

# Reshaping the Boundaries

## *The Christian Intersection of China and the West in the Modern Era*

Edited by Song Gang

Hong Kong University Press  
The University of Hong Kong  
Pokfulam Road  
Hong Kong  
[www.hkupress.org](http://www.hkupress.org)

© 2016 Hong Kong University Press

ISBN 978-988-8390-55-7 (*Hardback*)

All rights reserved. No portion of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed and bound by Paramount Printing Co., Ltd. in Hong Kong, China

## Contents

Boundary-Crossing Words, Beliefs, and Experiences: Late Imperial China's Encounter with the Modern West	1
<i>Song Gang</i>	
1. "Sinarum gentes . . . omnium sollertissimae": Encounters between the Middle Kingdom and the Low Countries, 1602–92	9
<i>Thijs Weststeijn</i>	
2. Russian-Chinese Cultural Exchanges in the Early Modern Period: Missionaries, Sinologists, and Artists	35
<i>Nikolay Samoylov</i>	
3. The Wind <i>Qin</i> : Hearing and Reading Chinese Reactions to the Pipe Organ	48
<i>David Francis Urrows</i>	
4. "Supreme Nation": The British Image in Karl Gützlaff's Novels <i>Shifei lüelun</i> and <i>Dayingguo tongzhi</i>	59
<i>John T. P. Lai</i>	
5. "Sacred Heart" and the Appropriation of Catholic Faith in Nineteenth-Century China	76
<i>Ji Li</i>	
6. Local Magistrates and Foreign Mendicants: Chinese Views of Shanxi's Franciscan Mission during the Late Qing	91
<i>Anthony E. Clark</i>	
7. A Religious Rhetoric of Competing Modernities: Christian Print Culture in Late Qing China	106
<i>Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye</i>	
List of Contributors	123
Index	125

# *Boundary-Crossing Words, Beliefs, and Experiences*

## *Late Imperial China's Encounter with the Modern West*

Song Gang

The rise of China as a leading power in today's world has attracted increasing scholarly attention to the country's encounter with the West (primarily referring to Europe and North America in this volume) in the modern era, i.e., from the late sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries. While more recent research began to shift away from the model of a tradition–modernity polarity in explaining late imperial Chinese history, new approaches have been proposed to explore a broader range of subjects tied with the richly documented exchanges between China and the West since the sixteenth century. However, there is still a lack of collaborative effort to examine how Western culture, long shaped by the dominant Christian religion, was conceptualized and imagined by late imperial Chinese people, and vice versa, how Confucian-based Chinese culture was understood and interpreted in modern Europe and North America. Indeed, the multilayered two-way flows of words, beliefs, and experiences in such a significant cross-cultural encounter open up intriguing possibilities for further investigation. This volume, which consists of seven studies, presents cutting-edge research on the formation and transformation of different types of knowledge, perceptions, and representations exchanged between China and the West through the modern period. It aims to shed new light and provide refreshing perspectives for future exploration of related subjects in this field.

The findings in this volume suggest a process of boundary-crossing interactions between Chinese and Western cultures. On the one hand, some long-standing ideologies, religious beliefs, and cultural tastes have been modified or redefined due to Chinese people's more frequent contacts with Westerners. Whether they were emperors, officials, literati, or peasants, they often moved beyond conventional thinking to try to make sense of Western religion and culture. In this respect, David Francis Urrows, Ji Li, and Anthony Clark unfold an impressive list of new boundaries drawn by those Chinese who reinterpreted traditional thoughts, built regional, national as well as transnational networks, and promoted expedient means of interpersonal and intercultural adaptations. On the other hand, the stereotyped Sinocentric mentality (embedded in such terms as *Tianxia* 天下 and *Hua-Yi* 華夷) continued to carry a heavy

load of cultural imperatives that frequently challenged the thoughts and behaviors of Western (including Russian) missionaries, Sinologists, and artists. They also felt the urgent need to mark new religious, ethical, and aesthetic boundaries of self-identity when meeting with Chinese people and their unyielding cultural pride. This aspect receives particular attention in the studies of Thijs Weststeijn, Nikolay Samoylov, John T. P. Lai, and Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye, who carefully examine a number of missionary sources to measure the limits of transcultural understandings at spiritual, intellectual, and ideological levels.

A reader may keenly notice the interweaving of both Chinese and Western perspectives in this volume. The syncretic approach resists a simple alignment with the established theories, and it sets a framework in which the contributors can fully address the distinctive feature of “in-betweenness” embedded in a variety of boundary-crossing words, beliefs, and experiences. This key concept, frequently seen in literary criticisms, translation studies, and cross-cultural studies, also helps advance our understanding of the historical encounter between China and the West in three significant aspects. First, it entails more room for comprehensive research, thereby avoiding the limitations of some influential theories and methodological models, e.g., the “Eurocentric approach” (with its critique *Orientalism*), the “impact and response” thesis, the “China-centered approach,” and the “transmission” and the “reaction” frameworks. For Catholic missions in late imperial China, for example, it was not always the case that missionaries played a role as the *transmitters* while the Chinese were the *receivers*. As Ji Li has convincingly argued, the roles could be reversed when Chinese Christians managed to have their voices heard in Europe. In addition, largely due to the reshaped boundaries, messages being transmitted between different locations and through different media could be altered at various degrees in the process and therefore not be complete or faithful to the original meanings and purposes. Second, the “in-between” feature highlights the interactiveness and interdependence that characterized the contacts between China and the West in early modern history. It would be a questionable claim that the encounter of China and the West between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, often seen as a period of reciprocal influences, came to an end in 1800, while hostile confrontations incurred by Western arrogance and Chinese humiliation dominated Sino-Western relations through the nineteenth century. The observation overlooks the subtlety of some cases highlighted in this volume, e.g., a Protestant missionary may use the traditional Chinese concept of ideal society to promote his model image of the West, or there could be self-contradictory expressions of modernity in late Qing missionary publications. These cases suggest that the key actually lies in how the participants responded to an “in-between” situation when defining new ideological, religious, and cultural boundaries in reality. Third, the reshaping of boundaries not only embodied dynamic transcultural experiences, but they also marked new public and private spheres without fixed borders between traditional and modern, native

