

# Exporting Flemish Gothic architecture to China: meaning and context of the churches of Shebiya (Inner Mongolia) and Xuanhua (Hebei) built by missionary-architect Alphonse De Moerloose in 1903-1906

Thomas Coomans<sup>1</sup> & Wei Luo<sup>2</sup>

## 1 Introduction

The Boxer Rebellion of 1898-1901 against foreign Western imperialism and Christianity is a pivotal moment in China's history<sup>3</sup>. The uprising culminated in the famous sieges of the Legation quarter and the Beitang Cathedral in Beijing, and ended with the victory of the Eight-Nations Alliance in August 1900. The Boxer Protocol of 7 September 1901 brought peace to the country, but was a severe punishment for the Chinese state and accelerated the decline of the Qing dynasty. Outside Beijing, the rebellion had been particularly violent in the provinces of Shanxi and Inner Mongolia, where missionaries and native Christians were massacred as well as many churches burned. From then on, the Mission in China not only boasted more martyrs, but could also rebuild churches with indemnity money and make its power visible in the public space.

The Belgian Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, also known as the Scheut Fathers, or Scheutists (*Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae*, C.I.C.M.),<sup>4</sup> was present in northern China from 1865 to 1955. Rome had sent the congregation on a mission to evangelise the vast spaces of Mongolia and gradually organised the territory into four church provinces: Central Mongolia, South-West Mongolia, East Mongolia, and Gansu. The former two suffered great damage as a result of the Boxers Rebellion: one Scheutist bishop and nine fathers as well as thousands of Christians were massacred; most churches and houses of Christians were looted and demolished. Propaganda using the martyrs would contribute to rebuilding the mission.

This article examines the architectural work of Alphonse De Moerloose C.I.C.M., a Flemish Scheutist missionary who developed considerable building activity in northern China in the post-Boxer era. Two relatively unknown historical studies from 1968 and 1994 have sketched De Moerloose's biography,<sup>5</sup> and concluded that only a few of his Gothic Revival churches had survived the Chinese Civil War of 1947-1949 and the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976. Fieldwork carried out in March 2010 and May 2011<sup>6</sup> allowed us to develop a specific architectural approach to his two best-preserved buildings. The churches of Xuanhua (Hebei Province) and Shebiya (Inner Mongolia) were built simultaneously between 1903 and 1906, for French Lazarist and Belgian Scheutist missionaries respectively (figs 1-2). At first sight, they look like Flemish Gothic Revival churches from the second half of the 19th century: the Shebiya church is a simple and effective village church, while the Xuanhua church is a more elaborate and prestigious urban affair. Combining the analysis of the material sources with archival images and letters from the recently better valorised archives of the Scheutists in Leuven,<sup>7</sup> sheds new light on De Moerloose's work. Thanks to the literature from the two last decades about missions in China and Gothic Revival architecture in Belgium, the remarkable career of this exceptional missionary-architect will be better contextualized, and the meaning of the style he developed beyond the Great Wall of China will be unravelled.

<sup>1</sup> Associate Professor, University of Leuven, Department of Architecture, Urbanism and Planning, Kasteelpark 1, B-3001 Heverlee (Leuven), thomas.coomans@asro.kuleuven.be.

<sup>2</sup> PhD candidate, Southeast University, School of Architecture, at Nanjing, and University of Leuven, Department of Architecture, Urbanism and Planning, Kasteelpark 1, B-3001 Heverlee (Leuven), wei.luo@asro.kuleuven.be.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen 1997; Preston 2000; O'Connor 1973.

<sup>4</sup> The mother house of the *Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae* (C.I.C.M.), founded by the Flemish priest Théophile Verbist in 1862, was located

in Scheut, on the outskirts of Brussels. Verhelst & Pycke (eds) 1995, 41.

<sup>5</sup> Van Hecken 1968; Ulenaers 1994 (unpublished).

<sup>6</sup> The fieldwork took place in the context of joint PhD research between the Departments of Architecture of Southeast University, Nanjing, and of KU Leuven, ASRO and Arenberg Doctoral School. The authors wish to express their gratitude to Prof. Guangya Zhu, Research Institute of Architectural History and Theory of Southeast University, and Prof. Krista De Jonge, research unit of Architectural History and Conservation at

KU Leuven. With thanks to all other people who supported the fieldwork, especially Qinghua Li, Qi Meng, Xiaodong Zhang, Jean-Luc and Jean-Marc De Moerloose, Fricquette Smets and Stany Gilissen, Dirk Van Overmeire, Philip Vanhaelemeersch, Jan De Maeyer, Carine Dujardin, KADOC and Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, KU Leuven.

<sup>7</sup> The archives of the General House of C.I.C.M. in Rome were transferred to Leuven, Belgium in 2003, and are conserved and valorized at KADOC (Documentation and Research Centre for Religion, Culture and Society): <http://www.odis.be>; <http://kadoc.kuleuven.be/eng/index.php>.

**FIG. 1** Church of Xuanhua, built by Alphonse De Moerloose in 1903-1906 (© THOC, May 2011).



## 2 The education of a Belgian middle-class Catholic architect

Alphonse Frédéric De Moerloose was born in Gentbrugge, a commune on the outskirts of Ghent, on 12 January 1858. He was the tenth and last child of Jean-Baptiste De Moerloose and Marie-Thérèse De Jaeger,<sup>8</sup> a Catholic, French-speaking middle-class family. His father was a mason who became a contractor and even rose to alderman responsible for public works in Gentbrugge. The De Moerlooses were intimately bound up with the building sector in the industrial city of Ghent and the province of East Flan-

ders: two of Alphonse's brothers, Gustave and Théodore, were also contractors, as was his brother-in-law Edouard Van Herwege. Alphonse's elder sister Camille married architect Ferdinand de Noyette,<sup>9</sup> after whose death she married his brother Modeste de Noyette. The latter was a prominent Gothic Revival architect who designed civic and religious buildings in Flanders,<sup>10</sup> and who undoubtedly influenced the young Alphonse. The family was also devoutly Catholic: Alphonse became a Scheutist missionary, his sister Coralie belonged to the Third Order of St Francis, and three of their nephews also became clerics<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Jean-Baptiste De Moerloose (1812-1886); Marie-Thérèse De Jaeger (1813-1889).

<sup>9</sup> Ferdinand de Noyette (1838-1870) built amongst other the Neo-Gothic churches of St. Simon and Judas at Gentbrugge (1868-1872), and the St. Goriks at Haaltert (1870-1872).

<sup>10</sup> Modeste de Noyette (1847-1923) built amongst other the Neo-Gothic churches of St. Vincent at Eeklo (1878-1883), St. Simon and Judas at Gentbrugge (1868-1872), St. Joseph at Aalst (1868-1908), St. Martin at Ronse (1891-1896), St. Anthony of Padua at Eeklo (1903-1906), and St. Martin at Arlon

(1907-1914); see: Van Loo (ed.) 2003, 257.

<sup>11</sup> Another sister of Alphonse, Cécile De Moerloose, had married Edmond Meuleman who was the brother of Brice Meuleman S.J. (1862-1924), Archbishop of Calcutta from 1902 to 1924.



FIG. 2 Church of Shebiya, built by Alphonse De Moerloose in 1904-1905 (© THOC, May 2011).

When Alphonse joined the Scheutists in October 1881, he was a mere 23 years old yet had already made several architectural designs. Two months before, on 7 August 1881, he had obtained the first prize in the fifth year of his architectural studies at St Luke's School in Ghent<sup>12</sup>. At that time, the architecture course at St Luke's consisted of seven years of evening or weekend lessons. During the day, Alphonse almost certainly worked in his father's company. After four years, St Luke's students had learnt drawing, analysing elements of architecture and furniture, studying existing model buildings, and some theory (geometry, perspective, materials, etc.). During the next three years, the students who specialised in architecture learned design in the studio. The most gifted students were allowed to progress to the eighth year, which culminated in the 'Great Prize'. The school also offered painting, sculpture and decorative arts, always based on medieval and national models. Alphonse De Moerloose completed the basic training as well as the first year of design. The programme for that year comprised: "Projects after detailed programme: houses and rural churches, villas, farms, schools, small railway stations, detailed estimate, various orders. Rendering with wash draw-

ing, pencil and ink. Theory: history of our national monuments, schedule of conditions, various contracts, stone carving"<sup>13</sup>. In 1881 Alphonse had reached this level and had obtained the first prize of his year with a design for a farmstead<sup>14</sup>. In the following years he would learn to design more elaborate buildings (castles, large churches, hospitals, covered markets, etc.), develop technical knowledge (using metal in construction, foundations, etc.), delve into comparative styles, and integrate monumental painting, sculpture and ornament in architecture.

Besides learning professional skills, Alphonse De Moerloose had been immersed in the spirit of the St Luke's School, which was 'ultramontane'<sup>15</sup>, meaning that it promoted the world view of a Catholic society against the dominating secularisation and Liberalism in Belgium. Around 1880, three main issues marked the political and social debates in highly industrialised Belgium. Firstly, the tensions between Catholics and anticlerical Liberals about the role of Church and State in education culminated in the *Schoolstrijd*, a major school funding controversy (1878-1884). From 1884, the Catholics would rule Belgium with an absolute

<sup>12</sup> KADOC, Archives St. Lucas School of Ghent, prijsboek, p. 42: "7 Augustus 1881. Uitsluiting der prijzen aan de leerlingen der Tekenschool van St. Lucas (...) 5de jaar – 1e jaar van Compositie – Het programma van den kampstrijd was een ontwerp voor het bouwen eener hofstede. De 1ste prijs is behaald geworden door Mr Alfons De Moerloose [sic]. Twee

2de prijzen zijn ook toegewezen aan Mm Edouard Dubois en Prosper Van Caillie. 1ste Accessit Mr Van Wassenhove en Gustaaf Vanderlinden".

<sup>13</sup> From the programme by Brother Marès-Joseph, presented at the London Exhibition of 1884, reproduced in Wouters 1988, 208; Dujardin 2007, 276.

<sup>14</sup> Six of his plans were exhibited in Brussels. Catalogue 1882, 15, n° 13: "J. De Moerloose" [sic].

<sup>15</sup> 'Ultramontanism' is a Roman Catholic trend asserting the superiority of the Pope's authority over all other hierarchies.

**FIG. 3** The St Elisabeth church of the Beguinage of Sint-Amandsberg near Ghent, built by Baron Jean-Baptiste Bethune in 1873-1875, an archetype of St Luke architecture (© THOC, March 2011).



majority until 1914. Secondly, the issue of the rights and status of the working classes would lead to the foundation of the Belgian Socialist Party (1885) and later to the Catholic answer, the papal encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1891). Thirdly, at the outset of the Flemish Movement, a new Flemish intelligentsia increasingly contested the monopoly of the French-speaking elite in cultural and political matters.

St Luke's School had been founded in Ghent in 1862, but only gained a level of notability from the mid 1870s thanks to the combined efforts of the ultramontane capitalist Count Joseph de Hemptinne, the Catholic artist Baron Jean-Baptiste Bethune, and the art pedagogue Brother Marès-Joseph De Pauw of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools (F.S.C.)<sup>16</sup>.

They developed an educational model that went radically against the classic model of the Beaux-Arts academies, and promoted medieval art based on archaeological knowledge, especially the national variants of Gothic art, as the sole paradigm for a modern Christian society<sup>17</sup>. Like medieval knights, the St Luke students were trained to 'become soldiers of Christ and to make a sacred war for the triumph of the Realm of Christ with pencil, chisel and brush'. This rather radical ideology was based on the art and moral theory of Pugin, which was widely known in Belgium thanks to a French translation published in Bruges in 1850<sup>18</sup>.

At the time when Alphonse De Moerloose studied at St Luke's (1876-1881), the school was still entirely under the artistic

<sup>16</sup> Wouters 1988; Helbig 1906; Van Loo (ed.) 2003, 150-151 and 258-259.

<sup>17</sup> De Maeyer 1988; Van Cleven 1988; Van Cleven (ed.) 1994; De Maeyer 2000; Bergmans, Coomans & De Maeyer 2005; Dujardin 2007.

<sup>18</sup> Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852); Pugin 1841a; Pugin 1841b; King 1850. See also: Brooks 1999, 233-246; Hill 2006.

and ultramontane ideological control of Baron Bethune and Brother Marès-Joseph<sup>19</sup>. The St Luke's movement was expanding and new schools were being founded in Tournai (1877), Lille (1878), Liège (1880) and Brussels (1882). In Ghent, Auguste Van Assche had directed the architectural design studio since 1867<sup>20</sup>. This prolific Neo-Gothic and very Puginesque architect influenced Alphonse De Moerloose, and it is possible that the latter did an internship at Van Assche's agency, like most students who were in the design phase of their studies. Van Assche also published monographs on the churches he restored and was responsible for the illustration of the journal published by the St Luke's movement<sup>21</sup>. The students certainly visited the great works of their masters in the area of Ghent, such as the Beguinage of Sint-Amandsberg (1873-1875) (fig. 3), the Poortakker Beguinage in Ghent (1873-1874), the town hall of Sint-Niklaas (1876-1878), the pilgrimage basilica of Oostakker (1876-1877), and the St Joseph church in Ghent (1880-1883). Visits to the St Vincent church at Eeklo (1878-1883), built by Alphonse's brother-in-law Modeste de Noyette, the remarkable works of Bethune at the abbey of Maredsous (1872-1890) (fig. 33) and the St Joseph church in Roubaix (1876-1878) (fig. 4) were also on the programme. Four other Ghent-born St Luke's architects who were contemporaneous with Alphonse De Moerloose were Stephan Mortier,<sup>22</sup> Jules Goethals,<sup>23</sup> Pierre Langerock<sup>24</sup> and Henri Geirnaert<sup>25</sup>. They became renowned and contributed to diffusing St Luke Gothic Revival architecture across Belgium, as De Moerloose would do in China.

As a young man in the industrialised city of Ghent around 1880, Alphonse De Moerloose grew up in one of the most complex and exciting social, political and religious contexts of his time. His talent, combined with the excellent education and networks provided by St Luke's School, promised him a brilliant architectural career. So why did he suddenly interrupt his studies, left his family and friends, and embraced the religious vocation of a missionary in Mongolia, one of the most remote places in the world?

### 3 The Scheutist missions in China

In October 1881, Alphonse De Moerloose entered the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. He had developed a missionary vocation thanks to his friend Jeroom François, a young priest from Gentbrugge, who left for China in 1882 and died there in 1884<sup>26</sup>. During his novitiate at the seminary, Alphonse received religious and theological training before being ordained priest on 7 June 1884. He made his religious vows in the chapel of Scheut on 6 February 1885, and nine days later he embarked on a ship for China from the port of Marseille<sup>27</sup>.

In 1881, the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (C.I.C.M.) was a new religious institute that had been founded less than twenty years earlier. The Flemish priest Théophile Verbist founded the congregation in 1862 – that is to say just after China opened up to religions and missionaries according to the 'Unequal treaty' of 1861 – with the aim of evangelising remote parts



**FIG. 4** The St Joseph church in Roubaix (France), built by Baron Jean-Baptiste Bethune in 1876-1878, is another archetypal St Luke church from the time when De Moerloose was a student (© THOC, December 2011).

<sup>19</sup> Verpoest 1988.

<sup>20</sup> Auguste Van Assche (1826-1907), see: Van Loo (ed.) 2003, 547.

<sup>21</sup> *Bulletin de la Gilde de Saint-Thomas et de Saint-Luc* (1863-1913); other journals of the movement were: RAC 1883-1914, and BMA 1901-1913.

<sup>22</sup> Stefaan Mortier (1857-1934) graduated 1877. Van Loo (ed.) 2003, 428.

<sup>23</sup> Jules Goethals (1855-1918) graduated 1877. Van Loo (ed.) 2003, 320.

<sup>24</sup> Pierre Langerock (1859-1923) graduated 1881. Coomans 1991; Van Loo (ed.) 2003, 387.

<sup>25</sup> Henri Geirnaert (1860-1928) graduated 1881. Van Loo (ed.) 2003, 315.

<sup>26</sup> Van Hecken 1968, 162; Ulenaers 1994, 7.

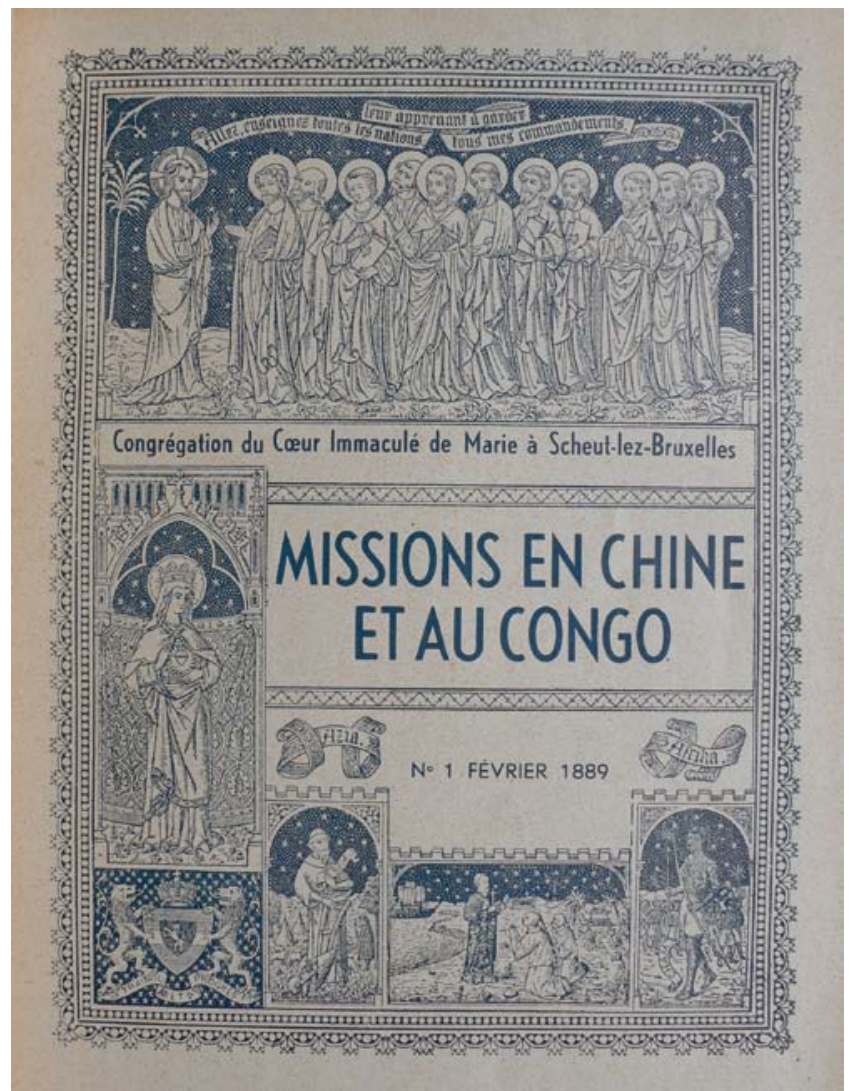
<sup>27</sup> Van Hecken 1968, 162; Van Hecken 1970, 581.

of China. In 1865 the Sacred Congregation (*Propaganda Fide*), charged with the spread of Catholicism in non-Catholic countries, assigned Mongolia to the Scheut Fathers: in December of that year Verbist and four companions reached China<sup>28</sup>. Because of the weather conditions, difficulties with integration and typhus epidemics, the initial stages were very tough for the missionaries. Verbist died in 1868, aged 44. Although virtually nothing was known in Belgium about the real conditions of the Mongolian mission, the heroism and the zeal of the pioneers, ‘with the help of the Divine Providence’, motivated new vocations, especially among the Flemish and southern Dutch middle classes.

The Scheutist missionaries spread the Christian gospel in Mongolia for ninety years, a period which historians divide into several phases<sup>29</sup>. The early period, from 1865 to 1887, was pioneering in a territory measuring five million square kilometres – ca 170

times the size of Belgium. In 1883, the initial apostolic vicariate – i.e. a diocese in mission countries – of Mongolia<sup>30</sup> was divided into the three apostolic vicariates of Central Mongolia, South-West Mongolia (including Ordos) and Eastern Mongolia. In 1878, the Scheutists had already been given the responsibility for the newly created apostolic vicariate of Gansu (Kan-su). During the same years, the Congregation organised its houses in Belgium: a motherhouse and novices’ building in Scheut, and a seminary in Leuven. In 1888 the Congregation adopted definitive constitutions and from then on, Scheutist missionaries were also sent to the Congo. At that time the Congregation counted 79 Scheut Fathers – of which 67 were in China – and 48 novices. In February 1889, the monthly journal *Missions en Chine et au Congo*, later *Missions de Scheut*, appeared, which would continue to be published until 1939<sup>31</sup>. It is worth noting that the cover of the first issue (fig. 5) was designed in pure St Luke style<sup>32</sup>.

FIG. 5 Cover of the Scheutist Journal *Missions en Chine et au Congo*, first issue, February 1889 (© Leuven, Ferdinand Verbiest Institute).



<sup>28</sup> Verhelst & Pycke (eds) 1995, 25-40.

<sup>29</sup> Reference work is: Verhelst & Pycke (eds) 1995. The sources on Scheut mission in China collected by Jozef Van Hecken in 1970-1977 remain unpublished. Other useful works on Scheut in China are:

Dieu 1944; Aubin 1989; Heyndrickx (ed.) 1994; De Wilde 1994; Van den Berg 1994; Vande Walle & Golvers (eds) 2003; Van Meenen 2007. On Belgian missionaries in China see: Dujardin 1996; Knipschild 2008.

<sup>30</sup> Created in 1840 and ruled by French Lazarists from 1840 to 1865.

<sup>31</sup> The journal evolved: MCC 1889-1907; MCCP 1908-1913; MS 1914-1939.

<sup>32</sup> Dujardin 2007.

As we have seen, Central and South-West Mongolia suffered greatly as a result of the Boxers: thousands of Chinese Christians were massacred, one Scheutist bishop and seven fathers died as martyrs in 1900 and two others in 1901. Many churches were sacked. Evidently, this was a turning point in Scheutist history in China. Propaganda focussing on the martyrs aroused new vocations and helped rebuild the mission<sup>33</sup>.

