

NEW RESEARCH PROJECT ON JOHANN ADAM SCHALL VON BELL, S.J.

关于汤若望的最新研究

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ABSTRACT

Inspired by Stephan Rothlin SJ, director of the Ricci-Institute of Macau, a small project on the most important German Jesuit and missionary in China, Johann Adam Schall von Bell 湯若望 (1592-1666) was started some years ago at the Ricci Institute, Macau. Several colleagues and experts could be convinced to participate in this project to do research on different aspects of Schall's life rich of adventure, success and danger. Alongside the two Jesuits Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇 (1552-1610) and Ferdinand Verbiest 南懷仁 (1623-1688), Johann Adam Schall von Bell is undoubtedly one of the three great missionary personalities of the early modern period in China. He stood in service to the three Chinese emperors Chongzhen 崇禎 (1627-1644), Shunzhi 順治 (1644-1661) and Kangxi 康熙 (1662-1722), he survived the conquest of Peking by the rebel Li Zicheng (李自成 1605-1645) and afterwards by the Manchu troops, he was befriended with the young Shunzhi Emperor, experienced hostility from some of his brethren and was nearly killed as a martyr.

摘要

在澳门利氏学社主任罗世范 (Stephan Rothlin) 博士鼓励下, 几年前澳门利氏学社哲学研究所开始了关于汤若望 (Johann Adam Schall von Bell, 1592-1666) 的研究, 他是无疑是历史上最重要的在华德国耶稣会士和传教士。几位同事和专家参与了这个项目, 对汤若望充满冒险、成功和生命危险的生活的不同方面进行研究。与两位耶稣会士利玛竇 (1552-1610) 和南怀仁 (Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623-1688) 并列, 汤若望是中国近代早期三大传教士之一。他曾效力于崇禎 (1627-1644)、顺治 (1644-1661) 和康熙 (1662-1722) 三位中国皇帝, 在李自成 (1605-1645) 攻克北京后幸存下来, 后来北京被满族军队攻克, 他与年轻的顺治皇帝成为了朋友。他也经受了来自传教士同仁的敌视, 甚至一度差点被当作殉教者杀死。

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THE VON BELL PROJECT

Johann Adam Schall von Bell was quite probably born in Lüftelberg near Cologne (then a Free Imperial City, Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, now Germany) on 1 May 1592 descending from an old patrician family from Cologne. After having attended the Jesuit-run *Dreikronengymnasium (Tricoronatum)* in Cologne, he was sent to Rome by his parents in 1608. After his philosophy course at the Germanicum, Schall joined the Jesuits in Rome 1611. Later, he received a special training in astronomy and mathematics at the Collegio Romano under the guidance of Christoph Grienberger SJ (1561–1636), the successor to Christopher Clavius SJ (1537–1612). This was the reason that he was permitted to join Nicolas Trigault SJ (1577–1628) as an expert on calendar science on his way back to China. Schall died in Peking on 15 August 1666.¹

What makes Johann Adam Schall von Bell such an important and interesting research subject is his multi-faceted personality: his versatile talents, his scientific ability, his fearlessness, but also his bluntness and lack of diplomacy, his whole adventurous life. All of this helped him in his various offices and obligations, but also made him unpopular with his confreres and Chinese rivals. In addition, there is the dramatic story of his life: from the highest esteem at court and even friendship with the Shunzhi Emperor to his deep fall and near-martyrdom under the minority of the Kangxi Emperor.

Looking at the list of Schall's publications, it is noticeable that most of them are of a scientific nature, while the religious sector is much smaller.² Like most of his confreres in the China mission,

1 Vāth, 1991², 111.

2 The European letters, manuscripts and books are listed in Vāth, 1991², 355-360, additions 382-385, his Chinese books 360-370; see also the database Chinese Christian Texts (CCT) of the KU Leuven, http://heron-net.be/pa_cct/index.php/Search/advanced/ccts (last access 31 May 2024).

