



University of *Ljubljana*
FACULTY OF ARTS

ASIAN STUDIES

**EUROPEAN JESUITS IN CHINA: THE IMPORTANCE OF
THE JESUITS FOR THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC
DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN AND CHINESE SOCIETY**

Volume III (XIX), Issue 2
Ljubljana, December 2015

ASIAN STUDIES, Volume III (XIX), Issue 2, Ljubljana, December 2015

Editor-in-Chief: Jana S. Rošker

Guest Editor: Nataša Vampelj Suhadolnik

Editor-in-Charge: Nataša Visočnik

Proof Reader: Tina Š. Petrovič in Josh Rocchio

Editorial Board: Ivana Buljan, Bart Dessein, Tamara Ditrich, Shaun Richard O'Dwyer, Raoul David Findeisen, Mark James Hudson, Ana Jelnikar, Mislav Ježić, Jeff Kingston, Mingchang Lin, Beatrix Mecsi, Tamae K. Prindle, Jana S. Rošker, Nataša Vampelj Suhadolnik, Nataša Visočnik, Mitja Saje, Geir Sigurdsson, Yuriko Sunakawa, Andrej Ule, Zouli Wang

All articles are double blind peer-reviewed.

The journal is accessible online in the Open Journal System data base: <http://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/as>.

Published by: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani/Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

For: Oddelek za azijske študije/Department of Asian Studies

For the publisher: Branka Kalenić Ramšak, Dean of Faculty of Arts

Ljubljana, 2015, First edition

Number printed: Print on demand

Graphic Design: Janez Mlakar

Printed by: Birografika Bori, d.o.o.

Price: 10,00 EUR

ISSN 2232-5131

This publication is indexed in the Cobiss database. This journal is published two times per year.

Yearly subscription: 17 EUR (Account No.: 50100-603-40227), Ref. No.: 001-033 ref. »Za revijo«

Address: Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za azijske študije, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
tel.: +386 (0)1 24 11 450, +386 (0)24 11 444, faks: +386 (0)1 42 59 337

This journal is published with the support of the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License. / To delo je ponujeno pod licenco Creative Commons Priznanje avtorstva-Deljenje pod enakimi pogoji 4.0 Mednarodna licenca

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

27-789.5(510=4)"15/16"(082)

EUROPEAN Jesuits in China : the importance of the Jesuits for the cultural and scientific development of European and Chinese society / [guest editor Nataša Vampelj Suhadolnik]. - 1st ed. - Ljubljana : Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete = University Press, Faculty of Arts, 2015. - (Asian studies, ISSN 2232-5131 ; vol. 3 (19), issue 2)

ISBN 978-961-237-786-1

1. Vampelj Suhadolnik, Nataša
281920000

Table of Contents

Introduction

European Jesuits in China: The Importance of the Jesuits for the Cultural and Scientific Development of European and Chinese Society	5
Nataša VAMPELJ SUHADOLNIK	

New Insights into the Life, Work, and Letters of the “Slovenian Jesuit” Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein

The Importance of Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein for Cultural and Political Relations with China and Korea	13
Mitja SAJE	

Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein on Giuseppe Castiglione’s Art	33
Nataša VAMPELJ SUHADOLNIK	

European Jesuits as a Cultural Bridge between China and Europe

Karel Slavíček, SJ and His Correspondence from China with European Astronomers and Scholars	59
Vladimír LIŠČÁK	

A Preliminary Study on the First Selected Translation of <i>The Book of Poetry</i> into French	75
Xiangyan JIANG	

Scientific and Astronomic Achievements of European Jesuits

Central-European Jesuit Scientists in China, and Their Impact on Chinese Science	89
Stanislav JUŽNÍČ	

清前期宫廷西洋科学仪器的种类和来源/ Types and Sources of Scientific Instruments in the Imperial Court of the Early Qing Dynasty	119
郭福祥/GUO Fuxiang	

Asian Studies in Slovenia

Su Shi in razcvet tem v poeziji <i>ci</i> – na primeru pesmi na melodijo »Mesečina na Zahodni reki«	141
Mojca PRETNAR	

Budistična ikonografija in simbolizem <i>chana</i> v Su Shijeve pesmi »Sliki Wang Weijia in Wu Daozija«.	163
Jan VRHOVSKI	

Podoba in vloga Matere Zahodnega kraljestva v grobni umetnosti dinastije Han197
Nataša VAMPELJ SUHADOLNIK

Knjižna recenzija – Wang Huiqin: *Ferdinand Avguštin Hallerstein – Slovenec v Prepovedanem mestu*213
Jana Š.ROŠKER

Book Reviews

Mitja Saje (ed.): *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling 刘松龄 – The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*219
Jana Š.ROŠKER

Introduction

European Jesuits in China: The Importance of the Jesuits for the Cultural and Scientific Development of European and Chinese Society

*Nataša VAMPELJ SUHADOLNIK**

It is my great privilege and pleasure to introduce the present issue of the journal *Asian Studies*. This is a special issue devoted to the topic of European Jesuits in China, and it is dedicated to Professor Mitja Saje and his academic and scientific research work. Professor Saje is one of the three co-founders of the Department of Asian Studies (formerly Asian and African Studies), which was established at the University of Ljubljana in 1995. Until his retirement (July 2015), he was a constant presence in the Department and one of its guiding spirits over the last twenty years. Possessed of an enormous respect for Chinese culture, he contributed significantly not only to the academic development of the Department, but also to promoting that culture in Slovenia as a whole. Professor Saje is specialised in traditional and modern Chinese history, politics and economy. His four volume study of Chinese history is the most comprehensive and important work of its kind in the Slovenian language. It is, in fact, a pioneering work in Slovenian sinology, and provides both a chronological exposition of this complex subject from the earliest times to the founding of the People's Republic of China, as well as thorough and penetrating analyses of the many socio-political factors which influenced the development of Chinese society.

In addition to this major historical work, a significant part of Professor Saje's academic activity was also dedicated to researching the Jesuit community in Beijing and, in particular, to the forgotten "Slovenian" Jesuit missionary, Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein (1703–1774) (Chinese name Liu Songling 劉松齡). Hallerstein was an active member of the Qianlong 乾隆 (1711–1799) court and was appointed Head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy in 1747, a position he would maintain until his death nearly 30 years later. Professor Saje was one of the first Slovenian scholars to underscore the importance of Hallerstein's life and work, and

* Nataša VAMPELJ SUHADOLNIK, Associate Professor, Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.
natasava.vampelj.suhadolnik@ff.uni-lj.si



promote the study of this figure within both the European and Chinese academic communities. He was the editor and main instigator for the first comprehensive monograph on Hallerstein in English, *A. Hallerstein - Liu Songling: The Multi-cultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, published in Maribor in 2009. This study provides the broader academic community with an innovative approach to the cultural links between China and Europe and offers new material regarding Hallerstein's scientific, religious, diplomatic, and cultural activities and writings. The monograph is especially valuable because it includes the English translation of most of his letters (with only the purely scientific correspondence excluded), which were addressed to fellow Jesuits in Europe, family members and even the Queen of Portugal, Maria Anna (1683–1754).

In recognition of Professor Mitja Saje's achievements in this research area, the present issue is dedicated to the European Jesuit missionaries in China from the 17th and 18th centuries, and their major contributions to the cultural and scientific development of European and Chinese society. It brings together a select group of papers that analyse diverse aspects of the work of the Jesuits in China, especially the mathematicians, scientists, and cultural envoys from Central and Eastern Europe who succeeded in establishing early scientific and cultural links between the West and China. While most of these missionaries came from different regions of the Habsburg Monarchy, their ethnic and geographical origins had little meaning for the Chinese. With the dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I, some of the more prominent Jesuits were forgotten by the new countries which had been established on the ruins of the Empire. In our view, sinologists and historians in Central and East European countries have a duty to underscore the cultural and scientific importance of these early missionaries and to reaffirm their historic role. The Chinese should likewise do more to recognise and link these figures with their countries of origin. Ultimately, the achievements of these missionaries belong both to their countries of origin and to China, where they lived and worked, and to which they dedicated much of their lives and knowledge.

The volume opens with a section dedicated to the "Slovenian" Jesuit, Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein, who due to various historical and political circumstances was forgotten for more than 200 years. The rediscovery of Hallerstein began with a number of cooperation projects between the Slovenian and Chinese archives in the 1980s. In 1985, to mark the 210th anniversary of his death, Professor Ju Deyuan published an article in the *Palace Museum Journal* entitled: *Liu Songling, Head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy in the Qing Dynasty*. The revival of interest in Hallerstein in Slovenia instead began with the work of Zmago Šmitek, Professor of cultural anthropology and ethnology at the University of Ljubljana, who

included chapters on Hallerstein in his two volume work dedicated to famous Slovenian travellers (Šmitek 1986 and Šmitek 1995). New impetus arrived with the symposium held in Ljubljana to mark the 300th anniversary of Hallerstein's birth. As part of this event, the Mengeš museum unveiled a bronze plaque at his birthplace. The symposium resulted in two monographs: one dedicated to his achievements as an astronomer (Južnič 2003) and the second to his scientific and cultural work in general which also included the first translations of Hallerstein's letters into Slovenian (Hribar 2003). Hallerstein's life and role as a cultural bridge between Europe and China next became the focus of a two-year European Union project (2007–2009). The project not only greatly accelerated the scholarly research, but also supported the artistic promotion of Hallerstein in several European countries and China, culminating in seven performances which combined historical documentation with contemporary performing arts and new media technologies. Of the various international symposiums and conferences which have taken place since then, the most important was the international symposium in Beijing in 2009, which provided a platform for discussing Hallerstein's role in China, and brought together a wide range of Chinese scholars from different research institutions.¹ The intense research on Hallerstein over the last two decades has brought to light numerous documents, scientific reports and letters, which were scattered among many different European archives (in Austria, Italy and the Vatican, Portugal, Russia, France, England, Belgium, and Slovenia). Much of this new material was collected in the first comprehensive monograph in English, *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, edited by Professor Mitja Saje.

The first section thus provides new insights into Hallerstein's life and work in Beijing, based on the materials in various Chinese and European archives and on his correspondence. The first article, by Mitja Saje, investigates the importance of Hallerstein for European cultural and political relations with China and Korea. While his work in China is well known, his cultural link with Korea has yet to be fully examined. Based on new documentation, the author confirms Hallerstein's strong relations with Korean scholars and highlights his role as an important cultural link not only between China and Slovenia, but also between Korea and Slovenia. The second article, by Nataša Vampelj Suhadolnik, examines Hallerstein's correspondence, and especially his relationship with the celebrated Jesuit painter, Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766). The article is the first to analyse Hallerstein's views on the famous Jesuit painter and offers original insights into court painting and Castiglione's art, together with new evidence regarding the painter's works.

1 The symposium, entitled "Early European Missionaries in China and Sinological Studies", was held at the Beijing University of Language and Culture, September 2009. See also Saje 2009, 46–47.

The second section, entitled *European Jesuits as a Cultural Bridge between China and Europe*, consists of articles by Vladimír Liščák (Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague) and Xiangyan Jiang (East China Normal University). Liščák discusses one of eight Jesuits from the original province of Bohemia, Karel Slaviček (1678–1735), who came to China in 1716. Even though he was a gifted mathematician, astronomer, and cartographer, as well as a talented musician whose abilities were much prized by the Emperor, like Hallerstein his name rarely appears in general Chinese histories or in studies of Christianity in China. The author analyses Slaviček's letters, which first appeared in a Czech edition in 1995, followed by a Chinese translation a few years later (Beijing 2002), and provides a detailed catalogue of his correspondence. Xiangyan Jiang instead addresses the issue of Christian terminology in the French translation of the eight poems selected from the *Greater Odes*, *Minor Odes* and *Sacrificial Odes of Zhou* of the *Book of Poetry*, which were translated into French by the French Jesuit missionary, Joseph de Prémare (1660–1736) in the early 18th century. By analysing Prémare's translation of the key concepts—*Tian* 天, *Haotian* 昊天 and *Shangdi* 上帝—Jiang reveals their theological significance in terms of Christianity, and examines the correspondences that Prémare draws between the two religious and cultural systems in his translation.

In the third and final section, entitled *Scientific and Astronomic Achievements of European Jesuits*, Stanislav Južnič (University of Oklahoma) and Fuxiang Guo (Palace Museum in Beijing) discuss the work of Jesuit scientists and astronomers in China. While the primary aim of the Jesuits in China was spreading Christianity, due to their advanced knowledge of astronomy, mathematics, and geography they were highly esteemed by the Chinese emperors, who entrusted them with important scientific projects, such as revising the calendar, observing astronomical phenomena, and constructing astronomical and other scientific instruments, and also appointed them to key positions on the Imperial Board of Astronomy. Based on important new documentation regarding Central European Jesuits, Stanislav Južnič provides a detailed study of nine Austrian Jesuits who lived and worked in China in the 17th and 18th centuries. The author also analyses statistical data regarding Central European Jesuits, and focuses on their role in the exchange of religious, philosophical, cultural and even economic notions between Europe and China. The article concludes by examining the contribution of the Jesuits to the economic, military and political development of modern Chinese society. This special thematic issue concludes with an article in Chinese by Fuxiang Guo, researcher and curator from the Palace Museum in Beijing. Based on the vast collection of western scientific instruments housed at the Palace Museum in Beijing, Guo's article examines the material and cultural heritage of the Jesuits in China.

Based on archival data and other documentation, as well as the Museum's physical collections, the author discusses the classification and typology of the various instruments, and describes the origins and history of the collection, which had three primary sources: foreign diplomatic gifts, contributions of the missionaries and other officials, and court officials and artisans who manufactured the instruments at the court.

The present collection of articles deals primarily with new and previously unpublished material regarding the scientific and cultural work of the European Jesuits in China from the 17th and 18th centuries. It thus offers new insights into the highly diversified activities of the Jesuits and their impact on the cultural and scientific development of both European and Chinese societies, an influence which is still evident today. We hope this special issue will contribute to a more profound understanding of the achievements of the Jesuit missionaries and, in particular, of their influence on the increased flow of intellectual and material goods in today's globalisation process and on the future development of modern and contemporary factors and issues related to China and Europe. Seeking to understand events through a broader global perspective is the key to greater mutual understanding among peoples and cultures.

We hope our readers will enjoy this issue.

Nataša Vampelj Suhadolnik, Guest Editor

References

- Hribar, Viljem Marjan, ed. 2003. *Mandarin: Hallerstein, Kranjec na kitajskem dvoru*. Radovljica: Didakta.
- Južnič, Stanislav. 2003. *Kitajski astronom iz Mengša*. Ljubljana: Tehniška založba.
- Šmitek, Zmago. 1986. *Klic daljnih svetov*. Radovljica: Didakta.
- . 1995. *Srečevanja z drugačnostjo: slovenska izkustva eksotike*. Radovljica: Didakta.

*New Insights into the Life, Work, and Letters of the
“Slovenian Jesuit” Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein*

The Importance of Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein for Cultural and Political Relations with China and Korea

*Mitja SAJE**

Abstract

Since symbols of early cultural relations between Europe and East Asia are important, we are striving to restore the image of Augustin Hallerstein (1703–1774) in China and earn his legacy its appropriate position in the history of the Qing dynasty next to other great Jesuits like Adam Shall von Bell (1591–1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), or Ignatius Kögler (1680–1746). A two-year EU project made possible the publication of a monograph in English, which was translated into Chinese and published in China in February 2015. Wider popularization of his achievements should be beneficial to Slovenia as well as to China, where he did his work. Such common heroes of the past could often be used to promote better understanding and cooperation between China and Slovenia. Through strong connections with Korean scholars he gained a high reputation in Korea as well.

Keywords: Hallerstein, Qing dynasty, Jesuits, astronomy, science

Izvilleček

Zaradi pomembnosti, ki jo imajo simboli zgodnjih kulturnih stikov med Evropo in vzhodno Azijo, si prizadevamo obuditi podobo Avgušlina Hallersteina (1703–1774) v skladu s položajem, ki ga je dosegel na Kitajskem, ter mu zagotoviti primerno mesto v zgodovini dinastije Qing ob boku drugih najpomembnejših jezuitov, kot so bili Adam Shall von Bell (1591–1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688) ali Ignatius Kögler (1680–1746). Dve letni EU projekt je omogočil izdajo angleške monografije, ki so jo leta 2015 prevedli in izdali na Kitajskem. Širša odmevnost njegovih dosežkov je pomembna tako za Slovenijo kot za Kitajsko. Taki skupni junaki preteklosti so lahko pogosto v pomoč za boljše medsebojno razumevanje in sodelovanje med Kitajsko in Slovenijo. Podobno bi lahko veljalo tudi za Korejo, ker si je Hallerstein v sodelovanju z njihovimi učenjaki pridobil velik ugled tudi v Koreji.

Ključne besede: Hallerstein, dinastija Qing, jezuiti, astronomija, znanost

* Mitja SAJE, Professor, Department of Asian Studies,
Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.
mitjasaje@hotmail.com



Introduction

Historic symbols of cultural connections and good relations are becoming even more important in contemporary society. It may be said that Slovenia is very lucky to have a prominent figure—Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein (1703–1774)—functioning in early European–Chinese relations. The problem is that he has been almost forgotten, so we had to rediscover him and restore his appropriate historic position, though his importance as a symbol of early cultural relations with China is still not adequately recognised. Because such symbols are equally important for both sides involved our efforts were also dedicated to restoring his image in China and earn him his appropriate position in Qing dynasty history. However, based on recent research into his activities in Beijing we are discovering his strong connections with Korean scholars and further that through the writings in the Korean books of one of his admirers, Hallerstein gained a great reputation in Korea and even became a rather well-known scientist. Based on these new discoveries we can extend Hallerstein’s symbolic importance to Korea so that he can figure as a symbolic cultural link not only between China and Slovenia, but also between Korea and Slovenia. When the awareness of such a common historic cultural symbol is well-established, then politics can come in and exploit the mutually recognised historic facts to the benefit of better relations between two countries.

The Jesuit missionary Ferdinand Augustin Haller von Hallerstein, Chinese name Liu Songling 劉松齡, held a remarkable position in Beijing acting as the head of The Imperial Board of Astronomy from 1746 until his death in 1774. Until very recently there was still very little known about his historic role as a cultural link between Europe and China and even less about his Korean connections. On the other side there was only a rough awareness in limited scientific circles of his contribution in the development of Western and Chinese science. In light of his achievements he could well be placed among the most celebrated Jesuits working in the Qing dynasty China such as Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), or Ignatius Kögler (1680–1746), but due to certain historic reasons connected with Hallerstein’s native place he is far less-known and we can hardly find his name in most important books in either Western sinology or in history books in China. For these reasons it was our duty to rediscover him and place him next to the above-mentioned Jesuit missionaries working in China and to assure his appropriate position in sinological circles, as well as among historians and the general population both in Slovenia and in China.

One of the reasons for Hallerstein’s historic oblivion was the fact that he was born in Carniola, the Austrian province with a Slovenian population, which after World War I became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later

Yugoslavia, and is now part of the Republic of Slovenia. It is evident that after the collapse of the Austrian Empire there was not much motivation in Austria to research the activities regarding his missionary work in China. Apart from the Jesuit community and some historians of science, who kept records of his purely scientific achievements, he was almost unknown in European sinological circles. Though some of his letters were published in German in the Jesuit publication *Welt-Bott*, they did not attract much attention since his figure was little known. In Europe almost no other materials were published and no comprehensive documentation regarding his life and work in China was available, because different documents, scientific reports, and letters were scattered in archives in several European countries (Austria, Italy and the Vatican, Portugal, Russia, France, England, Belgium, and Slovenia).

Rediscovering Hallerstein's Historic Role

Even in Slovenia until recently Hallerstein was little known to the general public. Though having been a prominent scientist of the 18th century, not to mention his cultural mission to China, only some workers in archives kept records of him until Dr Zmago Šmitek, Professor of non-European ethnology and cultural anthropology at the University of Ljubljana, started a broad study on famous Slovenes who had travelled to distant lands in past centuries. He published his first book regarding this topic in 1986 (Šmitek 1986), in which among many others there was one chapter dedicated to Augustin Hallerstein. Then, in 1995 his second book (Šmitek 1995) followed, in which he published a comprehensive study of Hallerstein's biography based on extensive research of European archives. This was the basic study uncovering the importance of Hallerstein's position in China and disclosing the scope of his work as well as stating some comments from his letters concerning his travel and the situation in China. In the meanwhile the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia made their first contacts with their Chinese partners and the cooperation between the two institutions concerning the documents focusing on Hallerstein's sojourn in China has begun. At the same time the first Slovenian ethnologist and anthropologist discovered Hallerstein's tombstone in the Jesuit cemetery in Beijing,¹ and learned that his Chinese name was Liu Songling. After that we started a systematic search for Chinese documents and other materials concerning his life in Beijing.

1 Ralf Čeplak was the one who first climbed the wall surrounding the restored complex of the Jesuit cemetery. Previously that location had been inaccessible because it was situated in the restricted area of the Beijing Party School.

As we started researching Hallerstein in China, we discovered that even there he has been almost completely forgotten, the main reasons being the historic circumstances in China in the late 18th century. The changing social environment influenced a new approach towards Jesuits, foreign missionaries, and foreigners in general. In its outward appearance China was still a magnificent empire immersed in its own tradition, blinded by its past glory, but under the surface Chinese traditionalism squeezed under Manchu repression was slowly losing ground in competition with a rapidly modernising world in which the industrial revolution was making a profound impact on societies and the development of nations. This impact was indirectly perceived in China as a complex process of several new circumstances that strongly influenced Chinese historic thinking and perception of the role of foreigners in Chinese history.

To begin with, the Chinese attitude towards Christianity and Christian missionaries drastically changed in the 18th century and was far from the tolerant approach under Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (1654–1722) in the previous century. During the reign of Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (1711–1799) the missionary work of the Jesuits in China was partly at a disadvantage because of the rigid policy of papal Rome, which did not allow the Jesuits to continue to use their successful accommodation method when preaching Christian religion and partly the missionary activities were under hard pressure from growing Manchu absolutism. The Manchu monarchs in the role of the “Son of Heaven” were adopting the image of cosmopolitan world leaders in every domain from politics to culture and religion and would not accept another religious authority outside their own realm, for example the Pope in Rome. No wonder that tensions arose between Rome and the Chinese court, since Chinese emperors felt that this was Rome’s interference in their authority in China. As a response they adopted more strict measures towards Christian religion and the missionary work. As a consequence missionary work was severely limited and occasionally even forbidden and persecuted. The Jesuits were aware of these difficulties and knew that Chinese emperors appreciated them mainly because of their more advanced scientific methods. The Jesuits concentrated on their scientific work in order to win the favour of Emperor Qianlong, who was the main protector of their work, hoping that they would eventually continue their religious work as well. Hallerstein’s comment on the Pope’s decision was rather stoic. In a letter dated on October 6, 1743, addressed to his brother, he wrote:

You are asking what kind of echo was caused by Pope Benedictus XIVth’s decision about Chinese rituals. I am answering that it caused what we have been expecting. We accepted it, promised, and we will keep to it.

And really we do not have those troubles, because this Chinese Christianity is limited to the very poor, who hardly have enough for food and living, so how could they bring gifts to their ancestors, sacrifice or build houses for them. (Pray 1781, 1: I–XVI)

From this comment we can see how much the situation of missionary work in China had changed since the time of the early Jesuits, when the application of the accommodation method had helped them spread Christianity even among the very rich and high-ranking officials. From then the conditions for missionary work in China changed so much that occasionally even the Jesuits in Peking became the target of prosecution. Hallerstein mentions one such attempt in the letter dated on 28th of November 1749, addressed to his brother, in which he wrote:

Also in Peking they undertook many things against us. The Portuguese Father Felix da Rocha and I even stood before the court of law for having provided Christians with books about our faith, breviaries, devotional pictures, rosaries and similar items. However, the Emperor took up our cause when the judge presented the matter to him. Further: so that the Peking brothers would not be able to help the brothers in the provinces and in communal affairs, they so cunningly sealed off our access to the Emperor, whom we could visit only with difficulty, if at all, meaning that everything that we were planning or attempting has fallen through. We can thus count it as a success that we have maintained this post in Peking at all. (Pray 1781, 2: XVII–XXIX)

Further, a new attitude towards natural sciences and mathematics emerged in China in the 17th century and there was an impression in the 18th century that China was narrowing the gap between the level of science in China and in the West. Because of this impression there was a prevailing perception among later Chinese historians that foreign Jesuit missionaries of the 18th century did not bring any new science to China and so their staying in China was not as important as in earlier times. Such viewpoints were strengthened by the fact that there was strong competition between the Chinese and foreigners in the Imperial Board of Astronomy, where the Chinese scientists envied the leading position of foreigners and often tried to discredit the actions of the Jesuits in order to improve their own positions.

In his letters Hallerstein mentions several attempts by his Chinese colleagues to bring European Jesuits into discredit. For example in his 5th letter to his brother Weichard (1706–1780, also Jesuit, based in Brussels) dated 6 November 1740, he describes attempts by Chinese astronomers to bring the European Jesuits into an

unfavourable position by making false accusations, and the Emperor's reaction when the Jesuits proved that all the accusations were groundless. He writes:

That it is a thorn in the side of the Chinese astronomers to have to see sitting in the mathematical tribunal also our order members, and this even in high positions, is known. Now they have written a slanderous accusation against us and presented it to the Emperor that he might, if not cast us out of the saddle, at least denigrate us before the people. The contents of the letter were that the Europeans were striving with all their strength to eradicate and destroy the memory of Chinese astronomy, which had flourished since antiquity. To prove this, they cite that Nan Huairen, that is, Father Ferdinand Verbiest, dared to cast into the darkest corner of the observation tower all of the old Chinese well-crafted devices which they had used to advantage for many a year, and in their place set up a new device in the European tradition. That Jilian Yunfeng, that is, Father Kilian Stumpf, went even further when he melted down a few pieces of the aforementioned well-crafted devices, poured them into another model and publicly displayed them in the said place as a sign of the victory of foreign science, as a gibe to the native people. That Dai Jinxian and Xu Maode, that is, Fathers Ignaz Kögler and André Pereira, who were responsible for mathematics, planned nothing less treacherous than zealously to do away with all remaining Chinese antiquity and, by asserting their own newly-established art, to destroy the honour and renown of the science of antiquity that had been valid for many centuries in China, if they were not stopped in time. This document, disseminated in printed form throughout the entire country, immediately fell into the aforementioned Fathers' hands, though these did not hesitate to rebuke it. They sent the Emperor a letter in which they demonstrate that everything that Father Verbiest had done was done on the command of the Emperor Kangxi, meaning that he is being accused of disobedience for carrying out the will of the Emperor, even though he could not do otherwise without being disrespectful, which is indictable. They wrote further that though Father Stumpf did indeed pour the new quadrant, this also occurred at the demand of the court, and it was not from the remains of a destroyed and old device that had been melted down, but from the metal that a mandarin obtained at the Emperor's command, as can be confirmed from the ledger books of that time. That they themselves, Fathers Kögler and Pereira, did not dispel with a single bit of the memory of Chinese antiquity, much less invent something new. Neither could anyone convince them that they ever, with a single word,

showed or aspired to show that they belittle, reject or even dismantle old and renowned Chinese astrology. The conclusion was that none of the accusations were based on truth, but on the nefarious imputations of their jealous slanderers. The Emperor graciously accepted the defence document. However, this had no other effect than that the accusations fell into oblivion. We do not know whether these despicable slanderers were allotted punishment, nor what punishment there might have been. If they deigned to appear before the Emperor's throne with a document so full of lies, in the time of Emperor Yongzheng they would have paid for their boldness, if not with their heads, then at least with a rather severe punishment. (Welt-Bott IV, 588: 93–97)

In the Library of the Imperial Palace in Taipei I found four documents which are dated the 28th year of Emperor Qianlong and are mainly related to similar circumstances. The documents deal with financial matters concerning some false accusations that the Imperial Board of Astronomy was misusing some funds and disclosing Hallerstein's proofs that the money was spent properly and that all the accusations were groundless. Such biased perception is especially unfair for Hallerstein, because of his outstanding scientific performance. Because of the changed situation in China, it was only for the reason of scientific work that the emperor still kept foreign Jesuits in leading positions on the Imperial Board of Astronomy. Hallerstein obtained his high position on the Imperial Board of Astronomy precisely because of his reputation as a good scientist and excellent mathematician. We can get the information how Hallerstein immediately rose to a prominent position in Beijing from Louis Pfister's description of life and bibliography of Jesuits from the old China mission (Pfister 1934). Pfister wrote that after Hallerstein's arrival in Macao on September 4, 1938, the news that he was an excellent mathematician came quickly to Peking, so the next year he was asked to come to Beijing, where the emperor Qianlong became fond of him and ordered him to become the aid of Ignatius Kögler. After Kögler's death, Hallerstein was nominated as his successor as president of the Board of Mathematics upon the recommendation of the Jesuit father Andreas Pereira (1689–1743), who liked him very much and suggested to the emperor that Hallerstein was the most capable to fill that position, in defiance of several Mandarins who wanted to secure this position for a Muslim. Hallerstein held that position for almost thirty years. Further, Pfister wrote that Hallerstein's devotion to exact astronomical observations was part of his character. Pfister quotes the famous French astronomer of the time Antoine Gaubil (1689–1759), who greatly praised Hallerstein in his letters, speaking about his zeal to work. He mentions also the troubles Hallerstein had to endure because of some Chinese and Manchu commissioners and superintendents who wanted

to appropriate his achievements and present it as their own merits to further their own promotions... so, not everything was rosy at the Beijing Court, nor was it for the presidents of The Imperial Board of Astronomy.

Though Hallerstein's position in The Imperial Board of Astronomy was not very easy, he maintained an efficient working atmosphere and accomplished many important tasks. Besides calculating the calendar and solar eclipses, which was the usual work of this institution, he helped to design and to install the new armillary sphere with which became the pride of Beijing's astronomic observatory. The emperor's order to construct a new equatorial armillary sphere was issued in 1744. The project officially started under the supervision of Ignatius Kögler who at that time was already seriously ill and died two years later, so most of the work was carried out by Hallerstein. The armillary sphere was finished in 1754 and is still the most impressive astronomic instrument of the old observatory in Beijing. Connected with the construction of this instrument was the famous astronomic book *Astronomical Instruments and Complete Studies by Imperial Order* (Osojnik 2003) *Qinding yixiangkaocheng* 欽定儀象考成, which includes the design of the instrument, the map of stars, and the catalogue of 3083 stars that was published in 1757 and later translated in French (Chevalier 1914). The results of Hallerstein's observations were also published in Europe with the help of Russian diplomat Ivan Kropotov, in a book named *Observationes asronomicae*, printed in Vienna in 1768. His numerous astronomic observations are well documented in *Comentarii* of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Hallerstein's legacy at the Beijing Jesuit Library (now in Capital Library in Beijing) features Stržinar's Slovenian Songbook, printed in 1729 in Graz and taken by Hallerstein to China.

Apart from his regular work Hallerstein even succeeded in carrying out several scientific accomplishments that were not directly linked to his official tasks. He discovered a new comet that appeared in the year 1748 (C 1748 H1) and reported it to the Royal Society in London. To the same institution he provided some herb samples and a description of the musk deer. Then he calculated the geographical length of Beijing from the orbits of Jupiter's satellites on the basis of time difference between Beijing and Saint Petersburg. In the scientific circles of the time he became quite known because of his experiments with inductive electricity. He calculated the total population of China for the year 1760 when the total of 19 provinces was 196,837,977, and for the year 1761 when its total was 198,214,533. He was actually the first to make such precise calculations. In the field of geography, he made the map of the Mulan region in Manchuria, and took part in preparations for the Big Atlas of China, which the Jesuits published in 1761. In his scientific work he maintained contacts with the Academies in London, Paris and Saint Petersburg, and published his works in different European countries

as well as in China. In fact Hallerstein did more scientific work and had greater variety of scientific results than most if not all of his predecessors in the Imperial Board of Astronomy, but because of changed historic circumstances in China, his scientific achievements were only praised in Europe and completely forgotten in China. Even Hallerstein himself had the feeling that the emperor valued the work of foreign Jesuits only out of necessity for accurate astronomic calculations, but on the other side Hallerstein was very disappointed with the attitude of Chinese officials, who showed no interest in his experiments with electromagnetic induction.

The third, and probably most important, factor for the later oblivion of Hallerstein and his scientific achievements in China was the immense influence of the Opium Wars and the attitude of imperialistic powers in 19th century China on Chinese historic thinking and the perception of the role of foreigners in Chinese history. China experienced very traumatic times of extortion and humiliation; as a consequence, there was a tendency to blame foreigners for all the misfortunes China had suffered. Gradually a superficial and one-sided view of this part of Chinese history emerged, with strong support from the ruling Communist party and the rigid requirements of its ideology. Under such pressure Chinese historians stopped distinguishing which foreigners did something beneficial for China, and also did not pay much attention to what foreigners' various intentions were or from which specific country each came. As the time span covered by this kind of thinking gradually broadened, it also encompassed the second half of the 18th century, the historical period of which Hallerstein just happened to be part, a period for which Chinese historians did not feel comfortable to write about the activities of foreigners. According to this tendency in Chinese historic writing the attitude towards Christian missionaries from the late Qing dynasty onward was in principle biased with simplified and not very accurate conclusions. There were nonetheless several scholars in China who had better knowledge of historic facts, but due to the prevailing political mood simply did not dare to write about unsuitable topics, or were persecuted when touching upon undesirable themes.

A good example of an unlucky historian who fell from favour because of his research on Jesuit missionaries was Professor Yan Zonglin 閻宗臨 (1904–1978). He was actually the first Chinese scholar to discover sources and to write about Hallerstein, but because of unfortunate political circumstances, he remained forgotten and unnoticed. In 1925 he went to France to study, obtained a Ph.D. in Switzerland in 1936, and was the first Chinese scholar who, because of his knowledge of Latin, went to study the archives in Rome concerning Jesuit missionaries. He was interested in mediaeval world history, European cultural history, and early contacts between China and the West, and in this context in his articles he mentioned Hallerstein and other Jesuit missionaries. Being a patriot

he returned to his homeland after the Japanese attack on China in 1937, but received in return unfair treatment ever after. Though in 1950 he obtained a post at the University of Shanxi province, for political reasons he was never able to write about his main research topic. During the Cultural Revolution he was severely attacked and even beaten. Later, bearing this burden, he kept quiet for the rest of his life. It is a pity for China and Chinese historiography that under repression he so early ceased to write. Only recently, long after his death, his son gathered his papers concerning Jesuit missionaries in Beijing, including Hallerstein, and published them in 2003 (Yan 2003).

The presence of all implications concerning the changes in the late Qing dynasty in China and the pressure of ideology on Chinese historic writing therefore demands a more thorough study of historic facts about Jesuits working in China from the times of Emperor Qianlong on and a new description of their historic role based upon documents and facts. Among other related topics an important issue is the necessity of rediscovering the appropriate historic role of Hallerstein in China. This process has begun with the endeavours of Professor Ju Deyuan, who published his first article in 1985 (Ju 1985). His work was later supported by the researchers of The First Historic Archive in Beijing and several other scholars in China, so we may hope that eventually a more accurate presentation of Hallerstein's deeds and his contribution to cultural exchange between Europe and China will appear in Chinese history books.

The rediscovery of Hallerstein's historical importance gained momentum in 2003 when the museum in his birthplace Mengeš started an initiative to mark the 300th anniversary of his birth. The museum organised a symposium in Ljubljana where several researchers and Slovenian sinologists joined endeavours to bring to light several aspects of Hallerstein's historic and scientific achievements. At this occasion a compendium of articles and translations of Hallerstein's letters was published (Hribar 2003), and another book by Professor Stanislav Južnič on Hallerstein's astronomic work (Južnič 2003). These activities promoted Hallerstein into the focus of Slovenian academic and cultural circles, and as a manifestation of his astronomic and scientific prominence even a celestial body, discovered by Slovenian astronomers, was named after him.

Researching Hallerstein's life in Beijing became a new challenge for Slovenian sinologists with the aim of discovering more materials about his life in Beijing, because until then almost no relevant Chinese documents were known. The other goal is to bring Hallerstein back to his historic position alongside the other great Jesuits of the Qing dynasty, where he belongs. The first step in this direction was at the 16th conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies (EACS),

which was held in Ljubljana in August 2006, and where a round table on Jesuit Studies was dedicated mainly to the role of Augustin Hallerstein. Many European and several Chinese sinologists attending this round table believe that he is important for sinologists and cultural historians all over the world and especially for Slovenia, Austria, Portugal, and Russia these being the four countries to which he is most related.

A new step towards wider recognition of Hallerstein's historic role and his contribution as an early cultural bridge between Europe and China was the European Union project on cultural dialog between Europe and China, dedicated to the cultural role of Hallerstein's sojourn in China. The project lasted from 2007 till 2009 and was partly focused on artistic promotion of Hallerstein in several European countries as well as in China, though at the same time it also stimulated research on related topics. The results of the research were presented on symposiums and conferences in Portugal, Austria, Slovenia, and China. Especially significant was the International Symposium on "The Early European Missionaries Coming to China and Sinological Studies", which took place in Beijing at Beijing Language and Culture University on September, 26–27 2009 and had special focus on Hallerstein. This was the first time that an international discussion on Hallerstein had taken place in China and its importance is in the fact that it brought together a wider range of Chinese scholars from various research institutions that became interested in the research of this forgotten missionary, thus marking a new start in rediscovering Hallerstein's historic role in China.

The final deed of the above mentioned EU project is the publishing of the compendium on the life and work of Augustin Hallerstein titled: *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety*, published by KIBLA, Maribor 2009 and translated to Chinese in 2015. It is the first comprehensive publication appearing in English and covering a wider range of contents from his biography, a part of his scientific work, the updated state of research in China with the latest-discovered extant documents, to the full translation of most of letters discovered so far (excluded are only some purely scientific ones). This for the first time presented to the general global public the possibility of getting to know a more elaborate picture of this important missionary of the late Qing dynasty. In addition to the English translation of Hallerstein's letters, there is the English translation of Professor Šmitek's study of Hallerstein's biography and an article by Professor Južnič on Hallerstein's scientific engagement in the field of electrical and vacuum research. Since Hallerstein's scientific work is not the principal content of this book, the article on electrical and vacuum research illustrates only one small part of Hallerstein's scientific work. Nevertheless this field of science was among the most advanced in the scientific research of the time, demonstrating

that Hallerstein as well as other Jesuit missionaries in Beijing were, apart from their astronomic engagement, also taking part in up-to-date scientific research. Finally Professor Ju Deyuan's article presents how he started to unveil the facts about Hallerstein's presence in the high ranking position in Beijing from Chinese documents, and then sums up the results of the research of historic facts concerning Hallerstein's life and work in China.

After the EU project and the above-mentioned symposium in Beijing the situation in China has also been gradually changing. The researchers of The First Historic Archive in Beijing are systematically searching for new documents related to Hallerstein and so far, more than fifty Qing dynasty documents about his activities have been discovered. This is a long term endeavour because out of the enormous amount of dynastic documents only a small portion has been evidenced and analysed. In the academic field researcher of several academic and cultural institutions like Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, The Palace-Gugong Museum and the Sinology Institutes of various Chinese universities, etc. are increasingly interested in Hallerstein's role in the Qing dynasty court. Then Hallerstein's name connected with Slovenia as the place of his origin has appeared in some important historic places like the Old Beijing Astronomic Observatory, the South Church, and the old Jesuit cemetery in Beijing. It is somehow a lucky coincidence that among many old Jesuit gravestones, of which more than half were completely or partially destroyed during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 or later in the times of Great Cultural Revolution, Hallerstein's gravestone remained almost intact with well-preserved Chinese and Latin inscriptions, and is now standing in the newly adapted Jesuit memorial park in the location of the old Jesuit cemetery. However, up until now, probably the most influential event in the course of restoring Hallerstein's image and significance in China was the publication of the Chinese translation of the book *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court* in 2015 with Chinese title: *Siluwēniyā zài Zhōngguó de Wēnhuà Shìzhě – Liu Songling* 斯洛文尼亞在中國的文化使者- 劉松齡 (*A. Hallerstein, the Slovenian Cultural Envoy to China*). Certainly, this book offers many data and a sound basis for Chinese historians to evaluate his cultural and scientific achievement and restore his historic position in Chinese history, with all relevant evaluations as such a prominent figure deserves. In addition, his letters and comments are also important for another insight into Chinese history of the time, so we may hope that after the publication of this book in China all major aspects of his work will be reassessed by Chinese historians. On the other hand there was a new initiative to popularise the awareness of his historic and cultural achievements among younger and general public by Slovenian Chinese artist Wang Huiqin 王慧琴 through the writing and illustration of a bilingual

book: *Slovenian Astronomer in the Forbidden City*, which was published in a Chinese-Slovenian version in Ljubljana and in a Chinese-English version in Beijing.

Very important aspects of Hallerstein's work were his cultural and diplomatic achievements, which have been almost completely overlooked in the past. Probably the most important diplomatic task accomplished with full success was his role of counsellor and intermediary during the Portuguese diplomatic mission to Beijing in 1753, led by the royal envoy Francisco de Assis Pacheco de Sampayo. In 1752 the emperor Qianlong appointed Hallerstein to escort the Portuguese King's envoy from Canton to Peking and back. So he travelled twice to Canton and back, which all together took him more than a year. Some important facts concerning Hallerstein's escort of the Portuguese King's Envoy to China from Canton to Peking and back to Macao were also found in the Library of the Imperial Palace. This mission was very successful and at the end the Emperor was very pleased, though not everybody in the Chinese court was happy that Hallerstein had been appointed to escort the Portuguese envoy. It was very much due to the Emperor's personal support that the mission was accomplished according to Hallerstein's plan. In a letter dated 21 October 1753, addressed to his brother, he wrote:

Your Eminence knows already from elsewhere that the Portuguese court sent a delegation to the Chinese Emperor. As the weather was favourable, it arrived in Macao in August of last year, that is, 1752. On October 2 I received a letter from the delegation, in which they explained the purpose of their mission to me and asked me to come to Macao personally to receive the delegation and led it to Peking. I have added to my letter a letter from the most illustrious Portuguese Queen Mother, with which she deigned to recommend me. From the letters of some of our other colleagues, I have discerned that this was the wish of the most illustrious and most pious king himself. The Emperor has just now left for Tartary so that he, as is his habit, can devote himself to the hunt. I had proposed the matter verbally as well as in written form to the official who is responsible to the Emperor for our affairs. I told him that it is the ambassador's wish that I personally go to meet him and lead him to Peking. He responded that it was indeed necessary that I go there in person. In a letter, to which he added my letter, he explained everything to the Emperor. The Emperor, who already before had desired this mission, as it would further his own favour, was extremely delighted by this news. He did not await the report of the prefects or the Cantonese mandarins—for which they are rather angry with me—and he did not even heed the opinion of the office to which matters of this sort belong, but decided

that I should travel immediately to Macao and lead the mission and all of its entourage to Peking. And so I travelled from Peking on 25 October, 1752 in the company of a Tatar mandarin. We travelled now over dry land, now by rivers, at the ruler's expense and on his horses and ships. On December 13 I arrived in Macao after fifty days of safe and swift travelling. This journey was the reason why I did not send a single letter to your Eminence last year, as I was underway precisely at the time I would have to have been writing it. Except for my letter to the most illustrious Queen there was no time for any others. When the ambassador, after he had seen to all necessities, was ready to travel, we set sail from Macao on December 20, since both he and the Emperor were eager. (Pray 1781, 3: XXIX–XXXII)

The Portuguese mission was a rare success. It succeeded in a time when all other attempts by Europeans to establish high-level contacts in China had failed. Hallerstein attended all the receptions, where he was also the main translator. He translated the emperor's letter to the king of Portugal as well and we may conclude that success was mainly due to Hallerstein's meticulous preparations and his diplomatic skill. A direct consequence of the mission was the improved position of Portuguese missionaries in Beijing with better working conditions. It was great diplomatic achievement that both sides were satisfied with the results of the mission, and so after the mission had been completed the emperor granted Hallerstein the title of official (mandarin) of the 3rd rank. In a letter from Canton to his brother Weichard dated 21 October 1753, Hallerstein described the reception in Beijing and the conclusion of the mission with these words:

After one hundred and thirty-four days of travel we arrived in solemn fashion in Peking on May 1. In these places I have never seen festivities of the like. We lingered there for thirty-nine days, entirely in accordance with custom. On June 8 the ambassador left Peking, and I with him. After one hundred and twenty-one days we returned to Macao on October 6. The reason for the long journey was that with such accompaniment and such a load one could not progress over dry land without great costs, travails and the perils of illness. For this reason we had to detour over longer, albeit more comfortable, river paths. (Pray 1781, 3: XXIXI–XXXII)

An important part of Hallerstein's cultural and diplomatic contribution towards better understanding between Europe and China were his letters as well as his contacts with the most prominent academies of science in Europe. Hallerstein maintained rich correspondence with other Jesuits in Europe during all the years

of his life in China. In this correspondence, especially interesting from the point of cultural dialog are the letters to his brother Weichard and his sister Ann. In these letters he wrote about life in China, his position at the court, his relations with Emperor Qianlong, the position of the Christian church in China, and the problems of missionary work. Hallerstein's diplomatic activities were not limited to striving for better relations between the emperor and the Portuguese mission, to which he belonged, but also included securing good workable relations with the French mission, since tensions often appeared between the two, and establishing relations with the Russians. In Peking he often had the opportunity to meet Russians who were staying there or coming to China on various kinds of missions. He was aware of the conflicting situations which sometimes emerged between Russians and the Chinese and consequently even he happened to come in the middle of those tensions. In his letters he often mentions his own position in between Russians and the Chinese because of his good contacts with Russians. Apart from that he also makes observations about Russians staying in Peking, and describes their relations with Chinese authorities. For example in the letter to his brother dated 6 October 1743, he wrote about Russians living in Peking and about the messenger who came that year from Russia to announce the enthronement of the new tsarina. He writes: "I believe that already last year I wrote your Eminence that a caravan of Russians, as such are called, had arrived here and after an approximately six-month stay returned (home)."

Under the Emperor Qianlong the Russians and the Chinese agreed that such may come to court every three years to do business. They trade with various types of pelts. It is unusual that European dress seems so comical to the Chinese. They dress as we Germans do. They have a house which our ruler allotted them in which they all live when they come here to do business: some of their priests and clerics, currently three of them, are living here permanently, and there are just as many young men among them learning both the Chinese and Tatar languages in order to work as translators either at the Russian court or at the border.

They are soon expecting three more young men from Russia, of whom none is likely older than twenty, and who know Latin. Those who are now to return have been here ten or twelve years and have learned both languages well. This year a messenger from Russia arrived, who announced the ascension to the throne of the new Empress; from Petersburg to here took him three months. When he returned our ruler wanted to entrust him with gifts to take to the new Empress. Because they were too modest—consisting of twenty rolls of silk, called damascene, and twenty smallish, as well as just as many fairly large pots crafted merely of porcelain—he did not accept them, providing the excuse that he himself did not bear anything and that he thus did not dare take anything away, especially since the

Empress had not commanded anything of that sort. When the Emperor forced him to take it nonetheless, he resisted all the more and took nothing. Because of this a conflict arose between him and the court, such that we did not dare visit him for fear his insistent rejecting or stubbornness would encumber us, since the Chinese and Tatars are very inclined to such suspicions. It would probably not be out of place to add at this point that we have here an office or dicastery—which they call *lifanyuan*, meaning court—which is responsible for foreigners. Its role is to deal with foreign arrivals and their affairs. All foreigners are subject to it, except for those of us Europeans who are not directly accountable to the Emperor. The concept of foreigners encompasses primarily foreigners from the north, Mongolians, Khalthas, Eleuts, Xifans, Russians and various other Tatars. Because in the beginning the Russian rulers themselves wrote letters to our ruler, while our ruler is not in the habit of writing personally or answering to anyone under the heavens, they arranged as a consequence that the Petersburg ruler write to the *lifanyuan* office, and that it might reply to them. (Pray 1781, 1: I–XVI)

Hallerstein's Relations to Korea

Apart from cultural links between Europe and China, Hallerstein also played a role in cultural and scientific exchange with Korea. In his letter to his brother Weichard he writes that Koreans came to Beijing every year and that immediately after arrival they come to the house of the Jesuits. They often pose well-founded questions about astronomy, always in written form, because they do not know how to speak Chinese, so they communicate in writing and the missionaries answer them through a servant. Hallerstein also mentions that Koreans are strong, muscular, well-built people, and good soldiers, and that they dress according to ancient Chinese customs. (Pray 1781, 4: XXXIII–XXXVII)

Among Chinese written materials I discovered an interesting description of a Korean visit and conversation with Hallerstein, which is included in a report of a member of the Korean mission to China (Hong 1998). The report is written in Classical Chinese and gives a description of the South Church and even a personal description of Hallerstein. This is the only description of his personal appearance that we have so far and it says that being 62 years old, he is healthy looking man with deep and sharp eyes, a grey beard and Chinese style hair with shaved front of the head and a long plait, dressed in the formal dress of Chinese official. On the 7th day of the 1st month² the Korean emissary arrived to the South church, where Hallerstein received him and wrote that out of respect to the old man he

2 According to the Chinese lunar calendar in the year 1765.

did not dare to talk in loud voice. He describes the place and tells that Hallerstein led him to the upper floor, where he admired the organs, which he describes in detail and quotes the conversation with Hallerstein about music. Then Hallerstein led him down to the main hall and showed him the statue of the Lord of Heaven and the altar, and then around the church where he mentions the clock and the frescos. Then the Korean emissary came again on the 13th day but was told that the Reverend Hallerstein was out on duty, and that he should come again on the 19th. So on the 19th day he came again and was told that the master was at the observatory during the night and went to bed in the morning. He was asked to wait and was asked as to the reason for his visit. The answer was that he came to talk about astronomy. After presenting some gifts he was asked to put questions in written form. Asked about new calculations concerning the calendar, Hallerstein answered that in the old Chinese calculations there were many mistakes which the Jesuits were correcting, and preparing a new report for the Emperor, but their work had not yet been finished. At his request to see it, Hallerstein brought one manuscript in western script, furnished with drawings, and written so elegantly that it looked as if it had been printed. After some questions about the chiming clock and the armillary sphere instrument, neither, unfortunately, accessible to the visitors as the chiming clock was in the emperor's palace and armillary sphere was on the terrace of the Beijing observatory, the Korean emissary asked about the bearing compass and whether it was divided into 32 zones. Hallerstein answered that compasses had different divisions with 8, 16, 24, or 32 zones, and that those with 32 zones were used for navigation. Asked about other instruments, Hallerstein showed the emissary an approximately meter-long bronze telescope with two lenses. The emissary admired the instrument and after looking at the sun asked how it was that the three dark sunspots were not visible. Hallerstein explained that sometimes there were up to eight sunspots but their number was not constant. Asked about other instruments Hallerstein answered that all the big instruments were at the observatory and then showed him another small instrument and a piece of paper with a star chart. After receiving some very humble gifts the Korean emissary left the residence of Jesuits at the South Church.

This description was written in classical Chinese and published in China under his Chinese name Hong Darong 洪大容. Only later did I discover his identity with the Korean name Hong Dae-yong. He was a scholar of Neo-Confucianism in Korea. In 1765 he followed his uncle Hong Eock on his mission to Imperial China. As an astronomer he was very interested in Jesuit astronomic measurements and calendrical calculations. The problem was that the Chinese were officially publishing the transcriptions of more than 200 years old Chinese measurements, which by the time were in significant discrepancy with the real situation.

For this reason they in practice relied on Jesuit measurements, which were much more accurate. The Koreans were making their own measurements and they discovered that there were differences with what the Chinese were officially publishing so they were very curious to learn how the Jesuits were conducting their measurements and calculations as well as to prove that their own measurements had sound basis. This led to Hong Dae-yong's visits to the Jesuit mission in Beijing and to his encounters with Hallerstein. Hong Dae-yong wrote many books in classical Chinese and in Korean, among them a book based on his encounters, where he chronicles his meetings with Hallerstein. He is now regarded as a major literary figure of the 18th century. This travelogue—the rough translation of the title would be *Questions put to Yu and Some Answers*—is regarded as one of the three finest of that time, and through this book Hallerstein became rather well known in Korea. As Hong Dae-yong was also a social reformer and a champion of European enlightenment, the descriptions of his encounters with Hallerstein are fascinating, and so we hope to obtain a translation sooner or later.

In the entire Qing dynasty there were only four European Jesuits who received higher ranks than Hallerstein. These were: Adam Schall von Bell, 1st rank, and Ferdinand Verbiest, Ignatius Kögler, and Felix Da Rocha, all of them 2nd rank. Hallerstein succeeded the post of head astronomer after the death of Ignatius Kögler in 1746 and held it continuously until his death in 1774. He was a top-ranking scientist of the time and maintained contacts with the Academies in London, Paris, and Saint Petersburg, and had a very high position under the emperor Qianlong. Against all odds and tensions he succeeded in keeping the position as head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy for the longest term in history, lasting 28 years. In this position he acted as an important cultural link of the time between China and Europe and is interesting for Europeans as well as for Chinese. Hallerstein died just one year after Pope Clement XIV dissolved the Society of Jesus, though the Jesuits in Peking kept working as court astronomers even after that event. A particularly interesting situation is the coincidence of this event and his death. We know that the Pope dissolved the Jesuit order in 1773 and that Hallerstein died about one year later on 29 October 1774. It is also known that the news of the dissolution of the Jesuit order reached Beijing on 5 August 1774 (Vissière 1979), so Hallerstein must have heard the news about the dissolution of Jesuit order before his death. In this connection we may conclude that this shock accelerated the deterioration of his health and led to his death some three months later. Hallerstein was buried in the Jesuit cemetery in Peking, where his gravestone is preserved in the memorial park together with other great Jesuit missionaries. Our intention is to illuminate his deeds, opinions, and merits in order to place him into historic context next to other famous Jesuits of the Qing dynasty.

Conclusion

With the aim of exposing his historic significance we started a new initiative in co-operation with Slovenian State Archive in 2012 to make a replica of Hallerstein's most outstanding astronomic instrument, the equatorial armillary sphere, and install it in a suitable place in Ljubljana as a monument to his scientific achievements and early cultural contacts between Slovenia and China. The initiative received support from the Slovenian Academy of Sciences, University in Ljubljana, Slovenian Ethnographic Museum, as well as from wider cultural and political circles in Slovenia. The idea was to engage the Chinese side to produce a replica of the instrument by a gesture of good will and to present it to Slovenia as a symbol of our early contacts and co-operation. With its visual appeal and symbolic significance it could gradually become a strong mark of the long history of friendly relations between China and Slovenia and a reminder of Hallerstein's historic importance to the broader Slovenian public, visitors from China, as well as for tourists visiting Ljubljana. The fact that in Leuven in front of the Verdinand Verbiest Instituturte in the complex of Leuven University there is a replica of Verbiest's astronomic instrument from Beijing, the celestial globe, which the Chinese delivered to Belgium in 1989 and which has since then served as a strong symbol of friendly relations is ample confirmation that this idea is realistic.

References

- Chevalier, S., and P. Tsuchihashi, trans., eds. 1914. *Observatoire de Zi-ka-wei: Annales de l'observatoire astronomique*, Tome VII, anne 1911. Chang-hai (Shanghai).
- Ju, Deyuan 鞠德源. 1985. "Qing Qintianjian jianzheng Liu Songling – jinian Nansilafu tianwen xuejia Liu Songling shishi erbai yishi zhounian 清钦天监监正刘松龄—纪念南斯拉夫天文学家刘松龄逝世二百一十周年." *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊 1: 53–62.
- Hong, Darong 洪大容. 1998. "Liu Bao Wenda 刘鲍问答." In *Dong xi jiaoliu shi lungao* 东西交流史论稿. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she.
- Hribar, Viljem Marjan, ed. 2003. *Mandarin: Hallerstein, Kranjec na kitajskem dvoru*. Radovljica: Didakta.
- Južnič, Stanislav. 2003. *Kitajski astronom iz Mengša*. Ljubljana: Tehniška založba.
- Keller, Franz, ed. 1755. *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. Book IV, Part XXX. Vienna.
- . ed. 1758. *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. Book IV, Part XXXIV. Vienna.
- Osojnik, Jani. 2003. "Avguštin Hallerstein in knjiga Astronomski opazovalnik in populne študije po nalogu cesarja." In *Mandarin: Hallerstein, Kranjec na kitajskem dvoru*, edited by Viljem Marjan Hribar, 191–210. Radovljica: Didakta.

- Pfister, Louis. 1934. *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine 1552–1773*. II. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.
- Pray, György. 1781. *Imposturae a. CCXVIII in dissertatione R.P. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis a Scholis Piis de Sinensium Imposturis detectae et convulsae*. Budae.
- Saje, Mitja, ed. 2009. *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*. Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla; Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije.
- Šmitek, Zmago. 1986. *Klic daljnih svetov*. Radovljica: Didakta.
- . 1995. *Srečevanja z drugačnostjo: slovenska izkustva eksotike*. Radovljica: Didakta.
- Vissière, Isabelle, and Jean-Louis. 1979. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Chine par les missionnaires jésuites, 1702–1776, chronologie, introduction, notices et notes*. Paris: De l'Université de Provence, Garnier-Flammarion.
- Yan, Zonglin 阎宗临. 2003. *Chuanjiaoshi yu Faguo zaoqi Hanxue* 传教士与法国早期汉学. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chuban she.

Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein on Giuseppe Castiglione's Art

*Nataša VAMPELJ SUHADOLNIK**

Abstract

Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein (1703–1774) (Chinese name Liu Songling) was a Slovenian Jesuit, astronomer and mathematician who made an important contribution to the development of science and astronomy in 18th century China. He arrived in Beijing in 1739, and in 1746 was appointed to succeed Ignatius Kögler as Head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy, a position he would hold until his own death nearly 30 years later. Throughout his four decades in China, Hallerstein maintained a rich correspondence with family members, other Jesuits in Europe, and even with the Queen of Portugal, Maria Anna. He was also a corresponding member of the Royal Societies of London, Paris and St. Petersburg. His letters have only recently been collected and edited.

The present paper will focus on Hallerstein's letters and what they tell us about the life and art of the celebrated Jesuit painter, Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), especially during the reign of the Emperor Qianlong (1711–1799). After a brief introduction on Hallerstein's life and work, by means of comparative analyses and using an interdisciplinary approach, the paper will explore a) Hallerstein's views on Castiglione and his art, and b) Chinese court painting and Castiglione's position at the court. It will conclude with new evidence concerning Castiglione's artistic achievements.

Keywords: Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein, Giuseppe Castiglione, Jesuit missionaries, astronomer, art, letters

Izveček

Ferdinand Avguštin Hallerstein (1703–1774) s kitajskim imenom Liu Songling je bil slovenski jezuit, astronom in matematik, ki je pomembno prispeval k razvoju znanosti in astronomije na Kitajskem v 18. stoletju. V Peking je prispel leta 1739 ter je kmalu po tem leta 1746 nasledil Ignacija Köglerja na mestu direktorja Astronomskega urada. Ta položaj je ohranil vse do smrti skoraj 30 let kasneje. V svojem štiridesetletnem bivanju na Kitajskem je vzdrževal bogato korespondenco z družinskimi člani, ostalimi jezuiti v Evropi in celo s portugalsko kraljico Mario Anno. Poleg tega je bil tudi korespondenčni član Kraljevske družbe v Londonu, Parizu in St. Peterburgu. Njegova pisma so bila zbrana in urejene šele v zadnjih letih.

* Nataša VAMPELJ SUHADOLNIK, Associate Professor, Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.
natasa.vampeljshadolnik@ff.uni-lj.si



Pričujoči prispevek se osredotoča na Hallersteinova pisma ter njegove omembe o življenju in delu znanega jezuitskega slikarja Giuseppa Castigliona (1688–1766), ki si je svojo slavo pridobil še posebej v času cesarja Qianlonga (1711–1799). Po kratki predstavitvi Hallersteinovega življenja in dela se prispevek z uporabo interdisciplinarnega pristopa ukvarja a) s Hallersteinovimi pogledi na Castigliona in njegovo umetnost ter b) s kitajskim dvornim slikarstvom in Castiglionovim položajem na dvoru. Prispevek v zaključnem delu nadalje poda nove dokaze, ki zadevajo umetniške dosežke slikarja Castigliona.

Ključne besede: Ferdinand Avguštín Hallerstein, Giuseppe Castiglione, jezuitski misijonarji, astronom, umetnost, pisma

Introduction

In the memorial park of the old Jesuit cemetery in Beijing, located in what is now the School of the Beijing Municipal Committee, the tombstones of many Jesuit missionaries can still be found, providing a vivid testimony to the Order's remarkable work and achievements in the Qing court, between the 16th and 18th centuries. While their primary aim was performing missionary work in China, thanks to their advanced knowledge of astronomy, mathematics and cartography, as well as clockmaking and new artistic techniques, the Jesuits exerted considerable influence on the Chinese Emperors. Impressed by their advanced scientific knowledge, the Qing Emperors entrusted them with revising the calendar and rewarded them with key positions on the Imperial Board of Astronomy. Due to their outstanding scientific abilities, a number of missionaries, i.e. Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), and Ignatius Kögler (1680–1746), were even appointed to head the Imperial Board of Astronomy. This group included a Slovenian Jesuit from Carniola, Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein (1703–1774), whose Chinese name was Liu Songling 劉松齡. After Kögler's death in 1746, he took over as Head of the Imperial Board, and would occupy this position for almost 30 years, until his own death in 1774. Chinese and Latin inscriptions on a large tombstone located in the last row of the Jesuit cemetery and surmounted by a dragon ornament, commemorate his role on the Imperial Board of Astronomy. The Chinese inscription reads as follows:

耶穌會士劉先生諱松齡號喬年泰西熱爾瑪尼亞國人自幼入會精修大清乾隆四年來京傳教乾隆八年奉旨補授欽天監監副乾隆十一年特授監正乾隆十八年因接送波爾都噶俚國使臣有功賞給三品職銜食俸共在監三十一載勤敏監務敬寅恕屬德業兼著卒於乾隆三十九年享壽七十有二蒙恩旨賜內庫銀二百兩為安葬之資。

The Jesuit, Mr. Liu Songling, with the literary name Qiaonian, was a Germanus from west. As a youth he entered the Jesuit society and came to Beijing for missionary work in the 4th year of Qianlong's reign. In the 8th year of Qianlong's reign he was appointed as Vice-Head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy and as Head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy in the 11th year of Qianlong's reign. Due to his excellent work with the Portuguese royal envoy, he was made a 3rd grade official in the 18th year of Qianlong's reign. He served in this position for 31 years. He was hardworking and dedicated to his work, respectful of his superiors and humble with his inferiors, endowed with many virtues and talents. He died at the age of 72, in the 39th year of Qianlong's reign. The Emperor graciously granted 200 tales of silver for his funeral.

In addition to this funerary inscription, a number of Chinese documents also refer to Liu Songling as a German (or Germanus) from Carniola and it was only in the last decade of the 20th century that Liu Songling was revealed to be a "Slovenian" astronomer and Jesuit, whose original name was Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein. He had always been identified as German or Austrian because Carniola was part of the Austrian Empire during his lifetime.¹

In a letter² to his brother Weichard, dated 4 November 1729, Hallerstein states that there were 34 Catholic missionaries in Beijing, all but three of whom came from Europe³ (Welt-Bott IV, 587: 92). Among them was Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), an Italian Jesuit lay brother and artist, whose skill as a painter attracted the interest and admiration of three Chinese emperors—Kangxi 康熙 (1662–1722), Yongzheng 雍正 (1723–1736) and Qianlong 乾隆 (1736–1795). Hallerstein not only knew Castiglione, but after moving from the Southern Church to the Church of St. Joseph some time before the end of 1743, actually lived with him and other missionaries (Šmitek 2009, 78) in the same residence. It is thus quite natural that Hallerstein should mention Castiglione and his art

- 1 The Carniola region was an Austrian province with a Slovenian population. After World War I, it became part of the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which then became Yugoslavia. After the break-up of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, it became part of the Republic of Slovenia.
- 2 All of Hallerstein's letters were collected and edited beginning in 1990. Except for the letters with a purely scientific content, they have all been translated into Slovenian (Hribar 2003), English (Saje 2009) and Chinese (Saje 2015).
- 3 At the time of Hallerstein's arrival in 1739, there were three Catholic churches in Beijing: the Eastern Church or the Church of St. Joseph with the Jesuit residence (Dongtang 東堂) housing six missionaries; the Southern Church with the college (Nantang 南堂) and twelve missionaries, and the Western Church with the French residence (Xitang 西堂), where Hallerstein counted thirteen missionaries. Two other missionaries lived outside the city, while the missionary, Teodorico Pedrini, had his own chapel in Beijing.

repeatedly in his letters, and his correspondence offers valuable insights into both his art and his role in the Imperial court, as well as on court painting in general. The letters also contain descriptions of the Jesuit community in Beijing, and shed light on his personal relationship with Castiglione.