The First World War created severe difficulties for the Scheutists and other missions in China and throughout the world. One of the consequences was the redistribution of the church provinces in 1920 (fig. 6): Gansu was left to other religions and the three former Mongolian apostolic vicariates were reorganised into five apostolic vicariates (Xiwanzi/Chongli, Jehol, Datong, Sui-Yuan and Ningxia)<sup>34</sup>. Scheutists also had houses in Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin. In 1922, there were 120 Scheutist missionaries in China, helped by 46 Chinese priests<sup>35</sup>. Another major post-war change was the new dynamic implemented by the mission policy from Rome. The mission encyclicals *Maximum illud* and *Rerum Ecclesiae*, issued in 1919 and 1926 respectively, stressed the need for local clergy and had consequences for religious art and architecture. As we will see in the last part of this article, Archbishop Celso Costantini, Apostolic Delegate to China from 1922 to 1933, and the Belgian (later Chinese) priest Vincent Lebbe were major players in the development of a Chinese Roman Catholic Church.

In the meantime, China had turned a decisive page of its history. The educational reforms of 1905, the fall of the Empire and the birth of the Republic of China in 1911-1912, as well as the birth of new political parties – Kuomintang in 1912, Communist Party in 1921 – led to instability. From 1927, the Nationalists ruled the country and steered China further on the path to modernity. War against Japan divided China from 1937 to 1945. The Japanese army occupied part of the country, among other areas most of the provinces where the Scheutists lived. In this troubled context, missionary activities were more and more restricted and ended dramatically during the Civil War, when the Communists founded the People's Republic of China. From 1946 to 1955, churches were closed and Western missionaries gradually expelled from China<sup>36</sup>. The presence of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in China lasted ninety years.

#### 4 De Moerloose's architectural work in China

In 1885, Alphonse De Moerloose debarked in China as a missionary, not as an architect. Like most arriving Scheut Fathers of his generation, his knowledge of China was basic and largely based on stories of heroic missionaries who brought the Good News of Christ to the steppes of Mongolia, saved and baptised many orphans, and died at an early age. Alphonse chose the Chinese name *He Geng Bo* (和羹柏)<sup>37</sup>. At that time, nobody would have believed that he would stay in China for 44 years, achieve impor-



FIG. 6 General map of China in the 1920's with the territories allocated to the Scheutists (after *Missions de Scheut* 1925, 172).

33 MCC 1901-1905; Verhelst & Pycke (eds) 1995, 77-116.

34 MS 1922, 97-99; Verhelst & Pycke (eds) 1995, 158-189.

35 MS 1922, 30-36.

36 Verhelst & Pycke (eds) 1995, 256-268. Scheutists survived in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

37 Van Overmeire 2008, 124.

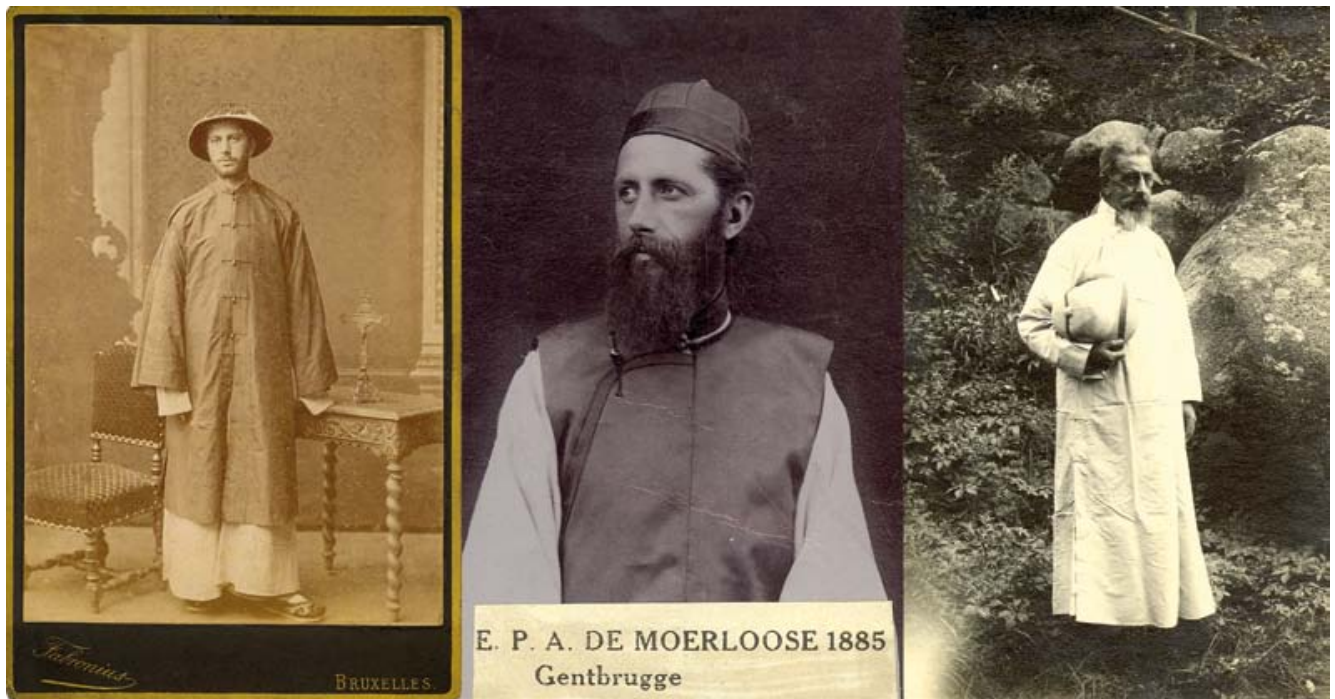


FIG. 7 Three portraits of Father Alphonse De Moerloose, in 1885 just before leaving Belgium, ca 1900, and ca 1925 respectively (© KADOC, Archives C.I.C.M.).

tant architectural work, and only come back to Belgium in 1929, aged 71 (fig. 7). For four decades, Alphonse De Moerloose was an eyewitness to the evolution of China and the Church in China. As we can deduce from his partially preserved correspondence,<sup>38</sup> he tried to adapt his personal life to the evolving circumstances and find a balance between his religious vocation and his architectural skills, his engagement as an active missionary and his desire for a contemplative life, and, above all, between his Western Catholic identity and the impenetrable Chinese society, culture and people.

In 1885 De Moerloose was sent to the apostolic vicariate of Gansu, created by Rome in 1878 and entrusted to the Scheutists<sup>39</sup>. After having spent a year at the residence of Xixiang and having learnt the basics of the Chinese language, he worked in several rural and urban parishes<sup>40</sup>. Although he did not have any major architectural involvement during his first years in Gansu, there is evidence that he observed Chinese architecture and also complained about the poor quality of the churches he visited<sup>41</sup>. In 1893, he was confronted with the need of a new church for his parish of Sanshilipu, and had the occasion to design a building in St Luke's style<sup>42</sup>. His artistic activity in Gansu, however,

seems to have been limited to designing secondary buildings and church furniture<sup>43</sup>.

The appointment of Jerome Van Aertselaer at the head of the apostolic vicariate of Central Mongolia in 1898 would reorient De Moerloose's missionary career. Van Aertselaer, who had been Superior General of the Scheutists from 1888 to 1898, is considered the "second founder of Scheut"<sup>44</sup>. He returned to Central Mongolia with great ambitions that included building works. Therefore Alphonse De Moerloose left Gansu in February 1899 and moved to Xiwanzi,<sup>45</sup> the headquarters of Central Mongolia's apostolic vicariate, and began work on a great seminary with a chapel and a new residence for the vicar apostolic. By a combination of circumstances, the Boxer Rebellion that destroyed many churches took place during the same years (1899-1900). Xiwanzi escaped to the Boxers thanks to the protection of Western militaries and became a symbol of the Scheutist mission in China. Because of Van Aertselaer's Eurocentric views and his predilection for medieval styles, De Moerloose had the opportunity to develop an unexpected architectural activity. From the correspondence between the two men,<sup>46</sup> it is possible to follow part of the architect's life and work: travels through an immense

38 So far 110 letters of Alphonse De Moerloose dating from 1885 to 1929 have been found; 100 are held at KADOC, C.I.C.M., the rest is in the family. See note 46.

39 The vicar apostolic was Ferdinand Hamer C.I.C.M. (1840-1900), one of the first companions of Verbist in 1865. Hamer died as a martyr of the Boxers. Van Overmeire 2008, 244.

40 According to Van Hecken 1968, 163; Liang-tcheou (October 1886), Sin-tch'eng (September 1887), K'ing-iang-fou, Ma-lin and San-che-li-p'ou

(from March 1888). See also De Moerloose 1896.

41 Sanshilipu (San-che-li-p'ou): De Moerloose 1891; De Moerloose 1892; Aubin 1983.

42 Van Hecken 1968, 162-165; Ulenaers 1994, 9-16.

43 Van Hecken 1968, 164-165. As for example in a letter with sketches, dated 20 April 1892 (KADOC, C.I.C.M. archives, F.Bis.I.De Moerloose).

44 Jerome Van Aertselaer C.I.C.M. (1845-1924), had been director of the seminary at Xiwanzi in Mongolia (1873-1885), visited Congo with the first

Scheut mission in Africa (1892-1894), and had rebuilt the motherhouse of Scheut. Van Overmeire 2008, 504. "De tweede stichter van Scheut": Knipschild 2008, 196-199.

45 Xiwanzi (Si wan tze), presently Hebei province. See: Rondelez 1938; Dieu 1944, 63.

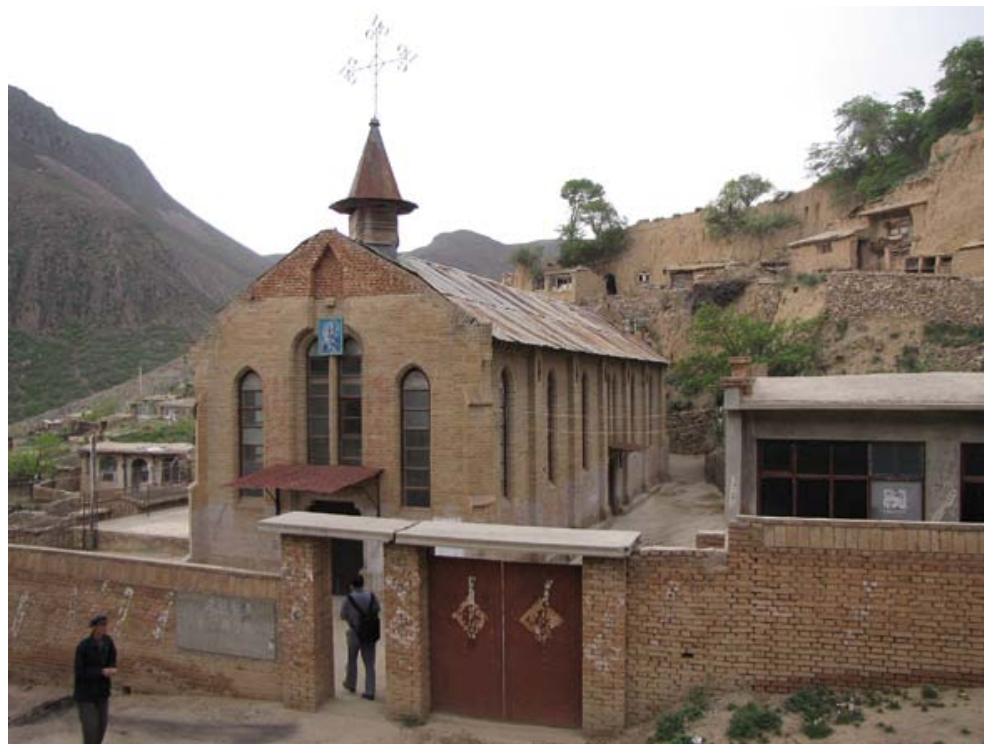
46 Held at KADOC, C.I.C.M. archives, P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14: 1901 (5 letters), 1902 (8 letters), 1903 (26 letters), 1904 (12 letters), 1905 (2 letters), 1906 (5 letters), 1907 (1 letter), 1908 (9 letters), 1909 (3 letters), 1910 (6 letters).



country, sojourns in Beijing and Tianjin to buy building materials, visits to building works, requests from Scheutists and other missionaries for plans, the permanent financial difficulties, and the caprices of the climate.

Creating a complete catalogue of De Moerloose's *oeuvre* is a challenge<sup>47</sup>. The first main reason for this is the difficulty of checking whether the buildings are still extant. Travelling in deep mainland China, especially in some parts of Hebei province and in the autonomous province of Inner Mongolia, is not always easy. Identifying places can be an insurmountable issue, because the Chinese spelling system has changed. The second main reason is the lack of archival sources: except for the aforementioned letters and some photos, the archives of the Scheutist Congregation at Leuven do not conserve plans and specific building archives<sup>48</sup>. An important part of the archives of the Scheutist Congregation in China was lost or destroyed when the missionaries left China in 1947-1954. Archives of other missionary congregations are currently less accessible<sup>49</sup>. The third main reason is specific to the furniture De Moerloose designed, which is an important part of his work. Furniture is less well documented in the photographic archive and during fieldwork it was noted that in all cases the original church furniture has been lost. Therefore, the list of works in the appendix of this article must be considered a work in progress.

Part of De Moerloose's work has contributed to building the image of the Scheutist mission in China<sup>50</sup>. Small and medium-sized parish churches (fig. 8), schools and orphanages, residences for the missionaries, houses for catechumens etc., answered the growing needs of the average Scheutist settlement<sup>51</sup>. The parish church of Shebiya, discussed later in this article, is the best-preserved example of such a church. It was built after the same plans as the church of Gaojiayingzi, the village where De Moerloose lived from 1903 to 1905 (fig. 14). Perhaps his most important works for the Scheutists were the great seminaries of Xiwanzi and Datong, both demolished, and the college of Nanhaoqian, partially preserved. The two seminary building complexes consisted of a main chapel and several wings of at least three storeys. The typical St Luke style, the brick construction with stepped gables, and the decoration system with 'Bruges bays',<sup>52</sup> gave these buildings a 'familiar resemblance', as if they had been directly imported from Flanders (fig. 9). The main seminary of the Congregation at Scheut near Brussels – where all the missionaries were educated – had been built in the same style, in phases from 1890 to 1896<sup>53</sup>. In China, the seminaries were education and training centres for native candidate priests and the teachers were European missionaries. Therefore, seminaries were important places of cultural exchange but as both the buildings and the education programmes show, until the early 1920s the model was predominantly Western<sup>54</sup>.



**FIG. 8** Example of a small single-nave church built by Alphonse De Moerloose in the parish of Huangtuliang, near Gaojiayingzi, ca 1905 (© Jean-Marc De Moerloose, May 2011).

<sup>47</sup> Current research by the authors goes beyond the works of Van Hecken 1968, Van Hecken 1970, and Ulenaers 1994, by developing a specific architectural approach, doing fieldwork, exploiting new archives, and benefiting from recent literature.

<sup>48</sup> Leuven, KADOC, C.I.C.M. archives. Inventory: Vanysacker, Van Rompaey, Bracke & Eggermont 1995.

<sup>49</sup> Trappists, held at the abbey of Sept-Fons (France), the motherhouse of Yangjiaping; Lazar-

ists, held in Paris; Jesuits, held in Vanves (France).

<sup>50</sup> 'Scheut country' (het Land van Scheut), an expression used by Raskin 1994, *passim* (a.o. 242).

<sup>51</sup> Dieu 1944, 45: "la plupart de ces bourgs avaient de belles églises bâties par le P. Demoerloose [sic]. La vie de piété était profonde; partout les écoles de garçons et de filles étaient bien organisées et régulièrement fréquentées".

<sup>52</sup> The Bruges bay is typical of Flemish late medieval brick architecture: the façade is marked with a

system of vertical pilasters including the windows of several floors of the same bay and ending with an arch, which is sometimes elaborate.

<sup>53</sup> MCC 1901, 284-289.

<sup>54</sup> From the early 1920s, Rome launched the inculturation programmes: Soetens 1997, 68-71 and 85-87. Datong (1921) was the first regional seminary opened in China.



FIG. 9 Seminar of Xiwanzi, built in Bruges style by Alphonse De Moerloose in 1902 (© KADOC, Archives C.I.C.M.).

The reputation of Alphonse De Moerloose rapidly exceeded the boundaries of the Scheut mission, and other religious congregations from neighbouring vicariates asked him to design churches<sup>55</sup>. During the same years, between 1903 and 1906, he designed the great church of Xuanhua for the Lazarist missionaries (Congregation of the Mission) and the abbey church of Yangjiaping for Trappist monks (Cistercian Order of the Strict Observance) (fig. 10). The former is the best-preserved example of a monumental church and will be discussed later in this article; the latter has been virtually completely demolished<sup>56</sup>. De Moerloose's architecture, in a pure Western medieval style, corresponded with the image the missions in China wanted to affirm at the time following the Boxer Rebellion.

Because De Moerloose was first and foremost a religious person and a missionary, he had more and more difficulty combining his architectural work, pastoral tasks and personal spiritual life. In Yangjiaping, he discovered the quality of contemplative monastic life and felt attracted by the abbey in a remote valley. Some Scheutists, opting for contemplation after having been active missionaries, entered the Trappist abbey of Yangjiaping. De Moerloose never wanted to become a monk, but wished to have his studio within the abbey precinct. From his letters there is evidence of growing tension between him and his Scheutist superiors, who assigned more pastoral work to him in the remote mission of Huangyangtan<sup>57</sup>. Nevertheless, he succeeded in building the cathedral of Yongpingfu for the Lazarists in 1908-1910<sup>58</sup>. After long discussions and deep disappointment, Alphonse De Moerloose left the Scheutist Congregation and Inner Mongolia in December 1909<sup>59</sup>. He became incardinated in the apostolic vicariate of Beijing, which meant he was dependent on the Lazarist bishop, and lived with the Trappists at Yangjiaping. He was by then 51 years old and his physical and mental health were in decline.



FIG. 10 Church of the Trappist abbey of Yangjiaping, built by Alphonse De Moerloose in 1903-1905 (© KADOC, Archives C.I.C.M.).

<sup>55</sup> Van Hecken 1968, 167-170.

<sup>56</sup> Abbey of Our Lady of Consolation at Yangjiaping / Jang kia p'ing (Hebei province). See: Jen 1978; Van Hecken 1968, 167-168; Quattrocchi 1994; Limagne 1911.

<sup>57</sup> Moreover, as was usual in the Scheutist missions, there were tensions between the vicar apostolic and the C.I.C.M. Provincial. The main reason was financial and building activities were important expenses.

<sup>58</sup> Yongpingfu / Youngpingfou / Yünpingfu (Hebei province), at the demand of vicar apostolic Ernst Franciscus Geurts, a Dutch Lazarist.

<sup>59</sup> Ulenaers 1994, 19-23.

During the following years, he found a new balance between working in his studio at Yangjiaping during the winter months and travelling to building works during the more clement seasons. His adobe house was like the cell of an eremite, containing a studio and a workshop for making models<sup>60</sup>. Between 1910 and the early 1920's De Moerloose built several great Gothic brick churches, in particular for the Lazarists in the apostolic vicariate of Beijing. In a letter to his brother dated 1914 he says: "I am the architect of the missions and always have plans to design. Now the building works have started, I must travel to all the sites and check on the works. This is not an easy task because all the workers are Chinese, but in the end it works"<sup>61</sup>. The churches of Nihewan in 1912<sup>62</sup> and Shuangshu in 1917<sup>63</sup> were considered his best works<sup>64</sup>. Shortly before Archbishop Costantini implemented the policy of integrating Chinese culture into the Catholic Church in China,<sup>65</sup> De Moerloose designed some of his major Gothic churches. In a letter to a friend dated 28 August 1924, he mentions that he is building the cathedrals of Zhengdingfu<sup>66</sup> and Fuzhou<sup>67</sup>, a great Gothic cathedral and two churches in Shanghai, as well as a new wing for the Trappist abbey of Yangjiaping<sup>68</sup>. About the Yangtze-poo church in Shanghai<sup>69</sup>, he specifies that it is like a "real Flemish parish church" (*parochiekerk, echt Vlaamsch*)<sup>70</sup>. Quite impressive for a 66-year old missionary who had recovered from serious health problems.

The last church Alphonse De Moerloose designed should have been the pinnacle of his career<sup>71</sup>. In 1924, he was asked to design a new pilgrimage basilica of Our Lady Help of the Christians, on top of Sheshan, on the outskirts of Shanghai. The first church, built by the Jesuits in 1868, became a Marian pilgrimage destination. The bishops attending the Shanghai Synod of 1924 decided to dedicate China to Our Lady and therefore revived the pilgrimage with a new construction project. De Moerloose's first design, in pure St Luke's Gothic style, was rejected. He adapted the style to a kind of medieval eclecticism, mixing elements from the early Romanesque to the late Gothic styles (figs 11 and 38). This project was accepted and built from 1925 to 1935, using reinforced concrete for the vaults and the roof structures. Father Dinitz, a Portuguese Jesuit, led the works.

De Moerloose never saw the Sheshan completed, however, as he left China in 1929.

In 1928 Alphonse De Moerloose received the cross 'For Church and Pope' (*Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice*), a prestigious papal award, from the hands of Archbishop Costantini<sup>72</sup>. In a way this was ironic, because the Apostolic Delegate to China clearly promoted an art and architecture that was different from the St Luke's Gothic style that had underpinned all of De Moerloose's work. As we shall see in the last part of this article, De Moerloose's radical opinion in the debate about Christian art in China attracted more and more criticism.

## 5 The rural parish church of Shebiya (Chabernoor)

Shebiya, the former Chabernoor,<sup>73</sup> is a village located ca 70 km south of Hohhot (Huhehaote – the Blue City), the present capital city of the autonomous province of Inner Mongolia. Shebiya is located in the plain of Toumet, a flat and open landscape favourable to agriculture. The parish church of Shebiya designed by Alphonse De Moerloose was built in 1904-1905 and escaped the waves of destruction of churches that raged from 1947 to 1949 and from 1966 to 1976 (fig. 12). It was closed from 1966 to 1980<sup>74</sup>. The village is a typical rural mission settlement, of which the Scheutists founded and developed many in the region. The strategy of the Scheutists consisted of buying land, building water management works, and distributing plots to the converted families<sup>75</sup>. Thanks to educational advantages and matrimonial policy encouraged by the missionaries, Catholic families soon formed separate communities within existing villages or moved to new places where Catholic villages were founded. No less than 95 villages depended on the mission of Chabernoor, from where the missionaries thus controlled a vast territory<sup>76</sup>.

