

# Encounters between Jesuits and Protestants in Asia and the Americas

*Edited by*

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra  
Robert Aleksander Maryks  
R.P. Hsia

Published for the Institute for Advanced Studies  
at Boston College



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

# Contents

List of Illustrations      VII

Introduction: Protestantism and Early Jesuits      1

*Robert Aleksander Maryks*

## PART 1

### *Asia*

1 Introduction      11

*R.P. Hsia*

2 We are Not Jesuits: Reassessing Relations between Protestantism, French Catholicism, and the Society of Jesus in Late Tokugawa to Early Shōwa Japan      17

*Makoto Harris Takao*

3 Kirishitan Veneration of the Saints: Jesuit and Dutch Witnesses      45

*Haruko Nawata Ward*

4 Jesuit and Protestant Use of Vernacular Chinese in Accommodation Policy      73

*Sophie Ling-chia Wei*

5 Shaping the Anthropological Context of the “Salus populi Sinensis” Madonna Icon in Xian, China      90

*Hui-Hung Chen*

6 Jesuit and Protestant Encounters in Jiangnan: Contest and Cooperation in China's Lower Yangzi Region      117

*Steven Pieragastini*

7 Protestant and Jesuit Encounters in India in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries      137

*Délio Mendonça*

- 8 **Beyond Words: Missionary Grammars and the Construction of Language in Tamil Country** 159  
*Michelle Zaleski*

## PART 2

### *The Americas*

- 9 **Introduction: Jesuit Liminal Space in Liberal Protestant Modernity** 179  
*Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra*
- 10 **José de Acosta, a Spanish Jesuit–Protestant Author: Print Culture, Contingency, and Deliberate Silence in the Making of the Canon** 185  
*Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra*
- 11 **Negotiating the Confessional Divide in Dutch Brazil and the Republic: The Case of Manoel de Morães** 228  
*Anne B. McGinness*
- 12 **A French Jesuit Parish, without the Jesuits: Grand Bay's Catholic Community and Institutional Durability in British Dominica** 253  
*Steve Lenik*
- 13 **"Tis nothing but French Poison, all of it": Jesuit and Calvinist Missions on the New World Frontier** 275  
*Catherine Ballériaux*
- 14 **"Americans, you are marked for their prey!" Jesuits and the Nineteenth-Century Nativist Impulse** 302  
*Robert Emmett Curran*
- 15 **Wars of Words: Catholic and Protestant Jesuitism in Nineteenth-Century America** 328  
*Steven Mailloux*
- Index** 347

# Shaping the Anthropological Context of the “Salus populi Sinensis” Madonna Icon in Xian, China

*Hui-Hung Chen*

## 1 Background

The Jesuits were the devout patrons of the cult of the Holy Mother. In most of the surviving records written by the Chinese literati and officials who had befriended or were aware of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), the Virgin Mary was frequently remarked upon in terms of the Christian image. Thanks to the Jesuits’ introduction of the Marian devotion, the faith and image of the Holy Mother developed into a powerful symbol of identity for local Chinese communities, one that helped them to survive the persecution of Christianity; the role of the cult in the survival of these communities accordingly offers fertile ground for exploring the attitudes of the Protestant missionaries toward the Jesuit legacy when they first arrived in China in the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

In order to explore the encounter between Protestantism and Catholicism in China, this chapter begins by discussing a well-known Chinese Marian image with an unknown past, namely the Chinese-style copy of the Madonna icon of the Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, housed in the Field Museum of Chicago in the United States (figs. 5.1, 5.2).

A visual comparison indicates that it is related to the Roman icon the Jesuits brought to China in the late sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Given the similarities between the two, one scholar even goes so far as to claim that the Chinese icon deserves the name “Salus populi Sinensis” (Salvation of the Chinese people), equal to

1 See Lance Gabriel Lazar, “Confraternities” and “Marian Congregations,” in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 188–90, 501–2.

2 The Xian painting was used as the frontispiece of an interdisciplinary work by various Jesuit and Western scholars, where it was explicitly dated as being of the “late sixteenth to early seventeenth century.” See John W. O’Malley, S.J. et al., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).



FIGURE 5.1 *Madonna with Child*, ink and color on paper, mounted on silk scroll, found in Xian, China, The Field Museum, Chicago, US  
© THE FIELD MUSEUM, IMAGE NO. A114604\_02D, CAT. NO. 116027, PHOTOGRAPHER JOHN WEINSTEIN.



FIGURE 5.2 *Madonna with Child of St. Luke, Salus populi Romani* icon, wooden plate, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

the title “*Salus populi Romani*” of the Roman icon, to indicate the Marian role as the protector of the Chinese and Roman people.<sup>3</sup>

The painting was discovered by anthropologist Berthold Laufer (1874–1934) in Xian 西安, Shaanxi province 陕西省, in 1910. From a historical and anthropological perspective, it is unclear what a Chinese duplicate with the visual

3 G. Anichini, “La ‘Madre di Dio’ di S. Maria Maggiore riprodotta nell’antica arte Cinese,” *L’illustrazione vaticana* 3, no. 1 (January 1, 1932): 37–38.

characteristics not only of the Roman icon but also of the Buddhist white-robed Guanyin would have meant to the Chinese in the chaotic period when it was originally discovered. As we will see, the Xian painting highlights a longer tradition among the local Catholic communities who preserved the Marian cult. This tradition contrasts with the situation when Christianity was re-introduced to China in the nineteenth century, as the new Catholic missionaries tended to avoid pursuing a strategy of cultural accommodation and syncretism, reflecting the detrimental and lasting effect of the Chinese Rites Controversy.<sup>4</sup> For a similar reason, there were often conflicts between local lay leaders and the new missionaries, as the latter seemed to be seeking to gain control over the local communities, whereas the local lay leaders managed the communities in their own customary ways.<sup>5</sup> As a result of this broader trend, it is likely that the inculturation apparent in the Xian Madonna was also rare in the eyes of contemporary Chinese, revealing a past history of Catholicism from which the new missionaries' strategies diverged.

