Landscape executed in the style of Zhao Danian / scroll / colour on paper / 58.6cx35.5 cm.

Wu Li
In Search of the "Western Lantern"

Christina Miu Bing Cheng*

INTRODUCTION

Wu Li 吴历 (1632-1718), also known as Wu Yushan 吴渔山, was an accomplished painter, poet and calligrapher. Critics and art historians have hailed him as one of the "Six Masters of the Early Qing" of the Orthodox School of Chinese painting.[1] The "Orthodox School" was also known as the Southern School, as this group of scholar-official painters favoured the gentle and misty scenery of the areas around Lake Tai 太湖 in Jiangsu 江苏 province, located in southern China.[2] Almost all the literati painters of the Orthodox School focused on the study of the classical forms and structures of ancient paintings. They concentrated on the works of the great masters who lived prior to the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), in order to avoid any political persecution by the newly established Qing dynasty (1644-1911). The golden era of the Orthodox School was during the second half of the seventeenth century, when the "Six Masters of the Early Qing" rose to prominence in the art world. Their dominant "orthodox" status ultimately overshadowed those who strove to attain artistic excellence outside the mainstream.

Wu Li was born into a chaotic era, when the Ming dynasty was under siege from both internal rebels and foreign invaders. He was only thirteen years old when the Manchus took over the throne from the Ming court in 1644. The fall of the Ming dynasty into the hands of these foreign invaders was followed by brutal massacres in Yangzhou 扬州, Jiading 嘉定, and Jiangyin 江阴, not to mention humiliating forms of cultural oppression.[3] The newly established Qing Empire must have been aware of hostile feelings on the part of the general public. Hence, they employed heavy-handed censorship on scholarship and on literature of all forms that contained provocative ideas or signs of contempt for the new rulers. For this reason, like most literati elites, Wu Li diverted his expressive genius to the established format and style of painting. He emulated the archaic style that can be traced back to the Tang dynasty (618-906). He was particularly noted for painting landscapes in the manner of Wang Meng 王蒙 (c. 1308-1385) and Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374), both of the Yuan Dynasty. Their stylistic influences were expressed in Wu Li's densely textured rocky masses and compact composition. His interests extended to

* 郑妙冰 Received her Ph.D. in Comparative Literature, M.A. in Literary Studies, and B.A. (Hons) from the University of Hong Kong. Honorary Research Fellow at Centre of Asian Studies. Author of *Macao: A Cultural Janus* (1999) and a number of articles on Macao and Hong Kong.

Doutoramento em Literatura Comparada, Mestrado em Estudos Literários e Bacharelato em Artes (Hon.) pela Universidade de Hong Kong. Membro Honorário de Pesquisa no Centro de Estudos Asiáticos, também em Hong Kong. Autora de Macao: A Cultural Janus *(1999) e de diversos artigos sobre Macau e Hong Kong.*

the painting styles of both the Northern and the Southern Schools, thus enabling him to attain stylistic versatility in his work.

Painting was the safest form of artistic creation, in the sense that it provoked the least surveillance and suspicion from the Manchus. But, needless to say, the political and social chaos had an immense impact on Wu's intellectual and spiritual pursuits. Throughout his life, he had yearned for a "Land of Peach Blossoms"—a paradise on earth—and had ventured to discover life's truths in different schools of thoughts. In his early life, he was in close contact with Buddhist monks and Daoist friends. It was not until around the age of forty-five years old that he drew closer to the Christian converts and Jesuits in Changshu. At the age of fifty, he arrived in Macao to study the Western *Tao* 道, that is, Christianity. Wu Li's travel to Macao not only opened up a new horizon of contacts with Western culture, but also provided his innovative mind with a chance to explore new forms of religious fulfilment. Metaphorically, he was searching for a "Western lantern" to revivify his religious vision and illuminate his inner self. The lantern or the lamp symbolizes intelligence, learning, immortality, guidance, knowledge, and above all, the word of God (Olderr, 1986:77 and Vries, 1976:290).

Wu lived in a time when religious syncretism[4] among the Three Teachings had become a prevalent phenomenon in China, and when the Rites Controversy was poised to break apart the Catholic Church along faultlines of theological sectarianism. This paper traces Wu Li's religious experience and focuses on his fervent quest for spiritual awakening among the various religious systems he explored. After he entered the Jesuit seminary in Macao as a novice, and later as God's "shepherd" in China, he composed an extensive collection of poems and verses about his inner journey to enlightenment. These literary texts give us a lucid portrayal of his struggle to lead an authentic and meaningful life. As he had once been a syncretic believer in the Three Teachings, did he become a religious traitor when he converted to Christianity? What Macao did he see, and how did Macao serve as a religious centre in his time? How did he survive the lonely days as a rural priest in his final years? Would the "Western lantern" he found truly light up his life and fulfil his dream of attaining spiritual transcendence?

A HIGHLY CIVILIZED CITY

Wu Li was born in Changshu 常熟, Jiangsu province. Changshu was a prosperous place and had a long tradition of cultural accomplishment. It was a highly civilized city, which in many aspects was an excellent example of the Confucian elite culture of the time. Its historical importance was also enhanced by its status as the hometown of Yan Yan 言偃, also known as Yan Ziyou 言子游 (b. 506 BC). Yan Yan was an outstanding disciple of Confucius (551-479 B.C.), some forty-five years his junior. Given his scholarly proficiency, he was given an honourable name, Yanzi 言子 (Master Yan). In the town centre stood two temples dedicated to Yan Yan: an ancestor temple, called Ziyou Ci 子游祠, and a house temple, called Ziyou Jiamiao 子游家庙. On the outskirts of town was Yan Yan's tomb. Most significantly, near the Wenxue Bridge 文学桥 in Ziyou Lane 子游巷 stood the old house of Yanzi, right next to Wu Li's house, where the Wu family had resided for generations since the beginning of the Yuan dynasty (Chen, 1937: 2b-3a). Inside Yanzi's house, there was a famous well. As the water was like ink, with a fragrance that could seep into the heart, the well was called the *Yanzi Mojing* 言子墨井 (the Ink Well of Master Yan), or *Shengjing* 圣井 (the Holy Well) (Li 1909:7). The Ink Well perhaps alludes to a source of literary inspiration and is emblematic of literati culture. As we can see, Changshu was a culturally dynamic city sprinkled with the vestiges of Yanzi (Fig. 1) and immersed in Confucian pride. Yanzi also came to be Changshu's enduring icon.

At the end of the Ming dynasty, however, Yanzi's historic house – a prominent symbol of Confucianism – was converted into a Roman Catholic church (Chen, 1937:2b). The transformation of this Confucian residence into a church metonymically foreshadowed Wu Li's conversion to Catholicism. In his study on Wu Li, Lin Xiaoping states that he converted to Christianity in the mid-1670's (Lin, 2001:xvii, 61). However, a letter dated 3 October 1688 from the first Chinese bishop of the Catholic Church, Luo Wenzao 罗文藻, baptised as Gregory Lopez),[5] to the Holy Council in Rome reveals that Wu Li had been Catholic when he was a boy:

"On 1st August of this year, with God's grace, I was able to ordain three Chinese Jesuits to the

priesthood. The second person is Simon-Xavier a Cunha, in Chinese known as Wu Li, a native of Changshu of the Province of Jiangsu. *He was baptized when he was a boy…* was married twice; joined the Society of Jesus at the age of 51; received ordination to priesthood at the age of 57". (Tam, 1986:66, emphasis mine)[6]

At exactly what age Wu Li was baptized is not stated, but Bishop Luo's account of Wu's early baptism should be credible. The location of his house, immediately next to a church, might have imprinted on his mind a "foreign" religion and familiarized him with a Western presence in that traditional Chinese community.

