JESUIT EMBLEMATICCA IN CHINA
THE USE OF EUROPEAN ALLEGORICAL IMAGES IN FLEMISH ENGRAVINGS DESCRIBED IN THE KOUDUO RICHAO (CA. 1640)*

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Table of Contents
Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 389
Rudomina's Images and Their Missionary Context ......................................................... 392
Series on the "Devout Heart": Cor Jesu amanti sacrum ............................................. 395
Table 1: Concordance, Cor Jesu .................................................................................... 400
On Eighteen Pictures of the Heart. Translation ............................................................. 401
Series on Occasio by Jan David .................................................................................... 412
Table 2: Concordance, Occasio ..................................................................................... 417
Ten Pictures Showing That Time and Opportunity Must Not Be Missed. Translation ... 417
Conclusion ....................................................................................................................... 431
Bibliography ................................................................................................................... 434

Introduction
The role of images in the spreading of Christianity in China, although often mentioned by scholars, has been overshadowed by discussions of artistic influence onto the Chinese tradition, focussing on the introduction of European pictorial techniques such as chiaroscuro and linear perspective. Undeniably, the Jesuit missionaries used European oil paintings and engravings to impress their literati audiences and the imperial court, and European pictorial conventions exerted a limited influence in China.1

However, religious images also played an important role in the propagation of the Christian faith. Missionaries directly imported European religious paintings,

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1 For a concise summary of the literature on Chinese Christian art, see entries by Erik Zürcher and Michèle Pirazzoli-t Serstevens in Handbook of Christianity in China, pp. 809-839; on the seventeenth century, see in particular pp. 809-822. On the introduction of European linear perspective in China, see Corsi 2004, esp. pp. 29-36 for the pre-1700 period.
prints, and books with illustrations, to use them during their tours of preaching as visual materials, to distribute them to converts for worship, or to place them in churches. They also commissioned local artists with the production of paintings and woodblock prints, inspired by European models. These practices were rather universal in the Chinese mission, and flourished especially in core economic areas, like Jiangnan and Fujian.3

Today little is left of this visual production of religious subjects, mainly preserved in a handful of Chinese Christian texts containing religious images. The best examples are the late Ming series of religious images in Giulio Aleni’s Tianzhu chuxiang jingjie 天主出像經解 (Illustrated Explanation of the Lord of Heaven’s Incarnation, Fujian, 1637) and Adam Schall’s Jincheng shuxiang 進呈書像 (Illustrated Text Presented to His Majesty, Beijing, 1640).4

Traces of the images circulating in the China mission can also be found in written sources, both Chinese and Western. Among such Chinese sources is an extraordinary book, the Kouduo richao (口鐸日抄, Diary of Oral Admonitions, ca. 1640) compiled by Fujianese Christian literati in the 1630s to record the activities of the Italian Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582–1649) and some of his companions in Fujian. The text occasionally mentions that missionaries showed religious pictures to Christians. In particular, it offers a detailed description of two series of images that the Jesuit Andrzej Rudomina (also spelled Rudamina; Lu Ande 盧安德; 1596–1632), one of the confreres of Aleni in Fujian, showed to literati in 1631.5

In this essay I identify these two series of prints, produced in the Low Countries between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centu-

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2 A succinct recent reflection on Jesuit visual culture in general, and on the religious and spiritual importance of art in the Jesuit China mission in particular, is Corsi 2003.

3 The late-Ming Jesuit Annual Letters from Fujian, for example, mention that many Christians owned images of the Saviour (i.e., of an enthroned Christ), of the Virgin Mary, and of saints. The Letters also report that during Holy Week images of the Sorrowful Christ and of the Passion were shown in churches. In Lianjiang, a locale one-day trip from Fuzhou, sources mention that converts “all have good images, since there are Christians who paint them and illuminate them”; Gouvea 1998, p. 158. By this expression, we probably should understand two different processes, that is painting ex novo from a model (mostly engravings), and the colouring of existing prints, a practice common both in Europe and China at the time. Golvers 1999, p. 469, observes that so-called “imaginari pictae” (painted images) circulating in the China mission in the seventeenth century were probably illuminated prints. The conversation of Li Jiubiao, an important Fujianese convert, with the Jesuit Rudomina in Fuzhou in 1631 also confirms that Christians commissioned paintings from prints: “My teacher, I have heard that you have a picture of the Last Judgment. May I please [have it reproduced] in painting? 闔吾師有審判圖，可得請而繪乎?” See Kouduo richao, j. 1, p. 16b (Yesuhui Luomega dang tiangan, hereafter CCT ARSI, vol. 7, p. 68). On images in Fujian, see Gouvea 1998, pp. 101-102 and 199; in Jiangnan, see Golvers 1999, pp. 465-478.

4 For a summary of the scholarship on prints in the China mission, see Handbook of Christianity, pp. 809-822. On the Tianzhu chuxiang jingjie, see most recently Sun 2003; on the Jincheng shuxiang, see Standaert 2006 and id. 2007.

5 For biographical details on Rudomina/Rudamina, see Pfister 1932–1934, pp. 191-193; Dehergne 1973, p. 235; DMB (entry by B. Szczęśniak), pp. 1147-1148.
ries, and offer a translation of their Chinese-language description in the *Kouduo richao*, accompanied by a photographic reproduction of the originals. This identification once again confirms the circulation in the China mission of European engravings, which were shown and occasionally copied by Chinese artists since the times of Ricci. The subjects of the prints and paintings used by missionaries were mainly religious, although occasionally profane subjects (perspectives, buildings, and mythology) were also included. Most of the prints were of Flemish provenance, as we know from previous research and from references in missionary correspondence. For example, François de Rougemont (1624-1676), a Fleming himself, refers in one of his letters to an illuminated print of the Virgin, that the missionary sent as a gift to the prominent Chinese Christian Candida Xu 許 in Shanghai. He also adds that the print belonged to the corpus sponsored by the Flemish Jesuit Antoine Sucquet (1574-1626), well known for his 1620 didactic volume *Via Vitae Aeternae* (The Way to Eternal Life) enriched by allegorical images about the road to salvation. In another letter (1658), Rougemont even suggested that a new printing of the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* by Jeronimo Nadal could be sponsored by the Jesuit procurators of India, for the benefit of the Asian missions, and possibly be engraved by the famous workshop of the Galle family in Antwerp.

Christian Herdtrich SJ (1625-1684), moreover, in a letter written in 1670 to Philipp Miller SJ (1613-1676) in Vienna was rather specific in describing the kind of prints that he wished sent to the China mission:

What I am looking for above all and in large numbers are: emblems (*emblemata*), 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, and they are esteemed to the extent that they are very helpful to procure the favour of friends: pictures of all kinds, not only drawn with a pencil, but also those etched in bronze plates, which we Germans call “Kupferstich.”

Thus, as these sources indicate, the kinds of religious copperplate engravings sought by missionaries and circulating in China included both traditional compositions from the Gospel and images of saints, as well as “wondrous” emblems in the Jesuit tradition. Within this context, the identification of the prints mentioned in the *Kouduo richao* is significant. First, it increases the size of the iconographic body of images that scholars have positively identified as being transmitted to China. Secondly, it gives an idea of how these images were shown and explained to Chinese converts, a glimpse into evangelization methods through visual aids.

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6 On the influence and adaptation of Flemish engravings in China, India and Japan, see Jennes 1943; on prints by the Wierix engravers in China, see, e.g., Jennes 1937; on other later Flemish engravings copied in China, see Golvers 1995; cf. also Gutierrez 2004.

7 Golvers 1999, p. 473.


rarely afforded by sources, and a mirror of Jesuit spirituality in China, and of Chinese reactions to it.

Rudomina’s Images and Their Missionary Context

Under Rudomina’s works, the bibliographic lists of Chinese-language Christian literature by Pfister and Bernard refer to these two series of images as “works” of the missionary.10 In reality, Rudomina limited himself to show and explain to one of his followers a set of eighteen pictures of the “devout heart,” and another set of ten pictures contained in a Western book that he, or the mission, owned at the time. In 1631, Rudomina (Illustr.) had been in the China mission for around five years (he had arrived in Macao in 1626). His command of Chinese could certainly not rival that of his more experienced confrere and superior Giulio Aleni. Moreover, he was afflicted by a respiratory disease, from which he would die in 1632, and thus he had to limit his work to the provincial capital of Fujian.11 In his preaching, reflected in the Kouduo richao, he offered explanations of famous evangelical parables, and he also used pictures as aids to instruction. However, as I am going to detail below, these were not self-explanatory images. Rather, they contained symbolic and allegorical depictions that even for a common European viewer needed some explanation. That is precisely what Rudomina set out to do.

