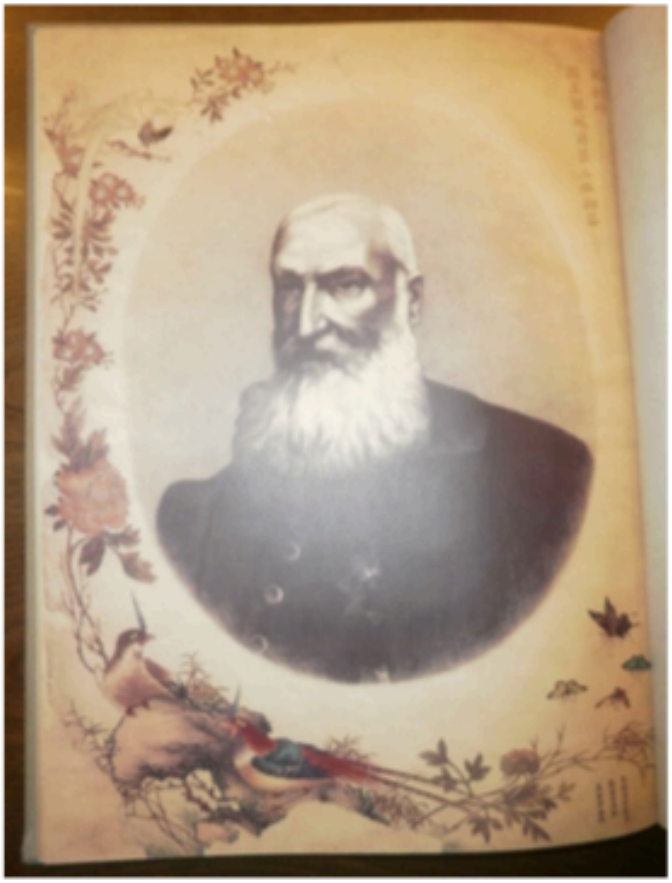


Figure 48.
Frontispiece, *Cet album contient la description d'un pavillon chinois ...*

Figure 49.
Page from *Cet album contient la description d'un pavillon chinois …*

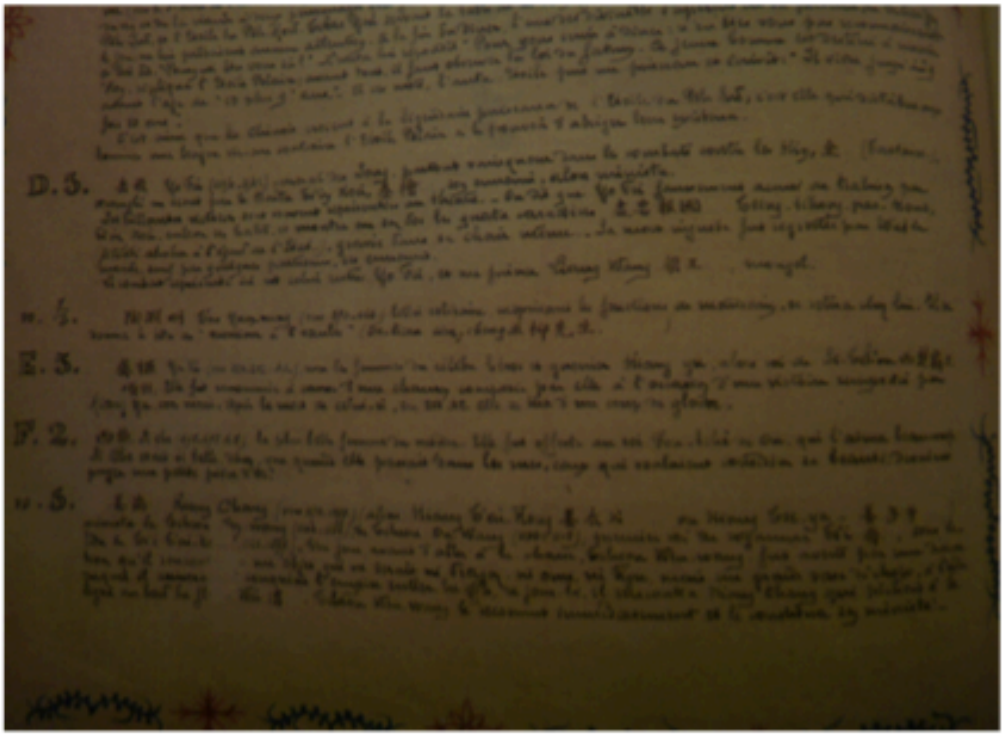


Figure 50. Page from *Cet album contient la description d'un pavillon chinois …*

Figure 51. Detail of Pangu and Nüwa panel, photograph from the 1985 restoration, Chinese Pavilion.

Chapter 3 Images

Figure 1.
Fan Yinru, *Our Lady of China* (ca. 1908). St. Ignatius Church, San Francisco, CA.

Figure 2.
Our Lady of China panel. Private collection.

Figure 3. "Portrait de L'Impératrice Tze His qui a servi à préparer le tableau de Notre-Dame de Tong-lu," in "Notre-Dame de Chine," *Bulletin Catholique de Pèkin* 141, May 1925.

Figure 4. *The Empress Dowager Cixi* (1903). Photograph. Smithsonian, Washington D.C.

Figure 5. Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *The Virgin Adoring the Host*, 1852. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 6. Infant Jesus of Prague, 19th c., France.

Figure 7. Liu Bizhen, a printed engraving from *Daoyuan jingcui tu* 道原精萃圖.

Figure 8.
Comparisons of different copies of Our Lady of Donglu/ China

Figure 9. Still from *Ageless China* (1947)

Figure 10. Imposition of Fan Yinru's *Our Lady of China* and Cixi Photograph

Figure 11. Imposition of Our Lady of China desk-screen and Cixi Photograph

Figure 12. Comparison of details from Cixi Photograph, Fan's *Our Lady of China*, and Our Lady of China desk-screen

Figure 13.
Detail of the Tombstone of Katerina Vilionis (d. 1342), Yangzhou.

Figure 14. Detail of Madonna and Child, 1690-1710. Dehua porcelain.

Figure 15. Dehua Guanyin, Ming Dynasty.

