# A *Kangaku* Scholar in Sichuan:

# Analyzing Takezoe Shin'ichirō's *San'un Kyōu Nikki narabini Shisō*

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MSc in Japanese Studies at the University of Oxford

Program of Study: MSc in Japanese Studies

Candidate Number: 1077567

Date of Submission: 1 September 2024

Word Count: 10688

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**Acknowledgements**

This thesis is the culmination of a year's research in Japanese Studies at the University of Oxford and builds upon my ongoing research on Sino-Japanese scholarly exchange in the late 19th century. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Jennifer Guest, for generously providing her expertise, guidance, and feedback throughout the year. I would also like to thank my family for their continued support of my academic pursuits.

**Abstract**

Takezoe Shin'ichirō's *San'un kyoū nikki narabini shisō* (1879) depicts an unprecedented four-month journey of a Japanese diplomat and *kangaku* scholar across late Qing China. The travelogue and its abundant supplementary elements exemplify the depth of Sino-Japanese scholarly exchange in an era of mutual rediscovery, brought upon by increasing travel and contact between the China and Japan since the mid-19th century. By focusing on the author's literary identity, I argue that Takezoe positions himself primarily as a *kangaku* and Confucian scholar, demonstrating his literary abilities in depiction of landscape, and his analytical and historical knowledge as a historiographer in both prose and *kanshi* poetry, while his identity as a Japanese diplomat and a foreigner is less discernible. The scholar is most invested in the Sichuan region, emphasizing its natural landscape and historical sites. Concurrently, Takezoe is also deeply concerned with contemporary issues in China, most notably the spread of Christianity. Throughout his travelogue, Takezoe displays deep sympathy toward China and its people, and reverence for its natural and cultural landscape. The paper concludes that beyond the practices of sightseeing and tourism and expressions of Pan-Asianism, *San'un* is primarily an intellectual endeavor that seeks to understand China and its various regions from its geographical and historical references, rather than general comparisons with Japan.

## Introduction

> "I accompanied envoy Mori Arinori to Qing China and stationed at the embassy in Beijing for several months. Every time I heard a traveler from Sichuan speak of its landscape and customs, my heart would grow restless, and I felt as if my soul was soaring to Sichuan, unable to be suppressed. Thus, I requested the envoy's permission, and together with Tsuda Ryō, we prepared for our journey and departed on May. 2nd in the ninth year of Meiji (1875)."[1]

Thus began the four-month journey of Takezoe Shin'ichirō (1842-1917) across China in 1876. Takezoe, then a diplomatic secretary, became the first Japanese person to record his journey to central and southwestern China in the modern era. His *kanshibun* travelogue, *San'un kyoū nikki narabini shisō* 『桟雲峡雨日記並詩草』(1879), received widespread acclaims from prominent officials, including Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909) and Viceroy Li Hongzhang (1823-1901), as well as venerable scholars from both countries. How does Takezoe, a Japanese diplomat, *kangaku* scholar, and foreign traveler position himself in this historic travelogue across Qing China in the late 19th century and what aspects of China does he choose to depict? This essay explores the unique literary identity of Takezoe Shin'ichirō as presented in his travelogue to argue that Takezoe positions himself primarily as a *kangaku* and Confucian scholar, detailing his travel experience in the lyric and historiographic modes of Chinese travel writing tradition, while his identity as a foreigner and Japanese diplomat is less discernable. While existing research have emphasized Takezoe's general views toward China, I delve into important specific aspects of the travelogue, including the author's emphasis on Sichuan and his depiction of Christianity in China to better understand his unique literary identity. Although scholarly attention to *San'un* has been limited, particularly

[1] 「余從森公使航清國，駐北京公館者數月，每聞客自蜀中來談其山水風土，神飛魂馳，不能自禁。遂請於公使，與津田君亮以九年五月二日治裝啓行。」Takezoe Shin'ichirō, *San'un kyōu nikki narabini shisō*. Vol. 1, p. 1, Keibundō, 1879.

in English-language academia[2], this essay draws on existing research to understand the historical context and key characteristics of *San'un*, while focusing on the unique literary identity Takezoe conveys in his writing. The analysis of *San'un* in this essay not only highlights the Takezoe's individual contributions, but also offers insight into the broader context of Sino-Japanese scholarly exchange via the literary Sinitic in the late 19th century.

Chapter 1 introduces Takezoe Shin'ichirō and *San'un kyoū nikki narabini shisō*, and the historical context in which the travelogue was written. Chapter 2 examines the literary identity of Takezoe as presented in the travelogue, and highlights Sino-Japanese scholarly exchange evident in both its main text and supplementary elements. Chapter 3 analyzes the author's description on Sichuan, which emphasizes its natural landscape, economic production, and prominent symbols including the historic gallery roads, and sites associated with the Three Kingdoms period. This analysis is conducted within the framework of Chinese travel writing traditions and theories of tourism studies. Chapter 4 investigates one of the most prominent topics of *San'un*, Takezoe's unfavorable depiction of Christianity in China, as expressed in his analyses, poetry and recount of a missionary incident, within the framework of anti-heterodox tradition and the historical context of anti-Christianity sentiment in China and Japan.

[2] Important research on *San'un* include Joshua A. Fogel's "China and the Chinese: The Travels of Takezoe Shin'ichirō" in *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862-1945* (1996), Machida Saburo's "Meiji shōki no chūgoku yūki—Takezoe Kōkō San'un kyōu nikki" in *Meiji no kangakusha tachi* (1998), Ye Yangxi's *On Japanese Travelogues about China in Chinese during the Meiji Period: Modern Sino-Japanese Cultural Exchange and Transformation of Knowledge* (2015), Hui Ke and Zhou Yong's *Japanese Diplomats' and Sinologists' Knowledge of Chongqing in Modern Times——Take The Diary and Poetry of Living in Wooden Bridges and Gorges by Takezoe Shinichiro as an Example* (2019), etc.

## Chapter 1 Takezoe Shin'ichirō's *San'un Kyōu Nikki*

Takezoe Shin'ichirō 竹添進一郎, courtesy name Kōkō, sobriquet Seisei, was a prominent *kangaku*[3] scholar and diplomat born in Higo province (now Kumamoto prefecture), Japan in 1842. Studying Confucianism under his father's influence at a young age and the tutelage of esteemed *kangaku* scholar, Kinoshita Saitan (1805-1867), he emerged as a respected *kangaku* scholar in *han* school. With the abolition of the *han* system, Takezoe's path led him to establish a private school in Nagasaki and later to serve in various government roles in the historiography (*shūshi kyoku*) and legislation bureaus (*hōsei kyoku*) in Tokyo. His diplomatic endeavors took him to Qing China in 1875 alongside envoy Mori Arinori (1847-1889), leading to his diplomatic work as secretary at the Japanese Consulate in Tianjin, and later the Japanese Embassy in Beijing. Shortly after his arrival in April of 1876, he embarked on a four-month long extensive journey across China with his compatriot, Tsuda Sei'ichi (1852-1909) and a travel guide, Hou Zhixin, which he meticulously documented by daily entry in the travelogue, *San'un kyōu nikki*[4] ("The Diary of Clouds and Rain in the Mountain Roads and Ravines") and its accompanying poetry collection. This chronicle provides a vivid and detailed description of their journey, from Beijing through Shijiazhuang and Handan, crossing the Yellow River to the ancient city of Luoyang in Henan province. He then crosses Shaanxi province along the Yellow River, finally reaching Sichuan via the historic gallery roads (J. *sandō*, Ch. *zhandao*). From there, they followed the Yangtze River, passing through the Three Gorges, and arrived in Shanghai in August. The journey lasted 111 days, covering more than 4,000 kilometers. In these four months, Takezoe encounters many hardships: he endures episodes of fever, insomnia, an encounter with bandits, and a near-death experience on treacherous waters. During his time in China, Takezoe established

[3] *Kangaku* 漢学: Premodern Sinology in Japan, encompasses a variety of disciplines including the study of classical Chinese language, literature, history and philosophy, etc.
[4] Hereafter "*San'un*".