The present paper will focus on Hallerstein's letters and his references to Castiglione's art and his official role at the court during the reign of the Emperor Qianlong. After a brief introduction on Hallerstein's life and work, by means of comparative analysis and using an interdisciplinary approach, the paper will explore a) Hallerstein's attitudes towards Castiglione and his art; b) Chinese court painting and Castiglione's position at the court and c) it will conclude with some new evidence concerning Castiglione's artistic achievements.

Hallerstein's Work and Achievements

While Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining 郎世寧 in Chinese), the most famous and influential of Western missionary-artists, has already been the subject of numerous studies and articles in both the West and China, due to historical circumstances Hallerstein's achievements at the Qianlong's court have been overlooked or forgotten for more than 200 years. Hallerstein occupied an important position in Beijing and contributed greatly to the development of scientific and astronomical knowledge of 18th century China. As a member and correspondent of the Royal Societies of London, Paris and St. Petersburg, he also played a significant role as a cultural link between Europe in China, while the astronomical, scientific and socio-political contents of his letters often appeared in the scientific journals of that period. Given his achievements and his historical role, he is a figure that certainly deserves to be better known.

Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein was of noble origins. His parents, Janez Ferdinand Hallerstein (1669–1736) and Marija Suzana Elizabeta Erberg (1681–1725), lived in the family castle (Ravbar Castle or Hoffsmanburg) in Mengeš, a small town near Ljubljana. He was born on 27 August 1703 and baptized one day later in Ljubljana.⁴ After he had completed his studies in the Jesuit Collegium of Ljubljana, he decided to devote his life to the Jesuits, and entered the Order on 26 October 1721, in Vienna. Before leaving for Vienna, he had also completed three years of philosophical studies in Ljubljana, and later continued to study mathematics, astronomy and theology in Vienna and Graz.⁵ In 1727, he made

4 For detailed biographical data, see Južnič 2012, and Šmitek 2009, 62–64.

5 For a detailed description of his studies, see Južnič 2012, 316–21.

the request to do missionary work in China, but eight years would pass before his request was approved by the Jesuit leadership, and another year before he received permission to leave for China. In the autumn of 1735 he travelled via Trieste and Genoa to Lisbon, where he remained for more than a year, studying Portuguese and astronomy. In Lisbon, he also became acquainted with the Queen of Portugal, Maria Anna of Austria (1683–1754), with whom he would correspond during his entire stay in China. In April 1736, he sailed for the Far East, arriving in Canton more than two years later, in September 1738, due to extended layovers in Mozambique and Goa.⁶ In Macao, he began to study Chinese, and also prepared a map of the town and its surrounding territory at the request of the Governor. The following year he went to Beijing, where he joined the other Jesuits on the Imperial Board of Astronomy, which was directed by the German Jesuit, Ignatius Kögler (Dai Jinxian 戴進賢) (1680–1746). After Kögler's death in 1746, he was appointed to succeed him, and would remain the Head of the Board for nearly 30 years (1746–74, or from the 11th year to the 39th year of Emperor Qianlong's reign), the longest this post was held by any westerner.

Soon after his arrival in Beijing, he assisted Ignatius Kögler in revising the classical astronomical treatise, *Lingtai yixiang zhi* 靈臺儀象志 (*Treatise on Imperial Observatory Instruments*) from the time of Qianlong grandfather Kangxi, which was edited by Ferdinand Verbiest (Nan Huai ren 南懷仁) in 1674. After the revision was completed in the 17th year of Qianlong's reign (1752), Emperor Qianlong renamed it *Yixiang kaocheng* 儀象考成 (*Complete Studies on Astronomical Instruments*) and wrote the introductory text himself. Ju Deyuan already pointed out the importance of Hallerstein's work for this star book as he was in charge to complete the revision after the death of Kögler in 1746 (Ju 2009, 170). The book was published in 30 volumes with a table of 3083 stars (as opposed to the 1319 stars of the original version, and thus with the addition of 1764 stars), and represented a singular achievement in 18th century astronomy and science, not only in China, but also in Europe. Published in China in 1757, it finally appeared in the West in a French translation by Tsuchihashi and Chevalier (Tsuchihashi and Chevalier 1914).

Hallerstein also headed the project for constructing the terrestrial and celestial globes and helped design a new equatorial armillary sphere, the *Jihengfuchenyi* 璣衡撫辰儀. The sphere, which was used for making precise astronomical observations, was completed in 1754, and is still in place in the old observatory in Beijing. Hallerstein's astronomical observations were also published in Europe in *Observationes astronomicae*, in 1768, under the orders of Maximilian Hell, Director of the

6 For a description of his voyage to China, see Šmitek 2009, 65–75; Južnič 2012, 321–29.

Imperial Astronomical Observatory in Vienna.⁷ His astronomical observations and other scientific writings also appeared in *Philosophical Transactions*, the bulletin of the British Royal Society, and *Novi Comentarii*, the official publication of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

In addition to his achievements in astronomy, he also made important contributions in other scientific fields, including a series of experiments on inductive electricity (see Južnič 2009, 119–57), while his work in cartography, geography and demography was of great importance in both China and Europe. For example, he calculated the geographical length of Beijing from the orbits of Jupiter's satellites, based on the time difference between the meridians of Beijing and St. Petersburg (Šmitek 2009, 95). He was the first to make precise calculations of the total population of China for the years 1760 and 1761, with 196,837,977 inhabitants in 19 provinces and 198,214,533 inhabitants,⁸ respectively. In addition to his map of Macao, he also mapped the Mulan 木蘭 in Manchuria, the Emperor Qianlong's hunting reserve, and collaborated in other projects, such as the Big Atlas of China, published by the Jesuits in 1761.⁹

Hallerstein was also a skilled diplomat and in a period of limited contact between China and Europe, he played an important role as diplomat and mediator in Chinese political matters, a function in which was greatly aided by his fluency in six languages. His most important diplomatic role was as intermediary during the Portuguese diplomatic mission to Beijing in 1753. From a letter to his brother Weichard, dated 21 October 1753, we learn that he had been appointed to escort the Portuguese Royal envoy at the recommendation of the Portuguese Queen, but also with the full approval of the Emperor Qianlong (Pray 1781, 3: XXIX–XXXII). The diplomatic mission was a great success and the Emperor rewarded Hallerstein with the title of official (mandarin) of the 3rd rank. Only four European Jesuits ever held a higher official rank than Hallerstein during the entire Qing dynasty: 1st rank was granted to Adam Schall von Bell in 1658, while 2nd rank was awarded to Ferdinand Verbiest in 1679, Ignatius Kögler in 1725 and Felix de Rocha in 1755 (Kovačič 2003, 100).

All these functions and activities were carried out in parallel with his basic missionary service in Beijing, and his official work at the court. This work included observations of astronomical phenomena, calculating the calendar, forecasts of solar and lunar eclipses and of natural disasters, determining the position of planets, etc. The Qing dynasty archive, in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, contains

7 For more details on this publication, see Šmitek 2009, 56–58.

8 His data on the population of China was often cited abroad. See also Šmitek 2009, 95–96.

9 For his work in geography, see Ju 2009, 176–83.

two documents related to his astronomical observations.¹⁰ Both documents date from the 34th year of Qianlong's reign (1769), five years before his death, and are official reports made by Hallerstein and the Board of Astronomy to the Emperor concerning the appearance of one star, possibly a comet: “東南方有似彗星形狀一星在昴宿之下” (“In the southeast there is a star under the lunar lodge Mao which resembles a comet”) (Liu Songling, 1 August 1769, National Palace Museum, Taipei, No. 010377). He goes on to say that “According to the ancient books, the appearance of a comet in the Lunar lodge Mao indicates disease” (“按占書曰彗星出昴為病禍所在者”) and that he will make another report if the star should disappear (“觀候消退不見再行具奏為此”). These documents confirm the very detailed and precise work he did for Qianlong's court and show that he was directly responsible to the Emperor, who received and approved all of his reports.

The intense research on Hallerstein over the last two decades has brought to light numerous documents, scientific reports and letters, which were scattered among numerous European archives (in Austria, Italy and the Vatican, Portugal, Russia, France, England, Belgium, and Slovenia). Much of this new material was collected in the first comprehensive monograph in English, *A. Hallerstein - Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, edited by Dr. Mitja Saje (2009b). The monograph is especially valuable because it also includes the English translation of most of his letters (excluded the purely scientific ones).

Hallerstein's Letters

Throughout the four decades of his sojourn in China, Hallerstein maintained a rich correspondence with other Jesuits in Europe, his brother Weichard, also a Jesuit, his sister Ana and even with the Queen of Portugal, Maria Anna. As already mentioned, he was also a correspondent member of the Royal Societies of London, Paris and St. Petersburg, and published his scientific and other articles with these Societies. For example, his two letters from 1747 and 1753 to Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary of the British Royal Society, were published in the Society's official bulletin, *Philosophical Transactions*. The Society also published two descriptions of astronomical observations in 1742/43 and 1745/46, and while Hallerstein is not named explicitly, they were probably based on his data (Šmitek 2009, 55–56). The St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences also published two letters with astronomical data in *Novi comentarii*, in 1764 and 1775 (Šmitek 2009, 56). In addition to some scientific correspondence, his most significant astronomical observations and data

10 I am grateful to Dr. Zhou Weiqiang from the National Palace Museum in Taipei for bringing these documents to my attention.

appeared in his book, *Observationes astronomicae*, which also published the records of Kögler, Pereyra and Slavíček in Beijing, in the years 1717 to 1752.

A number of Hallerstein's personal letters—mostly epistolaric in nature—were also fortunately preserved in two 18th century works: eight letters were published in German in the compendium of Jesuit missionary letters, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, in 1755 and 1758, while another eight letters, in Latin translation, were included in *Imposturae a. CCXVIII in dissertatione R. P. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis a Scholis Pii de Sinensium Imposturis detectae et convulsae*, compiled by the Hungarian Jesuit and historian, György Pray, in 1781. In addition to the published letters, two transcripts of his letters to his sister, Maria Ana, are kept in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, while the Jesuit Archives in Rome preserves ten official letters (two applications for missionary work, eight letters by Hallerstein), and seven letters addressed to him by various correspondents (Šmitek 2009, 59).¹¹

Table 1: Hallerstein's written legacy—personal correspondence

Date	Place	Addressee	No.	Publication
Dec 7, 1735	Lisbon	Father Franz Molindes, Provincial of Austria	No. 584	<i>Der Neue Welt-Bott</i> , Book IV, Part XXX, Franz Keller, ed., Vienna, 1755, letter no. 584, pp. 71–73.
April 24, 1736	Lisbon	Father Weichard Hallerstein, his brother	No. 585	Ibid. letter no. 585, pp. 74–76.
Jan 13, 1738	Goa	Idem	No. 586	Ibid. letter no. 586, pp. 76–78.
Nov 4, 1739	Beijing	Idem	No. 587	Ibid. letter no. 587, pp. 79–93.
Nov 6, 1740	Beijing	Idem	No. 588	Ibid. letter no. 588, pp. 93–97.
Oct 10, 1741	Beijing	Idem	No. 675	<i>Der Neue Welt-Bott</i> , Book IV, Part XXXIV, Franz Keller, ed., Vienna, 1758, letter no. 675, pp. 39–42.
Oct 6, 1743	Beijing	Idem	No. 1	Pray, G. <i>Imposturae CCXVIII in Dissertatione R. P. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis e Scholis Pii de Sinesium Imposturis Detectae et Convulsae</i> , Budae 1781, letter I, pp. I–XVI

11 For a comprehensive bibliography of Hallerstein (including his scientific letters), see Urbanija 2003, 283–5. For additional details on his letters, see Šmitek 2009, 59–61; Maver 2009, 209–35.

Date	Place	Addressee	No.	Publication
Nov 1, 1743	Beijing	Father Joseph Ritter, member of the Society of Jesus and provincial, Confessor to the Portuguese Queen.	No. 681	<i>Der Neue Welt-Bott</i> , Book IV, Part XXXIV, Franz Keller, ed., Vienna, 1758, letter no. 681, pp. 74–78.
Nov 28, 1749	Beijing	Nicolò Giamprimo, Society of Jesus, Naples province	No. 696	Ibid. letter no. 696, pp. 125–128.
Nov 28, 1749	Beijing	Father Weichard Hallerstein, his brother	No. 2	Pray, G. <i>Imposturae CCXVIII in Dissertatione R. P. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis e Scholis Pii de Sinesium Imposturis Detectae et Convulsae</i> , Budae 1781, letter II, pp. XVII–XXIX
Oct 31, 1750	Beijing	Maria Ana, his sister	AS 730, Dol Manor, fasc. 194	Archives of the Republic of Slovenia
Nov 22, 1751	Beijing	Maria Anna de Austria, Queen of Portugal		Arquivo Curiae Lusitanae S. J. Lisbon
Oct 21, 1753	Canton	Father Weichard Hallerstein, his brother	No. 3	Pray, G. <i>Imposturae CCXVIII in Dissertatione R. P. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis e Scholis Pii de Sinesium Imposturis Detectae et Convulsae</i> , Budae 1781, letter III, pp. XXIX–XXXII
Sept 11, 1756	Beijing	Maria Ana, his sister	AS 730, Dol Manor, fasc. 194.	Archives of the Republic of Slovenia
Oct 6, 1757	Beijing	Father Weichard Hallerstein, his brother	No. 4	Pray, G. <i>Imposturae CCXVIII in Dissertatione R. P. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis e Scholis Pii de Sinesium Imposturis Detectae et Convulsae</i> , Budae 1781, letter IV, pp. XXXIII–XXXVII

Date	Place	Addressee	No.	Publication
Oct 29, 1761	Beijing	Idem	No. 5	Ibid. letter V, pp. XXXVII–XL
Sept 12, 1764	Beijing	Idem	No. 6	Ibid. letter VI, pp. XL–XLIV
Oct 27, 1765	Beijing	Idem	No. 7	Ibid. letter VII, pp. XLV–XLVIII
Sept 24, 1766	Beijing	Idem	No. 8	Ibid. letter VIII, pp. XLIX–LV

As we can see, thirteen of the nineteen surviving personal letters were sent to his brother, Weichard Hallerstein, who was also a Jesuit and Confessor to Prince Karl of Lorraine, Governor of the Netherlands. One letter was to Father Franz Molindes, the Provincial of the Austrian province, one to Father Joseph Ritter, Confessor to the Portuguese Queen, one to Nicolò Giampriamo, member of the Society of Jesus from the Naples province, and two to his sister, Maria Ana. There is also one letter to the Queen of Portugal, Maria Anna, kept in the *Arquivo Curiae Lusitanae S. J.*, in Lisbon. Based on his letter from 1736 (Welt-Bott IV, 585: 75), there must be additional correspondence with the Queen, as he writes his brother that he had met her several times and had promised to keep her informed on his work in China. This correspondence was acquired in transcripts by the Portuguese historian, Francisco Rodrigues, who mentions another Hallerstein letter to Queen Maria Anna, dated 8 December 1752, and sent from Canton, in his study, *Jesuitas Portugueses Astronomos na China 1583–1805* (1925) (Šmitek 2009, 60). However, much of his correspondence was certainly lost,¹² and the communications between Europe and China were so precarious that letters would sometimes take several years to reach their destination.

Of the surviving letters, those to his brother are both the most numerous and interesting. In fact, with their lengthy descriptions of Chinese habits, beliefs, religion, clothing, we can consider Hallerstein a sort of Slovenian “protosinologist”. In one of his first letters to his brother (4 November 1739), he gives a detailed account of his long journey from Lisbon to Macao via Mozambique, Goa and Malacca, and then from Macao to Beijing. He then recounts his first audience with the Emperor and provides a detailed description of the Jesuit residences and their missionary occupants in Beijing (Welt-Bott IV, 587: 79–93), making this letter

12 In his letter to his brother Weichard, dated 4 November 1739 (Welt-Bott IV, 587: 79–93), he mentions two letters that he had written during his journey from Lisbon to Beijing, in 1738, one of which was sent from Macao. This letter is apparently lost.

an extremely valuable document, both as 18th century travelogue, and for the information it provides about the Jesuit community in the Beijing of that period.

Of particular interest are Hallerstein's views on the Chinese, and his early letters criticise the Chinese for their suspicious nature and their tendency to detect conspiracy everywhere. In his letter to Father Joseph Ritter (1 November 1743), he describes the uncertain future of the missionary delegation and the hostility of the Chinese bureaucracy:

This uncertainty cannot be ascribed in such measure to the Emperor's disfavour towards us or to our Holy Faith. It is certain that that the Emperor, although he does not favour us, also does not disfavour us. The guilt lies with the offices here and especially the office for morals, which deals with issues of faith in the country, and which is extremely disdainful towards our faith. However, the Emperor himself resisted these judges of morality when they once approached him with complaints, responding that Mohammedan and Christian faiths, prophesying and astrology were never forbidden in China. However, one cannot build anything on these uncertain rumours, nor on the friendliness and politeness of some assessors of this office. The Chinese and Tatars are cunning and crafty people, who cannot be trusted without exposing oneself to the danger of being deceived. (Welt-Bott IV, 81: 77; English translation in Saje 2009a, 307)

In letters to his brother and Nicolas Giampriamo, written in 1749, he calls the Chinese coddled and weak, and expresses a certain resentment which is doubtless related to the persecution of Christians and Jesuits in southern China. But by the end of his life, his attitudes had changed completely, and his letters contain nothing but praise for the Emperor and the Chinese. When writing about Qianlong's campaigns against the Dzungars in the years 1753–58, and the large territory the Emperor had added to his empire, his pride in Qianlong's military success is evident.¹³ Towards the end of his life, he even described the Chinese and Europeans as fundamentally opposed, claiming that the Chinese were essentially peace-loving, while the Europeans were always inclined towards war:

The Chinese empire is an empire of peace and order. That is how it is, at least now, and how it has been for many years. To the same extent that the Europeans favour war, the Chinese favour peace. Is it perhaps thus because the European kingdoms were built on war, while the Chinese empire was founded on peace and grew voluntarily? Or is it this way, if

13 See his letters to brother Weichard, dated 29/10/1761, 12/09/1764 and 27/10/1765.

we speak of the primary reasons, because the empire is subject to one, while the European ones have many lords? It is sure that in the time when the strength of the Chinese Emperor was at its lowest and many princes were waging war against each other, one of them asked the philosopher Mencius when it would be possible to establish peace again. He responded that it would be at the time they all turned towards a single person. (Pray 1781, 8: LIV; English translation in Saje 2009a, 362).

He concludes this letter by expressing his great admiration for the Emperor Qianlong:

I would not be able to finish if I began to thank or even just to describe the Emperor's consistency, vigilance and prudence in carrying out his duty, either at home or abroad, at the hunt or when visiting the provinces. Order and the preparedness to obey are most conducive to the success and safe conclusion of his enterprises. The Chinese thus know how to command and to obey. I will never finish, if I do not interrupt the tale. In Beijing, September 24, 1766. (Pray 1781, 8: LV; English translation in Saje 2009a, 362).

English translations of the most of the correspondence, based on the Slovenian versions (Maver 2003, 227–81), are now published in the monograph, *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, (Slovenia, 2009), making them finally available to an international readership. In his letters, Hallerstein not only discusses religious matters and the work of the Jesuits in China, but also provides descriptions of the Chinese climate, fauna, local customs and habits, his role at the court and his relations with the Emperor, and his contrasting views on Qianlong's political and social order. Given the strict censorship during Qianlong's reign, these letters provide rare and valuable information on 18th century China.

Giuseppe Castiglione in Hallerstein's Letters

In his letters, Hallerstein also makes important observations on court painting, especially with regard to Qianlong's favourite painter, Giuseppe Castiglione. Castiglione and his art are mentioned in seven of the surviving letters, written over a period of 27 years. The first letter which mentions Castiglione was written soon after Hallerstein's arrival in Beijing in 1739, while the last one reports the news of the painter's death, in 1766. All but one of these letters were sent to his brother Weichard. Although Weichard was chiefly interested in the life, habits and customs of the Chinese people, often making specific inquiries in his own letters, Hallerstein

could not avoid mentioning Castiglione's work. In one letter, he tells his brother that Castiglione had painted their church so skillfully that a priest recently arrived from Rome, who was himself an accomplished painter, had been quite impressed, stating that the artist's work would be praised even in the capital of Christendom (Welt-Bott IV, no. 681). His letters also mention other examples of the painter's works, e.g. the large painting "*A Hundred Steeds*", portraits of the Emperor and Empress, his architectural plans for several palaces in the European style in Yuanming Yuan 圓明園, a series of battle scenes to be printed in Europe, together with important information regarding Castiglione's life at the court (Table 2).

Table 2: References to Castiglione in Hallerstein's letters

Date	Place	Addressee	No.	Publication	Content
Nov 4, 1739	Beijing	Father Weichard Hallerstein, his brother	No. 587	<i>Der Neue Welt-Bott</i> , Book IV, Vienna, 1755, letter no. 587, pp. 79–93.	Short description of Castiglione's art and his residence after Hallerstein's arrival in Beijing
Oct 10, 1741	Beijing	Idem	No. 675	<i>Der Neue Welt-Bott</i> , Book IV, Vienna, 1758, letter no. 675, pp. 39–42.	Court painting; Castiglione's <i>A Hundred Steeds</i> ; portrait of the Emperor and Empress
Oct 6, 1743	Beijing	Idem	No. 1	Pray, 1781, letter I, pp. I–XVI	Decoration of Residence of St. Joseph; Castiglione hears conversation between two Chinese
Nov 1, 1743	Beijing	Father Joseph Ritter, Confessor to the reigning Portuguese Queen.	No. 681	<i>Der Neue Welt-Bott</i> , Book IV, Vienna, 1758, letter no. 681, pp. 74–78.	Castiglione in the residence of St. Joseph; his decoration of the church
Nov 28, 1749	Beijing	Father Weichard Hallerstein, his brother	No. 2	Pray, 1781, letter II, pp. XVII–XXIX	Construction of a small palace in European style by Castiglione
Sept 12, 1764	Beijing	Idem	No. 6	Pray, 1781, letter VI, pp. XL–XLIV	Battle scenes to be printed in Europe
Sept 24, 1766	Beijing	Idem	No. 8	Pray, 1781, letter VIII, pp. XLIX–LV	Death of Castiglione

Hallerstein's Views on Castiglione and His Art

While it is difficult to know much about the relationships and general atmosphere within the Jesuit community in Beijing, given that its members were united by their status as foreigners in a very alien country and by their mission of proselytising the Chinese, there must have been a strong sense of mutual trust and solidarity. It is especially difficult to analyse and evaluate the personal relationships among missionaries in Beijing from their letters, as the regulations of the Order founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) prohibited the members from expressing personal feelings or views in their correspondence. Even the letters to his brother Weichard do not deviate from this norm, and Hallerstein always addresses him as “Most Reverend Father in Christ”. However, in his references to Castiglione Hallerstein reveals all of his admiration and respect for this magnificent painter. Fifteen years his senior, Castiglione had already spent 24 years in the service of three emperors (Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong) by the time Hallerstein arrived in Beijing, in June 1739. We can also conjecture that Hallerstein, originally from Mengeš near Ljubljana and Castiglione who came from Milan, may have felt a certain affinity based on their origins, with the younger Hallerstein soon assuming an almost reverential attitude towards his fellow missionary, who had lived in Beijing since November 1715. Both were inclined towards the missionary work, and saw—especially Hallerstein—the spreading of Christianity as their primary purpose in China. As the following reference indicates, Castiglione confided Hallerstein daily events or incidents about the Christian mission:

Brother Castiglione says that a few days ago, while he was painting at the court, two eunuchs who were quarrelling for some reason passed through the hall, and one said to the other, Am I then a Christian, for not honouring my ancestors? (Pray 1781, no 1; English translation in Saje 2009a, 325).

After his arrival in Beijing, Hallerstein lived in the College, but by the end of 1743 he had moved into the residence near St. Joseph's church, where he shared his living quarters with Domingos Pinheyro, Florian Bahr (1706–71), Ferdinando Moggi (1684–1761) and Giuseppe Castiglione (letter of 1 November 1743). In the long letter to his brother written shortly after his arrival in Beijing (4 November 1739), in which he describes his journey and gives his first impressions of Beijing and the local Jesuit community, Hallerstein also makes his first mention of Castiglione, describing him in the following words:

Brother Giuseppe Castiglione, a magnificent painter, who among other

works of art painted our otherwise small church, and this so expertly and skillfully that a priest who was accomplished in painting and who recently came from Rome, freely exclaimed that even in Rome this church would come to the attention of all. (Welt-Bott IV, no. 587; English translation in Saje 2009a, 283)

He clearly preferred Castiglione to the other Jesuit painters in Beijing, speaking with particular scorn of Jean-Damascène Sallusti (?–1781), the Augustinian priest who would become the Bishop of Beijing after the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773. In one letter, he evaluates the work of the four resident artists as follows:

Otherwise, there are great differences between the pictures. The best are undoubtedly those created by Brother Castiglione. Those by Father Sichelbarth and Brother Attiret follow, though they are not of the same quality as the first. Those of the Roman lag far behind. He is still a novice. (Pray 1781, 6; XLIV: English translation in Saje 2009a, 354)

He also often compared Castiglione's work with contemporary painting in Rome and Europe, with a clear preference for his fellow missionary. He even encouraged young European artists to come to Beijing in order to assist the ailing Castiglione, and learn from the Jesuit maestro, something he felt would also be to the general benefit of the Order and their missionary work.

Court Painting and Castiglione's Position at the Court

In the main archive of the Order in Rome, we find an unpublished, posthumous memoir of Giuseppe Castiglione entitled *Memoria Postuma Fratris Josephi Castiglione*, which describes his work and sheds light on cultural exchanges between China and Europe in the 18th century.¹⁴ This document provides an important source for understanding Castiglione's position at the court and his services to the Jesuit order, and may have been written by Hallerstein himself, though further research is needed in order to verify this supposition. The *Memoria* tells us that upon his arrival in Beijing, Castiglione was summoned to the court even before he had had a chance to meet his fellow Jesuit missionaries, and was asked to paint a bird in the presence of the Emperor.

Once in the city, the Emperor ordered Castiglione to be conveyed to him even before he had met our people [the Jesuit missionaries].

14 For a detailed description of the *Memoria*, see Musillo 2008.

Without preamble the Emperor asked Castiglione to paint a bird. Castiglione obeyed and he did it so skillfully that the Emperor was wondering whether the bird was alive or painted. In order not to defraud his people [probably referring to those working in the imperial painting workshops] and to have a noble art practiced by a uniquely skilful artist, the Emperor chose a few disciples and appointed Castiglione as their master. (Musillo 2008, 52)

After this first encounter, Castiglione continued to serve under three different emperors until his death in 1766, skillfully adapting his technique to the norms and artistic principles of Chinese court painting. He enjoyed good relations with all three Emperors, and particularly with Qianlong, who personally inscribed his painting, *Spring's Peaceful Message*, with the following poem in gold paint: "In portraiture [Lang] Shining is masterful, he painted me during my younger days; The white-headed one who enters the room today, does not recognize who this is." (Wu 1995, 25)

While the emperors encouraged western painters to transmit European artistic techniques to the court apprentices and serve the imperial household, the Society of Jesus viewed their artistic members as a way to enhance their influence and guarantee the success of their missionary efforts. This attitude was certainly shared by Hallerstein, who considered the Chinese court's interest in European science to be waning, while European painting was instead much sought after by the Emperor. Thus he saw the art of painting and thus the work of Castiglione the ideal opportunity, which could improve the situation of Jesuit's activities and further contribute to the spread of the Christian religion. In a letter to his brother, dated 10 October 1741, he declares:

We hope that the grace that this humble artist and brother found in the eyes of the Emperor will favourably influence the general position of our Christian affairs. Perhaps precisely this hope could prompt European artists, especially those from our society, with their art, which is now almost the only cause of popularity at the Chinese court, to serve God's churches and help Castiglione, who is already somewhat exhausted. (Welt-Bott IV, 675: 41; English translation in Saje 2009a, 300)

Even though Hallerstein's main task at the Chinese court was his work as astronomer and mathematician, he never forgot his role as a missionary. He devoted much of his energy to promoting Christianity at the court, primarily among the wealthy, high ranking officials. However, the attitude towards the Jesuits in China would change dramatically during the course of the 18th century,

with Emperor Kangxi's tolerance being replaced by suspicion and hostility. This change was partly due to Rome's rigid policies, which forbade the Jesuits to come to any sort of accommodation with the cultures they were intending to proselytise, while the Chinese emperors rejected any form of interference with the existing political and social order, leading to increasingly severe limitations on missionary work (Saje 2009b, 25–26). Hallerstein often mentions the persecution of his fellow missionaries, in remote provinces as well as in Beijing, and was himself accused of distributing Christian publications and devotional materials such as rosaries and sacred images. It was only thanks to the Emperor's personal intervention that Hallerstein and his fellow missionary, the Portuguese Father Felix de Rocha (1713–1781), managed to avoid punishment (Pray 1781, 2: XVII–XXIX).

It was difficult for Hallerstein to accept that their extensive missionary work in Beijing, especially among the nobility, had yielded such meagre results. In reporting Castiglione's death, he declares:

And God granted him mercy before the countenances of three princes. Open to this mercy and with the example of his modesty, humility, prudence and patience, the court could be converted, if this were possible. (Pray 1781, 8: LI; English translation in Saje 2009a, 361).

While the *Memoria* praises Castiglione's work both as a committed missionary and an accomplished painter, Hallerstein's letters deal almost exclusively with his art and high rank at the court, which brought him into direct contact with the Emperor. However, in reporting Castiglione's death in 1766, he emphasizes his missionary work: "On July 16 of this year a brother from our Society, the Milanese Giuseppe Castiglione, a magnificent painter, but an even better priest, died." (Pray 1781, no. 8; English translation in Saje 2009a, 361) In this letter, he not only praises Castiglione's rectitude and saintly life as a priest, but compares his artistic talent with his missionary work in order to give preeminence to the latter, in what appears an attempt to balance these two aspects.

The Emperor Qianlong was instead interested only in Castiglione the artist, giving him many gifts and special benefits, and conferring upon him the title of 3rd civil official rank, in 1748, and the title of Shilang 侍郎—Deputy Head of the Six Boards, after his death (Yang 1988, 46). The Emperor's admiration for Castiglione's art made him the first European who was permitted to enter the private chambers of the Emperor and his wife. Hallerstein describes the painter's privileged position in a letter to his brother, dated 10 October 1741, which deserves to be cited in full:

The high officials of the country also act according to the Emperor's example, and he values almost no other European art except for painting. This has led to our Brother Giuseppe Castiglione being always welcome at the Emperor's, and His Majesty condescends to use the artist's brush of this European master. Years ago Castiglione had, on the order of Emperor Yongzheng, to portray one hundred Tatar horses and riders, each in his colours and bearing, on a six fathom long and two fathom wide canvas. The present Emperor, who was especially fond of this masterpiece, wished to have the same image produced in a smaller form so that he could always have it at hand, and to have it painted on his parasol, which Castiglione, to the Emperor's satisfaction, carried out in a short time so perfectly and scrupulously that all European connoisseurs had to express their praise, both for the first, larger one, and for the second one, the image painted on such a small space. This effort did not suffice for the Emperor. He demanded that Castiglione paint the Emperor in various sizes, and in various poses and clothes. It even occurred—which in the past was unheard of in China—that he summoned this priestly artist into his palace and into the private room of his wife, who before then was not to be seen by any European eyes. He led him there and ordered him also to paint her form with his master's brush. Castiglione thus captured both, the Emperor and Empress, to the complete satisfaction of their majesties. (Welt-Bott IV, 675: 39–42; English translation in Saje 2009a, 299–300)

Castiglione's position at the court clearly depended on the quality of his work and his ability to satisfy the demands and artistic tastes of his great patron, the Emperor, something which he managed to do throughout his long career, always working to the full "*satisfaction of their majesties*".

Castiglione's Professional Achievements

Castiglione's work had a major influence on court painting. Together with other European painters and their Chinese collaborators, he helped create a new school of painting which combined European skill in oil painting with Chinese ink and pigments. Two new techniques in oil painting and copperplate etching were introduced into court painting, and the Western influence is also quite evident in the use of perspective and chiaroscuro. In order to satisfy imperial tastes, Castiglione painted standard subjects such as flower and plants, animals (horses and dogs), landscapes, architecture, portraits, while also recording contemporary

events. His extraordinary talent was also applied to designing various buildings in the European style. According to Yang Boda, Castiglione was a master in four different areas: oil painting, painting in the *xianfa* 綫法 style (line method), a new school which combined Western and Chinese techniques, and architectural design and construction (Yang 1988, 46). His high rank meant he was granted the privilege of having his paintings exhibited in the great halls of the Forbidden City and other important locations, such as the Lama Temple (Yonghegong 雍和宮), Yuanming Yuan 圓明園, the European Palaces and the summer palace at Chengde 承德 (Yang 1988, 46).

As Hallerstein notes in his letter of 10 October 1741, the Italian painter executed the portraits of the emperor and his consort, even being allowed into the private chambers of the Empress, “who before then was not to be seen by any European eyes” and working to the “complete satisfaction of their majesties”. He also produced several portraits of Qianlong. Because the Emperor thought that facial shadows looked like dirt, he avoided the use shading and chiaroscuro, and instead attenuated the intensity of the frontal lighting.

One of Castiglione’s most famous works is the very large scroll, *A Hundred Steeds*, which he painted at the request of the Emperor Yongzheng and in which he depicted the horses in a realistic manner, and in different poses among trees and in pastureland. Hallerstein’s reference to a smaller version of this painting is of particular interest. According to the Slovenian, at Qianlong’s request, the painter executed a much reduced version of the painting on Qianlong’s parasol so that the Emperor, who was very fond of this masterpiece, could always have it to hand. Unfortunately, this painting is probably lost.

Hallerstein also refers to other specific works by Castiglione, including a series of battle scenes produced by a group of four European painters: Denis Attiret (1702–1768), Ignaz Sickelbarth (1708–1780), Jean Damascene Sallustio, and Castiglione. Hallerstein devotes nearly three full letters to his brother Weichard (dated 1761, 1764, 1766) to describing Qianlong’s campaigns against the Dzungars in northwest China (from 1753 to 1758), expressing great pride in the Emperor’s military successes. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should speak at length about the battle scenes, in his letter of 1764:

What I forgot in the letter, I will write here. Our Emperor wishes that in Europe they cut out and print sixteen images depicting military battles which have been carried out in the past years against Kalmyks and their neighbours and against the previously subjugated Mohammedans. After the conclusion of the war he had sixteen large paintings made, which

adorned his court. Later he was sent a few images by the Augsburg engraver Rugendas depicting similar scenes. He was pleased with them. He therefore ordered our Brother Giuseppe Castiglione, a Milanese who was eighty years old and had already been in Beijing for forty-nine years, but whose hands and eyes still served him well, the Czech Father Ignaz Sichelbarth, the French Brother Denis Attiret and the Roman Father Damascène, an Augustinian from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, to render these images in a smaller form. When they finished the first four about four months ago, the images were sent to the Cantonese Viceroy to be loaded onto Europe ships and taken to Europe. Next year four more will follow, and so on. (Pray 1781, XL–XLIV; English translation in Saje 2009a, 353–4)

After Qianlong completed his conquest of Turkestan, sixteen paintings depicting his military campaigns were executed by the four Jesuits. The Emperor then hung the canvases in a hall in the Western part of the Forbidden city, where foreign ambassadors were received. According to Sullivan, the Emperor was inspired by the engravings of Georges Philippe Rugendas of Augsburg (1666–1743) and wished to celebrate his military success with large paintings. (Sullivan 1989, 74) Hallerstein instead states that only after the sixteen battle scenes had been finished did the Emperor see the Rugendas' engravings. Much impressed by these works, he ordered the four Jesuit painters to make small ink copies to be sent to Europe, where one hundred copies of each drawing would be made. According to Hallerstein, the first four scenes were completed in July 1764, and not in 1765 as is generally believed.

After the first four drawings (of sixteen total) were completed, they were sent to Canton to be shipped to Europe. Castiglione wanted the engraving work and prints to be done in Italy, but the French mission in Canton claimed the best engravers were in Paris and convinced the Cantonese Viceroy to ship them to France. In Hallerstein's words:

It is Brother Castiglione's wish that they be prepared and printed in Italy. Because this does not belong to my area of competence, I did not interfere. The Emperor, too, wishes that only one hundred copies of each be printed and that they be sent back here with the figures; the Cantonese Viceroy is to pay for them. (Pray 1781, XLIV; English translation in Saje 2009a, 354)

The first four drawings arrived in Paris in 1766, and the rest by 1772. The drawings were engraved by Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (1707–1783), Augustin de Saint-Aubin (1736–1807) and others, under direction of Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790)

and were sent back to China in December 1774 (Sullivan 1989, 75). Hallerstein died on 29 October 1774, hence just one month before the prints and original drawings were sent back to Beijing. As his letters indicate, he was very interested in these works, and it is a pity that he did not live to see the completed prints:

I believed that your Eminence would like to be informed about this, so that you will be abreast of what is going on conversation turn to this. If your Eminence finds out something about the place of execution and about the artist, I, too, would be happy to learn this. (Pray 1781, XLIV; English translation in Saje 2009a, 354).

Conclusion

Due to their close relationship over the course of many years, it was quite possible that Castiglione painted Hallerstein's portrait. Given his fame as an astronomer, it is likely that such a portrait would have been commissioned by Qianlong who, in fact, requested Castiglione to do portraits of other Westerners, including the artist himself.¹⁵ Unfortunately, no images of Hallerstein are known to exist. The only physical description of the Slovenian is preserved in a report of the head of the Korean mission to China. At age 62, it describes him as in good health, with a keen, searching look, a grey beard and his hair worn in the Chinese style (i.e. with the fore part of his head shaved and wearing a long plait), and attired in the formal dress of a Chinese official (Saje 2009b, 45).

In conclusion, we can confirm that Hallerstein's recently rediscovered letters offer fresh insight into the life and art of the celebrated Milanese painter and Jesuit missionary, Giuseppe Castiglione. They provide important new evidence concerning not only Castiglione's career, but also his position at the court and within the Jesuit community in Beijing. Castiglione, who had first arrived in Beijing, 22 November 1715, died on 16 July 1766, aged 79, after more than a half century in China. In his letter of 24 September 1766, Hallerstein reports the death of this extraordinary painter with the following words:

On July 16 of this year a brother from our Society, the Milanese Giuseppe Castiglione, a magnificent painter, but an even better priest, died. He lived to be seventy-nine years, if we subtract a few days. Fifty of those years he lived for God in this Beijing station and sacrificed

¹⁵ After the Anglo-French allies forces plundered and burned the Round Bright Garden more than 60 portraits of Westerners were lost or disappeared (Ju 2009, 190–1).

himself in His service. And God granted him mercy before the countenances of three princes. Open to this mercy and with the example of his modesty, humility, prudence and patience, the court could be converted, if this were possible. (Pray 1781, 8: XLIX–LV; English translation in Saje 2009a, 361)

Hallerstein would survive his friend by eight years. Given his already failing health, it is possible that the news of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, which reached Beijing on 5 August 1743, may have hastened his death, which had occurred three months later (Saje 2009b, 49). Both missionaries were buried in the Jesuit cemetery in Beijing.

As we noted above, the posthumous memoir of Castiglione preserved in the main archive of the Order in Rome, may have been written by Hallerstein (Musillo 2008, 58, op. 12). Further research, and especially a comparative linguistic analysis of the memoir with his letters, still needs to be done in order to verify the authorship of this important document. Additional research would also provide new insights on the life and work of these two important Jesuit missionaries, and on their roles and functions at the Chinese Imperial court during that period.

References

- Chevalier, S., and P. Tsuchihashi, trans., eds. 1914. *Observatoire de Zi-ka-wei: Annales de l'observatoire astronomique*, Tome VII, année 1911. Chang-hai (Shanghai).
- Keller, Franz, ed. 1755. *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. Book IV, Part XXX. Vienna.
- . ed. 1758. *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. Book IV, Part XXXIV. Vienna.
- Hribar, Viljem Marjan, ed. 2003. *Mandarin: Hallerstein, Kranjec na kitajskem dvoru*. Radovljica: Didakta.
- Ju Deyuan 鞠德源. 1985. “Qing Qiantianjian jianzheng Liu Songling – jinian Nansilafu tianwen xuejia Liu Songling shishi erbai yishi zhounian 清钦天监监正刘松龄一纪念南斯拉夫天文学家刘松龄逝世二百一十周年.” *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊 1: 53–62.
- . 2009. “Liu Songling, Head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy in the Qing Dynasty: to Mark the 270th Anniversary of the Slovenian Hallerstein’s Coming to China as an Astronomer.” In *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, edited by Mitja Saje, 161–205. Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla; Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije.
- Južnič, Stanislav. 2003. *Kitajski astronom iz Mengša*. Ljubljana: Tehniška založba.

- . 2009. "Vacuum and Electricity for the Chinese Emperor." In *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, edited by Mitja Saje, 209–35. Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla; Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije.
- . 2012. "Building a Bridge Between the Observatories of Petersburg and Beijing: A Study on the Jesuit Avguštin Hallerstein from Present-day Slovenia, Celebrating the 310th Anniversary of his Birth." *Monumenta Serica* 60: 309–406.
- Kovačič, Lojze. 2003. "Jezuitski misionarji 17. in 18. stoletja med soglasjem z Rimom ter suverenostjo kitajskega cesarja." In *Mandarin: Hallerstein, Kranjec na kitajskem dvoru*, edited by Viljem Marjan Hribar, 85–103. Radovljica: Didakta.
- Maver, Aleš. 2009. "A Word on Hallerstein's Letters." In *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, edited by Mitja Saje, 209–35. Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla; Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije.
- Musillo, Marco. 2008. "Reconciling Two Careers: The Jesuit Memoir of Giuseppe Castiglione Lay Brother and Qing Imperial Painter." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42 (1): 45–59.
- Pray, György. 1781. *Imposturae a. CCXVIII in dissertatione R.P. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis a Scholis Pii de Sinensium Imposturis detectae et convulsae*. Budae.
- Rodrigues, Francisco. 1925. *Jesuitas Portugueses Astronomos na China 1583–1805*. Porto.
- Saje, Mitja, ed. 2009a. *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*. Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla; Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije.
- , ed. 2009b. "Rediscovering Augustin Hallerstein and his Work in Beijing." In *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, 209–35. Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla; Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije.
- , ed. 2015. *Siluowenniya zai Zhongguo de wenhua shizhe – Liu Songling* (斯洛文尼亚在中国的文化使者 – 刘松龄). Zhu Xiaoke 朱晓珂 and Chu Longfei 褚龙飞 (trans.). Zhengzhou: Daxiang chuban she.
- Sullivan, Michael. 1989. *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Šmitek, Zmago. 1986. *Klic daljnih svetov*. Radovljica: Didakta.
- . 1995. *Srečevanja z drugačnostjo: slovenska izkustva eksotike*. Radovljica: Didakta.

- . 2009. "The Last Great Astronomer in the Chinese Court: Augustin Hallerstein." In *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, edited by Mitja Saje, 51–115. Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla; Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije.
- Urbanija, Marko. 2003. "Osnutek bibliografije Ferdinanda Avgušтина Hallerstein." In *Mandarin: Hallerstein, Kranjec na kitajskem dvoru*, edited by Viljem Marjan Hribar, 283–5. Radovljica: Didakta.
- Wu, Hung. 1995. "Emperor's Masquerade - 'Costume Portraits' of Yongzheng and Qianlong." *Orientalism* 26 (7): 25–41.
- Yang, Boda. 1988. "Castiglione at the Qing Court: An Important Artistic Contribution." *Orientalism* 19 (11): 44–51.

*European Jesuits as a Cultural Bridge between
China and Europe*

Karel Slavíček, SJ and His Correspondence from China with European Astronomers and Scholars

*Vladimír LIŠČÁK**

Abstract

Karel Slavíček, SJ (1678–1735) was a Jesuit missionary to Chinese Empire, and in the same time the mathematician, astronomer and musician, coming from the Czech Crown lands. He was one of the eight Jesuits of the old Bohemian province who reached China. His letters from China are an ample source of his observation of life and customs in China, as well as of Chinese science. These letters in Czech translation, together with their originals (mostly in Latin), were published, for the first time, in 1995. This edition was later translated into Chinese and published in 2002 in Beijing. This article aims to acquaint the readers with the scientific contribution of Karel Slavíček, which we can find primarily in his letters to European scholars published so far.

Keywords: Jesuit missionaries, China, Karel Slavíček, correspondence

Izvlček

Karel Slavíček, SJ (1678–1735) je bil jezuitski misijonar na Kitajskem, matematik, astronom in glasbenik iz Češke kraljevine. Bil je eden izmed osmih jezuitov stare češke province, ki mu ju uspelo priti na Kitajsko. Pisma, ki jih je pošiljal iz Kitajske v Evropo, predstavljajo zajeten vir njegovih opazovanj kitajskih navad, običajev ter tudi kitajske znanosti. Ta pisma so bila v češkem prevodu skupaj z originalnim zapisom (večinoma v latinščini) prvič objavljena leta 1995. Leta 2002 so bila v kitajskem prevodu objavljena tudi v Pekingu. Pričujoči članek seznani bralca z znanstvenimi dosežki Karla Slavíčka, ki jih je moč zaznati v njegovih pismih evropskim učenjakom.

Ključne besede: jezuitski misijonarji, Kitajska, Karel Slavíček, korespondenca

* Vladimír LIŠČÁK, PhD, Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic. vlicsak@orient.cas.cz



Slaviček in the Eyes of His Contemporaries

A Catholic priest, Jesuit missionary in China, Karel Slaviček, SJ (in Latin: *Carolus Slaviček*, *Slavizek*, *Slaviczek*, *Slawicek* etc.,¹ Chinese name: Yan Jiale² 嚴嘉樂) (b. 24 December 1678, Jimramov, Moravia/Czech Crown lands, d. 24 August 1735, Beijing, China) was one of eight Jesuits (SJ) of the old Bohemian province³ of this Order who reached China. Only Slaviček was of Czech nationality (or exactly speaking Moravian, *Carol[us] Slavicek Morav[us]*, as written on his tombstone in Beijing), others were Germans⁴ (Slaviček and Kolmaš 1995, 14). Slaviček's letters from China (1716 to 1735) are an ample source of his observation of the life and customs in China, and—as he was also a scholar—of Chinese science, as well.

But if you wanted to find some relevant information of missionary and scientific activities of this Moravian Jesuit and talented mathematician, astronomer, cartographer, and musician, you probably would not be successful. You can hardly find his name in any large encyclopedia (such as *Encyclopædia Britannica* or *Catholic Encyclopedia*) or in a general study on history of Christianity in China. Even in the *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Vol. 1, edited by Nicolas Standaert (Standaert 2001), there are only few references on Slaviček, but without any detail about his life and work. The only appreciations of his scholarly activities are in the works of his contemporaries.

Bavarian Jesuit P. Joseph Stöcklein, SJ (1676–1733), the editor of first 24 parts of a voluminous collection of letter and reports dating from 1642 to 1730, in

- 1 Also Celavitchec (*Obs.* 150, 7, 19); Slavisechett (*Borg. Lat.* 566, 337v, 345); Slavitchek; Slawiczek; Slawiezeck (*JS* 177, 472).
- 2 Jiale 嘉樂 is a phonetic transcription of *Carolus*, *Charles*. But Yan Jiale 嚴嘉樂 was also Chinese name of French bishop Charles Maigrot (1652–1730), an important person in the Chinese Rites controversy.
- 3 Jesuits in the Czech Crown lands originally belonged to the German province, after 1563 to the Austrian province, and finally in 1623 a separate Bohemian province was founded—the Jesuit colleges in Moravia and Silesia also belonged to this province. The old Bohemian province was one of the strongest among the Jesuit provinces, and many of its members were also active in overseas missions.
- 4 The other Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian Jesuits on the China mission were (in chronological order): Václav Pantaleon Kirwitzer (German: *Wenzel Pantaleon Kirwitzer*, Latin: *Wenceslaus Kirwitzer*, *Wenceslas Pantaleon Kirwitzer*, Chinese name: Qi Weicai 祁維材, 1588–1642; in China: 1620–1642), Leopold Ferdinand Liebstain (or Liebstain; Chinese name: Shi Kesheng 石克勝, 1667–1711; in China: 1707–1711), Franz Ludwig Stadlin (Latin: *Franciscus Leonitus*; Chinese name: Lin Jige 林濟各, 1658–1740; in China: 1707–1740), Franz Tillisch (Latin: *Franciscus Thilisch*; Chinese name: Yang Bingyi 楊秉義, 1670–1716; in China: 1710–1716), Florian Josef Bahr (Latin: *Florianus Babr*; Chinese name: Wei Jijin 魏繼晉, 1706–1771; in China: 1738–1771), Johann Walter (Latin: *Joannes Walter*; Chinese name: Lu Zhongxian 魯仲賢, 1708–1759; in China: 1741–1759), and Ignác Sichelbart (German: *Ignaz Sichelbarth*, or *Sickelbart*, *Sickelpart*; Chinese name: Ai Qimeng 艾啓蒙, 1708–1780; in China: 1745–1780).

part XIX of his *Neuer Welt-Bott* published in 1732 qualifies Slavíček's letters in these words:

P. Carolus Slavizek beschreibet uns kurz und gut in einem kleinen Begrieff, was sie beede weitläuffig erzehlen. Schad ist, daß sich diser letztere alles Brieff-wechsels, so viel möglich, entschlagt: noch mehr aber zu bedauern, daß seine Send-Schriften nicht in ihrer lateinischen Ursprach gedruckt werden; gestaltsam er in derselben meines Gedunckens alle andere Missionarios übertrifft... Keine Brief kommen in Europa geschwinder an als die seine. Muthmaßlich dernwegen, weil er dieselben den kürztzesten Weeg über Moscau nach Böhmen in sein Vatterland abfertiget. (Stöcklein 1732, Vorrede)⁵

Early Years

Karel Slavíček was born on Christmas day 1678, in the house “U Slunce” (*By the Sun*) on the main square in Jimramov (historically known as *Ingramycz, Gymramow, Ingrowitz, Ingerwitz*),⁶ a small town founded in the 13th century, straddling the historical border between Bohemia and Moravia (in the eastern part of today's Czech Republic). His father, Václav Vojtěch Slavíček, was a teacher and town councilor writer. Both he and his older brother Jiří were very musically talented. Karel also excelled in mathematics and astronomy. His great talent was reflected in language teaching, as well.

After finishing gymnasium (a high school) in Brno, Slavíček entered, on 9 October 1694, the Jesuit Order (Society of Jesus, Latin: *Societas Iesu*, S.J., SJ or SI). He studied philosophy for three years and afterwards theology at the University of Olomouc (Latin: *Alma caesarea regia ac episcopalis universitas Societatis Jesu Olomucensis*; modern Palacký University, Olomouc) for three years. After finishing his studies, he stayed at the University as a teacher of mathematics, Hebrew, and history. Later he went to Prague, where he has studied theology at the Jesuit-run Charles-Ferdinand University (Latin: *Universitas Carolo-Ferdinandea*; now Charles University) for four years. He was ordained as a priest in 1707. During his

5 “P. Carolus Slavizek recounts simply and clearly what others have told at length. Too bad is that he almost completely disclaims all further correspondence. But we regret even more that his letters could not be published in their Latin original. They surpass, in my opinion, the letters of all other missionaries... No other letters to Europe are delivered as fast as his, probably because he is sending them to his Czech homeland in the shortest route via Russia.” (Translation by author)

6 Therefore Slavíček is referred to as “Imramvirensis”, “Gimramoviensis” in Latin sources.

studies in Prague Slavíček took part in making a precise map of the capital city of the Kingdom, which helped him in his later scholarly activities in China.

After finishing studies in Prague he many time changed his place of work. He taught at Jičín (German: *Titschein, Gitschin, Jitschin*) in Moravia, subsequently lecturing mathematics at the University of Wrocław (German: *Leopoldina, Universität Breslau*, Latin: *Universitas Wratislaviensis*) in Silesia (now in southern Poland), finally returning to the University of Olomouc. He obtained his Doctorate of Philosophy, became a professor of mathematics and, in 1712, a fully-fledged member of the Jesuit Order. In 1714 he went to Brno, where his work involved assisting his former professor Jakub Kresa (1648–1715) with the preparation of his mathematical writings for print (Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 14).

Mission to China and Slavíček's First Letters

Like many young Jesuits of his time he desired active service on the mission. Therefore, in autumn 1714, he offered his service and already in October of that year he was chosen for a mission to China, together with a Bavarian Jesuit Ignaz (Ignatius) Kögler (Chinese name: Dai Jinxian 戴進賢, 1680–1746) and a Portuguese Jesuit Andreas (André) Pereira (Pereyra) (Chinese name: Xu Maode 徐懋德, 1690–1743). Slavíček was chosen for a mission in China because of his scholarly and musical skills, since the missionaries to China of that time had to have knowledge at least of one of these branches (Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 14).

In the summer of 1715, Slavíček left Moravian capital city of Brno for Prague. From there he wrote his letter of thanks to Mons. Michelangelo Tamburini, SJ (1648–1730), Superior General of the Society of Jesus (Letter I in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 20–21).⁷

He then continued to Bavaria, where he met Kögler, and leaving with him for Lisbon to join Pereira. All three of them departed from Lisbon on 14 March 1716, on the *Santa Ana*, and sailing along Africa they reached Macao without a stop after a five-and-half-month journey, on 31 August 1716. After reaching Macao they acquired local clothes and adopted local haircuts. Shortly after his arrival, Slavíček continued to Canton, and on 9 November he advanced to Beijing.

Already on 24 October 1716, right after his arrival in Canton (Guangzhou 廣州), Slavíček sent his first letter to a friend of his, P. Julius Zwicker (1667–1738), a tutor of novices in Brno at the time (and later, in 1725–1729, Provincial Superior of

7 Dated: Pragae 10. Julii Anno 1715. Signed: *Carolus Slavíček*.—*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* in Rome (sign. F.G.756).

the Bohemian Jesuit province). However, this letter reached Brno only in March 1718 (Letter II in Slaviček and Kolmaš 1995, 22–29).⁸

After a brief notice on his unusually quick arrival to China he wrote that he immediately began learning Chinese. He noticed, among other things, that Chinese pronunciation is quite easy for a Czech or Pole:

Pronunciationes vocum omnibus Nationibus multum negotii facessunt, boëmo, aut Polono fere nullum: ita testantur Grammatica cujusdam Franciscani Poloni, ita mea, priusquam eam legerem, confirmavit experientia, et Sinarum assensus, quorum pronunciationem mox capio, et exprimo tum literis, tum lingua meis... (Letter II in Slaviček and Kolmaš 1995, 22)

(Chinese) pronunciation causes many difficulties for members of all nations, but for a Czech or Pole almost none. This is testified by a grammar written by a Polish Franciscan, and before I had read it, it was confirmed by my own experience and confirmation from Chinese people, whose pronunciation I soon understood and expressed both in writing and in speech...

Classification of Slaviček's Correspondence

The activities of Karel Slaviček in China are known mainly from his correspondence. But Slaviček was also famous for his scientific research, for example of the liberation of Moon (Duteil 1994, 289). There are 21 letters from or to Slaviček preserved in the original autograph or in a copy. The letters are scattered in European archives in Prague, Brno, Rome, Paris, Munich, Glasgow, and St. Petersburg in Russia. Most of these letters were written in Latin, only one was in French. Only three of the known letters are not available in their Latin original, but their German translation from the Stöcklein's collection *Neuer Welt-Bott* is at disposal.

Slaviček's letters from China can be divided into two portions:

- 1) letters to his native country (to Brno and to Prague) (1715–1727)—edited by P. Josef Vraštil, SJ (Slaviček and Vraštil 1935);
- 2) his correspondence with the European scholars (Prémare, Souciet, T. S. Bayer, Delisle) (1723–1735)—edited by Josef Kolmaš (Slaviček and Kolmaš 1995).

⁸ Dated: Cantone 24. Octobris. Anno 1716. Signed: *Carolus Slaviček, Soc. JESU mp.*—*Státní oblastní archiv* [State Regional Archives] in Brno (Jesuitica 557, I/b).

Until now, there are only two editions of Slavíček's correspondence (in 1935 and 1995), both in their original and in Czech translations. The second edition was also published in the Chinese translation (with the help of Chinese Bohemists Cong Lin 叢林 and Li Mei 李梅), in 2002. In this Chinese edition only translations without originals were published (Slavíček and Kolmaš 2002).

Letters from Vraštil's Collection

In 1935 P. Josef Vraštil, SJ (1878–1944), the Moravian Jesuit and the Provincial Superior of the Bohemian province (in 1934–1936) published eight letters sent by Slavíček between 1715 and 1727 (Slavíček and Vraštil 1935). These letters are sources of useful information, mostly on the imperial court and on the situation among Jesuits in Beijing. Six of them were addressed to P. Julius Zwicker, SJ (1667–1738), Slavíček's long-time friend and the Provincial Superior in 1725–1729.

Already in his letter of 8 November 1716 sent from Canton he gives a detailed travel diary, beginning with his embarking in Lisbon and ending just before his departure to Beijing (Letter III in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 30–43).⁹

After New Year 1717 Slavíček arrived in Beijing, which remained his definite place of work, leaving it only for short periods for health reasons. On 3 February 1717, Slavíček was introduced to the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (r. 1661–1722) in Beijing, who employed him as a court musician (Slavíček was a Spinet player). His travel from Canton to Beijing and his first experience in the Chinese capital city, namely his audience by the Emperor, is described in the letter from Beijing of 19 March 1717 (Letter IV in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 44–55).¹⁰

He wrote, among others:

Tum præcinit mihi ut, re, mi, fa, etc. meque repetere jussit, spinetta mea lusit, varia circa tonos tentavit, proposuitque; denique inter plurima amœnæ humanitatis indicia disertè professus fuit: “Se plurimum adventu meo gaudere, ac pridem desideravisse, ut bonus aliquis Musicus idem Mathematicus simul adveniret.” ex qua conjunctione in me ab ipso æstimata, & propalata... (Letter IV in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 46).

9 This letter has survived only in Stöcklein's *Neuer Welt-Bott* in German translation (1726, Vol. VII, No. 155). — Signed: Carolus Slaviczek.

10 Dated: Pekini. 19 Martij 1717. Signed: *Carolus Slaviczek*. S.J.—*Státní ústřední archiv* [State File Centre] in Prague (JS IIIo 419).

Then [the Emperor] sang do-re-mi-fa, etc. for me and ordered me to repeat it. He played my spinet and questioned about various things concerning tones. Finally, in displaying many indications of kindness, he explicitly said that “he was quite overjoyed by my arrival and that he had previously desired that some good musician as well as mathematician would come.” And because I know both I was appraised and admired by the Emperor...

In the postscript to this letter he added his own sketch of the ground plan of Beijing walls with exact measures (Letter IV in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 52–55).

Letter V sent from Beijing to an unknown Jesuit P. Thomas Matthaeus is known only from a Latin extract in the correspondence of French Benedictine historian and orientalist Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze (1661–1739) (Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 56–57).

Slavíček wrote his sixth letter on 14 October 1723 from Nanchang 南昌 in southern China to his friend Julius Zwicker.¹¹ He announced to him the death of Emperor Kangxi, during whose reign Christianity in China had considerably better results than under his predecessors. But under his successor Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1723–1735) there began a cruel persecution of Christians (Letter VI in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 58–61).¹² Slavíček notes the persecution of Christianity in the Fujian province 福建, in particular: “...therefore both Dominican Fathers and Jesuits, as well as the Gospel itself, in the Fujian Province are persecuted and the Christian churches in pagan schools perverted” (Letter VI in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 60). Yongzheng ordered all the Jesuits in China to be accommodated in Beijing; consequently also Slavíček had to return there.

The last two letters (Letter VII of 20 November 1725, in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 62–81¹³; Letter VIII of 28 November 1727, in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 82–99)¹⁴ of this edition are annuals (*litteræ annuæ*) of the Beijing mission and the entire Chinese Vice-Province for the years of 1725–1727.

11 Almost identical was the letter to P. František Retz (Latin: *Franciscus Retz*, 1673–1750), the Provincial Superior in 1719–1722 and 1724–1725. Slavíček wrote this letter on 8 October 1723 in Nanchang, just several days before the letter to Zwicker. (Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 226, n. 81)

12 This letter has survived only in the Stöcklein's *Neuer Welt-Bott* in German translation (1728, Vol. VIII, No. 203).—Signed: Carolus Slavicek.

13 Dated: Pekini Anno 1725 Novembris die 20. Signed: *Carolus Slavicek*.—*Státní ústřední archiv* (State File Centre) in Prague (JS IIIo 415).

14 This letter has survived only in Stöcklein's *Neuer Welt-Bott* in German translation (1732, Vol. XIX, No. 413).—Signed: Carl Slavizek.

The Second, Extended Edition by Josef Kolmaš

The first edition of Slavíček's correspondence to his colleagues in the Czech Crown lands (Bohemia and Moravia) was, sixty years later, notably extended with a new portion of his letters to prominent scholars, mostly astronomers, in Europe, first of all in Paris and St. Petersburg in Russia. In 1995, a book entitled Karel Slavíček, SJ: *Listy z Číny do vlasti a jiná korespondence s evropskými hvězdáři (1716–1735)* (*Letters from China to His Native Country and Other Correspondence with European Astronomers*) was published (Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995).

Editor of this book, Prof. PhDr. Josef Kolmaš, DrSc. (b. 1933), Czech Sinologist and Tibetologist, a long-time researcher at the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Czech Academy of Sciences, and in 1994 to 2002 its director reedited the Vraštil's edition of Slavíček's eight above mentioned letters and added a new portion of fifteen letters to or from European scholars. This edition is also valuable for foreign scholars, because it bears either the Latin or French original (or the German translation where the original is not available) on the left page and the Czech translation on the opposite page.

As we can learn from these letters and references in the works of his contemporaries, Slavíček's activity in China, similarly to the activity of many other Jesuits in the Manchu court, starting with Matteo Ricci (Chinese name: Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552–1610), consisted not only of missionary services, but also in scientific research. His letters contain for example numerous important topographic measurements and astronomical observations that he made himself in China and sent to prominent European astronomers and other scholars.

They often referred to these measurements and observations in their respective works: Étienne Souciet (1671–1744) in his *Observations mathématiques, astronomiques, géographiques, chronologiques et physiques...* (Paris, 1729–1732), Theophilus (Gottlieb) Siegfried Bayer (Chinese name: Ba Ye 巴耶, 1694–1738) in *De horis Sinicis et cyclo horario commentationes...* (Petropoli (St. Petersburg), 1735), or Ferdinand Augustin Haller von Hallerstein (Slovene: Ferdinand Avguštin Haller von Hallerstein; Chinese name: Liu Songling 劉松齡, 1703–1774)¹⁵ in his *Observationes astronomicae, ab anno 1717 ad annum 1752, à PP. societatis Jesu Pekini Sinarum factæ...* (Vindobonæ 1768)

The great value of Slavíček's scientific inheritance is in his correspondence with astronomers in Paris and Saint Petersburg, and possibly other letters not found

15 Ferdinand Augustin Haller von Hallerstein was a Jesuit missionary in China and Chinese astronomer from Carniola (then Habsburg Monarchy, now in Slovenia), who spent 35 years at the Emperor Qianlong's 乾隆 (r. 1735–1796) court as the Head of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau and Board of Mathematics (Chinese: Qintianjian 欽天監).

until now but mentioned in some of his letters or in the correspondence of other authors. Some of them may also be addressed to Bohemia and Poland, but we do not know whether he was also in correspondence with astronomers at universities in Prague, Olomouc, or Wrocław (Slaviček and Kolmaš 1995, 103–4).

