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著者	LYNN Richard John
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Sanetō Keishū and the History of Early Modern Chinese-Japanese Cultural Relations

Richard John LYNN

University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Sanetō Keishū 実藤恵秀 (1896–1985)¹ had an eminently successful career as a university professor at Waseda University 早稲田大学, his principal affiliation, and later in life at Seitoku Gakuen Junior College 聖徳学園短期大学 and Musashino Women's University 武蔵野女子大学. His research and teaching specializations included Japanese and Chinese linguistics, Chinese literature, history of China-Japan relations (especially literary and cultural relations), and modern Chinese culture. Sanetō was born 13 May 1896, in the year following the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, in Hiroshima prefecture in a rural district where Takehara City 竹原市 is now located, then Higashino Village 東野村 in Kamo district 嘉茂郡. His father Sanetō Kamesuke 実藤亀助 was a farmer, and he was the second son. Although his original childhood name was Kaichi 嘉一, in 1910 when was in his first year of higher elementary school (*kōtō shōgakkō* 高等小学校), he was placed in the Chōzenji 長善寺, the local True Pure Land 浄土真宗 temple in Higashino, to begin studying for the priesthood, and when he was ordained in March 1911, he received the monk's name Eshū 恵秀, which he kept after returning to secular life but which he then pronounced Keishū. The Chōzenji was said to have been a major temple bustling with memorial services and other activities. However, in October 1917 he and a fellow monk, Minami Echō 南恵澄, who entered the temple at the same time as he did, ran away from the temple and went to Tokyo, where they led the life of poverty-stricken students, all bonds with the temple severed.

Sanetō, then twenty-one, was admitted to the Takanawa Middle School 高輪中學 in Shiba-ku, and in 1920 he matriculated as a first-year student in the high school academy (*kōtō gakuin* 高等学院) of Waseda University, seven years older than his fellow first-year students. Two years later he was admitted to the Literature Department in the Faculty of Letters and specialized in Chinese literature. Only he and Miura Eitsui 三浦英槌 survived to continue the Chinese literature major after the first semester, this apparently thanks to the rigorous training they had received in the Waseda high school academy from Yamaguchi Takeshi 山口剛, their teacher of Edo era literature and Chinese texts. However, training in Chinese literature concentrated on sinology (*kanbungaku* 漢文学), and the only opportunity to hear readings of Chinese texts aloud in Chinese pronunciation (*ondoku* 音読) were the classroom readings (*kōdoku* 講読) of the *Honglou meng/Kōrōme* 紅樓夢 (Dream of the Red Chamber) given by Aoyagi Atsutsune 青柳篤恒 (1877-?), a prominent scholar of Chinese classical learning of the day, whose readings were said to have been fascinatingly beautiful to hear. Sanetō's graduation thesis was on the subject *Shina kaiishōsetsu ni arawareru unmeikan* 支那怪異小説に現われる運命観 (The Chinese View of Fate as Revealed in Tales of the Supernatural)—which still exists, preserved in the Sanetō Bunko 実藤文庫.

It was about this time that the Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Katagami Noburu 片上伸 (Katagami Tengen 片上天弦 [1884–1928]), whose specialty was Russian literature, showed Sanetō Chinese journal publications in vernacular Chinese presented in the work of Maruyama Kōichirō 丸山幸一郎 (Maruyama Konmei 丸山昏迷), a reporter for the *Pekin shūbō* 北京週報 (The Peking Weekly) edited by Fujiwara Kamae 藤原鎌兄 (1878–1953) and others. Although Maruyama died quite young in the 1920s, he had been quick to introduce to Japanese readers works written in vernacular Chinese by Lu Xun 魯迅 (Zhou Shuren 周樹人 [1881–1936]) and his younger brother Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967). Katagami also gave to Sanetō autographed copies of works by Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren, Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962) and others, some of which are also now preserved in the Sanetō Bunko. It is said that it was shortly after this that Sanetō happened to meet on the street Nakajima Hantarō 中島半太郎, principal of the Second Waseda High School Academy 早大第二早稻田高等学院, who told him that he ought to start writing literary works on the subject of China in which both Japanese and Chinese appear as characters. So Sanetō turned to writing and authored a play *Shibochi* 新発意 (The New Monk), which was published in the second issue of the *Sōdai kōtōgakujin gakyūyūkai zasshi* 早大高等学院学友会雑誌 (Journal of the Students' Association, Waseda University High School Academy) in July 1921. The play is about the tribulations that a young monk experiences and obviously reflects Sanetō's recollection of his own troubled mind when he was struggling with the decision to leave the religious life years before. Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 (1859–1935), professor of drama at Waseda University and, among other things, translator of Shakespeare, said that reading Sanetō's play was like meeting him in person.