Given its significance in late imperial society and its role in forming and sustaining local Catholic communities, the Marian cult and its evolution in China needs to be examined in order to establish the broader context underlying the evangelization work of the Protestants and the Catholics when missionaries returned to the country in the nineteenth century. When Laufer acquired the Xian Madonna in the early twentieth century, north China was the site of encounters between the Protestant missionaries and the Catholic communities the Jesuits had helped to establish a number of centuries earlier. One of the most well-known Protestant missionaries active in the north, the Welsh Baptist Timothy Richard (1845–1919), admired many aspects of the Jesuits' previous work, including their strategy of cultural accommodation. By re-contextualizing the Xian Madonna in the modern period, this chapter consequently seeks to highlight the Protestant encounter with an important aspect of the Jesuit legacy.

## 2 The Xian Madonna and Its Iconography

Laufer found the Xian Madonna painting in a non-Christian official's house in Xian, or Xianfu 西安府 ("Si-ngan fu," in Laufer's article), as it was known in the

4 Jeremy Clarke, *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 60–69.

5 Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 73; David E. Mungello, *The Catholic Invasion of China: Remaking Chinese Christianity* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 15–45.

Qing period (1644–1912). In Laufer's view, the signature of a famous Chinese painter of the Ming dynasty, Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470–1524), should be viewed as a later addition, since Jesuit missionaries had yet to appear in the country at the time of Tang's death (fig. 5.3).

According to this interpretation, the original signature may have been erased and replaced with the forged signature of Tang, as possibly indicated by a white scratch that is still visible against the plain dark background of the painting. The official from whom Laufer acquired this painting assured him that his family had owned it for "at least five or six generations," which would suggest that it had been in the family since the middle of the eighteenth century. Tang's signature may have been added in the Yongzheng 雍正 period (1723–35), when anti-foreign and anti-Christian attitudes became dominant at court and in wider society, with the aim of preventing the image's destruction. In Laufer's words, the painting's owners "substituted the magic name of T'ang-yin for whom all Chinese evince such a deep reverence that it acted sufficiently as a protecting talisman. And it is due to this wonder only that the painting has been preserved to the present day."<sup>6</sup> Laufer's collection, which is currently online on the website of the American Museum of Natural History, contains over 6,500 objects he gathered in China, and Tang is among the few prominent Chinese painters whose names appear in this collection and Laufer's reports (figs. 5.4, 5.5).<sup>7</sup> Hence Laufer's dating was based on his knowledge of Tang's original signature and other works.<sup>8</sup> There were also two records in the Field Museum describing the painting as a work from the eighteenth century (fig. 5.6).

Laufer presented the painting to the Franciscan missions in Xian and their bishop Auguste-Jean-Gabriel Maurice (in office 1911–16). Maurice greatly admired the painting, stating that he had "never seen a similar one during his lifelong residence of this city." Maurice then summoned some Chinese priests who concluded that the work "was executed by a Chinese" in the Wanli period (1572–1620), when Ricci first entered China. Moreover, Laufer also states that the painting had been re-mounted on silk around a year before he acquired it, thereby replacing the original silk, which, he claims to have been told, dated to the Ming period (1368–1644). Thus, in Laufer's view, Tang's signature was a forgery, and the original painting would have been produced in the late Ming period.<sup>9</sup>

6 Berthold Laufer, "The Chinese Madonna in the Field Museum," *Open Court* (January 1912): 1–6, here 5–6.

7 Five of Tang's paintings were found in this collection; the call numbers are 70/4548, 70/9942, 70/11417, 70/11418, and 70/11977. For details of Laufer's expedition, see Bennet Bronson, "Berthold Laufer," *Fieldiana: Anthropology*, n.s. 36 (September 2003): 117–26, here 118–19.

8 Laufer, "Chinese Madonna," 3–4.

9 *Ibid.*, 3.





FIGURE 5.3 Signature of Tang Yin, Xian Madonna, The Field Museum, Chicago, US  
© THE FIELD MUSEUM, IMAGE NO. A114604\_02D,  
CAT. NO. 116027, PHOTOGRAPHER JOHN WEINSTEIN.



FIGURE 5.4 Tang Yin, *Portrait of Flute Player*, paper scroll, Anthropology Catalog no. 70/11418. COURTESY OF THE DIVISION OF ANTHROPOLOGY, AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, NEW YORK, US

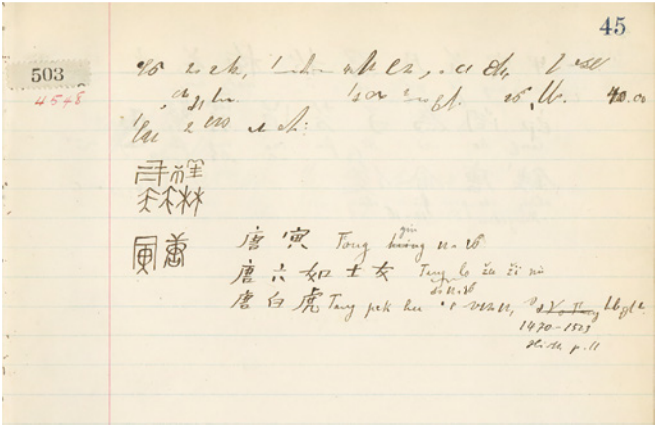
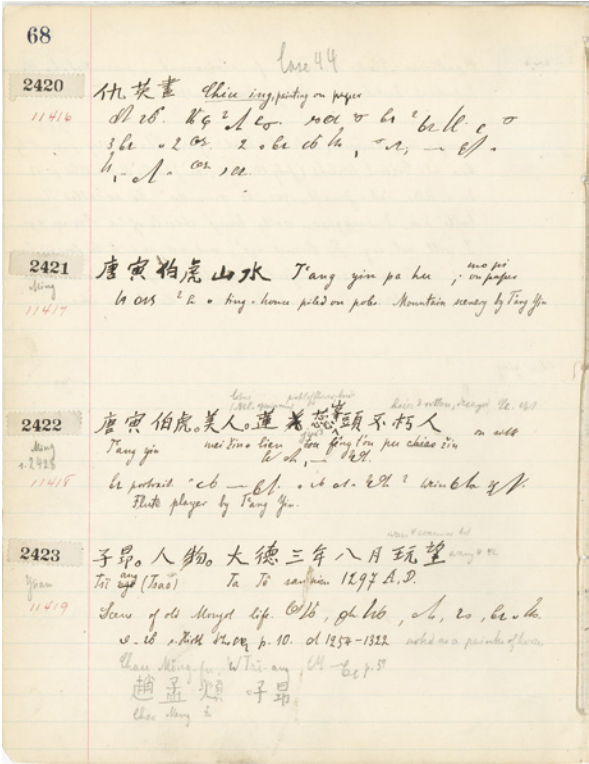


