

Seigaku tōzen to Chūgoku jijō: 'zassho' sakki

西学東漸と中国事情：「雑書」札記

[The Eastern Spread of Western Learning: Notes on "Various Books"]

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Translator's note. Masuda Wataru (1903-77) graduated from Tokyo University in 1929 with a degree in Chinese philosophy and literature. In 1931 he went to Shanghai where he was introduced to Lu Xun 魯迅 by the celebrated Uchiyama Kanzō 内山完造 (see the article on Uchiyama by Paul Scott below), owner of the largest Japanese bookstore in China. Masuda was much influenced by his close association with Lu and later devoted years of study to Lu's work. He translated Lu's Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilue 中国小説史略 [Brief History of the Chinese Novel] in the early 1930s and served as an editor and translator of the 1936-37 Japanese edition of Lu Xun writings. In the postwar years, Masuda wrote much on modern Chinese literature and on Sino-Japanese relations. When the great scholar of Chinese literature, Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好 (1901-77) passed away (see SJS, II.1, pp. 5-6), Masuda was slated to deliver the eulogy. While speaking, he suffered a heart attack and died.

What follows is the first installment in a annotated translation of this seminal work in Sino-Japanese cultural interchange, covering the period from the mid- to late Qing. Much of Masuda's book concerns the transmission or dissemination of texts: hence, the subtitle. Readers may have some of the rare works mentioned below. Please let me know publication information for such texts or about editions of these works not mentioned by Masuda. Numbered notes are the author's original; lettered ones are my annotations. I have also added the dates for as many of the persons mentions as I was able to locate and added bibliographic information to aid researchers in tracking these works down.

1. Wanguo gongfa 万国公法 and Medical Texts

In his On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949), Mao Zedong 毛澤東 wrote:

From the time of China's defeat in the Opium War of 1840, Chinese progressives went through untold hardships in their quest for truth from the Western countries. Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全, Kang Youwei 康有為, Yan Fu 嚴復 and Sun Zhongshan 孫中山 were representative of those who had looked to the West for truth before the Communist Party of China was born. Chinese who then sought

progress would read any book containing the new knowledge from the West.

The Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723-36) of the early Qing dynasty initiated a policy of interdiction against Christianity, but when this ban was removed by virtue of the Tianjin and Beijing Treaties in the late Qing, innumerable missionaries came to China. At the same time that they carried on their proselytizing efforts, these missionaries were also involved in enlightenment work through the introduction of Western academic culture. They translated into Chinese a wide array of Western works. These translations were published for the most part in urban centers such as Shanghai, and for concrete data on titles and translators, Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) penned the Xixue shumu biao 西學書目表 [Listing of Western Books, 1896]. I have transcribed the entirety of that work in my Chūgoku bungaku shi kenkyū 中國文學史研究 [Studies in Chinese Literary History] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1966).

With the repeated military defeats from the Opium War on, Chinese were compelled to reflect seriously upon the deficiencies in their country and its culture. At the same time, the outpouring of published [usually classical] Chinese translations of Western academic writings led many to envision on an intellectual plane reform of the state structure. These works of "enlightenment" [as they became known] formed a bridge linking classical China with the institutional reform of contemporary China.

Such works of "Western learning" (xixue 西學) in classical Chinese published in the late Qing by foreign missionaries were quickly introduced into Japan as well. From the late Tokugawa period into the early Meiji years, a large number of them were reprinted and published in Japan with the appropriate Japanese punctuation for reading classical Chinese texts. Thus, for Japan too, this well became a new source of knowledge opened up by the West; and, it similarly functioned to enlighten Japanese about institutional reform in the bakumatsu-early Meiji era.

I became especially interested in the phenomenon of the importation and reprinting of these Chinese books in Japan after reading the late Nakayama Kyūshirō's 中山久四郎 essay "Kinsei Shina yori Ishin zengo no Nihon ni oyobashitaru shoshu no eikyō" 近世支那より維新前後の日本に及ぼしたる諸種の影響 [Various influences from modern China on Japan around the time of the Restoration] (in Meiji ishin shi kenkyū 明治維新史研究 [Studies on the History of the Meiji Restoration], ed. Shigakkai 史学会, Tokyo: Toyamabō, 1929). I had earlier been concerned with Sino-Japanese relations (especially in the area of culture) and had been collecting as many of these reprinted works as I could locate out of bibliophilia. I have now been buying such works for about 20 or 30 years and would like to write something about those I have amassed.

Wanguo gongfa (in four juan) is the Chinese translation by W. A. P. Martin (Ding Weiliang 丁韜良, 1827-1916) of Henry Wheaton's

(Huidun 惠頓 , 1785-1848) Elements of International Law. Martin was an American missionary who came to China in 1850, became a teacher and later the dean of the Jingshi daxuetang 京師大學堂 (Metropolitan College, forerunner of Beijing University). The original edition of this book in my possession is dated Tongzhi 3 (1864) and reads "published by the Chongshiguan 崇實館 in the capital" or Beijing. I also have a six-volume Japanese reprint (Bankoku kōhō) dated Keiō 1 (1865) published by the bakufu's Kaiseijo 開成所 , with Japanese reading punctuation and kana affixed to personal and place names.^{a1} This same edition was reprinted again in the Meiji period: issued by Yorozuya Hyōshirō 万屋兵四郎 (Tokyo: Rōsōkan 老泉館).^b

In the very last year of the Tokugawa period and the first year of Meiji (1868), the Bankoku kōhō shakugi 万国公法釈義 [Elements of International Law with Commentary] was published in four string-bound volumes in Kyoto. The first two volumes of this work were a Japanese translation (a mixture of Chinese characters and Japanese syllabary) by Tsutsumi Kōshishi 堤毅士志 . Then, in 1876 the Bankoku kōhō reikan 万国公法蠡管 [Elements of International Law, with Detailed Observations] was published in eight string-bound volumes in Tokyo with "notes by Takaya Ryūshū 高谷龍州 , proofread by Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 ." This was a beautifully produced edition with large type-face, Japanese reading punctuation, and Chinese notes interspersed throughout the text.

These books are only those editions in my possession. In addition, there is reportedly an 1870 work entitled Wayaku bankoku kōhō 和訳万国公法 [Elements of International Law, Japanese Translation], translated and annotated by Shigeno Yasutsugu 重野安繹 (1827-1910), published in Kagoshima, but it only covers the first two chapters of the first juan of the original work. Also, a Chinese translation with Japanese reading punctuation was issued by Yamada Kin'ichirō 山田謹一郎 in 1886.^c

Why did the Wanguo gongfa enjoy such a warm welcome and become so highly thought of in Japan? From the bakumatsu period through the Restoration, Japan found itself suddenly coming into conflict with foreign nations on a whole panoply of fronts. It became a pressing need of the moment that Japanese at that time immediately learn international law, which was the ken of the Wanguo gongfa. Since until then knowledge in this area was non-existent, this work in Chinese translation on international law was seen as a uniquely valuable handbook. One story goes that that pioneer mind Sakamoto Ryōma 坂本龍馬 (1835-67) tried to have it reprinted in the domain of Tosa and strove relentlessly to secure publication funds. Particularly after the Restoration, when the Meiji government transformed national policy and opened its doors, the Wanguo gongfa became a virtual classic. In the written curriculum, when university regulations were enacted in third year of Meiji (1870), we find "Bankoku kōhō" listed. The following year it appears in the curriculum for elementary

schools in Kyoto. That it was adopted as a textbook or a reference work in schools elsewhere is well attested by the aforementioned essay by Nakayama Kyūshirō as well as Osatake Takeki 尾佐竹猛, "Bankoku kōhō shisō no inyū" 万国公法思想の移入 [The introduction of ideas from Elements of International Law] (in Kinsei Nihon no kokusai kannen no hattatsu 近世日本の国際観念の発達 [The Development of Modern Japan's International Conception] (Tokyo: Kyōritsusha, 1932).

Nowadays when we use terms such as kenri 権利 (rights) or gimu 義務 (duties, obligations), they derive, one might argue, from the Wanguo gongfa. A glance at its table of contents indicates that the work employs the expressions, jichi 自治 (autonomy), jishu 自主 (independence), and shuken 主權 (sovereignty). When Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信 (1838-1922), foreign minister of the [early] Meiji government, entered into disputes with diplomatic officials from England or France, he allegedly would brandish the Chinese translation of Elements of International Law freely to cut his way through difficulties. Such stories as this one are described in detail by Osatake in his aforementioned essay, citing a variety of documentary evidence, as well as in: "Bankoku kōhō to Meiji ishin" 万国公法と明治維新 [Elements of International Law and the Meiji Restoration], in Ishin shi sōsetsu 維新史叢説 [Essays on Restoration History] (Tokyo: Gakujī shoin, 1935); and "Jōiron to kaikokuron" 攘夷論と開国論 [Views on expelling the foreigners and opening the country], in Meiji ishin 明治維新 [The Meiji Restoration] (Tokyo: Hakuyōsha, 1943, vol. 1).²

Furthermore, Gongfa huitong 公法會通 (ten juan), the Chinese translation (also by Martin, in 1880) of Das moderne Völkerrecht als Rechtsbuch by the Swiss-born German legal scholar Johann Kaspar Bluntschli (Bulun 步倫, 1808-81), was reprinted with Japanese reading punctuation accompanying the Chinese text by Kishida Ginkō 岸田吟香 (1833-1905) in 1881.^d The edition in my possession was published by Uchida's Rakuzendō 楽善堂 in five string-bound volumes. It leads one to believe that even at this time there was a perceived need to know about international law.

