The Co-construction of Modern Sino-Japanese Knowledge Systems from Eastern Learning

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Abstract: Eastern Learning (*Dongxue* 东学), which is an important part of modern new learning, refers to the Western natural science and socio-political thought that was assimilated by Japan from the end of 19th century to the beginning of 20th century. From the end of Ming Dynasty to the period before and after the revolution of 1911, China's intake of new learning went through four stages. In the first three stages, a large number of Western books translated into Chinese were also introduced into Japan, which became the basic literature and language medium of Japanese Dutch studies, English Studies and later the whole foreign studies. At the beginning of the 20th century, exiles, students studying in Japan and Japanese teachers introduced Eastern Learning into China, which had a profound impact on China's modernization process. Eastern Learning is a new learning system with East Asian characteristics constructed by China and Japan in the process of Western Learning (*Xixue* 西学) spreading to the East.
Keywords: Eastern Learning, Western Learning, Chinese translation of Western books, Dutch studies, boom of studying in Japan

I. CHINESE CHARACTERS AND *KANGO* AS PREREQUISITES FOR EASTERN LEARNING

Liang Qichao, when reflecting on his experience of learning Japanese, once said, "It only takes one year to learn Japanese, half a year to write in Japanese, and learners can make progress in a few days, and a big success in several months." (Liang Qichao, 1899) In other words, he thinks that Japanese is relatively easy to learn. Today's Japanese learners may find his statement a bit exaggerated since modern Japanese has undergone many changes since Liang's time; for example: (1) Instead of "Chinese words" (*kango* 汉语词), *katakana* (片假名) is usually used to translate loan words; (2) the consistency between language-character is even greater, and the ratio of *wago* (和语) has increased. In fact, from the late 19th to the early 20th century, Japanese was relatively similar to the ancient Chinese or

kanbun (汉文) as the Japanese called it, and this linguistic similarity was one of the main reasons why the absorption of Chinese Learning shifted directly from Europe and America to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. So how did the linguistic similarity between Japanese and ancient Chinese come into being?

Kanbun is an indispensable carrier of the ancient Japanese laws, regulations, ideologies, and culture, as well as being the basis of Japan's civilization: "Christianity was forbidden under the Edo Bakufu's Closing-Door Policy while Zhu Zi's Philosophy (朱子学) was revered as official doctrine and education, and Confucianism was taught in the Bakufu's Shoheizaka Gakumonjyo (昌平坂学问所), *hankou* (藩校), *gougaku* (乡学), and *terakoya* (寺子屋). In the late Edo period, there were more than 260 hankous, more than 400 gougakus, and 15,000 terakoyas (Kasahara Kazuo, 1977). With the universalization of education, Sinology has now reached the civilian class. According to Nakano Reishirou, in the Edo period, children began to learn hiragana and kanji and read short sentences in *The Piety Scripture* (孝经) and *Xiao Xue* (小学) at the age of 6 and write calligraphy at the age of 8. At the age of 10, they began to read *Four Books and Five Classics* (四书五经) and recite *Three Character Classic* (三字经) and *Thousand Character Classic* (千字文). At the age of 15, they began to learn self-cultivation and country governance, and at the age of 20, they read the histories of Japan and China (Nakano Reishirou, 1905: 108-109).

The popularity of Sinology in Japan is linked to the unique manner in which the Japanese use and interpret Chinese characters. Before the introduction of kanji into Japan, there was only language, and the Japanese created the Japanese language by borrowing words from kanji while retaining their original language structure. The Japanese borrowed words from kanji in two ways: *onyomi* and *kunyomi*. Kana is the prerequisite for borrowing kanji words. The manner in which the Japanese interpret Chinese can be roughly divided into three methods: Chinese *onyomi*, Japanese *onyomi*, and Japanese *kunyomi*. Chinese *onyomi* is to read the Chinese words according to the pronunciation of the Chinese, and those who have mastered this method are mainly *toutsuji* (translators) who trade with China. Japanese *onyomi* does not change the order of the texts, and this method is generally used in reading Buddhist scriptures. Japanese *kunyomi*, the most frequently used of the methods, involves reading Chinese texts by adding *kunten* and interpreting Chinese according to

