

Huang Zunxian and His Association with Meiji Era Japanese Literati (*Bunjin*): The Formation of the Early Meiji Canon of Kanshi

Richard John LYNN

University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

The great Chinese poet Huang Zunxian, who served from 1877 to 1882 as a high-ranking member of the staff of the Qing legation in Tokyo, became closely acquainted with and spent much time in the company of prominent Japanese literati (*bunjin*). Huang's experiences with these men provide an extremely valuable window of information and insight into the intellectual atmosphere of early Meiji Japan. Equipped with the unique bundle of skills of a Chinese literatus, Huang shared with his hosts something that they all referred to as *siwen* (Jp. *shibun*), "This Culture of Ours." With first-hand access to the modes of discourse and thought of his hosts, he formed discriminating views of almost all aspects of Japanese life in a rapidly changing era. Even after the Meiji Restoration, "This Culture of Ours" showed considerable enduring power. Japanese *bunjin* of the early Meiji, many of whom had won distinction in political affairs, had thoroughly assimilated and were devoted to carrying on the great tradition. Although this study focuses on the formation of a canon of kanshi poetry in early Meiji Japan and the poets who contributed to it, it has implications that go beyond the world of poetry and poetics.

Keywords HUANG ZUNXIAN, KANSHI, SIWEN/SHIBUN, BUNJIN, RIBEN ZASHISHI/
NIHON ZATSUJI SHI, MEIJI MEIKA SHISEN.

Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848-1905), who resided from 1877 to 1882 in Japan as counselor (*canzanguan* 參贊官) and secretary (*shujiguan* 書記官) to the imperial Chinese Legation (embassy) in Tokyo, became closely acquainted with and spent much time in the company of prominent Japanese *bunjin* 文人—most of whom, whatever their other roles in life, were serious kanshi 漢詩 poets.¹ Huang's experiences with these literary men provide an extremely valuable window of information and insight into the

intellectual atmosphere of early Meiji Japan, for he was at once a visitor who could comment from an outsider's point of view and someone who had first-hand access to the modes of discourse and thought of his hosts. Significant for the study of Chinese intellectual history and literature as well as early modern Sino-Japanese cultural relations, Huang's writings also provide an unusual and fascinating insight into Meiji Japan, different from and arguably better than any Western visitor of those days could offer. He grants us discriminating views into all aspects of Japanese culture, which he approached with the unique bundle of skills 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 *hitsudan* 筆談 (brush talks, Ch. *bitan*), as well as immediate access to the general kanji (Ch. *hanzi* 漢字) culture then still almost ubiquitously prevalent in Japan. Huang shared with his hosts something that they all referred to as *siwen* 斯文 (Jp. *shibun*), "This Culture of Ours." It was the common literary and scholarly tradition, primarily Confucian and Neo-Confucian, shared by the learned elites of China, Japan, and other countries that formed parts of the Chinese cultural sphere in East and Southeast Asia during premodern times.

Students of political, intellectual, and social history of Japan might be surprised by the enduring power of "This Culture of Ours" after the Meiji Restoration. Almost certainly they will be interested in who participated in it. Japanese *bunjin* of the early Meiji had thoroughly assimilated, and were devoted to carrying on, this great tradition. Many were prominent in political affairs and can be said to have directed the discourse that informed bakumatsu and early Meiji politics. This study, therefore, has implications that go well beyond the world of poetry and poetics.

Huang's reputation preceded him to Japan, for he had already established himself as one of the great poets of his day in China before joining the embassy. When kanshi poets in the Tokyo region discovered that he was actually in their midst, many were eager to make his acquaintance. Huang is generally regarded in Chinese literary history 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 曹植 [192-232], Bao Zhao 鮑照 [ca. 414-66], Tao Qian 陶潛 [365-427], Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 [385-443], Li Bai 李白 [701-62], Du Fu 杜甫 [712-70], Han Yu 韓愈 [768-824], and Su Shi 蘇軾 [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.²

It is likely that "lesser masters of recent times" included poets such as Wu Weiye 鈞偉業 (1609-72), Huang Jingren 黃景仁 (1749-83), Song Xiang 宋湘 (ca. 1756-1826), Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792-1841), and the statesman-literatus Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811-

72), all greatly admired by Huang and very much in the same tradition.³ Huang is also remembered as a creator of detailed descriptive poetry and powerful narrative verse, both rich in moral perspectives and socio-political insight. His *Riben zashishi* 日本雜事詩 (Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan), which derive from his experiences in Japan during 1877-82, incorporate all these elements. It was fortuitous that Huang's taste in poetry ran to the emotionally expressive often combined with social and political insight, for it was just this kind of poetry that he often discovered among the works of contemporary poets of the late bakumatsu and early Meiji eras.

As I have shown in an earlier article in *Japan Review*, Huang addressed the Japanese tradition of Chinese poetry in two poems of his own.⁴ He revised both poems between publication of the first edition of *Riben zashishi* and the second, so that to be precise we should say that there are two pairs of poems, not just two poems. The first is *Shiren* 詩人 (Poets) or *Nihon no kanshi* 日本漢詩 (Classical Chinese Verse Written in Japan), and the second, *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).⁵ Each pair of poems comes with a page or two of Huang's prose commentary, written to clarify and expand the content of the poems, and together they represent a detailed account of his understanding of the canon of kanshi in Japan. Rather than imposing his own judgments, he allowed the canon to be defined by contemporary *bunjin* of his acquaintance, especially the prominent *kangakusha* 漢學家, anthologist of kanbun and kanshi writings, painter and calligrapher, and kanshi poet Ishikawa Kōsai 石川鴻齋 (Ishikawa Ei 英, 1833-1918).⁶ Such a canon, as might be expected from the prevalence of adherents of Neo-Confucianism among early Meiji *bunjin*, heavily emphasized poets associated with this tradition of thought during the Tokugawa era, such as Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725), Gion Nankai 祇園南海 (1677-1751), and Rai Noboru 賴襄 (1780-1832), widely known as Rai San'yō 山陽. In fact, the canon outlined by Huang, after providing a brief account of early Heian era (794-1192) anthologies, jumps directly to individual collections of such poets of the seventeenth-early nineteenth centuries—ignoring all poetry in between, including the riches of the medieval Zen kanshi poets.

During the Sino-Japanese negotiations over issues concerning the Ryukyu Islands and Korea—frustrating and ultimately disastrous from the Chinese point of view—Huang's official duties as diplomat often brought him into unpleasant situations—even confrontations—with representatives of the Japanese government. However, his non-official relations with such people seem to have been extremely cordial and mutually rewarding. Some became close friends, the high culture they shared the common bond among them, and classical Chinese verse seems to have been the most significant element in this relationship. It is known, for example, that Itō Hirobumi, diplomat and statesman Enomoto Takeaki 榎本武揚 (1836-1908), and Minister of the Army Ōyama Iwao 大山巖 (1842-1916), among others, all went often to Huang for advice and criticism of their kanshi, becoming in a very real sense his poetry disciples.

Huang also had close connections with another group of prominent early Meiji figures outside government circles—*bunjin* that he got to know while the Chinese embassy was housed during that first year in Japan in a sub-temple, Gekkaiin 月界院, one of the temples located within the precincts (*sannai* 山内) of Zōjōji 増上寺, the great Jōdo 淨土 (Pure Land) temple (in present-day Shiba Park). These included: (1) Ukai Tetsujō 鵜飼徹定 (sobriquet Sōō 松翁) (1814-91), seventy-fifth chief priest (*jūshoku*) 住職 of Chion'in 知恩院 in Kyoto and a prominent textual scholar of sutras, who often returned to Zōjōji, his home temple in Tokyo. Tetsujō was also an accomplished kanshi poet and a calligrapher of national repute. (2) Ishikawa Kōsai, the accomplished poet and scholar of Chinese learning who exerted a strong influence over Huang's view of the canon, became a close friend and helped Huang read Iwagaki Matsunae's 岩垣松苗 (1774-1849) *Kokushi ryaku* 国史略 (Outline History of the Nation) as he researched Japanese sources in preparation for writing commentaries for his *Riben zashishi* and selecting materials for his *Riben guozhi* 日本國志 (Treatises on Japan).⁷ Ishikawa was the author and compiler of many works, including *Nihon bunshō kihan* 日本文章規範 (Japanese Models of [kan-bun] Prose), to which Huang wrote a preface (Spring 1879). He was also an accomplished painter in the style of Watanabe Kazan 渡辺華山 (1793-1841). (3) Ōkōchi Teruna 大河内輝声, also known as Minamoto Keikaku 源桂閣 (1848-82), was the former lord of Takasaki domain 高崎藩. He served as army commissioner (*rikugun bugyō* 陸軍奉行) during the last year of the bakufu (1867) and briefly continued in that capacity under the new imperial government (1868) but retired soon afterwards. Ōkōchi seems to have become acquainted with the Chinese at the Legation early in 1878 and had become fast friends with them. His residence, called the Keirinsō (Cassia Grove Villa), at which members of the *bunjin* circle often met, was located on the west bank of the Sumida River 隅田川 in Asakusa-ku 浅草区, Imado-machi 今戸町 (part of present-day Sumida Park [established 1931]). From the Edo period through the late Meiji era, Imado-machi was the site of many mansions (*teitaku* 邸宅) of notable families, including the Ōkōchi family. Teruna was especially close to Huang Zunxian. When Huang had completed preparations to have his *Riben zashishi* published, he brought the draft of the work to Teruna's residence, and, after celebrating the occasion, buried the draft of the poems in the rear of the garden. Later, Teruna had a stone monument erected over the "grave," with a lengthy inscription to commemorate the event, which he composed and which is in his own calligraphy, dated September 1879.⁸