and foreign, or central and marginal. By means of official records, personal letters, musical instruments, news reports, translated texts, rumors, and miracle stories, the new spheres enabled the participants to interact with each other in expansive networks and produce many “in-between” thoughts, images, and identities, neither Chinese nor Western by nature. Considering the above three aspects, we should focus on the “in-between” feature as the key in our investigation of the boundary-crossing cases, which in many ways affected late imperial Chinese history and modern Western history.

The contributors of this volume are experts in history, religious studies, music history, as well as cultural studies. They not only display pioneering research on subjects that have not been fully digested in previous research, but also make effective use of existing and newly found sources to reconstruct the “in-between” experiences of Chinese and Western peoples in the modern era. Their studies represent different areas of interests, but they share the same concern about how ideological, religious, and cultural boundaries may have been reshaped on both sides in the Sino-Western encounter.

The volume is organized into seven chapters. In Chapter 1, Thijs Weststeijn presents a penetrating survey of the multilayered cultural exchanges between China and the Low Countries during the seventeenth century. Traders and missionaries from the remote place of the “red-haired barbarians” became regular visitors to the Middle Kingdom and the South China Sea in this period. The intermediary role of the Low Countries travelers in transacting cultural products between the two ends of the world depended on a fortuitous combination of factors: the global “Jesuit information network” was complemented with and sometimes catalyzed by the interests of the Dutch trading company. Bearing in mind the recent studies on early modern Netherlandish Jesuitica, Weststeijn is keen enough to pay attention to the significant work of a group of Jesuit missionaries from the Low Countries, such as Nicolas Trigault, Philippe Couplet, and Ferdinand Verbiest. Their voyages and writings, involving publishers from the Dutch Republic, contributed to the vital exchange of knowledge. Weststeijn’s research on European Sinology and humanistic scholarship also gives him a solid footing to analyze Sino-Dutch exchanges in linguistic and philological terms: the Jesuits’ introduction of the Chinese writing system was consciously adopted and fantasized by European scholars in their search for a universal script. Meanwhile, the Jesuits’ collaborative translation of Confucian classics in *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* disclosed a carefully reinterpreted version of Confucianism filtered through the Christian truth, and it aroused a series of later translations and commentaries bouncing between ancient Chinese wisdom and post-Renaissance humanism. In his analysis on visual arts and historiography, Weststeijn provides more examples of similar boundary-crossing experiences. He concludes the chapter by reflecting on a contrast between the Dutch lead in European cultural engagements with China through the seventeenth century and the loss of that legacy in the following eighteenth century.

In Chapter 2, Nikolay Samoylov presents a parallel study on Sino-Russian encounters from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. He first brings forward critical reflections on the four-stage process—*indifferent interaction, identification, activation, and adaptation*—which to him should characterize the increasing contacts between China and Russia over a period of two hundred years. In this process, he highlights the key role of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing, the unofficial embassy of Russia and outpost of the Russian Orthodox Church in China, for transmitting abundant social-cultural information between the two neighboring empires. Samoylov mentions an intriguing example: the Russian missionaries and the Qing Chinese simultaneously adopted Buddhist terminology to identify the country Russia and the Christian religion. It reminds us of a similar appropriation of the Buddhist identity by the first Jesuits in South China in the late sixteenth century. We also see that, despite the claim to present a “real” image of China, the Russian missionaries apparently infused personal opinions and emotions in their works. The prominent Sinologist Archimandrite Iakinf (Bichurin), for example, staged a costume show in the literary salons of St. Petersburg to signal his close association with Confucian intelligentsia, and he created an idealistic, admirable image of China in political, legal, and educational terms. Though the diplomatic twist gradually wore off the spiritual passion of the missionaries, they made noticeable contributions to the growth of early Russian Sinology. Moreover, after a close look at such well-known figures as Alexander Pushkin, Vladimir Odoevsky, and Vissarion Belinsky, Samoylov suggests that missionary Sinologists did not really achieve unanimous support as they had wished. Rather, there appeared diverse and even conflicting perceptions of China among Russian intellectuals. In their works, they did not represent China as it was but as what they expected it to be—a romantic utopia at one time yet a stagnant autocracy at another. As it turned out, China has been consciously reinterpreted as a symbolic mirror image for them to reflect upon the reality in Russia.