Figure 16. Katherine Carl, *Portrait of Empress Dowager Cixi*, ca. 1903-1904.

Figure 17. Katherine Carl, The Empress Dowager Cixi, 1903. Frame designed by Cixi. Sent to 1904 Saint Louis World's Fair. The Smithsonian, Washington D.C.

Figure 18. "S. M. L'Impératrice Douairière de Chine," Cover of *Le Rire*, July 14, 1900.

Figure 19. Empress Dowager Cixi's official portrait.

Figure 20. Ordination Card for John J. Brennan, S. J., Shanghai, 1946. California Jesuit Archive, Santa Clara University .

Figure 21. *Portrait of Cixi as Guanyin*, 1903-04, photograph. The Smithsonian.

Figure 22. *Seng-ou-yeu de Zi-ka-wei-Pouponnière* postcard

Figure 23. Page from Chinese Pavilion album with detail and explanation of the lintel.

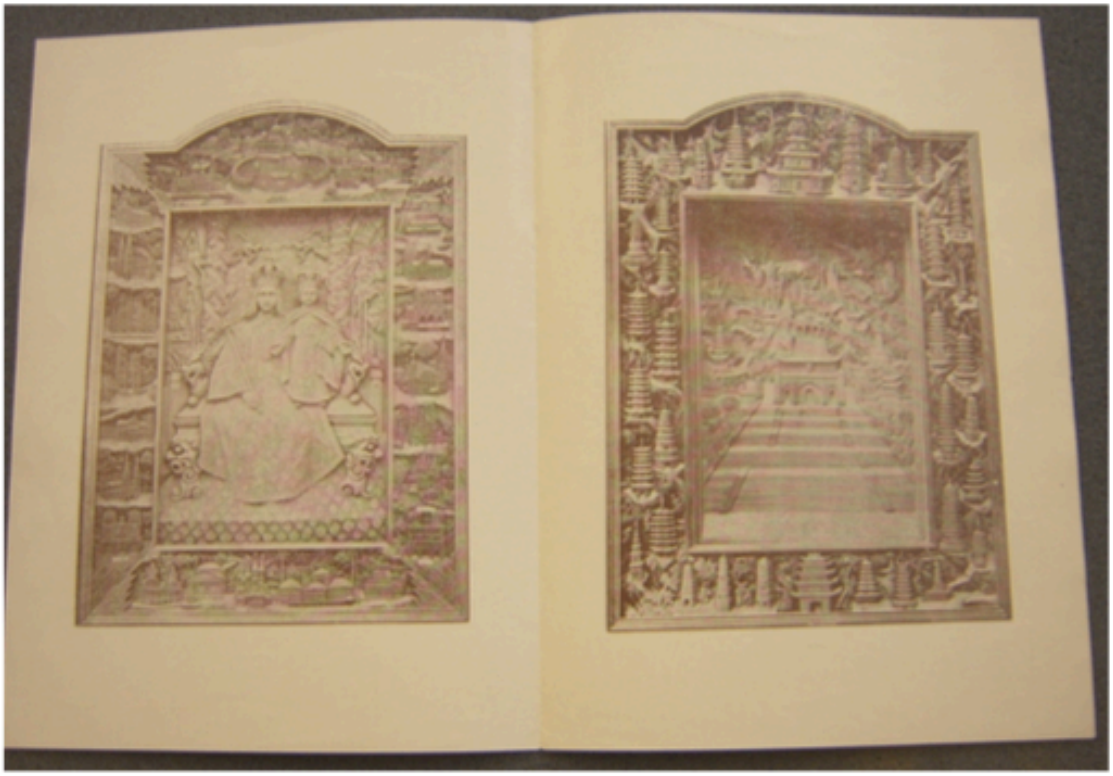


Figure 24a. Interior of an advertisement for a pair of wooden panels from Tushanwan, after 1929. California Jesuit Archive, Santa Clara University.

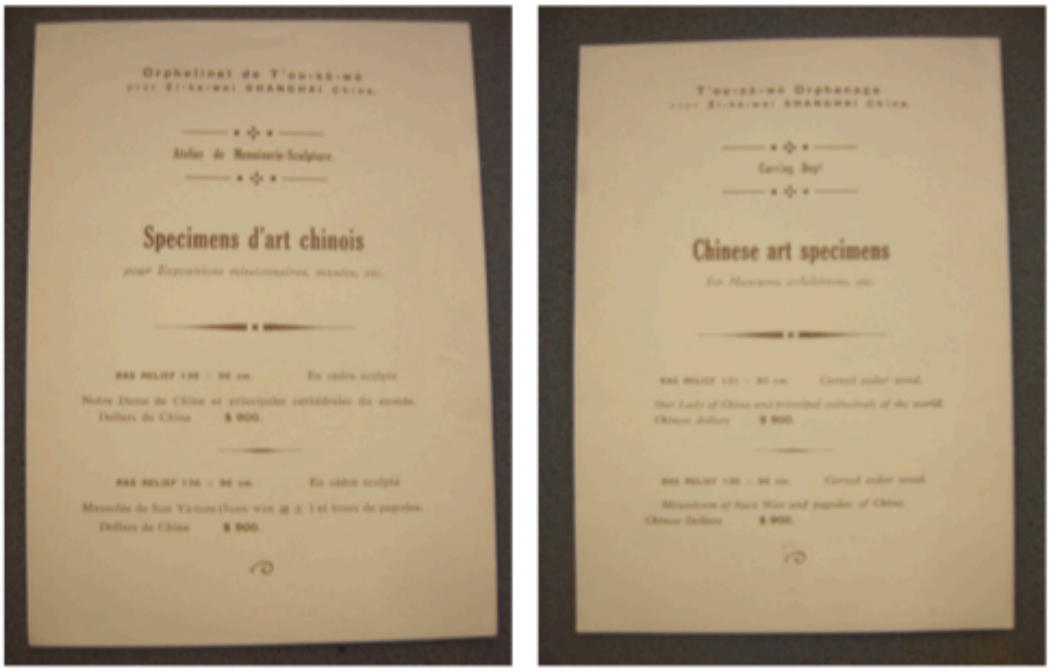


Figure 24b. Exterior of an advertisement for a pair of wooden panels from Tushanwan, after 1929.

