Early Modern Cross-Cultural Perspectives: the *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan* of Huang Zunxian (1848-1905)

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Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲, diplomat, statesman, historian, and poet, was a native of Jiayingzhou 嘉應州 (present-day Meizhou 梅州), Guangdong, from a Hakka (*Kejia*) 客家 family, which, like so many of the area, had originally moved from northern China and settled 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 (1828-1891), 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 (1882-1884) in southern Guangdong and Vietnam.

Huang Zunxian's official career began in 1877, when he became Counselor to the Imperial Chinese Legation 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 or *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, Anhui, 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 zashishi* 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* 鹽法道臺) for Hunan (1897). This involved him directly in the reform activities sponsored by the progressive Governor of Hunan, Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1831-1900), to which he enthusiastically contributed along with, among others, Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865-1898) and Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (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 楢原陳政 (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]

Huang is generally regarded as the last great Chinese classical poet, and he himself identified strongly with the long "individualist-expressionist" (*xingqing* 性情 or *xingling* 性靈) tradition of poetry and poetics:

> The style that I forge derives from a range of styles beginning with that of Cao Zhi (192-232), Bao Zhao (ca.414-466), Tao Qian (365-427), Xie Lingyun (385-443), Li Bai (701-762), Du Fu (712-770), Han Yu (768-824), and Su Shi (1037-1101) and extending down to works by lesser masters of recent times. However, I neither lay claim to any one of these as my own style nor restrict myself entirely to any one form, for I must not let my ability to write poetry for the self be damaged.[3]

It is likely that "lesser masters of recent times" included poets such as Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609-1672), Huang Jingren 黃景仁 (1749-1783), Song Xiang 宋湘 (ca.1756-1826), Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792-1841), and the statesman-literatus Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811-1872), all greatly admired by Huang and very much in the same tradition.[4] Huang is also remembered as a creator of detailed descriptive poetry and powerful narrative verse, both often rich in moral perspectives and socio-political insight. His *Riben zashishi*, which derive from his experiences in Japan during 1877-1882, incorporate all these elements. The first edition, published in 1879, contains one hundred and fifty-four poems. Huang augmented the number of poems to two hundred for the 1890 edition, replacing some of the 1879 versions with new poems on the same topics. Prose commentaries in which Huang expands on material mentioned in the poems are appended to the poems in both editions, with occasional differences. His own preface to the latter edition is the best guide to what he hoped to accomplish with these poems:[5]

> During the winter of the *dingchou* year (1877), obeying orders I accompanied our mission across the sea, where I lived for two years in Japan and gradually made friends there with worthy men of prominence.[6] I read what they had written and learned their customs. When I was drafting my *Treatises on Japan*, I both cast my net to retrieve old accounts and referred to new institutions. Whenever I chose some miscellaneous matter, I always developed a little note on it, which I then embellished with a poem. And these are the poems that have now been published as the *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects*. This happened to be the time that the Meiji reform movement had just begun, when everything was being tried for the first time and planning for the most part had not yet stabilized. Some critics said that Japan appeared to be strong on the outside but was actually exhausted on the inside, its veins standing out, swollen with agitation, like the horses in the team of four from Zheng.[7] Others said that since it was something great born from

something small, it would try to rule the world by force, like the story about the hawk in the state of Song.[8] There were many such conflicting opinions, and none became the accepted view. Many of the friends that I made were scholars of the old school (*jiuxuejia* 舊學家), and their subtle and profound analyses, satire and ridicule, and sighs of regret both great and small, filled my ears to overflowing. Although I had to be circumspect as someone living as a guest in their country and so could not challenge what these gentlemen thought was right, new views that differed from theirs as well as old views that coincided with them occasionally appear in my poems. It was only after I had worked hard every day at investigating sources in greater depth and expanding the scope of what I saw and heard that I gained some understanding of the principle of how once the endpoint in the process of change is reached it becomes thoroughgoing and long lasting. I then came to believe that reform modeled on the Western pattern, which dismissed the old and accepted the new, was eminently the right way for Japan to become a strong and independent country. This is why what I say in the introduction to my *Treatises on Japan* is often in contradiction with the intent of the poems. After a time, I traveled to America, observed Europeans, and looked at their tradition of learning as it relates to politics and institutions and realized that the situation in Japan was, after all, not very different. This year Japan has already opened a parliament. No country in the entire world has ever equaled the speed of its progress. Whenever I occasionally discuss Eastern affairs with high officials and great scholars in those Western countries, they always say that the West should keep its hands off Japan and that they admire what it is doing—without a single dissenting voice.

My official duties left me considerable spare time, so whenever I had the chance, I looked though these old works of mine. Feeling some regret at my youthful efforts, I deleted here, interpolated there, sometimes did re-writing, and also came up with several tens of additional poems.[9] Poems that I did not manage to edit have to be left as they are for the time being.

Alas! The Chinese literatus, restricted to his narrow and hackneyed view of the world, continues to ignore foreign affairs. Even when he has the opportunity to hear and see something about them, he still responds by dressing up his responses in old, outmoded ideas. However, as complacent and conservative as I then was, doubts began to compromise my faith, and, only after months and even years of deep and extensive study, did I begin to understand

what had to be right and what wrong, what would succeed and what fail, and what advantages must be adopted and what handicaps should be discarded. I am very ashamed! It is more shameful that I encouraged talk of Japan as if it were the Fairy Isles of the East, ephemeral and existing only in the imagination, which one only sees far off in the distance but can never reach![10] It is even more to my shame that I denigrated discussion of Japan as just so much idle gossip about unorthodox matters that should be pushed aside beyond the boundaries of the real world, saying that even if such matters exist, they are not to be discussed, for any such discussion would be of no relevance. It certainly is no easy task to talk about how one knows another country! Therefore, when I finished editing this draft, I added these few words to acknowledge my past errors.

Dated the seventh month of the sixteenth year of the Guangxu Era (1890), Huang Zunxian composed this, his own preface, at the Chinese Embassy, London.

It is obvious that Huang intended his Japan poems to have more than literary impact, for their thrust as a whole was to enlighten the political and diplomatic views and sensibilities of those who wielded power in China. Overall, they cast modernizing Japan in a positive light, and readers are meant to infer that Meiji Japan would make an appropriate model for reform and modernization at home. Another important general theme is that in modernizing and joining the international global community Japan was not sacrificing tradition but preserving it in creative ways—so it could serve as the right model for China in this repect too. To reinforce the significance of Japan's preservation of tradition, it was essential for Huang to link Japanese tradition with Chinese tradition, and this he sets out to do in many poems which emphasize the common high culture the two countries possess—"this culture of ours" (*siwen/shibun* 斯文) in all its ramifications.[11] The range of subjects addressed in the *Riben zashishi* is quite broad: Japanese history and geography, Sino-Japanese cultural relations throughout the ages, elements of Chinese culture in Japan with their variations and transformations, including poetry (*kanshi* 漢詩) and prose (*kanbun* 漢文), painting and calligraphy, Confucianism and Buddhism, the Meiji Restoration and modernization, with special attention to new political and social institutions, including the Diet, local government, political parties, museums, police, army and navy, fire control, taxation, the postal system, education reform, women's education, and many more, far too many to mention here. The following selection from Huang's *Riben zashishi*, limited as it must be here, can only provide a small part of the work as a whole; however, it should still provide a real taste of

the riches it contains for our enhanced appreciation of this sensitive and articulate late Qing Chinese literatus poet, diplomat and historian. Huang appended a prose essay after each poem which expands upon the content of the poem and provides explanatory notes; these too are translated in their entirety.[12]

Significant for the study of Chinese intellectual history and literature as well as early modern Sino-Japanese cultural relations, Huang's poems also provide an unusual and fascinating insight into Japan of the early Meiji era, far better than any Western visitor, for as a Chinese literatus he grants us the view of an extremely well-informed outsider—informed in the sense that he easily gained objective yet discriminating insight into all aspects of Japanese culture through the unique bundle of skills such a Chinese literatus possessed: access to Sino-Japanese writings in *kanbun* 漢文, the ability to conduct lengthy and sophisticated conversations with Japanese intellectuals via *bitan/hitsudan* 筆談 (brush talks), as well as immediate access to the general *hanzi/kanji* 漢字 culture then still almost ubiquitously prevalent in Japan.[13]

Selections from *Riben zashishi* (Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan)

Poem 3: *Huangtang gushi* 荒唐古史 (Fantastic Ancient History) or *Shindai no kan* 神代の巻 (Books About the Age of the Gods)

Here, a vast panoply of gods, hundreds of spirits running around,
In fantasies wilder than those in the *Classic of Waters and Mountains*:[14]
The sea god's eldest daughter gave birth under cormorant feathers,
And the first imperial ancestor was the result of imitating wagtails.

蕩蕩諸尊走百靈，荒唐古史過山經。
海神長女生鵜羽，天祖初皇法脊令。

(p. 19)[15]

In the history of the ages of the gods, such things are written as 'Izanagi no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto only knew how to consummate their marriage after having observed wagtails mate, which resulted in the birth of the very first emperor,' and 'Ninigi no mikoto 瓊瓊杵尊 hunted in the moun-

tains with bow and arrow,[16] but he exchanged these for the hook and line that his older brother, Honosusori no mikoto 火闌降命 used to fish in the sea. However, when he lost them in the sea, his older brother demanded that he return them, so he went down into the sea to get them. There, the god of the sea, Wata tsu mi 海神, had him marry his eldest daughter and then returned the hook and line to him. He also obtained the two jadestones, Shiomitsuni 潮滿瓊 and Shiohiruni 潮涸瓊.[17] When the daughter of the god of the sea became pregnant, she told Ninigi no mikoto that he was not to see the child born. However, the mikoto disregarded her words, and, when he stealthily spied into the birth house [built on the edge of the sea], he saw a dragon curled around the child. The dragon [daughter of the god of the sea], startled at seeing him, flew off into the sea. The birth house was thatched with cormorant feathers and reeds, but because the roof had not yet been completely covered, the child was named "the cormorant feathers and reeds thatch not joined god" (Ugaya fuki aezu no mikoto 移草葺不合尊). This child later became the father of emperor Jinmu 神武.

Poem 5: *Xu Fu* 徐福 or *Sanshu no jingi*
三種の神器 (The Three Sacred Treasures)

Leaving Qin behind, three thousand boys and girls were transported
Across to another world, to this Penglai, this Yingzhou beyond the sea.
The mirror and seal forever entrusted to the shrine at Kasanui[18]
Might make us suspect that all here descend from that search for immortality.

避秦男女渡三千，海外蓬瀛別有天。
鏡璽永傳笠縫殿，免疑世系出神仙。

(p. 21)

Japan began to have a coherent structure with the founding of the state by Emperor Sujin 崇神, referred to in history as Hatsukuni shirasu sumera mikoto 御肇國天皇 (Exalted Founding Emperor, r. 97-30 BCE), who assumed rule in what corresponds to the fourth year of the Tianhan era in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武 (Emperor Wu 武帝 of the Han 漢), already at least one hundred years after Xu Fu made his eastern crossing. Japan has three national treasures called "The Sword," "The Mirror," and "The Seal,"[19] all of which were of Qin (221-206 BCE) manufacture. The

Japanese names for court ministers (*chen* 臣) are *mikoto* 命 (*ming*, your honor), *daibu* 大夫 (*dafu*, grand master), or *shōgun* 將軍 (*jiangjun*, general), all of which are terms used during the Zhou and Qin eras. They refer to their own country as *kamiguni* 神國 (*shenguo*, country of the gods); the established teaching first emphasizes *keishin* 敬神 (*jingshen*, reverence toward the gods); as for significant national events, none are more important than *matsuri* 祭 (*j*', religious festivals); and, when wrongdoing is done, rites involving the ceremonial chanting of expiation prayers (*xici* 禊祠) are held so that sinners may purify themselves. All such things can also be identified with the techniques and devices of the [Chinese Qin era] sorcerers (*fangshi* 方士 [i.e., with Xu Fu]). As for those in charge of the [Japanese] government back in those early times, if they were not his [Xu Fu's] sons and grandsons, were they not probably from among his disciples? Both the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (History of the Three Kingdoms era [220-265 CE]) and the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Latter Han era [5-220 CE]) already include accounts of journeys to the east involving this search for immortality.[20] At the time that envoys went over [to China from Japan] during the Jianwu era, such things were surely spoken of by the envoys themselves.[21] Nowadays, there is a Xu Fu Shrine 徐福祠 (Jo Fuku hokora) in Kii province 紀伊國 (present-day Wakayama prefecture 和歌山縣 and Mie prefecture 三重縣), and the grave of Xu Fu is located on a mountain in Kumano 熊野 (southeast Kii province), which is clear proof for all this.