Not only was Wu Li introduced to Christianity as a result of the geographical accident of proximity to a church, but he was also able to receive a good education from a group of prominent scholars who were either local residents or hailed from neighbouring districts. He studied painting with the two leading landscape masters—Wang Shimin 王时敏 (1592-1680)[7] and Wang Jian 王鉴 (1598-1677)—two of the "Six Masters of Early Qing"; poetry with Qian Qianyi 钱谦益 (1582-1664); music (the lute) with Chen Min 陈岷 (active 1643-1654); and Neo-Confucianism 理学 (*lixue*) and literature with Chen Hu 陈瑚 (1613-1675). All these were great masters in their fields at that time,[8] and under their tutelage Wu Li was well trained in literary and artistic traditions. He became a full-time professional painter in the 1640's and 1650's, and was also an accomplished calligrapher, emulating the handsome calligraphic style of Su Shi 苏轼 (1036-1101). He excelled in scholarly pursuits, and his virtuosity in the arts was praised highly by both his teachers and his peers. Changshu was indeed a centre of scholarship where young Wu Li was both nurtured by the Chinese intelligentsia and impressed by Christian missionaries. This ancient city also served as a meeting point for Chinese classical knowledge and "nascent" Western science and philosophy.

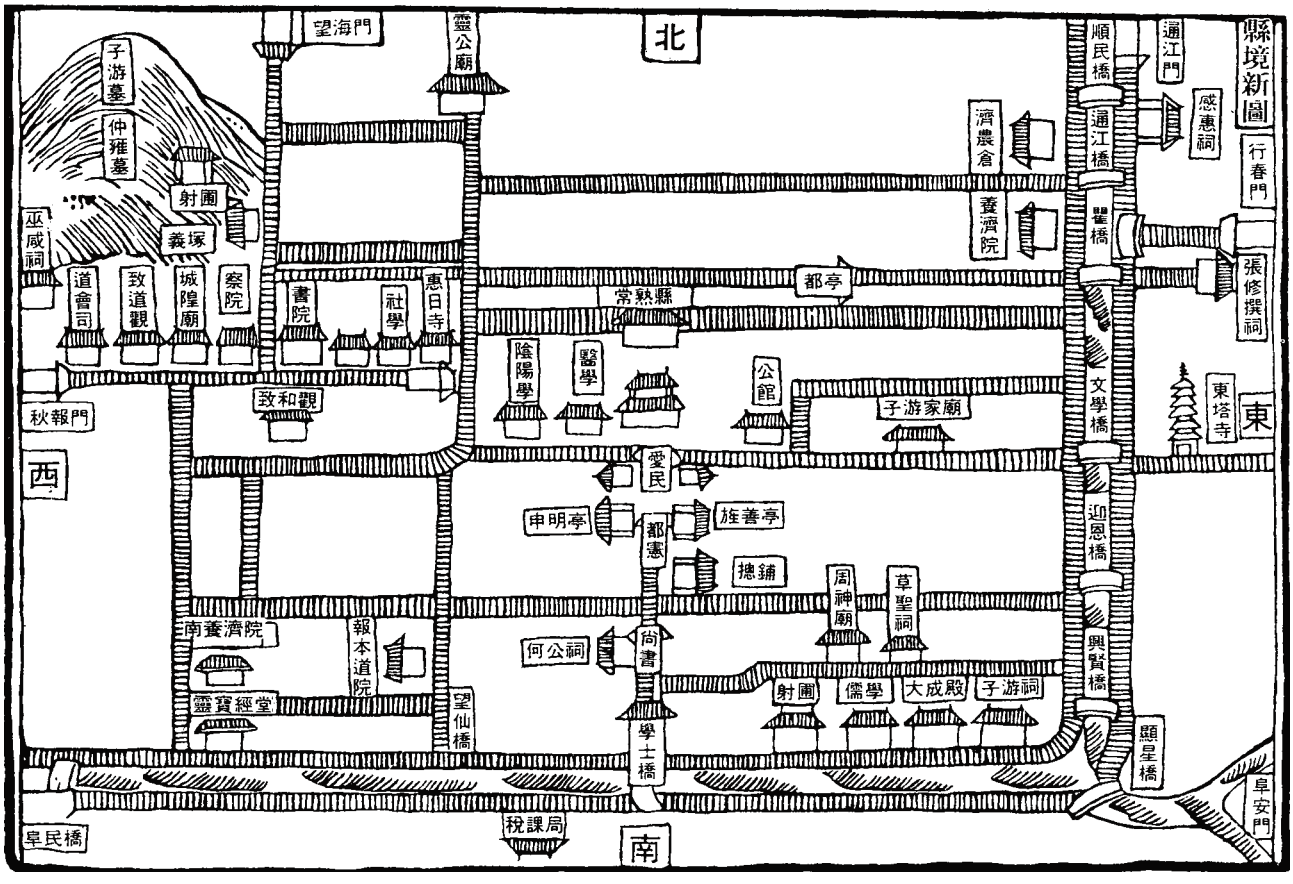

Fig. 1 – Town plan of Changshu as recorded in *Changshu Xianzhi*. Reproduced from Lawrence C. S. Tam, *Six Masters of Early Qing and Wu Li*.

A JOURNEY OF SPIRITUAL EXPLORATION

Being a traditional *wenren* 文人 (literatus), Wu Li was also a spiritual explorer. He possessed an innovative mind that incessantly explored new ways of seeing things and of reflecting upon various religious doctrines. As he was entangled in the bitter realities of political turbulence and social turmoil, he embarked on a spiritual journey to free himself from the shackles of the secular world.

Despite his early baptism, Wu Li was not a practising Catholic, and was alienated from the church. In his youth, he strove to broaden his spirituality in Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism. Even though he studied Neo-Confucianism under Chen Hu from 1659 to 1675, he adopted a Daoist theme in one of his early paintings. In 1659, at the age of twenty-eight, he painted 'Growth of Auspicious Fungi' [*Chan zhi tu*产芝图] (now in the National Museum in Kyoto). The motif of fungi is a popular Daoist symbol for longevity. Perhaps as a sign of respect and reverence to Yanzi, and certainly in order to associate the Ink Well with his artistic endeavours, Wu called himself *Mojing Daoren* 墨井道人 (Daoist/Buddhist Disciple of the Ink Well).[9] This pseudonym, which he signed to some of his artworks, embraces an amalgamation of Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist connotations.

Wu Li had long envisioned a paradise on earth, or *taoyuan* 桃源 (the Land of Peach Blossoms), and often adopted the theme of *taoyuan* in his paintings. This imaginary utopia is a direct reference to a prose piece, "Record of the Land of Peach Blossoms" [*Tao hua yuan ji* 桃花源记], written by the pastoral poet Tao Qian 陶潜 (372-427 A.D.) of the Eastern Jin 东晋 dynasty. It depicts a long-forgotten place where a group of people have retreated to lead a secluded life beyond the reach of the despotic rule of the Qin 秦 dynasty (221-206 B.C.). In this Land of Peach Blossoms, there is no war and everyone lives happy, self-sufficient lives. Wu Li's pictorial rendition of *taoyuan* illustrates his fantasy of a peaceful land, and hints at his desire to evade the autocratic rule of the new regime.

In addition, before the age of thirty, Wu composed a collection of poems grouped under the title "Taoxi ji" 桃溪集 ("Anthology of the Peach Blossom Stream") (Chen, 1937:55a).[10] *Taoxi* was actually the name of a stream at the rear of his house (Chen, 1937:29b-30a). Perhaps *taoxi* came to be a substitute for the utopia for which he yearned, because he began to use another penname, *Taoxi Jushi* 桃溪居士 ("Buddhist Devotee of the Peach Blossom Stream"), to sign his paintings. His preference for the imagery of *taoyuan* and *taoxi* may speak to his desire for a symbolic escape to a visionary Shangri-la.

In 1665, at the age of thirty-four, Wu travelled to nearby Suzhou 苏州 and became a good friend of the Buddhist abbot, Morong 墨容, of the Xingfu Monastery 兴福精舍. He stayed there for two months, and Morong may have inspired him in metaphysics, philosophy and the transience of life. In 1666, Wu painted an album of beautiful landscapes for Morong (now in the Palace Museum, Beijing) as a gesture expressing their intimate friendship. Thus before the age of forty-five, Wu had been in close contact with Buddhist monks (Fang, 1971:135), and had sought an "awakening" from this mundane life.