In 1923, on the recommendation of Waseda University, Sanetō was appointed a teacher at the Takanawa Middle School, where he himself had studied soon after first coming to Tokyo, and there he probably taught Japanese (*kokugo* 国語) and classical Chinese (kanbun). A few years later during the summer vacation of 1926, he met his former teacher Haraguchi Tōtarō 原口統太郎 in Keijō 京城 (as Seoul was called during its years as the Japanese colonial capital of Korea), and then by train visited Fengtian 奉天 (the old name for Shenyang 瀋陽 in Liaoning), Jinan 濟南, Tianjin 天津, and Qingdao 青島. After this trip, he studied spoken Chinese in Peking and tried to buy all the new literature being written in vernacular Chinese he could find there.

In 1928 he became a teacher in the Second Waseda High School Academy, where he taught kanbun, and in the same year he also began studies at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages 東京外国語学校, where he majored in the special course in Chinese and from which he graduated in 1930. During this time he had a house in Ōmori-ku 大森区, Minami Senzoku-chō 南千束町 (present-day Ōta-ku), where he often invited Chinese overseas students to visit who were studying at the Tokyo Institute of Technology 東京工業大学 in Ōokayama 大岡山 and other places nearby. He used such opportunities to improve his spoken Chinese. He began taking out yearly subscriptions to the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* 申報, and—at variance with common contemporary Japanese usage—generally avoided the term *Shina* 支那 for China and said *Chūgoku* 中国 or *Chūka* 中華 instead. In the June 8 issue of the *Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun*, Sanetō published an article entitled “Chūka to yobō” 中華と呼ぼう (Let Us Call China “Chūka”). The *Shenbao* always

contained many advertisements for books written by Japanese which had been published in Chinese translations, and Sanetō began compiling a draft bibliography of such works. In October 1933, the results were published by the Nikka Gakkai 日華学会 (Japan-China Academic Society) as “Shinayaku no Nihon shoseki mokuroku” 支那訳の日本書籍目録 (Bibliography of Chinese Translations of Japanese Publications)” in the society’s journal.² Years later, Sanetō wrote:

When as overseas students Chinese learned the language of their host country, the first thing they did was translation. One can even say that it was for the purpose of learning how to translate that they became overseas students. For almost half a century I have been studying the phenomenon of Chinese translation of Japanese books. The reason why I began to study the phenomenon of Chinese overseas students in Japan was because I was first astonished at how many Japanese works had been translated and became greatly impressed when I found out who the translators were. The foundation of my research on overseas students is, in fact, my translations bibliography.³

Sanetō was encouraged shortly after the bibliography appeared to embark on a major study of Chinese overseas students in Japan by Takahashi Kunpei 高橋君平, then in charge of the Japan-China Academic Society (later professor at Kobe University), so Sanetō read Matsumoto Kamejirō’s 松本亀次郎 *Chūka ryūgakusei kyōiku shōshi* 中華留学生教育小史 (Short History of the Education of Chinese Overseas Students), which appeared as part of Matsumoto’s *Chūka gojūnichi yūki* 中華五十日遊記 (Travel Journal of Fifty Days in China) (Tōa Shoten, 1931) and Shu Xincheng’s 舒新城 *Jindai Zhongguo liuxue shi* 近代中国留學史 (History of Chinese Overseas Study During the Modern Era) (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1927), as well as gathering material from back issues of journals kept in the Waseda University library such as *Taiyō* 太陽 and *Chūō kōron* 中央公論. He also visited and interviewed people such as Nakajima Saishi 中島裁之 who had been involved in the education of Chinese overseas students during the Meiji era.

In 1935, Sanetō became a member of the Chūgoku Bungaku Kenkyūkai 中国文学研究会 (Chinese Literature Research Association), led by Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好 (1910–1977), thanks to an introduction from Takeda Taijun 武田泰淳 (1912–1976), prominent scholar and translator of modern Chinese literature. He also at this time became acquainted with Zhong Jingwen 鍾敬文 (1903–2002), the pioneer and foremost scholar of Chinese folk literature and folklore of the twentieth century, then engaged in research at Waseda University, and Zhong and he became close lifelong friends. From November 1936 until December 1938, Sanetō sent in draft portions of his *Chūgokujin Nihon ryūgaku shikō* 中国人留學史稿 (Draft History of Chinese Overseas Students in Japan), and these were edited together and published by the Nikka Gakkai in March 1939 in a not-for-sale edition (Sanetō 1993).

