

The Last Remaining Jesuit in China after Suppression in Europe

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Abstract: This paper will attempt to show the Jesuits' situation in China and Russia through Fr Louis de Poirot (1735–1813 賀清泰)'s life. He was the last remaining Jesuit in China (the new Jesuits returned to mainland China on 11 June 1842), and was a link between the Old Jesuits and New Jesuits. The first section will introduce his life in the Chinese court. He was the last of the Western painters who worked for Qianlong along with Father Giuseppe Panzi. The two painters replaced the more famous fathers Giuseppe Castiglione and Jean-Denis Attiret. He was also in charge of the translation between Latin and Manchu for the diplomatic correspondence between Peking and Saint Petersburg. He was the first to translate most of the Bible into Chinese and Manchu. The paper will show the attitude of Chinese Emperor and other official's attitude to the suppression, Did they even care about the suppression of the Jesuits? What's of any concern to them? The second section will present a precious letter received from Father General Brzozowski written on Sept. 25, 1806 with the help of the Russian ecclesiastical mission. Father General Brzozowski asked whether Fr Louis de Poirot had received Gruber's permission to rejoin the Society and to enquire about the situation of the other fathers in China and the Chinese church. He also mentioned their attempt to enter China and the Jesuits' situation all over the world.

Keywords: Louis de Poirot, suppression, rejoin

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Pope Clement XIV dissolved the Society of Jesus in 1773. The withdrawal from China of this dynamic segment of the missionary force exposed the church to successive waves of persecution. The Jesuits only returned to China on June 11, 1842, twenty-eight years after the Pope revoked the suppression. Among the last Jesuits to work at the Chinese court were Louis Antoine de Poirot (賀清泰1735–1813) who worked for the Qianlong Emperor as a painter and a translator. This paper will focus on Louis de Poirot, who was the last remaining Jesuit at the Qing court and was a witness to that difficult period and lived to see the restoration of the Society.

Louis de Poirot was born in Lorraine, France, in 1735 and brought up in Italy. He entered the Jesuit novitiate in Rome in 1756 and finished his studies there. He arrived in Peking in 1770, by way of Canton, with his colleague Fr Louis Cipolla.⁽¹⁾ On September 29, 1771, he arrived in the capital and began his mission at the Qing Court.

The publication of the suppression of Jesuits

The suppression of the Society in China happened in two phases. The first phase took place in 1762. In that year, the decree of the Portuguese King ordering the confiscation of all Jesuit property and the arrest of all members of the Society was put into effect in Macau which fell under the Portuguese authority. All Jesuits (of whom around 20 were related to the China Mission) were sent to Lisbon. Some died at sea, others in prison. After 1762 no Jesuits resided in Macau.⁽²⁾

(1) Louis Cipolla (齐类思) was born in Sicily and went to Peking in 1771. He was good at glass and crystal manufacturing. See Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine. 1552–1773* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932), vol. 2, 965.

(2) See Liu Jingjing, "Restoration of the Jesuit Mission in Macao", in Eilo Yu, ed. *Macau-in-Coimbra 2014: Highlights from the EACS'14 Conference*, (Macau: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2015), pp.297-314

When the Qianlong Emperor learned that the Society was no longer under the protection of Portugal, he said: “My Jesuits do not need the protection of a Portuguese prince. It is I who am their protector. If one were to fail, I would punish him but I do not want him to go into exile, or deprive my empire of men who are so useful.” (余之耶穌會士無需葡萄牙國王保護。余即為彼等之保護人；脫有犯罪者余知懲之；然余不欲將有益於國之人放逐於國外也。) So the Jesuits were able to remain in Canton without having to fear prosecution by the Portuguese authorities in Macau; new missionaries could go to work for the Court in Peking and replace the old. The Emperor defended the Society against all the attacks to which it was exposed which aimed at nothing less than to exile all Jesuits.

The second phase was the execution of the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* by Clement XIV (1773), which abolished the Society of Jesus.⁽³⁾ The brief of suppression was delivered in Nanking on 17 June, 1775. The Jesuit bishop Gottfried Xaver von Laimbeckhoven and five Chinese Jesuits signed it in submission to papal authority. The Jesuits in Peking, dealt with the news of the suppression differently. Some Jesuits, as early as November 1774 when they first received the informal message that the Society had indeed been suppressed, immediately declared themselves no longer Jesuits. Critics said that they wanted to be free from the yoke of obedience and to live a more independent life. Other Jesuits in Peking argued that they remained Jesuits until the papal brief was officially published in Peking (in November 1775). In the meantime, disputes and confusion arose.⁽⁴⁾

At that time, the Chinese Jesuits constituted one third of the total number of Jesuits. The others were mainly Portuguese Jesuits, belonging to the Chinese vice –Province which was under the Portuguese Padroado. Another group were the French Jesuits, who belonged to the French Mission. They were sent with the approval of the French King. There were disagreements among the bishops about who had the authority in Peking to publicize the decree of suppression. Then arguments about policy and about the property that once had belonged to the Society arose among the ex-Jesuits, and between the ex-Jesuits and the missionaries of other orders.

Before the Suppression, Francois Bourgeois (晁俊秀1723-1792) had been the superior of the French Jesuits in Peking. Although he gave up his position of superior when the Brief of Suppression was published, he continued to administer the property of the French mission. This was against the letter of the Brief, which ordered that all authority of all Jesuit superiors must cease, even in temporal matters. Some of the French ex-Jesuits who were working in the Imperial court, especially Jean-Mathieu Ventavon (汪洪達),⁽⁵⁾ Jean Joseph Marie Amiot (錢德明),⁽⁶⁾ Jean-Baptiste-Joseph de Grammont (梁棟材)⁽⁷⁾ and Louis de Poirot in 1775 proposed a different way to deal with the property instead of the previous system of administration by one man. They argued that

(3) For overview of the suppression and restoration, see Jonathan Wright, “The Suppression and Restoration,” in Thomas Worcester, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.263-277, and more refer to Robert Aleksander Maryks and Jonathan Wright, ed., *Jesuit survival and restoration: A global history, 1773-1900* (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2014).

