‘Intoxicated, we listened to warblers and swallows chattering in the spring wind’

Art in the friendship between François de Rougemont and Wu Li

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They are esteemed to the extent that they are very helpful to procure the favor of friends: pictures of all kind, not only painted with a brush, but also those etched in bronze plates (...). What I am looking for above all and in a large number are: emblems, such as those of which numerous specimens are hanging in the corridors of our colleges; new and old alike, all these pictures are pleasing here in a wondrous way.

Detail fig. 2

This was written by Christian Herdtrich, a Jesuit priest stationed in the Chinese port city of Guangzhou, in a detailed account of objects he needed from Europe in 1670.¹ His request illustrates how European missionaries used the visual arts to solidify social relationships in China, recognizing that the Confucian literati fostered friendships on the basis of the ‘culture of the brush’: poetry, calligraphy, and painting.

Relations documented between Chinese and Europeans in the seventeenth century that can rightly be called ‘friendships’ – other than associations of patronage or master versus disciple – were rare, but certainly possible. Best-known is the bond between the founding father of the China mission, Matteo Ricci, and the eminent scholar Xu Guangqi, who converted to Christianity in 1603 (fig. 1). Later in the century his granddaughter Candida Xu arrived on friendly terms with Philippe Couplet, a missionary from the Southern Netherlands who wrote her biography. This essay will explore a third friendship that is little known but no less extraordinary: that between a Chinese painter of landscapes, Wu Li (1631-1718), and an enthusiastic patron of the arts born in Maastricht, François de Rougemont (1624-1676), also a Jesuit. Their intimacy, which seems to have resulted in the first Chinese painting partly dedicated to a European, evidences the role of the visual arts as social lubricant, for which the missionaries expressly imported engravings, mostly produced in the Netherlands. As Noël Golvers argues in his monumental study of Jesuit scholarship in China, images, as part of a ‘culture of attraction and a policy of self-promotion towards the Chinese’, would ‘compensate to an important extent for the linguistic threshold’.²

Rougemont was based in an outpost of the mission, in Changshu near Suzhou (close to present-day Shanghai). As his surviving account books for the years 1674-1676 reveal, he decorated his residence with images for public display and also used artworks as gifts. These included engravings made in the Netherlands, works produced in China, and Sino-European co-productions. His friendship with Wu Li illustrates aspects of patronage

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Matteo Ricci and Xu Guangqi, engraving,
18 x 27.9 cm, Athanasius Kircher, *Toonnel
van China* (Amsterdam 1667)

of Christian art in provincial China of the early Qing period and, conversely, the Chinese view towards European art.

In light of Herdtrich's remark that artworks are so 'very helpful to procure the favor of friends', a painting worthy of note is Wu Li's *A lake in spring* (fig. 2). A lake's expanse allows our gaze to trail the flight of birds, from the foreground's forked trees towards a walking path in the back that leads to hazy but colorful mountains. The empty sky in the top right, characteristic of Chinese art, contains an inscription and two poems. 'Mr Lu from the Far West' probably refers to Lu Riman, Rougemont's Chinese name. The work

was made to commemorate a day of drinking and writing poetry, seemingly enjoyed by the painter, the missionary, and a certain Mr. Chaohan:

Accompanied by Mr. Lu from the far West I went to this gentleman's [Mr. Chaohan] house in the spring of the *chen* year [1676]. We drank wine and wrote poems the whole day, thereby emulating the spirit and manner of Beihai [the poet Kong Rong, 153-208 CE]. The following day at daybreak I braved the rain and set out for home (...). So I, out of gratitude for his kindness, wrote two poems in seven-character line and painted this picture after Zhao Dalian's [c. 1080-1100] *Spring lake and sky*.