But what was the context of visuality within which the missionary operated? Religious images had at least three important functions in the China mission: they were important catechetical tools, they sustained devotional practices, and finally possessed intrinsic powers to do miracles. As catechetical tools, their contents could be explained to prospective converts by priests as well as Christians, as two literati did in 1645 in a locale at the border between Fujian and Jiangxi:

In the main and most important hall of the house, [a local Christian official] prepared an altar, put a holy image of the Saviour, and many people went there to see

11 The date of death of Rudomina according to Dunin-Szpot 1710, ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 102, f. 235v, is September 9, 1632; cf. also Kouduo richao, j. 4, preface, p. 1a (CCT ARSI, vol. 7, p. 245), where Li Jiubiao confirms that Rudomina passed away in “the seventh month” of 1632, i.e., between August 16 and September 13 of that year.
it, and two grave Christians who were there explained the holy image, giving to all news of the Law of God.\textsuperscript{12}

The pictorial cycles in the churches of Beijing and Hangzhou were also excellent ways to introduce the contents of the Christian faith to visitors through images. In the words of Prospero Intorcetta SJ (1642–1696) in the 1680s, “what attracts an infinite multitude of people of all conditions and of both sexes to see and admire [the church of Hangzhou] is the large number of sacred images.”\textsuperscript{13} The paintings, eighty-four in total and some very large indeed, were placed in different parts of the building, and grouped by themes. All images had an explanation in Chinese characters attached to them. While literati could read the Chinese inscriptions, illiterates could enjoy the figures and the stories as explained to them. As the French Jesuit Le Gobien (1653–1708) observed at a later date:

Every painting was like a preacher, who announced to all onlookers the truth of the Gospel, in a way accommodated to the capabilities of each, and to their intelligence. Each would get some teaching: the rustic people from the figures that they saw, and the literati from the explanations attached.\textsuperscript{14}

Images could also be distributed to individuals and confraternities as devotional objects and aids to prayer. For example, Francisco Furtado (1584–1635) donated in 1636 a “very devout” image of the crucifixion of Christ to the Confraternity of the Passion in Hangzhou, which met once a month for Mass, to hear sermons, and engage in ascetic practices in a special chapel containing the painting.\textsuperscript{15} De Rougemont had devotional portraits of St. Francis Xavier printed in different sizes by local engravers, and “dispersed [them] in all directions, through all the churches of the Christians, the large palaces and the houses of the poor.”\textsuperscript{16} As mentioned above, he also sent an illuminated print of the Virgin with a sleeping baby Jesus to his benefactress Candida Xu, “so that she will command her sorrows to sleep together with the Lord, and that in the sleeping Jesus she will contemplate ... the Lord watching for her salvation.”\textsuperscript{17} Clearly, the image was to be used for contemplation and prayer.

\textsuperscript{12} Gouvea 1998, p. 252.

\textsuperscript{13} See the transcript of a letter by Prospero Intorcetta to his brother Francesco Intorcetta SJ, Hangzhou, August 18, 1683, in ARSI, \textit{Jap.-Sin.} 163, ff. 223r-224v, as transcribed in Capizzi 1989, p. 19, where Intorcetta adds that these sacred images “are painted in such an excellent brush that they cannot be distinguished from the good printed European images that circulate in the world. This Chinese Christian painter of mine has been gifted by heaven with the perfect ability to paint images \textit{al vivo}, with shadows and foreshortenings and other lively features of European painting.” Intorcetta hints here that the model of the paintings were “printed European images,” i.e., copperplate prints. Cf. also the discussion in Mungello 1994, pp. 48-51.

\textsuperscript{14} See Capizzi 1989, p. 10, quoting from Le Gobien’s \textit{Istoria dell’Editto dell’imperatore della Cina in favore della religione Cristiana} (Turin 1699).

\textsuperscript{15} Gouvea 1998, p. 79.

\textsuperscript{16} Golvers 1999, p. 469.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 473.
Finally, paintings and prints were seen as efficacious amulets, and images performed miracles and protected the Christians. Again, the *Litterae Annuae* report such cases. For example, in 1636 a Buddhist monk, who was performing a “superstitious” funerary ritual in the house of a Christian, was culminated by the strong light emanating from an image of Christ in the family shrine, and had to desist from his rituals when a luminous cross hit him twice and made him lose consciousness. In Fuzhou, a sick school teacher hung at home an image of the Guardian Angel he had received from a missionary, so as to obtain healing. When the man prayed to the Angel, the image talked back, convincing him to convert. He thus reacquired also his physical health. Again in Fuzhou, an image of the Virgin Mary, brandished by the local missionary and the Christians to protect the church from a raging fire that was engulfing the neighbourhood, averted the disaster. The wind blew in the opposite direction, and the Christian building as well as the neighbourhood were spared. In sign of gratitude, the local magistrate allegedly visited the church and performed the kowtow in front of the miraculous icon.

It is within this larger context that we can better understand how Rudomina showed emblematic images to Chinese Christian literati. By employing *emblemata*, as we will see, the missionary wished to pass on catechetical and didactic contents to his audience, and possibly help meditation, two main functions of religious images that I have just described.

Here a few words on the Jesuit emblematic tradition is in order, although I cannot do justice in this essay to such a vast topic, already intensely scrutinized by scholars of early modern European religious, intellectual and artistic history. Influenced by the earlier tradition of secular emblematics, Jesuit emblematica became between the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century a cultural tool that could attract people’s attention and efficaciously communicate moral and religious contents. Scholars see the Jesuit emblematic tradition as comprising a diverse array of artistic forms. While cultivating the classic genres of emblems and *imprese* (symbolic images needing an explanation, and usually accompanied by a motto) – like those in the elegant volume *Imago Primi Saeculi* (1640), celebrating the first century of the Society in the Low Countries – the Jesuits introduced a new, important type of allegorical images stringed in narrative sequence, either based on the Gospels, or newly created from the existing repertoire of Christian and classical symbols. These series were usually accompanied by short sub-

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18 On the theme of strange qualities of auspicious objects in the Fujian mission, see Zürcher 1990, pp. 446-447.
19 Gouvea 1998, p. 82.
22 On the *Imago*, see Salviucci 2004. A recent guide to the literature on Jesuit emblematica is Dimler 2002; several important studies on the relationship among images, meditation and devotion in the Jesuit tradition have appeared in the last decade or so: see e.g. Fabre 1992; Smith 2002; and in particular, on Jesuit emblematica and its complex semiotic layering, see Deko-
scriptions or legends intimately linked to the images, sometimes through lettering or numbering of the figures. Increasingly over the seventeenth century, however, extensive prose, expanding on the images’ meaning (adnotationes or declarations), surrounded, linked and at times overwhelmed the images. These narrative series (narrative both in a visual and discursive sense) could be used for meditation in the tradition of the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises, or for didactic-catechetical purposes, especially among the youth and the common people. The representation of human or divine characters and symbols was starkly moralistic: good and evil were clearly depicted as antagonistic, and the outcome (salvation or damnation) made explicit in gory detail. The Jesuits were rather overt about the moral ends of art, and they disclosed this even in their Chinese writings on painting. For example, the Italian Francesco Sambiasi SJ (1581–1649) wrote in his treatise on vision, dreams and painting entitled Shui hua er da 睡眠二答 (Answers on Sleep and Painting) that to paint something evil constitutes a warning, while to paint something good offers an example. To learn what is good means to investigate what is evil, so that if one paints the first, he cannot ignore the second. The intimate nature of man must be in harmony with his outer form, so as to encourage him to do good.

The narratives could either suggest a moral path towards perfection by referring to the story of a third party, or elicit an emotional transference by facing the reader with a “mirror image,” that is a series of pictures that reflected the successive moments of one’s internal moral development, from moral turpitude to redemption.

Series on the “Devout Heart”: Cor Jesu amanti sacrum

The first series mentioned in the Kouduo richao belongs precisely to the emblematic genre of “mirror images,” representing the internal moral development of the individual under the influence of Christ. In the spring of 1631, the Chinese literatus and convert Li Jiubiao 李九標, who had spent part of the winter of 1630–1631 in Fuzhou, the capital of the southern province of Fujian, to take the civil examinations, was ready to leave the city for his native county of Fuqing 福清.

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Dekoninck (2005, p. 377) observes that while in the Plantin period of the Antwerp flourishing of Flemish prints (1555–1589) the connection between images and texts was organic and complementary, in the period of reign of the Archdukes Albert and Isabelle over Flanders (1598–1621) this connection was broken, and written explications took a life of their own, presenting the image as an analogon of the written word, a pure “illustration.” Dekoninck sees this as part of an early modern shift from a classical and medieval “hermeneutics of images” to a modern “semiotics of images,” from a faith in the truth of images, to an understanding of images as representation.

Together with his younger brother Li Jiugong 李九功, Jiubiao had been baptized by Giulio Aleni with the Christian name of Stephanus (Dewang 德望) in late 1628, while attending the exams in Fuzhou. Li visited Rudomina to bid him farewell, and was shown "eighteen pictures of the heart," that is the famous series Cor Jesu amanti sacrum (The Heart Consecrated to the Loving Jesus.).

The original edition of this series was engraved in Antwerp by Anton II Wierix (d. 1604) “towards the end of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century,” as the most recent catalogue of the Wierix family’s opus suggests. Starting in the 1620s and down to the nineteenth century other engravers, many of them anonymous, produced a profusion of copies of these small eighteen engravings (the dimensions of the engraved image and text are an approximation of 92 x 57 mm). Pfister observes that even in China copies of the Cor Jesu series were “reproduites souvent à l’imagerie de T’ou-sè-we” [i.e., the Jesuit mission press of Shanghai] in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Cor Jesu images were printed either as loose sheets (in Flemish santje, i.e., devotional images to be used for distribution and as devout bookmarks), or inside books. The first and most famous of these devotional treatises was Le coeur devot throsne royal de Jesus Pacifique Salomon (The Devout Heart, Royal Throne of Jesus, Pacific Salomon) by Étienne Luvic SJ (1567–1640), first published in Paris in 1626 without illustrations, then re-issued in Douai and Antwerp in 1627 with a set of the Cor Jesu illustrations of lower quality than the Wierix originals, and subsequently republished in many editions and translations, including an English version by Henry Hawkins SJ. In this essay, a set of the original Wierix prints preserved at the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels is reproduced (see Table 1 for the call number of the engravings).