Figure 25. Still from *Ageless China* (1947) showing the two wooden panels

Figure 26. Verso, 5 Dollars Banknote, Republic of China, 1930, with a view of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum.

(Top Left) Figure 27.
Liang Shitai, *Portrait of Li Hongzhang in Tianjin, 1878.* Albumen silver print. The Getty Research Institute.

(Top Right) Figure 28.
Liang Shitai, *Portrait of Li Hongzhang in Tianjin.* Hand-painted photographic print.

(Bottom) Figure 29.
Liang Shitai, *Portrait of Li Hongzhang in Tianjin.* Photographic print with added background.

Figure 30. Liang Shitai, *Seventh Prince Feeding Deer, Stamped with his Seals*, 1888. Albumen print.

Figure 31. Felice Beato, *Barbers in Japan*, 1865. Hand-colored photographic print.

Figure 32. Detail from Portrait of the Qianlong Emperor as the Bodhisattva Manjusri. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

Figure 33. Yu Ming, Huang Jinrong and Du Yuesheng, 1924.

Figure 34.
Unknown photograph of Cixi. Probably taken in 1903-4. Most likely the source of Katherine Carl's portrait sent to St. Louis World's Fair.

Figure 35. Comparison of the dragon on the right arm of 3 Our Lady of China pictures.

Figure 36. Mahakassapa, in *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine* by Henri Doré.

Figure 37. Detail of cabinet made at Tushawan, ca. 1900. Private collection.

Figure 38.
Chu Kar Kui, *Our Lady of China and the Holy Infant, in Qing Dynasty robes, 1990s*. Oil on canvas. Northern Church, Beijing.

Figure 39. Tushanwan painting workshop, before 1915. Photograph.

Chapter 4 Images

Figure 1. Detail from *Our Lady of China* panel. Wood-carving.

Figure 2a.
Membership card for the the Society of the Holy Childhood

Figure 2b.
Membership card for the the Society of the Holy Childhood (in Dutch)

Figure 3. *Opening Day of Chinese Pavilion*, in front of the replica of Taihe dian (February 20, 1915). Photograph. From Historical Photograph, San Francisco Public Library.

Figure 4a. *Chinese Pagodas, Zikawei orphanage of Shanghai* (ca. 1915). Photograph. Historical Photographs, San Francisco Public Library.

Figure 4b. Detail of *Chinese Pagodas, Zikawei orphanage of Shanghai* (ca. 1915). Photograph. Historical Photographs, San Francisco Public Library.

Matteo Ricci

Xu Guangqi

Ferdinand Verbiest

Adam Schall von Bell

Figure 5-8. Tushanwan Painting Workshop. *Portraits of Four Early Jesuits in China* (before 1915). Ink and color on paper.
Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco.

Figure 9. *Entrance to Zikawei orphanage of Shanghai* (ca. 1915). Photograph. Historical Photographs, San Francisco Public Library.

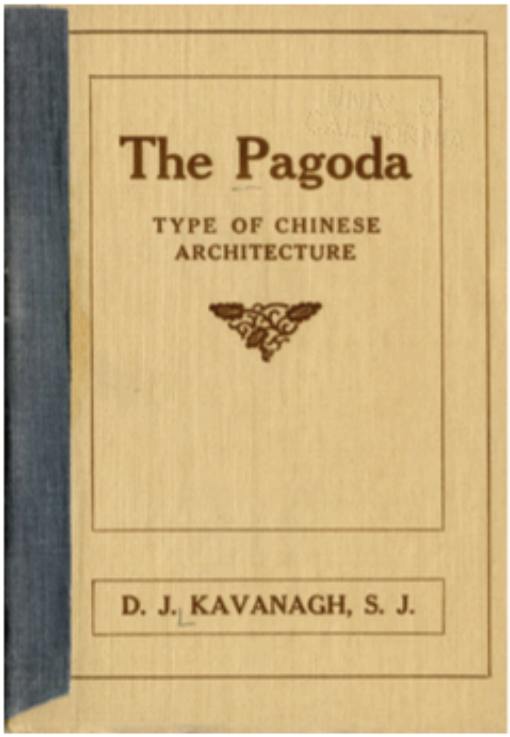


Figure 10. Cover to D. J. Kavanagh, S.J., The Pagoda: Type of Chinese Architecture (1915?)

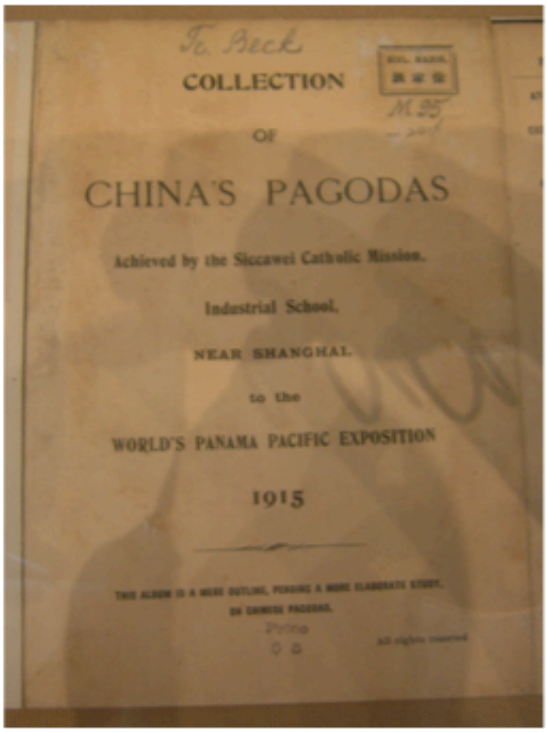


Figure 11. Title page to Collection of *China's Pagodas* (1915?)

Figure 12. Page from Johannes Nieuhof, *An embassy from the East-India Company* ... (1673)

Figure 13.
William Chambers, Great Pagoda, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (18th century).

Figure 14. *View of the City of Guangzhou from Pearl River* (late 18th century). Oil painting. Hong Kong Museum of Art.

Figure 15. John Nieuhoff, *Distant View of Guangzhou* (17th century). From John Nieuhoff, *Het Gezandtschap der Neêrlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie. . .* (1693)

Figure 16. Captain Robert Elliot, *Whoampoa Pagoda*, 1860. Watercolor sketch.

