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前言

—— 馆藏年画来源及其传教士研究视野述评

祝均宙

据年画专家研究,中国传统年画的源头可上溯自上古时代的"周代",其时,民间匠人将表示驱邪避凶诸 如老虎一类动物图案直接画在住宅的门外。至于最早见于文献记载的木版年画,却迟至于宋熙宁五年(公 元 1072 年)沈括的《补笔谈》和《东京梦华录》中。两书都描写了当时宋代每逢除夕前后,市场上均会出现卖 买门神、钟馗、桃符之类的木版画,它们或供奉于"官梁楷",或张贴于百姓厅堂和家门外,以表达人们企求新 年平安吉利、祥和幸福的美好愿望。尽管这些年画作为一种消费的文化商品,几乎年年被人们更换张贴,在 乡村都市间流传了数千年,然而在我国众多的古代美术史籍中却觅不见"年画"这一正式名称,直到鸦片战 争后的 1850 年,在李光庭撰的《乡言解颐》中《新年十事》一节里,才首次正式出现"年画"一词:"扫舍之后, 便贴年画,稚子之戏耳"。此后,"年画"一词才陆续出现在各地新出的报刊上,遂被美术界所接受。上海图 书馆收藏的年画有三千余件,极大部分均是十九世纪末期至二十世纪初期创作和印制的原画,距今已有近 百年。它也许是国内公共图书馆收藏这一时期数量最多的一批年画了。年画的搜集者主要是在上海徐家 汇地区传教的法国传教士们。提起徐家汇的传教历史,它可追溯到1607年。这年明末大学士徐光启为主 持父亲葬礼,由京返回故里——上海。他以一个天主教徒的名义,现身说法说服故里乡亲皈依天主教。自 此,在上海的西南门户,漕河泾附近交汇的肇家浜和法华泾一带的乡民,很快成为上海地区最早一批入奉天 主教的平民百姓。且又因这一带置有徐氏家庭的别业、徐光启的墓地及"三泾"交流汇合,而被后人称为是 "徐家汇"。清朝中叶后天主教在全国范围内遭禁,一度活跃的上海传教活动也随之销声匿迹。1840年鸦 片战争的烽火导致天主教势力的卷土重来。近代中国首批开放地带的上海,成为罗马梵蒂冈天主教廷的主 选目标之一。1843年,法国耶稣会士南格禄即受南京教区主教的派遣,来到青浦横塘恢复已中断二百余年 的天主教活动。4年后,南格禄感到这块离租界太远的区域并非是发展传教的理想之地,于是,作为天主教 徒徐光启的埋葬地而被国人视为"风水宝地"的徐家汇,自然也就成了南格禄的首选目标。1847年,南在徐 家汇置地,建造了第一幢具有中国大屋梁建筑风格上置十字架的徐家汇天主堂,教士们习称为"老堂"。以 后随着英美租界和法租界势力的不断扩张,1867年,二条连接租界的徐家汇路(即现在处于徐汇区的华山 路和卢湾区的徐家汇路)将当时还处于农田一片的徐家汇与地处黄浦江边的法国公董局大楼和苏州河畔的 英美领事馆连接了起来。越界扩张修筑的马路与四通八达的水路,使开埠后的徐家汇地区迅速取代南京主 教区,成为远东最有影响的天主教活动中心。从19世纪中期至二十世纪初期,以徐家汇老堂址为轴心,一 批传教机构如雨后春笋般的建立起来,"大修院"、"小修院"、"神学院"、"圣心修女会"、"圣母院"等;一批以 传教主旨为开路先锋的文化科教建筑矗立起来,如:1850年创建的"徐汇公学",1867年建立的"崇德女中" (后改名为"徐汇女中"),1873年创建的徐家汇天文台,1867年成立的博物院,1887年创办的"圣心报社",

1864年创办的土山湾工艺所和数年后创立的土山湾印刷所,1904年建立的启明女中,1903年创办的"震旦大学"等等,均在中国近现代发展史上占有重要的地位,尤其是高达近 60米,可容纳 1500余人,于 1910年落成的徐家汇大天主堂,更使徐家汇地区成为闻名远东乃至罗马梵蒂冈天主帝国心目中的一座东方"欧洲式的宗教城堡",又由于它的科教辐射功能,它又被中外学者称为是一个开中国大陆西方文化风气之先,沟通融合中西文化精神内核和外壳的策源地之一。

与本册年画收藏有着紧密联系的徐家汇天主堂图书馆(即徐家汇藏书楼),也就是这座"欧洲式宗教城堡"中最具文化内涵的建筑物之一。尽管现存的这座藏书楼建于1896年,但它的藏书历史却可追溯至1847年南格禄存放在青浦横塘天主堂内的一批中西方文献。这座坐落于徐家汇早期大修院和神学院旁的建筑物,从外表上看,它是一座带有欧式尖角窗框,配备百叶窗帘的砖木混合结构砌成的二层楼的普通灰色楼房。然而从内部结构审视,作为时代的见证,这也许是中国现存的绝无仅有的一座融合中西文化内涵别具一格的建筑物。其一楼和二楼的设计思想和风格竟会迥然相异。二楼书库设计思想取自于罗马梵蒂冈教会大藏书楼,内分二层。上层书库四周围有木雕栅栏,由三部欧式硬木楼梯连接,每排书架两头设有一板,用于读者搁放图书。一楼书库设计思想却取自中国传统文化《周易》中"天一生水地六成之"一语,整个空间被划为二部分:南部被分隔成6个小间,蕴义于"地六成之";北部为一大通间,意含"天一生水"。高达3公尺8的成排书架,共分为15格,非得用特制的移动高架竹木梯,方能取得置于1至6格的图书。

