

of science with an axiological dimension, and not to a conception of the axiological dimension of science. Such a conception would be an ideal of science, and not a rational reconstruction of scientific practice. Her proposal is only a kind of methodological and philosophical “guideline” for it.

The question arises, whether the metaphysical and anthropological framework proposed by the Lublin School of Philosophy (i.e. existential Thomism as an autonomous philosophy) is convincing and attractive enough for scientists to take it on board and consider it as an ideal. Does history show that the Thomistic philosophical framework is able to stimulate and foster modern science? The thinkers who developed this philosophical approach have been distancing themselves in a programmatic way from dialogue with science. The version of Thomism fostered in this school tended to be immune from interaction with the scientific world-view. Regrettably, the author does not present any considerations based on this school of thought. She satisfies herself with a sketch of the project. In this regard, her book seems to promise much but ends suddenly. It will be interesting to see how the proposed perspective is able to deal with so many difficult questions.

On the whole Lekka-Kowalik is very skillful in her critical analysis. She makes a number of helpful distinctions and she cares about the conceptual precision of her terminology, noting many subtle differences in concepts. The book is a good overview of recent very important changes, and insightfully examines ways to overcome difficulties, as well as helping to critically understand their philosophical significance and impact.

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Venturing into Magnum Cathay, 17th Century Polish Jesuits in China: Michał Boym (1612–1659), Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki (1610–1656), and Andrzej Rudomina (1596–1633).

International Workshop, 26 September – 1 October, 2009, Kraków, Poland

For the first time in the history of the Polish Jesuits, an extended International Workshop, of high quality, has taken place at the University School of Philosophy and Education “Ignatianum”, in Kraków, focusing on the three Polish Jesuits: Michał Boym 卜彌格 (1612–1659), Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki 穆尼閣 (1610–1656), and Andrzej Rudomina 戶石 (1596–1633) – all three of whom were missionaries in China in the 17th century. This international symposium in Kraków contributed to common scientific exchange and to the discovery of the science, wisdom and culture of China.

First of all, many thanks to the *Monumenta Serica Institute*, the Sinological Institute for Chinese Studies, as well as to the head of this Institute – Roman Malek SVD from Sankt Augustin (Germany) – who was the organizer of this

conference with his co-workers – *team Monumenta Serica*. Thank you also to the *Confucius Institute* (Kraków, Poland), in connection with the *Monumenta Serica* - Sinological Research Center (Taipei, Taiwan). The workshop was co-sponsored by the Verein de Freunde und Förderer von Monumenta Serica (Germany) and the *Confucius Institute*, Kraków.

In my reflection I would like to avoid all the missiological, historical and theological presentations and focus special attention on the philosophical and astronomical aspects of our Symposium. From among the lecturers speaking on Chinese philosophy, Professor Shi Yunli's paper "Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki and Xue Fengzuo on astronomy and astrology" deserved our attention, beyond any doubt. How did Smogulecki, as a Polish Jesuit, manage to influence Xue Fengzuo, Chinese science and culture? Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki and Xue Fengzuo's joint work on astronomy and astrology is crystallized in the book *Tianbu zhenyuan* 天步真原 (True Principles of the Pacing of the Heavens). The astrological part of the book is a translation from Girolamo Cardano's (1501-1576) commentary on Ptolemy's (ca.85-ca.165) *Tetrabiblos*. Its astronomical part is actually an adaptation of the *Tabulae Motvum Coelestium Perpetuae . . . Item Theoreticae Motvum Coelestium Novae et Genuinae... (Perpetual Tables of Celestial motions . . . also New and True Theories of Celestial Motions...)* by the Belgian Philippe van Lansberge (1516-1632), a devoted follower of Copernicus' astronomy, who openly based his work on heliocentrism. Now, we can say for sure that Smogulecki did two uncommon things in the book. Firstly, after his fellow Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell had presented to the newly established Qing dynasty the Tychonic system of calendrical astronomy laid out in the *Chongzhen lishu* 崇禎曆書 (Chongzhen reign Treatises on Calendrical Astronomy) and thus made it the astronomical orthodoxy and a symbol of the authority of the newly established Manchu dynasty, he still decided to preach a different system among his Chinese disciples and openly claimed the superiority of this system to that of Schall von Bell, despite the fact that the credibility of Jesuit missionaries in China at the time was so subtly connected to the astronomical system they recommended to the Chinese government. Secondly, he systematically translated into Chinese the kind of astrology that was officially forbidden by the Catholic Church. Shi tried to provide his explanation of the possible reasons that led to Smogulecki's unusual behavior and to show how astronomy and astrology are put together in the *Tianbu zhenyuan* to form a new body of knowledge which Xue Fengzuo called *Tianxue* 天學 (Studies of the Heavens) or *Lixue* 曆學 (Calendrical Studies). His analyses could shed some new light on the real historical meaning of Smogulecki's scholarly work in China.

