

A Confucian Education for Europeans

Paola Demattè

On the eve of the French Revolution, two books appeared in Paris: the *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius* (1788), an illustrated biography of Confucius (ca. 551–479 BCE), and the *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine* (1788), a visual history of famed and infamous emperors of China. The author of both was the French engraver Isidore-Stanislas Helman (1743–1809), a printmaker who in the 1780s specialized in prints on Chinese subjects. In terms of style, the images in these publications owe more to eighteenth-century Europe than to China. Yet the accuracy of the stories portrayed indicates that Helman found inspiration for his renditions in two illustrated texts of Confucian pedagogy originally published in the Ming period (1368–1644). The *Abrégé historique* is an abridged and adapted translation of the *Shengji tu* (Pictures of the sage's traces), whereas the *Faits mémorables* is based on the *Dijian tushuo* (Illustrated discussion of the emperor's mirror).

It is unusual that a modest printmaker like Helman should have been familiar with these books, which were popular in China, but, unlike the classics of Confucianism translated and circulated by the Jesuits, were essentially unknown in Europe.¹ Unsurprisingly, it appears that the publication of the *Faits mémorables* and the *Abrégé historique* had more to do with the emergence of a global network than with the intellectual pursuits of the printmaker, who was simply the last in a sequence of authors and agents who participated in the transmission of texts and images. Indeed, even the sources Helman used to develop his prints were already a step removed from the *Shengji tu* and the *Dijian tushuo*, neither printed books nor really “Chinese.” They consisted of painted illustrations accompanied by French paraphrases of Chinese texts compiled by Jesuit missionaries with the help of Chinese scholars, artists, and converts to Christianity. The *Abrégé historique* ultimately derives from a manuscript on Confucius's life titled “La vie de Koung-Tsée, appelé vulgairement Confucius, le plus célèbre d'entre les philosophes chinois, et le restaurateur de l'ancienne doctrine” by Joseph Marie Amiot (1718–1793), a French Jesuit of the Beijing mission during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).² The *Faits mémorables* is loosely based on the “Recueil historique des principaux traits de la vie des empereurs de la Chine,” a bilingual (French and Chinese) eighteenth-century manuscript album of uncertain authorship illustrated with more than ninety paintings on silk.³

Amiot sent paintings, drawings, and texts for these compilations to his Paris ally and correspondent Henri-Léonard Jean-Baptiste Bertin (1720–1792), a French secretary of state and former minister of finance who, through the Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales (French East India Company), controlled trade with Asia.⁴ Bertin, a savant and Sinophile, sought this material out of professional interest in the Chinese empire, but also because he considered it necessary to his mission of popularizing a Confucian-inspired reform of

the French monarchy. Bertin amassed an extensive collection of Chinese paintings, drawings, prints, books, and porcelain, which he used to bolster his program of research and reform.⁵ In particular, he opened his collection to Helman, who was charged with producing images for the *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des chinois: Par les missionnaires de Pekin* (1776–1814), a publication that Bertin sponsored to disseminate the material sent by Father Amiot and other missionaries.⁶ After Bertin's retirement in 1780, Helman continued to publish material from the collection, but the objectives of his work, which was subsequently underwritten by members of the French court, changed. He moved away from Bertin's reformist ideals, transitioning into a political discourse that appears to have been meant to undermine the French king, Louis XVI (r. 1774–93), and the queen, Marie Antoinette (1755–1793).

Helman's publications reveal how French artists, intellectuals, and elites introduced into their national discourse on political reform a domesticated image of Confucianism, which they selectively extrapolated from Jesuit sources. The missionaries, whose ultimate goal was the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity, had themselves carefully adapted Confucianism to their European audiences with the aim of obtaining support for their work at the court of the Manchu emperor of China. Following the steps that led to the transformation of the *Shengji tu* and *Dijian tushuo* into the *Abrégé historique* and *Faits mémorables* helps us to understand them as case studies for the processes of transculturation and visual hybridization in the precolonial Sino-European exchange. A particular focus on the representation of women as objects of political discourse colors this exploration.

Hybridity and Transculturation

Helman's *Faits mémorables* and *Abrégé historique*, as well as Amiot's “La vie de Koung-Tsée” and the anonymous “Recueil historique,” are examples of the hybrid visual and intellectual culture that emerged in the wake of European commercial expansion into Asia and emblems of the processes of transculturation that have shaped both contexts.

In these books, hybridity is discernible at different junctures: in visuality, materials, content, sources, and modes of transmission. The illustrations feature a mélange of Chinese and European styles and conventions: from Chinese themes illustrated in the eighteenth-century French manner to the melding of Chinese and European architectural, garden, or decorative elements and to composite approaches to perspective. Material eclecticism, though dictated more by circumstance than choice, is manifest in the assemblages of silk and paper, the different bindings, formats, and paginations, as well as the mixing of Chinese and European calligraphy and printed texts. The narratives appropriate Confucian discourse in the service of various political aims projecting visions of China constructed to suit diverse peoples and

circumstances. Further, the sources are themselves the result of earlier hybridizations.

In postcolonial studies, hybridity as a theoretical perspective has historically concentrated on issues of racial and cultural identity in the context of colonialism, decolonization, and globalization, to highlight the liminality and in-betweenness of the experience of the colonized.⁷ Art historians addressing the issue of global art history have shown how visual hybridity has manifested itself in different guises and degrees. The appropriations, transformations, and misrepresentations of foreign visual modes displayed in hybrid styles or iconographies are the products of diversely situated agents, from oppressed to oppressors, from dissenters to collaborators, from the well intentioned to the misguided.⁸

Recently, theories of hybridity have disengaged from the “oppressor/oppressed” or “Europe/Other” dichotomies that underpinned earlier postcolonial studies, and the concept has also been applied to precolonial milieus.⁹ Currently, a contentious debate surrounds hybridity, and opinions diverge concerning the usefulness of the term and its range of legitimate application. Scholars have scrutinized hybridity’s limits and contradictions, warning that, though the concept has given voice to experiences excluded from mainstream narratives, with its essentialist claims and underlying dichotomous structure it risks leaving out experiences that do not fit its own plot.¹⁰ Some suggest abandoning it altogether, others have proposed alternatives, such as “cultural translation,” to situate the exchange of modes and ideas between centers and peripheries in precolonial contexts.¹¹

I find that the concept of *visual* hybridity, with its stress on tangible objects, remains useful, particularly if it is situated within the framework of transculturation so as to ground hybrid manifestations in a long-term historical perspective. Originally formulated by Fernando Ortiz in 1947 to address the layers of economic, institutional, and cultural change visited on Cuba and its people with the arrival of African and European immigrants, transculturation “expresses the different phases of transition from one culture to another,” from deculturation, to acculturation, to neoculturation experienced by the various populations in different ways.¹² In more recent times, discussions of transculturation have downplayed the inherent asymmetry and inequality identified by Ortiz, emphasizing instead the reciprocity and multilaterality of the processes of transculturation.¹³ For Mary Louise Pratt, transculturation describes how “subordinated or marginal groups select or invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture.”¹⁴ Wolfgang Welsch, who has used the term “transculturality” to reject the purist idea of “culture” and its offshoots (multiculturalism, interculturality) and to address the complexities of contemporary globalization, has noted that the world has always been transcultural.¹⁵ This is a point that critics of transculturation have also highlighted. However, in his analysis of the “Hindu-Muslim” encounter, Finbarr Flood argues that such arguments do not explain away the particularities of individual encounters, which transculturation seeks to address. Employing the concepts of routes, networks, and objects, Flood pinpoints “circulation, displacement and translation . . . to demonstrate the contingent and unstable nature of pre-modern identity.”¹⁶

I see the state of hybridity as a node or a nexus: when traditions perceived as mainstream cross or collide, they bring into being something that is felt as new and alien and is cast alternatively as attractive or repulsive. Specifically, visual hybridity is temporary, either because the new is absorbed or progressively loses the power to generate attraction or repulsion, or because it is superseded and forgotten. The processes that transform the identifiably hybrid into an unmarked and incorporated phenomenon, or which make it disappear, are those of transculturation, the relentless exchange, appropriation, and transformation of ideas, modes, and forms by cultural actors in the continuum of their existence.

In the precolonial Sino-European exchange, there is little evidence of an unequal relationship between cultures or of the violent suppression of one by the other, aspects that Ortiz considered central to transculturation in Cuba. Nonetheless, as Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun have argued, elements of danger and inequality can be found in the lives of transculturated individuals, those who participate in the process in positions outside the normative.¹⁷

By following the intricate transition from Chinese texts to Helman’s books, I explore here the roles of individuals variously affected by the processes of transculturation in the context of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sino-European exchange. Motivated by commercial interests and fed by fashion trends and intellectual quests, these exchanges shared in worldwide historical and geopolitical dynamics that transcended national boundaries. Qing China was a multicultural empire ruled by a foreign dynasty established by Manchu invaders on the ashes of the Ming. Similarly, European countries were divided by religious controversies, economic competition, and different sociopolitical dynamics. Though we tend to think of individuals involved in these exchanges as belonging to either “East” or “West,” by virtue of their interactions their identities were fluctuating and mutually constitutive. This was particularly the case for those who crossed geographic, cultural, or social lines, at times at considerable risk. This category includes not only European traders and missionaries in China but also Chinese court artists, officials, converts to Christianity; advocates of Confucianism in Europe; and even the Qing rulers of China, who carefully balanced their Sino-Manchu identity to promote the East–West exchange.

Historical Background: East–West Narratives and Representations

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Portuguese and Dutch maritime explorations and mercantile forays brought traders and missionaries to the Far East. These commercial and intellectual exchanges brought about the progressive infiltration of European culture in East Asia and its reverse, the introduction of Asian visual and literary cultures into Europe. The agents behind long-distance trade were generally Europeans, but the exchanges were far from asymmetrical: material goods and ideas flowed both ways, with the active participation of all parties.¹⁸

For historical and economic reasons, China took center stage in this act. Reports from the East stimulated a long-standing European interest in the fabulous land of Cathay of

medieval imagination, and growing demand for Chinese porcelain, lacquer, and silk made East–West trade highly profitable. For a couple of centuries, this commerce was controlled by Portugal, which under the *Padroado Real* had a near monopoly on trading with China.¹⁹ Portuguese merchants and missionaries of the recently formed Society of Jesus, like Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), established a foothold in the Ming Empire during the late sixteenth century.²⁰ The Jesuits expanded their influence at the beginning of the next dynasty, the Qing, in the mid-seventeenth century, when they helped the Manchu effect a needed reform of the Chinese calendar. Entrusted with official positions at court, the missionaries set to their task of trying to convert the rulers and the Chinese population to Christianity while at the same time collecting information about China to disseminate in Europe.²¹

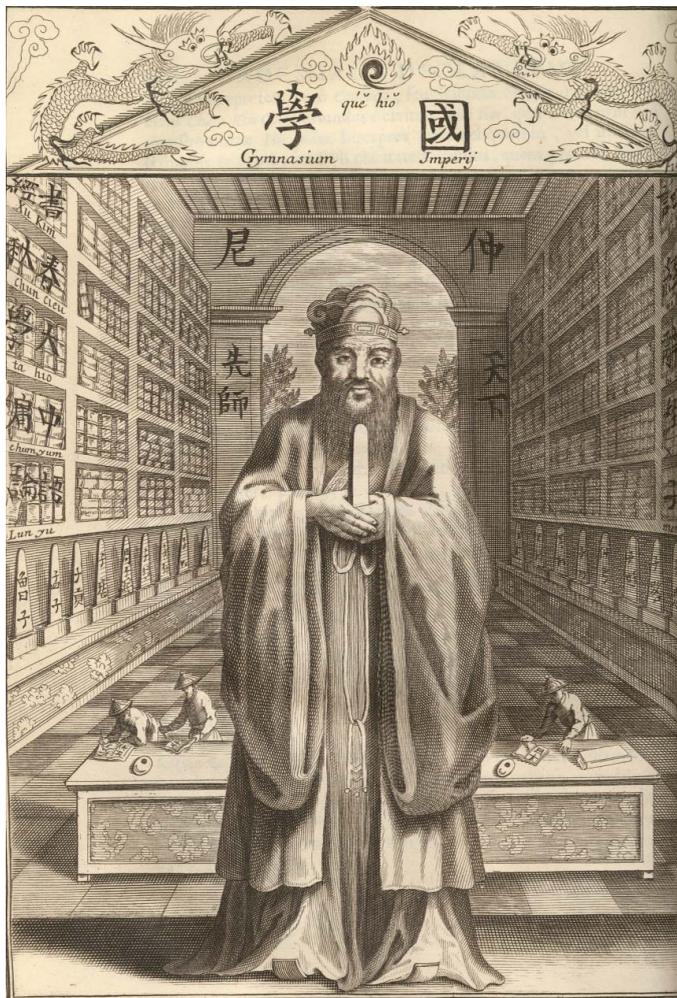
In the late seventeenth century, Portugal's decline, coupled with the rise of France, transformed the scope of the Jesuit mission in China, which went from a supranational enterprise administered by the Portuguese under the *Padroado* to an increasingly nationalist French project. Though still in control of key posts, such as the imperial astronomical observatory, by 1700 the Portuguese-led mission had been sidelined. One event marked this transition: in 1688, responding to invitations from China but also following a strategy originally outlined by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) sent six Jesuit scientists to Beijing. Ostensibly, they were to instruct the Chinese in European science. In fact, they constituted an informal legation to advance French interests.²² Through this mission, Louis XIV and the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662–1722) exchanged books, prints, paintings, porcelain, clocks, tapestries, and other objects that were to transform the visual arts of both countries.²³ The French soon obtained special privileges from the emperor: they were given land within the imperial city precinct to set up their headquarters and they were even allowed to buy property in Haidian, a Beijing suburb near the Yuanmingyuan palaces, where the Qing court spent most of its time.²⁴ At least to Europeans, these events signaled the kinship between the French kings and Chinese emperors. Similarities between the Roi Soleil and the Kangxi emperor helped create this image—both ascended the throne at a young age amid intrigue and enjoyed long and powerful reigns—but the friendship between France and China continued with subsequent rulers, including Louis XV (r. 1715–74) and the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–96).

Many publications emerged from these centuries of collaboration between European missionaries and Chinese scholars. Their purposes varied. Books in Chinese introduced local audiences to European culture, science, and Christianity, with the aim of encouraging conversions. These works range from treatises on astronomy and geography, like the *Yixiang tu* (*Liber organicus*, 1674) and *Kunyu quantu* (*Complete map of the world*, 1674) by the Flemish Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1582–1649), to missals or rosary texts, such as the *Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilue* (*Short record of the words and deeds during God's Incarnation*, 1635) by the Italian Giulio Aleni or the *Song nianzhu guicheng* (*Rules for reciting the rosary*, 1619–23) by the Portuguese Gaspar Ferreira (1571–1649) (Fig. 1).²⁵ These woodblock-



1 Annunciation, from Gaspar Ferreira (Fei Qikuei, Portuguese, 1571–1649), but usually attributed to João da Rocha, SJ (Luo Ruwang, Portuguese, 1565–1623), *Song nianzhu guicheng* [Rules for reciting the rosary], Nanjing: Society of Jesus, 1619–23, woodcut, 8½ × 4¾ in. (21.6 × 12.1 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 1365-379)

printed books carried hybrid illustrations adapted from European scientific or religious publications. The figures of the astronomical instruments in the *Yixiang tu* originated in Tycho Brahe's *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* (Nuremberg, 1602); those of Christian stories came mainly from the *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, the set of illustrations for Hieronimus Nadal's (1507–1580) *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia* (Antwerp, 1595). In China, this imported imagery gave rise to iterations, reinterpretations, and critical reactions. Notorious is the publication of the images of the Passion of Christ by the Muslim Confucian astrologer Yang Guangxian (1597–1669) in his petition to the emperor (*Bude yi* [I cannot do otherwise, 1665]), which denounced the foreigners' god as a convicted criminal executed by the state for sedition.²⁶



2 Portrait of Confucius, from Prospero Intorcetta, Christian Herdricht, Francis Rougemont, and Philippe Couplet, *Confucius sinarum philosophus, sive, Scientia sinensis latine esposita*, Paris: Hortemels, 1687, engraving, 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (32.1 × 21.3 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence)

Jesuit publications about China in Latin or other European languages had other objectives. Primarily, they were to cast a positive light on the mission and support it with fundraising, but they were also intended as tools to spread scientific knowledge and inform Europeans about Chinese culture. Between 1667 and 1668, Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), a German Jesuit polymath who never went to Asia, published first in Dutch (*Toonneel van China, door veel, zo geestelijke als werreltlijke geheugteekenen, verscheide vertoningen van de natuur en kunst*, Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge, 1667) and then in Latin (*China monumentis, quæ sacris quæ profanis, nec non variis naturæ & artis spectaculis*, Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge, 1667) an interpretative compilation of Jesuit accounts from China. To elucidate chapters on religion, costumes, languages, geography, flora, and fauna, the books carry an abundance of maps and illustrations that had significant influence on the European visual arts.²⁷ Building on earlier missionaries' work, Prospero Intorcetta (1625–1696), Christian Herdricht (1624–1684), Francis Rougemont (1624–1676), and Philippe Couplet compiled the *Confucius sinarum philosophus, sive, Scientia sinensis latine esposita* (Paris, 1687), a translation with

commentary of three of the *Sishu* (Four Books, 1190), a compendium of Confucian classics by the Song philosopher Zhu Xi (1130–1200) that from the twelfth century on served as the basis for the education of officials.²⁸ Besides introducing a Confucianism accommodated for Christian audiences, the *Confucius sinarum philosophus* provided one of the earliest European images of the philosopher, a hybrid that encapsulates the message of the book (Fig. 2). The portrait features Confucius, bearded and holding a tablet, standing before an improbable building that combines elements of a Chinese temple with those of a European library. The pediment is surmounted by two dragons and carries the characters *Guo xue* 國學 (Imperial Academy) and their Latin translation, “Gymnasium Imperij.” The interior of the building, filled with Chinese classics and stele, fuses East and West, suggesting that Confucius’s teachings were compatible with European culture.²⁹

Later multivolume compilations provided larger vistas on the geography, history, languages, and customs of the Chinese empire. These included Jean Baptiste Du Halde’s *Description de la Chine* (Paris, 1735), the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (Paris, 1702–76), and Bertin’s *Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages &c. des chinois*, the sixteen-volume encyclopedic collection that served as a spur to Helman’s prints.³⁰

These publications had a significant impact on eighteenth-century intellectual history, particularly through Voltaire (1694–1778) and others, who in the 1760s and 1770s were drawn to Confucian philosophy, but also at the hands of skeptics like Denis Diderot and Montesquieu, who criticized the Chinese political system.³¹ They also provided reservoirs of images about China that became the foundation for popular chinoiserie motifs and for later publications.³² In contrast, the two works considered here, the *Abrégé historique* and the *Faits mémorables*, did not play a prominent role in the intellectual narrative about China put forth by Jesuit propaganda. As ancien régime works centered on visibility, they were part of a derivative production that emerged with purposes at variance with those of official missionary sources. Their objectives, which may have been political, were covertly expressed and more limited in scope, but effectively served by the works’ aesthetic appeal and relatively wide circulation.

