"Literature" (*bungaku*) and "The Novel" (*shōsetsu*) as Book Classifications in Modern Japan and China

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1. Introduction: Situating the Problem

How have the worlds of academia and culture been built, and what changes have they undergone? It is in the history of book classification that we find perhaps the most symbolic reflection of these frameworks and their overall image. In this paper, I try to think through the concept of book classification as it was examined and repeatedly refined in the academic communities of Japan and China, as they underwent a major paradigm shift with "modernization" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with particular reference to the categorical position of "literature" (*bungaku*) and "the novel" (*shōsetsu*).

The Tenth Revised Edition of the *Nippon Decimal Classification* (*Nihon jisshin bunruihō*, NDC),(1) now in standard use in Japanese libraries, as is well known, is divided as a whole into ten categories, namely "000 General, 100 Philosophy, 200 History, 300 Social sciences, 400 Natural sciences, 500 Technology and engineering, 600 Industry and commerce, 700 Arts, 800 Language, and 900 Literature." Examining "900 Literature" in the context of this systematized and grouped intellectual world, we find that it is further classified, following a policy in which "works of literature are classified by the language of their original composition, then according to literary form, and then further by period for literature in specific languages." Following the general "Literature" category, we arrive firstly at the category of "910 Nipponese [or Japanese] Literature." Within this category, for example, the call number "913" corresponds to the classification of "*shōsetsu*, *monogatari*," which is itself subdivided into sections that, beginning with the ancient Japanese myths of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, are arranged by genre in chronological order as *monogatari bungaku* (tale literature), *uta monogatari* (poem tales), *setsuwa monogatari* (anecdotal tales), *rekishi monogatari* (historical tales), *gunki monogatari* (war tales), *otogi-zōshi* (illustrated Muromachi prose narratives), *yomihon* ("books for reading," a subgenre of Edo narratives), and then modern *shōsetsu* novels. While objections can be raised against the idea of thus conceiving of everything from the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* through to the modern novel within the terms of a single framework, what is important here is to repeatedly ask ourselves how these categories actually imbricate and intersect with each other, and how these imbrications and intersections have been thought of in the past, as we continue investigating the conceptual history of the category of "literature" as a contemporary issue.(2) It is also worth noting that the referent of the NDC call number "913" ("*shōsetsu*, *monogatari*") is officially glossed in English as "Fiction. Romance. Novel." There is no need to point out here that the Japanese terms *shōsetsu* and *monogatari* and the English category corresponding to "Fiction. Romance. Novel" are not generally in complete accord with one another. However, if we keep in mind that the conceptual categories of *shōsetsu* and *monogatari*, as they are commonly understood today, have been reorganized and "overwritten" in academic and

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(1) Originally compiled by Mori Kiyoshi and revised by the Nihon Toshokan Kyōkai Bunrui Iinkai kaitei. Japan Library Association, December 2014.

(2) Tanikawa Kei'ichi, in his article "Janru no hon'yaku [Genre Translation]" (first published 1998; collected in *Rekishi no buntai shōsetsu no sugata*: *Meiji-ki ni okeru gensetsu no sai-hensei* [Figure of the Historically Styled Novel: The Reorganization of Discourse in the Meiji Period] Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1998) investigates the "reconsideration and reorganization of the discursive divisions among Japanese, Chinese, and Western categories" in the Meiji period from the perspective of "textual classification," offering a detailed argument for the appearance of "literature" as a genre in which "poetry" and "novels" are included.

cultural encounters with the West, as we continue to interrogate their meaning, this should eventually lead us to a discussion of the contemporary challenge posed by a shared East Asian literary sphere.

The NDC follows "910 Nipponese Literature" with the category of "920 Chinese Literature," which, in the same manner as the former, features the lower-order classification of "923 *shōsetsu*, *monogatari* [Fiction. Romance. Novel]." This is further divided into "923.4 Qin Dynasty, Han Dynasty, Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties (Six Dynasties), and Sui and Tang Dynasties: *Soushen ji*, *Mingxiang ji*, *Bowuzhi*, *Shishuo Xinyu*, *Youxianku*," "923.5 Five Dynasties, Song Dynasty, Yuan Dynasty, and Ming Dynasty: *Jiandeng xinhua*, *San guo zhi yan yi*, *Shui hu zhuan*, *Xi you ji*, *Jin ping mei*, *Jin gu qi guan*," "923.6 Qing Dynasty: *Xihujiahua*, *Rouputuan*, *Liaozhai Zhiyi*, *Rulin Waishi*, *Hong lou meng*," and "923.7 Modern: From the Republican Period Onwards." As in the case of Japan, we see that works featuring a variety of genres, contents, and characters have been brought together and arranged under the heading "*shōsetsu*, *monogatari* [Fiction. Romance. Novel]." What I wish to take up as a problem here is that notwithstanding the existence in China of almost two thousand years of bibliographic tradition and history of book classification, dating from the publication of the "*Yiwenzhi* [Treatise on Literature]" that serves as the bibliographic section of the *Hanshu* [Book of Han], the literature of China is systematically categorized according to the same criteria as used for "Japanese Literature," "English and American Literature," "German Literature," "French Literature," and others. For example, among the titles noted above, arranged under the heading of "*shōsetsu*, *monogatari*" for the Qin to Sui and Tang Dynasties, the "*Jingjizhi* [Treatise on Bibliography]" contained in the *Sui Shu* ("The Book of Sui") lists the *Soushen ji* ("In Search of the Sacred" compiled by Gan Bao in the Eastern Jin Dynasty) and *Mingxiang ji* ("Signs from the Unseen Realm" compiled by Wang Yan in the Qi dynasty) under "*shibu-zazhuan* [History / Miscellaneous Biographies]," the *Bowuzhi* ("Records of Diverse Matters" compiled by Zhang Hua in the Western Jin dynasty) under "*zibu-zajia* [Masters and Philosophers / Eclectics], and the *Shishuo Xinyu* ("A New Account of the Tales of the World" compiled by Liu Yiqing in the Liu Song dynasty) under "*zibu-xiaoshuojia* [Masters and Philosophers / Anecdotalists]." As has long been recognized, and as used here, the term *shōsetsu* (*xiaoshuo*) refers not to novels in the sense of fiction or romance, but rather "vernacular tales from the city streets and back alleys."(3) Also, the *Youxianku* ("Dalliance in the Immortal's Den" written by Zhang Zhuo in the Tang dynasty), although lost to obscurity in China to the point that it was not even included in the old bibliographies, was brought to Japan in the eighth century, where it had a major impact, and remained as a "surviving lost text" (*itsuzonsho*). Thus, the texts that the NDC lists as China's earliest "*shōsetsu*, *monogatari*" are works that were conceived of in premodern China as being respectively divided among separate categories, and also include "ignored" or "forgotten" works that went unrecorded in the Chinese bibliographies or academic and cultural histories. Accordingly, the problem I would like to take up in this paper is how Japanese book classification, which reorganized and reconfigured this world of books using the frameworks of modern thought, also became deeply involved in the formation of book classification and academic concepts in modern China.