These were the war years, of course, and Peking had been occupied by Japan in 1937. From September 1938 until September 1939 Sanetō held an appointment as a Special Researcher in China, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cultural Affairs Department 外務省文化

事業部在支特別研究員, which allowed him to travel and study in occupied China. Before he settled in Peking in March 1939, he traveled extensively visiting Tianjin, Dalian 大連, Fengtian, Harbin, Nanjing, Shanghai, Xiamen 廈門 (Amoy), Shantou 汕頭, and Hong Kong, as well as other places in Guangdong 廣東. He had two objectives: experience Chinese life-style and buy books. In particular, he tried to collect five categories of books: (1) Travel journals written by Chinese who visited Japan, (2) Japanese language textbooks for Chinese, (3) Japanese works in Chinese translations, (4) Sinological works in Western languages, (5) Other works concerned with modern and contemporary Chinese culture. In all, he amassed some 4000 volumes, which later became the nucleus of the Sanetō Bunko collection. The journey through occupied China, in Sanetō's own words, followed a regular pattern: He was met in front of the railway station and taken by horse-drawn carriage to the best hotel in town, where he inquired about where the book stores were located, which he then scoured for items in the five above mentioned categories. He also tried to find and talk with Chinese who had been overseas students in Japan; those he did find included Tang Baoe 唐寶鏢, one of the first group of thirteen students sent to study in Tokyo in 1896, founder of the Chinese Bar Association, and Member of the National Legislative Assembly, Cao Rulin 曹汝霖 (1877–1966), former Minister of Communications under the early Republic of China and later a prominent banker, whose house was burned down for his pro-Japanese sympathies during the May 4, 1919, student demonstrations, Jin Bangping 金邦平, Director of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce during the early Republic, and Qian Daosun 錢稻孫 (1887–1966), prominent academic both under the early Chinese Republic and later Peoples' Republic, who had an eminent career in both medicine and literature, was a well-known translator of both Dante and the Japanese classics *Tale of Genji* 源氏物語 and *Man'yōshū* 万葉集, and finally was harassed to death during the Cultural Revolution. While in Beijing, Sanetō met and became close friends with Andō Kōsei 安藤更生 (1900–1970), scholar-disciple of the famous *waka* poet, painter, and calligrapher Aizu Yaichi 会津八一 (1881–1956), later professor of art history at Waseda University, and Satō Saburō 佐藤三郎 (1906–?), later professor at Yamagata 山形大学 and Kokushikan 国士舘大学 Universities. Sanetō also took advantage of his stay in Peking to collect specimens of Chinese paper 見本, about which he published *Kashi ruisen* 華紙類選 (Selected Types of Chinese Paper) (with co-author Antō Kōsei, privately published). He also soon published several works about his experiences in China: “Tō koro 糖葫蘆 (The Candy Bottle Gourd),” in *Shinjoen* 新女苑 (The New Woman's Garden),⁴ “Pekin no haru 北京の春 (Peking Spring),” in *Mustuki* 睦月 (The First Month),⁵ and *Kodomo Shina fudoki* こども支那風土記 (A Child's Topography of China).⁶ The titles and publishers of these works are significant, for all suggest an apolitical stance and estrangement from the Japanese war effort on the China mainland. Astute readers might even have come to the conclusion that his choice of subjects and publishing venues indicated a deliberate but veiled protest against the war—but, since he never said anything about this, we can only speculate.

In 1940, Matsumoto Kamejirō introduced Sanetō to a Chinese overseas student in Tokyo. Wang Xiangrong 汪向榮 (1920–?) later would become one of the most prolific and influential Chinese historians of Chinese-Japanese historical relations, the author of *Gudai de Zhongguo yu Riben* 古代的中國与日本 (China and Japan in Ancient Times)

(Beijing: Sanlian Shudian 三聯書店, 1989), among others, as well as becoming professor of history in the Institute of World History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He and Sanetō formed a close scholarly friendship that endured the years and the vicissitudes of political change. It was at this time that Sanetō began work on translating Huang Zunxian's 黃遵憲 (1848–1905) *Riben zashi shi/Nihon zatsuji shi* 日本雜事詩 (Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan), which was published three years later.⁷ And this project led him to another—acquiring records of brush talks (*bitan/hitsudan* 筆談) between early Meiji era Chinese literati and Japanese literati (*wenren/bunjin* 文人) kept by Ōkōchi Teruna 大河内輝声 (1848–1882), former lord of Takasaki domain 高崎藩, found at the Heirinji 平林寺, located in Nobidome 野火止, Saitama prefecture (Niiza City 新座市) on the north edge of Tokyo municipality. Huang Zunxian himself participated extensively in these brush talks, and they are a fascinating collection of primary source materials for the study of early modern Chinese-Japanese cultural relations.

