

THE JESUIT Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666) was the first European to be President of the Division of Astronomy and Calendar (*Qin Tian Jian Zheng*) in the Chinese court.⁽¹⁾ He bequeathed many writings in Chinese. One of them is a booklet entitled *Yuan jing shuo* (*On the Telescope*) (1626), whose preface begins:

The human body has five senses, in which the ears and eyes are very precious. Of these two, which one is more highly valued? In the past Aristotle said that for instruction the sense of hearing was primary. He argued that teaching and receiving information by means of the ear would advance study in a way that would make it finer and broader. But Plato called the sense of vision the founder of intelligence. When the eye meets objects straight on, seeing what it sees then conceiving it, it goes from the general to the detailed and from the objective to the objectless, and for this reason for him the beginning and ending of intelligence all derive from the eye. In addition, light and colour are more enhanced than form, sound and smell, and both belong to the sense of vision. The faculty of *anima* depends on the eyes [the ability of the eyes is the critical demonstration of *anima*]. Mencius said that

the eye was the best sensory means with which to judge a human. Hence all of the developments and nuances of emotions and minds have to reach the eye, and good and evil are revealed without hiding and are judged judiciously. Moreover, what the ear receives has to wait to be seen by the eye [for the completion of comprehension]... An object has the qualities of big, small, square, round, sloping and frontal; a number may be many and few; the position can be far and near. Do not all of these depend on the judgement of the eye? If so it is apparent that the eye is higher-ranking than the ear.⁽²⁾

This paragraph explains that the sense of vision plays an important role in receiving information, forming human intelligence and judging what is good or bad without bias. Thus the faculty of *anima*, the essence of a human being, has to depend on the able demonstration of vision. The close relationship between human vision to intelligence and the soul derives from classical mnemonics and theories of knowledge, especially Aristotle's, in which images and the imagination play a crucial role in transforming perception or sense impressions to thought, i.e., knowledge.⁽³⁾

This western conception, which placed vision as the highest of the five senses and postulated that knowledge could be visualized, was foreign to the Chinese. It was nevertheless translated in the earliest Jesuit Chinese catechistic treatises, and the theory of mnemonics and the soul's image-making capacity were explained by the Jesuits to their Chinese adherents.⁽⁴⁾

In this paper, I will discuss this Western conception of vision and the potential its use had for the Jesuits in the missionary context. I would like to further argue that this Western vision was vital for the conception of Jesuit visual culture in China, as those topics related to vision in Western discourse are essential for exploring the reason for the Jesuits' use of images and visual objects in the China mission.⁽⁵⁾ Studies on Schall von Bell have largely focused on his scientific achievements. However, art-

1. This article is partly revised from a conference paper entitled "A Cross-Cultural Transformation of Western Vision in the Jesuit China Missions of the Early Modern Period", which I presented at the College Art Association (CAA) 94th Annual Conference, Boston, U.S.A., February 2006.
2. A modern facsimile of the *Yuan jing shuo* is in *Congshu jicheng chubian* (The First Compilation of Various Books), Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936, pp. 1-2.
3. Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1966, pp. 1-49.
4. Regarding the five senses in Jesuit Chinese catechistic treatises, and the theory of mnemonics and the soul's image-making capacity introduced in the China missions, I have partly discussed these questions in detail in another article, see Hui-Hung Chen, "The Human Body as a Universe: Understanding Heaven by Visualization and Sensibility in Jesuit Cartography in China", *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 3, pp. 544-57, July 2007.
5. For an overall investigation of Jesuit visual culture in seventeenth-century China, see my dissertation, Hui-Hung Chen, "Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences: Jesuit Visual Culture in Seventeenth Century China", PhD diss., Brown University, 2004. The main visual materials discussed there are those which can be securely documented in the China missions.

图象与精神

十七世纪来华耶稣会士的视力观

Image and Soul

Jesuit Vision in Seventeenth-Century China

陈慧宏 • Chen Hui-Hung

耶稣会士汤若望 (Johann Adam Schall von Bell, 1591-1666) 是在中国宫廷中担任钦天监正的第一个欧洲人。⁽¹⁾ 他留下了许多汉语著作，其中之一是一本名曰《远镜说》的小册子，这本书是这样开始的：

人身五司，耳目为贵无疑也。耳与目，又孰为贵乎？昔亚利多称耳司为百学之母，谓凡授受以耳，学问所以弥精弥广也。若目司，则巴拉多称为理学之师，何者？盖当其陡与物遇，见其然即索其所以然，由粗入细，由有形入无形，理学始终，总目为牖矣。而不宁惟是，明光色光，较形声臭味独居上分，不既属于目乎？观夫亚尼玛，以目为居止；孟子谓存乎人者，莫良于眸子。则凡情开意动之微，必达于目，善恶莫掩，有如执左契然者。且耳之于声也，有待目之于形

