

Chinese Encyclopaedias
of New Global Knowledge
(1870–1930)

Changing Ways of Thought

Milena Doleželová-Velingerová

Rudolf G. Wagner *Editors*

普通百科新大辭典



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Editors

Milena Doleželová-Velingerová
Praha
Czech Republic

Rudolf G. Wagner
Exzellenzcluster “Asia and Europe”
Karl Jasper Centre
Heidelberg
Germany

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May 2012

The Editors

In Memoriam

Sadly and unexpectedly, Milena Velingerová passed away in Prague on October 20, 2012. As we were working to finalize our editing work, she sometimes joked that she hoped to see this book in print while still alive. Deprived of the chance to fulfill her this wish, the authors of this book jointly dedicate the finished work to her memory. She was instrumental in helping to open this field of research, in convincing many scholars to join in its exploration, and in securing funding for the workshops and conferences. Above all, she was a dear friend and cheerful colleague.

February, 2013

Rudolf G. Wagner

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Chinese Encyclopaedias of New Global Knowledge (1870–1930): Changing Ways of Thought

Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Rudolf G. Wagner

Introduction

Many aspects of the rapidly evolving engagement between China and the West during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been well enough explored to have entered schoolbook knowledge. These include war, trade, diplomacy, and missionary endeavors. The present volume explores what went on in Chinese minds during this turbulent process. It does so through a series of case studies on the Chinese adaptation of the increasingly globalized canon of modern knowledge and the shifts in the equally globalized software through which this process was articulated: in the taxonomy of knowledge, the hierarchy of relevance and usefulness, the standards for the reliability of information, and the tools to enhance the terminological precision of language. The footprints of these articulations are best visible in Chinese encyclopaedic works of what was called “new” or “Western” knowledge. They were published between the 1880s and the 1930s and were produced against the background of and in a critical debate with a well-established, traditional encyclopaedia culture. While present at the time in great diversity and in large print runs, the shelf life of these new works was short because they were quickly superseded by ever-newer works. These works have neither been reprinted, nor studied in any detail.

We owe it to the efforts of a single scholar, Prof. Zhong Shaohua 鍾少華, whom politics had banned to the margins of Chinese academia,¹ that a first overview appeared of these works, which he had laboriously collected since the end of the

¹ He was not allowed to study because his father, an anthropologist of great renown, was branded a “rightist” in 1957.

M. Doleželová-Velingerová
(1932–2012)

R.G. Wagner (✉)

Institute of Chinese Studies, Heidelberg University, Heidelberg, Germany
e-mail: wagner@asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de

Cultural Revolution from bookstores selling old books so as to form his own private library.² But there were also other achievements that, independent of Zhong Shaohua's work, significantly contributed to China's recovery of materials that illuminated the path to modern Chinese encyclopaedias. Among them was for instance the finding in 2004 of a copy of Huang Ren's (Moxi) 黃人 (摩西) 1911 *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, Putong baike xin da cidian 普通百科新大詞典,³ in the Chinese Library of the University of Toronto. While impressed by the meticulous analysis of materials in the book, which included a large number of references to contemporary Western culture and was sometimes remarkably reminiscent of the European encyclopaedia in the way that it grouped certain items into one 'family', the chance discoverer—Milena Doleželová—was hesitant to identify the generic nature as encyclopaedia because the term cidian 詞典 was not used widely at that time and was overshadowed by the term *baike quanshu* adopted from Japanese. Only when Professor Chen Pingyuan informed Doleželová about Zhong Shaohua's collection, which had previously been unknown to her, did the possibility of launching a research project begin to look promising. Being unacquainted with the natural sciences and observing that there were a large number of entries on the field, Doleželová asked Dr. M. Henri Day, a sinologist-cum-physicist at Stockholm University, to jointly apply for a CCK Grant to tackle this problem. The grant was awarded in 2005 and although it started as a team project with only six collaborators, the research ended up involving a good dozen scholars from five countries and convened two conferences before giving birth to this volume.⁴ Meanwhile, Rudolf Wagner was developing a database in Heidelberg comprising as many of the hard-to-find late Qing encyclopaedic works as he was able to locate in many of the world's finest libraries, and to make them available as scans to the members of the project. The result was the database HEIDENC with its more than 100 primary sources in Chinese, Japanese, English and other languages, as well as many works of secondary literature and a continuously updated bibliography. It is hosted by the Institute of Chinese Studies in Heidelberg, and will be opened to scholars in general once this volume has been published.⁵

² Zhong Shaohua 鍾少華, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju—Zhong Ri jindai baike quanshu yanjiu* 人類知識的新工具—中日近代百科全書研究 [A new tool of human knowledge: A study of early modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1996).

³ Huang Ren 黃人, *Putong baike xin da cidian* 普通百科新大詞典 (Shanghai: Zhongguo cidian gongxi, 1911).

⁴ A selection of papers from the first conference appeared in Chinese, Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 and Miliena 米列娜 [= Milena Doleželová-Velingerová], eds. *Jindai Zhongguo de baikeci shu* 近代中國的百科詞書 [Early modern Chinese encyclopaedias] (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2007).

⁵ Rudolf Wagner, *Bibliography of Chinese Encyclopaedic Works 1840–1937, their Japanese and Western Models and Sources. Continuously updated Metadata for the Database HEIDENC*. http://www.zo.uni-heidelberg.de/sinologie/digital_resources/heidenc/. Last accessed on August 25, 2012.

From a Chinese perspective, the West's rapidly increasing presence on China's shores was felt in diverse areas—but little visible connection could be identified. Why should the free treatment of glaucoma in a missionary hospital, American and British clippers delivering opium contraband to Chinese dealers, George Washington's life and labors, map making and the behavior of Western women in the Treaty Ports have any other connection than the involvement of individuals from different foreign countries?

Chinese men of letters reacted to these phenomena since the 1830s by accumulating knowledge about those aspects of the 'West' that seemed most apposite, starting with geography, political history and the structure of governance in foreign countries, and weapons manufacturing. The information was largely taken from material in Chinese presented by foreign Protestant missionaries. Assuming as they did that the standing of their religious teachings would be enhanced in China if their publications contained information deemed relevant beyond the circle of their converts and inquirers, these missionaries wrote on many subjects of which they had only a marginal command. For this they would draw on Western-language encyclopaedias, which they had brought in their baggage for the very purpose. In this manner, recent Western encyclopaedia knowledge was transferred to China in segmental form.

During the nineteenth century, Western encyclopaedic works came in a variety of formats. First were the comprehensive encyclopaedias. These works purported to present all relevant knowledge in its totality. Some grouped the information into articles that were alphabetically ordered and cross-referenced by an index. Abraham Rees's (1743–1825) *Cyclopaedia, or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* in 45 volumes,⁶ is a work of this kind. Published in 1819–1820, it was the main reference work for dissenting clergy at the time, and dissenting clergy formed in turn the main recruitment pool for the budding foreign missions. A missionary showed his Rees to the Canton Commissioner Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785–1850), whose later action against British opium imports prompted the British reaction known as the "Opium War." Lin was greatly impressed with the wealth and completeness of factual information contained in this alphabetically-ordered work, and made a detailed note about it. Seeing that it was fundamentally different from Chinese encyclopaedic works, he did not use the term *leishu* 類書 (book arranged according to categories), which Chinese book catalogues and collections used as a generic category, but gave it a phonetically transcribed name for *cyclopaedia*, namely *xi-guo-luo-bi-di-ya* 西果羅彼釐亞.⁷ Since his notes were not published until 1986, this information and terminology did not become

⁶ Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia, or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, 45 vols. With illustrations (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819–1820).

⁷ Lin Zexu 林則徐, *Yangshi zalu* 洋事雜錄 [Miscellaneous notes on western affairs] (1846). Unpubl. manuscript in Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. Transcribed in simplified characters in "Lin Zexu 'Yangshi zalu'" 林則徐《洋事雜錄》 [Lin Zexu's *Miscellaneous Notes on Western Affairs*], by Chen Depei 陳德培, Lin Yongyu 林永侯, and Meng Pengxing 孟彭興, *Zhongshan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)*, no. 3 (1986): 14–34.

public knowledge. Other comprehensive encyclopaedias defined a limited number of fields of knowledge such as “biography,” “science,” or “gardening” and grouped all related articles under these headers, often again with systematic subheadings. This latter approach facilitated serial publishing for subscribers, because each item was a stand-alone unit. Chambers’s *Information for the People*, which was translated into Japanese during the 1870s and 1880s, was of this kind.⁸ Very much interested in conveying practical and useful information to a wider audience that had only recently started to join the literate public, it offered 49 systematic entries.

Some authors chose a different format by just publishing one such stand-alone encyclopaedic unit without inserting it into a wider framework. The first Western encyclopaedia to be fully exploited by Chinese authors was of this kind, dealing only with one field, namely geography. *An Encyclopedia of Geography*, a 3-volume work edited by Hugh Murray (1779–1846) in 1834,⁹ had been given by an American missionary¹⁰ to Lin Zexu; Lin had bilingual ethnic Chinese from the Straits Settlements—such as Liang Afa’s son Liang Jinde 梁進德 (1820–1862)—in his employ to read foreign newspapers for him and convey the information contained in books such as Murray’s. Lin’s 1839 world geography is largely based on the translations from Murray, and the information it conveyed was subsequently included in the widely-read Chinese-language world geographies of the following years.¹¹

A third format that became known as the ‘encyclopaedic dictionary’ responded to the flood of new concepts and terminologies that developed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It broke down the information into much smaller units and presented terse summaries of key factual information and/or conceptual definitions by combining the functions of a dictionary and an encyclopaedia. It first developed in Germany early in the nineteenth century (Brockhaus) and later also became popular in the English and French speaking worlds.¹² Its impact in China has been felt since the first decade of the twentieth century.

⁸ William and Robert Chambers, eds., *Chambers’s Information for the People: Being a Series of Treatises on Those Branches of Human Knowledge in which the Greater Part of the Community Are Most Interested, and Designed to Serve the Chief Uses of an Encyclopaedia at a Price Beyond Example Moderate*, 4th ed. (London: Orr and Smith, 1857). *Hyakka zensho* 百科全書 [Complete compendium of the hundred branches of knowledge] (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1875–1885).

⁹ Hugh Murray, ed., *An Encyclopedia of Geography, Comprising a Complete Description of the Earth, Exhibiting its Relation to the Heavenly Bodies, its Physical Structure, the Natural History of Each Country, and the Industry, Commerce, Political Institutions, and Civil and Social State of all Nations* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1837).

¹⁰ Most likely Eliah Bridgman (1801–1861), who had arranged an extra copy to be bought for Lin. Other reports say that he received it through Samuel Robbins Brown (1810–1880).

¹¹ The result, Lin Zexu’s *Sizhou zhi* 四洲志 [Record of four continents], has largely been incorporated into Wei Yuan 魏源, *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 [Illustrated record of overseas countries], which appeared in 1843, and was expanded in 1852. Parts of the original *Sizhou zhi* have survived in Wang Xiqi 王錫祺, comp., *Xiaofanghuzhai yudi congchao zaibubian* 小方壺棄輿地叢鈔再補編 (Shanghai: Zhuyi tang, 1897).

¹² A popular and often reprinted example of this kind is Robert Hunter, ed., *The American Encyclopaedic Dictionary, a Thoroughly Accurate, Practical and Exhaustive Work of Reference to All the Words in the English Language, with a Full Account of their Origin, Meaning, Pronunciation and Use*, 3 vols. (Chicago: Ogilvie, 1894).

Given this variety of formats and taxonomic schemes, a definition of such ‘encyclopaedic works’ of new knowledge will have to focus on the manner and the purpose of their presentation of information rather than the format of the publication or its internal organization. These works purport to offer a concise overview of a given field of knowledge which claims to be based on evidence rather than authority; they come in a language of rationality, and have the purpose to present useful knowledge to people of different levels of education and sophistication, but do not claim to present new research. By the middle of the nineteenth century, encyclopaedic works were also compiled to provide newly literate classes, the ‘people’, with the knowledge that fitted their new interests and social aspirations, the best known and most widely emulated being the “Penny” publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and Chambers’s *Information for the People*, both of which combined encyclopaedic works with the weekly fare of encyclopaedic knowledge offered in periodicals.¹³ This impulse was taken up by early Chinese-language periodicals published by foreigners.¹⁴

Encyclopaedic works are never complete in a global sense, their criteria of completeness are the usefulness and relevance of the information. Works focusing on one particular area such as geography, weapons, gardening or music, are thus fully compatible with the genre. The category of usefulness depends on the particular definition of the environment of the readers at a given moment. Someone trying to overcome an asymmetry in social standing by climbing up the social ladder in Manchester will find different things useful than someone trying to overcome an asymmetry in power between his and a foreign country by convincing his countrymen to spend money on manufacturing foreign-style arms. The content of this category of usefulness might change as the understanding of the most effective way to solve a particular range of problems evolves, and different people living at the same time might have different opinions on what would be the most useful knowledge. We may thus expect the particular selection of fields for which encyclopaedic entries were presented in China to reflect their authors’ assessment in this respect, and we may infer from the market response the degree to which booksellers and buyers were convinced of their assessment.

This encyclopaedic information from the West was not taken to a no-man’s land, but into a literate society with its own reference works. These would for quite a

¹³ *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, 27 vols. (London: Charles Knight, 1833–1843). The periodicals were *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* (1831–1845), and *Chambers’s Journal* (1832–1853), which was continued by *Chambers’s Journal of Popular Literature, Science and the Arts* (1854–1897). Both the *Penny* and the *Chambers* were published simultaneously in a British and a U.S. edition.

¹⁴ Examples are the *Dongxi yang kao meiyue tongji zhuan* 東西洋考每月統紀傳 [East western monthly magazine], Singapore 1833–1837. It was succeeded by the *Xiaer guan zhen* 遐邇貫珍 [parallel title: *The Chinese Serial*], Hong Kong between 1853 and 1856. This in turn was followed by the *Liuhe congtan* 六合叢談 [parallel title: *Shanghae Serial*] (1857–1861), the *Zhong xi wenjian lu* 中西聞見錄 [News from China and the West] (1872–1875) and the *Gezhi huibian* 格致彙編 [parallel title: *Chinese Scientific and Industrial Magazine*] (1876–1882, 1890–1892).

while constitute the sometimes very stubborn counter-texts for the “new” knowledge, which had their own claims to relevance. Up to this time, Chinese encyclopaedic reference works had come in two types.¹⁵ The first addressed itself to men of letters and had often been compiled for the benefit of the dauphin as a source of learned quotation and conversation.¹⁶ Rather than offering definitions and information of their own, these works merely used writings transmitted from the past as their source. They thus drew explicitly on authority rather than first-hand evidence for the reliability of their entries. They grouped quotations under the relevant headings (such as ‘dream’), which they then organized according to the triad heaven, earth and man. A table of contents secured easy location within this familiar taxonomy.¹⁷ These works had their own standards of relevance and usefulness, which were largely framed by the Imperial Examination system, which not only tested successful rote learning, but also, at times, the capacity to apply classical knowledge to contemporary problems. None of these *leishu*, however, contained substantial information about the world at large, be it the geography, the religion, the military, the political institutions, the arts or the customs of foreign lands. The same is true for new fields of knowledge and their applications, such as science and technology, which were developing elsewhere. For centuries, China had extensive commercial contacts with East and Southeast Asia as well as with the Middle and Near East and the West. China exported china, tea and silk on a truly industrial scale. These exports were paid for, however, with silver and not exchanged for goods. Accordingly, little need was seen for a broader knowledge of other countries.

The gigantic *Collection of Texts and Illustrations, Old and New*, Gu jin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成, in 10,000 chapters, which was printed under imperial sponsorship in 1726–28 for the top echelon in only 60 copies with many illustrations, may be said to be the crowning achievement of this genre. Eventually it even had its day in the modern and international sun, when the Shenbaoguan 申報館 publishing house in Shanghai under its manager Ernest Major democratized it by republishing it in 1,500 copies in 1884, and when the Qing Office for Foreign Affairs, Zongli Yamen (or Tsung-li Yamen) 總理衙門, ordered copies of another Shanghai reprint from the early 1890s to be used as gifts to leading foreign universities as a summary of China’s glorious achievements in the arts and

¹⁵ A fine exhibition on the Eurasian history of this genre since the earliest times was organized by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in 1996–7. It came with a rich catalogue. Roland Schaer, ed., 1996. *Tous les savoirs du monde: encyclopédies et bibliothèques, de Sumer au XXI^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1996). There is a large literature on the history of pre-modern Chinese encyclopaedias.

¹⁶ The standard example for this is the early work by Wei Zheng 魏征 (580–643), comp., *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 [Essentials of governance from all books] (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan, 1981).

¹⁷ The available alternatives were organization by rhyme or by the radical of the character with which the word was written. Neither of these would have been easier to use.

sciences.¹⁸ This traditional genre with its ties to an educational system of book learning was gradually sidelined, however, by the new encyclopaedias of modern—and largely Western—knowledge with their claim to practical usefulness under the new circumstances. It is to these works that the present volume is devoted.

The second type of Chinese encyclopaedic works, which only started to flourish in the Ming dynasty, was a commercial enterprise that had a more popular clientele and offered practical, useful, and much more condensed information about a very broad band of daily concerns. These works, the best known of which is the *Complete Book of Myriad Gems*, *Wanbao quanshu* 萬寶全書, combined authoritative quotation with newly written text, and were published in ever-updated, revised, or pirated versions.¹⁹ They continued to be printed up into the Republican period, and only faded out of sight on the arrival of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, *Riyong baike quanshu* 日用百科全書 of the Shanghai Commercial Press in 1919 with its very explicit and practical agenda to provide models for modern everyday behavior and knowledge.²⁰ Since they did not claim the high ground of elite knowledge, encyclopaedic works such as the *Complete Book* were no competition for the new works with their Western-derived knowledge.

Since the early 1860s, some men such as Feng Guifen 馮桂芬 (1809–1874) had started to probe whether there was something like a system that held the diverse elements together, and which had resulted in the ability of a small island like Britain to project its power worldwide and even into the Chinese domain.²¹ Perhaps Western superiority rested on an integrated ‘modernization package.’ The only way to overcome the resulting asymmetry of power was a massive effort to acquire the key competences contained in this package. There was no support from the Chinese court for large-scale translations of Western encyclopaedias in the manner the Meiji government had already supported the translation of Chambers’s *Information for the People* during the 1870s; and there were as yet no Chinese men of letters with enough experience and foreign-language training to be able to conceive systematic encyclopaedias of their own, as had been done by Nishi Amane 西周

¹⁸ Chen Menglei 陳夢雷 and Jiang Tingxi 江廷錫 *et al.*, comp. *Qin ding Gujin tushu jicheng* 欽定古今圖書集成 [Collection of texts and illustrations, old and new]. 1725. Reprint, Shanghai: Tushu jicheng, 1884. Lionel Giles, *An Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopedia* (London: British Museum, 1911) provides some background on the arrival of this gift in London. Among the libraries to receive a set were those of Columbia University and the University of Leipzig.

¹⁹ Wu Huifang 吳蕙芳, *Wan bao quan shu: Ming Qing shiqi de minjian shenghuo shilu* 萬寶全書：明清時期的民間生活實錄 [Wanbao quanshu: A truthful record of everyday life in the Ming and Qing periods] (Taipei: Guoli Zhengzhi daxue lishi xuexi, 2001).

²⁰ Wang Yanlun 王言綸 (chief editor), Chen Duo 陳鐸, Zhou Yueran 周越然, Liu Dashen 劉大紳, Zhuang Shi 莊適, Ping Hailan 平海瀾 and Tang Jinggao 唐敬皋, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu* 日用百科全書 [parallel English title: *Everyday Cyclopaedia*], 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1919).

²¹ Feng Guifen 馮桂芬, *Jiaobinlu kangyi* 校邠廬抗議 [Counterproposals from the Jiaobin studio] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2002).

(1829–1897) in Japan as early as 1869, upon his return from Leiden University.²² There were, however, an increasing number of foreigners literate in Chinese and Chinese men of letters who were publishing on their own initiative systematic presentations of certain fields of knowledge that were based in part on Western encyclopaedic entries, and were in any case presented in the format and language of subsections of a cohesive body of rational modern knowledge.

During the next decades up until the 1890s, the efforts to present this crucial ‘modernization package’ to Chinese readers thus had to do the second-best thing short of publishing a comprehensive encyclopaedia: publishing book collections with as many fully developed ‘encyclopaedic’ entries as could be found in Chinese from either foreign or Chinese hands, and that were considered useful at the given time by the given authors and readers. These would be published under titles such as *Collection of Excerpts on Foreign Affairs*, *Yangwu congchao* 洋務叢鈔 (1884), with 11 works dealing with military, geographical and political information deemed useful in light of an assessment that the main problem was an inferiority in military technology²³; or *Sixteen Works of Basic Western Learning*, *Xixue qimeng shiliu zhong* 西學啓蒙十六種 (1885). This latter work, which had been compiled and translated by Joseph Edkins, already offered a grouping of texts into fields of knowledge with a focus on geography and science, which “enrich the state and foster the people,” as well as outlines of Greek, Roman and European history, selected with an assessment that the problem was more fundamental and also required new knowledge in science, effective governance and successful models of governance from foreign history in a taxonomy similar to that of *Information for the People*.²⁴ The word for ‘modern’ knowledge was then ‘Western’ and, after it had become more globally shared, ‘new’ knowledge. Indeed, these collections did not include works based on traditional Chinese authorities. If they dealt with China at all, they did so from a foreign perspective. They must rightly be included in the category “encyclopaedic works,” even though they do not cover the whole range of a comprehensive encyclopaedia.

The first more encompassing encyclopaedic work to appear in China and in Chinese, the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs*, *Xishi leibian* 西事類編 in two vols., which was published in 1887 by the Shenbaoguan publishing house, was geared to a very specific purpose, namely providing useful and relevant factual information to members of the young Chinese diplomatic service who were going

²² The various drafts and versions of his work, which refers to encyclopaedia by the term *hyakugaku renkan* 百學連環 (an etymologically correct translation of the word encyclopaedia) are published in *Nishi Amane zenshū* 西周全集 [Collected works of Nishi Amane], ed. Ōkubo Toshiaki 大久保利謙, vol. 1 (Tōkyō: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1945). They were not subsequently reprinted in his collected works.

²³ Zhang Shusheng 張樹聲, *Yangwu congchao*. 16 vols. (Shanghai: Dunhuaitang 1884).

²⁴ Ai Yuese 艾約瑟 [= Joseph Edkins], comp. and trans., *Xixue qimeng shiliu zhong* (Shanghai: Tushu jicheng shuju, 1885). We have not seen an edition of this year, and this date is based on that of the preface. It was reprinted in 1896 and 1898.

abroad for the first time.²⁵ This work took the diaries of the first Chinese ambassadors abroad as its principal source, extracted all relevant factual information about the West from them, and added systematic information after each entry to supplement the often anecdotal tit-bits from the diaries. It was a breakthrough in several respects. First, it was based on Chinese reports of current, first-hand observations, supplemented by a summary presentation from the compiler that again did not rely on the authority of some ancient author, but on up-to-date evidence available from other sources, such as translated books and newspaper articles, with the same claim to first-hand observation and analysis. Second, while its title still used the old genre marker *lei* 類, which indicates the encyclopaedic scheme of organizing knowledge into categories, it abandoned the inherited taxonomy of knowledge used by earlier Chinese encyclopaedic works with the heaven/earth/man triad as their basis.²⁶ Instead, it grouped the information about the West, *Information-for-the-People*-style, under 16 headings arranged in the order in which they would be useful to a diplomat and his staff. It started off with information about travel overseas, the basics of international law relating to foreign relations, and the ceremonies at the foreign court that had to be followed. From then on, the chapters went systematically through those elements about which an ambassador was expected to have a knowledge and be able to gather information. These range from taxes and money to military preparedness, arts and sciences, buildings, talent selection, commerce, religion, and manufacture. In keeping with their pertinence, the two small volumes waxed long on state institutions, social customs and industry, but were short on science. Many of the taxonomic categories they used were adopted by later Chinese encyclopaedic works. The preface from a different hand than the author's highlights the difference to earlier works regarding foreign countries, saying that they were largely based on hearsay, and full of mistakes.²⁷ Third, while not making the claim that knowledge about things Chinese was in any way irrelevant, its exclusive focus on knowledge about the world, and about the West in particular, marked a new hierarchy of relevance at this time and place.

This new hierarchy of relevance and usefulness did not remain uncontested. The 1890 *Records of the Essence of Science*, *Gezhi jinghua lu* 格致精華錄, that came with a proud preface by Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909) and the claim that Western science and government institutions all had their origins in China, made a

²⁵ Shen Chun (Cuisheng) 沈純 (粹生), *Xishi leibian*, 16 *juan* in 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, 1887).

²⁶ While this triad also represents a philosophical understanding of the relationship between the cosmos and society, it had long lost its philosophical vibrancy and become a taxonomic scheme. Other taxonomies were available from early on, for example in the catalogues for the Imperial Library since the Western Han dynasty. Encyclopaedic works that continued with a strong China focus, such as the 1889 *Comprehensive Summary of the Imperial Library*, *Cefu tongzong* 策府統宗, started with a sequence taken from book catalogues, followed by one of the government ministries, and ended with astronomy and geography. Cai Mei'an 蔡梅庵, comp., *Cefu tongzong* (Shanghai: Hongwen shuju, 1889).

²⁷ Cheng Xianchao 程咸焯, "Xu" 序 [preface], in Shen Chun, *Xishi leibian*, 1

point by following the heaven/earth/man taxonomy and relegating Western scholarship, law and government to the margin after the birds, the fishes, and the plants.²⁸

Besides these more comprehensive encyclopaedic collections or works, translations or new presentations of encyclopaedic segments such as international law or economy continued.²⁹

The ‘downward’ diffusion of useful knowledge pioneered by the English-language encyclopaedic enterprises was now extended to include diffusion among new audiences abroad. In both cases these works were expected to provide their readers not just with a systematic presentation of fields which they were already largely familiar with from their general education, but with basic and systematic information that was not new, but new to them. The locus of the agency, however, has to be specified. On the British Isles, encyclopaedia publishing was part of a betterment agenda of elite members associated with enlightenment values, but the success of their enterprise was ultimately decided by readers who found their work useful enough to subscribe to and make use of. The agency on the other hand in the transfer of the genre and its information to East Asia was all in the hands of local elites with strong foreign exposure but with no role whatsoever played by, for example, the English or Scottish publishers. These East Asian local elites had in turn espoused an enlightenment agenda very similar to their English and Scottish counterparts, albeit mostly with the aim of overcoming the painful asymmetry in power relations between the West and China at that time. But the impact and success of the enterprise of these cultural brokers was again ultimately decided by people totally unconnected with the compilation, but willing to buy, read, and use the knowledge provided.

As the assumption spread that Western wealth and power resulted from a cohesive modernization package, the acquisition of which would be crucial if China was ever to close the gap, the encyclopaedia of modern/Western knowledge was increasingly seen as containing the key ingredients of this package in well-organized form. The new encyclopaedia was thus a reflection of the presumably

²⁸ Jiang Biao 江標, comp., *Gezhi jinghua lu- houfu - Deguo yiyuan zhangcheng, Deguo hemeng jishe benmo* 格致精華錄·後附：德國議院章程；德國合盟紀事本末 [Records of the essence of science. Appendices: statutes of the German parliament. Record of Germany forming a federal state] (Shanghai?: 1890). The story of these taxonomic battles remains yet to be written. Zhang Zhidong was a high-ranking official at the time who maintained, against those advocating the “Western” model, that the “Chinese essence” had to be kept while one should make use of practical contraptions from the West.

²⁹ The translations of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. article “International Law” by Edmund Robertson and the volume *Political Economy, for Use in Schools, and for Private Instruction* (Edinburgh: 1852), which was a part of Chambers’s Educational Series, which itself tried to break down highly condensed encyclopaedia articles into easily digestible reading matter, were both included in Zhang Yinhan 張蔭桓, ed., *Xixue fuqiang congshu* 西學富強叢書 [Collection of books of Western learning [to make the state] rich and powerful] (Shanghai: Hongwen shuju, 1896). This work in 48 volumes tried to assemble all information relevant for making the nation “rich and powerful,” including volumes on such fields as mathematics and mining.

consistent approach and cohesive content of this package as well as a handy tool for familiarizing oneself with it through self-study. With schools, academies and other institutions that could teach this dispensation being already rare in the Treaty Ports and absent in the rest of China, an increasing number of men of letters inside and outside of government service perceived a national crisis that might be solved with the help of encyclopaedic modern knowledge. This knowledge would also present new career options, and thus a market opened for compilations of Chinese-language encyclopaedias of modern/Western knowledge that clearly was fuelled by reports about the veritable encyclopaedia industry that was springing up not only in the West, but also in Japan, from whence the Chinese name for the genre was eventually taken.³⁰

The Chinese defeat in the war with Japan in 1895 was a watershed in the assessment of ‘Western’ or ‘new’ knowledge among many Chinese men of letters. The steep increase in the number of Chinese encyclopaedic works that reprinted previously existing summary presentations of fields of modern and useful knowledge after 1895 shows the urgency and timeliness which this type of knowledge now assumed. The 1896 *Collection of Books of Western Learning [to Make the State] Rich and Powerful*, *Xixue fuqiang congshu* 西學富強叢書, came with a preface by none other than Li Hongzhang, the highest-ranking government official at the time. He had just signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki with the Japanese and was obviously making a point about the cause of China’s defeat. In a taxonomy that harked back to the 1890 work with the preface by Zhang Zhidong, this work started with mathematics, electricity and chemistry, but even when it subsequently dealt with heaven and earth, this was Western astronomy and geology, all of which was geared to the goal of overcoming the asymmetry in power between the modern

³⁰ The Japanese translation of the Chambers’s *Information for the People*, which had been sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, was published in separate installments between 1875 and 1885. The earlier installments used the 4th edition of 1857, the later parts the 5th edition, which had been published in 1874–75. A study on this translation can be found in Fukukama Tatsuo 福鎌達夫, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū* 明治初期百科全書の研究 [Studies of early Meiji encyclopaedias] (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1968). This translation did not use the term ‘hyakugaku renkan 百學連環 Encyclopaedia’ originally proposed by Nishi Amane, but pioneered the translation *Hyakka zensho* 百科全書 for encyclopaedia. This was adopted in China in the late 1890s. In 1896, Timothy Richard still used the descriptive formula “a category-book in which articles by different authors were collected” (有彙刊之類書) to render the reference to Diderot’s *Grande Encyclopédie*—“...the men of letters combined to produce an Encyclopaedia ..”—in his translation of Robert Mackenzie’s *The 19th Century. A History* (London: T. Nelson & Co., 1880), 14. *Taixi xinshi lanyao* 泰西新史攔要 [A sketch of the recent history of the West] tr. Li Timotai 李提摩太 [= Timothy Richard]. Revised by Cai Erkang 蔡爾康 (Shanghai: Mei Hua shuguan, 1898), *juan* 1, 5b. In 1908, a biography of d’Alembert excerpted from *Chambers’s Biographical Dictionary* on the suggestion of Richards, used the term *tushu jicheng* 圖書集成—familiar from the recently reprinted Chinese encyclopaedia by that name—for the *Grande Encyclopédie*. Zhangboer 張伯爾 (Chambers), *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe* 世界名人傳略 [Brief biographies of notables worldwide] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1908), *zhuan* si D 傳四 [D biographies 4], 1.

nations in the West and the East by making China “rich and powerful.”³¹ These works denoted their usefulness for contemporary political affairs in their titles. A good example is the 1897 *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs*, Shiwu tongkao 時務通考.³² This encyclopaedic work also retained the old taxonomy, but the entries had shifted beyond recognition. The section on “heaven” went into great detail about different Chinese and Western systems of establishing a calendar and came out in favor of the Western system. The geography section mostly dealt with “Asia” and “Europe”.

A growing asymmetry in information had developed vis-à-vis Western countries, which were eagerly accumulating increasingly specific and verifiable encyclopaedic as well as particular knowledge about China—right down to plants, birds and waterways³³—while there had been little move to acquire similar levels of knowledge about the West in China. By the latter third of the nineteenth century, it had become a widely, if uneasily, shared assumption among members of the Chinese elite that such public knowledge—which by now was shared on an increasingly global level—was needed because some foreign countries derived wealth and power from their technical devices, their political set-up, their state of being “civilized,” and their levels of information. This new and Western knowledge did not stop at China’s door. It came not just with a new conceptual taxonomy that translated into newly-formed key terms and terminologies in Chinese, together with new scientific and technical knowledge as well as the institutions that conveyed, managed and translated them into practice. It also came with the challenge that China might need a new history, new government institutions, and a new knowledge about herself down to religious beliefs, mineral resources, and statistical data. The sections in the new encyclopaedic works dealing with China focused increasingly on this new knowledge, for which they drew on writings by a body of cultural brokers familiar and conversant with both sides.

Together with an increasingly acerbic assessment by many authors of the capability of the existing officialdom to meet these challenges with the classical education they had received, came proposals to establish, at the very least, a fast track to government positions for people equipped with some of this new, modern

³¹ Zhang Yinhan, ed., *Xixue fuqiang congshu* 西學富強叢書 [Collection of books of Western learning [to make the state] rich and powerful] (Shanghai: Hongwen shuju, 1896).

³² Qilu zhuren 杞廬主人, comp., *Shiwu tongkao*, 31 *juan* in 24 vols. (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1897).

³³ To give just two examples: for birds, see Armand David, M. E. Oustalet, *Les Oiseaux de la Chine* (Paris: G. Masson, 1877); and for waterways, Charles Henry Clarke Langdon, ed. *The China Sea Directory, COMPRISING THE COASTS OF CHINA FROM HONG KONG TO THE KOREA; NORTH COAST OF LUZON, FORMOSA ISLAND AND STRAIT; THE BABUYAN, BASHEE, AND MEIACO SIMA GROUPS. YELLOW SEA, GULFS OF PE-CHILI AND LIAU-TUNG. ALSO THE RIVERS CANTON, WEST, MIN, YUNG, YANGTSE, YELLOW, PEI HO, AND LIAU HO; AND PRATAS ISLAND*, which was in its third revised edition by 1896. The part of the latter dealing with the Chinese coast was eventually translated into Chinese and published in 1900, see Chen Shoupeng 陳壽彭, trans., *Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi* 中國江海險要圖志 [Atlas of strategic locations of rivers and seas of China] (Guangdong: Guangya shuju, 1907).

and specialized knowledge. Such a track was already opened earlier for aspiring diplomats, but demands for it became clamorous in 1898. With this, an assumption gained ground that knowledge about the world at large and even some basic science was an important qualifier for an official career. This new knowledge was articulated in modern Western notions that were being reconfigured in China and Japan with a variety of Chinese character compounds. The concepts themselves were new, and to complicate things further, the same concept often came in several different characters. The result was a fundamental transformation of the conceptual order of things accompanied by great turbulence, not just in the objects of knowledge, but also in the instruments for its articulation. As yet there were no schools and academies to convey this new knowledge apart from the Christian missionary schools and the military arsenals with their foreign technicians. Under these conditions there was a rapidly-growing market for printed encyclopaedic works of new and modern knowledge for home study, as well as for reference works providing reliable information on concepts and terminologies; there was a small group of people with the qualifications to meet this demand; there was some official patronage; there was the technology of lithography that would allow the speedy publication of massive works at modest prices; and there was the burgeoning media center of the Shanghai International Settlement outside the jurisdiction of the court, but with the nationwide book distribution network throughout the Chinese-reading world pioneered by the Shenbaoguan.

Segments of encyclopaedic knowledge relevant to modernity were now also spread throughout China with the new advocacy papers pioneered by Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929).³⁴ While making great efforts to abide by the sober and rational rhetoric of presenting verifiable and relevant facts (and never acknowledging the voracious copying done from Japanese writers), these articles were often framed by cries of despair. While these cries served to mark the critical importance of the new knowledge, they were also part of a fierce battle with the silent counter-text of what Liang Qichao saw as entrenched opinion and corrupt practice.

Among the individual articles introducing such segmental information, we find a sketch of the life of Denis Diderot of the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* fame,³⁵ in which the “*Encyclopédie*” is

³⁴ Before the beginning of the Qing government’s ‘Reform of Governance,’ Xinzheng 新政, phase in 1901, these would be the *Shiwu bao* 時務報 [*The Chinese progress*] (1896–1898), its successor *Changyan bao* 昌言報 [Open words] (1898 July–October), *Qingyi bao* 清議報 [parallel title: *The China Discussion*] (1898–1901), *Zhixin bao* 知新報 [parallel title: *The Reformer*] (1897–1900), and *Kazhi lu* 開智錄 [parallel title: *The Wisdom Guide*] (1900–1901). Their number alone indicates the energy that went into propagating new types of concepts and knowledge. Their titles were programmatic, and the English titles in brackets starting with capital letters are part of the official names of these papers.

³⁵ The biographical sketch of Diderot is a translation of the respective section by Feng Ziyou 馮自由 as *Faguo geming shi* 法國革命史 [History of the French Revolution] in *Kaizhi lu* 4, 1900, 71–73. For other early references to Diderot in late Qing writings, see Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環, “Jindai zuizao baikē quanshu de bianyi yu Qing mo wenxian zhong de Dideluo” 近代最早百科全書的編譯與清末文獻中的狄德羅 [The compilation of the first modern encyclopaedia and Diderot in late Qing writings], *Fudan xuebao* (*Shehui kexue ban*), no. 3 (1998): 47–52.

translated, as in the Japanese original from which this sketch is translated, with the neologism *xueshu leidian* 學術類典 or ‘classified handbook for science and the arts.’ Liang Qichao himself was very much aware of the fact that many of his own newspaper writings had the character of encyclopaedia entries, and his writings were perceived in this manner. A Singapore journalist and doctor, Lim Boon Keng (Lin Wenqing 林文慶), writing in the *Singapore Free Press* under the pseudonym Wen Ching, summed up the writings of both Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao in the section “The Chinese Encyclopaedists” in his 1901 *The Chinese Crisis from Within*, saying:

He became the leader of a new school, which we may compare with the *Parti des Philosophes*, headed by Voltaire and kept agoing by the energetic D’Alembert, in the critical years of French history prior to the Great Revolution.

Liang Qichao’s *Shiwu bao* newspaper, in which many of these entries were published, was

therefore conceived in the same spirit that, more than a century ago, inspired the great Diderot, as Carlyle calls him, to join D’Alembert in editing the immortal *Encyclopédie*, that storehouse of freethought [sic] and revolutionary ideas, which heralded the most momentous changes in the social and political history of Europe. Kang Yu Wei and his colleagues may thus be called the Chinese Encyclopaedists, although the encyclopaedia, which they had sketched in outline, was never completed.³⁶

The subversive potential of a systematically presented new body of useful knowledge for the established practices of thinking and acting was well known and appreciated by Chinese men of letters in this period of rapid change, in which the borderlines between reform and revolution were far more diffuse than they appear in retrospect.

Once the cohabitation between the court and reformers such as Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei ended with the Empress Dowager’s coup in 1898 and their exile, there was a widening in the gap between the court and the increasingly self-assertive Jiangnan public intellectuals, who were connected with one another, and with overseas communities through the Shanghai contact zone and its press. But it didn’t become an abyss. When the foreign powers occupied Peking in 1900 after the Boxer and Muslim attacks on the Legation Quarter, the Manchu Court ceded to pressures from high Han-Chinese officials and went back with some reluctance, in 1901, to the ‘Reform of Governance,’ *xinzheng* 新政, policies, which it had aborted in 1898.³⁷ Conditions were now right for a second and higher peak in the

³⁶ Wen Ching, “The Chinese Encyclopaedists,” in Wen Ching, *The Chinese Crisis from Within*, ed. Rev. G. M. Reith (London: Grant Richards, 1901), 42 and 44. For the identification of this author, who is known from many other books and as the editor of newspapers such as the *Straits Times* and *Chinese Nation*, see Clive J. Christie, *Ideology and Revolution in Southeast Asia 1900–1980* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), 17.

³⁷ For background on this period, see Douglas Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1993); Douglas Reynolds, ed. tr., *China 1895–1912: state-sponsored reforms and China’s late-Qing revolution* (Armonk: Sharpe, 1995); Wang Xiaohu 王晓秋, Shang Xiaoming 尚小明, eds.,

publication of encyclopaedic works of new, modern and western knowledge. It was clear, whether accepted by the court or not, that the reform of governance would have to include wide-sweeping changes in government, education, the military and state–society relations, and not merely the purchase of some military hardware and mining equipment. The complete abolition of the Imperial Examination system in 1905 shifted the vast book market of useful knowledge completely away from the material used in preparation for the Imperial Examinations and towards handy works of new knowledge.

Liang Qichao was among the first to sense that the wind was changing in 1901 and that a new chance for reforms was coming. For this, the power of encyclopaedias to ‘change people’s thinking’, as Diderot had hoped, was urgently needed. Liang directly prepared a collection of the ‘encyclopaedic’ entries he himself had written during the previous years. He published it in Chinese in Shanghai 1903 and—for the numerous Chinese students in Japan—in Tokyo 1904. Both came with the encyclopaedic genre marker *lei*.³⁸ Liang’s 14 categories of useful knowledge range from politics, education, history, geography and travelogues to his science fiction novels about the future of China and the world. He was not alone. The prefaces of quite a few of the new encyclopaedic works explicitly refer to the 1901 ‘Reform of Governance’ edict as their anchor for relevance and official acceptance.³⁹

The numbers of new or reprinted encyclopaedic works in Chinese in our bibliography—nearly all published in Shanghai—indicate the very tight relationship between encyclopaedia publishing and the political environment. Between 1870 and 1894, about one such work was published each year. Immediately on the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and the gradual speeding-up of reform discussions and policies, the numbers went up.

Wuxu weixin yu Qing mo xinzheng: wan Qing gaige shi yanjiu 戊戌維新與清末新政：晚清改革史研究 [The Hundred Days Reform and the Reform of Governance of the Late Qing: Studies in the history of Late Qing reform] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998). Tan Ruqian 譚汝謙, *Jindai Zhong Ri wenhua guanxi yanjiu* 近代中日文化關係研究 [Studies on the cultural relations between China and Japan in the modern period] (Hong Kong: Xianggang Riben yanjiusuo, 1988).

³⁸ Liang Qichao 梁啟超, *Chong ding fenlei yinbingshi wenji quanbian* 重訂分類飲冰室文集全編 [Newly revised complete works from the Icedrinker’s Studio arranged according to categories] (Shanghai: Guangyi shuju, 1903). This edition was reprinted a year later in Japan as *Yinbingshi wenji leibian* 飲冰室文集類編 [Works from the Icedrinker’s Studio arranged according to categories] (Tokyo: Shimokōbe Hangorō, 1904). We had access only to the Japanese edition, which is on the National Diet Library website.

³⁹ See Chen Shuzhu 陳洙珠, “Xu” 序 [preface], in Qian Xun 錢恂, comp., *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao* 五洲各國政治考 (Shanghai: 1901), 1a; Chen Wenzhu 陳文洙, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in Yishu hui zhuren 譯書會主人, comp. *Zhong wai zhengyi cefu tongzong* 中外政藝策府統宗 [Comprehensive summary of imperial examinations about government and technical learning in China and foreign countries] (Shanghai: Zhong wai yishu hui, 1901), 1b; Zhouqing jushi 籀頤居士 (= Sun Yirang 孫詒讓), “Pingdian Zhouli zhengyao xu” 評點周禮政要序 [Preface to the interpunctuated and annotated edition of the *Zhouli zhengyao*], in Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, *Pingdian Zhouli zhengyao* 評點周禮政要 (Shanghai: Rixin tushuju, 1902), 1; Yu Yue 俞樾, untitled preface, in *Xinxue da congshu* 新學大叢書 (Shanghai: Jishan qiaojì shuju, 1903), 1.

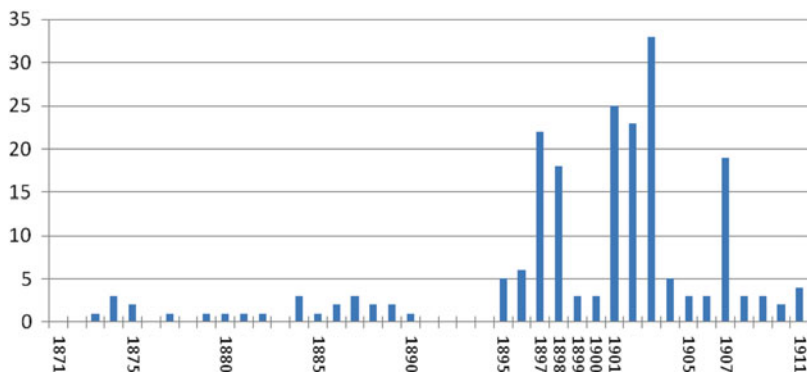


Fig. 1 Numbers of Chinese-language encyclopaedic works of new knowledge printed and reprinted 1871–1911. Data based on Rudolf Wagner, *Bibliography of Chinese Encyclopaedic Works 1840–1937*, status: March 2012

They dropped steeply after the coup that ended the 100-Days Reform in the fall of 1898 and brought about the Boxer disaster, but immediately picked up after the ‘Reform of Governance’ edict in 1901. Numbers then went down, picked up again when the plans for a constitution were announced in 1906, and stayed then at two to four per annum for the remaining years of the dynasty (Fig. 1).

There was a sizeable gain in professionalism, however, as new encyclopaedic dictionaries started to come out. A large number of publishers were involved and competed in this market, but none of them gained the upper hand. The succeeding decades until the mid-1930s saw the Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshuguan) gain dominance of the encyclopaedia market by concentrating talent and money in a very small number of encyclopaedic ventures of high professional quality. The initial plans of the Guomindang, after gaining national ascendancy in 1928, to crown the new nationhood with a full-scale Chinese encyclopaedia were reduced to naught by civil war and Japanese military intervention, which also destroyed the plant of the Commercial Press together with the finished manuscript of a revised *Everyday Cyclopaedia*.

In the early phase of the ‘Reform of Governance,’ we see a flurry of reprints of works from the first phase, but for new works the more developed Japanese encyclopaedic works were an important and readily available source for the rapidly-growing number of Chinese conversant with Japanese texts. Some could now also draw on English language encyclopaedias both for their own information and for the compilation of Chinese-language works. The study of encyclopaedic knowledge during the late Qing and Republican periods will therefore have to abandon the cherished idea that it only involves the study of Chinese-language materials.⁴⁰ Japanese encyclopaedic works are the most important source for all of

⁴⁰ This aspect still needs more careful study. While the efforts to sell the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* to Chinese in China did not meet with much success, which might have to do with the price, we see special, modestly-priced editions of the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* and the *Encyclopedia of Religion* advertised in Chinese papers during the 1920s.

the new 1903 Chinese works of this type (only during the Republican period did English-language works start to dominate). Among the new works published in Chinese we find the very concise and sophisticated encyclopaedic dictionary *The New Erya*, *Xin Erya* 新爾雅, which for the first time provided systematic definitions in Chinese for the key concepts in 14 fields of knowledge, such as state, law, economy, logic, science or botany, on a bare 175 printed pages.⁴¹ At the same time we find the massive *Great Book Collection of New Knowledge*, *Xinxue da congshu* 新學大叢書, of “famous Chinese and Japanese works selected for their relevance for the management of the state today in translation” and the promise that only the “most up-to-date translations [from the Japanese]” and the “most up-to-date [Chinese] works” would be used. Its ten key concepts, *gang* 綱, such as ‘government and law,’ *zheng fa* 政法, ‘finance,’ *licai* 理財, or ‘philosophy,’ *zhexue* 哲學, all used the latest translation terminology from Japan and brazenly included signed entries from the banned Liang Qichao.⁴² It was matched in volume by the 100 volumes of the *Compiled and Translated Encyclopaedia for General Education*, *Bianyi putong jiaoyu baike quanshu* 編譯普通教育百科全書 (1903), which popularized the new Japanese term for encyclopaedia, *hyakka zensho* (Chinese: *baike quanshu*) 百科全書, in China, and consisted entirely of sometimes abbreviated translations from the Japanese *Imperial Encyclopaedia*, *Teikoku hyakka zensho* 帝國百科全書, and the *Complete Anthology of Answers to Questions on General Sciences*, *Futsūgaku mondō zensho* 普通學問答全書, from the Fuzanbō 富山房 publishing house, who played a role in Japanese encyclopaedia publishing comparable to that of Chambers in Scotland.⁴³

For the next years until the abdication of the dynasty in 1912, encyclopaedia developments in China continued along the two tracks that had been consolidated since 1901, namely compilations of systematic and factual information on the one hand, and efforts to overcome the terminological confusion through precise definitions of the new key concepts and terminologies in the style of an encyclopaedic dictionary. The massive and uncoordinated creation and spread of new concepts in the entire range from “historical epoch” or “nation” to “antipodal cells” created a situation where precise definitions of the subject under discussion became a crucial condition for understanding the information conveyed. The lack of encyclopaedic dictionaries of the type pioneered by the *Xin Erya* was keenly felt. The key to the 1907 *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History*, *Bowu dacidian* 博物大辭典, which offers definitions of the terminology of botany, starts: “Scholarly circles in China today only have character dictionaries, *zidian* 字典, but no

⁴¹ Wang Rongbao 王榮寶 and Ye Lan 葉瀾, comps., *Xin Erya* 新爾雅 [The New Erya] (Shanghai: Guoxue she, 1903).

⁴² *Xinxue da congshu*, 32 vols. (Shanghai: Jishan qiaoji shuju, 1903). An example for a signed entry from Liang Qichao is his “Zhongguo zhuanzhi zhengti jinhua shi lun” 中國專制政體進化史論 [On the evolution of the Chinese autocratic system], at the commencement of Chap. 2. It is signed Ren Gong 任公, a standard name used by Liang.

⁴³ Fan Diji 范迪吉, ed., *Bianyi putong jiaoyu baike quanshu*, 100 *juan* in 100 vols. (Shanghai: Huiwen xueshe, 1903).

terminological dictionaries, *cidian* 辭典. Since translations are widely circulated, a need has been felt to publish a general terminological dictionary to facilitate their perusal. The present work is designed as a reference work for teachers and students when reading books.”⁴⁴ Since these did not give a systematic presentation of the entire field under question, but only a quick definition of a term one might find in such a presentation, itemized forms of taxonomy were used, namely the arrangement according to the number of strokes of the first character of the (normally multi-character) term one might find in a work of new knowledge.

Huang Ren 黃人 (Huang Moxi) launched a major polemic against the terminological chaos that he felt still prevailed by way of a preface to his huge *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* (1911). This is not a series of terminological handbooks for different fields of knowledge, but a comprehensive terminological dictionary. He took the next logical step by putting all the terms into a single and purely formal taxonomy, in which they are lined up according to the number of strokes of the first character, but he added a taxonomical contents list by adding a classifier to the terms that indicated to which of the 14 fields of knowledge the term belonged. In quite a few cases, he goes one step further by adding information about the origin of a term.⁴⁵ Given the foreign origin of most of the terms, both works included the source terms in Japanese, English, or both.

The wealth of information made available to literate and largely urban Chinese through these encyclopaedic works of new knowledge, together with the increasing sophistication of the terminological dictionaries, prompts us to reassess the degree of familiarity that Chinese elites had with “the world” during these decades. While certainly no match in quantity and quality to the Japanese encyclopaedic works, the volume and quality of encyclopaedic knowledge available in China was certainly far beyond the range hitherto acknowledged by scholarship.

During this first decade of the twentieth century, new schools, academies, and universities were springing up with teachers and students eager to get a quick grasp of the prized new knowledge, make a career, and save their country. While in the beginning the encyclopaedias were the natural shortcut to new knowledge, gradually a body of people developed who needed and had a more specialized knowledge than these encyclopaedias could offer. The market dried up, few new encyclopaedias appeared, while work on high quality terminological dictionaries such as the *The Source of Words*, *Ci yuan* 辭源 (1916) continued, but only reached the publishing stage during the first decade of the Republic.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Zeng Pu 曾朴 and Xu Nianci 徐念慈, eds., *Bowu dacidian* (Shanghai: Hongwen, 1907), 1. This was to be the first of a series, and the next two, on law and physics, were already advertised at the back.

⁴⁵ A fine example is his note on the origin of the term *jingji* 經濟 in a Japanese phonetic mix-up. See the study by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume.

⁴⁶ Lu Erkui 陸爾奎, *Ci yuan* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1916).

It was not until 1919 that the Commercial Press launched its first encyclopaedia, the *Everyday Cyclopeda*, *Riyong baike quanshu* 日用百科全書, which was to dominate the market throughout the Republican period. It was soon joined by specialized encyclopaedic dictionaries such as the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge*, *Xin wenhua cishu* 新文化辭書 (1923),⁴⁷ and the 1929 *Dictionary of Social Problems*, *Shehui wenti cidian* 社會問題辭典.⁴⁸ With the radical modernism of their perspective, content, and organization and the multilingual competence of their editors, they resolutely joined the “new culture” and rang the death knell for the works of the first generation. The older works faded from memory as quaint efforts from the past and the last gasps of a dying dynasty, marginalized even by historians of science. Only the recently growing interest in vernacular knowledge—including conceptual migrations, processes of translation and adaptation, and taxonomies of knowledge—has sharpened our understanding of the importance of this body of works. The studies presented here are the result.

Li Hsiao-t’i looks at the background and the political attitudes of the people involved in the compilation of these encyclopaedic works. The career paths of quite a few of these men show that since the Taiping War, lack of success in the Imperial Examinations did not necessarily mean a lowly existence as a local school teacher. In the large secretariats built up by the new Han-Chinese political leaders of the Foreign Affairs (*Yangwu*) current, new avenues opened, and these often led to careers in the new urban publishing center of Shanghai, in the new diplomatic service, and in the domain studied by Natascha Gentz, the newspapers. Eventually, study abroad provided a fast track to these new areas. The cultural capital on which these people relied was their competence about “Western” things. Their writings on the “new knowledge” of the world became an important source for the compilers of encyclopaedias, and led to increased professionalism in these works as well as to a host of new compilations after the Sino-Japanese War.

Natascha Gentz explores the links between the event-focused genre of newspaper reports and the encyclopaedic entries with their claim to long-term significance and reliability. She shows to what extent late Qing encyclopaedias of new knowledge drew upon newspapers as one of their sources of information, to what degree encyclopaedias themselves conveyed not a summary of available specialized knowledge but provided new knowledge, very much like newspapers, and how far journalists themselves became actively involved in encyclopaedia compilation.

Iwo Amelung’s study explores the link between the reforms in the Imperial Examination system and the publication of encyclopaedic works of new knowledge through a case study of one such work. This link opens up a whole new series of questions: What is the connection between the topical classifications of the

⁴⁷ Tang Jinggao 唐敬杲, comp., *Xin wenhua cishu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1923). It came with the interesting parallel English title *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge* (rather than new culture).

⁴⁸ Chen Shousun 陳綬蓀, comp., *Shehui wenti cidian* [parallel title: *Dictionary of Social Problems*] (Shanghai: Minzhi shuju, 1929).

reformed examinations and the order of things as presented in these encyclopaedic works; are the questions asked in the examinations keyed to the information presented in the encyclopaedias; is the continuing “textual” focus of the examinations responsible for the very textual manner in which the new knowledge is presented, a manner that involves abandoning the graphs and illustrations often contained in the sources; was the market for encyclopaedic works a creation of the reforms; should the new collections of statecraft essays, which were geared to the examination of new knowledge, be treated in the same category as the encyclopaedic works on which they largely drew; and finally, what conclusions does the negligible place accorded to traditional Chinese scholarly knowledge in these compilations suggest with regard to the perception of the strong cultural asymmetry prevailing in knowledge deemed relevant to the nation’s aspiration to become “rich and strong” and to securing the candidates’ success.

Encyclopaedia compilers have a long-seated habit of looking at their predecessors’ entries and copying them when they saw fit. Given the small windows for the publication of encyclopaedias of modern knowledge during the late Qing, the extreme time constraints they imposed on their editors, and the difficulty in assembling a staff of writers capable of covering all areas of knowledge, it was likely that entries were copied from other works of this kind. To test this assumption and see whether this led to a homogenization of views into shared commonplaces, **Rudolf Wagner** analyzes a selection of eight such works in the light of three questions: Where is the newspaper, and especially the privately-owned newspaper, in the late Qing order of things and to what degree did this new medium change the perception of state-society interaction; are these encyclopaedias reproducing a set of shared commonplaces by borrowing quotations; and to what degree were these features picked up in other genres, such as examination essays?

The Chinese encyclopaedic works did not simply interact with the content of Western learning and the form of Western encyclopaedias. They did so largely through the intermediary of Japanese translations and works. The migration of encyclopaedic forms of organization and content across languages and cultures is a large field that has barely been opened. **Douglas Reynolds** probes the social and intellectual conditions that facilitated a proactive and highly creative appropriation of useful encyclopaedic knowledge from the West in the context of the government-sponsored “Dutch Learning” of the Tokugawa period, which in its turn provided an excellent starting point for the Meiji reforms with their massive government-sponsored encyclopaedia projects. At the same time, he shows how a different set of social and intellectual conditions in China hampered the early efforts of individuals such as Huang Zunxian to provide a wide-ranging, fact-based understanding of the Japanese reforms and to open the door for a Japanese shortcut to Western learning.

From the outset, encyclopaedic reference works established a focus for their selection. This might be determined by the target audience, the purpose for which the work was to be used, or by subject matter. Among the latter, biographical dictionaries have a long tradition. With the late Qing transition, a flood of new names made their appearance in Chinese writings and translations from other

countries including sketches of their history, but there was no handy resource with information about the lives and labors of these individuals. The established Chinese genre of the biographical dictionary listing the famous members of the different clans continued with many reprints into the Republican period, but as no foreign name could contribute to the standing of a Chinese clan, the compilers felt no need to include foreigners. **Xia Xiaohong**'s contribution brings to light the complex problems faced by the Chinese and foreign compilers of biographical dictionaries consisting mostly of Westerners. Not only had their names been around in many transcriptions, the question was also where to find short and reliable information without either the library resources or the language skills to peruse large amounts of foreign-language works; how the sequence in the dictionary could be organized so that Chinese users would find what they were looking for; and how dates could be provided that made sense in a Chinese chronology.

The range of works that may be classified as encyclopaedic is large. Encyclopaedias may contain systematic presentations of entire fields that may appear as separate volumes or fascicles, while other works of this type will focus on brief entries with compacted factual information on such things as concepts, events, persons, works, institutions, and places. During the nineteenth century, a division of labor emerged between these two types, the first resulting in the large multi-volume encyclopaedias and the second in encyclopaedic dictionaries such as the Brockhaus *Konversationslexikon*, or Robert Hunter's *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*. While the compilations according to categories, *leishu*, had an affinity with the former, the character dictionaries, *zishu* or *zidian*, corresponded more to the latter. In a case study, **Chen Pingyuan** traces the process how the concept "*wenxue*" that had a previous Chinese use and today means "literature" gradually assumed this meaning and stabilized. His key witness is Huang Moxi, who compiled a radically new encyclopaedic dictionary, which he carefully set off against the traditional "chaotic" *zishu* or *zidian* by focusing on conceptualized and knowledgeable definitions, and who wrote a first "History of Chinese Literature" for his students at Soochow University, in which he fleshed out the concept.

The rapid development of specialized fields of knowledge during the nineteenth century posed a huge challenge to compilers of encyclopaedias. They had to keep abreast of developments in the knowledge about the world and its workings, and in new specialized terminologies. A flurry of ever newer encyclopaedias or supplements to existing ones tried to solve the problem of topicality, and new and often highly specialized encyclopaedic dictionaries provided concise explanations of the key terms for areas as different as law, mining, political science, or police work. The ensuing professionalization and increasing division of labor made its way via Japan to China.

Milena Doleželová-Velingerová traces the development of encyclopaedic dictionaries since the beginning of the "Reform of Governance" phase in 1901 from *The New Erya* to Huang Moxi's 1911 encyclopaedic dictionary. These works come with an implicit as well as explicit critique of traditional dictionary and encyclopaedia practices as being chaotic, fuzzy and not fit for bringing China into the modern world. This critique can be ascribed to a better understanding of the

concept of ‘evolution’ which, as expressly spelled out by Darwin, can also be applied to the social environment. In his preface, Huang proceeds from his understanding of biological evolution to then observe the possibility of evolution in the cultural realm, including encyclopaedia, and their potential for contributing to social evolution. This critique is articulated against a court policy that tried to slow down and moderate the precipitous changes. The lives and works of many of the encyclopaedists of this first decade of the twentieth century thus take on a distinctly rebellious aspect that recalls the role of Diderot and d’Alembert in pre-revolutionary France. Writers of encyclopaedic works were active in writing political novels (Zeng Pu), founding girls’ schools and professional associations (Sun Yirang), joining revolutionary organizations such as the “Revolutionary Party” (Wang Rongbao and Ye Lan), or envisioning that their encyclopaedia would be a challenge to the inherited framework of thinking on a par with the shock Chen Wei and his friends sent down the spine of the Qin troops when they let loose foxes’ howls in the middle of the night—which was the beginning of the end of the first of the dynasties of imperial China, the Qin.

The late Qing period is a time of radical reordering of the conceptual and institutional realms in East Asia. While many items were new in this new order of things that was gradually developing and consolidating, others that had long been familiar were now recast. Among these is the role of the state in the economy in general and in providing social welfare in crisis situations in particular. **Andrea Janku** follows the process by which the late Qing encyclopaedias and the future state officials as their implied readers recast this old responsibility of the Chinese state. The discursive environment was dominated by the goal of “enriching the state and strengthening the military,” which emphasized the responsibility of the citizen towards the state rather than the responsibility of the state for the people. In this context, the long and mixed Chinese experience with famine relief lacks the status of properly summarized historical experience. Instead, Chinese encyclopaedic works turned to studies about the experience of Western “civilized” states with various social and economic policies in the context of “political economy” to discuss the direction in which China should go.

With the end of Imperial governance and the coming of the Republic in 1912, the environment for encyclopaedias changed dramatically. This change had already announced itself through the very new and modern form and content of Huang Moxi’s encyclopaedic dictionary. From many prefaces we know that the late Qing encyclopaedic works were largely addressed to teachers and students of the new “modern” subjects that became part of school curricula and the entrance conditions for government jobs at that time. While many people already clamored for a complete remake of the populace as modern citizens, the court continued to focus on institutional reforms. With the advent of the Republic in 1912, the fledgling state took on the role of grand educator. **Catherine Yeh** explores the role played by the new encyclopaedic works of this period, above all the *Everyday Cyclopaedia* (Riyong baikē quanshu), in this context—both as a potential guide in this tumultuous transition, and as a reflection of social change throughout the different editions. Going back to the function of similar works in the USA designed to introduce

immigrants to their new environment and focusing on the entries for “family” rather than state institutions or science, she probes the profound changes in the private lives of people in their “immigration” to the foreign land of modernity.

Scholarly literature has often emphasized the difference between traditional Chinese reference works and the modern Western equivalents. The Chinese encyclopaedias for everyday practical use that became popular during the Ming dynasty and were updated and reprinted well into the Republican period were not included in these surveys, and nor were the new Chinese encyclopaedias studied in this volume. Only recently has attention begun to focus on these two neglected fields. Taking recent studies on the earlier encyclopaedias for daily use as her point of departure, **Barbara Mittler**’s contribution challenges the earlier narratives by asking whether their modern successors, such as the entirely reworked *Everyday Cyclopaedia* of 1934, were following some of the earlier tracks rather than simply following foreign models throughout; whether the readers they tried to reach were members of the modernizing elite or the broader ranges of people addressed in the pre-modern works; and whether and how they reflected the changing role of women in the urban society of the Republican era.

The volume concludes with a hard and critical look by **Zhong Shaohua** at the manner in which traditional Chinese reference works designed for a scholar’s “ruminatory” excursions into a wide range of common knowledge that was sourced to the “classics” but had not been tested by scholarly means, were replaced by attempts at encyclopaedic works of new knowledge along Japanese and Western lines. Going beyond the evident contrast between the proactive policies of the Japanese government in this domain and the Qing court with its wide array of officials who failed to see much merit in this “new learning,” the article looks at the particular intellectual attitudes and social conditions that shaped the production of the Chinese encyclopaedic works with widespread amateurism as well as narrow time and money constraints. At the same time, the works served their purpose by introducing and popularizing a wide range of new concepts and terms together with basic knowledge about their contents.

This volume brings together studies characterized by the close attention they pay to the hitherto unstudied source material; to the transcultural and translanguagual environment in which these Chinese works were produced; and to the broader questions of political, institutional, intellectual, and conceptual history. As is mandatory for such a pioneering endeavor, the volume raises as many questions as it answers. The encyclopaedic works were only one side of the public articulation of new knowledge, and their role within this wider environment merits further study. The migration of encyclopaedic knowledge, commonplaces and concepts across languages, cultures and genres is a topic of absorbing interest that requires control of a range of sources in many languages and a type of cooperative research that has barely begun. During the nineteenth century, the compilation of encyclopaedias and encyclopaedic dictionaries became a key feature in the claims of the new nation states to higher and independent cultural status. How this aspect played out in East Asia remains to be studied. The same is true of the uneasy interaction between the Chinese encyclopaedias for everyday use from the Ming

and the new works. The impact that the Qing government's "New Governance" or "Reform of Governance" measures since 1901 had on creating the environment, the demand, and the market for such works is still little understood and might end up supporting a revision of the widely shared assessment that the Qing court was on the way out after 1898. The same is true for the interaction between the very independent publishing hub in Shanghai and the political powers of Qing and Republican China. It is hoped that the present volume will stimulate further forays into this challenging and important field of research.

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Late Qing Encyclopaedias: Establishing a New Enterprise

Li Hsiao-t'i

A New Format for Knowledge

From the 1810s on, a variety of new instruments in media and communications began to appear in regions surrounding southern and south-eastern China, including pamphlets, books, monthly periodicals, and commercial periodicals. Up until 1895, media and communications institutions such as printing houses, new-style schools, and translation bureaus sprang up on the coasts of China and spread inward from the edges to the center, from south to north, from the concessions to the interior.¹ As Li Renyuan 李仁淵 has argued, however, during these eight decades, even though many Chinese people came in contact with these new modes of communication and used them to gain a new understanding of Western technology, thought, and religion, these cultural flows did not make a deep impression on the core elements of the Chinese empire. Well within the bounds of their social class, the gentry simply ignored many of these new things.² A fundamental change occurred after 1895, when “Western learning,” *xixue* 西學, became an essential new discourse

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¹ See Li Renyuan 李仁淵, *Wan Qing de xin shi chuanbo meiti yu zhishifenzi: yi baokan chuban wei zhongxin de taolun* 晚清的新式傳播媒體與知識份子：以報刊出版為中心的討論 [New-style communication media and intellectuals in the late Qing: a discussion focused on newspaper and periodical publishing] (Taipei: Daoxiang, 2005), 23–28. For a more detailed discussion of this process, see Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui* 西學東漸與晚清社會 [The dissemination of Western learning and late Qing society] (Shanghai: Renmin, 1994), Chaps. 2 and 3.

² Li Renyuan, *Wan Qing de xin shi chuanbo meiti yu zhishifenzi*, 22–23.

Li Hsiao-t'i (✉)

Institute for History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan
e-mail: mhht@gate.sinica.edu.tw

among learned people.³ As new-style newspapers and schools sprouted up in many parts of the country,⁴ events such as the founding of the Self-Strengthening Society, Qiangxue hui 強學會, meant that new-style publications, once marginalized, had moved from cosmopolitan cities such as Shanghai and Hong Kong to the political center in Beijing, gaining the support of important government officials and functionaries.⁵

Beyond this process of expanding new-style periodicals, schools, and study societies, we can also observe a clear trend toward the “popularization” of Western learning. As I shall discuss in this paper, this process is seen not only in what I have called the turn-of-the-century movements to “bring knowledge to the people” and “enlighten the lower classes,” but also in the many textbooks and encyclopaedias that flooded the print market from the 1900s onward.

“Encyclopaedia” or *baike quanshu* 百科全書 first appeared as a new term in the Chinese language in Kang Youwei’s 1897 *Notes on a Japanese Book Catalogue*, Riben shumu zhi 日本書目志. In his recent book on Japanese and Chinese encyclopaedias, Zhong Shaohua has provided a clear definition and good overall survey of this new form of knowledge organization that appeared in the late Qing.⁶ Zhong’s work draws comparisons between *baike quanshu* and another form of large-scale publication popular at the time, the *Collection of Statecraft Essays from our August Dynasty*, Huangchao jingshi wenbian 皇朝經世文編, a title that immediately demonstrates the characteristics of the *baike quanshu* as a new form of organizing knowledge.⁷ Generally speaking, late Qing collections of statecraft essays reprinted large numbers of essays on current events, *shilun* 時論, memorials to and replies from the throne, and other documents. Although they covered such problems as “foreign affairs”, *yangwu* 洋務, and the search for wealth and power, the unwieldy length and breadth of these collections made no allowance for the readers’ wants and needs.⁸ As Andrea Janku has shown through a close examination of statecraft essays on current affairs and leading articles in newspapers

³ See Li Hsiao-t'i 李孝悌, *Qingmo de xiaceng shehui qimeng yundong: 1901–1911* 清末的下層社會啟蒙運動: 1901–1911 [Lower class enlightenment in the late Qing period: 1901–1911] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu 2001), 13–14.

⁴ Zhang Hao 張灝, “Wan Qing sixiang fazhan shilun—jige jiben lundian tichu yu jiantao” 晚清思想發展試論——幾個基本論點的提出與檢討 [On the development of late Qing thought—a few basic points raised and discussed], *Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* no.7 (1978): 480–482.

⁵ Li Renyuan, *Wan Qing de xin shi chuanbo meiti yu zhishifenzi*, 107, 113.

⁶ Zhong Shaohua 鍾少華, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju—Zhong Ri jindai baike quanshu yanjiu* 人類知識的新工具——中日近代百科全書研究 [A new tool of human knowledge: A study of early modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1996).

⁷ He Changling 賀長齡, comp., *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* 皇朝經世文編 [Collection of statecraft essays of our August Dynasty] (No place or publisher named, 1827, many important later supplements).

⁸ Zhong Shaohua, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju*, 98. For a full discussion of statecraft essays, see Huang Kewu 黃克武, “Jingshi wenbian yu Zhongguo jingshi sixiang yanjiu” 經世文編與中國經世思想研究 [Studies on *The collection of essays on statecraft and thinking on Chinese statecraft*], *Jindaishi yanjiusuo tongxun* no. 2 (1986): 83–86.

published since the end of the Taiping Rebellion in 1864 until the beginning of the twentieth century, these two genres came increasingly to resemble one another, especially after 1900. Since newspaper editorials also took on statecraft problems, many statecraft collections published from the 1880s on started to include a selection of them.⁹

Despite these shifts in content and focus, however, statecraft collections remained very different from Western encyclopaedias of the period. These encyclopaedias made efforts to include more fields of learning with greater detail and timely information. They also paid close attention to readers' concerns, using specific headings, alphabetical organization, large numbers of illustrations, and accessible language to allow readers to navigate many different fields of knowledge.¹⁰ The Chinese encyclopaedias of new knowledge set out to emulate this model.

In this essay, I shall divide the Chinese encyclopaedia compilers into four groups: (1) diplomats and gentry elites; (2) reformers; (3) students in Japan; and (4) new-style literati. Although differences exist between these groups, there are also points of overlap between them; some compilers belonged to two or three of these groups at the same time. For each type, I have chosen one or two figures for which we can find relatively complete and detailed material for in-depth discussion. Ultimately, I hope to place these encyclopaedists in a broader historical and spatial context as part of a larger analysis of the interface between the movement for Western learning and the regional networks of intellectuals.

Background and Identity of the Encyclopaedists

Diplomats and Gentry Elites

Among the encyclopaedists in the 'diplomats and gentry' group, Ma Jianzhong 馬建忠 (1845–1900), the compiler of the 1902 *Comprehensive Compendium of Technical Learning*, *Yixue tongzuan* 藝學通纂,¹¹ and Qian Xun 錢恂 (1854–1927), the compiler of the 1901 *Examination of the Governance and Laws of the Different Countries of the World*, *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao* 五洲各國政治考 and its sequel,¹² obviously have many points in common. Both men came from prominent lineages, but were unsuccessful in the Imperial Civil Service

⁹ Andrea Janku, "Preparing the Ground for Revolutionary Discourse: from the Statecraft Anthologies to the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century China," *T'oung Pao* 90, nos. 1–3 (2004): 68–72, 81–91.

¹⁰ For an incisive analysis of this problem, see the article by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume.

¹¹ Ma Jianzhong 馬建忠, comp., *Yixue tongzuan* 藝學通纂 (Shanghai: Wenlin shuju, 1902).

¹² Qian Xun 錢恂, *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao* 五洲各國政治考 (Shanghai, 1901) and Qian Xun, *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao xubian* 五洲各國政治攷續編 (Shanghai, 1901).

Examinations, a situation that led them both to become involved in the Self-Strengthening or Foreign Affairs Movement, *Yangwu* 洋務, to study abroad, and to enter diplomatic service. Ma Jianzhong served as a private secretary to Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901), a leading figure in the Self-Strengthening Movement who was active in introducing Western institutions and weaponry to China. Qian Xun served as secretary to Li Hongzhang's chief rival, Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909), who stressed the need to maintain “Chinese teachings as the basis” 中學為體 while accepting “Western learning for its practical aspects” 西學為用. Aside from their work in government, both men also participated in activities to introduce, compile, and edit works of new knowledge.

Ma Jianzhong was born in Dantu 丹徒 in Jiangsu province. His family converted to Catholicism when Matteo Ricci was evangelizing in Dantu. By 1860, Ma Jianzhong had suffered repeated failures in the civil examinations. Appalled by the way gentry elites refused to consider the importance of foreign affairs even in the face of the entry of the Anglo-French Joint Expedition into Beijing in 1860, Ma Jianzhong resolved to give up the Civil Service Examination and dedicate himself to working on foreign affairs.¹³

In 1877, on the recommendation of Li Hongzhang, Ma Jianzhong became a Diplomatic Attendant in the first permanent Chinese diplomatic mission to France. This mission also included the first group of students sent from the Fuzhou Naval Yard Academy, Fuzhou chuanzheng xuetang 福州船政學堂 to study in Europe.¹⁴ Among them were both Yan Fu 嚴復 (1853–1921) and Chen Jitong 陳季同 (1851–1907), who served as an interpreter. On Li Hongzhang's request, Ma and Chen Jitong both studied “international law”, *gongfa* 公法, at the École Libre des Sciences Politiques in Paris.¹⁵ Ma took his law degree in 1880, and became personal secretary to Li Hongzhang upon his return to China. He devoted the next decade to work on foreign affairs, until he assumed the directorship of the Shanghai Mechanized Textile Bureau, Shanghai jiqi zhibu ju 上海機器織布局, in 1890. From 1891 until his death in 1900, Ma lived in Shanghai and, due to disappointments in his political work, took up work as a translator. In addition to *Ma's Principles of Written Chinese*, Ma shi wentong 馬氏文通, he also compiled the *Comprehensive Compendium of Technical Learning*. According to Luo Zhenyu's 羅振玉 (1866–1940) preface, this massive work, which was published in 1902 when the publication of encyclopaedias really took off, was the result of

¹³ See Xue Yuqin 薛玉琴, *Jindai sixiang qianquzhe de beiju juese: Ma Jianzhong yanjiu* 近代思想前驅者的悲劇角色：馬建忠研究 [The tragic role of a precursor to modern thought: A study on Ma Jianzhong] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2006), 16–24, 214.

¹⁴ Xue Yuqin, *Jindai sixiang qianquzhe*, 10.

¹⁵ Xue Yuqin, *Jindai sixiang qianquzhe*, 217–218. See also Yue Feng 岳峰, “Dongxue xijian diyiren—bei yiwang de fanyijia Chen Jitong” 東學西漸第一人——被遺忘的翻譯家陳季同 [The first person to bring Eastern learning to the West—the forgotten translator Chen Jitong], *Zhongguo fanyi* no. 4 (2001): 54–57. On Chen Jitong, see also Catherine Yeh, “The Life-style of Four Wenren in Late Qing Shanghai,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57.2 (December 1997), 435–449.

Ma's "occasional jottings."¹⁶ 平日隨手記錄之作 These "jottings" were grouped into 14 categories: astronomy, geology, topography, manufacturing, mathematics, mining, acoustics, optics, electrical engineering, chemistry, steam engines, mechanics, agriculture, and medicine. The neologism "technical learning", *yixue* 藝學, received unusually heavy emphasis in most late Qing encyclopaedias.¹⁷ The emphasis on technical learning clearly relates to changes in the Civil Service Examination system following the 1898 reforms, which required that eight-legged essays and essays on policy referred to Western technical learning. The naval yards, arsenals, telegraph networks, railroads, and postal networks established by the Self-Strengthening Movement were examples of the actual practice of this technical learning.¹⁸

At this time, most people thought that "foreign affairs" corresponded directly with Western learning, but for Ma Jianzhong, who had a firsthand knowledge of what Luo called "European learning," *Ouxue* 歐學, "practical learning," *shixue* 實學, was not the sole property of Western exact sciences. Ma argued that the attention given to machinery and agriculture in ancient China was evidence of points of convergence between Chinese learning and Western exact sciences. A careful reading of the *Comprehensive Compendium of Technical Learning* shows that Ma not only had a firm grasp of Western technology, but also made many references to activities that had long since interested China's rulers, such as land clearance, sericulture, and planting mulberry trees, as well as the specific means by which various related techniques advanced and were improved. As an official and a member of the gentry elite thoroughly familiar with Western learning and involved in the Foreign Affairs current, Ma Jianzhong demonstrated through this massive, meticulously organized work his encyclopaedic knowledge of China and the West and his interest in the practical affairs of governance.

The *Comprehensive Compendium* was published in a small format, similar to the pocketbook series produced in subsequent years by the Commercial Press. The first two volumes consist of general and detailed tables of content. The book is not furnished with Western punctuation marks and only blank spaces and Chinese style circle notations were used in some entries as an aid to reading. The headword for

¹⁶ Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, "Yixue tongzuan xu" 藝學統纂序 [Preface to the *Yixue tongzuan*], in Ma Jianzhong, comp., *Yixue tongzuan*, 1b.

¹⁷ Contents are selected and organized in much the same way in He Liangdong 何良棟, comp., *Taixi yixue tongkao* 泰西藝學通攷 [Comprehensive examination of Western technical learning] (Shanghai: Hongbao, 1901). Another example is the *Wuzhou zheng yi cuoyao* 五洲政藝撮要 [Extracts of government and technical learning of the world], Xiao Deji 肖德驥, comp. (Shanghai?: Mengkong shanfang, 1902). Zhong Shaohua, who holds the only known copy in his private library, argues that the compilation followed the work of Jiang Biao 江標 and may have been used as a school textbook. Apart from information on "politics" (*zheng* 政), such as international law, it also includes fields that Ma Jianzhong considered to be "technical learning" (*yixue* 藝學), including acoustics, optics, chemistry, electrical engineering, biology, etc. See Zhong Shaohua, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju*, 58.

¹⁸ Xu Yuzhu 徐毓洙, "Taixi yixue tongkao xu" 泰西藝學通攷序 [Preface to the *Taixi yixue tongkao*], in He Liangdong, comp., *Taixi yixue tongkao*, 1a.

each entry is placed alone in a single column, with most entries running to about 100–300 characters in length; the longest entries run to slightly over 1,000 characters, while the shortest have fewer than 100. The volume on medicine covers such topics as “Various Modes of Exercise in England,” “The Risks of not Exercising,” “Balancing a Diet of Meat and Noodles,” and “The Benefits of Tea and Coffee”¹⁹—all items that show the influence of Western medical knowledge, health practices, and eating habits on Ma Jianzhong from his days as a student abroad.

Telegraph and railroad operations were the focus of much of Ma Jianzhong's involvement in the Self-Strengthening Movement. In his daily observations and selections of information, he would choose materials that included technical details, a habit that revealed his lifelong interests and career goals. Moreover, the fifth *juan* of the *Comprehensive Compendium*, which deals with agriculture, reflects a lineage of traditional Chinese practical learning that corresponded to Western exact sciences. But as an authority on Western learning with firsthand experience of Western technology and industry, he clearly moves beyond traditional Chinese gentry views on sericulture and mulberry cultivation with the perspective on modern agricultural technology that informs his discussion and evaluation of “enriching people's livelihood,” *housheng* 厚生, and “growing and harvesting,” *jia se* 稼穡. Ma's discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of China's sericulture and silk industries, as well as of the possibilities for their improvement, provides the best example of the way the *Comprehensive Compendium* placed traditional Chinese agriculture on a new intellectual level through his mastery of technical detail and global perspective.²⁰ In an entry of only 500 characters, Ma gives a broad range of timely information that fully attains the spirit and unique aspects of Western encyclopaedias.

Although Qian Xun was born almost a decade after Ma Jianzhong, both men can be said to belong to the same era. Qian's family was even more prominent than Ma's: both his father and uncle owned the *jinshi* 進士 degree, his wife was the sister of Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830–1904), who served as tutor to the Tongzhi and Guangxu Emperors.²¹ His junior by more than 30 years, Qian's younger brother, Qian Xuanton 錢玄同 (1887–1939), was a famous figure in the May Fourth-era “skeptical history” group (*yigupai* 疑古派). Qian Xun passed the licentiate, *shengyuan* 生員, examinations at the age of 14, but advanced no further, which led him to give up on the Civil Service Exams and become a personal secretary to Xue Fucheng 薛福成 (1838–1894), who for nearly 20 years served in the personal secretariats of both Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 and Li Hongzhang. In 1889, Qian was

¹⁹ Ma Jianzhong, *Yixue tongzuan*, *juan* 1: 8b–11b.

²⁰ Ma Jianzhong, *Yixue tongzuan*, *juan* 5: 7b.

²¹ See Guojia Tushuguan Difangzhi Jiapu Wenxian Zhongxin 國家圖書館地方志家譜文獻中心, comp, *Qingdai Minguo mingren jiapu xuankan* 清代民國名人家譜選刊 [A selection of family histories of famous people from the late Qing and early Republican periods] (Beijing: Yanshan, 1996), 34; and the introduction to Qian Xun 錢恂, *Wuxing Qian shi jia cheng* 吳興錢氏家承 [The Family transmission of the Qian clan from Wuxing], 1–2.

appointed Imperial Envoy to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, but did not take up the position until the following year, when he took a French postal ship from Shanghai to Paris.²² It was at this time that Zou Tao 鄒弢 (1850–1931), who is discussed later in this paper, showed his manuscript of *An Investigation of the Recent Policies of All Nations*, *Wanguo jin zheng kaolue* 萬國近政考略, to Xue Fucheng in Shanghai.²³ At this time, Qian Xun traveled with Xue's retinue to Europe.²⁴

Xue Fucheng and Qian Xun represent the second generation of diplomats sent to Europe. In 1890, Qian Xun was stationed in Russia, becoming a Minister Consultant to the embassy in that land. In 1893, he returned home after 3 years abroad. Shortly thereafter, he was sent abroad again. Because of his extensive knowledge of Western learning, Zhang Zhidong recalled Qian Xun to China to serve in his personal secretariat, where Qian became well-acquainted with important late Qing reformers.²⁵ In 1899, Zhang sent Qian as a supervisor for students touring Japan. This tour gave him the chance to understand Japan at first hand, which would be reflected in his later writings. In 1903, Qian Xun once again entered the diplomatic service, and reached the height of his political career in 1907 when he was appointed envoy to Holland and Italy.²⁶

Qian Xun's rise from failure in the examinations to an official position of the second rank not only set his work apart from that of Ma Jianzhong, but also shows a new career path for educated people outside the examinations. Qian's early marginal status may be the reason why he never received much attention in histories of the Self-Strengthening Movement or in discussions of late Qing intellectual history; another reason might be that he has been overshadowed by the life and works of his wife, Shan Shili 單士厘 (1863–1945), who is widely recognized for her significance in the women's liberation movement and the history of cultural interactions between China and the West.²⁷ When we examine late Qing encyclopaedias, however, we reach a different evaluation of the role played by Qian Xun, an intellectual who succeeded outside the "regular path", *zhengtú* 正途, of the examination system, in the transmission of Western learning in turn-of-the-century China. He not only compiled *Explanations of Japanese Legal Terms*, *Riben fagui jiezi* 日本法規解字, with his son-in-law Dong Hongwei 董鴻禕, who was actively

²² See Cai Shaoqing's 蔡少卿 preface to *Xue Fucheng riji* 薛福成日記 [Xue Fucheng's diary], *Jiangsu daxue xuebao* 7, no. 2 (March 2005): 14–15.

²³ Zou Tao 鄒弢, *Wanguo jin zheng kaolue* 萬國近政考略 (Shanghai: San Lu jielu, 1901).

²⁴ Ding Fenglin 丁鳳麟, *Xue Fucheng pingzhuan* 薛福成評傳 [A critical biography of Xue Fucheng] (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue, 1998), 207.

²⁵ See Qiu Wei 邱巍, "Wuxing Qian shi jiazhu yanjiu" 無興錢氏家族研究 [Research on the Qian family of Wuxing] (PhD diss., Zhejiang daxue, 2005).

²⁶ Qiu Wei, "Wuxing Qian shi," 37–38.

²⁷ See Qiu Wei, "Wuxing Qian shi," Chap. 4; and Qi Guohua 齊國華, "Jinguo fang yan zhu xian bian—lun Qian Shan Shili chuyang de lishi yiyi" 巾幗放眼著先鞭——論錢單士厘出洋的歷史意義 [A lady takes the lead and opens her eyes to the world—on the historical significance Qian Shan Shili's overseas experience], *Shilin*, no. 1 (1994): 34–40.

involved in revolutionary activities,²⁸ but also two encyclopaedic works of his own in 1901: the *Examination of the Governance and Laws of the Different Countries of the World*, and its *Sequel*.²⁹

What makes the *Examination of the Governance and Laws* so interesting is that the author's descriptions are based on his personal understanding gained from direct experience with high-level governance in Europe and Japan. This experience makes the work quite different from many others that prattle on about "the basis of manufacturing" and the "source of national revival" without ever grasping how these issues played out in various places.³⁰ With his experience as a diplomat in Europe and Japan, Qian Xun had gained a strong knowledge of the major powers in East and West, a rare achievement among intellectuals and diplomats of his time. He combined this unique experience with strong efforts to gather information through interviews and documents so as to provide wide-ranging yet focused accounts of the political systems and social customs of different countries, which in many ways showed the basic characteristics of an encyclopaedia.

The *Examination of the Governance and Laws* fills eight *juan*, and the general table of contents, *zongmu* 總目, divides up its information according to six traditional areas of governance, namely officialdom, population, ritual, the military, criminal punishment, and industry. The detailed table of contents, *ximu* 細目, works however according to contemporary ways of organizing encyclopaedias. The section on officialdom, for example, is divided into 36 entries that give brief introductions to the political systems of 36 different countries around the globe, ranging from major powers such as Japan, the United States, and European countries, to smaller countries such as Egypt, Peru, Hungary, Uruguay, and Afghanistan. Each entry has a separate title, usually with 200–300 characters of text; shorter entries, such as the one for Vietnam, had fewer than 60 characters, while longer entries, such as the one for the Deutsches Kaiserreich, Deyizhi gaisa 德意志蓋薩 (Germany), ran to as many as 4,000 characters. Although the text was unpunctuated, the entries were written in an accessible style, with an eye toward the relationships between technology and larger political and cultural questions. The entry on "Germany" reads:

The German Republic has existed for nearly 25 years. Each state is joined together to protect one another and to make the whole strong and prosperous. Its constitution, established in April of the seventy-first year of [the nineteenth century], made the King

²⁸ Qian Xun 錢恂 and Dong Hongwei 董鴻禕, *Riben fagui jiezi* 日本法規解字 [Explanations of Japanese legal terms] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1907).

²⁹ Qian Xun 錢恂, *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao* 五洲各國政治考 [Examination of the governance and laws of the different countries of the world] (Shanghai, 1901) and Qian Xun 錢恂, *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao xubian* 五洲各國政治考續編 [Examination of the governance and laws of the different countries of the world, sequel] (Shanghai, 1901) A copy of the *Wuzhou ge guo zhengzhi kao* is held in the Shanghai library, while a copy of the *Wuzhou ge guo zhengzhi kao xubian* resides in the rare books collection of the library of the Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica. The encyclopaedia database at the University of Heidelberg also has scanned copies of both works.

³⁰ See Chen Shuzhu 陳洙珠, "Xu" 序 [Preface], in Qian Xun 錢恂, comp., *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao* 五洲各國政治考, 1a.

of Prussia the emperor of all of the countries and changed the combined countries' name to the Deutsches Kaiserreich (*Kaiser* means "emperor"). According to the 11th article of the constitution, any relations with other countries, defense of territories, or establishment of alliances or treaties would be overseen by the Kaiser. Dispatching troops outside of the country requires the approval of the members of the *Bundesrat*. This national assembly is divided into an upper and a lower house.³¹

日耳曼合衆國近存二十有五。各國連橫互相保護，冀圖強盛。七十一年四月新定章程推舉布國王總領日耳曼各國，改號德意志國，名曰德意志蓋薩（蓋薩德云皇也）。章程內第十一條凡合衆各有遇交涉外國事，宜及出令派守地方，立約議和諸務，均由德意志蓋薩主之。若有出師外國之舉，則必與總醫院大臣約定然後施行。綜院議分上下二院。

With only a 100 characters, the entry manages to give a clear sketch of the organizations and basic operations of the Kaiserreich.

Moving beyond basic information about political organizations and systems, Qian Xun also provides timely and succinct accounts of the various countries' infrastructures, such as railroads and telegraph networks. One can surmise that because Qian had spent time in Japan, he also saw the larger importance of infrastructure for national development:

Japan built its railroads for two reasons. First, for purposes of defense, the eastern and western parts of the country are closely linked, and every major port and important city is brought into one web. Second, to aid the people, every part of the country was made accessible to other parts, which in turn reduced travel and shipping expenses tenfold. Vital commodities became cheaper, which benefited both merchants and the common people. As of last year, over 3,300 *li* of railroad had been built by the government.³²

In reading these succinct, direct, and thorough narratives, it is easy to understand how in his forties, Qian Xun moved beyond his position as a member of the lower-status gentry elite to become a favorite of Zhang Zhidong. In the "guaranteed recommendations," *baoju* 保舉, for Qian that Zhang wrote in a memorial, he described Qian as follows:

This servant [Qian] is thoroughly versed in both Chinese and Western learning, highly insightful, and possessed of a sensitive talent and knowledge. He has served high officials abroad many times as Diplomatic Attendant and Minister Consultant, and traveled to Russia, Germany, England, France, Austria, Holland, Italy, Egypt, and Turkey, gathering information about these places and thinking deeply about them. He has inquired into problems of government, law, schools, military organizations, commerce, and railroads, and learned many of their advantages and pitfalls. He truly is the highest and most useful talent among those engaged in foreign affairs.³³

When describing for instance gender and family relationships in Japan and the West, Qian's outlook differed greatly from the usual Confucian view that men deserve greater respect than women, and that sons should show filial respect towards their parents.

³¹ Qian Xun, comp., *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao*, juan 1: 5a. This and the following translations are mine.

³² Qian Xun, comp., *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao*, juan 8: 1b.

³³ Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, "Baoju shicai zhe bing qingdan" 保薦使才摺并清單 [List and detailed notes on recommendation of talents], quoted in Qiu Wei, "Wuxing Qian shi," 36.

Japanese men's desire for self-strengthening is not as strong as women's. Women work and buy and sell in the markets and out on the streets, while men drink and make merry with their friends and cronies from their hometown. Everywhere we see them eating up women's strength.³⁴

In the West, people choose their husband or wife freely. The women are adventurous, and the men are chaste. If a woman takes a liking to a man, she will ask whether he is married. If he is not, then they will court one another, but the man will not make the first move. If she likes him, she will go to his house, where they hide themselves away and chat with one another. If they wish to go out of the home with one another, their parents will not object. If, after enough time, they are both willing, they tell their parents [of their intention to marry].

People in the West are not concerned with passing on inheritances. After they have assembled great wealth, at the end of their lives they will give their fortune away to free schools and homes for the old and the poor. Once they have given their fortune away, they say they have no regrets in life. When asked about honoring their ancestors . . . they say, "My grandfather took care of me, and I used his wealth to take care of thousands of people—this is a great act of filial piety!"³⁵

These views move in the same direction as the more radical calls made by Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, and others in the vernacular journals of the second decade of the twentieth century for equality between the sexes and attacks on filial piety, and can be seen as part of the larger field of new culture and new tides of thought. Indeed, it seems that the many radical statements and ideas put forth by Qian Xun's brother Qian Xuanton were part of a tradition already established in his family lineage. From this perspective, Qian Xun's descriptions and discussions of politics, systems, and social customs show that, as a whole, the *Examination of the Governance and Laws* possesses a consistent line of thought in both form and content that allows this encyclopaedic work to show the new face of modernism to the full.

Reformers

Chen Shoupeng 陳壽彭 (1855–?) was the translator of the third volume of the British Admiralty's *The China Sea Directory*, which was specifically devoted to descriptions of the Chinese coast.³⁶

Chen Shoupeng's background is similar in many ways to that of Ma Jianzhong and Qian Xun. Chen's older brother, Chen Jitong, was a famous late Qing diplomat and

³⁴ Qian Xun, comp., *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao*, juan 3: 2a.

³⁵ Qian Xun, comp., *Wuzhou geguo zhengzhi kao*, juan 3: 3b–4a.

³⁶ Chen Shoupeng 陳壽彭, trans., *Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi* 中國江海險要圖志 [Atlas of strategic locations of rivers and seas of China]. (1900). Guangdong: Guangya shuju, 1907. This is a translation of vol. 3 of Charles Henry Clarke Langdon, ed. *The China Sea Directory, COMPRISING THE COASTS OF CHINA FROM HONG KONG TO THE KOREA; NORTH COAST OF LUZON, FORMOSA ISLAND AND STRAIT: THE BABUYAN, BASHEE, AND MEIACO SIMA GROUPS, YELLOW SEA, GULFS OF PE-CHILI AND LIAU-TUNG, ALSO THE RIVERS CANTON, WEST, MIN, YUNG, YANGTSE, YELLOW, PEI HO AND LIAU HO; AND PRATAS ISLAND* (London: Hydrographic Office, 1894–96³). I would like to thank Rudolf Wagner for passing this information on to me.

writer of novels in French. Under his brother's guidance, Chen Shoupeng attended the Naval Yard Academy established in Fujian in 1866 during the Self-Strengthening Movement. In 1886, following his graduation from the Academy, he went to England to study for 3 years.³⁷ Chen's experience studying for 2 years at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was one reason that he later decided to translate the *Directory*.

In the year before the 1898 reforms, Chen Jitong and Chen Shoupeng founded the newspaper *Qiushi bao* 求是報 [parallel title: *International Review*].³⁸ The *International Review* was one of the many journals supported by the important reform newspaper *Shiwu bao* 時務報 [parallel title: *The China Progress*].³⁹ It is because of these connections to reform institutions that I include Chen Shoupeng in the category of "reformers."

In 1901, the Society for Statecraft Essays, Jingshi wen she 經世文社, printed 2,000 copies of the *Atlas of Strategic Locations of Rivers and Seas of China* (in 27 *juan*) in lithograph form. The book circulated widely, and "men of learning all praised its usefulness." Praise from officials followed.⁴⁰ The first printing of 2,000 copies sold out quickly. Chen then submitted the book to the Official Publishing House of Guangdong for reprint.

The editions of the book reprinted by the official publishing house were of relatively high quality: the characters were clearly printed and were larger than in most traditional "category books", *leishu* 類書, with much wider spacing between characters. In addition to the table of contents in the first *juan*, Chen Shoupeng added a table of contents to the beginning of each *juan*, and placed the title of each entry in a separate line, making searches in the work much easier than in the traditional *leishu*. Most entries ranged from 200 to 300 characters, all entries were furnished with punctuation marks. Even more interestingly, while the entries did not separate passages or paragraphs, a blank space would be left every few lines to separate sections of the text from one another—a very clear sign of the efforts made on the readers' behalf. In his preface to the book, Chen Jitong places the work in the tradition of geographical works such as the *Annotated Book of Waterways*, *Shuijing zhu* 水經注, of the sixth century. In assessing its qualities and value, he argued that it took the best aspects of the efforts directed by Lin Zexu to selectively

³⁷ Xue Shaohui 薛紹徽 gave the date for Chen Shoupeng's 陳壽彭 journey to England as both 1885 and 1886. See Lin Yi 林怡, "Jianlun wan Qing zhuming Min ji nüzuojia Xue Shaohui," 簡論晚清著名閩籍女作家薛紹徽 [On the famous late Qing Fujianese female writer Xue Shaohui], *Dongnan xuebao* Special issue 1 (2004): 283, 285. According to Li Changli's 李長莉 account of diplomats involved in the Foreign Affairs Movement, however, the twenty-four members of the Academy's third graduating class went to Europe in 1886. See Li Changli, *Xianjue zhe de beiju—yangwu zhishifenzi yanjiu* 先覺者的悲劇——洋務知識分子研究 [The tragedy of the pioneers—Research on intellectuals of the self-strengthening movement] (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1993), 223.

³⁸ See Yue Feng, "Dongxu xijian di yi ren," 54.

³⁹ See Li Renyuan, *Wan Qing de xin shi chuanbo meiti yu zhishifenzi*, 141–142.

⁴⁰ Chen Shoupeng, "Shuo ming" 說明 [Explanation], in Chen Shoupeng, trans., *Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi*, appearing before the Preface, 2a, 2b.

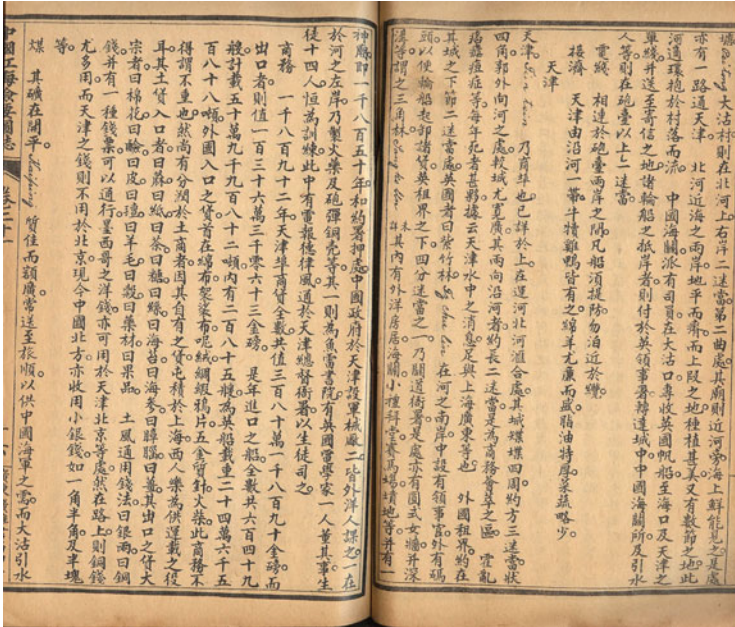


Illustration 1 Entry on Tianjin by Chen Shoupeng, *Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi*, juan 21: 15b–16a (1900) (Guangdong: Guangya shuju, 1907). Fu Sinian Library, Taibei

translate works of Western geography while avoiding the many errors, poorly selected materials, and lack of maps found in works such as the *Illustrated Record of Overseas Countries*, *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志, by Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794–1857),⁴¹ Lin Zexu’s good friend, who coined the famous slogan: “controlling the barbarians by following the techniques that the barbarians are good at” (師夷長技以制夷). All in all, although the book is filled with specialized information related to fog signals, tides, bearings, and compass directions, its descriptions of Chinese cities and ports also combine a Westerners’ fresh and inquisitive perspective with Chen Shoupeng’s elegant prose.

During the turmoil of the Boxer Uprising in Tianjin and Dagu in 1900, which forced Chen Shoupeng to hide the manuscript, the detailed British calculations about and records on these same cities came in handy because of their strategic importance. The entry on Dagu, which began with a discussion of the port’s naval defenses and ended with accounts of agriculture in the city, omitted no details. Immediately following the entry on Dagu came an entry on Tianjin, for which the British surveyors provided descriptions based on the city’s overall geography, its new industrial bases, but also the prevailing diseases (see Illustration 1).

⁴¹ Chen Jitong 陳季同, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in Chen Shoupeng, trans., *Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi*, 3a, 3b.

Tianjin

Tien tsin is a treaty port, and stands, as before mentioned, at the confluence of the Grand Canal with the North River. Suburbs extend down towards the river and about two miles down along either side. This area is larger than the city itself. Here all the trade is carried out. Many people die from cholera, typhus, and smallpox. It is said that Tianjin has water thoroughfares equal to those of Shanghai or Canton. The foreign settlement is about 2 miles below the city.

The imperial government has two arsenals at Tianjin, both under the superintendence of foreigners. One arsenal, on the left bank of the river, manufactures gunpowder and artillery shells, while the other is the Torpedo School, which is run by an English scholar of electricity and where fourteen students undergo constant training.⁴²

天津。Tientsin

乃商埠也，已詳於上，在運河北河匯合處。...郭外向河之處，較城尤寬廣。其兩向沿河者，約長二迷當，是為商務薈萃之區。霍亂痞瘡、痘症等，每年死者甚夥。據云天津水中之消息，足與上海、廣東等也。外國領界，約在其城之下節二迷當處。

中國政府於天津設軍械廠二，皆外洋人課之，一在於河之左岸，乃製火藥及砲彈鋼殼等，其一則為魚雷書院，有英國電學家一人董其事，生徒十四人，恒為訓練。

In subsequent passages, the editors discuss the numbers of ships involved in Tianjin's exports and imports in 1892 (a total of 649 ships), as well as the volumes of imports of cotton, satin, and opium from abroad, plus Chinese goods brought in from Shanghai.⁴³ They also provided very useful information about Tianjin's weather and its postal service.

In these endlessly detailed entries, we can see that this massive work, despite its emphasis on military and defense issues, is filled with fresh observations about cities, waterways, and everyday life. If we look past some of the more specialized entries, throughout the book we find clear, easily understood, and thorough descriptions of each city, island, and harbor. Although it is China and not (as in Qian Xun's case) Japan and Europe that is being described, Chen Shoupeng's text nonetheless brings a new perspective to Chinese readers that represents the spirit of the encyclopaedia in both form and content.

Students in Japan

Only 176 pages long, the *The New Erya*, *Xin eryl* 新爾雅 (1903), was completely different in scale from the works by Ma Jianzhong, Qian Xun, and Chen Shoupeng discussed above. In terms of form and content, the book was structured closely along the lines of an encyclopaedia. For this reason, Zhong Shaohua includes the book in the category of "encyclopaedic dictionaries" along with works such as the

⁴² Chen Shoupeng, *Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi*, *juan* 21: 15b–16a. Much of this translation is drawn from *The China Sea Directory*, 3: 625–6.

⁴³ Chen Shoupeng, *Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi*, *juan* 21: 16a.

Terminological Dictionary of Natural History, Bowu da cidian 博物大辭典 (1907), the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, Putong baike xin da cidian 普通百科新大辭典 (1911), and the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the Names of Foreign Places and Personalities*, Waiguo diming renming cidian 外國地名人辭典 (1904).⁴⁴

The *New Erya* was edited by Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶 (1878–1933) and Ye Lan 葉瀾 (1875–?). No systematic research on Ye Lan has been undertaken to date; I have put together a brief sketch based on the material available to me. Born in 1875, Ye Lan was from Renhe 仁和 in Zhejiang; he studied with his elder brother Ye Han 葉瀚 at the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute, Gezhi shuyuan 格致書院. Founded in 1876, this Institute was a key site for nurturing new-style intellectuals in China and made tremendous efforts to popularize Western scientific knowledge.⁴⁵ While Wang Tao 王韜 was head of this institute between 1886 to 1894, over 300 young intellectuals were associated with it. According to Liu Shilong, “some of them had graduated from the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute or the Cantonese Language School, Guang fangyan guan 廣方言館, others had passed lower levels of the Imperial Examinations; most were government students (*shengyuan*) from the prefectural, departmental, or district levels.”⁴⁶ Ye Han was a Tribute Student by Purchase, Second Class, *zenggongsheng* 增貢生, in the Renhe district school, and Ye Lan was a Tribute Student by Purchase, Third Class, *fugongsheng* 附貢生, in the Hangzhou Prefecture⁴⁷; both were local elites during a transitional period.⁴⁸

After graduating from the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute, Ye Han and Ye Lan played active roles in the 1898 reform movement. In 1901, Ye Lan went to Japan, where he took up studies at Waseda University 早稻田大學.⁴⁹ During his time in Japan, his political thinking became increasingly radical, and he transformed into a diehard revolutionary. In 1902, he founded a “Youth Society,” Qingnian hui 青年會, in Tokyo together with other revolutionaries. Most of the members of this Society—the earliest of the revolutionary organizations among Chinese students in Japan—were from Waseda University.⁵⁰ So *The New Erya* (1903) had clear links to the Waseda students and revolutionaries in Japan.

⁴⁴ For these works, see also the studies by Doleželová-Velingerová and Chen Pingyuan in this volume.

⁴⁵ See Hao Bingjian 郝秉鍵 and Li Zhijun 李志軍, *19 shiji wanqi Zhongguo minjian zhishifenzi de sixiang—yi Shanghai Gezhi shuyuan wei li* 19 世紀晚期中國民間知識分子的思想——以上海格致書院為例 [Late nineteenth century Chinese non-official intellectuals: Using the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute as an example] (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue, 2005), 3–8.

⁴⁶ Liu Shilong 劉世龍, “Qingmo Shanghai Gezhi Shuyuan yu zaoqi de gailiang sixiang,” 清末上海格致書院與早期的改良思想 [The Shanghai Polytechnic Institute in the Late Qing and reformist thinking] *Huadong Shifan Daxue xuebao* (*Zhexue shehui kexue ban*), no. 4 (1983), 46.

⁴⁷ See chart in Hao and Li, *19 shiji wanqi Zhongguo minjian zhishifenzi de sixiang*, 291.

⁴⁸ Hao and Li, *19 shiji wanqi Zhongguo minjian zhishifenzi de sixiang*, 34–5, 297, 299.

⁴⁹ Liu Shilong, “Qingmo Shanghai Gezhi Shuyuan yu zaoqi de gailiang sixiang,” 52.

⁵⁰ See Feng Ziyou 馮自由, *Geming yi shi* 革命逸史 [Memoirs of the revolution] (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1953), 1:102.

Wang Rongbao (1878–1933), born in Wu County, Jiangsu, was 2 years younger than Ye Lan and also went to Japan in 1901. Wang studied politics, law, and history at the Tokyo Accelerated School for Politics and Law, Tōkyō seihō sokusei gakkō 東京政法速成學校, Waseda University, and Keio University 慶應義塾大學. After his return to China, Wang devoted himself to translation and law revision. During the Xuantong era (1909–1912), he was highly visible on the political scene as an advocate of constitutional monarchy,⁵¹ serving as the main author of the Qing court’s Imperial Draft Constitution. From the 1910s to the 1930s, he served as Minister to Switzerland and Japan successively.⁵²

Despite its brevity, *The New Erya* manages to cover many major areas of government, law, and science. The book was printed with moveable type in Japan. Although the simple design reveals the author’s limited budget, the book still resembles those printed today, and is completely different in its material form and design from the thread-bound books produced by Qian Xun and Chen Shoupeng. The table of contents at the beginning of the book does not list all of the chapters and subsections, but gives rather a simple listing of the book’s major contents. These 14 categories were “Government,” “Law,” “Economics,” “Education,” “Society,” “Logic,” “Geometry,” “Heaven,” “Earth,” “Science,” “Chemistry,” “Physiology,” “Animals,” and “Plants.” “Government” was divided into three sections: “The Nation,” “Forms of Government,” and “Institutions”; each section included relevant entries. Under “Forms of Government,” such entries included “Constitutional Monarchy in Germany,” “Constitutional Democracy in England,” “Constitutional Monarchy in Japan,” and “Constitutional Democracy in France.” While each entry ran to only 200–300 characters, they were still able to lay out the main aspects of each form of government:

Although England is a country ruled by a hereditary monarchy, it was also the earliest to develop democratic governance. All constitutional systems draw on England’s example. Thus what is unique about England’s government is that the greatest power lies with parliament.

Japan, however, is a pure monarchy. All of the power lies with the Emperor; apart from its constitution and sessions held for the national assembly, it is no different from a monarchical autocracy.⁵³

In the process of compiling *The New Erya*, it is quite possible that Wang and Ye made use of encyclopaedias, textbooks, and dictionaries available in Tokyo. In any

⁵¹ Wang Rongbao’s diary, published in 1987 by Beijing University, gives very detailed information on politics, events, and major figures from 1909 to 1912. See Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶, *Wang Rongbao riji* 汪榮寶日記 [The diary of Wang Rongbao] (Tianjin: Tianjin guji, 1987).

⁵² This information is gleaned from Wang Xiaoqiu 王曉秋, “Qingmo zhengtan bianhua de xiezha—Xuantong nianjian Wang Rongbao riji pouxi,” 清末政壇變化的寫照——宣統年間《汪榮寶日記》剖析 [Reflecting changes in the late Qing political circles—an analysis of the Xuantong era *Diary of Wang Rongbao*], *Lishi yanjiu*, no. 1 (1989): 73. For information on the schools Wang attended in Japan, see Shin Kokui (= Shen Guowei) 沈國威, *Shinjiga to sono go-i: kenkyū, sakuin, einbon tsuki* 新爾雅とその語彙：研究、索引、影印本付 [*The New Erya* and its terms: A study and index with a photographic reproduction attached] (Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 1995), 4–5.

⁵³ Wang and Ye, *Xin erya*, 10–11.

case, given their young age, the ability of Wang Rongbao and Ye Lan to drill down into the core of the issues in such brief entries revealed their remarkable experience and training.

New-Style Literati

If we take the Civil Service Examinations as the standard, we will find that the great majority of encyclopaedists were low-level licentiates. This was true of Ma Jianzhong and Qian Xun, as well as of Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952), who translated a large number of modern Japanese medical texts and systematically introduced Japanese-style medical knowledge and systems to China.⁵⁴ Qian Xun, however, succeeded in becoming an official, and Ma Jianzhong received a wide-ranging Western-style education that enabled him to make good use of his talents when he returned to China. The same was true of Ding Fubao, who, after practicing medicine in Shanghai for 23 years and serving in such positions as Chairman of the Board for the Hongkew Clinic 虹橋療養院 in Shanghai,⁵⁵ looked more like a modern professional-expert than an ‘unsuccessful’ literatus. If we look elsewhere, we see that figures like Huang Moxi (1866–1933), author of the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, Xu Nianci 徐念慈 (1875—1908), one of the editors of the *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History*, and Zou Tao (1850–1931), the compiler of *An Investigation of the Recent Policies of All Nations*, fit more closely to our image of this type of new-style literatus. In his discussion of Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 (1876—1973), a representative figure among literati from Southern China in this period, Li Renyuan gives an excellent description of their career paths:

Between 1900 and 1906, Bao Tianxiao moved from Suzhou to Nanjing, from Nanjing to Shanghai, from Shanghai to Qingzhou, and finally settled back in Shanghai. At each stop along the way, he was involved in transmitting “Western learning.” He taught at new-style academies, started up newspapers and magazines, translated works from the Japanese, organized study societies and attended lectures, wrote fiction, and worked as editor and reporter for newspapers. Only a decade before then, he was still struggling with the examinations—he entered a private academy at the age of four, passed the first level examination in 1890, and in 1893 became a licentiate at the age of 18. . . . But after only a few years, Bao Tianxiao completely changed his course to “new learning,” becoming a leading regional figure in the field, while relatives from his mother’s side who had been successful in the examinations had no real success in their careers. In his path from a poor Suzhou scholar to a position as a renowned novelist, editor, and educator (and his later

⁵⁴ For a discussion of Ding’s translation work, see Niu Yahua 牛亞華 and Feng Lisheng 馮立昇, “Ding Fubao yu jindai Zhong-Ri yixue jiaoliu,” 丁福保與近代中日醫學交流 [Ding Fubao and modern Sino-Japanese medical information exchange], *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 25, no. 4 (2004): 315–329.

⁵⁵ See Gao Yuqiu 高毓秋, “Ding Fubao nianbiao” 丁福保年表 [Chronology of Ding Fubao], *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 33, no. 3 (2003): 184–188.

renown as a “founder” of the “Mandarin Ducks and Butterfly School”), Bao Tianxiao’s experience in these years can be considered a classic example of a certain segment of the educated elites in Southern China.⁵⁶

In terms of career models, both Zou Tao and Bao Tianxiao can be considered part of the same group of Jiangnan educated elites who worked as new-style literati. Zou Tao, however, was some years older than the late Qing scholars born in the 1860s–1870s; in fact, he belonged to the same generation as Ma Jianzhong (b. 1845) and Qian Xun (b. 1854). However, even though Zou Tao won the patronage of Xue Fucheng for his *An Investigation of the Recent Policies of All Nations*—which would place him in the same group of authorities on Western learning as Ma and Qian—his knowledge of Western learning did nothing to help him advance his official career, raise his social status, or boost his income. Even more interestingly, the image of Zou Tao that emerges from his extant writings as well as from secondary scholarship is one of an old-style literatus still wrapped up in writing romantic fiction and crafting ornate parallel prose. Zou Tao was born in the same era as Ma Jianzhong and Qian Xun, but lived long enough to see what he saw as the disarray caused by the May Fourth Movement. Of this period, one of Zou’s friends wrote that “the national essence has fallen into deep decline, and unlearned youths swoon under the spell of the vernacular . . . it is nauseating, but scholars now see it as the wave of the future”⁵⁷—a statement that only reinforced Zou’s image as an old-style literatus. The *Collection from the Thrice-Loaned Hut*, *San jie lu ji* 三借廬集, a collection of parallel prose published by Zou’s friends after his death, may make Zou appear to be even more of a traditionalist and reactionary, but if we place him in the context of the late Qing, we see that *An Investigation of the Recent Policies of All Nations* contains many ideas that at the time were considered “progressive.” Beyond this, we also see that Zou’s autobiographical novel, *Glimpses of Heaven and Earth in Shanghai*, *Haishang chen tian ying* 海上塵天影, written in a traditional framework with a typical late Qing plot, could in part be considered a supplement to *An Investigation of the Recent Policies of All Nations*, and even read as one “entry” within that larger work.⁵⁸

Zou Tao was born in Wuxi, Jiangsu in 1850. He attained the level of licentiate in the examinations in 1875, but failed at higher-level examinations for another decade. Around 1870–1871 he moved to Shanghai, where he started to work as a writer and editor for the *Shenbao* 申報. In 1892, he fell in love with the courtesan Wang Yuan 汪瑗. Shortly after, he turned the romance between the two into the aforementioned novel. In 1895, he returned to Shanghai with Wang Yuan after a few years of service as private secretary in Shandong and Hunan, and took up

⁵⁶ Li Renyuan, *Wan Qing de xin shi chuanbo meiti yu zhishifenzi*, 324–344.

⁵⁷ See Wu Yinpei 吳蔭培, preface to Zou Tao 鄒弢, *Sanjielu ji* 三借廬集 [Collection from the thrice-loaned hut] (Changshu: Kaiwen she yinshuasuo), 1:5.

⁵⁸ Liangxisixiangjiuwei 梁溪司香旧尉 [= Zou Tao], *Haishang chen tian ying* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1990).

residence in the Xujiahui 徐家匯 section of the city.⁵⁹ In 1900, Zou converted to Christianity. In 1905, he took up a teaching position at the Qiming (“Enlightenment”) Girls School, Qiming nü shu 啟明女塾.⁶⁰

Zou Tao taught at this school for 17 years. His work included editing textbooks, and advanced classes in writing—labors that were linked with the demands of the era and reflected the part of his life as a new-style literatus. Much like the Promotion of Writing House, Hong wen guan 宏文館, founded by Xu Nianci, these reform and enlightenment activities not only failed to provide a guaranteed income, they also incurred great financial losses for the men-of-letters who ventured into this market. This was also true of the Golden Grain Studio, Jin su zhai 金粟齋, Ye Han’s Enlightenment Bookstore, Qi zhi shuju 啟智書局,⁶¹ and the Qiming School.

When compared with some of the other massive works of the time, *An Investigation of the Recent Policies of All Nations*, which consisted of four volumes and 150 double-sided pages (i.e. 300 pages in contemporary pagination), was not a large-scale text. The *Investigation*, however, was published earlier than many similar works, and its contents were very concise and well-researched, so it is no wonder that it earned Xue Fucheng’s high praise and enjoyed strong sales on the book market.

At roughly twice the length of Lin Zexu’s *Record of the Four Continents*, Sizhou zhi 四洲志, the *Investigation of the Recent Policies of All Nations* included subjects such as astronomy, social customs, religion, geography, historical developments, and military affairs. The *Investigation* basically adopted the format used in earlier works that divided information according to continents and countries within them.⁶² Its main text is unpunctuated, but heading titles are clearly indicated. Each entry runs to between 200 and 300 characters.

If we compare Zou Tao’s narrative with Qian Xun’s detailed discussion of Japanese railroads, we see clear differences between these two encyclopaedists. Compared with Qian Xun’s overall understanding of Western learning and foreign affairs, Zou Tao positioned himself as an evidential scholar of foreign affairs, refusing to advance personal opinions on Western learning—clearly an enlightened decision. In his choice of sources and structuring of narrative, however, Zou Tao had something more in mind than simply boiling down complicated information or paying attention to specific details.

⁵⁹ Zou Tao, “Liushi fang yan,” 六十放言 [Frank words at sixty] in Zou Tao, *Sanjielu ji*, 107b.

⁶⁰ See Xiao Xiangkai 蕭相愷, “Zou Tao” 鄒弢, in *Zhongguo wenyuan xiaoshuojia pingzhuan* 中國文言小說家評傳 [Critical biographies of authors of Chinese classical fiction] (Zhengzhou: Zhengzhou guji, 2004), 830; and Huang Yi 黃毅, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in Zou Tao, *Haishang chen tian ying*.

⁶¹ See Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, “Chuangyinglou huiyilu” 釧影樓回憶錄 [Memoirs from Chuanying loft], in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xuji* 近代中國史料叢刊續輯 (Taipei: Wenhai, 1974), 48:237–247.

⁶² Zou Tao, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in Zou Tao, comp. *Wanguo jin zheng kaolüe*.

Taking Japan as an example, although the lengthy narrative of historical developments in Japan extended beyond the chronological range set for the book to include China's defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War, the ultimate goal of Zou Tao's selective discussion of the Meiji reforms was to arrive at a particular conclusion for the entire entry on Japan: "From the time when Japan began to implement Western methods, it sought truth from facts and was filled with great resolve. In the future, Japan and Russia will be the two great powers in Asia!"⁶³

In this 4,000-character entry, Zou Tao almost shows the novelist's touch, using a number of interesting details to create a highly readable narrative of Japanese history from earliest times through the Meiji era. Even more interesting, however, is that Zou Tao, perhaps because he became so absorbed in the material for the book and hoped it could be put to greater use, chose an entirely different route to disseminate it. In 1894–1895, when he was making plans to publish the *Investigations*, Zou Tao, writing in vernacular, worked similar and sometimes identical material into his autobiographical novel, *Glimpses of Heaven and Earth in Shanghai*. In this case, the interactions and overlap between fiction and encyclopaedias demonstrate the openness and flexibility of the boundaries between the late Qing encyclopaedia and other literary genres, as well as the universal presence of the forms of Western learning that so occupied the author of *Glimpses*.

Conclusions

From the preceding discussion and the material laid out in Zhong Shaohua's *New Tools of Knowledge*, it may be seen that the appearance of the encyclopaedia as a new means of organizing knowledge was closely related to the political environment around the year 1895. From 1900 on, the publication of encyclopaedias began to flourish. If we look more closely, however, it becomes clear that although the appearance of the encyclopaedia was indeed related to the events surrounding the First Sino-Japanese War of 1895, it was not a completely new development that suddenly came into being after the war. In fact, the form also had distant links to early efforts on the part of elite gentry after the Opium Wars to understand and make use of Western learning. Based on an initial assessment of a database of encyclopaedias assembled at the University of Heidelberg, Rudolf Wagner has argued that a number of works that could be considered encyclopaedic began to appear in China in 1872.⁶⁴ The works I have analyzed in this essay also show that a number of authors' and editors' experiences in foreign affairs from the 1870s to the 1890s were closely related to their publishing activities after the turn of the twentieth century.

⁶³ Zou Tao comp., *Wanguo jin zheng kaolüe*, 11a.

⁶⁴ Rudolf Wagner, "A Preliminary List of Early Modern Chinese Encyclopaedias, 1894–1911" (unpublished paper). I am grateful to Rudolf Wagner for providing me with this paper.

Zou Tao's *Investigation of the Recent Policies of All Nations* makes an even stronger case for establishing a genealogy between post-1895 encyclopaedias and the first generation of works on Western learning from the 1840s by Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan, Xu Jiyu 徐繼畬, and others. Like Chen Jitong and Kang Youwei, Zou Tao clearly used Wei Yuan's *Illustrated Record of Overseas Countries* and Xu Jiyu's (1795–1873) *Short Survey of the Maritime Circuits*, *Yinghuan zhilüe* 瀛寰志略,⁶⁵ as reference points for his narrative.

Apart from the family of works on Western learning comprised by the *Record of the Four Continents*, *Illustrated Record of Overseas Countries*, and Zou Tao's *Investigations*, the schools, newspapers, periodicals, and “mixed-blood institutions” formed by missionaries and the Qing government—such as the London Missionary Press, (founded in 1843), the Jiangnan Arsenal (founded 1865), and the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute—had a very strong influence on the transmission and popularization of Western learning in China before 1895.⁶⁶ Zou Tao, Ye Han, and Ye Lan all serve as clear examples of this influence. Since Zou Tao was Wang Tao's student and was familiar with missionaries' translated writings, we can reasonably assume that his *Compendium of Recent Western Affairs* drew some of its material from the translations of articles from the Western press,⁶⁷ which were published by the Translation Bureau of the Jiangnan Arsenal, and from *The Chinese Scientific Magazine*, *Gezhi huibian* 格致匯編, which was published by the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute.⁶⁸ The experiences and writings of Ye Han and Ye Lan offer very specific evidence of the influence that the Shanghai Polytechnic exerted on intellectuals in the transitional period leading up to the First Sino-Japanese War.

Another part of this half-century of knowledge on Western learning that was built up before 1895 can be found in the many diaries and journals of travels in the West that were published from the 1860s onward. These works also made a strong impression on late Qing encyclopaedias. They range from the earliest work,

⁶⁵ Xu Jiyu, *Yinghuan zhilüe* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 2001).

⁶⁶ For a discussion of these institutions and publications, see Natascha Vittinghoff, “Social Actors in the Field of New Learning in Nineteenth Century China,” in *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, ed. Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff (Brill: Leiden, 2004), 75–118.

⁶⁷ *Xiguo jin shi huibian* 西國近事匯編 [Compendium of recent Western affairs] (Shanghai: Shanghai jiqi zhizaoju, 1873).

⁶⁸ *Gezhi huibian*, parallel English title *The Chinese Scientific Magazine*, was published between 1876 and 1892. According to Vittinghoff, during its operation from 1868 to 1912, the Jiangnan Arsenal had ten instructors, including John Fryer, and 20 translators, including Hua Hengfang 華蘅芳. The Translation Bureau published the *Compendium of Recent Western Affairs*, which only published translations of world news, especially from the *London Times*. The *Compendium* was a major source of world news for China's elites, and counted Kang Youwei 康有為 and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 among its readers. The Shanghai Polytechnic Institution and Reading Room was modeled after the London Polytechnic. The Polytechnic, which had classrooms, a library, and an exhibition hall and published *The Chinese Scientific Magazine*, was an important social organization for those interested in Western learning. Vittinghoff, “Social Actors,” 93–96.

Jottings on Travels by Raft, *Cheng cha biji* 乘槎筆記, by Bin Chun 斌椿,⁶⁹ who was sent to Europe in 1860, to *Maritime Adventures*, *Hanghai shu qi* 航海述奇, and its sequel *Travels in Europe and America*, *Oumei huanyouji* 歐美環游記, both by Zhang Deyi 張德彝 (1847–1918), a product of the Tongwenguan 同文館, who also made the first of many trips abroad in 1860.⁷⁰ Although most of these works were arranged as diaries and often contained subject matter very different from later encyclopaedias, their remarks on geography, interesting events, social customs, institutions, and daily life have many similarities with later encyclopaedias.

Among the many works from the travel journal genre that began in the 1860s, two texts, *A Record of Sea Travels*, *Tan ying lu* 談瀛錄, by Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志,⁷¹ and *Jottings on Carefree Travels*, *Manyou suilu* 漫遊隨錄, by Wang Tao,⁷² are of particular interest for their resemblance to Zou Tao's later writings in the way they bring together the experiences of South China literati and transitional intellectuals. Both Yuan and Wang worked primarily in Shanghai and had been not only Zou Tao's teachers but also friends with him.

At times these texts take on the form of a travelogue, while at other times they offer the reader a thorough explanation of cultural and political developments in the West—often resembling Zou Tao's combination of literature and Western learning. It is no wonder, then, that Wang Tao made such extensive comments on the themes of *Glimpses of Heaven and Earth in Shanghai* in his preface to that book. Based on the timeframe in which the book was published and the teacher–student relationship between the two men, we not only can see Wang Tao's influence on Zou Tao, but also can imagine the extent of the influence of Western learning from the 1860s and 1870s—as embodied by Wang Tao—on the compilation of encyclopaedias in the 1890s and 1900s. Viewed in this light, literary accounts of travels to the West and their relationship to encyclopaedias of the 1890s and 1900s cannot be ignored in our discussions of genealogies of Western learning in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In temporal terms, the widespread appearance of encyclopaedias was a continuation of previous discourses on Western learning. In spatial terms, my initial analysis shows that the majority of the encyclopaedias' authors and compilers were from Jiangsu (Ma Jianzhong, Jiang Rongbao, Zou Tao, Ding Fubao, Ding Zuyin, Xu Nianci, etc.) and Zhejiang (Qian Xun, Dong Hongyi, Ye Lan), while a minority came from Fujian (Chen Shoupeng). This list is not complete, but it fits well with the analysis Natascha Vittinghoff conducted of the birthplaces of over 100 scientists (broadly defined), translators, and participants in the newspaper

⁶⁹ Bin Chun 斌椿, *Chengcha biji* 乘槎筆記 [Jottings on travels by raft], in Wang Xiqi, comp. *Xiaofanghuzhai yudi congchao*, (Shanghai: Zhuyi tang, 1897).

⁷⁰ Zhang Deyi 張德彝, *Hanghai shu qi* 航海述奇 [Maritime adventures] (China, 1867). Id., *Oumei huanyou ji: zai shuqi* 歐美環游記：再述奇 [Travels in Europe and America: More adventures] (Changsha: Hunan renmin, 1881).

⁷¹ Yuan Zuzhi, *Tan ying lu* (Shanghai: Tongwen shuju, 1884).

⁷² Wang Tao, *Manyou suilu*, in Wang Xiqi, comp. *Xiaofanghuzhai yudi congchao*.

industry from 1860–1911. Most of these individuals, whom Vittinghoff refers to as progressive or influential transmitters of new learning, were from the coastal provinces such as Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Hubei, and Hunan. Due to the many treaty ports in these areas, these people were far more likely to be influenced by new-style thinking and learning.⁷³ Encyclopaedists from these regions often knew one another and engaged in similar cultural activities, forming networks in Shanghai or in their hometowns. Some, such as Qian Xun and Dong Hongwei, came to work in “enlightenment” enterprises through their family connections. Others, such as Ye Lan, Dong Hongwei, and Wang Rongbao, established a base for radical revolutionary thinking in Japan during the time they spent studying abroad.

What virtually all these encyclopaedia editors have in common in contrast to men like Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, is that they were forced to abandon the traditional path to advancement through the civil examination system. Once they had taken the lowest-level Civil Service Examination degrees, they were forced to make a living through Western learning and current affairs, fields which at that time were filled with promise. Unlike literati before the Opium Wars who had failed to advance through the examination system, this group did not need to depend for their living on work as schoolteachers, ritual specialists, private secretaries, or entertainment writers. By working in the early foreign services, studying abroad, or engaging in enlightenment enterprises in Shanghai and elsewhere, they found ways to conduct their lives that showed essential differences from those of earlier, traditional literati.

Although these encyclopaedists varied widely in their political positions, professional training and career choices, together they opened a new area of inquiry and activity for late Qing intellectuals, and the new form of works they produced established another path to enlightenment in modern China. With a thorough grasp of social trends and market demands, they brought together the Western learning of the past and established a deep, lasting, and ultimately invisible basis for the May Fourth era's wave of new thinking on science, democracy, equality between men and women, and the superiority of Western material culture.

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⁷³ Vittinghoff, “Social Actors in the Field of New Learning in Nineteenth Century China,” 104.

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From News, *Xinwen* 新聞, to New Knowledge, *Xinxue* 新學: Newspapers as Sources for Early Modern Chinese Encyclopaedias

Natascha Gentz

Introduction

In this paper,¹ I will explore the process by which news and newspaper articles became a recognised source for Chinese encyclopaedic works of new knowledge in the late nineteenth century. At first sight, the assumption itself seems self-contradictory: we commonly think of newspapers and encyclopaedias as serving different purposes, as being manufactured under different premises, and as produced by different social actors. While we assume that journalists produce quick ephemeral news to be sold on a daily basis, encyclopaedists produce standardised and sustainable summaries of up-to-date learning. In times of rapid change, these might even serve as introductory reference works for a new order of knowledge or a new educational system. Again, while publishers of newspapers or encyclopaedias pursue similar goals—marketing information for the purpose of educating the common people—their understanding of how to achieve this differs fundamentally. In order to provide the latest information, but also to overcome the numbing reiteration of certain standardized statements, newspapers produce and disseminate new knowledge daily. Encyclopaedists, however, seem to aim for the exact opposite, namely to standardise the most recent knowledge and turn it into a canon authorised by either secular or religious authorities.

However, there are several indications that these premises and distinctions do not hold true for the production of Chinese encyclopaedic works between 1880 and 1911. In contrast to the large-scale European encyclopaedic projects carried out in the wake of the French enlightenment movement throughout the nineteenth century, China saw the production of over 200 encyclopaedic works of new knowledge—which at this stage consisted predominantly of Western knowledge—within the short decades

¹ I wish to thank the editors of this volume for their extraordinary editorial work and many helpful suggestions.

N. Gentz (✉)

Scottish Centre for Chinese Studies, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, United Kingdom
e-mail: ngentz@staffmail.ed.ac.uk

between the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895 and the end of the Dynasty in 1911, and more than twice this number if all works of new knowledge between 1850 and 1911 are included.² The pressing demand for new knowledge from the West and its obvious commercial viability fostered this burst of productivity and, given the scarcity of material that was available on the outside world, newspapers became a natural source for updates and new information.

Moreover, many of the new encyclopaedic works were produced by a rather homogeneous, newly-forming group of urban professionals in the Treaty Ports whose careers combined elements of classical Chinese and modern Western education. Many of them possessed different professional skills and thus worked simultaneously as translators, scientists, publishers or journalists.³ Most important in our context is the fact that a substantial number of prominent encyclopaedia editors—such as Cai Erkang 蔡爾康 (1852–1921), Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–1897), Lei Jin 雷璿 (1871–1941), Zou Tao 鄒弢 (1850–1931), and Wang Kangnian 汪康年 (1860–1911)—were all (also) journalists.⁴

It has long been held by the historical profession that information gleaned from newspapers cannot count as true “knowledge,” which can be established only through standardised academic procedures. Because of their method of information production, articles in newspapers were for a long time seen as a “weak” source of little academic credibility. However, as Paul Michel and Madeleine Herren point out, “information and knowledge and education are flowing terms whose definitions strongly vary according to time and culture” quite apart from the fact that “any kind of data . . . stored by people is pre-selected and pre-formed according to certain principles.”⁵ Accordingly, knowledge is formed by evaluating and incorporating information into existing frameworks of experience, as well as by ordering the chaotic mass of available empirical information into significant categories. Thus, data itself do not translate into knowledge through a simple procedure of data processing, but information receives its particular status in the hierarchy of knowledge through the framework in which it is presented.

² For statistics on the encyclopaedic works, see Fig. 1 in the Introduction to the present volume. For the larger set of books on new knowledge, see the bibliographical database compiled for the project “Wissenschaftssprache Chinesisch” (Modern Chinese Scientific Terminologies) in Göttingen in 1999–2001, which contains more than 400 titles on new knowledge, *xinxue* 新學, ranging from the 1850s to the early years of the twentieth century (http://mcst.uni-hd.de/search/searchMCST_short.lasso).

³ For a prosopographical study of these new Treaty Port intellectuals, see Natascha Vittinghoff, “Social Actors in the Field of New Learning,” in *Mapping Meanings. The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, eds. Natascha Vittinghoff and Michael Lackner (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 75–118.

⁴ For biographical data on these journalists and their involvement in journalism, see Natascha Vittinghoff, *Die Anfänge des Journalismus in China, 1860–1911* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

⁵ Paul Michel and Madeleine Herren, “Unvorgreifliche Gedanken zu einer Theorie des Enzyklopädischen” [Open-ended thoughts about a theory of the encyclopaedic], in *Allgemeinwissen und Gesellschaft: Akten des internationalen Kongresses über Wissenstransfer und enzyklopädische Ordnungssysteme, vom 18. bis 21. September 2003 in Pragins*, eds. Paul Michel, Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch (Aachen: Shaker, 2007), 23.

The first section of this paper presents a case study of how already early editors of Chinese newspapers started to tackle the problem of translating newspaper information into standardised knowledge and of integrating this information into existing frameworks of knowledge. With the *Classified Collection of News*, *Jiwen leibian* 記聞類編 (1877), a collection of *Shenbao* (*Shanghai Journal*) 申報 articles,⁶ we have an example of newspaper “information” being collected and processed into “knowledge” suited to a handbook for reference. It shows how information gains status through its insertion into a higher-register framework of knowledge—be it as new knowledge within an established order or as a constituent element in a newly-established order of things. Both as an encyclopaedic handbook and a collection of essays, the *Classified Collection* seems to provide a good example, since it combines different strategies of validating new knowledge and making it accessible. It does so by linking it to older assumptions about the order of things to ensure easy location, while at the same time resetting the hierarchies of knowledge through elements inextricably linked with the new information conveyed.

The *Classified Collection* is, to my knowledge, a unique attempt in nineteenth century China to transform texts from a single newspaper into a text collection that is assigned long-lasting and substantial value. The commercial publication in book form suggests a demand for this kind of information. The work, designated as “classified”, suggests a specific implied intention as to how this volume should be read and used: it is not simply a random collection of articles.

It is now generally accepted that early newspapers in the nineteenth century such as the *Shenbao* introduced new Western knowledge with the effect of transforming the intellectual outlook of the so-called traditional literati, while simultaneously drawing on well-established ideas and forms of elite communication.⁷ During the late Qing there was a close interaction between Chinese and foreigners in newspaper publishing as well as generally in the field of new learning. The *Classified Collection* was produced amidst a rapid increase in the global circulation of knowledge.⁸ It thus represents a form of ‘entangled knowledge’ of various registers whose specific origins are usually hard to trace. As the work contains both the vestiges of old orders

⁶ Cai Erkang 蔡爾康, comp., *Jiwen leibian* 記聞類編 (Shanghai: Jiqi yinshuju, 1877). The “machine printing office” 機器印書局 which published the book was probably part of the *Shenbao* publishing conglomerate. The full name of this office will be found in the advertisement for the book, *Shenbao*, March 28, 1977, p. 7. This advertisement also shows that the publication was originally planned as the beginning of a series. The *Shenbao* was one of the earliest Chinese-language newspapers in China. Founded in 1872 in Shanghai, it reached a nationwide circulation of 10,000 copies daily within a few years.

⁷ Natascha Vittinghoff, “Useful Knowledge and Proper Communication: Strategies and Models of Publishing Houses in the Formative Stage of the Chinese Press (1872–1882),” in *Joining the Global Public. Word, Image and City in the Early Chinese Newspapers 1870–1910*, ed. Rudolf G. Wagner (New York: SUNY, 2007), 47–104.

⁸ For the context of the emphasis on fact-based objective reporting and analysis at the time in diplomatic reports, diplomats’ diaries, newspapers, encyclopaedic works and even novels, see the contributions by Douglas Reynolds and Rudolf Wagner in this volume.

and the germs of new orders of knowledge, I will investigate in what way and to what ends these were integrated into a new taxonomy of knowledge.

The second section of this paper shows how this new status of newspaper information was legitimised two decades later by information *about* newspapers becoming part of canonical knowledge itself. By the end of the nineteenth century, encyclopaedias and collections of sources on Western knowledge had become major resources for preparing candidates for the new content of the reformed examinations. Even more direct resources came in the form of collections of model essays that provided and concentrated the knowledge necessary to pass the examinations. I will explore how new knowledge from newspapers gained legitimate and canonical status by looking at how examination candidates preparing for tests on new knowledge were persuaded of the quality of the information in a handbook for examination preparation, the *Comprehensive Summary of Imperial Examinations about Government and Technical Learning in China and Foreign Countries*, *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong* 中外政藝策府統宗 (1901). While the new business of newspaper publishing had become a topic new encyclopaedias dealt with incidentally, the *Comprehensive Summary* is unique as it contains a whole section of articles devoted to knowledge about “dailies,” *ribao* 日報.⁹ While newspapers were a major source for the examination essays and encyclopaedias, at the same time knowledge about these new sources had to be established among the candidates. In this manner, model essays functioned as a meta-text explaining why the new canon of new knowledge could legitimately be based on these new sources.

As is well-known, Michel Foucault begins his seminal study on the “Order of Things” with Jorge Luis Borges’s famous quotation about an imaginary Chinese encyclopaedia, the *Celestial Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge*, containing an obviously absurd taxonomy.¹⁰ While this taxonomy is patently inconceivable in the Chinese intellectual tradition, Borges does not actually cite this example to advocate taxonomic clarity or to expose Confucian intellectuals; quite to the contrary, he uses it to argue that this taxonomy is perhaps no less arbitrary than any other:

... it is clear that there is no classification of the Universe [which is not] arbitrary and full of conjectures. The reason for this is very simple: we do not know what thing the universe is. [...] If there is a universe, its aim is not conjectured yet; we have not yet conjectured the words, the definitions, the etymologies, the synonyms, from the secret dictionary of God.¹¹

Following the basic premise that certain taxonomies must have made sense for a certain group of people at a certain point in time, it is only through cultural and historical contextualisation that we may be able to identify the criteria which allowed a book to operate as a guide. At the same time, as we know from Foucault’s

⁹ Yishu hui zhuren 譯書會主人, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong* 中外政藝策府統宗 (Shanghai: Zhong wai yishu hui, 1901), *juan* 24. For details of the entries on newspapers in late Qing encyclopaedic works, see the essay by Rudolf Wagner in this volume.

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London: Routledge, 1991) xv.

¹¹ Jorge L. Borges, “John Wilkin’s Analytical Language,” in *Selected Non-Fictions: Jorge Luis Borges*, ed. Eliot Weinberger (New York: Penguin Books 1999), 231.

exegesis of Borges and this quotation, the self-reflexive destruction of a common ground in this enumeration leads to linguistic practice as the only realm in which the world can be ordered. The following inquiry is guided by these observations.

Entangled Knowledge and its Organisation: *Classified Collection of News*

The *Classified Collection* claims to be a classified collection of *Shenbao* articles from the first 2 years of this paper, 1872 and 1873.¹² It was probably assembled by one of the first journalists from the *Shenbao*, Cai Erkang, who also wrote the preface to the collection. Coming out in 1877, 5 years after the articles had originally appeared in the *Shenbao*, the collection directly claimed a lasting value for these articles.