Though it was now the height of the Pacific War, Sanetō still managed to work on works relating to these brush talks and related materials, though some had to wait years before publication: *Ōkōchi monjo* 大河内文書 (Sanetō 1964); *Huang Zunxian yu Riben youren bitan yigao* 黃遵憲與日本友人筆談遺稿 (Surviving Drafts of Brush Talks between Huang Zunxian and Japanese Friends), co-edited with Zheng Ziyu 鄭子瑜 (born 1916) (Sanetō and Zheng, 1968); and *Nihon zatsuji shi* 日本雜事詩 (Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan), by Huang Zunxian, translated jointly with Toyoda Minoru 豊田穰 (1912–1946) (Huang 1943 [1968]). He also translated Princess Der Ling's 德齡 *Seitaiko emaki* 西太后繪卷 (Picture Scroll of Empress Dowager Cixi) (Der Ling 1941).

The methodology characteristic of Sanetō's acquisition of research resources, their management, and exploration is especially well documented in the case of the *Ōkōchi monjo*, which also led to a second book, the *Huang Zunxian yu Riben youren bitan yigao*, both of which were closely connected with a third book project, the Japanese translation and annotation of Huang Zunxian's *Riben zashi shi*. Sanetō himself provides an account of how he first heard about the existence of the *hitsudan* (brush talks) exchanged among early Meijin *bunjin* and Chinese associated with the first Qing imperial embassy in Japan, as well as some Korean literati. Sanetō saved these brush talks, which had been collected and preserved by Ōkōchi Teruna, from obscurity, if not destruction, and finally used them as source material for new scholarship on a hitherto neglected but important area of the history of East Asian cultural exchange:

It came about that I called the collection of *hitsudan* (brush talks) collected by Ōkōchi Teruna the *Ōkōchi monjo*. What is the size of the *Ōkōchi monjo*? It is said that originally they amounted to one hundred volumes (*hyaku satsu* 百冊), for this is the amount given in the epitaph (*hibun* 碑文) written by Kamedani Seiken 亀谷省軒 [1838–1913] for Ōkōchi inscribed on his grave stele in the cemetery of the Heirinji 平林寺, located in Nobidome 野火止 (Kodaira City 小平市, northern edge of Tokyo municipality). This states that “in the family home there is preserved one hundred volumes of his *histuwa* 筆話 with Qing Chinese and Koreans.” But not that much now survives. We discovered these documents as follows.

It started from something I heard from the late Mr. Kondō Junjirō 近藤潤次郎, this in 1940, who told me: “I happened to read something that appeared in *Tōyō bunka* 東洋文化 (Oriental Culture) by Mr. Suzuki Yoshijirō 鈴木由次郎 (1901–1976), which states that the grave stele for poems composed by Huang Zunxian is at the Heirinji in Nobidome.” Since I had just been reading Huang Zunxian’s *Riben zashishi*, my interest was aroused, and so I thought I would like to go there to see it. For this, I had a helpful traveling companion, Mr. Imazeki Tenpō 今関天彭 (1882–1970), my colleague at Waseda, who had given me a place to stay on the very first night when I made my first trip to China in 1926. He knew that there was a wood stele at the Heirinji on which Matsudaira Nobutsuna 松平信綱 (1596–1662) had inscribed an encomium which praised the character and behavior of the Chan/Zen Master Duli/Dokuryū 獨立禪師.⁸ He said that he would like to make a trip there to see it, so we went together.

On July 4, the two of us entered the temple gate of the peaceful Heirinji, whose alternate temple name is Kinpōzan 金鳳山. The stone stele we were looking for turned out to be located behind the Buddha Hall 仏殿 and in front of the Main Hall 本堂. It was about four feet high in the shape of a cylinder, like a cigarette standing upright atop a match box. But indeed, incised into the stone was the “Grave Mound Stele To Commemorate Where Poetry Is Buried” (*Zangshi zhongbei yinzhi* 葬詩冢碑陰誌), which had been erected over the original burial site for the draft of *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan* in Huang Zunxian’s own calligraphy:

This is the grave mound for Gongdu’s 公度 poems. Gongdu’s surname is Huang and his given name is Zunxian. He is an Elevated Scholar (*juren* 舉人) [second degree holder] from Jiayingzhou 嘉應州, Aodong 奧東 [Guangdong], in Qing China. In the *dingchou/chōchū* 丁丑 year of Meiji [1877], he came as Counselor to the Legation (*Canzanguan* 參贊官) at the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo.

Sanetō translates this entire *kanbun* inscription into Japanese in the page and a half that follow,⁹ but for our purposes here, we need only consider the poem Huang composed as part of it:

For each scroll of poetry, oh, a handful of earth—
May the poetry and earth, oh, endure together forever.
We pray the gods, oh, guard and protect it,
The ghost of the buried poems, oh, on the banks of the Sumida.