(4) See Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, “The end of the Jesuits Mission in China,” in Jonathan Wright, ed., *The Jesuits’ Suppression: Causes, Event, and Consequences*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2014

(5) Jean Mathieu de Ventavon(汪洪達1733-87) was trained as a clockmaker, and he constructed mechanical curiosities for the Qianlong emperor and repaired clocks as well. His work so pleased the emperor that he was kept very busy and had no time to study the Chinese language. He was required to make an automaton that could write in Manchu. He also set it up so that it could write in Mongolian. After his death, the Lazarist Charles Paris (1738-1804) succeeded him. Zheng Cheng 郑诚: Qianlong yu Wo-bang: Yesu hui shi Wang Dahong jie shao Xiyang zhu cheng shu shi shi gou chen 乾隆與沃邦: 耶穌會士汪達洪介紹西洋築城術史事鉤沉, in: Aomen li shi yan jiu 澳門歷史研究 2014, no. 11, pp. 201-205

(6) Jean Joseph Marie Amiot (錢德明1718 - 1793) was sent to China in 1750. He soon won the confidence of the Qianlong Emperor. He was a correspondent of the Académie des Sciences, official translator of Western languages for the Emperor, and the spiritual leader of the French mission in Peking.

(7) Jean-Baptiste-Joseph de Grammont,(梁棟材1736-1812), who worked at the Court as an astronomer and musician, baptized the prince of Korea.

property should be controlled by a board of administrators in a democratic way, and each man should have his own savings.⁽⁸⁾

In 1780, due to disagreements, missionaries asked the Emperor to intervene. In 1781, the Emperor appointed a team composed of several officials to investigate the situation. Finally the Emperor decided that all priests, regardless of their nationality, should handle their own property. For the position of administrator, the Emperor considered it was inappropriate for himself. He decided that each priest, in turn, be administrator for one year. The order was decided by drawing lots. (各國人所住之堂由各國人自行管理，他國人不得參與，並得任意處理一切財產。至若管理之人由各人輪流擔任一年，用拈鬮方法定之。)

The arguments about policy and property were finally resolved in 1783, while the Lazaristes were appointed to take the place of the Jesuits in the Chinese mission and Alexander de Gouvea (湯士選 1751-1808)⁽⁹⁾ was appointed as the new bishop. The Lazarists and the new bishop arrived in Peking in 1785. Their arrival offered a solution and finally established peace.

Mission at the Qing Court

In any case, in the year 1724 the old dream of converting the Son of Heaven came to an end. In spite of the prohibition, Christianity lingered on in all provinces (or even flourished, as in eighteenth-century Sichuan), but the role of the missionaries that were maintained in Beijing was now completely reduced to that of “foreign experts”. Under the Qianlong emperor that atmosphere generally became less hostile, and the Emperor used the technical skills of the foreign experts for his own luxury and leisure purposes. To a certain extent, they became indispensable to him.

After the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, the number of missionaries working at the imperial court decreased considerably, so much so that after a few years even the Emperor became alarmed, lest he might lose their valuable services. In 1778 an imperial edict, dated 27 October, ordered the governor-general in Canton to look for Westerners. The order was renewed on 25 May 1781. When toward the end of 1782, two Franciscans arrived in the Capital, they were welcomed by the Emperor with gifts beyond the customary.⁽¹⁰⁾

But still, the prohibition remained in force. The persecution of 1784-1785 (usually called “the great religious incident”, 大教案) was the worst persecution up to that time.⁽¹¹⁾ It did not break out because of a sudden wave of anti-Christian sentiment, but because four Franciscans ignored the prohibition and were arrested in Hubei on their way from Macao to their new parishes in Shaanxi (October 1784). It was suspected that they were on their way to help the Muslims in Gansu who had been revolting against the government since 1781. A search for missionaries and Christians in other provinces followed. The arrests and trials confronted the authorities in Beijing with Western missionaries sent from Macao to the Provinces, and with Chinese priests who had received their education in Europe or Southeast Asia and all were working for a foreign organization (Propaganda Fide) under the direction of a procurator at Canton. Within a year a large number of priests (including Chinese) who had been

(8) See Joseph Krahll, *China Missions in Crisis, Bishop Laimbeckhoven and his Times 1738-1787* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964). Camille de Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot et les derniers survivants de la mission française à Pékin (1750-1795)* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1915).

(9) Alexander de Gouvea (湯士選 1751-1808), was born on 2 August 1751 at Evora, in Portugal. 1773 he entered the Third Order Regular of St. Francis (TOR). Appointed bishop of the Diocese of Beijing by the Portuguese crown on 22 July 1782, de Gouvea arrived in Beijing in 1785 and reestablished peace amongst the missionaries; disappearance of the last signs of resistance to the bulls against the rites. He did much to revive the religious fervor among the 3,000 Catholics of Beijing. At court he held the position of mathematician and was a vice-president of the Bureau of Astronomy.

(10) *Imperial Government*, pp.16-17.

(11) An extensive and well documented study, based on Western and Chinese sources, is *Imperial Government* (1948), pp.197-208.

located in the provinces, were exiled to Yili (a border region in north-western Xinjiang Province) or deported to Beijing, where they were condemned to life imprisonment (ten of them died there).⁽¹²⁾

When there appeared to be no connection with the Muslim rebellion, de Poirot and others urged the Emperor to release the twelve surviving missionaries from prison (November 1785) and allow them to stay in Beijing or to go to Macao. Although this incident meant a serious setback for the underground mission in China, twenty years of relative peace followed. One of the reasons was that lower officials no longer reported the presence of missionaries to Beijing, because in 1785 many of them had been punished for having tolerated missionaries in their territories.⁽¹³⁾

Apparently, a last attempt was made by some missionaries in 1793, when they cleverly slipped a plea for free proselytizing into the translated text of the requests submitted by the Macartney embassy. Qianlong's reaction was clear:

As regards the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven that is upheld in your country, it is the doctrine that is professed in Western countries. Our Celestial Dynasty follows the doctrine and laws that since the beginning of time have been handed down and created by saintly rulers and wise kings; these are the constant principles followed by all Our innumerable subjects who do not dare to be deluded by strange theories. As to the Westerners who are employed by Us in the capital: they must stay in their churches, and are not allowed any intercourse with the Chinese people, lest they unlawfully propagate their doctrine. Strict indeed should be the distinction between Chinese and barbarians!⁽¹⁴⁾

Fr Louis de Poirot got special permission from the Qianlong Emperor which allowed him to preach to the Han Chinese in Peking but not to the Manchus or the elite or upper class. However, for most of his missionary life, he just was an important painter appreciated very much by Qianlong emperor.