也……。物体有大小方圆，邪正动静，数有多寡，位有远近，畴非于目辨者乎？诚若是，则目之贵于耳也明矣。⁽²⁾

这段话解释了视觉在接受信息、形成智力以及不带偏见地判断善恶上发挥着非常重要的作用。因此，精神的能力与人的本质都不得不依赖于视觉强有力的证明。人的视觉与智力和精神之间的密切关系起源于经典的记忆术和各种知识理论，尤其是亚里士多德的理论，在他的理论中，形象和想象在将感觉或者感官印象转变为思想即知识的过程中发挥着关键作用。⁽³⁾ 西方的这种观念，亦即把视觉置于五种官能之首，并因此

1. 本文是我此前一篇会议论文的修订结果，那篇文章的题目叫《现代初期来华耶稣会士使团之西方视力观的跨文化转变》（我在大学艺术协会第94届年会上提交了这篇论文，波士顿，2006年2月）。
2. 《远镜说》的现代摹本见《丛书集成初编》，商务印书馆1936年，第1-2页。下划线是我加的。
3. Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1966年，第1-49页。

historical discourse regarding the visual culture of the Jesuits has hardly elaborated on his treatise *On the Telescope*. Also, Western ways of seeing introduced by the Jesuits have not been fully discussed from a cross-cultural perspective.

On the Telescope introduces the reader to the various employments and functions of a telescope. The first section focuses on the uses of the telescope in reference to astronomical observations. The ensuing text concerns the scientific analysis of vision and the different possible angles connecting the eye to nature.⁶ The manifold results generated from the ability of human eyes imply the potency of the human body in dealing with nature, whose potency may be enhanced through the use of an instrument, the telescope in this case, which enhances vision in a positive way. Another Jesuit, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), who succeeded Schall's work in the capital, composed a magnificent work in Chinese on scientific instruments accompanied by 117 illustrations, entitled *Xinzhì lingtái yìxiàng zhī* (New Account of the Instruments of the Imperial Observatory) and *Yìxiàng tú* (Illustrations of the Instruments; 1674). Verbiest's preface to the *Illustrations* explains his reasons for making the instruments and for separating text from illustration in the two publications:

General Introduction to the Instruments [to the *Yìxiàng tú*]

All Instruments have methods for making, using, and setting-up, and the principle for the material aspect. These [methods and principle] are many and infinite and cannot be explained fully by many texts. Therefore it is necessary to turn to a graphic mode for explanation, and also from the illustration we will expound and expand them in order for it to be realized... Those that hear or study the theory can thus verify the theory by means of the realistic illustration. Moreover,

what the text cannot explain can be done through the illustration; the illustration can therefore clarify what the text cannot say. A scrutinizing of the illustration will then generate an intuition; this way any interior understanding will not transgress the actual measurements of the instruments.

Verbiest explicates that it is customary to place text and illustrations side by side, but that this format is not very good for reading both at the same time. This kind of format interrupts the readings of each, thus he suggests that the text and the illustration should be issued separately with individually different expressions and character. The 117 illustrations that Verbiest presented for his imperial patron are independent of the text because they can be more demonstrative than the text, even of the religious implications which are also embedded in the graphical representations. Verbiest's *Illustrations* represents the peak of the use by the Jesuits of scientific instruments and their illustrations in the seventeenth century. In other words, it highlights the significance of the sense of sight for comprehending Jesuit knowledge, since instruments and illustrations both require the ability to see. The instrument requires "seeing" the theory in a practical sense, and in the illustration, one "sees" the practice and the reality of the instrument.

Moreover, in Verbiest's illustrations, eyes and hands are the most often depicted bodily parts in the illustrations, used to indicate the angle of vision for observation and the point of manual manipulation in using the instrument or tools (Fig. 1). Thus the realistic depictions of these parts of the human body put emphasis on the critical and active relations of the human body to the operational process and theoretical formation of the material subject. Their pictorial representation is nevertheless symbolic; this kind of representation becomes in fact more powerful than the presence of the entire human body. The presence of a single eye in illustrations of the operational process explicitly demonstrates the implacable importance of sight in comprehending science and knowledge.

6. Pasquale D'Elia provided an English introduction to the *Yuan jing shuo*, see Pasquale M. d'Elia, *Galileo in China—Relations Through the Roman College between Galileo and the Jesuit Scientist-Missionaries (1610-1640)*, trans. Rufus Suter and Matthew Sciascia, Cambridge, Harvard University, 1960, pp. 33-39.