contact with many venerable Chinese scholars and officials, exchanging knowledge and opinions on literature, philosophy, and political affairs. In 1882, he was appointed as Chief of Missions to Korea (*Chōsen benri kōshi*) but resigned after his involvement in the failed Gapsin Coup (1884). In 1893, he became a *kangaku* professor at Tokyo Imperial University and was awarded the Japan Academy Prize and the Order of the Sacred Treasure (*zuihō shō*) for his analytical work, *Saden kaisen* (1904).[5]

*San'un*[6] was published in March of 1879 by Keibundō and a reprint version[7] was published in 1893. It contains a plethora of supplementary elements or paratext, including epigraphs by Itō Hirobumi and others, prologues by Viceroy Li Hongzhang, Yu Yue (1821-1907), scholar of evidential studies and Zhong Wenzheng (1818-1877), a dozen commentaries by scholars and officials including Shigeno Yasutsugu (1827-1910) and Zeng Jize (1839-1890), five epilogues by scholars including Nakamura Masanao (1832-1891) and Inoue Kowashi (1844-1895), and annotations by twenty-one contributors from Japan and China. The travelogue contains two volumes, roughly separated by the writer's entry into Sichuan in the end of volume one, and is accompanied by the author's poetry collection[8], *San'un kyoū shisō*, which contains 190 poems written along his journey. Supplementary elements by other scholars like commentary (J. *hihyō,* Ch. *pingpi*) and prologue (J. *jobun*, Ch. *xuwen*) are not only common for published works in *kanshibun* at the time, they are in fact key elements of Sino-Japanese scholarly exchange in the early Meiji period.[9] There is nothing particularly unique about the individual categories of supplementary elements in *San'un*. However, comparing to coeval texts, *San'un* stands out in terms of the extraordinary amount

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[5] Iwaki Hideo, "Kaisetsu," in *San'un kyoū nikki narabini shisō: Meiji kanshijin no shisen no tabi*, 272-274, 2000.
[6] Takezoe Shin'ichirō, *San'un kyōu nikki narabini shisō*, Keibundō, 1879.
[7] Takezoe Shin'ichirō, *San'un kyōu nikki narabini shisō*, Keibundō, 1893, https://www-moaej.shinshu-u.ac.jp/?p=574.
[8] Takezoe Shin'ichirō, *San'un kyōu shisō* in *San'un kyōu nikki narabini shisō*, Keibundō, 1879.
[9] Wang, Baoping. "Meiji zenki ni okeru chūni kanshibun no kōryū." In *Shindai chūni gakujutsu kōryū no kenkyū*, 335–47. Kyūko shoin, 1992.

of supplementary elements included, and the impressive feat of receiving coveted contributions from both Japanese and Chinese scholars.[10] The modern Japanese version[11], translated by Iwaki Hideo, includes insightful annotations and commentary but does not include the supplementary elements in the original text. The modern version also places the poems within the travelogue as opposed to after the travelogue as in the original text. I access Iwaki's version and the latest published version of *San'un*[12] in China for their insightful commentary and annotations to ensure proper understanding of the primary text.

### *The Historical Context of Japanese Travel Writing to China*

Japanese travel writing to China boasts a long and multifaceted history that dates back to the Han dynasty. In the Sui and Tang dynasties, Japan deployed regular diplomatic missions of mostly monk-students such as Saichō (767-822) and Ennin (793-864), and scholars and diplomats such as Abe no Nakamaro (698-770), whose written travel chronicles in both verse and prose compose of the first substantial body of Japanese travel writing to China.

During the Edo period, the Tokugawa shogunate severely limited and penalized unauthorized foreign travel, effectively stifling any sort of travel to China except illicit travel by commercial traders. However, following the lifting of the *sakoku* policy, Japanese commercial, cultural and military travel to China, particularly to Shanghai, began to thrive in the 1860s. [13] This period marked the resurgence of Japanese travel writing to China, beginning with the shogunate-sanctioned missions to observe commercial conditions in

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[10] Machida, Saburō. "Meiji shōki no chūgoku yūki—Takezoe Kōkō San'un kyōu nikki." In *Meiji no kangakusha* tachi, 29-50. Tokyo Kenbun shuppan, 1998.
[11] Takezoe, Seisei. *San'un kyōu nikki narabini shisō: Meiji kanshijin no shisen no tabi*. Translated by Iwaki Hideo, Heibonsha, 2000.
[12] Takezoe, Shin'ichirō. *Zhanyunxiayu riji bing shicao*. Edited by Zhou Yong and Cheng Wuyan. Chongqing chubanshe, 2018.
[13] Fogel, Joshua A. *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862-1945*. Stanford University Press, 1996, 1-69.

Shanghai, first the *Senzaimaru in 1862*, whose crew included samurai Takasugi Shinsaku (1839-1867), author of the first Japanese travel writing to China in the modern era, *Yūshin goroku* (1862), and the *Kenjunmaru* in 1864.

By 1866, with the official sanction for foreign travel reinstated, Japanese travelers were once again able to embark on journeys to China, producing a wealth of travelogues, guidebooks, diaries and journalistic reports. Shanghai was the most popular and desirable destination due to its proximity, its status as a commercial hub and a semi-colony of western powers where Japanese travelers could acquire knowledge on the West. [14]

In the modern era, the types of travelers also began to diversify in the modern era to include merchants, government and military personnel, missionaries, educators and *kangaku* scholars. Joshua Fogel notes, "So many Japanese who were able to communicate through the written medium of literary Chinese with the educated Chinese they met often reached a level of intellectual exchange closed to virtually all Westerners."[15] This fact is exemplified in Takezoe's *San'un*. Not only does the author describe conversing via the written medium (J. *hitsudan*, Ch. *bitan*, sometimes translated as "brushtalk") with Chinese scholar-officials in literary, political and social matters, the travelogue's supplementary elements, including prologues, annotations and commentary from venerable Chinese scholars, further demonstrates the depth of Sino-Japanese intellectual exchange.

Margaret Mehl has summarized that, "the leaders of the Meiji restoration of 1868 all had a *kangaku* education and their ideas were strongly influenced by it. *Kangaku* continued to play a dominant role in Japanese culture until its decline in the 1890s due to the introduction of a new national education system."[16] The high level of *kangaku* education among Japanese intellectuals is evidently in *San'un,* whose Japanese commentators include prominent

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[14] Fogel, Joshua A. "Japanese Travelers to Shanghai in the 1860s." In *Between China and Japan: The Writings of Joshua Fogel*. ProQuest Ebook Central, 2015, 276-296.
[15] Fogel, Joshua A. 13, p. 10.
[16] Mehl, Margaret. "Chinese Learning (Kangaku) in Meiji Japan (1868–1912)." *History* 85, no. 277 (2000): 48.

politicians like Itō Hirobumi, educators, and *kangaku* scholars, exchanging knowledge and opinions with Takezoe rooted in a common education in Chinese classics.

## Chapter 2 Takezoe's Literary Identity

Literary identity describes how an author positions themself in a body of text. In this unprecedented travelogue of its time, how does Takezoe, a Japanese diplomat and *kangaku* scholar, well-learned in Chinese classics yet could only communicate with his Chinese counterparts through *hitsudan* position himself? I argue that despite being a foreign diplomat far from home and the first modern Japanese person to write about his travel accounts to central and southwestern China, Takezoe highlights his sense of familiarity with Chinese historical sites, natural landscapes and scholars rather than his difference and sense of 'otherness' by portraying himself primarily as a *kangaku* scholar.

In his travelogue, Takezoe rarely mentions his home country. Ye emphasizes Takezoe's expression of homesickness and his identity as a foreign tourist in the poem, *Lodging in Jianmen Pass*[17].[18] However, there was no mention of homesickness in the travelogue on that day. Takezoe composes this poem on Jun. 25th, when on his way to Zhaohua, crosses over Niutou Mountain, visits a Guan Gong Temple and admires the natural scenery, writing "as I ascended Jian Mountain, I was so enthralled by the breathtaking scenery with every step that I did not even feel the discomfort of the bumpy carriage."[19] Evidently, his mood is quite the opposite in the travelogue to that expressed in the poem. Furthermore, homesickness is such a common theme of travel writing in the literary Sinitic tradition that one would naturally assume to encounter it in a travelogue such as *San'un*.