During his appointment at the *Shenbao* publishing house, Cai seems to have closely cooperated with Ernest Major (1841–1908), the British owner of the paper, collecting rare books for the publishing house and editing a vernacular *People's Newspaper*, *Minbao* 民報. After leaving *Shenbao* in 1881, he worked on several other newspapers—such as the *Shanghai Chinese Newspaper*, *Zilin Hu bao* 字林滬報, the *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報 [parallel title: *Review of the Times*], and the *Nanyang Gazette*, *Nanyang guanbao* 南洋官報. He became famous for his collaborations with the missionaries Timothy Richard, Li Timotai 李提摩太 (1845–1919), and Young Allen, Lin Yuezhi 林樂知 (1836–1907)—especially in the translation of *The 19th Century: A History* by Robert Mackenzie (1823–1881) as *Essentials of the West's Recent History*, *Taixi xinshi lanyao* 泰西新史攬要, which upon publication in 1894 became one of the most important books on recent Western political institutions and history available in China¹³; and for cooperating with Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–1897) in compiling the *The Background Story of Sino-Japanese War*,

¹² Since the generic term *lei* 類 in the title *Classified Collection* suggests its close relation to *leishu*, as a “classified book,” which complies with the most general definition given by Kenneth Dewoskin, I feel safe to assume that certain assumptions about *leishu* may also be expected to operate in this collection of texts. Moreover, the title suggests that the volume is not meant to be read in a linear fashion, but presented as a handbook for looking up specific topics of interest. Cf. Kenneth Dewoskin, “Lei-shu,” in *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, 526–29 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Christoph Kaderas, *Die Leishu der imperialen Bibliothek des Kaisers Qianlong* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).

¹³ Makenxi 馬懇西 (= Robert Mackenzie), *Taixi xinshi lanyao* 泰西新史攬要 [Essentials of the West's recent history], [orally] trans. Timothy Richard 李提摩太, recorded by Cai Erkang 蔡爾康 (Shanghai: Tushu jicheng, 1896; reprint, Shanghai: Guangxue hui, 1902). Based on Mackenzie's *The 19th Century. A History* (London: T. Nelson, 1880). The first edition of 30,000 volumes sold out quickly, another edition in 1898 again sold out in 2 weeks. Moreover, there were over 20 different editions of the *Essentials of the West's Recent History*, and 100 copies alone were ordered by the Hanlin Academy.

Zhong Dong zhanji benmo 中東戰紀本末, an anthology of news on the Sino-Japanese war with two sequels, which was also extremely successful.¹⁴ With this educational background and career, Cai Erkang represents a model case of a new Treaty Port literatus engaged in various fields of translation, journalism and scholarship.

As expressed in Cai's preface to the *Classified Collection* as well as in promotional articles in the *Shenbao*, two factors made the production and design of this reader handbook necessary: the wealth of unorganised information in newspapers, and this information's often ephemeral nature. This collection thus attempts a systematic selection and presentation of information for general, long-term usage.

Anxiety that useful information from this corpus might disappear was also expressed in leading articles, and led to the common practice of individuals compiling collections of newspaper clippings or even personally hand-copying newspaper articles.¹⁵ This experience of overproduction and ensuing loss of unstructured information was widespread among Western publishers as well, as can be seen from almost identical statements justifying the publication of review journals in order to provide more systematic access to information.¹⁶

When the *Classified Collection* appeared in 1877, the *Shenbao* was China's largest daily newspaper and had been running very successfully for 5 years. During the years 1872–1873, editors had to select articles from a pool of roughly 7,500, given an average of 1–3 articles on every page.¹⁷

Unfortunately, neither prefatory nor editorial materials explain the specific rationale behind the selection, invoking only the stock phrase of “lofty discussions and

¹⁴ Lin Yuezhi 林樂知 (= Young John Allen), tr., Cai Erkang 蔡爾康, comp., *Zhong Dong zhanji benmo* 中東戰紀本末 (Shanghai: Guangxue hui, 1896). The two sequels, *xubian* 續編 and *sanbian* 三編, came out in the same year (Shanghai: Tushi jicheng, 1896). On Cai Erkang, see Zhang Hui 章暉 and Ma Jun 馬軍, “Youli zai ru ye zhi jian de Cai Erkang” 游離在儒耶之間的蔡爾康 [Cai Erkang, drifting between Confucianism and Christianity] *Lishi yu renwu* 5 (1998): 72–74; Natascha Vittinghoff, “Ein Leben am Rande des Ruhms: Cai Erkang (1852–1921)” in *In Memoriam of Helmut Martin*, ed. Christina Neder, Heiner Rötz and Ines-Susanne Schilling (Bochum: Projekt Verlag 2001), 195–205; Natascha Vittinghoff, *Die Anfänge des Journalismus*; Tian Zhongchu 田中初, “Youli zai Zhong Xi zhi jian de wan Qing baoren Cai Erkang” 遊歷在中西之間的晚清報人蔡爾康 [Cai Erkang: A late Qing journalist drifting between China and the West], *Xinwen daxue* 4 (2003): 23–27. Cai is known for having coined the Chinese rendering for Karl Marx in an article for the *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報 [parallel title: *Review of the Times*], which he edited with Timothy Richard.

¹⁵ Wanwei Shuqiao 宛委書樵, “Xuan xinwenzhi cheng shu shuo” 選新聞紙成書說 [About a selection of newspaper articles being made into a book], *Shenbao*, March 28, 1877, 1.

¹⁶ For example, the famous journalist W. T. Stead (1849–1912), who founded the *Review of Reviews* in Britain in 1890, explains in the preface to his new journal why a guide and index to all publications in existence is needed. “Programme,” *The Review of Reviews* 1 (1890): 14.

¹⁷ Beginning May 1872, the *Shenbao* appeared daily (except Sundays) in eight pages, with three pages of editorials, articles, and poetry and three pages of reprints from the *Peking Gazette*, *Jingbao* 京報, one page of advertisements, and one page for shipping announcements.

broad debates; all startling, astonishing, strange and heartening matters” (崇論閎議夫可驚可愕可奇可喜之事).¹⁸ Without a clear editorial statement, we need to extract the editorial choices from the actual organisation of the material so as to explore the editor’s criteria in selecting and organizing the articles.

Cai Erkang sketches the content of the two volumes as “being classified as memorials, discussion, current affairs, miscellaneous news and poetry [etc.]” 奏摺論議時事雜聞詩歌分類有二集.¹⁹ More precisely the material is organised into the following 1 categories:

Memorials	奏疏類 (<i>Zoushu lei</i>)	18 則
Current Policies	時政類 (<i>Shizheng lei</i>)	26 則
Discussions	論議類 (<i>Lunyi lei</i>)	22 則
Discussions	論議類 (<i>Lunyi lei</i>)	23 則
Local conditions, conditions of the people	風土民情類 (<i>Fengtu minqing lei</i>)	29 則
Diplomatic relations and trade	邦交互市類 (<i>Bangjiao hushi lei</i>)	30 則
Current Affairs in Foreign Countries	外邦時事類 (<i>Waibang shishi lei</i>)	48 則
Extraordinary Behaviour	畸行類 (<i>Jixing lei</i>)	39 則
Strange Anecdotes	異聞類 (<i>Yiwen lei</i>)	50 則
Love Stories	艷蹟類 (<i>Yanji lei</i>)	36 則
Natural History	博物類 (<i>Bowu lei</i>)	23 則
Literature and Language	文辭類 (<i>Wen ci lei</i>)	29 則
Literature and Language	文辭類 (<i>Wen ci lei</i>)	82 則
Miscellanea	雜著類 (<i>Zazhu lei</i>)	35 則

These categories generally reflect the variety of articles printed in the *Shenbao* on a daily basis. On the fundamental premise that the orders of classification are hierarchical, it would seem that the topics of traditional statecraft matters, modern diplomacy and commerce are seen as the most important. However, numbering 196, these articles make up less than half of the total of 490 entries.

The systematic ordering of information is a process of choice, selection and hierarchisation. Even 15 years after the publication of the *Classified Collection*, Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) maintained, in the preface to his famous catalogue of Western books, that “the classification of Western books is most difficult.”²⁰ This is repeated in other prefaces, such as in Zhao Weixi’s 趙惟熙 (1860–1917) preface to *Answers to Questions on Western Book Catalogues*, *Xixue*

¹⁸ This definition of the *Shenbao*’s news value appears in the preface to the volume, as well as the editorial promoting this book, and is recognisable as it likewise appears in the editorial announcement of the *Shenbao*’s inaugural issue: “Benguan gaobai,” 本館告白 [Announcement by our publishing house], *Shenbao*, 30 April, 1872, 1.

¹⁹ Preface. Cai Erkang 蔡爾康, “Jiwen leibian” 記聞類編 [Classified collection of news] in *Zhongguo jindai shiliao congkan sanbian* 中國近代史料叢刊三編 [Collection of materials on the history of modern China] (Tabei: Wenhai 1986), 172–173. This preface is not in the original edition at the Harvard Yenching Institute.

²⁰ Liang Qichao 梁啟超, “Xixue shumu biao xuli” 西學書目表序例 [Preface and reading instructions to a bibliography of Western learning], in *Zhixue congshu chuji* 質學叢書初集 [Encyclopaedia of substantive learning. First set] (Wuchang: Zhixuehui, 1897), 3a.

shumu dawen 西學書目答問, which states that while the classification of books is difficult *per se*, with books on Western learning it is even more difficult.²¹ Iwo Amelung has concluded from his study of early books on Western learning that no specific method of organisation and classification can be observed.²² And yet, in order to make the information presented retrievable, certain established orders of knowledge must have been recognisable to the readers in their historical context.

Paul Michel has examined the organisation of several hundred Western encyclopaedias throughout history. The general factors that influence choices in taxonomy included: Practical usage (*ordo cognoscendi*) for information retrieval, basic assumptions about the world structure in culture/society (*ordo essendi*), educational level of the user,²³ and technical aspects.²⁴

The *Classified Collection* is divided into two volumes totalling approximately 800 pages and containing 490 articles organised into 12 categories. The editor would have had several models available to order the material according to the criteria proposed by Michel: the order of the newspaper itself, the order of statecraft writing, *jingshiwen* 經世文,²⁵ or earlier *leishu* or *leibian* collections, with lemmata organised topically,²⁶ graphically,²⁷ or phonetically.²⁸

However, the first option was impractical, since, in contrast to its Hong Kong counterparts such as the *Universal Circulating Herald*, Tsun-wan yat-po (Xunhuan ribao) 循環日報, the *Chinese Daily Newspaper*, Huazi ribao 華字日報, and the *Sino-Foreign Newspaper*, Zhong wai xinbao 中外新報, the *Shenbao* did not

²¹ Zhao Weixi, *Xixue shumu dawen* (Guiyang: Guiyang xueshu, 1901).

²² Cf. Iwo Amelung's essay in this volume.

²³ Note that the alphabet also grants easy access for lay scientists, whereas dispositions according to basic assumptions about the order of the world require knowledge of these assumptions. In the European context, the introduction of the alphabetical order was seen as a "massacre of categories" by the cultural historian Robert Darnton; a similar "neutral" way of ordering was also introduced by missionaries to China in the nineteenth century in the form of stroke number classification in order to dissolve all existent orders of classification. Stroke numbers were introduced to Chinese encyclopaedias in 1908 and 1911. See also Milena Doleželová-Velingerová's contribution in this volume.

²⁴ Summarised from Paul Michel, "Ordnungen des Wissens. Darbietungsweisen des Materials in Enzyklopädien" in *Populäre Enzyklopädien. Von der Auswahl, Ordnung und Vermittlung von Wissen*, ed. Ingrid Tomkowiak (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2002), 5–83.

²⁵ For the relation between the *Jiwen leibian* and collections of statecraft writings of the late nineteenth century, see Andrea Janku, "Preparing the Ground for Revolutionary Discourse: From the Jingshiwen Compilations to Journalistic Writings in Nineteenth Century China," *T'oung Pao* 90, nos. 1–3 (2004): 65–121.

²⁶ Beginning with the *Erya* 爾雅 (third century B.C.E.).

²⁷ As in dictionaries, since the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 [Explaining words by analyzing characters] (100 C.E.).

²⁸ As in rhyme lexica since the *Qieyun* 切韻 (601 C.E.). Arguably, all three examples represent dictionaries and lexica rather than encyclopaedias, yet, apart from the *Qieyun*, their content is arranged according to *leishu* categories.

contain rubrics or specially headed sections.²⁹ Moreover, the order of entries in the volume also does not correspond to the original order of articles in the newspaper: while the *Shenbao* reprinted the *Peking Gazette*, *Jingbao* 京報, on the last page in its entirety, a practice for which it received much criticism,³⁰ the editor here chose to put official memorials at the beginning. Also, in the *Shenbao*, “Natural Science” articles, as well as some “Literature and Language,” had been placed as editorials on the first page, but here they appear towards the end of the work.

The editors’ choice not to follow the order familiar to *Shenbao* readers suggests that their intentions were more ambitious than simply the preservation of published articles. The collection was to serve an urban literate readership generally concerned with acquiring useful new knowledge in a practical handbook format.

The second option would have been to follow the taxonomy of collections of statecraft writing, given that—as convincingly shown by Andrea Janku—their content converged with newspaper writing, and that they became models for the editorial style in the *Shenbao*.³¹ Successive new editions of statecraft writings, such as Mai Zhonghua’s 麥仲華 *New Collection of Statecraft Essays of Our August Dynasty*, *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian* 皇朝經世文新編 (1898),³² also provided classificatory models for later collections of Western learning. Yet while these collections include some similar materials, such as memorials and discussions of current affairs, the *Classified Collection* also had to accommodate other *Shenbao* elements such as anecdotes about “Strange Phenomena,” *Yiwen* 異聞, and “Extraordinary Behaviour,” *Jixing* 畸形, as well as “Literature and Language,” *Wenci* 文辭 and “Natural History,” *Bowu* 博物.

Also, in contrast to the *New Collection of Statecraft Essays*, the pieces in the *Classified Collection* were mostly anonymous with the exception of memorials, whose authors were renowned, “progressive” officials of the day.³³ As was common in newspaper publishing of the time, importance is thus attributed directly to the information and the new knowledge itself rather than to the authority of the author.

Separated into two volumes, we can assume that a strict distinction was being made between the serious and reputable occupation with current policies and government affairs in the first volume, and trifling entertainments in the form of strange tales, supernatural things and poetry, etc. in the second. The factor

²⁹ These Hong Kong papers all had similar layouts, organised under rubric headings like “Selections from/Complete Peking Gazette,” *Jingbao xuanlu* 京報選錄, *Jingbao quanlu* 京報全錄, “News from Canton,” *Yangcheng xinwen* 羊城新聞, “National and International News,” *Zhong wai xinwen* 中外新聞, “Telegrams,” *Dianbao* 電報 and “Letters,” *Laizha* 來札.

³⁰ See Natascha Vittinghoff, *Die Anfänge*, 277–278.

³¹ Andrea Janku draws a direct connection to the *Classified Collection of News*. See Janku, “Preparing the Ground.”

³² Mai Zhonghua 麥仲華, *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian* 皇朝經世文新編 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1898).

³³ Only a few other articles are signed—mostly with pennames. Among them are five poems by Cai Erkang under one of his pennames, Immortal Historian of the Threads of Fragrance, *Lüxin xianshi* 縷馨僊史.

underlying such a distinction would be the *ordo cognoscendi*, focusing on its practical usability as a handbook and its intended audience: an official or political aficionado would look through the first volume, while the literati would take up the second for entertainment or discussions of literary issues.

So, quite in contrast to Borges's *Celestial Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge*, the arrangement seems sensible and practical. However, this order is not fully supported by the actual content of the articles within the categories. Instead, articles of similar content are spread over different sections, and categories may contain a variety of content, so that in this respect the order is not perhaps any less arbitrary than in Borges's example.

When discussing Borges's observations about this strange Chinese encyclopaedia and the impossibility of ordering the world into universally acceptable categories, Foucault is not so much concerned with Borges's conclusion about the necessity to accept alternative arrangements as meaningful to somebody, but instead concludes that it is linguistic practice and choices which precondition the order of things.³⁴

The contingencies of (trans-)linguistic practice—especially apparent during the late Qing in the fields of new knowledge and the newspapers—might explain the contingencies in ordering the volume. An example is the *bowu* 博物 section in the second volume, inserted between strange tales and literature and poetry. In general, the term *bowu* refers to realms transgressing the boundaries of the defined canon of knowledge, covering a variety of matters from the strange and supernatural to quaint things of interest, and, in a narrower sense, studies of natural phenomena such as animals and plants, traceable to the term's *locus classicus* in the *Analects*, Lunyu 論語.

In the *Shenbao*, *bowu* is used in the original, ambivalent sense. That the term referred to natural sciences, or natural history, as well as supernatural phenomena or knowledge from both the empirical as well as imaginative realm, is best exemplified in Zhang Hua's 張華 (232–300) *Miscellaneous Records*, *Bowu zhi* 博物志.³⁵ In its inaugural statements as well as elsewhere, the *Shenbao* confidently explains why strange and absurd phenomena need to be included in newspapers and cites Zhang's work, as well as *Investigations Into Deities*, *Sou shen ji* 搜神記,³⁶ as sources of authority.³⁷

³⁴ Foucault, *Order of Things*, xvi–xvii.

³⁵ The title of the *Bowu zhi* is translated variously as *Record of Various Things*, *Treatise on the Investigation of Things* or *Records of the Strange*, according to the translator's emphasis. In order to retain the ambiguity of the title I prefer to use the original Chinese. For more information on the *Bowu zhi* see Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion*, 215.

³⁶ For general information on the *Investigation into Deities* see Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion*, 716–17.

³⁷ For example: “Benguan gaobai” 本館告白 [Announcement by our publishing house], *Shenbao*, 30 April, 1872, 1; “Benguan tiaoli” 本館條例 [Statutes of our publishing house], *Shenbao*, 30 April, 1872, 2; “Benguan zishu” 本館自述 [Self-description of our publishing house], *Shenbao*, 8 May, 1872, 1; “Benguan zixu” 本館自敘 [Introduction by our publishing house], *Shenbao*, 20 May, 1872, 1.

The ambiguous nature of the category of *bowu* is also revealed by its place in earlier encyclopaedias and book catalogues. The *Collection of Texts and Illustrations, Old and New*, *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (1726–1728), has a single section for *bowu*, but it contains subsections for literature and deities as well as plants and animals. In the *Comprehensive Entries for the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*, *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目,³⁸ published about 60 years later, the *Bowuzhi* is placed in the literature section.

Accordingly, in this *Shenbao* collection, the *bowu* section is well placed between “Love Stories,” *Yanji lei* 艷蹟類, and “Literature and Language,” *Wenci lei* 文辭類, in the second volume.

However, during the late nineteenth century, the term *bowu* also came increasingly to signify “new knowledge” and “natural history,” as in Daniel Jerome Macgowan’s 瑪高溫 (1814–1893) renowned *Philosophical Almanac in Chinese* [parallel title:] *Bowu tongshu* 博物通書,³⁹ or Benjamin Hobson’s 合信 (1816–1873) *Natural Philosophy*, *Bowu xinbian* 博物新編,⁴⁰ both of which have *bowu* in the title. At the same time, “scientific” or new knowledge—referred to not only as *bowu* but also as “investigation of things,” *gezhi* 格致—was gradually integrated into the notion of “science,” *kexue* 科學. These ideas were also gradually equated with Western knowledge, *Xixue* 西學, even if the old terminology was still used, as in the last two examples mentioned.⁴¹ With the publication of the dictionary *The New Erya*, *Xin Erya* 新爾雅 (1903) by Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶 (1878–1933), and Ye Lan 葉瀾, which explains the main disciplines in the West, the term *bowu* in the broad sense was already abandoned, and only used in the sense of “natural history” by Zeng Pu 曾樸 and Xu Nianci 徐念慈 in their *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History*, *Bowu da cidian* 博物大辭典.⁴² Already in the *Classified Collection*, the content of all the articles in the *bowu* section refers exclusively to scientific and technical knowledge—or “new knowledge”—derived from the West. Disseminating this new knowledge was one of the prime objectives of late Qing newspapers. For this reason, longer articles concerning railways, coal mines, new inventions, etc. usually had a prominent position, mostly on page one, and preceded social news and anecdotes. In this volume, the connotations of the term *bowu* did not include the supernatural (as is the case in the *Shenbao* paper), but *bowu* is conceived purely as new “scientific” knowledge.

³⁸ Ji Yun 紀昀, *Siku quanshu zongmu* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, [1782] 1964).

³⁹ D. J. Macgowan/Magaowen 瑪高溫, *Philosophical Almanac in Chinese*/[parallel title:] *Bowu tongshu* 博物通書 (Ningbo: Zhenshen tang, 1851).

⁴⁰ Benjamin Hobson/Hexin 合信, *Bowu xinbian* 博物新編 (Shanghai: Mohai shuguan, 1855).

⁴¹ The linguistic substitution of *gezhi* and *bowu*, i.e. new knowledge that comprises the field of “science” including social sciences open to hybrid and diverse practices, with *xixue* is usually attributed to the late 1880s and 1890s. For a detailed discussion of this process, see Benjamin Elman, “From Pre-modern Chinese Natural Studies 格致学 to Modern Science 科学 in China,” in *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, ed. Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff, 25–74 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁴² On the *New Erya* and the *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History* see Milena Doleželová-Velingerová’s contribution in this volume.

However, at the same time it is not placed in as prominent a position as in the newspaper, but quite to the contrary in the interstice between the strange and the fictional, following earlier established categorisations.

Within specific categories, the intricacies of integrating the different fields of new Western knowledge into a taxonomy are even more apparent. Issues that are dealt with under “Natural History” overlap with the sections “Current Policies,” Shizheng lei 時政類, “Discussions,” Lunyi lei 論議類, “Diplomatic Relations and Trade,” Bangjiao hushi lei 邦交互市類, and “Current Affairs in Foreign Countries,” Waibang shishi lei 外邦時事類.

Also, in the second volume, the first part of the literature section contains essays and book reviews, among them books on Western learning published by the Shanghai Arsenal, Shanghai zhizaoju 上海制造局, an announcement and a review of Wang Tao’s *The Franco-Prussian War*, Pu Fa zhanji 普法戰紀, a biography of Stanislas Julien (1797–1873) and Wang Tao’s “Farewell Letter to James Legge”, Li Yage 理雅各 (1814–1897)—all issues which could easily have fitted into the *bowu*, or Western knowledge, section.

That the first categories have different genres in their headings suggests a categorisation in terms of genre rather than content, as for example “Memorials” and “Discussion.” However, this assumption is also not sustainable because we find “Discussion,” Lun 論 in either the “Current Policy” or the “Natural History” section, or a complete mix of genres in the “Literature and Language” section.⁴³

The most plausibly recognisable order seems to be social hierarchy, which again means that the *ordo essendi* is being applied. A basic hierarchical taxonomy for the structure of the world/society is represented in the well-established “heaven man earth,” tian-di-ren 天地人 triad, a hierarchy replicated, for example, in the section “Man” in the *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*, Taiping yulan 太平禦覽 (984CE). The first chapters in this section are concerned with emperors, rulers and the government (4–11), followed by categories for ordinary people (12–14), and then literature and the classics (17–18).⁴⁴

The *Classified Collection* seems to operate on similar assumptions. It starts from the centre, e.g. the government and memorials to the throne, then continues with proclamations by local magistrates such as Ye Tingjuan 葉廷眷 (1829–1886) in the “Current Policies” section, and proceeds, on the third level, with common, anonymous people discussing different policies.⁴⁵ The collection concludes with stories of human interest and diverting writings of literati.

This would conform with Kenneth Dewoskin’s observation that Chinese encyclopaedias have shown an impressive consistency over time in their organisation.⁴⁶ They all ordered content according to a “list of substantive topics, which themselves are significant as a historically sanctioned, non-arbitrary, and prioritised order of

⁴³ Dewoskin, “Lei-shu”, 528.

⁴⁴ Li Fang 李昉 *et al.*, comp., *Taiping yulan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju [1984] 1985).

⁴⁵ One article in the “discussion” section refers to a memorial in the first section.

⁴⁶ Dewoskin, “Lei-shu,” 529.

intellectual concerns.⁴⁷ To follow this established prioritisation is, however, contrary to the actual content and aim of the *Shenbao* and this volume. It thus reveals the editor's quandary: he adheres to the traditional hierarchy of social order (conforming to the traditional concept of encyclopaedic topical lemmata), which also implies a hierarchical order of legitimate speech, even though the newspaper's ultimate and express aim is to provide a forum of open discussion to all readers.

At the same time, the introduction of new knowledge and of new media for its dissemination was obviously also meant as a challenge to this previously acknowledged *ordo essendi*. This is most apparent in the category of "Diplomatic Relations and Trade" and "Current Affairs in Foreign Countries." According to the traditional order of men and things, features not related to China were inserted between men and animals/plants. The *Imperial Reading of the Taiping Era* thus lists foreign legations and foreign communities and their commodities just before ghosts (43–44), followed by animals (45–48) and plants (49–55). Obviously, given the strong inclination of newspaper journalists to introduce and explain foreign things to the public, such a representation of foreigners could not be adopted by the editors of the newspapers or the *Classified Collection*. New categories had to be created.

The position of "Natural History" in the *Classified Collection* is thus 'correct' in a double sense, whether understood as referring to the supernatural or to foreign knowledge—although it is questionable whether this was a strategic decision and intended by the compiler.

The example of integrating Western new knowledge under the heading of a term that had already become familiar with its new transformed meaning and was situated in the interstice between the strange and the fictional, shows how the organisation of new knowledge is entangled and entrapped by the fluidity of transforming linguistic practices. The example highlights how the organisers of the handbook were swaying between an organisation according to practical usage (*ordo cognescendi*) and by an order of being (*ordo essendi*), manifest, for example, in a commonly shared worldview.

In this case, this is due to the semantic fluidity of new knowledge (e.g. *bowu*) during this period. At the same time, it is also obvious that the new endeavour was bound to engender a change not only in the realm of knowledge, but also in the hitherto firmly established realm of being.

The arrangement of the *Classified Collection* reflects the confluence of different modes of ordering empirical knowledge within a single handbook. The intricacies implied in categorising reflect the manifold ramifications connected with the effort of inserting new information into a framework of knowledge that organizes a handbook of practical usage: on the one hand, the easy retrieval of information by the reader has to be secured, and on the other, the whole endeavour itself serves the purpose of establishing a new *ordo essendi*.

⁴⁷ Dewoskin, "Lei-shu," 528.

News as a Source of Knowledge

The importance of newspapers as a source of knowledge about the West was acknowledged very early on, as reflected in discussions in the General Office [of Foreign Affairs], Zongli yamen 總理衙門, from the early 1860s on.⁴⁸ Information about the new newspaper medium was also included in collections on new learning. Early individual travellers such as Wang Tao,⁴⁹ or diplomats such as Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾 (1818–1891) visited publishing houses in the West in the 1870s and 1880s and included detailed descriptions of their organisation, machinery, and modes of operation in their accounts. Their writings also became major sources for new encyclopaedias, such as the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs*, Xishi leibian 西事類編 (1887), examined by Rudolf G. Wagner in this volume.

Moreover, a collection of newspaper articles in book form was not a total novelty on the Chinese book market, because collecting and selecting special news items for their knowledge value had precedents in Chinese history. One of the most striking examples was a title censored during the Qing dynasty, the anonymously written *Records of Revival*, Zhong xing lu 中興錄.⁵⁰ According to Kan Hongliu 闕紅柳, this was a collection of official gazette scripts from Nanjing during the “Southern Ming,” dealing with such sensitive matters as Li Zicheng’s 李自成 (1606–1644) attacks on Beijing, the decline of the Ming Dynasty, or specific details about the ascent of the son of Ming Dynasty Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (1572–1620) to the throne.⁵¹ More renowned predecessors offering information on the outside world include Liang Tingnan’s 梁廷楠 (1796–1861) *Four Treatises on Maritime Countries*, Haiguo sishuo 海國四說 (1846), Wei Yuan’s 魏源 (1794–1856) *Illustrated Record of Overseas Countries*, Haiguo tuzhi 海國圖志 (1841–1852), and Lin Zexu’s 林則徐 (1785–1850) *Miscellaneous Notes on Western Affairs*, Yangshi zalu 洋事雜錄, which were all based on translations of newspaper clippings.⁵²

⁴⁸ Cf. Vittinghoff, *Die Anfänge*, 61–70.

⁴⁹ Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui* 西學東漸與晚清社會 [parallel title: *The Dissemination of Western Learning and Late Qing Society*] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 2000); Su Jing 蘇精, “Cong Ying Hua shuyuan dao Zhonghua yinwu zongju—jindai zhongwen yinshua chuban xin jumian” 從英華書院到中華印務總局—近代中文印刷出版的新局面 [From English-Chinese College to Chinese General Printing Bureau—a new chapter in modern Chinese printing], in *Wang Tao yu jindai shijie* 王韜與近代世界 [Wang Tao and the modern world], eds. Lin Qiyang 林啟彥 and Huang Wenjiang 黃文江 (Hongkong: Xianggang jiaoyu tushu gongsi, 2000), 299–312.

⁵⁰ Cf. An Pingqiu 安平秋 et al., eds., *Zhongguo jinshu daguan* 中國禁書大觀 [An overview of banned Chinese books] (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua, 1990), 656.

⁵¹ Kan Hongliu 闕紅柳, “Qing chu xue zhe zhi dang’an yishi” 清初學者之檔案意識 [Early Qing scholars’ awareness of archival material], *Liaoning daxue xuebao* 30 (2002), 52.

⁵² Liang Tingnan, *Haiguo sishuo* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1846] 1993); Wei Yuan, *Haiguo tuzhi* (Taipei: Chengwen, 1967); Chen Shenglin 陳勝綽, “Lin Zexu ‘kaiyan kan shijie’ de zhengui jilu—Lin shi <Yangshi zalu> pingjie” 林則徐“開眼看世界”的珍貴記錄—林氏《洋事雜錄》評介 [Lin Zexu’s valuable record that ‘opened the eyes to the world’—An assessment of ‘Miscellaneous records of Western affairs’ by Mr Lin], *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 3 (1986): 1–13.

There were also regular publications in the 1870s such as the *Compendium of Recent Western Affairs*, *Xiguo jinshi huibian* 西國近事匯編, published by the Shanghai Arsenal between 1873 and 1899, which chiefly contained translations from *The Times* (London). It was praised by Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927), and Liang Qichao recommended it in his *How to Read Western Books*, *Du Xixue shu fa* 讀西學書法, as an important source.⁵³ The *Universal Circulating Herald* also published a monthly ‘readers’ digest’ edition in its first year, 1874, but only the first volume now exists in the British Library in London.⁵⁴

That newspapers were regarded as important sources of information is also evident from the inclusion of their titles in book catalogues of Western learning, as in Liang Qichao’s *Bibliography of Western Learning*, *Xixue shumu biao* 西學書目表 (1896), Xu Weize’s 徐維則 *Bibliography of Japanese and Western Learning*, *Dong Xi xue shulu* 東西學書錄 (1899), or Gu Xieguang’s 顧燮光 (1875–1949) *Bibliography of Translated Books Passing Before my Eyes*, *Yishu jingyan lu* 譯書經眼錄.⁵⁵

Apart from the inclusion of newspaper material in new encyclopaedias and bibliographies, there was also an increasingly developed discourse on newspapers themselves. While it is interesting to note that the *Classified Collection of News* does not contain any articles that deal with the importance of newspapers or have newspapers as their subject, despite the fact that the *Shenbao* had frequently published editorials on the matter since its inception, by the end of the nineteenth century discussions on the importance of newspapers regularly appeared in new encyclopaedias, in statecraft writings, and in examination handbooks. The most articulate example of how this commonly shared assumption about the importance of newspapers entered the new canon of examination knowledge is the *Comprehensive Summary of Imperial Examinations about Government and Technical Learning in China and Foreign Countries* published in 1901 with a preface by Chen Wenzhu 陳文洙 (who has not yet been identified). The collection is one of over a dozen books dealing with new examination questions published from 1888 onwards during the ‘Reform of Governance,’ *Xinzheng* 新政, period lasting up until the abolition of the examination system in 1905.⁵⁶

⁵³ Liang Qichao 梁啟超, “Du xixue shu fa” 讀西學書法, in Liang Qichao, *Xixue shumu biao* 西學書目表, appendix, in Zhixue hui 質學會, comp., *Zhixue congshu chujī* 質學叢書初集 (Wuchang: Zhixuehui, 1897), 13b–14a. The 1879 quotation about this work from Kang Youwei’s chronology of his own life will be found in Ma Guangren 馬光仁, *Shanghai xinwen shi* 上海新聞史 [History of the Shanghai press] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue, 1996), 73–74.

⁵⁴ *Xunhuan Ribao*, week edition, 4th–12th of February 1874.

⁵⁵ Liang Qichao, “Xixue shumu biao,” in *Zhixue congshu chujī* 質學叢書初集 (Wuchang: Zhixuehui, 1897); Xu Weize, “Dong Xi xue shulu,” in *Jindai yishu mu* 近代譯書目 [Bibliography of translation in the modern era], ed. Wang Tao, Gu Xieguang et al. (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 2003), 1–24; Gu Xieguang, “Yishu jingyan lu,” in *Jindai yishu mu*, 399–666. As Gu’s collection is based on a new edition of Xu Weize’s bibliography, the main content is based on publications from 1904 onward.

⁵⁶ Not all of the titles have been located so far. This list has been compiled by combining information from the WSC Database, Rudolf G. Wagner, *Bibliography of Chinese Encyclopaedic Works 1840–1937*, with other book catalogues.

Guangxu 光緒	<i>Exam questions on political science and technical learning of various nations,</i> Geguo zhengzhi yixue ce 各國政治藝學策. Shanghai: Mengxue baoguan 蒙學報館
1888	<i>Complete Compilation of Examination Questions,</i> Cexue beizuan 策學備纂. Shanghai: Dianshizhai 點石齋
1889	<i>Comprehensive Summary of the Imperial Library,</i> Cefu tongzong 策府統宗, Cai Mei'an 蔡梅庵, comp. Shanghai: Hongwen shuju 鴻文書局
1897	<i>Complete Compilation of Policy Questions on Chinese and Western Current Affairs,</i> Zhong Xi shiwu cexue daquan 中西時務策學大全. Shanghai: Hongwen shuju
1897	<i>Compilation of Examination Questions on Chinese and Western Current Affairs,</i> Zhong Xi shiwu cexue zuanyao 中西時務策學纂要, comp. Zhang Yuanlu 張元臚. Shanghai: Huanwen shuju 煥文書局
1897	<i>Complete Compilation of Examination Questions on Current International Affairs,</i> Wanguo shiwu cexue daquan 萬國時務策學大全, ed. Shushishanguan zhuren 漱石山館主人. Jishan shuju daiyin
1898	<i>Some Examples of Exam Essays,</i> Celun ju'ou 策論舉偶. Place unknown: Jiuxue shanfang
1898	<i>Digest of Western Methods Useful for Policy Questions, Vol. 2,</i> Xifa cexue huiyuan er ji 西法策學匯源二集, ed. Gu Qiyi 顧其義. Shanghai: Hongbao shuju
1901	<i>Classified Exam Questions on Western Economics,</i> Fenlei yangwu jingji celun 分類洋務經濟策論. Jieji shuju 介記書局
1901	<i>Collection of Exam Essays on Chinese and Foreign Politics,</i> Zhong wai zhengzhi celun huibian 中外政治策論彙編, comp., Ying Zuxi 應祖錫, Shanghai: Hongbao shuju
1901	<i>Comprehensive Summary of Imperial Examinations about Government and Technical Learning in China and Foreign Countries,</i> Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzuan 中外政藝策府統宗. Shanghai: Zhong xi yishu hui 上海中西譯書會
1902	<i>Complete Assessment of Chinese and Western knowledge relevant to statecraft and policy questions,</i> Zhong xi jingji celun tongkao 中西經濟策論通考. Shanghai: Shenliu dushutang
1902	<i>Technical Learning of Different Nations,</i> Geguo yixue ce 各國藝學策. Shanghai: Mengxue bao
1902	<i>Investigation into International Politics,</i> Wanguo zhengzhi congkao 萬國政治叢考, Zhu Dawen 朱大文, Ling Gengyang, eds. 凌廣颺. Shanghai: Hongwen shuju
1902	<i>Combined Compendium of Chinese and Foreign Statecraft and Policy Discourse,</i> Zhong wai jingshi celun hezuan 中外經世策論合纂. Publisher not known
1903	<i>Grand Prospectus of Policy Questions Regarding Chinese and Foreign Matters,</i> Zhong wai cewen daguan 中外策問大觀. Shanghai (?): Yangengshan zhuang
1903	<i>Compendium of Classified Policy Questions on Current Affairs in China and Abroad,</i> Zhong wai shiwu cewen leibian dacheng 中外時務策問類編大成. Shanghai: Qiushizhai, preface 1903 by Ling Lianghan 凌良翰

The *Comprehensive Summary of Imperial Examinations about Government and Technical Learning* appeared in the year in which the eight-legged examination essay was abolished and a new format of examinations was introduced that included essays on matters of international policies in a second section.⁵⁷ As may be seen

⁵⁷ Cf. Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 594–605.

from the table, half of the new examination handbooks appeared between 1901 and 1903, reflecting the increasing demand for such new tools. In fact, first indications that the eight-legged essay would be abolished appeared during the Hundred Day Reform in 1898, confirmed by an edict from the Guangxu Emperor 光緒 (reign 1874–1908), which, according to contemporary observers, had a direct impact on the book market: Yao Gonghe 姚公鶴 narrates in his memoirs about Shanghai that, within months of this proclamation by the court, literati even in remote areas began to subscribe to Shanghai newspapers; chief examiners took newspapers as blueprints for examining new policy questions and setting the topics; book publishers cut and pieced together excerpts from the newspapers and sold these as books at huge profit.⁵⁸ A prominent writer and figure in the late Qing publication market, Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 (1879–1973) recalled in his memoirs that through newspapers, readers learned about such Western “sciences” as acoustics, optics, chemistry and electricity, among others.⁵⁹

In his preface to *Grand Prospectus of ‘Policy Questions’ Regarding Chinese and Foreign Matters* (1903), Lu Runyang 陸潤庠 (1841–1914) further attests to the viability of this new material while at the same time deploring the low quality resulting from the high demand on the market for exam books. It is exactly for this reason that an experienced and knowledgeable person had been sought as compiler for this book, one who would be familiar with current affairs in China and abroad. They chose the chief editor of the *Shenbao*.⁶⁰

While journalists are not normally regarded as knowledgeable scholars, in late Qing China they were promoted as such. Although there are a number of quotes by contemporaries suggesting that in this period, journalists enjoyed low status and a poor reputation,⁶¹ it is certainly no coincidence that the few known editors of these collections are often journalists or renowned publishers, such as Lei Jin, Timothy Richard (*Classified Policy Essays on Western Economics*, Fenlei yangwu jingji celun 分類洋務經濟策論) or Zhu Dawen 朱大文 (*Investigations into International Politics*, Wanguo zhengzhi congkao 萬國政治叢考),⁶² as well as others mentioned above.

⁵⁸ Yao Gonghe 姚公鶴, *Shanghai xianhua* 上海閒話 [Anecdotes on Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1989), 132–33; Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴 gives evidence for the marketability of these new books in his *Wanqing yingye shumu* 晚清營業書目 [Catalogue of book publishers in the late Qing] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2005).

⁵⁹ Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, *Chuanyinglou huiyi lu* 釧影樓回憶錄 [Memoirs from the Chuanying loft] (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji, 1999), 169.

⁶⁰ Lu Runyang, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Zhong wai cewen daguan*, comp. Lei Jin 雷縉 and Lu Runyang 陸潤庠 (Shanghai: Yangengshan zhuang, 1903), 3–4.

⁶¹ On the polemical nature of the discussions about the status of journalists in the Late Qing, see Vittinghoff, *Die Anfänge*, 23–30.

⁶² Zhu Dawen 朱大文, Ling Gengyang 凌廣颺, eds., *Wanguo zhengzhi yixue quanshu* 萬國政治藝學全書. Internal title: *Wanguo zhengzhi congkao* 萬國政治叢考 (Shanghai: Hongwen shuju, 1902).

In his study on entries about newspapers in this volume, Wagner observes a high level of congruence between different encyclopaedias, varying from complete overlaps to the copying of parts of entries.⁶³ In the case of the *Comprehensive Summary of Imperial Examinations about Government and Technical Learning*, which establishes newspapers as a subject of study itself, it is possible to trace all ten entries back to original sources, and half of them are from one newspaper, the *Shenbao*. This is surprising, because for the last decades of the nineteenth century a huge number of texts explaining the function, importance or novelty of newspapers appeared in renowned book publications by well-known individual authors such as Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 (1842–1922),⁶⁴ Chen Yan 陳衍 (1856–1937),⁶⁵ or Wang Tao.⁶⁶

Two entries in the examination handbook are also to be found in another collection, the *Comprehensive Collection of Statecraft Essays of our August Dynasty* Huangchao jingshiwen tongbian 皇朝經世文統編 compiled by Shao Zhitang 邵之棠.⁶⁷ The last three articles are contributions by Timothy Richard.

As far as I know, the *Comprehensive Summary of Imperial Examinations about Government and Technical Learning* is almost the only new examination handbook titled as such which contains a special rubric on “Dailies”, Ribao 日報, in which ten articles explain the various benefits of newspapers.⁶⁸ Curiously, the one exception is the *Comprehensive Collection of Statecraft Essays of our August Dynasty* of which the examination handbook draws two entries. This collection is, however, something of a hybrid, situated between the genre of statecraft essays and examination handbooks, for by name it belongs to the large set of new edited statecraft essays, while in practice it was created as a reference book for the new “Special Examination in Public Administration” *jingji teke* 經濟特科, introduced by an edict from the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 in 1901 as part of the Reform of Governance programme.⁶⁹ It is widely seen as the most extensive collection of new statecraft writings and has also ten entries under the rubric “Newspaper Publishers,”

⁶³ Cf. Rudolf G. Wagner’s essay in this volume.

⁶⁴ Zheng Guanying, “Ribao” 日報 [Dailies] in *Shengshi weiyan* 盛世危言 [Words of warning in prosperous times] (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin, [1893] 1994).

⁶⁵ Chen Yan 陳衍, “Lun Zhongguo yi she yangwen baoguan” 論中國宜設洋文報館 [Why China should establish newspapers in Western languages], in *Zhongguo jindai baokan shi ziliao* 中國近代報刊史資料. 上 [Reference materials on the history of journalism in modern China] (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue, 1982), 1:235–237.

⁶⁶ Wang Tao, “Lun ge sheng hui cheng yi she xinbaoguan” 論各省會城宜設新報館 [Why provinces, counties and cities should establish newspapers], *Shenbao*, February 19, 1878, 1. I have so far collected more than 100 articles dealing with newspapers, dating from the early decades of the nineteenth century up till 1905, which show that this has been a widely discussed issue throughout the nineteenth century.

⁶⁷ Shao Zhitang 邵之棠, comp. *Huangchao jingshiwen tongbian* 皇朝經世文統編 (Shanghai, Baosha zhai, 1901).

⁶⁸ Yishu hui zhuren 譯書會主人, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong* 中外政藝策府統宗 (Shanghai: Zhong wai yishu hui, 1901).

⁶⁹ Accordingly, the order of entries in this statecraft essay collection is very unique and follows exactly the order of the examination subjects. Cf. Shen Yan 沈艷, “Jindai ‘jingshi wenbian’

Baoguan 報館.⁷⁰ It should also be noted that it was not unusual for collections of statecraft writings to include essays on newspapers, but as in the case of encyclopaedias, they are rarely dealt with in a separate category.⁷¹

It might seem curious that the examination handbook compilers chose to select writings by a foreign missionary, such as Timothy Richard. However, his articles had been published in the Tianjin *Shibao* 時報 during his time as its editor in the early 1890s, and only later found entry into his influential essay collection *New Discussion of Contemporary Affairs* *Shishi xinlun* 事實新論, meaning that they are newspaper writings as well. Moreover, Timothy Richard had also contributed to other statecraft writing collections, so this was not a novelty.⁷²

The “newspaper” section in the *Comprehensive Summary of Imperial Examinations about Government and Technical Learning* forms volume 24 of the whole collection and is positioned between major modern institutions, such as “companies,” “social welfare,” “postal system,” etc. Newspapers are thus seen as an integral part of the social fabric of a modern society. More importantly, the section is positioned after chapters on education in general and new learning, *xinxue* 新學, in particular.

Apart from explaining what newspapers are, these texts mainly function as a meta-text to explain to the examination candidates why this new source of knowledge, which is also a source for the encyclopaedias of new knowledge, is reliable and valuable.

The first five articles are direct reprints from the the *Shenbao*. Programmatic statements by the newspapers to promote their own business were thus taken at face value as representing valuable information. While this might seem a dubious venture, the information presented here is nevertheless useful, because the *Shenbao* articles that have been selected deal mainly with the social, political and educational function of newspapers.

gengxu chaoliu shulun” 近代‘經世文編’廣續潮流述論[Discussion of the continuous trend of modern ‘statecraft essays’], *Shixue lilun yu shixueshi*, 3, (2004):112.

⁷⁰ Of these ten essays only two (those dealt with here) overlap with the examination handbook, which again shows that compilers had a large pool of writings on newspapers to draw on. Also Shao included writings of a foreigner, in this case Ernst Faber 華之安 (1839–1899).

⁷¹ The only exception I know of is Qiushizhai’s 求是齋 *Huangchao jingshi wenbian wu ji* 皇朝經世文編五集 [Collection of statecraft essays from our August Dynasty. Fifth set] (Shanghai: Yijin shi, 1902).

⁷² Li Timotai 李提摩太 (= Timothy Richard), *Shishi xinlun* 事實新論 (Shanghai: Guangxue hui, 1894). E.g. Chen Zhongyi’s 陳忠倚 *Three Collections of Statecraft Essays of our August Dynasty* 皇朝經世文三編 (Shanghai: Saoye Shanfang, 1898) which contains over a dozen articles by Timothy Richard, as well as articles by Young Allen, Wang Tao, Zheng Guanying, and other prominent reformers of the time. This collection also has some articles about newspapers under the category “postal affairs,” but in this case not by Timothy Richard but by Zheng Guanying, e.g. his well-known article “Dailies” quoted above. On the publication of *New Discussion of Contemporary Affairs*, cf. Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian colleges, 1850–1950*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971, 84.

The first article “Reading Newspapers Greatly Benefits the People,” *Yue bao you da yi yu ren shuo* 閱報有大益於人說,⁷³ is a *Shenbao* editorial from 1895 which explains the importance of newspapers providing knowledge for the “ignorant,” *yu* 愚, in the countryside. By listing the figures for the huge number of newspapers available in countries such as Germany, England, France, Belgium, Holland, etc., and providing rough circulation estimates (1,300 papers in Europe with 7,000 or more copies, children’s magazines and missionary publications not included), the article’s first aim is to argue for the importance of this medium in view of its impressive position in foreign countries.⁷⁴ It highlights how newspapers provide news *and* knowledge, since “with newspapers today people are able to understand what they have never heard of or never *known* [my emphasis N.G.] about” (今有日報凡平日未聞未知之事皆得領會於胸中).⁷⁵

The next text, “On the Benefits of Newspapers,” *Lun xinwenzhi zhi yi* 論新聞紙之益,⁷⁶ is one of the *Shenbao*’s most quoted master texts explaining the function of newspapers in terms of Chinese traditional political communication. It praises the value of remonstrance in antiquity, of loyalty combined with the moral obligation to praise, but also of criticising the authorities, and highlights the importance of transparency to counteract corruption.

In terms of integrating the new medium into an existing order of things, the author operates with the principle of highlighting similarities rather than differences. Although newspapers were presented as a new and novel phenomenon—just as most of the examination candidates will have known from their own newspaper readings—the newspapers of the nineteenth century were full of news that dramatically challenged the status quo of the government—the canon of knowledge recognised by the social elite and the shared beliefs about the ideal social order—these newspapers did not yet have a revolutionary, iconoclastic agenda. The new was thus not so much separated from the past as reconciled with it. This allowed for a very successful and effective dissemination of the new and the production of a polyphonic newspaper accompanied by a variegated image of the new in the world.

But more importantly, repeated links between the new disciplines of knowledge and the newspapers are established. The subsequent article, “On the Origins of Newspapers,” *Xinwen zhi yuanshi shuo* 新聞紙緣始說, starts with a definition of “a daily newspaper,” *ribao* 日報, and stresses the importance of knowledge conveyed by papers.⁷⁷ “Although newspapers [belong to the category of] ‘small talk,’ they are certainly not easy conversation” (夫日報雖小道然固未易言).

⁷³ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 1a–2a.

⁷⁴ Interestingly, Japan, which is an important model for educational reform in this period and much ahead in terms of newspaper publishing, is not mentioned at all.

⁷⁵ *Shenbao*, “Lun yuebao you da yi yu ren” 論閱報有大益於人, *Shenbao* no. 7953, June 12, 1895, p. 1.

⁷⁶ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 2a–3a. *Shenbao* no. 4785, Aug. 11, 1885.

⁷⁷ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 3a–4b. *Shenbao* no. 6020, Jan. 26, 1890, p. 1.

Instead, newspaper contributors needed vast knowledge and talent. In the West, as the next article, “Why China Should Establish Western Language Newspapers,” *Zhongguo yi kai Xiwen baoguan shuo* 中國宜開西文報館說,⁷⁸ continues, the appreciation for newspapers can be compared to opium addiction in China, since Westerners could not survive a single day without reading the papers. Its value as a source of information is even exaggerated as “all they know and all the opinions they form” (所聞見與所思維者) allegedly derive from newspapers. With such papers in Western languages, China’s true situation would be made more understandable to foreigners.

On the basis of a shared assumption that newspapers are useful and necessary, another article, “China Should Urgently Promote Newspaper Publishers,” *Zhongguo ji yi zhenxing baoguan* 中國極宜振興報館, stresses the urgent need to establish and disseminate newspapers in China as quickly as possible.⁷⁹ In comparison with the West, China is far behind, and as if the reluctance to accept the new medium implicitly contained a suspicion of its quality, the author elaborates on the credentials newspaper writers must have, stressing scientific and academic rather than journalistic qualifications. “Newspaper publishers in the West must first gather together talented people who are familiar with all the subjects, such as the military, technology, astronomy, geography, mathematics and medicine, and only then will their arguments and reports be to the point.” (泰西之設報館, 必先薈萃夫群才, 合兵法, 製造, 天文, 輿地, 算, 醫藥諸科——熟悉於胸中而後能論事紀言各得其當.)⁸⁰ Here a link is clearly established between the new disciplines of the new knowledge and newspapers.

The next two articles are either taken from or at least congruent with Shao Zhitang’s statecraft essay collection. The first on “Newspapers are closely related to business,” *Ribao dayou guanyu shangwu* 日報大有關於商務,⁸¹ argues that the reason why foreign trade flourishes while China is lagging behind in this respect, lies in the fact that much as money and commodity need to flow, the flow of information is also important for business. Western traders have understood this and thus introduced steamships, railways and newspapers in China to facilitate the flow of both commodities and information. It is also stressed that advertisements were another means for enhancing the circulation of information and a worthwhile investment. The following article “China should officially establish publishers of dailies,” *Zhongguo yi guanshe ribao lun* 中國宜官設日報論,⁸² explains very competently why newspapers are of the utmost benefit for officials in terms of public administration: they not only guarantee the broad and permanent

⁷⁸ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 4b–5b. *Shenbao* no. 6666, Nov. 10, 1891, p. 1.

⁷⁹ It appears in the *Shenbao* under the slightly different title “Zhongguo zhenxing ribao lun” 中國振興日報論 [On China promoting newspapers], *Shenbao* no. 6313, Nov. 15, 1890, p. 1.

⁸⁰ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 5b–6b, 6a.

⁸¹ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 6b–7b.

⁸² Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 7b–8b.

dissemination of official proclamations (in contrast to those pasted on walls and boards), but also help to prosecute criminals through announcements of rewards, to identify areas of wasteland for land distribution, and to solve the most crucial unemployment issues.

These entries are followed by three essays by Timothy Richard. In “An afterword to miscellaneous discussions about newspapers,” *Baozhong zalun ba* 報中雜論跋,⁸³ the author reiterates the information value of newspapers and discusses which matters should be covered, ranging from geography and international politics to electricity and chemistry. Since daily newspapers cannot provide all this information, it is strongly suggested that yearbooks should be produced that cover all these topics, just as the *Classified Collection* had attempted to do. The next entry entitled “Record of the history of all newspapers in China,” *Zhongguo ge baoguan shimo ji* 中國各報館始末紀,⁸⁴ is a rather curious choice. While the *Shenbao*, *Xunhuan Ribao* and other newspapers have published records of newspaper concerns from quite early on, this one by Timothy Richard quite bluntly promotes the foreign missionary press by stating that many of the editors of Chinese papers have had no experience of living abroad and thus have only a superficial knowledge of Western affairs. By contrast, both the *Global Times* and the *Church News*, *Jiaohui Xinbao* 教會新報, employ scholars with the broadest knowledge and widest experience. Hence, those who wish to learn about these matters should refer to these two papers.⁸⁵ That new knowledge should be the main subject of newspapers is once again emphasised in his last short essay, “On Newspapers,” *Lun baoguan* 論報館.⁸⁶ This is the only article that mentions the official gazettes as a Chinese precursor to the newspapers. However, Timothy Richard argues that the gazette is limited by reaching only a small audience and by merely covering national affairs, and fails to report on other countries.⁸⁷

The selection of texts presents a consistently positive picture of the impact and value of newspapers. While we can find indications of the potential risks and dangers of newspapers in spreading rumours and false information, or even, in other essays on newspapers, inciting people to make trouble, these aspects are not included in this selection. Similarly the role of newspapers in the West is shown throughout in a positive light, and always contrasted with the situation in China. It is of interest that official gazettes are mentioned simply in passing in one article as a possible Chinese alternative, or at least as a precursor to the newspapers. Apparently, they were not seen as appropriate tools for facilitating communication between below and above. Instead, this is a very comprehensive and practice-oriented collection of

⁸³ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 8b–9b.

⁸⁴ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 9b–10a.

⁸⁵ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 10a.

⁸⁶ Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 10a–10b.

⁸⁷ Richard raises an issue here which has been the focus of the most heated debates since the 1870s, viz. the exclusion of any news on foreigners in China from the official gazettes, which culminated in Sir Thomas Wade forcing the Chinese government to include information about the Margary Affair of 1875 in the Court Gazette. Cf. Natascha Vittinghoff, *Die Anfänge des Journalismus*, 299–300.

essays on the benefits of newspapers for education, business, public administration and welfare. As such and by its nature of being part of an examination handbook, its target readers are clearly aspirants to official posts.

As for the selection of sources and authors, we can only speculate about the motivations, whereby personal connections may have played a role. It is at least worth recalling that since the early 1890s, Timothy Richard had closely collaborated on translation projects run by the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge with two well-known former editors of the *Shenbao* from the 1870s, Cai Erkang and Shen Yugui 沈毓桂 (1807/8–1907).

At the same time, the overall picture of newspaper entries in these new publications seems to suggest that the selections were not always necessarily made with a clear strategic and systematic eye. There are curious examples which seem to go against the grain or original purpose of the publications. For example, the entry on “China should officially establish publishers of dailies” mentioned above contains a statement that newspapers are useful and should be read—even if they are not helpful for their lessons—by examination candidates in printed form in an examination handbook.⁸⁸ Another curious instance is the inclusion of Liang Qichao’s 梁啟超 (1873–1929) seminal text “On the benefit of newspapers for state affairs,” *Lun baoguan you yi yu guoshi* 論報館有益於國事⁸⁹ in Shao Zhitang’s essay collection prepared for the newly introduced “Special Examination in Public Administration,” without the author being named. One story goes that Empress Dowager Cixi was so alarmed that a Cantonese candidate with the surname Liang 梁 who received the best results in this examination in 1903—at a time when the witch hunt against followers of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao was in full swing—might be affiliated with Liang Qichao that she ordered a re-examination.⁹⁰ At the same time, it seems to have entirely escaped the Court’s attention that candidates preparing for these examinations were actually advised to study Liang Qichao’s texts.

Conclusions

This paper has sought to sketch out the process by which newspaper text came to serve as a *de facto* and rather indiscriminate basis for new knowledge, from the beginnings of its introduction to China, before advancing to become a legitimate source of information and integral part of the actual canon of knowledge.

⁸⁸ “Today clever young men all read newspapers in the leisure time from their school lessons, although this is of no use for their regular lessons” 近日聰穎子弟每於塾課之暇喜閱日報雖於正課無益, Yishu hui zhuren, comp., *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong*, juan 24, 8a.

⁸⁹ Published in *Shiwubao* in 1896, this is one of the most quoted text on early Chinese journalism “theory”. Reprinted in *Zhongguo jindai baokan shi ziliao* 中國近代報刊史資料. 上 [Reference materials on the history of journalism in modern China] 242–245 (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue, 1982).

⁹⁰ Stephen R. Mackinnon, “Liang Shih-I and the Communications Clique,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 29, no. 3 (May 1970): 582–583.

Within roughly two decades—between the late 1870s and early years of the twentieth century—we can observe how the first news articles were collated into handbooks of new knowledge. Newspapers appeared in book catalogues for reference on Western learning and finally became part of the new canonical knowledge for the new examination system.

The first part discussed attempts at organising and categorising the mass of scattered information in newspapers, while the second part turned to the question of how this ephemeral information gained the status of being important new knowledge.

Since newspapers were the first source of information on the foreign world, they also quickly became a main source for compilers of the first new handbooks and encyclopaedias of new knowledge. In this development, the *Classified Collection* marks an early stage when articles from one newspaper were collected and presented in an organised fashion.

The new practice was motivated by two factors. Firstly, the masses of new but also randomly presented information that accumulated in newspapers were perceived as a threat to the recognition of the newspaper as a useful and practical source of information per se. Secondly, some newspaper information was regarded as too useful to be left to the rubbish heap of history. This engendered the call for selection and a system of organisation in order to disentangle the mass of empirical information into comprehensive categories and a preset order of knowledge.

The handbook character of the book assigned to it by the classification necessitated a structure for information retrieval that was familiar and comprehensible to its users. The novelty of the information as well as new value systems also produced by their nature new systems and hierarchies of organisation.

This could call forth an organisation that seems in conflict with the original intention of the book. Familiar categories located in positions familiar to the users were yet filled with new content, which in fact stood in contradiction to their position. This resulted in a multiply mixed process of organisation into familiar and novel taxonomies and hierarchies, creating what may be seen as an example of an ‘entanglement of knowledge’.

Roughly two decades after this first collection, the *Examination Handbook* already saw newspapers advance to become integrated into the canon of new knowledge for examination candidates. The texts introduce and explain the wide range of newspapers in different Western countries as well as their political and educational function. We can thus observe how the texts mutate into meta-texts, explaining the usefulness of the collection itself.

The purpose of the section on newspapers in this collection lies mainly in explaining the functional value of the new medium, stressing the quality of the information and new knowledge conveyed, as well as the moral integrity and capabilities of the journalists involved. That “newspapers” became a topic for essay examination preparation clearly reveals the importance attached to them. As the texts explain, newspapers have been, and are, understood as a major source of new knowledge (as such they are also the basis of the *Examination Handbook*

itself). This is also true in the West, although newspapers there certainly functioned less as a basis of information for Western encyclopaedias.

The expectations placed on newspapers as a medium for educating the whole nation in the different disciplines of the sciences and humanities seem rather exaggerated; however, it is important to remember that many articles are merely reprints from newspapers themselves. What the papers promised to promote in their programmatic statements about their usefulness has now become an integral part of the canon of new knowledge, and by this turned into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

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The Complete Compilation of New Knowledge, Xinxue beizuan 新學備纂 (1902): Its Classification Scheme and its Sources

Iwo Amelung

Research into late Qing encyclopaedias has not, until recently, been the focus of much academic attention. On the one hand this is related to the fact that systematic research on the spread of Western knowledge in China only began during the 1990s, but there is a second problem—that of definition. Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環, for example, one of the few researchers to deal with that topic, adopts a rather narrow definition of encyclopaedia and proposes that although knowledge about Western encyclopaedias had existed in China since at least the 1870s, the first modern-style encyclopaedia to be published in China was the *Compiled and Translated Encyclopaedia for General Education*, *Bian yi putong jiaoyu baiké quanshu* 編譯普通教育百科全書, published by the Literary Academic Society, Huiwen xueshe 會文學社 in Shanghai in 1903.¹ By contrast, Zhong Shaohua's 鐘少華 book on modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century adopts a rather broad definition of “encyclopaedias” in China and lists a considerable number of works which actually constitute anthologies or digests of translated books of Western knowledge.² We probably would not have this problem of definition had Xu Shou 徐壽 (1818–1884), one of the most prolific translators of Western scientific and technical literature into Chinese in the nineteenth century, succeeded with his plan—devised already in the 1870s—to translate the complete *Encyclopaedia Britannica* into Chinese. Although Xu Shou, John Fryer (1839–1928) and other translators actually translated a number of articles from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,

¹ Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環, “Jindai zuizao baiké quanshu de bianyi yu Qingmo wenxian zhong de Dideluo” 近代最早百科全的編譯與清末文獻中的狄德羅 [The compilation and translation of the first modern encyclopaedia and Diderot in late Qing writing], *Fudan xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 3 (1998): 47–52.

² Zhong Shaohua 鐘少華, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju: Zhong-Ri jindai baiké quanshu* 人類知識的新工具: 中日近代百科全書 [A new tool of human knowledge: A study of early modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1996).

I. Amelung (✉)

Frankfurt University, Frankfurt, Germany

e-mail: amelung@em.uni-frankfurt.de

which in China were published as monographs, the grandiose plan could not be put into practice, one reason being that in Fryer's view the eighth edition (1852–1860) of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was outdated and that the proposed translation should be based rather on a more up-to-date work.³

I shall adopt a rather broad definition of encyclopaedia here, which also includes works that have been termed “encyclopaedic” (in Chinese *baike quanshu xing* 百科全書性).⁴ Such a definition also covers material which was not specifically written for a particular encyclopaedia, such as compilations of clippings from other sources, a quite common practice at the time. While the bibliographical situation has greatly improved in recent years, hitherto seldom used material such as Zhou Zhenhe's 周振鶴 recently published catalogues of late Qing book-sellers suggest that the amount of encyclopaedic material from the period in question might have been even larger than assumed.⁵ Given this situation, it seems sensible to provide some thoughts on the genre before examining one of the publications which I consider representative of the “encyclopaedic material” defined above—the *Complete Compilation of New Knowledge*, *Xinxue beizuan* 新學備纂.⁶ Since the identity of the compiler behind the pen name as well as the publisher are unknown, I will deal directly with the questions of classification, sources and contents of the book.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, translated “Western knowledge” started arriving in China mainly in the form of monographs that treated sometimes highly technical matters. As I have shown elsewhere, this mode of translation led to a very fragmented reception of Western knowledge.⁷ Only from the 1880s onward were attempts made to present new knowledge in a more systematic and comprehensive manner, because it had become increasingly difficult for Chinese readers to find relevant information and keep track of the latest developments. They took the form of ‘anthologies’ or ‘digests’, the first one being the *Great Collection of Western*

³ See Wang Yangzong 王揚宗, “Jiangnan zhizaoju fanyiguan shilüe” 江南製造局翻譯館史略 [A brief history of the translation department of the Jiangnan Arsenal], *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 9, no. 3 (1988): 68. An example of such a translation is the entry “International Law” by Edmund Robertson (*Encyclopædia Britannica* 9th edition, 1881). The translation is Luobocun 羅柏村 [= Robertson], *Gongfa zonglun* 公法總論, trans. Fulanya 傅蘭雅 [= John Fryer] and Wang Zhensheng 汪振聲 (China, 1895).

⁴ The Chinese term is used by Zhang Yaquin 張亞群, see his *Keju gaifei yu jindai Zhongguo gaodeng jiaoyu de zhuanxing* 科舉改廢與近代中國高等教育的轉型 [The reform and abolition of the imperial examination and the transformation of higher education in modern China] (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue, 2005), 102. See also the Introduction and the discussion in the article by Rudolf Wagner in this volume.

⁵ Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴, ed., *Wan Qing yingye shumu* 晚清營業書目 [Late Qing book business catalogues] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2005).

⁶ Jianzhai zhuren 漸齋主人, comp., *Xinxue beizuan* (Tianjin: Kaiwen shuju 開文書局, 1902).

⁷ Iwo Amelung, “Naming Physics. The Strife to Delineate a Field of Modern Science in Late Imperial China,” in *Mapping Meanings: Translating Western Knowledge into Late Imperial China*, eds. Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 381–422.

Learning, *Xixue dacheng* 西學大成. First published in 1888, it was successful enough to see a reprint in 1895.⁸ Some of them, however, such as Joseph Edkins' (1823–1905) *Primer on Science Studies*, *Gezhi qimeng* 格致啟蒙, which was sponsored by the Imperial Customs and published in 1886 in 16 volumes, were largely unsuccessful.⁹

The fact that such works could be successful is of course related to the growing importance of Western or “new” knowledge, especially after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895; to the changes in the education system; and to the establishment of more institutions of higher learning offering topics based on or related to Western learning. Of special interest, however, are the changes in the official examination system. The reform of the examination system during the late Qing is too complex to be described here in detail.¹⁰ It started already during the Tongzhi 同治 era (1862–1874), but significant changes only began in 1888 with the introduction of the so-called “mathematical division,” *suanxue ke* 算學科. This addition to the regular examination system consisted of Western knowledge and, contrary to the name of this division, not only mathematics but also the sciences, international law, manufacturing, etc.¹¹ This addition also changed the proportions of the subject matter that was to be examined: The so-called “policy questions,” *cewen* 策問, in which this part of knowledge was examined, steadily gained in importance up until 1905. Other parts of the examination system likewise became more “westernised”, and already in 1889 Wang Kangnian 汪康年 (1860–1911), for example, reported that his examination had required Western knowledge.¹² More important, however, was the proposal to introduce a “special examination” on statecraft, *jingji teke* 經濟特科, which was first submitted in 1897 and formally announced at the beginning of 1898. This statecraft examination was to cover the six areas of domestic politics, foreign relations, finance, military sciences and manufacturing. A far-reaching decision of the Guangxu 光緒 emperor (1875–1908) during the Hundred Days’ Reform of 1898 was to completely abolish the eight-legged-essay, *bagu wen* 八股文, and to

⁸ Wang Xiqing 王西清 and Lu Tiqing 盧綸青, comps., *Xixue dacheng* 西學大成 [Great collection of Western learning] (Shanghai: Datong shuju, 1888; repr. Shanghai: Zuiliutang shufang, 1895).

⁹ Ai Yuese 艾約瑟 [= Joseph Edkins], *Gezhi qimeng* 格致啟蒙 [Primer on science studies] (Shanghai: Imperial Customs, 1886). That this series was not very successful was at least partly due to the rather idiosyncratic translations provided by Edkins, see Iwo Amelung, “Some Notes on Translations of the *Physics Primer* and Physical Terminology in Late Imperial China,” *Wakumon* 7(2004): 11–34. However, even this work saw at least two reprints.

¹⁰ See Wolfgang Franke, *The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960) and Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

¹¹ Yang Qifu 楊齊福, “Yangwu yundong shiqi keju zhidu de gaige” 洋務運動時期科舉制度的改革 [Reforms of the examination system during the era of the Yangwu movement], *Wuxi jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao* 20, no. 1 (2000): 42–46.

¹² He actually “used the concept of ‘attraction,’ *xili* 吸力, in order to elucidate the character *xi* 系 (to be related to) and explained the newest astronomic insights,” cf. Luo Zhitian 羅志田 “Qing ji keju zhi gaige de shehui yingxiang,” 清季科舉制改革的社會影響 [Reforms of the examination system during the Qing and their societal impact], *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 4 (1998): 186.

make the afore-mentioned “policy questions” the main focus on all levels of the examination system. While this decision was rescinded after the failure of the reform, it was essentially re-instated with the beginning of the “Reform of Governance,” Xinzheng 新政, in 1901. From then on, the second round of the examinations consisted of five policy questions on “governance and technical learning in the different countries,” (各國政治藝學策).¹³ At the same time, the “special examination” on statecraft was put into effect. These reformed examinations were only employed for the provincial and the metropolitan examinations during the years 1902–1904 (and in 1902 not in all provinces) because the examination system was abolished for good in 1905. Even though these reforms were soon superseded by more decisive steps, their impact should not be underestimated. The contents of the examinations now differed greatly from the traditional examinations for which prospective officials had prepared by attending traditional Chinese academies and making use of the extensive literature especially compiled for the purpose. Some of the questions in the new examination system became quite specialised, as the following examples demonstrate:

Which man of the West was the first to pay attention to mechanics? Is it possible to prove that the method to determine the centre of weight has points in common [with that underlying] Chinese books and instruments? Mechanics is divided into two subjects, namely statics and dynamics. Please try to describe the instruments used [for them] and the forces that are driving [them] in order to make clear their guiding principles!¹⁴

西人講求重學始於何人 中心之法有與中國之書與器相合者能證其說否 重學分徑靜重動重兩科 試歷究所用之器所推之力以引伸其旨策

The West employs the method of statistics. Using a single table, they compile all aspects of government measures that have been introduced. Now Japan has also established a statistical bureau. Is it appropriate to copy it or not?¹⁵

泰西以統計之法 編次為表一切施政之方 近日本亦設統計院 是否便於仿行策

At the beginning of the reforms in Japan, foreigners were hired and the strength of the country increased daily. Egypt has hired more than one thousand foreigners and in consequence lost its financial autonomy. The country therefore does not thrive. Try to describe in detail the benefits and pitfalls of [these policies]!¹⁶

日本變法之初聘用西人而國以日強 埃及用外國人至千餘員 遂失財政裁判之權 而國以不振 試詳言其得失利弊策

How many of the sixty-four chemical elements have an effect on agriculture and how can this effect be described? Agricultural chemistry in many aspects corresponds to

¹³ Research on the policy questions in the reformed examination system is scarce. See, however, Liu Longxin 劉龍心, “Cong keju dao xuetang—lun wan Qing de zhishi zhuanxing” 從科舉到學堂—論晚清的知識轉型 [From the examination system to the new schools—on intellectual change during the late Qing], *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 58 (2007): 105–139.

¹⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine. *Guangxi xiangshi timinglu* 廣西鄉試題名錄 [Ranking records of the Guangxi Provincial examination] (China: 1903), 10a.

¹⁵ Gu Tinglong 顧廷龍, ed., *Qingdai zhujuan jicheng* 清代硃卷集成 [Collection of examination essays] (Taipei: Chengwen, 1992), 331:119

¹⁶ Gu Tinglong, ed., *Qingdai zhujuan jicheng*, 90: 187.

[agricultural practices described in] the *Rites of the Zhou*. Consult clear-cut Chinese and Western research in the natural sciences and chemistry in order to support experiments!¹⁷

化學家六十四原質關於農學者凡幾其效用若何農務化學多合周禮試參酌中西研求理化晰言者以資實驗策

There is ample evidence of the deep impact that the reform of the examination system had on society. After hearing rumours in Hunan at the beginning of 1898 about a possible reform of the examination system, Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 (1850–1904), to give one example, wrote: “Once [people] hereabouts will hear about a document announcing a reform of the examination system, the prices for Western books will inevitably explode” (此間聞變科舉之文，西學書價必大漲). Pi Xirui, who at that time had already passed the provincial examinations, immediately consulted Liang Qichao’s 梁啟超 (1873–1928) *Bibliography of Western Learning*, *Xixue shumu biao* 西學書目表, in order to determine which Western books were most important so as to purchase and read them.¹⁸ Booksellers quickly noticed how much more difficult it now became to sell traditional Chinese literature and tried to make up for their losses on this side by offering an ever larger supply of books with Western contents, a practice lampooned in Li Boyuan’s 李伯元 (1867–1906) novel *A Short History of Civilisation*, *Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史.¹⁹ For publishers and printers, the reform also constituted a highly welcome business opportunity. It is quite clear that many of the publications which we would consider as “encyclopaedic” came as a direct response to the reform of the examination system. The regulations of the reformed examination system allowed candidates to take books into the examination compound, a fact that certainly gave an extra boost to the publication of new-style encyclopaedic material.²⁰ The direct link of these works with the examination system is at times already evident from their titles. These quite often refer to “policy questions,” *cewen* 策問, “policy essays”, *celun* 策論, and “learning [relevant for] policy questions,” *cexue* 策學. *Jingji* 經濟 in a book title is normally a reference to the statecraft examinations, and the term “tasks of the time,” *shiwu* 時務, also seems to be a reference to policy questions because, during the Tang dynasty, “policy questions” were known as *shiwu ce* 時務策.

Quite a few of these “encyclopaedias” explicitly refer to the changes in the examination system as one of the reasons for their compilation. One good example is the preface to the *Grand Prospectus of Policy Questions Regarding Chinese and Foreign Matters*, *Zhong wai cewen daguan* 中外策問大觀:

In the autumn of the year 1902 [the Emperor] decreed to examine scholars with policy questions related to Chinese and Western historical events and governance. This had the purpose of

¹⁷ *Henan xiangshi weimo* 河南鄉試闈墨 [Examination essays of the Henan Provincial examination] (1903), 63a.

¹⁸ Luo Zhitian, “Qing ji keju zhi gaige de shehui yingxiang,” 186–7.

¹⁹ Li Boyuan 李伯元, *Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史 [A short history of civilisation], in *Li Boyuan quanji* 李伯元全集, edited by Xue Zhengxing 薛正興 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1997), 1:236–263.

²⁰ Rui Magone, “Locomotive Literati: Center and Periphery in Imperial China’s Last Civil Examinations (1903, 1904).” Unpublished paper presented at Emory University, 2007, 8.

removing all obstacles, shake [the Empire] out of its pedantic and rotten state, and stimulate the Empire to become [a place] where men with insight into the present and broad knowledge of the past, a wide grasp of things Chinese and penetrating understanding of things foreign will thrive! This is nowadays a key link for changing weakness into strength. As a general rule, because our divine country has since antiquity made closing its borders and keeping to itself its guiding principle, very few scholars and officials are familiar with the politics and religious affairs beyond the borders of the country, while those who do hold forth on foreign affairs commit errors and mistakes that present more of an obstacle than a thick layer of fog.

Over the last thirty years, worldwide communications as well as direct and indirect knowledge have been growing daily, and our scholars likewise consider that a good acquaintanceship with the countries in all four directions should be a matter of course, and that not knowing about foreign affairs is a disgrace. However, only extraordinary persons with a determined mind have started to busy themselves with these affairs and they barely make up one or two percent, while the teachers in the village schools and the narrow-minded students continue to tackle the eight-legged essay and the eight rhymes, as before. If someone mentions current politics and foreign affairs they turn away and are not willing to listen, but once an educational reform is pushed through, they are flabbergasted and disoriented and when they buy books on current affairs from the bookshops they are not [able] to choose between good or bad and right or wrong. From morning to evening they ponder them in the hope for inspiration. Coveting the profits lying in this, the booksellers copy and extract from everything and bind this [information] into books and sell these widely in order to make profit—to the point that the rafters are bending under the weight of these volumes, all of which just makes the knowledgeable sick!²¹

清之壬寅秋下詔，以中外史事政治策論試士；所以抉破錮蔽，振起迂腐，馭天下以成通今博古、閎中、達外之才盛哉！今日轉弱為強之一大關鍵也。夫吾神州從古以閉關自守為宗旨，學士大夫鮮通域外政教，即有好談外事者，所謬誤猶不啻隔如重霧障。三十多年來，環球交通聞見日廣，士亦以周知四國為然，不通曉外事為恥矣。然惟豪傑有志者始從事於此，百不得一二，而裡塾蒙師、繩瓮溝壑之子猶攻八股、八韻，語以時政外事掉首不願聞，一旦功令驟改則駭愕無措雜。購坊行時務等不擇優劣真偽，朝夕揣摩以期一得。書賈覩所隱益，東抄西撮，刺取成篇，廣售牟利，幾於汗牛充棟，識者病焉。

Such a preface had of course an advertising function; nevertheless, its description of how the market was flooded by the publications that ensued from the changes in the examination system during the first years of the twentieth century certainly hits the mark. Even if these encyclopaedic materials provided “enlightenment” this was nonetheless driven by business concerns.²² The encyclopaedias created a veritable boom in China’s fledgling publishing business, even before the really big market opened up for textbooks for the new education system. The foreign-educated scientist Ren Hongjun 任鴻禛 (1886–1961), acknowledged in 1919 the importance that encyclopaedic material like the *Great Collection of Western Learning* and the *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs*, *Shiwu tongkao* 時務通考²³ had for many scholars while preparing for the examinations. Ren, however, also pointed out that reading scientific texts without using test-tubes

²¹ Lu Runyang 陸潤庠, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Zhong wai cewen daquan*, comps. Lei Jin 雷縉 and Lu Runyang 陸潤庠 (Shanghai [?]: Yangengshan zhuang, 1903), 1b–2a.

²² For the European situation in the eighteenth century see Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment. A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie 1775–1800* (Cambridge, MA, London: Harvard University Press, 1979).

²³ Qilu zhuren 杞廬主人, comp., *Shiwu tongkao* (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1897).

or engaging in laboratory practice did not produce the scientists that a pressurised China so urgently needed at that time.²⁴

While the encyclopaedias dealt with in this paper certainly constitute a genre unprecedented in Chinese history, they are not entirely unrelated to other genres—especially the statecraft writings. The later collections of the statecraft school also catered to the needs of examination candidates and partly were published by publishers who also engaged in the encyclopaedia business. There clearly was a mutual influence. The *Comprehensive Collection of Statecraft Essays from Our August Dynasty*, Huangchao jingshi wen tongbian 皇朝經世文統編 (1901), for example, alludes in its preface to the special statecraft examination, which had originally been proposed in 1897 but only imperially ordered in 1901 (and carried out in 1903), and it actually was classified on the basis of the different subjects of the examination.²⁵ The title originally intended for the *Statecraft Essays from Our August Dynasty, Fifth Collection*, Huangchao jingshi wenbian wu ji 皇朝經世文編五集, published in 1902, was *Classified Collection of Writings on Current Affairs*, Shiwu fenlei wenbian 時務分類文編, (this title is printed on the margin of the single pages).²⁶ Such a title was typical for the “encyclopaedias” on which I am focusing in this paper. Some of the statecraft collections actually made use of the same material as the collections of “new learning.” A more systematic assessment of Qing encyclopaedias would need to take this rather complex problem into account.

Classification

Modern research on eighteenth and nineteenth century Western encyclopaedias has shown that although most of them were ordered alphabetically rather than topically, they nonetheless contributed greatly to the classification of the sciences and the emergence of scientific disciplines. Thus to a certain extent encyclopaedic classification can be and has been considered an important step in the evolution of modern scientific disciplines as taught at the universities.²⁷ By comparison, the topic of classification and the evolution of a modern system of academic disciplines in late Imperial China have received much less attention.²⁸ Indeed, most research on this

²⁴ Ren Hongjun 任鴻騫, “He wei kexuejia?” 何為科學家 [What is a scientist?], *Xin Qingnian* 6, no. 3 (1919): 179–186.

²⁵ Shao Zhitang 邵之棠, comp., *Huangchao jingshi wen tongbian* (Shanghai: Baoshanzhai, 1901).

²⁶ Qiushizhai 求是齋, comp., *Huangchao jingshi wenbian wu ji* (Shanghai: Yiyin shi, 1902).

²⁷ Richard Yeo, “Reading Encyclopaedias. Science and the Organization of Knowledge in British Dictionaries of Arts and Sciences, 1730–1850”, *Isis* 82 (1991): 24–49, and Riki G. A. Dolby, “Classification of the Sciences: The Nineteenth Century Tradition,” in *Classifications in their Social Context*, eds. Roy F. Ellen and David Reason (London/New York: Academic Press, 1979), 167–193.

²⁸ One important exception, however, is Zuo Yuhe 左玉河, *Cong sibu zhi xue dao qike zhi xue—xueshu fenke yu jindai Zhongguo zhishi xitong de chuangjian* 從四部之學到七科之學—學術分可與近代中國知識系統的創建 [From the ‘knowledge’ of the Four Treasuries to the ‘learning of the seven departments’—Academic classification and the creation of a modern Chinese knowledge system] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2004).

topic is focused on the way Western knowledge was first inserted into the traditional Chinese system of classification and on the reversal of this process during the Republican era, when traditional Chinese knowledge needed to be accommodated by a system of classification that was now Western-dominated.²⁹ In actual fact, however, even at the end of the nineteenth century the situation was very complex and the whole issue of classification was of great importance for the reception of Western knowledge. Liang Qichao's famous statement that "the classification of Western books is most difficult" certainly was valid not only for Liang Qichao,³⁰ but for most Chinese scholars dealing with Western knowledge in one way or another. Classification was important for epistemological reasons, but above all because the classification system presented the readers with the sole means to locate the information they needed. Only toward the very end of the Qing dynasty were formal keys—such as stroke numbers for characters—introduced as aides for locating entries. Most "encyclopaedias" thus have rather elaborate classified tables of contents—at times extending over several volumes—listing the topics contained within a given class. If we look into classification schemes of such encyclopaedias and compare them with the two most influential bibliographies of works on new knowledge from that time, namely the ones by Liang Qichao and Xu Weize 徐維則 (active between 1882 and 1903), no clear picture of classification emerges.³¹

²⁹ See for example Luo Zhitian, "Xifang xueshu fenlei yu minchu guoxue de xueke dingwei" 西方學術分類與民初國學的學科定位 [The Western academic classification and the establishment of the discipline of 'national studies' during the early Republican Era], *Sichuan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 5 (2001): 75–82, and Luo Zhitian, "Guoxue bu shi xue: Xifang xueshu fenlei yu minchu guoxue dingwei de kunhuo" 國學不是學: 西方學術分類與民初國學定位的困惑 ['National Learning' is not learning. Western academic classification and doubts about establishing 'national studies' at the beginning of the Republican era], *Shehui kexue yanjiu* 1 (2002): 117–121.

³⁰ Liang Qichao, "Xixue shumu biao xuli" 西學書目表序例 [Preface and reading instructions to the Bibliography of Western Knowledge], *Shiwubao*, Guangxu 22, 11th day of 9th month (1896), 3a–6b.

³¹ Liang Qichao, *Xixue shumu biao* 西學書目表 [*Bibliography of Western Learning*], Shanghai: Shenshijizhai, 1896; Xu Weize, "Dong Xi xue shulu," in *Jindai yishu mu* 近代譯書目, ed. Wang Tao, Gu Xieguang et al. (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 2003), 1–24. I have used the following encyclopaedic works: Wang Xiqing 王西清 and Lu Tiqing 盧梯青, eds., *Xixue dacheng* 西學大成 [Great collection of Western learning] (Shanghai: Datong shuju, 1888); Sun Jia'nai 孫家鼐 comp., *Xu xixue dacheng* 續西學大成 [Great collection of Western learning. Sequel] (Shanghai: Feihongge shulin, 1897); Qian Feng 錢豐, comp., *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng* 萬國分類時務大成 [A comprehensive summary of current affairs by category and for all nations] (Shanghai: Shenjiang Xiuhai shanfang, 1897); Gu Qiyi 顧其義 and Wu Wenzao 吳文藻, comp., *Xifa cexue huiyuan* 西法策學匯源 [Digest of Western methods useful for policy questions] (Shanghai: Hongbao shuju, 1897); Li Timotai 李提摩太 [= Timothy Richard], *Fenlei jingji shiwu celun* 分類經濟時務策論 [Classified compendium of policy questions on statecraft and current affairs] (Shanghai: Jieji shuju, 1901); Li Timotai 李提摩太 [= Timothy Richard], ed., *Guangxue leibian* 廣學類編 [parallel title: *Handy Cyclopaedia*] (1901; repr. Shanghai: Guangxuehui, 1903); Zhu Dawen 朱大文 and Ling Gengyang 凌慶龍, eds., *Wanguo zhengzhi yixue quanshu* 萬國政治藝學全書 [A compendium of the governance and technical learning of all nations] (Shanghai: Hongwen shuju, 1902); Dianshizhai zhuren 點石齋主人, *Shiwu tongkao xubian* 時務通攷續編

Actually there were almost as many systems of classification as books, and none of the works employed a classification system close to the system of the seven disciplines, *qi ke* 七科, that was to dominate during the early Republican era. One striking feature of all the classification schemes, however, is the lack of a layer of super-classes, i.e. there is no concept of natural sciences, social sciences, humanities etc. Even the distinction between “learning” and politics/organization first introduced by Liang Qichao (who, however, simultaneously stressed the close relationship between the two) is rarely found in the works under scrutiny here. Even one level below such super-classes, we fail to find any consistent use of a concept such as “physics.” As I have pointed out elsewhere, this was due to the fragmented nature of the reception of new knowledge from the middle of the nineteenth century onward,³² but it also reflects the focus on “applied knowledge,” which was an important feature of most of the classification schemes in late nineteenth and early twentieth century encyclopaedias.

Most of the classification schemes do not offer a systematic place for what today would be called “humanities.” “History,” *shixue* 史學, of course, is a subject contained in almost all of the classifications analysed here, and naturally was of great importance for both practical and political reasons. The term *wenxue* 文學 that shows up in some works does not refer to “literature” in the modern sense but in most cases to different styles of composing texts, including official documents, etc. The importance of “philosophy” as a category of “new learning” was only recognized by very few of these early encyclopaedias. Xu Weize in his bibliography grouped it under the heading *lixue* 理學 (learning of principle), others, if they chose to treat it at all, put it in a category denoting “sciences in general,” for which several Chinese terms were used. The same holds true for logic, a field with which Liang Qichao was still completely at a loss. As a consequence, he put it (alongside with cooking books) into his famous category of “books which cannot be categorized,” *wu ke gui lei* 無可歸類.³³

The categories, furthermore, employed in Chinese classification systems around the turn of the twentieth century were not necessarily one-to-one equivalents of the corresponding Western terms. Mechanics, for example, which in Chinese

[Sequel to the *Comprehensive examination of current affairs*] (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1901); Yang Yuhui 楊毓輝, *Gezhi zhiping tongyi* 格致治平通議 [General discussion of the sciences and good rulership] (Shanghai: 1902); Chen Changshen 陳昌紳, ed., *Fenlei shiwu tongzuan* 分類時務通纂 [Comprehensive classified compilation on contemporary affairs] (Shanghai: Wenlan shuju, 1902), and *Zhong xi jingji celun tongkao* 中西經濟策論通考 [Complete assessment of Chinese and Western knowledge relevant to statecraft and policy questions] (Shanghai: Shenliu dushutang, 1902). A table giving the results has been included in Ameilong 阿梅龍 [= Iwo Amelung], “Wan Qing baike quanshu *Xinxue beizuan* jiqi yu keju zhidu de guanxi” 晚清百科全書、《新學備纂》及其與科舉制度的關係 [Late Qing encyclopaedias, the *Complete Compilation of New Knowledge* and its relationship with the examination system], in *Jindai Zhongguo de baike cishu* 近代中國的百科辭書, eds. Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 and Miliena 米列娜 [= Milena Doleželová-Velingerová.] (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2007), 112–134.

³² Iwo Amelung, “Naming Physics.”

³³ Cf. Joachim Kurtz, *The Discovery of Chinese Logic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 5.

classifications is most often referred to as *zhongxue* 重學, literally “the study of weight,” placed far more emphasis on “application” than it did in the West. Newton’s laws of motion thus were much less prominent than they would have been in any textbook—or encyclopaedia for that matter—in the West.³⁴ Another interesting example is *tuxue* 圖學, literally “the study/learning of maps/charts/diagrams/illustrations.” Contrary to the expectation that this would primarily refer to the compilation of maps, and that its systematic place would thus have been as a sub-category of earth studies,³⁵ the contents covered by *tuxue* in most publications—including the *Complete Compilation of New Knowledge*—is much broader and extends to the whole range of possibilities the term *tu* has to offer, i.e. charts, maps—including techniques of surveying—paintings, and even photography. Although exotic for the Western observer, such a treatment makes sense, since probably for a Chinese scholar or official not too familiar with Western knowledge and desperate for a quick reference on say “photography,” the natural choice would be to look for it under the category of *tu*.

The *Complete Compilation of New Knowledge* differs from other works, but not in any spectacular way. Some subjects that are addressed in other collections, such as politics/organization, law and foreign relations/international law, are lacking altogether, while some practical information on the countries of the world can be found in other categories, such as information on units of weights and measures in the section on mathematics, information on agricultural and other products from the various countries of the world in “economics/science of commerce,” etc. A striking innovation in the *Complete Compilation* is the inclusion of a category for “micro-organisms,” *weishengwu* 微生物. This topic was not particularly prominent in China prior to the beginning of the twentieth century, although John Fryer’s article “On the struggle between man and bacteria,” which was published in the *Chinese Scientific Magazine*, *Gezhi huibian* 格致彙編,³⁶ did inspire Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1868–1936) to write his “On bacteria,” *Jun shuo* 菌說.³⁷ Most of the material used for this category, however, was based on translations from the Japanese. Another category of the *Complete Compilation*, inspired by Japanese terminology is “gymnastics” or “callisthenics,” *ticaoxue* 體操學. This soon was to become very

³⁴ On the reception of mechanical knowledge in late Imperial China, see Iwo Amelung, “Weights and Forces: The Introduction of Western Mechanics into Late Qing China,” in *New Terms for New Ideas. Western Knowledge and Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*, eds. Michael Lackner, Iwo Amelung and Joachim Kurtz (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 197–234.

³⁵ On the modernization of cartographic practice during the very late Qing, see Iwo Amelung, “New Maps for the Modernizing State. Western Cartographic Knowledge and its Application in 19th and 20th Century China,” in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China, The Warp and the Weft*, eds. Francesca Bray, Vera Lichtman and Georges Metallié (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 685–726.

³⁶ Fulanya 傅蘭雅 [= John Fryer], “Ren yu weishengwu zhengzhan lun” 人與微生物爭戰論 [On the struggle between man and bacteria], *Gezhi huibian* 格致彙編 7, no. 1 (Fall 1892): 30a–37b.

³⁷ Zhang Taiyan 章太炎, “Jun shuo,” in *Zhang Taiyan zhenglun xuanji* 章太炎政論選集, ed. Tang Zhijun 湯志鈞 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1977), 1: 128–144.

prominent as part of the new system of primary education, but hardly played an important role in China prior to 1904/1905. It was closely related to the military, and information about it was mainly based on Chinese translations of Japanese sources. Even more unusual is the inclusion of the category psychology, *xinlingxue* 心靈學, which does not show up in other encyclopaedias of the time and whose contents were mainly based on the first Chinese translation of a book on psychology done by Yan Yongjing 顏永京 (1839–1898) and published in 1889.³⁸ Finally, it should be stressed that agriculture played an important role and actually was divided into agriculture in a stricter sense, *nongxue* 農學, and “animal husbandry,” *muxue* 牧學. Such a classification is also rarely seen in other encyclopaedias.

Sources and Contents

None of the early Chinese “encyclopaedias” consists chiefly of original entries by one or several authors. They were compiled in a copy-and-paste technique from different sources.³⁹ While some of these encyclopaedias make ample use of the literary genre closest to the new-style policy essays of the examination system, namely the examination questions of the prize essay contest at the Shanghai Polytechnic Institution, others are almost completely based on translations of Western knowledge. The main problem for the researcher is that very few of these books make their sources explicit. One exception is the *Complete Compilation*, which as a rule gives the title of the work on which a piece of information included in the book was based—the information normally being a verbatim quotation from the work in question.

In order to assess the resources on which the work drew, I have attempted to identify every source and counted the frequency with which it was used. The result of this somewhat mechanical undertaking was surprising insofar as the book quotes from well over 300 different sources. As the preface to the book explains, the compilers had mainly consulted works translated earlier into Chinese, but they also used a number of foreign language, i.e. Japanese, English and possibly French sources, which according to the preface amount to 10–20 %. While I was unable to identify every single source used in the *Complete Compilation*, it is clear that their distribution over the various chapters is rather uneven. The chapter on mathematics draws on over 60 different sources, and for the chapter on agriculture we can identify more than 50; by contrast, the chapter on gymnastics makes use of just six separate sources, while zoology only draws on three. Not all of the sources were monographs; in many cases short treatises and articles were used—mostly from the *Chinese Scientific Magazine*. It should be noted in passing that the *Complete*

³⁸ Cf. Haiwen 海文 [= Joseph Haven], *Xinlingxue* 心靈學 [Mental philosophy], trans. Yan Yongjing 顏永京 (Shanghai: Yizhi shuhui, 1889).

³⁹ For a study of this issue, see the contributions of Natascha Gentz and Rudolf G. Wagner in this volume.

Compilation actually contains knowledge extracted from Western encyclopaedias such as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Chambers's Information for the People*, etc. because some of the sources used in the book are translated from these encyclopaedias.

The wide-ranging contents of the book and the differences between the individual chapters make it difficult to provide unified characterizations of their contents and sources. One can state, however, that the *Complete Compilation* relies heavily on the set of rather early translations of Western works that remained influential throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. This set includes works such as *On the Heavens*, Tan tian 談天 (1859), *An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics* translated as Zhongxue 重學 (1859, 1866 and 1867), *Wells's Principles and Applications of Chemistry* translated as Huaxue jianyuan 化學鑑原 (1871), the *Introduction to the Sciences*, Gewu rumen 格物入門, compiled by W.A.P. Martin (1827–1916) in 1868, the *Manual on Mineralogy*, Jinshi shibie 金石識別 (1871), and others. Most of these books had been published by government-sponsored institutions such as the College of Foreign Languages, Tongwen guan 同文館, in Beijing and, most importantly, the Jiangnan Arsenal, Jiangnan zhizaoju 江南製造局, in Shanghai, and they had seen several reprints over the following decades.

The preface of the *Complete Compilation* explicitly states that “80–90 %” of the work makes use of these earlier translations, while also adding “10–20 % of newly translated material [is] from Japanese and Western sources.” There are two subject areas, however, for which the *Complete Compilation* also employs “pure” Chinese sources, or, as the preface by the compiler describes it, “publications by well-read scholars of our country,” 我國通人著述.⁴⁰ Apparently the compiler was of the opinion that the two areas of mathematics and astronomy offered the possibility of a certain degree of “hybridity” since both areas have a long Chinese history. On closer examination, however, it becomes quite clear that even here the role played by Chinese tradition was minimal. Equally limited is the direct influence of the much earlier Jesuit translations. Except for the translation of Euclid's *Elements*, Jihe yuanben 幾何原本, which originally was done by Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562–1631) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) but only first completed by Li Shanlan 李善蘭 (1811–1882) and Alexander Wylie (1815–1887) during the 1850s, there are almost no references to Jesuit translations.⁴¹ The *Complete Compilation*, however, does use a number of works by important Chinese mathematicians of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. While not directly linked to translations from the West, they made use of insights first offered in Jesuit translations.⁴² References to the Chinese scientific tradition are otherwise exceedingly rare. The single reference

⁴⁰ Jianzhai zhuren 漸齋主人, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in Jianzhai zhuren, comp., *Xinxue beizuan*, 1b–2a.

⁴¹ Peter M. Engelfriet, *Euclid in China. The Genesis of the First Translation of Euclid's Elements Books I–VI (Jihe yuanben; Beijing, 1607) and its Reception up to 1723*, 138. (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

⁴² Except for the books written by Mei Wending 梅文鼎 (1633–1721), these include works by Luo Shilin 羅士琳 (1784–1853) and Xia Luanxiang 夏鸞翔 (1822–1864), Zou Boqi 鄒伯奇 (1819–1869), and others; on the problem in general see Tian Miao 田淼, *Zhongguo shuxue de*

to the supposedly Chinese origins of Western mechanics seems accidental and not part of any systematic attempt to push the theory of the “Chinese origins of Western science.”

How was the new knowledge presented? The sheer volume and diversity of the material makes a definite answer difficult, but sampling the section on mechanics shows that the compilers of the encyclopaedia had a good grasp of the field as it had been introduced to China at this time. They had identified the most important translations and duly relied for the most part on *An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics* translated by Edkins and Li Shanlan. It is unclear whether they realized that the material on mechanics they quoted from Gu Guanguang’s 顧觀光 (1799–1862) *External Notes on the Nine Numbers*, *Jiushu wailu* 九數外錄, was in turn based entirely on this translation. Be that as it may, on the whole the treatment of mechanics is convincing and concise. The treatment of the laws of motion for example, which again is digested from Edkins’ and Li’s translation, is clearer and more concise than the source. It is interesting that the compilers did not refer to the sections dealing with mechanics in general works on physics, such as the translation of Ganot’s popular *Cours de physique purement expérimentale*, *Xingxing xueyao* 形性學要, published in 1899. The reason is probably that they did not realize that the book contained an important treatment of mechanics.

As already noted, the section on agriculture quotes from more sources than most other sections. While agriculture did play a very important role in traditional Chinese writing, it was not very high on the list of Chinese priorities in the middle of the nineteenth century when Western knowledge was first introduced. The number of titles translated up to 1897 was limited by any standard, and Xiong Yuezhi has pointed out that the few relevant works translated by the Jiangnan Arsenal failed to exert any influence on agricultural developments of the time.⁴³ It thus is no accident that the *Great Collection of Western Learning*, which was published in 1888, does not contain a section on agriculture. Given this, it is remarkable that the *Complete Compilation* (1902) has such an extensive section on agriculture. One reason for this is that questions of agriculture had become important in the reformed examination system.⁴⁴ The other apparent reason was that since 1896, the maverick Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940) had begun to engage in numerous translation activities relating to works on agriculture, mostly from the Japanese. The *Agricultural Science Review*, *Nongxue bao* 農學報, and the *Collectanea of Works on Agricultural Science*, *Nongxue congshu* 農學叢書, included translations by eminent and influential men such as Fan Bingqing 樊炳清 (1876–1931), Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927) and Luo Zhenyu himself. They constituted the main sources for the *Complete Compilation* on questions of

xihua licheng 中國數學的西化歷程 [The Westernisation of mathematics in China] (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu, 2005).

⁴³ Cf. Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui* 西學東漸與晚清社 [Dissemination of Western knowledge and the late Qing society] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1994), 516.

⁴⁴ In the provincial and metropolitan examinations between 1902 and 1904 there were at least ten policy questions relating to new agricultural methods.

agriculture, which in this way contributed to the development of scientific agriculture in China. Despite its importance, this topic has remained virtually un-researched to this day.⁴⁵

One problem of the *Complete Compilation* was the question of the terminology to be employed. Since the work quoted from a great number of different sources, confusion in technical terms was unavoidable. It must have constituted a challenge for the readers of the collection and was in all likelihood a real problem to understand. Instances are too numerous to be treated here in detail; “mechanics” for example, was mostly referred to as *zhongxue* 重學 (“science of weights”), but quite often also as *lixue* 力學 (literally “science of forces”); chemical affinity at times was called *huaheli* 化合力 and at other times *aili* 愛力. Much terminological confusion also prevails with regard to chemical elements, compounds, etc.

The widespread terminological confusion which is shared by the encyclopaedic works can be viewed as indicative of the compilers’ lack of ‘real’ understanding of the scientific issues at stake. A more extensive use of translations from the Japanese in the *Complete Compilation*, it should be noted, would have resulted in even greater confusion because of the great difference between the terminology used in the available Chinese translations and the new Japanese works. Once translations from the Japanese and their terminology had begun to dominate textbooks, as happened around 1904, the *Complete Compilation* must have quickly lost its usefulness.

Another factor detracting from the value of the *Complete Compilation* as well as many other encyclopaedias of the time is their complete lack of illustrations. This is especially striking when comparing the *Complete Compilation* with its sources, which abound in illustrations. It is ironic that this work, which has a special section on maps, charts and illustrations, eschews the use of these very useful devices. Most likely time pressures and cost factors prompted the compiler to forego illustrations, even though the reformed examination system for the first time allowed illustrations to be used in the policy essays. We may wonder how a reader more or less ignorant of the topic was to understand the phenomenon of refraction or the law of reflection without the help of an illustration. The same is true for geometrical problems, and also for many objects. Prisms, for example, were something new in China, and it is easy to imagine that somebody trying for the first time to acquaint himself with optics might not be able to visualize the object—a triangular prism—referred to in the book as “three-edged mirror,” *sanlengjing* 三棱鏡. Somebody who wanted to know how to determine the position of a ship on the high seas and has been introduced to astronomical methods through the *Complete Compilation* must have been at a complete loss to understand what the text was saying without illustrations. This observation finds an echo in Ren Hongjun’s early reproach that Western science as introduced at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth

⁴⁵ The only systematic research on this question has been conducted by Lü Shunchang, whose research results are published in several works; cf. for example Lü Shunchang 呂順長, *Qingmo Zhejiang yu Riben* 清末浙江與日本 [Late Qing Zhejiang and Japan] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2001), 184–204.

century in China was mainly ‘textual science’—meaning the assumption that ‘useful knowledge’ could be successfully transmitted by almost exclusive reliance on the written word.⁴⁶

By Way of Conclusion

In this brief paper I have suggested that there is a close relationship between the emergence of the genre of writings, which I here have called “encyclopaedias,” and the late Qing reforms of the examination system. Future research on encyclopaedias should take this relationship seriously and look more systematically at the examination papers of the times and particularly deal with the question of to what extent not only policy essays, but all examination questions were based on knowledge introduced by means of encyclopaedias.

A look at the classifications, the sources and the contents of these encyclopaedias does show the beginnings of a new era in some domains—as for instance the inclusion of subjects such as “gymnastics” or “micro-organisms” in the *Complete Compilation*, or its strong emphasis on a science-based agriculture. On the whole, however, the knowledge was recent rather than “brand new.” In fact my analysis of the *Complete Compilation*, which probably would hold true for other encyclopaedias as well, shows that in a certain sense these encyclopaedic endeavours were the culmination and simultaneously the end-point of a phase in the introduction of new knowledge that had started in the early 1850s. It was only in the *Complete Compilation* and similar encyclopaedias that this new knowledge finally enjoyed the importance that it should have deserved much earlier. Just that in this moment, the seasoned “new knowledge” presented here was displaced in many fields by an even newer knowledge that reached China mainly from Japan, made use of entirely new classificatory and terminological resources, and extended to areas hardly touched by the preceding efforts.

This preliminary analysis of the *Complete Compilation* has focused on the “bookish” aspects of the reception of Western sciences during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such an approach is justified by the sheer amount of material like the *Complete Compilation* and its complete neglect by research up to now.

Zhou Zhenhe’s observation that many Chinese scholars and officials during the late Qing hoped that “wealth and power would emerge from books” is certainly justified.⁴⁷ To a certain extent, the abolition of the examination system in 1905 reacted to a much lampooned “bookishness” among Chinese scholars, and it probably was due to the abolition of this examination system that works like the *Complete Compilation* lost their importance for a greater reading public. During the tumultuous years between 1897 and 1905, however, they certainly played a prominent role.

⁴⁶ Ren Hongjun, “He wei kexuejia?”

⁴⁷ Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴, “Shu zhong zi you fuqiang shu?” 書中自有富強術 [Can wealth and power really be found in books?], *Dushu* 12 (1992): 49–54.

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- . See also Ameilong.
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The Formation of Encyclopaedic Commonplaces During the Late Qing: Entries on the Newspaper

Rudolf G. Wagner

This paper proposes to do two things: sketch out the development of a stock of shared information and judgment on a given topic—“the newspaper”—through the various late Qing encyclopaedias; and sketch out the actual use of late Qing encyclopaedias as an information base for the new form of examinations that came with the “Reform of Governance,” Xinzheng 新政, beginning in 1901. In the Chinese entries the term *bao* 報 refers to a periodical publication. The word “newspaper” will here be used as shorthand for “periodical publication.”

The Manufacture of Encyclopaedic Texts During the Late Qing

Rapidly changing political and market conditions kept the time frame for the production of most late Qing encyclopaedias extremely short. A first window opened in 1897 and 1898, the second with the Reform of Governance in 1901.¹ The technique of lithography facilitated fast and cheap manuscript reproduction. Seven of the eight works used for this study were lithograph prints. Time pressure worked in favour of large-scale copying of entire segments from earlier works.

Western encyclopaedic works were among the basic reference tools brought to China by foreign missionaries and officials from the early nineteenth century

¹ Rudolf Wagner, “Wan Qing xinzheng yu xixue baike quanshu” 晚清新政與西學百科全書 [The late Qing ‘New Governance’ and encyclopaedias of Western knowledge], in *Jindai Zhongguo de baike cishu* 近代中國的百科辭書 [Early modern Chinese encyclopaedic works], eds. Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 and Miliena 米列娜 [= Milena Doleželová-Velingerová] (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2007), 33–56. See also Figure 1 in the Introduction.

R.G. Wagner (✉)

Institute of Chinese Studies, Heidelberg University, Heidelberg, Germany

e-mail: wagner@asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de

onward. They allowed them to introduce information about fields such as optics or economics of which they knew very little.²

Western and later Japanese encyclopaedias were accordingly part of the horizon of knowledge within which Chinese authors worked, even if these were not available in translations. This was not a one-way road. In the early 1890s, the General Office [of Foreign Affairs], Zongli yamen 總理衙門, had a set of the huge *Collection of Texts and Illustrations, Old and New*, Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成 (1726–1728), printed as presents for foreign libraries.³

Newspapers were occasionally mentioned in the early Protestant missionaries' descriptions of the West; some foreign language papers came out in Canton and Macao, and efforts were made by Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785–1850) and later the newly-established General Office of Foreign Affairs, Zongli Yamen, to mine them for relevant information. But no more systematic introduction to newspapers in Chinese has come to light yet, although commonplace notions might have spread via bilingual ethnic Chinese from Southeast Asia and direct contact with foreigners. An example of the transcultural flow of commonplace notions is the shifting Chinese image of George Washington since the 1830s. Tropes about the man and his labors moved with ease from American popular tracts through early geographical works in Chinese to biographies and encyclopaedic works.⁴

² Abraham Rees's (1743–1825) *The Cyclopaedia* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819–1820) was one of these works, especially appreciated by dissenting clergy who dominated the early English missionary efforts. It is called a *xi-guo-luo-bi-li-ya* 西果羅彼釐亞 by Lin Zexu 林則徐 and not a "leishu" 類書. Lin Zexu, "Yangshi zalu 洋事雜錄" [Miscellaneous notes on Western affairs]. 1846. Unpubl. manuscript in Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. Transcribed into simplified characters in "Lin Zexu 'Yangshi zalu'" 林則徐《洋事雜錄》 [Lin Zexu's *Miscellaneous notes on Western affairs*], by Chen Depei 陳德培, Lin Yongyu 林永侯, and Meng Pengxing 孟彭興. *Zhongshan daxue xuebao (shehuikexue ban)*, no. 3 (1986): 14–34. Hugh Murray's (1779–1846) *The Encyclopaedia of Geography* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1837) was used by Lin Zexu for his *Record of the Four Continents*, Sizhou zhi 四洲志 1839 (excerpts preserved in Wang Xiqi, 1897). Articles from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed. 1875–1879) were translated into Chinese, including such articles as "International Law" by Edmund Robertson (1845–1911), translated by John Fryer (1839–1928) and Wang Zhensheng 汪振聲 as *Gongfa zonglun* 公法總論, and appearing in *Xixue fuqiang congshu* 西學富強叢書 [Collection of books of Western learning [to make the state] rich and powerful], Zhang Yinhan 張蔭桓, comp., section "Faxue" 法學 [law] (Shanghai: Hongwen, 1896). The list of books brought to China by Young John Allen in 1859 contains many such encyclopaedic works, see "Young J. Allen's Personal Library Brought with him from Georgia to China in 1859–1860," in Adrian A. Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China. Young J. Allen and his Magazines, 1860–1883* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1983), 289–292. Entries in *Chambers's Information for the People* were an important source for the *Liuhé cong'an* 六合叢談 with the English title *Shanghai Serial*. See the study by Reynolds in the present volume, p. 155.

³ Cf. Lionel Giles, *An alphabetical index to the Chinese Encyclopaedia*, (London: British Museum, 1911), 18.

⁴ Pan Guangzhe 潘光哲, *Huashengdun zai Zhongguo—zhizuo 'guofu'* 華盛頓在中國—製作〈國父〉 [Washington in China: manufacturing a father of the nation] (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2006); Rudolf Wagner, "The Image of the Public Leader out of the Chinese Crisis," (unpublished paper, 2010).

My sample, taken from the Heidelberg Database of Late Qing and Republican Encyclopaedic Works (HEIDENC), consists of eight encyclopaedias with an entry about newspapers that were published between 1884 and 1911.⁵

1. *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs*, *Xishi leibian* 西事類編 (1887), by Shen Chun 沈純 (Cuisheng 粹生).⁶ This work consists of excerpts from the diaries of early Chinese ambassadors; from Chinese travelogues and world descriptions; and from some document collections on Chinese coolie labour abroad. Done according to the high scholarly standards of the Shenbaoguan 申報館 publishing house in Shanghai, the source for each excerpt is given together with a bibliography. The work is organised into topics such as “travel routes,” *chengji* 程紀, “government,” *zhengzhi* 政治, or “education and technical learning,” *wen yi* 文藝. It gathers under these headings information otherwise randomly dispersed in the various travelogues and diaries. The excerpts are often followed by a systematic summary of the topic that contains substantial new information. No further information on Shen Chun has been located beyond three additional titles of works.⁷
2. *A Comprehensive Summary of Current Affairs by Category and for All Nations*, *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng* 萬國分類時務大成 (1897) by Qian Feng 錢豐 (Yixian 頤仙).⁸ The work comes with an official printing permit from Jiangnan. The preface by Zhang Yunyu 張韞玉 complains of the ignorance of men of letters concerning contemporary and international affairs and advertises the work as the remedy.⁹ Nothing further is known about the compiler and the author of the preface. The classification with its focus on contemporary government matters encompasses over 180 topics grouped into 24 broad sections, such as “astronomy,” *tianwen* 天文, “rulers,” *guojun* 國君, “bureaucratic organisations,” *guan zhi* 官制, “governance,” *zhengzhi* 政治, “commercial matters,” *shangwu* 商務, “foreign relations,” *bangjiao* 邦交, “military equipment,” *wubei* 武備, “manufacture,”

⁵The eight works are identified subsequently in the text by the pound or hash sign (#) and the number given in this list.

⁶Shen Chun 沈純, comp., *Xishi leibian* 西事類編 (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, 1887).

⁷These are: the (extant and earlier) *Xishi li ce* 西事蠡測 [Tidbits on Western affairs], a work finished probably in 1883, an 18-page excerpt of which is included in Wang Xiqi 王錫祺, *Xiaofanghuzhai yudi congchao* 小方壺齋輿地叢鈔 (1897) (Hangzhou: Hangzhou guji shudian, 1985); *Yangwu jiyao* 洋務輯要 [Core elements of Western affairs], a work mentioned in the preface to the *Xishi leibian* of which I have not located a copy; and *Geguo shiwu leibian* 各國時務類編 [Classified compilation of contemporary affairs of the different foreign nations], a work in 18 *juan* bound in 4 *ce* and published before 1884 in Shanghai. While no copy has yet been located, it is listed with this information by Zhao Weixi (1860–1917) 趙惟熙 in his *Xixue shumu dawen* 西學書目答問 [Answers to questions about books on Western learning] (Guiyang: Guiyang xueshu, 1901), 18a. The difference in the number of chapters indicates that this is not a reprint of the *Xishi leibian* with a different title. No copy has been located.

⁸Qian Feng 錢豐, comp., *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng* 萬國分類時務大成 (Shanghai: Shenjiang Xiuhai shanfang, 1897).

⁹Zhang Yunyu 張韞玉, “*Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng xu*” 萬國分類時務大成叙 [Preface], in Qian Feng, comp., *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, 1a.

zhizao 製造, and “plants,” *zhiwu* 植物. Some of the difficulties with the classification are discussed in the itemised notes on the compilation. The entries are newly written, sources or quotations are not referenced.

3. *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs*, *Shiwu tongkao* 時務通考 (1897), compiled by Qilu zhuren 杞盧主人.¹⁰ The compiler boldly links his enterprise to Ma Duanlin’s 馬端臨 (ca. 1254–ca. 1323) *Comprehensive Reference on Records and Documents*, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 and its sequels. The inclusion of Western affairs is justified by the “secret coincidence” between Western political systems and the Chinese political ideal of the three dynasties of antiquity.¹¹ The entries are grouped into 31 “classes,” *men* 門, each with up to 20 subheadings. It pioneered the inclusion of the “history” of different nations. The publisher compiled a sequel in 1898, which only came out in 1901 after the beginning of the Reform of Governance policies.¹²
4. *Handy Cyclopedial/Guangxue leibian* 廣學類編 (1903). Based on an unknown work by an Englishman referred to as Tang Lanmeng 唐蘭孟, this work has been edited by Timothy Richard and translated by Ren Tingxu 任廷旭.¹³ Each of the 12 *juan* contains one of the classification categories, namely “historical events,” *shishi* 史事, “geography,” *dili* 地理, “general education,” *wenxue* 文學, “science,” *gezhi* 格致, “mathematics,” *suanxue* 算學, “commerce,” *shangwu* 商務, “medicine and pharmacopoeia,” *yiya* 醫藥, “measurements,” *quandu* 權度, “marriage ceremonies,” *hunli* 婚禮, “domestic management,” *jiawu* 家務, “construction,” *yingzao* 營造, and “hunting,” *youlie* 游獵. The focus is on everyday life rather than government.
5. *Comprehensive Classified Compilation on Contemporary Affairs*, *Fenlei shiwu tongzuan* 分類時務通纂 (1902). The editor Chen Changshen’s 陳昌紳 (*jinsi* 1887) own 1898 preface is preceded by a 1902 preface by Yue Tangzhen 越湯震.¹⁴ The work probably was not published in 1898 because of the political shift in that year, but was rushed to print after the 1901 reform edict. The massive work assembles, without authorial comment, memorials and newspaper articles or excerpts from them into six broad categories: “domestic government,” *neizheng* 內政, “foreign relations,” *waijiao* 外交, “finance,” *licai* 理財, “military matters,” *jingwu* 經武, “science,” *gewu* 格物, and “engineering,” *kaogong* 考工, each with many subcategories. The editor Chen Changshen was an instructor at Longmen Academy, Longmen shuyuan 龍門書院, in Shanghai.

¹⁰ Qilu zhuren 杞盧主人, comp., *Shiwu tongkao* 時務通考 (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1897).

¹¹ Qilu zhuren, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in Qilu zhuren, comp. *Shiwu tongkao*, 1b.

¹² Dianshizhai zhuren 點石齋主人, comp. *Shiwu tongkao xubian* 時務通攷續編 [Comprehensive examination of current affairs. Sequel] (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1901), 1.

¹³ Tang Lanmeng 唐蘭孟, comp., Li Timotai 李提摩太 [= Timothy Richard], ed., Ren Tingxu 任廷旭, tr., *Guangxue leibian* 廣學類編 [parallel title: *Handy cyclopedial*] (Shanghai: Guangxuehui, 1901; Reprint Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1903).

¹⁴ Chen Changshen 陳昌紳, comp., *Fenlei shiwu tongzuan* 分類時務通纂 (Shanghai: Wenlan shuju, 1902. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 2005).

6. *Three Compilations of Western Learning*, *Xixue santong* 西學三通 (1902), supervised by Xie Ruochao 謝若潮 (*jinshi* 1877) and compiled by Yuan Zonglian 袁宗濂 and Yan Zhiqing 晏志清.¹⁵ General preface by Xie Ruochao dated 1902; title calligraphy by the reformer and businessman Zhang Jian 張謇 (1853–1926); prefaces by a Tao Jun 陶鈞 for the three sections “Western government,” *Xi zheng* 西政, “Western history,” *Xi shi* 西史, and “Western technical learning,” *Xi yi* 西藝. The sections are subdivided with each having a finding aid. The texts are all newly-written summaries of unsourced information. The editorial team had a strong educational background and good connections. Xie Ruochao published a collection of examination essays in 1886.¹⁶ Yuan Zonglian was a student of the classical scholar Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 (1850–1908).
7. *The Political Essence of the Book of Zhou Rites (Zhouli)*, *Zhouli zhengyao* 周禮政要 (1902), by Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908).¹⁷ Sun’s extensive *Zhouli* 周禮 commentary (1899), which showed the compatibility of Zhou institutions with those of the modern West, missed the 1898 deadline. *The Political Essence of the Book of Zhou Rites* has forty headings, some of which have subheadings. Each entry starts with relevant excerpts from the *Zhouli* and early *Zhouli* commentaries and links them into a cohesive narrative. This is followed by a description of the corresponding Western institution from Sun’s hand. The slim volume with the “essence” of both Chinese and Western political institutions was widely reprinted and was used as a shorthand encyclopaedia of both revised traditional and new knowledge in some of the new schools.
8. *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, *Putong baike xin da cidian* 普通百科新大辭典, (1911), compiled by Huang Ren 黃人 (Huang Moxi 黃摩西, 1866–1913).¹⁸ This is the last of the late Qing encyclopaedic works. The sequence of the entries follows the new formal criterion of stroke number. Each entry is linked to a category such as “History,” *shi* 史, or “writing,” *wen* 文, under the name of the entry, and a separate index lists all entries grouped under these categories. As the *Dictionary*’s simultaneous use of the terms 辭典 and 詞典 (both pronounced *cidian*) in the work’s title suggests, the entries are identified by terms. Where appropriate, Huang Ren combines definitions with historical information. His order has 55 categories, starting with “constitution,” *xuan* 憲, and ending with new terms in “common use,” *tongyong* 通用, such as “reform,” *gaige* 改革, “universe,” *yuzhou* 宇宙, “state,” *guojia* 國家, or “absolute,” *juedui* 絕對. Three of the categories, “geography,” *yu* 輿, “history,” *shi* 史, and “writing,” *wen* 文, are subdivided into one section dealing with China and another that deals with the “world.”

¹⁵ Xie, Ruochao 謝若潮, ed., *Xixue santong* 西學三通 [Three compilations of Western learning], Yuan Zonglian 袁宗濂 and Yan Zhiqing 晏志清, comps., Lithograph, (Shanghai: Cuixin shuguan, 1902).

¹⁶ Xie Ruochao 謝若潮, *Tiekuo zhenzhong mi* 帖括枕中秘 [Pillow secrets of the examination] (N.p., 1886).

¹⁷ Sun Yirang, *Zhouli zhengyao*, 2 vols. (Ruian: Putong xuetang, 1902).

¹⁸ Huang Ren 黃人 [=Huang Moxi 黃摩西], comp. *Putong baike xin da cidian* 普通百科新大辭典. Prefaces by the author and Yan Fu 嚴復 (Shanghai: Zhongguo cidian gongsi, 1911).

The 1887 *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* ended up providing the mother-lode for all later entries. In a critical departure from “hearsay-based” and unreliable earlier descriptions, the work’s claim to truth and authenticity hinged on its use of first-hand Chinese evidence and its independence from earlier translations of foreign descriptions of the world.¹⁹ This type of fact-based and objective conveyance of information was part of a wider current at the time. It extends to the diaries and country reports of the new ambassadors, to the reporting style of newspapers such as the *Shenbao*, and even to fictional works published by the *Shenbaoguan*.²⁰ The editor’s comments on the newspaper maps both their positive potential and the drawbacks arising from government censorship, bribes, and the venality of the newspapers.

Re-using Entries

To quantify and qualify borrowing, I will now in a first step trace the elements informing newspaper-related entries in the 1902 *Three Compilations of Western Learning*. The entries are to be found in the section Western Governance, *Xizheng* 西政, subsection Educational Records, *Jiaodian* 教典 10, *juan* 18, 14b–17a.

1. The entry “On the origin of newspapers” (*juan* 18, 14b–15a) is copied verbatim from the *Handy Cyclopedia* (#4 in the sample of encyclopaedias given above) (*juan* 3, 2b–3b).
2. No source for the second entry on dailies with a history of the editorial in Europe has been identified.
3. The entry “English newspapers” (*juan* 18, 15a, b) copies information on the types of newspapers as well as the numbers it gives for newspapers in England from the *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs* (#3) (*juan* 15, 7b–8a). It adds substantial new text about the international distribution of the *Times* as well as the registration process and censorship of newspapers in England.
4. The entries on the German and Austrian press (*juan* 18, 15b) are copied verbatim from *A Comprehensive Summary of Current Affairs by Category and for All Nations* (#2) (*juan* 14, 51b) and a note by Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–1897) in #2 (*juan* 14, 50a, b) on scholarly periodicals.
5. The next section is new. It deals with the high standing of newspaper editors in England and France, especially those at the *Times* in London and *Le Temps* in Paris, as well as the strict standards for reporting maintained by these papers. It is followed by an anonymous essay “On Newspapers,” which goes very knowledgeably into the potential of papers, but also the danger of manipulation, especially in times of war.

¹⁹ Cheng Xianchao 程咸焯, “Xu” 序 [Preface] to *Xishi leibian*, comp. Shen Chun, 1b.

²⁰ More evidence of this shared concern for fact-based information is provided in the studies by Douglas Reynolds and Natascha Gentz in this volume.

6. The next five sections on the deposit required from Russian periodicals and from which fines may be deducted; on Russian papers not being allowed to leave the country; on a fine imposed on a Paris popular monthly; on the shifts in the Newspaper Stamp Tax in England; on US papers and on a court paper (*juan* 18, 16b–17a) are all stock items from *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1) (*juan* 6, 18a and 23b), already copied in 1897 by #2 (*juan* 14, 51b–52a) and #3 (*juan* 15, 6b and 7b).

In sum, of the 12 entries nine have been copied verbatim from earlier encyclopaedias, the remaining entries are new or their source has not yet been identified. A check of the newspaper sections in items #2 and #3 reveals that 12 of the 27 subheadings in item #3 have been copied verbatim from item #2, and at least two more from other sources. Item #2 in its turn has taken a few pieces wholesale from item #1 but inserted smaller quotations into a much enriched context. The later works then made use of this enlarged base.

There is thus evidence of large-scale copying in late Qing encyclopaedias. It ranges from a selective and judicious use of relevant information to copying nearly half of a long entry, to the complete copy of an entry with all its subcategories. As a result of the ensuing high coincidence, the different encyclopaedias do not present radically different orderings and evaluations of the new information about the West. Similarly, the continued use of information from item #1, suggests that the incentive to keep up-to-date was not very strong. Given the increased Chinese access to Japanese encyclopaedias and encyclopaedia translations that has been established, these will also have to be checked as possible new sources of information.²¹ The extraordinary role played by item #1 indicates that its mixture of first-hand observation and systematic survey provided a convincing framework from which later compilers felt no need to depart. The intensive reuse of already published information is endemic to the encyclopaedia industry worldwide. In the Chinese context it primarily reflects the need to come out with reference works for the new and rapidly changing examination requirements at high speed, as well as the still very rudimentary acceptance of intellectual property rights. The tight link between the peaks of the publication figures of late Qing encyclopaedias with court policies suggests that compilers and publishers were keenly aware of the importance of these policies. Since the often very extensive encyclopaedias could not be compiled within weeks—although lithography allowed for very quick printing—we can infer that the compilers and publishers were betting in 1898 that eventually the reform policies of the “Hundred Days” would be resumed so that once the Reform of Governance edict was published in 1901, their new compilations were already prepared.

²¹ The *Hyakka zensho* 百科全書 [Encyclopaedia/Complete work of a 100 disciplines] (Tokyo: Mombusho, 1875–1885) is a translation of Chambers’s *Information for the People* published in separate and independent instalments. Originally, this work also appeared in separate and independent instalments. For relevant Japanese encyclopaedias see Rudolf Wagner, “Chinese Encyclopedic Works 1840–1937, their Japanese and Western Models and Sources. Continuously Updated Metadata for the Database HEIDENC.”

Placing the Newspaper into the Order of Things

In a second step, I will study the place of the newspaper in the encyclopaedic order of things. Encyclopaedias present an order of the world through a hierarchy of categories and subheadings. This is even true of *A New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* (#8).²² At the same time, this order has to help a reader locate information. It therefore anticipates the implied readers' probable mindset when looking for this information rather than following the editor's whim. The place of the newspaper is meaningfully marked within this order. The *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1) placed the newspaper under "government," *zhengzhi* 政治, together with a note: "[This chapter offers excerpts and comments on] Reports on Western government affairs. These include such things as parliaments, public servants, and penal laws with a note on newspapers appended, because all the documents relating to the [government's] orders and edicts will be carried by them" (記泰西政事。凡議院, 官守, 刑獄之類, 而以新聞紙附之, 以其發號施令悉藉以傳大). The focus of the first Chinese ambassadors was on the operational mode of the Western states; they had little sense of something now called "society," and the option to regard newspapers as forms of articulation by the members of "society" is not present. The newspapers in this heading have the primary function of transmitting government orders. The implied reader—even for a book published by the Shenbaoguan, a press that also published the most important early Chinese language paper, the *Shenbao* 申報—is familiar with the *Peking Gazette*, *Jingbao* 京報, with its complete record of the approved government documents. Private newspapers were a different matter, and when looking for newspapers, the reader might well search for them where the *Peking Gazette* would be placed, i.e. under government matters. The projected reader seems to be preparing for a job in the new diplomatic service, because the *Classified Compilation* follows not just the diaries but also his own trajectory—the travel to get there, the basics of foreign relations, the presentation at court etc. As we shall see, the newspaper entry in #1 does not just follow this implied reader but in a way responds to him.

Compared to this, *A Comprehensive Summary of Current Affairs by Category and for All Nations* (#2) broadly followed the heaven, earth, man order familiar to the reader from earlier Chinese encyclopaedias, with astronomy, geography and state as the three pillars. Within the broad state group, we find different types of rulers, different systems of public service, and various official ranks and ways to maintain state order. The newspaper also comes under "government," and again is tacked on to an appendix after the subheadings of moral administration, finance, and law. It now is part of a state-organised system of communication between the state and society, and between

²² Western encyclopaedias also have been struggling with this problem. Cross-referencing and detailed indexes were to help find content linkages across the formal arrangement. In a more radical departure, information contained in *Chambers's Cyclopaedia* (1728) with its alphabetical sequence was repackaged into 100 extensive topical entries ("Astronomy," "Horse," "Kitchen Garden") in *Chambers's Information for the People* (1,835, many later editions) with access to terms through an alphabetical index. The encyclopaedic series coming out in England, Germany, Japan and eventually China followed the same principle, but without an overall index.

society's members in the form of a postal service and the telegraph. The place of the newspaper here is still within the top-down structure of the state's administration of society. The anchor determining the newspaper's place here is its conveyance of information and opinion, and differs from the private letter and the personal telegram by doing so publicly. Its awkward place in the state-organised communication structure confirms the absence of a concept of "society" as something with legitimate agency.²³

Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs (#3) also starts with heaven and earth, but then is more diffuse in its structure. After railways and mines, it has a chapter each on the telegraph and the postal system. The newspaper entry is an appendix to the information on the postal system.

Timothy Richard opted for a different order in the *Handy Cyclopaedia* (#4), dealing with the newspaper under "General Education," *wenxue* 文學. After giving the number of speakers for the different Western languages, the section sketches early European thinking on physics, and then introduces the origins of the newspaper, followed by a sketch of mythology. The section is focused on educational resources such as schools and libraries, and the newspaper is defined as a source of information. The state plays no role.

Since the six sections of the *Comprehensive Classified Compilation on Contemporary Affairs* (#5) all have to do with contemporary affairs, *shiwu* 時務, a term that actually refers to political management, it dispenses with heaven and earth and goes straight to the state's duties. The entry on money in the section financial management is followed by entries on telegraph lines and the postal service. Although the material has been taken entirely from the *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs* (#3), the newspaper has graduated here from an appendix to a separate entry coming after the postal service.

Three Compilations of Western Learning (#6) deals with the "newspaper" in the subsection "education," without any connection to the post office.²⁴ This again stresses the educational potential of the medium while short-changing its role as a place of negotiation and contestation between state and society.

Sun Yirang in *The Political Essence of the Book of Zhou Rites* (*Zhouli*) (#7) draws on the *Zhouli* to support a push for a modern educational system and open communication between state and society. In this work, we find the newspaper embedded in a

²³ Even the handbook of model essays, *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong* 中外政藝策府統宗 [Comprehensive summary of Imperial Examinations about government and technical learning in China and foreign countries] (1901), which reserves a separate chapter for the newspapers, places them after the postal service although the actually selected texts have nothing to do with it. As Natascha Gentz shows in her article in this volume, the section consists of articles taken from independent newspapers, in most cases the *Shenbao*, not from a government gazette, Yishu hui zhuren 譯書會主人, comp. *Zhong wai zheng yi cefu tongzong* 中外政藝策府統宗 (Shanghai: Zhong wai yishu hui, 1901), *juan* 24. Another such compilation from the same year also has a separate chapter with articles on newspapers, and inserts them into an environment that has to do with schools and education. Shao Zhitang 邵之棠, comp., *Huangchao jingshiwen tongbian* 皇朝經世文統編 [A comprehensive compilation of statecraft essays from our august dynasty] (Shanghai, Baosha zhai, 1901), Section 15, "Bao" 報 [Newspapers] in *juan* 15 of the part *Wenjiao* 文教.

²⁴ The other subsections of this category are governance, *zhi* 治, education, *jiao* 教, law, *fa* 法, finance, *cai* 財, agriculture, *nong* 農, commerce, *shang* 商, industry, *gong* 工, and military, *bing* 兵.

sequence focused on education on the one hand, and on communication between state and society on the other. After “Education of the Dauphins,” *jiaozhou* 教育, “Broadly Setting up Schools,” *guang xue* 廣學, “Understanding Technical Learning,” *tong yi* 通藝, “Selecting [the Best],” *xuanju* 選舉, and “Broadening Public Discussion,” *bo yi* 博議, which refers to a parliament, comes “Disseminating Papers,” *guang bao* 廣報, which is specified as referring to “newspapers.” This is followed by “Understanding Foreign Languages,” *tong yi* 通譯. In this order of things, the role of the newspaper to publicly spread information and opinion is emphasised next to the role of a parliament.

Huang Ren in the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* (#8) gives one entry each to daily papers—under the term *xinwen zhi* 新聞紙 that translates “newspaper” verbatim—and to journals, *zazhi* 雜誌. His order combines a scientific modernism with aids facilitating searches. Papers and journals come under the very formal category “Chinese writing,” *guowen xue* 國文學, together with such diverse things as “Seal Script,” *xiaozhuan* 小篆, “Bringing Together the Written and Spoken Language,” *wen yan yi zhi* 文言一致, or the “Tendenzroman,” *qingxiang xiaoshuo* 傾向小說.²⁵ As we shall see later, the emphasis is on the formal difference between the two types of medium and on their legal framework in civilised states.

The place of the newspaper in the order of things remained contested. The first big Republican period encyclopaedia, the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, *Riyong baike quanshu* 日用百科全書 (1919), had no entry on newspapers at all.²⁶ Only a supplement that appeared in 1925 included an entry. It did this in a context connected with libraries and schools as part of a “social education” process, but did not even acknowledge the existence of Chinese newspapers. The fully revised 1934 edition finally gave a long, separate entry to the newspaper, including the Chinese newspaper, but again in connection with libraries and schools.²⁷

Content Analysis: Late Qing Encyclopaedic Commonplaces about the Newspaper

In a third step, I will now give a bestiary of the tropes commonly accepted in the encyclopaedias for the newspaper, together with the most important deviations.

A basic and quite sophisticated framework is provided by the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1).²⁸ It starts off by quoting the diary of Liu Xihong 劉錫鴻 (–1891), who ranked second behind Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾 (1818–1891), the first Chinese ambassador in London from 1877–1879:

²⁵ “Fenlei mulu” 分類目錄 [Index of classification categories], in *Putong baike xin dacidian*, comp. Huang Ren, 43b–44b.

²⁶ Wang Yanlun 王言綸 *et al.*, eds., *Riyong Baike quanshu* 日用百科全書 [parallel title: *Everyday Cyclopaedia*]. (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1919).

²⁷ Huang Shaoyu 黃紹緒 *et al.*, eds., *Chongbian Riyong baike quanshu* 重編日用百科全書 [Completely revised *Everyday Cyclopaedia*], 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu, 1934), 1:58–82.

²⁸ Shen Chun, comp., *Xishi leibian*, *juan* 6: 15b.

Newspapers in the British capital are a sort of “pure discussion,” *qingyi* 清議, every day the ruler of the state sees from what is contained there and what is not which government business is urgent and which is not. One of the papers is called *The Times*. The people in charge of it are gentlemen of exceptional talent and knowledge. It is read at the court and in the provinces. It sells 70,000 copies daily, at 3 pence each. This gives a daily income of 4,375 *liang* silver. If someone has an item he wants to have carried by the paper, the expense [for the advertisement, R.W.] is 8 shillings per day and item. Another paper is called the *Daily News*, *Dili niushi* 地里牛士, and yet another the *Telegraph*, *Dili jia* 地理家. Another is called the *Standard*, *Sidan* 司丹; this one [is] inspired by officials. Another one, the *Morning Post*, *Molengshi* 磨稜士,²⁹ carries all the comings and goings as well as promotions and demotions of officials, no different from the Chinese *Palace Excerpts*, *Gongmen chao* 宮門抄, and *Yamen Excerpts*, *Yamen chao* 轅門抄.³⁰ If those holding forth on politics have something to criticise or those holding the levers of power have something to communicate, they publish it here.³¹

英都 [=倫敦] 新聞紙乃清議所繫。國君 [主] 每視其臧否為事之弛張 [=舉廢弛張]。有曰戴唔士 [者], 才識特優之紳士主之。朝野所共披 [=○] 覽者也。日售新聞紙七萬分, 每分價三邊士, 每日售銀四千三百七十五元。有事請登入報者, 每事每日非八息零 [日售 to 息零 missing]。次 [=次則] 曰地里牛士。次 [次則] 曰地理家。其曰司丹 [司丹達] 者其 [其 missing] 則官授之意者也。其曰磨稜士 [=磨稜卜士] 者則備載仕宦往來與其黜陟 [=升黜], 無異中國之宮門抄, 轅門報 [=報者] 也。論政者之有所刺譏, 與柄政者之有所申辯 [=伸辯], 皆於是乎著。

Liu Xihong, who was of a much more conservative bent than his superior, defined the newspaper in Britain, as exemplified by the *Times*, primarily as a medium of communicating critical opinion to the ruler. The papers are to serve communication between high and low, although that formula is not used here. Papers resembling Chinese government gazettes are of little importance. The importance of the *Times* is due to the standing of its chief editors and the resulting broad authority of the paper. The emphasis on the public nature of information and opinion has to be read against the background of the Chinese secret memorial system of the time. In the emphasis on highly qualified people being selected for the editorship of papers that are then regularly perused by the highest authorities for information, advice, and criticism, Liu Xihong is echoing a Chinese ideal. The editor adds a more systematic comment.

Comment by editor:

Newspaper companies have started in France. They select people of great talent and renown and make them editors-in-chief, *zhuzheng* 主政. Things befitting and not befitting the rules of the court, benefits and damages incurred by the people—once they hear about it they report it and

²⁹ This identification is not fully supported by the transcription here, because our text failed to copy the *bu* 卜, which would have given Moleng Bushi, a solid transcription of the *Morning Post*. When Liu Xihong was in London, this paper was indeed famous for its “court notices.” See Wilfrid Hope Hindle, *The Morning Post, 1772–1937: portrait of a newspaper* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1937), 205.

³⁰ The Chinese reference is to the *Peking Gazette* and the regional gazettes.

³¹ The source is Liu Xihong 劉錫鴻, *Ying yao riji* 英報日記 [Diary of an assignment to England]. I am not sure what kind of copies or excerpts of Liu’s diary as a vice-ambassador in London circulated. The only other early excerpt printing this passage I found in Wang Xiqi 王錫祺, *Xiaofanghuzhai yudi congchao* 小方壺彙輿地叢鈔, (1897; repr. Hangzhou: Hangzhou guji shidian, 1985), set 11, 167b. In the brackets I have indicated the differences between the *Xishi leibian* text and the Wang Xiqi text.

know no taboos in their praise and criticism. [These papers are] in name different but in reality identical with the flags announcing virtue, *gao shan zhi qi* 告善之旗, and the wooden boards for criticism, *fei bang zhi mu* 誹謗之木, in ancient [China]. They are the instrument through which the information on those below is communicated and pure proposals are reproduced.

按：新聞紙館創自法蘭西。選才高望重者為之主政。朝章之得失，民間之利弊，聽其記，載褒貶無所忌諱。與古者告善之旌，誹謗之木，名異而實同。所以通下情重清議也。

After this glowing introduction, which shows the compatibility of the new medium with ancient Chinese ideals, the editor tackles the problems that accompany the newspaper.

However, the abuses are also beyond description. Upon his ascension, the French President Patrice de MacMahon [gov. 1873–1879] issued a decree to the different newspaper companies that, because his reforms harboured without exception the best intentions to benefit the national economy and the people's livelihood, the editors should only convey words of appreciation and not indulge in any slander. He also set out to bribe them with hefty sums. The parliamentarian Erlang (?) got into a duel with an editor because he had been belittled for once having been a rebel. 然弊竇亦不可勝言。法國統領麥馬韓即位，諭知各報官，以所更新章無不斟酌盡善，有裨國計民生，主筆者止宜廣為揄揚，不得任意貶謫。且賄以重利。議員爾朗以曾為亂黨為所菲薄，與報館主白刃相仇。

The editor then takes up press regulations and censorship.

With the exception of England, the USA, and Belgium, various prohibitions exist in the other states regarding critiques of court policies. Originally the motive for setting up newspapers was to allow straight talk without holding anything back. But to wish to have those words spoken out, and then to shut people's mouths so that the flaws remain hidden and the blemishes are out of public view, and only the embellishments are visible from the outside—what good is such news?

泰西除英美比三國而外，報館議論朝政皆有例禁。設立新聞原冀其直言無隱，既欲其言，又箝其口，藏瑕匿垢，徒飾外觀，亦何取此新聞乎

At the same time, the papers may become instruments of commercial propaganda, political upheaval, and libel:

Apart from this, once some object has been successfully manufactured or a technique perfected, inevitably the newspaper company will be bribed to fill its pages with campaigns so as to meet the private profit-making interests [of those who made the object or perfected the technique]. And not only this. Rebellion and opposition to the authorities cannot be done by a one man alone. People are of different minds, each is obsessed with having an immaculate countenance and they do not dare to divulge what irritates them. But once such private concerns are published in a newspaper, those with similar ambitions will respond. As to the pressure from Western industry and the domination of their political cohorts—in all cases [they operate] in such a manner that one person gives the tone and hundreds and thousands of miles away a hundred respond—how would all this be possible without newspapers? And how should other things such as their denunciations of somebody's ills and detractions from his true nature or exaggerations of his good sides—way beyond the facts—simply be regarded as minor problems?³²

此外一物之成，以技之就，無不賄囑報館，鋪張揚厲，以遂其牟利之私。不特此也。作亂犯上，非一人所能為，而人心不同，各如其面即素，所狎習亦不敢違白。其私一登新聞，則同志皆響應矣。西洋工匠之挾制，黨人之把持，數千百里外，無不一唱而百和，苟非新聞，焉能如是。他如稱人之惡，而損其真，揚人之善，而過其實，猶事之小焉者也？！

³² *Xishi leibian*, juan 6: 16a.

The emphasis here is not on information, although it plays a role, but on evaluation. The newspaper is obviously different in manner from the way that the people's feelings and criticisms of government officials reached the court during the golden age of antiquity, but the ultimate purpose of the newspaper is the same. The British government shares the ideals of Chinese antiquity and therefore tolerates and appreciates such frank talk.

The entry ends with a more general and blunt assessment of the purpose of newspapers and their potentially tense relationship with the government. The West does not have some unified essence. There are substantial differences between the various Western states, and even in states such as France, where the press is relatively free, government abuses occur. Russia is quoted as a government that shackles its press.

Russian papers:

As for Russian papers, nothing relating to state affairs is allowed to circulate outside of Russia's borders. The customs houses exert strict controls in this matter. If they find a newspaper [in a traveller's luggage, R.W.] referring to state affairs they blacken the article out with black ink. It will only get outside of Russia if friends snip it out and put it in a letter. From Zeng Jize 曾紀澤 [1839–1890], *Diary of an Ambassador to the West*, Shi Ying riji

使西日記。³³ 俄羅斯新報凡涉國事者不准傳出境外。稅關察之甚嚴。見新報之涉國事者皆以油墨塗之。惟友人裁割如函，始能達於境外。

The editor comments:

The regulations for Russian newspapers [stipulate]: Just before publication the paper is to be submitted to the newspaper censors for inspection. If after going through it they find nothing objectionable, the [paper] may be issued. When a new paper is being set up, it also has to pay a deposit to the [censorship] office's treasury. If the authors are found guilty for what they write they are fined a certain amount, which is deducted from the deposit. That is why the [newspapers] do not dare to make straightforward comments on state matters

故於國事不敢直言也。俄國報館章程凡新報臨發時，呈監報官校閱。一過如無違礙，再行頒發。且於開報之初，以銀繳存部庫。如以言得罪，應罰鍰，若干即扣此項。故於國事不敢直言也。

We have here a shopping list of the political danger of rebellion posed by newspapers, of their impact in spreading technical and political ideas, and of the problems of libel or flattery on the printed newspaper page. One single and rather ambivalent example is given to show the questionable uses of the press. The example is taken from the United States.