Premodern Japan was hugely influenced by China, from which it learned the frameworks and systems that were at the core of the formation of its academic thought and culture. Books are perhaps the most symbolic legacy attesting to the trajectory of this academic and cultural evolution. However, since the advent of the modern era, Japan has grown apart from China, against which its own academic and cultural development had previously been defined; in order to incorporate and cope with the Western intellectual world and its academic systems, Japan undertook drastic organizational reforms – reforms that also extended to the Chinese bibliographic systems that had been amassed in Japan up to that point. Subsequently, this wave now rushed from Japan to China, as well. How to understand the academic and cultural frameworks and systems that have been thus reorganized and overwritten, even up to the present day, and how to pass these on to future generations, remains a shared challenge for Japan and China, and perforce for East Asia as a whole. In the following sections, after first examining ideas and studies of modern book classification and books in Japan and then China, as well as several materials pertaining primarily to the categories

(3) As categorized in the *Sui shu* "Jingjizhi," these are the writings of "*zibu-xiaoshuojia* [Masters and Philosophers / Anecdotalists]." See Kōzen Hiroshi and Kawai Kōzō, *Zuisho keisekishi shōkō* [A Detailed Study of the Bibliography in the History of the Suí] (Kyūko Shoin, 1995).

of “literature” (*bungaku*) and “the novel” (*shōsetsu*), I would like to zero in on an issue encapsulated by the notion of an East Asian literary sphere.

2. “Literature” and “The Novel” as Book Classification Categories in Modern Japan

In Japan, unlike China, no distinct book classification method came to be established in the premodern period. Also, aside from the *Honchō Shojaku Mokuroku* (compiled between approximately 1277 and 1294), no other general catalogs dealing with Japanese texts exist that can be dated to the medieval period or earlier. By the early modern period, however, a variety of catalogs began to be created, some of which appeared featuring the categorical classification of “*shōsetsu*.”

The category “*shōsetsu*” is set out in the first volume of the *Gōrui shojaku mokuroku taizen* [Great Compendium of Book Catalogs], compiled by Tada Kanbē (12 volumes, issued 1801), under which are listed Japanese translations of vernacular fiction (so-called *hakuwa* shōsetsu) imported from Ming- and Qing-dynasty China, such as the *Chūgi Suikoden* (translated by Okajima Kanzan) and *Chūgi Suikoden kai* (translated by Suyama Nantō) – both Japanese editions of the *Shui hu zhuan* [The Water Margin] – and the collections *Shōsetsu seigen* [Essential Short Stories] and *Shōsetsu kigen* [Strange Short Stories] (both translated and annotated by Oka Hakku), and *Shōsetsu suigen* [Perfect Short Stories] (translated and annotated by Sawada Issai). While the stimulation provided by these vernacular stories eventually led to the production of works, such as Tsuga Teishō’s *Hanabusa-zōshi* and Ueda Akinari’s *Ugetsu Monogatari*, in which one can certainly see the link with the current book classification that broadly lumps together the categories of “*shōsetsu*,” “*monogatari*,” and “*sōshihon*,” the internal composition of the “*shōsetsu*” category is naturally more complicated than this suggests.

In the Meiji period, the Shoseki-kan (“Books Institute”), the forerunner of the current National Diet Library, was founded in 1872, later changing its name in 1880 to the Tokyo Library, which in 1883 issued the *Tokyo Toshokan Wakan-sho bunrui mokuroku* [Tokyo Library Catalog of Japanese and Chinese Books]. At the time, this catalog was broadly divided into two sections dealing respectively with “Japanese books” and “Chinese books.” According to the catalog’s introductory notes, it was intended as a catalog encompassing only old books predating the Meiji period, excluding “the category consisting of academic books from Japan, China, or the West, or translations thereof,” which “shall be listed in the Catalog of New Books.” [和漢共泰西ノ学術ニ関シ又ハ其書ヲ訳セシモノ、類ハ之ヲ新書目録ニ編ス] Moreover, these classifications, which had been created “according to the findings of the editor” [編者ノ所見ニ任（せて）] were defined as follows.