Together with the introduction of international law in the bakumatsu and Restoration periods, Chinese translations of Western medical texts rendered a great service to Japan. First and foremost, this refers the Chinese-language editions of works by Benjamin Hobson (Hexin 合信, 1816-73).³ Hobson was an English missionary, sent to China in 1839, who opened a hospital in Hong Kong and later moved it to Guangdong. He subsequently moved to Shanghai where he continued both his missionary and medical work. In 1851 his Quanti xinlun 全体新論 [New Essay on the Entire Body] in two juan was published in Guangdong; it was a text in human anatomy with numerous illustrations.^e In the introduction, Hobson wrote: "I took up medicine when I was a young man," and when dissecting human bodies, he often knew the various parts upon inspection; now "I have collected Western medical texts, compared and checked them, cut out the superfluous materials, seized the essentials, written them down, and completed

this book."

I do not have a copy of the 1851 original, but I do possess a copy of the two-volume 1857 "reprint of a Chinese work" (Shinbon honkoku 清本翻刻) with Japanese readings notations by Mr. Ochi 越智, a doctor from Fushimi. There are as well, I am told, other editions from the second decade of the Meiji period (1877-86), including Zentai shinron yakkai 全体新論訳解 [Annotated Translation of Quanti xinlun] and Tsūzoku zentai shinron 通俗全体新論 [Popular editions of the Quanti xinlun].

Three other works by Hobson were published in Shanghai by Renji yiguan 仁濟醫館 (Hospital of Benevolent Giving): Xiyi lüelun 西医略論 [Outlines of Western Medicine, 1857]; Fuying xinshuo 婦嬰新說 [A New Theory of Childbirth and Infant Care, 1858]; and Neike xinshuo 内科新說 [A New Theory of Internal Medicine, 1858].^f

Of these three, I have the original three-juan Xiyi lüelun; it includes 400 illustrations and detailed information on surgical operations. There is also an appended section concerning medicines. Also, my edition contains the library inscription: "Xiangguan yixuesuo" 箱館医学所 (Xiangguan Medical Institute). The Japanese wood-block edition of this work is divided into four string-bound volumes, published in 1858 by a Mr. Miyake 三宅 of the Tōjuen 桃樹園, and issued by "Yorozuya Hyōshirō of the Rōsōkan."

While Xiyi lüelun deals primarily with surgery, Neike xinshuo is, as indicated by its title, concerned with internal medicine. I do not have an original of the latter, but I do have a three-volume edition of it, in which the third volume contains information on drugs and medicines under the heading "Tōzai honzō rokuyō" 東西本草錄要 [Essentials of medicines, East and West]; it was published in 1859 by Tōjuen and issued by the very same Rōsōkan. In the introduction, it reads: "Neike xinlun investigates and demonstrates the ways to make use of medicines. All involve the use of European medical texts. I have selected the essential points and translated it into the Chinese language (Tōbun 東文)."

Although I do not have the original of Fuying xinshuo, it concerns gynecology and pediatrics. I do have an 1859 Japanese reprint in three string-bound volumes, "published by the Tenkōdō 天香堂 of Heian." At the end is a note titled "Selecting and Using Medicines."

These medical texts by Hobson were based on his experiences as a physician (as he notes frequently in his introduction) and were composed as it proved useful in his actual medical treatment of patients. From his style and the content of the material contained therein, it seems clear that he used ideas understandable to Chinese. In all of his works, he lists the names of his Chinese assistants and offers them as co-authored works.

When I was looking through the Seiyō gakka yakujutsu mokuroku 西洋学家訳述目録 [Bibliography of Translations of Western Writings] (Sōundō reprint, 1926) of "Hotei shujin" 穂亭主人 who penned a "preface" dated 1852, I noted that already by that point many transla-

tions of Dutch medical texts had been published. The fact that insufficient language skills made these Dutch works still seem strange can be seen in the Oranda iji mondō 和蘭医事問答 [Questions Concerning Matters of Dutch Medicine] by Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817) and Takebe Seian 建部清庵 (1712-82), contained in volume two of Bunmei genryū sōsho 文明源流叢書 [Series on the Sources of Civilization] (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1924). Reprinted only rather late, in the Ansei period (1854-60), perhaps Hobson's medical science which stressed clinical experience did make a major contribution in Japan.⁴ I have on occasion seen in second-hand bookstores reprints of Hobson's medical writings bearing the imprints of various medical schools of the early Meiji period.⁵

2. Scientific Texts

Hobson's works dealt not only with medicine; his Bowu xinbian 博物新編 [New Essay on Scientific Knowledge] was also reprinted. The original text which I own states that it is "the work of the English physician Hobson...newly engraved for printing in Xianfeng 5 [1855] and published by Mohai shuguan 墨海書館 [Large Inkstone Book Store], Shanghai, Zhejiang."⁹ It is divided into three parts. The first has sections on "topology" (diqu lun 地氣論), "heat" (re lun 熱論), "water" (shuizhi lun 水質論), "light" (guang lun 光論), and "electricity" (dianqi lun 電氣論); as a whole, it is a kind of explanation of physics.

The second part covers universal astronomy, with detailed discussions under such entries as "outlines of astronomy" (tianwen luelun 天文略論), "days and nights" (zhouye lun 晝夜論), "Earth is a planet too" (diqu yi xingxing lun 地球亦行星論), "the orbit of the moon is not a perfect circle" (yuelun yuanyue lun 月輪圓缺論), "lunar eclipses follow fixed patterns" (yueshi dingli lun 月蝕定例論), "Mercury" (Shuixing lun 水星論), "Earth" (diqu lun 地球論), "tides accompany [phases of] the moon" (chaoxun suiyue lun 潮汐隨月論), "Venus" (Jinxing lun 金星論), "Mars" (Huoxing lun 火星論), "Jupiter" (Muxing lun 木星論), "Saturn" (Tuxing lun 土星論), and "comets" (huixing lun 彗星論).

The third part, entitled "Outlines of Birds and Beasts" (niaoshou luelun 鳥獸略論), offers explanations for a wide variety of animals and birds; it begins with illustrations of "viviparous sorts" (of beasts), "oviparous sorts" (of birds), "varieties with scales" and "varieties of insects." Beautiful illustrations are inserted not only in the third section but throughout the entire work.

The Kaiseijo, the center for Western learning in the bakumatsu period, reprinted this work (including the illustrations) with Japanese reading punctuation. In the first part, the Dutch pronunciation of words was affixed next to the technical terms. The date of the

Japanese reprint is not noted, but in a publication advertisement of "Yorozuya Hyōshirō of the Rōsōkan" at the end of this volume, this work is listed together with Xiyi luelun, Neike xinshuo, and Fuying xinshuo; the very last line of the advertisement reads: "Autumn, kōshi 甲子 year of the Genji reign period" or 1864. Thus, it was obviously reprinted some time before this date, probably during the Bunkyū period (1861-64). The Japanese reprint edition of Bowu xinbian (J. Hakubutsu shinpen) in three string-bound volumes which I own is imprinted in red on the first page of each volume: "Hitotsu-bashi gakumonjo" 一橋學問所 (Hitotsubashi Institute). It remains unclear if the Kaiseijo was known by this name or whether this was the library imprint of the Institute of Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川慶喜 [1837-1913, last shōgun of the Tokugawa bakufu] from the collateral Hitotsubashi family.

The Hakubutsu shinpen yakkai 博物新編訳解 [Annotated Translation of the Bowu xinbian] in five string-bound volumes contains a preface dated Keiō 4 or 1868. The work is a "translation" with a mixture of Chinese characters and Japanese syllabary. In the "directions to the reader" at the beginning of the text, it reads: "We have not changed the original at all and have made it possible to read through it." This quasi-translation into Japanese also includes the illustrations just as they were in the original. The translator is listed as "Ōmori Hiroya" 大森解谷 .

From the bakumatsu period into the early Meiji years, this work was warmly welcomed in Japan as a text conveying scientific knowledge that had developed in the West. The repeated reprintings of it in the Meiji period provide evidence for this claim, as do the numerous editions of it published; in addition to a yakkai, there were chūkai 注解 (commentary), engi 演義 (expansion [into a popular edition]), kōgi 講義 (exposition), and hyōchū 標注 (annotations) on the Hakubutsu shinpen. This is discussed in detail in Ozawa Saburō 小沢三郎, "Shina zairyū Yasokyō senkyōshi no Nihon bunka ni oyoboseru eikyō" 支那在留耶蘇教宣教師の日本文化に及ぼせる影響 [The influence exerted on Japan culture by Christian missionaries living in China], in Bakumatsu Meiji Yasokyō shi kenkyū 幕末明治耶蘇教史研究 [Studies in the History of Christianity in the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods] (Tokyo: Ajia shobō, 1944).