汤若望研究专案

汤若望据信于1592年5月1日出生在今天德国科隆附近的吕夫特尔贝格的一个古老贵族家庭，科隆当时是神圣罗马帝国的一个自由城市。他先在科隆进入了耶稣会经营的大学预科学校，后于1608年被父母送到罗马，在著名的日耳曼尼库姆(Germanicum)学院修完哲学课程后，于1611年加入了罗马的耶稣会。后来，汤若望在罗马学院接受了天文学和数学方面的特殊训练，由克里斯托弗·格里恩伯格神父(1561-1636)指导，他是著名的克里斯托弗·克拉乌神父(1537-1612)的继任者。这是他被允许加入金尼阁神父(Nicolas Trigault, 1577-1628)返回中国的队伍、继而成为历法专家的原因。汤若望于1666年8月15日在北京去世。¹

汤若望之所以成为如此重要和有趣的研究对象，是因为他具有多面性的性格：他多才多艺、精通科学、无所畏惧，但也有他的直率和缺乏外交手腕，以及他整个冒险的生活。所有这些都助于他在各种岗位和职责上的表现，但也使他在同事和中国竞争对手中不受欢迎。此外，他还有一个戏剧性的人生故事：从朝廷的最高尊重，甚至是顺治皇帝的的朋友，到他在康熙皇帝统治下的落魄和近乎殉难。

从汤若望的诸多出版物可以看出，其中大多数都是科学性质的，而关于宗教的要少得多。²和在中国传教的大

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Schall was versatile, but, like the others, he also had his special talents. Schall's talent clearly lay above all in mathematics and astronomy and in calendar calculations, for which he was also able to produce the necessary instruments.³ During his time as a missionary in Xi'an/Shaanxi in 1627-1630, Schall also collected information on the land route between China and Europe on behalf of the General of the Order. In several conversations, the leader of a caravan explained the routes through Inner Asia to him.⁴ Schall could also cast cannon, and was familiar with fortification architecture,⁵ he wrote a manuscript about the first telescope in China,⁶ he knew about mining, and he was a religious and moral instructor for Shunzhi. In 1650, Schall began building a church without official permission from the Ministry of Culture. He drew up the plans himself and was also the foreman. Funds were contributed by the Shunzhi Emperor, princes and scholars. This church, at first known as *Xitang* 西堂 (West Church) was later named *Nantang* 南堂 (Southern Church) and was the oldest and most important church in Peking.⁷

This small project on Schall attempts to address at least some aspects of Schall's life and place them in their historical context. The following experts consented to contribute. Prof. Dr. Fr Klaus Schatz S.J., formerly professor for Church History in St. Georgen/Frankfurt and expert on Jesuits explained in his article how the Jesuits in China used the method of accommodation in form of science and knowledge, in comparison to the method of the missionaries sent by the Propaganda Fide.

3 Vāth, 1991², 106.

4 The text was edited by D'Elia, 1943, as: Carovane di Mercati-Ambasciatori dalla Siria alla Cina attraverso l'Asia centrale nel 1627 secondo documenti inediti. *Studia Missionalia* 1, 314-377; Vāth, 1991², 355.

5 Vāth, 1991², 111-114.

6 Vāth, 1991², 105f.

7 Vāth, 1991², 166-169.

多数会士一样，汤若望也是多才多艺。和其他人一样，他也有自己的特殊才能。汤若望的天赋显然首先在于数学、天文学和历法计算，他还能够为此制作必要的仪器。³ 1627-1630年，汤若望在陕西西安传教期间，还按照骑士团将军的指令收集了有关中欧陆路通道的信息。通过一些谈话，商队领队向他说明了穿越亚洲内陆的路线。⁴ 汤若望还能铸造大炮，熟悉防御工事建筑，⁵ 还写了一篇关于中国第一台望远镜的手稿，⁶ 他也了解怎么采矿，还是顺治帝的宗教和道德导师。1650年，汤若望开始在没有任何礼部正式许可的情况下建造教堂。他自己起草了计划，同时也是监工。资金由顺治皇帝、皇子和士大夫们提供。这座教堂最初被称为西堂，后来被命名为南堂，是北京最古老、最重要的教堂。⁷