Japanese books: Shintō texts, Japanese history, miscellaneous history, biography (incl. genealogy), political works, annals, military books (incl. strategy), Confucian texts (incl. lessons and commentaries on Confucius), medical books, commentaries, agricultural treatises (incl. production and engineering), astronomy (incl. arithmetic and divination), geography (incl. travelogues), waka poetry, classical Japanese-style prose (*wabun*), poetry and prose (*shibun*), calligraphy, music and games, character dictionaries, categorical dictionaries (incl. series and catalogs), fiction (*shōsetsu*), miscellaneous books
神書／国史／雑史／伝記附系譜／政書／記録／武家附兵法／儒書附教訓子解／医書／釈書／農書附物産土木／天文附算法卜筮／地理附紀行／和歌／和文／詩文／文墨金石／音楽遊技／字書／類書附叢書目録／小説／雑書

Chinese books: Classics, official history, miscellaneous history, biography, political works, Confucian texts, military texts, medical texts, commentaries (incl. Daoist texts), agricultural books, philosophy, astronomy (incl. arithmetic and divination), geography, poetry (*shi* and *fu*), essays, fine arts, character dictionaries, categorical dictionaries (incl. series and catalogs), fiction (*shōsetsu*), miscellaneous books
経書／正史／雑史／伝記／政書／儒家／兵家／医家／釈家附道書／農家／諸子／天文附算法占緯／地理／詩賦／文章／芸術／字書／類書附叢書目録／小説／雑書

The classification of Chinese books was based on the traditional “four-category” (*sibu*) classificatory scheme

used in China, while the classification for Japanese books, although largely congruent with the Chinese scheme, could be said to have undergone some refinements in order to adapt to Japan's particular circumstances, as with the replacement of "Classics" with "Shintō texts" and the addition of "waka poetry" and "classical Japanese-style prose (*wabun*)." Nevertheless, when I tried comparing the four-fold classification scheme, the category that ended up being positioned significantly outside the framework was none other than that of "*shōsetsu*." In the context of China's traditional four-fold classification scheme of the classics (*jingbu*), histories (*shibu*), "Masters and Philosophers" (*zibu*), and *belles-lettres* (*jibu*), "*xiaoshuo* (=*shōsetsu*)" exists as a sub-classification within the Masters and Philosophers category. In this light, in the context of the above classification, it should be positioned somewhere around "astronomy." So why has it been relocated to near the end of the list? The category of "miscellaneous books" that follows "*shōsetsu*" is a classification that includes "items difficult to place in the other categories [他ノ類目中ニ収メガタキモノ]" ("Table of Contents"). The category of "*shōsetsu*" was positioned between "miscellaneous books" and edited compilations of variegated content represented by "categorical dictionaries" (*ruiji-sho*) and "series" (*sōsho*). This positioning seems to be a product of the "judgment" of modern intellectuals, confronting circumstances in which a variety of *shōsetsu* were appearing, that could not be reconciled with what at the time was the conventional concept of "*shōsetsu*" (i.e., within the four-category classificatory scheme). Despite efforts to lump these together in the classification of "*shōsetsu*," they had already metamorphosed into something characterized by a new aspect, a new concept that was already felt to be "difficult to reconcile" with the "Masters and Philosophers" category.

The "Table of Contents" of the 1883 catalog adds the following explanation for the classification of "*shōsetsu*" in the context of Chinese books:

> This category contains gossip, trivia, romances, and legends like *Shan hai jing* ("The Classic of Mountains and Seas"), *Yi jian zhi* ("Record of the Listener"), *Xuanhe yi shi* ("Anecdotes from the Xuanhe Reign"), *San guo zhi yan yi* ("Romance of the Three Kingdoms"), *Shui hu zhuan* ("The Water Margin"), *Xixiang ji* ("The Story of the Western Wing"), and Tao hua shan ("The Peach Blossom Fan").
> [異聞瑣記演義伝奇ノ類ニシテ山海経、夷堅志、宣和遺事、演義三国志、水滸伝、西廂記、桃花扇等ノ如キモノ]

With regard to the classification of "*shōsetsu*" among Japanese books, it states:

> Books like *Kojidan* ("Talks on Ancient Matters"), *Hyaku-monogatari* ("One Hundred Stories"), *Ehon Soga monogatari* ("The Illustrated Tale of the Soga Brothers"), *Ehon Taikōki* ("Illustrated Chronicles of the Regent"), *Satomi hakkenden* ("The Eight Dogs of the House of Satomi"), *Ehon tsūzoku Sangoku-shi* ("The Romance of the Three Kingdoms in Vernacular Language"), *Shinpen Suikogaden* ("New Illustrated Edition of the Water Margin"), and *Hizakurige* ("Shank's Mare").
> 古事談、百物語、絵本曽我物語、絵本太閤記、里見八犬伝、絵本通俗三国志、新編水滸画伝、膝栗毛等ノ類

While the latter category lists only book titles, with no wording to explain the judgment criteria, *Kojidan* is placed at the start of the list, which includes so-called *setsuwa*-type stories. However, the *Konjaku monogatari-shū* ("A Collection of Tales of Long Ago") and the *Uji shūi monogatari* ("Tales Gleaned from Uji") are considered not "*shōsetsu*" but rather "classical Japanese-style prose (*wabun*)." This category is explained in the 1883 classification scheme as "*monogatari*" tales and *sōshi* stories as well as journals, epistolary literature, and correspondence [物語草子及ヒ日記消息往来ノ類] ("Table of Contents"), and so it seems that the *Konjaku monogatari-shū* and the *Uji shūi monogatari* are thus categorized as "*monogatari*" in the context of this catalog.