与此设计风格相吻合的二层楼全部置放了十余万册自十六世纪初期以来出版的各类西文文献、其中不 乏现存稀有的烫金边、羊皮装、雕花版的拉丁文、希伯来文、法文、英文、古德文与各语种的《旧约》、《圣经》类 版本,百科全书和历史文化类图书。它们被分为36个大类,供传教士们查阅研究。一楼藏有20余万册中 文图书。采用了中国传统的"四库全书"分类法,将其分为经、史、子、集、从书五类,它们均可按《康熙字典》 字目顺序查检。由于徐家汇天主教会直接隶属法国巴黎耶稣会的领导,因此管理徐家汇藏书楼的神职人员 主要是法国籍的天主教士和入奉该教的中国传教士。又由于来往频繁于罗马梵蒂冈和世界各地的天主教 神父们把徐家汇作为他们在远东的最佳落脚地,因此这里拉丁文和法文盛行一时,他们把诸如西方先进的 新闻出版、印刷绘画、天文气象、教育格致、图书馆、博物院等文化、宗教、科教类新鲜事物带到东方这块土地 上,又把在这里研究学习的中国文化,诸如儒道学说、风土人情、地方语言、文学经典等介绍给西方,致使徐 家汇成为一块传播中西文化的热土。徐家汇藏书楼作为中西文化知识瑰宝集散地,自然也就成为当时传教 士们最感兴趣的蹈足至之的地方。为了更大程度上满足这些头戴黑帽身穿黑袍的传教士们研究需求,当时 藏书楼工作的神职人员,也就十分注重中国传统文化各种载体的搜集和寻访。从现存资料看,他们不仅搜 集中国近现代出版的各种报刊杂志图书,而且还大量搜集鸦片战争前出版的各种珍罕线装图书,其中大量 记载各地风土人情、地理环境等具有重大史料价值的刻于民间私坊的地方志,更是传教士们刻意采访的重 点目标。至 1949 年间,在藏书楼内提供传教士研究的地方志竟高达 2100 余种,高居上海各图书馆之首,这 里有必要提一下对搜集上述文献和馆藏年画卓有贡献的二位人士:徐宗泽和法籍传教士亨利·多雷(Henri Dore)

徐宗泽 1886 年出生于上海,字润农,乃是徐光启的后裔。1907 年,他 21 岁时步入徐家汇耶稣会,成为一名神职人员,后又受该会派遣,前往欧、美攻读神学、哲学、文学等学科,在 1922 年回国时,他已是一个头

戴哲学、神学两项博士帽的神父了。他先后担任了《圣教杂志》和《圣心报》的主编和代理主编,全面主持徐家汇藏书楼的工作。作为一个兼受中西文化背景教育,又耳闻目睹中西文化异同的中国籍传教士,他和历任法籍传教士们,还十分注重收集散落于中国民间各地的大量非书资料,广泛结交中国的上层知识分子。自己带头搜集明末清初来华传教的耶稣会士著作、笔记、信函,利用藏书楼的丰富藏书,用心整理研究,撰写了至今在学术界仍有重大影响的《中国天主教史概论》、《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》、《明末清初灌输西学之伟人》等重要专著。他还鼓励外籍传教士们步出藏书楼,广泛收集诸如地图、碑帖、名人手稿、钱币、古玩和字画等,来丰富藏书楼的文献资源。从现存数量上看,字画中的"年画"也就是二十世纪初期始至30年代抗战止由徐家汇藏书楼的传教士们从河北、江苏、安徽、浙江等地刻意精心觅访征集来的。其中收集年画并进行研究最有成效的人是多雷神甫。

享利·多雷(Henri Dore),1859 年出生于法国,曾在苏格兰阿伯多维的修士见习所习教。1884 年后他受天主教教会的派遣来到中国,先在上海学习汉语,后去安徽布道一直到 1895 年。1896-1917 年间他又转赴江苏传教,1918 年因病回沪,1931 年 12 月 4 日病逝于上海徐家汇。多雷神夫在华期间即刻意收集流传在中国各地不同风格的年画及民间画匠创作的作品,尤其注重于搜集有关道家、佛家、儒家故事中的所谓迷信图像的资料,并进行深入的研究。为此,当时上海土山湾印书馆特地出版了由多雷神甫撰写的煌煌巨著《中国迷信研究》(《Recherches Sur les Superstitions on China》)。该书共达 18 册,分别陆续出版于 1911 年至1938 年。书中大量地引用了他所收集的大约在 1895 年至 1931 年前所印制的各类年画资料和民间画稿,目前上海图书馆还收藏有多雷神甫撰写该书的部分手稿,以及他在部分年画上著录的法文手迹和整理次序的编号。比较同时期境外年画收集,如俄国的弗·列·科马罗夫、瓦·米·阿列克谢耶夫(B. M. Alekseev)、柯兹洛夫(Kozlor),法国的爱德华·夏尔纳(Edouard Charnnes),日本的冈田伊三郎、泽村幸夫等,多雷是最早收集、整理、研究和摹绘出版年画的人之一。由于受历史条件的限制,我们现在已很难寻觅更多的佐证去解答当时的传教士们是如何奔赴全国各地搜集这批年画的种种细节,然而,当这批于 1956 年被上海图书馆收归国有的数量众多的年画展示在面前时,我们仍可从中领略和感悟到这批年画制作的一定的时代氛围和特点,得出一些结论,寻找到近百年前多雷和其他传教士们寻访的蛛丝马迹。

从这批年画的制作出版地审视,它一共涉及到 11 个产地,其中有属于北方派的天津杨柳青、河北武强、山东潍县杨家埠年画;属于南方派的苏州桃花坞、上海旧校场、江苏南通、无锡、安徽芜湖年画。这里有一个明显的地域差别。这些年画制作地基本上都是二次鸦片战争后,靠近中国南北两方开放的沿海城市或沿海地域,几乎无一中国内陆大西南,大西北一带的年画制作地。据《中国民间年画史图录》所收录的年画统计,出版制作地高达"全国二十三个省、市、自治区,五十六个产地",以四川绵竹,陕西凤翔,山西临汾等地为代表的中国内陆年画在收藏中一张也无。可见藏书楼的传教士足迹只在这几个沿海省份蹈访,并未蹈入那些未开放的中国内陆省份。