As far as astronomy is concerned, Smogulecki could have chosen to teach Xue Fengzuo the Tychonic system as contained in the *Chongzhen lishu*, but he did not. Apparently, he intended to preach something different among his Chinese disciples, which reveals the existence of a disagreement between him and Schall von Bell in astronomy, although they were said to be good friends. While Schall von Bell was an exponent and introducer of Tychonic astronomy in China, Smogulecki was

in fact more influenced by the Copernican astronomer Philippe van Lansberge, not only by his mathematical astronomy and his confidence in this astronomy, but also by his criticism of Tychonic astronomy. As a devoted Copernican astronomer, Lansberge not only defended the heliocentricity of the universe, but also assumed the exactitude of all the ancient observations and claimed that his own theories and tables fitted them all. For this reason, he called his theories *novae et genuinae* (new and true) and his tables *perpetuae* (perpetual), or *ex omnium temporum observationibus constructae, temporumque omnium observationibus consentientes* (constructed from the observations of all times, and conforming to the observations of all times). This, together with a variety of other issues, including his defense of heliocentrism, involved him and his student inevitably in a polemic against the so-called “Tychonici”, i.e. Tycho and his followers, even including Kepler, which in turn gave rise to a long-lasting controversy among astronomers in Europe. In the decade or so immediately after the publication of his theories and tables in 1632, Lansberge became an influential astronomer in Europe and his tables were the most serious rival of Kepler’s *Rudolphine Tables*, although they were gradually proved to be inferior to the latter.

During this period, Smogulecki was still in Europe (he did not leave for China until 1644). Judging from his astronomical work in China, it is clear that he obviously had a good knowledge of Lansbergian astronomy, though at the same time he was also responsible for the first importation into China of Kepler’s *Tabulae Rudolphinae*, a product of the Tychonic School in the eyes of Lansberge and his followers. As a remote echo of Lansberge’s self-confidence and his polemic against Tychonic astronomy, Smogulecki not only adapted Lansberge’s astronomy to China, but also characterized the Chinese version as *zhenyuan* 眞原 (true principles) and *xin xifa* 新 西法 (New Western Method), though he did not disclose the name of its real author. He did not even hide his criticism of Tycho and the Chinese version of Tychonic astronomy contained in the *Chongzhen lishu*, although he still spoke respectfully of Schall von Bell and Rho, the “Tychonici” in China.

Needless to say, Xue Fengzuo’s “Western Confucian” here refers to Smogulecki, who was understandably the actual source of Xue Fengzuo’s comments on the “Current Western Method” as well as its “serious defects”. Undoubtedly, these “defects” were judged by using the criteria of Lansberge’s astronomy. For example, “the additive and reductive corrections of the vernal equinox” (*chunfen jiajian* 春分加減) was actually a major issue that opposed Lansberge to the “Tychonici”.

In addition to his criticism of Tycho and Tychonic astronomy, Smogulecki could not but teach, though in a very ambiguous way, that “the earth also has displacement” (*diyiyoyou* 地亦有遊).

In short, all that Smogulecki did, actually became a Chinese version of Lansberge’s campaign against Tychonic astronomy, although he did not expose his cosmological commitment more explicitly in a written form. His real attitude toward heliocentrism was kept vague, but his stance in mathematical astronomy

was quite clear. He definitely belonged to the Copernican school represented by Lansberge and actually exposed the divergence between Tychonic and Copernican astronomy to a Chinese audience. It is in this sense that we can say that he was a Copernican in China.