After 1795, China was under the reign of the Jiaqing Emperor. As opposed to the Qianlong emperor who appreciated westerner skills very much and to some extent, protected the missionaries and Christianity, Jiaqing hated missionaries and Christianity.

The year 1805 was marked by a persecution of Christian communities in Peking. Later, more and more decrees against Christianity and foreigners made it impossible for Louis de Poirot to do anything.

The following decree, which can shed light on the situation⁽¹⁵⁾:

The people in Europe are wont to worship the Lord of Heaven, and when, as followers of that religion, they were from the outset permitted to spread and practice the religion among themselves, and not prosecuted for it. But if they swindle and mislead the Chinese, and in the worst case arbitrarily appoint Chinese pastors and other title-bearers, or spread over the various provinces, this certainly involves a serious violation of the law.

And if Chinese living in peace, are seduced and misled by them to such an extent that they propagate that religion among themselves, and can no more escape from its deception, what is this but wild opposition? Let us remember that this religion does not profess the worship of any god, nor the

(12) On the 11th of the 11 month (Dec.23) of 1784, an Imperial decree was addressed to the Council of State, Shi Lu, 258

(13) *Imperial Government* (1948), pp.164-165; cf. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China* (London, 1929), pp. 173.

(14) *Da Qing Gaozong Chun huangdi shilu* 大清高宗純皇帝實錄, J. 1435, f. 19b (in *Da Qing liechao shilu* 大清列朝實錄, Mukden, 1937).

(15) 29th of the 5th month (July 18 1811) The emperor decreed to the Chancery that the Board of Punishments had sent the following advice and reply concerning a memorial presented to the Throne by the Censor Kan Kia-pin, in which he proposed that special laws should be enacted for the punishment of Europeans preaching their religion(上諭內閣刑部議覆御史甘家斌奏請嚴定西洋人傳教治罪專條一折). Shi Lu, 100

eneration of ancestors or the dead, and therefore overtly opposes the orthodox Tao; so, when the Chinese listen to it and follow it, spread and observe it, accept its falsehoods, and put up title-bearers, is this anything short of opposition and rebellion? If no rigorous laws are made to punish such things on a large scale, how can these heresies be stopped, and the human hearts be kept orthodox?

Henceforth, if Europeans print religious writings, or found communities or preach, thereby poisoning and misleading many; or if Bannermen turn to the Europeans, and become promulgators for them, privately appointing titularies, so that the fire of error reaches the masses, then, if sure and reliable proof is found against these culprits, they will face immediate execution.

For propagandists who fan the fire of error, but without misleading people in great numbers and without employing any title-bearers, the punishment to be fixed shall be strangulation, with reprieve of execution until after the revision of their sentence. And simple followers who embraced that religion and did not mean to apostatize, shall be given in slavery to the Solon Tartars; and if they are Bannermen, they shall at the same time be expelled from their Banner-regiment

And with regard to the Europeans now living in Peking, they shall be in chargedf with only astronomical calculations at the Bureau for the Observation of the Heavens, for they possess no other abilities to render service to the Government. And they who have no knowledge of astronomy, why allow them to live here with the others and provoke trouble?

The ministers entrusted with the administration of that Bureau shall forthwith make investigation about this; those in employ for astronomical work at the Bureau for the Observation of the Heavens can be left in office, but the other Europeans shall be sent to the Viceroy of the two Kwang, who as soon as a ship from their country calls at Canton shall send them back therein to their own land.

And the Europeans who remain in Peking in Government employ, shall be kept under control with increased strictness, in order that their intercourse with Bannermen may be effectually stopped, and the poison emanating from them be kept away from the provincial districts. Since Europeans are no more wanted in Government employ, why should they be allowed to go there by stealth and spread their heretical religion? Every Viceroy or Governor shall strictly examine with all his energy whether there are any roaming about in his jurisdiction, in which case he shall immediately track them, arrest them, and prosecute them one by one, in order to purify both root and stem.”

Louis de Poirot was allowed to live in Peking just because he was too old to make the long journey back to Europe.

As a painter

In 1773, the 38th Year of the Qianlong reign, de Poirot was allowed to work at the Ruyiguan 如意館.⁽¹⁶⁾ The Ruyiguan, where the most prestigious painters painters worked alongside the best craftsmen, could be said to be

(16) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao zai Hua huodong dang'an shiliao* 清中期西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料 (Historical Sources in the Archives of Catholicism in China in Early and Mid-Qing Dynasty), ed. Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (First Historical Archives of China), vol. 4 (Beijing: Zhong Hua Book Company, 2003), 4: 480.