Figure 17. Felice Beato, *Tung Chow Pagoda*, 1860. Photograph.

Figure 18. John Thomson, *Head of a Lady* (ca. 1870s). Photograph. Later used in John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and Its People* (1874)

Figure 19. John Thomson, *Chao-chow-fu Pagoda* (ca. 1870s). Photograph. From John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and Its People* (1874)

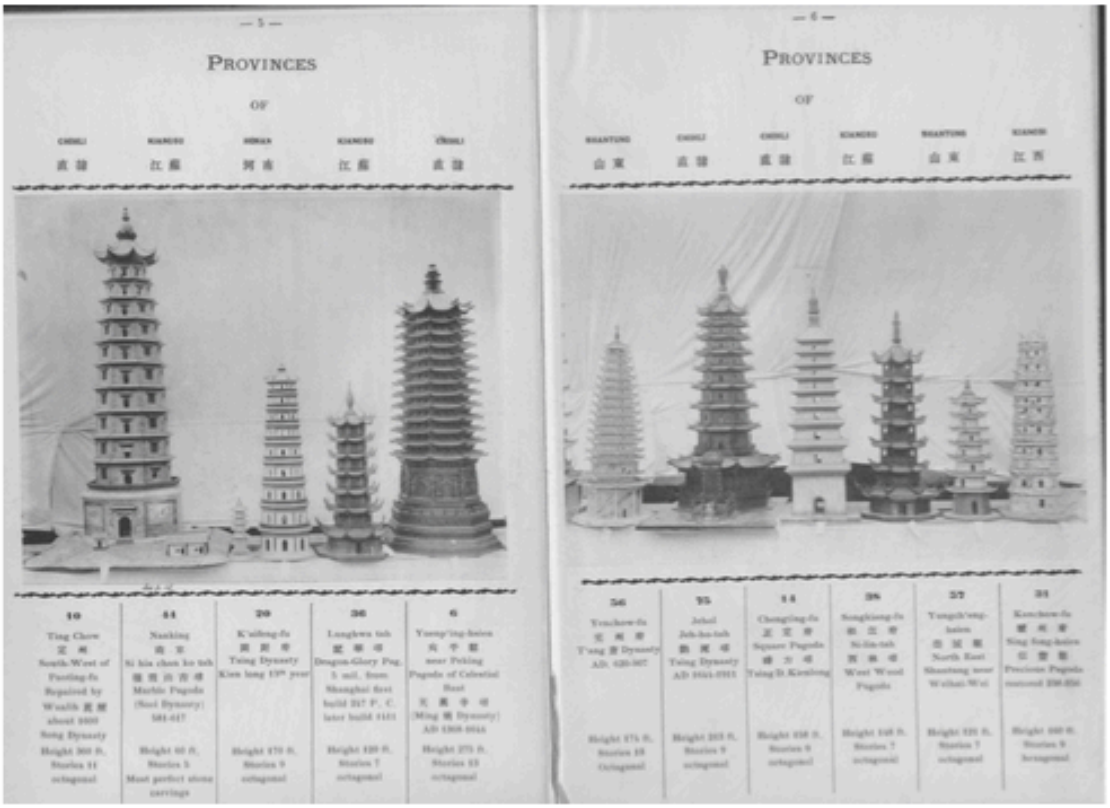


Figure 20. Photograph page from *The Marvels of Chinese Architecture*.

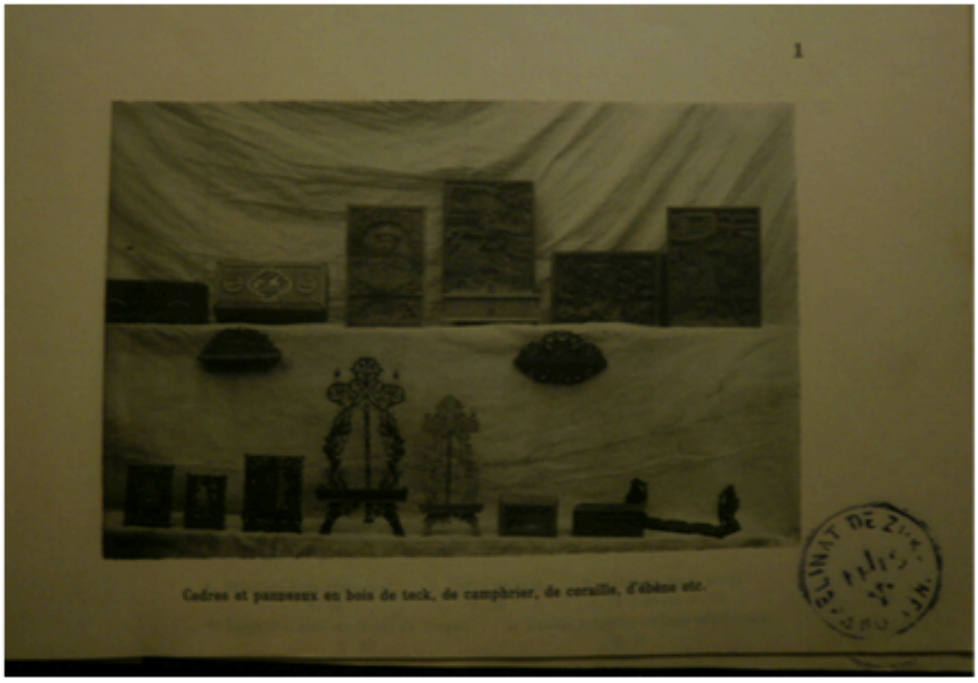
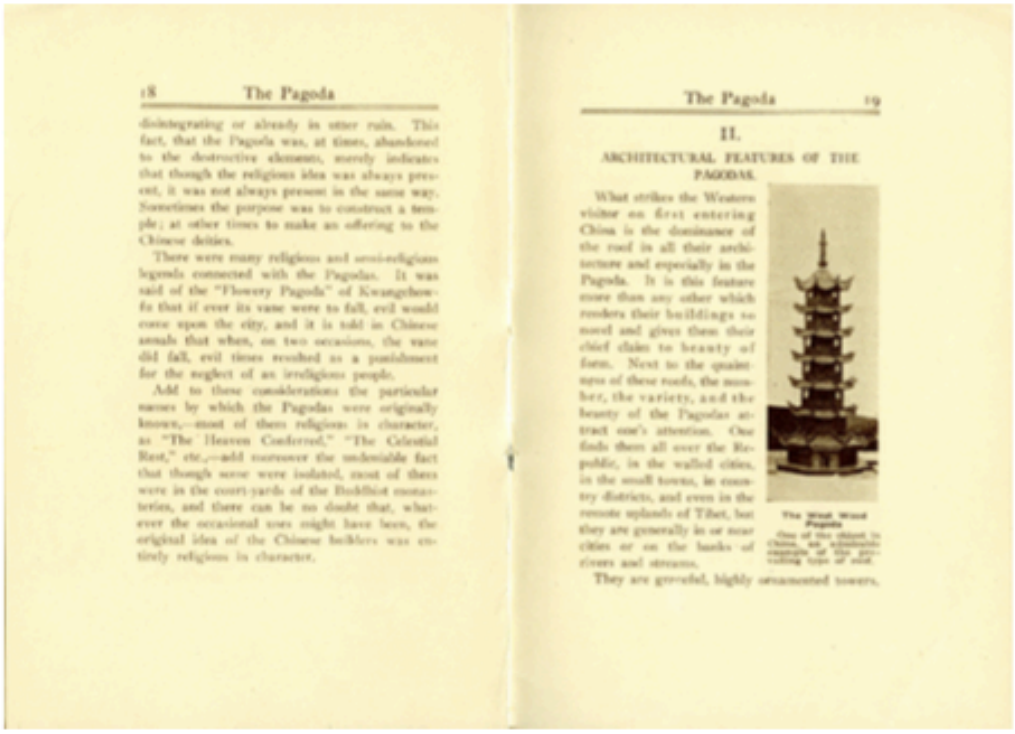