The Tokyo Library subsequently went on to issue the *Tokyo Toshokan Wakan-sho bunrui mokuroku kōhen* [Tokyo Library Catalog of Japanese and Chinese Books, vol. 2] (1885), followed in 1889 with the first volume of the *Tokyo Toshokan zōkasho mokuroku: Wakansho-no-bu* [Tokyo Library Catalog of Newer Holdings: Japanese and

Chinese Books] (hereinafter, *Zōkasho mokuroku*). In the latter, which “generally dealt with books published in the Meiji period, especially those relating to Western science [概ネ明治以後ノ著訳出版ニ係リ特ニ西洋ノ学術ニ関スルモノヲ多シトス]” (“Introductory Note”), Japanese books and Chinese books were not treated separately, but rather listed in the context of one identical classification scheme. While the same “Introductory Note” explained that this “catalog compilation method generally follows the style of conventions for Western catalogs, while compromising with the old conventions for Japanese and Chinese books [目録編纂法ハ概ネ西洋書目ノ体例ニ倣ヒ傍和漢ノ旧例ヲ折衷],” the *Zōkasho mokuroku* also establishes the new eight-category classificatory scheme for classifying new books written and published mainly during the Meiji period.

> 1) Shintō Texts and Religion; 2) Philosophy and Education; 3) Literature and Languages; 4) History, Biography, Geography, and Travelogues; 5) Law, Society, Economics and Statistics; 6) Mathematics, Science, and Medicine; 7) Engineering, Military, Arts, and Industry; 8) Categorical Dictionaries, Series, Miscellaneous Books, Magazines, and Newspapers

I would also like to draw particular attention to the following passage in the “Introductory Note”:

> For convenience, the style of conventions for Chinese books, in some cases, does not impose the classificatory scheme of the *Siku Zongmu* [Annotated Catalog]. Namely, “Classics” and “Philosophers” are treated as “Philosophy” and the *Meng qiu* (“Inquiries of the Ignorant”) is treated as “Biography.”
> 漢書ハ体例ヲ四庫総目ニ執ラズ便宜分類セシモノアリ。即チ経書諸子ヲ哲学類ニ蒙求ヲ伝記類ニ採録セシガ如キ是レナリ。

Here the conventional four-category classificatory scheme for “Chinese books” has reached the point of being replaced with this new system. And “*shōsetsu*” are now positioned as a subcategory of “3) Literature.”(4) This is where “*shōsetsu*” becomes a constituent of “Literature.”(5) For example, in this catalog, the *Jiandeng Xinhua* (“New Stories Told While Trimming the Wick”; compiled by Qu You in the Ming dynasty) is listed under the classification of “3) Literature and Languages / a) Literature / 10) Novels (*shōsetsu*) / b) Foreign novels,” along with *Hachijū nichikan sekai isshū* (Jules Verne’s *Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* or “Around the World in 80 Days”) and *Keikoku bidan* (“Inspiring Tales of Statesmanship” selected and translated by Yano Fumio [Ryūkei]). This suggests the progression of the work of leaving behind China’s exceptional status as a homeland, so-to-speak, and acknowledging and positioning Chinese works (like the *Jiandeng Xinhua*) as “literature” and “*shōsetsu*.”(6)

In 1897, the Tokyo Library was renamed as the Imperial Library, which from 1900 to 1907 issued the *Zōtei Teikoku Toshokan Wakan tosho bunrui mokuroku* [Revised Imperial Library Classification Catalog for Japanese and Chinese Books] for the individual categories. This followed the eight-category classificatory scheme of the *Zōkasho mokuroku*, and the volume on the “Literature and Languages Category” came into print in 1907. Although an “Introductory Note” in this volume claims it to be a “comprehensive compilation and record of books in the Literature and Languages Category held by the Library as of the end of 1899 [明治三十二年末現在ノ本館所蔵図書中 文学及語学二属スルモノヲ悉ク収録編纂],” I wish to draw attention to the fact that here a catalog has appeared in which old books (classic texts) from before the Meiji period are all classified and arranged according to the same criteria as new books from the Meiji period onwards. This means that not only the aforementioned “newer holdings,” but all books (from all countries and from all periods) have been summarized into a single comprehensive system. Accord-

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(4) The subcategories of “Literature” consist of 1) General; 2) Mixed Poetry and Prose; 3) Chinese Texts; 4) Japanese Texts; 5) Essays; 6) Poetry Collections; 7) Song Collections; 8) Poetics; 9) Treatises and Oratory; 10) Novels (*Shōsetsu*); 11) Catalogs.

(5) Tanikawa Kei’ichi points out that the genre of “Literature” is found as early as 1880 in Part 7 of the “New Books and Western Books Section” of the “Tokyo Library Classification” (within which is included the subcategory of “novels [*shōsetsu*] and poetry [*haikai*]”). See the reference in note 2.