In the US a paper has been issued [*The Revolution*, R.W.] in which a woman argues that 'in our country all office holders are men and now [in 1876] the person who is about to be elected president is also inevitably going to be a man. Why cannot we women line up and be eligible in the same way? This is very unjust.' I have furthermore heard that in England there also are women who want to enter Parliament so as to join in the deliberation of state matters. This is

³³ *Xishi leibian*, juan 6: 18a. Zeng Jize succeeded Guo Songtao. His diary is available as *The Diary of Zeng Jize*, Zeng Jize riji 曾紀澤日記 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1998).

rather unprecedented. Li Gui 李圭 [1842–1903] *A Trip around the Globe*, Huan you diqiu lu 環游地球錄.³⁴

美國出一新報，有女子倡言‘我國居官者皆男子。近欲公舉伯理璽天德必又為男子。何以我婦女不能在列同受選舉大非公道事。聞英國亦有婦女欲進議院，同參國事。語頗創聞。

The editor comments:

This American woman is called [Susan B.] Anthony [1820–1906]. After putting forward this proposal she was impeached by the criminal authorities and received a small fine for the proposal. Anthony had construed the term “persons” [entitled to citizens’ privilege according to the constitution] too broadly, and had taken part in this election with the intention of indirectly making the point.³⁵

美國女子名安妥尼。創議後為刑司思所劾，議以薄罰。安妥尼因定制凡人二字過泛，故有是舉以申諷諭之意耳。

Yet even in this example, Ambassador Li Gui quotes a foreign friend as saying that these women actually had a point (a part left out by Shen), and Shen Chun does not see an abuse of the press, emphasizing as he does that Susan Anthony only received a small fine.³⁶

The *Comprehensive Summary of Current Affairs by Category and for All Nations* (#2) stresses the information value of newspapers for merchants not mentioned in the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1).

The newspapers set up in the different states of the European continent also publish the prices of goods far and near, as well as the weather reports about rain and snow as well as the annual harvests to help the merchants decide what to go for and what to avoid. When the papers of these publishing companies are dispatched abroad by postal offices, the fees are lower than those for letters so as to increase their benefit for the people (*juan* 14, 50a).³⁷ 歐羅巴大洲各國報館之設亦將遠近貨物之價，及雨雪多寡，年景豐歉俱登於報一便商賈知所趨避，而報館之報由信局外寄則較信函減價一其有益於民也

³⁴ For the source, see Li Gui 李圭, *Huanyou diqiu xin lu* 環游地球新錄 [New account of a trip around the globe] (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985), 237. In the original a “Western friend” is speaking. He is also the person who has heard about the British women’s demands. He originally ends with “although this is unheard of, they still do seem to have a point,” but the latter part has been cut by Shen.

³⁵ *Xishi leibian*, *juan* 6: 19b.

³⁶ Li also made sure he talked to the editor of the New York *Sun* in person, who told him, “In New York there are over 60 newspapers, with the [New York] *Sun* reigning supreme. All matters from the court down to the villages are reported there.” Li Gui, *Huanyou diqiu xin lu*, 275. For the fine identification of the name of the paper, which in Chinese is given as *Di Sen Bao* 滴森報, *The Sun*—namely the *New York Sun*—, see Charles Desnoyers, *A Journey to the East. Li Gui’s A New Account of a Trip Around the Globe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 187. While Shen is careful to stay close to the original, he is also willing to extract simply the key information and leave out the rest. The little piece here reads in the original: 紐城報館大小六十餘家，渠館每日出報十四萬張，有極大印字機六具。報館之大，英國泰吾士而外，滴森稱最。又云新報紙上至朝廷，下逮閭閻事，無不具。This passage is simplified and summarized as 美國紐約大小新報館六十餘家以滴森報為最。上自朝廷，下逮閭閻，無事不具。“Among the more than 60 big and small New York papers, *The Sun* stands out. From the court above to the popular quarters below, everything is covered.”

³⁷ Qian Feng, *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, *juan* 14: 50a.

Then, however, we find the already familiar selection of “editors of great talent and high renown” 才高望眾 (*juan* 14, p. 52a). Moving on, the purpose of the press as the instrument of communication between high and low is clearly articulated here.

The establishment of newspapers was in the beginning there to state opinions; their main purpose is to communicate the information/feelings between high and low, to make understood the ideas of both, and to disseminate them inside and outside of the court without distinction between near and far (*juan* 14, p. 50a).

新聞紙之設, 其初立意所在, 主於通上下之情, 達彼此之意, 傳之內外, 無間遐邇。

The ideal of a free flow of communication between high and low was very much *en vogue* among reform-oriented writers in that day, and they routinely referred to Chinese antiquity as the time when this ideal had been realised—with the implication that the present-day situation was the exact opposite.³⁸ The article then opens up the view to a new and very broad range of regular publications, without making any formal difference between periodicals and daily papers. They tend to be specialised in certain fields, be they political, economic, scientific, geographic, or amusing, such that even the entertainment papers are mentioned. All of these “are widely distributed, swift as the wind, and reach everywhere without even having legs. For printing they solely use machines, which are fast and easy and do not require any supplemental labour.”

These two aspects are both new, as is the very general and powerful assessment of the benefits of the press in Europe that follows:

The various states of Europe all consider these [periodical publications] to be the carriers of the opinion of the millions; the commonweal relies on [newspapers] to persist between heaven and earth. Only under these conditions will the ruler be enlightened and the ministers excellent, those above and those below will be in harmonious relationship with each other, the lord does not need to display his power to remunerate and to punish, and the officials do not need to inflict harsh repression. [This is the reason why] in olden days, Zichan of Zheng did not abolish the village schools because he did not wish to block the people’s ‘pure proposals’ from reaching the ruler’s ears (*juan* 14, p. 50a).³⁹

歐洲各國皆以此為億兆公論之所寄, 公道賴以常存於天壤間。必如是而後, 君明臣良, 上和下睦, 人主不得逞其威福, 官吏不得行其苛暴。昔鄭子產不毀鄉校, 蓋欲使庶民之清議不壅於上聞也。

The newspaper here becomes the anchor for the commonweal, fed by the public discourses of the millions of citizens, which will make a ruler enlightened and the ministers excellent. The Chinese term *qingyi* 清議, already used in the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* to characterize the content of this public opinion or these public discourses, reappears here. It had been appropriated by a wide swath of

³⁸ On this ideal see my “The *Zhouli* as the Late Qing Path to the Future,” 376–378.

³⁹ The details of the story in *Zuozhuan* 左傳, Duke Xiang 襄公, 31st year. Zichan has been eulogized for this enlightened attitude by, among others, Han Yu 韓愈. See Fang Jie 方介, “Han Yu ‘Zichan bu hui xiangxiao song’ xilun” 韓愈《子產不毀鄉校頌》析論 [An analysis of Han Yu’s ‘A word of praise for Zichan’s NOT tearing down the village schools’], in *Taida wenshi zhaxue bao* 67 (2007): 63–82.

Chinese officials who used it to claim that their criticisms were “pure” and with no other motive than the public good in order to articulate their disagreement with court policies, which they often felt to be too accommodating to the Westerners. Since no difference is made between the London *Times qingyi* and the Chinese *qingyi*, the praise for the former must be valid for the latter. The reference to Zichan’s decision not to abolish village schools in which people were lambasting his policies emphasises the compatibility of the purpose of the newspaper with the *imaginaire* of the ideal Chinese state in antiquity. This segment concludes with another new thought.

Generally speaking it is true that the reason why, once the empire is ruled according to the Way, the common folk will make no criticisms, is not because they do not have critical opinions. [The reason is] that if governance coincides with the people’s aspirations—what then would there be to decry?! (*Juan* 14, 50a)

夫天下有道，庶人不議，非不議也。政治洽於民心—亦安有所斥言哉

There is some ambivalence in this statement. One might argue that no government in real historical time can do better than try to “rule according to the Way,” and newspapers are always necessary in order to help it do better, although their critical pitch might vary. This would coincide with the drift of the previously quoted passage. At the same time, the statement opens the frighteningly real option of reading the very existence of newspapers as an implied criticism of the failure of government to live up to its own ideals.

The work follows the precedent of the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1) by combining newly-written text with verbatim extracts from named Chinese authors. It now quotes at length from Wang Tao. As the founder and editor of the Hong Kong *Universal Circulating Herald*, Tsun-wan yat-po (Xunhuan ribao) 循環日報, and author of numerous books on Europe and Japan who had spent extensive time there, Wang could be quoted as a reliable Chinese source.

The recluse Wang Tao says: How could the circulation of newspapers in the nations of the West just be a trivial phenomenon?! What they carry relates above to the successes and failures of government actions, so as to probe the fortunes of the nation’s fate, and below they record what people’s hearts appreciate and what not [change 事 to 是], which allows the state of people’s customs to be gauged. Altogether, everything—from the territorial particularities of mountains and rivers to the places where things can be easily produced or not, to the quality of the soil, the strength and wealth of the state—will be understood at one glance. That is good reason why the newspapers should be so appreciated, both at the court and out in the provinces (*juan* 14, 50a).

日報之行與泰西諸國豈泛然而已哉?所載，上聞政事之得失足以驗國運之興衰，下述人心之事[是]非足以察風俗之厚薄。凡山川之形勝，物產之簡蕃，地土之腴瘠，邦國之富強，莫不一覽而了。然其所以見重於朝野良有以哉

Wang Tao then gives a summary of the numbers of dailies in different states, taken from an unnamed Prussian author. This is a fine example of the migration of encyclopaedic information across languages and cultures. The information was originally contained in the official journal of the German Postal Office, the *Archiv*

für Post und Telegraphie, in April 1886.⁴⁰ This journal in turn claims to have the information from a “French specialist in statistics.” The German journal, which contains in each issue a wealth of information on postal and other communications in all parts of the world, was widely read and excerpted all over Europe. Wang Tao might have had his information from the excerpt in the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* or from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which in its turn got its information via the *Scottish Weekly* of July 22, 1886. As the editor of the *Universal Circulating Herald* in Hong Kong, Wang Tao must have had access to a wide variety of Western papers and journals as sources of information. He claims that “the five continents altogether have over 5950 dailies” with the whole of Asia (without Japan) having just 57 against Prussia’s 1743 and England’s 1253. As these numbers were from the early 1870’s, this encyclopaedia supplements them with more recent data. Wang concludes:

Has the wide spread of dailies and their circulation far and wide to this day not been sensational? This is a situation that has truly never existed before. Had the [newspapers] not been connected with public opinion—how could they have maintained themselves for so long and spread so wide without going under? Only with regard to China, this “wind” [of newspapers], while having made a beginning, has not thrived—might this be because there is no human being around to espouse “pure criticism,” or do we just have to wait a bit longer? (*Juan* 14, 50b)

日報推行之廣，流播之遠，迄於今日，不綦盛哉。此實創前未有之局者也。苟非公論所繫，安能持之久遠而不廢。獨至中土，此風雖開，猶未盛行，豈以維持清議者無其人歟，抑或尚有所待也。

Wang Tao reinforces many of the tropes we have already heard: the communication between high and low, the information and opinions, and the readership in government and society. The last comment claims that the blossoming of newspapers has to do with their close link to public opinion, which provides them with buyers and advertisers. The blossoming of the papers reflects the vitality of public opinion. The depressing assessment of China’s prospects in this regard must be read against this background, since it was written by one of the most active and prominent of early Chinese journalists.⁴¹ His last comment is the only reference to the Chinese press situation I have located in these early encyclopaedias, despite the fact that quite a few of the authors of encyclopaedic works—such as Zou Tao—were journalists in such papers, and the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1) was put out by the newspaper publisher Shenbaoguan. The text now turns to the dissemination of technical and scientific knowledge.

There are many different kinds of newspaper in the West, and more than half of them are scholarly by nature. When they explain a process and offer insight into one principle, and this is published in the newspapers, the entire nation benefits from it. The increase in knowledge through newspapers is great indeed! (*Juan* 14, p. 50b)

⁴⁰ Anon. “Die Zeitungen der Erde,” *Archiv für Post und Telegraphie* 7 (1886), 284–285.

⁴¹ For a systematic study of China’s first generation of journalists, including Wang Tao, see Natascha Vittinghoff, *Die Anfänge des Journalismus in China (1862–1911)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

泰西新聞為類甚多，學問之類過半。格一事，悟一理 載入新聞舉國均霑其益。新聞紙之增人智識也大矣

To this it adds an editorial summary:

In the West, there is news about academic subjects, among which again there is a division for scientific news, which again has a subdivision for political matters, which again has a subdivision for merchants, which again is subdivided. When looking for medicine or technology, the same is true. Different people check out what they wish to know so as to increase their familiarity [with the respective field] (*juan* 14, p. 50b).

泰西有講學之新聞，講學中亦分類有格致之新聞，格致一分類有政事之新聞，政事中亦分類有商賈之新聞，商賈中亦分類。推之於鑿於藝亦然。各觀其所學以習益。

The last new item in this encyclopaedia refers to the effort in Britain to make a great variety of newspapers and periodicals available to readers without the need to subscribe to them all.

If one wished to buy all of the different kinds [of newspapers], the expense would be large, and not everybody would be able to afford it. That is why newspaper clubs have been established that link people living nearby. They set up a place where all the different newspapers are bought, and the members may enter at their leisure to read them. The costs are negligible, but the benefits are huge (*juan* 14, p. 50b–51a).

欲備購各種為款甚多，非盡人可能。是以有新聞會之設。聯近地之人置一館，館中備購各種新聞，會中人任意入館遍觀。費無幾，獲益甚大

John Fryer (1839–1928) set up such a reading room in Shanghai in the 1870 s. The entry ends with copies of the relevant material on newspapers in New York, Russia (including the censorship), Great Britain, and France, as well as on abuses of the newspaper from the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1). While it leaves out the little piece on Susan B. Anthony, it keeps the note on the uses of the newspaper to spread rebellious ideas. A note on heliograph transmission, *riying bao* 日影報, is attached at the end.

Huang Ren's "newspaper," *xinwen zhi* 新聞紙, entry in #8 (1911) runs with formal rigour:

Print products appearing at regular intervals with a main focus on reporting social and political phenomena. While it may contain essays, *lunshuo*, it is not a newspaper if it contains these alone. This distinguishes it from a journal, *zazhi*. Journals mainly consist of critical assessments of social and political pros and cons, successes and failures. If they only contain facts, they would again not be classified as journals. Although critical assessments and factual reports are in the end unavoidably mixed up with one another, their difference in character must be kept in mind.

以報告社會上/政治上現象為正目的之定期出版物。雖亦載論說，而僅載論說，即不得為新聞紙。此其與雜誌之區別也。雜誌以評論社會/政治上是非得失為主，若僅載事若僅載事實，亦不得為雜誌。雖評論記載二者終不免混雜，然其性質之異，不可不知也。

This new section recasts and systematises information that was previously available. While the information that periodicals contain essays of political opinion as well as factual information is familiar, the sharp analytical distinction between the two types of media is new. It is less convincing, however, than interesting in its effort at systematic definition, because the periodical press is reduced here to high

political and social matters, while scholarly journals, for example, or entertainment dailies are left unaccounted for. The entry continues:

According to the current statutes of the different civilised states, each issue of each newspaper and journal must carry, besides the publisher and the printer in charge, a record of the editor and the place of publication.

As to the origins [of the newspapers], in China things such as the *dichao* 邸抄 [= *Peking Gazette* regional editions] and the official gazettes 官報 are sources, whereas in Europe the *Acta Diurna* published by the government in ancient Rome marks the earliest beginning, while the *Gazetta* published in Venice in 1563 is the actual ancestor.

The different states all have fixed newspaper laws, but as to the type, the form, and their orientation they may proceed as they wish.⁴²

照文明各國通例，新聞紙/雜誌，每號每冊，發行人印刷人負責任外，更須記載編輯人發行所。其起源，在我國則邸抄管報等為濫觴，在歐洲則古時羅馬政府發行之亞克拉塔求那為嚆矢，而一五六三年發行於威尼斯之伽西答，為鼻祖。各國皆有規定之新聞紙律，若種類/形式/宗旨，則聽自由

This segment deals with newspapers only. The focus is on the state rules for their registration, and their origin in state gazettes. The available knowledge that the *Gazetta* was privately published is not given, nor is any mention made of the potential benefits and flaws of newspapers or of the problems of censorship. In the effort to provide a formal and technical definition of the content, the legal framework, the antecedents, and the leeway of the newspaper, its functions, the agency involved, and the contestation surrounding it have been left out.

The entry for the journals, *zazhi* 雜誌, within the same “Chinese writing category,” comes with the English “magazine” as an equivalent. It also focuses on a formal definition.

Formerly a name for writings of unspecified type, such as brush notes, *suibi* or collected jottings, *conglu*, since the opening of overseas communication it has been appropriated for periodicals that are bound, such as monthlies or weeklies. (In fact these periodicals each have their exact boundaries, but because they have not much developed, there is some confusion in their denominations). In the West, magazines started with the printing in 1737 of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in China they started early in the Tongzhi reign (1860–1874) with people in the Christian congregation and gradually increased until after the *wuxu* 戊戌 year (1898) [the year of the Hundred Days Reforms]. However, these magazines appeared and collapsed [in quick succession], so very few were able to survive for long.⁴³

舊為無種類之書名，如隨筆叢錄等。自海通後，遂以成帙之報當之，如月報旬報等。(其實各有界限此時尚未發達骨朵混稱)。西國始於一七三七年散德門斯麥伽勤之刊行。我國始於同治初教會中人。至戊戌以後而稍盛。然此起彼仆，能持久者甚少。

We learn that *zazhi* is an older Chinese term used now as a calque for the Western genre “magazine” that differs from the newspaper by being bound, and by coming out at longer, but also regular, intervals. While accurately noting the flurry of Chinese magazine publications since 1901, the entry misdates the earliest Chinese-language magazines and fails to note the role of Japan in their

⁴² Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin dacidian*, 13 strokes, entry #151.

⁴³ Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin dacidian*, 18 strokes, entry #50.

development. Both entries are newly written, and nothing in them has been visibly copied directly from earlier Chinese encyclopaedias. The information in the first entry is enriched with new elements, and in the second entry is new throughout. The strong emphasis on a formal and rigorous set of definitions follows up on the efforts of the *The New Erya*, *Xin Erya* 新爾雅, in 1903 in the field of political science.⁴⁴ Huang Ren is thus part of a second stage in the Chinese integration of Western categories. The first stage, as best seen in the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1), defined them through their specific appearance in institutions, objects, and practices. In this second stage, an effort is made to arrive at scientific definitions of general validity. Huang Ren no longer treats China as if it were defined by some ancient and unchangeable tradition, and challenged by the new things from the West, but inserts the Chinese past into global history and now groups many things that are of distinctly Western origin (such as the newspaper) under things Chinese.

To illustrate the tropes shared by our body of texts, I will provide a list. The numbers behind each trope refer to the encyclopaedia having this trope in the sequence in which they were listed earlier in the section “**The manufacture of encyclopaedic texts during the late Qing**”.

- (a) Beneficial for talent and knowledge: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7.
- (b) Regulated by press laws: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8.
- (c) Different focus in content: 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8.
- (d) Similar to “pure discussion,”: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.
- (e) Establishes communication between high and low: 1, 2, 3, 5, 7.
- (f) Reveals government abuses: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.
- (g) Wide distribution of news: 2, 3, 5, 6, 7.
- (h) Origin of the newspaper: 3, 4, 5, 6, 8.
- (i) Functions like remonstrance boards of antiquity: 1, 2, 3, 5.
- (j) Used for making private profits: 1, 2, 3, 5.
- (k) Does not flourish in China: 2, 6, 7, 8.
- (l) Medium of public opinion: 2, 3, 5.
- (m) Used for rebelling against authorities: 2, 3, 5.
- (n) Newspaper reading rooms: 2, 3, 5.
- (o) Official gazettes and privately owned: 3, 5, 7.
- (p) Stamp tax: 3, 5, 6.
- (q) Names of most important papers: 3, 5, 8.
- (r) Flaws in newspapers: 3, 5, 6.
- (s) Similar to *Peking Gazette*: 3, 5, 8.
- (t) Appreciated by high and low: 3, 5.
- (u) Rapid increase in newspapers: 3, 5.
- (v) Flaws of editors: 3, 5.
- (w) Editorials: 6, 8.

⁴⁴ Wang and Ye, *Xin Erya* (Taipei: wenhai shuju, [1903] 1977).

The list shows a sizeable overlap of core tropes that augments the evidence given above of wholesale or partial copying. It also shows that the *Handy Cyclopaedia* (#4) has a largely different narrative, and that Huang Ren's *A New Encyclopaedic Dictionary for Common Use* (#8) eschews many of the established tropes. The pervasiveness of the habit of copying signals social acceptance. A pool of common tropes and commonplaces developed that was drawn upon by people, often of different persuasions. The difficulty they shared in the treatment of the press consisted in determining its place in the order of things.

None of the encyclopaedias had a category "society" to group together what in fact was developing all over the place, i.e. social associations (chambers of commerce, professional associations, political groupings, privately-run schools, welfare organisations), or public means of articulation (newspapers, journals, meeting halls, protests). All sides in the late Qing debate were focused on the state. Even the most ardent reformers and revolutionaries foresaw a long period in which the Chinese populace would have to be re-educated to qualify for citizenship in a modern Chinese state. There was no place or legitimacy for independent social agency that was not guided by the state or its contestants. The fact that most Chinese newspapers were run by foreigners with extraterritorial status seemed to confirm that Chinese society had not matured to the point of being able to sustain papers independently of the state. Even Huang Ren, who grouped newspapers and magazines with "Chinese" rather than "foreign" writing, was unable to get beyond a very formal definition with a strong emphasis on state regulation. None of the late Qing encyclopaedists, in short, had the will, the brains, or the time to provide the readers with a specific factual analysis of the hybrid character of the Chinese public sphere at the time.

The Uses of Late Qing Encyclopaedias

While encyclopaedic works might copy each other's entries, they are not a closed society with commonplaces and shared opinions all of their own. To have them would even defeat their very purpose. In a last foray, I will study the newspaper entry in Sun Yirang's *The Political Essence of the Book of Zhou Rites* (#7), a work that does not follow the standard encyclopaedia format, and an essay for the new examinations published in 1903, to see to what extent they shared the encyclopaedic commonplaces.

Sun Yirang's entry "Spreading the News," starts with verbatim quotations from the *Zhouli* about all the institutions that might contain a link to the functions a newspaper should fulfil in the modern world.⁴⁵ Sun then provides a summary that is indented and introduced as "Comments," *jin'an* 謹案:

The different Zhou officials, such as the Travel Guide, the Royal Scout, down to the Messenger, are jointly in charge of making known the virtue of the ruler above [to those

⁴⁵ Sun Yirang, *Zhouli zhengyao*, 52–53.

below], and of communicating the situation below [in society to the ruler above]. This corresponds to [the] deliberation [in the statement of Shun] in the *Books from Yu* (in the *Book of Documents*, Shangshu, such as *Yao tian*, *Shun tian* etc.) [with the chief of the four mountains to throw open the doors (of communication between the court and the empire and)] to see with the eyes of the [four directions] and understand with the intelligence [of the four directions].⁴⁶ This idea is very sophisticated and when his imperial highness gave orders to broadly investigate and gather information in an encompassing manner, the Junior Messengers were in fact taking care of this. This is what the *Zhouli* means when he says “he [the Junior Messenger] carefully details information for each one of the states and reports them back to the emperor [so that the latter might be completely informed about the empire].” The sub-commentary by Jia Gongyan (seventh century) thinks that “for each individual item a separate letter was made out to report on it to the emperor.”⁴⁷ [This would prompt a translation of the repeated “makes a book...” as “makes one series of reports.” R.W.]. If the *Hanshu* 漢書 “Treatise on the economy”, *Shihuo zhi* 食貨志, says: “The Messengers of the Zhou went through the lanes to collect the songs . . . [to give them to the Music Master, who would adjust their notes and let the emperor hear them, therefore it is] said, ‘The king without watching out of the front door is informed about all that goes on under heaven’;”⁴⁸ —this is in full accord with the actual features of the *Zhouli*. He Xiu’s 何休 [129–182] commentary to the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 says: “‘Searching for songs’ [from the people] means that the village transmits them to the district, the district to the commandery, the commandery to the fief, and the fief brings them to the knowledge of the Son of Heaven,” but as Yang Xiong 楊雄 also says in his *Fangyan* 方言: “In former times all [missives] coming from the envoys in the light carriages as well as the memorials and documents were archived at the offices of the Zhou and the Qin.” Thus we know that presenting songs [to the emperor] to [enable him to] observe the customs [of the people] is about the same as presenting writings to inform [the emperor] about the state of the polity, and these are also just the buds of the official and private newspapers in the Western nations today.

周誦訓士訓及行人諸職，並掌宜上德而通下情，合與虞書明目連聰之誼。其意至精，而皇華命使，博放周咨，則小行人實掌之。所謂美每國辨異質以反命於王者。賈公彥疏以為各各條錄別為一書以報上也。漢書食貨志說周行人徇路采詩而曰王者不窺戶庭而知天下，與周禮實相通貫。公羊傳何休注說求詩，謂鄉移於邑，移邑於國，國以聞於天子，而楊雄方言亦謂先代輶軒之使，奏籍之書，皆藏於周奏之室則知陳詩觀風，與陳書知政，其事略同，亦即今西國官報民報之權輿也。

This summary shows that the institutions mentioned in the *Zhouli* are also mentioned in other texts, and that the ultimate purpose of this entire flow of information was to keep the emperor fully informed about society in all its aspects. After the transition in the last phrase, Sun turns to the West.

Generally speaking, the power of the state, *guoshi* 國勢, and the aspirations of the people, *minzhi* 民志, are linked. If [the people’s aspirations] are beneficial and they are guided in those [activities by the government], there will be order, but if they deviate and then are

⁴⁶ James Legge, trans. “The Shoo King, or The Book of Historical Documents,” in *The Chinese Classics*, James Legge, ed. vol. 3 (1861; reprint, Taipei: Wen shi zhe, 1972), 41. This reference had already become a topical subject for newspaper discourses.

⁴⁷ Sun Yirang, *Zhouli zhengyi*, *juan* 72: 3008.

⁴⁸ Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1963) *juan* 24a:1123. The phrase about being informed about everything going on in the world without going out of doors also occurs in *Laozi* 47. By 1902 it had long become a standard quotation in Chinese newspaper editorials. With newspapers, one can be informed about the entire world without even looking out of the window.

subjected to control, there will be chaos. If fettered and blocked, the people will become more stupid, and the state will definitely become weaker. In the Western nations since the Southern Song, the English King John made a contract with the people, called the Magna Charta,⁴⁹ which, translated, means 'great document'. It broadly established private papers, *minbao* 民報, and the rule that frank words should not be taboo.⁵⁰ For this reason the aspirations of the people greatly expanded and the people's own knowledge opened up greatly. 富國勢與民志相同, 利而導之則治, 逆而制之則亂。錮蔽而阻抑之, 則民愚而國必弱。西國自南宋時, 英王約翰與民立約, 名馬格那吒達, 譯言大典, 廣立民報, 而定直言不諱之律。故民志大伸, 民智亦大開。

Sun then turns to the Western papers:

Nowadays the official Western gazettes, *guanbao* 官報, contain everything in full, from debates in parliament, the handling of the state's finances, military policies on land and water down to new principles in the natural sciences and new products in engineering. The journals of private scholarly associations, *minjian xuehui baozhang* 民間學會報章, are even more numerous. There are geographic, agricultural, commercial associations', medical, and engineering journals and even astronomy, mathematics, acoustics, optics, chemistry and electricity all have their specialised professional journals down to journals even for women and children. They appear quarterly, monthly, weekly or daily. In the morning a paper comes out, by the evening [the news] has spread over the five continents.

This is why the state [government] has no troubles in the form of a lack of communication and ignorance, and those who peruse [these papers] have the benefit of seeing the good and broadening their knowledge. As to those supervising the writing [= the editors, *sijishuzhe* 司紀述者], the great majority are learned scholars [Ru 儒] of broad insight, accomplished men of letters who are fully acquainted with the science of government. Their importance may be gleaned from the fact that some of them step in as editor-in-chief of a newspaper company after retiring from their position as prime minister.⁵¹ Once they assume the management of newspapers, they report on the state administration above, and sample public discussions below. Since every word is distributed through networks of readers around the globe, time and again newspaper offices within a single state number in their tens of thousands, and the runs put out by a single newspaper company number in many tens of thousands. As servants and maids, women and children all read papers, the knowledge and skills, *zhiqiao* 智巧, of the Western nations grow by the day. Ultimately becoming rich and powerful hinges on this. 近來泰西官報, 自議院之言論, 國會之會計, 水陸之軍政, 以逮格致之新理, 工藝之新製, 靡不畢具。民間學會報章尤夥, 有地學報農學報商會報醫報工程報, 以逮天算聲光化電各有專門名家之報, 下至婦女孩童亦有報。其出也, 或以季, 或以月, 或以旬, 或以日, 朝登一紙, 夕布五州。故國無隔閡蒙昧之憂, 覽者得觀善廣學之益, 至其司紀述者, 大都通儒達士, 諳悉政學。有以宰相大臣退位而充報館注筆者, 其重可知矣。至其為報, 上陳國政, 下采公議, 一言之布, 環球觀聽係之。故往往一國之內, 報館以萬計, 一館所出之報, 以數萬紙計, 廝隸婦孺無不閱報。西國智巧日開, 富強在握, 其根柢實在於此。

⁴⁹ The name is given in phonetic transcription, *magenazhada* 馬格那吒達。

⁵⁰ I see no such rule in the Magna Charta; the rule that frank words in parliament should not be punishable was made in 1523, and was famously used by Thomas More (1478–1535) in his defence.

⁵¹ Another trope of newspapers is self-depiction. Liang Qichao already used it in a programmatic article in the first issue of the *Shiwubao* 1, August 9, 1896 "On the Benefits of Newspapers for State Affairs," see Vittinghoff, *Die Anfänge des Journalismus*, 29.

Sun then turns to the Chinese situation.

China has taboos that are far too deeply engrained, and its rigidity is excessive. Time and again, when there is a great political event in the Chinese land, the Western papers will have already communicated it in all four directions while the officials, clerks, gentry and people in inland China remain utterly ignorant of it. What greater absurdity can be imagined! As to the *Peking Gazette* and the *Dichao* [editions made for the regions]—these are leftovers from the Tang and Song courts. Formerly they existed only in the capital. They contain nothing but imperial edicts and memorials [from officials], and that is not all. The governors of in the provinces also each has a *Provincial Gazette*, *Yuanmen bao* 轅門報, but these are even more fragmentary and hardly worth mentioning.

Since trade has opened with the Western nations, dailies have begun to be set up in Fujian, Guangdong and Shanghai. They are all managed by Westerners. In recent years [Chinese] commoners in different provinces have begun to open companies for the publication of papers, but their numbers are still small and furthermore, because they are afraid of interference and bans, some of them have put themselves under the name of a foreign firm. In a district with several tens of thousands of households, the number of newspaper readers does not amount to one in a hundred, it is truly sad that the rustics have definitely no way of receiving enlightenment.

中國忌諱太深，拘牽尤甚。往往國有大政，西報已四布，而內地官吏市民猶懵然不知者，其顛倒孰甚，至京報邸抄，即唐宋朝報之遺，舊唯京師有之，只載諭旨奏摺，既不賅備，而各省督撫藩司署有轅門報，則尤瑣屑不足論。自與西國通商，閩粵上海始有日報，皆西人主其責，近年各省市民，始有開館發報者，然為數無多，又以恐于禁詰，或託名洋牌。數萬家之縣，閱報者不及百一。舛陋固無由啓發，甚可慨也。

Finally, Sun makes his own suggestions.

I dare say that right at the beginning of this reform one should open official gazette bureaus in the capital on a broad basis, and then likewise open newspaper offices in each province, commandery, circuit and district. For private papers by the people one must relax the restrictions as far as possible. Each month the ministry officials and the provincial governors [have to] send a collection of the articles from the official gazettes and the private papers to the Grand Council for perusal during [the emperor's study time,] the second watch, and the different offices and educational facilities should exchange the papers appearing in their precincts, should broadly disseminate them and protect them and should make sure that they gain wide circulation. The famous foreign papers such as the *Times* from England and *The* [New York] *Sun*⁵² from the USA should also be bought, translated and brought to the emperor's attention. Their key contents, furthermore, should be inserted into the official gazettes and thus be distributed about the different provinces so as to supplement the emperor's learning above and open up the people's knowledge below. [All] this would be of no small benefit for understanding the contemporary situation and the people's feelings.⁵³

⁵² The source here is Kang Youwei's fourth letter to the emperor in 1895. There Kang refers under point #4 to the London *Times* and the New York *Sun* as models. Sun Yirang, who had never been abroad and knew no foreign language, wrongly thought that the *ling* 令 (orders should be given) after *Di Sen* 滴森 [The Sun] in Kang Youwei's phrase "among the foreign newspapers... the best-known and most useful are the *Times* from England and the *Sun* from America, and orders should be given to the Foreign Affairs Office to translate their political and technological news for Imperial perusal" (至外國新。最着而有用者，莫如英之泰晤士，美芝滴森，令總署派人每日譯其政藝以備乙覽) belonged to the name of the American paper. Kang Youwei 康有為. *Kang Youwei quanji* 康有為全集 [Complete works of Kang Youwei] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1990), 2:180. The New York *Sun* was a popular paper with the largest circulation until about 1900, but not comparable to the London *Times* in its elite impact.

⁵³ Sun Yirang, *Zhouli zhengyao*, 1:44–47.

竊謂當此更化之初，宜廣開官報局於京師，以次及於各直省府廳州縣，亦飭廣開報館。民間私報亦盡弛其禁。每月部吏督撫以公私報章彙送軍機處，恭備乙覽，而各官署各學堂，亦各以本地所出之報互相移送，擴充保護，務使暢行。外國著名各報，若英之泰晤士美之滴森令之屬，亦宜購譯，進程禦覽，並擇其要者刊入官報，頒行各省，則上裨聖學，下開民智，於以警時勢而通羣情，非徒撮壤涓流之益也。

The technique that Sun used to establish a unified picture of the optimal information flow informing the *Zhouli* was to show the links between various offices assigned to different ministries bound together by an underlying common purpose. Some descriptions are enriched by drawing on other early texts. For example, there is no mention in the *Zhouli* that the officials collect the people's songs as sources to help the emperor understand their mood, grievances, and criticisms. Through a single reference in the *Hanshu*, Sun links the messengers, *xingren* 行人, with this collection effort. This greatly enriches the *Zhouli* text and brings it in line with a key ingredient of the Chinese social *imaginaire*, the openness of channels of communication through which social problems can reach the court.

Sun Yirang reads the *Zhouli* as a handbook for state management. The addressee of the channels of information which the *Zhouli* sketched out and which the modern press has made so much faster and more efficient, is the emperor. The emperor has to be informed about all that goes on in the empire. The same is true of opinion, whether articulated by officials or commoners. They are to give him advice. Sun describes what the state could and should do. He lived in an age when state institutions were becoming increasingly invasive and took on more and more responsibilities, from preventive inoculation to nationalist indoctrination. Japan showed the benefits of such a decisive top-down approach characterised "not by many words but by vigorous action." Society's contribution was marginalized, and not conceptualised in any way.

Sun places the greatest emphasis on the development of the official gazettes, relegating papers by private citizens to the level of those dealing with scholarship or addressed to women and children. The official gazettes were even to select and publish suitable articles from the London *Times* or the New York *Sun* in translation. The Western papers in turn are put into a semi-official context, with prime ministers becoming editors and Bismarck sending items to the press for publication. Not even Sun's note on the foreign-run papers in China (and the Chinese-run papers with fake foreign management) includes a strong statement on the need for an independent press.

While this particular feature seems out of sync with international trends at the time, Sun probably represents the mainstream of newspaper thinking among Chinese elites of his and subsequent generations. Liang Qichao was perfectly willing to have his *The Chinese Progress*, *Shiwubao* 時務報, transformed into the official gazette, and the political organisations a generation later, such as the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party, were certainly pushing for a monopoly of the party/state papers, which the CPC eventually managed to establish after 1949. In Chinese press history, the official gazette, rather than the privately-owned paper has been the mainstream. As an advocacy paper run by the party/state, it was considered the best tool for the effective education of society.

Sun Yirang's very personal plea is quite different in tone from the objective stance assumed by the editors of the other works studied here. At the same time,

while not quoting verbatim and while subordinating the particular facts to the flow of his argument, he clearly shares a number of their key tropes. This strategy allowed him to give a general outline of the best that Chinese antiquity and the modern West had to offer in two slim volumes.

Let us turn to the examination essay. The peaks in the publishing of Chinese encyclopaedias closely coincide with a shift in the court's policies. Once the Reform of Governance appeal was out and it was clear that the new examinations would also test "Western" knowledge, a new market opened up: candidates beyond school age, but not beyond the hope of landing a government job with the need, the literacy, and the means to acquire in book form the knowledge they had not learned in school. Publishers rushed to print with encyclopaedias and collections of model essays.⁵⁴ One such collection is the 1903 *Grand Prospectus of Policy Questions on Chinese and Foreign Matters*, *Zhong wai cewen daguan* 中外策問大觀, with its mock questions on actual policy and model essays to answer them. The newspaper does not have its own separate entry in the 28 chapter headings of this work, but one essay deals with the newspaper in the odd, familiar place together with the post office and telegraph in chapter 3 on internal administration, *neizheng* 內政. No author is given, but terms in the essay such as "the yellow race" indicate that it must have been written shortly before the work went to print, because such terms had only very recently come into fashion. [The essay is in answer to the policy question "How should a Chinese postal system be managed? Answer with specific measures," and is entitled "Suggestion for a policy of emulating the English newspaper *Times* by setting up official newspapers in the different provinces and running them jointly with post offices and the telegraph so as to widely open the public climate [for communication]" (授 [here written with the radical 人] 仿英國泰晤士日報例各省編設官報局與電報郵政並行以期廣開風氣策).]⁵⁵

This essay is a good indication of the uses to which the new encyclopaedias were put. It starts off with some flourish:

What is the form within the written documents that makes visible in a precise way the rights and wrongs, the achievements and failures of more than fifty states and enlightens our most topical interests? I say: It is the newspaper, *zhibao* 紙報, and nothing else. And what is it which, while [sitting] in a small room, lets me in all calmness understand the insights and stupidities, the skills and ineptitudes of the one hundred and fifty million [Chinese] and lets me develop unlimited capacities? Again I say: Nothing but the newspaper.

尺幅之內儼然觀五十餘國之是非得失，牖我最新之腦質者何耶？曰紙報而已矣。斗室之中晏然知十五百兆之智愚工拙，長我無限之能力者，又何耶？亦曰紙報而已矣

⁵⁴ The link between encyclopaedic works and the examination system is also addressed in the essays by Iwo Amelung and Natascha Gentz in this volume. They primarily deal with reference material for examination candidates rather than the examination essays themselves, of which an example is presented here.

⁵⁵ Lei Jin 雷縉, Lu Runyang 陸潤庠, comp., *Zhong wai cewen daguan* 中外策問大觀 [Grand prospectus of policy questions regarding Chinese and foreign matters] (Shanghai (?): Yangang shanzhuang, 1903), *juan* 3: 18b–19a.

He then takes on the Chinese attitude:

Today the world is galloping full speed towards an age that follows the same course and shares the same language. Surrounding our China are all sorts of races that cut their hair, have deep-seated eyes, high breasts or black teeth.⁵⁶ When one visits their states without even relying on the guidance of a compass and on the importance of qualified translators, [it is clear that our] political system is no match for theirs; when one studies these people [it is clear that our] learning does not compare to theirs; and even all [our] goods, trade, and manufacturing are no match for theirs. Still, just as we passively tolerate their fierce glares and tiger-like glances without ever daring to offer resistance, so I have been longing to get one single instrument [such as the newspaper] to shake ourselves up and smash this four thousand year [Chinese] habit of self-aggrandisement and to increase the self-strengthening spirit of our provincial administrators.

今天下亦駸駸乎同軌同文之世矣。環吾中國而居者，斷髮深目長耐黑齒之種類。已無待南車之指，九譯之重，然而問其國，政治不如彼，晤其人，學問不如彼，且一切種質貿易製造不如彼，而坐受其鷹麟虎視，曾莫敢抗，則思得一術以求自振擧，破我四千年自大之習，增我各行省自強之氣。

Now why should the idea to set up official gazettes have been spurned? Even if the journals, which China did have, stopped after a few years because of lack of funds or dissolved because they ran into trouble, and even though the pundits thereupon declared that this enterprise [of setting up newspapers] had many flaws—I, for one, have the wherewithal to clear all this up.

舍官局報之設，其曷由哉？雖然，中國之有報局，蓋亦有年，或以費絀止，或以事敗散。議者遂謂是事有數弊，而吾則皆有以明之。

Two tropes familiar from the encyclopaedia entries are taken up here, the newspaper as the medium that informs the reader about the “rights and wrongs, the achievements and failures” of the different states of the world, and the possibility it offers of not leaving one’s room and still understanding all that is going on in China. The author now quotes a list of five flaws together with his remedies.

Years ago, “upon his ascension, the French president Patrice de MacMahon (1873–1879) issued a decree to the different newspaper companies that, because his reforms harboured without exception the best intentions to benefit the national economy and the people’s livelihood, the editors should only convey words of appreciation and should not indulge in any slander, *bianzhe* 貶謫. He also wanted to bribe them with hefty sums.” This is flaw number one.

昔法國統領麥馬韓即位，諭報館以所更新章，無不盡善，主筆者宜為揄揚，不得貶謫，且欲賄有以重利。其弊一。

This description in [my] quotation marks first appears verbatim in the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1) from whence it was incorporated into the *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs* (#3). There, however, it appears not as one of the five flaws of a newspaper editor, but under the heading “common abuses.” Thus we have first a government imposing an editorial line on the

⁵⁶ While the first items refer to Westerners, the black teeth refer to a fashion among Japanese women at the time.

newspapers, and bribing the editors to make them accept it. This, however, is only an abuse of an otherwise useful institution, and the author continues: “However, is it not better that the power of a brush can give the ruler something to fear than having him execute someone for a random remark or kill a critic together with his family?”(然筆舌之權, 能使人主有所忌憚, 不猶愈偶語之誅, 誹謗之族乎!).

The second flaw takes up the second editorial flaw from the *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs* (#3).

Transmitting untruths about military matters and information of interest to the enemy and randomly uttering slander and doing damage to the overall military situation. This is flaw number two. 軍事敵情, 傳聞失實, 臆說譎語, 貽誤大局, 其弊二。

The *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs* (juan 15, 7b) had put it as follows:

To carry untrue military matters and information of interest to the enemy, relying only on canards circulating on the markets and blindly trusting the disgruntled statements of prostitutes to the point of simply whipping up the sentiments of the masses and randomly fabricating baseless stories [so that], while they [the army] already have been annihilated outside the country, the [news]paper’s reports of victory misrepresent the overall situation—this is flaw number two.

軍事敵情, 記載不實, 僅憑市虎之口, 罔懲夕雞之嫌, 甚乃揣摩眾情, 臆造詭說, 海外已成劫燼, 紙熒惑聽聞, 貽誤大局, 其弊二也。

From the substance of the argument as well as the overlap in some key formulas, it is evident that the author of the essay consulted and thought closely about entry in #3. His solution:

However, if both [newspapers] and cables are available, then an announcement from [the government palace at] Ganquan 甘泉 will already have arrived [before a paper goes to print] so that the stories from these misrepresentations will not [even] make it into [into the papers]. 然與電報平行, 則甘泉之書已到, 郢人之說未登也。

The third flaw:

For each product and each invention there will be gifts [to the papers] to add praise with the consequence that any stone from Yan [that looks like jade] and every brick from Zhou [that looks like a stone but contains a precious jade] will make a profit. This is flaw number three. 一物一技, 賄屬鋪張, 燕石周璞, 得遂牟利, 其弊三

The key phrases take up the wording of another of the current abuses listed in #3, namely bribing for profit, but this again does not figure in the five flaws there:

Apart from this, once some object has been successfully manufactured or a technique perfected, inevitably the newspaper company will be bribed to fill its pages with campaigns so as to meet the private profit-making interests [of those who made the object or perfected the technique].

此外一物之成, 一技之就, 無不賄屬報館, 鋪張揚厲, 以遂其牟利之私。

Again our essayist has a remedy:

However, if both [papers] and postal services [for letters] are available, it will already be known that an empty gourd is of no use, and for a vessel in the shape of a bird it will be even more difficult to find a market. 然與郵政並行, 則康匏已知無用, 鷹鼎更難求售/

The fourth flaw:

To take personal preferences and aversions as bases for praise or denunciation, and favours or disfavour as bases for denunciation or encomium—this is turning [the morally pure] [Bo] Yi and [Liuxia] Hui into robbers and [the robbers] Zhi and Qiao into paragons of virtue. This is flaw number four. 其或以愛憎為褒貶，以恩怨為毀譽，是夷惠可盜，跖躡可廉，其弊四。

Some of the key language is taken from the third flaw in #3:

In judging personalities and discoursing on recent events relying in one's praise and denunciation on favours or disfavour [one has received] and writing these with a pen that is sharper than a dagger, either by praising someone in power or authority as a basis to gain his protection, or by denouncing someone rich and noble as a handle to get a bribe, in short, being in one's actions no different from a rascal and in one's attitude at variance with auspicious words, that is flaw number three.

臧否人物，論列近事，毀譽憑其恩怨，筆舌甚於刀兵，或颺頌權貴，為曳裾之階梯，或指斥富豪，作苞苴之左卷，行同無賴，義乖祥言，其弊三也。

The author is confident, however, that facts will eventually prevail:

However, even when Sun Sheng (302–374) wrote the [historical chronicle *Weishi*] *Chunqiu*, he was unable to make the defeat [of Huanwen] at Fangtuo [in 369] look as if Huan and Tang had “ceded,” and even when [Zhu Xi (1130–1200) from] Ziyang wrote his [historical chronicle *Zizhi tongjian*] *Gangmu*, he was unable to turn [Zhang Jun's] defeat at Fuli into something not mentioned in connection with Zhang Jun (1097–1164). 然孫盛作春秋，不能以枋頭之敗，為桓湯寬；紫陽作綱目，不能以符離之潰，為張浚諱

One element in the fifth flaw is that “one trifling chit is able to make the worst of words, so—what with the rigid monopoly of a faction in which one sings the tune and everyone joins in, so that people of the same ilk emulate each other [with praises] of the ‘this one is great, that one alright’-kind—does this mean that Yan Hui has come back to life or Confucius is reappearing in this world?!” (區區一紙，得以譽言。抑或黨人把持，一昌百和，同類標榜，此唯彼阿，則顏回可復生，仲尼可再世)。

This flaw takes its language and content from the “current abuses” section in #3:

As to the pressure from Western industry and the domination of their political cohorts—in all cases [they operate] in such a manner that one person gives the tone and hundreds and thousands of miles away a hundred respond—how would all this be possible without newspapers? And how should other things such as their denunciations of somebody's ills and detractions from his true nature or exaggerations of his good sides—way beyond the facts—simply be regarded as minor problems ?!

西洋匠工之挾制，黨人之把持，數千里外，無不一昌百和，苟非新聞，焉能若是。他如稱人之惡而損其真，揚人之善而過其實，猶事之小焉者也。

Again, our author has a remedy, in this case history's long breath.

However, after the disaster of the end of the Han, [Shentu] Pan [申屠]蟠 and [Guo] Tai [郭]泰 (128–169) [who were originally much maligned for their opposition to the power of the eunuchs at court] achieved their fame; and from the Donglin disturbance [at the end of the Ming], Gu [Xiancheng] 顧憲成 (1550–1612) and Zhao [Nanxing] 趙南星 (1550–1627) [who were maligned at the time for protesting against the power of the eunuchs at court] alone today have great fame—how could [one say] that the final judgment was based on the posterous mouths of the multitude?!

然漢季之禍，蟠泰卒全大節；東林之變，顧趙獨有今名，豈悠悠眾口，遂為定論乎

The anonymous author clearly tackles what he considers the common view about the flaws of newspapers, as represented by the encyclopaedias, and offers his own solutions. He agrees that newspapers are a key instrument for securing the flow of information between high and low. He writes, “If [newspaper] offices are set up by officials, their character will be different from [newspaper] offices set up by commoners, but they will exactly augment each other with the papers of the commoners. As a matter of general principle, among the ills of the world there is none graver than information from above not being understood at the social base, and that information from below is not grasped at the top” (局由官設, 則體制與民局異, 而正與民局相表裏。夫天下之患, 莫大於上情不能下究, 下情不能上達). He now proposes to set up official gazettes that will then be supplemented by private papers. “If we set up official papers and have them assisted by private papers and they are like the carriage and the axle supporting each other, like water and milk mixing, so that high and low will not be cut off from each other, this will be of benefit for the suffering people” (設官局而以民局佐之, 如車輔相依, 水乳交融, 上下不隔閼矣則利在民隱).

This, however, is only one of the three benefits brought by newspapers. The first benefit will accrue to human talent. Following the model of the London *Times*, only “gentlemen superbly qualified both in terms of talent and of knowledge” (以才識特優之紳士) will be selected as editors, to whom the ruler always listens with the utmost humility. As many of these journalists might eventually “rise to become members of parliament, the benefits accrue on the side of talented people.” The career paths linking government and parliament on the one hand and the newspaper on the other have been mentioned since #1 to illustrate the stature of this new medium. The third benefit, first mentioned by Zeng Jize in the quotation in the *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs* (#1), is financial in nature, because the London *Times* shows how profitable such papers can be.

The author is confident that the triple introduction of the post office, the telegraph, and the newspaper will lead to a situation where “those of our yellow race who are sunk in dreams will wake up, and those who are in a drunken stupor will awaken; intelligence will broaden and talent and knowledge will, too. What is seen and heard will be new, and what is felt and thought will also be new. How then could we still be idling about in ease and laziness like a summer insect that is unable to say anything about ice, or the frog in a well who cannot say anything about the sea!” (我黃種之人, 夢者覺, 醉者醒, 聰明廣, 而才智亦廣。耳目新而心思亦新。尚有怵怵倪倪, 泄泄沓沓如夏蟲之不可語冰, 井蛙之不可語海者哉).

To sum up: The encyclopaedias were mostly geared towards a rapidly expanding market for knowledge about the West that came with the increased marginalization and eventual abolishment of the examination system. The *Zhong wai cewen daguan* [Grand prospectus of policy questions regarding Chinese and foreign matters], of which one specimen has been analysed here, shows that the writers were familiar with the encyclopaedic tropes, largely followed them, and occasionally engaged in debate with some of their statements. The author of the essay studied at the end obviously felt that the five flaws of the newspaper were undermining his strong advocacy of both official and private papers. While broadly

agreeing with the core purpose of the newspaper—facilitating the flow of information between high and low—he took issue with the result to which the pundits came in view of the “flaws” in newspapers and their resulting short lives.

The evidence from these two pieces, Sun’s work and the model essay, shows a pattern that is confirmed by a look at the late Qing statecraft writing, *jingshi* 經世, compilations as well as in the editorials of Chinese newspapers. While the different encyclopaedic works studied here did have a degree of authority, none of them had anything comparable to the authority enjoyed by the major eighteenth and nineteenth century encyclopaedias from France, England, Italy, the USA, Germany, and later Japan. While they were part of a widely dispersed and shared body of knowledge and assumptions, they lacked the capacity to authoritatively define their terms or their order of things.

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Japanese Encyclopaedias: A Hidden Impact on Late Qing Chinese Encyclopaedias?

Douglas R. Reynolds

Japanese Encyclopaedias: Their Background

In 1887–1889, Fu Yunlong 傅雲龍 (1840–1901), a Chinese travel envoy to Japan, compiled and published a masterful study called *Japan, with Maps and Tables*, *Youli Riben tujing 遊歷日本圖經*,¹ in 30 *juan* 卷.² In that work, Fu cites the 175-year-old Japanese compendium, *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia*, *Wa-Kan sansai zue 倭漢三才図会* (sometimes written 和漢三才図会) of Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安 (ca. 1662–1732), published in 1713.³

¹ Fu Yunlong 傅雲龍, *Youli Riben tujing 遊歷日本圖經* (Tokyo, 1889; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003). In its 2003 version, it is 609 printed pages—each of which constitutes two double-pages of the 1889 original. Throughout this essay, the following citation format allows readers to find citations in various published editions. For example, Fu Yunlong, *Youli Riben tujing* (1889; 2003), 308 (18: 10b) means page 308 of the 2003 edition with its continuous pagination, and (18: 10b) means *juan* 18, page 10 side b of the 1889 imprint, organized by *juan* with double pages (sides a and b).

² A *juan* 卷 is a traditional Chinese stitched volume numbering from 10 to 60 or more printed pages, often boxed together. Fu's 30-*juan* work has well over 1,000 double pages in its 1889 typeset printed edition.

³ Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安, *Wa-Kan sansai zue 倭漢三才図会* (Osaka: Kyōrindō, 1713; and Osaka: Okada Saburōemon, 1715). Of the many editions published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, one of the most notable is *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (4 vols.; Tokyo: Chūkindō, 1884–88) reset in modern print, which preserves the organization of the 1715 edition, with preface and index, and is now consecutively paginated. Various digital versions of the 1713 and 1715 editions, as well as later editions, may be accessed by a Google search in English (enter “Hathi Trust Wa-Kan sansai zue”), or in Japanese (enter 和漢三才図会). These, however, are sometimes not viewable due to copyright restrictions. Fu Yunlong cites *Wa-Kan sansai zue* in Fu Yunlong, *Youli Riben tujing* (1889, 2003), 219 (10:11a and 11b), 221 (15:a), and 354 (19:22b), when discussing Japanese marriage and funeral practices, seasonal celebrations, and Japanese criminal law. The 1884–88 reprint edition of Terajima's work is the one most likely to have been consulted by Fu Yunlong.

D.R. Reynolds (✉)

Department of History, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA 30303, USA

e-mail: dreynolds@gsu.edu

The inspiration for this Japanese work was the Ming dynasty *Illustrated Book of the Three Realms* [of Heaven, Earth, and Man], *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 by Wang Qi 王圻 (1530–1615), published first in 1609.⁴

Wang Qi's *Illustrated Book of the Three Realms*, although illustrated and somewhat innovative, is essentially a *leishu* 類書 or book arranged according to categories. This label is fitting in terms of its concept of knowledge, its organization, and its aims, as delineated in the study by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume. Fu Yunlong knew of Wang Qi's *Illustrated Book of the Three Realms*, since he cites it as a source of information about the Japan of the past.⁵

Wang Qi's *Illustrated Book of the Three Realms* is organized into 14 typical Chinese *lei* 類 or subject categories entitled “celestial matters,” *tianwen* 天文, “geography,” *dili* 地理, biographies of eminent Chinese along with descriptions of foreigners under the subject category “personalities,” *renwu* 人物, “annual festivals,” *shiling* 時令, “palace architecture,” *gongshi* 宮室, “household articles and technology,” *qiyong* 器用, “anatomy,” *shenti* 身體, “clothing,” *yifu* 衣服, “human attributes and activities,” *renshi* 人事, “rituals and ritual instruments,” *yizhi* 儀制, “precious objects and treasures,” *zhenbao* 珍寶, “passages from literature and history,” *wenshi* 文史, “birds and animals,” *niaoshou* 鳥獸, and “plants and trees,” *caomu* 草木. Wang's first three subject categories of heaven, earth, and man, Tian-Di-Ren 天地人, open his compilation, and give the book its name. The 11 categories that follow appear in no particular order. Each individual *juan* lists its contents, but there is no master guide to the entries. The entries themselves run on into each other, making the work difficult to navigate and use. As usual with pre-twentieth century Chinese publications, each *juan* consists of double woodblock-print pages, and each new *juan* is renumbered from page one. In the absence of any comment in Wang Qi's “Editorial Principles,” *fanli* 凡例, about its target audience, it may be assumed that his *Illustrated Book of the Three Realms* is aimed at the same self-selected elitist readership as Chinese *leishu* in general.

A Pioneering New Approach: Terajima Ryōan's *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia*

Taxonomy of Entries

The *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia* is recognizably different. First, instead of just 14 *lei*, Terajima divides his work into 96 *bu* 部 and *rui* 類⁶ or subject categories and subcategories, with about 7,900 individual entries. In the

⁴ Wang Qi 王圻, *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 (106 *juan*; 1609; reprinted in 3 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988). For an English-language introduction to Wang Qi's work, see John A. Goodall, *Heaven and Earth: Album Leaves from a Ming Encyclopedia: San-ts'ai t'u-hui, 1610* (Boulder, CO: Shambala Publications, Inc., 1979).

⁵ Fu Yunlong, *Youli Riben tujing* (1889; 2003), 308 (18: 10b).

⁶ The terms *bu* and *rui* do not always appear, but are Terajima's organizing principle as mentioned in Fujiwara [Hayashi] Nobuatsu 藤原[林] 信篤, “Ryakujo” 略序 [Brief preface], in *Wa-Kan*

original 1713 and 1715 editions, the work opens with a *shukan* 首卷 or preface volume, followed by 105 *juan* in 80 volumes, and an index volume for a total of 82 volumes. The opening volume contains various prefaces including the author's preface, the Editorial Principles, *hanrei* 凡例, a General Contents, *dai mokuroku* 大目錄, and a postface.⁷ The index volume consists of two Detailed List[s] of Contents, *sō mokuroku* 総目錄 under Terajima's own name. The first is an amazing alphabetical index, in order of the Japanese *i-ro-ha* 伊呂波 phonetic system according to the Japanese pronunciation of a Chinese character, and with cross-referencing to various categories and subcategories of Terajima's work.⁸ The second is a more standard listing of all terms, in consecutive order, of the 105 *juan*. The convenient 1906 one-volume reduced-size photo-reproduction of Terajima's *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* has 1,493 consecutively-numbered pages for the core 105 *juan*. Its General Contents (numbered separately) lists all 96 *bu* and *rui*, giving page numbers for each. Following immediately after is Terajima's detailed List of Contents for his 7,900 entries, *kōmoku* 項目, with page numbers for each.⁹ The 1970 photoreproduction edition of *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* changes the name of the Detailed List of Contents to Index of Entries, *kōmoku sakuin* 項目索引.¹⁰ The term "index" here accurately reflects the original intent of Terajima's 1713 Detailed List of Contents, especially of his alphabetical index with cross-referencing, and is positioned like a modern index at the back of his work. Clearly Terajima had given careful thought to the organization of his work and to matters of easy information retrieval.¹¹ Why did he go to all this trouble? "For quick and easy reference," Terajima explains in his Editorial Principles.¹²

In another modification of Wang Qi's work, Terajima makes heaven, earth, and man (*sansai*) not just his three opening chapters but the overarching framework for his entire compilation. All 96 of his headings are categorized under one of the three realms, consecutively ordered Heaven, *ten* 天 (*juan* 1–6), Man, *jin* 人 (*juan* 7–54),

sansai zue (1713), preface volume, 2b. Terajima himself alludes to *bu* and *rui* in his editorial principles and in the opening of his detailed list of contents.

⁷ The 1901 edition of *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (Kōfu: Naitō Onkodō, 1901) is helpful in that all the different prefaces are printed in standard type, in contrast to the 1713 and 1715 originals and other editions, often written in cursive "grass" script.

⁸ Terajima explains the purpose of his *i-ro-ha* alphabetical index in the last item of his editorial principles, and further in the opening of his alphabetical detailed list of contents. Terajima labels his indexes alternatively *shō mokuroku* 小目錄 and *sō mokuroku* 総目錄.

⁹ Terajima Ryōan, *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1906).

¹⁰ Terajima Ryōan, *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (2 vols.; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1970), 1: 19–77. Other Tōkyō Bijutsu photoreproduction editions include 1976, 1979, 1995, and 2004.

¹¹ For a critical new version of Terajima's *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* that pays special attention to fine points of organization and scholarship, see Terajima Ryōan, *Wa-Kan sansei zue*, translated from Kanbun into modern Japanese, with annotations, by Shimada Isao 島田勇雄, Takeshima Atsuo 竹島淳夫, and Higuchi Motomi 樋口元巳 (18 vols.; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1985–91).

¹² Terajima Ryōan, "Hanrei" 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (1906), 2; (1901), 8.

and Earth, *chi* 地 (*juan* 55–105).¹³ Significantly, Terajima “upgrades” man from the third component to a central position between heaven and earth. This is because of man’s vital importance—an insight said to be grounded in Terajima’s professional practice of medicine.¹⁴ In his author’s preface, Terajima identifies as his inspiration Wake Nakayasu 和氣仲安, his teacher of medicine whose instruction, he says, “I have treasured and never forgotten.” Teacher Wake, citing a twelfth-century Chinese medical scholar, had taught that, “Those desiring to enter the medical profession must understand the three realms of the heavens above, the earth below, and human affairs in the middle. Only then can one begin to talk about [or diagnose] human illnesses. Otherwise, one is like a person roaming at night without sight, or wandering about without legs.”¹⁵ Terajima’s *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* is designed explicitly to help people “to roam at night and wander about” and to assist wise men to excel. If able to help in these ways, Terajima writes, he would consider his project a “great success.”¹⁶

The Three Realms framework of Wang Qi offered Terajima a sensible and comprehensive taxonomy for organizing universal knowledge of the day. Beyond his debt to Chinese thinking, it is as if Terajima had channelled Francis Bacon (1561–1626). Bacon in 1620 had proposed in his pathbreaking but unfinished *Instauratio magna* (“Great Instauration”) a plan to organize all fields of human thought and endeavour around a three-part structure much like China’s *sancai* categories. These are described as “including ‘external nature’ (covering such topics as astronomy, meteorology, geography, and species of minerals, vegetables, and animals), ‘man’ (covering anatomy, physiology, structure and powers, and actions), and ‘man’s action on nature’ (including medicine, chemistry, the visual arts, the sense, the emotions, the intellectual faculties, architecture, transport, printing, agriculture, navigation, arithmetic, and numerous other subjects).”¹⁷ It is conceivable (though unknown to this author) that Francis Bacon was acquainted with the Chinese classification of knowledge into Three Realms.

“Wa-Kan” in the Japanese title of the *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* tags this work as being in two languages—in Wa (Japanese) and in Kan (Chinese). This was a mighty

¹³ Higuchi Hideo 樋口秀雄, “Terajima Ryōan to *Wa-Kan sansai zue*” 寺島良安と和漢三才図会 [Terajima Ryōan and *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese bilingual encyclopaedia*], in Terajima, *Wa-Kan sansai zue*, 1:4 (Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1970), lists each of the six *juan* under “Heaven,” each of the 48 *juan* under “Man,” and the remainder of the 105 *juan* under “Earth.” This tripartite framework of Heaven, Man, and Earth is identified by the superscript characters *ten* 天, *jin* 人, and *chi* 地 in the Contents of the original 1713 and 1715 editions, and also in the Contents of the 1906 edition. It is dropped, unfortunately, from the recomposed Contents list of the 1970 edition and from most later editions.

¹⁴ See the two non-author prefaces, the author’s preface, and postface of *Wa-Kan sansai zue*. These are conveniently grouped together in readable type-set printed form in the 1901 Naitō Onkodō edition, 1–10.

¹⁵ Terajima Ryōan, “Jijo” 自叙 [Author’s preface], in *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (1901), 5.

¹⁶ Terajima Ryōan, “Jijo,” 6.

¹⁷ “Encyclopaedia,” in *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9106030>, 4 (accessed on March 24, 2009).

challenge to Japanese authors, because Japanese and Chinese belong to two entirely different language families and follow different principles of grammar and writing. The Chinese language belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family, unrelated to Japanese. Scholars to this day disagree on how to classify the Japanese language. Kanbun 漢文 or Sino-Japanese, an alien written language used by Japanese (nobody used Kanbun for speaking), was the basic language of Terajima's *Bilingual Encyclopaedia*. This consisted of classical written Chinese with Japanese reading marks to indicate differences in grammar, along with *furigana* 振り仮名 or Japanese syllabary readings next to Chinese characters. These well-established conventions were used to the full by Terajima. In addition, for his many illustrations, the erudite Terajima makes sure to include native Japanese terms for items, alongside Chinese characters, which makes his work more truly bilingual.

Modern encyclopaedias offer two general methods of organization to facilitate their reference function: organization by subject category and organization by alphabet.¹⁸ Terajima's *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* allows for both. Items appear by subject category, in the manner of a Chinese *leishu* (J. *ruisho*). The *i-ro-ha* index at the back then lists every Chinese term alphabetically in the order of the Japanese vernacular pronunciation.

Editorial Principles

As if anticipating the highest standards of modern encyclopaedia scholarship, Terajima makes great efforts to attain objectivity and transparency.¹⁹ Five of his eight “editorial principles” address questions of authority, authenticity, and meaning. In item 2 he writes, “Scholars of *Collection of Materia Medica*, *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目, by Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518–1593) [which Terajima cites heavily] have varying opinions, *iron* 異論. I follow the convention of combining the views of two or three different commentators and saying, ‘The *Collection of Materia Medica* 本綱 states . . .’” He writes in item 3, “Accounts of local Shinto deities are often shrouded in mystery and unclear. In the event of conflicting views, *isetsu* 異説, that cannot be resolved, we simply record accounts transmitted from the past.” Item 4 points out that there are Buddhist temples and personages whose pasts are unclear and even bizarre. We report their accounts “without disparaging them.” (True to his word, when reporting on local Shinto and Buddhist matters under Japanese geography, Terajima—a rationalist openly tolerant of differences—just copies available accounts without comment.) In item 5, Terajima states that the function of certain items of attire and weaponry belonging to families holding high

¹⁸ “Encyclopedia—Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia” makes this point on page 3 when discussing “method of organization.” <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Encyclopedia> (accessed on March 17, 2009).

¹⁹ “Encyclopaedia,” in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, 15–16, discusses the topic of “Controversy and bias” in encyclopaedias.

office is often unclear from their names. “If unable to determine meanings, we simply record the rough understandings passed down.” In item 6, Terajima writes that products from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms have long been used as ingredients for medicine. Often their efficacy is contested, *isetsu* 異説. “If evidence exists of any efficacy in medical practice, or accounts tell of experience outside of medical practice, we record them.” Terajima honours here the integrity of his sources, while pointing out their deficiencies. Item 7, unlike items 2 through 6, describes the design and layout of each entry. “Illustrations appear at the top, followed by the item’s name [in Kanji]. Below are any alternative names, *imei* 異名. To the right of the name [in Kanji] is the vernacular Japanese name written in *hiragana* 平仮名 or cursive script, and to the left is the pronunciation of its Chinese name written in *katakana* or blockish script. Even children, *dōmō* 童蒙, can read these.” This note highlights the bilingual intent of Terajima’s work, with the purpose of reaching a broad reading public. Finally, in item 8, Terajima mentions the cases of two entries assigned to categories that are less than perfect—a flowering plant assigned to the grain category or *bu*, and a certain medicine in the insect category or *bu*. “For many entries, it is difficult to find a single [perfect] subcategory, *rui* 類. We have therefore created a *shō mokuroku* or detailed list of contents in a separate volume. Here each item is listed in *i-ro-ha* 伊呂波 order [of pronunciation], and with cross-referencing to the appropriate subcategory. This is for quick and easy reference.”²⁰

Besides the above, Terajima follows the practice of separating his own commentary or views from quoted materials of sources like the *Collection of Materia Medica* and *Illustrated Book of the Three Realms*, which are featured and cited by name. His own comments are tagged with a triangle, Δ, followed immediately by the word *an* 按, meaning “My view is . . .” or “It seems to me that . . .” For instant recognition, his commentaries are indented. Whether Terajima invented these conventions is uncertain. Whatever the case, they allow his views to stand out, either to be consulted or avoided. His words provide fresh thought, informed synthesis, and commentaries of varying length, often mentioning additional sources by name.²¹

Terajima Ryōan’s Japanese Predecessors and the Early Tokugawa ‘Knowledge Revolution’

Japan’s *kana* 仮名 syllabary, developed during the early Heian 平安 period (792–1185), was utilized for writing but also as an a-b-c type of ordering system. Ordering by *kana* syllables is no different from ordering by alphabet.

²⁰ Terajima Ryōan, “Hanrei,” in *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (1713), “head” volume at the front, 9a–10b; (1901), 7–8; and (1906), 1–2.

²¹ Note that the 18-volume modern translation published by Heibonsha 平凡社 (1985–1991) includes at the back of every volume a section “Notes on Sources Cited,” Shomei chū 書名注, for just that volume, a valuable scholarly addition to *Wa-Kan sansai zue*.

Its employment as the primary ordering principle for a Japanese reference work was popularised by the *Quick Reference Book*, *Setsuyōshū* 節用集, a uniquely Japanese-language reference work²² compiled during 1469–1487. The *setsuyōshū* genre of writing spawned by this publication has been characterized by Yokoyama Toshio as an “illustrated household encyclopaedia.” Yokoyama writes, “Their entries consisted of vernacular Japanese words, categorized by the first syllable and arranged in the traditional *i-ro-ha* syllabary order analogous to Western alphabetical order, and within each *i-ro-ha* category, a number of subdivisions were set, such as heavenly bodies, official titles, fauna and flora, tools, words for counting and measuring, or declinable words. The books thus made it easy for users to find the Chinese characters corresponding to familiar Japanese words.”²³ During the Tokugawa 徳川 period, (1603–1868), these *setsuyōshū*—of which some 800 editions were printed²⁴—were so ubiquitous that the term *setsuyōshū* became virtually synonymous with “reference dictionary.”²⁵

Terajima Ryōan adopts two elements from *setsuyōshū* to make his own work more usable as a reference work and more familiar to his readers. First is his *i-ro-ha* index, which has already been mentioned. Second is an entire new set of divisions and subdivisions called *bu* 部 and *bun* 分—categories borrowed from *setsuyōshū*. Now under each *i-ro-ha* listing, words with broadly similar meanings are grouped together under one of these set subdivisions, as in *setsuyōshū*. The eight *bu* and *bun* of Terajima’s alphabetical contents are heaven and earth, *kenkon* 乾坤; persons, *jibun* 人物, which was not an earlier category; physical forms, *shitai* 支體, including temple buildings; a category having this same name in the main text refers to human physical attributes, including physiognomy; weather, *kigata* 気形; food and clothing, *shokufuku* 食服; tools, *kizai* 器財; metal and stone, *kinseki* 金石; and plants and trees, *kusaki* 草木. In the index itself, Terajima also re-lists the original *bu* or *rui* heading for entries. Such complex cross-referencing and double indexing is remarkable for its day. The question arises: Is there a reference work anywhere in the world in 1713 that cross-references and indexes like Terajima?

²² Yayoshi Mitsunaga 弥吉光長, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku* 百科事典の整理学 [Typologies of encyclopaedias] (Tokyo: Takeuchi Shoten, 1972), discusses *setsuyōshū* under *Kokubun kei* 国文系 or Japanese-lineage reference works, 185–87. (More on this below.)

²³ Yokoyama Toshio, “The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan,” in *Written Texts—Visual Texts: Woodblock-printed Media in Early Modern Japan*, eds. Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 47. See also Toshio Yokoyama, “In Quest of Civility: Conspicuous Uses of Household Encyclopedias in Nineteenth-Century Japan,” *Zinbun: Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies* (Kyoto), no. 34 (1999), 197–222. Note that Yokoyama’s name appears in the Japanese order of surname first in the first publication, and in the western order of surname last in the second publication.

²⁴ Donald H. Shively, “Popular Culture,” *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4: *Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 721. Yokoyama gives the figure of “at least 500 different editions” in “Illustrated Household Encyclopedias,” 47.

²⁵ “*Setsuyōshū*” 節用集 [Quick reference book], in *Heibonsha dai hyakka jiten* 平凡社大百科事典 [Encyclopedia Heibonsha] (16 vols.; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984–85), 8: 610.

Various prefaces to Terajima's work praise him for his tireless diligence and "devotion to correcting common errors."²⁶ No one thinks to praise him for inventing new combinations of cross-referencing and indexing, or pioneering a genre of work which in name or concept has not yet been invented—the modern encyclopaedia (more about this below).

For further ease of use, Terajima explains individual entries in his *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* in non-technical Sino-Japanese, accompanied by Japanese reading marks. Entries are brief and discrete, framed by lines and boxes, and copiously illustrated. See, for example, under Celestial Matters, the drawings of cosmic charts, constellations, weather formations, seasonal festivals, and astrology and divination; then, under the Human Realm, illustrations of social rankings, human handicaps, anatomy, people of foreign lands, arts and entertainment including musical instruments, weaponry, tools of various trades, textiles and design, attire, household utensils, animals—including 20 illustrations of rodents and 19 of monkeys and "ape men"—birds, reptiles, crabs, shellfish, dozens of fish, butterflies, spiders, and numerous insects; and finally, under the Earth Realm, land forms, metals, stones, including petrified rocks, fossils, and crystals, lengthy sections on the geography of China and Japan by province and administrative region, followed by architecture, hundreds of illustrated entries on trees, fruits and nuts, plants, grasses, and edibles such as mushrooms, grains and legumes, and ending with the processing of bean products, alcoholic beverages, noodles and grain products, and candies. Open the *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia* at any page, and it looks and feels startlingly like a modern desk or reference encyclopaedia, assembled with a keen eye to practical utility. Indeed Terajima achieves his stated goal of giving "sight to roamers at night" and "legs to wanderers" irrespective of their class or social status.

How is all this possible for a work completed in 1713? Much of the answer is revealed in Mary Elizabeth Berry's eye-opening study, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period [before 1700]*.²⁷ Berry documents that in the 100 years preceding Terajima's publication, Japan underwent "a quiet revolution in knowledge," including an explosion of "information texts."²⁸ Distinctive features of this knowledge revolution included data-gathering by empirical observation (p. 18), insistence on "eyewitness accuracy" (p. 19), an ethnographer's interest in particularities (p. 20), and exhaustive listings presented in "holistic" fashion (pp. 20, 22, 26) while simultaneously aiming at "completeness" (p. 23). Berry finds many writings "overwhelmingly original" (p. 32). Some publications

²⁶ Fujiwara [Hayashi] Nobuatsu, "Ryakujo", in *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (1713), "head" volume at the front, 2b; and (1906), 4.

²⁷ Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). Berry may be usefully supplemented by Shively, "Popular Culture."

²⁸ The term "a quiet revolution in knowledge" appears in Berry, *Japan in Print*, 18 and 209; "information revolution" appears on p. 211, and "information texts" appears on pages 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 35, 42, 45, 51, and 257 n. 7.

were constantly updated in editions labelled “new” or “revised” or “expanded” or “newly revised and expanded” (p. 19). Massive encyclopaedias (p. 14) were issued on topics both general and specific, often written in “a vernacular Japanese studded with both phonetic reading aids and the devices of textual order—tables of contents, headings and subheadings, numerical totals, extensive lists, and copious illustrations” (p. 14).²⁹ “Information became common property” (p. 52), Berry remarks, “accessible to anyone with the means to buy or borrow them” (p. 250). The profusion of publications in Japan’s information society led historian Marcia Yonemoto to write, “Over the span of the entire Tokugawa period, it is likely that on average well over 3000 titles were published per year; 90 % of these were commercial (as opposed to official or private) publications.”³⁰

Underlying the early Tokugawa phenomenon of knowledge “available to anyone”³¹ was the absence of a dominant class of learned elites who claimed a proprietary right to knowledge and learning, and who might in turn have felt socially and culturally threatened by the spread of learning to lower classes. This distinguishes seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan from eighteenth-century France, for example, where the grand encyclopaedia project of Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean le Rond d’Alembert (1717–1782) was ardently opposed by both clergy and landed aristocracy. Eminent anthropologist Nakane Chie 中根千枝 (1926–) analyses the case of Tokugawa Japan by contrasting its absence of a monopoly class of scholar-elites with China’s scholar-administrators, *shenshi* 紳士 (who—like Wang Qi—did little to simplify or popularise their language for the common people), the *Brahmin* priests of India (for whom Sanskrit and Sanskrit-based knowledge was sacred and to be withheld from lower castes), and Europe’s church-based and landed elites. It should be noted that Japan’s *samurai*, although a privileged ruling class, neither enjoyed the ownership of land nor a monopoly of learning. They lacked the means and the felt need, therefore, to block others from learning. Learning and literacy were viewed in fact as desirable as a whole for society, for the economy, and for administration. Nakane remarks that “If Tokugawa Japan had had an educated elite that monopolized all intellectual activity, as in many other pre-industrial societies, the common people would probably never have developed an interest in the written word. . . . It is precisely because such an elite never developed in Japan that the common people were stimulated to develop a vigorous popular culture.”³² Whatever their hereditary class category, Japanese were rewarded personally and professionally for learning to read. For this and related reasons, Nakane might have added, Japan’s literacy rate has been estimated at 45 % for

²⁹ Or, as Donald Shively has pointed out, from around 1650, there was an explosion of “books of instruction” often written “in simple language for easy reading.” Shively, “Popular Culture,” 727.

³⁰ Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603–1868)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 15.

³¹ Berry, *Japan in Print*, 35.

³² Chie Nakane, “Tokugawa Society,” in *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan*, eds. Chie Nakane and Shinzaburō Ōishi (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), 230. Again, see also Donald H. Shively, “Popular Culture.”

men and 15 % for women at the end of the Tokugawa period, with rates higher in the cities.³³ In China, the literacy rate counting persons fully literate and those knowing only a few hundred Chinese characters has been estimated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at 30–45 % of males and 2–10 % of females.³⁴ China too produced reference works for non-elite readers known as *riyong leishu* 日用類書 or “*leishu* for daily use.” Until recently, these *riyong leishu* have been studied more by scholars in Japan than in China.³⁵

By the time Terajima Ryōan completed his 30-plus-year writing project in 1713³⁶—finalized the same year as the birth of Diderot—Japan’s early Tokugawa knowledge revolution was well behind him. As a physician resident in Osaka (one of Japan’s three most active publishing centres along with Kyoto and Edo³⁷), Terajima had access to excellent models and sources for his work. These included the *Quick Reference Book* already discussed.³⁸ Also available were *kinmō zui* 訓蒙図彙, a genre of reference work inaugurated in 1666 with the publication of the original *Illustrated Knowledge for the People*, *Kinmō zui* 訓蒙図彙, (20 *juan*) of Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕齋 (1629–1702). Nakamura’s compilation had 1,482 entries, of which 686 related to plants and animals with their Chinese and Japanese names.³⁹ Among the works of this genre is the *Illustrated Knowledge for Humanity*, *Jinrin kinmō zui* 人倫訓蒙図彙 (1690), lauded by Mary Elizabeth Berry.⁴⁰ In addition there was the genre of “treasuries of knowledge,” *chōhōki* 重寶記, which assembled information on skill areas like writing, healing, child rearing, or cooking “in simple, systematic, and heavily illustrated style,”⁴¹ and which came to

³³ Ronald P. Dore, “The Legacy of Tokugawa Education,” in *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*, ed. Marius B. Jansen (Princeton UP, 1965), 99–131, and Ronald P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), remain the baseline for discussions on literacy figures in late-Tokugawa Japan.

³⁴ Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch’ing China* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1979), 140; also, 23 and 82.

³⁵ Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (1998; revised and enlarged; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 608. See, in general, “31. *Leishu* 類書,” 601–09. On the relationship between these older Chinese encyclopaedias for daily use and the encyclopaedias of new knowledge, see the contribution by Barbara Mittler in the present volume.

³⁶ Terajima Ryōan, “Jijo,” in *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (1906), 12/(1901), 5, refers to *Wa-Kan sansai zue* as the product of more than 30 years of effort.

³⁷ Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 192–205, discusses “The Growth of the Publishing Trade” focused around Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo in the seventeenth century.

³⁸ See also Berry, *Japan in Print*, 196, and Shively, “Popular Culture,” 721.

³⁹ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 170–80, discusses various early *kinmō zui*. More briefly, see Shively, “Popular Culture,” 720–21.

⁴⁰ Berry, *Japan in Print*, 196; also, 19–20. Digital reproductions of *Jinrin kinmō zui* can be seen at the Japanese National Diet Library site of <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/index.html>. Search by entering *kinmō zui* 訓蒙図彙 in Kanji.

⁴¹ Berry, *Japan in Print*, 196. See also Nagatomo Chiyoji 長友千代治, *Chōhōki no chōhōki: seikatsu shi hyakka jiten hakkutsu* 重宝記の調方記: 生活史百科事典発掘 [In search of *chōhōki*: Excavating encyclopaedias of daily life] (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2005).

serve “as encyclopaedic household reference works.”⁴² Finally, not to be overlooked is “the most complete and comprehensive medical book ever written in the history of traditional Chinese medicine,” the aforementioned pharmaceutical classic *Collection of Materia Medica* with 1,892 varieties of plants, 11,096 prescriptions, and 1,110 illustrations by Li Shizhen. Completed by Li in 1578 after more than 30 years of exhaustive book research and field study, this exceptional work was available in a Japanese Kanbun edition of 1672, in good time for Terajima Ryōan.⁴³

The *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia* surpassed its predecessors in scholarly rigour, in the quality of its illustrations, its simple yet thorough explanation of topical entries, and its easy accessibility through indexes.⁴⁴ It is unclear how often the *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* was reissued during the Tokugawa period, but since the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912), this treasury of information has been printed frequently and it continues to be cited by scholars researching topics of natural history and geography.⁴⁵ Some of its more recent editions include 1872 (prior to Fu Yunlong’s arrival in Japan), 1884–1888, 1890, 1901–1902, 1906, 1929, 1935, and various Tōkyō Bijutsu reprints (1970, 1976, 1979, 1995, and 2004). As already noted, Heibonsha 平凡社, a major Japanese publishing house, translated this work from Kanbun 漢文 into modern Japanese in 18 volumes published between 1985 and 1991, with annotations including notes on Terajima’s sources. These many recent editions are living testimony to Terajima Ryōan’s scholarly erudition and to his talent for innovation. The work also testifies to Terajima’s somewhat privileged status and connections. From a family of Osaka physicians, Terajima had somehow cultivated friends in high places. Two items bear witness to this. One is a laudatory preface dated 1713 in the *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* by Hayashi [Fujiwara] Nobuatsu 林[藤原] 信篤 (also known as Hōkō 鳳岡; 1644–1732), the distinguished Confucian advisor to the Shōgun 將軍, a position known as Daigaku no kami 大学頭 held by members of the Hayashi 林 family (a branch of the aristocratic Fujiwara 藤原 family). The other is an imperial stamp of approval in the form of an ink stamp that states “Personally Inspected by the Retired [Tonsured] Emperor” prominently displayed at the front of the *Bilingual Encyclopaedia*.⁴⁶

⁴² Shively, 720.

⁴³ “Bencao gangmu” 本草綱目 [English title] in *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bencao_Gangmu (accessed on March 27, 2009). See also Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, 662.

⁴⁴ Higuchi Hideo 樋口秀雄, “Terajima Ryōan to *Wa-Kan sansai zue*” 寺島良安と和漢三才図会 [Terajima Ryōan and *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia*], in *Wa-Kan sansai zue*, by Terajima Ryōan (2 vols.; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1970), 1: 4–6. Higuchi is with the Cultural Division of the Tokyo National Museum.

⁴⁵ Google searches of Terajima Ryōan—and to a lesser extent “*Wa-Kan sansai zue*”—bring up a fascinating array of citations and uses.

⁴⁶ Higuchi, “Terajima Ryōan to *Wa-Kan sansai zue*,” 1:1, 5, and 7.

The *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia* was a one-man endeavour without official sponsorship of any sort. Its undertaking and completion demonstrate a high level of professionalism combined with a spirit of entrepreneurship that flowered in the Genroku 元禄 period (1688–1704). Innovative endeavours like this were essentially encouraged by the Tokugawa state.⁴⁷ China of the Qing dynasty also saw entrepreneurship in publishing, but with a different dynamic that gave less encouragement to originality and departures from past precedent.⁴⁸

By 1713, the modern features of Terajima's work were so commonplace in Japan that Mary Elizabeth Berry finds it unnecessary even to mention Terajima's *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* or its author in her 2006 study. Pan Jun 潘鈞, in his important 2008 book *A Study of Japanese Reference Works*, *Riben cishu yanjiu* 日本辭書研究,⁴⁹ explores and documents the world of Japanese reference works back to earliest times. He speaks of Terajima's *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* several times, but mentions only in passing the genres of *kinmō zui* and *chōhōki*.⁵⁰ He devotes more attention to *setsuyōshū*, which he notes came to be synonymous with "reference work."⁵¹ Pan agrees that the Tokugawa period witnessed "the flourishing of a publishing culture and the popularisation of reference works."⁵²

Chinese and Japanese Encyclopaedia Lineages in Japan

How do these genres of materials relate to—or anticipate—later encyclopaedias? Yayoshi Mitsunaga 弥吉光長 in his *Typologies of Encyclopaedias* distinguishes two "lineages" of Japanese reference works in the Tokugawa period, according to their form, *keishiki* 形式, and content, *naiyō* 内容. He labels these "Chinese lineage," *Kangaku kei* 漢学系, and "Japanese lineage," *Kokubun kei* 国文系, works.⁵³ Yayoshi classifies both *Kinmō zui* and the *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia* as in the Chinese lineage, because they are organized by categories and topics rather than in *i-ro-ha* order. The inclusion of an *i-ro-ha* cross-referencing index in Terajima's compilation does not change that fundamental reality for Yayoshi.

⁴⁷ Berry, *Japan in Print*, 26, 31–32, and 35–40; also Higuchi Hideo, "Terajima Ryōan to *Wa-Kan sansai zue*," 1:6.

⁴⁸ David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), discusses publishing in Qing China across genres and geographical regions.

⁴⁹ Pan Jun 潘鈞, *Riben cishu yanjiu* 日本辭書研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008), 77–78 and 350–51.

⁵⁰ See Pan Jun, *Riben cishu yanjiu*, 199 and 22, respectively.

⁵¹ Pan Jun, *Riben cishu yanjiu*, 81. For other references by Pan to *setsuyōshū*, see 77–78 and 350–51, and also under *jiyongji* 節用集 in his "Index of Reference Works by Name," 362.

⁵² Pan Jun, *Riben cishu yanjiu*, 74.

⁵³ Yayoshi, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 178–91.

Here I would take issue with Yayoshi, who is too quick to assume that a similarity in names and form with Wang Qi's *Illustrated Book of the Three Realms*, along with the use of Kanbun in the text, makes Terajima's *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* an old-style Chinese-lineage compilation. Higuchi Hideo 樋口秀雄 comes closer to the truth when he calls the *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia* "Japan's first encyclopaedia," *waga kuni hyakka jisho saisho no mono* わが国百科辞書の最初のもの.⁵⁴ Terajima Ryōan, over a 20 year period, basically transformed Wang's work from a *leishu* into something fundamentally different. Terajima restructures Wang's work; his entries are freshly researched, critically evaluated, selective, and succinct, as opposed to the just lengthy anthologised writings of the past. It is, moreover, targeted at a broad readership—"for the people" as expressed much later in the titles of *Chambers's Information for the People* (1833–) and *Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People* (1861–), discussed below—which is one of Yayoshi's criteria for a Japanese-lineage work.⁵⁵

More than just a hybrid product, the *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia* is something new and original, a remarkable tour de force. It is an encyclopaedia that pre-dates encyclopaedias. Just possibly, Terajima's *Bilingual Encyclopaedia* of 1713 is a modern encyclopaedia before the modern encyclopaedia was "invented" in the West (the author is currently pursuing this important topic for a separate article). The entry on encyclopaedia in Wikipedia states: "Ephraim Chambers [of London, 1680–1740] published his *Cyclopaedia* in 1728. It included a broad scope of subjects, used an alphabetic arrangement, relied on many different contributors and included the innovation of cross-referencing other sections within articles. Chambers has been referred to as the father of the modern encyclopaedia for this two-volume work."⁵⁶ Denis Diderot's groundbreaking *Encyclopédie* (published between 1751 and 1772) grew out of a proposal that he prepare a French translation of the *Cyclopaedia*. Diderot acknowledged as well his profound debt to Francis Bacon for his bold reconceptualization of the organization of human knowledge. It may be time to rethink the modern encyclopaedia and its origins.

The *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia* has the following attributes of a modern encyclopaedia:

1. Its scope—heaven, man, and earth, or the whole of human knowledge
2. Its organization—by subject category and, "for quick and easy reference" by *i-ro-ha* syllabary index

⁵⁴ Higuchi Hideo, "Terajima Ryōan," in Terajima, *Wa-Kan sansai zue* 1: 5. Higuchi also calls *Wa-Kan sansai zue* "Japan's first illustrated encyclopaedia" (1:1 and 4). See also "Japanese Encyclopedias—Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia," at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_encyclopedias, p. 1, accessed on February 28, 2009.

⁵⁵ Yayoshi, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 186.

⁵⁶ "Encyclopedia—Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia," p. 7, at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Encyclopedia> (accessed on March 17, 2009). The phrase "universally recognized as the father of the modern encyclopaedia" in reference to Ephraim Chambers appears also in "encyclopaedia," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9106030> (accessed on March 24, 2009).

3. Its audience—a broad readership (in essence, for the people): to give “sight to roamers at night” and “legs to wanderers,” to assist wise men to excel, yet with parts that “even children” can read
4. Objectivity—by design it includes diverse views, including faulty views unchanged from the originals. One example is Wang Qi’s illustrated accounts of strange people from 190 foreign lands, *yi guo* 異國.⁵⁷
5. Illustrated materials—abundant and clear, often refined. These are simply and artfully situated in the text.
6. Cross-referencing and indexing—Chinese-language terms and pronunciations appear alongside vernacular Japanese words and their readings. The *i-ro-ha* index cross-references entries to categories and subcategories of the main text.

One interesting anomaly is that Terajima’s project was a one-man undertaking. Other modern encyclopaedia projects typically involve multiple editors and large numbers of contributors.

Back to Yayoshi’s classifications of Japanese reference works, *setsuyōshū* are firmly classified as in the Japanese-lineage category. In addition, *chōhōki* are placed in the Japanese-lineage camp, as works conceptualised in Japan, arranged in *i-ro-ha* order, and aimed at the average reader. Yayoshi speaks separately of the emergence during the Tokugawa period of “Japanese-originated *leishu*,” but that is beyond the scope of this essay.

In publishing, as in so much else, Japan was more than just a clone of China. Important works inspired by Chinese example and with names having a family resemblance might turn out to be substantially different, as in the case of the *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia*. In other cases, entire categories of works might be absent or mostly missing. From 1877 to 1882, for example, Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848–1905), chief counsellor of China’s first diplomatic mission to Japan, was in Japan gathering data for what became China’s most important nineteenth-century work about Japan, *Treatises on Japan*, *Ribenguo zhi* 日本國志.⁵⁸ Huang’s “Editorial Principles” reports that while gathering information, he encountered *san nan* 三難 or three major challenges or difficulties.

⁵⁷ Kunō Seikō 久能清香, “Kinsei no sekaikan: *Wa-Kan sansai zue* [1713] to *Morokoshi kinnō zui* [1719] no kōsatsu” 近世の世界観—《和漢三才図会》と《唐土訓蒙図彙》の考察 [Two early modern worldviews: A comparison of *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (1713) and *Morokoshi kinnō zui* (1719)], *Hiroshima Jogakuin Daigaku kokugo kokubungakushi*, 37 (2007), 61–77.

⁵⁸ Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲, *Ribenguo zhi* 日本國志 (40 *juan*; Yangcheng [Guangzhou]: Fuwenzhai, 1890/1895). Rev. ed. 1897 (Yangcheng [Guangzhou]: Fuwenzhai, 1897). For a photoreprint of the 1897 revised edition, see (rev. ed., 1897; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), with added name index. For a punctuated version of same ed., see (rev. ed., 1897; 2 vols.; Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2005), eds. Wu Zhenqing, Xu Yong, and Wang Jiaxiang. The present study cites this Tianjin punctuated version, giving page reference followed in parentheses by *juan* or chapter number, for readers without access to the 2005 edition. Cited as Huang Zunxian, *Ribenguo zhi* (rev. ed., 1897; 2005). Yet another punctuated edition of *Ribenguo zhi* (rev. ed., 1897) was published in *Huang Zunxian quanji* 黃遵憲全集, ed. Chen Jing (2 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 2:817–1566.

The first of these was that “Japan lacks histories of the past organized by *zhi* 志 or treatises.” Huang names three Japanese historical works that have treatises or plans for treatises, but in which ultimately only treatises on the subjects of the military, punishments, and official posts had been completed. Somehow the treatise format did not suit the Japanese reading public. “These histories written in Kanbun are unfinished, making research into the past most difficult.” Huang adds, as challenge number two: “Since the beginning of the [Meiji] Reforms, countless new codes and laws have been issued. Many of the government’s organizational systems, regulations, directives, and orders are worth copying, but these all use Wabun 和文, that is, Japanese writing in which Chinese characters and Japanese written forms are intermingled... Translating these is no easy task, further complicating this endeavour.” Challenge number three involved terminology with rare or odd meanings. Huang mentions Japanese words translated using Chinese characters, English terms translated into Japanese and then re-translated into Chinese, Japanese-Chinese homonyms with unique Japanese meanings, and Chinese characters utilized strictly for sound without regard to meaning.⁵⁹

Japanese Encyclopaedic Interactions with the West: Public Welfare Through Chomel’s *Dictionnaire oeconomique*

During the early Tokugawa period, Japan had moved for purely internal reasons in various directions away from China.⁶⁰ A landmark development occurred in 1720, when a confident and inspired Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗, eighth Shogun of the Tokugawa period (shogun from 1716 to 1745), lifted the ban on book imports from the West. Yoshimune simultaneously ordered the translation into Japanese of Dutch works, including books on plants, *honzō* 本草, and animals, *kinjū chūgyo* 禽獸虫魚. By these actions, Japan’s *bakufu* 幕府 leadership acknowledged Dutch Studies, Rangaku 蘭学, as a “legitimate” intellectual endeavour in the pursuit of practical Western learning. By 1800, Japanese translators of Dutch works had established the principles and methods for creating new Kanji-based compounds from Dutch. The creative neologisms from Dutch resulted later in the Japanese language serving as an intermediary between Western knowledge and China.⁶¹ The overall process of translating from Dutch has been admirably charted in the

⁵⁹ “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in Huang Zunxian, *Ribenguo zhi* (rev. ed., 1897; 2005), 1:7.

⁶⁰ Berry, *Japan in Print*, includes much information on internal factors contributing to new Japanese departures.

⁶¹ Arakawa Kiyohide 荒川清秀, “Formation and Dissemination of Japanese Geographical Terminologies,” in *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, eds. Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 451–67, includes examples of geographical terms created by Japanese scholars from Dutch originals, later adopted by China.

excellent new book by Shen Guowei 沈國威 on the exchange of terminology between modern China and Japan.⁶²

Japan's enduring European connections also contributed to Japanese departures. By way of example, in 1709, just before the completion of Terajima's *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Bilingual Encyclopaedia* in 1713, French agronomist Noël Chomel (1632–1712) published his *Dictionnaire oeconomique* (2 vols.; Lyons, 1709), said to be the most popular “domestic” encyclopaedia of agriculture and housekeeping in eighteenth-century Europe. Conveniently arranged alphabetically from A to Z, it was reissued and expanded in later editions (1718, 1732, 1740, 1741, 1743, and 1767) and translated into numerous languages. An English translation of the second (1718) edition “revised and recommended by Richard Bradley” (1688–1732) was published in 1725 in London and bore the title of *Dictionnaire oeconomique, or, The Family Dictionary*. In the cover description we read:

... containing the most experienced methods of improving estates and of preserving health . . . the most advantageous ways of breeding, feeding, and ordering all sorts of domestick animals . . . the different kinds of nets, snares, and engines for taking all sorts of fish, birds, and other game, great variety of rules, directions, and new discoveries relating to gardening . . . the best and cheapest ways of providing and improving all manner of meats and drinks . . . means of making the most advantage of the manufactures of soap, starch, spinning, cotton, thread, &c., the methods to take or destroy vermin and other animals injurious to gardening . . . an account of the several weights, measures, &c. of metals and minerals . . . all sorts of rural sports and exercises . . . the whole illustrated throughout with very great variety of figures. . . .⁶³

In 1743, the *Dictionnaire oeconomique* came out in a Dutch version, translated by Jan Lodewijk Shuer, under the title of *Huishoudelyk Woordboek* (2 vols.; Amsterdam and Leiden, 1743). After a much expanded German translation by Christian von Wolff (1679–1754) had come out (Leipzig, 1750–1758), publisher and writer Jacques Alexandre de Chalmot (1734–1801), unhappy with Shuer's Dutch translation and many omissions, spent 10 years in collaboration with others updating and expanding entries on minerals, plants, animals, philosophy, jurisprudence, factories, and manufactures. Under his direction, the original two Dutch volumes with 1,496 pages, expanded to become seven volumes of 4,370 pages, with the title of *Huishoudelyk woordenboek* (7 vols.; Leiden and Leeuwarden: 1768–1777, 1778). This fine seven-volume Chalmot edition, organized alphabetically, found its way to Japan in the personal library of Hendrik Doeff, who sold it to the Shogunal government or *bakufu* 幕府 in 1810 for the considerable sum of six silver *momme*.⁶⁴ Within a year, by June 1811, the *bakufu* had created a brand new

⁶² Shen Guowei 沈國威, *Jindai Zhong-Ri cihui jiaoliu yanjiu: Hanzi xinci de chuanguzhi, rongshou yu gongheng* 近代中日詞彙交流研究: 漢字新詞的創制, 容受與共享 [Studies of the exchange of terminology between modern China and Japan: Character-based neologisms created by Japan, and their Chinese reception and assimilation] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 69–98.

⁶³ Noel Chomel, *Dictionnaire oeconomique, or, The Family Dictionary*, revised and recommended by Mr. R. Bradley (2 vols.; London: Printed for D. Midwinter, 1725).

⁶⁴ Grant Kohn Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch, 1600–1853* (Richmond: Surrey: Curzon, 2000), 131.

office—the Translation Bureau for Barbarian Writings, Bansho Wage Goyō 蛮書和解御用—charged with the task to translate this enormous work, the most ambitious translation project of the 250-year Tokugawa period.⁶⁵ The project was entrusted to two accomplished Dutch translators, Baba Sadayoshi 馬場貞由 (Sajūrō 佐十郎; 1787–1822) and Ōtsuki Shigetaka 大槻茂質 (Gentaku 玄沢; 1787–1822), and assigned the title of *New Writings for the Public Welfare*, Kōsei shinpen 厚生新編. The commitment of funds, the choice of work to be translated, and the use of “public welfare,” *kōsei* 厚生, in the translated title signalled that *bakufu* officials had decided to borrow the best and latest western knowledge for public benefit (that is, for the people).⁶⁶ Guided by practical and utilitarian considerations, project leaders were selected for translation topics such as animals, plants, pharmacopoeia, medical knowledge, industry, handicrafts, and minerals (gold, silver, copper, steel, tin, zinc, quicksilver).⁶⁷

Manuscript translations of the *kōsei* project circulated in the capital of Edo. However, the project was interrupted on several occasions for political reasons,⁶⁸ and no part of it was published until 1937.⁶⁹ Although delayed by 100 years, this grand project launched what Fukukama Tatsuo 福鎌達夫 calls the compilation of western-style reference works “fundamentally different from Chinese *leishu*.” Traditional *leishu*, Fukukama remarks, were works that “gathered together knowledge of the past arranged by category (*bun* 分 and *rui* 類).” The new works gathered together “the latest knowledge”⁷⁰ arranged alphabetically or in order of the Japanese *kana* syllabary. This latest knowledge, it should be noted, is essentially “new global knowledge,” as in the lead title of the present volume.

Fukukama Tatsuo lists the genealogy of these Western-inspired Japanese works as follows⁷¹:

1. *New Writings for the Public Welfare*, Kōsei shinpen 厚生新編 (1811–; unfinished).
2. *Primer of a Circle of Knowledge*, Chikan keimō 智環啓蒙 (translation into Kanbun of the bilingual Chinese-English *Zhihuan qimeng* [*Graduated reading; comprising a circle of knowledge, in 200 lessons. Gradation 1. Zhihuan qimeng dunke, chubu* 智環啓蒙塾課。初歩; 1856, 1859, 1864, etc.]); in many different

⁶⁵ “Hyakka jiten,” in *Heibonsha dai hyakka jiten*, vol. 12:651.

⁶⁶ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 192–93.

⁶⁷ Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, 129–32.

⁶⁸ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 193–94, gives reasons for the interruptions.

⁶⁹ Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, 131. Publication of the full set of manuscripts occurred only in 1978–79. See “Hyakka jiten,” in *Heibonsha hyakka jiten*, 12:651.

⁷⁰ Fukukama Tatsuo 福鎌達夫, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū* 明治初期百科全書の研究 [Studies of Early-Meiji encyclopaedias] (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1968), 11 and 13–14.

⁷¹ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 11 and 65–67.

- Japanese editions starting with the official Bansho Shirabesho [see below] translation of around 1863; bilingual in Kanbun and English.⁷²
3. *Complete Compendium of the Hundred Branches of Knowledge*, Hyakka zensho 百科全書 [translation of *Chambers's Information for the People*; ca. 90 vols.; 1873–1883; 1883–1885]; more on this below.
 4. *Classified Cyclopaedia of Western Governance*, Taisei seiiji ruiten 泰西政事類典, a translation of *The Standard Library Cyclopaedia of Political, Constitutional, Statistical and Forensic Knowledge*, a 4-volume work published by H.G. Bohn, London, 1848–1849.⁷³
 5. *Biographical Dictionary of Great Japan*, Dai Nihon jinmei jisho 大日本人名辞書 (4 vols.; 1884–1886), a landmark first modern biographical dictionary of Japan⁷⁴
 6. *Encyclopaedia of Japanese Society*, Nihon shakai jii 日本社会事彙 (2 vols.; 1890–1892), a trailblazing work “compiled in western fashion” with original contributions by 70 leading experts, covering the topics of society, politics, economics, and culture. Expanded and updated in 1901–1902 and again in 1907–1908.⁷⁵

The last three titles of this six-title sequence are part of a trilogy of modern reference works published by the Economic Journal Company, Keizai Zasshi Sha

⁷² *Zhihuan qimeng* was the translation into Chinese of *Graduated Reading; Comprising a Circle of Knowledge, in 200 Lessons. Gradation I* (London, 1840), by Charles Baker. In 1856, James Legge published this Chinese translation for use as a bilingual Chinese-English textbook at his Anglo-Chinese Academy in Hong Kong. For the greatest detail and analysis, see Shin Kokui (Shen Guowei) 沈國威 and Uchida Keichi 内田慶市, *Kindai keimō no sokuseki: Tōzai bunka kōryū to gengo seshshoku*, “*Chikan keimō jukuka shoho*” no kenkyū 近代啓蒙の足跡: 東西文化交流と言語接触、「智環啓蒙塾課初歩」の研究 [Footprints of modern enlightenment: Cultural flows and language contacts between East and West, a study of *A circle of knowledge in 200 lessons, gradation I*] (Suita: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu, 2002). See also Masuda Wataru, “The *Zhihuan qimeng* and Related Texts,” in Masuda Wataru, *Japan and China: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 11–15. Translated from Masuda Wataru, *Seigaku Tōzen to Chūgoku jijō: ‘zassho’ sakki* [The eastward movement of Western learning and conditions in China: Notes on ‘Various books’] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1979). Masuda’s important overview is available in Chinese translation as *Xixue Dongjian yu Zhong-Ri wenhua jiaoliu* 西學東漸與中日文化交流 [The eastward movement of Western learning and cultural interactions between China and Japan] (Tianjin: Tianjin shehui kexue yuan chubanshe, 1993).

⁷³ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*. The full title of the original work is *The Standard Library Cyclopaedia of Political, Constitutional, Statistical and Forensic Knowledge: Forming a Work of Universal Reference on the Subjects of Civil Administration, Political Economy, Finance, Commerce, Laws and Social Relations* (4 vols.; London: H. G. Bohn, 1848–49). Appropriately, *Taisei seiiji ruiten* is organized under the four sections of “law,” Hōritsui 法律, “administration,” Gyōsei 行政, “economics,” Keizai 經濟, and “society,” Shakai 社会. Yayoshi thus classifies it as a “specialized encyclopaedia” (*senmon jiten* 専門事典).

⁷⁴ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 202.

⁷⁵ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 202–03.

經濟雜誌社, the vibrant press of Taguchi Ukichi 田口卯吉 (1855–1905) in Tokyo⁷⁶ inspired by *The Economist* of London (1843–).

Worthy of note here is that the Dutch language—belonging to the Indo-European language family—represents a second alien language family after Chinese embraced by the Japanese of their own accord. The massive *bakufu* project of 1811 turned out to be yet one more step to seek useful global knowledge beyond the Chinese *leishu* tradition. The principles and methods developed for translating from Dutch into Japanese significantly opened the way for Japan to translate from other Indo-European languages like English, French, German, and Russian.

After Commodore Matthew Perry forced the opening of Japan in 1853–1854, the *bakufu* in 1856 rushed to establish a new institute for research into foreign technology called Bansho Shirabesho 蛮書調所 (Institute for the Study of Barbarian Writings). This office sought, translated, and published new knowledge, including western writings in Chinese translation. As one example, in 1857–1858, a group of London Missionary Society (LMS) representatives in Shanghai published the *Shanghai Serial* with the Chinese title *Liuhe congtan* 六合叢談, a monthly that ran for 15 issues from January 1857 to June 1858. The inaugural issue explains that in the spirit of its name *liuhe*, or “six directions”—north, south, east, west, heaven (up), and earth (down), meaning the world or universe—it seeks to introduce Chinese readers to the universal scientific fields of “chemistry,” *huaxue* 化學, “geography,” *chadi zhi xue* 察地之學, “zoology and botany,” *niaoshou caomu zhi xue* 鳥獸草木之學, “astronomy,” *cetian zhi xue* 測天之學, “electricity,” *dianqi zhi xue* 電氣之學, “mechanics,” *zhongxue* 重學, and “acoustics–optics,” *tingshi xue* 聽視學. Every one of these English scientific terms is taken from headings in *Chambers’s Information for the People* in its third (1848–1849) and fourth (1857) editions, although no mention is made of that source.⁷⁷ Alexander Wylie (1815–1887), a Scot like the Chambers brothers, was sent to Shanghai in 1847 to assist the London Missionary Society Press, Mohai Shuguan 墨海書館. Wylie served as editor and lead writer of the *Shanghai Serial* in close collaboration with Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–1897).⁷⁸ The two were assisted by others, including the prolific LMS British missionary William Muirhead (1822–1900), who worked in Shanghai for 53 years until his death.⁷⁹ Significantly, the *Shanghai Serial* took many of its articles from *Chambers’s Information for the People*, translating sections from entries on physical geography, natural theology, mechanics, and the history of Great Britain and Ireland, all without attribution.⁸⁰ A case of plagiarism as audacious as anything by a Chinese was the 12-part translation

⁷⁶ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 201–02, clusters these and other Keizai Zasshi Sha publications together.

⁷⁷ Shen Guowei 沈國威, *Liuhe congtan: fu jieti, suoyin* 六合叢談: 附解題·索引 [*Shanghai serial* {1857–58}: With analyses and index] (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2006), 3, 29–30, 126, and 521–22.

⁷⁸ Shen Guowei, *Liuhe congtan*, 29–31; also, 26–28.

⁷⁹ Shen Guowei, *Liuhe congtan*, 31.

⁸⁰ See Shen Guowei, *Liuhe congtan*, 126–30; also, 27–28. Compare these with the full contents list in *Liuhe congtan*, 18–24.

of “Physical Geography” from *Chambers’s Information*, published under the initials “W.M.” (William Muirhead).⁸¹

Back in Japan, almost as soon as the *Shanghae Serial* commenced publication in Shanghai, the Bansho Shirabesho began issuing expurgated versions of this journal—expurgated of all religious material, which constituted one quarter of its content.⁸² Avid interest among Japanese in this publication, extending up to about 1880, resulted in copies of the *Shanghae Serial* being preserved in far greater numbers in Japanese libraries today than in Chinese libraries⁸³—hence, the rationale of Shen Guowei of Kansai University 關西大學 to apply for and receive Japanese government funding to undertake his research project on this journal.⁸⁴

Japanese translations of works like *Chambers’s Information for the People* and *The Standard Library Cyclopaedia*, done on Japan’s own initiative and at not inconsiderable expense, represent a veritable national habit. From top to bottom, from the highest to the lowest in government and society, Meiji Japanese proved eager producers and consumers of new and global information. The eagerness of Japanese consumers helps explain the phenomenon observed by Chen Pingyuan in his essay for this volume, as it relates to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: “After 1 year [1906]—despite being a number far lower than the 5,500 sets that had sold within a year in Japan—the 450 copies sent from London had not yet sold out [in China].”⁸⁵

Japan Pursues New Global Knowledge: Translating Chambers’s Information for the People

In April 1868, the new Meiji imperial government declared in an imperial edict, “Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule” (知識ヲ世界ニ求め大ニ皇基ヲ振起スヘシ).⁸⁶ This pronouncement—Article 5 of the famed Five-Article Charter Oath (*Gokajō*

⁸¹ These 12 titles, in Chinese and English, are listed in Shen Guowei, *Liuhe congtan*, 128–29. The full Chinese translations appear in Shen Guowei, *Liuhe congtan*, 517–779, the complete 15 issues of *Liuhe congtan* in photoreproduction.

⁸² Shen Guowei, *Liuhe congtan*, 3 and 37. Note that Shen Guowei, *Liuhe congtan*, 18–24, lists the contents of all 15 issues of *Liuhe congtan*, identifying by asterisk those religious items expurgated from the Japanese releases. The number of pages devoted to religious topics, by issue, appears separately in a table on p. 24.

⁸³ See Shen Guowei, *Liuhe congtan*, 36–40 and 218–19.

⁸⁴ Shen Guowei, *Liuhe congtan*, 3–5.

⁸⁵ Chen Pingyuan, “‘Wenxue’ in the Purview of late Qing Encyclopaedias and Textbooks—With a Focus on Huang Ren’s Activities as Compiler,” 249–250. More on the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* below.

⁸⁶ “The Charter Oath,” translated in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, comps. Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 644; also in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Volume Two: 1600–2000, abridged, Part Two: 1868–2000, comps. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann (2nd ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 2: Pt. 2:7–8.

no Goseimon 五箇条の御誓文)—succinctly announced one cornerstone of Japan's new Meiji policies, the search for new global knowledge from “throughout the world.”

One person who took this injunction to heart was the Meiji statesman and scholar, Mitsukuri Rinshō 箕作麟祥 (1846–1897). Though little known, Mitsukuri was the lead translator and overseer of the *Chambers's Information for the People* translation project. That undertaking is germane to the present Chinese encyclopaedia project because the umbrella title of that project was *Hyakka zensho* 百科全書—a title that lent its name to the word for “encyclopaedia” in both Japanese and Chinese. Between 1833 and 1835, the first issues of *Chambers's Information for the People* had been published in Edinburgh in individual compact volumes dealing with “almost every branch of science and art” which “a generally well-informed man” might be expected to know.⁸⁷ In 1842, issues representing 100 topics, *baike* 百科, were brought together in two bound volumes, as a second edition. The third edition (1848–1849) contains exactly 100 numbered titles, including “Index, and Glossary of Terms” as numbers 50 and 100. Interestingly, each article consists of exactly 16 small-print pages. For editions 4 (1857) and 5 (1874–1875), the numbered articles grew above the 100 mark, but the Japanese chose to preserve the concept of 100 or *hyakka* 百科 in *Hyakka zensho* 百科全書 or “Complete Compendium of a Hundred Branches of Knowledge,” assigned as the title of their 1873 translation project.⁸⁸ Like the 1833–1835 originals, the Japanese translated and published one title at a time between 1873 and 1883, altogether 88 titles.⁸⁹ On the cover of each volume is the subject title in Japanese, preceded prominently by the words “Hyakka zensho” in smaller-sized print.⁹⁰ When in 1897 Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927) published his *Bibliography of Japanese Books*, *Riben shumu zhi* 日本書目志, he listed some 80 individual titles from the *Hyakka zensho*.⁹¹ The repeated reference 百科全書 with the Japanese reading *hyakka zensho* and the Chinese reading *baike quanshu* in all these titles helped to imprint on Chinese minds the idea that *baike quanshu* meant “encyclopaedia”—all essential modern learning, a “complete compendium of a 100 branches of knowledge.”

⁸⁷ Preface by W. and R. C. [William and Robert Chambers], for *Chambers's Information for the People* (3rd ed.; London and Edinburgh, 1848–49; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857), preface dated Edinburgh, November 1, 1848. See <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cache/ajj/d/ajj7014.0001.001> (accessed March 18, 2009). Italics in the original.

⁸⁸ For Nishi Amane's earlier, more *verbatim* rendering of the term ‘encyclopaedia’, see the Introduction to the present volume.

⁸⁹ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 22–25, lists these by date of completion and publication, Japanese title, name of translator, and sales price.

⁹⁰ Zhong Shaohua 鐘少華, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju: Zhong-Ri jindai baike quanshu yanjiu* 人類知識的新工具：中日近代百科全書研究 [A new tool for human knowledge: Modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1996), illustrates this with photographs of covers, including *Hyakka zensho* at the front of his book.

⁹¹ Kang Youwei 康有為, *Riben shumu zhi* 日本書目志 (1898), in Kang Youwei, *Kang Youwei quanji* 康有為全集, comp. and punctuated by Jiang Yihua 姜義華 and Zhang Ronghua 張榮華 (12 vols.; Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue chubanshe, 2007), 3: 261–524, *passim*.

Mitsukuri Rinshō had family roots going back several generations in the school of studies known as Dutch Learning, *Rangaku* 蘭学, which was unique to Japan. Born in Edo 江戸 to a family of noted scholars who worked for the Tokugawa *bakufu*, his father Mitsukuri Shōgo 箕作省吾 (1821–1846) was a student of Dutch Learning and a prominent geographer, who died the year of Rinshō’s birth. His grandfather, Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (1799–1863), who was even more eminent as a scholar of Dutch Learning and a medical doctor, was appointed in 1856 to the position of professor at the new Bansho Shirabesho. In 1861, the precocious Rinshō was admitted to Bansho Shirabesho as a student. Two years later, Rinshō followed his grandfather to the *bakufu* Office of Foreign Affairs, where he served as a translator. Meanwhile, in anticipation of the Paris World Exposition of 1867, French advisors persuaded the *bakufu* to send a delegation to the exposition. Mitsukuri Rinshō, aged 21, was assigned to accompany the young teen Tokugawa Akitake 徳川昭武 (1853–1910), a blood relative of the Tokugawa Shogun, head of the Mito domain, who had been appointed as the Shogun’s personal emissary to Paris. Mitsukuri remained on in France for a year to study law and, upon returning to Japan in 1868, was appointed to the faculty of the new Kaiseijo 開成所, successor to the Bansho Shirabesho and forerunner of the Imperial University of Tokyo, Tōkyō teikoku daigaku 東京帝國大學.⁹² Then, in 1871, Mitsukuri was appointed to the Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省) as a senior compiler and, in September 1873, at the young age of 27, was named head of the new Monbushō Compilation Bureau, *Henshūryō* 編輯寮, having as a principal mission to prepare new educational materials.⁹³ One immediate project was the translation of *Chambers’s Information for the People* in its entirety. The Ministry committed substantial funding to this project, virtually “a planned state enterprise.”⁹⁴

One great attraction of *Chambers’s Information for the People* was its organization into about 100 discrete subject areas or disciplines of modern knowledge⁹⁵—like a type of *leishu*. The compact treatment of each subject category made it feasible for the Ministry of Education to mobilize Japanese western scholars, *Yō gakusha* 洋學者, and language specialists to translate these and to publish them individually on completion. A few titles from *Information for the People* would have been familiar to users of traditional *leishu*, such as astronomy, meteorology, physical geography, metals-metallurgy, and categories related to plants, animals, the land, food and beverages, clothing, and architecture. Many more titles were radically and disconcertingly alien, requiring the coining of new terminology: Systematic botany, animal physiology, hydraulics–pneumatics, optics–acoustics,

⁹² Ueda Masaki 上田正昭 *et al.*, eds., *Konsaisu jinmei jiten: Nihon hen* コンサイス人名事典. 日本編 [Concise biographical dictionary: Japan] (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1976), 1072–73; and Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 196. For a chart that pinpoints organizational responsibility for translation work (1811–80), see Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 40.

⁹³ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 41.

⁹⁴ “Hyakka jiten,” in *Heibonsha dai hyakka jiten*, 12:652.

⁹⁵ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 57.

chemistry, the steam engine, heating–ventilation–lighting, constitution of society–government, history and nature of laws, constitution and resources of the British Empire, Africa–Oceania, the human mind, phrenology, logic, natural theology–ethics, Scandinavian mythology & minor superstitions, political economy, population–poor laws–life assurance, industrial orders, gymnastics–out-of-door recreations, and archaeology, among others.⁹⁶

It is not known how or when the decision to translate *Chambers's Information for the People* was made. Whatever the specifics, that decision is situated by Fukukama Tatsuo in the tradition of “realist thinking,” *jitsugaku shisō* 實學思想, so prevalent in late Tokugawa and early Meiji Japan. Fukukama draws a further parallel between Japan of that era and eighteenth-century France under the sway of enlightenment thinking, *keimō shisō* 啓蒙思想, that produced the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d’Alembert.⁹⁷

As regards *Chambers's Information for the People* itself, it should be mentioned that this was the first of a number of ambitious publishing enterprises begun in Edinburgh by the Scottish brothers William Chambers (1800–1883) and Robert Chambers (1802–1871)—no relation to Ephraim Chambers of *Cyclopaedia* fame. Publication began as a series of sheets on subjects such as science, mathematics, history, geography, and literature, bound into sets from the second ed. (1842), and updated thereafter for the third (1848–1849), fourth (1857), and fifth (1874–1875) editions. These were published by “W & R Chambers” out of Edinburgh and London. (After 1846, American editions were published out of Philadelphia. Both the 1857 and 1867 Philadelphia imprints were simply labelled “New and Improved Edition”—obscuring the fact that these were actually outdated third and fourth editions, respectively.) Japanese began their translations of *Information for the People* using the fourth edition of 1857. After publication of the fifth edition in 1874–1875, Japanese translations were done from that edition.⁹⁸

The first two Japanese translations published were “Chemistry,” *Kagaku* 化學, later retitled “Chemistry Applied to the Arts” *Hyakukō ōyō kagaku* 百工應用化學 (2 vols., July 1873) and “Education,” *Kyōdōsetsu* 教導説, later retitled *Kyōikuron* 教育論 (2 vols., October 1873). These were followed in 1874 by nine titles: “Medicine–Surgery,” *Igaku* 医学 (2 vols.), “Constitution of Society–Government,” *Kōsai* 交際, later retitled *Kōsai oyobi seitai* 交際及政体 (2 vols.), “Preservation of Health,” *Yōsei* 養生 (2 vols.), “Physical History of Man–Ethnology,” *Jinshu* 人種

⁹⁶ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 30–37, lists every one of the English categories along with their Japanese translations in Chinese characters, name of the Japanese translator, and the overseer of each translation. For a comment on the challenges of translating unknown terms, see Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 196–97.

⁹⁷ These insights led Fukukama to open his study of early-Meiji encyclopaedias with the chapter, “Kinsei jitsugaku shisō no henten to Meiji shoki hyakka zensho” 近世実学思想の変転と明治初期百科全書 [Transformations in modern-era realist thinking and encyclopaedias of the Early-Meiji period], in Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 3–15.

⁹⁸ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 53–58, 59–60, discusses the matter of editions.

(2 vols.), “Political Economy,” Keizai 經濟 (2 vols.), “Fisheries,” Gyoryō 漁獵 (2 vols.), “Commerce–Money–Bank,” Shōgyō 商業, later retitled Bōeki oyobi kahei ginkō 貿易及貨幣銀行 (2 vols.), “Vegetable Physiology,” Shokubutsu seirigaku 植物生理學 (2 vols.), and “Electricity–Electromagnetism,” Denki 電氣, later retitled Denki oyobi jishaku 電氣及磁石 (2 vols.).⁹⁹ Each was published and priced separately, like a monograph. The complex and specialized topics translated were hardly aimed at average household readers. They were prepared by a select group of elites as part of a state project to raise the level of national learning to that of the West, Taisei 泰西, in both its theoretical underpinnings, *ri* 理, and in its practicalities, *jitsu* 實 and methods, *jutsu* 術.¹⁰⁰ The project involved 47 scholars and translators (one of them, Nishimura Shigeki, is mentioned below), whose names appear alongside the names of scholars invited to write commentaries and glosses on these new spheres of knowledge.¹⁰¹ Mitsukuri Rinshō himself translated two items, on “Education” and “Natural Theology–Ethics.” While most translations were completed and published by 1880, the last dozen were published between 1881 and 1883.¹⁰² Completion fulfilled the promise of the title—a comprehensive book, *zensho* 全書, of 100 subjects or disciplines of learning, *hyakka* 百科. Hence the title of *Hyakka zensho* 百科全書 (Chinese: *Baike quanshu*)—*Complete Compendium of a Hundred Branches of Knowledge*.

The supreme irony is that *Hyakka zensho*—today the generic term for “encyclopaedia” in both Japanese and Chinese—is not fully an encyclopaedia. *Chambers’s Information for the People* itself issues successive disclaimers in the prefaces for its third, fourth, and fifth editions, using identical wording: “It will be understood, then, that the *Information for the People* is not an encyclopaedia, in the comprehensive meaning of the word, but rather one embracing only the more important departments of general knowledge.”¹⁰³ More nearly approximating the requirements of a modern encyclopaedia was *Chambers’s Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People* [first ed., 1860–1868; rev. ed., 10 vols., 1876, 1878; 12 vols., 1880; new ed., 10 vols., 1888–1892, and many other editions]. Volume 10 of the New Edition of *Chambers’s Encyclopaedia* (1892) includes an editorial note by David Patrick telling readers that nearly 1,000 authors had

⁹⁹ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 30–37, identifies these translations by Japanese title, English original title, Japanese translator, and name of Japanese commentator or scholarly reviewer. See also p. 21, for Japanese title and a phonetic *kana* rendition of the English original.

¹⁰⁰ Furuya Tsuyoshi 古屋燭, “Hyakka zensho jo” 百科全書叙 [preface of *Hyakka zensho*] (dated August 1873), in *Hyakka zensho: Kyōdōsetsu* 百科全書: 教導説 [Education], tr. Mitsukuri Rinshō 箕作麟祥 (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1875), 1.

¹⁰¹ The names and institutional ties of these 47 translators and reviewers appear conveniently in a chart in Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 372–73.

¹⁰² Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 22–25, lists by date of publication the title of each item, its translator, and sales price.

¹⁰³ Preface, *Chambers’s Information for the People* (3rd, 4th, and 5th eds.), viewed online in various editions through Digital Books Index and Google Book Search. This passage is also quoted in Andrea Janku, “New Methods to Nourish the People,” in the present volume.

contributed to this project, making it “a microcosm, a conspectus of the universe . . . a stocktaking in almost every department of science.”¹⁰⁴ Unlike *Information for the People*, it is arranged alphabetically, as is typical of encyclopaedias.

When the *Hyakka zensho* project neared completion in 1883, the Monbushō in a bold stroke of genius (or as a result of cronyism) released its volumes to the private publishers Yūrin-dō 有麟堂 and Maruzen 丸善, apparently free of charge. If the motive of this privatisation scheme was to see the work disseminated widely, this paid off handsomely. Yūrin-dō published its edition in 20 volumes in 1883–1886,¹⁰⁵ while Maruzen—in a further stroke of marketing genius—published 1,000 sets by subscription in 12 issues over a 1 year period in 1883–1884, a “first” for this type of marketing in modern Japan. In 1884, Maruzen separately published a three volume set and, in 1885, it came out with an index volume.¹⁰⁶ The Maruzen *Hyakka zensho* of 1883–1884 has sections that are bilingual, showing Japanese translations boxed at the top with the original English below.¹⁰⁷ To have Japanese and English juxtaposed in this era of language transfiguration is a lexicologist’s dream.

In terms of Japanese influences on China, this seminal work might be expected to have had a substantial and even direct impact on the Chinese acquisition of new global knowledge. There was a major obstacle, however. The text was in “Japanese,” Wabun 和文—the exact problem Huang Zunxian had complained about back in 1880. On each page, Chinese characters, Kanji, float about in a sea of *kana*, locked into grammar and usages unrecognisable to Chinese. Kang Youwei lists around 80 *baikē quanshu* titles in his *Bibliography of Japanese Books*. The titles themselves, written in Kanji, are readable, but their content is not. One national goal of this vast *Hyakka zensho* project, it turns out, was to jumpstart Japan on the road to national language (later called *kokugo* 國語) independence, to free Japanese writing from an over-reliance on Kanbun 漢文, the Sino-Japanese writing of the past,¹⁰⁸ and to facilitate knowledge of English. To the same extent that it succeeded in these goals, it cut Japan off from most Chinese.

¹⁰⁴ David Patrick, “Editorial Note,” *Chambers’s Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge*, New Ed. (10 vols.; London and Edinburgh, 1888–92), Vol. 10: [iii].

¹⁰⁵ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 30–37, lists the contents of a 20-volume edition from various years and perhaps different publishers.

¹⁰⁶ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 57–59; and Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 197.

¹⁰⁷ Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki hyakka zensho no kenkyū*, 79–338, photoreproduces the opening pages of each entry of this bilingual edition, with additional commentary and discussion as needed. Also reproduced are the cover and contents of each of the 12 issues (June 1883–August 1884).

¹⁰⁸ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 196–97. For context, see Tanaka Katsuhiko, “The Discovery of a National Language (*Kokugo*) in Meiji Japan,” trans. Ian Astley and Ted Mack, in *Canon and Identity—Japanese Modernization Reconsidered: Trans-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Irmela Hijiya-Kirschner (Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien, 2000), 107–16.

The Upsurge of Japanese Newly-written Encyclopaedic Works

Not to be left behind, countervailing forces from conservatives within the Ministry of Education led by Confucianist Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹 (1828–1902) successfully petitioned in 1879 to assemble and preserve for posterity the best of traditional Chinese and Japanese learning in a massive Chinese *leishu* undertaking. This project, in the finest tradition of critical compilation and Japanese evidentiary scholarship, *kōshō* 考証,¹⁰⁹ bears the title of *Garden of Ancient Wisdom*, Koji ruien 古事類苑. Completed in 1913, 34 years later, it was Japan’s last and greatest *leishu*. It was organized into 30 standard *leishu* categories called *mon* 門, and written in a combination of Sino-Japanese, Kanbun, and Japanese, Wabun, as appropriate. It was published in 50 large volumes (350 Japanese string-bound volumes) with a detailed Japanese–English Table of Contents and a separate index volume.¹¹⁰

Other specialized encyclopaedias were published by the energetic Ministry of Education utilizing the Japanese language, in accord with its mission. In 1878, it published its *The Literary Arts, by Subject Category*, Bungei ruisan 文藝類纂 (8 *juan*; 1878).¹¹¹ In four treatises, *shi* 志, this introduces its readers to the topics of (1) Japanese *kana* and their history, by period and category, (2) literary works and genres, including both Japanese writings and Kanbun, (3) schools of learning, including Confucianism, painting, medical studies, pharmacology, calendrical studies, astronomy, and other fields, and (4) writing materials, including paper, brush, ink, and forms of printing. “This is not strictly a *leishu* because it investigates such a broad range of [original] topics,” writes Yayoshi Mitsunaga. “It is rather a work that brings order to the field of literary arts.”¹¹²

The encyclopaedic works of the new type continued unabated—with or without Monbushō sponsorship. The following year, in 1879, independent of the Monbushō but also writing in Japanese, Yoshida Izuho 吉田五十穂 (dates unknown) published his translated biographies of westerners under the title of *Biographical Dictionary of Westerners, in I-ro-ha Order*, Seiyō jinmei jibiki: Irohawake 西洋人名字引: 伊呂波分.¹¹³ In January 1898, the influential Hakubunkan 博文館 publishing house launched its ambitious encyclopaedia project, *The Imperial*

¹⁰⁹ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 200, refers to the high standards and expectations of the Edo School of Evidentiary Studies, *Edo kōshōgaku* 江戸考証學.

¹¹⁰ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 198–200. Yayoshi itemizes the 30 *mon* on pp. 199–200. See also Pan Jun, *Riben cishu yanjiu*, 202. For the reprinting in China of a large-scale traditional encyclopaedia in the 1880s and 1890s and its use as a gift to educational institutions in the West, see the Introduction to this volume.

¹¹¹ Sakakibara Yoshino 榊原芳野 (1832–1881), comp., *Bungei ruisan* 文藝類纂, 8 *juan* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1878).

¹¹² Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 200–01.

¹¹³ Yoshida Izuho 吉田五十穂. *Seiyō jinmei jibiki: Iroha wake* 西洋人名字引: 伊呂波分 [Biographical dictionary of Westerners, in i-ro-ha order] (Tokyo: Yoshida Izuho, 1879). On the much later Chinese-language encyclopaedic dictionaries of foreigners, see the study by Xia Xiaohong in this volume.

Encyclopaedia, Teikoku hyakka zensho 帝國百科全書. Like *Chambers's Information for the People*, this series published titles by subject in monograph form. Its many titles were authored almost exclusively by Japanese. Volume 1, reflecting the Meiji injunction to seek knowledge from throughout the world, bears the sweeping title of *History of World Civilizations*, Sekai bunmei shi 世界文明史. Its author, the young and prolific Takayama Chogyū 高山樗牛 (1871–1902), lists 23 primary sources—all in English and German—then proceeds to write 346 pages of text. This encyclopaedia series concludes in 1910 with Volume 200, *On Criminal Law*, Keihō ron 刑法論.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, in China, in the year 1903, a Shanghai translation society named Huiwen Xueshe 會文學社 and headed by Fan Diji 范迪吉 (dates unknown) selected exactly 100 titles or “baike” from the *Teikoku hyakka zensho* and other recent Japanese encyclopaedic works and published them in Chinese translation under the umbrella title of *Compiled and Translated Encyclopaedia for General Education*, Bianyi putong jiaoyu baikenanshu 編譯普通教育百科全書. This Chinese series, which concentrates on the topical areas of history and geography, natural sciences, agriculture–commerce–industry, law and administration, and religion and philosophy,¹¹⁵ chose not to include Takayama’s *History of World Civilizations* for translation.

In Japan in 1901, the publisher Marubeni decided to offer the ninth edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (24 vols.; 1874–1889) in the English original for sale on a subscription basis. Primed by testimonies from senior statesman Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909) and also journalists, scholars, and businessmen that encyclopaedias were essential reading to achieve a full understanding of the civilized West,¹¹⁶ 1,125 subscribers signed up for this expensive reference work. In 1902–1903, the tenth edition—a supplement in 11 volumes to the ninth edition—was published. Marubeni signed up an additional 4,500 subscribers. This landmark offering, writes Yayoshi Mitsunaga, testifies to the “blind faith” of Meiji Japanese in encyclopaedias as a “shortcut” to western knowledge. With the help of encyclopaedias, Japanese believed they might catch up in 50 years with what had taken the West 500 years to achieve.¹¹⁷

These encyclopaedia-related successes fired up other publishers. Most relevant is the 1902 initiative of publisher Sanseidō 三省堂 to compile “a true

¹¹⁴ For the listing of titles, go to the Japanese National Diet Library site at <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/index.html> and search under *Teikoku hyakka zensho* (enter using Chinese characters).

¹¹⁵ Douglas R. Reynolds, *China 1898–1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1993), 117–18, offers comments and bibliographic leads on this grand undertaking. On this encyclopaedia, see also the study by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume.

¹¹⁶ Urs Matthias Zachmann, *China and Japan in the Late Meiji Period: China Policy and the Japanese Discourse on National Identity, 1895–1904* (London and New York, Routledge, 2009), reveals Japan’s obsessive concern at the turn of the century with grasping the meaning of “[Western] civilization” (文明 *bunmei*; Ch. *wenming*) and the corollary concern for the West to accept Japan as a “civilized power.”

¹¹⁷ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 258–59.

encyclopaedia,” *honkaku teki hyakka jiten* 本格的百科事典, of Japan called *Grand Encyclopaedia of Japan*, *Nihon hyakka dai jiten* 日本百科大辭典. With eminent senior statesman Ōkuma Shigenobu 大熊重信 (1838–1922) at its helm, the plan called for multiple volumes plus an index volume. Volume 1 was released in 1908 to great acclaim. But by 1912, with the release of Volume 6, Sanseidō was bankrupt and the project was suspended. New money allowed the project’s revival in 1915, and Volumes 7–10 were published in 1919. The end result was a product “in no way inferior” to the encyclopaedias of other countries.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile, in 1901, the publisher Dōbunkan 同文館 had announced its plan to publish an *Encyclopedia Japonica* with the Japanese title *Dai Nihon hyakka jisho* 大日本百科辭書,¹¹⁹ consisting of topical or specialty dictionaries on the German model, but with each volume in greater depth than *Chambers’s Information for the People*. Each of eight specialty dictionaries was designated an “encyclopaedic dictionary,” *Daijisho* 大辭書, arranged phonetically by Japan’s *kana* syllabary of 50 sounds, *gojū on* 五十音 (which increasingly replaced the *i-ro-ha* phonetic order), and with a multilingual index (in one case, French-Japanese, German-Japanese, and English-Japanese for a single dictionary). Included were the following, in order of publication: Commerce, *Shōgyō daijisho* 商業大辭書 (2 vols.; 1906–1908); Medicine, *Igaku daijisho* 医学大辭書 (3 vols.; 1906–1908); Education, *Kyoiku daijisho* 教育大辭書 (3 vols.; 1907–1908); Law, *Hōritsu daijisho* 法律大辭書 (6 vols.; 1909–1911); Industry, *Kōgyō daijisho* 工業大辭書 (5 vols.; 1909–1913); Economics, *Keizai daijisho* 經濟大辭書 (9 vols.; 1910–1916); Agriculture, *Nōgyō daijisho* 農業大辭書 (2 vols.; 1911); and Philosophy, *Tetsugaku daijisho* 哲学大辭書 (5 vols.; 1912, 1913–1926).¹²⁰ Having overstretched itself, by 1911 Dōbunkan faced bankruptcy. The publishing house Hakuhōdō 博報堂 came to its rescue, set up a publications committee, and continued publishing volumes under the Dōbunkan name, although most series were never fully completed as planned.¹²¹ This was Japan’s only major effort at publishing specialty encyclopaedias as part of an encyclopaedia project. By 1915, the encyclopaedia frenzy that had contributed to the boom-and-bust pattern of the Meiji publishing industry had subsided.

¹¹⁸ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 203.

¹¹⁹ “Encyclopedia Japonica” is printed on the cover of this series’s publications. See Zhong Shaohua, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju*, photographs of covers at the front of his book.

¹²⁰ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 204, gives different publication details that cannot be confirmed.

¹²¹ Yayoshi Mitsunaga, *Hyakka jiten no seirigaku*, 204.

Chinese Diplomats and Japanese Knowledge, 1877–1895

The years 1877–1895 are a period when Chinese and Japanese scholars and scholar-diplomats first engaged in sustained contact with each other in Japan. The following discussion draws upon my forthcoming book, *East Meets East: Chinese Discover the Modern World—In Japan, 1854–1898*.¹²² This discussion first sets the stage, then highlights Chinese reports insofar as they draw information from modern Japanese sources.

In September 1871, a China-Japan Friendship Treaty, 中日修好條規, was signed in Beijing. Although Japan immediately posted senior envoys to Beijing, China waited until 1876 to send diplomatic missions abroad. The mission to Japan, delayed by Japan's Seinan War 西南戰爭 or Satsuma Rebellion of early 1877, arrived in Japan in November 1877. Until that time, China lacked official representation in Japan, which left China uninformed about Japan's Meiji Revolution or Meiji Ishin 明治維新.¹²³ Huang Zunxian who served as chief counsellor, *canzan* 參贊, of China's 1877 diplomatic mission, found Chinese knowledge of Japan seriously deficient. In a poem, he characterized the situation as follows:

Separated by a thin band of water 只一衣帶水,
Yet cut off by a thick fog [of ignorance] 便隔十重霧.¹²⁴

In response to this state of ignorance, Chinese diplomats in Japan under He Ruzhang 何如璋 (1838–1891), China's first minister from 1877 to 1882, elected to use their substantial funding from the Qing court (second only to Qing funding of the US-Peru-Spain combined legation¹²⁵) to gather and publish information about Japan. Their enterprise and initiative was remarkable, resulting by 1887 in what I call “the spirit of 1887”—a commitment to objectivity, reporting only what was “seen and confirmed,” *wenjian* 聞見.¹²⁶ This breakthrough in Japan was dismissed by Chinese authorities including Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901), the long-time

¹²² This book is forthcoming in the series “Asia Past & Present: New Research from AAS,” published by the Association for Asian Studies.

¹²³ “Meiji Revolution” is increasingly common as an English translation for the Japanese term Meiji Ishin. See, for example, “The Meiji Revolution,” Chap. 11 of Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 333–70.

¹²⁴ From “Jinshi aiguo zhishi ge” 近世愛國志士歌 [Patriotic heroes in the modern age], poem in Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲, *Renjinglu shicao* 人境廬詩草 [Poems (by Huang Zunxian) from the Renjinglu (Hut within the human realm)], with notes and commentary (*jianzhu*) by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 (2 vols.; 1936; 1957; rev. ed. 1981; rev. ed., Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian, 2000), 218 (*juan* 3). The stock expression “*yi yidai shui*” also appears in Huang Zunxian, “*Ribenguo zhi xu*” 日本國志序 [preface to *Treatises on Japan*], in Huang Zunxian, *Ribenguo zhi* 日本國志 [Treatises on Japan] (1898; 2 vols.; Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2005), 1:4.

¹²⁵ See “Appendix C. *Funds Supplied to Chinese Legations in Major Foreign Countries [1878–1909]* (in taels),” in Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China's Entrance into the Family of Nations: The Diplomatic Phase, 1858–1880* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 218–19. For Japan in 1878, the amount was 82,460 taels; for England, 61,886 taels; for France, 20,030 taels; and for US-Peru-Spain (1879) 200,000 taels.

¹²⁶ For other examples of this commitment to first-hand evidence and objectivity at that time in China, see the studies by Natascha Gentz and Rudolf Wagner in this volume.

Imperial Commissioner for Military and Foreign Affairs in North China, Beiyang Dachen 北洋大臣, direct overseer of China's relations with Japan since the early 1870s, and by 1887 a dominant figure in China's so-called Foreign Office in Beijing, the Zongli Yamen 總理衙門. After 1884, Li and the Zongli Yamen decided they had enough of Japan, and stopped publishing reports submitted from there. Without home office support, Chinese in Japan suspended the compilation of new reports. This China policy of benign neglect left that country and its most important foreign affairs specialists tragically unprepared for the disastrous Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895.

The following section looks at five literati-diplomats, *wenren waijiaoguan* 文人外交官, and their reports, namely, Huang Zunxian, Yao Wendong 姚文棟 (1852–1927), Chen Jialin 陳家麟 (dates unknown), Gu Houkun 顧厚焜 (b. ca. 1843), and Fu Yunlong. Our interest is in the content of these officials' reports and their subject categories, from which may be detected a degree of influence from Japan combined with possible further influences on China itself.