Agents and Authors

The events that led to the publication of the *Abrégé historique* and *Faits mémorables* well represent the processes of hybridization and transculturation, at times subtle, at times obvious, that influenced authors, agents, and facilitators who were linked to the project.

Helman, the engraver and compiler of both books, had been a student of Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (1707–1783) and in the 1770s had achieved some prominence as the engraver for the duc de Chartres.³³ His fame grew between 1783 and 1785, when he produced *Les conquêtes de l’empereur de la Chine*, a smaller version of a celebrated series of sixteen large copperplate engravings that depicted the Qianlong emperor’s victory over the Zunghars (Fig. 3). The originals, titled *Pingding Zhunga’er Huibu desheng tu* (Images of the victories over the Zunghars and the Muslim tribes), but known in Europe as the *Suite des seize estampes représentant les conquêtes de*

3 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, after Giuseppe Castiglione, *Raising the Siege of the Black River*, from *Suite des seize estampes représentant les conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine: Avec leur explication*, Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1783–86, pl. 3, engraving, 12¼ × 17⅛ in. (31 × 43.5 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, Hay Military, 3-size DS754.8 H45×1783)

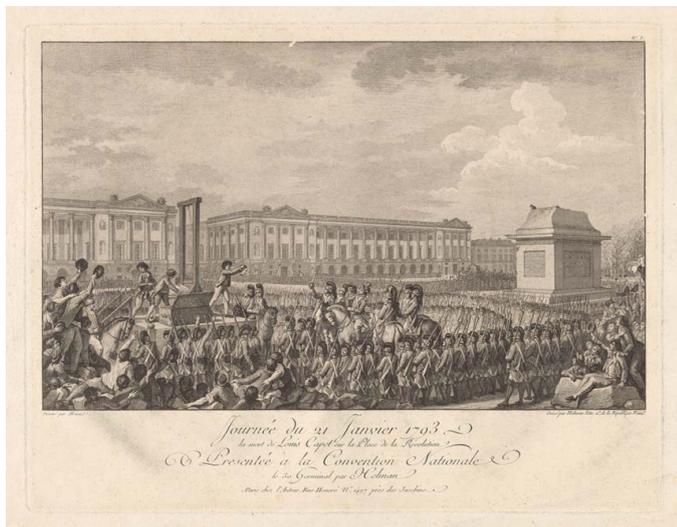


l'empereur de la Chine, had been ordered by the Qianlong emperor to be engraved in France based on the drawings of Catholic missionaries working at the Chinese court, including Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), Jean Denis Attiret (1702–1768), Giovanni Damasceno Salusti (1727–1781), and Ignatius Sichelbart (1708–1780).³⁴ Directed by Charles Nicolas Cochin fils (1715–1790) and managed by the French mission in China and the Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales, then controlled by Bertin, the project employed several artists between 1765 and 1775, including Helman's teacher, Le Bas. Secrecy surrounded the order, because the Qianlong emperor had mandated that only one hundred prints be made and that all of them as well as the copperplates be sent to China. Although the command was not followed to the letter, in Europe only the French king, some aristocrats, and a few friends of the engravers owned a set of the large engravings. Given their scarcity, quality, and exotic narratives, the prints elicited great interest. Likely through Le Bas, who was acquainted with Bertin and his collection, Helman gained access to the restricted originals of the *Suite des seize estampes*, which he used as sources for his reduced version, also of sixteen prints and also sometimes referred to as *Suite des seize estampes représentant les conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine*.³⁵ Though not as stunning as the originals, Helman's *Les conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine* satisfied a demand for a sought-after commodity and spurred Helman toward the production of more China-inspired images.³⁶ Between 1786 and 1788, he added to *Les conquêtes* eight prints, also based on Chinese images in Bertin's collection, which eventually would become the nucleus of the *Faits mémorables*.³⁷ Around that time, Bertin asked Helman to engrave eighteen images for Amiot's life of Confucius, which was to be published in volume twelve of the *Mémoires*. In 1788, still working from original drawings in Bertin's collection, Helman expanded the number of engravings on the life of Confucius to twenty-four and developed the *Faits mémorables*, publishing both collections independently.

Though Helman became the popularizer of Chinese prints in late eighteenth-century France, his knowledge of Chinese culture was limited. His interest in pursuing the production

of the *Abrégé historique* and the *Faits mémorables* may be attributed chiefly to a desire to capitalize on his earlier successes with Chinese imagery. He may have shared some of the ideals of his various patrons, who saw themselves as reformers of a corrupt monarchy or saviors of France, but he likely was an opportunist. If just before the revolution he worked closely with aristocrats and royalty (the duc de Chartres, the comte d'Artois, and the comtesse de Provence) and their entourage (Bertin), illustrating ancien régime works like the *Monument du costume*, soon thereafter he switched to serving the visual needs of the revolutionaries. Between 1790 and 1800, Helman created *Les principales journées de la révolution*, a set of fifteen prints based on drawings by Charles Monnet (1732–1808) (Fig. 4). This collection documents memorable events from the Estates-General of 1789 to the ascent of Napoléon, including the brutal scenes of the execution of the king and queen. The style of these prints is sparse and somber, decidedly less ornate than that of his China-themed prints.³⁸

If Helman's was the hand that engraved the prints, Bertin's was the mind behind a larger Sinophile design. The son of an old bourgeois family from Périgord, Bertin played a key role in developing and furthering Sino-French relations during the reigns of Louis XV, to whom he was very close (he even enjoyed the support of Madame de Pompadour), and, to a lesser degree, of Louis XVI.³⁹ He occupied various administrative positions, including the office of *contrôleur général des finances* (1759–62). On Chinese matters, he was influenced by his predecessors at this post: Colbert, who had defined Louis XIV's mission to China, and Étienne de Silhouette (1709–1767), who had embraced the domesticated Confucianism of the Jesuits and promoted the Qianlong emperor as a model for absolutism.⁴⁰ Bertin's impact on the Sino-French enterprise was strongest between 1762 and 1780, when he was secretary of state and *petit ministre*. In this position, he oversaw finance, trade, mines, agriculture, porcelain manufacturing at Sèvres, and the Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales. The latter provided Bertin with the opportunity to tap into materials and documents coming from China, facilitating the exchange of letters, manuscripts, images, and objects between him and the missionaries.⁴¹



4 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, after Charles Monnet, *Journée de 21 Janvier 1793: La mort de Louis Capet sur la Place de la Révolution*, from *Les principales journées de la révolution*, Paris, 1794, engraving, 17¾ × 23¼ in. (45.1 × 59 cm). Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, 2006.200.102 (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Erik Gould, provided by the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design)

Educated by the Jesuits and emerging from a devout background, Bertin developed contacts with the priests in the early 1760s. He was committed to the conversion of the Chinese to Catholic Christianity, but his idea of Catholicism was one that favored the supremacy of the French state over that of supranational entities, such as the Jesuit order and the Roman Church.⁴² His most pressing task was to reform the French monarchy to make it adopt the enlightened despotism that many in eighteenth-century Europe (including Voltaire) attributed to Chinese rulers, and in particular, to the Qianlong emperor. When in 1764 Louis XV dissolved the Jesuit order in France, Bertin saw the event as an opportunity to gain influence over the China missionaries by acting as their advocate in the home country.⁴³ This proved essential for the development of his research enterprise, whose goal was the dissemination of information on China that could be useful to the reform of the French monarchy, a project that culminated in the publication of the multivolume *Mémoires*.⁴⁴

Bertin's main correspondent was Father Joseph Marie Amiot, a native of Toulon who arrived in China in 1750 (reaching Beijing in 1752), accompanied by Philippe-Stanislas Kang and Paul Lieou, two Chinese catechumens who were returning to China after a ten-year sojourn in France.⁴⁵ From the mid-1760s, Amiot, who had become fluent in Chinese and Manchu and conversant with local culture, was enlisted as Bertin's ally.⁴⁶ Bertin's interest in the missionaries related not only to his quest for information about China but also to his efforts to influence Chinese foreign policy. He wanted to alert the emperor to the danger of the expansionist policies of the Russian Empire, which could be as detrimental to China as they were to France. Bertin failed to enlist Qianlong as an ally, but Amiot was glad to find in Bertin a proponent of the mission. The 1764 dissolution of the Society of Jesus in France had not affected the French mission's holdings in China, but it undermined the Jesuits' financial sources in their home country—particularly funding from the monarchy—and was damaging to French influence in China. Concerned, the

French mission turned to Bertin, who, they hoped, could restore royal backing. Though a member of the cabinet that voted the Jesuits out of France, Bertin was a champion of the order, to the point that in 1763, in order to be free to show his sympathies, he resigned from his cabinet post.⁴⁷

Besides Amiot, Bertin corresponded with other China missionaries, including François Bourgeois (1723–1792) and Michel Benoist (1715–1774), the French scientist who designed the waterworks for the Xiyanglou (Western palaces) of the Yuanmingyuan, the imperial garden resort. In cooperation with the Jesuit mission and the *Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales*, Bertin also organized the training in France of two young Chinese Christians—Étienne Yang (Yang Dewang, 1733–1798) and Louis Ko (Gao Leisi, 1732–1790)—with the objective that once returned to their homeland, they could provide Bertin with inside reports on Chinese customs. Ko and Yang arrived in France in 1752, where they studied French, Latin, European crafts, and sciences, eventually supported by a royal pension, which Bertin had secured for them after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. They returned to China in 1766, and until their deaths, they supplied Bertin with accounts on various topics, though not as effectively as Bertin had hoped, since the Qing authorities viewed them with suspicion.⁴⁸ Beyond Ko and Yang, many other Chinese artists, scholars, and converts—who have remained largely anonymous—were instrumental in collecting original sources and furnishing interpretation, translations, and illustrations for these publications.

The *Abrégé historique* and the *Shengji tu* and Its Transcultured Sources: Father Amiot's "Vie de Koug-Tsée"

The *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius* is a book of twenty-four prints with narrative captions outlining the life of Confucius. Texts and images show that it is based on the *Shengji tu* (Pictures of the sage's traces), a popular biography of Confucius conceived in 1444 as a painted hand scroll by the Ming scholar Zhang Kai (1398–1460). This nuclear *Shengji tu* contained Zhang Kai's eulogies to Confucius, twenty-nine or thirty-four paintings that Zhang had commissioned from an anonymous artist, as well as some venerable literature: the preface to the *Lunyu* (Analects) by Zhu Xi and excerpts of Confucius's standard biography—*Kongzi shijia*—from *Shiji* (Historical records) by the Han historian Sima Qian (ca. 145–87 BCE). In subsequent years, the *Shengji tu* underwent several significant expansions. In 1497, the literatus He Tingrui (*jinshi* 1457) and his followers republished the *Shengji tu*, adding nine stories. In the mid-sixteenth century, the third iteration of the *Shengji tu* grew to about seventy images and included supernatural events that were external to Confucius's biography. These inclusions transformed the character of the work from biographical to hagiographic. With the fourth iteration (1592), the work grew to 112 illustrations, which were carved into stone stele and installed at Confucius's Temple in Qufu, where they can still be seen. In the seventeenth century, 105 of the 112 original stone-carved images were turned back into a woodblock-printed book. This became the standard edition of the *Shengji tu* and is most likely the one Amiot used and sent to France alongside his narrative. In this format, the *Shengji tu* chronicled



5 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, portrait of Confucius, from Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 1, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.9 × 18.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B15219)

Confucius's story from the miraculous signs that preceded and followed his birth to his precocious ritual activities, his adult struggles to educate rulers and bolster the ritual system, his encounters with misfortunes, his upright moral character, and eventually his death and posthumous cult.⁴⁹

The *Abrégé historique* follows this structure but shortens and reinterprets the story to suit a European audience. The book begins with a frontal seated portrait of the philosopher that comes not from the *Shengji tu*, but from the *Queli zhi* (Records of Queli, 1505), an illustrated ritual text by the Ming author Chen Hao (*jinsshi* 1487), mentioned in Father Amiot's letter (Figs. 5, 6). The reason for this choice appears to be that the *Shengji tu* does not offer a stand-alone portrait of the sage, which Helman, following European convention, thought necessary. The result was a new European image of Confucius, which was closer to Chinese standards and quite different from the hybrid figure made popular by the *Confucius sinarum philosophus* (Fig. 2). This format, common in China and probably based on the statue of Confucius at his ancestral temple in Qufu, presents the philosopher sitting



6 Portrait of the Great Sage, Disseminator, and King, from Kong Zhencong, *Queli zhi: Shi er zhuan*, Qufu: Kongshi, Ming Wanli jiyou, 1609, vol. 1, juan 1, p. 2, woodcut, 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 6 in. (23.3 × 15.1 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Richard C. Rudolph East Asian Library, UCLA)

on a throne wearing a cap and gown decorated with auspicious symbols. Below the image in the *Abrégé historique* are four verses by Voltaire from the chapter on China in *Questions sur l'encyclopédie par des amateurs* (1774).

Of sole reason healthy interpreter,
enlightening the spirits without dazzling the world,
it is only a sage who speaks, never a prophet:
nevertheless he was believed, and in his country as well.⁵⁰

This poem distances the *Abrégé historique* from the religious interpretations of Confucianism expressed in Jesuit publications like Amiot's life of Confucius.

The remaining twenty-three pictures touch on three themes: the birth and childhood, adult life, and death and cult of the philosopher. In these vignettes, Confucius's figure oscillates between the sage philosopher of tradition and the semidivine being whose portentous life events call to mind equally wondrous happenings in the lives of Christ or the saints. Though they may suggest a Christian stimulus, the hagiographic



7 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Lady Yan met by Qilin, from Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 2, engraving and etching, 10³/₈ × 7¹/₄ in. (26.9 × 18.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B15219)

elements of the *Abrégé historique* come from the *Shengji tu*, which, as Julia Murray has shown, had been influenced by late imperial Buddhist and Taoist literature.⁵¹ The emphasis on magic and supernatural events in the illustrated lives of Buddha or of Taoist immortals led to the transformation of the historical Confucius into a demigod. The impact of Christianity on the *Abrégé historique* is tangential and relates mainly to the selection of *Shengji tu* stories that were illustrated. For instance, missing from the *Abrégé historique* are tales that could link Confucius to pagan worship, like the first of the *Shengji tu*, which features Confucius's mother (or occasionally both parents) making offerings to a mountain in their quest to conceive a son. Still,

Helman seized some hagiographic elements—like those that present Confucius's birth and early life as miraculous and foreshadowed by auspicious signs—as opportunities to hint at parallels with Christianity.

The pictorial sequence starts with Lady Yan, Confucius's mother, who while strolling in her garden is approached by the mythic *qilin*, a composite dragonlike creature sometimes likened to the unicorn (Fig. 7). In many ways, this image recalls the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary: the *qilin*, like the angel Gabriel, is the means by which the expectant mother is apprised of the critical role her child will play in the world. As the caption explains, the wondrous creature

8 *The Qilin's Jade Tablet* (麒麟玉书), from *An Illustrated Chronological Biography of Confucius* (*Kongzi Shengji zhi tu*), Jifu ed., adapted from *Sima Qian*, by Zhu Jianjun [with preface by Zhang Kaishi], ca. 1506, with a printed postface dated 1497 (ca. 1506 reprint of the Jifu ed., first published in 1497), scene 3, accordion-fold woodblock-printed book, ink on paper, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (41 × 62 cm). Harvard Art Museums / Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of the Hofer Collection of the Arts of Asia, 1985.842 (artwork in the public domain, photograph © President and Fellows of Harvard College, provided by the Imaging Department)



hands Lady Yan a jade tablet with an inscription: “A baby pure like crystal will be born at the decline of the Zhou [dynasty]; he will be king but without a kingdom.”⁵² This content follows closely the *Shengji tu* text, but Helman’s image differs substantially from standard Chinese versions (Fig. 8). Visual changes seize on two topics that would have drawn educated European viewers interested in China: the representation of gardens and of the women therein. Unlike Chinese artists, who typically place the philosopher’s mother in a house garden, Helman depicts her strolling with a servant in an open space that evokes an imperial park. The basic elements of the Chinese garden are there—trees, rocks, water, bridge, pavilions—but the scene, framed by distant mountains, is invested with the regal grandeur that Helman’s audience expected and desired in a representation of a “Chinese garden.” Eighteenth-century European intellectuals and elites were conversant with imperial gardens like the Yuanmingyuan, a park and residence at the outskirts of Beijing, which was thoroughly described in the influential 1743 letter by the Jesuit artist Attiret.⁵³ Images of these extensive spaces appeared in contemporary French and English publications that promoted the fashion of the “Oriental garden,” like *The Emperor of China’s Palace at Peking, and His Principal Gardens*, which was printed and sold by Robert Sayer, Henry Overton, Thomas Bowles, and John Bowles and Son in London (1753), and Georges-Louis Le Rouge’s (1712–ca. 1792) *Détail des nouveaux jardins à la mode, jardins anglo-chinois, jardins chinois etc.* (1776–89).⁵⁴ Both publications featured versions of the Jesuit artist Matteo Ripa’s (1682–1746) engravings of the Qianlong emperor’s summer retreat in Jehol (Manchuria), but Le Rouge’s also included adaptations of other imperially sponsored representations of the Chinese landscape, like the Yuanmingyuan. In these accounts, readers were presented with literary and visual scenes of vast “natural” gardens that included mountains, lakes, rivers, and valleys dissected by winding paths and interspersed with pavilions and bridges.⁵⁵ Europeans were less familiar with the

city gardens of the literati and the urban wealthy, even though in China, starting from the mid-Ming period, these places were at the center of a complex aesthetic discourse that engaged the intellectual and merchant elites, particularly in the thriving commercial centers of the Jiangnan area.⁵⁶ These smaller gardens, which were the norm in late Ming and Qing urban settings, are typically represented in popular publications like the *Shengji tu* and appear also in Chinese versions of the Annunciation (Fig. 1).