Tan tian 談天 [Outlines of Astronomy] in eighteen juan and three string-bound volumes is a work of astronomy by John F. W. Herschel (Houshile 侯失勒, 1792-1871), head of the British astronomical association (as noted in the introduction). The translation was by Alexander Wylie (Weillieyal 偉烈垂力, 1815-87), an English missionary living in Shanghai since 1847, and Li Shanlan 李善蘭 (1810-82). The original edition which I possess contains the information that it was "printed on movable type by Mohai in the eighth lunar month of Xianfeng jiwei 己未" or 1859.ⁿ It is probably not a complete translation inasmuch as it reads at the beginning: "The original work by the Englishman Herschel was translated orally by the Englishman Wylie

and abridged and revised by Li Shanlan from Haining." Still, in eighteen juan, it is a major piece of work.

Illustrations are inserted here and there in the text. In his Xixue shumu biao, Liang Qichao called it a "most detailed and fine" work. In 1861, just two years after its publication in Shanghai, it appeared in a Japanese edition with reading punctuation by Fukuda Izumi 福田泉 of Naniwa [Ōsaka]. The Japanese edition retained the title [Dan ten in Japanese] and transcribed the introductory materials by Li Shanlan and by Wylie. It then continued: "Fukuda Izumi, master of heaven's nature (shitensei 司天生)" included an "introduction to the reprinted Tan tian," penned "at the Juntendō 順天堂 in Naniwa." I am not sure what the term shitensei meant, but it would seem to imply a specialist in astronomy. He did revise juan eight through sixteen for the reprinting of the Shanghai edition at his own discretion.

Wylie and Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-97) were the translators of the Zhongxue qianxue 重学浅說 [A Simple Theory of Dynamics].¹ It is mentioned in the Xixue jicun 西学輯存 [Compilation on Western Learning], put together by Wang Tao, though I do not own a copy of it. I do, however, have the Japanese reprint in one string-bound volume: Jūgaku sensetsu. On the inside of the cover it reads: "Fourth month, Xianfeng 8 [1858], printed by the Mohai shuguan in Shanghai." This would indicate that the reprint was based on this 1858 edition. The original preface is missing in this edition, and there is a "post-face" by the punctuator. Also, the words, "Spring, Ansei kōshin 庚申" year [1860], are added which would mean that the reprinted edition was published in Japan two years after the original in Shanghai. All of this indicates just how industrious men of that time were in acquiring knowledge of various sorts. The content of this book concerns dynamics, ordinary translated now as lixue 力学 in Chinese, not zhongxue 重学. There is a "summary" at both the beginning and the end of this work. It is divided into sections entitled "levers" (kan 桿), "wheels and axles" (lunzhu 輪軸), "pulleys" (huache 滑車), "inclined planes" (xiemian 斜面), and "spiral screws" (luoxuan 螺旋), with illustrations and explanations added. On the last page, it reads: "Sixth month, Man'en 1 [1860, same as Ansei kōshin], reprinted by Kimura Junyū 木村淳邑, Den'yō 淀陽, with reading punctuation by Arai Kōri 荒井公履, Den'in 淀陰... Published by the Kōkaen 黃花園." It would appear that the punctuator and the printer were men who lived near Ōsaka.⁶

Furthermore, Wylie continued the translation work on Euclid's Geometry (in Chinese Jihe yuanben 幾何原本 [Elements of Geometry]), which the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 (1562-1633) had together translated (from Latin) through juan 6 in 1603.⁷ Wylie and Li Shanlan jointly translated (from the English) from juan 7 through 15, and in 1865 Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811-72) had it printed in eight string-bound volumes in Nanjing. I own a copy of this edition. However, inasmuch as a Japanese reprint

never appeared, I have digressed from the main theme here. Nonetheless, the terms presently in use [in Japanese]--for example, decimal point (ten 点), plane (men 面), line (sen 線), right angle (chokkaku 直角), acute angle (eikaku 銳角), obtuse angle (donkaku 鈍角), rectangle (kukei 矩形), parallel lines (heikōsen 平行線), diagonal line (taikakusen 對角線), base (teihen 底辺), cube (rippōtai 立方體), volume (taiseki 體積), and ratio (hirei 比例)--were already all to be found in the Chinese translation of Euclid. Perhaps this book did find its way to Japan. First and foremost, we borrowed and continue to use to this day the Chinese term of Ming dynasty vintage for "geometry" itself: jihe 幾何 in Chinese, kika in Japanese.⁷

As for books of this "enlightenment" genre which cover the entire area of science, there is the seven-juan Gewu rumen 格物入門 [Introduction to Science] by W. A. P. Martin, translator of Wanguo gongfa. Although I do not have an original edition, I do own a Japanese reprint by Motoyama Zenkichi 本山全吉 in seven string-bound volumes, dated Meiji 2 or 1869. The two prefaces in the original, by Xu Jiyou 徐繼畲 (1795-1873) and by Dong Xun 董恂 (1807-92), dated Tongzhi 7 or 1868, were transcribed into the reprinted edition. Thus, the Japanese reprint appeared in the year following the initial Chinese publication of this work, which would seem to indicate the perceived utility of this work in Japan at the time. According to these prefaces, Martin was a man of "wide learning and phenomenal memory...who came to China many years ago and excels in the writing of Chinese." He "sums up [the areas of] Western learning to be learned" and wrote this work in a question and answer style to facilitate easy understanding.

The Japanese reprint with reading punctuation is divided into seven volumes with illustrations in each: (1) the study of water; (2) the study of gas; (3) the study of fire; (4) the study of electricity; (5) dynamics; (6) chemistry; and (7) the study of calculation. The last of these involved the calculations in surveying techniques and was subdivided into "calculating in the study of water," "calculating in the study of gas," "calculating in the study of light," and "calculating in dynamics." According to the introductory notes, this book "was arranged so that it will be easy to understand and indeed be quite useful." Also, it notes that the Chinese prose of the text was embellished by Li Guanghu 李光祐 and Cui Shiyuan 崔士元.

The Gewu tanyuan 格物探原 [In Search of the Roots of Science], "published from movable type in Guangxu 2" or 1876, was a work in three juan by the English missionary Alexander Williamson (Weilianchen 韋廉臣, 1829-90) who came to Shanghai in 1855. The first juan is an explanation of science, covering such subjects as nature, matter, the state of Earth, and the atmosphere, as well as such medically-related items as physiognomy, the head, the throat, the stomach, and the intestines, the bones, and the muscles. The second juan is pure Christian propaganda: "there is only one God"

(Shangdi wei yi 上帝唯一), "God is supreme" (Shangdi zhida 上帝至大), "God is omnipotent" (Shangdi guanneng 上帝全能), "God is omniscient and all-loving" (Shangdi guanzhi guanren 上帝全智全仁). He entwines "God" into a discussion of physics and nature. The third juan looks at elementary substances, geology, human creation, God as master of human affairs, and finally resurrection after death. This work was clearly "searching out the roots of science" for the purposes of religious proselytizing.

In Meiji 11 (1878), Gewu tanyuan (J. Kakubutsu tangen) was reprinted in Japanese "with reading punctuation provided by Kumano Atau 熊野與 and proofread by Okuno Masatsuna 奥野昌綱 ." According to a preface by Shigeno Seisai 重野成斎 , Kumano was a Confucian scholar, although Okuno was one of those pioneer Christians to take baptism quite early together with Uemura Masahisa 植村正久 and others in 1873.⁸ In the first preface, Kumano wrote: "From the immensity of heaven, earth, the sun, and the moon to the birds, beats, fishes, and insects to the least blade of grass, everything, as this work will argue, is God's design in creation... This is a book which everyone should read." This perspective that explains all creatures as the creative design of God would indicate that it appeared just after the relinquishing of the ban on Christianity. It also seems that such a theory provided a new and stimulating explanation even to Confucian scholars.

I also have a copy of a punctuated, Japanese reprint in three volumes of Zhiwuxue 植物学 [Botany] or Shokubutsugaku in Japanese, "compiled and translated by Williamson, transcribed by Li Shanlan." On the title page, the publication year and place of the original are given: "First printed by the Mohai shuguan in Xianfeng dingsi 丁巳 year [1857]." There is, however, no preface to the Japanese reprinting, and thus we do not know when it appeared. Some argue that it was 1867, but I believe my edition was printed later.

3. The Zhihuan qimeng 智環啓蒙 and Related Texts

I own a work entitled Honkoku chikan keimō 翻刻智環啓蒙 [Introduction into the Circle of Knowledge, with Japanese Punctuation], dated Keiō 3 (1867) and published with appropriate punctuation added by the Kaibutsusha 開物社 in Edo. My copy also bears a red seal which reads "Seal of the Library of the Domainal School," though which "school" is not made clear. The work is a sort of small encyclopedia, divided into 200 entries, explaining the basics of Western learning. The entire work is only 100 pages, and each page carries the English text on top with Chinese translation on the bottom. The preface is in English and is signed "J. L." These were the initials of James Legge (1815-97), the famous British missionary who lived in Hong Kong and used the Chinese name Liyage 理雅各 . Legge is well known as the translator of such Chinese classical texts as

Shujing 書經 [Classic of History], Shijing 詩經 [Classic of Poetry], Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan 春秋左氏傳 [The Spring and Autumn Annals with the Commentary of Mr. Zuo (Qiuming 丘明)], and Liji 禮記 [Book of Rites]. Legge began his work in Hong Kong, but was later recalled to his native Scotland; he was much helped in his translation work by Wang Tao. Legge translated into Chinese the text in my Japanese edition of Zhihuan gimeng, under the Chinese title Zhihuan gimeng shuke chubu 智環啓蒙塾課初部 [Rudiments for School Lessons of the Circle of Knowledge], which carried the English title of Graduated Reading: Comprising a Circle of Knowledge in 200 Lessons, Gradation 1, published in Hong Kong by the Ying-Hua shuyuan 英華書院 (London Missionary Society Press).^k It initially appeared in 1856, was reprinted in 1864, and the Japanese edition retains the bilingual layout of the original, just adding reading punctuation for Japanese readers. The punctuator is given in a colophon: Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三 (1832-70).