Five letters were sent, between 1730 and 1733, to Étienne Souciet (1671–1744), French Jesuit, mathematician and astronomer. Seven letters were exchanged, in 1732–1735, between Slaviček and two scholars in Saint Petersburg—Theophilus (Gottlieb) Siegfried Bayer and Joseph-Nicholas (Nicolas) Delisle (*De l'Isle, Del'Isle, De Lisle, Del'Islius, Delislius* etc.) (1688–1768). These letters contain a range of scientific topics, calculations, sketch maps, tables, outlines, and polemics, often large and extent, which are of great importance for the history of the European cognition of Chinese science.

In some letters we can find also references to Slaviček's well-known interest in Chinese music and also to his own work from this field, which is unfortunately otherwise unknown.

Letters to Paris

From the letters addressed to European astronomers, the earliest is Letter IX (in Slaviček and Kolmaš 1995, 118–31)¹⁶ of this edition addressed to an unmentioned recipient (he may be Joseph Henri Marie de Prémare, 1666–1736; see Slaviček and Kolmaš 1995, 104–5). This letter was written on 25 August 1723 in Nanchang, where Slaviček resided for health reasons in 1720–1723, as we know from his letters to PP. František Retz and Julius Zwicker, both from October 1723.

This letter contains a large philippic against Abbé Eusebius (Eusèbe) Renaudot (1646–1720), a French theologian and Orientalist, who published, in 1718 in Paris, his translation of accounts written by two Arabian travelers of the 9th century about India and China (*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine...* Paris, 1718). In his own notes Renaudot denied, among other things, the correctness and antiquity of Chinese chronology and astronomy. Slaviček analyzes his theses in detail, argues against them and advocates convincingly the antiquity and even priority of Chinese chronology. He gives many examples of ancient Chinese astronomical observations and exact measurements, including a *Catalogus 36. Eclipsium Solis* (*List of 36 solar eclipses*) between 720 BCE and 495 BCE

16 Dated: Anno Christianæ Epochæ 1723. Cycli Lunaris 13. Augusti et 7.æ Lunæ 25.to (= on 25th August and [in the same time 25th day of] the seventh lunar month of the 1723 year of Christian era and [in the same time] of the 13th year of the lunar cycle). Signed: *Carolus Slaviček*.—*Recueil Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale Française* in Paris (No. 17239).

as recorded in *Chunqiu* (春秋), together with his own corrections (Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 130–1).¹⁷

The last third of this Slavíček's letter advocates astronomical research and work of Jesuits in China, namely Matteo Ricci and Johann Adam Schall von Bell (Chinese name: Tang Ruowang 湯若望, 1591–1666), against injuriousness from the side of Abbé Renaudot. He writes, among others:

Ergo qui ad tantam perfectionem reducere Tabulas Astronomicas Sinarum potuerunt, præclaros sane Astronomos oportet fuisse, licet Jesuitas, licet Missionarios, aliquibus Europæ Academiis ignotos, utpote qui DEI et animarum amore præoccupati, Patrias suas, Cathedrasque splendidas ante in Europa reliquerunt... (Letter IX in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 126)

Therefore those who were able to bring Chinese astronomical tables to such perfection must have been reasonably illustrious astronomers, although Jesuits and missionaries not known in some European academies, in as much as they, led by their love of God and souls, left their native lands and splendid chairs in Europe...

Other recipient of Slavíček's letters in Europe was Étienne Souciet, the author of many works, among them voluminous *Observations mathématiques, astronomiques, géographiques, chronologiques et physiques...* (Paris, 1729–1732, 3 vols.), based mostly on the research and observations sent to him by Jesuits in China.

Slavíček's first letter to Souciet of 18 December 1730 (Letter X in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 134–47)¹⁸ contained detailed corrections to the above mentioned *List of 36 solar eclipses*. In his second letter to Souciet of 22 September 1731 (Letter XI in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 148–55)¹⁹ Slavíček thanks him for a copy of Volume One of his *Observations*, and he refuses "an undeserved commendation" of him in the Preface. Slavíček sent his own corrections to the sketched map of Beijing published in *Observations*. He was not a beginner in topography as he writes in this letter:

Urbis Pekinensis plantam velle & facere facilius mihi erat, eo quod jam ante 27. annos simili modo Pragensia Triurbis ichnographiam cum omnibus plateis, vicis, ac foris &c. delineaveram, sed in modulo grandi (Letter XI in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 150).

17 This he further corrected in his next letter addressed to Étienne Souciet (Letter X in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 134–47).

18 Dated: Pekini in Residencia S. Josephi die 18.^a Dec. 1730. Signed: *Carolus Slavíček*.—*Observatoire de Paris* in Paris (A.B.1.10).

19 Dated: Pekini 22. Sept. 1731. Signed: *Carolus Slavíček*.—*Observatoire de Paris* in Paris (A.B.1.10).

To draw a sketch map of Beijing was easier for me, as 27 years ago I already drew in a similar way a ground plan of Prague's Triple City with all the squares, streets, and markets etc., but in a greater measure.

In his response to Slavíček's first two letters Souciet promised to publish Slavíček's corrected sketched map of Beijing in some of the following volumes of his *Observations*, but because they were ended in 1732, Slavíček's sketch map of Beijing has not been published.

In his letter to Souciet of 2 October 1733 (Letter XIII in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 160–3),²⁰ Slavíček reverts once more to the *List of 36 solar eclipses*. This letter shows evidence of Slavíček's deep admiration of the exactness of ancient Chinese science:

Venio ad difficultatem, quam circa Tchun Tsieou Eclipses Reverentia Vestra hærere animo suo scripsit. Reverende ac Doctissime Pater, quinque illæ, falso inter 36. annotatæ, Eclipses, adeoque non observatæ, reliquarum fidem non pos-sunt obscurare. Nam has, cum visibiles in Sinis fuerint, incredibile est, a nemine observatas fuisse, præsertim, quæ Confucii ætate contigerunt, qui Librum illum, ex unanimi Sinarum sententia, et traditione, vel conscripsit, vel concinnavit... Si ergo Eclipses illæ, licet ex computu tantum descriptæ fingantur, sunt textus ipsius Libri, tanto ante Christum D. Nostrum tempore conscripti, constat Libro illi antiquitas, et chronologiæ Sinicæ fides, quantam cum certa Confucii ætas, tum Eclipses plurimæ demonstrant. (Letter XIII in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 160)

I come now to difficulties regarding eclipses in Chunqiu, which is a matter of great concern of Your Reverence, as you have written. Reverend and the most learned Father, those five eclipses, erroneously included among those 36, and therefore never observed [in China], cannot obscure the credibility of the rest. For it is incredible that they could have not been observed if they had been visible in China. Namely those which happened in times of Confucius, who, according to unanimous opinion of Chinese and to tradition, either wrote or arranged this book... If thence those eclipses described only by computing are false, they are still the text of the Book, written down so much before Christ Our Lord. The antiquity of that book and credibility of Chinese chronology still remain certain, which is demonstrated both by the accurately determined lifetime of Confucius and by numerous eclipses.

²⁰ Dated: Pekini festa Angelorum Luce A. 1733. Signed: *Carolus Slavíček, m.p.*—*Observatoire de Paris* in Paris (A.B.1.10).

Letters to St. Petersburg

Most of Slavíček's preserved scientific correspondence is addressed to St. Petersburg in Russia. Since the first years of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences's (Russian: *Петербургская Академия наук*, founded in 1724) existence, the attention of its scholars was caught with problems of science in the Orient, namely in China. St. Petersburg academicians entered into active correspondence with European missionaries, namely Jesuits, in Beijing.

This correspondence started in 1731 and lasted almost half a century. In its beginning was Theophilus (Gottlieb) Siegfried Bayer, born in Königsberg (Russian: *Кёнигсберг*, modern Kaliningrad *Калининград*), then in East Prussia, who was interested in China since his studies in Berlin. Since 1726 he was Professor of Greek and Roman antiquities and Oriental languages (Chinese, Mongolian, Manchurian, Tibetan and Sanskrit) at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. His letters to and from China sent between 1731 and 1736 are now a part of the Bayer Collection in the University of Glasgow's Special Collections.

Slavíček's first letter to Bayer of 12 September 1732 (Letter XV in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 168–75)²¹ was written jointly with Ignatius Kögler and Andreas Pereyra. It was a response to an unpreserved letter of Bayer's and on his book *Musæum Sinicum* (St Petersburg, 1730) sent to China. Among others, they explain the reasons for inserting the seven intercalated months in the course of 19 years and give information on Chinese characters, as well as about mythological *qilin* 麒麟 (Letter XV in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 169–170).

There was also a short mention about Chinese music: "Musica Sinarum suas utique regulas habet, licet delicatis Europæorum auribus non satisfaciens" (Letter XV in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 170),²² which might have been written by Slavíček.

In his response to Slavíček of 15 November 1733 (Letter XVI in Slavíček, Kolmaš 1995, 176–179)²³ Bayer remarks:

Sed, audio, Reverende vir, tuis in scriniis de Musica Sinica multo præstantiora a te ipso elaborata contineri. Noli permittere, ut Europa tua eorum quidquam ignoret, quæ summo labore, ingenio subtili acrique investigasti (Letter XVI in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 176–9).

21 Dated: Die 12 Septembris Anni 1732.^{di} Signed: *Carolus Slavicek*.—*Special Collections Department, Glasgow University Library* in Glasgow (MS Hunter 650, Bayer Papers A3).

22 "Chinese music certainly has its own rules, although not always satisfactory for Europeans' delicate ears."

23 Dated: Petropoli XV. Nov. 1733.—*Special Collections Department, Glasgow University Library* in Glasgow (MS Hunter 650, Bayer Papers B3).

However, as I hear, Reverend Sir, there are many outstanding things about Chinese music kept in your boxes, elaborated by yourself. Don't permit that your Europe should ignore anything of that you have had investigated with highest effort and substantial and sharp intellect.

Nevertheless, Slavíček in his following letter to Bayer of 23 July 1734 refused that he had completed anything about Chinese music because he had not enough time for that; he has collected only Chinese books about music (Letter XVI in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 180–3).²⁴

Another recipient of Slavíček's letters in St. Petersburg was the French astronomer Joseph-Nicholas Delisle, since 1726 the director of the astronomical observatory at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. His scientific correspondence with Beijing missionaries is preserved in copies in the University of Glasgow's Special Collections and in St. Petersburg. In his letter of 14 September 1732 (Letter XX in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 194–7),²⁵ which Delisle received as late as in November 1733, Slavíček again warns of the errors in the sketched map of Beijing published in Souciet's *Observations*.

Delisle, in his French written answer of November 1734 (Letter XXI in Slavíček and Kolmaš 1995, 198–201) was impressed with the regular direction according to cardinal points. He noticed that the great wall separating the Manchurian town from the Chinese town in Beijing was led almost parallel with the equator. Therefore he asked Slavíček to write to him whether this was the intention of the Chinese architects, how, when, and with what precision they accomplished it. Unfortunately this letter was never answered, because Slavíček was already heavily ill and in August of the next year he has died, in his fifty seven.

Conclusion

Karel Slavíček has died in Beijing in August 1735. His tombstone rises in the old Jesuit Zhalan cemetery (Zhalan²⁶ mudi 柵欄墓地), situated in the north-western part of Beijing on the grounds of the Beijing Administrative College (Beijing Xingzheng Xueyuan 北京行政學院, formerly the Party School, Zhong-gong Beijing Shiwei Dangxiao 中共北京市委黨校). This cemetery includes the

24 Dated: Pekini 23. Julii A. 1734.—*Special Collections Department, Glasgow University Library* in Glasgow (MS Hunter 650, Bayer Papers A6).

25 Dated: Pekini ex Collegio 14. Septembr. 1732. Signed: *Carolus Slavicek*.—*Special Collections Department, Glasgow University Library* in Glasgow (MS Hunter 650, Bayer Papers C10).

26 Other pronunciation is *Shālán*.

tombstones of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), Adam Schall Von Bell (1591–1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), and 60 other prominent clergy: 49 foreign missionaries and 14 Chinese priests altogether.²⁷

In the only known obituary in the *Bibliothèque Germanique* published in Amsterdam in 1737, we can read:

Des Lettres de Peking du 18. Décembre 1736. nous ont appris la mort du Père Charles Slavicek, Jésuite de Bohème, décédé le 24. Août 1735. dans sa cinquante septième année. Depuis dix huit ans il étoit d'une fort mauvaise santé, qu'il attribuoit au Climat; ce qui l'avoit engagé, il y a longtems, à demander son congé pour revenir en Europe. Son infirmité n'avoit rien oté à la sérénité ni à la vivacité de son esprit. Il étoit fort habile en divers genres de Sciences. Il doit se trouver entre autres, parmi ses Papiers, un Recueil de divers Manuscrits sur la Musique Chinoise, & des Observations sur le Balancement de la Lune. (Bibliothèque Germanique 1737, 198)

From a letter from Beijing of 18 December 1736 we have learned the death of Father Charles Slavicek, the Bohemian Jesuit, who died on 24 August 1735 at his fifty seventh years. For eighteen years he was in a very bad health, which he has attributed to local climate. This had committed him a long time ago for asking his return to Europe. His infirmity had nothing deprives the serenity or the liveliness of his mind. He excelled at various kinds of sciences. It must be, among others, in his papers, a Recueil de divers Manuscrits sur la Musique Chinoise [Collection of manuscripts on various Chinese Music] and Observations sur le Balancement de la Lune [Observations on the balancing of the Moon].

References

Bayer, Theophilus (Gottlieb) Siegfried. 1730. *Theophili Sigefridi Bayeri Regiomontani, Academici Petropolitani, Græcarum Romanarumque Antiquitatum Prof. Publ. Ord. Societ. Regiæ Berolin. Sodalis Musæum Sinicum, In quo Sinicæ Linguae et Litteraturæ ratio explicatur*. Tomus I et II. Petropoli: Ex Typographia Academiæ Imperatoriæ Anno c1o.1ooc.XXX.

27 In 1995, Jesuit Father Edward J. Malatesta, S.J. (1932–1998), together with Gao Zhiyu 高智瑜 and other researchers at the Beijing Administrative College, published a beautiful and notable book on the history of Zhalan Cemetery, with pictures of all the tombstones (Malatesta, Gao 1995).

- Bayer, Theophilus (Gottlieb) Siegfried. 1735. *Theophili Sigefridi Bayeri Regiomontani De horis Sinicis et cyclo horario commentationes accedit eiusdem auctoris Parergon Sinicum de calendariis Sinicis ubi etiam quædam in doctrina temporum Sinica emendantur*. Petropoli: Typis Academiae Scientiarum cIo. Iøcc.XXXV.
- Bibliothèque Germanique*. 1737. *Bibliothèque Germanique ou histoire littéraire de l'Allemagne, de la Suisse, et des pays du Nord*. Année MDCCXXXVII. Tome XL. A Amsterdam: Chez Pierre Humbert.
- Duteil, Jean-Pierre. 1994. *Le mandat du Ciel*. Paris: Argument.
- Hallerstein, Augustin Haller von. 1768. *Observationes astronomicæ, ab anno 1717 ad annum 1752, à PP. societatis Jesu Pekini Sinarum factæ, et à R.P. Augustino Hallerstein, è societate Jesu, Pekini Sinarum tribunalis mathematici præside et mandarino, collectæ, atque operis editionem ad fidem autographi manuscripti curante R.P. Maximiliano Hell e S.J. astronomo caesareo-regio universitatis vindobonensis*. Vindobonæ: Typis Joannis Thomæ Nob. De Trattnern, Sac Cæs. Reg. Aulæ Typogr. et Bibliopol.
- Malatesta, Edward J., S.J., Gao Zhiyu 高智瑜. 1995. *Departed, Yet Present: Zhalan, The Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing*. Macau and San Francisco: Instituto Cultural de Macau, and Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History.
- Renaudot, Eusèbe, trans. 1718. *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, De deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le neuvième siecle; Traduites d'arabe avec Des Remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces Relations*. A Paris: Chez Jean-Baptiste Coignard, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, ruë S. Jacques, à la Bible d'or. MDCCXVIII.
- Slavíček, Karel, SJ, and Josef Vraštil, SJ, ed. 1935. *P. Karla Slavíčka, misionáře T.J., Listy z Číny do vlasti (1716–1727)*. Sebral a z latiny přeložil, úvodem a poznámkami opatřil P. Josef Vraštil, T.J. (*Letters by Karel Slavíček, SJ Missionary, from China to His Native Country (1716–1727)*). Collected and from Latin translated, with introduction and notes by P. Josef Vraštil, SJ). Edice Delfín. V Přerově: B. Durych; v Pardubicích: V. Vokolek a syn.
- Slavíček, Karel, SJ, and Josef Kolmaš, ed. 1995. *Listy z Číny do vlasti a jiná korespondence s evropskými hvězdáři (1716–1735) (Letters from China to His Native Country and Other Correspondence with European Astronomers)*. Praha: Vyšehrad.

- Slavíček, Karel, SJ, (捷) 卡雷爾·嚴嘉樂著 and Josef Kolmaš 約瑟夫·高馬士, eds. 2002. Transl. by Cong Lin 叢林, Li Mei 李梅. *Zhongguo laixin, Xifang zaoqi hanxue jingdian xilie congshu*. 《中國來信》, “西方早期漢學經典系列叢書”. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chuban she.
- Souciet, Étienne. 1729. *Observations mathématiques, astronomiques, géographiques, chronologiques et physiques Tirées des Anciens Livres Chinois, ou faites nouvellement aux Indes et à la Chine, par les Peres de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Redigées et publiées par le P. E. Souciet, de la même Compagnie. (Tome I.) A Paris: Chez Rollin Librairie, au Lion d'or, sur le Quay des Augustins, proche du Pont Saint Michel. M. DCC. XXIX.
- Souciet, Étienne. 1732a. *Observations mathématiques, astronomiques, géographiques, chronologiques et physiques Tirées des Anciens Livres Chinois, ou faites nouvellement aux Indes, à la Chine & ailleurs, par les Pères de la Compagnie Jésus*. Rédigées et publiées par le P. Etienne Souciet, de la même Compagnie. Tome II. *Contenant une Histoire de l'Astronomie Chinoise, avec des Dissertations*. Par le P. Gaubil, de la même Compagnie. A Paris: Chez Rollin Librairie, au Lion d'or, sur le Quay des Augustins, proche du Pont Saint Michel. M. DCC. XXXII.
- . 1732b. *Observations mathématiques, astronomiques, géographiques, chronologiques et physiques Tirées des Anciens Livres Chinois, ou faites nouvellement aux Indes, à la Chine & ailleurs, par les Pères de la Compagnie Jésus*. Rédigées et publiées par le P. Etienne Souciet, de la même Compagnie. Tome III. *Contenant un Traité de l'Astronomie Chinoise*. Par le P. Gaubil, de la même Compagnie. A Paris: Chez Rollin Père, au Lion d'or, sur le Quay des Augustins, proche du Pont Saint Michel. M. DCC. XXXII.
- Standaert, Nicolas, ed. 2001. *Handbook of Christianity in China*. Vol. 1: 635–1800. Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill.
- Stöcklein, Joseph. 1732. *Neuer Welt-Bott Oder Allerhand So Lehr- als Geist-reiche Briefe, Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen, Welche von denen MISSIONARIIS der Gesellschaft Jesu aus Indien und andern über Meer gelegenen Ländern biß Anno 1731. in EUROPA angelangt seynd. Jetzt Verteutschet und zum ersten mal zusammen getragen*. Neunzehender Theil, Von Numero 411. biß Numero 422. Cum Privilegio Caesareo et Superiorum Approbatione. Augspurg, In Verlag Philipps, Martins, und Joh. Veith seel. Erben, Buchhändlern.

A Preliminary Study on the First Selected Translation of *The Book of Poetry* into French

Xiangyan JIANG*

Abstract

This article aims to sketch a preliminary analysis of eight poems from *The Book of Poetry*, translated into French by the French Jesuit Joseph de Prémare (1660–1736) in the early 18th century. Prémare implanted the doctrines of Christianity in his translation of the eight poems that were selected from the *Greater Odes of the Kingdom* (大雅), *Minor Odes of the Kingdom* (小雅) and the *Sacrificial Odes of Zhou* (周頌), which were analysed from three aspects: firstly, the theme of the eight odes, king and kingship, allude to the Lord; and the first ode *Jing Zhi* (敬之), meaning to reverence *Tian* (敬天) by title, refers virtually to reverence God. Secondly, the Christianized translation is especially obvious in the translation of the words *Tian* (天), *Haotian* (昊天), and *Shangdi* (上帝): these were translated as the God in Christianity. Thirdly, even the story of Paradise Lost in the Bible is implanted in the translation of the ode *Zhan Yang* (瞻仰). This article also clarifies that because of Prémare's translation the image of the wise king Wen (文王) was shaped and became known in Europe.

Keywords: *The Book of Poetry*, Prémare, translation, Christianity, king Wen

Izveleček:

Pričujoči prispevek podaja preliminarna analizo osmih pesmi iz *Knjige pesmi*, ki jih je v zgodnjem 18. stoletju v francoščino prevedel francoski jezuit Jesuit Joseph de Prémare (1660–1736). Prémare je v svojih prevodih osmih pesmi, ki so bile izbrane iz sklopov *Velike ode* (大雅), *Male ode* (小雅) ter *Obredne pesmi dinastije Zhou* (周頌), uporabil krščansko doktrino. Pesmi so bili analizirane iz treh vidikov: avtor najprej prikaže, da teme osmih od, kralj in kraljestvo, namigujejo na Gospoda; pri tem prikaže, da prva oda *Jing Zhi* (敬之), ki v naslovu izraža častiti Nebo (*Tian*) (敬天), v prevodu tako rekoč izraža čaščenje Boga. Krščanska terminologija in prevodi so nadalje še posebej opazni tudi v prevodu besed *Tian* (天), *Haotian* (昊天) in *Shangdi* (上帝), saj so prevedene kot krščanski Bog. Kot tretjič izpostavi zgodbo izgubljenega raja v Bibliji, ki je ravno tako vključena v prevod ode *Zhan Yang* (瞻仰). Prispevek v nadaljevanju prikaže, da je Prémarov prevod pripomogel tudi k uveljavitve podobe modrega kralja Wen (文王) v Evropi.

Ključne besede: *Knjiga pesmi*, Prémare, prevod, krščanstvo, kralj Wen

* Xiangyan JIANG, Associate Professor, International College of Chinese Studies, East China Normal University, China. sandyjxy@hotmail.com



Introduction

During the French Jesuit Joseph de Prémare's (1660–1736) (Dudink and Standaert 2015) stay in China he translated eight odes from *The Book of Poetry* and published them for the first time in his *Déscription Géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise* (Du Halde 1736, 308–17) edited by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743). This is the earliest translation of the odes in *The Book of Poetry* into a European language, and one of the very limited publications in French that Prémare published in Europe in his life, among which the French version of the Chinese tragedy *Le Petit Orphelin de la Maison de Tchao* (趙氏孤兒), also published for the first time in Du Halde's work, is the most famous one. Scholars have conducted many studies on *Le Petit Orphelin de la Maison de Tchao* (Chen 1929, 114–46; Fan 1932; Meng 1993, 113–23), while little has been done to the eight translated poems from *The Book of Poetry* (Liu 2010; Du 2012, 43–71).

The eight poems translated are *Jing Zhi* (敬之) and *Tian Zuo* (天作) from the *Sacrificial Odes of Zhou* (周頌), *Huang Yi* (皇矣), *Yi* (抑), *Zhan Yang* (瞻仰), *Ban* (板) and *Dang* (盪) from the *Greater Odes of the Kingdom* (大雅), and *Zheng Yue* (月) from the *Minor Odes of the Kingdom* (小雅). One notable fact is that among the eight poems, five are from the *Greater Odes of the Kingdom*, two are from the *Sacrificial Odes of Zhou* and one is from the *Minor Odes of the Kingdom*, while not one ode was selected from the *Lessons from the States* (國風), a record of the social customs and habits of the people from the different states of the time.

This paper discusses how the French Jesuit scholar Prémare translated the eight odes, to find what is strengthened, what is transplanted and displaced in the translation, what the translations of the key concepts like *Tian* (天), *Haotian* (昊天) and *Shangdi* (上帝) are, and what their theological significance is both in the original and the translated text.

Theme: King and Kingship

The eight translated odes do not appear in the same order as in *The Book of Poetry* (Zhu 1996, 1–169). For example, the first translated ode *Jing Zhi* is the last one among the eight in the original text, while they do obey a certain order, namely the order of the historical process of the Zhou Dynasty (1046 BCE–256 BCE). In the first ode *Jing Zhi*, the young king adjusts his relations with Heaven and his ministers; he commands himself to pay reverence to Tian (敬天) and asks his ministers to assist him in fulfilling his administrative duties. The second

ode *Tian Zuo* and the third one *Huang Yi* commemorate the sacred kings of the Zhou Dynasty: the former narrates how kings of various generations constructed roads out of the Qi Mountain, and the latter narrates the epic of the Zhou Dynasty. From the fourth ode *Yi*, the tone of the odes turns to admonishing, criticizing, and lamenting the way the kingdom is being ruled: *Yi* is to satirize king Ping (周平王), who indulged himself in wine and women and ruined his reign as a result; the fifth ode *Zhan Yang* criticizes king You (周幽王), who spoiled his concubine Bao Si (褒姒) and expelled his loyal ministers; the sixth ode *Zheng Yue* laments the misery of the dynasty; the seventh and eighth odes *Ban* and *Dang* end with the downfall of the dynasty. In modern Chinese, *Ban* (板) and *Tang* (蕩) constitute a phrase “Bandang” (板蕩), which means ruling disorder and social turbulence.

In this historical process of the Zhou Dynasty manifested in the eight odes, either in odes 1 to 3, which worship and praise the king, or in odes 4 to 8, which admonish and satirize the king, the king is present from the very beginning to the end as the main character, and the ruling of the dynasty is the uniform subject. Thus the eight translated odes seem to have constituted a self-sufficient and comprehensive whole, which indicates Prémare’s purpose in translating these eight odes, i.e., to demonstrate a complicated historical process and a centralized subject.

The subject of king and kingship is also manifested in his translation of the title of the odes. In the original texts, the title of each ode is its first two words; in contradistinction, Prémare gave a new title to each ode according to its content. The titles of the eight translated odes are as follows:

1. *Jing Zhi*: Un jeune Roi prie ses Ministres de l’instruire (A Young King Asks His Ministers to Instruct Him)
2. *Tian Zuo*: À la louange de Ven vang (Praise to King Wen)
3. *Huang Yi*: À la louange du même (Praise to the Same)
4. *Yi*: Conseils donnez à un Roi (Suggestions Given to a King)
5. *Zhan Yang*: Sur la perte du genre humain (On the Fall of the Human Being)
6. *Zheng Yue*: Lamentations sur les misères du genre humain (Lament of the Miseries of the Human Being)
7. *Ban*: Exhortation (Exhortation)
8. *Dang*: Avis au Roy (Advice to the King)

The word “king” appears in all the French titles of the eight odes, besides the fifth, sixth, and seventh ones. Although the word king is absent in the titles of the fifth, sixth, and seventh odes, the reappearance of the key word king in the eighth ode indicates that the translation of the eight odes is a whole with king and kingship as its subject.

In the translated odes about kings, king Wen (文王) was the most prominent. The translator entitled the second ode *Tian Zuo* and the third one in the name of king Wen, which was not the same as that in the original odes. As in *Huang Yi*, there are many words in praise of king Wang Ji (王季), father of king Wen:

The state thus founded, God prepared the king,
 And he through Ta-pai's flight from Chi shall spring.
 Ta's son was Chi, whose praises now I sing.
 A younger brother's heart within him glowed;
 He to his elder rendered all he owed,
 And when *he* fled, a patriot's heart Chi showed.
 So through his course his brother's flight appeared
 With glory crowned. Head of the name, Chi reared
 The throne to which Chou's way erelong was cleared.
 Gifted was Chi by God with wisdom high
 His judgments true drew on him every eye;
 With silent growth his fame spread far and nigh.
 Most ken, most wise, to yield or to command,
 And sway to exercise throughout the land,
 He was 'twixt king and chief a powerful band. (Legge 2009)

While in Prémare's translation, all these praises go to king Wen:

C'est l'ouvrage du Très-Haut; il a mis le cadet à la place de l'aîné: il n'y a que Ven vang, dont le cœur sache aimer ses frères: il faut tout leur bonheur & toute leur gloire: le Seigneur l'a comblé de ses biens, & lui a donné tout l'Univers pour récompense.

Le Seigneur pénètre dans le cœur de Ven vang & il y trouve une vertu secrète & inexplicable, dont l'odeur se repand par tout. C'est un merveilleux assemblage de ses dons les plus précieux; l'intelligence pour régler tout; la sagesse pour éclairer tout; la science, pour enseigner; le Conseil, pour gouverner; la piété & la douceur, pour le faire aimer; la force & la majesté, pour se faire craindre; une grace enfin & un charme qui lui attire tous les cœurs: vertus toujours les mêmes, & incapables de changer. C'est comme un appanage qu'il a reçu de Très-Haut: c'est un bonheur qu'il a répandu sur sa postérité. (Du Halde 1736, 310)

This is the work of the Most High; he put his second son in the place of the first one: this is no other than king Wen, whose heart knew how to love his brothers: he should have all their happiness and glory: the

Lord satisfied him with beatitude and gave him the whole Universe for compensation.

The Lord penetrated into the heart of king Wen and found a secret & inexplicable virtue, which exudes its fragrance everywhere. This is a splendid assemblage of the most precious talents; the intelligence for regulating everything; the wisdom for enlightening everything; the science for teaching; the advice for governing; the sincerity & the gentleness for loving; the force & the dignity for fearing; a grace & charm that attracts all hearts: virtues are always the same and are unable to change. This is like an attribute he received from the Most High: this is the happiness that he dispersed to his posterity.

Did Prémare misunderstand the ode? Or did he intentionally translate it this way? Whatever the truth might be, a result of such translation is that it established the image of an ideal king Wen. This had an influencing effect about fifty years later: when the German poet Goethe read this, he acclaimed the ancient Chinese king: “Oven Ouang!” (Zhao and Zhao 1998, 100).

What does king in these eight odes signify on earth? Is it a metaphor? Does Prémare’s king only refer to the ruler of the earthly world? We all know that king is the address to Jehovah in the Bible: “the Lord is King forever” (Psalms 9: 7); “the Lord is seated as King forever” (Psalms 29: 10); “the King of glory” (Psalms 24: 8, 9, 10). We have reason to believe that Prémare emphasizes the word king in his translation to suggest the creator and governor of the universe, King of kings, the Lord.

A further analysis of the first ode *Jing Zhi* also leads us to believe that Prémare reconstructed the eight odes in accordance with Christian doctrines and theological principles. *Jing Zhi* made it clear that paying reverence to Tian (敬天) is the first and the most important rule that a king should obey. The Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130–1200) of the South Song Dynasty (1127–1279) explained that the ministers suggested the Way of Tian (天道) to king Cheng (成王). In his explanation the divinity of Tian (天) was secularised, and the religious and theological tendency in ancient China turned into an ethical trend, which is one of the main characters of the Li school (理學). While things are different in Prémare’s translation. It shows his ingenuity when he started the eight odes with *Jing Zhi*. When Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and his colleagues endeavoured to spread Christianity in China in the sixteenth century, they found Tian (天) and Shangdi (上帝) in Chinese classics and expounded them as equivalent to Deus (God) in Christianity. With this strategy they succeeded

in winning the support of the Chinese Emperor. In 1675, the Qing Emperor Kangxi (1654–1722) wrote two characters “敬天” (Reverence Tian) on a board and explained: “What I meant in Reverence Tian is the same as in Reverence the Lord.” (Zhang 2008, 210). This way the Qing court officially permitted and approved the Christianity that was spread by the European Jesuits in China. After that the learning of Tian (天學) became another word for the Christian theology. It is said that a board with the two characters 敬天 in imitation of the board by Kangxi was hung on the front of every Catholic church at that time, to remind people to pay reverence to Tian, which is a synonym for the Deus of Christianity (Li 2007, 75). Prémare put *Jing Zhi* at the very beginning and laid the keynote for the universe constituted by the eight odes: Tian is the highest principle. Tian here not only refers to the sky, but also to the creator of the universe, the God.

In short, king and kingship is the outward subject of the eight odes, while there is an implied, metaphorical subject in them, which is the Christian theology with reverence of Tian as its principle. This is the most important point in the French version of the eight odes from *The Book of Poetry*, ingeniously and tactfully put forward by Prémare.

The Name of Tian (天) and Shangdi (上帝)

Joseph de Prémare is a representative Jesuit scholar in the Figurism movement of the eighteenth century. As a student of Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730), Prémare inherited this method and applied it in his study of the Chinese classics, searching for what might match the Christian doctrines in them. His important works of Figurism include *Selecta quaedam vestigia praecipuorum religionis christianae dogmatum ex antiquis Sinarum libris eruta* (1712–1724) and *the Real Meaning of Confucianism* (儒教實義, 1715–1718). In his French translation of *The Orphan of the Zhao Family* (趙氏孤兒), there is little connection with Figurism, as it is a drama of the Yuan dynasty. While *the Book of Poetry* is a classic of pre-Qin China, Prémare’s translation of the eight odes shows that he was apparently influenced by Figurism. As literary translation is a kind of trans-cultural creative treason (Xie 2011, 185–93), there are many points in Prémare’s translation that are worthy of discussion. Next we are going to analyse the French translation of the words Tian (天), Di (帝), Shangdi (上帝), Huangtian Shangdi (皇天上帝), which appear very often in the eight odes, and to explore Prémare’s endeavour in merging Christianity and the pristine religion in ancient China.

Tian (天)

In the eight odes, Tian appears 20 times, Tianxia (天下) once, Haotian (昊天) 5 times, and Huangtian (皇天) once. In the translation, if “le Ciel” (the Sky) indicates the material sky, “Maître de l’Univers” (Master of the Universe) and “Le Seigneur” (the Lord) are obvious references to the God of Christianity, as are “Le Tien suprême” (the supreme Tian) and “L’auguste Ciel” (the august Sky). This proves that Prémare took Tian as God when translating the odes from *The Book of Poetry*. If we take a closer look at these two words, there are at least three similarities between the Tian in *The Book of Poetry* and God of Christianity: firstly, they have the ability to create the world. As written in *Tian Zuo*, “The Tian made the lofty hill”. According to Christianity, God is the creator of all things and creatures in the universe. Secondly, they both have the power of rewarding and punishing. Like God of Christianity, Tian in *The Book of Poetry* has two important roles to play; one is to give orders to wise persons, the other is to punish evil persons, and the latter overtakes the former (Standaert 1995, 110). Thirdly, they share the same personality of deity. In the ode *Jing Zhi*, Tian is “remote on high”, “inspecting all that we do” (Legge 2009); the only attitude that the earthly people should take toward Tian is reverence. Tian is “L’auguste Ciel” (the august Sky), or “Maître de l’Univers” (Master of the Universe): it is a supreme existence with certain personality.

In short, as to Tian, Prémare gave translations like “Maître de l’Univers” (Master of the Universe), “Le Tien suprême” (the supreme Tian), “Le Seigneur” (the Lord) and “L’auguste Ciel” (the august Sky), which are closely related to the God of Christianity.

Di (帝), Shangdi (上帝)

In the eight odes Di (帝) appears 9 times, Shangdi (上帝) 6 times, Huangyi Shangdi (皇矣上帝), and Youhuang Shangdi (有皇上帝) once respectively. The translation to Di and Shangdi is unified: “le Seigneur” (the Lord) is the most frequently used, sometimes some descriptive words such as “Grand” and “suprême” were added before it; sometimes Prémare used “le Très-Haut” (the Most High); other times Prémare expounded Shangdi as “le souverain Maître du monde” (the supreme Master of the world), “l’Être suprême” (the supreme Existence), or “le seul Souverain” (the only Governor). The nature of supreme of Di or Shangdi and its identity as governor of the universe was highlighted through such translation.

From the translations of Di and Shangdi we can find the similarities and differences between Tian and Di or Shangdi in Prémare’s opinion: similar as Tian, Shangdi

would look for someone virtuous and sacred as governor of the secular world. Compared to Tian, the image of Di or Shangdi is more like a concrete supervisor of the human world. Tian is the Creator of the world, while Di is Father of Tian with stronger personalities. The image of Tian is more abstract. This shows that Di or Shangdi is closer to the God of Christianity than Tian in Prémare's vision. Actually as early as in 1603, Matteo Ricci used Shangdi as the Chinese translation of the Deus of Christianity in his *the True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (天主實義). In 1633 the Society of Jesus had decided to abandon Shangdi and created *Tianzhu* (天主) for the translation (Li 2007, 75). In 1704, the Pope Clement XI announced a prohibition on the use of Tian or Shangdi to translate Deus, and approved the use of *Dousi* (陡斯), a translation of the pronunciation. Prémare did not use Deus to translate Di or Shangdi, but used "le Seigneur", the common address of Deus for Christians, which expresses his opinion about the religion of ancient China and his point of view in spreading Christianity in China.

It may not be Prémare's intention to apply Figurism in his translation of *The Book of Poetry*, but his choice of the French words for Tian, Di, and Shangdi indicates that he was influenced by it. It also shows that Prémare was at Matteo Ricci's side in the Rites Controversy, which had raged for a century. He admitted that Tian and Shangdi were equivalent to the God of Christianity. Some years before this, Yan Mo (嚴謨, 1640?-1720?), a Chinese Catholic, had supported the idea of the European Jesuits in his *A Study on Di and Tian* (帝天考), which was written "from the 1680s" (Standaert 1995, 25). Prémare undoubtedly was in agreement with Yan Mo: to use Tian and Shangdi in referring to God, and to respect the Chinese customs of worshipping Confucius and ancestors. This is evident in his letter to the French scholar Étienne Fourmont (1683-1745) of October 3, 1728:

If only Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide could tell us directly that we can freely explain to the Chinese that the Tian and Shangdi discussed by their ancient authors is exactly the God in Christianity... (Lundbaek 2009, 32)

Chen Lai indicates that the God of Yin (殷) and Shang (商) in China was an "irritable, changeable God, having nothing to do with ethics", while during the Zhou dynasty Tian became ethicized: Tian "loves and listens to his people, and would take his people's will as his own will, and turn his will into that of his people", which makes sure that "if Tian supervises himself, so will his people; and if Tian listens to himself, so will his people", in this way to achieve the unification of Tian and the people (Chen 2014, 8-9). That is to say, in the Zhou Dynasty there was an ethicized relationship between God and the people. This explains the

difference between the theological measurement of Christianity and the ancient Chinese thought that developed into a system of ethnics and, later on, when combined with Confucianism, into Confucian humanism. Prémare might not have seen this; he took Tian and Shangdi as the God of his religion because this was beneficial to the spread of Christianity in China.

A Reference to the Bible Story

The fifth ode *Zhan Yang* criticizes king You of the Zhou Dynasty for spoiling his concubine Bao Si and expelling his ministers. In the French translation it was titled *Sur la perte du genre humain* (On the Fall of the human being) and Prémare permitted the biblical story of “paradise lost” into the text:

le Monde est perdu: le crime se répand comme un poison fatal: les filets du péché sont rendus de toutes parts; & l'on ne voit point d'apparence de guérison. (Du Halde 1736, 313)

The world is lost; crime spreads like a fatal poison; the fishing nets are cast everywhere and no one sees any trace of a cure.

Then the cause for the loss of the world was attributed to the woman:

Nous avions d'heureux champs, la femme nous les a ravis. Tous nous étoit soumis, la femme nous a jetté dans l'esclavage. Ce qu'elle hait, c'est l'innocence, & ce qu'elle aime, c'est le crime. (Du Halde 1736, 313)

We had fertile lands; the woman took them away from us. All that had been submissive the woman threw into enslavement. What she hates is innocence, and what she loves is the crime.

Who could be the woman who wants to know everything, if not Eve who picked and ate the fruit from the tree of wisdom? It is not because of Tian that human beings became depraved, but because of the woman:

Notre perte ne vient point du Ciel, c'est la femme qui en est cause.

Elle a perdu le genre humain: ce fut d'abord une erreur, & puis un crime.

Ni la femme se mêler d'autre chose, que de coudre & de filer. (Du Halde 1736, 313)

Our loss does not come from the Sky at all; it's the woman who is the cause.

She had destroyed the human kind: this is a mistake firstly, and then a crime.

The woman should not intervene in other things but sewing and weaving.

In the sixth ode *Zheng Yue*, Bao Si was also accused of ruining the kingdom:

D'où viennent donc tous les désordres qui naissent aujourd'hui? L'incendie va toujours croissant, & il est impossible de l'éteindre. Ah! Malheureuse *Pao Seë*, (a) c'est toi qui as allumé le feu qui nous consume. (Du Halde 1736, 315)

Where do all the disorders today come from? The fire is always getting aggravated and it is impossible to put it down. Oh! The unfortunate Bao Si! It is you who ignited the fire that burns us out.

Here in the translation Prémare presented the story of king You's concubine Bao Si, and at the same time he alluded to the story of Eve of Eden in the Bible. The similarity of the two stories is that the main character is a woman: Eve and Bao Si; but the causes of their fault are different: Eve violated the rules in Eden by eating the forbidden fruit; Bao Si made king You lose his dynasty just for gaining her smile. Prémare transplanted the story of Eve through the translation and added to it a strong dose of religious preaching.

Besides, there are many other traces of Prémare's Christian worldviews in the translation. In the original ode of *Zhan Yang*, it says that the world was in "chaos" (*luan* 亂); Prémare translated 亂 (*luan*) as "notre perte" (our Fall), which was repeated more than once in the translation: "L'homme s'est perdu; & l'Univers est sur le point de sa ruine" (the human is lost and the universe is at the point of its ruin). The choice of the words such as "perdu" (lost) for "none; disappearing" (*wang* 亡) and "l'Univers" for "le royaume" (*bang guo* 邦國: the kingdom) shows the influence of the translator's religion and worldviews in his translation.

Conclusion

For conclusion, we may say that Joseph de Prémare translated the eight odes from *The Book of Poetry* with his worldviews as a Christian: his religious background is implanted in the translation, which makes it a Christianised translation. Firstly, the theme of the eight translated odes are about king and kingship—"king" is not only the worldly king, but also the King of kings, the Lord; the first ode, *Jing Zhi*, meaning to reverence Tian by title, is virtually Reverence God. Secondly, in the translation of the words like Tian, Haotian, Di, Shangdi, Prémare applied many

different terms including “Maître de l’Univers” (Master of the Universe), “Le Seigneur” (the Lord), “Le Tien suprême” (the supreme Tian), “L’auguste Ciel” (the august Sky), “le Très-Haut” (the Most High), “le seul Souverain” (the only Lord), which all refer to God of Christianity. Thirdly, when explaining the historical story of king You and his concubine Bao Si in the odes *Zhang Yang* and *Zheng Yue*, Prémare alluded to the biblical story of Paradise Lost. This is obvious concerning the translation of the title *Zhang Yang: Sur la perte du genre humain* (On the Fall of the human being). Prémare intentionally translated the eight odes into a Christianized text because, as a supporter of the Ricci methods, he knew this was good not only for the spread of Christianity in China, but would also be beneficial in winning the support of more European readers for the Jesuits in China. Objectively his translation is helpful indeed for Europeans to understand ancient China with its original religion. Finally, Prémare’s sometimes mistranslation even helped to shape the image of the wise king Wen and promoted its spread in Europe.

However, in the 17th and the 18th centuries, and throughout the 19th century, it was only a small part of the Chinese literature that has a Christianized translation. The European missionaries in the China of the 17th and the 18th centuries, besides Prémare, depicted China with a genuine religious culture that is in little conflict with Christianity through their Christianized translations, like what is represented in Du Halde’s work. This Christianized translation impacted the West’s understanding of China, and contributed a great deal in helping people from the East and the West better understand each other. It not only provides either Chinese or westerners an opportunity to reflect on their own traditions and culture, but still influences people’s worldviews and enlarges their horizons to this day.

As this article is only a preliminary study, it will be furthered in two ways: one way is to collect and analyse more Christian translations of classical Chinese literature in the 17th and the 18th centuries, like the earliest translation of *Daxue* (大學), etc. A comparison of the original text and the translation would follow, so as to explore the mixture of the western and the eastern learning in the translated text; the other way is to compare Prémare’s translation of *The Book of Poetry* with those of the 19th century English missionary translator James Legge (1815–1897)—they are also Christian translations, but obviously with a different emphasis and style.

References

- Chen, Lai. 2014. *A Collection of Chen Lai’s Speeches*. Beijing: Jiuzhou Publishing.
 Chen, Shouyi. 1929. “The orphan of Family Zhao in the European Literature in the eighteenth century.” *Journal of Lingnan* 1: 114–46.

- Dudink, Ad, and Nicolas Standaert. 2015 *Chinese Christian Texts Database (CCT-Database)* Accessed August 4, 2015. <http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/sinology/cct>.
- Du Halde, J.B. 1736. *Déscription Géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et phisique de l' Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*. La Hare.
- Du, Xinxin. 2012. "A Preliminary Study to the Prémare's Translation of the Book of Songs." Taipei: *Newsletter of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy*: 43–71.
- Fan, Xiheng. 1932. *Voltaire et Tsi Kiun-Tsiang – Etude sur l'Orphelin de la Chine*, a Ph.D thesis at the Department of Latin Language at KU Leuven, Belgium.
- Legge, James, trans. 2009. *The Book of Poetry*. Hawaii: Evinity Publishing Inc. Accessed August 4, 2015. <http://sacred-texts.com/cfu/bop/index.htm>.
- Li, Tiangang. 2007. *The Encounter Between Confucian Classics and Theology*, Beijing: New Star Publishing.
- Liu, Linjuan. 2010. "On the early translation of the Book of Songs in France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries," Paper presented at the *Symposium of International Spreading and Acceptance of Chinese Literature*. Xiangtan: University of Hunan Science and Technology, August 21–23.
- Lundbaek, Knud. *Joseph de Prémare (1666–1736), S.J.* 2009. *Chinese Philology and Figurism*. Translated by Li Zhen, Luo Jie. Zhengzhou: Daxiang Publishing.
- Meng, Hua. 1993. *Voltaire and Confucius*. Beijing: Xinhua Publishing.
- Standaert, Nicolas. 1995. *The Fascinating God: A Challenge to Modern Chinese Theology Presented by a Text on the Name of God Written by a 17th Century Chinese Student of Theology*. Roma: Pontificia Universidad Gregoriana.
- Xie, Tianzhen. 2011. "Literature Translation: a Cross-Cultural Creative Treason." In *Comparative Literature and Translation Studies*. Shanghai: Fudan University Publishing.
- Zhang, Wenqin. 2008. *Wu Yushan and Catholic Church with Chinese Characteristics*. Beijing: Zhonghua Publishing.
- Zhao, Yong, and Qianlong Zhao, eds. 1998. *Goethe*. Shenyang: Liaohai Publishing.
- Zhu, Xi, annotate. 1996. "The Book of Poetry." In *Four Books and Five Classics (Sishu Wujing)*. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Publishing.

*Scientific and Astronomic Achievements
of European Jesuits*

Central-European Jesuit Scientists in China, and Their Impact on Chinese Science

*Stanislav JUŽNIČ**

Abstract

This article describes nine Central European Jesuits from the Austrian province who embarked for China in the 17th and 18th centuries. Their European educational networks provide useful insights into the abilities of the Habsburg Monarchy to meet Chinese Imperial demands. The focus is on feedback of their adopted Chinese network back to their own homes. The Europeans and Chinese-based Jesuits exchanged instruments, books, artifacts, and letters. The exception was Johannes Grueber, who personally traveled back to Europe accompanied by Diestel from Carniola, and helped Athanasius Kircher to produce the appealing legend of Jesuit astronomical heroes in Beijing.

The Jesuits acted as intermediate in the exchange of know-how between Europe and China. In modern Chinese eyes they were also somewhat viewed as spies, who helped European military and economic victories in the mid-19th century. Modern China is now as strong as it was in the times of Old Jesuit Society, therefore the Europocentric history of science must be rewritten from the standpoint of today's winning Chinese economy. What kind of science will Western Civilization import from the future Chinese literati? The Jesuits' transfer of European Sciences to the Far-Easterners caused the reverse impact from seemingly less developed centers of Far East that was felt in Jesuits' times, but much more is to follow in the near future. We could expect the fundamental future Chinese achievements in cosmology, especially in Einstein's general theory of relativity.

Keywords: China-based Jesuits, Central European Educational Network of Jesuits, Hallerstein, Ljubljana.

Izvleček

V pričujočem članku je opisanih devet srednjeevropskih jezuitov iz avstrijske province, ki so delali na Kitajskem v 17. in 18. stoletju. Njihove evropske izobraževalne mreže zagotavljajo koristen vpogled v tedanje možnosti Habsburške monarhije za izpolnjevanje potreb Kitajskega imperija. Izpostavljene so povratne informacije o jezuitskem raziskovanju kitajske mreže znanj poslani nazaj v domače evropske logove. Evropejci in jezuiti na Kitajskem so medsebojno izmenjevali znanstvene instrumente, knjige, umetnine in pisma. Le Johannes Grueber je v spremstvu Kranjca Diestela osebno odpotoval nazaj v dobro

* Stanislav JUŽNIČ, Professor, Head of the Archive of Slovenian Province of Jesuits, Slovenia.
juznic@hotmail.com



staro Evropo in pomagal Athanasiusu Kircheru zasnovati privlačno legendo o pekinških znanstvenih junakih jezuitske astronomije.

Jezuiti so delovali kot vmesni člen v evropsko-kitajski izmenjavi znanja in izkušenj. V sodobnih kitajskih očeh so bili tudi svojevrstni vohuni, ki so po svoje pripomogli k evropskim vojno-gospodarskim zmagam nad Kitajci sredi 19. stoletja. Sodobna Kitajska je zdaj spet močna, kot je bila v časih stare jezuitske Družbe, zato potrebujemo revizijo evro-centrične zgodovine znanosti predelane s stališča današnjega zmagovalnega kitajskega gospodarstva. Kakšno znanosti bo zahodnjaška civilizacija uvažala od prihodnjih kitajskih učenjakov? Jezuitski prenos evropske znanosti na Daljni Vzhod je povzročil obraten prenos znanj iz na videz manj razvitih središč Daljnega Vzhoda, kar je bilo čutiti v jezuitskih časih, veliko več pa bo sledilo v bližnji prihodnosti. Predvsem lahko pričakujemo temeljne prihodnje kitajske dosežke v kozmologiji, še posebej pa v Einsteinovi splošni teorije relativnosti.

Ključne besede: kitajski jezuitski misijonarji, srednjeevropska jezuitska izobraževalna mreža, Hallerstein, Ljubljana.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to provide previously unpublished data about Central European China-based Jesuits and their role in the reciprocal exchange of European and Chinese know-how. Two effects of their works are examined: the Chinese military and economic humiliations a century after the Jesuits stopped performing their role as intermediaries, and the effects of the successful modern development of the Chinese economy after another century. The last fact is used as challenge to rewrite the history of science from the Chinese, now victorious, standpoint, where the Chinese literati will figure as the winners that dictate the historical truth, and the Westerners as the losers that dictated their own historical facts yesterday, but which proved to be wrong and too Eurocentric in modern Far-Eastern eyes. The real historical truth, as always, seems to be somewhere in between the Eurocentric and “China-centric” standpoints, which is exactly the standpoint of China-based Jesuits from the Old Society and especially their Central European members based in both parts of the world. The aim of this article is to support the future combination of historical approaches in the spirit of Ricci’s adaptation, which is also mirrored in artist Huiqin Wang’s modern imagination of astronomer Augustin Hallerstein and painter Giuseppe Castiglione.

The study methods used are based on an analysis of Jesuits’ central European sources covering the network of Jesuit schools. Their aim was to produce the missionaries, and the China mission was the pearl of them all. After the

analysis of Central European network production, the role of Jesuit missionaries in the interchange between seemingly incommensurable Chinese and European know-how is documented by the writing, instruments, and material backing of China-based Jesuits. The final goal is the projection of future Chinese influences onto explanations of the challenges of the history of sciences and on modern scientists themselves, who will eventually become the object of the history of sciences.

The Jesuits of Old Society managed a highly centralized network. Their missionary work in China was one of their main *raison d'être*, the pearl of their worldwide achievements. The temporarily success of Christianity in China justified the Jesuits' otherwise not-always-fair thirst for power in the most formidable way, also because of the huge number of Chinese Christian converts endorsed before the Jesuits lost the Chinese Rites Controversy in the early 18th century. The important part of the Jesuits' self-image was their scientific network mixed with the native Chinese scientific network, which had a fundamentally different cultural-social background. The Japanese expelled their Jesuits very early. The interchange of European and Chinese scientific networks remained the most relevant example ever accomplished. The Western Europeans launched similar encounters with much more European-related Islamic and Indian scientific networks. The European Christians destroyed most other local civilization's scientific networks before they were able to interact with them in the Americas, Sub-Saharan Africa, Australia, or the Pacific islands.

The idea of White Male Christian exclusivity is used in the modern history of science as an excuse for racist and genocidal destruction of all others except (Far) Eastern cultures and sciences. The Western Christians launched a *Blitzkrieg* against all other cultures' sciences except the (Far) Eastern. In China, Constantine the Great's (272–337) model of nationwide conversion from the top down was slowly being prepared instead. In G. Gruber's Russia, and for a few decades in Japan, the Jesuits also dreamed about the Constantinian model. Because the number of Chinese surpassed the number of Europeans, Western Christians were forced to think about the Chinese as the subjects, and not just as objects for the possible conversion to Christianity, and their subsequent inclusion into global market system.

What Did it Feel Like to Be a Jesuit (in China)?

This is the hardest question of them all. The present author collaborates with the Jesuits of the Slovenian Province and of Saint Louis University in USA, but their

framework happens to be much narrower than the monopoly on Catholic education that their predecessors of the old Jesuit society held up to 1773. Despite the fact that modern Jesuits resemble their predecessors in all visual aspects, they are far less powerful in the modern, global, pluralistic society.

The Jesuits of the Old Society were proud elite. They were almost never openly racist in foreign lands. They followed the main rule of every missionary outpost and accepted as many domestic Chinese novices as possible in a persistent effort to make their Chinese headquarters work independently from the inflow of European Jesuit newcomers. They never succeeded in that goal and their Chinese headquarters simply died out after the inflow of European newcomers stopped in 1773. The Bishop Laimbeckhoven (1701 in Wien–Mai 22, 1787) had to order the suppression of the Jesuits in the Bishopric of Nanking and Beijing on June 17, 1775 (Kaminski 1996, 33; Kaminski and Unterreider 1980, 70). There was simply not enough operational freedom for Chinese Catholics to fulfill the task and develop self-persistent colleges in China. To make the situation worse, the Beijing Imperial Court (wrongly) judged that its domestic servants had learned enough about science and technology from the Jesuits to run future research on their own.

There is also one important difference between Jesuits and most other Catholic religious orders, namely that the Jesuits of the old Society did not accept females in their order and did not develop a female branch of the Jesuit order despite the legend of Juana (Joanna) of Austria, the Princess of Portugal (1535–1573). The rule certainly also applied to Chinese women, who never played any prominent roles in the Jesuits' scientific network (Mungello 2009, 26, 36, 59).

The Jesuits' Worldwide Network

Jesuits science was a strictly centralized enterprise designed to help the conversions of infidels from foreign cultures, who more or less believed in the proposed superiority of European Christian know-how over the supposedly inferior local achievements of the infidels. In the Chinese case, (the history of) local science was the only one judged by Europeans to be worth of studying worldwide, while most other Non-European sciences were destroyed without remorse. Although the Jesuits' primary aim was to fight back the Protestants, the leading Jesuit Francis Xavier (1506–1552) spent his last decade in the Far East. He opened the Jesuit enterprise, which lasted there for two and a half centuries. A few weeks before his death Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) was born, and in 1578 Ricci was sent abroad to put Francis's beginnings into a solid framework, which stood firm up to Hallerstein's times.

The Jesuits' European educational network constantly produced thousands of industrious Jesuits in their early thirties. Among them, those nobles with mathematical interests were preferred for possible missionary work in China under Portuguese and later also under French flags. Nobles with mathematical training included the baron Hallerstein and von Laimbeckhoven, whose mother grew up in Vienna as a closest friend of Habsburg princess. The majority of the chosen Chinese missionaries died due to the unfavorable travel circumstances during their approximately one-year trip to the Far East. Those who survived created the legend published for the first time in the anthologies of the Roman Jesuit mathematician Athanasius Kircher (1602–November 27, 1680) after Johannes Grueber (28 October 1623 Linz–30 September 1680) reached Rome with fresh exciting news from Beijing. The question of the modern observer is: what made the Jesuits so dedicated as to risk their young lives for the collective enterprise of the Jesuit order? The only possible answer was included in the training and education in Jesuit's European headquarters, where they usually studied for at least a decade and a half. During their schooling the Jesuits learned about the legends of their order and finally promised their absolute willingness to travel for any destination including China. They became the perfect missionaries and their scientific know-how was used as their Trojan horse, even if the last generations of Beijing-based Jesuits began to treat (astronomical) sciences as their primary focus (Južnič 2015, 6).

Jesuits' Network of Austrian Province of German Assistance

The Austrian Province of Jesuits, which ceded from the Bohemian Province in 1622/23, was an important resource for mathematically trained Jesuits dedicated to travelling to China under the Portuguese flag. Their missionary work was a regular, everyday part of life in the Austrian province due to their proximity to the Turkish border. The appeal of the overseas and especially Chinese mission was much also greater because the Beijing Court was among the rare ones that demanded scientific skills from European newcomers. The door for the future Chinese missionaries from the Austrian province opened wide after the Habsburg princess Maria Anna married the Portuguese king Joao V in 1708. China was certainly not the primary destination for the missionaries of the Austrian Jesuit province. In 1733, just Fridelli was in China, while his fellow Jesuits from the Austrian province served in Goa (one Jesuit), Malabar (Kerala, south of Goa, 2 Jesuits), Philippines (3), Mexico (2), Nuovo Regno (di Granada in present Columbia, 3) Peru (1), Quito (4), Chile (3), Buenos Aires (1), and five Jesuits from Austrian Province worked in Paraguay, including Hallerstein's

uncle Innocent Erberg. In 1750 Hallerstein, Neugebauer, and Laimbeckhoven served in China, but 57 other missionaries from the Austrian Jesuit province served in other overseas destinations, mostly in Latin America (Jesuits 1733: column 41; Jesuits 1750: columns 48–9).

Between 1552 and 1800, out of 920 China-based Jesuits 314 were Portuguese, 130 French, and 99 Italians (Mungello 2009, 37). The Austrian Jesuit province educated at least 9 China-based Jesuits' missionaries, one percent of them all. These were Andreas Wolfgang Koffler (1612 Vienna–1651), Johannes Grueber (1623 Linz–1680), Bernard Diestel (1623 Vipava–1660), Christian Wolfgang Herdtrich (1625 Peggau north of Graz–1684), Xavier Ehrenbert Fridelli (1673 Linz–1743), Johann Baptist Mesar (Messari, 1673 Mesarji by Branik–1723), Augustin Hallerstein (1703 Ljubljana–1774), Joseph Chrysostom Neugebauer (1706 Franckenstein (Ząbkowice Śląskie south of Wrocław) in Silesia–1759?), and Laimbeckhoven (1707 Vienna–1787). One of their predecessors in China, the Croatian from Venetian Split Ivan Ureman (1583–1621), entered the Jesuit society in Rome. The Austrian Jesuit province did not share exactly the same borders with the Habsburg monarchy and Kircher's student Martin Martini (Wei K'ouang-Kouo, Tsi-T'ai, 1614 Trente (Trident), the capital of today's Italian part of Tyrol; SJ 1632 Rome; –1661 Hangchow (Koláček 1999, 17; Južnič 2015, 14, 19–20)) never belonged to the Austrian province, although he was born as a Habsburg subject. Václav Pantaleon Kirwitzer (Wenzel Pantaleon Kirwitzer, Wenceslaus Kirwitzer, Wenceslas Pantaleon Kirwitzer, 祁維材 Qi Weicai, 1588 or 1590 Kadaň in Bohemia; SJ 28/2/1606 Brno; – 22/5/1626 Macao) worked in China from 1620 to 1626. He was originally a member of the Austrian province until 1622/23 when his Bohemian (Czech) province became independent, and he is therefore not taken into account in this study.

Table 1: Statistic of the China-based Jesuits from Austrian Province

Name/domicile in Austria, Silesia, Styria, or Carniola	European Alma Mater in Philosophy	European Experience in Sciences and / or Technology	Age while working in China	Chinese Work in Science/Technology
Koffler/A	Graz	/	33–40	Court Calendar Reparations
Grueber/A	Graz	/	33–40	Professor of mathematics helping Adam Schall von Bell
Diestel/C	Graz	Professor of mathematics in Graz	35–37	Helping Bell in his astronomical observatory
Herdtrich/St	Vienna	/	32–59	Court mathematician as Verbiest's collaborator, astronomer in Beijing in the 1670s
Fridelli/A	Vienna	Repeater of mathematics in Vienna on advanced study	32–70	Cartographer
Mesar/C	Gorizia	/	36–50	/
Hallerstein/C	Ljubljana	Repeater of mathematics in Vienna, studied mathematical sciences in Lisbon 1735-1736	35–71	Head of Astronomical Bureau
Neugebauer/Si	/	Carpenter experienced in buildings	31, 44–46	Cartographer in Macao
Laimbeckhoven/A	Graz	Repeater of mathematics in Vienna, studied mathematical sciences in Lisbon 1735-1736	31–80	Reported about the pharmacopoeia, medicine, observation of the eclipses of Moon and of comets

All future Chinese missionaries from the Austrian province were educated in Graz or Vienna except for the preacher Mesar, the only one who was not trained

for mathematical work. The older generation of China Jesuits from the Austrian Jesuit province, including Johannes Grueber and Fridelli, belonged to the same educational milieu of Swiss Paul Guldin (1577–1643) and his collaborator from Cerknica in Carniola Andreas Kobav (1593/94–1654) in the Jesuit University of Graz. Graz students were also their contemporaries, like the future China Jesuits Koffler (1612 Vienna–1651) and J. Grueber’s travel companion Diestel. But their professor of mathematics Durandus (1598–1644) eventually came from Low Countries (Netherland) as did Durandus’ Professors Saint-Vincent (22 March 1584–5 June 1667) and d’Aguillon (4 January 1567–20 March 1617). The mathematical training offered in the Low Countries was among the best in the Catholic circle even later in the eighteenth century when former Leyden student Gerhard van Swieten (1700–1772) and his group reformed the education system of Habsburg monarchy.

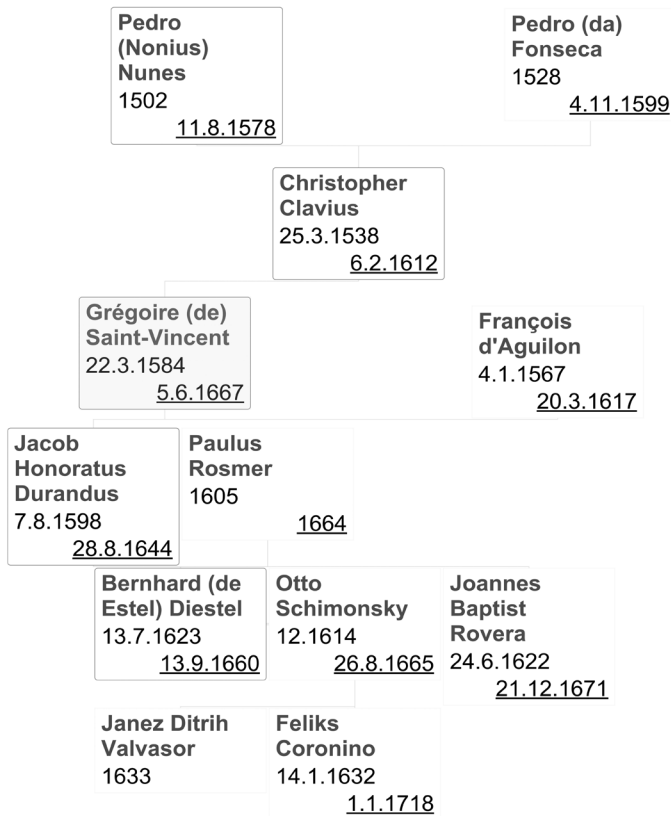


Illustration 2: Academic predecessors, classmates, collaborators, and students of China-based Jesuit Diestel from Vipava. (Lukács 1982)

The education of future China-based Jesuits was a prelude for the founding of their journeys, and the books and scientific instruments needed for their work in China. The most foundations were based in the Central European milieu of the Holy Roman Empire. The leading Chinese scientist Hallerstein was able to find his supporters in Portugal where the Queen proved to be especially helpful for his career. Hallerstein's early Portuguese and later Beijing networks included the Portuguese Jew Antonio-Nuñes Ribeyra Sanchez (Ribeiro Sanchez, 1699 Penna-Macor–1783 Paris), although Hallerstein eventually never met him in Portugal. Sanchez and his networks in St. Petersburg and London supplied Hallerstein in Beijing with scientific instruments and books in a kind of exchange for Hallerstein information and artifacts appreciated by the curious European Literati.