Such *bunjin* were all "cultural conservatives," and their views, often extremely critical of the new Meiji regime, contrasted with those of the progressive holders of power whom Huang got to know in his official capacity. Initially at least Huang seems to have identified more with these conservatives and often adopted their criticisms of current political and social change as his own, but this does not seem to have lasted long and he soon came to a balanced view of his own that attempted to synthesize trends of modernity with conservation of traditional elements of high culture essential for personal identity and self-cultivation. However, these traditionalist *bunjin* were important to him for

another reason especially germane to studies of Sino-Japanese cultural relations: they formed his immediate and most significant link to the early Meiji world of classical Chinese learning, *kangaku*, kanbun and kanshi writings, and all other aspects of *siwen / shibun* in Japan. This link, more than any other connection he ever made, introduced him to the tradition of Chinese poetry in Japan and undoubtedly shaped his view of it. It was probably Ishikawa, then involved in publishing his own anthologies of kanshi and kanbun, who involved Huang in writing prefaces, postscripts, and brief marginal commentaries to such works. One such preface was written for the work that is the focus of the remainder of this essay, the *Meiji meika shisen* 明治名家詩選 (Anthology of Famous Masters of the Meiji Era), edited by Shiroi Kunitsuna 城井国綱 and published in Tokyo by Seietsu Shobō 清樾書房 in 1880. This anthology rapidly became popular and probably did more than any other source to shape the canon of kanshi poetry in Japan for the rest of the Meiji period. It was never reprinted in the twentieth century, but despite this seeming fall into oblivion, its influence has been considerable and can be seen, albeit indirectly, even today.

Let us begin our examination of *Meiji meika shisen* with a look at the first of its two prefaces, provided by Kawada Ōkō 川田鸞江 (1830-1896):⁹

Ending the feudal system, abolition of hereditary offices, reform of the calendar, changes in the color of dress, from etiquette and music, the military and administration of justice to minor matters such as food and drink, housing, and all the things of daily use—whatever meets the ear and eye—nothing fails to be new and different. Since the establishment of the country by the Divine Ancestor, it had been more than two thousand five hundred years before Emperor Meiji opened up a new world, and it is only he whom we call the poet (*shiren* 詩人, Jp. *shijin*) who makes himself an exception [to all this change] and honors the three eras of the Tang as his ancestors and makes the two eras of the Song his patriarchs, his form is either the ancient style or regulated verse and quatrain. The length of his lines are either five or seven syllables, and his tones are either level, rising, falling, or entering—as always he conserves these old features and changes none of them. Critics may condemn this as antiquated and reactionary and absolutely of no use, but as for me, I know this is not so. For “poetry expresses the aspirations of heart and mind, and song puts words to music” [*Shangshu* 尚書, *Yaodian* 堯典]. As emotions are expressed in sound, sounds throughout antiquity have changed, thus it is said, “the tones of a well-governed age are serene with a sense of joy; the tones of an age in disorder are resentful with a sense of anger; and the tones of a state destroyed are sad with a sense of introspection” [*Maoshi xu* 毛詩序]. When the cruel government of the tyrant was in decline, the net of the law became too tightly meshed. If anything said involved current events, it brought a criminal accusation of slander. Whenever I read the *Ansei sanjūnika zekku* 安政 三十二家絶句 (Quatrains from the Ansei Era [1854-1860]) (1857) and the *Bunkyū nijūrokuka zekku* 文久 二十六

家絕句 (Quatrains from the Bunkyū Era [1861-1864]) (1862), I see that poets stayed far away from anything offensive to prevent suspicion and instead invested their feelings in the breezes and the moonlight. Although outwardly they appeared happy and content, inwardly they harbored resentment and sadness. But when our renaissance occurred, with its suppression of disorder, everyone responded to these earth-shaking events, and the prominent who lived through these times, whether they were honored or disgraced, whether exalted or debased, were tied to them with poignant emotions. Some sang of what had been lost with painful sadness as in the *Shuli* [odes in the *Classic of Poetry*]; some composed descriptive poems (*fu* 賦) about noble expeditions as in the *Sitie* 駟驥 [odes in the *Classic of Poetry*] as they joined the army; some expressed themselves in simile (*bi* 比) and evocative metaphor (*xing* 興) involving plants and trees; some inscribed noble achievements on metal and stone. Now praising, now criticizing, each poet said all he wanted to say. Comparing such poetry to what had gone on before, both personal style (*qi* 氣格, Jp. *kikaku*) and mood (*fengdiao* 風調, Jp. *fūchō*) are utterly different. It is vexing that there were no officials to make selections of poems so they could be made harmonious with notes and measures, sung to the accompaniment of woodwinds and strings, and used to examine the success and failure of government among the local folk in lesser and greater domains [as supposedly had been done in China during antiquity]. The Chinzei 鎮西 [Kyushu] poet Old Master Murakami Butsuzan 村上仙山 (1810-1879) sent me a draft of his recent poetry and sought my criticism of it. Although I agreed, before I accomplished this task, the Old Master had returned to the Mountains of the Dao [had passed away]. Shortly thereafter, his disciple, Shiroi Kōritsu 城井公立 [Shiroi Kunitsuna], made a selection of the Old Master's poetry together with about thirty modern famous poets' work, a mixture of verse in both the ancient and regulated forms, about a thousand poems in all. He commissioned me to write a preface to it, saying that this would fulfill the Old Master's dying wish. Since I had already agreed to do this for him while he was still alive, how could I refuse now that he is gone! So, as soon as I read through it, I took up my brush to write these few words at the beginning of the collection. Before the selection in this anthology, the Old Master's verse had been included in both the anthologies, *Quatrains from the Ansei Era* and *Quatrains from the Bunkyū Era*, but the way these current poems look is completely new, and they reach ever more marvelous realms (*miaojing* 妙境, Jp. *myōkyō*), for the emotional response his individual personality (*xingqing* 性情, Jp. *seijō*) makes in them suits those times of great and good fortune. The Old Master used to tell his disciples, "In poetry we value what is fresh and new, but in recent days poets are in thrall to popular fashion and try to outdo one another to include such things as hot air balloons, electric power generators, steamboats, and railroads in the subjects of their poetry. Their cleverness increases every day, but subjects such as loyalty and magnanimity (*zhonghou* 忠厚, Jp. *chūkō*) are correspondingly lost. If something is not

done to save the situation, I fear such corruption will become so bad that no words could ever describe it.” Kōritsu was exposed as a student to the beneficial influence of his teacher for a very long time, so the principles of selection and rejection he uses in compiling this anthology should be readily apparent. Thirteenth year of Meiji, the day of the Tasting New Rice Festival (Niinamesai 新嘗祭) [23 November 1880], composed in the Facing Snow Mountain Pavilion (Taisetsugakurō 對雪岳廡) by Ōko, Kawada Gō 川田剛. Text written in the calligraphy of Udō 迂堂.¹⁰

Meiji meika shisen editor Shiroy solicited a second preface from the distinguished Chinese visitor who had come to know the poems in this collection and many of their authors. Huang Zunxian wrote:

Living today in a world comprised of five continents and countless states, all of which venerate power, struggle for superiority, pillage and rob, pounce and bite, if a country exists among them which unduly emphasizes literature (*wen* 文, Jp. *bun*), that country is sure to be weak. Therefore, when literature is discussed, it is regarded as if it were almost without value in today's world, and when literature falls to the level where it becomes rhymed verse (*shi* 詩, Jp. *shi*), with its breezes and clouds, dew and moonlight, page after page of frivolity, it is ranked even more with things not worth mentioning at all. However, in antiquity, when those who compiled historical records made tours of inspection to all the states to observe customs and learn about habits, they were sure to collect song-poems (*shi* 詩), which they would submit, have played and sung, and use in making reports to the sovereign. *The Spring and Autumn Annals* is a work of statecraft, and Mencius said that it was written because poetry had failed. In the past, the profound scholar Gu Tinglin 顧亭林 [Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1681)] said that when poetry failed, the turmoil of “cutting down trees to raise poles” [raise the standards of revolt] began. Poetry is the means to promulgate the virtue of those above and communicate feelings hidden among the common folk. If these are bottled up and not made public, this dams up the mouths of the common folk, but in time this dam will break, and the blockage will burst forth in all directions – perhaps a gigantic disaster brewed up from it. Therefore, there has always been a close connection between the rise and fall of poetry and the rise and decline of the country. Since I came east [to Japan] following our ambassador [He Ruzhang 何如璋 (1838-91)], I have sought out eminent earlier poets of this land who became masters in their own right, and when I made inquiry into just a few of them, I discovered immediately that poets of recent times, in fact, have achieved a wonderful balance of style and substance (*wenzhi* 文質, Jp. *bunshitsu*). Now that I had their writings, I tried to discover the reason for it and so found that the Tokugawa government from its middle era on had made the net of the law too tightly meshed, and it thought that the intelligentsia were always using words to peddle disaster. Therefore, poets became so

timid and hesitant that they almost dared not even pick up a brush to write anything at all! However, since the Meiji Restoration, the net of the law as it concerns writing has been loosened considerably, and, as such taboos were abolished, everyone became determined to express themselves in poetry. When I read this selection of poetry made by my friend Shiroi, most are masterworks. That there are noble expressions of lofty character (*yongrong yuyang* 雍容揄揚) and works able to sing of the great achievements of the state goes without saying. Occasionally poems express emotions stirred by the times, and these became quite popular. Though they are sad and sentimental, the thought behind them has its foundation in loyalty and magnanimity, so those in authority never forbade or condemned them, for such poetry can be used to keep watch over the destiny of the state. From what I have heard, Europe certainly consists of countries that readily resort to arms, yet people there who can use poetry to express themselves are definitely held in high esteem by their contemporaries. Although East and West are tens of thousands of *li* apart, with different histories thousands of years long, why must their respective views of poetry differ? Those there in countries that venerate military might do not regard literature as some crippled useless thing. Is their thinking behind this derived from their relative position of power and success? Or is it because, when it comes to literary expression worth preserving, it may not necessarily be useless after all, for the usefulness of the useless naturally exists in it? If in the future there are officials in light carriages commissioned to collect poems,¹¹ they surely will take them from this collection to read. Dated the sixth month of the sixth year of the Guangxu era of the Great Qing dynasty, Huang Zunxian, Gongdu, of Lingnan.

The two prefaces by Kawada Ōkō and Huang Zunxian echo similar views and come to the same conclusion: kanshi is still the best vehicle for the cultivation and expression of the most important of cultural values, epitomized by reference to “loyalty and magnanimity.” As such, kanshi is seen as both the bulwark against the snares and delusions of modernity and the cement that holds together the threatened disintegration of tradition. As apologies for poetry, both prefaces emphasize the long and intimate connection between the vigor of poetic expression and the health of the state. They differ in that Kawada’s defends poetry entirely in terms of the preservation and cultivation of traditional values while Huang’s also brings in the interesting observation that modernity, represented by the strength and success of Western nations, should not necessarily be inimical to poetry and, by implication, to the traditional values and sensibilities it preserves and conveys. Huang, after all, was a reformer, not a revolutionary, and the attempt here to reconcile the modern with the traditional is typical of much of his overall middle-of-the-road approach to solving China’s current political and social dilemma. He thought Japan was going the right way, balancing modern reform with the preservation of cultural values, and used this opportunity, as he did in many of his writings in and about Japan, to promote the view that this was the right way for China to follow also.

Space permits only a few samples of poetry from Meiji meika shisen to be presented here:

Ono Gozan 小野湖山 (1814-1910), "Returning Home" 歸家

名在朝班僅十旬
鶯花風暖故鄉春
老親喜我歸來早
言笑如忘病在身

A name among court ranks for just ten tens of days,
Warblers emblossomed and breezes warm—springtime there at home.
My old parents now so happy to see me back this soon
They talk and laugh as if forgetting the illness in them.

Shiba Shūson 柴秋村 (1830-1871), "My Hut" 吾廬

吾廬高枕趣尤長
破帽疲驢已十霜
一笑錦衾殘夜夢
何心却復向他鄉

On a high pillow in my hut the charm of it really lasts and lasts,
And this tired old donkey with his tattered hat already through ten frosts.
Remnants of dream last night about embroidered robes just worth a laugh—
Why would I ever want to go back to such a place as that!

Mukōyama Kōson 向山黃村 (1826-1897), "Sad Chanting" 愁吟

破屋愁吟仰見天
百年身世磨牛旋
出門一笑支仗立
無限新詩滿眼前

I sadly chant in my dilapidated house, looking up to Heaven,
A hundred years of life just an ox turning a millstone round and round.
But out the gate I have to laugh, stand leaning on my staff—
Infinite all those new poems that fill my field of view.

Chō Baigai 長梅外 (1810-1885), “Sunning Books” 曝書

知己重逢老蠹魚
風翻藝葉夕陽初
檢來渾似未曾讀
二十年前曾讀書

A bosom friend met again, that old silverfish there
As the wind turned the artful pages in first rays of setting sun.
When I take a look, it really seems it's something never read,
That book I once perused twenty years ago.

CONCLUSION

In the Appendix that follows I present biographical information about the poets included in the *Meiji meika shisen*. The lives of many poets show a similar pattern: educated during the bakumatsu era in schools that strongly emphasized Confucian learning, often pursuing careers in similar traditional educational institutions both before and after the Meiji Restoration, some accomplished calligraphers and painters, all deeply imbued with the kanji culture that formed the foundation of the most essential features of their lives. However, some supported the bakufu, while others became Meiji patriots; some incorporated much Western learning into their lives, while others seem to have eschewed it completely. Some were active politically before and after the Restoration, while others seem to have avoided politics as if it were the plague. Some became eminent leaders in the new Meiji regime, while others seem to have played almost no public role whatsoever in the new Japan. That so many differences exist among these poets is rather surprising, for one would have thought that such differences might have entered into decisions about whom to include or exclude, so that the anthology might have reflected a more consistent political or social orientation—and likely very conservative. But this is not the case at all, for the essential criterion for inclusion was, as the two prefaces tell us, excellence of style and substance, an excellence that, while undoubtedly connected with social and political considerations, was judged primarily in terms of aesthetic values of very long standing. Those values went back, in fact, to the foundational texts in antiquity of the grand tradition as a whole, that is, to elements essential in “This Culture of Ours.” “This Culture of Ours” was capable of being translated into social and political behavior across a very wide spectrum, easily spanning, at least in Huang’s day, both progressive and conservative positions. Its association with radical conservatism and reaction would eventually come about, of course, but that was still something for the future. Things were very different in the early Meiji era, when kanji culture was ubiquitous among the learned and politically powerful. *Siwen* / *shibun* remained the core of their culture; for

many it continued to be the main source of inspiration and meaning in life.