In terms of topics and categories for reporting on Japan, no one's role was more singularly important than that of Huang Zunxian. This was not just a function of Huang's knowledge of Japan. It was a function of his brilliant mastery of traditional Chinese texts, his poetic genius, and his sensitivity as a Hakka 客家 (like He Ruzhang) to non-Han cultures and their ways. In 1879, after less than 2 years in Japan, Huang published his classic book of poems, *Poems on Japan Topics*, *Riben zashi shi* 日本雜事詩, reprinted numerous times.¹²⁷ His 154 original poems (later expanded to 200 poems) and his accompanying notes became something of a Bible for later writers on Japan. In a note to his concluding verse, Huang groups his poems into nine subject categories, *lei* 類.¹²⁸ These nine are the unremarkable subject categories of “history and national affairs,” *guoshi* 國勢, “celestial matters,” *tianwen* 天文; “geography,” *dili* 地理, “political and administrative affairs,” *zhengzhi* 政治, “learning and literature,” *wenxue* 文學, “customs and tradition,” *fengsu* 風俗 [Japanese: *Fūzoku*], “clothing and accessories,” *fushi* 服飾, “skills and technology,” *jiyi* 技藝, and “production and handicrafts,” *wuchan* 物產. Huang's *Poems* were the springboard for his complementary project, *Treatises on Japan*, *Ribenguo zhi*, his magnum opus completed in 40 *juan* in 1887. Rejected for publication by Li Hongzhang, who sat on the manuscript for nearly 1 year and then wrote a negative assessment of it (more on this below),

¹²⁷ Of the many editions of *Riben zashi shi*, the most useful is Huang Zunxian, *Riben zashi shi (guang zhu)* 日本雜事詩 (廣注) [Poems on Japan topics (with expanded commentaries)], compiled, annotated, and punctuated by Zhong Shuhe, with an introduction by Zhong (537–59), as well as an index, in *Zouxiang shijie congshu* (“From East to West: Chinese travellers before 1911”), ed. Zhong Shuhe 鐘叔河 (10 vols.; Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985), vol. [3]: 535–813. Here, the poems are listed, numbered, and titled, and cross-referenced material has been included from other key sources.

¹²⁸ See note to the concluding verse of *Poems on Japan Topics*, in *Renjinglu shicao* (2000), 2:897. Sanetō Keishū adopts these nine categories in 1943 directly from this note by Huang, in Sanetō Keishū 實藤惠秀, “Kaisetsu” 解説 [Commentary], in *Nihon zatsuji shi* 日本雜事詩, edited by Sanetō Keishū and Toyota Minoru 豊田穰 ([1943] rev. ed., Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1968), 320.

Huang took *Treatises on Japan* to a private publisher in Guangzhou in 1890, and it was finally published in 1895 in over 1,000 pages, just after the end of the Sino-Japanese War.

Of primary interest here is that Huang's *Treatises on Japan* was organized into 12 treatises or *zhi* that strayed little from conventional Chinese categories of organization: (1) "history and royal succession," Guotong 國統 (*juan* 1–3); (2) "relations with neighbouring states," Linjiao 鄰交 (*juan* 4–8); (3) "celestial matters," Tianwen 天文 (*juan* 9); (4) "geography," Dili 地理 (*juan* 10–12); (5) "government offices and administration," Zhiguan 職官 (*juan* 13–14); (6) "foods and goods" [broadly, the economy and fiscal affairs], Shihuo 食貨 (*juan* 15–20); (7) "military systems," Bing 兵 (*juan* 21–26); (8) "criminal and penal codes," Xingfa 刑法 (*juan* 27–31); (9) "education and learning," Xueshu 學術 (*juan* 32–33); (10) "rites and customs," Lisu 禮俗 (*juan* 34–37); (11) "production" [agriculture, primarily], Wuchan 物產 (*juan* 38–39); and (12) "industry and technology," Gongyi 工藝 (*juan* 40).¹²⁹ In form, since Huang was writing for a conservative Chinese audience, he chose not to stray from the familiar subject categories.

Using more than 200 published works,¹³⁰ and with 123 tables and charts, *biao* 表,¹³¹ Huang documents (among other things) Japan's road to modernity: what Meiji Japan did and how it did it, often step by step and year by year,¹³² in different areas of governmental administration, economic and fiscal matters, the military, law, and education. Through the device of commentaries, *zhu* 注, while speaking in the guise of an "external scribe," *waishi shi* 外史氏, Huang elaborates on the meanings of Japanese initiatives, and invites readers to think about their implications for China. (It is these commentaries, scathingly critical of Chinese scholar-officials, *shidafu* 士大夫, and of Chinese deficiencies, that prompted Li Hongzhang to reject the publication of this work.)

The things that most impressed Huang Zunxian and his fellow Chinese diplomats were often referred to by Huang as "Western ways," *Xi fa* 西法: Japan's new calendar, *yi zheng shuo* 易正朔, new clothing and hair styles, *yi fu se* 易服色, new railway, *tiedao* 鐵道, postal, *youbian* 郵便, and telegraph, *dianxian* 電線,

¹²⁹ Huang Zunxian, *Ribenguo zhi* (rev. ed., 1897; 2005), 1:1–3. Translated with reference to Noriko Kamachi, *Reform in China: Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981), 48–49.

¹³⁰ Huang Shengren 黃升任, *Huang Zunxian pingzhuan* 黃遵憲評傳 [A critical biography of Huang Zunxian] (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue, 2006), 266–67, conveniently brings together the names of leading Japanese publications from which Huang Zunxian copied or paraphrased materials, with footnote citations to the best Chinese scholarship on this question.

¹³¹ Zheng Hailin 鄭海麟, *Huang Zunxian zhuan* 黃遵憲傳 [Biography of Huang Zunxian] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 167, comments that forty *biao* appear in Huang's treatises under *shihuo* (the economy and fiscal affairs), 38 under *bing* (military systems), 21 under *wuchan* (production and handicrafts), and 19 under *dili* (geography).

¹³² Zheng Hailin, *Huang Zunxian zhuan*, 178, 197–205, points out that the year-by-year chronological treatment of Meiji reforms applies especially to Huang's treatises on *guotong* (history; *juan* 3 on Meiji period), *zhiguan* (government offices and administration), *shihuo* (the economy and fiscal affairs), *bing* (military systems), and *xingfa* (criminal and penal codes).

systems, new education, *jiaoyu* 教育, industry, *gongyi* 工藝, banking, *yinhang* 銀行, and commercial, *tongshang* 通商, systems, new exhibition halls, *bolanhui* 博覽會, and museums, *bowuguan* 博物館, new army, *lujun* 陸軍, and navy, *haijun* 海軍, the new governmental administrative system, *zhiguan* 職官, including Western-style budgets, *yusuan* 預算, with detailed accounts of annual revenues, *suiru* 歲入, and expenditures, *suichu* 歲出, and modern newspapers, *xinwen* 新聞 and publications of every kind. These topics pop up in almost every Chinese report of the years 1878–1894. While the form of Chinese reports and their subject categories might be familiarly “Chinese,” the content, its terminology, and occasional commentary could be radically new.¹³³

Yao Wendong, a Shanghai native trained at Shanghai’s famed Longmen Shuyuan in the field of geography, was brought to Japan in 1882 by Li Shuchang 黎庶昌 (1837–1896), China’s second Minister to Japan who was appointed after serving 4 years in Europe (1877–1881).¹³⁴ With generous support from Li and assisted by both Chinese and Japanese researchers, Yao quickly compiled several substantial works on Japanese geography. Facilitating Yao’s achievement was “the profound enlightenment of Japanese social science” of the Meiji period, in the words of Xia Xiaohong.¹³⁵ This “enlightenment” was particularly striking in the field of geography. Yao’s many writings were essentially creative translations from Japanese geographies.

Examples of Yao’s translations include *A Geography of Liuqiu*, *Liuqiu dili zhi* 琉球地理志 (2 *juan*; 1884), compiled from various Japanese sources¹³⁶ and published in 1884 by the Zongli Yamen. That same year Zongli Yamen also published the compilation for which Yao is best known—his *Japan’s Geography and its Defence*, *Riben dili bingyao* 日本地理兵要 (10 *juan*).¹³⁷ Yao’s topical categories for different geographical regions of Japan include climate, local customs and regional characteristics, political organization, local products, population, local army organization and personnel. Yao identifies his Japanese source materials by name, a practice laudable for its time. Wang Baoping remarks that by

¹³³ Noriko Kamachi, *Reform in China: Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981), is an insightful study of things that are special and new.

¹³⁴ See Huang Wanji, *Li Shuchang pingzhuan* [Li Shuchang: A critical biography] (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1989).

¹³⁵ Xia Xiaohong 夏曉虹, “Huang Zunxian yu Riben Mingzhi wenhua” 黃遵憲與日本明治文化 [Huang Zunxian and Meiji Japan Culture]. *Xueshu jie* no. 1 (2000): 58–77. Xia’s note about “the profound enlightenment of Japanese social science” appears in the English abstract of this article.

¹³⁶ Satō Saburō 佐藤三郎, “Meiji zenki ni okeru Chūgokujin no Nihon chiri kenkyū” 明治前期における中国人の日本地理研究 [Geographical studies of Japan by Chinese in the early Meiji period], in *Rekishi chiri* 歴史地理 84, no. 1 (June 1953): 15, identifies the most important Japanese sources.

¹³⁷ Yao Wendong 姚文棟, *Riben dili bingyao* 日本地理兵要 [Japan’s geography and its defence]. 10 *juan*. (Beijing: Zongli Yamen, 1884. Reprinted in *Riben junshi kaochaji* 日本軍事考察集, Wang Baoping 王寶平 *et al.*, eds., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004).

gathering together “all the best writings on Japanese geography,” Yao and his team produced a work superior to the originals.¹³⁸ Also in 1884, Yao completed a third work, but it was rejected for publication by the authorities at Zongli Yamen, and only rediscovered in manuscript form in 1999. Having the same title as Huang Zunxian’s magnum opus, Yao’s *Treatises on Japan*, *Ribenguo zhi* 日本國志, is essentially a translation from Japanese works that comes close to “plagiarism,” in the words of Wang Baoping, because it copies from the originals while misleading its readers about its sources.¹³⁹ Like its main Japanese source, *Essentials of Japanese Geography*, *Nihon chishi teiyō* 日本地誌提要 (77 juan; 1872–1876),¹⁴⁰ it is organized by geographical area, each with 24 *men* 門 or topics.¹⁴¹

Yao Wendong’s two published works of 1884 stand as benchmarks of a dangerously negative new development in China. These two works were the very last Zongli Yamen publications on Japan up to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War 10 years later! The Zongli Yamen had initially tasked Yao to compile geographical information about Japan, but in 1884 it ordered him to desist—for reasons unknown¹⁴² (but presumed to be related to the culture wars around the *qingyi* 清議 criticisms of public policy that raged at the time as China’s conflict with France in Southeast China heated up). This suppression of new and objective information about Japan had catastrophic results for China.

In 1887, Chen Jialin, a staff assistant or *suiyuan* 隨員 of Minister Xu Chengzu, published his work *Record of Things Heard and Seen in Japan*, *Dongcha wenjian lu* 東槎聞見錄.¹⁴³ The term *wenjian* of the title was chosen deliberately by Chen to

¹³⁸ Wang Baoping 王寶平, “Jieti” 解題 [Explanatory note] in *Riben junshi kaochaji*, 1.

¹³⁹ Wang Baoping 王寶平, “Huang Zunxian yu Yao Wendong: *Ribenguo zhi* zhong leitong xianxiang kao” 黃遵憲與姚文棟:日本國志中類同現象考 [Huang Zunxian and Yao Wendong: The similar practice [of plagiarism] in the two men’s *Ribenguo zhi*] In *Jindai yilai Zhong-Ri wenhua guanxi de huigu yu zhanwang* 近代以來中日文化關係的回顧與展望, eds. Hu Lingyuan 胡令遠 and Xu Jingpo 徐靜波 (Shanghai: Shanghai Caijing Daxue chubanshe, 1999), 226 and 230, explains why Yao’s deliberate effort at obfuscation constitutes plagiarism.

¹⁴⁰ Naimushō Chishika 內務省地誌課 and Tsukamoto Akitake 塚本明毅, comps., *Nihon chishi teiyō* 日本地誌提要 (77 juan in 4 vols; Tokyo: Nippōsha, 1872–76).

¹⁴¹ Yao’s nine geographical areas and 24 *men*, and the names of 99 Japanese sources and of 12 Japanese scholars are enumerated in Yao Wendong, “‘Ribenguo zhi’ fanli” [Editorial principles for “*Ribenguo zhi*”], in Yao Wendong 姚文棟, *Dong cha zazhu* 東槎雜著 [Miscellaneous writings during a sojourn in Japan] (Shanghai: 1893) (?), 47a–50b. Of 12 named Japanese scholars, including Tsukamoto Akitake 塚本明毅 (lead editor of *Nihon chishi teiyō*), Nakane Shuku 中根淑 (author of *Heiyō Nihon chiri shōshi*, the main source of Yao’s *Riben dili bingyao*), Okamoto Kensuke 岡本賢輔, Oka Senjin 岡千仞, and Komaki Masanari 小牧昌業, Yao writes, “These men are at once experts in geography and masters of history. I consulted them often, and they saved me from error numerous times” (50a).

¹⁴² Letter from Yao Wendong to Minister Li Shuchang (1884), in Yao Wendong, *Dong cha zazhu*, 27a.

¹⁴³ Chen Jialin 陳家麟, *Dong cha wenjian lu* 東槎聞見錄 [Records of things heard and seen in Japan] (Tokyo, 1887).

emphasize his intention to report only things seen and confirmed. In his “Editorial Principles,” Chen writes, “This compilation records only things actually seen in writing and confirmed (*wenjian*). Things not actually seen in writing and confirmed but known only by hearsay are omitted.”¹⁴⁴ In a preface to Chen’s work, Xu Zhiyuan 徐致遠, a fellow *suiyuan*, applauds this work as China’s first systematic and thorough study of Japan. Xu points out that Chen’s work satisfies a growing need among Chinese for a book treating Japan in the comprehensive manner of China’s local gazetteers and chronological accounts, *tongzhi* 通志.¹⁴⁵ More significant for this present chapter, Satō Saburō 佐藤三郎, a leading scholar of Sino-Japanese cultural relations of the Meiji era, praises *Record of Things Heard and Seen in Japan* as an “encyclopaedic, *hyakka jiten teki* 百科事典的, work on Japan that encompasses the worlds of nature, history, and culture.”¹⁴⁶ Chen’s mini-encyclopaedia consists of four *juan* with 64 topical headings, *mu* 目,¹⁴⁷ each ranging in length from 1 to 15 large double pages. The compilation combines personal observation with translations from several dozen books carefully listed in Chen’s “Editorial Principles.”¹⁴⁸

Chen’s study has no explicit conceptual framework. It belongs implicitly, however, to the Chinese *sancai* 三才 tradition common to virtually every gazetteer and historical compilation. It opens with matters related to the heavens (four topical headings), followed by facets related to the earth (15 headings), with the remainder concerned with man in all aspects of life and activities. It has a comprehensive table of contents, *mulu* 目錄, that lists all topical headings for all four *juan*, but gives no page numbers for entries. One might have expected more from a compilation inspired by sophisticated mid-Meiji reference works. In form and appearance, ultimately, *Record of Things Heard and Seen in Japan* is familiarly “Chinese.” Had the Zongli Yamen chosen to publish and circulate it in China, its content would have substantially raised the level of Chinese knowledge of Japan. Published in 1887 at the Chinese legation press in Japan, few copies were printed, and their distribution remained limited. This laudable compilation had a negligible influence in China.

¹⁴⁴ Chen Jialin 陳家麟, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles] in Chen Jialin, *Dong cha wenjian lu*, 2a.

¹⁴⁵ Xu Zhiyuan 徐致遠, “Xu” 叙 [preface], in Chen Jialin, *Dong cha wenjian lu*, 5b–6a (not included in Wang Xiqi, *Xiaofanghu zhai yudi congchao*). As seen in this preface, Xu Zhiyuan himself had hoped to write an even more ambitious encyclopaedic reference study of Japan.

¹⁴⁶ Satō Saburō 佐藤三郎, “Meiji jidai zenki ni okeru Chūgokujin Nihon kenkyūshi ni tsuite” 明治時代前期における中国人日本研究書について [On Chinese writings about Japan during the Early Meiji period]. In Satō Saburō, *Kindai Nit-Chū kōshō shi no kenkyū* 近代日中交渉史の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1984), 13.

¹⁴⁷ Satō Saburō, “Meiji jidai zenki ni okeru Chūgokujin Nihon kenkyūshi ni tsuite,” 12, lists these 64 topical headings under their respective *juan* or volumes.

¹⁴⁸ Chen Jialin, “Fanli,” in Chen Jialin, *Dong cha wenjian lu*, 1a–b.

Next in order of publication was a modest work with a big name, *Reference Materials on Japan's Modernizing Reforms*, *Riben xinzheng kao* 日本新政考,¹⁴⁹ by Gu Houkun 顧厚焜. Holder of the highest *jinshi* examination degree, an appointee to the Board of Punishments in Beijing, and ranking third of 54 candidates who sat for a special travel mission examination administered by the Zongli Yamen in June 1887,¹⁵⁰ Gu Houkun held out great promise. Knowing nothing about Japan prior to his arrival in November 1887, by May 1888 just 6 months later he had completed *Reference Materials on Japan's Modernizing Reforms*. Two *juan* in length, in all likelihood it was printed in Japan at the Chinese legation. The earliest known published editions, however, are from Shanghai, first in 1894 and then in 1897, as part of a collection on *Western* administration called *Collected Writings on Western Governance*, *Xizheng congshu* 西政叢書, compiled by reform activist Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929).

Gu Houkun's author's preface, *zixu* 自序, raises expectations that this study will explore multiple dimensions of Japan's modernizing reforms, *xinzheng* 新政. Gu writes that in Tokyo, "I visited the Ministries of the Army, Navy, Finance, and Justice, and also schools, manufacturing plants, industrial factories, administrative offices, parks, and dockyards."¹⁵¹ This impressive list includes many of Meiji Japan's most modern and cutting edge institutions. Outside of Tokyo, Gu adds, "I went to Yokohama, Yokosuka, and Ōji in that order, and visited numerous schools, dockyards and other places all for their modernized administrative systems, *xinzheng*."¹⁵² These revelations are most promising. In the end, however, the *xinzheng* of his title and of these reforms is not pursued.

On careful examination, Gu's study exhibits no organizing principle. That in itself is somewhat radical and sets it apart. *Reference Materials on Japan's*

¹⁴⁹ Gu Houkun 顧厚焜, *Riben xinzheng kao* 日本新政考 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1894). Reprinted in Qiuziqiangzhai zhuren 求自強齋主人 (= Liang Qichao), comp., *Xizheng congshu* 西政叢書 (Shanghai: Zhenji shuzhuang, 1897). Photoreproduction of the 1897 version in Liu Yuzhen 劉雨珍 and Sun Xuemei 孫雪梅, comp., *Riben zhengfa kaochaji* 日本政法考察集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 1–38. The photoreproduction of 2002 is the version cited here, giving page numbers for both the 2002 reprint and its copied original, the 1897 *Xizheng congshu* edition.

¹⁵⁰ On this historic and unprecedented mission by China, see Wang Xiaoqiu 王曉秋, "Jindai Zhongguoren zouxiang shijie de yici shengjiu: 1887 nian haiwai youlishi chutan" 近代中國人走向世界的一次盛舉—1887年海外游歷使初探 [A grand enterprise of modern Chinese to go out into the world: A preliminary discussion of the 1887 overseas travel mission]. In Wang Xiaoqiu, *Jindai Zhongguo yu shijie: Hudong yu bijiao* 近代中國與世界：互動與比較 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2003), 33–50. In English, see Wang Xiaoqiu, "A Masterful Chinese Study of Japan from the Late-Qing Period: Fu Yunlong and His *Youli Riben tujing*," in *Sagacious Monks and Bloodthirsty Warriors: Chinese Views of Japan in the Ming-Qing Period*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2002), 200–17.

¹⁵¹ Gu Houkun 顧厚焜, "*Riben xinzheng kao zixu*" 日本新政考自序, in Gu Houkun, *Riben xinzheng kao* (1897, 2002), 2 (1:2a). Wang Xiaoqiu, *Jindai Zhong-Ri wenhua jiaoliu shi* [A history of modern Sino-Japanese cultural interactions] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992, 2000), 197–98, quotes key passages from Gu's preface, with punctuation and sharp printing, both of which are most helpful.

¹⁵² Wang Xiaoqiu, *Jindai Zhong-Ri wenhua jiaoliu shi*, 197–98.

Modernizing Reforms consists of just 2 *juan* in 74 double pages, organized under 9 subject headings, *bu* 部. The 9 *bu* contain 73 topical headings for reference, *kao* 考.¹⁵³ The first four broad subject headings found in *juan* one are “foreign matters,” Yangwu 洋務, “finances,” *Caiyong* 財用, “the army,” Lujun 陸軍, and “the navy,” Haijun 海軍. These are followed in *juan* two by “industry,” Kaogong 考工, “methods of governance,” Zhi fa 治法, “imperial lineage (or genealogy),” Jinian 紀年, “official posts and salaries,” Juelu 爵祿, and “geography,” Yudi 輿地. These subject headings, which totally ignore traditional categories like heaven-earth-man, represent a radical departure quite astonishing for an official report. Is this the first time a Chinese official has organized a report without even a nod to heaven or to other standard categories? Implicitly, such an approach *de-centres the Chinese worldview*.

Any thought of Gu Houkun harbouring a radical agenda, however, vanishes on examining his individual entries. This is because *Reference Materials on Japan's Modernizing Reforms* is a scissors-and-paste compilation meant solely for reference. Its *kao* materials seem arbitrarily selected—just gathered, copied, and thrown together undigested. They reveal nothing of the steps, processes, and dynamics of modern change. The promise of the author's preface is simply not fulfilled, and the content in no way stands out. The work is rushed, a lesser work than Chen Jialin's *Record of Things Heard and Seen in Japan*, and a lesser work than by fellow envoy Fu Yunlong.

Fu Yunlong, mentioned in the opening sentence of this essay, published his *Japan, With Maps and Tables*, *Youli Riben tujing* 遊歷日本圖經, in Japan in 1889.¹⁵⁴ Fu came to Japan with Gu Houkun on the same official travel mission and under the same mandate to compile materials on foreign countries, and to submit them as reports to the Zongli Yamen. Li Shuchang 黎庶昌, Chinese Minister to Japan, remarks in his preface to Fu's study that Gu Houkun took responsibility for investigating Japan's modernizing reforms, *xinzheng*, whereas Fu Yunlong looked to the past, gathering data on what Li calls “things of the past and lost information,” *gushi*, *yiwen* 古事軼聞.¹⁵⁵ This statement is misleading, however, because while things of the past are a large part of Fu's study, things of the present are plentiful, including much valuable detail about Japan's *xinzheng* modernization.

Japan, With Maps and Tables consists of 30 *juan* or chapters. The work treats 15 broad subject categories, *lei*, in the following order, namely, “longitude-latitude and calendar,” Tianwen 天文, “geography,” Dili 地理, “rivers and canals,” Hequ 河渠, “pre-Meiji political history,” Guoji 國紀, “customs,” Fengsu 風俗, “the economy,” Shihuo 食貨, “industry,” Kaogong 考工, “the military system,” Bingzhi 兵制, “officialdom,” Zhiguan 職官, “foreign relations,” Waijiao 外交, “government affairs,” Zhengshi 政事, “Japanese scholarship,” Wenxue 文學, “bibliography,” *Yiwen* 藝文, “epigraphy,” Jinshi 金石, and “Japanese belles lettres,” Wenzhi 文徵.

¹⁵³ The nine *bu* and their 73 *kao* for reference are conveniently listed in “contents” (*mulu*), in Gu Houkun, *Riben xinzheng kao* (1897, 2002), 3 and 19 (1:4a and 2:1a, 1b).

¹⁵⁴ See note 1 above.

¹⁵⁵ Li Shuchang 黎庶昌, “*Youli Riben tujing xu*” 遊歷日本圖經叙, in Fu Yunlong, *Youli Riben tujing* (1889, 2003), 5.

Under these categories are 183 topical headings, *mu*. Fu's study, a thick compilation of some 1,097 tightly-printed double Chinese pages, includes 45 maps, many of which fold out, and numerous charts and tables. The maps, printed from lead plates, were prepared meticulously by Fu while in Japan. Fu's various topics bring together collected data in the manner of *kao* or material for reference. Close to half of the 2003 reprint volume (pp. 355–604) is devoted to the last four categories of "Japanese scholarship," "bibliography," "epigraphy," and "Japanese belles lettres," those passions shared with Minister Li Shuchang. Two other special interests of Fu were "rivers and canals," as part of his interest in geography, and the "military," of which he was a serious student. His use of the Japanese term *gaikō* (Chinese: *waijiao*) 外交 for foreign relations is worth noting. (Huang Zunxian used the term *linjiao* 臨交, or relations with neighbouring states.)

In his writings, Fu Yunlong breaks through the same Sinocentric barriers as Huang Zunxian and Chen Jialin in his approach to Japan. His "Editorial Principles" affirm the principle of "recording only the facts," *jishi* 紀實, which for him means not to alter but to preserve the forms of country names, place names, official titles, and the like.¹⁵⁶ As a devotee of the principle of publishing only things seen and confirmed, and as a student of practical studies, *shixue* 實學 (like Huang Zunxian and others), Fu Yunlong is rigorously empirical and openly reveals his sources. His treatment of the topics of geography, history and culture, economy, government and politics, military, education, and scholarship set a new and higher standard for others to emulate. His overall framework remains familiarly Chinese, to the point of opening with *tianwen* and *dili* or heaven and earth. Not one category is unfamiliar. It is his content and methodology that is new. In a careful study of Fu's many excellent Japanese sources, identified by name, Wang Baoping remarks that "Fu quotes and cites Japanese works large in number and high in quality, most of them introduced into China for the first time. Through enormous hardships he opened up the wilderness, and produced a work that lives on in the annals of history."¹⁵⁷

Li Hongzhang honoured Fu Yunlong with a preface for *Japan, With Maps and Tables* written in November 1889, almost exactly 1 year after blocking publication of Huang Zunxian's *Treatises on Japan*. The content of Li Hongzhang's reviews of Huang and Fu's works is of more than casual interest because of what Li's reviews say about Chinese official receptivity to new global knowledge. First as regards Huang Zunxian, Li Hongzhang's assessment, *bingpi* 稟批, of Huang's manuscript was dated December 19, 1888, nearly 1 year after its delivery to Li with a request to

¹⁵⁶ Fu Yunlong 傅雲龍, "Fanli," 凡例 [Editorial principles], in Fu Yunlong, *Youli Riben tujing* (1889, 2003), 608 (30:8a).

¹⁵⁷ Wang Baoping 王寶平, "Fu Yunlong *Youli Riben tujing* zhengyin wenxian kao" 傅雲龍《遊歷日本圖經》徵引文獻考 [A bibliographical study of Fu Yunlong's *Japan, with Maps and Tables*], in *Zhejiang Gongshang Daxue xuebao* 89, no. 2 (2008):76.

recommend it to the Zongli Yamen for publication.¹⁵⁸ Li opens by quoting from Huang's request petition, including the following. "After [Meiji] Ishin, in the major areas of government administration such as official positions, *guan zhi* 官職, national economy, *guo ji* 國計, military systems, *jun zhi* 軍制, and punishments, *xing fa* 刑罰, Japan copied everything from the West (*mofang Taixi* 摹仿泰西). It sought to make everything match to the point that now it can be regarded as a Western political system (*Taixi zheng ti* 泰西政體). Just by detailing this one country's developments through treatises, *zhi*, one can more or less get a handle on all the recent developments in the entire world."

Li did not like this statement at all. In his terse assessment, supposed to be an endorsement, he ridicules this assertion by Huang. "As for Japan copying everything from the West, that is no more than appearances." In another putdown, Li Hongzhang adds, "And it is by no means so (*wei bi* 未必) that by detailing one country's development one can illustrate the situation of the entire world. In the sections on Japanese politics and education and in the tables and charts, many statements contradict each other, and in the text itself [Japanese] literati have their own different views."¹⁵⁹ An assessment so dismissive by the powerful Li Hongzhang and so long delayed after its requested date was the kiss of death for a Zongli Yamen publication of Huang's magnum opus. Huang felt obliged nonetheless to include Li's negative assessment in his 1895 first edition of *Treatises on Japan*.¹⁶⁰ (In his revised 1897 edition—after China lost the war with Japan, for which Li Hongzhang deserves no small blame—Huang dropped Li completely.)

As for Fu Yunlong's *Japan, with Maps and Tables*, Li Hongzhang praises Fu for his diligence in reporting on the Japanese army and navy, new government administration, and public accounts and budgeting. Fu's work examines Western practices adopted by the Japanese, such as banking, mining, railways, postal service, and industry. But Japan has gone too far, Li writes. Japan has changed its calendar, dress, and customs—fundamentals "that should not be changed." Li repeats a widely-quoted principle from the *Yijing*: "When things reach a point of exhaustion, reforms must take place, and once reforms have taken place, things will

¹⁵⁸ "Li Hongzhang ziwen [bingpi]" 李鴻章的咨文 [並批] [Li Hongzhang's comments (on *Ribenguo zhi*)], App. 1 of Wang Licheng 王立誠, "Li Hongzhang, Zhang Zhidong tuijian *Ribenguo zhi* de ziwen" 李鴻章、張之洞推薦《日本國志》的咨文, in Zhongguo Shixuehui 中國史學會 and Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院近代史研究所, comps., *Huang Zunxian yanjiu xinlun: Jinian Huang Zunxian zheshi yibai zhounian Guoji Xueshu Taolunhui lunwenji* 黃遵憲研究新論：紀念黃遵憲逝世一百周年國際學術討論會論文集 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian, 2007), 47–48. See also Li Changli 李長莉, "Huang Zunxian *Ribenguo zhi* yanqi xingshi yuanyin jixi" 黃遵憲〈日本國志〉延遲行世原因解析 [An analysis of the delay in publication of Huang Zunxian's *Ribenguo zhi*], in Zhongguo Shixuehui et al., comps., *Huang Zunxian yanjiu xinlun*, 49–81. Huang Shengren, *Huang Zunxian pingzhuan*, 268–73, has a good summary discussion of these points.

¹⁵⁹ "Li Hongzhang ziwen [bingpi]," 46–47. Li Hongzhang's repudiation of Huang's claims is discussed in Li Changli, "Huang Zunxian *Ribenguo zhi* yanqi xingshi yuanyin jixi," 65–66.

¹⁶⁰ See Huang Zunxian, *Ribenguo zhi* (rev. ed., 1897; 2005), 2:1008. The 1895 assessment did not include Huang Zunxian's request to Li Hongzhang. The 2005 edition includes Li's *bingpi* as an appendix, out of historical interest.

flow smoothly” (*qiong ze bian, bian ze tong* 窮則變,變則通). Pressures build up, requiring modification of administrative practices, *zhengzhi* 政治. But beware of change with undesirable consequences, such as “overissue of paper currency, changes in systems of transport and in dress, in methods of production and in industry, or altering of time [calendars] and modifying land patterns.”

Li Hongzhang writes that under Western influence, radical transformations have occurred in the fields of learning and manufacture, and other areas. Japan, just next door to China, has adopted many such changes. What does Li think of Japan’s borrowings and of Fu’s reports on those borrowings? He merely states in closing, “As I am [only] writing a preface for this book, I will not go into further detail about Japan.”¹⁶¹ By 1889, Li, who in the 1860s and 1870s spearheaded China’s self-strengthening and stood out for his exceptional interest in Japanese modernization,¹⁶² could no more than acknowledge change in Japan while closing his eyes to any lessons (or dangers) that this brought. The tone of Li’s preface for Fu Yunlong was close to neutral. Fu was no threat, compiling as he was materials without deeper political comment. Huang Zunxian, on the other hand, was dangerous. His *Treatises on Japan* and his commentary were more like a political treatise disguised as history.

Fortunately, Fu’s important book was published—but not in China where it was needed. Thanks to Minister Li Shuchang, it was published in Japan. Publication in China came eventually—115 years later, in the year of 2003 in Shanghai.

After Li Hongzhang, the Chinese best known as a self-strengthener and as knowledgeable about foreign affairs was Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909). Huang Zunxian now turned to Zhang Zhidong for endorsement of his manuscript. Zhang’s official communication, *ziwen* 諮文, to the Zongli Yamen dated July 25, 1889, was less negative than Li’s, but ended by stating coldly that he was forwarding *Treatises on Japan* “at Huang Zunxian’s request” to be considered for possible dissemination.¹⁶³ At this point Huang Zunxian took his precious manuscript to a publisher in Guangzhou for private publication. (Note that today, Huang’s rejected manuscript is universally recognized for its importance. Scholar Wu Zhenqing 吳振清 points out perceptively that for a serving diplomat to produce a work like *Treatises on Japan* as a post report is “probably without parallel” anywhere in the world.¹⁶⁴)

In 1890 Zhang Zhidong wrote a separate preface for the 4-juan reference work, *Records of the Essence of Science*, *Gezhi jinghua lu* 格致精華錄, compiled by

¹⁶¹ Li Hongzhang, “*Youli Riben tujing xu*,” in Fu Yunlong, *Youli Riben tujing* (1889, 2003), 3.

¹⁶² Chow Jen Hwa, *China and Japan: The History of Chinese Diplomatic Missions in Japan, 1877–1911* (Singapore: Chopmen Enterprises, 1975), contains much on Li Hongzhang’s positive interest in Japan, including his personal selection of every one of China’s early Ministers to Japan. See also Key-Hiuk Kim, “The Aims of Li Hung-chang’s Policies toward Japan and Korea, 1870–1882,” in Samuel C. Chu and Kwang-Ching Liu, eds., *Li Hung-chang and China’s Early Modernization* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), 145–61.

¹⁶³ Wang Licheng, “Li Hongzhang, Zhang Zhidong tuijian *Ribenguo zhi de ziwen*,” in Zhongguo Shixuehui et al., comps., *Huang Zunxian yanjiu xinlun*, 47–48.

¹⁶⁴ Wu Zhenqing 吳振清, “Qian yan” 前言 [Foreword], in Huang Zunxian, *Ribenguo zhi* (rev. ed., 1897; 2005), 1:2.

Jiang Biao 江標 (1860–1899), a noted expert on traditional Chinese learning. This preface sheds further light on Zhang’s thinking at that moment. He praises Jiang’s work, saying, “If one wishes to eliminate stubborn defects and to engage forcefully in practical governance, there is nothing better than to cultivate the Dao of peaceful governance of the [legendary] Five Emperors and Three Kings, even while not rejecting the study of natural sciences 若欲蠲除痼疾力行實政, 莫如修明五帝三王治平之道, 而不廢格致之學。”¹⁶⁵ Jiang’s approach, endorsed by Zhang Zhidong, includes extensive quotations from ancient texts in every field to demonstrate Chinese antecedents to current Western practice, in what was popularly known as *Xixue Zhongyuan* 西學中源 or “Chinese origins of Western knowledge.” Such thinking (shared by none other than Huang Zunxian) helped to legitimize Chinese interest in the West against widespread criticism of borrowing. Zhang and Jiang both grudgingly acknowledge the need to know about the natural sciences, but insist on staying close to Chinese roots.

By the late 1880s, China’s most eminent statesmen, including Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong, were in a conservative if not defensive mood, and were guarded about new global knowledge and change. Li Hongzhang closed his eyes to borrowing from Japan (while continuing to purchase naval vessels from Europe), and Zhang Zhidong, modestly more open, chose the route of clinging to Chinese fundamentals while claiming the Chinese provenance of Western practice in order to make borrowing more palatable.

Weighted down at the top by scepticism, reluctance, and fear of attack on moral grounds for unconventional initiatives—aimed at top officials by low- and middle-grade officials of the metropolitan bureaucracy under the label of *qingyi* (“pure discussion”)¹⁶⁶—how were Chinese at lower levels to absorb unorthodox new knowledge to make China wealthy and strong? How was new knowledge to find a receptive home, whatever its provenance or medium of transmission? This presented a serious obstacle to China just when the times demanded new knowledge to defend it against predatory imperialist powers.

Paradigm Shifts in Chinese Categories of Thought—Toward New Global Knowledge

Japan after 1868 moved forward aggressively in search of useful knowledge from around the world. China dragged its feet. The contrast reflects fundamental differences in background, habits, attitudes, and institutional structures. Japan’s openness dates back to at least 1720, supported at its centre by the *bakufu* with its immediate desire for new empirical data, and its ongoing dealings with the Dutch

¹⁶⁵ Zhang Zhidong, “Xu” 序 [preface], in Jiang Biao 江標, comp., *Gezhi jinghua lu* 格致精華錄, 1b (Shanghai (?), 1890).

¹⁶⁶ Mary Backus Rankin, “‘Public Opinion’ and Political Power: *Qingyi* in Late Nineteenth Century China,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 41, no. 3 (May 1982), 453–84, analyses the *qingyi* phenomenon in rich detail.

and Chinese out of Nagasaki. Japan's 250 feudal domains, *han* 藩, enjoyed a degree of autonomy under the Tokugawa order unknown in China. China, for its part, functioned around a mature centralized state structure served by a sophisticated system of examinations and of top-down appointments to district-level offices, with accountability passing upward to court and metropolitan authorities. This system had served China well for over 1,000 years. Gratifying successes of the past combined with the Manchu dynasty's narrow orthodoxies and fears of Han treason, along with habits of conservatism among Han Chinese themselves, made it nearly impossible for Chinese elites (like Huang Zunxian) to question China's mainstream system without raising suspicions of heterodoxy. Weighed down by Qing orthodoxies, suspicions, and fears, China was less able to embrace creative experiment than Japan. Japan's decentralised *baku-han* system combined with the legitimacy of pluralistic traditions of learning across three language families (Chinese, Dutch, and Japanese), and three accepted traditions of learning (Chinese Learning, Kangaku 漢學, Dutch Learning, Rangaku 蘭學, and National Learning, Kokugaku 國學) made it possible for leaders in Japan to experiment with change around pluralistic possibilities—including the bold *bakufu* decisions of 1811 and 1856 to create new central offices to translate Western-language barbarian books—without fear of condemnation for cultural betrayal.

China's *leishu* tradition reflected that country's profound respect for learning and its ideals from the past. In normal times, *leishu* were tremendously useful as reference works for both learning in general and examinations in particular. In times of pressure and crises like the late nineteenth century, however, *leishu* proved less useful. To change China's *leishu* culture required, it turned out, no less than the modification of China's examination system, starting in 1887, and then its abolition in 1905. These bold acts dislodged China from its Sinocentric definition of learning, and spurred the demand for new global knowledge through new kinds of reference materials like newspapers and encyclopaedias.

China's use of Japan as a shortcut to new global knowledge has been demonstrated by Zhong Shaohua in his writings on encyclopaedias and reference works. The simplest and quickest route to this knowledge was for Chinese to copy Japanese texts written in Kanbun, or to translate texts if written in Wabun. Chinese diplomats Huang Zunxian, Yao Wendong, Chen Jialin, Gu Houkun, and Fu Yunlong, all copied and used translated texts for their reports on Japan. Kang Youwei, though not in Japan until after 1898, learned about modern Japanese writings from his base in Guangzhou (Canton), where he headed the important Wanmu Caotang school 萬木草堂 founded in 1891, and from Huang Zunxian, whom he met in Shanghai in 1895.

China's military defeat by Japan in 1894–1895 shocked China into a state of fear and high alert. This defeat more than anything drove Kang Youwei to complete a long-delayed project, his compilation of *Bibliography of Japanese Books* (1898). A “first” in Chinese history, this lengthy bibliography of 7,724 in-print Japanese books under 15 Western subject headings, *men* 門 (itemized below), is

accompanied by summary commentaries, *an* 按, by Kang himself (the same term “*an*” as used by Terajima Ryōan 200 years earlier).¹⁶⁷ In his author’s preface, Kang explains the pressing need for breakthrough knowledge in China:

The strength of the West lies not just in soldiers and weaponry but in the specialized studies, *xue* 學 (J. *gaku*), of its scholars and the new knowledge of its books. There is no single matter or object without its specialized study All of those are undertaken by specialists, *zhuanmen zhi shi* 專門之士 Our own several million officials and scholars inquire into *dadi* 大地 (the earth), *daoli* 道里 (journeys), *guotu* 國土 (national territory), *renmin* 人民 (people), *wuchan* 物產 (products), while lost in a vast fog, gawking with tongues unable to speak. Contrast this with all the new books in such *xue* 學 (J. *-gaku*) as *shengwu* 生物 (biology), *xinlun* 心倫 (psychology), *zhe* 哲 (philosophy), *hua* 化 (chemistry), *guang* 光 (optics), *dian* 電 (electricity), *zhong* 重 (mechanics), *nong* 農 (agriculture), *gong* 工 (engineering; J. *kōgaku* 工學), *shang* 商 (commerce), and *kuang* 礦 (mining). We [Chinese] have not even begun to explore these fields. If we open mines without specialized studies of mining and books on mining, if we cultivate crops without specialized studies of botany and books on botany, if we raise livestock without specialized studies of animal husbandry and books on animal husbandry, if we make machines without specialized studies of engineering and books on engineering, if we promote commerce without specialized studies of commerce and books on commerce—we will remain stuck in our outworn ways. Taking just the matter of mining, our mines have failed over and over again. The West has investigated all these specialized fields, *xue*, for several hundred years, with specialists, *xueshi* 學士, in dozens of countries teaching about them, and with achievements of the highest order. . . . If we now desire self-strengthening, our sole recourse is to translate books.

泰西之強，不在軍兵炮械之末，而在其士人之學、新法之書。凡一名一器，莫不有學。 皆以專門之士為之。 而吾數百萬之吏士，問以大地，道里，國土，人民，物產，茫茫如墮烟霧，瞪目撝舌不能語，況 [Note—the following are all Japanese *-gaku* 學 specialized studies] 生物，心倫，哲，化，光，電，重，農，工，商，礦之有專學新書哉！其未開徑路固也。故慾開礦而無礦學，無礦書，慾種植而無植物學，無植物書，慾牧畜而無牧學，無牧書，慾製造而無工學，無工書，慾振商業而無商業 [sic for 商學]，無商書，仍用舊法而已。則就開礦言之，虧敗已多矣。泰西于各學以數百年考之，以數十國學士講之，以功牌科第激勵之。 故近日慾自強，惟有譯書而已。

Preceding this passage, Kang Youwei reminds his readers of a phrase from the *Yijing*, which was widely quoted at the time, including by Li Hongzhang himself in 1889: “When things reach a point of exhaustion, reforms must take place, and once reforms have taken places, things will flow smoothly” (*qiong ze bian, bian ze tong* 窮則變，變則通).¹⁶⁸

China’s time for a paradigm shift from old ways to new global knowledge was now—and help was at hand. Kang informs his readers that, since 1888, he has been advocating the translation of Japanese works into Chinese. His reasons are as follows:

Recently I have pursued my interest in Japan, investigating conditions before and after its reforms, *bianfa* 變法. After about three years, I overcame the worst obstacles [of language].

¹⁶⁷ Shen Guowei 沈國威, “Kang Youwei ji qi *Riben shumu zhi*” 康有為及其日本書目志 [Kang Youwei and his *Bibliography of Japanese Books*], *Wakumon*, no. 5 (2003): 55–56, charts Kang’s 15 categories and the number of titles under each category. I am indebted to Shen Guowei, professor of Chinese at Kansai Daigaku in Osaka, for sending me a copy of this excellent article, and to Joachim Kurtz of the University of Heidelberg for introducing me to his good friend Shen Guowei.

¹⁶⁸ Kang Youwei, “Zixu” 自叙 of Kang Youwei, *Riben shumu zhi*, in *Kang Youwei quanji*, 3:263.

Japanese writing is much like ours, except that [the Buddhist monk] Kūkai 空海 (774–835) developed the *i-ro-ha* syllabary used in about thirty percent of Japanese writing. The most illustrious writings of the West have been translated by Japanese, and I have found them to be excellent. For me the West is the ox, Japan the farmer, and China the diner at the table. At modest cost, [China] can acquire all the most important works. Let us train our brightest scholars in [Japanese] and after just several months they will be able to translate these works. If the best translated works are published and disseminated, within just a few years and for just several tens of thousands in gold, the new knowledge of hundreds of thousands of Westerners over the past several centuries will come to China, where literate Chinese in the millions can make it their own.¹⁶⁹

China was fortunate that “farmer Japan” stuffed its ravenous Chinese dinner guests to the full. In introducing Japanese books to Chinese, Kang himself began by largely copying titles and particulars right down to the list price. His categories of classification followed Meiji practice, as standardized for example in the *Comprehensive Book Catalogue*, Shoseki sōmokuroku 書籍總目錄 published annually by Japan’s Tokyo Association of Book Publishers and Booksellers, Tōkyō Shoseki Shuppan Eigyōsha Kumiao Jimusho 東京書籍出版業者組合事務所. This association’s 1893 catalogue, accessible today through Japan’s National Diet Library website, has two indexes for its more than 10,000 book titles: an *i-ro-ha* index of book names and authors, and a classified index, *bunrui sakuin* 分類索引. The latter has 20 headings or *mon* 門 with 251 subheadings or *rui* 類.¹⁷⁰ Shen Guowei makes the case that along with copying book titles from this work and related sources, Kang Youwei directly took headings and subheadings featuring a vocabulary and a new terminology “yet unseen in Chinese publications.”¹⁷¹ The 15 headings or *men* 門 adopted by Kang from his many available options were “physiology,” *shengli* 生理, “natural sciences,” *lixue* 理學, “religions,” *zongjiao* 宗教, “geography, maps, and history,” *tushi* 圖史, “political economy,” *zhengzhi* 政治, “law,” *falü* 法律, “agriculture,” *nongye* 農業, “industry,” *gongye* 工業, “commerce, banking, and transportation,” *shangye* 商業, “education,” *jiaoyu* 教育, “literary arts,” *wenxue* 文學, “fine arts and leisure,” *meishu* 美術, “popular writing and literature,” *xiaoshuo* 小說, and “military works,” *bingshu* 兵書. Beyond listing titles and prices, Kang also authored 109 personal commentaries on books under their respective classifications.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Kang Youwei, “Zixu,” of Kang Youwei, *Riben shumu zhi*, in Kang Youwei, *Kang Youwei quanji*, 3:264.

¹⁷⁰ “Hanrei” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Tōkyō Shoseki Shuppan Eigyōsha Kumiaiin shoseki sōmokuroku* 東京書籍出版業者組合員書籍總目錄 [Book catalogue of members of the Tokyo Association of Book Publishers and Booksellers] (Tokyo: 1893), 1–2.

¹⁷¹ Shen Guowei, “Kang Youwei,” 67; also 56. See also Wang Baoping 王寶平, “Kō Yū’i Nihon shomoku shi shuten kō 康有為日本書目志出典考 [On the sources of Kang Youwei’s *Bibliography of Japanese Books*], *Kyūko* 57 (June 2010): 13–29.

¹⁷² Shen Guowei, “Kang Youwei,” 55–56, gives the number of 109, in a chart that identifies Kang’s 15 categories, number of titles in each, number of *anyu*, and the word count of Kang’s *anyu*.

Soon after publication of his bibliography, in mid-1898 Kang Youwei rushed out his lengthy *Reference Materials on Japan's Modernized Administration*, *Riben bianzheng kao*,¹⁷³ for use by the Guangxu Emperor in his reforms of 1898 (June 11–September 21, or 103 days, later labelled the Hundred Days Reform). *Reference Materials on Japan's Modernized Administration* is essentially a *kao* or collection of materials from various sources, arranged in chronological order. The time frame is Meiji Japan, 1868–1890. Astonishingly, Kang copies western calendar dates used by Japan since 1873, supplying no Chinese equivalents. Page after page records official Meiji initiatives through listings, quotes, or comments. These chart the day-to-day course of political, administrative, economic, educational,¹⁷⁴ and other reforms. Kang remarks in his preface that it was his *Bibliography of Japanese Books* that provided him with the knowledge to compile his guide to Japan's reforms, *bianzheng bianzheng*.¹⁷⁵ Scholar Zheng Hailin 鄭海麟 has determined, more specifically, that for dates and reform measures, Kang depended primarily on the chronological narrative of Sashihara Yasuzō's 指原安三, *A Political History of Meiji Japan*, *Meiji seishi 明治政史*, while drawing content from Huang Zunxian's *Treatises on Japan* for the earlier years.¹⁷⁶ The Sashihara work accounts for Kang's listings by Japanese dates. Whatever copying Kang did here, this work required a considerable grasp of both Japanese Kanbun and Wabun, and was no mean achievement.

The manuscript copy of *Reference Materials on Japan's Modern Reforms* consulted by China's Guangxu Emperor includes a separate appendix, "Table of Japanese *Xinzheng* Reforms [1868–1890]," "*Riben xinzheng biao*," 38 double pages in length.¹⁷⁷ Designed for quick reference by the emperor, the 11 headings include—and go beyond—familiar subject categories from the past. These are (1)

¹⁷³ See Kang Youwei 康有為, *Riben bianzheng kao* 日本變政考, in Kang Youwei, *Kang Youwei quanji*, 4: 101–294. For a detailed description and analysis of the original Imperial Palace edition of this work, see Wang Xiaoqiu 王曉秋, "Kang Youwei *Riben bianzheng kao* pingjie 康有為日本變政考評介 [A review of Kang Youwei's *Riben bianzheng kao*]," in Wang Xiaoqiu, *Jindai Zhong-Ri guanxi shi yanjiu* 近代中日關係史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui kexue, 1997), 64–82.

¹⁷⁴ Kung-chuan Hsiao [Xiao Gongchuan], *A Modern China and a New World: K'ang Yu-wei, Reformer and Utopian, 1868–1927* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1975) devotes part three, Chaps. 6–9 (pp. 193–406) to Kang's ideas for political, administrative, economic, and educational reforms, respectively.

¹⁷⁵ Kang Youwei, "*Riben bianzheng kao xu*" [preface of *Riben bianzheng kao*], in Kang Youwei, *Kang Youwei quanji*, 4: 103–04. On Kang's central role in the 1898 Reform Movement, see Young-Tsu Wong [Wang Rongzu], "Revisionism Reconsidered: Kang Youwei and the Reform Movement of 1898," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 51.3 (August 1992), 513–44.

¹⁷⁶ See Zheng Hailin 鄭海麟, *Huang Zunxian zhuan* 黃遵憲傳 [Biography of Huang Zunxian] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006) 260–62. The full Japanese citation is Sashihara Yasuzō 指原安三, *Meiji seishi* 明治政史 (12 vols.; Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1892–93). Sashihara's complete work can be accessed and viewed digitally on the Japanese National Diet Library website, <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp>. Perhaps because of Kang's dependence on Sashihara, he avoids listing *Meiji seishi* in his *Riben shumu zhi* under *zhengzhi* (politics and administration). See Kang Youwei, *Kang Youwei quanji*, 3:327–42.

¹⁷⁷ Kang Youwei, "Riben xinzheng biao" 日本新政表 [Table of Japanese Xinzheng reforms], in Kang Youwei, *Kang Youwei Riben bianzheng kao*, vol. 8: *juan* 13:1–38 Reproduced in Kang Youwei, *Kang Youwei quanji*, 4:275–94.

“imperial edicts,” *zhaoling* 詔令 and “memorials to the throne,” *zouyi* 奏議; (2) “government offices and administration,” *zhiguan* 職官; (3) “education and learning,” *wenxue* 文學, and “travel missions,” *youli* 遊歷; (4) “agriculture,” *nongshi* 農事, “industry,” *gongzheng* 工政, “commerce,” *shangye* 商業, and “mining,” *kuangwu* 礦務; (5) “postal and telegraphic systems,” *youdian* 郵電, and “shipping,” *hanghai* 航海; (6) “land,” *tudi* 土地, “households and population,” *hukou* 戶口, and “finance,” *caifu* 財賦; (7) “laws and regulations,” *lilü* 禮律; (8) “military organization,” *bingzhi* 兵制; (9) “social organizations (or associations, chiefly political parties),” *shehui* 社會; (10) “foreign relations and treaties,” *jiaoshe* 交涉; and (11) “others,” *zashi* 雜事, including religion.¹⁷⁸ These *xinzheng* reforms of Japan were offered by Kang as a practical guide for needed structural and administrative reforms in China.

In 1897, Kang Youwei’s student, Liang Qichao, established his Datong Translation Bureau, Datong Yishu Ju 大同譯書局, in Shanghai. Its founding charter reads that “[We have] established this agency to translate works chiefly from Japanese (Dongwen 東文) and only secondarily from Western languages (Xiwen 西文). Top priority will go to works on politics and society (*zhengxue* 政學), followed by technical learning (*yixue* 藝學).”¹⁷⁹ By October 1898, 1 year later, Liang had fled to Japan after the failure of the Hundred Days Reform of 1898. For the next 14 years, 1898–1912, he remained in Japanese exile. In early 1899 he wrote,

I have been in Japan . . . under these grievous circumstances for a number of months now, learning the Japanese language . . . and reading Japanese books. Books like I have never seen before which baffle my brain. It is like seeing the sun after being confined to a dark room, or like a parched throat getting wine. . . . In the thirty years since Japan’s *Weixin* . . . at least several thousand useful works have been translated or written in its vast search for knowledge. These give special attention to politics (*zhengzhi xue* 政治學), economics (*zisheng xue* 資生學), philosophy (*zhi xue* 智學), and sociology (*qun xue* 群學), all subjects urgently needed to open people’s minds and as a foundation for national power. . . . To learn English takes five or six years and, even then, obstacles may remain to a full comprehension of works on politics, economics, philosophy, and sociology. But with Japanese, one sees results in just days, and substantial results after a few months. All of Japanese learning can become ours.¹⁸⁰

The knowledge celebrated here by this brilliant scholar was ripe for the picking. No Chinese surpassed Liang Qichao, in fact, in dining at the table of Japan’s new learning and transmitting it to China. On occasion, Liang like other Chinese (and like William Muirhead in the *Shanghai Serial*, 1857–1858) forgot to credit his sources. One careful study documents that Liang is guilty of “word-for-word

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.; see also Wang Xiaoqiu, “Kang Youwei *Riben bianzheng kao pingjie*,” in Wang, *Jindai Zhong-Ri guanxi shi yanjiu*, 70.

¹⁷⁹ Liang Qichao 梁啟超, “Datong Yishu Ju xu li” 大同譯書局條例 [Datong Translation Bureau Guidelines], *Shiwu bao* 時務報 [Chinese Progress], No. 42 (1897), 3–4; quoted in Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912*, 112–13.

¹⁸⁰ Liang Qichao, “Lun xue Riben wen zhi yi 論學日本文之益” [On the Value of Learning Japanese], Editorial of *Qingyi bao* 清議報 [The China Discussion], No. 10 (1899), 3, quoted in Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912*, 114.

plagiarism” of a fine Japanese Kanbun translation of an important essay on the concept of “state” by Swiss jurist and politician Johann Kaspar Bluntschli (1808–1881).¹⁸¹ Through this and other borrowings from Japan, Liang Qichao “pioneered the modern discipline of human geography in China” and was “founder and pioneer” in China of the field of national learning,¹⁸² among other things. Liang Qichao’s role in China’s intellectual transformation was second to none, exceeding even the role of his mentor Kang Youwei.

It was these two intellectual giants, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, who more than any others helped usher in “the age of translations from Japanese, 1895–1919”—as distinguished from “the age of translations [from Western languages] under Qing government direction, 1860–1880” and “the intervening age of standstill, 1880–1895”¹⁸³—and helped clear the way for China’s intellectual explosion and paradigm shift after 1898—away from the Chinese past as embodied in *leishu*, and toward new global knowledge as contained in encyclopaedias. That shift occurred most distinctly during the era of the Chinese Xinzheng reforms, 1901–1910, which saw fundamental changes in administration and education and, related to those, the appearance of Chinese encyclopaedias. In 1903, as seen, Fan Diji and his Huiwen Society translated 100 titles from Japanese encyclopaedic collections. Zhong Shaohua’s chapter lists 18 Chinese encyclopaedic works translated from foreign languages. These, he says, account for nearly one half of the total of all late Qing encyclopaedic reference works. Of the works from foreign sources, Zhong identifies 12 translated directly or indirectly from the Japanese.

A Hidden Impact on Late Qing Chinese Encyclopaedias?

Zhong’s conclusions about a Japanese source for Chinese encyclopaedic works are based on two types of information. A number of Chinese titles specifically identify themselves as authored by a Japanese and translated by a Chinese. In the absence of such self-identification, Zhong makes educated guesses based on internal and circumstantial evidence. A prime example of the latter is the *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History*, Bowu dacidian 博物大辭典 of Zeng Pu and Xu Nianci, dealt with in the chapter by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová. My online search for a Japanese work by the same name (Japanese: *Hakubutsu daijiten* 博物大辭典) yielded no results. Until a Japanese original turns up, we are limited to educated guesswork for this and other works.

¹⁸¹ Marianne Bastid-Bruguière, “The Japanese-Induced German Connection of Modern Japanese Ideas of the State: Liang Qichao and the *Guojia lun* of J. K. Bluntschli,” in *The Role of Japan in Liang Qichao’s Introduction of Modern Western Civilization to China*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California [2004]), 118; see also 186.

¹⁸² Bastid-Bruguière, “The Japanese-Induced German Connection of Modern Japanese Ideas of the State: Liang Qichao,” 156 and 177, respectively.

¹⁸³ Shen Guowei, *Jindai Zhong-Ri cihui jiaoliu yanjiu*, 24–25.

What is needed next is a research project where a team of international scholars who know Chinese and Japanese and multiple Western languages, and with access to the best libraries of Japan, China, and the West, locate original reference works that can be set side by side for systematic comparison. Until then, the question remains: “Japanese Encyclopaedias: A Hidden Impact on Late Qing Chinese Encyclopaedias?”

One final comment is this. In its shift from its Tokugawa intellectual world to its Meiji intellectual world, Japan did not suffer the awful agonies of China. It did not have to shift from a single mainstream paradigm to an alien and entirely new paradigm. During the Tokugawa period, Japan had already expanded its mental horizons around multiple intellectual traditions across language families—Chinese, Western, and Japanese. Chinese Learning, as Kangaku, had long been absorbed and assimilated in Japan. Under the label of Dutch Learning, the Tokugawa *bakufu* actively embraced new global knowledge which, when useful, had been absorbed and assimilated with open acknowledgment and little apparent pain. And there was Kokugaku or national learning, emphasizing indigenous history, traditions, and Japanese language.

For China, on the other hand, the Qing dynasty’s more singular Sinocentric world of learning made the process of opening up to an alien world of global knowledge far more unsettling—as seen in China’s Xinzheng intellectual revolution, 1901–1911 and beyond,¹⁸⁴ even down to the present.

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¹⁸⁴ Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan*, discusses revolution in its two main dimensions of intellectual revolution (Chaps. 4–6) and institutional revolution (Chaps. 7–10).

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From *The Register of Ancients to Befriend to Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide: A Study of Late Qing Biographical Dictionaries*

Xia Xiaohong

The dissemination of Western learning during the late Qing not only brought specific scientific knowledge to China it also introduced reference books that collected the knowledge of different disciplines. This prompted a transformation of category-books, *leishu* 類書, into encyclopaedic works and dictionaries. The resultant changes in the structure of contemporary Chinese knowledge systems offer an attractive subject for study. This chapter, while limiting itself to examining the editing and translating of late-Qing world biographical dictionaries, offers a glimpse of the whole picture through this specific example.

From *Collected Surname Genealogies to Register of Ancients to Befriend*

Genealogical study developed in China at a very early stage. Already in Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (c. 145–186 BCE) *Historical Records*, *Shiji* 史記, one finds passages such as “[I] checked in the genealogical records” 稽其曆譜牒 or “The Grand Historian [that is, Sima Qian] read in the *Spring and Autumn Historical Genealogy Records*...” 太史公讀春秋歷譜牒.¹ In ancient China, genealogies recorded a clan's origins and the achievements of its members. Consequently, genealogies defined family status and could be deployed as the basis for marriage, rank, and position.² At one point, they became an instrument in the struggle of a new gentry

¹ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 488, 509.

² In the “Shizu xu” 氏族序 [Introduction to the section on clans], Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–1162) wrote, “Since the Sui and the Tang, officials had service records, and families had genealogies. The selection of officials was invariably based on the service record, just as marriages were

Xia Xiaohong (✉)

Peking University, Beijing, People's Republic of China

e-mail: xxhchpy@126.com

class to establish its social position.³ Clan name studies, compiled prolifically by the government in notebook form, were not only inseparable from genealogies but also shared their rise and fall in popularity. Clan genealogies were scattered and lost towards the end of the Tang and during the Five Dynasties. Then in the Song and Yuan Dynasties and especially after the establishment of the Ming, rewriting genealogies and research on clan names gradually regained popularity.

The emphasis of Song and Ming Neo-Confucianists on maintaining exemplary clan order strongly fostered the keeping of genealogies; however, according to the *Comprehensive Entries for the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*, *Siku quanshu zongmu 四庫全書總目*, by Yong Rong 永瑤 (1744–1790) and others, there was also a literary factor that contributed to the popularity of clan-name studies after the Song:

necessarily based on genealogies” (自隋唐而上，官有簿狀，家有譜系。官之選舉必由於簿狀，家之婚姻必由於譜系)。Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, *Tongzhi ershi lüe 通志二十略* [General record in 20 overviews] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 1:1.

³Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061), “Biography of Gao Jian [576–647]” Gao Jian zhuan 高儉傳. “At the beginning, meritorious deeds had been performed for Emperor Taizong of Tang by Shandong gentry. Later their families declined. But then the sons and grandsons recovered their reputation, and to marry their sons or daughters one needed to bring a lot of money. And so people said they were selling matrimony. For this reason, Shilian 士廉 [= Gao Jian] along with Wei Ting 韋挺, Cen Wenben 岑文本 [595–645] and Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 [582–666] created a genealogy of the realm. They were examining historical biographies; investigating truth and falsehood; advancing the loyal and wise; relegating the perverse and the evil; giving precedence to patrilineal imperial clansmen over matrilineal clansmen; relegating newly-risen families; advancing old houses, placing those who live in luxury into the right and the talented of low station into the left column. They collected 293 surnames and 1,651 families, assigned nine classes and called the work *Genealogy of the Clans 氏族志*, with Cui Gan 崔幹 still being first in precedence. The emperor said: ‘I have no obligations to the Cui, Lu, Li and Zheng families, and if their fortunes decline, I will not reinstate their posts, for they will continue to be greedy, unfilial and arrogant, selling and thieving. It is incomprehensible that they should be held in esteem. In Hebei there is the Qi clan; the Liang and Chen in Jiangnan, and although there are men of talent among them, these are remote places, and so these families cannot be esteemed. For this reason the Cui, Lu, Wang and Xie clans are the most important. My present councillors and ministers with their loyal learning have allowed me to secure the realm. Why should I heed reputation and ignore reality, hold these old houses, which sell matrimony, in honor? The highest honors are for those who have established virtue, then those who have rendered meritorious service, then those who have given good counsel. Following are the titled men, the dukes, the counts, the high officials, generation upon generation. These are what are called good houses. But today this has been reversed. Is it not reprehensible? I will classify them according to their merits today.’ Then Cui Gan was relegated to the third class of surnames, and the work classified the entire realm.” Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi, *Xin Tangshu 新唐書* [New history of the Tang dynasty] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 95: 3841. 初，太宗嘗以山東士人尚閥閱，後雖衰，子孫猶負世望，嫁娶必多取貨，故人謂之賣昏。由是詔士廉與韋挺、岑文本、令狐德棻責天下譜牒，參考史傳，檢正真偽，進忠賢，退悖惡，先宗室，後外戚，退新門，進舊望，右膏粱，左寒賤，合二百九十三姓，千六百五十一家，為九等，號曰氏族志，而崔幹仍居第一。帝曰：「我於崔、盧、李、鄭無嫌，顧其世衰，不復冠冕，猶恃舊地以取貨，不肖子偃然自高，販鬻松檟，不解人間何為貴之？齊據河北，梁、陳在江南，雖有的人物，偏方下國，無可貴者，故以崔、盧、王、謝為重。今謀士勞臣以忠孝學藝從我定天下者，何容納貨舊門，向聲背實，買昏為榮耶？太上有立德，其次有立功，其次有立言，其次有爵為公、卿、大夫，世世不絕，此謂之門戶。今皆反是，豈不惑邪？朕以今日冠冕為等級高下。」遂以崔幹為第三姓，班其書天下。

In the Southern Song, correspondence became very popular, and in parallel-phrase prose, surnames were of the highest importance. For this reason, the *Valley of the Myriad Embroidered Flowers* and the *Compendium of Matching Anecdotes* have “family name categories.” Following upon *The Complete Collection of Clan Names by Rhyme* by someone from the Yuan Dynasty there was a profusion of such works.⁴

迨乎南宋，啟札盛行，駢偶之文，務切姓氏。於是《錦繡萬花谷》、《合璧事類》各有“類姓”一門，元人《排韻氏族大全》而下，作者彌眾。

This was quite different from Tang genealogies where “an insufficiently brilliant pedigree was a judgement on one’s status.” After the Southern Song, many works “presented historical figures for each surname, extracting the essentials,” which no doubt was more innovative. By combining clan genealogies with surname books, *The Complete Collection of Clan Names by Rhyme*, Paiyun shizu daquan 排韻氏族大全, went beyond the narrow usefulness of family investigation and pedigree to acquire the basic characteristics of a category-book and assembling ancient and modern documents for convenient and practical consultation.⁵

Two widely circulated Ming Dynasty surname books were Ling Dizhi’s 凌迪知 (*jinsi* 進士 1556) *Collected Surname Genealogies*, Wanxing tongpu 萬姓統譜, and its successor work, Liao Yongxian’s 廖用賢 (fl. 1617–1666) *The Register of Ancients to Befriend*, Shang you lu 尚友錄. Ling’s work was published during the Wanli reign (1573–1620)⁶ and was later included in the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*, Siku quanshu 四庫全書; a Tianqi reign (1621–1627)⁷ block-print edition of Liao’s work was also included in *A Collection of Works in the Index of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*, Siku quanshu cunmu congshu 四庫全書存目叢書. Although the Qing scholar Zhang Shu 張澍 (1776–1847) denounced the *Collected Surname Genealogies* as “false in the utmost; looking straight at it, one has no idea what is meant,”⁸ he nevertheless saw good reason for its inclusion in the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* since it was a “collection of many works into one volume, making the compilation indeed worthy of being called

⁴ Yong Rong 永瑢 *et al.*, comp., “Wanxing tongpu” 萬姓統譜, in *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目, comp. Yong Rong *et al.*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 1153.

⁵ Yong Rong 永瑢 *et al.*, “Paiyun shizu daquan” 排韻氏族大全, in *Siku quanshu zongmu*, comp. Yong Rong *et al.*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 1175.

⁶ Liao Yongxian 廖用賢, *Shang you lu* 尚友錄, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, (Jinan: Qilu, 1995), vol. 218. The text here is based on a 1579 woodblock print.

⁷ Liao Yongxian’s “Zixu” 自敘 [Compiler’s preface] to *Shang you lu* was written in 1617, while Shang Zhouzuo’s “Preface” to the same text was written in 1621.

⁸ Zhang Shu 張澍, “Wanxing tongpu,” 萬姓統譜 [On *Collected Surname Genealogies*] in *Gujin xingshi shumu kaozheng* 古今姓氏書目考証 [Investigation into surname books, old and new], MS Yenching University, n.d., n. p.

comprehensive,” despite being marred by “predilections, heterogeneity and contradictions” and “unreasonable phonetic interpretations.” Thus, its shortcomings could be ignored by virtue of its “broad gathering of materials and adequate textual research.” Since “works in common usage are not to be entirely discarded,”⁹ inclusion of the work was judged appropriate. However, *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* drew criticism because “much of its records are inappropriate in their details and omissions as well as lacking textual basis, but on the other hand it was also made for popular consumption” 諸所紀載，詳略失宜，無所考證，蓋亦為應俗作也。¹⁰ Although the work was not included in this official collection, it did find a wider popular market. The constant additions and amendments to the book, as well as the frequent reuse of variations on the title, speak to its enduring influence. However, because *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* actually began as a continuation of Ling Dizhi’s *Collected Surname Genealogies*, we must begin our examination with a discussion of Ling’s work.

In his preface, Ling Dizhi gave the following explanation for the name *Collected Surname Genealogies*: “As a general principle, all-under-heaven is made up by a mass of families. As genealogies are able to link families, why not link all-under-heaven into one family through a genealogy for the whole realm?” 夫天下，家積也。譜可聯家矣，則聯天下為一家者，蓋以天下之姓譜之。The idea of collecting all surnames into one genealogy, making “all the realm one family,” turned out to mean, in practice, the compilation of a genealogy for all individual families and surnames one-by-one. Ling allowed that the usefulness of the work lay in the fact that when a person “looks at his genealogy, filial piety may very well arise of its own volition” 觀吾之姓譜者，孝弟之心，或亦可以油然而生矣。¹¹ It is impossible to say whether ordinary people recognised that the intent of this work was to promote patriotism through love of the family; however, it is worth pointing out that the compilation and structure of the work had deliberate aims.

In order to differentiate his work from previous surname books and to extol its special virtues, Ling included a pre-emptive defence of his work in his “Editorial Principles,” *fanli* 凡例. Although it is a rather long text, I have included an extensive passage from it because of the insight it affords into the origins and development of writings on surname studies:

There have been at least several dozen books on surnames in the past. Some adopt an approach to surnames based on reputation; others are concerned with clans of national importance; others are organised phonetically; others by characters; and there are also pseudo-surname books. Those based on reputation, such as *Genealogical Records • Kings, Nobles and Prominent Officials* and *Genealogies of Surnames of the Brave and the Wise*, are concerned primarily with status. But status is changeable; how can reputation be the

⁹ Yong Rong *et al.*, “Wanxing tongpu.”

¹⁰ Yong Rong *et al.*, “Shang you lu” 尚友錄 [On *The register of ancients to befriend*], in *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目, comp. Yong Rong *et al.* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 1175.

¹¹ Ling Dizhi 凌迪知, “Zixu” 自序 [Compiler’s preface], in *Wanxing tongpu* 萬姓統譜 [*Collected surname genealogies*], comp. Ling Dizhi. In *Jingyin wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Repr., Taipei: Taiwan shangwu, 1983), 956: 1b, 2b.

central focus? Those based on clans of national importance, such as *Succinct Records on Clans* and *General History • Clans* focus on the search for clan origins; but clans without pedigree are listed by rhyme, resulting in undifferentiated, chaotic works that are unnecessarily confusing. Phonetically-based works are organised by the four tones, such as *An Outline of Surnames Organised by Rhyme* and *Pearls on the Source of Surnames*. But [characters] are not adjusted for *ping* and *ze* categories, and *dong* 東 and *dong* 冬 are not differentiated. King Hui of Liang [or of Wei] (369–319 BCE) is listed under the [surname] Liang, King Xuan of Qi (reigned 319–301 BCE) is listed under the surname Qi. What contemptible mistakes! How can these [names of dynasties] be treated as surnames? Character-based works, such as the *Immortal Source of Classified Genealogies* and *Secret Outline of Clans*, are organised around radicals. But they are concerned only with strokes, and meaning is disregarded. These may be wordbooks, but they have nothing in common with surname books. Pseudo-surname books, such as the *Harmonious Categorised Compendium*, *Clans of Great Antiquity by Character* and the *Complete Book of Brush and Ink* include four hundred and twenty-two families, and so the pedigrees included are not extensive. The single-juan *The Compilation of a Thousand Families* is well-organised and selects broadly. However, all of these books only take into account previous dynasties, not reaching the illustrious [present] dynasty, and therefore cannot be considered complete.

姓氏一書，舊不下數十種。有論地望者，有論國氏者，有論聲者，有論字者，有仿姓書編者。夫論地望，如《世本•王侯大夫譜》、《姓氏英賢錄》是也，乃以貴賤為主，然貴賤無常，安得專主地望？論國氏者，如《氏族要狀》、《通志•氏族》是也，乃以本源受氏為主，然乏世系者復列以韻，則混淆無辨，徒亂耳目。論聲者，乃以四聲為主，如《姓氏韻略》、《姓源珠璣》是也，然平仄不調，東冬不別，以梁惠王為梁，以齊宣王為齊，則舛謬可鄙，何取於姓也！論字者，乃以偏傍為主，如《仙源類譜》、《姓氏秘略》是也，然拘於點畫，不論其理，但可為字書，於姓氏無與也。有仿姓書編者，如《合璧事類》、《尚古類氏》、《翰墨全書》是也，然數止四百二十二家，族系未廣，而《千姓編》一卷，又工於組織，搜羅未備。且諸書皆止述先朝，未及昭代，非為全書也。

The aforementioned books, which focused on provincial gentry and clan research, were inadequately organised and employed a narrow scope of compilation, while the *Collected Surname Genealogies* hoped “to collect all surnames without exception from the most ancient times until the present dynasty.” In terms of the work’s general layout, “the four tomes provide the structure, and the [*pingshui*] rhyme order the substructure,” so that “all the surnames of China, ancient and current” might be “included in sequence,” with “biographical information” compiled “from the biographies of the 21 histories, as well as *General Records*, *Tongzhi* 通志, *Comprehensive Records*, *Tongzhi* 統志, local gazetteers and other works,” and organised by surname.¹² This kind of complementary interweaving produced a work that, as Yong Rong and his collaborators remarked, was “called a genealogy, though it in fact combines genealogical records and biographies to create a book of the *leishu* kind.”¹³

Just as Ling Dizhi had done, and as was customary, in his compilation of *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* Liao Yongxian found fault with earlier works including the *Collected Surname Genealogies*. In his opinion, although one might

¹² Ling Dizhi, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Wanxing tongpu*, comp. Ling Dizhi (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu, 1983).

¹³ Yong Rong *et al.*, “Wanxing tongpu.”

say that *New Account of the Tales of the World*, *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, is concise and detailed, it is hard for a humble scholar like myself to tolerate its dissipation. As for *Collected Surname Genealogies*, one may of course call it learned, but its lack of discrimination should be recognised and criticised. In [*An Outline of*] *Surnames [Organised by Rhyme]*, *Xingshi* [yunlüe] 姓氏[韻略], and [*Pearls on the*] *Source of Surnames*, *Xingyuan* [zhuji] 姓源[珠璣], there are many facts that are not substantiated; [the sections on] people in *Records of the Vast Earth*, *Guangyu* [ji] 廣輿[記], and *The Comprehensive [Gazetteer]*, *Yitong zhi* 一統志 were not composed especially for this work.

However, following this criticism, Liao still honestly admits that his work “draws on many authors who contributed to my views.”¹⁴ To be specific,

The Register of Ancients to Befriend, like *Collected Surname Genealogies*, is organised by rhyme order; its facts are drawn from *New Account of the Tales of the World*, *Collection of my Early Stage at the [Dragon] Pond*, *The Complete Collection of Clan Names*, *Pearls on the Source of Surnames*, *The Comprehensive Gazetteer*, *The Vast Earth*, *Biographies of Lofty Men*, *Biographical Notes of Great Masters*, *Biographies of a Hundred Generals* and *Biographies of Various Immortals*. Nine times out of ten, the information is drawn from these, then supplemented by the *Summary [of the Comprehensive Mirror]*, [*Tongjian*] *gangmu* [通鑿]綱目, and *The Comprehensive Mirror [for Aid in Government]*, [*Zizhi tongjian*] [資治]通鑿, as well as works of philosophy and history to fill in the gaps.¹⁵

《尚友錄》一如《萬姓統譜》，所編分列各韻之下；其事實則《世說新語》、《初潭集》、《氏族大全》、《姓源珠璣》、《一統志》、《廣輿記》、《高士傳》、《聖門人物志》、《百將傳》、《列仙傳》十收其九，間取《綱目》、《通鑿》、子、史諸書，以補其遺。

Evidently, this method of taking “rhyme order for structure, surname for sub-structure” and “organizing the eras according to the biographies and actions of notable figures, divided by surname” is adopted from *Collected Surname Genealogies*. Liao Yongxian’s work consisted primarily, as he said, of “weeding out the extraneous and supplying the omitted.”¹⁶

Although *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* retained *Collected Surname Genealogies*’ compilation structure of *Collected Surname Genealogies* without developing it, *The Register* was the work that, in later times, enjoyed greater popularity. Besides the fact that slashing the enormous work of 146 *juan* down to a simplified 22 made it more convenient to use, the book’s felicitous title was doubtless the principal reason for its sales success. Ling Dizhi also claimed of his work that “surname genealogies are records of surnames, and surnames will inspire one to research figures who bore that surname. Only if their words and deeds were exemplary, their reputation carried weight in their time, and their names have been left to posterity, may they be included.”¹⁷ However, Liao applies Mencius’s tenet

¹⁴ Liao Yongxian, “Zixu” 自敘 [Compiler’s preface], in *Shang you lu*, comp. Liao Yongxian.

¹⁵ Liao Yongxian, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Shang you lu*, comp. Liao Yongxian.

¹⁶ Liao Yongxian, “Zixu.”

¹⁷ Ling Dizhi, “Fanli.”

on “befriending the ancients” more literally: “When a virtuous scholar has befriended all the virtuous scholars of the realm and finds it insufficient, he will consider the men of antiquity” 天下之善士，斯友天下之善士，以友天下之善士為未足，又尚論古之人。¹⁸ Liao’s title more strikingly and clearly conveys the idea of the work. It is little wonder that in his preface *Shang Zhouzuo 商周祚 (jinshi 1601)* gushed,

I greatly appreciate the [*New Account of*] *The Tales of the World* and the *Collected [Surname] Genealogies*, which have long been regarded with disdain by those of great learning; but with the name changed to “ancients to befriend” this work was suddenly found by all to stimulate body and mind. [It is much like] taking down the flag of Zhao and running up the flag of Han, that most excellent tactic of the Huaiyin army [of Han Xin 韓信 d. 196 BCE].¹⁹

予最善其以《世說》、《統譜》諸書，百千年來，第資博者譚柄；一更“尚友”名，頓令人獲身心益也。拔趙幟，立漢幟，是淮陰將兵最妙著。

Consequently, it is not hard to understand why *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* enjoyed singular prevalence during the popular Qing fashion for rewriting genealogies. If a person of ordinary family did not know his pedigree, the new genealogy compiler had only to select a figure from *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* and acknowledge him as his ancestor.²⁰ Based on this association with an earlier sage, one could instantly improve one’s family status and reputation. Just as Liao Yongxian had changed the book’s title, they were also “taking down the flag of Zhao and running up the flag of Han.” One might even say that Liao and his readers achieved the same goal through different methods.

Although *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* had a new title, its purpose remained the recording of ancient and contemporary surnames in *leishu* form. Much like the *Collected Surname Genealogies’* flexible system of “recording surnames,” figures with “uncommon surnames” or “of little repute but who had held a post, or who had few accomplishments and nothing worth recording, have nevertheless been included in the compilation. If there is someone rather eccentric

¹⁸ James Legge, “The Works of Mencius,” in *The Four Books with English Translations and Notes* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933), 847.

¹⁹ Shang Zhouzuo 商周祚, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Shang you lu*, comp. Liao Yongxian.

²⁰ Ge Jianxiong and Zhou Xiaoyun make the following remark in their study on historiography: “There was one book that writers of genealogies could not do without, namely *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* (the one in general use being the issue of the 15th year of the Wanli reign, compiled by Liao Yongxian). This book, which used rhyme as structure and surname as substructure, recorded the origin of each surname, its noble families, and the notable figures who bore the surname from the earliest times until the Song Dynasty, including their native places and the principle events of their lives. When writing the genealogy, an ancestor could be chosen arbitrarily, in order to find some way of establishing a link between one’s own clan and that person.” Ge Jianxiong 葛劍雄, Zhou Xiaoyun 周筱贊, *Lishixue shi shenme 歷史學是什麼* [What is historiography] (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2002), 104.

in behaviour, he is nonetheless included.”²¹ Liao’s work, which “is billed as ‘befriending the ancients’ in esteem and admiration” while “collecting [examples of] gracious conduct and virtuous ways, even if they are of considerable length,” also exceptionally retained “occasional accounts of immorality, accounting for only one or two of hundreds or thousands.”²² This was, of course, an unwilling concession made in deference to the principle of wide collection.

In Liao Yongxian’s work, which took “befriending the ancients” as its principle, irregularities of compilation are more common than in Ling’s work. For this reason, Shang Zhouzuo, who wrote the preface in his capacity as a “parental official,” allowed himself to comment on how “Mencius’ chose friends strictly, but Liao too tolerantly.” Shang contrasts Mencius’ severity in choosing friends with the selection process of Liao’s work: “Of course mostly there are those who are eminent beyond compare, and can be listed alongside Mencius; but there are heterodox figures, such as members of the School of Yin-Yang, the Logicians and Legalists, the School of Diplomacy, Taoists and Buddhists, the School of Agriculture, the School of Formulas and Strategies, the School of Star-reading, and all kinds of wretched figures who are certainly not to be called friends.” Shang concludes with a rather contrived rationale: “As the famous early Han military leader Han Xin 韓信 (d. 196 BCE) said about his troops: the more, the better,” but “why tolerate the defective?”²³ In any case, Liao’s trick of juxtaposing ordinary people with sacred figures as possible models and friends found great popularity in ordinary society.

It is surprising that in Liao Yongxian’s own appraisal of his work he does not elaborate substantially on “befriending the ancients” at all, but instead repeatedly asserts that his work was “generally founded on poetry and prose, and is not intended simply for the elucidation of surnames” and that while “not originally conceived expressly for the research of surnames, it also offers a collection for those writing poetry and prose.”²⁴ For this reason, later printers and the compilers of later continuations had to bear the brunt of the blame for the fact that “people today present each other with poems composed entirely from the surnames of ancient people pieced together willy-nilly, entirely without meaning or art. This book seems to have given that kind of person a short-cut.” Actually, the fact that the “ambition of the ‘ancients to befriend’ series”²⁵ was not specifically the research of surnames, reflects even more tellingly how Liao deliberately continued in the tradition of *Complete Collection of Clan Names*, *Shizu daquan* 氏族大全, and other works, by “selecting a novel way to provide a book for the ornamentation

²¹ Ling Dizhi, “Fanli.”

²² Liao Yongxian, “Zixu.”

²³ Shang Zhouzuo, “Preface” in Liao Yongxian, *Shang you lu*. The original sentence reads, “A scholar may make friends like the Huaiyin General, both respectable and marvellous, the more the better, and why tolerate the defective?”

²⁴ Liao Yongxian, “Zixu.”

²⁵ Lu Qiuke 陸求可, “Preface,” in *Zengbu shang you lu* 增補尚友錄, ed. Zhang Bocong 張伯琮 (Zhe Lanlin Tianlu, 1666).

of prose.”²⁶ This was likely another reason that *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* enjoyed such great popularity after the transition into the Qing.

Neither the use of rhyme order as structure and surnames as substructure, nor the collection of figures and events for the compilation of a book were innovations of *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* or of the *Collected Surname Genealogies*. Nevertheless, these two books did indeed make indispensable contributions to the perfection and development of the form. They also paved the way for a series of *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* compilations that began in the late Qing, which provide an indispensable link in the transition from *leishu* to modern reference works.

From *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* to *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*

The late Ming block-print edition of the *Register of Ancients to Befriend* was already adopted in the early Qing Kangxi reign by Zhang Bocong’s 張伯琮 (1647–1731) revised and enlarged edition, which added “5 surnames, 83 persons and further materials to 17 entries,”²⁷ and was entitled *The Revised and Enlarged Register of Ancients to Befriend*, *Zengbu shang you lu* 增補尚友錄. Further editions of this book were published in the late Qing; for example, the Siming changhuai 四明暢懷書屋 edition of 1886, the Shanghai Dianshi zhai 點石齋 and the Zhu yi tang 著易堂 editions of 1880, the Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房 edition of 1890, among others, later also used the name *The Corrected Register of Ancients to Befriend*, *Jiaozheng shang you lu* 校正尚友錄. At the same time that the Dianshi zhai was publishing Zhang’s revised and enlarged version, it was also promoting Pan Zunqi’s 潘遵祁 (The Master who Ponders in Seclusion, Tuisi zhuren 退思主人 1808–1892) *The Register of Ancients to Befriend, Continued*, *Shang you lu xuji* 尚友錄續集, in 22 *juan*. This work was intended to rectify omissions by “identifying gaps, broadly drawing from historical biographical records, repeatedly searching and editing, ascertaining date and *juan* number from the original works.”²⁸ There were also several block-print editions of this work, including the 1896 Shanghai Press, Shanghai shuju 上海書局 edition, the 1899 Shanghai Beneficial Records Press, Shanghai yiji shuzhuang 上海益記書庄 edition, the 1900 Literary Exchange Hall edition, and the 1902 Precious Benevolence Studio, Baoshan zhai 寶善齋, edition. Many of these were distributed alongside Zhang’s revised work. While

²⁶ Yong Rong *et al.*, “Wanxing tongpu.”

²⁷ Zhang Bocong 張伯琮, *Zengbu shang you lu* 增補尚友錄 [Revised and Enlarged *Register of Ancients to Befriend*] (Zhe Lanlin Tianlu, 1666). This comment is taken from Pan Zunqi, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Shang you lu xuji* 尚友錄續集 [The register of ancients to befriend, continued].

²⁸ Tuisi zhuren 退思主人, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in (*Jiaozheng*) *Shang you lu xuji* (校正)尚友錄續集 [The (corrected) register of ancients to befriend, continued], comp. Tuisi zhuren (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1888).

Touchstone Studio was publishing and selling *The Register of Ancients to Befriend, Continued*, it also announced the publication of the 20-juan *The Continued Register of Ancients to Befriend*, Xu shang you lu 續尚友錄, which gathered figures from the “Liao, Jin and Yuan as well as the Ming Dynasties” in sequence in order to rectify the original shortcoming of Liao Yongxian’s work and of *The Register, Continued*—namely, that it “stopped at the Song.”²⁹ This work is no longer extant. Later continuations were called *The Third Collection of the Corrected Register of Ancients to Befriend*, Jiaozheng shang you lu san ji 校正尚友錄三集, and *The Register of Ancients to Befriend of the Present Dynasty*, Guochao shang you lu 國朝尚友錄.³⁰ *The Third Collection* “specifically collected persons of four dynasties: the Liao, Jin, Yuan and Ming”³¹ in much the same way as had been envisaged for *The Continued Register of Ancients to Befriend*, though it was only ten juan-long. *The Register of Ancients to Befriend of the Present Dynasty* in eight juan, edited by Li Peifang 李佩芳 and Sun Ding 孫鼎, was, upon reprinting, divested of its “Editorial Principles” and included as part of *The Complete Corrected Ancients to Befriend* under the name of *The Fourth Collection of the Corrected Register of the Ancients*, Jiaozheng shang you lu si ji 校正尚友錄四集 and was sold as a set.³²

These various continuations of *The Register of Ancients to Befriend*, though initially independent, began to be collated in 1902. This enterprise was first undertaken by Ying Zuxi 應祖錫 (1855–1927), who called his work *The Enlarged Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend*, Zengguang Shang you lu tongbian 增廣尚友錄統編.³³ The writer of the preface, Wu Bangsheng 吳邦升, while remarking on the importance of the compilation, also commented on the previous publishing situation:

The Register of Ancients to Befriend by Liao Binyu 廖賓於 [i. e. Liao Yongxian] of the Ming Dynasty used, in imitation of *Collected Surname Genealogies*, rhyme order for structure and surnames for substructure. The factual biographies were drawn from the classics and histories, with other sources also being consulted. Patching together these materials, he made a book of 22 juan. He was succeeded by Pan [Zunqi], like myself from the Wu region. Healthful in his forest seclusion and deeply committed to classical works,

²⁹ Tuisi zhuren 退思主人, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Shang you lu xuji*, comp. Tuisi zhuren (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1888). Also, a line on the inside cover of this work announces that a *Third Collection* is to follow.

³⁰ Li Peifang 李佩芳 and Sun Ding 孫鼎, comps., *Guochao shang you lu* 國朝尚友錄 [The register of ancients to befriend of the present dynasty] (Shanghai: Nanyang qiri, 1906).

³¹ “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Jiaozheng shang you lu san ji* 校正尚友錄三集 (Shanghai: Baoshanzhai, 1903).

³² See Li Peifang’s and Sun Ding’s *Guochao shang you lu*, (which has “Editorial Principles” but does not provide publication details or dates) and *Jiaozheng shang you lu si ji* 校正尚友錄四集 [The fourth collection of the corrected register of the ancients to befriend] (Shanghai: Baoshan, 1903), which has no “Editorial Principles” and does not indicate the compiler’s name, but does provide publication details. There is also another edition of *Ancients to Befriend of the Present Dynasty*, which was published in 1902 by the publishers of the Shanghai Nanyang Weekly. Although Li’s and Sun’s names are given, the “Editorial Principles” are omitted.

³³ Ying Zuxi 應祖錫, comp., *Zengguang shang you lu tongbian* 增廣尚友錄統編 (Shanghai: Hongbaozhai, 1902).

Pan took the gems omitted from Liao's register and collected the works into a volume called *The Continued Register* with an unaltered structure but more detailed records. Both works began in the Zhou and Qin dynasties and continued down through the Song, though the Liao, Jin, Yuan and Ming Dynasties were missing. Then Zhang [Bocong] of Qingchuan compiled the ten-juan *The Third Collection* and there was a block-print bookshop edition called *The Register of Ancients to Befriend of the Present Dynasty* in eight juan which was included in *The Fourth Collection*. Altogether several thousand years of famous officials and great scholars, loyalists and artists, figures of governance and men of letters, the chaste, the loyal, the filial pious, have all been collected. One opens these works to find the figures as numerous as wrinkles on the page, a forest of gentleman scholars for the edification of posterity, a depository that is far from meagre. Each [work] was compiled separately, so the information is diffuse rather than concentrated. For this reason, one's attention is always divided, which is inconvenient for the reader. The Master of the Precious Books Studio [=Ying Zuxi] therefore decided to place them on the stove and smelt them together, putting them in orderly sequence, deleting the superfluous, adding where needed, correcting the erroneous, assembling the gems into a harmonious whole and giving it to the printers. In this way the children of the future, obtaining instruction about the countless thousands of figures of ancient times, can learn powers of induction through wide reading and instruct themselves.³⁴

前明廖賓於先生有《尚友錄》一書，仿《萬姓通[統]譜》例，韻為綱，姓為目；其事實小傳，則於經史子外，又旁搜他說，集腋而成，都二十二卷。嗣以吾吳潘氏頤養林泉，覃心典籍，取廖錄遺珠，網羅成帙，為《續集》，體例如舊，紀載較詳。然二書皆自上周秦，下迄南宋而止，遼金元明概付闕如。自晴川張氏復續《三集》十卷，后又見坊本《國朝尚友錄》八卷，遂成《四集》。於是上下數千百年名臣碩儒，逸民藝士，經濟文章、忠孝節烈，兼收並蓄，開卷如掌上螺紋，沾溉士林，良非淺鮮。特各自為編，散而不聚，顧此失彼，閱者病焉。鴻寶齋主人爰得並爐而冶一法，挨次厘定，重者刪，闕者補，訛者正，珠聯璧合，付諸手民。俾后生小子日對無萬數古人，由博而反諸約，能自得師。

As for the method of compilation, Ying Zuxi described it as “still according to Liao's original compilation. From the Zhou and Qin dynasties and up to the present day, they are all included according to the original sequence.”³⁵ For this reason, this work is also 22 juan-long.

The advantages of a combined register were very obvious and so, in 1903, the Tongwen Publishers 通文書局 rapidly published a 24 juan publication called *The Corrected Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend*, Jiaozheng shang you lu tongbian 校正尚友錄統編, which was credited to Qianhu diaotu 錢湖鈞徒. In his “Editorial Principles,” the compiler could not resist claiming the credit due to others by remarking that besides “adopting the rhyme order” of Zhang Bocong's work, he also “selected famous sages from the Liao, Jin, Yuan, Ming and the present dynasty.” He claims to have added “more than 180 surnames, and increased the number of figures by 6,000–7,000”³⁶ to Liao Yongxian's original *The Register*

³⁴ Wu Bangsheng 吳邦升, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Zengguang shang you lu tongbian*, comp. Ying Zuxi (Shanghai: Hongbaozhai, 1902).

³⁵ Ying Zuxi, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Zengguang shang you lu tongbian*, comp. Ying Zuxi (Shanghai: Hongbaozhai, 1902).

³⁶ Tongwen shuju zhuren 通文書局主人, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Jiaozheng shang you lu tongbian* 校正尚友錄統編 [The corrected combined register of ancients to befriend], ed. Qianhu diaotu 錢湖鈞徒 (Shanghai: Tongwen, 1902).

of *Ancients to Befriend*. Because this work had switched to the *Treasury of Rhymes and Phrases*, Peiwen yunfu 佩文韻府, system that was more familiar to literati of the era, and was supplementing the entries, it very quickly replaced all preceding works and was reprinted even during the Republican Era.

Publication dates suggest that the years 1902 and 1903, when both combined registers were first published, witnessed the most intense period for *The Register of Ancients to Befriend* series, including the greatest number of variants. The following is a list of the different works:

1902

Ying Zuxi 應祖錫, comp. *The Enlarged Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend*, Zengguang shang you lu tongbian 增廣尚友錄統編, 22 juan. Shanghai: Hongbao zhai.

Pan Zunqi 潘遵祁, comp. *The Corrected Register of Ancients to Befriend, Continued*, Jiaozheng shang you lu xuji 校正尚友錄續集 22 juan. Shanghai: Baoshan. [See Note 26].

Li Peifang 李佩芳, Sun Ding 孫鼎, comps. *The Register of Ancients to Befriend of the Present Dynasty*, Guochao shang you lu 國朝尚友錄, Shanghai: Nanyang qiri baoguan 南洋七日報館.

Zhang Yuan 張元 comp. *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*, Waiguo shang you lu 外國尚友錄, 10 juan³⁷ (Illustration 1, 2, 3).

1903

Qianhu diaotu 錢湖鈞徒, comp. *The Corrected Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend*, Jiaozheng shang you lu tongbian 校正尚友錄統編, 24 juan. Shanghai: Tongwen.

Zhang Bocong, comp. *The Corrected Register of Ancients to Befriend*, Zengbu shang you lu 增補尚友錄, 22 juan. Shanghai: Baoshan.

The Third Collection of Corrected Register of Ancients to Befriend. As above.

The Fourth Collection of Corrected Register of Ancients to Befriend As above.

Liu Shuping 劉樹屏 (1857–1917), comp. *Register of Ancients to Befriend in the Twenty-four Histories*, Ershisi shi shang you lu 二十四史尚友錄 (including as an attachment *The Register of Ancients to Befriend of the Present Dynasty*) Shanghai: Wenji shuzhuang.

Wu Zuoqing 吳佐清, comp. *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*, Haiguo shang you lu 海國尚友錄. Eight juan. Shanghai: Kuizhang shuju, 1903 (Illustration 4).

³⁷ The publication details for this work are lacking. The preface by *Fu-ge-si* was written in the autumn of Guangxu 28 (1902) and Soejima Taneomi's preface in the 4th month of Meiji 35 (1902). These dates may serve as a point of orientation. The Sanetō Keishū Library in the Tokyo Municipal Library holds yet another print of the *Waiguo shang you lu*. It is a print of the Mingda xueshe 明達學社 in Shanghai, dated to the winter of the Guangxu reign year *renyin* (1902). The copy seen by me must have been a reprint of this edition.

Illustration 1 First text page of Zhang Yuan, comp. *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* (1902)

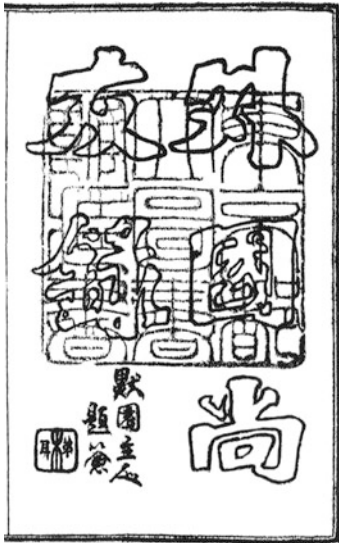
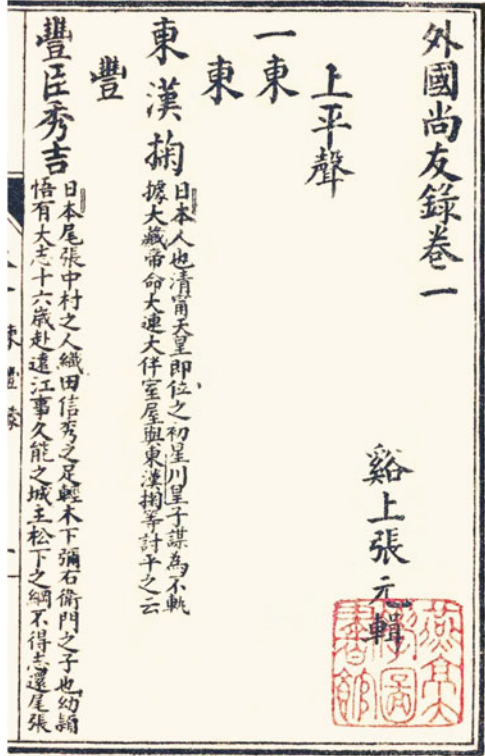


Illustration 2 Cover page of Zhang Yuan, comp. *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*. Copy of different edition dated 1902 in Sanetō Keishū Library within the Tokyo Municipal Library

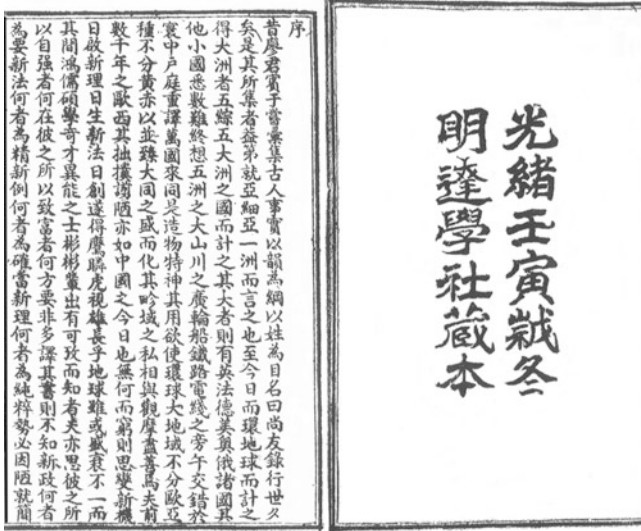


Illustration 3 Preface by Fu-ge-si in Zhang Yuan, comp. *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*. Copy of different edition dated 1902 in Sanetō Keishū Library within the Tokyo Municipal Library

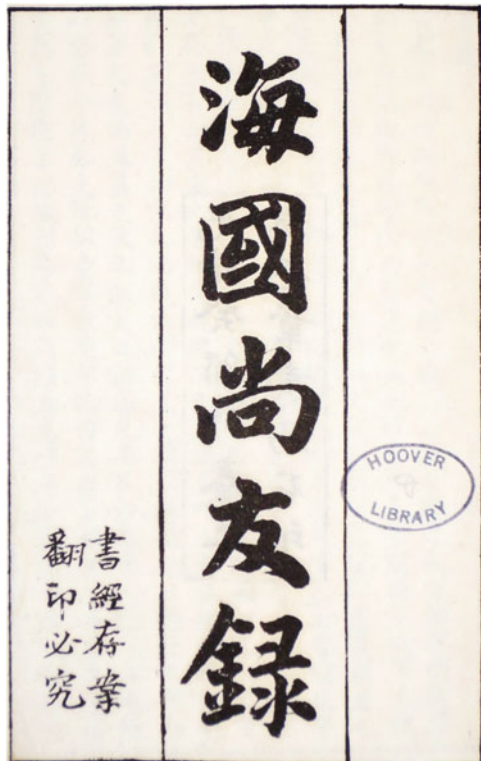


Illustration 4 Cover page of Wu Zuoqing, comp., *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*, Haiguo shang you lu. Shanghai: Kuizhang shuju, 1903

This does not even include the remaining stock of earlier editions that would still have been for sale. Of these works, the most telling example of the late Qing vogue for the “Ancients to Befriend” series is *The Register of Ancients to Befriend in the Twenty-four Histories* credited to Liu Shuping (owner of the Wenji Press). This work is, in fact, an expanded revision of Xiong Junyun’s 熊峻運 (fl. 1724) Yongzheng period compilation entitled *Commentaries and Explanations on Clan Names*, *Shizu jianshi* 氏族箋釋,³⁸ which was promoted under a new name to capitalise on the fashion. The only portion of the text actually written by Liu is the single-juan addendum placed as front matter and called *The Register of Ancients to Befriend of the Present Dynasty*. It does not include very much material and is completely beneath comparison with Li Peifang’s and Sun Ding’s work of the same name. The fact that all of the new *Registers of Ancients to Befriend* came out of Shanghai is obviously connected to the fact that lithographic technology was first widely employed in this city, which was already becoming the most developed publishing hub of the era.

Besides those works which incorporated “Register of Ancients to Befriend” in the title, there was also the 1903 publication titled *A Compilation of Western Notables Organised by Rhyme*, *Taixi renwu yunbian* 泰西人物韻編. This work does not feature an “Editorial Principles” section, but it does include a preface by Zhou Shitang 周世棠 (1871–1941) which informs us that the editor, Wang Chengjiao 汪成教, was an instructor at the Longjin School, Longjin xuetang 龍津學堂, in Fenghua 奉化, Zhejiang Province. Zhou’s preface records Wang’s own account of his work’s particularities:

...this book starts two thousand years before the Common Era and reaches into the present twentieth century, including without omission all Western personalities who appear in translated books, citing dates of birth and death without fail. Figures for whom there is no reliable record have not been included.³⁹

.....是書起紀元前二千年頃，迄今二十世紀，凡泰西人物於譯書所見，搜集靡遺，且必引証生卒年代，而無事實者概不錄。

By selecting people on the basis of their noteworthiness without reference to their moral qualities, this work has jettisoned *The Register of Ancients to Befriend*’s criteria of selection by moral example. Consequently, it was not unreasonable for Zhou to compare this work to the Japanese publication *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Foreign Geographical Names and People*, *Gaikoku chimei jinmei jiten* 外國地名人名辭典.⁴⁰ However, the difference between the two works is that the Japanese encyclopaedic

³⁸ Xiong Junyun 熊峻運, ed., *Shizu jianshi* (China: Wenkuitang, 1881). See also, Hepu Zhuxiajiushi’s 鶴浦柱下舊史, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in Liu Shuping, comp., *Ershisi shi shang you lu*.

³⁹ Zhou Shitang 周世棠, “Preface,” in *Taixi renwu yunbian*, ed. Wang Chengjiao. The copy in the National Library of China, Guojia tushuguan 國家圖書館, does not include the preface. I am indebted to Zhong Shaohua 鍾少華 for his generous help.

⁴⁰ Tashino Denshi 竜野元四, *Gaikoku chimei jinmei jiten* 外國地名人名辭典 (Tokyo: Ōkura shoten, 1903). By this time dictionaries like this already had a history in Japan. For an earlier example from 1879 see the study by Douglas Reynolds in this volume.

dictionary was “organised in sequence according to the Western alphabet, but complemented by Chinese, for the convenience of those with knowledge of the Western alphabet,” whereas Wang’s work is “organised by rhyme order, unaltered in structure, for the convenience of those accustomed to Chinese.”⁴¹ This demonstrates how powerful the tradition of arranging surnames by rhyme order had become; it was now the standard structure for name registers. Since *A Compilation of Western Notables Organised by Rhyme* lies outside the fixed scope of this essay, which deals primarily with the *Register of Ancients to Befriend* series, there will be no further discussion of it. However, as the forerunner of many biographical dictionaries in the Republican era it is worth emphasising its stature and significance.

To return to the main subject: Of the works listed above, the two most noteworthy are Zhang Yuan’s 張元 *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*⁴² and Wu Zuoqing’s 吳佐清 *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*.⁴³ Both works extend the compilation tradition of *Ancients to Befriend* overseas, with the specific purpose of collecting material on people and events “of nations East and West, in books already translated and as yet untranslated.” Their immediate target readership was identified as “instructors of Western Learning.”⁴⁴ In the late Qing, a period of convergence between Western and Chinese learning, this was doubtlessly an important innovation.

Let us turn now to the authorship of the two works. The table of contents credits the “editor Zhang Yuan, styled Shengchu 聲初 of Xishang 溪上,” and every *juan* credits “Zhang Yuan of Xishang,” so we know that the compiler was Zhang Yuan. *Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* credits the “editor Wu Zuoqing Chengfu 吳佐清澈父 of Dantu 丹徒,” but in the “Compiler’s Preface” the author’s name is written as “Wu Zuoqing Zuoqing 吳佐清左卿.” Clearly, he had at least two alternate names: Chengfu and Zuoqing 左卿, and the Zuoqing came in two writing variants, 佐清 and 左卿. Nothing specific is known about Zhang Yuan’s background, but he was studying at a new-style school when he compiled the book. In 1893 Wu was already a student of the Shanghai Polytechnic Institution, Shanghai gezhi shuyuan 上海格致書院,⁴⁵ and was made a professor by the time of

⁴¹ Zhou Shitang, “Preface,” in *Taixi renwu yunbian*.

⁴² Zhang Yuan 張元, comp., *Waiguo shang you lu* 外國尚友錄 (1902).

⁴³ Wu Zuoqing 吳佐清, comp., *Haiguo shang you lu* 海國尚友錄 (Shanghai: Kuizhang shuju, 1903).

⁴⁴ *Fu-ge-si*, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan. The title label on the cover to Wu Zuoqing’s work begins with *Waiguo* 外國, but when the compiler refers to his own work he always starts the title with *Haiguo* 海國. This does not involve a change in meaning.

⁴⁵ In *Gezhi shuyuan keyi* 格致書院課藝 [Examination essays from the Shanghai Polytechnic Institution], ed. Wang Tao 王韜, the “Textiles Section” includes Wu Zuoqing’s essay “On Following Western Models of Silk Textiles Manufacture in China, How They Should Be Managed to Influence the Nation for the Mutual Benefit of Merchants and Citizens,” *Zhongguo fangxing Xifa fangsha zhibu, ying ruhe chouban yi bi guojia shangmin jun zhan liyi lun* 中國仿行西法紡紗織布，應如何籌辦以俾國家商民均沾利益論, an assigned topic which earned him the *guisi* [1893] autumn Superior Second Place.

compilation. In 1909 he was elected a member of the consultative assembly for Jiangsu Province.

Neither book became widely popular during the late Qing, and both were limited to one edition. Zhang's work drew notice once more in 1918 when the Shanghai National Learning Press, Shanghai guoxue tushuju 上海國學圖書局, planned to combine Qianhu diaotu's *The Corrected Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend* with *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* and publish *The Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend, Chinese and Foreign*. Except for the inscription, which adds "edited by Zhang Yuan styled Shengchu of Xishang" after "compiled by Qianhu diaotu of Gujin 古董," the work as presently known actually consists only of the 24 *juan* of *The Corrected Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend Jiaozheng shang you lu tongbian*. Pan Zunqi's preface, however, was reused, having been included from *The Register of Ancients to Befriend Continued* to *The Corrected Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend*, it now, under another name change, served as the preface to *The Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend, Chinese and Foreign*.⁴⁶

Superficially, it would appear that *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* has attracted more attention than *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*. If one examines their merits, however, it is evident that the latter work is the superior one. To a great extent, this is because the former work was hastily compiled and went through many different hands. According to the writer of the preface, this work was created through the combined efforts of "many classmates and friends" who excerpted passages.⁴⁷ *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* was different. This book was compiled by one man—Wu Zuoqing—from "the texts ordinarily cited to speak of a [given] subject."⁴⁸ Besides the six-*juan* body of the text, Wu added one *juan* each of addenda and appendices, establishing a very meticulous structure (Illustration 5).

It is interesting to note that in the front matter of *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* there is no statement by the compiler Zhang Yuan at all. Instead, one finds only prefaces from *Fu-ge-si*, "a clergyman who has travelled England, France, Italy and Belgium" and the former Japanese Foreign Minister and Home Minister Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣 (1828–1905). *Fu-ge-si* was mostly concerned with extending the meaning of *Ancients to Befriend* to include foreign nations, pointing out to this end that Liao Yongxian's work was already insufficient to cope with the needs of the present:

This work was compiled from only one continent, Asia. Now that the whole globe is known, there are five continents. As for the nations on these continents, the following are

⁴⁶ The 1900 Hongwen ge 宏文閣 edition of *Shang you lu xuji* 校正尚友錄續集, comp. Pan Zunqi 潘遵祁, incorrectly renders Pan Zunqi 潘遵祁's name as Pan Zunqi 潘遵祈. This error is retained in later works, including the 1903 Tongwen shuju 通文書局 edition of *The Corrected Combined Register of Ancients to Befriend*.

⁴⁷ Fu-ge-si, "Xu," in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan.

⁴⁸ Wu Zuoqing, "Zixu" 自叙 [Compiler's Preface], in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing.

Illustration 5 Author's preface, in Wu Zuoqing, comp., *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*, Haiguo shang you lu. Shanghai: Kuizhang shuju, 1903

自敘
自米尼司出而埃及之民智開自德修出而希臘之民智開自開我摩斯出而波斯之民智開自羅慕路出而羅馬之民智開由是代有名儒而哲學興焉由是代有名將名相而文猷武烈昭焉嗟摩盧負商周之際天固不欲私吾中國使獨臻文明之盛也漢唐而降秦而各國政學中衰頑獷狂獠漸忘其本斯時中國適與之道不知其昔日之文明也直獠獠視之而已即與吾同洲之日奔自神武開國以來人文日盛吾亦不知其盛也直蝦夷視之而已然使其終如獠獠終如蝦夷則亦已耳豈知宋元而後文明者蓋文明頑獷者亦日趨於文明而吾士大夫猶且奚之狄之非笑之詬厲之而不知秦有人也此吾之所以終結於彼也夫地阻重洋世道宇蛤譚瀛者多霍曾涉險者多儒翰書闕有聞雖善無徵則吾不知之猶吾足怪耳今則鐵道四通輪舶八

the great ones: England, France, Germany, America, Australia and Russia, as well as innumerable small ones. Across the vastness of the continents and the enormous rivers and mountains, steamboats, railways and electric lines crisscross the globe, translations are being made, and the manifold nations are being united by the special will of the creating divinity. No distinction will be made on this vast earth between Europe and Asia, between yellow and red races, so that great harmony arises while regional selfishness is diminished and all learn from one another to achieve perfection.⁴⁹

是其所集者，蓋第就亞細亞一洲而言之也。至今日而環地球而計之，得大洲者五；綜五大洲之國而計之，其大者則有英、法、德、美、奧、俄諸國，其他小國悉數難終。想五洲之大，山川之廣，輪船、鐵路、電線之旁午交錯於寰中，戶庭重譯，萬國來同，是造物特神其用，欲使環球大地，域不分歐亞，種不分黃赤，以並臻大同之盛，而化其畛域之私，相與觀摩盡善焉。

Fu-ge-si's description of this beautiful scene of great harmony and international fraternity under heaven encourages China to imitate the West through "self-strengthening" and "amassing wealth." Thus, "unless more works are translated, it will be impossible to know the imperatives of new governance, the essence of new jurisprudence, the proper way of new regulations, the purity of new reason." The compilation of the *Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* was therefore also

⁴⁹ Fu-ge-si, "Xu," in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan.

connected with the sacred mission of “protecting the 400 million people of the yellow race” and “strengthening China’s 200 million [*li*] of land.”⁵⁰ Similarly, Soejima Taneomi, the president of the Japanese Oriental Society, Nippon, Tōhō Kyokai 日本東邦協會, pays even less attention to “befriending the ancients.” Instead, he emphasises that “this book encompasses the manifold nations, grasping their essence. It covers millennia, reducing them to their main points,” declaring that “everything falls into place with this book. Reading it produces a flash of understanding, since all the affairs of all the world are contained within it.”⁵¹ It is readily apparent that, in the view of the authors of the two prefaces, the work’s primary function was the integration of new learning. One can already discern here a fundamental difference from traditional surname studies works, including *The Register of Ancients to Befriend*, which had a stated purpose of “researching surnames and clans” or “furnishing prose and poetry.”

The same central purpose for compilation that these foreign scholars had articulated and praised was also adopted in *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*, though Wu Zuoqing’s expression thereof was doubtlessly both more thoughtful and intimate in tone. Wu’s first concern was to overcome the traditional prejudice of the Chinese standpoint—namely, an enduring contempt for barbarians. Presupposing that Eastern and Western cultures could coexist and develop, he painted the following picture of the role that *The Corrected Register of Ancients to Befriend* could play in cultural development:

Starting from Menes, the intellect of the Egyptians expanded. Starting from *De-xiu* (Theseus?), the intellect of the Greeks expanded. Starting from *Kai-wo-mo-si* (Cyrus II?), the intellect of the Persians expanded. Starting from Romulus, the intellect of the Romans expanded. When an era has men of great learning, philosophy thrives. When there are great generals and officials, culture thrives and the military is glorious. Alas! In the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties, the heavens definitely did not wish to especially privilege China so that it alone would attain cultural prosperity! Since the Han and Tang dynasties, the Western nations have declined politically and became barbarous and cruel, forgetting their source [of culture]. At that time, China had much trade with them, but did not know their previous culture and so continuously regarded them as Luoluo or Zhuang savages. But in Japan, on the same continent as China, after Emperor Jimmu founded the nation, their culture has thriven more daily, but we also did not know of their prosperity and continued to regard them like Ainu [Japan’s original tribal inhabitants]. And so, how could we after continuously seeing the [Westerners] as Luoluo or Zhuang and [the Japanese] as Ainu have noticed that since the Song and Yuan Dynasties the [Westerners] who already had had civilization before, were developing it further, and those [like the Japanese] who had been uneducated and rustic earlier, were also rushing towards a civilized. After the Song and Yuan dynasties their civilisation grew even more civilised while the barbarians became civilised as well. Yet the officials of our land still treat them like Yi and Di tribals, mock and treat them with disdain, for they do not realise that there are people of distinction among them. This is why we have ended up being no match for them.⁵²

自米尼司出，而埃及之民智開；自德修出，而希臘之民智開；自開我摩斯出，而波斯之民智開；自羅慕路出，而羅馬之民智開。由是代有名儒，而哲學興焉；由是代有名將名相，而文獻武烈昭焉。嗟摩！虞夏商周之際，天固不欲私吾中國，使獨臻文明之盛也。漢

⁵⁰ Fu-ge-si, “Xu,” in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan.

⁵¹ Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan.

⁵² Wu Zuoqing, “Zixu,” in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing.

唐而降，泰西各國政學中衰，頑獷狃獯，漸忘其本。斯時中國適與之通，不知其昔日之文明也，直獯獷視之而已。即與吾同洲之日本，自神武開國以來，人文日盛，吾亦不知其盛也，直蝦夷視之而已。然使其終如獯獷視之，終如蝦夷則亦已耳，豈知宋元而后，文明者益文明，頑獷者亦日趨於文明。而吾士大夫猶且彝之狄之、非笑之詬厲之，而不知秦有人也，此吾之所以終絀於彼也。

Japan and the West have never lacked people of distinction, and both have their own cultural traditions. In that period of conflict between Eastern and Western civilisations, the fact that Chinese culture had fallen on hard times was the basic motivation for Wu Zuoqing and others who were equally anxious to examine the world around them. The fact that “Western scholars can read Chinese history” or that a 13-year-old Western girl named *Ai-er-bo* 愛爾孛 was “familiar with Asian stories,” made Wu even more “deeply ashamed” of his compatriots’ “intransigent foolishness and inability to reflect on the world or understand human beings.” Compiling *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* was “one way of assisting the student of Eastern and Western history,”⁵³ and was therefore not a project to be delayed.

The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend lists 48 works in its bibliography. Except for twelve that were either translated from Japanese or had Chinese authors, these works whose titles were given in Chinese translation had mostly featured in the following categories of Liang Qichao’s *Bibliography of Western Learning*, *Xixue shumu biao* 西學書目表: “history,” “educational system,” “law,” “travel accounts,” and “works of Western discourse.” Of course, because of the later publication of *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*, some of the sources had not been included in Liang’s works. But the bibliography is not really complete, since *Ancient Religions Compared*, *Gujiao huican* 古教匯參, is not included in the list despite being mentioned in several entries. The bibliography of *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* lists only the titles of works, not the authors, which means that some information is lost. In this compilation, only 42 Western and Chinese works each are listed. The focus is on Chinese-written books starting from Wei Yuan’s 魏源 *Illustrated Record of Overseas Countries*, *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志, and famous Western works in translation (such as *Evolution and Ethics*, *Le contrat social*, *De l’esprit des lois*) with a special focus on religion, astronomy, mechanics, etc. Only 14 books are included in both bibliographies, reflecting their very different approaches. Moreover, since Liang Qichao was still wanted for arrest by the Qing Court, both works treat Liang’s works as taboo, though this did not prevent the compilers from borrowing from them as they saw fit.

Although they can be considered contemporaneous publications based on the period of their production,⁵⁴ the difference exhibited in the compilation and structures of *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* and *The Register of*

⁵³ Wu Zuoqing, “Zixu,” in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing.

⁵⁴ Wu Zuoqing’s “Zixu” is dated to the 7th month of Guangxu 28 [1902], by which time his *Haiguo shang you lu* was most likely already completed.

Overseas Ancients to Befriend lend themselves instead to a discussion of the works as representatives of two distinct phases. In this way, the evolution of late Qing biographical dictionaries represented by these two models can be fully demonstrated.

From *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* to *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*

It need hardly be said that in terms of academic systems *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* represents a new tendency, although its organisational method is still very much according to an old convention that was exactly the same as in the heyday of *The Register of Ancients to Befriend*'s own popularity. And because it was so devoid of invention, the usual "Editorial Principles" were also left out. There is only one explanatory sentence in *Fu-ge-si*'s preface, to the effect that the book is "put together according to rhyme order." With the addition of the "Bibliography of Books Used", there was nothing more that the reader needed to know.

A count of all ten *juan* shows that entries include biographical events for 864 persons; however, this is not the actual number of historical figures featured. Because of the discrepancy in transliterations, on many occasions the same person has two or three entries. For instance, the French scholar Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu (1689–1755) appears in this work under three different transliterated names. They are excerpted below for convenient comparison.

Meng-di-si-jiu [=Montesquieu]. French. Born in 1689. Very gifted from a young age, he studied and gained insight into history. In his youth, he explored the systems and codes of laws of various nations and researched legal theory. In 1740, he was elected to his province's consultative assembly. In the same year he joined the Academy, gaining fame for his painstaking and meticulous research in all sciences and production of a considerable body of work which garnered acclaim. In 1746, he resigned from the assembly and travelled through Europe's various nations. Returning to France, he set to writing with great ardour. First came the two works *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* and *Notes sur l'Angleterre*. Then, in 1750, he published *De l'esprit des lois*, the culmination of twenty years of energetic compilation. Upon the publication of this work, the intellectual discourse of the whole nation underwent a sea change as powerful as ten thousand *li* of rushing Yellow River waters. As a measure of its reputation, consider that in only eighteen months it was reprinted 21 times. Today, all the civilised nations of Europe act according to his teachings, and so Montesquieu can truly be called [the initiator] of a pivotal change in world politics. He died in 1755, aged 66.⁵⁵

Meng-te-si-qiu [=Montesquieu]. Famous French official. He once wrote a new work which said that governance in England was superior to that in France. The French, feeling envious [of the English] upon reading [this book], in one fell swoop determined to take the English ruler as their standard.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Entry "Meng-di-si-jiu" 蒙的斯鳩 [Montesquieu], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan, *juan* 1, first *shangping* rhyme *dong* 東.

⁵⁶ Entry "Meng-te-si-qiu" 蒙特斯邱 [Montesquieu], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan, *juan* 1, first *shangping* rhyme *dong* 東.

Meng-di-si-jiu [= Montesquieu]. From Château de la Brède near Bordeaux in France. An avid reader of histories, he was adept at Greek and Latin. He travelled across all the nations and consorted with the famous scholars of his day. After twenty years of arduous labour, he produced *De l'esprit des lois*, a work which discusses legal theory, political system, human rights, etc., and brought great benefit to later generations.⁵⁷

蒙的斯鳩 法國人也。生於一千六百八十九年。幼稟天才，讀史有識。少壯，探討各國制度、法典，並研究法理學。千七百四十年，舉為本州議會議員。同年入學士會院，益刻苦厲精研究各學，頗有著述，為世所稱。千七百四十六年辭議員職，游歷歐洲諸國。歸國后，益潛心述作，先成《羅馬盛衰原因論》、《英國政體論》兩書，既乃成《萬法精理》，以千七百五十年公於世，蓋作者二十年精力之所集也。此書一出，全國之思想言論為之丕變，真有黃河一瀉千里之勢，僅閱十八月，而重印二十一次，可以想見其聲價矣。今歐洲文明之國，皆一一行其言，故蒙氏者，實可稱地球政界轉變一樞紐云。以一千七百五十五年卒，年六十六歲。
蒙特斯邱 法國名宦。嘗新著一書，言英吉利治國規模勝於法國。法人讀而羨之，一舉一動，盡以英主為準則云。
孟的斯鳩 佛蘭西羅弗勒人。好讀諸史，兼善希臘、拉丁語。歷游各國，與當時名士交游。費二十年星霜，著《萬法精理》一書，論法理、政體、人權等，甚有裨於后世云。

Of these three passages, the first two are classed under the first *shangping* rhyme, *yi dong* 一東, and appear consecutively. However, the last entry can only be found if one searches under the 24th *qu* rhyme, *ershisi jing* 二十四敬. For those who were only just becoming acquainted with works of Western learning in translation, one fears that it would have been very difficult to realise that all three entries referred to the same figure.

By analysing the sources of the material for these three entries, we can understand the manner in which *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* was compiled. The first and most detailed introduction to Montesquieu's life and works is excerpted from Liang Qichao's 1899 essay "The Teachings of Montesquieu."⁵⁸ Comparing the two texts, one finds that up to "all the civilised nations of Europe" *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* entry includes the entire text except for the deletion of a portion of Liang Qichao's précis of Montesquieu's teachings and the Chinese reign years that followed the Western dates. From this we can conclude that the emphasis of *The Register of Foreign*

⁵⁷ Entry "Meng-di-si-jiu" 孟的斯鳩 [Montesquieu], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan, *juan* 8, 24th *qu* rhyme *jing* 敬.

⁵⁸ Ren gong 任公 [=Liang Qichao], "Mengdisijiu zhi xueshuo" 蒙的斯鳩之學說, in Liang Qichao, "Yinbingshi ziyoushu" 飲冰室自由書 [Random notes from the Ice Drinker's Studio], *Qingyi bao* 清議報 32 (Dec. 1899): 6b–10a. This essay is not included in the "Writings" 專集 section of the *Yinbingshi he ji* 飲冰室合集 [Collected works from the Ice Drinker's Studio], which Liang Qichao himself compiled. It is reproduced in a collection of Liang's essays, which are left out from these collected works, see Xia Xiaohong, ed., *Yinbingshi heji* 飲冰室合集 [Essays not collected in the *Collected works from the Ice Drinker's Studio*] (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2005).

Ancients to Befriend's compilation was not on scholarship but on biographical events.

The second text is taken from Timothy Richard's (1845–1919) (Li Timotai 李提摩太) and Cai Erkang's 蔡爾康 (1852–1921) joint and widely read translation of Robert Mackenzie's *The nineteenth Century. A History*.⁵⁹ In the tenth section of the first *juan* the first sentence reads, "The famous French official Montesquieu had written a new book." This was excerpted into *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* without reference to the specific timeframe that served as the original context. Consequently, the era for the "new work" is entirely undefined. The last sentence has been copied incorrectly: "To take the English ruler 英主 as their standard" reads "to take the English system 英制 as their standard"⁶⁰ in the Mackenzie translation. This shows how small copying errors can produce serious mistakes. The origin of the third text cannot be determined at present, but the transliteration of the name would suggest either an early date or a Japanese origin.

Besides Montesquieu, other figures who appear more than once in the work include [Giuseppe] Garibaldi (1807–1882), under the 6th *xiaping* rhyme, *liu ma* 六麻 as *jia-le-ba-ti* 加勒罷提, and under the 11th *ru* rhyme, *shiyi mo* 十一陌 as *ka-la-bai-er-ti* 喀拉擺爾提; [Camillo] Cavour (1810–1861) under the 6th *xiaping* rhyme, *liu ma* 六麻 as *jia-fu-er* 嘉富珥, and under the 11th *ru* rhyme, *shiyi mo* 十一陌 as *ka-fo-er* 喀佛耳; Plato (c. 428–c. 348 BCE) under both *bo-na-tuo* 伯納陀 and *bo-la-duo* 伯拉多; George Washington (1732–1799) is found under *huashengdun* 華盛頓 and *zuozhi · huashengdun* 佐治·華盛頓. Without the inclusion of the name in the original language, it may be that this kind of duplication was inevitable. This may have originated as a kind of precaution, but the result was a great deal of disorder.

Since *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* was a collaborative effort between many people, there are also duplications caused by a lack of necessary pruning at the assembly stage. Consequently, there are two entries for [Prince Klemens von] Metternich (1773–1859), the first of which reads "Austrian prime minister. Metter(nich), through unparalleled careerism, the manipulation of foreign powers, and the crushing of domestic popular spirit all but eliminated 800 years of Hungarian civil rights. Deep waters, searing flames, the sorrowing bird gave its unheard call; as the rain poured and the wind lashed, [the people] waited for a dragon to emerge! And the times did create a hero, for this was the era that produced [Lajos] Kossuth (1802–1894)!"⁶¹ The other entry reads, "Austrian prime minister. Metter(nich), through incomparable careerism, the manipulation of foreign powers and the crushing of domestic popular spirit, all but eliminated 800 years of

⁵⁹ *Taixi xinshi lanyao* 泰西新史攬要 [Essentials of the West's recent history] (Shanghai: Mei Hua shuguan, 1898).

⁶⁰ The source is *Taixi xinshi lanyao*, *juan* 1: 5b. The original phrase in Robert Mackenzie, *The 19th Century. A History*, 13th ed., ran, "Montesquieu had already taught to his countrymen the superiority of English institutions."

⁶¹ Entry "Mei-te-nie" 梅特涅 [Metternich], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, *juan*, comp. Zhang Yuan, 3, tenth *shangping* rhyme *hui* 灰.

Hungarian civil rights.”⁶² Clearly, both texts stem from the same source, except that the latter shows more restraint in its excerption than the first. In fact, these texts are culled from Liang Qichao’s “Biography of the Hungarian Patriot Kossuth,”⁶³ but the “classmates and friends” have copied with such unconcern that Kossuth appears, completely incongruously, in Metternich’s entry.

Based on the character of the compilers, one may conjecture that the repetitions in *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* had something to do with the commitment on the part of those in charge to the idea that quantity improved quality. Even the name “Master Ironsnow,” Tiexuezi 鐵雪子, about which the editors had no information, was included in the book with the comment “Unknown.”⁶⁴ As a result, there are more than a few figures who cannot be readily identified. For example, the entry on *Yao-ge* 姚哥:

The Western scholar *Yao-ge* said: Women are weak, but mothers are strong. How can a weak woman be a strong mother? Just thinking of her complete love for her child, a woman who is usually as delicate and affectionate as a little bird will cross countless mountains and dales; or rage like a wolf or a lion; or haunt about like a demon, fearing nothing, and shirking no danger. How magnificent! Intense love can change a person’s character.⁶⁵

西儒姚哥氏有言:“婦人弱也,而為母則強。”夫弱婦何以能為強母? 唯其愛兒至誠之一念,則雖平日嬌不勝衣,情如小鳥,而以其兒之故,可以獨往獨來於千山萬壑中,虎狼吼咻,魑魍出沒,而無所於恐,無所於避。大矣哉!熱誠之愛之能易人度也。

After reading this text, one still has no information at all about “the Western scholar *Yao-ge*”: not his nation, his era, or his works.⁶⁶ The text is originally drawn from “On the Adventurous Spirit,” Lun jinqu maoxian 論進取冒險, a section of Liang Qichao’s famous essay “On Reforming the People,” Xinmin shuo 新民說.⁶⁷ As for *Yao-ge*, the figure in question is the renowned French writer Victor Hugo (1802–1885). The inclusion of this kind of aphorism in *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* does not really offer any substantial amount of accurate knowledge. In fact, it only serves to demonstrate the strong influence of traditional

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Zhongguo zhi xinmin 中國之新民 [The Chinese Reformer of the People = Liang Qichao], “Xiongjiali aiguo zhe Gasushi zhuan” 匈加利愛國者噶蘇士傳 [Biography of the Hungarian patriot Kossuth], in *Xinmin congbao* 新民叢報, nos. 4(Mar.1902): 31–43; 6(Apr.1902): 25–37; 7(May.1902): 39–52.

⁶⁴ Entry “Tie-xue-zi,” 鐵雪子 [Master Ironsnow] in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan, eleventh *ru* rhyme *mo*陌, *juan* 10.

⁶⁵ Entry “Yao-ge” 姚哥 [Hugo], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan, *juan* 4, second *xiaoping* rhyme *xiao* 蕭.

⁶⁶ In the process of copying and printing, several of the following omissions and mistakes occurred: The words “said: women,” yan fu 言婦 have been omitted and the space has been left blank; “but mothers,” er wei mu 而為母 has changed to “those who are not mothers,” bu wei mu 不為母; “haunt about,” chumo 出沒 has turned into “beyond measure,” chu du 出度. More ridiculously, “affectionate as a little bird,” qing ru xiaoniao 情如小鳥 has turned into “affectionate as a mountain island,” qing ru shandao 情如山島, which is entirely without sense.

⁶⁷ Zhongguo zhi xinmin 中國之新民 [=Liang Qichao], “Lun jinqu maoxian,” 論進取冒險 in *Zhongguo zhi xinmin*, “Xinmin shuo”, *Xinmin congbao* 5 (April 1902): 1–11.

genealogical studies which “selected a novel way to provide a book for the ornamentation of prose.”

We should admit that while *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* introduced new learning, it did not actually abandon the traditional surname book’s habit of gathering trivial information. Take, for instance, the entries on the English scientist Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727). The entry *niu-dun* 牛頓 gives a full account of the events of his life, as well as his discovery of infinity, gravity, the light spectrum, and other scientific contributions. On the other hand, the entry *niu-dong* 牛董 is concerned entirely with the bachelorhood of the “great British natural scientist”: “Never marrying, Newton was an avid student from childhood, striving never to rest except to eat and sleep. In his middle years, he had a multitude of projects and a wide circle of acquaintances, and so had no time to think of marriage.”⁶⁸ Its account of the Scottish inventor James Watt (1736–1819) is similar. In the entry *hua-te* 華忒 he is briefly introduced as “a Briton, the inventor of a late eighteenth century engine which ran on steam, later utilised in all manner of manufacturing.” But then, in the entry *nai-duan* 奈端 about half of the entry is devoted to an anecdote on how, at the age of 14, he “was studying in his studio, and felt thirsty. Putting a clay kettle on the fire, he turned back to his studies and forgot about it.” Then, “the water in the clay kettle boiled and the kettle lid kept rattling about. Hearing it, he glanced over, saw what was happening, and was astonished.” This event inspired him to research steam power and later invent the steam engine.⁶⁹ However, the use of *nai-duan* to transcribe his name is a simple misattribution, since the characters are a rendering of Newton’s name and totally unconnected with Watt. This kind of error occurred because the editors were hampered by their inability to check the originals, although the book’s hasty compilation was also partly at fault. Moreover, it was easier to attract the reader’s attention by telling anecdotal stories than by simply recording biographical events.

Wu Zuoqing’s single-handed compilation *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* is not only more rigorous in its approach; its compilatory structure is also more precise than that of *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*. However, Wu Zuoqing is not entirely free from the desire to incorporate as much as possible. In the first *juan*’s entry for *Xi-bi-ai* 希比埃 there is only one meaningless sentence of explanation, “Lived during King Jing of Zhou’s 周敬王 (reigned 519–476 BCE) time.” But his striving for accuracy, which “the heart yearns for, though it cannot be achieved,” is nevertheless evident. Words like the following in the “Editorial Principles” capture its spirit best:

⁶⁸ Entries “Niu-dun” 牛頓 [Newton] and “Niu-dong,” 牛董 [Newton], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan, *juan* 6, 11th *xiaping* rhyme *you* 尤. The original erroneously writes “eye” 眼 for “sleep” 眠.

⁶⁹ Entry “Hua-te” 華忒 [Watt], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan, *juan* 5, sixth *xiaping* rhyme *ma* 麻. Entry “Nai-duan” 奈端 [Newton], in *Waiguo shang you lu*, comp. Zhang Yuan, *juan* 8, ninth *qu* rhyme *tai* 泰.

[Information on] a figure being recorded must be conclusively verified before it can be included. If there are any doubts, if there are different accounts of place of residence or birth date, then we may not make rash assumptions. The figure should be tentatively classed in the supplementary *juan* to wait for the information to be verified.⁷⁰

所載之人，必考証確鑿，始行採入。若稍有疑似，或所居何地、所生何世言人人殊，則不敢妄為臆斷，姑列入補遺卷內，以待考訂。

For this reason, besides the 614 figures included in the body of the text, there are another 274 included in the seventh “supplementary” *juan*. In other words, of all the names included, nearly one-third is deliberately classed in this *juan* for further research.

Unlike the “Editorial Principles” in traditional *Register of Ancients to Befriend* works, which usually explain the reasons for inclusion, Wu Zuoqing mostly lists the reasons for exclusion: “the existence of this person has not yet been determined, and so he is not included” or “Certainly Korea, Burma, Siam and Vietnam have figures of accomplishment, but they have not been included, since they were once considered China’s protectorates, so they should not compiled along with the manifold [foreign] nations,” etc. There is also a special explanation that “at the back of this work is an addendum in one *juan* regarding the evolution of foreign geography, the details of historic events, full and clear, for the purpose of foundational studies.” This “addendum” is divided into “Names of Cited Countries (the place names addendum)” and “Appendix of Quotations Used.” The former includes 73 countries, the latter 48 entries. Evidence of Wu’s meticulous work is everywhere.

A more substantial change is the fact that Wu Zuoqing totally abandoned “rhyme order for structure, surnames for substructure,” ordering the entries instead “according to chronological sequence.” This was indeed the most prominent feature of *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*, and so it is little wonder that Wu gives it pride of place in the first item of the “Editorial Principles.” For the convenience of that era’s Chinese readership, entry arrangement was entirely according to the Chinese system of dynastic chronology, starting with Yao and Shun and continuing all the way down to the Tongzhi reign of the Qing Dynasty. Figures are listed sequentially by dynasty, though dates in every entry include both Chinese and Western calendrical reckonings. For instance, in the first *juan* “Plato” (428–348 BCE) of “the Zhou” is recorded as “born in the 12th year of the reign of King Kao of Zhou 周考王, which in the Western calendar is 429 BCE; died in the 23rd year of the reign of King Xian [of Zhou] [周]顯王, which in the Western calendar is 348 BCE.” Compared to *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*, which included only Western dates, this is clearly more convenient for the reader. One can imagine how difficult it was for one person to attempt to arrange foreign figures by chronological precedence in a period when materials were far from complete. This is also the reason for the large number of figures in *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* classed as “incomplete” and “awaiting further elaboration.”

Undaunted by the complications, Wu Zuoqing proceeded without assistance. It was not merely novelty that prompted him to change the organisation of entries;

⁷⁰ Wu Zuoqing, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Hai guo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing.

there was a deeper motivation behind this choice. The reason that he did not continue using Liao Yongxian's model turns out to have been related to the realities of the late Qing translation world:

As the transliteration of foreign names has not been unified, how could I have settled on any one transliteration? And since some [characters] are not included in the rhyme [order], it was not convenient to use Liao's system.

然外國人名，譯音不一，安能以一家所譯據為定音？且並有韻中所無者，尤未便用廖氏之例。⁷¹

The second sentence refers to foreign surnames with characters like *ling* 唳 and *li* 唳 [e.g. Augustus Lindley 唳唳 1840–1873], which add a mouth radical to an existing character. These are not found in *The Treasury of Rhymes and Phrases*. It would be a moot point if such names were left out entirely, but once they are chosen for selection they cannot be incorporated into the rhyme order. The first reason Wu gives for this is that various transliterations are used. For this reason the choice of *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* to collect entries indiscriminately was not just according to precedent, but also the least laborious and the safest method. The store of knowledge required in order to refer to the original language or to merge the different transliterations is not something superficial scholars could quickly acquire. Consequently, besides the difficulties of researching dates of birth and death and ordering the entries chronologically, Wu Zuoqing also had to go to the trouble of assessing the many variant name transliterations.

Of course, *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* is not a perfect work. One need only look at the bibliography to see that the list of figures is far from complete; and it can still occur that the same figure appears twice, as is the case with *Fu-lan-ke-ling* 富蘭克令 [Benjamin Franklin 1706–1790] in *juan* 5 and the “American” *Fu-lan-lin* 富蘭林 [Franklin] in *juan* 7 who “realised the manner in which lightning might be lured from the clouds”; or the *Nai-duan* 奈端 [Newton] in *juan* 4 and the “acoustic and optical scientist” *Niu-dun* 牛頓 [Newton] in *juan* 6. In both instances, it is clear that the same person is meant. However, this does not diminish the great significance of the compiler's tireless efforts to standardise. Take, for instance, the entry for *Suo-ge-la-di* 梭格拉底, Socrates (c.470–399 BCE). In the first *juan*'s table of contents, underneath *Suo-ge-la-di*, a further five transliterations are noted in smaller script as *Su-ge-la-di* 蘇格拉第, *Suo-ha-da-di-shi* 所哈達底士, *Suo-ke-la-di* 索克拉克的, *Suo-ge-di* 瑣格底, and *Suo-ge-la-di* 梭革拉低. At the bottom of the entry's text, *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* reiterates:

Ge-[suo]-ge-la-di, also known as *Su-ge-la-di*. In *Gujiao huican* 古教匯參 [Ancient religions (by Alexander Williamson)],⁷² [the name] is written as *Suo-ha-da-di-shi*; in [Okamoto Kansuke's 岡本監輔] *Wanguo shiji* 萬國史記 [World History] as *Suo-ke-la-di*;

⁷¹ Wu Zuoqing, “Fanli,” in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing.

⁷² This is a widely quoted work, Wei-lian-chen 韋廉臣 [= Alexander Williamson], *Gujiao huican: genyuan, yixiang, jieguo* 古教匯參: 根源, 意向, 結果 [Ancient religions and philosophies: their origin, aim, and issue] (Shanghai: Pub. by the “School and Text Book Series” Committee, Yizhi shuhui, 1882).

in *Wanguo tongjian* 萬國通鑒 [A Composite World History] [the Chinese translation of a work by Devello Sheffield] as *Suo-ge-di*; and *Xila zhilüe* 希臘志略 [A Brief History of Greece] as *Suo-ge-la-di*.⁷³

“格[梭]格拉底”一作“蘇格拉第,”《古教匯參》作“所哈達底士,”《萬國史記》作“索克拉的,”《萬國通鑒》作“瑣格底,”《希臘志略》作“梭革拉底”。

Consequently, all variations of the name of this “man from the state of Athens” and “sage of Greece,” who was “born in the 7th year of the reign of King Yuan of Zhou 周元王, which is 470 BCE according to the Western calendar,” are finally reduced to a single form.

On account of the necessity of choosing one transliteration among many, *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* also represents a step forward in the standardisation of transliteration. Although Wu Zuoqing does not make his criteria explicit, his preferences can be deduced from his habits. Socrates is a good example of this. Wu rejected the transliterations used in *Ancient Religions Compared* and the other works and selected *Suo-ge-la-di*, a rendering for which one must again look to Liang Qichao as a model. Liang had already used this transliteration several times in 1897 in “On Translation,”⁷⁴ which meant that his transliteration had a precedent. Other entries in *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*, such as *Bo-la-tu* 柏拉圖 [Plato], *Dan-ding* 但丁 [Dante], *Lu-suo* 盧梭 [Jean-Jacques Rousseau], *Wa-te* 瓦特 [Watt], *Yue-han Mi-le* 約翰·彌勒 [John [Stuart] Mill], *Bo-lun-zhi-li* 伯倫知理 [Johann Caspar Bluntschli], *Ma-zhi-ni* 瑪志尼 [Giuseppe Mazzini], *Jia-li-bo-di* 加里波的 [Garibaldi], *Jia-fu-er* 加富爾 [Cavour], etc., all use versions made familiar by Liang Qichao’s writings, and many of them have since become the standard transliterations.