假定知识可以被形象化，与中国是不同的。但是，在早期耶稣会士的汉语问答式论述中，这种观念得到了译介，他们把记忆理论和心灵制作形象的能力这方面的理论传授给了他们的中国信徒。⁽⁴⁾

在本文中，我将讨论西方的这种视觉观念以及耶稣会士在传教背景中利用这种观念的潜能。我进而认为，西方的这种见识对滞留中国的耶稣会士的视觉文化观念至关重要，因为西方话语中与视觉有关的那些话题，对于解释耶稣会士何以在出使中国的过程中要利用图象和栩栩如生的物体是必不可少的。⁽⁵⁾人们对汤若望的研究主要集中于他的科学成就，然而在关于耶稣会士的视觉文化的艺术—历史话语中，他的《远镜说》尤其没有得到详细阐述。与此同时，由耶稣会士引进的西方人看待事物的方式，在文化交流的全景中也没有得到全面讨论。

《远镜说》介绍了望远镜的各种用途和功能(如图1)。第一部分集中于望远镜在天文观察中的作用，接下来的文字科学地分析了视觉以及使眼睛与自然联系在一起的各种不同的角度。⁽⁶⁾人眼的功能产生了多重结果，这些结果使人的身体有能力与自然打交道。借助这种工具，也就是望远镜，就可以大大加强人的视力。另一个耶稣会士，南怀仁(Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623-1688)，继续了汤若望在首都(北京)的工作，他用汉语写作了一本论述科学工具的鸿篇巨制，这本书附有117幅插图，名曰《新制灵台仪象志》。后来他又写了一本《仪象图》(1674年)。南怀仁在《仪象图》的前言中解释了他制作这些器械的原因，并将文字与插图分开出版：

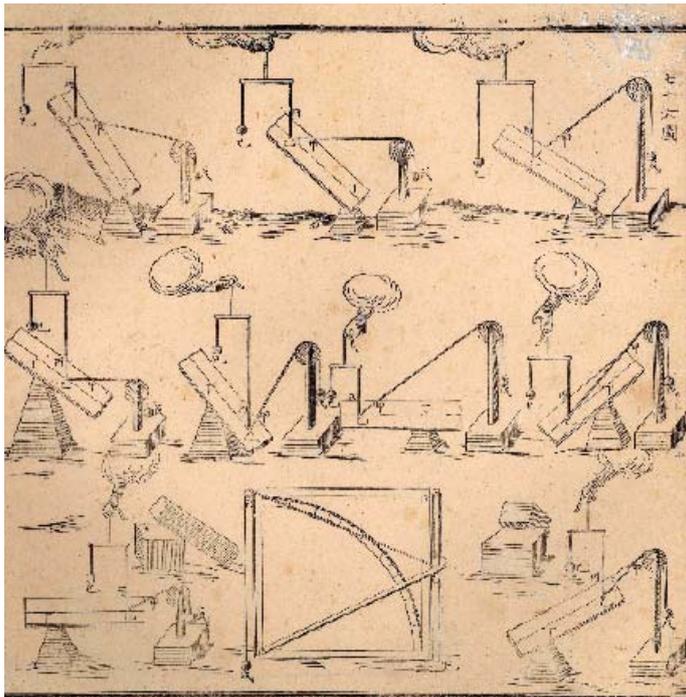
诸仪有作之法，有用之法，有安之法，并有所为坚固与其轻重之理，为数甚繁，有若河汉

而无极，虽累牍莫尽也，故非绘图以明之，而又从而推广之，则何以得其解邪……盖欲令见之论说者，无不可索于形似而证之也，然且说之所未及者，而图无不及之，又所以补说之未及，苟因是而循迹而起悟焉，则神明固不出乎矩矱之中矣。⁽⁷⁾

南怀仁说，人们通常将文字与插图并置一处，但这种版式对同时阅读二者并不方便。这种版式使两种阅读互相干扰，因此他建议将文字与具有不同表达方式和性质的插图分开出版。南怀仁为他的御制大作绘制的117幅插图是独立于文本的，因为它们比文字更加显明；这些插图甚至不受宗教含义的约束，虽然后者也体现在了图画表现中。南怀仁的《仪象图》代表了耶稣会士利用科学器械、以及在17世纪展示这些器械的巅峰。换言之，它为理解耶稣会士的知识突出了视觉感受的重要性，因为器械和图示都需要看的能力。器械要求在实践的意义上“看”理论；而在图示中，人们看见了器械的实践与现实。