The most ostensible mention of his home country is a paragraph on Jun. 9th in which the Takezoe likens the woodware made by mountain folk near Dasan Pass in Shaanxi

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[17] 『宿劍門驛』Takezoe, 8, p. 18.

[18] Ye, Yangxi. *On Japanese Travelogues about China in Chinese during the Meiji Period: Modern Sino-Japanese Cultural Exchange and Transformation of Knowledge*, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (Hong Kong), Hong Kong, 2015. *ProQuest*, 49-55.

[19] 「自得劍山，步步呼奇叫快，不覺轎中傾軋之苦也。」Takezoe, 6, vol. 1, p. 32.

province to that of Hakone. He then reminisces a journey he took from Tokyo to Hakone two years ago and extolls his fortune that he and his companion, Tsuda Sei'ichi have survived their journey in China thus far, not having succumb to their poor health, increment weather like miasma, and difficult mountain paths.[20] Here, Takezoe acknowledges that he is in a foreign land with different customs, which appears to contradict his depiction of the bond and affinity he experienced with China and Chinese scholars. However, this depiction is prefaced with "now, I have traveled thousands of miles", which can be interpreted as the author primarily speaking to the arduousness of his journey—a common theme of the travelogue. Overall, this paragraph presents a rather trivial comparison between Japan and China, considering that Takezoe opines on more important matters related to the politics, economy and peoples of various regions in China without drawing a comparison to his home country.

While Takezoe omits his distinctive identity as a Japanese diplomat travelling in China, contributors to the travelogue often highlight his distinctive foreign identity—Chinese commentators frequently reference his foreign identity, often in praise of his achievements in completing a difficult journey and writing *San'un*, while Japanese commentators frequently make broad comparisons between China and Japan. The sentiment among Chinese commentators is best captured by Yu Yue's prologue, in which he writes,

"Takezoe Kōkō, having come from Japan as a government official, is not like those who have grown up here. Initially, I thought his travels were merely for leisure, sightseeing of natural landscape and sentimental diversions, but then I read his two-volume *San-un*… in which he investigates into geography, customs, political matters and economic production. These are subjects that even those born here would find difficult to articulate. Yet, Takezoe, having crossed the seas from afar, enduring hardships of travel, and the pains of writing, presents

[20] 「山中民多製木器，與我邦箱根驛所為酷相當。因思前二年，出鄉驅東京，冒雨逾箱根之險，與二三門生，相呼相扶而行。今乃涉萬里之遠，境殊俗異。而余與君亮亦皆弱多病，侵霧瘴，蹈嶝艱，其得不死，幸矣！」Takezoe, 6, vol. 1, p. 22.

these insights clearly and vividly. This was certainly no easy feat and reveals the depths of his knowledge and learning."[21]

The praise of *San'un* as not only a travelogue depicting natural scenery but also an investigation into the societal, cultural, political and economic conditions is echoed by many contributors including Zhong Wenzheng and Itō Hirobumi, etc. This was partially because travel writing was not considered the highest form of literature, in comparison to poetry or historical writing. As Li Hongyi (1831-1885) writes in his commentary, "travel writing is but a minor genre in literature, but the author's talent in state affairs and his knowledge in history and geography are already evident here."[22] By deeming *San'un* as transcending the scope of lyric travel writing, scholars are praising Takezoe's endeavor and elevating its status.

The surprise voiced by Chinese scholars like Yu Yue and Li Hongyi at Takezoe's remarkable scholarship speaks to a general lack of knowledge on Japanese scholars and their *kangaku* learning in this era. Nevertheless, in reference to historical travels and exchanges from Japan to China, Chinese scholars hail the dawn of a new era of intellectual contact facilitated by the relative expediency and ease of modern travel. After the reopening of borders and establishment of diplomatic ties in the 1860s, Japan rediscovers China, as Joshua Fogel has argued, and from the Chinese response to *San'un*, we can observe that, concurrently, Chinese intellectuals were rediscovering Japan as well.

Though Takezoe may be hesitant to draw broad comparisons between China and Japan, Japanese commentators often offer their opinions on the matter in terms of the state of worldly affairs. In his epilogue, Nakamura Masanao makes an impassioned case of Pan-

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[21] 「竹添井井以東國儒官來游中土，又非生長於斯者比。余初以為游屐經臨，不過吟風弄月，排遣旅懷耳。乃讀其所著《棧雲峽雨日記》二卷…山水則究其脈絡，風俗則言其得失，政治則考其本末，物產則察其盈虛，此雖生長於斯者，猶難言之。而井井航海遠來，乃能於飲風衣日之際，紙勞墨瘁之時，歷歷指陳，如示諸掌，豈易言哉？是足以觀其學識矣。」Yu Yue, *Prologue by Yu Yue* in 6.

[22] 「紀游，文章之小品耳，而作者經世之才，與史家方輿之學，已可窺見一班。」Li Hongyi, in 6, vol. 2, p. 32.

Asianism for Sino-Japanese unity on the grounds of racial unity to protect their sovereignty against the looming threat of Europe.[23] He envisions China taking the helm against western imperial powers instead of Japan, an unusual stance among Japanese intellectuals. Meanwhile, Inoue Kowashi forewarns the inevitable plight of the "yellow race" and laments the decline of China.[24] Both Japanese commentators apply the western racial markers of race popularized in eighteenth-century Europe, which place Chinese and Japanese under the "yellow race". Atsuko Ueda analyzes that though western racial taxonomy was transmitted to Japan before the Meiji Restoration, the most influential works appeared after, especially in Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Shōchū bankoku inchiran* (1869).[25] The commentary by Nakamura and Inoue are indicative of the prevalence of western racial taxonomy in early Meiji Japan. In contrast, there are no such mentions of race in the commentary by Takezoe or the Chinese contributors. When Chinese scholars speak on Sino-Japanese affinity, they usually reference historical scholarly exchange and a shared written language.

In the most ostensible comment on late Qing China as a whole, Takezoe likens the nation-state to an ailing cold patient mistreated by an incompetent doctor, though its spirit has not weakened and if given proper treatmet, will eventually recover.[26] China as an ailing organism was a commonly held view among coeval Japanese intellectuals. However, Takezoe does not relate this assessment of China to Japan, a key difference between his approach to that of earlier travel writers like Takasugi, who was primarily concerned that the illness of China never reaches Japan.[27] In *San'un*, Takezoe's critique on the widespread use of opium and the calamity caused by Christianity as the main problems plaguing China was met with

[23] Nakamura Masanao, Epilogue in 6, p. 5.
[24] Inoue Kowashi, Epilogue in 6, pp. 1-2.
[25] Ueda, Atsuko. "Part II. Introduction." In *Language, Nation, Race: Linguistic Reform in Meiji Japan (1868-1912)*, 1st ed., 1:83–86. University of California Press, 2021.
[26] Takezoe, *Jijo* in 6.
[27] Fogel, Joshua A. 13, p. 56.

collective agreement by both Chinese and Japanese commentators. Joshua Fogel analyzes that Takezoe holds a relatively conservative view toward reform among coeval Japanese intellectuals, due to his opposition to rapid westernization and industrialization in Japan.[28] His critique on the presence of Christianity and missionaries in China, which I analyze in Chapter 4, reflects this assessment. In *San'un*, Japanese contributors refer to China as *uiki* (禹域 Ch. *yuyu*), *shinkoku* (清國 Ch. *qingguo*), *shina*[29] (支那 Ch. *zhina*)—the first is a historical term, meaning "the land of Yu the Great"; the second refers to Qing China specifically; and the third is a foreign name for China, historically used in Japan and regained popularity in the Meiji period. As a classicist, Takezoe predictably opts to use the first two. Chinese terms for Japan are also varied, with the most common being *dongguo* (東國 "the Eastern country") and *dongying* (東瀛 J. *tōei*).