No doubt, Wu Li was well acquainted with Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist doctrines, and traversed the boundaries among different beliefs in order to seek divergent views from these religious systems. The religious systems of Confucianism,[11] Buddhism and Daoism have long been known in China as the *san jiao* 三教 (the Three Teachings, Three Great Religions, or Three Doctrines), and have dominated almost the entire spectrum of China's religious history. Not long before Wu Li was born, Ming China witnessed a period of spiritual renaissance, and the syncretic forces of the Three Teachings were advocated. Religious practices, beliefs, and traditions tended to react to and absorb into themselves selected elements from other philosophies and sects. The most important syncretist of this period was Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩 (1517-1598), a native of Fujian 福建 province, who zealously advanced the theories of *san jiao he yi* 三教合一 (the religious syncretism of the Three Teachings). Lin developed a well-defined system of study and practice for spiritual cultivation. It was through a process of reconciliation and the selective incorporation of diverse elements from a variety of religious praxes that a tradition emerged and was soon widely accepted.[12] This syncretic impulse soon spread to the provinces of Jiangxi and Zhejiang, and to the Nanjing region. Many literate elites at that

time, like Wu Li, were eclectics[13] and favoured the principle of religious syncretism as a way to derive the essence of a variety of doctrines and ideas. Zhang Wenqin even contends that literati in the late Ming and early Qing period were proud of their syncretic knowledge of the Three Teachings (Zhang, 2002: 157).

The Chinese syncretic accommodation neither constitutes religious treason nor does it shatter existing traditions. Rather, it is a process of religious interaction and exchange. Judith A. Berling has concisely defined religious syncretism as "the borrowing, affirmation, or integration of concepts, symbols, or practices of one religious tradition into another by a process of selection and reconciliation" (Berling, 1980:9). In this way, the dynamics of syncretism allow a reformulation and substitution of traditions in religious experience. The harmonization of the Three Teachings thus engendered toleration, compromise and respect among different belief systems. Most crucially, the Chinese syncretists believed that all doctrines were reconcilable, because in the history of humankind there was only one **Truth** (or "Way"), which had evolved into many manifestations. Hence, the Three Teachings actually taught the same Truth but in different ways. This syncretic outlook immediately puts to shame the hostile history of religious wars and persecution (as evidenced in the Crusades and the Inquisition) in the West, not to mention the calamitous Rites Controversy that raged on Chinese soil.

Lin Zhao'en was a contemporary of Francis Xavier (1506-1552); both of them dedicated themselves to pursuing spiritual truth. Xavier was the exemplification of the lofty spirit that marked the inception of Portuguese evangelisation in the East. He set out for Asia in 1541 but died on Shangchuan Island 上川岛 (or, in English, St John's) near Macao in 1552 – the very year that Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) was born. Ricci fulfilled Xavier's dream of going to the Orient to spread the word of God. In 1582, Ricci arrived at Macao, and in 1601 reached Beijing. No sooner had Ricci and the Jesuits begun their evangelising mission than the harmonization of the Three Teachings became a popular phenomenon in Ming China. For the Chinese intellectuals, the Christianity introduced by these European missionaries was merely another of the worldly doctrines that would lead to the same Truth. As Jacques Gernet has aptly pointed out:

"For the Chinese, it was more a matter of different groupings of philosophical, moral, religious and—on occasion—technological teaching. And the Chinese of the seventeenth century considered the teaching of the missionaries from precisely that point of view, giving it the very general name of *tianxue* (heavenly studies), which applied to the sciences and technology just as much as to ethics and religion". (Gernet 1985:65)

Given these syncretic attitudes, the delineation of religious faiths did not usually dominate the common people's consciousness; rather, they embraced a pantheistic spirit through religious inclusion, compromise and syncretism. As a result, most Chinese at that time would transgress religious boundaries rather than adopt a permanent religious affiliation. In this respect, Gernet goes on to argue, "What the academician Xu Guangqi 徐光启, Ricci's most famous and best educated disciple, was advocating was not the pure Christian doctrine, but an amalgamation of Confucianism and Christianity similar to that which had emerged in the sixteenth century between Confucianism and Buddhism" (Gernet, 1985:66). Wu Li's inner journey of religious exploration could perhaps reflect this specific cultural phenomenon. Like other Christian proselytes among the literate elites, he might have expected to achieve a kind of synthesis with Christianity itself. In other words, he was not a religious traitor;[14] rather he sought religious assimilation and reconciliation.

A "LOST SHEEP" RETURNED

In Europe, the sixteenth century was an era of religious repercussions. Soon after the religious revolution—the Reformation—led by Martin Luther (1483-1546) in 1517 followed the Counter-Reformation. Two of the chief manifestations of the Counter-Reformation were the foundation of the Society of Jesus by Ignatius Loyola in 1534, and the Council of Trent (1542-1563). In light of the religious reshuffling in the West, European missionaries were moved by a renewed ecclesiastical passion to turn Asia into the West's "Eastern stage" for religious reconfiguration, as the modern era began at the dawn of the seventeenth century.

In addition to Beijing, Changshu was a centre of missionary activities during the late Ming and early

Qing period. Christianity was first brought to Changshu by a Chinese convert, Qu Shigu 瞿式谷, in 1623, nine years before Wu Li was born. Qu then introduced the first foreign priest, the Italian Jesuit Jules Aleni, S.J. (known in Chinese as Ai Rulue 艾儒略), to this ancient Confucian city to launch a *mission civilisatrice*. At the time, Chinese official-scholars nicknamed Aleni "the Confucius from the West" (Lin, 2001:83). In China (and in Macao), Jesuit missionaries espoused the "Policy of Accommodation,"[15] and conformed to Chinese manners and customs for the purpose of proselytisation.

Wu Li's spiritual journey in search of enlightenment and fulfilment in life came full circle back to Catholicism, to which he had been introduced as a boy. His departure from lay Buddhism occurred when he accompanied a close friend, Xu Zhijian 许之渐 (twenty years his senior) to Beijing in the summer of 1670. Xu Zhijian, an imperial censor at the Qing court, was an acquaintance of the German Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666, known in Chinese as Tang Ruowang 汤若望), who was then serving as the director of the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy. Though Xu was not a convert, he had contacts with Christian missionaries and wrote the preface to a book, *Tian xue chuan gai* 天学传概, which advocated Christianity. During the early 1660's, Yang Guangxian 杨光先 (1597-1669), a high official in Beijing, initiated a campaign against the Western missionaries, accusing Schall and his Jesuit colleagues of plotting against the Chinese state. Consequently, in 1665 Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1662-1723), the greatest of the Manchu monarchs, issued an edict forbidding the teaching of Christian doctrines. All churches in China were forced to close and the Jesuit missionaries were expelled to Macao. Because of his involvement with the missionaries, Xu Zhijian was dismissed from the imperial court and ordered to leave Beijing. In 1669 the accusation against Schall was finally dropped. As a survivor of this political intrigue, Xu was asked to return to Beijing in 1670.

This trip to Beijing was a milestone for Wu Li. His sojourn in the imperial city (1670-1672) coincided with Kangxi's 1671 edict permitting Jesuit missionaries to return and reopen their churches. It was a new era of peace and religious toleration, following years of political turmoil and social upheaval. The capital he saw was a city of prosperity and grandeur. Moreover, he must have witnessed the Jesuits' passionate efforts to introduce scientific knowledge and Christianity. Most especially, Beijing had an impressive skyline of Baroque churches.[16] What he saw and heard in Beijing might have inspired him to seek new values that were distinct from the traditional ones he knew.

Wu Li left Beijing and returned to Changshu in 1672. He soon began to develop closer relationships with Christian friends, especially with Francois de Rougemont, S.J. (1624-1676), a Belgian Jesuit (known in Chinese as Lu Riman 鲁日满). Along with Ricci and Schall, Rougemont is considered to be part of the "generation of giants" of the seventeenth century, the generation that "laboured patiently to achieve a synthesis of Chinese and Christian culture, with respect for the understanding of the former without injury to the latter" (Dunne 1962:368). Rougemont came to China (via Macao) in 1659, and was sent to Changshu in 1662 to administer the city's religious affairs. At that time, Changshu was already a flourishing Christian city with 20,000 Catholic converts, and Rougemont alone administered fourteen churches and twenty-one chapels (Tam, 1986:42-69). However, because of the 1665 edict proscribing the preaching of Christianity, he was forced to leave Changshu and was exiled to Macao. He returned after Schall was vindicated, and made Changshu his regular residence until his death in November 1676.

