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Huang Zunxian 黄遵憲(1848-1905) and His Association with Meiji Era Japanese Literati (*Bunjin* 文人)

Richard John LYNN

University of Alberta, Canada

Huang Zunxian arrived as Counselor to the Imperial Qing Legation to Tokyo in 1877. Already well-known in China as a poet and prose writer, he quickly began to write poems and prose works about his new experiences in Meiji Japan. During the five years he was in Japan, he also made the acquaintance of many leading Japanese literati of the day, such as Ōkōchi Teruna, Ishikawa Kōsai, Shigeno Yasutsugu, Nakamura Masanao, Mori Kainan, and Ukai Tetsujō, seventy-fifth Chief Priest of the Chion'in in Kyoto. Huang's writings and *kanbun* and *kanshi* works by his Japanese acquaintances as well as a voluminous collection of *hitsudan* (brush talks) kept by Ōkōchi all reflect the culturally rich, intellectually sophisticated, and personally friendly relationship between Huang and his Chinese colleagues and these Japanese *bunjin*. Exploration of these sources also provides a window into early modern Japanese-Chinese cultural relations and intellectual history.

Key words: HUANG ZUNXIAN, MEIJI, JAPANESE-CHINESE CULTURAL RELATIONS, QING, INTELLECTUAL HISTORY, POETRY, DIPLOMACY, LITERATI, BUNJIN, WENREN.

Huang Zunxian, diplomat, statesman, historian, and poet, was a native of Jiayingzhou 嘉應州 (present-day Meizhou 梅州) in northeastern Guangdong, member of a Hakka (*Kejia*) 客家 family, which, like so many Hakka families of the area, had originally moved from northern China and settled there during the Song and Yuan eras (tenth-thirteenth centuries). Huang's family had achieved local prominence by the time of his great-grandfather, and Huang's father, Huang Hongzao 黃鴻藻 (1828-91), had a long and distinguished official career and is remembered in history for his management of supplies to the Chinese army during the Sino-French War (1882-84) in southern Guangdong and Vietnam.

Huang Zunxian's official career began in 1877, when he became Counselor to the Imperial Chinese Legation (Embassy) in Tokyo (*Canzanguan* 參贊官), Secretary (*Shujiguan* 書記官) responsible for researching and drafting documents, among other duties, third in rank after the Ambassador [*Gongshi* 公士/*Dachen* 大臣] and Vice-Ambassador [*Fugongshi* 副公士/*Fudachen* 副大臣]), a post he filled until 1882 when he was appointed Consul-General in San Francisco. He stayed in California until 1889, returned briefly to China, and the following year he was installed as Counselor to the Chinese Legation in London. In 1891 Huang became Consul-General in Singapore, where he remained until 1894. Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909), then Acting Governor-General of Liangjiang (Jiangsu, Anhwei, and Jiangxi), had Huang appointed in early 1895 to the staff of his Office of Foreign Affairs (*Yangwuju* 洋務局) and put him in charge of cases concerning missionaries and other foreigners. In November of 1896 Huang was summoned to two audiences with the Guangxu 光緒 Emperor, who was impressed both with his progressive thinking and by his eye-witness accounts of the Japanese reform and modernization movement initiated and fully supported by the government of the Meiji Emperor. The Guangxu Emperor subsequently requested copies

of Huang's *Riben zashi shi* 日本雜事詩 (*Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan*), which Huang had composed during his posting to Tokyo, and *Riben guozhi* 日本國志 (*Treatises on Japan*), which he had begun in 1880 and finally published in 1890.¹ Both significantly contributed to the emperor's appreciation of the Meiji reform movement and strengthened his own determination to embark on a similar program of reforms for China, the ill-fated reforms of 1898.

An attempt was made toward the end of 1896 to have Huang appointed Ambassador to Germany, but the Germans, determined to stir up trouble because the Chinese government was resisting their demands for concessions in Shandong, rejected the appointment on the trumped-up charge that Huang had engaged in corrupt activities while serving in Singapore. However, Huang soon afterwards obtained another office, his first official domestic post in China, when he was appointed Salt Intendant (*Yanfa daotai* 鹽法道台) for Hunan (1897). This involved him directly in the reform activities sponsored by the progressive Governor of Hunan, Chen Baozhen 陳宝箴 (1831-1900), to which he enthusiastically contributed along with, among others, Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865-98) and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929). In June of 1898, the emperor summoned Huang to an audience at which he intended to appoint him Ambassador to Japan, but before Huang could reach the capital, the reform movement was crushed and the emperor rendered powerless. Huang himself managed to avoid arrest and execution, thanks to help provided by Narahara Nobumasa 榎原陳政 (1863-1900), a young Japanese diplomat befriended by Huang during 1879-1882 when Nobumasa began studying Chinese at the Imperial Chinese Legation in Tokyo. (Nobumasa himself died defending the legation compound in Beijing during the Boxer uprising two years later). Huang benefited, too, from the intervention of the former Prime Minister of Japan, Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909), who rallied members of the Japanese diplomatic corps in China, and influential members of the Western community in China—all admirers of Huang, whom they respected for his integrity and progressive ideals. However, Huang's official career was at an end. He was cashiered and ordered to return to his native place, Jiayingzhou, where he lived in retirement until his death in 1905.²

The foundation upon which Huang and his Japanese bunjin acquaintances built friendships was "This Culture of Ours" (*siwen/shibun* 斯文). *Siwen* represents the common literary and scholarly tradition, primarily Confucian and Neo-Confucian, shared by the learned elites of China, Japan, and other countries that formed parts of the Chinese cultural sphere in East and Southeast Asia during pre-modern times. The locus classicus of the expression *siwen* 斯文 is found in the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu* 論語):

When under siege in Kuang, the Master said, "With King Wen dead, is Culture [wen 文] not here with me? Had Heaven intended that This Culture of Ours [*siwen* 斯文] should perish, those who died later would not have been able to participate in This Culture of Ours. Heaven is not about to let This Culture of Ours perish, so what can the men of Kuang do to me?"³

Siwen 斯文 has a long tradition of usage in this sense—the grand tradition of Confucian learning—and eventually referred not only to Confucian texts and the truths they contain but also to Confucian and/or Confucian scholars themselves. *Siwen* is equivalent to the terms

ruzhe/jusha 儒者 or *xuezhe/gakusha* 学者。A further extension of the meaning of *siwen* 斯文 is its general usage as a term for elegance and refinement, equivalent to *youya/yūga* 優雅, or, more specifically, an aesthetic term for the elegance and grace in writing, painting, and calligraphy, equivalent to *wenya/bunga* 文雅。 *Siwen* 斯文, divorced from its strict association with Confucianism, is still popularly used in these ways in modern Chinese, referring often to the elegant and refined lifestyle of someone who has a taste for “high culture” (and even used in the sense of “stylish”—whatever that happens to be at the moment). In Japan, *Shibun* 斯文 was used largely in the first two senses—Confucian scholarship and scholars—with the ascendancy of Neo-Confucianism during the Tokugawa era. For example, Kawaguchi Seisai 河口静斎 (1703-54) used it this way in the title of his *Shibun genryū* 斯文源流, a history of the origin and development of Japanese Neo-Confucianism. However, as in China, the term *siwen* 斯文 in Japan was used in the more general sense of high culture grounded in scholarship, writing, and art, consisting primarily—but not exclusively—of Confucian elements. By the early Meiji era, *siwen* 斯文 no longer simply meant *jugaku* 儒学, but also referred to an expanded *kangaku* 汉学 that included scholarship on other aspects of traditional Chinese culture—especially Buddhism—as well as to elements of Japanese National Learning (*kokugaku* 国学) thought to have counterparts in (or, at least, to be compatible with) subjects proper to *kangaku* 汉学, all of which were then formed into an alliance by more culturally conservative scholars and statesmen as a balance to the flood of Western Learning (*yōgaku* 洋学) overwhelming Japanese life. In fact, this composite meaning seems to apply as the term appears in the name of the society devoted to promoting “Eastern Learning” *tōgaku* 东学, the *Shibun gakkai* 斯文学会, founded in Tokyo in Meiji 13 (1880).⁴