Takezoe and other Japanese contributors in *San'un* exhibit an affinity and reverence toward historical China, which often extends to contemporary China as well. Nakamura cites the historical hegemony of Chinese literature and intellectuals in Asia to argue that China should lead a pan-Asian effort against the white European race. The sentiment is also evident in *San'un*, in which Takezoe expresses a deep sense of anticipation, affection and admiration for China's natural landscape and historical sites. Commenting on the description of Takezoe's entry into Sichuan, Joshua Fogel simply puts, "the man loves his China."[30] Fogel also notes the collective view among Japanese intellectuals toward contemporary China trended increasingly negative around 1884, following the aftermath of the Sino-French War, rising tensions in Sino-Japanese relations over Korea, and the influential publication of Oka Senjin (1833-1914)'s travelogue, *Kankō kiyū* (1886), in which the author paints a much less

[28] Fogel, Joshua A. 13, pp. 71-72.
[29] *Shina* was used mostly as a neutral term and not a pejorative in the 1870's.
[30] Fogel, Joshua A. 13, p. 70.

favorable portrait of China and its people.[3132] Takezoe's favorable view of China reflects of the views of Japanese intellectuals with a *kangaku* background in the 1870's, a time when Sino-Japanese relations were relatively more amicable.

## *Sino-Japanese Scholarly Exchange*

The quote on Jun. 9th is one of the rare instances that Takezoe mentions his travel companion, who is featured less than the average commentator in the travelogue, most likely because of the difference in their education background. Part of a government-sponsored student program in Kumamoto-han, Tsuda Seiichi was chosen to study abroad in England in 1870. He then changed plans to study in the U.S., first at Rutgers College Grammar School, and then Yale University.[33] In contrast, Takezoe, from a young age, had an education in *kangaku* and Confucianism, and became an educator in the field. Their difference is spelt out in the poem, "Liu Maoxi escorted me from Shaanxi to Guangyuan, and upon parting, composed this poem as thanks", the first line of which reads, "Meeting and discussing as true friends, kindred spirits from across the world are better than hometown relatives."[34] From this line, it becomes evident that for Takezoe, a study abroad experience in science in the West is not as praiseworthy as a showing of good learning in *kangaku* studies, and Tsuda, though a compatriot, is less preferable as company than a Chinese scholar. This important difference is most likely why Takezoe chose not to feature his fellow compatriot prominently in his

[31] Fogel, Joshua A. 13, pp. 72-83.
[32] For more detailed comparisons between *San'un* and *Kankō kiyū*, see Ye, 18 and Fogel, 13.
[33] Takagi Fuji, "Reimeiki no nihonjin beikoku ryugakusei: Yokoi Saheita to Tsuda Seiichi," *Bulletin of Modern Japanese Studies* 34 (2017): 434–47.
[34] 「劉茂錫自陝西送至廣元，臨別賦以為謝
相遇論交臭味真，天涯知己勝鄉親。」Takezoe, 8, p. 16.

travelogue. His choices for contributors to the travelogue are either Japanese scholars and officials with *kangaku* learning or Chinese scholar-officials.

Comparing to his omission of his travel companion, his depiction of Chinese scholar-officials he acquainted along his journey is much more detailed and their relationship more meaningful and intimate. One such scholar-official was the county magistrate of Jiang'an, Chen Xichang, who visited Takezoe on July 4th. Takezoe praises him as a "gentleman with good demeanor", admires his father's literary achievements and political vision, and Chen Xichang's successful and popular governance of Xinfan, where "the locals petitioned him to stay as magistrate and set up leagues of red tents to bid him farewell."[35] Takezoe echoes these words of praise in the poem, *To Magistrate Chen Xichang*. The first quatrain reads,

> "In the fleeting time as a guest, I cherish every moment,
> discussing literature whenever I meet a kindred spirit.
> On this rainy day, upon reaching my gate, you washed my heart clean,
> and the southern breeze blowing into the room becomes soothing."[36]

This poem illustrates that Takezoe cherishes and delights in the opportunities to acquaint and discuss literature with Chinese scholar-officials. In addition, as with most poems, he expounds on his personal feelings during his journey absent in the travelogue. In this case, he introduces Chen Xichang and describes his visit without mentioning himself in the travelogue, while in the poem, expresses his joy and appreciation upon receiving Chen Xichang's visit.

Takezoe writes of their heartfelt farewell on July 22nd:

"Conveniently, there was a large boat carrying salt headed for Yichang, and Chen Xichang arranged for me to board it. We bid farewell, and he wished me "a safe journey", a common phrase bidding farewell in his country. Alas! Since I entered Sichuan, I have become close friends with Xichang, sharing a deep bond and relying on him without reservation. He has made it his obligations to accompany me as the 'host of the western way'. Now, as we

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[35] Takezoe, 6, vol. 2, pp. 3-4.
[36] 「贈陳錫鬯明府
客里光陰亦惜分，每逢知己便論文。
到門今雨心如洗，入室南風人欲薰。」Takezoe, 8, p. 22.

abruptly part ways, it truly feels like 'Separation already feels like being in different worlds, if only there was a way to exchange letters.'[37] These are common words of farewell, but feeling it from the heart, I remained sorrowful for a long time."[38]

Here Takezoe quotes a well-known line from a historical Sino-Japanese scholarly exchange between Wang Wei and Abe no Nakamaro[39]. There is a subtle difference in actual circumstance given that Abe no Nakamaro was returning home to Japan, whereas Takezoe continued his journey and was not due to return home. We can interpret Takezoe's reference as a sentimental one that speaks to his feelings of joy and appreciation in such exchanges between Chinese and Japanese scholars and his sorrow in their farewell. It is also indicative of Takezoe's literary identity and *kangaku* learning that he references Wang Wei instead of Abe no Nakamaro, whose *Composed upon Receiving Orders to Return to My Country* 『銜命還國作』,which writes about the same farewell and sentiment, would have been an obvious alternative.

Comparing the two pairs, Takezoe is much more similar to Abe no Nakamaro, both being guests from Japan. There are two likely factors for Takezoe's choice of reference—first, Takezoe is likely to hold a higher regard for Chinese poetry than Japanese *kanshi*, especially those by venerable Tang poets, a common view among scholars in the invariably Sino-centric field of *kangaku*; second, Takezoe's blurred national identity throughout the travelogue likely dissuades him from making an ostensible reference to his Japanese identity such as quoting the most well-known Japanese scholar who travelled to China. In reference to historical travels from Japan to China like Abe no Nakamaro's, commentators in *San'un* also

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[37] The final lines of a farewell poem, *Sending Secretary Abe no Nakamaro Home to Japan* 送秘書晁監還日本國 by Tang poet, Wang Wei (699-759)

[38] 「適有一大船裝載鹽趨宜昌者，錫鬯勸余附載。乃告別錫鬯，相揖而祝曰"一路平安"，蓋是邦送行常語也。嗟！余自入蜀，即納交於錫鬯，肝膽相投，事輒咨詢，依以為西道主人，錫鬯亦自任不辭。今乃遽然分袂，真所謂"別離已異域，音信若為通"者。口敘常語，而誠發自中，黯然久之。」Takezoe, 6, vol. 2, p. 10.

[39] Abe no Nakamaro (698-770): Scholar, poet and *kentōshi* to Tang China, passed the Chinese civil examination and befriended many Chinese poets including Li Bai, Wang Wei, and Chu Guangxi.

highlight the expediency and relative ease of modern-day travel, which would herald in a new era of Sino-Japanese scholarly exchange. Interestingly, Takezoe depicts his travels as anything but easy, as I will analyze why later.

Sino-Japanese scholarly exchange is also apparent in the rich supplementary elements, or paratext of *San'un*. Paratext, coined by Genette, describes the various forms of ancillary material that accompany the main body of a text.[40] In *San'un*, paratext includes epigraphs, commentary, prologues, and epilogues from Chinese and Japanese contributors. In the original 1879 version of *San'un*, there is no distinction between Chinese and Japanese contributions in any category of its paratext, thereby presenting all of its contributors as one intellectual community unified by a common language and similar education background. However, In the reprint version in 1896, the title page lists *San'un* contributors by nationality, which perhaps indicates a growing national consciousness and an emphasis on national identity in Japan over the decades.