Churches were the most important buildings of such settlements: their crosses expressed the religious identity of the inhabitants and above all the success of the mission<sup>77</sup>. Near the church of a mission village like Chabernoor there was always a house for

60 Licent 1924, 429: "Il s'est fait construire un petit ermitage à côté de la Trappe, oh! Très modeste. Les murs sont intéressants, surtout étant donnée la compétence de l'architecte; ils sont tout simplement en terre mêlée de chaux ordinaire, battue en prismes (...) Le Père trouve ces murs solides, et parfaitement adaptés au pays, frais en été et chauds en hiver. C'est ainsi qu'il a voulu installer son logis, son bureau d'architecte, et son atelier de modelage et d'ajustage pour la confection de maquettes".

61 Private archive, Letter by A. De Moerloose to his brother Joseph, 23 April 1914: "Il y a plus de quatre mois que je réside dans la grande ville de Pékin, comme vous le savez je suis l'architecte des missions et j'ai toujours des plans à faire pour tous côtés. Maintenant tout cela est en construction, il faut voyager de tous côtés pour aller examiner les travaux et ce n'est pas chose facile car tous mes ouvriers sont chinois, mais cela marche".

62 Nihewan / Ni-ho-wan (Hebei), see: Van Hecken 1968, 169.

63 The church of Shuangshu / Shuangshuzi / Chouang-chou-tzeu (Hebei province) unfortunately

burned down in 2009; only two towers survived and are included in a new much larger church, as we saw in May 2011. See: Licent 1924, 457-459 and PL. 22; BCP 1931, 96-99; Ulenaers 1994, 41-43; Van Hecken 1968, 170.

64 The church descriptions by the Jesuit Émile Licent are precise and indicative. Reproduced in Van Hecken 1968 and Ulenaers 1994.

65 From 1924 to 1926, see: Chong 2008; Ticozzi 2008.

66 Zhengdingfu / Chengtingfu / Tchong-ting-fou (Hebei province), built in 1924-1925 at the demand of vicar apostolic Franciscus Hubertus Schraven, a Dutch Lazarist.

67 Fuzhou / Fouchow (Fujian), at the demand of vicar apostolic Francisco Aguirre Murga, a Portuguese Dominican.

68 KADOC, C.I.C.M., T.I.a.14.3.2. Letter by A. De Moerloose to A. Van de Vyvere, 28 August 1924: "Ik heb tegenwoordig in gang de Kathedraal van Chang ting fu, die van Fou chow, groote gothieke Kathedraal en twee kerken in Shanghai, daarbij nog het Trappisten klooster".

69 Yang-zu-pou on the 1933 map 'Shanghai Catholique'.

70 KADOC, C.I.C.M., T.I.a.14.3.2. Letter by A. De Moerloose to A. Van de Vyvere, 28 August 1924: "K'heb voor de Yangtze poo een plan gemaakt voor [een] parochiekerk, echt Vlaamsch, pater Verhaeghe helpt mede".

71 Ulenaers 1994, 44-47 and xiv.

72 Van Hecken 1968, 176-177.

73 Also spelled Shabor-noor / Chabornoor / Sabernoor / Chabernoor. Part of the mission district of Toumet.

74 Under the northern window, on a great black stone slab, historical information about the church is written in Chinese calligraphy (5 August 2007).

75 Zhang, Sun & Zhang 2009.

76 Lievens 2003, 317.

77 Walmacq 1906, 281: "(...) et je rêvais d'un bel avenir, d'une chrétienté florissante, d'une tour dont la flèche, surmontée de la croix, dominerait au loin l'immense plaine mongole (...)".



FIG. 11 Basilica of Our Lady of Sheshan at Shanghai, designed by Alphonse De Moerlose in 1924 (© THOC, June 2011).



FIG. 12 Church of Shebiya, built by Alphonse De Moerlose in 1904-1905, viewed from the west (© THOC, May 2011).



FIG. 13 Ruins of the church of Shebiya after destruction by the Boxers in 1900 (*Missions en Chine et au Congo*, 1902).

the priest (the 'residence'), a Lourdes grotto, a small school, and an orphanage of the Holy Childhood (*Sainte-Enfance*). The latter was an important part of the Scheutists' apostolate. Because of the grinding poverty of the people, babies, especially girls, were often abandoned at birth. These were saved, baptised and educated by native Catholic semi-religious auxiliaries known as 'virgins'<sup>78</sup>, and, once grown into adulthood, would marry Catholic men and found Catholic families in the Catholic villages. It is precisely those villages that the Boxers attacked around 1900 because they were considered expressions of Western imperialism, but also because they were prosperous. Scheutist church fathers organised the defence: they built earth walls around the villages, and bought good rifles and pistols. Such was a typical missionary village in the Scheut mission.

At the time of the Scheutists, Shebiya was flourishing and the missionary Conrad Eyck dedicated the village to St Benedict, a saint the Scheutists had a special veneration for, and renamed the village 'Chabernoor Saint-Benoît'. During the Boxer Rebellion

in 1900, the Toumet region was completely ravaged<sup>80</sup>. In Chabernoor, 310 Christians were massacred and while about 1500 escaped death, the church and all the houses of Christians were demolished<sup>81</sup>. The Scheutist mission journal published pictures of the ruined church and residence (fig. 13) that attest to the violence of the destruction<sup>82</sup>. Missionaries Jozef Arckens and Henri Van Damme rekindled life in the devastated village and region, but conditions were very harsh as everything was lacking: tools, seeds, clothes and housing<sup>83</sup>. Rebuilding the church, therefore, was not a priority. On 9 November 1903, two monuments commemorating the martyrs were erected between the villages of Chabernoor and Erchejazi (the former Eulchekiatze)<sup>84</sup>. Over the following decades, Chabernoor developed its missionary activities with a school that counted about 300 boys in 1937 and an orphanage for about 60 children<sup>85</sup>.

In a letter to his superior dated 6 October 1903, Father Alphonse De Moerloose complains he is overworked and enumerates all the churches he is asked plans for. Among other

<sup>78</sup> Hustin 1905.

<sup>79</sup> KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.20: Letters by C. Eyck to J. Van Aertselaer, 8 September 1899, and 14 January 1900: "déjà maintenant je remercie de tout cœur pour l'autorisation de pouvoir honorer ce bon saint comme patron secondaire de la chrétienté et l'église de Chabernoor, village que nous appellerons dorénavant Chabernoor St. Benoît".

<sup>80</sup> Arckens 1902, 116: "Cette mission du T'ou-met, où – nous l'avons vus de nos yeux – pas une église, pas une école, pas une maison chrétienne n'est restée debout (...)"

<sup>81</sup> Arckens 1902, 113: "Chez moi [Chabernoor], le nombre des échappés est d'environ 1500, et celui des martyrs s'élève à 310. (...) De toutes les maisons chrétiennes du village, pas une n'est restée debout"; Arckens 1913, 533.

<sup>82</sup> MCC 1902, pl.h.t. 16-17.

<sup>83</sup> KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.48: Letter by H. Van Damme to J. Van Aertselaer, Chabernoor

25 July 1902: "Ici tout a été perdu, tout dévasté. Au commencement on a mal partagé l'argent il est vrai. Ceux qui étaient fortunés se sont reconstruits trop de maisons (...) il faut noter qu'il y a des besoins de tout (...) graines, vêtements, outils, et reconstruire les maisons".

<sup>84</sup> Arckens 1905, 122: "En conséquence, nous construisîmes, à trois cents mètres de notre village de Chabernoor, deux petits édifices comprenant chacun trois travées. Les toitures sont en tuiles, luxe très grand dans ces parages. Un mur d'enceinte pas encore terminé, se trouve percé par une porte monumentale dont le tympan, très développé, comporte un véritable tableau en haut relief où se voient, profondément sculptés dans la pierre bleue, des branches chargées de fleurs. C'est une merveille devant laquelle s'extasient tous les passants. Dans le premier des deux édifices, ouverts en façade comme des vérandas et divisés en trois parts par des colonnes soutenant la toiture, sont placées deux stèles, obélisques trapus, portant des

inscriptions. La première de ces pierres, sise à gauche, place d'honneur en Chine, est dédiée à sa Grandeur Mgr Van Aertselaer, notre digne évêque, ainsi qu'aux prêtres actuels d'Eul-che-kia-tze. L'inscription témoigne du repentir des païens qui implorent leur pardon. L'autre stèle, celle de droite, vise, dans le même sens, les chrétiens survivants. Trois stèles se dressent dans le second édifice. Celle du milieu célèbre la mémoire des PP. Abbeloos et Zylmans, martyrisés au Heou pa, mais auparavant missionnaires en notre district, et dont nos gens conservent un souvenir attendri. Sur les stèles de droite et de gauche sont gravés les noms de nos chrétiens martyrs, à gauche les hommes, à droite les femmes. L'inauguration solennelle eut lieu le 9 novembre 1903".

<sup>85</sup> See note 74. This source mentions the names of several Belgian and Chinese priests: Jozef Arckens, Henri Van Damme (1903), Kang (1929), Fan Shouxin (1945-1949), Zhang Zhiling (1995) and Zhu Fengchen (2007).

things he mentions that Father Hustin asked him for plans for a new church in Chabernoor<sup>86</sup>. Father Arthur Hustin, the new parish priest of Chabernoor, had fought courageously against the Boxers and acquired the status of a hero<sup>87</sup>. In February 1904, he was still waiting for the plans and became nervous because he had to organise the works. Interestingly, the expected plans were in fact copies of the plans of the church of Gaojiayingzi which De Moerloose was building at that moment<sup>88</sup>. Chabernoor is again mentioned in a to-do list of the overworked architect in March 1904<sup>89</sup>. Two months later, Father Hustin had run out of patience and a long letter outlines the moves he made to obtain the plans<sup>90</sup>. This letter gives us precious information about the organisation of the building works. Around a hundred workers arrived in the village to build the church: brick makers, masons and stone carvers. The first group built a kiln and began to make bricks, but the latter two needed plans and clearly defined tasks to be able to start work. The key person at the site seems to have been the foreman, named Master Yao (Yao shi fu). Trained by the architect, he had already built the church of Gaojiayingzi; he knew the measurements and was able to give instructions to the stone carvers<sup>91</sup>. Yao thus had a crucial role as the ‘translator’ of the architect’s project into a real building, made by native workers and craftsmen. We could consider him an agent of cultural transfer, which certainly was a challenge in a country where the building traditions were completely different. From a letter dated 22 May 1904 we may deduce that the missionary-architect eventually produced the plans and that work could commence<sup>92</sup>. He specifies that “it will be a convenient church, if the instructions are followed”, which means that Fa-

ther De Moerloose would not come to Shebiya and entrusted the coordination to his foreman Yao (fig. 14). At that time the architect lived in Gaojiayingzi, was designing the college of Nanhaoqian, and regularly had to visit the sites of the large urban church of Xuanhua and of the Trappist abbey church of Yangjiaping, both located in Hebei province.

Building a church was a challenge for the parish priest because the local community had to provide or buy the building materials, pay the salaries and feed the professional workers (masons, carvers and carpenters). Finding bricks in a region where all the buildings were in adobe required firstly brick makers who would make the bricks on the spot, and secondly enough wood to fuel the kilns<sup>93</sup>. The metal sheets for the roofs had to be acquired in Shanghai or Tianjin and were transported by train<sup>94</sup>. If stone was used, like in Shebiya, good blocks had to be found in quarries and brought to the building site where they were carved. Missionaries gradually developed great experience, allowing them to build Western architecture with the raw materials available in China<sup>95</sup>.

The church stands in the middle of the village of Shebiya; in accordance with Chinese tradition, its main entrance is south-facing. A brick wall surrounds the church, the residence of the priest and a small field. Today, the only entrance gate is on the northern side of the enclosed area, in the axis of the choir, opening to the village’s dung heap (fig. 15). In other words, the visitor first encounters the sanctuary of the church, which is a straight chevet with a large round arched window, now blocked. Old photos however show that the church was built on a fenced terrace

86 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 6 October 1903: “(...) *Le R.P. Lemmens (procureur) est chargé de la reconstruction de l’église d’XXIV tsing ti [Ershiqingdi] et me demande des plans. De même le T.R. Père Provincial pour Hang,houo.ti; les R.P. Vonke pour Tsi.sou.mou et Hustin pour Sabernoor (...)*”.

87 MCC 1901, 32, 132, 193-194, 217; MCC 1902, 15-17; Van Overmeire 2008, 261; Raskin 1994, 252.

88 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.27. Letter by A. Hustin to J. Van Aertselaer, 14 February 1904: “(...) *J’attends toujours le plan de l’église de Kao Kia ing Tzen. Ce retard est assez désagréable. Car c’est le moment d’acheter les matériaux. J’écris encore au Père De Moerloose et je vous serais bien reconnaissant, si vous aviez la bonté de l’avertir. Peut-être le Père De Moerloose n’attend-il qu’un mot de Votre Grandeur (...)*”.

89 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter of A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 9 March 1904: “(...) *S’il faut ajouter à cela Tai.hai, Chabernoor, Tsi.sou.mou, Pe.hoa kou etc., il y aura suffisamment de besogne pour cette saison. (...)*”.

90 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.27. Letter by A. Hustin to J. Van Aertselaer, 21 May 1904: “(...) *À mon retour, ici, le courrier était parti et je trouvais une lettre du R.P. Provincial m’invitant à aller avec le Yao chenn fou au Tai.hai pour voir le Père Architecte qui trop pressé ne pouvait venir jusqu’ici. J’avais un courrier à San.kai pour appeler le Yao chenn.fou qui nous arriva le mercredi veille de l’Ascension. Le vendredi je parlais avec lui pour Tai.hai où nous arrivions le samedi à midi pour n’y point voir le P. De*

*Moerloose qui pressé était parti la veille en envoyant les plans à Chabernoor. Père Yao restera quatre ou cinq jours au Tai.hai pour mettre le R.P. Provincial au courant puis reviendra ici pour la même chose. Pour moi, le mardi je remontais à cheval, il faisait trop mauvais le lundi, et le mercredi à 11 heure du matin j’étais à Chabernoor, l’après midi les fondations étaient commencées (...)*”.

91 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.27. Letter by A. Hustin to J. Van Aertselaer, 21 May 1904: “(...) *Le R.P. Provincial croyait déjà le Yao.chenn.fou ici! Mais c’est toute une histoire! et puisque j’en suis aujourd’hui aux histoires ennuyeuses, je la conte aussi. Il y a environ trois semaines, voilà que m’arrivent au K’ou.ly, les briquetiers, les maçons, les tailleurs de pierre etc. plus de 100 ouvriers en tout. Les briquetiers passent encore, ils commencent les fours à briques etc mais les autres, je n’avais ni plans ni mesures! et il faisait si bon! Je mets les maçons à la construction de deux nouvelles chambres et à l’achèvement de la Ste Enfance (église provisoire). Et j’écris au P. De Boeck que je lui serais bien reconnaissant s’il voulait m’envoyer le Yao pour quelques jours, il a bâti Kao kia in tze et il connaît les mesures, il me rendrait donc service pour les pierres de taille et les autres matériaux. Oh bien ouï! Zut, comme dirait le Père Mortier! Il me répond que le Père De Moerloose et ses plans n’étant pas là, il n’est pas nécessaire que le Yao chenn fou vienne!! D’où je conclus que si le P. De Moerloose et les plans avaient été là il eût été nécessaire que le Yao chenn fou y fût aussi. Peu flatteur pour le Père Architecte De Moerloose! Foudroyé par une pareille argumentation, je lui envoie un nouvel*

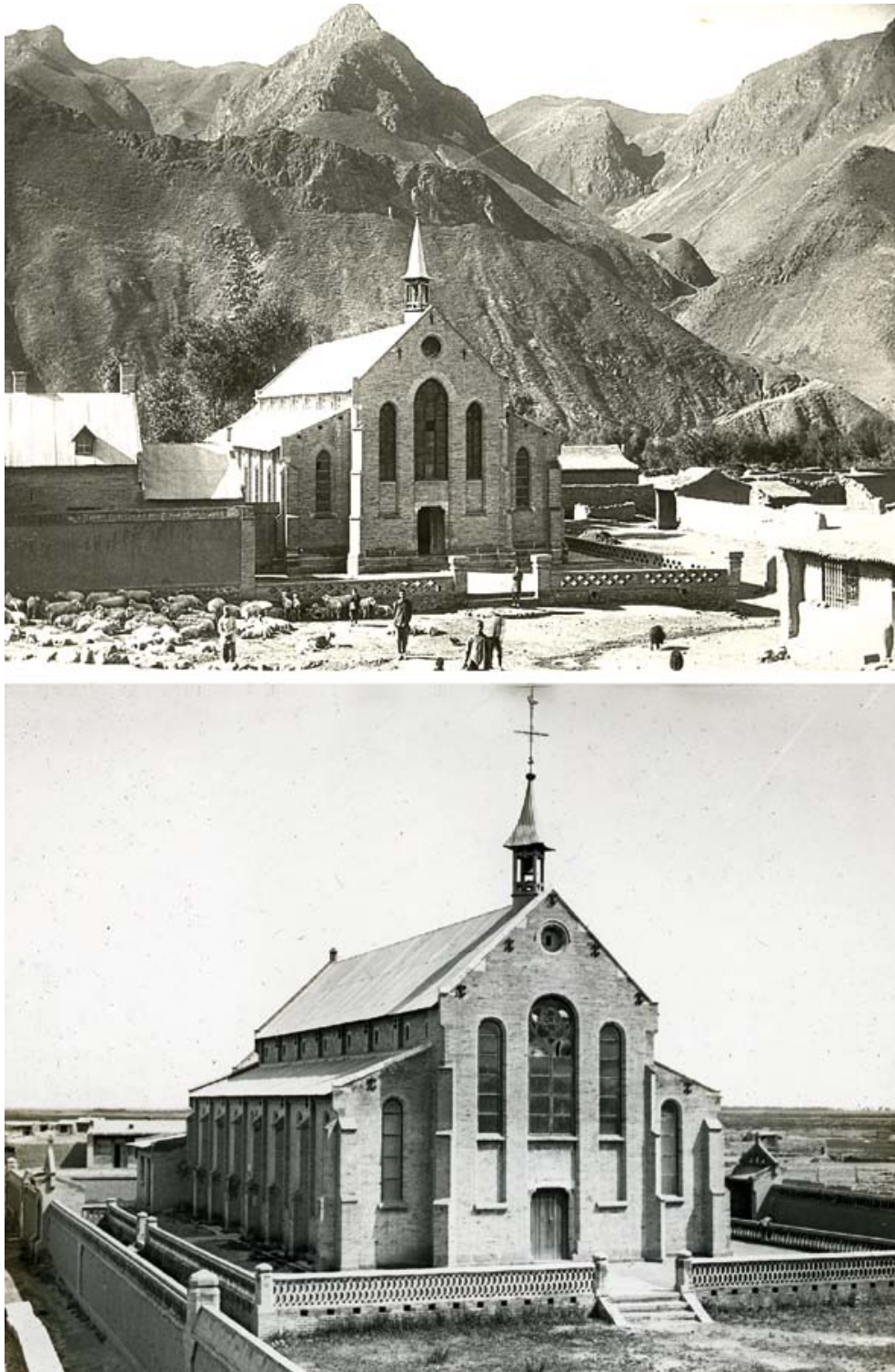
*express qui reste sans réponse; après trois ou quatre jours de vaine attente, je lui écrivais de nouveau que je lui serais infiniment reconnaissant s’il avait la bonté de me faire savoir s’il pouvait m’envoyer le Yao ou non. Le surlendemain le Yao arrivait mais pour deux jours seulement! C’était peu, mais grâce à cela mes matériaux sont prêts du moins les plus nécessaires et les ouvriers ne devront pas attendre (...)*”.

92 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 22 May 1904: “(...) *Je suis revenu de l’ouest mercredi passé. À Hiang.houo.ti, je n’ai pas trouvé le Yao.chenn.fou; la lettre adressée au Père Hustin sera restée à Chabernoor pendant son absence; il était allé à T’ouo.tching. J’ai remis tous les plans et renseignements nécessaires au R.P. Provincial. Si l’on suit les données, il y aura une église convenable (...)*”.

93 Schmetz 1905, 125: “(...) *cette année j’ai dû concentrer tous mes efforts à la reconstitution de Sapeul, (...). La besogne en perspective est effrayante, par manque d’argent d’abord, et puis parce que ces constructions en briques – on les veut ainsi pour la solidité – demeurent un travail incroyable, en un pays où les beaux édifices sont en terre gâchée*”.

94 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 13 April 1903, about the church of Gaojiayingzi: “(...) *Il n’y a à craindre que le manque de tôles qui doivent arriver de Shanghai, retard qui occasionnerait une interruption dans les travaux et exposerait la charpente à la pluie et au soleil*”.

95 *Le missionnaire constructeur*, 1926.



**FIG. 14** The 'twin churches' of Gaojiayingzi (above) and Shebiya (under) just after completion, 1903-1905 (© KADOC, Archives C.I.C.M.).



FIG. 15 Church of Shebiya from the north (© THOC, May 2011).

(fig. 14) and that the main entrance to the compound was on the southern side, in accordance with Chinese tradition. The images also show eastern and western entrances to the walled court around the church.

The design of the church is very simple. The plan consists of a nave of seven bays flanked with aisles and ending in a straight-ended sanctuary (fig. 16). At the southern end, the façade of the nave is not aligned with the aisles; there is no transept and no tower. The total interior length of the church measures 26 m and the width 11 m; the width off the nave is 5.5 m. The 4 m deep sanctuary is as wide as the nave but a little less high; a round chancel arch separates the sanctuary from the nave. Two rows of six square piers wearing round arches separate the nave and the aisles (fig. 17). Above the arches, the side walls of the nave consist of a reduced clerestory supporting a simple wooden hammer beam structure. The upper part of the saddle roof above the tie beam is closed with a ceiling. The aisles are covered with simple lean-to roofs of which the tie beams are visible. The aisles are 5.5 m high, the ceiling of the nave 8.45 m, and the arches of the nave 4.7 m. The walls are 47 cm thick and are supported with buttresses of the same width. Tie rods fixed with anchors reinforce each truss of the nave and of the aisles. On the top of the roof of the southern bay, a little open spire is surmounted with a cross. There is no longer a bell.

The main entrance to the church is in the centre of the southern façade and two side doors are located in the fourth bay of the aisles. A square sacristy is annexed to the eastern side of the sanctuary and traces of a symmetrical annex are visible on the western side. All the windows are round-arched but of different sizes: the chevet of the sanctuary has a large and high window, now blocked, and is lightened from the sides by two couples of small windows. The southern façade of the nave is pierced by three windows, the central being a little larger and higher. Each bay of the aisles has a narrow window, except for the fourth bay where two small windows are located above the lintels of the lateral doors. Fourteen tiny rectangular windows pierce the clerestory on each side. The brown painted framework of the windows and the doors appears to be original.