Huang Zunxian seems not to have ever referred to Japanese National Learning when using *siwen* 斯文 in his writings about Japan, but he certainly meant it in the expanded traditional cultural sense that included Buddhism. It is likely that Huang already had this view of *siwen* 斯文 before coming to Japan in 1877. He was undoubtedly a Confucian scholar-statesman in his public life, but this did not prevent him from studying and practicing Buddhism in his private life and even supplementing his Confucianism with Buddhism as he developed his view of the world—a practice common to late Qing era intellectuals—including, among many others, the great statesman Kang Yuwei 康有为 (1858-1927). However, it is also likely that Huang’s experience in Japan strengthened this tendency to grant Buddhism an important place in *siwen* 斯文.

Mention of “This Culture of Ours” occurs a number of times in Huang’s *Riben zashishi* 日本雜事詩 (*Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan*):

#70. *Ruseng* 儒僧 (Confucian Monks)

斯文一派記伝灯
四百年來付老僧
始變儒冠除法服
林家孫祖号中興

The one school entrusted with This Culture records that passing its lamp

For the previous four hundred years was entrusted to old monks.
Then, first to change into Confucian's caps and discard Dharma robes,
Grandson and Grandfather Hayashi signal that the renaissance had arrived.

From the Hōgen 保元 era [1156-58] on, Japan suffered the turmoil and instability of warfare, and, since men of prominence (*shidafu* 士大夫) were all following military careers, it fell to the Buddhist clergy to begin to practice Confucian scholarship. The fact that This Culture (*siwen* 斯文) did not fall to the ground [i. e. become entirely lost] during this period is all due to the efforts of these "Confucian Monks" (*ruseng* 儒僧).

With the appearance of Fujiwara Shuku 藤原肅 [1561-1619], enthusiasm arose for the teachings from the Zhu 洙 and Si 泗 Rivers [in Shandong, where Confucius taught], and Hayashi Nobukatsu 林信勝 [1583-1657], as his successor, continued to promote them. Mr. Fujiwara was originally a monk but then joined the Confucians, and when Nobukatsu first began studying in a Buddhist monastery, an old priest tried to force him to become a monk, but he refused. At that time, Confucians were still designated as part of that separate category of persons who shaved their heads [i. e. as members of the Buddhist clergy] and did not belong to an official class of Confucian scholars (*rulin* 儒林). Nobukatsu's grandson, Hayashi Nobuatsu 林信篤 [1644-1732], filled with regret about this situation and convinced that the Way of right human behavior (*rendao* 人道) is, in fact, the Confucian Way (*rudao* 儒道), held that it was not right that Confucians be denied an official status of their own, so he petitioned Tokugawa Tsunenori 徳川常憲 (1646-1709) [the *Shōgun* Tsunayoshi 綱吉將軍] to permit Confucians to wear their hair long and be given official positions as Grand Academicians (*daigaku no kami* 大学頭). It was then that the Japanese world began to know that there were such persons as Confucian scholars. Historical records date this event to the fourteenth day of the first month of the fourth year of the Genroku 元禄 era [1691].

The great florescence that the teaching of This Culture enjoyed for the next three hundred years is due to the fact that the Tokugawa *Shōgun* chose the Hayashis, father and son, for official positions, which made them leaders of the Confucian movement. Razan's 羅山 [Hayashi Nobukatsu's] son Hayashi Jo 林恕 and Razan's younger brother Hayashi Nobusumi 林信澄 were both elevated to the status of Cultivated Talent (*shūsai* 秀才).

#78. *Zhongguo shuhua* 中国书画 (A Chinese Scroll) (first version)

処胎累劫出經藏
片羽猶留熟紙黃
晝夜六時丁甲守
一千余載墨猶香

In the Womb after many kalpas emerges from the sutra treasury,
A feather of a thing that still keeps its sized paper yellow.

Six watches of the day and six of night, guarded each and every watch,
More than a thousand years old, the ink is still fragrant.

(second version)

一千五百年前紙
在在心靈為護持
如見古人如見仏
焚香百拜展經時

The paper more than fifteen hundred years old
Has enjoyed the protection of the divine spirits enshrined here.
As if a visitation from an ancient master or appearance by a Buddha,
They burn incense, bow a hundred times, when unrolling the sutra.

Monk Tetsujō 徹定 at the Chi'on-in 知恩院 (Awareness of Grace Temple) in Saikyō 西京 [Kyōtō 京都] is charged with the keeping of a copy done by Tao Wuhu 陶侏虎, of the Western Wei 西魏 era [535-56], of the *Pusa chutai jing* 菩薩處胎經 [a translation into Chinese of the *Bodhisattva garbhastha sūtra* (Sutra of the Bodhisattva in the Womb)].⁵ Neither paper nor ink have deteriorated. In spirit, it resembles the calligraphy of Grand Mentor (*taifu* 太傅) Zhong 鍾 [Zhong You 繇 (151-230)]. Inscriptions on steles of the Northern Wei era [386-535] that have survived to the present have exactly the same calligraphic structure (*jiegou* 結構), so we can be sure that the stylistic form (*ti* 體) of that period looked just like this. Tao Wuhu's *ba* 跋 (colophon), a simple and direct yet classically elegant (*dianzhi pumao* 典質朴茂) composition, states that he is trying to find all the works in the Buddhist Canon to copy and that this scroll is one such "phoenix feather or unicorn horn" (*fengmao linjiao* 鳳毛麟角) [i. e. rare work]. The *gengwu* 庚午 year of the *Datong* 大統 era of the Western Wei [550] is 1510 years distant from the current *yimao* 己卯 year [1879],⁶ yet these traces of ink still survive. We have to say that this is something absolutely amazing!

The fact is that in Japan it is a great joy to collect and preserve works, but fire is a real danger, so people there always construct stone storage places in which to preserve them. Fires certainly occurred during turmoil attendant upon long periods of civil war, but Buddhism still greatly flourished then, and This Culture of Ours (*siwen* 斯文), entrusted to monks, thus managed to avoid destruction age after age....