(6) The *Bai chuan shu zhi* compiled by Gao Ru in the Ming dynasty includes a notation classifying the *Jiandeng Xinhua* under “Chronicles and Minor Histories.”

ing to the "Introductory Note," this "compilation method differs slightly from conventional classification practices [編纂法ハ分類設目上従来ノモノト稍〻其方法ヲ異ニ（して）]" by broadly establishing "a six-category scheme for literature beginning with 'General' then 'Japanese Literature,' 'Chinese Literature,' Western Literature,' 'Novels (*shōsetsu*),' and 'Oratory and Discourse' [文学ニ在テハ先ヅ総記、日本文学、支那文学、欧米文学、小説、演説及論説、書目ノ六類]." Here, the category of "*shōsetsu*" is positioned as a primary constituent of "Literature" and is also allocated the most coverage,(7) manifesting itself as the paramount presence in the category of "Literature." Here "*shōsetsu*" are further broken down into "1) general; 2) *monogatari*; 3) *otogizōshi*; 4) *ukiyozōshi* (books of the floating world); 5) *sharebon* (witty books); 6) *kusazōshi* (popular woodblock-printed, illustrated Edo literature); 7) *yomihon* (reading books); 8) *jitsurokutai shōsetsu* (realistic novels); 9) *ninjōbon* (books about human feelings); 10) *kokkeibon* (humorous books); 11) *hanashibon* (story collections); 12) allegory; 13) satire; 14) modern novels; 15) novels in translation; and 16) Chinese *shōsetsu* (=*xiaoshuo*)." For example, the *Kojidan* and *Kokon Chomonjū* ("A Collection of Notable Tales Old and New") are classified as "8 *jitsurokutai shōsetsu*" (The *Konjaku monogatari-shū* and *Uji shūi Monogatari* are still classified as "*wabun*" in the "Japanese literature" category). Also, the subcategory of "16) Chinese *shōsetsu* (=*xiaoshuo*)" is further subdivided into "a) General Accounts; b) Love Stories and Romances; c) Gossip, Strange Tales, Esoterica, Tales of Deities and Immortals; e) Comic Stories; and e) Chinese *shōsetsu* (=*xiaoshuo*)," with the *Soushen ji* and *Mingxiang ji* mentioned at the beginning classified as "c) Gossip, Strange Tales, Esoterica, Tales of Deities and Immortals" and the *Youxianku* under "b) Love Stories and Romances."(8)

The situation of "*shōsetsu*" and its positioning, moreover, as something with a sense of centrality, represents an extremely significant departure when we consider the classificatory concepts of the Chinese catalogs that described *shōsetsu* as no more than the "street talk" of "shrewd operators" (as in the "Yiwenzhi" of the *Han shu*). However, in the Chinese context, the "*shōsetsu* (=*xiaoshuo*)" category encompassed works of a variety of characters, including genres, such as miscellanies, written essays, romances, and vernacular novels, and its inherent conceptual framework was continuing to transform and expand. Hence, the classificatory catalog of the Imperial Library and the "discovery" of Chinese "*shōsetsu*" that had been transmitted to, and survived in, Japan served, in part, as mechanisms in a major shift within the scholarly and cultural apparatus of book classification in China.

3. Japan and the State of Chinese Library Science at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

The classificatory system of the *Zōtei Teikoku Toshokan Wakan tosho bunrui mokuroku* was transmitted to China soon after its introduction in the pages of *Toshokan shōshiki* [Understanding Libraries; 1915] compiled by the Japan Library Association (founded in 1908) as "something now regarded as a model by a great many of Japan's libraries [目今我国図書館の多数によりて模範視せらるる者]." Two years after its publication in Japan, *Toshokan shōshiki* was published in China in an edited translation prepared by the Popular Education Research Association (*Tongsu jiaoyu yanjiu hui*) (as *Tu shu guan xiao shi*, 1917), and another edited translation was published the following year, edited and translated by Gu Shi (*Tu shu guan zhi nan* [A Guide to Libraries], 1918).(9) The publication of *Shi jie tu shu fen lei fa* [Book Classification Methods of the World] (1925)(10) by Du Dingyou (1898–1967) is regarded as marking the earliest representative book classification scheme to be produced in modern China. Although this system was based on the Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC, established 1876), as a Japanese classification system, Du Dingyou refers to the classification scheme of the Imperial Library as "the most detailed" before stating as follows:

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(7) Of the six categories, "Novels (*shōsetsu*)" takes up 142 of the 408 pages in the catalog devoted to "Literature."

(8) The catalog has no entry for either the *Bowuzhi* or the *Shishuo Xinyu*.

(9) See Wang Yuguang and Fan Fan (eds.) *Qing mo Minguo tu shu guan shi liao xu bian* [Further Sources for the History of Libraries in Late Qing and Republican China] (vols. 1 and 2) (Beijing: Guo jia tu shu guan chu ban she, 2016).

(10) Published in 1922 as *Shi jie tu shu fen lei fa* and in 1925 as *Tu shu fen lei fa* [Book Classification Methods] by the Shanghai Library Association

> Japan and China have similar elements and speak similar languages. Their [=Japan's] philosophy, literature, and more flow from our own. Their books also came from China. Therefore, we can also refer to Japan's book classification methods to improve ourselves.
> 日本与我国、素称同種同文。其哲学文学、多自我国流伝而去。所有図書、亦多与我国相同。故吾人亦可参玖其図書分類法、以応我改良之用。

Du argues that because Japan and China are racially identical and speak similar languages, because Japan has inherited much of its "philosophy" and "literature" from China, and because many of Japan's books are also held in common with China, China should therefore refer to, improve upon, and adopt Japan's methods of book classification.