A postface to the original edition also appears, with Japanese punctuation, in the reprinted edition. The author of the postface, Ren Ruitu 任瑞圖, dated it winter 1856, and hence it appeared with the first edition. In the text of the postface, Ren notes: "Mr. Legge is a Christian missionary and teacher at the Anglo-Chinese Academy... I am deeply grateful for living as a guest teacher with him since 1854." This would indicate that Ren also taught at the Anglo-Chinese Academy. After praising Legge's personal and studious qualities, Ren continues: "Herein is translated in one volume A Circle of Knowledge to be bestowed on students." This book was thus originally intended as a textbook at the Anglo-Chinese Academy, combining lessons in English with introductions to Western learning and Christian teachings. As for the content of the book, Ren notes: "You will find everything here, from the functions of the nature of God to the myriad things that [He] creates in astronomy, geography, people's affairs, clothing and food, instruments, and all the many animals that fly and swim beneath the surface."

What Ren refers to as "functions of the nature of God" occupy the last nine lessons or ke 課 (numbers 192-200) of the work; the remainder of the text is divided into 24 sections or bumen 部門, each with several lessons. Sections bear such names as: "Shenti lun" 身體論 (On the human body), "Yinshi lun" 飲食論 (On drink and food), "Jusuo lun" 居所論 (On residences), "Jiaoxue lun" 教學論 (On education), "Shengwu buru leilun" 生物哺乳類論 (On ways of rearing living things), "Feiqin lun" 飛禽論 (On birds), ... "Caomu lun" 草木論 (On vegetation), "Di lun" 地論 (On the earth), "Zhu wuzhi ti lun" 諸物質體論 (On the essence of various substances), "Tianqi zhutian lun" 天氣諸天論 (On various weather patterns), "Diqiu fenyu lun" 地球分域論 (On the regions of the world), "Rensheng huiju tongju dengshi lun" 人生會聚同居等事論 (On various matters concerning human beings' capacity to live together), "Guozheng lun" 國政論 (On national government), "Da Bulidian yiwai bieguo lun" 大不利顛以外別國論 (On Great

Britain and other countries), "Tongshang maoyi lun" 通商貿易論 (On commerce and trade), "Wuzhi ji yidong deng lun" 物質及動物等論 (On substances and movement and like matters), ... "Wuguan lun" 五官論 (On the five organs of the senses), and "Shangdi tiyong lun" 上帝体用論 (On the essence and the functions of God). Altogether there are 200 "lessons." He used the term lun with each of these entries, and it carries the Chinese sense of an explanation [herein rendered "On" in English]. The section originally entitled "Human Beings" was rendered "Renlei lun" 人類論 in Chinese; the section "The Body and its Parts" was translated as "Shenti lun." Also, the Chinese version is less a direct word-for-word translation than an explanatory translation; for example, the section originally entitled "The Mechanical Powers" was rendered "Jieli jiangqi lun" 借力匠器論.

The Japanese punctuator of the text, Yanagawa Shunsan, was a scholar of Western learning in the bakumatsu period who died in the third year of the Meiji era (1870). He served as head of the Kaiseijo and was said to be conversant in Dutch, French, English, and German. He appears as a character at the very beginning of Nagori no yume 名ごりの夢 [Lingering Dreams] (privately published, 1940; Nagasaki shoten, 1941; Tokyo reprint: Heibonsha, 1963) by Imaizumi Mine 今泉みね (1858-1937), the daughter of Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1822-81), a physician to the family of the shogun and a scholar of Dutch learning. Osatake Tateki's study Shinbun zasshi no sōshisha Yanagawa Shunsan 新聞雑誌の創始者柳河春三 [Yanagawa Shunsan, Founder of a Newspaper and a Magazine] (Tokyo: Takayama shoten, 1940) provides a great deal of detail concerning Yanagawa; he offers a high assessment, apparently sufficient to warrant such a title to his book, of Yanagawa's accomplishments in initiating publication of Seiyō zasshi 西洋雜誌 [Western Miscellany] in 1867 and Chūgai shinbun 中外新聞 [News of Home and Abroad] in 1868. We should note as a reminder that, even before he began issuing this newspaper and magazine in Japan, already during the Bunkiyū reign period (1861-64) Batabiya shinbun バタビヤ新聞 [Batavia News] was translating into Japanese articles from Dutch newspapers in the Dutch colony of Batavia; also, the Shanghai serial edited from 1857 by Alexander Wylie, Liuhe congtao 六合叢談 [Stories from Around the World], was being reprinted with reader punctuation in Japan.

In the opening paragraph of his work Nihon shinbun rekishi 日本新聞歴史 [History of Japanese Newspapers] (Tokyo reprint of 1882 original; Gengendō 嚴々堂, 1940),¹ Koike Yōjirō 小池洋二郎 states: "The first newspapers in Japan appeared in the autumn of 1863. They were Batabiya shinbun and Rikugō sōdan [Liuhe congtao], published by Yorozuya Hyōshirō from a store with its main office in Edo." We see in an advertisement at the back of a Japanese reprint edition of the Bowu xinbian (J. Hakubutsu shinpen) that, during the Bunkiyū years, Yorozuya was also reprinting under official auspices: Zhongwai xinbao 中外新報 [News from Home and Abroad], published in Ningbo from 1858;

Zhongwai zazhi 中外雜誌 [Miscellany from Home and Abroad], published in Shanghai from 1862; and Xianggang xinwen 香港新聞 [News of Hong Kong], published in Hong Kong from 1861. Because of the Japanese government's ban on anything having to do with Christianity, the reprinted editions eliminated all articles concerned with it. I have in my collection the reprint edition of Liuhe congkan (volumes 1-13), Zhongwai xinbao (issues 1-8), and Zhongwai zazhi (issues 1-7); although not every issue is complete, it still provides concrete material for one aspect of the history of Sino-Japanese cultural relations. They also played the important roles of providing Japanese in the bakumatsu period with news from abroad, while serving as an intermediary in disseminating knowledge. For example, Hashimoto Sanai 橋本左内 (1834-59) copied out the following articles from the Liuhe congkan even before the Japanese reprint edition appeared: "Taixi jinshi jiyao" 泰西近事紀要 (Record of recent events in the West), "Yindu jinshi" 印度近事 (Recent events in India), "Jinling jinshi" 金陵近事 (Recent events in Nanjing [i.e., news of the Taiping Rebellion]), "Yuesheng jinshi shulue" 粵省近事述略 (Outline of recent events in Guangdong [i.e., reports of the Opium War]).⁹

In Osatake's book on Yanagawa, he cites a portion of a letter Yanagawa wrote to Katsuragawa which concerns the Japanese reprinting of the Zhihuan gimeng. He notes that, although he tried to reprint the first edition of the text, his friend Narushima Ryūhoku 成島柳北 (1837-84, an official of the shogunal government and, after the Restoration, a newspaper reporter and head of the Chōya shinbun 朝野新聞 [News of the Entire Nation])¹⁰ owned a copy of the second Chinese printing which had emended various errors in the original; he thus thought it better to use this edition for the Japanese reprint. He then quickly added the necessary Japanese reading punctuation to the text and forwarded the work to Katsuragawa, imploring "earnestly the help of your good offices." We thus learn that this book was published with Japanese punctuation by Yanagawa on the basis of the second Chinese edition and with the efforts of Katsuragawa. (A note at the end reads: "Issued by Yamatoya Kihee" 大和屋喜兵衛).

Yanagawa had many works concerning Western learning to his credit, including Furansu buntan フランス文典 [A Grammar of French], Iqirisu nichiyō tsūgo イギリス日用通語 [Everyday Colloquial English], Yōgaku benran 洋学便覧 [A Manual of Western Learning]. It seems he was reasonably capable at Kanbun as well, for Osatake cites in his biography of Yanagawa from many instances where Yanagawa translated Japanese popular songs into literary Chinese; and, in addition to his punctuating of the Zhihuan gimeng, Yanagawa also participated in work on a complete Japanese translation in 20 string-bound volumes of the Gewu rumen mentioned earlier. The translation work that went into this last effort, entitled Kakubutsu nyūmon wage 格物入門和解, was divided among several men, and Yanagawa had responsibility for the section on the "study of water" (two volumes).

Among the terms used in the translations by Yanagawa and the other early Meiji period scholars of Western learning, we owe them a particular debt of gratitude today for the convenient usage to which the particle teki 的 (Ch. de) was added to nouns to transform them into adjectives and adverbs.

Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦 (1847-1928) has written that the men who translated many texts in the early Meiji years included "Yanagawa Shunsan, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Kurosawa Magoshirō 黒沢孫四郎, Mitsukuri Keigo 箕作奎五 [d. 1871], Kumazawa Zen'an 熊沢善庵 [1845-1906], and even myself. Odd as it might seem, this group in general enjoyed reading Chinese novels, such as Shuihu zhuan 水滸伝 [Water Margin] and Jinpingmei 金瓶梅 [Golden Lotus]. One day we got together and began chatting, and someone mentioned inadvertently the following. It was fine to translate 'system' as soshiki 組織, but it was difficult to translate the term 'systematic.' The suffix 'tic' sounded similar to the character teki (de) 的 as used in [Chinese] fiction; so why not render 'systematic' as soshiki teki 組織的. Everyone thought it was a brilliant idea and agreed to give it a try. Eventually, we paid someone to write out the expression soshiki teki clearly and bring it to the authorities. 'Have you put this into use?' 'Yes.' 'This is rather extraordinary, isn't it?' 'Not that I am aware, no.' We joked with these sorts of comic play-acting, but very often we were only able to escape difficult [translation] points with this character teki. Ultimately, it moved from pure invention to fact, and it was used later without a second thought, as people picked up on this usage."¹¹

The text Keimō chie sunawachi tamaki 啓蒙知恵乃環 [The Guide to Knowledge Forms a Circle] in three string-bound volumes was first published in 1872. I have a copy of the fourth printing from 1874. It is a mixed kana-character Japanese translation of the Zhihuan gimeng with illustrations added at certain points. The translator's name is given as Oto Shigeru 於菟子, but this is in fact Uryū Tora 瓜生寅. In the preface by Osa Sanshū 長三洲, an assistant director in the Ministry of Education, at the beginning of the first volume, it is pointed out that "Uryū and I live in the same residence, and we discussed educational systems... On one occasion, he pointed out to me the Keimō chie tamaki which has a description [of educational institutions]. When it was lamented that there were no good books for elementary school pupils,...I suggested that this book was just what was now needed, and we should quickly reprint it for the benefit of all elementary school students in Japan." Thus, he continued: "The benefits of opening [areas of] learning and generating knowledge will by no means be limited to elementary school students." An official at that time in the Ministry of Education, Uryū seems to have translated this work simply as part of an effort to diffuse the rudiments of Western learning, for which Zhihuan gimeng seemed to him to have value. However, the translated text ended with lesson 192,

eliminating the last lessons of the original work which dealt with Christianity; the Japanese edition also added a lesson (number 144), "On Japan," and where the lesson in the original on "Currency" explained Chinese and British monetary currencies, the Japanese edition dealt with that of Japan. Apparently the Japanese edition was well received, as it went into its fifth printing in 1876.

In his essay, "Chikan keimō to Yasokyō" 『智環啓蒙』と耶蘇教 [Zhihuan gimeng and Christianity] (in his Bakumatsu Meiji Yasokyō shi kenkyū), Ozawa Saburō collects and examines the various Japanese editions (including translations) of the Zhihuan gimeng. His analysis points out several Japanese editions of this work in addition to that of Yanagawa: a Kanbun edition without the English, one with Japanese reading punctuation, printed in 1870 by the Numazu 沼津 School; a similar edition printed in Kagoshima prefecture; and a third edition (no firm publication information) without English text, with reading punctuation, reprinted on the basis of the first edition.

In addition to the Uryū edition, Ozawa points out two other Japanese translations of the text: that of Hirose 広瀬 and Nagata 長田, published by the Ishikawa prefectural school library in 1873; and an edition with the English text only, published by the Kōgyokujuku 攻玉塾 library.

Ozawa's study of the "dissemination of Japanese editions" indicates that the Zhihuan gimeng was being used in the domains of Tanabe, Tokushima, Fukui, Nobeoka, and Nagoya; and the Keimō chie sunawachi tamaki was being used as an elementary school textbook in Saitama prefecture, Tokyo women's schools, and in Kyoto prefecture. As an introduction to the basics of Western learning, or as a textbook for learning English, this book certainly played a major role in opening up new cultural vistas in Japan of the early Meiji period.

4. Geography Texts

Yanagawa Shunsan also wrote a one-volume work entitled Yokohama hanjō ki 横浜繁昌記 [Chronicle of the Prosperity of Yokohama]. On the title page, it reads: "Proofread by 'Kikka senkaku' 喫霞仙客 (Hermit of the Haze), printed by the Bakuten 幕天 bookstore." There are also introductory poems by "Taihei isshi" 太平逸士 (Retiree in Peace) and "Nishikitani rōjin" 錦溪老人 (Old Man of the Gilded Valley). When we move on the actual work itself, it reads at the start: "Written by the Old Man of the Gilded Valley and proofread by the Retiree in Peace." Apparently, because it was a comic work, he used kana in it. Although the date of publication is nowhere to be found, it seems to have been written in the Bunkiyū period. According to Osatake, this volume, as well as such works as Tenshōsha kaiwa 天香社会話 [Conversations at the Tenkōsha],¹² which was a record of friendly chats at the Yanagawa mansion, were part of a group that was given the name "Kissa rō shin rokurokubu shū" 喫霞楼新六々部集 (New

collection 66 of the Tower of Haze), all generally from the Bunkyū era. In his chronological biography of Yanagawa, Osatake thus claims Tenshōsha kaiwa to be a work of Bunkyū 1 (1861).

Yokohama hanjō ki was written in literary Chinese, but unlike ordinary Kanbun, Yanagawa mixed in character usage typical of Chinese great novels [written in the vernacular]. Thus, one finds here and there expressions such as neige 那個 (that), buhao 不好了 (no longer any good), nandao...bucheng 難道...不成 (Is it possible? Do you mean to say?), and na huar 那話兒 (that story), all colloquial Chinese usages. He also used the expression huagui 花旗 (the stars and stripes), which from the late Qing period had become a [kind of] pronoun for the United States. He even went so far as to use the Chinese character de in the manner he and his associates had derived its usage from Chinese novels.

In a section of Yokohama hanjō ki entitled "Imported Publications" (hakurai shoseki 舶來書籍), the text reads: "Recently, Americans and Englishmen have been diligently perfecting their knowledge of Chinese learning, and in Hong Kong and Shanghai they have been publishing numerous works in Chinese... Although nothing further need be said about the writings of [Robert] Morrison (莫利宋, 1782-1834) and Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785-1850),¹³ a recently published bibliography listed the following: in the field of mathematics, Tan tian, Shuxue qimeng 數學啓蒙 [Introduction to Mathematics], Daishuxue, Dai wei ji shiji 代微積拾級 [Elements of Analytical Geometry and Differential and Integral Calculus, by Elias Loomis (1811-89)], and Jihe yuanben; in the field of chemistry, Bowu xinbian, Zhongxue canshuo, Gewu qiongli wenda 格物窮理問答 [Questions concerning Experimental Chemistry], and Zhihuan qimeng; in the field of medicine, Quanti xinlun, Neike xinshuo, Xiyi luelun, and Fuying xinshuo; in the fields of geography and history, Yinghuan zhi lue 瀛環志略 [Brief Survey of the Maritime Circuit], Dili quan zhi 地理全志 [Complete Gazetteer of Geography], Diqiu shuolue 地球說略 [Summary of Theories of the Earth, by Richard Quarterman Way (1819-95), Ningbo: Caohua shengjing shufang], Wanguo gangjian lu 万国綱鑑錄 [Chronological Narrative of the Countries of the World], Da Yingguo shi 大英國史 [History of Great Britain], and Lianbang zhi lue 聯邦志略 [Brief Survey of the United States of America]; and under the category of newspapers and magazines, Xiaer quan zhen 遐邇貫珍 [Rarities from Near and Far], Liuhe cong tan, Zhongwai xinbao, and Shanghai xinwen."

All of this would indicate a wide variety of books, newspapers, and magazines being imported from China. At the very end of this work, though, it reads: "The old man [i.e., the author] has yet to examine many of these, and for a time I made mental notes of what I heard, listening to those who had actually seen them." Yanagawa's "mental note" indicate that these books and serial publications from China were topics of conversation among those men who sought this new [i.e., Western] knowledge.

The Kunyu wanquo quantu 坤輿万国全圖 [Atlas of the Nations of the Earth] by Matteo Ricci, who came to China in 1583 (during the Wanli reign at the end of the Ming dynasty), and the Zhifang waiji 職方外紀 [Chronicles of Foreign Lands]^m by Giulio Aleni (Airulue 艾儒略, 1582-1649), an Italian missionary who came to China slightly later than Ricci, helped to expand Chinese knowledge of world geography. During the Edo period, these books came to Japan where they had a similar effect. However, because they were included in the late Ming collection edited by Li Zhizao, Tianxue chuhan 天學初函 [Early Writings on Christianity], they fell within the interdiction of the Kan'ei reign period. As Kondō Seizai 近藤正斎 (1771-1829) noted in the first section, entitled "Kinsho" 禁書 (Banned books), of his Kōsho koji 好書故事 [Background to My Favorite Books]:¹⁴ "In the fifth year of the Kyōhō reign period [1720], the ban was loosened for items unrelated to heresy." In a section of this work on "Among Banned Books, Those Published Earlier in Nagasaki Under the Relaxed Ban," he mentions the Zhifang waiji and notes: "In Kyōhō 16 [1731], it was contained within the Huang Ming zhifang ditu 皇明職方地圖 [World Atlas of the August Ming Dynasty], which was brought by sea from China, having been requested for purchase." Apparently, the purchase went through and it entered Japan.