"Monk Tetsujō" 徹定 is actually an important historical figure of the late Bakafu and early Meiji eras: Ukai Tetsujō 鵜飼徹定 (sobriquet Sō'ō 松翁) (1814-91) seventy-fifth Chief Priest (*jūshoku* 住職) of the Chion'in 知恩院 (Awareness of Grace Temple) in Kyoto and a prominent textual scholar of sutras. He extensively built up the art and manuscript collection at the Chion'in in the 1850s and 1860s and was one of the foremost *kanbun* 漢文 and *kanshi* 漢詩 writers of his generation and a calligrapher of national stature. He was acquainted not only with Huang but with the other ranking officials of the Chinese legation, the Ambassador,

He Ruzhang 何如璋 (1838-91) and the Vice-Ambassador, Zhang Sigui 張斯桂 (1816-?). Tetsujō had brought some of his treasures, Tang 唐 and pre-Tang sutras, to the Chinese Embassy in Shiba-ku 芝区 during the spring of Meiji 11 (1878), after the Chinese had moved there and established the office and residence of the embassy at the end of 1877 in the Gekkai'in 月界院 (Temple of the Moon Realm), one of the temples located within the precincts (*sannai* 山内) of the Zōjōji 増上寺, the great Jōdo (Pure Land) 浄土 temple (in present-day Shiba Park 芝公園) with which Tetsujō had also been long associated. A result of this meeting was that Zhang Sigui did a calligraphic inscription, “*Kokyōdō* 古經堂” (Ancient Sutra Hall), which now still hangs in the Chion'in's sutra library in Kyoto, and He Ruzhang supplied a colophon 跋 attached to the *Pusa chutai jing* 菩薩処胎經. However, this postface was actually composed by Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (it is identical to a part of the commentary attached to the poem above).

Tetsujō is known for his meticulous scholarship on sutras—collations, compilation of critical editions, and other forms of textual research and writing—and his approach emulated the “evidential research” methodology (*kaozhengxue/kōchōgaku* 考徵学) of mid and late Qing era textual studies in China, which was represented in the Japanese Neo-Confucian tradition during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by the school of “Ancient Learning Scholars” (*kogakusha* 古学者). Tetsujō's facility with “evidential research” surely impressed the Chinese, who themselves (Huang in particular) identified with this trend of scholarship in China.

Tetsujō also wrote one of the postfaces 跋 to the little collection of *kanshi* 漢詩 offer and response verse (*zengda/zōtō* 贈答) composed by Ishikawa Kōsai 石川鴻齋 (Ishikawa Ei 英, 1833-1918) and members of the Imperial Chinese Legation, the *Shizan isshō* 芝山一笑 (A Laugh at Mount Shiba), which was published during August 1878⁷ shortly after the Legation moved to Kōjimachi-ku 麹町区, Nagata-chō 永田町 (present-day Chiyoda-ku 千代田区), southwest of the Imperial Palace and close to government offices and other embassies. Ishikawa Kōsai was a native of Toyohashi 豊橋 in Mikawa 三河 (present-day Aichi-ken 愛知県), an accomplished *kanshi* poet and *kanbun* writer 漢詩文家, and scholar of Chinese learning (*kangakusha* 漢学者). He became a close friend of Huang and helped him read Iwagaki Matsunae's 岩垣松苗 (1774-1849) *Kokushi ryaku* 国史略 (Outline History of the Nation [Japan]), as Huang researched Japanese sources to prepare the commentaries for his *Riben zashi shi* 日本雜事詩 (*Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan*) and materials for inclusion in his *Riben guozhi* 日本国志 (*Treatises on Japan*). Ishikawa was the author and compiler of many works, including a *Nihon bunshō kihan* 日本文章規範 (Japanese Models of Prose [*kanbun* 漢文]), to which Huang wrote a preface (Spring 1879). He was also an accomplished painter in the style of Watanabe Kazan 渡辺華山 (1793-1841). His residence was in Katamonzen ni-chōme 片門前二丁目, south of the Daimon (Great Gate) 大門 of the Zōjōji 増上寺, just opposite the *Gakuryō* 学寮 (Monk's Academy) of the temple, and near, of course, to the Imperial Chinese Legation, which was located inside the temple grounds in the Gekkai'in 月界院 (Temple of the Moon Realm) (December 1877-July? 1878). Ishikawa called his residence the Chiku'in shobō 竹蔭書房 (Bamboo Shade Studio)—probably alluding to a couplet in the first of two quatrains by Bai Juyi's 白居易 (772-846) entitled “By a Pond” 池上詩：山僧对棋座/局上竹蔭清 (“Mountain monk sits facing the chess set / Above the board the bamboo shade pure”).⁸ The Chinese at the Legation called him “Jiafoin 假佛印”

(False Imprint [Copy] of the Buddha) because, when they first met him, he had come to the Gekkaï'in in the company of Tetsujō and another monk, Hata Giō 秦義応, then Chief Priest (*jūshoku* 住職) of the Tentokuji 天徳寺 (Virtue of Heaven Temple), located in Shiba, not far away in Nishikubo-tomoemachi 西久保巴町 Jūhachi-banchi 十八番地, and they had mistaken Ishikawa for a monk too.⁹ As kanbun 漢文 tutor to Ōkōchi Teruna's 大河内輝声 cousin Baisen 梅僊, Ishikawa probably was the link between the Chinese at the Legation and Ōkōchi, who soon became a principal figure in this Chinese *wenren*-Japanese *bunjin* circle and the keeper of its voluminous *hitsudan* 筆談 (brush talks).¹⁰

Ōkōchi Teruna 大河内輝声, Minamoto Keikaku 源桂閣 (1848-82), former Matsudaira 松平 Lord of Takasaki Domain 高崎藩城主 was Army Commissioner (*Rikugun bugyō* 陸軍奉行) during the last year of the Bakufu 幕府 (1867), then served in that capacity under the new Imperial Government (1868) but retired soon afterwards. Ōkōchi seems to have become acquainted with the Chinese at the Legation early in 1878 and had become fast friends with them soon afterwards, according to the postscript he wrote to Ishikawa's *Shizan issō* 芝山一笑 (A Laugh at Mount Shiba). His residence, called Keirinsō (Cassia Grove Villa), at which members of the *wenren-bunjin* circle often met, was located on the west bank of the Sumida River 隅田川 in Asakusa-ku 浅草区, Imado-machi 今戸町 (part of present-day Sumida Park 隅田公園 [established 1931]). From the Edo period through the late Meiji era, Imado-machi was the site of many mansions (*teitaku* 邸宅) of notable families, including the Ōkōchi family; we know, for example, that Ōkōchi Teruna's son, Viscount (*Shishaku* 子爵) Ōkōchi Kikō 大河内輝耕 still lived there in the family residence as late as Meiji 41 (1908).¹¹ Ōkōchi Teruna was especially close to Huang Zunxian. When Huang had completed preparations to have his *Riben zashi shi* 日本雜事詩 (*Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan*) published, he brought the draft of the work to Ōkōchi's residence, and, after celebrating the occasion, the draft of the poems was buried at the back of the garden of the Keirinsō. Later, Ōkōchi had a stone monument erected over the "grave," with a lengthy inscription to commemorate the event, which he composed and which is in his own calligraphy, dated Meiji 12, ninth month (September 1879).¹²

Something of the friendly relationship between Ōkōchi and Huang Zunxian and the other members of the Chinese Legation can be seen in the following lyric (*ci* 詞), composed jointly by Huang and Shen Wenying 沈文熒 (1831/34-?), personal name Meishi 梅史, attaché at the Chinese Legation (*gongshi suishi* 公館隨史):

A Lyric Written to the Tune *Moyuer* 摸魚兒 (Fish Catcher), Presented to Marquis Minamoto Keikaku 源侯桂閣 [April 26, 1878]

試問他旧時巢燕 (黃)
雕梁猶認芳苑 (沈)
墨江春水波搖綠
終日画簾高捲 (黃)
花似靨 (沈)
卻正是。江南草長飛鷺亂 (黃)
馮闕望遠 (沈)
誰得似清閑。蓬壺方丈。携住神仙眷 (黃)

