Keiichi Uchida

A Study of Cultural Interaction and Linguistic Contact

Approaching Chinese Linguistics from the Periphery

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Approaching Chinese Linguistics from the Periphery

Translated by Alan Thwaits

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Cover image: A Ming-period Confucian respectfully asks a question, and a Dominican monk holding scriptures replies. From *A Veritable Record of the Authentic Tradition of the True Faith in the Infinite God* 無極天主正教真傳實錄 (1593), by Juan Cobo.

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Introduction:
A Peripheral Approach to Chinese Linguistics as a Contribution to the Study of Cultural Interaction

The notion of the study of cultural interaction in East Asia is not yet well rooted in society, but the group to which I belong, the Institute for Cultural Interaction Studies at Kansai University (a 2007 Global Center of Excellence program of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology) seeks to establish this field of study as a new framework for studying East Asia. Our basic understanding of the content of this framework is as follows.

Traditionally, the study of cultural interaction, for instance, the study of the history of Sino-Japanese interaction, was conducted within a national framework involving two countries and in the various fields of study, such as linguistics, thought, ethnography, religion, literature, and history. Consequently, knowledge was compartmentally accumulated in separate journals and publications, with the result that there was a lack of understanding of the complete picture of cultural interaction. Our new framework for studying cultural interaction, in contrast, seeks to transcend nations and separate fields of study. It presupposes that East Asia is a complex cultural unit requiring us to look at the development, spread, transmission, and content of culture within the whole region, in order to clarify the total picture of East Asian cultural interaction from a multi-perspective, comprehensive point of view.

And to establish our new framework of study, one of the methods we use is the peripheral approach. But as we are using the notion, "periphery" refers to more than the geographical periphery. The relationship of periphery and center can also be found in various fields of academic study, such as the field of Chinese linguistics. Moreover, the relation between periphery and center is not fixed; rather, the boundary between periphery and center is flexible and varies over time—a possibility that we must bear in mind.

This great effort at creating a framework for studying cultural interaction has, of course, just begun, and our present multidisciplinary frame of reference does not offer a single answer to the question of just what the field of cultural-interaction studies is. Going forward, we must engage in discussion to accumulate concrete results that can support a new framework for studying intercultural

interaction. What this work seeks to offer is an example of a solution to this challenge from the perspective of the field of Chinese linguistics.

1   An Approach from the Periphery

When we look at only the center of a phenomenon, we often cannot grasp its true nature. The eye of a typhoon is calm, while the winds are raging on the periphery. Traditional sayings have put the matter well. In Japan we have the saying "It is dark at the base of the candlestick" 灯台下暗し, and also the saying "[In the game of go] the onlooker can see eight moves in advance" 岡目八目. Moreover, the Chinese have the sayings "The go player is at a loss while the onlooker is clear" 當局者迷，旁觀者清 and "One does not see the true face of Mt. Lu when one is on the mountain" 不識廬山真面目，只緣身在此山中.

The relation between periphery and center can be considered from various perspectives. One such perspective is that of Zhu Dexi 朱德熙, who speaks of "comparative contrasts":

> **Q** What are the special features of Chinese grammar? I have always been puzzled by this question. May I ask your opinion here?
>
> **A** Special features become clear in the comparison. If there is no comparison, there are no special features. Hence, if you ask what the special features of Chinese grammar are, you first have to specify what language you are going to compare Chinese to. (1985, p. 2)

Yet today's scholarly research is increasingly segmented, with the result that while scholars might be able to handle the minute details of some particular phenomenon, they are at a loss to present an overview of the whole. In the field of Chinese grammar as well, research on a particular phenomenon is becoming increasingly subtle. While this is progress of a sort, systematic discussions of the whole of Chinese grammar are being neglected. The situation is one where scholars delve directly into such matters as the acceptability of having 了 twice in a predicate, the nature of the progressive 在, the circumstances when 的 is necessary and when it is not, and the distinction between a verbal complement and a conjoined adjective (details that admittedly need elucidating), while neglecting to explain such basic notions as those of a sentence, a subject, or a predicate. Even more important, such basic questions as what is language are omitted. Missing is a view of language, or even a view of the world, to exaggerate. Can this really be called progress?[1]

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1 In fact, this is true not just of grammarians, but also of scholars in other fields. Phonologists study only phonology; dialectologists study only dialects; and even among grammarians,

Recently, interdisciplinary and extradisciplinary studies have become quite popular. Though this is to be expected, interdisciplinary studies cannot be the established paradigm from the start. After all, interdisciplinary studies are possible only after specialized fields of study have become established. We must remember that interdisciplinary and extradisciplinary studies not based on specialized fields of study lack roots.

In any case, for over ten years we have advocated this peripheral approach and have carried out research in Chinese linguistics based on this approach. Below I will again present my views as to the validity of this approach in linguistic research, and in particular, in research on grammar.

2   The Validity of Peripheral Materials

2.1   Western Studies of Chinese

Linguistics became established as a discipline in China only in the modern period. But this does not mean that Chinese in the premodern period did not think about language. In fact, Chinese from an early period carried out profound ruminations on language. For example, Xunzi 荀子 (ca. 313–ca. 238 BCE), in his essay "The Proper Use of Terms" 正名, discussed the purpose of language, the normative aspect of language, and the development of human cognition and relations among words, as illustrated below:[2]

> **The purpose of language is to distinguish referents and to convey mental content**
> When independent thinking about different forms produces mixed understandings, the relation between the name and substance of various things becomes obscure, the distinction between superiors and inferiors becomes vague, and matters cannot be distinguished as the same or different. In such circumstances, it is inevitable that [inferiors'] sometimes misunderstand [superiors'] intentions, and that affairs may not get properly carried out. Hence, those in the know make distinct names for things in order to designate various realities, so that, in the human realm, the distinction between superiors and inferiors becomes clear and, in the realm of affairs, matters can be distinguished as the same or different. The distinction between superiors and inferiors being clear and matters being distinguished as the same or different, intentions are understood, and affairs are carried out. This is why we have names.
> Names are the means by which we delimit different realities.
> His [the ruler's] words and statements are the messenger of the meaning of his intentions.

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modern grammarians study only modern grammar, and historical grammarians study only historical grammar. The obvious method of dealing with language both synchronically and diachronically is frowned upon.

2 For details, see Uchida 1995.

The normative aspect of language, or the lack of a direct connection between words and their denotations

Words do not have a fixed usage. Usage is fixed by assignment. When usage is fixed and established in society, it is called proper. What differs from accepted usage is called improper. Names do not have fixed referents. Referents are fixed by assignment. When their usage is fixed and established in society, these names are real names that refer.

The concrete and abstract development of human cognition and relations among words (simple names, compound names, general names, and particular names)

If simple names 單名 suffice to understand, use simple names. If simple names do not suffice to understand, use compound names 兼名. If it is necessary to avoid both simple names and compound names, use general names 共名. … Sometimes one wants to refer generally to all the things of the world, however numerous. They are called "things." "Things" is the most inclusive general name. Seeking the ever more general, we find that general names can be combined to create even more general names, until we arrive at the most inclusive general name, at which point we stop. Sometimes we want to refer selectively to some things. Hence, we have terms like "birds" and "beasts." "Birds" and "beasts" are very inclusive particular names. Seeking the ever more particular, we find that particular names can be divided into even more particular names, until we arrive at the finest particular name, at which point we stop.

In addition to Xunzi, we find that Mozi 墨子 (ca. 468–ca. 376 BCE) and Gongsun Long 公孫龍 (ca. 330–ca. 242 BCE) also had well-developed views on language. But for a systematic linguistic theory or grammatical theory, we have to wait until the late Qing period, when there appeared such systematic studies of grammar as *Ma's Guide to the Written Language* 馬氏文通 (1898), by Ma Jianzhong 馬建忠.[3] Prior to this work, the study of grammar was a handmaiden to the study of the classics, appearing in the annotations to classic texts and focusing on the explication of grammatical particles.

In contrast, in the West, already in ancient Greece and Rome, linguistics was an established field of study, and in the sixteenth century, missionaries carried out linguistic research on Chinese. Though these scholars were missionaries, they proved themselves talented linguists, writing accurately on such sundry features of the Chinese language as its monosyllabic phonetic system, the relation between initial consonants and rhymes, the preponderance of vowels in its phonetic system, the shifting of parts of speech, the presence of measure words, the concreteness of its verbs, the contrast between Mandarin and the various dialects, and the difference between literary Chinese and the vernacular. Just in the field of

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3 As mentioned below, prior to Ma's work, *Notes from the Yanxu Thatched Cottage* 衍緒草堂筆記, by Bi Huazhen 畢華珍, appeared circa 1840, but this work presents a traditional systematic theory of grammar based on the theory of function words 虛字 and content words 實字. Even so, such European Chinese linguists as Antoine Pierre Louis Bazin and Joseph Edkins introduced this work in their own works.

Chinese grammar studies, numerous monographs have appeared since the late seventeenth century.

2.2   The Reliability of Western Materials on Chinese

The next issue is whether Western materials on Chinese (European-language sources) are reliable enough for research in Chinese linguistics, and if so, why are they reliable. Here is why missionaries' work is reliable for research in Chinese linguistics:

– Linguistics and the study of grammar were established early in the West.
– Because these Westerners were foreigners, they could compare their own languages with Chinese and objectively describe features of Chinese that a native might miss owing to familiarity.
– Because their own languages were written in the Roman alphabet, these Western scholars used this phonetic alphabet to transcribe the pronunciation of Chinese characters. Hence, they could transcribe the phonemes of Chinese much more scientifically than the traditional Chinese *fanqie* 反切 system (in which two characters indicate the pronunciation of a character, the first indicating the initial and the second indicating the final).
– Because most of these Western scholars were missionaries and their proselytizing ranged far and wide, they were familiar with the difference between Mandarin and various dialects.

To sum up, the situation of these Western scholars was like that of the clear-thinking go onlooker.

In Japan, such scholars as Kōsaka Jun'ichi 香坂順一, Ōta Tatsuo 太田辰夫, Ogaeri Yoshio 魚返善雄, and Ozaki Minoru 尾崎實 have repeatedly made assertions about the reliability of such European-language sources since the 1950s. For example, Ōta Tatsuo—in his essays "The Beijing Dialect during the Qing Dynasty" 清代の北京語 (1950), "Grammatical Peculiarities of the Beijing Dialect" 北京語の文法特點 (1964), and "New Explorations in the *Dream of the Red Chamber*" 《紅樓夢》新探 (1965)—revealed the characteristics of the Beijing dialect and the dialects of the South by studying the interlinear notes in C. W. Mateer's *A Course of Mandarin Lessons, Based on Idiom* and the Jiujiang Book Club's *Guide to Mandarin* 官話指南. Kōsaka Jun'ichi and Ozaki Minoru clarified features of early modern Chinese by studying the composition of *A Course of Mandarin Lessons*, as well as making use of Thomas Francis Wade's *Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese* and Léon Wieger's *Chinois parlé* and *Chinois écrit.* Ogaeri Yoshio too noted early on Westerners'

studies of Chinese.[4] He reprinted *Imperial Decrees Explained for Commoners* 聖諭廣訓, which Westerners held up as essential reading for the study of Mandarin, and he commented on such peripheral materials as Ryukyu textbooks for the study of Mandarin.

In China, in contrast, few scholars have used European-language sources for Chinese-language research, one exception being Luo Changpei 羅常培, who used sources such as those by the early missionary Nicolas Trigault in his study *The Phonetic System of Amoy* 廈門音系 (1930). But in the last few years, such research has made rapid strides, with much of the research coming out of the National Research Center of Overseas Sinology, Beijing Foreign Studies University. The same is true of the West. In the future, we can expect that research using these materials will develop on a global scale.

2.3   Types of Peripheral Materials

In addition to European-language sources, the following types of peripheral materials might also prove useful in the study of Chinese:

– Korean textbooks, such as *Nogŏltae* 老乞大, *Pak, the Interpreter* 朴通事, *An Introduction to Chinese Pronunciation* 華音啓蒙, three early Chinese-language textbooks
– Manchu-Mandarin and Manchu-Mongolian materials, so-called "matching" 合璧 materials, such as *The Essentials of Manchu* 清文指要
– Ryukyu textbooks for the study of Mandarin, such as *Bai Shiyun's Mandarin* 白姓官話
– Chinese conversational materials, including interpretation textbooks, such as *Essentials of Chinese Conversation* 唐話纂要, and castaway materials
– Japanese textbooks, such as *Guide to Mandarin* 官話指南
– Vietnamese materials, such as Vietnamese vernacular characters 字喃 and Chinese loanwords, primarily from the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) periods

In addition, materials such as travelogues (like those contained in the Traveling the World series 走向世界丛书), bilingual dictionaries, and Chinese translations of the Bible are helpful for vocabulary studies.

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4 See, for example, Ogaeri Yoshio, "American Studies of Chinese" アメリカの支那語研究, in *Chūgoku bungaku* 中國文學, no. 68 (1940). In addition, Ga Morizō 何盛三 describes Western studies of Chinese to some extent in his *Mandarin Grammar* 北京官話文法 (1928). And I must also mention the contributions of Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助.

Another topic worthy of consideration is the center and periphery as it pertains to the Chinese language itself. Contrasts that spring to mind here are refined language versus the vernacular, Mandarin versus local dialects, the modern standard language versus local dialects, the literary language versus colloquial language, and classical Chinese versus modern Chinese.

3   The Periphery and the Center

3.1   The Relation between Periphery and Center, Particular and General, and Special and Universal in Linguistic Research

The relation between periphery and center links up with the relation between particular and general, and between special and universal, in linguistics. In short, these relations are not antagonistic but complementary; that is, they are relations not of *a* versus *b*, but of *a* and *b*. Many linguists cling to the preconception that linguists of a particular language (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, or English) should limit their research to that particular language, and that general linguistics, with its guiding theories, can solve all the problems of particular linguistic areas. Tokieda Motoki 時枝誠記, early on, had this to say about the relation between particular and general, special and universal.

> I do not think that we can study a generalized language that excludes particular languages (such a thing does not exist in any case). Rather, Japanese linguistics has to clarify the nature of language itself and elevate these findings to a general theory of language. (1941, preface, p. 4)

> For Japanese linguistics, the nature of language has to be its first major problem. Moreover, since the ultimate goal of Japanese linguistics is to use the special features of Japanese to grasp the nature of language in general, investigations into the nature of language are also conclusions for Japanese linguistics. (1941, preface, pp. 4–5)

> Japanese linguistics, that is, the scientific study of Japanese, seeks to present all the linguistic facts pertaining to Japanese, describe them, and reveal the special features of Japanese. At the same time, we must abstract the universal principles of language in general from the phenomena of Japanese in order to help create a general system for linguistics and establish a view of the nature of language. (1941, "The Attitude of Linguistic Research," p. 3)

That is, Tokieda's position was that research on particular languages should reveal the special features of those languages in order to clarify the nature of language in general. As should be clear, even when Tokieda was writing, the study of particular languages and the study of language in general were at cross-purposes. Moreover, the study of language in general serves to guide the study of

particular languages and provides a rough outline of the theoretical systems that the linguistics of particular languages will develop.

> But the linguistics of today, in that it provides a general theoretical foundation, is at odds with the study of Japanese. For Japanese studies, linguistics serves as a settled theoretical system, a set of guiding principles. This is the relation of linguistics to what most people conceive of as the study of Japanese. (1941, "The Attitude of Linguistic Research," pp. 3–4)

And he gives the following as the reason for the development of this relation:

> When linguistics was introduced to Japan, it developed an odd relationship with Japanese studies. Since the introduction of Western science from the Meiji Restoration on, this relationship has appeared in many academic disciplines. Usually, prior to engaging in investigations, a methodology was imparted to the discipline, and the discipline carried out investigations according to this methodology. Japanese studies did not seek to contribute to linguistics with its own unique research. Rather, it sought to establish itself by considering linguistics as its guiding theory. (1941, "The Attitude of Linguistic Research," p. 5)

> Two factors brought about this anomalous state of affairs in the study of Japanese. First, up to the Meiji period, the level of language studies in Japan was very low compared to corresponding studies in the West. Hence, Japanese studies in Japan faced a situation where it had to borrow from the West to advance the state of the art, even if only provisionally. … Second, Japanese studies up to the Meiji period had not yet developed into a theoretical system. … Japanese studies of the Meiji period had to use Western linguistic theory as a foothold for further progress. (1941, "The Attitude of Linguistic Research," pp. 6–7)

These developments were inevitable during Japan's modernization. In advocating Japan's modernization, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 proposed his "Argument for Leaving Asia" 脱亜論. In this intellectual climate, in the novel *Sanshirō* 三四郎 by Natsume Sōseki, a passenger sitting with Sanshirō on a train says of such modernization, "It will pass."[5] Tokieda's thinks like Sanshirō's fellow passenger.

Be that as it may, Tokieda draws the following conclusion about the relation of the special and the universal:

> It is generally thought that the theories and methods of linguistics are universal, and that those of the study of Japanese are special, but this way of thinking is very superficial and may not be correct. … The universal and the special are not at odds. Rather, special features also possess universal aspects. This is true not just of Japanese, but of everything in general. The search for the special features of Japanese can at the same time also

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5 Kang Sang-jung 姜尚中, *The Power of Wavering: Kang Sang-jung Reads Natsume Sōseki* 悩む力：姜尚中が読む夏目漱石 (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2007).

be clarification of the universal aspects of language. (1941, "The Attitude of Linguistic Research," pp. 8–9)

Linguists, whether general linguists or linguists studying particular languages, should note well the relation between the special and the universal espoused by Tokieda. This is especially true of English linguists in Japan. Such linguists follow the trends of the times, shifting from structural linguistics to transformational grammar to case grammar to the more recent cognitive linguistics. They do nothing more than imitate, without paying heed to Edgar Allan Poe's words, that is, without questioning the basic theory and principles of these trends. As Poe wrote, "You will see at once that all argument upon this head should be urged, if at all, against the rule itself; and for this end we must examine the *rationale* of the rule" (Poe, "The Mystery of Marie Rogêt").

The situation was similar in China. With the advance of the Western imperial powers into China after the Opium Wars and in China's backward circumstances, Ma Jianzhong had no choice but to model a systematic grammar for Chinese on Latin grammar. Thereafter, although some members of the Shanghai School 海派, such as Chen Wangdao 陳望道 and Zhang Shilu 張世禄, claimed that Chinese had its own grammar, most Chinese linguists continued to describe Chinese grammar in a framework intended for the grammar of Western languages. Only recently have Chinese linguists such as Zhu Dexi and Shen Xiaolong 申小龍 begun to reconsider this framework.

Yet Tokieda's methods run the danger of lapsing into narrow ethnocentrism. In this sense, Tokieda's position resembles that of many advocates of historical kana usage, who tend also to adopt a position of ethnocentrism. I too advocate historical kana usage, but I do not advocate ethnocentrism. I advocate historical kana usage only insofar as it is scientific and rational. Tokieda himself had this to say about adopting ethnocentrism:

> Thus, the relation between linguistics and the study of Japanese is not that the latter ought to establish itself by considering linguistics as its guiding theory. Rather, Japanese studies can offer grist for critiquing general linguistics, since its conclusions serve as particular-language input for general linguistics. That is, the conclusions of Japanese studies serve as stones in the edifice that is general linguistics. … This way of thinking does not take the narrow attitude of excluding other research to aggrandize itself. On the contrary, it seeks to discover the path that Japanese studies should take and also to further the scientific spirit on which Western linguistics rests. (1941, "The Attitude of Linguistic Research," pp. 9–10)

This relation between the particular and the general, between the special and the universal, also holds between the periphery and the center. My basic position is that these contrasting pairs should be related in the fashion advocated by Tokieda.

3.2 The Particular Is the General, the Special Is the Universal: Examples of Function versus Content

In Indo-European languages, a sentence invariably has a subject, and the subject usually initiates the action of the verb. Hence, Western linguists see it as an a priori given that a sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. Even Noam Chomsky, the most influential of the generation of linguists ushering in the linguistic revolution, assumes that sentences should be analyzed as having the form S = NP + VP.

But in Japanese and Chinese, sentences do not invariably take that form. Linguists assert that in Japanese, the subject is sometimes dropped. And the following sentences in Chinese cannot be analyzed as having the subject-predicate structure:

前来了一人。	There approached a person from up ahead.
台上坐着主席团。	On the stage sat the executive committee.
玻璃碎了。	The glass broke.
房子烧了。	The house caught fire.
这里的水可以喝。	The water here is drinkable.
这些给你。	These are for you.
下雨了。	It rained.

These sentences—classified as existential sentences, natural passives, and topic sentences—do not conform to the subject-predicate form of Indo-European languages. This being the case, the form S = Subj + Pred pertains only to certain particular languages and cannot be said to be part of the essence of language or part of language in general. On this matter, Tokieda wrote, "Phenomena that do not exist in Japanese cannot be said to belong to language in general. Any generality not present in Japanese is really just a special feature of some particular languages" (1941, "The Attitude of Linguistic Research," p. 9).

Chinese and Japanese differ from Indo-European languages not only in the area of subject and predicate, but also in the relation between a verb and its object. In Indo-European languages, the relation is like that between an arrow and its target. But in Chinese, verb and object have a very complex relationship. In contrast to Indo-European languages, where sentences are viewed as having the structure S = Subj + Pred, in Chinese, words were traditionally divided into function words and content words.[6] And a sentence was explained as follows in terms of the distinction between function words and content words:

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6 The distinction between function and content began in the Southern Song period (1127–1279). Function characters 虚字 were characters that express the speaker's feeling. For example, Yuan

The construction of sentences consists of only content characters and function characters. Content characters give the substance, and function characters give the disposition. (*The Analysis of Particles* 助字辨略, Preface, 1711)

The construction of sentences consists of none other than function and content. Content characters make up the substance, and function characters make up the attitude. (*Ma's Guide to the Written Language*, Introductory Remarks)

That is, Chinese scholars regarded sentences as consisting of function characters and content characters. This view can also be found in the writings of Japanese Edo-period (1603–1867) Sinologists such as Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯, Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園, and Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠, as well as in the writings of Japanese national-learning 國學 scholars such as Suzuki Akira 鈴木朖 and Fujitani Nariakira 富士谷成章. In particular, Suzuki, in his essay *The Four Types of Words* 言語四種論 (1824), divided words into referring words 詞 and particles (like *te, ni, o, wa*) expressing one's intentions regarding these referring words. He then divided referring words into nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

The Four Categories of Words
There are four categories of words. The first comprises the names 名目 of things, or nouns 体ノ詞. These are also called words for movables 動カス詞. The second comprises particles, like *te, ni, o, wa* テニヲハ. The third comprises adjectives 形状ノ詞. And the fourth comprises words showing an effect 作用ノ詞. These last two categories together are called inflected words 用ノ詞、活用ノ詞、活語、働ク詞. (1824, p. 2a)

In contrast to particles, words of the other three categories refer to some sort of reality. Particles refer to nothing. Three of the categories I call content words 詞, and the other, particles, indicate intentions. Three of the categories refer to things, and particles give voice to intentions directed toward the words to which they attach. Words are like jade beads, and particles are like the string that holds the jade beads together. Words are like tools, and particles are like the handles that allow us to move the tools about. (1824, p. 8a)

Suzuki's word-classification system was based on the Chinese distinction between function words and content words and is the direct successor to Tokieda's theory of words. According to Tokieda, words are divided into objective expressions 詞 and subjective expressions 辭, and in sentences, the subjective links

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Renlin 袁仁林, in *The Theory of Function Characters* 虛字說, offered this definition: "The function characters in a sentence reflect the speaker's attitude and convey the tone." Content characters 實字 were characters that referred to material bodies. In ancient times, function characters were called 辭 or 詞. (For example, in *Mozi* 墨子, ca. 430 BCE, we find, "With names 名 we refer to the material, and with function words 辭 we express our meaning," and in *Explaining and Analyzing Characters* 說文解字, 2nd cent., Xu Shen 許慎 writes, "Function words 詞 convey what is internal to the meaning but external to the words.") For details, see Uchida 1981. In addition, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* 文心雕龍 (5th cent.) referred to these notions with the characters 貌 (appearance) and 情 (sentiment).

together the objective. Hence, subject and predicate are not opposing concepts. Rather, they are both just objective expressions. What binds them together are the subjective expressions, according to Tokieda.[7] The idea is that "language, like music and painting, is a form of expression. It is the result of a process that moves from object to perception to expression." This idea is based on the linguistic view that language is a subjective human activity. It is clearly distinct from such ideas of structural linguistics as the constructivist view of language and the language-as-tool theory, exemplified by Joseph Stalin.

A look at Western studies of Chinese shows that Westerners skillfully incorporated the traditional Chinese distinction between function words and content words, as can be seen in the following quotations:

> The Chinese language, whether spoken or written, is composed of certain parts. These are called Parts of Speech. Each sentence or phrase, to be entire, requires a verb, without which it could have no meaning; and a noun, to designate who is the actor and what is done. It has prepositions, adverbs, and also many other particles, which are used rather for perspicuity and embellishment, than because they are absolutely necessary to the sense. The Chinese grammarians divide the characters which constitute the language into two classes, called 虛字, and 實字, i.e. (literally) vacant or empty and solid characters. … The solid characters are those which are essential to language, and are subdivided into 活字, and 死字, living and dead characters, i.e. verbs and nouns. (Joseph Henri de Prémare, *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, 1831; translated into English by J. G. Bridgman, 1847, p. 27)

> The verb is by the Chinese called 生字, 'a living word,' in contradistinction from the Noun, which they call 死字, 'a dead word.' [Note] The verb is also denominated 動字, 'a moving word,' and the Noun 静字, 'a quiescent word.' (Robert Morrison, *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*, 1815, p. 113)

> The Chinese usually divide their words into three classes only, viz. "dead words," by which they mean the names and qualities of things; secondly, "living words," by which they mean those which denote action or suffering; and, lastly, words which they denominate "auxiliaries of speech." (Robert Morrison, *Chinese Miscellany*, 1825, p. 28)

> If a common sentence be examined it is usually found to contain words of two kinds, viz. some that have a sense of their own independent of their use in any particular sentence, and others that are employed only for grammatical purposes, to express relations between words, to connect sentences and clauses, and to complete the sentence, so that it may be clear in meaning and elegant in form. 天晚了都是睡覺去了. … In this sentence tu and liau mean nothing when viewed apart from the context. They are

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7 Tokieda explained the relation between subject and predicate as follows: "The subject that appears in a sentence is not working at cross-purposes with the predicate. Rather, it should be understood as seeking to bring out what is hidden but included in the predicate" (1941, p. 371). As for Chinese, Tōdō Akiyasu, in his work *Studies in Chinese Grammar* 中国文法の研究, wrote, "In Chinese, the subject accompanies the predicate. Thus, in a broad sense, the subject can be said to modify the predicate" (1956, p. 139).

employed as subordinate words or particles, under the control of certain grammatical laws. We thus obtain the first and most obvious subdivision of words, and it is that commonly used by the Chinese. They call significant words, 實字, *full characters*, while the auxiliary words or those which are non-significant, they term 虛字, *empty characters*, *particles*.

Words may also be viewed as expressive of *actions* (verbs) and *things* (nouns). These two kinds of words are called 活字, *living characters*, and 死字, *dead characters*. (Joseph Edkins, *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language, Commonly Called the Mandarin Dialect*, 1857, p. 99)

These authors regarded content characters 實字 as "solid characters" (Prémare) or "full characters" (Edkins), and they regarded function characters 虛字 as "vacant or empty characters" (Prémare) or "empty characters" (Edkins). Moreover, they differentiated content characters into "living characters" (Prémare) or "living words" (Morrison) 活字, and "dead characters" (Prémare) or "dead words" (Morrison) 死字. From these quotations one can see how extensively they incorporated Chinese perceptions and ways of thinking into their own research. Edkins comment on function characters that "in this sentence tu and liao *mean nothing* when viewed apart from context" shows how fully he adopted the traditional Chinese view.[8] These examples show how these authors directly dealt with Chinese in its own terms, and how they adopted the adaptive posture of the Jesuit missionaries. Moreover, especially in the case of Robert Morrison, the examples reveal a philosophy of translation, namely, the philosophy of respecting the translated culture and placing oneself in the culture.[9]

But there was another factor behind these authors' adopting the traditional Chinese linguistic theory of function and content, and that was the existence of the Port-Royal grammar in the West. *Grammaire générale et raisonnée de Port-Royal* (1660) was a Latin-based grammar that was well received in the West in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It exerted much influence on English grammar in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its essential aspects are given below:

Grammar is the art of speaking. Speaking is to explain our thoughts by signs, which men have invented for that purpose. (Arnauld and Lancelot 1660, introduction)

'Tis the general doctrine of philosophers, that there are three operations of the mind: *Perception*, *Judgment*, and *Reasoning*. (Arnauld and Lancelot 1660, pt. 2, chap. 1)

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8 In *The Correct Meaning of the Mao Tradition of the Book of Poetry* 毛詩正義, Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) had this to say about function characters: "In the couplet 漢有游女，不可求思, the character 思 does not have its ordinary meaning. Likewise after the verbs 泳 and 方 elsewhere in the poem. Hence, it is a function character 辭." As a matter of fact, Suzuki Akira's comment that "particles refer to nothing" is similar to this view.

9 On the missionaries' philosophy of translation, their self-conscious blending in, and their translation of culture, see Uchida 2001a.

> Hence it is plain, that the third operation of the mind is only an extension of the second. (Arnauld and Lancelot 1660, pt. 2, chap. 1)

> For men seldom mean to express their bare perceptions of things, but generally to convey their judgments concerning them. (Arnauld and Lancelot 1660, pt. 2, chap. 1)

> The judgment, which we form of things, as when I say, *the earth is round*, is called a *proposition*; and therefore every proposition necessarily includes two terms, one called the *subject*, which is the thing of which the affirmation is; as the *earth*; and the other is called the *attribute*, which is the thing that is affirmed of the subject, as *round:* and moreover the connection between these two terms, namely the substantive verb, *is*. (Arnauld and Lancelot 1660, pt. 2, chap. 1)

> Now 'tis easy to see, that the two terms belong properly to the first operation of the mind, because that is what we conceive, and is the object of our thoughts; and the connection belongs to the second, being properly the action of the mind, and the mode or manner of thinking. (Arnauld and Lancelot 1660, pt. 2, chap. 1)

> Hence it follows, that men having occasion for signs to express what passes in the mind, the most general distinction of words must be this, that some signify the objects, and others the form or manner of our thoughts. (Arnauld and Lancelot 1660, pt. 2, chap. 1)

Thus, Port-Royal grammar divides the operations of the mind into three categories—perception, judgment, and reasoning—although since the third is really an extension of the second, there are only two basic operations of the mind. On the basis of this theory of cognition, Port-Royal grammar then divides words into those that refer to the objects of thought and those that express the form and manner of thought. The subjects and predicates of sentences pertain to the objects of perception, the first operation of the mind. The verb that links subject and predicate, the copula, expresses the form and manner of thought. The words expressing objects of thought in Port-Royal grammar are objective expressions 詞 in Suzuki Akira's grammar, and the form and manner of thought in Port-Royal grammar are subjective expressions 辭 (words that express the speaker's feelings) in Suzuki's grammar. Having drawn these connections, we can now say that the linguistic outlook of Port-Royal grammar is the same as that of the Chinese theory of function and content words, and also the same as that behind Suzuki's distinction between objective expressions and subjective expressions. We thus have a genuine case of linguistic universality, of the particular being the general and the special being the universal.

Chomsky, in his reevaluation of Port-Royal grammar, said that Port-Royal grammar was a forerunner of his theory of deep structure.[10] Chomsky's transformational grammar revolutionized linguistics. Its predecessor, structural lin-

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10 For the core of Port-Royal grammar, Chomsky's reevaluation, and a critique of Chomsky's transformation grammar, see Miyashita 1980.

guistics, emphasized the formal treatment of language and banished such terms as "meaning" and "content," yet this restriction meant that it could not explain why a sentence having but a single form could have several meanings. This inability to explain polysemy was one of the greatest factors leading to the downfall of structural linguistics and the rise of transformational grammar.

An example is "a light house keeper." This same phrase can mean the keeper of a lighthouse, or a housekeeper who happens not to weigh much. To explain the polysemy here, Chomsky asserts that though the surface structure is the same, the deep structure is different. In the case where the meaning is the keeper of a lighthouse, the deep structure of "a light house keeper" is divided into "light house" and "keeper." In the case where the meaning is a housekeeper who happens not to weigh much, the deep structure is divided into "light" and "house keeper." By reading off this difference in deep structure, Chomsky is able to explain the two meanings here.

But where does this deep structure reside? What we call language can be found only at the level of expression, the surface structure. Moreover, linguistic expression is part of the process from object to perception to expression and becomes impossible if perception is severed from the object. Even in putative cases of polysemy, there is ordinarily only one meaning in the actual situation of communication and in the speaker's mind. The listener gathers clues from the surface structure, considers the object of communication, and follows the speaker's perceptions. Sometimes in this process of communication, the listener perceives an object different from that intended by the speaker. In this case we say that the listener has misunderstood.

The deep structure that Chomsky mentions is in fact an extremely abstract perception operating in the background of language. The problem is that this perception is severed from the objects of language and operates in a transcendental manner to form concrete sentences at the level of surface structure. This view can lead to the view that the vocabulary included in the dictionary and the linguistic rules regulating language (grammar) are language itself. As Tokieda has written, the vocabulary included in the dictionary "are abstractions from concrete words. They are nothing more than concrete individual samples, like the beautiful illustrations of cherry blossoms in a book on the flora of Japan. In and of themselves, they are not concrete language" (1941, p. 13). In other words, even if I and someone else use the same word "dog," as expressions of language my use of "dog" and his use of the word "dog" are different.

In any case, here is a proper understanding of polysemy: "One word is polysemous because its various uses are conflated. In a sentence, in a concrete linguistic context, a single word has but one meaning" (Zhang Yufu 1980).

4   The Basic Thread in the History of Cultural Interaction: The Translation of Culture

In the interaction or contact between different cultures, material exchanges take place, of course, but many times language mediates the interaction. In such cases, translation often becomes an issue.

Well, what is translation? From the perspective of the phenomena itself, one might view translation as substituting equivalent vocabulary *a* of language *A* for vocabulary *b* of language *B*.

But "language, like music and painting, is a form of expression." When we view language as the outcome of the process moving from object to perception to expression, we see that people are essential as the basis for linguistic expression.

Moreover, language does not have a direct connection with its most basic aims. That is, the emotional aspect of linguistic exchanges is often ignored. Yet linguistic exchanges have an aspect that transcends feelings. This emotionally transcendent aspect of language can also be called a community's shared perceptions, norms, or perceptual mindset. And these shared perceptions reflect the community's history, patterns of thought, etc.—in a word, its culture. Thus, lurking in the background of language is culture. Viewed thus, translation is not simply substituting equivalent vocabulary *a* for vocabulary *b*.

If translation were substituting equivalent vocabulary *a* of language *A* for vocabulary *b* of language *B*, equivalence of vocabulary would be a problem. For example, take the equivalence of "犬" and "dog." The pronunciations and scripts are obviously different. Well, when exactly are the words of different languages equivalent? Translators, in their pursuit of equivalence, experience the birth pangs of creativity because language translation is really the translation of culture. This is why the missionaries to China took such pains in the translation of the Bible, a work of utmost importance to them. Conveying an alien culture involves unraveling a thicket of tangled issues.

In the study of cultural interaction, we must habitually keep the translation of culture foremost in mind.

Above I discussed the state of affairs in Chinese linguistics as a subfield of the study of cultural interaction, the connection between the particular and the general and the special and the universal, and the translation of culture. The topics that we must take up in our studies of cultural interaction are myriad. Just in my own field of Chinese linguistics, topics that present themselves are the formation of concepts (such as the concept of the state), the relation of education to publishing and printing, and the place of these topics in the study of cultural interaction. Each of these topics is an experiment in distancing ourselves from the frameworks of established disciplines. The road ahead is long. To prepare for

the many years of arduous study ahead, I would like to quote the following passage as a signpost.

> In scholarship, deciding on what kind of argument to make is a gamble. For here the scholar's true intelligence gets revealed. That is because this decision is pervaded by the truism that one can understand a phenomena only within the limits of one's logical capacity. This gamble scares scholars. Those seeking to avoid this gamble align themselves with the pervasive theories of the day without much consideration and try to establish their careers on this basis. But a follower's attitude does not advance the cause of scholarship. (Suzuki Satoru 鈴木覺, "Toward a Paradigm of Form and Function: A Systematic Theory of English Grammar" 形式と機能の彼岸を衝く体系的英文法論, in *Hon'yaku no sekai* 翻訳の世界, June 1982)

Part I:
Studies of Chinese in the Periphery

Chapter 1:
The Value and Possibilities of Modern Western Studies of Chinese, with a Focus on Mandarin

As already mentioned, modern Westerners, mainly missionaries, began the study of Chinese early on. There were several reasons for this, but the following two reasons were particularly important. First, for these missionaries to achieve their purpose of spreading Christianity, they had to learn and conduct research on the Chinese language. Moreover, through language, they sought to understand Chinese perceptions and ways of thinking. Second, linguistics and the study of grammar were established fields of study in the West from ancient times. Hence, these Westerners already had the tools for scientifically describing the phenomena of Chinese. Moreover, by comparing Chinese with the languages of the West, they could clearly perceive features of Chinese, even those invisible features that Chinese perceived as quite natural.

In this context, from the early seventeenth century to the late nineteenth century, Westerners published the following studies of Chinese, primarily grammars:

1. Anonymous, *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu* (Grammar of the Chaozhou Dialect), manuscript, 1620.
2. Martino Martini (衛匡國), *Grammatica sinica* (Chinese Grammar), manuscript, 1653.
3. Francisco Varo (萬濟國), *Arte de la lengua mandarina* (translated as *Francisco Varo's Grammar of the Mandarin Language*), 1703.
4. Theophilius Siegfried Bayer (巴耶), *Museum sinicum* (A Chinese Miscellany, notes on grammar, etc.), 1730.
5. Joseph Henri de Prémare (馬若瑟), *Notitia linguae sinicae* (Notes on the Chinese Language), 1720?, 1831.
6. Étienne Fourmont (傅爾蒙), *Linguae sinarum mandarinicae hieroglyphicae grammatica duplex* (Mandarin Grammar), 1742.
7. Joshua Marshman (馬士曼), *Elements of Chinese Grammar*, 1814.
8. Robert Morrison (馬禮遜), *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* 通用漢言之法, 1815.

9. Abel Rémusat (阿伯爾), *Éléments de la grammaire chinoise* (Elements of Chinese Grammar) 漢文啓蒙, 1822.
10. Joaquim A. Gonçalves (公神甫), *Arte China constante de alphabeto e grammatica comprehendendo modelos das differentes composiçoens* (The Chinese Art of Writing and Grammar, with Models of Different Compositions) 漢字文法, 1829.
11. Stanislas Julien (儒蓮), *Exercices pratiques d'analyse, de syntaxe et de lexigraphie chinoise* (Practical Exercises on the Analysis, Syntax, and Lexicography of Chinese), 1842.
12. Karl Gützlaff (郭實獵), *Notices of Chinese Grammar*, 1842.
13. Antoine-Pierre-Louis Bazin (巴贊), *Grammaire mandarine* (Mandarin Grammar), 1856.
14. Joseph Edkins (艾約瑟), *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language, Commonly Called the Mandarin Dialect*, 1857.
15. James Summers (薩默斯), *Handbook of the Chinese Language*, 1863.
16. W. Lobscheid (羅存德), *Grammar of the Chinese Language*, 1864.
17. T. P. Crawford (高第丕) and Zhang Ruzhen 張儒珍, *Mandarin Grammar* 文學書官話, 1869.
18. Paul Perny (童文獻), *Grammaire de la langue chinoise orale et écrite* (Grammar of Oral and Written Chinese), 1873.
19. J. S. McIlvaine (文壁), *Grammatical Studies in the Colloquial Language of Northern China*, 1880.

In addition to the formal grammar works above, we might also include the following textbooks as falling under the category of grammars.

20. Robert Morrison, *Dialogues and Detached Sentences in the Chinese Language*, 1816.
21. Samuel Wells Williams (衛三畏), *Easy Lessons in Chinese, or Progressive Exercises to Facilitate the Study of That Language*, 1842.
22. W. H. Medhurst (麥都思), *Chinese Dialogues, Questions, and Familiar Sentences*, 1844.
23. Thomas Francis Wade (威妥瑪), *Yü-yen tzŭ-erh chi: A Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese* 語言自邇集, 1867.
24. Joseph Edkins, *Progressive Lessons in the Chinese Spoken Language*, 1869.
25. Charles Rudy, *The Chinese Mandarin Language* 習讀寫説官話, 1874.
26. Michel-Alexandre Kleczkowski, *Cours graduel et complet de chinois parlé et écrit*, 1876.
27. Camille Imbault-Huart (於雅樂), *Manuel de la langue chinoise parlée* (Manuel of Spoken Chinese), 1885.

28. Camille Imbault-Huart, *Cours éclectique graduel et pratique de langue chinoise parlée* (Eclectic, Gradual, and Practical Course of Chinese), 1887–1889.
29. Robert K. Douglas, *A Chinese Manual*, 1889.
30. C. W. Mateer (狄考文), *A Course of Mandarin Lessons, Based on Idiom* 官話類編, 1892.
31. Chauncey Goodrich (富善), *How to Learn the Chinese Language*, 1893.
32. Léon Wieger (戴遂良), *Rudiments de parler et de style chinois dialecte du* 河間府 (The Rudiments of Chinese Speech and Style for the Hejianfu Dialect) 漢語漢文入門, 1895.

In researching Westerners' study of Chinese, in addition to the works above, we must also consider essays, introductions, and general remarks like the following:

33. Stephen Weston, *Fan-Hy-Chew: A Tale in Chinese and English, with Notes, and a Short Grammar of the Chinese Language*, 1814.
34. Thomas Myers, *An Essay on the Nature and Structure of the Chinese Language, with Suggestions on Its More Extensive Study*, 1825.
35. Robert Thom (羅伯聃), *Esop's Fables* 意拾喻言, 1840. Includes a Chinese translation of Aesop's fables.
36. Antoine-Pierre-Louis Bazin, *Mémoire sur les principes généraux du chinois vulgaire* (Note on the General Principles of the Chinese Vernacular), 1845.
37. Thomas Taylor Meadows (密迪樂), *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China, and on the Chinese Language*, 1847.
38. John Francis Davis (德庇時), *Chinese Miscellanies: A Collection of Essays and Notes*, 1865.
39. Thomas Watters (瓦特斯), *Essays on the Chinese Language*, 1889.

No. 33 is the English translation of the novel *Fan Xizhou* 范希周, from volume 12 of the Ming collection *Stories to Caution the World* 警世通言. This story contains illustrations of Chinese characters with Cantonese and Mandarin pronunciations indicated, a concise explanation of Chinese grammar, and notes and explanations on vocabulary. For example, "In the Chinese language, which is monosyllabic, without derivatives, and uncompounded, the same word is both substantive and adjective, and verb, and every part of speech." And it gives explanations of the noun, the adjective, the pronoun, the possessive pronoun, the verb, numbers, gender, case, the four tenses (present, imperfect, perfect, and future), singular and plural, and degrees of comparison.

No. 34 is a short essay (32 pages) by Thomas Myers, of Cambridge University. There, using the results of Robert Morrison, Joshua Marshman, William Milne, and John Barrow, he describes the features of the script and phonetic system of

Figure 1.1   The opening of the novel *Fan Xizhou*.

Mandarin and gives a simple analysis of the grammar of Chinese measure words, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and prepositions. For example, in the passage below on measure words, he shows his awareness of differences between Chinese and the languages of the West:

> In the use of the *numerals:*—if they would express, "Three ships of wars have arrived;" they would say, "Soldier ship three *single* ones come have." In expressing, for "Your house is a good one," they say, "Your one *door* house really is good." …"The book is on the table;" "Table upon laid the *volume* book is." (1825, no. 34, pp. 15–17)

I will discuss no. 39 again later. Here I would like to look at its explanation of "foreign words in Chinese." This work divides foreign loanwords into those coming from the "western regions" (central Asia and the subcontinent), those coming from Greece and Rome, and those coming from Spanish, Portuguese, German, Malaysian, Persian, Turkish, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, etc. For example, loanwords coming from English include 公班衛 *gongbanwei* or 公班牙 *gongbanya* (company, nowadays 公司), 燕梳 *yanshu* (insure), 銀則 (則 being pronounced *chek* in the Chaozhou dialect, bank check), 來扶/復/福槍 *laifu qiang* (rifle), and 德律風 *delüfeng* (telephone). Worthy of note in this book is that it mentions the tendency in Chinese to make loanwords binomes, words consisting of two characters. "But the three characters in which the word was transcribed were tedious and awkward to write, and so it came that only one or two of them at most were retained in common business" (1889, no. 39, p. 336)

From these points, we can ascertain the high quality of Western studies of Chinese. It is truly amazing that at this early stage, there were such advanced studies of Chinese.

1   Western Studies of Mandarin

In their proselytizing, the Western missionaries that went to China in the modern period discovered that China has many different languages: Mandarin versus the dialects, and the spoken language versus the written language. Early on, Matteo Ricci and Álvaro Semmedo, for example, noted the following:

> Besides the various dialects of the different provinces, the province vernacular so to speak, there is also a spoken language common to the whole Empire, known as the Quonhoa [官話], an official language for civil and forensic use. (Ricci 1615/1953, p. 28)

> But at this day the Language of *China* is but one only, which they call *Quonhoa* [官話], or the language of the *Mandarines.* (Semmendo 1642/1655, pp. 31–32)

These early authors also pointed out that the Mandarin, or standard pronunciation, of their time was not the Beijing dialect but the Mandarin of the Nanjing region. Francisco Varo divided Mandarin into three registers, which we may label classical Chinese, semiclassical semivernacular Chinese, and vernacular Chinese.

> One must pay attention to the pronunciation of the Chinese. But not all Chinese are equally proficient at pronunciation. Those most proficient are the people of the Nanjing region. (Varo 1703, chap. 1, fifth monition)

Later, Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de Guignes gave a more detailed description of the differences between Mandarin and various other forms of Chinese.[1] Though *Voyages à Peking, Manille et L'ile de France* is not a linguistic monograph, de Guignes's comments on Mandarin are extremely important. He first divided Chinese into four styles:

Classical Chinese   The language of the classics. The most concise style.

Fine written Chinese   A style with a high degree of structure. Though not as concise as classical Chinese, this style lends itself to beautiful, refined prose. To write such fine prose, one must be familiar with the structure of Chinese essays and be able to discriminate verbs and nouns, content characters and function characters. This style is only for writing, not for speaking.

Mandarin   The language of officials, the literati, and the educated. A style that is more pervasive than fine written Chinese, it makes extensive use of homonyms, prepositions, adverbs,

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1   *Voyages à Peking, Manille et L'ile de France, faits dans l'intervalle des années 1784 à 1801* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1808), vol. 2, pp. 391–395. De Guignes was also the author of *Dictionnaire chinois, français et latin* (1813).

	and function words. This style is not for writing, only for speaking.
Dialects	The local languages, the languages of the masses. Neither the educated, officials, nor the literati use this style. (1808, vol. 2, pp. 391–395)

De Guignes also wrote, "China has only two types of spoken language, namely, Mandarin and the dialects. In Beijing, Guangdong, and other cities, people use Mandarin to express their meaning. The difference lies mainly in their pronunciation. In the Jiangnan region, the pronunciation is relatively good."

"The only sinologue of standing who spoke the Peking mandarin," according to Thomas Wade, Robert Thom followed de Guignes in developing his own thesis on the division of Chinese.[2] Thom first divided Chinese into the written language and spoken Chinese. This is, of course, the distinction between literary Chinese and colloquial Chinese. He then divided writing into the following genres:

Ancient literature
- The classics
- Poetry

Modern literature
- Fine writing. The best fine writing was that of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE)
- Poetry, lyrics, ballads, etc., other than ancient poetry. The best poetry was that of the Tang dynasty (618–907).
- Edicts from the emperor or officials to the people
- Various styles of correspondence
- Histories and first-rate historical novels, such as *Records of the Three Kingdoms* 三國志 and *Outlaws of the Marsh* 水滸傳
- Miscellaneous records and topical writing. The crudest form of writing, in contrast to fine writing. For example, the Chinese translations in *Esop's Fables*.

He divided the spoken language into Mandarin and local dialects, and further divided Mandarin into northern Mandarin and southern Mandarin, which he described as follows:[3]

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2   Robert Thom, *Esop's Fables* (1840), preface.
3   Robert Morrison and Samuel Wells Williams shared similar views on Mandarin: "What is called the Mandarin Dialect, or 官話, is spoken generally in 江南, and 河南, Provinces, in both of which, the Court once resided" (Morrison 1815–1823, p. x). "In this wide area, the Nanking, called 南官話 and 正音 or true pronunciation, is probably the most used, and described as 通行的話, or the speech everywhere understood. The Peking, however, also known as 北官話 or

The 北官話 [northern Mandarin], otherwise called the 京話 or the 京腔, [is] in short the language of Peking City. This idiom abounds with low slang,—and when the court was formerly held at Nanking—was considered as much a vulgar *patois*, as the Language of Canton City is at this present day. [But now it is used throughout the country.] …The best specimens of the Peking idiom are to be found in the 紅樓夢 [Dream of the Red Chamber], the 金瓶梅 [Jin Ping Mei], the 正音撮要 [The Essentials of Standard Pronunciation], and the paraphrase of the 聖諭 [聖諭廣訓 The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners].

The 南官話 [southern Mandarin], otherwise called 正音 "true pronunciation," and the 通行的話, or language of universal circulation, …is properly speaking the *Mandarin Language* or that of Nanking City. [A feature of the Nanking language that distinguishes it from the Peking language is that it possesses] the 入聲 or short abrupt tone. … The Nanking language is spoken on the stage—and abounds less or more in all their 小說 or Novels. (Thom, *Esop's Fables*, p. vii)

The situation is also complicated with respect to dialects, as the following quote shows: "Dialects divide not only into north and south. Even neighboring districts have different dialects" (*Kangxi Dictionary* 康熙字典).

In the chrestomathy in part 2 of James Summers's *Handbook*, no. 15, a collection of passages for learning Chinese, one finds passages from such works as *The Book of History* 書經, *The Four Books* 四書, *The Good Match* 好逑傳, *Outlaws of the Marsh*, *Records of the Three Kingdoms*, *Esop's Fables*, *Dialog on Language* 語言問答,[4] *The Essentials of Standard Pronunciation*, *Ancient Poetry* 古詩, *On Agreements* 論契, *Correspondence* 尺牘 by Lin Zexu 林則徐, and also some slang. This selection by Summers quite likely followed Robert Thom's classification of Chinese, given above.

Also worthy of note is Antoine-Pierre-Louis Bazin's *Memoire*, no. 36. Bazin, following de Guignes and Thom in their studies of Mandarin, sees Mandarin divided as follows:

–   Chinese is broadly divided into classical Chinese and colloquial Chinese.
–   Classical Chinese 文言 is written, not spoken, and is quite artificial.
–   Mandarin 官話, a living, natural colloquial language, is the common language of the nation.

京話 is now most fashionable and courtly" (Williams, *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, 1874, p. xxxii).

4   The examples in this section of Summers's work, "Dialogues and Phrases in the Mandarin Dialect," are from the question and answer section of Joaquim A. Gonçalves's *Arte China* (1829) or *Questions and Answers on Language.* But 你納 (a respectful form of "you") in the original is changed to 你 (you) throughout. This is perhaps because Summers thought that 你 納 belonged to the Beijing dialect and not to Mandarin.

- There are two varieties of Mandarin: northern Mandarin and southern Mandarin. Northern Mandarin is the dialect of Beijing, and southern Mandarin is the dialect of Nanjing.
- In addition to Mandarin, colloquial Chinese 口語 includes many dialects 俚
- 語、鄉談.
- We can see the many varieties of Chinese dialects in the dialog of early plays.
- The earliest materials in colloquial Chinese go back to the Song dynasty, but the Chinese first began to write down the colloquial idiom in the eighth century around the reign of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) of the Tang dynasty.
- The most important colloquial work, and the one most worthy of study, is *The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners*, issued late in the eighteenth century by the Yongzheng emperor.

Bazin frequently quoted from *The Essentials of Standard Pronunciation*, and from the inaccuracies of his readings, we can discern his level of Chinese. He was familiar with typical texts for learning Mandarin, but these texts were limited in form, being either collections of common conversational vocabulary or compilations of common conversations. An example of such materials is *A Comprehensive Collection of Northern and Southern Mandarin* 南北官話彙編大全, by Zhang Yucheng 張玉成 (1758).

Figure 1.2   The title page of *A Comprehensive Collection of Northern and Southern Mandarin.*

Joseph Edkins and C. W. Mateer, no. 30, see Mandarin divided along the following lines:

> The pronunciation of these regions readily separates into three systems: that of Nanking, of Peking with the northern provinces, and of the western provinces. (Edkins 1857, p. 8)[5]

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5 In the second edition to this work (1864), Edkins divides Mandarin into four varieties: Nanjing Mandarin, Beijing Mandarin, Mandarin of the northern provinces, and western Mandarin.

> Mandarin, or official language as it is called by the Chinese, is in its essential features the language of the people in all the eighteen provinces, except the coast provinces south of the Yang-tsï. It may be divided into Northern, Southern and western Mandarin; and is often further distinguished by provinces, as Honan Mandarin, Shantung Mandarin, etc. Northern Mandarin is largely dominated by Pekingese which, being the court dialect, is the most fashionable, and is the accredited language of officials throughout the empire. Southern Mandarin is more widely used and is spoken by a larger number of people than Northern Mandarin. (Mateer 1892, p. xiii)

The Chinese too, of course, were early on aware of the differences between the dialects and standard speech. For instance, Confucius's *Analects* 論語 says, "The master used standard speech 雅言 to recite from the *Book of Poetry* 詩 and the *Book of History* 書, and also to explain etiquette" (7.18). In the late Ming and early Qing period in particular, the Chinese began to note the importance of Mandarin, with the result that standard pronunciation began to be taught and numerous Mandarin textbooks were compiled, among them *Compendium of Characters with Standard and Dialect Pronunciations* 切用正音鄉談雜字大全, *A Complete Compilation of Northern and Southern Mandarin*, *The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners*, *The Essentials of Standard Pronunciation*, and *Speaking Correctly* 正音咀華. However, the Chinese did not break down Mandarin in as much detail as the Westerners.

In contrast, Westerners paid considerable attention to such Mandarin textbooks, often referring to them and using them as teaching materials. For example, Robert Thom's *Chinese Speaker*, part 1 (1846), is an English translation of *The Essentials of Standard Pronunciation*, with a romanization table added. And the Chinese work *The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners* was translated into English by William Milne (*The Sacred Edit*, 1815), was presented with parallel French translation by Théophile Piry (*Le saint édit*, 1879), and was presented with parallel English translation by F. W. Baller (*The Sacred Edict*, 1892). Moreover, portions are contained in Antoine-Pierre-Louis Bazin's *Mémoire sur les principes généraux du chinois vulgaire* (1845), Thomas Wade's *Hsin Ching Lu* [尋津録]*, or Book of Experiments* (1859), and James Summers's *Handbook of the Chinese Language* (1863). Even today, libraries throughout the West have copies of such works as *The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners* and primers of Mandarin—a fact that attests to the wide use of Mandarin textbooks. Moreover, Thomas Watters, in his *Essays on the Chinese Language* (1889), introduced in detail the contents of *Mandarin Pronunciations, with Meanings Explained* 官音彙解釋義, by Cai Shi 蔡奭; *A Complete Compilation of Northern and Southern Mandarin*, by Zhang Yucheng; *The Essentials of Standard Pronunciation*, by Gao Jingting 高静亭; *Standard Pronunciation Finely Discriminated* 正音辨微 and *Speaking Correctly*, by Sha Yizun 莎彝尊; and *Table of Standard Pronunciations for Nonstandard Speakers* 正音通俗表, by Pan Fengxi 潘逢禧.

2 Influences and Appropriations among Works

From early in the nineteenth century on, the works by Westerners listed above can be divided into those by Catholics and those by Protestants. (This division includes, of course, authors other than missionaries.) And earlier among Catholics, there were large differences in proselytizing policies and language strategies among the different religious orders (principally, the Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans), owing to the Chinese Rites Controversy.[6] In missionary work, we hear of the following sort of account being spread among Christians:

> For the spread of Christianity, one thing that we need to be concerned about is the unfortunate competition that already exists in some quarters among missionaries. The Catholic missionaries prohibit proselytes from having books published by Protestants. But the Protestants import books to Shanghai and distribute tens of thousands of copies. The Chinese Catholics take most of these copies and give them to their teachers, whereupon their teachers burn them.[7]

But in fact this was not the case in the scholarly field of Chinese linguistics, as the following instances show. For example, Varo's *Arte de la lengua mandarina*, no. 3, is related to Martini's *Grammatica sinica*, no. 2, and had considerable influence on Bayer in *Museum sinicum*, no. 4, and on Fourmont in *Linguae sinarum mandarinicae hieroglyphicae grammatica duplex*, no. 6. Moreover, it was republished in 1835 as *Grammatica linguae sinensis* (A Grammar of the Chinese Language) by the College of Chinese in Naples, Italy.

Figure 1.3 The title page of Varo's *Grammatica linguae Sinensis*.

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6 See, for example, Takata Tokio 高田時雄, "The Language Strategies of the Catholic Missions and China" カトリック・ミッションの言語戦略と中国, *Bungaku* 文学 2, no. 5.

7 Ivan Aleksandrovich Goncharov, *Voyage to Japan* 日本渡航記 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1941), p. 249. First published in Russian, 1858. Translated into English as *The Voyage of the Frigate Pallada*, 1965.
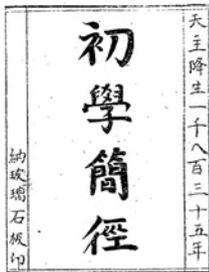
Figure 1.4   The Chinese title page of Varo's *Grammatica linguae Sinensis*.

Brevis confessions instituendae (Short Confessions for Training), by the Franciscan Basilio da Gemona, consists of the confessions at the end of Varo's work. Moreover, the *Vocabulario de letra china con la explication castellana* (Vocabulary of Chinese Characters with Spanish Explanations, 1646?), edited by Francisco Diaz, and other dictionaries edited by the Dominicans use a romanization system nearly identical to that of the Jesuit Nicolas Trigault.[8]

Also, in "Notices of European Intercourse with China, and of Books Concerning It, Arranged in Chronological Order," in his *Chinese Miscellany* (1825), Robert Morrison lists numerous scholarly works by Catholic missionaries. In his *Grammar* (1815), one can find passages clearly showing the influence of Varo, as I will discuss later in another chapter. And his *Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1815–1823) is based on *Dictionnaire chinois, français et latin*, by the Catholic scholar Basilio da Gemona, as a number of scholars have shown.

Furthermore, *Arte China* (1829), by the Lazarite scholar Joaquim A. Gonçalves, exerted considerable influence on Thomas Wade.[9]

In addition to the above, there are many other interesting facts lurking in Westerners' study of Chinese. Research on Westerners' study of Chinese is useful in the history of Chinese phonetics, the history of teaching the Chinese language, views of translation, and views of Chinese style. In any case, their studies of the Chinese language is in no way inferior to our own. Rather, their studies can offer many hints for our own research on Chinese.

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8 See Ishizaki Hiroshi 石崎博志, "Francisco Diaz's *Vocabulario de letra china con la explication castellana*" Francisco Diaz の『漢西辞典』, *Chūgokugo gaku* 中国語学, no. 252.

9 Wade, in his *Hsin Ching Lu* (1859), wrote, "The best is perhaps Gonçalves's *Arte China*, but it is written in Portuguese, a tongue few Englishmen under age have cared to cultivate. If the writer's health and strength be spared him it is his purpose one day to produce a Student's Manual somewhat in the style of the *Arte*."