The year 1676 was a turning point for Wu Li. Rougemont found this "lost sheep," and became Wu Li's "shepherd" and spiritual instructor. Extant and clearly dated records indicate that in the spring of that year, Wu Li accompanied Rougemont to visit a Mr. Chouhan 帱函先生[17] in Loushui 娄水 – a visit that was apparently of no small significance to Wu, since he inscribed a record of this visit in his celebrated landscape painting, 'Spring Scene of Lake and Sky' [*Hu tian chun se tu* 湖天春色图] (now in the Shanghai Museum) (Fig. 2). The beginning of the colophon (or inscription) reads:

"Mr Chouhan, a man of wisdom, has lived in seclusion at Loushui for a long time. I have long yearned to pay him a visit but have been unable to do so. It was not until the spring of the year [*bing*] *chen* 丙辰 (that is, 1676) that I accompanied Mr Lu 鲁先生 from the Far West 远西 to call at this gentleman's house…" (Chen, 1937:22b)

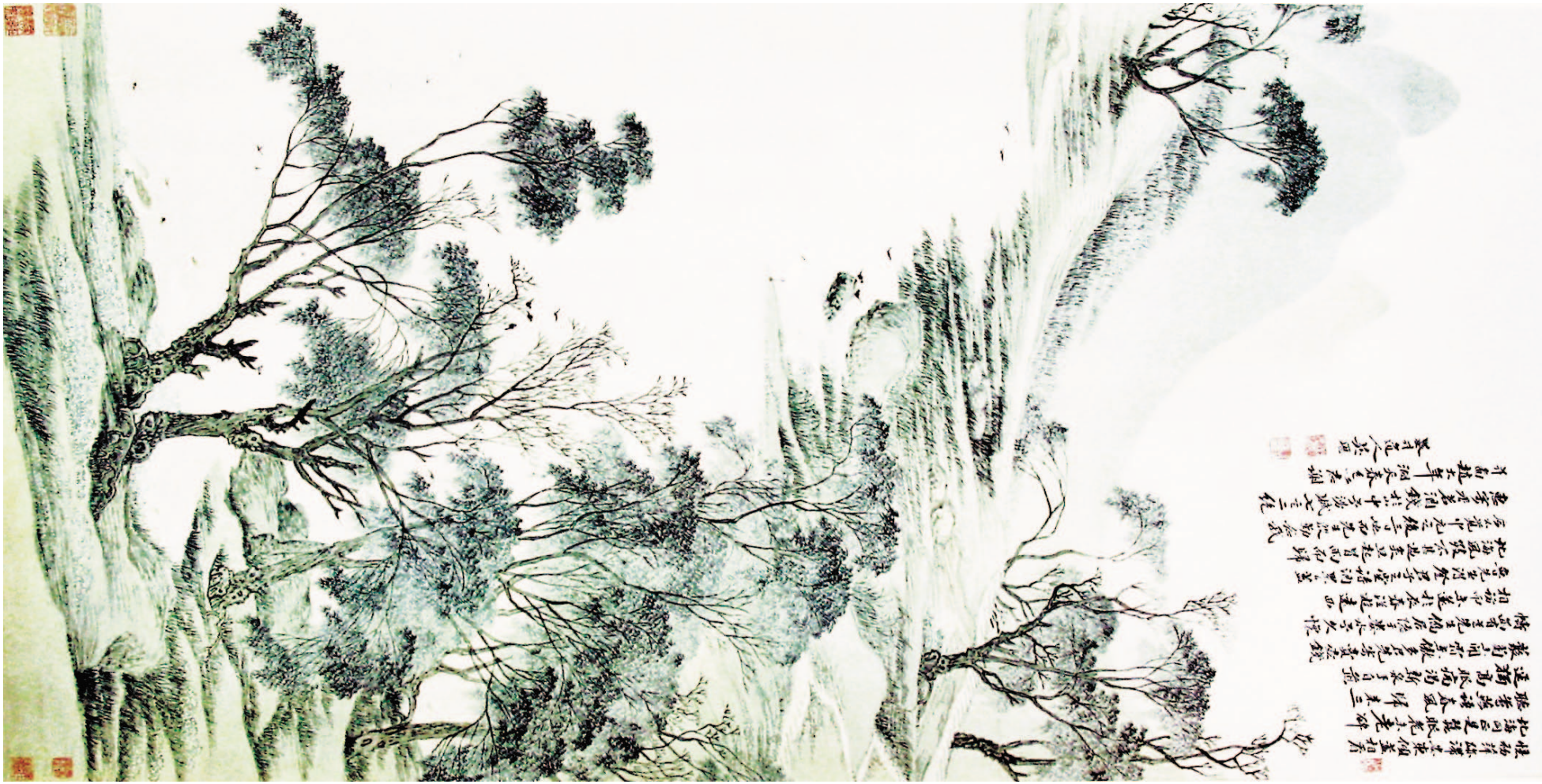

Fig. 2 – *Spring scene of lake and sky* (Shanghai Museum Collection).

From the colophon, we can see that Wu Li had a close connection with "Mr Lu," that is, Father Rougemont. The visit to the venerable Mr Chouhan (a Catholic) with Father Rougemont must have been an impressive and unforgettable occasion, inspiring Wu to paint such a beautiful hanging scroll and to inscribe it with an original poem commemorating this visit. He must have felt real solidarity with these two friends, who represented to him a kind of spiritual emancipation.

Increasingly unconvinced by the classical learning, Wu Li tried to explore a different type of humanity and seek the sublime meaning of life. His perplexity was inscribed in a hanging scroll, "Hazy Mountain after Rain" [*Yu san yan luan tu* 雨散烟峦图] in the 8th lunar month of 1676:

"I toil and labour in this mundane world. Every time I wet my brush and dilute the ink, I think of the transcendent world…" (Chen, 1937:23a)

This colophon plainly suggests that he was in the grip of a spiritual crisis, engaged in an inner struggle for spiritual exploration and transcendence in life.

A NEW CHRISTIAN WORLD

Wu Li's yearning for spiritual breakthrough became increasingly intense after the deaths of his mother (1662), the Buddhist priest Morong (1672), and his mentors Chen Hu (1675) and Wang Shiming (1680). Later, his wife died too, and he decided to join the priesthood (Li, 1909:1b). Given the reality of emptiness and desolation facing him, Wu sought spiritual consolation through the ontological and philosophical quest for life's meaning. Christianity thus served as Wu Li's solace, and his means to search for the ultimate conditions of existence.

Enmeshed as he was in spiritual doubt and questioning, Wu began to see a silver lining when another Jesuit missionary, Philippe Couplet S.J. (1623-1693, known in Chinese as Bo Yingli 柏应理, came to Changshu in 1677 as Rougemont's successor. Through his zealous evangelisation, he attracted more Christians and built more churches there. In 1680, he was appointed Procurer of the Vice-Province and Deputy to Rome. He soon became Wu Li's spiritual mentor. Under Couplet's guidance, Wu rendered his services to the church as a catechist.

From two sources—the "Sanba ji" 三巴集 (Wu 1909:12) and *Wu Yushan xian sheng nian pu* 吴渔山先生年谱 (Chen 1937:26)—we understand that in 1681 Couplet was called to go to Rome, and that Wu Li, at the age of fifty, planned to go with him to the "Great West" 大西 (or Europe). When they arrived at Macao, Wu Li abandoned his ongoing journey—but why? In the *Mojing ji*, Li Di has argued that "the Rector of the Collegiate Church of St Paul's knew of his intention but invited him to study and meditate in Macao instead of trudging for several hundred thousand miles to Rome. He consented and gave up the trip to the West" (Li, 1909: 2a). Wu Li was thus "stranded" in Macao, but his status as a painter and scholar[18] perhaps helped pave the way for his admission to the Society of Jesus as a novice in 1682, at the age of fifty-one.

Wu Li's physical travel from his hometown to Suzhou, then to Beijing, and subsequently to Macao constitutes a metaphor for his intellectual travel. His mind "travelled" with various religious doctrines as he visited different places and contemplated **the Way** that would lead to spiritual enlightenment. Eventually, his physical/spiritual journey reached its final destination in Macao.[19] Macao was a spectacular religious stage that fascinated Wu Li, and that allowed him a glimpse of the vitality of a new Christian world.