The inscription ends with Ōkōchi Teruna identifying himself as the author and calligrapher of the inscription—with his studio name, Keikaku 桂閣 (Cassia Pavilion).

Sanetō then continues his narrative:

I found out from Mr. Imaseki that “Keikaku” referred to the father of Viscount (*Shishaku* 子爵) Ōkōchi Kikō 大河内輝耕, then current member of the House of Peers (Kizokuin 貴族院). But what did the lines in Huang’s poem, “We pray the

gods, oh, guard and protect it, / The ghost of the buried poems, oh, on the banks of the Sumida,” mean? For this place was Tobidome at Ōwada Village 大和田村, Kitaadachi County 北足立郡, Sakitama Prefecture, not at all in Tokyo Municipal Prefecture, and, more than that, quite far from the Sumida River. But since it was neither inside Tokyo nor near the Sumida River, what should we make of it? Mr. Imaseki and I talked about this puzzle as we walked in the evening sunlight toward Narimasu 成増 [in Itabashi Ward 板橋区] along the perfectly straight Number Ten Road, which ran in front of the Heirin Zen Temple.

I could not help being really intrigued by what “on the banks of the Sumida” could mean. Although I realized that it probably could be explained by asking Mr. Ōkōchi Kikō, I had no one who could provide me with an introduction to him. Ah! I had it! I would write a letter to him explaining my interest in all this. To my surprise, I received a reply in which he invited me to visit him at the Peerage Meeting House (Kazoku Kaikan 華族会館 [formerly known as the Rokumeikan 鹿鳴館]). When we met, he turned out to be of unusually small physical stature and extremely polite.

“That stone stele was originally located in Asakusa 浅草, Imado-machi 今戸町, Number 14 [now part of Sumida Park, established 1931]. However, when we moved to Yamanote 山の手, we considered that it was not impossible that the family could possibly move again sometime in the future, and later descendants might get rid of the stele, so especially important to my father, which would be unpardonable. Therefore, we had it taken to the Heirinji, where our family’s memorial tablets had been erected for generations.”

I then realized that “on the banks of the Sumida” was no mere literary exaggeration. When we turned our conversation to the *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects From Japan*, he said, “Although I have heard that this was something my father was fond of, up to now I have never read it. Besides that, when my father died, because I was only three years old, I never had the opportunity to meet with the China scholars of his acquaintance.”

My impressions of this conversation remained with me. Sometime later, my translations from *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects From Japan* appeared serially in *Chūgoku bungaku* 中国文学, and in 1943 the translation I completed with Toyoda Minoru 豊田穰, *Nihon zatsujishi*, was published by the Seikatsusha 生活社.

I immediately presented a copy to Mr. Ōkōchi Kikō, which pleased him greatly. I suppose this was because he had unexpectedly encountered something of sentimental value associated with his father.

It was then that he leaned toward me and took the initiative to say, “Actually, father liked to hold brush talks with people from Qing China, and these brush talks ought to be preserved at the Heirinji. Would you do me the favor of taking a look at them?”

“Of course, I should be grateful to be allowed to do so!”

“That being the case, since I shall write immediately to the Chief Priest to inform him of this, please go there for a look any time.”

I imagined that these brush talks would consist of only five or six sheets of paper.

Even so, what kinds of things would have been discussed in them? Since I did not know, I invited Toyoda to go with me out to Nobidome. That was on November 14 of that year, a Sunday. The translation of the *Nihon zatsuji shi* had been published on July 31, so more than three months passed before we did anything about it. One must understand that this was because we did not have any great expectations in the matter.

Well, we went for a look, and when we arrived at the temple, we were given a warm welcome, first of all by the former Chief Priest, more than ninety years old, Master Ōkuchi 大朽. The present Chief priest, Shirouzu Keizan 白水敬山 [1897–1975], then led us along passageways to the front of the earthen wall store house. The dimly lit passageways were lined with countless stacks of folded books.

When he said, “Here we are,” we stood there frozen in astonishment, for although we expected one little bundle of brush talks, what it turned out was a great number of finely stitched bound volumes! (It was only subsequent to this that I read in Kametani Seiken’s epitaph that “one hundred volumes of brush talks with Qing Chinese and Koreans are preserved in the family home.”)