Japanese pronunciation. Japanese and Chinese belong to different language families. It is generally accepted that Japanese belongs to the Uralic Altaic language family while Chinese belongs to the Sino-Tibetan family; the former is an agglutinative language, while the latter is an isolated language. The Japanese came up with the unique *Kanbun Kunyomi* in the late 8th century which means that when auxiliary words expressing the relationship between other words are added in Chinese, verbs and adjectives are deformed properly, and other verbs are moved before the object. Beginners need phonetic pseudonyms and numbers or symbols indicating sequence while skillful learners can interpret Chinese directly from spoken Japanese. For example, "國中諸樹林, 先生甘美果, 由斯皆損滅, 苦澀無滋味" in suvarṇaprabhāsasūtram (金光明最胜王经), can be interpreted in the early Heian period as:

> 国の中の諸の樹林, 先に生ひし甘美の果を, 由て斯に皆損滅して, 苦渋して無む滋味 (Akira Matsumura, 1990: 123).

Even though *Kanbun Kunyomi* (汉文训读) is actually a kind of translation, the translation process is much easier than translating from one language to another, and a skilled translator may not even be aware of the translation as a process, since one simply adds auxiliary verbs according to the meaning of sentences without changing the words themselves. The same goes for *kanbun* as it is written in Japanese. As Matsumura Akira put it, "After the *kunyomi* is fixed, it will be very easy for language conversion between Chinese and Japanese." (Matsumura Akira, 1990: 124) In this way, *Kanbun Kunyomi* becomes a kind of standardized translation method of Chinese-Japanese. It is also possible to read and write Chinese freely without speaking the language. In this circumstance, a large number of works of *kanbungaku* (汉文学) and historical books in Chinese emerged, including *The History of Great Japan* (大日本史). Even at the beginning of the 20th century, many Japanese scholars maintained a high level of Sinology, and Natsume Souseki, an eminent writer of the Meiji Restoration, is a typical example. Natsume Souseki said, "When I was young, I recited thousands of words from the Tang and Song dynasties and wrote articles by citing them. Whenever I visited places of interests, I create literary works." (from the preface to *Kikuzuroku* 木屑録) Even though this was the case for Natsume Souseki, who studied in

England and was known for his knowledge of English literature, it should not be difficult to imagine that traditional scholars had a high degree of *kanbun* literacy. In short, the Japanese, with the methods of *onyomi* and *kunyomi*, could not only freely borrow words from Chinese to compensate for the lack of inherent characters in Japanese, but they could also easily interpret and write *kanbun* to overcome obstacles between Chinese and Japanese of different language families. Due to this fact, there has always been a great demand for Chinese books in Japan. After the 18th century, in addition to traditional *Jing* (Classics), *Shi* (Histories), *Zi* (Masters) and *Ji* (Collections), Chinese books written or translated by Western missionaries, Chinese scholars, and translation agencies were introduced into Japan. [1]

II. CHINESE CHARACTERS AND *KANBUN* AS THE MEDIUM OF EASTERN LEARNING

As mentioned above, the development of the new learning in China can be roughly divided into four stages. The first three stages were taken directly from the West, and a large number of Western books translated into Chinese appeared in each stage.[2] Giulio Aleni's *A Profile of Western Learning* (西学凡, 1623) belongs to the first stage, in which Western Learning is divided into six disciplines: rethorica, philosophia, medicina, leges, canones, and theologia. Huang Xingtao believes that "this discipline classification reflected the typical and powerful academic system of Europe at that time, especially in that it concentrated on the academic structure and purpose of church education in the late Middle Ages."(Huang, 2013: 7) According to Huang, "From the Ming and Qing Dynasties to the middle of the Qing Dynasty, there were probably no less than a thousand new terms translated by Western missionaries in cooperation with Chinese people, including the names of people, places, and countries. Among them, except for the large proportion of transliterated words of names and some religious nouns, most of the discipline-specific nouns are translated with the method of free translation, which has been handed down extensively." (Huang, 2013: 17) *Western Studies Fuqiang Series* (西学富强丛书, 1897), released by Hongwen Publishing House in Shanghai, belongs to the third stage. The series adopts 15 classifications, namely arithmetic, mechanics, electricity, chemistry, acoustics, optics, astronomy, geography, history, public law, mining, steamship science, technology, military and political science, and