Appendix: Contents of *Meiji meika shisen* (Anthology of Famous Masters of the Meiji Era), A List of Poets with Newly Compiled Brief Biographical Notices

First Section

Ono Gozan 小野湖山 (1814-1910) 30 Poems

A major late bakufu and Meiji era kanshi poet and Confucian scholar of the Wang Yangming 陽明学 school, Ono was a native of Ōmi province 近江国 (Shiga prefecture), who studied poetry principally with Yanagawa Seigan 梁川星巖 (1789-1858), whose renowned Gyokuchi Ginsha 玉池吟社 [Jade Pond Poetry Society] in Edo attracted many prominent literati of the late bakufu era. The eldest son of a physician, Ono first intended to pursue medicine as a career, but changed his mind after studying the Confucian classics and history with a local scholar, Ōoka Shōdō 大岡松堂. In 1830 he went to Edo and studied with, among others, the scholar-poets Bitō Suichiku 尾藤水竹 (1800-1854) and Fujimori Kōan 藤森弘庵 (1799-1862), and it was at this time that he joined Yanagawa Seigan's poetry circle and began to distinguish himself. He also became a close associate of Fujita Tōko 藤田東湖 (1806-1855), with whom he corresponded and joined in conspiring secretly against the bakufu government. With the abolition of the feudal system, Ono gave up his family estate and moved permanently to Tokyo, where he briefly served the new government but soon resigned to devote himself entirely to poetry. Along with Ōnuma Chinzan 大沼沈山 (1818-1891) and others, Ono became a dominant figure in the world of kanshi in Tokyo. In 1883, his contributions to the Meiji Restoration were recognized, and the emperor presented him with an inkstone and silk from the palace, so in gratitude he renamed his studio the Shigenrō 賜硯樓 (Presented Inkstone Chambers). However, with the Meiji Restoration, he had become disillusioned with politics and retreated from worldly affairs into a life of personal cultivation—a transfer of interest readily apparent in the development of his poetry, the principal characteristics of which are a combination of boldness and ephemeral elegance (*gōtan tanga* 豪胆淡雅) expressed with great technical expertise. His kanshi exists in various collections: *Gozanrō shi byōbu* 湖山樓詩屏風 and *Gozanrō shishō* 湖山樓詩鈔 among others, and selections are found throughout anthologies of Meiji era kanshi verse.

Hirano Gogaku 平野五岳 (1809-1893) 33 Poems

Gogaku, the Buddhist priest Gaku 岳, was a native of Hita 日田 in Bungo. He went by the surname Hirano and used the sobriquets Kochiku 古竹 and Kochiku Sonsha 古竹邨舍. He is also known as the *sanzetsusō* 三絶僧 (“three surpassings monk”) because he was surpassingly good at poetry, painting, and calligraphy. He was, in fact, one of the great *nanga* 南画 painters of the bakumatsu and Meiji eras. At the age of ten he began study-

ing at the Kangien 咸宜園 in Hita, the famous Confucian academy founded by Hirose Tansō 広瀬淡窓 (1782-1856). Hirose's school was open to all, students were admitted regardless of social class, and the curriculum stressed statecraft and other studies based on practical application of power (*jitsuryoku* 実力). Hirose recognized Gogaku's talent for poetry and praised him for his close emulation of the ancients, especially Haku Rakuten (Bai Juyi), whom Gogaku positively adored. For painting in general he emulated Tanomura Chikuden 田能村竹田 (1777-1835), and in landscape painting he based himself on developments begun by Nukina Kaioku 貫名海屋 (1778-1863).

Nakamura Keiu 中村敬宇 [Masanao正直] (1832-1891) 9 Poems

Nakamura, best known as the translator into Japanese of Samuel Smiles's *Self Help*, was a native of Edo, where his father was a high-ranking samurai. A precocious young student, he enthusiastically applied himself to Dutch and English studies but also remained dedicated to classical Chinese studies. In 1862 he was appointed director of Confucian studies in the bakufu national academy, the Shōheikō 昌平黌, and in 1866 he was dispatched by the bakufu government to supervise students sent to England to study, but upon the fall of the government the next year, he had to hurry back to Japan. It was during this return voyage that he read *Self Help*, which interested and moved him deeply, and, after his return, he quickly translated the entire work and published it as the *Saigoku risshi hen* 西国立志編. It immediately became a best-seller and made him nationally famous. After that, Nakamura served as professor at various new higher educational institutions, including Tokyo University. He is also well-known as the translator of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, published as *Jiyū no kotowari* 自由之理. His poetry is published as the *Keiu shishū* 敬宇詩集 in four *kan* 卷.

Kusaba Senzan 草場船山 (1819-1887) 24 Poems

Kusaba, a native of Hizen 肥前 (Saga domain, now part of Saga and Nagasaki prefectures), was dedicated to learning from an early age and while still young already excelled at kanbun, kanshi, painting and calligraphy. At the age of twenty-two he traveled to Edo to study with the Confucian scholars Koga Dōan 古賀侗菴 (1788-1847) and Shinozaki Shōchiku 篠崎小竹 (1781-1851). On returning to Saga, he was appointed to a teaching position in the domain academy, the Tōgen Shōsha 東原庠舎, where the curriculum stressed the teachings of Zhu Xi 朱熹. In 1855 Kusaba moved to Kyoto and established close friendships with the prominent kanshi poet Yanagawa Seigan and the Confucian scholar (Wang Yangming school), iconoclast, and anti-bakufu critic Rai Mikisaburō 賴三樹三郎 (1825-1859), third son of the influential historian and kanshi poet Rai Sanyō 賴山陽 (1780-1832). Mikisaburō was executed for ridiculing Ii Naosuke 井伊直弼, lord of Hikone 彦根 domain and from 1858 chief minister (*tairō* 大老) of the bakufu. Fortunately for Senzan, who might have been implicated, he had distanced himself from Mikisaburō by returning to Saga because of his father's severe illness. In Saga, he became administrator of education in Hizen and Tashiro 田代. In his later years Kusaba founded

and was head of the Enlightenment Academy (Keimōjuku 啓蒙塾) in Imari 伊万里 (in Saga). In 1876 he was summoned by the Honganji 本願寺 in Kyoto to be professor of classical Chinese studies (*kangaku kyōju* 漢学教授).

Ōtsuki Bankei 大槻磐溪 (1801-1876) 22 poems

A native of Kobikimachi 木挽町 in Edo (present-day Hachiōji 八王子), Ōtsuki Bankei became Confucian advisor and physician in Sendai 仙台 domain, as his father Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827), an expert in and translator of Dutch learning, had been before him. Bankei himself is known to history principally as a bakumatsu scholar of Dutch learning and ballistics expert. His own son, Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦 (1847-1928), became a renowned scholar of Japanese philology (*kokugo gakusha* 国語学者). At the age of fifteen, Bankei began studies at the Shōheizaka gakumonjo 昌平坂学問所 (the Shōheikō), where he studied with the Confucian scholar Matsuzaki Kōdō 松崎謙堂 (1771-1844). He spent ten years at the Shōheikō, and while there attracted the attention and praise of Rai Sanyō. At the age of thirty-one Bankei returned to Sendai, having been appointed the domain Confucian advisor. In 1841 Bankei witnessed an artillery exhibition conducted by Takashima Shūhan 高島秋帆 (1798-1866) at the artillery training grounds at Tokumarugahara 徳丸原 in Edo and was so impressed that he began the study of Western ballistic science with a disciple of Takashima, consequently becoming himself the head of the artillery school founded by Egawa Tarōzaemon 江川太郎左衛門 (1801-1855). He had until that time continued to regard *kangaku* as his principal concern, and Western learning as secondary to it, but when his eldest son died of smallpox, he began to reverse his priorities. He had his surviving four children inoculated successfully, and he tended to make Western learning his main interest. During the late 1840s and early '50s he incurred the wrath of the isolationists by advocating friendly relations with Russia and active confrontation with Britain, other European countries and the U.S.A., and, when Perry forced the bakufu to open Japan, Bankei, then *jikō* 侍講 (Confucian advisor) to the shogunate, helped formulate government policies to accommodate the new open relations. In 1862 he returned to Sendai and became head of the domain academy, the Yōkendō 養賢堂. During the *boshin* war (1868), Bankei assisted Tadaki Tosa 但木土佐 (1817-1869), was in charge of Sendai's alliances with other domains in support of the Tokugawa against the new Meiji regime, and he became an advisor on policy and drafter of official documents. After the failure of the diehards' cause, he was imprisoned, but he was soon pardoned and allowed to return home, where he remained in retirement, devoting most of his time to poetry, until his death at the age of seventy-seven. His collected poetry and prose, the *Neiseikaku shibunshū* 寧静閣詩文集, exists in several editions.