Mario Praz succinctly described the series in his seminal work on seventeenth-century emblematic imagery:

In Cor Jesu amanti sacrum the engraver ... actually made the heart the stage for the exploits of the Infant Jesus.

[1] The curtain is formed by the picture of a Jesuit and a Franciscan helped by three lay brothers and a nun, who support the flaming heart crowned by the monogram of Jesus.

28 See Sauvy 1989, p. 62; a 1975 reprint of the English edition of 1634, including inferior copies of most of the Wierix images, is Luvic, The Devout Heart; see also Hendrickx 1994, pp. 120-122, for a description of the Netherlandish edition of 1633. I thank Ad Dudink for checking on my behalf copies of the French (Antwerp 1627; call number GBIB: P248.159.24 LUZV Coeu) and Latin (Antwerp 1628; call number BTAB: DPA 305) editions of Luvic’s book kept in the rare books collections of the “Maurits Sabbe” Theology Library and of the Main Library, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.
29 For details on later editions, see Ruyven-Zeman 2003, Part III, p. 45ff.
gram of the Society of Jesus; [2] when the curtain is raised we see the heart urged at the same time by Jesus, the World (represented by the lady with the high ruff [...] and the Devil.

[3] Jesus pierces with arrows the whole outer surface of the heart, and Profane Love, who was installed inside, flees away. [...] 

[4] Jesus knocks at the door of the heart. [...] 

[5] Jesus is now inside the heart, bearing a lantern: the mild light drives away the toads, the snakes, all the slimy creatures, from the cave of the heart. [...] 

[6 and 7] Jesus takes up a broom and brushes away from the heart a cascade of filth. [8] Then he washes it with the dripping blood of his feet and hands, [9] fills it with little fluttering flames, [10] scatters flowers, and [11] falls peacefully asleep inside it, while outside the winds rage and the lightning flashes. [...] 

[12] Jesus places the instruments of the Passion in the heart. [...] [13] Then he seats himself in a chair in the middle of the heart, holding an open book [...] [14] He intones a hymn and [15] plays on the harp; [16] then from musician turns into painter and paints in the heart the Last Judgment. [...] 

[17] Seated on a throne, he reigns in the heart, [18] which at last, surrounded with palms, is crowned with an eternal wreath.30

Here, Praz has constructed a certain narrative order for the small prints, but other orders have been proposed, the most widespread in modern scholarship being that by Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx (M.H.).31 The series could indeed be read and explained differently, and Rudomina followed an order in his own explanation that is closely based on Luzvic’s order in Le coeur devot and its different editions (only with an inversion between the sixth and seventh images, M.H. 7 and 17), an indication that he might have owned the book, or was at least inspired by it.

The concept of the heart in written texts had a long tradition in Europe. It found its canonical sources both in the philosophical discussions of antiquity on the location of the soul, as well as in the Biblical depiction of the heart as the seat of the spiritual and moral human faculties. However, iconographically the heart became an important symbol only at the end of the Middle Ages. More precisely, it was in the mid-fifteenth century that the shape we are familiar with today started appearing in religious and profane engravings, in coats of arms, in ex libris, and even for the first time in playing cards.32 The rising passion for emblems in the sixteenth century fuelled an explosion of symbolic imagery centring on the human heart, that reached its apogee in the seventeenth century, and continued to be ubiquitous in religious iconography until the mid-twentieth century. The symbol of the heart in the Cor Jesu series is combined with that of the Infant Jesus: it is him who inhabits the devout heart and transforms it. As Praz observes, the iconography and symbolism associated with the Infant Jesus is a direct transformation of the pagan ideal and image of Eros/Cupid. This idealized image of profane

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30 See Praz 1975, pp. 152-154; I added the plates’ numbering.
love already diffused in sixteenth-century emblems was increasingly overtaken by
the new religious imagery, stimulated by a growing devotion to the Infant Jesus
popularized in France during the first half of the seventeenth century.33

Religious authors, and especially the Jesuits, seized on the heart as a symbolic
representation of the soul, the seat of the struggle between good and evil, and
combined it with that of the Infant Jesus alias Eros. We do not have details about
the creation of the Cor Jesu series, such as the identity of the cleric who con-
ceived its symbolism and composed the Latin verses. However, scholars have
suggested a Jesuit commission, given the fact that the Wierix family worked for
the Order in numerous occasions. This seems to be also confirmed by icono-
graphic elements, such as the appearance on the first plate of the IHS monogram
adopted as its emblem by the Society of Jesus. Finally, the early success of the
series among Jesuit authors as accompaniment to devotional treatises, such as
Luzvic’s Le coeur devot, is a further indication of its probable Jesuit origin.

Most importantly, the fortune of the Cor Jesu series was due to the popular
appeal that it held among preachers and spiritual directors as a symbolic depiction
of the progress of the soul through the Three Ways, a spiritual path emphasised
by the Jesuits and which informed the entire spiritual architecture of the series. In
Mario Praz’s words (p. 154):

These plates ... represent ... the progress of mystical life. The first engravings de-
pict the purgative stage (temptations, pricks of conscience, inspirations, self-
scrutiny, confession, grace imparted by the Sacraments, purification of the heart);
others the progress of the illuminative stage, and finally, in a last group, the fruits
of the unitive stage.

In the China mission, the Jesuits imported their model of spiritual formation in-
troducing the ideas of sin and self-examination. The Jesuit spiritual style, so con-
cerned with moral betterment (e.g., through the Spiritual Exercises), fit well with
the Confucian discourse of self-cultivation. The meditational practices encouraged
by the Exercises and the visual aids to assist meditation, both mentally con-
structed and concretely produced as artistic images, were all closely connected to
the ideas of salvation/damnation, to the themes of the passing of time and of me-
mento mori, and, ultimately, to the promotion of the sacraments of penance and
the eucharist. Images could be used for personal reflection towards these goals,
or as effective didactic-catechetical tools in missionary work.34

A testimonial of the catechetical potential of the Cor Jesu series is the em-
ployment of a selection of its images in the famous “taolennou” (enigmatic tab-

33 See Praz 1975, pp. 144-145. Dekoninck (2005, p. 362) refers to devotional drawings of
the heart produced within female religious orders around 1500 as precursors of the “devout heart”
 motif made famous by the Cor Jesu series. After the seventeenth century, the iconography in-
creasingly centred around the Sacred Heart of Jesus and its devotions, rather than the devout
heart of the Christian; see the entry “Coeur (Sacré)” by Auguste Hamon in Viller 1932-1995,
vol. 2 (1953), cols. 1023-1046.

34 On the relationship between Jesuit spirituality and penitential practices in the China mission see
Menegon 2006.
leaux) by Michel Le Nobleetz (1577–1652), a renowned rural missionary in early seventeenth-century Bretagne. These tableaux consisted of painted sheepskins with didactic images that could be used by itinerant preachers (including lay people) to instruct the illiterate fishermen, peasants and sheep-herders of the isolated communities of Bretagne, who could only speak their language and ignored French. One of the surviving tableaux is a “Carte des Coeurs,” an assemblage of symbolic images of the heart from different sources, including the series Cor Jesu.35 These tableaux were an invention of Le Nobleetz, but they became later on associated with the name of the Jesuit Julien Maunoir (1606–1683), who continued the work of Le Nobleetz in the countryside of Bretagne, also using his predecessor’s visual aids.36

By presenting the series to the Chinese public, Rudomina thus simply participated in a catechetical tradition already well established in Europe. As noted by Herdricht, emblematic images that needed explanations stimulated the curiosity of Chinese audiences who saw them as “wondrous,” while offering to the missionary an entertaining and yet powerful didactic tool, as in the case of Rudomina. We may also speculate that the Christian European conception of the heart symbolized by the Cor Jesu series might have resonated with Chinese existing notions of the heart as the seat of virtues and passions. Yet, iconographically in China the heart was represented by diagrams containing the character xin 心 for the word “heart,” rather than by a more-or-less realistic image of the anatomical organ.37 Also in China, the heart (xin) was an important philosophical concept. In the English-language literature on Confucian and neo-Confucian thought, xin has been often translated as “mind-and-heart.” This reflects the Chinese conception of the heart as the seat both of intellectual faculties and of emotions. The mind-heart determines the balance between the moral virtues of Confucianism on the one hand, and the emotions on the other. Emotions are not negative per se, but they become such if left unattended. In neo-Confucianism, the cultivation of the heart-mind to control passions and channel emotions through quiet sitting and meditation became particularly important as a result of Buddhist Chan influence. Extensive debates centred on the nature of the mind-heart, and the important philosophical movement of Wang Yangming was labelled “School of the Mind-and-Heart.”38 Yet, there is no trace in the text recorded by Li Jiubiao of explicit parallelisms being drawn with Chinese conceptions, and what the Chinese audience

36 See ibid., p. 106. This is the reason why both Pfister (1932–1934, p. 193) and Bernard (1945, p. 346) suggested that Rudomina’s eighteen images of the human heart were “in the manner of those by Fr. Maunoir” (“à l’instar de celles du P. Maunoir”).
37 In fact, the character xin in ancient scripts is a stylization of the anatomical heart. For reproductions of neo-Confucian diagrams of the mind-and-heart, see e.g., De Bary 1989, pp. 68–71.
38 Here I cannot do justice to this vast topic. On the concept of xin in the neo-Confucian tradition, see e.g., De Bary 1981, and De Bary 1989; for the connection within the heart-mind of moral virtues, ontological principles, and emotions/passions, see Santangelo 1991; 1992; 1997; 2003.
may have made of the concept of *xin* as visually represented in the *Cor Jesu* series remains unknown.