从这批年画的印刷形式审视,共有 17 种,它们是三裁、贡尖(又分贡尖、大贡尖、小贡尖)、屏条(又分四条屏,八扇屏)、方子、横批(又分大横批、小横批)、竖批、纸马(又称神马)、斗方、历画、对屏、申披。众多的印制形式虽然没有包括《中国民间年画史图录》中现已归类的 35 种印制体裁,但却从一个侧面反映了当时传教士们千里跋涉寻求搜集不同印制体裁风格的良苦用心。

从这批年画的制作方式审视,它包括套印笔绘、彩色套印、套色套印、印本笔绘、印本着色、墨版印刷、墨色套印和扑灰画8种,这8种印制形式几乎包括了当时各地年画制作的不同方法,这种方法盛行于清末民初的年画作坊,人们往往可通过这些不同的印刷方法来辨别出年画的原产地和年画风格。

从这批年画的反映内容审视,它具有自己独特的学术研究价值。这在年画专家谢昌一教授为本图册撰写的两篇论文中已有详细的论述,笔者不再赘述。这里只重点归纳一下留在这批年画上所注录的一批研究文字。鉴于当年的传教士们在这些研究文字上并未署明自己的姓名,因此无法考证出这些年画研究者究竟是哪个人。然而,这些研究文字却从另一个侧面,让我们了解到西方传教士是如何研究中国的民间美术作品,及其研究思维角度和特点。据粗略统计,留在这些年画上的文字约有 4 万,均为法文(详见本图册《法文原文附录》中的翻译文字)。其特点可归为三:

第一是客观描述画面内容。戏曲年画、民间故事年画多采用这种方法,其描述本身又可分为二类:

一类是叙述一出戏曲的故事梗概,如《珍珠塔》,原画上的法文如此写道:"一位名叫方卿的才子无钱赶考,未婚妻陈彩娥托女婢将原属方家的用珍珠做成华贵的麦状小塔交给方卿,让方卿将珠塔典押,筹足路费赶考。中途,珠塔被强盗劫走,而方卿考取了状元。长期离家后,方卿装扮成道士,上岳父和妻子门前乞讨,以核定妻子忠贞。"这幅年画取材于中国戏曲舞台,它曾是江南戏曲锡剧和越剧的代表剧目。所题文字虽然不多,却将一个完整的故事十分概括精练的和盘托出介绍给了西方读者。但是像这类的戏曲描述文字较少,也许受文化背景的制约,更多的戏曲年画即是用拉丁文或法文拼音,拼出戏曲年画的剧目名称和人物名称。

一类是演译年画的主题。这种演译并不站在西方人的立场上进行评论,而是表达中国人对一幅年画的主题概括。如一幅名叫《百富临门》的年画上有这样一段文字"希望一百种运气光临!这是对兴旺发达的一种称颂。画了两位贵妇人和一个手持竹枝的孩子。在他们对面我们可以看到花瓶中有枝美丽的牡丹花。富裕、富贵、长寿,就是这幅画要表达的幸福预兆"。像这类译解文字的年画在这批馆藏的清末民初年画中占有很大的分量。从一个侧面反映了西方传教士在描写年画说明的思维角度,注重于将研究视角伸向一幅年画的内涵。这种现象说明在他们的潜意识里和传教活动中,他们更想了解这些积淀和浸淫在中国传统文化里的民间美术作品所表达出的本质思想,探究那些数千年来盛行于神州古国植根于老百姓思想观念中的民族趋同心态。

第二是采用夹叙夹议的手法叙述年画。这种手法往往在中国传统民俗年画中大量出现。"传统民俗" 所包含的题材十分丰富,从大的范围讲有各地岁令时俗、乡土风情、人们信仰、民间传说等。从具体事物上 讲,它既有在中国民间乡村流传很广的门神、灶君、钟馗等;又有象征吉祥幸福意义的猛兽和花卉,诸如桃 板、桃符、牡丹、回头鹿马、鲤鱼、老虎、麒麟、龙凤、花猫等。既有取材于道家学说中张道陵和铁拐李、吕洞宾 等八仙,佛教学说中的如来菩萨、送子观音;又有采自于儒家学派的孔夫子和神化了的历史人物关公、姜太 公等。这些表明西方传教士更钟情于这类年画的搜集和研究。这类一边叙述一边议论的文字突现出两种 风格:

一种是带着较客观的立场,介绍中国老百姓对一幅年画的看法和贴挂方式。如《一团和气》,传教士这样写道:"整幅画面是个笑嘻嘻的胖女娃。中国人喜爱意念中的慈祥、轻快、和谐、形状娇好的神灵。他们把

这种画贴在住所内室的房门上,为使自己也感受同样的愉悦。画的上方写着'致祥',在胖娃娃夸张的大肚子上写着'一团和气'。"应当说,这类文字将年画所要表达的内涵和中国百姓挂贴这类年画的心态比较准确客观的叙述了出来,文字不多,但撰写者显然是在较深入理解中国民俗风格和民族心理学的基础上动笔议论的。一种是带着自己主观分析的观点来阐解一幅年画。最典型的要数《灶君》这幅年画,撰写者一改先叙述后议论的文字作风,一上来就将自己的研究结论全盘托了出来:"灶君起着与古罗马家神同样的作用。你想追溯祭仪的根源,寻找这样普遍被祭祀的神的名字吗?每本参考书上讲的都与前一本参考书不同,甚至这神是男还是女的问题,也随心所欲,众说纷纭。"接着研究者又详细举出《淮南子》、《册府元龟》、《庄子注》、《酉阳杂俎》等中国十二部古文献记载灶君不同叫法来演证这个被中国人举为神明的崇拜人物,竟然是"任意选定"并没有一个统一定格的名字。从这段文字本身来看,研究这幅年画的传教士是用了相当的心力,一是采用了比较研究手法,他将古罗马神话中的家神与中国民间传说中的灶神进行了对比研究;二是采用了学术考证研究法,对中国古文献中众说纷纭的记载进行了追根刨底般的剖解,从而得出"灶君"名称的不同乃是由人们"任意选定"的结论。它也从另一侧面反映了当时徐家汇传教士们在传播天主教义的同时,在研究中国文化所表现出来的一种较为严肃的学术态度。