*San'un*'s paratext serves several key purposes—it concurs with the observations and opinions expressed in *San'un*, thereby strengthening Takezoe's arguments and validating his experience; it provides context and additional information to help the audience better understand *San'un*, especially on historical and intertextual references; it offers praise for the main text, highlighting the literary and analytical value of *San'un*. Instances of discord or criticism are exceptionally rare in *San'un*'s paratext. The only notable criticism comes from Chinese scholars, who comment on grammatical and tonal faults in Takezoe's poems. However, even these critiques are politely suggested and softened with praise to the content of Takezoe's poems, underscoring the overwhelming positive reception of *San'un*.

[40] Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Translated by Janet E. Lewin, Cambridge University Press, 1997, 1-3.

How was Takezoe able to acquaint so many venerable Chinese scholars and officials? The answer lies in his unique identity as a diplomat and a kangaku scholar, which provided him two of the most important avenues to acquaint like-minded intellectuals. The two most valuable Chinese contributions to *San'un* by Viceroy Li Hongzhang and Yu Yue offer a glimpse into the story of their exchange. Takezoe acquainted Viceroy Li Hongzhang in 1877 after representing Japan to provide grain relief for the Northern Chinese Famine (丁戊奇荒, 1876-1879). The Viceroy's prologue in *San'un* is a return of favor and expression of gratitude. He praises Takezoe for his vast and profound knowledge.[41] The two men would meet again under more contentious circumstances, during Sino-Japanese negotiations on Ryukyu Disposition (J. *Buntō mondai*, Ch. *Liuqiu an*) in 1879.[42] It seems that, for Takezoe, asking a soon-to-be adversary on the diplomatic stage this personal favor was not a serious conflict of interest. Another example of a *San'un* contributor acquainted through Takezoe's role as a diplomat is Marquis Zeng Jize, Chinese diplomatic minister to Britain, France and Russia, who provided commentary after receiving a manuscript of *San'un* from one Ikeda Matsuhira while passing through Tianjin in 1878.[43]

Takezoe first tried to visit Yu Yue at the Gujing Institute in Hangzhou, where the scholar served as a lecturer, but he was not there. Takezoe then tried a second time at Yu Yue's residence, Chunzai Tang in Suzhou, where the scholar agreed to provide a prologue and annotation, marking the beginning of a lifelong friendship between the two scholars via poetic and letter exchange. Their first meeting is documented in a poetic exchange between

[41] Li Hongzhang, Prologue by Li Hongzhang in 6.
[42] Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR), Reference Code: B15100715200, *Ryūkyū sonan*, accessed August 1, 2024. Available at: https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/acv/contents/pub/pdf/B15/B15100715200.b6_0001.6-0012.00000006.pdf
[43] Zeng Jize, Commentary in 6, Vol. 2, p. 35.

the two men in Takezoe's *Kōso shisō* 『杭蘇詩草』(1879). In his prologue, Yu Yue describes Takezoe as a spirited and sociable man.[44]

In *San'un*, not only does Takezoe express the historical affinity between Japan and China in language, literature and intellectual thought, but Chinese contributors do so as well. The Chinese impressions of Japan are likely strongly influenced by the exchanges with Takezoe, the details of which, though not central to *San'un*, are recorded in other texts. In Yu Yue's record of their brushtalk exchange, he asked Takezoe about the state affairs in Japan, who responded that Confucian teaching has been in decline since the Meiji Restoration and western learning has been the dominant means of the gentry.[45] Takezoe's depiction of Japan is indicative of his educational background as a *kangaku* and Confucian scholar and his aversion to western learning.

Unlike the Viceroy, Yu Yue was ousted from government decades ago, and earned his reputation as a scholar and lecturer, and so his friendship with Takezoe was founded purely on intellectual pursuits. Takezoe also directly contributed to Yu Yue's anthology of Japanese *kanshi*, *A Selection of Poems from Japan* (J. *Toei shisen*, Ch. *Dongying shixuan*) by providing relevant texts and introducing the scholar to other Japanese intellectuals.[46] Their exchange would last a lifetime, with Yu Yue providing the prologue for *Saden kaisen* almost three decades after doing the same for *San'un*. These exchanges between Takezoe and Chinese scholars and officials demonstrate the extraordinary lengths that he went through to build contact with like-minded intellectuals and earn contributions for his travelogue, which ultimately played an important role in elevating *San'un*'s status as a literary and analytical text among scholars.

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[44] Yu Yue, Prologue by Yu Yue in 6.
[45] Yu Yue, *Chunzaitang suibi*, vol. 7, 1899, 3-4.
[46] Cao Shengzhi. *Yu Yue yu Dongying Shixuan de jihui* (Preface to Yu Yue and the Endeavor of a Selection of Poems from Japan), in *Dongying Shixuan*, (Beijing: *Zhonghua shuju*, 2016), pp. 1-4.

Takezoe's national identity often becomes blurred and his expression of personal opinions on historic and contemporary matters assumes a voice indistinguishable from a Chinese scholar-official. On his visit to E'wang Temple in Tangyin county, Henan, the hometown of Song general, Yue Fei, he opines that contrary to common belief, it is Emperor Gaozong of Song who murdered Yue Fei instead of the treasonous minister Qin Hui, arguing that "if Emperor Gaozong had not harbored the intention to kill Yue Fei, then even a hundred Qin Hui's could not have succeeded in his treachery."[47] Yue Fei was a patriotic general during the Southern Song dynasty who led forces against the Jurchen Jin dynasty and posthumously revered as a paragon of loyalty and patriotism, while Qin Hui is commonly regarded as a treacherous minister and primary culprit of the persecution and execution of Yue Fei and later became synonymous with treachery and disloyalty. By offering his perspective on an important historical tale of Chinese patriotism, Takezoe assumes the voice of a Chinese scholar and offers his opinion on the ideals of a ruler-minister relationship. The E'Wang Temple, which contains a shrine to Yue Fei and backward statues of Qin Hui and his wife, becomes a place for Takezoe to evoke his *kangaku* and Confucian learnings and express his opinions. As Xiaofei Tian summarizes, in the Chinese literary tradition, travel is never entirely an experience of space alone, but also of time.[48] Takezoe, with a wealth of historical knowledge, is no exception. In his poems, Takezoe often reiterates these opinions by roleplaying as historical figures and re-enacting their historical events. In the first couplet of the accompanying poem, *E'Wang Temple*, Takezoe speaks in the voice of Yue Fei, expressing his ambitions for conquest and questioning the untimely dispatchment of troops; in the third couplet, Takezoe questions the role of Qin Hui in fabricating charges against Yue Fei and comments on the heartlessness of Emeperor Gaozong.[49] In other instances, Takezoe even

[47] Takezoe, 6, vol. 1, p. 8.
[48] Tian, Xiaofei. Chinese Travel Writing. In: The Cambridge History of Travel Writing. Cambridge University Press; 2019. p. 176.
[49] Takezoe, 8, p. 5.

roleplays in female figures, speaking in the first-person as Empress Dowager Du (902-961) in *The Hometown of Empress Dowager Du*[50]. These poems, inspired by the author's visits to historical sites, are often named after the sites themselves. In these instances, Takezoe exceeds the role of a mere foreign sightseer, and uses historical sites as a medium to access, re-enact and reflect on historical events and figures using his wealth of knowledge in *kangaku*, in the mode of Chinese lyric travel writing.

[50] 『杜太后故里』Takezoe, 8, p. 2.

## Chapter 3 Sichuan as Focus

Despite visiting various regions across China, Takezoe gives Sichuan an unrivaled importance in the travelogue. In numerical terms, Qu has summarized that Takezoe spent almost one month in the Sichuan region, ten days of which in the city of Chongqing alone, the most of any region and city, and thirty-seven of Takezoe's poems are written in Sichuan, the most of any region as well.[51]

In literary terms, the travelogue's title, *San'un kyōu nikki*, is a reference to Sichuan—*san* 桟 refers to the historic gallery roads[52] built in Sichuan's mountainous regions, while *kyō* 峡 refers to the three gorges, located in Sichuan and Hubei province. Takezoe reveals the importance of Sichuan early on in his prologue, where he directly attributes the purpose of his four-month journey to seeing the landscape and customs of Sichuan, foreshadowing his exploration with suspense. The reader is left wondering—will Sichuan live up to Takezoe's expectations?