Following Weststeijn’s and Samoylov’s sweeping surveys, David Francis Urrows in his chapter investigates a handful of Ming-Qing sources (and Korean sources in Chinese) on the pipe organ, thus adding a special dimension to the boundary-crossing experience of Western missionaries and late imperial Chinese people. As a cultural commodity, music traveled from early on. Western musical instruments were present when the first Jesuit mission was established in sixteenth-century China, and they were the subject of curiosity and admiration among local Chinese audiences. No instrument better reflected the highest level of Western technology than the pipe organ, the most complex mechanical device in Western culture from antiquity up to the Industrial Revolution. While reading the Chinese accounts on the pipe organ, Urrows affirms that it was precisely the technical and mechanical aspects that excited interest. Aesthetics and music were firmly secondary concerns. In this sense, the pipe organ has been considered a stereotyped icon of Western (Christian) music and in most

cases an exotic instrument in the scientific. What is more important, Urrows argues, lies in the fact that Chinese understandings of this Western object did not take any simple form of exoticism or indifference but rather a mixture of diverse transcultural experiences shifting between intellectual openness and ideological resistance. Consequently, it would be natural for some reputed literati, such as You Tong and Zhao Yi, to reinterpret the “wind-*qin*” by using a set of normative ideas in classical Chinese poetry and music. And, we would not be surprised at the self-contradictory “bluff” of the Qianlong Emperor regarding things imported from the West. The intriguing intersection of religion, music, and science brought to light a typical Chinese cultural centrality encountering the *otherness* of Western high culture, from which a new mode of in-between existence emerged along the process of dynamic mutual perceptions and evaluations.

While the first three chapters mainly focus on the endeavors of Catholic and Orthodox missionaries in China over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the remaining four chapters in this volume display a more stimulating picture of the nineteenth century. Featured by more frequent conflicts in political, military, and cultural terms, the century witnessed a significant shift in modern Sino-Western relations.

In Chapter 4, John T. P. Lai presents an illuminative study on how Karl F. A. Gützlaff, a leading Protestant missionary to China in the early nineteenth century, consciously created an idealistic image of Great Britain in two of his novels, *Shifei luelun* (1835) and *Dayingguo tongzhi* (1834). It is noteworthy that Gützlaff in his narratives employed a series of rhetorical devices to change or redefine the traditional boundaries of Chinese and British cultures. On the one hand, through the voice of a Chinese sojourner who had once lived in Britain for years, Gützlaff put forth his challenging points to counterargue the Sinocentric world order deeply rooted in the imperial Chinese mind. The age-old concept *Hua-Yi zhi bian*, which set geopolitical and ethnical divisions between the civilized Chinese people and the uncivilized barbarians, was refuted in the first place. This was paralleled by a direct challenge to China's long-established tributary system. One could not find any of the alleged devil-like characters among British traders, and instead he would be obliged to admit that they had made great contributions to China's economy and therefore were no inferior tributary subjects of China, or the “Celestial Empire.” On the other hand, Gützlaff made great efforts in presenting Britain as the “Supreme Nation,” characterized by advanced technology, awe-inspiring military force, efficient legal and parliamentary systems, admirable cultural achievements, and fundamentally, the dominant Christian religion. It is with Lai's careful analysis of these aspects that we can recognize an impressive list of boundary-crossing expressions and thoughts. For example, Gützlaff borrowed conventional Chinese sayings, including the word for the Four Seas and Mencius' statement on an ideal society free of hunger and cold, to describe Britain as a paradise-like nation and a superior overlord of its colonies and tributary states worldwide. The conscious



appropriation and exaggeration, Lai argues, aimed to break the boundaries of the old Sinocentric world so that a new model image of the West may be shaped in the Chinese mind. Moreover, Lai points out Gützlaff's omission of some negative aspects, such as King William IV's illegitimate children, social evils, and the opium trade, in order to avoid any Chinese suspicion at the idealistic image of Britain. Motivated by his Eurocentric pride and evangelical zeal, Gützlaff strategically made adaptive and selective reinterpretations on the essential cultural attributes of both countries. The Anglo-Chinese intercourse exhibited a complex destruction–reconstruction process, in which the two-way flow of words and ideas gave shape to one imagined in-between reality to fulfill varied ideological, commercial, and religious motives.

The next two chapters focus on Catholic missions in Liaoning and Shanxi during the late nineteenth century. They arouse no less interest than Gützlaff's symbolic representation of Britain as the "Supreme Nation." In both studies, lower-class Chinese people came to the foreground and played an increasingly decisive role in their negotiations with the Church's religious orthodoxy on the one hand, and the Qing political authority on the other. In Chapter 5, Ji Li first presents a concise survey of the popular devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in France and its introduction to China during the late Qing period. She then analyzes several rarely seen letters, written in 1871 by three Catholic women from a village in Liaozhong County, Liaoning. The letters were addressed to Dominique Maurice Pourquié, a member of the *Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris* who had worked in Northeast China. Here we come across an exciting case of, perhaps for the first time, rural Chinese Catholic women managing to have their voices heard in Europe. From these original letters, Li detects the underlying sense of feminine piety mingled with the Du women's purposeful borrowing of religious vocabularies to articulate their personal feelings and emotional requests. Such an obvious displacement between the spiritual devotion to Jesus and the sensible attachment to an absent Western priest signifies the new boundary of Christian religiosity being shaped by these village women. When indicating discontent with the institutionalization tendency of another convent, they further played upon subtle sentimental values in the religious discourse by adopting the same spiritual forces of devotion. On this occasion, private writing became an alternative means of self-empowerment for the less privileged Chinese converts to redefine their faith, passion, and collective identity in the turbulent late Qing period.