Below I give a concordance table between the *Cor Jesu* series in the order offered by Mauquoy-Hendrickx, by Praz, by Luzvic, and by Rudomina, followed by the call numbers of the Royal Library of Brussels and the catalogue numbers in Mauquoy-Hendrickx. Then there follows a translation of the Chinese text in Rudomina’s order, with his interpretation accompanied by the respective images, and finally a contextualization of the catechetical use of these images in China.39

Table 1: Concordance, *Cor Jesu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in Mauquoy-Hendrickx</th>
<th>Order in Praz, according to Mauquoy’s ordering</th>
<th>Order in Luzvic, according to Mauquoy’s ordering</th>
<th>Rudomina’s order according to Mauquoy’s ordering</th>
<th>Call Number Royal Library Brussels</th>
<th>Mauquoy-H. Catalogue Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>S.I. 39048</td>
<td>Mauquoy H. 446</td>
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39 In my translation of the Chinese text, I benefited from the version prepared by Erik Zürcher for his complete translation of the *Kouduo richao* (recently published as vol. 56/1-2 of the Monumenta Serica Monograph Series under the title *Kouduo richao. Li Jiubiao’s Diary of Oral Admonitions. A Late Ming Christian Journal.* Translated, with Introduction and Notes by Erik Zürcher. Sankt Augustin – Nettetal 2007). I am grateful to him for sharing his preliminary text with me. Chen Hui-hung also identifies the *Cor Jesu* series in her thesis (2004), pp. 379-381. A recent analysis of the *Kouduo richao*, including discussions of the *Cor Jesu* and the *Occasio* series presented below, but without identification, is Song 2006.
On [the fourth year of the Chongzhen reign (year xinwei), second month, twenty-first day [= March 23, 1631], I [= Li Jiubiao] took leave to go back [home].

Master Lu [= Rudomina] said: “Are you leaving today? I wish to give you the heart as a gift.” I did not understand and thought that this was some conventional greeting. But Lin Zizhen[^41] said: “No, the Master has some pictures of the heart, and he is inviting you to have a look.” I was happy and asked him to show them to me. The pictures were eighteen all together, each depicted one and the same heart, and carried some allegorical explanations (yuyan 寓言).

In the first picture [M.H. no. 1], a heart was depicted in the centre, and some people were below it, holding it with their hands, as if they were making an offering. The Master said: “All those who join the Teachings must offer [themselves] with one heart to the Lord of Heaven, and no matter if they are wise or saints, they all have to do so. As to this plate, this is [nothing but] an image of a crowd of sages and saints offering their heart all together.”

[^40]: For the Chinese title and text, see Kouduo richao, j. 1, p. 3a (table of contents) and pp. 14b-18a respectively (CCT ARSI, vol. 7, p. 35 and pp. 84-91). Cf. Zürcher 2007, pp. 245-251. At the beginning of the description of each picture I also supply Mauquoy-Hendrickx’s numeration [M.H. no. 1], and when Rudomina’s order is different, I add to it an asterisk (*), e.g. [M.H. no. 4*].

[^41]: Lin Zizhen 林子震 was a convert from Fuzhou, on whom we have no biographical information; see Lin 1996, p. 184.
The second one [M.H. no. 2] depicted the same heart, and slightly more than half of it was caught in a net. On top were two angels,42 and there were then three figures below. One was naked, one held a weapon and had a ferocious appearance, and another was splendidly attired, and had a grandiose attitude. The Master said: “We humans only have one heart. The angels protect it, while the Three Enemies try to ensnare it. The naked figure is the Flesh. The one holding a weapon with a ferocious appearance is the Devil. The one splendidly attired, and with the grandiose attitude is the World. Half caught in the net, humans daily fall into the web of the Three Enemies, and are unable to avoid it until the end of their life. Alas, this is the human heart! If Our Lord did not enlighten and protect it, how could we do so by ourselves?”

In the third picture [M.H. no. 4†] the heart had a heavy gate, which appeared tightly locked. Our Lord, holding on the door metal ring knocked on the gate, leaning forward with his ears to listen. The Master said: “The human heart is so tightly closed! Who else, besides Our Lord, could open it up?! He leans forward to listen whether there is a response from us. But if He knocks, and there is no response, what else can He do?”

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42 In fact one of them is the Infant Jesus.
In the fourth picture [M.H. no. 5*], the gate of the heart had been opened, but it was dark inside. Our Lord had entered the heart, holding a light and illuminating it. There were inside all kinds of insects, snakes and toads, and all became visible. The Master said: “Darkness represents the impurity and ignorance of the heart. Insects, snakes and toads are a representation of all evil thoughts. But once our heart learns about the [presence of the] Lord, then the Lord will bestow his grace, so as to show us all our evils. From then on, they will have no place to rest.”

In the fifth picture [M.H. no. 6*], the Lord held a broom, and was sweeping away all the insects, snakes and toads from inside the heart. The Master said: “This is nothing but the forgiving of sins. Those who join the Teachings know that Our Lord will certainly forgive all the sins previously committed, and allow the heart to be renewed.”
In the sixth picture [M.H. no. 7*], Our Lord was in the middle of the heart, sprinkling water. The Master said: “This is called to administer the holy water [of baptism] to wash and cleanse [the heart], so that there is no longer pollution. This is the intention of Our Lord!”

In the seventh picture [M.H. no. 17*], Our Lord was inside the heart, and blood was flowing out from his five wounds. There were two angels, [each] holding an infant and bathing him with the blood. The Master said: “This signifies the Passion and Redemption. The infant represents the human soul. Even after one joins the Teachings, it is still necessary to take advantage of the grace of Redemption from Our Lord, and to bathe [in it] the soul and cleanse it. Only then there will be a way opened to Heaven!”

43 The image in the original Wierix series shows water/blood (the two interpretations are possible) flowing only from the locations of the four wounds on the feet and hands of Jesus, while three other streams seem to come from the devout heart itself, for a total of seven streams. No blood flows from the wound traditionally on the chest. These streams are obviously prefigurations of the passion of Jesus as an adult, yet the wounds are not anatomically emphasized in the engraving. The number seven also possibly refers to the sacraments. Rudomina’s reading, on the other hand, derives from the contemporary devotion to the five Sacred Wounds of Christ, and possibly is due to the depiction of only four streams coming from the feet and hands of the Infant Jesus in Luzvic’s inferior copy of this image.
In the eight picture [M.H. no. 9*], the heart had gradually become illuminated, and Our Lord was sitting upright inside it, with draperies set up all around. The Master said: “Once the human heart has been opened up, it is still necessary that Our Lord illuminate it, sweep it, sprinkle it and bathe it. Following this, the heart daily becomes more pure and glorious, as the Great Lord is present in it and influences it.”

The ninth picture [M.H. no. 11*] represented Our Lord bequeathing a scripture and illustrating some of its teachings. The Master said: “He wishes that people understand the principles. The Way of Principles is inexhaustible, and thus it is necessary to preach and explain the scriptures in order to comprehend it.”
The tenth picture [M.H. no. 15*] depicted the heart divided in four areas: one contained the moment of death, another one the last judgment, another hell, and the last, paradise. The Master said: “These are the Four Last Ends. If the human heart meditates often on the Four Ends, then fear of them will be doubled, as will efforts at self-cultivation and examination. Thus, day by day, goodness will increase and faults will diminish.”

The eleventh picture [M.H. no. 16*] represented Our Lord carrying the Cross and all the tools of the Passion, none excluded. The Master said: “Our Lord suffered his Passion for the sake of humankind. We should think about the supreme grace of the Great Lord, and follow him, carrying our own cross. We should do it without allowing rest or pleasure, without avoiding any difficulty.”
In the twelfth picture [M.H. no. 14*] the heart was surrounded by flowers, and our Lord was in the middle of the heart, planting more of them. The Master said: “These flowers are called ‘roses’ and symbolize beautiful virtues. When people understand principles, and often meditate on the Four Last Ends, constantly carrying their own cross, then all virtues are brought to perfection. Therefore our Lord bestows his holy grace, and virtues always flourish.”

In the thirteenth picture [M.H. no. 12*] angels on all four sides were playing music, and our Lord was inside the heart, conducting [the ensemble]. The Master said: “When one’s efforts reach this point, one gradually attains happiness.”
In the fourteenth picture [M.H. no. 13*] our Lord was playing music inside the heart, and the angels on the four sides were singing along. The Master said: “At this point, there is even more unimpeded [joy].”

In the fifteenth picture [M.H. no. 10*] there were [personified] images of strong winds and raging waves. However, our Lord was inside the heart, and slept peacefully. The Master said: “The experiences of life are like winds and waves. Yet, if in the human heart there is happiness, although all worldly things [attempt to] shake us, they will surely be unable to upset our tranquillity.”
The sixteenth picture [M.H. no. 3*] depicted our Lord brandishing a bow and shooting fiery arrows into the heart. The Master said: “When people’s virtuous conduct is perfected, then they love and long for celestial things more and more. As they joyfully follow our Lord, their heart is inflamed with ardour.”

In the seventeenth picture [M.H. no. 8*] there was a fire inside the heart, the flames flaring upward. The Master said: “At this stage the heart is filled with even greater ardour.”
In the eighteenth picture [M.H. no. 18], on the heart and on its sides were depicted palm trees, and our Lord stood majestically in the upper part. The Master said: “In the Great West there is a tree called ‘palm’, which the more it is pressed down, the more it straightens up. Thus victorious warriors hold it as a sign of their success, and it has been adopted as a symbol of the defeat of an enemy. When the human heart has reached this stage, the battle against the Three Enemies has been won. With our Lord as support and refuge, what else would be its destination, if not the Heavenly Kingdom?”