The seventeenth century was the golden age of Macao. What Macao did Wu Li see when he arrived? Antonio Cardim, an Portuguese Jesuit and the Rector of the Collegiate Church of St Paul's, provided in 1644 a portrait of the Macao that Wu Li perhaps saw:

"Macao is put together of very fair buildings and is rich by reason of the commerce and traffic that go on there by night and by day; it has Noble and Honourable Citizens, it is held in great renown through the whole Orient inasmuch as it is the store of all those goods of gold, silver, silk, pearls, and other jewels, of all manner of drugs, spices, and perfumes from China, Japan, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Siam, Cambodia, Macassa, Solor, and above all for that it is the Head of Christendom in the East". (Cardim, quoted in Francis, 1930:2)

Thus Macao was not merely a prosperous commercial centre with good people; it was also extolled as the "Head of Christendom in the East." As a religious citadel, it has been hailed as the "Rome of the Far East" and the "Mother of Missions in Asia" by Manuel Teixeira (1912-2003), a Jesuit historian in Macao (Cremer, 1987:43). Above all, it was the *de facto* "bridgehead for Christianity" in China.

After the Diocese of Macao was established in 1576, the Portuguese enclave became a strong Christian community, where various religious orders founded branches during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The Jesuits, who were often called "Paulists" in the East, first built the Collegiate Church of St Paul's in 1594. After two fires, in 1595 and 1601 respectively, it was re-built in 1602. Peter Mundy (1608-1667), an English trader and traveller, wrote in 1637 that the excellent workmanship of the roof of the Church of the Mother of God was the fairest arch that he had ever seen (Mundy, 1919:162). In 1640, a magnificent façade was added to the Church of the Mother of God (now better known as the Ruins of St Paul's).[20]

The College next to the Church was considered the first European-style university in the Far East, for it conferred the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctorate. It was established well before either the University of Santo Tomas in Manila (1619) or the University of Hong Kong (1911). The Jesuits brought with them 7,000 volumes of Western books to Macao, and the College offered a variety of subjects which included Latin, Greek, grammar, humanities, arts, theology, rhetoric, philosophy, arithmetic, music, and above all, Chinese studies. Father Morales proudly described it as "a house of knowledge, a garden of sanctity and a school of apostles" (Morales, quoted in Lam, 1970:830).

Lu Xiyan 陆希言 (1631-1704), another Chinese proselyte, who came to Macao with Couplet and Wu Li in 1681, wrote an essay entitled "A Note on Macao." Here is an excerpt:

"… It [Macao] is like a fine landscape in a dream… There are scholars who dress elegantly and recite poetry without end; they come and go from the Catholic churches, reading books and discussing the *Dao*… There are different Catholic churches around [the town]… The most towering and magnificent one is Sanbasi [the Church of St Paul's], whose construction was a great achievement and thus appears different from all others…" (Lin, 2001:113)[21]

Lu Xiyan's depiction of Macao suggests a kind of "new world" beauty. The Macao Wu Li saw was precisely in its heyday, full of churches and God's "chosen people." The splendour of a Christian city must have captivated his eye. Seventeenth-century Macao was perhaps an Arcadia on earth, not yet defiled by any human foolishness and greed.

"FROM FAR AWAY I COME TO STUDY THE DAO AT SANBA"

As his "dream" to go to Rome remained unrealised, Wu Li studied *tian xue* 天学 (heavenly learning) in Macao. The Chinese called Catholicism *tian xue* or *xi xue* 西学 (Western learning). Western learning, introduced by the Jesuits, was a mixture of Christian theology, Greek (especially Aristotelian) philosophy, and science and technology. In the "Sanba ji", (collected in the *Mojing ji* 墨井集), Wu Li recorded aspects of his daily life, his aspirations, his feelings, and above all, Western customs, in a collection of thirty poems that he called "Ao zhong za yong" 澳中杂咏 (or "Rambling Songs on Macao").[22] Here is the first poem on Macao:

> I have passed the Barrier Gate[23] and arrived on the flat sand beach,
> 关头粤尽下平沙，
> The mountain of Haojing [Macao] looks like a flower.[24]
> 濠境山形可类花。
> Residents here are not surprised at my arrival,
> 居客不惊非误入，
> From far away I come to study the *Dao* at Sanba.
> 远从学道到三巴。

"Sanba" 三巴 is the Chinese transliteration of S. Paulo (Saint Paul in English). The Jesuit College next to the Church of the Mother of God was called St Paul's.[25] It was at St Paul's College that Wu Li studied the *Dao*. Given the proximity of the College and the Church, the Church was also taken for St Paul's, and the Chinese called it Sanba Si 三巴寺 (S. Paulo Temple) or "Da Sanba,"大三巴, meaning "Big S. Paulo." What kind of *Dao* did Wu Li study in Macao? The Chinese concept of *Dao* (meaning the Way, or the divine intelligence of the universe) embraces cosmic reason. It is the ultimate principal of universal reality. In Daoism, *Dao* is the unitary first principal and the eternal order of the Universe. In Confucianism, *Dao* is the right way of life, the path of virtuous conduct, and the universal criterion of right and wrong. The early Buddhists also made use of Daoist terminology to express their ideas, and saw *Dao* as the Way to *Nirvana* 涅槃 (Schuhmacher 1994:356-7).[26] As Wu Li was already a syncretic thinker in the Three Teachings, he came to

the Portuguese enclave to study the Western *Dao*, that is, Western knowledge and Christianity.

From poem number seventeen of the "Sanba ji," we can tell that he stayed on the second storey of the seminary (although this could mean the first floor, in European parlance):

> From the second storey I can listen in three directions;
> 第二层楼三面听，
> Though there is no wind, sea waves still roar like thunder.
> 无风海浪似雷霆。

There is also a passage in "Mojing hua ba" 墨井画跋 in which Wu Li reveals his inner conflict in the seminary:

"The Mojing Daoren [Wu Li himself] has reached the age of fifty, and has studied the *Dao* at Sanba for five months. He sleeps and dines on the second storey [of the seminary], and whiles away his time watching the tides of the sea… He does not know whether he was wrong in the past, or if he is right at present… Those who possess the wisdom of the *Dao* should be able to enlighten me". (Wu, 1995:206)

The imagery of waves, tides and sea suggests regeneration and purification. The sea, in particular, is a symbol alluding to the longing for adventure and spiritual exploration (Olderr, 1986:95 & Vries, 1976:406). In this seminary near the South China Sea, Wu Li contemplated his spiritual journey while watching the tides of the sea, but was ambivalent and still doubtful whether his decision to stay in Macao had been the right one.

What did Wu Li learn in Macao and what did the college/seminary look like? Anders Ljungstedt has given us a clear picture:

"Jesuits had, at an early period, settled at Macao, for the sake of teaching religion. Devotees furnished funds for the purchase of a house contiguous to the ancient church; in this house infidels were instructed and young vassals of Portugal were educated. This had, before 1594, been converted into an extensive Seminary, where, often more than ninety children of the inhabitants were taught the rudiments of learning. A "College" was afterwards founded. It had two classes for Latin, two chairs for theology, one for philosophy, and one, for belles letters. The circuit of the Seminary contained a large hall for the library, one for astronomical purposes, and an apothecary shop. Missionaries going and coming were lodged in the Seminary, which could accommodate 70 or 80 individuals". (Ljungstedt, 1992:32)

Ljungstedt's account complements Wu Li's description in the twenty-fifth poem of the "Sanba ji." He may well have been one of the oldest novices in the class, and must have had to exert extra effort to study under foreign mentors and with a group of youngsters, both morning and afternoon:

> I have a rare opportunity to study "natural philosophy"[27] with teachers from overseas;
> 性学难逢海外师，
> The vassals from afar are all children.
> 远来从者尽童儿。
> The daily lessons are divided into morning and afternoon,
> 何当日课分卯酉，
> Listening to the gentle ringing of the bell, we go to class at those two times.
> 静听摇铃读二时。

He also described the difficulties of a mission education in Poem 26 of the "Sanba ji":

> In front of the door people speak different native languages,
> 门前乡语各西东，
> If they cannot understand one another, they can communicate in writing.
> 未解还教笔可通。
> I write Chinese characters like a fly's head, while they write like a bird's claw,
> 我写蝇头君鸟爪，
> Looking at them horizontally or vertically, it is difficult to understand.
> 横看直视更难穷。

Wu Li would certainly have had to learn Latin, which was a totally alien language to him; he found the curvy lines difficult, being so different from the square Chinese characters he was accustomed to. In Poem 28 of the "Sanba ji," he showed his utter frustration at his slow progress:

> When one grows old, who can make up the loss of youthful days?
> 老去谁能补壮时?