the Academy of Painting. The idea had originated with the Yongzheng Emperor, but the Hall was founded in the first year of Qianlong, initially housed in the Southern Hall of the Qixiang Palace 啟祥宮 in the Forbidden City. The Qianlong Emperor, who often stayed at Old Summer Palace, moved de Poirot's painting studio to the Dongtianshenchu 洞天深處 garden and named it the Master Painter's Hall (*Shouxi huayuan* 首席畫院) of the Court.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1777 the Summer Palace was expanded, and the Emperor built the Yuanying Guan 遠瀛觀 in it for the Fragrant Concubine (Xiang fei 香妃).⁽¹⁸⁾ Around 20 decrees were issued ordering Louis de Poirot to paint different things from the survival Qing Archives. Some of his paintings are for the inner decoration of Yuanying Guan. On April 9, 1782, a decree was issued ordering Louis de Poirot and Giuseppe Panzi⁽¹⁹⁾ to paint nine well-known figures of Western stories for the ceiling of the main room of the Yuanying Guan.⁽²⁰⁾ However, they "started the draft too slowly", and the task was not completed by the September deadline.⁽²¹⁾ On October 8, a third decree was issued, ordering de Poirot to paint mountains and trees instead.⁽²²⁾

Louis de Poirot was skilled in depicting birds and animals in a style close to that of Giuseppe Castiglione (郎世寧 1688–1766). In response to the imperial decree, de Poirot often copied the works of Giuseppe Castiglione.⁽²³⁾ De Poirot showed great talent in his painting *Liangyun jun* 良雲駿. In the 11th month of the 52nd year of the Qianlong reign (1788) he and Panzi were ordered to prepare a scroll named "modeling *Bai jun tu* 百駿圖⁽²⁴⁾ (1728,

(17) For a discussion of the Hall, see Ji Ruoxin 嵇若昕, *Qianlong shiqi de Ruyiguan 乾隆時期的如意館* (The Hall of Fulfilled Wishes in the Qinglong era), *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 (National Palace Museum Research *Quarterly*), vol. 23 (3), 127–159; Mo Xiaoye 莫小也, *Shiqi shiba shiji chuanjiaoshi yu Xi hua dong jian* 十七十八世紀傳教士與西畫東漸 (*Catholic missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries and the spread of Western painting to China*) (Hangzhou: Chinese Fine Arts Academy Press 2002), 185.

(18) The Fragrant Concubine is a figure in Chinese legend who is supposed to have been taken as a consort by the Qianlong Emperor in the 18th century. Although the stories about her are believed to be mythical, they may have been based on an actual concubine from western China who entered the harem of the emperor in 1760 and who had the court title of Rong Fei. She was a Uyghur girl named Iparhan, granddaughter of Apak Khoja, a local leader in the oasis city of Kashgar. Even more remarkable than her beauty was the scent her body naturally produced; captivated, the Emperor sought her as an Imperial Consort for his harem. She was given as a gift to the Emperor and carefully escorted all the way to Beijing, washing every day along the road in camel's milk to preserve her mysterious fragrance.

(19) Giuseppe Panzi (潘廷璋, 1734–c.1812) was a Jesuit painter active in the 18th and early 19th century, who worked in the service of the Qianlong Emperor. He was the last of the Western painters who worked for Emperor, together with de Poirot. Giuseppe Panzi arrived in Peking in 1773, where the two painters replaced the more famous Fr Giuseppe Castiglione and Jean-Denis Attiret. See Lorry Swerts and Koen De Ridder, *Mon Van Genechten (1903–1974) Flemish Missionary and Chinese Painter: Inculturation of Chinese Christian Art* (Leuven University Press, 2002).

(20) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 446.

(21) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 452–54.

(22) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 462.

(23) Giuseppe Castiglione (郎世寧; July 19, 1688–July 17, 1766) was a prominent Jesuit artist, architect, and missionary in China. Castiglione arrived in China in 1715. His skill as an artist was appreciated by the Qianlong Emperor and Castiglione spent many years at court painting various subjects, including the portraits of the Emperor and Empress. Castiglione's work served as the subject for a series of "battle copper / engravings" commissioned by the Emperor to commemorate his military campaigns. Small-scale copies of his paintings were shipped to Paris and rendered into copperplate intaglio before being returned to China. Castiglione's style was a unique blend of European sensibility with Chinese technique and themes. The style was, however, modified according to Chinese taste – strong shadows used in chiaroscuro techniques were unacceptable as the Qianlong Emperor thought that shadows looked like dirt. Therefore, when Castiglione painted the Emperor, the intensity of the light was reduced so that there was no shadow on the face, and the features were distinct. In addition to his demonstrable skill as a painter, he was also in charge of designing the Western-style palaces in the imperial gardens of the Old Summer Palace. Due to Castiglione's work, Qing court paintings began to show a clear Western influence. Other European painters followed and a new school of painting was created that combined Chinese and Western methods. The influence of Western art on Qing court paintings is particularly evident in the light, shade, perspective, as well as the priority given to recording contemporary events.

(24) This is considered to be his finest work. The influence of Western tradition can be strongly felt both in his treatment of the horses, their cast shadows, the suggested anatomy, the way they stand out from their surroundings, and also in the landscape, with its linear perspective, the depth of the composition, the interplay of light and shade, and the naturalistic portrayal of vegetation. See Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume 1: 635-1800*, Leiden: Brill Handbook, 2001.

National Palace Museum, Taipei).⁽²⁵⁾ The task was not completed until the 3rd day of the 10th month the following year.⁽²⁶⁾ In the tenth month of the 55th year of the Qianlong reign (Nov. 1790), the Inner Court issued a decree saying that Louis de Poirot should *follow the Emperor's example in imitating Zhao Mengfu's 趙孟頫 paintings*. The Emperor shall paint *Mandarin Ducks on Sand Bar/Sandbank* (Shazhu shuang yuan 沙渚雙鶩), while Louis de Poirot shall paint a running deer in response.⁽²⁷⁾ *Running Deer (Pen lu tu 賁鹿圖)* (193.3cm*93cm), now is displayed in The Beijing Palace Museum. The brush strokes are detailed and the density and contrast in colour follow the rules which give a delight in elusiveness and beautiful richness. The strokes of the rocks, trees and grass are beautiful and detailed. The contrast in brightness gives a strong sense of reality.⁽²⁸⁾