利氏学社关于汤若望的研究规模不大，试图涉及他生活的一些重要方面，并将其置于历史背景中。参与研究的专家包括法兰克福圣乔治的教会史教授、耶稣会专家克劳斯·沙茨(Klaus Schatz)教授，他在文章中介绍了中国耶稣会士如何以科学和知识结合的形式和方法传教，与布教总会(枢机主教委员会，负责对外传教)派来的传教士的方法进行了比较。来自维尔茨堡的传教士

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The contribution of the missiologist and expert on Far Eastern Mission, Claudia von Collani from Würzburg, is dealing with Schall's role at the calendar reform, his office as director of the Calendar Office *Qintianjian* 欽天監 with its consequences, namely attacks from the side of other Jesuits and later Chinese. The essay by Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks, a specialist on the Manju language, who worked together with the Manjuologist Martin Gimm with a research project on Manju sources about Schall, deals with the highly dramatic trial of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, which almost cost him his life. Dr. Michael Sievernich S.J., formerly professor for Pastoral Theology in Sankt Georgen, deals with Schall's booklet on the life of Jesus *Jincheng shu xiang* 進呈書像 (1640), which was intended to introduce the Chongzhen Emperor to the life of Jesus and thus to Christianity in an appealing pictorial way. Based on a research project sponsored by the DFG, Prof. Dr. Hans Ulrich Vogel and Dr. Cao Jin provide insights into Schall's book on mining *Kunyu gezhi* 坤輿格致 (Investigations of the Earth's Interior, 1640).

和远东传教专家克劳迪娅·冯·科拉尼 (Claudia von Collani, 即本文作者) 的贡献是研究汤若望在历法改革中的作用, 以及他作为钦天监领导者的后果, 即来自其他耶稣会士以及后来中国人的攻击。满语专家舒杰媛·德威克斯 (Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks) 与满州法学家马丁·吉姆 (Martin Gimm) 合作所撰写的文章, 对满州的汤若望资料进行了研究。文章讲述了对汤若望的戏剧性审判, 这场审判几乎让他丧命。圣格奥尔根牧神学教授迈克尔·西维尔尼奇 (Michael Sievernich) 博士介绍了汤若望关于耶稣生平的小册子《進呈書像》(1640), 这本书旨在以一种吸引人的绘画方式向崇祯皇帝介绍耶稣的生平, 从而介绍基督教。由德国研究基金会 (DFG) 赞助的汉斯·乌尔里希·沃格尔 (Hans-Ulrich Vogel) 教授和曹瑾博士的研究, 对汤若望关于采矿的书《坤輿格致》(1640) 提供了新的认识。

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The State of Research so far

There are small attempts to deal with several Jesuits but no overall project. Research on Schall started with his biography written by Alfons Vāth (1874–1937) in the early 1930s, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. Missionary in China, Imperial Astronomer and Counsellor at the Court of Peking 1592-1666* (Cologne: Bachem, 1933) (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXV) (Nettetal, St. Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 1991²). This biography has not lost its validity, but it follows the classic hagiography of missionary life, where obstacles are mainly based on the machinations of religious opponents of Christianity. The Chinese and Manchu environment and the political situation of the transition between the Ming and Qing dynasties are not included critically enough. This earlier imbalance has been and is now partially mitigated by more recent Chinese and Western research.⁸ Vāth based his account of Schall's life primarily on the manuscript of Schall's own notes "*Historica relatio eorum quae contingerunt [sic !] occasione concertationis [sic] Calendarii Sinici facta a R.P. Joanne Adamo Schal [sic] Societatis Jesu sacerdotis, anno Christi 1658*" in 21 chapters, which is located in the Ajuda Library in Lisbon.⁹ This copy from 1659 originally came from the Jesuit archives in China and was copied in the middle of the 18th century. Another copy was brought to Macau by Fr Filippo Marini S.J. (1608–1682) in 1659.¹⁰