gunnery. More refined classification is carried out in the book with more advanced and comprehensive knowledge and organized concepts and terms. It can be said that before the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, a relatively complete knowledge system and corresponding conceptual system with Chinese characteristics had been constructed in Western books written in Chinese.

The Society of Jesus began its mission in Japan slightly earlier than in China, but the mission lasted only 60 years, less than half as long as it existed in China. In 1633, the *bakufu* began to implement a policy of seclusion, only allowing Dutch merchants from Protestant countries to trade in Dejima, Nagasaki, while maintaining commercial contacts with people in the Qing Dynasty. This situation lasted until 1854 when Japan's doors were opened by American Fleet Commander Matthew Calbraith Perry. China had published a significant quantity of Western books before the persecution of the Catholic Church during Emperor Yongzheng's rule. Unlike China, Japan did not have its own Western books from the mid-16th century to the early 17th century. Japan's first Western book in circulation was the natural science book *The Debate of the Universe* (乾坤辩说), written in 1659. The book was edited by a Portuguese named Ferreira and rewritten in Japanese by Mukai Gensyou. The difference in approach to China and Japan was partly due to the lack of a stable social environment in Japan at *sengoku*, but the main reason behind the divergent approaches was that missionaries regarded Japan as a neighboring country to China and therefore ignored it. For example, St. Francis Xavier once said, "If the Chinese were truly converted, it would not be difficult for the Japanese to abandon the heresies inherited from China." (Xu, 1938: 165-166) He believed that if the Chinese were converted, the Japanese would follow suit, so, in his view, there was no need to expend resources and efforts in translating Western books into Japanese. At the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, some Western books in Chinese were introduced into Japan,[3] but Western books were banned after the country was locked down. The eighth-generation general (syougun) Tokugawa Yoshimune relaxed the import restrictions on books unrelated to Christianity and Western society and culture in 1720 in order to stimulate the Japanese study of history, and Chinese, Western, and Dutch books were gradually introduced into Japan, in particular after the opening of Japan in 1854. In 1852, Hoteisyujin's *Catalogue of Translations and Descriptions of Western Scholars* (西洋学家譯述目録) included 470

kinds of Western books published in Japan during the 108 years from 1744 to 1852,[4] including *Haiguotuzhi* (海国图志)[5] and various versions of the *Great Universal Geographic Map* (万国全图), which was reprinted by Mizukuri Genpo. Before the Meiji Restoration, Saitou Setsudou's *Bibliography of Tekkensai Yuuken* (鉄研斎輶軒書目) included about 60 kinds of Western books, including Giulio Aleni's *Zhifangwaiji* (职方外记) and Ferdinand Verbiest's *Kunyuwaiji* (坤舆外记). In the explanatory section of these two books, the editor states that: "there are many such books in the world, so there is no need for a detailed description" (*Civilization Origins Series*, 1914: 483), which shows that these Western books were widely circulating at the end of the bakufu. As Yamamuro Shinichi said, "at a time when European and American originals were not freely available and could not be read fluently, the Japanese acquired new knowledge about Europe, the United States, and the rest of the world through Chinese translations of Western books and translations with dictionaries, katakana versions, or Japanese colloquial translations."(Yamamuro, 2001: 217) It can be said that in the late 19th century, before Japan turned to absorbing Western Learning directly from Europe and the United States, Western books in Chinese were a vital channel through which Japan absorbed Western Learning. The author believes that there are several reasons for the circulation of Chinese Western books in Japan after the opening of the country: First, after a long period of peace, *edo bakufu* had steadily improved its social, economic, and cultural levels. In particular, samurai and businessmen generally had a high level of Chinese literacy and were able to read and understand Chinese Western books; secondly, since the mid-18th century, Western Learning introduced by the Dutch Chamber of Commerce had gradually spread in Japan, and its practicability had been tested; thirdly, China's failure in the Opium War shook its status as an infallible power in Japanese minds. The opening of the door by Perry is seen as a duplication of the Opium War. The Chinese had a strong sense of crisis over the situation at the time and hoped to use the power of Western Learning to defend against invasions by foreign powers;[6] fourthly, the Japanese samurai worked hard and laboriously, so they were more receptive to practical Western Learning.[7]