The expectations of Helman’s audience are apparent also in the representation of the two women in the foreground. Lady Yan and her maid have assumed the aspect of eighteenth-century shepherdesses somewhat frightened by the appearance of the *qilin*. This image probably made sense to European viewers, who were unaware of the differences between Europe and China not simply in regard to the role of women in society, but particularly in relation to their modes of representation. During the Ming and Qing periods, upper-class Han women had bound feet and were not expected to wander in the open countryside. Though they ventured outside the house to visit relatives or to pray at ancestral shrines or temples, elite women spent most of their time indoors, and by the mid- to late Ming were, as a rule, portrayed either inside the house or in gardens. In these spaces, ladies were shown elegantly engaged in intellectual activities, like painting and writing, but also playing and flirting. The space that Confucius’s mother inhabited in Ming and Qing illustrated literature was inspired by this visual model.⁵⁷

Whether or not women in Europe were legally or physically freer than their counterparts in China, in eighteenth-century European art, idealized images of maids and peasant girls in pastoral settings—and even the classical nude goddesses in the landscape—were commonplace and visually acceptable.⁵⁸ Conversely, an encounter with the dragonlike *qilin* was liable to engender some consternation in European women—thus, the somewhat defensive posture of Lady Yan and her maid in the French print. In the *Shengji tu*, Confucius’s mother is not frightened by the auspicious animal



9 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Confucius's birth, from Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 4, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.9 × 18.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B15219)

but extends her hand to take the tablet from its mouth. The parallels between the Christian Annunciation and the encounter of Lady Yan with the *qilin* are further entangled, because if the dragon embodies radically different qualities in Christian and Chinese iconography (being the symbol of evil in the first and of power in the latter), the *qilin* is not a real dragon but a composite creature occasionally identified with the unicorn. In this ambiguous context, Confucius's mother could skirt the problematic role of the woman who is on familiar terms with a dragon and become the virgin with the unicorn, a myth known to Europeans from medieval and

Renaissance art and literature that would cast her as a stand-in for the Virgin Mary.⁵⁹

The encounter with the *qilin* is followed by a representation of the two dragons and five sages that appeared above his house at Confucius's birth, an image that evokes the propitious signs that marked Jesus' nativity. In the subsequent scene, the mother lies in the parturition bed as nursemaids wash baby Confucius in a tub (Fig. 9). Above the bed, an ensemble of musicians soars in the clouds. In terms of elements—porcelain stools, alcove bed, exotic musical instruments, bamboo garden—Helman's print is not remarkably

10 Birth of Confucius, from *An Illustrated Chronological Biography of Confucius (Kongzi Shengji zhi tu)*, Jifu ed., adapted from *Sima Qian*, by Zhu Jianjun [with preface by Zhang Kaishi], ca. 1506 (ca. 1506 reprint of the Jifu ed., first published in 1497), scene 5, accordion-fold woodblock-printed book, ink on paper, with a printed postface dated to 1497, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (41 × 62 cm). Harvard Art Museums / Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of the Hofer Collection of the Arts of Asia, 1985.842 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © President and Fellows of Harvard College, provided by the Imaging Department)



different from most Chinese versions, but its setup is unusual. The *Shengji tu* generally presents the event from the outside, with Lady Yan seen in bed through a door that opens into the garden, as heavenly musicians float over the house (Fig. 10). In the *Abrégé*, the viewpoint is inverted: viewer and musicians are inside participating in the event at a respectful distance, whereas the garden is barely visible through the open door. This leads to a closer and more intimate experience, which conjures up the eighteenth-century boudoir. An earlier print by Helman that represents pregnancy in the boudoir probably served as the basis for his depiction of Confucius's birth. Made in 1776 after a drawing by Jean Michel Moreau le jeune (1741–1814), the print is the fourth in a collection of twelve, titled *Monument du costume* (also under the title *Second suite d'estampes, pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs et du costume des françois dans le dix-huitième siècle: Année 1776*), and is also found in other collections (Fig. 11). It shows a young woman, Cephise, lying on the sofa during the final weeks of gestation. Two female friends sitting at her side are telling her that she should not be afraid.⁶⁰ Many aspects of Lady Yan's bedchamber—from the angle of view to the position of the mother and her assistants—are similar to Cephise's, but the image is less ornate and intimate and the perspective is altered.

After these portents comes the story of the boy Confucius playing at the rites (Fig. 12), a standard component of his biography, which foretells his future as the keeper of tradition. Here, Helman again showcases the Chinese garden: the altar with its ritual implements is inside a house compound adorned with banana trees, bamboo, moon door, and zigzagging walls. These elements—found in eighteenth-century manuals publicizing the fashion of “Oriental” architecture and gardens—better represent the late Ming and Qing urban gardens, which used walls, stones, bridges, and trees to create a variety of “scenes” within reduced spaces.⁶¹

The bulk of the *Abrégé* illustrates in chronological order events that illuminate the philosopher's moral and political inclinations. Plate 6 displays Confucius's visit to the ancestral

shrine of the ruling dynasty, where he honors the Zhou ancestors and debates the sages. If this classic story resonates with Jesus' visit to the temple, others come across as commentaries on the contemporary French political situation. In plate 7, Confucius hangs three water buckets next to the throne to remind the king about balanced government, and in plate 11 he hands out thousands of rice rations donated to him by an evil king during a famine.⁶²

The more cryptic plate 8 looks to be simply a strategy to flaunt alien visual codes in architecture, landscape, and garden design. Helman constructs a “Chinese” landscape by assembling elements that he deems necessary in such a setting: distant mountains, flowing rivers, rocks, pavilions, and people on winding paths that lure the viewer into the picture (Fig. 13). Still, his image differs significantly from contemporary Chinese landscape painting, which was then moving toward more abstract styles, and appears to owe more to the interpretation of that subject by Jesuit artists working in China (Fig. 3). Whereas the *Shengji tu* story tells how the philosopher and his disciples competed for sacrificial animals with hunters from Lu, Confucius's home state (ca. 1042–249 BCE, one of many feudal states only nominally under the control of the ruling Zhou dynasty), Helman's caption almost ignores that tale and describes instead the landscape and the use of the *ting* (pavilion) in rural architecture. This is not surprising, since animal sacrifice would appear as a heretical practice to European eyes.

Three prints document the philosopher's knowledge of tradition and his allegiance to the reigning dynasty's ancestors. In plate 10, Confucius identifies a sheep-headed statue that scholars had unearthed as the earth spirit Fenyang. In plate 19, the sage lectures his astounded students on the meaning of the statue they are viewing in the outer room of the Mingtang (Luminous hall), which represents the Duke of Zhou (ca. eleventh century BCE) sitting on the throne with the boy king Cheng (ca. 1042–1021 BCE) on his lap (Fig. 14).⁶³ The disciples are shocked that somebody other than a ruler sits on the throne, let alone that he holds



N'ayez pas peur, ma bonne amie.

A.P.D.R.

11 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, “*N’ayez pas peur, ma bonne amie,*” from Jean Michel Moreau le jeune, *Second suite d’estampes, pour servir à l’histoire des mœurs et du costume des françois dans le dix-huitième siècle: Année 1776*, Paris: De l’Imprimerie de J. Barbou, 1774–83, vol. 2, no. 16, engraving with etching, 22⁷/₈ × 16³/₄ in. (58.2 × 42.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 1377-448)

the king in his arms. Confucius explains that the Duke of Zhou, who was the uncle, tutor, and regent of King Cheng, protected the young sovereign from intrigues during the regency and retreated from power once the king came of age. For his loyalty, the Duke of Zhou became the paradigm of political morality in Confucian thought and an example of abnegation to be imitated. In the following plate (no. 20), Confucius lectures his disciples on the virtue of circumspection as they stand next to a golden statue with sealed lips installed outside the Mingtang. In both prints, Helman seized the opportunity to delineate the grandiose structural and decorative details of Chinese architecture and, at the same time, deliver not-so-subtle political messages.

This joint visual and political strategy is activated also in illustrations that focus on justice, highlighting how Confucius advocated for stern but fair punishment, something that was perceived as missing in contemporary France. In plate 11, the philosopher, standing under a hut in the mountains, witnesses the execution of a criminal he has sentenced to death, demonstrating his severity against wrongdoers. In

plate 18, he argues with the king of Chen atop the astronomical observatory, saving from capital punishment the astronomers unwisely condemned to die, a manifestation of benevolence toward people unfairly sentenced.

Several prints highlight Confucius’s moral uprightness, his unwillingness to compromise, and his distrust of court women intent on influencing rulers, another theme that had political relevance in eighteenth-century France. In plate 12, the sage is offended by a lewd dance performance organized by the king of Qi, an enemy state, to influence the king of Lu, a supporter of the philosopher (Fig. 15). From a bird’s-eye view within the walls of the royal compound, we see a girl dancing provocatively on a stone terrace in front of the Qi palace, accompanied by musicians and observed by complacent officials. Inside the building, the kings of Lu and Qi sit side by side, watching, as Confucius walks in front of them to criticize the coarse event and warn his ruler about the dangers of accepting entertainment from a known adversary. The sophisticated character of the architecture—from roof tiles to columns, wood carvings, and stone railings—is represented in fine detail, perhaps hinting at the connection between moral debauchery, excessive spending, and outright dishonesty. In plate 14, a grandiose landscape is the setting for the foolish dismissal of Confucius by the king of Lu, who, corrupted by Qi’s entreaties, had refused to heed the admonishment of the philosopher not to accept presents from the enemy. The sage is glimpsed in the distance departing in his humble oxcart. In the foreground, the king of Lu receives gifts presented by the Qi ambassador. In plate 16, Confucius maintains a proper distance from a concubine of the king of Wei who tries to seduce him; in plate 17, in order to maintain moral order, he escorts the king of Wei and his lover to a pleasure palace. They ride in a carriage that Helman describes as similar to the French *carrosse*, whereas the philosopher follows in his oxcart. Helman’s embrace of these themes is revealing, considering the climate of the time, which was imbued with resentment for Austria’s political interfering and criticism of royal debauchery directed at Marie Antoinette.

To maintain a sense of optimism, decorum, and respect for the philosopher and avoid excessive negativity, several prints celebrate the positive qualities of those who treasured his teaching and advice. In plate 13, a former student of Confucius, now a prominent magistrate, demonstrates humility by getting off his horse and bowing to the sage, and in plate 15, the king of Wei honors the sage exiled by the king of Lu. Toward the end, plate 21 encapsulates the accomplishments of the now-aged philosopher, who is surrounded by disciples as he receives celestial approval from the high god Shangdi for his work collating ancient texts (Fig. 16). Echoing the earlier print of the boy Confucius playing at the rites (Fig. 12), this is likewise set in a garden. However, whereas the child was enclosed in a quiet domestic lot, this garden of trees and contorted rocks opens on a cloudy cliff that lets in the sublime cosmic forces to which the aged sage is attuned. Following the *Shengji tu*, Helman’s print represents the celestial and astronomical dimension of the Chinese ritual system embedded in Confucianism: the philosopher kneels in front of an altar with the Six Classics and a set of ritual vessels; Shangdi appreciates the offer, and a red rainbow descends

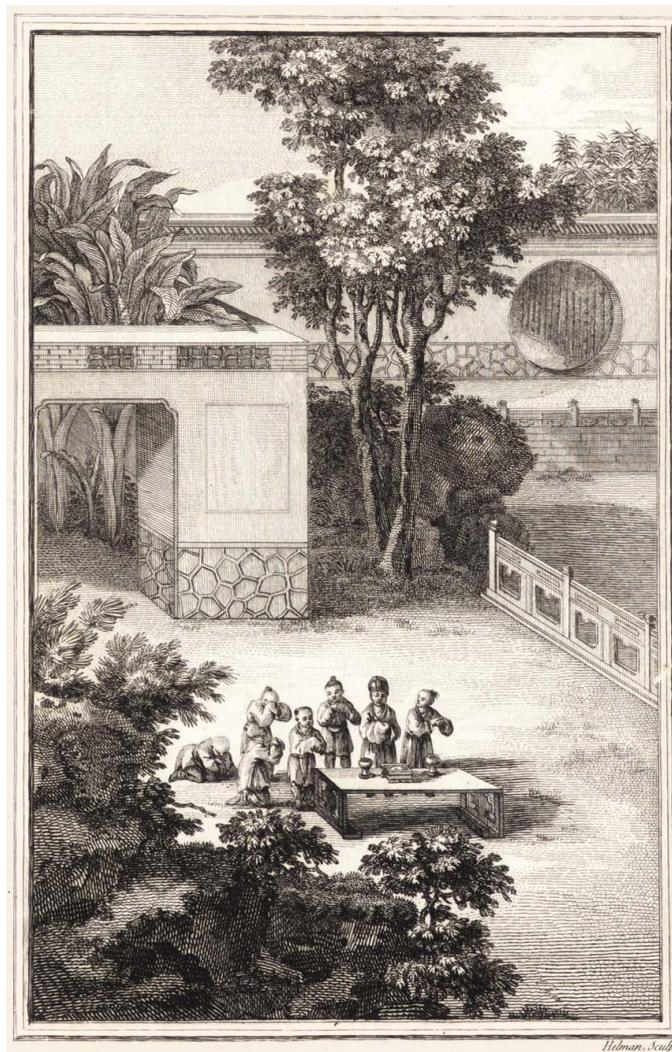
from the Big Dipper. The constellation highlights the connection between Chinese religious ideology and the fields of astronomy and calendar science that played central roles in the Jesuits' conversion activities. Images like these reinforced the idea proposed by the Jesuits that Chinese religion and Christianity shared a belief in the same high celestial god. Yet in the context of the European Enlightenment, this print could also be read as a nod to natural religion and deism, the belief that a distant god allows the world to run according to the laws of nature.⁶⁴

Confucius's legacy is represented in the last three prints of the *Abrégé historique*, which depict the philosopher's tomb (Fig. 17) and the posthumous rites that contributed to the growth of his cult. The rendering of Confucius's burial mound is an example of the visual hybridity that Helman successfully employed in this volume. The image diverges from Chinese representations of this episode by giving an embellished version of the tomb. In most editions of the *Shengji tu*, Confucius's tomb is a simple earth mound shaded by an old tree and flanked by the straw hut his students called home during their years of graveside mourning. Such an image was meant to emphasize Confucius's modesty and the unswerving devotion of his followers. The imposing tomb in Helman's print alters the original message of piety and austerity, stressing that the sophistication of Chinese architecture and gardens was matched by equally grand mausolea. In the foreground is an elegant Chinese temple on an elevated marble platform, which, the caption explains, is the *miao*, or ancestral shrine. Confucius's actual burial mound, glorified into a marble dome, is in the back, flanked by two others. Aside from the trees, the print is rigidly symmetrical, but though organized along the principles of one-point perspective, it introduces also a bird's-eye point of view that Helman may have picked up perusing Chinese landscape paintings in the Bertin collection. This perspective stratagem places the mound in the focal point but allows the viewer to wander in the space behind the pavilion.

The book ends with the images of Duke Ai, ruler of Lu (r. 494–467 BCE), building the Kongmiao, Confucius's ancestral shrine (plate 23), and Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) offering ceremonies to the sage's tablet (plate 24).

Though a few famous stories—the sage's early career as a grain and livestock administrator and his meeting with the Daoist philosopher Laozi—were left out, the twenty-three episodes selected from the more than one hundred in the *Shengji tu* constitute a fairly mainstream representation of the philosopher's popular biography as it existed in China at the time. Significant, but not surprising, are the omissions of two accounts: that of the aged philosopher mourning the *qilin* killed by hunters from Lu, Confucius's home state, an incident that foreshadowed his death, just as its appearance had foretold his birth; and that of Han emperor Gaozu's (r. 200–195 BCE) sacrificing an ox, a sheep, and a hog at *Kongmiao*, an event that marked the beginning of the state cult of Confucius. The latter in particular might have been thought to be unsuited for European eyes.