当前的研究进展

目前只有对个别耶稣会士的一些零星研究，缺乏整体的研究项目。关于汤若望的研究始于20世纪30年代初，据魏特(Alfons Vāth, 1874-1937)撰写的传记《汤若望：传教士、朝廷天文学家、皇家顾问(1592-1666)》(科隆：巴切姆，1933)(《华裔学志》丛书第25辑)(内特塔尔，圣奥古斯汀：斯泰勒出版社，1991²)。这本传记并没有失去其有效性，但它遵循了传教士生活的经典圣徒传记，其中的障碍主要在于它是建立在对于基督教的阴谋论基础上，对明清过渡时期的中国和满族环境以及政治形势的分析不够深入。中国和西方最近的研究在一定程度上增强了这方面的内容。⁸ 魏特对汤若望的生平描述主要基于汤若望自己的笔记手稿：《历史关系：耶稣会神父汤若望的中国日记和辩论》(1658)。手稿共21章，位于里斯本的阿朱达(Ajuda)图书馆。⁹ 这件1659年的复制品最初来自中国的耶稣会档案馆，复制于18世纪中叶。1659年，菲利波·马里尼神父(Filippo Marini, 1608-1682)将另一本带到了澳门。¹⁰

8 Cullen & Jami, 2020, 5-6.

9 Ajuda, Jesuitas-na-Asia 49-V-14, folio 376-436.

10 Bernard, 1942, VII (preface).

8 Cullen & Jami, 2020, 5-6.

9 Ajuda, Jesuitas-na-Asia 49-V-14, folio 376-436.

10 Bernard, 1942, VII (preface).

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Another partial copy, made by Schall's confrere Johann Grueber (1623-1680), was brought to Rome,¹¹ edited for printing by the Jesuit and humanist Giovanni Foresi (1624-1682) and published under the title *Historica Narratio, De Initio Et Progressu Missionis Societatis Jesu Apud Chineses, Ac praesertim in Regia Pequinensi. JEx Litteris R.P. Joannis Adami Schall ex eadem Societate, Supremi ac Regij Mathematicum Tribunalis ibidem Praesidis. Collecta* (Viennae Austriae: Cosmerovius 1665).¹² In 1672 a new edition was published entitled: *Historica Relatio de ortu et progressu Fidei Orthodoxae In Regno Chinensi Per Missionarios Societatis Jesu ab Anno 1581. usque ad Annum 1669* (Ratisbonae: Sumptibus Joan. Conradi Emmrich Civis & Bibliopolae Ratisbonae Typis Augusti Hanckwitz, Anno M.DC.LXXII). However, Vāth strongly criticised the fact that Foresi had distorted Schall's simple style and misread some Chinese terms.¹³

Later, Henri Bernard[-Maître] S.J. (1889-1975) used the manuscript from the Ajuda and published it as bilingual, Latin-French edition: Johann Adam Schall von Bell, *Relation Historique. Lettres et mémoires d'Adam Schall S.J.*, édités par le P. Henri Bernard, S.J., tom 1: Texte latin avec traduction française du P. Paul Bornet (Tien-tsin: Hautes Etudes, 1942). This book was to be the beginning of the complete edition of Schall's works and letters, a plan that Alfons Vāth had already intended, but who died before he could begin his project. He gave his materials to his confrere Fr Henri Bernard beforehand.¹⁴

另一个部分副本由汤若望的同事白乃心 (Johann Grueber, 1623-1680) 制作, 并被带到罗马,¹¹ 由耶稣会和人文主义者乔瓦尼·弗里斯蒂 (Giovanni Foresti, 1624-1682) 编辑印刷, 并由荷兰利特里斯耶稣会 (JEx Litteris) 高等数学研究院院长科斯梅洛维乌斯收集, 以《历史叙事: 耶稣会在中国北京的使徒行传》为题出版 (奥地利维也纳: 科斯梅洛维乌斯, 1665)。¹² 1672年出版了一个新的版本, 题为: 《1581年基督教正统史》(德国雷根斯堡: 琼·康拉迪·埃姆里奇公民集, 奥古斯丁·汉克维茨拉蒂博尼亚典型图书馆, 1669年年鉴第72本)。然而, 魏特强烈批评弗里斯蒂歪曲了汤若望的简单风格, 误读了一些中文术语。¹³