Probably because the work was written by a missionary and had originally fallen within the category of "banned books," the ban on its sale was loosened but no reprint appeared. They merely loosened the "ban," for permission, it would seem, did not extend to reprinting and wide dissemination. Although no reprint edition came out, the Zhifang waiji in manuscript seems to have circulated rather extensively and to have been widely read. As a result, knowledge of world geography was introduced to many Japanese at the time. A scholar of this subject, the late Ayusawa Shintarō 鮎沢信太郎 claimed to have had eight manuscript editions of the Zhifang waiji (J. Shokuhō gaiki) from the Bunka (1804-17), Bunsei (1818-30), and Tenpō (1830-44) eras.¹⁵ I have examined the four manuscript editions of the text I own, and I think we can safely say that it circulated in manuscript quite widely in its day.

Although the date recorded in Aleni's preface to the Zhifang waiji is Tianqi 3 (1623), the book seems not have found its way into many Japanese hands until the late Edo period. By the same token, in the bakumatsu period, scholars of Dutch learning directly consulted geographies written in Dutch in order to write their own new world geography books. Such works would include: Kon'yo zushiki 坤輿図識 [Annotated Maps of the World] (3 volumes, 1845) by Mitsukuri Shōgo 箕作省吾 (1821-46); the same work with further annotations (4 volumes, 1846); and Hakkō tsūshi 八紘通誌 [Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Entire World] (6 volumes, 1851-56) by Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (1799-1863). Genpo's work only covered "Yōroppa bu" 歐羅巴部 (Section on Europe), as the volume planned for Asia (in one volume) was not pub-

lished. There was a work by the Englishman Colton (Geertun 格爾屯) "translated by Sawa Ginjirō 佐波銀次郎 and printed by Tezuka Ritsu 手塚 律" in 1862: Bankoku zushi 万国図誌 [Illustrated Gazetteer of the Nations of the World]. I own a copy of each of these work. (I bought them in order to determine how they were handled in China). There were in addition numerous world geographies based on works in European languages that were published around this time. (For details see the work by Ayusawa and Ōkubo cited in note 15 below).

Among these books, the Dili quanzhi is a work by the Christian missionary William Muirhead (Muweilian 慕維廉, 1822-1900) who lived in Shanghai at the end of the Qing period. It was reprinted in Japan at the time and conveyed a highly systematic understanding of world geography and topography. Although I do not have a copy of the original,ⁿ I own a reprint edition with Japanese reading punctuation "first published in Ansei 6 [1859], printed by Sōkairō 爽快樓 [House of Exhilaration]." (I have heard as well of an 1858 "first publication" by the same printer).

It is divided into ten volumes, five in each of a first and second half. The first half is divided into the following four sections: "Yaxiya zhi" 亜西亜志 (Gazetteer of Asia), "Ouluoba zhi" 歐羅巴志 (Gazetteer of Europe), "Afeilijia zhi" 阿非利加志 (Gazetteer of Africa), and "Dayang qundao zhi" 大洋群島志 (Gazetteer of the [Pacific] Ocean Archipelago). The latter half is sub-divided into ten parts: "Dizhi lun" 地質論 (Geology), "Dishi lun" 地勢論 (Topography), "Shui lun" 水論 (Water), "Qi lun" 氣論 (Atmosphere), "Guang lun" 光論 (Light), "Caomu zonglun" 草木總論 (Plants, Overall Account), "Shengwu zonglun" 生物總論 (Living Creatures, Overall Account), "Renlei zonglun" 人類總論 (Human Beings, Overall Account), "Diwen zonglun" 地文總論 (Physiography), and "Dishi lun" 地史論 (Historical Geography). At the end of my copy of the work, there is a note that reads: "Yamashiroya Sahee 山城屋佐兵衛, Hakkō shorin 発弘書林, Number 2 Nihonbashi Street," but it is unclear whether this was the original publisher or not.

There is also a preface at the beginning of the work, dated "Ninth [lunar] month, fall, Ansei 5 [1858]," by Shionoya Tōin 塩谷宕陰 (Seikō 世弘, 1809-67). Shionoya was a Kangaku scholar, who was also much concerned with foreign affairs and an avid supporter of national defense. He particularly devoted his attention to collecting information about the Opium War in China, so as to warn Japanese of the dangers to their country. His works in this vein include: Ahen ibun 阿芙蓉彙聞 [Reports on Opium], Kakka ron 隔華論 [On Ineffectuality], Chūkai shigi 籌海私議 [Personal Views of Maritime Planning].

In his preface, Tōin compares the Dili quanzhi to the Haiquo tuzhi 海国図志 [Illustrated Gazetteers of Sea Kingdoms, by Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1856)] and the Yinghuan zhi [by Xu Jiyu 徐繼畲, 1795-1873], both of which were reprinted in Japan, as I will discuss

later. "The [Haiguo] tuzhi is absorbed in detail," he notes, "while the [Yinghuan] zhi lue stresses facts. Neither one has yet to exhaust [knowledge of] geography." The Dili guanzhi had "many errors in its chronicling of Japan," but "that was probably due to the fact that grasping everything in simple terms by reading through materials in just a few days so as to elucidate the general contours of Japan and discuss its geography must have been the only available short-cut." At the end of the preface, he notes: "Recently, Mr. Senshū Iwase 蟾州巖瀨 [sic.] put money into reprinting this work, and he asked me for a few words. I was inclined to reject the idea, but could not." In other words, Iwase invested his own money in reprinting the Dili guanzhi and requested that Tōin pen this preface.

The "Mr. Senshū Iwase" mentioned in Tōin's preface was Iwase Higo no kami 岩瀨肥後守 (Tadanori 忠震, 1818-61), an administrator in the foreign office in the bakumatsu period. Senshū was his style. He had long been concerned with foreign affairs and in the bakumatsu period was particularly attentive to plans for the opening of Japan to foreign interaction; although at first inclined toward an exclusion policy in shogunal foreign relations, he shifted to supporting a policy of openness. In Bakumatsu seijika 幕末政治家 [Politicians of the Late Edo Period] (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1900), Fukuchi Ōchi 福地桜痴 (Gen'ichirō 源一郎, 1841-1906) mentions Iwase as one of the "three outstanding men of the bakumatsu period." When Iwase and other officials of the bakufu entered into point-by-point deliberations with Townsend Harris over the text of a commercial treaty that Harris, the American envoy, had drafted, Fukuchi notes: "Iwase was an exceedingly astute man. Not only did he often attack first and compel Harris to defend himself; but, years later when I was in the United States, I learned directly from Harris of many treaty stipulations which had to be altered when Iwase refuted his arguments, and I came to understand just how talented Iwase had been."¹⁶

Thus, Iwase saw that the anti-treaty group of the time knew of the conditions overseas, just holding obstinately to an exclusion policy of keeping Japan cut off from the outside. He deplored this situation (as we can see from his letters), and it would seem he was trying to enlighten his countrymen by having this book reprinted in Japan. Here, political and diplomatic considerations appear to have been behind the reprinting of this work.

In the second part of his Keigaku shibun shū 景岳詩文集 [Collection of Poetry and Prose by (Hashimoto) Keigaku (Sanai)], in Hashimoto Keigaku zenshū 橋本景岳全集 [Collected Works of Hashimoto Keigaku] (Tokyo: Unebi shobō 歟傍書房, 1943), there is a poem by Hashimoto (1834-59) entitled "After Reading the Dili guanzhi." On the basis of poems written at about the same time, it seems that the poem was written in the twelfth month of 1858, when Hashimoto was living in confinement. Because Tōin's preface to the edition of Dili guanzhi reprinted by Iwase is dated "ninth [lunar] month, fall, Ansei

5 [1858]," Hashimoto may have read a text Iwase reprinted and presented to him. (I have heard that there may be an 1857 edition of the Dili guanzhi as well).

In order to do something in a forceful manner that would reform the shogunate, Iwase tried to go beyond Hotta Masayoshi 堀田正睦 (1810-64), a member of the shogunal Council of Elders, and Ii Naosuke 井伊直弼 (1815-60), chief minister to the shogun, directly to the daimyō of Fukui 福井 domain and member of the Tokugawa family, Matsudaira Shungaku 松平春嶽 (Yoshinaga 慶永, 1828-90). In this connection, he became closely acquainted with Hashimoto, who was an associate of Shungaku's.¹⁷ Also, Hashimoto and Iwase were linked as advocates of opening Japan to foreign contacts and trade. And, thus, the anti-Tokugawa Hashimoto received a wide array of reports about internal shogunal business from Iwase. More than twenty letters from Iwase to Hashimoto that are contained in the Hashimoto Keigaku zenshū are ample testimony to this connection between them. Furthermore, their close ties in activities surrounding national affairs are detailed in a volume by Nakane Yukie 中根雪江 (1807-77), Sakumu kiji 昨夢記事 [Diary of Recent Dreams] (published posthumously by Yao 八尾 shoten in 1896, with a preface by Katsu Kaishū 勝海舟, 1823-99). Nakane and Hashimoto were Shungaku's two right-hand men and were thoroughly up on all his secret doings of the time.