In Chapter 6, Anthony Clark takes a different angle to explore the drastic change of Chinese views on the Franciscan mission in Shanxi before and after the Boxer Uprising. He makes extensive use of archival sources from late Qing provincial and missionary ecclesial collections to put together a two-sided narrative of what occurred during the fevered pitch of Chinese-Western antagonisms. Compared to the Jesuits' strategic adaptations to Chinese elite culture in the seventeenth century, the Franciscan mission rather followed a not very friendly fundamentalist approach to preaching

among lower-class Chinese people. The increased frictions between the God of the West and indigenous Chinese gods finally led to a great conflict in 1900, one that signaled widespread resistance to Western invasion and control over China. From the words of anti-Christian officials and literati, Clark unfolds their willful misreading of Christianity as a heterodox religion, e.g., bearing a rebellious nature, involving black magic, and destroying the five human relations. He is of the opinion that the Franciscan mission in Shanxi at the turn of the century was largely mystified by late Qing political discourses and cultural mores. Ironically enough, right after the occupation of Beijing by the Eight-Nation Alliance, hostile views were radically changed by the new governor of Shanxi, who upheld the exact opposite stance and claimed Christianity to be an orthodox and victimized religion. By carefully tracing the dramatic fast-changing Chinese views, Clark brings to light another vivid example of how the same religious identity might be misread and represented in a sequence of ideologically sensitive exchanges between the *self* and the *other*.

The last chapter, by Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye, concludes this volume with a critical reflection on the complicated notions of modernity propagated through the flourishing Christian print culture in late Qing and early Republican China. The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century encounter between China and the West, Inouye argues, was far more complex than a one-way influx of “modern” products, ideas, or technologies into China. It carried a distinctively in-between character, as can be seen through bidirectional flows of charisma and cultural exchange. As far as Christian print culture is concerned, Western missionaries had introduced modern print technology to China in the first half of the nineteenth century. This advanced technology was not only a symbol of the scientific ethos of rationalistic modernity, but also a convenient and widely utilized tool for propagating charismatic Christian practices such as prayers for particularistic protection, healing, and ecstatic worship. Those miracle stories appeared side by side with the political, economic, and scientific discourses, in the *Church News*, the *Chinese Christian Intelligencer*, and other nationally distributed Christian publications. The coexistence of technological advancements and supernatural experiences easily gave rise to a paradoxical in-between situation, where multiple expressions of modernity (or “competing modernities” in Inouye’s words) could be attached to both old and new ideas frequently crossing the borders of cultural, religious, and material entities. Following her arguments on late Qing Christian printing, Inouye presents further evidence for the overlooked plural form of modernity from yet another angle, i.e., Western missionaries’ adoption of the backward-progressive assumption to draw an imagined boundary between the Christian doctrine and Chinese popular religion. According to Inouye, the true motive behind the missionaries’ vigorous critique of Chinese popular religion was not a modern scientific agenda to root out irrationality and superstition but rather a traditionalist campaign to police the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable expressions of

supernatural belief and practice. Understandably, we come across the ironic juxtaposition of “false” traditional Chinese miracles and “true” Christian miracles, embracing a similar mode of religious efficacy but ending with contradictory appraisals. This, according to Inouye, signals the emergence of a type of in-between space for different and competing ideological paradigms. Through her in-depth analysis of the obvious paradoxes embedded in the late Qing Chinese-Christian encounter, Inouye makes it clear that modernity should not be simply seen as a fixed border between rational/irrational, scientific/superstitious, secular/religious, or other dichotomies. Rather, it involves changeable social-cultural forms, different ways to conceptualize worldly or supernatural experiences, and vital mechanisms that continued to redefine the new boundaries between the *self* and the *other*.

Whether we have already entered into a *glocalized* world remains a subject of considerable discussion and dispute, but the seven studies collected in this volume can give us a glimpse of how the Christian intersection of China and the West in the modern era has undergone a complex process of two-way perceptions, representations, and imaginations. The boundary-crossing words, beliefs, and experiences demonstrated the interactiveness and interdependence of Chinese and Western peoples not only among themselves but also within a larger global community. The distinctive “in-betweenness” of their intercultural exchanges, as these studies suggest, may enlighten further research on the historical formation of today’s world and our multiple understandings of it.

## Contributors

**Anthony E. Clark** is an associate professor of Chinese history at Whitworth University. His recent research focuses on Catholic Christianity in late Qing China. He has published *Heaven in Conflict: Franciscans and the Boxer Uprising in Shanxi* (University of Washington Press, 2015), *China's Saints: Catholic Martyrdom during the Qing (1644–1911)* (Lehigh University Press, 2011), *Ban Gu's History of Early China* (Cambria, 2008), and two edited volumes, *A Voluntary Exile: Chinese Christianity and Cultural Confluence since 1652* (Lehigh University Press, 2014), and *Beating Devils and Burning Their Books: Views of China, Japan, and the West* (University of Michigan Press/Association for Asian Studies, 2010).

**Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye** is a lecturer in Asian Studies at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. Her research interests include the history of religion and morality in China, charismatic religious experience, global Christianity, Mormon studies, and the history of women and religion. She is currently finishing a book manuscript on the history of the True Jesus Church and Chinese Christianity in the twentieth century.

**John T. P. Lai** is an associate professor in the Department of Cultural and Religious Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. His research interest focuses on Chinese Christian literature. He has published *Negotiating Religious Gaps: The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China* (Monumenta Serica, 2012), *The Afterlife of a Classic: A Critical Study of the Late-Qing Chinese Translations of the Pilgrim's Progress* (Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, 2012, in Chinese), *The Doctrine of Redemption: The Collected Christian Novels of Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff* (CCLM Publishing, 2013, in Chinese), and *The Chronicles of Christian Publishing Enterprise in China (1860–1911)* (Chinese Christian Literature Council, 2015, in Chinese).

**Ji Li** is an assistant professor in the School of Modern Languages and Cultures and the Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, the University of Hong Kong. Her research interests focus on the social, cultural, and religious history

of late imperial and modern China, with a particular emphasis on Christianity in China and cross-cultural studies between China and France. She has published a book titled *God's Little Daughters: Catholic Women in Nineteenth-Century Manchuria* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).