Merging transliterations in this manner, Wu Zuoqing could not simply copy text in the manner of *Foreign Ancients to Befriend*. The text for his entries had to be collated anew. Let us turn again to the entry for “Montesquieu,” which in *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* is quite succinct:

Montesquieu—French. Born in the 28th year of this dynasty’s Kangxi reign, which is 1689 in the Western calendar. Died in the 20th year of the Qianlong reign, which is 1755 in the Western calendar. Wrote *De l’esprit des lois* and invented the principle of the tripartite separation of powers into legislative, judiciary and executive [branches]. He denounced the slave trade as inhumane, and favoured the removal of torture from the trial process as well as the creation of a jury system. Posterity holds him to be correct.⁷⁵

孟德斯鳩 法蘭西國人。生於我朝康熙二十八年,即西歷一千六百八十九年;卒於乾隆二十年,即西歷一千七百五十五年。著《萬法精理》,發明立法、行法、司法三權鼎峙之說。又極言販奴無人理,聽訟宜廢拷訊,設陪審。后人踵之。

⁷³ Entry “Suogeladi” 梭格拉底 [Socrates], in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing, *juan* 1: 7a.

⁷⁴ Liang Qichao, “Lun yishu 論譯書” [On translation], in Liang Qichao, “Lun xuexiao qi (bianfa tongyi san zhi yi): yi shu xu” 論學校七(= 變法通議三之七)譯書叙, *Shiwu bao* 29 (5th month 1897). (1897; repr. Taipei: Wenhai chuibanshe 1987), 1933.

⁷⁵ Entry “Meng-de-si-jiu” 孟德斯鳩 [Montesquieu], in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing, *juan* 5: 9a.

The entry includes dates of birth and death, the name of a representative work, main contributions, and influence on later generations—already much like the standard style for a modern reference work. Of course, one should note that this is the finest example, and there are quite a few other entries that are too simple or too convoluted, or where the length is less than ideal. All in all, the quality of this work’s compilation is a good deal higher than the direct excerpts in *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*. At the very least, its narrative is more complete and relevant.

This work, which intended to provide an introduction of Western civilisation and the “befriending of Western ancients,” was compiled by a man whose intellectual allegiance perhaps does not represent a complete departure from traditional principles, but who must at least be credited with a breakthrough in this field. However, in one way, despite the difference in epoch, Wu Zuoqing professes much the same thing as *Collected Surname Genealogies*, which warned, “evidently treacherous and sinister men of wide renown are to be excluded, lest they contaminate these volumes.”⁷⁶ Wu Zuoqing’s “Editorial Principles” include a similar item:

[As for] the French assemblymen who committed regicide and the recluses who killed the Japanese *tairō* [Ii Naosuke 1815–1860]—at the time it was said that they had acted for civil rights, that their righteous ire had spurred them on. This work dreads opening the way to *lèse-majesté* or rebellion, and so these figures have been excluded.⁷⁷

法蘭西之議員手弑法王，日本國之處士實刺大老，當時稱之，謂為民權所由張、義憤之所激也。是書恐開犯上作亂之端，故其人概不列入。

One might remark that the structure is still hampered by the conventions of the *Register of Ancients to Befriend* works, but it would be better to say that this principle allows us to see how *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* is not entirely guided in its compilation criteria by the extent to which a person influenced historical developments or the importance of a person’s contribution to human society. Consequently, it still operates at a certain distance from modern reference tools.

Besides the figures omitted, not all of the notables who actually appear in *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* are model figures in Wu Zuoqing’s eyes. This is where the utility of an “addendum” becomes apparent. The entry for Jean-Jacques Rousseau is a good example of this. This text gives the circumstances of Rousseau’s biography and works in detail, and especially notes that “in his work *Le contrat social*, he invented the doctrine of equality and freedom. The application of his ideas produced the French Revolution. Later, people called his books the fuse to the rebel powder keg, and so insurgents could be seen everywhere.”⁷⁸ In the eighth *juan*, the “addendum,” titled “Rousseau’s teaching of equality and freedom” is also included with an accompanying explanation. Wu first reiterates that Rousseau’s *Le*

⁷⁶ Ling Dizhi 凌迪知, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Wanxing tongpu*, comp. Ling Dizhi.

⁷⁷ Wu Zuoqing, “Fanli,” in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing.

⁷⁸ Entry “Lu-suo” 盧梭 [Rousseau], in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing, *juan* 5: 9a, b.

contrat social was called the “fuse to the rebel powder keg” and so on, and then proceeds to list four Western and Japanese books, including Bluntschli’s (*Bo-lun-zhi-li* 伯倫知理, now written *Bu-lun-qi-li* 布倫奇利) *Lehre vom modernen Staat*, Guojiaxue 國家學, which “ardently advocate freedom and equality.” Then he adds a long additional statement about the justice of “freedom”:

Freedom is the conservation of personal rights, which the monarch cannot restrict or remove. Nevertheless, one cannot therefore act irresponsibly, forgetting the difference between high and humble status. Under the Western system, the entire nation attends to school, and if someone does not, the parents are blamed. The entire nation must serve in the army, and those who do not are considered fugitives. These are the restrictions on freedom. The system of rational punishment is administered by courts. Those who have suffered hardship can receive redress through the high courts, though not forgetting the difference between high and humble status. Consequently such freedoms as that of the press, of religion, of establishing organisations, of residence, of transfer, of body, and of secrecy of correspondence proceed from universal truths, and it has never been forbidden for citizens to change residence. Many of these freedoms are recorded in the constitution and published all over the nation. Outside these freedoms, there is no mention of a freedom to rebel or to be insubordinate. Earlier supporters of civil rights said they desired the monarch not to be partial or act arbitrarily, but to act instead in accordance with the will of the masses. But people twist the meaning of these words to suit their anti-royalist venom, which is not the actual idea behind civil rights.⁷⁹

自由者，保其自有之權利，君不得制之奪之，非任其囂張而無貴賤上下之別也。西制舉國入學，不入學者罪其父母；舉國充兵，不滿役者以逃亡論。此至不自由者也。理刑規制在道院，受枉者大審院得以平反之，則非無上下之別。即如出版、從教、立社、居住、移轉、身體、信書秘密之自由權，以世界公理推之，固未嘗有禁民之居處往來者也。之數者，載之憲法，布之通國。此外不聞有反亂之自由權、抗令之自由權也。可知前人主持民權之說，欲使人主無偏聽、無專斷，合眾是以為是。乃僉人附會其說，以逞其無君之毒，則非言民權者之本旨也。

Rousseau, as an advocate of “equality and freedom” and “civil rights,” was never “treasonous” in his actions, and therefore should not be disqualified from being an “ancient to befriend.” Still, Wu Zuoqing is clearly concerned that his teachings could unleash revolutionary forces. For this reason, in the addendum he counteracts the “deleterious effects” that he fears may have operated in the body of the text. The addendum has been put to good use in order to put a stop to the “dread of opening the way to *lèse-majesté* or rebellion” inadvertently.

Of course, the “addendum” is more generally devoted to the effort of providing objective knowledge or supplementing entries with information that could not be included in the body, and thereby assisting the reader in achieving an accurate understanding. For instance, the text on “Italy”⁸⁰ provides a simple outline of that nation’s history, thus offering the necessary background information for entries like

⁷⁹ Entry “Lu-suo yan pingdeng ziyou” 盧騷言平等自由 [Rousseau’s teachings on equality and freedom], in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing, *juan* 8下 *Yinyong gushi kao* 引用故實攷: 16 a, b.

⁸⁰ Entry “Yidali” 意大利 [Italy], in *Haiguo shang you lu*, comp. Wu Zuoqing, *juan* 8上 *Yinyong guoming kao* (diming fu) 引用國名考(地名附) [Examination of cited country names (Addendum for geographical names)]:11b.

“Mazzini,” “Garibaldi,” “Cavour” and others. Not only does this decrease the number of notables in the body of the work, which in turn helps the user to comprehend each individual’s achievements, but it also allows the “addendum” to become an extension of the information contained in the entries by turning a supplement into a part of the whole.

In fact, in comparison with *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*, works like *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*, with its new content and old format and its jumble of new knowledge and old tendencies, is a more representative sample of that era’s flavour. This is the kind of work that could have only emerged in the transition from old to new during the late Qing. The historical context caused people to place all their hope in translated materials. The most tangible reason for the compilation of *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* was to provide Chinese readers, who had access to a great many works containing irregular transliterations, with a reference work. For this reason, the duplication of personal names has a kind of logic. Subsequently, however, entries on the same person should have been merged. Unfortunately, that was not yet possible given the abilities of the editors and the way in which the book was compiled. Moreover, because the biographies that appear in this book are all excerpted from completed works, its failings are considerable when measured against the entries in today’s reference books. *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* already represents an enormous step forward. By using chronological sequence as a compilation principle and deliberately breaking with traditional surname-books, it profoundly expressed the spirit of the times. But its “dread of opening the way to lèse-majesté or rebellion” and the subsequent exclusion of some figures due to a valorisation of moral concern meant that it could not yet free itself from the constraints of works in the *Register of Ancients to Befriend* mould. Although they belong to different evolutionary stages, both works should be viewed as transitional works that bridge the divide between category-books and modern reference works.

From *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* to Darroch’s *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*

Variant translations were a reality in the world of late Qing translation. Although this made *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* flawed in many ways, the work is still essential and valuable. But it was *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* that, by selecting a single transliteration from the variants, clearly indicated future trends. Moreover, with the proliferation of translated works, the

cry for standardised translated terminology grew more urgent by the day.⁸¹ A new standardising encyclopaedic dictionary was about to appear.

In 1897, Gao Fengqian 高鳳謙 (1869–1936), who was later to become a mainstay of editing and translation at the Commercial Press 商務印書館, wrote an article for the *Chinese Progress*, *Shiwu bao* 時務報, called “On Translating Useful Western Works,” in which he offered his detailed reflections on the standardisation of transliterated names. Besides using characters with semantic value for “names of distinctive objects,” in the section on “harmonious sounds” Gao suggested the following specific solution for “the names of people and places, which have sounds but no meaning, and are especially jumbled”:

Roman letter [words] should be compiled into a work which is organised in sequence from [words with] one letter to those with over ten, with the Chinese sound noted. Foreign countries mostly use English, and most translated works used English. Chinese takes Beijing dialect as the standard for use throughout the realm. From now on, regardless of whether Chinese is being transliterated into Western languages or Western languages are being transliterated into Chinese, we will use English and Beijing dialect as the basis. If one or two sounds do not tally, no one shall alter them according to their own inclinations, so that standardisation may be achieved.⁸²

宜將羅馬字母，編為一書，自一字至十數字，按字排列，注以中音。外國用英語為主，以前譯書，多用英文也；中國以京語為主，以天下所通行也。自茲以後，無論以中譯西，以西譯中，皆視此為本。即一二音不盡符合，不得擅改，以歸畫一。

This suggestion does not take into account problems such as the difficulties created by the semantic value of the Chinese characters employed for transliteration, or the realities of the phonetic qualities of other Western languages, or, indeed, the question of how to accommodate existing transliterations. As a result, it was an impossible proposal; however, the basic idea of standardising transliterated names provided an inspiration to those who followed.

One might say that the greatest difficulty for the editors and users of *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* and *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* was their inability to refer back to the original. As early as the 12th month of 1896, in the 13th issue of *The Chinese Progress*, “A Chinese and Western Language Harmonisation Table,” *Zhong Xi wen hebibiao* 中西文合璧表, was

⁸¹ An example are Yan Fu’s rules in the “Regulations for the Metropolitan College Translation Bureau”: “As a rule, when beginning to translate a work, the various translators should each have a record in which they will list all specific nouns in order according to the Western alphabet. First, the translators should produce draft translations, or use existing translations (names of countries and places should be translated according to publications of the Board of Foreign Affairs and *A Short Account of Maritime Circuits*, *Yinghuan zhilue* 瀛寰志略). Once comprehensive translations have been determined, they should be listed in such works as “A Table of Definitions for Terms of New Learning,” *Xinxue mingyi biao* 新學名義表和 “A Table of Personal and Geographical Names,” *Ren, di zhuan ming biao* 人、地專名表, to be comprehensively compiled for imperial and enforcement, in order to bring about standardisation,” in Yan Fu 嚴復, *Yan Fu ji* 嚴復集 [Yan Fu works] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1886), 1: 128.

⁸² Gao Fengqian 高鳳謙, “Fanyi Taixi youyong shu jiyi” 繙譯泰西有用書籍議 [On translating useful Western works], *Shiwu bao* 時務報 26 (May, 1897): 1779–1881.

Illustration 6 Cover page of Zhang-bo-er (= Chambers), *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan 1908. A selective translation of *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary*



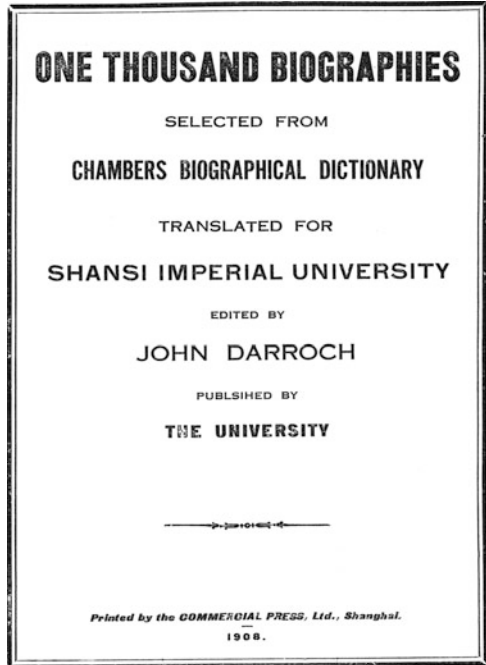
appended to every *juan*. This table listed all the “uncommon names of people and places” of foreigners who appeared in that issue “for the convenient reference of the reader.”⁸³ With the original script available, any transliteration, no matter how idiosyncratic, could be traced back to its referent in the end. This is very different from *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* and *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*, which both approached compilation based on extant transliterations.

The combination of standardised transliteration with the inclusion of Western script alongside was implemented by *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*, *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe* 世界名人傳略, a translation project initiated by the British missionary Timothy Richard and executed by John Darroch, among others⁸⁴ (Illustrations 6 and 7). The “Editorial Principles” declare that “this book consists of selected translations from *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary*, includes over a thousand figures, and is entitled *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*.” The

⁸³ “Benguan gaobai” 本館告白 [Announcement by our publishing house], *Shiwu bao* 13, (December, 1896): 890.

⁸⁴ Zhang-bo-er 張伯爾 [=Chambers], comp., *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe* 世界名人傳略/*One Thousand Biographies Selected from Chambers Biographical Dictionary Translated for Shansi Imperial University* [Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide], comp. and trans. Dou Yuean 竇樂安 [= John Darroch] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1908).

Illustration 7 Inside page of Zhang-bo-er (= Chambers), *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan 1908, with English announcement of content



original work, *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary*, was published in 1897 and was edited by David Patrick (1849–1914) and Francis Hindes Groome (1851–1902). Clearly, Xu Jiaying 許家惺, who wrote the preface to the Chinese translation and was proof-reading and polishing the text, was not aware of the publication details. He referred to the “*Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide* by the Briton Chambers”⁸⁵ (Illustration 8) and did not realise that *Zhang-bo-er* 張伯爾 referred to the name of a publishing company in Scotland—W. & R. Chambers, Limited, which was founded by the brothers Robert and William and was renowned for its publication of *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*.

The translation of a large-scale work like *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary*, with its entries on more than 10,000 people,⁸⁶ would indeed have represented an enormous amount of difficult work for late Qing translators. Fortunately, the resourceful Timothy Richard proposed that the translation be taken over by the Shanxi University Translation Academy, Shanxi daxuetang yishu yuan 山西大學堂譯書院, founded in Shanghai in 1902, where it would proceed under the

⁸⁵ Dou Yuean, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles] and Xu Jiaying 許家惺, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe*, comp. Zhang-bo-er.

⁸⁶ The editor's preface to *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* states, “the total number of persons treated must a good deal exceed 10,000.” David Patrick and Francis Hindes Groome, eds., *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary. The Great of all Times and Nations*. (London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1899), 1. Many thanks to Chen Dandan 陳丹丹 and Yang Lianfen 楊聯芬, who provided the English quote.

序

處今日世界交通之世。寰球各國。於政治宗教文藝學術諸大端。莫不鎔鑄中外。融會古今。晉五洲而溝通之。以適天演之進化矣。然國於其間者。而不知世界各國文學政教之歷史。及歷史上重要之人物。則仍不足以探古今治亂興衰之本原。而於知人論世之知識。仍朦朧焉。英儒李提摩太先生以宗教巨子。而抱世界主義者也。毅然以興中國教育自任。倡辦山西大學堂。造就甚衆。復於壬寅設山西大學堂譯書院於上海。延聘中外知名之士。彙譯新書。以餉學者。復議繙譯世界名人列傳。以英國張伯爾所著世界名人字典一書。薈萃古今人物。宏深博大。搜探無遺。洵爲列傳之淵藪。乃選擇重要名人千餘人。延英儒寶樂安總理譯事。聘同人分卷彙譯。全稿幾成。會以譯院遷移。遺佚數卷。復爲補譯續成。以致稍稽時日。至戊申九月。全書出版。其中彙譯參訂諸事。則以出諸寶君及上海張君在新之手爲多。至校讐刪

世界名人傳略序

Illustration 8 Xu Jiaying, Preface to Zhang-bo-er (= Chambers), *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan 1908

supervision of the British missionary John Darroch (Dou Le'an) 寶樂安 (1865–1941). Huang Ding 黃鼎, Zhang Zaixin 張在新, and Guo Fenghan 郭鳳翰 were engaged as translators and the *juan* were divided among them for translation, with the translator's name noted in the front matter of each *juan* to give each his due credit. Finally, Xu Jiaying proofread and finalised the text, with the entire process taking at least 5 years. During that time they experienced various setbacks including “the move of the academy, the loss of several *juan*, which had to be retranslated before work could be continued.”⁸⁷ The book was finally published in its entirety in 1908 with only slightly over 1,000 biographies of notables selected for translation. This accounts for its alternate English name, *One Thousand Biographies*.

⁸⁷ Xu Jiaying, “Xu,” in *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe*, comp. Zhang-bo-er, 1.

To explain the compilation process of *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide* it may be useful to examine a series of articles called “On a Thousand Notables of the Earth,” *Diqiu qian mingren kao* 地球千名人考,⁸⁸ published in *Review of the Times*, *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報, in the 5th month of 1903. These articles provide information on the criteria for selection, which the “Editorial Principles” do not discuss. Judging from the tone, this article, credited as “A Manuscript from the Shanxi University Translation Academy,” appeared to have been the work of Timothy Richard. Moreover, according to Xu Jiaying, Richard also undertook the task of “choosing the most important thousand” from “the great number of notables ancient and contemporary, vast and profound, all collected without omission” in *Chambers’s Biographical Dictionary*. The composition of this article can therefore be regarded as a signal that the translation project for the whole work was about to begin.

Unlike the great concern with the moral dimension that was exhibited in the *Ancients to Befriend* work, the author of “On a Thousand Notables of the Earth” uses only historical influence and so-called reputation as his yardstick. This distinction is reflected in the title of the work, which uses the formulation “notables worldwide” rather than “foreign ancients to befriend,” a title that would, in any case, have been incongruent with the original English title. The author of the article proposed the compilation of a volume called *Notables of Ancient and Contemporary Times*, *Gujin mingren biao* 古今名人表. Its work was undertaken as follows:

I once collected one thousand notables, ancient and contemporary, and arranged them into a list. I arranged the biographies of foreign notables according to six sections (two for England, two for France, one for Germany, one for the United States). Choosing the longest of the biographies, two [one] thousand for each section, I collected six thousand. From these, I selected at least three sections, leaving about 1,600 names. From these I again chose the longest biographies, leaving one thousand. Using this method, one can not only identify those of the greatest reputation, but also determine their relative status.⁸⁹

余曾集古今千名人，臚為一表。其集法，取列國名人傳六部（計英二、法二、德一、美一），擇其列傳最長者，部各二[一]千名，以此法共得人六千。又於此中取其至少三部，列名者約得一千六百之數。復於此中擇其篇幅最長者，得人一千。以此法求之，不惟可以得其最有聲名者，即諸人位置之序，亦可由此而知焉。

From today’s point of view, the Western bias of the work’s scope is apparent. Especially in light of the fact that *Chambers’s Biographical Dictionary* had been retitled *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*. However, for the late Qing academic world, which was thirsting for Western knowledge, such criticism is irrelevant—in fact, the work’s prejudice towards the West was considered its greatest virtue. Furthermore, based on the above explanation, we can see the origins of the compilation process for *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*.

⁸⁸ Shanxi daxuetang yishuju 山西大學堂譯書局 [Shanxi University Translation Academy], “Diqiu qian mingren kao” 地球千名人考 [On a thousand notables of the earth], *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報, nos. 172 (1903): 19a–20b; 173(1903): 13a–15a; 174(1903): 11a–12b.

⁸⁹ Shanxi daxuetang yishuju, “Diqiu qian mingren kao,” *Wanguo gongbao* 172 (1903): 19b–20a.

凡例

一 是書由英國張伯爾世界名人字典 Chambers's Biographical Dictionary 選譯而成。共得名人千餘。名曰世界名人傳畧。仍按二十六字母分卷。惟 U 一卷。無選者。故闕之。

一 每傳譯名之下。附列西文原名。及其生卒年代。其有未詳者。則從闕如。

一 傳文中如遇人名地名。仍將西文原名。按列書眉。并於原名譯名之旁。附誌 1 2 3 4 等號目。以便閱者參考檢查之用。

一 所譯人地名。除習見他籍。沿用已久者。仍襲用外。其餘悉據京音譯定。且前後畫一。無錯雜紊淆之弊。

一 書末附列世界名人時代表。將本書各名人。按照中西年歷。以次編列。藉證古今世界人物之盛衰。每人表末。附載本傳頁數。以便閱者按籍而稽。其查檢之法。即視本人西文原名字首。屬於某部。而檢某部若干頁。例如名表第一人。爲 子 26 56 115 西蘇

世界名人傳畧 凡例

Illustration 9 Editorial Principles for Zhang-bo-er (= Chambers), *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan 1908

Compared to earlier Chinese-language biographical registers, *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide's* greatest particularity is that it is arranged according to the “name in the original Western language.” This is clearly laid out in the “Editorial Principles” (Illustration 9):

- Item: Beneath each transliterated name, the name in the original Western language is appended, along with the dates of birth and death. If these are unknown, they must be omitted.
- Item: If personal or geographical names occur in the biographies, the name in the original Western language is given at the top of the page. Next to both the transliterated name and the name in the original Western language, the numbers 1,2,3,4 are added for the reader's convenient reference.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Dou Yuean, “Fanli,” in *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe*, comp. Zhang-bo-er.

一、每傳譯名之下，附列西文原名，及其生卒年代。其有未詳者，則從闕如。一、傳文中如遇人名、地名，仍將西文原名，按列書眉，並於原名譯名之旁，附志 1、2、3、4 等號目，以便閱者參考檢查之用。

To take Victor Hugo as an example, beneath the transliterated surname *Hu-ge* 胡戈, written in large characters, there is another line of slightly smaller writing “*Wei-duo* 維多 Hugo, Victor” which is Hugo’s name in Chinese transliteration and his English (French) surname and given name. Between these two lines, Hugo’s dates of birth and death are noted: “born 1804, died 1882.” The four personal names in the text of the biography, “*Na-po-lun* 拿坡侖, *Bu-bang* 布邦, *Cha-li* 查理, and *Lu-yi-Fei-li-bi* 路易·腓立比” have been enumerated with notes, and above the body of the text the corresponding four names in the original Western script are listed sequentially: “Napoleon,” “Bourbon,” “Charles,” “Louis Philippe.”⁹¹ For this reason, though *Hu-ge* is still rather different from the contemporary transliteration *Yu-guo* 雨果, inclusion of the Western name allows the reader to ascertain which figure is meant.

The use of Western language as the standard is reflected in the structure of the entire work. In fact, copying the arrangement and sequence of the original work, “the *juan* are organised according to the 26 letters.”⁹² This means that readers of this work first had to master the 26 English letters. Requiring this kind of background knowledge clearly marks a substantial difference from *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend* and earlier works. The system of having “rhyme order for structure, the surnames as substructure” or “excerpting according to rhyme order” presumed the reader’s familiarity with the *pingshui*, *hongwu* 洪武 or other rhyme sequences. The difference in the two systems of reference constitutes a seismic shift in the adoption of Chinese or Western learning as a foundation. Although already aware of the limitations of organising Western learning according to *category-book* structures, the abandonment of the rhyme-system organisation in *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* and the adjustments made had nevertheless kept to the traditions of Chinese learning.

If one assesses the system based on accuracy then the *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*’s arrangement is, of course, the most appropriate. In order to adapt to the fractious nature of late Qing translation, the compilers and translators attempted to bridge the gap. One way to do this was stated as follows:

All transliterated names of places and people are made in accordance with study of other works and by adopting transliterations of long-standing use. Remaining transliterations are made in accordance with the pronunciation current in the capital. [This shall be done] consistently in order to avoid the pitfalls of disorderliness or confusion.⁹³

⁹¹ Huang Ding 黃鼎, “‘H’ Biography No. 8”, in *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe*, comp. Zhang-bo-er, 41. Hugo’s dates of birth and death here are erroneous. It should read 1802–1885. The English-language version is correct. See the editions from 1897 to 1900 on, 509–510.

⁹² Dou Yuean, “Fanli,” in *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe*, comp. Zhang-bo-er.

⁹³ Dou Yuean, “Fanli,” in *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe*, comp. Zhang-bo-er.

所譯人、地名，除習見他籍，沿用已久者，仍襲用外，其餘悉據京音譯定，且前後畫一，無錯雜紊淆之弊。

This accords with Gao Fengqian's suggestion to standardise transliterations according to "Beijing dialect" as well as the aims of other perceptive figures in contemporary translation circles. However, actually standardising all the names in a book featuring over 1,000 persons was a very difficult task indeed. The translators' special efforts to establish links with existing knowledge and to consistently employ transliterations of long standing naturally made the work even more convenient for the reader.

The second method was to attach two important appendices collated by the translators at the back of the book. One of them, "Worldwide Notables Chinese Transliteration Reference List," *Shijie mingren Han yi jiancha biao* 世界名人漢譯檢查表, is organised according to the radicals of the *Kangxi Dictionary*, *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典, and allows for the use of Chinese to find the figure's original Western name and the page number for his biography. Clearly, the purpose of this measure was to make use convenient for those who could not read Western letters. Using the "dictionary" rather than the "rhyme order" system of reference may reveal the translators deliberately distancing themselves from the tradition of reference works that "furnish a collection of poetry and prose," and instead situating themselves closer to the compilation ground rules of Western reference books. This is also why *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* is referred to simply as *The World Biographical Dictionary*, *Shijie mingren zidian* 世界名人字典.

The other appendix to *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide* is "A Chronological Table of Notables Worldwide," *Shijie mingren shidai biao* 世界名人時代表. There is no doubt that the compilers and translators put the most effort into this, and the "Editorial Principles" makes specific reference to it:

The back of the book includes the appendix "Chronological Table of Notables Worldwide" which lists each figure according to Chinese and Western calendars in order to demonstrate the rise and fall of notable figures throughout world history. After each person's listing, the page number for his or her biography is noted for reader reference. To find the entry, look at the beginning of the name as written in Western script to see which section it belongs to, and check for its page number in that section.⁹⁴

書末附列《世界名人時代表》，將本書各名人，按照中、西年歷，以次編列，藉証古今世界人物之盛衰。每人表末，附載本傳頁數，以便閱者按籍而稽。其查檢之法，即視本人西文原名字首，屬於某部，而檢某部若干頁。

Clearly, this table is based on material that could not fit into "On a Thousand Notables of the Earth." They are organised by dynasty according to Shang, Zhou, Qin, Han, and so on, first listing the figure's "Western name," then his/her "transliterated name." For "year of birth," both the Western calendar date and the Chinese reign-name year are noted, with the page number listed last. Because the body of *Brief Biographies* incorporates Western, but not Chinese calendar dates, the late Qing reader, accustomed to using Chinese reign names, could easily be

⁹⁴ Dou Yuean, "Fanli," in *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe*, comp. Zhang-bo-er.

confused by the difficulty in converting dates. For this reason, the “Chronological Table” was an absolute necessity. Compared with *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*, which had deleted “28th year of the Kangxi reign” and “20th year of the Qianlong reign,” the Chinese calendar dates which Liang Qichao had appended for Montesquieu’s dates of birth and death, *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide* is attentive to the needs of its readers and provides for them commendably. *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend* is similar in arrangement, but because the actual entries include both calendars while giving the Chinese calendar precedence, it cannot avoid the awkwardness of declaring that the Frenchman Montesquieu was “born in the 28th year of the Kangxi reign of our dynasty.” In this respect, the decision to approach the calendars separately in *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*, with Chinese reign names absent from the body of the text, is doubtless the more appropriate choice.

Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide made considerable contributions to the standardisation of transliterated names. By employing long-standing transliterations and using Beijing phonetics rather than dialect to transliterate personal names, this reference work was discriminating and helped to establish standards. Leafing through the “Notables Worldwide Chinese Transliteration Reference List,” it is easy to see that the transliterations frequently coincide with those in use today, including Montesquieu (Meng-de-si-jiu) 孟德斯鳩, [Nicolaus] Copernicus (1473–1543) (Ge-bai-ni) 哥白尼, [Francis] Bacon (1561–1626) (Pei-gen) 培根, [George] Washington (1732–1799) (Hua-sheng-dun) 華盛頓, Metternich (Mei-te-nie) 梅特涅, Mazzini (Ma-zhi-ni) 馬志尼. *Brief Biographies* also tried to employ native Chinese characters in order to eliminate the culture barrier, especially for those surnames that are similar in sound to Chinese. But it is important to emphasise that since this work was compiled and translated in the late Qing, the editors were still concerned primarily with the Chinese readership’s powers of absorption. For this reason, it is natural that the transliterated names had to conform to certain sensibilities. Those transliterations employed by renowned figures could especially achieve popularity more easily. Consequently, the popular transliteration *Nai-duan* 奈端 is retained in *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*, as well as Yan Fu’s transliteration *Si-mi-ya-dan* 斯密亞丹 (Adam Smith 1723–1790, transliterated today as *Ya-dang-si-mi* 亞當·斯密), Liang Qichao’s frequently mentioned *Fu-lu-te-er* 福祿特爾 (Voltaire 1694–1778, transliterated today as *Fu-er-tai* 伏爾泰), *Mi-le* 彌勒 (J.S. Mill, now transliterated as *Mu-le* 穆勒), etc.

Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide, comprised as it was of selections from *Chambers’s Biographical Dictionary*, naturally shared that work’s aim of providing concise biographical abstracts. Here we may once again turn to the “Montesquieu” entry as our example. English personal and geographical names, originally noted at the top of the page, have been inserted for our purposes into the text following the Chinese transliterations. The entry now reads as follows (Illustration 10):

8 Alligences	5 Venice	1 Louis	8 Montmorency	5 Wolfe	1 Canada
9 Henry	6 Locke	2 Orleans	9 Abraham	6 Saunders	2 Tcnderoga
0 London	7 Leicester	3 Philip	10 Bordeaux	7 St. Lawrence	3 Louisburgh
		4 Vienna			4 Quebec

<p>尤注意格致之學。法王路易第十五在位年幼。奧林斯公朋力攝政。荒淫無度。民痛國事之腐敗。乃託為兩波斯人遊巴黎之語。著《波斯宮言》。以規風俗。時政教。既而辭職。遊歷維也納。腓尼。羅馬。瑞士。荷蘭。英。吉。諸國。居英二載。與彼都督士大夫。遊。諸哲學家。洛克氏之書。屢至其議院。研究英國憲法。學識大進。歸而著《羅馬盛衰原因論》。讀者歎服。既復窮二十年之力。成《萬法精理》一書。推論法律之來原。及其發達之理。組織之法。盛稱英國自由憲法之美。謂是為歐洲各國矜式。是書初出。隱其名。然魄力甚偉。全國言論思想。為之不變。不及二年。重印多至二十一次云。</p> <p>蒙福德 西門 Montfort Simon 卒生一 二 二 五八年</p> <p>法人其祖母英雷霍斯德伯爵之女也。父西門第四。以蒙福德伯爵。兼奧雷霍斯德伯爵。歿於阿比然士之役。氏與英王亨利第三為中表兄弟。年十二。至英。享利苦遇之。命奧雷霍斯德之封妻。以妹。王多暴政。其外戚皆法人。充斥於朝。英得神滋不悅。教皇又屢徵重稅於英。民不能堪。會歲饑。教皇仍徵稅不已。國人益怨望。一五五八年。得神會議於倫敦。皆衷甲。勢洶洶然。要王罷斥客卿。舉二十四人。變更國政。慈復會於奧斯福。</p>	<p>孟德斯鳩 查理 Montesquieu, Charles 卒生一 六 八 九四年</p> <p>法政學大家。生於波耳多之附近。年二十餘。為波耳多議會議員。旋升會長。克勤厥職。法軍奔潰。氏謀突圍而出。不成。中飛彈死。</p> <p>蒙德加 路易約瑟 Montcalm, Louis 卒生一 七 五 二 二 年</p> <p>法得神。以加拿大一役著名。先是法人闖北美之加拿大。一七五六年。英人爭之。法廷以氏為將軍。鎮守其地。連合土番。奮英。擊。臺。二。既而英軍萬五千人。攻鐵康提洛。氏以寡敵衆。有捍禦功。及英軍取路易堡。氏走保給。卑。克。加。商。軍。部下凡萬六千人。中以民壯及西印度土番為多。英將烏爾斯。率兵八千。與水師提督。桑。特。派。派。勞。稜。斯。河。而進。烏爾斯。乘黑夜冒險先登。凡再上。遂據蒙。麻。倫。西。山。高。處。氏。與。戰。於。阿。伯。拉。罕。之。原。法軍奔潰。氏謀突圍而出。不成。中飛彈死。</p>
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世界名人傳略 四十八

Illustration 10 Entry for Montesquieu in Zhang-bo-er (= Chambers), *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan 1908

Meng-de-si-jiu (*Cha-li*) Montesquieu, Charles, born 1689, date of death unknown)

Great French political thinker. Born near *Bo-er-duo* (Bordeaux). In his twenties, he became a member of the Bordeaux assembly, soon rising to head it, and acquitting himself well of his duties. He was particularly devoted to the study of natural sciences. When the French King *Lu-yi* (Louis) XV was a child on the throne, *Fei-li* (Philip), the Duke of *Ao-lin-si* (Orleans) was regent, and [the court] was endlessly debauched. Pained by the corruption of state affairs, Montesquieu wrote *Lettres persanes*, adopting the voice of two Persian visitors to Paris to admonish and satirise the politics of the day. Then he resigned his position in the assembly and travelled to *Wei-ye-na* (Vienna), *Fei-ni-si* (Venice), Rome, Switzerland, the Netherlands, England and other countries. He lived in England 2 years, and visited all its great sages and officials. Reading the works of the philosopher *Luo-ke* (Locke), he visited the English assembly repeatedly, researched the English constitution, and made great progress in his studies. Returning to France, he wrote *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, earning gasps of admiration from the readers. Then he worked arduously for 20 years to write *De l'esprit des lois* which laid out the origins of laws, the rules of their development, and their organisation. He lavished praise on the perfection of the free English constitution, saying that it deserved to be a model for every European country. The work was first published anonymously, but its

monumental spirit made it a topic of nationwide discussion, and provoked great change. In less than 2 years, it was reprinted as many as 21 times.⁹⁵

孟德斯鳩 (查理, Montesquieu, Charles, 生一六八九年, 卒年闕)

法政學大家。生於波耳多 (Bordeaux) 之附近。年二十餘, 為波耳多議會議員, 旋升會長, 克勤厥職, 尤注意格致之學。法王路易 (Louis) 第十五在位年幼, 奧林斯 (Orleans) 公腓力 (Philip) 攝政, 荒淫無度。氏痛國事之腐敗, 乃托為兩波斯人游巴黎之語, 著《波斯寓言》, 以規諷當時政教。既而辭議員職, 游歷維也納 (Vienna)、腓尼斯 (Venice)、羅馬、瑞士、荷蘭、英吉利諸國。居英二載, 與彼都賢士大夫游。讀哲學家洛克 (Locke) 氏之書, 復屢至其議院, 研究英國憲法, 學識大進。歸而著《羅馬盛衰原因論》, 讀者嘆服。既復窮二十年之力, 成《萬法精理》一書, 推論法律之來原, 及其發達之理, 組織之法, 盛稱英國自由憲法之美, 謂足為歐洲各國矜式。是書初出, 隱其名, 然魄力甚偉, 全國言論思想, 為之丕變。不及二年, 重印多至二十一次云。

Evidently, this entry is more detailed than the one in *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*. Compared to *The Register of Foreign Ancients to Befriend*, the greatest difference is the inclusion of Montesquieu's work *Lettres persanes* and a summary of the basic contents of *De l'esprit des lois*. Alternatively, one could say that the article is not only the collation of the first and second entries from *The Register of Overseas Ancients to Befriend*, with "the new work" in question being *De l'esprit des lois*, but also that extra information was added. Moreover, several phrases are very similar to Liang Qichao's "The Teachings of Montesquieu," and it would seem that the translator also drew on this to a degree. As for the date of Montesquieu's death, it is included in every edition of *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* as well as in Liang Qichao's essay, but is missing from *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*. This constitutes a slight defect in an otherwise admirable work.

As a dictionary that aimed to present a collection of short biographies of notables worldwide, this work naturally should not have been restricted to the Western world. The Western orientation of *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* created a serious imbalance between the representation of Western and Eastern figures. However, in order to attract Chinese readers, *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide* deliberately made room for three Chinese figures—the only three Asian figures selected. The earliest is Confucius (c. 551–479 BCE), the middle one is Xuanzang 玄奘 (c. 602–664), and, representing the late and recent era, Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901). Li had died only 2 years before work began on

⁹⁵ Zhang Zaixin 張在新, "'M' Biography No. 13," in *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe*, comp. Zhang-boer, 48–49. The translation both deletes and adds to the original. Where the 1897 edition reads "Born on the 18th of January, 1689, in the manor of La Brède, near Bordeaux, France," (669) the translation retains only the year and the general place name. "When Louis XV was a child on the throne, *Fei-li* (Philip), the Duke of *Ao-lin-si* (Orleans) was regent, and [the court] was endlessly debauched. Pained by the corruption of state affairs" as well as "exhausting the energies from 20 years" has been added by the translator. *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide* also frequently puts the dates of birth and death, which are incorporated into the text in the English original immediately below the name of the figure.

the *Brief Biographies Notables Worldwide*; the revised 1899 edition of *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary's* entry for "Li Hung-chang" was based on materials that reached only to 1898.⁹⁶ It seems likely that events after that date were added by the translators of the *Brief Biographies*. This text was compiled to show how Li Hongzhang appeared in the eyes of foreigners:

Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang, born 1823, died 1901)

... In 1894, a conflict arose between China and Japan and a disastrous war broke out. Li was charged with military affairs. Officials of this department, whether army or navy, proved all to be cowardly bureaucrats. Then the forces were routed and all Li's honours were annulled. The court regarded the peace treaty that Li had negotiated as ruinous. In great rage, [the court] summoned him back to the capital. In fear, Li hung back for a long time. Before long, he was appointed chief negotiator and all his honours were restored. He was sent east to Japan, where he exerted all his efforts in negotiation. A Japanese man shot and wounded him. The treaty carved off the entirety of Taiwan Island and called for restitution of 315 million pounds. Having signed the treaty, he returned to China. In 1896, Li was sent to Europe and America in order to determine how Western learning could be used to strengthen China. He suggested adopting their model and counselled reforms. At that time, northern bandits were stirring up trouble, provoking dispute and hoping to take vengeance on foreigners. They incited all sorts of ministers in the capital to join their efforts. But Li knew that they must fail, and so was despondent. Appointed the Viceroy of Liangguang, he found that all high ministers had lost the strength to resist, and were totally unconcerned with this reckless and wanton behaviour. This caused the calamity of the emperor's flight from the capital. Then the soldiers of the alliance entered the capital and the two palaces [the emperor and the dowager empress] appointed Li plenipotentiary and peace negotiator. That China was not carved up like a melon in the peace treaty was due to Li's protection. Because of his shining reputation and his sincerity towards China and foreign nations, he is known by one and all for his loyalty.⁹⁷

李鴻章 (Li Hung-chang, 生一八二三年, 卒一九零一年)

.....一八九四年, 中日失睦, 致開戰禍。氏總制軍務, 所部海陸軍士, 多貪墨無勇, 以致兵鋒大挫, 從前所得之功賞, 悉被褫革。上以李主和議為怯戰憤[憤]事, 大怒, 急召回京。氏懼, 逡巡於外者久之。未幾, 奉命為議和大臣, 盡復其原有功賞。東使日本, 竭力議和, 為日人所銃擊受傷。議割台灣全島, 賠償兵費三十五兆鎊, 成約而歸。一八九六年, 歷聘歐美, 考知西學之足以富強中國, 乃倡議仿行, 以謀改革。會北方拳匪肇亂, 仇外啟釁, 煽惑在京各大臣, 附合者眾。而氏果知其必敗也, 頗沮之。尋授兩廣總督, 各大臣乃失其阻撓之力, 任意妄為, 絕無顧忌, 於是釀成天子蒙塵之巨禍。及聯軍入京, 兩宮命氏為全權大臣, 議和, 中國得免於瓜分, 此李保護之功也。以故聲名洋溢, 中外傾心, 人皆稱之曰忠。

⁹⁶ Entry "Li Hung-Chang" in *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary*, eds. David Patrick and Francis Hindes Groome (1899), 591.

⁹⁷ Dou Yuean and Zhang Zaixin, "'L' Biography No. 12" in *Shijie mingren zhuanlüe*, comp. Zhang-bo-er, 18-19.

This presents an interesting opportunity for analysis of the difference between this entry and those that appeared in earlier editions of the *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary*,⁹⁸ or for a comparison with Liang Qichao's 1901 work *Li Hongzhang*.⁹⁹ The different images of Li Hongzhang in the eyes of Chinese and Western intellectuals or the Chinese and Western public would also be an intriguing topic of study; however, this is not something that the scope of this essay allows.

To reflect that the *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* appeared in Chinese translation less than 10 years after its first publication in English is enough to demonstrate the urgency of late Qing efforts to acquire new knowledge from abroad. The painstaking efforts put into the selection, editing, compilation, and proofreading of *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide* was quite exceptional since the translation occurred during a period that generally required speed and quantity. For the same reason, the work was not fated to garner general admiration. A thick hardcover volume at the not inconsiderable price of two or three *yuan* meant that the book could only find its way into an ordinary person's library with difficulty. Today, 100 years later, when trying to locate this book, one finds no trace of it in the Beijing University Library, which collected the books from the Yenching University libraries, or even the National Library, which houses the country's most extensive collection, even though this is, to date, the only Chinese translation of *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary*.

However, there were successors to the *Ancients to Befriend* genre in the Republican Era. Regardless of whether it was *The Register of Ancients to Befriend in Medicine*, compiled by Zhang Juying 章巨膺 that was published or *The Register of Female Ancients to Befriend*, *Nüzi shang you lu* 女子尚友錄, compiled by Ren Zhuo 任卓—which is extant only in manuscript form—all that remained was the inclusion of the phrase “ancients to befriend” in the title. In terms of structure, though proclaiming, “this book was edited in imitation of the *Ancients to Befriend*,” Zhang also emphasised that “the personal names in this book are organised by surname stroke count, and can be checked in dictionary radical sequence for convenient reference.”¹⁰⁰ In the first item of his “Editorial Principles,” Ren Zhuo marked the difference between this work and traditional organisation even more clearly: “Liao's work *Ancients to Befriend* uses rhymes as the structure; now, in order to avoid the annoyance of having to check the rhymes, the women included

⁹⁸ Entry “Li Hung-Chang,” in David Patrick and Francis Hindes Groome, eds., *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* (1899), 591. Compared with the three editions 1897, 1898, and 1900, the 1899 edition omits the sentence “Li Hung-Chang is one of China's most enlightened statesmen” and added, “In 1898 he played into the hands of Russia, and was dismissed.”

⁹⁹ Yinbingshi zhuren 飲冰室主人 [= Liang Qichao], *Li Hongzhang, yiming Zhongguo sishi nian lai dashiji* 李鴻章，一名中國四十年來大事記 [Li Hongzhang, or a chronicle of China for the last 40 years] (Yokohama: Qingyibao guan, 1901).

¹⁰⁰ Zhang Juying 章巨膺, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Yilin shang you lu* 醫林尚友錄 [The register of ancients to befriend in medicine], comp. Zhang Juying (Shanghai: Zhang Juying yiyu, 1936).

are organised into sections by the stroke number of the first character of their surnames.”¹⁰¹ Both compilers abandoned organisation by rhyme order and were indexing characters by their radical or their stroke count. The reason for this was that they had already recognised that, as the vernacular became the mainstream for poetry and prose, rhyme books were gradually losing their market and becoming increasingly peripheral to the readership’s systems of knowledge. At this point, the long tradition of the *Ancients to Befriend* compilation system, having undergone the reform of Wu Zuoqing’s ordering “according to chronological sequence” before adopting dictionary sequence in *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*, entered the main current. Then, losing their nominal designation of “ancients to befriend” and allowing “all important figures,” “whether saintly or vile, to be included,”¹⁰² the formal evolution of biographical dictionaries from traditional China into the modern period came to an end.

Translated from the Chinese by Josh Stenberg.

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¹⁰¹ Ren Zhuo, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Nüzi shang you lu*, comp. Ren Zhuo (Manuscript, 1942).

¹⁰² Zang Lihe 臧勵蘇, “Fanli” [Editorial principles], in *Zhongguo renming da cidian* 中國人名大辭典, comp. Zang Lihe et al. (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1921), 1.

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“Wenxue” in the Purview of Late Qing Encyclopaedias and Textbooks: With a Focus on Huang Ren’s Activities as Compiler

Chen Pingyuan

In 1899, Liang Qichao’s 梁啟超 (1873–1929) *Random notes*, *Ziyou shu* 自由書, were serialised in the *China Discussion*, *Qingyi bao* 清議報. Quoting Inukai Tsuyoshi 犬養毅 (1855–1932), he argued in one note that schools, newspapers, and rhetoric should be regarded as the “three useful instruments for the dissemination of civilisation.” The concept that schools cultivate talent has been universally accepted since ancient times; however, the inclusion of newspapers and oratory required further explanation: “On the whole, those citizens who are more literate should make good use of newspapers, while those citizens who are less literate ought to make good use of oratory.”¹ This quote proved popular, not only profoundly influencing the development of late Qing intellectual culture, but also providing an extremely convenient way for later historians to “get inside the late Qing.” But newspapers and “oratory” are usually transient media, dealing primarily with the issues of the day. Although they may serve as introductory materials for the reader, they are not optimal tools for the expansion of knowledge. With concerted effort and efficient use of time and energy, the necessarily collaborative enterprise of encyclopaedia publication can provide a powerful force to bolster the accumulation of academic expertise and foster the creation of knowledge in an entire society. Gao Fengqian 高鳳謙 (Mengdan 夢旦) (1875–1936), a figure who was instrumental in the early stages of the Commercial Press, *Shangwu yinshuguan* 商務印書館, remarked in his preface to the *New Character Dictionary*, *Xin zidian* 新字典 (1912), that in Japan “textbooks and encyclopaedic works contributed most to the

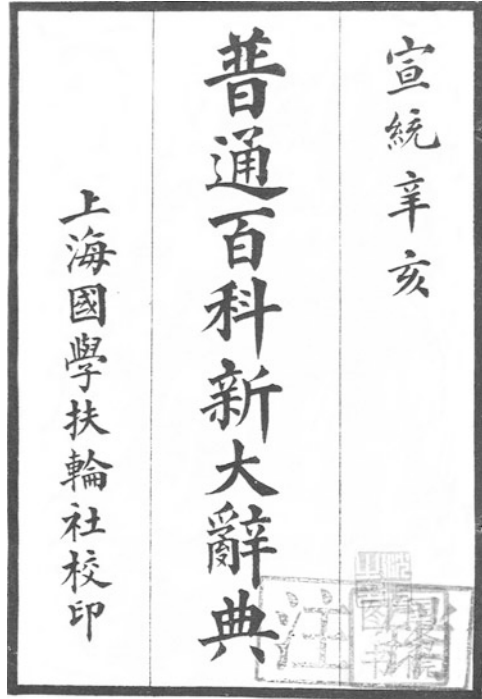
¹ Ren gong 任公 [= Liang Qichao 梁啟超], “Yinbingshi ziyou shu” 飲冰室自由書 [Random notes from the Ice Drinker’s Studio], *Qingyi bao* 26 (1899): 1b. This untitled note was later included in various collections of Liang Qichao’s works under the title “Chuanbo wenming san liqi” 傳播文明三利器 [Three effective weapons for spreading civilization].

Chen Pingyuan (✉)

Peking University, Beijing, People’s Republic of China

e-mail: xxhchpy@126.com

Illustration 1 Cover page of Huang Ren, *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*. Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she, 1911



popularisation of education and the organisation of common knowledge” 教育之普及, 常識之備具, 教科書辭書之功為多。² Encyclopaedias and textbooks are free of avant-garde ambitions and are fostered by systematic discussion. This puts them very much in harmony with the educational tenet that it “takes a 100 years to foster able people.” It is in this sense that one may propose a different enumeration of the “three great tools for the dissemination of civilisation,” with encyclopaedias and textbooks counted alongside schools.

On the very eve of the fall of the Manchu Qing regime, the Society for the Preservation of National Learning, Guoxue fulun she 國學扶輪社, in Shanghai published the following two compilations by Soochow University, Dongwu daxue 東吳大學, and Professor Huang Ren 黃人(1866–1913), (courtesy name Moxi 摩西): *The New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, Putong baike xin da cidian 普通百科新大辭典 (1911),³ (Illustration 1) and *A History of Chinese*

² Gao Fenglian 高鳳謙, “Yuanqi” 緣起 [Origin (of this work)], in *Xin zidian* 新字典 [The new character dictionary], eds. Fu Yunsen 傅運森 *et al.* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1912), 1–2.

³ Huang Ren 黃人, comp., *Putong baike xin da cidian* 普通百科新大辭典 (Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she, 1911). On this work, see also the contribution by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume.

Literature, *Zhongguo wenxue shi* 中國文學史 (1907–1910).⁴ By demonstrating the seamless interaction of new social institutions (universities, publishing houses) and new genres of publication (encyclopaedias, textbooks), these works afford us a glimpse into the halting dissemination of Western knowledge in late Qing China. Since Huang Moxi taught national literature and national learning at Soochow University, this chapter will make Huang’s activities as a compiler its central focus in order to explore how the modern Chinese concept of *wenxue* or literature emerged in the purview of late-Qing encyclopaedias.

In the minds of his friends and of posterity, Huang Moxi, known as the “remarkable man of Suzhou,”⁵ was first and foremost a poet of extraordinary talent who died young. The fact that he was also a scholar who wrote China’s first history of literature was of secondary importance. It was said that he possessed “the ease of Qinglian 青蓮 [= the poet Li Bai 李白 701–762], the strangeness of Changji 長吉 [= the poet Li He 李賀 790–816], and the beauty of Yishan 義山 [the poet Li Shangyin 李商隱 813–858]. Striving to represent today’s world, he achieved stature equal to Wang Zhongqu 王仲瞿 [the men-of letters Wang Tan 王曇 1760–1817] or Gong Ding’an 龔定庵 [Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 1792–1841].”⁶ This was in reference to his poetic talents, but other commentaries admired his extensive learning and profound thought, though they too always wound up praising his preternatural adeptness at writing:

In his reading, there is nothing he will not glance at. Whether the classics and histories, medical and mantic texts, music, or alchemy, he possesses a basic knowledge of them all. And so he completes his compositions very quickly, with no regard for convention, though with superbly radiant results; he cannot stop himself [from writing].⁷

When *A History of Chinese Literature*, a work that “bridges epochs, contains profound research, and expresses the inexpressible,” is finally commented upon it is only to substantiate the perception of his wide learning, which “produced his expansive, innovative writing.”⁸ It may be that the perspective of the era held poetic composition to be the consummate creative effort, and scholarship a second-grade skill.

This assessment changed over time. The stature of poet Huang Moxi gradually faded while the scholar Huang Ren attracted growing attention. This should not be attributed entirely to the difference between manuscripts and block-print editions⁹;

⁴ Huang Ren 黃人, “Zhongguo wenxue shi” 中國文學史, in *Huang Ren ji* 黃人集 [Works by Huang Ren], ed. Jiang Qingbo 江慶柏 and Cao Peigen 曹培根 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua, 2001), 320–400.

⁵ For information on Huang Ren’s life and works, see Wang Yongjian’s 王永健, <Suzhou qiren>. *Huang Moxi pingzhuàn* <蘇州奇人> 黃摩西評傳 [<The eccentric from Suzhou>: A critical biography of Huang Moxi] (Suzhou: Suzhou daxue, 2000).

⁶ See Xiao Tui 蕭蛻, “Huang Moxi yigao xu” 黃摩西遺稿序 [Preface to Huang Moxi’s posthumous manuscripts] (1924), reprinted in *Huang Ren ji*, 358.

⁷ Wu Mei 吳梅, “Huang Ren Moxi” 黃人摩西 (Huang Ren Moxi), in *Huang Ren ji*, 371.

⁸ See Pang Shusen 龐樹森, “Huang Moxi xiansheng shiji xu” 黃摩西先生詩集序 [Preface to the *Collection of Poetry by Mr. Huang Ren*], in *Huang Ren ji*, 361–362.

⁹ In *Huang Ren ji* most of the poetry is from manuscript copies or hand-copied books, whereas the essays and other prose writings were published during the author’s lifetime.

rather, the key factor was a change in attitudes and interests. Another Suzhou scholar, Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 (1908–2003), praised Huang, who died over 60 years earlier, for his “extraordinary investigation of the [era’s] circumstances, his grasp of the state of affairs.” He described the 29 enormous volumes of *A History of Chinese Literature*, as “a pioneering, major work unprecedented since the beginning of Chinese literary history” and “not only unprecedented, but also, one fears, unlikely to be matched.”¹⁰ In Huang Lin’s 黃霖 *A History of Modern Literary Criticism*, *Jindai wenxue piping shi* 近代文學批評史, the ninth chapter, “China’s Literary Historiography,” *Zhongguo wenxueshi xue* 中國文學史學, devotes considerable space to Huang Ren’s *A History of Chinese Literature* and its “well-defined historiographical objectives,” “innovative literary viewpoints,” “sophisticated views of historical development,” and “unique historiographical methods.”¹¹ This assessment drew the attention of expert scholars to this very rare book.

Nevertheless, in terms of historical legacy, Huang Ren lags far behind fiction writers like Li Boyuan 李伯元 (1867–1906), Wu Jianren 吳趸人 (1866–1910), Liu E 劉鶚 (1857–1909), and Zeng Pu 曾樸 (1872–1935); or scholars like Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869–1936), Liang Qichao, Liu Shipai 劉師培 (1884–1919), and Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927). Even his assistant at Soochow University, Wu Mei 吳梅 (1884–1939), enjoys a greater reputation. Why is this so? To a large extent, it is because Huang casts a blurred shadow; in scholarly and literary circles of the late Qing, Huang was not considered a first-rate poetic talent, and although *A History of Chinese Literature* was a pioneering work, it cannot be called an enduring one.

Perhaps a consideration of the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, a work that has been heretofore largely untreated in academic studies, will bring about a reassessment of his legacy. As a member of the first generation of specialists in literary education, Huang Ren’s talent and learning have naturally attracted attention. Even more noteworthy for posterity is his construction, on the basis of the modern categorisation of studies, of an “encyclopaedic purview.” Faced with the onslaught of Western learning that was circulating in China at the time, this was not an uncommon attitude. But there were few who successfully applied it to the compilatory activities of an encyclopaedic dictionary or a textbook. This chapter will consider three fields of Huang Ren’s endeavours—literary criticism, encyclopaedic compilation, and textbook composition—in order to decode the taxonomy of knowledge during an era of social transformation.

¹⁰ See Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, “Jin bainian citan dianjiang lu” 近百年詞壇點將錄 [A roll-call of *ci*-poetry circles of the last hundred years]; and Qian Zhonglian, “Xinhai geming shiqi jinbu wenxuejia Huang Ren” 辛亥革命時期進步文學家黃人 [Huang Ren, a progressive literary figure of the Xinhai Revolution era], in Qian Zhonglian, *Mengtaoan Qing wenxue lunji* 夢苕庵清代文學論集 (Jinan: Qilu, 1983), 167, 105–110.

¹¹ See Huang Lin 黃霖, *Jindai wenxue piping shi* 近代文學批評史 [A history of modern literary criticism] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1993), 796–808.

Category-Books (*Leishu* 類書), Encyclopaedias and the “Ramparts of Learning”

Both in China and abroad, the attempt has often been made to assemble the specific knowledge of all branches of knowledge (or of one branch of knowledge), and to provide it as reference to a wide readership. These kinds of works embody the cultural standard of a particular people at a given time. Although academic circles may consider the French philosopher Denis Diderot (1713–1784) the pioneer of modern encyclopaedias, this does not signify that similar works did not exist previously. The editor-in-chief of *The Great Encyclopaedia of China*, Zhongguo da baike quanshu 中國大百科全書, Jiang Chunfang 姜椿芳 (1912–1987), wrote that “the term *baike quanshu* (百科全書 ‘the complete book of the 100 branches of knowledge’) appeared in China at the beginning of the twentieth century, derived from the splicing of the Japanese *hyakka jiten* (百科事典 ‘the subject-book of the 100 branches of knowledge’) with the traditional Chinese term for large *congshu* collections, *quanshu* (全書 ‘complete book’).” However, in his detailed discussion he allows, “works with encyclopaedic characteristics have existed for 2,000 years in both the West and in China.”¹² Where the one explanation defines the term, the other traces its origins—there is no contradiction.¹³

The key question is how to treat *leishu* 類書 (“category-books”), which have existed since ancient times. In their wide-ranging descriptions of things and collection of various writings, traditional Chinese *leishu* did indeed possess encyclopaedic characteristics. But whether we are talking about “the oldest dictionary in the world,” the *Erya* 爾雅 (third century BCE)¹⁴ or *The Imperial Digest*, Huanglan 皇覽 (220 CE), the *Classified Arts and Literature*, Yi wen leiju 藝文類聚 (624 CE), or *The Imperial Digest of the Taiping Reign*, Taiping yulan 太平御覽 (977–983 CE), they all possess principles of compilation and cultural background awareness that differ greatly from modern encyclopaedias. Beginning with Emperor Wen of Wei, Cao Pi (魏文帝曹丕 187–226), who personally oversaw the compilation of *The Imperial Digest*, Chinese document collection and organisation can boast a history of over 1,700 years. In this long period, over 400 category-books are historically documented. But in comparison with modern encyclopaedias, category-books have two obvious limitations: The first is their “emphasis on literature and history and

¹² See Jiang Chunfang 姜椿芳, *Cong leishu dao baike quanshu* 從類書到百科全書 [From category-books to encyclopaedias] (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji, 1990) 92. This account is not entirely correct, since Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927), in his 1897 compilation *Notes on Japanese Book Catalogues*, Riben shumu zhi 日本書目志, had already imported the word *baike quanshu* for “encyclopaedia” into China. For its Japanese background, see the Introduction and the study by Douglas Reynolds in this volume.

¹³ *Da Buliedian baike quanshu* (guoji zhongwen ban) 大不列顛百科全書(國際中文版) [Encyclopaedia Britannica (international Chinese-language edition)] (Beijing: Zhongguo Baike Quanshu, 2002), *juan* 6, 63.

¹⁴ Jin Changzheng 金常政, *Baike quanshu xue* 百科全書學 [Encyclopaedia studies] (Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu, 2000), 3.

neglect of science and technology,” and the second is “the organisation and compilation of documentary materials.”¹⁵ As for encyclopaedias, their special characteristic is that “besides traditional content on literature and art, a greater emphasis is placed on science and technology,” including “the presentation of knowledge from across national boundaries, and a wide collection of materials including on foreign themes,” and “the use of a system of entries, compiled article by article, introducing all kinds of knowledge, things, and notable figures from beginning to end, and especially systematically and comprehensively introducing the newest knowledge.”¹⁶

Precisely because *leishu* and encyclopaedias are both related and at the same time very different, late Qing enthusiasts of Western culture were compelled to distance themselves to a degree from category-books. Huang Ren (Moxi), the general editor of *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, expressed in the preface his grave dissatisfaction that “China has only character dictionaries and category-books, but no works specializing in the proper usage of words 吾國[之]僅有字書、類書，而無正當用詞之專書。” In his view, the undisciplined speech habits and chaotic thought processes of Chinese people were occasioned by “the primitiveness and ambiguity of [our] character dictionaries and the hodgepodge and randomness of our category-books.” This led directly to China’s backwardness (Illustration 2):

The different states over there in Europe and America on the other hand have [a situation] that what they call terminological dictionaries *cidian* always gives definitions for terms, things, symbols and numbers. These works all emphasize usefulness and are strict with regard to [semantic and grammatical] rules unlike the primitiveness and ambiguity of [our] character dictionaries and the hodgepodge and randomness of [our] category-books. That is why [in these Western works] names and facts do not deviate from each other and both their similarities and differences are presented. This is one of the basic driving forces for the power and prestige of these nations and the development of the talents of their people.¹⁷

彼歐美諸國則皆有所謂詞典者，名物象數，或立界說，齊一遵用，嚴以律令，非如字書之簡單而游移，類書之淆雜而滅裂。故名實不舛，異同互資。其國勢之強盛，人才之發達，此一大原動力。

This kind of grand narrative, with its bent towards exaggeration and its assessment of the blame for the decline of national power to a specific branch of knowledge, cultural feature, figure, or event, was extremely common in the late Qing. At the same time, Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921) who was concerned that people of that time “had great regard for their own words, thought they knew everything, randomly copied errors, and made up stories [to the point of] creating doubts that damaged the government and spreading licentiousness”¹⁸ 意自為說，矜為既知，稗

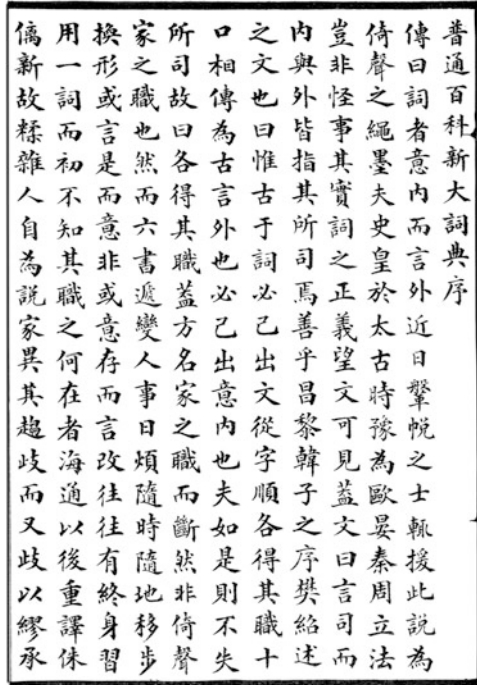
¹⁵ Jin Changzheng, *Baike quanshu xue*, 33–45.

¹⁶ Jiang Chunfang, *Cong leishu dao baike quanshu*, 13, 30.

¹⁷ Huang Ren 黃人, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Putong baike xin da cidian* 普通百科新大辭典 [New encyclopaedic dictionary of general knowledge], comp. Huang Ren 黃人 (Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she, 1911), 1b.

¹⁸ Yan Fu, “Xu” 序 [Preface] in Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*. Transcribed from cursive to regular script in Yan Fu 嚴復, *Yan Fu ji* 嚴復集 [Yan Fu works] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986), 2: 277.

Illustration 2 Huang Ren,
Preface to *New
Encyclopaedic Dictionary
of General Knowledge*.
Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she,
1911



販傳訛，遂成故實，生心害政，詖遁邪淫， was invited to write the preface for the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*. He (Illustration 3) begins with the words “Ever since branches of knowledge from Europe and America have been transmitted east to the Asian mainland,” 自歐美學科東漸亞陸 and after some digression, continues with the following passage:

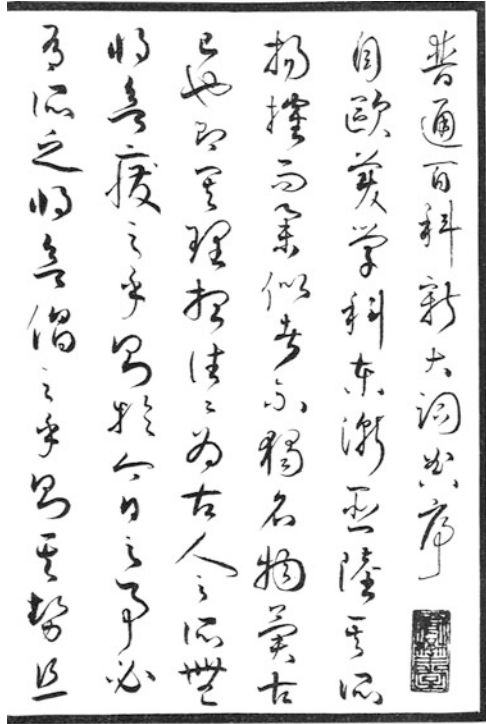
As a general principle, terms are not only the starting point of a translation project, they are also its end result. . . . [After publishing works preserving the national essence, the head of the Society for the Preservation of National Learning, which is publishing Huang Ren’s work, has seen that traditional learning will only be relevant if brought up to date with modern insights. He now has] has made up his mind to take on this enterprise of the encyclopaedic dictionary, and if we look at its editorial principles, is it not a marvel how this [work] provides food for thought for scholarly circles, benefits education, how it aids in securing the beauties of the rule of law!¹⁹

今夫名詞者，譯事之權輿也，而亦為之歸宿。則發心而為普通詞典之事，觀其起例，其所以餉饋學界，裨補教育，其所以助成法治之美者，豈鮮也哉？

As the chief compiler for the Bureau of Terminology of the Ministry of Education, Xuebu mingciguan 學部名詞館, writing the preface for an encyclopaedic dictionary compiled by a university professor would have been an *ex officio* duty for

¹⁹ Yan Fu, “Xu”, in Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*. Transcribed in Yan Fu 嚴復, *Yan Fu ji 嚴復集* 2: 277.

Illustration 3 Yan Fu,
 Preface to *New
 Encyclopaedic Dictionary
 of General Knowledge*.
 Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she,
 1911



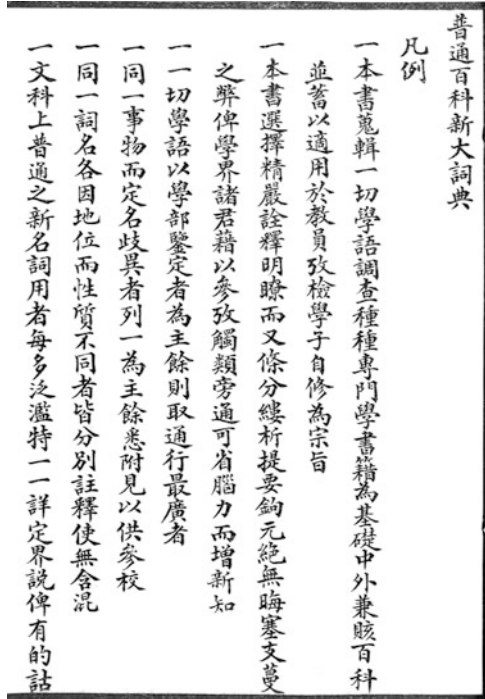
Yan Fu; perhaps even more so when one considers the conviction he shared with the compiler that “the impact of the lack of terminological differentiation affects human affairs is no trivial matter”²⁰ 名詞之弗甄，其中於人事者，非細故也。

The “Editorial Principles” at the beginning of Huang Ren’s *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* (Illustration 4) lists 18 items “from the editor, in the 1st month of the 3rd year of the Xuantong reign [1911].” Three of these items, very much in accordance with Yan Fu’s inclinations and sense of duty, are quoted below:

- Scholarly terminology will in the main follow the terms approved by the Ministry of Education, beyond this those with the widest circulation will be selected.
- As the common new terms in the humanities are all-too often randomly used, special efforts have been made to provide detailed definitions for each one of them so as to have explanations.
- The new scholarly terminology is originally Western; as for each there is the difference between semantic and phonetic translations, we append here in each

²⁰ Yan Fu, “Xu”, in Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*. Transcribed in Yan Fu, *Yan Fu ji*, 2: 277.

Illustration 4 Huang Ren, Editorial Principles to *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*. Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she, 1911



case the original Western language terms for reference. Thus, those who cannot read Western writing will study and practice [these appended terms] and thus will be able to gradually recognize the words for objects from the West while Westerners somewhat familiar with Chinese writing can also make use of them for equivalences [in Chinese].²¹

- 一切學語以學部鑒定者為主，餘則取通行最廣者。
- 文科上普通之新名詞，用者每多泛濫，特一一詳定界說，俾有的詁。
- 新學語原本歐西，譯意譯音每有歧異，茲皆附列西國原文，以供參核。即不通歐文者，稽攷純熟，並能漸知西國文名。而西人之稍識華字者，亦可借以對鏡。

One should not assume that Huang Ren is merely pandering to Yan Fu here. To provide “detailed definitions” for all major terminology—especially “new terminology”—was the compiler’s original intention. Speaking of the compiler’s lofty ambitions, let us now examine the definition used for “word dictionary” [as opposed to “character dictionary”] in the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*.

²¹ Huang Ren, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*, vol. 1, 1a, b.

【Word dictionary】(Humanities) A work which lists words in a particular order and explains their meanings and usage. Somewhat different from a character-dictionary. A character-dictionary explains individual characters, while this [word dictionary deals with] already formed words [that are mostly written by combining two or more characters]. There are general word dictionaries, specialized word dictionaries, translation word dictionaries, and others. The[se word dictionaries *cishu*] are sometimes also be called *cidian* or *cihui*. China did not previously have such terms, but as category-books have some similarities with [such word dictionaries], people from Japan and the West have mixed up these [new] terms [for word dictionaries] with [the traditional Chinese terms] for character dictionaries *zidian* and *zishu* [when coming out with new word dictionaries].²²

【詞書】(文)排列詞類一定次序，而解釋其意義用法之書籍。與字書略異。蓋字書逐字解釋，而此則已成詞類也。有普通詞書，專門詞書，及對譯詞書等。或稱詞典，詞彙。我國向無此名，而類書性質與相近，而東西洋人，其名每與字典，字書相混。

The *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* and the *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*, Wenke da cidian 文科大辭典, which were both published by the Society for the Preservation of National Learning, both use 辭典 on the cover, but 詞典 on the head page. At that time, people evidently did not distinguish between the two homophonous terms for “word dictionary”. According to its own definition, the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* is simply a book that lists terms relevant to “general encyclopaedic” fields in a specific order and “explains meanings and usage.”

The core of the work as an encyclopaedic dictionary is its terminological definitions, not the collection of all the extant knowledge in one or several branches of knowledge, or its systematic and lucid exposition. In this sense, the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* is very different from present-day encyclopaedias. Nevertheless, the aims and idealised prospects of the work, as delineated in the 18 “Editorial Principles,” are stimulating enough:

- This work collects all scholarly terms in an investigation that is based on the works of the various specialised disciplines with Chinese and foreign works equally included and all fields of scholarship attended to; its general purpose is to be of practical use for the perusal of instructors and the self-study of students.
- The selection is rigorous and the explanations are, while being detailed and summing up the key points, without any of the flaws of being obscure and convoluted so that gentlemen from scholarly circles may use it for reference, understand by analogy and thereby save mental energy while increasing their new knowledge.
- Although this work is for general use, [the compilers] have in their survey of more than a thousand specialized works not dared to be negligent in the smallest detail [in this work which is like] taking a flask to this huge ocean to ladle out a drop, or taking an axe to this dense forest to cut down a branch.²³

²² Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*, vol. shen 申 12 strokes, #404.

²³ Huang Ren, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*, 1a, 2b.

- 本書蒐輯一切學語，調查種種專門學書籍為基礎，中外兼賅，百科並蓄，以適用於教員攷檢，學子自修為宗旨。
- 選擇精嚴，詮釋明瞭，而又條分縷析，提要鉤元，絕無晦塞支蔓之弊，俾學界諸君藉以參攷，觸類旁通，可省腦力，而增新知。
- 本書雖供普通之用，而調查各種專門書籍，有千餘種之多，挈壺滄海，操斤鄧林，勺水片材，不敢苟也。

The entire book is divided into four major categories: politics, education, natural sciences, and industry. In total, 63 branches of knowledge are included, with 11,865 entries.²⁴ Such wide collection and careful textual research requires a very broad-minded academic outlook. On this basis alone, it is not unreasonable to identify the compiler as one who was both widely read and profoundly learned.

In his “Preface to *Master Huang Moxi’s Poetry Collection*,” Huang Ren’s old friend Pang Shusen 龐樹森 once praised him in the following words: “As for books, there is nothing Master [Huang] won’t read: ancient philosophers of all schools, astronomy and geography, Buddhism and Taoism, medicine and divination, down to books of anecdotes, *yuefu* 樂府 poetry collections and recent works on metaphysics and logic. With all of them, he explored their origins and analysed their evolution, and so produced expansive, novel writing.”²⁵ This passage only mentions his readings and interest in national learning, but Huang Ren’s “advanced common knowledge” of the modern Western humanities and social and natural sciences—to the degree that they were available in that era—was even more noteworthy.

One passage particularly elucidates Huang Ren’s thirst for learning and erudition while also demonstrating his extremely high regard for large-scale reference works as profound repositories of knowledge. In *A History of Chinese Literature*’s second chapter entitled “Cursory Discussions”, Lüelun 略論, Huang Ren treats the Ming Dynasty “eight-legged” essays and *chuanqi* 傳奇 dramas before adding the following comment:

Besides “eight-legged” essays and *chuanqi* dramas, there is another work which, though completely valueless for the consideration of literature’s essence, boasts gargantuan size and a wealth of material, enough to constitute a great monument to five thousand years of literary history: it is the *Yongle Canon*. With the appearance of this work, *The Prime Records from the Literary Storehouse* or *The Imperial Digest of the Taiping Reign* were like giants encountering even more colossal titans, or a great roc meeting an even mightier bird! Only the Buddhist and Taoist canons can about match [the Yongle Canon] in size, but they are different in character, because the [Yongle] Canon is a category book while the “two baskets” [the Buddhist and Taoist canons] are book collections. Though their organisation may be rather good, in spirit they are far inferior.²⁶

²⁴ See Zhong Shaohua 鐘少華, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju Zhong-Ri jindai baike quanshu yanjiu*, 人類知識的新工具: 中日近代百科全書研究 [A new tool of human knowledge: A study of early modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1996), 73, 195–196.

²⁵ See Pang Shusen, “*Huang Moxi xiansheng shiji xu*,” 361.

²⁶ Huang Ren, *Huang Ren ji*, 345.

八股傳奇而外，更有一事，雖於文學之真際，毫無價值而體積之龐大，資料之豐富，有足為五千年文學歷史上一大紀念者，則《永樂大典》是也。此書一出，而《冊府元龜》《太平御覽》諸書，不啻長狄之見龍伯，大鵬之遇希有鳥矣！惟釋藏，道藏，差可鼎足。然性質實不同，大典為類書，而“二藏”為叢書，體例雖較善，氣魄則遠遜之。

Although he writes that the *Yongle Canon*, *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, is “completely valueless for the consideration of literature’s essence,” he cannot prevent himself from going on to assess it. Evidently, he already vaguely intuits that the appearance of a *leishu* of such magnitude represented an important event in Chinese literary history. In fact, it would have been a very original academic approach to examine how academic attitudes and literary interests, as they turn up in the compilation of category-books, expressed or influenced an era’s literary creation.

Strictly speaking, Huang Ren’s *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* can only be called a “dictionary” with an “encyclopaedic” purview, or an “encyclopaedic dictionary.” The rationale for calling it an “encyclopaedic dictionary” rather than a “language dictionary” is that the “determining factor is not an entry’s length but the fact that the entry’s focus of interest is on a world outside the language, on the objective thing itself.”²⁷ If one insists on calling it an “early encyclopaedia,” the claim to this name can be conceded; but to take the argument one step further and claim that the “1903 publication by the Literary Academic Society, Huiwen xueshe 會文學社, of the *Compiled and Translated Encyclopaedia for General Education*, *Bian yi putong jiaoyu baike quanshu* 編譯普通教育百科全書, at 100 thread-bound volumes and approximately three million characters, represents China’s earliest encyclopaedia of modern relevance,”²⁸ is to jeopardise the entire argument. The Literary Academic Society, founded in 1903 in Shanghai, published exactly 100 Japanese works in Chinese translation, embracing politics, law, history, geography, education, mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, biology, agronomy, literature, art, religion, and philosophy. But although it is true that the effort shows an extremely broad academic purview, “these books are all ordinary Japanese textbooks and ordinary junior college level reference books”²⁹ that were merely pasted together. In terms of form, however, it is a large *congshu* collection, and not an “encyclopaedia.”³⁰

In fact, Huang Ren or Yan Fu’s prefaces to *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* both speak of word dictionaries/lexica (*cidian* 詞典 or *cidian* 辭典), but do not mention “encyclopaedias.” This does not mean that Chinese

²⁷ See Ladislafu Cigusita (Ladislav Zgusta) 拉迪斯拉夫·茲古斯塔, *Cidianxue gailun* 詞典學概論 [Manual of lexicography], trans. Lin Shuwu 林書武 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983) 274.

²⁸ For this opinion, see Song Yuanfang 宋原放, *Shanghai chubanzhi* 上海出版志 [A history of Shanghai publishing] (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan, 2000), 470, 473.

²⁹ For the table of contents and related commentaries see Fan Diji 范迪吉 *et al.*, *Putong baike quanshu* 普通百科全書 [A general encyclopaedia], see Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui* 西學東漸與晚清社會 [Parallel title: *Dissemination of Western Knowledge and the Late Qing Society*] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1994), 646–651.

³⁰ For another discussion of this work, see the articles by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Douglas Reynolds in this volume.

readers of that era had no notion of the modern encyclopaedias that were popular in Western intellectual circles. On the contrary, five years earlier one of the world’s three most famous encyclopaedias, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, had arrived in China, provoking a small upsurge in interest for encyclopaedias generally.

Stimulated by the great success of sales in Japan, in 1906 the *Times* of London, which held the rights to the tenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, entrusted the sales of this 35-volume work of over 40 million words to the Commercial Press. A scholar examining issues of the Tianjin newspaper *L’Impartial*, *Dagong bao* 大公報, from the period has discovered an item from the 27th of the 11th month in 1906 entitled “Important Notification from the *Times* of London”, *Lundun Taiwushi yaojin gaobai* 倫敦泰晤士要緊告白, which announced that the tenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* had already arrived. In the following year, *L’Impartial* published more or less similarly written and indirect advertisements 28 times. Unfortunately, sales were constrained by limited reader enthusiasm and economic capability. After 1 year—despite being a number far lower than the 5,500 sets that had sold within a year in Japan—the 450 copies sent from London had not yet sold out.³¹

In 1907, the Commercial Press printed a small volume called *Remarks on the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Daying baike quanshu pinglun* 大英百科全書評論, to promote its sale of sets of this large work. The volume contained essays by Yan Fu, Gu Hongming 辜鴻銘 (1857–1928), Li Jiaju 李家駒 (1871–1938), Yan Huiqing 顏惠慶 (1877–1950), and Li Denghui 李登輝 (1873–1947) as well as related reviews from the *China and World Daily*, *Zhong wai ribao* 中外日報, *Eastern Times*, *Shibao* 時報, *Daily News*, *Xinwen bao* 新聞報, *Southern News*, *Nanfang bao* 南方報, and the *Shenbao* (*Shanghai Journal*) 申報. A closer examination reveals that the *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 1986 edition of *Yan Fu Works* 嚴復集 presents a rather different version of his “About ‘The Encyclopaedia’” in its second volume than the version published in *Remarks on the Encyclopaedia Britannica*. This is because the former was reproduced according to a manuscript (held in the National Museum of Chinese History, *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan* 中國歷史博物館) that Yan Fu had not yet revised.

Actually, Yan Fu’s article was initially published in *The Global Chinese Students Newspaper*, *Huanqiu Zhongguo xuesheng bao* 寰球中國學生報, in Shanghai as “Review of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.” This bilingual Chinese and English bi-monthly began publication in the 6th month of 1906 and had Li Denghui and Yan Jidao 嚴幾道 (=Yan Fu) among its editors. It is not known when this journal ceased publication; the standard index for journals of this period lists only issues 1–6.³² Besides the premier issue, all issues feature translations by Yan

³¹ See Deng Shaogen 鄧紹根, “Ji «Da Buliedian Baike Quanshu» zai Zhongguo shouci de xiaoshou” 記《大不列顛百科全書》在中國首次的銷售 [Recording the first sales of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in China], *Chuban faxing yanjiu* 2 (2004): 78.

³² Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館, ed., *Zhongguo jindai qikan pianmu huilu* 中國近代期刊篇目彙錄 [Title index for China’s periodicals for the late Qing and early Republican periods] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1980–1984), 1842–7.

Fu.³³ Issue No. 5–6 of the paper (published in the 6th month of 1907) carried Yan Fu's translation of the third chapter called "Assessment of the Classical Era", *Gudai jianbie 古代鑒別*, of *Comprehensive Account of Fine Arts*, *Meishu tongquan 美術通詮* by the English scholar whose name is transcribed *Wo-si-fu 倭斯弗*, as well as Yan Fu's own "Review of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*." The issue also included Dong Shouci's 董壽慈, "Draft Translation of the Foreword to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*." Dong's opinion of this large work, "organised by category and compiled by the mental exertions of over 2,000 specialists, a collection offering enormous prospects," was favourable in the extreme, and he urged the academic world to collaborate on its translation into Chinese.³⁴ Unfortunately, this ambitious plan would only be realised dozens of years later.

Of all the articles that discuss encyclopaedias, Yan Fu's writings are the most complete and effective. Excerpting three passages from these will allow the general thrust and argumentation of "Review of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*" to become apparent. Beginning by stressing the universal nature of encyclopaedias, he then looked back to the emergence of the eighteenth-century French *Encyclopédistes*. At the end of the passage, he highlights the necessity of "having a set at home."

Everything is included in one work, both ancient and contemporary, everything in the universe, all aspects of human thought, namely the fine arts, skills, astronomy, topography, the notables of every nation, the mysteries of religion, down to the trees and grasses, the beasts, insects and fish, materia medica, tools and decorations, hobbies. All are in this book, complete and in detail, an extensive account of knowledge offered for reference.

...In that time two French worthies emerged, called Diderot and [Jean] D'Alembert [1717–1783]. Employing the meritorious methods of the English philosopher Francis Bacon [1561–1626], they assembled those who shared their ambition to execute their grand plan, thus initiating their encyclopaedia project. This work instituted a division of labour, with specialists in charge of their fields of expertise and the two worthies editing. . . It took over twenty years to complete. The people whom the editors had selected time and again faced trouble. By the time the book was completed, the time of revolution was already nigh. Alas, that the contribution academics make to the world of men can come to this!

...Scholars should have a set at home for their reference. Then they can learn about the entire world without leaving their homes. From matters as great as national politics, law, military and commercial matters to things as small as a single term or object, everything can be learnt from beginning to end by consulting this work. Is this, generally spoken, not like the special grain for the famished a big trove to improve knowledge?!³⁵

³³ According to Sun Yingxiang, Yan Fu lectured in the spring of 1906 to the Global Chinese Student Society on "The Connection between Education and State", *Lun jiaoyu yu guojia zhi guanxi 論教育與國家之關係* and on "Can There Be Power without Justice?" *You jiangquan wu gongli ci li xin yu 有強權無公理此理信歟*. Sun Yingxiang 孫應祥, *Yan Fu nianpu 嚴復年譜* [Chronology of Yan Fu's life] (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin, 2003), 257, 266.

³⁴ See Dong Shouci 董壽慈, "Ni yi *Yingwen baikequanshu yinyan*" 擬譯英文百科全書 引言 [Draft translation of the foreword to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*], *Huanqiu Zhongguo xueshengbao*, 5–6 (1907).

³⁵ See Yan Fu 嚴復, "Yingwen baike quanshu pinglun" 英文百科全書評論 [Review of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*], *Huanqiu Zhongguo xuesheng bao* 5–6 (1907).

蓋以一部之書，包羅萬有，舉古今宇內，凡人倫思想之所及，為學術，為異能，為天官，為地志，為各國傳人，為宗教神闕，下至草木，禽獸，虫魚，藥物，器飾，玩好，皆於是書焉，元元本本，殫見洽聞，錄而著之，以供攷檢。

...於時法國篤生兩賢：曰狄圖魯，曰達林白(Diderot & D’Alembert)。用英哲法蘭碩培根(Francis Bacon)之義法，糾合同志，大起宏規，而智環之作自此始。其為書，用分攻之術，令專長者各徂所知，而兩賢實司編輯。...蓋越二十年始成。編輯匪著之人，屢瀕於難。洎成書，而革命之期亦至矣。於戲噫嘻，學術左右時世之功，有如此哉！

...學者家置一編，備考覽，則不出戶可以周知天下。自國家政法兵商之大，下至一名一物之微，皆可開卷瞭然，究終本始。夫豈特饋貧之糧，益智之囊已哉！

Since this essay was written on invitation, its expansive rhetoric is unsurprising. Indeed, the essay aided the promotion of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. However, I am more concerned with two particular phrasings here: one occurs in the opening of the article and states, “The encyclopaedia, known in Western languages as *ying-sai-gu-luo-pi-shi-ya* 嬰塞骨羅辟氏亞, translated literally as circle of knowledge, *zhihuan* 智環, or the ramparts of learning, *xuefu* 學郭.” The other passage calls *Historical Records*, *Shiji* 史記, with its wide-ranging collection of old events “the real beginning of our nation’s ramparts of learning,” while lamenting, at the end of the essay, “that it is unfortunate that our nation’s *Collection of Texts and Illustrations [Old and New]*, [Gujin] tushu jicheng [古今圖書集成 [1726–1728], collects such a multitude of works in vain, for [its size] is not matched by usefulness.”

To produce such a refined translation of encyclopaedia as “ramparts of learning” is very much consistent with Yan Fu’s usual translation style. *Fu* 郭 means ramparts, the outer walls of a large city; the *locus classicus* for its metaphorical use can be found in the chapter entitled “Questions about the Spirit”, *Wenshen* 問神 from the *Model Sayings*, *Fayan* 法言, written by the Western Han figure Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 BCE–18 CE): “Wonderful that Heaven and Earth form the walls around the 10,000 kinds of beings, and the Five Classics the ramparts around all things vernacular!” 大哉，天地之為萬物郭，五經之為衆說郭。³⁶ The metaphor thus describes a vast and diverse body of vernacular knowledge that is framed by the grand truths of the classics without being replaced by them. In Yan Fu’s use, “ramparts” takes up the notion of the “circle” of all-round knowledge offered by an encyclopaedia, a word contained in the etymology of this term.

Later, Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1316–1403), of the late Yuan and early Ming, compiled jottings from the Han and Wei dynasties to the Song and Yuan into a 100-juan work called *Ramparts of the Vernacular*, *Shuo fu* 說郭 (1368). The neologism *xuefu* 學郭 “ramparts of learning” is clearly constructed in emulation of “ramparts of vernacular.” In his preface to *The Ramparts of the Vernacular*, the late Yuan literatus Yang Weizhen 楊維禎 (1296–1370) wrote:

Obtaining this book will in many ways expand what a scholar has heard and widen what he was seen. For broad information on ancient relics, he can [in this work] consult Zhang Hua [232–300] and Lu Duan [Duan Gonglu 段公路, Tang Dynasty]; to appraise ancient writing and unusual characters, he can consult Ziyun 子雲 [Yang Xiong] and Xu Shen [58–147]; to investigate for strange events, he can consult the Duke of Zhanhuang [Li Deyu 李德裕

³⁶ Yang Xiong 楊雄, *Fayan yishu* 法言 義疏 [Model sayings, annotated], Wang Rongbao 王榮寶 comm. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), *juan* 8, I.157.

(787–850)]; to learn about infinite numbers, he can consult Chunfeng [Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670)] or Yi Xing [683–727]; to search for strange things about spirits, he can refer to Gui Donghu [Gui Dong 鬼董 651–575 BCE]; to learn about insects and fish, plants and trees, he can refer to the *Erya*; for records of rivers, streams and localities, he can refer to the *Nine Hills*; to determine the meaning of ancient words, he can refer to seals and carvings; to examine proverbs and sayings, he can refer to anecdotal fiction; for ridicule and teasing, he can refer to the Sage of Merriment [Li Benzong 呂本中 (1084–1145)]. Works of the past such as Ying Zhongyuan's [Ying Shao 應劭 (153–196)] *Comprehensive Local Customs* 風俗通, Cai Bojie's [Cai Yong 蔡邕 132–192] *Exhortation to Study* 勸學篇 and Shi You's [fl. 48–33 BCE] *Manual of Swift Success* 急就章 have all been passed down to the present day, and all the more this collection of them is of great use for deepening one's skills and supplying knowledge. Doubtless these are works that should be passed down through the generations [although these are not classics].³⁷

學者得是書，開所聞，擴所見者多矣。要其博古物，可為張華，路段；其核古文奇字，可為子雲，許慎；其索異事，可為贊皇公；其知天窮數，可為淳風，一行；其搜神怪，可為鬼董狐；其識虫魚草木，可為《爾雅》；其紀山川風土，可為《九丘》；其訂古語，可為欒契；其究謬談，可為稗官；其資諠浪調笑，可為軒渠子。昔應中遠作《風俗通》蔡伯喈作《勸學篇》史游作《急就章》猶皆傳世，況是集之用工深而資識者大乎！其可傳於世無疑也。

This kind of work, which gathers and collects from all kinds of classics and histories, works of philosophy, accounts of strange events, fiction, miscellanea, literary notebooks, and commentaries, presents a universal scholarly scope that might indeed “expand what a scholar has heard and widen what he was seen.” This idea of *The Ramparts of the Vernacular* contains substantial similarities with contemporary encyclopaedias, and for this reason Yan Fu drew connections between them. His disdain for the *Collection of Texts and Illustrations. Old and New* and his great respect for Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (145–186 BCE) *Historical Records*, indicates that Yan Fu's conception of “the ramparts of learning” was probably more concerned with the need to “penetrate the changes past and present so as to establish a single orthodoxy,” than simply with documentary collections of rich and voluminous materials.

It is interesting to note that Huang Ren, who so avidly compiled the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, had once actively participated in the *Raft of Learning*, Xuefu 學桴, project. According to Soochow University's historical records, a publication called the *Soochow University Journal*, Dongwu xuebao 東吳學報, was founded in 1906. In its early years, the publication was known as *Raft of Learning*. On the cover of the premier issue, a ship was drawn sailing among great waves, with one flag fluttering from the mast inscribed with four red characters: *Soochow University Monthly*, Dongwu yuebao 東吳月報.³⁸ The “instructor of Chinese literature,” Huang Ren, explained the name of the

³⁷ Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Shuo fu* 說郛 [Ramparts of apocrypha]. Preface by Yang Weizhen 楊維禎. In *Shuo fu san zhong* 說郛三種 [Three ramparts of apocrypha], ed. Zhang Zongxiang 張宗祥, Vol. 1, 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1988).

³⁸ See Zhang Qifu 張圻福, ed. *Suzhou daxue shi* 蘇州大學校史 [History of Suzhou universities] (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin, 1992). However, in one point a correction must be made; not only was the premier issue of the *Soochow University Journal* called *Xue fu* 學桴, the issue published in the following year, the 10th month of Guangxu 33 [1907], still bore the same title.

journal in his “Inaugural statement for *Raft of Learning*” as follows: “A raft of learning is a part of the apparatus to be prepared for a period of crossing over [=transition]”³⁹ 學桴者，預備過度時代器具之一部分也。Naturally, this *fu* 桴, “raft,” is not the same as *fu* 鄂, “ramparts.” The former refers to a seafaring bamboo raft, while the latter refers to the safe ramparts of a city. Although the two pronunciations are the same and the pun is clearly intended, their size and function could not be more different. One refers to a vast array of vernacular knowledge contained within the secure walls of the classics, the other to an emergency vessel needed to cross over to the other side of modernity without much of a secure orientation.

“National Learning” and “Encyclopaedic Dictionaries”

It is impossible to speak of *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* without reference to its publisher, the Shanghai Society for the Preservation of National Learning. Materials regarding the Society for the Preservation of National Learning are rather scant. Among the few available references, we have a short article by Zheng Yimei 鄭逸梅 (1895–1992).⁴⁰ Zheng’s article “A Few Books Published by the Society for the Preservation of National Learning” is concerned mostly with introducing *Collected Works on Perfume and Charm*, *Xiangyan congshu* 香艷叢書, but in my opinion the opening paragraph has greater historic value:

At the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republican Era, there was a publishing organisation in Shanghai called the Society for the Preservation of National Learning, managed by Wang Junqing [1867–1935] of Wuxing and Shen Zhifang [1882–1939] of Shanyin. They published several great works, e.g. *Collection of Poetry from Successive Reigns*, 56 volumes, *A Compendium of Qing Essays*, 101 volumes. *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*, 12 volumes. *A Compendium of Fiction Old and New*, 60 volumes. *Forty Novels of the Ming Dynasty*, 8 volumes. *The Agreeable*

³⁹ Huang Ren, “Xuefu fakan ci” 學桴發刊詞 [Inaugural statement for *Raft of Learning*]. Quoted in Wang Yingzhi 王英志, “Xuefu bainian ganyan” «學桴»百年感言 (Thoughts on the 100th anniversary of “Raft of Learning”), *Xinmin Wanbao* (Jan 5, 2006). According to this article, which reprinted the inaugural statement, a single copy of the original maiden issue is extant in the collection of Zhongshan University Library.

⁴⁰ Zheng Yimei 鄭逸梅, “Guoxue fulun she chuban ji zhong juzhu” 國學扶輪社出版幾種巨著 [A few great works published by the Society for the Preservation of National Learning], in *Gujin shu xun* 4, (1984). It has been included in Zheng Yimei *Wenyuan huaxu* 文苑花絮 [Tidbits from the Garden of Literature] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2005), and reprinted in *Zhongguo chuban shiliao, jindai bufen* 中國出版史料•近代部分 [Historical materials on Chinese publishing: contemporary section], Song Yuanfang 宋原放, Wang Jiarong 汪家燦 *et al.* eds. (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu, 2004), *juan* 3, 252–253. The annotator notes: “The Society for the Preservation of National Learning was jointly established from 1910 to 1913 by Shen Zhifang and others. In the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republican period the number of small and middle publishing houses numbered in the thousands. They sprung up as hastily as they shut down, and it is rare for there to be any records of them. We found this article with great difficulty, and provide it as a kind of clue for everybody.”

Garden Collection, 16 volumes. *Collected Works on Perfume and Charm*, 80 volumes. The Society for the Preservation of National Learning had no publishing division of its own, and so printing and publication were undertaken by the Chinese Book Company. Later, the Chinese Book Company merged with the Commercial Press, and many of its publications were sold through Commercial Press.⁴¹

清末民初，上海有個出版機構，名國學扶輪社，是吳興王均卿和山陰沈知方等主持的。出版了幾種巨著，如《列朝詩集》，計五十六冊。《清文匯》，一百零一冊。《文科大辭典》，十二冊。《古今說部叢書》，六十冊。《明朝四十家小說》，八冊。《適園叢書》，十六種。《香艷叢書》，八十冊。扶輪社自己沒有發行部，便歸中國圖書公司代為印刷發行。後來中國圖書公司並入商務印書館，許多出版物都由商務經售了。

He mentions *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*, for which Lin Shu 林紓 (1852–1924) wrote the preface, but omits *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, a work of greater scholarly value—this is an unfortunate oversight indeed! That he chose to make *Collected Works on Perfume and Charm* the focus of his essay shows a predilection for romantic fiction.

According to Song Yuanfang, among others, the Society for the Preservation of National Learning was founded in Shanghai in 1902,⁴² although all records of its publishing activities date to after 1905.⁴³ Its publishing activities appear to have peaked between 1909 and 1915, and seemed to have ceased entirely after 1916. The founder of the society was Shen Zhifang 沈知方, originally his personal name had been Zhifang 芝芳 with different characters; his studio name was Pure Fragrance Studio, Cuifen ge 粹芬閣, and he used the courtesy name Master of the Pure Fragrance Studio, Cuifen gezhu 粹芬閣主. From Shaoxing in Zhejiang, he was forced to break off his education and become an apprentice in a bookstore. In 1900 he joined the Commercial Press. Thereafter, he maintained employment at the Commercial Press while co-founding the Society for the Preservation of National Learning, the Society for the Circulation of Old Books, Gushu liutongshe 古書流通社, and the Chinese Geographical Society, Zhonghua yudi xueshe 中華輿地學社, etc. In 1918 he joined the Shijie shuju 世界書局 publishers, where he was later made general manager.⁴⁴ The other co-founder was Wang Junqing 王均卿, courtesy name Wenru 文濡, alternate name Old and New Good-for-nothing, Xinjiu feiwu 新舊廢物. From Wuxing in Zhejiang, he was a member of the Southern Society 南社, and successively the editor for the Society

⁴¹ Zheng Yimei 鄭逸梅, *Wenyuan huaxu 文苑花絮* [Tidbits from the garden of literature] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2005), 269.

⁴² Song Yuanfang, *Shanghai chuban zhi*, 251.

⁴³ Zhu Lianbao 朱聯保, *Jinxindai Shanghai chubanye yinxiang ji 近現代上海出版業印象記* [Records of impressions of the modern and contemporary Shanghai publishing industries] (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1993), 277.

⁴⁴ For Shen Zhifang's life and editorial activities, see Qiuweng 秋翁 [=Ping Jinya 平襟亞], "Shuye guaijie" 書業怪杰 [Remarkable eccentrics of the book trade], in *Zhongguo chuban shiliao, jindai bufen*, Song Yuanfang, ed., *juan 3*, 278–283, and Wang Zhen 王震, "Ji Shijie Shuju chuanganben Shen Zhifang" 記世界書局創辦人沈知方 [In memory of the founder of the World Book Company, Shen Zhifang], in *Zhongguo chuban shiliao, jindai bufen, juan 3*, 479–492.

for the Preservation of National Learning, the Wenming shuju 文明書局, the Jinbu shuju 進步書局, and the Zhongguo shuju 中國書局. He edited several works that circulated widely, including *Collected Works on Perfume and Charm*, Xiangyan congshu 香豔叢書, *A Compendium of Fiction Old and New*, Gujin shuobu congshu 古今說部叢書, *A Treasury of Fiction*, Shuo ku 說庫, *Anthology of Eight Prose Masters from the Ming and Qing*, Ming Qing ba da jia wenchao 明清八大家文鈔, and *A Further Categorized Compilation of Ancient Literature*, Xu guwen ci leizuan 續古文詞類纂. Some of these have been continuously reprinted up to the present day.

There are conflicting accounts about whether Huang Ren co-founded the Society for the Preservation of National Learning or was directly involved in its operations. Historical records are inconclusive, and Huang’s own account is rather vague. The preface to *A Compendium of Qing Essays*, Guochao wenhui 國朝文匯, makes Huang sound like an insider (“The reason that our society has produced the anthology *A Compendium of Qing Essays*. . .”). However, material in the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* suggests a certain distance (“when the head of the Society for the Preservation of National Learning, Shen Cuifen [Zhifang], resolved to compile encyclopaedic dictionaries, I found myself in complete agreement”). In any event, it is evident that the relationship between Huang Ren and the Society for the Preservation of National Learning was a very close one since the three large works he formally published, *A Compendium of Qing Essays*, *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, and *A History of Chinese Literature*, were all published by this society.

The Society for the Preservation of National Learning was founded in Shanghai as a publisher devoted to “national learning,” whose primary aim was to publish materials drawn from Chinese traditional culture. In the context of this society’s other publications, Huang Ren’s compilatory activities seem rather “alternative.” By examining two roughly contemporary “encyclopaedic dictionaries” published by this same society, we can discern Huang Moxi’s scholarly interests and compilation strategies.

There is no doubt that Huang Moxi was the compiler of *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, but attribution for *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies (Section on Rhetoric)*, Wenke da cidian (Xiucixue zhi bu) 文科大辭典(修辭學之部), is less certain. The colophon credits only the “Shanghai Society for the Preservation of National Learning,” which is an unsatisfactory attribution to say the least. Wang Jiarong, whose special research interest is the Commercial Press, once claimed that Shen Zhifang stole the idea for *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* from the approach pursued in a project of the Commercial Press, *Source of Terms*, Ci yuan 辭源⁴⁵—namely, to compile a work with “*A Compendium of Parallel-Prose Phrases*, Pian zi leibian 駢字類編,⁴⁶ as the

⁴⁵ Lu Erkui 陸爾奎, comp., *Ci yuan 辭源* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1915).

⁴⁶ Qing Shengzu 清聖祖, ed., *Yuding pianzi leibian 御定駢字類編* (1726; repr., Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1985).

foundation, adding and deleting slightly, then appending explanatory notes.”⁴⁷ It is completely justified to call *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* a hodgepodge; but to assert that it uses “*A Compendium of Parallel-Prose Phrases* as the foundation” is inaccurate. This opinion may very well have been influenced by the preface written by Lin Shu 林紓 (1852–1924) for *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*. In it Lin Shu begins with *The Imperial Digest* and then progresses to other works of great renown like *the Imperial Digest of the Taiping Reign* and *Prime Records from the Literary Storehouse*. He writes, “all the material selected for use in these two works was examined and approved by selected scholars of great learning, provoking clamorous discussion. It is difficult indeed to satisfy the human heart.” Writing specifically about the compilation and arrangement of *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*, Lin praised it for having the “same form as a Western encyclopaedic dictionary” while still bearing an echo of *A Compendium of Parallel-Prose Phrases*.⁴⁸

Whether in the process and structure of its compilation or in its definitions of terms, *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* seems old-fashioned. The advertised claim that the work offers “the usefulness of both a dictionary and a *leishu*, possessing the special quality that when one is about to begin writing, it can be used to polish one’s diction,”⁴⁹ 辭典而兼類書功用，尤爲是書之特色，臨文之際，得此以潤色辭藻 serves to highlight the work’s jumble in form and content. The only aspect of the work that is representative of its era is the last item in the “Editorial Principles”: “This work, though different from a category-book, is intended to be convenient for applied use. For this reason, it has been divided into 40 categories such as astronomy, geography, the seasons, etc. For every entry the category of term has been listed as noun, pronoun, verb, substantive, adverbial or exclamation, and organised according to the Japanese indexing system. Another index organises entries by term, category, stroke number and character, for convenient reference.”⁵⁰ But this minor adjustment does little to improve the scholarly quality of this large work; the entire text is copied and assembled from various

⁴⁷ Wang Jiarong writes: “[Shen Zhifang] was a senior employee of Commercial Press, and himself co-founded the ‘Society for the Preservation of National Learning.’ Knowing about the editorial project *Source of Terms*, *Ci yuan* 辭源, and understanding its commercial value, he directed the editors of the Society to imitate it. They took the *Pian zi leibian* 駢字類編 as the foundation, omitted and added a little material, added annotations, and printed two editions. Both were published in 1911, one was called *Wenke da cidian* 文科大辭典, and the other *Wenke da cidian* 文科大詞典.” Wang Jiarong 汪家燦 “Hai tan jindai chubanshen de wenhua zhuiqiu” 還談近代出版人的文化追求 [More thoughts on the cultural pursuits of modern publishing figures], *Zhongguo bianji* 2 (2004): 73.

⁴⁸ See Lin Shu 林紓, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in Guoxue fulun she 國學扶輪社, ed., *Wenke da cidian*. *Xiucixue zhi bu* 文科大詞典/文科大辭典. 修辭學之部 (Shanghai: Zhongguo cidian gongsi, 1911).

⁴⁹ This advertisement was printed in the front matter of the *Wenke da cidian*. For a reproduction of this advertisement, see the appendix to the study by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume.

⁵⁰ See “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial Principles], in *Wenke da cidian* (*Xiuci zhi bu*), 2b.

sources and riddled with omissions and errors. Although it is called *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*, it includes entries on “inappropriate speech”, *xiaoyan* 小言, and “unorthodoxy”, *xiaodao* 小道, but not on “fiction”, *xiaoshuo* 小說; for “idle scholars”, *sanren* 散人, and “useless wood”, *sanmu* 散木 but not for “prose”, *sanwen* 散文—indeed, the process of selection is entirely hopeless. The following two examples will serve to demonstrate the crudity of the explanations:

Old texts: (noun) (literature) This refers to the writings of the former kings. “Denigrating the Qin [dynasty] and Praising the Xin,” in *Selections of Refined Literature* says: “The old texts were all made accessible.” [Original] Commentary: “Old texts” refers to the writings of the former kings. (Vol. *chou* [2], 37)

Pronouncement: (noun) (Neo-Confucianism). All examples of elevated speech are known as “pronouncements.” *The Analects* says: “The master’s pronouncement [we] are allowed to hear.” (Zhu Xi 朱熹[1130–1200] commentary:) Pronouncements: If virtue shows forth on the outside, it is in elevated speech. (Vol. *zi* [1], 91)

古文:(名)(文學類)謂先王之典籍。《文選·劇秦美新》:“古文畢發。”(注)古文,先王之典籍也。(丑集3 7頁)

文章:(名)(道學類)威儀文辭,皆為文章。《論語》:“夫子之文章,可得而聞也。”(朱傳)文章,德之見乎外者,威儀文辭皆是也。(子集9 1頁)

Any reader will find it bewildering to find *wenzhang* included under “Neo-Confucianism” but *guwen* classified as literature. As for the evolution of *guwen* and *wenzhang* as literary forms since the pre-Qin period, this question lies entirely outside the editors’ scope. Consequently, this so-called encyclopaedic dictionary is only a source of phrases for the convenience of the reader who is “about to begin writing, to use for embellishments and delicate phrases.”

A professor of national literature at the Metropolitan University, Jingshi daxuetang 京師大學堂, Lin Shu accepted the invitation to write the preface for *An Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*. It seems likely that he did not examine the manuscript and simply produced complimentary remarks without foundation. For Lin Shu to assess this work, he did not need to investigate whether it was formally sound or the explanations complete and error-free. For him, the crucial question was whether or not Chinese people could once again “search for life in piles of paper,” and in this way conserve the nation’s cultural heritage:

Generally speaking, with New Learning thriving and old learning dwindling by the day, who will search for life in piles of paper? But those who bear the name of the Chinese can certainly not abandon their national culture and still call themselves its nationals. When I labour away lecturing in the humanities courses at the university, I am still very meticulous and on a daily level consult *The Zuo Tradition*, *Discourses of the States*, *Zhuangzi*, *The Lament*, *Historical Records*, *History of Han* as well as the prose of the eight masters [from the Tang and Song], analyzing them point by point, and discussing them with my students. Though I am aware that they are not of practical use, it is through them that the national legacy is preserved. Now that the gentlemen from this Society, going about their work with such devotion and setting their aims so high have compiled this work for the benefit of the men of letters, I did not dare not to thank them by writing [this preface]. I have recorded their achievements, so as to give due credit to the nation’s most erudite gentlemen.

綜言之，新學既昌，舊學日就淹沒，孰於故紙堆中覓取生活？然名為中國人，斷無拋棄其國故而仍稱國民者。仆乘乏大學文科講席，猶兢兢然，日取《左》《國》《莊》《騷》《史》《漢》八家之文，條分縷析，與同學言之。明知其不適於用，然亦所以存國故耳。今同社諸君用心如此之摯，立志如此之高，編纂是書，嘉惠藝林，余不敢以不文謝也。謹錄其所見，以質海內淹博之君子。⁵¹

The aspirations expressed here in the name of “The Society for the Preservation of National Learning” and the contents of the self-published advertisements⁵² are all very much in the same spirit.

Similarly, when Yan Fu wrote the preface for *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, he also had probably not read Huang Ren’s manuscript and was unfamiliar with the direction this work took. Otherwise, he would not have been able to blindly praise him for carrying on the national legacy as he did in the following passage:

The books which the Master of the Society for the Preservation of National Learning has published earlier with the lofty aim of preserving the national essence are already treasured by Chinese scholars who maintain the tradition of learning. But now he has come to the opinion that to look [for the national essence] only in the [Chinese] past is still not the optimal way of preserving it, and that it is necessary to grandly amplify it and broadly take in the greatest variety of currents—only then the work [of preserving the national essence] will be done effectively.⁵³

國學扶輪社主人，保存國粹之幟志也，其前所為書，已為海內承學之士所寶貴矣。乃今以謂徒於其故而求之，猶非保存之大者也，必張皇補苴，宏納眾流，而后為有效也。

Of course, Yan Fu should be distinguished from Lin Shu, for he understood that one “cannot conserve ancient things in isolation, since this will produce the opposite result, namely their disappearance,” 古不能以徒存也，使古爾徒存，則其效將至於不之存⁵⁴ emphasising instead the question of how to carry national learning forward. Yan Fu could not in any case have imagined that the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, the work for which he wrote the preface, was not in fact primarily devoted to the “conservation of the national legacy.”

Very much as stated in the “Editorial Principles” of the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, Huang Ren’s compilation “embraced the Chinese and the foreign, collecting from all fields of learning.” The focus of the work

⁵¹ See Lin Shu, “Xu,” in *Wenke dacidian*.

⁵² The advertisement in the front matter of the *Wenke da cidian* reads: “Since European fashions and Japanese style have gradually seeped in deeper, the flaws in [our] writing have thickened and expanded to the point that wherever the eyes look there is a thorny mess; the models of antiquity are tumbling and are about to fall to the ground. [I] the chairman of this Society [for the Support of National Learning], was deeply distressed about this . . . Over many years we have made excerpts from many works, now finally reaching one million and several hundred thousand characters. The explanations are all very clear, avoiding the pitfall of obscurity. [Entries] always exhaustingly verify the original story, and do not make a mockery of or forget our own ancestors.” 自歐風和體漸深，文字之病，蕪雜廓落，彌望荆榛，先正典型，飄搖欲墜矣本社主人憂焉。。。摺據群籍，積有年歲，始成百數十萬言。詮釋俱極明瞭，無捫燭談日之弊；印證必窮源委，無數典忘祖之譏。

⁵³ Yan Fu, *Yan Fu ji*, 2:277.

⁵⁴ Yan Fu, *Yan Fu ji*, 2:276.

was on Western learning not on national learning, and the proportion devoted to the natural sciences was higher than that given to the humanities and social sciences. This was a far cry from *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* and its rehash of the Chinese classics. As the Japanese scholar Sanetō Keishū 實藤惠秀 (1896–1985) has perceptively pointed out:

This dictionary, although it also includes native Chinese scholarly terminology as well as historical and geographical terms, has chosen only the principal terms, applying a very strict selection process. But when it comes to terminology from foreign languages, no effort was spared and a large number was included.⁵⁵

A Chinese scholar has made a detailed reckoning of the distribution of entries over the academic fields: “Of the entries in this encyclopaedic dictionary, 5,500 belong to the social sciences, and the remainder either to the natural sciences or technology.”⁵⁶ In other words, since the whole work totals 11,865 entries, more than half is devoted to the natural sciences or technology. This is very much in keeping with the academic inclinations of the era, when students of New Learning urgently desired to catch up with worldwide currents.

Since the emphasis is placed on New Learning, and the vocabulary of New Learning came mostly from the West, in its definitions of terms the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* tried to “append the original Western language terms for reference.” This special feature was announced with great fanfare in the “Editorial Principles.” In the advertisement for this *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, published in the front matter of *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* (Section Rhetoric) it was stressed once again:

This work examined over thousands of specialised scholarly works, distilled their essence and compiled all kinds of technical terms, whether Chinese or foreign, old or new, into a concise and comprehensive encyclopaedic dictionary. The terms were classified and categorised, appraised in detail, and for new scientific terminology the original Western-language terms have in most cases been appended.

本書參考專門學書千餘種，提要鉤玄，會通中外新舊各種學術名詞，成一精粹完備之詞典。分門別類，詳加考核，而科學新名詞則多附以西國原文。

Later scholars have been unstinting in their praise of this item. However, this particular achievement of *A New Encyclopaedic Dictionary* cannot be entirely credited. This is because the “original Western-language term” has not been included for every New Learning term.

Taking just world literature as an example, one finds that the entries for “impressionism,” “sentimentalism,” “naturalism” and “realism” do not include the English terms, but that symbolism includes several alternative names as well as the English term (Symbolism, *biaoxiangzhuyi* 表象主義, *biaoxiangzhuyi* 標象主

⁵⁵ Sanetō Keishū 實藤惠秀, *Zhongguoren liuxue Riben shi* 中國人留學日本史 [A history of Chinese students in Japan], trans. Tan Ruqian 譚汝謙 et al. (Beijing: Sanlian, 1983), 299.

⁵⁶ See Li Di 李迪, Guo Shirong 郭世榮, “Qingmo «Putong Baike Xin Da Cidian» ji qi xueshu jiazhi” 清末《普通百科新大詞典》及其學術價值 [New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge of the late Qing and its academic value], *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 1 (2003): 23.

意, *biaoxianzhuyi* 標現主義). The Chinese term for romanticism, *langmanzhuyi* 浪漫主義, is not found, instead the transliterated term *luo-ma-di-xi-si-mu* 羅馬弟昔斯姆 is included. Even more interesting is that terms may include not only English, but also French, German, and even Latin. Here the editor's fondness for "wide selection" has caused considerable imperfections of form. The fact that the section for world history includes specialised terms and names like Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信 (1838–1922), *yamato-damashii* 大和魂 or the "Northern Qing affair," Beiqing shijian 北清事件 (i.e. the Boxer Rebellion), is a reminder of the influence of the Japanese encyclopaedic dictionaries.

Indeed, the editor of the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* did have encyclopaedic interests and a global vision. However, limited by his own personal reserves of knowledge and those of the Chinese academic community of the time, he was restricted to copying from various books. For this reason, he could not really live up to his promise to include "the original Western term." Still, Huang Moxi's copying had its own particularities. Entries on history, such as "the hidden texts of Mingshashan 鳴沙山 [near Dunhuang 敦煌]," the "Sino-Japanese War," and the "Imprisonment [of Zou Rong 鄒容 (1885–1905) on account] of *The Revolutionary Army*, Gemingjun 革命軍," among others were all recent events and unlikely to be included in any available dictionaries. Occasionally, the explanations include flashes of patriotic feeling or anxious concern, all of which indicate the "centrality" of the compiler. For the entry on the English novelist "*Die-geng-si*" 迭更司 (Charles Dickens 1812–1870), Lin Shu's translations are mentioned. The definition of "newspaper," notes, "its origins are in our nation's bulletins and gazettes." Describing "magazines," the entry reads "they began in our nation during the Tongzhi reign, in the missionary churches. Then, after the Hundred Days' Reform, there was a small flourishing of many short-lived magazines, though very few could persevere."⁵⁷ All of these examples indicate that Huang Moxi's compilation of *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* was indeed a serious undertaking, not merely an act of cutting and pasting.

With the overwhelming, ever-growing dissemination of Western learning that occurred at the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republican Era, the compilation of a dictionary was in some ways both a difficult and a simple endeavour. In Zhong Shaohua's words, "Though a person might not understand foreign languages, there were already over a 1,000 books in translation from which to draw their materials. So, even knowing only Chinese, anyone with the determination to do so could certainly successfully compile a reference work."⁵⁸ But to actually apply the 18 items listed in the "Editorial Principles" of the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* to the editing and compilation of each

⁵⁷ See Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*, vol. *si* 巳 [6], 44; vol. *you* 酉 [10], 15; vol. *hai* 亥 [12], 50. For details on this and other encyclopaedia entries on newspapers and magazines, see the study by Rudolf Wagner in this volume.

⁵⁸ See Zhong Shaohua 鐘少華, "Qing mo baike quanshu jieshao" 清末百科全書介紹 [Introduction to late Qing Encyclopaedias], in Zhong Shaohua, *Ciyu de zhihui* 詞語的知惠 [Insight into terms] (Guiyang: Guizhou jiaoyu, 2000), 1–32.

encyclopaedic dictionary was no easy matter. Naturally, compared with many other works that were assembled at random, Huang Moxi should be praised for his industry and for his sound academic consciousness. Particularly in his treatment of the “literature” category, a subject of no relevance to “the times,” he exhibited a relatively unconventional academic stance.

“Wenxue” in the Encyclopaedic Purview

Compiling an encyclopaedia or an encyclopaedic dictionary involves not only the technical task of arranging entries, but also requires a kind of structure or arrangement of knowledge systems—including the classification of branches of knowledge, organisation of concepts, logical reflection, and value judgements. For instance, the development of the French Enlightenment was inextricably intertwined with the compilatory activities of the *Encyclopédistes*, but hidden behind the quality of the compilation was the scholarly depth and academic upheaval of an era.⁵⁹ Late Qing encyclopaedic compilations can be assessed as an important component of coping with “a sea change, unprecedented in 3,000 years” and the Chinese intellectual world’s conscious attempt to “cleanse its heart and change its appearance.” Conversely, the halting progression of New Learning and the nearly inevitable “arrogance and prejudice” of its pioneers restricted the quality of encyclopaedic dictionary compilation. At this juncture, temporarily doing without close analysis of specific entries, we will demonstrate the gradual and steady progress of the encyclopaedic dictionary through the sudden prominence of a specific branch of knowledge, “wenxue.”

Zhong Shaohua’s 鐘少華 discussion of Chinese and Japanese encyclopaedias provides brief introductions of 42 late Qing encyclopaedic works (including encyclopaedic dictionaries and encyclopaedic *congshu* collections).⁶⁰ A little investigation shows that the vast majority of encyclopaedic dictionaries or *congshu* collections do not include a category for “wenxue.” The reasoning is very simple: for students of New Learning, engaged with “the times” and struggling to create an ‘Enlightenment,’ the traditional Chinese emphasis on language and its neglect of “practical learning” was the failing they wanted to strenuously avoid. Besides, one should also note that the literature of New Learning was at that time still in an ambiguous state. Only with the constant alterations made to the Memorials Fixing the Regulations for Higher Schooling, Zouding daxuetang zhangcheng 奏定大學堂

⁵⁹ To put it in Robert Darnton’s terms: “It showed that knowledge was ordered, not random; that the ordering principle was reason working on sense data, not revelation speaking through tradition; and that rational standards, when applied to contemporary institutions, would expose absurdity and iniquity everywhere.” Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 539–540.

⁶⁰ See Zhong Shaohua 鐘少華, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju Renlei zhishi de xin gongju: Zhong-Ri jindai baike quanshu yanjiu 人類知識的新工具: 中日近代百科全書研究* [A new tool of human knowledge: A study of early modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan] (Beijing: Beijing Tushuguan, 1996), 53–76.

章程, did Chinese people gradually realise the importance of “literary education.”⁶¹ From that point on, ordinary people began to recognise that the counterpart to the English term “literature” was not the “*wenxue*,” which was one of the four branches of Confucian learning.

We will examine three early encyclopaedic dictionaries to note the awkward position of *wenxue* and its eventual resurfacing. *A Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs*, *Shiwu tongkao* 時務通考, edited by Qilu Zhuren 杞廬主人, was published in a lithographic edition by the Shanghai Lithographic Studio, Dianshizhai 點石齋, in 1897. The entire work, divided into 31 categories including geography and astronomy/mathematics, boasts three million characters. The nineteenth *juan*, “Schools,” includes “Languages and Scripts” as an addendum, while examples of main entries include “There Are Three Classes of Schools in the West,” “Schools of England,” “Schools of France,” “Schools of Germany,” etc. In the addendum there are entries like “Tracing the Source of Languages,” “Three Essentials of Study,” “The Simplicity of the Western Alphabet,” and “China Should Produce Western-Style Popular Dictionaries to Popularise a System of Uniform Writing.” The editor’s preface begins with reference to Ma Duanlin’s 馬端臨 (c. 1254–c.1323) *Comprehensive Reference on Records and Documents*, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, continuing down to the Qing Dynasty’s *A Comprehensive Examination of Records and Documents of our August Dynasty*, *Huangchao wenxian tongkao* 皇朝文獻通考. It then proceeds to discuss the lifting of the maritime ban and the shift in academic atmosphere of the Daoguang 道光 (1820–1850) reign. This is followed by a passage that one might call a declaration of ambitions:

As regards governance in Western countries, while it time and again secretly matches the bequests left behind from the three dynasties [of China’s golden age in antiquity] for regulating [society], their science and arts are better able to get hold of the potential of nature. Thus, it is time to appropriate their methods and act on them, in order to supplement [our] governance and moral teaching where they are inadequate. For this reason, key texts on contemporary affairs also constitute an aspect of governance. We lack a work collecting such texts. I have assembled men of similar ambition, strung together various texts and collected them in one work, called *A Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs*.

有見於泰西之政治，時時隱合三古以來垂治之遺意，其學術更能奪造化之功，爰時取其法而行之，以輔政教之所不逮。繇是，時務典籍，又為經濟之一端，而統匯之書缺焉。仆糾集同志，貫串群言，合為一書，曰“時務通考”。⁶²

There is no trace of literature here, either of traditional poetry and prose, or of Western novels and drama. The editor is focused on science and technology, which he believes “are better able to get hold of the potential of nature,” as well as the political system, which “time and again secretly matches the bequests left behind from the three dynasties [of China’s golden age in antiquity] for regulating

⁶¹ See Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, *Zhongguo daxue shi jiang* 中國大學十講 [Ten lectures on Chinese universities] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue, 2002), 102–133.

⁶² Qilu zhuren 杞廬主人, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Shiwu tongkao* 時務通考, ed. Qilu zhuren 杞廬主人 (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1897).

[society].” These are the two elements that the wise people of the period saw as both useful and urgently needed for the times and governance.

In the front matter of the 1901 third lithographic printing of the Shanghai Hongbao zhai, *A Comprehensive Examination of Governance*, Jingji tongkao 經濟通考 (compiled by Shao Youlian 邵友濂 [Xiaocun 筱邨]), is a preface written for the first edition by the “Master of the Hongbao Studio” (= Ying Zuxi 應祖錫) in 1898, emphasising that the work contains the information for the management of the state and for negotiating needed reform. Thus, the “comprehensive examination” was focused on “covering the governance, ethical teachings and customs of the foreigners, the trades of its people, and their specialized technical learning”:

In recent years, the Court has vigorously promoted the development of the nation and the elimination of accumulated problems. Widely opening up the avenues for public opinion, the manifold ways of a reform of governance, which it has promulgated, more or less all follow the example of Westerners. Consequently, scholars today should possess the learning needed for managing government, the talent needed to negotiate reform, and furthermore a thorough understanding of foreign conditions. And this, as a general principle, is why Mister Shao Xiaocun compiled this work. The compilation is divided into sixteen categories and incorporates several thousand entries, covering the governance, ethical teachings and customs of the foreigners, the trades of its people, and their specialized technical learning. The most crucial passages have been selected and translated, to contribute to our celebrated contemporaries’ debates. The entire layout is focused on the key features of state management, is clear and to the point without anything left out.

近年以來，朝廷切實振興，力除積弊，廣通言路，種種所頒新政，類皆效法西人，然則士生今日，懷經世之學，濟變之才，尤貴能洞達夷情。夫是故邵筱邨先生是書之所由作也。編中分門十有六，網羅數千篇，凡洋人之政教風俗，四民之業，專門之藝，擷其最要者譯之，參以當代名人論說。總其綱維，終不外經濟大端，而詳覈顯豁，囊括無遺。⁶³

This work does not include “wenxue” either. Quite a few entries are identical to those in the *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs*. A point worthy of some attention is that the sixth volume, “Schools,” includes articles germane to developments in China such as “The Discussion on Founding Schools,” “Girls’ Schools,” “On Examinations,” etc.

A Comprehensive Summary of Current Affairs by Category and for All Nations, Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng 萬國分類時務大成, selected and edited by Qian Feng (Yixian) 錢豐 (頤仙), was published in an 1897 lithographic edition in Shanghai. The work has 40 *juan* altogether, of which the “wenxue category” takes up only 3 (numbers 20 through 22). This might seem like a breakthrough for late Qing works of the genre; however, under close examination, the three *juan* which comprise the “wenxue category” include entries like “Schools of the Nations,” “Writing of the Nations,” “Libraries of the Nations,” “Academies of the Nations,” “Private Schools of the Nations,” “Mathematics of the Nations,” “Acoustics of the Nations,” “Optics of the Nations,” and “Electrical Sciences of the Nations.” By today’s standards, only the second section of volume 20,

⁶³ Hongbaozhai zhuren 鴻寶齋主人, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in (*Yangwu*) *Jingji tongkao* 洋務經濟通考, comp. Shao Xiaocun 邵筱邨, (Shanghai: Hongbao, 1901³), 1a, b.

“Writings of the Nations” really falls under the “*wenxue*” category. The section consists of a 3 or 4,000-character account of Western poetry, prose, novels, and theatre. The section begins with “during the Zhou Dynasty in China, there was a blind man in Greece called Homer, whose greatest achievement was in poetry” and on to “A Greek maiden called Sappho who wrote short poetry,” “an Italian named Dante with a deep understanding of the ways of the world and a facility with words” and “Goethe, known for his great learning,” “whose most famous work is *Faust*.”⁶⁴ In any case, the section must be considered a serious attempt at commentary on the work of foreign writers. However, the inclusion of optics and electric sciences under the “*wenxue* category,” is indeed unexpected. Anticipating this difficulty, the editor provides an explanation in the “Editorial Principles,” *fanli* 凡例:

The compilation includes optics, acoustics, electric sciences and mechanics, fields of manufacturing and technology that originally had no connection with the word *wenxue*, and are seemingly totally inappropriate to include in that category. But these are all sections compiled from Western affairs and Western learning. If we consider *wenxue* as all the writings of the various Western countries’ languages, then acoustics and the other categories along with mathematics can all be assigned to *wenxue*.⁶⁵

是編所收光學，聲學，電學，重學等類，其中所學，雖皆制造工藝之事，原與“文學”兩字判若天淵，似不能附入文學類。然編中所彙輯者，皆西國事西國學也。既“文學”兩字，亦不過第就泰西各國語言文字所見諸紙筆者而言，故光學等類，統以算學，均分隸諸文學之末。

To separate technology from the learning that describes it—for anything that progresses beyond the verbal or empirical stage to be included under “*wenxue*”—is an astonishing idea, although it rather resembles Zhang Taiyan’s 章太炎 (1869–1936), explanation in *A Short Theory of Literature*, *Wenxue lunlüe* 文學論略 (1906).⁶⁶ However, the editor does not explain why, given that works on acoustics have been included in the “*wenxue* category,” works on “Taxation” or “Punishment” should be included under the “politics” category. Naturally, this use of *wenxue*, which includes schools, poetry, prose, and museums alongside instructional materials for acoustics and electric sciences, does not correspond to the modern word “literature” as it is used in Europe and America.

It is interesting that the editor of *A Comprehensive Summary of Current Affairs by Category and for All Nations* found it necessary to include an explanation for classifying acoustics in the “*wenxue* category,” while the discussion of “Schools,” “Books,” “Museums,” etc. in the “*wenxue* category” seems to have been perfectly

⁶⁴ See Qian Feng 錢豐, comp., *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng* 萬國分類時務大成 [A Comprehensive Summary of Current Affairs by Category and for All Nations] (Shanghai: Shenjiang Xiuhai shanfang, 1897), *juan* 12, 29–32.

⁶⁵ See Qian Feng, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, front matter.

⁶⁶ “What is known as *wenxue*? Characters written on bamboo or silk are called script [*wen*]. Discussions of its models are called script studies [*wenxue*].” Zhang Jiang 章絳 (=Zhang Taiyan 章太炎), “Wenxue lunlüe” 文學論略 [A Sketch of Literature] *Guocui xuebao* 21 (=2.9) (1906): Wen pian 文篇4a.

natural. In fact, in late Qing documents, one often finds discussions that equate or subordinate “wenxue” to “education.” For example, Young Allen (Lin Yuezhi 林樂知) (1836–1907), affirmed in the 1896 “Preface” to his translation of one enormously influential work from the period, Mori Arinori’s 森有禮 (1847–1889) *A Strategy to Revive the Nation through Education*, *Wenxue xingguo ce* 文學興國策, that “Baron Mori, during his ambassadorship in the United States, besides conducting negotiations, also obeyed express imperial command and took advantage of his post to investigate American *wenxue* practices, in a pioneering effort to foster Japanese learning.” It continues, “the general rise of *wenxue* in the United States has brought about great prosperity in the space of 100 years. Japan adopted these strategies in its various islands and in only 20 years it has come to be held in high esteem by every nation.”⁶⁷ Both quotes refer to education; the first section of the work includes the correspondence of the president of Yale University, Theodore Dwight Woolsey (1801–1889), with Mori discussing how “*wenxue*” can be of profit to the wealth of the nation, of use to commerce, of profit to agriculture and manufacturing, of profit to human relationships, moral character, family life, of profit to legal statutes, and to national policy.⁶⁸ This kind of statement is unrelated to Liang Qichao’s later pronouncement that “if one wants to renew the people of a nation, one must first renew that nation’s fiction.”⁶⁹ As for Calvin W. Matteer (1836–1908) (=Di Kaowen 狄考文), who founded the Dengzhou Literary Association School, Dengzhou wenhui guan 登州文會館 (the first missionary university in China), he once represented a *wenxue* association made up of instructors of various nations living in China who tabled a draft for the creation of general schools. The proposed curriculum included all kinds of subjects, but it did not include “the study of literary expression.” That a “*wenxue* society” that “was devoted specifically to the fostering of Chinese *wenxue*” should hold “literary expression” in such contempt is indeed hard to believe, if only because, in the view of Young John Allen, among others, when “one wishes to foster talented people, one must first promote *wenxue*. In order to promote *wenxue*, one must first found schools widely.”⁷⁰ The *wenxue* deemed to bear on the rise and fall of nations is a broad definition of cultural education, not the definition of literature that is familiar to us today.

⁶⁷ See Lin Yuezhi 林樂知 [=Young John Allen], “Xu” 序 [Preface], in Mori Arinori 森有禮, *Wenxue xingguo ce* 文學興國策 [A strategy to revive the nation through education], trans. Young John Allen et al. (1896) (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian, 2002), 5.

⁶⁸ Mori Arinori, *Wenxue xingguo ce*, 2–4.

⁶⁹ Yinbing 飲冰 [=Liang Qichao 梁啟超], “Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi” 論小說與群治之關係 [On the relationship between fiction and government of the people], *Xin xiaoshuo* 1 (1902): 8.

⁷⁰ Lin Yuezhi 林樂知 [=Young John Allen], “Ba” 跋 [Postscript], in Di Kaowen 狄考文 [=Calvin Matteer], “Shang yi shu niqing chuangshe zongxuetang yi” 上譯署擬請創設總學堂議 [A draft proposal for the establishment of general schools], in *Beijing daxue shiliao* 北京大學史料, ed. Wang Xuezheng 王學珍 et al. (Beijing: Beijing Daxue, 1993), *juan* 1, 14–18.

This touches on the question of how late Qing intellectuals absorbed the influence of Western learning and gradually formed principles of categorisation,⁷¹ as well as how the status of different fields of study rose and fell within their new systems of knowledge. “The study of literary expression,” of which Chinese people had originally been so proud, had obviously been marginalised on account of its “impracticality.” The literary world and academic circles had very different feelings on this matter. One need only take book publishing as an example. In the second half of the nineteenth century, books in the field of “*wenxue*” constituted an extremely small minority.⁷² Beginning in 1900, however, Liang Qichao and others actively began promoting a revolution in the fields of prose, poetry, and fiction. This granted New Fiction its broad and weighty historical mission of reforming the masses, and the translation of foreign literature (especially fiction) quickly gained popularity. Nevertheless, in the eyes of many intellectuals, “*wenxue*” remained unimportant. For instance, in 1903 Yan Fu drafted the “Regulations for the Metropolitan University Translation Bureau”, *Jingshi daxuetang yishuju zhangcheng* 京師大學堂譯書局章程, listing 38 books he hoped would be translated into Chinese. No works of literature were included.⁷³

Neither radical disdain nor exaggerated admiration for Chinese or Western poetry, prose, fiction, or drama was a wise attitude. This loss of proportion in judgement was matched by an unclear definition of the concept of “*wenxue*.” In the view of Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–1897), Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 (1842–1922), Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940) and others, *wenxue* was indeed an important link in the systems of knowledge. However, their understanding and definition of the word *wenxue* was mostly much broader than that in use today.

Wang Tao’s work “Reform for the purpose of Self-strengthening”, *Bianfa ziqiang* 變法自強 (1875), advocates the testing and recruitment of personnel in accordance with Western categories and systems of academic fields. Setting aside the “Military Sciences,” which proclaims that “it will be best to dispose of obsolete arms and switch to guns and cannons,” let us examine the “Humanities”:

⁷¹ For the conceptual or practical attempts of Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–1897), Chen Chi 陳熾 (1855–1900), Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 (1842–1922), Song Shu 宋恕 (1862–1910), Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao as well as Sun Jia’nai 孫家鼐 (1827–1909), Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909), Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷 (1844–1916) and Zhang Baixi 張百熙 (1847–1907) to incorporate the new classificatory principles, see Zuo Yuhe 左玉河, *Cong sibu zhi xue dao qike zhi xue: xueshu fenke yu jindai Zhongguo zhishi xitong de chuangjian* 從四部之學到七科之學:學術分科與近代中國知識系統之創建 [From the *Four Treasuries* to the study of the seven categories: academic classification and the creation of a modern Chinese knowledge system] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2004), 137–170.

⁷² Qian Cunxun remarks that of later nineteenth-century translations in China, “*wenxue*” accounts for 0.5%. The exact number is debatable, but there is no doubt that it was miniscule. Qian Cunxun 錢存訓, Dai Wenbo 戴文伯 trans., “Jinshi yishu dui Zhongguo xiandaihua de yingxiang” 近世譯書對中國現代化的影響 [The influence of contemporary translations on China’s modernisation], *Wenxian* 2 (1986): 190.

⁷³ See Yan Fu, *Yan Fu ji*, 1:127–128.

As for the fields of examination, there should be ten altogether: Confucian classics, classical history, anecdotal history, literary expression, cartography, natural sciences, astronomy and mathematics, law, current affairs, and plain-speaking oratory.⁷⁴

至所以考試者，曰經學，曰史學，曰掌故之學，曰詞章之學，曰輿圖，曰格致，曰天算，曰律例，曰辯論時事，曰直言極諫，凡區十科。

With regard to the recruitment of talented personnel, “literary expression” was still of use, but only for school subjects. Wang Tao proposed a fundamental division into two categories: *wenxue* and “technical studies.” *Wenxue* would include four fields of study: Confucian classics, classical history, anecdotal history, and literary expression. “Technical studies” included four fields of study: cartography, natural sciences, astronomy and mathematics, and law. As for current events and oratory, which evidently are not independent fields of study, “these two subjects are used to assess their powers of judgement as officials, their loyalty and moral integrity.” One might even say that in Wang Tao’s scheme of things, *wenxue* was roughly equivalent to the role of the “humanities” today.

In the “Examination”, Kaoshi 考試 section of his *Words of Warning to a Prosperous Age*, Shengshi weiyán 盛世危言 (1893), Zheng Guanying recommends founding various kinds of schools with the fields of studies categorised “in imitation of Western models, with minor adaptations.” He continues, “All *wenxue* should be divided into six subjects” and “military sciences shall be divided into two subjects” (army studies and navy studies). This subdivision of *wenxue* is worth examining:

The *Wenxue* division includes things such as poetry, prose, memorials, correspondence. The political division includes things such as personnel management, military punishments, revenue. The language division includes things such as the language and writing systems of the different nations, laws and statutes, international law, treaties, diplomatic relations, and ambassadorial missions. The natural science division includes things such as acoustics, optics, electrical sciences, and chemistry. Technical learning includes things such as astronomy, geography, measurements and calculations, and manufacturing. Miscellaneous studies includes things such as commerce, mining, tax regulation, agricultural policy, and medicine.⁷⁵

一為文學科，凡詩文，詞賦，章奏，箋啟之類皆屬焉。一為政事科，凡吏治，兵刑，錢穀類皆屬焉。一為言語科，凡各國語言文字，律例，公法，條約，交涉，聘問之類皆屬焉。一為格致科，凡聲學，光學，電學，化學之類皆屬焉。一為藝學科，凡天文，地理，測算，製造之類皆屬焉。一為雜學科，凡商務，開礦，稅則，農政，醫學之類皆屬焉。

In other words, in Zheng Guanying’s view, *wenxue* had both broad and narrow definitions. Broadly defined, *Wenxue* included all humanities knowledge outside military affairs; narrowly defined, *Wenxue* was limited to poetry and prose, memorials, correspondence, and the like.

Entering into the new century, *wenxue*’s characteristics grew clearer and clearer. In 1901 Cai Yuanpei published a small volume called *On School Curricula*, *Xuetang jiaoke lun* 學堂教科論, classifying human knowledge from the standpoint

⁷⁴ Wang Tao 王韜, “Bianfa ziqiang” 變法自強, in Wang Tao, *Taoyuan wen xinbian* 弢園文新編 (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1998), 35–37.

⁷⁵ Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應, “Shengshi weiyán” 盛世危言, in *Zheng Guanying ji* 鄭觀應集, ed. Xia Dongyuan 夏東元 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1982), 1: 299–300.

of education. Cai Yuanpei's system of classification designated ten fields: "mathematics, natural history, physics, chemistry, logic, sociology, *wenxue*, philosophy, religious studies and psychology." This "*wenxue*" comprised five branches: musicology, poetry and parallel-prose studies, painting studies, calligraphy studies, and fiction studies. Defining *wenxue* in terms of fine arts and leisure activities represented a step forward, though the term remained rather too general.⁷⁶

Two years later the *Great Book Collection of New Knowledge*, *Xinxue da congshu* 新學大叢書 (1903), was published, which "collected renowned works from China and Japan, selecting those most relevant for the tenets of governance, and compiling them into a book."⁷⁷ 本編搜集中東名著取其有關目前經國之旨者編輯成書. In this *Collection*, there are ten categories: politics and law, financial affairs, military studies, *wenxue*, philosophy, natural sciences, education, commerce, agriculture, and technical skills. The *wenxue* category includes one *juan* for scholarship, one for historiography, three for history, three for geography, one for terminology, and one for philology. *Wenxue* here remains an umbrella term that is unable to shed its cumbersome baggage.

In the scholarly world of the late Qing, there were detailed descriptions of specific literary genres (such as fiction and poetry), and beautiful misunderstandings that confused *wenxue* with "education," and "humanities." There were also those scholars who had an instinctive understanding of the distinction without providing a lucid explanation—or if they did, the explanation did not achieve wide circulation. Within the scope of encyclopaedic dictionaries, the task of fixing the position of *wenxue* fell to the university professor Huang Ren.

In the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, the editor defines *wenxue* as follows:

Wenxue: (Culture category, *Literature*) The term *wenxue* in China was first a field of Confucian studies. Its [two components] each had their separate meaning, with *wen* referring to the Six Skills [Ritual, Music, Archery, Charioteering, Writing, Mathematics], and *xue* to sincere conduct. Though later there was a branch of study known as *wenxue*, its characteristics were slightly different from today. After the Han and Wei Dynasties, writers of *cifu* rhapsodies were called *wenxue* practitioners and [their circles] known to history as the literary garden—the beginnings of an agreement with what nowadays is all over the world is referred to as "literature." People compiling the literature and arts section [in dynastic histories which are based on the imperial library] also included fiction and *chuanqi* plays (such as *The Water Margin* and *The Story of the Lute*). Now the definitions of literature of various European and North American nations will be presented for reference. Broadly defined, anything able to convey thought or emotion through language is literature. Works that emphasise the emotional effect on the reader and are easily comprehensible for the common person are called pure literature, however, if one wishes for the reader to be moved, writing must be beautiful. For this reason, through literature is connected to the human faculty of reason, its central principle is beauty, and this is what makes the *belles lettres* one of the fine arts. However, every nation has a distinct temperament and way of

⁷⁶ Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, *Xuetang jiaoke lun* 學堂教課論, [1901; repr. in *Cai Yuanpei quanji* 蔡元培全集, ed. Gao Pingshu 高平叔 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984)], *juan* 1, 139–152.