Sanetō then narrates how many of the volumes were damaged by silverfish, damp and starting to mold—some in terrible condition. However, tobacco leaves had been placed between the pages, and this stopped the silverfish from devouring most of the texts inside the covers. He borrowed seven volumes on this first visit to the Heirinji to take away and copy, while noting the contents of others, most of which seem to be arranged chronologically, beginning in 1875 and ending in 1881. Seventy-four volumes in all survived intact of what originally seemed to have been ninety-four in total. Subsequent to this first visit, the brush talks were preserved in much better conditions, and no further damage seems to have occurred. The seven volumes Sanetō started with took him from November 1943, working whenever he had free time, until the autumn of 1944. He borrowed another six volumes then, this just at the time the B-29 raids had begun. Sanetō evacuated his family to Hiroshima prefecture but remained himself in Saginomiya, for he was then serving as a student worker mobilization (*kinrō dōin* 勤労働員) supervisor (*kantoku* 監督). He continued to copy the volumes every night behind blacked out windows under a single lamp, staving off the pains of hunger. While copying the brush talks, Sanetō found himself communing with those Chinese and Japanese of the Meiji era, identifying greatly with their mutual trust and respect, as he experienced the friendly atmosphere that emerged from what he read. Doing so, he was able to forget the war, forget his hunger. And, when the air raid sirens sounded, he would gather up the brush talks and, taking only those with him, go down in the shelter, where he and the brush talks remained safe.

When the war was over, rationing became even more severe, so much time had to be spent looking desperately for something to eat. However, even then Sanetō kept on copying the brush talks whenever he had the chance, so in October 1945 he finished the six volumes, and went again to the Heirinji to borrow more volumes. In this way, he kept on copying volumes for the next three years. He also began to publish article-length studies of the brush talks, Ōkōchi, Huang Zunxian, and the Meiji *bunjin* circle—some ten scholarly journal publications in all during this time—and he sent copies of everything to Ōkōchi Kikō, who

always expressed his great pleasure at receiving them, for Sanetō's efforts were rescuing his father's name from obscurity and making such valuable use of these source materials. It was about this time that Sanetō met Ōkōchi on an occasion when Ōkōchi suggested that all the volumes of brush talks be presented to Waseda University, but Sanetō opposed this for two reasons: (1) If donated to one particular university, scholars from other centers of learning would not have access to them; (2) They ought to stay at the Heirinji, which was the Ōkōchi family memorial temple, and preserved there along with the other Ōkōchi Teruna memorabilia. However, about two years later, except for the seventeen volumes Sanetō had then out on loan from the Heirinji, all the rest were moved to Daitō Bunka University 大東文化大学. He was given permission to donate those that he then had to Waseda University, where he continued to work on them. Of the rest, now at Daitō Bunka University, Sanetō was able to borrow and copy the few volumes that he had hitherto had not copied. However, still worried about the preservation of the brush talks, now kept in two different universities, it was not until 1958 that Sanetō was able to have them all microfilmed. Eventually, all volumes were moved to Waseda, where they remain today in the rare books collection. It was from these archival materials, of course, that Sanetō produced two books: *Ōkōchi monjo* (1964) and *Huang Zunxian yu Riben youren bitan yigao* (1968).

Concerning Sanetō's own personal library, toward the end of the war, when air raids on Tokyo intensified and the danger of fire threatened everything, the Tokyo Metropolitan government purchased important collections of books and evacuated them to outside the city for safekeeping. Sanetō's library was included in this scheme and it became the property of Tokyo Municipality at this time, later to become the Sanetō Bunko collection, housed in the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library 東京都立中央図書館. At this time, he lived in Saginomiya 鷺宮, and stayed at home without employment or duties of any kind but with much time to reflect on his life and work in Chinese studies. The only significant scholarly work he did at this time was overseeing the publication of his *Chūyaku Nichibunsho mokuroku* 中訳日本文書目録 (Bibliography of Chinese Translations of Japanese Works) (Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai [Society for the Promotion of International Culture], February 1945). However, sometime in March 1946, Sanetō's friend Uchiyama Motoi 内山基, editor for the Jitsugyō no Nihonsha 実業の日本社, started a new journal, *Shin Chūgoku* 新中国 (New China), together with another Waseda graduate, the writer and translator Andō Hikotarō 安藤彦太郎, which the Jitsugyō no Nihonsha published briefly—nineteen issues in all—until it ceased publication in January 1948, and Sanetō was heavily involved with its design and content. A few years later in March 1949, at the pilot meeting to found the Japan-China Friendship Society (Nitchū Yūkō Kyōkai 日中友好協会), it was Sanetō who actually proposed the term Nitchū 日中 as part of the name.