**Nikolay Samoylov** is a professor in the Faculty of Oriental Studies, head of the Department of Theory of Asian and African Social Development, and director of the Center for Chinese Studies at St. Petersburg State University. He works mainly on the history of East Asian countries and the history of Sino-Russian relations, especially the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in late imperial China. He has published more than 150 articles and books (mostly in Russian).

**Song Gang** is an associate professor in the School of Chinese, the University of Hong Kong. He has broad interests in the cultural exchanges between China and the West in history, and his research mainly focuses on Christianity in late imperial China. He has published a number of articles in this field. He also has two forthcoming books, one on late Ming Christian-Confucian dialogism and the other on Catholic Bible translations in Qing China.

**David Francis Urrows** is an associate professor of music at the Hong Kong Baptist University. His research and teaching focuses on music history, including the history of the pipe organ in China and nineteenth-century studies on German émigré musicians in the United States. He is the author of *Keys to the Kingdom: A History of the Pipe Organ in China* (Leuven Chinese Studies Series, Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, Leuven, Belgium, forthcoming), the co-author of *Randall Thompson: A Bio-Bibliography* (Greenwood, 1991), and the editor of a three-volume critical edition of the music of German-American composer Otto Dresel (A-R Editions, 2002–15).

**Thijs Weststeijn** is professor of art history of the early modern period at Utrecht University, where he chairs the research project *The Chinese Impact: Images and Ideas of China in the Dutch Golden Age* (2014–19). He has published widely on Dutch art of the seventeenth century, including *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius (1591–1677)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015).

# Index

- Académie Royale des Sciences, 33  
Academy of Fine Arts (Russia), 45  
Aesop, 16  
Africa, 18, 67  
Alacoque, Marguerite-Marie, 78–80, 83, 89  
Albazin (in Beijing), 38  
Aleni, Giulio, 27n92, 50  
Alexander I, 44  
Alexy (Vinogradov), Hieromonk, 44  
Allen, Young J., 110  
Amsterdam, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20,  
22, 25, 26, 33n121  
Anglo-Chinese College, 72  
anti-Christian (anti-foreign), 91, 93, 95, 98  
Antwerp, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 22  
apostasy, 95, 100–102  
Arundel, Countess of, 33n121  
August the Strong, 33n121  
Avvakum (Chestnoj), 46
- Bahr, Florian, 54  
Barthes, Roland, 52n8  
Batavia, 19, 25, 72  
Bauer, Andrew, 100–101  
Bayle, Pierre, 31  
Becanus, Willem, 22  
beheading, 102  
Beijing (北京), 11, 13, 14, 18, 25, 28, 37, 38,  
39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 56,  
95, 100, 103, 118  
Belinsky, Vissarion, 42  
Benkendorff, Alexander von, 41  
Bible, 30, 41, 71, 72, 107, 112, 113, 114  
*Bixie jishi* (辟邪紀實), 70, 93  
black magic, 93, 95, 96–97, 99, 102–4  
Blaeu, Johannes, 13, 21  
Bloemaert, Cornelis, 14n23  
Bodleian Library, 26  
Bouvet, Joachim, 24n80  
Boxer Uprising, 91, 93, 96–99, 103  
Boyer, Joseph, 85–86, 88  
Boyle, Robert, 26  
Brac, Albert, 27n94  
Brinck, Ernst, 15  
British East India Company, 73  
Brune, Pierre de la, 25n82  
Buddhism, 23, 38, 94, 95, 99  
Buys, Jan, 14n22
- calligraphy, 29  
Canton Trade System, 64  
Carmelite order, 85–86, 88  
Cartesianism, 30  
Catherine II (Yekaterina Alexeevna), 39  
Cen Chunxuan (岑春煊), 95, 103–4  
Central Asia, 10  
Charme, Alexandre de la, 80  
Charmoy, François Bernard, 40  
*Chibei outan* (池北偶談), 51n6  
China Inland Mission, 115  
*Chinese Christian Intelligencer* (*Tongwenbao*  
通聞報), 109, 112  
Chinese Christian Virgins, 82, 86–88. See  
*shouzhennü*  
*Chinese Monthly Magazine* (*Cha shisu meiyue*  
*tongji zhuan* 察世俗每月統記傳),  
110  
*Chinese Recorder*, 108

- Chinese Serial* (*Xia'er guanzhen* 遐邇貫珍), 110  
*chinoiserie*, 32, 93  
 Chmutov, Ivan, 46  
*Church News* (*Jiaohui xinbao* 教會新報), 109, 112  
 Church of the Immaculate Conception, 95  
 Cixi (慈禧), Empress Dowager, 98–99, 102  
 Clerc, Jean le, 25  
 Cleyer, Andreas, 12n14, 26  
 Cnobbaert, Michiel, 13  
 Cohong System, 64  
 Collegio dei Cinesi, 34n126  
 Collegio Romano (College in Rome), 13  
 Comenius, Jan Amos, 18, 20  
 Confucianism, 3, 21, 94, 95–96, 102  
     Confucian classics, 3, 20–26  
     Confucius, 11, 13, 21, 22–25, 31, 97  
     *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, 3, 21–25, 32  
 Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 14  
 Coudrin, Pierre-Marie-Joseph, 79  
 Counter-Reformation, 78–79, 89  
 Couplet, Philippe, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33  
 Coxinga, 13n19. *See* Zheng Chenggong  
 Croiset, Jean, 80  
 Cruyl, Lieven, 14n23  
 Cunha, Simon de. *See* Wu Li  
  