Hirose Ringai 廣瀬林外 (1836-1874) 22 Poems

Hirose Ringai, the eldest son of Hirose Kyokusō 廣瀬旭莊 (1807-1863), the younger brother and adopted son (*gishi* 義子) of Hirose Tansō, was raised by Tansō and his wife

as their grandson in Hita, where Tansō had his famous Confucian academy, the Kangien. Ringai began studies there at the age of seven and at sixteen became provisional chief pupil (*gontokō* 権都講). Chō Sanshū 長三洲 (1833-1895) and Tashiro Junkei 田代潤卿 were his close friends, and the three were considered the star pupils of the academy. In 1862, Ringai succeeded to the headship of the academy, which closed in 1864. In 1872, he went to Tokyo and was appointed to a position in the government's Office of Historiography (*rekishika* 歴史課, soon renamed *shūshikyoku* 修史局, a forerunner of the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo). He died in office in 1874 at the age of thirty-seven. His collected poetry is published as the *Ringai shikō* 林外詩稿.

Shiba Shūson 柴秋村[邨] (1830-1871) 25 Poems

Shiba Shūson was a native of Awa 阿波 in Tokushima 徳島 domain (now the prefecture of that name). At the age of seven he announced that he wished to become a physician, but, too young for that, he was sent to study with the Tokushima Confucian scholar Nii Suichiku 新居水竹 (who later was arrested for fomenting disorder after the fall of the bakufu and ordered to commit seppuku in 1868). When older, Shūson visited Ōnuma Chinzan 大沼枕山 for instruction in poetry, after which he settled for a time in Osaka to study with the Confucian scholar Hirose Kyokusō. Kyokusō thought him a “talent endowed by Heaven” (*tensai* 天才, that is, a genius) and conferred the sobriquet Shūson 秋村 on him. Several years later he went to Banshū 播州 (Harima 播磨, present-day Hyōgo prefecture) to study Western learning, and then went to Kyushu to visit the Kangien in Hita. In 1861, he was summoned to become Confucian advisor in Tokushima domain. After the Meiji Restoration, depressed and disconsolate at the deaths of so many of his friends—Nii Suichiku among them—who had been arrested and executed by the new government as examples to stem the tide of disorder in the former domains, Shūson began to drink heavily every day. He eventually drank himself to death at the age of forty-one. His collected literary works are published as the *Shūson ikō* 秋邨遺稿.

Chō Sanshū 長三洲 (1833-1895) 35 Poems

The eldest son of Chō Baigai 長梅外 (1810-1885) (see below), Sanshū was born in Hita. He studied at the Kangien between 1845 and 1850, initially having to withdraw for a time because his fees could not be paid. However, while at that famous academy, he made close friends with Hirose Ringai and Tashiro Junkei, and the three were considered the star pupils—the “three great talents” (*sansaishi* 三才子). When he was about nineteen, Sanshū, at the invitation of Hirose Kyokusō, went to Osaka to help with teaching and administration of the Osaka Kangien, and it was here that he matured, becoming acquainted with other prominent scholars in the process. His restless and activist personality allowed him to remain with Kyokusō only for a few years, for in 1857 he resigned, prompted to do so because of his growing acquaintance with such political activists as Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允 (1833-1877). He returned to Hita for a brief time and then

traveled all over the country as a representative of the “Revere the Emperor and Expel the Barbarians” (*sonnō jōi* 尊王攘夷) movement. In 1863 he became a commander (*chūtaichō* 中隊長) in the Irregular Army (*kiheitai* 奇兵隊) raised by Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作 (1839-1867) in Chōshū 長州 domain, and the next year he was wounded in the course of confrontations with British, American, French, and Dutch forces. When this army was disbanded shortly afterward by the bakufu government, Sanshū unsuccessfully tried to raise a similar army in the Bungo region. In 1868, after the decisive battle of Toba-Fushimi 鳥羽伏見, in which the bakufu forces were defeated, he joined the Meiji forces sent to pacify the Ōshū 奥州 region as a staff officer, and, after peace was established, he returned to Chōshū. In 1870, he joined the new Meiji government as a middle-ranking member of the staff of the Council of State (*dajōkan gondaishi* 太政官權大史) and worked closely with Etō Shinpei 江藤新平 (1834-1874). It was during this time that his draft of *Shin hōken ron* 新封建論 (A New Discussion of the Feudal System) was completed; this served as the basis for the policy of abolition of fiefs and establishment of prefectures (*haihan chiken* 廢藩置県), soon to be implemented. In 1871 he served as a member of the diplomatic mission to the Qing court in China, and while in China he became acquainted with such prominent poets as Ying Baoshi 應寶時 and Xia Jiagao 夏家稿, who greatly admired his own poetry, and was treated with great respect and courtesy by Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901), governor-general of the capital province and grand secretary in the central government. In 1872, Sanshū was appointed a deputy minister in the Ministry of Education (*monbu shōjō* 文部少丞) and entrusted with the task of organizing a national education system. He soon became vice-minister (*monbu daijō* 文部大丞). After that, he served in several other high posts and became tutor and personal advisor to the Meiji emperor, but resigned all his posts and responsibilities in 1879. In 1880, along with historian Shigeno Yasutsugu 重野安繹 (1827-1910) and Kawada Ōkō, Sanshū founded the Shibun Gakkai 斯文学会 (Sinological Society). He devoted the rest of his life to poetry, painting, and calligraphy. In calligraphy, he first emulated Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 but later turned to Yen Zhenqing 顏真卿. In painting, he emulated Tanomura Chikuden 田能村竹田 (1777-1835) and particularly excelled at renderings of orchids and bamboo. He was also a skillful seal stone face carver in seal script (*tenkoku* 篆刻). His collected literary works are published as the *Sanshū kyōshi shū* 三洲居士集.

Middle Section

Washizu Kidō 鷺津毅堂 (1825-1882) 28 Poems

A native of Owari 尾張 domain, Washizu Kidō was the eldest son of the classical Chinese scholar Washizu Ekisai 鷺津益齋, who counted among his students Mori Shuntō 森春濤 (1819-1889) and Ōnuma Chinzan. Kidō studied in Ise 伊勢 with the Confucian scholar Igai Keisho 猪飼敬所 (1761-1845), who followed the eclectic (*setchū* 折衷) tradition of learning that attempted the synthesis of ancient learning (*kogaku* 古学)

with the traditions of Zhu Xi (Shushigaku 朱子学) and Wang Yangming (Yōmeigaku 陽明学). In 1845, he began studies at the Shōheikō in Edo. He was first employed in Kurume 久留米 domain, and then returned to Owari, where he became tutor to the lord of the domain. In 1867 he became head of the Owari domain academy, the Meirindō 明倫堂, whose curriculum he completely reformed. In 1880, the major collection of his literary works was published, *Kidōheishū* 毅堂丙集 in five *kan* 卷, and the next year, the year before he died, he was made a member of the Tokyo Scholars Association (Tōkyō Gakushikai 東京学士会).

Akizuki Kitsumon 秋月橋門 (1809-1880) 21 Poems

Native of Saiki 佐伯 in Bungo, Kitsumon in his later life lived in Tokyo. For much of his adult life he served as professor at the Saiki (Ōita) domain academy, the Shikyōdō 四教堂, where he was first appointed in 1843. The Shikyōdō followed the eclectic learning (*setchū*) tradition that attempted a synthesis of ancient learning with the traditions of Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming. Confucian scholars there in residence for a time included both Hirose Tansō and Matsushita Chikuin 松下筑陰. Little is known about Kitsumon's life after the Meiji Restoration, but a work he authored, the *Kōsei mondō* 好生問答 (Questions and Answers Concerning the Cherishing of Human Life), was published in Tokyo by Ishimura Teiichi 石村貞一 in 1880.

Murakami Butsuzan 村上仏山 (1810-1879) 48 poems

Murakami Butsuzan, native of Buzen 豊前 domain (corresponding to present-day Fukuoka prefecture and part of Ōita prefecture)—more precisely, Kamihieda 上稗田 (present-day Yukuhashi City 行橋市). He studied in Chikuzen 筑前 domain with Hara Kosho 原古処 (1767-1827) as well as with other local prominent scholars. His reputation as a leading kanshi poet was established at an early age, but he is also known to history as the founder in 1835 of the Suisaien 水哉園 in Kamihieda, an academy which emphasized classical Chinese learning and the interpretation, criticism, and composition of kanbun and kanshi. This school in its fifty-year history educated more than three thousand students from all over southern Japan, including many leading figures of the Meiji era. On the site of the school there is now the Butsuzandō Bunko 仏山堂文庫, in which are preserved some of the original drafts of Butsuzan's writings and other personal memorabilia. More original drafts and early publications are kept in the Yukuhashi City library. The principal collection of his poetry is published as the *Butsuzandō shishō* 佛山堂詩鈔.