Everyday I study hard for fear that my progress is too slow.
工夫日用恐迟迟。
When I think of my old habits, I would rather burn my ink-slab;
思将旧习先焚砚，
And put an end to painting and composing poems.
且断涂鸦并废诗。

It is true that he scarcely painted while he was a novice, but he never stopped composing poems. In fact, his reputation as an orthodox painter obscured his literary achievement as a poet, even in his own lifetime. In a study on Wu Li's poetry, Jonathan Chaves points out that he created something totally new in Chinese literature: a Chinese Christian poetry. His creative originality lies in the unprecedented boldness of composing poetry based on orthodox Christian theology but in classical Chinese poetic forms (Chaves, 1993:xii, 47). In addition to the eighty poems on religious themes, called the 'Sheng xue shi' 圣学诗 (Poems of Holy Learning), in the "Sanba ji," Wu Li's other religious poems and verses, written at various times, were compiled into an anthology called the "Sanyu ji" 三余集 (collected in the *Mojing ji*).[28]

Wu Li obviously could not forget Rome; he still yearned for this "dreamland" in his poem entitled "The Western Lantern" 西灯 (in the "Sanyu ji"):

The lantern from afar is different,
灯自远方异，
The fire after the Cold Food Festival is rekindled.
火从寒食分。
I try to imagine the scenery of Rome,
试观罗玛景，
And read Latin on horizontal lines.
横读辣丁文。
A moth hovers around the light, unable to come closer,
蛾绕光难近，
Rats peep out from the shadows, but not in a group.
鼠窥影不群。
I am excited to see the arrival of letters from the West,[29]
惊看西札到，
And to learn of things I never heard of before.
事事闻未闻。

Though he could not go to the Far West to seek out the "Western lantern," he eventually found it in Macao. Symbolizing the word of God, the "Western lantern" illuminated his inner self, lit up his life, and provided new concepts of humanity that were completely different from that of Chinese culture. Having found the "Western lantern," was he able to live up to his own expectations as one of the "enlightened," and as God's "shepherd"?

"FOR WHOM DOES MY CHURCH BELL TOLL NOW?"

After a four-year novitiate in Macao, Wu Li returned to China in 1684.[30] He was probably granted a dispensation (since he had been married twice and had two sons, thus violating one of the three vows of the priesthood, namely, chastity) and was ordained as a priest in Nanjing on 1 August 1688, at the age of 57. In one stanza of the poem "Song of my Sixtieth Birthday" [*Liu shi yin* 六十吟] (in "Sanyu ji"), it is clear that he had entered a new phase of life:

I have already forgotten the names of old familiar things,
所遇故物亦忘名，
By chance if I meet prominent officials, I do not bother to greet them.
偶逢冠盖无烦见。
I live in seclusion to fulfil my desire to study,
闭影潜修素愿欲，
Yet still cannot concentrate enough on the Western Learning.
西学日究犹未足。

Wu Li wanted to sever the links with his past, and forsook his "old self." For the last thirty years until his death in 1718, he was fully engaged in mission work in Nanjing, Shanghai and Jiading. As a rural priest going from one place to another, he had to face insurmountable difficulties. In a verse 词 (*ci*) style, "The Shepherd" [*Mu yang ci* 牧羊词] (in the "Sanyu ji"), uses a Biblical metaphor to express his ambivalent feelings:

I cross the Pu River to the rural area to pasture sheep,
渡浦去郊牧，

What a big flock it is!
纷纷羊若何?
The corpulent sheep are few,
肥者能几群?
But the lean ones are numerous!
瘠者何其多!
The grass is poor and the pasture distant, I seem to have tended late,
草衰地远似牧迟，
Yet only I know well the sickness of my sheep;
我羊病处惟我知；
Singing and leading them forward tirelessly,
前引唱歌无倦惰，
Watching my flock and protecting them from wolves, I often do not sleep,
守栈驱狼常不卧。
I wish I might remain strong for many years to tend to them,
但愿长年能健牧，
I go southeast in the morning and northwest in the evening.
朝往东南暮西北。

The "corpulent sheep" is obviously a reference to pious Christians, while the "lean sheep" are those who refuse to receive the word of God. This verse succinctly reveals his dedication and the evangelising zeal he felt on his arduous mission travels in the absence of his Western colleagues.

In 1695, Wu Li wrote a disheartened poem, complaining a shortage of funds for the repair of the dilapidated church where he worked in Jiading. The building was old and leaky, with stains on all four walls; half of one corner of the roof had crumbled. Inside the church, it was cold and dark and moss was growing. Even worse, the promised repair work was only empty talk. The last stanza of "Song of a Shabby Church" [*Po tang yin* 破堂吟] (in the *Mojing ji*, Vol. 5) reads:

For years Western missionaries have come and gone,
常年西士曾来往。
They feared the dampness after the pouring rain.
畏湿阴阴雨多注。
Now I can only cut the wild grass,
我今但能理荒荆。
But I cannot have the church repaired within days.
不能使修不日成。

At times, Wu Li felt frustrated, lonely and even depressed at being a rural preacher. In 1698 he expressed his melancholy in the poem "The Sound of the Chiming Clock"[31] [*Zi ming zhong sheng* 自鸣钟 声] (in the "Sanyu ji"):

The hair on my temples is scarce and gradually grows like snow,
两鬓荒荒雪渐盈，
For ten years I have not found a way out of this city of distress.
十年无计出愁城。
Yet the clock does not know the depths of my distress,
钟声不管愁难度，
It chimes day and night for itself.
日夕回环只自鸣。

The clock is the symbol of the passing of time (Hall, 1995:72). Here, Wu Li adopts the image of the pendulum clock as a metaphor, deploring that time had flown and he was getting old. He even admonishes himself for failing, after ten years as a priest, to feel fulfilled by his evangelising work.

In quite in a different tone, the poem "Ten Years in Shanghai" [*Shi nian shang hai* 十年上海] (in the "Sanyu ji"), expresses Wu's fulfilment and contentment in the project of evangelisation. The second stanza reads:

I am delighted by the mission of proselytising,
道化欣相得，
I often greet peasants I have known.
土侬熟便招。
In ten years I have never tired,
十年劳未倦，
I forget that my hair and beard have grown hoary.
忘却须霜凋。

While these two poems indicate Wu Li's passionate zeal for preaching Christianity, they also reveal his grief at the aging process. In a poem entitled "Deplorable" [*Ke tan* 可叹] (in the "Sanyu ji"), he exclaims how short life is and how time passes like a flying arrow. He laments that villagers (mostly fishermen and farmers) only worry about worldly matters, not the transcendent truth. The last stanza reads:

For whom does my church bell toll now?
予今村铎为谁鸣?
I have laboured alone tirelessly for ten years,
十年踯躅无倦行。
In the hope that among the thousands upon thousands of villages,
安得千村与万落，
Everyone will turn to Catholicism for spiritual enlightenment.
人人向道为死生。

Wu Li uses the bell as a metaphor in this stanza. The sound of the bell symbolizes a call to worship. Hence it is intended to call hearts to the Awakening (Vries, 1976:44). The question "For whom does my church bell toll now?" poignantly refers to the scarcity of Christian followers. Wu Li was apparently upset by the unenthusiastic response to his "civilizing mission," and was tormented by loneliness as an itinerant priest in the countryside. Though the church bell could not awaken the "lost sheep," he was still full of hope, and demonstrated great stoicism. But in what socio-political context did he pour out these deplorable sentiments?

A SETBACK TO CHRISTIAN PROSELYTISING

Wu Li's religious poems reflected a tumultuous epoch of Christian proselytising in China. His helplessness, frustration, depression, and above all his sense of fruitlessness, were a testimony to an era of religious clashes between East and West. His last thirty years (1688-1718) as a Catholic priest were in an era of repression of the Christian faith in China, which coincided with the disgraceful Rites Controversy.