4. 关于耶稣会士的汉语问答式论文中所讨论的五官，以及他们引进的记忆理论和精神制作图象的能力，我还有另外一篇文章，其中一部分详细讨论了这些问题，请参见Hui-Hung Chen, "The Human Body as a Universe: Understanding Heaven by Visualization and Sensibility in Jesuit Cartography in China", *The Catholic Historical Review*, July 2007, 第93卷, 第3期, 第544-57页。
5. 关于17世纪中国耶稣会士之视觉文化的全面研究，请参见我的论文《在民族、宗教和科学中相遇：17世纪中国耶稣会士之视觉文化》(博士论文，布朗大学，2004)。这里讨论的主要视觉材料是那些可以安全地记载于中国使团中的部分。
6. Pasquale D'Elia为《远镜说》提供了一个英语导论，见Pasquale M. d'Elia, *Galileo in China—Relations Through the Roman College between Galileo and the Jesuit Scientist-Missionaries (1610-1640)*, transl. Rufus Suter and Matthew Sciascia, Cambridge, Harvard University, 1960年, 第33-39页。
7. 下划线是我加的。我参阅了三个版本的《仪象图》：其一是《梵蒂冈使徒书目录》，图书编号分别为R.G. Oriente I-42, 和R. G. Oriente I-43, Borgia Chinese 397。其二藏于意大利罗马Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, 图书编号为JapSin IV-27。其三藏于台湾历史与哲学研究所图书馆，图书编号为A522312。另有钦定本的现代摹本《新制仪象图》，安徽美术出版社，2002年。

The didactic figuration of a human eye or hand is often found in European emblematic literature, to which the Jesuits themselves were quite devoted. This tradition seems not to have ever been in use in China, where the realistic depiction of a whole person participating in a technological process was often adopted in the contemporary local style



图/ Fig. 1 No. 76, from Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), 诸仪象图 *Zhu yixiang tu* (Illustrations of the Instruments), preface dated 1674, an edition from the Kangxi period (1662-1722), Fu-szu Nien Library, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, A 522 312 © Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan.

7. The quotation derives from John B. Knipping, *The Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, 2 Vols., Leiden, 1974, Vol.1, p. 19.
8. The above discussion about the eyes in the Chinese medical discourse refers to Jürgen Kovacs and Paul Unschuld, transl. & annot., *Essential Subtleties on the Silver Sea: the Yin-hai jing-wei: a Chinese Classic on Ophthalmology*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998, pp. 3-5, 66-69, 76-77, 124-25, 130-31. The *Yin-hai jing-wei* was finished in the fifteenth century, and reprinted, as Kovacs and Unschuld pointed out, in “numerous editions documenting the widespread appeal of the text to Chinese practitioners”, p. xii.
9. Ye Xianggao ed., *Min zhong zhu gong zeng shi* (Eulogy of Poems by Several Literati of Fujian), in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian* (Literature of Catholicism in the East), 3rd ed., Taipei, Taiwan Xuesheng shuju, 1997, p. 645.
10. Chen, “The Human Body as a Universe”.

of this type of illustration (Fig. 2). Given the European background of Verbiest’s images, the illustration of an instrument or operation and the intervention of the human eye becomes a divine demonstration—“the eye became a hieroglyph for God”—if European *emblematica* are kept in mind.⁽⁷⁾ This would have introduced a different concept of human bodily functions and relation between the human body and instruments to the Chinese, who were not accustomed to reading this symbolic style.

In Chinese medical discourse of around the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the eye was an essential part of the human body. It was also comparable to the heavenly elements, the sun and the moon, and their critical role in the relationship between humans and the environment. But here the primary origin of the eye’s afflictions or blindness lies in the pathological condition of the internal organs, such as the five viscera. The internal problems of a sick body were supposed to later attack the eyes. Since in the Chinese context the relationship between the eyes and the physical body was emphatically dependent, it would have been hard to imagine the significance of the depiction of a single eye.⁽⁸⁾

Furthermore, China never analyzed vision in a scientific and material way in the way that *On the Telescope* did. As Schall had mentioned, Mencius, an ancient sage, had said that the eye was the best organ for judging a human; the importance of human vision had therefore more of a morally symbolic significance in China. It was in this sense that one Chinese literatus praised the Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) in his poetry, and said that Aleni by his virtue and knowledge could enlighten the mundane eyes of the ordinary people (*ke ming renshi mu*).⁽⁹⁾ Eyes and vision were used as allegorically pivotal factors for the righteous access to and reception of the outside world.