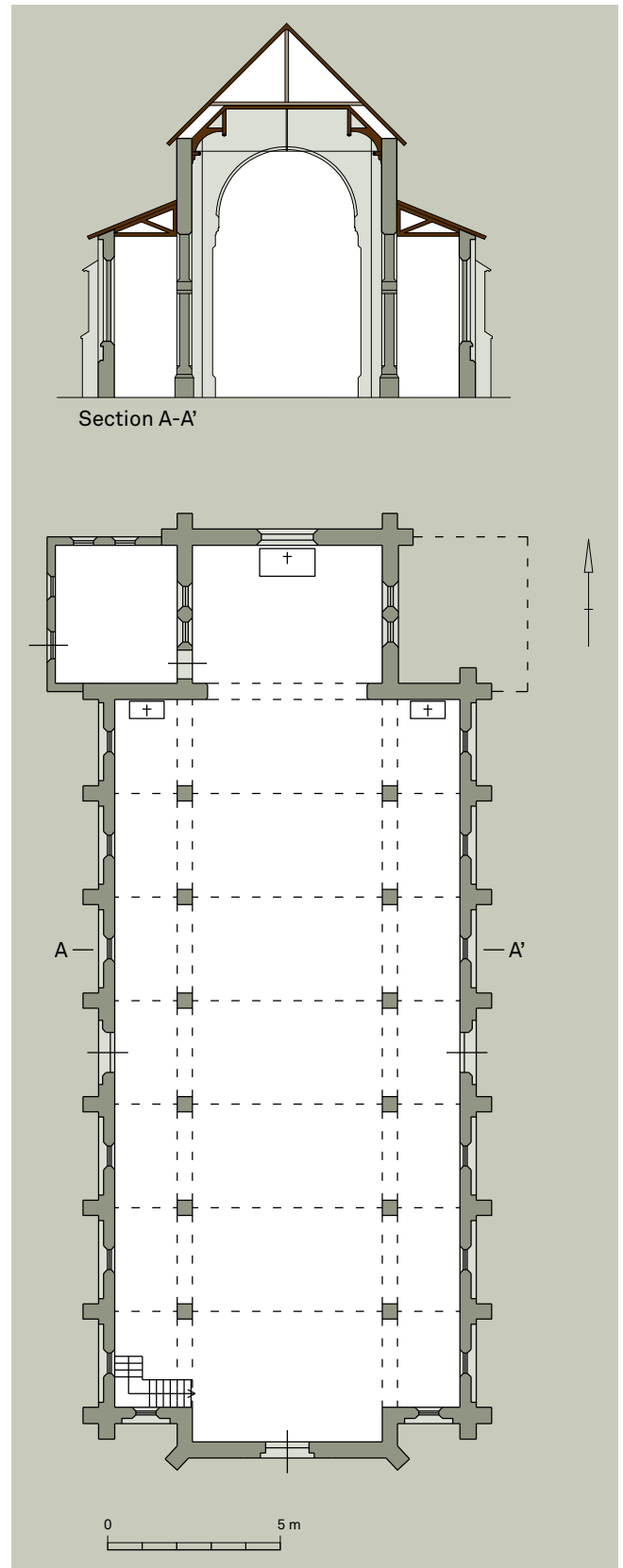


FIG. 16 Church of Shebiya, plan and cross-section (measurement, © authors 2011).





FIG. 17 Church of Shebiya, interior view from the south (© THOC, May 2011).



FIG. 18 Church of Shebiya, detail of the brickwork of the western façade (© THOC, May 2011).



**FIG. 19** Church of Shebiya, piers of the nave and western aisle (© THOC, May 2011).



**FIG. 20** Church of Shebiya, interior view with original furniture, before 1940 (© KADOC, Archives C.I.C.M.).

This modular church is built with bricks measuring 29.5/30 cm x 14.2/14.5 cm x 6.4/6.5 cm, assembled in English bond<sup>96</sup>. Inside, the walls are plastered and white-washed; outside, the visible brickwork is meticulously assembled. Following an economy of material, the thickness of the walls varies according to the function of the structural position: 1 brick around the windows, 1.5 brick for the plinth and pilasters on the outer side, and 3 bricks for the buttresses (fig. 18). At the top of the walls, a simple corbelled cornice gives the wall a continuous thickness of 1.5 brick, which is necessary to fix the wall plate of the timber structure. The only profile is a simple 45° chamfer. The use of stone is limited to the piers of the nave, having a square section with chamfered angles, and supporting rectangular capitals with simple astragal (fig. 19). The piers are painted, but the rough texture of the blocks suggests that the stone is a kind of hard sandstone. Blocks of the same dark brown stone are used as bases of the jambs of the main door and for the profiled corbels of the three doors. The lintels are of light yellow limestone. The pavement of the church has been renewed with rectangular tiles in various colours.

Like in most churches in China, the original furniture was lost during the Cultural Revolution and the new furniture is of poor quality. One old interior view gives us important indications about the furniture and the spatial division of the church (fig. 20). The walls are white-washed and the wooden furniture is in Gothic style. Originally, there were three altars in the church: the main altar with the tabernacle in the sanctuary, and two side altars, in the first bay of the aisles, dedicated to the Holy Heart of Jesus and to the Holy Virgin of Lourdes. A first communion rail was located between the first and the second bay of the nave, where the two steps of the sanctuary can still be seen. A second communion rail was located between the fourth and the fifth bay. The Gothic tracery decoration of the first communion rail was more elaborate than that of the second one. In accordance with gender separation in Chinese churches at the time of the Scheutists,<sup>97</sup> men entered the church from the side doors and occupied the three northern bays of the nave close to the sanctuary, while women used the southern entrance and occupied the three southern bays of the nave and the wooden tribune of the first bay. A staircase located

<sup>96</sup> A combination of headers and stretchers, laid in alternate courses in the face.

<sup>97</sup> Nuyts 1938, 217; KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.1.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J.

Van Aertselaer, 18 February 1904.

in the last bay of the western aisle leads to the tribune of which the wooden fence has been renewed. No baptistry has survived.

The honest, economical and well-built church of Shebiya reflects a basic type of Puginesque or St Luke parish church<sup>98</sup>. As has been said, Alphonse De Moerloose had first designed the plans for the church of Gaojiayingzi, a village in the mountains of Hebei province. This church has been demolished, but there are some surviving photographs and letters by the architect giving details of the building works in 1902 and 1903. Shebiya and Gaojiayingzi were identical in all respects except that the arches of the former are round and those of the latter were pointed (fig. 14).

## 6 The cathedral of Xuanhua (Suen hoa fou)

In 1903, the Lazarists asked Alphonse De Moerloose to design plans for a great church in Xuanhua<sup>99</sup> (fig. 21). This town is located in the province of Hebei, some 170 km north-west of Beijing, only 30 km from Zhangjiakou (Kalgan). Xuanhua initially belonged to the apostolic vicariate of Beijing that was ruled by the French Lazarists of the *Congrégation des Missions*<sup>100</sup>. The correspondence between Alphonse De Moerloose and his superior Jerome Van Aertselaer allows us to follow the chronology and learn about building practices<sup>101</sup>.



FIG. 21 Church of Xuanhua just after completion, view from the south-west, 1906 (© KADOC, Archives C.I.C.M.).

<sup>98</sup> The distribution of such a basic Puginesque type is fascinating. For example, the church of the Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary at Ballyhooly (Cork), Ireland, built in 1867-1870 by architects George C. Ashlin and Edward Welby Pugin, is a twin of the churches of Shebiya and Gaojiayingzi (*Irish Builder*, 9, 1867, 120). More general: Hill

2006.

<sup>99</sup> Numerous spellings: Suan hua (fou) / Suen hua (fou) / Suan hoa fou (fou) / Siuen hoa (fou) / Siouen-hao-fou / Suien hoa (fou) / Hsüan-Hua-Fu / Süanhwa / Suanhwafu (latin).

<sup>100</sup> Planchet 1927. The two vicars apostolic of Northern Chi-Li (Beijing) involved in the building

works at Xuanhua were: Pierre-Marie-Alphonse Favier C.M. (1837-1905), vicar apostolic from 1899 to 1905, and Stanislas-François Jarlin C.M. (1856-1933), vicar apostolic from 1905 to 1933.

<sup>101</sup> Additional sources are held in the mission archives of the Lazarists in Paris, but these archives are not currently accessible.

The Lazarist missionary Gustave Vanhersecke,<sup>102</sup> parish priest of Xuanhua, made the first contact with the architect. On 5 February 1903, De Moerloose asked Monseigneur Van Aertselaer permission to work for another congregation in another province<sup>103</sup>. By the end of March the design was completed and submitted to the bishop of Beijing<sup>104</sup>. In all likelihood there was great enthusiasm and on the 7th of April the order was given to start work as soon as possible<sup>105</sup>. Because of the importance of the building, the architect often needed to visit the site and therefore required new authorisations from his superiors. Due to the climate, it was not possible to work during the long winter months, which meant maximum availability was required from the architect during the summer months in order to stimulate the workers. In letters dated 14th May and 17th June, De Moerloose is planning visits to Xuanhua to inspect the foundations<sup>106</sup>. This inspection was necessary because the Chinese foreman had pretended to have built a solid foundation with a few stones and a lot of mud!<sup>107</sup> At the same time the architect was designing the elevation<sup>108</sup>. The Lazarists were very pleased with his work, officially thanked his Scheutist superior for making him avail-

able, and also pleading to allow De Moerloose to design an abbey church for the Trappists of Yangjiaping,<sup>109</sup> which he would go on to do. After several more visits,<sup>110</sup> the architect noted before the beginning of the winter that the work progressed well: the columns of the nave were already erected with stones that had been carved at Gaojiayingzi and transported to Xuanhua<sup>111</sup>. Over the winter the architect drew up further plans and prepared the work for the next season<sup>112</sup>. In a letter dated 9 March 1904, he says that work will start on the first day of the second Chinese moon, that designing the details of the stones is hard work, and that some building materials and tools are lacking and have to be bought in Beijing or Tianjin<sup>113</sup>. The beginning of the war between the Russians and the Japanese in February 1904 was a new cause for concern<sup>114</sup>. At the end of June, the architect mentions a long journey to all his building works in progress<sup>115</sup>. The letters do not contain information about Xuanhua from June 1904 until June 1906. At that time the architect writes that soon the work at Xuanhua would no longer require his presence: the great window of the main façade was nearly completed and he could leave instructions for the interior painting<sup>116</sup>. The architect was

**102** Gustave Alphonse Jérôme Vanhersecke C.M. [sometimes Van Hersecke], born at Esquelbecq (Wormhout) in 1867, entered the Lazarists in 1888, was ordained priest in 1894 and arrived in China in September 1894. According to the correspondence, he became a friend of A. De Moerloose and the key contact with the Lazarist Congregation. From 1912 Vanhersecke would be at Beitang in Beijing. Van den Brandt 1936, II, n° 360.

**103** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 5 February 1903: “Monseigneur Favier [vicar apostolic of Beijing] étant malade, l’on me demande un plan d’église pour Sien.hou.fou, v[otre] Gr[andeur] approuve t’elle que je le fasse?”

**104** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 24 March 1903: “J’ai envoyé le projet d’église à Suan Hoa fou; Monsieur Van Hersecke en est enthousiaste et envoie un homme à Pékin pour demander de commencer de suite”.

**105** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 7 April 1903: “Hier soir je reçois la visite de Monsieur Van Hersecke qui désire commencer son église le plus tôt possible; il est resté un jour ici pour nous entendre concernant les moyens à prendre pour faciliter l’exécution. Mr Van Hersecke m’attend chez lui le mercredi après Pâques pour faire commencer les travaux; je prie Votre Grandeur de bien vouloir m’accorder cette permission, par après il sera encore nécessaire d’y passer de temps en temps”.

**106** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 14 May 1903: “Il serait nécessaire que j’aille à Suien hoa dans le courant de la semaine prochaine pour examiner les fondements qu’on pose en ce moment. Monseigneur Jarlin me demande de vouloir examiner l’église construite à Chang.tchouang qui est sur la route de Suien hoa”. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 17 June 1903: “Messieurs Van Hersecke et Ligny sont arrivés ici hier; les travaux de l’église avancent vite et il faut que j’y aille pour ne pas arrêter les ouvriers”.

**107** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 30 June

1903: “Quant aux fondements j’avais dit et répété au Père Chinois comment il fallait faire et l’avait bien compris; seulement il avait voulu faire mieux. Les chrétiens avaient déjà averti Mr Van Hersecke que ce n’était pas fait comme on l’avait dit; là dessus ce Monsieur vient me voir et je me rends en ville avec lui et Mr Ligny. Arrivé là-bas je trouve tous les fondements achevés et cela après 15 jours; je fis creuser et je trouve que c’est simplement de la boue avec l’une ou l’autre pierre. Il a donc fallu recommencer tout et le Père Chinois a été révoqué de ses fonctions d’inspecteur de travaux et remplacé par Mr Ligny. Depuis j’ai envoyé d’ici mon contre-maître et trois bons maçons”.

**108** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 9 June 1903: “bientôt on fera le tracé de l’élevation à Suan.hoa.fou”.

**109** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.2.4.1 (copy P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14). Letter by G. Van Hersecke to J. Van Aertselaer, 22 June 1903: “Je suis heureux d’avoir cette occasion de vous renouveler, Monseigneur, l’expression de mon entière reconnaissance pour le service que votre Grandeur nous rend, en permettant au P. De Moerloose de se charger des constructions de Suen.hoa.fou. Ah! Que ne peut-il veiller sur place à l’exécution de son magnifique plan! L’ouvrage aurait tout à gagner et ma tranquillité aussi. Mais je n’ai pas le droit d’abuser”.

**110** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 15 September 1903: “Je compte partir demain mercredi pour Suan.hoa.fou”.

**111** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 6 October 1903: “L’église de Huien.hoa.fou est en bonne voie: les colonnes sont debout et l’on conduit les pierres préparées ici. Je devrai y aller encore bientôt pour le placement de ces pierres et puis l’hiver arrêtera la maçonnerie. L’année prochaine tout sera fini avec la résidence (du futur vic[aire] ap[ostolique])”.

**112** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 18 February 1904: “Les dessins pour l’église de Suien-hoa-fou sont en partie achevés et expédiés ainsi que pour les P. Trappistes”.

**113** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 9 March 1904: “Les travaux de construction de l’église de Suan.hou.fou seront repris le 1<sup>er</sup> de la 2<sup>e</sup> lune chinoise. Une construction de cette importance avec des ouvriers chinois demandera des soins et des visites assez rapprochées. Les Pères Trappistes commenceront vers la même date. Pour ces deux ouvrages, il manque certains matériaux, instruments et autres accessoires à acheter soit à Pékin soit à Tien tsing. Monsieur Van Hersecke et les Pères Trappistes me demandent de faire le voyage à leur frais et d’acheter tout ce qui est nécessaire pour assurer la bonne marche des travaux. Une quinzaine de tailleurs de pierre m’arriveront ces jours-ci; le tracé des pierres est une besogne assez compliquée qui demande du temps. (...) je me mettrai en route après Pâques pour Suan.hoa.fou, Pékin, La Trappe. Je pourrais ainsi faire en sorte que rien ne manque à ces travaux”.

**114** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 25 April 1904: “En revenant j’irai à Pe.hoa.kan, Suen.hoa.fou et La Trappe, de tous côtés on est à construire, plut à Dieu que nous puissions continuer en paix surtout durant la guerre Russo-Japonaise. Une victoire du Japon pourrait nous être nuisible”.

**115** KADOC, C.I.C.M., F.III.a.7. De Moerloose. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 20 June 1904: “Je reviens d’une tournée où nous avons mis toutes ces bâtisses à l’œuvre. Chabernoer, Tai.hai, Tsi.sou.mou, Pe.hoa.kou, trappistes et Suen.hoa.fou. Cette dernière construction est la plus avancée et la plus importante”.

**116** KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, Suien.hoa.fou, 18 June 1906: “Prochainement les travaux de l’église de Suen.hoa pourront se passer de ma présence; il y a encore la grande fenêtre du sud et le perron à l’entrée ainsi que les indications pour la peinture qui demandent beaucoup de soins; après cela je pourrai quitter pour me rendre où votre Grandeur désirera. S’il était conforme à ses désirs que je prenne quelque temps de repos, je le ferai après avoir achevé ici; sinon je me rendrais à l’endroit que votre Grandeur voudra bien m’indiquer”.



FIG. 22 Church of Xuanhua, south façade (© THOC, May 2011).

overworked and urgently needed rest<sup>117</sup>. By mid-July 1906 he left Xuanhua,<sup>118</sup> but returned in October<sup>119</sup>. By the end of the year he was able to distribute photos of the completed churches of Xuanhua and Yangjiaping<sup>120</sup>.

As was usual in China, the church is oriented north-south, i.e. with its main entrance south-facing (fig. 22). The huge central window with refined tracery flanked by two smaller windows and two round bell towers affirm the Gothic character of the main façade. The church is traditional in plan, with a nave of five bays flanked with aisles, a large transept with square arms on both sides of a square crossing, and a deep choir of two aisled

bays followed by two simple bays ending in a five-sided polygonal apse (fig. 23). The aisles of the choir serve as side chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary to the west and to St Joseph to the east. The modular composition is based on a square of 3.5 x 3.5 m: 1 module for a bay of an aisle, 2 modules for a bay of the nave, and 4 modules for the crossing. The design of the elevation is based on the same proportions: 2 modules-high aisles and a 4 modules-high nave. The stone columns with polygonal bases and crocket capitals support ogee arches. The level between the arcade and the clerestory is a blind wall that is only animated with stone engaged shafts rising until the foot of the tie beams. Beautiful dark varnished wooden barrel vaults cover the entire church: the high

117 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, Suien.hoa.fou, 1 July 1906: “Je remercie votre Grandeur de ce qu’elle veuille me permettre de prendre quelques repos après l’achèvement des travaux de Suien.hoa.fou. Il y a longtemps que je souffre des crises de nerfs et maux d’estomac; mais depuis l’hiver passé jusqu’à maintenant ces crises se sont accentuées de plus en plus. Insomnies, frayeurs, palpitations, idées noires, tout un cortège de misères; il m’est arrivé trois fois d’avoir de ces crises et vertiges pendant la S[ain]te messe et de

devoir l’interrompre”.

118 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 11 July 1906: “compte partir dans quelques jours pour Suien.hoa etc”.

119 KADOC, C.I.C.M., P.I.a.1.2.5.1.5.14. Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, Suien.hoa.fou, 8 October 1906: “Monseigneur, Depuis plusieurs semaines Monsieur Van Hersecke m’avait demandé de venir jusqu’à Suien.Hoa pour mettre les ouvriers au courant des travaux qui restent à faire mais je n’avais

pu jusqu’ici satisfaire à son désir parce que les deux chevaux que j’avais, le plus jeune est mort en tombant de la montagne quelques jours après mon arrivée, et l’autre, malade de vieillesse. Cette semaine j’ai pu arriver en équipage d’emprunt”.

120 KADOC, C.I.C.M., F.III.a.7.confidential. Letter by A. De Moerloose to Adolf Van Hecke, 19 December 1906: “J’envoie ci-joint quelques photographies des églises de Suien.hoa.fou et des trappistes qui sont achevées”.

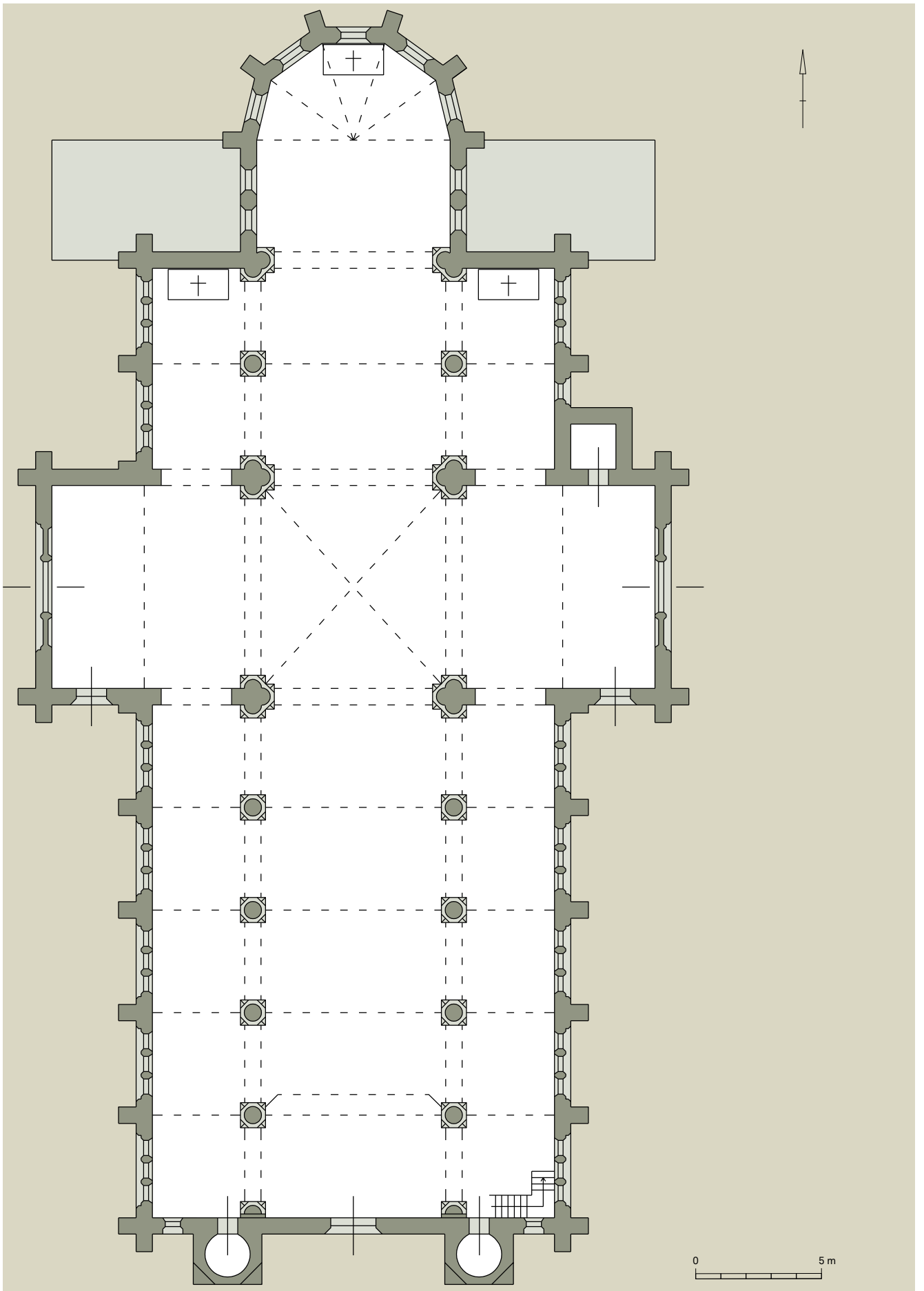


FIG. 23 Church of Xuanhua, plan (measurement, © authors 2011).

vaults have an ogee section, the vaults of the aisles a depressed arched section, and both have visible tie beams and king posts. The four composite piers of the crossing rise from the bases to the top of the clerestory, where capitals wear great stone arches framing the wooden groin vault of the crossing. The transept is as high as the nave and the two first aisled bays of the sanctuary (fig. 24). The next two bays of the sanctuary and the apse are lower and separated from the first bays of the sanctuary by a chancel arch. The total interior length of the church is 34 m, the width of the aisled nave is 16 m, the width of the transept is 24 m, and the height of the nave is 15 m. The arcade and the lateral walls of the nave are 1 m thick, while the walls of the aisles and the choir as well as the buttresses are 65 cm thick.