Let us ask: Why did Smogulecki also introduce Western astrology so systematically to China? The first answer lies apparently in his Chinese student Xue Fengzuo. Among Chinese literati in the early Qing period, Smogulecki was known as a “sincere gentleman” who “is willing to discuss mathematics with scholars but would not make them join in his church.” For Xue Fengzuo, whose former master Wei Wenkui was one of the most stubborn adversaries of Western astronomy, this might have been a very important reason for his choosing Smogulecki as his new mentor. But there was one more powerful motive behind this decision, that is his ambitious plan to finish the two projects proposed by Xu Guangqi, i.e. (1) to realize a true integration of Chinese and Western astronomy, and (2) to carry out the so-called *dushu pangtong shishi* 度數旁通十事, or the extension of mathematical studies to ten relevant fields, that is meteorological astrology, hydraulics, musical harmonics, fortification and gunnery, accountancy, architecture, mechanics, medical astrology and horology. Needless to say, the first step needed to carry out this plan was to study the Western knowledge necessary for the projects but impossible to acquire from Wei Wenkui.

Undoubtedly, calendrical astronomy and related mathematical knowledge was the main concern of Xue Fengzuo when he decided to turn to a missionary from Europe, but his goal was apparently not limited to that. Among a variety of other subjects, such as musical harmonics and firearms, astrology was also a major topic he hoped to learn about, because he looked upon *zhanhou* 占候 (astrology) as a very important branch of the so-called *lixue* 曆學 (calendrical studies).

Apparently, Smogulecki endorsed this concept of *Tianxue* or *Lixue* and wanted to contribute his expertise to its construction, although this *Tianxue* or *Lixue* has nothing to do with Catholic religion as Li Zhizao’s *Tianxue* does. It is for the building of such a scholarship that he even dared to teach and translate the kind of Western astrology that was condemned by the Church. In this sense, we can say that the *Tianbu zhenyuan* is a real result of the dialogue and conciliation between a Jesuit Missionary and his non-Catholic Chinese followers.

Another remarkable lecturer, meriting distinction and giving us a very interesting presentation, was Professor Song Gang, in his paper: “Dialogical Learning of the Heavenly Studies: Andrzej Rudomina’s Mission in the Late Ming Dynasty”. He presented the Heavenly Studies. In the *Kouduo richao* 口鐸日抄 (A Diary of Oral Admonitions), a late Ming record of scholarly dialogues between some Jesuit missionaries and a group of local converts in Fujian, the chief editor Li Jiubiao 李九標 used a rhetorical expression to praise the two Jesuits who instructed him about *tianxue* 天學, or the Heavenly Studies. He said, “The masters [namely, Giulio Aleni and Andrzej Rudomina] were like sonorous bells that reverberate whenever they are struck. Now the sounds of the warning bells are all there: they truly suffice to enlighten the ignorant and to discipline the obstinate.” In such

a man-bell simile, Li indicated how the Heavenly Studies was transmitted by his foreign masters—a dialogic learning that resulted from the word *kouduo* in the title of the work. Li considered himself metaphorically a person who struck the “bells,” while in real life he was indeed holding the scriptures and asking for instructions from Aleni and Rudomina, literally in the manner of a disciple.

Since by this time no Chinese scholar had ever been to Europe, the only source for Li Xixuan seemed to be the accounts provided by Aleni and other Jesuits in China. If we assume that this description represented late Ming Chinese general understanding of the Jesuits’ profession in Europe, we will be led to an interesting question: how come an officially ranked priest in Europe turned out to be a scholar without any rank in the late Ming context? Of course, some would argue that the shift of identity was partly a result of the Jesuits’ adaptation strategy: Starting from Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇 (1552-1610), the Jesuits spoke and acted as the Western counterpart of Chinese scholars, thus the name of “scholars from the West” (*Xiru* 西儒). Their introduction of the Heavenly Studies served the purpose of adapting to Confucianism, the mainstream of Chinese thought, in the hope of a top-down, gradual evangelical success at a later time. The present research claims no opposition to this commonly agreed explanation. However, it brings forth an alternative approach by investigating the mechanism of dialogue and its important role in shaping a hybrid Christian-Confucian identity, as exemplified by Rudomina’s short but remarkable mission in late Ming Fujian.