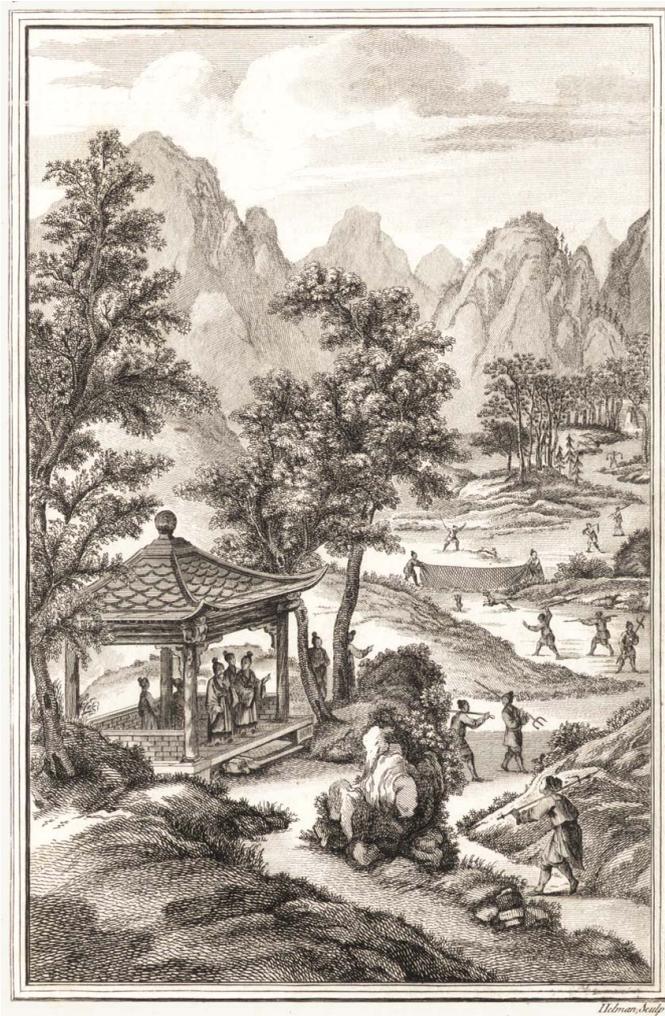
The *Abrégé historique* was inspired by an earlier project dedicated to the life of Confucius that Helman had illustrated in the mid-1780s: Father Amiot's "La vie de Koung-Tsée appelé vulgairement Confucius" (Life of Kongzi, commonly known



12 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, The boy Confucius playing at the rites, from Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 5, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.9 × 18.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B15219)

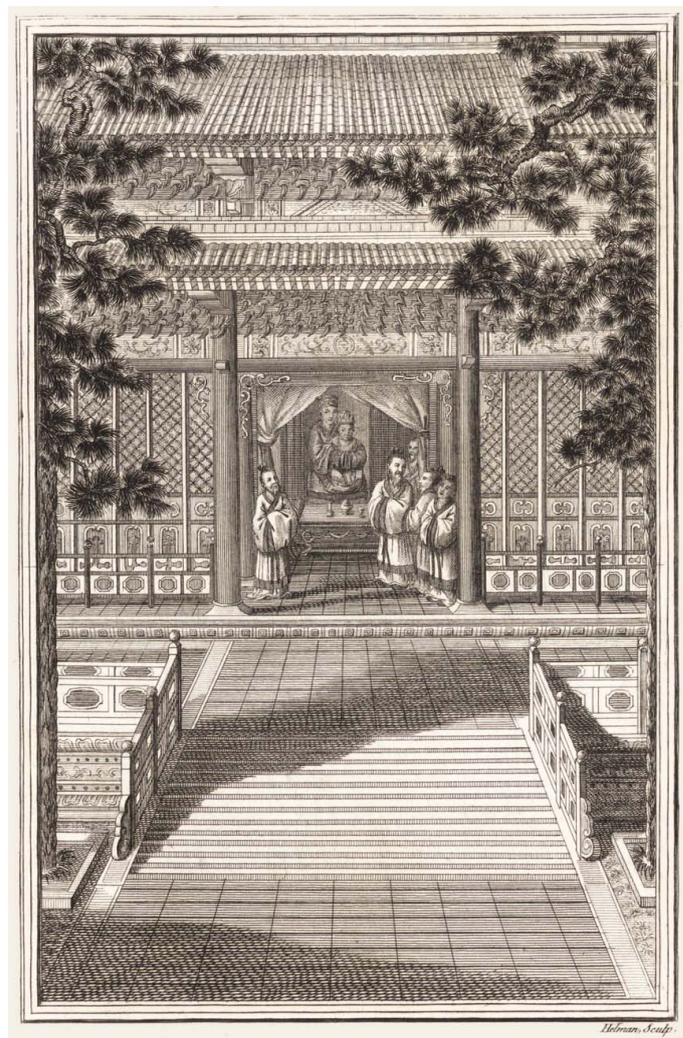
as Confucius, 1786). This appeared in volume twelve of the *Mémoires*.⁶⁵ Though sharing some of the same illustrations, the *Vie de Koung-Tsée* and the *Abrégé* differ considerably. The first is an extensive research on Confucius's life and thought, with fewer images than the *Abrégé* (eighteen versus twenty-four) but a longer scholarly text.⁶⁶ The second features images and short narratives and is closer to the hagiographic character of the *Shengji tu*.

That the *Abrégé* had significantly different objectives from the *Vie de Koung-Tsée* is emphasized not only by its focus on visuality but also by the addition of Voltaire's antireligious poem (quoted above) to Confucius's portrait. The verses, too polemic for a Jesuit-sponsored publication, are absent below the same likeness in Amiot's book. The connections between the two publications are nonetheless explicit. Originally, Helman had been asked by Bertin to engrave eighteen illustrations for the *Vie de Koung-Tsée*. To these, he later added six images and published the twenty-four prints in the *Abrégé historique*. In both cases, the sources of the illustrations were the hundreds of drawings Amiot had sent



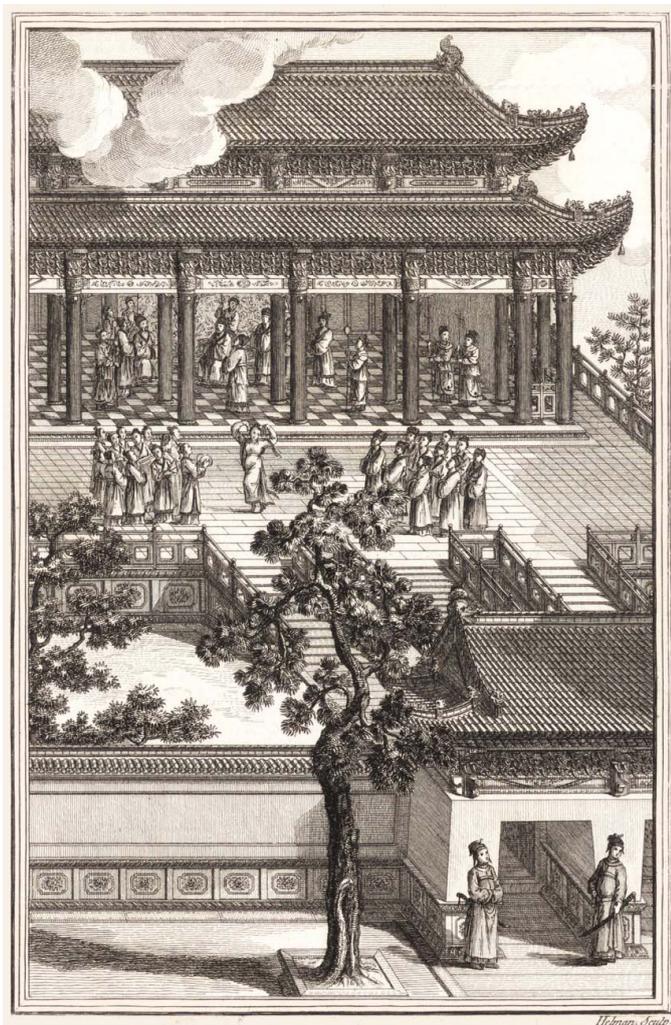
13 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Confucius with his disciples at the *ting* (pavilion), from Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 8, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.9 × 18.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B15219)

to Bertin in 1784 alongside his manuscript.⁶⁷ In describing the visual sources he drew from the Bertin collection, Helman speaks of Chinese drawings (“dessins de la Chine”) without specifying whether they were part of an album or a book.⁶⁸ Though he is vague, there is no doubt that, except for the frontispiece portrait of Confucius, the remaining twenty-three illustrations and the text of the *Abrégé historique* are based on the *Shengji tu*. Proof for this identification rests on the number of images that Amiot sent to Bertin as sources for the illustrations of the *Vie de Koung-Tsé*. The “Avertissement,” or foreword, speaks of “over a hundred drawings,” and, writing in 1910 about the dispersal of the Bertin collection, Henri Cordier reported seeing one hundred and five such images in a private collection in Paris, a figure that matches the number of episodes in eighteenth-century editions of the *Shengji tu*.⁶⁹ Amiot does not mention the *Shengji tu* among the sources for his *Vie de Koung-Tsé*, citing only the *Lunyu*, *Kongzi jiaoyu*, *Shiji*, *Queli zhi*, and *Shengmen lizhi*.⁷⁰ The lack of acknowledgment is odd, but Amiot may have omitted the *Shengji tu* because he saw it as a popular text that was provided only as a basis for the illustrations of his scholarly work.⁷¹

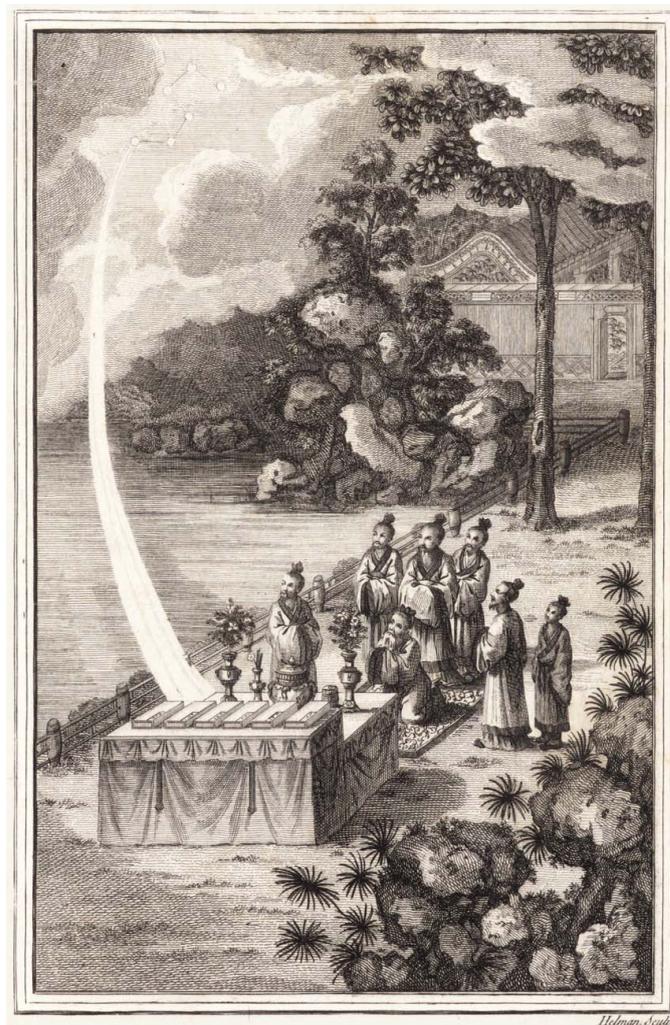


14 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Confucius at the Zhou temple, from Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 19, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.9 × 18.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B15219)

Research at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and at the Institut de France, Paris, where most of the Bertin collection is preserved, has not turned up the original drawings.⁷² However, the Bibliothèque Nationale holds the 468-page manuscript of Amiot’s “La vie de Koung-Tsé, appelé vulgairement Confucius, le plus célèbre d’entre les philosophes chinois, et le restaurateur de l’ancienne doctrine” (1784), prefaced by his letter to Bertin. In this missive, the missionary explains that in order to provide a thorough view of the philosopher, he collected all the visual material he could lay his hands on, particularly illustrated books dedicated to Confucius’s life. Amiot appears to refer to the *Shengji tu* when he mentions a cheap illustrated text used by students, which he considered unworthy of Bertin’s eyes because of its “incorrect drawing” and the dismal quality of its prints. He adds that he had commissioned an impoverished but accomplished local artist to paint new illustrations using those woodblock prints as sources of inspiration. Amiot believed the anonymous painter had done a fair job and not slavishly copied the prints: Bertin had just to compare the painted set to the



15 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Confucius and the king of Lu offended by a dance, from Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 12, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.9 × 18.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B15219)



16 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Confucius offers the reorganized Six Classics to Heaven, from Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 21, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.9 × 18.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B15219)

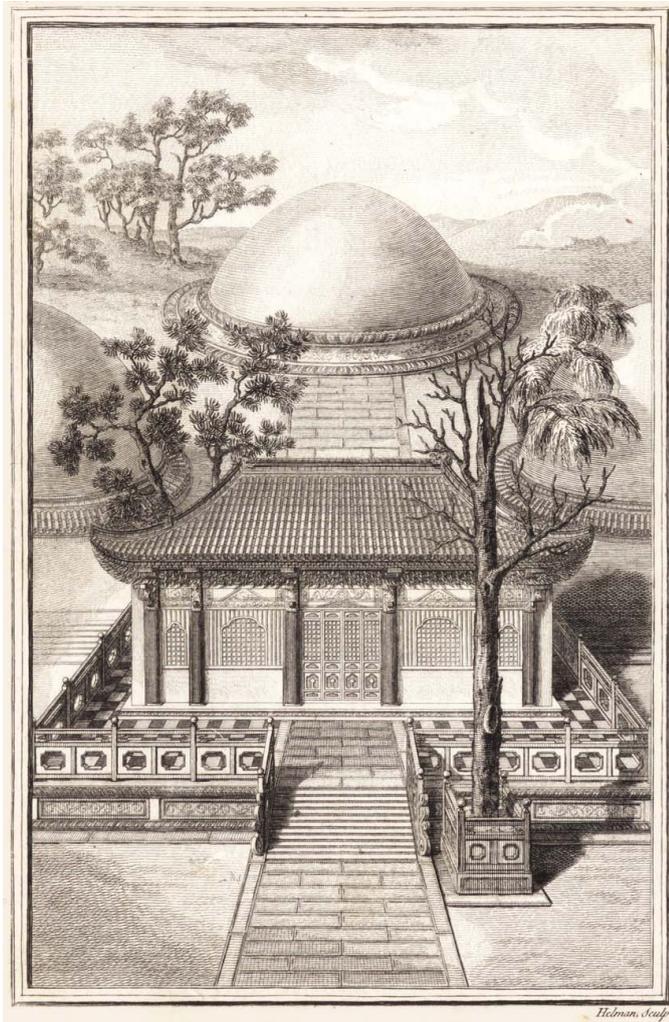
printed book (presumably the *Shengji tu*) to see the superiority of the former. Amiot also pointed out that since European and Chinese tastes in painting differ, Bertin might still find them unsatisfactory. He noted, though, that the paintings were praised by Chinese scholars and that even the Italian missionary painter Giuseppe Panzi (1734–ca. 1812), at first dubious, had, after careful consideration, compared them to Cimabue's works in Florence.⁷³

The *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine* and Its Transcultured Sources: From the *Dijian tushuo* to the “Recueil historique des principaux traits de la vie des empereurs de la Chine”

Another collection of prints produced by Helman, the *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine*, bears many similarities to the *Abrégé historique*, with which it is occasionally bound. Like the *Abrégé*, the *Faits mémorables* features twenty-four prints with captions derived from a much longer Chinese publication, the

Dijian tushuo (Illustrated discussion of the emperor's mirror, 1573) by the Ming official Zhang Juzheng (1525–1580).

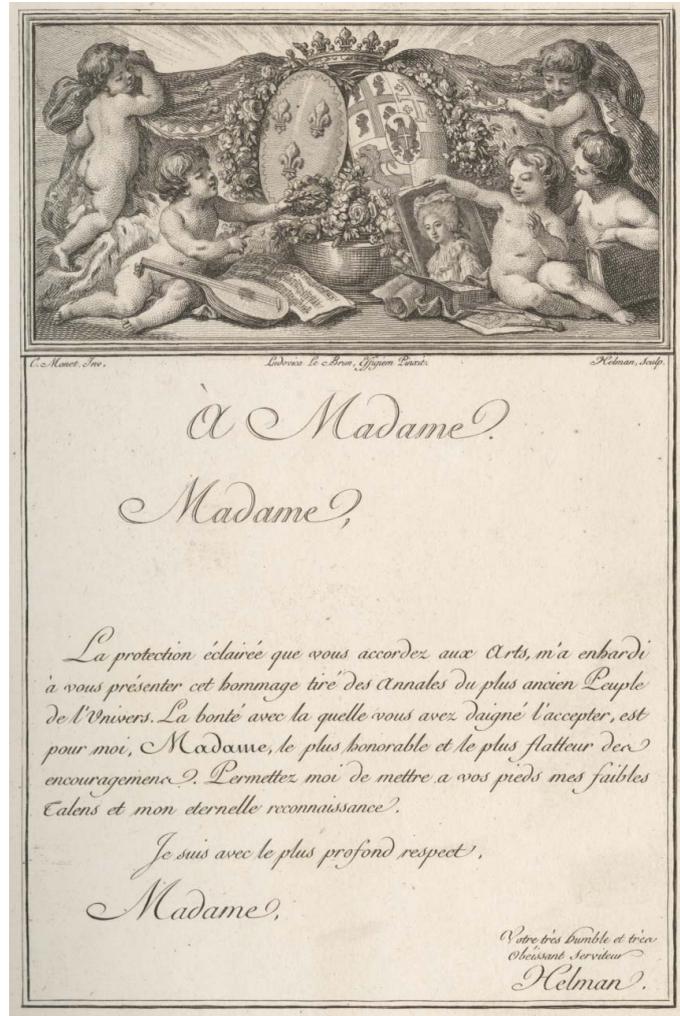
The author of the *Dijian tushuo* was well known to the China Jesuits. In the seventeenth century, Zhang Juzheng's commentaries on the Confucian *Four Books* had been one of the missionaries' favorite sources for the compilation of the *Confucius sinarum philosophus*.⁷⁴ Conceived as an illustrated primer on the morality of history for the young Wanli emperor of the Ming dynasty (r. 1572–1620), whom Zhang Juzheng tutored, the *Dijian tushuo* lists 117 events from the lives of Chinese emperors. Starting with the earliest legendary rulers (Yao, Shun, and Yu) and ending with Emperor Zhezong of the Song dynasty (r. 1085–1100), these parables are arranged in two sections. The first, titled “Virtuous Paths of the Wise and Sage [*Sheng zhe fang gui*],” is composed of 81 examples of good imperial behavior to be imitated. The second, “Erroneous Tracks of the Insane and Foolish [*Kuangyu fu zhe*],” lists 36 cautionary tales warning rulers to shun such comportments. The number of examples was not an accident of growth, as was the case with the *Shengji tu*, but responded



17 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Burial mound of Confucius, from Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 22, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.9 × 18.4 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B15219)

to the logic of Chinese numerology embodied in the continuous and broken lines of the *Yijing* (Book of changes), a divination classic: 81 is the square of 9, the *yang*, positive, masculine, continuous line (—); 36 is the square of 6, the *yin*, negative, feminine, broken line (--).⁷⁵

The text, aptly titled “Emperor’s Mirror,” since in it a ruler could see the effects of deeds and misdeeds, delivered a fundamental concept of Confucian ethics to the future emperor: beware of your actions, because historians will judge your behavior and record it for posterity. Informed by Confucian morality, the *Dijian tushuo* extols the virtues of simplicity, honesty, and self-reliance, and warns rulers about the pitfalls of superstition, entertainment, corruption, wine, and wicked women. In this context, it is not surprising that the section dedicated to bad behavior often focuses on the negative influence that women—the embodiment of *yin*—can have on rulers. Lascivious concubines and meddling wives often seem to be behind the failings of bad emperors, conspiring to ensnare them in a web of fanaticism, dancing, drinking, and sex. On the contrary, honorable mothers and modest



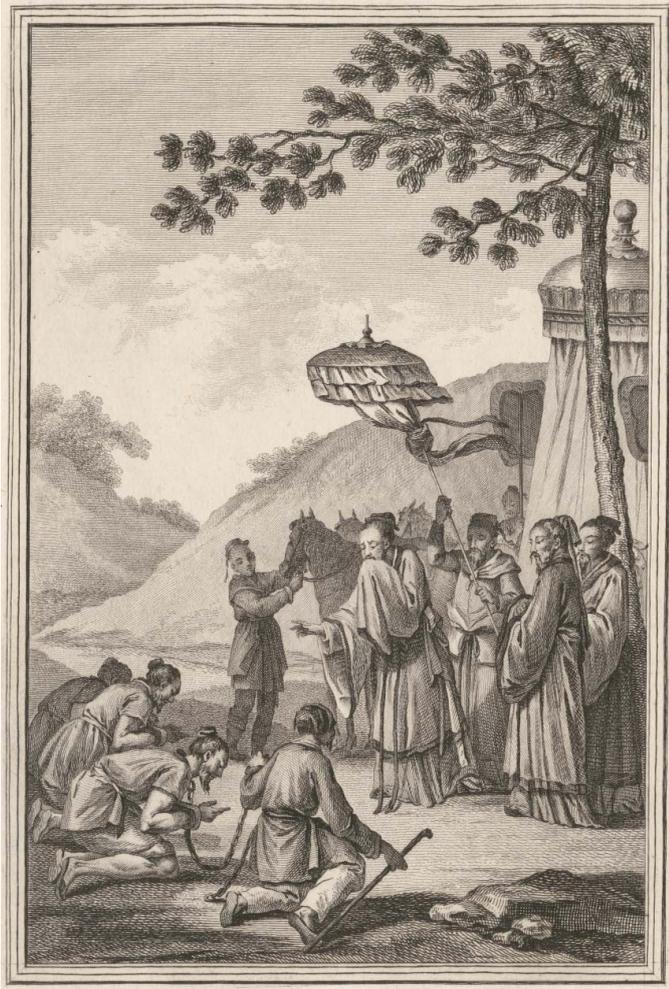
18 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, dedication page, from Helman, *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine, tirés des annales chinoises*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (26.4 × 18.1 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence)

wives who reared and supported successful rulers are self-effacing and sensible.