Upon his first sight of Chengdu, Takezoe could no longer contain his excitement. On Jul. 1st, he writes,

"We crossed the Mianyang River and arrived at Deyang County. From here, extending for a thousand miles to the southwest, the land is fertile and the waters are deep—it is truly Tianfu[53] ("heavenly prefecture")! To the northeast, the area is surrounded by a range of towering mountains leaning against each other; to the northwest, only a faint green line is visible in the distant sky."[54]

The sight confirms Takezoe's excitement in visiting Sichuan and his preconception of a fertile region with a rich landscape of mountains and waters.

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[51] Qu, Dengrui. "The Study of San'un Kyōu Shisō Written by Takezoe Shinichirō", 2020, Beijing Foreign Studies University, MA thesis, pp. 5-15.

[52] Also known as Shu road 蜀道 (Ch. *Shu dao*, J. *Shokudō*)

[53] Tianfu 天府: an epithet of Sichuan, especially Chengdu.

[54] 「渡綿陽河，抵德陽縣。自此西南廣袤千里，土厚水深，真天府也！東北環以群山，巍峨相倚；西北則一髮遙翠浮於天際而已。」Takezoe, 6, Vol. 2, p. 34.

In the previous chapter, I establish that instead of using Japan as reference, Takezoe relies on his wealth of knowledge in Chinese historical texts to describe and frame his experience. His travelogue draws extensively on both the lyrical and historiographical modes of travel writing in Chinese literary tradition.[55] Previous research has focused on Takezoe's reliance on the two preeminent Song dynasty travelogues to Sichuan, Lu You's *Rushu Ji* (1170), and Fan Chengda's *Wuchuan Lu* (1177). However, Takezoe also draws knowledge from historiographical travel accounts. Upon entering Sichuan, he quotes from Cai Fangbing's (1626-1709) *Guangyu ji* (1686), a comprehensive geographical text on various regions, and throughout *San'un*, he references Li Daoyuan's (466-527) *Shuijing zhu*, a comprehensive overview of waterways and canals in China.

Commentators frequently compare *San'un* with the Song travelogues, showing broad consensus that these two texts represent the ideal models for lyric travelogues to Sichuan. On the other hand, they also liken *San'un* to historiographical travel accounts. Fujino Kainan (1826-1888) writes,

"There have been many people in history who have recorded their travels, but most only write about the scenic spots in one area, or at most one region or province. The two travelogues by Fan Zhongda and Lu You are among the best, but they only describe the southwestern corner (of China) …Oh! During Takezoe's travels, his attention to detail is so meticulous. Can this be regarded merely as a travelogue? It should be viewed as a "*Fūdoki*[56] of China". As for his writing style, which flows swiftly yet appropriately, though Fan and Lu may have it, but no Japanese author has achieved so. I am in deep admiration! Truly in deep admiration!"[57]

In praise of *San'un*, Chinese and Japanese scholars alike assert that Takezoe's travelogue matches and even exceeds the two preeminent texts in extensiveness of travel, literary value and detail of investigation. This high regard demonstrates that *San'un* was well-

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[55] It is more pertinent to analyze *San'un* under Chinese and *kanshibun* literary tradition than the *wabun* literary tradition. There are no ostensible references to *wabun* texts in *San'un* by Takezoe or its contributors.

[56] *Fūdoki* (風土記, Ch. fengtu ji): A gazetteer on provincial culture, geography and customs that exist in both Japanese and Chinese literary tradition.

[57] 「古人記游者多矣，大抵皆止一方名山勝地，若一州一省而已。范、陸二《記》，最其尤者，然亦唯記西南一隅耳…嗟！漸卿一游涉之際，用意之精密如是，是豈徒遊記視之而可乎？直以為"支那風土記"看之而可也。至其文之馳驟得適度，則範、陸或有之，邦人所未曾有也。敬服！敬服！」Fujino Kainan, 6, vol. 2, p. 33.

received by Chinese and Japanese scholars. *Fūdoki or Fengtu Ji* is representative of historiographical travel writing in Chinese literary tradition. The historiography writer observes human behavior in society within a framework of Confucian moral judgment, and writes in an omniscient, third person voice and a terse, unembellished style of prose. On the other hand, the lyric travel writer assumed the dual role of historian and poet, writing in an autobiographical sense to express their personal feelings and sensual perception. Historiography dominated early Chinese travel writing until the popularization of lyric travel accounts (Ch. *youji*) in forms of *shi* poetry and travelogues during the Tang dynasty.[58] Though *San'un* is written primarily as a lyric travel account, Takezoe often assumes the role of the historiographer, prompting contributors like Fujino Kainan to claim that *San'un* should be read as a geographical text. Such comments are seen as praise for Takezoe's knowledge, given the high status of historiography in prose writing.

Despite using the Song travelogues as guides to his journey in Sichuan, Takezoe notes the differences from his own experience and is not afraid to challenge and refute his predecessors. During his visit to Huangniu Gorge, he writes,

"'Fan and Lu both wrote in their accounts, on the back of the Huangling Temple, on top of the steep cliff of the large hilltop, there are yellow rocks shaped like an ox. There is another black rock, like a person dragging the ox.' I peered at it but did not see it. I asked the oarsman and he answered he did not know. Have these mountain rocks changed shape over the course of time?"[59]

From this account, we can discern that although the travelogues function as guides, Takezoe realizes that he could not replicate their experiences in some instances due to the passage of time. When speaking of Sichuan's climate, Takezoe openly and repeatedly refutes his predecessors' claims that Sichuan is not affected by plum rain (梅雨 J. *tsuyu*, Ch. *meiyu*). In Chongqing, Takezoe verifies that miasma has mostly lessened from the time of Fan

[58] Strassberg, Richard. *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*, 9–12.
[59] 「范、陸二《記》皆雲："廟背大峰峻壁之上，有黃石如牛。又有一黑石，如人牽之。"注視之，無見。問之舟人，亦以不知答。豈山石亦有古今之變邪？」Takezoe, 6, vol. 2, p. 18.

Chengda's account. He was acutely aware that although previous travel accounts serve as important guides to his Sichuan journey, they cannot be relied on in every aspect.

After some investigation, Takezoe refutes the preconception of Sichuan as a fertile and resource-abundant region. He observes that despite its abundant resources, the yield and types of production have varied over time. Gold and silver production have halted since the start of the Tongzhi era (1856-1875). The historically abundant tea production gave way to rice due to profitability. Silk production is far inferior to that in Jiangnan[60] in both quality and quantity. Coal is reserved for the wealthy, and timber is a rarity due to transportation costs, though medicinal products are a profitable export to other provinces.[61] Abundance also varies by region within Sichuan:

"In general, the land in Sichuan is fertile and productive, with Guangyuan, Zhaohua, Zitong, and Jianzhou[62] being less prosperous. Mianzhou to the provincial capital (Chengdu)[63] is among the most fertile; the provincial capital to Jianzhou and Ziyang[64] is moderately fertile; from Zizhou to Neijiang, through Longchang, and Rongchang[65], the land is highly fertile again; while Yongchuan and Bishan[66] are moderately fertile."[67]

In the identity of a historiographer, Takezoe provides a detailed analysis of Sichuan's economic history and then-current economic production. Sichuan, historically known for its self-sufficiency, suffered severe depopulation and destruction during the rebellion of Wu Sangui against the early Qing dynasty (1673-1681). The region eventually recovered, primarily through the cultivation of arable land, and became the granary of Qing China, though it remained reliant on the more prosperous southeastern provinces. This relationship

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[60] Jiangnan 江南: refers to regions immediately south of the Yangtze River, including parts of Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi province.
[61] Takezoe, 6, vol. 2, p. 2-3.
[62] Cities and counties in northern Sichuan
[63] Region in central Sichuan
[64] Regions southeast of Chengdu
[65] Located in southeastern Sichuan
[66] Districts in the city of Chongqing
[67] 「大抵蜀地皆肥美，而廣元、昭化、梓潼、劍州未免屬下等；綿州抵省城皆上上；省城至簡州、資陽為中；資州至內江、隆、榮又為上上；而永川、壁山則中矣。」Takezoe in 6, vol. 2, pp. 2-3.

completely reversed during the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), when southeastern provinces suffered the most, and Sichuan's neighboring provinces, Yunnan, Guizhou and Gansu, historically poor regions, grew even poorer during Miao Rebellion (1854-1873). As a result, these regions turned to Sichuan for economic relief and subsidies. Although Sichuan was relatively unscathed by these rebellions, its economy became strained, mirroring the broader economic challenges of Qing China.[68] Takezoe's account captures parts of this nuanced economic situation in Sichuan with keen insight.