Figure 21. Page from *Ateliers de Sculpture et d'Ébénisterie Orphelinat de Zi-ka-wei Shanghai*

Fig. 3. L'ancien Musée de Zikawei : Salle des collections, en 1933.

Figure 22. Page from *Le 70e Anniversaire du Musée Heude, 1868-1939.*



18 The Pagoda

disintegrating or already in utter ruin. This fact, that the Pagoda was, at times, abandoned to the destructive elements, merely indicates that though the religious idea was always present, it was not always present in the same way. Sometimes the purpose was to construct a temple; at other times to make an offering to the Chinese deities.

There were many religious and semi-religious legends connected with the Pagodas. It was said of the "Flowery Pagoda" of Kwangchowfu that if ever its vane were to fall, evil would come upon the city, and it is told in Chinese annals that when, on two occasions, the vane did fall, evil times resulted as a punishment for the neglect of an irreligious people.

Add to these considerations the particular names by which the Pagodas were originally known,—most of them religious in character, as "The Heaven Conferred," "The Celestial Rest," etc.,—add moreover the undeniable fact that though some were isolated, most of them were in the court-yards of the Buddhist monasteries, and there can be no doubt that, whatever the occasional uses might have been, the original idea of the Chinese builders was entirely religious in character.

The Pagoda 19

II.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE PAGODAS.

What strikes the Western visitor on first entering China is the dominance of the roof in all their architecture and especially in the Pagoda. It is this feature more than any other which renders their buildings so novel and gives them their chief claim to beauty of form. Next to the quaintness of these roofs, the number, the variety, and the beauty of the Pagodas attract one's attention. One finds them all over the Republic, in the walled cities, in the small towns, in country districts, and even in the remote uplands of Tibet, but they are generally in or near cities or on the banks of rivers and streams.

The Wild Wood Pagoda

They are graceful, highly ornamented towers,

Figure 23. Page from Dennis Kavanagh, *The Pagoda* (1915?)

PROVINCES		TOWNS		Nº	Pages
ANHWEI	安 徽	Anking fu	安 慶 府	51. 51.	7 13.
,,	安 徽	Wuhu hsien	蕪 湖 縣	79.	17.
CHEKIANG	浙 江	Hangchow	杭 州	3. 2. 21.	8. 7. 1.
,,	浙 江	Ningpo	寧 北	1.	1.
,,	浙 江	Poh T'o Shan	普 陀 山	4.	9.
CHIHLI	直 隸	Chengting fu	正 定 府	13.14.1516.	1. 6. 3. 2.
,,	直 隸	Chingchow fu	錦 州 府	24.	3.
,,	直 隸	Jehol		75.	6.
,,	直 隸	Paoting fu	寶 定 府	11.	2.
,,	直 隸	Peking	北 京	9. 6. 7. 5.	1. 5. 3. 1.
,,	直 隸	Taming fu	大 名 府	8.	4.
,,	直 隸	Tingchow fu	定 州 府	10.	5.
FOOKIEN	福 建	Amoy	厦 門	18.	7.
,,	福 建	Foochow fu	福 州 府	17. 19.	3. 8.
HONAN	河 南	Changteh fu	彰 德 府	22.	12.
,,	河 南	Kaifeng fu	開 封 府	20.	5.
,,	河 南	Kaifeng fu	開 封 府	80.	17.
HUNAN	湖 南	Ichang hsien	宜 章 縣	33.	17.
,,	湖 南	Siangyin hsien	湘 陰 縣	27.	12.
HUPEH	湖 北	Ichang fu	宜 昌 府	26.	7.
,,	湖 北	Wuchang fu	武 昌 府	25. 25.	2. 12.
KIANGSI	江 西	Kanchow fu	贛 州 府	31.	6.
,,	江 西	Nankang fu	南 康 府	32.	11.
,,	江 西	Yütu hsien	雩 都 縣	57.	2.
KIANGSU	江 蘇	Changchow fu	常 州 府	41.	2.
,,	江 蘇	Chengkiang fu	鎮 江 府	43. 43.	9. 11.
,,	江 蘇	Lunghwa. (Shanghai)	上海龍華	36.	5.
,,	江 蘇	Nanking	南 京	35. 44. 44.	5. 14. 14.
,,	江 蘇	Songkiang fu	松 江 府	37. 38.	7. 6.
,,	江 蘇	,, ,, ,, (Zosai Hills.)	燒 香 山	34.	10.