Chapter 2:
Modern Westerners' Views of Chinese Style

Primarily to spread Christianity among the Chinese, modern Westerners, particularly missionaries, generally tackled Chinese head on, producing many early studies of Mandarin, Chinese dialects, and Chinese grammar. Missionaries did this despite differences in propagation policies involved in the Chinese Rites Controversy.

What type of Chinese did they study and seek to learn? Though I have previously expressed my views on this matter, here I would like to examine their many writings on Chinese to discern their views on Chinese style. These views are related to the discrepancy between spoken Chinese and written Chinese that has long existed in China. Hence, I will also touch on this matter.

1   The Chinese of Modern Westerners

First, I would like to look at the style of Chinese that Westerners recorded in their works.

Classical Chinese
– Michele Ruggieri (羅明堅, 1543–1607), *Veritable Records of the Holy Catholic Religion* 天主聖教實錄, 1584

或問天下萬物。惟賢才最爲尊貴。蓋以賢才通古今達事理也。故欲明理之人。不遠千里而師從之。予自少時。志欲明理。故奔走四方。不辭勞苦。其所以親炙於明師者誠不少。

Someone asked about the things of the world. Of all the things of the world, wisdom is the most valuable. For with wisdom, one can understand the reason behind events past and present. Hence, a person who wants to understand reasons does not hesitate to travel 1,000 miles to follow a good teacher. From when I was young, I have wanted to understand reasons. Hence, I have traveled all over and have not shirked hard work. Wise teachers have disabused me of many errors.

– Emmanuel Diaz (陽瑪諾, 1574–1659), *The Bible Clearly Explained* 聖經直解, 1636

維時耶穌語門弟子曰：日月諸星，時將有兆。地人危迫，海浪猛闘。是故厥容憔悴爲懼，且所將加於普世。諸天之德悉動。乃見人子乘雲來降，威嚴至極。始顯是事，爾皆目翹首。蓋爾等真福已近。又指曰：視無花果等樹始結實時，即知夏日非遙。爾輩亦然見行玆兆，則知天國已近肆。予確說：於人類未滅前，必僉驗之。天地可毀，予言不能不行。

Then Jesus said unto his disciples, "And there will be signs in sun and moon and stars, and upon the earth distress of nations in perplexity at the roaring of the sea and the waves, men fainting with fear and with foreboding of what is coming on the world; for the powers of the heavens will be shaken. And then they will see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. Now when these things begin to take place, look up and raise your heads, because your redemption is drawing near." And he told them a parable: "Look at the fig tree, and all the trees; as soon as they come out in leaf, you see for yourselves and know that the summer is already near. So also, when you see these things taking place, you know that the kingdom of God is near. Truly, I say to you, this generation [Diaz has "all of humanity"] will not pass away till all has taken place. Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away." (Luke 21:25–33)

– Juan Cobo (高母羡, ca. 1546–1592), *Testimony of the True Religion* 無極天主正教真傳實錄 (1593)

大明先聖學者有曰。率性之謂道。修道之謂教。性道無二致也。教其有二術乎哉。知此，則天主何與。一本之理。性同也。道同也。教亦同也。

The wise prophet-scholar said, "To conform with one's nature is called the Way, and to cultivate the Way is called religion. Nature and the Way are the same. How can religion have different methods to practice? Knowing this, how does one join the Lord? There is one basic principle: one's nature is the same, one's Way is the same, and one's religion is the same."

All of these works concern the Bible. Whether the authors are Jesuits or Dominicans, the style is the same classical Chinese.

Colloquial Chinese, dialects
– Juan Cobo, Catechism of Christian Doctrine 基督教教義問答 (1593)

俺爹你在天上。你賜乞阮稱羡你名。你國賜來乞阮。你賜乞阮只地上順守你命，親像在天上。日上所用個物，今旦日你賜乞阮。你亦赦阮罪，親像阮赦得罪阮人。魔鬼卜迷阮心忖，你莫放乞阮做。寧救阮若難。唖民西士

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done; on Earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our

trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. In Jesus' name, Amen.

The missionaries who came to China took seriously the languages of the areas where they proselytized. An indication of this is their works published in local dialects. This catechism (the Lord's Prayer) is perhaps the oldest work in a Chinese dialect by Western missionaries. In it Cobo uses the Min Nan dialect.

Dialog style
– Joannes de Rocha (羅儒望, 1566–1623), *An Introduction to Catholicism* 天主聖教啓蒙 and *Method for Reciting the Rosary* 誦念珠規程 (1600?)

師：　　你喚做甚名字。
學：　　我喚做某。某就是教中聖人聖女的名號。
師：　　你是基利斯當。
學：　　是。天主賜我做基利斯當。
師：　　怎麼說天主賜你做基利斯當。(*Introduction*)

Teacher: What is your name?
Student: My name is Mo. In the Christian religion, Mo is the name of saints.
Teacher: Are you Christian?
Student: Yes, the Lord made me a Christian.
Teacher: How did the Lord make you a Christian?

師：　　你日做甚工夫。可以養得你亞尼瑪的生命。與保存得你愛天主的德。
學：　　日誦天主聖母全念珠一串。並想十五超性之事。包含吾主耶穌一生的事體。誦念珠首一分的規程誦念第一次。亞物十遍。在天一遍。訖。略停片時。想聖母喜條的第一件。然後祈如左。
獻：　　極有德。極有福。童貞瑪利亞。我念亞物十遍。在天一遍。虔恭與爾。敬祝爾喜。(*Reciting the Rosary*)

Teacher: How do you occupy your days that you may nurture your body and maintain your love of the virtue of the Lord?
Student: Every day I recite my rosary to the Lord and holy mother and contemplate the fifteen mysteries, including the events in the life of my Lord Jesus Christ. I recite the introduction to the Rosary once, then the subsidiary prayers ten times, then the Lord's Prayer once. Then I stop and take a break for a while. Then I contemplate the first joyful mystery of the holy mother. After this, I pray as before.
Offertory: Most virtuous and most blessed virgin Mary, I recite the subsidiary prayers ten times and the Lord's Prayer once, offering them to you. May you be blessed.

– Giulio Alenio (艾儒略, 1582–1649), *Dialog on the West* 西方答問 (1637)

從極西到貴邦多浮海。二三年始至。敝又在太西地。去大海萬余里。陸行三月。
始到海邊名邦謂之薄而都瓦爾。到則待數月。方得乘便。問九萬里之遙。危險必
多。不知何處更甚。

From the extreme Occident to your country, we were tossed on the seas, finally arriving after two or three years. Our country is in the West. To go there, one has to travel by sea over 3,000 nautical miles and travel overland for three months. To come to China, one first arrives in a coastal country called Portugal. After arriving there, one must wait several months to find suitable passage. Travel over 31,000 miles involves many dangers, and it is difficult to say which place is most dangerous.

Among the works of these authors, there are many in the dialog style. In this style, colloquial or vernacular Chinese is most commonly used. Alenio also wrote the geographical work *Other Countries* 職方外紀 (1623), which covered much the same ground as *Dialog on the West*, but the style of the two works is clearly different.

Novel style (vernacular)

– Joseph Henri de Prémare (馬若瑟, 1666–1736), *Confucians Exchange Beliefs* 儒交信 (early 18th cent.)

話說康熙年間。有一員外姓楊。名順水。字金山。他雖然富厚有萬金家事。卻是
個俗人。但恃著幾貫錢財。也攀交鄉官。依附明士。不過是圖個虛名。說他也是
冠裳一派。同縣有個舉人。姓李。名光。表字明達。爲人志誠素樸。心口如一。
他家裡雖非素豐。卻也不甚寒儉。然性格寡欲。知足安分。日日只管讀書。別無
他業。離城十里。又有一甲科。覆姓馬。名慎。號溫古。先前做了一任官。極是
清庶。今歸林下。養性修德。人人都愛敬他。和李舉人是極相厚。(chapter 1)

This story takes place during the Kangxi period (1662–1722). There was a landlord named Yang Shunshui, whose courtesy name was Jinshan. Though extravagantly rich, he was only a commoner. Yet by means of several strings of cash given to the local official, he was designated a scholar-gentleman. Though this designation was merely an empty title, it gave him the status of an official. This same district also had a provincial graduate named Li Guang, whose courtesy name was Mingda. He was honest and simple, always saying what was on his mind. Though his family was not rich, they also were not extremely poor. Li Guang was modest in his desires and satisfied with his lot. He spent his days reading books and lacked any other projects. About three miles outside of the district town, there was a presented scholar named Ma Shen, whose sobriquet was Wengu. Previously he served as an official, in an straightforward and unaffected manner. Now he has returned to Linxia to improve his character. People all respect and think highly of him. He was also on very good terms with provincial graduate Li.

In this novel, *Confucians Exchange Beliefs*, Prémare tells the story, in the form of a novel, of two Confucians who convert to Christianity, and he uses vernacular Chinese to do so. Below, another novel of this form, *Conversations between Two Friends, Zhang and Yuan* 張遠兩友相論 (1819), was written by William Milne (1785–1822), a Protestant missionary sent by the London Missionary Society:

第一。其敬止一真神。而日日拜之。其不敢不如此。遠曰。我看世人多亦敬神。則何說信者。比世人不同呢。張對曰。世人所敬的各神類。不過系自己手所作。無用。無能的偶像而已。這是假神。不是真神。又這假神系無數的。惟其真神止一。可見信者。比世人不同。遠曰。這麼講果是不同了。只怕尊駕若言各神系假而無能的。則人家不歡喜。

No. 1. Believers revere only the one true God and worship him every day. They dare not do otherwise.

Yuan: I see that most ordinary people revere the gods. Well, what about believers? What is different between believers and ordinary people?

Zhang: Ordinary people revere all sorts of gods, but they only fold their hands in prayer. This is useless, because these are impotent idols, false gods, not the true God. These false gods are infinite in number. Only the true God is unique. Thus one can see that believers are different from ordinary people.

Yuan: When the matter is put this way, one can see that they are different. I was afraid that you would say that all gods are false and impotent. That would displease me.

2   Modern Westerners' Views of Chinese Style

2.1   Ricci, Semmedo, and Mendoza

Early on, Westerners to a considerable extent grasped the situation concerning the Chinese language. For example, early missionaries to China such as Matteo Ricci, Álvaro Semmedo, and Juan González de Mendoza frequently referred to styles of Chinese, as quoted below:

In terms of style and structure, there is considerable difference between the language used for literary works and that used for daily conversation. No book is written in the colloquial style. If an author were to write a book in a style approaching colloquial usage, he would be seen as placing himself and his book on the level of commoners. And yet even though the classical language used for writing and the vernacular used for daily life are quite different, surprisingly, both use the same characters. Hence, the difference between the two forms lies entirely in style and structure. (Ricci 1615, p. 27)

The Chinese way of writing and way of speaking differ greatly, even though the words they use are the same. Hence, when a person picks up the brush to write, he has to think

hard. If what he writes is conversational, it will be a laughingstock. Accordingly, whether on public or private occasions, they take great pains pleading, lecturing, discussing, and teaching, and they always first pick up a brush to practice. (Semmendo 1642, p. 40)

[Chinese], like Hebrew, is a language whose literary form is easier to understand than its colloquial form. This is because each character expresses a different meaning, and such differences are not easy to distinguish in the spoken form. … It surprises people that the form I speak of and the writing I refer to cannot be read in the spoken language. The reason is that, even though the pronunciation may be different from that of other characters, each glyph or character expresses a certain matter for the Chinese. (Mendoza 1585, p. 112)

Thus we know that these Westerners, even at this early point in time, already perceived the difference between literary and colloquial Chinese, knew of the existence of Mandarin, and were aware that other nations besides China used Chinese characters.

2.2   Varo's Three Registers of Chinese

In an early Western work on Chinese grammar, *Arte de la lengua mandarina* (1703; translated as *Francisco Varo's Grammar of the Mandarin Language*), the Dominican Francisco Varo divided Chinese into the following three registers:

Chinese has three registers of speech. The first is a refined, elegant style that uses few binomes. This style can be spoken just as it is written. This style is used only among the educated and can be understood only by them. If our missionaries can learn this style, it would be a fine thing, for then educated Chinese, upon hearing the missionaries using this style to speak in such elegant tones, would take them to be educated, erudite scholars. But in fact, because of our limited circumstances, using this style to speak is very difficult for us.

   The second register lies between the refined and vulgar styles. It can be understood by most people. It uses some binomes, but when the context makes the meaning clear, binomes are not used. This style uses some refined literary terms that everyone can understand. For those of us preparing for missionary work, we must learn this style, whether for speaking to the converted or unconverted. For if we do not cause them to be repelled by vulgar language, they will listen to our speeches with greater interest, with the result that they will be more receptive to our propagation of doctrine.

   The third register is a vulgar style suitable for propagation among women and farmers. This is the most basic style and is the easiest to learn. Hence, it is here that we begin our study of Chinese.

   So that the reader may be clear on the use of these styles, I give examples of the latter two styles (I do not consider the first style here):

Second style: 欲升天者，可行真善路，若不然，豈得到。 [Those who want to ascend to Heaven may walk the path of true righteousness. Otherwise, how can they enter?]

Third style: 但凡人要升天，該當爲善。若不爲善，自然不會升天。 [All who want to ascend to Heaven must do good. If one does not do good, one of course cannot ascend to Heaven.]

By seeing the same meaning expressed in the two different styles, one can see their differences at a glance. The example of the second style uses 欲 and 者, which are clearly refined diction. Anyone possessing a moderate capacity to understand or the ability to speak well can understand these words. The example of the third style uses 但凡 and 要, two more-common words. Anyone woman or farmer who can speak or understand a little Mandarin can understand them. The second-style example uses 可, 真, and 路, which are cultured diction. The third-style example uses 該當 to express the sense of "must." The words 的 and 路 are quite common. The other words I will not discuss. (Varo 1703, pp. 11–12)

In other places as well, Varo explained the second and third styles:

這個人是福州府知府的兒子。 [This is the son of the prefect of Fuzhou Prefecture.] This is an example of the third style, the conversational style of commoners, mentioned in the second monition of chapter 1 of this book. But in speaking to government officials or scholars, we should use the second style, which I have already introduced. According to this style, we should say, 這一位是福州府太爺的公子 [same meaning, but 位, 太爺, and 公子 are honorific terms]. (Varo 1703, p. 36)

Varo does not clearly mention what the first style is like, but it is easy to infer that the first style is classical or literary Chinese, while the second style is semiclassical semivernacular Chinese, and the third style is colloquial Chinese. In various chapters Varo gives the following concrete examples:

The pronoun 吾 [I] has a plural form whose use is limited to literary Chinese. Christians often use this pronoun. For instance, when we say the Lord's name, we say, 吾主耶穌極度 [our Lord Jesus Christ], 吾主 [our Lord], 吾天主 [our Lord]. (Varo 1703, p. 41)

The suffixes 輩 and 儕 indicate things of the same kind and can also indicate the plural. The former is used in the colloquial language, and the latter is used in the literary language. (Varo 1703, p. 41)

For "this" and "that," 這 and 那 are often used in the colloquial language, and the other demonstrative pronouns [此, 且, 茲] are used in the literary language, for example, 此禮 [this rite]. The demonstrative pronoun 此 is refined usage and should be used when we speak to educated, scholarly people. (Varo 1703, p. 63)

For relative pronouns, Chinese has 的, 者, 他, 之, 其, 凡, 但凡. The first one, 的, is encountered most frequently. It occurs directly after a phrase and is equivalent to "which" in English. The relative pronoun 者 is used in the literary language. When used in the colloquial language, it sounds refined. The pronouns 他 and 之 are equivalent to all the cases of "he," "she," and "it"; 他 is used in the colloquial language, and 之 is used in the literary language. The possessive pronoun 其 is used to express "his," "her," "its." It is refined usage in both the colloquial language and the literary language. (Varo 1703, pp. 64–65)

Words used to express negation include 不, 非, 弗, 無, 莫. The negative 非 seems refined in both the colloquial language and the literary language. The negatives 弗 and 無 are used frequently in the literary language, but are not used in the colloquial language. The negative 莫, in addition to expressing prohibition, also has the following special usage: 救世莫大恩惠 [There is no greater benefit than saving the world]. This is refined usage. (Varo 1703, pp. 70–71)

Words that express prohibition include 不要, 莫, 毋, 勿. Among these prohibitives, 不要 appears often in the colloquial language. If one uses 毋 in speech, it seems very refined. The other two prohibitives are used only in the literary language. Here are some examples: 你不要做 [Do not do that]。莫說 [Do not say that]。天主教有誡毋殺人 [Catholicism has a commandment against killing people]。勿來 [Do not come]。 (Varo 1703, p. 71)

怎麼做得 [How did you do that]。何大 [How big]。 The latter is refined speech. 傷他 何如 [How was he injured]。何因你去了 [Why did you go]。 These latter two phrases, 何如 and 何因, are both literary usage. Another example: 何故不念經 [Why do you not read the scriptures]。 The interrogative word 何 is also used in the following three ways: 何用 [What is the use]。何消 [What is the need]。何必 [What is the necessity]。 These three phrases are all used colloquially. The particles 安 [how] and 焉 [where] are used in the literary language. (Varo 1703, pp. 76–77)

The perfective particle 了 occurs frequently [in the colloquial language], and the perfective particle 已 is used in the literary language. (Varo 1703, p. 85)

In sum, Varo saw the following characters as identifiers distinguishing the literary language from the colloquial:

Literary Chinese: 吾, 此, 且, 茲, 者, 之, 其 (refined usage), 儕, 弗, 無, 莫, 勿, 何 (何如, 何因), 安, 焉, 已

Colloquial Chinese: 輩, 這, 那, 的, 他, 其 (refined usage), 非 (refined usage), 不要, 毋 (refined usage), 何用, 何消, 何必, 了

2.3   Prémare's Classification

Joseph Henri de Prémare (1666–1736) too discussed the styles of Chinese:

One can distinguish three registers of language produced by Chinese: the language of commoners, the language of people of quality, and the literary language.

The vernacular has over a hundred systems of pronunciation, and it is nearly impossible to write them down. Within the vernacular, there is a polite, cordial language used in numerous historical and quasi-historical writings. This language is both precise and subtle, and is capable of expressing anything without omission, be it in matters concerning the mental, customs, etiquette, high culture, colors, writing, or contrasts. Such small works are easy to read. I have read a considerable number, and I still have not discovered any ambiguities. In many places I get the feeling that such Chinese works are just as clear and polite as the fine works that we write.

There are two types of linguistic expression. One is that of commoners, who do not carefully consider what they say. The other is that used by officials and the literati, and comes from books. The literary language is quite distinct from the vernacular. Only after passing through many stages of learning can one become proficient in the use of the literary language at the consummate level of the classics. At this rarified level, this type of language is not spoken but only written. Language of this style whets one's interest, for it recites well and does not grate on the ears. Its rhythms sound euphonious and agreeable. Without having passages before one, it is not easy to understand what I mean.[1]

In Prémare's view, commoners used the colloquial language, and officials and the literati used a more polite, more tasteful written language, which was seldom spoken.

2.4   The Classifications of de Guignes and Thom

I have already discussed de Guignes's and Thom's classifications of Chinese styles in chapter 1. Here I will briefly recapitulate.

Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de Guignes (1759–1845), the French consulate for Guangdong and later the editor of *Dictionnaire chinois, français et latin, publié d'après l'ordre de Sa Majesté l'empereur et roi Napoléon le Grand*, divided Chinese into four styles in his *Voyages à Peking, Manille et L'ile de France, faits dans l'intervalle des années 1784 à 1801* (1808):

Classical Chinese   The language of the classics. The most concise style. He further divided classical Chinese into ancient classical Chinese, medieval classical Chinese, and late classical Chinese.

Fine writing   The style of choice prose. Though not as concise as classical Chinese, this style lends itself to beautiful, refined prose. To write such fine prose, one must be familiar with the structure of Chinese essays and be able to discriminate verbs and nouns, content characters and function characters. This style is only for writing, not for speaking.

Mandarin   The language of officials, the literati, and the educated. A more pervasive style than fine writing, it makes extensive use of homonyms, prepositions, adverbs, and function words. This style is not for writing, only for speaking.

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1 Letter from Prémare to a fellow Jesuit, 1724, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères: Mémoires de la Chine* (Paris: Chez J. G. Merigot, 1717–1774).

Dialects	The local languages, the languages of the masses. Though the educated can speak these languages, when speaking to officials or the literati, they dare not use this style. (1808, vol. 2, pp. 391–395)

De Guignes also wrote, "China has only two types of spoken language, namely, Mandarin and the dialects. In Beijing, Guangdong, and other cities, people use Mandarin to express their meaning. The difference lies mainly in their pronunciation. In the Jiangnan region, the pronunciation is relatively good." Thus, classical Chinese in de Guignes's scheme corresponds to Varo's first register, fine writing in de Guignes's scheme corresponds to Varo's second register, and Mandarin in de Guignes's scheme corresponds to Varo's third register.

Robert Thom (1807–1846) first divided Chinese into the written language and the spoken language, that is, into literary Chinese and colloquial Chinese. He then divided writing into the following genres:

Ancient literature
– The classics
– Ancient poetry

Modern literature
– Fine writing. The best fine writing is that of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE).
– Poetry, lyrics, ballads, etc., other than ancient poetry. The best poetry is that of the Tang dynasty (618–907).
– Edicts from the emperor or officials to the people
– Various styles of correspondence
– Histories and first-rate historical novels, such as *Records of the Three Kingdoms* 三國志 and *Outlaws of the Marsh* 水滸傳
– Miscellaneous records and topical writing. The crudest form of writing, in contrast to fine writing. For example, the Chinese translations in *Esop's Fables.*

Thom also divided the colloquial language into Mandarin and the local dialects. He then further divided Mandarin into northern Mandarin and southern Mandarin, as follows:

The 北官話 [northern Mandarin], otherwise called the 京話 or the 京腔, being in short the language of Peking City. This idiom abounds with low slang,—and when the court was formerly held at Nanking—was considered as much a vulgar *patois,* as the Language of Canton City is at this present day. … The best specimens of the Peking idiom are to be found in the 紅樓夢 [*Dream of the Red Chamber*], the 金瓶梅 [*Jin Ping Mei*], the 正音撮要 [*The Essentials of Standard Pronunciation*], and the paraphrase of the 聖諭 [*The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners*].

> The 南官話 [southern Mandarin], otherwise called 正音 "true pronunciation," and the 通行的話, or language of universal circulation. This is properly speaking the *Mandarin Language* or that of Nanking City. … As they [the people of Beijing] want the 入聲 or short abrupt tone—they cannot of course pronounce correctly. … The Nanking language is spoken on the stage—and abounds less or more in all their 小說 or Novels. (Thom, *Esop's Fables*, p. vii)

To translate Aesop's Fables, Thom used the style for miscellaneous records and topical writing, the style of writing farthest away from fine writing, but in fact, Thom's *Esop's Fables* uses language that is not crude but rather refined in places.

2.5   The Classifications of Rémusat and Others

Prior to Thom, Abel Rémusat (1788–1832) touched on styles of Chinese in his *Éléments de la grammaire chinoise, ou principes généraux du Kou-Wen ou style antique* (1822). As shown below, he divided Chinese into three styles: the ancient style 古文, the literary style 文章, and Mandarin 官話.

> In ancient times, the written language was used only limitedly. People liked to omit the verbs and subjects of sentences, and to allow words to have full range of meaning. They seldom indicated the connection among words. They expressed their ideas with as few words as possible. They wrote each sentence in isolation without drawing connections with what proceeds or what follows. The result is a style that is sententious, vague, concise, and fragmented, as one finds on ancient monuments, and on account of this fact, this style is called 古文 (ancient style).
>
> The ancient style having ceased to relate to the increasing needs of society, various changes were introduced to make language more clear, precise, and varied. To make language comprehensible in conversation, people substituted compound terms for simple terms, which led to many ambiguities because of homophones. Frequent use of pronouns allows one to determine whether a word has a substantive or verbal sense. The use of new particles and old particles employed in new ways clearly designates the connections among words, and an increasing variety of phraseology has added variety to the termination and linking together of sentences. The style produced by these changes goes by the name 官話 (language of the magistrates), or as it is commonly called, Mandarin.
>
> Between these two styles, the Chinese insert a third style that they call 文章 (the literary style). This style partakes of aspects of the two others: it is less vague, less concise, and more florid than the ancient style, and it is more explicit, more wordy, and, dare one say, more grammatical than Mandarin. It can be varied so that it approaches one of the other two styles. (1822, pp. 35–37)

Rémusat's literary style corresponds to Varo's second register. Rémusat also had this to say about semiclassical, semivernacular Chinese:

Since a mixture of styles can be used in many compositions, especially in those whose style is called 半文半俗 (semiclassical, semivernacular), there are hardly any ancient-style particles that cannot be found in books written in the modern style. Here I will discuss only those particles that are unique to the latter style. At the same time, we will also familiarize ourselves with common irregular locutions generally formed from particles and other expressions used in a sense removed from their original usage. (1822, p. 144)

In this connection, Rémusat saw the following particles and grammatical structures as peculiar to modern written Chinese:

Modern written Chinese: 也 (as in 也不是個人), 只 (as in 只是, 只得, 只好), 又, 就, 還, 連 (as in 連我也不知), 便 (as in 買便買，不買便罷), 且 (as in 我且問叔), 卻, 倒 (as in 吃的倒好), 收/教/交 (as in 那個收他做官), 可 (as in 你可知道麼 or 你可實對我說), 來/去 (as in 想來想去 or 提起筆來), 打 (as in 打動他的心), 把 (as in 把真心話都對他說了), 見 (as in 看不見), 待 (as in 我將好意待他 or 你可親筆寫個庚帖來，待我送了去), 一 (as in 一些, 一點, 訪一訪, 一上一下), 原來/從來, 難道, 麼, 莫非/莫不, 多少, 敢 (as in 豈敢, 不敢)

In addition, we should also look at the classifications of Chinese by Bazin, Meadows, and Mateer. Since I discussed Bazin's classification in chapter 1, I will omit further discussion here. Thomas Taylor Meadows, in his *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China and on the Chinese Language* (1847), expanded Rémusat's division of three styles into the following five styles: ancient style, literary style, business style, familiar style, and colloquial Chinese. Meadows's business and familiar styles are equivalent to Rémusat's mixed style, and he sees *Collected Statutes of the Qing Dynasty* 大清会典 as representative of the business style. The familiar style occupies a place between the business style and colloquial Chinese. It is the easiest of the written styles. Representative of this style are easy novels and play scripts.

C. W. Mateer, in his *Course of Mandarin Lessons, Based on Idiom* (1892), divides Mandarin into four types: common Mandarin, local Mandarin, colloquial Mandarin, and book Mandarin.

In addition, Friedrich Hirth, in his *Notes on the Chinese Documentary Style* (1909), summarized Western discussion of Chinese styles.

2.6   Yakhontov's Identifiers

Well, how shall we distinguish classical Chinese, fine writing, and Mandarin; that is, are there identifiers to distinguish these three styles? Here all that we can do at this point is to infer inductively from the passages provided by Varo and the example sentences provided by Rémusat. Along these lines, Sergei E. Yakhontov,

in 1986, provided the following excellent guidelines. First he divided various types of Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) literature (classical literature 古文, tales of the marvelous 傳奇, transformation texts 變文, discourse records 語錄, and scripts 話本) into classical Chinese, vernacular Chinese, and the mixed style. Then he culled twenty-five function characters to serve as identifiers in classifying texts into one of these three categories:

Classical style: 其, 之 (pronoun), 以 (preposition), 於, 也, 者, 所, 矣, 則
Mixed style: 而, 之 (nominal modifier), 何, 無, 此, 乃
Vernacular style: 這, 底 (= 的), 了, 著, 得, 個 (measure word), 裡 (noun of locality), 便, 只, 子, 兒

The identifiers that Yakhontov provides include some mentioned by Varo and Rémusat. There are also other identifiers of the modern vernacular, such as directional complements (the "V来/去" pattern), result complements, pronoun usage, etc. Discovering more identifiers requires additional investigation.

3   Morrison's View of Styles

Robert Morrison (1782–1834) too had opinions on Chinese style, and his opinions were intimately connected with his views on translation, in particular, his views on what style should be used in his translation of the Bible into Chinese, *God's Holy Book* 神天聖書.

His translation is ordinarily classified as classical Chinese, but as shown in the passage below, it is a bit of a stretch to call the style classical Chinese. In fact, Morrison used some of the same vernacular identifiers as Yakhontov.

撒百日已過而七節之初日黎明時，馬利亞馬厄大利尼與別的馬利亞來見墓。而有大地震，蓋主之神使從天下來而退滾石離門，及坐其石上。厥容似電，厥衣白如雪。因怕之看守者惶，而似死了。又神使謂婦人曰，爾勿懼，我知爾尋耶穌，被釘十字架者。其不在此，乃已復活，依其所言爾，來見主被放在之所。又快去告訴厥門徒知，其已從死復活，而卻其先爾往加利利。彼處爾可見之。夫我已達爾知也。即時伊等離墓往去，有懼亦大歡喜，跑去以達門徒知之。且伊等往達厥門徒，卻耶穌自遇伊等曰，歡喜也。伊等即時俯伏面前而抱厥足也。時耶穌謂伊等曰，爾勿懼乃往去達我弟兄們。要先我往加利利去。而在彼可見我。夫伊等往去時，卻有或看守者來城報祭者首輩知凡所得成之情。且伊等同老輩集會相議時，即給大賄與兵丁曰，爾將言云，夜間我們睡時厥門徒來偷之去也。若總督聞此我們則勸他，而保汝等。如是伊等受銀子而行依被令也。故至今日此言常得傳於如大輩之中也。時十一門徒往加利利至耶穌令伊等之山也。伊等見之即俯伏厥前，惟內中有的疑者也，且耶穌近來語伊等曰，在天在地我得授以諸權。故爾往去教訓萬國，施洗伊等於父者子者及聖風者之名也。教伊等守我凡所命爾等之諸情也。夫我常時偕爾等，即至於世之末也。啞們

Now after the sabbath, toward the dawn of the first day of the week, Mary Mag'dalene and the other Mary went to see the sepulchre. And behold, there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven and came and rolled back the stone, and sat upon it. His appearance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow. And for fear of him the guards trembled and became like dead men. But the angel said to the women, "Do not be afraid; for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; for he has risen, as he said. Come, see the place where he lay. Then go quickly and tell his disciples that he has risen from the dead, and behold, he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him. Lo, I have told you." So they departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy, and ran to tell his disciples. And behold, Jesus met them and said, "Hail!" And they came up and took hold of his feet and worshiped him. Then Jesus said to them, "Do not be afraid; go and tell my brethren to go to Galilee, and there they will see me." While they were going, behold, some of the guard went into the city and told the chief priests all that had taken place. And when they had assembled with the elders and taken counsel, they gave a sum of money to the soldiers and said, "Tell people, 'His disciples came by night and stole him away while we were asleep.' And if this comes to the governor's ears, we will satisfy him and keep you out of trouble." So they took the money and did as they were directed; and this story has been spread among the Jews to this day. Now the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain to which Jesus had directed them. And when they saw him they worshiped him; but some doubted. And Jesus came and said to them, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age." Amen. (Matthew 28)

Morrison himself commented on the appropriate style for translating the Bible:

It may be observed that, at this time, Mr. Morrison was proceeding with the translation of the New Testament, compiling his Dictionary, communicating religious instruction verbally, in English and Chinese. On the Sabbath-days, while the duties of his civil appointment were also zealously performed, another important subject occupied his serious attention for some time, viz., the style most proper to be adopted for rendering the Sacred Scriptures into Chinese. The result of these deliberations, as communicated to Mr. Milne, and published by him in the *Retrospect*, cannot be uninteresting to those who feel the importance of the subject:—

"In Chinese books, as in those of most other nations, there are three kinds of style: a high, a low, and a middle style. The style which prevails in the 五經 [Five Classics] and 四書 [Four Books], is remarkably concise, and considered highly classical. Most works of fiction of the lighter sort are written in a style perfectly colloquial. The 三國 [*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*], a work much admired in China, holds, in point of style, a middle place between these two. He at first inclined to the middle style; but afterwards, on seeing an imperial work, called 聖諭 [*The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners*], designed to be read twice a month, in the public halls of the different provinces, for the instruction of the people in relative and political duties, and which is paraphrased in a perfectly colloquial style, he resolved to imitate this work—"
"1st. Because it is more easily understood by the bulk of the people."

"2nd. Because it is intelligible when read in an audience, which the high classical style is not at all. The middle style is also intelligible when read in public, but not so easily understood as the lower style."

"3rd. Because it can be quoted verbatim when preaching, and understood by the people without any paraphrastic explanation."

"However, on reconsidering the subject, he decided on a middle style, as, in all respects, best adapted for a book intended for general circulation. On the one hand, it possesses something of the gravity and dignity of the ancient classical books, without that extreme conciseness which renders them so hard to be understood. On the other hand, it is intelligible to all who can read to any tolerable extent, without sinking into colloquial coarseness. It is not above the illiterate, nor below the better educated. The Chinese, when they speak seriously, affect to despise the colloquial works of fiction, while, at the same time, they are obliged to acknowledge that the style of the ancient classical books is not adapted for general usefulness. Of the style of the 三國 they speak in raptures." (Eliza Morrison 1839, pp. 329–330)[2]

He thus adopted the style of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, a style retaining some of the elegance of the classics without lapsing into the coarse colloquial style of *The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners.*

But the styles of these two works, when compared side by side (see below), both seem to be the style of fine writing; one does not seem more refined, nor the other more coarse. As Rémusat wrote about fine writing, "This style partakes of aspects of the two others. … It can be varied so that it approaches one of the other two styles."

The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners
Classical original: 夫孝者，天之經，地之義，民之行也。人不知孝父母，獨不思父母愛子之心乎。方其未離抱，飢不能自哺，寒不能自衣。
Now filial piety is a constant of Heaven, a right conduct of Earth, and the practice of the people. Even someone unfamiliar with being filial toward his parents, can he fail to recall how his parents cherished him? No one, prior to leaving his mothers' arms, could suckle himself when hungry or clothe himself when cold.
Vernacular explanation: 怎麼是孝。這孝順爹娘，在天地間，爲當然的道理，在人身上爲德性的根本。你們做兒子的，不知道孝順你的爹娘，但把爹娘疼愛你的心腸想一想，看該孝也不孝。你在懷抱的時候，飢了呢，自己不會吃飯，冷了呢，自己不會穿衣。
What is filial piety? Being filial to one's parents accords with reason in the human realm and is a basic virtue for a person. You sons, even if you do not know how to be filial to your parents, when you think of how your parents cherished you, let us see if you can resist being filial even when you should. When you were in your mothers' arms, you could not feed yourselves when hungry, nor could you clothe yourselves when cold.

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2 See also William Milne, *Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (1820), pp. 89–90.

Romance of the Three Kingdoms

飛曰：“吾莊後有一桃園，花開正盛；明日當於園中祭告天地，我三人結爲兄弟，協力同心，然後可圖大事。”玄德、雲長齊聲應曰：“如此甚好。”次日，於桃園中，備下烏牛白馬祭禮等項，三人焚香再而說誓曰：“念劉備、關羽、張飛，雖然異姓，既結爲兄弟，則同心協力，救困扶危；上報國家，下安黎庶；不求同年同月同日生，只願同年同月同日死。皇天后土，實鑒此心。背義忘恩，天人共戮！”誓必，　拜玄德爲兄，關羽次之，張飛爲弟。祭罷天地，復宰牛設酒，聚鄉中勇士，得三百餘人，就桃園中痛飲一醉。(Chap. 1)

Zhang Fei said, "Behind my house is a peach orchard where the flowers are in full bloom. Tomorrow let us there swear before Heaven and Earth to be united as brothers, allied in arms and of one mind. Then can we set our sights high." Liu Bei and Guan Yu together replied, "Yes, by all means!" The next day in the peach orchard, they prepared offerings of a black ox and a white horse. The three men burned incense and swore, "We—Liu Bei, Guan Yu, Zhang Fei—though of different family names, come together as brothers, of one mind and united in arms, aiding one another in distress and supporting each other in danger. We will serve the state above and safeguard the people below. Though not born on the same day, we seek only to die on the same day. May the Emperor of Heaven and the Empress of Earth make note of our intent, and if we shirk duties due or forget favors received, may Heaven and men come together and slay us!" Having solemnized the oath, the two others bowed before Liu Bei as their elder brother, Guan Yu came after him, and Zhang Fei was made the youngest. After the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, more oxen were slaughtered and wine was set out for a gathering of the brave men of the village. More than three hundred men joined them in the peach orchard, drinking to excess.

In his translation of the Bible, Morrison placed a premium on elegance over authenticity and understanding, owing to the special role that the Bible plays in the Christian religion. For his other translations, such as the following, Morrison viewed translation differently.

古聖奉神天啓示道家訓 (1832)
有造化天地人萬物之神者性理證據論
設使行過曠野時，我腳踢著一塊石頭，有人問，該石是那裡來的。若或答曰，其石由永遠在那處，亦未可定。斯言尚似理。但設使我在那曠野遇著一個時辰錶，而有人問，該時辰錶是那裡來的。若或答云，其錶是永遠在那處。此言似不合理。其故何也，既然該石頭永在那處，似可說得的，爲何該時辰錶永在那曠野，似不成話。其故乃此，該石頭無何機關，其時辰錶有許多機關，故意製造的，爲合一用處，所以顯然該時辰錶須有個製造者。既該物有個被造之時候，則明然不能永在那處。又也，未造之之先一個使造者必另在。雖該人不知造制時辰錶之法，他尚且可見有故意設計策，使各機關合爲一用處。且既見有故意設計之作，必有一位立意製造者也。雖不知該一位是誰，或與自己同類，或不同類，皆然。只知確的以必有一位立意製造者也。雖其時辰錶有時行錯了，尚且所推論，以必有一位立意製造者，乃論得是。(1832, p. 1)

The Ancient Sage Reveres God and Enlightens the Daoist (1832)
Rational arguments for the existence of a creator
Imagine that when I am walking in the field, I kick a stone and someone asks, "Where

did that stone come from?" If one replies, "It was always there," it seems reasonable to say that this statement cannot be refuted. But imagine that in the same field I come across a watch and someone asks, "Where did that watch come from?" If one replies, "The watch was always there," this statement does not seem reasonable. Why is this? That is, while it seems perfectly reasonable to say that the stone was always in the field, why are we disinclined to say that the watch has always been in the field? The reason is this. The stone has no mechanisms, while the watch has many. The watch seems intentionally made for a specific purpose. Hence, it appears that the watch must have a maker. If an object has a time when it was made, it clearly cannot have been in a given place all along. Moreover, prior to making the watch, the maker must have existed independently. Though I do not know how the watch was made, I can still see that it was intentionally designed to perform a specific function. Moreover, since I can see that this manufacture was intentionally designed, I know that there must be one who designs and makes it. Even though the watch is sometimes inaccurate, we have proven our conclusion, namely, that there must be one who designs and makes it.

夫千里鏡可喻得人之眼睛。其鏡顯然是故意設計所致，其眼亦明然有一位原設計製造之者也。鏡之各凹凸玻璃十分像似眼睛珠。又光射透過去其鏡與其眼時，或合，或散，俱依個定理相同。（略）有了千里鏡，便可知必有個人設計製造。有了人之眼睛，便可知必有個神設計製造。均一理。即是見有故意立計，必有故意立計者也。但人不會做眼睛，故必是神所造化也。 (1832, p. 7)

Now, a telescope can be compared to a person's eye. A telescope appears to be intentionally designed; the eye also clearly appears to have a designer and maker. The protruding lenses of the telescope closely resembles the eyeball. Moreover, when light rays pass through the telescope or the eye, some are focused and some are scattered, according to the same principle. … Since we have a telescope, we know that there must be a person who designed and made it. Likewise, since we have eyes, we know that there must be a god who designed and made them. Both statements adhere to the same reasoning, namely, that if there is an intentional design, there must be an intentional designer. But humans cannot make eyes. Hence, they must be made by God.

西游地球聞見略傳 (1819)
西邊友羅巴列國年歲有三百六十五日，六個時辰，惟伊之一個時辰不過系我們漢人的時辰之一半，且伊等分從子時，周到子時，爲二十四個時辰，又伊分月不是依太陰而分之，乃將一年中三百六十五日，分爲十二個月，或三十日成一個月，或三十一日成一個月，其二月三年算二十八日，每　四年載二十九日，月內日數如左。 (1819, p. 16)

A Brief Account of Things Western (1819)
In the countries of Europe, a year has 365 days and 6 hours. One of their hours is only half of one of our Chinese hours, and they divide the days at the midnight hour, a complete cycle being 24 hours. Also, they divide the months not according to the moon. Rather, they take the 365 days of the year and divide them into 12 months, with each month being either 30 days or 31 days, though February has 28 days for 3 years and 29 days in the fourth year. This is the number of days in a month.

4   Is the Vernacular the Colloquial Language?

Modern Westerners basically saw Chinese as divided into three styles: classical Chinese, the fine-writing style, and Mandarin. The first two styles are literary, and the last style is colloquial.

I have written that the vernacular 白話 and semiliterary semivernacular 半文半白 styles, while clearly reflecting colloquial Chinese, are ultimately literary styles.[3] It was perhaps with this view in mind that Robert Thom classified his *Esop's Fables* as miscellaneous records and topical writing and did not classify *The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners* and *The Essentials of Standard Pronunciation* as colloquial language. Rather, he called them just "language."

In discussing the mixed style of *The Four Books Clearly Explained* 四書直解, by Zhang Juzheng 張居正 et al., Furuya Akihiro wrote, "There is little doubt that this type of style, namely, a mixed literary and colloquial style, existed as a spoken language" (1998, p. 132).

It is definitely possible to view such basic commentary as *The Four Books Clearly Explained* and *The Classic of Filial Piety Clearly Explained* 孝經直解, as well as such propagation works as *The Imperial Edict Explained for Commoners*, as colloquial language. But we also need to consider Yakhontov's view: "There is no necessary connection between content and the language used to express such content, because it just happens that the classical essay style was used to write down this particular type of philosophical work. Also, colloquial language and the spoken language are not the same. It is even possible for scholars, in their spoken discourse, to use ancient Chinese. In other words, literature recording colloquial discourse may not reflect the actual spoken language" (1986, p. 98). In this passage, Yakhontov makes two important points: that "colloquial language and the spoken language are not the same" and that "literature recording colloquial discourse may not reflect the actual spoken language."

On this issue, Antoine-Pierre-Louis Bazin commented as follows:

> The language spoken by the Chinese at present is not that spoken by them under the Ming dynasty. Similarly for the languages spoken under the Ming, Yuan, and Song dynasties. [All were different.]
>
> Thus, when Abel Rémusat, ordinarily quite fair in his critiques and discussions, reproaches Morrison for having made use, in his grammar, of several phrases taken from the mouths of the Chinese, rather than, like him, taking them from novels held in high esteem for their style, such as 玉嬌梨 [Yu Jiao Li] and 好逑傳 [The Good Match], he is doubly wrong.
>
> He is wrong because, in all the languages of the world, it is very difficult to write as one speaks, and it is even more difficult in Chinese since Mandarin for the most part has

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3 Uchida Keiichi 2001a, pp. 330–331.

ceased to be written except, according to a remark by Cibot, in works intended to be read in a loud voice.

He is wrong also because *Yu Jiao Li* and *The Good Match* are tokens not of the language actually used in the Chinese empire, as Rémusat believes, but of the language of the fourteenth century, in which one finds on nearly every page phrases and locutions borrowed from the scholarly language. (1845, no. 36, pp. 17–18)

In this view, Bazin seems to follow Prémare. In any case, I fully agree with Bazin that "in all the languages of the world, it is very difficult to write as one speaks, and it is even more difficult in Chinese since Mandarin for the most part has ceased to be written." That is, the vernacular 白話, though it reflects colloquial Chinese 口語, has always been a literary language 書面語, and is not the colloquial language per se. I think that while the vernacular closely approaches the spoken language, it is not a spoken language, that only Mandarin 官話 is a spoken language, and that prior to the May Fourth literary movement, it was not possible to write as one speaks.

On this issue, Liu Fu 劉復 has written,

People often say that in China the colloquial language 言 differs from the written language 文, whereas in foreign countries they are the same. This assertion at first has an air of verisimilitude, but the truth is that the colloquial language and the written language cannot be brought into total agreement. Rather, they can only approach one another or remain quite separate.

For example, in English, with such sentences as "I am a man" and "Here is your book," the colloquial language and the written language are the same, but a sentence like "That what is called the History of the Kings and Early Consuls of Rome is to a great extent fabulous, few scholars have, since the time of Beaufort, ventured to deny" (Thomas Babbington Macaulay, "Lays of Ancient Rome," Preface, first sentence) qualifies as writing, but not as speech. …

China's classical language, for instance, *The Great Learning* 大學 and *The Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸, obviously differs from the spoken language. Even vernacular writing 白話文 is the same as the spoken language only in certain cases. …

Hence, it is absolutely impossible to unify the spoken language with the written language. But most foreign nations use only one written language, and it is quite similar to the spoken language. In China prior to 1917, people ordinarily wrote in classical Chinese 文言文, which is far removed from the colloquial language. Only after the May Fourth literary movement did vernacular writing 白話文 become acceptable. At present writers give equal weight to both styles. (1932)

Modern Westerners thus reasonably accurately knew about the sundry styles of Chinese and their differences. On the basis of this knowledge, they studied two types of Chinese. One was colloquial language (Mandarin and the dialects), and the other was vernacular fine writing. For the study of the latter, Thomas Wade compiled his *Wên-chien tzǔ-erh chi* [文件自邇集]: *A Series of Papers Selected as*

Specimens of Documentary Chinese (1867) and Friedrich Hirth published his *Text Book of Documentary Chinese* (1885–1888).

Chapter 3:
The Development of Modern Westerners' Terms for Chinese Parts of Speech

I have already discussed the types of grammars modern Westerners were producing for Chinese. One common feature of many of their works is that they all discussed Chinese and Chinese grammar in terms of the traditional Chinese distinction between function characters 虛字 and content characters 實字. For example, the following authors distinguished the following parts of speech:

Prémare: 虛字, 實字 (活字 [verb], 死字 [noun], 死實字 [noun])
Morrison: 生字 = 動字 (verb), 死字 = 静字 (noun), 虛字
Edkins: 虛字, 實字 (活字, 死字)
Marshman: particles, substantives

Moreover, their works can be divided into two camps according to the following criteria:

– Before Morrison versus after Morrison
– Catholic versus Protestant
– Latin grammar versus English grammar
– Eight parts of speech versus nine parts of speech

For prior to Morrison, Catholic missionaries were the primary producers of grammatical studies of Chinese, and after Morrison, Protestant missionaries were. Moreover, prior to Morrison, authors based their grammatical theories of Chinese on Latin grammar, and after Morrison, authors based their grammatical theories of Chinese on English grammar. Also, Latin grammar has eight parts of speech, and English grammar has nine.

Of course, even after Morrison, Ma Jianzhong, in *Ma's Guide to the Written Language* 馬氏文通, relied on Latin grammar (as can be seen from his *Latin Diction* 拉丁詞藝, also known as *Guide to Written Latin* 拉丁文通).[1]

Moreover, these early Westerners' works, other than Crawford and Zhang 1869, were all in Latin, English, and French (example sentences being in Chinese, of course). Thus, they discussed Chinese grammar using the grammar of their own languages (Latin, English, etc.) as a basis for discussion. But they also paid considerable attention to the special features of Chinese. One instance of this is their use of the Chinese theory of function characters and content characters as the basis for their own grammatical theories. Another is that they devoted many pages to explaining measure words and particles.

For example, Morrison and Edkins write about measure words as follows:

> Before it is shewn how they form the number, case, and gender of the Noun, it is proper to notice a class of words called Numerals, which generally precede or follow the Noun. (Morrison 1815, no. 8, p. 37)

> Where in English we use the indefinite article, the Chinese say 一, one, followed by a numeral; 看見一個老虎吃羊. Where we speak of this or that tiger, two or three tigers, the Chinese use not only a pronoun or number, but also a numeral particle following it. (Edkins 1857, p. 121)

In addition, Lobscheid (1864, no. 16) called measure words "classifiers," and Crawford and Zhang (1869) clearly distinguished numbers from measure words, which they called 數目言 and 分品言, respectively.

1   The Development of Terms for Chinese Parts of Speech

It is said that the present Chinese terms for parts of speech became established with the appearance in 1924 of *A New Grammar of Chinese* 新著國語文法, by Li Jinxi 黎錦熙. How these terms were created and how they became established has hardly been discussed up until now. Here I would like to say a little bit about the development of terms for parts of speech prior to Li Jinxi's work.

Below are the works that I used for this study:

Robert Morrison, *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*, 1815, no. 8 (see chap. 1).
Samuel Wells Williams, *An English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect*, 1844.
W. H. Medhurst, *English and Chinese Dictionary*, 1847–1848.

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1 The connection between *Ma's Guide to the Written Language* and Ma's *Latin Diction* is discussed in detail in He Qunxiong 2000.

W. Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary*, 1866.

T. P. Crawford 高第丕 and Zhang Ruzhen 張儒珍, *Mandarin Grammar* 文學書官話, 1869.

Cao Xiang 曹驤, *An Introduction to English* 英字入門, 1874.

Guang Qizhao (Kwong Ki Chiu) 鄺其照, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* 華英字典集成, 1875, 1887, 1902.

Wang Zhifang 汪芝房, *English Phrasebook* 英文舉隅, 1879.

C. W. Mateer, *A Course of Mandarin Lessons, Based on Idiom*, 1892.

Tam Tat Hin 譚達軒, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* 華英字典彙集, 1897.

Mok Man Cheung 莫文暢, *The Tah Ts'z Anglo-Chinese Dictionary* 達辭, 1898.

Ma Jianzhong 馬建忠, *Ma's Guide to the Written Language* 馬氏文通, 1898.

The English and Chinese bilingual dictionaries of the Commercial Press 商務印書館.

The results of this study are given in table 3.1. From this table, one can draw the following conclusions:

– Ma Jianzhong, in *Ma's Guide to the Written Language*, basically follows prior grammatical terminology, but he was particularly influenced by Lobscheid and Mateer.
– From continuities of grammatical terminology, one can discern patterns of influence among nineteenth-century English and Chinese bilingual dictionaries. For example, Guang Qizhao followed Medhurst, but he also referred to Morrison (from whom he borrowed the translation for "interjection") and Williams (from whom he borrowed the translation for "noun"). Later he incorporated into his dictionary material from Lobscheid, such as the translations for "adjective" (形容字, 勢字).
– Early dictionaries published by the Commercial Press were based on Guang Qizhao's *English and Chinese Dictionary*, but also referred to Lobscheid's *English and Chinese Dictionary.*
– In its grammatical terminology, one can discern the influence of Japanese on *A Comprehensive English-Chinese Dictionary* 綜合英漢大辭典, published by the Commercial Press.
– One cannot ignore the influence of Mateer's grammatical terminology on other dictionaries.
– The terms for adverbs varied considerably. For example, Lobscheid and Guang Qizhao called them "勢字" and "形容字," terms also used for adjectives. Perhaps the reason why they conflated adverbs with adjectives is that both adverbs and adjectives function as modifiers.

Table 3.1 The development of terms for parts of speech prior to *Ma's Guide to the Written Language* (1898)

	noun	adjective	verb (生字, 動字, 活字)	pronoun	adverb	preposition	conjunction	particle (虛字眼, 起語虛字, 接語虛字, 轉語虛字, 歇語虛字)	interjection (嘆詞, 傷痛聲)	grammar
Morrison 1815										
Present terminology	名詞	形容詞	動詞	代詞	副詞	介詞	連詞	助詞	嘆詞	文法, 語法
Williams 1844	實字, 死字		活字, 生字		語助詞			虛字		文法, 文法小引
Medhurst 1847–1848	物名		活字, 生字, 動字					虛字 (開語辭, 起語虛字, 接語辭, 轉語辭)		讀書作文之法, 通用漢言語法
Lobscheid 1866	名, 名字	勢字	活字, 動字, 生字	替名字		定偏字	繼字, 連字	不變字 (助語之辭, 轉語之辭, 接語辭, 開語辭)	情呼字	文法書, 通用言語文法
Crawford 1869	名頭	形容言	靠托言	替名	隨從言	示處言	接連言		語助言	文學
Cao 1874	實字	加實字	動作字	稱呼字	加動作字	位置字	相連字		呼聲字	學語之法
Guang 1875	實字, 人物地方之名		活字, 生字, 動字		形容字			虛字	傷痛聲, 美詞	講解作文法之書
Wang 1879	靜字	繫靜字	動字	代靜字	繁動字	絡合字	承轉字		發語字	文法
Guang 1887	實字 (人物地方名目)		活字, 生動字		形容字		協連字, 承上落下的字	虛字 (發語辭, 接語辭, 助語辭)	傷痛聲, 美詞	講解作文法之書

Table 3.1 (Continued)

	noun	adjective	verb	pronoun	adverb	preposition	conjunction	particle	interjection	grammar
Morrison 1815	名詞, 名物, 名物字, 名目字	虛字, 區別字, 形容字	(生字, 動字, 活字)	代名字, 稱代字, 代名字	疏虛字, 定字, 活字	顯明字, 介字, 介系	連合字, 連句字	(虛字眼, 起語虛字, 接語虛字, 轉語虛字, 歇語虛字)	(嘆辭, 傷痛聲)	讀書作之法, 通用漢言法
Mateer 1892	名字		活字, 云語字, 翻字						口氣字	
Tam 1897	物名	形容之別	活字, 虛字	代實字	勢字	意論	連字, 繼連字, 相連字	半虛實字	嗟嘆之話	文法書
Mok 1898	實字 (人物地方名目)	形容字	活字, 動字, 生字	代名字	情形字	定偏字		虛字 (發語辭, 接語辭, 助語辭)	傷痛聲, 嘆美詞	講解作文法之書
Ma 1898	名字	靜字	動字	代字	虛字	介字	連字	助字	嘆字	
Guang 1902	實字 (人物地方名目)	形容字, 勢字	活字, 生動字		更形容字, 超形容字	定偏字	協連字, 承上落下的字	虛字 (發語辭, 接語辭, 歇語辭, 助語辭之辭)	傷痛聲, 嘆美詞	講解作文法之書
商務書館華英字典 1902	實字 (人物地方名目)	形容字, 勢字	活字, 動字, 生字		更形容字, 超形容字	定偏字	協連字, 承上落下的字	虛字 (發語辭, 接語辭, 助語辭)	傷痛聲, 嘆美詞	講解作文法之書
商務書館華英音韻字典集成 1902	名, 名字, 實字	勢字, 形容字	活字, 動字, 生字	代名字	勢字, 語助詞	定偏字, 地位字, 前置詞	繼續字, 連合之字	不變之字, 虛字 (助語之辭, 轉語之辭, 接語辭, 起語辭, 歇語辭)	情呼字, 傷痛聲, 嘆美詞	文法書

Table 3.1 (Continued)

	noun	adjective	verb	pronoun	adverb	preposition	conjunction	particle	interjection	grammar
Morrison 1815			(生字, 動字, 活字)					(虛字眼, 起語虛字, 接語虛字, 轉語虛字, 歇語虛字)	(嘆辭, (傷痛聲))	
商務書館袖珍華英字典 1904	名, 名字, 實字	形容字	活字, 動字	代名字	虛字, 語助詞	地位字, 前置詞	繼續字, 連合之字	不變之字, 虛字	間投字	文法書
英華大辭典 1908	名詞, 名字, 名物字	勢字, 形容字, 區別字	動字, 活字, 語詞, 云謂字	稱代字, 代名字	疏虛字, 虛字, 語助詞	介字, 介系字, 先名字, 前置詞	繫合字, 連合字	不變語, 尾聲 (助語辭, 轉語辭, 發語辭, 接語辭, 起語辭)		文法, 文體, 言語結構, 文字之通例, 文通, 文章規範, 文典
增廣英華新字典 1914	名字, 名物字	形容字, 區別字	動字, 云謂字	代名字, 稱代字	虛字, 疏虛字	介系字, 前置詞	繫合字, 連合字	不變之語	驚嘆字	文法書, 文典
綜合英漢大辭典 1927	名詞 (無形名詞, 抽象名詞, 普通名詞, 物質名詞, 固有名詞)	形容字, 區別字	動詞 (助動詞, 使役動詞, 他動字, 自動字)	代名詞 (人稱代名詞, 關係代名詞, 指示代名詞)	副詞, 疏虛字	前置詞	接續詞, 繫合字	無變化語, 不變語 (如前置詞, 接續詞, 感嘆詞等)	感嘆詞, 間投詞	文法, 文典, 論文法之書
新著國語文法 1924	名詞	形容字	動詞	代名詞	副詞	介詞	連詞	助詞	嘆詞	文法
Present terminology	名詞	形容詞	動詞	代詞	副詞	介詞	連詞	助詞	嘆詞	文法, 語法

Above, I mentioned the influence of Japanese on *A Comprehensive English-Chinese Dictionary*, published by the Commercial Press. This is especially apparent from its translation of "adverb" as 副詞, the Japanese term meaning adverb. Of all the works looked at, this is the only dictionary to use this term for adverbs. At present, there have been no investigations as to when 副詞 first began to be used in Japan, but the usage notes to 英華字彙, the Chinese translation of Williams's *English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect* (published in Japan in 1869, with reading marks by Yanagisawa Shindai), has the following statement:

> English has only twenty-six letters, and these are linked together to form words, of which there are eight types, namely, articles 冠字, nouns 死字, adjectives 形容字, verbs 活字, adverbs 副字, prepositions 前置字, conjunctions 接續字, and interjections 間投字.

Moreover, in chapters 9 ("Intensives"), 12 ("Conjunctions"), and 16 ("Interrogatives") of *Chinese Grammar* 支那文典, an 1877 reprint of T. P. Crawford and Zhang Ruzhen's *Mandarin Grammar* 文學書官話 (a Chinese work), Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦 adds the following notes:

> Intensives 加重言, a Type of Adverb 副詞
> These are a type of adverb in the grammar of Western languages and modify mainly adjectives, numerals, and adverbs. This section should be read with the sections on subordinate adverbs and propositions in volume 2. (1877, vol. 1, p. 24b)

> Adjunctive Adverbs 隨從言, a Type of Adverb 副詞
> These modify only verbs, whose meaning they transform rather than intensify. They are adverbs in the grammar of Western languages, and they modify only certain verbs. (1877, vol. 2, p. 9b)

> Interrogatives 問語言, Interrogative Adverbs 疑問副詞 (1877, vol. 2, p. 16a)

We thus know that the words 副字 and 副詞 (both meaning "adverb") were in use in Japan before they were in use in China. That being the case, it is possible, though not certain, that some Chinese terms for parts of speech were imported from Japan. In any case, for the full development of Chinese terms for parts of speech, we must also carefully look at grammar books written by Chinese after the appearance of *Ma's Guide to the Written Language*, but I leave this as a topic for future research.

Chapter 4:
Morrison's Grammar and Views on Translation

Robert Morrison wrote two works on grammar: *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (1815) and *A Grammar of the English Language for the Use of the Anglo-Chinese College* (1823). Here I consider the content and features of these two works and carry out a preliminary investigation of the sources of Morrison's grammar in order to gain insight into his views on translation.

1   Morrison's *Grammar of the Chinese Language*

Morrison's *Grammar of the Chinese Language* was published in Serampore, India, in 1815, and its preface is dated April 2, 1811. The book has a total of 280 pages. Compiled for the student of Chinese, it discusses orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody. The Chinese title of this work, "Grammar of the common Chinese language" 通用漢言之法, probably stems from Morrison's perception of the state of Mandarin:

> The pronunciation of the court, called in Europe the Mandarine Tongue (in Chinese 官話 Public officer's dialect) and which is spoken by public officers and persons of education in every part of the Empire, is different from the dialect of each Province: the Provinces moreover differ amongst themselves. The dialect of Macao is different from that of Canton, and the mandarine dialect of Nanking is different from that of Peking; hence any one orthography must of necessity be imperfect. (1815, p. 3)[1]

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1 Morrison, in his *Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, gives the following description of Mandarin: "What is called the Mandarin Dialect, or 官話, is spoken generally in 江南 and 河南 Provinces, in both of which, the Court once resided; hence the Dialects of those places gained the ascendancy over the other Provincial Dialect, on the common principle of the Court Dialect becoming, among People of education, the standard Dialect. A Tartar-Chinese Dialect is now gradually gaining ground, and if the Dynasty continues long, will finally prevail. There is no occasion to suppose it a 'Royal Dialect, fabricated on purpose to distinguish it from the vulgar.' Differences of Dialects arise gradually without art or contrivance!" (1815–1823, vol. 1, part 1, p. x).