⁷⁷ "Liyan" 例言 [Editorial principles], in *Xinxue da congshu* 新學大叢書 (Shanghai: Jishanqiao, 1903).

thinking, with corresponding differences of habit and language structure. Every nation’s literature has its particularities. In terms of form, there is the distinction between prose and rhyming text. And though lyric poetry, narrative poetry, dramatic poetry, etc. (which are all similar to our amorous and legendary fiction) were also classified according to their form during the Greek period, today they are classified by their nature. Generally, our nation’s literature emphasises ornateness of form, so that so-called high literature can often not be understood easily. Expression in a somewhat more popular and contemporary style is deemed incompatible with literary merit. Consequently, the influence of our literature on society is very slight, which is not the case in the different nations of Europe and North America. Research on the origins and development of literature is known as literary history. Whether organised by race, national customs, or era—for there are many kinds—literary history can be of substantial benefit to literature. But our nation has only literary discussions, commentaries and accounts of literary circles.⁷⁸

【文學】(文, Literature)我國文學之名,始於孔門設科,然意平列,蓋以六藝為文,篤行為學。后世雖有文學之科目,然性質與今略殊。漢魏以下,始以工辭賦者為文學家,見於史則稱文苑,始與今日世界所稱文學者相合。敘藝文者,並容小說傳奇(如《水滸》《琵琶》)。茲列歐美各國文學界說於后,以供參考。以廣義言,則能以言語表出思想感情者,皆為文學。然注重在動讀者之感情,必當使尋常皆可會解,是名純文學。而欲動人感情,其文詞不可不美。故文學雖與人之知意上皆有關係,而大端在美,所以美文學亦為美術之一。惟各國國民之性情思想,各因習慣,其言語之形式亦異。故各國文學,各有特色。以外形分,則有散文,韻文之別。而抒情詩,敘事詩,劇詩等(以上皆與我國風騷及傳奇小說為近),於希臘時代,雖亦隨外形為區別,而今則全從性質上分類。要之我國文學,注重在體格辭藻,故所謂高文者,往往不易猝解,若稍通俗隨時,則不甚許以文學之價值,故文學之影響於社會者甚少,此則與歐美各國相異之點也。以源流研究文學者曰文學史。或以種族,或以國俗,或以時代,種類甚多,頗有益於文學。而我國則僅有文論,文評,及文苑傳而已。

Besides a brief description of the special characteristics, styles, and genres of literature, this text also broaches comparison between Chinese and Western literature and the meaning of “literary history.” That a text of 500 characters (one of the longest in the encyclopaedic dictionary) could contain such a wealth of information, all of it basically correct, is no mean feat.

In the compilation of an encyclopaedic dictionary, the classification of branches of learning is obviously important, just as the rise and fall of certain of these branches affords food for thought. Although he realised the unique value of *wenxue*, Huang Moxi was a product of the late Qing era and was restricted by that era’s vogue for “focussing on the times.” Consequently, he was still rather too restrained in his provision for and treatment of entries related to *wenxue*. There are 54 entries for Chinese literature and 21 for world literature, making only 75 altogether (a number which even includes a certain number of linguistics entries). Compared to the 89 for education and the 131 for music, this seems very insufficient. It is entirely dwarfed by the 1,593 entries devoted to history. The merit of the classification scheme is that *wenxue* is identified as a separate branch of knowledge to which a certain number of articles are devoted. The *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* in its way allowed “literature” (rather than one specific genre like “fiction” or “poetry”) to establish a clear position in the new systems of knowledge, and this is in and of itself an inestimable contribution.

⁷⁸ Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*, vol. zi 子 4 strokes, #389.

Reference Books and Textbooks

With their shared emphasis on the classification of academic fields and the systemisation of knowledge, reference books and textbooks overlap substantially in scope and tendency. For this reason, late Qing discussions of reference books and textbooks often refer to or praise one genre at the expense of the other. The fact that the work entitled *Compiled and Translated Encyclopaedia for General Education*, *Bianyi putong jiaoyu baikeshu* 編譯普通教育百科全書 (Literary Academic Society, 1903) consists of a large number of translated textbooks strung together shows how intimately these genres were related in the eyes of late Qing scholars.⁷⁹

Even more importantly, the compilation of both reference books and textbooks targeted the same readership—namely, instructors and students of new-style schools. This fact is attested to by the advertisements placed in the front matter of various works. Huang Ren's *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* states in "The Particular Characteristics of this Work," "This work is constrained by form, length and time, and one indeed dare not claim that it has manifold strengths. Yet one copy on the desk will allow you to obtain knowledge through analogy, since this gives you the benefits of dozens of general textbooks. Instructors can use it, students can use it; everybody with even only a little knowledge of writing will be able to make use of it"⁸⁰ 此書限於體例及字數時間，誠不敢云奄有眾長。但案頭置一編則或可舉一反三而收數十種普通教科書之益。教員可用，學子可用，稍通文義者亦無不可用。In the "Editorial Principles" for *A Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*, the first item states, "This book collects all kinds of nominal and verbal terms to furnish materials for the study of rhetoric, as well as for the reference of Chinese language instructors"⁸¹ 本書蒐集各種體用詞為治修辭學之材料，兼備教授國文者參攷之用。

With instructors and students of the rapidly proliferating new-style schools as their intended readership, the publishers demonstrated not only social responsibility, but also shrewd business sense; high-minded and pecuniary motives cannot be sharply separated. We should recall that the Commercial Press or China Press, which reached the apex of its prosperity in the Republican Era, depended on reference works and textbooks for its initial success. It was no commercial secret that the publishers did their utmost to dominate these two markets. Of course, since competition was so fierce, there were also many who threw themselves into the compilation of reference works and textbooks only to get no return at all on their capital.

⁷⁹ Fan Diji 范迪吉, ed. *Bian putong jiaoyu baikeshu* 編譯普通教育百科全書 (Shanghai: Huiwen she, 1903). For details on this work, see the study by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume.

⁸⁰ Huang Ren, "Benshu zhi tese" 本書之特色 [The particular characteristics of the present work], in Huang Ren, *Putong baikeshu xinda cidian*, 1:1. Illustrations of these advertisements will be found on pp. 317–325.

⁸¹ "Fanli" 凡例 [Editorial principles], in Guoxue fulun she, ed., *Wenke da cidian*, front matter.

Without going any further, for the moment, into the commercial aspect of these publications, let us examine the publications of the Shanghai Society for the Preservation of National Learning. Besides the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, there was also a Soochow University instructional text called *A History of Chinese Literature*. Both of these were the work of the same scholar. Even without examining them, one may presume that the two works are interconnected in ways that warrant further investigation.

The most obvious of these interconnections are an encyclopaedic consciousness and a global scope. These principles were applied to the compilation of the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* and are also reflected in *A History of Chinese Literature*. This *History* has 29 volumes. The first three volumes, the authorship of which is not in question, are of an introductory nature, including section one, “General Introduction”, Zonglun 總論, section two, “Brief Introduction”, lüelun 略論, section three, “Literary Genres”, Wenxue zhi zhonglei 文學之種類, and section four, “Analytic Discourse”, Fenlun 分論. When compared with *A History of Chinese Literature*, *Zhongguo wenxue shi* 中國文學史 by Lin Chuanjia 林傳甲 (1877–1921) of the Metropolitan University,⁸² Huang’s command of discourse shows a great deal more vision and insight. Besides his old-fashioned conceptions of literature, Lin may have also abstained from discussing fiction and drama on account of the constraints of the Memorials Fixing the Regulations for Higher Schooling (Soochow University, being still a missionary institution, was not subject to these regulations). But simply on the basis of the structure of knowledge systems, the scope of “world literature” and the understanding of the connections between literature and politics through history, Lin’s work is far inferior to Huang’s.

Along with his broad-mindedness and penchant for packing text with allusions, Huang’s long experience and practice made him ideally suited to reference work compilation. The first section of the first chapter of the fourth volume of *A History of Chinese Literature* entitled “A Definition of Literature,” demonstrates the density of reference that makes this section a “scholarly tour de force.” In only 4,000 characters, he quotes opinions from Ōta Yoshio’s 大田善男 *Outline of Literature*, Samuel Johnson’s *A Dictionary of the English Language*, Edmund Gosse’s (1845–1928) *A Short History of Modern English Literature*, H.M. Posnett’s (c. 1859–c.1935) *Comparative Literature*, and Henri Bergson (1859–1941)’s *On Literary Style* as well as the points of view of Walter Pater (1839–1894), Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), and Henry Morley (1822–1904) among others. This kind of wide-ranging quotation really is the hallmark of a professor.

Three passages, “Literary History,” “Fiction,” and “Naturalism” are excerpted here to explore the relationship between Huang Ren’s two works, while touching on the compilation of related reference works after the May Fourth Movement.

In the first section of *A History of Chinese Literature*’s “General Introduction,” literary history is defined as follows:

⁸² Lin Chuanjia 林傳甲, *Zhongguo wenxue shi* 中國文學史 [A history of Chinese literature] (Taipei: Xuehai, 1986).

Though literature is so highly esteemed, there is no literary history. And so, to research literature's origin and course, genres, praise of correctness and reflection of change as well as its changes over time, one can only examine literati biographies (such as accounts from the "garden of literature"; while anything which makes any discussion of documentation and reasoning will be classified in auxiliary biographies), indices (such as book catalogues [of the Imperial Library]), anthologies (organised by time, place or school) and criticism (such as the *Wenxin Diaolong* 文心雕龍, *Poetry Appraisal* 詩品 and poetry critiques). The ambit of these works is narrow and scattershot, and consequently extremely uneven. Thus, though some people may belong to literary circles all their lives, they do not venture beyond their own field and are unable to communicate with one another.⁸³

然文學雖如其重，而獨無文學史。所以考文學之源流，種類，正變，沿革者，惟有文學家列傳（如文苑傳而稍講考據，性理者，尚入別傳）及目錄（如藝文志類），選本（如以時，地，流派選合者），批評（如《文心雕龍》《詩品》，詩話之類）而已。而所持者又甚狹，既失先河后海之旨，更多朝三暮四之弊，故雖終身隸屬於文學界者，亦各守畛域而不能交通。

To this I would like to add that the reason that so many later scholars restrict their activities to a given sphere is because "they are shackled by the absence of a real literary history."⁸⁴ This discussion is deeply connected with the definition of *wenxue* from the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, which was excerpted above. Compared with the definition in *A New Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Literature and Arts Section*, Baike xin cidian: wenyi zhi bu 百科新辭典·文藝之部 (1922),⁸⁵ which appeared after the transformative May Fourth Movement, this discussion is more appropriate and better-focused (Illustration 5).

Huang Ren's independence of mind and action are often invoked in the context of the late Qing revolution in fiction: "Formerly, fiction was regarded too lightly; now it is too much esteemed;" "Fiction is one expression of literature's penchant towards beauty."⁸⁶ Such powerful passages are echoed not only in the "Inaugural Statement for *Forest of Fiction*" but also in *A History of Chinese Literature*: "Beauty is the most essential element of literature. Literature without beauty is like a body without a soul. Truth is governed by wisdom, and kindness by intention, but beauty belongs to emotion, and so one may say that the actual form of literature is beauty."⁸⁷ As for the specific literary genre called "fiction," the two passages below, which are drawn from *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* and *A History of Chinese Literature*, both make important contributions:

【Fiction】 (Humanities) is one branch of our nation's ancient learning. It collected those materials which were not selected for canonical documents or histories. Most of them deal primarily with strange occurrences and occult events. Yu Chu and his nine hundred works,

⁸³ Huang Ren, *Huang Ren ji*, 324–325.

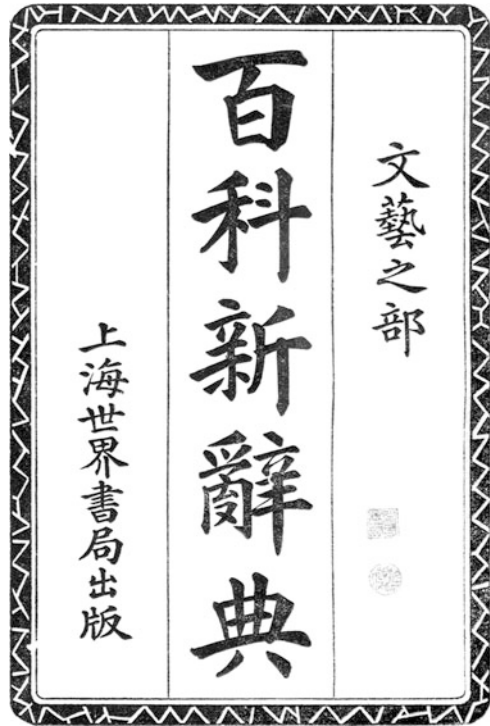
⁸⁴ Huang Ren, *Huang Ren ji*, 325.

⁸⁵ The definition reads as follows: "【*wenxueshi*】 (History of Literature) That which uses historical accounts to write about the writers and works of literature, is called History of Literature." Hao Xianghui 郝祥輝, comp., *Baike xin cidian, wenyi zhi bu* 百科新辭典·文藝之部 (Shanghai: Shijie, 1922).

⁸⁶ Huang Ren, "Xiaoshuo lin fakan ci" 小說林發刊詞 [Inaugural Statement for *Forest of Fiction*], *Xiaoshuo lin* 1 (1907): 2, 3.

⁸⁷ Huang Ren, *Huang Ren ji*, 357.

Illustration 5 Cover page of Hao Xianghui 郝祥輝, comp. *A New Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Literature and Arts Section*. Shanghai: Shijie, 1922



as well as Qi Jie and Yi Jian are names that have been handed down through history. In the Tang Dynasty, dispirited scholars wrote fiction about flying immortals, monsters, robbers and martial heroes to divert themselves. Popular chaptered novels emerged in the Song and Yuan Dynasties in a mixture of vernacular and classical Chinese, though literati in high posts held them in disdain. Recently, overseas contact has allowed enthusiasts to make translations of Western fiction, providing a first understanding of how Europeans and Americans regard fiction as the key element of literature and an instrument to transform the people. Translation became the order of the day. Day by day, the number of translations grew, but shoddy ones were many and those of good quality few. Readers gradually tired of them, and the vogue passed.⁸⁸

【小說】(文)為我國古學之一種。蓋摭拾正則書史所不載者，大抵以神怪隱僻為主。古之虞初九百，齊諧，夷堅，世相傳述。至唐代，士人失意，輒附會飛仙幽會妖怪盜俠事跡，成小說以自遣。至宋元，又創為通俗章回小說，為我國言文一致之一種。然衣冠之士，多鄙不屑道。近日海通，好事者遂譯及西小說，始知歐美人視為文學之要素，化民之一術，遂靡然成風。而小說之編譯日盛，劣多良少，閱者漸厭，小說之風衰已。

Fiction is like drama that is meticulously written in a straightforward style. Dramas are like filled-out, rhyming pieces of fiction. Fiction managed to sweep away all the *baiguan* stories of the Tang, Song and later dynasties, just as drama swept away all the *yuefu* poetry of the Han, Wei and since. For millennia China has been the land of the descendants of Yan and Huang, and now barbarians with dangling locks and misbuttoned clothing have entered the

⁸⁸ Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin dacidian*, Vol. zi 子 [1], 43–44.

country and become its masters. Drama and fiction are their representative works! But by combining the advantages of drama and fiction, we will produce works of even greater fame than those of *He-mei-er* [Homer] and *Suo-shi-bi-ya* [Shakespeare].⁸⁹

小說為工細白描之院本，院本為設色押韻之小說。小說之能掃蕩唐，宋歷來之稗官家，猶院本之能掃蕩漢，魏以下一切樂府焉。數千年炎黃遺胄之神州赤縣，而左衽垂鬢者入而為主，院本小說其代表乎！合院本，小說之長，當不令和美爾，索士比亞專美於前也！

The first passage is confined by the structure of a reference book, and so it can do no more than scratch the surface. Nevertheless, it clearly and aptly touches on all major points. The second passage is an extract from *A History of Chinese Literature's* "Brief Introduction." The author, discussing the new rise of fiction and drama during the Yuan Dynasty, does not use Chinese literature as its only standard, nor is the discussion centred on Han Chinese culture. This indeed represents a unique point of view. As for Shakespeare, presented here as a literary model, his works had been introduced into China long before. *He-mei-er* refers to Homer, the "Greek narrative poet, known as the Sage of Poetry."⁹⁰

Brief Talks on Fiction, Xiaoshuo xiaohua 小說小話 (1907–1908), was serialised in *Forest of Fiction*, Xiaoshuolin 小說林 as well as being included in *Chaptered Novels of the Ming*, Mingren zhanghui xiaoshuo 明人章回小說.⁹¹ These essays give us some idea of the merits of Huang Ren's research into classical fiction. The many passages on "world literature" demonstrate his cultivation and engagement to even better advantage. The passage "Naturalism," excerpted below, allows us to see the extent of the difference between Huang Moxi's compilation *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* and the "new culture dictionaries" that were published after the beginning of the May Fourth Movement.

【Naturalism】(World Literature) A movement in the contemporary literary arts. In the mid-19th century, it swept the European continent from its centre in France. The actual purpose of literary production [according to naturalism] is to remove all [literary] technique and ornamentation and directly describe the real aspect of nature. In it, the native human desires of the flesh and the base condition of humanity are expressed fully and in great detail, without omission. For this reason it is not in harmony with general morality. Its general method is to add subjective elements to the image of reality in order to express a complete picture of nature. In so doing it may well have the ability to act as a warning, like a reflection in a mirror.⁹²

【自然主義】(世文)近代文藝上之一主義。19世紀中，以法國為中心，而瀰漫歐洲大陸之新風潮。文藝制作之究竟目的，脫去一切技巧虛飾，而直描寫人生自然之真相。其於人間本然之肉欲劣狀，往往盡態極妍，纖悉不遺。因此有與一般道德，不相調和。要其方法，能以所受客觀事物之影象，加以作者主觀之情趣，表出自然之全景，未嘗不可為懲勸對鏡之資也。

⁸⁹ Huang Ren, *Huang Ren ji*, 342.

⁹⁰ See the definition of "Homer" 好美耳 in Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin dacidian*, vol. yin 寅 [3], 89.

⁹¹ The 1985 publication of *A Selection of Historical Chinese Literary Criticism* was the first to include this essay of Huang Ren's. It drew general attention in fiction circles. Huang Ren, "Xiaoshuo xiaohua" 小說小話 (1907–1908), in *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo lunzhu xuan* 中國歷代小說論著選, Huang Lin 黃霖, ed. (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin, 1985).

⁹² Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin dacidian*, vol. yin 寅 [3], 83.

Hao Xianghui 郝祥輝’s compilation of the Arts and Literature section of *A New Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Literature and Arts Section* also has an entry for “Naturalism.” Its explanation does not improve on Huang Moxi’s; on the contrary, it feels like a step backward.

【*zi-ran-zhu-yi*】 (Naturalism) Naturalism is a contemporary literary movement which arose in the mid-19th century in opposition to romanticism. This movement takes as the purpose of literary arts the removal of all [literary] technique and ornamentation, and to directly describe the real aspect of nature. So its central tenet is to describe reality.⁹³

【自然主義】(Naturalism)自然主義，是在十九世紀中葉，對於羅曼主義反動而起的近代文藝上底一種主義。這主義以為文藝的究竟目的，在於脫去一切技巧虛飾而描寫人生自然的真相，就是以描寫真為旨的。

A work that better represents the quality of reference work compilation after the May Fourth Movement is the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge* [official subtitle], *Xin wenhua cishu* 新文化辭書 compiled by Tang Jinggao 唐敬果 (1898–1982) and others. This work was first published in 1923 by the Commercial Press and then reprinted many times. Its explanation of “naturalism” is about 4,000 characters long, and it is a clearly organised, precise and appropriate discussion. I excerpt the opening paragraph in order to allow the reader to form an impression:

【Naturalism】(English) (*zi-ran-zhu-yi*) Naturalism carries different meanings in aesthetics and literary history. In aesthetics, what is called naturalism is the imitation of objective nature as the purpose of art, or to employ artistic skill without the slightest ornamentation to discover the nature of the human condition, with all its imperfections. In other words, the essence of naturalism is to sketch or narrate in accordance with reality. What is meant by naturalism in literary history is that, much as *gu-dian-zhu-yi* (Classicism) represents the intellectual trends of antiquity, and *lang-man-zhu-yi* (Romanticism) represents the intellectual trends of the middle-term past, thus the literary trends of Europe—Germany, France, Russia, Denmark, *Si-gan-di-na-wei* (Scandinavia), Italy—are represented in the contemporary period (especially in the 19th Century) by naturalism. Moreover, naturalist trends are also expressed in the fields of ethics, education, religion and theology.⁹⁴

【Naturalism】(英)(自然主義)自然主義在美學上和文藝史上有兩種意義。在美學上所謂自然主義，是以模仿客觀的自然為藝術底目的，或以為藝術底本領在毫無所粉飾以發揮人生自然的性情，就是照原樣描寫，照原樣說述，是自然主義底真髓。在文藝史上所謂自然主義，是那古典主義(Classicism)代表古代文藝思潮，如那浪漫主義(Romanticism)代表中世文藝思潮，而代表近代(特別是十九世紀)以后底歐羅巴—就是德意志，法蘭西，俄羅斯，丹麥，斯干的納維(Scandinavia)，意大利—文藝思潮的。此外在倫理，教育，宗教，神學上，也都有自然主義思潮底表現。

It goes on to unfold a detailed discussion that makes mention of works and writers advocating naturalism in England, France, and other nations. At the end it offers a brief introduction on the subject of naturalist trends in education, religion, and theology. This is the kind of compilation of writings (though it is actually a

⁹³ Hao Xianghui, *Baike xincidian, wenyi zhi bu*, 61.

⁹⁴ Tang Jinggao 唐敬果 *et al.*, *Xin wenhua cishu* 新文化辭書 [Encyclopaedic Dictionary of New Knowledge] (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1923), 661. On this work, also see the study by Barbara Mittler in this volume.

compilation of translations) that can truly be considered a legitimate encyclopaedia.⁹⁵ Whether measured by length or quality of compilation, Huang Moxi's *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* cannot compare to the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of New Knowledge*, though it is far superior to the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Literature and Arts Section*. Naturally, if one takes into account the differences in era, then Huang Moxi's work remains worthy of admiration.

A University Professor's Career

With regard to Huang Ren's activities as compiler, there is one matter that should not be ignored: in 1901, when Soochow University was formally established, Huang Ren was given employment as professor of Chinese. He proceeded to teach there for the rest of his life. In other words, Huang Moxi, this man of varied talents, author of discussions on fictions, compiler of histories of literature and encyclopaedic dictionaries, was not an ordinary traditional literatus, but a Chinese professor at a missionary institution. For the first generation of experts that developed under the influence of Western learning in the late Qing, "broad learning" was the general rule. Huang Moxi may have put somewhat greater emphasis on "Western studies," and this was to a degree related to his work environment.

In his "Family Records of Huang Mu'an", Huang Mu'an *jiazhuan* 皇慕庵家傳, Jin Hechong 金鶴翀 praises Huang Ren for "reading everything, whether the classics, history, or fiction, contemporary logic, law, medicinal works, works on hypnosis: he investigates them all." But in discussion of "Mu'an's vast learning, of which all who knew him were convinced," his old friend Jin Hechong nevertheless added the following comment:

At Soochow University, [Jin] Hechong worked with him for three years. Once, Hechong said, "You used to enjoy wandering about. If you had not come to Soochow University, you would not have accumulated so much knowledge." Mu'an [Huang Ren] allowed that his words were perceptive.⁹⁶

其在東吳大學，鶴翀與共事三年，鶴翀謂曰：“君前好浪游，若不至東吳，不能積學至此。”慕庵以為知言。

The claim here is that Huang Ren's "vast learning" was to a large extent facilitated by the unique environment of Soochow University. This passage is

⁹⁵ In his preface to the *Xin wenhua cishu*, Tang Jinggao wrote: "Not desiring to be the same as ordinary dictionaries, which do no more than dispel uncertainties, or provide temporary reference use; we wished to encompass complete and systematic knowledge of all fields, in order to become a relatively concise and accurate small encyclopaedic dictionary, providing more or less satisfactory rescue to those starving for knowledge." For this reason, the work's English title was *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge* rather than the verbatim translation of the Chinese title as "An encyclopaedic dictionary of new culture." Tang Jinggao, "Xu" 序 [Preface], in *Xin wenhua cishu*, ed. Tang Jinggao *et al.*, 2.

⁹⁶ Jin Hechong 金鶴翀, "Huang Mu'an *jiazhuan*" 黃慕庵家傳 [Family Records of Huang Mu'an], in *Huang Ren ji*, 365–366.

only included in the front matter of the copy of *Moxi 's Posthumous Manuscripts*, Moxi yigao 摩西遺稿, which is stored in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' Institute for Literature, Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan wenxuesuo 中國社會科學院文學所. When these were printed in Huang Ren's *Selected Works*, this passage was for some reason struck out⁹⁷; however, I think this passage is absolutely correct and should not have been suppressed.

Jin Tianyu 金天羽 (1874–1947), of no very friendly disposition towards Westerners and Western learning, touched on the same issue from a different perspective in his “Biographies of Five Suzhou Eccentrics”:

In the *gengzi* year of the Guangxu reign [1900], the American instructor David Laurence Anderson (1850–1911) founded Soochow University in Suzhou's Tianci village, hiring [Zhang] Taiyan and [Huang] Mu'an as literature professors. Taiyan wrote the *Book of Raillery*, criticizing the guest [Manchu] emperor. The guest emperor was offended, and Taiyan fled across the sea. Mu'an remained by himself as an instructor until the end of his life. . . . Mu'an was accustomed to the conversation of Western instructors, and often spoke exuberantly of Europe and America while derogating the Chinese. . . . With regard to the books he collected, Mu'an invariably spotted their main points and noted them down in simple entries. Though it might be only *baiguan* fiction or unofficial histories, he insisted on determining which literatus wrote it, and in which era. Even if his conclusions were often forced, they contained many pleasing elements.⁹⁸

光緒庚子，美教士孫樂文創東吳大學於蘇州之天賜庄，禮聘太炎，慕庵為文學教授。太炎著《虜書》，訟客帝，客帝惡之，卒亡走海上。慕庵獨留教終其身。 . . . 慕庵習於西教士之議論，往往隆侈歐，美而貶損華胄。 . . . 慕庵蓄書，必鉤其綱要，書之簡首，雖稗官野乘，亦必考校為某代某文人之撰著，雖穿鑿，亦多可喜。

It is not sufficient to say that Huang possessed “vast learning,” for we must consider the cultural environment in which he worked. Moxi's enthusiasm for Western literature was an important factor in this. In the first section of *A History of Chinese Literature*, the “General Introduction,” one of Huang Ren's digressions gives vent to his extreme dissatisfaction with the absence of “global concepts” among the Chinese people:

Our nation's history, witness to four thousand years of isolation, regards itself as complete and considers nothing besides itself; over the rule of twenty-four successive dynasties we have praised ourselves and denigrated the other. From the beginning, there have been no global concepts, no ideals of harmonious society. If history is already like this there is nothing to be amazed about if the character of literature goes the same way.

蓋我國國史，守四千年閉關鎖港之見，每有己而無人；承廿四朝朝秦暮楚之風，多美此而劇彼，初無世界之觀念，大同之思想。歷史如是，而文學之性質亦稟之，無足怪也。⁹⁹

⁹⁷ See Tang Zhesheng 湯哲聲 *et al.*, comp., *Huang Ren: pingzhuan · zuopin xuan*, 黃人：評傳·作品選 [Huang Ren: critical biography and selected works] (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi, 1998), 101–102.

⁹⁸ Jin Tianyu 金天羽, “Suzhou wu ge qiren” 蘇州五個奇人 [Biographies of five Suzhou eccentrics], in Jin Tianyu, *Tianfanglou xu ji* 天放樓續集 [Collection from the Tower to Let Go, Sequel], *juan* 4, letterpress edition, 1932.

⁹⁹ Huang Ren, *Huang Ren ji*, 325.

The special academic environment provided by an American missionary institution like Soochow University would have been distinct from other places in China at that time. According to records, there were 14 professors at Soochow University in 1903 of which 7 were American nationals and 7 were Chinese. In the photographs taken of them together the professors look very congenial.¹⁰⁰ For the compilation of the encyclopaedic dictionary and the writing of the history of literature, the most likely sources of academic support would have been David Laurence Anderson, a history professor and the first president of the university, and Walter Buckner Nance (1868–1964), Wen-nai-shi 文乃史, the English and theology professor who later became the third president of the university (1922–1927). Naturally, due to a lack of historical materials, it cannot be determined precisely which of the foreign professors assisted Huang Ren. For the moment, this information is missing.

University education stresses the systemisation of knowledge, a way of thinking it holds very much in common with encyclopaedic dictionaries or literary history. It might be a coincidence that Huang Ren was a university professor when he compiled the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* and wrote *A History of Chinese Literature*,¹⁰¹ but it is far from surprising. Information as to whether Soochow University was founded in 1900 or 1901 has always been conflicting.¹⁰² I agree with Wang Guoping's 王國平 assessment of the situation—namely, that the later date seems the more likely one.¹⁰³ Holding the first post of professor of Chinese was a remarkable achievement, and Huang Ren is mentioned in histories of the school.¹⁰⁴ But I would like to pursue another aspect of the question—are these two enormous works really the personal work of Huang Ren?

¹⁰⁰ Wang Guoping 王國平, “Dongwu Daxue de chuangan” 東吳大學的創辦 [The establishment of Soochow University], *Suzhou Daxue xuebao* 2 (2000): 35. The picture is reproduced further down on p. 305.

¹⁰¹ Tang Zhesheng writes: “He also personally compiled *A History of East Asian Culture*, *Dongya wenhua shi* 東亞文化史, and *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, *Zhongguo zhexue shi* 中國哲學史.” Since no source is provided for this information, these works have been omitted here. Tang Zhesheng, *Huang Ren: pingzhuan: zuopin xuan*, 7.

¹⁰² For the history of Soochow University, see the first chapter of Zhang Qifu 張圻福, *Suzhou daxue shi* 蘇州大學校史 [History of Suzhou Universities] (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin, 1992); Lu Yilu 鹿憶鹿, *Shiji chunfeng—Dongwu daxue jianxiao baijian tekan* 世紀春風—東吳大學建校百年特刊 [The century's spring breeze—special publication for the centenary of Soochow University's establishment] (Taipei: Dongwu daxue, 2000); *Kanke yu rongyao: Dongwu Daxue jianxiao bainian jinian wenji* 坎坷與榮耀: 東吳大學建校百年紀念文集 [Hardship and honor: a collection of essays for the centenary of Soochow University's establishment] eds. Zhang Manjuan 張曼娟 *et al.* (Taipei: Shulin, 2000); Wang Guoping 王國平, “Dongwu Daxue de chuangan.” 東吳大學的創辦 [The Establishment of Soochow University], *Suzhou Daxue xuebao* 2 (2000). Wang Guoping, ed., *Dongwu Daxue: boxi Tianci zhuang* 東吳大學: 博習天賜庄 [Soochow University: Broad Learning in Tianci Village] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu, 2003); Wang Xinrong 王馨榮, *Tianci zhuang: xifeng xiezhaoli* 天賜庄: 西風斜照裡 [Tianci village: Amidst the decline of the Western fashion]. (Nanjing, Dongnan daxue, 2004).

¹⁰³ Wang Guoping writes that both 1900 and 1901 are defensible dates, with the 3rd month of 1901 being the most likely. Wang Guoping, “Dongwu Daxue de chuangan,” 104.

¹⁰⁴ See Wang Xinrong, *Tianci zhuang: xifeng xiezhaoli*, 180–182.

Yan Fu, discussing the compilation of the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and others, noted that it “instituted a division of labour” with “specialists in charge of their fields of expertise, and the two sages editing.” Nor was the project accomplished overnight, “for it took over 20 years from beginning to end.”¹⁰⁵ For its part, *The Great Encyclopaedia of China*, *Zhongguo da baike quanshu* 中國大百科全書, in 74 volumes was formally initiated in 1978 and published incrementally from 1980–1993, it was the distillation of 15 years of labour by over 20,000 scholars.¹⁰⁶ It is clearly impossible that *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* was the actual work of one individual.

The encyclopaedias of the late Qing are generally less than rigorous; some merely required “the efforts of several people for several months, drawing generally from all kinds of newly translated works” before the project’s successful completion was announced.¹⁰⁷ Huang Moxi’s *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*’s compilation was not so slapdash; however, it is not beyond criticism:

And so the head of the Society for the Preservation of National Learning, Shen Cuifen, resolved to compile an encyclopaedic dictionary, I found myself in complete agreement with him and, oblivious of my meager and shallow knowledge, I resolutely took up the responsibility for this work and have not abandoned it halfway. I then searched for men of the talent [in classical studies] of a Ma [Rong] and Zheng [Xuan], and searched out the mysteries of [foreign scripts such] as Kharosthi and Sanskrit, analyzed the underlying principles [of the concepts] and took the[ir] joints apart, mapped the large areas and separated the individual headings, and in [the time it takes for] a single change from winter fur to summer clothing, I produced a work of substantially more than one million words.

故國學扶輪社主人沈粹芬發心欲編詞典，漫以相屬。而鄙人亦遂忘其譴陋，毅然擔任而不辭也。於是招馬鄭之彥，探佉梵之秘，析理分肌，州居部別。一更裘葛，成書一百數十方言。¹⁰⁸

One scholar remarked, “it does not say in his preface how many years he worked on the project. One would estimate several years. The 1st month of the 3rd year of the Xuantong reign [宣統; 1911] is clearly the date of its final completion.”¹⁰⁹ This is evidently incorrect, since the author wrote “[the time it takes for] a single change from winter fur to summer clothing,” which means approximately one year. As for “enlisting the talents of Ma and Zheng,” this refers to the recruitment of many like-minded

¹⁰⁵ See Yan Fu, “Yingwen baike quanshu pinglun.”

¹⁰⁶ See Jiang Chunfang, *Cong leishu dao baike quanshu*, 19–47; Liu Da 劉達, *Baikequanshu gailun* 百科全書概論 [A survey of encyclopaedias] (Beijing: Beijing hangkong hangtian daxue, 1992), 224–225. Jin Changzheng, *Baike quanshu xue*, 56–61.

¹⁰⁷ Zhu Dawen 朱大文 and Ling Gengyang 凌廣颺 write in their preface to *A compendium of the governance and technical learning of all nations*, *Wanguo zhengzhi yixue quanshu* 萬國政治藝學全書: “All of us felt strongly about this, and so we joined forces. We needed several months to select widely from translated work, of which there several dozens or hundreds, extract their essence, widely search to establish their accuracy, select the prime, remove the chaff, join it into a whole, and make a book.” Zhu and Ling, comps., *Wanguo zhengzhi yixue quanshu* (Shanghai: Hongwen shuju, 1901).

¹⁰⁸ From Huang’s “Preface” to his *Putong baike xin da cidian*.

¹⁰⁹ See Li Di, “Qingmo «Putong Baike Xin Da cidian» ji qi xueshu jiazhi.”

collaborators. “Ma and Zheng” is a reference to the great Confucian classicists of the Eastern Han, Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166) and Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200).

It is evident that the compilation of a reference work requires the combined efforts of many people, but what about the writing of a history of literature? A passage by Qian Zhonglian in his *Discussion of Poetry from the Hut of the Dreamer of Rushes*, *Mengtiaoan shihua* 夢苕庵詩話, is worth careful consideration.

Jin Shuyuan (Hechong), formerly at Soochow University, was a colleague and fellow townsman of [Huang] Moxi's. Their friendship was very close. Jin once told me that *A History of Chinese Literature* was not the work of only one man. The account of classical literature was from Moxi's hand. The portion dealing with the period after the Han Dynasty was the work of others.¹¹⁰

金文叔遠(鶴衝)襄在東吳大學，與摩西為同事，且同鄉，交尤契。文告余曰：《中國文學史》一書，非摩西一人之作。屬於古代者，出摩西手。漢以後則他人所續也。

The reason that I am quite confident of this passage's accuracy is not only because of the close association between Huang and Jin,¹¹¹ or the fact that Qian is a rigorous scholar; it is also because Wu Mei 吳梅 (1883–1939), who in 1905 became assistant professor at Soochow University upon Huang's recommendation, later wrote a textbook at Peking University called *A History of Chinese Literature*, *Zhongguo wenxue shi* 中國文學史, which overlaps substantially with Huang's work. The portions that deal with drama were later copied verbatim into Wu's 1926 publication entitled *General Principles of Chinese Drama*.¹¹² It is hard to imagine that Wu Mei would have copied from Huang repeatedly. It is likelier that the Soochow University textbook *A History of Chinese Literature* originally incorporated Wu Mei's thoughts and work—especially the portion on drama.¹¹³

The last question is: since Huang Ren's two books were clearly precedent-setting works, why did the enterprise not continue? The American scholar Robert Darnton's work *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800* examined not only Diderot and the other editors' importance in intellectual and cultural history, but also considered the market performance of this unprecedented magnum opus: “By studying how the *Encyclopédie* emerged from the projects of its publishers, one can watch the Enlightenment materialise, passing from a stage of abstract speculation by authors and entrepreneurs to one of concrete acquisition by a vast public of interested readers.” I completely agree with the author's proposal “to

¹¹⁰ Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, *Mengtiaoan shihua* 夢苕庵詩話 [Discussion of poetry from the Hut of the Dreamer of Rushes] (Jinan: Qilu, 1986), 49.

¹¹¹ See Wang Yongjian's investigation and description of Huang Ren's friendships. Wang Yongjian, <*Suzhou qiren*>. *Huang Moxi pingzhuan*, 50–70.

¹¹² Wu Mei 吳梅, *Zhongguo xiqu gailun* 中國戲曲概論 (Shanghai: Datong shuju, 1925).

¹¹³ Information regarding Wu Mei's Peking University textbooks in the collection of the Académie Française is included in Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, *Zaoqi Beida wenxueshi jiangyi sanzong* 早期北大文學史講義三種 [Three early Peking University literary history textbooks] (Beijing: Beijing Daxue, 2005); as for the these lithographed textbooks and the connection with Wu Mei's writings, see Chen Pingyuan, “Bu gai bei yiwang de ‘wenxueshi’” 不該被遺忘的‘文學史’ [‘Histories of literature’ that should not be forgotten], *Beijing daxue xuebao*1 (2005): 71.

trace the production and diffusion of an eighteenth-century book,” including how publishers drew up contracts, editors handled copy, printers recruited workers, and booksellers pitched sales talk, making it “a good story.”¹¹⁴ But unfortunately this is not possible for the compilatory enterprises of the late Qing and the early Republican Era because sufficient relevant records are not available to consult.

However, the *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies (Section Rhetoric)*, published in the 1st month of the *xinhai* 辛亥 year (1911) includes an advertisement for *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* in its front matter (for these advertisements, see the Appendix to the following article, p. 323, ill. 9), which tells us something about the original circumstances of publication.

This compilation examined thousands of specialised works, extracting their essence and compiling all manner of terminology, Chinese and foreign, old and new, into a concise and comprehensive encyclopaedic dictionary. The terms were classified and categorised, appraised in detail, and for new scientific terminology the original Western-language term has been appended. . . The third printing has long since sold out. Now the fourth printing will be of roughly three thousand copies. It is advisable to purchase early.¹¹⁵

本書參考專門學書千餘種，提要鉤玄，會通中外新舊各種學術名詞，成一精粹完備之辭典。分門別類，詳加考核，而科學新名詞則多附以西國原文。 . . . 疊印三版，早已售罄，茲屈四版，特備預約三千張，早購為幸。

Examining the third printing of *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, we find that it was a great success on the market, with the first printing in the 5th month, a second in the 6th, and the third already by the 7th. There were another 3,000 prepared for the fourth edition, although it is impossible to know whether the proposal was executed since no copy of a fourth edition has surfaced to date.

The era required a clear division of labour. Not only did the compilation of reference works require energetic cooperation throughout the academic world, but also the best reference works or textbooks could not survive long-term on the market without extensive promotion and publicity. Huang Ren’s premature death and the Society for the Preservation of National Learning’s decline caused these two great works to vanish from the market and from public consciousness too early. In this sense, both works were born into the wrong time. In retrospect, we may deeply admire Huang Ren’s global consciousness, but we can do no more than lament the premature failure of his encyclopaedic enterprise.

Translated from the Chinese by Josh Stenberg.

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¹¹⁵ *Wenke da cidian*. See the reproduction on p. 318

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Modern Chinese Encyclopaedic Dictionaries: Novel Concepts and New Terminology (1903–1911)

Milena Doleželová-Velingerová

During the first decade of the twentieth century the Chinese encyclopaedias of new knowledge, which had developed since the 1880s, were joined by a new genre—the encyclopaedic dictionary.¹ It addressed the problem that many of the new ideas coming from abroad—particularly from Japan, the main transmitter of Western modern culture—were expressed in a new and unfamiliar terminology. These new terms were formed through a combination of several Chinese characters. The lack of reference works that could provide short definitions and show the place of a term in a taxonomic order proved an obstacle to Chinese students and scholars who were eager to revitalize the country by absorbing these new ideas. In short, what was acutely needed was a modern Chinese encyclopaedic dictionary. In their 1911 preface to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, Henry Watson and Francis George Fowler marked the difference between an encyclopaedia and what in fact was an encyclopaedic dictionary: “The book is designed as a dictionary, and not as an encyclopaedia; that is, the uses of words and phrases as such are its subject matter, and it is concerned with giving information about the things for which those words and phrases stand only so far as correct use of the words depends upon knowledge of the things.”² This study will deal with the transition from traditional Chinese dictionaries, with their focus on the individual character, to the encyclopaedic dictionaries that explained the polysyllabic new terminology.

The times were favorable for such ventures. In 1901 the Qing court’s resumption, under strong internal and external pressures, of the 1898 reform policies under the slogan “Reform of Governance,” Xinzheng 新政, created an important opening for

¹ I wish to express my thanks to Rudolf Wagner for his generous information and data related to late Qing publications of encyclopaedic works of modern knowledge as well as for his ideas that were informally expressed during my compilation of this study and were important in forming its final shape.

² Henry Watson Fowler and Francis George Fowler, “Preface,” in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 1.

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new career paths that set a prime on “new knowledge.” The publishing industry, escaping the court’s control in the Shanghai International Settlement, flooded the market with new publications that transmitted new ideas through newspapers, journals, and books. Many young Chinese went to Japan to study this new knowledge and to acquire familiarity with segments of the new terminology. It helped that the terminology of new knowledge that had developed and stabilized in Japan was written in Chinese characters. While in Japan this was a marker of high culture, it also greatly facilitated the absorption of this new terminology by Chinese students, even those without advanced levels of Japanese.³ In Japan, new encyclopaedias, bilingual terminological dictionaries, and encyclopaedic dictionaries provided a staggered degree of access to the new knowledge. These Chinese students were instrumental in spreading the new terminology in the Chinese-speaking world upon their return. This terminology appeared in the new Chinese-language encyclopaedias, which are studied by other contributors in this volume, but also in many translations and original articles. And it largely replaced earlier Chinese efforts to develop a translation terminology. In this context, the encyclopaedic dictionary was a latecomer. It filled a need generated by the steeply rising volume of works using the new terminology and was important for its stabilization.

An Encyclopaedia for General Education Translated

Once the Reform of Governance had been announced, publishers rushed to meet the suddenly revived demand for encyclopaedic presentations of the new knowledge. Works that had appeared before 1898 were reprinted, some that had just missed the 1898 deadline were rushed to print; one of the key propagandists of new knowledge, Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929), grouped his scattered essays into four broad semantic fields (Governance, *zhengzhi* 政治; Contemporary Situation, *shiju* 時局; Religion, *zongjiao* 宗教; and Education, *jiaoyu* 教育) to form an encyclopaedic compilation,⁴ and efforts got under way to translate encyclopaedic works from the Japanese. The 1903 foundation of the Literary Academic Society, Huiwen xueshe 會文學社, in Shanghai, highlights the growing Japanese impact on these ventures. This society began its work by publishing translations of Japanese textbooks, such as *High-School Physiology*, Zhongxuesheng lixue 中學生理學, *A History of the Japanese–Chinese War on Sea and Land*, Ri Qing hailu zhanzheng shi 日清海陸戰爭史, and *A History of the Japanese Empire in Modern Times*,

³ Douglas Reynolds, *CHINA, 1898–1912. The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University, 1993), 41–64.

⁴ Liang Qichao, *Chongding fenlei Yinbingshi wenji quanbian* 重訂分類飲冰室文集全編 [Newly arranged classified compilation of writings from the Ice-Drinker’s Studio] (Shanghai: Guangyi shuju, 1903). This edition was reprinted a year later in Japan as *Yinbingshi wenji leibian* 飲冰室文集類編 [Classified compilation of writings from the Ice-Drinker’s Studio] (Tokyo: Shimokōbe Hangorō, 1904).

Riben diguo jinshi shi 日本帝國近世史。⁵ The two founders of this society were Tang Zhen 湯震 (Shouqian 壽潛) (1856–1917), and Shen Lin 沈霖 (Yulin 玉林) (dates unknown). Tang, a Jinshi graduate (1892) from Zhejiang, had followed a career—common in these times—that involved politics, business, and educational reform.⁶ After a short time serving as a district magistrate, he abandoned officialdom and joined the staff of the reformer Zhang Yao 張燿 (?–1891). In 1890 he went public with a 4-volume work entitled *Warnings about Chinese-Western Affairs*, *Zhong xi shiwu weiyan 中西時務危言*,⁷ which included proposals to change the educational system, teach modern knowledge, build railroads, open mines, and develop the navy.⁸ Well connected to leading reformers and businessmen, in 1906 he became active in the push for a constitution and eventually set up the largest private bank after the founding of the Republic. He had an early interest in publishing, and we find a 1901 preface written by him in an encyclopaedic work that was published in 1902.⁹ The society continued to publish textbooks with a special emphasis on geography in the years that followed.¹⁰

Neither of the two founders are known for their studies in Japan, but Japan seemed to be where the best and fastest source of encyclopaedic knowledge was to be found at that time. Probably in 1902 or thereabouts, they named Fan Diji 範迪吉 (styled Zhenshi 枕石) (dates unknown) from Zhejiang province as the head of the project to translate and publish an encyclopaedia that would comprise encyclopaedic segments from Japanese works. Foreseeing a major demand for this kind of work, Fan founded the Japanese–Chinese Translation Society, Dong Hua yi she 東華譯社. The contacts and experience resulting from this clever move allowed him to quickly put together a qualified team to deal with this huge assignment.

In 1903 the Literary Academic Society published the Chinese translation of the *Compiled and Translated Encyclopaedia for General Education*, *Bian yi putong jiaoyu baike quanshu 編譯普通教育百科全書*, later better known under the abbreviated title *Encyclopaedia for General Education*, *Putong baike quanshu 普通百科全書*.¹¹ The official decree against copyright infringement, which was

⁵ On this society see Zhu Lianbao 朱聯保, *Jinxiandai Shanghai chubanye yinxiang ji 今現代上海出版業印象集* [Collection of illustrations of modern Shanghai publishing] (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1993), 234–245. Zou Zhenhuan 鄒鎮環, *Ershi shiji fanyi chuban yu wenhua bianqian 二十世紀翻譯出版與文化變遷* [Twentieth century translation literature and cultural change] (Nanning: Guangxi jiaoyu, 2001), 75–76.

⁶ On such trajectories, see Mary Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China, Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 182.

⁷ Tang Zhen 湯震, *Zhong Xi shiwu weiyan 中西時務危言* [*Warnings about Chinese-Western affairs*] (1891; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai Shuju, 1898).

⁸ Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China*, Chapter 7 “Political Conflict.”

⁹ Tang Zhen, “Xu” 序 [Preface] to *Shiwu tongkao xubian 時務通攷續編* [Comprehensive examination of current affairs, sequel], by Qilu zhuren 杞盧主人 (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1901).

¹⁰ Zou Zhenhuan, *Ershi shiji fanyi chuban yu wenhua bianqian*, 76.

¹¹ Fan Diji 範迪吉, ed., *Bian yi putong jiaoyu baike quanshu 編譯普通教育百科全書* [Compiled and translated encyclopaedia for general education] (Shanghai: Huiwen xueshe, 1903). The

printed at the beginning of this work, included it in the broad mandate given to Shen Lin to publish “a variety of useful books” of an educational nature in the Suzhou-Songjiang-Taihu Region around Shanghai, the hub of the Chinese modernization drive.

Japanese compilations and translations of foreign language works, providing equivalents or explanations of the foreign terms, go back to the seventeenth century.¹² However, the close ties between Japanese and European encyclopaedias began with Nishi Amane’s 西周 (1829–1897) introduction of the taxonomy of encyclopaedias in 1869.¹³ It culminated in the government-sponsored Japanese translation of the fourth edition of W. & R. C. Chambers’ encyclopaedic work entitled *Information for the People* and during the 1880s and 1890s in the eventual publication of various independently compiled Japanese encyclopaedic works under government auspices as well as private publishers. The Chambers translation was supervised by Mitsukuri Rinshō 箕作麟書 (1846–1897) who coined the term *hyakka zensho* 百科全書, the Chinese characters of which—pronounced *baike quanshu*—stand for “encyclopaedia” in Chinese to this day.¹⁴ The first Chinese author known to have used this term is Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927) whose 1897 annotation to a set of Japanese book publishers catalogues contained Japanese titles using this term.¹⁵

The large compendium of the *Encyclopaedia for General Education*, with its one hundred Chinese-bound volumes, comes with all the paraphernalia of a

members of the team are named in the segment “Bian yi baike quanshu ti ming” 編譯百科全書提名 [A list of names in the *Compiled and translated Encyclopaedia for general education*]. It has separate pagination. I am grateful to Prof. Zhou Zhenhuan’s help in accessing this source.

¹² See the study by Douglas Reynolds in this volume and Pan Jun 潘鈞, *Riben cishu yanjiu* 日本詞書研究 [Study of Japanese encyclopaedias works] (Shanghai: Renmin, 2008), 78–79, 350–51.

¹³ Nishi, Amane 西周, “Hyakugaku renkan” 百學連環 [Encyclopaedia] (1869), in *Nishi Amane zenshū* 西周全集 [Collected works of Nishi Amane], ed. Ōkubo Toshiaki 大久保利 (Tōkyō: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1945), 11–37.

¹⁴ *Hyakka zensho* 百科全書 [Complete work of a hundred disciplines] (Tokyo: Mombusho 1875–1885), translation of William and Robert Chambers’ *Information for the People: Being a series of treatises on those branches of human knowledge in which the greater part of the community are most interested, and designed to serve the chief uses of an encyclopedia at a price beyond example moderate*, 4th ed. 1857. <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/>

¹⁵ Kang Youwei 康有為, *Riben shumu zhi* 日本書目志 [A record of Japanese book publisher catalogues], in *Kang Youwei quanji* 康有為全集 [The complete writings of Kang Youwei], comps. Jiang Yihua 姜義華 and Zhang Ronghua 張榮華 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1992), 2: 583–1129. Kang Youwei lists the separate volumes of the *Hyakka Zensho* under the relevant subject headings biology or education. A variety of other terms continued to be used in Chinese to render “encyclopaedia.” Examples include *Dalei bianshu* 大類編書 for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, see Zou Zhenhuan 鄒鎮環, “Jindai zuizao baike quanshu de bianyi yu Qing mo wenxian zhong de Dideluo” 近代最早百科全書的編譯與清末文獻中的狄德羅 [The compilation of the first modern encyclopaedia and Diderot in Late Qing writings], *Fudan xuebao* (Shehui kexue ban) 3 (1998): 48; or *Xueshu leidian* 學術類典 for the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d’Alembert, see *Faguo geming shi* 法國革命史 [History of the French Revolution] in *Kaizhi lu* 開智路 6 (1900): 10, based on Shibue Tamoshi 湓江保, *Futsukoku kakumei senshisi* 法国革命戰史 [History of the French Revolutionary War] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1896).

professionally prepared compilation for practical use, but a strong political message was always present. In his preface, Tang Zhen recalls that he had already (more than a decade before) pushed for the opening of new schools, but that “opening them without first training teachers was worse than not opening them at all.” To form teachers, however, schoolbooks were needed, and approval by the state authorities was crucial for standardization. In the West and in Japan these conditions were all in place, but in China they were still sorely lacking. By that time a broad array of encyclopaedic works of new knowledge for readers with different levels of education was available in Japan, and he particularly mentions the *Encyclopaedia for Everyday Use*, *Nichiyō hyakka zensho* 日用百科全書,¹⁶ the *Popular Encyclopaedia*, *Shōzoku hyakka zensho* 通俗百科全書,¹⁷ and the *Small Encyclopaedia*, *Shō hyakka zensho* 小百科全書.¹⁸ In this domain Japan was quite on a par with Europe and the US.

The translation of segments from these Japanese works into Chinese would help China avert its political demise, while the offer of step-by-step introductions would make sure that the uninitiated Chinese readers were not overwhelmed. Tang writes, “Chinese students in their naiveté when they are first taught are like someone just recovering from a disease. If one goes too fast in feeding them with meats, their stomachs cannot take it, they cannot digest it, and will eventually fall sick. This does not compare with gruel and vegetables,”¹⁹ which is what the first part of this encyclopaedia offered.

The second preface evokes China’s defeats in her confrontations with England, France, and Japan to emphasize the possible benefits of the new work and the merits of the translator. Both authors assert an orthodox background by maintaining that the work at hand continues in the spirit of Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811–1872) and Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901), two Han-Chinese officials who were influential supporters of the Manchu dynasty during the last decades of its reign. After two more prefaces lamenting the national fate and expressing hope in the new knowledge, the “General Purpose of the Work,” *Ben shu zhi zongzhi* 本書之宗旨, assures the reader that the goal of the work is not to undermine the state but “to connect the people’s knowledge and enhance their understanding of the state. We will not dare to include the smallest bit of anything that deviates from the classics and the true way and is detrimental to the nation’s thinking” 本書務以溝通人民知識, 增進國家觀念為宗旨。凡一切離經背道壞國民之思想者概不敢孱入。 On a more positive note these thoughts recur in the “Reasons that made the Japanese-Chinese Translation Society compile and translate the present book:”

¹⁶ *Nichiyō hyakka zensho* 日用百科全書 [Encyclopaedia for everyday use] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan 1895–1900).

¹⁷ *Shōzoku hyakka zensho* 通俗百科全書 [Popular encyclopaedia], 24 vols. (Tokyo: Hakubunkan 1893–1902).

¹⁸ This dictionary could not be located. Its title indicates that it might have been intended for young readers.

¹⁹ Tang Zhen 湯震, “Xu” 叙 [Preface], in *Bian yi putong jiaoyu baike quanshu*, ed. Fan Diji, 2b.

For the purpose of enlightening the people's knowledge our Society considers it a public duty to foster in them the new knowledge of the peoples of the world. And so we have in gradual progression [from simple to complex] compiled translations of the useful books of the different nations in Japan and the West. 本社以開通民智，養成世界人民的新知識為公責，循序漸進編譯東西各國有用之書。²⁰

Apparently, the editors were conscious that they were involved in pioneering work because they wrote the following in their declaration: “Our Society at present has to begin a [new] age. For all the sciences in China there are only very few books in circulation that can serve as reference works” 本社現當胚胎代。凡百科學在吾國流通各書可供參考者鮮。The editors tried to cut down the number of mistakes and to stabilize the Chinese-language terminology of modern knowledge. For fields like zoology, botany, and mining they made ample use of the bi- or trilingual terminological dictionaries that had come out in Japan since the 1870s and that had the advantage of creating Chinese-character compounds for Western scientific terms that could be used directly in China where no such standardization had yet occurred. Many of these Japanese reference works were the product of scholars who were specialists in their respective fields.²¹ For other fields, like physics, chemistry, and mathematics, the terminology and symbols were based on specialized works that had been translated earlier into Chinese.²²

The *Encyclopaedia for General Education* is a compilation created on the basis of several different Japanese encyclopaedic works (some of which contain Western works translated into Japanese). Among the most important of these were the Japanese *Imperial Encyclopaedia*, *Teikoku hyakka zensho* 帝國百科全書, which was published in Tokyo from 1898 to 1903 by Hakubutsukan 博物館, one of the major publishers of encyclopaedic works,²³ and the collection of study materials called *Complete Anthology of Answers to Questions on General Knowledge*, *Futsūgaku mondō zensho* 普通學問答全書, published in Tokyo from 1894 to 1903 by Fuzanbō 富山房,²⁴ one of the main presses producing translations and

²⁰ Segment “Donghua yishe bianyi benshu zhi yuanyin” 東華譯社編譯本書之原因 [Reasons that made the Japanese-Chinese Society to compile and translate this book], in *Bian yi putong jiaoyu baike quanshu*, paginated separately.

²¹ An example is the botanical dictionary by the renowned botanist Matsumura Jinzō 松村任三, *Nihon shokubutsu meii* 日本植物名彙 [Parallel title: *Nomenclature of Japanese Terms in Latin, Japanese and Chinese*] (Tokyo: Maruya, 1884). This dictionary played an important role in mapping the fauna and flora of East Asia. Other works used were for zoology, such as Murakami Eiko 村上瑛子, *Dōbutsu jii* 動物字彙 [Zoological terms] (Tokyo: Yūrindō, 1878), and for mineralogy, such as Kotō Bunjirō 小藤文次郎, *Kōbutsu jii* 鉱物字彙 [Parallel title: *Vocabulary of Mineralogic Terms. The Three Languages English, German and Japanese*] (Tokyo: Maruya, 1890).

²² “Benshu zhi fanli” 本書之凡例 [Editorial principles of this work], in Fan Diji, ed., *Bian yi putong jiaoyu baike quanshu*, paginated separately, 1.

²³ *Teikoku hyakka zensho* 帝國百科全書 [Imperial encyclopaedia] (Tokyo: Hakubutsukan, 1898 to 1903).

²⁴ *Futsūgaku mondō zensho* 普通學問答全書 [Complete anthology of answers to questions on general knowledge] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1894 to 1903).

original works for popular education. Several Chinese historical compendia were also listed as sources for supplementary information including, allegedly, the *Comprehensive mirror for aid in government*, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), the *Twenty-four dynastic histories*, *Ershisi shi* 二十四史 and similar materials.²⁵ In the segments of the *Encyclopaedia for General Education* that were accessible to the author of this article, no such references were found.

In its taxonomy of knowledge, the *Encyclopaedia for General Education* followed earlier Chinese encyclopaedic works of modern knowledge, which had already abandoned the heaven/earth/man triad as their basic ordering principle. In its strongly didactic bent, it presented knowledge in three stages with a roughly parallel organization. The seventeen parts of the “Questions and Answers,” *Wen da* 問答, section start with Chinese history, Japanese history, and world history. The grounding of the mind is no longer in heaven and earth, as in earlier encyclopaedias, but in national history. The section moves on to education, logic, physics, chemistry, zoology, botany, mineralogy, and mathematics. The twenty-one parts of the “General Knowledge,” *Putong xue* 普通學, section go again through history, geography, education, the sciences, mining, and art before ending with a six-part focus on mathematics and geometry and on applied calculus. Only the long “Sciences,” *Kexue* 科學, section with its sixty-two parts has subdivisions that are newly organized with political sciences, economy, law, and philosophy at the beginning, followed by history, geography, mathematics, natural sciences, engineering, a long section on agricultural sciences, forestry, and ending with education. In the high station accorded to the national history and political structure and in the large space accorded to education, agriculture, and applied mathematics we see the outlines of a hierarchy of importance and usefulness emerge.

Like most of the Japanese encyclopaedias it followed Chambers’ model of a systematic presentation of fields of knowledge rather than breaking them down into itemized entries. It was innovative in its organization of information into three stages, starting with the “beginner’s stage” of “Questions and Answers” and reaching through the intermediate “General Knowledge” and the advanced stage of the “Sciences.” None of the Japanese or Western models had the same organization although introductions to new knowledge through three staggered “circles of knowledge” was common in England,²⁶ and Fuzanbō had published two separate

²⁵ Zou Zhenhuan, “Jindai zuizao baike quanshu de bianyi,” 49.

²⁶ Charles Baker (1803–1874), *Graduated reading; comprising a circle of knowledge in 200 lessons. Gradation 1* (London: T. Varty, n.d. [1840s]) (The “circle of knowledge” reproduces the etymology of the term “encyclopaedia”). This work, for which there also existed a Gradation 2 and 3, was translated into Chinese by James Legge as *Zhihuan qimeng dunke chubu* 智環啓蒙塾課初步 (Hong Kong: London Missionary Press, 1856). There were many later Chinese as well as Japanese prints. For a study, see Shin Kokui 沈國威, Uchida Keiichi 内田慶市, *Kindai keimō no sokuseki : tōzai bunka kōryū to gengo sesshoku, “Chikan keimō jukuka shoho” no kenkyū* 近代啓蒙の足跡: 東西文化交流と言語接触, 「智環啓蒙塾課初步」の研究 [The traces of modern enlightenment: East–west cultural interaction and language contact. A Study of *A Circle of*

encyclopaedias for beginners' knowledge and more advanced general knowledge, which in turn became the main source for the respective segments of the *Encyclopaedia for General Education*. The references in the paratexts to the "general education" in the title and to intended readers identified as the "nation," "the people," and even primary school students demonstrate that the project's ambition was to take the reader from the very first introductory level, to scientific knowledge, all the way through to advanced stages.

The information was conveyed in the sober and factual style associated with modern encyclopaedic writing in the West. This was in strong contrast to Liang Qichao's encyclopaedic compilation from the same year, which was written in a lively, emotional, and often polemical language. Compared to his explicit detailing of connections between the new knowledge and the grand purpose of reforming and saving China, the *Encyclopaedia for General Education* explicitly disclaimed any grand ambitions in this direction. It did, however, see a great need to contribute to the spread of a professional, modern education in China.

In the "Questions and Answers" section the presentation of the entries is already highly systematic; is graphically structured with numbered chapter headings; keeps to a limited and highly abstract vocabulary without any embellishments or esoteric allusions; and provides basic punctuation. The "Questions and Answers" section on logic, for example, comprises six sections. It starts, like all the others, with a summary and definition and then continues with proper subsections through terms, propositions, inference, falsification, and induction. None of the Chinese encyclopaedic works of the previous decade achieved such a highly standardized level of providing information because they reproduced excerpts from other writings. The result is that the new work is easily readable and usable. Although the work contains—sometimes several contested—definitions of the key terminology, it is not structured as a dictionary and does not contain an index in the end that allows localization of the terms. In this manner, this encyclopaedia could have served as a source for the compilation of encyclopaedic dictionaries, although it was not one of them.

Only very few libraries in the world own a copy of the *Encyclopaedia for General Education* with its 100 sections and over 30 million characters.²⁷ The composite structure of Fan Diji's work is perhaps one of the reasons that it has attracted little attention from contemporary scholars who often described the work as a mere "anthology". A more important factor in this neglect, however, might be the scholarly tradition that makes an artificial divide between so-called genuine Chinese works by Chinese compilers and those by non-Chinese authors whose work had been translated into Chinese. For this reason translated works have often been judged as 'mere' translations that do not deserve the same attention, whatever their actual historical impact may have been. Sanetō Keishū 實籐惠秀

Knowledge, Gradation I](Suita-shi: Kansai Daigaku shuppanbu, 2002). The work came with a teacher's handbook providing questions and answers on the topics. It may be said to prefigure a similar approach in East Asian works.

²⁷ Among them the National Library in Beijing and the library of Fudan University in Shanghai.

(1896–1985), the great specialist on Japanese cultural exchange with China during these years, had a different—and more accurate—assessment when he called this work a “major achievement.”²⁸ Coming as early as it did in this Reform of Governance period, it certainly contributed to reducing the prevailing fuzziness in modern Chinese terminology and to essentially settle on the technical terms popularized in Japan with which many of the returned students were already familiar. The specifics of its impact on the development of the modern Chinese conceptual language are still awaiting further study. With its taxonomy as well as its systematic and sober presentation of modern knowledge, the *Encyclopaedia for General Education* is the first Chinese-language work that followed what by then had become the globally shared standards of presenting encyclopaedic knowledge.

Encyclopaedic Dictionaries 1903–1911: Their Role in the Modernization of Chinese Thought and Language

Monolingual dictionaries giving the history and/or meanings of words as well as encyclopaedias mapping the general knowledge required for a civilized citizen played a pivotal role in the cultural consolidation of the nation-state during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In quite a few cases, such dictionaries were crucial for the transformation of a given language—such as Czech—into an acceptable written medium; in other cases, as in the case of Korean, compiling a dictionary of the national language was an act of defiance against the language policies of a colonial power.

Already by the 1890s Japanese scholars and publishers had started to move away from the China-derived “character dictionaries”, *zidian* 字典, towards the “word” or encyclopaedic dictionaries, *cidian* 詞典/辭典, which sometimes focused on terminology. The 1891 *Japanese Word Dictionary: Sea of Words*, *Nihon jisho genkai* 日本辭書言海, is a fine example of this trend.²⁹ The preface by Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹, the official from the Ministry of Culture that was financing and supervising this dictionary project, shows not only the quality of the discussion in Japan, but also the importance given to the question of word dictionaries as markers of linguistic identity and cultural level.

What is culture? It refers to the [development] from simple to complex, from the crude to the refined. . . This principle is also true for word dictionaries, *cishu* 辭書. . . There are two kinds [of script], one that comes with meaning and the other that comes without meaning.

²⁸ Sanetō Keishū 實籐惠秀, *Zhongguoren liuxue Riben shi* 中國人留學日本史 [A history of Chinese students in Japan], trans. Tan Ruqian 譚汝謙 and Lin Qiyang 林啟彥 (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1983), 226. Sanetō Keishū’s library, which had a copy of the *Bian yi putong jiaoyu baiké quanshu*, has become part of the Tokyo Municipal Library.

²⁹ Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦, *Nihon jisho Genkai* (Tokyo: Ōtsuki Fumihiko, 1891).

States which emphasized words, *yanci* 言辭, would use writing without meaning; those which emphasized writing used characters with meaning. As letters developed daily more and the words became ever more profuse, the states emphasizing words made word dictionaries, while those emphasizing writing made character dictionaries. We [Japanese] definitely are a word state, but its progress to culture relied for the most part on the strength of China. That is why our script combines the meaningful and the meaningless, [but] the books of our state that are recording words and writing . . . all have the form of character dictionaries, not of word dictionaries. . . Now finally we come out with a first draft called *Genkai*. It has roughly 40,000 words, and has the form of a word dictionary not a character dictionary. . .³⁰

文明者何。自單之複、自粗之精之謂也。 . . . 若辭書，亦不外於此理者。 . . . 文字有二，一曰有義。一曰無義。主言辭之國。用無義之字。主文字之國用有義之字。人文日闢，言辭日繁，於是，言辭之國作辭書，文字之國作字書，以利民生。支那之為文字之國，歐洲之為言辭之國，人皆知之。若本邦固言辭之國。而其進文明，多賴支那之力，是以如其文字，合有義無義而用之。其勢然也。本邦錄言語文字之書 . . . 皆字書之體，而非辭書之體。 . . . 至於近日，始脫稿。名曰言海，大約四萬言。辭書之體，而非字書之體. . .

He then elevates the word dictionary to the status of a yardstick by which to measure cultural levels:

I used to say if you want to know whether the cultural level of a state is high or low, look at its word dictionaries. If they are large in number and sophisticated, its cultural level is high. If there are few and they are crudely done, the opposite is true. The Western word dictionaries are of two kinds, general and specialized. In the East there is only the general kind and, as to their sophistication, they have a long way to go to get to the level of [the Western word dictionaries]. How can we not be ashamed of ourselves. But once we know our shame, we have to make all efforts to get there. Nowadays our country does not lack in scholars who out of their own initiative struggle for this, and I know that they definitely will not let the Westerners monopolize the name of ‘culture’ for themselves for a hundred generations!³¹

余嘗謂，欲知文化之高卑，觀於其國之辭書，辭書之眾而精者，其文化高；寡而粗者，反之。西洋之辭書，其類二，一曰普通，一曰專門。東祥之辭書，惟有普通一類，至其精粗，此之不及彼遠甚。吾儕安可不愧怍自愧哉。然既知恥之，必將奮而求及之。本邦今日，學士之自奮者不乏其人。余知其必不使西人擅文化之名於百世也。

This Japanese discussion on the need for word dictionaries—and the difficulty in developing them given the mix of words of Japanese, Chinese, and Western origin and “vulgar” and “refined” usages as well as changes in meaning over time—inserted these encyclopaedic enterprises as well as the development of language into the trajectory of modernity. The Chinese encyclopaedic dictionaries also followed this trajectory and the discussion is explicitly taken up in many of their prefaces. The link claimed in the preface by Nishimura Shigeki—who ironically writes in literary Chinese—between the availability of word dictionaries and the cultural level a state has achieved became an often-repeated trope in the East Asian lexicological discussion right up to the Republican period.³² In another area—namely, bi- or multilingual dictionaries of specialized terminologies—Japan was

³⁰ Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦, *Nihon jisho Genkai*, 1.

³¹ Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦, *Nihon jisho Genkai*, 2.

³² Wang Jiarong 汪家熔, “*Ciyuan, Cihai de kaichuangxing*” 《辭源》《辭海》的開創性 [The pioneering nature of the *Ciyuan* and the *Cihai*], *Cishu yanjiu* 4 (2001): 132–133.

also the East Asian pioneer. Both the monolingual encyclopaedic and these terminological dictionaries became important sources for Chinese lexicographers during the Reform of Governance period.

Xin Erya 新爾雅 or *New Erya* (1903): Novel Concepts and New Terms

Of strategic importance for Chinese encyclopaedic development was yet another work published in 1903 called the *New Erya*, *Xin Erya* 新爾雅, by Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶 (1878–1933) and Ye Lan 葉瀾 (1875–?).³³ In a pattern that is already familiar, both had been active in the 1898 reforms, had studied in Japan, gone into translating and publishing, and then became involved in reform organizations. Wang Rongbao would eventually become the main author in drafting the constitution before the advent of the Republican revolution.³⁴

The title of their work took after the *Erya* 爾雅 dictionary, which scholars date to the third century BCE and which was eventually included among the officially sanctioned “classics.”³⁵ Yet Wang and Ye did not use this venerable book to display allegiance to Chinese tradition. Unlike other ancient Chinese dictionaries that were organized by classifier or by rhyme, the *Erya* was arranged along semantic categories and showed the connections within some conceptual fields, such as family relations. Wang and Ye returned to this type of semantic organization in their work. They went much further in their definitions as well as in establishing a strict taxonomic hierarchy. The entry on “Logic,” maps a sequence of steps for correct reasoning that may be read as a guide informing the actual entries.

Following the trajectory shared by many other fields of knowledge, the entry “Logic” is based on the work by a Japanese author, Takayama Rinjirō’s 高山林次郎 (1871–1902) 1898 *Logic*, *Ronrigaku* 論理學.³⁶ In 1902 this work had been translated into Chinese by none other than Wang Rongbao, one of the two authors of the

³³ Wang Rongbao and Ye Lan, eds., *Xin Erya* (Shanghai: Mingquanshe, 1903). It is reprinted in Shin Kokui (=Shen Guowei) 沈國威, *Shinjiga to sono go-i: kenkyū, sakuin, eiinbon fu* 新爾雅とその語彙 : 研究, 索引, 影印本付 [The *New Erya* and its terms: A study and index with a photographic reproduction attached] (Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 1995).

³⁴ For details on the background of Wang Rongbao and his connection to Japan, see Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶, *Wang Rongbao riji* 汪榮寶日記 [The diary of Wang Rongbao] (Tianjin: Tianjin guji, 1987) and the article by Li Hsiao-t’i in this volume.

³⁵ Huang Kan 黃侃, ed., *Erya yinxun* 爾雅音訓 [Explanations of the phonetics of the *Erya*] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1984). The title word *er* 爾 of this work has been read as a loan for the character *er* 邇, “approach, get close to”, which would give a meaning of the title as “Paths to correct/refined [meaning].”

³⁶ Takayama Rinjirō 高山林次郎, *Ronrigaku* 論理學 [Logic] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1898). The earlier Jesuit translation of Aristotle’s *Logic* had little impact and had been utterly forgotten by the end of the Qing.

New Erya.³⁷ The segment on logic in the *New Erya* is a summary of Takayama's essay, and it joins other recent translations like Yan Fu's 1902 translation of John Stuart Mill's *Logic* (as *mingxue* 名學) in reintroducing the Western scholarly field of Logic to China.³⁸

The entries in the *New Erya* used some of the same technical terminology as the original *Erya* such as giving “explanations” (釋) or synonyms for difficult-to-understand words and following definitions by an “is referred to with the term” (謂), after which the new technical term was given. In a mere 176 pages the *New Erya* offers definitions and short presentations of key concepts together with a taxonomy that groups them into 14 fields of knowledge. These range from government, law, economy, education, and sociology, to logic, geometry, astronomy, and earth sciences as well as to general sciences, chemistry, physics, zoology, and botany. The encyclopaedia marks the new terminology graphically with full black dots on the margin. Although it does not come with an index of definitions and terms, it is possible to describe it as an encyclopaedic dictionary in its embryonic stage of development.

The prominent position of fields related to state and society in the taxonomy signals a priority that differs markedly from that of the *Encyclopaedia for General Education*. The *New Erya* begins—without preface—with an “Explanation of Government” 釋政:

That which has a people and a territory and is established in the world is called ‘state.’ That which sets up a system to rule its people and its territory is called ‘government.’ Government has three great domains, the state, the political system, and the organs [of government], (viz. government and parliament, head of state and subjects, judicature, legislature, and executive functions).³⁹

有人民有土地而立於世界者謂之國。設制度以治其人民土地者謂之政。政之大綱三。一曰國家，二曰政體，三曰機關（如政府議會元首臣民司法立法行政之類是也）

In due order, each of these is followed by detailed and terse descriptions of these three domains. For “state,” these would include a “definition,” *dingyi* 定義, an “explanation” of the origins, of the different kinds of state, and of the “transformations” happening to the states. For “political system,” two basic forms are introduced: autocracy and constitutional government. The former, in which “one person holds all power at the top and alone decides all matters,” gets short shrift without Russia even being mentioned as an example, while the variants of constitutional government are described both in conceptual terms and then through an overview of examples of existing forms of constitutional government in Germany, England, North America, and France. When this work came out, the Qing court had just sent a mission to Europe to study different forms of government in an effort to select a form of constitutional government that would be acceptable

³⁷ Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶, trans., *Lunlixue* 論理學 [Logic], *Yishu huibian* 譯書匯編 2.7 (1902), separate pagination 1–59.

³⁸ As mentioned above, the earlier Jesuit translation of Aristotle's *Logic* had little impact and had been utterly forgotten by the end of the Qing. For the entire process, see Joachim Kurtz, *The Discovery of Chinese Logic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

³⁹ Shen Guowei, *Shinjiga to sono go-i*, 1.

in China. The *New Erya* clearly joins this debate, in which one of the two editors was to play such an important role. However, it does so in a visible effort to keep to the encyclopaedia rhetoric of factual and neutral information.

The chapter on logic proceeds in a similarly rigorous manner with the key terms marked in bold:

Discoursing on the use of the internal cognition faculties of man for purposes of inference is referred to as **logic**, *mingxue* 名學, but also referred to as the **science of arguing about principles**, *lunlixue* 論理學. To investigate one corner so as to understand the entirety is called **deductive logic**, *neizhou mingxue* 內籀名學 or *yanyi lunlixue* 演繹論理學. Make judgments on the basis of general principles about a multitude is called **inductive logic**, *waizhou mingxue* 外籀名學 or *guina lunlixue* 歸納論理學. The operation of the mind in comparing two judgments so as to establish a third is called **inference**, *tuilun* 推論. There are three key elements making up an inference – **concept**, **judgment**, and **inference**. The aggregate of shared features of a thing is called **concept**, *gainian* 概念. Linking two concepts to determine the relation between them is called **judgment**, *panding* 判定. Determining the relationship between two judgments of the type described above is called **inference**.⁴⁰

論人心知識之用於推知者，謂之名學，亦謂之論理學。察一曲而知全體者謂之內籀名學。亦謂之演繹論理學。據公理一斷眾事者謂之外籀名學，亦謂之歸納論理學。比較二個判定，而更立第三個判定之心之作用，謂之推知，亦謂之推論。構成推論之要素有三。一曰概念，二曰判定，三曰推理。若干個物公性之總合，謂之概念。結合二個之概念，制定其間之關係者，謂之判定。指定兩個以上之判定間之關係者謂之推理。

The extreme rigor with which the *New Erya* went about defining and mapping conceptual fields is a reaction to the prevailing conceptual fuzziness that was also deplored in the *Encyclopaedia for General Education* and would prompt further efforts in the coming years. The book reacts to the textual environment of the time by pointing out different translations of the same terms. While the information it provided might seem very abstract and hardly designed to reach readers unfamiliar with this style and language, it should be remembered that at the same time many translations as well as introductory essays touching on all fields of knowledge were being published. These provided a rich reading environment for these terms in which definitions could, at least to a degree, fulfill their function. The claim to scientific authority is evident in the normative rigor with which these definitions are articulated even in so-called soft fields like political science and sociology.

***Bowu dacidian* 博物大辭典 or *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History* (1907)**

In 1907 Zeng Pu 曾樸 (1872–1935) and Xu Nianci 徐念慈 (1875–1908), two men otherwise known for their literary works and as the editors of the literary journal *Forest of Fiction*, Xiaoshuo lin 小說林, set about producing Chinese terminological

⁴⁰ Shen Guowei, *Shinjiga to sono go-i*, 75.

dictionaries for selected fields. As disclosed in the preface, the *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History*, *Bowu da cidian* 博物大辭典 (1907), offered translations with short descriptions for the scientific terminology of botany, zoology, mineralogy, and physiology, the four disciplines included for the first time in late Qing encyclopaedias. Their nature required more than a verbal explanation because some of the newly introduced plants and animals had never been seen before in China. The *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History* is therefore equipped with a great number of realistic, and at the same time aesthetically appealing, pictures; this was a new educational feature in late Qing encyclopaedias where pictures were often omitted.

The encyclopaedia is organized in a purely formal way according to the number of strokes needed to write the first Chinese character of the respective term, a formula that emulates the empty sequence of the letters in the alphabet and facilitates access for those who were not yet fully acquainted with an organization according to categories. After the title of each entry the given term is assigned to one of the four fields of knowledge covered in this dictionary. This is followed by the term in the source language, viz. Latin, English, or Japanese. The volumes end with indexes of the terms in the source language and their Chinese translation, so that the *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History* could also be used as a multilingual, terminological dictionary for translation.

With altogether around 2,400 entries, its explanations, taxonomy, foreign terms, illustrations that accurately depict the nature of the discussed subjects, and introductions to relevant theories like Darwin's theory of evolution make it quite an impressive work. It was to be the first in an entire series of such works, in which the volumes for physics and law had already been announced for publication and seven more were in development.⁴¹ From the memoirs of Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 (1875–1973), another writer of novels whom the editors had recruited to their team, we learn that Zeng Pu and Xu Nianci were not just editors but were actively involved in this compilation.⁴²

In the preface the editors complaint is a familiar one: “in China there are only character dictionaries, *zidian* 字典, circulating among scholars, but no word dictionaries, *cidian* 辭典.”⁴³ Their work was to be a new beginning. While one might assume that commercial considerations played a role in prompting these men to compile such a work, the usefulness of a clear understanding of the scientific terms for national construction is emphasized: “The motive for the compilation of this book is total lack among our citizens of experience and study of natural history. This has led to the result that industries are not unfolding and the sciences are in the

⁴¹ See the advertisements for these other volumes on the last pages of the *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History*.

⁴² Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, *Chuanyinglou huiyilu* 釧影樓回憶錄 [Memoirs from the Chuanying loft] (Hong Kong: Dahua, 1971).

⁴³ Zeng Pu and Xu Nianci, “Xu” 叙 [Preface] to Zeng Pu and Xu Nianci, eds., *Bowu da cidian* (Shanghai: Hongwen, 1907), 1.

shadow”⁴⁴ 本書編纂之趣旨因國民於博物學最少經驗及研究，以致實業不興，理學滋味。

As a rule the entries are just one or two lines. They offer terminology and definitions of individual plants, animals, or minerals but also of key taxonomic concepts like “genus” or “species.” But the definitions are not limited only to concrete objects in their present stage of existence. The importance of this *Dictionary*’s dealing with nature rests in the exact opposite—the revelation of the significance of change and evolution. It was Zeng and Xu who first introduced into a terminological dictionary the most significant theory of modern times—Darwin’s theory of evolution. It has a separate entry under the new Japanese-derived term for evolution, *jinhualun* 進化論, which replaced the *tianyanlun* 天演論 that had been cast by Yan Fu 嚴復 (1853–1921) in his translation of Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics*,⁴⁵ but the theory also informs a number of other entries. Given the spread of social-Darwinist thought after Yan Fu’s Huxley translation, it is an indication of the rigorous natural science focus of the work that the author of this entry should turn to the discussion of the social-Darwinist variant only in the very last phrase:

“Once this theory of evolution had come out, it did not only define the entire life of the animal world, but exploring it for human society and thinking about it for a moment one will be aware that all human affairs proceed according to the theory of evolution. It is indeed an utterly correct scholarly theory that also has a huge impact on human affairs”⁴⁶

此進化論出，不啻微生物界開一生，而推之人類社會，而思想一變，乃覺人之事事物物，皆由進化之理而成。實為純正之學理，亦大有影響於人事者也

Zeng Pu was not a stranger to the politics of the Reform of Governance period. His 1903 novel *Flower in the Sea of Retribution*, *Niehai hua* 孽海華, with its pun linking the *hua*/flower with *hua*/China, contains an explicit dream reminiscence in which Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei, the deposed reformers of 1898, descend as “gods of liberty” into China only to be “sacrificed in the bitter battle.”⁴⁷

The link between the new knowledge, the power of science, and the need of political and cultural reform is prominent in every one of the Chinese encyclopaedic projects in this period of transition to modernity. This trait connects the modernizing Chinese encyclopaedia with the concurrent trend in Western encyclopaedias compiled after the First World War. It was also during this era when a number of new nation-states emerged in Europe and the young generation needed to update their knowledge to the level of more advanced countries. These bold projects were most often financially supported by the governments, which

⁴⁴ Advertisement for the *Bowu da cidian* printed in the last before the last page of the book.

⁴⁵ Yan Fu 嚴復, *Hexuli Tianyan lun* 赫胥黎天演論 [Huxley on evolution] (n.p. 1898).

⁴⁶ *Bowu dacidian*, Entries of 12 strokes, 158.

⁴⁷ Zeng Pu 曾樸, *Niehai hua* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1980), chap.1. The first chapter, in which this dream sequence occurs belongs to the parts actually written by Jin Songcen 金松岑, who then asked Zeng Pu to take over and finish the novel. For a study of this chapter, see Catherine Vance Yeh, “Zeng Pu’s *Niehai hua* as a Political Novel—a World Genre in a Chinese Form” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1990), chap. 1.

realized the need for updated knowledge and renovation of the language. Unlike Japan, the Chinese government could not become active in this domain, even during the Reform of Governance period.⁴⁸ As a result, the plan for an entire series of encyclopaedic dictionaries overtaxed the financial resources of the editors. Bao Tianxiao notes dryly in his memoirs: “At this time they [Zeng Pu and Xu Nianci] were also running a Hongwenguan [publishing house] and were compiling the *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History*. At that point I was no more working for the journal *Xiaoshuo lin* and joined them. However, the capital was all exhausted and the enterprise folded.”⁴⁹

Like most works of this kind, the *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History* was not reprinted during the Republican period and has not been included in the large reprint series that came out in Taiwan during the 1960s and 1970s. Today, only a very few libraries have a copy in their collection.

Huang Ren’s Encyclopaedic Dictionary

By the time Zeng Pu and Xu Nianci set to work, other efforts were under way to produce something like a bilingual English–Chinese encyclopaedic dictionary. The Commercial Press had originally planned to produce a translation of *Webster’s International Dictionary*,⁵⁰ but its sheer volume was beyond the available manpower and capital. It then settled for *Nuttall’s Standard Dictionary of the English Language* as the model because it was more manageable in length and, above all, it focused, as its subtitle announces, on the “many thousand [sic!] of new words which modern literature, science and art have called into existence.”⁵¹ The Webster classification scheme was maintained, however. The result was the *English and Chinese Standard Dictionary*, *Ying Hua da cidian* 英華大辭典, which was edited by a team under W.W. Yen (Yan Huiqing 顏惠慶) (1877–1950). Begun in 1905, it was published in 1908 with the primary purpose of serving as a handbook for translators and Chinese speakers reading books in English. With its strong focus on the new scholarly terminology and its efforts to provide short and precise definitions of words together with the Chinese renderings, it laid claim to be a “dictionary” that “is an encyclopaedia in a small scale, comprehending within its covers every science under the sun.”⁵² By employing the Chinese term *cidian* 辭典

⁴⁸ For details on this topic see the article by Douglas Reynolds in this volume.

⁴⁹ Bao Tianxiao, *Chuangyonglou huiyilu*, 327.

⁵⁰ *Webster’s International Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, MA.: G.&C. Merriam & Co., 1891).

⁵¹ *Nuttall’s Standard Dictionary of the English Language based on the labours of the most eminent lexicographers* (New York: F. Warne, 1898).

⁵² W.W. Yen (=Yan Huiqing 顏惠慶), ed., *Ying Hua da cidian* 英華大辭典 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1908). The statement is in the preface on page 1 of the unpaginated editors’ preface in



Illustration 1 Huang Ren (second from left in the front row) with other teachers at Dongwu University in Suzhou From *Yan lai hong* 雁來紅, 1903, here reproduced from Wang Guoping 王國平, *Dongwu daxue jianshi* 東吳大學簡史 [A short history of Dongwu University]. Suzhou: Suzhou University Press, 2009, 42

as the translation for “dictionary” it clearly set out to be an encyclopaedic dictionary without actually using the term.

Huang Ren’s *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, *Putong baike xin da cidian* 普通百科新大詞典, (1911) might very well be called the apogee of the encyclopaedic works produced during late Qing.⁵³ Its author is Huang Moxi 黃摩西 (1866–1913) (Christian name: Moses Huang) but the name he is generally known by is simply Huang Ren 黃人, the “Yellow Man,” a proud declaration of his allegiance to the “yellow race,” the crisis of which so many late Qing reformers bemoaned. Like most other encyclopaedists of the time, he had close connections to various reform groups but also engaged in other scholarly efforts to recast the Chinese heritage (Illustration 1).⁵⁴

Huang is the author of the first *History of Chinese Literature*, *Zhongguo wenxue shi* 中國文學史, written by a Chinese scholar, and he also ventured to write

English. A similar statement will be found in Sect. 4 of the “Eight Editorial Principles,” *Lie yan ba ze* 例言八則. The information on the earlier plans is from the preface.

⁵³ Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin dacidian* 普通百科新大詞典 [New encyclopaedic dictionary of general knowledge] (Shanghai: Zhongguo cidian gongsi, 1911). Published on commission for the *Guoxue fulun she* 國學扶輪社.

⁵⁴ In 1900, Huang, together with his friend Long Shubo 龍樹伯, founded an anti-Qing revolutionary society in Suzhou called the Society of Three Thousand Swords, *San qian jian qi wen she* 三千劍氣文社. It was viewed as a forerunner of the militant Southern Society, *Nan she* 南社, established in 1909.

numerous articles on modern Chinese literary theory.⁵⁵ The work clearly focused on two prominent issues of the day: the terminology of new knowledge and the arrival of the theory of evolution. Huang probably also worked on another dictionary, the *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies, Section Rhetoric*, *Wenke da cidian*. *Xiuci zhi bu* 文科大辭典, 修詞之部, which did not include any of the new terms but was composed along principles of organization similar to those in the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*.⁵⁶ It was published by the same Society for the Support of National Studies, *Guoxue fulun she* 國學扶輪社, in Shanghai.⁵⁷ Founded around 1902, this society served as a platform for the cultural interests of a group of publishers/scholars who felt that despite all the changes coming with new knowledge there was still merit to be found in sophisticated writing. While they were publishing Huang Ren's work, with its exclusive emphasis on the new, their concern that "with the imperceptible deepening of the impact of European fashions and Japanese style, the flaws in Chinese writing" had become such that a handbook was needed to help people to remember their literary heritage.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Huang Ren, *Zhongguo wenxue shi*, in *Huang Ren ji* 黃人集 [The writings of Huang Ren], eds. Jiang Qingbo 江慶柏 and Cao Peigen 曹培根 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua, 2001), 323–358. Tang Zhesheng 湯哲聲 and Tu Xiaoma 涂小馬, eds., *Huang Ren: pingzhuan, zuopin xuan* 黃人: 評傳, 作品選 [Huang Ren: Critical biography and selection of his works] (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi, 1998). See also Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and M. Henri Day, "Huang Moxi 黃摩西 (1866–1913): His discovery of British aesthetics and his concept of Chinese fiction as aesthetic system" in *A Passion for China. Essays in Honour of Paolo Santangelo for his 60th birthday*, ed. Chiu Ling-yeong and Donatella Guida (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 93–141. On Huang Ren's *History of Chinese Literature*, see also Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, *Zuowei xueke de wenxueshi 作為學科的文學史* [History of literature as an academic field] (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2011), 250–254 and the article by Chen Pingyuan in the present volume.

⁵⁶ *Guoxue fulun she*, comp., *Wenke da cidian. Xiuci zhi bu* 文科大辭典. 修詞之部, 12 vols. (Shanghai: Zhongguo cidian gongsi, 1911). The publisher was tireless in its efforts to promote sales of both works. The copy of the *Putong baike xin da cidian* held at the Harvard Yenching Institute has two slips from the publisher in the beginning. Dated to the first month of the third year of the Xuantong reign (Feb. 1911), these offered both works at a special discount of 50 percent for 4 yuan instead of 8 for a limited time period (one month for the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, and four months for the *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*). These slips were inserted into the initial prints. They would entitle the buyer of either encyclopaedic work to get the second one at half price and to get another copy of the one in his hands as a gift for someone else. The efforts to promote the sales were remarkably successful for the *Putong baike xin da cidian*, since a fourth printing of 3,000 copies was already planned in 1911. This information can be found in the advertisement for this work in the front matter of the first edition of the *Wenke da cidian*. On this work, see also the study by Chen Pingyuan in this volume.

⁵⁷ For background on this society, see Zhu Lianbao, *Jinxiandai Shanghai chubanye yinxiang ji*, 277. Sun Qing 孫青, "Guoxue fulun she 'Wenke da cidian' yu Qing mo bentu jingdian de 'zhishi ciyuan' zhuanxing" 國學扶輪社"文科大辭典"與清末本土經典的"知識詞原"轉型 [*The Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* of the Society for the Support of National Studies and the shift in Chinese classical 'knowledge resources' during the late Qing], *Wakumon* 15 (2008): 86, note 8. More background on this society will be found in the study by Chen Pingyuan in this volume.

⁵⁸ The quotation is from "Wenke da cidian yuyue" 文科大辭典預約 [Subscription for the *Wenke da cidian*] in the front matter of the *Wenke da cidian*. It advertises a special printing of 3,000 copies of this work and offers subscriptions to this set at half price.

The members included Shen Zhifang 沈知方 (1882–1939), who was a middle-level manager at the Commercial Press and would continue in a publishing career that eventually led to a managerial position at the new Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 in 1912,⁵⁹ and Liu Shiwei 劉師培 (1884–1919), the anarchist scholar who was to become a professor at Peking University. The society, which published through other publishing houses, came out with its first compilations in 1905. These included scholarly reference works for classical studies, the *Guochao wenhui* 國朝文匯 collection of the literary works of the Qing dynasty, which had been prepared by Huang Ren and Shen Zhifang in 1909, and a famous collection of *biji* 筆記 “brush notes.”

The two dictionaries were part of a similar agenda. They were both not “character dictionaries,” which identified a word with a character, but rather word dictionaries, which regarded the characters as empty notation forms and included mostly multisyllabic words. Both organized the words into an empty numerical sequence according to the number of strokes of the first character. They both established a series of fields of knowledge, specifically marked the field to which each word or term belonged, and offered an index of the different fields and their content at the end. In an innovative move, the *Dictionary for Classical Studies* also marked the grammatical category to which the word belonged. Still, the two dictionaries differed vastly in their readership. While the *Dictionary for Classical Studies* was intended for readers whose education had exposed them to the literature of the past, Huang Moxi’s *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* was designed as a source of new knowledge for younger readers who were interested in the current issues of the day.

With the word fields they were following a practice that had been used in the *New Erya* and in later dictionaries of similar structure, but more specifically by Western encyclopaedic dictionaries like Robert Hunter’s *The American Encyclopaedic Dictionary* (1894), which would indicate the field of knowledge—for instance, chemistry—after each term from a scholarly terminology, but would arrange the terms themselves alphabetically.⁶⁰ Even in *Classical Studies* the terminology for the forty word fields had been thoroughly modernized and included fields such as “plants” (instead of “grasses and trees”), “animals” (instead of “birds and quadrupeds” and “fishes and insects”), and “government.”⁶¹

They both came with prefaces written by two men who were by then clearly the key names in Chinese translations: Lin Shu 林紓 (1852–1924) for the *Classical Studies* and Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921) for the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*. Yan Fu had also become the government official in charge of

⁵⁹ Sun Qing, “Guoxue fulun she ‘Wenke dacidian,’” 86, note 7.

⁶⁰ Robert Hunter, ed, *The American Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, 4 vols. (Chicago: Ogilvie Co, 1894).

⁶¹ See Sun Qing, “Guoxue fulun she ‘Wenke dacidian,’” 91.

standardizing Chinese terminology, but unlike the strong guiding hand and financial support of the Ministry of Culture in Japanese dictionaries and encyclopaedias, there was no government involvement here. Yan Fu indicated the linked agenda of the two works:

The chairman of the Society for the Support of National Studies upholds the standard of the national essence. The books he came out with earlier have already been highly appreciated by Chinese scholars involved in transmitting [knowledge of the past]. However, the best way of preserving [the national essence] is not to claim nowadays that it can only be searched for in past precedents! Only when it has been enlarged and has absorbed all different currents will it be effective.⁶²

國學扶輪社人保存國粹之誠志也。其前所為書已為海內承學之士所實貴矣。乃今以為徒於其故而求之，猶非保存之大者也。被張皇補苴，宏納眾流而後為有較。

China's heritage could only be made relevant for modernity if it absorbed the best that foreign cultures had to offer. In this sense, the *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* and the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* tried to offer both a modern reworking of the classical heritage as well as the terminological and theoretical substance of modern knowledge, and to present both in a modern, scientific way. Absorbing foreign knowledge hinged on words.

Given the Qing government's difficulty in communicating its reform proposals, Yan Fu rejoiced in the help given by the effort of the Literary Society "to support our endeavor in the Office for the Terminology [headed by Yan Fu]" and "to accomplish the glory of a system going by rules." In the year 1911 this certainly was a pious wish, but it is improbable that Huang Ren would have seen his work in the same light.

Huang Ren's own preface starts off with a systematic discussion of the concept of 'word' *ci* 詞 (rather than 'character,' *zi* 字). In a criticism aimed at some of his contemporaries who claimed that words were just sounds and that meaning could be assigned at random,⁶³ Huang insisted that the meaning of the often-quoted classical reference "In a word the meaning is the inside, the speaking the outside," 詞者意內而言外, is contained in the two components of the character 詞—namely, 言 and 司, which translate as "verbalizing 言 a charge 司". He read this as the claim that "both the inner part [the meaning] and the outer part [the phonetic representation] point towards what [the word] is in charge of." 內與外皆指其所司焉 Words, however, are part of the historical flux:

The six ways [of making characters][mentioned by Xu Shen 許慎 (2nd century CE) in the dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining words by analyzing the characters)] are continuously alternating, and human affairs are becoming more complex by the day,

⁶² Yan Fu 嚴復, "Putong baike xin da cidian xu" 普通百科新大詞典序 [Preface to the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*] in *Yan Fu ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986), 2: 276–277. The version in the original work is in cursive script, in this edition of Yan Fu's works it has been transcribed.

⁶³ See Li Zhimin 李智敏 and Lu Lili 魯麗麗, "Huang Moxi yu Zhongguo baike quanshu" 黃摩西與中國百科全書 [Huang Moxi and the Chinese encyclopaedia], *Dangdai tushuguan* 4 (2007): 13.

changing from and moving according to time and place. The word might be saying yes, but the meaning no, the meaning might persist, but the word might have transformed, time and again there is a word one has used all one's life and all of the sudden one does not know where its assignment lies [in a given context].⁶⁴

六書遞變，人事日煩，隨時隨地，一步換形。或言是而意非，或意存而言改，往往有終身習用一詞，而初不知其職之何在者。

This situation is exacerbated by the changes intervening in the Chinese language through the increased interaction with the West.

Ever since the opening up of sea communication with countries abroad [during the 18th century], retranslations were made through different foreign languages [into Chinese], the new and the old merge in chaotic fusion; individuals make up their own terms, schools go their own way in their interpretation; things are moving ever further apart and one mistake leads to the next. Even Kharoṣṭha, the Donkey-lipped Sage, and Akṣapāda, the Arhat with eyes in his feet, would, were they born again, be bewildered.

海通以後，重譯侏儷，新故糅雜，人自為說，家異其趣。歧而又歧，以繆承繆。雖驢唇仙人足目尊者復生，亦將暝眩。

In the resulting chaos and following “the general rule of evolution,” (天演公例) the marvelous Chinese script is “fleeing in fright from under the 26 letter [Western] alphabet with its sidewise crawl” (遽出蟹行二十六字符號下).

The reason:

Alas, there is a most potent reason for this—namely that our country only has *zishu* 字書—dictionaries listing individual graphs, and *leishu* 類書—compendia arranged according to certain categories. However, special books to explain the proper usage of words have been lacking. The different states over there in Europe and America on the other hand have what they call ‘encyclopaedic dictionaries’ *cidian* 詞典 which always give definitions for terms, things, symbols and numbers. These works all emphasize usefulness and are strict with regard to [semantic and grammatical] rules. They are not like our *zishu* simplistic and ambiguous or like our *leishu* confused and disjointed. That is why [in these Western works] names and facts correspond and both their similarities and differences are presented. This is one of the basic driving forces for the power and prestige of these nations and the development of the talents of their people.

嘻!蓋有一絕大原因也，則以吾國之僅有字書，類書，而無正當用詞之專書也。彼歐美諸國則皆有所謂詞典者，名物象數，或立界說，齊一尊用，嚴於律令，非如字書之簡單而游移，類書之淆雜而滅裂。故名實不僞異同互資。其國勢之強盛，人才之發達，此一大原動力焉。

The difficulties in the way of any Chinese effort to match these Western works would be “a hundred times greater” because in China “speech and writing are cut from each other and are hard to bring together, and the shapes [of the characters used to signify words] and the sounds for the largest part consists of loans.” Huang Ren’s

⁶⁴ Huang Ren, “Putong baike xin da cidian xu” 普通百科新大詞典序 (Preface to the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*), in Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin dacidian*. The following excerpts are all from this Preface.

argumentation closely matches that of the preface to the *Japanese Word Dictionary: Sea of Words* referred to above.

Still, the society was willing to support the effort to enrich “national learning” with modernity in substance and method, and Huang Ren was willing to shoulder the burden of compiling both dictionaries. In an obscure last phrase at the end, he links up with the potential of encyclopaedic works to undermine an earlier order of things as well as the forces supporting it: “As for myself, I am also rejoicing in being the pioneer in providing things needed at this time, positioning myself [like Chen She 陳涉 or Chen Sheng 陳勝 (–208 BCE) and his troops] with the camp fire covered by wicker baskets and howling like fox demons.” The reference is to an officer in the Qin army who became a hero when he rebelled and told his troops to cover their campfires with wicker baskets to make them flicker eerily while baying like fox demons to frighten the Qin troops.

Among the large crowd of foreign political heroes, including George Washington or Mazzini, who were held up for emulation by Chinese reformers during the late Qing, Chen She is one of the very few who were resurrected as Chinese role models for bringing about fundamental political change.⁶⁵

In the ambitious “Editorial Principles” for the work, Huang defines its focus as being on the “entirety of scholarly terminology,” *yiqie xueyu* 一切學語, and its purpose as being a “reference tool for teachers” and a handbook “for student self-study,” 以適用於教員改檢，學子自修為宗旨, that would “summarize Chinese and foreign things and contain all the scientific fields” (中外兼賅，百科並蓄). He claims that the explanations stress clarity and brevity without being obscure or having overloaded phrases, all this with the very modernist goal of “saving mental energies while gaining new knowledge” (省腦力而增新知). The work was to use the science terminology approved by the ministry (and Yan Fu) as its “base” but would include other terms if they were widely used.

The “new scholarly terminology,” Huang writes, “is based on translations of the meaning or the pronunciation of West European terms,” which have “reached China for the greater part via Japan.” However, because there were some differences between the meanings of the same Chinese characters used in China and Japan, the dictionary would give itemized explanations. As for the earlier Chinese terms, which are as numerous as the “sands on the river Ganges,” only the barest outlines were provided because most readers would have a better

⁶⁵ See Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環, “‘Geming biao mu’ yu wan Qing yingxiong xipu de chongjian. Huashengdun yu Napolun chuanji wenxian de yikan ji qi yinxiang” ‘革命表木’與晚晴英雄希普的重建. 華盛頓與拿破侖傳記文獻的譯刊及其影響 [The revolutionary model and the reconstruction of the genealogy of the late Qing hero. Publications of translations of documents on Washington and Napoleon and their impact], *Lishi wenxian* 9 (2005): 393. Shen Songqiao 沈松僑, “Zhenda Han de tiansheng. Minzu yingxiong xipu yu wan Qing guozu sixiang” 真大漢之天聲. 民族英雄希普與晚晴的國族想像 [The true call of the great Han. The genealogy of national heroes and late Qing national thought], *Xueshu sixiang pinglun* 學術思想評論 [Intellectual Inquiry] 10 (2003): 248–327. Chen served as reference to a Chinese heroic past in Huai Ren 懷仁, *Shehui xiaoshuo: Luosuo hun* 社會小說: 羅梭魂 [Social novel: The spirit of Rousseau] (1905) Repr. Nanchang: Beihuazhou wenyi chubanshe, 1991), Chapter 1.

grounding in old learning and thus the older encyclopaedias would serve their purpose. To mark the difference between items relating to the “world” rather than to China, a round circle for the globe is prefixed to the respective category. The entry “history” 史 thus signals that an item belongs to the field “Chinese history,” while ○史 would signal that it belongs to “world history”. Together with this very sober and informed dealing with the world and the development of modern Chinese scholarly terminology, Huang also makes it clear that he has not forgotten his political and reform agenda.

Although the lands that once belonged to China have been stolen with cunning and bravado and are no longer ours, the detailed record of every small mountain and rivulet [in these lands as contained in his work] has the purpose of recording national shame. That the history of our defeats in foreign relations is not in the least bit embellished or hidden [in this work] has the same purpose.⁶⁶

五國曾經隸屬之邦土，雖巧偷號擢非復故物，而寸山勺水紀載較詳，志國恥也。外交失敗歷史不稍諱飾，亦同此旨

The rationalist enlightenment agenda of the encyclopaedist does not only pervade Huang’s statement of principles, but even the “particulars of this book” (本書之特色) that follow: “Concerning things society believes in a superstitious way or is used to without proof we accumulate evidence [of their being unfounded] and spread this with scientific principles—and one morning inevitably the clouds will break and they will see the sun” 社會所迷信及習用而不省者，皆集左證而以學理流通之，俾一旦豁然披雲見天。⁶⁷ The title signals the “general” rather than the specialized level of encyclopaedic knowledge, and Huang explicitly declares that it should be fit for a “middle school level.”

The 11,865 entries in the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* are organized according to the same principle used by Zeng Pu and Xu Nianci. The basic sequence of entries follows the number of strokes needed to write the first Chinese character of the word. This allows for short dictionary entries that define the term and detail the key features of its content, sometimes with a historical explanation of its origin. These entries are then linked to a taxonomy of knowledge that assigns them to altogether sixty fields, sometimes also giving the term in the source language. This taxonomy includes all recognized scholarly fields of the day ranging from mathematics and zoology to religious studies and international law. It also includes elements such as “hunting” that might not really qualify in a Chinese context but had played a prominent role for the British Isles in Chambers’ *Information for the People*.

Although Huang Ren claimed that the entire work was completed within one year and though the competing enterprise from the Commercial Press, which was begun in 1908 and was eventually to produce the *Source of Terms*, *Ci yuan* 辭源, in 1915, moved at quite a different pace, many of the entries are of high quality and of

⁶⁶ “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles], in *Putong baike xin da cidian*, 2a.

⁶⁷ “Benshu zhi tese,” in *Putong baike xin da cidian*, 1a.

intrinsic not just historical interest.⁶⁸ Here is his explanation on the term *jingji* 經濟 in the meaning “economy”:

Jingji means managing state affairs and handling administrative matters. However, in China common speech calls being good with data, *shang ji* 善計, and “to manage,” *jingji* 經紀. When the Japanese imported Chinese terms, they mistakenly wrote this as 經濟 (*jingji*) [because of the similarity in pronunciation]. (There are frequent occurrences of this type). Nowadays this term has again been brought back to China and is regularly used in the sense of economic management, *shengji* 生計, which is totally different from the original meaning. Although through its cumulative use it will be impossible to reverse this, one still should know its original definition.⁶⁹

經濟者經綸幹濟也。而我國通俗以善計者曰經紀。日人輸入中語，因音近而誤作經濟。(此類甚多)今此一名詞又回輪吾國，而沿用為省計義，與原義全別。雖已積習難返，然其本原界限，不可不知也。

The entry on the Chinese *chen wei* 讖緯 prognostication texts, which definitely could not have been copied from existing encyclopaedias, reveals both knowledge and an emphasis on sober factuality together with the enlightenment agenda. Classified as belonging to “religion”, it runs:

Of the *chen* 讖 [mantic texts] there are three kinds, graphic *chen*, spell *chen*, and oath *chen*. All spoken, written and designed things which carry indications for the future can be called *chen*. The apocrypha, *wei* 緯, were transmitted outside the classics when Confucius fixed the six classics and trimmed the old works. They are generally what Sima Qian 司馬遷 refers to as things with words that lack elegance and propriety or that are even opposed to the classics. While this is not so, it is correct to say that they are not classics. The *chen*, however, are all scattered in small bits while the *wei* are gigantic texts. (Today they do not survive intact, and they are only in part genuine). They have a similarity in character in that with incoherent incomprehensible words they are said to be able to anticipate the rise and fall of the imperial family or order and chaos in society. This learning had its heyday during the Western and Eastern Han Dynasty at the same time when the doctrine of the Five Agents was flourishing. The [Chen and Wei] are made up by the two forces of despotism and superstition. Their negative effects eventually led to great chaos, and during the Jin Dynasty they were for the first time strictly banned. However, to this day this tradition has not been completely cut off. This is something that people engaged in opening up people’s knowledge will have to pay attention to.⁷⁰

讖有圖讖，符讖，誓讖。凡一切語言文字及圖書等，範圍來有徵驗者，皆可謂之讖。緯相傳孔子定六經刪古籍於經外者，大約即司馬遷所謂其言不雅馴者，或與經對待，其實不如。直謂之不經可也。但讖多瑣碎，而緯的煌煌巨典。(今已不完全存者，亦真贗參半)惟其以支離詭譎之語，謂可推朝家之聲率世運之治亂，則同一性質。磁學最盛於兩漢，與五行學並行。蓋專制與迷信之兩刀所構成也，而其弊，卒至於興妖擻亂。晉初，始申厲禁，然其流風，至今未全絕。此亦開民智者所當注意焉[]。

⁶⁸ Lu Erkui 陸爾奎, comp., *Ci yuan* 辭源 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1915). For a detailed study of Huang Ren’s entries on ‘literature’ and their relationship to his *History of Chinese Literature*, see Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, *Zuowei xueke de wenxue shi* 作為學科的文學史 [History of literature as a field of scholarship] (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2011), chap. 5.

⁶⁹ Huang Moxi, *Putong baiken da cidian*, 13 strokes, entry #360.

⁷⁰ Huang Moxi, *Putong baiken da cidian*, 24 strokes, entry # 1.

Illustration 2 Jinweiyi instrument for measuring Azimuth. From Huang Ren, *Putong baike da cidian*. Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she 1911, 13 strokes, number 352



A relatively large number of entries in Huang’s *Dictionary* are accompanied by illustrations, diagrams, and technical drawings, which are of a different kind than the plants and animals in the work by Zeng Pu and Xu Nianci. Huang inserted illustrations of new technical instruments and tools like microscope, bulldozer, printing press, or a special astronomical instrument called “jingweiyi” 經緯儀, which was not given a term in English but was described in Chinese as “an instrument for measuring the altitude and azimuth of heavenly bodies.” Assigned to the section “astronomy,” it comes with a straightforward description of its functions despite the fact that the illustration—like all the illustrations generally—lack technical precision. It was clearly copied from elsewhere and was reduced in size to the point that the technical details are utterly blurred (Illustration 2).

However, the presence of a wealth of such modern technical and scientific devices in this encyclopaedic dictionary shows that a field that was mostly looked down upon in traditional China was now considered a necessity in a country heading toward a modern future. The numerous diagrams of function designs that accompany abstract verbal descriptions of new technical ideas and inventions serve the same purpose while retaining clarity due to the simpler graphic design (Illustration 3).

Illustration 3 Air pump mechanism. From Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*. Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she 1911, supplement 補遺, 11 strokes, number 134



Conclusions

Since the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the spread of encyclopaedic works in Chinese has led to a dramatic expansion of the range of contextualized knowledge available to men of letters and literate urbanites. It was presented in the sober factual language of rationality that increasingly dispensed with traditional markers of learning such as allusions to classical texts. The development of new print media, like newspapers with their editorials or advocacy newspapers with their political essays, contributed to the spread of this new rhetoric. The great upswing of encyclopaedic publishing in the years between the Sino-Japanese War and the 1898 Hundred Days Reform was only shortly interrupted by the palace coup that sent some of the reformers to their deaths and others into exile. After the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 and the ensuing Allied intervention, those forces in the court that demanded substantial political reforms got the upper hand. At the same time, the Shanghai International Settlement offered itself as a safe haven for publishing outside the court's control. Within weeks of the beginning of the Reform of Governance in 1901, many of the promoters of the 1898 reforms were active again and quite a few of the encyclopaedic works that had failed to meet the 1898 deadline were rushed to press while new works were eagerly produced.

The Reform of Governance period is characterized by a steep rise in the influence of Japan in all spheres of government, education, and the military, all of

which accompanied the heavy impact of the Japanese vocabulary on new knowledge in China. This was greatly enhanced by a large number of Chinese students who went to Japan to study and came back with the new Japan-minted vocabulary. A linguistic confusion spread and different Chinese translators pursued different strategies in translating Western scholarly terminology. The situation worsened with the students returning from Japan and the massive translation projects for Japanese works that they undertook because it brought yet another set of translation words for the same concepts. But this time the words had a strong and rising social group (the returned students) as advocates and the backing of both the Japanese government and private Japanese publishing ventures in China.

The second problem was the quality and accessibility of the new knowledge. With the new schools and, more importantly, with the abolishment of the examination system, a market for textbooks and reference works that provided well-organized and easy access to items of the new knowledge emerged. Encyclopaedic works with their often book-length introductions to scholarly fields retained their importance, and they were increasingly geared towards providing a step-by-step introduction to fields of modern knowledge. This was what Fan Diji's translation attempted to achieve. In his work we can already see elements of a unified structure for the emerging encyclopaedic entries, which included a definition of the term together with more or less substantial information on the subject matter itself. The new grammar and rhetoric of the language of the encyclopaedic entries is a field of transcultural interaction that deserves more study since the impact of this rhetorical pose is possibly as important as that of the conceptual taxonomies.

With a much stronger emphasis on the taxonomy of knowledge and the precise definition of core concepts, the *New Erya* followed another—again Japan-inspired—path. With the widening presence of the new technical terms in the schools, the press, the military, and the government administration, a lacuna was perceived for which a solution had already been found in the West: itemized encyclopaedic dictionaries with an organization structure that combined terse entries with definition and background information and was arranged in a purely formal sequence with cross references to broader fields of knowledge. The taxonomy of these fields had gradually stabilized over the previous decades with the Chambers *Information for the People* used as a key reference. Very shortly after the abolishment of the Chinese examination system many of the publishing houses that were eager to catch the lucrative textbook market started looking at encyclopaedic dictionaries as a type of reference work for which there was a great need and market.

Although it was the government that eventually ceded to demands to abolish the examination system together with its contents, beyond the small and rather powerless office given to Yan Fu it did not emulate Japan by assuming a government responsibility for the development of the new educational tools. Instead, it left this to independent actors who used the Shanghai International Settlement, with its openness to the world and relative freedom from court interference, as their forum of public articulation. But this lack of government support also came at a price. Zeng Pu and Xu Nianci had great plans and set the framework (stroke number, cross

reference, and source language), but they lacked the financial resources to get beyond the second volume of their planned ten-volume set. The Commercial Press had started work on the *Source of Terms*, *Ci yuan*, but lacked a man with the amazing energy and knowledge of a Huang Moxi to pull the project off before the dynasty abdicated.

Eventually, it was Huang Moxi who produced a large and relatively mature encyclopaedic dictionary that could be used at a middle-school level and would provide quick and relatively high-quality, “enlightened” information on an exceedingly wide range of what he called “scholarly terms,” *xueyu* 學語. It certainly marks the apogee of encyclopaedic publishing in China during the Qing, but the lack of government interest in managing a national canon of language and knowledge, and the inability of the Society for the Support of National Learning to seriously compete with the large schoolbook publishing companies that were establishing themselves in Shanghai meant that the great potential usefulness of this reference work only had a small window of time in which to find the readers for whom it was intended. The publisher strived to get both dictionaries to the readers and made great efforts to promote sales of both works. With three and possibly four prints within a few months, the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* was certainly successful.⁷¹ Some of the documentation for this can be found in the Appendix to this article.

By never referring to works like Huang Ren’s, but also by benefitting from a market savvy that allowed it to run through dozens of reprints without a single entry being changed until the early 1940s, the Commercial Press’s magisterial dictionary of “New Culture,” the *Xin wenhua cishu* 新文化辭書 (1921), claimed the honor of being the true *Chinese Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge* in the English translation of its title.⁷²

The modern Chinese encyclopaedias compiled during the first decade of the twentieth century have been relegated to the very periphery of scholarly interest for no less than a century. The reasons for this disinterest may differ, but they all end in the same result: inaccurate interpretations of the rise and the nature of modern Chinese culture.

Time and again studies from both China and abroad have argued that modern Chinese literature and culture are the outcome of the efforts made between 1915 and the 1930s by a small group of young Chinese intellectuals who were educated in Japan and the West. Collectively these efforts are now known as the New Culture

⁷¹ The first edition came out in the 5th month of the Xuantong era (1911), the second already in the 6th month; by the 1st month of winter, the third edition was nearly sold out and subscriptions were offered for a fourth edition in an advertisement inserted into the *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*. It is not clear whether this fourth edition was ever printed.

⁷² *Xin wenhua cishu* [Parallel title: *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of New Knowledge*] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1923). Entries from this dictionary are studied in the contribution by Barbara Mittler in this volume.

Movement and/or May Fourth Movement.⁷³ This master narrative has lost much of its credibility through a series of studies on the fiction of the years between the 1890s and the 1910s. The location, collection, and examination of Chinese encyclopaedic works of modern knowledge published between the 1880s and 1910s provide a further case study for this. The results have opened a new vista onto this eminently important period in Chinese history.

First, it has become apparent that the transition from the old to the new cultural environment did not take place during the brief years between 1915 and the 1920s (or 1930s), but during the relatively long period between the 1870s and the 1920s. Second, modern Chinese culture by and large did not evolve through a direct engagement with Western culture but through a more complicated process during which not two (Chinese and European) but at least three cultural environments interacted, with Japan playing the most important (but later often underestimated) role of the intermediary. This neglect resulted in a simplified reading of the historical evidence, which very strongly suggests a global rather than bilateral circulation of knowledge as well as the importance of the Japanese variation of this new Chinese knowledge that had preceded its adaptation in China.

In conclusion, the new materials provided by the encyclopaedias reveal that the transformation from the old to the modern did not take place merely in literature and culture but encompassed the whole of Chinese culture, including technical and scientific development. This new perspective on the period from the 1870s to the 1920s highlights many similarities between the Chinese development of modern culture and European developments a few decades earlier. It calls for nothing less than a revision of modern Chinese history from a global perspective.

Appendix: Advertising the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* and the *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*

The copy of the *Putong baike xin da cidian* that is held at the Harvard Yenching Institute has two slips from the publisher inserted in the beginning. Dated to the 1st month of the 3rd year of the Xuantong reign (February 1911), these offered both works at a special discount of 50 % for four yuan instead of eight for a limited time period (1 month for the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, and 4 months for the *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies*). They would entitle the buyer of either encyclopaedic work to receive the second one at half price and to get another copy of the one in his hands as a gift for someone else (Illustrations 4, 5, 6, and 7). The efforts to promote the sales resulted in remarkable initial success for the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, as a

⁷³ For a critical analysis of the genesis of this master narrative, see Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Oldřich Král, eds., *The Appropriation of Cultural Capital: China's May Fourth Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001).

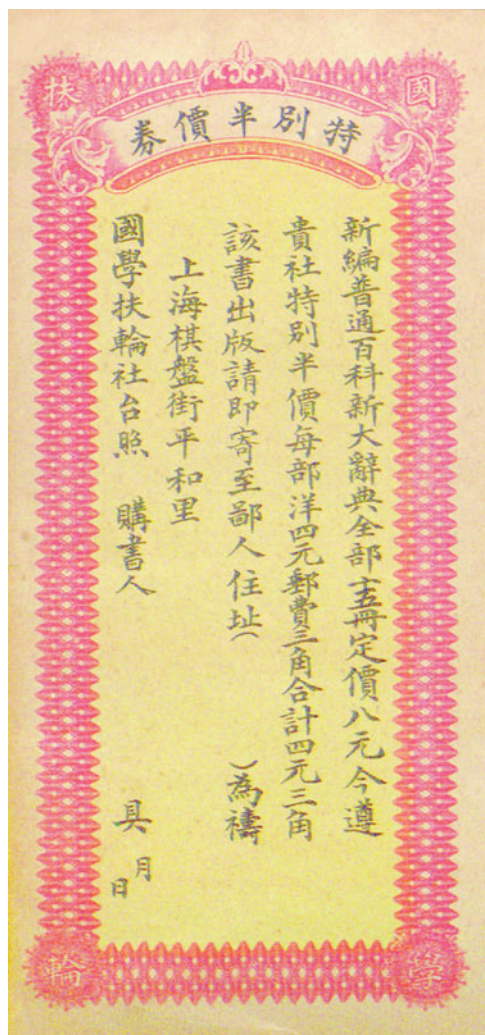


Illustration 4 Offer of second copy of *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* at half price (4 yuan instead of 8 yuan) for buyers of first edition at full price. Note the perforations that allow it to be torn out of the volume. Inserted into Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*. Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she, second edition, 1911, 6th month, front matter

fourth printing of 3,000 copies was already planned (and might have come about) by 1911 (Illustrations 8 and 9). Even the *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* might have gone through several printings (Illustrations 10 and 11). While the *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* went through three and possibly four printings in its 1st year, the climate change coming with the Republic was such that it was soon forgotten. As the inserts advertising these two works are rare, they are included here for reference.

特別券章程

一此券專為本書而設以本年三月三十日為限此券一帋只能行用二次過期無効

二憑此券者只收半價外埠寄費照碼加一(如碼洋一元計郵費一角)餘可類推

三此券購書上海及分售處概售現洋不得記賬

四此券實行在上海棋盤街總發行所及各省分售處(其分售處牌號均載明本書樣本)閱者注意

五以此券購書者上海接到價洋發書外埠先收價洋限期付書(往來期限由分售處酌定)

六欲索此券須填明姓名住址請函致上海本社總發行所(隨附郵票三分)合式者即當奉贈

宣統三年正月訂

Illustration 5 Special stipulations of the offer of second copy of *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* at half price dated 1st month of Xuantong 3 (1911). To be used before the end of the 3rd month. Inserted into Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*. Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she, second edition, 1911, 6th month. Back side of offer in Illustration 4. Note the inconsistency between the handwritten dates and the month of publication

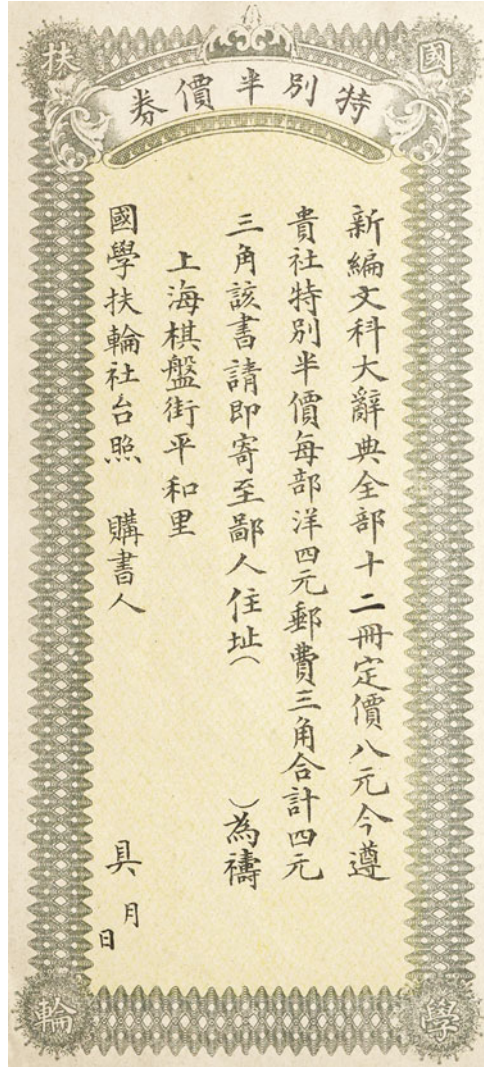


Illustration 6 Offer of copy of *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* at half price (4 yuan instead of 8 yuan) to buyers of copy of *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge* at full price. Inserted into Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*. Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she, second edition, 1911, 6th month, front matter

特別券章程

一此券專為本書而設以本年五月三十日為限此券一帋只能行用二次過期無効

二憑此券者只收半價外埠寄費照碼加一(如碼洋一元計郵費一角)餘可類推

三此券購書上海及分售處概售現洋不得記賬

四此券實行在上海棋盤街總發行所及各省分售處(其分售處牌號均載明本書樣本)閱者注意

五以此券購書者上海接到價洋發書外埠先收價洋限期付書(往來期限由分售處酌定)

六欲索此券須填明姓名住址請函致上海本社總發行所(隨附郵票三分)合式者即當奉贈

宣統三年正月訂

Illustration 7 Special stipulations of the offer of copy of *Terminological Dictionary for Classical Studies* at half price dated 1st month of Xuantong 3 (1911). Has to be used before the end of the 5th month. Inserted into Huang Ren, *Putong baike xin da cidian*. Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she, second edition, 1911, 6th month. Back side of offer in Illustration 6

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“New Methods to Nourish the People”: Late Qing Encyclopaedic Writings on Political Economy

Andrea Janku

The chapter on “Political Economy,” *Jingji* 經濟, in *Explorations into the Origins of Western Learning*, *Xixue tanyuan* 西學探源, written in Chinese by the Japanese official-turned-educator and political writer Okamoto Kansuke 岡本監輔 (1839–1904) and published in 1901 by the Commercial Press in Shanghai, offers a curious explanation of the importance of this new scientific discipline.¹ It begins with a straightforward definition:

The gist of political economy is about the investigation of the common wealth of all people with the aim to increase it, so that the people can have land and property and live decent lives.²

經濟要旨。在於察生人公益。而增殖之。使民有恆產。養生喪死而無憾。

It goes on with a statement about the relative value of work and an observation on the injustice that seems to be apparent in the working of economic systems:

Without the merit of their work, people cannot make a profit and become rich. Moreover, because everybody’s work is different, the distribution of wealth is not equal. *But when the work is the same and there still is a difference between rich and poor, whose fault is this?*³

人無勞功。則不能興利致富。而勞功不同。所以貧富不均也。勞功既同而猶有貧富不同者。是誰之過也。

¹ Okamoto Kansuke 岡本監輔, “Jingji di shiyi” 經濟第十一 [Ch. 11: Political economy], in Okamoto Kansuke, *Xixue tanyuan* 西學探源 [Explorations into the origins of Western learning] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1901), j.3: 12b–24b. On the trajectory of the term *jingji* with the meaning of “political economy” or “economy,” see Huang Ren’s comment translated in the study by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume.

² Literally: “. . . and fulfill their duties to their parents while they are alive and give them a proper burial when they have died, so that they have nothing to regret.” This and all further translations are mine. Punctuation in the Chinese text follows the original publication.

³ The part in italics has emphatic punctuation in the original.

A. Janku (✉)

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London, UK

e-mail: aj7@soas.ac.uk

No answer to this question is provided. Instead, the principle of Western liberalism is introduced, together with the Smithian axiom that private gains were not just legitimate but even contributed to the common good; alternative economic models are acknowledged but regarded skeptically:

Westerners advocate liberty. If one engages in nongovernmental trade, even if one makes hundreds of millions, nobody will question it. They say the wealth of a single person is the wealth of an entire township; the wealth of a single family is the wealth of an entire nation. There may be people who think this is wrong and wish to make everything common property, but I have never seen that they had a feasible strategy.

泰西人主張自由。在政府外貨殖。雖至億萬。莫誰何者。謂一人之富。即一鄉之富。一家之富。即一國之富也。人或非之。欲使天下人共有財產。未見其有必濟之策也。

This principle of the public benefit of private wealth is illustrated by the success story of Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794–1877). He is introduced as an American merchant who, though from a poor family, made a fortune in the transport business. It is not ruthlessness, as we might assume, but diligence and perseverance that is described as the key to his success. At the end of his career he administered the nation's railways and was the richest man in the world. But most importantly, his wealth enabled him to become a benefactor of the public and a highly honored man. The donation of a ship worth 800,000 dollars to his government was acknowledged by thank-you speeches in parliament and brought him broad recognition. This is a textbook story of the “from rags to riches and from there to philanthropy” theme. A comparison with the private wealth accumulated by the lords of the feudal age and withheld from the public, is meant to demonstrate how much better Vanderbilt was than those and how wealth could bring social prestige:

He was like a feudal lord with his private landholdings and “private people” [i.e. serfs], but much better than those. I do not know whether this peace lasted forever and whether the common people were regretful about it or not. *The relationship between wealth and honor is such that they need each other, not a single hair is tolerated between them.*⁴

是猶封建大諸侯有私土私民而尤優者也。未審永世太平庶民無憾否。富之與貴相須。其間不容一髮。

The paragraph ends with a slightly opaque reference to Qin Shihuang, the First Emperor of Qin, indicating the political implications of these ruminations.

I am afraid that people in later generations may put forth the case of Qin Shihuang, who usurped the Six Kingdoms, [and wonder] why people today could not do the same. [In view of this] how could one possibly neglect the theories of political economy?

吾恐後世或呈秦皇并吞六王之狀。而今之人不能如之何也。經濟之說。其可不熟講乎哉。⁵

How might we understand this strange comment on Western liberalism that mentions Vanderbilt and the First Emperor of Qin in the same breath? Wealth was the key to conquering the world, wealth was even the key to gaining honor, and

⁴ Italics reflect emphatic punctuation in the original.

⁵ Okamoto Kansuke, “Jingji di shiyi,” 12b–13a.

poverty was no longer considered a virtue. Moreover, a positive relationship between commercial wealth and state power was crucial in the aim to achieve “the common wealth of all people.” However, there is also a clear sense of resentment against the injustice manifest in the uneven distribution of wealth and the usurpatory behavior of the imperialist West—and in the decided commitment to study the secrets of its success.

Okamoto’s *Explorations* was just one of nearly a dozen new compilations of “Western,” “new” or “current” knowledge that appeared in the year 1901 during the period of acute crisis that came immediately after the Boxer debacle.⁶ As private publications they were society’s response to changing knowledge regimes and to new examination demands, though the initial move clearly came from the official side in the form of the proclamation of a new series of reform measures known as the Reform of Governance, *Xin zheng* 新政. The proliferation of publications, evident in the large number of titles and also the number of reprints and sequels, reflects the existence of a growing market for books on current affairs. The post-1895 reforms had brought a first peak in the demand for “new knowledge.”⁷ In 1901, as in the earlier Western affairs, *Yangwu* 洋務, reforms and the reform efforts of the late 1890s, the ultimate aim of this vigorous pursuit of knowledge was quite straightforward: the quest for national wealth and power as expressed in the ubiquitous formula “enrich the state and strengthen the army,” *fuguo qiangbing* 富國強兵.⁸ This handy formula provided the rationale and the guideline for the study of the new knowledge—much to the dissatisfaction of some, as we shall see. The fact that Japan acted as a mediator between China and the West further complicates the story. Around the turn of the century Japan became a kind of facilitator in the process of knowledge acquisition and China’s fellow fighter against imperialism. But at the same time, Japan also became a serious rival of the Western powers and was striving for economic and territorial hegemony in its own right; Okamoto’s study is an early manifestation of this.

This chapter follows a twofold approach in examining this knowledge project designed to lead China towards a more glorious future. On the one hand it shows how, in terms of content, the Western affairs discourse with its emphasis on

⁶Rudolf Wagner, “Chinese Encyclopedic Works 1840–1937, their Japanese and Western Models and Sources. Continuously updated Metadata for the Database HEIDENC,” lists 25 new publications and reprints for the year 1901 against 3 in 1900.

⁷On publication peaks see Rudolf Wagner, “Wan Qing xinzheng yu xixue baike quanshu” 晚清新政與西學百科全書 [The late Qing ‘Reform of Governance’ and encyclopaedias of Western knowledge], in *Jindai Zhongguo de baike quanshu* 近代中國的百科全書 [Early modern Chinese encyclopaedias], eds. Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, Miliena 米列娜 [= Milena Doleželová-Velingerová] (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2007), 33–56. See also the graphic presentation in the “Introduction” for the present volume.

⁸“Nation” rather than “state” would perhaps be more to the point as a translation of the term *guo* 國, though some ambiguity remains that reflects the unsettled nature of the idea of the modern “nation-state.”

industry and trade became increasingly imbued with ideas of public welfare or “nourishing the people,” *yang min* 養民, and how both were finally integrated within the new scientific discourse of political economy. On the other hand it also examines how this process is situated within the formal context of the expansion and transformation of examination knowledge as it is revealed in the development of the encyclopaedia as a genre. This involves the transition from reference works for exam preparation, which were aimed at a relatively small group of people belonging to the scholarly elite, to compendia of general and even everyday knowledge, which were aimed at a broad urban citizenry.⁹ One of the key issues in this inquiry is the question of the role of the state in relation to the economy and its renegotiation in the process. One of the late Qing translations of the English term “political economy”, that is to say “the science of how to enrich the state,” *fuguo xue* 富國學, clearly shows that the state—in the sense of the modern nation-state—was meant to be a central force in the national economy. However, due to the abolition of the civil service examination system in 1905, which coincided with the sudden end of the production of this type of encyclopaedia and the demise of the dynasty in 1911, this renegotiation remained inconclusive. One could also argue that with the rise of a Chinese nationalist agenda the Manchu state itself had become a highly ambiguous issue, and that the Qing efforts towards a stronger state presence in the economy therefore became futile after the turn of the century.

New Examination Knowledge Vs. General Knowledge

Leafing through the voluminous compendia of Western or “new” knowledge, which were so popular during the last two decades of the Qing dynasty, the Shanxi scholar Liu Dapeng 劉大鵬 (1857–1942) might have had a point when he complained in 1908 that “it [discussions about Current Affairs in the newly established schools] is all about wealth and power and they do not speak about the proper relationships or principles at all. The whole aim of the system is to glorify the state and harm the people, and every aspect involves using the barbarian learning and changing China. It is terrible.”¹⁰ Reform policies and the ensuing changes in the educational system had created a huge market for publications that provided the “new knowledge” that

⁹ On this last point see Barbara Mittler and Catherine Yeh in this volume. The emphasis on examination knowledge here is not to suggest that there were no encyclopaedias of everyday knowledge in early modern China. But it seems that these represented a sphere of knowledge that was decidedly separated from the political knowledge discussed here. See, for example, Wu Huifang 吳蕙芳, *Wanbao quanshu: Ming Qing shiqi de minjian shenghuo shilu* 萬寶全書: 明清時期的民間生活實錄 [Wanbao quanshu: a truthful record of everyday life in the Ming and Qing periods] (Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishixi, 2001).

¹⁰ Henrietta Harrison, *The Man Awakened from Dream: One Man's Life in a North China Village 1857–1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 88, quoting Liu Dapeng's diary (*Tuixiangzhai riji*, ms., 1908/3/27).

was then required for the imperial examinations.¹¹ A wave of what one could call encyclopaedic writing began and drew on both indigenous and foreign models. *Bianleishu* 編類書 or “reference books arranged in categories” was the generic term the Chinese compilers and preface writers used to refer to the resulting compilations—variously called “complete compendium,” *daquan* 大全, “collected writings,” *congshu* 叢書, “general compendium,” *tongdian* 通典, “compendium arranged in categories,” *leidian* 類典, “comprehensive investigation,” *tongkao* 通考, and the like, following ancient usage. This was different from their Japanese predecessors who had given the name *Complete Compendium of the Hundred Branches of Knowledge*, *Hyakka zensho* 百科全書, to a translation project from the early 1870s and thereby coined a new term for the genre of encyclopaedia, which, as Douglas Reynolds has demonstrated, was not entirely new in the Japanese context.¹² The Chinese compilations were indeed somewhat different from their Japanese and English counterparts in the sense that they were meant to assemble exactly that particular kind of “new” or “Western” learning that was perceived to be the key to strengthening the nation. Therefore, the new knowledge was essentially perceived as political knowledge, and its importance was most evident in the civil service examinations. Well-known early works included the *Collection of Books of Western Learning [to Make the State] Rich and Powerful*, *Xixue fuqiang congshu* 西學富強叢書 (1896), and the *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs*, *Shiwu tongkao* 時務通考 (1897).¹³

Thus, the first purpose of these new compilations was to provide examination knowledge—that is, uncontested and shared knowledge. Liu Dapeng, for example, even though he strongly disapproved of these books, he still was interested in them because at that time he still sat the examinations.¹⁴ These compilations were produced by astute private publishers who had a good sense for the market although few of them were as alert as the Commercial Press when it came to reacting to and even anticipating quickly shifting market needs.¹⁵ This rather

¹¹ Lobbying for the introduction of Western learning into the classical curriculum began in the late 1860s after the Qing victory over the Taiping. Cf. Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 578–605.

¹² Cf. Douglas Reynolds in this volume. See also Zhong Shaohua 鍾少華, “Chulun Riben jindai baikequanshu” 初論日本近代百科全書 [A preliminary discussion on modern Japanese encyclopaedias], in *Riben yanjiu* 3(1995): 85–91.

¹³ Qilu zhuren 杞廬主人, the compiler of the *Shiwu tongkao* (Shanghai: Dianzhizhai, 1897), followed the older model of statecraft essay, *jingshiwen* 經世文, compilations, insofar as he assembled existing texts rather than commissioned new articles, while the *Xixue fuqiang congshu* seems to consist only of translations of Western textbooks.

¹⁴ Another telling example is a passage in a novel by Li Boyuan (1867–1906) that speaks of the importance of the “new knowledge” for exam preparation. Li Boyuan 李伯元, *Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史 [A short history of civilization], in *Li Boyuan quanji* 李伯元全集, ed. Xue Zhengxing 薛正興, 1: 236–263. (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1997).

¹⁵ In 1904, after the educational reforms, the Commercial Press shifted to textbooks for the new schools. Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 211–12 and passim.

ephemeral character meant that they were decidedly different from both the time-honored English encyclopaedias that were already well established and had a long publishing history reaching back into the early eighteenth century and from the Japanese encyclopaedias that had an equally long history. Up to 1911 when Huang Moxi's 黃摩西 encyclopaedic dictionary appeared,¹⁶ Timothy Richard's (1854–1919) *Handy Cyclopaedia*, Guangxue leibian 廣學類編 (1901), was perhaps the only attempt to produce a popular encyclopaedia of Western—in the sense of “general”—knowledge that would diverge from the exam aid model.¹⁷ It might have been roughly modeled on *Chambers's Information for the People*, which was probably the most popular English encyclopaedia of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ At least the inclusion of a variety of subjects that belong to a quite practical level of general knowledge might suggest this (e.g. household knowledge including how to wash bottles, get rid of ants and flies, and pull rings from one's finger, or leisure-related knowledge including horse races, hunting and fishing, and pets) although it was far from reaching the latter's quality and scope. In this sense the time-honored compendium of general knowledge called the *Collection of Texts and Illustrations. Old and New*, Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成 (1726), despite its disqualification by people like Yan Fu 嚴復 (1853–1921) who regarded it as inferior to the “modern” Western encyclopaedias,¹⁹ was probably nearer the Western model of an encyclopaedia than the new examination literature of Western knowledge. While the *Handy Cyclopaedia* was but a faint emulation of *Chambers's Information for the People*, the *Collection of Texts and Illustrations. Old and New* was perhaps the closest Chinese equivalent to *Chambers's Cyclopaedia* (1728) and other famous eighteenth-century encyclopaedia projects.²⁰ At least in one respect the new

¹⁶ See Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Chen Pingyuan in this volume.

¹⁷ This work was originally published by the Society for the Distribution of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, Guangxuehui 廣學會. Unfortunately, the 1903 Commercial Press reprint of Richard's work that was available to me does not have a preface.

¹⁸ *Chambers's Information for the People* was first published in 1835 in two volumes. It included chapters on a wealth of topics such as gardening and animal husbandry, the “preparation of food” and the “preservation of health,” “out-of-door recreations” and “indoor amusements,” history and religion, the arts, and the natural sciences. For further information on the publication history, see Douglas Reynolds' contribution to this volume.

¹⁹ Cf. Zhong Shaohua's discussion of Yan Fu's 1907 essay on encyclopaedias in his *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju: Zhong-Ri jindai baike quanshu yanjiu* 人類知識的新工具: 中日近代百科全書研究 [A new tool of human knowledge: A study of early modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1995), 17, 21. On this and other essays on the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, see also the study by Chen Pingyuan in the present volume.

²⁰ The full title of the two volume publication by Ephraim Chambers was: *Cyclopaedia: Or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences; Containing the Definitions of the Terms, and Accounts of the Things Signified thereby, in the Several Arts, Both Liberal and Mechanical, and the Several Sciences, Human and Divine: The Figures, Kinds, Properties, and Uses, of Things Natural and Artificial: The Rise, Progress and State of Things Ecclesiastical, Civil, Military, and Commercial: With the Several Systems, Sects, Opinions, etc., among Philosophers, Divines, Mathematicians, Physicians, Antiquaries, Criticks, etc. The Whole Intended as a Course of Antient and Modern Learning. Compiled from the best Authors, Dictionaries, Journals, Memoirs, Transactions, Ephe-merides, etc. in Several Languages.*

Chinese compilations were quite similar to their Western counterparts: they were generally not the place for debates over new contested knowledge. Their purpose was to assemble standard knowledge and to make it available for convenient reference—even to provide commonplaces.²¹ The method of compilation was often simply to put together what had already been published in the periodical press, translations, and other publications, or what was discussed in scholarly circles.²² Although here again the English encyclopaedias would have had the advantage of being more firmly established and thus more frequently and competently updated.

In the case of the economic thought of late nineteenth-century England, the free trade ideas of the Smithian variant and its derivatives were doubtless the dominating theory, and this is also what we most commonly find in the Chinese literature on the topic. New ideas continued to be discussed in the periodical press. Here the introduction of socialist theories is a good example. The flexible and quickly reacting newspapers and magazines were the place where the crucial things happened.²³ In monograph publications and encyclopaedias the discussion of socialist ideas remained the rare exception. Thus, while the earlier modern English encyclopaedias were aimed at the “general advancement” of an educated, affluent middle class, Chinese encyclopaedic writing around the turn of the twentieth century was creating and catering to a new examination elite. The popularization of knowledge was also involved to a certain extent, but I would suggest that before the successful implementation of a modern school system, which finally brought about the demise of the old examination elite, and the subsequent publication of the new encyclopaedic dictionaries and new types of encyclopaedias like the *Encyclopaedia for Daily Use*, *Rirong baike quanshu* 日用百科全書, during the Republican period,²⁴ this effect remained relatively limited.