Hallerstein and Laimbeckhoven's travel companion on their trip to the Far East was Neugebauer. Neugebauer certainly had one of the most extraordinary careers among the Jesuits, because in his Viennese times (1730–1736) he was trained as a carpenter experienced in buildings and box-manufacturing (Jesuits 1730: column 24; Jesuits 1732: column 30). In Europe he was not a priest, but a temporary helper without university training, as was his older Jesuit companion, the court painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766). The Habsburgs occupied Castiglione's native Milan after 1701. Neugebauer did not wait for long in Lisbon before they embarked on April 26, 1737, but he might have learnt some astronomy from Hallerstein and Laimbeckhoven during the months of their joint travel. They put the anchor together in Macao on September 4, 1738. In 1738 Hallerstein fulfilled the wish of the governor of Macao and mapped the city, along with its surroundings. The work was printed the next year in French and put at the governor's disposal. Neugebauer copied the map for the king of Portugal. Because of those collaborations, we might accept Neugebauer as the informal student of Hallerstein and also of Laimbeckhoven. Laimbeckhoven was very interested in astronomy before his pastoral work in the position of bishop of Nanking deprived him of the necessary opportunities. On October 10, 1739, Laimbeckhoven reported about the Chinese pharmacopoeia and medicine. On December 3, 1739, he wrote to Europe about the preventive measures needed to observe the eclipses of the moon in Macao. Laimbeckhoven described comets visible in 1755 and in May-June 1759, in a letter mailed to his sister Maria Elisabetha von Sumerau sent on May 28, 1760, and in a letter mailed to her husband Antonius Thadeus von Sumerau on April 20, 1761. The fascinating Halley's Comet disappeared on April 26, 1759, and Laimbeckhoven observed it again in the Leo constellation on May 15, 1759, (Stoeger 1855, 201; Dežman 1881, 4, 9; Laimbeckhoven 2000, 97, 110; Amiot 1774, 557, 558).

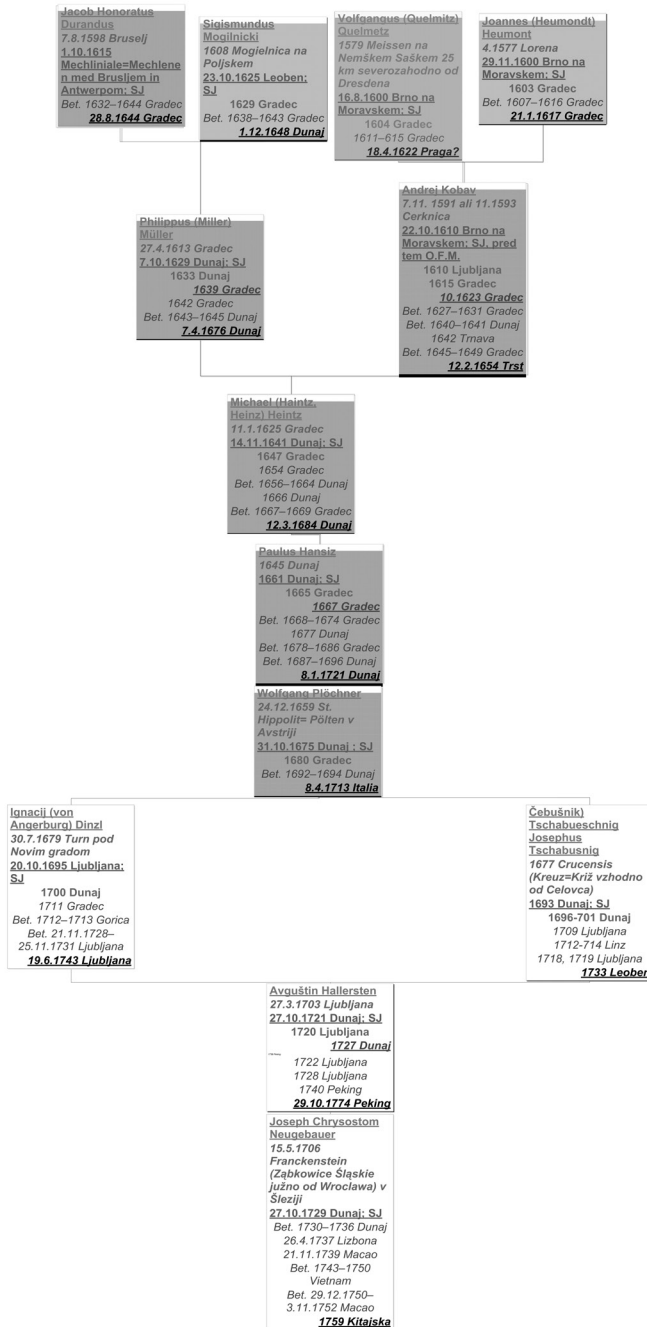


Illustration 3: Neugebauer’s academic ancestors related to his informal studies with Hallerstein. (Lukács 1982)

After their joint work in Macao the paths of Hallerstein, Laimbeckhoven, and Neugebauer divided. Neugebauer eventually became a priest in Gia Định (嘉定, today's Ho Chi Minh City) in Vietnam (Cochinchina) on May 28 1741. In Vietnam Neugebauer developed such extraordinary talents in astronomy and architecture that he was promoted to the rank of Mandarin. After the Jesuits were expelled from Vietnam, Neugebauer resided in Macao again from 1750 to 1752. All the time he corresponded with his fellow Jesuit Ignatius Heinn (Heindl, 1709 Klagenfurt; SJ 1725 Vienna–after 1773) who studied in Graz (1731–1739) and worked as superior in Steyr in 1750–1762.

Jesuits' Network of Ljubljana College

Ljubljana had the unique Jesuits' college of Carniola, although this had its equivalent in Gorizia near the western border of Carniola. The second China-based Jesuit from Austrian Province after Kirwitzer (1588/1590–1626) was Koffler (1612–1651), who resided in Ljubljana before he embarked for Far East. In 1636/37 in Ljubljana he taught rhetoric as the collaborator of the professors of the casuistic Ferdinand Montegnana (1599–1674) and the first distinguished historian of Slovenian origin Martin Bavčer (Bautscher, 1595–1668 Gorizia). Their prefect of students, Janez Muschan (1599 Kamnik–1640 Ljubljana), was professor of mathematics as a student of the second year of theology in Graz in 1625. Muschan was classmate of Bavčer and Montegnana, who taught syntax in Ljubljana in 1625. Koffler certainly learned some mathematics from Montegnana, who later published about the squaring of circle, magical squares, and other funny problems in four paragraphs. Before the publication Montegnana was a confessor of the first prince Johann Weikhard Auersperg (1615 at Žužemberk Castle–11 November 1677) from Carniola who helped Otto Guericke (1602–1686) in his pioneering vacuum experiments (Lukács 1982, 285; Valvasor 1689, 4/6: 353, 8: 742; Montegnana 1673; Južnič 2004, 25–27).

Diestel, Mesar (Messari), and Hallerstein were all born in Carniola, which made Ljubljana college very important for future Chinese missionaries. Diestel taught in the first elementary class in Ljubljana, but Mesar never formally worked at Ljubljana College which owned vineyards nearby their respective native places in karst region. Their other fellow China-based missionaries from the Austrian province were born in Vienna (2), Linz (2), Silesia (1), and north of Graz (1), which makes small Carniola proportionally very important for Chinese missions.

Diestel and Mesar studied in Graz and in Gorizia respectively. Higher education in philosophical studies of Ljubljana was eventually established a year after

Hallerstein's birth. Nonetheless, a quick overview of Ljubljana Jesuit facilities as a base for the education of future Chinese Jesuits might be helpful.

Between the foundation of the philosophical faculty in Ljubljana in November 1704 and the suppression of Jesuits in 1773 Ljubljana hosted altogether 663 Jesuits, among whom 501 were Masters of Philosophy. The others were temporary helpers who did not finish their studies at Universities.

In the 1650s at least 40 future Ljubljana Jesuits studied philosophy in Graz (53%). At least 20 studied philosophy in Vienna (26%), and another 3 in Trnava. Two of them began their studies of philosophy in Vienna and finished in Trnava. The Alma Mater of 4 of them is harder to determine because they became Jesuits after they finished their studies of philosophy. Their studies were therefore not noted in Jesuit encyclopedias. From 1704 to 1773 the percentage of Graz philosophical students among Ljubljana Jesuits was lower than its 1650s score. In the eighteenth century, besides Graz, Vienna, and Trnava there were also other colleges that educated future Jesuits for the Ljubljana College.

Five (7%) of altogether 75 Jesuit Masters and Fathers were employed in Ljubljana in the 1650s taught mathematics in Košice (2), Klagenfurt (1), Graz and Vienna (1), or Graz (1). 16 (21%) of them taught physics in the second year of the philosophical *triennium*. They were professors in Graz (3), Klagenfurt (4), Vienna (2), Graz and Vienna (1), Klagenfurt-Graz-Vienna (1), Vienna and Leoben (1), Graz (1), Trnava (1), Zagreb (1), and Gorizia (1). Two professors of mathematics also taught physics. Among those 21 professors of physics and/or mathematics just 12 (16%) published their works. Just 4 of them picked for their dissertation topics physics and/or mathematics. The technical know-how of Ljubljana Jesuits rapidly advanced after 1704, when Ljubljana developed domestic university-level studies of mathematics and physics. From 1704 to 1773 Ljubljana in average hosted each year more than one technical expert who as a magister of philosophy repeated professor's lectures of mathematical sciences, while in the 1650s, just one Ljubljana Jesuit accomplished such specialization in Graz. After 1704, much more Ljubljana Jesuits taught philosophy in other colleges, but professors of more demanding mathematics still remained a rarity (Lukács 1982; Jesuits 1730–1773). The mathematics of those days included mathematical application of mechanics, optics, and astronomy (astrology).

Chinese Scientific Network

The Chinese-Manchu educational network based on the imperial examination system had a much older uninterrupted tradition compared to European universities.

On the other hand, (scholastic) Natural Philosophy was developed exclusively in European medieval universities. Those studies were a necessary prerequisite for acquiring the degree of Masters of Arts at about 65 European Universities with thousands of students graduating yearly in the period from 1250 to 1550. The graduates carried their know-how to their future destinations, where it became a part of the cultural circles of upper class. The European medieval universities were similar but different than the educational organization in ancient Rome, Byzantium, Islamic Countries, or China. The European universities developed and nursed the tradition of “probing and poking around” in the tradition of scholastic debates subordinated to the strict rules of Aristotelian logic. They studied in the spirit of early modern scientific inquiry, which endorsed some kind of systematic doubt later endorsed by Cartesians. Natural philosophy could flourish in spite of a low level of exact sciences, but exact sciences stagnated without the flourishing of natural philosophy and business-incorporated crafts. Therefore Babylonian, Indian, and probably also Chinese mathematicians did not prosper without the useful and state-supported natural philosophy applied to profitable crafts, although the calculus of Newton and Leibniz was a product of Jesuit missionaries’ exports from Cochin (Kochi) in Indian Kerala and Goa, where Matteo Ricci taught from September 13 1578, to April 15 1582. The Indian mathematics network spread to the Jesuit Roman headquarters, as well as to Beijing, where Hallerstein’s collaborator Ming’antu (Ming Antu, Myangat, 明安圖, about 1692 in Sharaid Clan based in Urt Tsagaan Khoshuu in Mongol–1764) published the power-series expansion for the trigonometric functions of the number π . European natural philosophy needed reason based on the economy of profit and not the ecclesiastical authority that made it suspicious in Islamic states (Grant 2007, 324–8; Raju 2007; Joseph 2011, 304–5, 434–5). In the Christian countries, universities and their natural philosophy at least got some sort of *modus vivendi*, a tolerant contract in spite of disagreement. European authorities, the churches included, learned to tolerate the critical spirit of universities because of the economic profits the students provided for their professors. That minor profit multiplied after the scientific revolution, when academic know-how became the motor of the extremely immoral profitable industrial revolution, which spread predominantly through Western Europe in the first place, and reached the other parts of the world after huge delays.

Chinese natural philosophy lacked the connection with mathematics necessary for the development of an accurate calendar. Chinese mathematical astronomy (astrology) very early needed Mongolian and later the Jesuits’ help to prevent the grave errors in predictions of eclipses and other unusual events which might humiliate imperial reputations. The network of Chinese-Manchu education relied too much on Chinese classics to endorse the challenges of developing crafts. The

Jesuits were helpful in teaching the Emperor and his courtiers, but their connections with the practical craftsmen were too sporadic to stimulate inventions comparable to European steam-engines.

Mutual Interchange between Central European Scientific Network of Austrian Jesuits' Province and Chinese Scientists

The problems with calendrical and astronomical instruments forced Beijing court officials to seek the help of foreigners. In the decades of sporadic encounters with Jesuits, the Beijing rulers recognized the superiority of Matteo Ricci and his Jesuit colleagues in several branches of mathematics and cartography. Applied mathematics, later also painting and several crafts including clock-making, proved to be the useful platform for mutual exchange between Chinese-Manchu and Jesuit knowledge networks. The European Jesuits' educational system of Ricci's Roman teacher Christopher Clavius' and its branches were quickly designed to meet Beijing's imperial demands. The modifications on the Chinese-Manchu side included mostly the European astronomical tables and applied geometry. Despite connections with Indian Kerala, infinitesimal calculus was not extensively used in 18th century China. It never replaced geometry in the Jesuits' framework like it did in the framework of Parisian Encyclopedists. In 1738, the mutual feedbacks between Beijing native scientific network and Jesuits' network stimulated Kögler, Pereyra, the Mongolian Ming'antu, and later also the young Hallerstein to produce the *Lixiang kaocheng houbian* (曆象考成後編, the new edition of the final laws for the calendar and astronomical instruments, published by order of the emperor). Ignaz Kögler edited it in 1742. Kögler's collaborators endorsed the theory of parallax, the refraction of light in atmosphere, and Kepler's first two laws with elliptic trajectories of the Sun and Moon. Kepler's improvements of Copernicus' system were used in Tycho Brahe's system but they were not applied to the orbits of the planets. Kögler, Hallerstein, and their collaborators at least partly fulfilled the job that Tycho had expected in vain from his assistant Kepler one and a half century earlier, in 1600. Kepler did not trust his master Tycho and used Copernicus' model instead. In Europe, the system of that Kepler-Tycho kind was rarely used, for example in the work of Richelieu's cosmographer Noël Duret (Natalis Durret, 1590–1650 Paris) soon after Kepler's death. In that extraordinary way, Tycho Brahe's system had to wait 150 years to flourish—in Beijing. Tycho would have certainly been pleased! (Shi 2000, 147; Yusheng 2000, 219, 221; Kobayashi 2002, 11; Zurndorfer 1988, 74–75; Ben-Zaken 2004, 1, 2, 71, 21; Martzloff 1993, 224; Sivin 1965, 201).

Other lesser known examples of the feedback from the Beijing Jesuits' network back to Europe included their research on the electrophorus, which endorsed much less imperial attraction, but eventually influenced Alessandro Volta via the Beijing Jesuits' correspondents in St. Petersburg (Južnič 2009, 134–41). Both examples were the products of Jesuit scholarship in Beijing under hardly recognizable domestic Chinese-Manchu influences. While the history of Chinese-Manchu pure and applied mathematics proved to be especially interesting for European experts in Paris, it is hard to recognize the Chinese-Manchu influence on late 18th—or early 19th century European pure and applied mathematics of non-Euclidian geometry, Sadi Carnot's theory of the steam-engine, Galois' theory of groups, or Central European Ludwig Boltzmann's statistical mechanics. The European sciences related to statistics were probably influenced by the Chinese-Manchu bureaucratic know-how. For centuries the Chinese more or less successfully governed the mass of their subjects, who to unaccustomed European eyes were seemingly indistinguishable from one another, as were the Europeans for Chinese observers. Atoms and also rays of light of similar color were inseparable from one another in the last two centuries of European Sciences. They resembled in their own way the huge mass of seemingly identical Chinese humans.

General Gabriel Gruber's Abortive Restoration of Chinese Jesuits

Gabriel Gruber (May 6, 1740–April 7, 1805) was a relative of the Chinese missionary Johannes Grueber. Their families prospered in the broader areas of Linz and Amstetten in Upper Austria. Gabriel spent his formative decades in hydro-engineering in Ljubljana. His applications for the Chinese missions were never approved. As the Jesuits' general in St. Petersburg he reestablished the Jesuits' network worldwide including China. Gruber's main Beijing supporters were the physician Cipolla, the painter Poirot, and musician-mathematician Grammont (1736–1812?).

Hallerstein's Beijing assistant in astronomical observations Luigi Cipolla (Aloys Cibolla, Louis, 1736 Caltavuturo near Palermo in Sicily; SJ 1757 Sicily; – after 1805 (Pfister 1934, 964–5; Dehergne 1973, 56)) studied medicine because the Chinese needed physicians and painters at the time. On March 20 1770, Cipolla and Louis de Poirot (Ho Ts'ing-T'ai, 1735 Lorraine; SJ 1756 Florence in Roman province; –1813 Beijing (Pfister 1934, 965–6; Dehergne 1973, 207; Zalenski 1886, 2: 136)) departed from Europe, and they dropped their anchor in Canton on October 20, 1770. Cipolla and Poirot arrived to Beijing on August 14 1771. After the suppression of the Jesuits Society Cipolla was the propagandist

in Beijing in 1776. Although he was initially in the French mission, Cipolla asked to join the Portuguese mission. As a member of the Portuguese mission he became a member of the astronomy bureau under Hallerstein's supervision. In September 1802, Poirot joined the Russian Jesuits of the former Ljubljana professor G. Gruber. Cipolla put the similar demand in 1805. Gruber had a hard time to convince Cipolla. To his own letter of invitation Gruber added the note of Cipolla's friend from their youngsters' years spent in Sicily, Eduardo Desperamus (1737 Chios; SJ 1751 province of Sicily, 1803 Petersburg; –1812), the rector's assistant in Polotsk in (White) Russia (Inglot 2002, 358; Moroškin 1870, 2: 110, 333; Inglot 1997, 214).

Most of the Beijing Jesuits, including Jean-Denis Attiret (Dyonysis, 1702 Dole; SJ 1735 Avignon; –1768 Beijing), praised the path irregularly arranged in the Emperor's gardens but the painter Poirot criticized the garden in his letter signed on October 3 1772. Poirot translated the Bible into Manchu and Chinese and worked as a translator during the visit of the Lord James McCartney (4 May 1737–31 May 1806) in China in 1793. For those merits the Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (1711–1799) appointed Poirot a mandarin (Koláček 1999, 27; Inglot 2002, 358; Rinaldi 2006, 263). The Catholics Gruber and Poirot might even dislike the intentions of the Protestant James McCartney in China.

Jean-Baptiste-Joseph de Grammont (1736; SJ 1750; –about 1812 Beijing) and artist Joseph Panzi (1734; SJ 1768; –before 1812 Beijing) renewed their vows to the Jesuit society in 1806. With all remaining five China-based Jesuits (Cipolla, Poirot, Panzi, Almeida, and Grammont) as his local supporters, Gruber was on his way to reestablishing the Jesuits' network in Beijing. The Jesuit general Gruber sent three Russian Jesuits to China in January 1805, but the Propaganda Fide stopped the process from Rome. The leading Beijing-based ex-Jesuit astronomer of G. Gruber's time was the director of the Beijing Astronomical Bureau and physician-pharmacist skilled in calendar calculations José Bernardo de Almeida (Suo Dezhaio, Yué-Tch'ang, 1729 Portugal; SJ February 23 1746, Arrojas; –November 12 1805, Beijing (de Abreu 2004, 200, 232)). According to Pfister (1934, 886) Almeida was born earlier, on January 15 1728.

(Jesuit) Western Learning versus the Chinese Learning

The Jesuits' approach to foreign cultures based on Ricci's accommodation principle was ethically superior to the approaches of other Christian religious orders and of European rulers in general. The Jesuits did not wish to annihilate foreign frameworks or even humans behind them, but tried to endorse foreign similarities,

even if that caused some minor changes in their own European framework. The Ricci's accommodation principle proved to be extremely helpful in Guaraní Paraguay, China, and G. Gruber's Orthodox Russia. In the latter two cases there was even some hope for Constantine's type of conversion of the whole Empire from the top to the bottom, but it failed after the Jesuits lost the Chinese Rites Controversy and the Emperor Paul I was murdered in Petersburg. In Guaraní's case the conversions were much less imposing because there was no authoritative Guaraní leader to deal with.

Ricci's accommodation principle could mean some danger of foreign non-European influence on Catholic Headquarters in Rome, which we are probably still witnessing today after the election of the Argentinean Jesuit Pope Francis. The Chinese Rites Controversy over the religiosity of Confucianism and Chinese rituals brought a major defeat to Jesuits. It was also a major error of the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church, comparable to the earlier erroneous condemnation of Galileo and later suppression of the Jesuits. The policy of accommodation is the *conditio sine qua non* of modern globalization and Ricci's soft approach seems to be attractive. It is related to the modern trends to preserve non-European civilizations from annihilation, and even to learn some ecological issues from them.

Cortes' Mexico (1519–1521) or Pizarro's Peru in 1532–1533 (Diamond 2008, 67, 70, 75) could have been less cruel with some Jesuits involved, but St. Ignatius founded the Jesuits just several years after the Aztecs and Incas were stripped of their power. Cortes, his relative Pizarro, or modern European-American conquerors of Near East oil fields used the very opposite of Constantine's approach by killing the ruler and his courtiers to steal their supposed goods. Afterwards they tried to convert the rest of the conquered nation left without an official leader, which seems to be successful in Latin America but not in the Near East headquarters of modern ISIS (ISIL, *إم اش ل او قار ع ل ا ي ف ق ي م ا ل س ا ل ا ق ل و د ل ا*). Constantine's conversion from the top, enriched by Ricci's principle of accommodation, seems to be much more profitable in the long run. Accommodation seems to be the right approach if we compare the flourishing Jesuit Guaraní Paraguay Residences with the impoverished areas of the rest of Latin America. The striking difference between forced conversions and Ricci's principle of accommodation is also in their timing: should the aggressor grab all the resources of the defeated instantly, or should the aggressor allow the defeated to develop and adapt their own native economy for the aggressors' future profits? The English cruel transfer of 3.5 million enslaved West Africans to America was far enough from Ricci's principle of accommodation. The English profits probably never really outweighed the humiliation of all human principles involved. In many cases of European aggression, it was far too late to repair anything because almost nothing was left after the

seemingly inferior groups of people were “civilized”. But after humanity endorses the obvious truth that imperialism was a crime, the descendant of enriched imperialists should repay in ready money the damage their ancestors have committed. That would be the only way to prevent the future repeating of damaging racist aggressions and to reintegrate the soft Ricci’s principle of accommodation for the benefit of future mankind.

Projection: What Kind of Science Will Western Civilization Import from the Future Chinese?

The sciences that the Chinese and Manchu learned from the Jesuits of the Old Society during both centuries of the Jesuits’ Chinese network operation profoundly influenced Chinese-Manchu knowledge. The Western-Eastern global conglomerate endorsed some valuable and even unique results produced in both centuries of the intensive mixing of the Jesuits’ imported scientific network and the Chinese domestic network. Among them was the use of Kepler’s laws in Tycho’s system, the early electrophorus, and valuable astronomic observations published in Europe. The Jesuits’ transfer of sciences to China also endorsed some dynamical changes visible in French Michel Benoist’s (Benoît, Tsiang Yeou-Jen Tö-Yi, 1715 Dijon; SJ 1737 Nancy; –1774 Beijing) presentation of Copernicus’ heliocentrism, with a map for the Emperor’s birthday in 1760. Copernicus finally replaced Tycho Brahe’s system in China only at the end of the eighteenth century (Wong 1963, 46; Sivin 1973, 95; Zurndorfer 1988, 75, 88; Yusheng 2000, 225; Needham and Ling 1959, 3: 443–4), which was one of Copernicus’ last victories worldwide.

After two and a half centuries those failures and successes of China-based Jesuit scientists still affect the Chinese approach to modern sciences. Niels Bohr’s (7 October 1885–18 November 1962) lectures in China in 1937 developed the deep link between Bohr’s concept of complementarity and the Chinese notion of the polar opposites yin and yang. Bohr admired Jesuit Rudjer Bošković’s (1711–1787) theories on force in Zagreb on October 29 1958. In 1969, Bohr’s former collaborator Heisenberg (1901–1976) did the same together with Heisenberg’s former Ph.D. student Ivan Supek (8 April 1915–5 March 2007). Bošković’s science was widely accepted in the Habsburg monarchy after Bošković published his masterpiece in Vienna in 1758 and accepted the university chair of mathematics in Habsburg Pavia in 1764. Hallerstein used Bošković’s theory of comets (1746) for his observations of comet C/1748 H1 between April 27 1748, and June 18 1748 (Južnič 2015, 5). Therefore it is hard to expect from modern Chinese to lead the frontlines against Bohr’s Copenhagen interpretation of quantum mechanics.

Einstein's brilliant lecture in Shanghai on New Year's Day of 1923 helped the Chinese to become one of the rare parts of the world that accepted Einstein's relativity without criticism. Later, Einstein's relativity theories suffered hard blows from Lenin-Marxist headquarters of "Cultural Revolution" up to 1979 (Hu 2005, 165–6). The Chinese already witnessed their huge ups and downs with Einstein's theories. If some guessing is permitted, we could expect the fundamental future Chinese achievements in cosmology, especially in Einstein's general theory of relativity.

Transfer of Science at the Periphery and the Reverse Impact from Less Developed Centers of Far East

Already in M. Ricci's time, reports about the Chinese crystalline spheres were denied by Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) in Europe in 1595. The Frenchman Jean Bodin (1530–1596) openly mocked Copernicus' followers in 1628. The idol of the London Royal Society, Francis Bacon (22 January 1561–9 April 1626), had no real understanding of the importance of mathematics when he opposed Copernicans and William Gilbert (1544–1603) as alleged alchemists. Bacon refused Kepler's theory of perspective, but Bacon described well fluorescence in combination with electricity, Fludd's thermometer, designed in 1605 and primarily called by the name of J. Leurechon in 1624, Drebbel's microscope, Galileo's telescope, distilling of spirits of wine, the differences in compressibility of different physical states, and scholastic opposition to the vacuum. Francis Bacon mocked the magic of the universal logic machine of Raymond Lull. Did their opinions influence contemporary European admiration for the Chinese people? To be sure, the knowledge and even technology was also transferred from China to Europe even if there were no direct contacts. Only Jesuits acted as intermediaries, and to some extent also Russian Orthodox Beijing missionaries and merchants. In 1980 Needham and Wang indicated the potential Chinese impact on their European admirers, including Leibniz. Some Korean and most Japanese scholars believed that Western scientific techniques cannot be taken outside of the cosmological and religious environment in which they evolved, which was also Toynbee's opinion. On the other hand, Toynbee believed that there was never any mutual interaction between the advances of techniques and civilizations. If the technique is one of the universal methods of modern scientific paradigms, then it is possible to attribute to the English empiricist Toynbee (and to the ecologist Diamond) even the doubts in any effective influences of the development of science on the developments of civilization. The impossibility or at least the troublesome mutual borrowing between the Chinese and Europeans in those decades was the result

of their incommensurate paradigms, between which effective exchange and dialogue was not possible, although Thomas Kuhn (1962) was not thinking in such an international context because he was not sufficiently aware of the importance of Chinese sciences. The Chinese have borrowed from the Europeans mostly astronomy and mathematics with a few branches of mechanical engineering and arts. The Chinese borrowed almost nothing from European medicine, anatomy, physiology, mechanics, botany, agriculture, or even architecture, because these subjects did not interest them much. The European electrical engineering and vacuum techniques were also not widely endorsed in China after the Jesuits presented them to the Beijing court. Chinese medicine has worked well, despite the false anatomical notions that were soon unmasked by Japanese readers of Dutch books. Nathan Sivin (born 11 May 1931) counted nine self-sufficient sciences in China: mathematics, mathematical harmony, astronomy, astrology, medicine, *materia medica* or pharmacy, alchemy, geomantics, and physical studies. The cornerstone of Chinese science was not the mathematics of the modern European educational system, but history as the foundations of Confucian social harmony, perhaps similar to the social harmony that Toynbee attributed to the European Middle Ages. Precisely because of those foundations, the Chinese studied ancient writers because they believed that the old literati were already familiar with all the knowledge that was later lost in the centuries. The European Renaissance admirers of antiquity probably shared similar feelings, but the enlightenment critics of the European Middle Ages rejected them later. Chinese historical thought welcomed the corresponding idea that modern European know-how originated from inventions already endorsed in ancient China. Needham said that over the centuries Arab traders passed on to Europe the Chinese invention of the compass: unfortunately, there is no evidence that the Arabs knew of the compass so early. The Chinese used a wind turbine for pumping water for thousands of years before the Europeans. However, similar wind turbines occurred in Europe in 1716, twenty-three years before the first known drawing came from China to Europe, and the Swedes started to explore the Chinese models only in the 1760s. The former printer Balzac in his story about the printer Séchard described Séchard's search for the better paper on Chinese patterns, which in Paris certainly happened, although the Chinese methods of paper production were based on bamboo. The paper became particularly interesting for the Europeans early in the 19th century with the boom of newspaper production, but already in Rheticus' times paper was the main wealth of writers. However, neither ancient Greece, Islamic peoples, nor the Chinese staged a scientific revolution comparable to that of the west in the 17th century, which remains the big question in the history of science. The multitude of independent Renaissance manors and courts of Europe probably offered the scientists better and more options in poor scientists' search

for the wealthy patrons compared to the monolithic Chinese court, which was not able to provide for the efficient mixing of scientists and craftsmen comparable to the London Royal Society. On the other hand, the ecological problem of the modern world could be seen primarily as an attempt of the Chinese (or Africans, Indians, Native Americans, or Indonesians) to copy Western development under the influence of television and western consumerist propaganda (Gilbert 1991, xii, xvi; Bacon 1968, 27, 43, 124, 196, 207–9, 216, 230, 242, 244; Grant 2007, 280; Ule, 2006, 102; Bray, 1991, 205–8, 212, 215, 216; Toynbee, 2002, 497; Sivin 1985, 39; David 2008, 12–13, 66, 86; Diamond 2007, 392–3, 395). Westerners do not want them to compete with Western industries therefore they also support strict ecology to stop non-European economic development and to keep others poor. On the other hand even the question of the non-western non-existence of earlier industrial and scientific revolutions should be reversed in changing the economical patterns of success of Far-Eastern economies, which challenge the previously victorious Westerners' right to write history as an apology of their own success in the old-fashioned truth that the winners always dictate historical truths to hide their own sins. The modern Far-Eastern question, written on behalf of their worldwide winning economies, should be: did the Far-Easterners manage to overrun the Westerner economy precisely because they were able to avoid the earlier industrial-scientific revolutions that somewhat dogged the Westerners' developments in the modern Anthropocene? The era of Eurocentrism is certainly over for good; therefore we need a new paradigm, but we should not endorse a similar kind of Far-Easterner-centrism, but some more balanced approach in between.

Conclusion

The future certainly is as uncertain as it always has been. But one thing could be stated for sure: the (European-American produced) history of science treated the achievements of non-whites of past centuries extremely unfairly. Females and socially-unprivileged groups suffered similar neglect regarding their past intellectual abilities. As always in history the pendulum will for a while stay in the opposite extreme. Some humiliations of white European males' achievements will take place. Later, a kind of agreements about the mutual merits will be endorsed in the globalized world of modern times called Anthropocene.

The most important challenges in the history of science followed after the introduction of new previously neglected groups of researchers. In that context the huge changes happened when the urban and rural capitalists' sons in the times of Galileo and Newton earned the opportunity to become the full-time scientists.

The third estate in French Revolutionary times followed by the Napoleonic universal state brought the educated sons of previously unimagined socially low pedigrees to European full-time research positions. The peasants and other previously unprivileged groups joined the educational-scientific networks after the Spring of Nations of 1848 in the Central European cities, in post-tsarist Russia, and after the communist revolution in China. The new paradigms of sciences are expected in modern times with the full time scientific research of emancipated females and non-whites' based on equal opportunities. The long-neglected and unpublished inherited worldviews of previously uneducated Chinese peasants will bring their share. That is where the Chinese feedback on European sciences is expected to flourish.

Many notions of Chinese feedback are already visible. The globalized chaotic rebellious youth provided the new challenges in 1968. Globalization promoted the theories on quasi-crystals of the Chinese-educated Harvard mathematician Hao Wang (王浩; Wang Hao; 1921–1995) in 1961. Hao Wang's Chinese-American novelties were upgraded with chaos theory and the fractals of Polish Jewish IBM computer expert Benoit B. Mandelbrot (1924–2010) in 1975. The network theories provided examples of sociological feedback on mathematical sciences after the Bucharest born Jewish psychiatrist Jacob Levy Moreno (May 18, 1889–May 14, 1974) constructed his sociogram as a rival to Freud's psychoanalysis at Columbia University in New York City. The sociologist and psychologist Dorwin Cartwright (1915–2008) and the mathematician, Syrian-Morocco Jew Frank Harary (March 11, 1921–January 4, 2005) from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, included Moreno's sociograms in mathematical graph theory based on Leonhard Euler's network theory developed in St. Petersburg in the 1780s. At the University of Michigan one of Harary's collaborators was Dutch physicists George Uhlenbeck (1900–1988), a student of Boltzmann's Viennese Jewish student Paul Ehrenfest (January 18, 1880–September 25, 1933). New York Jewish social psychologist Stanley Milgram's (1933–1984) small world experiment, the sociologist Mark Granovetter (1943–), the Jews from Budapest Pál Erdős (1912–1996), and Alfréd Rényi (1921–1970) soon proved the similarities of economic, sociologic, physics, and mathematical schemes. The widespread popularity of network theories developed through the research of mathematicians and physicists who grew up after the youth revolts of 1968. The mathematicians from Columbia University and Cornell University in New York City Duncan J. Watts (born 1971) and Steven H. Strogatz (born August 13, 1959) published their *Collective dynamics* in 1998. Strogatz stayed in Cornell while Watts moved to *Yahoo! Research* and in 2012 to *Microsoft Research* in New York City. His move echoed new trends of business-oriented research, which became distinguished from

traditional academic careers. The non-western physicists, like Romanian-born Hungarian Albert-László Barabási (born March 30, 1967) and Slovenian Matjaž Perc (born in 1979), entered the network's theories through the research on chaos in the 21st century. In his examples of network spread, Barabási included even the spread of early St. Paul's Christianity. The network's ideas certainly spread worldwide as a kind of network itself supported by literature like the modern crime novels of John Grisham (born 1955) starting with *The Firm* released by Random House in 1991, and inspired by Chicago Al Capone's mafia background. Their mathematical treatments of modern networks fits especially well the Old Society of Jesus' successful network of scholars within the Jesuits' monopoly on Catholic continuing education and the initial success of their Chinese mission. The operations of the Jesuits in China and elsewhere could be treated with modern statistical approaches to the theory of networks with one important difference: the theory of networks largely considered a decentralized organization, those networks without spiders in the hubs. The Jesuit network was strictly militarily centralized through the local rectors, their provincials, and all the way to the Jesuit general. In the case of the China-based Jesuits there was actually more than one spider in the hub in the Jesuits' network. Besides the Roman Papal and Jesuit General's headquarters, the Imperial court in Beijing also had to be considered as another center of decision-making and information-gathering. The same was also true for the Jesuits' collection and processing of scientific data. For example, most of the Jesuits' missionary and other reports were collected in Rome, where Athanasius Kircher acted as a unique mailbox, qualified for the processing of data and their publication in heavy tomes in the 17th century. His role was similar to Marin Mersenne's (8 September 1588–1 September 1648), who was Kircher's decade-and-a-half-older French contemporary. The Jesuits of the Old Society had great advantages from their missionary work, especially in China and Paraguay. A large share of confessors in important Catholic royal courts also belonged to the Jesuits, especially in the Habsburg Monarchy. For example, the younger brother of A. Hallerstein was a confessor of the brother-in-law of the Empress Maria Therese in Brussels. The monopoly in Carniola and other Habsburg schools, with the exception of basic primary schooling, belonged to the Jesuits, and that fact enabled Jesuit teachers to recruit the most promising students to their Jesuit Order.

Arnold Toynbee's five-stage model of the development of civilizations and their universal churches proved to be useful tool for a description of development of scientific paradigms (Južnič 2012, 34–9). It endorses somewhat more than just an analogy because medieval *Völkerwanderung* seems to have unavoidable similarities with the modern brain drain of mostly colored populations to white Western academic institutions. It is therefore fair to suppose that the consequences might also

prove their similarity with the previously outwardly barbarous proletariat successfully struggling for new scientific paradigms in the global modern world. The bourgeoisie changed scholastic science with the intervention of Galileo and Newton in the times when scientific education became available to a greater number of the citizen-class's sons compared to previous feudal times. In the French context, the next group of previously scientifically disregarded people got the chance for education after the French Revolution of 1789. The new wave of top Parisian scientists included the mechanics of a farmer's son, Laplace, or the descriptive geometry of a provincial merchant's son, Gaspard Monge (9 May 1746–28 July 1818). In the (Central) European context, the next group of previously scientifically disregarded people, namely peasants, got the chance for education on (nearly) equal opportunities after the Spring of Nations in 1848. The same happened in China after the Communist Revolution in 1949. That new large group of people mirrored their domestic environment with the reform of ancient atomistic views based on modern statistics of undistinguishable particles similar to undistinguishable hordes of unnamed inhabitants of growing world metropolises. That statistical novelty in sciences was also influenced by European awareness of the numerous inhabitants in China.

Other great *Völkerwanderung* in the scientific field involved women, after their higher education was allowed almost worldwide in the late 19th century. The feministic revolution could eventually follow Thomas Kuhn's (July 18, 1922–June 17, 1996) model in spite of the fact that Kuhn himself was not aware of it (Longino 2003, 281). Marie Curie (7 November 1867–4 July 1934) and Lise Meitner (7 November 1878–27 October 1968) were the first female chemists in the male world of physics with their main contributions related to the research of radioactivity decay. The Göttingen student of Max Born (11 December 1882–5 January 1970) and James Franck (26 August 1882–21 May 1964), the German Maria Mayer née Goeppert (1906–) from now Polish Katowice, followed Marie Curie, with her 4-way tie for the Nobel Prize in physics in 1963. Her topics endorsed the research of nuclear shells after her work on the Manhattan project with Hungarian-born Edward Teller (January 15, 1908–September 9, 2003). It is not easy to distinguish which aspects of those nuclear physics branches of sciences were influenced by the female nature of the researchers, but boring tiresome experimental work of that kind could just a passionate woman could do. The feminization of physics is in progress but the feminization of new paradigms in physics is yet to be seen.

With females entering scientific research the potential number of would-be literati was doubled. At approximately the same time as females, also natives of colored ancestry of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific islands entered the world

of professional scientific research. Previously uneducated Chinese peasants rushed to towns and brought their traditional worldviews with them. They multiplied the number of possible researchers of new paradigms. It is true that two Nobel Prize in physics delivered to females born in now Polish land and four female Nobel laureates in chemistry with two Curies included does not provide enough space for top female scientists, not to mention the female researchers from the third (colored) word. But the times they are a-changin' in Bob Dylan's song, and the times are also changing in the contemporary scientific research. The entrance of Italian cities' literati after the Reformation (1517) and the early years of the Thirty Years War (1618), the promotion of the English and Dutch bourgeoisie after the Glorious Revolution (1688), the French Revolution's Third Estate, the Central European middle class or peasant-born literati after the Spring of Nations, and the Chinese peasants in the second half of 20th century provided respectively very soon the new paradigms of Galileo, Newton, Lavoisier-Laplace-Volta, Stefan-Boltzmann, and modern networks. It seems that feminization and the coloring of the top researchers of modern science is not at all that quick, but sooner or later the quantity of newcomers must bring some new qualities in the output of their mutual research. It is true that 2 researchers from India (C.V. Raman 1930; Subrahmanyam Chandrasekhar 1983), 1 from Pakistan (Abdus Salam 1979), 6 from China with Hong Kong (Tsung-Dao Lee and Chen Ning Yang 1957; Samuel C. C. Ting 1976; Steven Chu 1997; Daniel C. Tsui 1998; Charles K. Kao 2009), and 10 Japanese (Hideki Yukawa 1949; Sin-Itiro Tomonaga 1965; Leo Esaki 1973; Masatoshi Koshihara 2002; Makoto Kobayashi, Toshihide Maskawa, Yoichiro Nambu 2008; Hiroshi Amano, Isamu Akasaki, Shuji Nakamura 2014) were Nobel laureates in physics, but most of them worked in the United States or were even born there. The colored and female breakpoints in physics are yet to be seen in the 21st century.

The deep question is, what did the Third Estate, females, or non-whites think about the scientific questions before they were allowed to take the educational and research advantages in mainstream European Christian Sciences and their trans-Atlantic siblings. Did they live the centuries of their lives without any recordable scientific developments, or their achievements were and still are just hidden from the modern historian of science under the heavy burden of different frames, languages, observational practices, and ways of thinking? What was the "scientific" opinion of Chinese peasants before they were able to educate their children in late twentieth century? During all those centuries of suppression, were the socially de-privileged, females, and colored parts of the population really stupid enough not to think about the world around them, or we just do not understand their messages because not enough money was invested to research their achievements? The answer must be much nearer to the later supposition, but only the Chinese case provides

some insight in Chinese achievements before the Jesuits “discovered” Chinese for the Westerners. Joseph Needham (1900–1995) and his Chinese collaborators were certainly the ones who uncovered Chinese achievements to Europeans, but African, Aborigine, Native American, or Pacific island Needhams are still waiting for their turn (Norris and Hamacher 2009, 10–17; Norris 2014).

The discussion proved the importance of central European China-based Jesuits in the global Jesuit network, designed to provide for the mutual cultural, scientific, and technological interchange between the Chinese and European literati’s networks. The immediate effect of the interchanges, or rather of their abrupt end after the suppression of the Jesuits, was the humiliating Chinese military defeat in the Opium Wars before and after European Spring of Nations. After a century of humiliations and neglect the Chinese networks’ challenges are relevant again and the history of China-based Jesuits of the old society needs to be rewritten from the Chinese standpoint. The present study is a small step of American-born European historians and physicists towards that goal.

References

- de Abreu, Antonio Graca. 2004. *D. Frei Alexandre de Gouveia, Bispo de Pequim (1751–1808): contribuição para o estudo das relações entre Portugal e a China*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa.
- Amiot, Jean-Joseph Maria. 1774. “Observations météorologiques faites à Pékin, par le P. Amiot, Décembre 1762. Mis en ordre par M. (Charles) Messier.” *Mémoires de mathématiques et de physique, présentés à l’Académie Royale des Sciences*. 6: 519–601.
- Bacon, Francis. 1968. *Novum organum*. Bari: Laterza.
- Ben-Zaken, Auner. 2004. “The Heavens of the Sky and the Heavens of the Heart: the Ottoman Cultural Context for the Introduction of Post-Copernican Astronomy.” *British Journal for the History of Science* 132 (March) 37 (1): 1–28.
- Bray, Francesca. 1991. “Some Problems Concerning the Transfer of Scientific and Technical Knowledge.” In *China and Europe, Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, edited by Thomas H.C. Lee, 203–19. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.
- David, Paul A. 2008. “The Historical Origins of ‘Open Science’: An Essay on Patronage, Reputation and Common Agency Contracting in the Scientific Revolution.” *Capitalism and Society* 3 (2/5): 1–103.

- Diamond, Jared. 2007. *Propad civilizacij*. Tržič: Učila International.
- . 2008. *Puške, bacili in jeklo*. Tržič: Učila International.
- Dehergne, Joseph. 1973. *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*. Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I.
- Dežman, Karel. 1881. "Ein Krainer als Hoffastronom in Peking 1739–1774." *Laibacher Wöchenblatt. Organ der Verfassungen – Partei in Krain. Gedr. bei Leykam in Graz* 50–55: 1–20. Laibach: Kleinmayr & Bamber.
- Gilbert, William. 1600. *De Magnete*. Londini: Petrus Short. (Reprint: 1991. New York: Dover)
- Grant, Edward. 2007. *A History of Natural Philosophy from the Ancient World to the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Hu, Danian. 2004. *China and Albert Einstein: The Reception of the Physicist and His Theory in China*. Harvard: University Press.
- Inglot, Marek. 1997. *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'impero Russo (1772–1820) e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia*. Roma: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana.
- Inglot, Marek. 2002. "Gabriel Gruber, S. J. (1740–1805): nel bicentenario della sua elezione a generale della Compagnia di Gesù." *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71 (142): 353–68.
- Jesuits. 1730–1773. *Catalogus personarum & officiorum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu*. Wien.
- Joseph, George Gheverghese. 2011. *The Crest of the Peacock: Non-European Roots of Mathematics* (Third Edition). Princeton: University Press.
- Južnič, Stanislav. 2004. *Zgodovina raziskovanja vakuuma in vakuumskih tehnik*. 1. del. Ljubljana: Društvo za vakuumsko tehniko Slovenije.
- . 2009. "Vacuum and Electricity for Chinese Emperor." In *A Hallerstein – Liu Songling – A Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, edited by Mitja Saje, 119–57. Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla.
- . 2012. "Toynbee Nonsense Book for Slovenians." *Studia Historica Slovenica* 12 (1): 21–54.
- . 2015. "Bibliometrics of Jesuit Mathematicians in China." *Historia Scientiarum* 24 (3): 1–26.
- Kaminski, Gerd, and Else Unterreider. 1980. *Von Österreichern und Chinesen*. Wien: Europaverlag.
- Kaminski, Gerd. 1996. "Das Chinabild der Österreicher." In *Aodili. Österreich-China. Geschichte einer 300jährigen Beziehung*, edited by Gerd Kaminski and Kreissl, Barbara, 32–49. Vienna: ÖCGF.
- Koláčec, Josef. 1999. *Čínské epištoly*. Velehrad: Refugium Velehrad-Roma.

- Kuhn, Thomas S. 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Laimbeckhoven, Godefridus. 2000. *Der Bischof von Nanking und seine Briefe aus China mit Faximile seinem Reisenbeschreibung*. Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica.
- Longino, Helene. 2003. "Does the Structure of Scientific Revolution Permit a Feminist Revolution in Science." In *Thomas Kuhn*, edited by Thomas Nickles, 261–81. Cambridge: University Press.
- Lukács, Ladislaus. 1982. *Catalogi presonarum et officiorum Provinciae Austriae S.I. II (1601–1640)*, Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I.
- Martzloff, Jean-Claude. 1993. "Espace et temps dans les textes Chinois d'astronomie et de technique mathématique astronomique aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles." *L'Europe en Chine* 217–30.
- Montegnana, Ferdinand de (anonymous). 1673. *Tractatus de Quadratura circuli*. Vienna.
- Moroškin, Mihail Jakovlevič. 1870. *Iezuiti v Rosii: s carstvovanija Ekaterini II-i i do našego vremeni. Čast vtoraja, obnimajuščaja istoriju iezuitov v carstvovanije Aleksandra I-go*. Sankt Peterburg: Vtoro Otdelenije Sobstvenoi Ego Imperatorskog Veličanstva Kancelarii.
- Mungello, David E. 2009. *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Needham, Joseph, and Wang Ling. 1959. *Science and Civilization in China*. Vol. 3. Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, Cartography, Geology, Seismology and Mineralogy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Ray P., and Duane W. Hamacher. 2009. "The Astronomy of Aboriginal Australia." In *The Role of Astronomy in Society and Culture Proceedings LAU Symposium No. 260, 2009 D*, edited by David Valls-Gabaud and Alexander Boksenberg, 10–17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Ray P. 2014. "Aboriginal People – How to Misunderstand their Science." *The Conversation* April 20.
- Pfister, Louis. 1934. *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine 1552–1773*. II. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.
- Raju, Chandra Kant. 2007. *Cultural Foundations of Mathematics: The Nature of Mathematical Proof and the Transmission of the Calculus from India to Europe in the 16th c. AD*. Delhi: Pearson Longman.
- Rinaldi, Bianca Maria. 2006. *The Chinese Garden in Good Taste: Jesuits and Europes Knowledge of Chinese Flora and Art of the Garden in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. München: Meidenbauer.

- Shi, Yunli. 2000. "Eclipse Observations Made by Jesuit Astronomers in China: a Reconsideration." *JHA* 31: 135–47.
- Sivin, Nathan. 1965. "On 'China's opposition to Western Science during Late Ming and Early Ch'ing'." *ISIS* 56: 201–5.
- . 1973. "Copernicus in China." *Studia Copernicana* 6: 63–122.
- . 1985. "Why the Scientific Revolution Did Not Take Place in China – or Did it?" *The Environmentalist* 5 (1): 39–50.
- Stoeger, Joannes Nepomuk. 1855. *Scriptores Provinciae Austriacae Societatis Jesu ab ejus origine ad nostra usque tempora*. Viennae: Typis congregationis mechitharisticae.
- Tatsuhiko, Kobayashi. 2002. "What Kind of Mathematics and Terminology Was Transmitted into 18th Century Japan From China." *Historia Scientiarum* 12 (1): 1–17.
- Toynbee, Arnold. 2002. *Proučavanje Historije*. Beograd: JP službeni list SRJ.
- Ule, Andrej. 2006. *Znanost, Družba, Vrednote*. Maribor: Aristej.
- Valvasor, Janez Vajkard. 1689. *Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain*. Laybach-Nürnberg: Wolfgang Moritz Endter.
- Wong, George H. C. 1963. "China's opposition to Western Science During Late Ming and Early Ch'ing." *ISIS* 54: 29–49.
- Yusheng, Wang. 2000. "P. Andreas Pereira and His Contribution to Mathematics and Astronomy in China." *History of Mathematical Sciences* 219–6.
- Zalenski, Stanislaw. 1886. *Les Jésuites de la Russie-Blanche*. Paris: Letouzeu et Ané. I-II.
- Zurndorfer, Harriet T. 1988. "Vendre la science a la Chine au XVIII^e siècle." *Etudes Chinoises* 7: 59–90.

清前期宫廷西洋科学仪器的种类和来源/Types and Sources of Scientific Instruments in the Imperial Court of the Early Qing Dynasty

郭福祥/*GUO Fuxiang**

摘要

明末清初以来，以耶稣会为主之西方传教士来华为契机，形成了具有深远影响的基督教在华传教和中西文化交流的浪潮。此次交流不同于以往之处在于科学成为联结中西两个世界最为重要的介质。综观此次中西之间碰撞和交流，如果说在民间是宗教和科学并举的话，而宫廷则演变为纯粹的中国皇帝利用西洋科学和技艺的场所，因此之故，北京故宫博物院收藏了相当数量的西洋科学仪器。本文对清宫西洋科学仪器的收藏情况作了比较全面的介绍，并通过档案、实物等材料探讨这些收藏的形成历程。

关键词：西洋科学仪器 清代宫廷 种类 来源 文化交流

Abstract

Since the late Ming and the early Qing Dynasty, a far-reaching wave of cultural exchange was formed by Christian missionaries, with Jesuits as the mainstay. This exchange is different from previous ones in that science becomes the most important medium connecting the west and China. A comprehensive examination of this sino-western exchange shows that if lay communication is believed to be dominated by religion and science, the imperial court was turned into an arena where Chinese emperors utilized western science and techniques. It is for this reason that the Palace Museum has housed a considerable collection of western scientific instruments. This paper presents a comparatively full introduction to the collection and an exploration into the collection process by reviewing documents and physical objects.

Keywords: Western scientific instruments, imperial court of the Qing Dynasty, types, sources, cultural exchange

* 郭福祥，研究馆员，北京故宫博物院宫廷部，北京，中国
GUO Fuxiang, Research fellow and curator, Palace Museum,
Court History Department, Beijing, China.
guofuxiang66@163.com



Izvleček

Vse od poznega obdobja dinastije Ming in zgodnjega obdobja dinastije Qing so krščanski jezuitski misijonari oblikovali daljnosežen val kulturnih izmenjav. Te izmenjave se od predhodnih razlikujejo v tem, da je znanost postala najpomembnejši medij, ki je povezoval zahod in Kitajsko. Temeljita raziskava kitajsko-zahodnih izmenjav je pokazala, da je med ljudstvom dominirala tako religija kot znanost, medtem kot je cesarski dvor postal arena za uporabo zahodne znanosti in tehnik s strani kitajskih cesarjev. To je eden izmed glavnih razlogov, da Palačni muzej v Pekingu danes hrani znatno zbirko zahodnih znanstvenih instrumentov. Pričujoči prispevek v celoti predstavi zbirko ter s pregledom in analizo dokumentacije in fizičnih objektov nadalje analizira proces zbiranja teh instrumentov.

Ključne besede: zahodni znanstveni instrumenti, cesarski dvor dinastije Qing, vrste, izvor, kulturna izmenjava

明末清初以来，以耶稣会为主之西方传教士来华为契机，形成了具有深远影响的基督教在华传教和中西文化交流的浪潮。此次交流不仅是中国历史同时也是世界历史上的重大事件，其不同于以往之处在于科学成为联结中西两个世界最为重要的介质。综观此次中西之间碰撞和交流，如果说在民间是宗教和科学并举的话，而宫廷则演变为纯粹的中国皇帝利用西洋科学和技艺的场所，因此之故，北京故宫博物院收藏了相当数量的西洋科学仪器。这些仪器承载着清代宫廷之内中西科学文化持续接触、碰撞以及不断交流和融合的历史进程，成为还原清宫中西文化交流真实历史情境的最具价值的历史遗存种类之一。

笔者于北京故宫从事相关文物的保管和研究，深感宫廷一直是这场旷日持久的文化交流的中心所在。而北京故宫博物院所藏的清前期宫廷西洋科学仪器，深刻反映出中西科学交流活动亦是清代宫廷生活和文化的组成部分。基于此，本文拟对故宫清前期西洋科学仪器的收藏情况作一比较全面的介绍，并通过档案、实物等材料探讨这些收藏的形成历程。

一 故宫所藏西洋科技仪器的种类

故宫博物院是在明清皇宫基础上建立起来的博物馆，其丰富的收藏绝大部分直接来自于昔日的宫廷生活，其中的西洋科学仪器即是当时宫廷内中西文化交流和碰撞的产物，也是故宫博物院收藏中极为特殊的部分。

故宫博物院的科学仪器和相关器具集中保存在钟表仪器、药具药材、生活用具、武备等几个类别的文物之中，其中与中西科学交流有关的西洋仪器和器具数量多达两三千件。对这些文物的分类可以根据不同的方式进行，现在通常使用按学科分类和按功用分类两种方法。

按学科分类，清宫的科学仪器收藏则包括：

天文仪器：自明末西方传教士进入中国宫廷，天文学一直是中西文化交流的最重要的方面，大量西方传教士任职于宫廷，尤其是到了清代，历任钦天监监正和监副都由西洋人担任，西方天文学在宫廷呈现压倒性的优势。因此之故，清宫科学仪器收藏中天文仪器占了相当大的比重。计有：天体仪、浑仪、各类日晷、月晷、星晷、星盘、太阳系仪、朔望入交仪、月相演示仪、陨石等。（图1）



图1 银镀金浑天仪

清 康熙八年（1669）制作

长35.8厘米 宽35.8厘米 高37.3厘米

故宫博物院收藏

这是一件小型天体演示仪器，由服务于宫廷的比利时传教士南怀仁（Ferdinand Verbiest）等制作于康熙八年，在一起外层圈环上有“康熙八年仲夏臣南怀仁等制”款。

数学仪器：清宫的数学仪器基本上是17世纪前后由西方各国使团、传教士携来进献，或者由清宫造办处根据西洋数学仪器仿制。有度量类仪器如算尺、比例尺、分厘尺、矩尺；有计算类仪器如比例规、假数尺、对数尺、各种算筹、手动计算器、各种数学用表；有教具类仪器如立体多面体模型等。（图2）



图2 铜镀金量角器

十八世纪 法国Butterfield 制作

长9厘米 宽6.3厘米 厚0.2厘米

故宫博物院收藏

地学测量仪器：清宫留存的地学测量仪器与康熙、乾隆时期规模空前的全国地理实测有密切关系，这部分仪器也是清宫科学仪器的精华部分。有表现地圆学说的地球仪；有展现全国大地测量的成果的104块《乾隆内府舆图》铜版；有测量水平夹角或天体地平高度角的便携式象限仪；有安装有

望远镜的高精度的象限仪；有测量水平方位角或垂直面角度的半圆仪、全圆仪；有装有绘图纸，测量时边测边绘的平板仪；有可作为测量仪器附件使用或单独使用的定南针水平盘；小型便携的指南针等等。（图3）



图3 铜镀金四游表半圆仪

十八世纪 英国制造

长44.5厘米 宽33厘米 仪器本体高34厘米

故宫博物院收藏

绘图仪器：清宫所藏的绘图仪器绝大部分是由西方携来，一般都是成组摆放在各种质地的盒套之内。常见的组合有分厘尺、比例规、双脚规、半圆分角器、鸭嘴笔、剪刀、尖锥等等。有时宫内也可以把不同来源的各种绘图用具组合在一起，如本院藏的一套装在黑漆描金盒内的绘图仪器，分两屉盛装，有的尺子、两脚规及其附件为欧洲的产品，而铜胎蓝珐琅墨水瓶底部镌“康熙年制”款，为造办处制造。（图4）



图4 盒装绘图仪器

十八世纪 英国制作

盒长20厘米 宽9厘米 厚3.4厘米

故宫博物院收藏

光学仪器：光学仪器也是西洋传教士最早带入中国的科学器具类别。最早的玻璃三棱镜折射出魔幻般的七彩光线曾经令无数人惊奇不已。望远镜和显微镜则改变了人们通常的距离感知。在清宫科学仪器收藏中，望远镜的数量很大，用途也很广，除天文观测、大地测量外，还被应用于军事领域。在康熙、雍正、乾隆时期都有制作望远镜用于出兵或分发给出征在外的军事将领的记录。至于眼镜，在雍正时期即大量制作，放在各个宫殿中，以备随时取用，同时也大量赏赐给臣工。直到晚清，眼镜一直作为重要的生活用具得到应用。而院藏铜聚光镜则是清宫较早传入凹镜聚光传热实验的实物证据。（图5）



图5 铜聚光镜

十八世纪 欧洲制作

高100厘米 宽34厘米 镜面厚5厘米

故宫博物院收藏

医学仪器：在康熙、乾隆时期的档案中，精通外科的西洋医生一直是宫廷找寻的目标，表明清宫对西洋医学的重视。康熙是还在宫廷中建立了医学实验室，“在那里排着各种不同样式的炉灶，摆着化学制药用的工具和器皿。这位皇帝竟不惜开支，指令所用的工具和器皿都要银制的。三个月里，在我们主持下，叫人制造了许多丸、散、膏、丹。”¹ 乾隆时期也有进口西药的记录，直到现在故宫还保存着当时进入宫廷的巴尔撒末油实物。故宫收藏的清宫医学器具包括西医诊疗器具、各种药露、保健用具等等。

机械器具：以钟表和自动人偶为代表的西方机械器具是西方传教士打通进入中国之路和进入中国宫廷的敲门砖。自明末进入中国宫廷，皇帝和后妃人等对其的兴趣一直不减，极力搜罗，西方各国的此类产品通过诸多渠道大量进入宫廷。同时在宫廷内务府造办处建立了专门的制作机构从事此类器物的制造，而在民间也出现了广州这样的制造中心，其产品也大量进入

1 [法国]白晋著，马绪祥译：《康熙帝传》页35-36。珠海：珠海出版社，1995年。

宫廷。宫廷机械钟表和玩具收藏成为当时中国此类收藏之翘楚，具有广泛的地域上的代表性和时间上的连续性，同时也具有极强的观赏性，引人注目。（图6）



图6 铜镀金方花盆式表

十八世纪 英国制作

高76厘米 花盆40厘米见方

故宫博物院收藏

与清宫科学仪器有关的科学典籍和艺术品：伴随着清宫中西科学交流，大量西方科学著作被介绍到中国和宫廷之内，尤其是当时在国内出版的各种中文和满文的西洋科学论著，绝大部分与宫廷甚至是皇帝的推动有关。如《西洋新法历书》、《御制数理精蕴》、《御制律历渊源》、《钦定仪象考成》、《御制数表精详》等都是这方面的代表著作。另外，随着西方科学在清宫的传播，科学仪器也成为宫廷艺术创作和装饰纹样的取材来源。如钟表图案在绘画、瓷器、玉器、珐琅器、家具上均有出现。² 而在宫廷绘画作品中也出现了浑天仪等仪器，这对认识西洋科学仪器在宫廷的传播使用情况都是非常重要的证据。

按功用分类，清宫的西洋科学仪器则包括：

实用科学仪器：实用科学仪器构成了清宫科学仪器的主要部分，如各种大型天文仪器、数学计算和测量仪器、绘图仪器、望远镜等。这些仪器在清宫科学活动中被广泛使用，成就了清代宫廷利用西方科学的诸多成果。

科学演示仪器：由于科学所涉及的范围广大，深奥而抽象，非一般人所能理解，因此形象演示仪器在科学传播过程中的作用就变得非常重要。清宫西洋科学仪器收藏中保存有大量的科学演示仪器，诸如太阳系仪、天球仪、地球仪、浑天仪、朔望入交仪、三辰公晷仪、月相演示仪等。

2 郭福祥：《时间的历史映像——中国钟表史论集》页298-317。北京：故宫出版社，2013年。

这些仪器生动形象的演示功能，对当时清宫认识和接受西洋科学起到了一定的作用。

科学教育器具：西洋科学在宫廷的传播是一个从无到有的过程，伴随着皇帝们对西洋科学的学习和认知。故宫所藏西洋科学仪器中有一部分教学器具，如硬木多面体模型、佛科摆模型、人体解剖模型等；也有寓教于乐，融入诸多科学成果的玩具，如洋铁小飞机模型、木柄手摇风扇等等，都是清宫西洋科学教育的直接产物。

二 清宫西洋科学仪器收藏的来源

中国宫廷有意识的西洋科学仪器收藏始于明末。1601年意大利传教士利玛窦（Matteo Ricci）向当时的万历皇帝进献了40余件西洋奇器，其中就包括钟表、玻璃三棱镜、世界地图等科学器具。此后宫廷对西洋奇器的兴趣一直不减，各类西洋科学仪器通过众多途径汇聚于宫廷，到清代时已经蔚为大观。通观故宫现存的西洋科学仪器收藏，基本都是清代宫廷遗留下来的。根据现有的史料分析，清前期西洋科学仪器输入宫廷的途径大致有以下几个：

1. 外国使团的馈赠

互派使团是两国之间进行联系的重要渠道，为了礼貌和增进感情的需要，使团往往都带有一定数量的礼品。在清代，科学仪器往往成为各国使团赠送给中国皇帝礼品的重要组成部分。

比如清代俄国为了打通同中国的商业通道，垄断西北陆路对华贸易，攫取在华最大的经济利益，调节双边关系，不断地向中国派遣使团。在这些使团送给中国方面的礼品中，时常会有科学仪器出现，包括钟表、数学仪器、测量仪器、望远镜、显微镜、罗盘、晴雨计、长枪、手枪、绘图仪器、绘图纸、眼镜等。比较典型的有：

1675年沙俄政府决定向中国派遣一个外交使团，并选定斯帕法里为使团团团长。斯帕法里一行于1676年5月到达北京，清政府隆重接待了使团，康熙帝两次接见，希望通过谈判解决中俄边界的争端。其间斯帕法里将价值800卢布的物品赠给康熙皇帝，包括貂皮、黑狐皮、呢绒、珊瑚串珠、镜子、钟表及琥珀等。³