The Provincial dialect is called 白話; 土話, and 土談in contradistinction from the *proper* and *general* language of the Empire, called 官話, "public officer's speech or language." In Europe, it is called, from the Portugueze, the "Mandarin tongue." The Chinese define the phrase *kwan-hwa* thus, 各省公通用之言語聲音爲正, i. e. "The public and general language of the empire, considered standard." (1815, p. 259)

As mentioned above, early Catholic missionaries like Ricci and Semmedo pointed out that in Chinese there was a distinction between Mandarin and the dialects. Morrison adopted this traditional modern Western view of Mandarin.

In his *Grammar of the Chinese Language* (1815), Morrison basically adopts the framework of English grammar. Hence, as in the English grammar of his time, he listed nine parts of speech (nouns, adjectives, numbers, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections), and he explained tense and mood similarly to how they were explained for English.[2]

As a result, his grammar seems somewhat contrived from the viewpoint of contemporary Chinese grammar. For example, Morrison writes, "The Possessive Pronouns are made by 的 and 之." This statement confuses parts of speech and function. (In the case of 我的, expressing possession is a function of 的, not of 我.) Also, using the grammatical system of English, Morrison classified Chinese pronouns expressing place (這裡, 那裡, 到處), nouns expressing time (今天, 明天, 每月), and the 得 in 寫得好 as adverbs. There are also problems with what he treats as prepositions.

Throughout this work, one can see influences of prior grammar books on Morrison. For instance, his explanation of adjectives seems clearly taken from Varo's *Arte de la lengua Mandarina* (1703):

In the Chinese language are, as the nouns, indeclinable monosyllables. As 白 white; 黑 black; 長 long; 短 short. Thus 白紙 white paper, 一個黑人 a black man.

When expressed unconnected with a substantive, they frequently take the particles 的 and 者 after them, as重者 heavy; 高的 high; 低的 low. Also, when they follow the substantive verb. As, 他是惡的 He is wicked; 這米是好的 This rice is good. The same, however, can be expressed without either the verb or the particle. Thus, 這米好. (Morrison 1815, pp. 68–69)

The adjectives are usually formed by the postposed particle 的, e. g., 長的 "long," 短的 "short," 白的 "white," 黑的 "black." And since the adjective cannot stand alone, the particle 的 helps it in this [construction]. Therefore when the adjective is anteposed to the substantive, there is no need to use the 的, because it is already supported by the substantive, with which it forms part of the sentence, e. g., "virtuous man" 善人, "black man" 黑人, "rational soul" 靈魂, etc. Sometimes the adjective is postposed to the substantive, and one must insert the copula between the two of them and then [place] the particle 的 immediately after the adjective, e. g., "That person is very bad", 他是惡

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2 In the English grammar of the time, articles were considered a part of speech, but Morrison did not adopt this view.

的. Sometimes the adjective can be used with or without 的, e. g., "This rice is good" 這米好, or 這米是好的. (Varo 1703/2000, pp. 71–73)

This same connection can also be seen with the vocabulary for the comparative degree and the superlative degree (更, 過於, 不如, 越, 寧可, 絕, 最, 第一, 十分, 好). In pronoun and adverb vocabulary and phrases, however, Morrison 1815 has more points of similarity with Prémare 1720.

As mentioned above, Morrison, in his *Chinese Miscellany* (1825), has a chapter titled "Notices of European Intercourse with China, and of Books Concerning It" in which he lists previous publications on Chinese and Chinese grammar, including Varo 1703, Bayer 1730, Fourmont 1742, and Marshman 1814. Thus without doubt, Morrison had perused these works, and when he compiled his own grammar, probably referred to them to some extent as well. Prémare 1720 is not among these works, but the manuscript for this work held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris was published by Morrison in 1831.

Though, as shown above, Morrison's *Grammar of the Chinese Language* (1815) is limited to some extent because he wrote it using the framework of English grammar, he nonetheless perceived several special features of Chinese, such as that Chinese is a monosyllabic language, that it is uninflected, and that it has measure words.[3] One reflection of his awareness of measure words is the fact that he began the section on nouns in his work with a discussion of measure words. But as Masini (2007) has pointed out, Morrison's discussion of measure words is very similar to discussions by the Catholic missionary Basilio Brollo (葉尊孝, 葉宗孝) in his manuscript Chinese-Latin dictionary arranged according to radicals (1694) and Chinese-Latin dictionary arranged according to phonetics (1699). For example, 76 of the 79 measure words discussed by Morrison were also discussed by Brollo, and the order of discussion too is nearly the same. Western scholars viewed measure words as either particles (Martini, Varo, Fourmont,[4] Marshman) or as nouns. Morrison, following Prémare, treated them as nouns.

Morrison did not use any Chinese grammatical terminology other than 生字 and 動字 (verbs), 死字 and 靜字 (nouns).[5]

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3 The main function of measure words is to specify a noun's category (i. e., the manner of counting its denotation). T. P. Crawford later called this part of speech "classifiers." Morrison already noted this function when he wrote, "The numeral has an allusion to some quality of circumstance of the Noun" (1815, p. 37).

4 Fourmont is said to have plagiarized Prémare, but what he wrote does not completely match what Prémare wrote.

5 The terms 動字 and 靜字 had already appeared in *Reading "Shuowen jiezi"* 說文句讀 (1882), by Wang Yun 王筠.

2   *A Grammar of the English Language*

Morrison's Grammar of the English Language for the Use of the Anglo-Chinese
College (1823) originally bore the Chinese title 英吉利文話之凡例 and later the
title 英國文語凡例傳. Like his Grammar of the Chinese Language, his Grammar
of the English Language, a 97-page work, discusses orthography, etymology,
syntax, and prosody. It was compiled for Chinese to study English. Ordinarily, a
grammar book of this nature would explain English grammar in Chinese, but
only the following grammatical terms are given in Chinese:

Grammar	文話之凡例
Orthography	字頭論
Etymology	字從來論
Syntax	字成句論
Prosody	字音韻論
Letters	字頭, 音母
Interjections	歎辭
Correct pronunciation	正音
Nouns (referring to people)	名目
Verbs	生字
Present imperfect	現在時未完
Present perfect	現在時成完了
Past indefinite	去過時
Past imperfect	過去時未完, 當某時未完
Past perfect	當先某時經了事

In his explanations, Morrison does not use even these grammatical terms. Rather,
he writes using the following sort of language:

> 其 a e i o u y 六個字頭謂之vowel。其餘二十個字頭謂之 consonants。(1823, p. 7)

> 凡有之字照常逐分有十，謂之 Article, Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Participle, Adverb,
> Conjunction, Preposition, and Interjection。(1823, p. 55)[6]

> 其 Participle 是從那 Verb 來的而略帶 Adjective 之意。要分現在之 Participle。英語
> 在其 Verb 添 ing 纏成其現在之 Participle。又添 ed 纏成其過去之Participle。即如
> Learn 學也。Learning 現在學。Learned 學過了。(1823, p. 57)

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6 Here there are only nine parts of speech, but the text also discusses adjectives, so in total *A
Grammar of the English Language* has ten parts of speech. *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*
differs somewhat in its treatment of parts of speech. It omits articles and participles and adds
numbers.

I will set aside for another occasion a detailed discussion of the contents of this work. Here I will only point out that the text reveals a principle of Morrison's translations, namely, that if Chinese has appropriate terms for the translation, he uses the Chinese terms, but if Chinese lacks appropriate terms for the translation, he uses English to explain his meaning, rather than struggling to invent a Chinese term. This practice accurately reflected Morrison's view of translation, which was quite different from that of translators like Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921), whom we will encounter later.

3   Morrison's View of Translation

Contact and interaction between different cultures ordinarily occurs through the mediation of language. At that junction, the problem of translation arises.

Looking at the activity of translation, one might think that it involves substituting the vocabulary of the target language for the vocabulary of the source language, but in fact translation is not so simple. For language is like music and painting in that it is human expression, involving a process that moves from object to perception to expression. In the background of linguistic expression lies human existence and linguistic context. Moreover, the words of a language are repositories of the perceptions of the people who use that language. That is, language is the expression of people's perceptions and thus reflects that people's history, modes of thought, and culture (all of which can be thought of as culture). In short, language is culture itself. In this perspective, translation is not simply the substitution of the vocabulary of one language for that of another.

Another problem in translation is that of equivalence. For terms to be equivalent in translation is not a matter of tangible form; rather, it is a matter of intangible values. Such values reflect a people's modes of thought and culture, and are also abstractions of the same. Thus, translation is not just a linguistic matter. It is also a cultural matter; it is a matter of whether and how to accept a foreign culture. Modern Western missionaries to China and the Chinese pioneers who introduced new culture from the West faced and struggled with these issues.

Well, is it possible to find equivalences in translation? Morrison had this to say in the preface to his *Dictionary of the Chinese Language:*

> The Student must not expect from this Work, the precise words to be employed in translation, but so much of the meaning of a word, as will furnish him with a clue to select a proper phrase. Nor must the *Poetical* meaning of words be expected to be given with precision; nor the whole of the *figurative* meaning; nor the *Classical allusions*, on all occasions. These require more associated effort; more diversity of talent, and of pursuit, than have yet been applied by Europeans to the Chinese Language. (1815–1823, pt. 2, vol. 1, p. vii)

Morrison thought that we cannot expect to find exact equivalences in translation. He basically held a very modest view of translation.

There are three ways to carry out translation. The first method is to use only familiar words, to avoid coining new words, and if necessary, to retain the word of the source language untranslated. The second method is to completely adapt the message to the target language. The third method is to completely translate into the target language, using both familiar words and newly coined words. Morrison adopted the first method. Consequently, his dictionary contains many phrases, in contrast to W. H. Medhurst's *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1847–1848). Robert Thom, whom I will return to momentarily, typified the second method. The third method was adopted by the Chinese translators Yan Fu and Lin Shu 林紓 (1852–1924). The translation style adopted by John Fryer (1839–1928), in the translation office of the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau in Shanghai, combined all three methods.

The story of "The Tortoise and the Hare" in Robert Thom's *Esop's Fables* (1840) begins as follows:[7]

> 禹疏九河之時，凡鳥獸魚鱉紛紛逃匿，適兔與龜同行，其兔常罵龜曰 (1840, p. 16)
> When the Great Emperor Yu drained off the waters of the Deluge in nine streams, all the birds, beasts, fishes, and tortoises ran away in crowds helter skelter and hid themselves: —and it so happened that the Hare and Tortoise travelled in company. The Hare was continually upbraiding the Tortoise, saying, …(1840, p. 17)

Thom began other fables as well with conventional Chinese locators, using such introductory phrases as 盤古初 (when Pangu first began), 山海經載 (in the *Chronicle of the Hills and Seas*), 神農間 (in the time of the Divine Husbandman), 虞舜間 (during the reigns of Yu and Shun), 峨嵋山下 (at the bottom of Mt. Emei), 齊人有一妻一妾 (a simpleton had a wife and a concubine), 昔大禹治水，泗淮騰湧 (a long time ago, when the Great Emperor Yu was draining off the waters, and the rivers Si and Huai were boiling and bubbling). When Western mythological persona appeared in the fables, Thom changed them to their Chinese counterparts. Diana became Chang'e 嫦娥, Hercules became Amitābha Buddha 阿彌陀佛, and Jupiter became the Northern Emperor 北帝. Thus, Thom's Aesop donned Chinese robes and pranced on a Chinese stage.[8] Thom's Sinification of Aesop stands in stark contrast to Lin Shu's presentation of Aesop in his translation *Aesop's Fables* 伊索寓言 (1903).

The first and second methods of translating are, I think, basically the same. Both of these methods take a modest attitude toward translating into the target

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7　On the Chinese translation of *Aesop's Fables*, see Uchida 2001b.

8　The *Chinese Repository* has this note: "The fables before us, now for the first time in a Chinese costume, have been selected from sir Roger L'Estrange's collection" (7 [October 1838]: 335).

language and culture. These methods are of a piece with the Jesuits' policy of accommodation. Morrison had this to say on the matter:

> The Author's object has been, and the intention of the Dictionary ought to be, to communicate the Language to *Europeans*. Now the question is, can this be done by a bare definition of *single* words and of *detached* sentences? If it can, the Dictionary is too diffuse; but if it cannot, the Dictionary is probably not sufficiently copious. The fitness of the Dictionary to effect its object, depends entirely on the determination of the question proposed. The Author is of opinion, that *Europeans*, and most of all of those out of China, and who have no Native Assistant, cannot learn Chinese from a Dictionary, which contains only a definition of single words, and of detached sentences. (1815–1823, pt. 2, vol. 1, p. viii)

Many people think that a dictionary contains a language, but a dictionary contains only the vocabulary of a language, not the language itself. As I wrote above, the words of a language express the perceptions of people who use the language; they are abstractions cut off from concrete contexts of usage. Consequently, when I say the word "dog," and when you say the word "dog," though we both refer to dogs, we do not necessarily refer to the same dog. Language is not a collection of words that we can pull out of the dictionary, as one pulls tools out of a toolbox. Though Morrison did not explicitly say so, this was his basic view of language. It would be interesting to compare Morrison's view of translation with that of Yan Fu, the largely ignored translator—a topic that I leave for future study.

Chapter 5:
The Grammar of Crawford's *Mandarin Grammar*, a Milestone in Nineteenth-Century Studies of Chinese Grammar

Mandarin Grammar 文學書官話 (1869), written by T. P. Crawford 高第丕 and his Chinese assistant Zhang Ruzhen 張儒珍, was the first book written in Chinese on the grammar of colloquial Chinese. Its bibliographic details are as follows: A single-volume book with thread binding (title page, 1 folio; preface, 2 folios; table of contents, 1 folio; text, 52 folios). On the cover in the upper right is the Chinese title 文學書官話. The title page has "Bound in 1869" in Chinese on the right and the Chinese title, 文學書官話, in the center. Above the Chinese title is the English title, *Mandarin Grammar*, and below is "50 cts per copy 1869." On the left in Chinese is "Dengzhoufu [the place of publication]. By the American T. P. Crawford and the Chinese Zhang Ruzhen."

The author, the Rev. Tarleton Perry Crawford (1821–1902), who sometimes used the penname Theophilus, was a missionary sent by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention. On March 28, 1852, he arrived in Shanghai to engage in missionary work. In 1858 he returned to the United States for a spell, returning to Shanghai in 1860. In 1863 he went to Dengzhoufu in Shandong Provence to carry out missionary work there. Later he had a difference of opinion with the other missionary workers and left the Southern Baptist Convention in 1894, forming an independent society and performing missionary work in Taian and other cities. In 1900 he returned to the United States, where he died of illness on April 7, 1902.

Crawford authored many works, including the following works written in Chinese, according to Foster 1909 (pp. 214–215) and Wylie 1867:

A Phonetic Primer, 1855. According to Crawford's plan, "an elementary work to teach the Chinese the use of the phonetic characters which he invented for writing the Shanghai colloquial dialect. A second edition was printed." Later he also published, in the *Chinese Recorder* (vol. 19, 1888, no. 3), "a system of phonetic symbols for writing the dialects of China," a system using symbols based on Chinese characters and resembling the Bopomofo system of phonetic transcription, rather than the Roman alphabet.

Hymns of Praise 讚神詩, 1856. (1855 in Wylie 1867.) A hymnbook written in the Shanghai dialect.

A Scientific Manual, 1856. A pamphlet introducing science, written in a system for transcribing the Shanghai dialect.

Bible Stories, 1857. Eight stories taken from the Old Testament, written in a system for transcribing the Shanghai dialect.

The Inquirer 佳客問道, n.d. A book for propagating the gospel, written in classical Chinese.

Hymns of Praise 讚神詩, 1870. A hymnbook written in Mandarin.

A Mandarin Grammar 文學書官話, 1869.

An Epitome of Ancient History, 1878. A summary of premodern history, written in Mandarin for mission-school students and general readers.

Catechism of General Information, 1885. A summary of the principles of the Christian religion, written in the question and answer style.

1   Contents

A Mandarin Grammar consists of twenty-one chapters. Below, I will look at the contents of this book, chapter by chapter. English grammatical terms used here are those that appear in Doolittle 1872 (pp. 263–265). These terms were formulated by Crawford himself.

1.1   An Explanation of Grammar

Crawford began by defining "grammar": "Grammar 文學 explains how to speak and write. Speech consists of meaningful sounds, and writing consists of meaningful forms. Speech 話 and writing 字 (language 話字) can express what a person has on his mind" (1869, p. 1a).

   Here 文學 is a translation of grammar, not literature.[1] Also, 話 is speech, and 字 is writing, and 話字 together is language. Speech and writing, that is, language, express what a person has on his mind. Grammar explains how to speak and write, that is, how to use language. All this is common knowledge.

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1 According to Shu Zhitian 1998, "grammar" was defined as 文學 and 文典 in the revised and enlarged *English-Japanese Pocket Dictionary* 改訂增補英和對譯袖珍辭書 (1866). This dictionary seems to have been based on W. H. Medhurst's *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1847–1848), where "grammar" was defined as "the way of reading and writing, the common way of using Chinese" 讀書作文之法、通用漢言法. Yet "grammar" was defined as 文法 in Samuel Wells Williams's *English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect* (1844), and earlier the Chinese title of Joaquim A. Gonçalves's *Arte China* 漢字文法 (1829) contains the term 文法.

1.2   Chapter 1, the Basic Sounds

"Words in speech, like *kao*, *tao*, *pao*, can be divided into two sounds. The first half of the pronunciation is the initial, and the last half of the pronunciation is the final. The initial is light. Some sounds are palatal, some are dental, some are sibilant, some are labial, and some are linguolabials. Looking at the new letters, one sees that those without triangles indicate sounds with little aspiration, while those with triangles indicate sounds with considerable aspiration.[2] Finals have the upper level tone, lower level tone, rising tone, or falling tone. There are a total of fifty-five basic sounds" (1869, pp. 1a–2a).

This section on Chinese syllables follows traditional Chinese phonology by dividing syllables into two parts: initials and finals. It then classifies initials into five types: palatals, dentals, sibilants, labials, and linguolabials. He also noted the distinction between aspirated sounds and unaspirated sounds, distinguished four tones, and counted fifty-five basic sounds, or syllables.

When we look at the vocabulary and grammar presented in Crawford's *Mandarin Grammar*, we see that it discusses the linguistic system of Mandarin, but the phonology presented in this work leaves some doubt that it deals with northern Mandarin. For instance, as examples of palatals, the book gives 記 *ji* and 氣 *qi*, but by this time the initials of these two words should have become palatalized in northern Mandarin and thus they should be included with the sibilants, as 希 *xi* was. In addition, 宅 *zhai* and 拆 *chai* are included in the dentals. The study of these and other phonetic matters warrant detailed study in the future.

1.3   Chapter 2, Chinese Characters

In this chapter, Crawford launches into a discussion of Chinese characters, which I will not present here. Rather, I will present only his division of words into fifteen parts of speech.

> **Parts of Speech**
> The words of speech and writing are divided into fifteen different types: nouns 名頭, pronouns 替名, demonstratives 指名, adjectives 形容言, numbers 數目言 , classifiers 分品言, intensives 加重言, verbs 靠托言, auxiliaries 幫助言, adverbs 隨從言, negatives 折服言, conjunctions 接連言, prepositions 示處言, interrogatives 問語言, and inter-jections 語助言. (1869, p. 5b)

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2 In Crawford 1869, "new letters" refers to letters of Crawford's system for transcribing sounds.

In Crawford's day, English and Latin grammars usually divided words into eight or nine parts of speech, and Chinese grammars written by Westerners prior to the appearance of Crawford's *Mandarin Grammar* for the most part followed suit. A special feature of Crawford's grammar was that it divided words into fifteen parts of speech.

1.4   Chapter 3, Nouns

This chapter deals with nouns, which Crawford divided into three types: "There are three types of nouns 名頭: definite nouns 定名, substantive general nouns 實總名, and abstract general nouns 虛總名" (1869, p. 5b). That is, what Crawford called definite nouns are proper nouns, what he called substantive general nouns are common nouns or substantives, and what he called abstract general nouns are abstract nouns or nonsubstantive nouns. English grammarians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries generally divided nouns into proper nouns and common nouns. In contrast, Crawford, in this work, finely distinguished types of nouns according to their denotations, in a manner similar to Latin grammar.

He explained his distinction between substantive nouns and abstract nouns as follows:

Substantive nouns:	Nouns for numerous things that can be seen, can be touched, and have shape are all substantive nouns.
Abstract nouns:	Nouns for numerous things that cannot be seen, cannot be touched, and lack shape are all abstract nouns. For instance, "meaning," "wish," "knowledge," "ability," "law," "reason," "delusion," "sound," "affair," "time," and the like are all abstract nouns. (1869, pp. 6a–6b)

This way of dividing nouns into those with denotations of items that can be seen and touched and those with denotations of formless notions is a common distinction arising with Aelius Donatus and Priscianus Caesariensis, grammarians of the late Roman period, and continuing with Medieval Latin grammarians following in their path. One medieval commentary, for example, has the following passage: "Grammarians define substantive nouns and nonsubstantive nouns as follows: With substantive nouns, the objects can be seen and touched, as in the case of 'stone.' With nonsubstantive nouns, the referent cannot be seen or touched, as in the case of 'piety' " (Watanabe 1965, pp. 131–132).

The next passage from Crawford's work can be viewed as a precursor of the theory of the primacy of the phrase in modern Chinese grammar.[3] In Chinese, it is quite common to use a phrase as a nominal component of a sentence, as Crawford already pointed out: "Sometimes a phrase can serve as an abstract noun, as in 孝父母是應該作的事 (Respecting one's parents is something one ought to do) and 念書出門能開眼 (Reading books and going out can open one's eyes). Here 孝父母 and 念書出門 serve as abstract nouns" (1869, p. 6b). That is, in the sentences 孝父母是應該作的事 and 念書出門能開眼, the phrases 孝父母 and 念書出門 function as nominal components. Realizing this is not at all easy. The reason is that in Indo-European languages, since there is a one-to-one correspondence between parts of speech and the components of a sentence, a phrase cannot, without grammatical alteration, become a component of a sentence. (To see this, compare "He flies a plane," "To fly a plane is easy," and "Flying a plane is easy.") Thus, Crawford's *Mandarin Grammar* is a serious attempt to accurately describe the linguistic phenomena of Chinese.

Crawford also wrote, "The noun the most important, the chief part of speech" (1869, p. 5b). He thus adopted the view that the noun is the central component of a sentence.

1.4.1   Person

Crawford distinguished three types of person: "Nouns have three persons 位次: the first person 上位次, the second person 中位次, and the third person 下位次. … The first person is the speaker, the second person is the listener, and the third person is someone previously referred to" (1869, p. 7a). For example, in 我保羅傳福音給你們羅馬人 (I, Paul, am transmitting the gospel to you, the people of Rome), 保羅, the speaker, is in the first person, 福音, the topic, is in the third person, and 人, the listeners, is in the second person. Similarly, in 請先生教學生念書 (Please teach the students how to read), 先生 is in the second person, and 學生 and 書 are in the third person.

In contemporary English grammar, person only applies to pronouns, but when Crawford was writing, person was also applied to nouns. For example, T. S. Pinneo and Goold Brown explain person as follows:

> Person is the distinction of nouns as to the person speaking, spoken to, or spoken of. Nouns have three persons, called the first, second, and third. A noun is in the first

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3   For details, see Zhu Dexi 1985, chap. 6, "The Grammatical System of Chinese," pp. 68–79. Briefly, in Chinese, the principle for forming sentences is the same as the principle for forming phrases. Namely, phrases and sentences are related their components by the possibility of realization. In Indo-European languages, words, phrases, clauses, and sentences are related to one another by being well-formed combinations.

person when it denotes the person speaking; as, "I, *Alexander*, am *emperor* of Russia." A noun is in the second person when it denotes the person spoken to; as, "Thou, *Alexander*, art *emperor* of Russia." A noun is in the third person when it denotes the person or thing spoken of; as, "*Alexander* was *emperor* of Russia." (Pinneo 1849, p. 39)

Persons, in grammar, are modifications that distinguish the speaker, the hearer, and the person or thing merely spoken of. There are three persons; the first, the second, and the third. The first person is that which denotes the speaker or writer; as, "*I Paul* have written it." The second person is that which denotes the hearer, or the person addressed; as, "*Robert*, who did this?" The third person is that which denotes the person or thing merely spoken of; as, "*James* loves his *book*." (Brown 1851, p. 32)[4]

1.4.2　Case

Crawford distinguished six cases: "Nouns have six cases 地步: the nominative, possessive, objective, ablative, dative, and independent" (1869, p. 7b). And he explained the six cases as follows:

> The nominative case 行的地步: The subject noun 根本的名頭. Its referent carries out the action of the verb 靠托言. There is no sign of the nominative case.
> The possessive case 有的地步: The case indicating possession. Signs of the possessive case are 的 and 之.
> The objective case 受的地步: The object 盡頭 of the verb. There is no sign of the objective case.
> The ablative case 用的地步: The case of the noun indicating the implement used by the subject in carrying out the action. Signs of the ablative case are 拿, 用, 使, and 以.
> The dative case 得的地步: The case of the noun indicating the beneficiary of the subject's action. Signs of the dative case are 給, 爲, 替, and 代.
> The independent case 餘的地步: The case of nouns that have an independent role in the sentence. [Time words, vocative nouns, locator nouns, etc.] (1869, pp. 9a–11a)

Here are some examples:

哥哥拿刀殺他兄弟的一隻羊給父親。
哥哥, nominative; 刀, ablative; 兄弟, possessive; 羊, objective; 父親, dative.
正月初八過生日。
月, independent; 日, objective.
先生可以使筆給學生寫字。
先生, nominative; 筆, ablative; 學生, dative; 字, objective.
學生把書擱在棹子上。
學生, nominative; 書, 棹子, objective.

4　These English grammars were reprinted as textbooks in Japan at the end of the Edo period and throughout the Meiji period (1868–1912).

真神六日造成天地萬物。

神, nominative; 日, independent; 天, 地, 物, objective.

Another point worth noticing is Crawford's explanation of what, in contemporary grammatical theory, is called the pivot construction 兼語式: "Sometimes a noun can occupy two different case relations, as in 求大哥給我念這封信 (Please, big brother, read this letter for me)" (1869, p. 8b). Here 大哥 is both the object of the preceding verb and the subject of the following verb.

In his treatment of case in Chinese, Thomas Wade (1867) distinguished three cases: the nominative, objective, and possessive. English grammar texts from the eighteenth century distinguish three or four cases.[5] Thus, Crawford's division of cases in *Mandarin Grammar* is more detailed than in these other works. Earlier English grammars, such as William Bullokar's *Bref Grammar for English* (1586), listed five cases (the nominative, genitive, dative, objective, and vocative), and Latin grammars had even more cases. Hence, it seems that Crawford wrote his *Mandarin Grammar* with Latin grammar in mind.

1.4.3 Apposition

In this section Crawford discusses apposition:

> Sometimes two or three nouns are placed in apposition 承接, all being in the same person and same case. In 前年一個老人，姓孫被賊殺了 (The year before last, an old man surnamed Sun was murdered by thieves), the two nouns 人 and 孫 are in apposition and refer to the same person. Both nouns are in the third person and in the objective case. (1869, p. 11b)

Noteworthy here is that the subject of a sentence in the passive voice is assigned the objective case. Even though the two nouns are in the subject position, Crawford likely regarded them as in the objective case rather than in the nominative case because he focused on their meaning and function in the sentence. No doubt he could not extricate himself from the framework of Indo-European languages, in which the subject always performs the action of the verb.

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5 For example, T. S. Pinneo (1849) distinguished four cases (the nominative, possessive, objective, and independent cases), and Lindley Murray (1795) distinguished three cases (the nominative, possessive or genitive, and objective or accusative cases).

1.5   Chapter 4, Pronouns

"Pronouns 替名 take the place of nouns. Examples of pronouns are 我, 你, 他, 我們, 你們, 它們, 自己" (1869, p. 13a). This is the ordinary view of pronouns. Some works discuss dialect pronouns, such as 俺, 咱, and 咱們, but Crawford in this work focuses on Mandarin to the exclusion of the Beijing and other dialects.

1.6   Chapter 5, Demonstratives

"Demonstratives 指名 are words like 這個, 那個, 別的, 這些, 那些, 這裡, 那裡, 甚麼, 此, 第, 頭, 今, 明, 初, 正, 誰, 所. These are all classified as nouns" (1869, p. 15b). Crawford included as demonstratives words that are not considered demonstratives in contemporary grammatical theory, namely, 第, 頭, 今, 明, 初, 正, 誰, 所. Also, Crawford's saying that these demonstratives are all classified as nouns indicates that he considered demonstratives a subcategory of nouns.

1.7   Chapter 6, Adjectives

In this chapter on adjectives, one finds a peculiar feature of the present work, namely, the view that "adjectives 形容言 are a type of noun."[6] Thus, Crawford adopts the traditional view of Latin grammar that adjectives, rather than being distinguished from nouns, are a type of noun: "Adjectives are a type of noun. They say what type of thing the noun refers to. Some examples are 大, 好, 小, 硬, 黑, 白, 紅, 高, 重, 方, 長, 男, 女, 公, 母, 真, 假, 冷, 苦, 窮" (1869, p. 16b). Thus, adjectives express properties of the denotations of nouns. For example, in 保羅是好人 (Paul is a good person), 好 is an adjective modifying 人 and expressing a property of the person, and in 我要買一隻好大肥牛 (I want to buy a good, large, fat ox), 好, 大, and 肥 are three adjectives modifying 牛 and expressing properties of the ox.

Latin grammarians, especially those of late Latin, treated adjectives as nouns. Priscianus, for example, explained nouns, which for him included adjectives, as follows: "Nouns have the distinguishing feature of expressing objects and properties. They assert that objects or events have general or particular properties" (Miyashita 1980, p. 148).

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6 In this passage, I have understood the character 屬 as meaning "is a type of." Some may understand it as meaning "attaches to" or "modifies," but I do not see this as a reason for radically altering my view of Crawford's book.

Why did Latin grammarians treat adjectives as nouns? Miyashita Shinji gives the following reason:

> Writers of Latin inflected adjectives like nouns as much as possible. This led them to often nominalize adjectives (as an expression that captures the substance of a property, which is different from the nominal form of the adjective). For example, the adjective "amicus" (intimate) has the same form as the noun "amicus" (one who is intimate, friend). Hence, Latin grammarians found it difficult to distinguish nouns and adjectives. (1980, p. 149)

Early-modern English grammarians such as William Lily (*Lily's Grammar of Latin in English*, 1540) and William Bullokar (*Bref Grammar for English*, 1586) followed this way of viewing adjectives. For example, Bullokar syntactically distinguished noun-adjectives and noun-substantives, but as parts of speech, he grouped them together as nouns. He wrote, "Noun substantives can stand alone as complete words without any other word being attached. … Noun adjectives cannot be wholly understood without being attached to a noun substantive" (Miyashita 1980, p. 181). In English grammar, adjectives did not become an independent part of speech until the eighteenth century.

Be that as it may, Crawford's book follows the view of adjectives of Latin grammar and early-modern English grammar, a view that emphasizes functionalism (in particular, the modifying function) over content. A typical example of this move is the following explanation: "Sometimes a noun serves as an adjective. In the phrase 一隻草鞋 (a grass shoe), 草, originally a noun, serves as an adjective here and describes the type of shoe. In the sentence 我是美國人 (I am an American), 美國, originally a noun, serves as an adjective" (1869, p. 17a). Crawford thus viewed the nouns 草 and 美國 as modifying the following nouns and thus as being derived adjectives.

As seen in the quotes below, Crawford regarded phrases on the same level as words. "Sometimes an adjective can modify a suppressed noun. In 要買好的 (Buy good stuff), 好 modifies a suppressed noun" (1869, p. 17a). "Sometimes a phrase can be regarded as an adjective. In 做庄稼的人 (one who works as a field hand), the phrase 做庄稼的 is an adjective modifying 人" (1869, p. 17a). This view could be seen as a confused attempt to view phrases within the framework of parts of speech, but underlying this move is a functionalism that regards whatever modifies a noun as an adjective. In this work, Crawford's noticing the nominalizing function of 的 is commendable, but his regarding the entire 的 construction as an adjective is problematic.

Early on, Miyashita leveled the following criticism against the functionalism implicit in Crawford's regarding adjectives as nouns:

> Functionalist linguistic theories regard as essential to words their syntactic relations with other words (for example, that adjectives modify nouns, or that nouns can serve as

subjects or objects), rather than their content (what the words express), and such theories go on to explain phrases and sentences in terms of the same sort of syntactic relations. But words, phrases, and sentences do not serve functions in the same sense that the use of chopsticks serves a function. Notions of modifying and serving as a subject or an object are nothing more than an understanding of language. … For example, an adjective is said to modify a noun. Though in the real and conceptual worlds that language describes, objects and their properties are inseparable, in language these two are separated, with nouns denoting objects and adjectives describing static properties. In the formal structure of language, the noun and the adjective are separate, independent words, but this fact does not mean that in the real and conceptual worlds that language describes, the object and its property are separated. We know this through experience. Functionalists too know this through experience, yet they import the inseparability of the object and its property found in the structure of what language describes, into the structure of linguistic expression. But noun and adjective are independent words, so one cannot assert that they are inseparable in form. Instead, the functionalist understands the adjective to modify the noun. (1980, pp. 131–132)

In addition, in the section on adjectives, Crawford classified 男, 女, 公, 母, and 真 not as nouns but as adjectives. (In contemporary Chinese grammar, such words are called nonpredicative adjectives or distinguishing adjectives.) In this regard, he showed remarkable insight.

1.8 Chapter 7, Numbers

- Fixed numbers 死數: 一, 二, 三, 單, 雙, 兩
- Variable numbers 活數: 多, 少, 幾, 眾, 都, 各, 全, 獨, 總, 通, 等, 合, 齊, 切, 大凡, 個個, 有個, 大家, 老, 些, 普, 渾, 們
- Numbers 數目言 can count the denotations only of nouns. They cannot do this for other parts of speech. In 一隻牛能吃許多的草 (One ox can eat a lot of grass), 一 is a fixed number, and 多 is a variable number indicating the amount of grass. In 人都要死 (Everyone has to die), 都 is a variable number indicating the number of people. And in 這幾天女人們個個去聽戲 (These last few days, all the women went to view the plays), 幾 is a variable number indicating the number of days, 們 is a variable number indicating the number of women, and 個個 is also a variable number indicating the number of women. (1869, p. 18a)

In this chapter on numbers, Crawford discusses variable numbers, a unique feature of this book. In contemporary grammatical theory, Crawford's variable numbers are classified as adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, or suffixes. Also, the terms 死 and 活 (here, fixed and variable) appear often in the traditional Chinese grammatical theory of function characters and content characters, and also in Westerners' studies of Chinese grammar.

1.9   Chapter 8, Classifiers

One of the greatest advances of Crawford's *Mandarin Grammar* is that it treats classifiers, or measure words, as an independent part of speech. From the sixteenth century on, Westerners noted the use of measure words in Chinese, and many dictionaries and grammars dealt with measure words and described their use, but they all treated measure words as numerals. In contrast, Crawford treated measure words as classifiers, words that distinguished the types of the denotations of nouns, thus making them a part of speech independent of numerals: "Examples of classifiers 分品言 include 條, 張, 隻, 個, 把, and 枝. This part of speech distinguishes the types the denotations of nouns" (1869, p. 19a).[7]

Wade called measure words "accompanying terms" 陪伴詞, which he explained as follows: "Words that denote people or things can have a similar term added in front that gives the form of the denotation. These are accompanying terms" (1867). Wade thus noted that measure words serve to itemize the denotations of nouns—a seminal idea.

1.10   Chapter 9, Intensives

Crawford regarded intensives 加重言, which today are called adverbs of extent and include 點 and 些, as serving the function of emphasis within the sentence.

> Words such as 最, 頂, 更, 點, 些, 極, 好, 甚, 太, 狠, 得狠, 越發 can modify adjectives, variable numbers, and adverbs to intensify their meaning. In 所羅門是最聰明的人 (Solomon is the wisest of men), 最 is an intensive modifying 聰明 and intensifying its meaning. In 中國人狠多 (Chinese are numerous), 狠 modifies 多, a number, and intensifies its meaning. In 鳥飛的太快 (The birds flew so fast), 太 modifies 快, an adverb, and intensifies its meaning. (1869, p. 20a)

Ōtsuki Fumihiko, in the 1877 reprint of Crawford's work, adds the following notes on intensives, conjunctions, and interrogatives:

> Intensives 加重言, a Type of Adverb 副詞
> These are a type of adverb in the grammar of Western languages and mainly modify adjectives, numbers, and adverbs. This section should be read with the sections on subordinate adverbs and propositions in volume 2. (1877, vol. 1, p. 24b)

> Adjunctive Adverbs 隨從言, a Type of Adverb 副詞
> These modify only verbs, whose meaning they transform rather than intensify. They are adverbs in the grammar of Western languages, and they modify only certain verbs. (1877, vol. 2, p. 9b)

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7 Lobscheid (1864) also calls measure words "classifiers."

Interrogatives 問語言, Interrogative Adverbs 疑問副詞 (1877, vol. 2, p. 16a)

The word for "adverb" 副詞 first appeared in China in *A New Grammar of Chinese* 新著國語文法 (1924), by Li Jinxi 黎錦熙, and in English-Chinese dictionaries, the term was not used until the publication of *A Comprehensive English-Chinese Dictionary* 綜合英漢大辭典 (1927). But it was used early on in Japan.[8]

1.11   Chapter 10, Verbs

This section on verbs 靠托言 divides verbs into active verbs and inactive verbs, that is, verbs expressing actions and verbs expressing states of being. In contemporary grammatical theory, verbs like "to love" and "to believe" are treated as expressing not actions but cognitive or emotive states, and verbs like "to stand," "to lie down," and "to sit" are treated as expressing momentary actions followed by states of being. Crawford is to be commended for noticing in this work the difference in content of different verbs.

Active verbs   動字: 走, 飛, 想, 講, 寫, 打, 吃, 來, 去, 行, 開, 愛, 恨, 信. Such verbs all express actions.

Inactive verbs   靜字: 是, 有, 值, 站, 尚, 坐, 死, 住, 在, 爲. Such verbs all express static states of being. (1869, p. 21a)

Active verbs express a basic action, and inactive verbs express a basic state of being. (1869, p. 22b)

The terms 動字 and 靜字 also appear in Morrison's *Grammar of the Chinese Language* (1815) and Ma Jianzhong's *Ma's Guide to the Written Language* (1898), but these terms, especially 靜字, have different meanings for these authors. Morrison uses 靜字 to denote nouns, whereas Ma Jianzhong uses 靜字 to denote adjectives:

The Verb is also denominated 動字, and the Noun 靜字. (Morrison 1815, p. 113)

All content characters that speak of the action of things are called verbs 動字. All content characters that depict the form of things are called adjectives 靜字. (Ma Jianzhong 1898, p. 21)

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8   The word 副字 (adverb) appears in the usage notes of the Japanese reprint of Samuel Wells Williams's *English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect* (1844), published as *English-Chinese Vocabulary* 英華字彙 (1869) and edited by Yanagisawa Shindai 柳澤信大. This word, which does not appear in Williams's original work, is thought to be a neologism created by Yanagisawa.

Above I mentioned that Crawford, in this book, adopted the view that the noun is the most important component of a sentence. This noun-centered approach can also be seen in this chapter on verbs: "The noun is the chief element 君字, and the verb is a subordinate element 臣字" (1869, p. 21b). "The verb must have a noun or pronoun to serve as its basis [in reality]" (1869, pp. 21a–21b). Thus, the noun and verb are related as lord and vassal 君臣, and the verb must be rooted in the subject.

Crawford also discussed the relation of verb and object: "Every verb is rooted in a subject, and many branch out to an object 盡頭" (1869, p. 22b). "Sometimes a verb lacks an object, and its action does not extend to an object" (1869, p. 23b). Particularly worth noticing is Crawford's awareness of the Chinese sentence type consisting of a succession of verbs. If there is no object, "sometimes two or three verbs appear in succession, all being rooted in the same subject, as in 你去買肉 吃" (1869, p. 24a).

1.11.1 The Three Tenses

In the chapter on verbs, Crawford discusses Chinese tenses. He distinguishes three tenses: past 過時, present 當時, and future 後時. "Markers 記號 of the past tense are 了 and 咯. The present tense has no marker. And the marker of the future tense is 要" (1869, p. 24b). "These markers are sometimes used and sometimes not used. Accordingly, one has to look at the meaning of a sentence to determine the tense of the verb" (1869, p. 24b). Crawford thus perceived that Chinese depends on context for tense, in contrast to Indo-European languages, which indicate tense with verb endings.

1.11.2 The Three Voices

In Doolittle 1872, Crawford used "voice" to translate 口氣. What is meant here is the type of sentence (mood), not the usual sense of "voice" in English grammar (active voice versus passive voice). In contemporary grammatical terminology, there are three moods: indicative, interrogative, and imperative.

- Indicative voice: straightforward statements. 我愛他 (I love him)。我不相信他的話 (I do not believe what he says)。
- Interrogative voice: questions. 你有錢沒有 (Do you have any money?)。今天纔抬 了號麼 (Have you finally been promoted only today?)。
- Imperative voice: commands. 進來坐罷 (Come in and sit down)。你好好聽我的話 (Carefully listen to what I say)。(1869, p. 25a)

1.11.3 The Three Moods

Crawford's moods are close to voices in contemporary grammatical theory. Crawford, in his book, recognized three voices. In addition to the active and passive voice, Crawford also included the voice of the 把 construction—a considerable advance in the understanding of Chinese:

> The direct mood of the verb [active voice] 順行　兵殺了長毛　The soldier killed a Taiping rebel　SVO construction
> The indirect mood of the verb [indirect voice of the 把 construction] 退行　兵把長毛殺了　The soldier took a Taiping rebel and killed him　SOV construction
> The passive mood of the verb [passive voice] 逆行　兵被長毛殺了　The soldier was killed by a Taiping rebel　OVS construction　(1869, p. 25b)

Crawford, in this book, also discusses the natural passive, such as 房子燒了 (The house caught fire). He thought that this sentence pattern exemplifies the passive voice, with suppressed subject is 火 (fire). This pattern of the natural passive no doubt proves difficult to deal with in Western grammar, where the subject is invariably the instigator of the action of the verb. Though Crawford does not discuss statements of existence or appearance, such as 桌上放着一本书 (There is a book placed on the table) or 外面来了一位老朋友 (An old friend came in from outside), he probably would apply the same sort of explanation.

1.12   Chapter 11, Auxiliaries

Crawford treated the following words as auxiliaries 幫助言: 能, 會, 該, 應該, 當, 應當, 可, 可以, 願意, 情願, 肯, 喜, 愛, 好, 敢, 要, 是, 有, 把, 被, 教. Included in this list are some words (是, 有, 把, 被, 教) that in contemporary grammatical theory are considered verbs or prepositions.

1.13   Chapter 12, Adverbs

This chapter discusses adverbs 隨從言, primarily adverbs of time and adverbial phrases. Not included here are adverbs of extent and adverbs of scope: 纔, 先, 就, 再, 早, 晚, 常常, 永遠, 忽然, 現在, 已經, 然後, 立刻, 前後, 往上, 往前, 往後, 快, 慢, 這樣, 怎麼, 輕清的, 慢慢的, 隨便, 背地裡. "This part of speech modifies verbs and changes their meaning" (1869, p. 28b).

    Crawford's intent here is that adverbs, like adjectives, change the meaning of what they modify. In the following examples, where Crawford takes as adverbs what are really adverbial phrases, he seems to be confusing the function within the sentence with the part of speech.

悄悄的送給他 (to quietly give it to him)   這樣彈這個風琴 (One plays the organ like this)   往上走 (to go up)   (1869, p. 29a)

1.14   Chapter 13, Negatives

Crawford treats negatives 折服言 (such as 不, 沒, 未, 勿, 否) as a separate part of speech. However, as with adverbial phrases ending in 的, he confuses the part of speech with the function in the sentence (modification). Thus he treats "negative + *x*" as a single word:

> This part of speech can modify adjectives, numbers, verbs, auxiliaries, and adverbs, negating their meaning. For example, in 這個房子不好, 不 is a negative, and it modifies 好, an adjective, negating its meaning. In 這樣的東西不多, 不 modifies 多, a number, negating its meaning. (1869, p. 30a)

That is, 不, a negative, when combined with 好, becomes an adjective, and when combined with 多, becomes a number—a rather strange view.

1.15   Chapter 14, Conjunctions

This chapter covers conjunctions 接連言, although Crawford also includes words that today are classified as adverbs: 與, 和, 同, 連, 像, 又, 而, 而且, 但是, 若是, 或, 只是, 還是, 就是, 既然, 雖然, 果然, 如果, 因爲, 使得, 免得, 所以, 寧肯 (1869, pp. 31a–31b).

1.16   Chapter 15, Prepositions

This chapter on "prepositions" 示處言 discusses nouns of locality (a subset of nouns), as well as prepositions and some adverbs, such as 直到. "This part of speech includes words such as 裡, 內, 中, 中間, 外, 上, 下, 周圍, 前, 後, 從, and 直到. All of these words are nouns, and they specify the location of the denotation of another noun or the location of a state of affairs" (1869, p. 33a).

1.17   Chapter 16, Interrogatives

"Interrogatives 問語言 are words such as 麼, 甚麼, 爲甚麼, 怎麼, 呢, 豈, 多會, 幾時, 可不是. These are all markers of the interrogative mood" (1869, p. 34b). Included here are interrogatives, interrogative particles, and antiphrastic words

and phrases. In contemporary grammatical theory, these terms are classified as pronouns, adverbs, auxiliaries, etc.

1.18   Chapter 17, Interjections

This chapter covers interjections 語助言, such as 啊, 罷, 咳, 哎喲, and 罷了. In contemporary grammatical theory, these are divided into auxiliaries and interjections. Crawford's interjections correspond to modal particles in contemporary grammatical theory. Nowhere in his book does Crawford discuss all particles. Here too we see the author using meaning and function as a basis for classifying parts of speech.

1.19   Chapter 18, Changes in Parts of Speech

In this chapter, Crawford discusses changes in parts of speech, a topic previously taken up by Edkins (1857) and Wade (0000). For example, 畫 can function as a noun (painting), as a verb (to paint), and sometimes even as an adjective (painted).

Noun: 有個時候買一張有名的畫   One time he bought a famous painting
Verb: 非巧手的人不能畫這樣的畫   Only a person with a skilled hand can paint such a painting
Adjective: 家裡都有畫屏   Every room in the house has a painted screen

<div align="right">(1869, p. 36a)</div>

One can understand how Crawford would regard 畫 as both a noun and a verb, but there are problems with taking it as an adjective (as in 畫屏). In contemporary grammatical theory, 畫 in this context is a verb. Yet in Indo-European languages, modifying a noun is the function of adjectives. A one-to-one correspondence between part of speech and sentence function allows one to take function as a criterion of the part of speech. Crawford's thinking seems to reflect this functionalism.

Crawford also saw a change in tone as indicating a change in part of speech:

這個是重擔子 (This is a heavy load)。 Here 重, falling tone, is an adjective.
不用替名，必要重說名頭 (When you do not use a pronoun, you must stress the noun)。Here 重, lower level tone, is an adverb. (1869, p. 36b)

These cases involve the same character with different pronunciations and different meanings.

Crawford explains the 的 construction as follows: "The character 的 is quite variable. One cannot say that it belongs to a particular part of speech. Rather, it adopts the part of speech of whatever precedes" (1869, p. 36b). That is, the part of speech of 的 is indeterminate. It takes the part of speech of whatever it attaches to. Thus, in 人的手, 人的 is a noun because 人 is a noun. Likewise, in 我的手, 我的 is a pronoun because 我 is a pronoun. In the case of 最大的手, 最大的 is an adjective because 大 is an adjective. Similarly, in 今年蟲子多的狠, 多的 is a number; in 這句話講的不錯, 講的 is a verb; in 你要快快的跑, 快快的 is an adverb; and in 海裡的沙多, 海裡的 is a noun of locality. Thus, as mentioned above, Crawford does not seek to determine the part of speech of 的. Rather, he assigns a part of speech to the entire 的 phrase. This is one of the limitations of Crawford's book.

1.20　Chapter 20, Types of Sentences

In this chapter, Crawford discusses types of sentences (simple sentences, compound sentences, paragraphs, and the semantic relations of compound sentences). "Sentences 句頭 can be divided into three types: simple 單句, compound 雙句, and complex 合句" (1869, pp. 42b–43a). Simple sentences consist of one clause, compound sentences consist of two clauses, and complex sentences consist of more than two clauses.

> There are nine types of sentences: affirmative 直說的, imperative 使令的, interrogative 問語的, exclamatory 嘆息的, conditional 設若的, transitional 轉折的, inferential 推及的, intentional 志向的, and comparative 比量的. (1869, p. 43b)

Conditional: 若是不下雨，庄稼必要旱 (If it does not rain, the crops will dry up)。不下大網，怎麼能得大魚 (If we do not cast a big net, how can we catch big fish?)。

Transitional: 我心裡願意回家，但是我不能作主 (I want to return home, but I cannot decide on my own)。他不但是有錢，也有功名 (He has not only money but also renown)。

Inferential: 因爲時候不太平，所以買賣不通 (Because the times were not peaceful, commerce could not be carried out)。日頭既然落了，所以人要宿店 (Because the sun has set, people want to find a hotel to spend the night)。看見大雁往南飛，約計天要冷 (Seeing the wild geese fly south, I suppose that the weather will turn cold)。

Intentional: 我們寫這本書，使得學生可以明白話字的用法 (We wrote this book so that students can understand how to write and speak)。

(1869, p. 44b–45b)

Crawford should have divided these sentence types into simple sentences (affirmative, imperative, interrogative, and exclamatory) and complex sentences (conditional, transitional, inferential, and intentional) and explained them separately.

Crawford also cross-classified sentences as positive 正面的, negative 反面的, and parenthetical 充足的/補足文/挿入文.

Crawford also discussed clauses:

> Clauses can be divided into six types:
> Subject clause 綱讀: 我愛你 (I love you)。
> Predicate clause 目讀: 我愛您 (I love you)。
> Independent clause 餘讀: 西國人一百年前頭沒有火輪船 (Westerners, a hundred years ago, had no steamships)。
> Subjunctive clause 樞讀: 世上人，若是不悔改，終不能得救 (The living, if they do not repent, cannot be saved)。
> Instrumental clause 用目讀: 外國女人用鐵裁房縫衣裳 (Foreign women have iron frames sewn into their clothes)。
> Infinitive clause 扣目讀: 我的兄弟要上城去買一處房子 (My brothers will go to the city to buy a house)。要來吃飯 (They will come to eat)。 (1969, p. 46b)

Crawford followed Wade 1867 in calling the subject 綱 and the predicate 目. Wade wrote, "Sentences of every type must have a subject and a predicate to be a complete sentence. The person or matter raised by the speaker is the subject, and the propriety, existence, action, or property attributed to the subject is the predicate."

1.21   Chapter 21, Rhetorical Figures of Speech

There are five rhetorical figures of speech 話色:

> Personification 如生的: When one gets excited, one is wont to treat the inanimate as alive and talk to it and have it do what the living do.
> Metaphor 借喻的: Metaphor is the nonliteral and figurative use of language. For example, 皇上是百姓的父母 (The emperor is a parent to the people)。這個人心硬 (This man has a heart of stone)。我的羊聽我的話 (My sheep hear what I say)。
> Hyperbole 過實的: 這個事比登天還難 (This task is more difficult than ascending to Heaven)。
> Irony 譏誚的: The meaning is the opposite of what the language says. 你是好人，聖人趕不上你 (You are a good person; even a saint is not as good as you)。
> Analogy 比方的: Analogy is the use of one matter to clarify another matter. (1869, pp. 50b–52b)

2   Conclusion

Above, I have discussed in detail the grammatical theory of Crawford's *Mandarin Grammar*. Below, I summarize the main points.

– Though Crawford basically relied on the grammatical framework of Indo-European languages, he used it to describe the phenomena of Chinese as accurately as possible. As a result, he noticed such special features of Chinese as measure words, the pivot construction, the series-of-verbs construction, and the 把 construction—constructions that Chinese often overlook, but that non-Chinese, because they belong to the periphery, notice.
– Crawford respected the traditional Chinese distinction between functional and content characters, as can be seen in his treating the relationship between subject and predicate under the concept 綱目 (key notion versus detail), in his viewing the relation between noun and verb as like that between lord and vassal, in his subdividing nouns into substantive nouns and abstract nouns, in his subdividing verbs into active and passive verbs, and in his subdividing numbers into fixed and variable numbers.
– In various places throughout Crawford's book, one can see that he relied not on the English grammar of his day, but on Latin grammar and early-modern English grammar, which followed in the Latin tradition. This is especially apparent in his view of adjectives as a type of noun and in his emphasis on function over syntax in assigning parts of speech.
– In this work Crawford takes a functionalist approach to parts of speech and the sentence, emphasizing functions like modification over content. In the case of sentences with 的 phrases, this had the unfortunate effect of leading him to confuse words with phrases.

Though Crawford's *Mandarin Grammar* (1869) has its limitations, this work in general was the most systematic nineteenth-century grammar of colloquial Chinese prior to the appearance of *Ma's Guide to the Written Language* (1898). In this sense, we can say that it is a milestone in the study of Chinese grammar.

Crawford's work soon appeared in Japan, where two reprints and a loose translation were published under the following titles:

Chinese Grammar 支那文典, annotated by Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦, 2 vols., 1877.
Chinese Grammar 大清文典, punctuated for Japanese readers by Kanaya Akira 金谷昭, 1877.
Chinese Grammar 支那文典, by Murakami Hidekichi 村上秀吉. Tokyo: Haku-bunkan, 1893. Based on Crawford's *Mandarin Grammar*.

These works exerted great influence on the scholarly study of Chinese grammar in Japan, influence that I plan to discuss in a future work.

Chapter 6:
Chinese Studies of Grammar prior to *Ma's Guide to the Written Language:* Bi Huazhen's Division of Parts of Speech in *Notes from Yanxu Cottage*

Joseph Edkins, in his *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese As Exhibited in the Shanghai Dialect* (first edition, 1853; second edition, 1868), praised Bi Huazhen's *Notes from Yanxu Cottage* 衍緒草堂筆記 as follows: "While grammar is a science still unknown to the Chinese, it is a mark of the intelligence of our author [Bi Huazhen] that he has approached so nearly, as the preceding article shews, to a western classification, and that he has defined with precision all the principal parts of speech" (1853, p. 59).

The *Annals of Taicang Department* 太倉州志 has the following entry on Bi Huazhen:

> Bi Huazhen 畢華珍, whose original name was Qiaozhen 喬珍 and whose courtesy name was Songxin 松心, was the son of Xianzeng 憲曾. As a youth, he studied at the family school. He wrote profound, erudite, and absolutely beautiful poetry and ancient prose —almost surpassing his elders. He spent some time in the capital, where he gained an excellent reputation. In 1807 he became a provincial graduate and was appointed district magistrate of Zhejiang, but he found the position not to his liking. After resigning his office, he enjoyed himself in poetry and wine. He was over seventy when he passed away. (Vol. 17, biographies, pt. 5)

Among Bi Huazhen's writings, *Musical Temperament* 律呂元音 is rather well known. Volume 25 of the *Annals of Taicang Department* lists his writings:

On music:	Musical Temperament 律呂元音
On politics:	Twelve Essays on Selecting the Genuine 采真衡論十二篇
On the art of war:	Two Essays on Different Scenarios for Using the Military 用兵異宜二篇
Collections:	Poems of the Lesser Yanshan, vol. 1 少弇山人詩初錄, Poems of the Lesser Yanshan, vol. 2 少弇山人詩二錄, Essays of the Lesser Yanshan 少弇山人文集, Plum Nest Botched Poetry 梅巢砸詩

But *Notes from Yanxu Cottage* is not found here.

The first person to mention Bi Huazhen and his *Notes from Yanxu Cottage* was He Qunxiong 何群雄 in his *Beginnings of the Study of Chinese Grammar* 中国語文法学事始 (2000). He wrote that Bi Huazhen was friends with Li Shanlan 李善蘭 of Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau in Shanghai, and that the latter perhaps recommended Bi Huazhen's *Notes from Yanxu Cottage* to Edkins. Yet He Qunxiong was unable to locate a copy of *Notes from Yanxu Cottage.*

I, however, happened upon a copy totally by accident. In the *Catalogue of the London Missionary Society Collection Held by the National Library of Australia* (2001), there is a book titled *Simple Chinese Grammar* 論文淺說, which I requested, along with another book, in microfiche form. When I looked at what came, I discovered, much to my surprise, that *Simple Chinese Grammar* was none other than Bi Huazhen's *Notes from Yanxu Cottage*, which I had been searching for, for many years.

Having encountered this book in this strange manner, I feel obligated to inform the world about it. So here I will briefly present Bi Huazhen's division of words into parts of speech as contained in his *Notes from Yanxu Cottage.*

1 Bibliographic Information

The bibliographic information for Bi Huazhen's works is as follows:

Notes from Yanxu Cottage 衍緒草堂筆記, contained in *Simple Chinese Grammar*, 8 pages of 9 lines, with 25 characters per line.
Simple Chinese Grammar 論文淺說, 20 pages of 9 lines, with 25 characters per line.
Four other essays, 5 pages of 9 lines, with 25 characters per line.
Getting to Know Bi Huazhen, the Lesser Yanshan 畢華珍少弇甫識, four-character meter, 2 pages unruled; vol. 1, 7 pages; vol. 2, 10 pages.

2 Five Parts of Speech

Notes from Yanxu Cottage basically divides words into five parts of speech, one being content characters and the other four being function characters. "Someone asked, 'How does one write properly?' I answer, 'There is only one type of content character, and there are four types of function characters.' Again, 'How does one order one's prose?' I answer, 'There is only one type of content character, and there are four types of function characters.' "

3   Content Characters

About content characters Bi Huazhen wrote,

> **The first part of speech, content characters**
> Heaven, Earth, names, things, phenomena, numbers, facts, principles; whatever has a
> form, essence, material force, or sound; indeed, whatever has some manifestation that
> can be pointed to—all of these form the content of content characters.
>
> Fine prose 文章, old-style fine prose 舊文章, fine-prose style 文章體, textual prose
> interspersed with verse 文章辭賦, ancient and modern fine prose 古今文章, fine-prose
> style 文章體格: style … is what modifies the content characters; it is the same as color
> 詞彩 and tone 聲調.

Here, "whatever has some manifestation that can be pointed to" is close to the
traditional Chinese notion of the content of content characters. Thus, it is safe to
say that content characters are nouns.

He also wrote,

> Content characters cannot express actions. They can only be kept in mind and trotted
> out when used. Hence, I say a single content character. Ancient and contemporary
> authors composed numerous texts of fine prose and prose interspersed with verse.
> From a single character, they might iterate their meaning with up to ten characters or
> condense their meaning down to a single character. Though they might repeat them-
> selves using many characters, still a single character suffices.

4   Function Characters

Bi Huazhen divided function characters into four types: adjectives 呆虛字, verbs
活虛字, emotive particles 口氣語助虛字, and noninflected particles 空活虛字.
Details are given below.