第三是用西方宗教理念来阐解年画。这类文字表现出强烈的宗教色彩和主观色彩。它排斥天主教以外的各种学说、理念和信仰,用天主教教义批评和论评其它现存的民族理念和信仰,在这些论评中,他们认为唯有"上帝"才是衡量一切事物的标准。这种评论文字尤其是在两类年画中强烈的表现出来:

一类是表达中国百姓盼望社会稳定,家庭幸福,企求驱走邪恶,迎来喜庆吉利的民俗年画。撰文者往往是站在天主教义的立场上,将这一切有背或有异于天主教义的民族理念,一概视为"迷信"与"无用"的精神理念。如:至今农村中人们逢阴历五月初五,喜欢在门上张贴的《钟馗》年画,在西方传教士的眼中,简直就是个异教徒中的"妖怪"。他们认为,就是这个"妖怪"是一个"既没接到使命又缺乏较强驱鬼能力的可怜的士大夫",也就是他"千百年来就作为引导人们过多轻信的法规",这是"人类的耻辱"。在撰写者眼中,世上只有"上帝"才是解除一切人间困苦危难的唯一偶像,其它偶像是"根本不存在的"也是"无用的"。又如研究者将《玉堂富贵》中分别表示富、贵、子、寿、乐象征的牡丹、孩童、桃子、小狗等此类年画一概贬为"美好一文不值",称之为"迷信思想却是如此地渗透在中国人的道义之中",在《百事如意》和《五福》年画中更是认为不信仰天主的人们的灵魂均是"最迷信的一堆东西,最不值钱"。从今天来看这种研究立场无疑给当时的传教士们作了最蹩脚最差劲的注脚,它只能说明,那种断然否定地球除天主教义外的一切其他宗教信仰和民族理念的论说,本身就是一种宗教偏见和无知缪误的表现。更是一种历史研究的悲哀和传教士们阐解中国文化的一种不可自拔的误区。

一类是反映表现在与天主教"上帝"一样有影响的精神人物的年画上。最典型的莫过于佛教中的佛陀——释迦牟尼和中国儒家学派的创始人孔子。

在一幅画有佛祖释迦牟尼的年画前,撰文者写下了大约有一千七百余字的述评文字。认为所谓的"佛经"、"佛门戒律"、"玄学"均是佛教的"荒谬想法","这些荒谬想法的要点是灵魂转世说",对崇尚天主教的西方传教士来说,人死后灵魂将会上天,并不会转世。"转世说"是与"上帝说"的"灵魂在天"的论理截然违背的。这种论点也正是在远东地区传教的传教士们所忌讳和不能容许的。他们很难理解,佛教自汉代以后为

什么会逐渐在中原大地成为与儒学并驾齐驱的一种精神信仰的时代背景。难怪年画的撰文者发出了"与其说佛教在使中国印度化,不如说佛教更被汉化了"的深深感叹。

在对待中国儒教学派的创始人孔子时,撰文者似乎表现出一定的理性分析的倾向。尽管他将孔子定位在"中国的调和与学究之王"这一基调上,但从透过纸背的大段评论文字中,他对孔子的评价还是"贬"多于"褒"。撰文者带着根深蒂固的宗教信仰立场以"上帝说"的精神世界来剖析理解中国传统文化中的孔学思想。一方面不得不承认这位受到中国读书人尊重的儒学鼻祖学说"不是宗教,它是种学派,是种很好的说教",孔子是一个"做了那么多好事"的"不平凡的人",是他使"中国成了礼仪之邦",一方面又大量使用贬义词,咒骂孔子是"为后人蔑视的那种无哲学思想又夸夸其谈、装腔作势的文人的模子",是一个"官方标签的人物",正是他的学说"使中国成为虚情假意的国家,如露天舞台上的演员"。这种褒贬兼之,批评赞扬并存的调子本身就反映出西方传教士们身上的那种复杂而多侧面的矛盾心态和宗教观。具有博大精深的中国传统文化内涵一面使西方传教士们感到难以逾越和理解,一面又使他们被迫认识到,在没有信仰上帝的国度里,那种"维持中国几个世纪的强盛"的学说,有它合理性的存在基础,至今仍然具有很强盛的生命力。而这种生命力乃是根植和渗透于具有数千年文化底蕴的"泱泱中华大国"的方方面面角角落落,上至皇帝大官,下至平民百姓的精神世界中。

当然,馆藏数百件年画中留下的传教士们的研究文字,只是其中的一小部分,这些文字基本上都写于清朝末年至民国初年,也许并不能代表西方学术工作者的观点,然而它却为我们提供了当时在华传教士们在研究整理中国文化的一段历史。年画作为一种通俗的民间美术作品,里面蕴藏着国家民俗文化,民俗风情,民间文学,民间戏曲的精髓和内涵,又是研究一个民族丰富、多元立体、嬗变演进的民族底蕴的源头之一,是探寻一个国家民族心理学、社会学、文化形态学、美学、美术史上一个不可忽视的环节。早在1995年,北京人民美术出版社徐震时先生就曾来馆与我联系,希望能将这批年画精选出版,鉴于当时我们正忙于搬迁新馆,计划无法实现,直至1998年5月,该项计划才启动出台,经过数月努力,这批珍藏近百年的美术文献终于与广大读者见面。为了保留年画中的外文注解,我们特在册后附上了二个附录:"法文原文附录"和"英文年画译文"。我们企盼,它的出版将会对增强中西文化的交流和促进我国民间美术的研究作出一点贡献。

1999.8

Preface

—The Origin of the New Year Pictures Kept by the Shanghai Library and A Review of Western Missionaries' Horizon in Studying These New Year Pictures