FIGURE 5.5(A, B) Two pages from Laufer's field notebooks, nos. 2421, 2422, 503 on the above all works of Tang Yin, no. 2422 is the note for the painting of Fig. 5.4.  
COURTESY OF THE DIVISION OF ANTHROPOLOGY,  
AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY,  
NEW YORK, US

The Xian reproduction was made with ink and color pigments mounted on a silk scroll. The bright red of the Madonna's halo and the boy's Chinese garment attracts the viewer into the mystery of the image, which is mingled with the vivid Chinese pictorial style and format. The central figure of the Madonna wears a long white garment, holding a Chinese boy in her left arm. When comparing this image with the Roman Madonna, it is clear that the poses and hand gestures of the Madonna and her child are the same as those of the original. However, the Chinese boy no longer has a halo. The linear expression of the Madonna's drapery in the scroll belongs to Chinese pictorial traditions, but the shading appears to emulate European chiaroscuro techniques. The hair and dress of the little boy is depicted in a way that is consistent with Chinese tradition. He also holds a Chinese-bound book in his left hand. In terms of the representation of the subject, the image is in all likelihood a Chinese version of the Roman icon, although there is no direct evidence to connect its mother version to the Jesuit mission. Its visual qualities consequently serve as compelling evidence of the Roman icon's appearance in China.

The Roman icon is believed to have entered China in Ricci's period.<sup>10</sup> Ricci's personal account repeatedly specifies the presence of the Madonna icon of St. Luke from Santa Maria Maggiore, and he presented a painting of the Virgin Mary by St. Luke to the Chinese emperor Wanli 萬曆 (r.1572–1620) in 1601. Ricci describes the painting as “a very large image in the form of St. Maria Maggiore, brought from Rome and well painted” (*una immagine molto grande della forma di S. Maria Maggiore, venuta di Roma et assai ben pinta*).<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, neither this painting, nor any other duplicate, survives today. Additionally, a panel with oil paintings of “the Virgin Mary and Child” on the two sides, apparently duplications also of the Roman icon, was found in Macao.<sup>12</sup> In 2010, the Xian

10 I discuss the Xian Madonna and its iconography in Hui-Hung Chen, “Liangfu yesuishi de shengmu shengxiang: Jianlun mingmo tianzhujiao de zongjiao” 兩幅耶穌會士的聖母聖像:兼論明末天主教的「宗教」 [Two Jesuit Madonna icons: Religious dimensions of Catholicism in late Ming China], *Taida lishi xuebao* 臺大歷史學報 [Historical inquiry] 59 (June 2017): 49–118, here 53–63.

11 Pasquale M. D'Elia, *Fonti ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci a la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579–1615); Storia dell' introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina scritta da Matteo Ricci*, 3 vols. (Rome: La libreria dello Stato, 1942–49), 1:cvi, 2:91 (quotation), 2:123–25, 2:334, 2:506; D'Elia, *Le origini dell'arte Cristiana Cinese (1583–1640)* (Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1939), 31–32.

12 See a register in the following inventory: *Inventário fotográfico de objectos de arte sacra existentes nas igrejas de Macau: Escultura e pintura* (Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura, 1981), no. P-24.



A

116027

ENT

6644

Acc. 1114

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL

Country China.

Locality Singanfu.

People Chinese.

Stock.

Name Painting on paper

Christian Madonna, standing, holding  
child (a Chinese boy) in her arms, signed  
Tang Yin which is a forgery, original name  
being erased. End of 17th century, Ming.  
Apparently copied from European model. (over)

Collection Mrs. T. B. Blackstone Expedition,

Berthold Laufer, Collector 1908-1910.

Notes  
① Laufer, B. "The Chinese Madonna in the Field Museum" (Open Court, vol. 26, no. 1, Jan. 1912, pp. 1-6)  
② Starr, K. "Christmas and Chinese Art" (CNHM Bulletin, vol. 31, no. 12, 1960)  
③ Mr. Chuang Yen, specialist on Chinese painting from Palace Museum verifies figure is that of the Madonna <sup>standing</sup> ~~seated~~, noting that the face is non-Chinese in feeling. Dates of 18th century.

Width 5.5 cm Length 12.0 cm Height 7.2 cm Price 7.21

FIGURE 5.6 File card for the Xian Madonna.  
© THE FIELD MUSEUM, IMAGE NO. A114604\_02D,  
CAT. NO. 116027, PHOTOGRAPHER JOHN WEINSTEIN.

Madonna was displayed in the Vatican's exhibition commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of Ricci's death.<sup>13</sup>

This Roman icon was especially associated with the Jesuits. According to art historian Gauvin Bailey, the Jesuits “perpetuated the early medieval devotion to the miraculous image,” and Madonna icons and cults were disseminated to the wider world from Europe, such as the Madonna of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the Madonna del Popolo in Rome, and the Virgin of Loreto.<sup>14</sup> The Madonna of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome was particularly associated with the Jesuits’ missions to China and Japan. In 1569, the superior general of the Society of Jesus, Francisco de Borja (in office 1565–72), petitioned Pope Pius V (r.1566–72) for permission to make a replica of the *Salus populi Romani* icon in the Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. This icon was believed to be an authentic portrait of Mary, painted in person by St. Luke, according to ancient Catholic tradition. It was believed to be an *acheiropoieton* (something not made by hand), or a miraculous image, that bore the exact likeness of the

13 The first exhibition of the Xian Madonna in the Vatican, which opened in 2009 and was extended to 2010, was entitled “Al crinali della storia: Fr. Matteo Ricci [1552–1610], fra Roma e Pechino.” See Sarah Delaney, “Vatican Honors Jesuit Missionary to China: Father Matteo Ricci,” *Jesuits: National Jesuit News* (October 30, 2009).

14 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 8–9.

Virgin's face.<sup>15</sup> Around the same year of 1569, Ricci, the Italian Jesuit who would later become the most prominent Jesuit missionary in China in the early stage, joined the recently founded Marian Congregation of Rome.<sup>16</sup> Superior General Borja's request was granted, and additional copies of the icon were produced to accompany the Jesuits' missions around the world.<sup>17</sup> The Roman icon was a particularly effective choice for use in missionary work, as it was celebrated as a sacred image and as a symbolic relic of the Virgin Mary, thus bearing dual features of representation and true presence.

