

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, *ru* 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 Noël 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 ziwèn [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 ziwèn" 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 ziwèn [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* 變政.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.

References

- Arakawa Kiyohide. “Formation and Dissemination of Japanese Geographical Terminologies.” In *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, edited by Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff, 451–67. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Baba Sadayoshi 馬場貞由 and Ōtsuki Shigetaka 大槻茂, trans. *Kōsei shinpen 厚生新編* [New writings for the public welfare]. 1811–; unfinished. Based on *Huishoudelijk woordenboek*. 7 vols. Leeuwarden: 1768–77, 1778.
- Bastid-Bruguière, Marianne. “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*, edited by Joshua A. Fogel, 105–124. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2004.
- “Bencao gangmu” 本草綱目 [Compendium of materia medica]. In *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bencao_Gangmu (accessed on March 27, 2009).
- Berry, Mary Elizabeth. *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- C. , W. and R. [= William and Robert Chambers]. “Preface.” *Chambers’s Information for the People*. 3rd ed. London and Edinburgh, 1848–49. See http://archive.org/stream/cihm_46913#page/n5/mode/2up (accessed August 29, 2012).

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).

- Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People*. 10 vols. London: W. & R. Chambers, 1860–1868; revised edition, 10 vols., 1876, 1878; 12 vols., 1880; new edition, 10 vols., 1888–92; and many other editions.
- Chambers's Information for the People*, edited by William and Robert Chambers. Edinburgh and London: W. & R. Chambers, 1833–35; 2nd ed., 1842; 3rd ed., 1848–49; 4th ed., 1857; 5th ed., 1874–75.
- Chen Jialin 陳家麟. *Dong cha wenjian lu 東槎聞見錄* [Records of things heard and seen in Japan]. [Tokyo], 1887.
- Chikan keimō 智環啓蒙* [Primer of a circle of knowledge] (translation into Kanbun of the bilingual Chinese-English *Zhihuan qimeng* [Primer of a circle of knowledge; 1856, 1859, 1864, etc.]); in many different Japanese editions starting with the official Bansho Shirabesho [see below] translation of around 1863; bilingual in Kanbun and English. *Zhihuan qimeng* was the translation into Chinese of *Graduated Reading; Comprising a Circle of Knowledge, in 200 Lessons. Gradation 1* (London, 1840), by Charles Baker.
- Chomel, Noël. *Dictionnaire oeconomique*. 2 vols. Lyon: Printed for the author, 1709. (many later revised and expanded editions).
- . *Dictionnaire Oeconomique, or, The Family Dictionary*. Translation of the second edition. Revised and recommended by Mr. R. Bradley. 2 vols. London: D. Midwinter, 1725.
- . *Huishoudelyk Woordboek*. Dutch translation of the third edition (Amsterdam: J. Covens & C. Mortier, 1732) by Jan Lodewijk Shuer. 2 vols. Amsterdam and Leiden: Luchtmans, 1743.
- . *Die wahren Mittel Länder und Staaten glücklich, Ihr Beherrscher mächtig, und die Unterthanen reich zu machen*. . . Translation and expansion of the 3rd edition by Christian von Wolff. 8 vols. Leipzig: Clanner, 1850–58.
- . *Huishoudelyk woordenboek*. Dutch translation and expansion of the 4th edition (1741) under the direction of Jacques Alexandre de Chalmot. 7 vols. Leiden: Joh. Le Mair; Leeuwarden: J. A. de Chalmot, 1768–77, 1778.
- . *Kōsei shinpen 厚生新編* [New writings for the public welfare]. Japanese translation of *Huishoudelyk woordenboek*, the Dutch translation of Chomel, *Dictionnaire Oeconomique*. Tr. Baba Sadayoshi 馬場貞由 and Ōtsuki Shigetaka 大槻茂質. Tōkyō: Kōwa Shuppan, 1878–79.
- . See also: Shiyomēru, Noeru.
- Chow, Jen Hwa. *China and Japan: The History of Chinese Diplomatic Missions in Japan, 1877–1911*. Singapore: Chopmen Enterprises, 1975.
- Dai Nihon jinmei jisho 大日本人名辭書* [Biographical dictionary of Great Japan]. 4 vols. Tokyo: Keizai zasshi sha 經濟雜誌社 [Economic journal company], 1884–86.
- Dore, Ronald P. “The Legacy of Tokugawa Education.” In *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*, edited by Marius B. Jansen, 99–131. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- . *Education in Tokugawa Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- “Encyclopaedia,” in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9106030>, p. 4 (accessed on March 24, 2009).
- “Encyclopedia—Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia,” p. 7, at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Encyclopedia> (accessed on March 17, 2009).
- Fu Yunlong 傅雲龍. *Youli Riben tujing 遊歷日本圖經* [Japan, with maps and tables]. (1889) Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003.
- Fujiwara [Hayashi] Nobuatsu 藤原[林]信篤. “Ryakujo” 略序 [Brief preface]. In *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (1713) by Terajima Ryōan.
- 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 shobo, 1968.
- Furuya, Takeshi 古屋矯. “Hyakka zensho jo” 百科全書叙 [preface to *Hyakka zensho*], dated August 1873. In *Hyakka zensho: Kyōdōsetsu 百科全書. 教導説*, translation by Mitsukuri Rinshō 箕作麟祥 of the section “Education” in *Chambers's Information for the People* 1857⁴, vol. 2. Tokyo: Monbushō, 1875. Available online at <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/>.