Mukōyama Kōson 向山黄村 (1826-1897) 20 Poems

The third son of Isshiki Shinjō 一色真浄, of Chikuzen domain (present-day Fukuoka prefecture), Kōson was raised as the foster child of Mukōyama Seisai 向山誠斎 (1801-1856), a high official in the shogunal government, so he studied at the bakufu national academy, the Shōheikō in Edo. In 1866 he accompanied Tokugawa Akitake 徳川昭武

(1852-1910) on his tour of Europe as ambassador plenipotentiary (*zenken kōshi* 全權公使) to Paris. Immediately after the Meiji Restoration, he followed Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川慶喜 (1837-1913) to Shizuoka 静岡 domain, where he became head of the domain academy (*hankō* 藩黌), which after the abolition of fiefs and establishment of prefectures became the Shizuoka Gakumonjo 静岡学問所.¹² In later years, he moved to Tokyo, where in 1877 he joined with Inazu Nanyō 稲津南洋 in founding the Bansui Ginsha 晩翠吟社. The society met once a month in Ueno at the Koshintei 湖心亭 on Shinobazu Pond 不忍池. These were years of retirement from public life, devoted to poetry.

Narushima Ryūhoku 成島柳北 (1837-1884) 17 Poems

Ryūhoku was the son of Narushima Kadō 成島稼堂, Confucian advisor to the shogun, and from a long family line of bakufu officials. He was born on the family estate in Asakusa. A precocious child, he was able to compose waka 和歌 and was thoroughly familiar with the *Tale of Genji* by the age of seven. He became a personal attendant to the fourteenth shogun, Tokugawa Iemochi 徳川家茂 (1846-1866) in 1854, when he himself was sixteen. That same year he inherited the estate of his father, who had died the previous year, and he also was engaged as the editor of the Veritable Records of the Bakufu Court (*Bakuchō jitsuroku* 幕朝実録). From this time until the Meiji Restoration in 1868, he held various offices in the bakufu government, although on occasion slanderous rumors drove him into seclusion at home. He withdrew from public life for the first two or three years of the new era, but the publication in 1871 of his *Ryūkyō shinshi* 柳橋新誌, essays (*zuihitsu* 隨筆) in kanbun, made him famous. During 1872-1873 he visited Europe and America. In 1874 he became the publisher of the Chōya Shinbun 朝野新聞, a political affairs newspaper, which he used to expose scandals and criticize politicians. These activities often got Ryūhoku into trouble with the authorities—at times he was thrown into jail and fined, and publication of his newspaper was suspended. He died at the age of forty-seven.

Nanma Tsunanori 南摩綱紀 (1823-1909) 10 poems

Nanma Tsunanori, also widely known by his sobriquet Uhō 羽峯, was a native of Aizu 会津 domain (Fukushima prefecture), where he served in various capacities as a domain official. He was in Kyoto for a time just before the battle of Toba-Fushimi in 1868. He fled to Osaka and lived there incognito while observing the developing situation before returning to Aizu. That same year Aizu was forced into the alliance with other hold-out domains, which were then defeated. Tsunanori was pardoned for his participation in the hostilities and moved back to Kyoto, where he began a new career in education. Thereafter, he moved to Tokyo and served in the Ministry of Education, later becoming a professor at the Higher Normal School (Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 高等師範学校). Tsunanori was a well-known master calligrapher, and many monuments and tomb and grave inscriptions of the Meiji era are in his hand.

Chō Baigai 長梅外 (1810-1885) 24 poems

Baigai was the father of Chō Sanshū (see above). A native of Hita domain, Baigai was adopted at the age of eighteen by a physician, Ono Gyokusen 小野玉泉, trained as a physician, and married to Ono's daughter. However, when Ono died in 1830 along with all his children, including Baigai's wife, Baigai was adopted into another family, headed by a man whose name was Uemon 右衛門 (surname unknown) and married to his daughter Chisato 千里. This was Sanshū's mother. A student of Hirose Tansō (see above), she was a kanshi poet in her own right, and wrote under the pen name Chikukōkaku Fujin 竹香閣夫人. Her collected verse in one *kan* is published as the *Chikukōkaku shōshi* 竹香閣小詩, appended to the *Baigai shishō* 梅外詩抄, which appeared in 1881. In 1839, Baigai was called to the Hikosan 英彦山 temple atop the mountain of the same name in what is today Fukuoka prefecture, and appointed secretary (*yūhitsu* 祐筆) to the abbot. He also started the Shin'ensho Academy 心遠処塾 there, schooling acolytes in the study of the Confucian classics, kanbun, and kanshi. Beginning in 1843, Baigai traveled extensively, discussing the concept of "Honoring the Emperor" with like-minded thinkers in Kyoto, Osaka, and throughout Kyushu. In 1850, he began gathering his own disciples in Nagasaki, Amakusa 天草, Yanagawa 柳川, and Ōita. In 1855, he opened the Moen Gakusha 茂園学舎 in Usa 宇佐 (Ōita), and in 1862 began teaching in Hayami 速見 and in Ōita. In 1866, there was a crackdown on anti-bakufu activity, and as Baigai and all his sons were associated with the anti-bakufu movement, they were affected. His second son Shuntō 春堂 was arrested as an anti-bakufu agitator, and died the next year in prison. Baigai himself managed to escape to Mōri 毛利 domain (Yamaguchi), where he taught at the Meirinkan 明倫館. After hostilities had ceased two years later, he followed his son Sanshū, who had become a Meiji official, to Tokyo. There he occasionally gave lectures, participated in the activities of the Shibun Gakkai (see above), which Sanshū had helped found in 1880, and lived in retirement.

Emā Tenkō 江馬天江 (1825-1902) 19 Poems

A native of Mino domain (present-day Gifu prefecture), Emā Tenkō was the sixth son of a physician, Shimosaka Kōsai 下阪篁斎, but when he was twenty, he became the adopted son of Emā Ryūen 江馬榴園, attendant physician in Ninnaji 仁和寺 temple in Kyoto. Ryūen was the adopted son of Emā Ransai 江馬蘭斎 (1747-1838), whose eldest daughter was the celebrated poet Emā Saikō 江馬細香 (1787-1861). Tenkō himself studied medicine in Kyoto as a youth, after which he pursued Western learning with Ogata Kōan 緒方洪庵 (1810-1863), a physician who practiced "Dutch medicine," while at the same time becoming a kanshi disciple of Yanagawa Seigan. While he was Yanagawa's disciple, his reputation as a poet soared and he began to associate with other leading poets of the time. In 1868, he served briefly as a historian in the new government in Tokyo before resigning and returning to Kyoto, where he devoted himself to the education of disciples and gave lectures on Confucianism. His collected verse is published as the *Taikyōen shishō* 退享園詩鈔.

Hirose Seison 広瀬青邨 (1819-1884) 40 Poems

Hirose Seison was a native of Buzen domain, the fourth son of Yano Tokushirō 矢野徳四郎. In 1834 he entered the Kangien in Hita, the famous Confucian academy founded by Hirose Tansō in 1805. In 1839, Seison became Tansō's assistant (*tokō* 都講), and in 1843, his adopted son and successor in charge of the school. He remained head until 1862, when he yielded the post to Hirose Ringai (see above) to take up the headship of the Hita domain school, the Yūenkan 遊焉館. In 1868, when Meiji forces were subduing the diehards who resisted their authority, Hita intended to resist, but thanks to Seison's persuasions, it gave up the fight, saving many lives and sparing much destruction. The same year he went to Higo 肥後 domain (present-day Kumamoto prefecture). In 1869, Seison was appointed by the new Meiji government to take charge of the educational system in Kyoto, which involved the establishment of sixty-four new elementary schools. In 1876, he went to Tokyo, where he initially worked in the Bureau of Historiography, but soon resigned and privately established an academy, the Tōgien 東宜園 in Ushigome 牛込 (eastern Shinjuku-ku), which emphasized the teachings of Zhu Xi and the Daoist classics the *Laozi* 老子 and the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. In 1877, the Tokyo Peers School (Kazoku Gakkō 華族学校) was established, and Seison was appointed as professor and head. About this same time Seison also gave lectures to the Meiji Emperor on the subject of the Confucian Analects (*Rongo* 論語). In 1880, he served as an official (*bun-gaku goyōgakarī* 文学御用掛) in the Imperial Household Agency, and in the same year became a lecturer for the newly founded Shibun Gakkai. In 1882, he resigned from the Tokyo Peers' School and moved to Yamanashi prefecture, where he served as head of the prefectural normal college (*shihan gakkō* 師範学校) while trying to convalesce from illness. He died less than two years later.