Laufer claimed that the painting was popularly identified in Xian with *Tianzhu shengmu* ("T'ien-chu shêng mu"). In other words, the local people in Xian identified the female figure as the Christian Holy Mother rather than mistaking the subject for a native deity, such as "Kuan-yin."<sup>18</sup> *Tianzhu shengmu* was literally translated as the Holy Mother of the Lord of Heaven, an appellation already settled in the late Ming period for the Virgin Mary. Ricci used the two Chinese characters *Tianzhu*, meaning "Lord of Heaven," to translate "Dio"; thus the Holy Mother, as "Signora Madre di Dio," was translated in Chinese as *Tianzhu shengmu*.<sup>19</sup> *Tianzhu* and *Tianzhu shengmu* have been standardized in the following years. If the local context of the Xian Madonna had known the title *Tianzhu shengmu* for long, or people had recognized it with the Jesuit appellation, it could mean that this Madonna would have in all likelihood been considered from the Jesuit missions.

Despite being an intentional copy of the Roman icon, with which it shares many similarities, there are also five noticeable changes from the original, the first of which is the color of the Madonna's robe. In the Western tradition, the Madonna is never depicted wearing white, yet this is not the case with the Xian Madonna, whose white robe is clearly similar to depictions of the white-robed Guanyin. Second, the Chinese Madonna is painted in full-length rather than in the half-length type of the original, so that her two feet are depicted

15 Steven Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 120–22; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 31–77, 478–90; G. Anichini, "La 'Mater Dei Dignissima' di S. Maria Maggiore," *L'illustrazione vaticana* 2, no. 15 (August 1931): 22–26.

16 D'Elia, *Fonti ricciane*, 2:552; Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin, 1985), 239–40.

17 For a history of the reproduction and distribution of this Marian icon from Europe to the rest of the world, see Pasquale M. D'Elia, "La prima diffusione nel mondo dell'immagine di Maria *Salus populi Romani*," *Fede e arte* (October 1954): 1–11.

18 Laufer, "Chinese Madonna," 4.

19 D'Elia, *Fonti ricciane*, 1:193.

and rendered barefoot. This style is identical to the way Guanyin was depicted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the goddess never being portrayed in half-length (fig. 5.7) as this would have been deemed inappropriate by the Chinese.<sup>20</sup>

The third difference between the painting and the original icon is the disappearance of the cross on the garment at the front of the Madonna's forehead. The fourth is that the child has no halo, in strong contrast to the bright red halo of the Madonna—who thus appears to be the only divine figure in the painting—which conforms to the iconography used to depict Guanyin, where the focus of divinity lies in the main female figure. The fifth and final change concerns the technical and stylistic methods used in its composition, such as the imitation of the drapery. It is unknown which exact model, supposedly a replica in painting or print functioning as a medium agent in this Chinese translation, was used by the Chinese maker.

Hence the Chinese would have been attracted to the image's depiction of "a woman holding a child," with the divinity of this sacred image deriving from it being based on the female figure. Both the iconographical type of "a woman holding a child" and the divinity of the female figure could have been derived from the indigenous Guanyin cult. This iconography, nevertheless, completely diverged from the theological meaning of the image of Madonna with Child and would also have been in conflict with the meaning of the Virgin Mary that the missionaries tried to convey in their texts. The Xian Madonna represents the Roman icon through Chinese stylistic characteristics while retaining almost every fundamental feature of the original icon. Although it is a copy of the Madonna icon, the image is also an image of Guanyin.

Guanyin, the deity of mercy or goddess of compassion, is the Chinese name for the Buddhist bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara, one of the most significant Buddhist cults in China. One of the most common representations was the image of the feminine white-robed Guanyin 白衣觀音. Chinese Buddhists associated this cult with fertility and would petition the white-robed Guanyin for a male child, thus giving Guanyin the name "the Bestower of Sons" 送子觀音 or "Child-Giving Guanyin." The white-robed Guanyin derives from a goddess in esoteric Buddhism, and the white color of her mantle symbolizes the deity's

20 Charbo F. Hartman suggested that the Chinese portraiture of ancestors and divinities did not depict a half-length figure, which might be considered mutilated somehow or deemed inappropriate, see his letter of June 15, 1966, to Kenneth Starr, the curator of the Field Museum, which is housed in the Field Museum's archive.



FIGURE 5.7 *White-robed Guanyin*, from *Sancai tuhui yibailiu*  
 juan 三才圖會一百六卷, woodcut, original edition in 1609.  
 © NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY, TAIPEI, TAIWAN,  
 CALL NUMBER 309 08059.



maternity for all of the heavenly deities, buddhas and bodhisattvas. However, as historian Chün-fang Yü has stated, the white-robed Guanyin is “a fertility goddess who nevertheless is devoid of sexuality. She gives children to others, but she is never a mother [...]; she is thus a figure of motherliness, but not of motherhood.”<sup>21</sup> According to canonical descriptions, Guanyin was a bodhisattva with multiple and expedient variants in Buddhist doctrine; therefore, even though feminine Guanyin imagery predominated during the Ming period, Guanyin was usually portrayed as an androgynous figure, and thus in a way that clearly differs from the Christian notion of the Holy Mother.<sup>22</sup>

One of Guanyin's legendary acolytes, present within sixteenth-century iconography and folklore, was Sudhana, a young pilgrim who became a legendary devotee and attendant of Guanyin. Sudhana was usually depicted as a child and positioned beside Guanyin (fig. 5.8). As a result, images of Guanyin often contain a child who is either Sudhana or a symbol of the child-giving power of Guanyin. Consequently, the child depicted in Guanyin imagery was never used to represent the divinity. Instead, the child was usually depicted paying reverence to the central figure, Guanyin. Thus, although the Xian Madonna can be seen as an image of Guanyin, it is either a visual appropriation or combination of the two religions. Alternatively, the blending of Christian and Chinese pictorial styles in the Xian Madonna may have been a localized effort to conceal an overtly Christian message. Another picture with the dual subject identification of the Guanyin/Madonna, along with the similar style and tradition to the Xian painting, also bears the signature of Tang (fig. 5.9). Tang's attribution in such dual iconography or any relevant traditions requires further investigation.