In the *Faits mémorables*, exemplary behavior and cautionary tales are interspersed rather than organized in separate sections, but the didactic and moralistic scope of the *Dijian tushuo* is not lost. Undoubtedly, Confucian ethics, especially in its underlying mistrust of power-holding women, found a resonance in 1788 France, where there was widespread contempt for the real and imagined excesses of the royal family and in particular for those of the queen, Marie Antoinette, who was increasingly portrayed as the personification of excessive spending, political meddling, and sexual depravity.⁷⁶ The moralizing and subtly misogynistic tone is nonetheless curious for this publication, since Helman openly dedicated it to a female member of the royal family (Fig. 18):

To Madame.

Madame, the enlightened protection that you have accorded to the Arts has emboldened me to present you

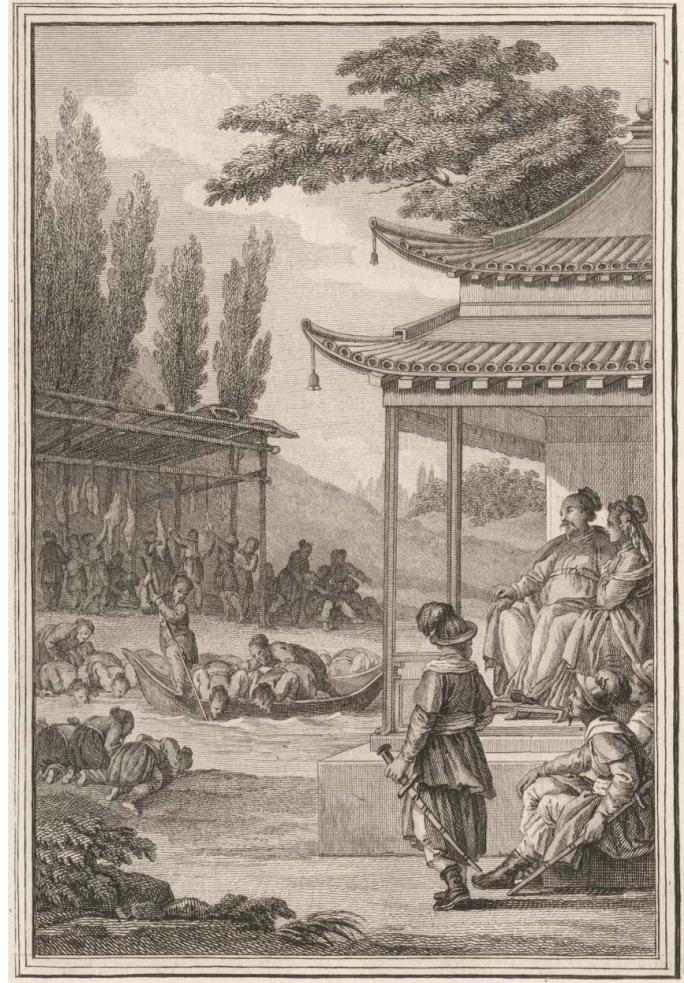


19 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Emperor Yu weeps for the criminals, from Helman, *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine, tirés des annales chinoises*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 2, engraving and etching, $10\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (26.4 × 18.1 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence)

with this homage drawn from the annals of the ancient-most people of the universe. The kindness with which you have deigned to accept it, is for me, Madame, the most honorable and flattering encouragement. Allow me to place at your feet my feeble talents and my eternal gratitude. Madame, with the deepest respect, I am your very humble and obliging servant,

Helman.⁷⁷

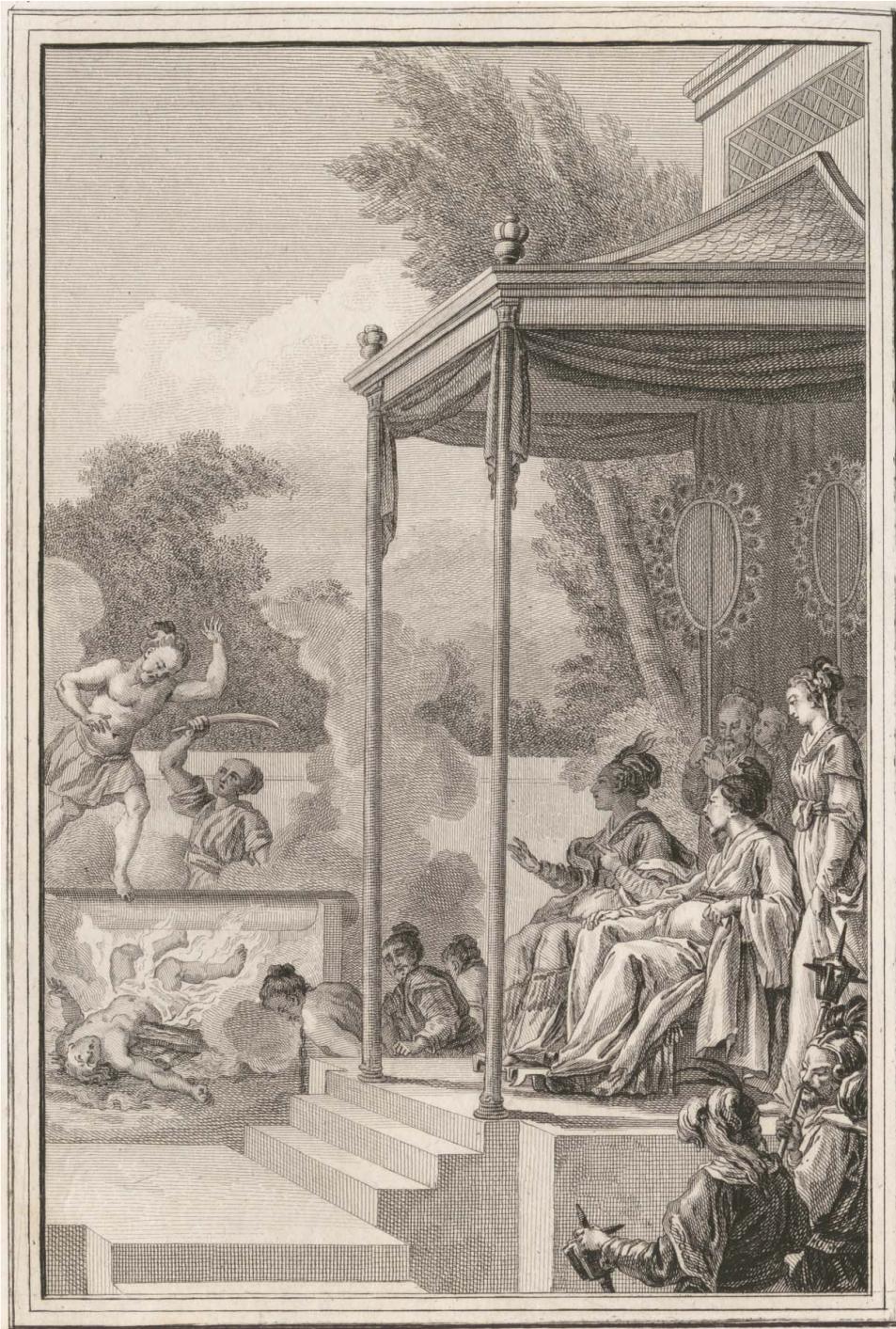
Though her actual name is never mentioned, the cryptic title “Madame” indicates Marie Joséphine Louise de Savoie (1753–1810), daughter of Prince Victor Amadeus de Savoie and wife of the cadet brother of Louis XVI, Louis Stanislas Xavier de Bourbon, comte de Provence (1755–1824). After 1774, when Louis XVI became king, Marie Joséphine and her husband, who was second in line to the Bourbon throne, as per tradition were called “Monsieur” and “Madame.” The engraving above the dedication contains the Savoy and Bourbon coats of arms as well as a framed portrait of Marie Joséphine, which, as the inscription below the engraving (*Ludovica Le Brun effigiem pinxit*) indicates, was based on the



20 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Xia Jie and Meixi, from Helman, *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine, tirés des annales chinoises*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 3, engraving and etching, $10\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (26.4 × 18.1 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence)

one painted in 1782 by Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842), the artist who portrayed several members of the French royal family, including Marie Antoinette.⁷⁸ Surrounded by flowers, playful putti, musical instruments, and books, “Madame” is presented as an enlightened supporter of the arts, a reference to her bookish personality and intellectual inclinations. These qualities, along with her notorious ugliness (not highlighted in the portrait), presumably distinguished her from Marie Antoinette, the sister-in-law she detested and who may have been the covert target of the book.⁷⁹

The *Faits mémorables* begins with two tales of legendary sage emperors. In the first, Emperor Yao instructs his officials to install a writing tablet and a drum outside his palace, so that his subjects can communicate with him by writing out their concerns and pounding the drum to be received. In the second, Emperor Yu, while touring his lands, meets a group of criminals being taken to prison. Instead of avoiding them, he approaches the group, blaming his own failure to be a good ruler for their mistakes. The scene, which closely follows a painted version of the *Dijian tushuo* discussed below, is set under a tree in the open landscape and shows Emperor Yu wiping away tears as he speaks to the kneeling convicts (Figs. 19, 24).⁸⁰

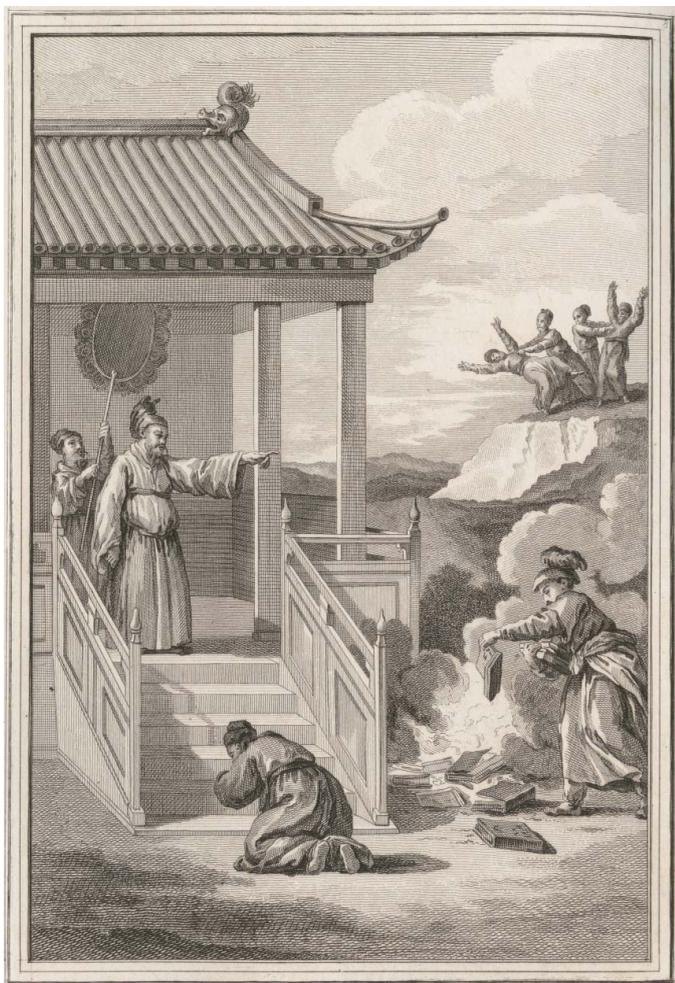


21 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Zhouxin and Daji, engraving and etching, from Helman, *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine, tirés des annales chinoises*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 7, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (26.4 × 18.1 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence)

Several prints of the *Faits mémorables* depict emperors with lascivious courtesans or perverse queens dressed like fashionable European ladies. In the context of late eighteenth-century France, it is not farfetched to imagine that these female figures could be seen as transpositions of Marie Antoinette. Plate 3 represents the last king of the Xia dynasty, Jie (Kie in the text; traditionally 1728–1675 BCE), and his tyrannical wife, Meixi (Mei-Hi), who allegedly asked the ruler to fill a large canal with wine and the woods with meat in order to have his concubines entertain them by drinking and eating like beasts (Fig. 20). In Helman's version, we see Jie and Meixi sitting side by side under the eaves of a Chinese

pavilion that overlooks the wine-filled pond. A few soldiers stand guard to the side, while the concubines kneel and drink at the edges of the pond or from a boat. Beyond the wine pond, concubines nibble on pieces of meat hanging from a gazebo set up in the forest. The setting may appear strangely idyllic, but the caption unequivocally states:

To his bad qualities Jie added the misfortune of having married a woman even nastier than he. She was named Meixi, and she dishonored his reign, not only by atrocities, but by acts of insanity scarcely creditable. The Chinese annals tell that to please her, Jie had a canal dug

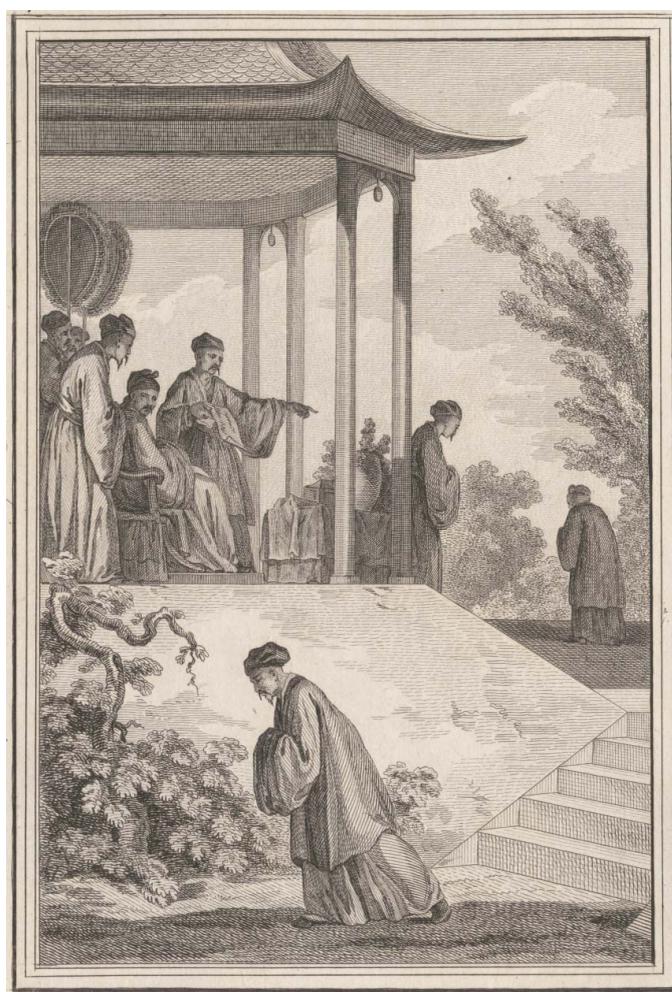


22 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Qin Shi Huangdi burns the books and buries the scholars alive, from Helman, *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine, tirés des annales chinoises*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 8, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (26.4 × 18.1 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence)

deep enough that it could float boats. This was filled with wine, and this ruler took pleasure in seeing his vile courtisans drink on the edge of the canal as cattle do. . . .⁸¹

In revealing this horror, the caption may be hinting at the depravity of the French court and present Meixi as a perverse Marie Antoinette, joined by her drunken husband (or lover) at a lavish party at the Trianon.