But this is only a general outline. If I wanted to explain [the pictures] in detail, even “changing the attendants-in-waiting” would not make it easy.44

In this final comment, Rudomina hinted at the possibility of even deeper interpretations of the series, suggesting that he had limited himself to elucidate only some of the transparent symbolism of the images, but that it would require much more time to exhaust the complexity of the topic. Rudomina’s didactic and simple approach might have seemed inadequate to him, but remains for us a precious and rare reflection of the practical use of *emblemata* in catechesis in general, and within the China mission’s context in particular. While in Europe this story of the devout heart was symbolic of the baptized Christian fallen into sin preparing for confession and communion, in China it became a pagan heart that received, through baptism (ciphered under the Chinese expression *ru jiao* 入教, to join the Teachings), the grace of the Christian Lord of Heaven, the cleansing of sins, and the gifts of devotion.

Rudomina constructed for his Chinese public an adapted narrative of the path to perfection of the Three Ways, which was at the core of Ignatian spirituality. The Three Enemies dominate a filthy and locked human heart in plates 2 through

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44 The expression “to change the attendants-in-waiting” indicates a time-consuming process, and refers to a conversation between Confucius and Duke Ai of Lu, as recorded in the *Liji*; see Legge 1967, Book XXXVIII, Chapter XLI, vol. 2, p. 409: “The duke said, ‘Allow me to ask what is the conduct of the scholar.’ Confucius replied, ‘If I were to enumerate the points in it summarily, I could not touch upon them all; if I were to go into details on each, it would take a long time. You would have changed all your attendants-in-waiting before I had concluded.’”
4. This is the heart before conversion, when the Chinese individual has yet to learn about the Christian God and his grace. Plate 4 describes the moment of contact with the saving grace of Jesus: in China, this meant an encounter with a priest, with a Christian, or, more often, with a Christian book expounding the faith in Chinese. Plate 5 describes the ritual act of conversion, baptism. Thus, whereas in Europe this plate was interpreted as a depiction of the power of sacramental confession to cleanse the soul, as Praz noted, in China adult baptism, with its power to free from all sins committed since birth as explicitly mentioned in the Chinese text, is the chosen interpretation. Plate 6 reiterates the importance of baptism to cleanse the heart. In plate 7 we then approach another sacrament that loomed prominently in the mind of missionaries and Chinese Christians alike: sacramental confession.\textsuperscript{45} While the meaning of the plate, traditionally positioned at the end of the series, might have been connected to the bathing of the soul in the redemptive power of Christ’s blood as the reaching of perfection, here it is instead interpreted as an extension of the process of cleansing of baptism, through recurrent sacramental confession of sins. The interpretation of plate 8 offers a transition from ritual cleansing in the sacraments of baptism and penance, to personal meditation: Christ becomes present in the heart-mind, and influences it daily. This could be a reference to the Eucharist, although we know that Jesuits in China at this time did not encourage frequent communion. Emphasis in the series is placed on personal self-cultivation, rather than on sacramental efficacy. Plate 9 offers suggestions on how to receive the needed food for meditation that informs the second part of the series. Rudomina recommends sermons and commentaries on the Scriptures to deepen one’s understanding of the Christian “Way of Principles,” an expression with clear Confucian overtones. These sermons and scriptural explications were orally offered by itinerant Jesuit priests, or transmitted through catechetical and devotional texts in Chinese. Plates 10 to 17 describe the elevation of the soul through meditation and penance towards perfection, culminating in perfect love and the defeat of the Three Enemies in plate 18. Rudomina presents a succession of steps: meditation on the Four Last Ends (i.e., death, judgement, hell and paradise; plate 10); personal penance and meditation on Christ’s passion (plate 11); attainment of virtue (plate 12); attainment of happiness (plate 13) and joy (plate 14); attainment of spiritual tranquillity; and finally, of true love for God (plates 16 and 17).

Thus, if properly explored, these images could become a ladder to spiritual perfection, and aid the development of mature introspection. Some themes emerging in the series, in particular the meditations on the Four Last Ends, brought in relief a concern that the Jesuits since the time of Ricci had prominently expressed: the importance of time, and the need to use it well in order to gain salvation, the subject of our second series.

\textsuperscript{45} On confession in the China mission, and on baptism as cleansing of the soul, see Menegon 2006, pp. 15-16.
Series on *Occasio* by Jan David

The Jesuit concerns for the passing of time, and the need to lead a morally upright life and employ wisely the days allotted to us, in fact surface in another detailed description of ten images, dated two months later in the *Kouduo richao*. Again, the actors of the exchange are Rudomina and Li Jiubiao in Fuzhou. Under the date May 9, 1631 (fourth year of the Chongzhen reign, *xinwei*, fourth month, ninth day) we read:

Master Lu [= Rudomina] exhorted me [= Li Jiubiao] saying: “Human life in this world is as short as the time of lightning. We must engage in cultivation as much as possible, because when the time (*tempus, shi* 時) and the opportunity (*occasio, ji* 機) are missed, they cannot be grabbed any longer. I have several images, and I can explain them to you, what do you think?” I was happy to ask for his instruction. The Master took out a book, all in Western language, and not yet translated. The book contained some pictures, with many allegorical texts (*yuyan* 寓言). The pictures were around ten, and the Master explained them one by one.\(^{46}\)

This series corresponds to a set of plates engraved by the Flemish artist Theodore Galle for the Jesuit Jan David (1546–1613). David was a prolific moral writer, but also a committed educator. He established the Jesuit college of Kortrijk (Courtrai, Low Countries, today in Belgium), and was rector of the Colleges of Brussels, Gent and Ypres. He spent the last part of his life in Antwerp, where he died. He wrote in Dutch, to reach more easily a larger public in his native Flanders, and only few of his titles also had a Latin version, conceived for a larger and more learned international market. His early works where attacks on the Protestant ideas that had been spreading in the Low Countries, but most were catechetical in nature, a function of his activities among children and the youth in Jesuit Colleges.\(^{47}\)

Like the *Cor Jesu* series, the *Occasio* images shown by Rudomina to Li Jiubiao should be understood within this educational-catechetical context. The series first appeared in 1603, in a booklet anonymously published by David in Antwerp entitled *Typus occasionis in quo receptae commoda neglectae verò incommoda schemate proponuntur* (Image of Opportunity, Where the Advantages of the Accepted Opportunity and the Disadvantages of the Neglected Opportunity Are Presented Under the Guise of Persons). The booklet consisted only of the collection of plates with their short subscriptions. We do not know where the plates were printed, as the cover plate only says *Antverpiæ delineabat et incidebat Theodorus Gallæus. M.D.CIII*. Theodore Galle was the son-in-law of Jan I Moretus, at the time owner of the famous printing establishment *Officina Plantiniana*, and one would be tempted to suggest that the *Typus* was also printed there. But that cannot be established, and it is quite possible that the job was done at the print-shop of Galle himself, as it was the custom for engraver-printers at the time.

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\(^{47}\) Biographical information on David can be found, e.g., in Viller 1932–1995, vol. 3 (1957), cols. 47-48.
We know, however, that most of David's later works were published at the Plantin press. Jan I Moretus accepted for his firm the role of major printing centre of orthodox Counter-Reformation literature in the Low Countries, and quite naturally the Jesuits (including the China Jesuits) elected this respected press as one of their preferred venues for publication and acquisition of books.  

The works published by David at the Plantiniana include some outstanding examples of Jesuit moral-religious emblematica. Inspired by the famous plates accompanying Jeronimo Nadal’s Evangelicae Historiae Imagines, David conceived some didactic-catechetical texts which were intimately intertwined with emblematic images. The first of these was the Veridicus Christianus (The True Christian), published in 1601. The book was accompanied by a profusion of engravings, with trilingual subscriptions in Latin, Dutch and French, while the main text itself consisted of an extended explication of the symbolic imagery. Following Nadal’s example, David conceived of images as an important tool to facilitate visualization and meditation in the Ignatian tradition, but also as a form of moral instruction. The didactic thrust of David becomes further apparent if we consider that he had first written the text of the Veridicus Christianus in Dutch, with a popular audience in mind. He could convince Moretus to publish the Dutch version (Christelijken Waerseggher, 1603; 1,500 copies), including the large set of expensive engravings he had originally envisioned for it, only after churning out in record time the Latin translation for the international market, that was first published in 1,300 copies in 1601, and then reprinted in 1606 in 1,275 copies. The privileged target of this book was the youth. This is underlined by the presence at the end of the tome of a paper wheel (called orbita probitatis, wheel of rectitude), inspired by similar zodiacal “wheels of fortune.” Through a sort of “lottery” mechanism, that directed the reader to the desired parts and images in the book, a potentially tedious moral reading could be turned into a game.