In a letter to Hashimoto, dated 4/20/1858, Iwase writes: "I have in my possession the Xiaer guanzhen. If you would like to look at it, please let me know when I can make it available to you." Xiaer guanzhen was a Chinese-language, monthly news report published (beginning in 1853) in Hong Kong by foreign missionaries. According to Yi Kongzhen 弋公振 (1890-1935), Zhongguo baoxue shi 中国報学史 [History of Newspapers in China] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1927; Hong Kong reprint: Taiping shuju, 1964), it continued publishing until 1856. Unlike Liuhe congkan, though, it was not reprinted in Japan and seems to have circulated in manuscript copies. (I have a copy of the third issue). About fifteen years ago, I caught sight on a booklist from a used-book store of a more or less complete set of these, albeit with the dates slightly off. Yoshida Shōin (1830-59) and others of his day read this journal, as we can see from a letter Shōin wrote on 9/2/1857 to Nagahara Takeshi 長原武: "Although difficult to come by, I have received the Xiaer guanzhen."¹⁸ Also, in his "Batsu Isabo yugen" 跋伊沙菩喻言 [Afterward to Aesop's Fables], Shōin noted having read in the Xiaer guanzhen about the fable of the horse and the tiger.¹⁹

Not only was Iwase an administrator in the foreign office; he was also much interested in events overseas, and he collected this sort of journal to read through.²⁰ Where he noted in the letter cited above that he "could make it available to" Hashimoto, he was effectively offering it to Hashimoto's lord, Matsudaira Shungaku, at the latter's convenience and asking him to examine it.

Furthermore, William Muirhead, the author of the Dili guanzhi,

was many times visited by Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作 (1839-67), who traveled to Shanghai in 1862 aboard the shogunate's trade ship, the Senzaimaru 千歳丸. Takasugi described doing so in his Yū-Shin goroku 遊清五録 [Five Diaries of a Trip to China] (in Tōkō sensei ibun 東行先生遺文 [The Literary Remains of Takasugi Shinsaku], Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1916). In the diary entry for the morning of 5/23/1862, he notes that he and Godai Saisuke 五代才助 (1835-85, later Tomoatsu 友厚, the first president of the Ōsaka Chamber of Commerce) "visited the Englishman Muirhead. Muirhead is a Christian missionary who carries on his missionary work among the people of Shanghai. The churches within the city fall within Muirhead's jurisdiction. We proceeded to his place of residence,...and asked for a copy of the book Lianbang zhi lue and other works before leaving." They again visited him on the morning of the 25th, but on this occasion Takasugi noted that Muirhead was not in. On the 27th, Takasugi and Nakamuda Kuranosuke 中牟田倉之助 (later vice-admiral in the Japanese navy, head of the Naval Staff College, and Chief of the Naval General Staff) "went to Muirhead's [home]. We asked to see such writings as Shanghai xinbao 上海新報 [Shanghai News], Shuxue qimeng, and Daishuxue, and then returned." The later two works, mentioned immediately above, were works by Alexander Wylie and Li Shanlan. On 6/26, Takasugi and Nakamuda again visited Muirhead, but he was not at home.

In his Nakamuda Kuranosuke den 中牟田倉之助伝 [Biography of Nakamuda Kuranosuke] (not for sale, 1919), Nakamura Takaya 中村孝也 frequently cites Nakamuda's own notes of this trip to China. In Nakamura's section entitled "Shanghai tokō" 上海渡航 (Crossing to Shanghai), he quotes Nakamuda to the effect: "When I visited the Englishman Muirhead on 6/12, he lent me a four-volume work on the Long-Haired Bandits [Taiping rebels]... I spent the entire next day copying it into my diary." At this time, a group of Taipings were holed up on the outskirts of Shanghai, and reports about them were circulating furiously within the city. On 5/27 as well, Takasugi and Nakamuda visited Muirhead, and Takasugi purchased Shanghai xinbao (which carried news stories about the Taiping rebels), Shuxue qimeng, and Daishuxue from him. Nakamuda also requested several books, and as a return gift for receiving on the earlier occasion (5/25) Muirhead's work, Nakamuda gave him a folding fan and a wood-block color print. Nakamuda fails to note specifically which of Muirhead's works he had received on that earlier occasion, but we can see in Nakamuda's Shanghai tokō kiji 上海渡航記事 [Diary of the Crossing to Shanghai], where he records the maps and booklists he sought in Shanghai, Muirhead's Dili guanzhi and Da Yingguo zhi. Thus, it would seem as though he was given works of this sort, which had already been reprinted in Japan in 1861. Perhaps Takasugi's reference to "other works" when he asked Muirhead for "Lianbang zhi lue and other works" included the Dili guanzhi.

Needless to say, it would have been unthinkable for the visits

paid by Takasugi, Godai, and Nakamuda to Muirhead who resided at a Christian Church to have been in search of Christianity itself. The national interdiction on Christianity was still in effect. On this same voyage to Shanghai was Nōtomi Kaijirō 納富介次郎 (1838-1912). In his Shanghai zakki 上海雜記 [Notes on Shanghai],²¹ he wrote that on two occasions they were visited at their lodgings by some Chinese students who wanted to present them with a Bible, and both times the entire Japanese group sent them away. This tends to indicate as well the strength of the anti-Christian ban. Churches often had printing presses on their premises and, while they printed religious materials for missionary activities, introductory works of Western scholarship and learning written by missionaries as well as various newspapers and magazines (with missionary phrases included here and there) were also published. Thus, in their search for the "new" learning (as well as intelligence reports), Takasugi and his fellow travelers had no choice but to go and come at churches frequently.

Notes

a. The Kaiseijo, earlier known as Kaisei gakkō 開成学校, was the shogunate's school for teachers of Western learning and Western-style mathematics. In 1863, its name was changed to Bansho shirabesho 蕃書調所; in 1868, the Meiji government restored its original name as Kaisei gakkō; it was renamed the next year Daigaku nankō 大学南校; and, after several more name-changes, it became Tokyo University in 1877. The edition of the Wanguo gongfa cited here is held in the collections of Harvard-Yenching Library and the library of the University of California, Berkeley.

1. The person who entered the Japanese reading punctuation in the text is not made explicit, but it was Nishi Amane 西周 (1828-97) according to Ōtsuki Nyoden 大槻如電, Nihon Yōgaku hennen shi 日本洋学編年史 [Chronological History of Western Learning in Japan], with additional annotations by Satō Eishichi 佐藤栄七 (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 1965).

b. Also held in the collection of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

c. One other volume in this line, held in the collections of Harvard-Yenching Library and the Starr Library (Columbia University), is Theodore Dwight Woolsey (Wuerxi 吳爾璽, 1801-89, translated by W. A. P. Martin), Gongfa bianlan 公法便覽 [Guide to International Law] (Beijing: Tongwenguan, 1877).

2. In his "Kaigai chishiki" 海外知識 [Knowledge from overseas], in Kinsei sōdan 近世叢談 [Modern Stories] (Tokyo: Hokkai shuppansha, 1944), Watanabe Shūjirō 渡辺修次郎 writes: "In a letter dated fourth month, 1868, Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛 [1827-77], considered the man who had contributed the greatest military exploits to the political cause of the Restoration, included the words: 'I responded to the English minister that Tokugawa Yoshinobu would be treated according to international law (bankoku kōhō) and would not be subject to attack.' Can we see here how the understanding of international law at that time offers a glimpse into the political situation?"

d. An 1880 edition (Beijing: Tongwenguan) of this translation can be found in the Harvard-Yenching Library and the Starr Library, Columbia University.

3. In Meiji bunken mokuroku 明治文献目録 [Bibliography of Meiji Documents], ed. Takaichi Yoshio 高市慶雄 (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1932), the reading "Gatchin" is written in Japanese syllabaries beside the Chinese characters for Hobson's name. This is incorrect.

e. A copy can be found in the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, published by the Huiai-yiguan 惠愛医館 .

f. No copies of Xiyi lüeh-lun, Fuying xinshuo, and Neike xinshuo are apparently to be found in library collections in the United States, according to the printed catalogues available. I recently found the first and third of these, dated Ansei 5 (1858) and Ansei 6 (1859), respectively, as well as an 1857 edition of Quanti xinlun for sale in a printed catalogue of the Tokyo bookstore, Tōjō shoten.

4. At the time, Japanese intellectuals were able to read Kanbun (classical Chinese). Precisely because the population of Kanbun-readers was so overwhelmingly large, these medical texts could be diffused and made use of.