- Goodall, John A. *Heaven and Earth: Album Leaves from a Ming Encyclopedia*: San-ts'ai t'u-hui, 1610. Boulder, CO: Shambala Publications, Inc., 1979.
- Goodman, Grant Kohn. *Japan and the Dutch, 1600–1853*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000.
- Gu Houkun 顧厚焜. *Riben xinzheng kao* 日本新政考 [Reference materials on Japan's modernizing reforms]. (1894). Reprinted in *Xizheng congshu* 西政叢書, comp. Liang Qichao. Shanghai: Zhenji Shuzhuang, 1897. Photoreproduction of this version in *Riben zhengfa kaochaji* 日本政法考察記, edited by Liu Yuzhen 劉雨珍 and Sun Xuemei 孫雪梅, 1–38. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.
- “Hanrei” 凡例 [Editorial principles]. In *Tōkyō Shoseki Shuppan Eigyōsha Kumiaiin shoseki sōmoku* 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], 1–2. Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki Shuppan Eigyōsha Kumiai, 1893.
- 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. 1: 4–6. Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1970.
- Hsiao, Kung-chuan [= 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.
- Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. *China's Entrance into the Family of Nations: The Diplomatic Phase, 1858–1880*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Huang Shengren 黃升任. *Huang Zunxian pingzhuan* 黃遵憲評傳 [A critical biography of Huang Zunxian]. Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue chubanshe, 2006.
- Huang Wanji 黃萬機. *Li Shuchang pingzhuan* 黎庶昌評傳 [Li Shuchang: A critical biography]. Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1989.
- Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲. *Huang Zunxian quanji* 黃遵憲全集 [The complete writings of Huang Zunxian], edited by Chen Zheng 陳鐸. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005.
- . *Renjinglu shicao* 人境廬詩草 [Poems (by Huang Zunxian) from the Renjinglu (Hut within the human realm)], with notes and commentary by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, 2 vols. 1936; 1957; rev. ed. 1981, repr. Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2000.
- . *Ribenguo zhi* 日本國志 [Treatises on Japan]. 40 *juan*. Yangcheng [Guangzhou]: Fuwenzhai, 1890/1895. Rev. ed. Yangcheng [Guangzhou]: Fuwenzhai, 1897. Photoreprint of 1897 edition with added name index, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001. Punctuated version of same edition, edited by Wu Zhenqing 吳振清, Xu Yong 徐勇, and Wang Jiaxiang 王家祥. 2 vols. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2005.
- . “*Ribenguo zhi xu*” 日本國志序 [author's preface to *Treatises on Japan*], in Huang Zunxian, *Ribenguo zhi*. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2005, 1:4.
- . *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. In *Zouxiang shijie congshu* 走向世界叢書, edited by Zhong Shuhe 鐘叔河, 10 vols., 3:535–813. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985.
- 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 [New research on Huang Zunxian. Collection of essays from the International Conference to Commemorate the Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Huang Zunxian]. Compiled by 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. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2007.
- Hyakka zensho* 百科全書 [Complete compendium of a hundred branches of knowledge]. Translation of *Chambers's Information for the People*; ca. 90 vols. Tokyo: Monbushō, 1873–85.
- Jansen, Marius B. *The Making of Modern Japan*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000.
- “Japanese Encyclopedias—Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia,” at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_encyclopedias, p. 1, accessed on February 28, 2009.