Louis de Poirot was well known for painting falcons. In 1783, a Mongol prince presented this white falcon to the Qianlong emperor. The falcon, with its steely beak, grasping claws, and snow-white plumage, is tethered on a stand for a realistic portrait of its ferocious spirit. Fr. de Poirot employed elements of Western painting, such as shading, to give Chinese techniques and subject matter a sense of volume.⁽²⁹⁾

While Castiglione's copper engravings of battle scenes to commemorate military campaigns are well known, almost nobody mentioned that de Poirot was involved in the production of sixteen tableaux depicting the *Two Campaigns Suppressing the Jinchuan* [Pingding liang Jinchuan desheng zhantu 平定兩金川得勝戰圖] (1747–1749, 1771–1776).⁽³⁰⁾ After another series of successful military campaigns known as the Ten Great Campaigns in Central Asia, the Qianlong Emperor commissioned depictions of the battles. All these series of prints from copper engravings (*tongbanhua* 銅版畫) were so-called “Battle Copper Prints”. They were produced under the aegis of the Qianlong emperor of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and depict his military campaigns conducted both in the inner provinces and along the country's frontiers.

The copper engravings of the first set of sixteen paintings were produced in Paris where at that time the best European artisans was working at in this technique. The Chinese emperor even decreed to emulate the style of the Augsburgian copper engraver Georg Philipp Rugendas the Elder (1666-1742), whose work was known to him. Thus, small-scale copies of the larger paintings of Castiglione and his Peking colleagues were sent to Paris to be transferred into copperplates, printed and subsequently sent back to China along with the plates and prints. All following sets of copper engravings were executed in Peking by the Jesuits and their Chinese apprentices. They

(25) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 464.

(26) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 475.

(27) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 477.

(28) Pictures from <http://big5.elong.com/gate/big5/lvyou.elong.com/4680293/tour/a01fef81.html>, accessed on Mar. 2014.

(29) White Falcon (Bai haiqing tu 白海青圖) scroll(110cm*60cm), was collected in the book *Shiqu baoji xubian* 石渠寶笈續編. Now it was displayed in Taiwan National Palace Museum. Picture from <http://www.bozoart.net/art/heqingtai/2012412/94BG.html>, accessed on Mar. 2014. *Shiqu baoji* 石渠寶笈 is a collection of famous Qing paintings owned by the emperors. The first series of this work, *Shiqu baoji chubian*, was completed in 1745 and had 44 volumes; the second series, *Shiqu baoji xubian*, was completed in 1793, with 40 volumes; the third series, *Shiqu baoji sanbian*, was completed in 1816, with 28 volumes. Louis de Poirot's other paintings like Yellow Eagle (Huang ying tu 黃鷹圖) scroll, and the White Eagle (Bai ying tu 白鷹圖) scroll (1785) also were selected in *Shiqu baoji sanbian*,

(30) The suppression of the Jinchuan hill people was very costly and difficult, as well as destructive. Jinchuan (literally “Golden Stream”) was north-west of Chengdu in western Sichuan. The tribal peoples there were related to the Tibetans of the Amdo. The first campaign in 1747–1749 was a simple affair; with little use of force the Manchu general induced the native chieftains to accept a peace plan, and departed. Inter-ethnic conflict brought the Manchus back after twenty years. The result was the Qing expeditionary force being forced to fight a protracted war of attrition costing the Qing treasury several times the amounts expended on the earlier conquests of the Dzungars and Xinjiang. The resisting tribes retreated to their stone towers and forts in steep mountains and could only be dislodged by cannon. The Manchu generals were ruthless in annihilating the rebellious tribes and then reorganized the region as a military prefecture and repopulated it with more cooperative inhabitants. Pictures see <http://crossasia.org/digital/schlachtenbilder/index/show>

differ markedly in style and elaborateness from those of the “Paris Series.” In that way de Poirot got involved in reproductions, which were printed with copper plates engraved by the Imperial Workshop of the Imperial Household Department.⁽³¹⁾

Besides those paintings, Louis de Poirot and Giuseppe Panzi cooperated on another work, *Kuoerka xian xiang ma tu* 廓爾喀貢象馬圖 (The Tribute of Gurkhas),⁽³²⁾ which shows elephants and horses sent by the king of Gurkha (Nepal) after Qianlong conquered the country. This painting is on silk, 40.8×318 cm, and displayed in the Palace Museum, Peking.

There is a long list of inscriptions:

The 11th month of the 58th year of Qianlong, painted by Louis de Poirot and Giuseppe Panzi by Imperial Decree

The 11th month of the *guichou* year of Qianlong, signed by Dong Gao 董誥⁽³³⁾ by Imperial Decree

The 12th month of the 58th year of Qianlong (*guichou*), Wang Jie 王傑, Dong Gao 董誥, Peng Yuanrui 彭元瑞,⁽³⁴⁾ Jin Shisong 金士松,⁽³⁵⁾ Yu Bao 玉保,⁽³⁶⁾ Hu Tuli 瑚圖禮,⁽³⁷⁾ Na Yancheng 那彥成⁽³⁸⁾ praise in all fours.

From the last painting, we can see that Louis de Poirot worked at court until 1793. He had a good relationship with high-ranking officials.

As a translator

He was a gifted linguist with an excellent command of Latin, Chinese and Manchu. In 1785, he taught Chinese and Manchu to four Lazarist missionaries who were sent to Peking after the suppression.

In 1793 the Macartney Embassy took place. Louis de Poirot was ordered to translate the edicts from Manchu to Latin.⁽³⁹⁾ He tried to soften the haughty attitude to meet international etiquette. His Latin translation with his

(31) Zhang Xiaoguang 張曉光, *Qingdai tongban zhangong tu quanbian* 清代銅版戰功圖全編 [A complete collection of the Qing victory pictures], (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2003), 22–37.

(32) The name used to denote the Mongol tribes north of the Gobi during the Qing dynasty (roughly corresponding to the present state of Mongolia).