滄桑事。人世衣冠都換（沈）
 驚看海水清淺（黃）
 當年閔左誼樹皇。曾向沙場征戰（沈）
 君不見（黃）
 班師後。宮袍侍宴芙蓉殿（沈）
 相逢恨晚（黃）
 且射虎婦來。旗亭夜飲。北斗橫半天。（沈）¹³

Try to ask those nested swallows of bygone times—(Huang)
 From carved rafters, they would still recognize this fragrant garden. (Shen)
 On the Ink River's spring waters, waves undulate green,
 So painted screens are rolled high throughout the day, (Huang)
 Blossoms a seeming sheet of hailstones. (Shen)
 Truly, this is a veritable
 South China where plants flourish and flying warblers run riot. (Huang)
 Leaning on your railing, we look into the distance—(Shen)
 Who else could ever enjoy such pure leisure as this!
 In these quarters of yours, a Blessed Isles in miniature,
 The Immortals have firmly taken you in hand as one of their own. (Huang)
 But when earth-shaking events
 Had all in the world changing status along with caps and gowns, (Shen)
 Alarmed, you kept a watch out for clear shallows in the sea. (Huang)
 In those years, the Kantō region was a good place for war drums,
 So you then went off to battle on the sandy plain. (Shen)
 But don't you see? (Huang)
 After such a victorious campaign,
 You could have attended banquets in court robes at the Hibiscus Palace, (Shen)
 Which fills us with regret we met so late. (Huang)
 Instead, after shooting tigers, you came back here,
 To drink away the nights in wine shops
 Until the Big Dipper lies halfway across the sky.

After describing Ōkōchi's idyllic life at the Keirinsō (Cassia Grove Villa), Huang and Shen go on to mention the eventful and dangerous years that saw the end of the Bakufu and the founding of imperial rule under the Meiji Emperor—and Ōkōchi's role in helping to bring this about. But then they lament the fact that Ōkōchi did not seek to stay in office after the Restoration, a decision that now denies them the opportunity to associate with him in an official capacity. Finally, they refer to his present lifestyle, which is quite at odds with his former vigorous involvement in the affairs of the world.

Ōkōchi's own views on his lifestyle and friendship with the Chinese literati-diplomats are readily apparent in the postscript (*houxu/kōjo* 後序) he wrote to Ishikawa Kōsai's *Shizan isshō* 芝山一笑 (A Laugh at Mount Shiba):

During the Keiō 慶応 era [1865-67], I made the acquaintance of Westerners and sought instruction in their arts and technology. In investigating how they lived, no

subtlety or detail escaped my scrutiny. I took great delight then in how their learning thoroughly investigated the principles of things and thus was able to expand human knowledge. However, at the beginning of the Meiji era, I untied my seal of office and hung up my official cap and took up a life of secluded retirement by the Sumida River. From that time on, since I was no longer any use to the world, I changed direction and sought the acquaintance of Chinese from the state of Qing (Shinkokujin 清國人). Day by day, I got to know them better; with each passing month, our friendship deepened; and the marvelous pleasure of their company exceeded by far what I had experienced with Westerners! Now, Westerners are gifted with considerable intelligence and do things with great energy. Laboring tirelessly and always anxious for success, they are obsessed with the production of all sorts of useful gadgets. But when it comes to the Qing Chinese, they are not at all like this. Officers of state, no matter what rank, when they have time free from official duties, always use such leisure moments to compose poetry or write prose and enjoy themselves by holding elegant, culturally rich social occasions, which is an excellent way to nourish the spirit and why they are not particularly impatient by nature.

However, now I have also become friends with the Qing Ambassadors He Ziwo 何子峩 [Ruzhang 如璋] and Zhang Lusheng 張魯生 [Zhang Sigui 斯桂, the Vice-Ambassador], as well as embassy staff members such as Huang Gongdu [Zunxian], Liao Quxian 廖樞仙 [Xien 錫恩], and Shen Meishi [Wenyong], which has made me absolutely drunk with delight! Since we met, a day has not gone by when we did not spend time together, chatting, laughing, and joking with each other so much that we forgot all distinctions between self and other—as the old adage has it, we “draw carriage canopies together just like old friends”!¹⁴ Also, I often went to Mount Shiba accompanied by my friend Ishikawa Kunka 石川君華 [Kōsai]. We held brush talks (*bitan/hitsudan* 筆談) with the ambassadors and all the other visitors [i. e., the embassy staff] until day’s end without knowing the least fatigue, the paper piling up to form mountains and our marvelous discussions turning into complete works. Kunka then copied out several tens of the best of his poems that had been included in these brush talks to make a slim volume, which he called *Shizan issō* 芝山一笑 (A Laugh at Mount Shiba) and for which he requested that I write a Postscript.

I have not yet been acquainted with Kunka for an entire year, but I am much impressed by his scholarship and great breadth of conversation. He is also a very accomplished writer of poetry and prose. When I received this book, I quickly read it through again and again, unwilling to put it down, for the poetry is fresh and innovative yet noble and elegant (*shinqiqingya/shinkiseiga* 新奇清雅) and a sufficient remedy for the evils associated with the irregular way people of the present age now interact with each other. Such offer and response poems (*zengda/zōtō* 贈答) as these also are capable of revealing the nature and temperament (*qixiang/kishō* 氣象) of the Qing Chinese. When he has free time, he always gets together with us to chant poetry at our literary-wine parties.

The splendid way the Qing Chinese enjoy themselves is just like this—not at all like those Westerners who labor tirelessly and are always anxious for success, obsessed with the production of all sorts of useful gadgets. They nourish the spirit in

such a way that they are easy-going and free from impatience, which is really admirable! Based on this observation, I offer the following piece of advice: You merchants of the capital and gentlemen throughout the empire, if you seek fame and pursue profit, you should make the acquaintance of Westerners, but if you would lead a life of lofty retirement in which poetry and wine produce one's own pleasure, then you should make the acquaintance of Qing Chinese. This being the case, it is especially appropriate that people such as Kunka and I should find these Qing Chinese visitors good friends to have, for why should we ever want to be like those Westerners with all their intelligence and energy!

When I asked Kunka if what I had written was appropriate, he said "Good!" Therefore I have recorded this as a postscript.

Dated Meiji 11, Eighth Month [August 1878], composed by Keikaku, Minamoto Teruna 桂閣源輝声.

Huang Zunxian, as a poet and critic of poetry and involved as he was with such Japanese poets, inevitably was moved to relate "This Culture of Ours" to the Japanese tradition of *kanshi* 漢詩:

#77. *Hanshi shengshuai* 漢詩盛衰 (Rise and Fall of Chinese Classical Verse)
(first version)

幾人溯漢魏根源
唐宋以還格尚存
難怪鷄林賈爭市
白香山外數隨園

How many have followed poetry's source back to the Han and Wei
And, in the wake of the Tang and Song, kept the true style alive?
No wonder that Korean merchants fight to buy his works—
Except for Bai Xiangshan, Suiyuan is ranked the very best!