Last Section**Ōnuma Chinzan 大沼枕山 (1818-1891) 15 Poems**

Ōnuma Chinzan was born in Edo and grew up in "cheerful poverty" after his father Chikukei 竹溪 died when he was about nine, sustained apparently by a superior private literary training, which imbued him with strong moral and aesthetic values. Sometime while still quite young, he paid a visit to the Confucian scholar, poet, painter, and calligrapher Kikuchi Gozan 菊地五山 in Sanuki 讃岐 domain (Kagawa prefecture), who was so impressed with Chinzan's literary talent that he took him into his household as an honored guest (*jōkyaku* 上客). After residing in Owari domain for a time, Chinzan returned to Edo in 1835, where he met Yanagawa Seigan, the great kanshi poet, who became his patron. Chinzan's talent then matured, and his reputation was made. In 1845, when Yanagawa left Edo, Chinzan became the leading poet in the city and founded a poetry society of his own, the Shitaya Ginsha 下谷吟社, named after its location in Shitaya district (present-day Taitō-ku 台東区). Chinzan's society dominated the poetry scene well into the Meiji era. His complete works were published as the *Chinzan-sensei*

ikō 枕山先生遺稿 in 1893.

Mishima Chūshū 三島中洲 (1830-1919) 20 Poems

Mishima Chūshū was born in Kuboya district 窪屋郡 (present-day Okayama prefecture). At the age of thirteen he began study with the great Confucian scholar Yamada Hōkoku 山田方谷 (1805-1877), who followed the Wang Yangming tradition. At the age of twenty-eight, Chūshū entered the bakufu academy, the Shōheikō, and studied with the Confucian scholar Satō Issai 佐藤一斎 (1772-1859), who attempted a synthesis of Zhu Xi's and Wang Yangming's thought. In 1860, he became head of the domain academy in Bitchū 備中, in Matsuyama domain 松山藩 (present-day Okayama), and the next year he opened his own private school (*kajuku* 家塾) near the domain academy, the Kokō Keisha 虎口溪舎, which thrived into the Meiji era. In 1872 he was appointed a judge (*hōkan* 法官) by the Meiji government, and he then became a prosecutor of the Supreme Court (Daishin'in *hanji* 大審院判事). Retiring from the legal profession in 1877, he founded the Nishō Gakusha 二松学舎, which later became Nishō Gakusha University. He then became a professor at the imperial university, tutor to the crown prince (*tōgū jikō* 東宮侍講), and advisor to the emperor (*kyūchū komonkan* 宮中顧問官). His kanshi verse is published as the *Chūshū shikō* 中洲詩稿.

Kikuchi Sankei 菊池三溪 (1819-1891) 28 Poems

Kikuchi Sankei was an erudite and prolific scholar of classical Chinese studies, his most noteworthy work probably his collation of the History of the Han Era, the *Kansho hyōrin* 漢書評林, a work still considered authoritative today. In his day, his literary and scholarly works were published under the name Kikuchi Jun 純. His studio name was Seisetsurō Shujin 晴雪樓主人, so his collected verse is entitled the *Seisetsurō shishō* 晴雪樓詩鈔. He also was a popular *zuihitsu* 隨筆家 of his day, writing always in kanbun.

Naka Gorō 那珂梧樓 (1827-1879) 23 Poems

The character *go* in Naka Gorō's name is also written 悟. He was a native of Ōdate 大館 in present-day Akita prefecture and the son of a physician in Morioka domain 盛岡藩 (present-day Iwate prefecture). Gorō was apparently the foster father and teacher of Naka Michiyo 那珂通世 (1851-1908), the well-known Orientalist who specialized in the interrelations among Japanese, Korean, and Japanese history and who pioneered the study of the Mongols in Japan. Michiyo was adopted at the age of thirteen (1840), having been born in Morioka, so perhaps Gorō was also from that area. Gorō is said to have been a student of the Confucian scholar Tōjō Ichidō 東条一堂 (1778-1857), who denigrated "Song learning" (*Sōgaku* 宋学) and emphasized "ancient learning" (*kogaku*), that is, the commentaries to the Confucian classics of the Han and Wei-Jin eras. Gorō, the prominent "Honor the Emperor and Expel the Barbarians" activist Kiyokawa Hachirō 清河八郎 (1830-1863), and the anti-bakufu revolutionary Momoi Gihachi 桃井儀八 (1802-1864) are said to have been Tōjō Ichidō's star pupils. Gorō had a brush with the

authorities before the Restoration, and authored a *Yūshū nichiroku* 幽囚日録 (Diary of Prison Days) about his imprisonment by the bakufu government.

Suzuki Shōtō 鱸松塘 (1823-1898) 19 Poems

Suzuki Shōtō, Ōnuma Chinzan, and Ono Kozan (for the latter two, see above) were considered, at the time, the best of Yanagawa Seigan's poet-disciples. Ōtsuki Bankei (see above) critiqued Shōtō's verse in these words: "It is thoroughly original and imbued with primordial spirit, while its formal style is extraordinarily elegant. He seems a graceful pine tree standing straight on a pond's bank, shooting forth greenery pure and fresh." The critique puns on pine tree (*shō*) and pond's bank (*tō*), which are the two characters of the name Shōtō.

Kikuchi Keikin 菊池溪琴 (1799-1881) 29 Poems

A native of Kishū 紀州 domain (present-day Wakayama prefecture), Keikin was born into a wealthy merchant family surnamed Kaitō 垣内. As a youth he was fascinated with the arts of warfare, which he studied along with serious book learning while continuing to fulfill his duty as a merchant's son. He became particularly interested in coastal defense. However, he eventually left home and went to Edo, where he studied with the Confucian scholar, kanshi poet, and calligrapher Ōkubo Shibutsu 大窪詩仏 (1767-1837), concentrating on poetry and the Confucian classics and history. In 1836, Keikin and the Confucian scholar (Wang Yangming tradition) Ōshio Heihachirō 大塩平八郎 (1793-1837) jointly submitted a proposal to the government suggesting means to alleviate the current famine, but the proposal was rejected. Ōshio went on to lead a celebrated uprising against the bakufu in Osaka, and died a martyr to his ill-fated cause; Keikin returned to Kishū, where he worked on various projects for the public good and founded a poetry society, the Koheki Ginsha 古碧吟社. He memorialized the domain lord about coastal defense and served as general coordinator for civil and military affairs for the Arita 有田 and Hidaka 日高 districts, organizing peasant militias and having cannon cast. Just before the fall of the bakufu government, he worked in the central government in Edo. After the Meiji Restoration, he was appointed in 1869 to a civil administrative post in the new government in Tokyo, but he felt unsuitable for the post and soon resigned. However, he continued to live in Tokyo and died there in 1881. His poetry is contained in various collections, principally the *Shūsanrō shū* 秀餐楼集, the *Kaisōshū* 海莊集, and the *Keikin sanbōshi* 溪琴山房詩. It is interesting to note that Keikin had a special interest in the early Ming poet Gao Qi 高啓 (1336-1374), for he added his own marginal critiques (*etsu* 閱) to an edition of Gao's works published sometime during the early Meiji era, the *Kō Seikyū shijun* 高青邱詩醇. Keikin's own poetry is characterized as "straightforward yet mild, lofty and archaic" (*chūtan kōko* 冲澹高古).

Kamedani Seiken 亀谷省軒 (1838-1913) 25 Poems

Kamedani Seiken, a native of Tsushima 対馬 domain (present-day Nagasaki prefecture),

loved learning so much as a child that he forgot to eat and drink. As a youth, he wanted to travel and study elsewhere, but he was a domain hereditary official and this was forbidden to him. However, in 1861, when he was twenty-three, he retired on the pretext of illness, yielded the family estate to his younger brothers, and went to Osaka, where he studied kanshi with Hirose Kyokusō. He then moved his residence to Edo, where he studied with Yasui Sokken 安井息軒 (1799-1876), an adherent of evidential scholarship (*kōshōgaku* 考証学) who specialized on ancient commentaries to the Confucian classics. Seiken lived in Edo and later Tokyo for many years. A private scholar, he published prolifically. In 1881, on his way to Osaka on private matters, he stopped for a time in Kyoto to call on Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視 (1825-1883), who was ill. He asked for his critique of his writings, and Iwakura praised them highly, especially Seiken's historical works. His kanshi and kanbun are characterized as "surpassing in self-confidence, weight and intricacy, and are masterful, as well as profound and subtle—they really capture the Meiji spirit." Seiken's collected works are published as the *Seiken shikō* 省軒詩稿 and the *Seiken bunkō* 省軒文稿.