### 3 The Long Century of Christian Persecution

This Madonna/Guanyin image survived the persecution of Christianity in China. Christians had been persecuted in China since the late Yongzheng period,

21 Chün-fang Yü, “Guanyin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteshvara,” in Weidner, *Latter Days of the Law*, 151–81, here 172. A more comprehensive discussion of Guanyin in China can be found in Yü's book: *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 407–48. For the maternal nature of the Holy Mother, see Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 177–331.

22 Lee Yu-min 李玉珉, *Guanyin tezhan 觀音特展: Visions of Compassion; Images of Kuan-yin in Chinese Art* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2000), 38–39.



FIGURE 5.8 A leaf from the album *Guanshiyin pusa sanshier yingshen* 觀世音菩薩三十二應身 (*Thirty-two Manifestations of Guanyin*), Xing cijing 刑慈靜, painted in gold on paper, latter half of the sixteenth century, 28.5\*29.5 cm.  
© NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM, TAIPEI, TAIWAN.

yet it was from the 1740s onward that they began to face severe repression. The historical evidence suggests that the religious persecution was primarily led by local authorities, who harbored a much stronger hatred of Catholicism than the imperial court in Beijing.<sup>23</sup>

23 The official Chinese documents containing requests to supervise local Catholic communities belong to the imperial court archives, now housed in the First Historical Archives of China, Beijing. A total of 669 documents have now been published; see Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 [The First Historical Archives of China], ed., *Qing zhongqianqi xiyang tianzhujiao zaihua huodong dang'an shiliao* 清中前期西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料 [Archival sources of Western Catholicism in China in the early and middle Qing periods], 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2003).



FIGURE 5.9 *Guanyin/Madonna and child*, ink and colors on paper, inscription: "Sutai Tang Yin jinghui" 蘇台唐寅敬繪 (Tang Ying from Suzhou paints reverently), Qing Dynasty, 186\*73 cm (image: 122.3\*59 cm).  
© THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

By the 1700s, there were around two hundred thousand Christians in China, and the missionaries included the Jesuits, who were the majority, as well as the Franciscans and Dominicans.<sup>24</sup> However, the Jesuit population declined after 1720 due to the Chinese Rites controversy. In the period between 1720 and 1842, when the missionaries were in exile, the Chinese clergy and the faithful

<sup>24</sup> Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One (635–1800)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 382–86.

sustained the Christian communities and their religious life.<sup>25</sup> The Xian Madonna is one of the few Christian objects to have survived this period, and its association with the *Salus populi Romani* icon and the Jesuits means that it is extremely rare.

The Jesuit missions to the two adjacent provinces of Shaanxi and Shanxi started in the 1620s. Alfonso Vagnoni (1568–1640), who may have been the first Jesuit to enter Shaanxi, translated the first Chinese hagiography of the Virgin Mary, written around 1624–29 and published in Shanxi. In 1633, he founded the Madonna congregation there. Another Jesuit, Etienne Faber (1597–1657), went to Xian at some stage after 1635 and founded the Madonna congregation in Shaanxi. In the early Jesuit period, Shanxi and Shaanxi were supported by the Beijing residence (fig. 5.12). The Madonna congregations in these northwestern areas would thus have served as the basis for a local tradition of Marian faith.<sup>26</sup>

The missionaries were officially readmitted to the mainland after 1842; however, anti-Christian sentiment continued to persist in Chinese society. In addition to the local authorities' opposition to Christianity, historian Paul Cohen argues that the local gentry advocated orthodoxy and condemned heresy from Confucian perspectives as a way to defend their cultural traditions and social standing.<sup>27</sup> The missionaries were provided political protection because of the treaties, but this very political implication tended to become the reason for Chinese opposition to the religious intention of the missionaries.

During this period of repression, the presence of Catholic books and images, as well as rosaries and crucifixes, was frequently used as evidence of Catholicism among the faithful who were practicing their religion underground:

[They] learned from the Catholic Church in the capital [Beijing] and were also baptized [...]. In addition, according to reports from Xianxian

25 Huang Yilong 黃一農, *Liangtou she: Mingmo qingchu de diyi dai tianzhujiaotu* 兩頭蛇: 明末清初的第一代天主教徒 [Double heads of snake: The first generation of Catholics in the late Ming and early Qing periods] (Hsinchu, Taiwan: Guoli qinghua daxue chubanshe 國立清華大學出版社 [National Tsinghua University Press], 2005), 472–78.

26 Fortunato Margiotti, "Congregazioni mariane della antica missione cinese," *Sonderdruck aus das Laienapostolat in den Missionen* (1961): 134–35. For Faber, see Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773*, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932), 202–7.

27 Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963). Also see R.G. [Rolf Gerhard] Tiedemann, "Conversion Patterns in North China: Sociological Profiles of Chinese Christians, 1860–1912," in *Authentic Chinese Christianity: Preludes to Its Development (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)*, ed. Ku Wei-ying and Koen de Ridder (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 107–33; Bays, *New History of Christianity in China*, 41–91.

of the Hejian prefect, a villager was identified, Zhou Shijun, whose family had housed Catholic paintings, scriptures, and crosses for generations. He had stated that those objects had been brought back by his father from the capital, and so on [...].

在京師天主堂傳習入教[⋯]又據河間府獻縣稟報,訪有村民周士俊,周宗家藏天主教畫像,經文十字架,訊係周宗故父在京帶回各等情[⋯]。

(1746, prefect of Hejian河間府, 直隸Zhili)

I requested the local officials to thoroughly interrogate and investigate; moreover, they presented me with the case of Yan Deng and asked me to confront him in person. Although Yan's house did not hide a foreigner named Bali [from Manila] or contain illegal communications, Yan possessed several Catholic images and books on rituals and feasts. Thus, it was clear that he had not yet repented.<sup>28</sup>

臣等督飭布按兩司嚴加究審,轉解臣等親訊嚴登,家內雖無藏匿吧黎及潛通信息情事,但仍行收藏天主各像及禮拜日期書冊,其未悔改,已有明徵。

(1750, prefect of Zhangzhou漳州府, province of Fujian 福建省)

In the two cases above, the objects—images and books—were indicators of Catholicism. In other words, from the perspectives of Chinese officialdom, the objects were sufficient evidence to convict Chinese Christians of having “heretical beliefs.” Two other lists of objects confiscated from the houses of “Catholic heretics” comprised many Catholic images, including those of the Madonna, and prayer books for Christ and the Virgin Mary.<sup>29</sup> Thus, as historian Lars Laamann argues, “a distinct form of ‘Chinese Christianity’ emerged,” which interacted with popular Chinese religions and enabled this “popular Christianity” to survive. Consequently, most of the references to Christian heretics and their encounters with heterodox religious traditions are found in northern China.<sup>30</sup> Given this geographical and historical context, in which

28 *Qing zhongqianqi xi yang tianzhujiao*, 1:95, 171.