Both towers of the façade are bell towers. The section of the towers changes from square at the base to half-octagonal and circular at mid-height, to octagonal at the upper or bell level. The latter rests on corbels, is opened by abat-sons and is covered by an octagonal pyramidal roof. Inside, the towers have no floors and look like chimneys, open from top to bottom. A third tower is located against the north side of the eastern transept arm. It is a stair tower leading to the roof structure above the vaults. In the first bay of the church, there is an iron tribune, accessible from two side stairs, which looks original. Sacristies with cross-windows are located on both sides of the sanctuary.

The quality of the interior space results from the harmonious proportions and the superb wooden vaults, as well as from the numerous windows of different types, which provide abundant

light (fig. 25). The windows of the main façade and of the two ends of the transept arms are large Gothic traciered windows with quatrefoils, lancets and transoms. The nine ogee windows of the sanctuary and the side windows of the transept are divided into two lancets and decorated with a quatrefoil rose. The windows of the clerestory are double lancets while the windows of the aisles are triple lancet windows. On the outside, relieving arches surmount the windows. The church has three doorways, all of which are south-facing<sup>121</sup>. The main entrance is the south portal, which has well carved jambs with crocket capitals, and an archivolt decorated with florets. Both transept arms have several doorways: the two east-facing and two west-facing portals are no longer in use and are blocked with masonry; smaller side entrances facing the south side of each arm are now the common entrances to the church. Above these simple doors a metal roof forms a kind of pediment. The three doors are painted red and are fitted with medieval looking iron hinges.

The principal building material of the masonry is grey brick measuring 30 cm x 15 cm x 6 cm, assembled in English bond<sup>122</sup>. There are no profiled bricks because all the mouldings and decorations are in stone (fig. 26). The abundant use of carved grey limestone makes this church exceptional and shows the skills of the stone carvers. Stone is not only used for the interior arches, columns, bases, capitals and corbels, but also for the traceries, thresholds and lintels, dripstones, slopes, and all covering stones. The sculpted motifs are very limited and only vegetal: crockets on the main capitals of the nave, small capitals on the tie beams, capitals and leaves at the main entrance, and one leaf corbel in



FIG. 24 Church of Xuanhua, view from the north-east (© THOC, May 2011).

<sup>121</sup> Double doorways, now blocked, are situated in the centre of the eastern and western façades of the transept.

<sup>122</sup> See note 96.



FIG. 25 Church of Xuanhua, interior view to the north (© THOC, May 2011).

the eastern side chapel (fig. 27). A carved trilobed niche for the *piscina* is located at the eastern end of the choir. The skills of the carpenters were also of a high level, as shown by the complexity of the wooden polygonal vault of the apse and the perfect assembling of the trusses of the vaulting (fig. 28). The floor is of granite laid in red, grey and black squares.

None of the original furniture has survived, except for the tombs of the first two vicars apostolic<sup>123</sup>. In a large church with transept arms, according to the Chinese rules of gender separation, the men occupied the transept arms, the crossing and the first bay of the nave, while the women sat in the nave and the aisles<sup>124</sup>. This explains why the entrances in the transept arms, now blocked, were so important. Nothing remains of the separation fence between men and women in the nave. The main altar and the two side altars, the pews and the confessional all post-date the Cultural Revolution. The stained-glass windows are uniformly light blue and white in a kaleidoscopic pattern. The most impressive feature is the rich and colourful polychrome decoration on the walls (fig. 29): stone imitation with false joints, various geometric patterns framing the windows, flower motifs of the initials of Mary in the western chapel and of Joseph in the eastern one, and particularly joyful colours in the choir, including a Latin inscription<sup>125</sup>. Stencilled motifs are also painted on the vaults, along the ribs and on the tie beams. All these were repainted during the

recent restoration. Without analysis it is impossible to establish whether the present colours reproduce the original ones. However, this polychrome decoration is an important contribution to the general St Luke's Gothic style of the church<sup>126</sup>.

On 10 May 1926, when Rome redefined the boundaries of the apostolic vicariates of China, Xuanhua was chosen as the seat of the new apostolic vicariate of Xuanhuafu. So, the church became a cathedral and the vicar apostolic was Philippe Zhao Huaiyi,<sup>127</sup> one of the six first native bishops in China. He died in 1927 and was succeeded by another Chinese bishop, Peter Cheng<sup>128</sup>. Both are buried in the cathedral, and their Gothic mausoleums can still be seen. On 28 March 1928, Archbishop Celso Costantini, the Apostolic Delegate in China, consecrated Peter Cheng as second vicar apostolic of Xuanhua. Dom Ildephonse Brandstetter, a Benedictine monk who assisted at the ceremony and wrote an article about his journey to Xuanhua, admired the architecture of the new cathedral: "In the middle, at a fitting distance from the street entrance, stands the imposing Cathedral, a splendid memorial to the charity and self-sacrificing spirit of the native Christians. Themselves but moderately favoured in the possession of this world's good, they have, nevertheless, with their own hands and money, reared this stately pile to the glory of God. It is Gothic in structure (of the school of St Luke, Bruges [sic]) and its architect is a priest, the Revd Alphonse De Moerloose

<sup>123</sup> See notes 127-128.

<sup>124</sup> Nuyts 1938, 217.

<sup>125</sup> In uncial script: *panis angelicum fit panis hominum / dat panis caelicus / figuris terminu[m] // o res mirabilis manducat dominum / pauper servus et humilis* [The angelic bread becomes the bread of

men / The heavenly bread ends all prefigurations / What wonder! The Lord is eaten / by a poor and humble servant]. From the hymn *Panis Angelicus* written by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) for the Feast of Corpus Christi.

<sup>126</sup> Bressers & Van Assche 1865.

<sup>127</sup> Philippe Zhao Huaiyi (Chao) (1880-1927), vicar apostolic from 1926 to 1927.

<sup>128</sup> Petrus Cheng (Tcheng) (1881-1935), vicar apostolic from 1928 to 1935.





**FIG. 26** Church of Xuanhua, articulation of brickwork and carved springer at the southern corner of the western aisle: a perfect St Luke design (© THOC, May 2011).



**FIG. 27** Church of Xuanhua, columns, capitals and arcade of the nave in pure 13th-century 'Scheldt Gothic style' (© THOC, May 2011).



FIG. 28 Church of Xuanhua, wooden vaults of the nave, the choir and the aisle: a masterpiece of St Luke's Gothic style (© THOC, May 2011).

(who, for many years, resided in the Trappist monastery at Yang Chia P'ing [sic]). The latter has managed to preserve a pleasing and harmonious simplicity of line, and has worked true to material, the church being free of shoddiness and imitation. As for the interior, its proportions and decorative features combine to give the whole a character so conducive to recollection and devotion as to render it a fitting sanctuary for divine service"<sup>129</sup>. The renowned French natural historian and Jesuit Émile Licent, after having met De Moerloose in 1917 in Yangjiaping, visited the church of Xuanhua but does not describe the building<sup>130</sup>. On 11 April 1946, Pope Pius XII elevated the apostolic vicariate of Xuanhua to diocese of Xuanhua.

Because of the presence of coalmines, Xuanhua grew as an industrial city and has lost most of its traditional architecture over the last decades. Modern high-rise buildings are filling the historic area defined by the ruined square earthen wall. The 'drum and bell tower' and the cathedral-church are the most remarkable surviving landmarks. Both have been recently restored. To the east of the church, an important building complex around two inner courtyards remains as a part of the mission settlement, which was later expanded into an episcopal residence. De Moerloose designed the main building and two lateral wings. The building complex now houses the Museum of Xuanhua and belongs to the Xuanhua Administration of Cultural Heritage.

<sup>129</sup> Brandstetter 198, 29.

<sup>130</sup> Licent 1924, 460: "Avant de partir pour Kalghan je visite la belle église construite par le Père

De Moerloose, à laquelle la paroisse de Choanfchou tze [Shuangshu] veut donner une rivale". On p. 457-459, he gives a longer description of the church of

Shuangshu, including geological identification of the stones.

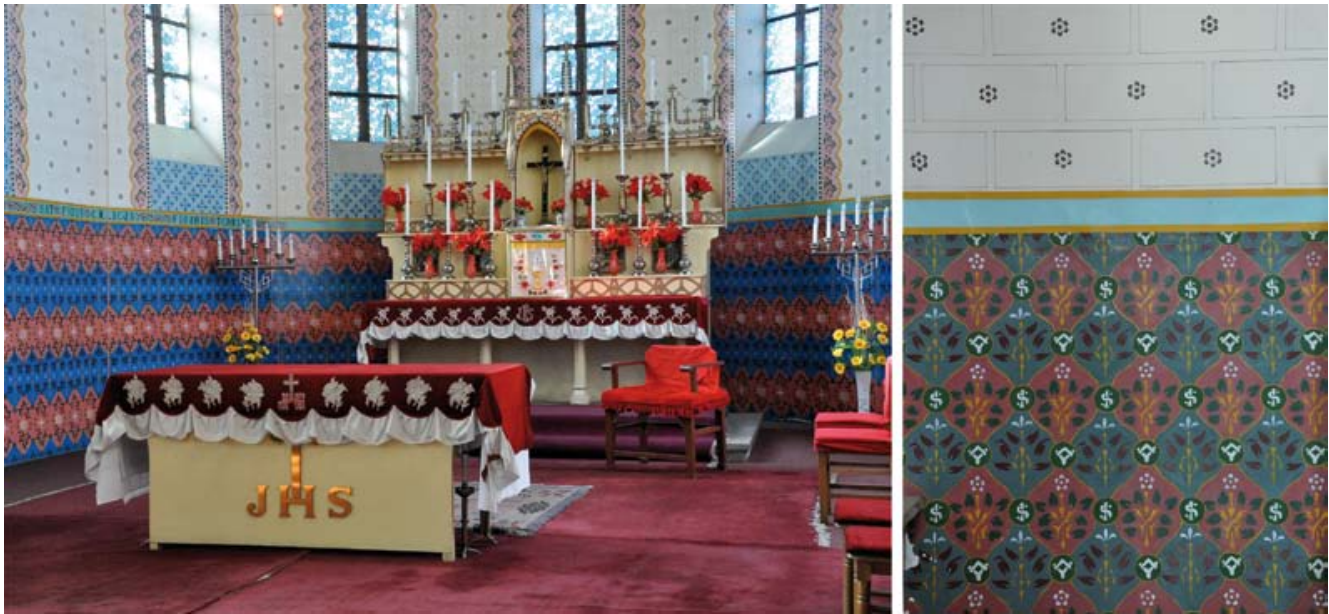


FIG. 29 Church of Xuanhua, restored polychrome decoration in the choir and eastern aisle (© THOC, May 2011).



FIG. 30 The church of Shenjing, unknown date and architect, is an example of reception of the cathedral of Xuanhua (© THOC, May 2011).

Interestingly, Xuanhua Cathedral formed the inspiration for the façade of the church in the village of Shenjing (Hebei province) (fig. 30). This kind of ‘reception’ of elements of a model expresses a precise meaning, in this case a reference to the local episcopal seat.

## 7 Exporting a style from medieval Flanders to modern China

The style of the church of Xuanhua reflects the medieval models loved by St Luke’s architects, that is to say the architecture that developed during the 13th century in part of present-day Belgium, from the episcopal city of Tournai through the valley of the river Scheldt to the towns of the southern and eastern parts of the County of Flanders (Oudenaarde, Deinze, Ghent) and to a lesser extent Bruges. Most of the churches were erected in Tournai limestone or combined limestone with brick, a new material that made its appearance in Flanders around 1200 and would rapidly conquer the building sector in the late Middle Ages. Other characteristics of the churches are the use of wooden barrel vaults, columns with crocket capitals, and triple lancet windows. The main façade is often flanked by two round towers; the arms of the transept and the choir could be as high as the nave or a little lower. The naves are aisled and from around 1300 aisles were made as high and wide as the nave, giving the church a hall church-like appearance. The tower is sometimes situated at the crossing, but could also be at the side of the choir or in front of the nave.

In late 19th-century historiography, the style of this group of buildings was considered a regional art school or style; known as the Tournai School or the Scheldt Gothic School, its influence stretched across part of Hainaut and much of Flanders<sup>131</sup>. The scholar who developed the theory underlying this school was

131 Buyle, Coomans, Esther & Genicot 1997, 33-64.

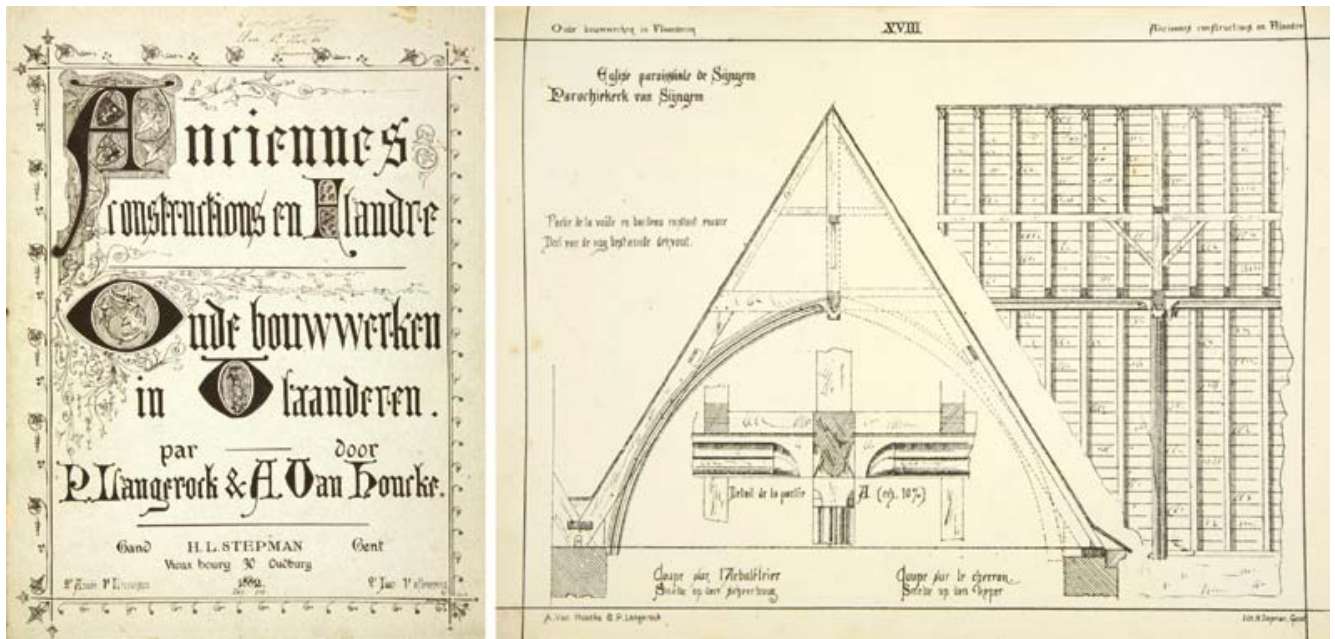


FIG. 31 *Ancient buildings in Flanders*, a book of patterns by Pierre Langerock and Alphonse Van Houcke, issue from 1882, cover and measurement of the medieval timber structure of the church of Zingem (© Library of VIOE).



FIG. 32 Monographs on the Lady Church of Pamele at Oudenaarde and the St Nicholas church at Ghent, both by Auguste Van Assche, ca 1880 (© Library of VIOE).

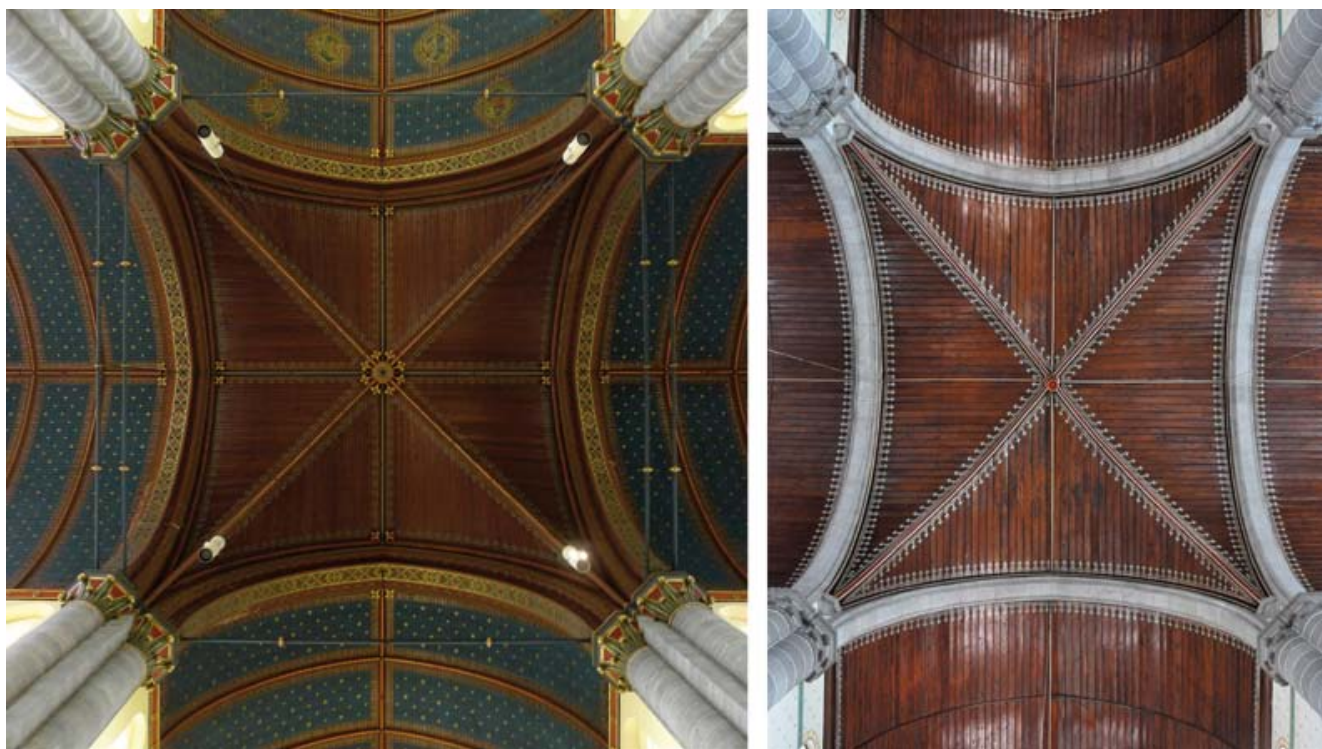


FIG. 33 Wooden crossing vaults of the abbey church of Maredsous and of the cathedral of Xuanhua, built by Baron Jean-Baptiste Bethune in 1873-1881 and by Alphonse De Moerloose in 1903-1906 respectively (© THOC, September 2011 and May 2011).

engineer-architect Louis Cloquet, a prominent member of the St Luke movement<sup>132</sup>. We will not discuss here the validity of his theory,<sup>133</sup> but it exerted great influence during his time. Louis Cloquet and Auguste Van Assche, both major St Luke architects, restored the most important churches built in the Scheldt Gothic style (*Scheldegotiek/Gothique scaldien*), using both stone and brick to diffuse the early Gothic forms across Flanders and Belgium. From the 1860's to 1914, Van Assche, Cloquet and other architects published archaeological and richly illustrated studies in St Luke's publication series (fig. 31), which served as pattern books and made the 'good examples of the true Gothic architecture' available to the students<sup>134</sup>. Thus a style from the past became a paradigm for modern Catholic society in Belgium.

During his architectural training years De Moerloose had been fed these models, of which elements are present in the church of Xuanhua. As a student he certainly visited and copied the plans of his master Auguste Van Assche who notably restored the Lady Church at Deinze, the Lady Church of Pamele at Oudenaarde, and the St Nicholas Church at Ghent, and published albums on these three restorations<sup>135</sup> (fig. 32). Thanks to these publications and the well-documented archaeological knowledge they con-

tain, these medieval churches became archetypes and legitimated the style of new buildings. Another example of that process is the church of Shuangshu,<sup>136</sup> built by De Moerloose in 1917 and unfortunately destroyed by fire in 2009. Shuangshu echoed St Christopher Church at Liège, a mid 13th-century building that Van Assche restored and published in 1877<sup>137</sup>. Nevertheless, it is impossible to establish if it was a direct influence from the medieval models or an indirect influence via 19th-century buildings. Indeed, both the plan and the elevation of the church of Xuanhua show many similarities to St Joseph Church at Roubaix (fig. 4), and the design of its nave is very similar to that of the Maredsous abbey church – both works by Baron Bethune, which De Moerloose had visited. A comparison of the stone piers and the wooden crossing vaults of Maredsous and Xuanhua demonstrates more than a passing resemblance (fig. 33).

It is certain that De Moerloose possessed some St Luke publications in his studio in Gaojiayingzi and Yangjiaping, but we have not yet found written evidence of it<sup>138</sup>. He still had links with St Luke, as appears in a letter dated 1907, where he mentions that the school asked him to send plans for an exhibition in Ghent<sup>139</sup>. It is hard to imagine that his brother-in-law, the fellow-architect

<sup>132</sup> Louis Cloquet (1849-1920) was a teacher at St Luke's School at Tournai from 1880 to 1891, and later at the university of Ghent. Van Loo (ed.) 2003, 211-212.

<sup>133</sup> Coomans 2007.