When we come to the historical account, the beginning of Japan is attributed to Emperor Jinmu, but investigation into the time between Jinmu and Emperor Sujin, when nine generations succeeded one another, we find that not one event was worth recording, so might even the name Jinmu be just a sovereign's title conferred posthumously by some descendent? The upshot of all this is that the Japanese of today are the same race as us—legends in that land being handed down as such support this contention.

During the Kanbun 寬文 era (1661-1673), the *Nihontsugan* 日本通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror of Japanese History) [i.e., the *Honchōtsugan* 本朝通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror of Our Dynastic History)] was written, in which it is said that the Japanese are descendents of Wu Taibo 吳泰[太]伯 (Great Earl of Wu) of the Zhou 周 era, but Minamoto [Tokugawa] Mitsukuni 源 [德川] 光國 (1628-1700) objected to this, saying: "If we were the descendents of Wu Taibo, it would make Japan a vassal state of China." Therefore, he had this passage expunged from the text. When Rai Noboru 賴襄 (Rai Sanyō 山陽 [1780-1832]) wrote the *Nihon seiki* 日本政記 (Record of Government in Japan), he set this information aside together with the fact that Xu Fu of the Qin had come to Japan and so mentioned neither. Both are narrow-minded views of Confucian scholars.[22] If Mr. Minamoto had said that here was something uncertain and left it an open

question, that would have been perfectly all right, but when something is clearly recorded, even if it says that one's ancestors are of humble origins, it is not a thing any responsible official may rashly expunge—and how much more serious this is when a descendent of great sages does such a thing! If being of the same people makes a country a vassal state, how was it that Jin 晉, Zheng 鄭, Lu 魯, and Wei 衛 called themselves "fraternal states" (*xiongdi zhi guo* 兄弟之國)?[23] Now, many of the noble families of Europe are of German origin, but we never hear them call themselves vassals of Germany. If Japan wants to deny that it is our dependency, it does not have to indulge in self doubt in this way.[24]

Poem 6: *Meiji weixin* or *Meiji ishin* 明治維新
(The Meiji Restoration)

The sword's gleam is again kept polished and the mirror's
burnished anew,[25]
For, after six hundred years, Tai E has been returned.[26]
But as soon as the single sun regained its place on the highest
branch,
The people helter-skelter again began clamoring about a republic.

劍光重拂鏡新磨，六百年來返太阿。
方戴上枝歸一日，紛紛民又唱共和。

(p. 22)

The histories never stop writing about the wise sovereigns and fine ministers of middle antiquity,[27] but relatives of imperial consorts eventually usurped dictatorial powers, and hegemons flourished instead. From the Genpei 源平 era (late eleventh–late twelfth centuries) on,[28] the situation in Japan was like that of the Eastern sovereigns of the Zhou 周 (i.e., during the Spring and Autumn [722-481] and Warring States [403-221] eras), who reigned as nothing more than figureheads. In the first year of the Meiji era (1868), rule by the Tokugawa family was abolished and imperial rule restored—a magnificent achievement, indeed! However, Western learning recently has become very popular, and, some are consequently promoting doctrines of democratic rights and freedoms as they exist in America and European countries. In the *Haiwai dongjing* 海外東經 (Beyond the Sea to the East Classic) section of the *Shanhai jing* it states: "Fusang 扶桑 (Supporting Mulberry) is located above Yanggu 暘[湯]谷 (Sun Valley), where the ten suns

bathe, north of the Heichi 黑齒 (Black Teeth). There in the water is a great tree, in which on the lower branches are nine suns, while one sun is on the highest branch."[29] Japan refers to its sovereigns with the term "sun," as in such names [in mythology] as Ōhirume no muchi 大日靈貴 and Nigihayahi no mikoto 饒速日命.

Poem 7: *Zhengdang* 政黨 (Political Parties) or *Haihan chiken* 廢藩置縣 (Abolition of Fiefs and Establishment of Prefectures)

They shouted to Heaven, "Can't see heads on the flight of dragons,"[30]
And, shaking the earth, the neighing of a myriad horses all at once was heard.
But, as soon as they reformed the feudal system with its hereditary offices,
They competed to get their names displayed on party member steles.[31]

呼天不見群龍首，動地齊聞萬馬嘶。
甫變世官封建制，競標名字黨人碑。

(p. 23, in 1890 edition only)

In March of the second year of the Meiji era (1869), there was a change to a combined system of prefecture-domain rule, which converted the former *hanshu* 藩主 (domain lords) into *chiji* 知事 (prefectural governors). However, the four domains of Satsuma 薩摩, Chōshū 長州, Tosa 土佐, and Hizen 肥前 petitioned the emperor that their territories be restored to them. Later, in the third year of Meiji (1870), seventh month, the domains were abolished and converted into prefectures, with pensions provided to the descendents of each domain ruling clan. Then, there was a petition to establish a Diet (Giin 議院), and former domain retainers (*hanshi* 藩士) began dashing all over the place to establish gangs of political followers (*dangyu* 黨羽), and parties with such names as the Jiyūtō 自由黨 (Liberal Party), Kyōwatō 共和黨 (Republican Party), Rikkentō 立憲黨 (Constitutional Party), and Kaishintō 改進黨 (Progressive Party), arose helter-skelter to contend with one another.

Poem 15: *Qihou* 氣候 (Climate) or *Fūu* 風雨 (Wind and Rain)

Here where towers fit for the immortals stand up into space,
Gale force sea winds blow with such force they could knock houses flat.
With the sound of waves on all four sides deafening the ears,
It's like living all year long in the midst of giant whitecaps.

神仙樓閣立虛空，海颶狂吹厭屋風。
四面濤聲聾曾耳，終年如住浪華中。

(p. 36)

There is much rain and especially a lot of strong wind. The place in which I live is constructed of wood and not stone, with glass on all four sides, so when the wind starts up, it rattles and shakes so much that it is like being in a little boat out on the open sea—it really makes one's heart thump with alarm!

Poem 16: *Qingtingzhou* 蜻蜓[蛉]洲 (Dragonfly Country) or *Hanto* 版圖 (The Territory [of Japan])

The great ocean, infinitely vast, drenches its edges all around--
Isn't it the Three Mountains from which the wind draws one away?
This Penglai with its clear shallows has existed ever so long,
Now as always, a dragonfly tripping across the water as it flies.

巨海茫茫浸四圍，三山風引是耶非。
蓬萊清淺經多少，依舊蜻蜓點水飛。

(p. 37)

From the time of the founding of Japan until the present, its national boundaries have always remained the same. When Jinmu reached Yamato 大和, he climbed a mountain, looked into the distance, and said, "How beautiful is this realm! Does it not look just like a dragonfly tripping across the water!" Thus, Japan is also called the Qingtingzhou (Akitsushima) 蜻蜓[蛉]洲 (Dragonfly Isles). Our histories mention the Three Mountains of the

Gods 三神山 that exist beyond the sea, from which the wind draws one away, so it is impossible to reach them.[32] The commentary on the *Shanhai jing* to the sentence, "Mount Penglai exists out in the sea," also states: "On the summit, made from gold and silver, is the palace of the immortals, and all birds and beasts there are white. Seen from a distance, it looks like clouds."[33] Moreover, fictional representations by petty officials have often referred to the "perpetual spring shrubs" and "elixirs of everlasting life" there. Nowadays, in all the countries beyond the seas, with ships and land vehicles reaching everywhere, where do we find any so-called Yuanqiao or Fanghu [other similar mythical realms]? The sorcerers (*fangshi*) of Yan and Qi [coastal Shandong], aware of the facts of Junfang's (Xu Fu) eastern expedition,[34] borrowed them to fabricate their ridiculous tales just as they pleased. The reality is that these places refer to the Japan of today, whose boundaries are provided in detail in my "Treatise on Geography."[35]

Poem 23: Fushishan or Fujisan 富士山

Rising straight up to caress the sky it stands on high all alone,
A lotus peak gushed forth from the sea's eastern waves.
Its snow from more than two thousand five hundred years ago,
Piles up in one vast expanse of uniform white, there never melting.

拔地摩天獨立高，蓮峰湧出海東濤。
二千五百年前雪，一白茫茫積未消。

(p. 46)

Rising to a height of thirteen thousand feet and its base straddling three provinces, this is Mount Fuji—also called "Lotus Peak" (Renhō 蓮峰)[36]—the highest mountain in the country. The accumulated snow at its summit is a dazzling white frozen mass that has never melted, there since time immemorial.

Poem 25: *Dizhen* or *Jishin* 地震 (Earthquakes)

One thunderous frightening jolt and everything starts to howl,
As deep, deep underground surge enormous waves.
People suffer, worrying both day and night the sky will fall[37]
And really resent how the numinous turtles fail to hold things steady.[38]

一震雷驚衆籟號，沈沈地底湧波濤。
累人日夜憂天墜，頗怨靈鼉戴未牢。

(p. 48)

Earthquakes can happen several times a month. When severe, they make walls and even whole houses shake. When they begin, you hear a roaring sound as if a gale were blowing a sea storm your way. At first, they really give you a weird sensation, but after awhile one gets used to them. If no earthquake occurs for several months, the natives, contrary to what one might expect, start to become apprehensive. In the *yimao* year of the Ansei era (1855), a great earthquake struck Kōto 江都 (Edo, later Tokyo), which killed twenty or thirty thousand people.[39] According to what old folks say, once every few decades a disastrous earthquake is sure to occur, which keeps people on tenterhooks all the time.

Poem 26: *Liancang* 鎌倉 (Kamakura) or *Kamakura Daibutsu* 鎌倉大佛 (The Great Buddha at Kamakura)

Against the sky the bronze Buddha leans, more ancient than the trees,
A jade mirror hanging from the moon, on which moss coldly grows.[40]
Facing us it stands exposed to the dew and never says a word
About how it once saw the Genji and Heike arrive to battle here.[41]

倚天銅佛古於樹，挂月玉鏡寒生苔。
對人露立總不語，曾見源平戰斗來。

(p. 50)

At the Hachimangū 八幡宮 (Shrine to Hachiman, the God of War) in Kamakura there is a Great Buddha, which in new foot measures is over thirty-nine feet high and more than sixteen feet wide, and it is uniformly the ancient color of a bronze mirror but mottled. According to what a priest in residence there said, it was the gift of *Jingū kōgō* 神功皇后 (Empress Jingu) and more than one thousand seven hundred years old![42] Also there are a helmet that belonged to Minamoto no Yoritomo 源賴朝 (1147-1199), a sword that belonged to [Toyotomi 豊臣] Hideyoshi 秀吉 (1536-1598), a horn bow that belonged to Shingen 信元 (Takeda Shingen 武田

信玄 [1521-73]), and a bamboo walking stick that belonged to [Tokugawa] Ieyasu 家康 (1542-1616). Kamakura was originally an important city. When Minamoto no Yoritomo began the shogunate, it was here in this place. Before the Tokugawa era, both the Hōjō 北條 (regency) and the Ashikaga 足利 (shogunate) had their capitals here and thus controlled the Kantō 關東 region. I have not yet been to Kamakura myself, so this is all according to what Ambassador He (He Ruzhang 何如璋 [1838-?]) told me.

Poem 28: *Kusunoki Masashige* 楠[木]正成 (Kusunoki Masashige) or *Minatogawa jinja* 湊川神社 (Minatogawa Shrine)

Things that happened in the Southern Dynasty may have long become dust,
But year after year cherry blossoms here fill tree after tree with spring.
Hands raising the bronze bell, people bow to his commemorative image,
And, beneath the stele, cry out in lamentation for this loyal official.

南朝往事久灰塵，歲歲櫻花樹樹春。
手挈銅鈴拜遺像，嗚呼碑下弔忠臣。

(p. 52)

Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336) was an official who died a martyr for the Southern Dynasty (1336-92).[43] The Japanese compare him to Wen Wenshan 文文山 (Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 [1236-82]) and Yue Shaobao 岳少保 (Yue Fei 岳飛 [1103-41]). Minamoto [Tokugawa] Mitsukuni had inscribed on the stele: "Cry out in lamentation at the grave of the loyal minister Master Nan." The grave is located on the Minatogawa 湊川, where several hundred flowering cherry trees are planted. Relics relating to him are treasured more than large jade disks, and, there are also a spirit bell and a statue of him. All skillful writers in Japan have recorded his story.

Poem 29: *Dechuan shi* 德川氏 (The Tokugawa Family) or *Shiba Tōshō gū* 芝東照宮 (Illumination in the East Shrine at Shiba)

At the shrine at Mount Shiba there remains a stone monument[44]
Where, swaying in the spring breeze, we see monkshood grow.[45]
More than two hundred domains now shed tears as one
And can't bear to intone, sadly, the ode on "Power's Gone."[46]

芝山宮殿剩豐碑，搖動春風見菟葵。
二百餘藩齊灑涕，不堪哀誦式微詩。

(p. 52)

The Tokugawa family held power for more than two hundred years, and the common folk cannot forget how deeply humane (*shenren* 深仁) and profoundly beneficent (*houze* 厚澤) it used to be. Since the change in government, when older folk pass by Illumination in the East Shrine on Mount Shiba, many of them light incense and tearfully bow to pay their respects. Clan nobles of the former domains have become so poor after the Restoration that they cannot help constantly being overwhelmed by a tragic sense of the vicissitudes of history.