29 Wu Min 吳旻, and Han Qi 韓琦 eds., *Ouzhou suocang yongzheng qianlongchao tianzhujiao wenxian huibian* 歐洲所藏雍正乾隆朝天主教文獻匯編 [Collection of Catholic sources and literature from the dynasties of Yongzheng and Qianlong housed in Europe] (Shanghai: Shanghai remin chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 2008), 155–56 (1747, Fujian); *Qing zhongqianqi xi yang tianzhujiao*, 2:529–30 (1784, Province of Hunan 湖南省).

30 Lars P. Laamann, *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China: Christian Inculturation and State Control, 1720–1850* (London: Routledge, 2006), 9.

hidden communities would have had more interactions with local traditions, that the Xian Madonna was able to survive the persecutions may be linked to this kind of Catholic community.

#### 4 Timothy Richard

From a long-term perspective, the Marian cult further infiltrated Chinese society at large and even coalesced with the local belief in Guanyin. More recent studies have also emphasized the significance of the Marian cult in late imperial Chinese society and its specific role in the formation of Catholic communities.<sup>31</sup> It was these communities that would serve as the site of the Protestant encounter with the Jesuit legacy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One of the most well-known Protestant missionaries active in North China was the Welsh Baptist Timothy Richard, who admired the Jesuits and their strategy of cultural accommodation.

Richard arrived in China in 1870, first in Chefoo 芝罘 (煙台), Shangdong 山東. He eventually traveled inland and settled in Chingzhou prefecture 青州府, located at the easternmost border prefecture, next to Xianxian 獻縣, next to Baoding prefecture 保定府, in Zhili, where the Jesuit mission was founded in 1857. In his memoirs, Richard states that he began studying the local Chinese religions to gain a better understanding of Chinese religious terminology after reading James Legge's (1815–97) books on Confucianism.<sup>32</sup>

Between 1876 and 1878, the northern Chinese provinces were devastated by famine, centering on the south of Shanxi province and extending to the areas of Shangdong, south Zhili, and Shaanxi, where Xian was located. Richard's help in responding to the famine earned him a favorable reputation, leading to conversions in Shangdong and Shanxi provinces; he visited Shanxi in 1876–81 and 1902–4. In his memoirs, Richard states that this extensive area comprised large groups of Christians, and their circle of interrelationships extended to the

31 Jeremy Clarke, *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities*; Clarke, "Our Lady of China: Marian Devotion and the Jesuits," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 2009): ix–47. See also Jean-Paul Wiest, "Marian Devotion and the Development of a Chinese Christian Art during the Last 150 Years," in *Jidu zongjiao yu jindai zhongguo* 基督宗教與近代中國 [From Antoine Thomas, S.J., to Celso Costantini: Multi-aspect studies on Christianity in modern China], ed. Ku Weiying and Zhao Xiaoyang (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社, 2011), 187–221.

32 Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China: Reminiscences by Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D.* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1916), 86; a Chinese annotated and translated edition was also consulted: *Qinli wanqing sishiwu nian liti motai zaihua huiyilu* 親歷晚清四十五年—李提摩太在華回憶錄 (1845–1919), trans. Li Xiantang 李憲堂 and Hou Linli 侯林莉 (Tianjin 天津: Tianjin remin chubanshe 天津人民出版社, 2005), 68.





FIGURE 5.10 *Timothy Richard meeting with Buddhist monks*, woodcut from *Dianshizhai huapao* 點石齋畫報 (*Illustration Reports of the Dianshizhai*), published in Shanghai, no. 48, for the years of 1895–1896.

© NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY, TAIPEI, TAIWAN, CALL NUMBER P 808 0001.

southwest to Xian and to the east to Henan province 河南省.<sup>33</sup> Thus, Richard confirmed that these extensive areas were populated by and interlinked with Christian communities.

Richard's engagement in famine relief brought him closer to local culture. He studied Buddhism and Daoism and claimed that both faiths taught valuable lessons (fig. 5.10).<sup>34</sup> This corresponds to his proposal to indigenize Christianity—"the best way to make Christianity indigenous was to adopt Chinese methods of propagation," namely "the natives were to take the lead

33 Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China*, 147.

34 Jean-Pierre Charbonnier, *Christians in China: A.D. 600 to 2000*, trans. M. [Maurice] N.L. Couve de Murville (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002), 361–62.

rather than the foreign missionary”<sup>35</sup>—which is why his method has been seen as similar to the Jesuit strategy of accommodation. When he first arrived in Shanxi province, he was asked to contact a Catholic bishop to learn of the situation with regard to Christianity. At that time, there were no Protestant missionaries in Shanxi province; however, two bishops and twelve clerics continued to sustain the religion the Jesuits had introduced two hundred years earlier. Richard began his missionary activities in the north by obtaining Chinese books on Catholicism written by the Jesuits in previous centuries as he believed that the Christian precepts they contained could still be used for the purposes of proselytization. Richard even gave Roman Catholic publications as gifts to Chinese intellectuals, thereby demonstrating his admiration of the early Jesuits such as Ricci, Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666), and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1687), and their translations of Christian doctrines and European knowledge.<sup>36</sup> His admiration of the previous Catholic missionaries also extended to the organization of the missions themselves, as he sought to emulate the organization of the Catholic missions in China, with different orders being assigned to different places – at that time, there had been no consensus among Protestant organizations over geographical assignments, and different Protestant organizations would often compete with each other in the same city or location.<sup>37</sup> His intellectual concern propelled him to establish a Western university in Taiyuan City 太原市, Shanxi, in 1901, with a missionary and scholar based in Shaanxi province, Moir Duncan, serving as the university’s chancellor (fig. 5.11).<sup>38</sup>

## 5 Conclusion

The Xian Madonna is a rare object testifying to the persistence of the Jesuit heritage in northern China. Its rarity also lies in its strangeness—the discovery of 1910 happened in a milieu when “Europeans were attempting to reverse a process of inculturation [...] that had already occurred in the Chinese Church.

35 Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China*, 86, 106–7 (quotations), 147–49, 205.