3 [俄罗斯]尼古拉·班蒂什-卡缅斯基编著：《俄中两国外交文献汇编》页40。北京：商务印书馆，1982年。

雅克萨战争之后，俄国政府为了缓和远东的紧急局势，决定接受清政府的建议，举行边界谈判。为此，俄政府派维纽科夫和法沃罗夫为专使于1686年11月先期到达北京，传达俄方的意思。同样，送给皇帝的礼品是少不了的。礼品中就包括“银座钟一对、法国银表一只、德国小表一对、土耳其制小表一只、海象牙九只、精制玻璃眼镜六副、珊瑚串珠一百三十颗、带框的德国镜子一面、德式饰金帽子两顶、单筒望远镜两个、法国精制玻璃望远镜两副、土耳其地毯一块。”⁴

1720年，俄国派遣伊兹马伊洛夫出使中国。伊兹马伊洛夫在北京停留三个多月，康熙接见了十多次。伊兹马伊洛夫将沙皇的礼品献给康熙，康熙欣然接受。关于这次俄国使团送给康熙帝的礼品，俄方的记录是：“镶着雕花镀金镜框的大镜一面、台镜一面、镶着水晶镜框的长方形镜子多面、英国自鸣挂钟一座、镶宝石怀表一对、罗盘一只、数学制图仪器四套、大君主用的绘有波尔塔瓦战役图的望远镜四架、显微镜一架、晴雨计二只，还有毛皮、黑貂皮、狐皮、北极狐皮、银鼠皮多件，共值五千零一卢布又八十三戈比。”⁵ 对于礼品的情况，当时奉命担任翻译的意大利传教士马国贤（Matteo Ripa）在著作中亦有记载：“在一个事先商量好的日子，俄使向皇帝敬献了沙皇陛下的礼物。包括两块点缀着钻石的表，一个装在水晶盒里的钟表，盒子上有一幅沙皇的肖像。对此中国人并不欣赏，他们不喜欢沙皇的肖像如此公开陈列。另外，还有同样装饰着水晶的首饰盒、八面大镜子、几箱数学仪器、一个大半球仪、一个水准仪、一个显微镜、几架望远镜、一百张黑貂皮、一百张貂皮和狐狸皮等。皇帝陛下全部收下了，这是给以特别荣誉的表示。”⁶ 马国贤的记录与俄方的记载基本相同，但稍有出入，可以互为补充。

1725年初，刚刚继位的女皇叶卡捷琳娜一世任命极具商贸才能的伊利里亚伯爵萨瓦·卢基奇·弗拉季斯拉维奇为特命全权使臣出使中国。使团为同样是刚刚继位的雍正皇帝准备了丰厚的礼物：以女皇的名义赠送价值一万卢布的礼品，计有贵重的怀表、座钟和挂钟、镜子、手杖、金线花缎和价值昂贵的貂皮、黑狐皮等。除钟表意外，其中也包括一具价值50卢布，装在贝壳盒子里的望远镜。⁷ 以使臣本人的名义赠送火枪一只、手枪一对、刻有各种图案的银盘一只、怀表一块、银盒装的绘图仪器一盒、银质烟盒两个、精致玻璃枝形大吊灯两架、大幅绘图纸三令、镀金

4 [俄罗斯]尼古拉·班蒂什-卡缅斯基编著：《俄中两国外交文献汇编》页65。北京：商务印书馆，1982年。

5 [俄罗斯]尼古拉·班蒂什-卡缅斯基编著：《俄中两国外交文献汇编》页115。北京：商务印书馆，1982年。

6 [意大利] 马国贤著，刘晓明译：《清宫十三年——马国贤神甫回忆录》。载《紫禁城》1990年4期。

7 [法国]加斯东·加恩著，江载华、郑永泰译：《彼得大帝时期的俄中关系史》页222。北京：商务印书馆，1980年。

银质首饰盒一个、银质马饰物一套、俄国狼狗四只，总价值一千三百九十卢布。⁸

以上俄国使团赠送给康熙和雍正的礼品中，科学仪器的种类是很丰富的，数量也不小，反映出当时宫廷对西洋科学仪器的兴趣。值得注意的是，俄国使团赠送给中国皇帝的科学仪器并不都是俄国的产品，而是来自于欧洲技术和科技发达的法国、英国、德国、瑞士甚至土耳其，从而反映出俄国作为中国和西方贸易和文化中转地的客观事实。

乾隆时期外国使团赠送给皇帝的科学仪器以英国马戛尔尼（George Macartney）使团的礼品最具代表性。为了拓展东方市场，打破中国对英国贸易的限制，1792年英国政府向中国派出了以马戛尔尼勋爵率领的宠大使团，一方面进行外交上的接触，另一方面欲凭实力向当时的中国人宣传英国的文明与富强，以博取中国人的好感。因此，在礼物的选择上英国人是相当慎重的。“英王陛下为了向中国皇帝陛下表达其崇高的敬意，特从他的最优秀卓异的臣属中遴选出一位特使万里迢迢前来觐见。礼品的选择自不能不力求郑重以使其适应于这样一个崇高的使命。贵国地大物博，无所不有，任何贵重礼品在贵国看来自都不足称为珍奇。一切华而不实的奇巧物品更不应拿来充当这样隆重使命的礼物。英王陛下经过慎重考虑之后，只精选一些能够代表欧洲现代科学技术进展情况及确有实用价值的物品作为向中国皇帝呈献的礼物。两个国家皇帝之间的交往，礼物所代表的意义远比礼物本身更足珍贵。”⁹ 这些珍贵的礼品包括了诸多科学仪器和显示科技发展情况的制成品，如果把所有的礼品陈列在一起，简直可以说是英国十八世纪科学技术进展和科学仪器的一次大展示。根据当时英使呈报给清廷的礼品清单，共有十九项物品，数量极其庞大，其中主要是科学仪器，包括复合式大型太阳系仪、另一件太阳系仪、天球仪、地球仪、指引月光盈亏仪、察看天气阴晴仪、空气真空泵、力学巧益架、聚光大火镜、“君主号”战舰模型、自来火新法金镶枪、自来火新法银镶枪、新法自来火小枪、双筒火枪、铜炮、西瓜炮等等。¹⁰ 这些科学仪器礼品被安置在不同的宫殿之中，这可能是乾隆时期一次性进入宫廷最多的科学仪器。

以上材料表明，西方国家在与清朝交往过程中，通过相应的途径了解中国宫廷的兴趣，西方科学仪器作为西洋奇器的一部分，受到清朝宫廷和皇帝的关注，因此在考虑礼品时科学仪器成为礼品的组成部分。这些以国家或君主礼品形式赠送给中国的皇帝，成为清宫科学仪器收藏的重要来源。

8 [俄罗斯]尼古拉·班蒂什-卡缅斯基编著：《俄中两国外交文献汇编》页146。北京：商务印书馆，1982年。

9 [英国]斯当东著，叶笃义译：《英使谒见乾隆纪实》页248。北京：商务印书馆1963年。

10 中国第一历史档案馆编：《英使马戛尔尼访华档案史料汇编》页121-124。北京：国际文化出版公司，1996年。

2. 传教士和官员的进献

在西方传教士向中国传教过程中，发现科学仪器这种西方奇器的代表品种，引起中国知识阶层甚至包括皇帝的极大兴趣，而且一直持续不衰。在这一点上，西方传教士恐怕有着更深切的感受。1719年10月14日法国传教士卜文气（Louis Porquet）自无锡写给他兄弟的信中列举了中国人感兴趣的各种物品：“可以使他们感到高兴的差不多是这样一些东西：表、望远镜、显微镜、眼镜和诸如平、凸、凹、聚光等类的镜，漂亮的风景画和版画，小而精巧的艺术品，华丽的服饰、制图仪器盒、刻度盘、圆规、铅笔、细布、珐琅制品等。”¹¹ 其中许多都属科学仪器范畴。正因为如此，作为中西文化交流重要成员的传教士，也经常利用西方科学仪器打通关节，疏通关系，把带来的或自制的仪器作为礼物送给对他们有帮助的中国人，或干脆直接进献给皇帝。

意大利传教士闵明我（Philippe-Marie Grimaldi）神甫奉召与南怀仁（Ferdinand Verbiest）一起在康熙宫廷中治理历法，为与康熙拉近关系，闵明我也曾向康熙进献钟表和仪器。“明我在获得皇帝护教之意以前，曾用种种方法博取帝宠与其好奇心。曾将在当时为新发明之水力机进呈，机上有常喷不已之喷水一道，准确报时钟一具，天体运转器一具，准确报晓钟一具。”¹²

而康熙前期主持钦天监工作的比利时传教士南怀仁也向康熙皇帝进献过各种仪器，既使是在他去世以后，这些仪器还被妥善保存起来。在现存的内务府档案中，我们还可以得到其中的一些信息。如康熙三十三年（1694）设立的陈设账中记载：“八面罗经一对，十六年十月二十四日袭图交来，南怀仁进；针晷黄磁碗一个，有套，十六年六月十四日南怀仁进；看星夹纸转的圆盘一件，此四宗俱系南怀仁进……；取火铜镜一面，边座镀金，南怀仁进……；铜镀金玻璃取火镜一座，南怀仁进。”¹³ 当然，南怀仁进献的仪器可能远远不止这些，但从这些简略的记录中我们仍可以想见当时的情形。

康熙时服务于宫廷的法国耶稣会士与康熙皇帝建立了极为密切而良好的关系，他们在宫廷的主要任务是帮助康熙皇帝学习西洋科学，向其进献科学仪器亦是自然之举。如张诚（Jean Francois Gerbillon）就曾记述：康熙皇帝用一架半圆仪测量太阳的子午高度，而这架半圆仪就是法国耶稣会士来中国之前法王路易十四的王子梅纳公爵（Maine）赠送的，到北京后他们将其进献给康熙皇帝。康熙皇帝对其十分珍视，“我把这个半圆仪呈献给皇帝，他非常珍视这个半圆仪，让一位骑兵背着它。他命

11 阎宗临：《传教士与法国早期汉学》页9。郑州：大象出版社，2003年。

12 [法国]费赖之著，冯承钧译：《在华耶稣会士列传及书目》页369。北京：中华书局，1995年。

13 故宫博物院图书馆藏：陈设档124号。

令将这个半圆仪装在一个双层盒子中，使其不致在行进途中受到任何损坏。他还命令为这个半圆仪做两个新支架，它们各带有一个弯头。”¹⁴ 康熙二十八年十二月初一日（1690年1月10日）张诚记述：“皇上寝宫的一位内侍，来到我们住处，传旨令我们于第二天进宫，向皇上讲解教士们所屡次进献的，或为皇上仿制的欧式数学仪器的用途。”¹⁵ 第二天，张诚等到养心殿，“他们把数学仪器拿给我们看。这些都是遵照陛下的谕旨，放在用纸板特制的精致小匣或抽屉内。仪器并无特异之处。只有几副两脚规，差不多都有些损缺，几副大小和种类不同的罗针仪或罗盘，一些木匠用的角尺和几何勾尺，一座直径半呎，有刻度，并附准星的刻度圆尺。所有仪器全部制作粗糙，远不如我们带去的那些精致而准确。皇帝的官员们于我们到来时检视我们所带仪器之后，也承认这一点。皇上传旨要我们备细检查仪器的用途，以便我们能向他明白解释。”¹⁶ 通过张诚的记录，我们可以了解康熙皇帝当时收藏的欧式数学仪器的情况，而且大部分都是在京的传教士进献给康熙帝的。而在不久后的康熙二十九年（1690）正月初五那天，张诚又向康熙帝进献了一副两脚规。“赵老爷代我向皇上进呈一副四吋长的两脚规，带有二、三种用途不同，可以在需用时装在规脚上的附件。”¹⁷ 一年以后的1691年8月14日法国传教士李明（Louis Le Comte）和洪若翰（Jean de Fontaney）通过张诚又向康熙帝进献了从欧洲带来的科学仪器：“一个大天文环，它可以同时显示一天内的时和分、太阳的高度和指针的偏差；一个约半英尺直径的半圆仪，附精密分度的罗盘。这些工具是由巴特菲尔德（Butterfield）先生制造的。此外，还有一盒数学用具，内有一个两脚规、两副分度器、一支直尺、一个小半圆仪和一支制图笔。同时我们还送给他一个球体、一些装在一个漆得很精致的盒子里的阿朗松产的钻石，还有两个制成多面形的精美的镶银水晶瓶，一个呈洁白色，另一个是蓝色的。”¹⁸ 译文中的天文环应该就是现在所说的提环公晷仪。而白晋（Joachim Bouvet）在《康熙帝传》中也生动地记录了法国耶稣会士向康熙帝进献仪器的情况：“我们到北京后，我从好几个数学仪器中，挑选了两个呈献给他。用这两个仪器，人们可以预测到在几个世纪中的日蚀和月蚀，以及每天行星的不同外貌。大家都十分感激皇家科学院的学者发明这两个奇妙的仪器。皇帝命令我们按照中国的日历，给他讲解这些仪器的用途及其使用方法。他把这两个仪器安置在正殿皇座的两侧。

14 [法国]伊夫斯·德·托玛斯·德·博西耶尔夫人著，辛岩译：《耶稣会士张诚——路易十四派往中国的五位数学家之一》页29。郑州：大象出版社，2009年。

15 [法国]张诚著，陈霞飞译：《张诚日记》页62。北京：商务印书馆，1973年。

16 [法国]张诚著，陈霞飞译：《张诚日记》页62-63。北京：商务印书馆，1973年。

17 [法国]张诚著，陈霞飞译：《张诚日记》页71。北京：商务印书馆，1973年。

18 [法国]张诚著，张宝剑译：《张诚日记》页211-212。载《康熙帝传》，珠海：珠海出版社，1995年。

在我离开前的一天，还在那里见到过。这是他对这些仪器十分重视的明显表示。从那时起，直到现在，他不仅对法国制造的数学仪器，而且对从法国进口的所有工艺美术作品都极为重视，因为他过去从未还见到过我们赠送给他的这一类东西。而对他来说，这类东西，在各方面都显得尽善尽美。”¹⁹

当另外三名法国传教士到北京后，也向康熙皇帝进献了仪器。“在这些仪器中，由于它们的新奇而使他最喜欢的是水平仪和天文观测用的双秒摆时钟这两样东西，得知这些仪器的极大的准确性及其用途之后，他就把它们安置在他自己的房间里。”²⁰ 这些记载很好地解释了为什么在现存清宫数学仪器中康熙时期来自法国的仪器特别多的原因。

乾隆三十八年（1773）精通钟表的耶稣会士李俊贤（Hubert Cousin de Mericourt）和熟习绘画的潘廷璋（Joseph Panzi）来到宫廷，向乾隆皇帝进献了一台真空泵，一种进行空气的压缩、膨胀及其他性能演示的机器，并向乾隆皇帝演示了各种实验。乾隆帝十分感兴趣，不但赏赐了二人，还特别将传教士提供的仪器中文名字“验气筒”改为“候气筒”。²¹

应该说，在乾隆以前的时间内，诸多的西洋传教士服务于宫廷，他们是宫廷西洋科学、技术和艺术的主要传播者。经由他们之手向宫廷输入的各种科学仪器成为清宫西洋科学仪器收藏的最为主要的途径。

向清朝皇帝进献科学仪器者并不仅仅限于外国传教士，一些地方官员有时也将得到的科学仪器进献，而这似乎也与传教士发生了关系。“对欧洲造的数学仪器的这种赞赏之情，很快从皇帝本人传到了朝廷的大臣那里。对我们怀有好意而尊敬我们的人，都迫切地要我们为他们寻觅这类仪器，他们认为，皇帝已不满足于接受人们赠送给他的所有那些东西，而要派人到曾经做过沿海各省总督的人那里去寻觅。因此，要想讨好皇帝，莫过于把这类仪器进献几件给他。”²² 关于各地官员向皇帝进献仪器的情况，在清宫留存的档案中是有所反映的。如康熙时“江西巡抚奴才郎廷极恭进：……西洋法蓝五彩玻璃花瓶一件、西洋法蓝五彩玻璃花蓝一件、西洋避雷石一件、西洋金星紫玻璃水茄式鼻烟壶二件、西洋大日表一件、西洋小仪器一件……。”²³ 再如“康熙五十五年九月二十八日：广东巡抚奴才杨琳，为奏闻事。……奴才觅有法蓝表、金刚石戒

19 [法国]白晋著，马绪祥译：《康熙帝传》页31。珠海：珠海出版社，1995年

20 [法国]白晋著，马绪祥译：《康熙帝传》页32。珠海：珠海出版社，1995年

21 [美国]斯坦尼斯拉夫·叶茨尼克著，周萍萍译：《刘松龄——旧耶稣会在京最后一位伟大的天文学家》页132-133。上海：三联书店，2014年。

22 [法国]白晋著，马绪祥译：《康熙帝传》页32。珠海：珠海出版社，1995年。

23 中国第一历史档案馆编：《康熙朝汉文朱批奏折汇编》第八册页1118。北京：档案出版社，1985年。

指、法蓝铜画片、仪器、洋法蓝料……等件，交李秉忠代进。”²⁴ 雍正时派驻到各地的内务府官员也不时向宫廷进献科技仪器，如雍正五年（1727）“十月十四日，太监王太平交来乐钟一件、大日晷一件，系福建巡抚常赉进。奉旨：着收拾，俟明年随往圆明园陈设，钦此。”²⁵ “十月二十日，太监张玉柱交来：仪器一分，随乌木匣盛，系巡抚杨文乾进，传旨：着认看，钦此。”²⁶ “十月二十日，首领太监李久明持来：仪器一件系，年希尧进、日晷一件、乐钟一件，说太监王太平传旨：仪器、日晷着认看，钦此。”²⁷ 这些进献的仪器都来自于西洋，进献者或得之于传教士，或得之于中外之间的贸易活动。

3. 宫中制造

伴随着宫中中西科学和技术的交流和融合，对各类科学仪器的需求也会越来越多，同时也需要根据中国的具体情况对相应仪器进行复制、改制甚至重新设计制作，以满足宫廷科学活动的实际需求。从现有资料和实物分析，清宫中的科学仪器有相当大的部分是由宫廷的造办机构制造的。

清宫西洋科学仪器的制作最早见诸于清统治者入关伊始的顺治元年（1644）。当时负责钦天监工作的传教士汤若望（Johann Adam Schall Von Bell）鉴于明朝宫廷原来使用的天文仪器因战乱多数毁坏，上疏制造新仪。“臣等进用诸器，尽遭流寇所毁，目今交食伊迩，则测验无器何凭，况日食每因阳光眩耀，则所见之分秒有非目力能真，或用水盆映照，亦属荡漾难定。唯有臣制窥远镜及地平晷二器，于日食时，用远镜可以覘其亏，复食分，用日晷可以可考其亏复时刻。倘临期不依此法窥测，则各法之时分多寡，与时刻先后不同之数，又安能证定其疏密哉？臣以是晓夜拮据，拟将需用定时窥测之器，另行制造数种进呈睿览，方在精工缮制，不日可以告成。”²⁸ 至七月九日，汤若望仪器制造完毕，呈进朝廷，计有“浑天银星球一座，时盘并指时针全；镀金地平日晷一具，三角形表并罗经针全；窥远镜一具，置镜铜架并螺丝转架各一，木立架一，看日食绢纸壳二；舆地屏图六幅；《诸器用法》一册。”²⁹

24 中国第一历史档案馆编：《康熙朝汉文朱批奏折汇编》第七册页451。北京：档案出版社，1985年。

25 中国第一历史档案馆、香港中文大学文物馆合编：《清宫内务府造办处档案总汇》（以下引述该档案简称《总汇》第2册页742-743，雍正五年十月“自鸣钟”。北京：人民出版社，2005年。

26 《总汇》第2册页743，雍正五年十月“自鸣钟”。

27 《总汇》第2册页743，雍正五年十月“自鸣钟”。

28 故宫博物院藏：《西洋新法历书》“奏疏卷1”。顺治二年殿本。

29 故宫博物院藏：《西洋新法历书》“奏疏卷1”。顺治二年殿本。

其中汤若望奏疏中所提到的“镀金地平日晷一具”现在仍收藏于故宫博物院。该日晷的长方形晷面上附装三角形晷针，可根据需要而起落，晷针下端安置指南针，以定方向。晷盘正面刻时刻线、节气线在晷盘正面一面边缘刻有“新法地平日晷”，晷盘底面有“顺治元年七月吉日恭进，修改历法远臣臣汤若望制”的款识。通过此一日晷我们可以大致了解汤若望所制此批仪器的实际状况。

清宫的科学仪器制作在南怀仁的主持下达到了高峰。康熙八年（1669）古台会测之后，西方天文学的先进和精确得到了宫廷的认可。以此为契机，南怀仁于同年向清政府提出重新制造观象台仪器的请求，并进呈了仪器式样，获得批准。四年以后的康熙十二年六件大型天文测量仪器完成，奉旨安装在观象台上。这六件仪器分别是黄道经纬仪、赤道经纬仪、纪限仪、象限仪、地平经仪和天体仪，采用青铜铸造，工艺精湛，运用西方近代工业兴起后的加工工艺，促进了中国科学仪器制造和工艺的西化进程。³⁰ 实际上，南怀仁除了设计主持制作了观象台上的六件大型天文观测仪器之外，还为宫廷制作过小型科学仪器，如“铜镀金浑天仪”即是典型的例子。该仪由座、环架两部分。环架的外层由地平圈、子午圈、黄道带三个不动环架组成，中层是由黄道圈、赤道圈、白道圈可旋转的三个环架构成，最内为游动的四游环，在极轴的中心处，嵌有一小地球，上刻“亚细亚、欧罗巴、亚美利加、利末亚”等当时五大洲的名称，黄道带上镌满汉文款识“康熙八年仲夏臣南怀仁等制”款识，这正是西方天文学在清宫赢得全面胜利不久。南怀仁制作的大型科学仪器是清宫仪器制作的里程碑，此后制作的大型天文仪器再也没有超过这些仪器的。后来，康熙五十二年（1713）至五十四年由传教士纪理安（Bernard Kilian Stumpf）主持制作“地平经纬仪”、乾隆十一年（1746）至乾隆十九年由斯洛文尼亚耶稣会传教士刘松龄（Augustin Hallerstein）主持制作了“玑衡抚辰仪”，都是清朝宫廷制作的著名的大型天文仪器，都安装在观象台上。³¹

张诚的日记也透露出康熙时期养心殿造办处制作科学仪器的信息。“皇上驾临并亲自试验一件刻度圆尺，它的直径一呎，这是在皇上离京以后，奉旨制作来测量中等高度和距离的。圆尺上有个几何方尺，刻度在向内一面，以避免在解析三角时再去求助于正弦表。随后又在殿的庭院中试用一个大的半圆仪，这件仪器以前曾在南怀仁神甫指导下制成一具，现在又模仿我献给皇上的一具新的重加改制，并安装了一个好支架。”³²“我们讲完

30 张柏春：《明清测天仪器之欧化：十七、十八世纪传入中国的欧洲天文仪器技术及其历史地位》。沈阳：辽宁教育出版社，2000年。

31 参见潘鼐主编：《中国古天文仪器史》页184-196。太原：山西教育出版社，2005年。

32 [法国]张诚著，陈霞飞译：《张诚日记》页74。北京：商务印书馆，1973年。

后，他试了试新制的一个有刻度的小刻度圆尺。”³³ 这是康熙时期制作数学仪器的例子。

从现在故宫博物院所藏的清代科学仪器看，清宫造办处制作的中小型科学仪器数量是不小的。如有明确制作纪年的就有顺治十四年（1657）制作的“铁鍍金天球仪”、康熙八年（1669）制作的“银鍍金浑天仪”、康熙二十年（1681）制作的“铜鍍金筒平仪”、康熙五十三年（1714）制作的“铜鍍金星晷仪”、康熙御制的“铜鍍金量角器”、乾隆十年（1745）制作的“铜鍍金日月晷合璧仪”、乾隆四十三年（1778）制作的“铜鍍金月晷”和“铜鍍金三辰公晷仪”等。无制作纪年但可以肯定为清宫造办处制作的科学仪器有“铜鍍金星晷仪”、“铜鍍金测炮象限仪”、“佛科摆模型”、“六合验时仪”、“黑漆长方罗盘”、“红漆木架天平”、“铁架步弓尺”、“铜座放大镜”、“硬木多面体模型”、由乾隆皇帝钦定的“铜户部营造尺”、“铜户部营造权”等。

清宫制作科学仪器的程序，基本上是按照已有的仪器进行复制、仿制。一般由皇帝或相关专业人员提出制作要求，相关人员或根据实物或根据描述设计样稿，呈皇帝御览。皇帝御览后或同意制作，或提出修改意见，重新画样，直到批准为止。制作完成后，还要进呈皇帝御览验收。如雍正四年（1726）“五月初六日，据圆明园来帖内称，太监杜寿交：通天气表一件，传旨交海望同西洋人认看是何用法，认看准时着海望面奏，钦此。于初六日据西洋人巴多明、宋君荣认看得：系红毛国的。上头玻璃管内水银天气热往上走，天气寒往下走。中间玻璃管内红，天气热上走，天气寒往下走，等语。于初七日海望将通天气表呈览，奉旨：着问西洋人做得来照样做一件，不必写西洋字，写汉字款。钦此。于五月十一日将通天气表一件，首领赵进忠呈进讫。”³⁴ 又“七月初九日，据圆明园来帖内称，郎中海望持出铜扇面日晷一件，奉旨：着西洋人认看，照样做二件，钦此。于七月二十日做得铜扇面日晷二件，郎中海望呈进讫。”³⁵ 这些档案表明，在宫廷制作科学仪器过程中，皇帝是其中至关重要的环节，他们往往是制作意向的提出者和最后的验收者。

需要指出的是，清宫科学仪器制作的主要技术力量是服务于宫廷中的西洋传教士，这种情况和清宫钟表的制作相当类似。³⁶ 一般的小件仪器，基本上由造办处自鸣钟处做钟处的西洋人会同相关工匠完成，前述各档案即为证明。而对于大型或重要的天文仪器，则多由熟悉仪器做法的钦天监里的西洋人会同造办处工匠制作。乾隆四十二年（1777）制作仪器的

33 [法国]张诚著，陈霞飞译：《张诚日记》页75。北京：商务印书馆，1973年。

34 《总汇》第2册页306，雍正四年五月“自鸣钟”。

35 《总汇》第2册页307，雍正四年七月“自鸣钟”。

36 相关情况参见郭福祥：《时间的历史映像——中国钟表史论集》。北京：故宫出版社，2013年。

活计档可以很好地证明这一点。“正月十一日，掌稿笔帖式海寿持来堂抄一件，内开六阿哥谨奏，为奏闻事：本月初四日奉旨：宁寿宫养性殿内应安设仪器，着照养心殿东暖阁内仪器式样成造安设，钦此。钦遵，查从前臣奉旨办造天地体仪，曾会同造办处制造在案，但此次应造仪器较从前仪器体制不同，此次一三辰仪，系范铜为圈，四圈套合成做，其图与图套合之际度数攸关；一月晷仪，系范铜为盘，上安游表，游表旋转灵滞所系，非凡常之匠工可得成造。查从前庄恪亲王造办仪器之时，曾奏派钦天监西洋人深明仪器做法者会商，详细讲究办理，是以无纤毫之失。今查有钦天监监正傅作霖、台官刘宗树尚属粗知仪器做法，理合奏请饬交钦天监传知傅作霖、灵台官刘宗树会同臣派出办事官员等详细讲究作法妥协，使匠工心意明晓，然后成做，度不致有失错之虞。至制造仪器臣仍会同造办处敬谨制造，并请将养心殿仪器请出为式样遵照理可也。”³⁷ 可知服务于宫廷中的西洋传教士在宫廷仪器制作中发挥的重要作用。

通观清代宫廷制作的科学仪器，很大一部分是对西洋科学仪器的模仿和改造。虽然在某些局部根据中国的情况作了改变，如相应的标示变成了中国文字、使用中国年款、装饰纹饰的中国化等等，但是从本质上来说，还都是西洋科学仪器的翻版。因此同样的科学仪器，往往会有西方制造和中国宫廷制作的不同版别，为中西科学和文化的交流和对比研究提供了难得的实物资料。

以上三方面是清宫西洋科学仪器的最主要的来源途径。当然，就当时的历史情况观察可能还存在有其他的途径，如采买和贸易。这一任务通常是由派驻广州的粤海关监督以及两广总督、广东巡抚等官员完成。有时皇帝还会委派专员前去购置，如康熙二十九年张诚就记述：“皇上打算差人到广东去购买数学仪器和其他欧洲珍异，示意要我们派遣我们的仆人前去。……皇上指定苏霖（Jose Soares）神甫，由内务府一位低级官员陪同前往。”³⁸ 但与钟表、机械玩具、音乐盒等珍奇物品相比，科学仪器由于其专业性和特殊的要求，难以获得足以吸引人的利润，因此通过私商带来中国的数量无法与钟表、机械玩具比肩。可以推测，在早期特别是五口开埠通商以前的清宫西洋科学仪器收藏中，通过官方采买和贸易手段获得者所占的比重并不是很大。

37 《总汇》第40册页355-356，乾隆四十二年正月“记事录”。

38 [法国]张诚著，陈霞飞译：《张诚日记》页88。北京：商务印书馆，1973年。

三 结语

清宫西洋科学仪器收藏是宫廷中西文化交流的遗存，是宫廷自觉利用西洋科学和技艺的历史见证。和其他类别的西洋奇珍相比，宫廷西洋科学仪器进入宫廷原本不是为了满足简单的鉴赏和好奇行为，而是有着深刻的统治策略和帝国利益的考量。通过对故宫所藏西洋科学仪器种类和来源的介绍，可以使我们对清宫西洋科学的历史状况得到以下几点认识：

第一，如果从学科方面观察，清宫科学仪器反映出清代宫廷传入的西方科学在学科方面存在不平衡性，主要是以宫廷或皇帝感兴趣的实用学科为主，科学体系的创建意识较不明显。而从这些西洋仪器的功用方面观察，则可以清楚地看到西洋科学在清宫的演变发展不但是一个科学教育启蒙的过程，也是一个科学普及推广的过程，更是一个科学改变实际生活的过程。

第二，宫廷是清代西方科学向中国传播的中枢和最重要的节点

当我们对清宫收藏西洋科学仪器有了初步的认识，对清代宫廷西洋仪器的来源有了比较深入的了解，就会发现西洋科学和技艺实际上已经深深融入到清代宫廷生活的方方面面。如果我们将视野移向更为广阔的中华帝国的全境，将宫廷置于其中，在同一时空之内进行观察，就会很容易地发现清代宫廷所处的科学前沿地位。例如演示哥白尼（Nicolaus Copernicus）日心地动学说的太阳系仪进入中国后都被清宫收存，并对其进行了观察和研究，而没有任何证据表明太阳系仪曾传入中国民间。³⁹ 又比如康熙至乾隆时期对于人体解剖学的认知和学习，对于西医西药的关注和利用，宫廷的接受度都要远远高于民间。另一方面，当时的耶稣会以及各传教团体都把最有学识和最精湛技艺的传教士送到宫廷服务，这也决定了宫廷西洋科学和艺术的高起点。就当时整个清朝帝国的形势而言，宫廷之内的西方科学传播和交流远比民间要活跃得多，深入得多。

第三，西洋传教士和技艺人在清宫中的科学活动成为推动清宫科学世界转变的重要动力

在清代宫廷的历史中，这样的景象是不能忽视的，那就是一批批西洋传教士和技艺人不间断地行走于宫廷之内。他们或者执掌钦天监，使用西方的天文学成果修正历法、预测天象；或者在清宫造办处修理那些损坏了的钟表和自动机械，指导、设计清宫钟表的制作；或者利用西药治好了皇帝和其他人的疾病，在实验室中利用西洋配方和方法制造新药；或者身背测量仪器，带着皇帝的谕令从宫廷出发，足迹遍布天南地北、东海西陲，绘制了大清帝国历史上最准确详尽的舆图。这些人本是为传播福音而来，为了

39 郭福祥：《时间的历史映像——中国钟表史论集》页274-295，北京：故宫出版社，2013年。

取得皇帝对传播福音的许可与宽容，他们凭借自己的丰富学识和手中的高超技艺，应召走进森严壁垒的宫墙之内。他们在宫廷中的活动，构成了清朝宫廷中西文化交流极为重要的内容，使西洋科学和艺术成为一种时尚，在传统中国的原生土壤中生根发芽。中国宫廷的科学结构在悄然变化，那里不再是中国传统科学的一统天下，而是演变为中西结合相互融通的舞台。这种局面与服务于宫廷中的西洋传教士和技艺人的努力是分不开的。他们与清代皇帝一起，构成了清代宫廷科学世界中活的因素，推动着清代宫廷科学世界的转变。

References

- Bai, Jin et al 白晋. 1995. Ma, Xuxiang 马绪祥 et al., trans. *Kangxi di zhuan* 康熙帝传. Zhuhai: Zhuhai chuban she.
- Fei, Laizhi 费赖之, and Chengjun Feng 冯承钧, trans. 1995. *Zai hua yesu huishi liuzhuan ji shumu* 在华耶稣会士列传及书目. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Gugong bowuyuan (store) 故宫博物院藏. *Xiyang xinfa lishu* 西洋新法历书. Shunzhi er nian dianben 顺治二年殿本.
- Gugong bowuyuan tushuguan (store) 故宫博物院图书馆藏. *Chenshe dang* 陈设档.
- Guo, Fuxiang 郭福祥. 2013. *Shijian de lishi yingxiang — Zhongguo zhongbiao shi lunji* 时间的历史映像——中国钟表史论集. Beijing: Gugong chuban she.
- Jiasidong, Jiaen 加斯东·加恩, and Jiang Zaihua et al 江载华, trans. 1980. *Bide dadi shiqi de E Zhong guanxi shi* 彼得大帝时期的俄中关系史. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan.
- Nigula Bandishen – Kamian siji 尼古拉·班蒂什-卡缅斯基编著. 1982. *E Zhong liangguo waijiao wenxian huibian* 俄中两国外交文献汇编. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan.
- Pan, Naizhu 潘鼐主, ed. 2005. *Zhongguo gu tianwen yiqi shi* 中国古天文仪器史. Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chuban she.
- Si Dangdong 斯当东, and Ye Duyi 叶笃义, trans. 1963. *Ying shi yejian Qianlong jishi* 英使谒见乾隆纪实. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan.
- Sitannisilafu Yecinike 斯坦尼斯拉夫·叶茨尼克, and Zhou Pingping 周萍萍, trans. 2014. *Liu Songling — Jiu yesu hui zai Jing zuihou yi wei weida de tianwen xuejia* 刘松龄——旧耶稣会在京最后一位伟大的天文学家. Shanghai: Sanlian shudian.
- Yan, Zonglin 阎宗临. 2003. *Chuanjiaoshi yu faguo zaoqi hanxue* 传教士与法国早期汉学. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chuban she.

- Yifusi de Tuomasi de Boxi yeer furen 伊夫斯·德·托玛斯·德·博西耶尔夫人, and Xin Yan 辛岩, trans. 2009. *Yesu huishi Zhangcheng — Luyi shisi pai wang Zhongguo de wu wei shuxuejia zhi yi* 耶稣会士张诚——路易十四派往中国的五位数学家之一. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chuban she.
- Zhang, Baichun 张柏春. 2000. *Ming Qing ce tian yiqi zhi ouhua: shiqi, shiba shiji chuanru zhongguo de ouzhou tianwen yiqi jishu ji qi lishi diwei* 明清测天仪器之欧化: 十七、十八世纪传入中国的欧洲天文仪器技术及其历史地位. Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chuban she.
- Zhang, Cheng 张诚, and Xiafei Chen 陈霞飞, trans. 1973. *Zhangcheng riji* 张诚日记. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan.
- Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan 中国第一历史档案馆, ed. 1996. *Yingshi Majiaerni fanghua dangan shiliao huibian* 英使马戛尔尼访华档案史料汇编. Beijing: Guoji wenhua chuban gongsi.
- Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan 中国第一历史档案馆, Xiangnag zhong wen daxue wenwuguan 港中文大学文物馆(eds). 2005. *Qingong neiwu fu zao ban chu dangan zonghui* 清宫内务府造办处档案总汇. Beijing: Renmin chuban she.
- Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan 中国第一历史档案馆, ed. 1985. *Kangxi chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* 康熙朝汉文朱批奏折汇编. Beijing: Dangan chuban she.

Summary

Since the late Ming and the early Qing Dynasty, a far-reaching wave of cultural exchange was formed by Christian missionaries, with Jesuits as the mainstay. This exchange is different from previous ones in that science becomes the most important medium connecting the west and China. A comprehensive examination of this sino-western exchange shows that if lay communication is believed to be dominated by religion and science, the imperial court was turned into an arena where Chinese emperors utilized western science and techniques. It is for this reason that the Palace Museum has housed a considerable collection of western scientific instruments. This paper presents a comparatively full introduction to the collection and an exploration into the collection process by reviewing documents and physical objects.

The western instruments and apparatus collected in the Palace Museum amounts to two to three thousand pieces in total. Categorized by academic subjects, they fall into astronomy, mathematics, geology, drawing, optics, and medicine, which are mainly the pragmatic subjects, interesting to the court and emperors. The awareness of scientific system is not clearly felt. An examination

of the functions of such western instruments clearly shows that the evolution of western science in the imperial court is not only an enlightening process of science education but also a process of science popularization, and more a process of „science changing real life“.

The collection of western scientific instruments in the Palace Museum is basically left behind from the imperial court of the Qing Dynasty. They mainly came as gifts or tributes from foreign envoys, missionaries, and officials, or were made by the imperial workshop. The collecting process was accompanied by learning and efforts of emperors, especially Emperor Kangxi of the early Qing Dynasty, and also by the unremitting efforts of the western technicians, mainly missionaries. Different from other treasures from the west, western scientific instruments came into the imperial court not to satisfy their needs of simple admiration and curiosity, but out of the profound consideration of ruling strategies and imperial interests. They are the historical evidence to the self-consciousness of the Qing court to utilize western science and techniques.

Asian Studies in Slovenia

Su Shi in razcvet tem v poeziji *ci* – na primeru pesmi na melodijo »Mesečina na Zahodni reki«

Mojca PRETNAR*

Izvleček

Študija razloži značilnosti poezije *ci* 詞 in na primeru enega najpomembnejših pesnikov oblike *ci* iz dinastije Song (960–1279), Su Shija 蘇軾 (1037–1101), in njegovih petnajst pesmi, ki jih je napesnil na melodijo »Mesečina na Zahodni reki«, razišče njegovo inovativnost pri širjenju tematike v obliki *ci* s pristopom vnašanja elementov poezije *shi* 詩 v poezijo *ci* (以詩為詞). Teh petnajst Su Shijevih pesmi, ki jih je iz kitajščine prepešnila avtorica študije, kaže tematsko pestrost, ki je poezija *ci* pred Su Shijem ni poznala. Tako v tradicionalnih kot inovativnih pesmih Su Shi širi tematiko s pomočjo aluzij, sposojanjem elementov iz literarnih, zgodovinskih, filozofskih del in z ustvarjanjem asociacij na zgodbe, dogodke in osebe iz zgodovine, mitologije in literature.

Gljučne besede: Su Shi 蘇軾, poezija *ci* 詞, »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« (西江月), tema, pristop vnašanja elementov poezije *shi* v poezijo *ci* (以詩為詞).

Abstract

The study explains characteristics of *ci* 詞 poetry and uses fifteen of Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037–1101) *ci* poems written to the tune "Moonlight over the West River", translated by the author of this study, to investigate Su Shi's treatment of *ci* poetry as *shi* 詞 poetry (以詩為詞), as well as the themes of these poems. The examples show that in both his traditional and innovative poems Su Shi expands the themes with allusions, relying on borrowings from literary, historic, and philosophical works, and making associations with stories, events, and people from history, mythology, and literature.

Keywords: Su Shi 蘇軾, *ci* 詞 poetry, "Moonlight over the West River" (西江月), theme, treatment of *ci* poetry as *shi* poetry (以詩為詞)

* Mojca PRETNAR, doktorska kandidatka s področja kitajske literature na univerzi National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan.
mojca.pretnar@gmail.com



Uvod

Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) se je v kitajsko zgodovino zapisal kot eden od osmih glavnih imen dinastij Tang (618–907) in Song (960–1279) na področju literarne-ga ustvarjanja.¹ Pesnik, esejist, kaligraf, slikar, politik, popotnik in še kaj je s svojo vsestransko nadarjenostjo pustil pečat predvsem v literaturi. Eno od literarnih področij, ki ga je posebej zaznamoval s kreativno transformacijo in je tema sledeče študije, pa je poezija *ci* 詞.

Zibelko kitajske literature predstavlja lirika, ki je že od samih začetkov tesno povezana z glasbo.² Čeprav jedro kitajske poezije predstavlja poezija *shi* 詩, katere biser predstavlja ustvarjanje v dinastiji Tang, pa je v že v Tangu to vrsto poezije vidno pretresla nova vrsta, ki je bila namenjena prepevanju, t. i. poezija *ci*. Nova oblika spominja na to, čemur danes rečemo popevka. Sprva je veljala za nižjo obliko brez elegance in ugleda, ki sta spremljala poezijo *shi*, povezana je bila s pevkami/konkubinami v zabaviščnih salonih, ki so bile večče plesa, petja in pesnjenja, ponavadi pa so si sposodile verze uveljavljenih pesnikov. Skozi razvoj nove oblike, ki je svoj vrhunec dosegla v dinastiji Song, je večji del te poezije nastal kot polnjenje forme k že obstoječi melodiji (*qu* 曲), pesniki so glede na ritem in čustveni ton glasbe dodajali besedila. Skozi čas so se prvotne melodije izgubile, vendar je poezija *ci* ohranila navezanost na glasbo, do danes pa so se ohranili metrični vzorci napevov, po katerih se je pesnilo, s čimer se je oblika zasedrala v besedni umetnosti. Čeprav sta melodija in napev dve različni entiteti, sta tesno povezani. Bistveno je, da je bila v zgodnejših obdobjih poezije *ci* melodija prvotna in tista, ki je narekovala ritem, dolžino verzov, tonske vrednosti besed, mesto rime in ostale značilnosti poezije *ci*. Kasneje pa so glasbene vzorce zamenjali vzorci za pesnjenje napevov (Wu 1989, 86–87). Celotna zbirka poezije *ci* iz dinastije Song (Tang 1996) vsebuje 844 napevov (*cidiao* 詞調), med katerimi je okoli dvesto takih, ki so bili pogosto v rabi (Liu 2012, 124). Naslov napeva, ki je služil tudi kot naslov pesmi, je bil sprva povezan z vsebino pesmi, vendar se je ta vez s širjenjem tematike začela rahljati.

V obliki *ci*, ki je v Songu postajala vse bolj priljubljena, se je preizkusil tudi Su Shi. Še več, s kreativnim pristopom *yi shi wei ci* 以詩為詞 – ravnanjem s poezijo *ci* kot da je le ena vrsta poezije *shi*, je razširil tematiko oblike in pripomogel

1 Osem velikanov dinastij Tang in Song po izboru Mao Kuna 茅坤 (1512–1601): Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009–1066), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039–1112), Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019–1083)(Mao 2009).

2 *Knjiga pesmi* (*Shijing* 詩經) je najstarejša zbirka kitajske poezije, ki se je tudi prepevala, najzgodnejše pesmi v zbirki naj bi nastajale med 11–7. stol. pr. n. št.

k temu, da je poezija *ci* postala del visoke elegantne literarne umetnosti.³ Sledeča študija na primeru konkretnega napeva skuša raziskati, koliko je tema še povezana z naslovom melodije oz. kaj so glavne teme, ter na kakšne načine jih pesnik uvaja – kaj je s stališča teme v središču ravnanja s poezijo *ci* kot vrsto poezije *shi*. Izbrani primer za to študijo je napev »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« (*Xi jiang yue* 西江月) in Su Shijevih petnajstih pesmi (iz opusa 362 pesmi oblike *ci*), spesnenih na to melodijo, ki se nahajajo v celotni zbirki poezije *ci* iz dinastije Song in ki jih je iz kitajščine prepesnila avtorica te študije. Napev je sicer najti med nekaj več kot tristo napevi iz dinastije Tang *Jiaofang qu* 教坊曲,⁴ prvi primeri poezije pa se nahajajo v prvi zbirki ljudske literature na Kitajskem *Dunhuang* 敦煌.⁵ Prve pesmi jasno kažejo povezanost vsebine z mesečino, Zahodno reko ali reko/vodo nasploh. Študija skuša raziskati, koliko in na kakšen način je Su Shi presegel tradicijo.

Poezija *ci* in napev »Mesečina na Zahodni reki«

Korenine pesniške oblike *ci* so pognale iz ljudske poezije (*yuelfu* 樂府), ki se je prepevala. Najzgodnejši znani primerki segajo v Obdobje šestih dinastij (220–589), novi primeri napevov pa so zabeleženi v vseh nadaljnjih obdobjih.⁶ Pesmi *ci* so

- 3 Izraz 以詩為詞 je bil v rabi že od začetka dinastije Song, že vse od Chen Shidaojeve 陳師道 (1053–1101) kritike Su Shijeve poezije *ci* v zbirki *Houshan shibua* 後山詩話 *Zapiski o pesnikih in poeziji Houshan* in meri na Su Shijeve nove pristope v poeziji *ci*. Iz Chen Shidaojeve rabe tega izraza sicer ni jasno, kaj pojem zajema, jasno pa je, da se v osnovi navezuje na kreativne postopke tako v obliki kot v vsebini. Skozi zgodovino je izraz pridobil še druge pomene (Yan 2000, 55).
- 4 *Jiaofang qu*, v dobesednem prevodu »kotiček za učenje glasbe«, je bila nekakšna glasbena akademija, namenjena učenju in komponiranju glasbe. Obstajala je že pred vladavino Xuanzonga 玄宗 (685–762), torej že pred obdobjem zrelega Tanga, v njegovi dobi pa, ker je bil tudi sam nadarjen glasbenik, je nastalo več takih ustanov. V obdobju zrelega Tanga je zbirka melodij *Jiaofang qu* obsegala 320 napevov, skupaj z zapisanim ljudskim gradivom. Vendar pa so se ti napevi kmalu porazgubili, v Obdobju petih dinastij je preostalo le okoli 180 napevov (Wu 1989, 15–18).
- 5 Leta 1900 so v eni izmed jam Dunhuang v današnji provinci Gansu po naključju naleteli na rokopisno gradivo iz različnih področij (religija, filozofija, zgodovina, geografija, matematika, literatura ipd.) in v različnih jezikih (klasična in pogovorna kitajščina, klasična tibetansščina, ujgurščina, sanskrt, stara turščina ipd.). Dunhuang je bilo pomembno središče na svileni poti in zato kulturno mešano področje. Gradivo, ki datira v 5.–11. stol., med drugim vsebuje tudi zbir ljudske literature, katerega del je poezija *ci* (Wu 1989, 40).
- 6 Oblika *ci* se je razvijala skozi stoletja vse od Obdobja šestih dinastij (220–589), skozi dinastijo Sui (581–618), skozi Tang, potem pa v Songu dobila zrelo obliko. Vir oblike *ci* so ljudske pesmi iz Obdobja šestih dinastij, pesmi *shi* in napitnice iz dinastije Tang (Wang in Xue 2012b, 30–40). Glasba poezije *ci* je črpala iz banketne glasbe iz dinastij Sui in Tang (večinoma gre za glasbo iz osrednjega dela Kitajske, manjši delež pa je pridala glasba tujih ljudstev), ali pa iz dvorne glasbe (glasbe, ki so jo komponirali dvorni glasbeniki) (Wang in Xue 2012a, 4–13).

različnih dolžin: sprva so bile glede na hitrejši ali počasnejši ritem glasbe razdeljene v štiri skupine (*ling* 令, *yin* 引, *jin* 近, *man* 慢), v dinastiji Qing (1644–1912) pa so jih zaradi nejasnosti glasbene komponente razdelili glede na število besed v vzorcih za pesnjenje napevov⁷ v kratke, srednje in dolge pesmi.⁸ »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« s 50 besedami spada med kratke pesmi. V poeziji *ci* iz dinastije Tang in Obdobja petih dinastij (907–960) je prevladovala kratka oblika, v začetku dinastije Song pa se je začela razvijati daljša oblika poezije *ci-manci*.⁹ Oblika *ci* je vrhunec razvoja dosegla v Songu in danes velja za nekakšno reprezentativno obliko literature te dinastije.

Med pogosto rabljenimi okoli dvesto napevi so si mnogi med njimi skozi čas pridelali še več drugih poimenovanj. Tudi »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« ni izjema.¹⁰ Napevi pa so nastajali na različne načine. »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« izvira iz ljudske tradicije. Nekateri napevi so nastali na melodiji tujega izvora in so plod zamejskih ljudstev. Spet drugi so majhni izseki iz večjih glasbenih del. Obstajajo pa tudi primeri napevov, katerih avtor, pesnik, je bil večč glasbe in je hkrati komponiral tako nove melodije kot napeve, ali pa uglasbil že obstoječa besedila (Wu 1989, 40–41). Tudi za Su Shija velja, da je imel občutek za glasbo in tudi sam velja za avtorja nekaj napevov.

Podobno kot poezija *shi* so tudi pesmi *ci* razdeljene v kitice, večinoma so dvokitične (redkeje tri- ali štirikitične), pri čemer se včasih v drugem delu zamenja tudi melodija (Wu 1989, 55). Ena od značilnosti poezije *ci* za razliko od *shi* so različno dolgi verzi, ki ustvarjajo ritem. Enakomerno strogo obliko, kakršno pozna poezija *shi*, je najti le v nekaj napevih.¹¹ Kot poezija *shi* tudi *ci* sledi do neke mere pravilom

7 Natančneje gre za število pismenk, torej zlogov, vendar je v tradicionalni kitajščini ena pismenka pomenila tudi eno besedo.

8 Kratke (*xiaoling* 小令) obsegajo do 58 besed, srednje (*zhongci* 中詞) so pesmi med 59 in 90 besed, dolge (*changdiao* 長調) pa nad 91 besed (Wu 1989, 92–105).

9 *Manci* (慢詞) je daljša oblika *ci* in temu primerno ponuja mnogo bolj zapleteno strukturo vsebine in pesniškega izražanja, zato zahteva precej bolj izurjeno pesniško roko in posluš za glasbo. Kljub temu da je primere te oblike najti že v Tangu, pridobi na priljubljenosti šele z Liu Yongom 柳永 (987–1053) v dinastiji Song, ključnega pomena pri razvoju pa je bil tudi na tem področju Su Shi (Guo 1990, 28).

10 Viri poleg »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« (西江月) večinoma navajajo še imeni »Mali napev o mesečini na reki« (江月令) in »Koraku v praznino« (步虛詞) (Long 1986, 169). Slednji napev prča o navezanosti na religiozno tematiko, sorodno tako daoistični kot budistični meditativni praksi. Slovar naslovov napevov poezije *ci* navaja še: »Žadna žgalna posoda« (玉鑪), »Sneg v treh gorskih studencih« (三澗雪), »Vonj belega klinčevca« (白蘋香), »Lepotica z Zahodne reke« (西江美人), »Čas pozne pomladi« (晚春時候), »Vrč nebeške zore« (壺天曉), »Vesela pijana pesem« (醉高歌), »Par brokatnih harf« (雙錦瑟), »Pesem revnih« (留窮詞), »Vonj klinčevca« (蘋香) (Wu in Wu 2005, 193).

11 Npr. osem verzov po pet besed v melodiji »Surovi glog« (生查子), šest verzov po sedem besed v melodiji »Pralci v peščenem zalivu« (浣溪沙), ali osem verzov po sedem besed kot v melodiji »Pomlad v žadastem posloju« (玉樓春).

statičnih, dolgih in dinamičnih, kratkih tonov *ping* 平 in *ze* 仄, a še natančneje izkorišča tudi dolžinske vrednosti štirih tipov tonemskega naglasa *ping shang qu ru* 平上去入 (Wu 1989, 66).¹² Rima je določena z napevom: skozi pesem se lahko vleče ena rima, več različnih rim, lahko pa se izmenjavata sicer glasovno enaki rimi, a drugačnih tonemskih kvalitet.¹³ Še posebej v daljši obliki *manci* se rima pojavlja le na vsakih nekaj verzov. »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« je dvokitična, vsaka kitica ima štiri verze, prvi drugi in četrti imajo šest zlogov/besed, tretji pa sedem. Posebnost te oblike je rima: drugi in četrti verz nosita rimo s tonemsko vrednostjo *ping*, tretji verz pa prida isto glasovno, a tonemsko rimo *ze*. Prva dva verza v kitici ponavadi tvorita antitezo in se ujemata v glasovnih vrednostih, zaporedju besednih vrst ipd. (Long 1986, 169).

Čeprav je oblika *ci* v osnovi lirska poezija z značilnim melanholičnim pridihom (*chou* 愁), se govori o dveh različnih slogih, na eni strani *wanyue* 婉約, nežen in očarljiv slog, primeren za ženske pevke, na drugi pa *haofang* 豪放, herojski in udarni slog, primeren za moške pevce. Sloga večinoma ne gre preprosto določiti glede na pesnika, je pa pogosto napev zaznamovan s slogovnim pridihom (Wu 1989, 157–8). »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« je primer nežnega in očarljivega sloga.

Kar se tiče tematike, zgodnejši primeri in ljudska poezija *ci*, kažejo močno omejenost na slike mestnega življenja: žensko hrepenenje ob čakanju na ljubimca, ki služi v vojski, popotnikova čustva, čustva slovesa in melanholije konkubin (Guo 1990, 17).¹⁴ Čeprav je oblika kot taka do Songa že pridobivala na elegantnosti in preraščala nižji status, na področju tematike ni pokazala vidnega preboja vse do Su Shija.

12 S stališča sodobne kitajščine, ki pozna štiri tone, koncept *ping ze* 平仄 poenostavljeno razložimo, kot da vrednost *ping* zajema prvi in drugi ton, vrednost *ze* pa tretji in četrti ton. Delitev, ki ji sledi oblika *ci*, *ping shang qu ru* 平上去入, pa do neke mere sovпада s štirimi toni, spremembe jezika skozi čas so namreč vidne tako v tonemskem naglasu kot izgovoru.

13 Prav rima je bila Long Muxunovo merilo za klasificiranje metričnih vzorcev (Long 1986). Napeve razdeli v pet skupin glede na kvaliteto rime: napevi z eno rimo zlogov tona *ping*, napevi z eno rimo zlogov tona *ze*, napevi z izmenjavo fonetično različnih rimanih zlogov tonov *ping* in *ze*, napevi z izmenjavo fonetično istega zloga in različnega tona *ping* ali *ze*, napevi z raznoliko izmenjavo rim.

14 Raziskave tematike v celotni zbirki poezije *ci* iz dinastije Song razdelijo šestintrideset tematskih kategorij: voščilo/poklon, pesem o predmetih, romantična čustva (moški do ženske), narava, družabnost in prijateljstvo, žensko hrepenenje, praznik, domotožje, puščavništvo, oris čustva, melanholija brez razloga, brezskrbno življenje, religiozne pesmi, dvor, obujanje spominov, umetnost, geografska pesem (o nekem kraju), fantastika (o srečanjih z nadnaravnimi, nesmrtnimi bitji), smrt, vnašanje drugih pesmi (*yinkuo* 鬩括), izpiti, uradništvo, sorodstvo, določena oseba, pripovedna pesem, družba, filozofija, mitologija, obmejna tematika, vojaški pohodi, zgodovina, življenje, pomemben dogodek, vaško življenje, družina, basen (Xu 2007, 27–34).

Naslov »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« izvira iz verza Li Baijeve pesmi (Wu in Wu 2005, 193),¹⁵ vendar ima napev ljudske korenine, najzgodnejše tri primere je najti v zbirki *Dunhuang*, ki datirajo v srednji ali pozni Tang, v njih pa se ponavljata motiva mesečine in reke. Celotna zbirka poezije *ci* iz dinastije Song (Tang 1996) vsebuje še nekaj primerov napevov na to melodijo pred Su Shijem,¹⁶ o njegovi pridobljeni priljubljenosti pa priča delež pesmi na ta napev skozi dinastijo Song, ki ga na splošno uvršča v vrh najpogostejših napevov.¹⁷

Su Shijeva poezija *ci* in pesmi na melodijo »Mesečina na Zahodni reki«¹⁸

Su Shijevo *ci* poezijo lahko razdelimo v štiri faze: Svojo prvo *ci* je Su Shi napisal šele pri šestintridesetih letih, ko se je preselil v Hangzhou 杭州 in ko je njegovo literarno ustvarjanje s poezijo *shi* na čelu že doseglo zrelost. Prvo fazo (1072–1074) zaznamuje sledenje tradiciji v tematiki, Su Shi je pogosto črpal iz mitologije in zgodovine, veliko pesmi pa je že poklonil prijateljem. Druga faza (1075–1079) je obdobje v Mizhouju 密州 in Xuzhouju 徐州. Su Shi je v tem obdobju začel v obliko vnašati novosti, npr. kmečko tematiko in se začel odmikati tradiciji. Pomembna prelomnica tudi za poezijo *ci* je bil izgon v Huangzhou 黃州, ki predstavlja tretjo fazo (1080–1084), kjer je v približno petih letih ustvaril okoli osemdeset pesmi. Mnogo del iz tega obdobja velja za njegova najboljša

15 Li Bai 李白 (701–762) je bil pesnik zrelega obdobja dinastije Tang. Vir naslova napeva je iz pesmi »Ruševine palače Wu« 蘇台覽古詩: »Le nocoj soj mesečine na Zahodni reki osvetljuje lepote v kraljevi palači dežele Wu.«

16 Pesmi na to melodijo pred Su Shijem zajemajo tri med seboj tematsko povezane pesmi *ci* iz zbirke *Dunhuang*, ki stkejo zgodbo o ženskih potnicah, ki veslajo skozi jesensko noč v soju mesečine. V Obdobju petih dinastij sta na to melodijo pesnila Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯 (896–971) in Lü Yan 呂巖 (?–?, okoli 874) (oba po dve pesmi), kjer prvi ohranja ljudske motive in temo ženskega hrepenja, slednji pa vnese temo puščavniškega življenja in iskanja nesmrtnosti. V celotni zbirki poezije *ci* iz dinastije Song pred Su Shijem napev uporabijo še Liu Yong 柳永 (987–1053)(2), Zhang Xian 張先 (990–1078)(3), Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (987–1082) (njegov opus obsega samo 25 pesmi, vse na ta napev in vse na temo puščavništva), Han Wei 韓維 (1017–1098) (1), Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) (1) in Yan Jidao 晏幾道 (1030–1106) (2). Pesmi se da klasificirati v temi ženskega hrepenja in spročenega življenja, poleg Zhang Boduana sta izjemi le Wang Anshi, ki napev uporabi za pesem o predmetih, kjer je opevani predmet slivov cvet, in ena Zhang Xianova pesem, ki govori o neki določeni osebi, vendar ni jasno o kom.

17 Statistični podatki najpogostejših napevov v različnih dinastijah uvrščajo ta napev s 499 primeri na 8. mesto v dinastiji Song, torej med t. i. »deset zlatih melodij« (Liu 2012, 125).

18 Pesmi si sledijo v kronološkem zaporedju, kakor ga navaja Zou, razen dveh pesmi poklonjenih Shengzhiju, za kateri Shi in Tang utemeljita drugačen čas nastanka. Razlage pesmi se opirajo na opombe, ki jih navajata anotirani izdaji Shi in Tang (1993) in Zou (2003). Shi in Tang v svoji izdaji izključita dve pesmi: »Pesem o slivovih cvetovih« in »Lepotica«.

dela. Pesniški incident »vranje prizorišče« (*wutai shian* 烏臺詩案),¹⁹ je bil razlog, da Su Shi ni več pesnil *shi*, ampak je obliko zamenjal za *ci*, zato je v obdobju v Huangzhouju število *ci* prekašalo število *shi*, katerih ves opus sicer presega dva tisoč sedemsto pesmi. Četrto fazo pa predstavljajo vse pesmi po 1085, torej zajema daljše časovno obdobje, vendar so bolj ali manj podobne pesmim iz obdobja v Huangzhouju (Guo 1990, 103–77).

Huangzhou, V pomladni noči

Huangzhou, v pomladni noči ob sprehodu ob vodi na poti iz krčme. Pijan. Mesečina se je razlivala po mostiču, razsedlal sem konja, da bi malo legel in si odpočil. Prebudil sem se šele ob zori. Objem gora in rečna struga so se zazdeli, kot da niso od tega sveta. Na mostu sem spesnil to pesem.

Val za valom. Blesketanje.
Z oblaki je nebesni obok postlan.
Moj žadno beli konj, ves blaten, je razsedlan.
Zalegel bi v dišečo travo, ker sem pijan.

Ah! Soj mesečine se je razdrobil kot žad.
Nocoj zeleneča vrba bo konjev pristan.
Glava omahne v roke, preveč sem zaspan.
Ob zori me kuku predrami v nov pomladni dan.

Pesem je iz leta 1082, ko je Su Shi po polomu v karieri začel iskati uteho v naravi, v religiji, v tem času se je namreč začel zanimati za budizem. Pesem implicira duhovno prebujenje, ki ga je v Su Shiju predramil pobeg iz rok smrti v ječi in izgon v Huangzhou. Su Shi je s slikanjem narave v obliko *ci* prinesel novost – poezijo polj, novo temo pa je v tej pesmi podkrepil s sposojenim verzom od začetnika poezije polj v obliki *shi* – Tao Yuanminga 陶淵明 (?365–427).²⁰ Tao Yuanming je bil navdih Su Shiju, ki je že v Xuzhouju kmečko tematiko vnesel v poezijo *ci*, kar so nadaljevali kasnejši pesniki (npr. Xin Qiji 辛棄疾 (1140–1207)).

19 »Vranje prizorišče« meri na dvorno uradniško prizorišče. Vladajoča struja z Wang Anshijem na čelu (vendar ne Wang Anshi sam, ki se je kasneje spoprijateljil s Su Shijem) je presodila, da Su Shi v več pesmih smeši in kritizira novo strujo oblasti in njene reforme. Posledice Su Shijeve kazni, ki jo je prejel, ječo in izgon, pa je občutilo veliko njegovih sorodnikov in prijateljev, kar je v pesniku pustilo občutek krivde.

20 Poezija polj gre z roko v roki s pokrajinsko poezijo, opeva lepoto kmečkega življenja, polj in vrtov. Za začetnika te teme velja Tao Yuanming, pesnik iz Obdobja šestih dinastij, ki je opustil uradniško službo, se preselil na podeželje in kmetoval, kar je navdihnilo poezijo polj.

Dodaten prispevek k pomenu pridajo tudi sposojeni izrazi od Xie Lingyuna 謝靈運 (385–433), ki velja za začetnika pokrajinske poezije (*shanshui shi* 山水詩), Guo Puja 郭璞 (276–324), ki je prispeval k poeziji o iskanju nesmrtnosti (*youxian shi* 游仙詩), iz katere se je razvila pokrajinska poezija, Zheng Guja 鄭谷 (849–911), pesnika, ki je izkusil puščavniško življenje v naravi. Svoj učinek naredijo tudi izrazi iz *Knjige pesmi*, ki asociirajo na preprostost, čistost (valovanje in prispodoba z žadom, ki se razdrobi).

Praznik dveh devetk na stolpu Qixia²¹

Tok tok, trkljajo kaplje po strehi paviljona,
Tik tik po gladini jezera je zmotil mir.
Nekoč je praznovanje lepšal konjski dir.²²
danes pa je le mračnega hladu izvir.

Ne krivim rumenih krizantem, ker še ne cvetijo.
Zamoti me nališpane lepote zbir.
Ob vinu ni treba misliti jutrišnjih ovir.
Še preden migneš, »danes« je že od »nekdanj« okvir.

V tej tradicionalni pesmi iz leta 1083 (ali 1082) je v ospredju praznik. Za razliko od prejšnje pesmi je ta prepojena s turobnim ozračjem, še dodatno podkrepjenim z od Du Muja 杜牧 (803–852) in iz *Pesmi iz dežele Chu* (*Chu ci* 楚辭) sposojenima izrazoma, ki sicer nista navezana na temo.