Poem 49: *Jiu fandizhai* 舊藩邸宅 or *Kyū hantei* 舊藩邸 (Residences of the Former Domain Lords)

Fresh green on the trees, fading reds grown scarce,
And in abandoned courtyards vegetable plants bloom, for spring's gone.
From the front of reception halls swallows have also flown away,
As most masters of these gilded mansions are now no more. [47]

新綠在樹殘紅稀，荒園菜花春既歸。
堂前燕子亦飛去，金屋主人多半非。

(p. 80)

During the Tokugawa era, the residences of the former domain lords were all in Tokyo. These consisted of great mansions and noble apartments, but now all have been confiscated by the government and either turned into

official residences or private homes. Those that have been abandoned are left to be overgrown with weeds. Therefore I quote here from a poem by Minister of Works Du [Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770)]: "Residences of the nobility all have new masters,/ And the dress of civil and military officials differs from that of former times."[48] These lines seem to fit this situation exactly.

Poem 50: *Bingyuan* or *Byōin* 病院 (Hospitals)

These monk's chambers, fit for Vimalakīrti, are spotlessly clean,[49]
With medicine vessels and tea bowls supplied uniformly to all.
They may slice open the lungs, lay open the heart to inspect how organs look,
And, after all, fall short of Bian Que who examined people from behind walls.[50]

維摩丈室潔無塵，藥鼎茶甌布置勻。
刳肺剖心窺臟象，終輸扁鵲見垣人。

(p. 81)

Each district under government administration has a clinic to care for the sick. There, flowers, trees, bamboo, and rocks are arranged in an elegant and neat fashion, and assembled within are physicians to treat the patients, which is really a good way to do things. Those who prove incurable are often sent to large hospitals, where bodies are dissected to discover the cause of the illnesses involved. This too is a Western practice.

Poem 51: *Bowuguan* or *Hakubutsukan* 博物館 (Museums)

A great building with a thousand rooms of exhibits is open to view—
Looking around is like going on a tour through a mountain of treasure.
Stroking bronze barbarians was a strange experience that amazed,[51]
And I personally witnessed that the Han seal, "Wo Servile State," came here.

博物千間廣廈開，縱觀如到寶山回。
摩襠銅狄驚奇事，親見委奴漢印來。

(p. 82)

In a museum, nothing worthy of exhibition is excluded from display. For broadening experience and increasing wisdom—can one trust anything more than this! It posseses one gold seal, an inch square with a knob in the shape of a snake, whose text reads: "Han King of the Wo Servile State." It is said that someone in Chikuzen 筑前 [a former domain located in what is now northwestern Fukuoka prefecture] found it when digging in the ground. If we look into the *Hou Han shu*, we find that during the Jianwu Zhongyuan era (56-57 CE) [emissaries from] the Wo Servile State presented tribute and offered felicitations and that Emperor Guangwu gave them a seal with silk ribbon. It must be this very object.[52]

Poem 53: *Xinwenzhi* or *Shinbunshi* 新聞紙 (Newspapers)

A newspaper appears from the Imperial Capital—
The newly promulgated laws are even more enlightened.
Old fellows sunning under the eaves chat privately about them,
Not yet daring to offer their own irresponsible opinions.

一紙新聞出帝城，傳來令甲更文明。
曝簷父老私相談，未敢雌黃信口評。

(p. 84; # 50 in 1879 ed.)

From the edge of mountains to the shore of the sea, newspapers reach absolutely everywhere. They are excellent when it comes to providing information about current events and the airing of public opinion. However, since Westerners use newspapers to publish everything that happens, they have established laws to deal with slander against the imperial government and criticism of individual wrongdoing in order to prevent irresponsible license. Minor offenses result in fines, and major offenses result in imprisonment. Japan is following their example in all of this. Whenever current government policy is presented in newspapers, if it is not referred to as "civilized" (*bunmei* 文明), it is called "enlightened" (*kaika* 開化).

If you want to know what happened long ago, read the old
histories,
But if you want to know what's happening now, read the
newspaper.
All schools of thought and every thinker are there, so not a one's
left out,

And it reaches everyone everywhere, so all can share the same words.

欲知古事讀古史，欲知新事讀新聞。
九流百家無不有，六合之內同此文。

(p. 85; in 1890 edition only)

Newspapers are for examining current events and keeping the whole country informed—everything is included in them. If anything new happens in any country anywhere in the world, conveyed by telegraph in the morning, it gets published by the evening, so we may say that it is possible to know what is happening in the world without leaving one's own home. The newspaper originated in the court bulletin (*dibao* 邸報), and it resembles the collectanea (*congshu* 叢書), but, since it is larger in form and wider in function, it surpasses them by far.

Poem 56: *Xuexiao kemu* 學校科目 (School Curriculum) or *Jusha* 儒者 (Confucians)

The *Five Classics* there on the top shelf really seem excluded,
But university students do keep watch over the Rabbit Garden,[53]
And poor Confucian scholars still are found in their seamed sleeves,
Writing books, sweeping leaves, growing old on famous mountains.[54]

五經高閣竟如刪，太學諸生守兔園。
猶有窮儒衣縫掖，著書掃葉老名山。

(p. 94; #53 in 1879 ed.)

As for texts used in schools, besides those concerned with Western learning, there are Japanese books on geography and history. Chinese works include prose by the eight masters of the Tang and Song eras,[55] the *Tongjian lanyao* 通鑑攬要 (Grasping the Essentials of the *Comprehensive Mirror*),[56] and abridged versions of the twenty-one dynastic histories, but the *Five Classics* and the *Four Books* are kept tied up in bundles on the top shelf! However, there is no doubt that many unemployed scholars of lofty talent and broad learning live in seclusion.[57]

Poem 57: *Shiguan xuexiao* 士官學校 (Officers Academy) or *Kairiku shikan gakkō* 海陸士官學校 (Army and Navy Officers Academy)

One who wishes to contend against the allied power of Qi and Chu,[58]
Must study books never written by Sun or Wu.[59]
To shrink the earth and stitch the heavens together, technology exists for both,
For, besides steamships, there are flying chariots too.[60]

欲爭齊楚連橫勢，要讀孫吳未著書。
縮地補天皆有術，火輪舟外又飛車。

(p. 95)

There is an Officers Academy for the army and navy whose exclusive mission is to educate military leaders. For everything involved—strategic use of terrain, best use of weapons, disposition of troops, military tactics, strengthening and positioning of fortifications, drilling the proper use of hands and feet—whole books exist on each subject. Illustrations are drawn and written explanations attached, and when these fail to exhaust the subject, models are constructed in wood and clay so that one can understand what is involved at a glance. This is not just "piling up grains of rice to make mountains,"[61] for students personally try things out and practice them. Even when at peace they behave as if they were confronting a great enemy. Westerners have an adage: "Selecting military leaders is harder than drilling soldiers, for soldiers can be made ready in several months but military leaders can only be ready to fulfill duties after many years of training." And this is how they extend their military power! The Japanese developed their army by emulating the French and Germans and created a navy in imitation of the British.

Poem 58: *Nüzi shifan* 女子師範 (Women's Normal School) or *Joshi shihan gakkō* 女子師範學校 (The Women's Teacher College) (1)

Secluded courtyard and paulownia trees raise these phoenixes,
Bathed in the beneficent gleam of ivory pins and brocade waist sashes.

By the time her embroidered dress brightens the street, quitting the imperial carriage,
A young woman has already dusted off the jade seat for her inside.

深院梧桐養鳳凰，牙籤錦帙浴恩光。
繡衣照路鸞輿降，早有雛姬掃玉床。

(p. 96)

In the ninth year of the Meiji era (1876), the Empress of Japan, donating personal funds for the purpose, commanded that one hundred young women from samurai families and the nobility be invited to undergo teacher training at a "Women's Teacher College," which would in the space of three years qualify them as women teachers.[62] The Empress personally attends both matriculation days and graduations, her imperial carriage providing a magnificent spectacle in the streets. High state officials and court ladies, lifting ceremonial dress off the ground, arrive together in pairs. The old, pens inserted in their hair, and the young, notebooks held in their hands, both kneel in greeting at the entrance gate and prostrate themselves inside the hall. A brush with scarlet handle records the event in the college history, listing it there as a grand ceremony.[63] Sometimes the Empress presents books and articles of clothing to the most diligent and brightest students in the college.

Poem 59: *Nü xuesheng* 女學生 (Girl Students) or *Joshi shihan gakkō* 女子師範學校 (The Women's Teacher College) (2)

Holding a book, kneeling long, they use a red wool rug,
Finished reciting, they pick up needles and work at embroidering jackets.
At home they may keep bothering mother and father for flowers and fruit,
But when they can steal spare time, they hang up maps of the world.

捧書長跪藉紅氈，吟罷拈鍼弄繡襦。
歸向爺娘索花果，偷閒鉤出地球圖。

(p. 97)

Although women's teacher colleges also often have Western learning in the curriculum, they still have women's needlework as a subject, saying that "sewing is one of the four female virtues" (*fukō kyo sitoku no ichi* 婦功居四德之一).[64] There is even a Japanese translation of Cao Dagu's 曹大家 (Mistress Cao, i. e., Ban Zhao 班昭 [ca. 45-ca. 115]) *Nüjie* 女誡 (Admonishments to Women). The graded curriculum in these colleges is about the same as that of the secondary schools [for boys]. Private students taught through the dark red gauze curtain of a [Lady] Xuanwen [jun] 宣文[君] also often happens.[65] For example, Atomi Takino 跡見瀧野 [Atomi Kakei 跡見花蹊 (1840-1926)][66] teaches one to two hundred girl pupils, of whom a rather large number can write and draw by the age of five or six.

Poem 60: *Youzhiyuan* or *Yōchien* 幼稚園 (Kindergartens)

All strapped on the back, little kids go off to the civil examinations,[67]
Where, tufts of hair drooping, they sit in a circle, hug books and recite.
When recess comes, their pretty little faces get smeared with grime,
And they love to pull on teacher's dress, beat their feet and sing.

都繃孩兒赴甲科，垂髫圍坐抱書哦。
閒來花面粉塗抹，愛挽師衣踏踏歌。

(p. 99)

Version in 1879 edition:

With sleeves joined together they're swimming fish, ganging up in play,
Books held in hand, notebooks under arms, they're geese lined up in rows.
Getting a knuckle rap on the head, one cries out in surprise—no fair!
Regretfully reminding me of myself playing truant as a schoolboy.

聯袂游兒逐隊嬉，捧書挾策雁行隨。
打頭栗蠶驚呼暮，悵憶兒童逃學時。

(p. 98)

Attached to Girls High School are kindergartens, all of which teach small children four and five years of age. Using pictures or models of birds, wild animals, plants, tree, and articles of daily use, the children are taught the names of all these things. They are also taught paper cutting, drawing horizontal and vertical lines, how to make clay figurines and to fold paper into figures—in order to develop their knowledge. They are also taught singing, oral preser'ation, and the writing of characters. All sorts of play-things such as footballs and swings are made available, so when recess comes, they are allowed to play with these in order that their hearts and minds get all possible encouragement and their physical energy is properly cultivated. The curriculum is always implemented according to a fixed, in-variable timetable, and sitting, standing, starting, and stopping all take place as if done according to military discipline. This is the method of teaching as it is done in Western countries. These schools are provided with nurses and monitors to help out.

Poem 65: *Sishiqi zimu* 四十七字母 (The Forty-Seven Phonetic Symbols) or *Iroha yonjū shichi ji* イロハ四十七字 (*I*, *Ro*, *Ha*, and the Forty-Seven Symbols)

A three-year old, not finding it hard to learn "its" and "none,"[68]
Learns the language syllable by syllable, then starts to learn to write.
The spring worms and autumn snakes that crazily fill the paper
Pose the question, "Mother, how have you been feeling lately?"

不難三歲識之無，學語牙牙便學書。
春蚓秋蛇紛滿紙，問娘眼食近何如。

(p. 106)

The sounds of the native language can be represented by only forty-seven characters, and these forty-seven syllables are all found either among the *zhi* 支 to *wei* 微 or the *ge* 歌 to *ma* 麻 rhyming categories.[69] All the forty-seven syllables are included in the "*Iroha* Song."[70] The strokes involved are also very simple and easy to learn.