After the reform of the education system of April 1949, Waseda University was re-established under the new guidelines, and Sanetō, attached to the Faculty of Law, was responsible for duties also in the Faculty of Political Economy, the Faculty of Commercial Science, and the Faculty of Letters, while at the same time giving courses in Chinese language. He joined the Chinese Linguistics Research Association 中国語学研究会, promoted research in Chinese linguistics, and began translating Chinese works into Japanese, which included Huang Guliu 黄谷柳 (1909–1977) *Xiaqiuzhuan* 蝦球傳 (The Shrimp Ball Chronicles),

translated together with Shimada Masao 島田政雄 (1912-?) as the *Shiachū monogatari* 蝦球物語 (Sanichi Shobō, 1950), and Lao She's 老舍 (1899–1966) *Sishi tongtang/Shisei dōdō* 四世同堂 (Four Generations under One Roof), translated together with Suzuki Takurō 鈴木拙郎 (1898–1981) and others (Gesshō Shobō, 1951). He also soon published his *Gendai Chūgokugo nyūmon* (Introduction to Modern Chinese) (Sanichi Shobō, 1952) as well as the *Chūgoku shinbungaku hatten shi* 中国新文学発展史 (History of the Development of Modern Chinese Literature), authored jointly with Sanetō Tōshi 実藤遠 (1929-?) (Sanichi Shobō, 1955).

About this time Sanetō, as he said later in his *Nitchū hiyūkō no rekishi* 日中非友好の歴史 (History of Japanese-Chinese Enmity) (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1973), began thinking: “Neither worshipping with servility the China of before the Sino-Japan War of 1895 nor regarding China with the arrogance as we did after that war, why should we not now travel the road of mutual friendship based on equality?” It was in this frame of mind that he returned again to the study of Chinese overseas students in Japan, reworked his earlier work on this same subject that he had published in 1939, and turned it into an academic thesis, *Chūgoku ryūgakusei shi no kenkyū* 中国留学生史の研究 (Research Into the History of Chinese Overseas Students), for which he was awarded the Ph.D. degree in literature by Waseda University in 1960. This material he immediately reworked yet again and published as a book, *Chūgokujin Nihon ryūgaku shi* 中国日本留学史 (Kuroshio Shuppan, 1960). A few years earlier, Sanetō, together with the prominent Korean historian Hon Soochan 洪淳昶 (1917-?), Matsui Daisaku 松井大作, and Ogawa Hiroshi 小川博, published the *Nihon yaku Chūgokusho mokuroku* (Bibliography of Japanese Translations of Chinese Works) (Tokyo; Nihon Gakusei Hōsō Kyōkai, 1956), which indicates his continuing interest in the value of the scholarly bibliography as the foundation for scholarly research. Sanetō's significant contributions to the study of Chinese language in Japan was recognized in 1960 when he was selected as a member of a three-man delegation, *Chūgoku moji kaikaku kōsatsu Nihon gakujutsu daihyōdan* 中国文字改革考察日本学術代表团 (Japanese Academic Delegation to Study the Reform of Chinese Characters) to the Peoples' Republic of China). The delegation worked for the most part in Beijing, and the other two members were the modern Tanka poet Toki Zenmaro 土岐善麿 (1885–1980), who also wrote under the name Toki Aika 土岐哀果, and the lexicographer Kuraishi Takeshirō 倉石武四郎 (1897–1975). This was Sanetō's third trip to China, under very different circumstances from both his first trip in 1926 to Peking during the Chinese warlord era and his second stay there during 1938–1939 in Japanese occupied China. His presence in this delegation was the result of both his long-standing interest in Japan-China cultural relations and his own commitment to language reform in Japan, about which he wrote and lobbied extensively. Works he published about the Japanese language include “Nihon no tōyōkanji to Chūgoku no jōyōkanji 日本の当用漢字と中国の常用漢字 (Essential Chinese Characters in Japanese and Common Use Chinese Characters in Chinese),” *Nihon bungaku ronkō* 日本文学論攷 3 (1954); *Nihongo no junketsu no tame ni* 日本語の純潔のために (For the Sake of the Purity of the Japanese Language) (Tanro Shobō, 1956; Sanichi Shobō, 1957); “Yokogaki e no nagai michi 横書きへの長い途 (The Long Road to Writing Horizontally),” *Musashino Joshi Daigaku kiyō* 武蔵野女子大学紀要 5 (1970), 120–132. He himself began writing and having his name printed

only in *kana*, さねとうけいしゅう, to indicate his authorship of books and articles—this during the Japanese language reform era and afterward—thereby indicating his support for increased use of *kana* over *kanji* in education and popular culture. It should also be noted in this connection that in his later life he took to composing *tanka* poetry entirely in *kana*.