That same year, 1925, saw the establishment of the Library Association of China (*Zhonghua tu shu guan xie hui*). At the ceremony commemorating the occasion of the Association's establishment, in which Arthur E. Bostwick was invited as a representative of the American Library Association, Liang Qichao (1873–1929) stated as follows:

> I strongly believe that in the future, the cause of the library in China should go the same way as the United States, in order to exert the utmost function of the library.... However, the history of Chinese books is very long. The nature of its books is very complicated. There are many differences between the books of Europe and the United States in recent history.... Those involved need to be fully knowledgeable about the bibliographical studies (in the broad sense) in China as well as modern library science, and capable of realizing their respective potential. Such knowledge cannot be studied by many. Consequently, the result of such study will surely become an independent subject in the library sciences. One that we can call a "Chinese-style library science."[11]
> 我們很信中国将来的図書館事業也要和美国走同一的路径纔能発揮図書館的最大功用。……但中国書籍的歴史甚長、書籍的性質極複雑、和近世欧美書籍有許多不相同之点。……従事整理的人、須要対於中国的目録学 (広義的) 和 現代的図書館学都有充分智識、且能神明変化之、庶幾有功。這種学問，非経許多専門家継続的研究不可、研究的結果、一定能在図書館学裏頭成為一独立学科無疑、所以我們可以叫他做「中国的図書館学」

He argues that China's future library efforts should proceed in tandem with those of the USA. Nevertheless, given their venerable history and extremely complicated nature, he acknowledges that Chinese texts differ from Western books in many respects. Accordingly, Liang Qichao emphasizes the need for collaboration between specialists versed in the bibliographic traditions of both China and modern library science in building a "Chinese-style library science."

Thus, in China at this time, China was aiming to build a Chinese paradigm for library science that would be suitable for China, while actively drawing information from overseas on aspects of library construction and management. In this context, in Du Dingyou's words, as well, we can discern a strong consciousness of the attempt being undertaken by Japan, with which China shared both old books and categories. Further, the knowledge of the categorization of "literature" in China – particularly the classification and framework of "*shōsetsu*" – seems again to have been stimulated during this period by the existence of Chinese "*shōsetsu*" that had been transmitted to and survived in Japan, leading to the development of new bibliographic classifications and academic systems.

Therefore, drawing on the example provided by the *Youxianku* as a foundational work for this momentum, I would next like to trace a handful of topics pertaining to the circumstances of Chinese "*shōsetsu=xiaoshuo*" in Japan and China.

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(11) Liang Qichao, "Speech at the Inaugural Meeting of the Library Association of China" (*Zhonghua tu shu guan xie hui hui bao* [Bulletin of the Library Association of China], 1(1), 1925).

4. The *Youxianku* and Zheng Zhenduo's Studies of "Literature" and "The Novel"

The Chinese "discovery" that the Tang-dynasty novel *Youxianku*, long lost to obscurity in China, had survived in its transmission to Japan was accomplished by Yang Shoujing (1839–1915), an avid collector of "surviving lost texts" (*itsuzonsho*) who came to Japan as a member of the Qing Embassy. In the *Riben fang shu zhi* [Catalog of Books Found in Japan], a 16-volume treatise he published in 1897, as the result of his collection and surveys of valuable Chinese texts in Japan, volume 8 includes a commentary discussing texts, including scrolls excerpting old fragments of the *Shishuo Xinyu*, a codex containing three volumes and six fragmentary volumes of the *Ming bao ji* [Tales of Miraculous Retribution] together with four fragmentary volumes of the *Ming bao ji shiyi* [Gleanings from the *Ming bao ji*], and a scroll with a volume of the *Youxianku*. However, the *Riben fang shu zhi* is organized according to the four-category *sibu* classificatory scheme, and despite the fact that the center margin of Volume 8 (which contains the *Shishuo Xinyu*, *Ming bao ji*, and *Youxianku*) reads "*Fang shu zhi*, Vol. 8: *shōsetsu*," these are still acknowledged and positioned as "*shōsetsu*" within the "Masters and Philosophers" category (and thus not as "literature").

However, as seen in the previous section, this was precisely around the time that a new classification scheme had been introduced in Japan, and the possibility for a Chinese-style classification system or library science was being considered in China. Thus, occasioned in part by the publication of a facsimile edition of the *Youxianku* in Japan, research by Chinese scholars into books and the categories of "literature" and "*shōsetsu*" began to be steered in a new direction.

This is illustrated in an essay by Zheng Zhenduo (1898–1958) entitled "*Guyan yu Youxianku* [Concerning the *Dalliance in the Immortals' Den*]" (written December 1928).[12] The essay was published alongside the Chinese translation by Liuyi Xie (1898–1945) of the exposition by Yamada Yoshio, included in the facsimile edition of the Daigo-ji Manuscript of the *Youxianku*, published by the Koten Hozonkai in 1926, which Zheng had acquired soon thereafter. While Zheng is renowned as a book collector and bibliophile, he was also a key figure in the early period of modern Chinese literature, serving as the editor of periodicals such as *Xiao shuo yue bao* [Novels Monthly] and *Wen xue zhou bao* [Literary Weekly] and leaving behind scholarly studies of literature such as *Cha tu ben Zhongguo wen xue shi* [Illustrated History of Chinese Literature] (1932) and *Zhongguo su wen xue shi* [A History of Chinese Popular Literature] (1938). In Zheng's essay, he discusses the "discovery" of the *Youxianku* as supplementing information on the history of the Chinese novel that had been lost to the knowledge of the Chinese for over a thousand years, acclaiming the *Youxianku* spelled out in the *benbun* that is to say parallel prose as a "rare treasure" for literary historians and scholars of Chinese *shōsetsu*.