Mori Shuntō 森春濤 (1819-1889) 43 Poems

Shuntō, a native of Mino, in Owari domain, studied in Owari with the classical Chinese scholar Washizu Ekisai 鷲津益齋 and the prominent kanshi poet Yanagawa Seigan. He came from a long line of successful physicians and was pushed by his father in that direction. Later his upbringing was entrusted to a relative who was an eye doctor, who saw that Shuntō was fond of reading literary works such as *jōruri* 浄瑠璃 (ballad-dramas), and gave him a copy of the *Yōgaku shiin* 幼学詩韻, a popular primer for the study of kanshi composition. Shuntō's innate talent soon became apparent, and by the time he was fourteen, he was already an excellent kanshi poet. It was then that he went to study kangaku with Washizu Ekisai, following which he founded the Sōzōken Ginsha 桑三軒吟社 in Nagoya. Shuntō then traveled for a time, and wherever he went his reputation as a poet preceded him. After the Meiji Restoration, he returned to Tokyo and founded the Mari Ginsha 茉莉吟社 in Shitaya district (present-day Taitō-ku). In 1875, he began publishing the extraordinarily influential journal *Shinbunshi* 新文詩, and could be said to have dominated the world of kanshi poetry. His collected verse is published as the *Shuntō shishō* 春濤詩鈔.

REFERENCES

Fang 1967

Fang Chao-ying, "Huang Tsun-hsien," in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1644-1912) (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1967 reprint of the Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943 ed.), 350-51.

Huang 1982

Riben guozhi 日本國志 (*Treatises on Japan*). Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1982.
Jindai Zongguo shiliao congkan xubian 近代中国資料叢書續編 ed. Reprint of the
Shanghai: Tushu jicheng yinshuju, 1898 ed.

Huang (Modern Poetry Research Group, ed.) 1960

Renjinglu jiwai shiji 入境廬集外詩集 (A Compilation of Poetry Not Included in
the “Hut within the Human Realm” Collection). Beijing University, Department
of Chinese, Modern Poetry Research Group 北京大学中文系近代詩研究小組
ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960.

Huang (Qian, ed.) 1981

Renjinglu shicao jianzhu 入境廬詩草 (Draft of poems from the “Hut within the
Human Realm,” with annotations), ed. and ann. Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯.
Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1981; reprint 1999.

Huang (Sanetō and Toyoda, trans.) 1968

Sanetō Keishū 実藤惠秀 and Toyoda Minoru 豊田穰, trans. *Nihon zatsuji shi* 日
本雜事詩 (Heibonsha, 1968).

Huang (Zhong, ed.) 1985

Riben zashishi guangzhu 日本雜事詩廣注 (*Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from
Japan, with Expanded Commentaries*). Zhong Shuhe 鍾叔河, ed. Changsha: Yuelu
shushe, 1985.

Kamachi 1981

Noriko Kamachi, *Reform in China: Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model*
(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981).

Lynn 1996

Richard John Lynn, review (feature article) of J. D. Schmidt, *Within the Human
Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian, 1848-1905*, in *China Review International*
3:2 (Fall 1996), 1-27.

Lynn 1997

Richard John Lynn, “‘This Culture of Ours’ 斯文 and Huang Zunxian’s 黄遵憲
Literary Experiences in Japan (1877-82),” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles,
Reviews*, 19 (December 1997), 113-38.

Lynn 1998

Richard John Lynn, “Huang Zunxian (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.

Ng 1995

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.

Schmidt 1994

J. D. Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian, 1848-1905*
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Zhang 1991

Zhang Tangqi 張堂錡, *Huang Zunxian ji qi shi yanjiu* 黃遵憲及其詩研究 (Research on Huang Zunxian and his poetry) (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1991).

Zheng and Zhang 1991

Zheng Hailin 鄭海麟 and Zhang Weixiong 張偉雄 eds. *Huang Zunxian wenji* 黃遵憲文集. (Works of Huang Zunxian). Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1991.

NOTES

An earlier version of this essay was presented at the conference “The Canon of Chinese Poetry in East Asia,” Harvard University, August 23-24, 2002.

- ¹ For details concerning Huang’s life, historical background, place in Chinese literature, as well as an account of the intellectual and cultural contexts of his association with early Meiji *bunjin*, see Lynn 1997 and Lynn 1998.
- ² Huang (Qian, ed.) 1981, p. 1.
- ³ Zhang 1991, p. 200.
- ⁴ Both pairs of poems, together with the commentaries, are translated in their entirety in Lynn 1998. The first pair is Number 71 in the 1879 edition and Number 76 in the 1890 edition. The second pair is Number 72 in the 1879 version and Number 77 in the 1890 version.
- ⁵ Huang never provided the poems with titles. The Chinese titles in this essay were supplied by Zhong Shuhe in Huang (Zhong, ed.) 1985, and the Japanese titles, by Sanetō Keishū and Toyoda Minoru in Huang (Sanetō and Toyoda, trans.) 1968.
- ⁶ Lynn 1998 provides a detailed account of Huang’s association with Ishikawa and other contemporary *bunjin*, a brief outline of which follows immediately below here.
- ⁷ The *Riben guozhi*, in 40 *juan* 卷, is the first general history of Japan written in Chinese. It was first published in 1890 in Guangzhou by the Fuwenzhai and reprinted in 1898 in Shanghai by the Tushu jicheng yinshuju. The 1898 edition exists in two more recent reprints: Yonghe District (Taibei County): Wenhai chubanshe, 1968; reprint 1974; and Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1995.
- ⁸ A photograph of a rubbing of this inscription appears in Huang (Sanetō and Toyoda, trans.) 1968, p. 16.
- ⁹ Kawada Ōko, native of Bitchū (present-day Okayama prefecture), studied at the bakufu national academy, the Shōheikō. Later, thanks to an introduction from the great Confucian scholar Yamada Hōkoku 山田方谷 (1805-1877), Ōko was appointed head of the domain school in Matsuyama domain 松山藩, Bitchū, in 1851, a post he held for ten years. After the Meiji Restoration, he became a professor at Tokyo University and member of the House of Peers. He was a prolific author of scholarly works.
- ¹⁰ Iwaya Osamu 巖谷修 (Iwaya Ichiroku 巖谷一六 [1834-1905]).

- ¹¹ Huang, alluding to the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou), describes this practice elsewhere: “As early as the golden age of antiquity, officials were already being dispatched in light carriages to all parts of the realm to collect folk songs and ballads and to investigate local customs. Junior Messengers were also ordered to compile records of these, which the Official Scribe for External Affairs then also took in charge.” See his preface to *Riben guozhi* (Huang 1982).
- ¹² Kōson is actually responsible for coining the name Shizuoka given to the new prefecture.

要旨

黄遵憲と明治時代の文人との交流 - 明治初期における名家詩選の形成 -

リチャード・ジョン・リン

偉大なる中国詩人黄遵憲は明治10年から15年まで駐日清国大使館の参贊官を勤め、東京に滞在中、高名な日本人文人と接触し親交を深めた。黄は彼らとの交友を通して得られた日本に関する知識をその著書『日本雑事詩』、『日本国誌』に収集して出版した。これらの本は明治初期における日本知識人社会の雰囲気をよく伝えているため、貴重な史料となっている。中国人文人としての教養を生かして、黄は日本人文人と「斯文」(我々の文化)と呼ばれる文化を共有した。彼は日本人知識人の言説や考え方に直接接触れることにより、当時急激に変化しつつあった日本人の生活のあらゆる面について深い見識を持つようになった。政治的な影響力も持っていた明治初期の文人は、「斯文」の伝統を守ることに力を注ぎ、維新後の新しい国家の中でも「斯文」は各界で大きな影響力を持ち続けた。本論文は明治初期における漢詩の標準的原典の形成過程に貢献した詩人達に焦点を当てているが、黄の日本人との社交記録は詩の世界を超える歴史資料として意義があることも示唆している。