后来, 柏奈尔 (Henri Bernard, 1889-1975) 使用了阿朱达图书馆的手稿, 并将其作为拉丁-法语双语版出版: 《汤若望: 关系史, 汤若望纪念书信集》, 由柏奈尔编辑第1卷, 由保罗·伯内特将拉丁语传统文本译为法语 (天津: 高级研究, 1942)。这本书是汤若望作品和信件完整编辑的开始, 魏特已经打算好了这个计划, 但他在开始他的项目之前就去世了。他之前把材料交给了他的同事亨利·伯纳德神父。¹⁴

11 ARSI, Jap.Sin. 143, ff. 181r-241v.

12 Vāth, 1991², 359.

13 Bernard, 1942, IX (preface).

14 Bernard, 1942, V (preface).

11 ARSI, Jap.Sin. 143, ff. 181r-241v.

12 Vāth, 1991², 359.

13 Bernard, 1942, IX (preface).

14 Bernard, 1942, V (preface).

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The material by Schall and on Schall, however, is vast. There are his letters and manuscripts in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu* in the folders ARSI, Jap. Sin. 142 and 143, which are mainly dealing with the attacks of his brethren against the fact that Schall became the director of the Astronomical Office *Qintianjian*. Nearly all Jesuits in China at that time wrote pro or contra Schall.

不过，汤若望的作品和关于汤若望的资料非常丰富。在 *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu* 的 ARSI、Jap.Sin.142 和 143 号文件夹中，主要涉及其教友对汤若望担任钦天监总监一事的攻击。当时几乎所有在华耶稣会士都撰文支持或反对夏尔。

In the following years there were a few publications about Schall, but their number increased with the 400th anniversary of his birth. The first was a new edition of the above-mentioned biography by Vāth with a bibliographical extension and an index published by the Institute Monumenta Serica *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXV) (Nettetal, St. Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 1991²). In 1992, the anniversary of Schall's birth, a conference was held on his person, the contributions of which were published in 1998: *Western Learning and Christianity in China. The Contribution of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592-1666)*, by Roman Malek (ed.), (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXXV/1 and XXXV/2) (Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlag).

In the meantime, there were two projects on Schall, namely the DFG-project led by Prof. Dr. Martin Gimm, Cologne, together with Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks, which dealt with the secret files in Manchu language on Schall's trial concerning his office at the Astronomical Bureau. On the one hand he had been accused by fellow Jesuits of working on the superstitious Chinese Calendar, on the other hand he was accused of making dangerous geomancy, or *Fengshui*. Behind this trial against Schall stood the fate of young prince Rong (1657-58), son of the

在接下来的几年里，有一些关于汤若望的出版物。但随着他诞辰400周年的到来，这些出版物的数量也在增加。第一本是魏特的上述传记的新版，附有扩展书目和索引，由中国汤若望研究所出版（华裔学志丛书第25辑，奥古斯汀：斯泰勒出版社，1991，2）。1992年，在汤若望诞辰纪念之际，举行了一次关于他个人的会议，其贡献发表在1998年：西学与中国基督教：汤若望的贡献（1592-1666），罗马·马利克（编辑）（华裔学志丛书第35辑1-2，圣奥古斯汀：斯泰勒出版社）。

与此同时，关于汤若望的研究还有两个项目，即由科隆的马丁·吉姆教授和舒杰媛·德威克斯领导的德国研究基金会的项目，该项目处理了关于汤若望在钦天监的审判的满语秘密文件。一方面，他被耶稣会士同僚指责为迷信的中国历法工作，另一方面他被指责为制作危险的风水。在这场对汤若望的审判背后，是年轻的荣亲王（1657-58年）的命运，他是顺治皇帝和他最喜欢的妃子董鄂妃（贤妃，1639-1660）的儿子。太子在三个月大的时候就已经去世了，这让顺治皇帝深感悲痛，因为他曾希望