Western vision, as introduced by the Jesuits, points to sight as critical for the act of studying. As Aristotle’s mnemonics and theory of knowledge were unknown to Chinese culture the key difference that Western vision had compared to the Chinese understandings of vision was its crucial role for the human soul.⁽¹⁰⁾ As Schall

此外，在南怀仁的图示中，眼睛与手是演示中使用得最多的身体部分，指示了使用器械或工具的视角与操作要点(如图1)。对人的身体各部分的如实描绘，其重点放在人的身体与操作方法以及具体主题的理论形式之间的关系上。另一方面，这些插图的图示性面貌是象征性的，但这种表现方法反而比将人的身体全部呈现出来更加有力。

操作方法中出现的一只眼睛(如图2)明确地表现了视力在理解科学和知识中不可替代的重要性。在欧洲象征性的文学中，人民经常可以发现眼睛与手的教诲性形态。耶稣会士对这种文学是非常喜爱的。

在中国，截至当时似乎还没有发现这种传统，因为就当时中国人所作的这种图示的风格来看，对进行科技活动的人物所作的描绘通常是现实主义的。由于其欧洲背景，对一种器械或者一项操作以及人的眼睛对它的干预所作的图示，就变成了神圣的演示——“对于上帝来说，眼睛变成了一种象形文字”^⑧——如果我们能牢记欧洲人的象征的话。就身体的各种功能以及身体与工具之间的关系而言，这可能给中国人带来了一种不同的观念，他们当时还不习惯这种象征性的风格。

此外，在16世纪与17世纪之交的中医话语中，眼睛也是身体器官中极为重要的部分。它甚至可以与天上的事物相提并论，比如日月；它们在人与环境的关系中都发挥着同样的关键作用。当时人们认为，眼疾与眼盲的主要原因在于内部五脏的病态状况。身体内脏的疾患必将随后引起眼疾。^⑨因为眼睛与身体彼此密切联系在一起，所以在中国语境中，单独强调眼睛的重要性是人们难以设想的。此外，中国人从来不会像《远镜说》那样以一种科学而唯物的方式去分析眼睛。正如汤若望提及的那

样，古代圣人孟子曾说眼睛是判断人的最佳工具，在此视力的重要性被放在了道德性的象征意义上。一个中国学者曾在诗中赞扬耶稣会士艾儒略(Giulio Aleni, 1582-1649)，称他的德行与知识“可明人世目”。^⑩眼睛与视力被比喻性地当作正确接近和接受外部世界的关键因素。

耶稣会士将西方人的视力观念引进了中国，这种视力观认为视觉对研究活动具有批判性的作用。因为亚里士多德



图/ Fig. 2 Illustration of the Ink-Making Process, from 宋應星 Song Yingxing (1587-1666?), 天工開物 *Tiangong Kaiwu* (An Encyclopedia of Technology and Agriculture), preface dated 1637, Fu-szu Nien Library, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, A 640 122, © Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

8. 引文出自 John B. Knipping, *The Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, 两卷, Leiden, 1974年, 第1卷, 第19页。
9. 上述中医话语中关于眼睛的讨论参见 Jürgen Kovacs, Paul Unschuld 翻译并注释的 *Essential Subtleties on the Silver Sea: the Yin-hai jing-wei: a Chinese Classic on Ophthalmology*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998年, 第3-5, 66-69, 76-77, 124-125, 130-131页。《银海精微》成书于十五世纪, 并重版无数次, 正如 Jürgen Kovacs 和 Paul Unschuld 指出的那样, 表明它广受中国从医者欢迎(前言第12页)。
10. 叶向高, 《闽中诸公赠诗》, 见《天主教东传文献》, 台湾学生书局1997年, 第645页。

said in the above treatise, “the faculty of *anima* depends on the eyes”. *Anima*, the essence of a human being, can be generally translated as “soul”. That *anima* is demonstrated by the ability of vision is an idea related to the rational soul’s capacity of imagination.

Because of this connection of the sense of sight with the soul, the Jesuits’ teaching of the importance of vision was eventually channelled to teachings about the soul. The ability of imagination of the rational soul, which entails mnemonics and transforms perception to knowledge, was significant for the comprehension of Christianity. The Jesuits introduced two concepts for teaching their Chinese reader about the imagination: sleep and dreams. The Jesuit Francesco Sambiasi’s (1582-1649) *Shui hua er da* (*Answers to Both Sleeping and Painting*) contains two treatises dealing individually with sleeping and painting, and it has a preface written by the Chinese Christian Li Zhizao (1564-1630) and dated to 1629. Li’s opening sentence of the preface epitomizes the meaning: “*Ren zi you sheng qi wu chi, zi xing jie shi yi meng, ta ren cong pang kan zhi, ze jie yi hua* (A human’s entire period of life from birth to death is a dream of which one makes a self-examination. But for people that observe it from the outside, it is just a painting).”⁽¹¹⁾ The dream and picture are a symbolic vision that implies the caprice and

vanity of human temporal life. This concept is also seen in the Jesuit Joannes David’s (1545-1613) illustrated catechism *Veridicus Christianus* (1601), and we read the following as a moral edification for vanity: “*Post vitae huius vanitatem, quae somnii instar ipsis fuit, quando ad mortis somnum veniunt, vacua se manu reperiunt, qui pleni omnibus videbantur* (After the vanity of this life, which has been the very image of a dream, when [or because] they [the images] come to the sleep of death, and discover themselves with an empty hand, which had been seen full in everything),” “*Quomodo facti sunt in desolationem* (By which manner those deeds [of human life] are in desolation!)”⁽¹²⁾ A dream and sleep could serve as a metaphor.