The same didactic preoccupations are behind the publication of the Typus Occasionis described above. It was simply a pamphlet containing a cover and twelve narrative images, accompanied by an essential commentary in easy Latin for distribution among the students of Jesuit colleges. Following the model of the Imagines Adnotationes, the characters depicted in the tables were accompanied by al-

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49 On the influence of Nadal on David, see Waterschoot 1996, p. 454, n. 10.


phabetical letters, which referred to explanations in the subscription. However, unlike the characters in the *Veridicus*, here all the human actors were young men. They were divided in two groups of five, an allusion to the parable of the five wise and the five foolish virgins in the gospel of Matthew.\(^{52}\) This series was soon wholly included, with an extensive Latin commentary and prayers, in an emblematic book entitled *Occasio Arrepta. Neglecta. Huius Commoda: Illius Incommoda* (The Opportunity Grasped and Neglected. Advantageous for the Former, Injurious for the Latter), published by Moretus in 1605 in 1,250 copies.\(^{53}\) It is probably this book, rather than the slim, ephemeral, and thus very rare *Typus*, that Rudomina showed to Li Jiubiao in 1631.\(^{54}\)

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\(^{52}\) The story is in Matt. 25:1-2; see Chew 1973, p. 29; Waterschoot 1996, p. 459, n. 25.

\(^{53}\) David 1605. I have used a copy (from which the images reproduced in this essay come) in the rare books collection of the "Maurits Sabbe" Theology Library, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, call number GBIB: P248.694.1/Qo/DAVI Occa (copy 3597159). See illustration above.

\(^{54}\) Only a few copies of the *Typus* have been traced so far, as opposed to many copies of the *Occasio*; for a census of existing copies of both, see Daly and Dimler 1997-2002, pp. 150-151. Bernard 1945, p. 347, no. 211, following Pfister, again wrongly interpreted the images as a Chinese work by Rudomina: “Che fou k’in tai t’ou 十幅勤怠圖 Dix images représentant l’homme laborieux et l’homme paresseux. Xalographie, ca. 1632, Pfister 1932-1934, n. 4, Reed. Tousewè.” Szczesniak in *DMB*, p. 1148, erroneously thinks that both this and the “eighteen illustrations of virtue,” i.e., the *Cor Jesu* series are “manuscripts in Chinese” by Rudomina.
Samuel C. Chew long ago has offered an English description of the book and especially of the plates, and I reproduce it here as a key to understand the emblematic pictures, and to contextualize the explanations orally given by Rudomina in Chinese, and recorded in the *Kouduo richao*:

Each plate is followed by a “Schematis Explicatio,” running from about twelve to nearly thirty pages, in which every symbol is interpreted with appropriate citations from biblical, patristic, and classical texts. A prayer follows each explanation.

Among the vignettes on the title page several are noteworthy. A warrior grasps Occasion by the forelock, Occasion, unheeded, slips away. The iron is struck while hot on the anvil (“Occasio Rei”). An army drives off the enemy before the sun has set (“Occasio Temporis”). An army sallies forth from a castle and repels the besiegers (“Occasio Locii”). A seated woman holds a cornucopia and a row of crowns is strung overhead (she has grasped Opportunity). A dejected man is seated on the ground without any possessions, but chains, handcuffs, and a halter are above him (he has neglected Opportunity).

The sequence of twelve plates forms a connected story for the understanding of which one must resort to Father David’s explanation. It is obviously based, with a change of sex, upon the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Time and Occasion (Opportunity) are the chief characters. Time is a young man with wings but no forelock; he holds his scythe and hourglass and on his head is an armillary sphere. Occasion is a woman whose luxuriant forelock covers her face without quite concealing her features; she has a cornucopia and has many treasures to give: a crucifix, a chalice, a rosary, a book, a palm branch, a laurel crown, a globe, a scepter, and a moneybag. A guardian Angel appears in many of the episodes.

Chew then offers a description of the plates:

1. Time and Occasion stand side by side; in the heavens above God is seen.
2. With Time and Occasion nearby, an Angel summons ten young men whom one devil is endeavouring to catch with a hook, another with a net.
3. The five youths who are foolish waste and mock at Time. One is plucking a feather from Time’s wing. Another displays a feather he has already plucked. A third is balancing Time’s sphere on his head; squatting down under its weight he exclaims facetiously that he is a new Atlas. The fourth, holding Time’s hourglass, exclaims: “Quam pellucidula placet haec mihi clepsydra vitro!” The fifth rides the handle of Time’s scythe as a cockhorse. Two devils are near and other devils are in the sky.
4. Time is in the background, deprived of the attributes with which the youths are still playing. Occasion is walking away from one youth but he, thinking that she is facing him, reaches towards the false face which is really on the back of her bald head.
5. “Tempus et Occasionem prudentes studiose observant”: Five respectful young men are being greeted by Time, Occasion, and the Angel.
6. The five Prudentes have their reward: Occasion has given them a cross, a rosary, and other things they have earned. A discomfited devil slinks away.
7. The Prudentes grasp Occasion by the forelock; Time hovers over-head. […]
8. Time and Occasion have disappeared. The five foolish youths lament lost Opportunity and wasted Time. A devil with a whip and another with a net stand guard over them.

9. The Fatui try despairingly to grasp Opportunity behind. One cries out: “Post est Occasio calva!” One devil is gloating and another dancing.

10. The two devils drag in chains the five Imprudentes towards hellmouth.

11. But the Angel appears and rescues them because they are penitent. Their chains have fallen off. The two devils have fallen into the flaming mouth of hell.

12. Within a huge, yawning hellmouth three damned souls are in flames, and in the heavens are souls in bliss.

The plates and the accompanying commentaries and prayers are followed (pp. 271ff.) by a Latin play: “Occasio. Drama.” [See illustration below.] The characters are Time, Occasion, the Guardian Angel, Diabolus Magnus, Diabolus Parvus, five “iuvenes prudentes,” five “imprudentes,” and “tres animae damnatae.” There is a Chorus of the Blessed and a Chorus of the Damned. After an opening colloquy among the Angel, the Great Devil, Time, and Occasion, there follow temptations of the wise and foolish youths, and the play proceeds along the lines of the designs and accompanying commentary, ending with the woes of the three damned souls who appear only in the final scene and have had no part in the previous action. In contrast to the parable in St. Matthew’s Gospel, both the wise and foolish youths attain salvation.55

As it will become apparent from the translation of the Chinese explanations, Rudomina not only selected ten out of twelve plates to illustrate them to Li Jiubiao but also occasionally slightly re-interpreted the original meaning of some of the plates. The following table is a concordance of the original series and of the plates chosen by Rudomina.

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Let us now examine the explanations offered by Rudomina to his Chinese audience in translation.

論時機不可失其圖有十

Ten Pictures Showing that Time and Opportunity Must Not Be Missed

Translation56

On the ninth day [= May 9, 1631] I went to the church, braving the rain. Master Lu [= Rudomina] exhorted me [= Li Jiubiao] saying: "Human life in this world is as short as the time of lightning, we must engage in cultivation as much as possible, because when the time (tempus 時) and the opportunity (occasio 機) are missed, they cannot be grabbed any longer. I have several images, and I can explain them to you, what do you think?" I was happy to ask for his instruction. The Master took out a book, all in Western language, and not yet translated. The book contained some pictures, with many allegorical texts (yuyan 寓言). The pictures were around ten, and the Master picked them with his fingers, and showed them to me one by one.

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“Tempus et occasio sua explicant munia” (Time and Opportunity explain their gifts)

The first picture depicted two persons. One wore on his head an armillary sphere, held in his left hand a clepsydra, and a farming tool in his right hand. The Master said: "Since time cannot be depicted, a human figure is used to represent it. That on the heads he wears an armillary sphere means that the movements of heaven never cease, and that days and months pass by. That in his left hand he holds a clepsydra signifies that time is running out and that once it has passed it cannot be retrieved. That he holds a farming tool means that when the right time comes, one must act. That is why [such figure] is used to represent time."

The other figure wore on the head, held in her hands, wore on the body and the feet all different tools. The Master said: "Opportunity cannot be depicted [either], and thus it is also represented by a human figure. All the tools equipping her body signify that only those people in the world who seize the opportunity are able to accomplish all things. That is why opportunity is represented this way."
The second image depicted ten people, and Time and Opportunity stood in front of them. An angel was pointing upward with his hand. Two demons stood on their side: a big one was covering with a net the people’s eyes, while a small one was holding a hook [on a fishing rod] to catch them. The Master said: “The ten people here stand for the whole of humanity. The angel pointing upward is showing the bliss of Heaven. Time and Opportunity stand in front and must be diligently sought after. The two devils are envious of people doing good, and one blocks their sight with the net so that they cannot see that the other is fishing them with the hook [on the rod]. This means that they use worldly emotions and vulgar enticements as bait. Alas! How hazardous is human life!”
The third image depicted several people playing. One was carrying for fun the armillary sphere [on the head], others were amusing themselves with the clepsydra and riding on the farming tool. The big demon applauded while the small one joined in [the playing]. The angel stood in front of them, hands in sleeves. The Master said: “Time and Opportunity are there to be used. If you treat them as playthings, you fall in the trap of the demons. The angel stands hands in sleeves, for what can he do?”
Plate 4 [no. 5 in original series] “Tempus et Occasionem prudentes studiose observant”  
(The prudent men diligently take advantage of Time and Opportunity)

In the fourth picture there were five people turned towards Time and Opportunity, holding their hand [in fact, of Time only]. Our Lord was majestically dwelling on high, and all the angels were about to crown those people with flowers. The Master said: “These five people know that Time and Opportunity do not linger on, and make every effort to seize them. The grace and protection of the Great Lord are thus assured.”
In the fifth picture those five people held in their hands each an object of Time and Opportunity. As they carried them and used them, the angel had a content expression, while the small demon was prostrated on the ground, and the big demon was looking on and fleeing. The Master said: "When people seize Time and Opportunity to do something, this pleases the angel. The angel is happy, while the demons are angry."