About Mr. Chaohan nothing else is known, but like his drinking companion he may have been a Christian convert. The subsequent lines of poetry express the artist's appreciative mood:

I recollect the first time I was wandering east of the Lou River, we met as if old friends and your manner was like Beihai's. It was just the time when the silkworms were still sleeping, and the flowers had not yet faded. Intoxicated, we listened to warblers and swallows chattering in the spring wind.³

Reflections on the pleasures of alcohol and enjoying nature in company were common in classical Chinese poetry. They were often of a performative nature, as painted or written celebrations of friendship were intended as friendly gifts. Wu Li was a literatus-painter steeped in this tradition, as evidenced by the poems on *A lake in spring* and many others collected in his *Mojingji* (*Ink well collection*).⁴

There are no records that reveal when Wu Li first met Rougemont. Yet he was born and raised in the immediate vicinity of the Jesuit church. By 1671 he had converted and, in Rougemont's company, prepared as a catechist for his future religious life, which would culminate in his composition of a body of Christian poems; the painting may therefore have been a record of an enduring friendship.⁵ For Rougemont, partaking in such drinking bouts may have been strategic as much as it was pleasurable. In his responsibility for the Christian community in Changshu of nearly 10,000 souls, he pursued the Jesuit top-down strategy: to first cozy up to the literati. Adopting this upper class's dress, behavior, and cultural ideals allowed them to extend their message authoritatively to the common people. In so doing Rougemont followed in the footsteps of Ricci, whose experiences, first recounted in Latin in 1615, had become a best seller in Europe.⁶ They would have been mandatory reading for recruits for the China mission at the Jesuit college in Antwerp.

Ricci had envisaged a network of trusted contacts in the Middle Kingdom as the basis for his missionary activities, starting from the first text that he published in Chinese: *Jiao you lun* (*Treatise on making friends*, 1595). This collection of aphorisms from the European classics, devoted to the theme of friendship, was itself intended as a gift to his Chinese friends.⁷

Ricci had recognized that friendship was a complicated issue according

to the literati's dominant ideology of Neo-Confucianism. The 'five cardinal human relationships' (*wu lun*) were the five bonds that men were to foster: between husband and wife; with one's parents; between brothers; between ruler and subject; and between friends. Of these five, friendship was unique, as the others were overtly concerned with the maintenance of the imperial social order (or *guojia*, literally the Chinese 'state-family'). Friendship was the only bond that was freely chosen. It could transcend social hierarchies and, apparently, also bridge cultural distances.⁸ Unsurprisingly, the central text of Confucianism, the *Analects*, begins with a statement on friendship:

Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application? Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant quarters? (...) If a man (...) in serving his parents, can exert his utmost strength; if, in serving his prince, he can devote his life; if, in his intercourse with his friends, his words are sincere: although men say that he has not learned, I will certainly say that he has.⁹

Sincere intercourse with friends could be established and maintained by gifts, which were, as such, all but mandatory among literati officials, under the rubric of *yingchou* (civilities).¹⁰ Wu Li's practice of gifting artworks clearly stemmed from this ideological background; he made *A lake in spring* just after the death of his teacher Chen Hu, a well-known Neo-Confucian philosopher with whom he had studied intensively.¹¹

It is worthy of note that while Wu Li was affected by Christianity, Rougemont, conversely, was acquainted with Confucianism: he was responsible, with Couplet and Herdtrich, for the first Latin translation of the *Analects*, eventually published in Paris in 1687. In his friendly relations with Wu Li and other literati, he clearly recognized the importance of gifts of European art. Using the Latin term *munera* (services, favors, gifts), he wrote that the mandarins 'should not be visited without some splendor so as not to be repelled, nor without presents in order not to displease them'; in particular 'profane pictures of hunting scenes, battle fields etc. are here in a curious way necessary to us' since 'they make a special and much sought after present for the heathen mandarins.'¹² (The practice, obviously, paralleled a European one, and when Philippe Couplet returned to Europe in 1684, he presented Chinese paintings to the French king. The exchange of images might also express power relations in a more complex manner: in 1675 the Chinese emperor, displaying consummate cultural superiority, made the Beijing Jesuits a gift of a Dutch atlas from his private shelves.)¹³