After the continuous efforts made by a few dozen earlier Jesuits, Rudomina came to China at an opportune time to further spread the Heavenly Studies. On the one hand, the Ming empire became deeply involved in world economy, with growing inflows of silver from Japan and South America and outflows of silk, porcelain, and other goods. Commercialized urban areas and maritime trade along China’s south coast stimulated increasing demands for luxury goods, antiques, and exotics. Economic transformation was accompanied by many changes in the cultural domain. For one thing, the printing industry flourished to embrace a wider range of readers and cultural tastes, making it more difficult to draw a clear line between the elite and popular cultures. Meanwhile, syntheses among Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism continued to exert influences on society through new thinking and life styles. On the other hand, however, the Ming regime in its last fifty years faced a series of problems: incapable rulers, understaffed government, corruption, factionalism, fiscal deficit combined with inflation, flagging military morale, and loss of social ethics. All these were signs of a dying dynasty that had repeatedly been seen in history. While economic and cultural richness reaffirmed the Chinese ethnocentric feeling, discontents and anxieties at the degenerating society continued to accumulate especially among responsible Confucian literati. The Jesuits who entered late Ming China were keen enough to catch this distorted self-perception, from which they saw the urgent need and great potential to spread God’s divine words in a vast but still heathen empire.

Professor Song Gang pointed out two additional reasons for the strategic use of dialogue that had been put into practice since the Jesuits’ early contacts

with Chinese scholars in the 1580s. The first reason is contextual in nature, for historically speaking dialogue was not a stranger to either the Jesuits or the Confucians. The former were trained priests in the Catholic catechetical tradition, while the latter considered master-disciple discussions an inseparable part of the Confucian lineage of knowledge transfer. Similar pedagogical aims and functions thus made dialogue a valid, sharable medium for both parties during their late Ming encounter. The second reason lies in the generic feature of dialogue, which has always been a difficult task for literary critics and philosophers. Some would take dialogue as a “fundamentally hybrid genre” that evades any clear categorization. In other words, it may characteristically refer to any type of human exchange—literary, philosophical, ethical, religious, or political, etc. Considering its function to mix various components into a single body, some define dialogue as “a unity of diverse voices.” This general definition reveals two noticeable qualities of dialogue: informality and flexibility. The informal quality allows impromptu speeches, fragmented ideas, or casual expressions among participating interlocutors, while the flexible quality enables dialogue to use a limited number of simple configurations to enclose a variety of topics. Both qualities, as we see in the late Ming Jesuit-Confucian encounter, fitted the Jesuits’ preference for unofficial occasions and the practical need to prove their erudition on a wide range of topics under the name of *tianxue* 天学. If dialogue was considered both a comfortable and a practical medium for exchange with the Chinese scholars, the Jesuits had no reason not to incorporate it into their adaptation strategy.

A key part of the early Jesuits’ adaptation strategy to spread the Heavenly Studies was their promotion of European scientific knowledge, especially in cartography and astronomy. In fact, the two specialized fields became the hallmark of such Jesuits as Ricci and Sabatino de Ursis (熊三拔 1575-1620), who by means of their collaboration with Xu Guangqi and other Chinese scholars in Ming calendrical reforms greatly added the weight of their self-designated title of *xiru* 西儒, or “scholars from the West.” Not surprisingly, Rudomina was considered a member of this group of experts by his Fujian converts. From the *Kouduo richao* we see that he gave instructions on Western cartography and geography to Li Jiubiao, who appeared to be enthusiastic for this type of practical knowledge. It is interesting to note that, the discussions among Rudomina, Li Jiubiao, and Aleni reveal two remarkable points that may fit the Jesuit’s adaptation strategy as a whole. First, Rudomina, similarly to Aleni, had no hesitation to cross-reference Chinese and European sources to suggest a certain type of mixed scientific learning. Second, when he presented the telescope to Li and other converts, Rudomina ignored its function as an astronomical tool. He rather reinterpreted it and gave an unscientific, moralistic explanation.

Rudomina, by engaging in a dialogical learning of the Heavenly Studies with Fujian literati converts, contributed to the formation of a hybrid religious and cultural identity during the late Ming transitional period. He achieved this goal through his sonorous bell-like instructions on a variety of scientific, moral,

spiritual, and artistic subjects, the richness of which often stir up great wonder: what if his “opportunity” was a longer life serving the China mission?