Long before Kangxi issued the "Edict of Toleration" in 1692, permitting his subjects "to go to church freely to worship God" (Panikkar, 1959:286-7), the prolonged Controversy on the Chinese Rites had already begun.[32] The Rites Controversy was at first an internal and inter-missionary dispute, among different monastic orders, over concepts of philosophy, theology, and eschatology. However, it later turned into an open political and religious power struggle between the Holy See in Rome and the Middle Kingdom. The dispute reached a boiling point in 1700, when the Jesuits sought to skirt the Papal authority. In 1715, Pope Clement XI decreed a Papal Bull, *Ex*

Landscape in a style after the ancients and breaking away from them / scroll / ink on paper / 65.5x32.2 cm.

Illa Die, which prohibited Chinese converts from honouring Confucius, and condemned ancestor worship as an idolatrous and superstitious practice.[33] For the Qing government, the Holy See's prohibition and condemnation of these practices directly undermined autochthonous Chinese spiritual discourse and the concept of filial duty, thus threatening the socio-political structure. Wu Li died three years later,

in 1718, and must have lived in agony as a lonely Jesuit priest during these crucial years, involuntarily caught in the vortex of this collision between this-worldly and other-worldly interests.

Jesuit missionaries were torn between the Church and China. On the one hand, the Holy See accused them of violating the central missionary tenet of Catholicism that forbade any toleration of heathen faiths. On the other hand, "heathen" China blamed them for upsetting traditional beliefs and stirring up the common people. Even though Christianity had developed monotheistic doctrines that proclaimed universal and eternal truth, the concept of one transcendent and immutable truth was alien to Chinese thought (Gernet, 1985: Chapter 2). Chinese religious sentiments clearly articulated a synthesis of differing doctrinal elements and embraced pantheistic beliefs. The differences in the religious traditions of East and West created an unbridgeable gap between the two approaches.

Christian proselytising in Japan shared the same fate. The Japanese government believed that Western missionaries were attempting to override local political authority, instigate internal dissension, and disrupt Japan's traditional social fabric. The Qing government even regarded Christianity as a *xiejiao* 邪教 (a deviant sect) riddled with subversive intentions. Christianity was thus classified in the same category as the heterodox *Bailianjiao* 白莲教 (White Lotus Cult), an underground Buddhist sect.[34] Just as the Japanese government took a first step towards expelling missionaries from Nagasaki in 1635 and had codified this expulsion policy into law in the Sakoku edict of 1638,[35] likewise the Qing authorities condemned Catholicism as a threat to social stability. Evangelisation was completely suppressed soon after Wu Li's death.[36]

The Rites Controversy constituted part of the tragic history of Roman Catholicism, and led not only to a setback in the propagation of Christianity, but also to the disintegration of the Society of Jesus. Lasting well over a century, the story of this Controversy is indeed a long and intriguing one.[37] But in short, it was a religious struggle that took place within the framework of a single common ideal – the conversion of China to Christianity. Out of an overwhelming desire to introduce the "true" and "transcendent" religion into China, Western missionaries ironically played havoc with Chinese cultural matrices, and came to a dead end of theological sectarianism.

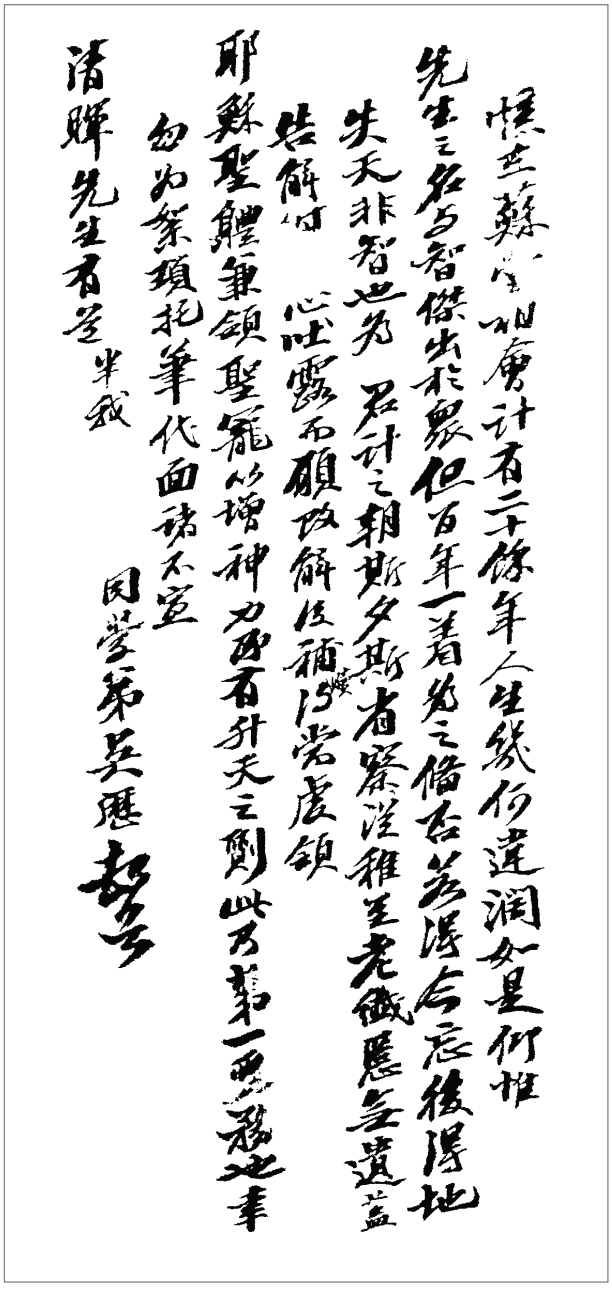

Fig. 3 – Wu Li's letter to Wang Hui (now in the National Museum, Kyoto), around 1712.

Just as the Ruins of St Paul's (the Façade) is a testimony to the heyday of Macao, Wu Li is a witness to the glory and the fall of the Jesuits in Macao and China. While the fire-baptised ruins of the Façade now evoke an eerie feeling of emptiness and loneliness, Wu Li's literary works leave a trail of intense desolation and melancholy. The Façade and Wu Li constitute a most haunting allegory of the

Jesuits' mission in the East: the extent and intensity of their evangelical efforts, and their ultimate frustration in the face of the Rites Controversy and the proscription of Catholicism by the Chinese authorities.

CONCLUSION

Wu Li was a man of profound aspirations, determination, courage and perseverance. At the age of fifty-one, he left behind his career as an eminent painter-scholar to start a new life as a Jesuit novice in Macao. His dedication to Christianity, it might be argued, was a kind of escapism from a grim reality: the haunting memory of an unpleasant childhood under despotic Manchu rulers; the moral pressures of a Neo-Confucian scholar; the intense feeling of emptiness after the death of his mentors, friends and beloved. However, another decisive factor could well have been his spiritual disappointment in Buddhism and Daoism; Catholicism offered a new humanity in which he could find spiritual emancipation and enlightenment.

Though he worked alone as a rural priest and encountered enormous impediments to his evangelising, he never gave up his faith. Quite the contrary: in a letter to Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717), he expressed his full confidence in God. Wang Hui and Wu Li were good friends throughout their lives. They were born in the same year, came from the same native town, and trained as painters under the same masters – Wang Shiming and Wang Jian. While Wang Hui received recognition, honour and glory as a painter in the Qing court, Wu Li rejected worldly fame but tirelessly sought a transcendent life. Wang Hui is generally considered the most renowned of the "Six Masters of Early Qing."

The letter (ink on paper) was written around 1712 (now in the National Museum, Kyoto) (Fig. 3); in it, Wu Li calls Wang Hui "*banwo*" 半我 (my other half) and urges him to repent and come back to God. The tone of the letter is just like that of a kindly priest to a lapsed Christian. Here is an excerpt:

"Let me plan it for you: examine yourself from morning to evening, and from young to old and don't hide anything [from God]. When receiving the Sacrament of Penance, you should make a sincere confession and be willing to repent of your sins. After that repentance is well completed, you will receive the Holy Communion of Jesus as well as other Holy favours in order to increase the power of God. Thereafter, you will have the capacity to ascend to Heaven". (Lin, 2001:157)

Wang Hui may have been baptized, like Wu Li, when he was a boy in Changshu. Whether he took Wu's counsel and received the Sacrament of Penance before his death in 1717 is not known. But we know that Wu Li sincerely wished his "other half" to share with him the joy he envisioned in the next world. Despite their different aspirations, achievements and religious beliefs, they treasured their friendship and respected each other.