4.1   Adjectives

> **The second part of speech [function characters]**
> **1   Adjectives**
> Words such as 工, 拙, 高, 低, 多, 少, 大, 小 (altogether less than a hundred characters)
> are used to describe states of things. There are also adjectives consisting of two char-
> acters that cannot be separated, such as alliterated compounds 雙聲, rhymed com-
> pounds 疊韻, and reduplicated compounds 疊字. Such compounds are used as ad-
> jectives to describe circumstances. For example, 文工 (The prose is well written), 文章
> 工 (The prose is well written), 文工雅 (The prose is well written and elegant), 文章工雅
> (The prose is well written and elegant), 文章格高 (The prose is refined), 文高體潔 (The

prose is refined, and the style is pure), 文章體格工雅 (The prose style is well written and refined).

An adjective is added to a content character to describe its referent. The description has to be accurate. Hence, adjectives, and not content characters, serve this function. Though adjectives serve this function, they produce only attributions 呆句 and do not elaborate much. In general, they cannot be used to produce eight-character or four-character phrases, and they cannot be reduplicated at will. Adjectives are used only in appraisals. If one is not adept at using a variety of function characters, such appraisals will seem uninspired. For example, if praising a person, one might say, 胸懷闊大 (magnanimous), 性情豪爽 (forthright), 道高德重 (noble), 才高意廣 (talented and wide-ranging), and if praising a flower, one might say, 枝葉茂盛 (having profuse foliage), 顏色鮮妍 (having vibrant colors). Such phrases are called simple attributions 單層呆句.

Hence, Bi Huazhen's 呆虛字 are roughly what we call adjectives today. That is to say, they depict or describe the referents of content characters. Bi Huazhen summarized his view as follows: "Thus, adjectives are used to describe the state of things. Without adjectives, there would be no states of things."

4.2   Verbs

What Bi Huazhen called 活虛字 are verbs. His views in detail are as follows:

The second part of speech [function characters]
2   Verbs
Verbs are used to link what comes before with what comes after. For instance, in 文傳世 (The text was transmitted through the ages), 文 is the subject, 世 is the complement, and 傳 ties the two together. Verbs are also used to write down a person's activities, such as writing an essay and critiquing an essay, which are activities that people engage in. Without verbs, subject and complement cannot be connected, and people's activities cannot be written down. At most, there are about two thousand commonly used verbs. Some words of two characters, and hence two syllables, cannot be broken up, such as 婆娑 (to dance) and 盤桓 (to linger). These words can be used only as verbs. Verbs link together the characters of a sentence and record people's business. Without verbs, what we write would have no thread. In such a case, there would be no human activities.

Bi Huazhen saw the role of the verb as linking together the parts of a sentence and writing down people's activities. By "people's activities" he meant what Edkins called "actions."

Bi Huazhen also discussed complements and adverbs of time:

Examples: 作文 (to write an essay), 習文字 (to learn characters), 學習文字 (to learn characters), 學習諷誦先輩文章辭賦 (to learn to recite the older generation's textual prose interspersed with verse). These are also simple attributions.

A compound attribution has a noun 實字 and a complement 賓實字. The complement can precede or follow, and it is tied to the rest of the sentence by the verb. Complement preceding: 朝夕作文 (to write day and night), 援筆作文 (to take up the brush and write an essay), 冰雪成文 (His lofty notions jelled into an essay), 朝夕濡管作文 (To ink one's brush and write day and night)

Complement following: 文章傳世 (The text was transmitted through the ages), 文追班馬 (His writing approaches that of Ban Gu and Sima Qian), 文筆驚人 (His writing amazed people), 文傳後世 (The text was transmitted to later ages)

Complements preceding and following: 朝夕濡毫拈管作爲文章聯珠綴璧貯名山流傳後世 (Diligently inking his brush and grasping the brush's handle, he wrote prose day and night, stringing together pearls of beauty, which he stored in a famous mountain temple to pass on to later generations)

These are compound attributions.

Sentences with adjectives and verbs: 作文工 (to write well written prose), 勤作文 (to write diligently), 朝夕勤苦濡毫拈管作爲文章 (Diligently inking his brush and grasping the brush's handle, he wrote prose day and night).

4.3   Emotive Particles

What Bi Huazhen called emotive particles 口気語助虛字 included what we would call pronouns, sentence-final particles, adverbs of extent, and modal auxiliary verbs.

> **The second part of speech [function characters]**
> **3   Emotive particles**
> Emotive particles cannot be demarcated clearly, so I just group them together. There are only several dozen such characters, examples of which are 焉, 哉, 乎, 也, 此, 所, and 以. Sentences including such particles are 其文甚工 (His writing is extraordinary well written), 所作之文最工雅 (Prose written by him is extraordinary well written and most elegant), 此其所作之文最爲工雅可傳後世 (This piece written by him is the best written and most elegant, and is worthy of transmitting to later generations).

Bi Huazhen defined emotive particles as having the following function:

> Emotive particles seek to give free reign to the syntax by stating the extent of a quality. (A piece of writing may be extraordinarily well written 極工 or well written 亦工. The characters 極 and 亦 express the extent of the quality.) Without emotive particles, words fail to be expressive. Whether something is good or bad, there is no extent expressed.

Bi Huazhen thus described adverbs of extent as having the function of stating the extent of a quality.

4.4   Adverbials

Adverbials 空活虛字 include negative adverbs, interrogative adverbs, and con-junctions. Bi Huazhen, in *Simple Chinese Grammar* 論文淺說, distinguished emotive particles and noninflected particles, but in *More on Chinese Grammar* 論文續說 and *Four Additional Essays* 餘論四則, he grouped these two parts of speech together as emotive particles.

> **The second part of speech [function characters]**
> **4   Adverbials**
> Adverbials are similar to emotive particles. Here I want to delve deeper, so I distinguish this part of speech from the latter. Included in this part of speech are a few dozen characters, such as 雖, 但, 如, 若, 非, 不, 而, 乃, 何, and 豈. Example sentences are 雖工實拙 (Though the prose is quite intricate, it is in fact awkward), 似拙而實工 (The prose seems awkward, but in fact is quite well written), 未嘗不作之甚勤 (never lacking in industry). Adding adverbials elevates the discussion. The sentences come alive.
>
> **Objective Animated Sentences (versus Abstract Animated Sentences)**
> The implication is that there really is such a person in such and such circumstances. Hence, sentences with adverbials are called objective animated sentences 平實活句. Abstract animated sentences 空靈活句 consist entirely of one's discussion. One is at a loss to specify who and what the sentence is about. These two types of sentences need to be distinguished.

5   More on Chinese Grammar

In *More on Chinese Grammar*, part 2 of *Notes from Yanxu Cottage*, Bi Huazhen explains in greater detail his classification of Chinese parts of speech.

5.1   Content Characters

> Among content characters are preexisting, indivisible terms. Heaven and earth, past and present, names and objects, phenomena and numbers, systems, vessels, clothes, and miscellaneous things—all have preexisting names. We capture the thing of interest with a general term 呆物, and with two to several characters, we categorize and order our thoughts into sentences, so that we may record, recite, and quote.

Here 呆物 means general term, what Xunzi would call the great general term 大共名 ("thing").

5.2   Substantives and Attributes

> Content characters are divided into substantives and attributes. For instance, in the examples discussed above—天有體 (Heaven has substance), 地有形勢 (Earth has form), 人有性情容貌 (Humans have dispositions and appearances), 物有質 (Objects have matter), and 事有原流 (Events have an origin and development)—天, 地, 人, 物, and 事 are substantives 母字, and 體, 形勢, 性情容貌, 質, and 原流 are attributes 子字.
>
> There are concrete attributes 實在子字 and common attributes 公共子字. For instance, humans have the five senses, birds and beasts have feathers and fur, and flowers and trees have branches and leaves. These terms are all concrete attributes. Again, though dispositions and appearances belong to humans, other things also possess them. These terms are all common attributes. All terms for sounds, colors, and odors are common attributes. Common attributes are the most numerous, and their use is widest. For instance, in the case of humans, what are their dispositions like, what are their appearances like, and what is their bearing like? In the case of flowers and trees, what are their branches and leaves like, what are their roots and trunks like, and what are their colors like? So it is with everything else. With attributes, we can produce numerous sentences.

This passage is quite interesting. Here Bi Huazhen subdivides nouns, but not in contemporary fashion. First, he divides nouns into substantives and attributes. The attribute designates an altered aspect of the substantive itself. In contemporary terminology, this distinction is the difference between part and whole. For example, in "Humans have dispositions and appearances," "humans" is the substantive, and "dispositions and appearances" are attributes. Moreover, humans are the whole, and their dispositions and appearances are a part of the whole. What Bi Huazhen called "concrete attributes" and "common attributes" are what we would call "proper nouns" and "common nouns." As seen below, Edkins calls such nouns "universal" and "special."

> **Section 3. On the Substantive**
>
> 100. The native grammarian already introduced to the reader defines substantives, or rather substances, thus: 天地名物, 象數事理, "Heaven, earth, names, and things, images, numbers, facts and principles," 凡有形有質, 有氣有聲, "all things that have form, material substances, breath and sound;" 一切有端可指者, "all things having any property that can be pointed out;" 皆謂之實字 "are called substantives."
>
> "The names of substances," he adds, "may consist of one or several characters, which must be arranged in classes, brought under the dominion of the rhythms, and stored in the memory for use when required." Such nouns as express the properties of substances he calls 子字, while the names of substances themselves are termed 母字. Attributes he further subdivides into "universal" 公共子字, and "special" 實在子字. (1857, p. 66)

5.3   Nouns Modified by Adjectives Designate Content

In Bi Huazhen's grammar, one can see an early formulation of the notion of a head noun. One adumbration of this notion in his theory is his regarding adjectives as "padding."

> In 高天厚世 (high heaven and firm earth), 清風明月 (a clear breeze and bright moon), and 繁花好鳥 (copious flowers and beautiful birds), for example, though the first character lacks content, what we see before us is a preexisting object. Hence, we must regard such a construction as a noun with padding. Such modifiers, even if long, are just padding, regardless of whether they make sense. Together with a noun, they designate some inert object. For instance, if we add the character 大 to the character 筆, though 大 does not designate content, we do see just a large brush. We need not think that the character 大 does not designate anything.

5.4   Two Ways of Construing a Series of Nouns

Bi Huazhen also noticed that a sequence of nouns 實字 can be construed as nouns of equal weight or as one noun attributively modifying another:

> Nouns of equal weight: 日月星辰 (sun, moon, and stars), 鳥草木蟲魚 (birds, grasses, trees, insects, and fish)
> Attributive modification: In this case, more weight is given to the last noun. 冬宵竹屋茶煙 (a winter evening of tea and tobacco in a bamboo hut), 雪夜梁園辭賦客 (the literary guests at the Liang park on a snowy night [a reference to "Snow" 雪賦, by Xie Huilian 謝惠連]), 春秋魯國聖人 (a sage of Lu during the Spring and Autumn period)
> However, if one adds a numeral or the name of a color, the resulting phrase is less contentful.

5.5   The Use of Adjectives to Represent Something Else

Here Bi Huazhen touches on the nominalization of adjectives and verbs.

> It is possible to use adjectives to represent something else. As for verbs, they describe the affairs of people. They can both lack content and have content. When used vacuously, they lack content, and when used meaningfully, they have content.
> The use of adjectives to represent something else: 戴高履厚 (treading the firm earth with heaven overhead). Here 高 represents heaven, and 厚 represents earth. 登高臨遠 (to climb high in order to gain a distant view). Here 高 represents a mountain, and 遠 represents a river (to climb the mountain in order to view the distant river).
> The vacuous use of verbs: 做文寫字 (to write). In this sentence there are content characters. Hence, 做 and 寫 are vacuous. Used together, 做 and 寫 add elegance to the sentence. Yet they also describe human actions, and hence have content.

5.6   Adjectives

> Adjectives describe. They have no other use. When adjectives are added to verbs, as in 近瞻遠眺 (to look near and far) and 遙登平臨 (to climb from afar and look off into the horizon), they are like nouns. In the first example, 近 and 遠 indicate the scope 境界.

Bi Huazhen is saying that here adjectives are used as adverbs to modify verbs. The term 境界 means the scope of the verb.

5.7   Verbs

Bi Huazhen analyzes verbs in detail.

> Whether it be a noun denoting something internal or external to the human body, once a verb is added, the matter is a human action. Verbs express interactions among things (humans are also things). The five senses and the various parts of the human body all are things. The disposition, prior to action, is an inert thing, and when a verb is added, the activity described becomes a human action.

According to Bi Huazhen, the function of a verb is to establish the relationship between one thing and another, and if there is no verb, there is no way to express actions and behavior. Moreover, from the following passage, we can see that Bi Huazhen distinguished between transitive and intransitive verbs.

> But some verbs designate actions that do not involve effort, and thus are not human actions. Rather, they designate only confluences, such as 盈滿 (to fill up) and 連接 (to join). But even in these cases, there are things that come together. Thus, a particular container fills up, or certain objects join together. We use such words only when there is a confluence of things. Hence, we call these words verbs.

The verbs 盈滿 and 連接 are sometimes intransitive and sometimes transitive. Bi Huazhen noticed that when such verbs are intransitive, the action that they express is passive 静, rather than active 動. That is, there is no human action involved.

> Bi Huazhen also had the following to say about the semantic relation between verb and object.

> We have to distinguish verbs internally and externally , and to discriminate verbs used literally and metaphorically.
> Verbs for externally directed actions: 出門 (to exit the gate), 訪友 (to visit a friend), 持斧 (to carry an ax), 斷木 (to split wood)
> Verbs for internally directed actions: 賓從到門 (The guest and servant arrived at the gate), 人欽品學 (One admires breeding and learning)
> Verbs for internal actions: 受恩 (to receive benefits), 承惠 (to accept favors)
> Verbs for external actions: 絲竹動情 (The music stirred their emotions)

> Literal usage: 射鳥 (to shoot birds), 釣魚 (to catch fish), 飲酒 (to drink wine), 食肉 (to eat meat)
>
> Metaphorical usage: 射利釣名 (to shoot for wealth and angle for glory), 飲和食德 (to imbibe harmony and consume grace; to drink together and be at peace, to eat together and appreciate the grace of one's forbearers)

In addition, Bi Huazhen, even at this early date, also used the term 動字 for verbs.

> Verbs 活虛字 can also be called action words 動字. [To carry out an action,] we depend on a moving part. For example, when we say "to taste tea" 嘗茶 or "to discuss matters" 議事, the mouth must move. When we say "to carry the barrel" 攜樽 or "to lift up an object" 擎物, the hand must move. When we say "to go up the stairs" 昇階 or "to walk on the ground" 踐地, the legs must move. When we say "to miss someone" 懷人 or "to cultivate one's character" 治性, the heart must be moved. Likewise with the ears, eyes, mouth, and nose.

6   Conclusion

Up to now, it has been thought that the systematic study of grammar by Chinese began with *Ma's Guide to the Written Language* (1898). Prior to this work, scholars focused on commentary on the classics and produced nothing more than a theory of function characters and content characters. But surprisingly, even fifty years prior to the appearance of *Ma's Guide to the Written Language*, the Chinese scholar Bi Huazhen wrote an outstanding treatise on grammar, as we have just seen.

To be sure, Bi Huazhen's grammatical point of view and classification of parts of speech functions within the tradition of the classical theory of function characters and content characters. Yet at the same time he carefully examined sentence structure and sentence components, without limiting himself to parts of speech, and broke through the traditional framework of the theory of function characters and content characters.

Among modern Westerners, not only Edkins, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, but also Bazin (no. 13, 1856) noted that Bi Huazhen's *Notes from Yanxu Cottage* was a forerunner of modern Chinese grammatical theory. From these references, we can see that Bi Huazhen had an influence on Western scholars of Chinese, but whether he had any influence on Chinese grammarians is still not known. I leave his influence on Ma Jianzhong in *Ma's Guide to the Written Language* as a topic for future study.

Chapter 7:
Thomas Wade's *Progressive Course*

Thomas Wade's *Yü-yen tzŭ-erh chi: A Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese, as Spoken in the Capital and the Metropolitan Department* (1867) is an extremely important source for understanding the history of Chinese, nineteenth-century Chinese in particular. For one, it confirmed that the Beijing dialect took over as Mandarin, the standard spoken language of China (Takata 2001).[1] This book has also been recognized as a seminal work in the field of grammar (Uchida 2002, 2004).[2] And the work had a significant impact on the learning of Chinese in Japan.

And yet there have been few studies that directly discuss how the book came into being, what the language peculiarities of the work were, or what place the work had in the learning of Chinese in modern Japan. Here I will examine some language peculiarities of this work and how this work was transmitted to Japan.

1   Editions and Structure of Wade's *Progressive Course*

Thomas Wade's *Progressive Course* was first published in 1867 in four volumes. A second edition (three volumes) appeared in 1886, and a third edition (two volumes) appeared in 1903. The work is organized as follows:

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1 Takata Tokio 高田時雄, "Thomas Wade and the Triumph of the Beijing Dialect" トマス・ウェイドと北京語の勝利, in *Seiyō kindai bunmei to Chūka sekai* 西洋近代文明と中華世界, edited by Hazama Naoki 狭間直樹 (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai, 2001).

2 Uchida Keiichi 内田慶市, "Modern Westerners' Studies of Chinese Grammar" 近代欧米人の中国語文法研究, in *Bunka jishō to shite no Chūgoku* 文化事象としての中国 (Suita: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu, 2002), and "Modern Westerners' Studies of Chinese Grammar" 近代西人的汉语文法研究, in *Yuyan jiechu lunji* 语言接触论集, edited by Zou Jiayan 邹嘉彦 and You Rujie 游汝杰 (Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004).

First edition
  Volume 1
    Part I, Pronunciation
    Part II, The Radicals
    Part III, The Forty Exercises   散語章四十章
    Part IV, The Ten Dialogues   問答章十章
    Part V, The Eighteen Sections   續散語十八章
    Part VI, The Hundred Lessons   談論篇百章
    Part VII, The Tone Exercises
    Part VIII, The Chapter on the Parts of Speech   言語例略
  Volume 2, Key (containing translations and explanations of the Chinese in parts III to VIII)
  Volume 3, appendices
Second edition (1886), three volumes. Part V of the first edition was deleted, and in its place, Wade inserted *The Graduate's Wooing, or The Story of a Promise That Was Kept* 踐約傳 as part VI.
Third edition (1903), an abridgement in two volumes

Figure 7.1   The first edition of Wade's *Progressive Course.*

Figure 7.2   The second edition.

Figure 7.3   The third edition.

2 The Language Irregularities in Wade's *Progressive Course*

Ozaki Minoru, in his *Vocabulary Index for Wade's "Progressive Course,"* wrote the following about language inconsistencies among different chapters and editions of Wade's *Progressive Course:*

> Though "The Hundred Lessons" forms a part of the same *Progressive Course*, it has more obsolescent vocabulary than the other parts. Also, in the later editions, along with editorial changes, one also finds new vocabulary elements added, and that unusual words and usages have been eliminated. Though all these words were used during the Qing dynasty, one has to realize that these texts, while of the very same *Progressive Course*, use different vocabulary according to the tradition from which they arise.[3]

A closer look at this matter reveals the following points:

– The polite form of the second person pronoun, 您 and 你納
  The pronoun 您 appears 12 times in "The Forty Exercises," 11 times in "The Ten Dialogues," and not at all in "The Eighteen Sections," "The Hundred Lessons," and "The Chapter on the Parts of Speech." And the pronoun 你納 appears 49 times in "The Hundred Lessons," once in "The Eighteen Sections," 16 times in "The Ten Dialogues," 11 times in "The Chapter on the Parts of Speech," and not at all in "The Forty Exercises." In addition, 他納 appears once in "The Ten Dialogues," and 你納 appears 3 times in the supplement to "The Chapter on the Parts of Speech." Wade notes, "您 *nin*, more commonly pronounced *ni-na*, …again, is short for *ni lao jen-chia*; politely, you my elder; you, Sir, or Madam" (1867, "Key," p. 53).
– V + 了 + O + 咯
  我也灰了心咯。(I too lost heart.)
  連我也是白費了勁咯。(I too have wasted my effort.)
  這是你自己誤了自己咯，還是我誤了你咯。(Is this a case where you misunderstood yourself, or a case where I misunderstood you?)
  This pattern, where the emotive sentence-final particle is written 咯, appears only in "The Hundred Lessons," but appears there 36 times. In all the other parts, this sentence-final particle is written 了. Wade explains 了 and 咯 as follows: "*Liao*, to end: ended: after verbs, sign of the past, but at the end of a clause very often a mere expletive, and then pronounced *la*, or *lo*" (1867, "Key," p. 7). "The *liao*, here pronounced *la*, or *lo*, rounds the sentence so far as sound is concerned, but adds nothing to the sense" (1867, "Key," p. 85). In "The Hundred Lessons," Wade thus specifically records evidence of the

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3 Ozaki Minoru 尾崎實, "Vocabulary Index for Wade's *Progressive Course* (First Draft)" 語言自邇集語彙索引 (初稿), *Min-Shin bungaku gengo kenkyūkai kaihō* 明清文学言語研究会会報, no. 9 (October 1965).

transition from *liao* to *la* (*le*), especially as a sentence-final particle. In addition, we also find an example of the use of 咧 (lie) in "The Hundred Lessons": 受了罪咧 (One met many hardships) (1867, p. 92).

– 今兒 versus 今天

In "The Forty Exercises" alone, one finds 今天, 明天, 昨天, and 前天, but in all the other parts, one finds the colloquialisms 今兒, 明兒, etc.

– 這們 versus 這麼

The forms 這們 and 那們 precede the forms 這麼 and 那麼. The former appear often in "The Hundred Lessons" and "The Eighteen Sections," but not at all in "The Forty Exercises" or "The Chapter on the Parts of Speech." In "The Ten Dialogues," only 那們樣 appears, and then only twice. Nonetheless, it seems that in this context, 們 was read the same as 麼: "The *mo* is sometimes written *men*, but this is then pronounced *mo*" (1867, "Key," p. 85).

In addition to the above, there are the following language peculiarities in "The Hundred Lessons" and "The Eighteen Sections."

– The comparative use of 跟

跟石頭這麼硬。(As hard as a rock.) ("The Eighteen Sections")

跟紙的似的這麼輕巧。(As light and handy as paper.) ("The Eighteen Sections")

– 多著的呢

比我好的多著的呢。(He is much better than I) ("The Hundred Lessons") This stands in contrast to what we find elsewhere: 河西務遠多了 (Hexiwu is much farther away) ("The Ten Dialogues") and 煤炭用得多 (They used more coal) ("The Forty Exercises")

– 接 = 解

接頭兒做過。(He succeeded in becoming a provincial graduate with highest honors) ("The Eighteen Sections")

– 齁 (very)

鹽放多了齁鹹的 (It is too salty because one put in too much salt)。齁臭的 (It's really smelly)。齁苦的 (That is really tough)。齁酸的 (That is very sour)。("The Eighteen Sections")

From these language peculiarities, we can see that some parts of Wade's *Progressive Course* retain more old locutions, and others contain fewer old locutions, in the following order: "The Hundred Lessons," "The Eighteen Sections," "The Chapter on the Parts of Speech," "The Ten Dialogues," "The Forty Exercises."

Moreover, the differences between the first edition and subsequent editions are also important when we consider the history of modern Chinese. Among some interesting differences are that 您 appears in "The Hundred Lessons" in the

second edition, and that the conditional 要是 appears not at all in the first edition but takes the place of 若是 in the second edition. But these and other differences are a topic for future research.

3   How Wade's *Progressive Course* Came into Being

In the preface to the first edition of Wade's *Progressive Course*, there is the following account of how the book was created:

> The Ten Dialogues of Part IV, which come next, were dictated by me to a remarkably good teacher of the spoken language, who of course corrected my idiom as he took them down. The matter of most of them is trivial enough, but they give the interpreter some idea of a very troublesome portion of his duties, namely, the cross-examination of an unwilling witness. It was with this object that they were composed.
>
> The Dialogues are followed by the Eighteen Sections, the term section being chosen for no reason but to distinguish the divisions of this Part V from those of the foregoing parts and of the next succeeding one. The phrases contained in each of its eighteen pages are a portion of a larger collection written out years ago by Ying Lung-t'ien. I printed the Chinese text of this with a few additions of my own in 1860. Finding them in some favor with those who have used them, I have retained all but my own contributions to the original stock, or such phrases in the latter as are explained in other parts of this work, and now republish them as a sort of continuation of Part III. The contents of that part are in Chinese styled *San Yü*, detached phrases; those of the fifth part are *Hsü San Yü*, a supplement to those phrases. The intermediate Dialogues are *Wen Ta Chang*, question and answer chapters, and the papers which follow in Part VI, are *T'an Lun P'ien*, or chapters of chat, for distinction's sake entitled The Hundred Lessons. These last are nearly the whole of the native work compiled some two centuries since to teach the Manchus Chinese, and the Chinese Manchu, a copy of which was brought southward in 1851 by the Abbé Huc. Its phraseology, which was here and there too bookish, having been thoroughly revised by Ying Lung-t'ien, I printed it with what is now reduced to the *Hsü San Yü*; but it has since been carefully retouched more than once by competent natives. (1867, Preface, pp. x–xi)

3.1   "The Hundred Lessons"

As mentioned by Wade himself and as becomes clear from the text of the tenth of "The Ten Dialogues," "The Hundred Lessons" was based on the Manchu-Chinese textbook series "Essentials of Manchu" 清文指要.

> Did you see *Essentials of Manchu* 清文指要? It seems that you have. Isn't that the several-volume Manchu-Chinese conversational textbook? It is that book! What you say is true: that book is a little old, and the Chinese contains many passages that are not smooth. Because of this, I have already asked you to edit it, and you have gone over the

material more than once. All of the changes were made to conform to present colloquial usage, and the title was changed to "The Hundred Lessons." (1867, Tenth Dialogue)

Wade acquired "Essentials of Manchu" in 1851 from the French Lazarist Abbé Huc (1812–1860), who came to China in 1839; toured Macau, Guangdong, Mongolia, and Tibet; engaged in missionary work primarily in Zhejiang Province; and returned to France in 1852. The textbook series "Essentials of Manchu" included *Essentials of Manchu* 清文指要, *A Guide for the Beginning Student* 初學指南, and *Quotations in Three Languages* 三合語録. From the order of the text of "The Hundred Lessons" and *Dialogues* 問答篇 (1860), a previous stage of "The Hundred Lessons," it seems that "The Hundred Lessons" was directly based on *A Guide for the Beginning Student* and *Quotations in Three Languages.* In any case, this is why "The Hundred Lessons" retains the oldest Chinese of all the parts of Wade's *Progressive Course.*

In addition to the "Essentials of Manchu" series, there was also the incomplete manuscript "The Complete Essentials of Manchu" 清文指要全冊 (actually titled "Essentials of Manchu, with Chinese" 清文指要漢語), held in the Tenri University library. In the "Essentials of Manchu" series, 您 appears throughout, and 你納 not at all, but in "The Complete Essentials of Manchu," 你納 does appear, though it is written 你 + [Manchu script]. In the manuscript, 你老 and 阿哥 also frequently appear as polite forms of the second-person pronoun. It also includes such peculiarities as 這晦, 那晦, and 不啞. It seems that 這晦 and 那晦 are equivalent to 這們 and 那們, while 不啞 is similar to 不咱, which appears only in *Tales of Young Heroes* 兒女英雄傳. Hence, one is led to believe that the manuscript reflects the language of the same period as that of *Tales of Young Heroes.* Yet the manuscript also includes 吧, which did not appear until after the Qing dynasty. The language of this manuscript is thus a mixture of old and new. Moreover, the order of presentation is similar to that of the Manchu grammar *Tanggu meyen* 清話百条.

3.2 "The Forty Exercises" and "The Eighteen Sections"

In 1860, when Wade published *Dialogues* 問答篇, a forerunner of "The Hundred Lessons," he also published *Essays by a Successful Graduate* 登瀛篇. *Essays by a Successful Graduate* consists of forty-eight chapters. Chapters 1 to 10 begin with a list of important words, followed by example sentences, just as in "The Forty Exercises." Yet the example sentences differ considerably in semantic content from those of "The Forty Exercises." In contrast, the example sentences of "The Eighteen Sections" are directly taken from chapters 11 to 48 of *Essays by a Successful Graduate.* Wade, it seems, modeled "The Forty Exercises" after the

first ten chapters of *Essays by a Successful Graduate*, and later, because he wanted that part to consist of forty exercises, he produced a new manuscript. As a result, "The Forty Exercises" has the most up-to-date vocabulary.

3.3   Language Dialogues

There is also a work titled *Language Dialogues* 語言問答 in the National Central Library of Rome and the University Library of the Catholic University of Leuven. This work consists of "Language Dialogues" (52 pages) and "The Eighteen Sections" (35 pages), and the latter part has ruled lines inserted. The editor and the year of publication are not indicated.

The first half of *Language Dialogues* was taken from chapter 5, "Dialogues," of Joaquim A. Gonçalves's *Arte China* (1829), although there are deletions (such as chapter 15), as well as additions and corrections and, in the case of synonym alternatives, use of one or the other alternative.

I believe that Wade compiled *Language Dialogues*. I also think, as mentioned in the preface, either that "finding them in some favor with those who have used them, I [Wade] have retained all but my own contributions to the original stock, or such phrases in the latter as are explained in other parts of this work," or that "the phrases contained in each of its eighteen pages are a portion of a larger collection written out years ago by Ying Lung-t'ien." As for when this work was published, this probably occurred between 1860, when *Dialogues* and *Essays by a Successful Graduate* were published, and 1867, when *A Progressive Course* was published. Moreover, Wade perhaps intended to use the first half of *Language Dialogues* as "The Ten Dialogues" in his *Progressive Course*, but he did not, perhaps because it was too long and the language was obsolete.

Wade had complete faith in Gonçalves (1780–1884), a Portuguese Lazarist adept at Mandarin (based on the Beijing dialect) and Cantonese, as is apparent from what Wade writes below:

> The best is perhaps Gonçalves's *Arte China*, but it is written in Portuguese, a tongue few Englishmen under age have cared to cultivate. If the writer's health and strength be spared him it is his purpose one day to produce a Student's Manual somewhat in the style of the *Arte*. (*Hsin Ching Lu*, Preface, 1859)

Wade's use of 你納 in *A Progressive Course* is clearly adopted from Gonçalves, who frequently used 你納 in all his works, including *Arte China*.

3.4   Differences in Time Expressions in *Language Dialogues* and *A Progressive Course*

While the expression of time in modern Chinese has already been covered in detail by Ozaki Minoru,[4] let me say that in modern Chinese, the twelve-hour clock coexists with the twenty-four-hour clock, and the language does not distinguish between amounts of time and time of day. In his *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary in the Common Mandarin and General Classical Style* (*Diccionario portuguez-china no estilo vulgar mandarim e classico geral* 洋漢合字彙, 1831), Gonçalves expressed time as follows: 晚上十一下一刻十二分二十秒 (11:27:20 in the evening), 子刻一刻十二分二十秒 (12:27:20 a.m.).

In his *Progressive Course*, Wade expressed not time of day, but amounts of time, as follows: 一點鐘兩刻，半點鐘，一點半就是一點兩刻，一下鐘就是一點鐘 ("The Forty Exercises," no. 9). This he translated into English thus: "An hour and two quarters. A half-hour. An hour and a half is the same as an hour and two quarters. Both the following expressions, *I hsia chung* and *I tien chung*, mean an hour" (1867, "Key," p. 21).

Well, how did Wade express intervals in *A Progressive Course?* In "The Ten Dialogues," no. 9, we find 明兒個幾點鐘見 (See you for a few hours tomorrow) and 明兒您們申初見罷 (Why don't the two of you meet tomorrow at 3:00 p.m.?). The time expression 申初 indicates 3 p.m. This is the traditional way of speaking. Here we can see the considerable influence of Ying Longtian (Ying Lung-t'ien) 應龍田. Perhaps as a result of such influence, Wade's *Language Dialogues* did not become "The Ten Dialogues" in his *Progressive Course.*

4   The Circulation and Influence of Wade's *Progressive Course* in Japan

4.1   The Abridged *Progressive Course* and A Progressive Course with Manchu Aids

In September 1876, Chinese education in Japan underwent a great transition from teaching Nanjing Mandarin to teaching Beijing Mandarin.

> To prepare the first group of Japanese students selected by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for study in Beijing (a group that included Nakata Takanori), the Beijing native and bannerman Xue Nailiang 薛乃良 came to the Tokyo School of Foreign Studies 東京外國語學校 in the spring of 1876 to replace the former Chinese instructor Ye Songshi

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4 Ozaki Minoru 尾崎實, ed., *The Chinese People and Language* 中国人と中国語 (Tokyo: Kōseikan, 1991).

葉松石, a native of Zhejiang province.[5] That April instruction in Beijing Mandarin began with a group of more than twenty newly recruited students. Most of the students who had been studying Nanjing Mandarin changed over to the Beijing Mandarin class. For the few remaining students, a class on Nanjing Mandarin was given concurrently with the class on Beijing Mandarin, but this class was discontinued in 1881, and only the class in Beijing Mandarin was taught.[6]

In addition, Ga Morizō wrote the following about the state of instruction in Chinese at the time:

> At the Tokyo School of Foreign Studies, the method of instruction in those days involved hiring Xue Nailiang, using *A Progressive Course* as the text, and having all the students copy the school's one copy of this book to use as their textbooks. The students first learned correct pronunciation from "The Tone Exercises," then moved on to "The Hundred Lessons." After students gained proficiency there, Prof. Egawa Jūkan 潁川重寬 lectured to them on *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, and Kawasaki Chikayoshi 川崎近義 enthusiastically carried out the duties of teaching assistant.[7]

We thus know that modern Japanese instruction in the Chinese language began with use of Wade's *Progressive Course* as an important text. The text that Ga Morizō referred to when he wrote of "having all the students copy the school's one copy of this book" was none other than the abridged version of the *Progressive Course* in the collection of Toyo Bunko.[8]

My own investigations have revealed that in addition to this abridgement, there were two other abridgements of Wade's *Progressive Course:* the Seikado Bunko abridgement (consisting of "Progressive Course in the Spoken Language" 語言自邇集 [5 pts.], "Examples of the Spoken Language" 言語例略 [1 pts.], "Progressive Course in the Written Language" 文件自邇集 [16 pts.], 8 vols. in total) and *Excerpts from a Progressive Course* 語言自邇集拔碎, in the collection of the Nagasaki Prefectural Library. The Nagasaki Prefectural Library abridgement contains only phrases from "The Forty Exercises" and no written passages.

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5 In December 1878, Nakata Takanori 中田敬義 published the first reader in Japan in Beijing Mandarin, *Aesop's Fables in Beijing Mandarin* 北京官話伊蘇喩言. Nakata, during his time in Beijing, studied the Beijing dialect from the Beijing natives and bannermen Gong Enlu 龔恩祿 and Gong Enshou 龔恩綬, two brothers. He also translated into Chinese *Aesop's Fables for Commoners* 通俗伊蘇普物語, translated into Japanese by Watabe On 渡部温. His Chinese translation has forewords by Joseph Edkins, William A. P. Martin, and one of the Gong brothers.

6 Ga Morizō 何盛三, *The Grammar of Beijing Mandarin* 北京官話文法 (Tokyo: Taiheiyō Shobō, 1928), pp. 71–72.

7 Ga Morizō, *The Grammar of Beijing Mandarin*, p. 73.

8 Masuzawa Akio 鱒澤彰夫 "The Teaching of Beijing Mandarin and Kawasaki Chikayoshi's March 1877 Abridgement of 'The Forty Exercises' and 'The Ten Dialogues' of the *Progressive Course*" 北京官話教育と『語言自邇集 散語問答 明治 10 年 3 月川崎近義氏鈔本』, *Chūgokugogaku* 中国語学 1988: 235.

Figure 7.4   The cover of Wade's *Progressive Course.*

The Seikado Bunko abridgement contains all of the Chinese parts of *A Progressive Course*, namely, "The Forty Exercises," "The Ten Dialogues," "The Eighteen Sections," "The Hundred Lessons," "The Tone Exercises," and "The Chapter on the Parts of Speech."

In the margins and text of the Seikado Bunko abridgement are notes and corrections such as those given below. These insertions are in the handwriting of more than one person, and they do not cover every page. It appears that the students who used this hand-copied manuscript took notes of the instructor's explanations in class. The content of these notes are interesting in that they help us to understand the some aspects of Beijing Mandarin of those days.

– 若是我做得來的事清 (If it's anything that I can do for you) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 1). Also: 若是我能做的事情
– 抽空兒給我編幾個話條子我念 (Find time, if you can, to compose a few phrases for me to study) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 1). 空 originally had the upper level tone.
– 差得天地懸隔呢 (I am as far from being his match as the heavens are from the earth) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 3). Here 差 should be read with the falling tone.
– 料想也就差不多兒咯 (We shall not be very far behind him, I suspect) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 3). Here 差 should be read with the upper level tone.

- 人生在世頭一件要緊是學念書呢 (The chief thing that every man who comes into this world has to do is to study) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 4). 要緊 → 要緊的
- 不論什么事，可自然都會成就 (He will be certain to succeed in whatever he undertakes) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 4). 可 deleted; 會成就的
- 人若是學得果然有了本事 (Once you have really acquired the knowledge you ought to have) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 4). 人若是果然學得有了本事
- 全靠著鑽干逢迎，作他的本事 (Relying exclusively on their attainments, as they regard them, in the arts of intrigue and adulation) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 4). 他 → 自己
- 我實在替他害羞 (I feel sorely ashamed for them) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 4). 害羞 → 害臊
- 往那兒去啊 (What place is it that you go to?) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 5). 往 → 上, 啊 → 呀, 往 originally had the rising tone.
- 如今天短，沒寫字的空兒 (The days are too short at present to leave any time for writing) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 5). 沒寫字的空兒 → 沒空兒寫字; 空 originally had the upper rising tone.
- 不得閑兒 (Our elder is too busy) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 5). 不得閑兒 → 沒空
- 你往這上頭用心 (Don't you bestow any pains on such trash) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 8). 往 → 在
- 耽擱時候兒 ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 8). 時候兒 → 工夫兒
- 那們就沏茶來 (Here, then, make some tea for this gentleman) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 11). 那們 → 那么
- 章京 (*chang-ching*-ship, adjunct) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 12). 章京 was originally Manchurian.
- 你納是什么時候兒的人 (Why, think of the number of years you have been in the service) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 12). 你納 → 您
- 和你納一塊兒行走的朋友 (All your friends of the same date) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 12). 你納 → 您
- 在你納後頭年輕的人們兒 (Those who entered the army later than you did) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 12). 你納 → 您
- 若論你納的差使 (As to your services) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 12). 你納 → 您
- 合着你納得意思，我請你納 (I can only tell you that, if the news is true, it's not to say wine, but anything you like I shall be happy to offer you) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 12). 你納 → 您
- 你納是這么說 ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 13). 你納 → 您
- 老爺兒照着他的影兒一跳一跳的 (The sun cast his shadow against the window as he hopped about) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 40). 老爺兒 can also be 老陽.

- 這種樣兒的壞孩子可有麼 (Was there ever such a brat, sir, as that boy there?) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 41). 可有么 → 天底下還有第二個麼
- 我的氣就到了脖脛子上了 (I certainly felt very angry; it certainly raised my hackles) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 62). 脖脛子: colloquially, 脖梗.
- 若不努力勤學，以着什么本事給主了出力呢 (And if with all these privileges he does not set to work in his youth to study hard, what qualities will he acquire that will enable him to exert himself in the service of his lord and master?) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 79). 以 can also be written 倚.
- 看見這個給那個斟酒，那個回敬 (I saw a room full of people, one helping the other to wine, and the other returning the compliment) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 82). Can also be written 那個又回敬這個 or 那個又給這個回敬.
- 脖頸子 (hackles) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 84). Colloquially, 脖梗.
- 你們妞兒若不罷，如今也有十幾歲了 (If your little girl had lived, how far would she have got in her teens?) ("The Hundred Lessons," no. 87). 妞 → 姐. In Manchuria, people say 妞兒. Han Chinese say 姑娘 or 姐兒.

As we can see from the examples given above, "The Hundred Lessons" of the first edition of *A Progressive Course* has no occurrences of 您, the second person pronoun; one finds only 你納. But throughout the part in this abridgement, this pronoun is changed to 您. Likewise, the older usage 那們 is here changed to 那麼. There are also explanations of bannerman words like military title 章京 (adjunct) and Manchu words like 妞兒 (girl). Apparently, 老陽 is dialect for 老爺兒, meaning the sun. Thus we can say that the abridgement reflects a more up-to-date version of Beijing Mandarin than the first edition of *A Progressive Course.*

In the margin of "The Hundred Lessons" of the abridgement there is the date "May 1882." From this we can infer when the abridgement was used.[9]

In July 1880 Keiō Press published *A Progressive Course with Manchu Aids* 清語階梯語言自邇集 (2 vols.).[10] This was largely a reprint of the first edition of *A Progressive Course*, the greatest difference being that the margin contains numerous notes. Moreover, there are no explanations for Chinese characters that Japanese did not need to know. Hence, one can say that this book was the essential *Progressive Course.* Like the abridgements above, the notes here were

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9 Masuzawa thinks that the abridgement should be dated around September 1876.

10 I have yet to lay my eyes on a copy of *Progressive Course with Manchu Aids* with a colophon giving publication information, but Nagano Susumu, a graduate student at Kansai University, has discovered a copy in the National Archives of Japan with the following facts of publication: "Permission to publish, June 29, 1880. Published, July 1880. Publisher: Nakashima Seiichi, a member of the samurai class of Ōita Prefecture. Publisher and distributor: Keiō Press."

most likely written by instructors of the time: Xue Nailiang, his successor Gong Enlu, and Kaneko Yahei 金子彌平, an instructor at Keiō Public School.

4.2   Hirobe Sei's *Chinese Mandarin*

The first Japanese textbook for studying Chinese was *The Languages of Asia: Chinese Mandarin* 亞細亞言語集支那官話之部, edited by Hirobe Sei 廣部精 (Tokyo: Seizandō Shobō, 1879–1880). This text, based on Wade's *Progressive Course,* was reprinted in 1892 and was revised and enlarged in 1902. Its contents are as follows:

Figure 7.5   The title page of Hirobe's *Chinese Mandarin.*

Vol. 1: Preface (Wang Yeben 王冶本, Hirobe Sei), Explanatory Notes, Table of Sounds, The Forty Exercises, Translations of Some of the Forty Exercises (published June 30, 1879)

Vol. 2: Preface (Gong Enlu), The Eighteen Sections, Common Expressions (published February 1880)

Vol. 3: Preface (Nakamura Masanao 中邨正直), The Ten Dialogues (published March 1880)

Vol. 4: Preface (Liu Shian 劉世安), The Fifty Lessons (published May 1880)

Vol. 5: The Fifty-two Lessons, a Continuation (published May 1880)

Vol. 6: Explanatory Remarks (Hirobe Sei), The Tone Exercises (published May 1880)

Vol. 7: The Chapter on the Parts of Speech (published August 1880)

From the contents, one can see that this text was based on Wade's *Progressive Course*. In addition, the authors wrote the following in the preface to the work:

> This work comes mostly from the Englishman Thomas Wade's *Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese*, as well as from *A New Edition of Old European Tales for Commoners* 通俗歐洲述古新編, [a Chinese translation of Aesop's Fables] by the German translator Arendt, which I have gathered together to form a book. In places I have deleted a word here and added a word there, or I have moved a later passage forward so that readers may read in the proper order. Whatever one does not find in Wade's *Progressive Course* or Arendt's *Tales* is my doing. I would be most happy if readers were to send me corrections. (*Chinese Mandarin*, Preface)

> In 1877 I compiled a book on Chinese Mandarin that I titled *The Languages of Asia: Chinese Mandarin*. I relied heavily on *A Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese*, by the English diplomat to China Thomas Wade, which I previously received from Mr. Nakamura Masanao. (*Chinese Mandarin*, revised and enlarged edition, Preface)
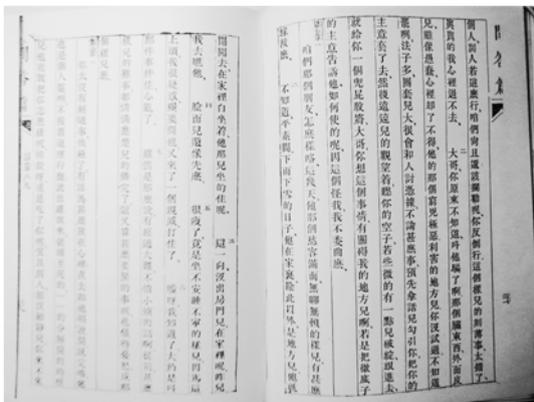
Figure 7.6 The first page of text of *Dialogues*.

In spite of writing this, Hirobe did not entirely base his *Chinese Mandarin* on Wade's *Progressive Course*. While other parts were based on *A Progressive Course*, the lessons of volumes 4 and 5 were not. To begin with, *Chinese Mandarin* has 102 lessons, whereas *A Progressive Course* has only 100 lessons—a clear difference of two lessons. These two lessons of *Chinese Mandarin* are not contained in "The Hundred Lessons" of *A Progressive Course*.

What is going on here? In fact, Hirobe compiled "The Fifty Lessons" and "The Fifty-two Lessons, a Continuation" based on Wade's *Dialogues*, not *A Progressive Course*.[11] Because Hirobe included dialogue 42 of volume 1 and dialogue 35 of volume 2 of the *Dialogues*, he has 102 dialogues in his Chinese Mandarin.[12] Accordingly, each of the lessons of volumes 4 and 5 of *Chinese Mandarin* agrees with the corresponding dialogue in the *Dialogues*. Let me give a concrete example:

你這麼冤他、是甚麼道理、人家恭恭敬敬的、在你跟前討個主意、知道就說知道、不知道就說不知道罷了、撒謊作甚麼、儻若把人家的事情躭誤了、倒像你有心害他似的、他若是個可惡的人、我也就不怪你這麼樣兒待他、我看他那個人很老實、一眲就知道、是個慢性子、別人若是這麼欺負他、咱們還當攔勸呢、你反倒這樣兒的刻薄、太錯了、真真的我心裡過不去。 (*A Progressive Course*, "The Hundred Lessons," lesson 58)

你這是怎麼說、人家恭恭敬敬的、在你跟前討主意、知道說知道、不知道說不知道、撒謊作甚麼、倘若把人家的事情躭竣了、倒像你有心害他的、他若是可惡的人、我也不說來咯、那是一個老實人、怪可憐見兒的、一眲就知道、是個慢皮性兒的人、宵別人若這麼行、咱們尚且還該攔勸呢、你反倒行這個樣兒的刻薄事太錯了、真真的我心裡過不去。 (*Chinese Mandarin*, "The Fifty-two Lessons, a Continuation," lesson 9)

你這是怎麼說、人家恭恭敬敬的、在你跟前討主意、知道說知道、不知道說不知道、撒謊作甚麼、倘若把人家的事情躭悮了、倒像你有心害他的、他若是可惡的人、我也不說來咯、那是一個老實人、怪可憐見兒的、一眲就知道、是個慢皮性兒的個人、別人若這麼行、咱們尚且還該攔勸呢、你反倒行這個樣兒的刻薄事太錯了、真真的我心裡過不去。 (*Dialogues*, vol. 2, lesson 6)

You have no right to be taking him in this way. When people ask you for an opinion in the most respectful manner, if you know the thing, good; if you don't know it, you should say you don't; but it makes you look as if you wanted to do them a mischief when you set them wrong by telling them what isn't the case. If the man were some scoundrel that one ought to have no love for, I shouldn't pull you up; but I can see that he's a very simple fellow. A single glance shows one that he is too slow to do any great harm. Supposing it was anyone else that was humbugging him, it would be our place to remonstrate; and that you, instead of taking his part, should be using him so ill is really more than I can put up with. (*A Progressive Course*, "The Hundred Lessons," lesson 58, Wade's translation)

In the revised and enlarged edition of *Chinese Mandarin*, the two sets of lessons had a total of 100 lessons. The contents of the lessons were the same, the only

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11 For more on *Dialogues*, see Uchida 2001a, pp. 400ff.
12 Dialogue 50 in volume 2 of the *Dialogues* does not appear in either *The Progressive Course* or *Chinese Mandarin*.

difference being that in the second set, lessons 1 and 2 were combined into one lesson, as were lessons 30 and 31.

It is also possible to show that "The Fifty Lessons" and "The Fifty-two Lessons, a Continuation" of *Chinese Mandarin* were based on Wade's *Dialogues*, rather than *A Progressive Course*, by looking at substitutions for the bannerman Manchu respectful personal pronouns 阿哥, etc. The pronouns 阿哥, 大哥, 哥哥, 二哥, and 你那 appear often in *A Guide for the Beginning Student*, *Quotations in Three Languages*, *Essentials of Manchu*, and the *Dialogues*, but in *A Progressive Course*, such Manchu forms as 阿哥, 大哥, 哥哥, and 二哥 totally disappear, and in their stead we see 兄臺, 老兄, 老弟, etc. In this regard, *Chinese Mandarin* basically agrees with the *Dialogues*. Below I present correspondences in the use of these pronouns in *Chinese Mandarin* and *A Progressive Course*. (On the left is *Chinese Mandarin* usage, and on the right is the usage in *A Progressive Course*. Reference key: 1-1a–1 = "The Fifty Lessons," lesson 1, p. 1a, line 1; B1(50)-1a–1 = "The Fifty-two Lessons, a Continuation," lesson 1 (lesson 50 in *A Progressive Course*), p. 1a, line 1.)

阿哥
阿哥   → 老弟 3-2a-12, 4-3a-10, 5-3b-4, 5-3b-9, 32-18a-3, 32-18a-4, B6(55)-4a-3
阿哥   → deleted 48(47)-27a-12
阿哥   → 兄臺 3-2b-8
阿哥   → 令郎 B36(85)-21a-5
阿哥   → 小兒(?) B36(85)-21a-7
阿哥   → 那個人 20-11b-8
阿哥們 → 孩子們 21-12a-12

哥哥
哥哥   → 兄臺 1-1a-9, 1-1b-2, 1-1b-6, 7-5a-3, 9-6a-3, 11-7a-2, 10-7a-2, 10-7a-3,
             11-7a-10, 12-7b-3, 20-11b-12, B1(50)-1a-10 (*A Progressive Course* = 我的
             兄臺, *Dialogues* = 我的哥), B22(71)-13a-4
哥哥   → deleted 1-1a-10, 11-7a-9
哥哥   → 你納 1-1a-12
哥哥們 → 兄臺們 36-20b-1, 50(49)-28a-7
哥哥們 → 眾位 B44(92)-25b-10
我哥哥 → 我們家兄 27-15a-7, 27-15a-11
你哥哥 → 主人 9-6a-5
老哥哥 → 老兄 11-7a-3

大哥, 二哥

大哥　　→ 兄臺 5-3b-12, 5-4a-6, 10-6b-6, 22-13a-11, 22-13b-1, 33-18b-6, 37-21a-11, 38-21b-5, 39-22a-7, 42(自41)-23b-10, 45(44)-25b-1, 46(45)26b-1, B8(57)-5a-3, B18(67)-11-4, B18(67)-11a-8, B20(69)-11b-11, B21(70)-12a-11, B23(72)-14a-3, B24(73)-14a-8, B24(73)-14b-3, B24(73)-14b-5, B24(73)-14b-7, B25(74)-15a-5, B39(87)-22b-5, B39(87)-22b-7, B40(88)-23b-1, B46(94)-27a-2

大哥　　→ 老兄 B13(62)-8a-7 (大哥你爲什么和他一般一配的昵 → 老兄，不用往他較量這個，和他一般一配的竟做什么), B16(65)-9b-12, B17(66)-10b-3, B21(70)-12b-7, B24(73)-14a-11, B24(73)-14b-2

大哥　　→ 你納 30-16b-11, 30-16b-12, 30-17a-1, 30-17a-3, 30-17a-9, B33(82)-19a-3, 34-19b-1 (大哥你也有一件事來著 → 我記得你納也有一件事來著)

大哥　　→ 吾兄 B33(62)-18b-11

大哥　　→ 老弟 45(44)-25a-9, 45(44)-25b-8, 46(45)-26a-2, 50(49)-28b-1

大哥們　→ 兄臺 B13(62)-8b-2

老大哥　→ 老兄臺 B40(88)-23a-12

二哥　　→ 老弟B13(62)-8a-10

你納

你納　→ 你納 7-5a-3, 10-6b-6, 12-7b-5, 12-7b-8, 12-7b-9, 12-7b-10, 12-7b-11, 12-7b-12, 12-8a-1, 12-8a-1, 12-8a-3, 12-8a-3, 13-8a-9, 42(41)-23b-10, 50(49)-28b-1, B16(65)-9b-12, B20(69)-11b-11, B24(73)-14a-7, B24(73)-14a-8, B24(73)-14a-12, B24(73)-14b-6, B25(74)-14b-12, B25(74)-15a-1, B25(74)-15a-2, B33(82)-18b-12, B33(82)-19a-2, B40(88)-23b-1, B42(90)-24b-12

你納　→ 兄臺 3-2b-1, 47(46)-26b-3

你納　→ deleted B24(73)-14a-11

Places where the "Dialogues" differs

老弟　　→ 老弟 (*Dialogues* = 阿哥) 19-11a-10

老兄　　→ 老兄 (*Dialogues* = 大哥) B23(72)-13b-5

令郎　　→ 令郎 B33(82)-19a-3 (*Dialogues* =阿哥), B39(87)-22b-5 (= *Dialogues*)

兄臺們　→ 兄臺們 B40(88)-23b-7 (*Dialogues* = 阿哥)

兄弟們　→ 眾位 B40(88)-23b-6 (*Dialogues* = 阿哥)

Thus, though there are corrections such as that presented below, *Chinese Mandarin* clearly follows the *Dialogues.*

往這們來了 (*Dialogues*)

往這邊來了 (*Chinese Mandarin*, B16(65)-9b-7 = *A Progressive Course*)

Beyond doubt, Hirobe saw a copy of Wade's *Dialogues*, but it remains a puzzle as to why he never mentioned the title of this work. Perhaps there was a trial version of *A Progressive Course* that included the *Dialogues*. There is a woodblock-printed version of *The Ten Dialogues* 問答十章, held by Zhong Shaohua of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. The existence of this trial version, and also of the *Dialogues* and *Essays by a Successful Graduate*, suggests that perhaps a preliminary version of *A Progressive Course* was released in order to seek feedback. To answer this question, we need to carry out more detailed investigation, analysis, and consideration of the similarities and differences between the various parts of *A Progressive Course* and these various woodblock prints.

Figure 7.7   The first dialogue of *The Ten Dialogues*.

Soon after Hirobe's *Chinese Mandarin* was published, *A General Translation of the Languages of Asia: Chinese Mandarin* 總譯亞細亞言語集支那官話之部, containing a Japanese translation and Japanese notes, was published. Here is the publication history:

A General Translation of the Languages of Asia: Chinese Mandarin, Oriental binding, four volumes in six fascicles
Vol. 1: parts 1 and 2 in separate fascicles, May 1880
Vol. 2: May 1880
Vol. 3: August 1880
Vol. 4: parts 1 and 2 in separate fascicles, December 1882
Reprinted, June 1899. 4 vols. (vol. 1, parts 1 and 2, in one volume; vol. 4, parts 1 and 2, also in one volume)

4.3   *The Complete Forty Exercises of a Progressive Course, Newly Edited*, edited by
       the Chinese School of the Society for the Revival of Asia

In April 1880 *The Complete Forty Exercises of a Progressive Course, Newly Edited*
新校語言自邇集, 散語之部全, edited by the Chinese School of the Society for
the Revival of Asia 興亜會支那語學校 (Western binding, 40 pp.) was published.
The colophon gives the following facts of publication:

Permission to publish: April 17, 1880
Editing: Chinese School of the Society for the Revival of Asia
Publisher: Iida Heisaku, a member of the samurai class of Ōita Prefecture
Authorized booksellers: Maruya Zenshichi, Yamanaka Ichibee, Keiō Gijuku
Shuppansha

Nagaoka Moriyoshi 長岡護美 established the Society for the Revival of Asia in
March 1880, and two months prior he established the Chinese School. The Chi-
nese language instructors at the school were Zhang Zifang 張滋昉, Sone Toshi-
tora 曽根俊虎, Kaneko Yahei 金子弥平, and Hirobe Sei 廣部精.

    This book excerpted "The Forty Exercises" from *A Progressive Course* and
added several corrections.

    As mentioned above, in Japan, instruction in Beijing Mandarin began in 1876.
For a long time prior, Chinese language instruction was on southern speech,
primarily Nanjing Mandarin. Consequently, after 1876 as well, instruction on
southern speech, Nanjing Mandarin in particular, continued strong, with both
Beijing Mandarin and Nanjing Mandarin being taught until at least 1881. Given
this background, the library copy of *The Complete Forty Exercises* becomes of
great interest.