By Junzhou Zhu

As far as the scholars specialized in the study of New Year pictures know, the origin of the traditional Chinese New Year pictures can trace back to the Zhou dynasty (841~256B.C.) when folk artisans drew patterns of animals like tigers on villager's dwelling gates to drive out evil spirits. But the earliest woodcut New Year pictures were described in Kuo Shen (1031-1095)'s Bu-Bi-Tan and Tong-Jing-Meng-Hua-Lu published in 1072—the fifth year of the Reign of Emperor Xining of the Northern Song dynasty (A.D.960-1126). Both works recorded that every time when Spring Festival was drawing near in the Song dynasty days, the market was busy selling Near Year pictures of door-god, the deity and peach-wood charms against evil. Those pictures were consecrated in offices and parlors and on gates of common people's homes to express human pray for happiness, luck and safety. Although New Year pictures, as cultural consumer goods, were changed or replaced each year and spread far and wide for several thousand years, people seldom saw the term New Year picture appear in ancient art works. It was not until 1850, after the Opium War, when Guangting Li wrote in his work Xiang-Yan-Jie-Yi that the term New Year picture began to appear for the first time in history. Li wrote that New Year pictures were put up after a thorough cleanup... Since then, the term New Year picture appeared in newly published newspapers and journals all over the country and was accepted by the art circles. The New Year pictures collected by the Shanghai Library totals more than 3,000 items. Most of them were original pictures created and printed at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. That means they dated back nearly 100 years ago. They might be the largest in quantity created in the period collected by public libraries in the country. The collectors of these New Year pictures were mainly French missionaries living in the area of Xu Family Residence, Xujiahui (Zi-Ka-Wei) of Shanghai. The history of missionaries in Xujiahui can date back to the year 1607 when Great Scholar of the late Ming dynasty Guangqi Xu (1562-1633) came back from Beijing to Shanghai to manage the funeral of his father. In the name of a Catholic, Xu cited his own experience and advised his native townsmen to be converted to Catholicism. Since then, people living in southwest Shanghai-townsmen dwelling in the vicinity of the confluence of River Caohejing, Creek Zhaojiabang and River Fahuajing became the first batch of common people embracing Catholicism. And because it was the place where Xu family bought villas and buried ancestor Guangqi Xu and where the "three streams" converged, it was called Xujiahui (Xu Family Confluence). As Catholicism was banned nationwide after the middle of the Qing dynasty, once active missionary activities disappeared from the scene in China. When the Opium War took place in 1840, the Catholic force staged a comeback. Shanghai, one of the first five treaty ports in modern China, became one of the main choices made by the Vatican Roman Catholicism. A French Jesuit Claude Gotteland (1803-1856) was sent by Bishop of the Nanjing parish to resume Catholic activities discontinued for more than 200 years at Hengtang, Qingpu. Four years later, Claude Gotteland thought this area, far away from the International Settlement, was not an ideal place for Catholicism, and Xujiahui, Catholic Guangqi Xu's burial ground, was regarded as a place of high geo-mantic quality by Chinese, and naturally it became Gotteland's first choice. In 1847, Gotteland bought a piece of land at Xujiahui, where he built the Zi-Ka-Wei Catholic Church, the first church architecture in Chinese style using large beams with the Cross at its top. The missionaries called it "Old Church". With the continuous expansion of the forces of the English and American settlements and of the French Concession in 1867, the Zi-Ka-Wei Road, which is now divided into the Huashan Road at the Xuhui District and the Xujiahui Road at the Luwan District, was built to link up Xujiahui with the building of the French Council of Municipal Administration and with the house of the British and the American Consulates at that time. Roads built up across the border and water routes extending in all directions made Xujiahui Area replace Nanjing as the most influential main Catholic diocese and center in the Far East. During the period between the mid nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, taking the Old Church as the axis, a batch of missionary institutions sprang up such as monasteries or convents, theological seminaries, The Saint Coeur Convent and The Notre Dame Convent. And also a number of cultural and educational institutions were set up. They were College Saint Ignace in 1850, Chongde Girls School (renamed as Xuhui Girls Middle School) in 1867, the Zi-Ka-Wei Observatory in 1873, the Museum in 1867, the Saint Newspaper Press in 1887, the Tushanwan Craft Institute in 1864 and Tushanwan Publishing House several years later, the Qiming Girls School in 1904,

and the Aurora University in 1903. The development of the institutions occupied an important place in the history of development of modern and contemporary China. The 60-meter-tall Zi-Ka-Wei Catholic Church completed in 1910 with a seating capacity of more than 1500 people, in particular, made the Xujiahui area a religious castle of European style in the East, well-known in the Far East as well as in the eyes of Vatican Roman Catholic Empire. It is also regarded, by scholars at home and abroad, as one of the sources where introduction of Western culture into the country was initiated and the flow of culture between China and Western countries was facilitated and merged.

The Zi-Ka-Wei Catholic Church Library (the Bibliotheca Major of Zi-Ka-Wei), which has a close relation with this volume of New Year pictures, was one of the architecture with most cultural connotation in the religious castle of European style. Although the library was built in 1896, its history of collection can be traced back to the year 1847 when Claude Gotteland deposited books in Chinese and Western languages in his Catholic church in Hengtang, Qingpu. Judged from the exterior, the architecture situated beside the early monastery and theological seminary in Xujiahui was an ordinary two-storied ashy house in mixed brick-and-wood structure with pointed window frames and Venetian blinds. But judged from the interior, as the telling witness of the time, it might be an only extant architecture of unique style, which merged the flow of Chinese and Western cultures, in China. The ideas of design of the two floors were actually utterly different. The idea of design of the second floor stacks originated from the Bibliotheca of the Vatican Roman Catholic Church. The second floor stacks were divided into upper and lower parts, with the upper part surrounded by wood-carved railings and joined by three hardwood stairs of European style and with boards at both ends of bookshelves for readers to put books on. The idea of design of the first floor stacks came from the traditional Chinese phrase "one river in the heaven versus six lands on the earth" in the Book of Changes published in the Zhou dynasty. The whole space of the first floor was divided into southern and northern parts, with the southern part separated in six rooms implying "six lands on the earth" and with the northern part built into a large room meaning "one river in the heaven". For the 3.8-meter-high lines of fifteen shelves, one has to use specially made movable scaling bamboo-wood ladders to reach the books on the upper six shelves.