<sup>134</sup> Bressers & Van Assche 1865; Van Assche & Helbig 1883; Langerock & Van Houcke 1881-1888; Cloquet 1898-1901.

<sup>135</sup> Van Assche [s.d.1]; Van Assche [s.d.2]; Van Assche 1899.

<sup>136</sup> See note 63.

<sup>137</sup> Van Assche & Helbig 1877; Coomans 2006; Luo 2011.

<sup>138</sup> All that is known is that he possessed a series of the Belgian architecture journal *L'Émulation* (years 1891-1899): Van Hecken 1968, 165.

<sup>139</sup> KADOC, C.I.C.M.-Archives, P.I.a.1.2.5-1.5.14, Letter by A. De Moerloose to J. Van Aertselaer, 10 May 1907: "Le comité d'architecture de Gand m'a envoyé une invitation pour prendre part à l'exposition d'architecture de Gand avec les travaux exécutés en Chine; seulement l'exposition avait lieu à Pâques et je n'ai reçu l'invitation qu'à l'Ascension". About the exhibition: Cloquet 1908.

**FIG. 34** The cathedral of Xiwanzi, designed by the Flemish Scheutist Leo De Smedt in 1922-1926 (© KADOC, Archives C.I.C.M.).



Modeste de Noyette, would not have stayed in touch with him and informed him about the evolution of Gothic Revival architecture in Belgium, but again there is no archival evidence. At the turn of the century, when De Moerloose was starting his architectural career in China, the St Luke's movement resisted the attacks of Art Nouveau and new currents in the decorative arts by issuing important publications<sup>140</sup>. It is hard to believe that De Moerloose did not possess the five volumes of the famous treatise on architecture published by Louis Cloquet in 1898-1901,<sup>141</sup> or that he did not receive the *Bulletin des métiers d'art*, the new monthly journal issued by St Luke from 1901<sup>142</sup>.

The church of Xuanhua is not an isolated building in De Moerloose's *œuvre*. On the contrary, most of his monumental churches belonged to the same St Luke style harking back to the medieval architecture in Flanders and to the works of his masters Bethune and Van Assche. He introduced variations such as in the height and width of transept arms, the location of towers, the shape of the choir, etc. The comparison of the churches of Shebiya and Gaojiayingzi demonstrates that the form of the arches – pointed or round – is not a criterion of style but only a variation within the same architectural concept. The churches of Halagou, Pingdiquan, Shuangshu, Yongpingfu, Zhengding, among others, belong to the same group and could perfectly well have won a church architectural competition organised by St Luke<sup>143</sup>.

De Moerloose never referred to the more complex Gothic style of the French cathedrals, as revived by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc. France is a country of stone architecture and did

not develop brick building types comparable with the churches in Flanders. In addition, churches with stone vaults and flying buttresses were nearly impossible to build in Mongolia, a country with neither a vaulting nor a stone carving tradition<sup>144</sup>.

De Moerloose remained loyal to the principles of Pugin, the spirit of the St Luke's School, and the idealised medieval style of Flanders, his mother country. The myth of 'eternal Flanders', based on the paradigm of a rational, Gothic, Christian and Flemish architecture,<sup>145</sup> culminated in Xiwanzi, the centre of the Scheut mission in Mongolia. Xiwanzi's heydays began with vicar apostolic Jerom Van Aertselaer, and De Moerloose's architecture – the seminary (fig. 9), the bishop's residence, and the Benedict chapel – was an important contribution. The new cathedral (fig. 34), designed by Father Leo De Smedt, another Flemish Scheutist, was built from 1922 to 1926 according to the same paradigmatic style, but with more Romanesque elements<sup>146</sup>. Xiwanzi had escaped the Boxers but was razed by the Communists in December 1946<sup>147</sup>.

## 8 The significance of St Luke's Gothic style in China, and criticism

On 27 March 1932, Alphonse De Moerloose died in the home for aged Scheutists in Schilde near Antwerp<sup>148</sup>. Because of his failing health and the solitude of Yangjiaping he had decided to leave China in December 1929 and to reintegrate into the Congregation of Scheut. Returning to Belgium after 44 years must have been a shock for the old man. Not only he was the

<sup>140</sup> De Maeyer 1988, 107-123; Bergmans, Coomans & De Maeyer 2005, 56-59.

<sup>141</sup> Cloquet 1898-1901.

<sup>142</sup> BMA 1901-1913.

<sup>143</sup> E.g. Eriamel 1905.

<sup>144</sup> *Le missionnaire constructeur* 1926.

<sup>145</sup> De Maeyer 2000, 32-33.

<sup>146</sup> Dieu 1923; MS 1926, 145-152; Rondelez 1938, 105-109.

<sup>147</sup> Verhelst & Pycke (eds) 1995, 256-257.

<sup>148</sup> BCP 1932, 268-269; MS 1932, 40/5, 119.



FIG. 35 Cathedral of Hohhot, designed by the Flemish Scheutist Leo Vendelmans in 1922 (© THOC, May 2011).

sole survivor of his generation in his family,<sup>149</sup> but society had also completely changed as a consequence of the First World War and was just entering the Great Depression. Perhaps the most important change for him was the evolution of church architecture and the definitive abandonment of the medieval models. During the inter-war period, a blend of modern concrete structures, central plans with Byzantine domes, Art Deco decoration and forms such as polygonal arches and the use of marble, generated a new church architecture and new debates, including in the St Luke Schools<sup>150</sup>. The traditional Gothic paradigm of Pugin and Bethune that had been De Moerloose's artistic point of reference was definitively overtaken by more modern church architecture.

The earliest criticism of the churches of Alphonse De Moerloose came from the Scheutists themselves. Rather than the style, it addressed the comfort of the churches, which were absolutely not adapted to the climate of northern China. Father Jozef Nuyts wrote a rather explicit criticism in the mission

propaganda journal of the Scheutists: "We note that the brilliant architect, completely full of the lessons of St Luke, was more sensitive to the beauty of the lines than to the practical aspects of his constructions. He did not pay enough attention to the particularities of our region and its excessive climate. These high chapels, with thin walls, many windows, and thin wooden ceilings, have pleasant forms, but the priest and the churchgoers are to be pitied when they are obliged to gather for praying in minus 30-35° C or oppressive heat. You are either freezing or suffocating; staying with arms spread during the canon of the mass is a torture, as is giving communion to crowds. Priests and Christians have all experienced this pity; however the vogue of this style, so beautiful but so unpractical, was slow to disappear. Master De Moerloose had generated disciples! Even several Chinese priests, as well as missionaries, were under his influence and imitated him in a more or less successful way. A certain reaction only appeared these last years. May God bless the architects of St Luke, but may He protect us from overly conservative artists who, because

149 De Moerloose family archives: Letter about the family tomb at the cemetery of Gentbrugge and his hope to come back to Belgium, from A. De Moerloose to his niece Elmiere de Mill, Yangjiaping, 10 June 1929: "Je lis dans les lettres que le caveau de la

famille D[e]M[oerloose] est plein et fermé pour toujours. On n'a donc pas eu la pensée de m'y laisser une place, [moi] qui suis le dernier survivant de la famille pour laquelle il a été fait, car ne n'ai pas perdu l'espoir de vous revoir".

150 Van de Perre 2003, 35-125.

of their art principles, introduced pointless suffering in our missions of Mongolia”<sup>151</sup>.

Despite the fact that Western Gothic churches seem not to have been adapted to the realities of Mongolia, the Scheut Congregation continued building medieval looking churches, because that was the style that expressed their identity. The cathedral of Hohhot, designed by Father Leo Vendelmans in 1922 (fig. 35), and the cathedral of Xiwanzi (fig. 34), built by Father Leo De Smedt in 1922-1926,<sup>152</sup> are in the line of De Moerloose’s most

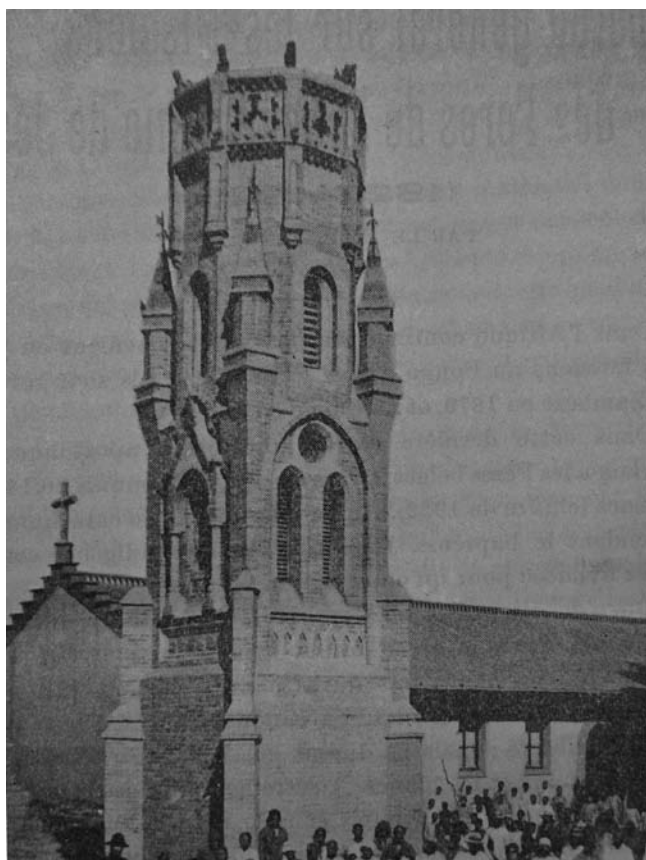


FIG. 36 The Flemish belfry-like tower of the church of Balagai (*Les Missions Catholiques* 56, 1924, 259).

prestigious buildings: tall aisled churches, with large transepts, high towers and brick geometrical decorations on the façades. Like the churches built by the Scheutists in the Congo and in the Philippines at the same time, the churches of the Scheut mission in Mongolia refer more or less explicitly to Flanders, the mother region of the missionaries.

One of the most amazing buildings the Scheutists ever built in China is the tower of Balagai (fig. 36), which unfortunately has been demolished<sup>153</sup>. A missionary travelling through the Mongolian plain wrote with nostalgia: “In the distance, we recognise something that looks like the belfry of Bruges in miniature: it is the bell tower of Balagai!”<sup>154</sup> The tower of the Christian village was visible from a great distance, just like an urban tower in the flat coastal landscape of Flanders. Indeed the octagonal upper part of the tower explicitly refers to the belfry of Bruges. The tower, ca 20 m high, had been built in 1918 as a thanksgiving to the Sacred Heart for having saved the village from a plague epidemic. The complexity of its elevation and decoration resulted from an elaborate design and a high level of craftsmanship. The name of the architect remains unknown and there is no indication allowing us to attribute the design to Alphonse De Moerloose. The first meaning of the Gothic tower, as the Christian antithesis of the Chinese pagoda and a construction ‘exported’ from Flanders, was as a radiant symbol of a successful Scheutist village. Missionary congregations from other European countries had different architectural references and developed their own visual identities in their apostolic vicariates.

In a sense, missionary congregations were building up their own ‘religious colonies’ instead of building the universal Church<sup>155</sup>. Thus the Scheut Fathers were building a kind of Scheutist Church in Mongolia instead of working towards the development of a Chinese Church. This was one of the fundamental criticisms from the Belgian missionary, later Chinese naturalised priest, Vincent Lebbe,<sup>156</sup> who fought all his life for an indigenised Chinese Church. Lebbe, born in Ghent in 1877 – the same place as De Moerloose, but one generation later –, arrived in Tianjin in 1901 just after the Boxer Rebellion. He understood the need to abandon as soon as possible the model of the expansionist mission and to adapt the Catholic religion to the Chinese culture. Lebbe had a determining influence on the encyclical *Maximum illud*, the *Apostolic Letter on the Propagation of the Faith Throughout the World*, issued by Pope Benedict XV on 30 November 1919<sup>157</sup>. The encyclical condemns the colonial behaviour of imposing a Western model on any other

151 Nuyts 1938, 218-219: “Nous constatons maintenant que le brillant architecte [De Moerloose], complètement imbu des leçons de St. Luc, fut plus sensible à la ligne, à la belle forme qu’au côté pratique de ses constructions. Il ne prêta pas assez attention aux particularités de notre région au climat excessif. Ces chapelles gothiques s’élevant bien haut, avec des murs peu épais, beaucoup de fenêtres, un plafond de minces bardeaux, plaisent par leurs formes, mais les prêtres et les fidèles qui sont obligés par des froids de 30 à 35 degrés ou des chaleurs excessives de s’y confiner pour leurs dévotions sont à plaindre. On y gèle ou on y étouffe; c’est un supplice de devoir tenir les mains étendues pendant le Canon de la messe, et c’est un tourment de devoir distribuer de nombreuses communions. Prêtres et chrétiens en faisaient tous la

pénible expérience, et cependant la vogue de ce style si beau et si peu pratique fut lente à disparaître. Le maître De Moerloose avait fait école. Plusieurs prêtres chinois même, sans compter les confrères, avaient subi son influence et, ne jurant plus que par lui, l’avaient imité d’une manière plus ou moins réussie. Ce n’est que dans les dernières années que se déclare une certaine réaction. Que Dieu bénisse les architectes de St. Luc, mais qu’il nous préserve des artistes trop conservateurs qui, à cause de leurs principes d’art, on introduit des souffrances inutiles dans nos missions de Mongolie”.

152 Leon Jean Marie De Smedt C.I.C.M. (1881-1951), vicar apostolic of Xiwanzi from 1931 to 1946, bishop of Chongli-Xiwanzi from 1946 to 1951. See also note 146.

153 Balagai (former Palakai or Pa.la.kai), in the Toumet plain, Inner Mongolia, is located about 120 km south-west of Hohhot.

154 Leyssen 1924, 259: “Au loin, nous reconnaissons quelque chose qui ressemble au beffroi de Bruges en miniature: c’est le clocher de Palakai !”

155 Ticozzi 2008, 3.

156 Vincent Lebbe C.M. (1877-1940), see: Thoreau 1990; Soetens 1997, 71-73. Lebbe and De Moerloose could very well have met in Tianjin or elsewhere in the apostolic vicariate of Beijing between 1901 and 1920, but there is no evidence for this.

157 Benedict XV 1919. See: Soetens 1997, 84-92.



(“The Catholic Church is not an intruder in any country”), and insists among other things on the necessity to learn local languages, but never explicitly mentions art and architecture. Addressing the missionaries, the Pope wrote: “Assure yourselves that God was speaking to you, to each one of you, when He said: “Forget your people and your father’s house” (Psalm 44:11). Remember that your duty is not the extension of a human realm, but of Christ’s; and remember too that your goal is the acquisition of citizens for a heavenly-fatherland, and not for an earthly one”<sup>158</sup>. In the encyclical letter *Rerum Ecclesiae*, given 28 February 1926, Pope Pius XI would develop some aspects of *Maximum illud*.

In August 1922 Benedict XV appointed Archbishop Celso Costantini as first Apostolic Delegate to China<sup>159</sup>. During his eleven years in China, the archbishop contributed to developing the indigenisation – that is to say the rooting and the integration of the Christian faith in a given culture – of the Church in China<sup>160</sup>. On 15 May 1924, Costantini opened the first synod of the Chinese Catholic Church in Shanghai (fig. 37): 42 vicars apostolic in China, prominent Catholic churchmen, and representatives of the missionary congregations came together to discuss the implementation of *Maximum illud* in China, the issue of Chinese rituals, and to adapt canon law<sup>161</sup>. During the synod, the archbishop consecrated China to Our Lady and decided on the building of the new Sheshan basilica mentioned earlier. A further important step in the indigenisation of the Church was the ordination of the six first native vicars apostolic in 1926, among others Zhao Huaiyi, on the newly created seat of Xuanhua<sup>162</sup>.

Like De Moerloose, Costantini was the son of a contractor and had expertise in art and architecture. In Italy, his mother country, he had founded a Society of Friends of Christian Art in 1911 and had launched the periodical *Arte Sacra* in 1913<sup>163</sup>. He was convinced of the importance of art and encouraged the development of a distinctive Chinese Christian art: “Western style art is unsuited to China; Western Christian art used in China gives the impression that Christianity is a western, not an universal religion; the Church throughout its history has adopted and adapted to local art forms; Chinese art and culture provide many opportunities for adoption and adaptation”<sup>164</sup>. In some articles the apostolic delegate roundly attacks the Gothic style: “Western art in China is an error of style. It is an error to import European styles, Romanesque and Gothic, in China”<sup>165</sup>. He promoted an indigenised architecture, without towers and vertical lines, with horizontal lines and Chinese roofs, and using concrete for the main structures. Some of the best examples of this style were designed by the Benedictine monk Adelbert Gresnigt: the Catholic University of Beijing, the seminary of the Disciples of the Lord in Xuanhua, the regional seminary of Aberdeen on Hong Kong Island, and the residence of the apostolic delegate in Beijing<sup>166</sup>. This new style is not the subject of the present article and needs to be placed in the broader



FIG. 37 The St. Ignatius Cathedral at Shanghai, built in French Gothic style by the Scottish architect William Dowdall in 1910, hosted the Synod of Shanghai in 1924 (© THOC, June 2011).

context of the quest of the Chinese Republic for a modern architecture that could express its new identity – the ‘Chinese renaissance’–, the development of new education system in China, and the competition between Catholic and Protestant missions in China<sup>167</sup>.

Despite the great respect Archbishop Costantini had for the old architect, their divergence of opinion about art and architecture was total<sup>168</sup>. In a letter to a friend dated 28 August 1924, Alphonse De Moerloose wrote with bitterness: “Monseigneur the Delegate especially dislikes Gothic; as all the Italians, his reference is St John of Lateran. All the right thinking bishops I have seen think that there is no question of building Chinese

158 Benedict XV 1919, 8 and 18.

159 Celso Benigno Luigi Costantini (1876-1957), first Apostolic Delegate to China from 1922 to 1933, secretary of the Congregation for Propagation of Faith from 1935 to 1953, elevated to cardinal in 1953.

160 Chong 2008; Ticozzi 2008; Vints 2000, 131-132; Soetens 1997, 103-112.

161 Lam 2008; Wang Jiyou 2010; Soetens 1997,

113-123.

162 See note 127.

163 Ticozzi 2008.

164 Quoted Ticozzi 2008, note 11. Further: Costantini 1932.

165 Costantini 1932, 413.

166 Coomans, in press.

167 Cody 1996. The Protestants began building

schools and hospitals in modern Chinese style ten years earlier than the Catholics.

168 Van Hecken 1968, 173-177; Ulenaers 1994, 57-81.

churches, this is not practical”<sup>169</sup>. The architect travelled with the archbishop and they visited churches together. The Christians they met expressed their preference for European architecture rather than Chinese. De Moerloose admired the great culture of Costantini, but understood that Rome’s indigenisation policy would from then on promote a Chinese style<sup>170</sup>. For that reason he declined writing an architectural handbook on missionary churches,<sup>171</sup> which the Jesuits did in his place in 1926<sup>172</sup>. Later, Costantini himself would publish an art manual for missionaries<sup>173</sup>.

By the mid-1920s, St Luke’s medieval model definitely belonged to the past, not only in China but in Belgium too. In Brussels the project for the basilica of Koekelberg, first designed in 1905 as a Neo-Gothic national cathedral by Pierre Langerock, a fellow student of De Moerloose’s at St Luke’s,<sup>174</sup> was replaced in 1920 by a more modern project, a kind of Art Deco interpretation of St Peter’s in Rome<sup>175</sup>. Just like some St Luke’s architects evolved and adapted to other styles, some missionaries evolved to Chinese art and architecture. The most renowned Scheutist artist working in China was the Flemish painter Mon Van Genechten<sup>176</sup>. He arrived in China in 1930, lived in Xiwanzi until 1937 and from then on in Beijing until he was expelled from China in 1946. He was a personal friend of the Jesuit Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and of Archbishop Costantini, who admired his work. Van Genechten was the most talented painter of Chinese religious art of his generation but, as he said himself, he remained Flemish above all: “Monseigneur Costantini was an art lover. He said: “Do not think you will convert Chinese people with Western art”. I answered: “That is true and I will paint in the Chinese style. That is an interesting experiment. I will go for it!” He said: “Fine, but therefore you must become a Chinese painter!” I remember I answered: “No, I do not believe that. I remain Flemish!” He did not understand it, but I answered: “I will study everything and follow these people, but I will never become a Chinese painter”...”<sup>177</sup>.

Alphonse De Moerloose belonged to the generation before indigenisation began and certainly never thought of becoming a Chinese architect. Like all missionaries of the long 19th century,



FIG. 38 Our Lady of Sheshan Basilica on the top of a hill on the outskirts of Shanghai, built 1924-1935 (© THOC, June 2011).

he was convinced that his Western and Christian culture was superior to all other cultures; as an ultramontane, he was intimately convinced that St Luke’s Gothic was the only convenient style for the Christian society anywhere in the world (figs 37-38). Therefore we may view the churches he built in China as pure expansionist-missionary products. Alphonse De Moerloose remained faithful to his Flemish identity, his Catholic worldview, and the artistic certitudes he had learnt at St Luke’s. In a letter written in the twilight of his architectural career he still affirms the evidence of St Luke’s moral and artistic principles: “In the Middle Ages there was no question of ‘imitation’, everything was true, according to the Flemish proverb *Recht voor de vuist*”<sup>178</sup>.

169 KADOC, C.I.C.M. Archives, T.I.a.14.3.2. Letter by A. De Moerloose to K. Van de Vyvere, 28 August 1924: “*Monseigneur de délégué heeft het bijzonder tegen de gothiek, zijn gedacht is Sint Jean de Latran zoals al de Italiaanen. Al de weldenkende missionarissen en Biscoppen die ik gezien heb zijn van gedachte dat er geen kwestie is chineesche kerken te bouwen, dat het hoegenaamd niet praktisch is*”.

170 KADOC, C.I.C.M. Archives, T.I.a.14.3.2. Letter by A. De Moerloose to K. Van de Vyvere, 19 February 1925: “*Ik heb een tiental dagen met den delegatus apostolicus op reis geweest om de nieuw gebouwde kerken te gaan zien. Zijne Excell[entie] sprak met veel lof over de nieuwe gothique kerken zelf in zijne aanspraken aan de kristenen maar hij bemerkte wel dat de kristenen liever eene europesche kerk hadden dan eene chineesche. Den Deleg. Apost. is eene zeer aangename man met veel kennis van archeologie. De wensch van de Propagande is dat men op chineeschen trant bouwe omdat men niet zou kunnen beweerden dat de kristene godsdienst europees is*”.