57 In fact, the youth carry in their hands only Opportunity’s objects.
The sixth picture showed Time and Opportunity leaving. Among the [other] five men, some were pulling and dragging them back, while the angel pointed at them with his hand. The Master said: “Time and Opportunity are fleeting, and people cannot detain them. Thus to wait until they are about to go, and only then to think of dragging them back is most likely to be unsuccessful, I am afraid.”
Plate 7 [no. 8 in original series] “Imprudentes serò sapiunt, suamque deplorant amemiam”
(The imprudent men become sensible too late, and deplore their own senselessness)

In the seventh picture Time and Opportunity had already left, and the five people were hands in sleeves or gazed afar. On a side was the small demon, and with his net he tried to catch a cloud, while the big demon applauded and laughed. The Master said: “Time and Opportunity are gone. They can no longer be detained. Alas for those five men, what can they achieve now? As to the catching of the cloud with the net, it shows that a cloud cannot be captured. Once Time and Opportunity are missed, a fellow becomes the object of the mockery of demons!”
Plate 8 [no. 10 in original series] “Quanti damni, quantique periculi sit, Occasionem neglexisse”  
(To have neglected Opportunity is source of much damage and danger)

The eighth picture depicted a lion’s head, which represented hell, with its mouth open and with protruding teeth. Fire came from its mouth, and smoke billowed from its nostrils. The two demons, with iron chains, had fettered the five men and were pushing them inside [the mouth]. The five men looked at each other, and seemed unwilling to walk on. The Master said: “When Time and Opportunity came before, they played with it, but now the infernal fires surround them and oppress their bodies, while those demons are pushing them on. The men do not want to follow them, and yet how can they avoid this torment?”
Plate 9 [no. 11 in original series] “Angelus diabolo praedam extorquet ad poenitentiam”
(The angel wreets away from the devil its prey in order to administer penance)

In the ninth picture, the five men were about to reach the fire. They all turned back and knelt to the angel, who with his hand pointed upward. The Lord was above and the two demons were in front of hell, bracing their heads and lying to the ground. All the chains had been undone. The Master said: “The infernal fires have come close! But by being contrite and asking forgiveness, those people will all be saved! The two demons are bracing their head, lamenting that their previous efforts have been in vain. But if one does not turn to the Great Lord, he has little hope to escape from the hands of the demons.”
The tenth image depicted hell belching out fire. Three persons were in the fire, and two demons were tormenting them. The three men looked at each other, and they seemed desperate. Above were five men, joyfully holding hands, and angels were playing music for their pleasure. The Master said: “The three men are souls in hell. Since the demons lament that their previous efforts [to lead to perdition the good souls] were in vain, they torment [the damned souls] to vent their rage. But those other five men are happy, since they have gained the Kingdom of Heaven.”
After receiving this instruction I reflected again and again on its meaning. I thought that the Kingdom of Heaven and hell are obviously different, and yet they simply originated from one single moment of mental struggle between diligence and sloth. As a result one may ascend to the highest heaven, or precipitate into the deepest hell. Should one not be careful at the very beginning, then? Nevertheless, it is still possible to reform oneself, even on the brink of death. But what about the attitude of those who still refuse to change their plans when the bell is tolling and the clepsydra is running out?

The moral in the allegorical story of Time and Opportunity was not lost on Li Jiubiao. He understood the importance given by his Jesuit master to penance and the possibility to "reform oneself" through confession. His comprehension of the story was certainly filtered through his own experience as a Confucian scholar, while Rudomina’s explanation targeted the audience of Chinese literati differently than a European audience. David had first commissioned the engravings of *Occasio* for the young students of the Flemish Jesuit colleges. As observed by scholars, the story is very apt for adolescents, being almost a “comic strip” with dialogues in the inscription attributed by alphabetical letters to the different actors. It is particularly appropriate to speak of actors here, since *Occasio* was also thought as a drama to be staged by students, as attested by the inclusion of a theatrical version in the book. Through “pious entertainment,” Jesuit teachers could inculcate in their young audiences important moral lessons, that were useful both during the formation at the colleges, and for life in general.

The audience in China, however, was different. Rudomina’s explanations speak to “the whole of humanity,” yet he obviously has in mind Chinese literati. He elucidates the general allegorical nature of the pictures by pointing out that Time and Occasion can only be represented by human figures, one of the exotic features of European emblemata that apparently fascinated the Chinese public. Yet, the missionary does not dwell at length on the specific features of the allegorical figures that might have been puzzling to the non-initiated: why was *Occasio* represented as a woman with an abundant forelock, but hairless on the back of her head? This was the classical depiction of *Occasio*, who had to be timely grasped by the forelock, to avoid missing her once she had turned her semi-bald head back. Apparently, Rudomina preferred to gloss over these details, and simplify the explanations, to make a bigger point. Li Jiubiao and the other Fujianese lower-degree holders who saw the pictures were still “students” within the examination system, but unlike the young pupils of the European Jesuit colleges, as mature adults in the Chinese social system they received from their Jesuit masters a different interpretation of the images, and a different lesson.

Li Jiubiao was in Fuzhou in the fall of 1630 to take the provincial juren examinations for the bureaucratic career, and again in 1631 to re-qualify as a prefectural xiucai (“flourishing talent,” the first level). Between late 1630 and 1631 Li and others had discussions with Giulio Aleni and especially with Rudomina on divine justice, and on the meaning of worldly success and spiritual salvation. Li
and his companions asked several times, at this juncture and elsewhere in the *Kouduo richao*, about the apparent injustices in life: why were bad people successful in this world, while good, moral individuals often suffered? Was God going to reward the good and punish the evil ones? This was an important existential question for literati like Li, who unsuccessfully tried for more than twenty years (1617–1637) to pass the *jure* examination.58 To Li, late Ming China must have seemed dominated by the most unscrupulous and immoral political opportunists, while morally upright scholars and reformists like himself were condemned to obscurity. It is probably out of this frustration with the ladder of success of his day that Li, after trying the exams for the last time in 1637, decided to compile with the help of some of his Christian co-religionists a collection on statecraft entitled *Zhenshu* 枕書 (*Pillow Book*, 1640s), including essays by members and sympathizers of the reformist Restoration Society (*Fushe* 复社).

Trying to answer to their converts’ questions, the missionaries used parables from the scriptures, gave homilies on the love of God and reward for the good, and showed images depicting God’s judgment and the fate of the soul in the afterlife. Rudomina’s use in the spring of 1631 of the two print series presented here, as well as of other engravings on hell and paradise and the road to salvation (probably similar to prints found in books like Sucquet’s *Via Vitae Aeternae*),59 all fit within an effort on the part of the missionaries to address the concerns of their literati audience on merit and demerit, while also offering a subtle criticism of the Confucian curriculum and the obsession for success in the civil examinations. For example, when Li asked why the souls of the dead would not come back to our world to warn people of the dangers of damnation, Rudomina referred to the parable of the rich man in hell and of the poor Lazarus in paradise as found in the Gospel of Luke 16:21-31:

There was a rich man who was dressed in purple and fine linen and lived in luxury every day. At his gate was laid a beggar named Lazarus, covered with sores and longing to eat what fell from the rich man’s table. Even the dogs came and licked his sores. The time came when the beggar died and the angels carried him to Abraham’s side. The rich man also died and was buried. In hell, where he was in torment, he looked up and saw Abraham far away, with Lazarus by his side. So he called to him, “Father Abraham, have pity on me and send Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue, because I am in agony in this fire.” But Abraham replied, “Son, remember that in your lifetime you received your good things, while Lazarus received bad things, but now he is comforted here and you are in agony. And besides all this, between us and you a great chasm has been fixed, so that those who want to go from here to you cannot, nor can anyone cross over from there to us.” He answered, “Then I beg you, father, send Lazarus to my father’s house, for I have five brothers. Let him warn them, so that they will not also come to this place of torment.” Abraham replied, “They have Moses and the

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Prophets: let them listen to them.” “No, father Abraham,” he said, “but if some-one from the dead goes to them, they will repent.” He said to him, “If they do not listen to Moses and the Prophets, they will not be convinced even if someone rises from the dead.”

Rudomina, after summarizing in Chinese this parable, drew a parallel between the conclusion by Abraham, and the situation as he saw it in China:

The Holy Teachings of the Lord of Heaven have entered China only a few decades ago. The instructions of Confucius, however, have existed in China for over two thousand years, and thus [people] should be able to successfully put them in prac-tice. This should have greatly facilitated the penetration of the Celestial Teachings. Instead, those who study Confucius’ writings do it from morning to night, and yet I have not heard that they practice them when they are alive in the flesh. What would be the use for the souls in hell to come out and warn the living?60

Clearly, the missionary was here targeting what he saw as the hypocrisy of some Confucian literati, so intent on studying principles, but in fact little concerned with practicing the morality they studied. The words of Rudomina at this juncture, as well as the reproaches of Giulio Aleni in a passage in Kouduo richao dating to 1640 shows a critical missionary attitude to the pursuit of profane knowledge in the Confucian tradition and to the search for bureaucratic success. In seeing Li tired for overwork on his compilation of statecraft essays in 1640, Aleni told him: “In writing profane books, one cannot avoid exerting oneself without acquiring any merit. But if one explains the principles of the [teachings] of the Lord of Heaven, then such great effort will bring great merit.”61 Aleni here suggested that Li should spend time publishing books on Christianity rather than on statecraft.