Vse naslednje pesmi se uvrščajo v četrto fazo pesnikovega ustvarjanja. Naslednji dve pesmi sta najverjetneje nastali hkrati, povezani sta z isto rimo.²³ Hkrati pa sta obe pesmi povezani z imenom Shengzhi.²⁴ Wang Shengzhi 王勝之 naj bi bil

21 Po tradiciji so se za praznik dveh devetk (deveti dan devetega meseca po lunarnem koledarju) ljudje vzpeli na gore, si v veri, da močan duh odganja zle duhove, nataknilo cvet japonskega dreva in pili krizantemino vino, ki ravno tako odganja zlo in prinaša dolgo življenje. V Huangzhouju je Su Shi prijateljaval z nadzornikom Xu Junyoujem 徐君猷 (?–1083), ki je imel več konkubin, začetek druge kitice kaže na praznovanje v prijateljevi družbi.

22 Su Shi cilja na praznovanje v Xuzhouju nekaj let prej, ko so za ta praznik priredili konjske dirke.

23 Pesnik ne uporabi le glasovnega ujemanja, ampak uporabi celo iste besede na koncu verzov, kar se v prevodu razgubi.

24 Različne interpretacije ime »Shengzhi« velikokrat povežejo z eno izmed ljubljenih konkubin Xu Junyouja 徐君猷 (?–1083). Vendar Shi in Tang v anotirani izdaji navajata več razlogov, zakaj so te

Wang Yirou 王益柔 (1015–1086), Su Shijev stari prijatelj. Čeprav je že obstajala tradicija poklanjanja pesmi *shi*, Su Shi velja za inovatorja poklanjanja pesmi *ci*. Pesnik je v vsakem obdobju v vsakem kraju sklepal prijateljstva, prijateljstvo je v njegovem življenju konstanta in tudi pogosta tema v poeziji. Prva pesem je tako poklon prijatelju Shengzhiju, druga pesem pa govori o istem prijatelju, ki ga je Su Shi srečal v Gushouju 姑熟 na poti, ko se je 1084. leta iz Huangzhouja vračal na sever.

Shengzhiju podarim čaj iz Shuangjinga, Jianxija in iz izvira Gulian²⁵

Letos je čajevec *longbei*²⁶ še posebej bohoten.
 Že nekdanj so cenili izvir Gulian, njegovih vod bistrino.
 Čaj iz belih kali, prežet z božansko veličino,
 prepojen z dveh severnih studencev globočnino.

Vrela voda prelita čez čajeve liste ustvari gosto belino,
 po vrhu skodelice spleta penino.
 Ni lepote primerljive s čajevno svežino.
 Združuje belopoltih rdečeličnih žensk milino.

Pesem je nastala leta 1082 ali 1084. Su Shi je najprej pesem naslovlil »Pesem o čaju«, saj opeva čaj in je poleg poklona hkrati tudi primer pesmi o stvareh (*yongwu ci* 咏物詞).²⁷ Su Shijeva posebnost tudi v teh pesmih so pesmi o stvareh, ki vsebujejo osebni čustveni ton (Guo 1990, 79–87). Su Shi je v več pesmih *shi* kot *ci* čaju namenil pozornost, ga personificiral ali uporabil kot metaforo za človeka.

razlage verjetno napačne. Poleg tega da se nobena od Xu Junyoujevih konkubin ni pisala Wang, Su Shi najbrž ni podaril dragocenega čaja konkubini, prav tako se je konkubina, ki naj bi ji bila ta pesem posvečena, po gospodarjevi smrti preselila na jug in je Su Shi ne bi več mogel srečati v Gushouju, na kar napeljuje druga pesem.

- 25 V dinastiji Song koreninita dve slavni vrsti dragocenega čaja: ena vrsta prihaja iz Jianxija 建溪 (Fujian 福建), druga pa iz Shuangjinga 雙井 (Jiangxi 江西). Izvir Gulian 谷簾 izvira v provinci Jiangxi in je v dinastiji Song še veljal za najboljšo pitno vodo.
- 26 Longbei 龍焙 je bilo sprva ime studenca v Jiananu 建安. V Songu pa je čaj iz okolice Jianxija postal zelo cenjeni čaj, ki si ga je posluževal cesarski dvor, zato se je čaja prijelo ime *longbei*, v dobesednem prevodu »zmajevno sušenje«.
- 27 Pesem o stvareh je pomembna tema v kitajski poeziji. Gre za pesem, ki si za tematiko vzame nek predmet, rastlino, žival ipd. ter skozi oris izrazi določeno čustvo: občutek v telesu, patriotska čustva ipd. Skoraj nikoli ne gre zgolj za preprost opis neke stvari, večkrat gre za metaforo. V poeziji *ci* pred Su Shijem je tovrstnih pesmi izredno malo, v Su Shijevem opusu pa je najti več kot trideset pesmi *ci* o stvareh (o snegu, valovih, luni, različnih rastlinah, glasbilu, pticah ...), ki kažejo Su Shijevo zanimanje za svet okoli njega (Tang 1992, 123–4).

Pesnik omeni konkretne kraje, ki so zaznamovali zgodovino, tudi ves spev o čaju kaže na poznavanje dejstev in legend o čaju, ki jih je črpal iz različnih zgodovinskih zapiskov, zraven pa vnašal izraze iz del drugih avtorjev, ki so opevali čaj, npr. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (?–881), Liu Yuyi 劉禹錫 (772–842) idr.

V Gushouju spet srečam Shengzhija, na isto rimo²⁸

Sanje hrepenenja so po slovesu odtekle kakor reka,
a s solzami prepojeni robec je še vedno izvir dišav.
Jaz, učeni starec, od utrujenosti ves mlahav,
prijatelj pa skoraj nesmrtnik v žadastem vrtu večnih dobrav.

Lepotica se ziba kot cvetje v meglicah, v piših nežnih sap.
Biser med pesmimi, kot kapljica vode čist in lesketav.
Starca očarajo obrvi, pogled begav.
Ona s pahljačo si zastre obraz, da je ne bi prepoznal.

Pesem je nastala leta 1084 ob ponovnem srečanju Su Shija s Shengzhijem, oba že v letih na zabavnem večeru gledata plesno in pevsko predstavo Shengzhijeve nekdanje konkubine, ki ga še ni pozabila. Pesem sledi tradiciji, saj je hrepenenje primarna tema oblike *ci*, vendar jo je Su Shi natrpal s sposojenimi izrazi iz različnih virov: motive hrepenenja (solze, minljivost) je našel pri Xu Hunu 許渾 (?–?, pozni Tang) in Du Fujju 杜甫 (712–770), *Obsežnih zapiskov iz obdobja Taiping* (*Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記), izrazi, ki orišejo žensko so sposojeni iz *Knjige obredov* (*Liji* 禮記), *Knjige pesmi*. Vir na temo manj navezanega orisa lirskega subjekta in prijatelja je *Knjiga dinastije Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書), prispodobe smrti pa Qu Yuan 屈原 (340–278 pr. n. št.). Z množico aluzij pesnik prida k razsežnosti teme hrepenenja na ta način preseže sicer zelo omejeno temo.

28 Interpretacije, ki razložijo, da pesem govori o Shengzhi, ljubljeni konkubini Xu Junyouja, pesem pojasnijo, kot da je Su Shi nedolgo po Xujevi smrti na zabavnem večeru uzrl Shengzhi. V njenem pevskem in plesnem nastopu ni bilo zaznati sledu o nedavni izgubi. Nenadoma je tudi ona med gosti zagledala prijatelja svojega nedavno umrlega gospodarja, kar je v njej prebudilo krivdo in sram (Zou 2003, 512–5).

Dvorana Pingshan

Ko sem tretjič obiskal dvorano Pingshan,²⁹
 že pol življenja je mimo švignilo ko strela.
 Patrona je že desetletje prej smrt vzela.
 Mojstrova pisava na steni je kot bi se kača in zmaj v ples ujela.³⁰

Rad bi se oprl na uglednega poeta,
 ki poje, kako je z vetrom spet pomlad privela.
 Ni treba reči, da kot bi mignil, bo vsaka bol zbledela,
 da bodo vse tegobe, kakor sanje, v hipu kup pepela.

Pesem govori o Su Shijevem potovanju skozi Yangzhou verjetno leta 1084, na novo delovno mesto v Ruzhouju 汝州.³¹ V Yangzhouju je nekdaj služboval pomemben politik, zgodovinar, pesnik (tudi mojster poezije *ci*), literat, filozof, kaligraf – Ouyang Xiu. Gre za pesem o določeni osebi, ki jo je Su Shi obogatil z iz Ouyang Xiujeve pesmi sposojenimi besedami (prva dva verza druge kitice). Vir sposojenih in preoblikovanih zadnjih dveh verzov pa je Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), ki je tudi potoval skozi Yangzhou, kjer je srečal dragega prijatelja Liu Yuyija 劉禹錫 (772–842).

29 Dvorana Pingshan 平山堂 je del starodavnega templja Daming 大明寺 v predmestju Yangzhouja 揚州, ki jo je dal sezidati Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) v času službovanja tam. Ouyang Xiu je bil zelo vplivna osebnost in je zasedal pomembne položaje, od urejanja dvorne knjižnice, vodenja akademije Hanlin 翰林, do zgodovinopisja ipd., vendar si je zaradi vplivnosti in moči nakopal tudi precej nasprotnikov, eden med njimi je bil tudi Wang Anshi, čigar patron je bil ravno Ouyang Xiu. Ti nasprotniki so mu podtikali različna kazniva dejanja, med drugim incest, čemur sicer nihče ni verjel, ampak mu je sledeča preiskava precej razglodala ugled.

30 Čeprav v času nastanka pesmi Su Shi ni imel več priložnosti srečati spoštovanega prijatelja, od katerega se je zadnjič poslovil že pred več kot desetletjem, se ob obisku dvorane zdi, da je njegov duh še živ, njegove kaligrafije, napisane na steni, se zdijo deset let po smrti še vedno sveže. Čeprav je bil tudi Ouyang Xiu v svojem sicer uspešnem političnem življenju diskreditiran, so bila njegova dela na področju zgodovinopisja, literature in kaligrafije so bila ves čas zelo cenjena.

31 Tudi o nastanku te pesmi obstajajo različne interpretacije. Shi in Tang jo datirata z 1079, ko je Su Shi potoval v Huzhou 湖州. Takrat je bil Yangzhou pomembno središče, ki ga je Su Shi v svojih potovanjih iz prestolnice v Hangzhou, potem v Mizhou in Huzhou moral prečkati.

V slovo Qian Mufuju³²

Ni treba vzdihov, ko te sprejme hlad,
a moraš v službo deželne visokosti.
S teboj, prijatelj, obujam spomine o mladosti.
Moram se umakniti pravi čas, zaupati življenju in modrosti.

Belolas,
z zvrhano kupo obtožb, zavrnitev, grenkosti.
Kako jih ne bi utapljal v vinu z gosti!
Prijatelj, pijan sem od tvojih kreposti.

Pesem slovesa, datirano z letnico 1088, je Su Shi poklonil uradniškemu prijatelju Qian Xieju 錢勰 (1035–1097). Poleg ostalih implikacij, npr. sposojena verza od Cao Pija 曹丕 (187–226) in Du Fuja, je v prvih dveh verzih Su Shi vnesel najprej aluzijo na Geng Yana 耿弇 (3–58) (preoblikovan citat iz *Knjige poznega Hana* (*Hou Hanshu* 後漢書), ki je služil dvoru, potem pa še na Konfucija, ki je zapustil rodno deželo (preoblikovan citat iz *Mengzija* 孟子), kar priča o tem, kako visoko mnenje je gojil o prijatelju.

Sledi sklop treh pesmi, ki so nastale istočasno, v letu 1091 v Hangzhouju, so med seboj povezane ne le tematsko, ampak skozi tri pesmi avtor ohranja tudi isto rimo.³³

Uživanje v vonju volčina v templju Baoyunzhen

Prijatelj³⁴ zmeden pogleduje po volčinu,
ko moj stari nos je zavonjal sladke dišave.
Vratovi lepotic so nekdaj oddajali volčinove vonjave.³⁵
Privreli so pomladni sni nesmrtnne glave.

32 Qian Xie 錢勰 (1035–1097), Su Shijev prijatelj, uradnik, ki ga je Su Shi pospremil v Yuezhou 越州, ko se je priključil dvornim zbirateljem gradiva (knjige, slike, dragocenosti), a čutil zagato razklanosti: na eni strani je bil zvest vladarju, na drugi strani pa sta se v njem kopičili jeza iz žalost, ko je gledal bedo ljudstva.

33 Su Shi ne ohrani le rime, ampak celo zaporedno ponavlja iste besede na koncu istih verzov v vsaki pesmi.

34 Cao Zifang 曹子方, Su Shijev prijatelj, uradnik.

35 Verz cilja na ljubljeno lepo konkubino cesarja Xuanzonga Yang Guifei 楊貴妃, katere vratni šal je bil prepojen z vonjem po volčinu in jo vso odeval v vonj, ki se je širil z njo.

Neprimerljiv z žadastim cvetjem za svetiščem Houtu,
 ne s škrlatnimi potonikami s palačne planjave.³⁶
 Volčinov cvet še ovel ne izgubi slave.
 Ganjena seževa po vinu, nazdraviva na cvetove dišave.

Pesem je primer pesmi o stvareh, tokrat je opevan cvet volčina. Vonj volčina ima moč predramiti nesmrtnike (aluzija na Li Baija) in v prijatelju vzbudi pomladne sanje, ljubezensko hrepenenje. Pesnik je Cao Zifanga 曹子方 (1069–1127) (tudi v drugih delih) primerjal z nesmrtnim Li Baijem, kar je podkrepil z od Li Baija sposojeno besedno zvezo. V oris cveta je vpletel legendo o Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (719–756) ter zgodovinska kraja, ki sta bila znana po določenem cvetu.

Ostali gostje so že napesnili k tej melodiji, jaz pa vlečem rimo še naprej

Malo poslopje, rdeči stebri, oviti v okrašje.
 V stolpu boben oddoni v noči globine.
 Veter obrne smer, sprši meglice. Soj mesečine.
 Privej vonj volčina in mi vzbuja sna skomine.³⁷

V gruči lepotic nazdravljamo iz velikih čaš.
 Škrlatni cvetovi v laseh namesto medenine.
 V srcu noči svetilka pojema, a živahnost ne mine,
 družbo še prevevajo izvrstne umetnine.

Su Shi je obdržal motiv volčina, ki povezuje vse tri pesmi, vendar je temo te pesmi, ki sledi tradiciji, premaknil na družabnost in prijateljstvo, popivanje (izraz sposojen iz *Knjige dinastije Han*) s pridihom brezskrbnega življenja v krogu lepotic (sposojen Du Fujev metaforični izraz). Takšni zabavni in kreativni večeri pa so značilnost zgodnjega obdobja Severnega Songa, ko je v državi vladal mir in ko so se mesta bohotala v razkošju, inteligenca pa se je zbirala ob vinu in petju ter skupaj pesnila. Vira še ostalih sposojenih izrazov, ki s temo nista neposredno povezana, sta *Pesmi iz dežele Chu* in Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751–814).

36 Tempelj Houtu 后土祠 je stal zunaj mesta Yangzhou. Škrlatne potonike so cvet mesta Luoyang 洛陽, prestolnici zgodnjega Tanga, kjer je stala palača Penglai 蓬萊.

37 Volčin naj bi izviral iz gore Lushan 廬山 v provinci Jiangxi, kjer naj bi menih v sanjah zaduhal močan vonj, a ni poznal imena rože. Ko se je prebudil, je poiskal vir dišav in rožo poimenoval kot »vonj sna«. Druga razlaga govori o tem, da cvet velja za srečno znamenje, prinaša srečo, zato se ga drži tudi ime »vonj sreče«.

Še enkrat na isto rimo se norčujem iz Zifanga. Gost volčin primerja s klinčevcem, zato mu razložim.

Ni čudno, da cvet toči sovražne solze,
ko sliši, da s klinčevcem³⁸ zmerjaš volčin,
ga v zmoti prištevaš deželi Wu kot del njenih veličin,³⁹
kot prej že kdaj je storil to kak neuk capin.

Pijan, s črnilom popackam rokav, ko verze kujem.
Cvet pa sramežljivo rdi kot kak fantin,
ve, da starec še posebej občudujem cvet vrlin.
Rdiš tudi ti, v strahu, da cvet se razjezi zaradi tvojih mojstrovlin.

Pesnikov predgovor razloži, da gre za šaljivo pesem, posmehovanje prijatelju, čeprav gre za pesem o stvareh, je pesnik na šaljivi način personificiral volčinov cvet. Šaljivi ton v poeziji *ci* je Su Shijeva inovacija. Tudi v to pesem je pesnik vpletel izraz, ki asociira na legendo iz zgodovine.

Namestniku v Hangzhouju Lin Zizhongu

Kot včeraj se zdi moj prihod v Jingkou.⁴⁰
Danes pa me v prestolnico vabi vladar.
Kaj stari uradnik lahko sploh da novincu v dar?
Pustil sem mu gora in jezera inventar.⁴¹

V stoletju se zamenja tudi obraz narave.
Moje besede preveva trpek žar.
Novi veljak, prežet s talenti, ki zna zanetiti vihar,
pa naj napesni hvalo krajini, opoje njen čar.

38 Zimzeleno dišeče drevo, ki raste v tropskih predelih. Zgodaj spomladi zacveti, cvetovi so vijolični. Posušeni cvetni popki pa so poznani kot nageljnovе žbice.

39 Gre za aluzijo na Sima Xiang 司馬相 (179–117 pr. n. št.), ki je napačno domneval, da sadež luju 廬橘 raste v deželi Wu 吳 – današnja provinca Shaanxi 陝西). Tu Cao Zifang 曹子方 (1069–1127) je očitno v svojem delu napačno predvideval, da rožnati klinčevец izvira iz dežele Wu.

40 Mesto Zhenjiang 鎮江 v današnji provinci Jiangsu 江蘇.

41 Verz cilja na jezero Xihu 西湖 v mestu Hangzhou, okoliške gore in na Su Shijeve pesmi, ki opevajo lepo pokrajino in mesto in jih je sam poimenoval »koani jezera in gora« (*hu shan gong an* 湖山公案). Namestnik, novi uradnik Lin Zizhong sicer, ni prejel nobenih starih nedokončanih nalog.

Poklonilna pesem ob slovesu je iz leta 1091, ko je bil Su Shi iz mesta Hangzhou poklican nazaj v prestolnico za vodjo akademije Hanlin.⁴² Čas, ki ga je Su Shi prebil v Hangzhouju je bil brez večjih pretresov. Pred odhodom je srečal novega nadzornika, Lin Zizhonga 林子中 (?–?), za kogar je Su Shi izrazil še na drugih mestih, da je ne le človek mnogih talentov, ampak ima tudi herojski pogum in moč, ki lahko »zaneti vihar«. Sposojeni citati v tej tradicionalni pesmi (misel iz tretjega verza od Meng Qija 孟榮 (pozni Tang), od Du Fuja, iz *Knjige poznega Hana* ne napeljujejo neposredno na temo.

Pesem o slivovih cvetovih

Na dolgi poti se konj potunka v nežni vonj.
Skozi dim se sklanja mesec odet v bledikav plet.
Čudovit je v valovanju ujet lesket.
V zelenih vejah zimski feniks najde svoj prilet.

V zelenih vejah zimski feniks najde svoj prilet.
Čudovit je v valovanju ujet lesket.
Skozi dim se sklanja mesec odet v bledikav plet.
Na dolgi poti se konj potunka v nežni vonj.

Ta pesem o stvareh je t. i. palindromska pesem: pesem se od konca do začetka (od zadnje besede do prve besede) bere enako kot od začetka do konca, kar se v prevodu razgubi.⁴³ Primere palindromskih pesmi je sicer najti že pred Su Shijem v zgodnjem obdobju Severnega Songa. Nastala naj bi leta 1096, ko je bil Su Shi v Huizhouju 惠州. Naslov napeljuje na slivove cvetove, vendar so ti implicirani zgolj v vonju in lesketanju v mesečini. Ker je v središču besedna igra, pesem nima drugih elementov, ki bi podprli temo.

42 Akademijo Hanlin je v dinastiji Tang ustanovil cesar Xuanzong 玄宗 (685–762). Zbirala je krog učenjakov, ki je deloval na področju interpretacije konfucijanskih tekstov. Na akademiji so že prej delovali pomembni pesniki, kot npr. Li Bai, Bai Juyi, Ouyang Xiu idr.

43 馬趁香微路遠，沙籠月淡煙斜。渡波清澈映妍華。倒綠枝寒鳳掛。掛鳳寒枝綠倒，華妍映徹清波。渡斜煙淡月籠沙。遠路微香趁馬。

Slivov cvet

Žadaste kosti, otožne od boleznj,
tvoj ledeni žar preveva duh nesmrtnih sil,
ki se kot dar od morskih vil
razliva nate z zlatokljunovih pisanih kril.

Puder bi pokvaril tvoj beli obraz
in ustnice ne potrebujejo rdečil.
Tvoja veličina sega onkraj zorinih barvil,
še hruškov cvet ni vreden tvojih sanj in idil.

Pesem je verjetno nastala leta 1096, ko je bil Su Shi v mestu Huizhou.⁴⁴ Gre za pesem o predmetih, kjer je opevani predmet tudi metafora za preminulo konkubino Chaoyun 朝雲. Žadaste kosti so sposojena metafora za slivov cvet iz Meng Changove 孟昶 (919–965) pesmi, vir primerjave slivovih cvetov s hruškovimi pa je najti v Wang Changlingovi 王昌齡 (698–756) pesmi (*shi*) z istim naslovom.

Praznik sredine jeseni⁴⁵

Vsakdanje zadeve so kot sen.
Koliko jeseni v življenju je prežetih z mrzolino!
Veter z raztresanjem šelestečega listja moti nočno tišino.
Obrvi in lasje so vse bolj odeti v sivino.

Oblaki prekrivajo osamljeno jesensko luno.
Melanholija. Gostov malo. Pusto vino.
Kdo bo z mano občudoval svetlo mesečino?
S čašo v roki se zazrem proti severu v temno praznino.

O času in kraju nastanka te pesmi si raziskovalci niso enotni. Morda gre nastanek v leto 1080, ko je bil Su Shi v izgnanstvu v Huangzhouju, ali pa gre za pozno delo

44 Tudi to pesem spremljata dve različni interpretaciji. Prva interpretacija se tiče pesmi o stvareh kot take. Sliva zacveti zgodaj spomladi, prej kot ostalo cvetje, kar vnaša pridih osamljenosti, čistosti. Žadaste kosti in ledeni sij ji dajejo pridih nesmrtnosti. Zlatokljuni ptič je papiga, kar napeljuje na podnebje mesta na jugu Kitajske. Zadnja dva verza kažeta Su Shijevo stremljenje k čistemu karakterju, idealnemu karakterju, neomajni veri, integriteti. Druga interpretacija pa govori o tem, da je Su Shi spesnil pesem o stvareh kot žalno pesem ob smrti konkubine Chaoyun.

45 Praznik sredine jeseni je petnajsti dan osmega meseca po lunarnem koledarju, ko je polna luna največja v letu. Ob tej priložnosti se družine zberejo, da bi skupaj občudovali polno luno.

iz leta 1097, ko je bil Su Shi v izgnanstvu na otoku Hainan 海南.⁴⁶ Glavna tema je praznik, z njim povezani motiv pa polna luna, zakrita z oblaki, metaforo, ki jo je najti v *Devetnajst starih pesmi* (*Gushi shijiu shou* 古詩十九首) in pri Li Baiju. Tudi motiv osamljene lune je Su Shi našel pri Du Fujju 杜甫 ali Xie Zhuangu 謝莊 (421–466). Še druge s temo manj povezane asociacije zajemajo sposojeni izraz iz Zhuangzija 莊子 (369–286 pr. n. št.), verz od Xu Yina 徐寅 (?–?, pozni Tang), preoblikovan verz Han Yuja 韓愈 (768–824). Posebnost te pesmi je, da je pesnik bolečo izkušnjo realnega življenja podal v herojskem slogu v napevu, ki sicer spada v nežni slog.

Dekle menda že ve, da je njegovo srce nekje drugje

Dekle menda že ve, da je njegovo srce nekje drugje.
 Četudi sama, si vzame čas za olepšave.
 Kdove, komu v spomin to noč izgorevajo dišave.⁴⁷
 V otožnem upanju se dim vije v višave.

V vrtincih vetra plapolajo črni lasje.
 Ko srka vino, rdijo na obrazu jeza, sram, težave.
 Vanjo zevajo prazne noči širjave.
 Kot lepotica so mesečinine bleščave.

Pesem ni naslovljena, niti nima drugih oznak glede časa nastanka ali pesnikovega predgovora. V prvem verzu je pesnik s pomočjo besedne zveze, skovane na podlagi Li Shangyinovih 李商隱 (813–858) verzov, vpeljal zgodbo nesrečne ljubezni. Tema hrepenenja in pesnikova primerjava mesečine z lepotico sta tradicionalni, kar je pesnik še poudaril s sposojeno besedno zvezo za mesečino iz *Knjige pesmi*. Motiv prižiganja dišav med čakanjem na ljubimca je besedna zveza, sposojena iz Wen Tingyunove 溫庭筠 (812–870) pesmi.

V celotni zbirki poezije *ci* iz dinastije Song (Tang 1996, *Quan Song ci*) je navedena še naslednja pesem, katere avtorstvo je vprašljivo. Zbiralci so mnogokrat kako gradivo pripisali napačnim avtorjem.

46 Vsekakor je pesem prežeta z občutkom osamljenosti. Po izgonu je Su Shi malokrat imel priložnost srečati tako brata, s katerim sta si bila nekdanj zelo blizu, kot stare prijatelje. Ker za delovno mesto v Huangzhouju ni bil plačan, je precej obubožal, kar je še bolj zdesetkalo družabno življenje. Podobne razmere je srečal tudi na Hainanu, kjer je revščina zijala vanj na vsakem koraku. Lepa, polna luna je prekrita z oblaki, kar prinaša pridih razočaranja in implicira stremljenje k popolnosti ali stremljenje za ideali v življenju, ki se zdijo kot sanje. V zadnjem verzu se lirski subjekt obrne proti severu, pogrša prestolnico.

47 Ženske so prižigale dišave kot prošnjo za blagoslov.

Lepotica

Par feniksov na sponki kot v meglicah pod tančico,
ki zakriva črnino vranjih las.

Po kom se ozira in se ne vrne v domači predolgčas?
Plaši jo misel, da konj pred vrati bo ubral kas.

Kradoma se ji smeh povrne v oči.

Molče si uredi obleko in okras.

Ko sreča rožo iz Wulinga, prevzel ga bo njen vilinski stas.⁴⁸
srce mu v hipu raztopi, kakor pomlad raztaja zimski čas.

Pesem sodi med pesmi o stvareh, tokrat je opevani predmet lepotica, pesem pa ima tudi pridih ženskega hrepenenja, tokrat s srečnim razpletom, ko se ljubimec pojavi. Legendo o Wulingu 武陵 je Su Shi našel pri Chu Guangxiju 儲光羲 (706–763). Še druge na temo manj navezane besedne zveze si je Su Shi sposodil pri vladarju Wuju države Liang 梁武帝 (464–549), Zhang Yueju 張說 (667–730), Zhang Pingziju 張平子 (78–139), Li Baiju in verz pri Yan Jidaoju 晏幾道 (1030–1106).

Zaključek

Vse Su Shijeve pesmi na melodijo »Mesečina na zahodni reki« spadajo v obdobje, ko je bil Su Shi že v Huangzhouju ali po njem, torej ali v obdobje, ki velja za vrhunec pesnikovega ustvarjanja, ali v pozno obdobje, ko je bil pesnik že ostarel v smislu, da je izgubil mladostni herojski duh.⁴⁹ V Su Shijeви poeziji znotraj tega napeva z le petnajstimi primeri lahko najdemo tematsko pestrost, ki v precej veliki meri pokriva njegovo poezijo *ci* nasploh. V tem primeru, za razliko od bolj ali manj konsistentnih tem pri avtorjih, ki so pesnili na ta napev pred Su Shijem, že

48 Pesnik moškega primerja z Liu Chenom 劉晨 iz legende o Wulingu 武陵: legenda pravi, da se je Liu Chen leta 62 (dinastija Han) napotil v svete gore Tiantai 天臺 nabirati zeli, se izgubil, potem pa se znašel v družbi nesmrtnih vil, le te so ga povsem omrežile.

49 Poezija iz obdobja v Huangzhouju nasploh kaže odmike od povsem tradicionalnih pesmi *ci*. Po slogu so si pesmi iz obdobja v Huangzhou in iz poznega obdobja podobne, gre za zrela dela, značilno za te pesmi je, da kažejo duhovno prebujenost, konec koncev je bilo izgnanstvo v Huangzhou nadomestek za smrt v ječi, novo življenje, zato tudi pesmi preveva večje zavedanje življenja, so mnogo bolj čustveno nabite, vsebujejo misli o življenju in čudovite slike narave. V tem obdobju tudi pristop vnašanja elementov *shi* v poezijo *ci* doseže vrhunec (Guo 1990, 68–74). Mnogo daljše pozno obdobje so še vedno pretresale politične spletke, zaradi katerih je Su Shi menjaval delovna mesta in potoval: kar trikrat se je vrnil v prestolnico, v okviru delovnih obveznosti je obiskal Dengzhou 鄧州, Hangzhou, Yingzhou 穎州, Yangzhou, Dingzhou 定州. Poezija ohranja večinoma enake značilnosti.

ni mogoče več govoriti o povezanosti vsebine z naslovom napeva, sploh se zdi, da pesnik na enem napevu načrtno preizkuša najrazličnejše teme. Med petnajstimi pesmimi na melodijo »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« jih sicer pet ohranja motiv lune in mesečine in v treh je najti motiv vode. Kar šest pesmi je mogoče opredeliti kot pesem o predmetih (slivov cvet, volčin, čaj, lepotica).

Pesmi na melodijo »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« so kot Su Shijeve pesmi *ci* nasploh s stališča tematike ali tradicionalne ali inovativne. Tradicionalne večinoma ohranjajo nežni stil in tematsko pokrivajo področja, ki so postala glavne teme poezije *ci*: družabnost in prijateljstvo, brezskrbno življenje (npr. »Ostali gostje so že napesnili [...]«), pesmi o stvareh (npr. pesmi o slivovih cvetovih ali volčinu), slovo (»V slovo Qian Mufuju«), poklonilne pesmi (npr. »Shengzhiju poklonim čaj«, »V Gushouju spet srečam Shengzhija«, »Namestniku v Hangzhouju [...]«), žensko hrepenenje (»Dekle menda že ve [...]«), praznik (npr. »Praznik dveh devetk [...]«). Inovativnost znotraj tega napeva pa se kaže v temah, kot so bolečina realnega življenja (»Praznik sredine jeseni«), šaljivost in humor (»Še enkrat na isto rimo [...]«), tolažba v prijateljstvu (eno vidnih imen v več pesmih je npr. Xu Junyou) in duhovno prebujenje (»Huangzhou, v pomladni noči«).⁵⁰ Primer presegevanja tradicije je tudi to, da Su Shi v napev nežnega sloga vnese herojsko vsebino (»Praznik sredine jeseni«).

Glede tematske širine je že na enem primeru napeva z zgolj petnajstimi pesmimi razvidno, da so, ne glede na to ali pesnik sledi tradiciji ali vnaša novo temo, pesmi natrpane z bogato vsebino in večkrat presežejo eno središčno temo. Su Shi v vsako pesem vnese osebni čustveni ton, glavni postopek ravnanja s poezijo *ci* kot vrsto poezije *shi* pa je vnašanje na temo vezanih aluzij. Največkrat si pesnik sposoja besedne zveze, pogosto pa tudi preoblikuje verze/stavke, a ohrani pomen iz drugih literarnih, zgodovinskih, filozofskih del, od avtorjev, ki so s temo na nek način povezani. Pesnik spretno tudi izbira besedne zveze, ki asociirajo na mitološke, zgodovinske, literarne zgodbe, ki v temo vnesejo dodatno širino. Vnašanje pogosto več kot zgolj enega citata ali ključnega izraza v eno pesem, ki pridajo k pomenu in obogatijo vsebino, kaže pesnikovo razgledanost in široko poznavanje zgodovinske in literarne tradicije. Opazno je tudi ponavljanje izrazov in virov še v drugih pesnikovih delih, kar pove veliko o pesnikovih preferencah v literarni tradiciji. Čeprav je bilo takšno sposojanje že pred Su Shijem del pesniške tradicije in pomemben element pri ustvarjanju pesniškega jezika, pa je Su Shi z vnosom sposojenih elementov v poezijo *ci* in skrbnim izbiranjem virov, ki so bili s temo povezani, presegel poetične učinke ter vnesel novo širino

50 Te štiri teme (boleča realnost, prijateljstvo, humor, duhovno prebujenje) so Su Shijeve iznajdbe v poeziji *ci* nasploh (Guo 1990, 132–46). Nekaj inovativnost v tematiki je zaznati tudi v poznem obdobju: obujanje spominov in nostalgija, osebna izpoved, umik v samoto (Guo 1990, 154–65). Vendar pesmi na melodijo »Mesečina na Zahodni reki« neposredno ne zajemajo teh tem.

v temo. S tem je postavil zgled drugim pesnikom poezije *ci* in prispeval h popolnemu razvoju pesniške oblike.

Viri in literatura

- Guo, Meimei 郭美美. 1990. *Dongpo zai cifeng shang chengji yu chuangxin* 東坡在詞風上承繼與創新. Taibei: Wenjin.
- Liu, Zunming 劉尊明. 2012. "Songdai cidiao ji yongdiao de tongji yu fenxi 宋代詞調及用調的統計與分析." *Jilu xuekan* 齊魯學刊 4: 124–30.
- Long, Muxun 龍沐勛. 1986. *Tang Song ci gelü* 唐宋詞格律. Taibei: Liren.
- Mao, Kun 茅坤. 2009. *Tang Song ba dajia* 唐宋八大家. Hefei: Huangshan shushe.
- Shi, Shenghuai 石聲淮, and Lingling Tang 唐玲玲. 1993. *Dongpo yuefu biannian jianzhu* 東坡樂府編年箋注. Taibei: Huazheng.
- Tang, Guizhang 唐圭璋, ed. 1996. *Quan Song ci* 全宋詞. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji.
- Tang, Lingling 唐玲玲. 1992. *Dongpo yuefu yanjiu* 東坡樂府研究. Chengdu: Bashu shushe.
- Wang, Weiyong 王偉勇, and Naiwen Xue 薛乃文. 2012a. "Zonglun cide qiyuan (shang)" 綜論詞的起源(上). *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan* 中國韻文學刊 26 (3): 4–13.
- . 2012b. "Zonglun cide qiyuan (xia)" 綜論詞的起源(下). *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan* 中國韻文學刊 26 (4): 30–40.
- Wu, Ouding 吳藕汀, and Xiaoding Wu 吳小汀. 2005. *Cidiao ming cidian* 詞調名辭典. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe.
- Wu, Xionghe 吳熊和. 1989. *Tang Song citonglun* 唐宋詞通論. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe.
- Xu, Boqing 許伯卿. 2007. *Songci tici yanjiu* 宋詞題材研究. Beijing: zhonghua shuju.
- Yan, Kunyang 顏崑陽. 2000. "Lun Songdai, 'yi shi wei ci' xianxiang ji qi zai Zhongguo wenxue shilun shang de yiyi" "論宋代「以詩為詞」現象及其在中國文學史論上的意義". *Donghua wenren xuebao* 東華人文學報 2: 33–68.
- Zou, Tongqing 鄒同慶. 2003. *Su Shi ci biannian jiaozhu* 蘇軾詞編年校註 (上中下). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Summary (Su Shi and Flourishing of Themes in *ci* Poetry—Based on the Example of the Tune “Moonlight over the West River”)

The study considers the characteristics of Chinese *ci* poetry as a genre, and studies one of the most influential *ci* poets—Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101). One of Su Shi’s contributions to *ci* poetry was the expansion of themes, which he achieved by taking *ci* poetry as a kind of *shi* poetry (以詩為詞). This study examines Su Shi’s fifteen poems to the tune *Moonlight over the West River*, translated by the author of this study, and investigates the possible connections to early themes and motifs (as in the title), as well as new themes, and examines how the theme of each poem is realized. The results show that even within one tune there is a rich thematic variety that more or less covers all of Su Shi’s work. The connections between the themes and the title of the tune are no longer clear, and this work examines Su Shi’s thematic innovations, such as the themes of the painful experience of life, humor, friendship, and spiritual awakening. In both his thematically traditional and innovative poems, Su Shi supports the themes by relying on allusions: he borrows words, word compounds, verses from historic, literary, and philosophical works related to the theme, and uses associations with legends, events, and people from Chinese history, mythology, and literature. Although borrowings were already part of poetic tradition and the means by which poetic language is created, with careful selection of the references Su Shi managed to use this to enrich the content of the poems.

Budistična ikonografija in simbolizem *chana* v Su Shijeви pesmi »Sliki Wang Weijia in Wu Daozija«

Jan VRHOVSKI*

Izvleček

Članek predstavlja vsebinsko analizo Su Shijeve (1037–1101) pesmi »Sliki Wang Weijia in Wu Daozija«. Eden izmed poglavitnih ciljev pričujoče razprave je pokazati, da je mogoče vsebino obravnavane pesmi, ki predstavlja avtorjevo kontemplacijo ob pogledu na v naslovu pesmi imenovani slikarski deli, docela razumeti le, če se seznanimo s simbolično-aluzivnimi sporočilnimi vrednostmi pesmi kot celote. Pričujoči članek želi tudi osvetliti vsebinska in vrednostna ozadja simbolov in aluzij v zgoraj imenovani pesmi, ki izvirajo predvsem iz t. i. »budističnega izročila« in predstavljajo v osnovi ponazarjanje motivov razsvetljenja in utelešenja razsvetljenega modreca v okviru imenovane ikonografske tradicije.

Ključne besede: Su Shi, klasična kitajska poezija, dinastija Song, budizem, simbolizem

Abstract

This article analyzes the content of Su Shi's (1037–1101) poem "Paintings of Wang Wei and Wu Daozi". One of the main goals of this discussion is to show that in the case of the above-mentioned poem the reader can obtain a more thorough understanding of it as a whole only if they are acquainted with its allusive and symbolical levels. This article further tries to shed some light on the background of these symbols and allusions, which in our case originate from the so-called Chinese "Buddhist tradition(s)" (Chan, Caodong, etc.) and basically pertain to the vocabulary or symbols by whose use the motives of the enlightenment and the enlightened sage were depicted in the above-named tradition.

Keywords: Su Shi, classical Chinese poetry, Song dynasty, Buddhism, Buddhist symbolism

* Jan VRHOVSKI je doktorski kandidat na Oddelku za Azijske študije FF UL, doktorski kandidat na Oddelku za Daljni vzhod in Azijo na Filozoski fakulteti Karlove univerze v Pragi in raziskovalec na ISC-CCK na Karlovi univerzi v Pragi. jan.vrhovski@ff.cuni.cz



Uvod

Pričujoče besedilo predstavlja analizo Su Shi jeve 蘇軾 (1037–1101) pesmi »Sliki Wang Weija in Wu Daozija« (”Wang Wei Wu Daozi hua” 王維吳道子畫), ki vsebuje budistične ikonografske poteze in metafore, s posebnim poudarkom na pojmu razvestljenja v budističnem izročilu. Pesem se v osnovi nanaša na slikarski deli pesnikov Wang Weija 王維 (699–759) in Wu Daozija 吳道子 (670–760?) in predstavlja avtorjevo primerjavo njune simbolike in motivov.

Ker obe sliki – ki sta v primeru Sujeve pesmi prevedeni v besedno obliko – upodabljata motiv razsvetljenja, ki izhaja iz budističnega izročila, sestoji poglavitno gradivo, iz katerega črpamo interpretativno podlago posameznih pomenskih gradnikov vsebine pesmi, pretežno iz del kitajskega budističnega kanona, tako zgodnejših *mahāyānskib* suter, kakor tudi poznejših del izročila šol kitajskega budizma. Enega izmed glavnih virov, v katerem lahko opazujemo osnovne poteze jezika klasične kitajske poezije, predstavlja tudi obširen korpus literature iz dinastije Tang 唐 (618–907), ki je v času, ko je ustvarjal obravnavani pesnik, imela velik pomen. Ker se naše videnje Su Shi je osredotoča na njegovo budistično plat, iz imenovanega morja pesmi izstopajo zgolj nekateri pesniki, katerih besedje in vsebina so prav tako v veliki meri budistični. S tem imamo v mislih imena, kot so: Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819) in Wang Wei 王維 (699–759).

Ena izmed posebnosti pesnenja »besedne krajine« v dinastiji Song 宋 (960–1279) je vsekakor način, kako tako ustvarjeno pesem brati oz. kako jo pretvoriti ali razumeti večplastno. Kar se tiče strategije, je mogoče kreniti v različne smeri – izbrati več različnih načinov pristopanja. V spodnjem besedilu pa se bomo osredotočili predvsem na uporabo aluzije in simbolične vrednosti, skozi navedbo katerih se bomo lažje prebili do »notranjih« pomenov avtorjeve pripovedi.

V navezavi na strategije pomena in uporabe simbolizma v pesniškem izražanju Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) leta 1050 zapiše anekdoto, ki je izhajala iz tedanje hermenevtične razprave dveh novonastalih združevalnih struj miselnost, v kateri imenovani nastopa kot zastopnik neposrednosti pomena tradicionalne literature. Anekdota označuje naravo izrazja klasične budistične poezije, govori namreč o tem, da je neki lokalni nepridiprav želel dokazati, kako budistični menihi niso domiselni v pisanju poezije. Da bi to dokazal, je devetim menihom naročil, naj napišejo pesem, ki ne omenja gora, vode, vetra, oblakov, bambusa, kamenja, rož, rastlin, snega, poledice, zvezd, meseca, ptic itd. Nato je vseh devet menihov odložilo čopiče. (Hawes 2005, 43–4)

Omenjena prispodoba kaže na to, da lahko brez zadržkov (tudi s konfucianskega stališča) predpostavljamo obstoj enotnega jezika budistične poezije in sistema jezika simbolov budističnega slikarstva. Da lahko trditev prenesemo na slikarstvo, se ni treba posebej poglobljati v slikarsko umetnost kot ločen diskurz. O zatrjenem nas prepričuje dejstvo vsakršnega srečevanja poezije in slikarstva v dinastiji Song, bodisi v socialno-kritične namene ali s kontemplativno vsebino. Posebno veljavo ima t. i. poezija *Xiaoxiang* 瀟湘, ki predstavlja poezijo izгона, združeno z elementi kritike družbe in pesnikovega pogleda vase. (Glej Murck 2000 in Shaw 1988) Razprava o pomenu pesniškega jezika časovno ustreza razpravam o novih fuzijah filozofske oz. državniške smeri, ki se postavlja nasproti nanašanju na tradicijo in ostajanju pri izgrajenih temeljih preteklosti. V dinastiji Song tako vidimo enega večjih obratov v literarni hermenevtiki (Van Zoeren 1991, 87–9). Toda vzrok goreče razprave in nasprotovanj je dokaz za obstoj nasprotja. Novost v hermenevtičnih smereh želi prekriati drugačno branje, ki je obstajalo do takrat. To je branje skozi prizmo dveh ali več formalnih nivojev pesmi in dveh duševno obarvanih odtenkov, ki se med seboj prepletata in hkrati odstopata od formalnega reliefa (意 *yi* in 義 *yi*) (Van Zoeren 1991, 162).

Izhajajoč iz predpostavke o zaključenosti in urejenosti delovanja budističnega metaforičnega izrazja bomo v tem sestavku obravnavani pesmi obravnavali onkraj spremljevalnih okvirov biografske ali zgodovinsko-*propedeutične* narave, ampak v tem smislu osamljeno, na način, kot deluje sama sporočilnost jezika. Edini definicijski moment neposrednega in sekundarnega pomena so veje in listje našega narobe obrnjene drevesa.

O tem, kako intenzivno in ali sploh obstajajo sekundarni, zakriti pomeni podob ter besed in posledično tudi različni pomensko-definicijski nivoji, nam govori dogodka znotraj sveta literature in umetnosti v diskurzu. Čeprav nekateri dvomijo v globino metaforičnih pomenskih kopren, ki postanejo vidne skozi večkratno in raznovrstno branje, nam prav dogodka iz življenja Su Shija govorijo nasprotno. Brez izredne pomembnosti prav teh nivojev pesniškega jezika bi bil največji literarno in filozofsko obarvan sodni proces dinastije nesmisel. Njegove *Hangzhovske pesmi* (杭州詩) so bile eno izmed glavnih opredmetenj obtožb, zaradi katerih so ga leta 1079 aretirali in mu sodili za nepokornost in nasprotovanje cesarju (Smith 2009, 358). Po štirimesečnem procesu, ki so ga pozneje imenovali tudi *proces poezije vranje terase*, je bil po priznanju, da njegove pesmi vsebujejo prikrito ali deloma olepšano kritiko in blatenje cesarja, Su obtožen *velike nespoštljivosti* (*da bujing* 大不敬). Predpisana kazen za ta nekonfucianski delikatni prestop je bila usmrtitev z obglavljenjem (Smith 2009, 358).

Budistična ikonografija in simbolizem *chana* v pesmi »Sliki Wang Weijia in Wu Daozija«

Prevod in strukturna analiza pesmi

Su Shijevo pesem »Sliki Wang Weija in Wu Daozija« (”Wang Wei Wu Daozi hua” 王维吴道子画) (SSSJ 1, 108), katere vsebino imamo namen podrobneje analizirati, smo prevedli na naslednji način:

何處訪吳畫? 普門與開元
 開元有東塔, 摩詰留手痕
 吾觀畫品中, 莫如二子尊
 道子實雄放, 浩如海波翻
 當其下手風雨快, 筆所未到氣已吞
 亭亭雙林間, 彩暈扶桑暎
 中有至人談寂滅, 悟者悲涕迷者手自捫
 蠻君鬼伯千萬萬, 相排競進頭如黿
 摩詰本詩老, 佩芷襲芳蓀
 今觀此壁畫, 亦若其詩清且郭
 祇園弟子盡鶴骨, 心如死灰不復溫
 門前兩叢竹, 雪節貫霜根
 交柯亂葉動無數, 一一皆可尋其源
 吳生雖妙色, 猶以畫工論
 摩詰得之於像外, 有如仙翮謝籠樊
 吾觀二子皆神俊, 又於維也斂衽無間言

Kje je moč videti Wujeve slike?
 V templjih Pumen in Kaiyuan
 V Kaiyuanu je vzhodna pagoda
 Mojie¹ je tam pustil svoj pečat
 ko gledam te mojstrovine
 ni mojstra
 ki bi se lahko primerjal z njima

V mogočnosti in globini
 kot kotaleči se morski valovi razlivajo v prostranost
 z Wujevo roko veter in dež hitita
 in prostor ki ga čopič ne zapolni

1 Mojie je budistični nadimek Wang Weija. Pesnik ga je dobil oz. si ga je nadel po budističnem modrecu *Vimalakirtiju*, čigar ime se v kitajščini glasi *Weimojie* 維摩詰.

qi napoji:
 med mogočnima Sālā drevesoma
 v mavričnem žaru sončni vzhod žari
 da izpopolnjeni o razsvetljenju govore
 prebujeni stokajo v sočutju
 in nevedni stiskajo dlani v obupu
 barbarski kralji
 demonski vladarji
 njih tisoči, milijoni
 kot želve se vrste v kolonah
 in stegujejo vratove
 da ujeli bi pogled

Mojie – po naravi pesnik
 odet in ovenčan s sladkimi zelmi
 nocoj zrem njegove freske
 čiste in prodorne kot njegove pesmi:
 Jetavana² menihi
 kot koščeni žerjavi
 njihova srca kot ugasel pepel
 nikoli več segreta
 dve bambusovi gošči pred vrati
 zasneženi sklepi vežejo ledena stebila
 na prepletenih vejah listje šumi – nešteto
 vsakega k njegovem viru
 se lahko sledi

čeprav mojster Wu
 natančnost in odličnost tke
 kot rokodelec
 Mojie presega svet podob
 kot nesmrtni žerjav
 osvobojen kletke

v obeh mojstrih
 nebeški duh kipi
 a Weiju se lahko samo priklonim
 brez besed³

2 *Jetavana* je eden izmed najslavnejših samostanov v Indiji, v katerem je bival in učil Buda.

3 Vsi prevodi so delo avtorja.

V pričujoči pesmi Su pozorno in enakomerno v primerjavo prepleta dva nivoja: opisa obeh slik – kot je opazila tudi Beata Grant (1994, 53). Toda en vidik prepletenosti in urejenosti ostane neviden tudi njenim očem. Sama v pesmi vidi predvsem stopnjevanje pripovedi, ki po njenih besedah (prav tam) temelji zgolj na vizualnem efektu opisanega, in ne na kakšni globlji, »filozofski« strukturi. Zanj je to samo stopnjevanje pripovedi, ki strukturno temelji na opisu slike, sestavljenem iz teoretskega in nato še dejanskega orisa. Drugačen strukturni zorni kot pa pred našimi očmi razkrije smiselno oblikovano zrcalo iz verzov, ki na eleganten način prepletajo pesnika in oba slikarja – opisovanje tako ni samo proces, ki se odvija med zunanjim objektom opisa in subjektom kot opisovalcem. Na tem mestu bomo to strukturo, zgolj za potrebe tega besedila, poimenovali *zrcalna pesem*. Z zrcalnostjo imamo v mislih to, kako (po naši predpostavki) razmerje med subjektom in objektom »razume« pesnik. Odgovor na vprašanje, kaj natanko ta »drugi zorni kot« je, pa predstavlja sekundarni namen tega članka in je podan v obliki našega branja obravnavane pesmi.

Formalna struktura pesmi

Vsebinsko lahko pesem razdelimo v tri osrednje celote:

- Uvod, ki govori o tem, kje so slike obeh umetnikov in kaj o vsebini, ki sledi, meni Su.
- Dvodelni osrednji del, ki zrcali opisa obeh slik; tako njuno slikarsko tehniko kakor tudi samo vsebino slik.
- Zaključek, ki vsebuje pesnikovo oceno obeh avtorjev glede na to, kako njuno delo dosega koprene resničnosti in jih nanaša na platno.

Simetričnost vsebine se razkrije s pogledom od verza do verza:

X-X-X吳⁴X X-X-X-X-X(5-5)A
 X-X-X-X-X 摩詰⁵ X-X-X(5-5)B
 吳⁶-X-X-X-X X-X-X-X-X(5-5)C
 X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X(5-5)A
 X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X(7-7)
 X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X(5-5)
 X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X(5-9)
 X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X(7-7)

道子實雄放，浩如海波翻 (1)
 當其下手風雨快，筆所未到氣已吞 (2)
 亭亭雙林間，彩暈扶桑暈 (3)
 中有至人談寂滅，悟者悲涕迷者手自捫 (4)
 蠻君鬼伯千萬萬，相排競進頭如 (5)

4 Wu Daozi 吳道子 (670–760?).

5 Wang Wei.

6 Pesnik.

X-X-X-X-XX-X-X-X-X(5-5)**B**
 X-X-X-X-XX-X-X-X-X-X(5-7)
 X-X-X-X-X-XX-X-X-X-X-X-X(7-7)
 X-X-X-X-XX-X-X-X-X(5-5)
 X-X-X-X-X-XX-X-X-X-X-X-X(7-7)

摩詰本詩老，佩芷襲芳蓀 (1)
 今觀此壁畫，亦若其詩清且郭 (2)
 祇園弟子盡鶴骨，心如死灰不復溫 (3)
 門前兩叢竹，雪節貫霜根 (4)

吳-X-X-X-XX-X-X-X-X(5-5)**A**
 摩詰-X-X-X-X-XX-X-X-X-X-X(7-7)**B**
 吾-X-X-X-X-X-XX-X-X-X-X-X-X(7-9)**C**

V pesmi se vsebinski deli A, B in C (Wu Daozi 吳道子, Wang Wei 王維 in pesnik sam (吳)) pojavljajo v zaporedju A-B-C-A-B-A-B-C. Kot enoto smo vzeli par verzov, ki tvorita celoto s tem, da se končujeta na rimani zlog. Nekateri pari imajo tudi medsebojno strukturno ujemanje, vendar ni vedno tako. Pesem je sestavljena iz treh vrst rim:

- a.) *Yuan* 元
- b.) *Hun* 魂
- in
- c.) *Hen* 痕

Navedene kategorije rim si v priročniku dinastije Song sledijo v določenem zaporedju (obravnavane tri vrste rim so tudi v tem članku navedene po tem zaporedju), ki nadalje tudi predpostavlja logiko vsebinske uporabe rime.⁷ Kombinacija rim v pesmi je naslednja: a-b-c- a-b-c-c-a- c-c-c-b-a- c-a-a. Kot lahko vidimo, tudi rime v pesmi sledijo, vsaj kolikor je mogoče, zaporedju, primerjavi in stopnjevanju, ki se odvijajo skozi pesem.

V osredju imamo tako tudi formalno zrcalno podobo gradnikov opisov obeh slik. Jedro besedila oz. zrcalna slika dvajsetih verzov, ki predstavljajo sliki obeh umetnikov, se po verzih ujema tudi po besednih vrstah in vsebinski strukturi verzov samih. Po tem kopitu prvi verz prve slike ustreza prvemu verzu druge slike in s tem tudi razmerju vsebinskega zrcaljenja. Dodati je treba tudi verjetnost, da se verza št. 3 in 4 zamenjata v zaporedju zrcaljenja, tako da se tretji zrcali s četrtem v naslednjem odseku.

Vsebinska analiza pesmi

Valovanje zavesti ob pogledu na delo Wu Daozija 吳道子

V uvodnih besedah k sliki Wu Daozija Su poudari vrednost upodobitve, ki se prek roke umetnika prelije na platno in za seboj pušča sled, ki postopoma prerašča

7 Številke 23, 24 in 25 prvega zvezka knjige *Song ben guangyun* 宋本廣韻 (Chen 2002).

v svet podob in idej. Podobe in ideje se povezujejo v zgodbo in na koncu svet, ki valovi v notranjosti človeka. Videno postaja notranje. Vzpostavlja se povezava med podobami, svetom idej in gibanjem notranjega duhovnega telesa, ki s svojim valovanjem iz ontološke enotnosti ustvarjajo stvarno, drugačno *takšnost* v metamorfazah. To valovanje ni oblika resničnosti, ki bi v svojih vzgibih dajala vzorec epistemološke veljave, ampak gibanje zavesti same podaja zavedanje narave samega zavedanja, ki ga ni mogoče izenačiti z nobenim dojetim konceptom ali utelešenjem zaznane stvari. Projekcija metafore sveta besed, ki jih lahko izluščimo iz verza 浩如海波翻 ».../razliva se v prostranost kot kotaleči se valovi morja/.../«, kažejo na dogajanje, ki ga dojemanje slike povzroča v notranjosti človeka. Metafora valujočega morja izvira iz *Laṅkāvatāra sūtre*. V imenovanem besedilu se skozi navedeno metaforo zgodi prevoj iz predhodnih kanoničnih interpretacij zavesti v tradiciji *Hīnayāna*. Pomembna *mahāyānska* prevojnica smernica je odprava prvotne notranje nečistosti vsakršnega »giba« zavesti oz. vsega kar vznikne ali se oblikuje znotraj domene *cittadharme* (*obstoja zavesti*). Vzhib, ki se je odcepil od osrednjega miselnega debela prvotne budistične dogme, je pričel razvijati koncept »notranje čistega uma«, ki ga je bilo v tkanju ontološke mreže nujno povezati z metafizičnim ali ontološkim konceptom Bude. Prvi val *mahāyānske* prevojnice misli je oblikovala tradicija *Prajñāpāramitā*, ki je v prvi vrsti poudarjala praznino vseh stvari. Oblike so prazne, npr. preostale štiri *skandhe*, med katerimi je tudi um. Označbi, kot sta čistost in nečistost uma, sta v tem oziru popolnoma odvečni in v izpeljavi osrednje misli tudi neobstoječi. Pozneje se je koncept čiste zavesti ali čistega uma ponovil v obuditvi tradicije *Tathāgatagarbhe* (*maternica Bude*). Drugačna, vendar podobna oblika stvaritve pozitivnega koncepta znotraj *mahāyāne* je vzniknila za ostanki prvotne idealistične misli šole *Yogācāra*, po kateri se jedro zavesti imenuje *ālaya-vijñāna*, »skladiščna zavest«, prostor skladiščenja izkušenj vseh preteklih življenj. Znotraj kitajske *mahāyāne* je bilo veliko debate o tem, ali je takšna zavest enaka čisti naravi Bude ali ne, toda različne šole se o navedenem vprašanju niso nikoli strinjale (Lai 1979, 244).

Oba koncepta, ki v svojih definicijah pojmujeata kakovost in »sestavo« človekove notranjosti, se zlijeta med vrsticami *Laṅkāvatāra sūtre*. V naslednjem koraku se zasnova obstoja globlje podzavestne plasti jaza osnuje v mislih *Samḍhinirmocana sūtre* (解深密經 *Jie shenmi jing*):⁸

阿陀那識甚深細 我於凡愚不開演
一切種子如瀑流 恐彼分別執為我 (T 16, 692a)

8 V kitajščino je prevedena štirikrat. Najznamenitejši prevod je Xuanzangova (玄奘) različica iz sedmega stoletja našega štetja, na katero se nanašamo tudi v tem besedilu. Dobesedni prevod naslova v slovenščino bi se glasil: *Sūtra razlage najglobljih skrivnosti*.

Ādānavijñāna (zavesti, ki se oprijema jaza) je zelo subtilna.
 Zato o njej ne učim neumnih povprečnežev
 Vsa semena vznikajo kot poplavljaajoče brzice
 (Ker) ljudje tako hlepijo po razlikovanju in napačnem
 dojemanju samega sebe.

Podoba poplavljaajočih brzic se metaforično nanaša na stanje razuma, ki se neumno oklepa razlikovanja in napačne zasnove sebstva (Lai 1979, 245). Podlago obravnavane metafore ima tako že lepo pred očmi. *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* jo nadalje razvije v naslednjih mislih:

藏識海常住，境界風所動，
 種種諸識浪，騰躍而轉生。
 青赤種種色，珂乳及石蜜，
 淡味眾華果，日月與光明，
 非異非不異。海水起波浪，
 七識亦如是，心俱和合生。
 (T 16 (670), 484b)

Morje ālayavijñāne je nespremenljivo,
 vetrovi svetov valovijo njegovo gladino,
 da v valovanju vznikne mnogo zavesti,
 ki kipijo skozi ponovna utelešenja.
 Zeleno in rdeče v vseh oblikah,
 žadasto mleko in peščeni med,
 neokusni sadovi življenja množic.
 Sonce in mesec
 nista enaka niti neenaka
 njunemu žaru.
 Sedem zavesti je kot morje v valovanju,
 v skladju z njim v celoti um nastaja.

Nerazdružljivost vode in valov ostaja temeljni epistemološki problem, ki lahko buri duhove na poti iskanja resničnosti. Suzikijevo (1998, 171–3) razumevanje sporočila obravnavane sūtre, ki temelji na drugi različici sūtre (v odnosu do tiste, ki jo uporabljamo za osnovo pričujoče razprave), se kaže v njegovem prevajanju naslednjega odseka besedila:

Kot valovi oceana vzvalovijo in se neprekinjeno pode v odvisnosti od vetra, tako se tudi poplava ālaye, povzročena od vetrov individuacije, v

neskončnost preлива z valovi različnih zavesti (vijñān)... V skladju z inteligenco in razlikovanjem nevednosti je ālaya primerljiva z oceanom, ta primerjava pa kaže na podobnost valov z duševnim prevojem.⁹

Povezava med podobami oz. vidnimi lastnostmi pojavnega sveta, ki se udejanja na gladini naše zavesti, in pomenom metafore o valovih in morju oz. vodni gladini je torej jasna. Interpretativno je v okviru istega izraznega jezika popolno stanje mogoče videti v mirovanju gladine ali v odsotnosti valov, kar ne pomeni odsotnosti nečesa, kar obstaja ali ne obstaja. Valovi so morje in ker je resničnost valov kot ideje ali pojavnosti prazna, morje niso valovi. Ista miselna shema predpostavlja tudi prvotno notranjo čistost narave uma samega. To misel pa v navezavi na isto metaforo dalje oblikuje besedilo *Razprave o prebujenju vere*, ki čistost kot lastnost čiste narave povezuje z mokroto kot lastnostjo vode. Skozi te prisposodbe lahko razumemo tudi smeri razvoja *chanovskih* metafor ledu, zamrznjene reke ali jezera itd.

Sporočilo, ki ga podaja Sujeva oznaka lastnosti slikarskega dela, v neki meri razkriva svoje misli, ki so zakrite v poveje aluzije. Poznavalec in ljubitelj *Lañkāvatāre*, kot je bil tudi sam, povezave prav gotovo ne more spregledati. Čeprav je imenovana sutra v tradiciji kitajskega budizma hkrati pomenila jasno in bleščečo točko velikega pomena ter kalno morje, skozi katerega je skoraj nemogoče videti dno, je Su veliko svojega razmišljanja in razglašljanja o globinah budističnega nauka posvetil prav najtežji izmed vseh oblik imenovane sutre. Problem besedila, ki ga tukaj opisujemo kot kalno morje, skozi katerega oko kitajskega bralca težko vidi, je v tem, da je imenovano besedilo, morda tudi zaradi časa, v katerem je bilo prevedeno, zavito v težko premostljive koprene metode ubeseditve in prevode ustnega izročila, in sicer neposredno iz stare indijsčine. Tukaj imamo v mislih drugi (po vrsti) prevod sutre v kitajščino iz leta 443 n. št. »Avtor« imenovanega prevoda je indijski mojster tripitaka Guṇabhadra, sestavljajo pa jo štiri knjige. Prevod je pomemben zato, ker je verjetno ta različica prav tista, ki jo je Bodhidharma predal svojemu učencu Huikeju (慧可) in s tem nekako predstavlja tudi osnovo doktrine budizma *chan*. Besedilo je izredno težavno, ker je v kitajščino prevedeno po ustnem nareku. Medtem ko je Guṇabhadra besedilo narekoval v stari indijsčini, ga je menih po imenu Baoyun (寶雲) simultano prevajal v kitajščino, tretji menih (Huiguan 慧觀) pa je nato ustno interpretirani prevod tudi zapisal. V primerjavi s poznejšimi, veliko bolj dodelanimi metodami prevajanja se je s tem načinom prav gotovo veliko izgubilo ali ostalo zakrito.¹⁰ Poglavitna težavnost je stava, ki v klasični kitajščini, kar lahko vidimo skozi podrobno tipološko in sintaktično

9 Izvorne besedila ne navajamo posebej, ker je to različica istega besedila, na katerega se navezuje mo zgoraj.

10 Dalje (o metodah prevajanja budističnih besedil v poznejših dinastijah) glej: Zacchetti 1996, 137–52.

analizo besedil, nosi osrednjo vlogo pri oblikovanju pomena stavka. Kljub vsem težavnostim pa vidi Su v besedilu velik vir navdiha. Njegovo veliko zanimanje za to sutro je razvidno tudi iz njegovega predgovora k *Jinshan ban* 金山板 (*Tablice z Zlate gore*), izdaji druge, štiridelne, različice sutre. Tudi pozneje v njegovem življenju naletimo na omembe o veliki vrednosti sutre, kjer v pismu prijatelju govori o tem, kako je za branjem sutre vstopil skozi vrata razsvetljenja itn. (Grant 1994, 133). Njegovo zanimanje za sutro in njegovo gibanje med učitelji raznih budističnih šol je za nas na tem mestu velikega pomena, saj prihaja v času njegovega življenja do velikih razprtij in obširnih debat v okviru *chanovskih* hiš *Caodong* (曹洞宗) in *Linji* (臨濟宗), ki v dinastiji Song prevladata v imenovani šoli budizma (Schültter 2002, 109–47). Razprtije tako vključujejo tudi interpretacije obeh osnovnih besedil, na katerih temeljijo njuna učenja, namreč *Lañ kāvatāre* in *Vajracchedike sutre*.