- Johnson, David, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds. *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Kamachi, Noriko. *Reform in China: Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981.
- Kang Youwei 康有為. *Kang Youwei quanji* 康有為全集 [The complete writings of Kang Youwei], compiled and punctuated by Jiang Yihua 姜義華 and Zhang Ronghua 張榮華, 12 vols. Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue chubanshe, 2007.
- . *Riben bianzheng kao* 日本變政考 [Reference materials on Japan's modernized administration]. In Kang Youwei, *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 4: 101–294.
- . *Riben shumu zhi* 日本書目志 [Bibliography of Japanese books] (1898). In Kang Youwei. *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 3: 261–524.
- Kim, Key-Hiuk. “The Aims of Li Hung-chang's Policies toward Japan and Korea, 1870–1882.” In *Li Hung-chang and China's Early Modernization*, edited by Samuel C. Chu and Kwang-Ching Liu, 145–61. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994.
- Konsaisu jinmei jiten: Nihon hen* コンサイス人名事典. 日本編 [Concise biographical dictionary: Japan], edited by Ueda Masaki 上田正昭, et al. Tokyo: Sanseido, 1976.
- Kornicki, Peter. *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- 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.
- 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 *Huang Zunxian yanjiu xinlun*, 49–81.
- Li Hongzhang 李鴻章. “*Youli Riben tujing xu*” 遊歷日本圖經敘 [preface to *Japan, with maps and tables*]. In *Youli Riben tujing*, by Fu Yunlong.
- Li Shuchang 黎庶昌. “*Youli Riben tujing xu*” 遊歷日本圖經敘 [preface to *Japan, with maps and tables*]. In *Youli Riben tujing*, by Fu Yunlong.
- Liang Qichao 梁啟超. See *Qiuqiangzhai zhuren*.
- Masuda Wataru 増田渉. “The *Zhihuan qimeng* and Related Texts.” In *Japan and China: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era*, by Masuda Wataru, translated by Joshua A. Fogel, 11–16. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- . *Seigaku Tōzen to Chūgoku jijō: 'zassho' sakki* 西学東漸と中国事情:「雑書」札記 [The Eastward movement of Western learning and conditions in China: Notes on 'various books']. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1979.
- . *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.
- 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.
- Nihon chishi teiyō* 日本地誌提要 [Concise guide to Japan's land and people], compiled by Naimushō Chishika 内務省地誌課 and Tsukamoto Akitake 塚本明毅, 77 *juan* in 4 vols. Tokyo: Nippōsha, 1872–76.
- Nakane, Chie 中根 千枝. “Tokugawa Society.” In *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan*, edited by Chie Nakane and Shinzaburō Ōishi, 213–235. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990.
- Nihon hyakka dai jiten* 日本百科大辭典 [Grand encyclopaedia of Japan]. 10 vols. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1908–1920.
- Nihon shakai jii* 日本社会事彙 [Encyclopaedia of Japanese society.]. 2 vols. Tokyo: Keizai Zasshi Sha 經濟雜誌社 [Economic journal company], 1890–92.