That Antwerp's publishing houses were responsible for much of the European printed images and texts brought to China has been established by Golvers.¹⁴ Upon first arriving in East Asia, in the Portuguese settlement in Macao, Rougemont, already 'burdened with a sackload of books', immediately wrote back to ask for additional works by the Antwerp engravers Cornelis Galle and the Wierix brothers.¹⁵ In Changshu, he took care to decorate publicly accessible parts of the Jesuit house with prints and paintings. Recognizing that the Chinese appreciated secular topics, pride of place went to an image (possibly by the Antwerp engraver Hendrik Causé) of the funeral

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Wu Li, *A lake in spring* (1676), hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 62.6 x 123.8 cm, Shanghai Museum

of archduke Leopold Wilhelm, governor of the Southern Netherlands and patron of the Jesuits. (As Golvers argues, the image testified to the Jesuits' care for the deceased, something to which the Chinese were sensitive).¹⁶ This resulted in attracting visitors far and wide: Rougemont wrote to his countryman Couplet that he would have 'no idea how famous this house is made by both the portico and the aula, and how frequently visited by citizens [from Changshu] and people who come from outside, as both are decorated with various pictures and prints, including European ones.'¹⁷ While some works were on fixed display, others were intended as gifts: the account books mention 'holy Christmas images, to be presented to convinced Christians', and Rougemont sent Candida Xu a locally painted picture of the Madonna.¹⁸ It is likely that Wu Li was also among the recipients and admirers: he wrote in his poetic sequence *Singing of the course and source of the Holy Church* that 'on painted walls, year after year, we contemplate their images'.¹⁹

Rougemont's remark that his display 'included' European art suggests that most works were not imported, but rather traditional Chinese scroll paintings or locally produced Christian art. What is more, the term 'European' is ambiguous in his account books. Besides sacred art (*imagines sacrae*) he ordered 'European' images from local artists, which probably meant secular topics. A third category was *perspectiva* or *trompe-l'oeils*. These works must have been hybrids, combining traditional Chinese craftsmanship with Netherlandish models and stylistic elements such as linear perspective, and perhaps the technique of oil painting.

It is tantalizing to speculate on any collaboration between Europeans and their Chinese counterparts. The Jesuits sent at least four artists from the Low Countries to China: Albert Brac (b. 1622) from the Dutch Republic and Ignatius Lagot (1603-1651) and Henri Xavier (b. 1608) from the Southern Netherlands all worked as painters in the college in Macao; the Maastricht-born artist Hendrik van Vlieden (b. 1608) departed for China in 1644.²⁰ In Changshu, which was located relatively off the beaten track, Rougemont was largely on his own, and he furnished relevant prints and instructions to local Chinese masters, who reproduced them via the woodblock press.²¹ Given the high number of converts in the region, it is not surprising that the account books reveal his involvement in sourcing paper, panels, and colors for a sizeable industry of printed images, *trompe-l'oeil* perspectives, and full-fledged scroll paintings. Among the Chinese painters (*pictores*) who made sacred and 'European' images for him, four are identified by name: masters Li, Cham Ku Min, C'ien Uih Quon, and U Yuen Ngao. The account books furthermore mention a *sculptor* (possibly a woodblock carver) named master Yam and an *impressor* or printer with a studio in Changshu called Chu Pe Him.²² A typical reference would be as such: 'I gave to the painter Li the price of nine sacred prints 0.200 tael' and 'again I offered gratis three images of the Savior; in total they cost 0.210 tael'.²³ The mounting of images on fulsome scrolls was a particularly pricey affair. Rougemont noted a payment of 1.000 taels 'for the holy and profane pictures which [the artisan] assembled on scrolls in a very elegant way'.²⁴ The practice suggests that prints made in Europe were colored and pasted on traditional scrolls, accompanied by a caption in Chinese. This practi-

cal 'framing' was ideological at the same time, turning the European works into fitting gifts for the Chinese context.