In his commentary, Shigeno Yasutsugu likens Sichuan to Kōshū (now Yamanashi prefecture) in Japan in terms of size and abundance in resources.[69] As is consistent with his investigation throughout *San'un*, Takezoe refrains from making comparisons to Japan, instead he references other regions in China (such as Jiangnan when comparing silk production) and previous time periods (such as Sichuan's tea production up until the Ming dynasty).

In Sichuan, Takezoe's description of the natural landscape often veers into the realms of the fantastical and supernatural, especially in poetry, where he allows himself more creative freedom. Describing the twelve peaks of Wu Gorge, he writes,

> "The flying phoenix dances with vibrant motion,
> the ascending dragon leaps with shimmering scale.
> They are as lofty as sages, free from worldly concerns;
> as clean as a beauty, fresh out of the bath."[70]

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[68] Ho Hon-wai, "The Changes of Szechuan's Financial Status in the Last Sixty Years of the Ch'ing Dynasty," *New Asia Journal*, no. 14 (1984): 199–208.

[69] 「成齋曰：蜀中蓋我甲州之大者，其土產饒富亦略相似。」Shigeno, Yasutsugu. Ibid., 1.

[70] 「飛鳳翩翩舞態濃，登龍躍躍鱗甲墜。
矯如高士脫塵俗，濯如美人新出浴。」Takezoe in 8, p. 28.

Takezoe's poem relies heavily on wordplay and mythology. The flying phoenix and ascending dragon are the names of two of the twelve peaks of Wu Gorge, while the beauty refers to Yao Ji, a mythological goddess often depicted as a young woman, said to be reincarnated as one of the peaks, Shen'nü Peak. Takezoe's references to the supernatural and fantastical elements draw upon existing discourse about Wu Gorge, including its associated texts and mythology. In poetry and prose, Song travelers detail the beauty of the twelve peaks and the misty, rainy climate in Wu Gorge, invariably linked to the myth of Yao Ji.[71] The invocation of supernatural and fantastical elements adds to the allure of his travel account.

Takezoe details the most well-known symbols of Sichuan, including its gallery roads and its history as the Shu Han kingdom (221-263) during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280). The gallery roads and the overall path across Sichuan (J. Shokudō, Ch. Shudao) are extremely difficult to traverse, a fact well-documented in poems, travelogues, and geographical texts. Takezoe uses his knowledge of preeminent *kangaku* texts to guide his journey and analyze his observations, though he sometimes finds discrepancy and disagrees with them. At the Longmen Pavilion, Takezoe details his observations, then verifies his findings with those of his predecessors, "it has been recorded that 'the stone walls stand opposing each other, with hollow cavities carved out of the rock, and wooden planks built above them. Compared to other places, it is extremely dangerous.' Du Fu also said, 'The path is dangerous, and the stones are slippery.'"[72] The first reference is a quote from imperial geographical text, *Fangyu shenglan* (1239) by Southern Song scholar, Zhu Mu (?-1255); the second refers to the poem, *Longmen Pavilion*[73] (759) by Tang poet, Du Fu (712-770), At this

[71] Fang, shiyong. Wenxue dilixue shiyuxia de songdai kuizhou shige yanjiu. China Southwestern University, 40-43.
[72] 「記之者曰："石壁門立，虛鑿石竅，架木其上，比他處極險。"杜少陵亦雲"途危石滑"。」Takezoe in 6, vol. 1, pp. 29-30.
[73] 「危途中縈盤，仰望垂線縷。滑石欹誰鑿，浮樑嫋相拄。」

single site, Takezoe draws upon knowledge from across dynasties and genres in his *kangaku* studies to verify his travel experience.

On the other hand, Takezoe does not take his predecessors' words for granted. He writes in his poetry, "Although the roads to Shu are high, there are many flat paths; lying in the carriage, peaceful and steady, I sleep undisturbed."[74] Takezoe presents a drastically different view from the common conception of the Shu road as treacherous. The difference is clear when compared to the view of Tang poet Li Bai, who famously declared, "the road to Shu is harder than ascending the clear sky!"[75] Simply put, Takezoe is his own man. *San'un* certainly draws on knowledge and the literary tradition of its predecessors, but it should not be read as a derivative work.

Takezoe's initial expression of a safe and smooth journey through Sichuan may have been premature. Later in his travels, he details a brush with death at Renzhaweng, in an instance that exemplifies the true perils of the Shu road. His boat was tossed about by waves, the oars broken, and almost subsumed by a whirlpool. Takezoe reflects on this near-death experience in his poetry. Unlike his crew members who cries out for Bodhisattva and the river God for help, Takezoe professes that he holds no connection to Buddhism or Chinese folk religion; for him, only Confucius is his true teacher.[76] Renzhaweng is said to be the most dangerous spot in Qutang Gorge. In this precarious location, his declaration of allegiance speaks volume about his personal Confucian beliefs and virtues.

Sichuan has long been associated with its history as Shu Han during the Three Kingdom period. Thus, it is not surprising that many of the sites Takezoe visits in Sichuan are

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[74] 「蜀道雖高多坦路，秉輿安穩不妨眠。」Takezoe in 8, p. 13.
[75] 「蜀道之難，難於上青天！」
[76] 「忽墮渦中勢不測，舟人相看慘無色。握糈投水禱江神，合掌瞑目念菩薩。菩薩於我無宿緣，江神與人亦漠然。獨有周孔真吾師，為我嘗說涉大川。」Ibid., 29.

from this period. These sites include tombs of Shu Kingdom figures, places of worship, such as temples and shrines honoring Pang Tong (179-214), and Zhuge Liang (181-234), and heritage sites linked to historical events. Takezoe reveres Zhuge Liang, the consummate statesman and strategist who embodies the ideals of loyalty, wisdom and benevolence. What better place to reflect on the achievements of this idolized figure than on the grounds of the former Shu Kingdom? In Mimou Town just outside of Chengdu, Takezoe visits the famous ruins, Bazhen Tu, said to be where Zhuge Liang conducted the Eight Trigams Formation. He ponders, "could it have been a site where military exercises were conducted in the past?"[77] In his poem, the answer to that question matters little: "Oh, the Eight Trigams Formation, whose traces endured a thousand autumns… I face the sorrowful wind, my chest filled with boiling hot blood. "[78] His poem on the subject praises the strategist's wisdom with great excitement, like many poets before him, including Du Fu and Su Shi. Takezoe reenacts and contemplates the history of Shu Kingdom and its figures during his visits to relevant historical sites. The authenticity of his experience is judged not by the actual sites but by the literary production they inspire. In another poem, inspired by a visit to the tomb of Zhuge Liang, Takezoe writes about the famous samurai Kusunoki Masahige (1294-1336), likening the two for their exemplary loyalty, in what seems to be another tangential reference to his homeland.

By the minimal characteristics of the conventional social practice of "tourism" outlined by Urry and Larsen[79], Takezoe can be described as a tourist. His journey is a leisure activity situated outside the normal places of residence and work, which is true given that Takezoe does not journey under official diplomatic guises. There is great anticipation and pleasure derived from the tourist gazing upon his chosen sites. The audience learns about

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[77] 「豈其平昔講武場乎？」Takezoe, 6, vol. 2, p. 35.