36 Ibid., 127, 144–45. See also the earliest single biography of Richard: William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard in China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary and the Most Disinterested Adviser the Chinese Ever Had* (London: Seeley, 1924), 99–102, 109–14, 120–23; a Chinese annotated and translated edition is also available: *Liti motai zai zhongguo* 李提摩太在中國 (Guilin 桂林, China: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe 廣西師範大學出版社, 2007), 90–95, 100–5, 112–15.

37 Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China*, 157, 145, 173–76; Soothill, *Timothy Richard in China*, 120–22.

38 Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China*, 165, 299–301.



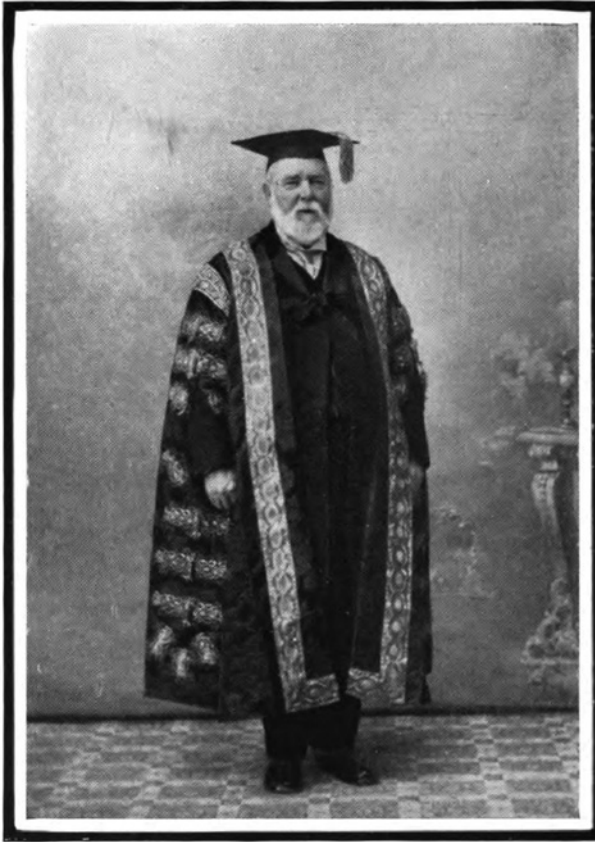


FIGURE 5.11 Timothy Richard attired as the Chancellor of Shanxi University, from William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard in China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary and the Most Distinguished Adviser the Chinese Ever Had* (London, 1924), p. 280.

The Chinese Catholics vehemently resisted this reversal.”<sup>39</sup> From an anthropological and historical perspective, the Madonna's survival resulted from the efforts of unknown Catholic or Jesuit communities. When the Protestant missionaries arrived in China, the icon served as evidence of the Jesuit heritage and a representation of Catholic identity. The Guanyin iconography and the local features corroborate its localization when the Chinese became the agent in the underground church during the long period of persecution. However, whether it was localized as a hybrid kind of Madonna/Guanyin, or intentionally created as a talisman for the Catholic Madonna, is unknown. As a product of inculturation, the Chinese authorities may have seen it as a heretical object of popular

39 Mungello, *Catholic Invasion of China*, 16.

Christianity. Its inculturation could also indicate what the returning Catholic missionaries in the nineteenth century had criticized, “accustomed activities of the Christian Virgins,” that is, the missionaries were concerned about “local Catholic communities behaving in unorthodox ways of worship.”<sup>40</sup> This Madonna/Guanyin image reveals the long-term Jesuit heritage sustained by the faithful, yet it also testifies to the tension between church officials and local communities in the nineteenth-century missionary context.

Timothy Richard thus encountered Catholics and Catholicism in a context where the Marian cult remained energetic in “popular Christianity,” and in



MAP 1 Provinces of China.

FIGURE 5.12 Xian, Baoding, Shaanxi and Shanxi underlined. The map without underlines is taken from Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (New Heaven: Yale University, 2010), Map 1, Provinces of China. © YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

40 Bays, *New History of Christianity in China*, 52; see also Robert E. Entenmann, “Christian Virgins in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan,” in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Daniel H. Bays (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 180–93.

which the Protestants had to face the existence of Catholic communities. To date, only limited research has been carried out on Richard's evangelization work in China. Although he does not appear to have commented directly on the Marian cult, he clearly admired the Jesuit legacy, and we could wonder he saw the Marian devotion in sustaining local Catholic communities in his engagements with ordinary people.<sup>41</sup> Further work on this encounter between a Jesuit tradition and the Protestant missionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries would therefore deepen our understanding of local Catholicism and the complexity of Chinese Christianity as a whole.

### Bibliography

- Anichini, G. "La 'Mater Dei Dignissima' di S. Maria Maggiore." *L'illustrazione vaticana* 2, no. 15 (August 1931): 22–26.
- Anichini, G. "La 'Madre di Dio' di S. Maria Maggiore riprodotta nell'antica arte Cinese." *L'illustrazione vaticana* 3, no. 1 (January 1, 1932): 37–38.
- Arnold, Lauren. *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.
- Arnold, Lauren. "Folk Goddess or Madonna? Early Missionary Encounters with the Image of Guanyin." In *Encounters and Dialogues: Changing Perspectives on Chinese–Western Exchanges from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, edited by Barbara Hoster and Roman Malek, 227–38. Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2005a.
- Arnold, Lauren. "The Franciscan Origin of the Image of the Child-Giving Guanyin." *Ricci Institute Public Lecture Series* (February 16, 2005b): 1–6.
- Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542–1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Bays, Daniel H. *A New History of Christianity in China*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Brockey, Liam M. *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Bronson, Bennet. "Berthold Laufer." *Fieldiana: Anthropology*, n.s. 36 (September 2003): 117–26.

<sup>41</sup> I would like to express my particular gratitude to Prof. Jeffrey Muller, Brown University, for his advice on the consideration of the possible Baptist view of the Marian cult and image.