What was the quality of the resulting works? As no images from Rougemont's mission post survive, written reactions and similar extant artworks may be helpful. Sino-European hybrids have been the source of extensive scholarship in recent years, but contemporary reactions are scarce.²⁵ One source is a treatise by Ferdinand Verbiest, another missionary from the Netherlands, based at the court in Beijing. He wrote about the practice of imitating European works in the context of trompe-l'oeil architecture, for which the Jesuits brought copies of Hans Vredeman de Vries's model book *Perspective* (1605).²⁶ The Chinese were apparently amazed at how on a flat surface deep columnar galleries, porticos, and atriums appeared (and many were deceived into thinking they saw real houses and gardens). From Beijing the Jesuits had brought this art 'almost all over China', resulting in local adaptations that Verbiest found clumsy, since they made up for technical defects with an excessive use of the imagination.²⁷ As to the European 'hunting scenes and battle fields' mentioned by Rougemont, it is harder to assess their significance in China.²⁸ What is evident is that most of the images of which local copies and imitations survive originated in the Netherlands. Famously, in 1640 the Jesuits had presented the emperor with 48 miniature paintings by selected masters including Goltzius, Van Mander, and Stradanus. Displayed in the Palace of Great Virtue in Beijing they reportedly inspired the conversion of 50 noblewomen and were copied by Chinese artists.²⁹ In the case of Rougemont and Couplet, whose formative years had been in the Antwerp college, their reliance on Northern masters is all the more unsurprising.

To get an impression of what these 'European' images made in China looked like, one might examine precisely the works that Rougemont demanded from Antwerp to serve as gifts. As he wrote in a letter of 23 December 1658, 'in very high esteem here [in China] is the life of Christ, published by Father H. Nadal, and incised by H. Wierix, and it is undoubtedly a very useful present. If [Cornelis] Galle, or whatever engraver well-acquainted with his craft would undertake it to cut it again, he would make without any doubt [good] profit'.³⁰ This referred to Hieronymus Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (*Illustrations of the Gospel*, 1594-1595) with images by Maerten de Vos and Hieronymus and Antoon Wierix. The book was 'of even greater use than the Bible,' Ricci had said, since 'while we are in the middle of talking to potential converts, we can place right in front of their eyes things that with words alone we would not be able to make clear'.³¹ It is therefore not surprising that Chinese adaptations of these images survive: amidst the traditional Buddhist and Daoist iconography in *Chengshi moyuan* (*Master Cheng's garden of ink cakes*), published in 1606, are three Chinese copies of the Netherlandish prints. The author may have received them from Ricci, whom he had met around that time.

As the kind of image that made 'a very useful present' in the context of Chinese conversions, one of De Vos's works stands out. It combines two scenes in a single image: *Christ appearing to Simon Peter and the miraculous draught of fishes*. Peter's recognition of Christ appearing after his death may have held personal appeal to the artist, who had embraced Lutheran-

ism before converting back to the mother church. The Chinese version of 1606 includes an attempt to render in Latin the names of artist and engraver (but it does not feature the insects and shells that grace the border of a version printed in Amsterdam, figs. 3-4).³²

If the *Chengshi moyuan* illustrates what Christian works produced by Chinese converts may have looked like, Rougemont's friendship with Wu Li also offers the opportunity to hear from the Chinese vantage point. As many scholars have remarked, the latter's 'astonishing achievement in forging single handed a corpus of explicitly Christian devotional poetry' was not matched by an appreciation of Christian imagery. Art historians have failed to find any Netherlandish influence in Wu Li's painting and have had no difficulty siting it (including *Lake in spring*) within the 'orthodox' tradition of Chinese landscape art.³³