In the early Edo period, the Japanese mainly absorbed Western Learning through Chinese Western books. Then, from the mid-Edo

period on, they began to learn directly from the West. In 1742, Tokugawa Yoshimune was interested in astronomy books in Dutch, so he ordered Aoki Konyou to study Dutch, and Dutch Learning subsequently emerged. The achievements of Dutch Learning can be seen from Otsuki Jyoden's *Chronology of Japanese Western Studies* (日本洋学年表, 1878), which contains 64 books of Dutch Learning from 1708 to 1868, averaging one book in two-and-a-half years, which is not a large number and in turn shows that even after the rise of Dutch Learning, Western books in Chinese were still the primary channel through which Japan absorbed Western Learning. In terms of the language used in the study of Dutch Learning, Japan's first official work of medical translation, *New Insights into Anatomy* (解体新書 translated by Maeno Ryoutaku and Sugita Genpaku, etc., 1774), the first physics translation work of *Kikaikanran* (気海観瀾 translated by Aochi Rinsou, 1827), the first ophthalmology monograph, *Ophthalmology Tips* (眼科錦嚢 Fuichi Honjyou, 1831), and the first systematic introduction to European botany *Syokugaku Keigen* (植学啓原 Udagawa Youan , 1833), as well as other works, were written entirely in Chinese. However, on the whole, the proportion of Chinese-Chinese kunyomi styles and other mixed styles was higher. However, whether it is used in Chinese or mixed with Chinese, conceptual terms are generally expressed in Chinese characters. Maeno Ryoutaku, Sugita Genpaku, and others have explained the translation of conceptual terms in the explanatory notes of the *New Insights into Anatomy*: "There are three levels of translation, namely translation, meaning translation, and literal translation." (Maeno Ryoutaku, etc,,1774) The concept of "translation" here is equivalent to the word-for-word translation; for example, *beenderen* is translated as *bone*. When there is no ready-made corresponding word, the "meaning translation" method is used, which is equivalent to the semantic translation, e.g., *Kraakbeen* is translated as "cartilage" (軟骨). There are many examples of the use of "cartilage" in Chinese medical texts (Zhang Lu, Ben Jing Feng Yuan, published in 1695), but those are not common terms. Therefore, the use of "cartilage" to refer to translucent elastic tissue can be said to be the original creation of *New Insights into Anatomy*. Of course, this kind of innovation is based on Sinological literacy and Chinese medical knowledge. "Literal translation" is equivalent to the current transliteration, which is used when translating names of people and places. It is also stated that "the directly translated

text of the book was taken from the place names of various Western countries translated by the Chinese, and was translated with reference to the maps of various Dutch countries with the Japanese instructions written beside them, so that the readers could also benefit from them." (Maeno Ryoutaku, etc.,1774) This indicates that the place names of the book were translated according to the phonetic translation method commonly used in Western books written in Chinese and that the use of katakana for Japanese pronunciation was only an auxiliary practice.