Similarly, plate 7 proposes the story of the debauched last emperor of the Shang dynasty, Zhouxin (Chéou-Sin) (trad. r. 1075–1046 BCE), and his evil concubine Daji (Tanki) (Fig. 21, compare Fig. 25). The setting is an outside space with a vaguely exotic veranda but displaying little connection to Chinese architecture. In front of Daji and Zhouxin, who sit surrounded by servants and guards, prisoners forced to walk on rotating and burning logs fall to their death, enveloped in smoke and flames. The difference in emotional intensity between the two sides of the print is remarkable. On the left, we see suffering, mayhem, and death; on the right, calm and mild amusement. Daji is portrayed as a beautiful lady, somewhat resembling Marie Antoinette. She wears an elaborate feathery headdress and is assisted by attendants carrying fans adorned with peacock



23 Isidore-Stanislas Helman, Song emperor Zhezong, from Helman, *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine, tirés des annales chinoises*, Paris: L'auteur & M. Ponce, 1788, pl. 24, engraving and etching, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (26.4 × 18.1 cm) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence)

feathers. The insistence on feathers may be an allusion to the queen, who had once worn them only to be criticized for adopting the custom of courtesans.⁸² Seated beside Daji, the emperor watches his concubine as she orders prisoners to walk on the burning logs, a torture she devised for entertainment. Closely following the original Chinese text, the French caption explains that the emperor had been a “good man,” but that Daji’s nefarious influence had turned him into a hated despot, eventually leading to his death and the end of his dynasty. In 1788, this sounds as an ominous warning.

Other plates (nos. 9, 11, 19) represent courtesans and female magicians who, according to standard history, plagued the courts of some Chinese emperors, but, as in the *Dijian tushuo* and in the *Faits mémorables*, examples of bad rulers are not confined to those who are led astray by women. Evil emperors include classic figures like the impious Wuyi of Shang (trad. r. 1147–1112 BCE), who shot arrows at Heaven (plate 6), and Qin Shi Huangdi (r. 220–210 BCE), the despotic first emperor of China, who according to Confucian historiography burned the ancient classics and buried scholars alive (Fig. 22). For all its drama, Helman’s rendering of this story is underwhelming: the Qin emperor—pudgy and



24 Ta Yu de la dinastie des Hia, 下車泣罪 (Dismounting the cart to weep with criminals), from “Recueil historique des principaux traits de la vie des empereurs de la Chine,” fol. 16, Chinese watercolor on silk in quarto, 20½ × 18⅞ in. (52 × 48 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, OE 5 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the BnF)

deranged—steps out of a simple pavilion to directly order his soldiers to burn the books. A pile of smoke rises next to the stairs of the pavilion, while in the background, other soldiers throw the scholars in a ditch. The caption has an interesting aside. After describing the misdeeds of Qin Shi Huangdi, it attacks Jean-Jacques Rousseau: “the philosopher from Geneva, who attributed to the arts and sciences the evils of the world, thought like this emperor.”⁸³ Like the poem at the beginning of the *Abrégé*, it is a nod to Voltaire. The tale of Liang Wudi (r. 502–49), a devout emperor who gave himself to a Buddhist temple and had to be ransomed by ministers, who eventually resented his actions, is similarly adapted to the evolving French political discourse. Originally a Confucian attack against the negative influence of Buddhist superstition on government, for Helman, the story is an opportunity to heap scorn on Christian fanaticism. In the caption, he points out that “our monks, without being less self-interested than the bonzes [Buddhist monks], would have been more rigid. In their eyes, nothing ransoms the scandal of apostasy.”⁸⁴

Notwithstanding the space dedicated to describing wickedness and incompetence, the *Faits mémorables* contains more models of Confucian virtue than examples of misguided behavior, even though proportionally it has more cautionary tales (10 out of 24) than the *Dijian tushuo* (36 out of 117).

The last plate of the collection is an exemplary tale and the only one of the *Faits mémorables* that casts a woman in a positive light. It recounts the ambiguous life of Song Zhezong (Tche-tsoung, r. 1085–1100), who, though raised well by his mother, lost his wisdom after her death (Fig. 23):

Zhezong died in 1101 of our era. As long as this prince was under the tutelage of the empress his mother, the regent of the empire, he held out great promise; however, at the death of this princess, everything changed. He started to overtly oppose all those who had been in power during the regency, and his teacher, the virtuous Zhengyi, was one of the first to be exiled. History somewhat justifies this emperor, attributing most of his excesses to his ministers' bad choices.⁸⁵

This story may have been chosen to end the collection because it is the last of the eighty-one exemplary tales of the *Dijian tushuo*.⁸⁶ In addition, Helman may have wished to end his book on an optimistic tone and show to “Madame” that there were strong positive roles for aristocratic women: with self-effacing behavior, modest wives and principled mothers could exert great political influence on rulers. In his print, Song Zhezong's mother is not represented (though she is seen in some editions of the *Dijian tushuo*), and the focus is

25 Tcheou de la dinastie des Chang, 姐已害政 (Daji hurts government), from “Recueil historique des principaux traits de la vie des empereurs de la Chine,” fol. 3, Chinese watercolor on paper in quarto, 20½ × 18⅞ in. (52 × 48 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, OE 5 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the BnF)



on Song Zhezong’s foolish dismissal of his loyal advisers, who are seen leaving in sadness. No matter what “Madame” thought of this and other plates of the *Faits mémorables*, she hardly fit the paradigm of the optimal Confucian wife. She bore no children, was engaged in a passionate Sapphic relationship with Marguerite Gourbillon, her *lectrice* (reader or lady-in-waiting), and was rumored to have had a serious drinking problem. Furthermore, after the revolution she separated from her husband, by then King Louis XVIII, whom she had grown to detest.⁸⁷

Although it is acknowledged that the *Faits mémorables* was inspired by the stories of the *Dijian tushuo*, little is known about the processes that brought it to press. There are neither extant records documenting its order nor obvious antecedents in Jesuit publications, as is the case with the *Abrégé historique*. Earlier studies have reported that the *Faits mémorables* is a reduction by Helman of a set of larger engravings based on drawings by Jean Denis Attiret, which the Chinese emperor had supposedly sent to France to be engraved.⁸⁸ It is true that Attiret was a painter at the Qing court, yet there are no drawings by him relating to this subject and no records in China or Europe regarding an imperial request for a version of the *Dijian tushuo* to be printed in France.⁸⁹ The title page of the *Faits mémorables* does not mention the Jesuit painter, simply announcing: “Engraved by Helman after the original drawings from China taken from the

collection of M. Bertin, the former secretary of state [*Gravé par Helman d’après les Originaux Dessins de la Chine tires du Cabinet de M.^r Bertin, M.^{tr} et ancien S.^{re} d’Etat*].” Apparently, the association of the *Faits mémorables* with prints for imperial use resulted from the mix-up of this collection with *Les conquêtes de l’empereur de la Chine*, which (as explained above) Helman had reduced from the imperially sponsored *Suite des seize estampes représentant les conquêtes de l’empereur de la Chine* (Paris, 1765–75). The error came about because Helman occasionally sold the sixteen reduced prints of *Les conquêtes* with others that later appeared in the *Faits mémorables*.⁹⁰

Helman’s claim that he based the *Faits mémorables* on “Chinese drawings” in the Bertin collection suggests that the sources of the *Faits mémorables* were among the material that Amiot and others sent to Bertin over years of correspondence. Most likely these “Chinese drawings” are the paintings featuring the stories of the *Dijian tushuo* from two remarkable volumes formerly in the Bertin collection. Titled “Recueil historique des principaux traits de la vie des empereurs de la Chine,” these unsigned albums bear testimony to the various ways in which the Sino-European textual and visual exchange materialized. Bound in leather in the late eighteenth-century European manner, the volumes contain a title page, a brief preface, and ninety-four Chinese paintings on silk with an equal number of narrative captions on the facing page. All the French texts are handwritten in black ink on white paper



26 *Maison à double étage*, from “Essai sur l’architecture chinoise,” fol. 24, Chinese watercolor on paper, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (27 × 36 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, OE 13 a (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the BnF)

and set within a red frame to simulate a printed page. The painted leaves are framed by blue silk damask and accompanied by a cartouche with the four-character Chinese titles of the *Dijian tushuo*.

Unlike the woodblock prints of the *Dijian tushuo*, the detailed and colorful paintings of the “Recueil historique” are the products of a careful anonymous hand attributable to an artist working in the Qing courtly tradition.⁹¹ The author indulges in the use of blue and green for the representation of mountains and rocks and is fairly attentive to decorative aspects of clothing, vegetation, or architecture. The “Avertissement,” which states, “This collection was presented to the reigning emperor,” confirms the court connection of the “Recueil historique” and indicates that its paintings were originally part of an album in the imperial collection that was eventually handed to the Jesuits. Though adhering to court style and thus devoid of shadows or chiaroscuro, the paintings betray vague hints of Western-style perspective, particularly in architectural drawings. This is not surprising, since by the eighteenth century the Qing painting academy was open to foreign influence: several Jesuit painters, like Castiglione and Attiret, were working there and instructing Chinese artists in the European manner. Furthermore, Nian Xiyao (1671–1738), a Qing official who was friendly with Castiglione, had written *Shixue* (Study of vision, 1729–31), a treatise on Western perspective that was a partial translation of Andrea Pozzo’s (1642–1709) *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (1693).⁹²

The correspondence between Helman’s prints and the paintings of the “Recueil historique” is obvious. The print representing Emperor Yu commiserating with criminals whom he encounters during a road trip is a compressed version of a leaf from the “Recueil” (Figs. 24, 19). Though some elements have been eliminated (two of the six criminals, one of Yu’s attendants and several of his entourage, and the pagoda roofs in the background) or repositioned, key

aspects, such as the shapes of the umbrella and fans or Yu’s posture and position confirm Helman’s reliance on this particular image. Conversely, Helman’s representation of the foolish Emperor Zhouxin and his evil wife Daji departs from the “Recueil historique,” retaining from this source only decorative elements, such as the fans of peacock feathers (Figs. 25, 21). As is standard in Chinese narrative illustration, the version in the “Recueil historique” gives a birds’-eye view into the interior of the gated palace, whereas the *Faits mémorables* shifts the view almost to the side of the royal pavilion. Instead of gazing from the exterior at the horrific torture devised by Daji, in Helman’s print the viewer, willingly or not, participates in the event and has the opportunity to see who is really responsible for these atrocities. Unlike the Chinese image, which centers the emperor and puts a smaller Daji to the side, indicating that though she invented the torture he was responsible for implementing it, Helman’s print shows Daji in charge and the emperor acquiescing. She looks forward and gesticulates, he sits back and passively watches. This departure from the original signals a conscious attempt to shift the responsibility of the act on the queen.

To a sophisticated European Sinophile, like Bertin, the “Recueil historique” was likely a precious visual compendium of Chinese history and taste to be treasured for its authenticity. However, to Chinese eyes these volumes would appear incomplete and haphazardly organized: a number of stories are missing (probably lost before the creation of the two volumes), and the remaining are randomly arranged, following neither the two-section layout of the *Dijian tushuo* nor chronological order.

Hybrid Visuality and the Transculturation of Gendered and Political Narratives

Though modeled on the *Shengji tu* and *Dijian tushuo*, the *Abrégé historique* and the *Faits mémorables* diverge from their sources in visual approach, structure, and objectives. These

27 *Salle chez le gens aisés*, from “Essai sur l’architecture chinoise,” fol. 31, Chinese watercolor on silk, 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (27 × 36 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, OE 13 a (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the BnF)



differences are noticeable in the tools Helman employed to entice his audiences: the hybrid style of the prints; the translation and adaptation of the stories; and the penchant for subnarratives that were of interest to elite Europeans, such as the Chinese garden, the role of women in society, and the Chinese political system and its underlying philosophy.

In their style, Helman’s prints alternate between eighteenth-century European and Chinese visual conventions, presenting readers with images of China that had more to do with what the European public expected than with then-contemporary Chinese art. One of Helman’s most obvious visual ploys is perspective, which oscillates between the European and Chinese methods even within the same print. In exterior views, buildings are mostly represented in linear perspective, but mountains, paths, and people are often rendered using multiple viewpoints or distance perspective (Fig. 13): eyes are first grounded in the linearity of architecture, then are allowed to wander off into the landscape. In interior scenes, like the birth of Confucius (Fig. 9), there is a similar ambivalence of viewpoints: the bed and the door to the garden are at least partly in linear perspective, the floor tiles are rendered isometrically, and the sage musicians float independently above. Helman equivocates also on the position of the viewer, subliminally suggesting different emotional responses. Sometimes, following Chinese convention, he places the viewer outside the structure where the story unfolds, thus proposing that the viewer is an impartial judge. More often, he departs from the organization of the original, switching to an inside view that transforms the viewer from an onlooker to a participant. This frequently happens in representations of events where the viewer’s emotional involvement is relevant, like Confucius’s birth or Daji’s tortures (Fig. 21).

Helman’s sources are at least partially responsible for this hybrid visibility. Though the woodblock prints of the *Shengji tu* and *Dijian tushuo* available commercially in eighteenth-

century China lack the wealth of detail of Helman’s versions (Figs. 8, 10), we know that Helman had access to an elaborate court version of the *Dijian tushuo* and probably one of the *Shengji tu*. Very likely, Helman also perused Bertin’s Chinese collection of art objects and illustrated books on architecture and gardens. These sources, which originated with the Jesuits, provided Helman with architectural, decorative, and interior details that made his prints particularly appealing. A two-volume album inscribed with Bertin’s coat of arms titled “Essai sur l’architecture chinoise” contains 187 architectural paintings on paper, coupled with handwritten French narratives.⁹³ These brightly tinted watercolors feature prospects of temples, pavilions, bridges, architectural elements, and interior views. Buildings are represented in illustrations that shift between linear and isometric perspective (Fig. 26), whereas interiors appear almost like painted theater stages, organized on the principles of the perspectival illusionism so dear to the Jesuits (Fig. 27).⁹⁴ Such elements show that these images are not as straightforwardly “Chinese” as they were thought to be and may have been produced by painters trained or influenced by Jesuit artists at the Qing academy, if not by the missionaries themselves. At the Qing court, Europeans and Chinese artists worked side by side, influencing each others’ manners and techniques: the first adopted Chinese media and minimized chiaroscuro, whereas the latter experimented with depth and perspective. Often, at the request of the emperor, artists with different skills and cultural backgrounds collaborated on paintings to produce images that now appear odd.⁹⁵

Helman may not have been fully aware of his sources’ eclectic nature, but he further hybridized forms that were already hybrid. He also crafted captions for his images that, infused as they are with asides or ironic commentaries on European affairs, are more cultural translations than translations of the Chinese texts. He successfully coupled this visual

and narrative strategy with the main story of the books, which presented Confucianism as a philosophy of government compatible with European culture. To European eyes this syncretic approach, which appeared at the same time tantalizingly exotic and reassuringly familiar, could be a motivating factor in their acceptance of Confucian-inspired political reform.

Although style played an important part in Helman's project, the selections and interpretations from the original texts may have mattered more in the delivery of overt and covert messages. The subject matter of chosen prints, the omission of key stories, the creation of parallel narratives, and the adaptation of the captions transformed the pedagogic character of the *Shengji tu* and *Dijian tushuo*, crafting the *Abrégé historique* and *Faits mémorables* into vehicles for the dissemination of diverse political ideas. On the one hand, Helman needed to please Bertin and entertain the progressive European public, which enjoyed the exotic aesthetics of his publications and their implicit political message: the idea that an enlightened and self-regulating government like the one that was perceived to exist in the Chinese empire would work in France. On the other hand, he had to contend with the conflicting political interests of the agents who financed his projects, notably, supporting the Jesuits in China in their efforts to convert the Chinese; reforming the monarchy; and actually undermining the monarchy.

The *Abrégé historique* presents Confucius—possibly Bertin's alter ego—as an advocate for enlightened but stern royal control who is sometimes appreciated, sometimes spurned, but finally recognized. The locus of this political discourse is significant: Chinese architecture, gardens, and landscape become metaphors for government. The natural elegance of the *Abrégé's* "Chinese" gardens and pavilions signals to reform-minded aristocrats that to appreciate the garden is to appreciate Confucius's philosophy of government. Equally, the royal behaviors described in the *Faits mémorables* appear artfully created to resonate with the political situation of 1780s France, and the settings, which alternate between somber and outlandish gardens and architecture, signal that royal morality is defined by design choices. In the context of garden representation, some of Helman's prints appear also to have internalized an important element of elite Chinese culture, the one that associated refined gardens with beautiful women (Fig. 7). In late imperial China, pictures of beauties (*shinühua*) in garden settings had become a prominent theme: gardens were presumed to contain exotic trees and flowers as well as fairy maidens, all symbols of the openly displayed culture of consumption of the newly rich that was dominant in the merchant centers of southern China.⁹⁶ David Porter argues that the importation of Chinese visual themes like that of women in the garden, which appeared prominently in Qing porcelain decoration, at some level contributed to the liberation of women in literary discourse in Europe.⁹⁷ However, the introduction of the Chinese woman-in-garden theme coincides also with the European redefinition of the role of women, which emerged during the course of the eighteenth century and led to ways of representing women that emphasized domesticity as an antidote to the dangers of female sexuality. Increasingly, European women were represented inside the house rather than in nature, and

the garden became a setting of feminine seclusion and submission.⁹⁸ More than a case of influence, this is an example of the convergence of Eastern and Western social values. This is significant because the role of women in contemporary French society may be key to reading Helman's books.

In fact, if the basic ideas of Bertin's China-inspired reform are clear, the ultimate goal of the *Abrégé historique* and *Faits mémorables* is at first not completely evident. In particular, it is not apparent why these books, with tales ranging from the moralizing to the misogynistic, were endorsed by members of the court, like Marie Joséphine de Savoie, wife of the comte de Provence and sister-in-law of the king, to whom the *Faits mémorables* is dedicated. The repetition of themes that implicitly criticize Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette suggests that those benefactors of Helman in the royal entourage who were driving both publications may have invested the *Faits mémorables*, and even the *Abrégé historique*, with a covert political agenda. Intrigue at the Bourbon court on the eve of the revolution could therefore be another key to reading the *Faits mémorables* and the *Abrégé historique*.

Marie Joséphine de Savoie, a lady with mild artistic and revolutionary inclinations, is known to have despised the queen, whom she perceived as meddling in politics.⁹⁹ Her husband shared her misgivings about Marie Antoinette and coveted the throne that he eventually obtained. Perhaps the *Faits mémorables* and the *Abrégé historique* were presented as mild tools intended to indicate a path of redemption for the king. Maybe they were supposed to constitute an oblique warning to the queen, a counsel to rein in her influence. Or they were meant to highlight the difference between the flamboyant and scheming lovers or consorts of kings past and present, currently embodied by Marie Antoinette, and the supposedly modest and bookish "Madame," comtesse de Provence, who would by reflection appear a paradigm of Confucian virtue and a worthy queen.