As is evident from his statements on art in *Mojingji*, Wu Li was steeped in the traditional aesthetics that linked art and poetry, favoring personal expression or vital energy (*qi*) over lifelikeness. In the following passage, what first of all merits attention is that painting and writing appear as inherently social activities. Wu Li explains differences between Chinese and European arts by comparing them to differences in polite behavior:

Social customs there [in Europe] are exactly opposite to those of our own land. For example, when we in our own land receive visitors, we dress up in proper hat and dress, but when people receive visitors in this place, they do nothing but doff their hats. When it comes to writing and painting, the same kinds of differences exist.

The reference is clearly to the 'culture of the brush' as an all but mandatory social lubricant among literati. As to calligraphy and art, the author continues:

Our characters have phonetic values only after they have been formed by assembling dots and strokes, but theirs first have phonetic values and only then become words, which are arranged in hook-shaped strokes so that they form rows read horizontally. When our paintings do not get caught up in verisimilitude and do not fall into holes [i.e., become occupied with sense of depth], we call them 'numinous' and 'untrammeled,' but their paintings instead always work hard at what should be bright and what dark, what should be placed forward and what back, verisimilitude, and the sense of depth. (...) The way the brush is used is also different. Things are so often as different as this that I could never give an account of them all.³⁴

It is worthy of note that Wu Li not only criticizes European art but also places it in opposition to Chinese tradition. Whereas the Western alphabetic scripts privilege sound above shape, the Chinese script is a matter of shape not sound. Analogously, European painting privileges likeness above brushwork, and Chinese painting brushwork above likeness.

It is not difficult to connect this criticism to what happened to De Vos's imagery. As the Chinese artist has removed all contrasts, 'verisimilitude and

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Antoon Wierix II after Maerten de Vos,
*Christ appearing to Simon Peter and the
miraculous draught of fishes* (1582-1586),
engraving, 19.5 x 15.9 cm, Rijksmuseum
Amsterdam, RP-P-1904-166

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Chinese artist, *Christ appearing to Simon Peter and the miraculous draught of fishes*, woodcut, 31.7×18.0 cm, from Cheng Dayue, *Chengshi moyuan*, 1606, book XI, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, inv. Chinois 1137

sense of depth' are deemphasized. The rendition of the clouds is, by contrast, of greater elegance – calligraphic, one is tempted to say, somehow recalling (in the words of Oliveira Lopes) the Buddhist painting style.³⁵ More may have been at stake, however, than just a shifted stylistic preference from the lifelike to the calligraphic. Craig Clunas argues that what most upset the literati in the imported engravings was 'the utterly ostensive relationship between word and image.' '[U]sing a picture to tell a story' clashed with those elements that Wu Li described as 'numinous and untrammelled': painting and poetry as expressions of the vital forces shared by man and nature.³⁶ In short, the aesthetic ambiguity preferred by the literati could not accommodate the images that Ricci had defined as placing the Gospel 'right in front of the eyes' of potential converts.

Wu Li's skepticism as to the qualities of Western art seems to emerge furthermore from a quatrain for an unknown friend, 'At year's end I met a friend so I sketched plum blossoms to send him':

At year's end when we met, snow still late in coming,
The sun was setting before we ran out of transcendent talk.
The Western things in my old bag, don't have any now,
So I've sent you a bough of plum blossoms just painted for fun.³⁷