Japanese classical verse poets first emulated the Tang 唐 poets, then, for the Ming 明, Li 李 [攀龍 Panlong (1514-70)] and Wang 王 [Shizhen 世貞 (1526-90)], and, for the [renewed interest in the] Song 宋, Su 蘇 [Shi 軾 (1037-1101)] and Lu 陸 [You 游 (1125-1210)]. After that, they studied how poetry of the late Tang was transmuted into the works of the "Four Supernaturals" (Siling 四靈).¹⁵ Arriving at Our Own Dynastic Era, the four masters Wang 王 [Shizhen 士禎 (1634-1711)], Yuan 袁 [Mei 枚 (1716-98)], Zhao 趙 [Zhixin 執信 (1662-1744)], and Zhang 張 [Wentao 問陶 (1764-1814)] became the most well known. For the most part, fashion in Japanese classical verse has altered course following stylistic shifts in our own tradition of poetry (*sui wofengqi yi zhuan yi* 隨我風氣以轉移).

Bai Letian 白樂天 [Bai Juyi 居易 (772-846)] and Yuan Suiyuan 袁隨園 [Yuan Mei] are especially admired, and eight or nine out of ten poets emulate them. {[Huang's own comment:] During the Tang era, there was a man called Ono no

Takamura 小野篁 [802-52] who so admired Xiangshan 香山 [Bai Juyi] that he wished to travel to Tang China. When writers of fiction tell about someone discovering a seaside storied pavilion, where he is told that the owner is waiting for the arrival of Bai Xiangshan, it probably refers to Japan.) The *Xiaocang shanfang suibi* 小倉山房隨筆 [by Yuan Mei] also states that Korean merchants fought to buy drafts of his poetry so they could sell them in Japan, and we can be sure that this is no fabrication.

Japanese poets who have been most successful at the seven-syllabic quatrain form (*qijue* 七絕) include, for recent times, Ichikawa Shisei 市河子靜 [eighteenth century] {[Huang's own comment:] His sobriquet was Kansai 寬齋, and he was a native of Jōmō 上毛.}, Ōkubo Tenmin 大窪天民 [1767-1837] {[Huang's own comment:] His sobriquet was Shibutsu 詩仏, and his native place was Tokiwa 常磐. There is a *Shiseidō shū* 詩聖堂集 Collected Works From the Hall of the Poet Sage.}, Kashiwagi Akira 柏木昶 [1783-1819] {[Huang's own comment:] Personal name Nagahiru 永日 and sobriquet Jotei 如亭, he was a native of Shinano 信濃. There is a *Banseidō shū* 晚晴堂集 (Collected Works From the Evening Clear Hall).}, Kikuchi Gozan 菊地五山 [1769-1849] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was [Mugen 無弦] and his native place was Sanuki 讚岐. There is a *Gozan shiwa* 五山詩話 (Gozan's Discussions of Poetry)}. All these are praised as famous masters of the quatrain form.

At literary drinking parties, people took up brush and lengthily intoned their compositions, the very best of which often threatened to overtake the works of the Tang and Song masters. However, modern age *bunjin* 文人 (literary men) are instead buying works of American poetry and translating the literary collections of Englishmen.

#77. *Hanshi shengshuai* 漢詩盛衰 (Rise and Fall of Chinese Classical Verse) (second version)

豈獨斯文有盛衰
旁行字正力橫馳
不知近代鷄林賈
誰費黃金更購詩

How could This Culture of Ours ever have risen and fallen in isolation?
Of course, correct expression kept pace here too, a power running free.
But who knows if any modern day Korean merchants
Would now still spend yellow gold on poetry for resale!

I myself have never been really good at the quatrain form, but since my intention in compiling this volume is just to give a factual account of things, I followed the practice of such works as the *NanSong zashishi* 南宋雜事詩 (Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from the Southern Song)¹⁶ and *Luanyang zayong* 瀾陽雜詠 (Miscellaneous Refrains about Luanyang)¹⁷ and mechanically put things together as they did. When Japanese see this work, very few will refrain from exchanging smiles at how such an ugly one as I tried to ape the ways of a stunning beauty!

However, Huang regarded poetry also as an integral part of the grand tradition of literate culture, *Siwen* 斯文, and so he also wrote poems about the tradition of Confucian scholarship in Japan. For example, the following poem and commentary reveals Huang's familiarity and respect for this tradition:

#69 *Hanxuejia* 漢學家 (Sinologists)

西條書記考文篇
曾入琳瑯甲乙篇
道學儒林尋列傳
東方君子國多賢

A work of textual criticism by the Record Keeper of Saijō
Has even been included in the bipartite edition of Dazzling Brilliance.
If you search through accounts of Confucians who study the Way,
You'll find this land of Eastern noble men has had many such worthies.

Yamanoi Tei's 山井鼎 (1681-1728) *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun* 七經孟子考文 (Textual Criticism of the *Seven Classics and Mencius*) is given a notice in the critical bibliography *Siku wujing zongyi* 四庫五經總義 (Critical Notices on General Works on the Five Classics in the Four Treasuries Library), where it receives rather favorable evaluation.¹⁸.... Butsu Sorai 物茂卿 [Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728)] stated: "In remote antiquity, this eastern country of ours was benighted by the darkest ignorance, and it was only with Mr. Wani 王仁 [late third century] that people began to be literate, only with Mr. Kibi 吉備 [Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (693-775)] that *keigei* 經芸 [Confucian writings] were first transmitted, only with Mr. Sugawara 菅原 [Sugawara no Kiyogimi 菅原清公 (770-842)] that literary and historical texts could be recited from memory, and only with Mr. Seika 性窩 [Fujiwara Seika 藤原性窩 (1561-1619)] that people in general knew to 'praise Heaven and discuss sagehood' 称天語聖. So, it is even suitable that we have prayed, age after age, to such noble men as these four, in shrines devoted to learning 学宮."

Confucian learning in Japan began during our [Western 西] Wei 魏 era [535-556], flourished during the Tang [618-906], declined during the Song [960-1279] and Yuan [1260-1368], and enjoyed a renaissance that began at the end of the Ming [1368-1644] and that has lasted up to the present day. Since Fujiwara Shuku 藤原肅 [1561-1619] {[Huang's own comment:] Shuku's personal name was Renbu 儼夫, his sobriquet was Seika 惺窩, and his native place was Harima 播磨} began promoting Cheng-Zhu learning 程朱, there have been in all some 150 followers of this tradition, the most prominent being: Hayashi Nobukatsu 林信勝 [1583-1657] {[Huang's own comment:] Another given name was Chū 忠; his personal name was Shishin 子信, sobriquet Razan 羅山, and his native place Saikyō 西京 [Kyōtō 京都], Hayashi Shunshō 林春勝 [1618-80] {[Huang's own comment:] Another given name was Jo 恕, personal name Shidō 之道, and sobriquet was Gahō 鷺峰; he was the son of Nobukatsu 信勝.}, Hayashi Nobuatsu 林信篤 [1644-1732] {[Huang's own comment:] Another given