[*Huang's annotation*: *Yi* 伊 is *i* イ; *lü* 呂 is *ro* ロ; *bo* 波 is *ha* ハ; *ren* 仁 is *ni* 二; *bao* 保 is *ho* ホ; *bian* 邊 is *hen* ヘ; *zhi* 止 is *to* ト; *zhi* 知 is *chi* チ; *li* 利 is *ri* リ; *nu* 奴 is *nu* ヌ; *liu* 留 is *ru* ル; *yuan* 遠 is *yo* ヲ; *he* 和 is *wa* ワ; *jia* 加 is *ka* カ; *yu* 與 is *yo* ヨ; *duo* 多 is *ta* タ; *li* 禮 is *re* レ; *zeng* 曾 is *so* ソ; *jin* 津 is *tsu* ツ; *ni* 禰 is *ne* ネ;

nai 奈 is *na* ナ; *liang* 良 is *ra* ラ; *wu* 武 is *mu* ム; *yu* 宇 is *u* ウ; *jing* 井 is [*w*]*i* キ; *nai* 乃 is *no* ノ; *yu* 於 is *o* オ; *jiu* 久 is *ku* ク; *ye* 也 is *ya* ヤ; *mo* 末 is *ma* マ; *ji* 計 is *ke* ケ; *bu* 不 is *fu* フ; *ji* 己 is *ko* コ; *jiang* 江 is *e* エ; *tian* 天 is *ten* テ; *a* 阿 is *a* ア; *zuo* 左 is *sa* サ; *ji* 幾 is *ki* キ; *you* 由 is *yu* ユ; *nü* 女 is *nu* メ; *mei* 美 is *mi* ミ; *zhi* 之 is *shi* シ; *hui* 惠 is [*w*]*e* ヱ; *bi* 比 is *hi* ヒ; *mao* 毛 is *mo* モ; *shi* 世 is *se* せ; *cun* 寸 is ス. When components of Chinese characters are so borrowed, the resulting characters are called *pianjiazi* 片假字 (borrow sides characters, i. e., *katakana* 片假名), and when whole Chinese characters are borrowed, these become the cursive forms of *yi/i* 伊 *lü/ro* 呂 *bo/ha* 波 [etc.] (i. e., *hiragana* 平假名). Therefore, once the little children of this country learn to speak, they are able to understand all the phonetic symbols and so can read stories and write letters. Sometimes the phonetic symbols are used together with Chinese characters, but when the symbols alone are used, no girl fails to understand them.]

Poem 71: *Mingshi yimin* 明室遺民 (Ming Loyalist) or *Shu Shunsui* 朱舜水 (Zhu Shunsui)

In the end, this overseas loyalist never returned—
When old age came, he kept wiping tears from his eastward gaze.
For the rest of his life he thought it shameful to eat Prosperous Reign grain
And so even outdid the West Mount composers of the Pick Ferns song.

海外遺民竟不歸，老來東望淚頻揮。
終身恥食興朝粟，更勝西山賦采薇。

(p. 118)

Zhu Zhiyu's 朱之瑜 (1600-1682) personal name was Luyu 魯璵, and the Japanese called him Shunsui sensei 舜水先生.[71] He was a Tribute Student (*gongsheng* 貢生) from Yuyao 余姚 district in Zhejiang 浙江. When the Ming fell, he fled to Japan several times, where he eventually settled for good.[72] The Lord of Mito Domain 水戶藩主 Minamoto [Tokugawa] Mitsukuni (1628-1700) treated him with the utmost respect as his devoted disciple. When he died, at more than eighty years of age, Minamoto had engraved on his tombstone "Imperial Scholar of the Ming" 明徵士, which was what Zhu had always wanted to become. Shunsui delighted in expounding Confucian doctrines and in his day attracted great numbers of students

who came to him as if driven by the wind. Many of these became famous in their own right. When Zheng Zhilong 鄭芝龍 (1604-1661) was in Taiwan, he once sent Shunsui a letter requesting troops and offering a plan to restore the Ming.[73] Wang Yi 王翊 (1616-1651), who was minister to the Prince Regent of Lu 魯監國 and whose army suffered the great defeat [by Manchu forces] at Dalanshan 大嵐山 in Yuyao, was also Zhu's friend. As for loyalists of fallen states who truly were able to avoid eating the "grain of Zhou," there has only been this one man throughout all the ages. Since there is no biography for him in the *Yuyao xianzhi* 余姚縣志, Shen Meishi 沈梅史 collected facts about his life,[74] which I shall use to amend that record when I return to China. At the same time, Chen Yuanyun 陳元贇 (1587-1671) became a retainer in the Owari 尾張 domain (present-day Aichi prefecture 愛知縣), and Dai Mangong 戴曼公 (dates unknown; granted Japanese nationality in 1653) became a retainer in the Kii domain (present-day Wakayama prefecture). Later, there was also Zhang Fei 張斐 who tried to bring Shunsui's infant grandson to him,[75] but, due to the strict interdiction against foreign travel, he was prevented from reaching him [refused entry at Nagasaki] and so had to take the child back. Feiwen's *Mangcangyuan ji* 莽蒼園集 (Collected works from the Garden of Wild Hues) exists and circulates in the world.

Poem 73: *Ai guo zhishi* 愛國志士 (Patriotic Men of Principle) or *Kin Ōke* 勤王家 (To Serve the Imperial Family)

They pounded on palace gates and grievously reported to the gods on high
How many solitary loyalists were now ministers buried in the wilds.
Cut off the heads of all ministers, yet ministerial pens remain—
It was due to scholars that "Revere the Emperor" succeeded after all!

叩閽哀告九天神，幾箇孤忠草莽臣。
斷盡臣頭臣筆在，尊王終賴讀書人。

(p. 121)

Since the time when the Tokugawa Shoganate elevated Confucian learning to a place of honor, scholars who realized the great principles of morality and ethics (*dayi* 大義) began to understand the error and evil of despotic power. The intention of Minamoto [Tokugawa] Mitsukuni in writing the *Dai Nihonshi* 大日本史 (Great History of Japan) was to revere the

royal family (*sonnōshitsu* 尊王室) but, since he himself was closely related to the shogunate rulers, he dared not discuss this openly. Later, the commoners Takayama Hikokurō 高山彦九郎 (Masayuki 正之 [1747-93]) and Gamō Hidesane 蒲生秀實 (Kunpei 君平 [1768-1813]) were the first to write treatises advocating the abolition of the feudal system. When people began to promote the idea of "Revere the Emperor and Expel the Barbarians" (*sonnō jōi* 尊王攘夷), it quickly became a catch phrase repeated everywhere. The *bakufu* 幕府 (shogunate) instituted a policy of widespread arrests, and countless martyrs suffered decapitation. However, when success was finally achieved, this was actually due to the power of *Hanxue* 漢學 (classical Chinese studies). How was such power used to serve the state? By promoting its abolition! This Culture of Ours (*siwen*) was present, and the spirits of Jinmu and Sujin up in Heaven silently observed its workings. In the second year of Meiji (1869), officials were dispatched by the court to perform memorial rites at the households of the Mitsukuni, Gamō, and Takayama families, and their descendants were honored with government stipends.

Poem 81: *Shinran* 親鸞 or *Ikkōshū* 一向宗 (Sect of Single-Minded Devotion)

In the Buddhist temple, deep, deep Māhākāla is buried
Under millions of yellow tokens—piles and piles of coins.
A Great Master himself oversees this temple of mandarin ducks,[76]
Where his priest's wife joins in the practice of parrot meditation.

佛閣沈沈覆黑天，黃標百萬數堆錢。
大師自主鴛鴦寺，梵嫂同參鸚鵡踐。

(p. 136)

The Honganji 本願寺 proclaims itself a temple belonging to the *Ikkōshū*, a teaching founded by Shinran (1173-1262).[77] Its doctrine states that it is not required to abandon secular life or to become a monk, but instead one is allowed to take a wife, eat meat, and drink wine—as long as one's heart is pure, one can be a disciple of the Buddha. Because of this, half the people of Japan are monks! A decree was issued in the sixth year of Meiji (1874) that declared that all Buddhist monks were allowed to eat meat. A priest's wife is called either *kuli/kori* 庫裏 (temple kitchen) or *dahei/daikoku* 大黑. Dahei/Daikoku is the common name for the god of wealth.[78] After the

Restoration, most productive land belonging to the Buddhists was confiscated by the government, so their power has begun to wane.

Poem 76: *Shiren* 詩人 (Poets) or *Nihon no kanshi* 日本漢詩 (Classical Chinese Verse Written in Japan)

To observe customs, if you take up the *Supporting Mulberry Collection*,
Best of all is the "Banquet Attendance Poem" at the start of the first scroll.
I've read all through the *Soaring Above the Clouds* and the *Elegant Lines*,
But have to say, after all, the Prince's poetry is still the very best.

觀風若採扶桑集，壓卷先編侍宴詩。
讀盡凌雲兼麗藻，終推帝子獨工辭。

(p. 126)

Classical verse (*shi* 詩) in Japan begins with the "Banquet Attendance Poem" (*Jienshi*) by Prince Ōtomo (Ōtomo no Ōji 大友皇子, [648-672]),[79] which reads:

Imperial splendor outshines sun and moon,
So His Majesty's virtue fills Heaven and Earth.
The Three Powers are united in Peace and Prosperity,
And the myriad domains display the righteousness of true subjects.

皇明光日月，帝德載天地。三才並泰昌，萬國表臣義。

This really has the sense and spirit (*qixiang* 氣象) of when Heaven and Earth were created (*kaipi tiandi* 開辟天地), replete with the double luminosity of sun and moon (*riyue chongguang* 日月重光)!

General anthologies of classical verse include: *Fusōshū* 扶桑集 (Supporting Mulberry Collection), *Kaifūsō* 懷扶桑 (Elegant Examples of Cherished Airs From the Past), *Ryōun shū* 凌雲集 (Soaring Above the Clouds Collection), *Honchō reisō* 本朝麗藻 (Elegant Lines From the Current Imperial Era), and *Keikokushū* 經國集 (Statecraft Collection). From the Engi 延喜 (901-922) to the Tenryaku 天曆 (947-956) era, literary culture may be said to have flourished.

However, collections of individual poets did not yet exist. Later, those who were skilled in expressing themselves in classical verse include Arai Kinmi 新井君美 (1657-1725) [*Huang's annotation*: There is a *Hakuseki shisō*白石詩藻 (Drafts of Hakuseki's poetry).]; Yanada Kuniyoshi 梁田邦美 (1672-1757) [*Huang's annotation*: Personal name Keiran 景鸞 and sobriquet Zeigan 蛻巖, he was a native of Edo. There is a *Seigan bunshū* 蛻巖文集 (Collected Works of Seigan).]; Gion Yu 祇園瑜 (1677-1751) [*Huang's annotation*: Personal name Hakutama 伯玉 and sobriquet Nankai 南海, he was a native of Kii 紀伊. There is a *Nankaishū* 南海集 (Collected Works of Nankai).]; Akiyama Gi 秋山儀 (1702-63) [*Huang's annotation*: Personal name Shiu 子明 and sobriquet Gyokuzan 玉山, he was a native of Bungo 豐後. There are a *Gyokuzan shish* 玉山詩集 (Collected Poems of Gyokuzan) and *Gyokuzan* 玉山遺稿 (Writings Left By Gyokuzan).]; Kan Tokinori 菅晉帥 (1748-1827) [*Huang's annotation*: Personal name Reiky 禮卿 and sobriquet Chazan 茶山, he was a native of Bingo 備後. There is a *Kōyō sekiyō sonsha shikō* 黃葉夕陽村舍詩 (Draft of Poems From the Yellow Leaves and Evening Sun Homestead).]; Rai Tadanago 賴惟柔 (1756-1834) [*Huang's annotation*: Personal name Senki 千祺 and sobriquet Kyōhei 杏坪, he was a native of Aki 安藝.]; Rai Noboru 賴襄 (1780-1832), Yana[gawa] Mōi 梁[川]孟緯 (1789-1858) [*Huang's annotation*: Personal name Kōto 公圖 and sobriquet Seigan 星巖, he was a native of Mino 美濃. There is a *Seiganshū* 星巖集 (Collected Works of Seigan).]; and Hirose Ken 廣瀨建 (or 簡) (1782-1856) [*Huang's annotation*: Personal name Shiki 子基 and sobriquet Tansō 淡窗, he was a native ....[80] There is an *Enshirō shishō* 遠思詩鈔 (Selection of Poetry From the Storied Bower of Far-Ranging Thought).] All these poets are famous masters (*mingjia* 名家). And when we arrive at the present, we find that an overwhelming number really know how to write poetry.[81]

> Poem 77: *Hanshi shengshuai* 漢詩盛衰 (Rise and Fall of Chinese Classical Verse in Japan) or *Nihon no shidan to Chūgoku no shidan* 日本の詩壇と中國の詩壇 (The Worlds of Poetry in China and Japan)

How many have traced 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!