    The inside of the cover of this copy has the four-tone table for both Nanjing
Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin written in. In fact, this copy has numerous
written insertions, written probably by a student. These insertions change the
Beijing Mandarin of the text to Nanjing Mandarin or to southern speech. Here I
will systematically present these changes below.
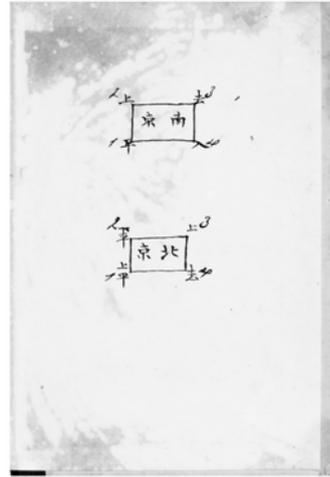
Figure 7.8 (left)   The cover of *The Complete Forty Exercises.*
Figure 7.9 (right)   The four-tone tables for Nanjing Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin on the inside of the cover.
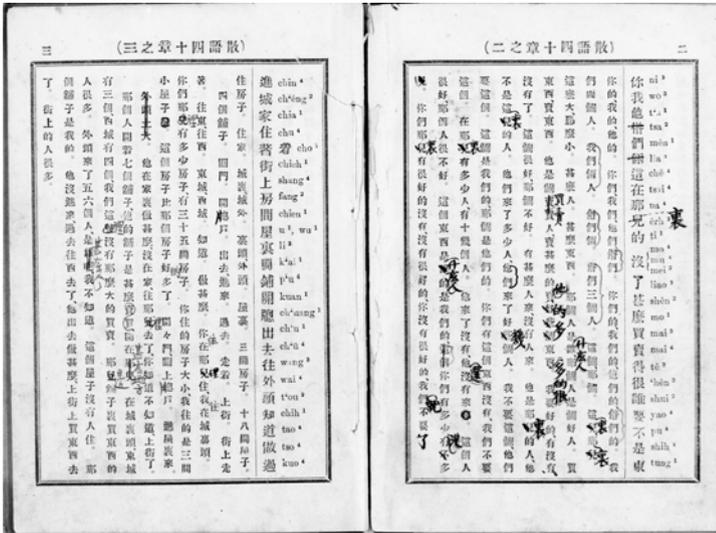
Figure 7.10   Insertions in one of the exercises of *The Complete Forty Exercises.*

Tones
Upper level tone 上平, lower level tone 下平, rising tone 上聲, falling tone 去聲 →
level tone 平聲, rising tone 上聲, falling tone 去聲, entering tone 入聲

Nouns, pronouns
八下兒鐘 → 八點鐘
他在道兒上躺着 → 他在路上躺着
道兒上到店里得喂牲口 → 在路上走路要到了客店里頭才可以養牲口
箒 → 召箒
炕上 → 床上
劈柴 → 柴火
雞子兒 → 即是雞蛋
奶子 → 牛奶
上月我在一塊兒看書 → 前個月頭我同他一塊兒看書
後頭→ 後面
他們倆人 → 他們兩個人
他們倆兄弟 → 兩兄弟
他們倆 → 他們兩個人
旁人的父親 → 別人家父親
小人兒 → 小孩子
黑下 → 晚上
您, 咱們
你納 → 您
咱們 → 我們
咱們五六年沒有見 → 我五六年沒有見過你怎么樣
上月我們在一塊兒看書 → 前個月頭我同他一塊兒看書
兒 → 天
昨兒 → 昨天, 今兒 → 今天, 明兒 → 明天, 後兒 → 後天
我今兒走 → 今天
昨兒黑下 → 昨天晚上
今兒是個晴大 → 今天天氣很好
明兒可以回來 → 明天
兒 → 里
這兒 → 這里
那兒 → 那里
那兒 → 那邊
兒 → 子
飯鍋的蓋兒 → 蓋子
不好性兒 → 性子
瓦盆兒 → 盆子
盆兒 → 盆子

娘兒們 → 娘子們
賊中頭兒 → 賊的頭子
兒 deleted
尖兒 → 尖
時候兒 → 時候
地方兒 → 地方
顏色兒 → 顏色
充數兒 → 充數
兒 → 兒 + another character
我月月兒進的錢 → 月月里頭
好性兒 → 好性情
好兒 → 好處
主兒 → 主人
誰 → 什么人
那個人是誰 → 什么人
這個東西是誰的 → 什么人
外頭來了五六個人，是誰呢 → 什么人
誰拿了去了 → 什么人
那兒 = 哪兒 → 什么地方
開在那兒 → 開在什么地方
多咱, 多早晚兒
他多咱回來 → 他什么時候回來
多早晚兒 → 多早晚兒

Numerals, measure words
剩下些個賬目 → 好多的
好些個人 → 好多人
賣好些個東西 → 他賣的多/多的很
來了好些個人 → 好幾個人
忘了好些個 → 忘記了好多
他們那些人 → 那般人
一眼井 → 一口井
拿條箒來把地掃干凈了 → 把笤箒
五管筆 → 五支筆

Verbs
那個人鼻子眼睛長得奇怪 → 那個人的鼻子同眼睛生得奇怪的很
一個長得俊，一個長得丑 → 一個貌美俊，一個貌丑
忘了 → 忘記了

忘了好些個 → 忘記了好多
喂牲口 → 養牲口
道兒上到店里得喂牲口 → 在路上走路要到了客店頭才可以養牲口
你快弄飯去，得了就端了茶 → 你快弄飯去，弄好了就端了茶
顏色兒舊了 → 顏色褪了

Adjectives
我月月兒進的錢總不彀 (= 够) → 彀用
像似 → 好像
順眼 → 好看
都行 → 可以
困極了 → 倦極了
一天比一天增多 → 一天多過一天

Modal verbs
你這個辮子得梳了 → 要
我這個時辰表有點兒毛病，得找個鐘表匠修理 → 要

Adverbs
八下兒鐘沒起來 → 沒有
這個字見過沒見過 → 沒有
這個字我還沒看見過 → 沒有
我的口音沒什么很好的 → 我的口音沒有什么好的
城外頭沒什么住家兒的 → 城外頭沒有人住的地方
春天沒有冬天冷，秋天沒有夏天熱 → 春天沒有冬天那么冷，秋天沒有夏天那么熱
原舊的顏色兒 → 本來的顏色
賊快來了 → 賊就要來了
其余全是惡人 → 都

Auxiliary words
實在像馬棚似的 → 馬棚的樣子
你去年進京在那兒住着來着 → 你去年進京在那里住着
他們吵鬧呢 → 他們在那里吵鬧

The differences brought out by these changes are basically the differences between Beijing Mandarin and southern speech noted by Ōta Tatsuo in 1965.[13] In 1974 Kusaka Tsuneo used the notes in *A Guide to Mandarin* 官話指南 in the Hakuen Collection of Kansai University to discern features of Nanjing Mandarin during the Qing dynasty.[14] I expect that *The Complete Forty Exercises* too will become a useful source for the study of the history of Chinese.

4.4   Other Texts Derived from *A Progressive Course*

In addition to the above, the following texts derived from *A Progressive Course* were also published in Japan:

The Chinese Dialogues, Corrected and Explained in Japanese 參訂漢語問答篇國字解, corrected and explained by Fukushima Kyūsei 福島九成, September 1880.

The Tone Exercises of a Progressive Course 自邇集平仄篇四聲聯珠, Oriental binding, 9 vols., 1 vol. of notes and explanations, edited by Fukushima Yasumasa 福島安正, revised by Shōko Eikei 紹古英繼, published by Rikugun Bunko, April 1886.

A Shortcut to the Study of Beijing Mandarin, the Language of China 北京官話清國語學捷径, edited by Nanbu Yoshikazu 南部義籌 of Tosa, published by Dai Nihon Tōyō Shingakusha.
The Tone Exercises, vol. 1, October 1894
The Forty Exercises, pt. 1, vol. 2, October 1894
The Forty Exercises, pt. 2, vol. 3, June 1895
The Eighteen Sections, vol. 4, August 1895

In addition, the National Library of China in Beijing and the University of Tokyo Library each have a lead-type edition of *A Progressive Course* (though the page-fold cartouche reads 語言字迩集, not 語言自迩集). This edition uses "The Forty

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13 Ōta Tatsuo 太田辰夫, "The Grammatical Features of Beijing Speech" 北京語の文法特點, in *Hisashige Fukusaburō sensei, Sakamoto Ichirō sensei kanreki kinen Chūgoku kenkyū* 久重福三郎先生坂本一郎先生還暦記念中国研究 (Tenri, 1965). (Later retitled *Chūgokugobun ronshū: Gogaku hen* 中国語文論集: 語学篇.)

14 Kusaka Tsuneo 日下恒夫, "Some Features of the Nanjing Mandarin Dialect during the Qing Dynasty: Notes in *A Guide to Mandarin* in the Hakuen Collection" 清代南京官話方言の一斑: 泊園文庫蔵『官話指南』の書き入れ, *Kansai Daigaku Chūgoku Bungaku Kai kiyō* 関西大学中国文学会紀要, no. 5 (1974).

Exercises" and "The Ten Dialogues" found in the second edition of *A Progressive Course.*

Though *A Progressive Course* was a well-known book in its time, so well known that nearly everyone had heard of the title, there have been hardly any studies directly concerned either with the peculiarities of its language and the process that Wade followed in creating the text, or with the spread of the book and its influence. Since this work is an extremely useful source for the study of the history of Chinese and the history of education, I expect that there will be much more research on this work in the future. A good place to start would be with photographic reproductions of the three editions of Wade's text.

Chapter 8:
Pidgin: A Feature of Contact between Cultures of Different Languages

The various topics of the academic study of intercultural contacts, negotiations, and interactions all have people, things, and language as their basis. Among these basic elements, the most important is language, since it serves as the medium through which culture is transmitted. The reason for this is that things require names, that new things leads people to seek new names for these things, and that cultural interaction is carried out through language.

Intercultural contact and negotiation presupposes the existence of at least two cultures. In other words, intercultural contact and negotiation is the contact and interaction of different cultures, the culture of this country with the culture of that country.

When two different cultures and two different languages come into contact, we often see the peculiar phenomenon of pidgin language. The classic case of a pidgin language is nineteenth-century Chinese pidgin English, also called Cantonese English 廣東英語 or (treaty-port) settlement English 洋涇浜英語, but pidgin is not a phenomenon limited to English. Here I will attempt to delineate pidgin by describing actual pidgin, with a focus on Chinese pidgin English.

1   "Make Drama"

In 1996 Nagashima Shigeo, manager of the Yomiuri Giants, created a topic of conversation when he uttered the phrase "make drama." While the phrase might make for an interesting topic of conversation among Japanese, a native English speaker would not understand this bit of "Nagashima English" to mean to achieve a dramatic come-from-behind victory.

It is not only Nagashima's English that is strange. Standard Japanese as well is rife with pseudo-Anglicisms, such as those presented below.

オーダーメイド   order-made (custom-made)
スキンシップ   skin-ship (physical contact, personal contact)

キーホルダー	key holder (key ring, key chain)
コンセント	concent (electrical outlet)
ガソリンスタンド	gasoline stand (gas station)
シャープペンシル	sharp pencil (mechanical pencil, propelling pencil)
ホットケーキ	hotcake (pancake)
ミルクティー	milk tea (tea with milk)
フライドポテト	fried potato (French fries)
マンション	mansion (apartment, flat)
Ｙシャツ	Y-shirt (white shirt, dress shirt)
ガッツポーズ	guts pose (victory pose)
パネラー	paneler (panelist)

A problem that confronts us here is whether to treat such pseudo-Anglicisms as pidgin English.

2   January 吉尼奥利

Ten years ago, when I was in Boston doing research, I was commuting on a bus to the university and happened to see an elderly Chinese woman studying English. Peering over her shoulder at her notes, I saw that she had "January" written out in Chinese characters as 吉尼奥利 jini'aoli.

Again, in *Sixty Reminiscences* 六十回憶, by Zhou Yueran 周越然 (1944), we find the following passage:

> A member of the wife's family asked Mr. Jin to write "good morning" 各得罵人 (kohtehmonyin in the Suzhou dialect) in his small notebook. Mr. Jin did this and repeatedly explained, "You can use this greeting only in the morning when you meet someone. You absolutely cannot use it in the afternoon or in the evening. If I meet a foreigner in the morning and he greets me thus, I too can greet him thus. We greet each other and wish each other well." At the time I was extremely puzzled: if Western etiquette requires wishing each other well, why must they curse each other 各得罵人? One can see that when I was a child, I was uninformed and confused Western writing with Chinese writing. Later I discovered that Chinese 頭 (deu, head) and English "toe" are no less contradictory than the above. Other contradictory pairs include 錯 (tshou, false) and "true," 樓 (leu, high building) and "low," 白 (bah, white) and "black," 灰 (hue, grey) and "white," 樂 (loh, willing) and "loath," 茅厠 (mausi, latrine) and "mouth."[1]

Here Zhou Yueran says that when he was a child, he confused Chinese writing and Western writing and asked why, if it is necessary to wish each other well according

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1   Zhou Yueran 周越然, *Sixty Reminiscences* 六十回憶 (Shanghai: Taiping Shuju, 1944), pp. 10–11.

to Western etiquette, does one say 各得罵人 (good morning). He also gives some examples where Chinese and English have the same sound but opposite meanings. For instance, "deu" (in the Suzhou dialect) means head 頭 in Chinese but toe in English. Similarly, "leu" means a high building 樓 in Chinese but low in English; "bah" means white 白 in Chinese but black in English; "hue" means grey 灰 in Chinese but white in English; "loh" means willing 樂 in Chinese but loath in English; and "mausi" means latrine 茅厠 in Chinese but mouth in English.

The example of the elderly woman in Boston and Zhou Yueran's humorous anecdote are the sort of things that often happen when different languages come into contact or when people learn foreign languages. They show how different phonetic systems can sometimes express different things using similar sounds. And they also reveal the problem of how to transcribe foreign loanwords. This is the same problem that the Japanese student of first-year English or Chinese faces when he transcribes "I am a boy" as アイ アム ア ボーイ *ai amu a bōi*, or 你好 as ニーハオ *nī hao*, using the katakana syllabary.

3   Pidgin and the Study of English in Nineteenth-Century China

The first representative Western language that the Chinese encountered was Latin, which Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits brought to China. Then in the nineteenth century, when Robert Morrison and other Protestants displaced the Catholics, English gradually became the language of the West. After the Opium Wars, Britain and other English-speaking countries emerged as the main powers in China, solidifying the position of English. Against this backdrop, Chinese, from the nineteenth century on, began to study English in Hong Kong and Guangdong (Canton).

3.1   The English Textbook of the Anglo-Chinese College

Among the English texts for Chinese students that I have seen are Robert Morrison's *Grammar of the English Language for the Use of the Anglo-Chinese College* (Macau, 1823) and *The English and Chinese Student's Assistant, or Colloquial Phrases, Letters &c, in English and Chinese* (Malacca, 1826). The latter text, for use at the Anglo-Chinese College 英華書院 in Malacca, was by Yuan Dehui 袁德輝, who here used the name Shaou Tih 小德.[2] Foreign students of Chinese also used

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2 Shaou Tih also appears in William C. Hunter's *Bits of Old China* (1842): "My Chinese teacher, Moore, a fellow student, Shaow-Tih, and many other Chinese students, went off with me to the ship and loaded my cabs with fresh fruits" (p. 260).

this text to study Chinese. As shown below, the text displays English and Chinese sentences side by side in groups of various themes (106 themes in all).

Books 書
Where is my book?   我的書在何處
That book is badly printed.   那書印得不好
The doctrines of that book are excellent.   那本書的理深奧
My books are upstairs.   我的書在樓上
Read your book.   讀你的書
Wan Tseuen composed that book.   是完全纂那本書

The English of this text is straightforward. The Chinese, as further shown in the examples below, reflects colloquial Chinese. Even where something might be made in Malacca, this work does not refer to it with its Cantonese name. Rather, it tends to use northern Mandarin throughout (though the book does use outdated language here and there). The style is clearly different from the easy classical style 淺文理 of Robert Morrison's translation of the Bible and also from a mixed vernacular and classical style.

Examples
That book is badly printed.   那書印得不好
Who composed that book?   誰人撰那本書
Give me that book.   把那本書給於我
Shut your book.   關着你的書
Have you read that book?   你讀過那書麼
Some one has taken the Shang Lun from the library.   有一人從書房中把論語取去了
I will thank you to give me a reading of that book.   我感謝你賜那書與我讀
I received a letter from my brother yesterday.   我昨日接着我的弟兄寄來的書信
When had you a letter from your father?   你幾時接了你父親來的書信
I will thank you, Sir, to take that letter to London for me.   尊駕我多謝你把那封信與我帶到英吉利京城
You mentioned in your last letter to me that you wished to buy a horse of me.   你煞尾來的一封書信說道你要買我的一匹馬
Give me one sheet of white paper.   賜一張白紙與我
How long have you been at College?   你在書院讀書幾久
You ought to live in harmony with your fellow Students.   你該當同你窗友和睦
Time is precious, and ought to be well employed.   時刻貴重該當善用
I should like that you would call to-morrow morning at a quarter past eight o'clock.   你明日早晨八點鐘零一刻來見我

Every time is alike to me.　不拘什麼時候同我皆是一樣
I have no spare time.　我無有時刻閑空
Time flies.　時刻過去如飛
That stupid taylor, has made all my clothes too small.　那是個愚蠢的裁縫把我一總的衣服做得太小
Will you take tiffin with us to-day?　今日請你與我們吃點心
How much did you pay for that horse?　那匹馬你給幾多錢
Of whom did you buy him?　你從誰人買得的
How old were you when you began to read?　你幾歲起頭讀書
How old was your Father when he died?　你的父親死時有幾大年紀

A feature of this book is that it is not just a language text, but also text that gives the reader knowledge of science, history, geography, Christianity, etc. If we look at the entries below, we can discern the level of learning in the respective disciplines at the time. This book is also a valuable source for seeing how Westerners gave names to things and how new terms came into being.

Celebrated men 名人
Adam was the great progenitor of the human race.　亞大麥是萬人類之始祖
Noah was a man who feared God, and therefore was saved alive with all his family, when the whole world was drowned by the deluge.　諾額乃敬畏神天之所以普世人以洪水被消滅之時他同他全家被救了皆得生活
David was first a shepherd, and afterwards King of the Jews.　大五得先是牧童後來爲如氏亞人的王
Socrates, Aristotle and Plato were famous Grecian philosophers.　所客鐵斯、亜理斯多爹爾、不拉多、是厄利革國有名格物師
Bacon, an Englishman, was the first philosopher who clearly taught men, how to reason from well known facts to their legitimate consequences, hence he is called the father of the inductive philosophy.　英吉利人名白公他是開頭第一格物之人所明教人如何自明致知之理的干係從此稱他爲格物致知之宗師
Newton, the greatest natural philosopher the world ever saw, was an Englishman, and was born 183 years ago.　鈕屯是天下至大個性理格物師他是英吉利人出世有一百八十三年

Geography 地理
What is Geography?　地理是甚麼
Geography is a description of the earth, as to its divisions, inhabitants and productions.　地理是解說地的分度、居民、土產
How many great divisions does the earth contain?　地有幾多大分

Four; Asia, Africa, Europe, and America.　四大分亞細亞、亞非加、友羅巴、亞麥利加

What is the population of China?　中國有幾多人民

Perhaps the population of China may be about two hundred millions.　或者在中國有二十千萬

How many religious sects are there in China? There are three, called Joo, Taou, and Füh, besides some Christians & Mahometans.　在中國有幾多教。有三教曰儒教佛教道教另外有些耶穌教回回教

London is the Metropolis of England, Edinburgh is the Capital of Scotland, and Dublin is the chief city of Ireland.　論頓是英吉利首城衣領馬爾是斯哥鐵郎的首城拉木林是嚘衣爾蘭的首城

What is the annual revenue of England?　英吉利每年有多少錢糧

About seventy five millions of pounds, or about three hundred & fifty three millions of Spanish Dollars.　大略七十五兆個包翁肋或三百五十三兆花邊銀

How many Universities are there in England?　在英吉利有幾多博學的書院

Two, called the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.　有兩個阿格士縛爾肋一個缸梅利池一個

What is taught in the Universities of England, Scotland and Ireland?　在英吉利斯哥鐵郎嚘衣爾蘭博學書院教甚麼

The Latin, Greek, Hebrew, & some other eastern languages, the Mathematics, Natural philosophy, in all its branches, Divinity, medicine, Law, &c. are taught.　教辣丁、厄利革、希比留話、及東方有幾處的言語數理格物的各斷及神天的道理醫學法律之學其餘別的學問

In general, the Africans are in a barbarous state.　大概亞非利加人都是蠻貊之人

Yes, many Englishmen have left their native land, and gone to Africa in order to teach its barbarous inhabitants the doctrines of the true God, and other branches [of] knowledge.　然多多英吉利人離了他家鄉去到亞非利加教蠻民真神天的道理及別的才學

How is America divided?　亞麥利加分爲幾分

America is divided into north and south America.　亞麥利加分南北兩分

Many of the inhabitants of America are the descendants of Englishmen, and they speak the English language.　亞麥利加的居民有些是英吉利的遺種所以說英吉利話

The population of Asia is about 500 millions.　亞細亞的人民大約有五百個百萬

The population of America is about 75 millions.　亞麥利加人民有七十五個百萬

What is the population of Europe?　友羅巴有幾多人民

It is about 150 millions.　大約有一百五十個百萬

What is the population of the whole world?　天下共有多少人民
It is about 900 millions.　大約九百個百萬

Astronomy 天文
Astronomy is the science which treats of the magnitudes, motions, distances, periods, eclipses, and order of the celestial bodies.　天文是論天上星政的大小、運動遠近、層次、時候、掩蝕
What is the solar system?　甚麼是梭拉爾西斯得
The solar system contains eleven planets, a number of Satellites, and the Sun as its centre.　梭拉爾西斯得載十一星政及幾個撒鐵爾理鐵斯日爲中心
The European names of the eleven planets, are Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Ceres, Pallas, Juno, Vesta, Jupiter, Saturn, & Herschel.　十一星政友羅巴之名麥爾加利即水星、比納斯即金星、也爾斯即地球、馬爾斯即火星、瑟納斯、巴拉斯、入諾、也斯大、入比鐵爾即歲星、撒大臨即土星、黑斯捨
The Sun revolves on its own axis in 25 days 14 hours and 4 minutes.　日在自己的軸二十五日十四點鐘零四分運動一週
The planet on which we dwell, called the Earth, is 95,000,000 miles distant from the Sun, its diameter is 7964 miles, and it travels round the Sun in 365 d. 5 h. 48 min. & 48 sec.　我們所居住的星政稱爲地與日相去有九千五百萬里徑有七千九百六十四里三百六十五日兩個時辰四刻四十八分四十三秒圍著日運一週

Other fields
I have Studied English Grammar, Geography, Geometry, Astronomy, and Divinity.　我學了英吉利話的文法書地理幾何原本天文及神天道理
Have you Studied Anatomy?　你學過身體圖麼
Anatomy is the science which teaches the situation, figure, connexions, actions, and uses of the several parts of an animal body.　身體圖者教人知道身體生活的步位置像貌連絡行動及各分運用之所學也
Rice, Bread, Beef, Pork, Tea, Vegetables, Milk, Butter, Cheese, Wine, Beer, Fruit
飯米、麵包、牛肉、豬肉、茶、青菜、乳、酥酪、牛乳餅、酒、比兒、果子
I will send for a Doctor to let blood of you.　我將請個醫生來與我放的血
Theology　神道或神天之道理
Evidence　憑據

Some of the example sentences in the geography and astronomy sections of the book were taken from Robert Morrison's *Tour round the World* 西遊地球聞見略傳 (1839). This is quite expected in view of Morrison's connection with the

Anglo-Chinese College. Perhaps Morrison himself was involved in the compilation of this text, or perhaps these examples were shared among instructors at the Anglo-Chinese College.

3.2 Practical Conversational Texts

In addition to the above-mentioned proper English texts used at regular schools, there were also more dubious practical texts designed for the trade business. These were the so-called red hairs' English vocabularies 紅毛番話. To date, six red hairs' English vocabularies have been discovered:[3]

English Commonly Used by Red Hairs 紅毛通用番話 (Guangdong?: Chengdetang)
English Commonly Used by Red Hairs 紅毛通用番話 (Guangdong: Bijingtang)
Red Hairs' English Essential for Trading 紅毛番話貿易須知 (Yiwentang; Museum of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica)
Red Hairs' English Essential for Trading 紅毛番話貿易須知 (Fuguitang; British Library, Bibliothèque Nationale de France)
English Commonly Used by Red Hairs in Buying and Selling 紅毛買賣通用鬼話 (Yingdetang; Bibliothèque Nationale de France)
Essential English 夷音輯要 (author's private collection)

These six texts are basically the same except for minor changes in wording. The British Library also has *Manuscript of Common British Speech* 大英俗語抄本 (1850?, 56 pages) and Robert Thorn, *Chinese and English Vocabulary* (1843, 74 pages).

These textbooks present numbers, for example, as follows: "一 温 [wan, one], 二 都 [dou, two], 三 地理 [deilei, three], 四 科 [fo, four], 五 輝 [fai, five], 六 昔士 [siksi, six], 七 心 [sam, seven], 二十 敦地 [deoidei, twenty], 二十一 敦地温 [deoideiwan, twenty-one]."

Other vocabulary words are presented as follows: "賣 些林 [selam, sell], 洗 嘩時 [waasi, wash], 坐 薛當 [sitdong, sit down], 睡 士獵 [silip, sleep], 走 論 [leon, run], 香 士羊厘 [sijoenglei, smelly], 淨 記連 [geilin, clean], 大 喇治 [laazi, large], 麵頭 叭咧 [baale, bread], 麵頭片 多時 [dosi, toast], 麵餅 卑士結 [beisigit, biscuit], 鉛筆 邊臣 [binsan, pencil], 通書 阿剌萬匿 [aalaatmaannik, almanac]."

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3 For details, see Uchida Keiichi 内田慶市 and Shen Guowei 沈国威, eds., *Linguistic Contact and Pidgin in Nineteenth-Century East Asia* 言語接触とピジン: 19世紀の東アジア (Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 2009).

These texts for the most part present words, but the *Manuscript of Common British Speech* also includes phrases such as the following:

出去　哥區西　goausai, go outside
入來　今因　gamjan, come in
去了　哈哥　haago, have go
上去　哥喔士爹　go'akside, go upstairs
反轉　丹阿罞　daan'aabaa, turn a back
過海　哥阿罞思　goaabaasi, go a pass sea

3.3 From *Chinese and English Vocabulary* to the Chinese-English Phrase Books

Published at about the same time as the red hairs' English vocabularies was *Chinese and English Vocabulary* 華英通用雜話 (1843), by the Englishman Robert Thom. This text was later reprinted in Japan under the title 漢英通用雜話 (Seiseidō, 1860). This title also appears on a list of book purchases for use by a group of students that included Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作 when they traveled to Shanghai aboard the ship *Senzaimaru*. I have already covered the contents of Thom's *Chinese and English Vocabulary* in Uchida 2001a. Here let me just say that compared to the red hairs' English vocabularies, this text systematically and scientifically indicates English pronunciation not with similar-sounding Chinese characters but with a type of *fanqie* 反切 system called *qie* 切 or *he* 合.[4]

Later on, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 reprinted a text in this line of Chinese-English phrase books. In this line of texts, I have laid eyes on the following six editions or versions:

A Chinese-English Phrase Book 華英通語 (Xiedetang 協德堂, 1855; Tohoku University)
A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Enlarged and Revised 增訂華英通語 (Kaidō 快堂, 1860; Masuda Wataru Collection of Kansai University)
A Chinese-English Phrase Book 華英通語 (Xiyingpan, Hong Kong: Hengmao 恆茂, 1860; Harvard-Yenching Library)
The Complete Chinese-English Phrase Book 華英通語集全 (Cangwentang 藏文堂, 1879; Yale University)
A Phrase Book for Chinese and Foreigners 華夷通語 (Singapore: Guyouxuan 古友軒, 1883; British Library)
A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged 新增華英通語 (Wenyutang 文裕堂, 1893; British Library)

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4 For details, see Uchida 2001a, pp. 271–279.

Since I have already discussed the first four of these works in a previous work (Uchida 2001a, pp. 279–286), here I will briefly discuss the content of the last two works, as they have not been previously mentioned in the literature.

3.3.1   *A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged* (1893)

The cover of this work has the title 新增華英通語 (*A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged*), and inside the cover it states, "Enlarged and revised. Second movable-type composition and printing, September 1896." The next page has a foreword by "Huang Yongfa, head of Wenyutang, winter of 1893."

Figure 8.1   The cover of *A Chinese-English Vocabulary, Newly Enlarged.*

The table of contents comes next, and the whole is divided into fifty-seven categories. There are, however, some discrepancies between the table of contents and the text in both the order of the categories and the category rubrics.

The text takes up 193 pages, with an additional two pages being advertisements. Compared to *A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Enlarged and Revised*, *A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged* has more vocabulary. For example, the section on numerals was expanded from 35 terms to 50 terms, the section on time was expanded from 76 terms to 96 terms, the section on astronomy was expanded from 30 terms to 43 terms, and the section on geography was expanded from 77 terms to 272 terms.

For example, among country names, Chile, Malacca, and Norway have been added, and the translation for "grammar" is 文法書, and that for "book of arts" is

藝術書. A telescope is 千里鏡, not 望遠鏡, a hospital is 醫院 or 醫館, and black tea is 紅茶. The text also has the following passage on Western food:

> 麵包 Bread. 炕麵包、多吋 Toast. 火腿三眉池 Ham sandwich. 牛肉三眉池 Beef sandwich. 麵包之時 Bread and cheese. 麵粉之時 Macaroni and cheese. 吉時湯 Custard soup. 波蛋清湯 Consommé & poached eggs soup. 牛奶油、牛油 Butter. 加厘牛肉 Curry beef. 牛肉布顛 Beef pudding. 雞蛋餅 Omelette. 蛋糕 Cake. 諸古聿 Chocolate.

As tasks for future research, we need to take a closer look at the vocabulary of *A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged*, compare it with that of the other Chinese-English phrase books, and consider its influence on and borrowings from other materials of the same period. *A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged* was published around the same time as Guang Qizhao's *English and Chinese Dictionary* 華英字典集成 and W. Lobscheid's *English and Chinese Dictionary* 英華字典. By way of curiosity, I compared *A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged* with "Essential Miscellaneous Phrases" 雜字撮要, an appendix to Guang Qizhao's *English and Chinese Dictionary* and discovered that the system of classification and the included vocabulary are largely the same in the two works.

It is also worth noting that the foreword was by "Huang Yongfa, head of Wenyutang." We already know that Wenyutang had close connections with the Anglo-Chinese College, Chinese Printing and Publishing Company 中華印務総局, and *Universal Circulating Herald* 循環日報. Also of interest are the similarities and differences among the *English and Chinese Dictionary* by Guang Qizhao, *English and Chinese Mercantile Dictionary* 華英貿易字彙 by Zhuo Qishan 卓岐山, and *English Guide* 英字指南 by Yang Xun 楊勳, which were all published by the same publishing house.

3.3.2   *A Phrase Book for Chinese and Foreigners* (1883)

To my knowledge, *A Phrase Book for Chinese and Foreigners* has not received previous mention in the literature. The book states that it was reprinted from newly carved woodblocks in the autumn of 1883, written by Lin Hengnan 林衡南 of Wujiang, and reproofed by Li Qinghui 李清輝. It was published in Singapore by Guyouxuan.

This work consists of two volumes, the first volume being divided into twenty categories (including astronomy, geography, numbers, time, housing, farm tools, and human relations), and the second volume being divided into sections covering one-character words, two-character words, three-character phrases, four-character phrases, and longer phrases.

According to the preface, the original title was *New Words for Communicating with Foreigners* 通夷新語, and the book was first published in 1877.

This book has the same format as *A Chinese-English Phrase Book*, but its pronunciation notes make use of the Quanzhou and Zhangzhou sound systems, not the Guangdong (Cantonese) sound system. Thus, it appears that this vocabulary was compiled to help Chinese living in Singapore learn English, just as Fukuzawa Yukichi reprinted and published a vocabulary to help Japanese learn English.

In contrast to the red hairs' English vocabularies, which basically included just words, these Chinese-English phrase books included phrases, sentences, and formulaic language 尺牘 under such rubrics as "two-character words," "three-character phrases," "four-character phrases," "long phrases," and "individual characters."

3.4   *English Conversation, Chinese and English Instructor, Introduction to English, and Guide to English*

In addition to the Chinese-English phrase books, there were also the following four texts:

English Conversation, with Notes and Explanations 英話註解 (1860)
The Chinese and English Instructor 英語集全 (1862)
An Introduction to English 英字入門 (1874)
A Guide to English 英字指南 (1879)

These four texts were widely used in China. Zhou Yueran, in *Sixty Reminiscences* (1944), mentioned above, wrote,

> When I was eleven or twelve, during breaks from reading aloud the *Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, I would often sneak a look at the woodblock printing of *English Conversation, with Notes and Explanations* found in our home. I have already forgotten the author of this text, though I do remember that he was from Guangdong. All the words and simple sentences in the book were translated and had pronunciations indicated. Every day for about a year, I would read new lessons and review old ones, until I had learned the whole book. I thus considered myself to have completed the full course of English. (1944, p. 9)

> In the winter of this year, I casually bought a copy of *An Introduction to English*, written by man from Shanghai surnamed Cao. From the very beginning I studied it day and night, and before half a year had elapsed, I finished the entire book. (1944, p. 11)

Also, in the publisher's note to *English Conversation, with Notes and Explanations*, the publisher, Saoyeshanfang 掃葉山房, wrote, "The book *English Conversation, with Notes and Explanations* has for a long time been a best seller.

We followed up this success by publishing *A Guide to English*, *The Chinese and English Instructor*, and *An Introduction to English*."

The content of this textbook was similar to the Chinese-English phrase books. It was on this foundation of textbooks for learning English that the Commercial Press 商務印書館 published its first books in 1898: *Elementary Chinese and English* 華英初階 and *Intermediate Chinese and English* 華英進階. This period also saw the appearance of magazines for learning English.

3.5   What Is Pidgin？

Traditionally, the pronunciation of English words according to Chinese-character annotations (primarily with Cantonese sound values), as found in the red hairs' English vocabularies and the Chinese-English phrase books, was regarded as pidgin. Another typical case of pidgin English is the English of Shanghai treaty-port settlements, such as 康姆 (khaonmu, come), 谷 (koq, go), 也司 (yasy, yes), 雪堂 (siqdaon, sit down), 發茶 (faqdzau, father), 賣茶 (madzau, mother). So is the English seen in the advertisements of Wenyutang in the *Universal Circulating Herald:* 法士卜 (faqdzyboq, first book), 昔近卜 (siqdjinboq, second book).

But if we consider all of these examples pidgin, then it becomes hard to deny that status to contemporary loanwords such as 可口可乐 (Coca-Cola), 的士 (taxi), 巴士 (bus), 卡拉OK (karaoke), and 奧林匹克 (Olympics) as well. That is, the distinction between transcriptions and pidgin disappears. Well, if transcriptions are pidgin, then Japanese foreign loanwords transcribed in katakana are all pidgin, and so are the Chinese transcriptions of Japanese pronunciations:

一 丟多子 hitotsu, 七 乃乃子 nanatsu, 冷 三孛水 sabushi, 貴 他个水 takashi, 久不見 何面凸辣水 omezurashi, 那里去 陀姑侈姑 doko iku (Xue Jun 薛俊 [fl. 1523], "Japanese Translations" 日本寄語, in *A Brief Study of Japan* 日本考略)

我 我里 ore, 妻 阿賣兮 omai, 親類 新雷 shinrui, 少年人 華蓋首 wakashu, 善人 揺革許多 yokahito (Hou Jigao 侯継高 [1533–1602], *The Land and People of Japan* 日本風土記)

請問尊姓 捺息以美滑 Goseimei wa, 請問台甫 阿那他諾唖那麥以那泥, Anata no onamae nani, 你能操華語否 阿那他希那諾誇託拔哈那希麥司卡 Anata Shina no kotoba hanashimasu ka (Chen Tianqi 陳天麒, *An Introduction to Japanese* 東語入門, 1895)

William C. Hunter and Samuel Wells Williams identify pidgin as follows:

Pegeon-English is the well-known name given to that unique language through the medium of which business was transacted and all intercourse exclusively carried on between the 'Western Ocean' foreigners and Canton Chinese.[5]

On the other hand, the shrewd Chinaman succeeded in supplying this absence of the knowledge of his own language by cleverly making himself familiar with sounds of foreign words, and conforming them to his own monosyllabic mode of expression, at the same time using simple Chinese words to express their meaning. He thus created a language, as it may be called, deprived of syntax, without the logic of speech, and reduced to its most simple elements.[6]

The peculiarities of the Canton-English are few. Its idioms are, generally speaking, according to those of the Chinese language, than which nothing can be more transposed according to our ideas of placing words in a sentence. In consequence of this, the meaning of many expressions is obscure, where the pronunciation of the words is nearly correct. Moreover, from the monosyllabic nature of the Chinese, and the many vowel sounds in it, adults become nearly incapable of enunciating a word of three or four syllables in a proper manner, especially where several consonants follow each other. The result is that the word is much broken when spoken, and often nearly unintelligible to a foreigner unacquainted with this fact.[7]

Here the pidgin or Canton English whereof these authors speak is the language that Westerners and Chinese used to communicate—a language reduced to approximate pronunciations, weak syntax, and simple nonlogical elements.

In a previous work (Uchida 2005, p. 95), I defined pidgin as "a language arising out of linguistic contact, having limited vocabulary and phonemes, influenced by the grammar of one's native language, and having a simpler grammar than the standard grammar of the foreign language." I also provided the following concrete examples of pidgin:

我不看你。	I no see you.
你要多少。	You want how much.
你幾時走。	You go what time.
不要忘記。	No want forget.
不能進城。	No can enter city.
你甚麼時候來。	You what time come here. (*English Conversation, with Notes and Explanations*)

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5 William C. Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae"* [番鬼] *at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844* (1882), p. 60.

6 Hunter, *"Fan Kwae,"* p. 61.

7 Samuel Wells Williams, "Jargon Spoken at Canton: How It Originated and Has Grown into Use; Mode in Which the Chinese Learn English; Examples of the Language in Common Use between Foreigners and Chinese," *Chinese Repository* 4 (1836): 433. Available in Google Books.

Velly well.

Chin-chin, how you do? Long time no hab see you.

What thing wantchee?

Just now no got. I think Canton hab got velly few that sutemeet [sweetmeat].

Two time [hours] before my come, no hab see he. (Williams, "Jargon Spoken at Canton")

In addition, Charles G. Leland, Pidgin-English Sing-Song, or Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect (1876) and Herbert A. Giles, A Glossary of Reference on Subjects Connected with the Far East (1900) also contain typical examples of pidgin. The following example is also typical pidgin: "Taksan (沢山) years ago, skoshi (小子) Cinderell-san lived in hoouchie (おうち) with sisters" (Many years ago, little Cinderella lived in a house with her sisters).[8]

In any case, my position is that we should understand pidgin in a limited sense, as a language influenced by the grammar of one's native language, having a defined sphere of use, having limited vocabulary and phonemes, having a simplified grammar, and being systematic rather than a collection of individual misusages. This I will call pidgin in the narrow sense. Hence, the English in Chinese textbooks for learning English and the English of the Shanghai treaty-port settlements, mentioned above, should be considered transcriptions of English rather than pidgin.

In contrast to this view, Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴, in "How to Define Pidgin English" 如何認定pidgin English, takes the following position:[9]

1. We can distinguish pidgin not just by grammar alone but also by means of word usage.
2. Phonetically as well, we can distinguish transcriptions of standard English pronunciation from pidgin.
3. In pidgin, not all phonetic notations using Chinese characters are transcriptions of standard pronunciation.
4. Pidgin is basically a spoken language, not a written language. Early Chinese pidgin textbooks were written in Chinese characters. Because texts like *English Conversation, with Notes and Explanations* were written by authors who already knew English, they wrote pidgin using English words. When listening to a language of a nonnative speaker, it is more important to grasp the keywords than the grammar. This is the most important feature of pidgin.

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8 Tanaka Harumi 田中春美 et al., *A Recommendation for Linguistics* 言語学のすすめ (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1978), p. 161.

9 Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴, "How to Define Pidgin English" 如何認定pidgin English, *Huowen* 或問, no. 10 (2005): 169–170.

There are many points in this view with which I agree. I nearly entirely agree with (4). But I differ on (1) to (3).

First, concerning (1), Zhou Zhenhe thinks that we can distinguish pidgin from standard speech by means of word usage, and as an example he cites the comparative use of adjectives. He based this view on a passage from *The Chinese and English Instructor* (1862), by Tang Tingshu (T'ong Ting-kü) 唐廷樞:

> The foreign language at Guangdong has three degrees of comparison. To say "more" 更, one says 麼 (maa). To say "most" 至, one says 稔巴溫 (nambaawan, "number one"). Thus, in the case of "long," to say longer 更長, one says 麼郎 (maa long, "more long"), and to say longest 至長, one says 稔巴溫郎 (nambaawan long, "number-one long"). In the case of "short," to say shorter 更短, one says 麼失 (maa sat, "more short"), and to say shortest 至短, one says 稔巴溫失 (nambaawan sat, "number-one short"). From such distinctions, foreigners of today understand better. (Vol. 4, p. 12a, top-of-page notes)

Zhou Zhenhe thinks that this passage reflects word usage, but as a matter of fact, the passage discusses grammar. He was led astray by Chinese word usage. Thus the pidgin that we see here is no different from the pidgin that we saw above in *English Conversation, with Notes and Explanations*.

In *Essential Foreign Speech*, all negatives are expressed as 那 (no), and excess is expressed as 刀 (too).

唔來　那今　no gam　no come
唔去　那哥　no go　no go
唔知　那那　no no　no know
太大　刀喇治　dou laazi　too large
太長　刀冷　dou laang　too long
太短　刀殺　dou saat　too short

Here too we see simplified grammar. For sure, these cases should be considered pidgin.

On points (2) and (3), in *The Chinese and English Instructor*, one sees Cantonese English (pidgin English) pronunciations distinguished from more standard English pronunciations. For example, in this text one sees the following pronunciations scattered here and there:

五 five 快乎 faafu (輝 fai in Cantonese English)
七 seven 些墳 sefan (心 sam in Cantonese English)
九 nine 乃吾 naaing (呢 nei in Cantonese English)
一半 one half 溫蝦乎 wanhaafu (溫哈 wanhaa in Cantonese English)
樣子 shape 涉 sip (花臣 faasan "fashion" in Cantonese English)

別個 other 椏打 aadaa (拿打 naadaa "another" in Cantonese English)
要 want 灣地 waandei (灣治 waanci "wants" in Cantonese English)
呢的係乜野 What is that? 喝衣士撻 hotjisitaat (喝丁 hotding "What thing?" in Cantonese English)
我有事 I am busy. 挨厭卑西 aaijimbeisai (挨合吉卑剪 aaihapgatbeizin "I have got business" in Cantonese English)

Zhou Zhenhe sees these different pronunciations as differences between standard English and pidgin. The former are standard spelled-out pronunciations, and the latter are abbreviated approximate pronunciations. This is nearly right, although the Cantonese English for "shape" is more complex (being bisyllabic rather than monosyllabic) and "want" (地 versus 治) has a different last syllable (a fact not all that significant).

He also notes that English words ending in–ll (double el) have their pronunciations represented with Chinese characters ending in -am. For example, "call" has a standard pronunciation represented as 哥厘 golei and a pidgin pronunciation represented as 歌林 golam. "Kill" is 驥厘 keilei and 其林 keilam. And the pidgin for "sell" is 些林 selam, as noted above. Zhou Zhenhe sees this as a peculiar feature of pidgin.

What Zhou Zhenhe says is accurate enough, but as he himself says, Chinese cannot accurately represent English pronunciation, because Chinese characters are limited in their ability to represent English sounds. The same is true in Japanese. There is not much difference whether we write バイオリン baiorin or ヴァイオリン vaiorin. In either case, we do not quite get the pronunciation of "violin."

Also, even if we admit that there is a difference between the Chinese representation of Cantonese English and standard English, this contrast is limited to words and phrases. We have yet to discern differences between Cantonese English and standard English at the sentence level.

Regardless of the script used to represent the pronunciation of English, another issue is which language is being used. Even if a word is transcribed into another script, if it is used as a foreign language, we can call the discourse pidgin, but not if it is used as part of the native language. For example, if I say 我吃多時, 多時 (toast) is not pidgin but a foreign loanword. But if I say "I eat 多時," we probably treat this utterance as pidgin. Similarly, コーヒー (kōhī) in 私はコーヒーを飲む is a foreign loanword, but "I drink kōhī" is pidgin. Hence, on this reasoning, English written in Chinese characters, as below, is pidgin.

生髮油買來賈去。　　Thank you very much.
雪堂雪堂。　　　　　Sit down, sit down.

4 Pidgin Chinese and Creole Chinese

4.1 Army Chinese

During an unfortunate period in Sino-Japanese relations, when Japan occupied China, the Japanese in China produced an awkward Chinese patois called army Chinese 兵隊支那語 or Japanese Mandarin 沿線官話, one of the negative legacies of Japan in China:

> Nīde tōfu īyande shōshō kataikatai, mēyū? 你的豆腐一樣的少少硬硬，沒有？ Is your tofu also too firm?
> Nīde chaga daikon naka tonneru tātā yūde pūshinna! 你的這個蘿蔔中溫室大大有點不行呢！ This daikon greenhouse of yours is too big!
> Tonneru, mēyū! 溫室，沒有! Is this a greenhouse?[10]

> 你的這個我的進上 You give this to me!
> 我的米西米西幹活計 Ōde meshimeshi kanhōji. I am eating my food.
> 你的慢慢的 Nīde manmande! Wait!
> 你的快快的走ラニャ不行ジャナイカ Nīde kaikaide hashiranya pushin janaika. Shouldn't you run faster?[11]

These examples of the Chinese spoken between Manchus and soldiers of the Japanese army can be considered pidgin. The same can be said of what You Rujie 游汝杰 calls the language of cooperation in the treaty-port settlements 洋涇浜協和語:

> 優秀大型貨物船熱田丸大連着 The arrival of the advanced large-freight ship *Atsuta Maru* at Dalian
> 日小鉄工業満洲移駐 The transfer of Nishōtetsu operations to Manchuria
> 日郵便業務協定修正 Revisions to the Japanese postal agreement[12]

4.2 Creole Chinese as a Lingua Franca

In the past, there have been varieties of Chinese influenced by Mongolian (*Statutes and Precedents of the Yuan Dynasty* 元典章, *Direct Explanation of the Classic of Filial Piety, Yuan Edition* 元版孝経直解), Korean (*Nogŏltae* 老乞大, *Pak, the Interpreter* 朴通事), and Manchu (*Essentials of Manchu* 清文指要,

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10 *Lectures on the Culture of the Japanese Language* 国語文化講座, vol. 6, *The Penetration of the Japanese Language into Foreign Lands* 国語進出篇 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1942), p. 136.

11 Andō Hikotarō 安藤彦太郎, *The Chinese Language and Modern Japan* 中国語と近代日本 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1988), pp. 115–116.

12 You Rujie 游汝杰, *An Introduction to Chinese Cultural Linguistics* 中国文化语言学引论 (Beijing: Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1993), p. 66.

Introduction to Manchu 清文啓蒙). These Altaic variants of Chinese Ōta Tatsuo 太田辰夫 calls "漢児言語," the term for Chinese in the *Nogŏltae.* These variants of Chinese have the following peculiarities:

> Korean textbooks for studying Chinese contain many examples of what we today would regard as unnatural Chinese. These infelicities can be summed up under three grammatical features:
> 1. SOV word order: 些少漢児言語省的 [I recognize a little Chinese]。学他漢児文書怎麼 [How does one study Chinese books]？
> 2. Excessive use of postpositioned constituents: 我漢児人上学文書 [We Chinese study books]。你誰根底学文書來 [What academic background do you need for studying books]？
> 3. Odd use of words at the end of the sentence: 是漢児人有 [Background that Chinese have]。不是好弟兄那甚麼 [If he is not a good man, who is]？
> The reason for features (1) and (2) is that those who produced such Korean Chinese spoke Korean as their native language, and similarly for other peoples surrounding the Chinese-language sphere in the north. The languages of these peoples—Mongolian, Uyghur, and Manchu—are all Altaic languages possessing similar grammars. Hence, according to Ōta Tatsuo (1954),[13] the Mongols, Uyghurs, Manchus, Koreans, and Han Chinese, as a result of linguistic contact over an extensive period, developed as a lingua franca a pidgin or Creole Chinese consisting of Chinese vocabulary and Altaic grammar, and Ōta called this language 漢児言語. Elements of this pidgin Chinese at first appeared thickly in relevant early documents, but with the passage of time became naturalized as normal Chinese.[14]

In fact, as shown below, in such documents one sees clear evidence of the influence of Altaic languages, such as sentences in which the object is placed before the verb and sentences in which an interrogative word is reinforced with the addition of the sentence-final particle 嗎.

厭煩的規矩有麼。　Are there troublesome rules? (*Introduction to Manchu* 清文啓蒙)

我不感的理有麼。　Is there any reason why I don't have sensation? (*Introduction to Manchu*)

你在這裡作生意有多少年的功夫嗎。　How long have you been in business here? (*What Is Your Family Name?* 你貴姓)

家有多少天的地嗎。　How many days till we reach home? (*What Is Your Family Name?*)

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13 Ōta Tatsuo 太田辰夫, "Creole Chinese: An Essay in the History of the Development of Vernacular Chinese" 漢児言語について：白話発達史における試論, *Kōbe Gaidai ronsō* 神戸外大論叢 5 (1954), no. 2.

14 Takekoshi Takashi 竹越孝, "An Outline of Korean Materials" 朝鮮資料概説. http://www.for. aichi-pu.ac.jp/museum/pdf/chosenshiryou.pdf.

In *A Theory of Linguistic Topology* 言語類型地理論, Hashimoto Mantarō 橋本万太郎 used prepositional constructions and attributive constructions to show that a syntactic reversal occurred in contemporary northern Chinese, thus demonstrating that contemporary northern Chinese has been influenced by Altaic languages.[15] The naturalization of Creole Chinese mentioned above is a typical case of such influence.

Of course, if one says 你飯吃了嗎 instead of 你吃飯了嗎, most people would regard this as incorrect usage. But 我羊肉不吃，吃牛肉 is correct, as are 你去哪兒 and 你到哪兒去 and 你哪兒去. Yet while 我去北京 and 我到北京去 are acceptable, 我北京去 is not. Whether the influence of Altaic languages can explain these linguistic facts is a matter for future discussion.

5   Conclusion

Japan has its nonstandard literary Chinese 変体漢文, and Korea has its literary Chinese for officials 吏讀体. Kin Bunkyō 金文京 divides nonstandard literary Chinese into the following four types:

1. The author intended to write standard literary Chinese, but because he lacked adequate knowledge of Chinese idiom, his prose is nonstandard.
2. As in (1), but in addition, the grammar and vocabulary of the author's native language unintentionally crept in.
3. Like (2), except that the author intentionally used the grammar and vocabulary of his native language to produce a national variant of literary-Chinese prose.
4. The author used Chinese characters phonetically to write in his native language.[16]

Among these varieties of nonstandard literary Chinese, (2) is pidgin literary Chinese, and (3) is a naturalized Creole literary Chinese, what Ōta calls 漢児言語.

Be that as it may, pidgin is a typical linguistic phenomenon arising when different languages come into contact with one another. It is a topic worthy of study from the vantage points of cultural-interaction studies, the history of learning English in China, the history of Chinese, Chinese phonetics, and Chinese dialectology.

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15 Hashimoto Mantarō 橋本万太郎, *A Theory of Linguistic Topology* 言語類型地理論 (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1978).

16 Kin Bunkyō 金文京, "Using Chinese Characters to Write Local Languages in the East Asian Cultural Sphere" 漢字文化圏の訓読現象, in *Issues in Sino-Japanese Comparative Literature* 和漢比較文学研究の諸問題 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1988), p. 184.

Chapter 9:
Wenyutang and Its Business Partners

1   The *Universal Circulating Herald* and the China Printing Administration Office

The *Universal Circulating Herald* 循環日報, a Chinese language newspaper under the editorial supervision of Wang Tao 王韜, began publication in Hong Kong on February 4, 1874.[1] Its publisher was the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company 中華印務総局. About the founding of this publishing company, Li Gucheng writes,

> In 1873 James Legge returned to London to take up a position as professor of Chinese studies at Oxford University, and the London Missionary Society decided to disband its press and the Anglo-Chinese Theological School. Wang Tao lost his long-term employer and had to find another means to support himself. At this point Wang Tao and some friends (primarily Huang Sheng 黃勝 and Chen Yan 陳言) got together to buy the printing presses of the Anglo-Chinese Theological School and set up the Chinese Printing Company 中華印務総局. The company's primary business was typesetting, printing, and publishing books for customers. The next year the company expanded its business by establishing the *Universal Circulating Herald*.[2]

Li Gucheng appears to have the English name of the company wrong, for on the title page of *An English and Chinese Dictionary* [華英]字典集成, the publisher's name is given as "The Chinese Printing and Publishing Company" (see figure 9.1).

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1 According to Li Gucheng 李谷城, *The History of the Development of Chinese-Language Newspapers in Hong Kong* 香港中文报业发展史 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2005), pp. 134–135, the first issue is missing, but since the second issue bears the date February 5, 1874, we can infer that the first issue was published a day earlier.

2 Li Gucheng, *The History of the Development of Chinese-Language Newspapers in Hong Kong*, p. 137.
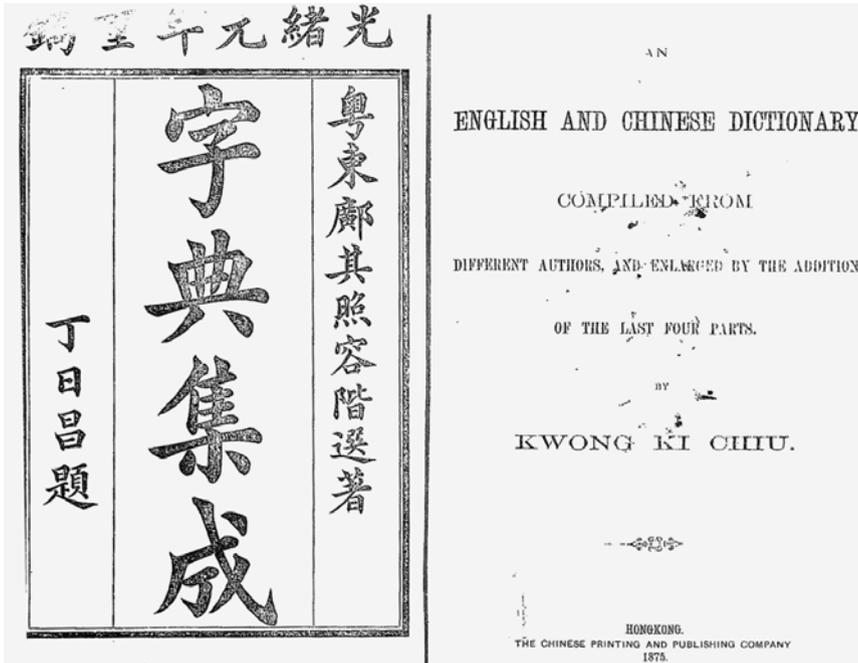
Figure 9.1   The title page of *An English and Chinese Dictionary*.

Su Jing notes,

> In 1871 the Anglo-Chinese College and the mission press ceased operations, owing to difficulties. Its printing equipment ended up in two places. One portion was purchased by the government to help the School of Combined Learning 同文館 to establish a printing office. Huang Sheng himself sent the equipment under guard by imperial soldiers. The larger portion of the equipment went to Huang Sheng, Wang Tao, and company, who gathered funds to make the purchase. These men set up the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company in Hong Kong, which began operations early in 1873. In addition to typesetting and printing Chinese and English books and other documents, the company also sold lead type in all font sizes, and edited and printed a daily newspaper. It took over the printing of such works as Wang Tao's *Account of the Franco-Prussian War* 普法戰記, John Chalmers's *English and Cantonese Dictionary* 英粵字典, and Guang Qizhao's *English and Chinese Dictionary*. But because Huang Sheng left Hong Kong prior to June of this year, he could not participate in the reorganization of the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company as the *Universal Circulating Herald* the next year.[3]

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3 Su Jing 蘇精, *The Late Qing School of Combined Learning and Its Faculty and Students* 清季同文館及其師生 (Taipei: Su Jing, 1985), pp. 263–264.

The first work mentioned here, Wang Tao's *Account of the Franco-Prussian War*, refers to the movable-type edition published by the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company in 1873. The third work, Guang Qizhao's *English and Chinese Dictionary*, is the second edition of 1875 (first edition, 1868; third edition, 1882; fourth edition, 1902).[4] I have not seen the edition of John Chalmers's *English and Cantonese Dictionary* referred to here, though I have seen the 1870 edition published by the London Missionary Society (see figure 9.2).
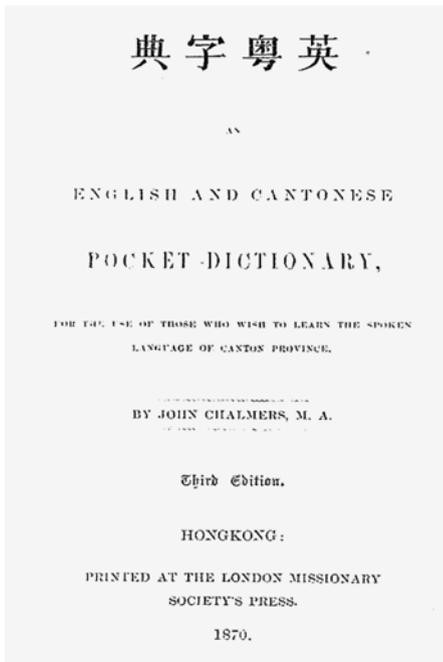
Figure 9.2   The title page of the 1870 edition of John Chalmers's *English and Cantonese Dictionary*.

And Zhuo Nansheng explains,

> In 1872, when Wang Tao finished his scholarly work, he decided, together with his friend Huang Sheng, to gather funds and purchase the printing equipment of the Anglo-Chinese College and set up the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company. Huang Sheng was the manager of the printing department of the Anglo-Chinese College and was an intellectual who revered Western learning. The Chinese Printing and Publishing Company published as their first work Wang Tao's *Account of the Franco-Prussian War*, mentioned above.[5]

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4 See Uchida 2001a.

5 Zhuo Nansheng 卓南生, *The Beginnings of Modern Chinese Newspapers and Their Develop-*

These accounts are true for the most part, and in fact the company's advertisements in the *Universal Circulating Herald* state,

Public Announcement of the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company (est. February 4, 1874)
Our company began printing almost a year ago. It is presently located at 29 Hollywood Road, formerly the site of Rixinxingji Raw Silk Shop, opposite De Sousa Printing. We specialize in the movable-type printing of all types of books for our customers, whether in Chinese or English. We have printed many books, including *An Account of the Franco-Prussian War*, in Chinese, by Wang Tao, of the Wu region; *English Grammar*, by the Guangzhou missionary John Chambers; and *An English and Chinese Dictionary*, by Guang Qizhao of the Shanghai Going Abroad Bureau 出洋局.

2　Wenyutang

In the pages of the *Universal Circulating Herald* one could often see advertisements like the following by Wenyutang (Man Yu Tong) 文裕堂, a division of the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company (figure 9.3):

幼童初學各樣書籍發售
法士卜、昔近卜、撻卜、科卜、輝乎卜、列丁卜、女仔書、士卑聆卜、信札書、曲忌信書、德怠乾威宜、小卡藍麻、又大卡藍麻、湛孖士卡藍麻、蘇釐分卡藍麻、書館常用卡藍麻、花旗卡藍麻、類字辨似書、英文字典、初學寫字簿、石版、石筆〇又有番文譯成唐文書籍：談天、代微積拾級、重學淺說、西醫略論、重學、大英國志、化學初階、西藥略釋、西醫新法、格物入門、地理問答、十八省地理圖、植物學、博物新編、西國學校、伊娑菩喻言、通商稅則、中外和約、汽機發軔、汽機必以、汽機必以附卷、算學啟蒙、化學分原、化學鑑原、製火藥法、運規約指、地球說略、普法戰記〇唐番字書：英粵字典、英語集全、華英通語、智環啟蒙、集話書法士卜、北方地理志〇唐文譯番文：道德經、四書、四書白文、曾文公榮哀錄
同治十三年六月初五日中華印務總局文裕堂啟

All types of children's books for sale
First books, second books, third books, fourth books, fifth books, reading books, women's books, spelling books, books on letter writing, reliable books on euphemisms and taboos, morality tales, small grammars, large grammars, Chambers's *Grammar*, Sullivan's *Grammar*, grammars used in primary schools, American English grammars, books on discriminated synonyms, English dictionaries, copybooks, lithographs, slate pencils. We also have Chinese translations of English works: John Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*, Elias Loomis's *Elements of Analytical Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus*, Wang Tao's *Popular Mechanics*, *A Brief Treatise on Western Medicine*, William Whewell's *Elementary Treatise on Mechanics*, Thomas Milner's *History of*

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ment in the Nineteenth Century 中国近代新聞成立史, 1815–1874 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1990). In Japanese and Chinese.

England, David Wells's *Principles and Applications of Chemistry*, *Brief Explanations of Western Medicines*, *New Procedures in Western Medicine*, W. A. P. Martin's *Elements of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry*, *Questions and Answers on Geography*, *Maps of the Eighteen Provinces*, *Botany*, Benjamin Hobson's *New Compilation of Scientific Knowledge*, Ernst Faber's *Schools in the West*, *Aesop's Fables* (translated by Robert Thom), *The Treaty of Tianjin*, *China's Peace Treaties with Foreign Powers*, *The Start of the Steam Engine*, *Essentials of the Steam Engine*, *Essentials of the Steam Engine, Supplement*, Zhu Shijie's *Introduction to Mathematics*, John Bowman's *Introduction to Practical Chemistry, Including Analysis*, David Wells's *Principles and Applications of Chemistry*, *How to Make Gunpowder*, Richard Burchett's *Practical Geometry*, Richard Way's *Brief Discussion of the Globe*, Wang Tao's *Account of the Franco-Prussian War*. As well as English and Chinese language books: John Chalmers's *English and Cantonese Dictionary*, *The Chinese and English Instructor*, *A Chinese-English Phrase Book*, James Legge's *Graduated Reading*, *A First Phrase Book*, *Geography of North China*. And English translations of Chinese works: *The Classic of the Way and Its Virtue*, *The Four Books*, *The Four Books in the Vernacular*, *Biography of Zeng Guofan*.

July 18, 1874, from Wenyutang, a division of the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company

Figure 9.3   An advertisement by Wenyutang in the *Universal Circulating Herald*.