5. I would like to add the following note. Western medical science, it is usually argued, was introduced to China by foreign missionaries at the end of the Ming dynasty. Jean Terrenz (Deng Yuhuan 鄧玉函 , 1576-1630)--Swiss missionary to China, friend of Galileo, and a man knowledgeable in medicine--worked, together with Matteo Ricci, to implement calendrical reforms. He also prepared--working with Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565-1629) in Hangzhou in the waning years of the Chongzhen reign (1628-44) at the end of the Ming--an abridged translation of the work of Andreas Vesalius (1514-64), a Belgian considered the father of modern anatomy, under the title Renshen gaishuo 人身概説 [Outlines of the Human Body] in two juan. It seems that this text on human anatomy was not at all widely disseminated in China, nor was it conveyed to Japan. Had it been intro-

duced to Japan, it probably would have helped Sugita Genpaku in his painstaking work of translating Kaitai shinsho 解体新書 [New Work on Dissection, 1774] in his Rangaku kotohajime 蘭学事始 [The Beginnings to Dutch Learning].

g. A copy may also be found in the collections of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and the Starr Library, Columbia University.

h. A copy may also be found in the collections of Harvard-Yenching Library and the Starr Library, Columbia University.

i. A copy may also be found in the collections of Harvard-Yenching Library and the Starr Library, Columbia University.

6. Theories concerning "dynamics" (Ch. lixue, J. rikigaku) can already be seen in the 1854 (Kaei 7) work, Rigaku teiyō 理学提要 [Summary of the Physical Sciences], compiled and edited on the basis of Dutch books by the physician and Dutch Learning scholar Hirose Motoyasu 広瀬元恭. My copy of this work has a first part with four string-bound volumes and a second part with one.

j. Copies of the original can be found in the Starr Library, Columbia University and Harvard-Yenching Library. There are also two reprints held in the collection of the latter: Changsha: Shangwu paiyinben, 1939; and Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shudian, 1965, six volumes.

7. The word used for "geometry" is pronounced jihe 幾何 in Chinese, much like the first half of the term in Latin, Geometria, and some have considered it a loan into Chinese; there was also a certain sense of free translation introduced in the characters chosen to convey the sound, for they ordinarily mean "some" [as in some money or some time]. On this subject, Watanabe Shūjirō writes in his Kinsei sōsetsu: "An English-Japanese Dictionary published as early as 1862 translated geometry as sokuryōgaku 測量学. Nonetheless, from the Meiji period forward the term kikagaku 幾何学 (Ch. jihexue) became the conventional term for geometry. The fact that some people criticized as inappropriate the use of the Chinese characters now read kikagaku (but potentially misread, reflecting the ordinary meaning of the term) and not using the term for geodesy reflects a desire to translate the actual meaning of 'geometry' into Japanese."

I also have a text by Wylie entitled Shuxue qimeng 数学启蒙 [Rudiments of Mathematics] (with a postface dated 1853 by his disciple Jin Chengfu 金成福). The place of publication is not indicated, as only the year is given on the cover. Since my copy carries the designation "kanban" 官板 (official publication), we know it to be a Japanese reprint. It contains such technical terms as reducing frac-

tions to common denominators (tsūbun 通分), reducing fractions to lowest terms (yakubun 約分), repeating decimals (junkan shōsū 循環少数), extraction of square roots (kaihei 開平), and logarithms (taisū 对数), and it has a table of logarithms as an appendix. A one-volume Japanese reprint is listed as well in the Kanseki mokuroku 漢籍目錄 [Catalogue of Chinese Books] of the Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫 . In this same catalogue, a Japanese reprint of a book entitled Daishuxue 代数学 [Elements of Algebra, by Augustus de Morgan] (J. Daisūgaku) is listed as well, "orally translated by Wylie, transcribed by Li Shanlan," dated "Meiji 5 [1872], proofread by Tsukamoto Ki 塚本毅 ."

8. He later served as one of three assistants to the Bible Translation Committee (comprised of three foreign missionaries) founded in 1874, and he was of particular help to James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911). We can now see that he used as a reference the Chinese translation of the Bible and that he adopted unchanged from that translation the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, Revelations, and the like. I have made a preliminary comparison of the Chinese and Japanese translations of the Bible and found an enormous amount simply carried over from the former into the latter. The translation of the Bible began in Japan in 1874 and was completed in 1880. See Yamamoto Hidetaru 山本秀煌 , Nihon Kurisuto kyōkai shi 日本基督教会史 [History of the Christian Church in Japan] (published by the Christian Church of Japan, 1929). The great efforts to which Okuno went in punctuating and translating this and other Chinese texts are manifest. I also own a three-volume Kunten Kyūyaku seisho 順点旧訳聖書 [Old Testament with Reading Punctuation] (1883) and Kunten Shin'yaku seisho 順点新訳聖書 [New Testament with Reading Punctuation] (1884)--both published in Yokohama by the "American Bible Company"--which are the Chinese translation of the Bible with reading punctuation and Japanese syllabaries added to indicate inflection in Japanese. These seem to have circulated rather widely, for some appeared with different bindings from the same publishers. I also have another work translated by Okuno, Jidu shilu 基督実録 [The True Story of Christ, J. Kirisuto jitsugaku], "written by Alexander Williamson, transcribed by Dong Shutang 董樹棠 of the Qing" (published by Iijima Seiken 飯島静謙 , 1882).

k. Much of this publication information is not supplied by Masuda. A copy of the 1864 second edition is held in the collection of California State Library, Sacramento.

1. Also in volume 17 of Meiji bunka zenshū 明治文化全集 [Collected Writings of Meiji Culture], ed. Yoshino Sakuzō 吉野作造 (Tokyo: Nihon hyōron sha, 1927-30).

9. These can be found in Yamaguchi Muneyuki 山口宗之 , Zenshū mishū Hashimoto Sanai kankei shiryō kenkyū 鏤叔橋本左内関係史料研究

[Studies of Historical Materials Concerning Hashimoto Sanai Not Found in His Collected Works] (1940, not for sale).

10. Narushima Ryūhoku has also written: "Yanagawa sensei ryakujō" 柳河先生略状 [Brief biography of Professor Yanagawa] and "Yanagawa sensei itsuji" 柳河先生逸事 [Unknown facts about Professor Yanagawa], both included in Ryūhoku ishō 柳北遺稿 [Ryūhoku's Posthumous Manuscripts] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1892). Narushima notes that he enjoyed a "particularly close friendship with" Yanagawa, and he lauds the latter's genius to the stars.

11. Ōtsuki Fumihiko, Fukken zassan 復軒雜纂 [Miscellaneous Collection of Fukken] (Tokyo: Kōbundō shoten, 1902).

12. I have seen only a copy of this work, not the original.

13. Morrison was the author of a history of the countries of the world, entitled Gujin wanquo gangjian lu 古今万国綱鑑錄 [Narrative Record of the Countries of the World, Past and Present], which was reprinted in Japan in the Meiji period. As for Lin Zexu, many are the sections in Wei Yuan's Haiguo tuzhi which bear the mark of Lin's "explanation." More to follow on this theme.

m. Copies of this text can be found in the collections of the Starr Library, Columbia University, and the Harvard-Yenching Library.

14. See Kondō Seisai zenshū 近藤正斎全集 [Collected Works of Kondō Seisai] (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1906), vol. 3.

15. See Ayusawa Shintarō and Ōkubo Toshiaki 大久保利謙, Sakoku jidai Nihon jin no kaigai chishiki 鎖国時代日本人の海外知識 [Overseas Knowledge of the Japanese During the Closed Door Period] (Tokyo: Kangensha, 1953).

n. A copy of the original can be found at the Harvard-Yenching Library.

16. Fukuchi also notes that Iwase had a bit of training in Dutch Learning. Kurimoto Joun 栗本鋤雲 (1822-97), administrator in the foreign office who was resident in France in the bakumatsu period and who rushed home when news of the Meiji Restoration reached him (and later became head of Hōchi shinbun 報知新聞), has noted that Iwase worked hard to turn general Dutch learning toward more knowledge of English studies. In his letters to Hashimoto Sanai, Iwase addressed them in English and horizontally to: "Sanai 様 Higo" (see Hashimoto Keigaku zenshū, vol. 6, letters).

17. Iwase and Hashimoto were agreed (as was Shungaku for that

matter) in their desire to see Hitotsubashi Yoshinobu succeed to the position of shogun.

18. In Yoshida Shōin, "Shotoku zasshū" 書牘雜輯 (Collected letters), section two of Shōin sensei icho 松陰先生遺著 [Posthumous Works of Yoshida Shōin] (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1909).

19. In Yoshida Shōin, "Yūshitsu bunkō" 幽室文稿 (Manuscripts in a darkened room), in Shōin sensei icho (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1908).

20. On Iwase Higo no kami, Kurimoto Joun has written "Iwase Higo no kami to jireki" 岩瀬肥後守の事歴 (Account of Iwase, lord of Higo), in Hōan jūshu 匏庵十種 [Ten Pieces from the Gourd Hut] (Tokyo: Hōchisha, 1892). Kurimoto and Iwase studied together at the Shōheikō 昌平黌, the official bakufu college. This essay describes Iwase's personality and career in a little more detail. For even greater detail on Iwase, see Ōta Kumatarō 太田熊太郎, "Iwase Tadanori," in a special issue (autumn 1926) of Chūō shidan 中央史壇 (published by the Kokushi kōshūkai 国史講習会) on the subject of "individuals in the late Tokugawa and Meiji eras."

21. Included in Bunkyū ninen Shanhai nikki 文久二年上海日記 [Diaries of Shanghai in 1862] (Tokyo: Zenkoku shobō, 1946).