幾人溯漢魏根源，唐宋以還格尙存。

難怪雞林賈爭市，白香山外數隨園。

(p. 128; in 1879 ed.)

Japanese classical verse poets first emulated the Tang poets 唐人, then, for the Ming 明, Li 李 [Panlong 攀龍 (1514-1570)] 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).[82] 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 zhuanyi* 隨我風氣以轉移).

Bai Letian 白樂天 (Bai Juyi) and Yuan Suiyuan 袁隨園 (Yuan Mei) are especially admired, and eight or nine out of ten poets emulate them. [*Huang's annotation*: During the Tang era, there was a man called Ono no Takamura 小野篁 (802-852) 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 (1749-1820) [*Huang's annotation*: His sobriquet was Kansai 寬齋, and he was a native of Kōtsuke 上野 (Jōmō 上毛).]; Ōkubo Tenmin 大窪天民 (1767-1837) [*Huang's annotation*: His sobriquet was Shibutsu 詩佛 (Poetry Buddha), and his native place was Jōban 常磐. There is a *Shiseidō shū* 詩聖堂集 (Collected Poetry From the Hall of the Poet Sages).]; Kashiwagi Akira 柏木昶 (1763-1819) [*Huang's annotation*: Personal name Eijitsu 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 菊池五山 (1769-1849) [*Huang's annotation*: His personal name was Mugen 無絃 and his native place was Sanuki 讚岐. There is a *Gozandō shiwa* 五山堂詩話 (Discussions of Poetry from

the Five Mountains Hall).] All these are praised as famous masters of the quatrain form.

At literary drinking parties, people take up brush and lengthily intone their compositions, and those who are powerful singers are often pressed to chant poems of the Tang and Song masters. However, modern age *bunjin* 文人 (literary men) are instead buying works of American poetry and translating the collections of Englishmen.

Why should This Culture of Ours be the only one to rise and fall?
Sideways moving letters are just now galloping everywhere in strength,[83]
But who knows if any modern day Korean merchants
Would ever again spend yellow gold on such poetry as that!

豈獨斯文有盛衰，旁行字正力橫馳。
不知近日雞林賈，誰費黃金更購詩。

(p. 130; in 1890 ed.)

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 *Nan Song zashishi* 南宋雜事詩 (Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from the Southern Song)[84] and *Luanyang zayong* 灤陽雜詠 (Miscellaneous Refrains about Luanyang)[85] and mechanically put things together after the fashion of those works. 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!

Poem 78: *Zhongguo shuhua* 中國書畫 (Chinese Calligraphy and Painting) or *Kanseki hozon* 漢籍保存 (Preservation of Chinese Writings) (1)

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.

處胎累劫出經藏，片羽猶留熟紙黃。
晝夜六時丁甲守，一千余載墨猶香。

(p. 130; in 1879 ed.)

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.

一千五百年前紙，在在心靈爲護持。
如見古人如見佛，焚香百拜展經時。

(p. 132; in 1890 ed.)

Monk Tetsujō 徹定 at the Chi'on-in 知恩院 (Awareness of Grace Temple) in Saikyō 西京 (Kyoto) is charged with the keeping of a copy done by Tao Wuhu 陶仵虎, of the Western Wei 西魏 era [535-556], of the *Pusa chutai jing* 菩薩處胎經.[86] 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 1,510 years distant from the current *yimao* 己卯 year (1879),[87] 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*), entrusted to monks, thus managed to avoid destruction age after age. Master Tetsu is also the keeper of a *Daloutanjing* 大樓炭經 (Great tower of coal sutra)[88] by the hand of Su Qingjie 蘇慶節 of the Tang [*Huang's annotation*: According to the [*Jiu*]*Tang shu* 舊唐書 ([Old] history of the Tang), Qingjie was the son of Su Lie 蘇烈, who died in the third year of the Qianfeng era of Emperor Gaozong,[89] and had been enfeoffed as the Duke of Wuyi 武邑公 district. However, since this scroll is signed "Duke of Zhangwu commandery 章武公," it must date from after Su Lie had died and Qingjie's title of enfeoffment had been changed—but the *History* fails to mention such details.[90]] and a hand box travel version of

the *Huayanjing yinyi siji* 華嚴經音義私記 (Pronunciation and meaning of the Garland Sutra, with personal notes),[91] both of which are works by Tang era calligraphers. Besides these, at the home of the monk [Hata] Giō [秦]義應 of the Tentokuji 天徳寺 (Virtue of Heaven Temple),[92] I saw a *Qianziwen* 千字文 (Thousand character classic)[93] by the hand of the monk Huaisu 懷素 (dates uncertain, either 725-after 785 or 737-after 799); at the home of Finance Minister (Ōkurakyō 大藏卿) Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信 (1838-1922) I saw a horizontal picture scroll entitled *Yangcan tu* 養蚕圖 (Raising silkworms) by the Song era painter Liu Songnian 劉松年 (ca. 1150-after 1225), a horizontal picture scroll *Luohan tu* 羅漢圖 (Arhats) by the monk Guanxiu 貫休 (832-912), and two hanging scrolls entitled *Jianglong tu* 降龍圖 (Making the dragon descend) and *Fuhu tu* 伏虎圖 (Subduing the tiger) by Li Longmian 李龍眠 (Li Gonglin 李公麟 [ca. 1049-1106]); at the home of Miyajima Seiichirō 宮島誠一郎 (1838-1911), I saw a piece of grass-style (*cao* 草) cursive calligraphy in the hand of Zhang Dian 張顛 (i.e., Zhang Xu 張旭 [active 710-50]); at the Tokyo Prefecture Library 東京府書籍館 [predecessor to the Ueno Library 上野圖書館] I saw one scroll of a Buddhist sutra written by Ono no Takamura 小野篁 (802-852) and two poems entitled "When wronged" (*Ququshi* 屈曲時) by Master Zhu 朱子 (Zhu Xi 朱熹 [1130-1200]); at the home of the former Councilor of State (*sangi* 參議) Ōkubo Toshimichi 大久保利通 (1830-1878), I saw calligraphy by Yue Shaobao (Yue Fei). It is said that other pieces of calligraphy by Yue are preserved in the Satsuma [former domain] library 薩摩書庫 [present-day Kagoshima prefecture 鹿兒島縣 in Kyushu]. Works that date from the Yuan and Ming on are far too numerous to mention. However, an extreme number of these are fakes, but each time one is sold, it still goes for thousands of pieces of gold.

Poem 91: *Wuyi deng yu* 烏衣登輿 (Garbed in Black, the Bride Mounts the Sedan Chair) or *Konrei* 婚禮 (The Marriage Ritual)

Red candles burning high illuminating her departure,
She ends her changing with black attire, and it's time to leave the gate,
When a child, she loved her mother, now she loves her new groom,
Gently swaying, double knots of colored silk in her hair.

絳蠟高燒照別離，烏衣換畢出門時。
小時憐母今憐婿，宛轉雙頭綰色絲。

(p. 146)

Brides from wealthy families change the color of their attire thirteen times, the first being white and the last black. Once she ends her changing with the black, it is time to mount the sedan chair. Her mother binds up her hair for her, tying a multicolored piece of fine silk into the bun. The hall is filled with burning candles, and bonfires are set in the courtyard. This is actually a ritual to send off the dead but now symbolizes the fact that the bride will never come home here again.

Poem 99: *Huozang* 火葬 (Cremation) *Butsusō* 佛葬 (Buddhist Funeral Rites)

Money is scattered along the route as the procession pays for the road,
"Marvelous Law of the Lotus Sutra" written on inscribed banners.
A coffin of paulownia wood three inches thick there stands up like a man,
As they change to sandals, greet one another, enter the transformation shrine.

散路抛錢買路行，蓮花妙法寫銘旌。
桐棺三寸如人立，易辮相迎入化城。

(p. 155)

Cremation used to be often employed for disposing of the dead. The wooden coffin is set up like a Buddhist shrine niche, and monks are engaged to chant sutras. The body is wiped with liquid emollients, which makes the corpse soft as clay. Then the body is arranged with its hands clapsed in front and seated in a cross-legged position. The coffin is then pasted over with papers on which are written the six characters *Nanwu Amituofo/Namu Amidabutsu* 南無阿彌陀佛 (*Namah Amitābha*, "Blessed Be the Amita Buddha") or the seven characters *Nanwu Miaofa lianhua jing/Namu Myōhō Renge kyō* 南無妙法蓮華經 (Blessed Be the Lotus Sutra of the Marvelous Law). On the day of the funeral, with twenty to thirty paper banners, on which the same six or seven character phrases are written as on the coffin, arranged in front, the procession starts off, scattering money along the way, a procedure called "money to pay for the road." Bamboo poles are tied together to make a *huaren cheng/kenin jō* 化人城 (Transformed One's Shrine). Those in charge set out many straw sandals, so that those attending the funeral can change into them before entering the enclosure. When they come out, they change out of the straw sandals and go home. The bereaved

family members start by wearing white clothes and white caps, but when the funeral is over, they change into colorful clothes to go home.

Poem 100: *Chixinnü/Akai* [*Akaki*] *shinnyo* 赤信女 (Madam Red Faithful) or *Hōmyō* 法名 (Dharma Name)

"Birds cry," "Moon sets" express her sad thoughts,
And she cuts her hair, replicating the "Practicing Perfection Nun."[94]
Red tears splash forth, composing a crimson inscription—
She can't bear that the stone gravesite gate contains all the grief alone.

鳥啼月落寫哀思，翦髮翻同練行尼。
紅淚灑來題赤字，不堪石闕獨含悲。

(p. 156)

Buddhist priests also provide people with posthumous titles, for example, *Yueluo niaoti anzhu/Getsuraku chōtei anju* 月落鳥啼庵主 (Mistress of the Moon Sets Birds Cry Nunnery) or *Lüshuyuan chongyin jushi/Ryokujuin chōin koji* 綠樹院重陰居士 (The Doubly Secluded Lay Buddhist of the Green Trees Monastery). When a husband dies, the wife always cuts her hair, stops using any adornment, changes her name to a posthumous title, a something or other "Temple," and is commonly referred to as a "Madam Red Faithful." The reason for this is because when the posthumous names of the husband and wife are inscribed on the tombstone, that of the one still living is filled in with red paint.

Poem 147: *Jianghu xiang* 江戶香 (Edo Fragrance) or *Shokubutsu* 食物 (Things to Eat) (1)

I want to taste each piece so much that I stain my fingers and drool—
Flavored with *shaoyao* peonies and served up with ginger too.
Whenever our menus and cookbooks talk about ways to prepare eel,
We'll have to amend them to include "Edo Fragrance" of the Japanese!

染指流涎各欲嘗，既調勺藥又和薑。
食單蔬譜兼銛議，合補東人江戶香。

(p. 211)

Grilled eel is called *kabayaki* 蒲燒 [*pushao*: grilled over dried rush plants]. There is a special way of slicing the eel and a special way of grilling it. It is marinated in good rice wine and enhanced with fine soy sauce, blended seasonings, mustard (*jie* 芥) [i. e., Japanese horseradish, *wasabi* 山葵], or ginger to suit the taste. Since Edo is most skillful at preparing it, all regions of Japan call grilled eel "Edo Fragrance" (*Edo kō* 江戶香). Of all foods in Japan, the most prized is fish, and the favorite way to prepare fish is to serve it in thin slices (*kuai* 膾) [i. e., as *sashimi* 刺身]. The red flesh with its white patterns is cut as thin as cicada wings. Besides mustard [*wasabi*], it is eaten with nothing other than soy sauce. They also like to combine fish with cooked rice, which they call nikuan 肉盦飯 (rice with meat/fish in a covered bronze vessel) or kottōhan 骨董飯 (rice in an antique) [now commonly called gomokuhan 五目飯]. They use a great deal of eel for this, uncombined with anything else, so this has such a fish reek that one cannot bear to smell it.

Poem 148: *Xunchang chafan* 尋常茶飯 (Ordinary Tea and Food) or *Shokubutsu* 食物 (Things to Eat) (2)

Seaweed and radish make do as common fare at home,
And the rice they eat, the fish made into soup, sink into the lungs cold.
But recently they've been dreaming of vegetable gardens trampled flat—
It's the provisioner's mutton they stuff themselves with at great feasts.[95]

苔殤蘆殃作家常，飯稻羹魚沁肺涼。
踏破菜園新作夢，大餐飽食大官羊。

(p. 212)

They eat a lot of raw things cold and like to eat fish, which, as soon as it is sliced very thin they immediately set chopsticks to. They eat a lot of vegetables, and even things thoroughly cooked they prefer to eat cold. As for common fare, besides radishes [i.e., *daikon* 大根, the Japanese giant radish]

and bamboo shoots, they never have much of anything else. Recently they have been copying the way Europeans eat, and sometimes use mutton and beef.[96]

Poem 149: Qiongzhi 瓊芝 (Agar-agar) or *Shokubutsu* 食物 (Things to Eat) (3)

Agar-agar makes a meal all by itself wrapped in a lotus leaf,
And locust leaves and pure water complete the making of "cold rinse."[97]
Since this vegetarian fare always lacks the zest given by cooking,
It's a veritable Cold Food Festival,[98] of course, morning after morning!