171 KADOC, C.I.C.M. Archives, T.I.a.14.3.2. Letter by A. De Moerloose to K. Van de Vyvere, 19 February 1925: “*Biscoppen en missionarissen hebben mij gevraagd om zelfiets in dien zin te maken. Ik was van plan zoo iets te doen: 1° een album met de uitgevoerde kerken, altaars en andere kerkmeubelen, al wat een missionaris noodig heft, 2° eene beschrijving over de bouwwijs, materialen enz van het begin tot het einde van eenen bouw. Maar ik durfer niet aan beginnen uit rede van den bovengezegden omstand*”.

172 This rather technical manual contains a long digression on the style question. *Le Missionnaire Constructeur* 1926, 6-11. Also BCP 1927, 109 and 133-137.

173 Costantini 1940.

174 See note 24.

175 Rion 1986; Coomans 1991.

176 Edmond (Mon) Van Genechten (1903-1974), Fang Hsi Sheng. See: Swerts 1994; Swerts & De Ridder 2002.

177 Swerts 1994, 10: “*Monseigneur Costantini was een kunstvriend. Hij zei: je moet niet denken dat je met je westerse kunst de Chinezen gaat bekeren. Ik zei: dat denk ik ook niet en ik zal op zijn Chinees schilderen, dat is een interessant experiment, ik doe het! Hij zei nog: ja, maar dan moet je ook Chinees schilder worden! Ik weet nog dat ik antwoordde: nee, dat geloof ik niet, ik blijf Vlaming! Hij begreep het niet, maar ik antwoordde: ik zal alles bestuderen en die mensen volgen, maar Chinees schilder zal ik nooit worden...*”

178 Which translates as: “spontaneous”, “right”, “honest”. KADOC, 2. Archives, T.I.a.14.3.2. Letter by A. De Moerloose to K. Van de Vyvere, 19 February 1925: “*In de middeneeuwen [sic] was er geen kwestie van ‘imitation’, alles was echt, volgens ons Vlaamsch spreekwoord: recht voor de vuist*”.

## Appendix – Works of Alphonse De Moerloose in China

**Inner Mongolia**

Ershisiqingdi	ca. 1904	residence, and chapel
Halagou	ca. 1916	church
Liangcheng (Xianghuodi)	1904	church, residence and Holy Childhood
Meiguiyingzi	1904-1906	church
Pingdiquan		church
Qisumu	1904	church
Sanshenggong	1893	altar
Shebiya	1904-1905	church
Tiegedangou	1906	church

**Hebei Province**

Baoding		church
Changyintchoang		church
Gaojiayingzi	1902-1903	church, residence, convent
Huangtuliangzi	1906	church
Nihewan	1912	chapel and residence
Shangyi (Nanhaoqian)	1903	chapel, college
Shengjiayingzi		church
Shuangshu	1917	church and residence
Xiwanzi (Chongli)	1898	residence
Xiwanzi (Chongli)	1899-1901	seminary
Xiwanzi (Chongli)	after 1901	St. Michael and St. Benedict chapel
Xuanhua	1903-1906	church (later cathedral)
Yangjiaping	1903	Trappist Abbey church
Yangjiaping	1906	St. Joseph chapel
Yangjiaping	1922	Trappist Abbey wing
Yongpingfu	1908	church
Zhengdingfu	1924	church

**Gansu Province**

Sanshilipu	1891	church
Xixiang	1885	altar

**Shaanxi Province**

Sanyuanjing		church
Xiaoqiaopan	1890	altar

**Fujian Province**

Fuzhou	1924	cathedral
--------	------	-----------

**Shanxi Province**

Datong	1922-1924	residence, seminary
Datong	1928	chapel

**Beijing**

Beijing	1909	Interior decoration of Beitang Cathedral (?)
Beijing	1918	Memorial Chapel of the Sacred Heart, Zhalan

**Shanghai**

Shanghai	1924-1935	basilica of Our Lady of Sheshan
Shanghai	1924-1926	church of Yangtze-poo
Shanghai	1927	church Christ the King

## Summary

### Exporting Flemish Gothic Architecture to China: Meaning and Context of the Churches of Shebiya (Inner Mongolia) and Xuanhua (Hebei) Built by Missionary-Architect Alphonse De Moerloose in 1903-1906

The Belgian Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, also known as the Scheut fathers or Scheutists (C.I.C.M.), was founded in Brussels by the Flemish priest Théophile Verbist in 1862. The congregation received from Rome the mission to evangelise the vast spaces of Mongolia and gradually organised the territory into four Vicariates Apostolic: Central Mongolia, South-West Mongolia, East Mongolia, and Gansu. The Scheutists were active in the north of China for ninety years, from 1865 to 1955.

This article examines two churches built by Alphonse De Moerloose, a Flemish Scheutist missionary who also was an architect and who developed considerable building activity in China after the Boxer Rebellion of 1898-1900. Only a few of his churches survived the Chinese Civil War of 1947-1949 and the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976. Fieldwork done by the authors in March 2010 and May 2011 traced several remains of De Moerloose's work. The churches of Shebiya (Inner Mongolia) and Xuanhua (Hebei province), built simultaneously between 1903 and 1906, are the best-preserved of his buildings. Thanks to written and visual sources from the Scheutist Archives, which are held at KADOC in Leuven, the building process of both churches as well as their historical context could be reconstructed accurately.

Alphonse Frédéric De Moerloose – born in Gentbrugge in 1856, died in Schilde in 1932 – lived in China for 44 years, from 1885 to 1929. He belonged to a family of contractors and studied architecture at the St Luke's School at Ghent for five years before entering the Scheutist Congregation in 1881. The artistic education he received was strongly Catholic, Gothic and nationalistic: it was based on the true principles of Pugin that had been adapted to the Belgian context by Baron Jean-Baptiste Bethune and Auguste Van Assche. The churches De Moerloose built in China conform to the architectural canon and the ideology of the school. This explains why the brick churches of Shebiya and Xuanhua look like Flemish churches from the second half of the 19th century and hark back to 13th-century churches of the Scheldt area. Shebiya is a simple village church ministered by Scheutist missionaries. Xuanhua was a more elaborate and prestigious urban church built for the French Lazarist missionaries and became a cathedral in 1926. The presence of these two Neo-Gothic churches behind the Great Wall of China is a powerful expression of the worldview of the Scheutist and Lazarist missionaries after the Boxer Rebellion.

The article also gives an overview of father De Moerloose's works in China, amongst which the most important buildings were the Trappist abbey of Yangjiaping (1903-1906 and 1922), the great seminaries of Xiwanzi (1902) and Datong (1922), both in pure 'Bruges style', the cathedral of Yongpingfu for the Lazarists (1908-1910), and the design for the pilgrimage basilica of Our Lady of Sheshan near Shanghai (1924).

The works of De Moerloose fitted perfectly in the Eurocentric missionary model that held sway before the First World War, but were gradually criticised from two different sides. The first criticism came from the missionaries themselves, who found the

St Luke Gothic churches beautiful but not at all suitable for the extreme climate of Mongolia: because of the large windows and the high wooden vaults, people were freezing in winter and suffocating in summer. The second criticism came from Rome and was a consequence of the new missionary policy of the Catholic Church, as defined by the encyclical letter *Maximum illud* written by Pope Benedict XV in 1919. The encyclical condemned the colonial behaviour of imposing a Western model on any other country and insisted among other things on integrate into all aspects of local culture and the development of a local clergy. In 1922, Archbishop Celso Costantini was sent to China as the first Apostolic Delegate and he implemented the new Roman Catholic missionary policy at the first synod of the Chinese Catholic Church in Shanghai in 1924. Costantini was convinced of the importance of art and encouraged the development of a distinctive Chinese Christian art and architecture. As a proponent of acculturation he could not support Gothic Revival architecture. Like all missionaries during the long 19th century, Alphonse De Moerloose was convinced that his western and Christian culture was superior to all the other cultures; as an ultramontane, he was intimately convinced that St Luke's Gothic was the only convenient style for church architecture anywhere in the world. Nevertheless, from the mid-1920s the mediaeval paradigm of Pugin and the St Luke's schools would definitely belong to the past, in Belgium as well as in China.

## 摘要

### 弗拉芒哥特式建筑传入中国：传教士建筑师和羹柏设计的舍必崖和宣化教堂的含义及背景，1903-1906

比利时圣母圣心会，又称为司各特修会，或者司各特神父，1862年由弗拉芒神父南怀义成立于比利时布鲁塞尔。罗马天主教会将蒙古这片广阔的土地托付给圣母圣心会传播福音，渐渐地他们发展成为四个宗座代牧区：中蒙古、西南蒙古、东蒙古和甘肃。圣母圣心会主要在中国北方地区传教，共90年，在华时间为1865至1955年。

这篇论文主要讨论由弗拉芒神父和羹柏设计建造的两座教堂，他在义和团运动（1898-1900）后数十年内设计了大量的教堂建筑。这些建筑在历经中国内战（1947-1949）和文化大革命（1966-1976）之后，目前仅几处尚存。笔者于2010年3月和2011年5月对这些遗存展开了实地考察，调查了几处遗存。舍必崖教堂（内蒙古自治区）和宣化教堂（河北省）几乎于1903至1906年同时期建造，是考察过程中发现的保存最为完好的两处。目前，大量的圣母圣心会档案保存在比利时鲁汶市的KADOC档案及研究中心，利用现有的文字和图像档案，我们可以准确地将教堂的建造过程以及当时的历史状况重现。

和羹柏，1856年出生于根特布鲁日，1932年卒于比利时希尔德，1885-1929在华生活，共44年。父亲是一位工程承包商，长大后他就读于根特市的圣路加学校，接受了5年建筑教育，之后，于1881年成为圣母圣心会会士。他的艺术修养来自于非常强烈的天主教的、哥特式的、民族化的艺术教育，这些都基于普金关于建筑真实性的原则，并且由Jean-Baptiste Bethune男爵和Auguste Van Assche结合比利时的文化背景融于建筑教育当中。和羹柏在中国设计的教堂都是遵从这所学校教授的建筑原则和思想体系，这便解释了为什么中国北方的这些砖造教堂如舍必崖、宣化教堂看上去像是19世纪下半叶并且可追溯到13世纪比利时斯海尔德河地区的教堂风格。舍必崖是圣母圣心会的一处乡村小教堂，而宣化教堂则是一座位于城市的法国遣使会教堂，它更为华丽和尊贵，并于1926年升级为主教座

堂。这两座塞外新哥特式风格的教堂有力地诠释了义和拳运动之后，圣母圣心会会士以及遣使会会士的世界观。

这篇论文同时概述了和羹柏神父的其他几个作品，如位于杨家坪的熙笃会修道院（1903-1906和1922），西湾子大修院（1902）和大同大修院（1922）都是纯粹的“布鲁日风格”建筑，永平府的遣使会主教座堂（1908-1910），以及上海近郊的佘山进教之佑圣母大殿（1924）。

尽管，和羹柏的作品非常适应第一次世界大战之前的欧洲中心论模式，然而，两个不同的组群渐渐地给出了差异很大的评价。第一个评价来自传教士自身，他们觉得圣路加学校的哥特式风格教堂非常漂亮，但是不适应蒙古地区恶劣的气候：因为高大的玻璃窗和木质拱顶，使人们感觉冬天极其寒冷而夏季又过于闷热。第二个评论来自罗马，也就是于1919年由教宗本笃十五世发布的教宗通谕*Maximum illud*，天主教新的传教政策影响下的结果。教宗通谕谴责了叠加西方范式的殖民行为，坚决主张整合当地的文化艺术，培育本籍神职人员。1922年刚恒毅总主教作为第一位宗座驻华代表来到中国，他在第一次全国天主教教务会议上贯彻新的罗马传教政策。刚恒毅还确信基督宗教艺术的重要性，鼓励发展风格独特的中国基督宗教艺术和建筑。作为文化融合的推动者，他不可能成为哥特式复兴建筑的推崇者。而和羹柏同其他19世纪的传教士同伴一样，确信只有西方的基督宗教文化是超乎其他一切的；作为教宗至高无上论者，他彻彻底底地认为圣路加学校的哥特式风格建筑是唯一适合的，且应用于全世界的基督宗教建筑范式。然而，1920年代中期，这种中世纪的普金和圣路加学校范式建筑完全成了过去，在中国如此，在比利时亦如是。

## Samenvatting

### Export van Vlaamse gotiek naar China: betekenis en context van de kerken van Shebiya (Binnen-Mongolië) en Xuanhua (Hebei) gebouwd door missionaris-architect Alphonse De Moerloose in 1903-1906

De Congregatie van het Onbevlekt Hart van Maria (C.I.C.M.), beter bekend als congregatie van de scheutisten, werd in 1862 door de Vlaamse priester Théophile Verbist in Brussel gesticht. De congregatie kreeg van Rome de missie om Mongolië te evangeliseren. Geleidelijk aan werd dit gigantische territorium in vier apostolische vicariaten georganiseerd: Centraal Mongolië, Zuidwest-Mongolië, Oost-Mongolië en Gansu. De scheutisten bleven gedurende 90 jaren, van 1865 tot 1955, actief in het noorden van China.

Dit artikel omvat het onderzoek naar twee kerken van pater Alphonse De Moerloose. Hij was een Vlaamse scheutist die ook architect was en een merkwaardige bouwactiviteit in China ontwikkelde na de Bokseropstand van 1898-1900. Slechts enkele van zijn kerken hebben de Chinese burgeroorlog van 1947-1949 en de Culturele Revolutie van 1966-1976 overleefd. Veldwerk in maart 2010 en mei 2011 liet de auteurs van dit artikel toe om meerdere relictten van De Moerlooses werk te traceren. De best bewaarde kerken zijn deze van Shebiya (Binnen-Mongolië) en van Xuanhua (Hebei provincie), allebei in de jaren 1903-1906 gebouwd. Dankzij geschreven en iconografische bronnen uit het archief van de scheutisten in het KADOC in Leuven, konden het bouwproces en de historische context van beide kerken nauwkeurig worden gereconstrueerd.

Alphonse Frédéric De Moerloose – geboren te Gentbrugge in 1856, overleden te Schilde in 1932 – verbleef 44 jaren in China, van 1885 tot 1929. Hij behoorde tot een Vlaamse aannemersfamilie en studeerde vijfjaar architectuur aan de Sint-Lucasschool van Gent, voor hij in 1881 bij de scheutisten intrad. Zijn sterk katholieke, gotische en nationale kunstopleiding was gebaseerd op de “ware beginselen” van Pugin zoals aangepast aan de Belgische context door baron Jean-Baptiste Bethune en Auguste Van Assche. De kerken die De Moerloose in China bouwde zijn conform de Sint-Lucasideologie en -kunstkanon. Dit verklaart waarom de baksteenkerken van Shebiya en Xuanhua eruitzien als Vlaamse kerken uit de tweede helft van de 19de eeuw en refereren naar 13de-eeuwse modellen uit de Scheldegotiek. Shebiya is een eenvoudige dorpskerk van scheutisten. Xuanhua is een grotere en prestigieuze stadskerk die gebouwd werd door Franse lazaristen en in 1926 tot kathedraal verheven werd. De aanwezigheid van deze twee neogotische kerken ten noorden van de Chinese Muur duidt de wereldvisie van de scheutisten en lazaristen missionarissen na de Bokseropstand.

Dit artikel schetst ook een overzicht van het werk van pater De Moerloose in China. Zijn belangrijkste gebouwen waren de trapistenabdij van Yangjiaping (1903-1906 en 1922), de grootseminaries van Xiwanzi (1902) en Datong (1922), allebei in zuivere “Brugsche bouwtrant”, de kathedraal van Yongpingfu voor de lazaristen (1908-1910), en het ontwerp voor de bedevaartkerk van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Seshan in de omgeving van Shanghai (1924).

Het werk van pater De Moerloose past perfect in het vooroorlogse Eurocentrische missiemodel. Kritiek kwam geleidelijk aan uit verschillende hoeken. Eerst van missionarissen zelf die de gotische Sint-Lucaskerken wel mooi vonden maar volstrekt ongepast in het strenge klimaat van Mongolië: door de brede ramen en de hoge houten gewelven vroom het er in de winter en stikte men er in de zomer. Kritiek kwam ook uit Rome als gevolg van de nieuwe missiepolitiek van de Katholieke Kerk die Benedictus XV in 1919 definieerde in zijn encycliek *Maximum illud*. Hij keurde het Westerse koloniale gedrag af en bevorderde de noodzakelijke integratie van alle aspecten van lokale culturen alsook de ontwikkeling van een lokale clerus. In 1922 zond de paus aartsbisschop Celso Costantini naar China om de nieuwe Roomse missiepolitiek te implementeren. In 1924 ging die van start met de eerste synode van de Chinese katholieke Kerk te Shanghai. Costantini was overtuigd van het belang van kunst en moedigde de ontwikkeling van een eigen Chinese christelijke kunst en architectuur aan. Als promotor van het inculturatiemodel kon hij geen voorstander zijn van de neogotische architectuur. Daarentegen was Alphonse De Moerloose, zoals alle missionarissen tijdens de 19de eeuw, ervan overtuigd dat zijn Westerse en christelijke cultuur superieur was aan alle anderen. Bovendien vond hij als ultramontaan dat de Sint-Lucasneogotiek de enige gepaste stijl was voor kerkelijke architectuur, waar dan ook in de wereld. Nochtans zou het middeleeuwse paradigma van Pugin en de Sint-Lucasscholen vanaf het midden van de jaren 1920 definitief tot het verleden behoren, zowel in België als in China.

## Résumé

### **Du gothique de Flandre exporté en Chine: la signification et le contexte des églises de Shebiya (Mongolie intérieure) et de Xuanhua (Hebei) bâties par le missionnaire-architecte Alphonse De Moerloose en 1903-1906**

La Congrégation du Cœur Immaculé de Marie (C.I.C.M.), également appelée congrégation des pères de Scheut ou des Scheutistes, fut fondée à Bruxelles par le père Théophile Verbist en 1862. La congrégation reçut de Rome la mission d'évangéliser les vastes espaces de la Mongolie et organisa progressivement ce territoire en quatre vicariats apostoliques : la Mongolie centrale, la Mongolie du sud-ouest, la Mongolie orientale et le Gansu. Les Scheutistes furent actifs dans le nord de la Chine pendant 90 ans, soit de 1865 à 1955.

Le présent article est consacré à deux églises bâties par Alphonse De Moerloose, un missionnaire scheutiste flamand qui était également architecte et développa une impressionnante activité en Chine après la Révolte des Boxers en 1898-1900. Seuls quelques-unes de ses églises survécurent à la Guerre Civile chinoise de 1947-1949 et à la Révolution culturelle de 1966-1976. Le travail de terrain réalisé par les auteurs en mars 2010 et mai 2011 a permis d'identifier plusieurs bâtiments du père De Moerloose. Parmi eux, les églises de Shébiya (Mongolie-intérieure) et de Xuanhua (province de Hebei), toutes deux bâties dans les années 1903-1906, sont les mieux conservées. Grâce aux sources écrites et iconographiques trouvées dans les archives de la congrégation de Scheut (C.I.C.M.) conservées au KADOC à Louvain, le processus de construction des deux églises ainsi que leur contexte historique ont pu être reconstitués avec précision.

Alphonse Frédéric De Moerloose – né à Gentbrugge en 1856, décédé à Schilde en 1932 – vécut en Chine pendant 44 ans, de 1885 à 1929. Il appartenait à une famille d'entrepreneurs et étudia l'architecture à l'école Saint-Luc de Gand pendant cinq ans avant d'entrer chez les Scheutistes en 1881. La formation artistique qu'il reçut à Saint-Luc était catholique, gothique et nationale : elle était basée sur les « vrais principes » de Pugin tels qu'adaptés au contexte belge par le baron Jean-Baptiste Bethune et Auguste Van Assche. Aussi, les églises bâties par De Moerloose en Chine sont conformes au canon architectural et à l'idéologie de Saint-Luc. Ceci explique pourquoi les églises en brique de Shebiya et de Xuanhua ressemblent à ces églises de Flandre de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle qui avaient elles-mêmes pour modèle les édifices gothiques de la vallée de l'Escaut du XIIIe siècle. L'église de Shebiya est une simple paroisse rurale desservie

par des Scheutistes. Celle de Xuanhua est urbaine et plus prestigieuse ; desservie par des Lazaristes français, elle fut élevée au rang de cathédrale en 1926. La présence de ces deux édifices néo-gothiques au-delà de la Grande Muraille de Chine exprime la vision du monde des missionnaires scheutistes et lazaristes après la Révolte des Boxers.

Le présent article donne également un aperçu de l'œuvre du père De Moerloose en Chine. Ses réalisations les plus importantes furent l'abbaye trappiste de Yangjiaping (1903-1906 et 1922), les grands-séminaires de Xiwanzi (1902) et de Datong (1922), tous deux en pur « style brugeois », la cathédrale de Yongpingfu bâtie pour les Lazaristes (1908-1910), et le projet de basilique pour le pèlerinage marial Notre-Dame de Sheshan près de Shanghai (1924).

L'œuvre du père De Moerloose s'inscrivait parfaitement dans le modèle missionnaire eurocentrique antérieur à la Première Guerre mondiale, mais fit progressivement l'objet de critique venant de plusieurs parts. Si les missionnaires trouvaient l'esthétique néo-gothique très belle, ils estimaient toutefois qu'elle n'était pas adaptée aux rigueurs du climat de Mongolie : à cause des grandes fenêtres et des hautes voûtes en bois, on gelait dans les églises en hiver et on y suffoquait en été. De Rome vint une autre forme de critique suite à la nouvelle politique missionnaire de l'Église catholique, telle que définie en 1919 par le pape Benoît XV dans son encyclique *Maximum illud*. Condamnant le comportement colonial occidental, le pape insistait notamment sur la nécessité de l'intégration de tous les aspects de la culture locale ainsi que le développement d'un clergé local. En 1922, Rome envoya en Chine l'archevêque Celso Costantini qui y implémenta la nouvelle politique missionnaire à partir du Premier Synode chinois de Shanghai en 1924. Convaincu de l'importance de l'art, Costantini encouragea le développement d'un art et d'une architecture chrétiens chinois. Ce promoteur de l'inculturation ne pouvait pas être un adepte du néo-gothique. Inversement, le père De Moerloose, comme la plupart des missionnaires durant le long XIXe siècle, était convaincu de la supériorité de sa culture occidentale et chrétienne sur toutes les autres cultures. En tant qu'ultramontain, il était en outre convaincu que le gothique de Pugin et de Saint-Luc était le seul style architectural qui convenait à l'Église, partout dans le monde. Pourtant, à partir du milieu des années 1920, le paradigme médiéval des écoles Saint-Luc appartenait définitivement au passé, tant en Belgique qu'en Chine.