While expressing dissatisfaction with the selection criteria used for the publication around this time in Japan of the *Sekai tanpen shōsetsu taikei* [Collected Short Stories of the World] (Kindaisha), Zheng Zhenduo lamented that China at the time did not have any collections of short stories at all,[13] whereupon he proceeded to compile his own, which was published as *Zhongguo duan pian xiao shuo ji* [Anthology of Chinese Short Stories] (1926, Shangwu yin shu guan). In addition, Zheng was also in favor of revamping the conventional concept of classification to open the way for new research into Chinese literature, for which he argued as follows:

> Such "book catalogs" cannot of course be categorized in the style of the *Siku zongmu tiyao*. The *jibu* [belles-lettres] contained only the five categories of the *Chuci* [Elegies of *Chu*], *bieji* [individual collections], *zongji* [general anthologies], *shiwen ping* [literary criticism], and *ci qu* [*Ci* poetry and drama] (drama in this sense referring only to books of songs, not legendary drama). The novel is listed in the *zibu* [Masters and Philosophers] and does not correspond to the *Xi you ji* [The Journey to the West] or *Shui hu zhuan* [The Water Margin] but only to the tradition of the *Shishuo Xinyu, Chao ye qian zai, Jiao fang ji*, and *Huan hun*

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[12] First publication in *Wenzi zhoubao* [Language and Writing] vol. 8(2), (1929); reprinted in *Zhongguo wen xue lun ji* [Essays on Chinese literature] (1934).

[13] "Ping riben ren bian de zhina duanpian xiaoshuo [Comments on Short Stories by Japanese Writers]" (first publication in 1925; reprinted in *Zheng Zhenduo quan ji* [Collected Writings of Zheng Zhenduo], vol. 6, Hua shan wen yi chu ban she, 1998)

> *ji*. And of course, the "decimal system," most commonly used in libraries, cannot be divided into only eight categories like poetry, drama, *shōsetsu*, treatises, oratory, measurements, sarcastic or comical writing, and miscellany. Such a classification is also unmanageable, and there are many things that cannot be included in a classification of this type. What we must have is a new classification, a clear and proper classification.[14]
> 這種「書目」、其分類当然不能如『四庫総目提要』似的、集部只録着楚辞、別集、総集、詩文評、詞曲之五類、(所謂曲也声明只録論曲之書、不列伝奇雑劇) 而小説則列於子部、不収『西遊記』、『水滸伝』而只収『世説新語』、『朝野僉載』、『教坊記』、『異宛』、『還魂記』之流。当然也不能以図書館最常用的『社威十類法』、依了他而分為詩歌、戯曲、小説、論文、演説、尺牘、諷刺文与滑稽文、雑類等八類。因為這個分類也未安、且有許多東西也不能被列入於這様的一個分類中。我們要有的是一種新的分類、明瞭而妥当的分類。

In the paper cited above, written in 1927, Zheng is studying the history and origins of the categories of *xiaoshu* (=*shōsetsu*) and *ci* and *ji* poetry. He problematizes this by noting that China did not yet have a synoptic literary historiographical tradition that encompassed all of these, and that even what was being discussed under the name of "Chinese literary history" was merely a copy of what was regarded as such by the Japanese. In the passage cited above, he is arguing that a classificatory scheme for "Chinese literature" should not be something that relegates *shōsetsu* to the category of "Masters and Philosophers," where titles like the *Xi you ji* and *Shui hu zhuan* do not belong, as was done in the conventional classification of the *Si ku zong muti yao* ("Index and General Bibliography in the Four Branches of Literature"). Rather, pointing out to the existence of so many works that cannot be reconciled within the Dewey Decimal System, either, he argues for the need to formulate a new classification, whereupon he proposes the following nine-category scheme.

> 1. Collections and Anthologies; 2. Poetry and song; 3. Drama; 4. Fiction (*shōsetsu*); 5. Buddhist tunes (*foqu*), plucking rhymes (*tanci*) and drum-words (*guci*); 6. Fragments; 7. Critical literature; 8. Personal literature; 9. Miscellaneous

This is an attempt to present China's distinctive and longstanding genres in a comprehensive manner. Also, for "4. Fiction (*shōsetsu*)," Zheng proposes the following subcategorization:

> i. short fiction (a. strange stories, b. tales, c. modern short stories); ii. long fiction; iii. children's stories and folk tale collections.

What is apparent here is a stance that seeks to frame various forms of "*shōsetsu*" – from the traditional *xiaoshu* of China including the *Shishuo Xinyu* and the *Soushen ji*, as well as vernacular and modern novels, to the children's stories of the world – as a single literary genre. In this way, while being influenced by Japanese books and research, a new idea was advanced in China, as well, for a new system of "literature" and conceptual definition for "*shōsetsu*."[15]

However, even as this new paradigm shift was being advanced by Zheng Zhenduo and his colleagues, the *Youxianku* was still being listed as a *shōsetsu* in the "Masters and Philosophers" category, as for example, in *Beiping tu*

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[14] Review of *Yan jiu Zhongguo wen xue de xin tu jing* [A New Approach to the Study of Chinese Literature]" (first publication in *Xiao shuo yue bao* [Novels Monthly], unnumbered issue, vol. 17 (1927); reprinted in *Zhongguo wen xue lun ji* [Essays on Chinese literature] (1934).