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Shunzhi Emperor and his favorite Consort Dong'e (Xianfei 1639-1660). The prince already died at the age of three months, which made the Shunzhi Emperor deeply sad, because he had hoped to make the prince his successor. The Confucian Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597-1669) used this to attack Schall for performing bad geomancy which caused the death of the young Emperor and his concubine. The results so far are several articles and two books by Martin Gimm, *Der Fall Prinz Rong im Prozeß gegen den Jesuitenpater Adam Schall in den Jahren 1664/65 in China* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018) and the same: *Fr. Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. und die Geheimakten zum Gerichtsprozeß der Jahre 1664-1665 in China* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2021).¹⁵

Another project under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Hans Ulrich Vogel, University of Tübingen was sustained by the DFG from 2018-2021: "Translating Western Science, Technology and Medicine in Late Ming China: Convergences and Divergences in the Light of the *Kunyu gezhi* 坤輿格致 (Investigations of the Earth's Interior; 1640) and the *Taixi shuifa* 泰西水法 (Hydromethods of the Great West; 1612)." There are articles from both projects in this volume.

Schall's booklet on the life of Jesus as an introduction to Christianity for the Chongzhen Emperor has since been used twice as a model for a more detailed treatment. Nicolas Standaert wrote *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor. The History of Jincheng shuxiang (1640)* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series LIX) (Sankt Augustin, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2007), and Yan Wang published her doctoral thesis as *進呈書像 Jincheng shu xiang (1640). Ein Leben Jesu mit Bildern für den chinesischen Kaiser. Verfasst von Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. (1592-1666)* (Mainzer Studien zur Neueren Geschichte 31) (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2014). Claudia von

让太子成为自己的继任者。钦天监监正儒士杨光先(1597-1669)利用此事攻击汤若望,称汤若望施行了邪恶的风水术,导致年轻的皇帝和他的妃子死亡。到目前为止,马丁·吉姆的几篇文章和两本书:《汤若望因荣亲王案在中国北京受审(1664-65)》(威斯巴登:哈拉索维茨,2018)和相同的《关于汤若望神父审判的秘密档案(1664-65)》(威斯巴登:哈拉索维茨,2021)。¹⁵

2018年至2021年,在图宾根大学傅汉斯(Hans Ulrich Vogel)教授的指导下,德国研究基金会开展了另一个项目:“明朝末年对西方科学、技术和医学的翻译:《坤輿格致》(1640)与《泰西水法》(1612)的趋同与分歧。本卷中有来自以上两个项目的文章。

汤若望关于耶稣生平的小册子作为向崇祯皇帝介绍基督教的入门书,此后两次作为模板做了更为详尽的加工:钟鸣旦(Nicolas Standaert)撰写了《献给中国皇帝的基督生平图解:进呈书像(1640)》(《华裔学志丛书LIX》)(圣奥古斯丁:斯泰勒出版社,2007)。王燕将她的博士论文出版为《进呈书像:——汤若望进(1592-1666)献给中国皇帝(1640)的耶稣生活与画像》(美因茨近代史研究31,法兰克福/美因:兰培德国际学术出版集团,2014)。克劳迪娅·冯·科拉尼介绍了关于这项工作的背景:《汤若望 - 进呈像:对话与灵性》,载《澳门利氏学社学报》第10期,(2022年10月),第83-90页。

15 See also Gimm, 2015.

15 See also Gimm, 2015.

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Collani wrote about the background to this work, “Johann Adam Schall von Bell – Jincheng Shu Xiang, Dialogue and Spiritualité,” *The Journal of the Macau Ricci Institute* 10, (October 2022), 83-90.