瓊芝作菜綠荷包，槐葉清原盡冷淘。
蔬筍總無煙火氣，居然寒食度朝朝。

(p. 214)

Shihuacai 石花菜 (rock blossom food) [agar-agar] grows on sea rocks, and another name for it is *qiongzhi* 瓊芝 (jade *zhi*-plant). After boiling and when it congeals, using a square box inside of which a mesh screen of brass wire is fixed, one places it inside and forces it through the mesh with a wooden pusher. Oozing out like threads clear as ice, it really looks nice. This is actually what Chinese call *dongyangcai* 凍洋菜 (congealed ocean food). Japanese can eat raw, cold things. Rice is cooked once a day and eaten after it is mixed with water or tea and made into "cold rinse" (*lengtao* 冷淘) [i. e., *chazuke* 茶漬], which people then set chopsticks to with just some pickled bamboo shoots or preserved fruit [most likely *umeboshi* 梅干, salt pickled plums] on the side. In the homes of ordinary people, it is not at all unusual to start a cook fire just every other day or even at several days interval.

Endnotes

1. Important editions of Huang's works include: (1) Zhong Shuhe 鍾叔河, ed., *Riben zashishi guangzhu* 日本雜事詩廣注 (Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan, with expanded commentaries), in *Zou xiang shijie congshu* 走向世界叢書 (English Series title: *From East to West:*

Chinese Travelers Before 1911). Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985. The expanded commentaries consist of [a] excerpts that Zhong Shuhe gleaned from Huang's *Riben guozhi* 日本國志. (Treatises on Japan) that 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 實藤惠秀 and Toyoda Minoru 豊田, trans., *Nihon zatsuji shi* 日本雜事詩 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1968). (3) *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* 人境廬詩草箋注 (Draft of poems from the Hut within the Human Realm, with annotations). Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, ed. and ann., (rpt. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1999). (4) *Renjinglu jiwai shiji* 人境廬集外詩集 (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: Zhonghua shuju, 1960). (5) *Riben guozhi* 日本國志 (Treatises on Japan), (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1982). *Jindai Zongguo shiliao congkan xubian* 近代中國資料叢書續編 ed., Reprint of the Shanghai: Tushu jicheng yinshuju, 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: Chūbun shuppansha, 1991.

2. For an introduction to Huang Zunxian, see "Huang Tsun-hsien" by Fang Chao-ying in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Rpt., Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1967), pp. 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: 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 of J. D. Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian, 1848-1905*" (feature article), 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 黃遵憲 Literary Experiences in Japan (1877-82)," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 19 (Autumn 1997): 113-138; Richard John Lynn, "Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848-1905) and His Association with Meiji Era Japanese Literati (Bunjin 文人)," *Japan Review: Bulletin of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies* 10 (1998): 73-91.
3. Huang Zunxian, *Renjinglu*, p. 1.

4. Zhang Tangqi 張堂錡, *Huang Zunxian ji qishi yanjiu* 黃遵憲及其詩研究 (Research on Huang Zunxian and his poetry) (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1991), p. 200.
5. Huang Zunxian, *Riben zashishi*, 3:571-72; see also Zheng and Zhang, ed., *Huang Zunxian*, p. 127.
6. Huang actually stayed in Japan for almost five full years; the two years referred to here mean the two years during which he wrote the poems that went into the first edition of the *Riben zashi shi.*
7. *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo's Commentary), Duke Xi 15th year (644 BC): "The Duke's chariot had a team of four small horses that had been presented by the state of Zheng. Qing Zheng said: '. . . . Now you are using horses that were produced in a different state for the military task at hand. When they become afraid, their behavior will become aberrant and at odds with the commands of the driver. Their *qi* 氣 (spirit/vital energy) will be thrown into confusion, and they will be bewitched by excitement. Dark, negative blood will take them over completely, and their veins will stand out, swollen with agitation. They will appear to be strong on the outside but actually will be exhausted on the inside.'"
8. *Zhanguoce* 戰國策 (Intrigues of the Warring States), *Song* 宋 (*Sibu congkan ed.*), 10:4b: "In the time of King Kang, a sparrow hatched a hawk on the city wall, so the king had a diviner determine what this foretold. He said, 'As this is something great born from something small, it surely means that Song will come to rule the world by force.' The king was delighted. He then crushed Teng, attacked Xue, and occupied the territory of Huaibei, all of which made him even more inflated with pride and arrogance. Wishing to hasten his hegemony over the entire world, he shot at Heaven and battered Earth, chopped up the altars of the state and burned them, saying, 'Even Heaven and Earth will submit to me.'. . . . When the state of Qi heard of this and attacked Song, the people fled and did not defend the cities. King Kang escaped to a refuge at Nihou, where he then took sick and died."
9. This explains the additional poems included in the 1890 edition.
10. Cf. the sixteenth of Huang's *Riben zashishi* translated below.
11. This issue is explored in detail in Lynn, "This Culture of Ours."
12. I am preparing an integral annotated translation and study of the entire *Riben zashishi*; this selection here represents a portion of this work in progress.
13. See Lynn, "Huang Zunxian (1848-1905) and His Association with Meiji Era Japanese Literati."
14. The *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (Classic of Mountains and Waters), in 18 sections (*juan*), is a work of myth and geography that provides informa-

tion about plants and animals and collects together a wide variety of marvelous tales. Although it is traditionally ascribed to Bo Yi 伯益, who supposedly helped the sage-king Yu 禹 control the great flood in remote antiquity, it is actually an eclectic work assembled from materials dating from the time of the Warring States era (403-221 BCE) to the Qin (221-207 BCE) and Han (206 BCE-220 CE) eras. See *Shanhaijing*, with the commentary of Guo Pu 郭璞 (276-324), *Ershierzi* ed.

15. The poems are numbered according to the order in the 1890 edition, considerably different (200 poems) from the 1879 edition (154 poems). 1879 edition poems not included in the 1890 edition are so identified in parentheses with their original number. Note that some topics/titles exist in two completely different versions, while others differ only in part. All these variations are identified as to edition. Page numbers refer to Sanetō Keishū and Toyoda Minoru, trans., *Nihon zatsuji shi*, where all versions of poems in the 1879 and 1890 editions may be found. Huang never provided the poems with titles; the Chinese titles here are from Zhong Shuhe, ed., *Riben zashishi guangzhu*, and the Japanese titles are from Sanetō Keishū and Toyoda Minoru, trans., *Nihon zatsuji shi*. All the original prose commentaries may be found under the 1890 edition number of the poem in the Zhong Shuhe work. Japanese translations, rather loose paraphases unfortunately, of the commentaries are in the Sanetō Keishū and Toyoda Minoru work, with minimum (sometimes inadequate) annotation.
16. Huang has confused Ninigi no mikoto 瓊瓊杵尊 with his son, Hikohohodemi no mikoto 彦火火出見尊. The story that follows is about the latter.
17. When touched to the sea, Shiomitsuni 潮滿瓊 and Shiohiruni 潮涸瓊 control the tides: Shiomitsuni makes high tides, Shiohiruni the low.
18. Legend has it that Emperor Sujin 崇神天皇 founded a shrine at Kasanui no mura 笠縫邑 (supposedly located in present-day southeastern Nara prefecture 奈良縣, Shiki sub-prefecture 磯城郡) in honor of Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神 (天照大御神), the Sun Goddess, making his daughter Toyosukiiri hime 豊鍬入姫 its chief priestess. At the same time, he deposited the sword, mirror, and seal there for safekeeping (sometimes only the mirror and sword are mentioned). Later these were transferred to the shrine at Ise 伊勢神宮.
19. The sword is the *Ama no murakumo no tsurugi* 天叢雲劍 (Heavenly Sword From the Gathered Clouds) (see Poem 4); the mirror is the *Yata no kagami* 八咫鏡 (Eight Span Mirror); and the seal is the *Yasakani no magatama*, written either 八尺瓊勾玉 or 八坂瓊曲玉, (Eight Span Precious Jade Pendant).

20. "Biography of Sun Quan 孫權, ruler of Wu," in Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 47:1136: "According to what has been handed down from our elders, Emperor Qin Shihuang sent the sorcerer Xu Fu out to sea, along with several thousand boys and girls, to seek the mountain of the immortals in Penglai and find the elixer of immortality. In that land they remained and never returned. After many generations, the people there amounted to several tens of thousands of households." See also "Dongyi liezhuan 東夷列傳 (Account of the Eastern Barbarians)," in Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Latter Han) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 85:2822: "It is handed down that Qin Shihuang sent the sorcerer Xu Fu out to sea together with several thousand boys and girls to seek the mountain of the immortals in Penglai, which he failed to accomplish. Fearing execution, Xu Fu dared not return and so stayed in that land. As generation succeeded generation, people there eventually amounted to several ten thousands of households."
21. See Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, 85:2821: "During the *zhongyuan* year of the Jianwu era (56 CE), envoys from the Wonuguo 倭奴國 (Wo Servile State) brought tribute and paid their respects to court. The envoys referred to themselves as grand masters (*dafu*)."
22. "Narrow-minded views" translates *juxu zhi jian* 拘墟之見, which alludes to a passage in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Qiushui* 秋水 (Autumn Waters) (*Ershierzi* ed), 6:50a: "The reason why one can't talk about the sea with a frog in a well is because its view is limited to where it lives (*ju yu xu ye* 拘於墟也)."
23. *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou) (*Shisanjing zhushu* ed.) 18:760c: "Blood meat sacrificial rites should be used to ensure close and friendly relations among fraternal states." The sub-commentary of Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648) adds: "Fraternal states refers to those states whose feudal lords have the same surname, for example, states such as Lu, Wei, Jin, and Zheng."
24. Huang Shigong 黃石公 (supposedly Qin era [221-06 BCE]), *Sushu*, 素書 (Plain Writings) (*Congshu jicheng chubian* ed.), 15: "He who has self doubt does not trust others. ([Comment:] This is to be benighted.) He who trusts himself does not doubt others. ([Comment:] This is to be enlightened.)" The commentary in the 1890 edition is the same up to "Both are narrow-minded views of Confucian scholars." Then, Huang goes on to say simply, "and neither are the words of an historian who tries to record the truth nor an example of leaving something an open question."

25. The sword is the *Ama no murakumo no tsurugi* 天叢雲劍 (Heavenly Sword From the Gathered Clouds), and the mirror is the *Yata no kagami* 八咫鏡 (Eight Span Mirror); see Poem 5.
26. Tai E was a famous sword of antiquity, said to have been made by Ou Yezi 歐冶子 (Master Forger Ou) sometime during the Warring States era. Later, it symbolizes power and sovereignty. "Tai E has been given back" alludes to the expression "hold Tai E backwards" (Tai E *daochi* 太阿倒持), which occurs in a memorial by Mei Fu 梅福 (d. 2 CE) to the Han emperor concerning the dangers resulting from the abuse of worthy officials: "With the Qin this was not the case. By spreading wide the net of slander, it did Han's work and drove them (worthy officials) away. It held Tai E backwards, and give its hilt to Chu." See Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 67:2920. As the Qin gave away its sovereignty through neglect and abuse of officials, Japanese emperors gave away their sovereignty by ceding power to clans related to them by marriage. However, now the Tokugawa has been forced to turn "Tai E" around and return it, hilt first, to the Meiji emperor.
27. "Middle antiquity" (*zhonggu* 中古) includes the Nara 奈良 (646-794) and early Heian 平安 (794-866) eras.
28. Genpei refers to the hundred-odd years during which the Genji 源氏 (Minamoto 源) and Heike 平家 (Taira 平) clans vied for power during the twelfth century.
29. See *Shanhai jing*, 10:1373A.
30. I. e., an auspicious moment has come to make a major change in government leadership. "Can't see heads on the flight of dragons" alludes to the *Yong jiu* 用九 (All Use Yang Lines) section of Hexagram 1, *Qian* 乾 (Pure Yang) in the *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of Changes): "When one sees a flight of dragons without heads, it is good fortune." See Kong Yingda 孔穎達, *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義, (Correct Meaning of the Changes of Zhou) (*Shisanjing zhushu* ed.), 1:4b, and Richard John Lynn, trans., *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching As Interpreted By Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 138.
31. "Get their names displayed on party member steles" alludes to the story of the infamous Cai Jing 蔡京 (d. 1126): "At the beginning of the Chongning era (1102-1106), when Grand Preceptor Cai, who championed the former laws [the reform agenda initiated a generation earlier by Wang Anshi, 王安石 (1021-1086)], became chancellor, he not only cited all court officials of the Yuanyou era (1086-1093) and those who, up to the end of the Yuanfu era (1098-1100), had submitted memorials

arguing against the "new laws" (*xinfa* 新法) for vilification and exile but also had their names [Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101), etc.] inscribed on a stone called a "party membership stele" (*dangjibei* 黨籍碑). Moreover, he was going to have the penalty of exile applied to their descendents generation after generation forever." See Xu Du 徐度 (fl. ca. 1147), *Quesaobian* 卻掃編 (Pieces Written When No Longer Sweeping [the Front Path]) (*Congshu jicheng chubian* ed.), B:93.