The *Faits mémorables* and the *Abrégé historique* may also have a more sinister objective: they may have been another expression of the textual and visual attack against the queen and the king that from the late 1770s emerged from the court as venomous pamphlets. Helman's collections may have been pushed by the husband of "Madame," with the intent of discrediting the queen by suggesting that she had a negative influence on Louis XVI. The comte de Provence had motives to hate the queen and is known to have instigated the pamphleteers to bolster his own ambitions for the throne. He was convinced of the inadequacy and sexual impotence of his brother and was determined to succeed him. The comte de Provence was also an enemy of the Austrian faction at the Bourbon court and perceived the queen as an obstacle to his plans. At court, he incited hatred of the Austrian-born queen and was the source behind those pamphlets that accused Marie Antoinette of libertinage and political meddling. He sponsored the initial slanderous leaflet against his sister-in-law in 1778, after the birth of Louis XVI's first child, insinuating that the queen was sexually promiscuous. Since the first-born was a girl (Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte, 1778–1851) and not a threat to his potential succession, the polemic was sedate. The comte de Provence's proxy attacks became more frequent and vicious after the birth of the first boy, the dauphin Louis-Joseph-Xavier-François (1781–1789), a serious

obstacle to his assuming the throne. Pamphleteers greeted the arrival of the second dauphin (Louis-Charles, 1785–1795, who became Louis XVII from 1793 to 1795) with open declarations that the child was the fruit of Marie Antoinette's debaucheries. "Monsieur's" objective in instigating the pamphlet madness against Marie Antoinette was the casting of the dauphins as bastards, fathered not from the impotent king but allegedly through the queen's illicit sexual liaisons with a variety of other men, including his brother, the comte d'Artois, who was married to a sister of Madame, Marie Thérèse de Savoie.¹⁰⁰ The accusations concocted at court and publicized by pamphleteers were eventually seized on by the revolutionaries, who turned out openly pornographic pamphlets that cast the queen as the personification of feminine lust and evil. The texts, which appeared before and during the revolution, went hand in hand with caricatures or offensive portrayals of the queen and king that showed Marie Antoinette as a multiheaded hydra, a political meddler who maneuvered a weak husband, an exotic monster, even a whore.¹⁰¹

The Chinese texts and their French abridgments never express profanities, but they share with the pamphlets against the queen the concept that a manipulative woman can lead a fundamentally good but weak ruler astray. Parallels are evident, even though in China, the wicked woman was generally a concubine, rarely the empress. The 1791 pamphlet *Vie de Marie Antoinette d'Autriche, reine de France, femme de Louis XVI, roi des français* described the queen in these terms: "I'd say only her murderous insinuations could corrupt the good nature of the weakest of kings . . . I'd say . . . all our calamities, past, present, and to come, have always been and will always be her doing."¹⁰² These are precisely the accusations leveled at Daji in the *Dijian tushuo*. The *Faits mémorables* was not a pamphlet, but it may have been related to a body of literature that attacked the queen from a different angle. Unlike that pornographic material, the *Faits mémorables* (and the *Abrégé*) may have acted as moralizing critiques of the king, the queen, and their entourage. If so, the *Faits mémorables* and the *Abrégé historique* strayed from the original reformist content that would have been approved by Bertin and moved even further away from the intent of the China Jesuits, whose objective was to continue to obtain royal support.

Regardless, by 1788 when both collections were published, the world was transitioning toward dramatic changes. Following the accession of Louis XVI in 1774, Bertin's influence at court declined and his China-inspired reform efforts, which had been looked on favorably by Louis XV, eventually faded. Meanwhile, the Jesuits lost power in both China and Europe. After the 1773 suppression of the Society of Jesus by papal bull following the Chinese rites controversy and tensions with European rulers, the Jesuit mission in Beijing was handed over to the Lazarists.¹⁰³ The news concerning their home country, which slowly reached the remaining French Jesuits in China, went from bad to worse. Bertin left his post in 1780 and during the revolution was forced into retirement. He spent his final years in Spa, his country estate, filled with Chinese objects. After he died in 1792, his collection was dispersed among state institutions.¹⁰⁴ Louis XVI was executed on January 21, 1793 (Fig. 4). Father Amiot received the letter that informed the mission of the king's death on

October 8, 1793, and died, probably from the shock, during the night. A week later, on October 16, Marie Antoinette ascended the scaffold, an event dutifully recorded by Helman in his revolutionary prints. The Qianlong emperor would retire in 1796 and die shortly thereafter. His successors would be much less inclined to trust Europeans. The remaining actor in this saga was the comte de Provence, who proclaimed himself Louis XVIII, king of France, after his nephew, Louis XVII, died in captivity in 1795. With this outcome, the Confucian education of aristocratic Europeans may appear to have failed. However, there is no denying that Confucian ideology and visual culture played a significant role in shaping eighteenth-century European politics and that Helman's prints were some of the earliest visual tools that employed Chinese culture to manipulate European affairs of state.

Bringing China to Europe and Transforming Both

Beyond their open or hidden messages, the *Faits mémorables* and the *Abrégé historique* appealed to a widespread eighteenth-century European curiosity about China, a country that was little known but exerted considerable influence on the intellectual and the economic spheres. Texts and images provided information about the life and costumes of the distant empire, situating in a domesticated context the opulent material culture that was flooding Europe. The intellectual, visual, and material encounter of China and Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been variously discussed, particularly in relation to the decorative arts. Porter has examined the eighteenth-century British craze for things Chinese (which also stemmed from Jesuits' activities) and the impact of that aesthetics in the making of European modernity, in particular, in the shaping of eighteenth-century British taste. Focusing on chinoiseries, he shows that though initially, "eighteenth century consumers were amused, perplexed or troubled by the alien aesthetic sensibility" of imported Chinese goods, in no time these goods and the practices they embodied (like porcelain and tea drinking) became assimilated and transformed into quintessentially "English" elements. Even though the effects of this influence were visible, the transformative impact of Chinese culture on England never led to an acceptance of China. This suggests that the quick absorption of the alien aesthetics may have been spurred by the desire to create a sophisticated image of England without admitting to any external borrowing. Though China had the upper hand in trade, imported Chinese goods were cast as marks of successful British expansion overseas and as rightful possessions of the empire. Eventually, as relations between China and Britain deteriorated, what was not assimilated was denounced as barbaric.¹⁰⁵

Helman's prints arise from the same precolonial East–West context, with the important difference that France, the receiving culture, was for economic and cultural reasons better disposed than England to accept outside inspiration. The *Abrégé* and *Faits* were borrowings of Chinese culture that led to the transformation of the host country, but unlike those described by Porter, which were shaped by the demands of British nationalism and colonialism, these books were manifestations of a genuine interest in Chinese intellectual history

that was not geared toward undermining China but, to the contrary, toward reforming France. Their narratives and images eschew references to the monstrous that would become the hallmark of colonial visuality and instead project a mildly exotic but positive view of China that served as a mirror to analyze the evolving European political situation.

More than a straightforward case of cultural transmission, the transformation of the *Shengji tu* and *Dijian tushuo* by way of the already hybridized *Vie de Koung-Tsé* and “Recueil historique” into the *Abrégé* and *Faits mémorables* is symbolic of a larger process of transculturation that brought Chinese culture to Europe and led to the unknowing transformation of a host culture that to this day appears still largely unaware of the magnitude of its borrowings. This intricate process involved individuals with different goals: what originated in China as imperial pedagogy and turned into an effort by the Jesuits to paint China favorably, with the goal of obtaining support for the spread of Catholic Christianity, in France became, initially, an attempt at political reform by Bertin and then, in the hands of Helman and his allies, the count and countess of Provence, an attack against king and queen. Ultimately, the China that is shown in Helman’s books is a stand-in for France, a tool that serves for self-analysis.

Paola Demattè is professor of history of art and visual culture at the Rhode Island School of Design. She specializes in Chinese art and archaeology and East–West contacts and exchanges. Dr. Demattè is the co-author and editor of China on Paper (Getty Publications, 2007) [Department of History of Art and Visual Culture, 2 College Street, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I. 02903, pdemattè@risd.edu].

Appendix

Chinese Characters for Select Terms Given in the Text

Bude yi 不得已
 Chen Hao 陳鎬
Dijian tushuo 帝鑑圖說
 Fenyang 羶羊
 Gao Leisi 高類思
 Ji Cheng 計成
 Kong Zhencong 孔貞叢
 Kongmiao 孔廟
Kuangyu fu zhe 狂愚覆轍
Kunyu quantu 坤輿全圖
 Mingtang 明堂
Pingding Zhunga'er Huibu desheng tu 平定準噶爾回部得勝圖
Queli zhi 闕里誌
Sheng zhe fang gui 聖哲芳規
Shengji tu 聖蹟圖
Song nianzhu guicheng 誦念珠規程
 Song Zhezong 宋哲宗
Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilue 天主降生言行紀略
 Xiyanglou 西洋樓
 Yang Dewang 楊德望
 Yang Guangxian 楊光先
Yixiang tu 儀象圖
 Yuanye 園冶

Notes

My gratitude goes to all those who have read and commented on earlier drafts of this essay: Mary Bergstein, Pierre Saint-Amand, Daniel Harkett, Andrew Raftery, Pascale Rihouet, Marcia Reed, Deborah Del Gais, Richard Lesure, Kirk Ambrose, editor of *The Art Bulletin*, as well as the anonymous reviewers for the periodical. Thanks are due also to the librarians and staff of the Hay Library at Brown University, the Getty Research Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Harvard Art Museums, the RISD Museum, and the East Asian Library at the University of California, Los Angeles, for opening the doors of their institutions, sharing their knowledge, and providing photographs. Last but not least, I would like to thank those who have kept me alive, Dr. Erica Piccoli and Dr. John Gaspy. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. It goes without saying that any mistake or inaccuracy that remains is my responsibility. Travel and research for this project was supported over the years by funds from the Rhode Island School of Design.

1. Jesuit missionaries in China routinely sent Chinese publications to their supporters in France. In 1697, Father Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730) presented to Louis XIV forty-nine Chinese volumes donated by the Kangxi emperor. Henri Cordier, *La Chine en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1910), 113.
2. Isidore-Stanislas Helman and Joseph Marie Amiot, *Abrégé historique des principaux traits de la vie de Confucius, célèbre philosophe chinois* (Paris: l’Auteur & M. Ponce, 1788); and Joseph Marie Amiot, “La vie de Koung-Tsé, appelé vulgairement Confucius, le plus célèbre d’entre les philosophes chinois, et le restaurateur de l’ancienne doctrine,” Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (hereafter, BNF), Département des Manuscrits Occidentaux, n. a. Fr. 442.
3. Isidore-Stanislas Helman, *Faits mémorables des empereurs de la Chine, tirés des annales chinoises* (Paris: l’Auteur & M. Ponce, 1788); and “Recueil historique des principaux traits de la vie des empereurs de la Chine,” BNF, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, OE 5-5a.
4. Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l’ancienne mission de Chine* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932–34), 852–53.
5. Cordier, *La Chine en France*, 58–61.
6. *Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des chinois: Par les missionnaires de Pékin*, 16 vols. (Paris: chez Nyon, 1776–1814). For a study of the *Mémoires*, see Joseph Dehergne, “Une grande collection: *Mémoires concernant les chinois (1776–1814)*,” *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient* 72 (1983): 267–98.
7. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 1–12.
8. David Carrier, *A World Art History and Its Objects* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); and Steven Leuthold, *Crosscultural Issues in Art* (New York: Routledge, 2011).
9. Amar Acheraïou, *Questioning Hybridity, Postcolonialism and Globalization* (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1–13.
10. Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, “Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5–35; and Vanessa Guignery et al., eds., *Hybridity: Forms and Figures in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Newcastle, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), 1–9.
11. Partha Mitter, “Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery,” *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 4 (2008): 531–48. Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner propose the concept of “cultural translation” in a volume on Renaissance patterns of exchange existing mainly between major centers in Italy (Florence, Venice, Rome) and smaller Italian cities (the periphery). Still, “cultural translation” appears entangled with references to hybridization, suggesting that the editors did not demarcate the line between this framework and hybridity; Campbell and Milner, eds., *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
12. Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), 97–103.
13. Julie F. Codell, ed., *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930* (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2012), esp. Codell’s “The Art of Transculturation,” 1–20.
14. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 6–7.
15. Wolfgang Welsch, “Transculturality—the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today,” in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage, 1999), 194–213.
16. Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval “Hindu-Muslim” Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 5–9.

17. Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Agents of Transculturation: Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go-Betweens* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013), esp. the introduction by Mackenthun and Jobs, 7–22.
18. Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe: The Century of Discovery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), vol. 1, 93–301.
19. The *Padroado* (Spanish: *Patronato*), an agreement between the Holy See and the monarchs of Spain and Portugal, was enacted by Pope Alexander VI at the end of the fifteenth century. It divided recently discovered lands into spheres of influence and recognized these countries' right to control trade, politics, and missionary activities in the assigned territories.
20. The Society of Jesus was founded in 1539 by Ignatius de Loyola (1491–1556). On its history, see David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (London: Macdonald, 1980).
21. Paola Demattè, "From Astronomy to Heaven: Jesuit Science and the Conversion of China," in *China on Paper*, ed. Marcia Reed and Demattè (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), 53–69. A number of essays address this topic in Nicholas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, 635–1800 (Leiden: Brill, 2001); see the introduction by Standaert, ix–xiii.
22. Camille de Rochemonteix, SJ, *Joseph Amiot et les derniers survivants de la mission française à Pékin (1750–1795)* (Paris: Picard, 1915), xxxi–xliv; and Catherine Jami, *The Emperor's New Mathematics: Western Learning and Imperial Authority during the Kangxi Reign (1662–1722)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 102–19.
23. Hong Kong Museum of Art, ed., *From Beijing to Versailles* (Hong Kong: Shizheng ju, 1997), 166–67.
24. Henri Cordier, "La suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus et la mission de Peking," *T'oung pao* 17 (1916): 271–347, 561–623; and Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot*, 48–51.
25. Nicholas Standaert, "The Transmission of Renaissance Culture in Seventeenth-Century China," *Renaissance Studies* 17, no. 3 (2003): 367–91; and Reed and Demattè, entry to cat. no. 15, in *China on Paper*, 168–71.
26. Yang Guangxian held a grudge against the Jesuits because of their involvement in the calendar reform. His petitions against Adam Schall von Bell and other Jesuits of the Imperial Astronomy Bureau, which are collected in *Bude yi*, led to the 1665 trial and death sentence for the priests. Though five Chinese converts were immediately executed, the Europeans were held under arrest. Yang Guangxian was put in charge of the Astronomy Bureau. Schall had a stroke and died a year later, but in 1669 the Jesuits were rehabilitated, and they returned to control the bureau under the leadership of Ferdinand Verbiest, while Yang Guangxian was exiled for incompetence. For the text of the *Bude yi*, see Wu Xiangxiang, ed., *Tianzhu jiao dong chuan wenxian xu bian* [Second volume of documents on the eastward spread of Catholic Christianity] (Taipei: Xuesheng, 1963), 1090–1122.
27. The impact of Kircher's illustrations on the decorative arts is evident in the Beauvais tapestry series "The Story of the Emperor of China" (ca. 1697–1705); see Charissa Bremer-David, "Six Tapestries from l'Histoire de l'Empereur de la Chine," in *French Tapestries and Textiles in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 1997), 80–89.
28. The *Confucius sinarum philosophus* includes the *Daxue* (Great Learning), *Lunyu* (Analects), and *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the Mean), but not the *Mengzi* (Book of Mencius). David E. Mungello, "The Jesuits' Use of Chang Chü-cheng's Commentary in Their Translation of the Confucian Four Books (1687)," *China Mission Studies (1550–1800) Bulletin* 3 (1981): 12–22.
29. On the Jesuit adaptation, or, as he argues, creation of Confucius and Confucianism, see Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), 33–133, esp. 79–86.
30. Dehergne, "Une grande collection," 267–98.
31. Basil Guy, *The French Image of China before and after Voltaire* (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1963), 53; Cordier, *La Chine en France*, 114–19; and David E. Mungello, "Confucianism and the Enlightenment: Antagonism and Collaboration between Jesuits and the Philosophes," in *China and Europe: Images and Influences in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. T. H. C. Lee (Hong Kong: Chinese University, 1991), 99–128.
32. Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), esp. 89–118.
33. Roger Portalis and Henri Beraldi, *Les graveurs du dix-huitième siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris: Morgand & Fatout, 1880–82), vol. 2, 389–97; and Yves Bruand and Michèle Hébert, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 11 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1970), 267–302.
34. *Suite des seize estampes représentant les conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine* (Paris, 1765–75). Helman's work is sometimes referred to by the title of the larger format. Reed and Demattè, *China on Paper*, 198–99. The events represented in the prints are narrated by Amiot in the *Mémoires*, vol. 1, 323–435, esp. 325–96.
35. Many images from Bertin's Chinese collection appeared in the *Mémoires*, while others were published after his death in M. Breton's *Chine en miniature, ou choix de costumes, arts et métiers de cet empire*, 4 vols. (Paris: Nepveu, 1811); trans. as *China: Its Costume, Arts, Manufactures, etc.*, 4 vols. (London: Stockdale, 1812).
36. Isidore-Stanislas Helman, *Les conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine* (Paris: l'Auteur & M. Ponce, 1783–88); see Paul Pelliot, "Les conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine," *T'oung Pao* 20 (1921): 183–274.
37. Bruand and Hébert, *Inventaire du fonds français*, 279–85.
38. *Les principales journées de la révolution, gravées par Helman d'après les dessins de Monnet* (Paris: Chez Decrouan, 1790–1800); Bruand and Hébert, *Inventaire du fonds français*, 267–302; Portalis and Beraldi, *Les graveurs du dix-huitième siècle*, vol. 2, 389–97; and J. Lewine, *Bibliography of Eighteenth Century Art and Illustrated Books: Being a Guide to Collectors of Illustrated Works in English and French of the Period* (Amsterdam: G. W. Hissink, 1969), 366.
39. Jacques Silvestre de Sacy, *Henri Bertin dans le sillage de la Chine (1720–1792)* (Paris: Éditions Cathasia, 1970), 7.
40. On the Colbert approach, see Glen J. Ames, *Colbert, Mercantilism, and the French Quest for Asian Trade* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), 2–11. See also Étienne de Silhouette, *Idee générale du gouvernement et de la morale des Chinois, et réponse à trois critiques* (Paris: Quillau, 1731).
41. Tamara Préaud, "Sèvres, la Chine et les 'chinoiseries' au XVIIIe siècle," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 47 (1989): 39–52.
42. Silvestre de Sacy, *Henri Bertin dans le sillage de la Chine*, 10; and Gwynne Lewis, "Henri-Léonard Bertin and the Fate of the Bourbon Monarchy: The Chinese Collection," in *Enlightenment and Revolution: Essays in Honour of Norman Hampson*, ed. Malcolm Crook, William Doyle, and Alan Forrest (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2004), 69–90.
43. Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot*, 99.
44. Lewis, "Henri-Léonard Bertin," 69–75.
45. Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot*, 59–60; and Henri Cordier, "Les correspondants de Bertin," *T'oung Pao* 14 (1913): 227–57, and 18 (1917): 295–379, esp. 227.
46. Amiot was also the author of early translations of Sunzi's *The Art of War* and other military treatises, which appeared as *Art militaire des chinois* (Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1772), and were republished in vols. 7 and 8 of *Mémoires*. Joanna Waley-Cohen, "China and Western Technology in the Late Eighteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 5 (1993): 1525–44, esp. 1536.
47. Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot*, 100.
48. *Mémoires*, vol. 1, i–iv; and Henri Bernard-Maitre, "Deux Chinois du XVIIIème siècle à l'école de physiocrates français," *Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore* (1949): 151–57.
49. Julia K. Murray, "Illustrations of the Life of Confucius: Their Evolution, Functions, and Significance in Late Ming China," *Artibus Asiae* 57, nos. 1–2 (1997): 73–129, esp. 110–15; and Chum Shum, "Pictures of the Sage's Traces: A Preliminary Investigation of the Editions of the *Shengji tu*," *East Asian Library Journal* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 129–75.
50. Helman, *Abrégé historique*, pl. 1: "de la seule raison salutaire interprète, sans éblouir le monde éclairant les esprits, Il ne parla qu'en sage, et jamais en prophète; Cependant on le crut, et même en son pays." Compare Voltaire, *Questions sur l'encyclopédie par des amateurs* (Geneva, 1774), vol. 2, s.v. "De la Chine," 155. Cordier (*La Chine en France*, 114–15) suggests that Voltaire wrote the poem for Helman's portrait of Confucius. However, Voltaire wrote it in 1774, and by 1786, when the *Abrégé* was published, he was already dead.
51. Murray, "Illustrations of the Life of Confucius," 79–81, fig. 2; and Julia K. Murray, "The Temple of Confucius and Pictorial Biographies of the Sage," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 2 (1996): 269–300, esp. 272.
52. Helman, *Abrégé historique*, pl. 2: "Un enfant pur comme le Crystal naîtra sur le déclin de le Tcheou, il sera Roi mais sans aucun Domaine." Confucius lived during the latter part of the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BCE).
53. Jean Denis Attiret to M. de Assaut, November 1, 1743, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la compagnie de Jésus* (Paris: Frères Jésuites, 1749), vol. 28, 1–49, trans. Harry Beaumont, *A particular account of the Emperor of China's gardens near Peking* (London: R. Dodsley, 1752).
54. Georges-Louis Le Rouge, *Détail des nouveaux jardins à la mode, jardins anglo-chinois, jardins chinois etc.* (Paris: Chez Le Rouge, 1776–89), Cahiers XIV, XV, XVI, XVII.
55. Richard Strassberg, "War and Peace: Four Intercultural Landscapes," in Reed and Demattè, *China on Paper*, 121–32, cat. nos. 27, 31, 32. For Ripa, see Michele Fatica, "Ripa alla corte di Kangxi: Le incisioni su rame," in *Matteo Ripa e il Collegio dei Cinesi di Napoli (1682–1869)* (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" and Archivio di Stato di Napoli, 2006), 191–205.