Pomemben izsek iz *Lañkāvatāre*, ki govori o dejstvu spoznavanja resničnosti, je naslednje besedilo (T 16 (671), 522c):¹¹

大慧！若復有沙門婆羅門，見諸法離自性故；如雲、火輪、撻闍婆城，不生不滅故；如幻、陽炎、水中月故；如夢/.../

Ponovno, Mahamati, vsi drugi Sramane in Brahmani vidijo vse stvari prazne lastne narave,¹² kot lebdeče oblake, kot krog, ki ga rišejo ognjeni zublji ali kot nebeške gradove Gandharv. (Vse stvari) so nenastale,¹³ so kot māyā, odsev, mesec na vodi ali sen/.../

V nadaljevanju sutra govori o zavedanju *bodhisattve*, ki spozna resnično naravo treh svetov in vseh fenomenov v njih. Zavedanje, da vse izvira iz uma in da je vse um sam (唯心), da živi življenje brez podob ali onkraj podob. Njegovo stanje je nenastalo oz. nerojeno, mogoče ga je samo izkusiti v sebi samem, v stanju popolnega nadzora vodne gladine uma. Prav to nasprotje bomo lahko videli, sicer ovenčano s posebno vsebinsko vrednostjo nadaljnjih *chanovskih* metafor, v Sujevem opisu Wang Weijevega dela.¹⁴ Dodati je treba, da fraza *onkraj podob* (*xiang wai* 象外) v poeziji označuje tudi obstoj druge pomenske ravni podob, ki običajno nosijo razkritje neke globlje resnice ali zgolj plasti, ki predstavlja drugo podobo

11 V tem primeru navajamo tretji prevod sutre v kitajščino (ok. 513), katerega avtor je mojster Bodhiruci. Besedilo je v primerjavi s poprejšnjim prevodom precej lažje razumljivo. Vsebina je, v nasprotju z dosedanjo desetdelno delitvijo, razdeljena v deset knjig. Ta, tretja različica nosi v kitajščini naslov *Ru Langjia jing* 楞伽經, kar v osnovi povzema isti pomen kot je v izvorniku.

12 Po stind. različici (*nirsvabhāva*): »/.../lastne substance/lastnega obstoja/.../«.

13 Stind. *anutpāda*.

14 摩詰得之於像外...

resničnosti (Debon 1978, 68–72). Na stičišču med poezijo in slikarstvom naletimo na brv, ki jo običajno označujeta dve vzporedni frazi (*onkraj besed* in *onkraj podob/oblik*). Toda stičišče ni zgolj združitev podob z besedami ali njihova enakost, ampak jasna, večdimenzionalna projekcija kozmološkega ustroja, katerega gradniki (besede ali podobe) se združeno povezujejo in dopolnjujejo v veliko sliko življenja. V tem smislu ne moremo govoriti o tem, da navedena fraza zgolj poziva ali prenaša prostor »dogajanja« k besedam ali mislim, ampak na nivo višjega zavedanja. V budizmu *chan* se odsotnost podob, kot smo lahko videli zgoraj, še posebej močno navezuje na stopnjo zavedanja oz. prebujenja človeka in če dopuščamo možnost, da ima pesem svoj metaforični notranji tok misli osnovan okoli budistične misli, potem lahko navedeno zrcaljenje slik razumemo prav v budističnem smislu, ki se na neki način ne razlikuje povsem od preostalih.

Grantova (1994, 53) meni, da prvi del obravnavanega para verzov stoji v primerjavi ali v nasprotju z verzom »odet in ovenčan s sladkimi zelmi« (佩芷襲芳蓀), ki označuje Wangovo slikarsko kakovost in njegovo naravo. Razmerje enači z nasprotjem med možato močjo (Wu) in žensko nežnostjo (Wang). S tem bi se bilo mogoče strinjati pod pogojem, da omenjeni lastnosti prepoznamo kot razmerje med *yinom* 陰 in *yangom* 陽, ki ga lahko nato razširimo na odnos med delovanjem/gibanjem in mirovanjem. Slednje nasprotje pa bi lahko ustrezalo nasprotju med valovanjem uma in hladnem onostranstvu besed ter podob. V smislu *chanovskih* vrednot bi tako pred očmi povzdignili Wangovo delo, ki bi imelo za pesnika poseben notranji učinek.

Verz »odet in ovenčan s sladkimi zelmi« (佩芷襲芳蓀) naj bi bil povzet iz ene izmed Wangovih pesmi, tako vsaj meni Grantova (1994, 53), toda avtorica ob tem ne navaja vira oz. pesmi, iz katere naj bi bil verz povzet. Če natančneje pregledamo pesmi iz dinastije Tang, lahko ugotovimo, da se v navedeni obliki verz ne pojavlja, po drugi strani pa so ločene besede prisotne skoraj povsod, tako da o neposrednem povzemanju ne moremo govoriti. Veliko primerneje je predpostavljati rabo skupnega besedja, ki predpostavlja enotno pomensko shemo, v navezavi na določeno izrazje. Pravzaprav niti med Wangovimi pesmimi ne najdemo točno istega verza. S tega zornega kota se predpostavka o možatosti in ženskosti, ki ju predpostavlja Grantova, zdi precej slabo osnovana. Pomenske vezi so veliko verjetneje v navezavi na interpretacijo, ki v navedenih besedah vidi povezanost in življenje v stiku z naravo, v samotni oddaljenosti od umetnega sveta ljudi, polnega posvetnih iluzij. Razumevanje umeščenosti omenjene metafore se najlepše razodene ob verzih naslednje štirivrstičnice, ki je sicer globoko zaznamovala povezanost kitajskega tradicionalnega slikarstva s poezijo, nastale pod peresom tangovskega pesnika Liu Zongyuana 柳宗元 (LZYJ VI, 1221):

千山鳥飛絕
 萬逕人蹤滅
 孤舟蓑笠翁
 獨釣寒江雪

Ptice izginjajo za tisočimi gorami
 na mnogih poteh izginjajo sledi
 v samotnem čolnu
 starec s slamnikom iz ločja
 osamljen ribari na ledeni reki

Kakšna je torej povezava z našim Wangom, ki biva odet v trave in ovenčan z zelmi? Povezava med to pesmijo in zgornjim verzom, ki se navezuje na nekoga, ki biva v naravi, ločen od ljudi in v neposrednem stiku s svojo resnično naravo, ki ga objema odznotraj in skozi dotike narave same, je v vlogi oblačila oz. dejstvu biti oblečen v neko substanco. Obleka je v povezavi s stanjem duha, vpletenega v tokove kozmološkega dogajanja. Stik telesa in identiteta predmeta ali vpliva, ki se nas dotika ali prerašča v del nas samih, ima enak pomen kot spajanje Bude z naravo v stanju meditacije v prvi pesmi.¹⁵ Trave in zeli, ki obdajajo in obraščajo eremite gora ali gozdov, pogosto srečamo v poetičnem izrazju Qu Yuana (屈原), Tao Qiana (陶潜) in Wang Weija (王维). Sujeve besede prav gotovo tudi izhajajo iz tega ozadja.

Naslednji argument, ki govori proti domnevnemu nasprotovanju oz. razmerju med ženskostjo in možatostjo, je ujemanje strukture obeh delov osredja pesmi. Stavek, ki opisuje delo Wu Daozija kot resnično intenzivno ali možato se namreč nahaja v odnosu s stavkom, ki opisuje Wang Weija kot pesnika po naravi. Verz, ki označuje duševno stanje in življenje Wang Weija, pa je v odnosu z valovanjem vodne gladine, ki sledi Wujevim potezam ali upodobitvi slike odseka vesolja.

Prva slika nam je za obravnavo prve pesmi gotovo kar precej jasna. Toda velika razlika, ki jo lahko vidimo v tej drugi upodobitvi Budovega razsvetljenja, leži v tem, da je upodobitev veliko bolj metaforična in s tem v globlji navezavi na idejni ustroj, ki leži pod nogami omenjenih podob. Tokrat opis Bude ni podan, opis njegove poti do razsvetljenja prav tako manjka. Kljub temu lahko vidimo, kako se ideja Bude jasno uteleša v podobi sonca, ki razsvetljuje vse ljudi enako. V tem dejstvu lahko vidimo aluzijo na veliko število suter hkrati (na primer *Lotosove sutre* itn.). Toda v veliko tesnejši zvezi z določeno filozofsko podlago je opis treh vrst

15 Enako tudi pomen oblačil v monastičnih predpisih. Menihova oblačila so simbol askeze. Trije kosi, ki sestavljajo menihovo obleko, predstavljajo tri duševne strupe: pohlep, jezo in nevednost. Biti odet v notranje ogrinjalo pomeni odstranitev telesnega zelenja ali pohlepa, zgornje ogrinjalo je odprava jeze ust in zunanje odstranitev nevednosti razuma. (Kieschnick 2004, 93)

bitij, ki spremljajo pojav. Trodelnost stopenj zavedanja lahko najdemo v doktrini *Lotosove sutre* in posledično tudi *Laṅkāvatāre*, ki povzema filozofske metode *Vajracchedike*, po drugi strani pa nadaljuje doktrino Lotosa. Razlika med *Laṅkāvatāro* in doktrinami drugih suter je v glavnem v tem, da prva namesto treh stopenj v procesu dekonstrukcije in rekonstrukcije ohranja in uporablja samo dve. V tem oziru gre za novost, ki sloni na reinterpreteraciji spoznavnega procesa do besed ali konceptov. Podobne novosti v enakem oziru sta razvila tudi *Vajracchedikā* in *Nāgārjuna*. V nasprotju s temi pa je Lotos govoril o nepokvarljivosti konceptov, od česar se *Laṅkāvatāra* oddaljuje z zanikanjem vrednosti vsakršnih konceptov. *Laṅkā* je, tako kakor Lotos, podvržena hierarhiji treh stopenj znanja, kot omenjamo zgoraj, katerim prav tako ustrezajo tri stopnje bivanja. To so:

1. Stind. *laukika* (posvetno)
 2. Stind. *lokottara* (nadnaravno)
- in
3. Stind. *lokottaratama* (transcendentalno)

Transcendentalno znanje, ki ustreza tretji stopnji bivanja, je mogoče doseči s pomočjo poglobljenega preučevanja *brez-podobja* (*nirābhāse*) ali *brez-pojavnosti dharma*, dojemanjem neprenehanja in nenastajanja in uresničenjem *brez-substančnosti* v stopnji *Tathāgate*¹⁶ (Kalupahana 1992, 178–9).

Trodelnost razlikovanja ali tri spoznavne metode lahko zasledimo tudi v budizmu *Huayan* (華嚴) (Grant 1994, 35), ki sledi učenju *Avatamsaka sutre*,¹⁷ od koder tudi ime šole.

Prostor, kjer se odvija to žarenje posledic Budovega razsvetljenja, je označen z aluzijo dveh mogočnih *Sālā* dreves. (Glej FGDCD, 1134) Dogajanje je s tem, kakor pri Wangovi sliki, postavljeno v zgodovinski samostanski gaj *Jetavana*.

Wang Weijev gaj nesmrtnih žerjavov

Žerjav kot simbol razsvetljenega (budističnega) modreca

Wangov odsev na zrcalu Sujeve duševnosti nas popelje skozi vrata istega gaja, ki v budistični literaturi predstavlja vrsto ikonografskega kraja vznika budizma in prihoda kvantuma razsvetljenja v tostranstvo. Na tem mestu je treba poudariti, da enotnost kraja dogajanja odpira možnost primerjave ali dodaja eno izmed ravni

16 Kit. *Rulai* 如來 (»Tako prišel«), kar je eno izmed imen Bude.

17 Kit. 大方廣佛華嚴經 *Dafangguang fohuyan jing* ali krajše 華嚴經 *Huayan jing*. Dobesedni prevod naslova je *Okrašena z rožami*.

ustrežanja, saj deluje kot vrsta ploščadi, na kateri ovrednotimo dva aspekta življenja na poti proti razsvetljenju. Ko vstopimo skozi vrata gaja, postanejo naš osrednji model vrednotenja poti do razsvetljenja budistični menihi, katerih duševnost, izražena tudi prek zunanosti, je utemeljena z metaforo žerjava in srca (uma), ki je kot ugasel, hladen in siv pepel.

Žerjav je pogosto upodobljen in izrečen simbol nesmrtnika, modreca, ki je dosegel izpopolnjenje svoje narave v tostranstvu. V budističnem smislu imamo v podobi žerjava tako podobo razsvetljenega meniha, ki se je izpopolnil na vseh nivojih svoje duševnosti ali zavesti. Kljub njegovi nadnaravnosti in nesmrtnosti je simbol žerjava precej tostranski, ta nebeška ptica je v metaforah in upodobitvah namreč postavljena v simbolni odnos z dejstvom kletke, ki ga veže na tostranstvo in iz katere se na koncu osvobodi in odleti v nebo. Njegov let proti oblakom je metafora za prehod v idealno, popolno stanje nebeškega sveta. Prehod je osvoboditev tostranskosti nečiste narave. Kot smo že omenili, nosijo ptice v kitajski simbolni tradiciji močne navezave na kozmološko resničnost, gibljejo se namreč skupaj s silami narave, njihov medvrstni odnos pa predstavlja urejenost in dejansko tudi kozmološko veljavo družbene hierarhije in razlik med vrstami ljudi. Velikokrat je upodobljen sedeč na visokem boru (*song* 松), kar v navezavi na simbolni pomen drevesa tvori poseben ikonografski par (Brinker, Kanzawa in Leisinger 1996, 170). Bor se pogosto pojavlja tudi v povezavi z budističnimi *bodhisattvami*, menihi in patriarhi, kjer predstavlja eno izmed notranjih plemenitih duševnih lastnosti osebe, ob kateri stoji. Nasploh bor simbolizira dolgoživost oz. vztrajnost in stanoovitost v gojenju notranjih kvalitete (Williams 2006, 317). Prenesen v svet metafor budizma *chan* in *tiantai* 天台 bor verjetno predstavlja dolgotrajnost cikla življenj, skozi katera se ohranja skladiščna zavest. To jedro človekove narave in zavesti je notranje izvorno čisto, skozi premagovanje notranjih ovir in postopno doseganje višjih stopenj zavesti pa dosega dolgoživo in nespremenjeno osvobajanje od sveta iluzij. Vzdržnost in sledenje tehnikam meditacije in Budove dharme, ki razsvetljuje um, je enako vzdržnosti in neupogljivosti bora, ki ga vejejo vetrovi tostranstva, iluzije, ki so dejansko vetrovi uma.

Zgoraj smo omenili, da žerjav simbolizira nesmrtnika, nebesno bitje, kar je pomensko preneseno tudi na stopnjo zavesti, magičnosti ali razsvetljenja. Kitajska mitologija nosi verovanje, ki govori o tem, da žerjavi, ki dopolnijo šesto let, prenehajo jesti trdno hrano in samo še pijejo (Williams 2006, 118–9). Jasno je, da je njihova koščena podoba uporabljena kot ena izmed vzporednih pojavnih lastnosti tudi v Sujevi pesmi in morda precej razširjena tudi v izrazju drugih pesnikov dinastij Tang in Song. Če prenesemo pomensko sfero na metafizično raven, starost spremlja njen starostni videz zgolj simbolično, kot vzporedni znak iste pomen-ske slike. Vendar, kot rečeno, starost je tukaj predvsem »neskončno« odmerjeno

časovno obdobje, skozi katero veje pot velike duše, izpopolnjene v lastni naravi in modrosti.

Simbol žerjava ali njegovo podobo, kakorkoli se odločimo videti, je najobširneje in morda najpogosteje v svoji poeziji uporabljal tangovski pesnik Bai Juyi (白居易). (Glej Spring 1991, 8–18) Kot primer takšne pesmi, ki vključuje tudi preboj te rajske ptice iz kletke tostranstva, kar lahko v primerih politične kritike razumemo tudi v smislu preboja velikega talenta iz omejitev trenutnega položaja brez moči, lahko navedemo slednjo pesem (BJYJ, 658):

我本海上鶴， 偶逢江南客
感君一顧恩， 同來洛陽陌
洛陽寡族類， 皎皎唯兩翼
貌是天與高， 色非日浴白
主人誠可戀， 其奈軒庭窄
飲啄雜雞羣， 年深損表格
故鄉渺何處？ 雲水重重隔
誰念深籠中， 七換摩天翻¹⁸

Po izvoru sem žerjav
z morja
nekoč srečal gosta
iz JiangnanaJiangnan
Ganjen od tvoje skrbi
te spremil
po poteh Luoyanga
kjer malo je takšnih moje vrste
kjer le moja bela krila
sijejo belino
moje vedenje je od neba in plemenito
in moja belina
ni od dnevne kopeli
moj gospodar je resnično ljubeč
a njegovo dvorišče
preozko zame
pomešan z jato piščancev
se borim za hrano
ko leta beže
izgubljam svojo nprav

18 Pesem nosi naslov: »V imenu žerjava« 《代鶴》 (BJYJ, 658).

moje domovanje v meglicah
 le kje?
 od njega ločen z vodami in oblaki
 plast za plastjo (do višav)
 Kdo ve kako je v kletki biti?
 Sedemkrat sem perje menjal
 ki dotika se neba.

Baijev prevoj v kožo tega nebeškega bitja kaže sicer na aspekt njegove utelešenosti v človeškem delu sveta, kjer žerjav predstavlja modreca oz. učenjaka z nebeškimi lastnostmi, ki ga vežejo na prostore nad zemeljskim. Hrani se (kruh si služi) med manjvrednimi od sebe, navadnimi kokošmi, čiste beline notranjosti ni v nobeni osebi v njegovi okolici. Tukaj sicer naletimo na pomen, ki je v prvem koraku malce oddaljen od našega razumevanja. Prehaja namreč po poteh aluzije, ki nas popeljejo do Zhuangzija (莊子). V poglavju »Tian yun« 天運 (»O gibanju neba«) Laozi (老子) odgovarja Kongziju (孔子):

夫播糠眯目，則天地四方易位矣；蚊虻嚙膚，則通昔不寐矣。夫仁義憊然，乃憤吾心，亂莫大焉。吾子使天下無失其朴，吾子亦放風而動，總德而立矣。.../夫鵠不日浴而白，烏不日黔而黑。黑白之朴，不足以為辯；名譽之觀，不足以為廣。(Zhuangzi 1991, 254)

Če nam v oči pade prah ali luščina, potem štiri strani pod nebom za nas spremenijo svoj položaj. Če komarji in obadi predrejo našo kožo, potem vso noč ne moremo zaspati. Toda ta bolečina človečnosti in pravičnosti vznemirja moje misli in povzroča veliko zmedo. Če bi ti, moj učenec, povzročal, da ljudje ne bi izgubljali svoje naravne preprostosti in bi posnemal veter v neomejenosti njegovega naravnega gibanja, bi obstal v svojih naravnih lastnostih/.../ Žerjavu se ni treba vsak dan umivati, da bi bil bel, in vrani vsak dan mazati črno, da bi bila črna. Naravnost njune črnosti in beline ne ustvarja nobene osnove nasprotjem. Slava in hvala, ki jo ljudje radi vidijo, jih ne naredita večje, kot dejansko so.

Odlomek je vreden celostne navedbe, ki okoli iskane podobe žerjava naplete veliko drugih pomenskih nizov, dragocenih pomagal za razumevanje pomena podobe v naši pozornosti. Osredje razprave teče okoli problema stvarjenja ali verodostojnosti razlike, ki v sebi nosi ontološko vrednotenje narave posameznika. V Zhuangzijevega mnenju, ki govori iz ust Laozija, izboljšavi notranje preobrazbe po principu kvalitativnega prehoda med »objektivnimi« stopnjami narave in takšnosti stojijo nasproti naravni mehanizmi in dejstva stvarnosti. V očeh se lahko znajde umazanija, po kateri dialektična določila sveta dejansko razkrijejo svojo arbitrarno

naravo. Domnevna pomanjkljivost je lastnost, ki služi spoznanju resničnosti. Dejstvo naše telesnosti nas naredi dovzetne ali nas poveže v določeno razmerje s stvarnostjo, ki znotraj naše duševnosti ustvarja sekundarne posledice, takšne, ki niso enake vzroku. Človekova plemenitost ne izvira iz njegovega očiščevanja, ker pozunanjeno, zamišljeno čiščenje ni v skladju z dejansko umazanostjo. Bližina budizmu se riše v potezah izpeljave oz. metode izpeljave ontološke, logično definirane stvarnosti v razmerju do duševnosti. V tem primeru nas o pomenu in kakovosti žerjava kot podobe, ki nastopa v tem spletu misli, pouči smisel in naslon razprave. Ta razprava je namreč smiselna v naslonu na njeno nasprotje in pozitivna v smislu vrste negacije svojega nasprotja, ki ga uporablja v svojem logičnem ustroju. Žerjav je torej v drugačnem smislu mišljen kot gradacija nižjega, črnega stanja. Kvalitativna razmerja obstajajo povezana prek simboličnih in jezikovnih spletov nagovorjene vsakdanjosti. Življenje simbola lahko biva v rabi, ki je popolnoma neodvisna od aluzije, ob kateri vznika pomensko. Aluzija se lahko rabi delno. V prenosu daoističnih misli in sveta, ki lebdi za simboli, v svet budistične misli se lahko ohrani samo del slike. Bajev žerjav je ujet v epistemološko ali ontološko kletko posvetnega bivanja, ki je v nekaj stoletjih (morda ponovnih rojstev) presežena. Način, kako je presežena, nam razodene budistično navezavo. V sedmih menjavah perja lahko prepoznamo sedem stopenj bivanja, ki v stopnjevanju vodijo proti zadnjemu vzponu v nebo, razsvetljenju (osma stopnja, ki ni stopnja). Osem stopenj zavedanja in napredovanja proti razsvetljenju znotraj budistične misli smo spoznali že v prvi pesmi. Povezava z menihi v Budovem vrtu je življenje žerjava po sedmih stoletjih, po sedmih stopnjah zavedanja oz. rasti, ki jih prebrodijo v tostranstvu. Takrat se (po mitološkem izročilu) žerjavi prenehajo hraniti, od koder tudi povezava med koščenostjo izčrpanih menihov.

Podobe z mislimi, ki jih navajamo zgoraj, se združujejo tudi v budistični metafori ali poimenovanju *helin* 鹤林 (žerjavova drevesa/gaj), ki je sinonim za *Sālā* drevesa v *Jetavana* vrtu (FXDCD 1925, 1911).

Siv pepel in ovelo drevo kot simbola notranjega umirjenja

Tudi metafora hladnega ali mrtvega pepela kaže na dvojno pomensko nanašanje, ki vendarle izvira iz skupnega izvora. V *Zbranih delih Su Shija* lahko beremo opombe, ki ugotavljajo osnovno aluzijo metafore v povezavi z Zhuangzijem. Izbira temelji na dejstvu, da je raba metafore verjetno najzgodnejša v omenjenem besedilu. Zgodnje budistične sutre, ki imajo veljavo znotraj kitajskega budizma, metaforo ali podobo pepela navajajo zelo poredko. Morda v tem dejstvu prepoznavamo prevladujočo tradicionalno kitajsko vsebinsko motivacijo metafore ali simbola pepela v

svoji samostojni veljavi. Obstaja pa sicer tudi majhna ovira, ki se pojavlja v obliki Śūraṅgama sutre, toda o tem več v nadaljevanju besedila.

Zhuangzijeve omemba imenovane besedne zveze je v sledečem odseku besedila (*Qi wu lun*):

南郭子綦隱几而坐，仰天而噓，嗒焉似喪其耦。顏成子游立侍乎前，曰：「何居乎？形固可使如槁木，而心固可使如死灰乎？今之隱几者，非昔之隱几者也。」 (Zhuangzi 1991, 17)

Ziqi iz Nanguoja je nagnjen naprej sedel na svojem stolu. Strmel je navzgor proti nebu in umirjeno (globoko) dihal. Bil je v zamaknjenosti in bilo je videti, kot da je izgubil zavedanje o tem, da je kdorkoli v njegovi bližini. Ziyu iz Yanchenga, ki je stal pred njim, ga je ogovoril z naslednjimi besedami: »Ali je to mogoče? Ali lahko telo postane kot ovenelo drevo in ali lahko um postane kot ugasel pepel? Še nikoli nisem videl, da bi njegovo telo bilo nagnjeno naprej v takšni pozi.¹⁹

Cvetenje budizma v kitajskem okolju po zelo naravni in samoumevni poti pozneje povzame metaforični zvezi »kot ovenelo drevo« (如槁木) in »kot ugasel pepel« (如死灰). Njuna uporabnost je, verjetno tudi po zaslugi zgornjega besedila iz Zhuangzija, osredotočena predvsem na opise stanja globoke meditacije. Pojavljata pa se predvsem ali najpogosteje v *chan*-budističnih besedilih, tako laičnih kot kleričnih, kakor tudi v poeziji z budistično ali daoistično vsebino. V celotnem obdobju dinastije Song se omenjeni metaforični zvezi pojavljata v povezavi s *Caodong* (曹洞宗) vejo budizma *chan* oziroma s tehniko meditacije *mozhao* 默照, ki je takrat stala v osredju pozornosti debat med imenovano šolo in šolo Linji (臨濟宗) budizma *chan*. Šola *Caodong* se je namreč v dinastiji Song imenovala tudi *Gaomu sihui chan* 槁木死灰禪, v prevodu *Chan posušenih dreves in ugaslega pepela* (FGDCD: 852). Debatata o tehniki meditacije obeh šol je bila v ospredju vsega doktrinskega dogajanja znotraj *chana* dinastije Song. Ali je Su v svoji pesmi nagovarjal kak vsebinski odsek te debate, je na tem mestu skorajda nemogoče reči. Vsekakor pa obstajajo, poleg *Lankavatara sutre*, ki je temeljno delo, na katerega se naslanja tradicija *Caodong*, tudi določeni namigi v obliki meniške poezije, ki Sujevo izrazje ob Wang Wejevi sliki približajo retoriki zagovornikov tehnike *mozhao* meditacije oz. meditacije *tibe razsvetlitve*. Primere in izsek vsebine razprave bomo omenili na koncu tega odseka.

Življenjsko obdobje, ko ugasnejo vse ambicije in emocionalni naboj postopoma poide, je zima našega življenja. Mirovanje in umik v nedejavno notranjost konec jeseni, ko mraz pritiska in stopnice pred našim duševnim prebivališčem ledenijo

19 Moj prevod na tem mestu sledi opombam in komentarju k besedilu: Zhuangzi 1991, 18–9.

vse do vrat prehoda našega življenja v drugi krog rojstva, morda višji krog zavesti. Vsi ti elementi, skupaj z velikim številom drugih, ki lepo dopolnjujejo življenjsko misel pesnika, se pojavljajo tudi v poeziji Bai Juyija. Tukaj ga velikokrat navajamo kot primer poezije z obronki budistične misli.

今朝閑坐石亭中
 爐火銷殘樽又空
 冷落若為留客住？
 冰池霜竹雪髯翁²⁰

Jutro je

V spokoju sedim na kamnu sredi paviljona
 plamteči ogenj v peči se je spremenil v oglje
 in moja čaša je ostala prazna
 Mraz padel je
 Kot gost ki ostane za zmeraj
 Zaledeneli ribnik
 Poledeneli bambus
 in starec s snežnimi lasmi

Pesnikova smrt je kot gost, ki je v njegovo življenje prispel za zmeraj. Poleg ugaslega ognja v njegovih prsih pesnik na koncu doda še tri točke opisa samega sebe pred obličjem svojega minevanja. Gladina njegovega uma je zamrznjena (ribnik), njegovo votlo telo (bambus) obdaja hladno mirovanje, star je, bela barva las je barva spokojne pokrajine pod zasneženo preprogo prevladujočega *yina* 阴. Metaforo gladine uma oz. vodne gladine, ki je pomensko aplicirana na epistemološki teoretski okvir razprav *mahāyānskih* suter, smo že obravnavali in utemeljevali s primeri poprej v besedilu. Toda v primerih pesmi vedno znova prihajamo do drugačnega jezika in posebne stave metafor in simbolov v okvirju enotne slike. Tukaj lahko lepo vidimo dopolnjevanje vseh teh pogosto rabljenih budističnih ali kar pesniških simbolov.

V pozni jeseni življenja pogasnejo svetilke, ki umu podajajo ostrino razumevanja razlikovanja in ne-razlikovanja. To, čemur rečemo oster um, počasi neha žareti, vendar to ne pomeni ugasnitev zavedanja. Dež Budovega razsvetljevanja ljudi, ki pada iz njegovega telesa (oblak) na vse pod nebom, je njegova *dharm*a, ki je blagodejna ušesom in duševnosti človeka. Njegovo telo še vedno greje ogenj, ki se počasi spreminja v tleči pepel in utrip pesnikovega verovanja v resnico *dharme* se še vedno sklanja pred svojim notranjim Budo in ga časti s prižiganjem kadila. Takšno

20 »Gost zimskega paviljona« 《寒亭留客》: BJYJ, III: 830.

čščenje in verovanje navdajata njegovo telesno kletko s toploto. Bliža se obdobje smrti, ko se skozi vrata bivanja in nebivanja najprej osuje listje, obarvano v barvah tostranstva. Nov krog življenja se pojavi na stopnicah vzpona proti razsvetljenju. Prav to zgodbo lahko namreč vidimo v naslednji Baijevi pesmi, v kateri se prav tako pojavi metafora pepela, ki tokrat še toplo žari v tlenju svoje notranjosti:

涼冷三秋夜
安閑一老翁
卧遲燈滅後
睡美雨聲中
灰宿溫瓶火
香添暖被籠
曉晴寒未起
霜葉滿階紅²¹

Pozno jeseni
Noči so ledeno hladne
V spokojni tišini
Sam starec bivam

Legel pozno zatem
ko je plamen v svetilki ugasnil
Zaspim v blagodejnem zvoku dežnih kapelj

Pepel vso noč tli pod lončenim vrčem
In ga greje
Goreče kadilo segreva košaro in odeje...

Zora je jasna
Hladna
A jaz ne vstanem z ležišča
Stopnice rdeče žarijo
Od zamrznjenega padlega listja

Zgoraj smo omenili, da se v starejših budističnih sutrah in besedilih obravnavana metafora ne pojavi skoraj nikoli. V zelo pomensko razgibani obliki pa se vendarle pojavi v Śūraṅgama sutri. Pri tem je treba dodati, da je vprašanje imenovane sutre izredno zanimivo in v skoraj vseh ozirih nedorečeno. Upravičeno se namreč

21 »Dremež jesenskega deževnega večera« 《秋雨夜眠》: BJYJ, II: 748.

domneva, da sutra ni izvorno *mahāyānsko* besedilo, nastalo v Indiji, ampak da gre za plagiat ali ponaredbo kitajskega izvora iz obdobja dinastije Tang.²² Na to kažejo številna dejstva. V zgodnjih katalogih budističnih del in razpravah na temo budizma je ni mogoče najti. Najdemo jo šele v *Katalogu budističnih besedil iz obdobja Kaiyuan* (*Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄), kjer je prevod sutre pripisan menihu Huaidiju 懷迪, ta pa naj bi jo v letu 713 prevedel s pomočjo neimenovanega indijskega meniha (T 55 (2154), 669c). Staroindijski zapisi ne obstajajo, prav tako ne obstajajo kakšni zgodnejši zapisi v katerem drugem jeziku. Po naročilu je bila šele stoletja pozneje prevedena v klasično tibetanščino.

Zagotovo je izredno zanimivo, da se naša metafora, ki jo lahko zasledimo predvsem v tradicionalnih kitajskih virih, pojavi prav v tej sutri, ki naj bi bila izum kitajske fuzije *mahāyānske* doktrine v okrilju spojitve *yogācāra* elementov, s teorijo *Tathāgatagarbhe*, ezoteričnega budizma in elementi *Nāgārjunove* metode štirikratne negacije (stind. *catuṣkoṭī*). Morda na tem mestu ni zgrešeno zatrditi, da ti jezikovni elementi in raba metafor ter simbolizma potrjujejo to domnevo.²³

Vrata v novo stanje prebujenja: bambus in struktura drevesa kot metafori duba

Vrata v budističnem izrazju simbolizirajo prehod iz življenja v življenje, iz stopnje zavedanja v naslednjo stopnjo. Pred vrati samostana *Jetavana*, ki ga slika Wang Wei, namesto dveh *Sālā* dreves ustrezno stojita dva bambusova grma. Bambus kot simbol je rabljen tako pogosto in široko, da ni treba posvečati preveč prostora za podajanje in utemeljevanje primerov rabe. V splošni rabi predstavlja bambus simbol skromnosti kot vrline. Nekateri viri ga opisujejo tudi kot simbol starosti, saj so njegovi listi in stebila vedno zeleni in nespremenljivi (Eberhard 1990, 29–30). Budistična misel, še posebej *chan*, praznino bambusovega stebila povezuje z dosežkom notranje praznine izpopolnjenega človeka. Gre za praznino konceptov, idej, želja itd. Zaledenelost bambusovih stebel v metaforo vključi tudi stanje zavesti, kar smo omenili že v interpretacijah simbolike vodne gladine. V slikarski umetnosti *chana* se simbolizem bambusa razvije še natančneje. Cel predstavlja predvsem pokončnost in trdnost etičnih vrednost, medtem ko njegovo deblo predstavlja vrline iskrenost in poštenost ter čistost praznine notranjosti (Brinker, Kanzawa in Leisinger 1996, 185).

Verza 交柯亂葉動無數 in 一一皆可尋其源, ki smo ju prevedli:

22 Dalje glej: Hurvitz 1967 in Epstein 1976.

23 Omembe vredna odlomka sta: T 19 (945), 110a in 146b.

»na prepletenih vejah listje šumi – nešteto
vsakega k njegovem viru
se lahko sledi«,

opisujeta izredno slikarsko natančnost Wang Weijsa. Njihov pomen je torej dobese-
den in se nanaša predvsem na podobo slike. Grantova (1994, 54) v tej prisposobi
prepozna metafizično resnico. Enoten vir vsakega izmed nešteti listov po njenem
mnenju kaže na univerzalni princip (理 *li*), ki je prisoten v sleherni pojavnosti obli-
ki enotnega bivanja. Dodaja pa tudi možnost, da omenjena prisposoba predstavlja
epistemološki koncept *shi shi wu ai* 事事無礙, ali *ne-oviranje predmeta in predmeta*.

Vse to je seveda mogoče. Toda po drugi strani je v okviru vprašanja načina pomen-
ske rabe metafore nujno vedeti, kako je razlikovanje ali nerazlikovanje listja in vej
drevesa rabljeno v metafori tudi drugje v budističnih razpravah.

Sami predpostavljamo, da gre za preprosto stopnjevanje delov drevesa (izvir (ko-
renine), deblo, veje in listje), ki predstavljajo hierarhijo gradnikov na poti do spoz-
nanja izvira, ta pa v sebi nosi počelo narave vseh delov, ki poganjajo iz njega.
Prepletenost vej in listja je po tem ključu prisposoba za videnje stvarnosti s strani
uma v zablodi, ki ne pozna temeljnih načel razlikovanja med gradniki navide-
zne stvarnosti. Ravna in jasna pot proti izvoru predstavlja neoviran vzpon proti
spoznanju vseh spoznanj in končno do izpopolnitve modrosti. Pomenska vloga
bambusa v tej prisposobi je verjetno trditev, da na koncu, ko se prebijemo skozi
splet navidezne posameznosti, spoznamo notranjo praznino izvora samega. Skozi
svet se prebijamo s postopnim epistemološkim in psihološkim aparatom, ki na
koncu v hipu vstopi v praznino in nesmisel stopnjevanje poti. Pot do razsvetljenja
je v tem oziru postopna in nenadna hkrati, to pa nas pripelje med drugim tudi do
Lan'kāvatāre in budizma *Caodong*, ki sledi omenjeni sutri (Kalupahana 1992, 182).

Zaključek: Več načinov razsvetljenja? – Su Shijeva pesem kot meditacija na temo dveh tradicij doktrine o razsvetljenju

Šola *tihoga razsvetljenja*, ki se je razvila znotraj *chanovske* šole *Caodong*, je v najožjem
smislu neposredno nadaljevanje *Lan'kāvatāra*-aspekta osnov budizma *chan*, ki jih je
vzpostavil Bodhidharma. Na »nasprotnem« bregu pa imamo *gongan* (公案) aspekt,
razvit v šoli *Linji*, ki izhaja iz logične metode *Vajracchedike* in osnuje svoj vpogled v
naravo sebstva na t. i. jezikovni metodi kontemplacije. Tako je vsaj videti na površju.
V dinastiji Song se imenovana nazora srečata v dveh šolah meditacije, ki izvirata iz
obeh tradicionalnih vej budizma *chan* na Kitajskem. Prvo smo že omenili, medtem
ko je tista, ki izhaja iz smeri *Linji*, nosila ime *kanhua chan* (看話禪). Na tem mestu

ga lahko poimenujemo tudi *semiotični chan*. Osebi v ospredju velike javne razprave v dinastiji Song sta bila Hongzhi 宏智 (1091–1157) Dahui 大慧 (1089–1163) (Schlütter 2002, 109–10). Toda osrednji zabeleženi zgodovinski dogodki, ki obravnavajo razpravo o pojmu in sredstvih razsvetljenja, se vsaj navidezno pojavljajo v času, ki sledi življenju Su Shija. V razpravah gre pravzaprav bolj za napad pripadnikov šole *Linji* na Šolo meditacije tihega razsvetljenja kot obratno. Izpričana vsebina tako obsega predvsem kritike Dahuija in nekaterih drugih pripadnikov iste šole ter pisna pričevanja o vsebini napadene tehnike meditacije.

Osrednja tema razprave je prav bistvo odnosa do razsvetljenja v obeh šolah. *Dahui* kritično ne obravnava samo imenovane šole meditacije, ampak to šolo v okviru celotne tradicije *Caodong*, ki po njegovem mnenju zanemarja koncept razsvetljenja oz. osvoboditve (Schlütter 2002, 110). To *sedenje v tišini* (*qingzuo* 清坐) je po njegovem mnenju namenjeno laičnim literatom, ki želijo v svojem polovičarskem odnosu brez poglobljenega dela znotraj sebe kar na hitro doseči razsvetljenje. Njihovo ukvarjanje je osredotočanje na stvari sekundarne narave ali, kot pove Dahui, na *listje in veje*.

V okviru budistične doktrine o naravi samega razsvetljenja gre dejansko za vprašanje razmerja med *inherentnim razsvetljenjem* (*benjue* 本覺), ki ga vzpostavljajo doktrinski začetki *chana* in *uresničitvijo razsvetljenja* (*shijue* 始覺). Šola *tihlega razsvetljenja* ne ustvarja temeljne razlike med konceptoma oz. stopnjama bivanja. Razsvetljenje je, v neposredni navezavi na tradicijo *Lankāvatāre*, razumljeno kot *izven besed in podob*, vzniklo v brez-besedni tišini. Dahui poudarja, da nas resnica prvega Bude uči o tem, da je treba najprej doseči razsvetljenje in da se spoznanje svoje lastne narave izvrši za tem (Schlütter 2002, 114). Odnos do temeljnega *razsvetljenja* pri tem ostaja enak v obeh šolah. Iz epistemološkega stališča tradicije *Lankāvatāre* pa po drugi strani izhaja, da je sleherno razlikovanje med iluzijo in razsvetljenjem iluzija. Slika podobe, ki se pojavi na zrcalu naše duševnosti, razuma, je neobstoječa v smislu razlike. Miselni, jezikovni in emocionalni odziv nanjo je iluzija v svoji temeljni definiciji.

Meditacijska ali logična metoda šole *Linji* leži v osredotočenju na osrednje fraze (*huatou* 話頭) *gongana* (公案), kar naj bi vodilo do prebojnega spoznanja in posledično razsvetljenja (Schlütter 2002, 115).²⁴

Kot primer izrazja in miselnega ustroja, ki najlepše predstavlja srž Šole meditacije tihega razsvetljenja, lahko navedemo Hongzhijevo (宏智) pesem *Napis o tibem*

24 Stališče ni povsem točno oz. je zastavljeno precej pomanjkljivo. Osnovne metode analize, povezane z jezikom, kažejo precej širši sistem ali globljo interpretacijo pomena razčlenitve *gongana*. Dalje o semiotičnih metodah v budizmu *chan* glej: Zong 2005, 548–602.

razsvetljenju.²⁵ Izrazi in metaforična sredstva, ki jih pesem uporablja, nam razkri-
vajo podobnost s Sujevo pesmijo, kontrast med slikami v omenjeni pesmi pa je v
prenesenem videnju zelo podoben kontrastu med šolama *chan* meditacije. Poglej-
mo si dobesedni prevod odseka te pesmi (T 48, 100 a-b):

默默忘言。昭昭現前。鑒時廓爾。體處靈然。
靈然獨照。照中還妙。露月星河。雪松雲嶠。
晦而彌明。隱而愈顯。鶴夢煙寒。水含秋遠。
浩劫空空。相與雷同。妙存默處。功忘照中。
妙存何存。惺惺破昏。默照之道。離微之根。

V popolni tišini pozabiš besede
Popolna jasnost vznikne pred teboj
Ko odseva si prostran
V tvojem telesu je nadnaravno
In božansko razsvetljuje brez navezav
Da se v razsvetljenju vrneš k transcendentnemu-
Rosni mesec na zvezdni reki (rimska cesta)
Zasneženi borovci oblačnih vrhov
V temi je svetlejša
Skrito je bolj vidno
Žerjav sanja o zimskih meglicah
Voda nosi oddaljeno jesen
Neskončni veki so popolnoma prazni
Vse pojavnosti so popolnoma enake
V tišini se skriva transcendentno
Doseganje je pozabljeno v njeni razsvetlitvi
Kje biva transcendentno bivanje
Ki modro razbija temačnost?
Na poti tihega razsvetljenja
Ležijo korenine razveze od sveta iluzij

Do tod beremo, kaj se dogaja z našo notranjostjo v stanju meditacije. Pomeni
simbolov ali metafor so nam do tod že jasni, v medsebojni povezavi tvorijo mrežo
pripovedi, ki zajema vse ozire ravni zavedanja. Pomembneje je, da v pesmi nale-
timo na rabo metafore strukture drevesa v smislu časovne razsežnosti bivanja in
posledično tudi stopenj zavesti oz. zavedanja, ki jim človek v svoji zaslepljenosti,
ko se prične prebujati, sledi v nasprotni smeri. Uvid se prične v razlikovanju listov

25 《默照銘》»Mozhao ming«.

in vej. Značilnost rasti bambusa je podzemna povezava vseh bilk in listov na njih z enim velikim spletom korenin, ki izvirajo iz ene same. Struktura podzemnega dela tako ni sama po sebi umevna, niti razvidna iz upodobitve bambusa. Morda je tukaj meja, na katero naleti tisti, ki opazuje sliko. Potovanje se nadaljuje v »prostoru« onkraj upodobljenega.

Dalje lahko beremo še naslednje odseke pesmi (T 48, 100 a-b):

百川赴海。千峰向岳。

Sto rek se steka v eno morje in tisočeri vrhovi stoje na obronku velike gore.

Besede ponovno pletejo mrežo, ki jo lahko dojemamo tudi pri strukturi drevesa. Poleg logične izjave seva odsev metafore tudi dva aspekta našega bivanja: duševno in telesno. Ob vrnitvi k prvi pesmi in metaforični besedni zvezi žada, ki vznikne iz gore, lahko prepoznamo pomensko vrednost, ki je poprej nismo. Žad, ki vznikne iz gore, je izluščen prek vaje in očiščevanja aspekta naše telesnosti, medtem ko nosi lotos, ki poganja iz blata iluzije tega sveta, duševno ali umsko aplikacijo (T 48, 100 a-b):

默照理圓。蓮開夢覺。

Ko je princip razsvetljujoče tišine izpopolnjen, se lotosov cvet razpre in nastopi prebujenje iz sanj.

Oznaka *Chana ovenelih dreves in ugaslega pepela* se nanaša tudi na končno stopnjo tihe meditacije, ko telesa postanejo prazna in se roke v *mudri* razsvetljenja povežejo s praznino vesolja (T 48, 100 a-b).

Iz stališča nauka o *razsvetljenju v tišini* je *prebojno razsvetljenje* sekundarno, kot so *veje* in *listje* (Schlütter 2002, 120).

Listje in veje literarnega in slikarskega izraza vesoljne poti so besede in podobe (Hawes 2005, 11). Morda je Sujeva besedna pripoved, ki jo spremljamo v te dveh verzih, obrnjena prav v to smer. Možni metaforični pomen omenjenih verzov bi se lahko potemtakem navezoval tudi na jasnost Wangovega sporočila ali jasnost simboličnega sestava slika, sekundarnega simbolnega pomena. Možnosti je vsekakor več.

Našemu morju besed in vsebini *chanske šole Caodong* lahko prispeva tudi sodobnik ter pripadnik šole *tibega razsvetljenja*, Zhenxie Qingliao (真歇清了). Prek njegovega izrazja na temo *tibega razsvetljenja* lahko povežemo frazo »kot ovenelo drevo in ugasel pepel« z zgoraj obravnavanim odlomkom iz *Zhuangzija*. V delu *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu* 《真歇清了禪師語錄》 (*Zapis besed chanskega*

mojstra *Zhenxie Qingliuota*) najdemo preoblikovano obliko besedne zveze (X 71 (1426), 786b):

/.../心似枯木寒灰/.../

/.../razum je kot ovenelo drevo in hladen pepel/.../

Povezava s prvimi stavki v *Zhuangziju* je v naslednjem odlomku (X 71 (1426), 784a):

/.../如嬰兒相似。東西不辯南北不分。六根門頭一時休歇/.../

/.../biti kot otrok, ki ne razlikuje med vzhodom in zahodom ter ne razloči med jugom in severom, v tem trenutku počivati na koncu vrat šestih korenov (šestih čutov)/.../

Bambus ni postavljen pred vrata samostana kar tako. V stanju *tibega razsvetljenja*, ko sta um in telo človeka označena z metaforično frazo *kot posušeno drevo in hladen pepel*, drevo namreč nima listov tostranstva ali podob in besed, njegove veje so gole (Brinker, Kanzawa in Leisinger 1996, 58). Bambus pred vrati je simbol stanja, ki je pogoj za vstop na naslednjo stopnjo zavesti ali poti proti razsvetljenju. Njegove značilnosti so oznaka za notranje stanje tistega, ki vstopa. Potrditev v okviru tradicije *Caodong* najdemo na številnih mestih, v spisih učiteljev in menihov. Primer besed meniha *Furong Daokaija* (芙蓉道楷) (1043–1118) primerno ponazarja naše misli (X 68 (1318), 382a):

入道之徑。內虛外靜。如水澄凝。萬象光映。不沉不浮。萬法自如。

Pot vstopa v dao je biti znotraj prazen in zunaj miren kot voda, bistra in zamrznjena. Potem vse stvari (pojavi) jasno odsevajo druga drugo (na gladini vode) in niso niti potopljene niti plavajoče. Vse dharme bodo takšne.

Prav tak je bambus z ivjem, snegom ali ledom na steblih: znotraj njega je praznina in zunaj njega umirjenost zaledenele vode.

Pesem izteče svoj tok v postopnem stopnjevanju drugega verza v paru. V zaključku, ki mu je namenjen ta prostor, spremljamo pesnikovo oceno, katere vsebino smo nekako spoznali že poprej, v samem telesu pesmi. S preseganjem podob, kar je v nekem smislu najvišji ideal *chanovske* poezije in slikarstva, Wang Wei v pesnikovih očeh preseže realizem Wu Daozija, katerega mojstrsko posnemanje sveta podob in mogočna slikarska tehnika zgolj valovijo gladino uma. Ne nekem drugem mestu Su o Wangovi poeziji in slikarstvu zapiše: »V njegovih pesmih so slike in v njegovih slikah pesmi.« (Xiao 1996, 73)

Postskriptum

Že v uvodu smo omenili, da osnovni namen pričujočega sestavka ne leži v kakršnikoli sintezi posameznih dejstev ali ugotovitev, ki smo jih uspešno ali neuspešno pletli okoli obravnavanih pesmi. Osrednja ugotovitev, ki jo lahko dosežemo v tovrstnem branju pesmi, lahko v prvi vrsti leži predvsem v opredelitvi do dejstva obstoja ali neobstoja posebne pomenske sfere pesniškega jezika. Naslednja stopnja po tej lestvici izpeljave je ugotavljanje narave t. i. jezika budističnih metafor. Oboje v nekem smislu leži onkraj same vsebine posameznih pesmi in se nanaša med drugim tudi na semiotični ustroj jezika, ki je v dopolnjevanju s kulturnim ozadjem, ki ga osmišlja in predstavlja nekakšno platno ali sliko na katerega riše ali prerisuje. Dejstvo obstoja omenjenih jezikovnih ravni in narava njihovega delovanja je pred-predpostavka našega dela, predstavlja namreč osnovni pogoj ukvarjanja in vsebinskega poizvedovanja, kot je naše. Vsekakor pa lahko zatrdimo, da smo tudi na naši poti v obronkih neke zaključene celostne podobe, ki je tako kratki razpravi sicer nedosegljiva. Ta podoba vendarle govori o obstoju določenih pomenskih ravni poetičnega jezika, med katerimi je mogoče prehajati po določenih pravilih in z naslonom na določeno vsebinsko ozadje. Simbol, ki med seboj združuje metaforično in aluzivno, je sicer, če ga jemljemo posamezno, v neprestanem prehajanju med različnimi podobami ali pomenskimi spleti, katerih pomen se ustali in razjasni samo v povezavi vseh elementov izraza in izgradnje z vsemi. Pesem ali slika sta prav v tem smislu majhna podoba makrokozmosa.

Kot rečeno ali videno, se nam je skozi proces poglobljenega branja prikazalo tudi mnogo drugih, stranskih namigov ali »listov« našega narobe obrnjenega drevesa. Izmed pomembnejših, tudi za interpretacijo ene izmed pesmi, je zagotovo povezava med Sujevo retoriko in rabo jezika v razpravah *Caodong* šole budizma *chan*. Veliko sodobnih avtorjev, ki se ukvarjajo s tematiko budističnega pesništva v dinastijah Tang in Song, se namreč z neko posebno težnjo dotikajo problematike *chana* in njegovega doktrinskega ozadja sorazmerno površno. Metafore ali simboli, odvisno od tega s katere strani jih obravnavamo, so velikokrat dojeti brez svoje referenčne vrednosti in kontekstualnega ozadja. Prav tako je v veliki meri, kadar gre za problematiko budizma v poeziji dinastije Song, zanemarjena posebna povezava med svetom, ki ga tke slikarstvo v navezavi na poezijo. Velika izjema je po našem mnenju A. Murck, katere razprave v veliki meri upoštevajo celovitost vseh ravni misli in stvarjenja v dinastiji Song.

Z utemeljitvijo povezave med podobami, ki jih zasledimo v pesmi, lahko vsebino in ustrezen prikaz Budovega razsvetljenja povežemo z določenimi sutrami ali miselnim ukvarjanjem določenega obdobja. Povezave v neki meri odpravljajo

domnevno nedoločnost vsebinske vrednosti poezije ali jo v nekih ozirih zgolj ozemljijo za nekaj trenutkov.

Problem predstavlja tudi dejstvo, da kratki prikaz domnevnega ozadja obravnavane pesmi seveda samodejno ne implicira obstoja širšega telesa, ki predstavlja posplošen način izražanja, prikazovanja ali branja. Mimo tega dejstva v tako omejeni razpravi žal ne moremo.

Na gladini sprotnih opažanj valujejo predvsem posamezne razlage ozadja simbolov in umestitve metafor. Velikokrat so te prevladujoče budistične vsebine, toda nasploh ne moremo govoriti o samo budističnih metaforah, v obličju laične, kakor tudi budistične doktrinske veljave, tradicionalne misli in jezikovne rabe namreč ves čas potekajo zlivanje, spajanje ter izposoja elementov iz vseh smernic imenovane kulture. Daoistične simbolike v rabi ne moremo popolnoma ločiti od daoističnih in konfucianskih. Šele »konstelacije« zvezd pomena nam lahko podajo odločilno razliko. Iz tega seveda izvzemamo budistično terminologijo, ki je na specifičen način prevzeta iz staroindijskega jezika.

Te »konstelacije« tvorijo po eni strani ikonografske okvirje, ki jih običajno najdemo v navezavi na življenja prvih zgodovinskih osebnosti v budističnih linijah. Po drugi strani pa v njih vidimo izreke logičnih in ontoloških vsebin budističnega miselnega sistema. Povedano dobi svoj smisel v prepletu primarnega in sekundarnega pomena, na tak način kot metafore postajajo neposredno razumljene v vsakodnevnem življenju.

Ko se čopič potopi v črnilo, že slika svoj pomen. Tudi črnilo samo je univerzalna ontološka entiteta, ki vključena v mikro-makro kozmološko sliko v svoji notranjosti krije podobo v podobi, princip v principu. Je gradnik nenehno spreminjajoče se hkratnosti dinamike vsega bivajočega. Toda pomen predmetnosti in njene notranjosti, pa najsi bo ta še tako posamična, odpira skozi svojo specifičnost vpogled v univerzalnost zakonitosti in strukture sveta. Poteza čopiča je ideološki ali realistični izraz poti same. Onkraj formalne manifestacije torej biva notranji onto-moralni definicijski ustroj, ki nosi svojo lastno materializacijo v nematerialnem (»metafizičnem«) in na koncu tudi prestopa okvire svoje funkcijske aplikabilnosti. To je prostor, kjer se univerzalni nedeljivi princip ali pot srečata v svoji množičnosti in enobitnosti. Komplementarna celota, ki v svojem spoznavnem procesu dovoljuje pot navzven in navznoter, pa v svoji utelešeni, človeški manifestacije potenciala in dinamike vpliva, seveda mora imeti ustrezno regulativnost, ustroj sveta, ki vzdržuje, ohranja, rojeva, spodbuja itd. Raj tiči v redu, ki ga v konfucianstvu, daoizmu in budizmu pojmuje kot vrste skladnost z resničnim, meta-formalnim in meta-definicijskim v instancah, ki si sledijo druga za drugo. Popelje nas do harmonije oz. vzpostavitve odnosnosti vpliva in delovanja zakonov veselja.

Seznam kratic

- BJYJ** *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集
FGDC *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典
FXJH *Foxue jinghua* 佛學精華
LZYJ *Liu Zongyuan ji* 柳宗元集
QTS *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩
QTW *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文
SSSJ *Su Shi shiji* 蘇軾詩集
T *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩 大藏經
TSJS *Tang shi jianshang cidian* 唐诗鉴赏辞典
X *Xuzangjing yangben* 續藏經樣本

Viri in literatura

- Bai, Juyi 白居易. 1985. *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集 1–4. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Bai, Qianshen. 1999. "Image as Word: A Study of Rebus Play in Song Painting (960–1279)." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 34: 57–72 + 12.
- Beer, Robert. 2003. *The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols*. Chicago & London: Serindia.
- Benn, Charles. 2002. *China's Golden Age: Everyday Life in the Tang Dynasty*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brinker, Helmuth, Hiroshi Kanzawa in Andreas Leisinger. 1996. "Zen Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings." *Artibus Asiae* 40: 3–384.
- Brotherton, Elizabeth. 2001. "Two Farwell Handscrolls of the Late Northern Song." *Archives of Asian Art* 52 (2000/2001): 44–62.
- Broughton, Jeffrey L. 1999. *The Bodhidharma Anthology: The Earliest Records of Zen*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bukkyō hiyu reiwa jiten* 佛教比喻例話辞典, uredil Mori Shōji. 1987. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan.
- Bunce, Friderick W. 1994. *An Encyclopaedia of Buddhist Deities, Demigods, Godlings, Saints, and Demons with Special Focus on Iconographic Attributes* (1 in 2). D. K. Printworld, New Delhi.
- Chen, Pengnian 陈彭年. 2002. *Song ben guang yun* 宋本广韵. Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe.

- Chizen, Akanuma 赤沼智善. 1929. *Kan-Pa shibu shi-Agon goshō-roku* 漢巴四部四阿含照錄. Nagoya: Hajinkaku shobō.
- Chou, Yi-liang. 1945. "Tantrism in China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 (¾): 241–332.
- Conze, Edward. 1967. *Materials for a Dictionary of the Prajñāpāramitā Literature*. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation.
- Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō sōmoku-roku* 大日本續藏經總目錄, uredil Eun Maeda. 1967. Tokyo: Zōkyō Shoin.
- De Bary, Theodore in Irene Bloom. 1999. *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600, Vol. 1*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Debon, Günther. 1978. *Grundbegriffe der Chinesischen Schrifttheorie: Und ihre Verbindung zu Dichtung und Malerei*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Eberhard, Wolfram. 1990. *Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: An Essential Guide to the Hidden Symbols in Chinese Art, Customs and Beliefs*. Singapore: Federal Publications.
- Ebrey, Patricia B. in Gregory Peter N., ur. 1993. *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Egan, Ronald C. 1983. "Poems on Paintings: Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43 (2): 413–51.
- Feng, Qi 冯契. 1998. *Zhongguo gudai zhixue de luoji fazhan* 中国古代哲学的逻辑发展 1., 2. in 3. del. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe.
- Faure, Bernard. 1997. *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典, uredil Xing Yun. 2000. Taipei: Foguang chubanshe.
- Foong, Ping. 2000. "Guo Xi's Intimate Landscapes and the Case of Old Trees, Level Distance." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 35: 87–115.
- Foxue da cidian* 佛學大辭典, uredil Ding Fubao. 1925. Beijing.
- Foxue jinghua* 佛学精华 1–3, uredil Fang Litian. 1994. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe.
- Grant, Beata. 1994. *Mount Lu Revisited; Buddhism in the Life and Writings of Su Shi*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Gulik, Robert van. 1939. "The Lore of Chinese Lute: An Essay in Ch'in Ideology." *Monumenta Nipponica* 2 (1): 75–99.
- Harrist, Robert E. 1991. "Watching Clouds Rise: A Tang Dynasty Couplet and Its Illustration in Song Painting." *The Bulletin of Cleveland Museum of Art* 78 (7): 301–23.
- Hawes, Colin S. 2005. *The Social Circulation of Poetry in the Mid-Northern Song: Emotional Energy and Literati Self-Cultivation*. New York: SUNY.
- Ho, Peng Yoke, Thean Chye Goh in D. Parker. 1974. "Po Chu-i's Poems on Immortality." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 34: 163–86.

- Hsing, Yun. 2001. *Describing the Indescribable*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Hurvitz, L. 1967. "The Surangama Sutra." *Review in Journal of Asian Studies* 26: 482–84.
- Jullien, Francois. 1995. *The Propensity of Things: Toward a History of Efficacy in China*. New York: Zone Books.
- . 2000. *Detour and Access: Strategies of Meaning in China and Greece*. New York: Zone Books.
- Kalupahana, David J. 1992. *A History of Buddhist Philosophy: Continuities and Discontinuities*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Kieschnick, John. 2003. *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Lao Tzu. 2005. *Tao Teh Ching*, prevedel John C. H. Wu. Boston, London: Shambhala Classics.
- Lai, Whalen. 1979. "Ch'an Metaphors: Waves, Water, Mirror, Lamp." *Philosophy East and West* 29 (3): 243–53.
- Lavrač, Maja. 1999. *Onkraj belih oblakov: Daoistična in budistična simbolika v poeziji kitajskega pesnika Wang Weija*. Ljubljana: Založba Obzorja.
- Liu, Heping. 2002. "The Water Mill and Northern Song Imperial Patronage of Art, Commerce and Science." *The Art Bulletin* 84 (4): 566–95.
- Liu, Zongyuan 柳宗元. 1979. *Liu Zongyuan ji 柳宗元集*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Maeda, Robert J. 1971. "The 'Water' Theme in Chinese Painting." *Atribus Asiae* 33 (4): 240–90.
- Mörth, Christian R. 1987. *Das Lin-chi lu des Ch'an-meisters Lin-chi Yi-hsüan: Der Versuch einer Systematisierung des Lin-chi lu*. Hamburg: MOAG.
- Mu, Soeng. 2000. *The Diamond Sutra: Transforming the Way we Perceive the World*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Murck, Alfreda. 2000. *The Subtle Art of Dissent; Poetry and Painting in Song China*. Cambridge (Massachusetts) Harvard University Press.
- Nelson, Susan E. 1999. "Picture Listening: The Sight of Sound in Chinese Painting." *Archives of Asian Art* 51: 30–55.
- Nienhauser, William H. 1979. *P'i Jih-Hsiu*. Boston: Twayne Publishers.
- Notz, Klaus-Josef. 2007. *Herders Lexikon des Buddhismus*. Erfstadt: HOHE.
- Owen, Stephen. 2006. *The Late Tang: Chinese Poetry of the Mid-Ninth Century (827–860)*. Cambridge (Massachusetts) & London: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Quan Tang shi 全唐詩* 1–25, uredil Pedng Dingqiu. 1979. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Quan Tang wen 全唐文*. 1990. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Rošker, Jana. 2005. *Iskanje poti – Spoznavna teorija v kitajski tradiciji: 1. del – od protofilozofskih klasikov do neokonfucianstva dinastije Song*. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta.

- Schlütter, Morten. 2002. "Silent Illumination, Kung-an Introspection, and the Competition for Lay Patronage in Sung Dynasty Chan." *V Buddhism in Sung*, uredila P. Gregory in D. Getz, 109–49. Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 13. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Shaw, Miranda. 1988. "Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Landscape Painting." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49 (2): 183–206.
- Sirén, Osvald. 2003. *The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Texts by the Painter-Critics, from the Han through the Ch'ing Dynasties*. Mineola: Dover Press.
- Smith, Paul Jakov in Denis Twitchet. 2009. *The Cambridge History of China: The Song Dynasty and its Presursors, 907–1279*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Spring, Madeline. 1991. "The Celebrated Cranes of Po Chü-i." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1): 8–18.
- Songling ji* 松陵集, uredila Lu Guimeng in Pi Rixiu. 1994. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian.
- Su, Shi 苏轼. 1982. *Su Shi shi ji* 苏轼诗集 1–8, uredil Wang Wengao. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Suzuki, Daisetz T. 1956. *The Lankavatara Sutra: A Mahayana Text*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- . 1998. *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
- Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 1–100. 1988. Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kabushiki-gaisha.
- Tang, Gaocai, ur. 1985. *Tang shi jianshang cidian* 唐诗鉴赏辞典. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chuban she.
- Tomlonovic, Kathleen M. 1974. *Poetry of Exile and Return: A Study of Su Shi (1037–1101)*. Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services.
- Van Zoeren, Steven J. 1991. *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Xiao, Lihua 萧丽华. 1996. *Tangdai shige yu foxue* 唐代诗歌与佛学. Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi.
- Xuyangjing yangben* 續藏經樣本. 1923. Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan.
- Watson, Burton. 1997. *The Vimalakirti Sutra*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Williams, Charles A. S. 1974. *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs; A Comprehensive Handbook on Symbols in Chinese Art Through the Ages*. Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing.
- Winternitz, Moritz. 1983. *A History of Indian Literature. Vol. 2: Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature*, prevedel Srinivasa Sarma. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Wright, Arthur F. 1957. "Buddhism and Chinese Culture: Phases of Interaction." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 17 (1): 17–42.

- Zaccheti, Stefano. 1996. "Dharmagupta's Unfinished Translation of the Diamond-Cleaver." *T'ong Pao*, Second Series 82 (1/3): 137–52.
- Zhang, Gengguang 张耿光. 1991. *Zhuangzi quanyi* 庄子全译. Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chuban she.
- Zhang, Xiang 張相. 1954 *Shi ci qu yuci huishi* 詩詞曲語辭匯釋. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Zong, Desheng. 2005. "Three Language-Related Methods in Early Chinese Chan Buddhism." *Philosophy East and West* 55 (4): 584–602.
- Zhong, Cunyuan 中村元. 1984. *Zhongguo fojiao fazhan shi (shang)* 中国佛教发展史 (上). Taipei: Tianhua chuban gongsi.