32. Huang refers to a passage in the "Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices" (*Fengshan shu* 封禪書) in Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (ca. 145-ca. 86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 28:1369-70: "From the time of Kings Wei and Xuan of Qi and King Zhao of Yan, people were sent out on the sea to search for Penglai, Fangzhang, and Yingzhou, for these were the Isles of the Gods that legend placed in the Gulf of Bohai. They were not far from the human world, but the trouble was that whenever a boat was about to reach them, wind would spring up and draw it away. However, if any were to reach them, it would mean that all would become immortals there since they would acquire the elixir of everlasting life. All things including birds and beasts are white, and palaces and gate towers are made of gold and silver. Before reaching them, from a distance they would look like clouds, and, when one did reach them, these Three Isles of the Gods would only exist as reflections down under the sea. When they were approached, the wind would always draw one away, so, after all, no one ever managed to reach them."
33. See *Shanhai jing*, 13:1376b.
34. See the notes to Poem 5.
35. Huang, *Riben guozhi*, 10:1a-b.
36. One alternate name for Mount Fuji is indeed "Lotus Peak," but this name in Japanese is more commonly written Fuyōhō 芙蓉峰 and not Renhō.
37. That is, they are like the man from the state of Qi 杞, who worried so much that the sky would fall that he could not sleep or eat. See the *Liezi* 列子 (Sayings of Master Lie) (traditionally dated 3rd/4th century BCE but dated by modern scholarship to the late 3rd or early 4th century CE) (*Ershierzi* ed.), 1:196a.
38. As well as reference to the myth that the earth rests on the back of a giant turtle, allusion here is also to the *Liezi*: "To the east of the Bohai, who knows how many countless *li*, there is a great trench, truly a bottomless gorge . . . . Within it are located five mountains called Daiyu, Yuanjiao, Fanghu, Yingzhou, and Penglai. . . . But the roots of these

mountains did not have anything to be attached to, so they were always rising and falling, going and coming with the ebb and flow of the sea. . . . So God on High (Di 帝) ordered . . . that fifteen *ao* giant turtles hold them up on their heads. . . . But in the country of the Dragon Earl there was a giant who had to take but a few steps to reach where the five mountains were and hooked six of the *ao* in a single cast, which he then put together on his back and returned in all haste to his own country." See *Liezi*, 5:209a-209b.

39. This earthquake actually occurred in the sixth year of Ansei (1859).
40. "Moss" is a conceit for green patina.
41. See n. 28.
42. The priest greatly exaggerated the history of the Great Buddha, it actually dates from 1243, too late to have "seen" the battles between the Genji and the Heike. Even if it had been built earlier, it would not have "seen" the battles anyway, for it would have been enclosed in a building as it was when it was actually built later. Huang apparently did not know that this enclosure had been washed away by a giant tidal wave in 1495 and never replaced.
43. Also known as Dai Nankō 大楠公 (Great Lord Nan), Kusunoki Masashige was instrumental in preserving the legitimate Southern Dynasty, which began under the Latter Emperor Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (r. 1318-1339), against the Northern Dynasty supported by the Ashikaga Shogunate during the so-called Nanbokuchō 南北朝 era (1336-92) when two rival branches of the imperial family contended for power. Masashige committed *seppuku* (ritual suicide) after his forces were defeated at Hyōgo 兵庫 on the Minatogawa river (present-day Kobe) and he himself had received eleven wounds. A stele commemorating the site of his death was erected by order of Tokugawa Mitsukuni in 1692, and Masashige was honored as the principal *kami* 主神 at the Minatogawa Shrine, also called the Nankōsan 楠公山 (Temple to Lord Nan), which was built at this site after the Restoration in 1872.
44. *Tōshō gū* at Shiba, Edo/Tokyo, is located in present-day Shiba Park 芝公園 to the south of the Zōjōji 增上寺 (Temple of Increasing Improvement), the great Jōdo (Pure Land) 淨土 temple, close to where the Chinese Embassy was first located in the Gekkai'in 月界院 (Temple of the Moon Realm), one of the temples located within the precincts (*sannai* 山內) of the Zōjōji. This Tōshō gū should not be confused with the more elaborate shrine of the same name erected over the tomb of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) and now found in Ueno Park 上野公園. The name in both cases derives from Ieyasu's deification name, Tōshō Dai Gongen 東照大權現 (Great Avatar of Illumination in the

East). At the time of Huang's visit, the stone monument at the Shiba shrine was situated beneath two lofty gingko trees in front of the shrine office (*shamusho* 社務所). It is dated the sixth year of the Kansei era (1794), and reads:

惟銀杏樹　幹大鬱鬱
經幾星霜　枝榮蒼蒼
不折不撓　勿剪勿伐
固有禎祥　以比甘棠

Let these gingko trees
Live through however many starry frosts.
Neither harm nor hurt them,
For they surely embody numinous good fortune.

Trunks of such awesome girth,
Vigorous foliage so thick and green,
Don't cut them, don't chop them down,
So they can here serve in place of the sweet pear.

The "sweet pear" (*gantang* 甘棠) alludes to Ode 16 in the *Shijing* 詩經 (Classic of Odes), *Gantang* (Sweet Pear): "This luxuriant sweet pear, / Don't cut it, don't chop it down,/ For it is where Earl Shao stayed./ This luxuriant sweet pear, / Don't cut it, don't harm it,/ For it is where Earl Shao rested./ This luxuriant sweet pear, / Don't cut it, don't bring it down,/ For it is where Earl Shao stopped." See *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (Correct Meaning of Mao's Version of the Odes) (*Shisanjing zhushu* ed.), 1:57a-58a. This information concerning the *Tōshō gū* comes from the *Shinsen Tōkyō meisho zu'e* 新撰東京名所圖會 (Famous Places of Tokyo Illustrated, New Edition) (reprint Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1992), 6:143 (June 1897), 16 (75a), which, quoting the *San'ensan shi* 三緣山志 (Gazetteer of the Temple of the Three Links to the Buddha (*nidānas*) [the Zōjōji]), adds that originally, when the shrine was still called the Ankoku den 安國殿 (Maintain the Nation in Peace Temple) five sacred gingko trees were planted, four called *Ichō* 夷朝 (Barbarians Coming to Court) in the four corners of the shrine precincts and one in the center. This was done at the command of Ieyasu, who wanted the arrangement to resemble barbarians coming from the four directions to pay homage to his court at the center. The shrine, so neglected when Huang visited it in 1877/78, was renovated completely in 1883, the year after his departure from Japan. Although

one of the gingko trees was blown down in a wind storm in 1917, the second still thrives—now more than nine meters in diameter.

45. The mention of monkshood (*tukui* 菟葵) evokes a sense of the vicissitudes of time and recalls a well known poem, with preface, by Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842), "*Zaiyou Xuandu guan* 再遊玄都觀 (A Second Outing to the Capital of Mystery Temple): "In the twenty-first year of the Zhenyuan era (805) when I was appointed Vice Director of the State Farms Commission, this temple did not yet have flowering trees. In that same year I was dispatched to be governor of Lianzhou, and not much later I was exiled to Langzhou as an Assistant Regional Inspector. Ten years later when I was recalled to the capital, everyone was talking about how a Daoist priest had planted there "peach trees of the immortals," which so filled the precincts of the temple that it looked like rosy sunset clouds. I consequently composed the last poem ["Recalled to the Capital in the Tenth Year of the Yuanhe Era (815), Playfully Presented to Gentlemen Who View Blossoms"] as a record of what was happening at that time. Shortly afterwards, I was again dispatched to a post out in the provinces. Now, fourteen years later, appointed Director of the Bureau of Receptions, I again made an outing to the Capital of Mystery Temple, but it was utterly desolate, and not even one tree remained—only monkshood and wild oats waving in the spring breeze. Thus, I composed another quatrain—in anticipation of a visit here at some later time. Dated the third month of the second year of the Taihe era (828).

> With half the hundred acre courtyard covered with moss,
> Peach blossoms completely wiped out, wild vegetables bloom instead.
> Who knows where the peach planting Daoist priest has gone,
> But Court Gentleman Liu, who was here before, has come again."

See *Quan Tangshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960): 365.4116.

46. *Shiwei* 式微 (Power's Gone) is Ode 36 in the *Shijing*: "Power's gone, power's gone, / So why not return? / But for your sake, lord, / There'd be no reason to be here in the dew. / Power's gone, power's gone, / So why not return? / But for your person, lord, / There'd be no reason to be here in the mud." See *Maoshi zhengyi*, 2:29b-30a.
47. The mention of swallows probably involves two different allusions: One should first be reminded of Liu Yuxi's "Wuyi xiang 烏衣巷" (Black Gown Lane): "By the side of Crimson Bird Bridge weeds bloom, / At the mouth of Black Gown Lane evening sunlight slants. / Swallows in front of reception halls of bygone Wangs and Xies / Now fly into or-

dinary houses of common folk." See *Quan Tangshi*, 365:4117. It is also likely that Huang also had *Yanyan* 燕燕 (Swallows), Ode 28 in the *Shijing*, in mind: "Swallows are flying, / Wings this way and that. / This lady is on her way back, / I see her far off to the countryside." See *Maoshi zhengyi*, 2:8b-9a. "Swallows flying" became a stock metaphor for parting, so here the fact that the swallows are gone suggests that they sent off the domain lords who used to inhabit these grand houses, and, like them, have not returned.

48. The lines are from the fourth of Du's *Qiuxing bashou* 秋興八首 (Autumn Meditations, Eight Poems); see *Quan Tangshi*, 230:2510.
49. Vimalakīrti's *fangzhang* or *hōjō* 方丈 (monk's chamber) figures importantly in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeshasūtra* (*Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 [Sutra Spoken by Vimalakīrti]). Vimalakīrti (which means "undefiled or spotless reputation"), a contemporary of Shākyamuni, deliberately generated an illness within himself to demonstrate the insubstantiality of the body. He then repaired to a small room where many disciples of Shākyamuni came to debate philosophy and doctrine with him—all to suffer defeat. Although the room was small, it magically accommodated thousands.
50. Bian Que's marvelous powers of diagnosis are described in his biography in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 105:2785.
51. "Bronze barbarians" (*tongdi* 銅狄) is a stock expression for human figures cast in metal. However, Huang may have employed it here for other reasons. During the twenty-sixth year of Qin Shihuangdi (219 BCE), giants fifty feet tall and who took steps sixty feet broad, all wearing clothes of the Yi or Di people, altogether twelve of them, appeared in Lintao, in Gansu, the starting point of the Great Wall, which was soon to be constructed. About this Heaven is supposed to have warned that if Shihuang did not take large scale action against the Yi and the Di, they will wreck disaster on China. However, since this was the very year that Shihuang first united the Six Domains, he mistakenly took their appearance as an auspicious omen and had melted down weapons from all over the Empire and had twelve metal figures cast as images of them. Then Qin Shihuang burned the Confucian classics, buried Confucians alive, ruled with cruelty, tried to expand the empire's boundaries, and, of course, built the Great Wall. All this caused wide-spread poverty and resentment, and the Qin empire collapsed, so "the appearance of the giants in Lintao was a clear omen that disaster and chaos were soon to arise." See *Shiji*, 6.240, n. 6, where all pertinent sources are quoted. One wonders if Huang suspected that these Japanese "bar-

barian" bronze statues might be similar harbingers of future disasters that Japan could visit on China.