56. For an interpretation of this aesthetic trend, see Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996). The *Yuanye* by Ji Cheng (1582–ca. 1642) is the most prominent example of Ming garden manuals; see Ji Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. Alison Hardie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).
57. Mary Fong, “Images of Women in Traditional Chinese Painting,” *Woman’s Art Journal* 17, no. 1 (1996): 22–27.
58. The essays in Gill Perry and Michael Rossington, eds., *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994) address the ways women and men were represented in eighteenth-century art. On the nude body, see Wendy Wassyng Roworth’s “Anatomy Is Destiny: Regarding the Body in Angelica Kauffman,” 41–62. See also Mary L. Bellhouse, “Visual Myths of Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century France,” *International Political Science Review* 12, no. 2 (1991): 117–35.
59. In *Il ciclo dell’unicorno: Miti d’Oriente e d’Occidente* (Venice: Marsilio, 1992), Marco Restelli explores the transition of the myth of the unicorn between East and West, suggesting possible connections between the two.
60. Restif de La Bretonne, *Monument du costume physique et moral de la fin du dix-huitième siècle, ou, Tableaux de la vie* (Neuwied sur le Rhin: Société typographique, 1789). Helman’s prints appeared in editions with different titles and in different collections. See Lewine, *Bibliography of Eighteenth Century Art and Illustrated Books*, 461. I am grateful to Andrew Raftery for bringing this print to my attention.
61. Most notable were William Chambers’s *Designs of Chinese Buildings* (London: J. Haberkorn, 1757) and *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London: W. Griffin, 1772). See Reed and Demattè, entry to cat. no. 33, in *China on Paper*, 210–14. About Chinese urban gardens, see Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, 68ff.
62. The prints of the *Abrégé* not illustrated here, as well as the captions, can be viewed through the online catalog of the BNF, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470158j> (accessed May 14, 2015).
63. According to tradition, the Mingtang was a palace that symbolized the connection between the ruler and the cosmos.
64. Demattè, “From Astronomy to Heaven,” 53–69.
65. Dehergne, “Une grande collection,” 285.
66. The *Vie de Koung-Tsé* includes the biography of the philosopher, a chronology of his life, plates with explanations, the Kong family genealogy, historical tables and their explanations, and summaries of two letters from Beijing.
67. The “Avertissement” to vol. 12 of the *Mémoires*, iii, probably penned by Bertin, states: “We have examined over one hundred drawings relating to the different events of the life of Confucius; we have used only the most interesting and we had them engraved by an artist who is especially competent to understand and render their character, since he has worked for many years on Chinese drawings and has published some collections with success. We have coupled these images with the explanations that M. Amiot had provided for them [*Il nous a fait passer plus de cent dessins relatifs aux diverses circonstances de la vie de Confucius; nous n’avons employé que les plus intéressants, & nous les avons fait graver par un artiste d’autant plus propre à saisir & à rendre ce qui les caractérise, qu’il travaille depuis plusieurs années sur des dessins de Chine, dont il a publié des suites avec succès. Nous avons joint à ces dessins les explications dont M. Amiot les a accompagnés*].”
68. The “Avertissement” to vol. 12 of the *Mémoires* (p. i) also says that Amiot sent from China “a large number of prints penciled after the originals, which represent all the events in the life of Confucius [*un grand nombre d’estampes crayonnées d’après les originaux, qui représentent toutes les actions de la vie de Confucius*].”
69. Cordier, *La Chine en France*, 60; and Dehergne, “Une grande collection,” 268–69.
70. An abridged version of the *Shengji tu* with forty images appears in Wu Jiamo’s 1589 *Kongsheng jiayu tu*, a Ming version of the *Kongzi jiayu*. Wu Jiamo, *Kongsheng jiayu tu*, in *Zhongguo gudai banhua conghuan erbian*, vol. 3 (Shanghai: Guji, 1994), 1–550.
71. As Murray, “The Temple of Confucius,” 269–70, has pointed out, the *Shengji tu* was never considered a scholarly text in either China or Japan and has generally received little scholarly attention. Nonetheless, the BNF, Département des Manuscrits Orientaux, holds three early versions of the *Shengji tu*, two of which may have been sent by Father Amiot. They are *Shengji tu*, dated 1629 (Chin 994); *Shengji tu xuan*, dated 1632 (Chin 993); and *Cheng tsi thou (Shengji tu)*, with an undated preface but with the monogram of Louis Philippe (1773–1850) (Chin 992). See also Henri Cordier, *L’imprimerie sino-européenne en Chine* (1891; Paris: E. Leroux, 1901); and Maurice Courant, *Catalogue des livres chinois, coréen, japonais, etc.*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1910–12), vol. 1, 56–57, nos. 992, 993-II, 994.
72. Part of the Bertin collection is also at the Archives des Jésuites de la Province de Paris and at the Musée Guimet in Paris.
73. Amiot, “La vie de Koung-Tsee,” 9–10: “ces estampes, telles quelles sont dans les livres chinois, ne méritent en aucune façon l’honneur de vos regards, les desseins en sont des plus incorrects, et les gravures des plus maussades. . . . Grande fatigue dit notre Peintre italien, le signor Panzi, l’orsqu’il les vit pour la première [sic] fois. Cependant après les avoir considérés un peu attentivement, il en fit, sans le vouloir, un très bel éloge, en disant que tells qu’ils étoient, ils n’étoient pas inférieurs à ce qu’il avoit vu à Florence du fameux Cimabue. . . .”
74. Mungello, “The Jesuits’ Use of Chang Chü-cheng’s Commentary,” 12–22.
75. Julia K. Murray, “From Textbook to Testimonial: *The Emperor’s Mirror, An Illustrated Discussion (Di jian tu shuo/Teikan zusetsu)* in China and Japan,” *Ars Orientalis* 31 (2001): 65–100.
76. Tim Blanning, “Louis XVI and the Public Sphere,” in Crook et al., *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 54–68.
77. Helman, *Faits mémorables*: “À Madame. / Madame, la protection éclairée que vous accordez aux Arts m’a enhardi à vous présenter cet hommage tiré des annales du plus ancien Peuple de l’Univers. La bonté avec laquelle vous avez daigné l’accepter, est pour moi, Madame, le plus honorable et le plus flatteur des encouragemens. Permettez moi de mettre à vos pieds mes faibles talents et mon éternelle reconnaissance. Je suis avec le plus profond respect, Madame, / Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, Helman.”
78. Marie Joséphine is shown *en gaulle*, or *en chemise*, that is, wearing a very informal light and loose-fitting white muslin dress tied at the waist with a sash—like Marie Antoinette in another Vigée-Lebrun portrait—but with a puffy veil instead of the straw hat sported by the queen. See Charles Dupêchez, *La reine velue: Marie-Joséphine-Louise de Savoie, dernière reine de France en exil (1753–1810)* (Paris: Grasset, 1993), cover plate, 93; Joseph Baillio, *Elisabeth Vigée Lebrun, 1755–1842* (Forth Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1982), 17, 63, fig. 16; and Mary Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 143–47, 165–68. Following its 2003 sale at auction, the present location of this painting is unknown; see FRESCO: The Frick Art Research Library, “Frick Research Catalog Online,” <http://arcade.nyarc.org/record=b1118040~S7> (accessed May 4, 2015).
79. Philip Mansel, *Louis XVIII* (London: Blond and Briggs, 1981), 12–13, 45–46.
80. Images of all the prints of the *Faits mémorables* are available online through the Digital Collections of the New York Public Library, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/faits-memorables-des-empereurs-de-la-chine-tirs-des-annales-chinoises-ddis#/?tab=about> (accessed May 14, 2015).
81. Helman, *Faits mémorables*: “. . . A ses mauvaises qualités Kie joignait la malheur d’avoir épousé une femme encore plus méchante que lui. On la nommait Mei-Hi, et elle déshonora son règne, non seulement par des atrocités, mais par des actes de démençe à peine vraisemblables. Les Annales chinoises racontent que pour lui complaire, Kie fit creuser un Canal assez profond pour qu’il put porter des bateaux. Il le fit remplir de vin, et ce Prince prenait plaisir à voir ces vils Courtisans s’abreuver sur le bord de ce canal à la manière des troupeaux. . . .”
82. Vivian Gruder, “The Question of Marie Antoinette: The Queen and Public Opinion before the Revolution,” *French History* 16, no. 3 (2002): 269–98, esp. 274.
83. Helman, *Faits mémorables*, caption to pl. 8: “Le philosophe de Genève qui attribuait aux Arts et aux Sciences les malheurs du monde, pensait à peu près comme cet Empereur.”
84. Helman, *Faits mémorables*, caption to pl. 15: “Nos Moines, sans être moins intéressés que les Bonzes, auraient été plus rigides. Rien ne rachète à leurs yeux le scandale de l’Apostasie.”
85. *Faits mémorables*, caption to pl. 24: “Tche-tsoung, mort l’an 1101 de notre ère. Tant que ce prince avait été sous la tutèle de l’impératrice sa mère, régente de l’empire, il avait donné les plus heureuses espérances: mais à la mort de cette Princesse, tout changea de face. Il fit une guerre ouverte à tout ceux qui avaient été en place pendant la Régence, et le vertueux Tcheng-Y, son maître, fut un des premiers qu’il exila. L’histoire cependant justifia, en quelque sorte, cet empereur, en attribuant au mauvaises choix de ses ministres la plupart de ses excès.”
86. The *Dijian tushuo* does not end with this tale, because exemplary and cautionary tales are in separate sections. The eighty-one exemplary tales begin the book, while the thirty-six cautionary tales end it.
87. Dupêchez, *La reine velue*, 97–106, 137–224.
88. Henry Cohen and Seymour de Ricci, *Guide de l’amateur de livres à gravures du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Rouquette, 1912), 479. In my earlier research, I also followed that erroneous interpretation; see Demattè, “Christ and Confucius: Accommodating Christian and Chinese Beliefs,” and entry to cat. no. 20, in *China on Paper*, 41, 178.

89. See Father Amiot's "Lettre de P. Amiot, Jésuite, concernant la vie et les actions du frère J. P. Attiret," 1769, in Éd. Terwecoren, "Jean Denis Attiret: Peintre et missionnaire; Lettre inédite du Père Amyot," *Collection de Précis Historiques: Mélanges Littéraires, Scientifiques* (Brussels, 1856) 7, nos. 114 (September 15): 437–53, 115 (October 1): 460–77, 116 (October 15): 485–500; Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, 787–92; and Henri Bernard-Maitre, "Le frère Attiret au service de K'ien-long (1739–1768)," *Bulletin de l'Université Aurore* 4 (1943): 30–82, 435–74. On Attiret's life and work, see Anne Dary, ed., *Jean Denis Attiret: Un docteur du XVIII^e siècle à la cour de l'empereur de Chine* (Dole: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004).
90. At the bottom of the title page some editions carry the following sentence: "There will be a few copies on large format paper that will follow the Battles of China [*Il aura quelques exemplaires sur le grand papier qui feront suite aux Batailles de la Chine*]." Originally, Helman assembled different prints in collections with varying names. Cordier (*La Chine en France*, 64, pl. 8) states that the print titled "L'empereur de Chine va visiter les tombeaux des ses ancêtres" is part of the *Faits mémorables*, whereas it was one that Helman added to the reductions of *Conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine*.
91. The best-known Qing court painters are Jiao Bingzhen (1689–1726), Ding Guanpeng (act. 1708–71), and Leng Mei, also known as Jichen (act. 1677–1742). Others include Cheng Zhidao, Li Huilin, Jin Kun, and Xu Yang. Many worked anonymously. Some album paintings by Leng Mei, though similar in style, are not by the same hand as those of the "Recueil Historique"; see Palace Museum, ed., *Gugong bowuyuan cang Qingdai gongting huïhua / Court Painting of the Qing Dynasty* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1992), 26, 35–42, pls. 3, 4; see also Chongzheng Nie, *Qingdai gongting huïhua / Paintings by the Court Artists of the Qing Court* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1996).
92. Elisabetta Corsi, *La fabrica de las ilusiones: Los Jesuitas y la difusión de la perspectiva lineal en China, 1698–1766* (Mexico City: Colegio de Mexico, 2004), 29–42.
93. "Essai sur l'architecture chinoise," BNF, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Oe 13, Oe 13 a. Vol. 1 has 135 images and vol. 2 has 52. Henri Cordier, *Catalogue des albums chinois et ouvrages relatifs à la Chine conservés au cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1909), 216.
94. Kristina Kleutghen, "Staging Europe: Theatricality and Painting at the Chinese Imperial Court," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 42 (2012): 81–102.
95. Nie, *Qingdai gongting huïhua*, 12–21.
96. Fong, "Images of Women," 22–23.
97. David Porter, *Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 55ff.
98. The changing modes of representing women in late eighteenth-century France, from the Rococo to the postrevolutionary phase, have been explored by Marilyn Gutwirth in *The Twilight of the Goddess* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992). Stephen Bending's *Green Retreats* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) addresses the issue of women and gardens in eighteenth-century culture (see esp. the introduction, 1–40).
99. Dupêchez, *La reine velue*, 77–78, 116–17.
100. Hector Fleischmann, *Les pamphlets libertins contre Marie-Antoinette* (Paris: Publications Modernes, 1908), 88–96; and idem, *Marie-Antoinette libertine* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Curieux, 1911), reprinted four pamphlets: *Verités dédiées à Marie-Antoinette* (poem from *La cause de la révolution Française ou la conduite secrète de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche reine de France*, 1790); *Confession dernière et testament de Marie-Antoinette veuve Capet* (undated); *Le branle des Capucins* (1791); and *Vie privée libertine et scandaleuse de Marie-Antoinette* (1791).
101. Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 68–70, 116–19; Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution," in *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of the Queen*, ed. Dena Goodman (New York: Routledge, 2003), 117–38; and Antoine de Baecque, *La caricature révolutionnaire* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1988), 181–93.
102. *Vie de Marie Antoinette d'Autriche, reine de France, femme de Louis XVI, roi des français* (Paris, 1791), quoted and trans. in Chantal Thomas, *The Wicked Queen: The Origins of the Myth of Marie-Antoinette* (New York: Zone Books, 1999), 59.
103. Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot*, 379–409.
104. Hong Kong Museum of Art, *From Beijing to Versailles*, 369.
105. Porter, *Chinese Taste*, 131ff.; and David Porter, *Ideographia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 131–81.

Copyright of Art Bulletin is the property of Routledge and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.