Like his senior confrere Aleni, also Rudomina might have tried to tell his literati audience that spending all their energies for the examinations was missing the real point of life. Time should be employed to gain one’s salvation, rather than fame. The story narrated in the Occasio series was a useful catechetical tool to pass on this lesson. Through a moral and religious life in the Christian tradition – as the images taught – one could in turn obtain all kind of material rewards in this world, and hope for the eternal reward in the afterlife as well.

As suggested by Li’s final comments to his description of the Occasio series, probably a sense of resignation to the “injustices” of life had set in after so many years of attempts to pass the exams. Given the slim chances in their advanced years of becoming officials, some Christian literati grew increasingly concerned about conducting a morally upright life to earn salvation after death, rather than to achieve fleeting success in this world. For Li, the tolling bell and the running clepsydra are not symbolic of the time and occasions of youth, but rather repre-sent the coming to an end of one’s life, when final reform, according to Chris-tianity, is still possible through repentance and confession of one’s sins:

After receiving this instruction I reflected again and again on its meaning. ... [I]t is still possible to reform oneself, even on the brink of death. But what about the attitude of those who still refuse to change their plans when the bell is sounding and the clepsydra is running out?

As Rudomina explained in plate nine: “The infernal fires have come close! But by being contrite and asking forgiveness, those people will all be saved!” But even if by 1640 Li had given up his career ambitions, he remained committed to his Confucian agenda of reform for the country, plunging himself with great energy in the compilation of the Pillow Book, and probably, as suggested by Ad Dudink, distancing himself from his teacher Aleni and his more pious Christian contemporaries.

Conclusion

Jesuit emblematic imagery in China was one of the aids used by missionaries to transmit the Ignatian method. This path to moral perfection was a leit-motif shared both by Jesuit spirituality in the tradition of the Three Ways, and by neo-Confucian self-cultivation. Several Jesuits after Ricci (including Da Rocha, Aleni and Schall) published xylographic series of images inspired by Flemish and German prints that mainly offered narratives from the sacred history of the Bible and the Gospels, centring on the idea of the “imitation of Christ.” To my knowledge, however, allegorical images of the kind shown by Rudomina to Li Jiubiao, derived from Greek and Latin prototypes (e.g., Eros, Tempus, Occasio) by way of European Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque elaborations, were never “translated” in xylographic prints in China. We only know of some isolated paintings inspired by such allegorical prints.

Rather, the European allegorical tradition was more fully presented to the Chinese public in written texts. The Jesuits realized early on that the rhetorical skills they had honed in Europe through reading of classical oratory, practice in philosophical-theological debates, and study of ars praedicandi, were usually deployed in China in written literary Chinese, rather than in public speaking, as observed by Li Sher-hsiueh. Nicolas Trigault and others translated Christianized classical fables (yuyan 寓言) into Chinese as moral lessons, reviving the medieval tradition of exempla. It is interesting that Li Jiubiao used the same word yuyan to qualify the textual subcriptions and commentaries to the Cor Jesu and Occasio images he saw. Yuyan in fact covers also the Western concept of allegory, and thus can be aptly applied to the kind of narratives unfolding in our two series of emblematic images and the attending commentaries in Latin.62

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62 On the use of exemplum, chreia, myth and legend in Jesuit Late Ming texts, see Li 1999 and Li 2005. In this latter study, Li observes that the Aesopian fables and mythological legends used by the Jesuit in China fit within the tradition of Medieval Christian exempla, but also had a relationship to “allegorical readings or allegorization of the kind found in different tropes …” (p. 377; cf. also p. 232), such as those of Renaissance and Baroque emblematic imagery.
Probably, the nature of these allegorical series, dense with Western symbolism, was considered by the Jesuits too profane to justify the expense and effort of producing them in book form in China. Preference was given to visual cycles from the Holy Scriptures, while Western fabulaic and allegorical stories appeared only as written texts. We owe the detailed description of our emblematic series in Kouduo richao to the serendipity of an encounter between a sickly young Jesuit and a frustrated Chinese scholar who could not pass the exams. In the biographical note by the Jesuit historian Dunin-Szpot about Rudomina’s experience in China, we read of the young Jesuit’s health problems that confined him to the mission residence of Fuzhou, as well as of his catechetical method with Christian literati:

From Goa [Rudomina] was sent to Macau, in order to change air, and then he was sent to the province of Fujian, a region with a temperate climate, to join Fr. Giulio Aleni, even if no remedy was found to his illness. But he did not spend his life uselessly in the city of Fuzhou. Under the guidance of his teacher Aleni, he advanced in his knowledge of the language and literature of China, so as to be able to give responses to the literati’s questions and doubts. Those same literati then edited and published those [exchanges], and thus [Rudomina] relieved Aleni of much work. While Aleni was planting the faith of Christ with his numerous excursions in that province, watering it with his sweat, Andreas, residing in the city of Fuzhou, worked on behalf of the Christians, whom he nourished both with the sacraments and his conversations on divine topics. With the example of his life’s innocence, which could be admired in his soul and his face, he promoted the further development of virtue in serenity and peace, slowly consumed by bodily pain, until his last breath of life, which he exhaled to God, in the presence of his Christians, on September 9, 1632, his sixth year in the Chinese mission, at the age of thirty-six.63

This depiction of Rudomina’s apostolate in Fuzhou underlines its sedentary nature, due to illness. His activities centred upon the administration of the sacraments and “conversations on divine topics,” both to illustrate the faith and to reply to literati’s questions and doubts. Recorded in part in the Kouduo richao, those conversations must have been conducted in spoken Mandarin. Although Rudomina might have “advanced in his knowledge of the language and literature of China,” it is doubtful that the limited time he spent in the mission equipped him to discourse over complex topics. He seems to have had a predilection for allegory as a way to explain moral concepts, possibly a strategy to move from the concrete to the abstract with limited linguistic skills, and to employ exotic objects and images to attract the curiosity of literati, and lead them to a religious interpretation. Examples of this latter behaviour can be found in the Kouduo richao. When showing a European telescope to Li Jiubiao and others on May 8, 1631, for example, Rudomina commented: “This telescope is to observe others by using one side, and to observe oneself by using the other side.” Li Jiubiao was perplexed and asked what he meant. Rudomina shifted to a moral-allegorical reading of the telescope: the big lens, that makes things look smaller, should be used to judge others, while the small lens, that magnifies objects, should be used to scru-

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63 Dunin-Szpot 1710, f. 235v.
tinize oneself. In other words, we have to be tolerant for the defects of others, while we have to be morally demanding with ourselves. Similarly, another exotic object shown to the same literati that day, a European harpsichord (or Xi\text{\textit{qin}} 西琴, Western \textit{qin}) was given an allegorical reading: “Also the human heart contains a \textit{qin}. Those good at playing it make harmonious sounds, but those who are bad players produce dissonant sounds. Everyone has a heart and everyone can play it. And this is not a metaphor entailing external [material] things.” The heart became the musical instrument, and the harpsichord in turn turned into a metaphor alluding to the moral capability to be good or evil.\textsuperscript{64}

The metaphor of the musical instrument, in fact, had already visually appeared in the series Cor \textit{Jesu} shown in March 1631. There, the Infant Jesus literally played “harmonious sounds” within the heart of the devout Christian. The day after showing the telescope and harpsichord to Li Jiubiao and his friends, Rudomina illustrated the \textit{Occasio} series, once again engaging his public with European strings of metaphors turned into an allegorical narrative. Images like the ones he illustrated must have been a great pedagogical aid for the priest. But they also, as noted by Dekoninck, were devices to elicit an emotional response, building a dialectical relationship among the model presented, its representation and the spectator. These so-called \textit{imagin\textes agentes} truly acted upon the viewer, in order to transform him or her along the path of the imitation of Christ.\textsuperscript{65} The affective and emotional impact of the images is nowhere clearer than in Li Jiubiao’s comments following his perusal of some images of paradise, purgatory and hell, shown to him and illustrated in their meaning by Rudomina:

After I heard [Rudomina’s explanations about the fate of people in hell, purgatory and paradise], I felt scared and frightened, sighing in wonderment and deep thought. I left and said to myself: So, that is the eternal suffering in Hell and the temporary suffering in Purgatory! But who else, if not a perfectly cultivated man, can ascend to the bliss of paradise? When in the flesh, a man may be either protected by the angel or seduced by the devil. This is the origin in the split between being good and being evil. One has to be careful, really careful!\textsuperscript{66}

The images of \textit{Occasio} were equally moving: “After receiving this instruction I reflected again and again on its meaning.” The emotional impact of the images was here translated into meditation and reflection. For Rudomina, the story of \textit{Occasio} must have been a reminder that life was running out for him, and that his little remaining time was precious for salvation. The lesson intended for Li Jiubiao might have been a different one: salvation was too important to employ one’s time trying to pass the exams, while neglecting the higher mission of spreading Christianity. Material and worldly success would flow naturally from the hands of \textit{Occasio}, conjoined with spiritual benefits, once the correct opportunity was grasped. In the annals of the Jesuit mission in China, we read that some Christian literati


\textsuperscript{65} See Dekoninck 2005, pp. 373-375.

accepted this lesson. Li Jiubiao, however, probably remained ambivalent, never forsaking his Confucian and all-consuming yearning for social and political engagement.

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Luzvic, Étienne, Carolus Musart, and Etienne Binet. Cor Deo devotum Jesu pacifici Salomonis thronus regius: cui adiunctae ex P. Binet imaginum expositiunculae / E Gallico P. Stephani Luzvic ... Latinitate dedit & ad calcem auxit P. Carolus Musart. Antverpiae: apud Henricum Aertssen, 1628.