This advertisement is interesting for its examples of treaty-port-settlement English, mentioned above: 法士卜 (faqdzyboq, first book), 昔近卜 (siqdjinboq, second book), 輝乎卜 (huehuboq, fifth book), 列丁卜 (liqtzenboq, reading book), 士卑聆卜 (dzypelinboq, spelling book), 小卡藍麻 (xiao khalemau, small grammar), 湛孖士卡藍麻 (dzemadzy khalemau, Chalmers grammar). One can also see the types of books related to the West that the educated were interested in, books such as Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*, Loomis's *Elements of Analytical Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus*, Wang Tao's *Popular Mechanics*, Martin's *Elements of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry*, Hobson's *New Compilation of Scientific Knowledge*, Way's *Brief Discussion of the Globe*, and Legge's *Graduated Reading*. This list also includes such introductory books as English textbooks and *Aesop's Fables*.

Most of these books were originally published by the Anglo-Chinese College or the Mohai Shuguan 墨海書館, in Shanghai, so we know that the publication of these books was taken over by Wenyutang. As mentioned above, after the Anglo-Chinese College was disbanded, the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company bought its printing equipment (including, I believe, its paper matrices, plates, etc.), and Wang Tao began working, for thirteen years, at Mohai Shuguan. In light of these facts, it was only natural for Wenyutang to take over the publication of their works too. To date, there have been six editions of *A Chinese-English Phrase Book* discovered. The earliest edition was printed in 1855 by Xiedetang (presently held by Tohoku University Library).[6] This work too may originally have been published by the Anglo-Chinese College. The 1860 edition of *A Chinese-English Phrase Book*, in the collection of Harvard University Libraries, was printed by Hengmao in Xiyingpan, Hong Kong, a place connected with the Anglo-Chinese College.

Takasugi Shinsaku purchased many of the books listed above prior to leaving for Shanghai in 1862. Some of these books overlap with the imported books listed in *An Account of the Prosperity of Yokohama* 横浜繁昌記, by Yanagawa Shunsan 柳川春三,[7] published in the late Edo period:

Books from Abroad
There are mountains upon mountains of Western books. They explain the arts of war and perfect the arts of civilization. Most imported books are works in the many technical fields. Without a knowledge of Western science, one cannot read them. Recently Americans and Englishmen have been diligently perfecting their knowledge of Chinese learning, and in Hong Kong and Shanghai they have published numerous works in Chinese. From this fact one can see that the entire world is prospering. I need not

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6 For details on the editions of *A Chinese-English Phrase Book*, see Uchida 2001a.
7 Yanagawa is also translating James Legge's *Graduated Reading* 智環啓蒙塾課 (published by the Anglo-Chinese College) into Japanese.

mention the writings of Robert Morrison and Lin Zexu. In addition, a recently published bibliography lists the following: in the mathematical sciences, John Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*, Alexander Wylie's *Compendium of Arithmetic* 數學啟蒙, *Algebra* 代數學, Elias Loomis's *Elements of Analytical Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus*, Euclid's *Elements of Geometry* 幾何原本; in the natural sciences, Benjamin Hobson's *New Compilation of Scientific Knowledge*, Wang Tao's *Popular Mechanics*, J. F. Martinet's *Catechism of Nature* 格物窮理問答, James Legge's *Graduated Reading*; in the field of medicine, Benjamin Hobson's *New Treatise on Anatomy* 全體新論, his *New Discussion of the Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica* 內科新說, his *Outline on the Practice of Surgery in the West* 西醫略論, his *New Discussion of Midwifery and Infant Care* 婦嬰新說; in the fields of geography and history, *A Brief Geography of the World* 瀛寰志略 by Xu Jiyu 徐繼畬, William Muirhead's *Complete Gazetteer of Geography* 地理全志, Richard Way's *Brief Discussion of the Globe*, John Morrison's *Chronological Narrative of the Countries of the World* 萬國綱鑒錄, Thomas Milner's *History of England*, E. C. Bridgman's *Brief Account of the United States* 聯邦志略; and in the category of newspapers and magazines, *Chinese Serial* 遐邇貫珍, *Shanghai Serial* 六合叢談, *Chinese and Foreign Gazette* 中外新報, *Shanghai News* 上海新聞. I have yet to examine many of these works, so for the time being I have made mental notes of what I have heard in case I run into someone who can tell me more.

Of interest here is the kind of organization Wenyutang was. To my knowledge, there have been hardly any references to Wenyutang in the literature. Only Zhuo Nansheng writes as follows:

> After the launch of the *Universal Circulating Herald*, the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company continued its other lines of business, which were
> – printing Chinese and English books, advertisements, overseas news, contracts, and documents for customers,
> – selling books, dictionaries, shampoo, and tonics and other types of pellet and liquid medicines,
> – selling various lead fonts in all sizes. (1990, pp. 249–250, see n. 5 above)

From this evidence, we can infer that Wenyutang was the department established within the *Universal Circulating Herald* handling the above-mentioned three lines of business of the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company. However, in advertisements appearing in the *Universal Circulating Herald* after 1874, we see considerably fewer notices for the sale of medicines and hardly any mentions of the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company. From these facts, we can surmise that Wenyutang's business increasingly became more focused on printing and gradually became an independent printer and publisher.

I have seen the Wenyutang imprint on the following works (some of which I own):

A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged 新增華英通語, with a foreword by Huang Yongfa, head of Wenyutang (1893) (figure 9.4)[8]

An English and Chinese Dictionary 華英字典彙集, translated and published by Tan Yanchang 譚宴昌, with a foreword by Wang Tao (1875; third printing, 1897) (figure 9.5)

Graduated Reading 智環啓蒙塾課 (1895 edition) (figure 9.6)

Tam Tat Hin's *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1897) (figures 9.7 and 9.8)

Aesop's Fables 伊娑菩喩言 (fourth engraving and proofreading, 1903) (figure 9.9)

Folktales Exhaustively Discussed 俗話傾談, by Shao Binru 邵彬儒 (1903) (figure 9.10)

Figure 9.4　The title page of *A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged*.

8　For more on *A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged*, see Uchida 2005.
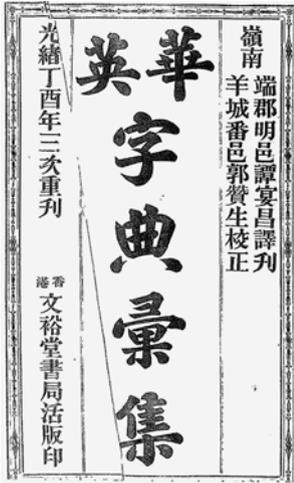
Figure 9.5   The title page of *English and Chinese Dictionary.*
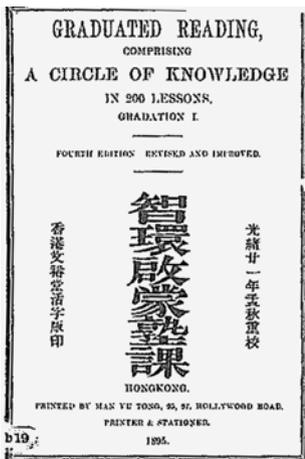
Figure 9.6   The title page of *Graduated Reading.*

爲幸
妄爲詳注爲尚希當世諸君子不吝指教
指南之後繼爲彙訂並檢舉書中虛實字義
爲正其魚魯灝貴重以長者命於披閱通商
齊驅爲世所尚壬午仲春特將稿本寄厦屬
先進字典類集一書與通商指南久已並駕
香江文裕堂主人黃廣徵先生所印譚達軒

廣東番禺郭灝貴幷識　時甲申清和月浴佛日

Figure 9.7　Publisher's note of Tam Tat Hin's *English and Chinese Dictionary*.

AN

ℭ ENGLISH AND CHINESE DICTIONARY

WITH

ENGLISH MEANING

OR

EXPRESSION FOR EVERY ENGLISH WORD

BY

TAM TAT HIN.

REVISED BY

KWOK LO KWAI,

OF

CANTON, CHINA.

THIRD EDITION.

HONGKONG:
PRINTED BY MAN YU TONG No. 95 97, HOLLYWOOD ROAD,
1897.
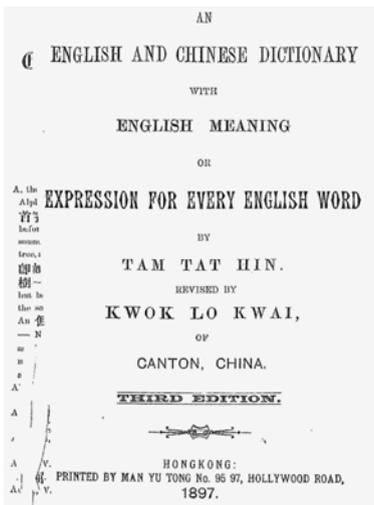
Figure 9.8　The title page of Tam Tat Hin's *English and Chinese Dictionary*.
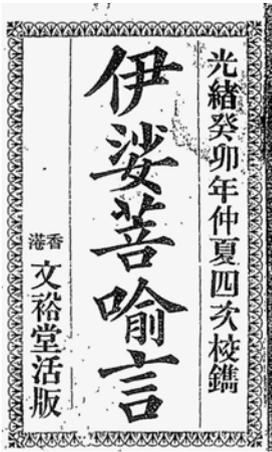
Figure 9.9   The title page of *Aesop's Fables.*
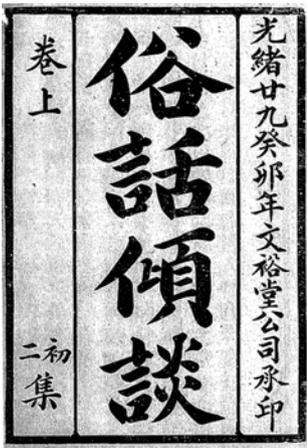
Figure 9.10   The title page of *Folktales Exhaustively Discussed.*

The third printing of *An English and Chinese Dictionary* 華英字典彙集 (1897), which I own, indicates that it was printed by Wenyutang, but the first edition (1875), according to Cordier 1904, was published by the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company, Hong Kong. Hence, around 1875 the operations of Wenyutang and the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company were not that clearly separated. Similarly, Guang Qizhao's *English and Chinese Dictionary* 字典集成 (1875), mentioned above, was published by the Chinese Printing and Publishing, but *The Tah Ts'z Anglo-Chinese Dictionary* (1897) was published by "Man Yu Tong" (Wenyutang).

Cordier 1904 and other bibliographies indicate that the following books were also published by Wenyutang:

Explanations of Forms of Address in Letters, Newly Enlarged 新增尺牘稱呼合解, by Huang 黃, head of Wenyutong (1886)
A Translated English Grammar 英文文法譯述, by Lu Jingke 陸敬科 (1894)
The Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) 中日戰輯, by Wang Bingyao 王炳耀 (1895)
Prescriptions for Growth, New Edition 增廣驗方新編 (1896)
The Four Books 四書 (1897)
Essential Reading in English 英語必讀 (1899)
Aesop's Fables, edited by Alfred J. May (1899)

The Four Books is probably James Legge's *Four Books*, originally published by the Anglo-Chinese College.

Aesop's Fables is a revision of Robert Thom's *Esop's Fables* (Canton Press Office, 1840) into a text for teaching English.[9] The version of this work that I saw was published not by Wenyutang, but by the China Mail. Quite possibly, the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company or Wenyutang also took over the publications of the China Mail.

Let me mention a few more facts about *Aesop's Fables* published by Wenyutang. This work first appeared as Robert Thom's *Aesop's Fables* 意拾喻言, and the title was later changed to 伊娑菩喻言. With a few changes, the work then appeared in the *Chinese Serial*. Later it was published as a separate work by the Anglo-Chinese College (figure 9.11) and also by the Shanghai Free Hospital 上海施醫院 in Shanghai. Wenyutang then published an edition of *Aesop's Fables* nearly identical to the Anglo-Chinese College edition, which was also reprinted in Japan (figure 9.12).

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9 See Uchida 2001b for details on the Chinese translation of *Aesop's Fables*, primarily Robert Thom's *Esop's Fables*, and the arrival of Aesop in East Asia.
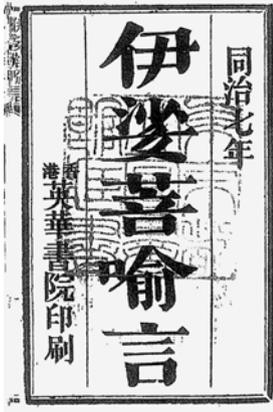
Figure 9.11 The title page of *Aesop's Fables* published by the Anglo-Chinese College.
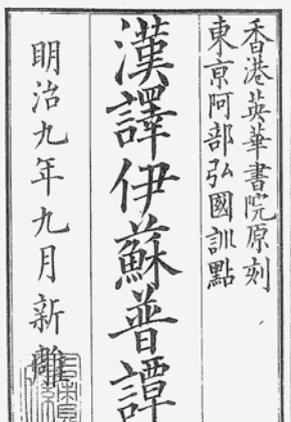
Figure 9.12 The title page of *Aesop's Fables* printed in Japan with Japanese reading marks.

Finally, let me say a word about Huang Yongfa 黃永發 and Huang Guangzheng 黃廣徵. As mentioned above, the foreword to *A Chinese-English Phrase Book, Newly Enlarged* indicates that the book was scrupulously checked by Huang Yongfa, head of Wenyutang. And Guo Luogui 郭羅貴, in the publisher's note in *An English and Chinese Dictionary* 華英字典彙集, wrote, "It has been a long time since Mr. Huang Guangzheng, head of Wenyutang in Hong Kong, printed an *Advanced English and Chinese Dictionary, Organized by Category* 先進字典類集, by Tan Daxuan 譚達軒, and *A Guide to Trading* 通商指南."

An important figure in modern Hong Kong publishing, Huang Sheng 黃勝, who helped found the *Universal Circulating Herald*, also helped translate, edit, and print the *China Mail* 德臣西報 and the *Daily Press* 孖剌西報. He also helped

James Legge, president of the Anglo-Chinese College, to translate the Four Books and Five Classics. And later, in 1858, he founded (or helped found) the *Chinese and Foreign Gazette.*[10] Though Huang Sheng had the same family name as Huang Yongfa and Huang Guangzheng, he seems to have been unrelated to them. We do know, however, that he had five children: Huang Yongqing 黃詠青, Huang Yongshang 黃詠商, Huang Yongren 黃詠仁, Huang Yongyi 黃詠義, and Yuang Yongde 黃詠德. Who the head of Wenyutang with the surname Huang was, I leave as a topic for future research.

It also seems that Wenyutang was connected with *China Daily* 中國日報, the newspaper that Sun Yat-sen founded in 1899. Li Jiayuan writes, "In December *China Daily* moved from Hollywood Road to Des Voeux Road [in Hong Kong]." "*China Daily* was originally a part of the operations of Wenyutang Printing Company. When Wenyutang entered bankruptcy, *China Daily* must have been auctioned off in order to pay off its depts."[11] Wenyutang was located at 29 Hollywood Street, as mentioned in the "Public Announcement of the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company." Hence, we can be nearly certain that Wenyutang handled the printing of the *China Daily.*

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10 Li Jiayuan 李家園, *A Discussion of Various Details about the Hong Kong Newspaper Industry* 香港報業雜談 (Hong Kong: Sanlian Shudian, 1997), pp. 3–7.

11 Li Jiayuan, *A Discussion of Various Details about the Hong Kong Newspaper Industry*, pp. 34 and 35.

Chapter 10:
The Days of the Week in Modern Chinese

As is well known, Chinese has two ways of specifying the days of the week: 星期 and 禮拜. When did these constructions first come into use? How are they distinguished in meaning? Up until now, these questions have hardly been discussed at all.[1]

It is, of course, easy to adduce evidence that these two expressions are intimately related to Christianity, for they appear often in the early missionary literature:

> "Weekly" may be expressed by 每七天. It is sometimes expressed by 每禮拜, but only persons acquainted with professed Christians know the phrase.[2]

> 伊等每七日爲節令，該日當爲聖日。於上古時，神天示人知必守之而不要做閒事，與平日的工夫，乃各人大小必歇工，念聖書，禮拜天地萬有之主宰而已。心良的人多謹守七日節令，名呼撒巴日，譯言安息日也。我們漢通書之房、虛、昂、星，四個日，就爲他們的禮拜七日節令。我說若他真守禮拜日，敬神，習善，方是有用處。但歇工而出門去要，便不是守禮拜日也。

> Every seventh day they regard as a natural break, and that day they consider a holy day. In ancient times, God taught humankind to keep this holy day and not to engage in idle business. On this day, everyone, young and old, was only to rest from the work of the other days of the week, read the Bible, and worship 禮拜 the lord of Heaven and Earth and all therein. Good people kept the seventh day, calling it the Sabbath, meaning the day of rest. The four days that Chinese literature designates as Fang 房, Xu 虛, Mao 昂, and Xing 星 correspond to their Sundays. If one truly keeps the Sabbath, worships God, and learns how to do good, these practices will all be beneficial, but if one rests from work and goes out to indulge oneself, that is not keeping the Sabbath.[3]

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1 An exception is Huang Heqing 黄河清 , "The Origins of *qiyao*, *libai*, *xingqi*, and *zhou*" 从七曜说到"礼拜"、"星期"、"周"的语源. http://huayuqiao.org/articles/huangheqing/hhq16.htm.

2 Robert Morrison, *Dialogues and Detached Sentences in the Chinese Language* (Macau: East India Co., 1816), p. 212.

3 Robert Morrison 馬禮遜, *Tour of the World* 西遊地球聞見略傳 (1819), pp. 17a–17b.

Week 七日 一個禮拜. Sabbath 禮拜日.[4]

Monday 禮拜一, Tuesday 禮拜二, Friday 禮拜五, Saturday 禮拜六, Sunday 禮拜日, 主日, Week 一個禮拜.[5]

The days of the week are numbered as so many days after the Sabbath. The Sabbath itself is called 禮拜日, or more commonly simply 禮拜. This terminology was introduced by the Roman Catholics.
Monday 禮拜一, Wednesday 禮拜三, Thursday 禮拜四, Saturday 禮拜六. Sabbath 禮拜, 安息日, Week 禮拜, Last Week 上禮拜, Next week 下禮拜 (Mateer 1892, p. 10, passim)

禮拜 A term for "week," "day of the week," or "Sunday" supposed to have become prevalent in China after the introduction of the Christian religion. The term 星期, has the same meaning and is used interchangeably, viz.: 星期日, 星期三. (McHugh 1931, p. 48)

1 瞻禮 **versus** 禮拜

In contemporary Chinese, 星期 and 禮拜 are used for days of the week, as mentioned above, but in modern Chinese of an earlier period, 瞻禮 was also used. First, let me discuss 瞻禮 and 禮拜, and then I will discuss 星期.

The distinction between 瞻禮 and 禮拜 is that Catholics used 瞻禮, and Protestants used 禮拜. For example, Bazin (1856) wrote,

Chinese Catholics, in speaking among themselves, specify the days of the week using the following expressions: 瞻禮的主日 Sunday, 瞻禮二 Monday, 瞻禮三 Tuesday, 瞻禮四 Wednesday, 瞻禮五 Thursday, 瞻禮六 Friday, 瞻禮七 Saturday.[6]

Camille Imbault Huart has the following table:

Names	Catholic	Protestants
Sunday	主日	禮拜
Monday	瞻禮二	禮拜一
Tuesday	瞻禮三	禮拜二
Wednesday	瞻禮四	禮拜三
Thursday	瞻禮五	禮拜四
Friday	瞻禮六	禮拜五
Saturday	瞻禮七	禮拜六[7]

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4 Robert Morrison, *A Grammar of the English Language* (Macau: East India Co., 1823), pp. 29, 50.

5 Robert Morrison, *Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect* 廣東省土話字彙 (Macau: East India Co., 1828).

6 Antoine-Pierre-Louis Bazin, *Grammaire mandarine* (1856), pp. 32–33.

7 Camille Imbault-Huart, *Manuel de la langue chinoise parlée* (1885), p. 67.

Justus Doolittle and Léon Wieger point out the same difference:

> Monday 禮拜一 (according to the Roman Catholics) 瞻禮二
> Friday 禮拜五 拜五日 (according to the Romanists) 瞻禮六
> Saturday 禮拜六 (by the Romanists) 瞻禮七
> Sabbath 禮拜 主日 安息日 安息之日 (among the Romanists) 瞻禮一
> (Doolittle 1872)

> 主日 Sunday
> 一個主日 a week
> 上主日 last week
> 本主日 this week
> 下主日 next week
> 瞻禮二 the second day of the week
> 瞻禮三 Tuesday
> 瞻禮七 Saturday
> Note: The protestants call Sunday 禮拜 and count the days of the week from Sunday,
> which is not counted: 禮拜一 Monday, 禮拜二 Tuesday, 禮拜六 Saturday.[8]

Hence, in the following sentence, the indicated day is Wednesday, not Thursday, as in the contemporary way of counting the days of the week.

> 你告訴給他，著他趕瞻禮四再來罷。　Tell him to come again on Wednesday.[9]

And Pedro Nolasco da Silva notes,

> Week 　主日　禮
> A week 　一個主日　一個禮拜
> Sunday 　主日　禮拜
> Second day of the week 　瞻禮二　禮拜一
> Third day of the week 　瞻禮三　禮拜二
> Fourth day of the week 　瞻禮四　禮拜三
> Fifth day of the week 　瞻禮五　禮拜四
> Sixth day of the week 　瞻禮六　禮拜五
> Saturday 　瞻禮七　禮拜六[10]

1.1   In Chinese Translations of the Bible

Missionaries' translations of the Bible also followed this difference in usage. For example, where the Catholic Bible used 瞻禮, the Protestant Bible used 禮拜.

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8 Léon Wieger, *Rudiments de parler et de style chinois dialecte du* 河間府 (1895), p. 164.
9 Wieger, *Rudiments de parler*, p. 418.
10 Pedro Nolasco da Silva, *Manual da lingua sinica, escripta e fallada* (Macau: Typographia Mercantil, 1901), pp. 22, 29–30.

1.1.1 The Catholic Bible

Manuel Dias (陽瑪諾, 1574–1659), *The Bible, Clearly Explained* 聖經直解
時近巴斯卦即如德亞國瞻禮　Now the Passover, the feast of the Jews, was at hand. (John 6:4)
是日正當巴斯卦大瞻禮日如德義不欲屍懸架上因請比辣多命折斷其脛下之　Since it was the day of Preparation, in order to prevent the bodies from remaining on the cross on the sabbath (for that sabbath was a high day), the Jews asked Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. (John 19:31)
時瞻禮日間一日天色微明往墓日出纔至　And very early on the first day of the week they went to the tomb when the sun had risen. (Mark 16:2)
耶穌謂諸司教者曰瞻禮日可療病否　And Jesus spoke to the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, "Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath, or not?" (Luke 14:3)
向客曰爾有驢牛于瞻禮日墮坑塹疇弗挈出　And he said to them, "Which of you, having an ass or an ox that has fallen into a well, will not immediately pull him out on a sabbath say?" (Luke 14:5)

Jean Basset (白日昇, 1662–1707), *Harmony of the Gospels* 四史攸編
爾上與瞻禮日我不上于此瞻禮日因我時未滿耳　"Go to the feast yourselves; I am not going up to this feast, for my time has not yet fully come." (John 7:8)
如達人則索之于瞻禮日　The Jews were looking for him at the feast. (John 7:11)
瞻禮日幾半耶穌上殿而訓　About the middle of the feast Jesus went up into the temple and taught. (John 7:14)
有異民數人上來拜于瞻禮之日者　Now among those who went up to worship at the feast were some Greeks. (John 12:20)
鐸德宗輩及民之諸老長俱聚于教首蓋法氏之墀會謀捉殺耶穌之計僉云瞻禮日不可恐民亂也　And the chief priests and the scribes were seeking how to put him to death; for they feared the people. (Luke 22:2)
瞻禮日既至　Then came the day of Unleavened Bread, on which the Passover lamb had to be sacrificed. (Luke 22:7)
蓋因有包或有憶耶穌語之汝買吾輩所需爲瞻禮日或以濟貧矣　Some thought that because Judas had the money box, Jesus was telling him, "Buy what we need for the feast"; or, that he should give something to the poor. (John 13:29)

Dialog on the Old and New Testaments of the Bible 古新聖經問答 (1862)
巴斯卦瞻禮前一日就是瞻禮五上。　The day before the Passover feast is Thursday. (1862, p. 42b)
在巴斯卦瞻禮的時候　During the Passover feast (1862, p. 43b)
耶穌是在瞻禮六死了。　Jesus died on a Friday. (1862, p. 44b)
至第三日是主日，耶穌果然復活。　On the third day, a Sunday, Jesus rose again, as foretold. (1862, p. 46a)

1.1.2   The Protestant Bible

Joshua Marshman (1768–1837), *The Bible* 聖経
伊等曰不可於禮拜日恐百姓作亂   But they said, "Not during the feast, lest there be a tumult among the people." (Matthew 26:5)

However, among Protestants, Robert Morrison used 瞻禮 rather than 禮拜. This is because, in translating the Bible, Morrison relied on Jean Basset, a Catholic.

Robert Morrison, *God's Holy Book* 神天聖書
且人不可擬汝等以飲食以瞻禮之日以朔以撒百日   Therefore let no one pass judgment on you in questions of food and drink or with regard to a festival or a new moon or a sabbath. (Colossians 2:16)

1.2   The Use of 瞻禮 versus 禮拜 in Non-Biblical Literature

In literature other than Chinese translations of the Bible, 瞻禮 and 禮拜 were used as follows.

1.2.1   瞻禮

Joaquim A. Gonçalves, *Grammatica latina ad usum sinensium juvenum* 辣丁字文 (1828)
有私恩每瞻禮五能在家裡   I have the privilege of remaining at home on Thursdays (1828, p. 157)

Joaquim A. Gonçalves, *Vocabularium latino-sinicum* 辣丁中国話本 (1836)
Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday
主日，瞻禮二，瞻禮三，瞻禮四，瞻禮五，瞻禮六，瞻禮七 (1836, p. 49)
Second day of the week, third day of the week   瞻禮二，瞻禮三 (1836, p. 64)
Saturday   禮拜七 (1836, p. 169)

Gonçalves, a Catholic Lazarite missionary, basically followed Catholic usage, yet he also used 禮拜 on occasion. The expression 禮拜七, however, does not exist in contemporary Chinese. Gonçalves used it to indicate Saturday. It appears that he used 禮拜七 as he would 瞻禮七.

1.2.2   禮拜

Shaou Tih (袁德輝), *The English and Chinese Student's Assistant, or Colloquial Phrases, Letters, etc., in English and Chinese* (1826)

七日爲一個禮拜　Seven days make one week (1826, p. 7)

若禮拜日你不穿上乾淨衣服必定受罰　If you do not put on clean clothes on Sabbath, you must be punished. (1826, p. 15)

在禮拜四早上要起身到新葛波　I expect my Brig will sail for Singapore on Thursday morning. (1826, p. 17)

在禮拜六你該當剃你的頭不該在禮日禮拜日是神天的聖日所以在那

日你不該剃頭　You must get your head shaved on Saturday, and not on the Sabbath. The Sabbath is God's holy day, hence you ought not to shave your head on that day. (1826, p. 41)

W. H. Medhurst, *Chinese Dialogues, Questions, and Familiar Sentences* (1844)

每禮拜一次或二次我將給你　I will give them to you once or twice every week. (1844, p. 137)

Samuel Wells Williams, *An English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect* 英華韻府歷階 (1844)

Monday	禮拜一
Wednesday	禮拜三
Friday	禮拜五
Saturday	禮拜六
Week	一個禮拜
Sabbath	禮拜，安息日

Herbert A. Giles, *Chinese without a Teacher* (1901)

Next week I want to get the matting up.　下禮拜要搭蓬子 (1901, p. 12)

What day of the week is it today?　今天禮拜幾 (1901, p. 28)

To-day is Saturday.　今兒禮拜六 (1901, p. 28)

Monday　禮拜一 (1901, p. 52)

Thursday　禮拜四 (1901, p. 63)

Week　禮拜 (1901, p. 66)

All these texts are by Protestant missionaries, and they all use 禮拜.

1.3   Early Use of 禮拜 and Confusion of 禮拜 with 瞻禮

Thus, as shown above, Catholics used 瞻禮, while Protestants used 禮拜. But it is worth noting that early instances of the use of 禮拜 also appear in the works of Catholic missionaries. For example, such use appears in a grammar of the Chaozhou dialect probably by a Catholic missionary:

Arte de la langua Chiou Chiu (1620?)
禮拜　　week, Sunday
禮拜一 Monday
禮拜二 Tuesday
禮拜三 Wednesday
禮拜四 Thursday
禮拜五 Friday
禮拜六 Saturday

This work is in the collection of a Barcelona library. From its title and the language of the text, one might surmise that this work falls in the line of texts that includes Francisco Varo's *Arte de la lengua Mandarina* (1703). If so, this work may have been produced by a Dominican.

　　Above I showed how Gonçalves conflated the use of 禮拜 and 瞻禮. In addition to that work, the following work also falls into this confusion:

Joaquim A. Gonçalves, *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* (1831)
Sunday　　　　　　　　　禮日，主日
Second day of the week 禮拜二，瞻禮二
Third day of the week   禮拜三，瞻禮三
Saturday　　　　　　　　禮拜七，瞻禮七
Week　　　　　　　　　　七日，一個主日

And in Francisco Varo's *Vocabulario de la lengua Mandarina* (1677–1679) we find the following passage:

　　To celebrate feasts or holy days　行禮，瞻禮，守瞻禮日
　　To celebrate our feasts or holy days　做瞻禮
　　Veneration　瞻禮
　　Feast day, holy day　瞻禮日
　　Our feast days or holy days　瞻禮日
　　For Wednesday, Spaniards say 主三; the Portuguese say 主四，瞻禮四 (the fourth day of the week), and the Italians say what the Portuguese say.
　　Tuesday, according the Spaniards, is 主二，瞻禮二 and, according to the Portuguese, is 主三，瞻禮三.

For Thursday, we say 瞻禮四，主四. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus say 瞻禮五，主五 (i.e., the fifth day of the week).

Friday we call 痛苦日，第五日; the Portuguese fathers count it as 瞻禮六.

For Saturday, we say 瞻禮六，主六，聖母日; the Portuguese count it as 主七，瞻禮七.

Week: 七天. One week: 一七天.

That is, the Spaniards, of whom Varo was one, called Tuesday 主二 or 瞻禮二, whereas the Portuguese called it 主三 or 瞻禮三. Similarly, the Spaniards called Wednesday 主三 or 瞻禮三, while the Portuguese called it 主四 or 瞻禮四. Likewise for Friday. The Italians followed the Portuguese custom.

In short, the Portuguese and Italians, following Catholic tradition, counted the days of the week from Sunday, while the Spaniards, like the Protestants, counted from Monday. This difference carried over to the Jesuits, Dominicans, and Lazarists, and reflected the different propagation styles of these orders. The latter two orders sought to propagate Christianity among the masses, so they wrote simple grammars and works in various Chinese dialects. They may also have counted the days of the week according to the Chinese way of counting, but this is a matter for future consideration.

2   星期

The word 星期 originally designated the period when two stars—the cowherd (Altair) and the weaver girl (Vega), two star-crossed lovers—met across the sky. This word came to mean the days of the week only recently in the nineteenth century, as shown below:

Zou Tao 鄒弢, "A Defense of Discussion Groups" 益智會辯言 (1889)
泰西博學家向有聚會之舉。或星期休沐，或政事余閒。　Western intellectuals have the habit of gathering, either during their weekly day of rest or during breaks in government business. (From a quot.)

Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, *An Encouragement of Learning* 勸學篇 (1898)
禮拜之期爲節目，禮拜日亦名星期，機器局所以禮拜日停工者以局內洋匠其日必休息不得不然。　Work is divided up into periods of a week. Sunday is also called 星期. The reason the Machine Bureau stops work on Sunday is that Western craftsmen in the bureau have to rest on that day, and hence there is no other choice.

Zhang Wenxiang's Memorials to the Throne 張文襄公奏議 (19th cent.)
每一星期各講習一點鐘。　 Every week, each will lecture for an hour.

Regulations of Jingshi University 京師大學堂章程 (1898)
第五節　預備科課程一星期時刻表　 Article 5. Weekly timetable for the preparatory curriculum

New Decrees of the Qing Government during the Guangxu Period 大清光緒新法令 (1906)
第二十七條　每逢星期休息一日，星期三，星期六，各於午後休息半日。
第六條　　　今擬星期三，星期六兩日功課以三點鐘爲限封印。
Article 27. Every Sunday, we rest one day, and on Wednesdays and Saturdays, we rest a half a day in the afternoon.
Article 6. We now propose that on Wednesdays and Saturdays, public business will be carried out until 3 o'clock, when offices will close.

In addition, *Draft of Qing Civil Law* 大清民律草案, *Collection of Charter Proposals* 約章成案匯覽, *New Laws and Precedents Rescinded by the Qing Government* 大清刪除新律例, and the novel *Flower in a Sea of Sin* 孽海花 (1903) also frequently used the term 星期.
　　A. H. Mateer, in *New Terms for New Ideas* (1913), included 星期一, 星期三, 星期四, 星期六, 星期, and 一星期 as new terms and explained them as follows:

> 星期　 Week
> Note. The Chinese divide the Zodiac into twenty-eight constellations, which govern the days, as the sun and moon do the year and month. These twenty-eight were again divided into four, each period of seven days, which were governed by the constellation commencing the period. When a weekly rest day was adopted in the Government schools, Chinese scholars were not satisfied with the 禮拜日, 禮拜一, 禮拜二, etc., for Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, etc., and 星期日 was substituted for Sunday, 星期一 for Monday, 星期二 for Tuesday, etc. (1913, p. 31)

Chinese scholars objected to 禮拜 perhaps because of its association with Christianity.
　　Mateer also discussed 來復, but notes that 星期 was more accepted:

> 來復日　 Sunday, the Sabbath
> Note. This nomenclature is founded on the phrase in the *Book of Changes*, 七日來復, a period renovation every seven days. This terminology is but little used, but 星期 is evidently a permanent asset of the language.

In addition to Mateer, J. M. McHugh, in *Introductory Mandarin Lessons* (1931), stated,

> 禮拜　A term for "week," "day of the week," or "Sunday" supposed to have become prevalent in China after the introduction of the Christian religion. The term 星期, has the same meaning and is used interchangeably, viz.: 星期日, 星期三. (1931, p. 48)

From the evidence above, we can see that the Chinese favored 星期 over 禮拜 in order to avoid the Christian nuance.

2.1　Days of the Week in Dictionaries by Chinese

Terms for the days of the week in English-Chinese dictionaries produced by Chinese and published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are given in table 10.1. As seen in the table, dictionaries started including 星期 around 1908. Prior to then, 禮拜 was primarily used. But after 1908, both 星期 and 禮拜 were used—a state of affairs that continues to today.

One interesting fact is that 曜日 began to appear in the dictionaries around the same time, especially in *A Comprehensive English-Chinese Dictionary* 総合英漢大辭典, where it occupied pride of place. One of the special features of this dictionary is that it included a lot of translations from Japanese. The editors of *An English-Chinese Dictionary* 英華大字典 also consulted Japanese dictionaries, according to the preface. Since 曜日 is the usual way of referring to the days of the week in Japanese, its appearance in these Chinese dictionaries is an indication of the influence of Japanese on these dictionaries.

But the 曜日 series for the days of the week was originally Chinese. The Indian monk Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空), in his translation of the *Astrology Sutra* 宿曜經 (文殊師利菩薩及諸仙所說吉凶時日善惡宿曜經), translated in 759 during the Tang dynasty, used the movements of the seven celestial bodies 七曜 (the sun 日曜, the moon 月曜, Mars 火曜, Mercury 水曜, Jupiter 木曜, Venus 金曜, and Saturn 土曜) to determine auspicious and inauspicious days. This sutra came to be used as an astrology calendar and was brought to Japan by Kūkai 空海.

However, these 曜日, associations of days with celestial bodies, were used to determine which days were auspicious and which were inauspicious. They were not meant to correspond with Western days of the week, either in China or Japan. This correspondence was probably devised by Japanese of the Meiji period (1868–1912) and then imported back into China.

Table 10.1   Terms for the days of the week in English-Chinese dictionaries edited by Chinese

Dictionary	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sabbath	Week
語言文字合璧 (1875–1908) 鄭其照 (1875)	禮拜日 禮拜日	禮拜一 禮拜一	禮拜二 禮拜二	禮拜三	禮拜四	禮拜五 禮拜五	禮拜六 禮拜六	禮拜日 安息日 禮拜日	七日 七日 禮拜
華英字典 (1884)	禮拜日	禮拜一	禮拜二			禮拜五	禮拜六	安息日 禮拜日	七日 禮拜
鄭其照 (1887, 1902)	禮拜日	禮拜一	禮拜二	禮拜三		禮拜五	禮拜六	安息日 禮拜日	七日 禮拜
譚達軒 (1897)	禮拜日	禮拜壹	禮拜二	禮拜三	禮拜四	禮拜五	禮拜六	安息日 禮拜日	一個禮拜 七日期
莫文暢, vol. 1 (1898) 新增華英貿易字典 (1901)	禮拜日	禮拜一 禮拜一	禮拜二		禮拜五 禮拜五		禮拜六	安息日 禮拜日	七日節 禮拜
商務書館華英字典 (1902)	禮拜日 安息日	禮拜一	禮拜二	禮拜三	禮拜四	禮拜五	禮拜六	安息日 禮拜日	一個禮拜 七日節 週七日之期
商務書館華英普韻字典集成 (1902)	禮拜日 來復日 安息日	禮拜一 瞻禮二	禮拜二 瞻禮三	禮拜三 來復三	禮拜四 來復四	禮拜五日	禮拜六 瞻禮七	安息日 禮拜日	一個禮拜 七日節
商務書館袖珍華英字典 (1904)	禮拜日 來復日 安息日	禮拜一	禮拜二 瞻禮三 來復二	禮拜三 來復三	禮拜四 來復四	禮拜五日	禮拜六	安息日 禮拜日	一禮拜 七日
商務書館袖珍華英字典 (1908)	禮拜日 來復日 安息日	禮拜一	禮拜二 瞻禮三 火曜日	禮拜三 水曜日	禮拜四 來復四	禮拜五	禮拜六 土曜日	安息日 主日 禮拜日	一禮拜 一星期 七日

Table 10.1 (*Continued*)

Dictionary	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sabbath	Week
英華大字典 (1908)	星期日 主日 禮拜日 日曜日 來復日	星期一 月曜日 禮拜一 瞻禮二	禮拜二 星期二 火曜日 瞻禮三	水曜日 星期三 來復三	木曜日 星期四 禮拜四	星期五 禮拜五 金曜日	星期六 來復六 禮拜六 瞻禮七 土曜日	安息日 聖日	星期 禮拜 來復 週
增廣英華新字典 (1919)	禮拜日 日曜日	星期一	禮拜二 星期二 火曜日	禮拜三 星期三	禮拜四 木曜日	禮拜五 金曜日	星期六	安息日 聖日	一禮拜 一週 七日
綜合英漢大辭典 (1927)	星期日 禮拜日 日曜日	星期一 月曜日	星期二 禮拜二 火曜日	星期三 禮拜三 水曜日	星期四 禮拜四 木曜日	禮拜五 金曜日	星期六 土曜日	安息日 休息日 聖日	一星期 一禮拜 一來復 一週間 週

Note: For some bibliographic information, see chapter 3, section 1.

3   Concluding Comments

Above I discussed Chinese expressions for the days of the week, basing my discussion on concrete sources, but this discussion is, in the final analysis, just a description of the facts. Whether it be concepts of the days of the week, concepts of time, or the development of new terms to accompany cultural imports from the West, the ground must be fertile for such cultural concepts to take root. If there is no fertile ground, such cultural concepts become like duckweeds floating on a pond and never taking root. The classic case of new concepts not taking root was the translation terms created by Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921), a largely ignored modern translator. In contrast, the translation terms of Westerners and Japanese have a certain *je ne sais quoi* that leads Chinese to accept them. This point is suggested by the translation principles of early pamphlets.

Well, was the ground fertile for the acceptance of these translation terms for the days of the week? The first issue is whether the Chinese, prior to contact with the West, had the concept of a week. Thomas Wade, in the key to his *Progressive Course*, asserted, "The Chinese have no week" (1867, p. 147). Is that true?

The Chinese, from ancient times, had the notion of the twenty-eighty lunar mansions 二十八宿 (constellations that the moon visited in the course of a month) and the notion of the five phases 五行 (phases that matter goes through as it transforms from one substance to another). The Western concept of a week arose in Babylonia. To tie the Chinese concept of twenty-eight lunar mansions to the Western concept of a week is quite an oversimplification, since the particulars of these concepts are quite different. A more natural view would be to say that similar concepts existed in China and the West. The same thing can be said for modern Chinese and Western notions of time, but this is a topic for future research.

Chapter 11:
The Chinese Bible Used by Robert Morrison: A Newly Discovered Manuscript of the New Testament Translated by Jean Basset

Robert Morrison (1782–1834), a brilliant translator of the Bible into Chinese, published *God's Holy Book* 神天聖書 (21 vols., 1823), a Chinese translation of the Bible, in Malacca. This work consisted of the New Testament 新遺詔書, as well as the Old Testament 舊遺詔書, which he translated with William Milne (1785–1822). Morrison himself said that his translation of the New Testament was based on *Harmony of the Gospels* 四史攸編耶穌基利斯督福音之会編. For example, in Eliza Morrison's *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* (1839), we find the following passages:

> "The Gospel, the closing Epistles, and the Book of Revelation, are entirely my own translating. The middle part of the volume is founded on the work of some unknown individual, whose pious labours were deposited in the British Museum. I took the liberty of altering and supplying what appeared to me to be requisite." (1839, p. 395)

> The British and Foreign Bible Society, almost from its formation, had the claims of China before it; and having been informed that a manuscript version of the New Testament, in the Chinese language, was deposited in the British Museum, entertained thoughts of printing it; but, on farther enquiry, the idea was relinquished. (1839, p. 67)

> After he had acquired the mode of writing Chinese, and some degree of familiarity with the characters, he commenced the transcription of the Chinese MS. in the British Museum, which has been already mentioned, containing a Harmony of the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and all the Pauline Epistles, except that to the Hebrews. (1839, pp. 77–78)

Muraoka Tsunetsugu (1927) describes the relation between Morrison's translation and *Harmony of the Gospels* as follows:

> European historians have often written that Morrison depended largely on the manuscript deposited in the British Museum. To find out the extent of this dependence, I compared the two works and can give specifics. First, for portions present in the British Museum manuscript, Morrison copied them over nearly as is, making only minor changes and correcting some mistakes. … For portions of the Gospels not completely translated and for the unfinished Letter to the Hebrews, Morrison took a different

approach, referring to the manuscript while producing a new translation. … In places in *Harmony of the Gospels* where the Gospels include quotations, Morrison's translations of these same passages contain a number of differences.

But on the translator of *Harmony of the Gospels*, Muraoka (1927) limited himself to saying, "Today we know neither the time nor place of publication of the translation on which this book was based. All that we can verify is that this work is a translation of most of the New Testament made by Catholics in China in the early eighteenth century." And Lindsay Ride, in his explanation of the exhibition held at the University of Hong Kong in 1957 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Robert Morrison's arrival in China, wrote merely, "It seems probable that it [*Harmony of the Gospels*] was itself a transcript of one of the manuscripts written in the seventeenth century and used in China by Roman Catholic missionaries" (1957, p. 45).

It was Yazawa Toshihiko (1967) who determined that the translation was the work of Jean Basset (白日昇, 1662–1707). Basset, a member of the Paris Foreign Missions Society, arrived in Guangdong in 1689 and was active in Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Sichuan.

And yet, as multiple readings show, Yazawa does not offer any physical evidence that *Harmony of the Gospels* was translated by Basset. All that he offers, as shown below, are two bits of circumstantial evidence: the statement of Jean Guennou, archivist at the Paris Foreign Missions Society, and Guennou's recollection of a passage in Adrien Launay's biography of Basset. Showing that the translation was Basset's on the basis of such scant evidence was quite perceptive. First, the relevant passage from Yazawa:

> One day, when I mentioned the partial translation of the Bible that I saw in the British Museum, Jean Guennou, the society's archivist, immediately said to me that that manuscript was a copy of the translation done by Jean Basset of the Paris Foreign Missions Society, and he suggested that I look at the biography of Basset by Adrien Launay in the *Mémorial de la Société des Missions Étrangères*, vol. 2. (Yazawa 1967)

Next, to quote from Launay:

> [Basset] compiled a small catechism so well done that even forty years later, missionaries were still recommending that adherents study it. The general principles of faith in the catechism used in Sichuan until 1904 were from his catechism. He also translated the New Testament of the Bible from the first chapter of Matthew to the first chapter of Paul's Letter to the Hebrews.[1]

This copy of *Harmony of the Gospels* is still held by the British Library, and the copy made by Morrison is held by the University of Hong Kong Libraries.

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1 Adrien Launay, the biography of Jean Basset in *Mémorial de la Société des Missions Étrangères* (Paris) 2 (1912).

Recently I found another manuscript of Basset's translation of the New Testament other than *Harmony of the Gospels* in the Vatican Library. This paper explores the connections of this newly discovered manuscript with *Harmony of the Gospels* and with Morrison's translation of the Bible.

1 The Novum Testamentum Manuscript Deposited in the Biblioteca Casanatense

On the title page of the manuscript is the following in Latin: "Novum Testamentum, Ms, Sinice redditum a domino Johanne Basset" (The New Testament, manuscript, rendered into Chinese by Father Jean Basset).[2] Next we find, "See the list, §A. 33, p. 93; in addition, we seek the Letter to the Hebrews; the Letters of Peter, James, and John; and the Apocalypse." Next is the seal impression "B.C.," which stands for Biblioteca Casanatense, a library in Rome founded by Cardinal Girolamo Casanate (1620–1700). And below the seal impression is the Italian inscription "Seven volumes of scripture donated by Father Fattinelli" (see figure 11.1). On the final page is the seal impression "Biblioteca Casanatense Roma Regia Mss. 2024," indicating that it was part of the rare book collection. And on pages 250, 343, and 364 is the seal impression "BIBLIOTHE · A CARD · M · CASAN · D · O · PRAD," which is also a seal of the Biblioteca Casanatense.

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2 I remember how my chest heaved in early April of 2009 when I opened a computer image of the manuscript from Zhang Xiping, of the National Research Center of Overseas Sinology of Beijing Foreign Studies University. Previously I had experienced such excitement when I finally come across Robert Thom's *Aesop's Tales* 意拾秘傳, a draft of his *Esop's Fables*; Bi Huazhen's grammar *Notes from Yanxu Cottage*; and *Essays by a Successful Graduate* 登瀛篇 by Ying Longtian 應龍田, a sort of trial version of Thomas Wade's *Progressive Course.* The reason for my excitement this time was that this manuscript was a primary discovery for research in the history of Chinese translations of the Bible—a statement that I make with without exaggerating.
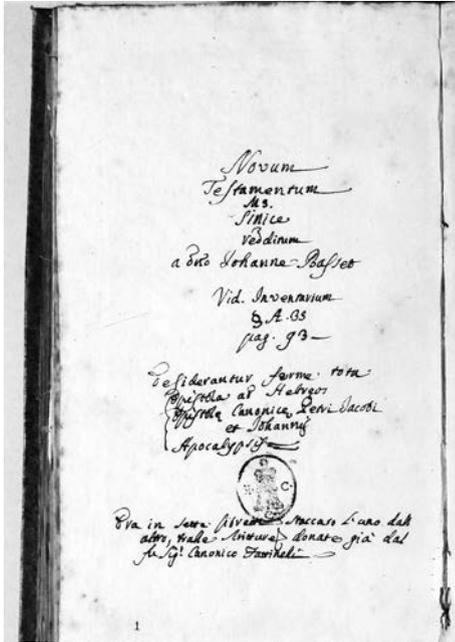
Figure 11.1   The title page of *Novum Testamentum*.

1.2   Contents

The manuscript consists of 364 folios in seven volumes bound together. It measures 24.7 centimeters by 13 centimeters. Its contents are as follows:

1. The Gospel according to Saint Matthew (28 chapters)
2. The Gospel according to Saint Mark (16 chapters)
3. The Gospel according to Saint Luke (24 chapters)
4. The Gospel according to Saint John (21 chapters)
5. Acts of the Apostles (28 chapters)
6. Letters of Saint Paul
    Letter of Paul to the Romans (16 chapters)
    First Letter of Paul to the Corinthians (16 chapters)
    Second Letter of Paul to the Corinthians (13 chapters)
7. Letters of Saint Paul
    Letter of Paul to the Galatians (6 chapters)
    Letter of Paul to the Ephesians (6 chapters)
    Letter of Paul to the Philippians (4 chapters)

Letter of Paul to the Colossians (4 chapters)
First Letter of Paul to the Thessalonians (5 chapters)
Second Letter of Paul to the Thessalonians (3 chapters)
First Letter of Paul to Timothy (6 chapters)
Second Letter of Paul to Timothy (4 chapters)
Letter of Paul to Titus (3 chapters)
Letter of Paul to Philemon (1 chapter)
Letter of Paul to the Hebrews (1 chapter)

Thus, of the entire New Testament, Basset failed to translated chapters 2 to 13 of the Letter to the Hebrews, the Letter of James (5 chapters), the First Letter of Peter (5 chapters), the Second Letter of Peter (3 chapters), the First Letter of John (5 chapters), the Second Letter of John (1 chapter), the Third Letter of John (1 chapter), the Letter of Jude (1 chapter), and the Revelation to John (22 chapters).

2   The Connection of the Novum Testamentum with Harmony of the Gospels

How is the recently discovered manuscript (hereafter, the Rome version) related to *Harmony of the Gospels?* The Gospels portions of these two works differ greatly. In *Harmony of the Gospels*, this portion is, as its title indicates, a Gospel harmony. The first chapter, for example, combines the beginning of Luke, the beginning of John, the first chapter of Luke, and the first chapter of Matthew, layered together to create a more complete narrative. But the Rome version, like Morrison's translation *God's Holy Book*, follows the order of the New Testament. Moreover, though the Rome version and Morrison's translation have differences in wording, these differences are only minor, as shown below:

四史攸編 (*Harmony of the Gospels*), Matthew 1:1–9
耶穌基利斯督達未子。阿巴郎子之生譜。阿巴郎生依撒。依撒乃生雅各。雅各乃
生如達及厥弟兄。如達乃以答瑪生法肋及匝朗。法肋乃生厄斯隆。厄斯隆乃生阿
朗。阿朗乃生阿閔達。阿敏達乃生納宋。納宋乃生撒尔蒙。撒尔蒙以臘哈生玻
斯。玻斯以呂德生遏伯。遏伯乃生熱瑟。熱瑟乃生達未王。達未王乃以先爲嗚烈
之妻者生撒落蒙。撒落蒙乃生洛般。洛般乃生阿必盎。阿必盎乃生阿撒。阿撒乃
生若撒法。若撒法乃生 [∅] 阿凱斯。阿凱斯乃生厄瑟加。

Novum Testamentum (Rome version), Matthew 1:1–9
耶穌基督達未子。阿巴郎子之生譜。阿巴郎生依撒。依撒乃生雅哥。雅哥乃生如
達及厥弟兄。如達乃以答瑪生法肋及匝朗。法肋乃生厄斯隆。厄斯隆乃生阿朗。
阿朗乃生阿閔達。阿閔達乃生納宋。納宋乃生撒尔蒙。撒尔蒙以臘哈生玻斯。玻
斯以呂德生遏伯。遏伯乃生熱瑟。熱瑟乃生達未王。達未王乃以先爲嗚烈之妻者

生撒落蒙。撒落蒙乃生洛般。洛般乃生阿必盎。阿必盎乃生阿撒。阿撒乃生若撒
法。若撒法乃生若朗。若朗乃生遏西雅。遏西雅乃生若阿當。若阿當乃生阿加
斯。阿加斯乃生厄瑟。 (See figure 11.2.)
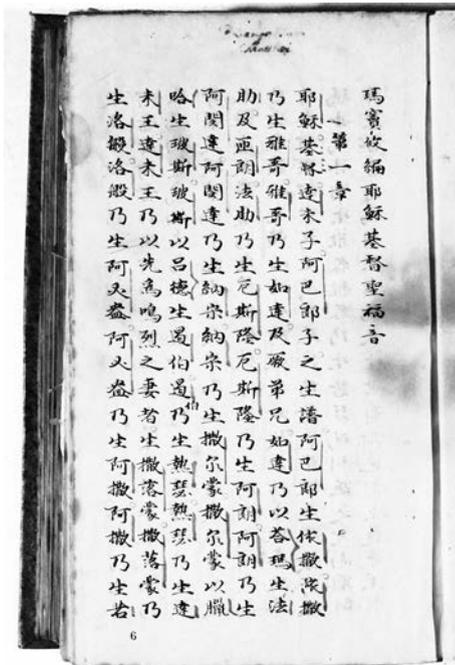
Figure 11.2   The Chinese translation of Matthew 1:1–8.

Morrison, *God's Holy Book*, **Matthew 1:1–9**

耶穌基利士督大五得之子亞百拉罕之子之生譜也。亞百拉罕生以撒革，以撒革生
牙可百，牙可百生如大及厥弟兄們，如大由大馬耳生法利士及颯拉，又法利士生
以色羅麥，以色羅麥生亞拉麥，又亞拉麥生亞米拿得百，亞米拿得百生拿亞順，
拿亞順生撒勒們，又撒勒們由拉下百生波亞士，波亞士由路得生阿百得，阿百得
生耶西，又耶西生王者大五得，王大五得者由先爲五耳以亞之妻而生所羅們，又
所羅們生利阿波亞麥，利亞波亞麥生亞比亞，亞比亞生亞撒，又亞撒生耶何沙
法，耶何沙法生若拉麥，若拉麥生五賽亞，又五賽亞生若大麥，若大麥生亞下
士，亞下士生希西該亞。

Matthew 1:1–9

The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.
Abraham was the father of Isaac, and Isaac the father of Jacob, and Jacob the father of
Judah and his brothers, and Judah the father of Perez and Zerah by Tamar, and Perez the
father of Hezron, and Hezron the father of Ram, and Ram the father of Ammin'adab,
and Ammin'adab the father of Nahshon, and Nahshon the father of Salmon, and
Salmon the father of Bo'az by Rahab, and Bo'az the father of Obed by Ruth, and Obed
the father of Jesse, and Jesse the father of David the king. And David was the father of

Solomon by the wife of Uri'ah, and Solomon the father of Rehobo'am, and Rehobo'am the father of Abi'jah, and Abi'jah the father of Asa, and Asa the father of Jehosh'aphat, and Jehosh'aphat the father of Joram, and Joram the father of Uzzi'ah, and Uzzi'ah the father of Jotham, and Jotham the father of Ahaz, and Ahaz the father of Hezeki'ah.

Though we should draw conclusions only after thoroughly examining the differences between the Rome version and *Harmony of the Gospels*, at this point I think that it is more natural to view the Rome version as coming first and *Harmony of the Gospels* to be based on it, rather than to view the Rome version as a reconstruction of the order of the New Testament from *Harmony of the Gospels.* For instance, in the passage from Matthew above, a missing passage in *Harmony of the Gospels* (marked with the null-set symbol ∅) seems to be an omission in copying. Similarly, in the passage from Acts of the Apostles shown below, Yazawa notes that a portion missing in *Harmony of the Gospels* (∅) but present in Morrison's translation appears in its proper place in the Rome version.[3] (In fact, this portion is not missing in *Harmony of the Gospels* but appears out of order on the next folio.) It is difficult to believe that this portion was later added in the Rome version.

四史攸編 **(Harmony of the Gospels), Acts 1:1–18**
陡斐勒，余先言耶穌始行訓諸情，至於以聖風囑所選之使徒而升天之日，蓋受難後四旬多自徵，己活現伊等，而言天國之情，又同食間命曰，勿離柔撒冷，惟候父之許，汝曹所曾聞出吾口，蓋若翰固受水洗，汝曹乃不日受聖風之洗，且集會者問之曰，[∅] 一地，而縊衷破而厥諸腸盡傾洩。

Novum Testamentum **(Rome version), Acts 1:1–18**
陡斐肋，余先言耶穌始行訓諸情。至於以聖風囑所選知使徒而升天之日。蓋受難後四旬多自証，己活現伊等，而言天國之情。又同食間命曰，勿離柔撒冷，惟候父之許，汝曹所曾聞出吾口。蓋若翰固授水洗，汝曹乃不日受聖風之洗。且會集者問之曰，主，爾復舉依臘尔國于此時乎。答伊等曰，汝弗宜知父乃能特定之時刻。惟汝將受上臨汝聖風之德，而汝爲吾証于柔撒冷與如達諸方，于撒瑪列，至地末之境也。言斯畢眾見之騰上，而雲接之于厥目。眾仰天視其升時，突有白衣二人近伊等立曰，加里辣人，汝曹何立仰天耶，此耶穌由尔輩舉升天者，依尔見其往天之樣，後必如此來也。伊等方自山名遏里瓦，離柔撒冷撒罷路者，歸柔撒冷。而入騰高庭。伯多羅，及若翰，雅各伯，及安德肋斐理伯，及多默巴多茂瑪寶，亞阜之子雅各伯，西滿，及雅各伯之弟茹答，皆居之所，此眾偕數婦及耶穌之母瑪利亞，及厥弟兄，合一心恆于祈禱。彼日間會集約一百二十人，而伯多羅中起曰，吾弟兄經內聖風以達未口所預指茹答率擒耶穌輩者之情，夫經必驗矣。其向入吾數而幸獲斯職分。其以惡逆之價得一地，而縊衷破而厥諸腸盡傾洩。

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3 "If we examine this passage [Acts 1] carefully, we find that the portion after 'So when they had come together, they asked him' (verse 6) to a little before 'falling headlong he burst open in the middle and all his bowels gushed out' (verse 18) is missing. That is, the more than 300 characters after 集會者問之曰 and before 一地，而縊衷破 has been omitted" (Yazawa 1967, p. 4).

Morrison, *God's Holy Book***, Acts 1:1–18**

弟阿非羅乎，余先言耶穌始行訓諸情。至於以聖風囑其所選之使徒後而被取上去
之日。蓋受難後其以多實憑據，四旬之間，現己活與伊等看，而言神國之情。又
同食間命曰，勿離耶路撒冷，惟候父之許，汝曹所曾聞出吾口。蓋若翰固施水
洗，汝曹乃不日必受聖風之洗。且集會者問之曰，主，爾復舉以色耳以勒國于此
時乎。答伊等曰，爾弗宜知父能特定之時刻。惟汝將受上臨汝聖風之德，而汝爲
吾証于耶路撒冷與如氏亞諸方，于撒馬利亞，至地末之境也。言此畢眾視之時昇
上，而雲接之於厥目。眾仰天視其升時，突有白衣二人近伊等立曰，加利利人，
汝曹何立仰天耶，此耶穌由爾輩舉升天者，依然見往天之樣，後必如此來也。伊
等自山名阿利瓦離耶路撒冷撒罷路者，歸耶路撒冷。而入騰高庭。彼多羅，及者
米士若翰，及安得路腓利百，及多馬士巴耳多羅茂馬竇，亞勒腓五之子牙可百，
西們洗羅氏，及牙可百之弟如大士，皆居之所，此眾偕數婦及耶穌之母馬利亞及
厥弟兄們，合一心恆于祈禱。彼日間會集一百二十人，而彼多羅中起曰，人與弟
兄們經內聖風以大五得口所預指如大士率擒耶穌輩者之情，夫經必驗矣。其向入
吾數而獲斯職分。其以惡逆之價買一地，而縊衷破而厥腸盡傾洩。

Acts 1:1–18

In the first book, O The-oph'ilus, I have dealt with all that Jesus began to do and teach,
until the day when he was taken up, after he had given commandment through the Holy
Spirit to the apostles whom he had chosen. To them he presented himself alive after his
passion by many proofs, appearing to them during forty days, and speaking of the
kingdom of God. And while staying with them he charged them not to depart from
Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which, he said, "you heard from me,
for John baptized with water, but before many days you shall be baptized with the Holy
Spirit." So when they had come together, they asked him, "Lord, will you at this time
restore the kingdom to Israel?" He said to them, "It is not for you to know times or
seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority. But you shall receive power
when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem
and in all Judea and Sama'ria and to the end of the earth." And when he had said this, as
they were looking on, he was lifted up, and a cloud took him out of their sight. And while
they were gazing into heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white robes,
and said, "Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven? This Jesus, who was
taken up from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go into
heaven." Then they returned to Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is near
Jerusalem, a sabbath day's journey away; and when they had entered, they went up to the
upper room, where they were staying, Peter and John and James and Andrew, Philip and
Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus and Simon the Zealot
and Judas the son of James. All these with one accord devoted themselves to prayer,
together with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brothers. In those
days Peter stood up among the brethren (the company of persons was in all about a
hundred and twenty), and said, "Brethren, the scripture had to be fulfilled, which the
Holy Spirit spoke beforehand by the mouth of David, concerning Judas who was guide
to those who arrested Jesus. For he was numbered among us, and was allotted his share
in this ministry." (Now this man bought a field with the reward of his wickedness; and
falling headlong he burst open in the middle and all his bowels gushed out.)