Figure 24. Chart from the *Marvels of Chinese Architecture*.

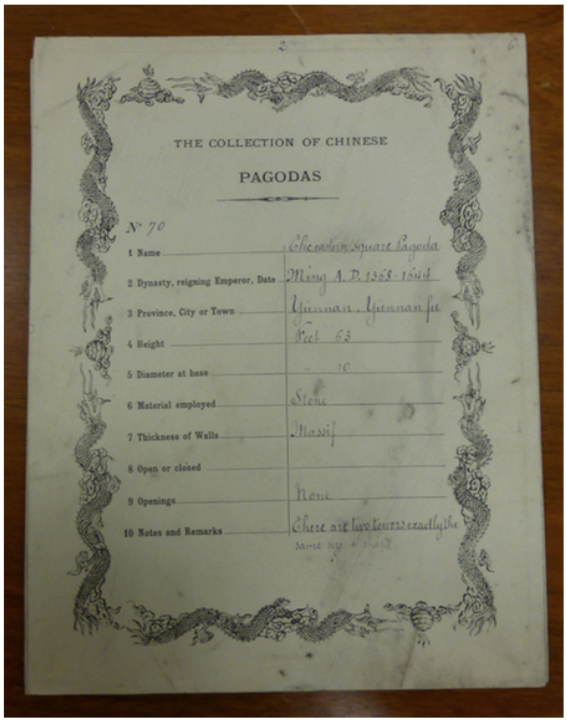


Figure 25. Original pagoda model label.

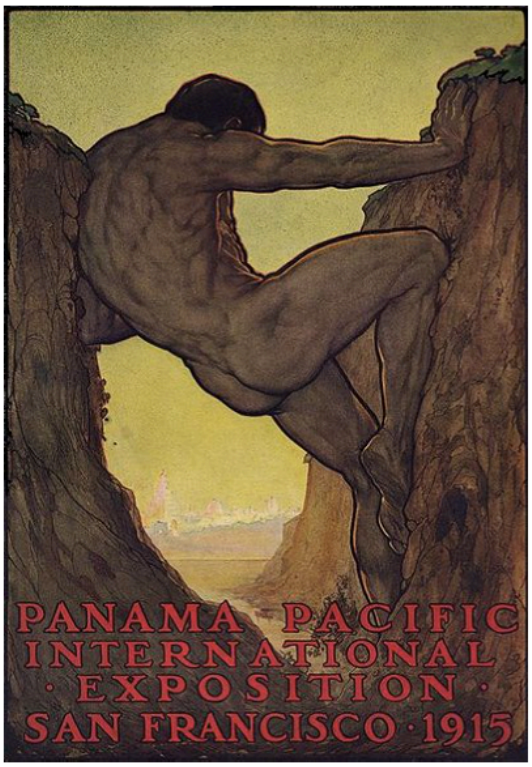


Figure 26. Perham Wilhelm Nahl, P.P.I.E. poster (1915).

Figure 27. "Notable High Buildings of the World," Rand, McNally and Company, Atlas of the World, Chicago, Illinois, 1895. From Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby's *Colossal*.

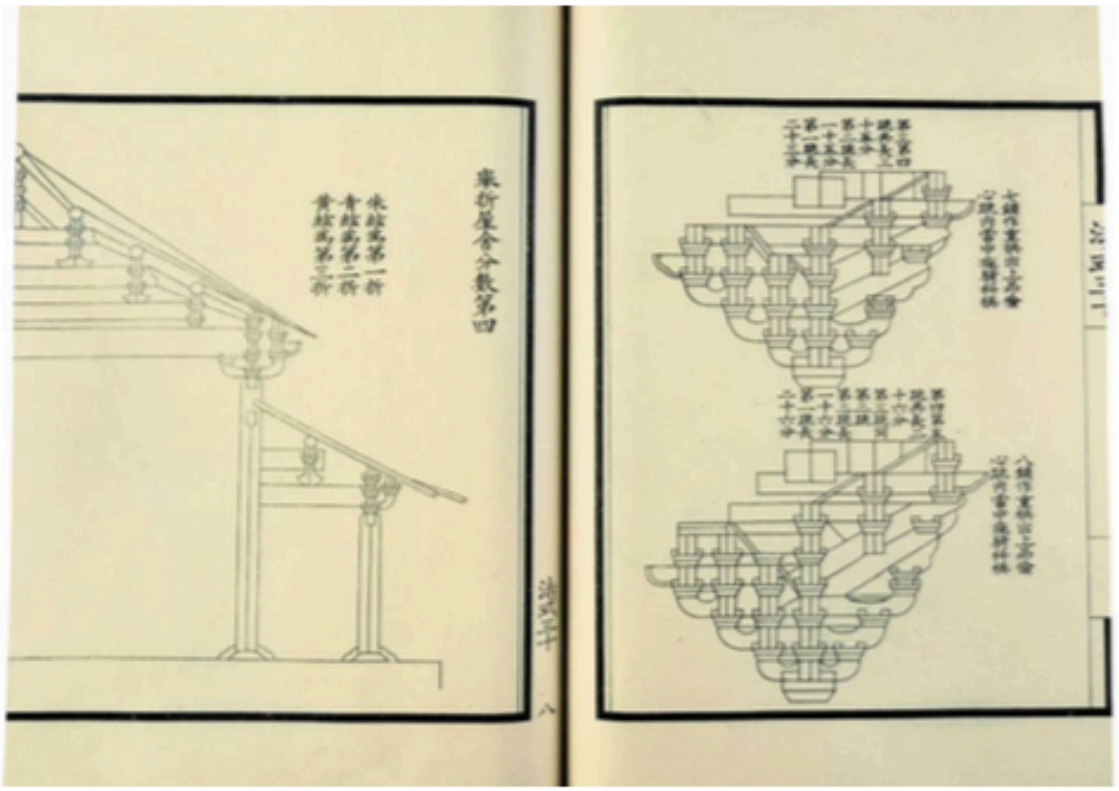


Figure 28. Li Yan 李诫, Page from *Yizhao fashi* 营造法式 (1103).

Figure 29. Liang Sicheng, Yingxian Pagoda (1930s).