Moreover, Sambiasi’s treatise on painting specifies the question of how to paint a “man”. It begins with a Chinese man who asks the missionary to explain how western paintings can appear to be animated and splendid with spirits (*lingxi ye ran ru sheng*). In answering, Sambiasi pleads that a painting can be made by means of using his following words as the pen, the painter’s heart as the canvas, and the ultimate principle (doctrines or God) as the colors (*qing yi yu she wei mao ying, yi zi xin wei juan su, yi zhi li wei wu cai dang zhi*). The following conversations mainly focus on how to correctly depict the positions of the human body, hair, and five organs, and on which criteria are virtue and vice demonstrated in good and bad depictions. At the end, most importantly, the Chinese man asks how to paint a “good” heart or mind, the hardest part to portray. Sambiasi praises this best of all questions, which implies that the heart is the ultimate source of the human body and of morality. Sambiasi says that a good heart is formless, and its body is the most animated, its reach the widest, and it uses the most spiritual (*haoxin chao yu wuxing, qi ti zhi guang, qi tong zhi guang, qi yong zhi shen*). It cannot actually be acquired by painting, but we can take the example of a physical heart, in which the upper part must be wide and the lower part narrow. The width of the upper part of the heart symbolizes the people’s adoration upward towards Heaven.⁽¹³⁾ The discussions in this treatise indicate edification through the

11. Francesco Sambiasi, “Shui hua er da” (*Answers to Both of Sleeping and Painting*), in Nicolas Standaert et al. eds., *Xujiahui cang shu lou mingqing tianzhujiao wenxian* (Chinese Christian Texts from the Zikawei Library), 5 Vols., Taipei, Faculty of Theology, Fugen Catholic University, 1996, pp. 423-461. Another edition was published in Standaert and Dudink, *Chinese Christian Texts*, Vol. 6, pp. 381-434. The former is a manuscript which has the same contents as the latter. Li’s beginning statement comes from page 423 for the former, page 381 for the latter. In addition, in the former, the *Shui da*, the section on painting, is placed in front, and the *Hua da*, the section on sleeping, follows. In the latter edition, the order is reversed.

12. The edition I consulted is one in BAV, call number Cicognara IV. 1879.A., pp. 260, 271-72. It was published by the Officina Plantiniana, Anwerp, in 1601. David points out the biblical passages referring to the metaphors of sleep and dream, in Isaiah 29, Psalms 75 and 4. The *Veridicus Christianus* as an important religious emblem book is briefly discussed in David Freedberg, “Prints and the Status of Images in Flanders,” in *Le Stampe e la Diffusione delle Immagini e degli Stili*, Henri Zerner ed., Bologna, CLUEB, 1983, p. 46.

13. The above three Chinese quotations are respectively from Sambiasi, *Shui hua er da*, in Standaert, *Xujiahui cang shu*, Vol.1, p. 454 (for the first two), p. 460.

的记忆术和知识理论是中国文化闻所未闻的，西方人的视力观念与中国人对视力的理解之间的关键差异对解释人的精神就具有至关重要的作用。⁽¹¹⁾正如汤若望在前面那篇论文中所说的那样：“心灵的能力仰赖于眼睛。”人的本质在于心灵(anima)，这个词一般可以翻译为精神/灵魂(soul)。观看事物的能力证明了心灵的存在，这与想象理性精神(灵魂)的能力是联系在一起的。因为视力与精神(灵魂)之间的关系，耶稣会士们在阐释视力的重要性的教义时，便最终指向了关于精神的教义。想象理性精神(灵魂)的能力——这种能力使记忆不可或缺，并将感觉转化成为知识——对于理解基督教是至关重要的。为向中国读者解释想象，耶稣会士们引进了两个概念：睡与梦。耶稣会士毕方济(Francesco Sambiassi, 1582-1649)的《睡画二答》包含了两个论题，分别讨论了睡眠与绘画，中国基督徒李之藻(1564-1630)为这本书写了前言。前言的前面几句表达了这个意思：“人自有生迄没齿，自省皆是一梦，他人从旁看之，则皆一画。”⁽¹²⁾梦与画的比喻象征了人生的无常与空虚。在耶稣会士乔安尼·戴维(Joannes David, 1545-1613)配有插图的教义问答集*Veridicus Christianus*(1601)中，我们也可以发现这种观念，从中我们可以读到如下关于人生空虚的道德教诲：“人生如梦，一旦(或者因为)大限将至，从前自以为应有尽有，自此方知两手空空。”(*Post vitae huius vanitatem, quae somnij instar ipsis fuit, quando ad mortis somnum veniunt, vacua se manu reperiunt, qui pleni omnibus videbantur*)“以此而论，万般忙碌终归一场空。”(*Quomodo facti sunt in desolationem*)⁽¹³⁾梦与睡眠被当作了一种隐喻。