In 1856, bakufu established the bansyo shirabesho to teach Dutch Learning. However, after the opening of Japan in 1854, Japan signed friendship and commerce treaties with the United States, the Netherlands, Britain, Russia, and France, therefore, the contacts with the West were no longer limited to the Netherlands. In 1860, the bansyo shirabesho opened English, French, and German courses, and in 1862, Nishi Amane and Tsuda Mamichi were sent to the Netherlands and Nakamura Masanao went to the United Kingdom in 1866. More than 20 people including Itou Hirobumi and Mori Arinori were sent to the United Kingdom by their tyousyu and satsuma clan (han). After the establishment of the Meiji government, the scale of foreign student dispatchment was expanded too. From 1869 to 1870, Japan sent 174 students and increased this count to 373 in 1873 (Zheng, 1996: 264). At the same time, the new Meiji government employed well-paid foreign experts. In March 1872 (Meiji 5), a total of 214 foreign experts were employed in various departments. These experts were mainly from Britain (119), France (50), the United States (16), Qing (9), Prussia (8) and other countries, of which 24 were employed in the Ministry of Education, teaching in the South School of the University and other schools (*A List of Foreign Experts*, 1872). By then, Japan had the ability to absorb Western Learning directly from Europe and the United States. Oka Senjin said, in his translated work "Exemplary Words", of G. P. Quackenbos's *Elementary history of the United States* (米利坚志, 1873), which was co-translated by Kouno Michiyuki into Chinese:

> It is written by Quackenbos, and you can read it with ease. While reading *Yinghuanzhilue*, *Elements of International Law*, *Introduction to Gewu*, and other books, we can take something to compensate for it. "State name imitation", *Lianbangzhilve*, and other place names are translated into Chinese. The untranslated names are filled in with the pronunciation of the States. The viewers do not laugh at

its incongruity.

The above mentioned *Yinghuanzhilue* (瀛环志略), written by Xu Jishe (1848), *Elements of International Law* (万国公法), translated by William Alexander Parsons Martin (1889), and *Lianbangzhilve* (联邦志略), written by Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1861) are representative Western books written in Chinese. The influence of these Western books on Oka Senjin and others goes far beyond the borrowing of words and phrases. Takahashi Jirou stated in the "Preface" of his *Elementary History of France* (法兰西志, 1877), which he compiled in Chinese, that "the names of geographical places are translated only by Chinese, and those that have not been translated are filled in with Chinese pronunciation." From these examples, we can see that the above-mentioned translation of *New Insights into Anatomy* was still widely in use and even became a kind of standard in the era when Western Learning was taken directly from Europe and America. In short, the Chinese characters played a central role in the development of Dutch Learning as well as English Learning and even in the further expansion of Western Learning, mainly because of the absolute advantage of Chinese characters in expressing abstract concepts that are incompatible with *wago* (*onyomi* words).

III. THE SPREAD AND INFLUENCE OF EASTERN LEARNING IN CHINA

After the Restoration, a large number of Western books were translated into Japanese. In 1897, Kang Youwei published the *Japanese Bibliography* (日本书目志), which included 7,744 books published in Japanese 30 years after the Restoration, most of which were Western books. Against this background, the role of Western books written in Chinese as a channel for Western Learning in Japan gradually diminished. By the time of the Sino-Japanese War, the flow of books between China and Japan was even reversed. The reasons for this, according to Kang, were threefold: (1) the success of the Meiji Restoration in Japan, (2) the similarity between the Japanese and Chinese languages, and (3) the labor saved in translating from Japanese to Western books (Kang, 1991: 264).