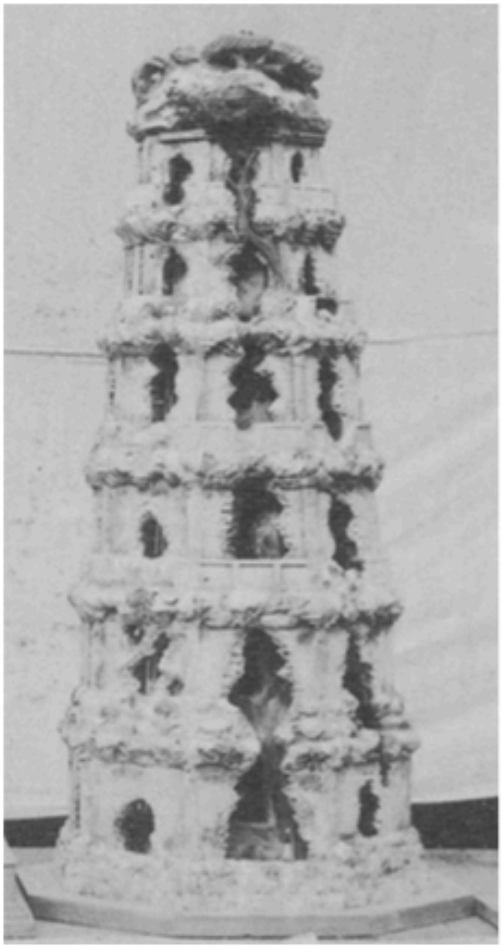
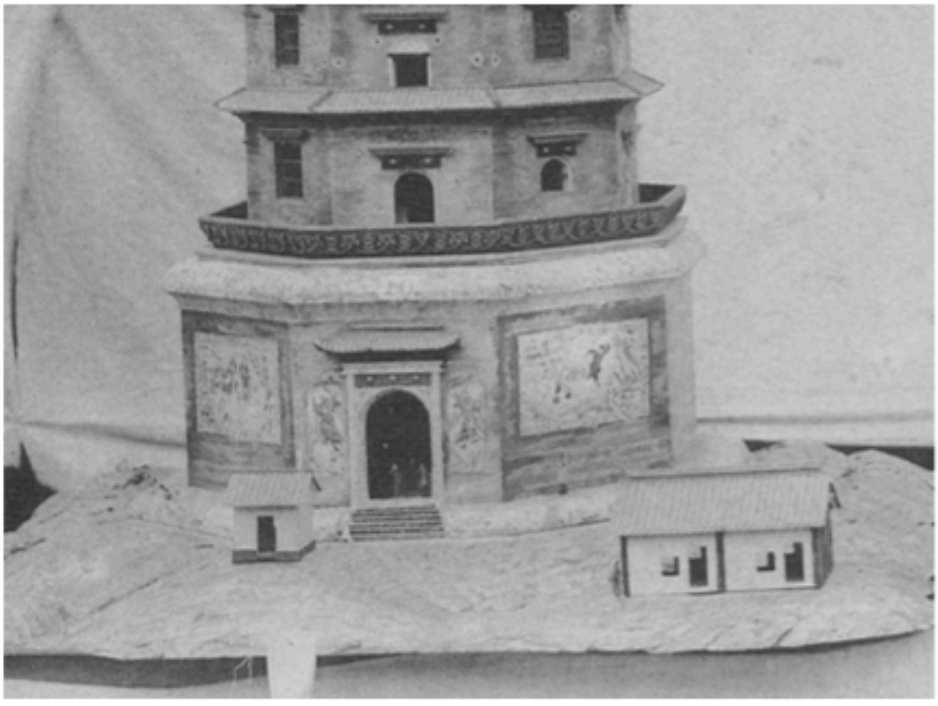
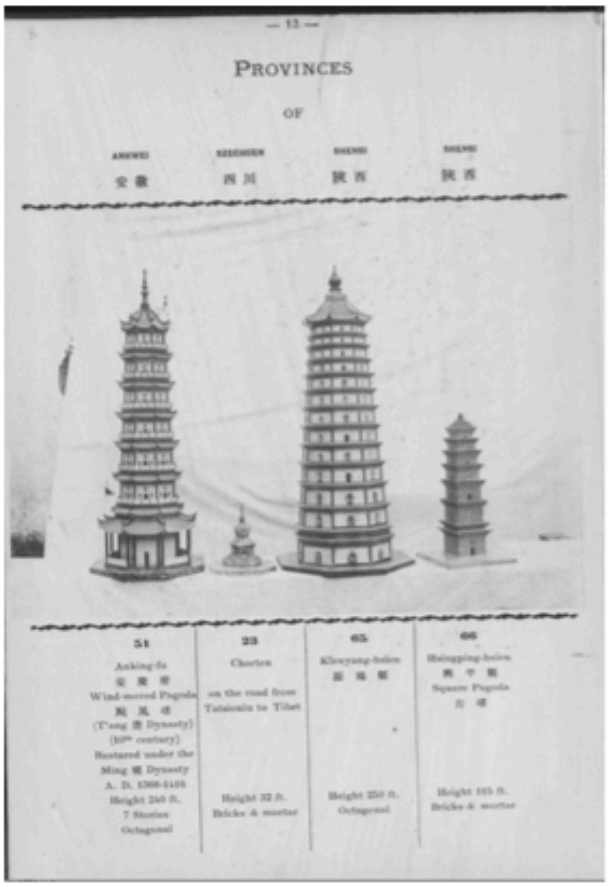


Figure 30.
Model of Leifeng Pagoda in the *Marvels of Chinese Architecture*.

Figure 31. Detail of Ting Chow (Dingzhou) Pagoda model in the *Marvels of Chinese Architecture*.



Chapter 5 Images



Figures 1a-b. A page and detail from *The Marvels of Chinese Architecture,* ca. 1915.