此外，毕方济论画的文章还详细说明了如何画“人”。文章以一个中国人向传教士提问开始，询问西方绘画在画

人时如何做到使人“灵气烨然如生”？毕方济回答说：“请以予舌为毛颖，以予心为绢素，以至理为五采当之。”接下去的对话主要集中讲述了如何正确描绘人的身体、头发和五官的位置，以及哪种描绘标准是好的，哪种是坏的——好坏两种标准都有相应的具体范例予以示范。最后且最重要的是，这个中国人提出了这样一个问题：如何描画出“好的”心灵或者精神？这可是绘画中最困难的事。

毕方济称赞这个问题提得最好，因为这意味着心灵是身体和道德的终极源泉。毕方济说：“好心超于无形，其体至灵，其通至广，其用至神。”⁽¹⁴⁾我们不可能通过绘画实际得到它，但我们可以以身体中的心脏为例加以说明，因为心脏的上半部分宽大，而下半部分窄小。宽大的上半部分象征了人对天堂的崇拜。这篇论文中的讨论显示了借助身体描绘进行道德教诲的倾向，这反应了基督教的道德以及上帝在人身心两方面的地位，并因此解释了天主教的想象力。

上述讨论部分表明了传教士们如何把西方的视力观以及与此相关的问题引进了中国。当这两种文化在视力这个问题上相遇时，耶稣会士们原本可以记住，要让中国人接受西方的视力观，

11. Hui-Hung Chen, "The Human Body as a Universe".
12. 毕方济, 《睡画二答》, 见《徐家汇藏书楼明清天主教文献》(5卷), 台北, 台湾辅仁大学神学院, 1996年, 第1卷, 第423-461页。另一个版本是由Standaert和Dudink编辑的《中国天主教文献》, 第6卷, 第381-434页。前者为手抄本, 内容与后者相同。在前者中, 李之藻开始时的陈述出现在第423页, 在后者中出现在第381页。此外, 在前者中, 论画的一节放在前面, 论睡眠的一节放在后面。在后者中顺序恰好相反。
13. 我参考的版本见于《梵蒂冈使徒目录志》(BAV), 图书编号为Cicognara IV. 1879.A., 第260页, 第271-272页。于1601年由Officina lantiniana, Anwerp出版。戴维指出, 《圣经》中与睡眠和梦有关的章节见《以赛亚书》第29节、《圣歌》第75、4节。Veridicus Christianus作为一本重要的宗教寓意画册, 戴维已在其《绘画与图象在弗兰德思的地位》中有简要论述, 见Henri Zerner编辑的*Le Stampe e la Diffusione delle Immagini e degli Stili*, Bologna, CLUEB, 1983年, 第46页。
14. 上述三则汉语引文依次出自毕方济的《睡画二答》, 见Standaert等编辑的《徐家汇藏书楼明清天主教文献》, 第1卷第454页(前二则), 第460页(第3则)。



图/Fig. 3 “The Visitation”, in 诵念珠规程 *Song nian zhu gua cheng* (Method for Reciting the Rosary, 1st. edition, ca. 1619), ill. published with authorization from Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Rome.

14. However, the myth by which the percentage of sinicization is treated as a judgment should be challenged, because there is no documentation to confirm that the Jesuits ever recognized the intensity of sinicization as a standard with which to judge the supreme representation of hybridity. In other words, I do not argue that a more sinicized image could be a more successful work of hybridity.

depiction of the human body, which reflects Christian morality and God’s position in human physicality and spirituality, and thus explains the Catholic imagination.