 Daoguang (道光) Emperor, 44  
 Daoism, 23, 94, 97, 99  
*Dayingguo renshi lüeshuo* (大英國人事略說), 73  
*Dayingguo tongzhi* (大英國統志), 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74  
 Decker, Coenraet, 14n23  
 Deleuze, Léopold, 56  
 Deng Tingzhen (鄧廷楨), 61  
 Dentrecolles, Francois Xavier, 80  
 devil. *See* Satan  
 Dominicus (Martino Martini's Chinese assistant), 17  
 Douai, 12, 14n26  
 Dresden, 33n121  
 Dunch, Ryan, 107  
  
 Dutch Republic, 11  
     and *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, 21–22  
     and the Jesuits, 12–15  
 Dutch United East India Company (VOC), 10, 12, 13, 15  
 Du women and letters, 81–86  
 Dyakonov, Osip, 39  
  
*Eastern Western Monthly Magazine*  
     (*Dongxiyang kao meiyue tongji zhuan*  
     東西洋考每月統記傳), 73, 110  
 ecclesiastical colony, 77, 80, 89  
 ecstatic worship, 115  
 Edelheer, Jacob, 17  
 Edwards, Ebenezer Henry, 91  
 Egypt, 18, 24n80, 30, 32  
 Eight-Nation Alliance, 7  
 Erasmus, 16  
 Eurocentric, 6, 42  
 execution, 93, 96, 99, 101–2, 103  
  
 Fengtian (奉天), 114  
 Fo (佛), 38  
 Formosa. *See* Taiwan  
 Four Seas (*sibai* 四海), 5, 67  
 Frähn, Martin, 40  
 Franciscan friars, 94–96, 97, 99–105  
 Francllet, Jean Baptiste, 82  
 Free Society of Science and Arts, 43  
 Fu Manchu, 92  
 fundamentalist, 108  
 Fuzhou (福州), 13n19, 115  
  
 Gallifet, Père de, 87  
 Gaubil, Antoine, 80  
 gazetteer, 95  
 Ghent, 14n26  
 God of Wealth, 117  
 Golius, Jacob, 15, 17, 18  
 Gravius, Daniel, 19  
 Great Britain, 5–6, 60, 65, 66–74, 99  
 Grimaldi, Filippo, 27n94  
 Grotius, Hugo, 11, 18, 30  
 Guangxu (光緒) Emperor, 98  
 Guangzhou (Canton), 9, 10, 76, 110  
*guoshi* (國師), 44

- Gützlaff, Karl Friedrich August, 5–6, 59, 60, 61, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 110
- Gu Yanwu (顧炎武), 63
- hagiographies, 91, 93
- Hallerstein, Augustin von, 53
- Hamme, Petrus van, 12n14
- Hangzhou (杭州), 115
- Harderwijk, 18
- harmoniums, 56
- harpichord, 49
- Hartoghvelt, Ignatius, 13
- Heathenism, 120
- Hebrew, 17, 18, 24, 30, 31, 32
- heterodox doctrine, 93–94, 95, 100–103
- Heurnius, Justus, 19
- Heurnius, Otto, 15
- hieroglyphs, 18
- Hipwell, W. E., 92
- Holy Family, 79–80
- Hooghe, Romeyn de, 14n23
- Hoorn, Pieter van, 25, 33
- Hornius, Georg, 18, 31
- Horthemels, Daniel, 22
- Huangdi (黃帝, the Yellow Emperor), 32
- Hugo, Herman, 16, 18
- Huixian (徽縣), 116
- Hulan (呼蘭), 87
- Hunan (湖南), 93, 117
- Hyde, Thomas, 26
- Iakin (Bichurin), Archimandrite, 40–43
- idolatry, 119–20
- Igorev, Leo, 46
- Immaculate Heart of Mary, 79, 80, 86–87
- imperialism, 94
- in-between(ness), 2–3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 43, 47, 48, 58, 77, 89, 90, 106, 109, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122
- Intorcetta, Prospero, 21n64
- Islam, 18
- Jansenist, 78–79
- Janssonius, Johannes, 22
- Japan, 28
- Jardine, Matheson & Co., 73
- Jardine, William, 73
- Java, 34n128
- Jellachich, Franz, 44
- Jiangzhou (絳州), 93–94, 102
- Jinling Theological Seminary, 116
- Judaism, 18
- Kaiser Wilhelm II, 93
- Kangxi (康熙) Emperor, 9, 27, 34, 38, 55, 70
- Karamzin, Nikolay, 44
- Karsavin, Kondratii, 46
- Kim Ch'ang-öp (김창업 / 金昌業), 52–53
- Kircher, Athanasius, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 27
- Kneller, Godfried, 26
- Korea, visitors from, 52
- Kouduo richao* (口鐸日抄), 50n4
- Kovalevskiy, Yegor, 46
- Krylov, Ivan, 40
- Laegh, Willem van der, 14n23
- Laet, Johannes de, 15, 18
- Lagot, Ignatius, 27n94
- Lairesse, Gerard de, 14n23
- Laizhou (萊州), 116
- Lama* (喇嘛), 38
- Lees, Jonathan, 119
- Legashov, Anton, 45
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 19, 33
- Leiden, 17, 30
- Leont'ev, Aleksei, 39
- Leontevsky, Zakhar, 44
- letterpress printing, 110
- Liang Di (梁迪), 51, 56, 57
- Liaozhong (遼中), Liaoning (遼寧)
- Liebstein, Leopold, 52
- Li Jiubiao (李九標), 50
- Lindsay, Hugh Hamilton, 73
- Lipovtsov, Stepan, 43
- Lipsius, Justus, 16
- Li Shiyao (李侍堯), 64
- Liu Dapeng (劉大鵬), 95–97, 99–100, 102
- Li Wenyu (李問漁), 112
- London Missionary Society, 44, 72, 110, 118, 119
- Lord Zheng, 116
- Louis XIV, 26, 34n126
- Low Countries, 3, 10–15, 21, 25, 27, 32–34