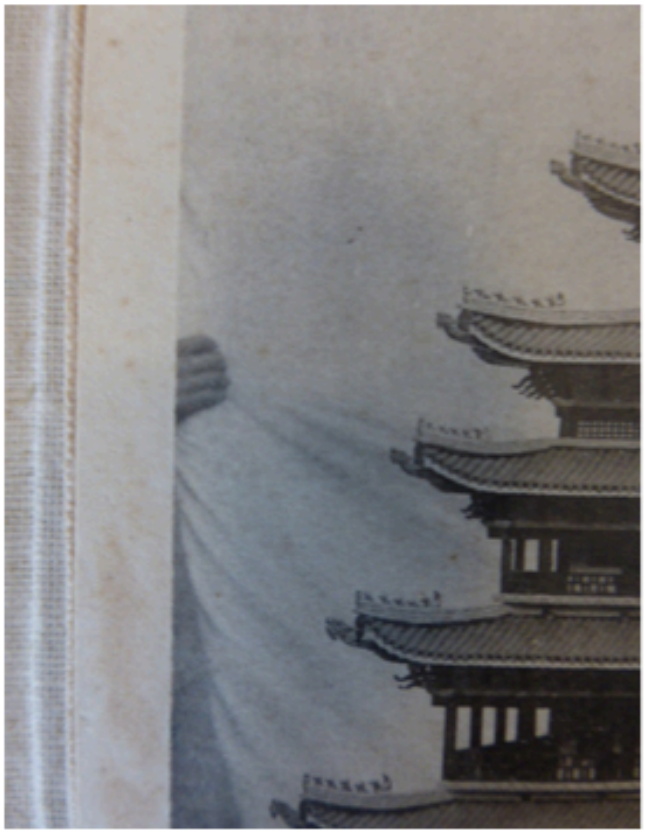


Figure 2a-b.
A page and detail from *The Marvels of Chinese Architecture,* ca. 1915.

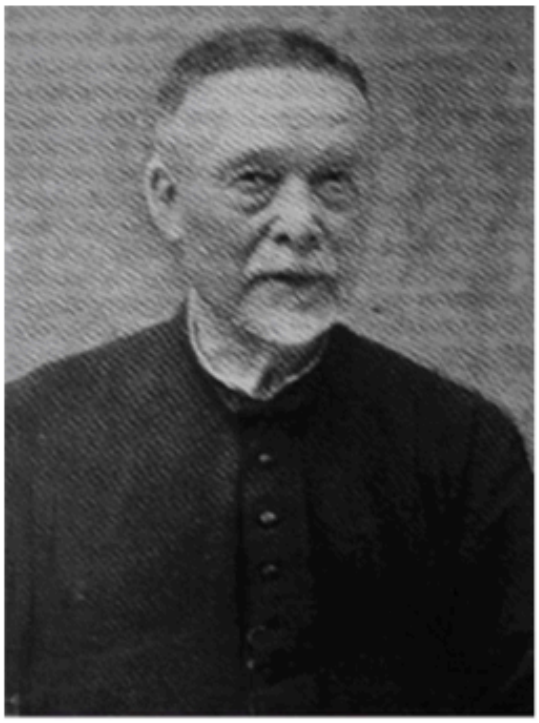


Figure 3.
Henricus Eu 安敬齋 (1865-1937)

Figure 4. A photograph from an album of specimens at the Xujiahui Museum. I could not recover a photograph with birds, but you can see similar types of manipulations at work here.

Figure 5a-b. A page and detail from *Ateliers de Sculpture et d'Ébénisterie Orphelinat de Zi-ka-wei Shanghai*

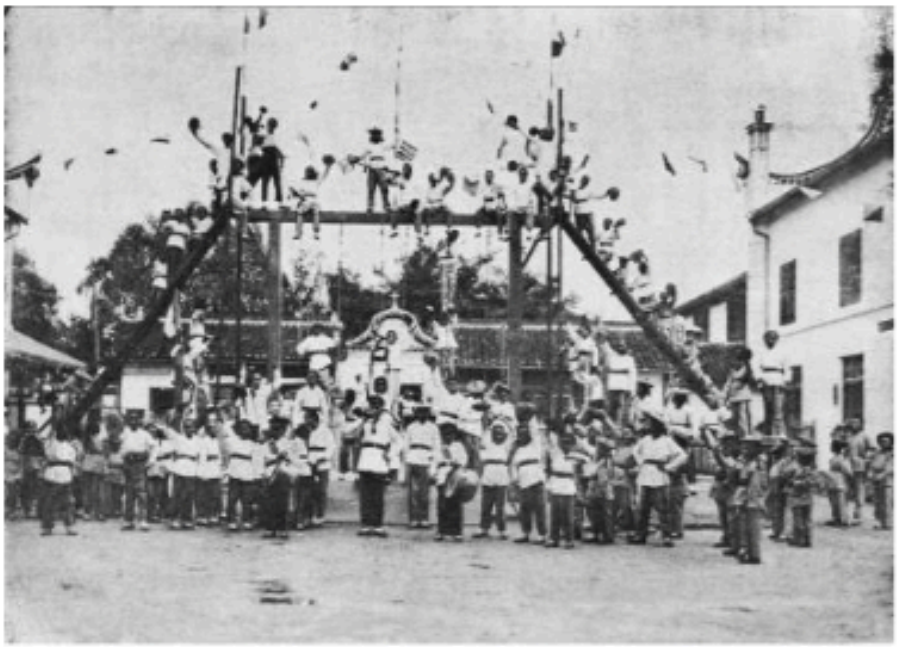
Figure 6. Tushanwan woodcarving studio, ca. 1920s.

Figure 7a-b. "Fr. Netto and his Boys," Xavier Mission Guild, Irish Jesuit Archives, Dublin, Ireland.

Figure 8. Membership card for the the Society of the Holy Childhood (in Dutch).

Figure 9. Late nineteenth-century Holy Childhood membership card

Figure 10.
From *Rel. de Chinè*, 1937.



Exercices de gymnastique.

Figure 11. Gymnastics at the Tushanwan courtyard.

Figure 12. Performing stories from the Old Testament at Tushanwan.

Figure 13. Opium Den in Hong Kong, ca. 1880s.

Figure 14. Carved wooden altar and its orphan makers.

Figure 15. *Ateliers de Sculpture et d'Ébénisterie Orphelinat de Zi-ka-wei Shanghai*

Figure 16-19. Details from different Tushanwan photographs.

Figure 20. Woodcarving Workshop, early twentieth century. The adult man on the very left is Aloysius Beck.

Figure 21. Female orphans at Xujiahui.