The above discussion in part shows how the missionaries introduced to China the West’s idea of vision and related issues. When the two cultures met regarding questions related to vision, the Jesuits noticed that an explanation about the rational soul was needed to make a Chinese perception of this matter possible. Thus it was by no means a question of vision alone, with no regard for the moral or spiritual implications of the question. As above shown, Verbiest promoted the illustration of a scientific instrument capable of creating an intuition of what is invisible, or God. The capacity of the soul’s image-making was a demonstration of *anima*, which was granted by God’s grace. For the Jesuits the ability of sight was directly related to a similar ability in the spiritual realm. That the Jesuits were able to bring forth in the “Chinese soul” the specific ability of image-making in a way hitherto unseen in Chinese culture, can be observed in the way the missionaries transformed the visual appearance [of a painting] to suit Chinese ways of perceiving [a painterly image]. Given the missionary context, I wonder if sinicization for the Jesuits was not a way to raise the issue of the soul’s image-making capacity and make apparent to the Chinese mind the activity of the soul. When an onlooker perceived [an artistic religious image] that had been sinicized, it involved the process of [recreating] that image in a [more familiar] way.

The simple interpretation of the Jesuit policy of accommodation in adopting Chinese techniques or styles only addresses “what” the hybrid style is, rather than the questions of “how” and “why”. If the Jesuits wanted to avoid mere Chinese curiosity of Western pictorial skills, they had to address the spiritual side of vision. By concentrating on the technical side they would have caught the attention of the Chinese only in a superficial way. But a hybrid style could transform Chinese vision from simple attraction to perception. This is the significance that a new hybrid expression in art could have had for the Jesuits (Fig. 3).⁽¹⁴⁾

就必须向他们解释理性的精神；因此，视力决不是一件与道德和精神无关的事情。正如上文表明的那样，因为涉及了精神或者上帝，所以南怀仁提升了为解释科学工具所作的插图的地位。精神具有制作图象的能力，这就证明了心灵(anima)的存在，而心灵是由上帝的恩惠所赋予的。对耶稣会士来说，视觉能力的训练与实践与精神领域内的能力直接相关。为了说明这种在中国文化中见所未见的图象制作能力，耶稣会士们唤醒了“中国人的心灵”；这一点可以在如下事实中观察到：传教士们改变了事物的视觉外貌以适应中国人的接受习惯。鉴于西方视力观的传教士背景，我认为，要提出精神具有制作图象的能力，以及向中国人讲述精神的行动，中国化是一条合适的渠道。一旦受众察觉到传教士们的表达中国化了，他们立刻就以一种本土化的方式进入图象制作程序。

耶稣会士在使用中国技法或者风格时采取了一定的迁就策略，我对此所作的简单解释仅仅着手于这种混合风格是“什么”，而没有涉及“如何”与“为何”的问题。为了避免中国人仅仅只对西方的绘画技法感兴趣——这只能以一种肤浅的方式保留住中国人的兴趣，耶稣会士不得不提出视力的精神问题。东西混合风格可以将中国人的眼睛从仅仅对事物感到着迷转变到观察事物。在这个意义上，新的混合风格才对耶稣会士具有意义。¹⁵⁾ (如图3) 

马元龙译

陈慧宏目前是国立台湾大学历史系的助理教授，她的博士论文“Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences: Jesuit Visual Culture in Seventeenth Century China”(民族、宗教与科学的相遇：耶稣会在十七世纪中国的视觉文化)于2004年在美国布朗大学完成。此前，在国立台湾大学历史系和艺术史研究所，分别获得了学士和硕士学位，并在美国布朗大学开始了对欧洲艺术与历史的研究，重点包括基督教艺术及其传统、以及现代早期中欧之间的跨文化问题。自1999起，在进行其博士论文的研究和写作期间，陈女士收到了数项研究补助金，开始在澳门、日本、里斯本、罗马、梵蒂冈、巴黎和台湾为其课题进行实地调查和研究。陈博士的主要研究兴趣包括：耶稣会现代早期的历史及其使命，反宗教改革时期，以及从十六到十八世纪中欧之间的跨文化接触。

Hui-Hung Chen is currently an Assistant Professor at the Department of History, National Taiwan University. Her PhD dissertation, entitled “Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences: Jesuit Visual Culture in Seventeenth Century China”, was completed at Brown University in 2004. She received a B.A. degree in the Department of History and an M.A. degree in the Institute of Art History, both from the National Taiwan University, and began her study of European art and history at Brown, focusing on Christian art and its traditions, as well as cross-cultural issues between Europe and China in the Early Modern period. Since 1999, during the period of researching and writing her dissertation, Hui-Hung received several grants that brought her to Macao, Japan, Lisbon, Rome, the Vatican, Paris and Taiwan to conduct fieldwork for her project. Her main research interests include the early-modern history of the Society of Jesus and its missions, the Counter-Reformation period, and the cross-cultural encounters between Europe and China from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

15. 但是，将中国化的百分比当作判断标准，这个神话应该受到挑战：因为没有任何文件可以确定耶稣会士曾将中国化的强度当作标准，去判断混合风格的最高代表。换句话说，我并不认为一幅图象越是中国化就表明它在融合东西方上越成功。