name was Tō 慇, personal name Chokumin 直民, sobriquet Hōkō 鳳岡; he was the son of Nobukatsu 信勝.), Hayashi Taira 林衡 [1768-1814] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Tokusen 德銓 and sobriquet Jūsai 述齋; originally he was the Lord of Iwamura Domain 岩村藩 [actually, the third son of Matsuhira Norimori 松平乘蒞, Lord of Iwamura], but he took the surname Hayashi to become the eighth generation descendent of Nobukatsu 信勝 [since the seventh generation descendent had died without a son.]}, Kinoshita Sadamasa 木下貞幹 [1621-98] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Chokufu 直夫, sobriquet Kinri 錦里, and his native place Saikyō 西京 [Kyōtō 京都] [better known as Jun'an 順庵]}, Arai Kimiyoshi 新井君美 [1657-1725] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Zaichū 在中, sobriquet Hakuseki 白石, and native place Edo}, Muro Naoyuki 室直清 [Muro Kyūsō 室鳩巢 (1658-1734)] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shirei 師礼 sobriquet Kyūsō 鳩巢, and native place Edo}, Shibano Kunihiko 柴野邦彦 [1736-1807] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Hikosuke 彦輔, sobriquet Ritsuzan 栗山, and native place Sanuki 讃岐}, Nabo Hyō 那波瓢 [1595-1648] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Dōen 道円, sobriquet Kassho 活所, and native place Harima 播磨}, Yamazaki Ka 山崎嘉 [1618-82] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Keigi 敬義, sobriquet Ansai 闇齋, and his native place Saikyō 西京 [Kyōtō 京都]}, Asami Yasumasa 安正 [1652-1711] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Keisai 綱齋 and native place Ōmi 近江}, Tokugawa Mitsukuni 德川光圀 [1628-1700] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shiryō 子竜 and sobriquet Jōzan; he was the Lord of Mito 水戸 Domain}, Asaka Satoru 安積覚 [1656-1737] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shikō 子光, sobriquet Tanpakusai 澹泊齋, and his family had served the Mito 水戸 Domain for generations}, Kaibara Atsunobu 貝原篤信 [1630-1714] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shisei 子誠, sobriquet Ekiken 益軒, and his family had served the Chikuzen 筑前 Domain for generations}, Nakai Sekizen 中井積善 [1730-1804] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shikei 子慶, sobriquet Chikuzan 竹山, and native place Ōsaka 大阪}, Satō Yutaka 佐藤坦 [1772-1859] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Taidō 大道, sobriquet Issai 惟一齋 [usually known as Issai 一齋], and his native place Edo [actually, he was originally from Mino 美濃.]}, Bitō Kōchō 尾藤孝肇 [1745-1813] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shiin 志尹, sobriquet Jishū 二洲, and his native place Iyo 伊予}, Koga Boku 古賀樸 [1750-1817] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Junbū 純風, sobriquet Seiri 精里, and his family had served the Saga 佐賀 Domain for generations}, Koga Kō 古賀焯 [1788-1847] {[Huang's own comment:] His sobriquet was Tōan 怯庵, and he was the son of Boku 樸}, Rai Noboru 頼襄 [1780-1832] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shisei 子成, sobriquet Sanyōgaishi 山陽外史, and his native place Aki 安芸.}

In all, some six scholars have been adherents of the Wang Yangming 王陽明 tradition of thought, among whom the leader was Nakae Hajime 中江原 [1608-48] {[Huang's own comment:] Hajime's personal name was Korenaka 惟命, sobriquet Tōju 籐樹, and his native place Ōmi 近江.}, and whose best disciples included

Kumazawa Hakukei 熊沢伯繼 [1619-91] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Ryōkai 了介, sobriquet Banzan 蕃山, and his native place Saikyō 西京 Kyōtō 京都}.

There was also Itō Ikyō 伊籐維楨 [1627-1705] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Gensa 源佐, sobriquet Jinsai 仁齋, and his native place Saikyō 西京 [Kyōtō 京都].}, who was not very pleased with the Song 宋 tradition of Confucian learning and so started his own school. He had seventy-eight followers, the most prominent being Itō Chōin 伊籐長允 [1670-1736] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Genzō 元蔵, sobriquet Tōgai 東涯, and he was the son of Ikyō.} and Butsu Mokei 物茂卿 [1666-1728] {[Huang's own comment:] This is Mr. Ogyū 荻生, whose given name was Sōshō 双松, but he went by his personal name. His sobriquet was Sorai 徂徠, and his native place was Edo 江戸.}. This tradition sought to understand the Confucian classics via the study of the *Shiji* 史記 and *Hanshu* 漢書. It is a school rather rich in learning, which keeps close to Itō in its criticism of the empty talk (*kongtan* 空談) of the Song Confucians but which surpasses him in its hostility toward them. There are sixty-four followers of this tradition, the most prominent being Dazai Jun 太宰純 [1680-1747] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Tokufu 徳夫, sobriquet Shundai 春臺, and he was a native of Shinano 信濃.}, Hattori Genkyō 服部元喬 [1683-1759] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shisen 子遷, sobriquet Nankaku 南郭, and his native place was Saikyō 西京 [Kyōtō 京都]}, Kamei Ro 亀井魯 [Kamei Nanmei 亀井南冥 (1743-1814)] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Dōsai 道載, sobriquet Nanmei 南冥, and he was a native of Chikuzen 筑前}, Hoashi Banri 帆足万里 [1778-1853] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Hōkei 鵬卿, sobriquet 愚亭, and his family had served the Lord of Hiji 日出 Domain for generations}.

There is also a tradition of “Ancient Learning Scholars” (*kogakusha* 古学者) that specializes in the study of Han and Tang commentaries and sub-commentaries on the Confucian classics, in all sixty members, the most prominent members of which are Hosoi Tokumin 細井徳民 [1728-1801] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Seikei 世馨, sobriquet Heishū 平洲, and he was a native of Owari 尾張.}, Nakai Sekitoku 中井積徳 [1732-1817] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shojaku 処寂 sobriquet Riken 履軒, and he was a native of Osaka.}, Fujita Kazumasa 藤田一正 [1774-1826] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Shitei 子定, sobriquet Yūkoku 幽谷, and he was a native of Mito 水戸.}, Fujita Takeki 藤田彪 [1806-1855] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Hinkei 斌卿, sobriquet Tōko 東湖, and he was the son of Kazumasa 一正.}, Aizawa Yasushi 会沢安 [1782-1863] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Hakumin 伯民, sobriquet Seishisai 正志齋, and he was a native of Mito 水戸.}, Matsuzaki Fuku 松崎復 [1771-1844] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Meifuku 明復, sobriquet Kōdō 憊堂, and he was a native of Higo 肥後.}, Yasui Kō 安井衡 [1799-1876] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Chūhei 仲平, sobriquet Sokken 息軒, and his family had served the Lord of Obi 飢肥 Domain for generations}, Shionoya Seikō 塩谷世宏 [1809-67] {[Huang's own comment:] His personal name was Kikō 毅侯, sobriquet Tōin 宕陰, and he was a