- Chün-fang Yü. "Guanyin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteshvara." In *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850–1850*, edited by Marsha Weidner, 151–81. Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art and the University of Kansas, 1994.
- Chün-fang Yü. *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Clarke, Jeremy. "Our Lady of China: Marian Devotion and the Jesuits." *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 2009): 9–47.
- Clarke, Jeremy. *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.
- Cohen, Paul A. *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- D'Elia, Pasquale M. *Le origini dell'arte Cristiana Cinese (1583–1640)*. Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1939.
- D'Elia, Pasquale M. *Fonti ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci a la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579–1615); Storia dell' introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina scritta da Matteo Ricci*. 3 vols. Rome: La libreria dello Stato, 1942–49.
- D'Elia, Pasquale M. "La prima diffusione nel mondo dell'immagine di Maria 'Salus Populi Romani.'" *Fede e arte* (October 1954): 1–11.
- Entenmann, Robert E. "Christian Virgins in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan." In *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, edited by Daniel H. Bays, 180–93. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Hsia, Ronnie Po-chia. "Jesuit Survival and Restoration in China." In *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900*, edited by Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright, 245–60. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Huang Yilong 黃一農. *Liangtou she: mingmo qingchu de diyidai tianzhujiaotu* 兩頭蛇: 明末清初的第一代天主教徒 [Double heads of snake: The first generation of Catholics in the late Ming and early Qing periods]. Hsinchu, Taiwan: Guoli qinghua daxue chubanshe 國立清華大學出版社 [National Tsinghua University Press], 2005.
- Hui-Hung Chen. "A European Distinction of Chinese Characteristics: A Style Question in Seventeenth-Century Jesuit China Missions." *Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies* 臺灣東亞文明研究學刊 5, no. 1 (June 2008): 1–32.
- Hui-Hung Chen. "Liangfu yesu huishi de shengmu shengxiang: Jianlun mingmo tianzhujiao de zongjiao" 兩幅耶穌會士的聖母聖像: 兼論明末天主教的「宗教」 [Two Jesuit Madonna icons: religious dimensions of Catholicism in late-Ming China]. *Taida lishi xuebao* 臺大歷史學報 [Historical Inquiry] 59 (June 2017): 49–118.
- Laamann, Lars P. *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China: Christian Inculturation and State Control, 1720–1850*. London: Routledge, 2006.

- Lambek, Michael, ed. *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002.
- Laufer, Berthold. "The Chinese Madonna in the Field Museum." *Open Court* (January 1912): 1–6.
- Lü Shiqiang 呂實強. *Zhongguo guanshen fanjiao de yuanyin (1860–1874)* 中國官紳反教的原因 (一八六〇–一八七四) [Reasons for anti-Christianity of Chinese officials and gentry (1860–1874)]. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所 [Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica], 1966.
- Malatesta, Edward J., S.J. *The Society of Jesus in China: A Historical–Theological Essay*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1997.
- Margiotti, Fortunato. "Congregazioni mariane della antica missione cinese." *Sonderdruck aus das Laienapostolat in den Missionen* (1961): 134–35.
- Menegon, Eugenio. *Ancestors, Virgins & Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- O'Malley, John W., S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, eds. *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- O'Malley, John W., and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, eds. *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540–1773*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005.
- Ostrow, Steven. *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Pfister, Louis. *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773*. Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932.
- Richard, Timothy. "The Political Status of Missionaries and Native Christians in China." *Chinese Recorder* 16 (1885): 96–110.
- Richard, Timothy. *Forty-Five Years in China: Reminiscences by Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D.* New York: Frederick A. Stokes Publishers, 1916.
- Song, Zhiqing 宋稚青. *Zhonghua shengmu jingli shihua* 中華聖母敬禮史話 [History of the Holy Mother of China]. Tainan, Taiwan: Wendao chubanshe 聞道出版社, 2005.
- Soothill, William E. *Timothy Richard in China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary and the Most Disinterested Adviser the Chinese Ever Had*. London: Seeley, 1924.
- Spence, Jonathan. *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. New York: Penguin, 1985.
- Standaert, Nicolas, ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One (635–1800)*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Tiedemann, R.G. [Rolf Gerhard]. "Conversion Patterns in North China: Sociological Profiles of Chinese Christians, 1860–1912." In *Authentic Chinese Christianity: Preludes to Its Development (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)*, edited by Ku Wei-ying and Koen de Ridder, 107–33. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001.

- Waley-Cohen, Joanna. *The Sextants of Beijing: Global Currents in Chinese History*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999.
- Warner, Marina. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. New York: Vintage Books, 1976.
- Weidner, Marsha, ed. *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850–1850*. Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art and the University of Kansas, 1994.
- Wiest, Jean-Paul. "Marian Devotion and the Development of a Chinese Christian Art during the Last 150 Years." In *Jidu zongjiao yu jindai zhongguo* 基督教與近代中國 [From Antoine Thomas, S.J., to Celso Costantini: Multi-aspect studies on Christianity in modern China], edited by Ku Weiyang and Zhao Xiaoyang, 187–221. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社, 2011.
- Wong, Stephanie Mary. "A Society Apart: Rural Chinese Catholics and the Historiography of 'Otherness'." *Studies in World Christianity* 22, no. 2 (2016): 86–104.
- Wu Min 吳旻 and Han Qi 韓琦, eds. *Ouzhou suocang yongzheng qianlongchao tianzhujiao wenxian huibian* 歐洲所藏雍正乾隆朝天主教文獻匯編 [Collection of Catholic sources and literature from the dynasties of Yongzheng and Qianlong housed in Europe]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 2008.
- Xiao Qinghe 尚清和. "Mingqing tianzhujiaotu zongtu shenghuo yu zuzhi xingtai chutan" 明清天主教徒宗徒生活與組織形式初探 [A preliminary exploration of the religious life and organizing form of the Ming and Qing Catholic Christians]. *Guoxue yu xixue* 國學與西學 [International journal of Sino-Western studies] 1 (2011): 98–107.
- Xiao-qing Wang. "How Has a Chinese Village Remained Catholic? Catholicism and Local Culture in a Northern Chinese Village." *Journal of Contemporary China* 15, no. 49 (2006): 687–704.
- Zhuang Jifa 莊吉發. "Qingchao zhengfu dui tianzhujiao cong rongjiao zhengce dao jinjiao zhengce de zhuanbian" 清朝政府對天主教從容教政策到禁教政策的轉變 [The evolution of the attitude to Catholicism of the Qing government: From toleration to banishment]. In *Qingshi lunji* 清史論集 [Anthology of Qing history], 4: 145–81. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1997.
- Zhuang Jifa 莊吉發. *Qingshi jiangyi* 清史講義 [Discussion of Qing history]. Taipei: Shixueshe chubanshe 實學社出版社, 2002.