(33) Dong Gao 董誥, obtained the title of Jinshi in 1764, and was appointed Trainee at the Hanlin Academy. Known to the Emperor for his painting skills, he was later appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, and was later vice minister in the Ministries of Personnel, Revenue, Justice and Works and Vice-Director of the *Siku* Office. He was grand secretary of the Eastern Pavilion and the *Crown Prince's* Tutor, and was a member of the Grand Council for forty years.

(34) Peng Yuanrui 彭元瑞, a native of Nanchang, was a minister and scholar. He was also a composer of couplets. He obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1757 and was appointed trainee and later junior compiler of the Hanlin Academy; he served as minister of works

(35) Jin Shisong 金士松, a native of Wujiang, obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1760 and was appointed trainee and later junior compiler of the Hanlin Academy. He was later transferred Academician Reader-in-waiting, inspecting education in Guangdong. He was promoted to assistant minister of rites and later transferred to the Ministry of War. In 1785 he was invited to the Thousand Senior Banquet at the Qianqing Palace.

(36) Yu Bao 玉保, a member of the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner, obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1781 and was admitted to the Hanlin Academy. He was famed for his talents and reached the post of vice minister of defence.

(37) Hu Tuli 瑚圖禮 obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1787 and served as minister of personnel, war, and rites.

(38) Na Yancheng 那彥成, a member of the Manchu Plain White Banner, obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1789 and became a member of the Imperial Secretariat. He was admitted to the Grand Council in 1798. He was transferred as assistant minister to the Ministry of Works and then the Ministry of Personnel and the Master Secretariat of the Hanlin Academy. He was promoted to minister of works, with titles of vice-general and minister of the Imperial Household Department.

(39) George Macartney. *An Embassy to China: Being the Journal Kept by Lord Macartney During His Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung* (1793-1794). London: Longmans, 1962.

modifications safeguarded Britain's national dignity. Although the translation was unfaithful to the Qianlong Emperor's original intent, the Emperor praised Louis de Poirot and gave him a promotion (六品頂戴).

Louis de Poirot translated some Chinese books into Latin. Well known among them is *Kangxi "Shengzu Ren huangdi ting xun ge yan"* 康熙《聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言》(Kangxi Emperor's Instructions to His Children). This book was compiled by the Yongzheng Emperor as a record of his memories of his father's teachings. This book included two hundred forty-six chapters, which were compiled in two sections 《聖訓》(sacred instructions) and 《實錄》(veritable record). The Yongzheng Emperor hoped this book would be remembered forever. De Poirot's Latin translation was printed in Paris in 1783.

Another important achievement of de Poirot was the Chinese translation of *Gu-xin shengjing* 古新聖經 (Old and New Testament) ⁽⁴⁰⁾ He made a Manchu translation too, entitled the *New and Old Testament with Manchu annotation* (*Manwen fu zhu Xin-jiuyue shengjing* 滿文付注新舊約聖書), which was never printed or published. ⁽⁴¹⁾ Some researchers said that the best translation is the Book of Job. ⁽⁴²⁾ The Bible translation probably began in 1790 and was completed in 1808. Fr Louis de Poirot wrote in 1803 to the Propaganda Fide asking to publish the Chinese Bible, but did not get permission and was actually criticized for translating without permission. Although it was never published, it had tremendous influence on future translations. The translator of the first published Chinese Bible, Robert Morrison, referred to de Poirot's work. One of the main translators of the first complete Catholic translation of the Bible, Gabriele Allegra, went to Beitang Library and also referred to de Poirot's translation. ⁽⁴³⁾

Readmission

Pope Clement XIV's decree suppressing the Jesuits (1773) required promulgation by the secular ruler in each area. But not all governments were willing to cooperate, especially Russia. The Orthodox monarch Catherine the Great highly valued the Jesuits, and so Jesuits continued to exist in the Russian empire, and were active especially in the field of education. Some Jesuits elsewhere who had not been thrown into prison took refuge in Russia. When in 1778 Catherine the Great requested the Holy See that the Jesuits in White Russia should have a novitiate, she received the answer that the local bishop should do as he thought best. The local bishop presumably

(40) Manuscripts in Zikawei Library. Reprinted in *Xujiahui Cangshulou Ming-Qing Tianzhujiao wenxian xubian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻續編, Sequel to Chinese Christian texts from the Zikawei Library,] vols. 28–34, ed. Nicolas Standaert, Ad Dudink and Wang Renfang 王仁芳 (Taipei Ricci Institute, 2013).

(41) See [김동소] 金東昭 (Kim Dongso), *Zui chu Zhongguo yu Manzhou yu sheng shu yi cheng zhe He Qingtai shen fu* 最初中國語滿洲語聖書譯成者賀清泰神父 in: *Guo ji han xue* 国际汉学 (*International sinology*) 2015, no. 3, pp. 109-120.

(42) Erling von Mende, "Problems in translating the Bible into Manchu: Observations on Louis Poirot 's Old Testament", in Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann and John Dean ed., *Sowing the Word: The cultural impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804-2004*, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004.

(43) More research on his Bible translation, see Li Sher-shiueh 李爽學, " Jin dai bai hua wen, zong jiao qi meng, Yesu hui chuan tong: shi kui He Qingtai ji qi suo shi 'Gu xin sheng jing' de yu yan wen ti 近代白話文•宗教啟蒙•耶穌會傳統——試窺賀清泰及其所譯《古新聖經》的語言問題 (Louis de Poirot and His Guxin Shengjing at the Linguistic Crossroads of China)", in: *Zhongguo wen zhe yan jiu ji kan* 中國文哲研究集刊 (*Academia sinica Taibei*) 42 (March 2013), pp. 51-108; Zheng Haijuan 鄭海娟, "Xin chuan yu xin quan: 'Gu xin sheng jing' de jie jing zhi dao 薪傳與新詮: 《古新聖經》的解經之道(Annotating the Bible in Mid-Qing China: Poirot's efforts)" in: *Wen bei* 文貝 (*Cowrie*): *Bi jiao wen xue yu bi jiao wen hua* 比较文学与比较文化 (*Comparative literature & culture*) 2014, no. 1, pp. 55-84; and also see Song Gang 宋剛, "Ben yi yu tu yu zhi jian: Qing dai Yesu hui shi He Qingtai de Sheng jing han yi ji quan shi' 本意' 与 '土语' 之间: 清代耶穌會士賀清泰的《聖經》漢譯及詮釋 (Between 'original meaning' and 'vernacular language': The translation of the Bible and exegesis of the Jesuit Louis de Poirot during the Mid-Qing period)", in: *Guo ji han xue* 国际汉学 (*International sinology*) no. 5 (Dec. 2015), pp. 23-49