52. This actually occurred in the second year of Jianwu *zhongyuan* (57 CE); see *Hou Han shu*, 75:2821.
53. *Tuyuan* 兔園 (Rabbit Garden) refers to the *Tuyuan cefu* 兔園冊府 (Rabbit Garden Library), a collection of instructive comments based on the classics and histories compiled by Du Sixian 杜嗣先 at the command of Crown Prince Jiang 蔣王 (Li Yun 李惲), son of Emperor Taizong 太宗 (597-649) of the Tang dynasty. The work was named after the library established by the Han Crown Prince Liangxiao 梁孝王 (Liu Wu 劉武), second son of Emperor Wen 文帝 (202-157 BCE). Considered a simple and shallow work, *Tuyuan cefu*, often referred to simply as the *Tuyuan* (Rabbit Garden), became a cliché for elementary and/or superficial learning and was often applied to beginning level school text books.
54. A "famous mountain" is a place where great works of lasting value are preserved. The expression originates in Sima Qian's autobiographical postface to the *Shiji*: "By amending omissions and repairing deficiencies in the literary record, I established a school of learning of my own. . . . I deposited [my work] on a famous mountain and a backup copy in the capital. These await the sages and noble men of future generations. See *Shiji*, 130:3319-3320.
55. The most likely collection would have been Shen Deqian's 沈德潛 (1673-1769) *Tang Song bajia wenxuan* 唐宋八家文選 (Anthology of Prose by the Eight Masters of the Tang and Song Eras) in 30 *juan* 卷 (1750/1752), also called the *Tang Song bajia duben* 唐宋八家讀本 (Prose by the Eight Masters of the Tang and Song Eras Reader), the title by which was known in Japan.
56. The *Tongjian lanyao* is a condensed digest of Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019-1086) *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror For Aid in Government) in 37 *juan* edited by Yao Peiqian 姚培謙 (fl. ca. 1722) and Zhang Jingxing 張景星 (eighteenth century) and first published in 1761.
57. This last sentence does not appear in the 1890 edition.
58. Drawing an analogy with the situation during the ancient Warring States era, Wang refers here to alliances between and among contemporary Western powers.
59. Sun and Wu refer to Sun Wu 孫武, supposedly a contemporary of Confucius (551-479 BCE), to whom is attributed the *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 (Master Sun's Art of War), and Wu Qi 吳起 (ca. 440-ca. 381

BCE), the purported author of the *Wuzi* 吳子 (Sayings of Master Wu), another early work of military strategy.

60. "Flying chariots" is a fanciful reference to the dirigibles and balloons just then being adapted to military purposes. However, the term was a neologism derived from missionary-Chinese texts and was in common use in Wang's day, either in the form *feiche* 飛車 or *qiqiu feiche* 氣球飛車, the aerostat—an old term for balloon or dirigible. See Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 265.
61. The Han general Ma Yuan 馬援 (14 BCE-49 CE) demonstrated for the emperor a battle plan by drawing in a pile of rice with his finger. See *Hou Han shu*, 24:834.
62. Teachers colleges were first established in the fifth year of Meiji (1872).
63. Cf. *Jingnü* 靜女 (Gentle Girl), Ode 42 in the *Shijing*: "Gentle girl how lovely / Gave me a scarlet handle. / The scarlet handle has luster, / But I find delight in her beauty." The *Maozhuan* 毛傳 (Mao's commentary) adds: "In antiquity, the consorts of sovereigns were governed by a rule that required them to have female scribes equipped with scarlet handle [pens]." See *Maoshi zhengyi*, 2:46b.
64. The four female virtues are *fude* 婦德 (a woman's moral behavior), *fuyan* 婦言 (a woman's speech), *furong* 婦容 (a woman's appearance), and *fugong* 婦功[工] (a woman's needlework).
65. The mother of Wei Cheng 韋逞, née Song 宋, came from a scholarly Confucian family which specialized in the *Zhouguan* 周官 (Officials of Zhou), i. e., the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou). The ruler of the Former Qin 前秦 (the fourth century CE northern state contemporary with the Eastern Jin dynasty), Fu Jian 苻堅, Emperor Xuanzhao 宣昭帝, was so impressed with her son's education, which she had personally provided, that he established an academy, placing her in charge of one hundred twenty stipendiary students, and conferred on her the title Xuanwen jun 宣文君 (Lady who Promulgates Learning). Although she was eighty years old at the time, she continued to teach, separated from her students by a dark red gauze curtain. See Fang Xuanling 方玄靈, et al., ed. *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin Era [265-420]) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974 ed.), 96:2521-2522.
66. Atomi Kakei, a pioneer of women's education, founded the Atomi Jogakkō 跡見女學校 (Atomi Girls High School) in 1875. She was learned in classical Chinese studies and was an accomplished painter, calligrapher, *kanbun* and *kanshi* writer, and poet in the *waka* 和歌 (Japanese poetry) form.

67. *Jiake* 甲科 (civil examinations) here, of course, is meant as a joke.
68. Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) said of himself that he was able to recognize *zhi* 之 (its) and *wu* 無 (none) at the age of six or seven months; see his *Yu Yuan Jiu shu* 與元九書 (Letter to Yuan the Ninth), Dong Gao 董誥 et al., ed., [*Qinding*]*Quan Tangwen* [欽定]全唐文 (Complete prose of the Tang era [as authorized by his majesty]) (Rpt. 1993; Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1990), 675:3052c.
69. This sentence appears in the 1879 but not the 1890 edition. The sounds of Japanese syllables, except for n-final syllables, all end in a, i, u, e, or o, which means that they correspond, more or less, with the range of Chinese syllables that fall within the two rhyming categories so named. Huang apparently later realized that this was an oversimplistic and misleading statement and so edited it out of the 1890 edition.
70. Legend has it that the *Iroha uta* 伊呂波歌 was composed by Kūkai 空海 (Kobōdaishi 弘法大師) (774-835), but it actually dates from after Kūkai's death sometime during the middle Heian period and is of anonymous authorship. The first three syllables are *i, ro,* and *ha,* followed by the rest of the Japanese syllabary. Until modern times, this was the conventional syllable order for the Japanese language.
71. See the entry, "Chu Chih-yü" by Shunzo Sakamaki in Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period,* pp. 179-80.
72. Zhu left China and went east to Japan for the last time in 1659, which accounts for the "when old age came" and the "eastward gaze" of line two. "Prosperous Reign" (Xingchao 興朝) is the title of the spurious reign era of Sun Kewang 孫可望 (d. 1660) during the time he tried to establish his own regime in the Yunnan-Guangxi region (1647-1657), but here it generally signifies all post-Ming rule in China. The "West Mount composers of the Pick Ferns song" refers to the story of Bo Yi 伯夷 and Shu Qi 叔齊, who, when the Zhou vanquished the Shang (1122 BC), refused to serve under the new dynasty (eat its grain) and instead lived as hermits on Shouyang Mountain, where they picked ferns to eat and eventually died of starvation. A song of lament supposedly composed by them is included in the biography of Bo Yi found in Sima Qian, *Shiji,* 61:2121-28. Zhu "outdid" them in the sense that he left China entirely and so did not even have to eat ferns grown in rebel or Manchu territory.
73. Huang has apparently confused Zheng Zhilong with his son, Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (1624-1662), "Koxinga." See the entries "Cheng Ch'eng-kung" and "Cheng Chih-lung" by Earl Swisher in Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period,* pp. 108-10, 110-11.

74. Shen Wenying 沈文熒 (1831/34-?), attaché at the Chinese embassy 公館隨.
75. A Ming loyalist, Zhang's personal name was Feiwen 非文, and he was a native of Yuyao and disciple of Zhu Shunsui's.
76. A pair of mandarin ducks symbolizes devoted lovers.
77. The Honganji is the head temple of Japanese Jōdo 淨土 (Pure Land) Buddhism, also called the Ikkōshū. After the death of His Eminence Shinran (Shinran *shōnin* 親鸞上人), the first site for this temple was established in Kyoto on Higashiyama 東山 (1272), but this later perished in the Ōnin War (Ōnin *no ran* 應仁の亂 [1467-1477]). In 1478, when the great Pure Land reformer, His Eminence Rennyo (Rennyo *shōnin* 蓮如上人 [1415-1499]), restored the eastern district of Kyoto, he re-established the Honganji, but it was moved to Ishiyama 石山 (present-day Osaka) in 1532. However, it was moved back to its present site in Kyoto in 1591. In the early Edo period (1602), a division into an (old) Nishi (Western) Honganji and a (new) Higashi (Eastern) Honganji occurred, the Eastern site established just east of the 1591 temple.
78. Daheitian/Daikokuten 大黑天 (Great Black Deva) is the Chinese translation of Māhākāla 摩訶迦羅, one of the esoteric Buddhist guardian deities, usually blue-black in color, holding a trident, and sometimes with two elephants underfoot. Six arms and hands hold jewel, skull cup, chopper, drum, trident, and elephant-goad. Exoteric Buddhism makes Daheitian/Daikokuten a god of wealth, worshipped in the kitchen. In this guise, he wears a head cloth, holds a big sack in his left hand, a staff in his right, and stands atop a large straw rice bag.
79. This is Emperor Kōbun 弘文天皇, who reigned 671-672.
80. A hiatus occurs where reference to Hirose's native place is made. He was a native of Hita 日田, in Bungo 豐後, present-day Ōita 大分縣 prefecture.
81. This last sentence only occurs in the 1879 edition.
82. The Four Supernaturals of Yongjia 永嘉 (in Zhejiang) (late Southern Song, thirteenth century) were Zhao Shixiu 趙師秀, Weng Juan 翁卷, Xu Zhao 徐照, and Xu Ji 徐璣. All 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).
83. "Sideways moving letters" refers to works written in Western languages.
84. The *Nan Song zashishi* 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.

85. This collection of poetry is actually titled *Luanjing zayong* 灤京雜詠 (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 Chahar, Inner Mongolia; see the *Congshu jicheng chubian* ed. Luanyang (The Yang [north] Side of the Luan River) is the Qing name of the administrative district located there.
86. This is a translation into Chinese of the *Bodhisattva garbhastha sūtra* (Sutra of the Bodhisattva in the Womb). The translation was done by Fonian 佛念 of the Latter Qin (384-417). Photographic reproductions of two sections of this scroll appear in *Chion'in no Bukkyō bijutsu: Ugai Tetsujō jōnin botsugo hyakunen kinen* 知恩院の佛教美術: 鵜飼徹定上人沒後 100 年記念 (Buddhist art from the Chion'in: A memorial exhibition on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the death of the eminent monk Ugai Tetsujō), ed. Kyoto National Museum (Kyoto: Benridō, 1990), No. 13, pp. 17 and 34, with a detailed caption on p. 86.
87. Huang wrongly calculates that the calligraphy of the scroll was done 1,510 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 x 3 = 180 years). He should have said that the scroll had been done 1,330 years earlier.
88. *Daloutanjing* was translated by Fali 法立 and Faju 法炬 during the reign of Emperor Hui 惠帝 of the Western Jin 西晉 dynasty (290-307). Photographic reproductions of two sections of this scroll appear in *Chion'in no Bukkyō bijutsu*, No 16, pp. 19 and 36, with a detailed caption on pp. 86-87.
89. Actually, it was the second year, 667.
90. The biography of Su Lie, better known by his personal name, Dingfang 定方, is contained in the *Jiu Tang shu*, 83:2777-80.
91. The *Huayanjing yinyi siji* was authored by Huiyuan 慧苑 (Tang era).
92. In Edo-Meiji era Shiba ward 芝區 (present-day Minato ward 港區), Nishikubo-tomoemachi 西久保巴町.
93. Composed by Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣 on the command of Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502-549), the *Qianziwen* quickly became a popular elementary teaching text and calligraphy practice text and remained so throughout the centuries.
94. When Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 of the Liang 梁 died, his Queen, Madam Feng 馮氏, took the title Lianxing Ni 練行尼 (Practicing Per-

fection Nun). See Ye Tinggui 葉廷珪 (early twelfth century), *Hailu suishi* 海錄碎事 (Miscellaneous Matters Recorded From Everywhere Within the Four Seas) (Rpt. of the 1598 wood block ed.; Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1969), 10:26b.

95. The provisioner (*daguanling* 大官令), responsible for preparing meals for the palace and court of imperial China, procured the very best meats, so "provisioner's mutton" would be the best that is available on the market. Dreaming of gardens being trampled alludes to the story originally preserved in Hou Bai's 侯白 (fl. ca. 581) *Qiyan lu* 啓顏錄 (Record of Things that Make One Smile) of the man who always ate only vegetables but, as soon as he ate mutton, had a dream in which the God of the Five Viscera appeared, who said, "I am going to have the sheep trample your vegetable garden flat." See Wang Liqi 王利器, ed., *Lidai xiaohua ji* 歷代笑話集 (Humorous Tales Throughout the Ages) (Hong Kong: Zhongliu chubanshe, 1975), p. 31.
96. The 1890 edition lacks the first sentence, otherwise same as 1879 version.
97. As Huang says in his commentary, water or tea are added to cooked rice to make a simple meal; this he likens to an old type of common folk's fare in China called *huaiye lengtao* 槐葉冷淘 (locust leaves cold rinse), which was made by preparing a dough out of pounded locust leaves, water, and flour. This was cut into cakes or noodles, boiled, rinsed in water and eaten cold.
98. *Hanshi* 寒食 (Cold Food), a traditional Chinese festival held 105 days after the winter solstice during the third lunar month and one or two days before *Qingming* 清明 (Clear and Bright) festival. No cooking fires are lit on Cold Food day, thus the name.