Political Economy in English Encyclopaedias

Ephraim Chambers’s *Cyclopaedia* might be considered the father of the early modern English encyclopaedias; it was firmly anchored within England’s high society. The first edition included a list of approximately 400 subscribers who represented a good part of the national elite, and was very properly dedicated to

²¹ Richard Yeo, “Ephraim Chambers’s *Cyclopaedia* (1728) and the tradition of commonplaces,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, no. 1 (1996): 157–175.

²² See Rudolf Wagner in this volume.

²³ See Martin Bernal, *Chinese Socialism to 1907* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).

²⁴ The *Rirong baike quanshu* 日用百科全書 [Parallel title: *Cyclopaedia for Daily Use*] was first published by the Commercial Press in 1919. In Japan, such works were already available earlier (*Nichiyō hyakka zensho* 日用百科全書 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1895–1900). See <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/>). For the Chinese work, see the contributions by Catherine Yeh and Barbara Mittler in this volume.

the king. Numerous editions followed throughout the eighteenth century. The project, however, seems to have been discontinued after 1820.²⁵ Instead, by the early nineteenth century there was a demand for a shorter and more popular compendium of knowledge, which appeared in 1834 as *Chambers's Information for the People* in 2 volumes. This work, the first English encyclopaedia that was made available in a Japanese translation,²⁶ was in its fifth and substantially revised edition in 1874. The preface declares:

The cheapness of the work, its novelty, and the varied mass of useful knowledge which was embraced rendered it a popular favourite. . . . everything is given that is requisite for a *generally well informed man* in the less highly educated portions of society, and nothing omitted appertaining to intellectual cultivation, excepting subjects of professional or local interest. It will be understood, then, that the INFORMATION FOR THE PEOPLE is not an encyclopaedia, in the comprehensive meaning of the word, but rather one embracing only the more important departments of general knowledge. The ruling object, indeed, has been to afford the means of *self-education*, and to introduce into the mind, thus liberated and expanded, a craving after still further advancement.²⁷

Thus, the typical nineteenth-century English encyclopaedia—or at least the one that was most favorably received in Japan—was explicitly aimed at the “*generally well informed man* in the less highly educated portions of society,” it was meant to educate the people and thus, implicitly, to improve the state of the polity and enhance the English nation.²⁸

Nevertheless, the distinction between what is “for the people” and “not an encyclopaedia, in the comprehensive meaning of the word” and the real thing for the truly educated somehow remained. Though quality is writ large in *Information for the People*, it is even more emphasized in its full-fledged counterpart, *Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge* (1860–1868).²⁹

²⁵ The first edition of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* appeared in two huge volumes (London, 1728). Revised and amended editions were published in 1738, 1741, 1751–2, all in two volumes. Later editions in 5 volumes were compiled by Abraham Rees between 1778 and 1891, and a final edition in 39 volumes was published in 1819–1820. My sincere thanks to Douglas Reynolds who alerted me to the fact that the eighteenth-century *Cyclopaedia* and the nineteenth-century *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* are two distinct publications.

²⁶ This was the translation project of the 1870s mentioned above. See the study by Douglas Reynolds in this volume.

²⁷ “Preface,” in *Chambers's Information for the People* (London: W&R. Chambers, 1874). Italics and small capitals in the original.

²⁸ The table of contents reflects this general outlook quite well. It has a bit of everything, including a wealth of everyday knowledge like cooking and gardening—markedly practical aspects, which the earlier more elitist compendia lacked. It might also be worth noting that in the *Cyclopaedia* as well as in *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* (see footnote 29 below) the material is organized in an alphabetical order; whereas *Chambers's Information for the People* is presented in topically arranged chapters.

²⁹ The full title of the first edition prepared by Andrew Findlater is *Chambers's Encyclopaedia: a Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People, Illustrated with Maps and Numerous Wood Engravings*. It was compiled “on the basis of the latest edition of the German Conversations Lexicon.” This referred to the “Brockhaus,” the *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyklopädie für die*

The editor is eager to inform his readers that “nearly a 1,000 authors—many of them of the first eminence, and all specially qualified for their work—have contributed,” and he seeks to educate his readers about what an encyclopaedia is:

An encyclopaedia is by no means, as has been frequently assumed ever since the name or the thing was known, a dry and formless catalogue of disjointed or chaotic facts, whose sole claim to existence lies in its being handy for reference and moderately correct. On the contrary, a well arranged encyclopaedia is a microcosm, a conspectus of the universe, a more or less effective view of ‘the proficience and advancement of learning divine and human,’ to use Bacon’s ambitious phrase. It is a stocktaking in almost every department of science, and should be even less remarkable for its multifariousness and fullness than for the proportion, interdependence, and due subordination of parts.³⁰

The most conspicuous marker of this “interdependence” is the many internal references that are nearly completely absent in the corresponding Chinese publications. As opposed to the *Information for the People*, this encyclopaedia is alphabetically arranged. Each of the ten volumes starts with a one-page list of the more important articles, indicating the respective authors (e.g. Professor James Legge of Oxford for articles on “Peking,” “China,” “Confucianism,” etc.). At the end of volume 10 is an “Index of subjects which have no special articles, or on which further information is given under other headings” (e.g. cowpox => vaccination; economics => political economy; exorcism => witchcraft; vulcanists => geology). But there is more internal referencing that allows for a reading strategy that reminds one of the functions of hyperlinks in electronic documents. The article “political economy” for example (vol. 8, 287–291) refers to other articles that are relevant to the subject, to wit “Banking, Bounty, Capital, Communism, Consumption, Cooperation, Corn Laws, Division of Labour, Exchange, Free Trade, Labour, Land Laws, Money, Monopoly, Protection, Rent, Socialism [‘The competitive system is the latest form of the struggle for existence, and socialism is the latest theory for its regulation.’], Tax, Trade-Unions, and Wages, and the articles on the more important economic thinkers Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, Mill, Carey, Lasalle, Marx, etc.” If we then go to the article on “Socialism” (vol. 9, 541–546) we are further referred to “Communism, Cooperation, Evolution, Friendly Societies, George (Henry), International, Knights of Labour, Lasalle, Marx, Nihilism, Peasant Proprietorship, Profit-Sharing, Trade-Unions etc.” Apart from this, each article has a substantial list of bibliographical references.³¹ Moreover, the legitimate existence of contradicting views is occasionally emphasized. The article on “Protection” refers to the article on “Free trade” indicating that this is “written from the opposite

gebildeten Stände that was first published in Leipzig in 1796–1806 as *Conversations-Lexicon mit vorzüglicher Rücksicht auf die gegenwärtigen Zeiten*.

³⁰ David Patrick, “Editorial note,” in *Chambers’s encyclopaedia: A dictionary of universal knowledge*, new edition, 10 vols. (London and Edinburgh: W&R. Chambers, 1901), vol. 10.

³¹ In the case of “political economy” the list starts with Adam Smith’s *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. It includes the most important English, German, and French titles of the time on the subject like J.S. Mill’s *Principles of Political Economy*, but also “manuals and smaller works,” such as Henry Fawcett’s *Manual of Political Economy* and Mrs. Millicent Fawcett’s *Political Economy for Beginners*. These observations are based on the 1901 edition.

point of view.” All these characteristics are conspicuously absent from the *Information for the People*.

The article on political economy in *Information for the People*, which was available in a Japanese translation in 1882,³² gives a concise summary of the state of the new discipline by the mid-nineteenth century. It begins with a definition (“Political economy is a social science, having for its subject the laws of wealth, and more especially, the laws of the production, exchange, and distinction of commodities possessing exchangeable value.”), then gives a “General view of the subject” (explaining the central concepts of value and exchangeable values, products of nature, labor, and capital), and then deals in detail with “Consumption,” “Production,” “Exchange,” and “Distribution.”³³ The approach of the full-fledged *Encyclopaedia* is quite different. It is pronouncedly more historically minded, and even though—like the former, though more explicitly—it is effectively a praise of Adam Smith (“... there was no real science of political economy until it was constructed by Adam Smith and his forerunners in France in the eighteenth century”),³⁴ it is much more profound, giving an overview of the state of the art that includes competing views and points to the problems that need to be addressed. Instead of giving one valid definition, it starts off with definitions in the plural from whence we learn that the definition above is no more and no less than “the definition most generally accepted in England.” This is followed by evidence for the first use of the term in the present meaning (in 1615 in a French treatise on political economy). Then the new discipline is situated within the general system of knowledge (“The science of political economy is a branch of the study of man.”). Finally, this is followed by a survey of the history of the discipline, covering the ancient (Greek and Rome, with the perennial classics Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon, and the Romans attested as having “no special interest or originality,” though they are credited with having given “legal form to the prevalent ideas of property”), medieval (nothing that could be called “scientific,” though the influence of the Christian teaching is highly valued, as it is thought to have brought a “correction of the harsh and cruel ideas of property of the Roman world by the spiritual ethics of Christianity”), and modern periods (centralized monarchies, monetization of the economy, rise of the colonial system, expansion of commerce, growth of manufacture, development of the banking system, etc.). The latter saw freedom as the “keynote to a new way of thinking in France and England.” The next sections are on the

³² The article, translated as *Keizairon* 経済論, appeared in 1882 in two single volumes. It is accessible on the National Diet Library website. <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/>. A three-volume commercial reprint of the *Encyclopaedia* appeared 2 years later prepared by the Maruzen shōsha 丸善商社. The article on political economy is in volume 3. For the table of contents, see the National Diet Library website.

³³ “Political Economy,” in *Chambers’s Information for the People*, 5th ed., 1874, 2: 465–480. The definition of the subject in the 4th edition was perhaps more vivid: “Political economy is the science which teaches the manner in which nations and individuals acquire wealth.”

³⁴ T. Kirkup on “Political Economy,” in *Chambers’s Encyclopaedia*, new ed., 1901, 8: 287–291. The related article on “Socialism” was written by the same author.

important schools: Adam Smith and his idea of “natural liberty,” and the Historical School of political economy, the present condition of the subject (“unsettled and unsatisfactory”), and a conclusion, followed by the bibliographical references mentioned above. Rousseau, Malthus, Ricardo, Mill, and (for the importance of the “national character”) the German List and the American Carey are discussed in some detail. In addition, five reasons for the present unsatisfactory state of affairs are given: (1) The “greatly improved study of history,” including the comparative study of institutions, that “has thrown entirely new light on the growth and working of economic forces;” (2) The “general acceptance of the theory of evolution,” which enhanced the understanding of what Smith’s ideas “really meant” (here the opposition between the English competitive system and the continental protective systems are discussed.); (3) The Industrial Revolution, pointing out that *The Wealth of Nations* was published in the very year when Watt produced the first effective steam-engine (1776); (4) The growth of democracy; and (5) The increasing prominence of the social question.

How was this knowledge received in China and how did it fit into the Chinese environment? How was the new discipline dealt with in Chinese encyclopaedic writing? We will deal with these questions in the reverse order.

“Enrich the Nation and Nourish the People”: The Recategorization of Knowledge

Liu Dapeng was right when he felt that “to enrich the state and strengthen the army” were the notions that occupied the minds of those who had authored these publications. The prefaces clearly reveal this. In his preface to the *Collection of Books of Western Learning [to Make the State] Rich and Powerful*, Xixue fuqiang congshu 西學富強叢書 (1896), Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901), who was full of praise for the political institutions of the West that “do not stick to the ancient [Chinese] ways to the letter but still are in accord with their spirit” 不泥於古而暗合於古, sees the natural sciences and mathematics as the key fields of knowledge that have enabled the Western nations to achieve wealth and power.³⁵ After China’s traumatic defeat by Japan he hoped to use these new Western arts to help the emperor wash away the humiliation. However, his vision seems to have been limited to the introduction of technological innovations. It implies not much more than a continuation of the earlier Western affairs talk about official publishing houses, railways, the modernization of the mining industry, new military

³⁵ He is as straightforward as one possibly could be: “The Western countries have achieved their wealth and power with the help of the natural sciences and mathematics” (泰西諸國以格致算學致富強). “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Xixue fuqiang congshu* 西學富強叢書, comp. Zhang Yinhan 張蔭桓 (Shanghai: Hongwen, 1896).

academies, and language schools.³⁶ Lesser preface writers like Qilu zhuren 杞廬主人 were more careful to situate their projects within a tradition of reference books for affairs of government that reached back to the thirteenth-century *Comprehensive Reference on Records and Documents*, Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考, and clearly regarded his work as an aid for government in the art of “ordering the world and saving the people” (*jingji* 經濟 used in the old sense of *jingshi jimin* 經世濟民).³⁷ In terms of content, however, it is very much akin to Li Hongzhang’s project. A couple of years later in his preface to the *Great Book Collection of New Knowledge*, Xinxue da congshu 新學大叢書 (1903), Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1906), who had also written the calligraphy on the title page of the *Collection of Books of Western Learning [to Make the Nation] Rich and Powerful*, belittled these earlier flagships of the new examination literature as excessively voluminous and of questionable quality. He considered their contents to be carelessly chosen and their translations to be inferior. His intention was, of course, to praise the new publication, but regardless of the actual contents of the compilation of “new learning”, *xinxue* 新學, its outlook, at least insofar as the preface is an accurate depiction thereof, had not really changed. The concern was still centered on cultivating talent for the public service and on achieving wealth and power, although it is unclear whether this was for the Qing state or the Chinese nation.³⁸

In actuality, by the time Liu Dapeng wrote his diary entry deploring the utilitarianism of Western learning as opposed to the moral unity of government and the Confucian teachings in China, the emphasis had long since shifted from the “enrich the state and strengthen the army” slogan of the Western affairs era to the “enrich the nation and nourish the people”, *fuguo yangmin* 富國養民, formula that had accompanied the introduction of the Western notion of political economy into the Chinese political discourse since the late 1870s. Political economy was a new branch of knowledge that operated on a much broader basis than any version of the late nineteenth-century “wealth and power” discourse. Moreover, even though it was not a moral teaching, political economists were perfectly aware of the ethical

³⁶ However, Zhang Yinhan in his “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial principles] has a slightly different emphasis, pointing to the importance of the people as the basis of a nation’s wealth: “They have to be taught the [necessary] technical knowledge, so that they are able to make a living on their own” (必教之藝,使各有自主謀生之權). The preface to the *Wanguo jinzheng kaolue* 萬國近政考略 [An investigation of the recent policies of all nations] written in the same year is equally unambiguous about its intention to achieve wealth and power, and there are more examples.

³⁷ Qilu zhuren 杞廬主人, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Shiwu tongkao* 時務通考, comp. Qilu zhuren (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1897), 1b.

³⁸ “If those who are aspiring to the new learning get this [book] to strive for it, so that they can, on the basis of self cultivation and the establishment of their character, expand to include the strategies to enrich the state and strengthen the army, and splendidly become useful talents for the state, in order to support the Son of Heaven above in his good intention to strive for the reform of government, how could then the benefit of this book be meager!” (有志新學者,得此以擴求之,庶能以修身立品之基,擴為富國強兵之策,蔚為國家有用之才,以上副聖天子求治維新之至意,則是書獲益豈淺鮮哉). Yu Yue 俞樾, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Xinxue da congshu* 新學大叢書 (Shanghai: Jishan qiaoji shuju, 1903), 1b.

dimension of their subject. Long before Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* appeared (1776), he had published his *Moral Sentiment* (1759), the operative concept of which, according to Himmelfarb, was “sympathy,” and Smith had fought a lifelong struggle to reconcile the one with the other.³⁹ In nineteenth-century Chinese discussions on the subject, however, this dimension was entirely left out. After it was brought back in the form of a new discourse on “nourishing the people” during the North-China Famine of 1876–1879, even the mind of a scholar like Yu Yue was so steeped in his habitual rhetoric that he did not acknowledge this shift towards a much more comprehensive system of knowledge.⁴⁰ This new emphasis on the old issue of nourishing the people (which is but one example showing this new trend) is important insofar as it redirected public attention from the abstract humiliation by a foreign army (abstract in the sense that comparatively few people had directly experienced it) to the quite real and pervasive economic plight of a large part of China’s population.

People like Liu Dapeng could have seen the singular fixation on wealth and power as a Western affairs aberration from former virtues. It is true that even though more sophisticated theories had been available since the late 1870s, the major turning point came about only around the year 1900 during the period of the Boxer debacle and the subsequent announcement of the Reform of Governance. Only then could the new discipline become a part of the established body of knowledge and become more visible through a reorganization of the system of knowledge and the use of new terms imported from Japan. The terms *fuguo* and *yangmin* probably appeared together for the first time in a book title in 1878 when a Chinese translation of William Stanley Jevons’ *The Theory of Political Economy* (1871) was published as *A Plan to Enrich the Nation and Nourish the People*, *Fuguo yangmin ce* 富國養民策, by the Maritime Customs under the auspices of Robert Hart and Joseph Edkins.⁴¹ The book was reprinted and thus became more

³⁹ Gertrude Himmelfarb, “Adam Smith: Political Economy as Moral Philosophy,” in *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1984), 42–63, 48.

⁴⁰ While the *Xixue fuqiang congshu* deals only with mathematics and the natural sciences as the means to achieve wealth and power, the *Xinxue da congshu* covers a much broader range of knowledge. It includes the following main categories: “Politics and Law,” Zhengfa 政法 (including chapters on politics, law, government, parliament, local self-government, international law and sovereignty), “Finances,” Licai 理財 (political economy, government finances, budgeting, currency, trade, and taxes), “Military Science,” Bingxue 兵學, “Culture,” Wenxue 文學 (history, chronology, geography, literature and language), “Philosophy,” Zhexue 哲學 (religion, doctrine, psychology, ethics, etc.), “Natural sciences,” Gezhi 格致 (mathematics, astronomy, meteorology, physics, chemistry, biology, etc.), “Education,” Jiaoyu 教育, “Trade,” Shangye 商業, “Agriculture,” Nongxue 農學, and “Industry,” Gongyi 工藝.

⁴¹ William Stanley Jevons, *The Theory of Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1871); translated as Zhe-fen-si 哲分斯 (Jevons), *Fuguo yangmin ce* 富國養民策 (1878). At about the same time final-year students at the Language Institute Tongwenguan 通文館 in Beijing, under the auspices of W.A.P. Martin, trained their translation skills with Henry Fawcett’s *Manual of Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1863). See Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui* 西學東漸與晚清社會 [English title: Dissemination of Western Knowledge and the Late Qing Society] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1994), 305. The translation by Wang Fengzao 汪鳳藻 was published as *Fuguo ce* 富國策 [Strategies to enrich the nation] first by the

easily accessible in 1885 as part of Edkins's *Sixteen Works of Basic Western Learning*, *Xixue qimeng shiliu zhong* 西學啓蒙十六種; finally, it was made part of the new canon of Western learning when it was included in the *Collection of Works on Western Governance*, *Xizheng congshu* 西政叢書, in 1897.⁴²

In the various compilations of statecraft writings, *jingshi wenbian* 經世文編 (now available as searchable databases on the Academia Sinica website) the compound *fuguo yangmin* only appears in writings from the reform period of the late 1890s by authors like Kang Youwei 康有爲 (1858–1927), Wen Tingshi 文廷式 (1856–1904), and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929). All were in close contact with Timothy Richard, the Baptist missionary famous for his famine relief work and subsequent commitment to China's reform politics.⁴³ The early promotion of this formula can be attributed to him. He saw the alleviation of poverty and the end of the recurring famines, which subjected China's population to immense suffering, as the solution to the nation's problems. He was tireless in writing articles and publishing his views in the periodical press that reached a much wider audience than the translated books. The use of the term *yangmin* is most conspicuous in his *New Essays on Current Affairs*, *Shishi xinlun* 時事新論 (1894), a collection of articles, most of which had first appeared in the periodical press.⁴⁴ He propagated vigorously what he called the “new learning to enrich the people,” *fumin xinxue* 富民新學, though in an attempt to make his views acceptable for a scholar-official audience he also emphasized that “when Kongzi discussed the essence of government he said essentially the same.”⁴⁵ 孔子論政要亦不外乎此也

While only one chapter in this collection is explicitly called “Nourishing the people”—it explains how “Western methods” 西法 can improve the people's

Tongwenguan (1880) and then by the American Presbyterian Mission Press 美華書館 in Shanghai (1882). Chen Chi's 陳熾 *Xu fuguoce* 續富國策 [Sequel to *Strategies to Enrich the Nation*] was published in 1897 in *Qiuziqiang zhai zhuren* 求自強齋主人, comp., *Xizheng congshu* 西政叢書 [Collection of works on Western governance], (Shanghai: Shenji shuzhuang, 1897).

⁴² Ai Yuese 艾約瑟 [Joseph Edkins], trans., *Xixue qimeng shiliu zhong* 西學啓蒙十六種 (Shanghai: Tushu jicheng, 1895). *Qiuziqiang zhai zhuren* 求自強齋主人, comp., *Xizheng congshu* 西政叢書 [Collection of works on Western governance], (Shanghai: Shenji shuzhuang, 1897).

⁴³ *Scripta Serica*, Hanji dianzi wenxian 漢籍電子文獻, <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/%7Etdbproj/handy1/> (8.9.2007).

⁴⁴ In this respect it is similar to the *Jiwen leibian* 記聞類編 [A Record of News Arranged in Categories], a collection of *Shenbao* 申報 editorials published in 1877, but without the poetry and anecdotal materials. For a description of the contents of that collection see my “Preparing the Ground for Revolutionary Discourse.” For further analysis, see the study by Natascha Gentz in this volume. Richard had propagated his ideas ever since his experience of the North-China Famine in the late 1870s, as editor-in-chief of the *Tianjin Times*, *Shibao* 時報 (1890–1891), as contributor to the *Review of the Times*, *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報, and finally as secretary of the Society for the Distribution of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese.

⁴⁵ See the prefaces to the first and second printing of Li Timotai 李提摩泰 [=Timothy Richard], comp. *Shishi xinlun* 時事新論 [New essays on current affairs], 12 j. (Shanghai: Guangxuehui, 1894). I would like to thank Ivo Amelung for providing a copy of this text. Richard's compilation also included all the maps and charts that were originally published in the *Tianjin Times*. These are not included in the copy that was made available to me, although the table of contents lists them all.

livelihood⁴⁶—many articles in the other chapters are also related to that same issue, and its importance for the overall aim to achieve wealth and power is quite clear. For example, the chapter on “Foreign Countries,” Waiguo 外國, deals with the “opening of Africa” by the Western nations 歐洲各國開闢非洲考, and why Africa’s failure to nourish her people led to the loss of her territory; the chapter on “Railway-Building,” Zhu lu 築路, explains why the railways were absolutely crucial for famine relief, even more important than granaries; and the chapter on “The New Sciences,” Xinxue 新學, is actually about the “new science to nourish the people,” yangmin xinxue 養民新學, which should be examined by scholars and was therefore a special subject in Western studies that should be introduced into the classical curriculum. There seems to have been a substantial amount of interest in this volume, as a second printing appeared within one year. The defeat by Japan certainly contributed to this success. In Richard’s case there is ample evidence that he believed the way to strengthen the nation was not by equipping the army and wiping out the shame of military defeat, but by giving the people the means to subsist, and still more, to live in dignity and wipe out the shame of hunger and starvation. This seems to have made an impression on the literati and officials with whom he was acquainted.⁴⁷ Two years later, after the Chinese defeat in the Sino-Japanese war, Richard published his ideas again, this time under the title *Proposals for a Reform of Governance*, Xinzheng ce 新政策. This might have been the first time that the term xinzheng 新政—Reform of Governance—appeared in a Chinese book title in this period; once again, “to nurture the people” stood out as a primary aim.⁴⁸

Given the prominence of texts on the “administration of famine,” huangzheng 荒政, in Qing statecraft literature—five chapters in Wei Yuan’s 魏源 (1794–1857) *Comprehensive Collection of Statecraft Essays of our August*

⁴⁶ The categories in *Shishi xinlun* are: “National Politics,” Guozheng 國政 (with articles on the rise of Manchuria, and why Korea should seek China’s protection, etc.), “Foreign Countries,” Waiguo 外國 (why Asian peoples should not yield to Russian dominance, articles on Russia and Korea, Germany, France and England, Burma, Annam, and on a trip to Tibet), “Sciences,” Gexue 格學, “Mining,” Kuangwu 礦務 (Shanxi), “Trade,” Tongshang 通商 (the importance of transport infrastructure), “Railway-Building,” Zhu lu 築路, “Nourishing the People,” Yangmin 養民, “New Learning,” Xinxue 新學, “Sources of Profit,” Liyuan 利源 (e.g. banking and finance, and the postal service), “Military Affairs,” Junwu 軍務 (mainly on the marine), “Religion,” Jiaowu 教務 (how to save the world by Christianity), “Miscellaneous Learning,” Zaxue 雜學 (on balloons, electricity, fossil fuels, cement, sai-men-de-tu 塞門德土, steel production, medicine, and taxes).

⁴⁷ Timothy Richard, *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1916), 232–235. Obviously there is quite a deal of self-righteousness in Richard’s presentation of his achievements. Other publishers did similar things though their impact is generally less well known since they received less publicity. The work of the Guangxuehui made a huge difference. One important alternative example is the *Yishibao* [English title: Social Welfare] published by the Jesuit press in Xujiahui. Cf. Kurtz, “Messenger of the Sacred Heart: Li Wenyu (1840–1911) and Jesuit Publishing in Late Qing Shanghai,” in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Print and Publishing Culture in Transition*, eds. Cynthia J. Brockaw and Christopher A. Reed (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 81–110.

⁴⁸ Li Timotai 李提摩泰 [=Timothy Richard], *Xinzheng ce* 新政策 [Proposals for a reform of governance] (Shanghai: Guangxuehui, 1896). I am again most grateful to Douglas Reynolds, who brought this publication to my attention.

Dynasty, Huangchao jingshi wenbian 皇朝經世文編 (1827), are devoted to famine relief—the emphasis on “nourishing the people” hardly seems to have been something new. Economic politics in the eighteenth century were dominated by the “assumption that the state and its agents should take an activist approach in working for the people’s economic well-being.”⁴⁹ Thus, “nourishing the people” was not just a prominent feature of political rhetoric, it also was a prime concern of political practice and has even been called the “single most important policy area in Qing China.”⁵⁰ Yet this explanation is a simple one: First, it might be true to a certain extent that the preoccupation with famine relief had been pushed into the background, especially during the period of Western affairs politics in the latter half of the nineteenth century. But more importantly, famine relief measures were different from the new version of “nourishing the people” that occupied the minds of reformers. Relief policies had always been described as an “inferior strategy,” *xia ce* 下策, an indication of the failure of preventive measures. The “administration of famine” was an emergency policy, designed to avoid widespread unrest and make reconstruction possible, rather than a positive and long-term approach designed to promote production and create value in a more fundamental and sustainable way. For Richard and his peers (the people close to the Society for the Distribution of Christian and General Knowledge) “nourishing the people” was a means to help the people help themselves. The most crucial point in this was probably the fundamentally changed role of the state. This new approach was informed by the experience of Western modernity and underpinned by recent theories developed by Western economic thinkers. In their usage it was a translation of the new term “political economy,” as the translation of Jevons’ textbook shows, and had little to do with famine relief measures.

Consequently, the “administration of famine” lost its importance in post-1900 political discourse. According to the new theory, famine relief would no longer exist because it would no longer be necessary. *Statecraft Essays from Our August Dynasty. Third Collection*, Huangchao jingshiwen san bian 皇朝經世文三編 (1898),⁵¹ does not have a chapter on famine relief, but many of Richard’s writings appear instead under the chapter heading “Nourishing the people.” The category “Famine Relief,” *Jiuhuang* 救荒, has entirely disappeared from the *New Collection of Statecraft Essays from our August Dynasty*, Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian 皇朝經世文新編 (1898/1901),⁵² the *Collection of Statecraft Essays from our*

⁴⁹ Helen Dunstan, *Conflicting Counsels to Confuse the Age: A Documentary Study of the Political Economy in Qing China, 1644–1840* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1996), 19.

⁵⁰ The quoted sentence continues: “. . .at least prior to the unprecedented military and cultural threat presented by the West.” William T. Rowe, *Saving the World: Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 155.

⁵¹ Chen Zhongyi 陳忠倚, *Huangchao jingshi wen san bian* 皇朝經世文三編 (Shanghai: Baowen shuju, 1898).

⁵² Mai Zhonghua 麥仲華, *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian* 皇朝經世文新編 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1898).

August Dynasty. Fifth Set, Wu ji 五集 (1902),⁵³ and from the *Sequel to the New Collection*, Xinbian xuji 新編續集 (1902).⁵⁴ A search for writings on famine relief in the various new encyclopaedias equally results only in a relatively small number of relevant texts compared with the large number of publications.⁵⁵ Some of them simply reproduced earlier writings on famine relief similar to what we can find in the statecraft compilations. The *Comprehensive Classified Compilation on Contemporary Affairs*, Fenlei shiwu tongzuan 分類時務通纂 (1902), for example, has chapters on yangmin as well as on huangzheng. Like the statecraft compilations these belong to the “Revenue Department,” Hubu 戶部, and their contents are in no way different because they reprint many of the same texts including memorials and regulations of welfare institutions and some of the standard handbook texts on famine relief.⁵⁶ The same applies to the *Comprehensive Compilation of Governance and Technical Learning of the World*, Wuzhou zhengyi congbian 五洲政藝叢編 (1902), which in addition includes some of Richard’s writings.⁵⁷ Others follow the trend of the times and discuss the “new methods to nourish the people,” or straightforwardly engage with the theory of political economy and Western expansionism that looms behind it. We will return to these later.

When the first encyclopaedias of Western knowledge appeared they were quite close in spirit to the existing statecraft compilations and were clearly meant as an aid for government rather than for the general advancement of the modestly educated middle class as was the case, for example, with *Chambers’s Information for the People*. Liu Dapeng complained that the obsession with the search for national wealth and power and the lack of a striving for kingly rule and personal cultivation was the driving force behind both the later compilations of statecraft literature and the publication of the new encyclopaedic works of Western knowledge during the same years. Although published privately they were well within the

⁵³ Qiushizhai 求是齋, *Huangchao jingshi wenbian wu ji* 皇朝經世文編五集 (Shanghai: Yijin shi, 1902).

⁵⁴ Gan Han 甘韓, *Huangchao jingshi wen xinbian xuji* 皇朝經世文新編續集 (Shanghai: (?), 1902).

⁵⁵ The strategy was to identify publications that included chapters with more general arguments on how to “enrich the state and nourish the people,” (i.e. chapters with titles such as *huangzheng*, *yangmin*, and *jingji*) while ignoring more specific articles in chapters on trade, monetary policies, taxation, monopolies, etc.

⁵⁶ The 300 *juan* of the *Fenlei shiwu tongzuan* are organized into the following six sections: (1) “Domestic Affairs,” Neizheng 內政, (2) “Diplomacy,” Waijiao 外交, (3) “Finances,” Licai 理財, (4) “Military Affairs,” Jingwu 經武, (5) “Natural Sciences,” Gewu 格物, and (6) “Industry,” Kaogong 考工. The first section includes a general category called “Political system,” Zhengti 政體 and then six further categories organized according to the Six Boards of the Qing government, like the *Huangchao jingshi wenbian*.

⁵⁷ *Wuzhou zhengyi congbian* 五洲政藝叢編 (Shanghai: Hongbao shuju, 1902). Here the chapters *yangmin* (*juan*73) and *huangzheng* (*juan* 102) are part of the category “Domestic Affairs,” Neizheng 內政.

scope of the official reform policies carried out during the last decade of Qing rule.⁵⁸

After 1900 the term *yangmin* was largely replaced by the neologism *jingji* imported from Japan. By that time the new term not only appeared in Chinese translations of Japanese encyclopaedias like *Outline of Political Economy*, *Jingji fanlun* 經濟汎論 (1902),⁵⁹ but also in the titles of updated compilations of statecraft writings, such as the *Compilation of Writings on Political Economy from our August Dynasty*, *Huangchao jingji wenbian* 皇朝經濟文編 (1901).⁶⁰ But perhaps most conspicuously it appeared in Okamoto Kansuke's *Explorations into the Origins of Western Learning* (mentioned above) and in the *Encyclopaedia of New Learning*, now definitely carrying this new meaning. Like these new encyclopaedic works, the later statecraft compilations adopted an entirely new classification of knowledge. One of the most obvious characteristics is that the issues that were formerly neatly assembled under the heading "Revenue and Population Politics," *Huzheng* 戶政, were now scattered throughout different sections. One of the purposes of the *Comprehensive Compilation of Writings on Statecraft from our Dynasty*, *Huangchao jingshiwen tongbian* 皇朝經世文統編 (1901),⁶¹ for example, seems to have been to reorganize the old material into new categories. Everything related to agriculture now appeared under the category "Geography," *Diyu* 地輿, "Nourishing the People," *Yangmin* 養民, and "Relieving Famine," *Jiuhuang* 救荒, belonged to "Domestic Affairs," *Neizheng* 內政; "Tribute Grain Transport," *Caoyun* 漕運, and "Granaries," *Cangchu* 倉儲, belonged to "Finances," *Licai* 理財. All of these would have formerly been categorized under "Revenue and Population Politics"—the branch of government concerned with state income—in He Changling's and subsequent "old-style" statecraft compilations. To some extent this re-categorization of knowledge reflects the changes that came with the

⁵⁸ In this respect it seems debatable whether Zhong Shaohua's neat separation of the *jingshi* literature and the encyclopaedias of Western knowledge can be maintained. See his "Lun Qing mo 'xin xue'" 論清末'新學' [On the 'new learning' of the late Qing period], in *Jinqu ji: Zhong Shaohua wencun* 進取集: 鍾少華文存 [Forging ahead: Collected works by Zhong Shaohua] (Beijing: Guoji guangbo, 1998), 171–184. For a juxtaposition of the characteristics of *jingshiwen* and *baiké quanshu* see Zhong Shaohua, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju*, 96–104. There is also an overlap regarding the people involved: the *Taixi yixue tongkao* 泰西藝學通考 [Comprehensive examination of Western technical learning] (Shanghai: Hongbao, 1901), for example, was compiled by He Liangdong 何良棟, the same man who had also published the *Huangchao jingshi wenbian wu ji* 皇朝經世文編五集 (1902). Liang Qichao, who was one of the major figures behind the *Great Encyclopaedia of New Learning* in 1903, also wrote a preface to the *Huangchao jingshi wen xin bian* 皇朝經世文新編 in 1898.

⁵⁹ Ikebukuro Hidetarō 池袋秀太郎, *Jingji fanlun* 經濟汎論, translated as *juan 43* in *Bian yi putong jiaoyu baiké quanshu* 編譯普通教育百科全書, eds. trans. Fan Diji 范迪吉 *et al.* (Shanghai: Huiwen xueshe, 1903).

⁶⁰ Qiuziqiangzhai zhuren 求自彊齋主人, ed., *Huangchao jingji wenbian* 皇朝經濟文編 (Shanghai: Shenji shuzhuang, 1901).

⁶¹ Shao Zhitang 邵之棠, comp., *Huangchao jingshi wen tongbian* 皇朝經世文統編 (Shanghai: Baoshanzhai, 1901).

examination reforms in 1902⁶² and even the reorganization of the government that came together with the Reform of Governance. Trade (relevant chapters both under “Finances,” *Licai* 理財 and “Diplomacy,” *Waijiao* 外交) and industry (relevant subheadings under “Finances” and “Industry,” *Kaogong* 考工) are the crucial newcomers here. Texts in these categories were likely to have appeared under the heading “Western Affairs” in earlier publications. Thus, this re-categorization could even be viewed as an attempt to wipe out the border between “them” and “us” and to make trade and industry an integral part of state activities. Tang Zhenzhe’s 湯震蟄 preface to the *Comprehensive Classified Compilation on Contemporary Affairs* (1902), for example, explicitly talks of the need to “amalgamate” 融會貫通 Chinese and Western learning in order to achieve the ultimate goal of enriching the country, “in order to truly order the world and relieve the people, absolutely truly establish the institutional foundations [for a modern nation]” 以真經濟,以真設施 (with *jingji* here still meaning *jingshi jimin* 經世濟民, but already implying the new meaning of “political economy”).⁶³

One could also say that in this process of re-categorizing knowledge, which was a crucial part of China’s quest for wealth and power, the “administration of famine” was absorbed by the new science of political economy. In this scenario the more comprehensive notion of political economy appears as one of the state’s central concerns, just as famine relief had been before. According to Bin Wong the dual goals of generating state revenue and securing the welfare of the people were in conflict during most of the imperial period, but this tension was muted in the late nineteenth century for the following reasons:

First, the new axis of tension was between China (both state and society) and the West. Second, efforts were focused more on increasing production than on the distribution of wealth between government and people. Chinese thinking was influenced by Western ideas of political economy, especially the general idea of enriching society and the state either as complementary goals or as separate and noncompetitive goals.⁶⁴

This is exactly the process that we can observe in the encyclopaedic writings of this period. If one is to believe the trend in this literature, famine relief ceased to be the prime concern of the state and gave way to a more activist state involvement in the economy at large. But rather than developing a symbiotic relationship with the national economy, the Qing state itself became a contested authority after the turn of the century. In addition, voices appeared in very different quarters bemoaning the neglect of moral issues as expressed in the phrase “ordering the world and saving the people,” *jingshi jimin*, in favor of the sole preoccupation with wealth and power as espoused by the new “scientific” approach to the economy and expressed in the

⁶² Cf. the list of 32 categories of policy questions compiled in 1903 in Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*, 601.

⁶³ Tang Zhenzhe 湯震蟄, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Fenlei shiwu tongzuan*, comp. Chen Changshen 陳昌紳, 1b. (Shanghai: Wenlan shuju, 1902).

⁶⁴ Pierre-Étienne Will and R. Bin Wong, *Nourish the People: The State Civilian Granary System in China 1650–1850* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1991), 7.

new term “political economy” *jingji* 經濟. The Pan-Asianism of people like Okamoto belonged to these voices as did as the moralist response by Liu Dapeng.

While a simple look at the tables of contents and publication data might serve as evidence for some of the aspects described above, it is still necessary to have a closer look at the texts themselves. Here we will move from analysis of form to content.

A New Role for the State?

Among the earlier publications, including chapters on relief policies and political economy, two seem particularly noteworthy because they appear to be newly written rather than reprints of earlier standard texts. The first is the *Comprehensive Summary of the Imperial Library*, *Cefu tongzong* 策府統宗 (1889), which is an early example of a newly compiled encyclopaedia of well-established exam knowledge. Even though it is based on an earlier publication,⁶⁵ the editorial efforts put into this new version must have been substantial—or at least this is what the publisher wants his readers to believe since 3 years were needed to complete the work. The way it was compiled is even reminiscent of the English encyclopaedias of the time. According to the publisher’s preface, many highly competent people were involved in the process of compilation, and thus the result was deemed authoritative.⁶⁶ However, the names of these specialists remain unknown; instead, a long bibliography follows the prefatory matters. The second is *A Comprehensive Summary of Current Affairs by Category and for All Nations*, *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng* 萬國分類時務大成 (1897), compiled by Qian Feng 錢豐,⁶⁷ which is again presented as a tool for exam

⁶⁵ Liu Changling’s 劉昌齡 preface (written in Guangzhou) states that the many shortcomings of the *Cexue dacheng* 策學大成 [A complete compendium of policy studies] compiled in 1877 by Cai Mei’an 蔡梅庵 had prompted Cai to take on this new project. Liu equally emphasizes the rigorous editorial guidelines, requiring, for example, that the sources of quoted texts be indicated. However, I looked in vain for the illustrations that are mentioned in the “Editorial Guidelines,” *liyan* 例言, in the copy available to me. Liu Changling, “Xu” 序, in Cai Mei’an 蔡梅庵 comp., *Cefu tongzong* 策府統宗 (Shanghai: Hongwen shuji 1889). The publication of an expanded edition of the *Cefu tongzong* in 1895 suggests that this project met the needs of the market. Cf. Wagner, “Bibliography of Chinese Encyclopaedic Works 1840–1937, their Japanese and Western Models and Sources.”

⁶⁶ “We have enlisted the services of numerous erudite scholars and assigned the tasks to them according to their specialization.” 廣延博雅。就專長而分。 “Xin zuan cefu tongzong xu” 新纂策府統宗序 [Preface to the newly compiled *Cefu tongzong*], in *Cefu tongzong*, 1a.

⁶⁷ Qian Feng 錢豐, comp., *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng* 萬國分類時務大成 (Shanghai: Xiuhai shanfang 袖海山房, 1897). The material is arranged in the following categories: (1) “Astronomy,” *Tianwen lei* 天文類, (2) “Geography,” *Dili lei* 地理類, (3) “The Countries of the World,” *Bangguo lei* 邦國類, (4) “Monarchs,” *Guojun lei* 國君類, (5) “Civil Service System,” *Guanzhi lei* 官制類, (6) “Government posts,” *Guanzhi lei* 官職類, (7) “Recruitment,” *Xuanju lei* 選舉類, (8) “Politics,” *Zhengzhi lei* 政治類, (9) “Trade,” *Shangwu lei* 商務類, (10) “International Law,” *Gongfa lei* 公法類, (11) “Treaties,” *Huimeng lei* 會盟類, (12) “Diplomacy,” *Bangjiao lei* 邦交類, (13) “Civilization Sciences,” *Wenxue lei* 文學類 (on schools and writing systems, but also mathematics and physics), (14) “Military Preparedness,” *Wubei lei* 武備類, (15) “Minerals,”

preparation, this time specializing in the Western knowledge that had become an important part of the curriculum by the late 1890s.⁶⁸ Although once again the preface writer spares no pains to link this work with achievements in the distant past, he also aligns it with two famous Ming scholars whom he credits with having reestablished the link to the ancient “practical scholarship”, *shixue* 實學, reaching back to the Han dynasty.⁶⁹ From the Guidelines we learn that the compilation was based on 10 years’ collection of materials, which certainly included many newspaper cuttings. This might also explain why much of it reads like a cut-and-paste exercise. The scope of its contents is quite broad: “From geography and nations to aquatic animals and insects” 自地輿邦國以至水族昆蟲, everything that is discussed in the West is included. But although the contents are Western, the form “follows our Chinese scholarly standards” 體裁取法我中華藝林典則.⁷⁰ To begin with, the categories “Astronomy,” Tianwen 天文, and “Geography,” Dili 地理, seem to have satisfied this requirement. The warning that the book was registered with the proper authorities and that unauthorized reprints would be prosecuted suggests that pirated copies were a problem and that the work was quite popular.⁷¹

The *Comprehensive Summary of the Imperial Library* has a chapter on “Famine relief” in the section on “Revenue and Population.”⁷² The topic is dealt with in a highly systematic manner, giving a concise account of famine relief policies through the ages from the Zhou to the Ming but no further. This is interesting in itself as it is not about the West, or even about the present. Most entries start with a

Kuangwu lei 礦物類, (16) “Agriculture,” Nongzheng lei 農政類, (17) “Manufacture,” Zhizao lei 製造類, (18) “Human Affairs,” Renshi lei 人事類 (social customs, food, entertainment), (19) “Talents,” Rencai lei 人材類, (20) “People,” Renwu lei 人物類, (21) “Western Religion,” Xijiao lei 西教類, (22) “Palaces,” Gongshi lei 宮室類, (23) “Instruments,” Qiju lei 器具類, (24) “Fauna,” Dongwu lei 動物類, (25) “Flora,” Zhiwu lei 植物類.

⁶⁸ “The scope of the spring and autumn examinations has been broadened in order to enlarge the basis on which to recruit scholars [for government service]. It seems that only to draw on the models of the ancients and not broadly gather the facts about Western countries and bring them together in one book is not enough.” 春秋兩闈亦寬其格以廣取士,似非博采泰西各國事實彙編成書而僅此先民矩矱不足以資參攷也。Zhang Yunyu 張韞玉, “Xu” 敘 [Preface], in Qian Feng, *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, 1b.

⁶⁹ The preface refers to Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (Wengong 文恭) (1504–1564) and Fang Xiaoru 方孝孺 (Wenzheng 文正) (1357–1402) with statements emphasizing the duty of Confucian scholars to also excel in practical learning. The preface writer singles out their dedication to the “country” and “people,” which is also said to be the spirit of the present compilation. Zhang Yunyu, “Xu”, in Qian Feng, *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, 1a.

⁷⁰ Qian Feng, “Fanli” 凡例 [Editorial guidelines], in *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, 1a.

⁷¹ The official printing permit added to the title page is dated Guangxu 24 (1898), 7th month, exactly 1 year after the first printing in the summer of 1897, according to the imprint and the date of the preface.

⁷² *Cefu tongzong*, juan 49: 8b–12b. The 65 *juan* are organized into 12 categories, the first four representing the classical categorization of literature, the next six the Six Boards of the Qing government, and finally astronomy and geography (Jing 經, Shi 史, Zi 子, Ji 集, Li 吏, Hu 戶, Li 禮, Bing 兵, Xing 刑, Gong 工, Tianwen 天文, Dili 地理).

quotation from the *General Outline of a Broad [Range of Knowledge on] Government*, *Guangzhi pinglüe* 廣治平略, an older, popular exam aid written by Cai Fangbing 蔡方炳 (1626–1709).⁷³ The general introductory paragraph gives a normative outline of famine relief measures. Information is much more abundant on the Zhou, Han, Tang, but in particular on the Song and Ming dynasties, whereas all the other minor and non-Chinese dynasties are covered by only one to two lines, although the Yuan gets four lines. The message is a moral one: with the right attitude on the part of the ruler, the people will not suffer from scarcity. The responsibility for the welfare of the people lies entirely with the state, which has to secure the correct balance between grain storage and distribution.

On closer examination, however, the first section, which is a general introduction to the topic, can also be read as a critique of the current condition of famine relief. The first point is that, as opposed to the ideal of the past, in later ages state extraction of resources from the people was harming the people to the state's benefit (Wong's 'tension', see p. 343 above).⁷⁴ Liu Dapeng's comment sounds like an echo of this statement. All the malpractices of late Qing famine relief are listed: the cumbersome investigation and reporting system, the practice of concealing famine conditions, and the insistence on bureaucratic procedures even in most urgent cases. The good methods of old had become empty formulas, and the consequences were clear:

If [the ruler] sees the suffering of the people and does not come to their rescue, then the people will say in desperation: How comes that this one is ruling over us. Therefore those being destitute under the Zhou did not fear the lack of surplus wealth; they only feared the lack of the right attitude. If there was this attitude why should one fear not having enough? You benevolent gentlemen should keep this in mind.⁷⁵

苟視其困乏而不之救。民將憊然曰。惡在其為我上也。故周窮乏者。不患無餘財。惟患無是心。能推其心何憂不足。仁人君子其加意焉。

In short, the authors of this text still held the state ultimately responsible for famine relief, and this task was seen as a largely isolated policy field concerned with questions of redistribution of resources, not the generation of wealth. It is entirely located within a moral as opposed to a larger political economic context.

This is dealt with quite differently in the chapter on "How the Different Countries Care for Their People," *Geguo aimin* 各國愛民, in *A Comprehensive Summary of Current Affairs by Category and for All Nations*.⁷⁶ The chapter takes

⁷³ Cai Fangbing 蔡方炳, *Guangzhi pinglüe* 廣治平略 (China, 1724).

⁷⁴ "In ancient times [the ruler] bestowed his favors on the people. In later ages they harvested the returns of all their privileges to benefit the state. Thereupon every single thread of silk and every single grain of millet ended up on the roll of the Imperial Treasury. When people then met with natural disasters, they were condemned to death and those above did not care." 上世施其恩以及民者。後世收其權以利國。於是寸絲粒粟皆入天府之籍。將遇天災流行。且民陷於死亡。而上之人莫之着憂。 *Cefu tongzong*, *juan* 49: 8b.

⁷⁵ *Cefu tongzong*, *juan* 49: 9a.

⁷⁶ Qian Feng, *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, *juan* 12: 14a–22a, under the category "Politics," *Zhengzhi lei* 政治類.

the form of an unwieldy 17-page article and is written in the style of dialogical persuasion that is familiar to contemporary newspaper readers.⁷⁷ The major part is devoted to a discussion of the Western European experience with both economic liberalism and protectionism and welfare policies. The main question pursued in these ten pages of consecutive text is the role of the state in the economy. As one would expect, the first statement includes the gist of the message—namely, that the state should not and cannot possibly be in charge of everything:

If we look at the situation of the people in the different European countries, they differentiate between rights and duties. If everything would be left to the state to take care of, then not only would the state be unable to catch up with everything, but it would also be bad for the people. If all the people without income, all the poor and suffering, who have nothing to eke out an existence, would rely on the state to care for them, then the cost would be enormous, and would eventually again have to be taken from the people.⁷⁸

查歐洲各國百姓分所當得分所當為之事，若俱歸國家管理，不特國家有所不逮，且必有害於衆人，如百姓無生意可做，或窮苦無以度日者，俱要國家撫養，則經費浩繁，仍不得不取之於民。

What follows is a discussion of the early nineteenth-century debates over the English Poor Laws and the “social question,” and the protectionist experiments carried out in Britain and France. The dominance of what was considered to be Smithian principles (liberalism, a laissez-faire capitalism, and the idea of the “invisible hand”) clearly shines through this part of the text. In general, it argues for economic liberalism and a non-interventionist state as well as for the self-regulating forces of the market. Examples include the French reforms after the 1848 revolution, when the state experimented with fixed salaries. The result was that people were discouraged from doing more than absolutely necessary, and nobody had the chance to earn more by producing more. The conclusion [由上節法國案內觀之可見. . . based on what emerges from the inspection of the French case sketched above, one can see. . .] was that the policy was not only without benefit for the state, it was even harmful for the people. The second case is an ill-fated English attempt at protectionism. At first when the government banned the import of wool, domestic production was quite profitable, but this ended quickly when everybody abandoned his original trade and turned to wool manufacturing instead. The unprecedented increase in the number of workers led to falling wages, which ultimately left the textile workers in misery. Poverty increased and in the end protectionist politics turned out to be more harmful for the people. Here the reader is cross-referenced to the chapter on “trade” where the underlying mechanisms are discussed. When it comes to questions of public welfare and issues such as urban infrastructure and education, however, state intervention is judged quite differently.

⁷⁷ See Chap. 5 in my *Nur leere Reden: Politischer Diskurs und die Shanghaier Presse im China des späten neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003).

⁷⁸ Qian Feng, “Geguo aimin” 各國愛民 [How the different countries care for their people], in *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, juan 12: 14a.

Much of what is presented here does resonate with the situation in China, even though the causes of poverty in early industrial England and of famine in agrarian China were quite different. The relationship between self-reliance and personal autonomy is addressed, as is the need for autonomous and responsible individuals as the basis of communities. But more fundamentally, the entire discussion of welfare policies reflects the Smithian idea of an intimate relationship between *Moral Sentiment* and the *Wealth of Nations* and the mercantilist arguments against which he was fighting.⁷⁹ The discussion starts by postulating a causal link between the state of civilization of a nation and the welfare and prosperity of its people—in a civilized environment, there would naturally be a constant drive for improvement. “Barbarian places” serve as evidence for this:

As to the barbarian places, their land is allowed to lie waste, the people are in a miserable condition, and even lack the most basic everyday necessities. If one travels through the different barbarian places one will know what the hardships of lacking civilization are.⁸⁰

至若野人之處，其土地荒蕪，人民墊隘，日用應需之項皆不能有。若遊覽各野人地方便知無文教之苦處矣。

In England this idea dated back to the late sixteenth century when the condition of the poor had become the touchstone of civilization and concern for the image of the state rather than genuine compassion for human misery was the driving force behind the first promulgation of the Poor Laws.⁸¹ The task of caring “for the poor, the existence of whom was unavoidable even in an affluent country,” as the Chinese encyclopaedist put it, was delegated to the state. With the onset of industrialization in the late eighteenth century the tensions between the rich and the poor increased. Fear of abuse and the detrimental effects on the labor market resulted in the reform of the Poor Laws in the early nineteenth century. A charitable approach was no longer considered adequate for state policy, and even private charity was not well received by the reformers. In their view the state had to care for people in need, but idleness was not to be rewarded. The result was deterrence by humiliation and the stigmatization of the poor, which did not appeal to the Chinese encyclopaedist. He seems to have read his Tocqueville, who preferred private charity to public relief. The former alleviated misery quietly and spontaneously, whereas the latter “publicized and legalized” the inferiority of those who were entitled to it.⁸² The poor houses were one of the most obvious examples of this. In these places people were humiliated and deprived of their most basic liberties and only those who were utterly desperate and had probably already lost their last bit of self-respect would go there. For the English critics of the Poor Laws and for the Chinese encyclopaedist, this seemed to be the wrong approach. Although the encyclopaedist admitted that the

⁷⁹ Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty*, 46–53.

⁸⁰ Qian Feng, *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, “How the different countries care for their people,” *juan* 12: 14b.

⁸¹ Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty*, 3.

⁸² Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty*, 147–76, referring to Tocqueville and Beaumont on social reform.

state could not possibly have enough resources to care for all the poor, he still insisted that the honest among them must be protected, “so that they are not humiliated by others,” 令不受別人欺侮。The English practice of “accommodating the poor,” *anzhi qiongren* 安置窮人—that is, appeasing them, making them invisible to prevent their becoming a threat to public security—was, however, quite opposed to the notion of compassion and, more importantly, to human dignity.

The article introduces a more intelligent way of dealing with the obviously difficult problem of caring for the poor and of helping them to stand on their own feet: state-sponsored saving schemes that would ideally encourage the poor to work harder and accumulate modest savings. This strong interest in saving and credit schemes seems to imply that a more positive role of the state and its involvement in the economy was desired. Accordingly, the rest of this section is devoted to the theme of “enlightened modernity” through a discussion of the following: the establishment of a fair legal system that would not disadvantage the poor; the entire set of facilities and institutions governing the modern city, from the disposal of waste and sewage to ensure a high standard of public hygiene in order to prevent infectious diseases, to traffic regulations and gas and water supply, which should be under public management so that the poor could also enjoy the advantages of tap water; and modern education, not least by the establishment of public libraries, museums, and botanic and zoological gardens. The author seems to have had particular enthusiasm for fossils and geology and the need to physically experience everything as opposed to just reading about these things in books. It was the state’s responsibility to provide education and thus to teach people to distinguish between good and bad. Everything centers on becoming a “civilized country,” *wenjiao zhi guo* 文教之國, rather than following “the way of a tyrannical government,” *nüe zheng* 虐政 (17b).⁸³ Moreover, education was seen as a means to make people receptive to innovative technologies and thus work against the threat of famine: “When the poor people were not educated then they would be without understanding of the resources accumulated over many years, would only know to enjoy the present, and would not be willing to accumulate provisions for unforeseen events in the future, and once there is a famine or they are sick, they are helpless and would be entirely dependent on state relief.” 窮民既不讀書，遂無見識其歷年工作所得之資，第知為目前快樂，不肯有留積為將來不虞之備，一旦猝遇荒歉並疾病等，事便束手無策，坐待國家賑恤。(18a)

If Western countries would promote education with some of the huge funds they now use to nourish the poor and contain crime, then poverty and crime could be greatly diminished. Here again the role of the state is seen as pre-eminent and justified against an objecting voice (“some may say . . . but they are ignorant of . . .” 或有謂 . . . 不知). Interestingly, although this is a discussion of the English experience it could easily be applied to the situation in China.

The remaining seven pages are divided into five shorter, independent paragraphs that explicitly address China’s problems. None of these, however, goes beyond

⁸³ These and the following numbers in brackets refer to the page in *juan* 12 of Qian Feng, *Wanguo fenlei shiwu dacheng*, “How the different countries care for their people.”

the reform proposals widely discussed in the periodical press during the late 1890s, as they were also advocated by well-known Western affairs officials like Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909). The first of these shorter pieces introduces different forms of the promotion of industry and trade.⁸⁴ These are called “New Methods to Nourish the People,” Yangmin xinfa 養民新法, and include: (1) the mechanization of production, (2) the reduction of transport costs, (3) the establishment of telegraph offices and newspapers, (4) treaty trade, (5) consular representations, (6) an international system of post offices, (7) state support for merchants, (8) merchant associations, (9) international commercial exhibitions, (10) merchant schools, (11) engineering schools, and (12) maritime taxes. These innovations are said to have solved the problem of land scarcity and population pressure from which Europe suffered 100 years ago, at a time when “there were the disasters of flood and drought, so that it was unavoidable that people left their homes and starved to death, just like the situation we now have in China.” The question of the welfare of the people and of alleviating famine is clearly the core concern here. What differs from the earlier text (*Comprehensive Summary of the Imperial Library*) is that now the nation’s wealth is seen as being closely linked to the wellbeing of its people. Therefore, the promotion of industry and trade—as opposed to a mere redistribution of existing resources—would automatically solve the problem of famine.

China’s poverty continued to be the main issue. A Western expert was even consulted for an outside opinion. When asked what he considered to be the “greatest defect,” *dabi* 大弊, of China, an “American scholar” said to have resided in China for more than 20 years, replied: “The poverty of the nation,” *guokun* 國困, which he attributes to overpopulation (19b). The reader learns that the introduction of “new methods to nourish the people” had led to an unprecedented multiplication of production in France (by the factor of 3), England (by the factor of 6), and in America (by the factor of 43). (20a) Even though this obviously helped a small number of people to become super rich, the wages of the working people also increased somewhat so that they no longer had to suffer existential crises. This was very different in China, which was manifest in the ubiquitous floods and droughts and the misery of the millions waiting to be fed. In the 30 years since the opening of the treaty ports, China not only failed to become richer and stronger, but people became even more miserable and poor. (20b) The author exclusively blames those in positions of power “who have not mastered the new methods to nourish the people” 未克舉養民新法. The heroes who could bring about the necessary changes in the author’s view are still Li Hongzhang, Zhang Zhidong, and Liu Kunyi 劉坤一 (1830–1902). However, the scope of the envisioned changes still does not really go beyond a piecemeal adoption of Western technologies and institutions, and the paragraph ends with the familiar final phrase of political editorials: those in positions of power should take this into consideration. (20a)

⁸⁴ The others are on demography (19b–20a), “How to achieve wealth” (20a), the diffusion of innovations via newspapers (20b), and finally the benefits of mining, land reclamation, and migration policies (21a–22a).

All of this may have left the reader puzzled not only because at times the text reads like a patchwork, especially towards the end of the chapter, or because it paints an overly bleak and passive picture of China's people, but probably also because conditions were not easily compatible. Whereas in England the growing gap between the rich and the poor could be seen as a consequence of the rise of capitalist industries, China's poverty was still largely a function of a pre-modern agrarian economy that had to cope with the added pressure from a growing world market. The era when agriculture was no longer considered the basis of wealth, but industrial workers (工人之於國家即生財之源致富之本 “the workers are the source for a state's wealth and the root of its achieving prosperity”) (22a), or perhaps more accurately, when economic thought conceiving of wealth primarily in terms of capital and labor rather than land, had not yet arrived. On the one hand, the entire discussion on the Poor Laws could only be read in an allegorical way, drawing attention to issues of autonomy and dignity on a national rather than on a personal level, but on the other hand it was the awareness of the plight of the working class in the capitalist West that inspired radical, socialist reformers like Sun Yatsen or, in a different way, Okamoto Kansuke, to develop their own ideas and strategies to avoid this unpleasant phase in the development of modern Asian societies. For the compiler of our encyclopaedia, however, the lure of Western industrial modernity seemed to have been much bigger than its implied dangers, and it was clear that the state had to play a decisive role in the game.

A New Science for the Chinese Nation

After the high tide of the scramble for concessions and the settlement of the Boxer Protocol the situation changed entirely. Even though the Qing state had endorsed a comprehensive reform program along the lines outlined above, the rise of both nationalism and pan-Asianism thwarted its success. Now there was a clear sense of the need for a strong centralized state that would be able to confront the imperialist powers. At the same time, however, it had become unacceptable to many that the Manchu state should represent the Chinese nation in this international competition. At that time *keizai* 經濟, the Japanese translation for the English term “political economy,” was adopted into the Chinese language. It appears in Okamoto's *Explorations*,⁸⁵ which includes a whole chapter on political economy, and a little

⁸⁵ See footnote 1 above. Okamoto was also the author of the well-known *Record of International History*, *Wanguo Shiji* 萬國史記 (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, 1879). This book went through many reprints, and according to one estimate reached a circulation number of 300,000 (including pirated copies). Zhou Jianguo 周建高, “Jindai Zhong Ri shijie shixue jiaoliu yanjiu: Yi *Wan guo shiji* wei zhongxin” 近代中日世界史學交流研究:以《萬國史記》為中心. [A Study of the Sino-Japanese exchange of world historical knowledge in the modern period: With a focus on the *Record of International History*]. URL: <http://www.ch.zju.edu.cn/rwxy/rbs/shuoshilunwenZHOUJIANGAO.htm> (8.9.2007).

later in “Outline of Political Economy” (1902), a Chinese translation of the volume on political economy in a late-nineteenth century Japanese encyclopaedia,⁸⁶ and finally in the *Great Encyclopaedia of New Learning* (1903),⁸⁷ which has a section on *jingji* that is included in the broad category of “State Finances 理財.” All of these—each in a very distinct way—clearly outline the rules of the game of global capitalism. None of them is concerned with famine relief, but all are meant to provide knowledge that would help to survive in the “struggle of existence.”

The translated Japanese article, most likely based on an English encyclopaedia article, is a systematic, “scientific” introduction to the topic. It provides a clearly structured and punctuated text that starts off with concise definitions of basic terms such as demand, growth and value, production, exchange and distribution, societal progress, and economic development, outlining the system of economic knowledge and introducing different schools of economic thought. It is crucial to establish a link between the development, *fada* 發達, of the national economy and the progress of civilization, *wenhua zhi jinbu* 文化之進步, as the English literature on political economy does. Equally important is a decidedly materialist outlook, which is evident in the definition of the subject:

It (i.e. the science of political economy) sets man apart and specializes on material value as its central concept of research.

It explains the production, distribution and exchange of material value, and its impact on man. The concept of ownership of material value occupies the first place, the concept of man the second.

The main idea involving people is that it is the branch of learning that makes people each own private property.

置人於度外。專就財以立觀念為研究者。
講財之生產分配交易。以關係於人占財之觀念。為主位人之觀念在第二位。⁸⁸
主關於人之觀念。使人各有財之問學。⁸⁹

Although Okamoto Kansuke’s chapter on political economy is rather different, it seems likely that he took much of his knowledge from this Japanese encyclopaedia, as well as from the available translated English encyclopaedias and other Western literature. Indeed, as he claimed in the introduction, the book was based on years

⁸⁶ Ikebukuro Hidetarō, *Keizai hanron* 經濟汎論 [Outline of political economy], volume 70 of the Japanese *Teikoku hyakka zensho* 帝國百科全書 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan 博文館, 1898–1908). This part of the Japanese encyclopaedia was translated by the Donghua yishushe 東華譯書社 under the title *Jingji fanlun* 經濟汎論 as vol. 43 of the *Bianyi putong jiaoyu baike quanshu*, Li Diji et al., eds. Cf. Wagner, “Bibliography,” year 1903.

⁸⁷ The editorial guidelines of the *Xinxue da congshu* emphasize that here the most famous writings on the essentials of government (*jing guo zhi zhizhe* 經國之旨者) from Japan and China were put together. Only most recent translations and most recent editions were chosen and there is no overlap with the content of other encyclopaedic works. “Liyan” 例言 [Editorial guidelines], in *Xinxue da congshu*, 1.

⁸⁸ Punctuation as in the original text!

⁸⁹ Ikebukuro Hidetarō, *Jingji fanlun*, 1a.

of intensive readings.⁹⁰ The motivation for his studies, as well as the development of his own worldview, seems to have originated from a journey to the locations of China’s past glory earlier in his career during the years 1874–1875. As Kawase Gitarō 河瀨儀太郎 (a translator for the *Shangwu bao* 商務報 in Wuchang, where Okamoto visited in 1900), the author of the preface, recounts, Okamoto went to see the Great Wall, the Taishan, the remains of the old home of Confucius, and the old capital Luoyang and returned with a sigh of regret that the present could not compare with the past. When he travelled to Shanghai and Hankou again during the 1890s, he noticed China’s increasing poverty and weakness. He tried to meet Zhang Zhidong, who was then governor of Hubei, in order to present his strategy to save the nation, but this meeting did not come about.⁹¹ While “practical learning,” *shixue* 實學, as opposed to China’s empty literary refinement, is seen as the cause of Western wealth and power, Okamoto emphasizes the contrast between what may be called “East-Asian values” (for example filial piety) and the materialist outlook evident in the English literature on political economy. Thus, apart from its brief discussion of socialism,⁹² *Explorations into the Origins of Western Learning* is perhaps most remarkable for its advocacy of pan-Asian ideas.

Okamoto’s chapter starts with a concise *tour de force* explanation of the main theories of political economy, beginning with the three pillars of the English school: Adam Smith 斯密士 (1723–1790), stressing what he considered to be Smith’s belief that individual profit and free competition were beneficial for the general good; Thomas Malthus 末爾薩士 (1766–1834), who explored the principles of societal progress and human reproduction; and David Ricardo 黎甲爾突 (1772–1823), who maintained that “man pursues profit as water flows downwards, or he avoids hardship and seeks pleasure and is only anxious about his own profit” (emphatic punctuation). Then came the pioneers of French and American socialist thought: Henri de Saint-Simon 倉志門 (1760–1825), “the unionist who advocated that property belonged to all and should be distributed equally”; Henry Carey 顯理開黎 (1793–1879), author of a book on sociology, “in which he opposed the views of the evangelical philanthropist Hannah More (1745–1833)” 反末爾等; Henry George 顯理若治 (1839–1897), the famous author of *Progress and Poverty*, who also argued against More and advocated the theory of “national ownership of land”; Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen 雷福森 (1818–1888) and his credit societies; and the German protectionist Friedrich List 黎斯篤 (1789–1846) and his theory of the stages of economic development in societies. According to these stages, progress is

⁹⁰ “Xuyan” 緒言 [Introduction], in Okamoto Kansuke, *Xixue tanyuan*, 1.

⁹¹ Kawase Gitarō 河瀨儀太郎, “Xixue tanyuan xu” 西學探源序 [Preface the *Xixue tanyuan*], in Okamoto Kansuke, *Xixue tanyuan*, 1a–2a.

⁹² The first comprehensive and systematic attempt to introduce socialist ideas to a Chinese public was probably *Modern Socialism*, *Jinshi shehui zhuyi* 近世社會主義, translated from the Japanese and published by the Guangzhi shuju in 1903. Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環, *Yingxiang Zhongguo jindai shehui de yibai zhong yizuo* 影響中國近代社會的一百種譯作 [100 translations that have influenced modern Chinese society] (Beijing: Zhongguo duiwai fanyi chubanshe, 1996), 179. At least some of the ideas were already present in Okamoto’s *Explorations*.

characterized by the transition from fishing and hunting, to livestock farming, agriculture, industry, and finally, trade. Each stage is accompanied by adequate policies of protection and liberalism in order to ensure societal progress. In Okamoto's view, only England had achieved the fifth stage, which explained why other European countries, such as France and Germany, were more receptive to protectionist and socialist ideas. They needed a far-sighted strategy that considered the long-term benefit of all the people in a country—rather than Smith's short-sighted profiteering—in order to be prepared for competition in the world of trade and empire at the fifth stage.⁹³

However, this did not mean that Okamoto was a protectionist; he simply sifted through everything he could get hold of in order to identify useful information. His message was that different and even contradicting theories could exist alongside each other. He spoke of German protectionism, which rose in response to the adoption of Smithian liberalism, and even about the historicists who then mediated between the two, claiming that it depended on the circumstances of a particular time and place whether or not one should adopt liberal or protectionist ideas. (This part is again marked with emphatic punctuation.) The same occurred with English individualists and French socialists who were engaged in endless debates and then joined by the theory of the “speakers' platform society,” *jiangtan shehui* 講壇社會, which examined the views of both and was not biased towards any of them. In his view it was the competition of ideas that brought about progress, *jinhua* 進化. Okamoto seemed to be intrigued by the idea of competition within a well-integrated society, 乃保合中有競爭而競爭又皈依保合者也 (again with emphatic punctuation).⁹⁴ He was also interested in the best strategy with which to rule colonized territories (and reviews British, Russian, and Dutch practice), and goes from there to Columbus and his discoveries to later expeditions to the poles and to the unknown territories of Africa, observing that “the occupation of land has to be conducted under the name of a state and under international law.” Colonialism is clearly seen as one of the major sources of Western wealth, with the other important source being industry. In fact, the lack of industry is cited as the reason why Spain and Portugal did not achieve wealth and power despite their rich colonies.

Okamoto's message was that China should not follow the West in everything, and he played his part in propagating the concept of “East Asia.” In his view, despite a pluralism of ideas in the Western countries, they were all the same in so far as they only believed in their own ideas. Most crucial, however, was that everything of importance could already be found in Chinese economic thought since the time of Confucius. None of the Western thinkers knew about the Confucian dictum that “there is no need to fear that there is little, but one has to fear that it is not equally distributed; there is no need to fear poverty, but one has to fear unrest,” 不患寡而患不均, 不患貧而患不安. Also, the basic problem of the causes of economic inequality had already been identified in the *Great Learning*, *Daxue* 大學, which stated that “the producers [of food] are many, but the consumers few; those who are

⁹³ Okamoto Kansuke, *Xixue tanyuan*, *juan* 3: 14b.

⁹⁴ Okamoto Kansuke, *Xixue tanyuan*, *juan* 3: 15a.

manufacturing [goods] are suffering, but those who are using them are at ease,” 生之者眾，食之者寡，為之者疾，用之者舒。⁹⁵ We can also assume that he was familiar with the *Supplement to the Elaborations of the Meaning of the Great Learning*, *Daxue yanyi bu* 大學衍義補, one of the most successful compendia of “encyclopaedic materials” on practical statesmanship, assembling “reliable and applicable knowledge” of the Ming that was frequently reprinted throughout the late imperial period, including in Korea and Japan.⁹⁶ These references indicate unease with the injustice implied in the way the modern economy worked when unrestrained by state intervention. But who should intervene in the economic behavior of nations? Okamoto’s critique of an unquestioned imitation of the West is also implicit in other chapters of his work as, for example, when he writes about ethical issues (“When Europeans and Americans talk about human relations they exclusively talk about rights and duties, rarely do they mention filial respect.” 歐美之人，其於人倫，專論權利義務，言及孝敬者甚少），⁹⁷ women’s rights, and national values. There also seemed to be a problem not so much with economic practice, as with adopting an ideology that put material value before everything. The problems were identified; but were there solutions?

The *Great Book Collection of New Knowledge* (1903) is probably best known as forming a part of Liang Qichao’s project to popularize knowledge, as is his Bookshop for the Distribution of Knowledge that was established in Shanghai in the same year.⁹⁸ According to Zhong Shaohua, the *Great Book Collection* is based on articles that had first appeared in the *Miscellany for Reforming the People*, *Xinmin congbao* 新民叢報 (1902–1904). It assembles many contributions by the most famous Chinese and Japanese scholars of the time, as well as many articles by unidentified authors.⁹⁹ This collection can easily be perceived as part of Liang Qichao’s nation-building project with its intention to educate modern citizens and make them active participants in the great task to achieve national wealth and power (cf. the preface by Yu Yue quoted earlier). “Political Economy,” *Jingji* 經濟, is the first sub-category in the section “State Finances.” The first article by a certain Yuchenzi 雨塵子 reflects the predominance of social-Darwinist ideas in the political discourse of the time, “The Theory of Economic Competition,” *Jingji jingzheng lun* 經濟競爭論. Even though he does not really go beyond the familiar idea of the survival of the fittest and mentions neither socialist nor pan-Asian ideas, it is hardly

⁹⁵ Okamoto Kansuke, *Xixue tanyuan*, *juan* 3: 14a, quoting from *The Analects*, Lunyu 論語 16.1 and the *Great Learning*, *Daxue* 大學 10.

⁹⁶ Chu Hung-lam, “Ch’iu Chun (1421–1495) and the ‘Ta-hsueh yen-i pu’: Statecraft Thought in Fifteenth-Century China” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1984), 76–77. Welfare policies as well as state finances were prominent themes in this book. See the list of topics on pages 408–419. I am grateful to Benjamin Elman for drawing my attention to this dissertation. The prevalence of these quotes from the classics is also manifest in the fact that both statements are also frequently quoted in Richard’s writings.

⁹⁷ Okamoto Kansuke, *Xixue tanyuan*, *juan* 1: 11b.

⁹⁸ Bernal, *Chinese Socialism*, 94.

⁹⁹ Zhong Shaohua, *Jinquji*, 447.

less radical. The most noteworthy feature here is that in the end the Qing state is discarded altogether—though at first sight this is not at all obvious.¹⁰⁰

The author paints a pretty disillusioning picture of the human condition, explaining imperialism as the direct product of the competitive, liberal capitalist economy, which again is seen as the direct consequence of man's love for life, freedom, and property. The subtitles might suffice to give one a basic gist of the article: "The Reason why Economic Competition is Growing Daily" 經濟競爭日巨之故 was the need to create more demand and open new markets in order to satisfy growing production. The effects of this ideology of growth were aggravated by the fact that nation-states, including Japan, were behaving like capitalists, which was "The Origin of Imperialism," 帝國主義之由來 although its proponents liked to portray it as a civilizing mission. That one of the major aims of warfare was the stimulation of trade and industry is explained in "The Relationship Between the Military and Trade and Industry," 軍備與商工業之關係. A similar point is made in "The Core of Economic Competition," 經濟競爭中心點, which states that the Boxer Protocol and the preservation of China's territorial integrity were highly beneficial for Western trade. "The Impact on China," 中國所受之影響, points out that even though the Chinese were a strong people, they were doomed to decay because their nation was weak. The example of Chinese immigrants in America and Australia who became victims of racial discrimination served as a powerful illustration of this. And finally, "The Way to Survive," 自存之道, and to achieve national strength was to abandon the dependence on the government, which was, of course, the Manchu government, and to "use the strength of our own race to protect our inherited territorial rights," 以自族之力保固有之土地權利.

This final conclusion was obviously the crucial point and it must have been a persuasive one for contemporary Chinese readers who were confronted with the power of the modern nation-states. The rationale for the rising anti-Manchuism was that whereas the strength of foreign nations lay in the fact that their governments protected their trade and industry and vice versa, the Qing government extracted money from trade and commerce and used the *likin* tax 釐稅 to drain the economy: "They use 100 methods to destroy the industries and do not care. Therefore if our people want to develop industry relying on the government is completely out of the way," 百端摧折實業而不顧。故我國民欲振興實業而依賴政府則萬無可興之道。 Moreover, it was because of the "the historical grudge linked to the racial problem," 以人種之關係歷史之仇怨, that under no circumstances could the Manchu government and Chinese trade and industry rely on each other. It is telling that the author had to distort a phrase from the *Mengzi* 孟子 in order to justify this second point: "There is a passage in the *Mengzi* saying: I love my younger brother, but I do not love the younger brother of a man of Qin." 孟子有言‘吾弟則愛之。秦人之弟則不愛。 However, in the original text this is part of a philosophical argument, and has nothing to do with ethnic difference.¹⁰¹ The author fails to produce any convincing

¹⁰⁰ *Xinxue da congshu*, juan 27: 1a–8a.

¹⁰¹ *Mengzi* 61.4. Cf. James Legge, trans., *The Works of Mencius* (New York: Dover, 1970), 398.

arguments for his racial nationalism, apart from some vague references to a reinvigorated Germany and Italy whom he claims have both built their state on the basis of one and the same nation:

If the Europeans had not built up the power of their nation-states in the nineteenth century, then the economic competition of the twentieth century could not possibly be so rude and unreasonable. Those who fight for their existence in the world of economic competition all must do the same.

歐人不於十九世紀中大振民族國家之勢力，則二十世紀中經濟競爭必不能強橫至此，於經濟競爭世界中爭自存者皆宜如此也。¹⁰²

The economy effectively ceased to have an existence outside of politics. In the twentieth century, politics had become economic politics and “there is no politics outside of the economy” 捨經濟外更無所謂政治也。¹⁰³ The rules of the game had effectively changed.

Conclusion

According to the old worldview the relationship between the state and the people was a moral one, not an economic one. The Qing state was never seen as an interested player in the game. The state’s role was not to generate profit, it was seen rather as a regulative and redistributive one. As Rowe observed in his study of the eighteenth-century model official Chen Hongmou, “[t]he wise official seeks to enter the marketplace and turn its operations to the benefit of the public and the state.”¹⁰⁴ One could even say that the official as the representative of the state played the role of the highly visible “invisible hand.” In the nineteenth century, however, this image—and it was probably rarely more than that—could no longer be maintained. Instead, state-society relations were regarded in terms of a struggle for resources. The gist of the “new methods of nourishing the people” was to bring the two together again in order to be able to compete on a higher level of the game. The solution was a much more economically activist state, committing itself vigorously to the project of modernity and engaging the forces of the market in a positive way, while leaving them their independence. In order to be an equal player in the international game of industry and empire the state had to be in charge. The state had to act as a promoter, protector, and regulator of industry and trade. This message was absolutely unambiguous, but at the same time it was highly problematic.

Here some of the issues introduced earlier come back into our discussion, most importantly the call for a symbiotic relationship between the national economy and the nation-state as a means to gain wealth and power.¹⁰⁵ Aware of the danger of

¹⁰² *Xinxue da congshu*, juan 27: 7b.

¹⁰³ *Xinxue da congshu*, juan 27: 7b.

¹⁰⁴ Rowe, *Saving the World*, 163.

¹⁰⁵ An interesting case of how this was realized in Japan much earlier in a rather different way is studied by Najita Tetsuo. See Najita Tetsuo, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: the Kaitokudō Merchant Academy of Osaka* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

unduly simplifying the image, I have come to the following conclusion: In the minds of people like Liu Dapeng the Qing economy very much conformed to the ideal image of a “moral economy” with minimal government interference, as expressed in the formula “storing wealth among the people,” *cang fu yu min* 藏富於民, and expounded in important compendia of theoretical and practical statecraft knowledge.¹⁰⁶ Even though the compilation of these was meant to provide proposals and constructive remedies for the government’s “lack of benevolence toward and affection for the people”¹⁰⁷ (revealing that the reality was different from the ideal image), in the desirable form of government the virtuous ruler had “the role of a mediator or coordinator” rather than that of an active participant in the economy. Although this was doubtless an ideal that generously glossed over the many ways in which the Qing state drew on both economic and military power, it was still very much alive in people’s minds until the late nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century financial crisis, together with the infinite obligations to pay indemnities, created the need to generate substantive amounts of capital. New methods of collaboration between the state and the economy—methods that went well beyond state intervention in the economy in the form of the redistribution of resources via the state granary system—became necessary. The old model did not work anymore. Less and more was needed at the same time: less patronizing authoritarianism and more involvement in the private economy. When the Qing state was well on its way to tackle the problems of the new age, the rising tide of ethnic nationalism simply left it without any legitimacy to rule China.

The Qing government resumed its reform efforts with the promulgation of the Reform of Governance in 1901. The large number of encyclopaedic works of Western knowledge that were published at the same time can be seen as a positive social response to that. At the same time the great disillusionment of some sectors of Chinese society with the Qing government thwarted the reforms from the start. Moreover, the rise of pan-Asian thought and the anti-imperialism its early proponents associated with it, also worked against this effort to adopt Western institutions. People started to explore and experiment with alternative models. Here we return to Okamoto’s views on Vanderbilt and the first emperor of Qin and see whether we now are able to make some sense of the passage introduced at the beginning of this chapter.

Vanderbilt was a private entrepreneur. The more successful he was the more important he became for the state and vice versa; both became increasingly dependent on each other. The first emperor of Qin was the unifier of the Middle

¹⁰⁶ The *Daxue yanyi bu* (first printed in 1488) is perhaps the earliest example, which remained influential up until the late nineteenth century. Famous officials such as Chen Hongmou produced abbreviated versions (1737, reprinted in 1866). Chu Hung-lam, “Ch’iu Chun (1421–1495) and the ‘Ta-hsueh yen-i pu’: Statecraft Thought in Fifteenth-Century China,” 17–20, 40. Though again, when we read William Rowe, in practice the difference between the role of the state in the “moral economy” of the eighteenth century and in the ideas of late nineteenth-century political economy was not that big after all. Cf. part II: “Creating Prosperity,” in his *Saving the World*, 155–287.

¹⁰⁷ Chu Hung-lam, “Ch’iu Chun (1421–1495) and the ‘Ta-hsueh yen-i pu’,” 278.

Kingdoms and the first ruler over a Chinese empire. He is stereotypically depicted as ruthless and violent in his quest for wealth and power. At the time nobody was strong enough to oppose Qin, but later he was censured for his brutal tyranny. I would suggest that Vanderbilt serves as a viable alternative example for the same achievement as Qin Shihuang—making the country/nation wealthy and powerful—, but in a way that was somehow more acceptable to everybody. The search for a solution that makes greater equality possible lingers in the background. Further, in order to avoid suffering the fate of the other central kingdoms that were swallowed up by Qin, the study of political economy was necessary, either in order to be able to do the same or to be better equipped to respond adequately to this new situation. The encyclopaedias of the early twentieth century looked much more “scientific” than those of the late nineteenth century. They covered a much broader scope of knowledge than the earlier ones. Nevertheless, this knowledge remained decidedly political.

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Helping Our People “to Jointly Hurry Along the Path to Civilization.” The *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, Riyong baike quanshu 日用百科全書

Catherine Vance Yeh

Traditional Everyday Knowledge: Questions of Transmission and Practical Relevance

The notion that a book should provide people with all the knowledge needed to master everyday life is a rather peculiar one. It presupposes that this knowledge is no longer transmitted through a living tradition within a stable social structure, or that such transmitted knowledge is no longer operative in a new environment and that a book is needed to provide the wherewithal of information for a new everyday.

The large numbers of poor Europeans emigrating to the New World during the nineteenth century may serve as an example. While many among them settled for an existence in a linguistically and culturally familiar environment with little contact outside, the younger and more outgoing immigrants saw the need for a broad range of new practical knowledge to be functional in their new home, assume middleman or even leadership roles in their communities, and climb the social ladder. William Balch’s (1852–1917) *The People’s dictionary and Every-day Encyclopedia*, with the subtitle “A hand-book for everybody for each day,”¹ was one of the many books offering to provide this information. These books were not produced by the immigrant communities, but by established US citizens who saw it as their social duty to help with the integration of these newcomers, and were willing to bet that there was a market to reward their labor.

Japan and China were engaged in a radical transition to a Westernized “modernity” at about the same time as the immigration waves came to the US. In East Asia, however, the entire society, not just a segment, faced a situation where significant and growing parts of the political, intellectual, and commercial elite felt that “old”

¹ William Ralston Balch, *The People’s Dictionary and Every-day Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia: Thaver, Merriam & Co, 1883).

C.V. Yeh (✉)

Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

e-mail: Yeh@Bu.edu

was no longer a suitable or sufficient base for the “new” future of the country. Whether with the support of the state leadership, as in Japan, or without it, as in China, these elites were pushing for a radical makeover of the concepts, institutions, and practices of their country. As these new forms consolidated, everybody became in a way an immigrant in his or her own country without having moved an inch and without being asked whether such ‘immigration’ suited his or her purpose.

These modernizing elites, with their strong orientation towards a shared and global standard of civilization, saw it as their duty to “civilize” their people and secure their break with what they would call the old notions, institutions, and customs. The new knowledge required to meet this standard of civilization ranged from the laws of physics, to recognizing the national flag, to greeting someone with a handshake. To spread it from the literate urban dwellers to the rural elites and through them to the population at large, they were looking to the Western genre of the encyclopaedia of everyday life that had played a similar role. In both Japan and China the first encyclopaedias of new knowledge mostly dealt with in the present volume focused on governance and technical learning and left the field of everyday knowledge to the traditional encyclopaedic works of this kind.² Once new state structures were in place, however, the environment changed dramatically in Japan and China. It did not suffice anymore to have small urban pockets of modernized elites, the entire people had to make the transition to modernity so as to allow the full development of the nation’s potential.

In Japan, *The Encyclopaedia for Everyday Use*, *Nichiyō hyakka zensho* 日用百科全書, which had been published since 1895, already indicated with its American-inspired title that the institutions of the new Meiji state had consolidated to a point where the moment had come to spread modernity into everyday life beyond the state and the military, beyond education and manufacture. This *Encyclopaedia* was published between 1895 and 1900 in about 50 volumes by the main publisher of translations and encyclopedic works, the Hakubunkan 博文館 in Tokyo.³ Comprising one single author and topic each, these volumes introduced everyday modern knowledge on items such as the world’s religions, Japanese and Western public and private social rituals, the basics for setting up a school, different business cultures, ways to conduct trade with foreign countries, but also hands-on guides to agriculture, house building, cultivating fruit trees and vegetables, photography, and

² More details can be found in the studies by Douglas Reynolds and Barbara Mittler in this volume. In the case of China, it might be argued that the great social changes at the end of the Ming, with large new segments of the population adopting urban and commercial lifestyles and becoming literate, offered a similar scenario that led to the compilation of books for everybody’s everyday use such as the *Wanbao quanshu* 萬寶全書, with its endless series of reprints and updates into the Republican era. On these, see Wu Huifang 吳蕙芳, *Wanbao quanshu: Ming Qing shiqi de minjian shenghuo shilu* 萬寶全書：明清時期的民間生活實錄 [*The complete book of myriad treasures: A factual record of everyday life in the Ming and Qing periods*] (Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishixi, 2001). In the case of Japan, the Tokugawa shift in urban culture might have provided a similar impetus.

³ *Nichiyō hyakka zensho* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1895–1900). Accessible online in the National Diet Library, <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/>

physiognomy. Some, like the volumes on music, theater, essay writing, cooking, clothes making, cosmetics, and home management retained a traditional Japanese base to which some Western elements were added, while others like games for entertainment, introductions to fine arts—including painting and calligraphy—and even the article on “the Navy” emphasized contributions from both East and West. This compilation reflects a global perspective with Japanese society appearing confident in the success of its transition to the modern world. The authors, whose personal voices remained present in these texts, seemed to offer personal aid and advice rather than formulating norms. At the same time, these personal voices were also highly opinionated and at times moralistic, in particular when it came to the responsibility of the citizens—both men and women—in building the modern nation.

Many of the later Chinese calls for change ended up being more radical than the Japanese in their rejection of tradition. These voices became dominant after the founding of the Republic in 1912. Convinced that the long-cherished values and habits of its people were the main source of China’s weakness, they pushed for radical change in the everyday lives of the common people. With the publication by the Shanghai Commercial Press, Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, Riyong baike quanshu 日用百科全書, in 1919, some 7 years after the founding of the Republic, China also moved into the second stage of encyclopaedia publishing—namely, that of replacing the old encyclopaedias for everyday use with new dispensations.⁴ The work might be seen as an unacknowledged Chinese counterpart to the Hakubunkan set. Its publication in the midst of the New Culture movement in China is no accident.

The Commercial Press was a publishing house that discovered the market potential of modernity in China in all its aspects, from the schoolbook to the women’s journal, and from important Western works in translation to classical Chinese works in careful editions as well as modern Chinese scholarship. It was a commercial enterprise that functioned without subsidies from missionaries or political advocacy groups. The success of its publications, including that of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, which by 1925 was in its 13th run, shows that there was a public willingness—a pull—to attain the new knowledge, not just a push from some elite figures.⁵

In this encyclopaedia the agenda of presenting the wherewithal needed for the modern reconfiguration of everyday values and habits is clearly spelled out in the

⁴ Wang Yanlun 王言綸 (chief editor), Chen Duo 陳鐸, Zhou Yueran 周越然, Liu Dashen 劉大紳, Zhuang Shi 莊適, Ping Hailan 平海瀾, and Tang Jinggao 唐敬臬, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu* [Parallel title: *Everyday Cyclopaedia*] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919).

⁵ For study on the Shanghai Commercial Press see Jean-Pierre Drège, *La Commercial Press de Shanghai, 1897–1949* (Paris: Collège de France, 1978); Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004); on the relationship between the Shanghai Commercial Press and Japan, see Tarumoto Teruo 尊本照雄, *Shoki Shōmu Inshokan kenkyū* 初期商務印書館研究 [Studies on the early period of the Commercial Press] (Ōtsu: Shinmatsu Shōsetsu Kenkyūkai, 2000).

first sentence of the preface of the *Riyong baike quanshu* with its official English parallel title *Everyday Cyclopaedia*.

The progress made in learning in recent times and the creation of new ideals and new causes calls for our people every day to jointly hurry forward along the path towards civilization (*wenming*).

近世學術進步，新理想新事業之發明，日詔吾人以共趨於文明之途。⁶

The key term for this encyclopaedia is *wenming* or civilization. The mission of this compilation is to aid in the hurried rush to civilization. We will thus have to analyze how this encyclopaedia and its supplements and sequels defined the notion of being civilized, and what kinds of knowledge and behavior they presented as leading along this path. The focus will be on “family” related entries since this represents one of the most sensitive parts of a society in fundamental social transformation, and in some of the most essential ways it defines the everyday and Mr. and Mrs. “Everybody” in a society. As the Japanese publication also had the “family” category, we will examine whether it provided the model for the Commercial Press, and how the two works compare in their notions of civilization and nation-building.

The *Everyday Cyclopaedia* and the Notion of the Everyday and of Everyone

The 1919 *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, which comprised two fat volumes with four million characters altogether, was a major enterprise. It quickly came to dominate the market and was reprinted with very minor changes throughout the 1920s. An extensive single volume supplement, *bubian* 補編, which was issued in 1925, also went through many printings.⁷ After a 1931 Japanese bombing raid had burned the Commercial Press plant, and with it the ready printing sets for an extensive further update together with the reference materials, the Commercial Press came out with a completely redone three-volume set “in the 3rd year after the national catastrophe,” (that is, 1934) as the official dating in the end announced. This was the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*, *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu* 重編日用百科全書.⁸

⁶ “Bianji dayi” 編輯大意 [General statement of purpose of this compilation], in *Riyong baike quanshu*, eds. Wang Yanlun *et al.*, vol.1. In this study the 13th edition (1925) is used. It follows the 1919 edition with a single change mandated by a government decree, the elimination of the traditional Chinese calendar.

⁷ He Songling 何崧齡 (chief editor), Wang Xiulu 王岫廬, Ruan Xiang 阮湘, Hu Junfu 胡君復, Tang Jinggao 唐敬杲, Xu Shouling 徐壽齡, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu bubian* 日用百科全書補編 [Supplement to the everyday cyclopaedia] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1925).

⁸ Huang Shaouxu 黃紹緒 *et al.*, eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu* 重編 日用百科全書 [Completely revised *Everyday Cyclopaedia*], 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934; many reprints).

The 1919 edition was organized by topics. Beginning with the subject of “Astrological Signs,” *Tianxiang* 天象, it went on to the “Organization of Time,” *Shixu* 時序, “Geography,” *Dili* 地理, “History,” *Lishi* 歷史, and “Education,” *Jiaoyu* 教育, to end with “*Shushu*” 數術, a traditional term for magical calculations and fortune-telling. These large categories (to the number of 44) were subdivided. It is clear that the basic division of knowledge here is one between China and the West and between old and new ways of organizing life. This cultural rather than alphabetical principle of organization meant that if the reader did not know the precise term for the concept, institution, practice, or object about which he wanted information, he/she could locate the desired information by going to sections marked by terms that were widely accepted and familiar. The focus in the organization was on practical usefulness for a very general readership rather than on a new, utterly modern taxonomy accessible only to a few people.

The sources on which the 1919 edition draws in order to map a new lifestyle, together with an entirely new world, are largely and explicitly Western, although Chinese traditional learning and custom form part of the reference. The general introduction claims Chinese and Western illustrations and books, miscellaneous records, and newspaper articles as sources, but does not give particular references in the individual entries as had been done by some late Qing works discussed in this volume such as the 1884 *Classified Compilation of Western Affairs*, *Xishi leibian* 西事類編.⁹ The “Introduction” also claims that quite a few entries had been incorporated from translations of Western, especially American, works. The encyclopaedia in fact seems to largely draw on American sources; often the names of the authors of the translated works are given in English as well as in transliteration. Besides the title, however, there is some evidence that the Japanese work was at least used in part as a model. They both share organization according to subject categories rather than according to a random formal criterion.¹⁰

It is well known that the Commercial Press employed a large number of people with foreign language abilities. Between 1903 and 1930, the company hired 1,362 translators, among them four Japanese nationals. During the same period, the company actively engaged student returnees from both Japan and the West to join in, ending up with 2 from France, 3 from England, 18 from America, and 49 from Japan. Many of these later became well-known writers, professors, translators, and politicians. According to the memoir of Zhou Yueran 周越然 (1885–1946), an English translator who was one of the compilers of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, English and American publications played a huge role as models for the

⁹ Shen Chun 沈純, *Xishi leibian* 西事類編 [Classified compilation of Western affairs] (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, 1884). On the role of this work, see the essay by Rudolf Wagner in this volume.

¹⁰ For example, the 1923 *Xin wenhua cishu* 新文化辭書 [Parallel title: Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge] followed the sequence of the Latin alphabet. Its editor Tang Jinggao 唐敬果 was also among the compilers of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*. Tang Jinggao 唐敬果 *et al.*, eds., *Xin wenhua cishu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1923).

compilation of different kinds of publications including journals and textbooks.¹¹ For the publication of encyclopaedias, the models were mainly from America, England, and Japan.¹²

The Knowledge Needed to be “in Tune with the Civilization of the World Community”

“How should we accumulate the great variety of learned knowledge so as to be in tune with the civilization of the world community? There is no other way but to enlarge our knowledge!” (吾人應如何預儲種種學識，以應世會之文明？惟是學識繁博!) declared the editors after the above quoted first phrase of their “General statement of purpose” for the 1919 edition. They were to “include all that was fit for practical use” 取其切有實用者 in Chinese and Western books. The terms “practical use,” *shiyong* 實用, “useful,” *youyong* 有用, and “of everyday usefulness,” *riyong* 日用, appear repeatedly in the preface. The “everyday” indeed included a broad array of things, and the encyclopaedia promised to offer “the regular knowledge of daily use that one could not do without” 日用不可少之常識 in science, fine arts, and handicraft production as well as about state, society, and family. A civilized citizen needed practical knowledge of everyday science; calligraphy, embroidery, photography, or bookbinding might be his or her cultural interests. In the field of production it included Chinese and Western knowledge of agriculture, industry, and business, including household industries led by women. In the field of state and politics we have democratic institutions, citizens’ duties and rights, and a basic knowledge of diplomacy, military matters, finance, and taxation. For social relations it included all kinds of etiquette for different life situations such as marriage, funeral or memorial services, with guidance for both “modern” Western and “traditional” Chinese practices.

¹¹ Zhou Yueran 周越燃, “Wo he Shangwu yinshuguan” 我和商務印書館 [I and the Commercial Press], in *Shangwu yinshuguan jiu shi wu nian 1897–1992—wo he Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館九十五年 1897–1992—我和商務印書館*, ed. Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1992), 163–182.

¹² Tang Jinquan 唐錦泉, “Huiyi Wang Yunwu zai Shangwu yinshuguan de ershiwu nian” 回憶王云五在商務印書館的二十五年 [Recalling Wang Yunwu’s twenty-five years at the Commercial Press], in *Shangwu yinshuguan jiu shi nian 1897–1987—Wo he Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館九十年 1897–1987—我和商務印書館*, ed. Shangwu yinshuguan (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1987), 259–261.

The Architectural Blueprint for the New Family in the Age of Republican Reform

The entry on “Family” comes at the end of the *Everyday Cyclopedic*. It consists of a body of knowledge plus comments that convey mixed messages. The hidden struggle of the compilers with the concept of the modern family is at the center of this. What does this new structure mean in real social terms? How should men and women behave in such a new structure? What about the traditional family structure? What might be the relationship between the two? And finally, what might the *Cyclopedic* offer to its readers as advice on what kind of family system could be held up as an optimal model for China as it hurried towards becoming a civilized society? The editors are critical of the traditional—or, as they put it, the “old”—family system, but they also state that the “new family system” is a “Western” feature, which offers the reader (and the editors) the option to keep a certain distance from the information they are providing. Since the structure of the family represents the very core of “everyday” and “everybody,” and as the *Cyclopedic* set out to instruct “everybody” how to live an ideal modern life “everyday,” the quandaries of the editors as they go into the details of their civilizing mission are revealed most clearly in their juxtaposing contradictory assessments of the old family system.

The Old Family System

One of the most sensitive issues in the agenda to modernize China is the position of women within the family. This is dealt with at the very beginning of the “Family” section. The first item in the first subsection “Family Education,” Jiajiao lei 家教類, is an extract from Ban Zhao’s (45–116) “Admonitions to Women,” *Nü jie* 女誡. It is a normative text reaffirming the inferior social position of women. It notes that in ancient times a female infant would be placed under instead of on the bed to imprint into her mind the “lowly and weak position of always being under the master” 明其卑弱, 主下人也.¹³ Further excerpts from *Analects for Women*, *Nü lunyu* 女論語,¹⁴ and *Guidance for Women*, *Nü xun* 女訓,¹⁵ buttress this line. The second subsection deals with “Home Management,” Jiazheng lei 家政類, and introduces the “old” and the “new” family system. The strength of the old system, the text states, is that

¹³ Wang Yanlun et al., eds., *Riyong baike quanshu* (1919), *juan* 39: Jiating, 1.

¹⁴ Shang Gong 尚宮, “Nü lunyu” 女論語 [Analects for women], in *Shuo fu* 說郛 (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1963), *juan* 70.

¹⁵ Zhangshengciren huang taihou 章聖慈仁皇太后, *Nü xun* 女訓 [Guidance for women] (Neifu, 1530).

“Our country makes with a completely ‘man-made’¹⁶ society clear distinctions between men and women, establishes a clear order between the old and the young, and its social customs of honesty, sincerity, friendliness, peacefulness, moral integrity, and chastity are all qualities still being admired by the civilized states in Europe and America”¹⁷ 我國以完全<人為>之社會，而男女有別，長幼有序，敦睦之風，貞操之節，至今尚為歐美文明國稱道者。These virtues are the result of an education that took place within the family. However, the weaknesses of this system, as the editors point out, are numerous as well. The custom of “living together” in the extended family (同居), arranged marriages, and an inheritance system that favors the eldest son, are “not compatible with the trends of modern times” 不適於今日之時勢; they “restrict the freedom of family members” 束服家人之自由, and “hinder the progress of society” 阻止社會之進步。A more critical statement comes at the end where the author claims that “the major cause for the slow progress of society in our country is the lack of reform in the family system” 我國社會進步之遲滯以家庭之不改革為其大因。¹⁸

While the juxtaposition of these strengths and weaknesses might demonstrate the ambivalence of the editors themselves, the lack of a unified point of view also functions as a kind of discussion platform for the reader, with the text sharing the readers’ dilemmas on the issue rather than—as happens in other segments of the work—boldly instructing them. By using the “scientific” language of evolutionism and the rhetoric of stating objective fact rather than belief or conviction, the text claims as incontrovertible truth that key features of the old system block the progress of civilization that had become the trend of the day. This is made much clearer if one is juxtaposing the depiction of the old system with that of the new.

The New Family System

The “new family system,” the reader is told, “refers to the system of the civilized countries in Europe and America. Its difference in structure from the one practiced in China in fact hinges on a difference in the underlying doctrine. That is to say, China continues to hold on to the old clan doctrine, whereas the Europeans and Americans advocate a doctrine that is focused on the individual” 新家庭制度者，指今日歐美文明國之家庭而言。其組織與中國不同，實在根本主義之差異。蓋中國仍守舊家族主義，而歐美則崇尚以個人主義。¹⁹ As the description proceeds, the author time and again inserts his arguments and his opinion by comparing the two systems and endorsing the Western-based new family system.

¹⁶ “Man-made,” *renwei* 人為, does not signify male-made, but indicates the opposite of ‘naturally grown’.

¹⁷ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 39: Jiating, 10.

¹⁸ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 39: Jiating, 11.

¹⁹ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 39: Jiating, 12.

In the section on “The Organization of the New Family” the three main topics are—not surprisingly—“Living Separately [viz. in nuclear families],” “Marriage System,” and “Property [rights].” In all three the criticism of the old Chinese family system is repeated. The advantages of the new system are “strong cohesion” due to the small size of the family (凝結堅固), “unity of spirit” (精神貫徹), and the prevalence of love between parents and children with filial piety continuing to be strong and vibrant.²⁰ The editors reassure the reader that the new system is not a threat to moral values and social order, but that in fact it maintains the positive basic values associated with the old system.

Regarding “the system of marriage” the author takes a completely evolutionary point of view. After the matriarchal and patriarchal stage of social development, marriage based on love is the necessary third stage in human development. At this stage, the role of parents in partner selection is marginal; they can only offer their advice. The freedom of marriage based on love also comes with its own set of responsibilities, which go beyond those prevailing at the two earlier stages.

With regard to property and inheritance, the person who accumulated the wealth is its natural owner. There is no obligation either on the side of the father to leave his property to his son or sons, nor do his sons have a right to demand it. On the other side, the son has no obligation to offer all his income to the father. Only when there are difficulties will the family members help each other out.²¹

The author goes into great detail about the family relationships within the new family. Under the heading “The Components of the New Family,” Xin jiating zhi chengfen 新家庭之成分, he distinguishes the three components of the nuclear family: husband, wife, and children and declares, “The husband is the representative of the entire family in all matters dealing with the outside” 一切對外之事, 悉以男子為一家代表. Coming with this power is the duty to support his entire family, and the primary responsibility of being the head of the household is to take the interests of the family as his basic guideline. As for the wife, the title of the section already announces that there is a “difference in the responsibilities of men and women” even in the new family 男女職事之不同: “To put it simply, the one is dealing with the outside world, and the other is managing the internal world [of the family]” 簡言之則曰一對外而一對內而已. The work of the women in the household is as important as that of the husband outside. In this sense, the status of women and men is equal. The responsibilities of the wife include family hygiene, children’s education, and moral guidance as well as management of the household economy. The section ends with a very strong comment on the part of the author. Under the heading “Women Should Focus on Domestic Affairs Exclusively,” Nüzi dang zhuanwu jiashi 女子當專務家事, he argues that the importance of the task of the wife cannot only be gauged from its direct impact on the family, but also from its indirect impact on the well-being of society and the country as a whole.

²⁰ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, juan 39: Jiating, 12.

²¹ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, juan 39: Jiating, 12.

The Japanese *Everyday Cyclopaedia* of (1895–1900)

The use of identical Chinese and Japanese characters in the title suggests a direct relationship between the Chinese and the Japanese encyclopaedias “for everyday use.” Indeed, similar opinions on the family are found in the *Home Management and Domestic Affairs* volume of the Japanese series.²² This is all the more remarkable as some 20 years of rapid change separate the two. For one thing, all the terms used for the categories in the *Everyday Cyclopaedia* are modern terms cast in Japan, if not taken directly from the Japanese encyclopaedia. The Japanese volume is divided into sections including: “Home management,” Kasei 家政, “Society,” Shakai 社会, “Child care,” Hōiku 保育, “Servants,” Bokubi 僕婢, “[Home] economics,” Keizai 經濟, “Savings,” Chochiku 貯蓄, “Art,” Bijutsu 藝術, “Style,” Yōgi 容儀, and “Time,” Jikan 時間. Although, there is no clear indication from these larger section headings that the Chinese text was based on the Japanese work, a comparison of the subsections within these larger categories reveals a clearer link. Included under “Home management” is the subsection on “Housewife,” Shufu 主婦, from which most of the arguments made in the Chinese work under “Husband” and “Wife” appear to have been taken. They include a description of the differences between men and women both in terms of physical and mental characteristics, which make them better suited for given tasks. For men these would be activities outside the home having to do with social, military, political, and legal affairs, and the duty to protect family and country and maintain peace; women are better suited for activities within the household such as household management, maintaining correct principles and moral standards, the education of the children, and promoting the safety and happiness of their family, and all this while maintaining a mutual respect with the husband, thus fulfilling the “basic duty,” *honmu* 本務, of a wife.²³ There is no status hierarchy involved, this Japanese encyclopaedia argues, the division of labor only follows the natural strengths of each sex.

The Chinese encyclopaedia also adheres closely to this line of argument, and in its discussion of the demand for equal rights for women it uses almost the same rhetoric as the Japanese text.²⁴ Even the list of the basic duties of a housewife is identical, including household hygiene, education of the children, setting moral

²² Ōhashi Otowa 大橋乙羽, *Kasei annai* 家政案内 [Home management and domestic affairs], in *Nichiyō hyakka zensho*, vol. 4. The editor Ōhashi Matatarō 大橋又太郎 was a major figure in the series, editing more than ten of its volumes. For a preliminary study on the cultural impact of family-oriented encyclopaedias on Meiji Japan see Zhong Shaohua 鍾少華, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju: Zhong-Ri jindai baike quanshu yanjiu* 人類知識的新工具: 中日近代百科全書研究 [A new tool of human knowledge: A study of early modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1996), 135–36.

²³ Ōhashi Otowa, “Kasei annai,” in *Nichiyō hyakka zensho*, 4: 10–11.

²⁴ The phrase “such a great responsibility” for women 如き大任 (Ōhashi Otowa, “Kasei annai,” in *Nichiyō hyakka zensho*, 4: 12–13) is recast as “such an important task and responsibility for women” 職事之重要 (Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 39: 12–13).

standards within the household, the management of household servants, management of household economics, and household entertainment. Both texts define the home as the foundation of the state.

The difference between the entries on women and family in these two encyclopaedias lies in their handling of the impact of the ‘new’—the West—upon traditional values. As the easy issues of science and technology are not in the picture, a fundamental reassessment has to be given of the ideal home and home management, of the proper relations between men and women—in short, of issues close to the heart of cultural identity. While the values upheld in both works are identical, the framing is keenly different. While the Chinese text stresses the contrast between the new and the old family system, the Japanese text simply states the ideals without either using the terms new or old, nor East and West. The West, so frequently referred to in the Chinese text as the model, seems totally absent from the Japanese discussion. Because the Japanese state had dictated the terms of modernity for women, the issue was simply closed. The only time that the West appeared as a model in the Japanese work is in the upper segment of the slip page introducing “Western method of managing servants,” *Seiyō yōnin kanri-hō* 西洋傭人管理法. In this sense, the West is presented outside the normative segment and only as useful knowledge for reference. With the historical approach of contrasting the new order with the old, the Chinese text effectively inserts itself into the process of inevitable global social evolution on the way to the state of “civilization.” China is not an anomaly, but part of this historical transformation. No such historical perspective is visible in the Japanese text. The contrast between the past and the present is presented, isolated, and trivialized here in a series of illustrations about changing clothing fashions entitled “The Competition Between Today and the Past,” *Kinseki kyō* 今昔競.²⁵ While the Chinese discussion centers on change, the Japanese emphasizes modernity already achieved. In 1919 no strong center was available in China that could and would have pushed through a top-down reform. The Chinese encyclopaedia therefore tries to mobilize individuals to shoulder the responsibility of bringing about change themselves.

On the issue of the social position of the child in the household, the Chinese discussion goes much farther than the Japanese, adding the rights of a child to the standard topics of childcare and education. Children as tomorrow’s citizens have rights. It claims that there are people who “misunderstand the meaning of freedom and equality” within the new family structure and claim that “there is no hierarchical order between father and son.” “As a consequence they create a society where fathers do not behave like fathers and sons do not behave like sons” (今人誤解自由平等之意義。遂謂父子之間無尊卑上下之分，因之造成父不父子不子之社會). This misunderstanding is based on ignorance. Freedom and equality are by nature a spiritual thing and not some outer form. The respect and love of children towards

²⁵ For example, illustrations depicting a military man in modern uniform versus samurai in traditional dress; however, in both illustrations there is a female figure on her knees (the one depicting the prostration of the past, the other present-day simple kneeling) receiving orders and serving the men; see Ōhashi Otowa, “Kasei annai,” in *Nichiyō hyakka zensho*, 21 and 27.

their parents are as natural as nature itself. The authority of parents is equally natural. “This is not to say that like in our country, children are asked to blindly obey their parents, or just because they live with their parents, they are regarded as being filial. In fact, children should obey that which represents righteousness. This represents the spirit of the new family. To blindly obey does not represent filial piety.” The author concludes by openly criticizing the old family system and calling upon young people to move beyond the confines of the family and take on social responsibilities. To hold on to old forms of filial piety by living at home is only living the form of that ideal, whereas to try to contribute to society’s wellbeing is to be filial to one’s parents in an essential sense.²⁶

The section on “Family education” in the Chinese text reproduces much of the standard notions and texts on the subject. The result is a completely outdated set of traditional prescriptions. In contrast, the section on “Home management” offers a lively debate, juxtaposing different points of view and confronting the old family system with new arguments.

From these examples we can see that the *Everyday Cyclopedic* retains a rather strong—if contested—agenda and is not simply a commercial product that tries to keep to a common denominator. This agenda, however, had become mainstream enough to provide an incentive to buy the set. The construction of a knowledge base that was both necessary and suitable for the common peoples’ progress into modern life was a highly contested field. The Commercial Press was not the only big player on the Chinese book market by far. Still, the *Everyday Cyclopedic* remained the only work of its kind on the market in Republican China. The Commercial Press released the supplement and the new edition, and all of them went through a large number of reprints. This success, which was replicated by the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge*, *Xin wenhua cishu* 新文化辭書,²⁷ signals the success of a business strategy that banked on the willingness of literate and moderately affluent segments of the public to invest in this guide to everyday modernity, which came with the added bonus of being highly visible on the bookshelf in the living room of the new nuclear family. This strategy involved risking substantial amounts of capital and high-quality manpower over lengthy periods to produce works of a quality that would secure an extended shelf life in both markets and homes. The strategy was successful enough that no other publisher tried to challenge the Commercial Press in this territory. As there was in fact no competition for the *Everyday Cyclopedic*, with its wide distribution it assumed the character of a standard reference work that ended up having a semi-official character in the absence of anything else that could be called an official government line on everyday modernity during these chaotic years after Sun Yat-sen’s edicts on the Republican citizens’ mandatory haircut, hat, and ritual dress in his few weeks as president in 1912.

²⁶ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 39: Jiating, 13.

²⁷ Tang Jinggao *et al.*, eds., *Xin wenhua cishu* [Encyclopedic dictionary of new knowledge]. The translation of the title is the official subtitle. The Chinese would actually translate this as “Encyclopaedic dictionary of new culture.”

The Civilization Project Completed?

If the editors of the 1919 edition of the encyclopaedia were still cautious in mapping the contours of the new ideal family, the 1925 *Addendum*, following the same subject headings, bluntly focused on the “Essentials of the New Family,” *Xin jiating gaiyao* 新家庭概要, leaving the “Old Family System” to a separate section. The stance taken in this later work was proactive and unequivocal in its support of the new family system. To highlight the difference, a short table with “A comparative perspective on the new and old family [systems],” *Xin jiu jiating bijiao guan* 新舊家庭比較觀, was inserted. For example:

Old: Restricts the freedom of the younger generation; thus not able to create all-rounded individuals capable of independent thinking.

New: Freedom in one’s thinking. Independent in living; ability to define one’s own individual character.

Old: Despotic arrangement of marriage. Largely restricts the happiness of the children.

New: Freedom in marriage. The acquisition of knowledge and of moral understanding can be guided by individual character. And the [old] system of adolescent-marriage can be legally persecuted and punished by society.²⁸

舊：束縛子孫之自由，故不能造出有思想能發達個性之人。

新：思想自由，個人自營生活。可由個人之個性決定。

舊：專制主婚，子女之快樂大半為之限制。

新：婚姻自由，智識道德可隨個性而結合。並早婚之制尚可由社會裁制。

The stance taken in this *Addendum* indicates that by 1925, the social consensus concerning the ideal family system—if not social practice—had shifted towards the new. The *Addendum* reflects this shift in the self-confidence of its language and does its share to promote it. The extreme idealism in the description of the new family might indicate, however, that in terms of social practice it was still in its honeymoon phase with Chinese urbanites.

In 1934 the Commercial Press came out with an entirely new three-volume set edition of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, compiled by a new group of editors.²⁹ It did away with the old arrangement of topics with its Heaven, Earth, Man sequence that had been designed in 1919 and 1925 to help readers quickly find what they needed. With its topical arrangement it presupposed a reader steeped in a modern order of things, and helped to locate details with an extensive new-style “four corner” index. Although it was a much more comprehensive and complete work—which proved able to maintain its market monopoly—the entry “Family” was in fact shorter than in the 1919 edition. In general, with different sections totally eliminated and others shortened, it is a much more condensed version of the earlier entries. From “Family,” the items “Reform of the Marriage System,” *Jiehun gailiang shuo* 結婚改良說, and “Women Socializing According to Western Style,” *Funü jiaoji xili shi* 婦女交際西禮式 from the 1919 edition, as well as “What Women Should Pay Attention to at this Time of Transformation,” *Nüzi zai gaizao shidai ying zhuyi zhi*

²⁸ He Songling *et al.*, eds., *Riyong Baiké quanshu bubian*, *juan* 39: 9.

²⁹ Huang Shaouxu *et al.*, eds., *Chongbian riyong baiké quanshu*.

shilei 女子在改造時代應注意之事項, from the 1925 addendum had all disappeared. These condensations and eliminations largely reflected a new social reality where new civic regulations and laws had been passed addressing many of the issues involving individual rights and freedom in marriage.³⁰ Nonetheless, the fact that an entirely new edition was deemed necessary—apart from the bombs that burned the print-ready cases for a revised edition—reflects the changes that had taken place between 1919 and 1934. The West no longer appeared as a separate entry that needed to be highlighted, or entered as a form of authoritative source. Rather, on the narrative level, all things Chinese and foreign are combined into a unified knowledge base without any clear national borders. The earlier didacticism had all but vanished from the narrative stance, and the encyclopaedia now read as a book full of useful facts for a reality that appeared to be already that of an ideal future.

Does this suggest that the task of bringing the Chinese people closer towards *wenming* or civilization had been achieved? If the preface to the 1934 edition is any indication, the answer is yes:

The *Everyday Cyclopedea* that our company published in the past has received high praise in society. However, in these last ten years or so, society has undergone many transformations, and all kinds of new thinking, new knowledge, and new causes have sprung up like spring shoots after a rainfall, the speed of transformation is amazing. Therefore we came to believe that to meet the needs of our everyday life at present, what was compiled some ten years ago, has either lacunae or is no longer applicable for today's use. Therefore, our publishing house decided in 1929 to make an addendum.

本館前出日用百科全書，頗承社會稱許。惟十餘年來，社會改革既多，各種新思想新學術，及新事業之發生，如春筍經雨，瞬息變觀。吾人為應付目前日常生活環境之需要，遂覓十年前編著之本書，或右罅漏，或失實效。因此本館於民國十八年，即從事增訂。³¹

In fact, the 1934 edition was a product that had survived the test of war:

It took two years to complete the work for this undertaking. When the manuscript was finished and had been sent to be printed, we [the printing plant of the Commercial Press in Shanghai, C.Y.] were attacked [by Japanese aircraft] on January 28 [1931] and the whole project was reduced to ashes. After we returned to business, we started again to collect the materials and [decided to come out with] a completely new edition.

逾二年，稿成付印，而總廠突遭一二八之難，全稿化為灰燼。復業以後，重新搜集材料，全部徹底改變。³²

The new encyclopaedia is thus, in part, the product of war and reconstruction. It reflects a sense of defiance against brute force as well as the coming of age of Republican China. In an important way this new edition of the *Everyday Cyclopedea* redefines not only China's self-image as a modern country run by a modern state,

³⁰ A précis of the development of civil law during the Republican period is in Xin Ping 忻平 *et al.*, eds., *Minguo shehui daguan* 民國社會大觀 [A panoramic view of Republican society] (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1991), 69–70.

³¹ Huang Shaou *et al.*, eds, *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, 1.

³² Huang Shaou *et al.*, eds, *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, 1.

but the notion of “civilization” itself. In fact, the 1934 edition marks a transition from the goal of “civilization” to that of “modernization.”

The changes in the “Family” section are not unique but part of a wider readjustment in which the readers’ profile was shifted together with their everyday needs in an increasingly modern world. The “Family” section with its additions, abbreviations, and eliminations over time is a particularly sensitive gauge for the editor’s perception of the social transformations taking place in China as well as the development of their own thinking on the role of their encyclopaedia.

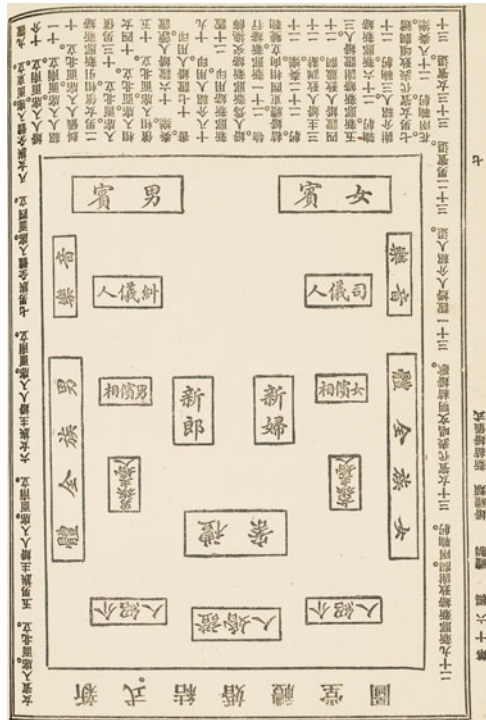
The clearest examples under the “Family” heading, which documents the process of recording and crafting the image of the modern state, are marriage rituals and clothing fashions. The first effort is recorded in the 1919 edition under “Code of Etiquette,” Lizhi 禮制. Opening the first section on “The Essentials of the New Marriage Ceremony,” the great importance of this social ritual as part of a government agenda of social modernization is emphasized: “A draft law on marriage ceremony has been completed by the Office of Code of Etiquette. Due to the fact that this type of code of etiquette is most fundamental to society, the text will be recorded in full” 禮制館所議婚禮草案，已經擬定。此種禮制與社會關係，最為切要。特錄其原文。³³ The person in charge is the head of the household. The ritual involves “discussing a match” by the parents, which requires, however, the consent of their child. If the young people make their own matrimonial choice, they must attain the consent of their parents. The new aspects of this clause are the rights given to the young people in question; in the past the marriage arrangement had been made between parents with the help of the matchmaker and without any participation by the young people in question. “Making the match” involved the exchanging of the names and the dates of birth after which the agreement was sealed. The next steps included presents, setting the date for the marriage, and the wedding ceremony itself. This last event involved the bridegroom escorting the bride to his home for the marriage ceremony with a respected elderly man serving as the witness. What is new here is that during the ceremony the bride and the bridegroom only bow but no longer kneel, and apparently the bride is not required, at least it was not mentioned, to cover her head and face with red cloth.

After these details of the new marriage ritual, an even newer “new wedding ceremony” that had recently started to spread out from urban areas was introduced. A simple affair, it was held in a public meeting hall, a witness read an official marriage license that had been prepared ahead of time, after which the “matchmaker,” *jieshaoren* 介紹人, the witness, the bride, and the bridegroom gave their presentations; the witness says some words of admonition and the whole event ends with the singing of the “Civilized Marriage Song,” *Wenming jiehun ge* 文明結婚歌, by all present.³⁴ The three advantages of this procedure are that the choice of the marriage partner lies with the young people, although even here parental consent is required; that after becoming engaged, the couple may make a separate agreement

³³ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 16: 5.

³⁴ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 16: 6.

Illustration 1 Arrangement in Ceremonial Hall for New-style Marriage. The registrar has his place at the head in the middle, flanked by two matchmakers. Bride and bridegroom stand on this side of the ceremonial table flanked by their guardians. No priest is present. Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds. *Everyday Cyclopedia*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1919, *juan* 16, 7



pledging to continue their studies and supporting themselves before marrying; and that such a wedding costs less since the only gift the parents should offer is a pair of wedding rings.³⁵ To help the reader to visualize the procedure, a map indicates the places where the different actors stand (Illustration 1).³⁶

Following the new marriage ceremony are the “Old and New Combined Marriage Ceremony,” “Old Form of Marriage Ceremony,” and “Wedding Ceremonies in Europe and the United States.” All are given in great detail but without evaluative comments.

The only item added in the 1925 *Addendum* in the “Code of Etiquette” was “Etiquette of Social Intercourse in Europe and the United States.”³⁷ In the 1934 edition the equal status given earlier to the old, the new, and the Western marriage rituals is replaced by the unequivocal dominance of the new marriage ritual. In 1928 a new draft law on the ceremonies of marriage, burial, and social greeting was promulgated by the newly established Nanjing government that also heralded a new stage in government engineering of social mores. The new laws were necessitated, the reader learns, by the confusing simultaneous existence of a great variety of

³⁵ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 16: 6.

³⁶ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 16: 7.

³⁷ He Songling *et al.*, eds., *Riyong Baike quanshu bubian*, *juan* 16: 1–4.

different ceremonies and practices; Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940), the former revolutionary and anarchist who had now become minister of education, and Xue Dubi 薛篤弼 (1892–1973), the then interior minister, had both participated in drafting these laws.³⁸ The rhetoric of the encyclopaedia is clearly supportive of the government’s effort to create a unified standard of civic etiquette as part of the larger nation-building project. The new ceremony is extremely simple, moving from “Engagement” through formal and very short letters to fixing the place of the wedding either in a public hall or at home in a ceremony that is the same as the “New Marriage Ceremony” of the 1919 version, minus the singing of the “Civilized Marriage Song.”³⁹

While the description of the old marriage ceremony in this 1934 edition is extremely detailed, the crucial difference to the entry in the 1919 edition is the decisive historical framing of the old ritual as occurring “in the olden days” 昔日. This ritual is framed as no longer having any significance. In its loving detail it joins in the efforts by Chinese scholars at the time to record the vanishing customs of the people. This narrative stance, together with the elimination of the entry on Western social etiquettes, signals an increased self-confidence but also a merger of the civilizing objective of the encyclopaedia with the reinvigorated government’s efforts at nation building. Both interact in offering guidance for a civilized everyday life. As part of this transformation, the encyclopaedia began to redefine the meaning of *wenming* or civilization. As Chinese society entered modern times, its development was very much in the trajectory set out by the West, and its past could be calmly viewed as part of the development of human civilization in general and Chinese civilization in particular.

The section on “Clothing” further demonstrates this sense of a coming of age in terms of national identity, with the transformation of the “ceremonial dress,” *lifu* 禮服, serving as the clearest example. Under the heading “Clothing” the 1919 edition quoted the new dress code of the Republic, stating that “the ceremonial dress of the Republic has been stipulated in general to follow the customary dress code of the West” 民國禮服制定大概仿效西洋通行之式。⁴⁰ It then goes into detail as to the different kind of formal dress, including the dress code for morning and evening. Under the section on dressmaking, the *Cyclopedia* provides illustrations as to how to make such outfits. It also includes the short jacket (Manchu style!), and long gown (Illustration 2 and Illustration 3 right side) as men’s formal dress for ordinary occasions.⁴¹ The ceremonial dress for women is simply a long, fitted gown, and daily dress includes a short jacket and a long pleated shirt (Illustration 3 left side and Illustration 4).⁴²

³⁸ Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds, *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5796.

³⁹ Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds, *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5796–5798.

⁴⁰ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 36: 1.

⁴¹ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 36: 6–7; 8–9.

⁴² Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 36: 10–11

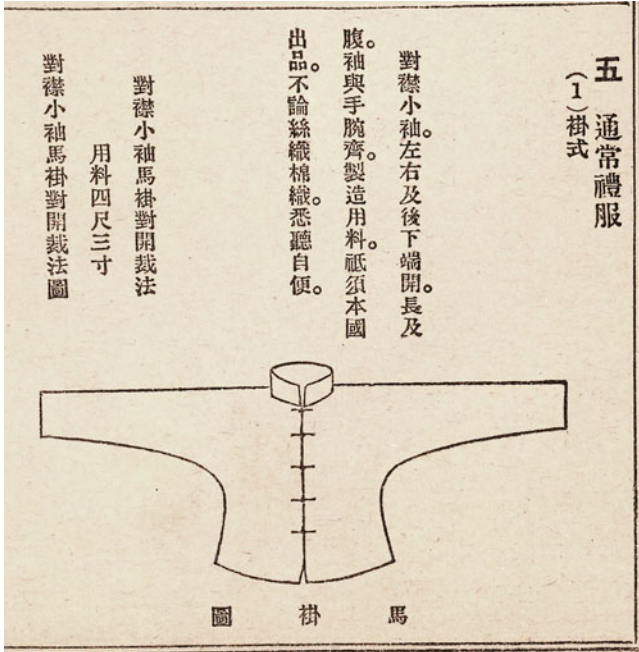


Illustration 2 Regular dress: Short jacket for men. Wang Yanlun et al., eds., *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1919, *juan* 36, 7 and 8

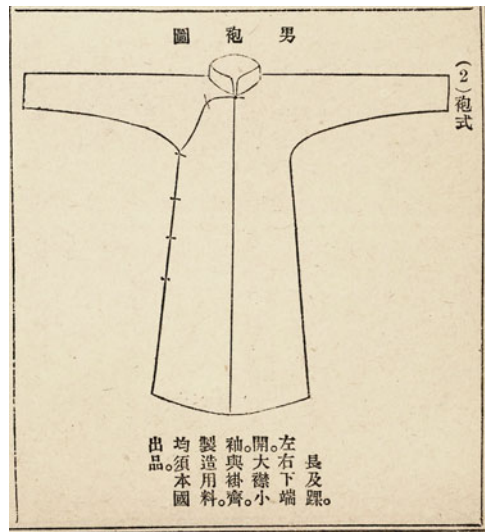


Illustration 3 Regular dress: Long gown for men. Wang Yanlun et al., eds., *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1919, *juan* 36, 7 and 8

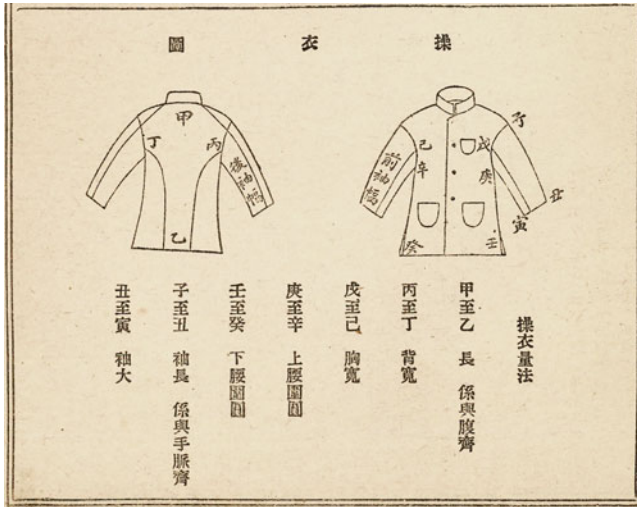


Illustration 4 Formal dress: Women’s jacket and pleated skirt. Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds. *Everyday Cyclopedia*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1919, *juan* 36, 10–11

The 1925 *Addendum* added nothing new to the dress code. The changes in the 1934 edition, however, signal once again a coming of age in the Republic together with a re-crafting of the national image. The ceremonial dress for men had been changed completely. The Western model had been eliminated, and the 1928 dress code law only allowed the short jacket and the long gown for men (Illustration 5, left side and right side top) all in black.⁴³ For women it was a long or a short gown (Illustration 5, right side lower half). A clause stipulated, however, that when attending international events, dress should follow the going international fashion. For government employees, the law stipulated what is known today as the Sun Yat-sen dress (Illustration 6).⁴⁴

The insertion of the formerly independent “Clothing” heading under the “Family” section implies that dress was now the responsibility of the family; it is here that the clothes were made, and thus this was the place for the guidelines. At times, however, reality intruded into these normative guidelines. In “Female Ceremonial Dress,” *Nüzi lifu* 女子禮服, the compilers added a bracket after describing the office dress code “as stipulated by law,” *fa ding de* 法定的, and then describe a different dress of this type adding in a bracket “what is in fashion,” *liu xing de* 流行的. The reason for this was that because the new law code on dress had come into effect only recently, “therefore we are describing what is in fashion at the moment, so as to comply with needs.” This gown itself is rather unique, it seems to have been inspired by the Western-style swallowtail evening coat for men,

⁴³ Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5794–95.

⁴⁴ Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5796.

條及市組織法第七條之規定行之

第十條 本條例施行前已宣誓就職之文官軍官自治職員或教職員應依第七條規定補具簽名蓋章之誓詞分別呈送備案

未宣誓者除依前項規定外並應補行宣誓

第十一條 本條例自公布日施行

六 服制條例(民國十八年四月十六日國民政府公布同日施行)

第一章 禮服

第一條 男子禮服依左列之規定。

一 掛。式如第一圖。齊領。對襟。長至腕。袖長至手脈。左右及後下端開。實用絲麻棉毛織品。色黑。鈕扣五。

二 袍。式如第二圖。齊領。前襟右掩。長至踝上二寸。袖與掛袖齊。左右下端開。實用絲麻棉毛織品。色藍。鈕扣六。

三 帽。冬式如第三圖之甲。凹頂。軟胎。下沿略形

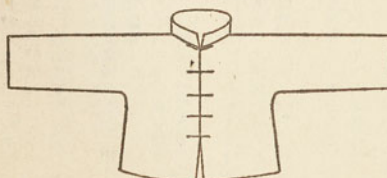


圖 一 第

書 全 科 百 用 日

第二十八編 應用文件 禮制類

四 鞋。實用絲棉毛織品。或革。色黑。線。色白。

一 衣。式如第四圖。齊領。前襟右掩。長至膝與踝之中點。與褲下端齊。袖長過肘與手脈之中點。實用絲麻棉毛織品。色藍。鈕扣六。

圖 二 第

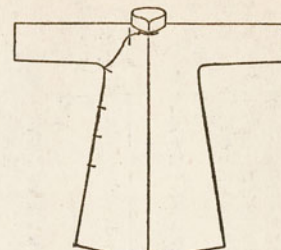



圖 三 第 (甲) (乙)



第二章 制服

第一條 男公務員制服。依左列之規定。

一 衣。式如第六圖。齊領。方

二 鞋。實用絲棉毛織品。或革。色黑。

一 乙種 衣。式如第五圖。齊領。前襟右掩。長過肘與手脈之中點。左右下端開。實用絲麻棉毛織品。色藍。鈕扣五。

二 裙。長及踝。實用絲麻棉毛織品。色黑。

三 鞋。實用絲棉毛織品。或革。色黑。

第三條 男女因國際關係服用禮服時。得採用國際間通用禮服。

圖 四 第

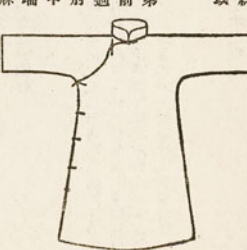


圖 五 第

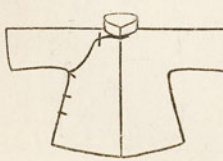


Illustration 5 Formal dress (a) and (b): Men's formal dress according to the new 1928 dress code. (c) Women's formal dress according to 1928 dress code. Huang Shaoxu et al., eds. *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan 1934, *juan* 28, 5794-95

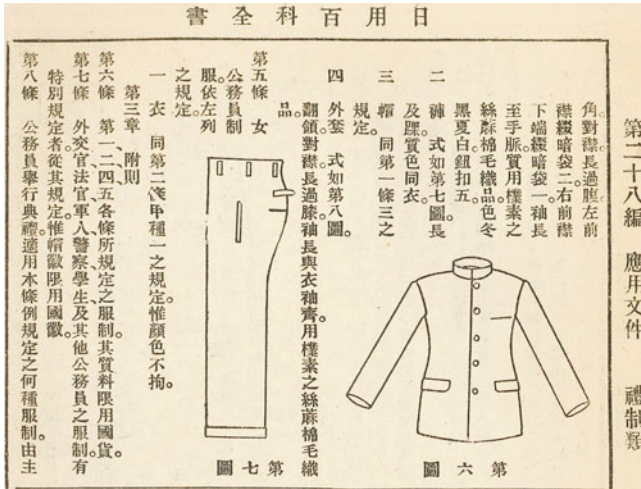


Illustration 6 Sun Yat-sen dress for government servants (1934). Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds., *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934, *juan* 28, 5796

except that the piece in the backside after being cut out is sewn back in, only leaving the impression of a swallowtail (see Illustration 7).⁴⁵ This garment is far more elaborate than the one decreed by the new law. The added entry tells us something about the self-assigned role of the compilers and through them, the Commercial Press. Even as the encyclopaedia increasingly showed an affinity with the Republican government, it was still published by a commercial press and needed to answer the needs of ordinary readers. In this case the editors were willing to back the government in its effort to establish a respectable modern nation; at the same time, their readers also needed practical information. Whenever this information was in conflict with state regulations, a choice had to be made. In this case, at least, the editors chose the side of practicality. Men’s dress was more important for the image of the land and therefore it was treated differently. There certainly were men’s clothing fashions that did not comply with the new laws of the state, but this information was simply not entered. The absence of information is itself a statement.

⁴⁵ He Songling *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu bubian*, *juan* 16: 1–4.
 Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5796.
 Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5796–5798.
 Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 36: 1.
 Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 36: 10–11
 Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5794–95.
 Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5796.
 Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 19: 3768–69.

the original agenda of the *Cyclopedia*, which prescribed civilized lifestyle and public behavior in great detail. The two later editions place greater emphasis on new healthy leisure activities and pastimes for citizens. This also reflected the coming of the New Life Movement, *Xin shenghuo yundong* 新生活運動, which was initiated by Chiang Kai-shek and his wife Soong May-ling in February 1934, the year the new revised edition of the *Everyday Cyclopedia* was published.⁴⁷ Under the subject heading “Family,” the first item under discussion and instruction was “Clothing,” which was all about how to economize on clothing, how to choose the most suitable fabrics for daily use, and how to mend, wash, clear, and store clothes. In other words, it was about how to live modestly in the manner that was encoded in the agenda of this party-state sponsored movement.⁴⁸ Under the new subject heading “Leisure,” *Yule* 娛樂, a selection of healthy new pastimes was presented, including Chinese and Western music, games (for adults, children, and family, already in the 1919 edition under the heading “Games,” *Youxi* 遊戲), and Western-style ballroom dancing—a subject first broached in the 1925 edition in the form of an introductory essay, but now providing the actual dance steps (Illustration 7).⁴⁹ Motion pictures, which had recently developed into a real industry with movie houses popping up in many urban centers, were treated in a subsection with an introductory essay on the relationship between culture and film, a history of the invention of film, film history, and a detailed description on how to make and show motion pictures (now with sound).⁵⁰ Throughout, Chinese elements are an organic part of this civilized activity.

Women continued to be a key target for instruction with modern topics. An entry called “The Exercise for Girls During Puberty,” *Nüzi fayu shidai zhi yundong* 女子發育時代之運動,⁵¹ appears under “Physical Exercise and Gymnastics.” With no further introduction, it describes the exercises with the aid

⁴⁷ The New Life Movement attempted to counter communist ideology with a mix of traditional Confucianism, nationalism, and authoritarianism that has some similarities to fascism. It rejected individualism and Western capitalist values. It also aimed to build up morale in a nation that was besieged with corruption, factionalism, and opium addiction. Some goals included courtesy to neighbors, following rules set by the government, keeping streets clean, conserving energy, and so forth. Chiang Kai-shek used the Confucian notion of self-cultivation and correct living for this movement. While some have praised the movement for its role in raising the quality of life somewhat during the war with Japan, others have criticized it for its lofty goals that were out of touch with the suffering of the general populace. The New Life Movement was considered part of the program to carry out the “principle of the people’s livelihood,” *minsheng zhuyi* 民生主義, in Sun Yat-sen’s *Three Principles of the People*, *Sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義. From Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia. Also see, Keith R. Schoppa, *The Columbia Guide to Modern Chinese History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 290–91.

⁴⁸ Huang Shaouxu et al., eds., *Chongbian Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 19: 3761–3815.

⁴⁹ Huang Shaouxu et al., eds., *Chongbian Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 26: 5323.

⁵⁰ Huang Shaouxu et al., eds., *Chongbian Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 26: 5313–19.

⁵¹ Huang Shaouxu et al., eds., *Chongbian Riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 25: 5018–5020.



Illustration 8 Western girl as model in the 1925 edition. He Songling et al., eds., *Everyday cyclopedia. Supplement*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1925, *Bian* 41, 11

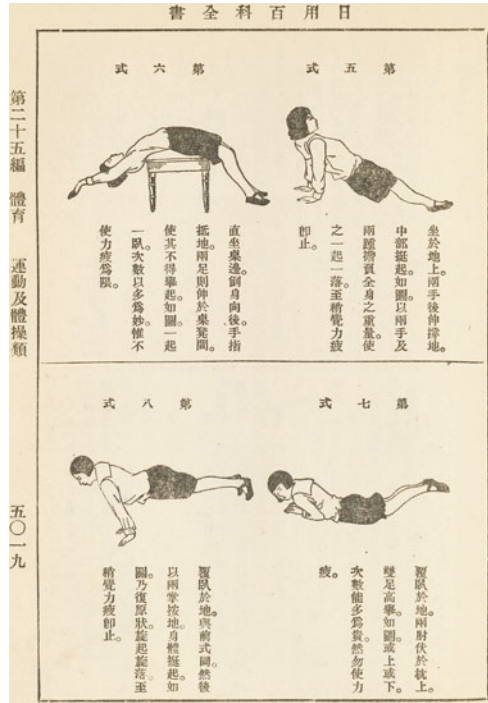
of illustrations (Illustration 8). It had been included in the 1925 *Addendum* with the same subheading,⁵² but there it had been illustrated with photographs of a Western girl (Illustration 9), while the 1934 illustrations incorporated this foreign feature into the modern state by shifting the illustration to drawings of Chinese girls and erasing the references to its foreign origin.

The same happened with the issue of women’s suffrage. The 1925 edition had entered two new entries related to women under the subject heading “Constitutional Politics” in the “Politics” section, “An Investigation on Women Suffrage in Various Countries” and “The Recent History of Women’s Movements in England, American, Germany and France.” The first of the two compares the voting rights of different European countries and the United States; it is a short but rather detailed report on different levels of participation, including national, regional, statewide, and social and financial institutions. It also includes information on the eligibility of women to stand election for public office. In the comparison Denmark and Norway came out ahead, while American women had voting rights in some states and the European women had different degrees of voting rights relating to property and taxpaying status. The author concluded that as time went on, women would inevitably get voting rights.⁵³ The second, longer, article offers a historical perspective on Western women’s movements focusing on equality including voting rights and social position in society including marriage laws, education, labor rights, and protection. Women in Great Britain come out ahead in Europe, having already won the right to stand for office. And in the United States with the strong legislative powers of the

⁵² He Songling et al., eds. *Riyong baike quanshu bubian, bian* 41: 4–11.

⁵³ He Songling et al., eds., *Riyong baike quanshu bubian, juan* 16: 30–31.

Illustration 9 Chinese girl as model in 1934 edition. Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds. *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedia*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934, *juan* 25, 5019



states women had made important inroads.⁵⁴ The 1934 edition replaced these foreign-focused entries with two short and very abstract entries about voting rights under the subject heading “Politics and Administration”; namely, “The Rights of People,” *Renmin zhi quanli* 人民之權利, and “Groups Eligible to Vote,” *Xuanju tuanti* 選舉團體.⁵⁵ In fact, Chinese women only received the right to vote in 1947.

Family-related subjects appear under a wide variety of headings. Many of the modern practices that have been dealt with actually involved other much more complex elements. Fixing the date for a marriage, matching two partners, even making a business decision or deciding on an apartment all involved the traditional arts of finding the lucky day, partner, investment, or place, and people were likely to sing their “Civilized Marriage Song” in unison on a day that had been determined by an old lady in a fortune-telling stall. The additions and changes in the different editions are indicative of the changing ideology and concerns of the editors as well as of changing social realities. The most radical shift, however, is the complete elimination of an event that happened only rarely. The example is “Shushu” 數術, a traditional term for magical calculations and fortune-telling, but also the art of cunning politics. With no less than 84 pages, this had been one of the largest sections in 1919, and in 1925 another 45 pages were added. Together they provided

⁵⁴ He Songling *et al.*, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu bubian*, *juan* 16: 37–41.