The 'Western things in [his] old bag' might reference artistic gifts he received from Rougemont, which he would not have appreciated much – less than a painterly trifle made 'for fun' according to the Chinese tradition. The exchange between painter and missionary thus suggests that intercultural intimacy was no straightforward matter. In the space of this essay, it is impossible to fully acknowledge whether their relation, as mediated by the arts, can be called 'friendship', according to either Ricci's classical definition or the Confucian one. What is evident is that Rougemont himself was acutely aware of pitfalls. In an undated letter to Couplet he warned: 'Oh my dear Father Philippe, how carefully must we act in China, especially with the literati! How many things must be hidden!'³⁸ His outcry expressed the Jesuits' official strategy of accommodation: of adapting their orthodox ideology as much as necessary to the cultural sensibilities of the receiving party, which involved dissimulation of their real intentions. Making friends was a means to an end – converting China – and the missionaries' use of images reflects this caution. In a letter of 1670, Rougemont instructed a colleague about the locals' abhorrence of images of female nudity, even in mythology.³⁹ Yet more problematic were representations of the crucified Christ: in Changshu, in order not to offend, such a statue was displayed only momentarily before Mass began.⁴⁰

One can get a glimpse of such 'accommodated' uses of art when an admiral of the Dutch East India Company, Balthasar Bort, arrived in the Jesuit house at Fuzhou in 1663. He was received by Couplet, who was eager to lay his hands on Dutch butter, cheese, and newspapers. In the church, Bort noticed a curious mixture of pagan and Christian elements. The painting of 'our savior Jesus Christ' showed only the upper half of the body and, even more remarkably, had no aureole 'as [Catholics] usually depict him'. There was no crucifix or any other statue. 'In short', Bort concluded, the Jesuits

墨花留聲

卷之五

三十五

Martini. de Vos inventor Antonius Wiexa sculpsit. In duobus ob hostium in-
excudit.

Martinus de Vos inventor
Antonius Wiexa sculpsit

‘know wonderfully well how to comply with the customs of the country, where they only stay, as they say, to bring the blind pagans to Christ.’⁴¹

Wu Li’s ambivalence towards Western devotional art suggests that the Chinese side was marked by similar ideological flexibility. Chinese sources sometimes give the impression of strategy rather than of taking a religious side. Those whom the missionaries proudly presented as their Chinese ‘proselytes’ were often literati who, out of interest in foreign arts and sciences, played the part the Europeans desired.⁴² As Wu Li’s Christian poetry betrays, his convictions were more deeply rooted. But his skepticism towards the ‘Western things in [his] old bag’ suggests that his friendship with Rougemont may have been similarly ambiguous, oscillating between transactional strategy, cross-cultural curiosity, and, perhaps, affection. Associating with an outsider was a way to circumvent, or at least have a pause from, traditional Confucian orthodoxy. In his seminal study of Wu Li’s spirituality, Lin Xiaoping has argued that the painter’s bond with Rougemont actually meant a *new* kind of friendship in the Chinese context: a ‘spiritual emancipation, away from the constraints of the Confucian Five Relations toward a more genuine humanity.’⁴³ Such psychological introspection is hard to undertake across the centuries. Yet it must be safe to say that Wu Li was attracted just as much by the sheer strangeness of a European and his arts, as by the religious message he brought. This fascination of the foreign characterizes a poem by another literatus, Chen Weisong (1625-1682), written upon his acquaintance with Rougemont, ‘To the foreigner Master Lu from the Far West’:

Bizarre! Amazing!
 Oh my, how very fantastic and incredible!
 The places you’ve passed through:
 noxious vapors of Siam, thick fogs of Holland!
 Crane-language: do we know for certain what era it is from?
 Unicorn classics: we do not discern what man wrote them down.
 You rode crashing waves 90.000 miles to come, sea turtles your
 companions.
 Ocean beyond oceans – light like lacquer!
 Country beyond countries – sky with no sun (...)
 We’re startled at your strange arts.⁴⁴

After Rougemont’s death, in 1680, Wu Li decided to make this journey in the other direction, and travel with the East India Company to the ‘thick fogs of Holland’. Seemingly for his artistic skills, he was added to a group of Chinese-born acolytes who were to prepare the bilingual edition of Confucius, guided by Philippe Couplet. It may have been owing to his advanced age that the painter traveled only as far as Macao; he was later ordained as one of the three first Chinese-born Jesuit priests.