Regarding the great influence of Polish Jesuits Jan Konior presented: “Intellectual, spiritual and cultural - missionary background of the Polish Jesuits in the 17th century.” He explained that It would be difficult to fully understand Polish science, philosophy, botany, zoology, theology, art, literature and poetry, Jesuit theatre, culture of Polish language, mathematics, technical sciences, astronomy, architecture, the art of war, natural and chemical sciences, musical culture with Jesuit publications and printers, with constant development of education (Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* (1599) – education law), Commission for National Education (1773-1794) without good knowledge of the history of Society of Jesus and its huge influence on the history of Polish culture starting from the 16th century. Jesuit education with school theatre, with Marian Congregations, with musical colleges, teachers’ seminaries, nobleman’s dorms and colleges, with Papal and diocesan seminaries fit into this wide range, just to consider the most important sectors of permanent intellectual-spiritual-cultural trace of a tireless condition of Polish Jesuits. What contributed to a consolidation of scientific condition of Polish Jesuits up to this day?

- first of all: from the 16th century there has been a continuous scientific activity, despite different obstacles such as dissolution of the Order (1773). Educational activity has continued.
- Secondly: a huge input into scientific and cultural heritage, Jesuits’ joining a fight for Polish language and national identity during the post-partition period.
- thirdly: the ability to adjust to new places in historical periods, various, sometimes difficult choices for greater glory of God, being in the mission of message, being a man of God and for God.

The presentation outlined that influences and significance of Polish Jesuits, on intellectual and cultural, educational, literary and spiritual parts were colossal. According to culture historians, Jesuit and non-Jesuit, it is thought that “Western culture reached the East as far as influences of Jesuit schools reached, and of all Jesuit schools the Vilnius Academy was the most far-reaching. Its influence is visible not only on Polish and Lithuanian land, it had a crucial influence on Latvia and White Russia. From the end of the 16th century Jesuits played an important religious and cultural role on the territory of almost whole Middle-Eastern Europe.”

Even though there were many failures on their part, especially when their stubborn pursuit to open their own academies usually fell through. Lack of competition on universities’ part resulted in lowering the higher education level in Poland. It is true that in some Jesuit colleges education was on an academic level, however, the inability to award academic degrees did not encourage a larger number of students to study at Jesuit colleges without awarding degrees. It is a fact that Vilnius Academy, thanks to its contacts with the West, promoted Western culture, becoming an intellectual and cultural bridge between the East and the

West. It also promoted astronomy whose director was a Jesuit scholar, Marcin Poczubut. From a historical perspective it should be deplored that Jesuits were never allowed to open their academy in the Crown. It seems that the history of Polish science and, what cannot be totally excluded, a history of our nation, would have gone on a bit differently. Nevertheless, Jesuits have for ever left a seal of their lively and unforgettable presence that cannot be obliterated.

Summing up, I would like to underline that everyone, as a participant was satisfied of the exceptional symposium of high-level specialistic of scientific Sinologists from many countries of the world: Australia, U.S.A., Hong Kong, Taiwan, China (4 universities), Italy, Belgium, France, Germany, Poland. A following important item was sightseeing of Kraków by Melex (a small tourist car), one lecture in the Jagellonian Library (the Oriental part of Chinese, Japanese, Korean). Saturday evening and Sunday (26- 27 IX) – were a cultural part. Except the St. mass in Polish English, Chinese (St. Barbara Church), we toured places connected with life and the Jesuit formation and the activity of Jesuits, eg. the place of the noviciate, the St. Barbara Church, the Church of Peter and Paul. Most of the foreigners were in Kraków for the first time. The culinary part also deserves attention planned in the Jewish district Kazimierz, where with Jewish music the guests could acquaint with presence of Jews in Kraków. Delicious Polish cuisine was experienced (“Chłopskie jadło”, the peasants’ food, and „Chimera” cuisine). So intellect, the sightseeing of royal Kraków, the good cuisine Jewish and Polish connected with the music of both nations (Chinese music was lacking), all of that constituted joyful and creative living for five full days in royal Kraków. For me personally, it has been one of most beautiful symposiums, with such a varied repertoire.

In the year 2010 we celebrate 400 Jubilee of Matteo Ricci’s death and 400 Jubilee of Mikołaj Smogulecki’s birth. This time the invitation is directed to Polish Jesuits to celebrate the memory of great Jesuits. However, will it be answered? Polish Jesuits in China in the XVII century did not have a reason to be ashamed because their knowledge and sainthood proved that they were equal in every respect with Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall, Giacomo Rho. Royal Krakow will always be able to entertain outstanding experts of Chinese science and culture.

We will see. We Invite!

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