native of Edo.}

Works that explicate the Confucian classics besides the *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun* 七經孟子考文 (Textual Criticism of the Seven Classics and Mencius) include such works as the *Rongo kai* 論語解 (Explication of the *Analects*) and *Shisho kogi* 四書古義 (Ancient Meaning of the Four Books) by Itō Ikyō 伊藤維楨; *Rongo chō* 論語徵 (Evidential Study of the *Analects*), *Daigaku kai* 大學解 (Explication of the *Great Learning*), and *Chūyō kai* 中庸解 (Explication of the *Doctrine of the Mean*) by Butsu Mokei 物茂卿 [Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠]; *Rongo kokun* 論語古訓 (Ancient Pronunciation of the Text of the *Analects*) by Dazai Jun 太宰純, *Daigaku shinso* 大學新疏, (A new commentary on the *Great Learning*), *Shūeki kōgi* 周易廣義 (Expanding the meaning of the *Changes of the Zhou*), and *Rongo kōgi* 論語廣義 (Expanding the meaning of the *Analects*), by Arai Kimiyoshi 新井君美; *Gakuyō kai* 學庸解 (Explication of the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*) and *Rongo kyōtō yokkai* 論語鄉黨翼解 (Subsidiary explications of the *Analects* by fellow villagers) by Nakae Hajime 中江原; *Shueki engi* 朱易衍義 (Expanding on the meaning of Master Zhu's understanding of the *Changes*), *Mōshi yōraku* 孟子要略 (Essentials of the *Mencius*), and *Kōkyō kango fukō* 孝經刊誤付考 (A supplementary investigation into typographical errors in the text of the *Classic of Filial Piety*) by Yamazaki Ka 山崎嘉; *Eki Shi Sho Girei Taiki Shunshū* [Ron]go Mō[shi] ekikai 易詩書儀禮戴記春秋語孟繹解 (Explications of the *Classic of Changes*, *Classic of Poetry*, *Classic of History*, *Classic of Ritual*, *Classic of Rites*, *Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Analects*, and *Mencius* [all separate works]) by Minagawa Makoto 皆川愿 [Minagawa Ki'en 皆川淇園 (1734-1807)]; *Kyūkei dan* 九經談 (Discussions of the *Nine Classics*) by Ōta Genjō 大田元貞 [Ōta Kinjō 大田錦城 (1765-1825)]; *Shichikei chōdai* 七經雕題 (Elaborations on the *Seven Classics*) by Nakai Sekitoku 中井積德 [Nakai Riken 中井履軒 (1732-1817)]; *Chōchū shisho* 冢注四書 (Commentary to the *Four Books* by Tsuka[da] 冢 [田]) by Tsukada Tora 冢田虎 [Tsukada Taihō 冢田大峰 (1747-1832)]; *Rongo taiso* 論語大疎 (Great commentary to the *Analects*), *Mōshi seiun* 孟子精蘊 (Detailed and learned exposition of the *Mencius*), and *Shūeki shōgi* 周易象義 (Meaning of the images of the *Changes of the Zhou*) by Ōta Genjō 大田元貞 [Ōta Kinjō 大田錦城 (1765-1825)]; *Shiso shūso* 四書輯疏 (Collected commentaries on the *Four Books*) by Abei Kei 安部井綱 [Abei Bōzan 安部井帽山 (1778-1845)]; *Rongo goyū* 論語語由述志 (Carrying forward the intention of [Kamei Nanmei's] *Source of expressions in the Analects*) by Kamei Ro 亀井魯 [actually, this work, an extension of the work by Kamei Ro (Nanmei), is by Nanmei's son, Kamei Shōyō 亀井昭陽 (1773-1836)]; *Rongo shūsetsu* 論語輯說 (Collected commentaries on the *Analects*) and *Saden shūshaku* 左傳輯釈 (Collected explanations of *Zuo's Chronicles*) by Yasui Kō 安井衡 [Yasui Sokken 安井息軒 (1799-1876)]; and *Zenshindō ikkagen* 善身堂一家言 (Personal views from the Hall Devoted to Self Cultivation) by Kameda [Chō]kō 亀田 [長] 興 [Kameda Bōsai 亀田鵬齋 (1752-1826)]. I have listed all these here as an encouragement to those who love learning.

This is not just a mere litany of names and titles but a commemoration and celebration of the Japanese keepers of "This Culture of Ours" and the products of their labor and devotion. It is

also an example of Huang's ongoing attempt during these years (1877-82) and later to validate Japanese culture in Chinese terms and to confirm its role as partner with China in what he regarded as the grand enterprise of the age: to modernize while preserving the traditional values and sensibilities that both cultures shared.

The Japan that Huang discovered during his posting to Tokyo was in many ways different from his native China, but what he found there had much more in common with late nineteenth century China than what he was to encounter soon afterwards in the United States and Europe. Present-day Japanese life and past tradition were sufficiently different to engage his curiosity and interest yet not so different that he found them alien. He certainly found kindred spirits among the *bunjin* friends he made then, and the discovery that he and they shared the same rich cultural and intellectual heritage must have given him much satisfaction and optimism—optimism that the Confucian tradition would continue to span both their cultures and sustain their common ideals and values in the crucial years ahead, when he hoped that China and Japan would stand united and face the Western challenge together. Huang was committed to reform in China but was no revolutionary, so, for him tradition meant strength. During his years in Japan, Huang discovered that “This Culture of Ours” was not limited to “our” Chinese tradition but had become “Our” international tradition that reached beyond the borders of China and the bounds of Chinese ethnicity. His writings from these years are full of enthusiasm and hope for the future. He must have been inspired to dream great dreams. Although such hopes and expectations were to be utterly confounded by the history of Sino-Japanese relations that was soon to unfold, Huang's writings about Japan deserve our respect and attention, for they describe a window of opportunity for East Asian cooperation and understanding, which not only opened briefly—and with complete futility—in the past but is now opening again, when, of course, prospects for its remaining open are infinitely better.

NOTES

- 1 Important editions of Huang's works include: (1) *Riben zashishi guangzhu* 日本雜事詩彙注 (*Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan, with expanded commentaries*). Zhong Shuhe 鍾叔河, ed. Changsha: Yuelu shushe 岳麓書社, 1985. *Zou xiang shijie congshu* 走向世界叢書 (English Series title, *From East to West: Chinese Travelers Before 1911*) ed. (The expanded commentaries consist of (a) excerpts that Zhong Shuhe gleaned from Huang's *Riben guozhi* 日本國志 [*Treatises on Japan*] that seem to expand upon Huang's poems and his original commentaries to them and (b) Zhong's notes on textual variants as they occur in different editions of the *Riben zashishi*.). (2) Sanetō Keishū 実藤惠秀 and Toyoda Minoru 豊田稔, trans. *Nihon zatsujishi* 日本雜事詩 Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1968. (3) *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* 入境廬詩草 (Draft of poems from the Hut within the Human Realm, with annotations). Qian Esun 錢萼孫 ed. and ann., Shanghai 上海: Gudian wenxue chubanshe 古典文學出版社, 1981. (4) *Renjinglu jiwai shiji* 入境廬集外詩集 (A compilation of poetry not included in the Hut within the Human Realm collection). Beijing University, Department of Chinese, Modern Poetry Research Group 北京大學中文系近代詩研究小組 ed. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1960. (5) *Riben guozhi* 日本國志 (*Treatises on Japan*). Taipei 台北: Wenhai chubanshe 文海出版社, 1982. *Jindai Zongguo shiliao congkan xubian* 近代中國資料叢書統編 ed. Reprint of the Shanghai 上海: Tushu jicheng yinshuju 圖書集成印書局, 1898 ed. (6) Zheng Hailin 鄭海麟 and Zhang Weixiong 張偉雄 ed. *Huang Zunxian wenji* 黃遵憲文集 (Works of Huang Zunxian) (Kyoto 京都: Chūbun shuppansha 中文出版社, 1991).
- 2 For an introduction to Huang Zunxian, see “Huang Tsun-hsien” by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel, Arthur W., ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1967 reprint of the Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943 ed.), 350-51. A general account of Huang's experiences in Japan—especially diplomatic and political aspects—can be found in Noriko Kamachi, *Reform in China: Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981). Recent scholarship on Huang includes: J. D. Schmidt, *Within*