Moreover, the passage in Launay's biography of Basset that Yazawa relies on (cited above) refers not to *Harmony of the Gospels* but to the Rome version. After all, the title page of this version lists Basset as the translator. Also, if Yazawa meant *Harmony of the Gospels*, he would not refer Matthew 1 in his paper.

As a matter of fact, already in the nineteenth century there is a reference to the Rome version in the literature:

> The end of the Ming dynasty, and the beginning of the present Ta Ch'ing, were the palmy days of Jesuit missions in China. At that time portions at least of the Scriptures were translated into Chinese and printed for general use. It is not improbable, indeed, that the whole of the Scriptures were translated, though they were never printed, and therefore never got into general circulation. A manuscript copy of the New Testament in seven volumes, now preserved in the library of the Propaganda at Rome, may belong to this period. We could not expect Rome to give her people freely whole Bibles, not even New Testaments; but much of the substance of the Gospels, and sketches of the more interesting historical narratives of the Old Testament, were made at different times by different men, and neatly printed and widely circulated. Copies of these, some yellow with age, some later reprints, may still be found in the possession of old Catholic families in Peking. They are written in a simple though not uniform style, much of which differs little from the *Kuan-hua* of the present day. (Wherry 1890, p. 47)

A. J. Garnier also cites this reference: "Dr. Wherry remarks that 'a ms copy of the New Testament in 7 volumes, now preserved in the Library of the Propaganda at Rome, may belong to this period,' i.e. the early years of the Manchu Dynasty" (1934, p. 12).

The "manuscript copy of the New Testament in seven volumes, now preserved in the library of the Propaganda at Rome" is very likely the newly discovered manuscript of the translation of the New Testament by Jean Basset. And, I believe, perhaps *Harmony of the Gospels*, based on this work, is the "small catechism" that Launay mentions. If it is, then no wonder that pages got out of order.

Well, why was *Harmony of the Gospels* compiled? One possible explanation is that Catholics, unlike Protestants, put more effort into creeds, statements of faith, and catechisms than translations of the Bible. Saeki Yoshirō, for example, writes,

> The Catholic Church propagated Christian doctrine in China from the late Ming dynasty, yet for over 300 years, until 1897, two years after the First Sino-Japanese War, it did not produce a complete Chinese translation of the New Testament of the Bible. … Here too lies a great difference between Catholicism and Protestantism, namely, in Catholicism's authoritarianism, its tendency to ask for obedience rather than understanding, in contrast to Protestantism's seeking to have believers understand the word of God and opposition to clerical control and suppression. … Protestant and Catholic conceptions of the Bible are based on contrary points of view. The Catholic Church felt it proper to opportunistically use the Bible to back up its assertions regarding the faith, thought that the Bible supported its special prerogatives, and in addition, propagated the faith through the sacred tradition, which, according to the Catholic catechism, is the

word of God spread by the apostles. … Protestants, in contrast, rejected the notion of Papal infallibility, and rather than placing the sacred tradition above the Bible, regarded the Bible as the sole authority on faith. Their core value was to promote Christians' faith, moral living, and salvation. … This is why Protestant missionaries, while struggling to achieve consensus and arguing over translation terms, could produce a Chinese translation of the Bible. (1949, pp. 435–437)

Thus, for Basset, *Harmony of the Gospels*, as a catechism and part of the sacred tradition, was more important than the New Testament Bible.

Did Morrison view the Rome version? Though to date we have yet to discover any records about Morrison indicating that he did, it is more likely that in producing his translation, he worked from the Rome version than that he reconstructed the Gospels from *Harmony of the Gospels.*

When Zhang Xiping sent me information on the Rome version, he suggested that it might be the unseen translation of the Bible called *The Old and New Testaments of the Bible* 古新聖經. This translation was allegedly done by the Jesuit missionary Louis de Poirot (賀清泰, 1735–1814). The contents and location of this translation were made public by Louis Pfister (1932) and Xu Zongze (1958), but no one has seen this work since.[4] Though it is possible to judge only from the preface of this translation, it is hardly likely that the Rome version is 古新聖經.[5]

Many questions remain. For example, how did this work for the Paris Foreign Missions Society end up in the Biblioteca Casanatense? Who was Father Fattinelli? Why did Morrison not make any mention of this work?[6]

Postscript

After I finished writing this essay, I happened to come across "A Study of the Compilation of *Harmony of the Gospels*" 《四史攸編耶穌基利斯督福音之合編》之編輯研究, by Zeng Yangqing 曾陽晴.[7] This paper contains a few points worth noting.

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4 Henri Cordier (1901) also mentions this translation.

5 From the preface of *The Old and New Testaments of the Bible:* The Bible consists of two portions: the Old Testament and the New Testament. The portion written before the Lord descended to Earth is called the Old Testament, and the portion written after he descended to Earth is called the New Testament. Both portions present God's will for all humankind. All types of saints followed God's command. The Bible has five books on the creation. The first book discusses the origins of Heaven and Earth, everything therein, and all humanity. God used his omnipotence to fashion them out of nothing. Hence, this book is called Genesis. The second book tells how God brought the sons of Israel out of Egypt. Hence, this book is called Exodus.

6 I would like to thank my esteemed friend Frederico Massini, director of the Confucius Institute at the University of Rome, La Sapienza, for his help with Latin and Italian.

7 Zeng Yangqing 曾陽晴, "A Study of the Compilation of *Harmony of the Gospels*" 《四史攸編

One is that Abel Rémusat (1788–1832), early on, already noted the existence of a manuscript copy of Basset's translation of the New Testament, the Rome version. Rémusat, in 1811, stated that Basset's seven-volume translation of the New Testament was preserved in the Papal Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.[8] On this matter, You Side, in *The Union Version and Translating the Bible into Chinese*, writes, "From the Gospel according to Matthew to the first chapter of Paul's Letter to the Hebrews, Jean Basset translated the New Testament from Latin into Chinese. Yet because he died, he could not complete the translation."[9]

Basset's student, Andreas Ly 李安德, in his diary, wrote,

即遣之出城，翌早經時見彼無花果樹自根已枯乾，伯多羅記曰，師此無花果樹，爾所訶者，已枯矣。(馬耳谷 11章)
As they passed by in the morning, they saw the fig tree withered away to its roots. And Peter remembered and said to him, "Master, look! The fig tree which you cursed has withered." (Mark 11:20–21)

耶穌謂之曰，若爾有信，無些猜疑，我確謂於汝等，不但如此作於肥果，即語七山…… (瑪竇 21章)
And Jesus answered them, "Truly, I say to you, if you have faith and never doubt, you will not only do what has been done to the fig tree, but even if you say to this mountain, …." (Matthew 21:21)

What is most important to note here is the different translations for "fig" (無花果, 肥果). From this difference, we can see that various translations of the four Gospels already existed before the creation of *Harmony of the Gospels* in the Sloane Collection of the British Library, and that *Harmony of the Gospels* was based on these translations. This adds further evidence for my hypothesis, stated above, that *Harmony of the Gospels* was based on previous translations of the Gospels. (By the way, the Andreas Ly mentioned here might be the Adrien Launay quoted in Yazawa 1967.)

In any case, we can be certain that Jean Basset's manuscript translation of the New Testament (the Rome version) existed prior to *Harmony of the Gospels*. In fact, it is possible, though unlikely, that *Harmony of the Gospels* was compiled by someone other than Basset.

耶穌基利斯督福音之合編》之編輯研究, *Chengda zongjiao yu wenhua xuebao* 成大宗教與文化學報, no. 12 (2008).

8 Abel Rémusat, *Essai sur la langue et la littérature chinoises* (Paris: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1811).

9 You Side 尤思德, *The Union Version and Translating the Bible into Chinese* 和合本與中文聖經翻譯 (Honk Kong: Guoji Shengjing Xiehui, 2002), p. 17.

Part II:
Modern Cultural Interaction between East and West as Seen from Illustrations

Chapter 12:
"Zixingche": The Chinese Word for Bicycle

Even today, a popular mode of transportation in China is the bicycle, which is called 自行車 in Chinese. The word 自行車 first appeared in the seventeenth-century work *Illustrations and Explanations of Diverse Devices* 諸器圖說. *Illustrations and Explanations of Diverse Devices* was a supplement to *Illustrations and Explanations of Wonderful Devices of the Far West* 遠西奇器圖說, dictated by Joannes Terentius 鄧玉函 and written down by Wang Zheng 王徵 (Beijing, 1627).

In a section titled "Illustration and Explanation of a Self-Propelling Cart with Chime-Clock Mechanism," there is the following explanation, along with the illustration shown in figure 12.1.

> **Illustration and Explanation of Self-Propelling Cart with Chime-Clock Mechanism**
> To move on the ground, the cart has four wheels. The front two wheels each has its own axle, and these axles have no teeth. The rear two wheels are twice as high as the front two wheels, and they share an axle, to which they are affixed. The middle of the axle has six teeth made of solid iron, and above the axle teeth are drive gears, labeled 1, 2, 3 and 4. Gear no. 4 has 24 teeth, gear no. 3 has 36, gear no. 2 has 48, and gear no. 1 has 60. The axle for gear no. 1 has no teeth, and the axles for gears no. 2, 3, and 4 have 6 teeth each. Gear no. 1 imparts motion to gear 2, and so on, and gear no. 4 engages the axle teeth, causing the cart to move. The only thing driving gear no. 1 is weight. The greater the weight, the faster the cart moves. Without weight, the cart comes to a standstill. When the potential energy of the weight has been used up, there is a mechanism that causes it to return back up. If the cart encounters an uneven surface that is difficult to move over, there is a semicircular gear and lever to drive the cart. Though its mechanisms are difficult to describe, this cart is like the ancient *liuma* 流馬 transport vehicle. Suffice it to say that though it is not called a water buffalo, it in effect serves the purpose of a water buffalo. It can be used to transport a person or load, and the weight of the person or load moves the cart forward. I once built a small model, and it could go 9.3 meters. A bigger model should be able to go 1.7 kilometers. If one follows the design and builds the cart so that the weight returns back up, the cart can travel any distance.
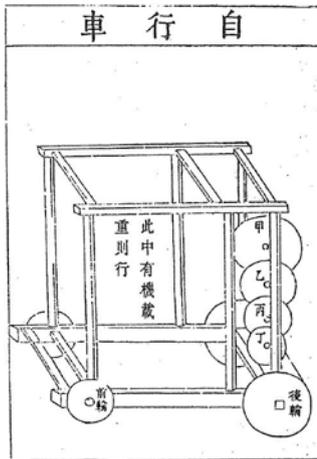
Figure 12.1   The self-propelled vehicle with gear mechanism (from *Illustrations and Explanations of Diverse Devices*, 1627).

Thus we see that here 自行車 refers to a self-propelled vehicle whose rear wheels are driven by a clocklike gear mechanism. By means of interlocking gears and applied weight, the cart moves forward, and if weight is continually applied, it can go any distance, just like the little engine that could.

Well, when did 自行車 acquire the meaning of bicycle? Among the materials I have seen is the following passage: "Shanghai already has many bicycles, some with two wheels, some with three. One has no need for a horse or mule. A person sits on the seat and steps on the pedal. When the pedal moves, the wheel turns and the bicycle moves forward. It is really amazing!" (*Church News* 教會新報 2 [June 25, 1870]: 92).

Church News was a Christian magazine established on September 5, 1868 by Young John Allen 林樂知 of the American Southern Methodist Episcopal Mission. William Muirhead and Joseph Edkins assisted in its production. The magazine at first was called 中國教會新報, then on August 31, 1872, had its name abbreviated to 教會新報, and finally on September 5, 1874, had its name changed to *Review of the Times* 萬國公報. It carried articles on airplanes, photography, novel news from abroad, detailed regulations for Shanghai and Beijing churches and hospitals, etc., thus enabling readers to get a glimpse of life in China and abroad. One of the articles it published was this article on bicycles.

According to the Web edition of the *Heibonsha World Encyclopedia* 世界大百科事典, the bicycle underwent the following development:

- 1813   Karl von Drais invented the two-wheel Running Machine, or Draisine.[1]
- 1839   Kirkpatrick Macmillan invented the pedal- and rear-wheel-driven bicycle.
- 1861   Pierre Michaux invented the Michaudine, or boneshaker, a bicycle with the pedal cranks connected directly to the front wheel. Later the front wheel was made larger than the rear wheel.
- 1870   James Starley invented the penny-farthing, or high wheel, which had a front wheel whose diameter was three times that of the back wheel and was all metal, and therefore lighter. Because the penny-farthing had a high seat and was dangerous, the tricycle was later invented.
- 1879   Harry J. Lawson invented the Safety, so named because of its lower seat, which reduced the chance of header accidents. This design, with chain-driven rear wheel, was called a *bicyclett* in France, which became "bicycle" in English.
- 1885   John Kemp Starley, nephew to James Starley, started manufacturing the rover safety, with front and rear wheels of the same size. The rover safety was the forerunner of today's modern bicycles.

Thus, soon after the invention of the Michaudine with larger front wheel, the penny-farthing (1870), and the tricycle, they were imported into China. As for Japan, records indicate that the first bicycles imported into Japan were the penny-farthing, imported from the United States in 1870.

But according to *Western Style* 西洋風, by Liu Shanling 劉善齡,[2] the word 自行車 appeared in Chinese even before the 1870 article in *Church News.* For it appears in *A Tour of Europe and America* 歐美環遊記, by Zhang Deyi 張德彝 (1868):

> One sees people out and about riding two-wheeled bicycles 自行車 called velocipedes 威婁希兆達 in the West. These are made of steel and have a large front wheel, a small rear wheel, and, above the wheels, a tube joining front and rear wheel. Above the large front wheel is a horizontal handlebar for steering, and the wheel's axle has an arm extending outward. A person sits on the tube connecting front and back wheel, holds the handlebar, and treads on the axle arm. This causes the bicycle to move forward at speeds faster than even a galloping horse. At the rear end of the tube is a basket for carrying luggage. One can rent such bicycles by the hour for a few francs. There is also an iron shed where one can practice mounting the bicycle.[3]

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1 According to *Inventions from the West* 西洋風, by Liu Shanling 劉善齡, Drais invented the bicycle in 1817.

2 Liu Shanling 劉善齡, *Western Style* 西洋風 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1999).

3 Zhang Deyi 張德彝, "Travels in France" 法郎西遊記, in *A Tour of Europe and America* 歐美環遊記. Reprinted in *From East to West, Chinese Travellers before 1911* 走向世界叢書, vol. 1 (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 1985), pp. 727–728.

Here Zhang Deyi uses the Chinese word for bicycle 自行車 and also transcribes a velocipede, a bicycle design in which the pedal is attached directly to the front wheel. He also used 自行車 in *An Account of Travels Overseas* 航海述記 (1867).[4]

Pictures of early bicycles also appeared in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 點石齋畫報, published from 1884 to 1898 (figures 12.2–12.5). Figures 12.4 and 12.5 show bicycles similar to those of today. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* has pictures even of the army bicycle corps (figure 12.6).
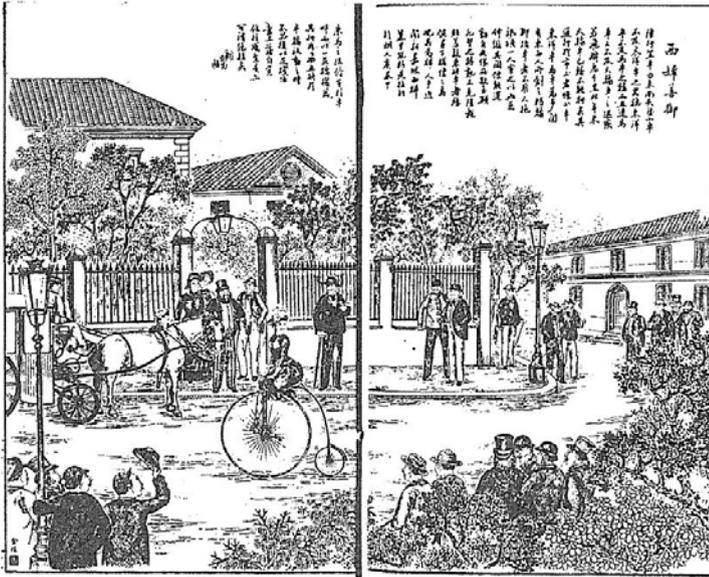
Figure 12.2   A European lady riding a bicycle ("Western Ladies Are Good at Riding," *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1885).

However, in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and *Shanghai Travel Notes* 滬遊雜記 (1876), by Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦, the word for bicycle is not 自行車 but 脚踏車.[5] In fact, even today, bicycles are generally referred to as 脚踏車. Only considerably later

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4 Zhang Deyi 張德彝, *An Account of Travels Overseas* 航海述記. Reprinted in *From East to West, Chinese Travellers before 1911*, vol. 1, p. 542.

5 *Shanghai Travel Notes* has the following passage: "The bicycle 脚踏車: Its design is that it has two wheels, one in front and one in the back, and in between is a seat. On each side of the front wheel are arms with pedals. And above the front wheel is a horizontal wooden handlebar. When one rides it, one sits astride in the middle with one's feet on the pedals. By operating it at full speed, one flies. One grasps the horizontal handlebar and braces oneself with one's arms. If one keeps the upper body straight and weaves with the front wheel, one can avoid falling over. It is as fast as a horse-drawn carriage, but unless one practices for two or three months, one cannot become proficient at riding. A bicycle consumes lots of energy and is not suited for a leisurely ride. There are also three-wheeled designs (tricycles), which are more stable."
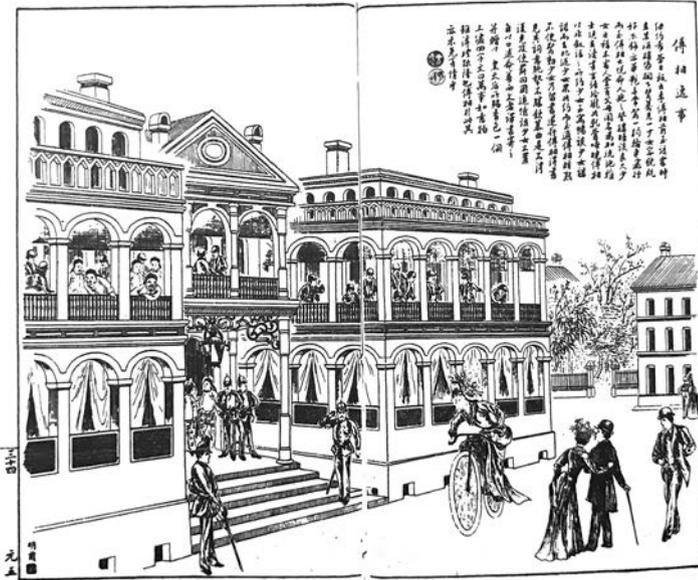
Figure 12.3   Picture of a girl riding a bicycle, as seen by Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 in New York in 1897 ("Images and Anecdotes," *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897).

Figure 12.4   A group of young Europeans in Shanghai while on a tour of the world by bicycle ("On the Road Together, Sleeping Abroad," *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1898).

Figure 12.5   A bicycle race in Shanghai ("Bicycle Race," *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897).

Figure 12.6   "Army Bicycle Corps" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897).

did Chinese settle on the term 自行車 for bicycles. Most of the English-Chinese dictionaries published by the Commercial Press, for example, have 脚踏車 or 自由車 (see table 12.1). And though the Japanese word for bicycle, 自轉車, can be found in one dictionary (綜合英漢大辭典, 1927), 自行車 cannot be found even in as late a work as 初中英漢字典 (1936).

Table 12.1   Terms for bicycle in Chinese and English dictionaries

Dictionary	Terms
商務書館華英字典 (1902)	脚車、脚踏車
商務書館華英音韻字典集成 (1902)	脚踏車
商務書館袖珍華英字典 (1904)	脚踏車
商務書館華英新字典 (1907)	脚踏車、二輪自由車
英華大辭典 (1908)	脚踏車、二輪自由車
增訂英華合解辭彙 (1915)	二輪自由車、自由車
懷中英漢字典 (1921)	自由車、脚踏車
英漢雙解韋氏大學字典 (1923)	脚踏車、二輪自由車
綜合英漢大辭典 (1927)	自轉車 (二輪的)、脚踏、自動脚踏車
求解作文兩用英漢模範字典 (1929)	二輪脚踏車、自由車
初中英漢字典 (1936)	自由車、脚踏車

As seen in table 12.1, 自轉車, the Japanese word for bicycle, appears in one of the dictionaries of the Commercial Press, but not 自行車. When 自行車 became the common word for bicycle is a topic that I would like to discuss on some future occasion.

Chapter 13:
An 1890 Amusement Park and Its Roller Coaster ("Zixingche")

Figure 13.1 The roller coaster at Dragon Island.

Figure 13.1 shows the roller coaster at Dragon Island, a amusement park constructed in Shanghai in 1890. At present a Disneyland is being constructed in Shanghai, with its opening scheduled for 2015. Yet surprisingly, even more than a century earlier a amusement park was constructed in Shanghai. No doubt residents of Shanghai too were surprised. In the literature of the time, this roller coaster was explained as follows:

Like a Mantis Trying to Block the Chariot
The roller coaster 自行車 at Dragon Island rushes downward, like rain rushing down a roof. It then uses its inertia to climb the incline. Down and up, the roller coaster naturally goes forward without relying on any human power, horse power, or power from fire. Using natural forces without depending on steam, it achieves the unexpected. One knowledgeable man said, "This was made by really intelligent people." Some strong, foolhardy Westerners sought to apply superhuman strength to bring the roller coaster to an abrupt stop. They waited by the tracks for the roller coaster to pass, thinking to grab it from behind and bring it to a stop. They wanted to see everyone turn white with fear. They did not figure on the inertia of the roller coaster being so great. It came flying forward. Not only could they not stop it. They went flying along with it, up and down, like a butterfly chasing a horse's hoofs or a fly on the tail of a steed. In an instant they were bloodied and bruised and seriously injured. People all laughed that they did not know their own strength and stared at them for their stupidity. How great is

the distance between intelligence and stupidity. I still remember a few years ago when the port town of Wusong was laying rail tracks, a Chinese soldier got this crazy idea of standing in front of the train to stop it. He was run over and cut in two. Now, more than ten years later, these Westerners do something similar. As the saying says, "Misfortunes never come singly." (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1890)

On July 19, 1879, *Shen bao* 申報 (Shanghai News) also carried a report, by its Editor-in–Chief He Guisheng, on Dragon Island and its roller coaster:

> Dragon Island is a newly established company of Shanghai. It began operations on a trial basis on July 19. … Dragon Island is located where the circus tents were at Hongkou. Walter Henry Medhurst Jr. used this site to construct a rail track on high supports for a roller coaster 自行車 amusement ride. The roller coaster is designed so that it moves on its own without coal, steam, electricity, horse power, or human power. The track is shaped like a dragon, with highs and lows. People sit in carriages, which ride on the rails, rapidly descending and rapidly ascending. The coaster's descents are like the waters of the Yellow River, flowing for hundreds of miles, and its ascents are like a ship fighting the tide: it makes progress while beating the waves. The carriages resemble dragon boats, though without the dragon head and tail. Each carriage has five rows of seats, with two seats to a row, for a total of ten seats. (He Guisheng 何桂笙, "A Trip to Dragon Island" 飛龍島遊記)

According to this article, the Dragon Island amusement park opened on a trial basis in July 1879. Prior to that, its site was the location of the circus at Hongkou. There Sir Walter Henry Medhurst Jr., a retired British consul, built an elevated track on which he ran a roller coaster. We also see that the roller-coaster carriages had five rows of seats, with two seats to a row, for a total of ten seats. And the mechanical principles of the roller coaster are explained similarly to how they are explained in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*.

In addition, Yu Zhi 余之 had this to say in *Modern Shanghai* 摩登上海 (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian, 2003):

> Dragon Island was located in the present-day Hongkou District near the intersection of Tanggu Road and Emei Road. Today the area is a bustling commercial area, with shops lining the streets, but over a century ago it was a large vacant area where residents of single-storey houses and grass huts would go in the evening to cool off. In 1890 a Western businessman bought the vacant area, where he built the Dragon Island amusement park and had a circus troupe of his country perform. Though there were not many performances, one thing that did attract people's attention was the cycle 自行車 performance. Thereafter, circus troupes that came to Shanghai had to perform at Dragon Island, and a cycle performance, which resembled a dragon, had to be included in the program. Moreover, this enterprise earned a lot of money from Chinese visitors.

In this article, 自行車 refers to a circus cycle act. Be that as it may, it is really strange that 自行車 referred even to a roller coaster.

Chapter 14:
The Life of Christ, Sinicized

Figure 14.1 The birth of Jesus, by a Chinese artist.

Figure 14.1, titled *The Birth of Jesus* 耶穌誕生, is from *The Life of Christ by Chinese Artists.*[1] This book depicts the life of Christ with illustrations. It follows in the tradition of *Illustrations of the Life of Christ* 天主降世出像經解 (1637?) by the Jesuit missionary Giulio Aleni 艾儒略, *Rules for Saying One's Beads* 誦念珠規程 (1619?) by the Jesuit missionary João da Rocha 羅如望, and *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor* 進呈書像 (1640) by the Jesuit missionary Adam Schall 湯若望. Illustrations from these three books are shown in figures 14.2 to 14.4. These three illustrations, which depict an angel of the Lord informing Mary that she has conceived of the Holy Spirit, were based on figure 14.5 from Gerónimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia* (Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels, 1593).

Though *The Life of Christ by Chinese Artists* was published in London, its drawings were produced by Chinese. Like the *Eastern Aesop's Fables* 東方伊朔 (1906) in the series of translations of Aesop's Fables into Chinese, these drawings show how Christian missionaries of the modern period became increasingly Sinitic. After an "Introduction" (1 page) and statement "About the Pictures" (1 page), the book contains 24 illustrations laid out in two-page spreads, with the drawing on the right and a brief explanation in English on the left.

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1 *The Life of Christ by Chinese Artists* (Westminster, London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1939).
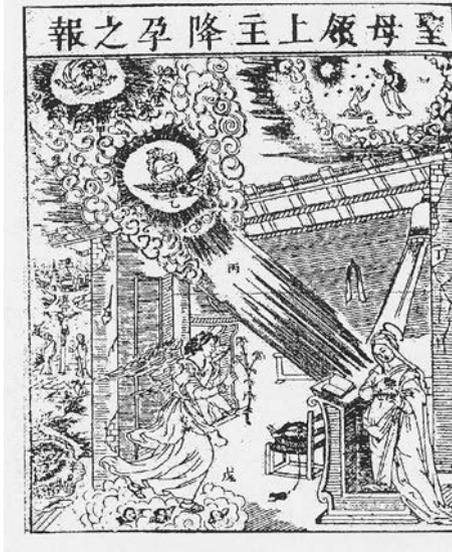
Figure 14.2   An angel informing Mary that she has conceived of the Holy Spirit, from *Illustrations of the Life of Christ*, by Giulio Aleni.

Figure 14.3   An angel informing Mary that she has conceived of the Holy Spirit, from *Rules for Saying One's Beads*, by João da Rocha.

Figure 14.4   An angel informing Mary that she has conceived of the Holy Spirit, from *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor*, by Adam Schall.
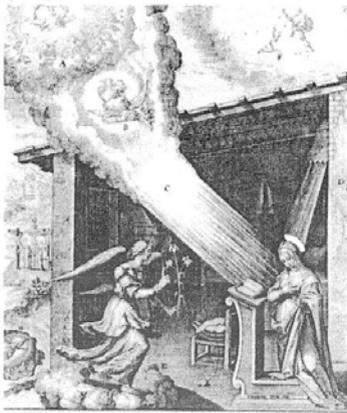
Figure 14.5   An angel informing Mary that she has conceived of the Holy Spirit, from *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, by Gerónimo Nadal.

According to the statement "About the Pictures,"

> They are a small selection from a large number of photographs sent from Peking. The originals are believed to be in churches throughout China or in private possession. All are painting on silk, carried out in the delicate colours and with the fineness of touch so characteristic of Chinese art. They are the work of different artists, as can be seen from the varying signatures.

If we actually look at the signatures, we see that these drawings are by the following four artists (four of the drawings lack signatures):

Chen Yuandu 陳緣督 ("Luke Chen Yuandu," "Yuandu," "Chen Yuandu of Lingnan," "Chen Luke")
Lu Hongnian 陸鴻年 ("Lu Hongnian of Taicang")
Xu Jihua 徐濟華 ("Paul? Xu Jihua")
Wang Suda 王肅達 ("Wang Suda of Beiping")

The signatures also include dates, indicated with either the sexagenary cycle or Republican era dates. We can thus tell that most of the drawings were done in the 1930s up until the book was published in 1939.

The statement "About the Pictures" tells us straight off that these drawings reflect a Sinitic influence: "Nearly every picture includes a tree, very often the bamboo so characteristic of China, and those which have no tree are noticeably more Western in design." For example, figure 14.6, which depicts the angel telling Mary that she has conceived of the Holy Spirit, has a pine tree, absent in figure 14.5, which served as its inspiration. And figure 14.7 could be mistaken for a drawing of the mother of Mencius moving three times to secure a good education for her son.

Figure 14.6   An angel informing Mary that she has conceived of the Holy Spirit, by a Chinese artist.

Figure 14.7   Mary and Joseph finding no place for them at the inn, by a Chinese artist.

Figure 14.1 shows Jesus, who was born in a stable, as being born in a cattle stable. The inspiring Western drawing is shown in figure 14.8. In figure 14.9, the clouds resemble those of Chinese ink washes, and the figures seem to be wearing Chinese clothing. Figure 14.10 has reeds in the drawing, and the boatman is Chinese. In figure 14.11, the woman appears to be straight out of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, and the children have faces like those of children that adorn Spring Festival paintings.

Figure 14.8   The birth of Jesus, by a Western artist.

Figure 14.9   The three wise men worshiping the Christ child, by a Chinese artist.

Figure 14.10   Joseph, Mary, and the Christ child fleeing into Egypt, by a Chinese artist.

Figure 14.11   Jesus lecturing a young girl, by a Chinese artist.

Anyway, these drawings are remarkably Sinicized. They show how missionaries, in their efforts to spread Christianity, undertook not just semantic translation, but cultural translation as well. We should note that this trend extended into the Republican period as well.

Chapter 15:
The Origins of Chinese Comic Strips

As is readily apparent, visuals such as pictures and comics are an excellent way to spread new culture and thought. It is reported that Fukuzawa Yūkichi 福澤諭吉 once said to the comic artist Kitazawa Rakuten 北澤樂天, "It is pictures that move the world," thereby extolling the effectiveness of comics. And with the spread of Western learning in the modern age, missionaries who came from Europe to China made great use of such natural visual modes of expression as holy images (see chapter 14) and comic strips.

In Japan, comics 漫畫 go back to scrolls of frolicking animals and people 鳥獸 人物戲畫 in the late Heian (794–1192) and early Kamakura (1180–1333) period. Then came hungry-ghost scrolls 餓鬼草紙, hell scrolls 地獄草紙, and scrolls illustrating a night parade of a hundred demons 百鬼夜行絵巻 in the late Muromachi period (1336–1573). But all such artwork amounted to variations of picture scrolls, and consumers were limited to aristocrats and other wealthy patrons. Art for the masses did not come about until Toba-style pictures of animals frolicking 鳥羽戲畫/絵本 in the Edo period (1603–1867). There was also a genre called Hokusai *manga* 北齋漫畫, but *manga* 漫畫 here means freely drawn pictures, not comics. In fact, this term refers to the licentious drawings by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849). During the Edo period, such playful drawings included Toba-style pictures 鳥羽繪, wild pictures 狂畫, kana pictures 文字繪, anamorphosis images 鞘繪, pictures with people without facial features もぬけ繪, and continuous-line drawings 一筆繪.

From 1862, toward the end of the Tokugawa period, the cartoonist Charles Wirgman published *Japan Punch*, a satirical magazine, in the foreign settlement in Yokohama. From then on, comics were called "Punch drawings." Comics of this period for the most part had no text and consisted of one panel.

Later in January 1902, current-affair cartoons 時事漫畫, multipanel satirical comics about current affairs, made their appearance in *Current News* 時事新報, established in 1882 by Fukuzawa Yūkichi. In charge of the comics section was Kitazawa Rakuten 北澤樂天 (1876–1955), who popularized the term *manga* 漫畫 (comics) in the sense current today. And Asō Yutaka 麻生豊 (1898–1961), with

his "Easygoing Chap" のんきな父さん, was the first to come out with four-panel serialized comics in the newspapers.

Thus, Japan had multipanel comics only after 1902, but figure 15.1 appeared twenty years earlier, in the periodical *Chinese Illustrated News* 花圖新報 (vol. 1 [1880], no. 9). One of the few studies of such educational literature for children is "The Earliest Pictorials" 最早的畫報, by Hu Daojing 胡道靜 (1939).[1] Hu Daojing gives the following account:
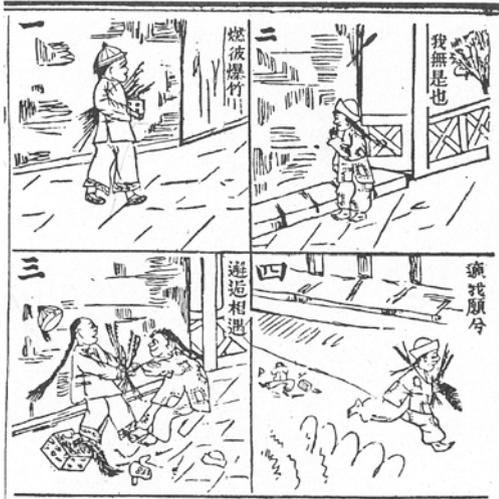
Figure 15.1   A comic from *The Chinese Illustrated News.*

The earliest pictorial was not *The Chinese Illustrated News* 畫圖新報, but its sister publication *The Child's Paper* 小孩月報. Both of these publications were published by the Shanghai Pure Heart Academy 清心書館/書院, which later became the Chinese Religious Tract Society 中國聖教書會. *The Child's Paper* began publication in March 1875, and *The Chinese Illustrated News* began publication in May 1880.

The Pure Heart Academy was founded by a board of directors in New York, which provided all of the financing for the school. After the U.S. Civil War broke out in 1861, the school fell into financial difficulties, so the head of the school, the Rev. John M. W. Farnham, instituted a work-study system. The school then turned to landscaping and publishing to support itself and began publishing *The Child's Paper* and *The Chinese Illustrated News.*

In 1880 these publications were taken over by the Chinese Religious Tract Society. In 1894 this society merged with the East China Tract Society 華東聖書會, which continued to publish these two monthlies. *The Chinese Illustrated News* ceased publication in 1913, and *The Child's Paper* 小孩月報 followed suit in 1915.

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1 Reprinted in *Historical Materials of Old Shanghai* 旧上海史料汇编, edited by Shanghai Tongshe 上海通社 (Beijing: Beijing Tushuguan Chubanshe, 1998).

I must correct a few things in this passage. First is the title of *The Chinese Illustrated News.* The inaugural issue of June 1880 bears the title 花圖新報 (figure 15.2), but from June 1881 (year 2, no. 1) the title was changed to 畫圖新報 (figure 15.3). Also, from June 1881 the publisher is given as 上海畫圖新報館. In March 1883 (year 3, no. 11), the publisher appears as 中國聖教書會, according to a copy I inspected in a Harvard University library. This change was probably made in 1882 or 1883. On all issues the English title is given as *The Chinese Illustrated News: Moral, Religious, Scientific, Instructive, and Entertaining*, and the publisher is given as Shanghai: Illustrated News Office.

Figure 15.2   The original cover of *The Chinese Illustrated News* (1880, no. 2).

Issues of *The Child's Paper* that I have seen are year 9 (1883), no. 2, and year 10 (1885), no. 10, at Harvard University and new series, vol. 2 (1877–1878), nos. 1–12, at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. The Harvard issues have just *The Child's Paper* 月報 for the title, and the publisher is given as the Chinese Religious Tract Society 中國聖教書會, while the issues at the Peabody Essex Museum have *The Child's Paper* 小孩月報 for the title and give the publisher as the Shanghai Pure Heart Academy 上海清心書院. Thus, Hu Daojing is correct in
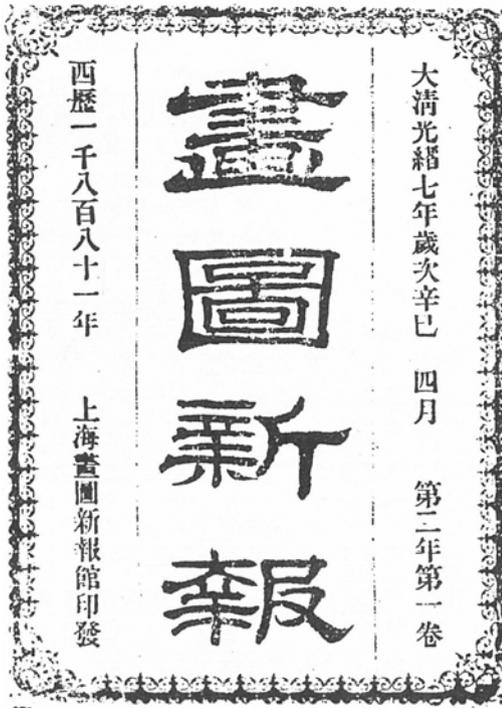
Figure 15.3 The revised cover of *The Chinese Illustrated News* (1881, no. 1).

his description of the change of publishers, but he is incorrect in suggesting that *The Child's Paper* continued to use 小孩月報 as its Chinese title, since this name was changed to simply 月報 after the Chinese Religious Tract Society took over publication (figure 15.4). Also, the new series, vol. 2, no. 12, contains *Aesop's Fables*, based on Robert Thom's edition of *Esop's Fables* (1840), as I mention in Uchida 2001b. Roswell Britton gives the following account of *The Child's Paper* and *The Chinese Illustrated News*:

> Juvenile magazines were begun simultaneously at Foochow and Canton, in February 1874. At Foochow Mrs. N. J. Plumb and Mrs. Hubbard published a Hsiao-hai Yueh-pao 小孩月報, a monthly leaflet containing Biblical stories, small fiction, maxims, and lithographed Biblical pictures. This was composed in Foochow colloquial, and was given a circulation of 650 in 1882, more later. At Canton, John Glasgow Kerr, American Presbyterian medical missionary, began a Hsiao-hai Yueh-pao, but produced only a few numbers, after which J. M. W. Farnham took it over at Shanghai and carried it to a considerable success. …
>
> J. M. W. Farnham, American Presbyterian missionary at Shanghai, conduced "The Child's Paper" from 1875 to 1915. Circulation reached 4,500 monthly, mostly in bulk subscriptions taken by missionaries for distribution to children in their Sunday schools.

Figure 15.4   The revised cover of *The Child's Paper* (vol. 9 [1883], no. 2).

> The demand for Farnham's first issue had been so great that it was reprinted. The rate
> for ten annual subscriptions was $1.50, later $1. The paper was generally eight leaves,
> and contained Biblical stories, simple instructive articles, small fiction and hymns, with
> copperplate illustrations. In later years most of the content was composed by Chinese
> members of the staff of the Religious Tract Society, organized in 1878. Farnham was
> active in this society and carried on the paper under its auspices. He also introduced a
> T'u-hua Hsin-pao 圖畫新報, 1889–1913, primarily a pictorial, distinguished for fine
> copperplate engraving. This reached a circulation of 3,000 monthly, at $2 for ten
> subscriptions. With the pictures, there were educational articles on geography, as-
> tronomy and the like, and some news. (1933, pp. 56–57)

Mrs. N. J. Plumb was the wife of the Rev. N. J. Plumb of the American Methodist
Episcopal Mission, and Mrs. Hubbard was the wife of the Rev. G. H. Hubbard of
the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Bretton mistakenly
wrote 圖畫新報, instead of 畫圖新報. According to Masini (1993, p. 214), 畫報
first appeared in the title of a publication, *World Pictorial* 瀛寰畫報, in 1877. And
the copies I have seen of *The Child's Play* have eight leaves, as mentioned, and the
content described.

Now let me discuss multipanel comics. Traditional Chinese novels and popular stories had drawings of characters 繡像, but these were limited to a single frame. Drawings of Christ created by Europeans to spread the Gospel were also confined to one frame. In contrast, four-panel comics sought to convey a beginning, continuation, development, and denouement in each of the panels. This can be called a progression. I do not know when multipanel comics first appeared in Europe, but *The Child's Paper* and *The Chinese Illustrated News* contained many of them (figure 15.5). Who knows, maybe multipanel comics originated in China from periodicals such as these. What is needed is for someone to take up the study of comics, as Kusaka Midori 日下翠 proposed in her *Encouragement of the Study of Comics* 漫画学のススメ?[2]

Figure 15.5   An early multipanel comic.

2 Kusaka Midori 日下翠, *Encouragement of the Study of Comics* 漫画学のススメ (Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 2000).

Chapter 16:
Aesop's Fables in *The Child's Paper*, from New Sources

Figure 16.1   The Chinese illustration for Aesop's fable "The Man and His Two Wives."

Figure 16.1, from Aesop's fable of "The Man and His Two Wives" 齊人妻妾 (*The Child's Paper* 小孩月報, year 3, no. 11 [March 1878]), shows how Aesop's fables were Sinicized.

In Uchida 2001b, I mentioned that Aesop's fables were published in *The Child's Paper.* After publishing that essay, I had a chance to view these issues of *The Child's Paper* held by the Shanghai Library. Before then, I had seen only the twelve issues of 1877–1878 held by the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. The Shanghai Library has a more complete collection, including the issues held by the Peabody Essex Museum.

The Peabody Essex Museum copy of the Aesop's Fables volume of *The Child's Paper* is bound differently from that held by the Shanghai Library. The cover has written on it "小孩月報, 第二部, Child's Paper, New Series, Second Volume, 1877–8." In addition, there is the quotation "But Jesus, seeing that the children came not to him, said, 'Let the children come to me, and do not hinder them; for to such belongs the kingdom of God' " (Luke 18:16), along with a picture showing Jesus receiving children (figure 16.2). This volume also shows the complete contents of nos. 1 to 12 in English, with the heading "The Child's Paper, Contents of the Third Volume, 1877–8." Hence, we can see that the copy of the Peabody Essex Museum is a reprint of volume 2, nos. 1 to 12, in a single volume.

Figure 16.2   The cover of *The Child's Paper*, new series, vol. 2 (1877–78).

The Shanghai Library copy of the Aesop's Fables volume of *The Child's Paper* has the twelve separately published issues bound together. The cover of each issue has the Chinese title 小孩月報, along with the dictum 小成孩子德 / 月朔報嘉音 (To begin to instill virtue in your child, read him the Gospel every month), in which the characters 小孩月報 are interspersed (figure 16.3). And the back cover includes the contents in English (figure 16.4).

Figure 16.3   The front cover of *The Child's Paper*, year 4, no. 5 (September 1878).

The Child's Paper was published from May 1875 to 1915. Of this run, the Shanghai Library has issues published from May 1876 (no. 13) to January 1880 (year 5, no. 9), a total of 45 issues. For the first two years, issues were numbered con-

Figure 16.4 The back cover of *The Child's Paper*, year 4, no. 1 (May 1878).

secutively from no. 1 to 24, but from the third year of publication, issues were numbered 1 to 12 for each year of publication, each issue consisting of eight folios. Issues contained elementary knowledge: information on foreign countries, railroads, elementary astronomy, science, as well as *The Pilgrim's Progress* pt. 2, biblical stories, and brief introductions of Western paintings, along with plenty of illustrations. And, as shown below, almost every issue contained one of Aesop's fables:

"The Lion and the Bear" 獅熊爭食 (no. 14, June 1876)
"The Eagle and the Tortoise" 龜求鷹 (no. 19, November 1876)
"The Wolf and the Lamb" 豺狼食羊羔 (contributed by Wang Jiepan 王捷攀 of Shenghuitang College in Deng Prefecture; no. 21, January 1877)
"The Goose That Laid the Golden Eggs" 鵝下金蛋 (translated by Sun Shichao 孫士超, student of Memorial Archway Academy at Dengzhou; no. 22, February 1877)
"The Farmer and the Snake" 農人救蛇 (translated by Guo Yurong 郭玉瑢, student of Memorial Archway Academy in Deng Prefecture; no. 24, April 1877)
"The Fox and the Grapes" 狐罵葡萄 (year 3, no. 2, June 1877)
"The Fox and the Crane" 狐鶴赴宴 (year 3, no. 3, July 1877)
"The Dog and Its Shadow" 狗的影 (translated by Jiang Keao 姜克鰲, student of the academy at Dengzhou; year 3, no. 4, August 1877)
"The Cicada and the Owl" 捕蟬寓言 (translated by Li Xiangjin 李祥金, student of the Language Teachers Academy at Wuchang; year 3, no. 5, September 1877)
"The Fox and the Raven" 鴉狐 (year 3, no. 6, October 1877)
"The Lion and the Mouse" 獅鼠喻言 (year 3, no. 8, December 1877)

"The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing" 負心狼 (year 3, no. 9, January 1878)

"The Famished Dogs" 劣犬 (translated by the Shanghai mountain-flower retired scholar; year 3, no. 10, February 1878)

"The Man and His Two Wives" 齊人妻妾 (year 3, no. 11, March 1878)

"The Hare and the Tortoise" 龜兔 (year 3, no. 12, April 1878)

"The Shepherd Boy Who Cried 'Wolf'" 牧童說荒 (year 4, no. 1, May 1878)

"The Stag at the Fountain" 鹿照溪水 (translated by Zhou Songhe 周松鶴 of Zhejiang and Ningbo, year 4, no. 2, June 1878)

"The Fighting Cocks" 雄雞相鬥 (year 4, no. 3, July 1878)

"The Ax in Want of a Handle" 鐵斧求柄 (year 4, no. 4, August 1878)

"The Iron Pot and the Earthen Pot" 瓦鐵缸同行 (year 4, no. 5, September 1878)

"The Country Mouse and the Town Mouse" 二鼠 (year 4, no. 6, October 1878)

"The Oak and the Reed" 杉葦剛柔 (year 4, no. 7, November 1878)

"The Lion, Ass, and Fox, Partners in the Hunt" 獅驢狐狸同去打獵 (contributed by Wen Guifen 溫桂芬, student of Memorial Archway Academy at Dengzhou, year 4, no. 8, December 1878)

"The Eagle and the Tortoise" 龜求鷹 (year 4, no. 9, January 1879)

"The Eagle and the Crow" 鴉效鷹能 (year 4, no. 10, February 1879)

"The Frog and the Ox" 蛙牛寓言 (year 4, no. 11, March 1879)

"The Honest Dog and the Thieves" 義犬吠賊 (year 4, no. 12, April 1879)

"The Two Fellows and the Bear" 大熊 (written by Xi Dingliang 習丁良, head teacher of Tongwen Guan in Beijing, year 5, no. 1, May 1879)

"The Ass and the Lapdog" 驢妒犬寵 (year 5, no. 2, June 1879)

"The Fox and the Goat" 狐與山羊 (reviewed by one of the third rank; year 5, no. 4, August 1879)

"The Ass's Shadow" 騾影寓言 (year 5, no. 5, September 1879)

"The Little Dog and the Wolf" 騙狼 (year 5, no. 6, October 1879)

"The One-Eyed Stag" 眇鹿失計 (year 5, no. 7, November 1879)

"The Horse and the Ass" 驢馬同道 (year 5, no. 8, December 1879)

"The Lion and the Man" 人獅論理 (year 5, no. 9, January 1880)

These Aesop fables were not translated by one individual. Unsigned fables were probably done by the editors (including the editor-in–chief, the Rev. John M. W. Farnham, who signed his translations "the Shanghai mountain-flower retired scholar" 海上山英居士), by Zhou Songhe 周松鶴, by contributors, or by W. A. P. Martin. From the titles one can see that the translations were based on Robert Thom's translation *Esop's Fables* 意拾喻言 (1840), and that his influence loomed large. But most of the translations were revised to make the style colloquial, and even in fables where the style is a mixture of vernacular and classical Chinese, many terms were changed. Thus it seems that Thom's translations were thoroughly revised.

Another feature of these translations is that the sources of these fables were not Sinicized, as in Thom's translations, and Christian aspects of the fables received more emphasis. For example, in "The Wolf and the Lamb," the wolf's name became "Despiser of the Truth" 恨天理 and the lamb's name became "Spreader of the Gospel" 傳福音, and especially in contributed translations, the moral advocated Christian virtues.

Because this publication sought to provide elementary knowledge for children, the illustrations were considered important enough to undergo careful selection. For example, "The Eagle and the Tortoise" appeared in issue no. 19 and in the issue of year 4, no. 9. In the issue of year 4, no. 9, this was replaced with the illustration in figure 16.6. The reason given in a note was that the illustration appearing in issue no. 19 (figure 16.5) was not clear.

Figure 16.5   The original illustration appearing with "The Eagle and the Tortoise."

Figure 16.6   The substituted illustration appearing with "The Eagle and the Tortoise."

Whether the next four stories are Aesop's fables I cannot determine. "The Snake and the Tortoise" is a revised version of "The Hare and the Tortoise."

"The Mouse and the Frog" 老鼠青蛙相爭 (contributed by Mrs. Calvin Wilson Mateer of Yantai, Shandong; no. 15, July 1876)
"The Fisherman and the Little Fish" 小魚之喻 (no. 18, October 1876)
"The Snake and the Tortoise" 蛇龜較勝 (translated by Zhou Songhe of Zhejiang and Ningbo; year 3, no. 1, May 1877)
"The Snake and the Mouse" 蛇鼠寓言 (contributed by the Children's Catechism of the Nanjing Supervisory Board Academy; year 3, no. 7, November 1877)

In the future I plan to discuss in detail these contributions to the Aesop fables in *The Child's Paper*.

When I was in the Shanghai Library viewing *The Child's Paper*, I came across issues of the newspaper *Guangbao* 廣報. This newspaper was founded in 1886 by Guang Qizhao 鄺其照, the first Chinese editor to compile an English-Chinese dictionary (published in 1868 under the title 字典集成, which was later changed to *An Chinese and English Dictionary* 華英字典集成 with the third edition in 1887). The Shanghai Library had issues no. 351 (September 13, 1877), no. 355 (September 19, 1887), and no. 356 (September 20, 1887) (figure 16.7). In these issues one can find an advertisement for his dictionary (figure 16.8).

Figure 16.7 The masthead of *Guangbao*, dated September 13, 1887.

Next I would like to mention some materials that few people have seen, namely, some early issues of *A Chinese and Western Almanac* 中西通書, first published in 1852. Issues of this work after 1854 can be found in Japanese and European libraries (for example, the library at Kansai University has the issue for 1860 in its Masuda Wataru Collection). Only recently was it revealed that the Princeton University library has the issues for 1853 and 1854. Unfortunately, the 1854 issue is incomplete, but the 1853 issue has all 39 pages, as indicated in Wylie 1867. In both issues, for which Joseph Edkins wrote the foreword, there was an outline of science 格知學, 格物致知之學, and in the 1853 issue the essentials of the new study of science were presented. Let me mention briefly the difficulties I en-

Figure 16.8   An advertisement for Guang Qizhao's *Chinese and English Dictionary*.

countered in looking for these materials. When I was at Harvard University, I determined through WorldCat where these issues were located and ordered a copy through interlibrary loan. The reply I received indicated that since the paper is brittle, it could not be copied, that only viewing these materials would be permitted. Later, for some reason, the issues of this serial no longer appeared in WorldCat search results, and even Harvard's reference librarians did not know which libraries held issues. Four years later, I happened across these issues of this mysterious work. Truly, the Japanese saying "Seek, and it shall be denied to you" seems to be at work here!

Chapter 17:
Left versus Right in Chinese Illustrations of the Colossus of Rhodes

In the late-Qing periodical *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 點石齋畫報, many new things appeared. There were submarines, balloons and airplanes, robots, cameras, etc. Here we take up one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Colossus of Rhodes, which the pictorial called "the bronze statue that straddles the seas" 銅人跨海. To commemorate the repulsion of a Macedonian attack, a bronze statue of Helios, the Greek sun god, was built in 304 BCE at the entrance to the port on the island of Rhodes in the Mediterranean Sea. In its right hand the statue held a flame, and in its left hand, a bow and arrows.

The Colossus of Rhodes was often drawn on European world maps of the late seventeenth century (figures 17.1 and 17.2). For example, Ferdinand Verbiest 南懷仁 included such a drawing in his *Explanation of World Maps* 坤輿圖說 (1674) (figure 17.3). This drawing seems to have inspired the drawing of the Colossus of Rhodes appearing in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* (figure 17.4). The lead of the explanation of this drawing in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* resembles that of Chinese translations of Aesop's fables. Thus, even in Chinese explanations of the seven wonders of the ancient world, we can see the Sinicization of things foreign that can be found in China since ancient times. Here is the explanation in *Dianshizhai Pictorial:*

Figure 17.1   An early European illustration of the Colossus of Rhodes (from P. Duval, *A Geographical Dictionary*, 1662).

Figure 17.2   Another early European illustration of the Colossus of Rhodes (from http://en. wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Colossus_of_Rhodes.jpg).

Figure 17.3   The illustration of the Colossus of Rhodes in Verbiest's *Explanation of World Maps.*

Figure 17.4   The illustration of the Colossus of Rhodes in *Dianshizhai Pictorial.*

漢武帝範銅爲仙人，以玉盤承露，高出雲表。或疑史冊所書未免舖張過分。近有客自海外歸，言樂德海島之港口，有銅人一具，跨海而立，其跨下能容大舶經過；左手執燈，燃之，光照數十里，俾　夜行者得認識港口，以便靠泊。據說，創造之時，每　日鳩工千餘人，凡十二年而後成。至點燈之法，尤爲奇巧：空其中，爲旋螺式之暗梯，自內而登，由是至手，可拾級趨焉。聞者笑曰：如子言，固堂堂一表也，但惜其爲空心貨耳。

It is said that Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty made a bronze statue of an immortal, drank dew from the jade cup, and soared among the clouds. Some people think, however, that such writing in the history books is excessive. Yet recently a man returned from abroad and reported the following: The Island of Rhodes, at the mouth of its port, had a bronze statue that straddled the seas. It stood so tall that through its legs large ships could pass. In its left hand it held a lamp, which when lit could be seen from over ten kilometers away. This enabled those sailing in the night to see the mouth of the harbor and the dock. According to reports, when the statue was made, over a thousand workers assembled to work on the project every day, and still the statue took twelve years to complete. The means of lighting the lamp was especially marvelous: in the hollow interior of the statue was an unlit spiral staircase leading up to the left hand, to which one could ascend. One person who heard this story laughed and said, "As you say, sir, on the outside, it was a grand sight indeed. Only, it's too bad that the statue was like the hollow goods that one often sees in the marketplace!"

In Verbiest's *Explanation of World Maps* one finds the following passage explaining the illustration of the Colossus of Rhodes, on which, it seems, the passage above relied:

銅人巨像

勒德海島，銅鑄一人，高三十丈，安置於海口。其手指一人難以圍抱，兩足踏兩石臺，跨下高壙，能容大舶經過。右手持燈，夜間點照，引海舶認識港口叢舶。銅人內空通，從足至手，有螺旋梯升上點燈。造工者每日千餘人，作十二年乃成。

The Bronze Colossus

At the Island of Rhodes was a bronze statue of a man 90 meters high, placed at the entrance to the harbor. The statue was so huge that a man could barely wrap his arms around a finger. Its two feet were planted on stone platforms in a stance so high and wide that ships could pass through. In its right hand it held a lamp, which was lit during the night to guide ships to the mouth of the harbor. The interior of the bronze statue was hollow, and there was a spiral staircase ascending from its foot to its hand so that the lamp could be lit. A thousand workers working on the statue every day took twelve years to complete it.

Information on the Colossus of Rhodes also appears in Giulio Alenio 艾儒略, *An Account of Countries Not Covered by the Bureau of Operations* 職方外紀 (1623), "Overview of Asia" 亞細亞總説:

地中海諸島

亞西亞之地中海有島百千，其大者一曰哥阿島，⋯⋯。一曰羅得島，天氣當清明
⋯⋯。其海畔嘗鑄一鉅銅人，高踰浮屠，海中築兩臺，以盛其足，風帆直過跨
下，其一指中可容一人直立，掌托銅盤，夜燃火于內，以照行海者。鑄不 [十] 二
年而成，後爲地震而崩。國人運其銅，以駱駝九百隻往負之。

Islands of the Mediterranean

The Mediterranean Sea in Asia has many islands. One of the largest is Gea (?). …
Another is Rhodes, which has clear, sunny weather. Its coast once had a huge bronze
statue that was higher than statues of Buddha. The statue stood on two platforms built in
the sea for this purpose, and sailing ships passed directly under the statue standing
astride. One of its fingers could hold a man standing up straight. In its hand, it held a
basin in which a fire was burned to guide seafarers. It took almost twelve years to cast the
statue. Later it was felled by an earthquake. Men of that country used 900 camels to carry
away the scrap metal.

Information on the Colossus of Rhodes also reached Japan at an early date. For
example, Morishima Chūryō 森島中良 included an illustration and detailed
explanation of the Colossus of Rhodes 巨銅人 in an appendix to his *New Stories
from Many Lands* 萬國新話 (1800) (figure 17.5), and Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 also
included an illustration in his *Japan-Netherlands Exchange* 和蘭通舶 (1805)
(figure 17.6).

Here is the passage from Morishima's *New Stories from Many Lands:*

In the Mediterranean Sea in Asia is a small island called Rhodes, which is part of
Anatolia. The merchant ships of many nations gather in its harbors, and the land is
fertile. At the mouth of its port harbor the Rhodians built a giant bronze statue called the
Colossus. It stood on two platforms made of stone that rose up from the sea. The statue's
stance on the platforms was high and wide enough that large ships could pass through
without stopping. Its fingers were so large that an ordinary person could not wrap his
arms around one. From these facts one can imagine how large the entire statue was.
Using the statue to estimate time to port from afar proved amazingly accurate. At sea, it
was truly a sight to behold. Previously the king commanded the bronze workers Ly-
sippos and his disciple Chares of Lindos to construct the Colossus. In building the
statue, workers filled the interior with many large stones to serve as stabilizers, thus
seeking to make the installation permanent. Sixty-five years later, an earthquake top-
pled the Colossus, and the sea swallowed up the whole site, with the rubble on shore
looking like a burial mound. The king ordered the district magistrate to use 900 camels
to transport the broken statue to the temples, and there to repair and store the frag-
ments. When a naturalized Chinese man living in the West returned to China late in the
Ming dynasty, at the mouth of the harbor he saw the familiar bronze statue. In its left
hand it held a small light to illuminate the harbor for ships navigating at night, so that
navigators could see the harbor channel. To light the statue's flame, there was a spiral
staircase running up the statue's leg, through its torso, and up to the palm of its hand.
From the beginning of construction, the statue had over a thousand workers working on
the project day in and day out, and still it took about twelve years to complete. I obtained

Figure 17.5   The illustration of the Colossus of Rhodes in Morishima's *New Stories from Many Lands.*

Figure 17.6   The illustration of the Colossus of Rhodes in Shiba's *Japan-Netherlands Exchange.*

this illustration and this explanation from Kitayama Kangan (also known as "van Dyck") 北山寒巖 (汎泥亀). The illustration is a reproduction of a Western drawing.