Western books translated into Japanese were mainly brought back by exiles and students studying in Japan at the end of the Qing Dynasty

through translation and writing activities. There have been many studies on exiles such as Liang Qichao and Zhang Taiyan,[8] whose role in the introduction of Eastern Learning needs no elaboration. Here, we will look mainly at the students who stayed in Japan. Overseas study began in the late Qing Dynasty in the 1870s, but with little success. Study abroad programs became a common social phenomenon after the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War. At that time, Kang Youwei, Tan Sitong, Zhang Zhidong, and others actively advocated studying in Japan to learn methods for enriching the country and strengthening the army, and in March 1896, Tang Baoe and 13 others went to Japan with officials from the Japanese embassy and became the first group of Chinese students studying in Japan. Afterwards, there were two waves of students who stayed in Japan, from 1901 to 1905—after the Boxer Rebellion—and from 1912 to 1914—after the Revolution of 1911. There were more than 7,000 students in 1906 and 3,000 in 1914 (Shen, 1997: 114-115, 298.), but according to Sanetou Keishu, the total number of Chinese students who graduated from various schools in Japan between 1901 and 1914 was 3,873 (Saneto Keisyu, 1981: 138-139), which indicates that most of these students did not finish their studies. In the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, society was in turmoil, and many students, such as Lu Xun and Qiu Jin, joined the revolution or actively participated in community activities. According to Shen Diancheng, there were at least 40 Chinese student groups in Japan in the early 20th century (Shen, 1997: 155), among which the Translating and Compiling Society, the Textbook Translation and Editing Society, the Hunan Compiling and Editing Society, and the Guo Xue Society belonged to the Translating and Editing Society, which was responsible for translating books covering the topics of history and geography, mathematics, physics and chemistry, flora and fauna, gymnastics, drawing, and other secondary school subjects. There were at least 83 kinds of Chinese publications founded by foreign students in Japan at the time (Shen, 1997: 267). According to Tian Yan, there were 1,872 books translated from Japanese to Chinese between 1719 and 1911, 96% of which were translated after 1895 (Tian, 2017: 33), and there is no doubt that the proliferation of the above-mentioned book translation groups, which mainly consisted of students studying in Japan, was an important contributing factor. The large number of Japanese instructors in China in the early 20th century also played a role in fueling the spread of Eastern Learning in China. According to Wang Xiangrong, from 1903 to 1908,

there were 1,697 Japanese instructors and advisors in China (Wang, 2000: 109), located all over the country. Japanese instructors taught subjects other than Japanese language—including courses in literature, science, and medicine—which were taught in Japanese and used Japanese textbooks (Su, 1998: 125). It can be argued that the similarity between Chinese and Japanese language is the linguistic aspect that brought about this situation. We may confirm this with the beginning of the first chapter of Ukita Kazutami's account in the *General Theory of History* (史学通論, translated by Luo Dawei with Evolutionary Compilation and Translation Publishing House). The source text reads:

> 第一章　歴史の特質及び範囲
> 歴史の意義三あり。第一、客観的意義。第二、主観的意義。第三、通常の意義。第一は歴史上の事実其の物を謂ふ。第二は其の事実に就ての理会。第三は客観的事実に就ての主観的理会を更に客観的に翻譯し、記録となしたるもの、即ち通常いふ歴史の書是なり。(Ukita Kazutami, 1903: 1)

> Translation:
> 第一章 歷史之特質及其範圍
> 歷史之意義有三。第一，客觀意義。第二，主觀意義。第三，通常意義。第一，謂歷史上之事實也。第二，就其事實而理論之。第三，就客觀之事實，更以主觀之理論，入於客觀而記錄之。是即通常所謂歷史之書也。(Luo Dawei,1903: 1)

> Chapter 1. Characteristics of history and its scope
> There are three meanings of history. First, the objective meaning of history. Second, the subjective meaning of history. Third, the ordinary meaning of history. First, the facts of history. Second, theories related to the facts. Third, the objective facts are recorded in objective and subjective theories. This is what is usually called the history book.

There are only two interventions by the translator in this paragraph, one in which he replaces 理会 with 理论 and the other in which he translates 翻譯 as 入于. The rest is basically unchanged or simply follows the

Chinese sentence structure and makes modifications to the order of the words. A foreign student can be qualified for translation work if they are careful and diligent.