Notes

- 1 Herdrich's list of 23 November 1670, quoted from Golvers 1999, 468.
- 2 Golvers 2015, 597, 482.
- 3 Transl. from Lin Xiaoping 1987, 24. I follow this article's suggestion that Rougemont shared in the bout of drinking and poeticizing, which is not stated incontrovertibly in the painting's inscriptions.
- 4 On his other artistic gifts, see Fung Nok Kan 2012, 133-164.
- 5 Golvers 1999, 416; on Wu Li's beliefs, Fung Nok Kan 2012 and Chaves 1993.
- 6 Dijkstra 2019, 86-87.
- 7 Hosne 2014.
- 8 Kutcher 2000, 1615.
- 9 Legge 1991, 116.
- 10 Menegon 2014, 548.
- 11 Lin Xiaoping 1987, 25.
- 12 Rougemont, *Elogium* (1690); Rougemont to Johannes Bollandus, 23 December 1658; both quoted from Golvers 1999, 326-327, 467.
- 13 Foss 1990, 129; Golvers 2015, 566.
- 14 Golvers 2005, 205-206.
- 15 Rougemont to Bollandus, quoted from Golvers 1999, 347.
- 16 Golvers 1999, 475.
- 17 Rougemont, *Elogium*, quoted from Golvers 1999, 467-468.
- 18 Rougemont's account book, quoted from Golvers 1999, 106; also 473.
- 19 Chaves 1993, 166.
- 20 Dehergne 1973, 35, 868.
- 21 Golvers 1999, 468-469.
- 22 Golvers 1999, 476-478.
- 23 Rougemont's account book, quoted from Golvers 1999, 112, 184.
- 24 Rougemont's account book, quoted from Golvers 1999, 168.
- 25 Clunas 1997, 172-183, and 204, n. 1.
- 26 Golvers 2015, 487.
- 27 Verbiest 1687, 78-79.
- 28 Illustrative may be the cow by Bloemaert that features in Han Huaide's art: Wang Ching-Ling 2016.
- 29 Standaert 2007, 51-52.
- 30 Rougemont to Bollandus, quoted from Golvers 1999, 467.
- 31 Ricci & Tacchi Venturi 1911-1913, 284.
- 32 Oliveira Lopes 2017 has been the first to point out that the prints in *Chengshi moyuan* were not derived directly from Nadal's book: the sequence and accuracy of the Chinese rendition demonstrate that they belonged to Van Hoeswinckel's *Dominicae passionis mysteria* of 1584.
- 33 Clunas 1997, 181.
- 34 Translation in Lynn 2016, at n. 4 (unpaginated).
- 35 Oliveira Lopes 2017, 101.
- 36 Clunas 1997, 181.
- 37 Translation in Lynn 2016, before n. 6 (unpaginated).
- 38 Rougemont to Couplet, undated; quoted from Golvers 1999, 304.
- 39 Rougemont to Prospero Intorcetta, 1670; quoted from Golvers 1999, 476.
- 40 Golvers 1999, 476.
- 41 Couplet's report in Demaerel 1990, 98.
- 42 Hart 2013, 8-9.
- 43 Lin Xiaoping 1987, 29.
- 44 Chaves 1993, 45-46.

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懷初萍跡滯婁東傾蓋相看

北海同正是蠶眠花未老碎

聽鶯燕語春風 歸來三

廷獨高眠病渴新泉手自煎

叢菊未開霜未傲多君先寄賣壺錢

情函有先生僑居隱于婁水予久懷

相訪而未遂於辰春茲遊遠西

魯先生得登君子之堂詩酒累蓋

北海風致不甚過矣旦起冒雨而歸

后不覺中元之後三日也而先生殷勤在哉

惠寄香茗酒錢於山中多湯賦七之二絕

并簡趙大年 湖天春色以志謝

墨井道人吳應