This passage blends together the information in Verbiest's *Explanation of World Maps* and in Alenio's *Account of Countries Not Covered by the Bureau of Operations*, and adds embellishments found in other sources.

The passage in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* closely follows Verbiest's *Explanation of World Maps*, but a careful reading brings to light one major difference, and that is that the hand holding the light was the right hand in Verbiest's *Explanation of World Maps* but the left hand in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. But the illustrations in both works show the left hand holding the light. The Japanese work, Morishima's *New Stories from Many Lands*, also states that the left hand held the light, and the illustration matches this description. What is going on here?

The tradition says that the Colossus of Rhodes held a light in its right hand, and Verbiest, in his *Explanation of World Maps*, concurs that it was the right hand. But the Chinese artist who first drew the illustration seems to have understood this to mean the right hand from the perspective of the viewer. And later, both in China and Japan, the description of the Colossus was changed to conform to the erroneous illustration.

The perspective to adopt in judging left and right varies from culture to culture. In premodern China, the perspective adopted was not that of the viewer but that of the viewed. One example is "the green dragon on the left and the white tiger on the right" 左青龍右白虎. Of course, lying behind this perspective is the notion that the emperor sits at the north and faces south 坐北朝南. Thus, the Chinese basically adopted the perspective of the viewed, but in later ages, the perspective of the viewer was also adopted on occasion. An example is the theory that the right-side of many Chinese characters serves not only as a phonetic but also as a signific 右文説, first advocated by Wang Zishao 王子韶 (11th cent.). According to the traditional view, the phonetic was on the "left," in accord with the perspective of the character, but Wang Zishao in his theory viewed the phonetic as being on the right, in accord with the perspective of the viewer. Thus, even in the same culture, troublesome differences crop up in different historical periods.

As a matter of fact, I have for some time thought about differences in perspective between East and West. The Portuguese missionary Álvaro Semedo, in *Relação da grande monarquia da China* (1642; *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China*), has an interesting passage on the construction of the character 玉 (jade):

With the character 一 we expresses the notion of one. To this we add a vertical stroke, forming the character 十, meaning ten. At the bottom we add a horizontal stroke, creating the character 土, or earth. On the top we add another horizontal stroke, to form

the character 王, meaning king. On the left upper side, between the first two horizontal strokes, we add a diagonal stroke, to form the character 玉, which means a precious stone. If we add a few more strokes, we get 珠, meaning pearl.[1]

There is nothing unusual up to "On the top we add another horizontal stroke, to form the character 王, meaning king." What comes next is at issue. Semendo wrote, "On the left upper side, between the first two horizontal strokes, we add a diagonal stroke, to form the character 玉," but to my sense, he means the right lower side. When I first read this passage, I thought that there was a printer's error or a mistake in the translation, but the Japanese translation too has the same sense. The Japanese translator added "from the perspective of the character" to clarify matters. Here is the same passage in the Japanese translation:

> A straight line [一] means one. When another line is added to form a cross [十], the meaning becomes ten. If we add another line at the bottom, we get the character 土 [earth]. If we add another line at the top, we get the character 王 [king]. If we add a dot between the upper two lines on the left side (from the perspective of the character), we get a character that means a precious stone [玉]. If we add a few more lines, the meaning becomes pearl [珠].[2]

Thus, it appears that Semedo had the same directional perspective as that of Chinese of that period.

Anyway, we cannot be thoroughly consistent on relative bearings like left and right. For example, when we look at a photograph and say "Third from the right," are we clear on the individual we designate? Also, in figure 17.7, is red on the left or right?
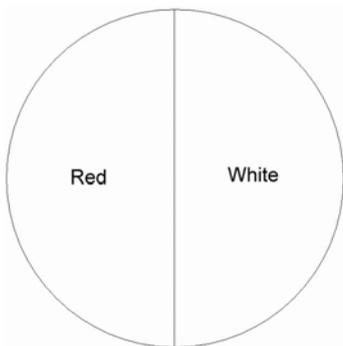
Figure 17.7   Is red on the left or the right?

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1 Álvaro Semedo, *Da Zhongguo zhi* 大中国志 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1998), p. 41. A translation of *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China.*
2 Matteo Ricci and Álvaro Semedo, *A History of the Propagation of Christianity in China* 中国キリスト教布教史, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983), p. 326.

In any case, information about the Colossus of Rhodes reached China and Japan early on through such publications as *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. But it was the European missionaries who brought such information to East Asia. Their influence on East Asia was indeed immense.

Chapter 18:
The Words for Portrait and Chemistry in China

Figure 18.1   Prince Albert Wihelm Heinrich of Prussia, with two photographers, after an audience with the emperor (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1898).

Figure 18.1 appeared in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 點石齋畫報 in 1898 under the title "Shining the Light and Recording the Unusual." The illustration shows Prince Albert Wihelm Heinrich of Prussia after an audience with the emperor. As seen in the illustration, the prince always had photographers in his entourage.

When photography entered China is not precisely known, but in the 1870s it was already common in Shanghai and other large cities, as the following passage attests:

> The Western method of photography relies on optics and chemistry 化學. This method involves making a chamber with an aperture and using the light of the sun to photograph through a lens. The chemicals used are for the most part just nitric and sulfuric acids. After exposure, one can produce a durable image on glass. A capable photographer can produce images with clear facial features and all other details fully apparent. It is even easier to reproduce writing and drawings that are accurate miniature copies. Today images can be transferred from glass to paper and printed by the thousands, all with this technology. With the new technology it is possible to use the glass to make printing plates, which can be inked and pressed against paper to print books without any printing flaws. This method of photography is so convenient that it leaves almost nothing to be desired. The Frenchman Louis Legrand and the Chinese man Luo Yuanyou 羅元祐 were early famous photographers in the Shanghai area. According to one report, science recently discovered that photographing through a lens does not require sunlight. Simply illuminating the subject with light produced from electricity from the

air is better than sunlight. Hence, one can take pictures even at night. Such technology seems truly miraculous![1]

And Ge Yuanxu, in his *Shanghai Travel Notes*, wrote,

> Westerners laterally insert a chemically treated glass plate into a chamber fitted with a convex lens and take pictures of people on the glass. The glass plate is then removed and washed with sandy water, whereupon the person's face and animated body appears in a perfect likeness. Also, when the glass is used to cover chemically treated paper and this assemblage is exposed to a little sunlight, facial features, clothes, and furnishings appear on the paper. If one then adds color, the result surpasses a painted portrait. Recently Chinese have acquired the technology and are purchasing the chemicals and opening photography studios in every province. The only defects are that the two sides are dark and fuzzy, that pictures are moist, and that there is no color. If one uses this method to take pictures of various types of calligraphy models, reduces the images to the size of the head of a fly, and views the results under a microscope, one will find not even the slightest differences.[2]

In addition, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* had articles with pictures of persons missing in maritime accidents in an effort to gather additional information about these victims.

Also, *Chinese Progress* 時務報 (no. 40, October 1897) carried the following article about color photography, thus suggesting that photography was quite common at that time.

> Photography is becoming better and better with increasing experience, but photographers still do not understand the principles of color photography. Yet hand-colored photographs were first created by the Englishman Gelung 格冷 thirty years ago. A renowned science teacher in the Charlottenburg region of Prussia acquired this process and can transfer the colors to paper. His pictures are lifelike, and the colors do not change even with much viewing. On one occasion he took pictures of several paintings and sent them to Britain, Germany, and America for retail sale, where buyers lined up to buy them.

Shen Guowei 沈国威 has already discussed in detail the origins of the word 化學 (chemistry), used by Wang Tao in the first passage quoted above, yet while I was doing research at Harvard University, I wrote down the following notes. Though these notes are old, I present them here because they are relevant to this discussion of photography.

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1 Wang Tao 王韜, *Coastal Magazine* 瀛壖雜誌 1875, no. 6.
2 Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦, *Shanghai Travel Notes* 滬遊雜記, vol. 2 (1876).

1   Notes on the Word "Chemistry" and Mr. Taylor in Wang Tao's Diary

As is well known from Yatsumimi 1999,[3] Wang Tao used the word 化學 in the passage below in his *Henghua Studio Diary* 蘅花館日記:

> On the morning of March 31, 1855, Yu Taifeng 郁泰峰 came, and together we strolled in the gardens. Mr. James Taylor 戴雅各 took out a strange vessel, filled a cup with water, and poured water back and forth, causing the liquid to change color in an instant in a process called "chemistry" 化學. The new substance was produced, it seems, by sulfuric acid. Under the microscope, we saw particles as fine as a hair, with some clumps as thick as one's thumb. The glossy pure white specks displayed their properties, assumed artful shapes, and gave off strange appearances. At around 10 o'clock Mr. Medhurst 麥都思 left for Longhua. …

Mr. Taylor, who, with his strange vessel, showed the group a chemistry experiment, also appears in Wang Tao's entry for October 3, 1854:

> October 3. Mr. Pan's old residence was near the northern city wall, and on this day forty or fifty Red Turban Rebels appeared at his residence and took things. His servant rushed to tell me, and I, together with Mr. Taylor, pursued them, returning to his house only in the evening.

The Mr. Medhurst referred to above was W. H. Medhurst. Other individuals who appear frequently in Wang Tao's diary include William Muirhead 慕維廉, Li Shanlan 李善蘭, and Xu Qinzi 徐親子. We can thus get a glimpse of Wang Tao's circle of friends.

Mr. Taylor was James Hudson Taylor 戴雅各 or 戴德生, as is explicit in Wang Tao's entry for November 10, 1854: "On the 20th I arrived at the study of the Rev. James Hudson Taylor." Alexander Wylie wrote the following on Taylor in his *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese:*

> Rev JAMES HUDSON TAYLOR was appointed a missionary to China, by the Chinese Evangelization Society, and arrives at Shanghae, on March 1st, 1854. In 1856 he was engaged for some months at Swatow in cooperation with the Rev. W. C. Burns. Returning to Shanghae, he went to Ningpo the same year. (1867, p. 223)

And A. J. Broomhall, in *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century* (1986), mentions Taylor's involvement with chemistry in the following passage:

> He admired the Chinese people. He found the peasants far more polite and forthcoming than their English equivalents, and the educated eager to see his photographic processes or system of chemical analysis. (Broomhall 1986, p. 156)

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3 Yatsumimi Toshifumi 八耳俊文, "The Origins of the Word 'Kagaku,' " 「化学」のはじまり (1999).

"The educated" here very likely included Wang Tao. It is quite probable that Taylor showed Wang Tao the process of photography, though there is a time problem here, which I will have to examine at a later date.[4] Here we can look for the origins of the word 化學 (the science of change), for fixing an image on glass is truly a paradigm case of a chemical change.

Taylor was adept at the techniques of photography, especially those techniques for fixing an image on glass. As soon as he could go shopping on his own, he bought bottles for storing photographic chemicals:

> He began to go shopping on his own. There were bargains to be had in the increasingly deserted and derelict city as people sold their possessions, even whole libraries, to buy food—for a song he picked up bottles to hold the chemicals he was preparing, books, musical instruments, a musical stone. "The weather is now too hot to take photos by the Collodion or Calotype processes [he wrote], and I have not yet found a suitable wax for the wax-paper process." Daguerreotypes (of 1837) were still in vogue and wet collodion photography was only five years old. Dry plates were not available until 1874, twenty years in the future, so do-it-yourself photography was the only way. But there were more than enough other interests. (Broomhall 1986, p. 174)

It appears that Taylor's training in chemistry and skills in photography came from his father and uncle:

> His photographic apparatus was unharmed, however, and as well as using glass he began experimenting with different processes of making photo-sensitive paper. His father's training in chemistry and his uncle Richard Hardey the photographer's skills were to prove useful. (Broomhall 1986, p. 147)

Taylor was also one of the founders of the China Inland Mission. And he had strong relationships with the British and American consulates.[5] From his diary, we glean that Wang Tao frequently visited the British consulate. Hence, we can surmise that Taylor and Wang Tao may have had considerable dealings with one another.

Now we come to the issue of whether Wang Tao thought up the word 化學 himself or Taylor, the man who demonstrated the chemical experiments, first uttered it. From the passage quoted above and from Dr. and Mrs. Howard Taylor's *Hudson Taylor in Early Years*, we know that Taylor's Chinese was not all that advanced.[6] But he bought W. H. Medhurst's *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1847–1848), Karl Friedrich Gützlaff's *Notices on Chinese Grammar* (1842), and

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4 Prof. Takeuchi Fusaji of Gakushuin University informs me that the library of the University of London has Taylor's correspondence, which may include the relevant details.

5 Gu Changsheng 顾长声, *Missionaries and Modern China* 传教士与近代中国 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1981).

6 Dr. and Mrs. Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor in Early Years*, 2nd ed. (London: Morgan and Scott, 1912).

Joseph Edkins's *Chinese Conversations* (1852), and entered into the study of Chinese (in addition to touring China with W. Lobscheid):

> On Monday I got Dr. Medhurst's Dictionary. The price of the four vols. is $20, but he let me have it for $10. He gave me his dialogues and Dr. Gützlaff's Grammar. I also got Mr. Edkins's 'Chinese Conversations.' … Mr. Edkins then went round with me and introduced me to most of the missionaries I had not previously seen. (Broomhall 1986, p. 143)

In light of these facts, it is quite possible that Taylor—after getting a hint from Medhurst, Lobscheid, or Edkins, or perhaps entirely on his own—uttered the word 化學 to Wang Tao. Their conversation might have gone something like the following:

> Taylor   Watch closely. See? It changed.
> Wang Tao Indeed! That's amazing! What do you call this in the West?
> Taylor   In the West, we call this field of study "chemistry." Because it is the study of change, in Chinese perhaps we can translate it for the time being as 化學.

Of course, whether such a conversation ever took place is something that only God knows.

2   Postscript

In his *History of Chemistry in China* (1995), Shimao Nagayasu writes as follows:

> In *A New Compilation on Natural Philosophy* 博物新編 (1855), one does not yet find the term 化學, but in this work Benjamin Hobson does discuss the production process for, and properties of, oxygen 養気, nitrogen 淡気, hydrogen 軽気, and carbon 炭気. He next discusses the production process for, and properties of, mineral acids. Prior to this time, in the Ming and Qing dynasties, there had been no mention of chemicals of this sort, but now we see for the first time the method described for naming such mineral acids as nitric acid (硝酸水 or 火硝油), sulfuric acid (磺強水 or 火磺油), and hydrochloric acid (塩強水). Thereafter, we see 硝酸水, 磺強水, and 塩強水 being adopted in translations of chemistry books in the 1870s.[7]

In his journal, Wang Tao used both 磺強水 and 化學. Whether Wang Tao or Hobson was the first to use these terms, the two of them had especially close dealings with one another, as Wang Ermin states. This being the case, it is quite possible that both terms were created by the two of them together.

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7 Shimao Nagayasu 島尾永康, *A History of Chemistry in China* 中国化学史 (Tokyo: Asakura Shoten, 1995), p. 319.

Chapter 19:
Bulletproof Vests, No Less

As frequently mentioned above, many new things appeared in Shanghai toward the end of the nineteenth century. One such new thing was the introduction of bulletproof vests, the latest in world technology. During this time, advances in gun technology proceeded apace in the West. For example, Li Gui, after he visited the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia commemorating the signing of the Declaration of Independence, introduced the Gatling gun in his *New Record of Travels around the World*.[1] An illustration of a bulletproof vest (figure 19.1) appeared in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 點石齋畫報, along with the explanation given below.

Figure 19.1   "Clothing Made to Resist Bullets" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1893).

When a bullet is fired, it penetrates. This is the advantage of firearms in warfare. Recently, with the spread of guns, bullets have become widely used. When Westerners go hunting, if they are careless, flying bullets sometimes cause a regrettable accident. For as we know, bullets can penetrate solid materials, and until now there unfortunately

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1 Li Gui 李圭, *A New Record of Travels around the World* 環遊地球新録 (1878).

has been no way to stop them from doing so. Now the Australian tailor Adu has come up with the new idea of creating something to ward off bullets.[2] His invention appears like clothing and can be worn over a military uniform, and it is no heavier than a few pounds. When one fires a rifle and a bullet bursts forth, it hits the bulletproof vest and is deflected. Some people did not believe this, so to convince them, someone put a military uniform on a wooden manikin, placed the vest over the uniform, and from a distance of 200 or 400 meters away, fired a rifle at it, but the bullet did not penetrate the wooden manikin. Now a meter is 3.3 feet in the Imperial System, so 200 meters is by no means close, and 400 meters is twice as far away. The bullet struck the vest but did not rip a hole in it and pass through even though it was not solid. Such is the strength of this vest. If one uses this material to make other coverings, then even in a hail of bullets, one should be able to protect from other types of projectiles as well. Hence, the military has another advantage in warfare. How great is that! (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1893)

Thus did China introduce new military technology from the West while seeking to modernize its military at places like the Jiangnan Arsenal 江南機器製造總局.

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2 "Adu" is the Chinese transcription of the tailor's name. What the name is in English is not known.

Chapter 20:
The First Iron Man?

In Chinese introductions of new things and foreign inventions, one invariably finds mention of Chinese precursors, and one can often discern a fundamental assumption among Chinese that China is the source of all discoveries and inventions. Figure 20.1, titled "The Ironman Walks Well," accompanies news about a robot that appeared in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 點石齋畫報 (1893).

Figure 20.1 "The Ironman Walks Well" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1893).

Among the five elements, only water and fire have form without substance. The other three (metal, wood, and earth) can be shaped into the form of a human being. In the past, Confucius saw three metal figures close their mouths; the First Emperor of Qin cast twelve metal figures; and the king of Yue admired Fan Li and cast a metal statue of him. Thus, it has long been possible to make a metal likeness of a human being. Ever since the manufacture of tomb figures, people in China have made wooden figures to accompany the dead. They make puppets for the stage. The earthen or wooden figures of today are all figures of humans. In addition, copper figures are used to teach acupuncture, and stone figures are used to mark graves. Moreover, these customs have been passed on, with the result that such figures are no longer considered unusual. In the United States, a lady of cast silver is said by all who see her to be a marvelous sight, though she is incapable of moving. Lately, the American Dr. George Moore has produced a new

design for a ironman six feet tall with a cigar in its mouth. In its belly is a furnace for burning fuel. The robot can walk by itself and walks very fast, covering five miles in one hour. On its head is a hat that doubled as a chimney, and steam comes out its mouth, as if it were smoking the cigar. Hence, those who saw this ironman thought it was a live human being, and not a bunch of iron. Wow! When technology gets this good, it really seems miraculous.

This ironman actually existed. It was made by the Canadian George Moore in 1893 (1880, according to Nagase Tadashi).[1] "Robots with arms, legs, and a human form are called 'humanoids.' An artificial human or humanoid appeared in 1893, when the Canadian George Moore designed Steam Man, which had an internal 0.5-horsepower steam engine that enabled it to walk at 14 kilometers per hour."[2]

Figure 20.2   George Moore's Steam Man.

This article appeared in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* in 1893, soon after Steam Man was made. The speed with which this news appeared in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* tells us the extent to which Shanghai at that time was an international city capable of instantly gathering the news of the world.

Another article on the ironman, quoted below, appeared even earlier, in October 1868, in *Church News* 教會新報.

It is 212 centimeters tall, weighs 300 kilograms, stands upright on two legs, and can walk, with its legs guiding its feet. It wears a top hat, has a made-up face, and wears black felt garments, making it look just like a man. When it walks, it burns coal in its belly, water is loaded up top, smoke comes out the top hat, and steam comes out from a pipe arising from the back. When it walks in a straight line, it can cover 35 kilometers in an hour, and if it stands still, even five or six men cannot push it over. One man tried hooking the ironman up to a cart with iron shafts to have the ironman pull the cart. It could pull two tons, or 2,400 kilograms, of goods, a load that would require five horses, along with a person sitting on the cart and coal stored beneath. Walking for a whole day, it consumed less than 300 kilograms of coal, thus proving most efficient. On the day of this trial, a huge crowd turned out to view the spectacle. … At first, manufacturing the ironman cost 2,000 dollars, but now it costs one only 300 dollars. One hears that a few ironmen have already been made. Hence one is led to ask, Why not make an ironman for one's

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1 Nagase Tadashi 永瀬唯, *Neutopian Flesh* 肉体のヌートピア (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 1996).

2 Nagata Tadashi 長田正, *Can Robots Become Human?* ロボットは人間になれるか (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyūsho, 2005), p. 147.

convenience? In the future we can use this method to make an ox or horse in order to make everything easy.[3]

This article appears to be based on Edward S. Ellis's novel *Steam Man of the Prairies*, for which a patient application was made under the title "Mechanical Rickshaw Man." In any case, it is amazing how instantaneously news of such mechanical men reached Shanghai.

Figure 20.3   "The steam man of the prairies."

Figure 20.4   Interior of the ironman.

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3 *Church News* 教會新報 1, no. 9 (October 1868).

Chapter 21:
Manchu and Mongolian Pamphlets

Figure 21.1 is a picture of Matteo Ricci from *Great Introducers of Western Studies in Ming China*.[1] The pamphlet has the following foreword:

> This pamphlet consists of a translation of 明末清初灌輸西學之偉人 (Great Introducers of Western Studies in the Late Ming and Early Qing Period), by Xu Zongze of Qingpu, published by Shanghai Tushanwan Yin Shuguan as part of its Christian Periodical Series, and made available for sale in early April 1926. We compiled this pamphlet because we thought that it would be of great interest to know the ambitious ideals and circumstances of the thoroughgoing, persevering Westerners who worked tirelessly to develop the legacy of the past in order to develop Chinese culture.
> Editorial Department of the China-Japan Culture Association
> June 1929

The aims of the China-Japan Culture Association 中日文化協會 was stated as follows: "The mission of this association is to develop Manchu and Mongolian culture, further Sino-Japanese friendship, and promote our coexistence and coprosperity." And to realize these objectives, the association engaged in activities of the following six types:

– Investigation and research. Carrying out scholarly investigations of Manchuria, Mongolia, and adjoining regions; conducting policy research on these areas; collecting accurate materials; and appropriately guiding public opinion.
– Informing the public. Promoting and providing guidance on informative activities, exhibits, lectures, and inspection tours aimed at portraying an accurate picture of Manchuria and Mongolia to those within the region and the larger public.
– Sino-Japanese friendship. Establishing clubs and hosting social gatherings to promote close friendships between Chinese and Japanese.

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1 Xu Zongze 徐宗澤, *Great Introducers of Western Technology in Ming China* 明代支那に於ける西洋学術紹介の偉勲者, Manchu and Mongolian Pamphlets, no. 3 (Dalian: Chū-Nichi Bunka Kyōkai, 1929).

Figure 21.1   The picture of Matteo Ricci in *Great Introducers of Western Studies in Ming China.*

- Education. Running handicraft schools for Chinese women and fostering educational activities to improve the education of Chinese women.
- Publishing. Compiling and publishing documents, books, and maps to further various types of culture and selling these materials far and wide.
- Distributing association publications. Distributing to members our monthly newsletter *Manchuria and Mongolia* 満蒙 (Japanese) and *Northeast Culture* 東北文化 (Chinese), as well as special publications, pamphlets, Japan pictorials, etc.

This association for the advancement of culture (based in Dalian) existed when Japan was invading the Chinese mainland. Japanese intellectuals of the time did indeed seek coexistence and coprosperity and close friendships between Chinese and Japanese. They no doubt did not expect that their efforts would be subverted to an evil cause.

We know that the Manchu and Mongolian Pamphlets continued up to at least no. 18 (1931), and that the series includes the following titles:

- Norisada 憲眞, *Chinese Social Customs That Japanese Need to Be Careful to Observe* 日本人の注意すべき支那交際上の習慣, no. 1 (April 15, 1929).

– Nonaka Tokio 野中時雄, *What Should We Expect from Manchuria and Mongolia?* 満蒙より何を期待すべきか, no. 2 (May 15, 1929).
– Kuwahata Shinobu 桑畑忍, *Koreans in Manchuria and Education Problems* 在満朝鮮人と教育問題, nos. 6–7 (October 1929).
– Daniel Jerome Macgowan et al., *Chinese Medicine in the Eyes of Westerners* 歐米人の見た支那の漢方醫, no. 11 (1930).

The author of the present work, Xu Zongze, also wrote such fine works as *A General History of Catholic Missionary Work in China* and *Major Jesuit Writings and Translations during the Ming and Qing Dynasties*.[2] Even today both of these well-known works are necessary reading in the history of modern missionary work and the advance of Western learning in China. That works of such high research value appeared as early as 1929 is surprising. Also worth noting is that no. 11 presents the work of Daniel Jerome Macgowan et al.

In addition, the Japanese translation in this pamphlet compares favorably with the original Chinese (as one can see from the following passage from the preface):

> 吾讀梁任公所著之清代學術概論，其自序中有曰：有清一代學可紀者不少，其卓然成一潮流，帶有時代運動的色彩者，在前半期爲考證學，在後半期爲今文學。今吾加一句曰：有清一代學術，足以超前啓後，在文化史上放一新異彩者，即明清際之科學輸入也。今試言其概要。

> 梁任公（啓超）は其著清代學術概論の序文に於て曰く「清代の學術に關しては記すべきものが少くないが、中でも時代運動的色彩を帶び、卓然として一潮流を爲したものは、前半期に於ては考證學、後半期に於ては今文學である」と。自分は之に加へて「清代の學術に於て、文化史上へ新紀元を劃するに足りしものは、明末清初に際して爲されたる科學の輸入である」と云ひたい。今茲に其概要を述べることとする。

> Liang Qichao, in the preface to his *Survey of Scholarship in the Qing Dynasty*,[3] wrote, "Many scholarly works of the Qing period are noteworthy. Those works that became part of a trend and reflect a movement of the time were textual-criticism studies in the first half of the Qing period and contemporary literature in the latter half of the Qing period." Here I would like to add the following: Qing scholarship that surpassed what went before and laid the foundation for what came after and that turned a new page in

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2 Xu Zongze 徐宗澤, *A General History of Catholic Missionary Work in China* 中國天主教傳教史概論 (Shanghai: Tushanwan Yin Shuguan, 1938); Xu Zongze 徐宗澤, *Major Jesuit Writings and Translations during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要 (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1946).
3 Liang, Qichao 梁啓超, *Survey of Scholarship in the Qing Dynasty* 清代學術概論 (Shanghai: Shangwuyin Shuguan, 1927).

the history of culture were the scientific studies of the late Ming and early Qing period. Here I will attempt to describe the general outlines of such scholarship.

The Japanese translation also includes pictures of Matteo Ricci, Ferdinand Verbiest, Adam Schall, and Xu Guangqi 徐光啓, as well as images of the works *The Inkstick Garden of Mr. Cheng* 程氏墨苑, *A Map of the World* 坤輿全圖 (by Matteo Ricci), *The Chongzhen* [1628–1644] *Book of Calendrical Astronomy* 崇禎曆書 (by Xu Guangqi, with assistance from Adam Schall), *Euclid's Elements of Geometry* 幾何原本 (translated by Matteo Ricci and Xu Guangqi), *The True Intent of the Lord of Heaven* 天主實義 (a catechism by Matteo Ricci). All of these are missing in the original Chinese work.

Figure 21.2   The picture of Ferdinand Verbiest in *Great Introducers of Western Studies in Ming China.*

Figure 21.3   The picture of Adam Schall in *Great Introducers of Western Studies in Ming China.*

Figure 21.4   The picture of Xu Guangqi in *Great Introducers of Western Studies in Ming China.*

Chapter 22:
Clock Towers: Notes on Expressing the Time in Modern Chinese

Figure 22.1 is a drawing of the striking clock at the Shanghai Customs Office in an article titled "The Giant Clock, Newly Made" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1893). And figure 22.2 is a drawing of the clock at the racetrack in an article titled "A Western Clock at the Horserace" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897). Here is the text that accompanied "The Giant Clock, Newly Made."
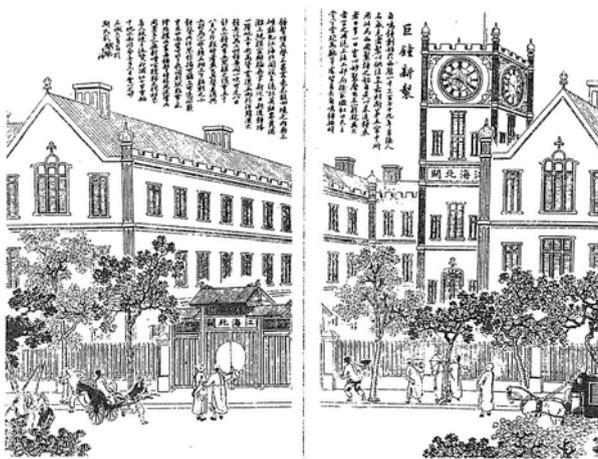
Figure 22.1　"The Giant Clock, Newly Made" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1893).

Striking clocks were first made in 1379 by the German Heinrich von Wieck for the French king Charles V to use in his palace. This was the beginning of clock making in the Western countries. From then on, clockmakers increased by the day, and elaborate designs came in wave after wave. Big clocks, like those at the French Shanghai Municipal Council 工部局, the Catholic churches at Xujiahui and Hongkou, the college, and the racetrack, all have big bells that sound on the hour. Unfortunately, their bells are not loud enough so that everyone in the city can clearly hear them. The Maritime Customs Office 江海北関, established in the British Concession in Huangpu in the northern part of Shanghai, is imposing in size and newly constructed. Recently, a new bell tower was built standing in the center and reaching up to the clouds, and bells were purchased

Figure 22.2   "A Western Clock at the Horserace" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897).

from abroad and installed in the tower. Once the bells are wound up, they can continue for eight days without rewinding. There are a total of five bells, large and small, weighing 3,500 kilograms in all. The bell announcing the hours is the largest, and its sound is extremely loud, about as loud as the Municipal Council's warning bell. The small bells announcing the quarter hours are melodious, like a dulcimer, and can be heard from a few kilometers away. The tower affords a good view from all four sides, and at night electric lamps light up the place like daylight. Every time the clock strikes the hour, the sound travels on the wind, and like the Wushe bell of King Jing of Zhou (r. 544–520 BCE), sends peals resounding throughout the area. The clock not only provides a spectacle for residents of the concession; even people within six kilometers of Huangpu or on the many commercial ships plying the river hear its peals and feel reassured. Don't the clock and its bell bring many benefits to the people?

According to Tsunoyama (1984), striking clocks first appeared in European monasteries around 1300 and were called clocks, from the Latin word *clocca* (bell). Also, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* (1897) states that Charles V had a striking clock made for his Parisian palace in 1379, but Tsunoyama (1984) says that the date should be 1364. Anyway, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, striking clocks were added to steeples on churches and towers on city office buildings, and clock towers were built in public squares. In this way, the natural rhythms of life, with their indefinite sense of time, became rigid patterns of life, with their fixed sense of time.

Later, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits brought European-made mechanical clocks to East Asia. In China, as noted below, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) presented to the emperor a picture of Christ, pictures of the Virgin Mary, a Bible, and also a mechanical clock:

In 1600 Matteo Ricci, Diego de Pantoja, and six others headed for Yanjing [Beijing] to present tribute. … From their native countries, they brought a picture of Christ, two pictures of the Virgin Mary, a Bible, a cross inlaid with pearls, two striking clocks, a world atlas, a Western zither, etc., and presented them before the emperor. Though these items were not that precious, they came all the way from the far west, are quite novel, and somewhat represent the worthless personal effects of barbarians.[1]

Later, as is well known, the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors became captivated by the chimes and intricate workmanship of European clocks and imported many marvelous clocks from that continent. For instance, according to a letter dated October 16, 1763, and written by Father Valentine Charrier, who entered Beijing as a clockmaker, "The Palace has all sorts of clocks. There are over 4,000 pieces from just the famous clockmakers of Paris and London" (Tsunoyama 1984, p. 38).

1   The Expression of Time in East and West: Indefinite Time and Definite Time, the Twelve-Hour System and the Twenty-four Hour System

During the medieval Industrial Revolution of Europe, the appearance of mechanical clocks played a key role in the creation of the new conception of time. In the past, people expressed time—that invisible, intangible phenomenon that flows like a stream—in terms of such concrete divisions as sunrise and sunset, day and night, and the length of shadows. The mechanical clock transformed this indefinite notion of time into a definite notion of fixed units independent of season and place. This definite notion of time allowed time to become a unit for measuring labor, and thus provided a basic condition for the production of commodities and formation of capital that led to the industrial revolution. Hence, behind the notion that time is money lies the penetration of the mechanical clock in society.

The definite notion of time, based on the solar calendar, was adopted in China in 1912 and in Japan in 1873. Up until then, even after the arrival of mechanical clocks in China and Japan, the indefinite notion of time held sway, and the definite notion of time merely supplemented indefinite modes of expressing time. Figures 22.3 and 22.4 show the Chinese and Western ways of designating time side by side. The 24 hours of the day is divided into 12 Chinese hours 辰刻 or 96 quarter hours 刻. Each Chinese hour (consisting of 2 Western hours) is divided into two, the first hour being designated as 初 (交 in Medhurst 1844), and the

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1 Huang Bolu 黄伯祿 (Pierre Hoang), *Achievements of the True Religion* 正教奉褒 (Shanghai: Cimutang, 1885), vol. 1, folios 4–5.

second hour being designated as 正 (Morrison 1816). Also, a 刻 consists of 15 minutes, and an hour is divided as 初刻 (一刻), 二刻, 三刻. Hence, 子初初刻 is 11 p.m., 子正初刻 is 12 midnight, and 午初二刻 is 11:30 a.m.

Also, striking clocks announced the hours with the number of strikes shown in table 22.1. For example, at 子初 (11 p.m.) the clock sounded 9 times, and one hour later, it sounded once. At 酉初 (6 p.m.) the clock sounded 6 times, and after an additional hour, it sounded twice.

Table 22.1   Number of times the clock strikes at a given time

	子	丑	寅	卯	辰	巳	午	未	申	酉	戌	亥
Time 初	23	01	03	05	07	09	11	13	15	17	19	21
	9	8	7	6	5	4	9	8	7	6	5	4
Time 正	24	02	04	06	08	10	12	14	16	18	20	22
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
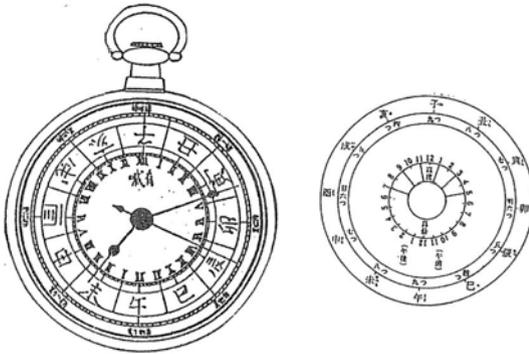
Figure 22.3 (left)   The face of a Chinese watch, with hours indicated with Roman numerals and the corresponding Chinese hours indicated with the earthly branches 地支.
Figure 22.4 (right)   A diagram with hours indicated with Arabic numerals, corresponding Chinese hours indicated with the earthly branches, and the corresponding Japanese designation of Chinese hours.

In addition, the night (7 p.m. to 5 a.m.) was divided into five watches: the first watch 初更, second watch 二更, third watch 三更, fourth watch 四更, and fifth watch 五更.

Below are some concrete examples of the expression of time in early modern China:

Nogŏltae 老乞大 (14th or 15th century)
主人家，俺明日五更頭早行。 (P. 17)
Master, let's leave early tomorrow at the crack of dawn (the end of the fifth watch).
今日是二十二，五更頭正有月明。 (P. 18)
Today is the 22nd. At the crack of dawn there will be moonlight.

俺明日五更頭早行。 (P. 19)
Let's leave early tomorrow at the crack of dawn.
伴當每，來。雞兒叫三遍，待明了也。 (P. 29)
Footman Mei, come here. The cock has crowed three times. Soon it will dawn.
你道將年月日生時來。
我是屬牛兒的，今年四十也。七月十七日寅時生。(P. 105)
State when you were born.
I was born in the year of the ox. This year I am forty. I was born between 3 and 5 a.m. on the 17th of the lunar seventh month.

Ordinary People's Mandarin 白姓官話 (17th or 18th century)
不幸於七月初七日酉時病故。
Unfortunately, he died of illness between 5 and 7 p.m. on the 7th of the lunar seventh month.
於本月初七日酉時病故。
He died of illness between 5 and 7 p.m. on the 7th of the lunar seventh month.
遠不遠呢。也不算遠。大約需要花半天的時間，有的約有一、兩天的路程。
Is it far? Not really. It takes about a half day. Some places are at a distance of one or two days.

Essentials of Correct Pronunciation 正音撮要 (18th or 19th century)
五更天才睡覺，晚飯後才起來。 (Vol. 1, p. 10b)
He sleeps at dawn and gets up after dinner.
什麼時候了。
What time is it?
定更了，三更半夜的，雞叫了。
The night drum has sounded. At midnight the cock crowed.
五更頭兒，子初子正，丑初丑正
dawn, 11 p.m.–1 a.m., 1 a.m.–3 a.m.
日子，子正以後爲日子。
The period after midnight is the called 日子 (12 midnight–1 a.m.).
夜子，子正以前爲夜子。 (Vol. 2, pp. 6b–8a)
The period before midnight is called 夜子 (11 p.m.–12 midnight).

Japanese-Chinese Colloquial Speech, Petitions, Etc. 和漢俗語呈詞等雜字 (Nagasaki History Museum)
你出去看看。幾 / 八點時候來了。
Go out and see. When did they come? (They came at the strike of eight.)
今日差不多有九點。剛剛打 / 鐘了九點鼓 / 鐘。
Today it is a little past nine o'clock. The drum/bell just sounded nine.

The last source has what appears to be the 點鐘 of modern Chinese, but this is an Edo-period manual of Chinese, so it is more reasonable to think that these sentences are giving the number of strikes of the bell (or drum).

Above are traditional indefinite expressions of time. One also frequently encounters the twelve-hour system and the twenty-four-hour system used side by side.

Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹, *Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢 (1720s)

"三更天了，該睡了。方才老太太打發嬤嬤來問，我答應睡了，"寶玉命取錶來看時，果然針已指到子初二刻了。(Chap. 19)

"It is already past 11 o'clock. We should go to sleep. Just now Grandma had her servant make inquiries, and I agreed to go to bed." Baoyu had a servant fetch his watch to see the time. As he expected, the watch hands already pointed to 11:30.

寶玉聽了，回手向懷內掏出一個核桃大的金錶來，瞧了一瞧，那針已指到戌末亥初之間。(Chap. 45)

Baoyu heard, reached inside the breast of his garments, and pulled out a gold watch the size of a walnut shell. Glancing at it, he saw that the hour hand already pointed to 9 p.m.

眾人因問："幾更了？"人回："二更以後了，鐘打過十一下了。"寶玉猶不信，要過錶來瞧了一瞧，已是子初一刻十分了。(Chap. 63)

Someone in the group then asked, "What watch is it?" Someone replied, "It's already past the second watch [11 p.m.]; the clock already struck eleven." Baoyu, seeming incredulous, had a look at his watch. It was already 11:25.

說著，只聽外間屋裡上的自鳴鐘"當當"的兩聲，因說道："姑娘們睡罷，明兒再說笑罷。"(Chap. 51)

Lost in conversation, they heard the chime clock in the outer room strike twice. He then said, "Go to sleep, girls. Tomorrow we can talk and laugh again."

至次日卯正二刻，便過來了。(Chap. 14)

The next day at 6:30 a.m. they came over.

"素日跟我的人，隨身俱有鐘錶，不論大小事，都有一定的時刻，橫豎你們上房裡也有時辰鐘：卯正二刻我來點卯；巳正吃早飯；凡有領牌回事，只在午初二刻；戌初燒過黃昏紙，我親到各處杳一遍，回來上夜的交明鑰匙。"(Chap. 14)

"The person who usually accompanies me always has a watch on him. Every matter, large and small, has an allotted time. In any case, your upper rooms also have clocks. At 6:30 in the morning I come and call the roll. At 10 o'clock we eat breakfast. All important business is done at 11:30. At 7 in the evening, we burn paper money for our ancestors. I personally make the rounds and inspect everything. When I come back, I give the keys to the night watchmen."

劉姥姥只聽見咯當咯當的響聲，很似打羅篩面的一般，不免東瞧西望的，忽見堂屋中柱子上掛著一個匣子，底下又墜著一個秤砣似的，卻不住的亂晃，劉姥姥心中想著："這是什麼東西？有煞用處呢？"正發呆時，陡聽得"當"的一聲，又若金鐘銅磬一般，倒嚇得不住的展眼兒。接著一連又是八九下，欲待問時，只見下丫頭們一齊亂跑。(Chap. 6)

Grandma Liu heard the tick-tock of the clock and thought it sounded like a flour bolting machine. She couldn't help looking around to see where the sound came from. There she saw on one of the columns in the room a box with something like a balance weight hanging from the bottom, swinging back and forth. Grandma Liu thought to herself, "What is this? What does it do?" As she was staring at it, she suddenly heard it sound out a loud "Dang!" like a Buddhist prayer bell, which frightened her and caused her eyes to

leap out of their orbs. There followed eight or nine more "Dang's," and when she turned around to ask what it was, all she could see were maids running about.

Zhang Deyi 張德彝, *Journal of an Attaché to the Mission to France* 隨使法國記 (an eye-witness account of the 1871 Paris Commune) (1871)
申正，　　又過被獲叛勇一千四百人。近日巴裡雖平，而昨夜有夫更夫被殺者六人。將軍馬克謀宏因而出示，每晚至十一點鐘鋪門皆閉，違者治罪。(四月十四日癸酉)
By 4 p.m., 1,400 demonstrators were arrested. Though Paris has been peaceful recently, last night six night watchmen were killed. General Patrice de MacMahon made a show of force and established a curfew whereby all shops were to close their doors at 11 p.m. every night, with violators to be punished. (June 1, 1871)
"擇於十一月初七日禮拜二準一點鐘，在賢敖瑞巷第百四十七號粵石塔耶穌堂，小女芙蘭姒於歸合眾國西省葛爾根爲妻。" (九月二十五日壬子)
"On November 7, Tuesday, at 1 o'clock, at the Cantonese Christian church with stone steeple, at 147 rue de Chanaleilles, Miss France will marry Mr. Gergen of the American West." (November 7, 1871)[2]

Wu Qitai and Zheng Yongbang, *A Guide to Mandarin* 官話指南 (1882)
你昨兒去游湖回來早啊是晚哪?——回來有四更天了。
It was after midnight when we got back. (P. 9)
原來昨兒夜裡有大霜，怪不得我睡到五更天醒了覺著冷的很，可就嫌棉被窩太薄了。
Then there was a heavy frost last night! That accounts for my waking up about 4 in the morning, feeling very cold, and wishing my cotton coverlet was not so thin. (P. 11)
夜深了，想這時候有三點鐘了。
It is late; I think it must be 3 o'clock by now.
我剛才听見自鳴鐘噹噹的打了兩下兒似的。
Just now I heard the clock go ding ding, it seemed to strike two.
那架鐘怕不準吧，看看我那個錶，這個錶走到三點鐘了。
I'm afraid that clock is not right; I'll look at my watch. The watch makes it three. (P. 11)
月裡頭有一天夜裡頭，有三更多天，我剛睡著。
One night towards the end of last month, some time after midnight, I had just gone to sleep. (P. 93)
那麼明早，是在何時啓節呢。
Then at what time to-morrow shall you begin your journey?
大約就在巳初吧。
Probably about nine o'clock in the morning.
那麼我明早辰正過來送行就是了。
In the case, at eight tomorrow I shall come over and see you off. (P. 207)
咱們初五午初，在同慶堂會面就是了。
We shall meet at the T'ung Ch'ing T'ang at 11 o'clock on the 5th. (P. 241)

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2 The names in this passage are rough translations. This translation seeks only to give the gist of the Chinese.

Next I show what European texts have to say.

Robert Morrison, *Dialogues and Detached Sentences in the Chinese Language* (1816)
今早四鼓時便進朝裡去修理自鳴鐘。 (Pp. 126–127)
This morning at the fourth beat of the drum, he went into the palace to regulate a clock.
往常午時初回，今日事多，必竟來遲些，在未時來得。 (Pp. 127–128)
Hitherto, he has been in the habit of coming back at noon; to-day, as has a great deal to do, he will be later. He may come at one or two.
明早五鼓就要起身。 (Pp. 135–136)
[He] sets off to-morrow morning at the fifth beat of the drum.
The word 正 is applied to the even numbers, as 正午, twelve o'clock in the day. 正午 extends forward to one o'clock. The word 交 is applied to make it extend backwards, thus 交午 is eleven o'clock. 正未 is two o'clock; 交未 one o'clock. The word 刻, they use to denote a quarter of an hour. (P. 244)

Joaquim Gonçalves, *Arte China constante de alphabeto e grammatica* 漢字文法 (1829)
什麼時候。幾下鐘。看幾下鐘。差不多一下鐘，正打了三刻。打了一下三刻。剛剛兒兩下鐘。還沒(有)三下二刻。六下鐘了。剛打了七下一刻。大概是十下鐘。慢慢的要打十二下鐘。我的錶慢幾分，不走了。 (問答十二時辰)
你是幾下鐘起來的。我七下二刻起來了。 (問答十五)
要到什麼時候。到一下鐘早起。 (問答二十)

Joaquim Gonçalves, *Diccionario Portuguez-China* 洋漢合字彙 (1831)
晚上十一下一刻十二分二十秒　　子刻一刻十二分二十秒

W. H. Medhurst, *Chinese Dialogues, Questions, and Familiar Sentences* (1844)
什麼時候。午時才來。 (P. 13)
When? He came as late as noon.
朝辰三點起火，五點打花。 (P. 21)
The fire commenced at three in the morning. At five it was put out.
晚上六點鐘人客來齊 (P. 147)
When the guests have all arrived at six o'clock in the evening
正子 (12 midnight), 交丑 (1 a.m.), 正丑 (2 a.m.), 交寅 (3 a.m.), 正寅 (4 a.m.), …, 交子 (11 p.m.)
正卯一刻 (a quarter past 6 a.m.), 正卯二刻 (half past 6 a.m.), 正卯三刻 (three quarters past 6 a.m.) (P. 235)

Thomas Wade, *Yü-yen tzǔ-erh chi: A Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese* 語言自邇集 (1867)
明兒個幾點鐘見。明兒咱們申初見吧。 ("Ten Dialogues," no. 9, p. 81)
When shall we meet tomorrow? Let's meet tomorrow at 3 p.m.
打過了四點兒鐘了。 ("Eighteen Sections," no. 7, p. 118)
The clock has already struck four.
申末酉初了。才是三點兒半鐘。 (登瀛篇)
It's about five o'clock. It's only 3:30.

2   Instances of Time and Intervals of Time

Both East and West distinguish between instances of time and intervals of time, and have different ways of expressing these two concepts. This fact is, of course, related to the diffusion of clocks and watches in society and the more frequent use of definite time over indefinite time. A society that uses indefinite time references most likely is not inclined to use the following modes of expression, for example:

> It takes us an hour to cover one Japanese mile [3.8 kilometers], whether by horse or fast walking, whereas it takes only 45 minutes in other countries. (Pp. 77–78)

> Here, after resting for about an hour, we again took to the highway. After an hour and a half, we arrived in Urakami Village. Then after proceeding for another 30 minutes, … (P. 79)

> From these parts, Kawahaba is about 15 minutes away. (P. 150)[3]

At best, the indefinite mode of expressing time has the following ways of expressing time:

> During the day, from the fifth drum 五つ太鼓 [8 a.m.] in the morning to the eighth drum 八つ太鼓 [2 p.m.], an interval of three Japanese hours 時 [six Western hours], each night watchman shall be away from his post for just one Japanese hour for rest. (Hōjō Ujimasa 北条氏政 [1538–1590])

> From Ta Village, Kai Provence: from 5 a.m. 卯の時 to 3 p.m. 未の時, five Japanese hours
> From Katahoko Village: 3–7 p.m. 申酉, two Japanese hours
> From Taguchi Village: 7 p.m. 戌の時 to 5 a.m. 寅の時, five Japanese hours
> (Judgment on the time needed to transport water to Hirakata)

How does one express time intervals? This depends on the culture and its modes of thinking, that is, on the means at hand to divide up the flow of time. In Chinese, one finds the following modes of expression:

> 大蟲去了一盞茶時 (*Outlaws of the Marsh* 水滸傳)
> The big beast has been gone for the time needed for a cup of tea.
> 一盞茶時，不見出來 (*Outlaws of the Marsh*)
> They didn't see him come out for the time needed for a cup of tea.
> 再略等鐘茶的工夫就是了 (*Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢)
> All you have to do is to wait for another tea hour or so.
> 約莫也有半碗茶時 (*A Tale of Brave Sons and Daughters* 兒女英雄傳)
> Almost no one had the time even for half a bowl of tea.
> 隔了半盞茶時 (*A Tale of Brave Sons and Daughters*)
> After about the time needed for a half cup of tea

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3 Engelbert Kaempfer, *Journal of a Procession to Edo* 江戶參府旅行日記 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977).

過了一頓飯時光 (*Impregnable Fortress* 铜墙铁壁, by Liu Qing 柳青)
After about the time needed for a meal
過了一鍋煙時光 (*Impregnable Fortress*)
After about the time needed for a smoke

Another interesting phenomenon that one finds in Chinese is that time instances and time intervals are expressed in the same way:

Addendum to the Treaty on Labor-Recruitment Regulations 續定招工章程條約 (1866)
一日之內工不過四時六刻 (即外國九點鐘二刻也)。
In one day, labor shall not exceed four and six-eights Chinese hours (that is, nine and a half foreign hours).

Zhang Deyi, *Journal of an Attaché to the Mission to France* (1871)
是日蒙星使給王竹軒、張雲波、劉輔臣諸位延一法文教習，姓博名丹，年近三旬，教以初學之法，每日教一點鐘，館谷五方。 (P. 189)
On this day Meng Xingshi engaged a French teacher for Wang Zhuxuan, Zhang Yunbo, and Liu Buchen. His name is Bodin, and he is nearly thirty years old.[4] He is to teach them elementary French for one hour a day for room and board and a stipend.
即小事亦必於一二時前告之方可，否則推以戚友豎邀固請。 (P. 189)
They must be informed of small items of business at least two hours in advance. Otherwise, one will have to ask friends and relatives to do the work.
二十九日丁巳，早，大雨，巳正止。午後，見有匠人會由樓下經過。原各種匠人每日作十點鐘之工，今眾約改作八點鐘之工，蒙官允准，定於是日聚眾慶賀。 (P. 227)
September 13, 1871. Heavy rain, which stopped at ten o'clock. In the afternoon, I witnessed an association of journeymen pass by in the street below. Previously, these journeymen worked for ten hours a day, but recently they changed their agreement to eight hours of work per day, and Mr. Meng, the relevant official, agreed with this arrangement. The journeymen decided to get together today and celebrate.
旁順風頗大，船能於一點鐘之時行四十五里。 (P. 232)
Favorable crosswinds were rather strong. Our ship made headway of 26 kilometers per hour (14 knots).

Robert Morrison, *Dialogues and Detached Sentences in the Chinese Language* (1816)
各處水車皆去救火，後至三個時辰救息。 (P. 177)
The water engines from every place, all went to extinguish the fire. After six hours it was put out. (One she-shin 時辰, is equal to two European hours.)
後至兩三個時辰將火救息。 (P. 182)
After five or six hours, the fire was extinguished.

W. H. Medhurst, *Chinese Dialogues, Questions, and Familiar Sentences* (1844)
我要食飯。弄飯未便。幾時弄得便。再半點鐘就便。 (P. 6)
I want to eat rice. It is not cooked yet. When will it be ready? It will be ready in a half hour.

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4 The name "Bodin" is perhaps inaccurate.

Thomas Wade, *Yü-yen tzŭ-erh chi: A Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese* (1867)

一點鐘兩刻。半點鐘。一點半鐘就是一點鐘兩刻。一下鐘就是一點鐘。（散語四十章之九）

An hour and two quarters. A half-hour. An hour and a half is the same as an hour and two quarters. Both the following expressions, I hsia chung and I tien chung, mean an hour. (Key, p. 21)

回頭請先生念三點鐘的書。

Later please read for three hours.

Regulations for the Shanghai Foreign Treaty-Port Concession 上海洋涇濱北首租界章程

第一天早十點鐘起至午後三下鐘，次日早十下鐘至午後三下鐘止

The first day, from ten in the morning to three in the afternoon, and the next day from ten in the morning to three in the afternoon

無論何項車具，均於日落後一點鐘至天明前一點鐘止，在車上燃點明燈。

No matter what type of vehicle, it shall carry a brightly lit lamp an hour after sunset and an hour before dawn.

Ozaki Minoru writes the following about 三點鐘 (three o'clock): "When a clock strikes three, it signifies the third hour after the reference point, as well as a span of three hours after the reference point" (2007a, p. 135). This is hinted at in the two examples from Morrison 1816, repeated below:

各處水車皆去救火，後至三個時辰救息。（P. 177）
The water engines from every place, all went to extinguish the fire. After six hours it was put out.
後至兩三個時辰將火救息。（P. 182）
After four to six hours, the fire was extinguished.

What these examples say is that three hours after a specific time reference, the fire was extinguished. Here the Chinese 至三個時辰 is a point-in-time expression that focuses on the end point.

Anyway, both conceptions—the time-instance conception and the time-interval conception—convey the same semantic meaning. In fact, from the beginning, Chinese conceived of time as consisting of intervals rather than instances. The watch in figure 22.3 abstractly depicts this conception. In European clocks, numbers align with lines because the numbers designate instances, whereas Chinese hour designations are placed between lines because these designations indicate intervals. For example, 子時 indicates not the time instance 11 p.m. or 12 midnight, but the time interval 11 p.m. to 1 a.m.

3 When Did Minutes Come into Use?

While I was surveying time expressions in Chinese, I noticed something odd about the use of 分 (minutes), and this was that 分 appeared as the translation of "minutes" in European materials on Chinese but appeared in bilingual materials by Chinese only later.

Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, 1822
分, second 秒, 六十秒爲一分
J. A. Gonçalves, *Diccionario portuguez-china no estilo vulgar mandarim e classico geral*, 1831
一分
Samuel Wells Williams, *An English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect*, 1844
一分
W. H. Medhurst, *English and Chinese Dictionary*, 1847–1848
分, 分秒 (minutes and seconds)
K. Hemeling, *English-Chinese Dictionary of the Standard Chinese Spoken Language*, 1916
一分鐘, 一分時, 二分鐘之久

Guang Qizhao (Kwong Ki Chiu) 鄺其照, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* 華英字典集成, 1875
一點鐘有六十個尾利
Tan Yanchang 譚宴昌, 華英字典彙集, 3rd printing, 1897
一點鐘之六十分一
Mok Man Cheung 莫文暢, *The Tah Tsz Anglo-Chinese Dictionary* 達辭, 1898
一點鐘有六十個面尼
新增華英貿易字典, 1901
晚呢
商務書館華英字典, 1902
棉尼 (一分時也), 一點鐘有六十分

I leave this as a topic for future research.

Chapter 23:
The Arrival of X-Ray Technology in China

Figure 23.1 is the illustration for an article on the introduction of x-ray technology titled "A Wonderful New Imaging Device" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial* 點石齋畫報, 1897). Here is what the accompanying text says.

Figure 23.1 "A Wonderful New Imaging Device" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897).

With advances in European science, optics has become particularly useful. Telescopes enable us to peer into the distance, and microscopes allow us to see things in detail. Gone are the days when mirrors were used only to reflect images of the beautiful and the ugly. Not only are such scientific devices more and more wondrous, there are even instruments that illuminate hidden recesses. William Hector Park, the Western physician practicing at Suzhou Tiancizhuan General Hospital, heard that the United States had invented a costly optical instrument that could image a person's internal organs, and without hesitation he purchased it for a considerable sum and transported it to Suzhou. The device is about a foot long and is oval in shape. It can image the heart, abdomen, kidney, and intestines of a person as clearly as if they were surgically exposed. Because the people of Suzhou had seldom seen such a marvel, crowds showed up to take

a look at it. The physician, after acquiring this optical device, could show where a patient was afflicted and treat the area with medicine. Even those with serious illnesses immediately improved. This renowned physician, with this valuable imaging device, could examine internal organs as if looking directly at them. His remedies proved effective, and with this instrument he accumulated both virtue and a long life, bringing considerable blessings to patients from Suzhou, Changzhou, and Huzhou. There is a saying that goes, "If you want to improve your practice, first refine your instruments." Western medicine continually refines the practice of medicine and rigorously avoids relying on personal intuition. In this way, it seeks the best technology and continually improves it.

The physicist Wilhelm Röntgen discovered x-rays in 1895 and for this achievement earned the first Nobel Prize in physics. According to this article in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, x-ray technology entered China a mere two years later.

Figure 23.2 is the illustration for an article on brain surgery titled "Operating on the Brain to Remove a Tumor" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897). According to the article:

Figure 23.2   "Operating on the Brain to Remove a Tumor" (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897).

In New York City, there was a poor young woman named Susan, age 29, who was dutiful toward her parents. She worked as a maid to support her widowed mother, the two of them relying on each other to make a go of it. Suddenly, she developed an internal disorder in her brain. She then entered Belfour Hospital and was seen by Dr. Hoyt. This physician, a deft surgeon, examined her and said, "She has a brain tumor. We have to open up the skull and operate to remove the poison. Only thus can we save her." Susan at first hesitated, but then she thought that if she were to die someday soon, her widowed mother would have no one to support her, so she decided to follow the doctor's orders. She first took an anesthesia and lost consciousness. Dr. Hoyt then opened a hole in the right side of her skull with a cranial probe, removed a small bone next to her brain. Then

he switched to a slender probe, next to which he had placed a surgical knife for cutting. He inserted the probe deep into the hole and extracted cerebral matter the size of a bean. Examination of the cerebral matter showed that it contained a toxic tumor, just as Dr. Hoyt had said. Fortunately, this tumor had the consistency of a paste and had not yet hardened. Since it was soft, there was no need to use the surgical knife to cut it free. All that Dr. Hoyt had to do was to wash the wound with warm water, and the ailment was washed out the right-side hole created with the probe. As soon as the poison was drained and the wound washed, the affliction suddenly went away. After a short while, Susan awoke as if from a dream and asked, "Where is Mother?" There was no pain involved at all. Aren't the skills of physicians truly miraculous?

After Robert Morrison came to China in 1807, Western missionaries made serious efforts to use medicine to spread the gospel. During this time, many well-regarded physicians (such as Peter Parker, Benjamin Hobson, William Lockhart, and John Dudgeon) were sent to China, and in numerous places, church hospitals were built. These efforts, along with the efforts of such Chinese as Xu Shou 徐壽, laid the foundation for the medical sector in modern China. The name of John Dudgeon 德貞, one of the physicians mentioned above, appears in *A Guide to Mandarin* 官話指南, a textbook produced by Japanese.

Other *Dianshizhai Pictorial* articles showing the level of medical practice in China in the late nineteenth century include an article on Cesarean sections titled "Operating on the Belly to Remove a Child" (1892), an article on surgically removing a large tumor titled "A Deft Hand Excises a Tumor" (1895), and an article on surgically repairing an individual whose innards became exposed titled "Inserting the Bowels Back into the Belly" (1887). In addition, articles introducing Western medicine frequently appeared in such publications as *Chinese Scientific and Industrial Magazine* 格致彙編, *Church News* 教會新報, and *Shen bao* 申報 (Shanghai News). Thus we can see that Chinese medical practice in the late nineteenth century was at the forefront of world developments.

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