## Literature

### SOURCES

- Leuven, KADOC Documentation and Research Centre for Religion, Culture and Society:
- Archives of the *Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary* (C.I.C.M.-Scheutists).
  - Archives of the *St-Luke School of Ghent* (Sint-Lucas Gent).

### JOURNALS

BCP 1914-1948: *Le Bulletin catholique de Pékin* [Catholic Bulletin of Beijing], monthly, Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes du Pei-t'ang.

BMA 1901-1913: *Bulletin des Métiers d'Art* [Bulletin of Arts and Crafts], monthly, Brussels: Écoles Saint-Luc.

LMC 1870-1940: *Les Missions Catholiques. Bulletin hebdomadaire illustré de l'œuvre de la propagation de la Foi* [Catholic Missions], weekly, Lyon: Bureau des missions catholiques.

MCC 1889-1907: *Revue illustrée des Missions en Chine et au Congo* [Illustrated journal of the Missions in China and Congo], monthly, Scheut-Brussels: C.I.C.M.

MCCP 1908-1913: *Missions en Chine, au Congo et aux Philippines* [Missions in China, Congo and Philippines], monthly, Scheut-Brussels: C.I.C.M.

MS 1914-1939: *Missions de Scheut: revue mensuelle de la Congrégation du Cœur Immaculé de Marie* [Missions of Scheut], monthly, Brussels: C.I.C.M.

RAC 1883-1914: *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* [Journal of Christian Art], monthly, Lille: Société Saint-Augustin.

### WORKS

ARCKENS JOZEF 1902: Mongolie centrale: Une visite après les troubles chez les chrétiens du T'oumet [Central Mongolia: A Visit after the Troubles at the Christians of Toumet], *Missions en Chine et au Congo* 13/5, 113-116.

ARCKENS JOZEF 1905: Mongolie centrale: Le monument des martyrs de 1900 [Central Mongolia: The Monument of the Martyrs of 1900], *Missions en Chine et au Congo* 17/6, 121-123.

ARCKENS JOZEF 1913: Mongolie centrale: la mission de Chabernoor [Central Mongolia: The Mission of Chabernoor], *Les Missions catholiques* 45/2274, 533.

AUBIN FRANÇOISE 1983: Un cahier de vocabulaire technique du R.P. A. De Moerloose C.I.C.M., missionnaire de Scheut (Gansu septentrional, fin du XIXe siècle) [A Notebook of Technical Vocabulary of Father A. De Moerloose C.I.C.M., missionary of Scheut (North-Gansu, late 19th century)], *Cahiers de linguistique. Asie orientale* 12/2, 103-117.

AUBIN FRANÇOISE 1989: La vision catholique de la religiosité chinoise et mongole. L'expérience des missionnaires de Scheut en Mongolie chinoise (XIXe-XXe siècles) [The Catholic Vision of the Chinese and Mongol Religiosity. The Experience of the Scheut Missionaries in Central Mongolia (19th and 20th centuries)], *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 101/2, 991-1035.

BENEDICT XV 1919: *Maximum illud. Apostolic Letter on the Propagation of the Faith Throughout the World*. 30 November 1919. Translated by Thomas J.M. BURKE, S.J. Washington, DC: National Catholic Welfare Office.  
(<http://www.svdcuria.org/public/mission/docs/encycl/mi-en.htm>)

BERGMANS ANNA, COOMANS THOMAS & DE MAEYER JAN 2005: Arts décoratifs néo-gothiques en Belgique / De neogotische stijl in de Belgische sierkunsten [Neo-Gothic Decorative Arts in Belgium]. In: LEBLANC Claire (ed.), *Art Nouveau et Design: 175 ans d'arts décoratifs en Belgique / Art Nouveau & Design: Sierkunst van 1830 tot Expo 58*, Brussels-Tielt, 36-59.

BRANDSTETTER ILDEPHONSE 1928: A Journey to Hsuan Hua Fu: On Occasion of the Consecration of Bishop Peter Ch'eng, *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking* 5 (October), 22-36.

BRESSERS Adolphe & VAN ASSCHE Auguste 1865: *De kerken der middeleeuwen en haer symbolismus* [Medieval Churches and their Symbolism], Bruges.

BROOKS Chris 1999: *The Gothic Revival*, Art & Ideas, London-New York.

BUYLE Marjan, COOMANS Thomas, ESTHER Jan & GENICOT Luc Francis 1997: *Architecture gothique en Belgique / Gotische architectuur in België* [Gothic Architecture in Belgium], Brussels-Tielt.

Catalogue 1882: *Catalogue. Exposition scolaire des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes et des Académies de Saint-Luc* [Catalogue of the school exhibition of the Brothers of the Christian Schools and of the Academies of St. Luke], Brussels.

CHONG Francis 2008: Cardinal Celso Costantini and the Chinese Catholic Church, *Tripod*, Hong Kong: Holy Spirit Study Centre 28/148. ([http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod\\_en/en\\_tripod\\_148\\_05.html](http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_148_05.html))

CLOQUET Louis 1898-1901: *Traité d'Architecture. Éléments de l'architecture, types d'édifices, esthétique, composition et pratique de l'architecture* [Treatise on Architecture. The Elements of the Architecture, Building Types, Aesthetic, Design and Practice of Architecture], 5 vol., Paris.

CLOQUET Louis 1908: École Saint-Luc de Gand [St. Luke School of Ghent], *Revue de l'art chrétien* 51, 397-408.

CODY Jeffrey W. 1996: Striking a Harmonious Chord: Foreign Missionaries and Chinese-style Buildings, 1911-1949, *Architronic. The Electronic Journal of Architecture* 53, 1-30. (<http://corbu2.caed.kent.edu/architronic/>)

COHEN Paul A. 1997: *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*, New York.

COOMANS Thomas 1991: Pierre Langerock (1859-1923), architecte et restaurateur néo-gothique [Pierre Langerock (1859-1923), Neo-Gothic architect and restorer], *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 24, 117-140.

COOMANS Thomas 2006: Saint-Christophe à Liège: la plus ancienne église médiévale du mouvement béguinal [St. Christopher at Liège: the oldest medieval church of the beguine movement], *Bulletin monumental* 164/4, 359-376.

COOMANS Thomas 2007: L'art "scaldien": origine, développement et validité d'une école artistique? [The "scaldian" Art: origin, development and validity of an art school?]. In: NYS Ludovic & VANWIJNSBERGHE Dominique (eds), *Campin in Context. Peinture et société dans la vallée de l'Escaut à l'époque de Robert Campin 1375-1445*, Valenciennes-Brussels-Tournai, 15-30.

COOMANS Thomas, in press: La création d'un style architectural sino-chrétien. L'œuvre d'Adelbert Gresnigt, moine-artiste bénédictin en Chine (1927-1932) [The creation of an architectural Sino-Christian style. The work of Adelbert Gresnigt, Benedictine monk-artist in China (1927-1932)], *Revue Bénédictine* 123 (forthcoming).

COSTANTINI Celso 1932: L'universalité de l'art chrétien. In: *Dossiers de la Commission synodale. Numéro spécial sur l'art chrétien chinois* [About Universality of Christian Art, in: Digest of the Synodal Commission. Special issue on Chinese Christian Art], 5, Beijing, 410-417.

COSTANTINI Celso 1940: *L'arte Cristiana nelle missioni: manuale d'arte per i missionari* [The Christian art of the missions: art manual for missionaries], Urbaniana 2, Roma: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.

DE MAEYER Jan 1988: Kunst en Politiek. De Sint-Lucasscholen tussen ultramontaanse orthodoxie en drang naar maatschappelijk-culturele vernieuwing [Art and Politic. The St. Luke Schools between ultramontane orthodoxy and pressure for societal and cultural renewal]. In: DE MAEYER Jan (ed.), *De Sint-Lucasscholen en de Neogotiek 1862-1914* [The St. Luke Schools and Gothic Revival 1862-1914], Kadoc studies 5, Leuven, 57-123.



DE MAEYER Jan 2000: The Neo-Gothic in Belgium. Architecture of a Catholic Society. In: DE MAEYER Jan & VERPOEST Luc (eds), *Gothic Revival. Religion, Architecture and Style in Western Europe 1815-1914*, Kadoc Artes 5, Leuven, 29-34.

DE MOERLOOSE Alphonse 1891: Construction, arts et métiers, au Kan-sou et en Chine [Construction, Arts and Crafts in Gansu and China], *Missions en Chine et au Congo* 34, 532-538.

DE MOERLOOSE Alphonse 1892: Arts et métiers en Chine [Arts and Crafts in China], *Missions en Chine et au Congo* 37, 3-8.

DE MOERLOOSE Alphonse 1896: Fondation de la mission de K'ing-iang-fou, Kan-sou [Foundation of the Mission of K'ing-iang-fou, Gansu], *Missions en Chine et au Congo* 86, 216-219.

DE WILDE Chris 1994: Een oefening in de dood en het leven: Scheut in Oost-Mongolië (1890-1920). Motivatie als aanvullende visie op het acculturatiefenomeen [An exercise in life and death: Scheut in East-Mongolia (1890-1920). Motivation as complementary vision on the acculturation phenomenon], *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 64, 57-84.

DIEU Léon 1923: La nouvelle cathédrale de Si-wan-tze. Bénédiction de la première pierre [The new cathedral of Xiwanzi. Benediction of the first stone], *Missions de Scheut* 31, May 1923, 97-103.

DIEU Léon 1944: *La mission belge en Chine* [The Belgian Mission in China], 2nd ed., Collection nationale 15, Brussels.

DUJARDIN Carine 1996: *Missionering en moderniteit. De Belgische minderbroeders in China 1872-1940* [Missions and Modernity. The Belgian Franciscans in China 1872-1940], Kadoc studies 19, Leuven.

DUJARDIN Carine 2007: The Saint Luke School Movement and the Revival of Medieval Illumination in Belgium (1866-1923). In: COOMANS Thomas & DE MAEYER Jan (eds), *The Revival of Medieval Illumination. Nineteenth-Century Belgium Manuscripts and Illuminations from a European Perspective*, Kadoc Artes 8, Leuven, 268-293.

ERIAMEL [= Raymond LEMAIRE] 1905: Concours d'architecture. Concours organisé par le "Bulletin des métiers d'art" pour un projet d'église à élever dans une commune hennuyère de 9,000 à 10,000 âmes [Competition organised by the "Bulletin des métiers d'art" for a church to be erected in a commune of Hainaut with 9,000 to 10,000 parishioners], *Bulletin des métiers d'art* 5, August 1905, 68-85.

HELBIG Jules 1906: *Le Baron Bethune, fondateur des Écoles Saint-Luc. Étude Biographique* [Baron Bethune, founder of the Saint Luke Schools. A Biographical Study], Lille-Bruges.

HILL Rosemary 2006: Pugin's Churches, *Architectural History* 49, 179-205.

HUSTIN Arthur 1905: Mongolie Centrale. Quelques détails sur l'œuvre de la Sainte-Enfance [Central Mongolia: Some details on the works of the Holy Childhood], *Missions en Chine et au Congo*, 249-254.

HEYNDRIKX Jerom (ed.) 1994: *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leuven Chinese Studies 1, Leuven.

JEN Stanislaus 1978: *The History of Our Lady of Consolation Yang kia ping*, [Hong Kong].

KING Thomas Harper 1850: *Les vrais principes de l'architecture ogivale ou chrétienne par A.W. Pugin* [The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture after A.W. Pugin], Bruges.

KNIPSCHILD Harry 2008: *Soldaten van God. Nederlandse en Belgische missionarissen op missie in China in de negentiende eeuw* [Soldiers of God. Dutch and Belgian Missionaries in China During the Nineteenth Century], Amsterdam.

LAM Anthony 2008: Archbishop Costantini and the First Plenary Council of Shanghai (1924), *Tripod*, Hong Kong: Holy Spirit Study Centre 28/148. ([http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod\\_en/en\\_tripod\\_148\\_04.html](http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_148_04.html))

LANGEROCK Pierre & VAN HOUCKE Alphonse 1881-1888: *Anciennes constructions en Flandre / Oude bouwwerken in Vlaanderen* [Ancient buildings in Flanders] 1/1881, 2/1882, 3/1887, 4/1888, Ghent.

*Le Missionnaire Constructeur* 1926: *Le Missionnaire Constructeur. Conseils-Plans* [The missionary builder. Advices and plans], Sien-Hsien.

LEYSEN Jaak 1924: Mongolie. La belle mission de Palakai Mongolia [the beautiful mission of Palakai], *Les Missions Catholiques* 56, 1924, 258-259, 271-272, 284-285, 296-297, 309-310.

LICENT Émile 1924: *Comptes rendus de dix années (1914-1923) de séjour et d'exploration dans le bassin du Fleuve Jaune, du Pai Ho et des autres tributaires de Golfe du Pei Tchou Ly*, 3 vol., Tianjin.

LIEVENS Sara 2003: The Spread of the C.I.C.M. Mission in the Apostolic Vicariate of Central Mongolia (1865-1911). A General Overview. In: VANDE WALLE Willy F. & GOLVERS Noël (eds), *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644-1911)*, Leuven, 301-324.

LIMAGNE Auguste 1911: *Les Trappistes en Chine*, Paris.

LUO Wei 2011: Churches: The Transmission and Transformation of European Prototypes and Their Re-creation in Northern China, ca. 1900. The Work of Architect Alphonse De Moerloose, Scheutist Missionary (1885-1929). In: *Proceedings of East Asian Architectural Culture International Conference*, Singapore [CD-publication, ISBN: 978-981-08-8737-7].

NUYTS Jozef 1938: En tournée à travers le Vicariat [A journey through the Vicariate], *Missions de Scheut* 101-105, 182-185 and 213-219.

O'CONNOR Richard 1973: *The Boxer Rebellion*, London.

PLANCHET Jean-Marie 1927: *Les Lazaristes à Suanhoafou, 1783-1927* [The Lazarists at Xuanhua, 1783-1927], Beijing.

PRESTON Diana 2000: *The Boxer Rebellion: The Dramatic Story of China's War on Foreigners that Shook the World in the Summer of 1900*, London.

PUGIN Augustus Welby Northmore 1841a: *Contrasts or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day...*, London.

PUGIN Augustus Welby Northmore 1841b: *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, London.

QUATTROCCHI P.B. 1994: The Trappist Monks in China. In: HEYNDRICKX Jerom (ed.), *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leuven Chinese Studies 1, Leuven, 315-333.

RASKIN Brigitte 1994: *De eeuw van de ekster. Een Belgisch levensverhaal* [The Century of the Magpie. A Belgian Life History], Amsterdam.

RION Pierre 1986: *La basilique de Koekelberg. Architecture et mentalités religieuses* [The Basilica of Koekelberg. Architecture and religious mentalities], Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain 47, Louvain-la-Neuve.

RONDELEZ Valère 1938: *La chrétienté de Siwantze. Un centre d'activité missionnaire en Mongolie* [The christianity of Xiwanzi. A centre of missionary activity in Mongolia], s.l.

SCHMETZ Jacques 1905: Mongolie centrale: les occupations d'un curé missionnaire [Central Mongolia: The Business of a Missionary Priest], *Missions en Chine et au Congo* 17/6, 124-128.

SOETENS Claude 1997: *L'église catholique en Chine au XXe siècle* [The Catholic Church in China during the twentieth Century], Paris.

SWERTS Lorry 1994: *Mon Van Genechten. Vlaming & Chinees kunstenaar* [Mon Van Genechten. Fleming and Chinese Artist], Geel.

SWERTS Lorry & DE RIDDER Koen 2002: *Mon Van Genechten (1903-1974), Flemish Missionary and Chinese Painter: Inculturation of Christian Art in China*, Leuven Chinese Studies 11, Leuven.

THOREAU Vincent 1990: *Le tonnerre qui chante au loin. Vie et mort du Père Lebbe, apôtre des Chinois (1877-1940)* [The thunder who is singing in the distance. Life and death of Father Lebbe, apostel of the Chinese (1877-1940)], Brussels.

TICOZZI Sergio 2008: Celso Costantini's Contribution to the Localization and Inculturation of the Church in China, *Tripod*, Hong Kong: Holy Spirit Study Centre, 28/148. ([http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod\\_en/en\\_tripod\\_148\\_03.html](http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_148_03.html))

ULENAERS Sonja 1994: *Alphons Frederik De Moerloose C.I.C.M. (1858-1932)*, master thesis in Orientalism, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (unpublished).

VAN ASSCHE Auguste [s.d.1]: *Monographie de l'église de Notre-Dame de Pamele à Audenarde* [Monograph of the Lady church of Pamele at Oudenaarde], Recueil d'églises du Moyen Âge en Belgique 1, Bruges.

VAN ASSCHE Auguste [s.d.2]: *Monographie de l'église de Notre-Dame à Deinze* [Monograph of the Lady church at Deinze], Recueil d'églises du Moyen Âge en Belgique 2, Ghent.

VAN ASSCHE Auguste [1899]: *Monographie de l'église Saint-Nicolas à Gand* [Monograph of the St. Nicholas church of at Ghent], Recueil d'églises du Moyen Âge en Belgique, Ghent.

VAN ASSCHE Auguste & HELBIG Jules 1877: *Monographie de l'église paroissiale de Saint-Christophe à Liège* [Monograph of the parish church of St. Christopher at Liège]. Ghent.

VAN ASSCHE Auguste & HELBIG Jules 1883: *Recueil de modèles artistiques du Moyen Âge. Menuiserie et serrurerie de meubles (XVme et XVIme siècles)* [Collection of artistic models from the Middle Ages. Joinery and locksmithing (15th and 16th centuries)], Gilde de Saint-Thomas et de Saint-Luc, Ghent.

VAN CLEVEN Jean 1988: Neogotiek en neogotismen. De neogotiek als component van de 19e-eeuwse stijl in België [Neo-Gothic and Neo-Gothicisms. Neo-Gothic as a component of nineteenth-century style in Belgium]. In: DE MAEYER Jan (ed.), *De Sint-Lucasscholen en de Neogotiek 1862-1914* [The St. Luke Schools and Gothic Revival 1862-1914], Kadoc studies 5, Leuven, 17-55.

VAN CLEVEN Jean (ed.) 1994: *Neogotiek in België* [Gothic Revival in Belgium], Tielt.

VAN DEN BERG Leo 1994: The China World of the 'Scheutfathers', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 64, 223-263.

VAN DEN BRANDT J. 1936: *Les Lazaristes en Chine 1697-1935. Notes biographiques* [The Lazarists in China 1697-1935. Biographical notes], Beijing.

VAN DE PERRE Dirk 2003: *Op de grens van twee werelden. Beeld van het architectuuronderwijs aan het Sint-Lucasinstituut te Gent in de periode 1919-1965/1974* [On the boundary between two worlds. The image of the architecture education at the St. Luke Institute of Ghent during the period 1919-1965/1974], Ghent.

VANDE WALLE Willy F. & GOLVERS Noël (eds) 2003: *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644-1911)*, Leuven.

VAN HECKEN Joseph Leonard 1968: "Alphonse Frédéric De Moerloose C.I.C.M. (1858-1932) et son œuvre d'architecte en Chine [Alphonse Frédéric De Moerloose C.I.C.M. (1858-1932) and his Architectural Work in China], *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft / Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire* 24/3, 161-178.

VAN HECKEN Joseph 1970: "Moerloose, Alfons Frederik de, missionaris en architect" [Moerloose, Alfons Frederik de, missionary and architect]. In: *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek* 5, Brussels, 581-586.

VAN LOO Anne (ed.) 2003: *Dictionnaire de l'architecture en Belgique de 1830 à nos jours / Repertorium van de architectuur in België van 1830 tot heden* [Dictionary of Architecture in Belgium from 1830 to Present], Antwerp.

VAN MEENEN Jan 2007: *China voor Vlamingen* [China for Flemings], Tielt.

VAN OVERMEIRE Dirk 2008: *Elenchus of C.I.C.M. in China*, Ferdinand verbiest Foundation K.U.Leuven, Taiwan.

VANYSACKER Dries, VAN ROMPAEY Lies, BRACKE Wouter & EGGERMONT Betty 1995: *The Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (C.I.C.M.-Scheut) 1862-1967*, 2 vol., Brussels-Rome.

VERHELST Daniël & PYCKE Nestor (eds) 1995: *C.I.C.M. Missionaries, Past and Present 1862-1987. History of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Scheut/Missionhurst)*, Leuven.

VERPOEST Luc 1988: De architectuur van de Sint-Lucasscholen: het herstel van een traditie [The Architecture of the St. Luke Schools: the Restoration of a Tradition]. In: DE MAEYER Jan (ed.), *De Sint-Lucasscholen en de Neogotiek 1862-1914* [The St. Luke Schools and Gothic Revival 1862-1914], Kadoc studies 5, Leuven, 219-277.

VINTS Luc 2000: Les Missions Catholiques et le néo-gothique dans l'architecture missionnaire [The Catholic Missions and Gothic Revival in Missionary Architecture]. In: DE MAEYER Jan & VERPOEST Luc (eds), *Gothic Revival. Religion, Architecture and Style in Western Europe 1815-1914*, Kadoc Artes 5, Leuven, 125-132.

WALMACQ Achille 1906: Mongolie centrale. Joies et tribulations [Central Mongolia: Joys and Tribulations]. In: *Missions en Chine et au Congo*, 18/12, 278-282.

WANG JIYOU Paul 2010: *Le premier Concile plénier chinois (1924): droit canonique missionnaire forgé en Chine* [The first Plenary Chinese Council (1924): missionary canon law in China], Paris.

WOUTERS Wilfried 1988: Broeders en Baronnen. Het ontstaan van de Sint-Lucasscholen [Brothers and Barons. The Origin of the St. Luke Schools]. In: DE MAEYER Jan (ed.), *De Sint-Lucasscholen en de Neogotiek 1862-1914* [The St. Luke Schools and Gothic Revival 1862-1914], Kadoc studies 5, Leuven, 157-217.

ZHANG Xiaohong, SUN Tao & ZHANG Jingshu 2009: The Role of Land management in Shaping Arid/Semi-Arid Landscapes: The Case of the Catholic Church (C.I.C.M.) in Western Inner Mongolia from the 1870s (Late Qing Dynasty) to the 1940s (Republic of China), *Geographical Research* 47/1, 24-33.

#### WEBSITES

<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/> (December 2011)

<http://www.odis.be> (June 2011)

<http://www.pitt.edu/~medart/menuglossary/INDEX.HTM> (June 2011)