⁵⁵ Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 4: 302–03; 307–08.

information on the “new” *Shushu*, including (Western) hypnotism and palmistry together with information on the old *Shushu* category of fortune-telling, physiognomy, geomancy (*fengshui* 風水), and Chinese-style hypnotism. Without explanation, *Shushu* vanished altogether from the 1934 edition. The reasons for its inclusion as well as its eventual erasure can be found in the fate of these arts in the West and in the social and cultural transformations in China. During the nineteenth century, hypnotism, mesmerism, and physiognomy were widely accepted as “scientific” and modern in Europe. Like many of its European counterparts, the *Cyclopaedia*’s compilers must have thought that the very popular Chinese arts of fortune-telling based on the *Book of Changes*, Zhouyi 周易, palm reading, and the like belonged to this branch of learning. By 1934 mesmerism had vanished from the modernity and science package in Europe as much as Social Darwinism had. In China, the anti-superstition campaign of the 1920s—now supported by rigid state- and party-sponsored indoctrination in modernity—had deeply cut both into the acceptance of these practices by the modernizing elites, and into the legitimacy of such a topic in an encyclopaedia committed to the modernity project. Thus, the topic was simply thrown out. What began as an effort to join what was fashionable in the world ended up being affected by the same forces; as these practices lost their acceptance in mainstream Europe and United States, the Chinese retreated as well. After all, modern state could not tolerate superstition among its people.

Just to demonstrate the potential of this source for studies of the political, social, and cultural history of the period, a short glance at the public activities of men and the party-state will be given. How to conduct different types of public gathering for example, a subject that was introduced already in 1919 and was continued in 1934, while new topics such as “Common knowledge on social intercourse between Chinese and Westerners” were also added. Among the continued topics, the “Essential Method for Giving a Public Speech,” Yanjiang yaoshu 演講要術, offers an interesting window into an evolving public culture, where readers needed advice on how to handle this kind of public action. With the rapid expansion of public speech-making on Party and state sponsored occasions during the 1930s, this information remained useful for an ever larger circle of readers. An activity that once had been—and to a degree still was—associated with political agitation for reform and even revolution, had become the emblem of a civilized nation, something citizens had the right and often the duty to perform. The entry provides not only verbal instructions but also illustrations as to the possible impact of certain gestures on the audience similar to the manner in which an actor on stage elicits an emotional response from the audience (Illustration 10).⁵⁶ The 1934 edition also made some changes. It eliminated gesture seven “May God Be with you” (Illustration 11)⁵⁷ and predictably changed the clothing worn by the speaker from the traditional Chinese jacket, pants, and cloth-shoes in 1919 to the Sun Yat-sen’ outfit with Western style pants and leather shoes.

⁵⁶ Wang Yanlun et al., eds., *Riyong baike quanshu*, juan 16: 42–43.

⁵⁷ Huang Shaouxu et al., eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, juan 28: 5832–33.



Illustration 10 Effective gestures for public speeches suggested 1919. Wang Yanlun *et al.*, eds. *Everyday Cyclopaedia*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1919, *juan* 16, 42–43



Illustration 11 Changes in suggested gestures 1934 (the gesture on the second last line on the right "May God be with you" has been deleted). Huang Shaoxu *et al.*, eds. *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934, *juan* 28, 5832–34

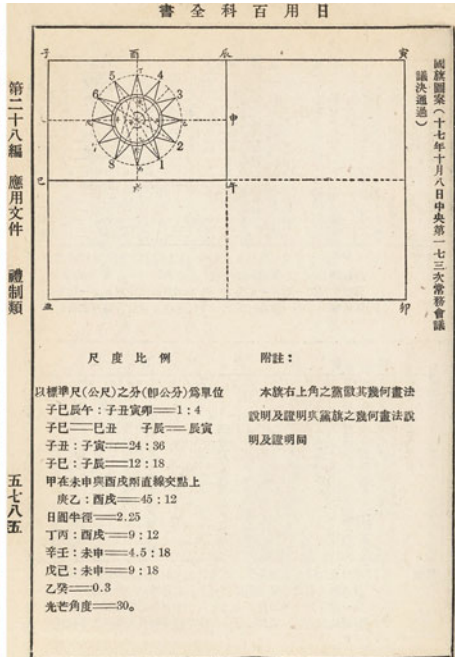
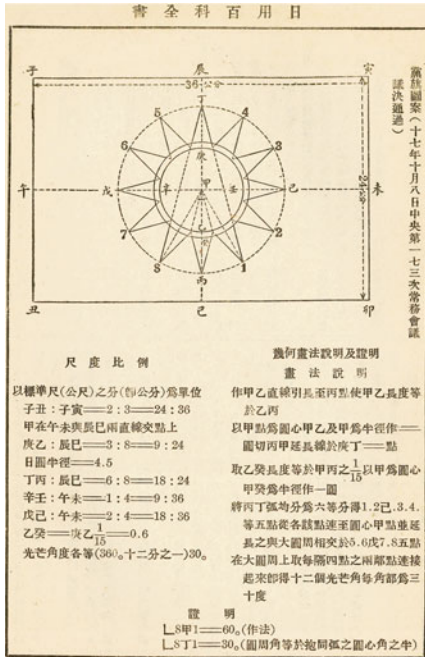


Illustration 12 (a) and (b) Design for making officially approved type of national flag. Huang Shaoxu et al., eds. *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedia*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934, *juan* 28, 5784–85

Probably the single most obvious change brought about by the 1934 edition was the prominent position given to the Kuomintang (KMT) and its government. Its presence is pervasive and found under all kinds of headings. Everything related to the party and the government, from its function, its institutions, and its laws, down to samples of letter headings for official stationary, is all amply presented, linking the everyday life of the people with that of the KMT and the state. For example, information regarding the KMT and the national flag forms part of the subject matter for instruction. The two flags had by 1934 became mandatory fixtures for all official public buildings (including classrooms) and meeting halls. In the section on “Code of Etiquette” the *Cyclopedia* in fact shows its reader how to make such a flag (Illustration 12).⁵⁸ It also gives detailed instruction as to where the flags, together with Sun Yat-sen’s portrait, were to be hung, including the angle at which they should be placed on the front wall.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Huang Shaoxu et al., eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5784–85.

⁵⁹ Huang Shaoxu et al., eds., *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu*, *juan* 28: 5738; 5831.

Conclusion

The production of an encyclopaedia for everyday life that could be used by “everybody” implies that the process of civilization involves all people on a daily basis. The notion of the “everyday” as a field of social transformation or civilization signals that the process had moved beyond the grand institutions of the state, the introduction of science and modern ideologies, the creation of a new language and school system, and the development of machinery towards the transformation of the private lives of people. The publication of a book of new standard practices and notions banks on—and enlarges on—the doubt in the minds of people as to whether or not their habits and values are in tune with the times. The *Everyday Cyclopaedia* mapped out the civilized daily life of a private citizen and it prefigured that life. As much as it placed the burden of becoming modern or civilized on the individual, it also offered the individual an active role in the process of social change. The unit of change here is the individual. This individual is identified as someone with the potential to behave like a citizen or *guomin* 國民. The encyclopaedia challenges the reader to live up to this standard, and offers practical help to get there.

With a strong market orientation comes the fact that this blueprint for the ideal everyday and everybody world cannot afford a total and alienating distance from actual social practice, instead it tries to accommodate readers’ anxieties. By comparison, the *Grande Encyclopédie* by d’Alembert and Diderot was more normative and radical in its break with existing practice, because it was less oriented towards the market to which, given the harsh censorship laws of France and the quick ban of the set, it could not even hope to have free access.⁶⁰ The Commercial Press’ encyclopaedia is a compromise version of the standard of civilized daily life, and the reader is not left out in the cold without anything familiar to hold on to. By incorporating many instances of “old” or “Chinese” knowledge and practices, the *Cyclopaedia* gives the reader a measure of security and offers some sense of cultural reference.

The models were no doubt there, the most obvious being the American and Japanese encyclopaedias that were oriented towards useful and practical knowledge for the new immigrant or new citizens-to-be. However, by 1934, with an increasingly assertive Chinese state, the imprint of the foreign model that had once been a form of validation and cultural capital was obliterated.

The prominent position given to women reflects the view that has often been articulated since the late Qing that women hold the key to the process of making China a civilized or modern society. This made women into a crucial part of the intended readership of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*. Women were the educators of young China and had to be convinced to do so in modern ways that would contribute to broader national goals. Many of the articles directly addressed women and appealed to them to reform their lifestyle and to live out their potential as contributors

⁶⁰ Robert Darnton, *The business of enlightenment: a publishing history of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), 38.

to social progress by gainfully working in society—women were also challenged by the *Cyclopaedia* to transform themselves. As these direct appeals recede in the 1934 edition, the message was transformed and incorporated into a more formal and normative narrative discourse. This can be seen in the increase in information about home economy and management, and the reduction of discussions about the power structure of the family and the division of labor. This seems to suggest that the role of women in the modern family was by that time a given.

By probing the subject of the family in terms of its structures, social relationships, rituals, and pastimes, this study has tried to explore the role of an encyclopaedia with a monopoly hold on the market in the changes and changing notions of this social realm. The finding suggests that the compilers were extremely careful not to convey the impression that a revolutionary change was coming. Rather, they brought in the new in a controlled and confined manner paralleling the old. Although criticisms were made about the old, they are balanced and non-confrontational in manner. Seen in the context of the radical challenges coming with the May Fourth Movement, the Commercial Press's *Everyday Cyclopaedia* kept to a moderately progressive position in the potential conflict between new and old culture. The message seems to be that civilization does not come in one single form; this diversity is what the *Cyclopaedia* tries to present. Yet, the general picture is rather clear: the model of civilization is Europe and the United States. The *Everyday Cyclopaedia* is driven by an agenda of modernity and a drive to be connected to the cultures and knowledge of the world. Both of these imply a break with tradition, which is the very justification for the need of such a new encyclopaedia to replace the popular handbooks of practical knowledge like the *Wanbao quanshu* 萬寶全書, which implied continuity of everyday life since the Ming. These handbooks were still on the market during the Republican period. History, however, was also a player in the evolution of this encyclopaedia. The 1919 edition is marked by a huge lacuna—the absence of Japan as a modernizing model. This might be read as a reaction to the growing Chinese animosity towards Japan's increasingly aggressive demands. The 1925 *Addendum* was published at the height of the anti-foreign agitation emblemized by the May Thirtieth Incident, although there cannot have been a direct impact at the time. The elimination of all overt reference to foreign models in the 1934 edition follows the drift towards a more self-asserting rhetorical stance, but it was almost certainly also a reaction to the Japanese forays into China, including the bombardment of the Commercial Press in 1931. With the consolidation of the KMT control over China and its efforts to guide society, the normative element of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*, both in terms of its rearrangement of subject matters and the overwhelming presence of the party, signals a very close interaction between government-party and social actors like the Commercial Press.

As the title of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia* suggests, the key unit of change in the coming of the civilized and the modern is the everyday life of the average individual. This focus did not change in the different editions of the *Everyday Cyclopaedia*. What did change was the ever-increasing intrusion of the modern state into the private lives of the citizen, a drift that continued well beyond the period of KMT dominance over the mainland.

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- Zhou Yueran 周越然. “Wo he Shangwu yinshuguan” 我和商務印書館 [I and the Commercial Press]. In *Shangwu yinshuguan jiushi wu nian 1897–1992 – wo he Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館九十五年 – 我和商務印書館*, edited by Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 163–182. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1992.

China's "New" Encyclopaedias and Their Readers

Barbara Mittler

Prologue: Encyclopaedias in Modern China

In Europe, encyclopaedias are closely linked with the emergence of modernity,¹ with assumptions about the public character of information, and with the desirability of free intellectual and political exchange.² Modern democratic societies consider not only the availability of general knowledge but also the accessibility of information to be crucial. Therefore, in the history of encyclopaedias the essential question remains: who controls, monopolizes and manipulates encyclopaedic knowledge and who benefits from it? This chapter does not deal with the related privileges and the pivotal question of censorship in encyclopaedia production but instead with the idealized social significance of encyclopaedias and their reception—their civilizing mission.³ By taking as case studies two modern Chinese encyclopaedias, the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge* (quoted as ED), *Xin wenhua cishu* 新文化辭書,⁴ first published in 1923, and the

¹ Many thanks to my doctoral student Xiong Jingjing for her invaluable research assistance.

² Richard Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), XII.

³ Madeleine Herren, Paul Michel, "Unvorgreifliche Gedanken zu einer Theorie des Enzyklopädischen—Enzyklopädien als Indikatoren für Veränderungen bei der Organisation und der gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung von Wissen," in *Allgemeinwissen und Gesellschaft, Akten des internationalen Kongresses über Wissenstransfer und enzyklopädische Ordnungssysteme*, eds. Paul Michel, Madeleine Herren, and Martin Rüesch (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2007), 9–75.

⁴ Tang Jinggao 唐敬皋 *et al.*, ed., *Xinwenhua cishu* 新文化辭書 [Encyclopedic dictionary of new knowledge] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1923). The translation used here can be found on the book cover. A first study of this encyclopaedia has been published in Chinese. See Barbara Mittler, "Wei renren suo bixu de youyong xinshi: Shangwu yinshuguan jiqi *Xin wenhua cishu*" 為人人所必須的有用新知: 商務印書館及其新文化辭書 [Useful new knowledge for everyone to digest?]

B. Mittler (✉)

Institute of Chinese Studies, Heidelberg University, Heidelberg, Germany

e-mail: mittler@asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de

Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia (quoted as EC), *Chongbian riyong baike quanshu* 重編日用百科全書, from 1934,⁵ this chapter explores who may have consulted them, how, and why. It will argue that while both encyclopaedias were geared towards a broad(er) public, the sectors of the public that they did in fact reach were not similar, although they were important and large enough to ensure their respective commercial success.

This chapter mines the prefaces and other paratextual matter as well as selections from these two encyclopaedias for information about their purpose. I will ask why they were produced,⁶ and I will suggest that (1) it is not adequate to say that modern-style encyclopaedias fully broke with long-established Chinese encyclopaedic, or *leishu*-類書 traditions. Indeed, some of these encyclopaedias proffered types of knowledge and classifications that were already found in traditional encyclopaedic writings, especially in the *leishu* for daily use. It is precisely because of their admittance into established traditions of publishing and knowledge production that they were commercially successful; (2) not unlike these earlier encyclopaedic writings for daily use, these modern-style encyclopaedias had a civilizing mission. It was their hope and intention to democratize knowledge and to make it available to everyone, but it was also a moral pursuit. As a result, they functioned in a more didactic manner, expecting their readers to act in accordance with this knowledge; (3) although these modern encyclopaedias did not explicitly include all readers in their intended readership, and although they did not particularly address the new reading public made up of women, they did touch on topics that would have been considered female terrain for reading and thus, they implicitly addressed the female reader as well.

Accordingly, I will first compare the prefaces of the two encyclopaedias in order to investigate whom they intended to reach. In the second part, I will discuss the arrangement and the contents of the two encyclopaedias and their significance in fulfilling the aims proclaimed in their respective prefaces. Finally, I will discuss the question of gendered readerships for these encyclopaedias.

The *Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge* of the Commercial Press], in *Jindai Zhongguo de baike cishu* 近代中國的百科辭書, eds. Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, Miliena 米列娜 [= Milena Doleželová-Velingerová] (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2007), 193–213.

⁵ Huang Shaou 黃紹緒, et al., ed., *Chongbian riyong baikequanshu* 重編日用百科全書 [Completely revised everyday cyclopaedia], 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934). Earlier versions of this encyclopaedia are discussed in Catherine V. Yeh's paper in this volume; the English title *Everyday Cyclopaedia* is used for the 1919 edition, but not for the 1934 edition.

⁶ In my reading, I will treat these encyclopaedia as texts, an approach which has also recently been applied to the study of traditional Chinese encyclopaedia, category books or *leishu*. See Florence Bretelle-Establet and Karine Chemla, "Introduction," in *Qu' était-ce qu' écrire une encyclopédie en Chine?*, eds. Florence Bretelle-Establet and Karine Chemla (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2007), 8.

Luring the Reader: Two Prefaces

Although both were published by the same publishing house—the Shanghai Commercial Press—the two encyclopaedias discussed here were not authored or edited by the same people.⁷ In the first edition (1919) of the *Everyday Cyclopedic Dictionary*, *Riyong baike quanshu* 日用百科全書,⁸ which is also discussed by Catherine V. Yeh in this volume, the two editors who would later also publish the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge*—He Songling 何崧齡 and Tang Jinggao 唐敬臬—were also involved.⁹ However, the new and radically revised edition of the *Everyday Cyclopedic Dictionary* in 1934, on which this paper is based, had a much larger and completely new set of editors. Nevertheless, in their prefaces the authors of both encyclopaedias present their views in a similar, if not identical, manner. For instance, both encyclopaedias state that they hope to increase people's knowledge; both stress that it is the ordinary people, not just the elites, whom they are addressing with their publication; both also state that theirs is a civilizing notion; and finally they both require that civilization be for everyone to participate in. The preface to the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* begins as follows:

The New Culture movement prevalent in our country in the last several years hopes to increase people's knowledge. I firmly believe that with this movement, the times when knowledge was just the privilege of a small minority have come to an end. From now on, all of the knowledge that for a long time only scholars would have studied and deliberated in detail, ought to be studied by the common people, too. Indeed, with the many and varied circumstances of life nowadays, one needs to have a very broad and rich pool of knowledge to respond. . . .¹⁰

我國近年來的新文化運動，把我國人底知識慾望增高了。敬臬深信，學問做那少數特權階級裝飾品的時代，由着這個運動，已經宣告終止。凡從前博學深思之士所能備具的學問，自今以後，一般民衆，沒有不應該加以修習；而現代繁劇多方面的生活狀況，必須有豐富廣博的知識來因應. . .

Here, the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* argues in a manner echoed in the beginning of the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedic Dictionary*, which immediately explains how it will go about trying to reach this public of ordinary people:

The *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedic Dictionary* is to be general (普通) reading for common people (一般) and so this publication must at least fulfil three conditions: comprehensiveness (完備), concision (簡明), and practicality (實用).

⁷ Incidentally, the search for the editors of the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedic Dictionary* turned out to be much more difficult than for the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*. This might be due to the fact that these editors were less prominent later because they were not deeply involved in the "victory" of the May Fourth heritage in the People's Republic of China, which frames our knowledge of the Republican Period to this day.

⁸ Wang Yanlun 王言綸 (chief editor), Chen Duo 陳鐸, Zhou Yueran 周越然, Liu Dashen 劉大紳, Zhuang Shi 莊適, Ping Hailan 平海瀾, and Tang Jinggao 唐敬臬, eds., *Riyong baike quanshu* [Parallel title: *Everyday Cyclopedic Dictionary*] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919).

⁹ As Catherine Yeh also mentions, a supplementary second edition of the encyclopaedia had been published in 1924/1925 and the draft copy of an earlier completely revised edition had been burned in the Japanese bombing raid of 1931.

¹⁰ Wang Yanlun *et al.*, *Xin wenhua cishu*, 1.

Similarly, a comprehensive scope, *wanquan* 完全, clarity, *xian* 顯, and practicality, *queshi youyong* 確實有用, are listed among the proclaimed aims for the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*:

In our diction (文辭), our duty is clarity and inclusiveness. . . . One of the great aims of this book is to popularize (通俗化) profound and advanced knowledge (高深學問). Therefore, no matter how obscure an idea[1] or [piece of] learning (學術), we want to describe it in the most level (平坦) and clear (顯明) language, as it is our duty to render everyone (人人) able to understand easily. . . . we want to be as effective as possible for our readers (效率) who should have the least amount of work.¹¹

It is clear then that both encyclopaedias are out to present useful, timely, and intelligible materials to their readers in a manner that can be searched efficiently. The *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* explains:

This book was originally separated in 44 parts (編). Now, in order to be more systematic and clear (明晰) . . . , this has been changed to 30 parts. The arrangement . . . accords largely with Chinese and Western library classification methods.

Old material, which was not important or has lost its timeliness has been supplemented or changed in order to increase its effectiveness (效率) and its practical use (實用).

The *Encyclopedic Dictionary* hopes to be the “most adequate tool for our countrymen’s pursuit of knowledge” 最適切的求知工具 and to “become a concise and sophisticated little encyclopaedic dictionary that may provide half-way satisfying relief when in a dearth of knowledge” 精善的一部小小的百科辭書, 以為知識饑荒中一種差可滿意的救濟品. Each of these encyclopaedias emphasizes the need for the particular knowledge that they are providing at the time of their publication. In advocating to answer the questions of their own time, each claims to be a timely publication. In its beginning lines, the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* explains:

The *Everyday Cyclopaedia* that our company had published earlier has received high praise in society. However, in these last ten years or so, society has undergone many transformations, and all kinds of new thinking, new knowledge, and new professions have sprung up like spring shoots after a rainfall in a flash. Therefore we came to believe that to meet the needs of our everyday life at present, what was compiled some ten years ago has either lacunae or is no longer applicable for today’s use.

本館前出日用百科全書，頗承社會稱許。惟十餘年來，社會改革既多，各種新思想新學術，及新事業之發生，如春筍經雨，瞬息變觀。吾人為應付目前日常生活環境之需要，遂覺十年前編著之本書，或右罅漏，或失實效。

From this text it is clear that, ideally, an encyclopaedia must respond to the demands of the day and of its contemporary readers who are directly addressed in the two prefaces as “all you, our readers” 讀者諸君.

Obviously, these early modern-style Chinese encyclopaedias share assumptions about the public character of information and the desirability of free intellectual and

¹¹ For similar reasons Zedler chose to unify orthography and translate all the Latin passages copied from earlier encyclopaedias into German for his *Universal-Lexikon* (1731–1754). See Ines Prodöhl, “Johann Heinrich Zedlers *Universal-Lexikon* im Spannungsfeld zeitgenössischer Lexikonproduktion,” *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 29, no. 1 (2005): 93.

political exchange. Not unlike their counterparts in Europe, they consider the availability of general knowledge and the accessibility of information to be crucial. They are written with the purpose of making knowledge available to everyone, the common people as well as the elites.

In order to verify the probability of such expansive readerships, the next section will explore the manners in which knowledge is presented on the pages of these two new encyclopaedias. From this discussion we will be able to infer that the attempt to reach everyone was probably never intended to be taken much beyond the emerging middle class of the time and most of these middle-class readers were, at least up to the 1930s, male.

Meeting Reader's Expectations: Orders, Contents, Classifications

The *Encyclopedic Dictionary* presents, almost exclusively, foreign knowledge, old and new alike. There is a clear emphasis on particular areas—philosophy being the most prominent—followed by the arts, socio-economic topics, religious matters, natural sciences, and the ancient classics. The work is quite thorough in its areas of specialization: entries range from some of the earliest Greek philosophers to contemporary art movements like Futurism. What this suggests is that the knowledge that could be considered “useful” was not only the technical, scientific, and military knowledge that had been considered important since the mid-nineteenth century, or the institutional knowledge that was foregrounded a few decades later, but also increasingly the knowledge of (foreign) arts, history, and philosophy as well.

The choice of content and the use of the alphabetical order for the entries in the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* betray a lot about the implied readership of this work and the type of prior knowledge that was expected of its readers.¹² For the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, the reader is someone who reads a book from left to right, horizontally, and from what was traditionally the back cover to the front. It also expects its reader to have a grasp of the English alphabet and of foreign languages. While a stroke index is given at the end, the user is only able to search for particular lemmata in this index if he is familiar with the foreign names of events and figures because they are phonetically transcribed into characters.

In many of its articles, the dictionary goes into some detail, which clearly requires prior knowledge of foreign things. In order to understand some of the articles on music, for example, one needs to have a background in musical analysis.¹³ Clearly, the ideal reader of the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* was already familiar with selected aspects of European (and other foreign) culture and heritage.¹⁴

¹² See Madeleine Herren and Paul Michel, “Unvorgreifliche Gedanken zu einer Theorie des Enzyklopädischen,” 13 and 29–32.

¹³ Cf. Barbara Mittler, “Wei renren suo bixu de youyong xinzhì: Shangwu yinshuguan jiqi *Xin wenhua cishu*.”

¹⁴ I have studied the contents of the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* in some detail in a recent publication that has been referred to above. This section has provided only a brief summary of my findings.

On a superficial level everything seems to be different about the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*. Like its first edition, it is printed from top to bottom and read from right to left like traditional Chinese books. It is structured in a manner reminiscent of ancient Chinese “encyclopaedias,” the so-called *leishu*, which were also organized systematically by content.¹⁵ New ideas and thoughts have, of course, entered here, but the encyclopaedia preserves many types of information that were also contained in *leishu*. The fact that on the one hand, it has this traditional, systematic arrangement, but on the other, it features a modern four-corner index that was invented by Commercial Press manager Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888–1979), is a case in point. As stated in its preface, the encyclopaedia chooses to offer this second indexing system, “so that checking for terms is convenient.” The encyclopaedia thus combines systematic as well as script-oriented search methods. The latter are in fact not all that “modern”; they have Chinese precedents in character dictionaries that were organized according to phonetics or rhyme,¹⁶ but which, in the form of the four-corner index or a stroke-number index and later the romanization index, would very soon become the dominant mode employed in most modern-style encyclopaedias and dictionaries in China.

So who were the implied readers of this encyclopaedia and how do they differ from those for the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*? In a discussion of its contents, I will try to show that, as Bauer suggested many years ago, quite a few elements from the Chinese *leishu* tradition found their way into this modern encyclopaedia. In terms of content, this “modern” encyclopaedia is more closely related to the popular “encyclopaedias for practical use” that had flourished since the Ming¹⁷ than to encyclopedias like the *Collection of Texts and Illustrations, Old and New*, *Gu jin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 that Bauer takes as his first point of comparison,¹⁸ and

¹⁵ Wolfgang Bauer, “The Encyclopedia in China,” 690.

¹⁶ Wolfgang Bauer, “The Encyclopedia in China,” 676, mentions that the *Kangxi Cidian* 康熙字典 (1715) was one of the first to use the radicals-plus-stroke order system for finding characters, a system that had been invented a century earlier in 1615, and was first put to use in the *Zi Hui* 字彙 [Character dictionary] by Mei Yingzuo 梅膺祚 (fl. 1570–1615). See Mei Yingzuo 梅膺祚, *Zi Hui* 字彙, vols. 232–233 in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1995–1999).

¹⁷ For popular encyclopaedia, see Shang Wei, “The making of the Everyday World: *Jin Ping Mei cihua* and Encyclopaedia for Every-day Use,” in *Dynastic Crisis and Cultural Innovation. From the Late Ming to the Late Qing and Beyond*, eds. David Der-wei Wang and Shang Wei (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center 2005) 63–92; and Benjamin Elman, “Collecting and Classifying: Ming Dynasty Compendia and Encyclopedias (*Leishu*),” in *Qu’ était-ce qu’ écrire une encyclopédie en Chine?*, eds. Florence Bretelle-Establet and Karine Chemla, 131–157.

¹⁸ That said, even a comparison of *Gu jin tushu jicheng* [*Collection of Texts and Illustrations, Old and New*] and the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* reveals that much of the knowledge proffered in this “modern” encyclopaedia is packaged in categories that are familiar from traditional *leishu*. The specific types of information on offer changed and so did the overall arrangement and prioritization of these particular types of information. Military and legal matters, which are categories at the very end in the *Collection of Texts and Illustrations, Old and New*, appear much earlier in the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*, for example. Religion too, has moved up to the front. Chen Menglei 陳夢雷, Jiang Tingxi 江廷錫, eds., *Qinding Gu jin tushu jicheng* 欽定古今圖書集成 (1725; Reprint, Shanghai: Tushu jicheng, 1884).

the modern-style encyclopedias like the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, both of which were directed more exclusively at the literati.

Some topics that occur in the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*, such as "Health and Hygiene" (EC II.5 and 9), or "Essays on Practical Matters" (EC III.7), for example, do not derive from the literati encyclopaedic traditions, but can be found regularly in traditional popular encyclopaedias for daily use, which contained, among other things, recipes, forms of address, models for letter writing, templates for legal documents, samples of greeting cards, short information about history and cultural traditions and so on.¹⁹ In Benjamin Elman's words:

Late Ming practical-use encyclopedias focused on literati customs, practical learning, home rituals, sericulture, maintaining health, etc. Such new compendia no longer merely served as classically technical encyclopedias for examination-conscious literati.

Presented as repositories of useful information for daily life, popular encyclopedias and book collections provided non-elites with a wide choice of subjects. . . . Unlike reference books for elites that focused primarily on the civil examinations, elite family ritual, or classical learning, many encyclopedias included information on travel and lodging useful to merchants. Such attention to the practical needs of non-elites . . . meant that compilers and printers were no longer limited to orthodox topics. They could present the ritual and practical aspects of normal life in rich detail for a broad audience of new readers.²⁰

The analysis proffered below will demonstrate that it is precisely these pragmatically oriented pieces of information that are to be found on the pages of the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*. The inclusion and the arrangement of such materials meant that some of these earlier traditional encyclopaedias were, in their intentions, as democratic as the modern encyclopaedias discussed here. In his study of the traditional popular encyclopaedia Shang Wei points out that

. . . the proliferation of daily-life encyclopedias contributed to the creation of common knowledge for public consumption: what had been the secret or privileged information of specific groups or families (such as doctors, Daoist priests, and fortune tellers), transmitted orally or in handwritten manuscripts in limited quantities, became more widely circulated in print and available to all who could afford it.²¹

Against the background of the essays in this volume, which deal with many of the earlier encyclopaedic publications and their intertextual relations, my discussion will make clear once more that while a sharp distinction is sometimes made between "modern encyclopaedias" and "traditional *leishu*," upon closer scrutiny this distinction does not make sense. An encyclopaedia like the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*, which appears to use a rather more "traditional" format (much more so than the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, whose alphabetical ordering system makes it a "modern encyclopaedia" or, more specifically, a modern "encyclopaedic dictionary" in the sense used by the secondary literature) even when it takes up familiar topics and familiar ways of ordering materials, is a completely novel reading experience. It is

¹⁹ Herbert Franke, "Chinesische Enzyklopädien," in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. Ostasiatische Literaturen*, ed. Günter Debon (Wiesbaden: Aula-Verlag, 1984), 95.

²⁰ Benjamin Elman, "Collecting and Classifying," 134, 139.

²¹ Shang Wei, "The Making of the Everyday World," 72.

dangerous, therefore, to use categorizations such as “modern” and “traditional” in a discussion of these publications, in spite of the fact that these categories appear all over the encyclopaedia text itself. It makes a lot more sense to look at the products of this time as entangled, hybrid, or, perhaps best, as transcultural responses to new inputs in knowledge perception, knowledge management, and knowledge acquisition.

To give just one example, Christoph Kaderas’s very thorough study of “category books,” (*leishu*) contained in the eighteenth-century *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*, *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書,²² makes a very strong case against the similarities between traditional *leishu* and modern encyclopaedias. One of his main arguments is that the materials found in a traditional *leishu* were never composed but always quoted or collated from other sources. His point is reaffirmed by Wolfgang Bauer who rightly argues, however, that this characteristic is not unique and traditional but had been carried into China’s new or modern encyclopaedias in the twentieth century. Bauer states, “They do not, quite generally, concern themselves so much with providing new insights into things, e.g. by referring to modern secondary sources, but rather, . . . with describing the traditional knowledge.”²³

Indeed, as many of the essays in this volume have illustrated, modern Chinese encyclopaedias preserve quite a bit of the “quotation-collation-character” of traditional encyclopaedias.²⁴ The *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedic* contains sections such as quotation and rhyme helps (Chap. 28), for example, which are based entirely on existing textual material that was arranged according to traditional categories (esp. EC III: 5716 ff.). The *Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge*, on the other hand, transmits almost exclusively foreign knowledge. Each of the entries appears to be newly conceived and written, but much of the text was most probably excerpted and “copied” from other, in this case, foreign, texts.²⁵ And indeed, even the foreign concept of the “modern” encyclopaedia was not one of an “original work” in the first place. Encyclopaedias by definition do not produce new knowledge but present received (and presumably up-to-date) knowledge that is often copied from other sources (or encyclopaedias).²⁶

On the other hand, the exclusive “quotation-collation-character” of traditional encyclopaedias may be called into question as well. The traditional popular

²² Christoph Kaderas, *Die Leishu der imperialen Bibliothek des Kaisers Qianlong* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).

²³ Wolfgang Bauer, “The Encyclopedia in China,” 690.

²⁴ For examples of these copy-and-paste techniques, see the study by Rudolf Wagner in this volume.

²⁵ A study on the sources of some of these early twentieth-century encyclopaedias is planned for my next research project.

²⁶ The trails of copying and quotation of encyclopaedic knowledge can be quite confused. In one example, an English research publication ended up in an English general encyclopaedia, from there it was quoted again in a narrowly specialized French encyclopaedia. See Markus Bandur, “Stichwort ‘Musik’—Zur Problematik der Darstellung von Fachwissen in Enzyklopädiën des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Wissenssicherung, Wissenordnung und Wissensverarbeitung. Das europäische Modell der Enzyklopädiën*, eds. Theo Stammen and Wolfgang E.J. Weber (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2004), 240.

encyclopaedias studied by Benjamin Elman and Wei Shang contain many newly written passages because, not unlike their "modern" successors, they were made and produced for contemporary use and thus contain timely (and therefore ephemeral) information that needs to be rewritten frequently. Accordingly, some of the descendants of the Ming encyclopaedia were reprinted well into early Republican times.²⁷ Thus, the differences between some types of "traditional" *leishu* and some types of "modern" encyclopaedias are not as pronounced as has been suggested. A more thorough comparative glance at the two encyclopaedias under scrutiny here will help to clarify this point and at the same time highlight their particular civilizing visions.

The *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* begins its first volume (of three) with a section on "Generalities," *Zonglei* 總類 (EC I.1: 1–82), which introduces first a discussion of journalism, a profession and trade only recently introduced to China in the mid-nineteenth century, and thus epitomizing one important aspect of Chinese modernity. The text points to the importance of knowing what has recently happened (EC I.1: 58).²⁸ The argument about popular knowledge is taken beyond the rhetoric of the preface and timely, practical information is presented as an important part of every reader's duty to be informed accordingly.

The chapter which follows is on "Philosophy and Religion," *Zhexue ji zongjiao* 哲學及宗教 (EC I.2: 83–181). The encyclopaedia assumes great reader interest in all foreign matters. Accordingly, the section entitled "philosophy" does not begin with Chinese but with foreign philosophy. This part of the chapter is almost as long as the section on Chinese philosophy (16 vs. 17 pages, respectively). Moreover, the introduction to this section, which deals with philosophy generally by providing, for example (EC I.2: 83), the etymology of the English word "philosophy," gives examples that are taken exclusively from foreign philosophy. As a whole, then, the article contains more information about foreign philosophy than it does about Chinese philosophy and this is also true of many of the chapters that follow.²⁹ Quite often,

²⁷ Given this finding, I must differ with Bauer's characterization of encyclopaedias as bound by backward-directed knowledge (Wolfgang Bauer, "The Encyclopedia in China," 665). He argues that Chinese encyclopaedias intended not to report on new findings but rather to collect materials that were on the verge of extinction. This is definitely not the case for the encyclopaedias under scrutiny here, which provide very up-to-date information. He concludes that encyclopaedias may but present new views of the past (and he gives the *Encyclopédie* as one example). As we see in this chapter, encyclopaedias are, in fact, usually a reflection of how to deal with an uncertain future particularly when following a present that is characterized by constant, rapid, and radical change.

²⁸ In Natascha Gentz' and Rudolf Wagner's chapters the importance of news in earlier encyclopaedia making has been discussed. Gentz gives an explanation for the extremely prominent position of news-making in the arrangement of the encyclopaedia.

²⁹ A similar situation can be observed in the section on religions. Information about foreign religions again takes up more space than information on indigenous religious practice. Unlike the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* has no entry on Christianity and does not distinguish between Catholicism and Protestantism (the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* has "Catholic Church" as a separate entry, ED: 170). However, the *Everyday Cyclopaedia* does mention Protestantism prominently and devotes a full nine pages to it (EC I.2: 171–179 with a long list of different Protestant groups in China). Buddhism, on the other hand, gets two pages, Daoism, also two pages (EC I.2: 179–180), and the Muslim-Hui not even one page. Judaism

China appears to feature only as a “second in order.” In the summary introduction to the chapter on “Sociology,” *Shehuixue* 社會學 (EC I.3:209), for example, the works of Comte, Spencer and Giddings are discussed prominently while no Chinese sources of importance are mentioned. The same is true for Chap. 6 on “Economics and Trade,” *Jingji ji shangye* 經濟及商業 (EC I.6: 615–868). Throughout this chapter and generally in this encyclopaedia, the use of foreign-language vocabulary is introduced as “natural” in the text (Chap. 4 on “Politics and Administration,” *Zhengzhi ji xingzheng* 政治及行政 EC I.4: 299–444 is the only chapter which does not introduce foreign vocabulary).

What this tells us about the implied reader is that he/she must have an interest in foreign things and must be able to read foreign languages. However, our discussion of the philosophical section reveals that this is not the same implied reader as the one for the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*. In spite of the fact that the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* had a very strong emphasis on philosophical topics, and in spite of the fact that this encyclopaedia was also published at Commercial Press, the articles in the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* are clearly not derivatives from those in the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*. While there is an almost complete overlap between the foreign philosophical figures and ideas discussed in the two encyclopaedias, neither the phonetic transcriptions of names and terms, nor the type of information provided match sufficiently to substantiate a claim that one may have been the source for the other.³⁰ In the case of Spencer, for example (ED: 960–962, EC I.2: 101, this is one of the rare cases where the phonetic transcription is identical in the two publications), the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* tells much more about his life and childhood experiences than about those who influenced him and about his work. The article is much more elaborate and philological than the one proffered in the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*, which deals with his philosophical ideas in an acute and practice-oriented manner. What we can conclude here is that the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* addresses a reader who was perhaps well-read and worldly, but much less specialized in his intellectual interests than the one envisaged as the ideal reader of the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*.

In both publications, what is perhaps most striking is the ease with which these “modern” encyclopaedias expect their readers to move between foreign and Chinese knowledge. The implied reader is one who accepts this multiplicity and transculturality of knowledge as normal. The apparent openness toward all things foreign does not mean

is also mentioned. Similarly, the chapter on Music and Entertainment in the *Everyday Cyclopaedia* (EC III.26: 5225–5410) introduces “Chinese Music” and “Western Music” with roughly equal length while the chapter on Literature (EC III.27: 5411–5492) contains a longer passage on foreign literature than on Chinese literature. Here, we find a very marked difference from the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*. In spite of the fact that this encyclopaedia, according to its own proclamations, sets out to introduce mostly European foreign knowledge, the article on the non-European (if originally foreign) religion of Buddhism takes up an extremely prominent part in the encyclopaedia (ED: 32–145) and thus constitutes one of the longest, if not the longest, article in the entire encyclopaedia (a fact that is then in turn mentioned, somewhat apologetically, in the introduction).

³⁰ In the explanation for “Gnostics,” for example (in the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* ED: 352–353, *nuosidi pai* 諾斯底派, *Everyday Cyclopaedia* EC I: 95, *nuosi pai* 諾斯派) there is an overlap of only one short phrase (宗教上之信仰), which could well be accidental.

that nationalist ideas did not prevail, however. The third chapter on "Sociology and Statistics," *Shehuixue ji tongjixue* 社會學及統計學 (EC I.3: 183–298), for example, opens with a discussion of Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People*, *Sanminzhuyi* 三民主義, based on what is usually translated as nationalism, *minzu* 民族,³¹ democracy, *minquan* 民權, and socialism, *minsheng* 民生. The article goes on to argue in a manner that shows how aware the readership is expected to be at this point in time of the type of the national crisis the country found itself in. It begins with a comparison between the Chinese nation and others 中國民族與世界各民族之比較 (EC I.3: 184) and it argues that in order to understand how critical the situation in China was, China must be compared with some of the stronger nations in the world. The major contention in this section is simply that if a country is able to build up a proper and strong nationalist spirit, it will be successful. The cases of England, France, Russia, and the USA are mentioned as having all "based their country's establishment on nationalism" 以民族立國 (EC I.3: 184).

Japan in particular, the "England of the East," comes across very favourably in this description. Japan's population (in the discussions here, a growing population is understood to be equal to national success, this topic comes up repeatedly throughout. See EC I: 226) had increased threefold in the last century. Although weak and oppressed by foreign countries before the Meiji Reforms, their nationalist spirit had allowed the Japanese to become a strong country within about 50 years. As such, the encyclopaedias considered Japan to be a "good model" (好模範) for China. The chapter goes on to accuse the West of miscalculating the Chinese population and argues additionally for the urgent need to increase it, as otherwise China will be "eaten up" by other countries (EC I.3: 185).

The use of the comparative mode, emblematic of the modern worldview embraced by this encyclopaedia, dominates the entire section. China is no longer taken to be "all under Heaven," *tianxia* 天下, with everybody else merely a tributary. Combined with its competitive tone, this constitutes the usually, and sometimes aggressively, nationalist message that is apparent throughout many sections of this encyclopaedia. The implied reader is understood to share this nationalism and the constant feeling of a menacing crisis. Again, the didactic quality in the text is very pronounced. Thus, acquiring the type of knowledge provided by the encyclopaedia becomes a patriotic act.

Chapter 5 on "International Relations," *Waijiao* 外交 (EC I.5: 445–614), continues along this vein. Not only does it give a list and long historical description of Chinese-foreign treaties, it also contains several hints that this is indeed a history of shame and humiliation. The sub-section dealing with the history of Chinese

³¹ I follow this conventional translation of *minzu* 民族 as nationalism and use it throughout the text as the implicit meaning of *minzu*, which could also be translated simply as "race." *Minzu zhuyi* 民族主義 accordingly becomes "nationalism" in all of the text that follows.

diplomacy (beginning I: 568) is even entitled “The Painful History of China’s Diplomacy,” *Zhongguo waijiao tongshi* 中國外交痛史.³²

Besides the nationalist tone and the internationalist language, emphasis is put on information of practical use and timeliness. In Chap. 6, on “Economics and Trade,” advice on how best to advertise is proffered (EC I.6: 781–782); a section follows (EC I.6: 820–826) on how to organize a business and how to be a good manager. Typical for the modern outlook of this encyclopaedia, the advice is based on foreign values: the importance of punctuality for all workers is emphasised, for example, to ensure that work is as efficient as possible (EC I: 824–25).

Chapter 7 on “Law,” *Faliu* 法律 (EC I.7: 869–1240), begins with the 1931 constitution; Chap. 8 on “Finance,” *Caizheng* 財政 (EC I.8: 1241–1648), provides long lists of revenue [taxes] and expenses for the current central government, as well as state debts (EC I.8: 1336). All of this is statistical information of immediate practical use, but inevitably soon out of date. Perhaps the most striking example of the encyclopaedia’s focus on timeliness can be found in the section on “Education,” *Jiaoyu* 教育 (EC I.10: 1819–2122), which includes a lengthy section on the New Life Movement, including a New Life Movement Song (EC I.10: 1936–1951) a campaign that had only begun in the year of the encyclopaedia’s publication (and would not last long).

With this pragmatic orientation and these topical foci, this encyclopaedia is very different from the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* but not at all dissimilar to traditional *leishu* for practical use. The implied reader of the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedic Dictionary* appears to be someone whose worldview has assimilated and indiscriminately appropriated knowledge and paraphernalia from different origins to create one colourful mix of “useful knowledge.” The encyclopaedia takes an approach that highlights the similarities rather than the differences between “the foreign” and “the Chinese” facets of knowledge that are presented. This is different from the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, which is much more exclusive in its presentation of “(only) the foreign” = “the modern” = “the useful” and which thus implied a readership that believed in the paradigm of “wholesale Westernization.”

Chapter 15, on “Medicine and Hygiene,” *Yiyao weisheng* 醫藥衛生 (EC II.15: 2969–3059), in the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedic Dictionary* shows this difference quite straightforwardly. While about 20 pages of this chapter are devoted to Chinese pharmacopoeia (EC II.15: 3030–3051), a full 40 pages are taken up with a discussion of its foreign counterpart (EC II.15: 2989–3029). While the section on foreign pharmacopoeia does not include the foreign names of particular items, in the section on Chinese pharmacopoeia the Latin names of the herbs described are given throughout. Again, this illustrates how naturalized some foreign knowledge had become and how far the process of integrating foreign knowledge—and foreign scripts—had already proceeded by the 1930s. The peculiar adoptive character of

³² For the treatment of the “national shame” in foreign relations in earlier Chinese encyclopaedic works of new knowledge, see the study by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume, p. 309.

presenting transferred knowledge and, more importantly, the transcultural reconceptualization of not only transferred but "indigenous" knowledge, is clear.

There is also evidence for the constraints and difficulties that often arise in processes of cultural flows. Some elements of foreign knowledge or practice are obviously more easily accepted than others. For instance, Chap. 19 on the "Family," *Jiating* 家庭 (EC II.19: 3761–3983), is full of contradictory statements (in her chapter in this volume Catherine V. Yeh deals with this, especially with regard to earlier versions of the encyclopaedia). In discussing proper family management, *jiazheng* 家政 (beginning on page EC II.19: 3914), the text argues that China is weak because of its out-dated family system. It needs free marriage since arranged marriage is (1) no longer timely, (2) restricts the freedom of family members and thus, (3) restrains the advancement of society. This constitutes an outright attack on patriarchal society and the Confucian world order. The text continues with a eulogy (EC II.19: 3915–18) for the nuclear family, which finally breaks with the patriarch's power. All of this notwithstanding, and in spite of the proclaimed equality between man and woman (EC II.19: 3916), the text argues that men must remain the outside representatives of the family. The reasons given are that it has always been so and that men have a kind of natural "authority" (here, the English expression is integrated into the Chinese text and a foreign "specialist," transcribed as Ba-sa-ge 巴薩格, is cited as its source).

The text then advocates the perpetuation of a separation between inner *nei* and outer *wai* realms (簡言之則曰一對外而一對內而已) by claiming that male and female duties are not the same (男女織事之不同). "A house with a sage wife is like a country with a good chancellor" 家有賢婦猶國有良相, it argues (EC II.19: 3916). Accordingly, a woman is responsible for her family, she cares for hygiene, for education, for morals, for management of slaves and house-workers, for finances, and for all kinds of other duties around the house. It is quite obvious, so the article contends, that her duties are just as important as those of her husband. Therefore, the text argues, it is not reasonable that women should demand the right to vote as they had done recently. It should not be considered their greatest of goals to enter into politics, since Heaven has in fact distinguished men from women. Accordingly, Heaven has also already hinted at how labor should be divided between them. However, this again does not entail retaining the old practice of preferring boys over girls; for only if the old ideas were discarded could society change and thrive (EC II.19: 3918).

It is obvious that the encyclopaedia is wavering or negotiating here, as elsewhere, between different and sometimes contradictory positions. It does so for the sake of the implied reader, who comes across both as a middle-class enlightened conservative and as a May Fourth radical. The text criticizes patriarchal society for not granting children any rights in the family (EC II.19: 3917), and advocates that, since they are the backbone of every society (小孩為社會之基), they must be respected by their parents and looked after properly—indeed, "children are the future of society." Accordingly, it is the duty of all parents to raise their children to develop a proper personality, *ren'ge* 人格, a strong body, and strong soul so they would grow into good citizens. At the same time, the encyclopaedia warns of

excess; the talk of equality must not be misunderstood and children must continue to fulfil duties toward their parents as well. While no longer called *xiao* 孝 (the traditional virtue of “filial piety”), these are now transformed into duties not just toward parents and the family but toward the whole of society.

Frequent allusion is made to this deeply felt connection between family and country, which can be traced back to a familiar passage in *The Great Learning*, *Daxue* 大學. In the section on how best to manage a family (EC II.19: 3918–20), the encyclopaedia echoes this text by arguing that “managing a family is like managing a country” 治家猶治國也. It is a matter of defining the goals and methods of how to attain them. In its pragmatics this section once more mixes and redefines both “old” and “new” ideas.

This mixture can also be found in “The Art of Female Beauty,” *Funü xiurong shu* 婦女修容術 (EC II.19: 3923–24). The section begins with a long explanation of how female beauty, *rong* 容, had in ancient times been considered one of the four female virtues and that this still held true for the present. But nowadays, it is not the same kind of *rong* that is considered important: hygiene, physical training, health, etc. now take on crucial functions and become more important than make-up and beautiful accessories. Having stated this, the text goes on to present different types of hairstyles and clothes, both foreign and Chinese. It explains, for example, that those who tend to be a bit heavier should not wear flowery attire. There is advice on taking a daily “air bath” in order to stay fit and healthy (EC II.19: 3924), on how to eliminate bad breath, on how to develop and keep beautiful teeth by using the right type of (soft) toothbrush (EC II.19: 3925), and on how to make one’s hair soft or to prevent it from getting white (with an interesting recipe that includes gin as one of its ingredients), even providing exact definitions of the type of soap, shampoo, and deodorant to be used (EC II.19: 3927). The abundant detail in this section reminds the reader of the long and expansive advice articles that could be found on exactly the same kinds of problems and topics in the women’s magazines of the time (and of today, too).³³ The implied reader of this section of the encyclopaedic text is therefore most probably a woman. This is also true for the section on how best to handle house personnel, which echoes much of the rhetoric and information found in contemporary women’s magazines (EC II.19: 3920–22; 僕婢管理法). Indeed, the practical aspect that is evident in sections like “Traffic and Communications,” *Jiaotong* 交通 (EC III.22: 4203–4597) and “Applied Chemistry,” *Huaxue gongyi* 化學工藝 (EC III.23: 4599–4728), also renders these texts akin to the gendered texts in women’s magazines where knowledge is more often than not introduced as knowledge for practical purpose: not chemistry, but “chemistry for daily use.”

Explaining the functions of candles, matches, and ink is the kind of stuff that women’s reading is made of in women’s magazines. Its inclusion in the

³³ For a number of close readings of women’s magazines since the late Qing and into the Republic, see Barbara Mittler “Portrait of a Trope: New Women and New Men in Chinese Women’s Magazines, 1898–2008,” manuscript, and Barbara Mittler, “Wei renren suo bixu de youyong xinzhì.”

encyclopaedia therefore points to the female reader. Yet, the inclusion of such knowledge is not immediately and necessarily a sign that the encyclopaedia (also) caters to women. What it does in these sections is to make knowledge that in earlier times had belonged to specialists—and here, there is no distinction between foreign or indigenous, old or new knowledge—available to the general public. The implied reader is thus the layman, not the specialist (and this was precisely the function of popular encyclopaedias in traditional China). By reading this encyclopaedia he/she could, at least in principle, also become a professional.

That women are not necessarily and primarily intended as readers of this encyclopaedia is clear from other sections, which take up topics that also appear in women's magazines but are introduced here in an entirely different fashion. When it comes to cinema, for example (EC III.26: 5313–19), we find no pictures of movie stars, but instead learn more about the technical and institutional history of cinematography. This is very different from the type of information found in contemporary popular film or women's magazines, which so often featured sections on music and entertainment and which usually abounded in stories about celebrities. Thus, in the encyclopaedia, (political) education and not entertainment are clearly foregrounded. The implied reader reads the encyclopaedia for edification only, not for fun.

This is also evident in the chapter on "Sports and Gymnastics," *Yundong yu Ticao 運動與體操* (EC III.25: 5007–5224) which introduces something that was still rather novel to China and obviously takes great care to explain itself. It gives three reasons for doing sports: because it renews and strengthens the muscles and helps digestion; because fresh air enters the lungs and thus, the lungs become stronger; and because it increases the sense of happiness and wellness. It also explains (EC III.25: 5053) the importance of doing "moral sports." Unlike "barbarians" in ancient times who were cruel and brutal, sport in modern times ought to be undertaken with a sense of morality, *de* 德. Indeed, by participating in sports, one seeks to nurture one's human character (養成完美人格以道德為範圍). The text then introduces different sets of (morning) exercises including a 5-min drill, a 10-min drill, etc. (Illustration 1 Men's Morning Exercises. Illustration 2 Women's Morning Exercises).

The next section introduces traditional martial arts under their new name "National Arts," *Guoshu* 國術 (EC III.25: 5185). As in the section on gymnastics, every step and every gesture in the different types of martial arts is introduced with an illustration. The number and the type of illustration suggest that the writers of the encyclopaedia conceive of gymnastics and martial arts in precisely the same manner. Both are being introduced in great detail as something novel and unknown. In the presentation of both, specialist knowledge is conveyed to the layman who, in earlier times, would have had to learn from a specialist or a master, but who now had this information readily and conveniently available to him even in the comfort of his home. The chapter on sports thus illustrates, once more, the hybrid and transcultural nature of the information conveyed, which no longer can be traced back precisely to one or another "cultural origin." The Chinese modern encyclopaedia was modern not because of the many "foreign" contents it conveyed,

Illustration 1 Men's morning exercises. From *Chongbian riyong baikequanshu*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934, vol. 3, 5010

書全科百用日



第一圖 如圖以兩臂撐腰兩足分開軀身之上部自左至右旋轉半圈既畢復自右旋轉至左此種體操可強固脊柱及保內部各機關之健康

第二圖 合式之彎曲運動
兩足距離極遠則彎曲時可用力以彎至極度為止左右旋轉為之至略覺疲倦時始停

第二十五編 體育 運動及體操類 五〇一〇

(甲) 屈兩臂於胸前兩手互握擇指在外
(乙) (一) 兩臂伸指亦分開手心向下 (二) 兩臂復屈之姿勢 (三四) 同上如屈及復至十六呼

五分鐘體操

所謂五分鐘體操者鍛鍊全身肌肉乃僅鍛鍊腹部及腰部之肌肉也此項體操為事務忙迫之人而取下列各圖即體操之法學者仿照行之可也

普通體操多不注意於身體彎曲之運動不知此項運動實為體操中最重要之點自體彎曲或旋轉之時直接影響於體之內部如肝胃以及消化各機關不習於此種運動加以往來之衝也又習練此項運動時可以堅固腰部之骨格及發達腰筋與腹部之骨格及腰部之肌肉即強壯人體內部之肝腎及其他消化各機關而為之補助其軟弱消除其疾病者也

人之背部與骨格至有關係換言之即人苟欲保持其健康於背之彎曲及旋轉身體之運動更可增進脊柱之堅固脊柱在



第三圖 不合式之彎曲運動
兩足排列太近致不能為有力之旋轉


第四圖 不合式之旋轉運動
此式之誤與第三圖相同

第五圖 合式之旋轉運動
如圖以上半體左右旋轉兩足距離愈遠愈覺靈敏則自體旋轉時愈有氣力也

Illustration 2 Women's morning exercises. From *Chongbian riyong baikequanshu*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934, vol. 3, 5019

書全科百用日

式六第



直坐桌邊倒身向後手指抵地兩足則伸於桌案間使其不得舉起如圖一起一臥次數以多為妙使不使力為限

式五第




坐於地上兩手後伸撐地中部挺起如圖以兩手及兩膝撐實全身之重量使之一起一落逐漸增力致即止

式八第



覆臥於地與前式同然後以兩掌按地自輕挺起如圖乃復原狀挺起復逐漸覺力疲即止

式七第



覆臥於地兩肘伏於桌上雙足高舉如圖或上或下次數能多為貴然勿使力疲

五〇一九

but because of the modified and newly conceived contents that it contained, regardless of whether their "origins" were old or new, foreign or Chinese.

The chapter that epitomizes both this special modernity and the practical nature of the encyclopaedia is Chap. 28 (EC III.28: 5493–5848), which contains "Documents for Practical Use," *Yinyong wenjian* 引用文件. This chapter offers the kind of information also to be found in traditional encyclopaedias of practical use. It provides templates for different types of official letters and legal documents and for private letters as well. One finds information on how to formulate a marriage announcement, how to ask for someone's hand in marriage, or for a divorce (EC III.28: 5568–5586). The following section of "Model Letters," *Chidu* 尺牘 (EC III.28: 5629ff.) even gives full citation templates for letters. Useful lists are provided of 4-5-6-character phrases that are ordered into categories (for example, for marriage) so they can be used for composing appropriate texts. For the same purpose, pieces of poetry, categorized according to particular topics (e.g. *shuige* 水閣 [waterside pavilion], *shanju* 山居 [live as a recluse in the mountains]) are presented. Thus, this "modern" encyclopaedia does not only convey newly produced and classified knowledge (the particular importance of the model letters and other such documents may differ markedly from earlier times because of the new legal and state environment of the Republic) but compiles and transmits classified knowledge as well quite in the same way in which traditional Chinese (literati) *leishu* had done that earlier.

The fact that this chapter not only teaches the reader how to write but also how to behave (EC III.28: 5783–5848) again demonstrates its closeness to traditional *leishu*, especially those intended for practical use. The next section offers a full explication of etiquette in ritual. In the case of marriage, it explains what clothes to wear, how to arrange the house; and in the section on dealing with foreigners, what to do and what not to do when meeting them for the first time (EC III. 28: 5831). It explains the use of particular hand gestures and their meaning,³⁴ and has an important and rather revolutionary section for its time on proper social contact between men and women (EC III. 28: 5842ff.). The implied reader of this type of information, both in modern as in traditional times, could be the parvenu, someone who was just establishing him or herself and entering the higher echelons of society, or someone entering public society for the first time (like women in the case of the modern encyclopaedia).

The encyclopaedias for practical use, both in traditional and in modern times, had a liberating function. They offered knowledge to a wider public that had hitherto been accessible only to particular groups in society. While the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* defined "useful knowledge" as knowledge used to succeed in a strongly Westernized world that was still probably only the privilege of a smaller number of the middle class, the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedic* with its clear didactic focus offered "useful knowledge" for both high and low—that is, for men and women in the middle class as well as for those aspiring to become part of it. To combine foreign and Chinese classification systems, as introduced in their preface, and to build on the

³⁴ See the illustrations and comments on this in the article by Catherine Yeh in this volume.

tradition of popular encyclopaedias of practical use was one way of catering precisely to this broader public.³⁵

With the types of information proffered here, on agriculture (EC II, Chap. 18), chemical works (EC III, Chap. 23), painting (in the section on gardens, EC III.24: 4729–5006) or with practical information for journalists on how to write news (EC I.1: 67), it is very obvious that the practical use of knowledge and its didactic packaging is at the forefront in this encyclopaedia. The information on travel and lodging that was useful to merchants and that Elman finds typical of Ming popular encyclopaedias generally, has its equivalent in travel information and consulates in the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* (EC III.22: 4576–4597). Indeed, this encyclopaedia sets out to provide specialist knowledge for the non-specialist, in the manner Shang Wei, too, found it to be typical of Ming encyclopaedias intended for practical use.³⁶ Encyclopaedias like the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* thus attempted to become comprehensive guides for an ever-increasing readership. They juxtaposed the kinds of heterogeneous information we have surveyed here precisely in order to capture this broader readership. Not unlike these earlier models, the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* made it possible for practically everyone to become a “man of the world” and know enough to be able to pass almost as a specialist.

The implied readers of this encyclopaedia, too, not unlike those of traditional popular encyclopaedia, are a rather broadly defined group. Clearly, the encyclopaedia sets out to offer a solution for everyone. In its advice on how to get rid of the stench in the toilet (EC II.19: 3903), for example, it suggests different methods for different budgets and tastes, both chemicals or ashes and incense are recommended. On the other hand, quite a few sections of the encyclopaedia suggest that the primary targets were more well-off readers. These sections immediately continue with a discussion of interior design, for example, and how to best arrange one’s home (EC II.19: 3904–3913) as well as how best to polish and look after one’s furniture and accessories (EC II.19: 3905–3909), which was clearly not intended for those who could not afford such luxuries.

Once more, “foreign” and “Chinese” types of argumentation are not unambiguously separated. The encyclopaedic text thus offers negotiations between different types of knowledge from different origins and times. While it turns against foreign fads at one point and discourages following exaggerated hat fashions from the West (EC II.19: 3923), it argues this by appropriating foreign, orientalist evaluations of a Chinese

³⁵ According to Étienne Balázs, elements typical of such encyclopaedias would be forms of address (i.e. etiquette in EC III.28: 5783–5848), letter trainers (EC III.28: 5629–5697), legal document templates (EC III.28:5533–5567), recipes (EC II.19: 3837–3856), and samples of greeting cards (EC III.28, esp. 5568–5628) see, for example, Franke, “Chinesische Enzyklopädien,” 95. Elman also mentions household manuals (cf. EC II: Chap. 19), quotation dictionaries (cf. EC III.5698–5782), Elman 2007: 136; home rituals (EC III.28: 5796–5848), practical advice on sericulture (EC II: Chap. 16), and maintaining health (EC II.15: 2969–3059 and II.19: 3934–3958), see Benjamin Elman, “Collecting and Classifying,” 134, 139.

³⁶ Shang Wei, “The making of the Everyday World.”

custom. For instance, the text compares these hat fashions with the “horrible custom of foot-binding” 纏足之惡習。

Such heterogeneous shifts are perhaps most evident in the last two chapters of the encyclopaedia that deal briefly with “World History,” *Lishi* 歷史 (EC III.29: 5849–6026), and “Geography,” *Dili* 地理 (EC III.30: 6027–6227). The world history section contains a list of important foreigners and their biographies (EC III. 29: 5960–5992), which is rather thorough. A comparison with the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* reveals that many important figures—especially those from India and Japan and other Asian countries or those of worldwide political, cultural, or historical notoriety that had been omitted from the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* because of its very strong philosophical bias—turn up here. Examples include for politics, Chamberlain, Churchill, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Gandhi, Garibaldi, Herodas, Hindenburg, Hitler, Justinian, Bulwer-Lytton, Mussolini, Roosevelt, Stalin, Wilhelm II, and Wilson³⁷; for culture, Chekhov, Corneille, Da Vinci, Galsworthy, Hardy, Lawrence, Mann, Montessori, Moore, Schnitzler, Storm, Stowe, Thucydides, and Yeats; and for history Marie Curie, Sir James Frazer, Sigmund Freud, Abraham Lincoln, Charles Augustus Lindbergh, Louis XIV, Erich von Ludendorff, Ferdinand Magellan, Ernest Renan, Matteo Ricci, Richthofen Ferdenand (sic), Wilhelm Konrad Röntgen, Adam Schall von Bell, George Washington, and James Watt. The typically didactic nature of the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedic* is underlined by the fact that each of these figures is afforded a very poignant and informative short entry.³⁸

The final chapter in the encyclopaedia deals with geography. It provides lists with the highest mountains and gives population estimates for different places in China. The geography of foreign countries is introduced only after 140 pages of text (EC III.30: 6167–6203) with a study of international flags and comparative population figures. The encyclopaedia thus ends as it began, with a deliberation on China's place in the world by comparing it to the other nations from which it must learn in order to become strong and rich in the future.

It is my aim here to demonstrate in this section that even a modern encyclopaedia like the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedic* retains many of the characteristics of a traditional *leishu*, not just in terms of its traditional systematic structure, but even more in terms of its content. These, I would argue, make it a direct descendant of the traditional encyclopaedias of practical use, which were so aptly described by Benjamin Elman, Wei Shang, and others. It shares their primary practical and didactic orientation, their timeliness, and perhaps also their localized orientation. The hybridity of the information contained on the pages of the modern encyclopaedia is akin to that in traditional *leishu* of practical use, even though it has changed color. This color change is necessitated mostly by the appropriation and assimilation of foreign

³⁷ Names are given as they are cited in the encyclopaedias, with or without surname and/or first name.

³⁸ This list of important foreigners has a Chinese counterpart although one that is only roughly comparable. The chapter on world history ends with a list of contemporary Chinese politicians and officials with their place of origin (EC III.29: 6007–6026).

knowledge into the cycle of knowledge that was to be accepted by a general public. The nationalist tones prevalent on the pages of the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* also cater to this need. It is precisely this hybridity of information and its practical nature that suggests the intended readers of this encyclopaedia were a much broader set than those for the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*. Whether or not this included women will be discussed briefly in the final section of this chapter.

Fair-Sexed Contents—for Whom to Consume?

What we need is a book which would suit everyone – a young boy as well as an old man, a school boy as well as the Vice-Chancellor of a university, a daily labourer as well as a millionaire; people from all classes and sections, in all conditions of life should find it useful. It would enable people sitting at home get news and information on everything happening in the whole world.³⁹ Again the book would be as enjoyable as a work of fiction, as fascinating as a Purana and above all else, must be full of useful lessons.⁴⁰

Not unlike this self-description from a 1936 Oriya encyclopaedia, in the first section of this chapter we found that both encyclopaedias under discussion here aimed to “suit everyone.” Having examined the contents, however, we find that “everyone” may not have really meant everyone after all. But must we concur with the above quote and declare that the implied reader for the two Chinese encyclopaedias under scrutiny here is exclusively male?

Since the early twentieth century, encyclopaedias in China had been marketed to men. Accordingly, the advertisement in *Shenbao* from 30.5.1907 (Illustration 3 “Selling to men: The Encyclopaedia Britannica”) shows a man sitting next to a huge bookshelf containing the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The advertisement expects that “all the educated, well-off men in China (士大夫) are interested in studying Western (泰西) knowledge (學問者).” As in the case with the Oriya encyclopaedia, the prefaces for the two encyclopaedias we have studied mention the “common people” and “everyone” as readers of their texts, but nowhere do they mention women explicitly. When they address an audience specifically, it is—not unlike in the Oriya encyclopaedia—exclusively male. Many other publications during this period included women in their readerships; however, newspapers, film magazines, and other popular magazines, women’s and education magazines, would often address “her” explicitly as an implied reader (women surely read these texts, too, whether they were mentioned explicitly, and thus openly invited to do so, or not).⁴¹

³⁹ Compare Laozi 47 “Without leaving one’s own house, one has something by which to know the world” (不出戶, 以知天下).

⁴⁰ Jatindra Kumar Nayak, “Uses of General Knowledge: Lala Nagendra Kumar Ray’s Oriya Encyclopaedia *Bibidha Ratna Sangraha*,” in *Allgemeinwissen und Gesellschaft*, eds. Paul Michel and Madeleine Herren, 187

⁴¹ See Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai’s news media, 1872–1912* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), Chap. 4.

第 三 十 三 版

大英百全書五十三冊巨書在檢樹轉輪架內

發行所 倫敦太晤士洋行第一號
大英醫院三號

代售處 上海棋盤街商務印書館同啓

德益成廣告

啓者今因人心不古... 凡欲購者請向本館... 認明商標... 庶不致誤... 此佈

小書一本概載大書一部之總綱

今有上海名學士專函致覆倫敦太晤士各書其意見謂大英百全書各項利益遠境均係華文本館已將來函原底印釘成本如有詢及此種書函者可寄書不取分文以上凡致書各學士皆係中國學界中之超等人員文理精明之輩曾各贊揚大英百全書是一部西半球學界中之要書名學士之筆迹故將其印釘成本以俾 各主顧取閱

蓋悉中國亦有百全書俱是中國名學士之筆迹其書已出版多年隨後始見歐洲之百全書出現雖然大英百全書較重者衆而馳名天下已有一百三十五年本館與中國名學士所著之書相比但當今天下自古於茲大有變動况黎民繁盛凡在全球之上水陸交通人無不至彼當中國有百全書之時固有許多地方尚未得聞其詳今則非惟訪尋各地即科學格致各項無不日精月盛較古時之黎民居然改爲一新國象所以歐洲花旗以及亞斐利加各處之風化人情漸漸行至亞西亞洲竟能立而不選舉凡中國醒目之士無不盼望中國力圖富強即閱致原本館之書確俟得現境之証據今已印釘成本以便候閱者奉閱庶可得 各學士之大材利用

Illustration 3 Advertisement for the sale of the Encyclopaedia Britannica in China, Shenbao 30.5.1907

Reading women's magazines from their earliest appearance in China to the present day,⁴² one gets the impression that there is a very clear understanding of what interests women and, consequently, what topics and genres one needs to choose in order to write efficiently and attractively for a female audience. It is surprising that even those encyclopaedias that do contain some such contents (i.e. the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopeda* as we have seen) do not make a point, anywhere, of addressing female readers explicitly.

This is all the more surprising since women had become a targeted audience very early on in the history of European encyclopaedias which, as we have seen throughout this volume, were formative in the making of modern Chinese encyclopaedias. In 1715, Amaranthes' *Frauenzimmer-Lexicon*, an encyclopaedia written exclusively for women, had already appeared. Additionally, the idea of the encyclopaedia as the backbone of small talk (*Konversationslexikon*), naturally included female perusers of the encyclopaedia because "women like to talk." The year 1834 saw the publication of a Women's Conversation Lexicon (*Damen-Conversations-Lexicon*), and there was also an illustrated encyclopaedia for women that was published in 1900.⁴³ Thus, quite early in Europe the encyclopaedia moved from seclusion in the study of the (male) scholar to the open space of the bourgeois family living room. There, it would be displayed for everyone to see in order to show that education was considered important in the household. Encyclopaedias were no longer the privileged tools of the *homme de lettres*, instead they functioned as entertainment products for the well-situated bourgeoisie, including the women of the house. In the early twentieth century, women are often mentioned and illustrated as users and readers of Western encyclopaedias, not least in advertising. An advertisement for *Le Petit Larousse* clearly plays with the assumption of female readership. It asks: "What does one read in a teak chair at the beach. What does a woman read stretched out on her bed?" "Bien plus qu'un dictionnaire!"⁴⁴

Similarly, women also probably played a role as readers of Chinese encyclopaedias. I have pointed to the type of contents and, in particular, to the nature of advice offered in the pages of the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopeda* as typical of gendered texts published in other popular genres like women's magazines. An advertisement for family handbooks, *jiating congshu* 家庭叢書, published on the pages of the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopeda* (EC II: 3984) and illustrated with a female reader, makes this potential audience visually explicit. The topics of these family handbooks catering

⁴² Mittler, "Portrait of a Trope" deals with this development. It is part of a research project I have been involved in for several years, which has been supported by a TransCoop Grant by the Humboldt Foundation. See first results at <http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/womenggenre/> and <http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/womag/>. The project continues now, under the auspices of the CCK Foundation.

⁴³ *Illustriertes Konversationslexikon der Frau*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Oldenbourg, 1900).

⁴⁴ The advertisement is mentioned in Klaus Vogelsang, "Zum Begriff 'Enzyklopädie,'" in *Wissenssicherung, Wissenordnung und Wissensverarbeitung. Das europäische Modell der Enzyklopädien*, eds. Theo Stammen and Wolfgang E. J. Weber (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2004), 20.

Illustration 4 Advertisement of the Shangwu yinshu guan for a set of family advice books, inserted directly before the section "Family" in *Chongbian riyong baikequanshu*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934, vol. 2, 3984

商務印書館出版
家庭叢書

本書以日常應酬之系統的常識貢獻於新式家庭。於家庭衣服、飲食、職業、醫藥、兒童教育、家庭關係、家庭關係等科目無不齊備。茲將已出各書開列於左：

<p>快樂家庭……劉王立明著 一冊 四角 家庭新論……沈鈞儒著 一冊 四角 家庭與社會……劉曉九著 一冊 四角五分 婦女與家庭……高爾松著 一冊 六角 戀愛與結婚……陳寶書譯 一冊 二角五分 優生問題……王新命譯 一冊 二角 兒童的教育……沈澤民譯 一冊 三角 兒童教養法……戴建新譯 一冊 三角 育兒問答……羅宜顯譯 一冊 二角五分 哺乳兒養育法 顧守民編 一冊 二角五分 家事實習寶鑑 王曹編 一冊 六角</p>	<p>實用一家經濟法 鄧錫譯 一冊 三角五分 家常衛生烹調指南 胡華對編 一冊 六角 日常生活科學叢談 汪軼軍譯 一冊 三角 看護病人要訣 胡宜明譯 一冊 三角 簡易療法……朱夢揚編 一冊 三角 實用救急法……王紫蘇編 一冊 二角五分 胃腸機能保養法 王紫蘇編 一冊 二角五分 性慾衛生論叢 俞鳳翼著 一冊 四角 冷水浴……劉仁康著 一冊 二角五分 神經衰弱自療法 王紫蘇編 一冊 三角 說痘……祝振瀾編 一冊 三角 <small>管希昭編</small></p>
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to women readers are precisely those that were also addressed in the "Family" section of the encyclopaedia (Ill. 4 "Reading women"). In most of the other paratextual matter, however, women hardly appear at all. It remains to be seen whether in the future we will find concrete evidence of encyclopaedia use by women (in memoirs, for example) that will show that they did, in fact, even without being specifically addressed, use these encyclopaedias, and that they were part of the growing public that made use of the new knowledge that was being made readily available to them.⁴⁵

Conclusion

In 1907, a dozen years before the publication of the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of New Knowledge* and a good quarter of a century before the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopedia*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* launched a huge advertising campaign in China. The Shanghai Commercial Press even helped to sell the volumes, but it was

⁴⁵ For Lee and Nathan's suggestions on how to define and research mass reading, see Sherman Cochran, "Marketing Medicine and Advertising Dreams in China, 1900–1950," in *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond 1900–1950*, ed. Wen-hsin Yeh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 83.

all to no avail. One advertisement (*Shenbao* 30.5.1907, see Ill. 3) praises this encyclopaedia as a “great book with which to broaden one’s knowledge.”

The advertisement for the Encyclopaedia Britannica promised to do precisely what the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* and the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* would eventually do and still nothing helped it to sell. Chinese sales were extremely poor (though the encyclopaedia sold well in Japan), and it is difficult to say why exactly. Was it too expensive? Were there not enough readers of English after all? But if so, why was the effort at creating a Chinese translation also a failure?⁴⁶ One might argue that the failure of the one became the foundation for the success of the other. The new knowledge, which was first rejected in the form of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1907, created a structural need for reassurance that had by then become acute because the new knowledge had created contradictions and uncertainties about existing orders of knowledge. This guaranteed the success of the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, which presented these foreign terms and foreign ideas according to the alphabet just as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* would have done—but in Chinese. Even later, the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* used a similar strategy of presenting foreign knowledge, but now it was interspersed with much indigenous knowledge as well, and in a structural order that rejected not just the importance of English but the alphabet as well, and which reverted to well-established modes of ordering and understanding the world.

The fact that an encyclopaedia like the *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, which was arranged according to the alphabet and introduced purely foreign knowledge, would find success on the market is by no means a given. The fact that an encyclopaedia like the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia*, which was arranged in ways and manners reminiscent of the Chinese past and which served so many traditional (as well as ultramodern) concerns, is also surprising. Why, at a time when progress would have been primed, did this type of traditional-style popular *leishu* sell so well? Instead of eternal truths each of these works offered reports from a field of rapidly changing knowledge systems that were carefully catered to different audiences.

The degree to which the *Completely Revised Everyday Cyclopaedia* mixes and redevelops the contents and structures of the “modern” and the “traditional” encyclopaedia and thus presents itself as in step with the status quo, indicates the general conservatism that has often been postulated for this particular time in the Republican Period when the New Life Movement and its politics were dominant. This reversion to conservative values may have reassured readers and may have reaffirmed “their own moral values in the face of competing definitions of ‘reality’”;⁴⁷ resulting in a best-selling encyclopaedia.

Indeed, both encyclopaedias discussed here were a commercial success—as their many reprints and revised editions clearly demonstrate. Their importance

⁴⁶ This effort is discussed in Chen Pingyuan’s article in this volume.

⁴⁷ Barbara S. Phillips, “Magazines’ Heroines: Is *Ms.* Just Another Member of the *Family Circle*?” in *Hearth and Home*, eds. Gaye Tuchman *et al.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 124.

cannot be explained as due simply to official manipulation; on the contrary, these encyclopaedias were published by an independent commercial company and they were a commercial success precisely because they offered the type of knowledge that was in demand at a particular point in time. Drawing on a number of widely different sources, from missionary writings to statecraft compendia, to old-style popular encyclopaedia and new-style newspapers, they constitute important sites of knowledge-production. They were critical to the introduction and dissemination both of foreign and Chinese learning, and they thus played a key role in the formal and informal education of Republican intellectuals as well as the middle classes. As the contents of these two encyclopaedias quite clearly illustrate, their envisaged user was no longer the *homme de lettres*. The encyclopaedic audience had grown much wider and the encyclopaedia's civilizing vision was certainly democratic in spirit,⁴⁸ even though women continued to play only a marginal role.

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⁴⁸ See Madeleine Herren, Paul Michel, "Unvorgreifliche Gedanken zu einer Theorie des Enzyklopädischen."

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Studies on the Characteristics of Late Qing Encyclopaedia Entries

Zhong Shaohua

Brief Introduction

In this article the term “encyclopaedic reference works” refers specifically to encyclopaedias and encyclopaedic dictionaries in the Western mould that were published in the late Qing. Of the 42 late Qing encyclopaedic reference works this author has examined to date, several dozen sciences are addressed at least superficially. I have previously surveyed how these works express the characteristics of the era, their structures of knowledge, and the circumstances of their translation, and have provided information on their compilers and preface-writers, etc.¹ The intention of this essay is to take a first step towards organising the characteristics of entry content. These entries offer us a way to look into the past, imbued as they are with a wealth of new knowledge and a new cultural spirit that is equally congenial to East and West. They contain a large quantity of new terminology, which even today has not been thoroughly examined. The mentality and methodology visible in the entries in this new kind of Chinese-language reference work expressed the particularities of that era’s new Chinese culture. Consequently, their inadequacies and regrettable features are outweighed by their achievement in successfully establishing a genre. This article seeks to explore the issue from the following seven vantage points: new thought, new knowledge, new terminology, compilation methodology, objectivity, accuracy, and special Chinese characteristics.

¹ Zhong Shaohua 鐘少華, *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju: Zhong-Ri jindai baike quanshu yanjiu* 人類知識的新工具: 中日近代百科全書研究 [A new tool of human knowledge: A study of early modern encyclopaedias in China and Japan] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan. 1996).

Zhong Shaohua (✉)

Peking City University, Beijing, People’s Republic of China

e-mail: Zhongsh1938@tom.com

Features of Entry Content

New Thought

Chinese traditional culture, accreted over thousands of years, forms a thoroughly chaotic, albeit fertile, basis of thought. Its essence may be found in the Confucian concept of humanity, *ren* 仁. But this “humanity” was not based on the equality of individuals, but actually consisted of the “benevolence,” *renshu* 仁恕, with which the ruler should treat his subjects, and the “good will,” *renxin* 仁心, with which the subjects should obey their rulers. Besides Confucianism, ordinary people had first-hand experience of other, even more inequitable conceptions, that were based on ethnic prejudice or clan hierarchy, compounded by a way of coping with subjection through intellectual incuriosity, etc. Intellectuals were situated between the emperor and the common people, and their thought, rigid on the whole, did nothing to push traditional culture forward. This author once defined theirs as a “ruminating,” *wanwei* 玩味, culture, with their eight-legged essays constituting unendingly detailed digressions on the subject of Chinese traditional culture. Consequently, reference works in the field of culture consisted, besides the endless annotations of classical works, of the fertile genre of “category-books” or *leishu* 類書. Because these *leishu* consist of excerpts from classical records arranged by category, they provide the reader with a handy reference for such ruminating compositions. Thus, when writing “poetry or songs,” engaging in “*qin* playing, chess, calligraphy or painting” or engaging in other cultural activities, *leishu* could prove a very versatile resource. Naturally, their main emphasis was on the institutional regulations and classical allusions which had to be memorised for eight-legged examination essays or official posts. As a consequence, *leishu* were neither concerned with the accuracy or further development of knowledge, nor with its diffusion for popular edification. Because of their prolonged existence under the traditional system, such *leishu* were naturally concerned only with the accumulation of ever more materials for rumination, and there was no stimulus for the development of new kinds of reference works. Needless to say, when Western civilisation forced its entry into China, the culture of rumination was unable to take on the huge responsibility of saving the nation, and the traditional genre of *leishu* proved even more unable to assist a new generation of Chinese scholars in learning about the world and about China itself. Consequently, the attention of perceptive scholars was drawn to the wealth of Western encyclopaedic reference works. This genre was to be essential for a reformed imperial examination system, since it would provide entirely new knowledge for study and practice in preparation for these new examinations. Existing Western works of encyclopaedic knowledge could be used for this purpose because their entries were focused, accurate, and topical in content as well as intolerant of formal whimsy, ambiguity, or opacity.

Faced with this kind of cultural product, Chinese intellectuals could not but act upon its example. This involved, first, changing the intellectual principles and methods that had formed the original foundation of the *leishu* genre; and, second,

attempting to develop brand-new principles and methods for encyclopaedic works based on these new models.

It was not very difficult to evoke interest in the acquisition of this new knowledge, because it was practical, trustworthy, and, furthermore, compelling. Compared with the traditional knowledge offered by the *leishu*, this new knowledge seemed straightforward, and its dissemination among the Chinese faced no insurmountable difficulties. Western encyclopaedic knowledge had already been present in China for several centuries; and a channel for the exchange of knowledge between China and the West had been established much earlier. Beginning with Matteo Ricci, Li-ma-dou 利瑪竇, (1552–1610) and Robert Morrison, Ma-li-xun 馬禮遜, (1782–1834), it had been expanded by the later large number of Westerners in China during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They were instrumental in fuelling this exchange, and their students learned it from them.

Of course, all forms of learning are bound to meet resistance, especially at a psychological level. During the conservative dynastic era, when suppression was formidable, it was naturally difficult for new “foreign barbaric” thought to obtain equal opportunity for dissemination. In the transformative later portion of the nineteenth century, there were, of course, many who opposed the growing precision of knowledge and the efforts or exhortations to change with the times. An example is the very representative series *Collection of Statecraft Essays of Our August Dynasty*, Huangchao jingshi wenbian 皇朝經世文編, which flew the flag of Confucian statecraft as a way of saving the country. This kind of work agitated for all kinds of empty nonsense, proposing something like “Chinese learning for the essence, Western learning for practical use.” Far from being meant as a joke, this was actually rather a popular ideological and methodological approach among the upper echelons of the late Qing bureaucracy. Consequently, the study of any kind of new knowledge-based thought had to contend with a jumbled chaos of old and new ideas. History demonstrates that the growth and development of encyclopaedic thinking occurred in an atmosphere dominated by indiscriminate acquisitiveness. In this context, the emerging encyclopaedic reference works were crucial in offering Chinese readers a new avenue to learning.

New Knowledge

The broad band of New Learning made available through new encyclopaedic works offered a vast challenge to the traditional knowledge systems. These knowledge systems had formed over thousands of years, and traditional rule, small-scale peasant economy, and Confucianism had kept them in a frozen state. It was hard to provide a clear definition of them because most had not progressed beyond the stage of “common knowledge.” Arising from the accretion of common knowledge over the lifespan of a society, these systems were in a fundamental way different from their Western counterparts, which had only formed in the Renaissance. The ‘knowledge’ contained in the Chinese systems had not been substantiated through scientific reflection or research.

It seems that before the nineteenth century not a single Chinese scholar had formulated a systematic framework for basic Chinese traditional knowledge systems. For this reason, I have decided to present the table of contents of two works in order to identify the outlines of basic traditional knowledge. One is the 1748 *leishu* called *A Classified Repository of Profound Appraisals*, *Yuanjian leihan 淵鑿類函*.² Its general table of contents is provided below to demonstrate the scope of traditional knowledge as organised in this book:

Heaven, the seasons, the earth, the emperor, empresses and concubines, the crown prince, imperial relatives, bureaucratic organisation, the nobility, political tactics, rites, music, literature, martial arts, borders, people, Buddhism, Taoism, the divine and strange, Taoist methods and techniques, handicrafts and art, the capital, provinces and prefectures, residences, industry, fire, gemstones, cloth and silk, ceremonial ornaments, dress and adornment, implements, boats, vehicles, food, the five cereals, medicine, vegetables, fruit, flowers, grass, wood, birds, beasts, fish and crustaceans, insects. (Altogether 45 sections with 450 *juan*.)

The other book is an even more voluminous *leishu*, called the *Collection of Texts and Illustrations. Old and New*, *Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成* (1726). Its general contents are as follows:

Calendar Division: astronomical phenomena; seasons and agriculture; calendar; strange phenomena.

Geography Division: earth; governance; geography; neighbouring and other foreign states.

Human Relations Division: emperor section, imperial palace section, bureaucracy section, family discipline section, social friendship section, clan section, human affairs section, women section.

Natural Sciences Division: arts section, spirits and extraordinary creatures section, beasts and insects section, plants and trees section.

Study of Principles Division: canonical and non-canonical books section, academic conduct section, literature section, Chinese character studies section.

Governance Division: Examinations section, weights and measures section, food and goods section, rites section, music section, military politics section, law and punishment section, industries and manufactured articles section. (Altogether 6 divisions, 32 sections, 6,109 subsections, 10,000 *juan* and approximately 100 million characters.)³

I expect that no single scholar before the mid-nineteenth century, foreign or Chinese, would have been able to collate and develop this rich repository into a knowledge system in modern terms. However, the manner in which the topics of these works and essays were compiled is enough to manifest the particularities of

² Zhang Ying 張英 *et al.* comps., *Yuanjian leihan 淵鑿類函* [A classified repository of profound appraisals] (1710; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1992).

³ Jiang Tingxi 蔣廷錫 *et al.*, comps., *Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成* [Collection of texts and illustrations. Old and new] (1726; repr., Shanghai: Tongwenguan, 1892).

the common knowledge accumulated by the Chinese over millennia. For instance, in the domain of metaphysics, China could boast many instances of brilliant inspiration, but the field lacked logic and strict tests, and was marred by personal, subjective, and political explanations. Though perhaps Chinese practices had at one point led the world in fields such as agriculture, astronomy, geography, and natural history, this common knowledge was never translated into industrial use and its techniques, and by the nineteenth century these methods had become obsolete. More importantly, the motive for compiling these traditional systems of common knowledge had been to provide references for the scholars' culture of rumination, not to advance knowledge. *A Classified Repository of Profound Appraisals* is the classic example, in that every entry features all sorts of classical extracts drawn from poetry and chosen for the benefit of poetic composition, but bearing no relation whatsoever to the scientific significance of the entry. If a scholar today, whether Chinese or foreign, can read and understand these two works in their entirety, he or she will perhaps have earned the title of a "great master of Chinese national learning," but will most certainly not have contributed to the advancement of human knowledge.

The new knowledge systems that emerged in late Qing encyclopaedic reference works, on the other hand, have essentially integrated contemporary Western knowledge systems. The rush of Chinese-language explanations of new knowledge had come after several centuries of preparation, while the necessary ambient conditions and types of tools had not yet emerged. I have chosen the categorical table of contents of Huang Ren's 1911 *New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of General Knowledge*, *Putongbaike xin dacidian* 普通百科新大辭典, also examined in the contributions by Chen Pingyuan and Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume, to demonstrate the knowledge systems of the reference works that emerged in the late Qing for the first time:

Politics: Constitution, administrative law, jurisprudence, civil law, commercial law, procedural law, criminal law, international law, economics, finance, statistics, bookkeeping, military administration.

Education: Chinese history, world history, Chinese geography, foreign geography, philosophy, education studies, religious studies, psychology, ethics, logic, sociology, Chinese literature, world literature, linguistics, graphics, sculpture, music, ornamentation, games.

Natural Sciences: Arithmetic, geometry, algebra, trigonometry, calculus, mechanics, thermodynamics, acoustics, optics, magnetism, chemistry, astronomy, physical geography, geology, seismology, palaeontology, physiology, hygiene, pathology, pharmacology, mineralogy, zoology, botany, anthropology.

Economic sectors: Agronomy, sericulture, forestry, fishery, hunting, industry.

General Categories

(Altogether 11,856 entries in 63 categories).⁴

⁴ Huang Ren 黄人, comp., *Putong baike xin dacidian* (Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she. 1911).

The system of knowledge expressed in the table of contents of this encyclopaedic dictionary is already basically similar to systems of knowledge that are generally in use in China today. The inclusion of concepts and structures borrowed wholesale from the West as well as examples of systematised Chinese traditional common knowledge shows how the Chinese had already accepted a completely new systematic method of expression. An especially good example is the large number of terms that, in emulation of the Japanese, append the character *xue* 學 (studies) to a field of specialised knowledge; there are 40 such examples in the table of contents. One should note that in the Western system of knowledge, whenever the suffix *xue* appears (like the suffix “-ology”), six fixed conditions must be identifiable: a definition of this branch of study; its structure; its theories and concepts; its cultural value; its methodology; and its evolution. Without satisfying these six conditions, the suffix “-ology” cannot be used. The terms ending in *xue* which appeared in the two previously discussed *leishu*, for example, “Study of Principles,” *lixue* 理學, “Literature,” *wenxue* 文學, and “Study of Chinese characters,” *zixue* 字學, would have great difficulty meeting these conditions. Only later, in the twentieth century, did Chinese scholars apply Western analytical methods to these traditional Chinese forms of knowledge under the auspices of “national learning,” *guoxue* 國學.

For a Chinese scholar in the nineteenth century, this new knowledge was too abundant; so abundant that it was beyond absorption. One had to acquire Western knowledge (from the alphabet all the way to knowledge about material objects); and at the same time, one had to reinterpret one’s own traditional common knowledge. This created a state of social indigestion in which all kinds of scientific knowledge and common knowledge were mixed into an olio of confusion, misapplication, and misconception. It seems that even the 100 years of the twentieth century did not suffice to establish a clear organisation while to the Western men of learning, who came to nineteenth-century China and offhandedly undertook the task of enlightening the country, knowledge of the alphabet and of material objects seemed extremely elementary. Many of them were earnest and diligent instructors, and perhaps they themselves benefitted from this instruction; but for the Chinese, the gains were very limited indeed. There were two basic reasons for this: first, if one wanted to transplant new knowledge, one had to take into account the difficulty of having it take root and germinate in Chinese soil. Second, these scholars had only a limited grasp of Chinese traditional common knowledge, and so either praised it to the skies or regarded it as utterly worthless, deficient as an expression of a whole knowledge system, and without any counterpart in the realm of correct knowledge. Only in the early twentieth century, when they initiated reforms in the Chinese education system, did the situation improve.

In terms of breadth and depth, the New Learning also far exceeded the scope encompassed by traditional Chinese common knowledge. The diligent study of this New Learning as contained in the new encyclopaedic works would at that time have sufficed to make someone an important figure in his generation, even without his ever having studied abroad. Unfortunately, history shows that only a very few proved equal to this task in practice. Still, as the products of an era’s civilisation,

these encyclopaedic reference tools possess permanent historical value. The following is an overview of the various specific fields of learning in late Qing encyclopaedic reference works.

They contain a large amount of introductory materials on political systems, including the political structure, population and domestic politics of various European and American states as well as of Japan and other countries. Also included are quite a number of entries on various structures of power and administration as well as a variety of laws and regulations. Their division according to era and nation and their graphic separation of individual entries makes them convenient for reference. Discussions on reforming the Chinese system may include writings from both Chinese and foreign commentators on the Chinese political system, political tutelage, reform, as well as personnel use or the new version of the *baojia* 保甲 local control system, etc. The contents are marred by the weaknesses of the times, and there is much that is no more than empty words. There were many suggestions for measures that in the end still proved powerless to save the Qing Court from demise. One entry, for instance, from the third *juan* of the *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs. Sequel*, *Shiwu tongkao xubian* 時務通考續編 (1901), proclaims that “sovereignty hinges on independence,” 國權在於自立 and advocates “recognising foreign nations as autonomous” 人他國為自主之國.⁵ A section from the 22nd *juan* of *The Revised and Newly Illustrated Comprehensive Synthesis of the Times*, *Xinji zengtu shiwu huitong* 新輯增圖時務匯通 (1903), is entitled “[China] should establish a parliament so as to have [government] be in contact with the situation among the people,” 宜勅設議院以通下情, and so on.⁶

The Qing government’s interaction with Westerners was marked throughout by mishaps. There were many reasons for this, but among them were slip-ups and self-wrought troubles occasioned by misunderstandings about manners of interaction. After the Opium War, China, under pressure from the great powers, signed a number of humiliating treaties that caused great hardship upon implementation. On the one hand, the rulers had surrendered sovereignty under humiliating terms; on the other hand, they planned the establishment of a modern state. This was reflected in the encyclopaedic reference works through the inclusion of many entries on diplomatic treaties and regulations, as well as diplomatic etiquette, negotiating rights, diplomatic work, border negotiations, declarations of war, and suing for peace, etc. I am afraid that this profusion stemmed from the hope that a deeper understanding of these questions would prevent renewed losses and hardship.

Besides the entries on law included in the comprehensive encyclopaedias, there are also seven encyclopaedic reference books devoted specifically to law. Of these,

⁵ Dianshizhai zhuren 點石齋主人, comp., *Shiwu tongkao xubian* 時務通考續編 (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1901), *juan* 3, 3a.

⁶ Chen Qiu 陳虯, “Yi chuangshe yiyuan yi tong xia qing” 宜勅設議院以通下情, in *Xinji zengtu shiwu huitong* 新輯增圖時務匯通, comps. Li Zuodong 李作棟 *et al.*, (Shanghai: Chongxin, 1903), *juan* 22: 2b.

six are works translated from the Japanese: *Explanations of Japanese Legal Terms*, Riben fagui jiezi 日本法規解字 (1907),⁷ *Comprehensive Explanations of Legal Terminology*, Falü mingci tongshi 法律名詞通釋 (1908),⁸ *Legal Advice on the Laws of the Four Great Codes*, Si da fadian falü guwen 四大法典法律顧問 (1910),⁹ *Explanation of Terms of Law and Economy*, Falü jingji cijie 法律經濟辭解 (1907),¹⁰ *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Law and Economy*, Falü jingji cidian 法律經濟詞典 (1907),¹¹ and *Dictionary of Chinese Translations of New Legal Terms*, Han yi xin falü cidian 漢譯新法律詞典 (1905).¹² There is also one translation of an American work, *A Practical Introduction to International Law*, Gongfa bianlan 公法便覽 (1877).¹³ This reveals how the Chinese had begun to attach importance to law enforcement and legislation both domestically and internationally. Guided by the Qing court's directives, a new modern Chinese legal system began to take shape. These legal concepts appeared in the entries of these encyclopaedias, and were evidently based principally on new, modern Japanese legal concepts.

New economic knowledge was another focus. The traditional Chinese economic system had already deteriorated by the end of the nineteenth century, and was staggering on with difficulty. Domestically, the rulers needed funds, though the question of how to organise and control economic activity remained a major problem. They lacked a reliable method for increasing revenue and reducing expenditures. What should be done about coinage and the gold standard? What was the key to Western finance, and how did the system work? How did one do business with foreign enterprises? How could commercial contracts and chambers of commerce be formed? How should Chinese agricultural economy be reformed? How to encourage the establishment of new industries? What was the situation of foreign economies, and what was economic research like abroad? The answer to all

⁷ Qian Xun 錢恂 and Dong Hongyi 董鴻禕, comp., *Riben fagui jiezi* 日本法規解字 [Explanations of Japanese Legal Terms] (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1901).

⁸ Sichuan fazheng xuetang 四川法政學堂, ed., *Falü mingci tongshi* 法律名詞通釋 [Comprehensive explanations of legal terminology] (Sichuan fazheng xuetang shenban, 1908).

⁹ Shimizu Tetsutarō 清水鉄太郎, *Sida fadian falü guwen* 四大法典法律顧問 [Legal advice on the laws of the four great codes], trans. Liu Jixue 劉積學 and Lin Wenzhao 林文昭. Original title: *Hōritsu komon:kaisei yondai hōten* 法律顧問, 改正四大法典. (Tokyo: Hakushō shokyoku, 1910).

¹⁰ Kishimoto Tatsuo 岸本辰雄, comp., *Falü jingji cijie* 法律經濟辭解 [Explanation of terms of law and economy] trans. Zhang Enshu 張恩樞 et al. (Tokyo: Namiki, 1907).

¹¹ Shimizu Chō 清水澄, comp., *Falü jingji cidian* 法律經濟辭典 [Encyclopaedic lexicon for law and economy] trans. Zhang Chuntao 張春濤 and Guo Kaiwen 郭開文 (Shanghai: Qunyi, 1907).

¹² Riben xinfadian jiangxihui 日本新法典講習會, comp., *Hanyi xin falü cidian* 漢譯新法律詞典 [Dictionary of Chinese translations of new legal terms], trans. Xu Yongxi 徐永錫, ed. Zhang Jiguang 張輯光 (Beijing: Jingshi yixueguan, 1905).

¹³ Wu-er-xi 吳爾璽 (= Woolsey, Theodore D.), *Gongfa bianlan* 公法便覽 [A practical introduction to international law], trans. Ding Weiliang 丁緯良 (Beijing: Beijing tongwen, 1877). Originally published as *Introduction to the Study of International Law*, rev. red. (New York: Charles Scribner, 1864). It was designed as an aid in teaching and in historical studies.

these questions could be found among the entries of these encyclopaedic reference works.

During the Opium Wars China had experienced the decrepitude of her own military and the real strength of Western militaries with their “fortified ships and powerful guns.” But the vitality of the Chinese gave them the ability to absorb new, powerful techniques for constant self-reform. And so, beginning in 1865, the Self-Strengthening Movement began actively implementing New Learning in the field of military studies, not only establishing a series of new armaments factories but also undertaking the translation of various publications on new military matters. By 1911 a total of 300 military works had been translated, more than for any other specific branch of knowledge. As one might expect, there are numerous entries on military affairs in the encyclopaedic dictionaries, addressing the state of the army and navy of various nations, a variety of weapons models, capabilities and manufacturing, a range of examples of battles, military systems, methods and tactics of attack and defence, rear service and training, military theory, grain provision by civilians and the civil corps—in short, everything such a work ought to have.

One important reason for the difficulty of enacting modernising reforms in China was the lack of people who had mastered new knowledge. In every field of expertise and at every level there were too few capable people. The initiators of the 1898 Reform movement, acknowledging this circumstance, felt that the only way to systematically foster a corps of personnel who had mastered the new knowledge was the establishment of a large number of new schools together with the abolition of the imperial examination system and the eight-legged essay. The new educational system would be complemented by new textbooks and instructors. Their assessment was absolutely correct, and encyclopaedic reference works emerged as one result of the reformed education system. For this reason, a large number of entries in these works are related to new-style education, including introductions to schools and educational systems of various countries, the principles and methods of operating new schools, curricula, how China should establish new schools, etc. Also appended were very lucid and concrete discussions of Chinese characters and of translation, etc. No doubt these results are related to the traditional Chinese emphasis on education, and represent, both by the standards of the time and historical perspective, a stunning and crucial transformation.

Western humanities knowledge exerted a decisive influence on the Renaissance and on modernisation, determining the cultural characteristics of Westerners. Unfortunately, it was very late before modern Chinese recognised the importance of the human sciences. During the late Qing, a subconscious dread prevented the spread of knowledge in this domain. The slogan “Chinese learning for the essence, Western learning for practical use” was widely deployed to dismiss new knowledge in the humanities, thus rejecting this crucial and, in terms of the Chinese humanities, potentially transformative knowledge by assigning it to the periphery of “practical use.” The Chinese of the era certainly did not see the (Western) humanities as belonging to the fundamental “essence.” This hindered the healthy development of our people’s psychology and physiology. In fact, only in the late

Qing did the trickle of basic knowledge in the humanities begin in the form of translations of works in fields such as philosophy, logic, sociology, anthropology, psychology, folklore, and jurisprudence. Even so, many of them were brought to China and translated on the initiative of foreigners. Consequently, encyclopaedic reference works contain few entries related to the humanities, and what is included is superficial and not conducive to the establishment of lucid, systematic concepts. Historical knowledge is somewhat better represented, however, since we find substantial entries on both world and Chinese history. In retrospect, the re-emergence of Western humanities knowledge in China (the first appearance occurring during the early seventeenth century's late Ming Dynasty) was, though rather basic, nevertheless quite useful to the Chinese. It played an even more important role in China's twentieth-century development.

In the eyes of the late Qing Chinese, knowledge of the natural sciences was the main constituent of Western learning. It had already circulated for many years in China. Whether it was the translation department of the Jiangnan Arsenal, Jiangnan zhizao ju 江南制造局, which began translating the works of science and technology, or the College of Foreign Languages, Tongwen guan 同文館, which used the works of science and technology as study materials, the instructors involved had always included foreigners. By the late Qing, about 1,500 works of science and technology had been published, and so entries on this field in the encyclopaedic reference works are numerous and possess a certain depth. For example, Sino-Western exchanges in the field of astronomy had been going on since the late Ming years of the seventeenth century, for over 300 years. Both Western and Chinese astronomers learned a great deal from these exchanges, and so subjects broached by the entries include introductions to celestial phenomena, astronomical instruments, calendar systems, time measurement, and all kinds of astronomical theories. There was also a great deal of Chinese traditional common knowledge in the geosciences, with historical works frequently including travel accounts of geographic value. However, there was also too little in the way of quantitative analysis, and the cartographic methods were inferior. The modern integration of Western geography and geology caused a rapid development in new Chinese geographical studies. Naturally, planetary and space sciences, world geography, and economic geography were included in the entries; but Chinese geography was also presented in great detail in the encyclopaedic reference works, including each province's topography, physical features, products, borders, and landscape. These detailed surveys had all been conducted by foreign experts in China.

A great many entries are devoted to the natural sciences, including chemistry, mechanics, thermotics, acoustics, optics, and electrical sciences. These were circulated among the Chinese as novel and interesting sciences, with entries introducing basic concepts and experiments in physics and chemistry, the use of instruments, and profiles of expert natural scientists. Though mathematics had existed in China since ancient times, both its intellectual approach and its forms of expression were distinct from Western mathematics. Consequently, the harmonisation of Western and Chinese mathematics required substantial efforts, an enterprise that can be traced back to Matteo Ricci's and Xu Guangqi's 徐光啟 (1562–1633) translation of Euclid's *Elements*. Nevertheless, the process, including the adoption of mathematical

operators, horizontal writing, and trigonometry, was less problematic than the harmonisation of the social sciences. As a result, entries in the encyclopaedic reference works contain introductory information on both Western and Chinese mathematics, with an emphasis on applied mathematics. Information on modern biology in the entries is primarily confined to general introductions of a zoological or botanical nature, though they were quite appropriate for diffusion in the new elementary schools, and provided a wealth of information. There was also a little bit of genetics. Western medical knowledge had been accorded recognition by the Chinese and could be introduced in encyclopaedic reference works. In fact, it was Chinese medicine that was underrepresented. Also, there were specific encyclopaedic reference books for science and technology, such as *The Great Anthology of Chinese and Western Mathematics*, Zhongxi suanxue dacheng 中西算學大成 (1897),¹⁴ *The Newly Translated Atlas of Strategic Locations of Rivers and Seas of China*, Xin yi Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi 新譯中國江海險要圖志 (1900),¹⁵ *Prescriptions from around the World*, Wanguo yaofang 萬國藥方 (1886),¹⁶ *Further Prescriptions from around the World*, Xin wanguo yaofang 新萬國藥方 (1909),¹⁷ *A New World Geography*, Wanguo xin dizhi 萬國新地志 (1903),¹⁸ *Terminological Dictionary of Natural History*, Bowu da cidian 博物大辭典 (1907),¹⁹ and *The Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Physics*, Wuli da cidian 物理大辭典.²⁰

¹⁴ Chen Weiqi 陳維祺, comp., *Zhongxi suanxue dacheng* 中西算學大成 [The great anthology of Chinese and Western Mathematics] (Shanghai: Shanghai bowen shuju. 1897).

¹⁵ *Xin yi Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi* 新譯中國江海險要圖志 [The Newly Translated Atlas of Strategic Locations of Rivers and Seas of China], trans. Chen Shoupeng 陳壽彭 (Shanghai: Jingshi wen she, 1900). Translation of vol. 3 of Charles Henry Clarke Langdon, ed. *The China Sea Directory, comprising the coasts of China from Hong Kong to the Korea; north coast of Luzon, Formosa Island and Strait; the Babuyan, Bashee, and Meiacio Sima Groups; Yellow Sea, Gulfs of Pe-Chili and Liau-tung. Also the rivers Canton, West, Min, Yung, Yangtse, Yellow, Bei Ho, and Liau Ho; and Pratas Island* (London: Hydrographic Office, 1894–96³). For this text, see also the study by Li Hsiao-t'i in this volume.

¹⁶ Sikuaier 思快爾 (=Sir Peter Wyatt Squire), *Wanguo yaofang* 萬國藥方 [Prescriptions from around the world], trans. Hong Shide 洪士提 (=Stephen Alexander Hunter) (Shanghai: Meihua, 1886). Originally published as Sir Peter Wyatt Squire, *A companion to the British pharmacopoeia: comparing the strength of the various preparations with those of the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, United States and other foreign pharmacopoeias with practical hints on prescribing* (London: J. Churchill and Sons, 1866).

¹⁷ Onda Shigenobu 恩田重信, comp., *Xin wanguo yaofang* 新萬國藥方 [Further prescriptions from around the world], trans. Ding Fubao 丁福保 (Shanghai: Shanghai Yixue, 1909).

¹⁸ *Wanguo xin dizhi* 萬國新地志 [A New World Geography], trans. He Yujie 何育傑 (Shanghai: Shanghai tong she, 1903). Based on an unidentified British work by Livingston (?) 雷文斯頓 that was published in 1902.

¹⁹ Zeng Pu 曾朴, Xu Nianci 徐念慈, comp., *Bowu da cidian* 博物大辭典 (Shanghai: Hongwen guan, 1907). For details on this work, see the study by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová in this volume.

²⁰ Rika kenkyūkai 理科研究會, comp., *Wuli dacidian* 物理大辭典 [The encyclopaedic dictionary of physics], trans. Yang Zhiting 楊芝亭 and Wang Yizhi 汪怡芝 (Shanghai: Hongwen. 1907).

In ancient China, applied technology was considered to be no more than a skill and was long disdained by the literati. But it was greatly valued during the West's Industrial Revolution, as is especially evident from Diderot's inclusion of a great deal of technical information in his *Encyclopédie* (1751–1772), accompanied by a large number of detailed illustrations. After the Opium War, the Chinese gradually recognised the real importance of technology and production. For this reason, the Jiangnan Arsenal began the publication of a number of books for technical use. The promotion of new technologies and industries in China was welcomed by many people of all classes, both Chinese and foreign. Consequently, technology features prominently in the entries of encyclopaedic reference works. However, because the Chinese lacked a tradition of mechanised civilisation, the compilers were often of literati background. Explanations remained too crude and the information insufficiently detailed for practical application. There was also too little in the way of diagrams. At the time, the most detailed descriptions were devoted to railway engineering technology and the state of railways domestically and abroad. By that time, under the leadership of Chinese railway engineer Zhan Tianyou 詹天佑 (1861–1919), the Beijing-Zhangjiakou railway had already been completed, stoking Chinese confidence in domestic capabilities. Western mining methods were vigorously promoted, and mining products had become items of international trade. A large proportion of the entries are devoted to this subject. Other subjects included steam engines, textiles technology, municipal works, electric lighting, telephones, running water, and river engineering. Two encyclopaedias were specifically devoted to technology: *A Comprehensive Compendium of Western Technical Learning*, *Taixi yixue tongkao* 泰西藝學通考 (1901)²¹ and *A Comprehensive Compendium of Technical Learning*, *Yixue tongzuan* 藝學通纂 (1902),²² both of which offer a wealth of materials.

For over 1,000 years, agriculture had been China's foundation. By the modern era, however, China's agricultural sciences had rather fallen behind the West's new agricultural technology. For instance, in terms of crop species, agricultural machinery, cultivation methods, fertiliser, industrial sericulture, afforestation, and agricultural theory the West had produced new methods and results. Encyclopaedic reference works of the time devoted more than a little space to the new agricultural knowledge and recommendations for Chinese agricultural reform. The information on this topic is quite good.

Entries on art, culture, and customs primarily introduce Western circumstances. I am afraid that they are compiled mostly from the travelogues of Chinese who had been abroad. They are both too general and too eager for novelty, with very little in the way of systematised knowledge.

Based on Rika kenkyūkai 理科研究会編, comp., *Saikin butsurigaku jiten* 最近物理学辞典 (Tokyo: Sanbunsha, 1905).

²¹ He Liangdong 何良棟, comp., *Taixi yixue tongkao* 泰西藝學通考 [A comprehensive compendium of Western technical learning] (Shanghai: Hongbao shuju, 1901).

²² Ma Jianzhong 馬建忠, ed., *Yixue tongzuan* 藝學通纂 [Comprehensive compendium of technical learning] (Shanghai: Wenlin, 1902).

New Terminology

The quantity and quality of new terminology present in a culture during a given era is a gauge of that culture's progress. From a linguistic perspective, late Qing encyclopaedic reference works can be regarded as an extensive exposition of new Chinese-language terminology. Compared with the terminology of traditional China, this period saw an overnight blossoming of new terminology, broad in scope, profound in content, brilliant in concept, and completely unprecedented. So much new terminology had emerged that the era's scholars hardly knew how to integrate and apply it. Unfortunately, 100 years later, we have still not completely sorted out these magnificent treasures of our national culture. This section attempts a short analysis.

Let us posit that the aforementioned works, Zhang Ying's *A Classified Repository of Profound Appraisals* and the *Collection of Texts and Illustrations. Old and New*, contain 100 million characters and that these works can be taken as representative of traditional Chinese usage. Had traditional society not been overthrown and had the culture of rumination continued, this traditional terminology would have been naturally sufficient for endless linguistic diversion. Historically speaking, Chinese terminology has not discriminated against borrowed words. The absorption of terminology from Indian Buddhist culture between the Han and Tang Dynasties is a case in point. The many cooperative translations between early seventeenth-century Ming Dynasty figures and foreigners were also productive. Of the large number of new foreign terms that appeared in the translations of that early period, many were transliterations. For instance, *Philosophia* was directly transliterated into Chinese as *fei-lu-suo-fei-ya* 斐錄所費亞, or else translated as "the study of the love of knowledge," *aizhi xue* 愛知學. There was no attempt to probe or present the connotations of this concept. For this reason, scholars of the period had great difficulty grasping the meaning of this word, and resorted to wild guesses and their own imagination. These misreadings ultimately yielded a concept very similar to neo-Confucianism. After the transition into the Qing in the middle of the seventeenth century, elements of the Manchu language could be smoothly integrated into Chinese, but the consolidation of absolutism resulted in a delay in the modernisation of Chinese terminology. In China, it was forbidden to have knowledge of new Western terminology, while foreigners continued to develop reference books based on the textual exchanges initiated by Matteo Ricci and others. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Robert Morrison, a Briton in Macau, edited and published a nearly 5,000-page bilingual *Dictionary of the Chinese Language in three parts, part the first containing Chinese and English, arranged according to the radicals* [Zidian 字典], *part the second containing Chinese and English, arranged alphabetically* [Wu che yunfu 五車韻府]; and *part the third, English and Chinese* [Ying Hua zidian 英華字典].²³ This

²³ Robert Morrison, *Dictionary of the Chinese Language in three parts, part the first containing Chinese and English, arranged according to the radicals* [Zidian 字典], *part the second containing Chinese and English, arranged alphabetically* [Wu che yunfu 五車韻府]; and *part*

demonstrates that a two-way channel of communication had already opened between Western and Chinese cultures. While foreigners effectively mastered Chinese in order to grasp the foundations of China, the Chinese themselves declined the proffered opportunity to communicate. Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785–1850) had taken note of this by the eve of the Opium War, and had promoted communication by putting together the *Record of the Four Continents*, *Sizhou zhi* 四州志 (c. 1841), from translations he had organized.²⁴ Later, Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794–1856) quoted new terminology in his compilation of the *Records with Maps of Maritime Countries*, *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 (1841–1852).²⁵ However, these efforts did not produce a sufficient effect. Not until the 1898 Reform movement and the replacement of the imperial eight-legged essay-based examinations with “New Learning” examinations did China really free itself from its self-imposed ban. Thereupon, the importation of a large amount of new terminology from Japan created a frenzy to acquire it in China.

What does it mean to say that the essence of learning was in the implications of the new terminology itself? The general student need not necessarily know the origin of new terminology, and the question of who had first imported and translated the term is of secondary concern. However, only terms that accurately express a concept are easy to learn and understand. If one were to translate an entire book by means of transliteration, the content would remain incomprehensible. Semantic translation was the only viable method for primary use. Semantic translation had to consider the original meaning of the Western words, the original meaning of the Chinese characters employed, and the original meaning of the *kanji* 漢字 imported into Japanese for Western concepts before being borrowed back into Chinese. One can be sure that these three considerations were difficult to accommodate. The encyclopaedic reference works of the late Qing were primarily oriented toward definitions of new terminology. Before these encyclopaedias, there may have been a few others who coined or created one new term or the other; but explanations and definitions were independent and idiosyncratic, since they were composed solely based on the understanding of the given author.

Encyclopaedic reference work entries are designed to be widely understandable, including the terms used in the entry composition. This also required the harmonisation of the different phonetic renderings for foreign names and words and the establishment of an authoritative version. Examining the new terminology

the third, English and Chinese [Ying Hua zidian 英華字典] (Macao: Printed at the Honourable East India company's press, 1815–23).

²⁴ Lin Zexu 林則徐, *Sizhou zhi* 四洲志 [Record of the four continents], excerpts in Wang Xiqi 王錫祺, comp., *Xiaofanghu zhai yudi congchao zai bubian* 小方壺齋輿地叢鈔再補編 (Shanghai: Zhuyi tang, 1897). It is based on translations from Hugh Murray, ed., *An encyclopedia of geography : comprising a complete description of the earth, exhibiting its relation to the heavenly bodies, its physical structure, the natural history of each country, and the industry, commerce, political institutions, and civil and social state of all nations*, (1834) (London: Longman, 1840²).

²⁵ Wei Yuan 魏源, *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 [Records with maps of maritime countries] (1847; repr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1967).

of the late Qing, we discover a relatively mature store of detailed definitions of new knowledge. Because of the limited space available, we cannot here examine the specific definitions of entries. The reader is advised to consult *The Insight of Terms*, *Ciyu de zhihui* 詞語的知惠 by this author, in which some entries are excerpted.²⁶

In 1950, Luo Changpei 羅常培 (1899–1958) proposed the following linguistic classification of the new terms:

- A. Phonetic substitutions
 - 1. Purely phonetic
 - 2. Simultaneously phonetic and semantic
 - 3. Phonetic plus semantic
 - 4. Phonetic, misinterpreted as semantic
- B. New phonetic-compound
- C. Loan translation
- D. Descriptive form.²⁷

The contemporary scholar Shi Youwei 史有為 added another category for new terms imported from the Japanese—“form-translation.”²⁸ Applying these five categories to a search for new terminology in the late Qing encyclopaedic reference works would no doubt provide fertile grounds for study, since all categories are certain to be represented. No examples will be provided here, however.

Quality of Compilation, Objectivity and Accuracy of the Entries

Besides scientific merit, topicality, and comprehensibility there are other criteria by which the quality of encyclopaedic reference works may be measured, and other standards that allow the discerning reader to pass judgment. Other standards to consider include quality of compilation, objectivity, and accuracy of entries. Since encyclopaedias are the representative tools of new knowledge, the connotations of the entries as well as the inclusions and exclusions of the compilation should be handled in a conscientious manner. During the great popularity of encyclopaedia publication in the West, the composition of encyclopaedic entries as well as their organisation and arrangement were held to high standards, and consequently exerted an excellent influence on the cultural sphere. Beginning with the editing and publication of Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, contributions to and compilations of renowned Western encyclopaedias was most often the work of an entire generation

²⁶ Zhong Shaohua 鍾少華, *Ciyu de zhihui: Qing mo baike cishu tiaomu xuan* 詞語的知惠：清末百科辭書條目選 [The insight of terms: Selected entries from late Qing encyclopaedic works] (Guiyang: Guizhou jiaoyu, 2000).

²⁷ Luo Changpei 羅常培, *Yuyan yu wenhua* 語言與文化 [Language and culture] (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 1950), 29–32.

²⁸ Shi Youwei 史有為, *Hanyu wailaiyu* 漢語外來語 [Loan words in Chinese] (Beijing: Shangwu, 2000), 18.

of scholars. Their diligent and thorough delineations of knowledge and colossal, painstaking, collaborative efforts turned encyclopaedias into cultural reference works of general use, and created a new branch of study. These scholars were often called *encyclopedistes*.

In China, however, things were different. First of all, the emergence and publication of these encyclopaedias was not guided by the political authorities, but most often by financial profit. Naturally, translations from foreign encyclopaedic reference works were primarily undertaken by the first wave of students returning from abroad, eager to earn a quick penny. They deliberately opted to translate works that were of lesser difficulty and in great domestic demand, while rejecting encyclopaedic reference works of large scale or too high a specialisation. Regardless of their basic translation skills, a work rendered into Chinese ought to be adequate as long as the basic structure of the original work was left untouched. But compilers attempting to put together an encyclopaedic reference work of their own were faced with the problem that, by and large, the entries were not written for the purpose. It was more common for the compiler to hire people to copy texts, or even to do some of this work himself. Procuring commercially available New Learning books and journals, they would copy relevant portions of these publications, divide them up according to classifications of their own making, and collate the material into a book that reflected their own grasp of the material. In other words, there was no process of expert supervision, and the copiers were themselves far from expert. They were satisfied as long as the work could be sold; market demand reigned supreme. Encyclopaedic reference works compiled in this manner, not subject to the high standards that were usual in the West, were marred by regrettable errors. Consequently, it is not reasonable to expect Chinese readers to evince a passionate interest in these encyclopaedias. Only in retrospect is the historical value of these encyclopaedic reference works evident. The element of competition between editors is also evident in these works. The works increased in length, and entries, once simply copied, were later altered and improved by the compiler. Naturally, it is hard to say to what degree these entries were considered authoritative. Perhaps they held a certain influence among the scholars of the period.

The quality of compilation for these works was, all in all, adequate. It goes without saying that the translated works were acceptable. Compilations of Chinese origin allowed the editor to indulge his own particular tendencies, since he could copy from various sources. Listed below are the combined numbers of entries in the first three *juan* of *A Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs*, *Shiwu tongkao* (1897),²⁹ and the *Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs. Sequel*, *Shiwu tongkao xubian* (1901)³⁰:

²⁹ Qilu zhuren 杞廬主人, *Shiwu tongkao* 時務通考 [A comprehensive examination of current affairs] (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1897).

³⁰ Dianshizhai zhuren 點石齋主人 comp., *Shiwu tongkao xubian* 時務通攷續編 [A comprehensive examination of current affairs. Sequel] (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1901).

First *juan*: Astronomy and Mathematics—Early Beginnings, 40 entries; Names and Definitions, 55 entries; Instruments, 21 entries; Measurements and Calculations, 76 entries; the Seven Celestial Bodies, 110 entries; the Stars, 42 entries; Eclipses, 412 entries; Lunar Calendar, 47 entries; Origin and Development of Astronomy and Mathematics, 47 entries; Astronomical and Mathematical Works, 55 entries; Solar stations 44 entries; Calendrical Method, 40 entries; Eight-Diagrams Study, 56 entries; Circle Measurement, 46 entries.

Second *juan*: Geography—General Geography 10+5 entries; Asian and Chinese Coastlines 200 + 167 entries; Asia 183 + 27 entries; Europe 302 + 15 entries; Africa 51 + 1 entries; America 67 + 11 entries; Australasia 2 entries.

Third *juan*: International Law—General 19 + 12 entries; Sovereignty 12 + 39 entries; Diplomatic Relations 19 + 49 entries; Alliances 23 + 14 entries; Rights 17 + 73 + 44 entries; Legislation 49 entries; Diplomatic Envoys 26 + 127 entries; Examples of Battles 83 + 184 entries; Peace Negotiations 13 + 56 entries; Western Public Legal Scholars 164 entries.

Judging by the number of entries, one might conclude that the quality of compilation for these works is rather high, but a closer look at the content in historical perspective shows that they are less than satisfactory.

As for the objectivity and accuracy of Chinese-compiled encyclopaedic entries, it is very difficult to speak of them in general terms. One must examine the implications of each entry individually. Some are indeed of the highest quality and entirely appropriate to assist readers of that era in their pursuit of knowledge. Others are vague and chaotic, so that nobody then or now could make any sense of their import. This is often because the copier had failed to grasp the meaning of the original, and had consequently produced slipshod work. For example, in the 14th *juan* of Li Zuodong's *The Revised and Newly Illustrated Comprehensive Synthesis of the Times*, *Xinji zengtu shiwu huitong*, which is the eighth of eight *juan* in the geography section, the entries are entitled as follows: The Territorial History of all Nations; On Geography; Regarding Geology; On Why China Should Attach Importance to Geosciences; On Map Latitudes and Longitudes; On the Movement of the Earth; On the Roundness of the Earth; On the Perfect Roundness of the Earth's Shape; Debate on the Shape of the Earth; On the Shape of the Globe; On Geographic Convergence; Examination of the Age of the Earth; On the Inanimateness of the Earth; On Sacrifices to Earth Spirits; On the Elevation and Depression of Terrain; On Geomancy; A List of High Mountains; A List of Great Rivers; Regarding Remarkable Stones in the Earth; Regarding the Heat beneath the Earth; On the Three Rivers; About Mount Sumeru of Buddhist Sutras; The Seasons on Uninhabited Islands; Trivial Records on Explorations of Remote Places.³¹ The contents of these entries present modern world geography quite objectively and accurately. However, for whatever reason, the content jumps from the shape of the earth to geomancy, discusses spirits and monsters, and generally confuses the reader. For example, the entry "On the Movement of the Earth" begins with ideas

³¹ Li Zuodong *et al.*, comp., *Xinji zengtu shiwu huitong juan* 14: 1.

proposed by Liezi 列子, Zhuangzi 莊子, and other classical philosophers. However, it also includes an accurate account of Copernicus's views and corroborative data. Although it does not mention Copernicus or Newton, it includes a few words from Li Shanlan 李善蘭 (1810–1882). This demonstrates the utterly bewildering way in which the entries “excerpt from the classics for guidance.” Though readers today may find these entries very distinctive,³² it is difficult to comment on their objectivity. In terms of relative objectivity and accuracy, the entries dealing with natural sciences and technology, being drawn from contemporary Western originals, can basically be regarded as acceptable. The entries dealing with Chinese politics, economics, society, etc., on the other hand, generally draw their material from Western surveys of China. Consequently, their objectivity and accuracy are in need of verification and are provided only for reference.

Special Features of the Translations of Encyclopaedic Entries

The following encyclopaedic reference works, some of which have already been mentioned and most of which are accessible in the Heidelberg database, were translated from foreign languages:

Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide, Shijie mingren zhuanlüe 世界名人傳略 (1908),³³ a selection of translations from Patrick, David and Francis Hindes Groome, comp. *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary*. London and Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, Ltd., 1897, 1899, and Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1898, 1900. Translations by Dou Yuean 竇樂安 (= John Darroch) (1865–1941) and his Chinese collaborators Huang Ding 黃鼎, Zhang Zaixin 張在新 and Guo Fenghan 郭鳳翰. Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1908. One hardcover edition.

Newly Translated Atlas of the Strategic Locations of Rivers and Seas of China, Xin yi Zhongguo jianghai xianyao tuzhi 新譯中國江海險要圖志. Original edition by Charles Henry Clarke Langdon from the Great Britain Hydrographic Office. Translated by Chen Shoupeng 陳壽彭 (b. 1855). Shanghai, Jingshi wenshe, 1900. 22 juan.

Jin Yuehan 金約翰 (=John William King), ed., *Newly Translated Illustrated Explanations for Maritime Routes*, Xinyi haidao tu shuo 新譯海島圖說. Shanghai: Shanghai shuju. 1896. Oral translation by John Fryer (1839–1928) 傅蘭雅. Transcribed by Wang Dejun 王德均. Shanghai: Shanghai shuju 1896. 16 juan. Originally published by the Jiangnan zhizao ju in 1874, this is a translation of John William King, comp., *The China sea directory. Compiled from various sources*. London, Hydrographic office, Admiralty, 1867–.

A Practical Introduction to International Law, Gongfa bianlan 公法便覽. [Originally *Introduction to the Study of International Law*] by the American Theodore Dwight Woolsey (1801–1889). Edited and translated by Ding Weiliang

³² Li Zuodong et al., comp., *Xinji zengtu shiwu huitong juan* 14: 4.

³³ The work is studied in detail in Xia Xiaohong's contribution to this volume.

丁緯良(= William Alexander Parsons Martin (1827–1916)) and others. 6 *juan*. Beijing: Tongwenguan, 1877.

Prescriptions from around the World, Wanguo yaofang 萬國藥方 (1886). [Originally *A Companion to the British Pharmacopoeia*] by Sikuai'er 思快爾 (= Sir Peter Wyatt Squire) (1847–1919). Translated by Hong Shiti 洪士提 (=Stephen Alexander Hunter). 8 *juan*. Shanghai: Meihua shuguan. 8 *juan*.

A New World Geography, Wanguo xin dizhi 萬國新地志 (1903). Written by the Briton *Lei-wen-si-dun* 雷文斯頓 (Livingston?). Translated by He Yujie 何育杰 (1882–1939). Shanghai: Shanghaitong she. 1 volume.

Encyclopaedic Lexicon for Law and Economy, Falü jingji cidian 法律經濟辭典 (1907). Originally written by Shimizu Chô (1868–1947) 清水澄. Translated by Zhang Chuntao 張春濤 (1881–1919) and Guo Kaiwen 郭開文 (1877–1936). Shanghai: Qunyi she.

A Chinese Translation of the New Dictionary of Legal Terms, Han yi xin falü cidian 漢譯新法律詞典 (1905). By the Dai Nihon shin hōten kōshūkai 日本新法典講習會. Translated by Xu Yongxi 徐永錫. Edited by Zhang Jiguang 張輯光. Jingshi yixue guan.

Explanation of Terms of Law and Economy, Falü jingji cijie 法律經濟辭解 (1907). Translation of Kishimoto Tatsuo 岸本辰雄 (1852–1912), *Hōritsu keizai jikai* 法律經濟辭解. Tokyo: Meiji daigaku shuppansha, no date. Translated by Zhang Enshu 張恩樞, Qian Chongwei 錢崇威 (1870–1969), Chen Yanbin 陳彥彬, and Wang Yunian 汪郁年. Tokyo: Namiki letterpress.

Legal Advice on the Laws of the Four Great Codes, Si da fadian falü guwen 四大法典法律顧問 (1910). Liu Jixue 劉積學, tr. Lin Wenzhao 林文昭. Tokyo: Hakutō. Based on Shimizu Tetsutarō 清水鐵太郎, *Hōritsu komon:kaisei yondai hōten* 法律顧問, 改正四大法典. Tokyo: Tsujimoto sueyoshi, 1907.

Sakamoto Kenichi 坂本健一, *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the Names of Foreign Places and Persons*, Waiguo diming renming cidian 外國地名人名辭典 (1904). Translated and edited by the New Knowledge Society, Xingaku kaisha 新學會社. Namiki letterpress, Tokyo. Based on Sakamoto Kenichi (b. 1874) 坂本健一, *Gaikoku chimei jinmei jiten* 外國地名人名辭典. Tokyo: Hobunkan 寶文館1903. The Chinese editors and translators removed Chinese place names and added Japanese ones.

Rika kenkyūkai 理科学研究會 (Japanese Society for scientific research), comp., *The Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Physics*, Wuli da cidian 物理大辭典. Trans. unknown. Shanghai: Hongwen. 1907. Based on Rika kenkyūkai 理科学研究會編 comp., *Saikin butsurigaku jiten* 最近物理学辞典, Tokyo: Sanbunsha 參文舎, 1905.

The New Prescriptions from around the World 新萬國藥方 (1909). By Onda Shigenobu 恩田重信. Translated by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952). Shanghai: Yixue shuju.

As this list shows, there were altogether six encyclopaedic reference works directly translated from Western languages, and seven from the Japanese. Moreover, one can also list the following books, which obviously draw upon Japanese translations of encyclopaedic reference works:

The New Erya, Xin Erya 新爾雅 (1903). Compiled by Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶 (1878–1933) and Ye Lan 葉瀾 (both of whom studied in Japan). Shanghai: Mingquan she 明權社.³⁴

The Japanese-Chinese Dictionary (1908), Tō Chū daijiten 東中大辭典. Compiled and published by the Society for Renewal, Sakushinsha 作新社 (all members of which had studied in Japan) in Shanghai.

Terminological Dictionary of Natural History, Bowu da cidian 博物大辭典 (1907). Compiled by Zeng Pu 曾樸 (1871–1935) and Xu Nianci 徐念慈 (1875–1908). Shanghai: Hongwen guan.

Explanations of Japanese Legal Terms, Riben fagui jiezi 日本法規解字 (1907). Compiled by Qian Xun 錢恂 (1853–1927) and Dong Hongyi 董鴻禕 (1878–1916). Shanghai: Shangwu.

Comprehensive Explanations of Legal Terminology, Falü mingci tongshi 法律名詞通釋 (1908). Sichuan Institute of Legal and Political Studies, Sichuan fazheng xuetang 四川法政學堂. Distributed to the course for gentry students.

The 18 works listed above account for almost half of all late Qing encyclopaedic reference works. They occupy an important place in the history of the Chinese pursuit of new knowledge. However, examination of their particularities reveals many regrettable failures. Firstly, none of the translated works, whether from English or from Japanese, are reference works of decisive importance for the nineteenth century. Our failure to translate any authoritative encyclopaedia for such a long time is a significant defect, and it shows how efforts to construct our culture were woefully insufficient, just as our assessment of priorities was misguided. According to Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (1912–1991), his grandfather Ziji 紫極 translated Diderot's *Encyclopédie* during the late Qing, but it was not published.³⁵ In this same period, over 200 encyclopaedic reference works were published in Japan, our neighbour, of which a few were large-scale, absolutely world-class encyclopaedic reference works. Secondly, all translations were of reference works limited to a given field. At that time this may have been more practical, but altogether only eight fields are represented, of which jurisprudence is the principal one. One fears that this was insufficient for the needs of Chinese students at the time. Thirdly, translations from the Japanese are more numerous than translations from the English, a fact that has to do with the circumstances of the period. Although the information in Japanese encyclopaedic reference works was also drawn from the West, Chinese translators and editors were mainly young Japanese-educated students who produced translations of indifferent quality. Moreover, *kanji* was frequently adopted for use by Chinese translators, even when the original meaning in Japanese was dissimilar to the characters used in Chinese. This may have provided the illusion of facility but in fact it simply muddied the waters further. *Kanji* terminology borrowed into Chinese is very common in reference

³⁴ This work is explored in Milena Doleželová-Velingerová's contribution to this volume.

³⁵ Xu Su 徐蘇, "Yang Jialuo ji qi xueshu chengjiu" 楊家駱及其學術成就 [Yang Jialuo and his scholarly achievements], *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 3 (1995): 38.

books translated from the Japanese, this has resulted in a disunity of translation that persists even today. Fourthly, one must regrettably conclude that the most satisfactory of these works is *Brief Biographies of Notables Worldwide*, although it cannot really be claimed that the translation is very good. Nevertheless, the original was a relatively important Western biographical reference work, and so its choice of figures, its introductions, layout and arrangement, its appraisal of merits and demerits, as well as its reference system make it the most accomplished of the various encyclopaedic reference works.

Special Chinese Characteristics

Although the Chinese accepted the principle of encyclopaedic works of reference, they did not entirely put it into practice. On the one hand, this can be put down to shoddy work and slovenly technique. On the other hand, it created reference books with special Chinese characteristics. Tools and methods formed in this way exhibited special characteristics and began to exert influence on the construction of Chinese culture. But the relative paucity of material and the unevenness of its quality prevented this genre from being employed to better effect.

A certain proportion of entries are devoted to the domestic situation in China, especially with regard to politics, economics, geography, and agriculture. Contents include a few official documents, many suggestions for reform, all kinds of statistical data, even including provincial and county population and economic figures, geography and transportation, agricultural production, etc. For instance, the commerce section of *A Comprehensive Examination of Current Affairs. Sequel* includes over 240 entries devoted to specific regional products. However, one fears that the data is mostly the product of foreign surveys of China or of official statistics. Formerly, ordinary people would have had no access to this data, for it would have been held only in the Grand Council, Junji chu 軍機處. Their publication in this fashion made them available for reference to Westerners and Chinese alike.

Unfortunately, it was a great shortcoming that the Chinese failed to study with sufficient diligence or comprehensiveness. In 1865, at the beginning of the Self-Strengthening Movement, the study of foreign matters was the affair of officials and compradors. From the late nineteenth-century Reform Movement to the Reform of Governance era of the early twentieth century, intellectuals turned to the active study of Western new knowledge. At the time, although the authorities called on the entirety of the nation and its people to study, a significant faction of the ruling class had become hostile to the idea, while ordinary people had not yet drawn lessons from the nightmarish experience of the Boxer Rebellion. But after grasping that “annihilating the foreigners” was a feeble-minded notion, members of this faction also desired to move with the times and to acquire new knowledge. To reinvigorate the antiquated education system, the reforms desired by the Guangxu emperor 光緒 (reign 1874–1908) were enacted: the eight-legged essays were replaced with examinations on current affairs. Six fields of study were designated as content for

examinations and examination preparations: “internal affairs, foreign relations, finance, military affairs, science and commerce.” Statistics record that by 1908 there were 47,995 new-style schools, with a combined attendance of over 1.3 million students.³⁶ By that time there were already many schools of higher education like the Metropolitan University, Jingshi daxuetang 京師大學堂, the North and South University, Jinan daxuetang 暨南大學堂, the German Medical School, Dewen yixuetang 德文醫學堂, Tsinghua College, Qinghua xuetang 清華學堂, the Sino-Western University, Zhongxi daxuetang 中西大學堂, Hunan Higher University, Hunan gaodeng daxuetang 湖南高等大學堂, Soochow University, Dongwu daxue 東吳大學, Aurora University, Zhendan daxue 震旦大學, University of Shanghai, Huijiang daxue 滬江大學, Fudan University, Fudan daxue 復旦大學, Université Franco-Chinoise, Zhongfa daxue 中法大學, and Peiyang Engineering College, Beiyang gongxueyuan 北洋工學院. The encyclopaedic works were exactly the kind of reference tools that could be used by the students at these institutes. However, many of the students had vague objectives and outmoded study methods; furthermore, the instructors themselves, whether foreigners or Chinese, were less than brilliant. Consequently, the students often acquired only trivial morsels of Western learning. The 1898 Reform Movement was undermined by its dependence on students whose basic training was faulty. Though these encyclopaedic reference works were created for the benefit of these students, the social effect it had upon them is hard to assess.

From another perspective, we should recall that more than a few foreigners came to China in the late Qing, joined by a number of Chinese students returning from studies abroad. These two groups provided most of the translation and compilation for new knowledge books, a body of work that reaches several thousand volumes. But few of these were of remarkable quality. The translation of large-scale foreign encyclopaedias proved especially difficult. Due to the limits of the translators’ skills, no large-scale foreign encyclopaedic reference work was translated for the benefit of the Chinese readership. I mention this historical fact today not in order to assess blame, but to explain causative relations in culture construction.

The special characteristics of the thought habits of Chinese literati are reflected in the four-juan reference work entitled *Records of the Essence of Science*, *Gezhi jinghua lu* 格致精華錄 (1890).³⁷ The compiler was a famous expert in national learning, Jiang Biao 江標 (1860–1899). The table of contents is at great variance with the aforementioned reference works. The preface is the work of an even more renowned figure, Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909). Apart from heaping praise on the compiler, he makes the following remarkable comment: “If one wishes to

³⁶ See Shen Ganqun 沈灌群, *Cong yapian zhanzheng dao si wu yundong de jiaoyu* 從鴉片戰爭到五四運動的教育 [Education from the Opium War until the May Fourth Movement] (Beijing: Jiaoyu kexue, 1984), 152.

³⁷ Jiang Biao 江標, comp., *Gezhi jinghua lu- houfu: Deguo yiyuan zhangcheng, hemeng jishu benmo* 格致精華錄, 後附: 德國議院章程; 德國台盟紀事本末 [Records of the Essence of Science, Appendix: Statutes of the German parliament; Record of Germany forming an federal state] (Shanghai?, 1890).

eliminate stubborn defects and to forcefully engage in practical governance, nothing is better than to cultivate the Dao of peaceful governance of the [legendary] Five Emperors and Three Kings even while not rejecting the study of natural sciences” 若欲蠲除痼病,力行實政,莫如修明五帝三王治平之道,而不廢格致之學行.³⁸ This passage is the core of “Chinese learning as the essence, Western learning for practical use,” an ideology which Zhang advocated; it also clearly demonstrates the intentions of the compiler. All of the entries in this work obey a central tenet: regardless of which field of the natural sciences is being explained, a passage from an ancient Chinese work has been excavated to prove that the ancient Chinese empires had always possessed such things as electrical sciences, steamboats, paddle steamers, railways, etc. and that these were simply later adopted by Westerners. Jiang Biao wrote, “we can reproach ourselves today for being inferior to the ancients; but we should certainly not infer that China is inferior to foreign countries.”³⁹ As a master of national learning who decided to make a diligent study of Western learning, Jiang Biao showed enterprise. His goal was to “expand Chinese ambitions, and quench foreign might.” However, he was violating basic scientific knowledge and was irresponsibly rewriting historical common knowledge. In so doing he made himself a laughing-stock in the eyes of later scholars. However, some of his contemporaries lauded this work as a magnificent treasure.

The rapid development of society brought about the establishment of the Chinese United League, Tongmenghui 同盟會 in 1905, signalling the beginning of a period of unified effort for the Chinese to overthrow the ancient system and bolster national strength. The content of published encyclopaedic reference works also developed very rapidly, stressing the social applications of new science and technology, the operation of new domestic economic relations, the need for international communication, the obligation to rapidly cultivate human resources, etc. Much of this new knowledge was clearly imported from neighbouring Japan. These encyclopaedic reference works reflected the hopes and aspirations of the Chinese.

Short Summary

Firstly, late Qing encyclopaedic reference works constitute a store of historical materials that have been subject to relatively little examination. They are replete with all manner of new thought, new knowledge, and new terms. These works are all composed of rich and varied entries. Yan Huiqing 顏惠慶 (1877–1950), named high scholar of translation, *yike jinshi* 譯科進士, by the Qing court, aptly described

³⁸ Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, “Xu” 序 [Preface], in *Gezhi jinghua lu. Houfu: Deguo yiyuan zhangcheng, hemeng jishi benmo*, comp. Jiang Biao, 1b.

³⁹ Jiang Biao, *Gezhi jinghua lu*, juan 4: 2.

the newly emerging encyclopaedic reference works as “the certificate of Chinese evolution.”⁴⁰

Secondly, the new ways of thinking apparent in the encyclopaedic entries, which expand the traditional *leishu* approach into an encyclopaedic approach that is in step with the Western nations, represent a historic renewal for China. The valorisation, pursuit, study, and application of scholarly knowledge meant that things no longer revolved around ruminations on common knowledge.

Thirdly, the new knowledge contained in the encyclopaedic entries was of a depth and breadth unprecedented in Chinese history. Not only did it cover a great deal of knowledge on modern natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities but even the entries on study methods proposed brand-new and rigorously logical methods. In terms of form, every entry provided only one, relatively scientific, explanation, allowing the reader to reject senseless multiple explanations while quickly and easily absorbing accurate knowledge.

Fourthly, the new terms expressed in encyclopaedic entries completely renewed the national language system. An enormous change took place, from accommodating new writing systems, to the construction of new terms, new grammatical structures, and new punctuation. Even more importantly, efforts were made to bring both new concepts and contents in line with terms that were in use internationally. This writer once remarked that from the seventeenth century, when Matteo Ricci and other figures came to China and began planning bilingual Sino-foreign dictionaries, until the early nineteenth century when Robert Morrison finished editing his voluminous *English and Chinese Dictionary*, a channel of communication between China and the West was open. Unfortunately, for a long time this was a one-way channel, with foreigners drawing advantage from it and China making use of it only later. The encyclopaedic reference works appearing in the late Qing meant that new terminology could move entirely freely in both directions.

Fifthly, though our nation took the opportunity to reform, modernise, and create new reference genres, we unfortunately did not study with sufficient diligence or earnestness, so that the quality and quantity of encyclopaedic reference works published in the late Qing leave much to be desired. Even explanations about the translation and content of new terminology can be frequently vague. For readers of the period and those who came later, this is a great inconvenience. The disparity in the success of our cultural reform is especially apparent when compared with the 250 encyclopaedic reference works compiled and published by the Japanese people during that time. Even today, these historical experiences have not been dealt with sufficiently.

Translated from the Chinese by Josh Stenberg.

⁴⁰ His article is contained in *Daying baikequanshu pinglun* 大英百科全書評論 [Remarks on the Encyclopaedia Britannica] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1907), 2. The little volume contains essays by Yan Fu 嚴復, Gu Hongming 穀鴻銘, Li Jiaju 李家駒, Yan Huiqing, and Li Denghui 李登輝. For this book, see also the essay by Chen Pingyuan in this volume.

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