- the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian, 1848-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) ; Richard John Lynn, review (feature article) of J. D. Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian, 1848-1905*, in *China Review International* 3:2 (Fall 1996), 1-27; Wai-ming Ng 吳偉明: "The Formation of Huang Tsun-hsien's Political Thought in Japan (1877-1882)" *Sino-Japanese Studies* 8:1 (October 1995), 4-21; Richard John Lynn, "This Culture of Ours" 斯文 and Huang Zunxian's 黄遵憲 Literary Experiences in Japan (1877-82)," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (Autumn 1997).
- 3 Cf. He Yan 何晏 (190-249) and Xing Bing 邢昺 (fl.ca. 980), *Lunyu zhushu* 論語注疏 (*Analects, With Commentary and Sub-Commentary*) (Taipei 台北: Yiwen yinshuguan 芸文印書館, 1982 reprint of the 1815 *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 ed.), 9:2b; translation adapted from Peter K. Bol, "This Culture of Ours": *Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 1.
 - 4 Makino Kenjiro 牧野謙次郎, *Nihon kangakushi* 日本漢学史 (Tokyo: Sekaidō shoten 世界堂書店, 1943), 284-89.
 - 5 The translation was done by Fonian 仏念 of the Latter Qin 後秦 era (384-417).
 - 6 Huang's wrongly calculates that the calligraphy of the scroll was done 1510 years earlier, which brings us to 370, another *gengwu* 庚午 year, the fifth year in the *Taihe* 太和 era of the Eastern Jin 東晉, so it appears that he confused the Western Wei *gengwu* year with the Eastern Jin *gengwu* year and was off exactly by three cycles ($60 \times 3 = 180$ years). He should have said that the scroll had been done 1330 years earlier.
 - 7 Ishikawa Kōsai 石川鴻齋 ed., *Shizan issshō* 芝山一笑 (Tokyo: *Bunshōdō* 文昇堂, 1878), prefaces 序 by He Ruzhang 何如璋 (1838-91), Shen Wenying 沈文燹 ([1831/34-?]) attaché at embassy 公館隨史), Wang Zhiben 王治本 ([1835-?]) came to Japan in Meiji 8 (1875); private language teacher in Tokyo; became Ōkōchi Teruna's 大河内輝声 secretary/tutor in Meiji 13 (1877) and lived in his home. Before that, served for a short time in the Chinese Legation. After Ōkōchi's death [1882], lived in Japan until about the end of the Meiji era), and Ōkōchi Teruna 大河内輝声 [1848-82], more details below); postfaces 跋 by Ukai Tetsujō 鵜飼徹定 and Hata Giō 秦義応 (Chief Priest of the Tentokuji 天德寺 (Virtue of Heaven Temple) in Shiba).
 - 8 *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集 (Mr. Bai's Literary Collection) (1618 wood block ed. reprinted in Hiraoka Takeo 平岡武夫 and Kiyoshi Imai 今井清 ed. *Hakushi bunshū kashi sakuin* 白氏文集歌詩索引 (Index to the Poetry in Mr. Bai's Literary Collection) (Kyoto: Dōhōsha 同朋社, 1989), 65:14b.
 - 9 See He Ruzhang's preface to *Shizan issshō* 芝山一笑 (A Laugh at Mount Shiba).
 - 10 Two important works concerned with these *bitan/hitsudan* have been published: Sanetō Keishū 実藤惠秀, trans., *Ōkōchi monjo* 大河内文書 (The Ōkōchi Documents) (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1964), which consists of a Japanese translation of perhaps one tenth of the original texts and a lengthy historical introduction, and Zheng Ziyu 鄭子瑜 and Sanetō Keishū 实藤惠秀, ed., *Huang Zunxian yu Riben youren bitan yigao* 黄遵憲与日本友人筆談遺稿 (Surviving Drafts of Brush Conversations between Huang Zunxian and His Japanese Friends). Tokyo: Waseda daigaku Tōyō bungaku kenkyūkai 早稲田大学東洋文学研究会, 1968, which contains about one tenth of the original texts in printed form (the content overlaps somewhat with Professor Sanetō's translations). The entire archive, preserved in the library of Waseda University, Tokyo, is now available in microfilm copy (Tokyo: Maruzen).
 - 11 See *Shinsen Tōkyō meisho zu'e* 新撰東京名所図会 (Famous Places of Tokyo Illustrated, New Edition) 57 (August 20, 1908), 13.
 - 12 A photograph of a rubbing of this inscription appears in Sanetō Keishū 实藤惠秀 and Toyoda Minoru 豊田穰, trans. *Nihon zatsujishi* 日本雜事詩 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1968), 16.
 - 13 A photograph of the original text is provided in Sanetō Keishū 实藤惠秀, trans., *Ōkōchi monjo* 大河内文書 (The Ōkōchi Documents) (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1964), 136; Japanese version on 135.
 - 14 I. e., although recent acquaintances, they behave like old friends who, (in ancient times) when they met on the road, would stop their carriages and draw them together so the canopies touched.
 - 15 The Four Supernaturals 四靈 of Yongjia 永嘉 (in Zhejiang) (late Southern Song, thirteenth century) were Zhao Shixiu 趙師秀, Weng Quan 翁卷, Xu Zhao 徐照, and Xu Ji 徐璣. All these poets cultivated an elegant yet simple style based on middle and late Tang models, suitable, they thought, for "commoner poets" (*buyi shiren* 布衣詩人).
 - 16 The *NanSong zashishi* 南宋雜事詩 (Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from the Southern Song) consists of seven hundred seven-syllabic quatrains, one hundred each by seven poets, including Shen Jiache 沈嘉轍 (fl.ca. 1729), Zhao Yu 趙昱 (1689-1747), Zhao Xin 趙信 (b. 1701), and four others; see the *Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 fifth series ed.
 - 17 This collection of poetry is actually titled *Luanjing zayong* 濶京雜詠 (Miscellaneous Refrains about the Capital on the Luan River). It is by Yang Yunfu 楊允孚 (fl.ca. 1354) and consists of poems and notes about the Upper Capital 上都 of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in Rehe province; see the *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 ed. Luanyang 濶陽 (The Yang [north] Side of the Luan River) is the Qing name of the administrative district located there.

- 18 Line two of the poem refers to the catalog of the Imperial Library compiled during the reign of the Qianlong Emperor, the *Qinding Tianlu linglang shumu* 欽定天祿琳瑯書目 (Bibliography from the Hall of Dazzling Brilliance in the Heavenly Blessings Palace, Authorized by His Majesty), published in Part One 甲 and Part Two 乙 (Preface dated 1775). Yamanoi's work in 199 sections (*juan* 卷) was subsequently copied into the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Four Treasures Comprehensive Library). The critical notice to which Huang refers can be found in *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 欽定四庫全書總目提要 (Essential Comments on Works Listed in the Table of Contents for the Four Treasures Comprehensive Library, Authorized by His Majesty) (Taibei 台北: Yiwen yinshuguan 芸文印書館, 1969 reprint of the Shanghai, 1926 ed.), 33:30a-34a.

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黄遵憲 (1848-1905) と明治時代の日本人の文人との交流

リチャード・ジョン・リン

要旨：黄遵憲は明治11年に清国大使館の参贊官（書記官）をして東京へ来た。既に中国で有名な詩人でもあり、また古文家でもあって、日本に来てからははやく新しい豊富な経験について詩や文章を書き始めた。日本に居る五年間、当時の傑出した文人と知り合った人は大河内輝声（源桂閣）、石川鴻斎、重野安繹、中村正直、森槐南、鶴飼徹定（号松翁、知恩院住職）等を含めた。黄遵憲の書いた詩文およびこの日本人の書いた漢文や漢詩に加えて大河内輝声に集まれたその人の筆談は全体として極めて必要な日中文化交流歴史資料である。