On the shelves of the second floor identical with the design style, there were some 100,000 books in Western languages published since the early sixteenth century. Many of them were the Old Testament and the Holy Bible of various editions in Latin, Hebrew, English and ancient German, bound with carved or gild sheepskin cover, as well as encyclopedias and books on history and culture. They were classified in thirty-six categories for missionaries to consult and study. On the shelves of the first floor stacks, there were over 200,000 books in Chinese classified in five categories: classical works, historical works, philosophical works, belles-lettres and series with traditional Chinese classification system adopted by the Complete Library in Four Divisions. The books collected can also be accessed through catalogs by the order of the entries in the Kangxi Zidian (Kangxi Character Dictionary). As the Zi-Ka-Wei Catholic Church came under the direct control of the Paris Jesuits in France, clergymen managing the Bibliotheca Major of Zi-Ka-Wei were mainly French Catholic priests and Chinese Catholic missionaries. And as Roman Catholic Fathers, who often traveled between Shanghai and Vatican in Rome and other places over the world, took Xujiahui as the best place for their temporary lodging in the Far East, and speaking Latin and French became a fashion there for a time. The Fathers brought this eastern land strange but advanced western cultural, educational, religious and scientific things such as the press, painting and printing, astronomy and meteorology, education and general natural science, libraries and museums, etc., and presented the western world Chinese culture such as Confucianism and Taoism, local conditions and customs, dialects, classics of literature, etc.. Thus Xujiahui became a focal land of disseminating Chinese and Western cultures. The Bibliotheca Major of Xujiahui, a distributing center for treasures of Chinese and Western cultures and knowledge, became the most interesting place to visit in the country by missionaries then. In order to meet the needs of research made by these missionaries in black hats and robes to a greater extent, clergymen managing the Bibliotheca at that time paid much attention to collecting and purchasing all kinds of materials on Chinese traditional culture. From the materials extant, we can see that the missionaries collected not only all kinds of books, journals and newspapers published in the modern and contemporary China but also various rare thread-bound books published during the years before the Opium War. Of the books collected, many were local chronicles of major value of historical data printed unofficially, which recorded various local conditions and customs and geographical environment all over China. And they certainly became the main choice for missionaries in acquiring and purchasing materials. Up to the year 1949, there were some 2,100 titles of local chronicles collected by the Bibliotheca that could be offered to missionaries to make their study, ranking first among libraries in Shanghai at the time. Here we have to mention Father Zongze Xu, who made great contribution to the above collection. Father Zongze Xu, born in Shanghai in 1886 and styling himself Runnong, was a descendant of Guangqi Xu's. In 1907 when he was 21 years old, Xu became a clergyman of Zi-Ka-Wei Jesuit Society, and later he was sent by it to Europe and America to study theology, philosophy and literature. When he returned home in 1922, he was already a priest with doctor degrees of philosophy and theology. He first held post of Chief Editor of the journal Sheng-Jiao-Za-Zhi and afterwards Acting Chief Editor of the newspaper Sheng-Xin-Bao, and concurrently took full charge of the management of the Bibliotheca Major of Zi-Ka-Wei. As a Chinese missionary with a background of understanding both Chinese and Western cultures and witnessing and hearing about the similarities of and differences between Chinese and Western cultures, Xu also attached much importance to collecting nonbook materials in large quantity scattered in places all over the country like the precursory French Fathers. He made friends with upper circles and took the lead in collecting works, jottings, letters by the Jesuits who came to China during the years between the late Ming dynasty and the early Qing dynasty. He sifted the collected materials, devoted himself to his study and wrote his major works such as Outline of the History of Catholicism in China, Capsule Summary of Translations and Works by Jesuits Published during the Years of the Ming and Qing Dynasty, Great Scholars in Introducing Western Learning during the Years of the Ming and Qing Dynasty, etc. He also encouraged foreign missionaries to walk out of the Bibliotheca Major and collect extensively maps, rubbings, celebrities' manuscripts, coins, antiques, scripts, paintings, etc., to enrich document resources held by the Bibliotheca Major of Zi-Ka-Wei. Among the scripts and paintings held by the Shanghai Library, the New Year pictures in large quantity were all those elaborately and sedulously acquired and collected from Hebei. Jiangsu and Zhejiang by missionaries from the Bibliotheca Major of Zi-Ka-Wei during the years between the early twentieth century and 1930s when the Anti-Japanese War took place. Limited by historical records, it is very difficult for us to find evidences and proofs to tell the details how the missionaries at the time rushed to places all over the country to collect these New Year pictures. But when these New Year pictures, nationalized by the Shanghai Library in 1956, present themselves before our eyes, we can still appreciate and sense certain atmosphere and character of the time when these New Year pictures were created. We can also draw some conclusions and find out clues to how the missionaries looked for these pictures.

Judging by the place where these New Year pictures were created, we can find out there are eleven places of origin involved. Among them, the most well-known are Yangliuqing of Tianjin, Wuqiang of Hebei, Yangjiabu of Weixian county, Shandong, where northern New Year pictures were created, and Taohuawu of Suzhou, the Old Drill Ground of Shanghai, Nantong and Wuxi of Jiangsu, and Wuhu of Anhui, where southern New Year pictures were printed and produced. Here we can see appreciable regional difference. The places of produce for these New Year pictures were basically those or in the vicinity of coastal cities or areas open as treaty ports in both the south and the north of the country after the two Opium Wars took place. We see almost none of the New Year pictures held were created in the greater southwest or northwest of inland China. The *Zhong-Guo-Min-Jian-Nian-Hua-Shi-Tu-Lu* (Collected Chinese Folk New Year Pictures) included 56 places of produce for New Year pictures in 23 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. We can see no New Year pictures of inland produce represented by those made in Mianzhu of Sichuan, Fengxiang of Shaanxi, and Linfen of Shanxi. It is thus obvious that there were footmarks left by missionaries from the Bibliotheca Major in open coastal but closed inland provinces of China.

Judging by the sheet size, we can see there are 17 kinds in all of sheet size of the New Year pictures held. They are sancai (a third of one sheet), gongjian (one-whole-sheet in large or small size), pingtiao (vertical quarto or octovo), fangzi (used to cover square hole on the wall), hengpi (unusual horizontal ones in large or small size), shupi (unusual vertical ones), zhima (likeness of Buddha drawn on papers coated in red and yellow used to offer sacrifices to ancestors), doufang (square paper sheet), lihua (the twenty-four solar terms given to know the time for spring ploughing), duiping (made of two vertical sheets), shenpi. Although they might not cover the 35 kinds of sheet size classified and included in the Collected Chinese Folk New Year Pictures, they reflected in one respect that missionaries at the time had really given much thought to acquiring all kinds of New Year pictures in different size while trekking from afar.