- Lu Kun (盧坤), 63  
*Luocha* (羅剎), 38
- Maastricht, 27n94  
 Macartney, Lord George, 56, 61  
 Macau, 9, 14, 48, 50–51  
 Madre de Deus, church of (Macau), 50, 51  
 magic lantern (magick-lantern), 28  
 Mailla, Joseph Anne-Marie de Moyriac de, 80  
 Majoribanks, Charles, 73  
 Manchu, 15  
   Manchu Fulahe, 39  
   Manchu language, 20, 37, 29, 40, 43, 44  
   Manchu people, 39, 45  
   Manchu region (Manchuria), 82, 85, 87  
   Manchuria Mission, 82, 87  
 Martini, Martino, 12, 13, 17, 21, 30  
 massacre, 91–93, 100n35  
 mass-mechanized printing, 109  
 Matham, Theodoor, 14n23  
 Matheson, James, 73  
 Mechlin, 13, 14n26  
 Medhurst, Walter Henry, 72  
 Mei Yingzuo (梅膺祚), 17n40  
 Mentzel, Christian, 26  
 Meurs, Jacob van, 13  
 miracles, 107  
 miracle stories, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118  
 Missions étrangères de Paris (MEP), 79,  
   81–83, 85, 88  
 modernist, 108  
 modernity, 107, 118  
 Mongols, 32n117  
 Moretus, Balthasar, 17n43  
 Morrison, Robert, 72, 110  
 Moses, 24  
 movable type, 110  
 Müller, Andreas, 26  
 Munnichuysen, Jean van, 14n23
- Namur, 13  
 Nanjing Incident, 49  
*Nantang* (南堂, South Church, Beijing), 52,  
   53n10, 53–54  
 Naples, 34n126  
 Nazareth, Béatrice de, 78
- Netherlands, 10–11, 12, 12n14, 12n15,  
   13–16, 26, 28, 30  
 Netherlands Missionary Society, 72  
 Nieuhof, Johan, 13, 28  
 Noël, François, 33  
 Northeast Passage, 9  
 Novaya Zemlya, 9
- Odoevsky, Vladimir, 40, 42  
 Olenin, Alexey, 40  
 Opium War, 60, 66, 94, 99, 102  
*Ouluoba zhuzhici* (歐羅巴竹枝詞), 53  
 Oxford, 26
- Pak Chi Won (박지원 / 朴趾源), 53n10  
 Palladiy (Kafarov), Archimandrite, 40  
 Papenbroeck, Daniel, 14, 16n33  
 Paris, 22, 26, 82  
 Paris Asia Society, 41, 43  
 Passe, Crispijn van de, 14n23  
 Pauw, Cornelis de, 34n127  
 Pentecostal, 119–20, 121  
 Pereira, Tomás, 27n94, 52  
 Peter (Kamensky), Archimandrite, 40  
 Peter the Great, 37  
 Petlin, Ivan, 36  
 Philemon, Ierodiakon, 39  
 Philippines, pipe organs from, 56  
 pipe organ, 48–58  
   as *fengqin* (風琴), 49  
   as machine, 49  
   as *xiqin* (西琴), 50  
   Gray and Davison, 56  
   Rieger-Kloss, 57  
 Polo, Marco, 18n46, 29  
 Pope Innocent X, 78  
 Pope Pius XI, 78  
 Pourquoié, Dominique Maurice, 6, 81–86,  
   88  
*prisca philosophia*, 24, 30  
 Pronk, Cornelis, 10n7  
 Pushkin, Alexander, 41, 42
- Qianlong (乾隆) Emperor, 56, 61  
*Qianyuan suoji* (潛園瑣記), 96  
 Qing Empire, 37, 39, 45, 47, 96, 99, 102, 105  
 Qu Dajun (屈大均), 10, 50

- ratio studiorum*, 14  
 Ravary, François, 56  
 red-haired barbarians (*hongmao fan* 紅毛番), 3, 10, 10n8  
 red-haired devils (*hongmao gui* 紅毛鬼), 62  
 Red Lanterns, 103  
 Reland, Adriaan, 18  
 Religious Tract Society, 72  
 Rembrandt, 26  
 Renaissance, 11  
*Review of the Times* (*Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報), 111, 112  
 Ricci, Matteo, 12, 27, 28, 49, 53, 93  
 Rohmer, Sax, 92  
 Rossokhin, Illarion, 39, 44  
 Rougemont, François de, 13, 22  
 Royal Society of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, 43  
 Rudamina, Andrzej, 50  
 Russian Academy of Sciences, 41, 43, 44  
 Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing, 37–40  
 Russian Foreign Ministry, 40  
  
 Sacred Heart of Jesus, 76–90  
     Cathedral of, 76–77, 81, 89  
     devotion in China, 79–81  
     devotion to, 77–81  
 Sacred Heart of Mary, 80, 85–88  
 Saint Petersburg, 4, 34n126, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45  
 Saint Petersburg University, 40, 44  
 Salmasius, Claudius, 30  
*Sanzijing* (三字經), 41  
 Sas, Theodorus, 12n14  
 Satan, 92  
 Scaliger, Joseph, 15, 30  
 Schilling, Pavel, 42  
 Second Vatican Council, 79  
 Senkovsky, Osip, 40  
 Septuagint, 31n111, 32  
 Shandong Revival, 115  
 Shanghai (上海), 20, 56  
*Shanghai Journal* (*Shenbao* 申報), 111  
 Shen Fuzong, Michael, 21, 25, 26  
*Shengxin guitiao* (聖心規條), 80  
*Shengyu guangxun* (聖諭廣訓), 70  
  