In March 1967, Sanetō reached compulsory retirement age and so after thirty-nine years associated with Waseda University he had to relinquish his formal relationship with it. However, he remained active in academe, first as professor at Seitoku Gakuen Junior College and later at Musashino Women's University, where he served as professor until his death in 1985. He also remained an energetic and prolific scholar, returning first to Japan-China cultural relations history, work that resulted in his *Kindai Nitchū kōshō shiwa* 近代日中交渉史話 (Historical Narrative of Modern Japan-China Relations) (Shunjūsha) published in 1973. In December 1979 Sanetō was invited to the Chinese University of Hong Kong to participate in the “International Symposium on Japan-China Cultural Relations,” where his contributions to this area of scholarship were richly acknowledged by Chinese and Western colleagues. His own paper was entitled “Nihon oyobi Chūgoku ni okeru ryūgaku to honyaku 日本および中国における留学と翻訳 (Overseas Study and translation in Japan and China).” This symposium also gave him the opportunity to renew old friendships with Hon Soochan, Marius Jansen (1922–2000), Donald Keene, Chen Jinghe 陳荊和, Lin Qiyan 林啓彦, and Tan Ruqian 譚汝謙 (Tam Yue-him), among others. It was Tam Yue-him who subsequently collaborated with Sanetō and Lin Qiyan to produce the *Zhongguo yi Ribenshu zonghe mulu* 中國譯日本書總和目錄 (Comprehensive Bibliography of Chinese Translations of Japanese Books) and the *Riben yi Zhongguoshu zonghe mulu* 日本譯中國書總和目錄 (Comprehensive Bibliography of Japanese Translations of Chinese Books), two works published by both the Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1982, and Beijing: Sanlian shudian 三聯書店, 1983.

During the summer of 1984, his health still good, Sanetō began to plan another trip to China, during which he expected to meet with his old friends Zhong Jingwen and Wang Xiangrong, but in July the results of a physical examination put an end to such plans and in November he went into hospital, to die there the following January. However, during the few months left to him he completed the draft of his *Nitchū yūkō hyakka* 日中友好百花 (A Hundred Blossoms of Japan-China Friendship), which was published shortly after he died in May 1985. So this, his last book, saw him working right up to the end. After his death, the Government of Japan awarded Sanetō the *Kun yontō kyokujitsu shōjushō* 勳四等旭日小綬章 (Fourth Order of Merit of the Rising Sun). His grave is located in the precincts of the Hōyūji 法融寺 in Nerima-ku 練馬区. The Hōyūji is a True Pure Land temple of the same lineage as the temple in Higashino at which Sanetō was ordained as a priest so many years earlier; in an odd way, and with many detours, his life had come full circle.

Sanetō's historical works are shaped essentially by meticulous text-based research and graceful and accurate translation. He works from the small to the large, that is, from the historical experience of individuals to observations and judgments concerning larger significant trends, and in the process creates narratives of genuine literary as well as historical interest. My own work on Huang Zunxian and his relations with early Meiji era *bunjin* has profited immensely from Sanetō's studies of Huang, Ōkōchi Teruna, and their brush talks, and the

literary circle that they formed, as well as early Meiji intellectual history. His scholarship is essential to understanding this particular corner of Chinese literary and cultural history and the story of early modern Japan-China cultural relations. The fact that Sanetō was trained as a historian of literature shows throughout his historical writings. He largely lets texts, whether originally in Chinese or Japanese, speak for themselves in translation or direct quotation, and works from presentation of them to analysis, insight and conclusion. Instead of trying first to impose some theoretical or ideological scheme on data—making the data say what theory or ideology predicts the data ought to say—he approaches texts and sources with an open mind and allows them to shape their own narratives. Often readers are also left, in part at least, to form their own conclusions. During the height of Japanese militarism this kind of scholarly approach served him well, for it allowed him to continue writing, while contributing nothing to the Japanese war effort in China, and, not the least important, it kept him out of trouble with the authorities—who must have been disappointed in the results of the year's support they gave him to travel and study in China. His historical narratives are thus probably of greater interest and value to students of literary and cultural history and less likely to attract the attention of those whose interests are more concerned with the large social, political, and economic forces that supposedly shape history. My own interests coincide with Professor Sanetō's, of course, and so I am much gratified to have had this opportunity to reassess his work in the context of this inquiry into historiography and historical consciousness in Japan.

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NOTES

¹ The following biographical material is based mostly on information presented in Ogawa Hiroshi 小川博, “Kaisetsu” 解説, in *Chūgokujin Nihon ryūgaku shikō* 1993, pp. 6–11.

² *Nikka gakubō* 日華學報 43 (1933).

³ Sanetō 1985, p. 49.

⁴ Sanetō 1939b. This magazine appeared with an English subtitle, *For Elegant Hi-Teen*, on its cover.

⁵ Sanetō 1939a.

⁶ Sanetō 1943.

⁷ See Lynn 1998, Lynn 2003a, and Lynn 2003b.

⁸ Duli was a monk from Hangzhou and Ming loyalist, who would not live under Manchu rule, so he fled to Japan. Sanetō has it that his name in Japanese should be read Dokuryū.

⁹ *Suegaki* (Postface), Sanetō 1964, pp. 230–231.