thought it best to give the Empress what she wanted. It is from the Jesuits in Russia, that the Society was later revived worldwide.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Fr Louis de Poirot wrote several letters to the Congregation of Propaganda from November 4, 1778, requesting the reestablishment of the Society of the Jesus in China. Pope Pius VI had approved that the Jesuits in White Russia could receive novices and elect a new Vicar General.

In 1802 de Poirot thought there was an opportunity to restore the Society. With the agreement of the other four remaining Jesuits (José Bernardo de Almeida,⁽⁴⁵⁾ Luigi Cipolla, Guiseppe Panzi and Jean-Baptiste Grammont⁽⁴⁶⁾) in China, in September 1803 Louis de Poirot sent an application to Pope Pius VII and the Father General Gruber asking to join Society of Jesus in Russia “wrote a letter to the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII, and another to Father General, Gabriel Gruber, demanding the sending of Jesuits to China, and their own re-admission in the Society”.⁽⁴⁷⁾

This application initiated a plan to continue the mission in China in 1805. Eventually de Poirot was successful. In 1806 Gruber’s successor, the Father General Tadeusz Brzozowski sent letters to de Poirot. I cannot find the letter written in 1803; only the letter from Father General Brozowski to de Poirot in 1806. The following is the translation from original Latin letter⁽⁴⁸⁾:

29 September 1806

To the Rev. Fr Louis de Poirot or Luigi Cipolla, Peking, to be sent with the Greco-Russian priests who are to go from Irkutsk to Peking.

I send this letter to Yr Rev. with the Greek priests who travel from the borders of the Russian Empire to Peking to succeed their confrères who until recently resided in that city but have now returned to the Capital of our Empire. Yr Rev. will be able to use this same occasion to send me an answer to my letter, and I pray again and again that you will do that. So that those priests even more willingly offer to accept Yr Rev.’s letter for myself, it would be sufficient to tell them that Prince Galitzin, the procurator of the most great synod of St Petersburg, kindly undertook to transmit this letter of mine to Yr Rev. and that he has allowed an answer to be brought to me by the same route.

Yr Rev. will be keen to know something of the matters of the Society: I briefly satisfy your desire. The Superior Gen., the Rev. Fr Gabriel Gruber, who readmitted Yr Rev. into the Society, flew away to blissful eternity, as it is right to hope, on 6 April 1809. The one who writes this to Yr Rev. was elected to his position in the Gen. Congregation on 14 September of the same year. We are in this Empire altogether 330 members of the Society under the protection of the Great Emperor of Russia, Alexander I, who graciously guards us and bestows his favours on us. Other members of our Society in the Kingdoms of the Two Sicilies were restored to their former status in a Brief of the Holy Pope Pius VII and are already as numerous as those of us here in Russia; but in the month of July of this

(44) M. Ignat SJ, le missioni della Compagnia di Gesu di Russia Bianca (1772-1820), in *Studia Missionalia*, vol. 60, 2011, pp. 319-354.

(45) José Bernardo de Almeida (甘若翰, 1736–1812), a French Jesuit, was skilled at calendrical calculation. He baptized a Korean nobleman, which made Christianity popular in Korea. See Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, vol. 2, 958–962.

(46) Jean-Baptiste Grammont (索德超, 1728–1805), a Portuguese Jesuit. He was appointed Director of the Department of Astronomy in 1783. He was also a medical doctor. See Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, vol. 2, 886–888

(47) *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 976.

(48) Latin text from ARSI, Rissia 1021, pp. 188-190

year 1806, they were driven away from Naples by the French who are now laying waste to everything and have occupied Naples. The state of Europe is sad and Yr Rev. has no doubt been informed about that by some missionaries arriving from Europe: and that is the reason why the Holy Pope cannot confer greater favours on us however much he is anxious to do so.

While the Rev. Fr my predecessor was alive, he arranged for some assistance for you in the form of missionaries, as our most gracious Emperor wishes to gratify the great Emperor of the Chinese by dispatching three Jesuits with excellent knowledge of physics mathematics and sculpture; but because no one is now allowed to go to the Chinese missions without previously obtained permission from the Apostolic See, they remain stuck in Lisbon already for the second year: I hope, however; that they will travel next spring. These are their names: Fr Norbert Korsak, Polish, mathematician and physicist; Fr Giovanni Antonio Grassi, Italian from Bergamo, physicist and mathematician; Johann Stürmer, a German brother, sculptor. If the Lord first guides them to Canton from where they wish to send a letter for the Fr Vicar Gen. to Yr Rev., please see to it that as soon as they reach Peking they are well informed by you and the other old fathers of the conditions for spreading the glory of GOD in those regions and for offering our trifling obedience to the two great Emperors. Yr Rev. will bestow the greatest comfort on me if you, when you have occasion to do so, let me have a letter by means of those Greeks, I mean the Russian priests, who are in Peking, for it is of great interest to me to know about matters concerning the mission. Thus, when you write me a letter; you should first of all let me know if you received the Rev. Fr Gruber's affirmative reply to your letter in which you had wished for him to readmit you to the Society and reinstate you in your position. Next I wish to know whether the Rev. Fr Cipolla is alive and who else and how many of the Society in Peking and elsewhere are still; and finally I wish to know how the cause of JESUS Christ and the Holy Church is proceeding there.