 Shen Que (沈淮), 49  
 Shenyang (瀋陽), 81, 88  
*Shifei luelun* (是非畧論), 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74  
*shouzhennü* (守貞女), 82. *See* Chinese Christian Virgins  
*Shuzui zhi dao zhuan* (贖罪之道傳), 70  
 Sibyls, 24, 25n81  
 Simon, Philibert, 85  
 Sinkan language, 15, 19  
 Sino-barbarian dichotomy (*Hua-Yi zhi bian* 華夷之辨), 1, 5, 61  
 Sinocentric mentality, 1  
 Sinology, 3, 4, 14, 37, 40–41  
 Sinophile, 33, 34, 42  
 Sioertsma, Anthonie Heeres, 14n23  
 Siraya language, 19  
 Smidt, Frans de, 14n22  
 Smith, T. Howard, 119  
 Smotritsky, Meletij, 39  
 sociocultural interactions, 35–37  
 Sophronius (Gribovsky), Archimandrite, 44  
 sorcery. *See* black magic  
 Spinoza, 31  
 St. Bernard, 87  
 St. Gertrude de Great, 78  
 St. Louis, church of (Tianjin), 57  
 St. Lutgarde d'Aywières, 78  
 St. Paul, church of (Macau). *See* Madre de Deus  
 superstitious. *See* black magic  
  
 Taiwan (台灣), 9, 19, 88  
 Taiyuan (太原), 92, 94–95, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103  
 Talbot, Aletheia. *See* Arundel, Countess of temple worship, 92  
 Thévenot, Melchisédech, 26  
 Thomas, Antoine, 13, 14n26, 20, 27  
 Tianjin (天津), 57, 119  
 Tournon, Charles-Thomas Maillard, 34  
 Treaty of Kyakhta, 37  
 tributary, 5, 61, 66, 67  
 Trigault, Michel, 94  
 Trigault, Nicolas, 12, 16, 17, 19, 28, 93  
 Trismegistus, 25n81  
 Tsar Nicolas I, 42

- Tushanwan (土山灣), 111  
Twin Pagoda Temple, 95
- Universal Circulating Herald (Xunbuan ribao*  
循環日報), 110  
Universal Flood, 30, 31n111
- Vagnone, Alphonse, 94  
Vasiliev, Vasilii, 40  
Veniamin (Morachevich), Archimandrite,  
42, 45  
Verbiest, Ferdinand, 12, 20, 27, 33, 34, 50  
Verrolles, Emmanuel-Jean-François, 87  
Vietnamese language, 18  
Vlierden, Henrik van, 27n94  
VOC. *See* Dutch United East India Company  
Vondel, Joost van den, 11, 33  
Vossius, Gerard, 15, 17  
Vossius, Isaac, 29, 31, 33  
Voyekov, Luka, 39  
Voytshovsky, Osip, 45  
Vulcanius, Bonaventura, 15
- Wang Linheng (王臨亨), 48–49, 57, 58, 62  
Wang Shizhen (王士禎), 51  
Wanli (萬曆) Emperor, 49  
Warwijck, Wybrand van, 15n31  
Wei Yuan (魏源), 69  
Wenzhou (溫州), 114  
Weyerman, Jacob Campo, 33n125  
Wilkins, John, 18  
William IV, 6, 68  
Witsen, Nicolaes, 10, 26, 33  
Wu Changyuan (吳長元), 54n12  
Wu Li (吳歷), 29n102  
Wu Pu, 15
- Xavier, Henri, 27n94  
Xi'an (西安), 114  
*Xiaobajiazi* (小八家子), 87
- xiao shennü* (小神女), 81  
*Xifang dawen* (西方答問), 50  
*Xifang yaoji* (西方要紀), 50  
*Xiru* (西儒), 94  
*Xitangji: Waiguo zhuzhici* (西堂集：外國  
竹枝詞), 51  
Xu Bomei (許播美), 107  
Xu, Candida, 20  
Xujiahui (徐家匯). *See* Zikawei  
xylography, 110
- yamen* courtyard, 95, 99, 100n35, 101, 104  
*Yanpu zaji* (簷曝雜記), 54n12  
Yenjing Diary. *See* *Yōnhaeng ilgi*  
YMCA, 107  
Yongzheng (雍正) Emperor, 38  
*Yōnhaeng ilgi* (燕行日記／연행일기),  
53n10  
You Tong (尤侗), 53, 54, 56  
Yuan Chang (袁昶), 98  
*Yue jian bian* (粵劍編), 48n1, 62n11  
Yuwu (余吾), 115  
Yuxian (毓賢), 92–93, 95–96, 97, 98–100,  
101–2, 103–4
- Zhang Daoling (張道陵), 97  
Zhao Yi (趙翼), 53–54, 55, 56, 57  
Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功), 9. *See*  
Coxinga  
Zheng Xianchen (鄭獻琛), 62  
*Zheng xie bijiao* (正邪比較), 70  
*Zhifang waiji* (職方外紀), 50  
Zhou Meiyue (周美俞), 26  
Zhu Xi (朱熹), 39  
Zikawei, 56, 112. *See* Xujiahui  
*Zizhi Tongjian Gangmu* (資治通鑑綱目),  
39  
Zoes, Gerard, 14n22  
Zou Yigui (鄒一桂), 29n102  
*zuoshizhe* (作史者), 44