Contrary to the Catholic Church's belligerent righteousness in negating any form of thought that was outside its belief structure, Wu Li's tolerant attitudes toward Wang Hui well illustrate the dynamics of religious toleration. The Holy See's negation of cultural and religious relativity reveals its overweening pride and inability to accept another system of knowledge or to compromise with another kind of humanity. The history of missions in China would be written quite differently had not the cultural repercussions of the Rites Controversy been so deep. In a rare breach of papal infallibility, on 24th October 2001, the 400th anniversary of the arrival of Matteo Ricci in Beijing, Pope John Paul II sent an apology to the Chinese people, expressing his "deep sadness for these errors and limits of the past" (*International Herald Tribune*, 26th October 2001). The unfathomable impact of the Rites Controversy may well provide a vicarious lesson for today's evangelisers.

Being a literate elite during a turbulent period of political transition, Wu Li painted for us, through his literary works, a vivid picture of his religious experience in seventeenth-century China. Though he was caught in the vortex of the doctrinal clashes of the Rites Controversy, his unyielding quest for spiritual enlightenment set a fine example of human solidarity. Having a chance to study under a group of remarkable intellectuals in his youth, and later under learned Jesuit missionaries, he possessed the acute desire to search for a meaningful life and a true inner self. By the light of the "Western lantern," he saw the word of God and found the Land of Peach Blossoms in his enlightened mind. RC

Editor's note: This paper is based on a conference delivered by the author at the International Symposium organised last November by Macau Ricci Institute, entitled "Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li and his Inner Journey".

NOTES

1 The other five Masters were: Wang Shimin, Wang Jian, Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717), Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715) and Yun Shouping 恽寿平 (1633-1690). Wang Shimin was Wang Yuanqi's grandfather.

2 By contrast, the styles and techniques of other great masters who were inclined to depict the austere and rugged scenery of northern China were grouped as the Northern School.

3 For instance, as a measure of cultural control, a "Hairstyle Decree" was issued, ordering Chinese men to adopt the Manchu hairstyle (a shaved forehead and long braided queue), or be executed as rebels.

4 The term "syncretism" denotes the reconciliation or fusion of conflicting religious beliefs or principles.

5 Luo Wenzao, a Dominican, was ordained in Macao as the first Chinese Bishop on 8 April 1685.

6 This was the first time in the history of the Jesuit mission in China that three Chinese priests were ordained. The other two were Liu Yunde 刘蕴德 (age 59, who was also called Blaise Verbiest) and Wan Qiyuan 万其渊 (age 53, known also as Paul Banhes). For the Chinese text of the letter (translated from Latin), see Fang 1971b: 133.

7 Neo-Confucianism was a synthesis of fundamental Buddhist ideas and those of the classical Chinese tradition, though it had originally represented a reaction against Buddhism and Daoism. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) was the architect of Neo-Confucianism in the Song dynasty (960-1279).

8 For biographies of Wu's teachers, see "Sanba ji" in Li 1909, Vol. 1. For the English text, see Tam 1986:47-58.

9 *Daoren* 道人 literally denotes those who have practised and attained the Dao (Way). The term *daoren* can refer to both Daoist and Buddhist followers. During the Jin and Song period, Buddhist monks were generally called *Daoren*. See *Ci hai* 辞海, p. 1326.

10 The poems in "Taoxi ji" are collected in Li 1909, Vol 2: "Mojing shi chao" 墨井诗钞.

11 It has been argued that Confucianism was not a full-fledged religion in the theistic sense, since it sets up no god as the premise of its teachings, and its basic principles were developed mainly from pragmatic considerations. Rather, Confucianism is generally regarded as a socio-political doctrine with religious qualities. See Yang 1970: 26-27.

12 On Lin Zhao'en's contribution to religious syncretism, see Berling 1980, Chapter VIII: "The Legacy of Lin Chao-en."

13 The term "eclecticism" denotes the selection of doctrines or elements from various and diverse sources for the purpose of combining them into a satisfying or acceptable style.

14 In the West, where religions frequently clashed over doctrinal, hermeneutical, and ritual issues, an attempt to reconcile doctrines across sectarian lines was tantamount to religious treason. See Berling 1980: 4.

15 Ricci's policy of accommodation can be thought of as a set of "permissions" and "omissions": permitting new converts to continue practising the Confucian rites and traditional Chinese customs, and "omitting" the propagation of some central Christian dogmas that would be alien to Chinese beliefs. See Minamiki 1985, Chapter 2.

16 In 1652, Father Johann Adam Schall von Bell built the first Catholic church in Beijing, which was called Nantang (South Church). Later another church was built and called Beitang (North Church).

17 In Lin Xiaoping's study on Wu Li, he transcribes "帱函" as Daohan, but the Chinese word "帱" should be pronounced "*chou*" rather than "*dao*." See Lin 2001, Chapter V.

18 Contrary to the approach of the Dominican and Franciscan friars who entered China as mendicants identifying themselves with the lower social classes, the Jesuits tended to attract the intelligentsia and officials.

19 On the chronology of Wu Li's stay in Macao, see Wang 1971: 147-149.

20 The façade of the Church of the Mother of God is perhaps the most frequently mentioned landmark in Macao nowadays. It is a unique piece of art, resplendent with a diversity of cultural overtones and ethnic elements. See Cheng 1999: 83-100.

21 For the Chinese text, see Fang 1988: 250-252.

22 The "Sanba ji" was actually comprised of a total of 110 poems. Thirty poems were grouped as the 'Ao zhong za yong' 澳中杂咏 and first published in 1719; the remaining eighty poems, mostly about the church and religion, were called the "Sheng xue shi" 圣学诗 (Poems of Holy Learning). These eighty poems were not published until near the end of the Qing dynasty (1909), by Li Di. See Fang 1971c: 104-5.

23 The Barrier Gate was first built in 1573 and served as the "border" between Macao and China.

24 Macao's cartographic shape was often likened to a lotus flower. The lotus has now been adopted as the flower of Macao, and is featured on the flag of the Special Administrative Region.

25 St. Paul was regarded as the first great Christian missionary, and was a patron saint of Macao and Goa.

26 *Nirvana,* or salvation, is the ultimate state of attaining Buddhahood.

27 The Chinese term *xingxue* 性学, used by the Jesuits, was translated as "natural philosophy" rather than "theology." See Chaves 1993: 152.

28 The calligraphic manuscripts of the "Sanba ji" and the "Sanyu ji" by Wu Li were collected by the Hong Kong Museum. Both were published in Tam 1986: 352-361. On the annotation of the poems in the "Sanyu ji," see Fang 1971d: pp. 85-102.

29 It has been suggested that "the letters from the West" may well have been written in Chinese (not Latin) by Father Couplet to Wu Li, since Couplet was well trained in the Chinese language. See Fang 1971b: 139.

30 Lin Xiaoping believes that Wu Li stayed in Macao from 1681 to 1686. However, others argue that he was there at most four years, from 1681 to 1684. Also, during his sojourn, he returned briefly to China at least twice. See Fang 1971a: 120-1.

31 Lin Xiaoping translated the title of this poem as "The Sound of [the Church] Bell." However, "The Sound of the Chiming Clock" is more appropriate, since a bell cannot chime "for itself." See Lin 2001: 131.

32 The Rites Controversy began shortly after Ricci's death in 1610 and ended when Pope Benedict XIV issued the decisive Bull *Ex Quo Singulari* in 1742.

33 It was not until 8 December 1939—224 years later—that Pope Pius XII lifted the prohibition on the Chinese Rites.

34 Embracing apocalyptic beliefs, *Bailianjiao* was blamed for provoking peasant revolts as early as the Ming dynasty, in 1622.

35 The suppression of Christianity in Japan prompted many Japanese Christians flee to Macao during the first quarter of the seventeenth century; Japan terminated its trade with Macao in 1639.

36 In 1724, Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1723-1736) officially proscribed the preaching of the Christian religion, and expelled all foreign missionaries. The final blow came in 1762 when the Portuguese Prime Minister, the Marquis de Pombal, ordered the Jesuit Missionaries out of Macao as part of the worldwide vendetta against this Order, charging them with disobedience and revolt against the Papal authority. In 1784, Emperor Qianlong 干隆 (r. 1736-1796) issued an Imperial Edict forbidding all missionaries to enter China from Macao, under pain of execution.

37 See Minamiki 1985.

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