The very good Fr Bourgeois sent a quite lengthy letter to our people here in Russia more than twenty years ago, which safely reached us here. Yr Rev. can easily write to me with the help of the priests that I have already mentioned. Use this way so that I am able to communicate with you from time to time; this I desire and I also ask Yr Rev. for it for the glory of GOD, and I commend myself to the prayers of all our people, however many they are there, and to the saint.

From this letter, we can see that the Jesuits in Peking never stopped contacting the Jesuits in Russia. Fr Bourgeois sent a letter twenty years ago in 1786. The Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking began in 1727. The Jesuits in Peking had good relationship with Russian Orthodox and always kept an eyes on the situation in Russia.

Father General Gruber assigned the three missionaries to Peking. They began their journey in February, 1805. They crossed through Russia and Finland to Sweden and Stockholm and then to Copenhagen. They crossed a stormy winter sea to London. From there they sent out for Lisbon and stopped off at Cork on they way. They waited a long time in Lisbon and while waiting they studied astronomy in Lisbon and at Coimbra. Although later they got permission from the Holy See, they could not find any ship in Lisbon willing to let them board for China. Once more they went back to England in Nov. 1807, to make another effort to set sail, and also studied more astronomy in London. Then they went back to White Russia to make a new attempt to get to China by way of Tartary. But they were not successful. Eventually, Father Korsack worked in England and Father Grassi was sent

to the United States. Father Grassi was named Superior, and Rector of Georgetown by the General. I was not able to find any information about the Brother.

José Bernardo de Almeida died in 1805 before they had a reply from the Father General. Some have believed that de Poirot, Grammont, Panzi, and probably Cipolla, renewed their religious vows in the re-established Society of Jesus in 1806.

Cipolla died soon after, Panzi died in 1812 and Grammont in 1812. Louis de Poirot remained alone in Peking, the last remaining Jesuit.

About the date of de Poirot's death there are two different opinions. The more common view is that he died in 1814.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Another has it that he died in 1813. According to the archive, Louis de Poirot actually died in Peking on December 13, 1813.⁽⁵⁰⁾ After he died, the Jiaqing Emperor presented him with 100 silver taels. This was quite honorable because that eminent painter Giuseppe Castiglione only got 300 liang.

Conclusion

Louis Antoine de Poirot (1735–1813) was the last of the Western painters who worked for the Qianlong Emperor after the famous Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione. Images play key roles in Qianlong's construction of universalist knowledge and in his creation of political narrative. Qianlong wove both western text and a western-inspired painting style into a traditional narrative of imperial authority; and within that narrative, he visually represented the perfection of his empire. Qianlong was an innovator in the use of visual technique to recreate or even replace "reality" and displayed even stricter control over objective "reality". Qianlong ordered documentary-style paintings with illusionistic effects to be made of almost all the marvellous creatures sent to the court as auspicious signs.⁽⁵¹⁾ For example, *Kuoerka xian xiang ma tu* 廓爾喀貢象馬圖 (The Tribute of Gurkhas) shows elephants and horses sent by the king of Gurkha (Nepal) after Qianlong conquered the country. The Qianlong court was also expert at producing perspective images showing celebrations and achievements befitting a mighty empire: for example, *Two Campaigns Suppressing* [Pingding liang Jinchuan desheng zhantu 平定兩金川得勝戰圖].

As a translator, he was the first to translate most of the Bible into Chinese and Manchu, he had already translated about fifty-seven of the seventy-three books of the Vulgate. He also translated documents between the Chinese government and foreign embassies.

As a missionary, he was only permitted to preach to the Han Chinese. He experienced the struggles of the Jesuits after suppression, and made efforts to restore the Society. Louis de Poirot was a very important Jesuit and a link between the Old Jesuits and the New. Even more, recent research on Christianity in China in Qianlong persecution of Christians period and later focused on local activities⁽⁵²⁾ while the research on activities of the

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(51) Lai Yu-chih, I Translated by Philip Hand, "Images, Knowledge and Empire: Depicting Cassowaries in the Qing Court", *Transcultural Studies* 2013.1, pp.7-101. Originally published in Chinese under the title "Tuxiang, zhishi yu diguo: Qinggong de shihuoji tuihui 圖像, 知識與帝國: 清宮的食火雞圖繪," *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, 29:2 (2011).

(52) See Zhangze 張澤, *Qingdai Jinjiao qi de Tianzhujiao* 清代禁教期的天主教, (Taipei: Gaungqi Chubanshe 1992). Zhang Xianqing 張先清, *Guanfu and Zongzu yu Tianzhujiao, 17-19 Shiji Fuan Xiangcun Jiaohui de Lishi Xushi* 官府、宗族與天主教-17-19世紀福安鄉村教會的歷史敘事 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2009), Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 69, 2010. Huang Xiaojuan, *Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780-1860*, (PhD diss. Princeton University, 2006)

Jesuits based on Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein case. ⁽⁵³⁾ So the study of Louis de Poirot shed a light on the activities of the Jesuits in late Imperial China.

**中文题目：
最后在华耶稣会士：贺清泰 (1735-1813)**

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摘要：本文将利用中外文献研究欧洲耶稣会解散之后留华最后一人——贺清泰。贺清泰于乾隆中期来华，此时禁教已久，在华传教士已屈指可数，且仅限于内府工作，没有传教自由。耶稣会更于1773年为教宗勒令解散，直至1814年复会。贺清泰便是在这种政教内外交困情况下，留华传教。作为画家，作为译者，贺清泰都在中西文化交流史有着重要的地位。作为宫廷传教士，如何在禁教期间努力，配合他们的身份，积极化解教案支持传教，贺清泰就是一个案例。作为一个前耶稣会士，请求派遣传教士来华，申请重新加入幸存的俄罗斯耶稣会，贺清泰是新旧耶稣会的连接点。

关键词：解散；禁教；重新入会

(53) Saje Mitja, *A. Hallerstein –Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court* (Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla, 2009); Stanislav Južnič, *Hallerstein: Kitajski Astronomiz Mengša* (Ljubljana: Tehniška založba Slovenije, 2003).