After the "Twenty-One Demands" in 1915, anti-Japanese patriotic sentiment rose in all walks of life, and students from all over the world protested against their return to Japan. In this climate, the fever for Eastern Learning gradually subsided over a decade. Liu Zhengtan and Shi Youwei's *A Dictionary of Loan Words and Hybrid Words in Chinese* (汉语外来词词典, 1984) is a milestone achievement in the study of foreign words in Japanese. Yuan Yuan analyzed the 769 Japanese loan words included in the dictionary, and the number of words in each category was as follows: social science (86), physics and technology (81), common word 2 verbs (76), philosophy (75), economics (71), law (49), miscellaneous (46), common word 1 noun (43), physiology and medicine (42), military (34), publication (31), art (29), psychology (24), education (19), geology and astronomy (15), transportation (11), subject names (10), and mathematics (10), in addition to nearly 30 words that are obsolete or not commonly used. [9]On this basis, Yuan Yuan compares the role of Japanese loan words with that of English loan words in modern Chinese, arguing that although there are far more English than Japanese loan words, "the latter has a far greater role and influence than the former in the broad social sciences and humanities, especially in shaping the conceptual formations of the modern spiritual world." (Yuan, 2018: 78) The author agrees with this assessment, although more than 700 Japanese loan words play a limited role in tens of thousands of modern Chinese words.[10] The role of these words is limited, but the Eastern Learning that accompanied the introduction of these words into China was widespread and deeply penetrating, designating the new learning a truly novel fashion and making a tremendous impact on the acceleration of Chinese modernization.

CONCLUSION

The above discusses the prerequisites for the formation of Eastern Learning, the language medium, and its spread and influence in China. There are various modes and pathways through which Western Learning written in Japanese was introduced into China. Some call it "feeding," some call it "interaction" or "return," and more names exist for the phenomenon. Such deep fusion of the languages and cultures of the two

countries can be considered novel even from the perspective of the history of world civilization, and the process deserves a great deal of attention and research. However, the profound influence of Eastern Learning on the social processes of modern China is not so much due to its content or the Chinese words used as carriers of this content, but rather to the fact that the Meiji Restoration was used as a model for the Reform Movement and the New Politics of the late Qing Dynasty. Japan was the primary base of the Revolution of 1911, and Japan was the transit point for the introduction of new ideas such as socialism and communism into China. In the first three stages of the Chinese acquisition of Western Learning, this learning—including the natural sciences, humanities, and social sciences—had already been systematically introduced into China, and the corresponding concepts and discourse systems had been formed. However, these concepts and systems were not taken seriously by the Qing government and the general public. It was only when China suffered devastating military losses to Japan, a country with which China had been less concerned in the past, that China came to reflect on itself and its relation to Japan. It was only after the Qing government embarked on a new policy under the pressure of the Boxer Indemnity, and especially after the abolition of the imperial examination system in 1905, that it became possible to study abroad for academic credit. It can be said that it was only after seeing Japan go from weak to strong, through the Meiji Restoration, that the Chinese people began to truly believe in the power of Western Learning. In other words, Eastern Learning was the Western Learning that had been tested in practice and become popular among the Japanese. The Japanese, by virtue of the quality of Chinese literacy they had cultivated for more than a thousand years, had been absorbing Western Learning through Chinese books since the early Edo period. On this basis, the Japanese initiated the new field of Dutch Learning. For the Japanese, both reading and translating Western books required the use of Chinese characters, Chinese writing, and Chinese words to translate Western concepts, which became a norm. While the word "telegraph" (電報) already existed in Western books written in Chinese, after Bell's invention of the telephone in 1876, one person translated the word as "telephone" (電話), while another person transliterated it as "*Delüfeng*" (德律風). The former has been used up to the present time, while the latter was quickly phased out. In this case, it does not matter whether the person who translates "telephone" as "電話" is Japanese or Chinese, because the

quality of Chinese characters and the new learning system spread through Western books in Chinese that are common in both countries, and Chinese characters and vocabulary are freely shared. In this sense, it may be more appropriate to regard "Eastern Learning" as a new learning system with East Asian characteristics that was jointly constructed by China and Japan in the process of the Western Learning to the East.