- Pan Jun 潘鈞. *Riben cishu yanjiu* 日本辭書研究 [A study of Japanese reference works]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008.
- Qiuziqiangzhai zhuren 求自強齋主人 (= Liang Qichao 梁啟超), comp. *Xizheng congshu* 西政叢書 [Collected writings on Western governance]. Shanghai: Zhenji shuzhuang, 1897.
- Rankin, Mary Backus. "'Public Opinion' and Political Power: *Qingyi* in Late Nineteenth Century China." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 41, no. 3 (May 1982): 453–84.
- Rawski, Evelyn Sakakida. *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1979.
- Reynolds, Douglas R. *China, 1898–1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1993.
- Sanetō Keishū 實藤惠秀. "Kaisetsu" 解説 [Commentary]. In *Nihon zatsujishi* 日本雜事詩 [Poems (by Huang Zunxian) on Japan topics], edited by Sanetō Keishū and Toyota Minoru 豊田穰, passim. 1943; rev. ed., Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1968.
- Satō Saburō 佐藤三郎. "Meiji jidai zenki ni okeru Chūgokujin Nihon kenyūsho 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 *Kindai Nit-Chū kōshō shi no kenkyū* 近代日中交渉史の研究, by Satō Saburō, 71–90. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1984.
- . "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]. *Rekishi chiri* 歴史地理 84, no. 1 (June 1953): 9–24.
- "Setsuyōshū" 節用集 [Quick reference book]. In *Heibonsha dai hyakka jiten* 平凡社大百科事典 [Heibonsha Encyclopedia], 16 vols., 8:610. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984–85.
- Shanghae Serial*, see Shen Guowei, *Liuhe cong'an*.
- Shen Guowei 沈國威. *Jindai Zhong-Ri cihui jiaoliu yanjiu: Hanzi xinci de chuangzhi, 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.
- . "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): 51–68.
- . *Liuhe cong'an: fu jieti, suoyin* 六合叢談：附解題・索引 ["*Shanghae Serial*" (1857–58): With analyses and index]. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2006.
- . See also Shin, Kokui
- Shin Kokui (Shen Guowei) 沈國威 and 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、「智環啓蒙塾課初歩」の研究 [Footprints of modern enlightenment: Studies of *A Circle of Knowledge in 200 Lessons, Gradation 1*, Cultural flows and language contacts between East and West]. Suita: Kansai Daigaku shuppanbu, 2002.
- Shively, Donald H. "Popular Culture." In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 4: *Early Modern Japan*, edited by John Whitney Hall, 706–769. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Shiyomēru, Noeru (= Chomel, Noël). *Kōsei shinpen* 厚生新編 [New writings for the public welfare]. Partial Japanese translation of *Huishoudelijk woordenboek*, the Dutch translation of Chomel, *Dictionnaire Oeconomique* expanded and translated by J. A. de Chalmot. Tr. Baba Sadayoshi 馬場貞由 and Ōtsuki Shigetaka 大槻茂質. Shizuoka-shi: Kōsei Shinpen Kankōkai, 1937.
- Sources of Japanese Tradition*. Comps. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann. 2nd ed. Vol. 2, 1600–2000, abridged. Pt. 2, 1868 to 2000. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Sources of Japanese Tradition*. Comps. Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.
- 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.