Judging by the eight printing forms in vogue in workshops of making New Year pictures during the years between the late Qing dynasty and the early Minguo period, such as chromatography with drawings, process printing, color chromatography, printing with drawings, printing with color drawing, ink printing, ink-and-color chromatography and special drawings, we can tell the places of original produce and the style of these New Year pictures.

Judging by the contents depicted in these New Year pictures, we can also know their unique academic and research value. It has been discussed in Professor Changyi Xie's two theses for this album, and no more need be said. Here let us pay attention to the research notes on these New Year pictures. As no researchers signed their names on, we can not make sure who was the author of these studies. But these research notes enable us to understand how western missionaries made studies on works of Chinese folk arts, as well as the angles and features of their thoughts. According to a rough estimate, the words of study in French on these New Year pictures number tens of thousands (see the original text and translation of French Appendix). They feature as following three:

Firstly, objective description of tableaux of New Year pictures often depicts scenes of traditional operas and folk stories, which is divided into two kinds:

One is the narration of the gists of dramatic stories. For example, on the New Year picture *Pearl Pagoda*, the paragraph in French wrote, "A talented young man named Qing Fang had no money to go to the capital to sit for the imperial examinations. His *fiancee* Cai-e Chen asked her servant-girl to give Fang her small luxurious pearl pagoda to get a mortgage for his travelling expenses. Halfway, Fang was robbed of the pearl pagoda by bandits but came first in the highest imperial examination. Fang disguised himself as a Taoist priest and called and begged at the house of his *fiancee*'s father's to check and ratify his *fiancee*'s loyalty to him." This New Year picture Pearl Pagoda had drawn its plot material from the traditional opera of the same name, once a representative play of southern Wuxi and Shaoxing opera. The words on every New Year picture were not many but they briefly and concisely introduced western readers the complete stories. Words describing opera plots were not many, which might be due to missionaries' different cultural background. More words spelled in Latin or French can be found on other dramatic New Year pictures to say names of the plays and characters in these dramatic New Year pictures.

The other is the deduction of the themes of New Year pictures, not keeping to westerners' stand but expressing Chinese's condensation of the themes of New Year pictures. For example, on the New Year picture *Hundreds of Fortunes Come to the House* (3-28), there are such notes "Yearning for presence of a hundred of fortunes! It is praise for growth and prosperity. In the New Year picture, there are two noble ladies, with a child with bamboo branches in his hand and a vase with a pretty peony in it in the opposite. Prosperousness, wealth and rank and longevity are the auspicious omen the New Year picture expresses."

Among the collected New Year pictures, this kind shares a large portion among those drawn and printed during the years between the late Qing dynasty and the early Minguo period. It represents one aspect that western missionaries laid stress on the connotation of a New Year picture when writing caption for New Year pictures. The phenomenon shows that they were more eager to know the essence of thought expressed by these folk art works accumulated and soaked in traditional Chinese culture and that they looked into the national mentality of convergence rooted in the mind of common people and in vogue for thousands of years in the country.

Secondly, the description of New Year pictures is usually written as a narrative interspersed with comments. Lots of Chinese traditional folk New Year pictures adopted this practice. "Folk customs" include extensive range of abstract themes such as seasonal customs, local conditions, religious beliefs, popular legends and of concrete things widespread in towns and villages like door-god, kitchen god, deity of demon chaser and animals and flowers symbolizing luck and happiness, such as the peach-wood charms, peony, deer, horse, carp, tiger, unicorn, dragon, phoenix, cat, etc. They also include characters like Zhang Daoling, Tieguai Li, Lu Dongbing in Taoism, Tathagata Buddha, Avalokitesvara Buddha in Buddhism, Confucius in Confucianism and deified historical characters Guan Gong and Jiang Tai Gong, etc. They show that these western missionaries were interested in collecting and making research on the New Year pictures alike. Such description written as a narrative interspersed with comments grew into two styles:

One is the objective introduction to common people's view and ways of hanging a New Year picture. Taking the New Year picture Keeping on Good Terms with Everyone (3-9) as an example, a missionary wrote, "A smiling plump girl filled the whole part of the picture. The Chinese like kindness, liveliness, and good-looking gods. They hung them on the doors of their dwelling houses to make themselves feel the same pleasure. The words 'delivering lucky' are written on the upper part of the picture and 'keeping on good terms with everyone' are written on the exaggerated big belly of the plump girl in the picture." It should be said that these words objectively and precisely described the connotation these New Year pictures tried to convey and the national mind-set of common people

to put up such kind of New Year pictures in China. Although the words were not at considerable length, the western missionary writers offered their comments based on deep understanding of both the Chinese folk customs and traditional national styles and the Chinese national psychology.

The other is the subjective analysis the writer himself made to elaborate a New Year picture. The New Year picture *Kitchen God* (3-15) is the most typical. The writer, apart from his writing style to narrate first and comment afterwards, introduced his conclusion at the beginning of his elaboration: "The kitchen god plays the same role as the ancient Roman family god. Would you like to trace back to the origin of sacrificial offerings to find out such a name of the god to whom people offer sacrifices commonly? What each reference book used to refer to the god is different from the one you read last time. Even the question whether the god is a male or a female can be answered as one pleases, and no unanimous conclusion can be drawn." The writer then gave different names of the god cited in twelve ancient Chinese works such as *Huai-Nan-Zi*, *Dan-Fu-Zhi-Gui*, *Zhuang-Zi-Zhu*, *You-Yang-Za-Zu*, etc., to deduce and prove that the idol of worship was named as one pleased and that no unified name can be found. From these words, one can see strenuous efforts made by missionaries in their study on these New Year pictures. The writers adopted both the method of comparative study, comparing the family god in ancient Roman myths and the kitchen god in Chinese folklore, and the method of textual research to make a penetrating analysis of numerous different names of the god recorded in ancient Chinese books, thus drawing a conclusion that the reason why there were so many different names for the kitchen god is that people named the god as they pleased. It shows that missionaries at the time adopted serious academic attitudes in making their research on Chinese culture while disseminating Catholic doctrines in Xujiahui.