[15] Regarding Zheng Zhenduo, see e.g., Zhang Housheng "Zheng Zhenduo zai mulu xue shang de chengjiu he gongxian [Zheng Zhenduo's Achievements and Contributions to the Field of Bibliographical Studies] (*Wuhan da xue xue bao. She hui ke xue ban.* [Wuhan University Bulletin. Social Science Edition] 1983, no. 2) and Jiang Shu "Zheng Zhenduo congshi gudai xiaoshuo yanjiu de yuanyin fenxi [Analyzing of the Roots of Zheng Zhenduo's Study of Ancient Novels]" (*Guizhou wenshi congkan* [Collected articles on Guizhou's history] 2010, no. 2).

shu guan shan ben shu mu [Beiping Library Rare Book Catalog], issued in 1933. The system of Chinese classics, with its venerable history and traditions, holding stubbornly to the framework based in the conventional four-fold classificatory scheme, did not easily merge with the system of modern books, and this coexistence of what might be called a dual system has persisted down to the present day. This is thus a current problem that should also be taken into consideration by the academic community in Japan, which has a longstanding and intimate familiarity with many Chinese classics that have, moreover, served as the foundation of academic culture.

5. Conclusion: The Classification System of the Yenching University and Peking University Libraries

Finally, I would like to discuss the state of affairs in two university libraries representative of this period, as an example of the construction of book classification methods in China in the first half of the twentieth century.

The first of these is the Yenching University Library. Yenching University was founded in 1919, and after the establishment of the Harvard-Yenching Institute in 1928, acquired funding to establish a comprehensive library of books with a particular focus on Oriental Studies and Chinese Studies. Then, in 1931, the Yenching University Library adopted the "Chinese Book Classification Method" formulated by Alfred Kaiming Chiu, who had served as the director of the Chinese-Japanese Library in the Institute at Harvard University, as a unified classification system for both organizations. In an introductory note published in Issue No. 48 of the *Yanjing da xue tu shu guan bao* [Yenching University Library Bulletin] (April 15, 1933), the move was said to be inspired by the idea of "using Chinese criteria as the warp and Western criteria as the woof" (*zhong fa wei jing, xifa wei wei*). Under this policy, the whole was divided into the nine categories of "Economics; Philosophy and Religion; History and Geography; Social Science; Languages and Literature; Fine Arts; Natural Science; Agriculture, Forestry, and Manufacturing; and General," and while retaining the classification of the "Classics" (*jing xue*) that represented the source of Chinese scholarship, among the "Philosophers" (*zhuzi*). The Confucians and Mohists would be sorted as Philosophy, for example, while Military Thinkers would be classified as Military Science, and the "Anecdotalists" (*xiaoshuojia*) as Literature > Novels or General > Miscellaneous according to their respective content. It should also be noted that while a unique classification system was being developed and adopted for use at the Yenching University Library in collaboration with American library science, information on Japanese bibliographic and library science was also being incorporated to a large extent, as can be confirmed from contemporary bibliographic catalogs and similar records.[16]

The other example is the Peking University library. Bulletins such as the *Beijin da xue ri kan* [Peking University Daily], *Bei da tu shu bu yue kan*. [Peking University Library Monthly], and *Beijin da xue zhou kan* [Peking University Weekly] offer a detailed look at the circumstances of the Peking University Library from the 1910s to the 1930s. Articles on donations from Japan and reports on surveys of Japanese libraries again variously suggest the traces of the involvement of Japanese bibliographic and library science. Also, in a "Library Supplement No. 73" published with the issue of *Beijin da xue zhou kan* for June 22, 1935, as the culmination of repeated examination of book classification methods that took a different form than the one used in the Yenching University Library, a table entitled "The Peking University Chinese Library Classification List" is printed accompanied by the following explanation:

> All kinds of Chinese books in the library are still categorized using the old *sibu* four-fold classification scheme. Now as we set about putting new Chinese books in the library, the old four-fold scheme no longer applies ...this book classification is different from the four-fold scheme... In the "Classics" section of the four-fold scheme, we will be splitting it up, again and again.... The *Shi jing* will be regarded as a kind of literature collection...

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(16) See Kōno Kimiko "Shiryō sanpo: Pekin daigaku toshokan shozō no 'Enkyō daigaku toshokan Nichibun shoseki sōkei-bo' [A Guided Tour of a Historical Source: The 'Yenching University Library General Catalog of Japanese Materials' in the Collection of the Peking University Library]" (*Nihon Rekishi* [Japanese History] no. 802, March 2015).

> 本館旧印各種中文書目、均仍四部的方式。現在我們着手将館中中文書籍従新編列、四部旧目、已不適用 … 這個分類法和四部不同的地方… 四部的経部、我們又割裂得零零砕砕的… 詩経為文学総集的一種…

The conventional four-category classificatory scheme was no longer to be used; the category of the “Classics” was to be finely broken up, with the *Shi jing* [The Book of Odes], for example, to be regarded as a kind of literary collection. Turning here to look at the *Zhong guo tu shu guan fen lei fa* [Chinese Library Classification, Fifth Edition] currently used in China,[17] we find that the *Shi jing* is classified under “I Literature; I2 Chinese Literature; I207.222 *Shi jing*.” On the other hand, in the NDC Tenth Revised Edition, the same work appears in two places under “1. Philosophy; 123.3 *Shi jing*” and “9. Literature; 921.32 *Shi jing*.” So, what kind of work should we understand the *Shi jing* to be? From this example, it could be said that the contemporary challenge shared by China and Japan, and East Asia in general, can be expressed in terms of how we should think about book systems, and in what ways “literature” should be positioned within the framework they provide..

Book classification is nothing more or less than the systematization of knowledge itself. Although my focus in this chapter has been on matters relating in particular to “literature” and “the novel (*shōsetsu*),” if we repeatedly pursue the state of academic culture through the history of library and book classification, it may be that the world of knowledge that lies all around us will begin to take on an entirely new meaning and significance.

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⑰ Board of Editors. *Zhongguo tu shu guan fen lei fa* [Chinese Library Classification]. National Library of China Publishing, 2010.