- Taisei seiiji ruiten* 泰西政事類典 [Classified cyclopedia of Western politics], 6 vols. Tokyo: Keizai Zasshi Sha, 1883–84. Translation of *The Standard Library Cyclopaedia of Political, Constitutional, Statistical and Forensic Knowledge*.
- Takayama Chogyū 高山樗牛. *Sekai bunmei shi* 世界文明史 [History of world civilizations]. Vol. 1 of *Teikoku hyakka zensho*. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1898.
- Tanaka Katsuhiko. “The Discovery of a National Language (*Kokugo*) in Meiji Japan.” Translated by Ian Astley and Ted Mack. In *Canon and Identity—Japanese Modernization Reconsidered: Trans-Cultural Perspectives*, edited by Irmela Hijiya-Kirschner, 107–116. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien, 2000.
- Teikoku hyakka zensho 帝國百科全書 [The Imperial encyclopaedia]. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1898–1908.
- Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安. *Wa-Kan sansai zue* [Illustrated Japanese-Chinese bilingual encyclopaedia]. Osaka: Kyōrindō, 1713; Osaka: Okada Saburōemon, 1715; Tokyo: Chūkindō, 1884–88. Kōfu: Naitō Onkodō, 1901. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1906. Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1970.
- . *Wa-Kan sansei zue* 倭漢三才図会 [Illustrated Japanese-Chinese bilingual encyclopedia], translated from Kanbun into modern Japanese and annotated 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.
- 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*]. *Zhejiang Gongshang Daxue xuebao* 89, no. 2 (2008), 71–76.
- . “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 [Sino-Japanese cultural relations in the modern period: Retrospect and prospect], edited by Hu Lingyuan 胡令遠 and Xu Jingpo 徐靜波, 233–248. Shanghai: Shanghai Caijing Daxue chubanshe, 1999.
- . “Jieti” 解體 [Explanatory note]. In Wang Baoping *et al.* eds. *Riben junshi kaochaji*, 1.
- . “Kō Yū’i *Nihon shomoku shi* shuiten 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.
- Wang Baoping 王寶平, Ding Hongchen 丁鴻臣, Shen Yiqing 沈翊清, and Qian Depei 錢德培, eds. *Riben junshi kaochaji* 日本軍事考察記 [Chinese reports on Japan’s military affairs]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004.
- 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 [The official recommendations of Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong for *Treatises on Japan*]. In *Huang Zunxian yanjiu xinlun*, 36–48.
- Wang Qi 王圻. *Sancai tuihui* 三才圖會 [Illustrated book of the three realms (of heaven, earth, and man)]. 106 juan. 1609. Reprinted in 3 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988.
- Wang Xiaoqiu 王曉秋. “Jindai Zhongguoren zouxiang shijie de yici shengju: 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 [Modern China and the outside world: Mutual stimulation, with comparisons], 33–50. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2003.
- . *Jindai Zhong-Ri wenhua jiaoliu shi* 近代中日文化交流史 [A history of modern Sino-Japanese cultural interactions]. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1992, 2000.
- . “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, 61–82. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997.
- . “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*, edited by Joshua A. Fogel, 200–17. Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2002.

- Wang Xiqi 王錫祺. *Xiaofanghu zhai yudi congchao* 小方壺棄輿地叢鈔. Shanghai: Zhuyi tang, 1897.
- Wilkinson, Endymion. *Chinese History: A Manual*. 1998. Revised and enlarged edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Wong, Young-Tsu [Wang Rongzu]. "Revisionism Reconsidered: Kang Youwei and the Reform Movement of 1898." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 51, no. 3 (August 1992): 513–44.
- Wu Zhenqing 吳振清. "Qian yan" 前言 [Foreword]. In Huang Zunxian, *Ribenguo zhi*, 1: 2. Rev. ed., 1897; 2005.
- 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.
- Xiao Gongchuan. See Hsiao, Kung-chuan.
- Xu Zhiyuan 徐致遠. "Xu" 敘 [preface]. In Chen Jialin, *Dong cha wenjian lu*, 5b–6a.
- Yao Wendong 姚文棟. *Dong cha zazhu* 東槎雜著 [Miscellaneous writings during a sojourn in Japan]. Shanghai: 1893 (?).
- . *Riben dili bingyao* 日本地理兵要 [Japan's geography and its defence]. 10 *juan*. Beijing: Zongli Yamen, 1884. Reprinted in Wang Baoping et al. eds. *Riben junshi kaochaji*, 1–308.
- 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.
- Yokoyama Toshio. "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan." In *Written Texts—Visual Texts: Woodblock-printed Media in Early Modern Japan*, edited by Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart, 47–72. Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005.
- . "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.
- Yonemoto, Marcia. *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603–1868)*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- 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.
- Zachmann, Urs Matthias. *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.
- Zhang Zhidong 張之洞. "Xu" 序 [Preface], in *Gezhi jinghua lu* 格致精華錄 by Jiang Biao 江標. Shanghai (?), 1890.
- Zheng Hailin 鄭海麟. *Huang Zunxian zhuàn* 黃遵憲傳 [Biography of Huang Zunxian]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006.
- 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 [New research on Huang Zunxian. Collection of essays from the International Conference to Commemorate the Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Huang Zunxian]. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2007.
- Zhong Shaohua 鍾少華. *Renlei zhishi de xin gongju: Zhong-Ri jindai baike quanshu yanjiu 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.