Lastly, western religious creeds were used to elaborate New Year pictures. The words used were often of strong subjective and religious color. They repelled all kinds of theories, concepts and beliefs except Catholicism. Catholic doctrine was used to criticize and comment on other national concepts and beliefs extant. In these comments, the God was regarded as the only criterion by which all things were judged. The words of these comments feature in the following two kinds of New Year pictures:

One is the kind of New Year pictures showing folk customs such as hope for social stability and family happiness, hope to exorcise evil spirits, jubilation of luckiness, etc. The writers regarded all these as spiritual superstitious and useless concepts from Catholic views. For example, as it still can be seen in the country, villagers liked to put up on their doors every fifth day of the fifth month of the lunar year the New Year picture *Deity of Demon Chaser* (3-14). The Deity was viewed as a sheer monster among pagans in western missionaries' eyes. The writers thought it the shame of mankind in that the monster, a scholar-official with no missions and less ability to drive out evil spirits, became the symbol making people over credulous for thousands of years. They held that the God was the only idol helping to get rid of difficulties and hardship and danger and disasters in the world. There existed no other idols that were also useless. Another example is that the writers depreciated peonies, children, peaches and dogs standing for riches and honor, sons, longevity and joy respectively drawn in the New Year picture *Riches and Honor in A Jade House* (3-22) as nice but not worth a farthing. And they commented on it as such infiltration of superstition into Chinese morality and justice. In the New Year pictures *May Everything Turn Out As You Wish* (3-29) and *Five Fortunes* (3-19), the writers believed that the soul of those who did not believe in Catholicism God was "the most superstitious heap and mere trash". This view they had in their study rendered absolutely the worst footnotes to the missionaries at the time as we see it today. It only proves that those comments that categorically denied all the religious beliefs and national concepts except Catholicism themselves present a religious bias and an ignorance and a falsehood. Furthermore, it is a pity in the study of history and an area of error where missionaries could not extricate themselves while elaborating Chinese culture.

The other is the kind of New Year pictures which portrayed the spiritual characters as influential as the Catholicism God. Of all the New Year pictures, Buddha—Sakyamuni (4-46), Buddhist patriarch, and Confucius, originator of the Confucian school, are the most typical.

Under a New Year picture portraying Buddha-Sakyamuni, the missionary wrote a comment of more than 1,700 words that all the so-called Buddhist Scripture, Buddhist disciplines, dark learning were absurd Buddhist ideas, of which the gist was the theory of the soul transmigration. To missionaries who worshiped

Catholicism, people die and their souls go up to Heaven and do not transmigrate. The theory of the transmigration of the soul went completely against the logic of the soul going up to Heaven in the theory of the God and was incompatible with what the missionaries in the Far East had in their mind. They felt difficult to understand why Buddhism gradually became a spiritual prop on a par with the theory of the Confucian school for people living in the Central Plains in the country since the Han dynasty. No wonder the writer sighed with his deep impression that Buddhism was assimilated into the Chinese culture rather than making China Indianized.

The writer seemed to show certain inclination to analyze rationally Confucius, the originator of the Chinese Confucian school. Although he praised Confucius as "the king of compromise and pedant knowledge", what he implied through his comment of long paragraphs was that he censured rather than praised Confucius. The writer tried to analyze and understand thoughts of the Confucian school with their deep-rooted Catholic doctrines and their spiritual world of the God. On the one hand, he had to acknowledge that the thought of the Confucian school originated by Confucius, esteemed by Chinese scholars, was not taken as a religion but a school of thought, a good preachment. Confucius was an outstanding man, who did people good turns. It was Confucius who turned China into the "land of ceremony and propriety". On the other hand, the writer used many derogatory terms to curse Confucius the mould of those scholars who were pretentious and indulged in exaggeration without philosophical thought and were held in contempt by later generations. He was a figure with official labels. It was Confucius' doctrine that China was made a country with a false display of affection like an actress performing in an open-air arena. The phenomenon of both praise and censure and criticism and compliment itself gave a faithful presentation of the complicated and multi-sided contradictory mentality and the religious outlook western missionaries had with them. Western missionaries felt difficult to exceed and understand the Chinese traditional culture with extensive knowledge and profound scholarship while realized reluctantly that, in a country without the belief in God, the Confucian school of thought that "maintained China powerful and prosperous for several centuries" had its rational existing ground and still have great vitality to this day. Such vitality was rooted and embodied in every aspect and corner of the spiritual world of Chinese emperors, officials and common people living in "the great and proud country of China" with a civili

Without doubt, the research notes left by the missionaries on the several hundred New Year pictures held by the Shanghai Library were only small part. These written words, mostly put down during the years between the late Qing dynasty and the early Minguo period, might not represent western scholars' view, but they provide us the phase of history when western missionaries came to China to study and spread Chinese culture. As a kind of works of popular folk art, the New Year pictures contain the connotation and quintessence of national folklore culture, local conditions and customs, folk literature and local operas. They become one of the sources of study of the rich, multivariate, three-dimensional and evolutionary cultural legacy of the Chinese nation. They are also taken as a link not to be ignored in the pursuit of national psychology, sociology, cultural formation, aesthetics and art history of China. Early in 1995, Mr. Zhenshi Xu from the Beijing People's Art Press came and discussed with me the possibility of selecting and publishing an album of these New Year pictures, which did not come into being due to the Library busy preparing for the moving into the new Library building. It was not until May 1998 that the album was put into a start. Through several months' hard work, these art documents treasured and preserved for almost a century can eventually be presented before the reading public. In order to keep the materials as it is and enhance the album, the original French notes and English translation of captions of these New Year pictures are added. We hope the publication of the album will make a contribution to the enhancement of exchange between Chinese and Western cultures and folk art study in the country.