The subject of the reform of the Chinese calendar by Schall's team of scholars has been analysed relatively frequently. The “classic” is the article by Henri Bernard: “*L'Encyclopédie astronomique du Père Schall*. (Tch'ong-tcheng li-chou 崇禎曆書, 1629 et Si-yang sin-fa li-chou 西洋新法曆書, 1645). *La réforme du calendrier chinois sous l'influence de Clavius, de Galilée et de Kepler*,” *Monumenta Serica* 3 (1938), 35-77 and 441-527. Sperello di Serego Alighieri & Elisabetta Corsi published the article “The Eclipse of 21 June 1629 in Beijing in the context of the reform of the Chinese Calendar.” *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage* 23,2 (2020), 327-334. The Calendar Case was treated recently by Catherine Jami: “Revisiting the Calendar Case (1663-1669): Science, Religion, and Politics in Early Qing Beijing.” *Korean Journal of History of Science* 27 (2) (2015), 459-477, Schall's rehabilitation by Ferdinand Verbiest with the help of European Astronomy was dealt with by Christopher Cullen und Catherine Jami, “Christmas 1668 and After: How Jesuit Astronomy Was Restored to Power in Beijing,” *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 51,1 (2020), pp. 3-50, and the same: “Prediction and politics in Beijing, 1668: A Jesuit astronomer and his technical resources in a time of crisis.” *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 53,4 (2022), 422-472.

The material by Schall and on Schall, however, is vast. There are his letters and manuscripts in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu* in the folders ARSI, Jap. Sin. 142 and 143, which are mainly dealing with the attacks of his brethren against the fact that Schall became the director of the Astronomical Office *Qintianjian*. Nearly all Jesuits in China at that time wrote pro or contra Schall.

汤若望及其中国助手对中国历法改革的主题引起了较多的关注。其中的经典之作要算柏奈尔的《汤若望的天文百科全书：崇禎历书(1629)和夕阳新法历书(1645)：克拉维乌斯影响下的中国历法改革》，载《华裔学志》1938:3, 35-77、441-527。瑟本雷诺·蒂·瑟杰·阿利格耶里、伊丽莎白·科西发表了《中国历法改革背景下的1629年6月21日北京的日食》，载《天文学历史与遗产杂志》(*Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage*, 2020:23-2, 327-334)。詹嘉玲 (Catherine Jami) 近期对“历法案”进行了研究：《再论“历法案”(1663-1669)：清代前期的科学、宗教与政治》，载《韩国科学史学刊》2015:27-2, 459-477。古克礼 (Christopher Cullen)、詹嘉玲对南怀仁利用欧洲天文学为汤若望平反一事进行了研究：《1668年圣诞节及其后：耶稣会天文学重新被朝廷重用》，载《天文学史学刊》2020:51-1, pp.3-50, 以及《朝廷的天象观测与政治，1668：危机时刻的耶稣会士天文学家及其技术》，载《天文学史学刊》，2022:53-4, 422-472。

然而，汤若望自己所写和别人所写关于他的材料数不胜数。在耶稣会罗马档案馆 (ARSI) - 日本、中国部分 (文件夹142、143) 保存的他的书信和手稿，主要记载了他的同僚对他出任钦天监监正的攻击。几乎所有在华耶稣会士都对此事发表了赞成或反对的意见。

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Johann Adam Schall von Bell was and still is highly respected by both Chinese and Europeans, even though he was often criticised and vilified. This was partly due to anti-Jesuit endeavours and partly to his not always easy character. His many services to the mission and to the Chinese empire in the fields of science, theology and religion are indisputable, especially his role in the calendar reform. In Western literature, however, it is often overemphasised that Schall was an advisor to the emperor and held the most important and highest offices of state, but such remarks reflect at best a superficial knowledge of the historical facts. What is certain, however, is that Schall held the important office of director of the *Qintianjian*, which, although without authority, was very important in ritual terms as a subdivision of the *Libu* 禮部 (Ministry of Rites).

汤若望过去和现在都受到中国人和欧洲人的高度尊重，尽管他经常受到批评和诋毁。这部分是由于反耶稣会的努力，部分是由于他并不总是随和的性格。他在科学、神学和宗教领域为传教团和中华帝国做出的许多贡献是无可争议的，尤其是他在历法改革中的作用。然而，在西方文献中，人们经常过分强调他是皇帝的顾问，并担任最重要和最高的国家职务，但这种言论充其量反映了对历史事实的肤浅了解。然而，可以肯定的是，汤若望担任钦天监监正的重要职务，虽然并没有实权，但作为礼部的一个分支，在仪式上非常重要。

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