Notes

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[1] These Western Learning books are generally called Chinese-translated Western books in academic circles, because some are compiled or written, so they are called Chinese Western books.

[2] In the first stage, "Chinese and foreign scholars co-translated or edited no fewer than a hundred kinds of books" (Liang Qichao, *The Academic History of China in the Last Three Hundred Years* 中国近三百年学术史, see *The Complete Collection of Liang Qichao* 梁启超全集 Volume 8, Beijing Press, 1999, p. 4432); In the second stage, a total of 581 Chinese and Western books were published by new missionaries in Nanyang and China. In the third stage, 26 kinds were translated by the School of Combined Learning, 160 kinds of Western books were translated by Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau (Xiong Yuezhi, *The Western Leaning And the Late Qing Society* 西学东渐与晚清社会, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1995, p. 102, 148-213, 564-566), and the total number of books coming out in the three stages should be close to 1,000.

[3] Regarding the introduction of Western books in Chinese, see Oba Osamu, *Study on the Circulation of Chinese Classics in Japan in the Edo Period* 江戸時代における唐船持渡書の研究 Chapter 1, Section 4, "Prohibited Books and Books Inspection" (Institute of East-West Studies, Kansai University, 1967).

[4] Titles are all in Chinese, but there are some Western books in Japanese.

[5] Regarding the dissemination of *Haiguotuzhi* in Japan, please refer to Chapter 12 of *Sino-Japanese Cultural Exchange History Series 3 Thought Volume* 中日文化交流史大系 3 思想卷, edited by Yan Shaodang and Minamoto Ryouen., *Haiguotuzhi*, Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Publishing House, 1996.

[6] For a discussion of the changes in the Japanese Confucian and patriot's view of China after the Opium War, see Liu Yue-bing, *Japan's View of China in the Modern Age* 近代以来日本的中国观, vol. 3, Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 2012, pp. 64-75.

[7] For an account of the samurai class's preference for realism, see Li Wen, *The Samurai Class and Modern Japan* 武士阶级与日本的近代, Shijiazhuang: Hebei People's Publishing House, 2003, Chapter 9, "The Samurai Intellectual Community Emerges

from the Realism Revolution" 士族知识群体的产生与实学革命的展开.

[8] On Liang Qichao, see Sayama Naoki, Liang Qichao: *Western Modern Thought Received and Meiji Japan* 梁啓超：西洋近代思想受容と明治日本, Misuzu Press, 1999. On Zhang Taiyan, see the *Research Series on Zhang Studies* 章学研究论丛, especially the books edited by Zhang Nianchi, the grandson of Zhang Taiyan, *The Life and Scholarship of Zhang Taiyan* 章太炎生平与学术, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2016.

[9] However, nouns such as "tea culture" (茶道) and "*kabuki*" (歌舞伎) that are unique to Japan, nearly 30 general verbs such as "hint" (暗示) and "dispatch" (派遣), and adjectives such as "simple" (单纯) and "easy" (简单) are not in line with Western Learning. Irrespective of this, the number of words that can be used to translate western concepts or refer to new things should be about 700. In addition, words such as "civilization" (文明), "rules" (规则), "chemistry" (化学), and "telegraph" (电报) are examples of words that were used in western books in Chinese before the Japanese immigration wave, and it is not appropriate to consider them as foreign words in Japanese. Shi Youwei, one of the editors of *A Dictionary of Loan Words and Hybrid Words in Chinese* 汉语外来词词典, has also withdrawn the assumption that "chemistry" (化学) is a foreign word in Japanese (Shi Youwei, *Chinese Foreign Words*, Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2013, p. 188). There is still room for further research on the recognition of foreign words in Japanese.

[10] The 7th edition of *Modern Chinese Dictionary* 现代汉语词典 compiled by Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (The Commercial Press, 2017) contains 69,000 entries.

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