Summary (Buddhist Iconography and *Chan* Symbolism in Su Shi's Poem "Paintings of Wang Wei and Wu Daozi")

After having conducted a more thorough analysis of the poem "The paintings of Wangwei and Wu Daozi" and having delved deeper into the background of contemporary Buddhist philosophy, the article's leitmotif arrived at the point where a conclusion could be induced, claiming that the above-named poem by Su Shi represents his meditation on the two theories of enlightenment as debated by the prevalent schools of Buddhism in the Song dynasty. Thus, for example, the symbols and allusions used in the poem, such as: the notion of mind, expressed with the use of symbols related to water and its phenomena, the symbol of the white crane, the forest of the enlightened, the metaphor of the grey ash and the withered tree, bamboo, stems and branches, etc., can be traced back to Buddhist sutras and contemporary writings on Buddhist epistemology and metaphysics. Furthermore, if the symbols and allusions are traced further, to the very texts or terminology used by contemporary Buddhist laymen, clergy, or poets, we discover that they generally either pertain to or originate in two lines of textual traditions: Lanka-vatara and Vajracchedika. Finally, if we take into account that both of them have made their presence in contemporary Buddhist controversies, we can see how the poet's meditation revolves around something beyond the mere aesthetic value of the two paintings used in his poem. It is in the manner in which all the symbols, allusions, and images are used in his poem, that the semiotic nature of the poem is revealed. This is akin to Su Shi's descriptive praise of Wang Wei's paintings and poems: "His poems contain paintings and his paintings poems". This concatenation of entelechies of vital notions in Buddhist philosophy of enlightenment—as in the case of the above-named poem—represents the ultimate metaphor for the epistemological continuity of modes and mindsets, of which a work of art, be it a poem or a painting, is a most important reflection.

Podoba in vloga *Matere Zahodnega kraljestva* v grobni umetnosti dinastije Han

Nataša VAMPELJ SUHADOLNIK*

Izvleček

Pričujoči prispevek podrobneje obravnava podobo kitajske starodavne boginje *Matere Zahodnega kraljestva*, v kitajščini imenovane *Xiawangmu* 西王母. *Xiawangmu* je v mitološki tradiciji prikazana kot boginja, ki poseduje eliksir nesmrtnosti in prebiva v Zahodnem rajju na magični gori *Kunlun* 崑崙. Njeno podobo je mogoče opazovati v stenskem slikarstvu, na lakiranih izdelkih, bronastih ogledalih, največkrat pa se pojavi kot reliefna podoba na kamnih ali opekah, ki so sestavljale grobne komore ali posamezne templje na površju grobne zasnove dinastije Han (206 pr. n. št.–220 n. št.). Literarna tradicija razkriva več-funkcionalno vlogo matere s številnim atributi, ki se razvija skladno s spreminjajočimi se vrednotami družbenih mitoloških konceptov. Kakšna je njena podoba in kakšno vlogo prevzema v širšem kozmološkem konceptu v grobni umetnosti dinastije Han, je osrednja problematika pričujočega prispevka.

Ključne besede: *Mati Zahodnega kraljestva*, *Xiawangmu* 西王母, *yin-yang* 陰陽, grobna umetnost, dinastija Han

Abstract

The present article is a detailed study of the image of an ancient Chinese goddess, *The Queen Mother of the West*, called *Xiawangmu* 西王母 in Chinese. In the mythological tradition, *Xiawangmu* is a goddess who possesses the elixir of immortality and dwells in the western paradise, on the magic mountain *Kunlun* 崑崙. While her image can be found in mural paintings, and on lacquered objects and bronze mirrors, it appears primarily in the form of relief images on the stones and bricks of grave chambers and temples in the Han (206 BCE–220 CE) grave complexes. The literary tradition reveals a multifunctional role of the mother, with her many attributes developing in accordance with the changing values of social and mythological concepts. The article concludes with a detailed discussion of her image and role within the wider cosmological context of Han grave art.

Keywords: *Queen Mother of the West*, *Xiawangmu* 西王母, *yin-yang* 陰陽, grave art, Han Dynasty

* Nataša VAMPELJ SUHADOLNIK, izredna profesorica na Oddelku za azijske študije, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, Ljubljana. natasa.vampeljshadolnik@ff.uni-lj.si



Uvod

Frontalna podoba *Mater Zahodnega kraljestva* (*Xiawangmu* 西王母) z okrasnim pokrivalom *sheng* 勝 je v grobni umetnosti dinastije Han (206 pr. n. št.–220 n. št.) izredno pogost motiv. Največkrat se pojavi kot reliefna podoba na opekah ali kamnih, ki so sestavljali grobne komore ali na grobnem površju stoječe templje, nemalokrat pa jo je mogoče opaziti tudi v stenskem slikarstvu, na lakiranih izdelkih ter bronastih ogledalih. Upodabljanje številnih atributov, povezanih z njenim svetom, kompozicijska shema, prostorska umeščenost in seveda sama njena podoba v grobni umetnosti, interpretirana s pomočjo posameznih literarnih zapisov, razkrije večfunkcionalno vlogo. Za podrobno analizo njene podobe in vloge je tako nujna interpretacija znotraj razvijajoče se formule, ki v različnih časovnih razdobjih podobo matere zavija v različne simbolične ovoje. Med temi pomembno vlogo odigra tudi ovijanje v simbolično vlogo kozmične sile *yin* 陰, ki se pojavi šele v času dinastije Vzhodni Han.

V raziskovanju ideološke slikovne podlage oltarja *Wu Liang* 武梁祠 v provinci Shandong je njeno simbolično vlogo ugotovil že Wu Hung (Wu 1989, 108–41). Med drugim je nakazal tudi nekatere povezave med *Xiawangmu* in preostalimi relevantnimi koncepti, pomembnimi za razumevanje samega evolucijskega procesa njene podobe. V sistematični podobi je prikazal integracijo *Xiawangmu* in mitične gore *Kunlun*, ki je v literaturi dinastije Han večkrat opisana kot visoka gora s tremi vrhovi različnih višin, kjer raste drevo in teče voda dolgega življenja. V nadaljevanju je prikazal transformacijo *Xiawangmu* iz običajnega božanstva v glavni religiozni objekt čaščenja ter poiskal izvor frontalne upodobitve matere in simetrične razporeditve v kompozicijski zasnovi, ki predstavlja standardni način portretiranja *Xiawangmu* v času dinastije Vzhodni Han, in sicer v indijski budistični umetnosti, katere vpliv se je od sredine prvega stoletja začel širiti v kitajski kulturni sferi. Pri tem je prikazal, da se posamezne konceptualne povezave realizirajo le v specifični fazi evolucijskega procesa materine podobe. Njeno simbolično utelešenje sile *yin*, kot zaključil Wu Hung, se tako pojavi šele v času dinastije Vzhodni Han (Wu 1989, 140). V nadaljevanju članka bo prikazan postopni evolucijski razvoj njene simbolične vloge *yin* v širšem kozmološkem kontekstu. Nadaljnje raziskovanje namreč razkrije, da se dovršena oblika te simbolične podobe v resnici uveljavi šele v času dinastije Vzhodni Han, vendar se zametki tovrstnega simboliziranja razvijajo že v predhodnem obdobju.

Podoba *Mater Zahodnega kraljestva* v literarni tradiciji

Analiza starodavnih literarnih zapisov prikaže večfunkcionalno vlogo matere, ki se skupaj s številnimi atributi razvija skladno s spreminjajočimi se vrednotami

družbenih mitoloških konceptov. V literaturi je opazen lahkoten preobrat od divje in neusmiljene do omikane in prijazne boginje, ki zapeljuje cesarja, poseduje eliksir nesmrtnosti in prebiva v Zahodnem raju na magični gori *Kunlun*. Povezava boginje z nesmrtnostjo vodi v preoblikovanje njenega kulta v religiozen objekt, v katerega so proti koncu dinastije Zahodni Han usmerjena fanatična čaščenja.¹ S tem boginja pridobi sposobnost pomoči ljudem v njihovem vsakdanjem življenju, jim prinaša zdravje, dolgo življenje, blaginjo in potomce, hkrati pa duše pokojnikov vodi do nebeškega nesmrtnega kraljestva. Njena povezava z neskončnostjo v smislu daoistične kultne podobe je zajeta že v knjigi *Zhuangzi* 莊子 iz 4. st. pr. n. št., ki predstavlja najstarejši zapis o boginji. Tu je omenjena skupaj z nekaterimi prvotnimi božanstvi, ki so povezana s kozmogoničnim stvarstvom univerzuma in človeškega rodu, vendar nihče ne pozna njenega začetka in konca (*Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi* 2001, 181). Knjiga *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (*Klasično delo o gorah in jezerih*) podaja konkretnjšo podobo *Matere Zahodnega kraljestva*. Prikazuje jo kot hibridno bitje, po videzu podobno človeku, vendar z določenimi živalskimi karakteristikami, ki prebiva v zahodni divjini.

又西三百五十里，曰玉山，是西王母所居也。西王母其狀如人，豹尾虎齒而善嘯，髮戴勝，是司天之厲及五殘。（*Shanhaijing jiaoyi* 1995, 31）

Še tristo petdeset lijev proti zahodu je Žadasta gora, kraj, kjer prebiva Xiwangmu. Po videzu je Xiwangmu podobna človeku, ima panterjev rep in tigrove zobe. Je odlična v žvižganju. V zamršenih laseh nosi okrasje sheng. Nadzoruje kužne bolezni, ki jih pošilja nebo, in pet kazni.²

Citat prikazuje zgodnjo vlogo *Xiwangmu*, ki igra nekakšno pol človeško pol živalsko uradnico, ki je zadolžena za nadloge na zemlji in številne kazni. Povsem

1 V knjigi *Hanshu* 漢書 (*Zgodovina dinastije Zahodni Han*) je kar na treh mestih zabeleženo masovno gibanje, ki je zaradi hude suše izbruhnilo leta 3 pr. n. št. na vzhodu in se pomikalo proti zahodu, dokler ni doseglo prestolnice Changan 長安. Ljudje so v evforiji tekali naokrog in prenašali veje oz. nekakšna slamnata stebila, misleč da prenašajo palico *Xiwangmujine* odredbe. Nekateri so se obnašali izredno nedisciplinirano, podirali ograje, plezali čez zidove, kričali in strašili drug drugega. Ljudje so se zbirali in s petjem in plesom častili *Xiwangmu*. Med drugim so prenašali tudi nekakšna zapisana sporočila boginje, da kdor nosi talismane in veruje, ne bo umrl (*Hanshu* 2002, poglavje *Aidi ji* 哀帝紀 (*Anali cesarja Ai*): 342; poglavje *Tianwenzhi* 天文志 (*Razprava o astronomiji*): 1311–1312; poglavje *Wuxingzhi* 五行志 (*Razprava o teoriji petih faz*): 1476).

2 V starodavni Kitajski so poznali pet glavnih oblik telesnih kazni: tetoviranje obraza, odrez nosu, odrez noge, kastracija in obglavljenje. Zadnji del citata (»nadzoruje kužne bolezni, ki jih pošilja nebo in pet kazni«) ponuja različne interpretacije, ki se izražajo v njeni moči nad določenimi ozvezdji, v moči nad nadlogami na zemlji do same vloge kontroliranja zlonamernih duhov (Birrell 1999, 173). Večinoma pa razkriva njeno vlogo maščevalne in jezne boginje, katere božanska moč zbuja spoštovanje.

nasprotno podobo razkriva daljše poročilo, ki v knjigi *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (*Kronika nebeškega sina Mu*) opisuje srečanje kralja Mu 穆 iz dinastije Zahodni Zhou z boginjo *Xiwangmu*³ (Sun 1995, 101; Birrell 1999, 174–75). Tu se neprijazna in hudobna podoba spremeni v lepo, prijazno in gostoljubno osebo ženskega spola, ki v svoji palači skladno z diplomatsko vljudnostjo in izmenjavo daril pogosti kralja Mu. Kot prijazno in dobrosrčno boginjo, ki deli eliksir nesmrtnosti, jo prikaže tudi delo *Huainanzi* 淮南子:

羿請不死之藥於西王母，姮娥竊以奔月。(Huainanzi jishi 1998, 6: 501)

Yi prosi *Xiwangmu* za zdravilo neumrljivosti, Heng E ga ukrade in zbeži na luno.

Medtem ko v tem delu dobrovoljno deli večni napoj, je v istem poglavju na drugem mestu prikazana kot potencialno nevarna oseba, ki v jezi uniči lasni ornament *sheng* in človeški svet oropa življenjskih napojev (Huainanzi jishi 1998, 6: 489–92). Iz tovrstnih citatov je jasno razvidna dvojna vloga matere, ki se izključuje, a hkrati dopolnjuje. Po eni strani je prikazana kot boginja smrti, ki nadzoruje kužne bolezni in upravlja telesne kazni, med katerimi je tudi usmrtitev, po drugi strani pa je prikazana kot boginja življenja, ki prinaša zdravje, srečo in deli eliksir nesmrtnosti. V ženskem telesu sta torej združeni dve osnovni vodili kozmične narave, ki človeškemu svetu ponudita naravno zavetje, možnost življenja, prebivanja in hranjenja, a ga po drugi strani s številnimi naravnimi vremenskimi pojavi in katastrofami omejujeta in ga postavljata v stalne nevarnosti preživetja. *Xiwangmu* postane predstavnic dveh naravnih sil, ki v svoji igri prepletanja ustvarjata nenehne spremembe in s tem prispevata tako k zaključku posameznih naravnih procesov kot k njihovemu ponovnemu rojstvu. S tem pridobi kozmično moč vzdrževanja nepretrganosti eksistenčnih krogov, s katero ves čas plete mrežo kozmosa in omogoča nadaljevanje življenjskih ciklov.

Upodobitev *Xiwangmu* na prestolu, ki ga ob straneh obkrožata zmaj in tiger, potrdi tudi njeno kreativno vlogo v smislu prepletanja dveh kozmičnih sil (Slika 1). Beli tiger in zelenomodri zmaj sta tako v upodabljalni umetnosti kot v literarnem opusu večkrat prikazana kot dve božanski živali, ki stražita vsaka svojo nebeško palačo. Skladno z razširjeno korelativno kozmologijo simbolizirata tudi strani neba in letne čase in s tem hkrati predstavljata simbola dveh kozmičnih sil. Zmaj, predstavnik vzhodne palače in pomladi, tako upodablja silo *yang*, tiger, ki straži zahodno palačo in nadzoruje proces jeseni, pa simbolizira silo *yin*. Tudi v tej upodobitvi bi lahko zaznali zvezo dveh sil, ki ju simbolizirata zmaj in tiger, iz

3 Čas nastanka knjige se tradicionalno uvršča v obdobje Vojskujočih se držav, vendar naj bi po nekaterih domnevah nastala šele v času po dinastiji Han (Birrell 1999, 172–3).

katere se *Xiwangmu* izloči kot izključno predstavnica sile *yin*, kar nakazujejo tudi preostali simbolni atributi.



Slika 1: *Xiwangmu* in njeno nesmrtno kraljestvo, opeka iz province Sichuan (vir: Birrell 1999, 171)

Podoba, atributi in vloga *Matere Zahodnega kraljestva* v grobni umetnosti dinastije Han

Prizor na opeki iz province Sichuan (Slika 1) poleg *Matere Zahodnega kraljestva* prikazuje še vrsto drugih bitij, ki so *Xiwangmu* delala družbo v njenem Zahodnem paradizu. Frontalno upodobljena *Xiwangmu* je prikazana v središču kompozicije, medtem ko preostale podobe s svojo razvrstitvijo in večinoma profilno upodobitvijo vse niti pozornosti vodijo proti osrednji boginji. *Xiwangmu* na glavi nosi okrasno pokrivalo in sedi na prestolu, ki ga pokriva nekakšen baldahin. Baldahin v podobi okroglega dežnika, ki se dviga nad spodnjim ravnim delom, že sam zase namiguje na kozmografsko podobo kozmosa (okroglo nebo in kvadratna zemlja), hkrati pa podobi pod sabo pridaja kraljevsko-božanski status. Prestol varujeta zmaj in tiger. Levo od *Xiwangmu* je prikazana lisica z devetimi repi, pod katero čepi zajec z nekakšno rastlino v rokah, ki jo ponuja pred njim sedečima osebama. Jean M. James osebi identificira kot pokojna starša poslušnega sina, ki se v drugem kotu v prošnji za starše ponižno klanja in obrača k boginji *Xiwangmu* (Jean 1997, 77). Med njima svoje obrede plesa izvaja velika krastača, desno od nje stoji trinožna ptica, čisto ob robu pa je prikazan stoječi stražar s palico v rokah. Kot je

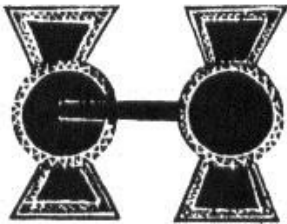
razvidno iz same upodobitve, se vzporedno z razvojem mitološkega kulta *Xiwangmu* v njeni bližini pojavlja vedno več ikonografskih atributov, ki jih Michael Loewe povzame v naslednjih deset atributov: pokrivalo *sheng*, zmajev in tigrov prestol, zajec, ki v možnarju drobi zelišča in zdravila, krastača, trinožna ptica, oboroženi stražar, priprošnjiki, lisica z devetimi repi, igra *liubo*⁴ 六博 in gora *Kunlun* (Loewe 1979, 103). Množica lahko prepoznavnih atributov, ki jih literatura večkrat povezuje z nesmrtnim zdravilom oz. nesmrtnim Zahodnim paradížem *Xiwangmu*, pripomore k precej zanesljivi identifikaciji osrednje osebe s pokrivalom na prestolu. Atributi identificirajo tovrstno podobo za *Mater Zahodnega kraljestva*, kajti sami slikovni motivi posedujejo ikonografske poteze, ki povezujejo figure in zgodbe z literaturo. Najpomembnejši atribut *Xiwangmu* je zagotovo njena sposobnost podeljevanja nesmrtnih napojev, zaradi česar tudi postane glavni religiozni objekt čaščenja proti koncu dinastije Zahodni Han. V njeni bližini so tako večkrat prikazani pomočniki, ki so zaposleni z izdelavo eliksirja dolgega življenja ali nesmrtnosti. Še posebej pomemben je zajec, ki ima v rokah tolkač in v možnarju drobi razna zelišča in druge zdravilne sestavine. V tej vlogi je jasno prikazan v grobnici *Yanshi Xin cun* 偃師辛村 z začetka dinastije Vzhodni Han (Slika 2).



Slika 2: *Xiwangmu* in njeno kraljestvo, grobnica Yanshi Xin cun iz province Henan (vir: Huang 1996, 137)

4 Igra *liubo*, razširjena razvedrilna igra v dinastiji Han, je nekakšna predhodnica današnjega šaha. Na kvadratni plošči so bili zarisani posamezni vzorci v obliki črk T, L in V, ki so podobni označbam na bronastih ogledalih TLV. Pri igri so šest bambusovih palic stresli iz skodelice in nato skladno z vzorci premaknili žeton na predpisano mesto na plošči. Nekateri igro povezujejo z vedeževanjem.

Tu je na zgornjem delu zadnje predelne stene, ki glavno sobano deli v srednjo in zadnjo sobano, prikazana *Xiwangmu* s svojim kraljestvom. Pod valovitim baldahinom sta na dveh valovitih rdečih oblakih kot nekakšnih podpornikih prikazana mati in zajec. Mati v vijolični obleki, z modrim pletom ogrnjenim čez ramena in s sklenjenimi rokami pred prsmi, nosi na glavi značilni okras *sheng*. Čeprav podoba lasnega okrasa *sheng* v zapisih ni nikjer konkretnije podana, so si ga zamislili kar sami ustvarjalci, pri tem pa so vsi sledili istemu vzoru. Lasni okras iz žada so si zamislili kot dva kroga, povezana z osjo, iz katerih se na vsaki strani dvigujeta še dva trikotniško oblikovana zaključka. Da je tovrstna podoba resnično predstavljala okras *sheng*, potrjuje tudi poslikava stropa v templju *Wu Liang*. Tu so na stropu prikazane najrazličnejše nepovezane podobe, ki jih vertikalni napisi identificirajo za nebeška znamenja, poleg tega pa specificirajo pogoje za njihovo manifestacijo. Med njimi je prikazan tudi zgoraj opisani predmet, ki ga napis označi za žadasti okras *sheng* (Slika 3).



Slika 3: Lasni okras sheng iz žada, strop templja Wu Liang
(vir: Wu 1989, 245)

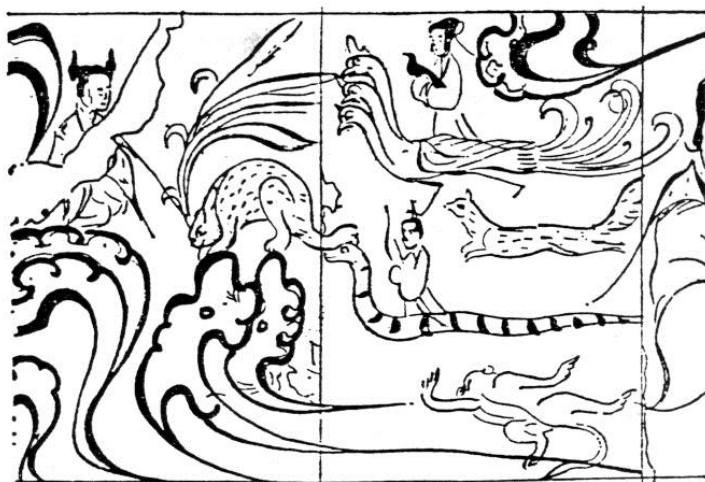
Okras, ki ga nosi ženska podoba (*Xiwangmu*) v zgoraj omenjeni upodobitvi, kaže neverjetno podobnost s tem predmetom, kar po drugi strani služi kot dodatni dokaz, da gre za predmet *sheng* in s tem za upodobitev *Matere Zahodnega kraljestva*. Zraven matere je upodobljen zajec z velikimi ušesi in parom kril na hrbtu, pred katerim je postavljena modra skodelica na eni nogi. Način upodobitve in sama gesta zajca nakazujeta, da prav v tem trenutku pripravlja zel večnega življenja. Med obema valovitima stebroma oblakov je ponovno prikazana velika krastača, ki verjetno ravno izvaja svoj obred plesnega razgibavanja. Zraven krastače je upodobljena krilata štirinožna žival, ki jo nekateri enačijo z lisico devetih repov (Huang 1996, 122; He 2002, 57). Med številnimi atributi sta ravno zajec in krastača dva izmed najpogostejših motivov, ki ju upodablja skupaj z boginjo *Xiwangmu*. Mitološka tradicija je zgovorna o njuni povezavi z luno, saj naj bi tako zajec kot krastača prebivala v sami luni. Luna je tako v grobni poslikavi večkrat prikazana prav skupaj z zajcem in krastačo. Pojav krastače znotraj lune lahko povežemo z zgodbo lokostrelca *Yija* 羿, ki s sestrelitvijo devetih sonc reši svet pred izsušitvijo

in kot nagrado prejme večni napoj *Materi Zahodnega kraljestva*. Njegova žena *Heng E* 嫦娥 možu ukrade darilo in zbeži na luno, kjer se spremeni v krastačo. Krastača tako poseduje eliksir nesmrtnosti, hkrati pa tudi sam naravni cikel krastače nakazuje kroženje življenjske moči. Zajec je ravno tako pomemben element v luninem kultu nesmrtnosti, saj naj bi bil zadolžen za izdelovanje eliksirja večnega življenja, katerega drevo se je nahajalo znotraj lune. Zaradi skupne lastnosti posedovanja oz. izdelovanja večnega napoja pride v mitološkem evlucijskem procesu do integracije obeh motivov, ki se v vizualni formi udejanji v grobnih ikonografskih motivih. Umetniki dinastije Han zajca izločijo iz lune, ga opremijo z orodjem za izdelavo napoja in ga postavijo v bližino boginje, ki poseduje tovrstno zdravilo in ga deli drugim zaslužnim osebam. Krastača in zajec tako postaneta pomemben sestavni faktor materinega kraljestva in njenega kulta nesmrtnosti. Hkrati oba že nakazujeta njeno kasnejšo kozmološko vlogo, ki se izpopolni v povezavi z moškim predstavnikom nasprotnega kraljestva. Namreč tako krastača kot zajec s stalnim bivališčem na luni predstavljata lunino esenco, ki je hkrati »osnova zbirajočega se yina« (*Lü shi Chunqiu* 1996, 92). Še konkretnejšo podobo podaja slavni astronom dinastije Vzhodni Han Zhang Heng 張衡, ki pravi naslednje: »luna je osnova esence yina, s kopičenjem postane žival kot krastača ali zajec« (*Huainanzi jishi* 1998, 7: 509). Torej so luna, krastača in zajec prepoznavni simboli kozmične sile *yin* in dejstvo, da se pojavijo v bližini *Xiwangmu*, že vsebuje zametke kasnejše vloge matere. Tudi samo bivališče matere na zahodnem gorovju je postavljeno v domeno prevladujočega *yina*, kar povsem nazorno odraža že samo poimenovanje boginje z nazivom »Mati Zahodnega kraljestva«. V grobnici *Yanshi Xin cun* sama podobe matere sicer še ne igra vodilne vloge v simbolizaciji kozmičnega principa, ta je namreč povsem jasno nakazana z upodobitvijo *Fuxija* 伏羲 z luno in *Nüwe* 女媧 s soncem,⁵ vendar že sami atributi ter tudi lokacija na severnem delu grobnice nakazujejo postopno prehajanje v tovrstno domeno kozmičnega udejanjenja.

Zanimiva je tudi upodobitev v grobnici *Bu Qianqiu* 卜千秋 iz poznega obdobja dinastije Zahodni Han, ki predstavlja najzgodnejšo upodobitev *Materi Zahodnega kraljestva*. Na stropu so v vodoravni kompoziciji prikazana posamezna božanska

5 *Fuxi* in *Nüwa* sta v mitološko-literarni tradiciji prikazana kot dve največji kozmogonični božanstvi, ki iz predobstoječe substance ustvarita človeški rod in ga popeljeta v svet civilizacijskih dosežkov. *Nüwa* pri tem nastopa kot boginja, ki prispeva k oblikovanju kozmično-naravnega reda in rojstvu človeškega rodu, *Fuxi* pa kot nekakšen legendarni prednik, ki uredi in vodi človeški svet ter ga podučí o številnih naprednih družbeno-filozofskih rešitvah. V grobni umetnosti sta pogosto prikazana kot bitji s človeško glavo in kačjim repom, ki se med seboj prepletata, v rokah pa držita orodje za stvarstvo kozmičnega prostora, ali sonce in luno, ki že samo po sebi simbolizira silo *yin* ali *yang*. Podrobna analiza grobnega materiala ter filozofskih in mitološko-literarnih virov je razkrila, da sta v grobni umetnosti pogosto upodobljena *Fuxi* in *Nüwa* konkretizacija abstraktne kozmične sile *yang* in sile *yin*.

bitja, med katerimi se v objemu valovitih oblakov prikazuje tudi človeška podoba, ki jo dodatni atributi identificirajo za *Xiwangmu* (Slika 4).



Slika 4: *Xiwangmu*, detajl vodoravne poslikave na stropu v grobnici Bu Qianqiu (vir: Wu 1989, 113)

Večina strokovnjakov meni, da prizor upodablja vstop pokojnih duš v nebeško kraljestvo (Sun 1977, 128; Chen 1986, 139; He 2002, 30–31).⁶ Osebi na triglavi ptici in kači naj bi bila mož in žena, zakopana v tej grobnici, ki v spremstvu drugih nesmrtnih bitij odhajata v Zahodni paradiz. Tu jih že pričakuje *Xiwangmu*, ki se skriva med valovitimi oblaki. Atributi, kot so ornament *sheng* na glavi, zajec, krastača in lisica devetih repov, brez dvoma potrjujejo prisotnost same boginje Zahodnega kraljestva, čeravno nekateri strokovnjaki dvomijo v njeno upodobitev. Po mnenju Sun Zuoyuna naj bi bila namreč tukaj prikazana nekakšna služabnica *Mater Zahodnega kraljestva*, ki je prišla pospremit obe duši (Sun 1977, 128). Tudi v tej grobnici sta kozmična principa *yin* in *yang* simbolizirana s *Fuxijem* in *Nüwo* ter s soncem in luno, ki se skupaj s svojima atributoma nahajata vsak na svojem koncu celotne poslikave. Kljub temu je namigovanje na poznejši prevzem simbolične

6 Vsi trije strokovnjaki menijo, da prizor prikazuje vstop pokojnih duš v nebeško kraljestvo. Mnenje se rahlo razlikuje le v identifikaciji podobe med oblaki. Medtem ko sta tako Chen kot He povsem prepričana, da je to sama *Xiwangmu*, Sun nasprotno meni, da to ni *Xiwangmu*, temveč njena služabnica, ki je prišla pospremit obe duši. Povsem nasprotno mnenje podaja japonski strokovnjak Hayashi Minao. Po njegovem mnenju prizor ne prikazuje vstopa duš v nebesa, temveč nekakšno severno božanstvo, ki skupaj s predstavniki preostalih treh smeri (modrozelenim zmajem, belim tigrom in rdečo ptico) letajo po nebu. Oseba na triglavi ptici s trinožno ptico v rokah naj bi tako prikazovala severnega pomočnika *Xuan Minga* 玄冥, oseba na kači pod njim pa njegovega spremljevalca (Hayashi 1999, 90–93).

vloge *yina* povsem očitno iz posameznih motivov, ki obkrožajo *Xiwangmu*. Na eni strani zajec in krastača ter na drugi beli tiger, stražar zahodnega dela, tako ponovno utelešajo *yinovo* esenco, vsi skupaj pa se pomikajo proti božanstvu *yina*, *Nüwo* in luni, kjer sila *yin* doseže svojo polno izrazno moč.

Mati Zahodnega kraljestva v vlogi kozmične sile yin

Naslednji korak v postopnem prevzemu kozmične vloge nazorno prikazujeta trikotniška zaključka zahodne in vzhodne stene v templju *Xiaotang shan* 孝堂山 iz province Shandong (Slika 5).



Slika 5: Upodobitev na vzhodnem in zahodnem zatrepu templja *Xiaotang shan*, provinca Shandong (shematični prikaz)

(vir: Xin 2000, 155)

1 – vzhodni zatrep s *Fuxijem* in *Fengbojem*

2 – zahodni zatrep z *Nüwo* in *Xiwangmu*

Na zahodnem zatrepu je na vrhu prikazana *Nüwa* s kačjim telesom, ki v rokah drži šestilo. V spodnjem delu središčno kompozicijsko točko zavzema frontalno prikazana *Xiwangmu*, okrog katere čepijo različna božanska bitja. Levo od nje lahko ponovno vidimo zajca s tolkačem v rokah, ki v možnarju pripravlja večno zel. *Xiwangmu* je torej upodobljena skupaj z *Nüwo*, in je v tem času, v prvem

stoletju našega štetja, že začela utelešati univerzalno silo *yin*. To nakazuje tudi upodobitev na nasprotni strani stene na vzhodnem zatrepu, kjer zgornjo pozicijo zavzema *Fuxi* s tesarjevim kotnikom, spodaj pa je prikazana večja podoba, ki skače v zrak. V rokah drži nekakšen čuden predmet, s katerim poskuša odpihniti streho. Tudi na preostalih upodobitvah lahko kot nasprotni pol *Xiawangmu* najdemo tovrstno podobo, ki piha v streho (Xin 2000, 154). Ta podoba je identificirana kot *Fengbo* 風伯 (*Gospodar vetra*), ki v kozmičnem prostoru predstavlja naravno božanstvo, določeno za nadzor vetra (Xin 2000, 154; Wu 1989, 112–6). V literarnih virih je *Fengbo* večkrat poistoveten z zvezdo *Ji* 箕. Literat in dober politik iz dinastije Vzhodni Han Cai Yong 蔡邕 v svojem delu *Duduan* 獨斷 (*Posamezna določba*) pravi naslednje:

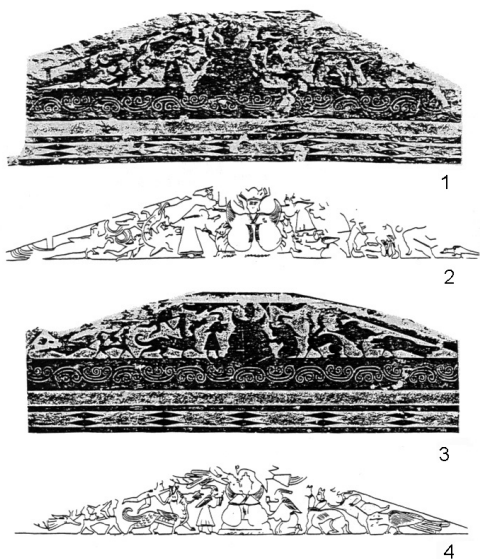
風伯神，箕星也。其象在天，能興風。(Xin 2000, 154)

Bog gospodar vetra je zvezda *Ji*. Njegova podoba je na nebu, lahko poraja veter.

Tudi druga literarna tradicija prikazuje splošno razširjeno verovanje, da zvezda *Ji* obvladuje različne vetrove (Xin 2000, 154). Iz tega lahko sklepamo, da je *Fengbo* nekakšna antropomorfična podoba zvezde *Ji*. In ker se je, kot pravi slavni zgodovinar Sima Qian 司馬遷, zvezda *Ji* nahajala na vzhodnem delu neba kot sestavni del ozvezdja zelenomodrega zmaja (Shiji 2000, 1023–4), je tudi *Fengbo* postal vzhodno božanstvo, ki nadzira veter. Skladno s tem je v grobni poslikavi vedno upodobljen na vzhodni strani. Wu Hung v tolmačenju integracije *Xiawangmu* s principom *yin* tovrstno podobo označi za utelešenje sile *yang*, saj naj bi prav povezava z vzhodom in zmajem razložila njegov pojav in samo vlogo na vzhodnih delih templjev iz dinastije Vzhodni Han (Wu 1989, 112–6). Simbolno polarnost *Materi Zahodnega kraljestva* in vzhodnega *Gospodarja vetrov* in njuno širšo vlogo v kozmičnem prostoru pa ne nakazuje le njuna nasprotna pozicija na zahodu in vzhodu, temveč je jasno nakazana z upodobitvijo *Fuxija* in *Nüwe*. Za prikaz utelešenja obeh sil pa takšna rešitev nikakor ni bila idealna, saj podobi razen nasprotne pozicije ne premoreta nobenih skupnih karakteristik. Poleg tega tudi na lestvici nadnaravnih bitij ne igrata povsem enakovredne vloge. *Xiawangmu* je boginja nesmrtnosti, ki, čeprav daleč proč od ljudi, še vedno prebiva na zemlji na visoki gori *Kunlun*. *Fengbo* nasprotno uteleša naravno božanstvo, ki živi na nebu. V tem času *Fengbo* tako predstavlja le nekakšno prehodno fazo do vzpostavitev celovitega polarnega nasprotja, ki se dokončno izoblikuje v sredini drugega stoletja. Ob *Materi Zahodnega kraljestva* se tako prvič pojavi *Oče Vzhodnega kraljestva*, pri tem pa že samo poimenovanje obeh božanstev (*Xiawangmu* 西王母: *xi* – zahod, *wang* – kralj, *mu* – mati, ženska; *Dongwanggong* 東王公: *dong* – vzhod,

wang – kralj, gong – moški) nakazuje popolno polarnost obeh bitij in njuno simbolizacijo kozmičnih sil.

Najzgodnejšo upodobitev obeh tovrstnih božanstev nesmrtnih dežel prikazujeta zahodni in vzhodni zatrep v templju *Wu Liang* v provinci Shandong (Slika 6). Na zahodnem trikotniškem zaključku stene je prikazana *Xiawangmu* s svojimi spremljevalci, na vzhodnem delu pa *Dongwanggong* in njegovi sopotniki. V obeh primerih se kompozicija osredotoča na osrednjo figuro, okrog katere so razporejena posamezna božanska bitja. Mati je obdana s štirimi krilatimi figurami v dolgih krilih, z zajcem, ki ponovno drobi zel, krastačo, ptico in z drugimi prebivalci njenega kraljestva. Ob očetu sta prikazana dva moška krilata nesmrtnika v krajših ogrinjalih in druga hibridna in mitološka bitja. Zanimivo je, da se ob očetu pojavi zmaj, ob materi pa večja podoba ptice z dolgim repom in vsak zase simbolizirata moškega vladarja in njegovo žensko sopotnico. Prav tovrstni atributi in njuna nasprotna pozicija v tempeljski poslikavi pripomorejo k identifikaciji obeh in h konkretni razločitvi njunih spolnih karakteristik. Obe podobi povsem jasno razkrivata osnovno shemo kozmičnih sil: *Xiawangmu*, položaj na zahodu, ženske spremljevalke in ptica so prepoznavni simboli sile *yin*, *Dongwanggong*, položaj na vzhodu, moški spremljevalci in zmaj pa so prepoznavni simboli sile *yang*.



Slika 6: Zahodni in vzhodni zatrep v templju Wu Liang
(vir: Wu 1989, 110)

1, 2 – zahodni zatrep in *Xiawangmu*

3, 4 – vzhodni zatrep in *Dongwanggong*

Da se podoba *Dongwanggong* najprej pojavi ob *Xiwangmu* prav na vzhodu kitajskega ozemlja v provinci Shandong, še naprej podpira njuno utelešenje moških in ženskih kozmičnih principov. Shandong je namreč domovina teorije *yin-yang*, saj naj bi tu v akademiji *Jixia* 稷下 v obdobju Vojskujočih se držav deloval najvidnejši predstavnik tovrstnega dojemanja Zou Yan 騶衍. Takšna pristna in dolgotletna tradicija lahko tudi razloži velik poudarek na izražanju komplementarnega kozmološkega para v grobni umetnosti province Shandong. Podobno prikazovanje obeh sil na trikotniških zaključkih zahodnih in vzhodnih sten se pojavi tudi v drugih templjih tega območja. Datiranje teh tempeljskih struktur pa kaže, da se je shematična kompozicija matere in očeta kot utelešenje kozmične sile *yin* in *yang* pojavila na sredini drugega stoletja. Poleg tega se je tendenca upodabljanja sile *yin* in *yang* z dvema nesmrtnima božanstvoma razširila do te mere, da so v dinastiji Zahodni Han nadvse razširjeni specifični atributi v tem času prevzeli sekundarno vlogo in ostajali v ozadju. Bolj kot na posamezne ikonografske poteze s prikazovanjem določenih atributov se tendenca slikovnega gradiva osredotoča na simbolizacijo sile *yin* in na simetrično udejanjenje sile *yang* na nasprotni steni. Tovrsten način upodabljanja je kmalu postal nadvse priljubljen motiv, ki se je iz vzhodnega predela širil tudi na bolj osrednje območje kitajskega ozemlja. Njuna kozmična vloga je tako segla vse do obrobnihih predelov kitajskega območja, saj je njun vpliv mogoče opazovati celo v Notranji Mongoliji. V stenski poslikavi grobnice *Helingeer* 和林格爾 iz Notranje Mongolije iz dinastije Vzhodni Han je bila tako na vzhodni steni prednje sobane prikazana podoba *Očeta Vzhodnega kraljestva*, na zahodni steni te iste sobane pa podoba *Matere Zahodnega kraljestva*.

Zaključek

V dinastiji Vzhodni Han *Xiwangmu* in *Dongwanggong* postaneta splošno razširjeni simbol prepletanja kozmične sile *yin* in *yang*, iz njune združitve pa se poraja večni ritem kozmosa. Pri tem je težnja matere (*yin*) po srečevanju z moškimi predstavniki (*yang*) vsekakor opazna v različnih mitoloških oblikah srečanja kraljice s svojimi partnerji. V zgodnji različici je opazno srečevanje z zemeljskimi vladarji, pri čemer kralj Mu iz dinastije Zahodni Zhou sam odpotuje daleč na zahod, medtem ko je pri srečanju s cesarjem Wu 武 iz dinastije Zahodni Han *Xiwangmu* tista, ki odide na potovanje. Z oblikovanjem *Očeta Vzhodnega kraljestva* v dinastiji Vzhodni Han *Xiwangmu* tako dobi enakovrednega nasprotnika, iz njunega srečevanja pa se rojeva večna nit prepletajoče se mreže kozmičnega prostora. Njuno letno srečevanje beleži tudi rahlo kasnejše literarno čtivo *Shenyijing* 神異經 (*Klasik božanskih in nenavadnih bitij*), ki je verjetno nastalo nekje v obdobju od tretjega do šestega stoletja (Wu 1989, 125):

昆侖之山，有銅柱焉，其高入天，所謂天柱也，圍三千里，周圓如削。下有回屋，方百丈，仙人九府治上。上有大鳥，名曰希有，南向，張左翼覆東王公，右翼覆西王母。背上小處無羽，一萬九千里。西王母歲登翼上，會東王公也。(Wang 2001, 433)

Na gori Kunlun se nahaja bronasti steber, ki sega vse do neba, zato se imenuje nebeški steber. V obsegu meri tri tisoč lijev, naokoli je valovit kot skrivljen nož. Spodaj so vijugaste sobe, ki se v okolico širijo sto zhangov,⁷ upravne ustanove devetih uradov nesmrtnikov. Zgoraj je velika ptica, ki se imenuje Xiyou (Malokdaj prisoten). Obrnjena proti jugu razprostre levo krilo, da zaobjame Očeta Vzhodnega kraljestva in razprostre desno krilo, da zaobjema Mater Zahodnega kraljestva. Na hrbtu je majhna pika brez peruti, ki je velika devetnajst tisoč lijev. Vsako leto enkrat se Mati Zahodnega kraljestva povzpne na krilo in se sreča z Očetom Vzhodnega kraljestva.

V evolucijskem procesu mitološke podobe *Xiwanngmu* je opazno postopno prevzemanje kozmične vloge *yin*. Ta se v dinastiji Vzhodni Han z oblikovanjem nasprotnega partnerja, ki prevzema kozmično vlogo *yang*, dokončno izpopolni. Njuna prepletanja in vsakoletna srečevanja, ki svojo vidno obliko dobijo tudi v preostalih sezonskih srečanjih posameznih mitoloških parov, pa so bistvenega pomena za ohranjanje kozmičnega reda.

Viri in literatura

- Birrell, Anna. 1999. *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction*. Baltimore in London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Chen, Changyuan 陈昌远. 1986. "Guanyu Luoyang Xihan Bu Qianqiu mushi bihua de ji ge wenti 关于洛阳西汉卜千秋墓室壁画的几个问题." *Zhongyuan wenwu*, posebna izdaja, 136–41.
- Chen, Meidong 陈美东. 2003. *Zhongguo kexue jishu shi: Tianwenxue* 中国科学技术史: 天文学. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.
- He, Xilin 贺西林. 2002. *Gumu dangqing: Handai mushi bihua de faxian yu yanjiu* 古墓丹青: 汉代墓室壁画的发现与研究. Xi'an: Shanxi renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Hanshu* 漢書. 2002. [Han] Ban Gu, [Tang] Yan Shigu (kom.) [漢] 班固, [唐] 顏師. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

7 *Zhang* je dolžinska enota, ki danes meri okrog 3 ½ metra, v času dinastije Han pa je najverjetneje merila okrog 230 centimetrov.

- Hayashi, Minao 林巳奈夫. 1999. "Dui Luoyang Bu Qianqiu mu bihua de zhushi 对洛阳卜千秋墓壁画的注释." *Huaxia kaogu* 4: 90–106.
- Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋. 1998. Uredil He Ning. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Huang, Minglan 黄明兰. Yinqiang Guo 郭引强. 1996. *Luoyang Han mu bihua* 洛阳汉墓壁画. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Jean, M. James. 1997. "Handai Xiwangmu de tuxiangzhi yanjiu (xia) 汉代西王母的图像志研究(下)." *Meishu yanjiu* 3: 75–79.
- Loewe, Michael. 1994. *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han period (202 BC–AD 220)*. Taipei: SMC Publishing INC.
- Loewe, Michael. 1979. *Ways to paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Lü shi Chunqiu* 吕氏春秋. 1996. Zbirka: *Zhu zi jicheng* 諸子集成. Vol. 6. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju chubanshe.
- Shanhaijing jiaoyi* 山海經校譯. 1995. Yuan Ke (kom.), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Shiji* 史記, uredil Xiao Feng. 2000. Beijing: Yanbian renmin chubanshe.
- Sun, Sheng 孙生. 1995. "Tianzi · Baiguan · Xiwangmu – Handai shenxian xiaoshuo Xiwangmu xingxiang xianhua yuanyin tanxi 天子·稗官·西王母 – 汉代神仙小说 西王母形象仙化原因探析." *Xibei minzu xueyuan xuebao* (zhexue shehui kexue ban) 2: 100–4.
- Sun, Zuoyun 孙作云. 1977. "Luoyang Xihan bihuamu zhong de nuoyi tu – dagui mixin, dagui tu de jieji fenxi 洛阳西汉壁画墓中的雉议图 – 打鬼迷信, 打鬼图的阶级分析." *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao* (sheke ban) 4: 118–25.
- Wang, Jianzhong 王建中. 2001. *Handai huaxiangshi tonglun* 汉代画像石通论. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe.
- Wu, Hung. 1989. *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Xin, Lixiang 信立祥. 2000. *Handai huaxiangshi zonghe yanjiu* 汉代画像石综合研究. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Zhuangzi jinzhuyi jinyi* 莊子今注今譯. 2001. Chen Guying (kom.), 1., 2. in 3. del. Zbirka: *Zhongguo gudian mingzhu yizhu congshu* 中國古典名著譯注叢書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Summary (Image and Role of the *Queen Mother of the West* in Han Grave Art)

The present article provides a detailed examination of the image of an ancient Chinese goddess, *The Queen Mother of the West* (*Xiwangmu* 西王母) and describes her cosmic role as the *yin* force. In Han grave art, *Xiwangmu* and *Dongwanggong* 東王公, the *Mother of the Western* and the *Father of the Eastern Kingdom*, embody

the forces of *yin* and *yang*. Their images appear in mural paintings, on lacquered objects and bronze mirrors, and especially as reliefs on the stones or bricks used in the grave complexes discovered in Shandong province. The rich literary tradition reveals a multifunctional role of the mother, with her many attributes developing in accordance with the changing values of social and mythological concepts. Any analysis must therefore take this development into account, in order to provide a comprehensive interpretation of the diverse symbolic manifestations of this figure in different historical periods. The *yin* role, which does not appear before the Eastern Han Dynasty, is emblematic in this regard, for it requires the opposite gender to embody *yang*. Hence, in the 2nd century, the *Father of the Eastern Kingdom* appears as the partner to the *Mother of the Western Kingdom*. Their symbolic role was first discovered by Wu Hung (1989), based on the ideological pictorial material of the *Wuliang* shrine, in Shandong province. He also described *Xiwangmu's* link with various concepts that explain the evolution of her image. Based on Wu Hung's research, the present article situates the gradual evolution of her symbolic *yin* role within the wider cosmological context of Han grave art. The article first examines her image in the literary tradition, and then her representation in the artistic tradition. The article concludes by describing the gradual development of her cosmic role within Han grave art cosmology.

Knjižna recenzija

Wang Huiqin: *Ferdinand Avguštin Hallerstein – Slovenec v Prepovedanem mestu.* (Prevedla Natalija Toplišek) Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga 2014, 17 strani

*Jana S. ROŠKER**

Odkar je bil natančno pred dvajsetimi leti v Ljubljani ustanovljen Oddelek za azijske in afriške študije, ki smo ga kasneje, ob njegovih 20. obletnici leta 2015, preimenovali v Oddelek za azijske študije, je bilo eno njegovih osrednjih poslanstev postavljanje mostov med Kitajsko in Slovenijo. Tovrstno povezovanje pa seveda ni omejeno samo na didaktične in raziskovalne aktivnosti, ki zakoličujejo razvoj vsake nove stroke v državi. Pomemben del popularizacije azijskih študij je namreč tudi v kulturni izmenjavi, saj je ravno kultura tista, ki je ljudem najbližja in je hkrati veliko bolj odprta od drugih diskurzov. To pomeni, da je vez, ki lahko vzajemno poveže ljudi iz različnih družbenih, tradicionalnih in miselnih kontekstov na najhitrejši in hkrati najtesnejši način. Pri tem je še posebej pomembna skrb za mlajše generacije, kajti prej ko se mlad človek sooči s čarobnostjo drugačnosti in z magičnimi, napetimi zgodbami iz zgodovine medkulturnih stikov, lažje bo kasneje to vedenje širil in ga dopolnjeval z učenjem jezikov in z vrsto drugih poglobljenih znanj.

Wang Huiqin, kitajsko-slovenska slikarka, ki je avtorica tukaj predstavljene knjige, se pomena tovrstnih predstavitev očitno zelo dobro zaveda. Njena knjiga, ki je v prvi vrsti namenjena otrokom, a je hkrati zanimivo in prijetno branje tudi za marsikaterega odraslega, katerega zanimajo stiki s Kitajsko, namreč lepo opravlja tovrstno poslanstvo. Po eni strani nam ponuja obilico koristnih informacij, po drugi pa je opremljena še z lepimi, umetniško dorečenimi in vizualno dobro strukturiranimi akvareli, ki te informacije dopolnjujejo. Knjiga je torej tudi – vendar nikakor ne samo – slikanica, kar pomeni, da je toliko bolj privlačna za otroke in mladino, saj jim na lahkoten in zabaven, a zato nič manj informativen in strokovno neoporečen način širi obzorja. Njeno zanimivo in vsebinsko bogato besedilo je v slovenščino mojstrsko prevedla sinologinja Natalija Toplišek.

V prilogi je knjiga opremljena tudi s strokovno nadvse prikladnim kitajsko-slovenskim slovarčkom lastnih imen in strokovnih terminov.

* Jana S. ROŠKER, profesorica na Oddelku za azijske študije, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, Ljubljana.
jana.rosker@ff.uni-lj.si



Pričujoča knjiga pa ni zadnje delo, v katerem se slikarka in esejistka Wang Huiqin ukvarja s pomenom evropskih misijonarjev na Kitajskem. Njeno naslednje delo, ki je trenutno pred izidom, govori o življenju in delu italijanskega misijonarja Giuseppa Castiglioneja, ki je bil tudi znan slikar in je na Kitajskem živel v 18. stoletju. Knjiga z naslovom *Castiglione – Italijanski slikar v Prepovedanem mestu*, ki je prav tako prirejena v slikanico za otroke, nazorno pokaže pomembnost njegovega vpliva na razvoj umetniških stikov med Kitajsko in Evropo. To ni naključje, saj je avtorica, ki je tudi sama slikarka, zagotovo želela opozoriti tudi na pomen medkulturnih stikov na področju slikarstva, hkrati pa poudariti dejstvo, da so evropski misijonarji Kitajski nudili tudi marsikatero drugo znanje, ne zgolj strogo znanstvenega.

Knjiga, ki jo želimo tukaj opisati, pa predstavlja življenje in delo slovenskega jezuita Ferdinanda Avgušтина Hallersteina, ki je od leta 1764 in vse do svoje smrti leta 1774 deloval na kitajskem dvoru v pomembni funkciji namestnika predstojnika Cesarskega urada za astronomijo in mandarina 3. reda. Vsebuje vrsto pomembnih informacij o njegovem znanstvenem delu, pa tudi o njegovi politični in kulturni vlogi.

Hkrati je napisana v toplem, občutenem in zelo človeškem slogu, saj besedilo ni omejeno zgolj na opisovanje Hallersteinovih dosežkov na področju znanosti in medkulturnih soočanj, temveč se rahločutno loteva tudi subtilnosti njegovih idej, občutenj in misli. Ta dimenzija človeškosti bo otrokom veliko lažje približala lik tega pomembnega slovenskega jezuita, kot če bi se o njegovih dosežkih učili samo na suhoparen način, ki ga ponujajo faktoografski podatki o njegovem življenju.

Tako avtorica na strani 14 zapiše: »Hallersteinovo bivanje na dvoru pa še zdaleč ni bilo le rožnato. Daleč na vzhodu je pogosto doživljal tudi grenke trenutke osamljenosti in domotožja. Pogrešal je domovino in bližnje, zato je ohranjal stike z domačimi. V težkih trenutkih mu je bila v tolažbo slovenska pesmarica, ki jo je prinesel s seboj na Kitajsko. Knjižica s slovenskimi besedili je bila natisnjena leta 1729. Danes jo hrani državna knjižnica v Pekingu.«

Na ta način avtorica pogosto mojstrsko povezuje senzibilnost človečnosti s pomembnimi informacijami, ki so relevantne za strokovno vrednotenje medkulturnih stikov. Z omembo žalosti in domotožja pokaže, kot smo videli na zgornjem primeru, tudi na dejstvo, da je bil ta véliki misijonar in znanstvenik po rodu (in po duši) Slovenec, saj je bil njegov najintimnejši jezik slovenski, in ne nemški, četudi je bil (kot vsi takratni Slovenci in Slovenke) državlján Avstro-Ogrske.

Tako avtorica že na samem začetku knjige opozori na dejstvo, da je Hallerstein kljub vsem svojim pomembnim dosežkom in kljub svoji relevantnosti na področju zgodnjih stikov med Evropo (zlasti Slovenijo) in Kitajsko v obeh regijah tako

rekoč pozabljen. Javnost ni seznanjena niti z dejstvom, da sta Ferdinand Avguštin Hallerstein in Liu Songling (to je njegovo kitajsko ime) v bistvu ena in ista oseba.

Knjiga se prične z opisom Hallersteinovega otroštva, ki ga je preživel v Mengšu, in opozori na dejstvo, da je že v rosnih mladosti kazal veliko zanimanja za znanost in predvsem za astronomijo, hkrati pa so ga že kot otroka navdihovala doživetja evropskih misijonarjev na Kitajskem, zlasti Matea Riccija in Adama Schalla von Bella, ki sta malemu Ferdinandu predstavljala najzgodnejšo inspiracijo za njegovo kasnejšo poklicno pot. Zanimiva, tudi otrokom privlačna biografija kasneje prikaže tudi njegovo prvo popotovanje na Kitajsko, ki se je pričelo že leta 1735 in ga je najprej privedlo v Macao.

V osrednjem delu knjige avtorica podrobno opiše njegovo bivanje na cesarskem dvoru in njegove dosežke na področju znanosti, zlasti v astronomiji. Avtorica na neposreden in enostaven način bralstvu približa veličino njegovih doprinosov na področju medkulturne izmenjave med Evropo in Kitajsko in poudari, da se Hallerstein na Kitajskem ni izkazal le kot astronom, matematik, zgodovinar in geograf, temveč je v času redkih diplomatskih stikov Kitajske s svetom prevzel pomembno vlogo tudi kot diplomat, saj je govoril šest jezikov (str. 12). Avtorica na poljuden, a hkrati zelo nazoren način pokaže, da je ta misijonar večino svojega življenja posvetil znanosti in da je vse svoje najpomembnejše znanstvene dosežke podaril Kitajski, ki je v dolgih letih njegovega bivanja v Pekingu postala njegova druga domovina. Zato ni naključje, da je njegova zgodba postala skupna dediščina kitajske ter zahodne – zlasti slovenske – kulture in zgodovine. Tako Wang Huiqin svojo knjigo zaključí z naslednjimi besedami: »Hallerstein je utrl eno prvih poti med slovensko in kitajsko kulturo. Negujmo to prijateljsko pot v skupnem kitajsko-slovenskem spominu in ne pustimo, da njegove stopinje zabriše prah časa.« (str. 15)

Kot sinologinja lahko to delo vsekakor toplo priporočim v nakup vsem staršem, ki želijo svojim otrokom približati Kitajsko in hkrati razširiti njihovo zgodovinsko obzorje. Upam pa tudi, da se bo znašlo na policah čim več slovenskih osnovnošolskih in srednješolskih knjižnic.

Book Reviews

Mitja Saje (ed.): *A. Hallerstein – Liu Songling 刘松龄 – The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court* 2014, Maribor: Kibla. 380 pages.

*Jana S. ROŠKER**

The book *Hallerstein – Liu Songling 刘松龄* is an important contribution to modern Slovene history of international relations, especially to the history of the earliest cultural, ideational, and political contacts between Slovenia and China. It introduces the life and the work of the Slovenian Jesuit missionary Ferdinand Augustin Haller von Hallerstein (1703–1774), who lived and worked in China during the Qing Dynasty from 1739 until his death in 1774. Although until recently almost unknown in Europe and Slovenia, he was an important figure and a relevant cultural link between the two countries. He held a high position in the Chinese court, acting as the head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy and thus contributing in a remarkable way to the introduction and development of Western Science in the late imperial China.

Dr. Mitja Saje, the editor and the chief initiator of this interesting and important monograph, was a Professor of Sinology and one of the founders of the Department of Asian Studies (former Asian and African Studies), which was established at the University of Ljubljana in 1995. Since that time and until his retirement in 2015 he worked continuously at the Department as one of its leading spirits, acting twice as its head, and contributing in an endless number of invaluable ways to its didactic and academic development.

Professor Saje is specialized in traditional and modern Chinese history, politics, and economy. He is among the first Slovene Sinologists that started to raise awareness about the importance of Hallerstein's historical relevance and reveal the vast scope of his immensely important intercultural work to a broader European academic community. In this respect, he has collaborated with several Slovene ethnologists and anthropologists, such as for instance, with Dr. Zmago Šmitek, a renewed Professor of non-European ethnology and cultural anthropology at the University of Ljubljana, who published the first articles on Hallerstein's influence as early as 1986, and with Ralf Čeplak, a cultural ethnologist who discovered Hallerstein's tombstone in Beijing.

* Jana S. ROŠKER, profesorica na Oddelku za azijske študije, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, Ljubljana.
jana.rosker@ff.uni-lj.si



The fact that Hallerstein was almost completely forgotten in Europe has much to do with the historical fact that “he was born in Carniolia, the Austrian province with Slovenian population, which after World War I became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later Yugoslavia, which is now a central part of the Republic of Slovenia. It is evident that after the collapse of the Austrian Empire there was not much motivation in Austria to research the activities regarding his missionary work in China. Apart from the Jesuit community and some historians of science, who kept records of his purely scientific achievements, he was almost unknown in European sinology circles” (p. 23).

However, the reason why the present book is of utmost importance is, among other things, the fact, that Hallerstein has not been forgotten only in Slovenia and Europe, but also in China—despite the important position he held at the Chinese court and despite his important role as an intercultural link between China and Europe. There are several reasons for this fact. Due to the growing Manchu absolutism and partly also to the rigid policy of papal Rome, the previously friendly and tolerant attitude of Chinese officials towards Jesuit missionaries drastically changed in the middle of the 18th century. Hence, in that period, the missionary work of European Jesuits became more and more limited and was at certain times even forbidden. As many of his colleagues, Hallerstein thus also started to concentrate upon his scientific work in order to win the favor of Emperor Qianlong, who was the main protector of their innovations, hoping that they would eventually become able again to continue their religious influence.

The second important reason, which caused Hallerstein’s fall into oblivion, was linked to the fact that in the middle of the 18th century, strong competition between the Chinese and foreigners on the Imperial Board of Astronomy emerged at the Chinese court, since the new Chinese scientists started to envy the leading positions held by the foreigners. Hence, they often tried to discredit the actions of the Jesuits missionaries, trying to improve their own positions by doing so.

Taking into consideration all these factors, the importance of the present book is easy to see; even more gratifying is the fact that it was also translated into Chinese at the Beijing College of foreign languages (Beijing waiyu xueyuan 北京外语学院) soon after its publication and published by the Daxiang publishing house in Zhengzhou.

The Association for Culture and Education KIBLA with the Archive of the Republic of Slovenia jointly published the first version of the book. This came to life as a part of a broader intercultural project connecting theoreticians and artists. The leading force and one of the main artistic initiators behind the project was Wang Huiqin, a Chinese visual artist who has been living in Slovenia for several

decades already. The main purpose of the book was to connect Chinese and European culture. Hence, it was first published partly as a translation of a collection in Slovene *Mandarin Hallerstein, Kranjec na Kitajskem dvoru* (*Mandarin Hallerstein, A Carniolan in the Chinese Court*), which was edited by Viljem Marjan Hribar and released in 2003 by the Mengeš Town Museum. The editors obtained permission “to republish photographic material, important letters of Hallerstein’s (to which three newly translated letters were added), an introduction to Hallerstein’s letters by Aleš Maver, and Zmago Šmitek’s text *The Last Great Astronomer at the Chinese Court*” (p. 9). The book is well-structured and contains nine chapters, which mainly introduce various aspects of Hallerstein’s life and work.

The book opens with Aleksandra Kostič’s introduction of the entire project, which was funded by the EU cultural foundation EACEA, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia, and by the Municipality of Maribor. In the next section, Matevž Košir describes the process of having established and maintaining dialogue on Augustin Hallerstein between the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia and the State Archives Administration of China since the 1990s. This report is followed by an article written by Janez Škrlep, which contains an analysis of the partial translation of the monograph “*Mandarin Hallerstein, a Carniolan in the Chinese Court*” and the exposition of the main results of the symposium that was organized in 2003 in Mengeš to commemorate the tercentennial of Hallerstein’s birth.

Mitja Saje’s chapter, entitled “*Rediscovering Augustin Hallerstein and his Work in Beijing*”, is of central importance, for it offers the entire book’s historical and political framework, enabling the reader to better understand the importance of his influential work and his scientific, as well as ideational contributions to intercultural relations between Europe (especially Slovenia) and China. The author’s central intention was to shed light upon Hallerstein’s “deeds, opinions, and merits in order to place him into historic context next to other famous Jesuits of the Qing dynasty” (p.49).

Mitja Saje’s article is followed by another important contribution, entitled “*The Last Great Astronomer at the Chinese Court: Augustin Hallerstein*”. This article also offers some important insights into Hallerstein’s life and work. At the very beginning, Zmago Šmitek, Professor of ethnology and cultural anthropology and the author of this essay, points out that “the quantity, variety and international characteristics of his work made writing about him a difficult task,” for “the documentary material related to his life and his creative work is dispersed at different locations: in Ljubljana, Vienna, Rome, Lisbon, London, St. Petersburg, Beijing, and possibly elsewhere” (p. 51). However, despite these difficulties, Professor

Šmitek has managed to collect most of these important data and, through his consistent analysis, offer us many important insights into the circumstances that shaped and influenced the intercultural work of this important Slovenian Jesuit astronomer. He concluded that while “Hallerstein’s activities in China began in one of the most splendid periods of the Chinese history, his death symbolically marked the end of the era” (p. 115).

In the next chapter, Stanislav Južnič describes Hallerstein’s most important scientific achievements. In his essay entitled “Vacuum and Electricity for the Chinese Emperor”, the author, who devotes most of his research work to the achievements of the 17th and 18th century Jesuit scientists in physics, describes Hallerstein’s role in the Beijing Jesuits’ electrical and vacuum research. Although it was not that clear as his leading role in research and publications on astronomy, cartography, he aurora borealis, or China demography, it can fairly be supposed that electrical or even the later vacuum experiments could not be accomplished without his participation and input, given the fact that he was the leading Jesuit scientist in Beijing (p. 149).

The next contribution under the title *Liu Songling, Head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy in the Qing Dynasty* was written by Professor Ju Deyuan from the Beijing Language and Culture University, whose work has been recently supported by the researchers of The First Historic Archive in Beijing and several other scholars in China (p. 39). This fact—together, of course, with the already accomplished translation of the present book into Chinese—gives us hope that “eventually a more accurate presentation of Hallerstein’s deeds and his contribution to cultural exchange between Europe and China will appear in Chinese history books” (p. 39). Among others, the author points out the reasons Hallerstein has hitherto been wrongly taken to be German or Austrian for over 200 years in China, exposing that “it is known that northern parts of the former Yugoslavia were ruled by the Austrian Empire, and some peoples’ nationalities and ethnic identities were neglected and changed in that political condition” (p. 165). The author also describes Hallerstein’s contributions to the Chinese astronomy, his geographical achievements, and his diplomatic activities. He also focuses on the importance of Hallerstein’s official statistical report on the Chinese population.

The monograph concludes with an extensive collection of Hallerstein’s letters as translated and interpreted by Aleš Maver. These letters are accompanied by an analysis of his personal characteristics, as well as a wealth of other valuable information that can be obtained from them. This extensive introduction and analysis, drawn from the original sources derived from Hallerstein’s own writing, was also written by Aleš Maver.

Through their meticulous analyses, interpretations, and investigations of Hallerstein's work, the editor and the authors of the present book have provided an innovative approach to the linkage between China and Slovenia. In this framework, they are especially concentrating upon the clarification of his scientific, philosophical and religious, political and even economic aspects of the work of this great Jesuit scientist. These are the main topics that the authors take up in this lively and well-rounded book about the contemporary fate of his important cultural heritage. The book offers a lot of useful and extremely interesting new information for readers from both Europe and China. Concerning the latter, it is therefore by no means coincidental (but nonetheless extremely pleasing) that the book was translated into Chinese and published in 2015.