[78] 「嗟嗟八陣圖，千秋跡不滅…我來對悲風，滿腔沸熱血。」Takezoe, 8, p. 21.

[79] Urry, John, and Jonas Larsen. "Theories." In *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 4-5, Theory, Culture & Society. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2011.

Takezoe's sense of anticipation as early as his prologue. His gaze is influenced by existing discourses of travel and tourism, which in Takezoe's case, comprise of *kangaku* texts including poetry, preeminent travelogues by Fan and Lu, and geographical texts such as *Guangyu Ji* and *Fangyu shenglan*.

"The tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself, an instance of a cultural practice."[80] Indeed, we can perceive that Takezoe takes an interest in observing minute details, such as the shapes of rocks at Huangniu Gorge, though he does not take these details as a sign of anything, and his tourism is more of an intellectual practice than anything else. In this sense, Takezoe is unlike the ordinary tourist. Of course, there are instances when he takes his observation as a sign of itself, such as declaring "this is truly Chengdu" upon his first sight. However, for most parts of *San'un*, as a historiographer, Takezoe recounts his observations matter-of-factly, and in poetry, he is engaged in site-based historical role-playing, sentimental expression and social commentary.

Furthermore, unlike the modern tourist, Takezoe does not present himself as someone who desperately seeks authenticity. In sites like the Bazhen Tu, the authenticity of the site itself is only a matter of curiosity. For Takezoe, authenticity lies within precedent literary texts. In the historiographic mode, he reports on both trivial and complex matters with the same impartial tone. In lyrical mode, he openly challenges the two most important travelogues in the discourse of Sichuan travel, as well as poets like Li Bai in their experience of Sichuan. At Huangniu Gorge and other instances where he does not locate a specific scenery mentioned in his guide, Takezoe does not express disappointment. If he were a tourist in Urry's sense, one would expect him to show disappointment when his experiences

[80] Culler, Jonathan. "Semiotics of Tourism." *The American Journal of Semiotics* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 1981): 127.

fail to meet his expectations of authenticity. Therefore, though Takezoe fits the minimal definition of a modern tourist, it is more fitting to describe his travel experience and literary identity as exhibited in *San'un* in the framework of Chinese literary tradition as both a lyrical and historiographical travel writer.

## Chapter 4 Christianity as Foe

Catholic Church (J. *Tenshudō*)

Golden and resplendent, shining brightly under the sun,
This is the westerners' Catholic church.
Not only do they erect crosses by the coasts,
half of the Central Plains have become places for the western religion.
They claim their religion is profound and vast,
unlike the empty doctrines of Buddha and Dao.
They even distribute goods and bribe with heavy profits,
tactfully luring the ignorant masses.
Who will see through with piercing eyes,
To expose the demonic heart under the guise of Buddha?
Mencius in decline and Han Yu passed away,
The world is in decline, morals weaker than a thread.[81]

In *San'un*, Takezoe identifies Christianity and opium as the two most significant challenges facing contemporary China, with the former receiving more frequent and detailed attention. This focus is evident in his multiple poems dedicated to the subject, including the only poetic exchange in *San'un* between Takezoe and another author, namely Gao Xinkui (1835-1883). By comparison, though the author provides a thorough analysis on the economic and health costs of opium use while in Henan province, he does not compose any poems on the subject.

Takezoe's poem is reminiscent of Yao Xie's (1805-1864) poem, *Forty Verses on the Catholic Church*[82] (1848). Both poems comment on the widespread influence of Christianity across China. However, while Yao Xie demonstrates a deep understanding of the Christian doctrine and figures like Jesus, the Twelve Apostles, and the Virgin Mary, Takezoe's knowledge of Christianity appears less specific. Throughout *San'un*, Takezoe does not delve into the specific doctrines of Christianity; instead, he focuses on portraying the religion, its

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[81] 「天主堂
金碧耀日高煌煌，謂是西人天主堂。不獨邊海架十字，中原半為西教場。自稱西教窮深浩，不比空疏佛與老。更散貨賄啖重利，籠絡蚩氓一何巧。誰將爛爛岩下電，照破魔心裝佛面。孟軻不作韓愈逝，世道之微微於線。」Takezoe in 8, p. 3.

[82] 《天主堂四十韻》 in Yao Xie, *Fuzhuang shiwen*, Vol. 10, 1848, 15-17.

foreign missionaries and followers as deceptive, corrupt, self-assuming, and dangerous. In the poem, Takezoe's reference to the Buddha should be interpreted as a literary device, as it is often used in antithesis to supernatural evil and is therefore not contradictory to Takezoe's proclamation of his personal beliefs at Renzhaweng.

In his response, Gao Xinkui also alludes to the pervasiveness and dangers of Christianity but relies more on historical references to Chinese resistance against foreign powers, such as the Xiongnu and the Jurchen dynasty. Gao's response also contains a line that highlights the affinity between Japan and China in intellectual thought[83], reflecting the sense of camaraderie and intellectual kinship among scholars in *San'un*. Both poems end in a similar note of resignation and concern for the state of the world. As the only poetic exchange in *San'un*, the pair of poem underscores the importance ascribed to the topic of Christianity in China in the travelogue.

In his annotation, Gao Xinkui explains that Takezoe's indignation from a sense of loyalty inspires him to respond in kind.[84] This palpable sense of loyalty to China speaks to the flexibility of Takezoe's national identity. As I establish in previous chapters, Takezoe does not ostensibly position himself as a Japanese, foreign traveler in *San'un*, and yet his affinity and affection toward China is apparent throughout the travelogue, such that Gao Xinkui interprets the sentiment in this poem as a sense of loyalty. Indeed, Takezoe describes the two plights of China exclusively within its own historical context. The author does not mention Japan once when commenting on opium or Christianity. This contrasts with the approach of Japanese commentators, who invariably view China's struggles as tales of caution for Japan. Kawada Ōkō, commenting on Takezoe's depiction of Christian missionaries, remarks, "I see the calamity caused by Christianity clearly. Lately, missionaries

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[83]「東極三山日出處，聲教舊與吾華同。」Ibid.

[84]「陶堂高心夔曰：忠憤之懷、精識之論、關係世道、人心不淺、使我起敬、是以繼聲。」 Gao, Xinkui in 8, p. 3.

have come to our country. Upon reading this (Takezoe's depiction), I could not help but feel a chill."[85] Similarly, Kinoshita Bairi (1823-1897) adds, "the wound of our neighbor is our medicine. Those in power should write this and place it on their desks."[86] The Japanese commentators respond in a similar vein to Takezoe's depiction of widespread opium use in China, expressing grave concern for such a problem to arise in Japan.

Takezoe's travel experience allows him to capture these major societal issues of late Qing China. The treaties of Nanjing and Tianjin that followed the first and second Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1856-1860) granted western powers and their missionary societies the rights to travel, preach, construct churches and protection from religious prosecution. As a result, Christian missionary activities increased significantly, as did the number of converts. Anti-Christian and anti-foreign sentiment were widespread among the government, the gentry and the general populace. Despite the efforts of the Zongli yamen ("the Office of General Affairs"), it was up to local officials to enforce these new laws. However, most were unwilling or unable to suppress anti-Christian sentiment. Tensions between Christians and non-Christians often resulted in violence and destruction of property. [87]

Takezoe uses the term, *yōkyō* (祆教 Ch. *yaojiao*) to refer to Christianity. It translates to "heterodoxy" or the "demonic religion" and contains pejorative connotations. The singular character, *yō* 祆[88] was used to denote Christianity, to form the compounds, *yōzoku* (祆俗 Christian practices or customs, Ch. *yaosu*), and *yōka* (祆禍 the Christian calamity in China,

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[85] 「甕江曰：寓祆教之變歷歷。
又曰：近日傳教師入我邦,
讀至此不覺不寒而慄。」Kawada, Ōkō in 6, vol. 2, p. 9.

[86] 「梅里曰：隣舍之傷殘乃我之藥，當路者宜寫一通輿之几上。」Kinoshita, Bairi. Ibid.

[87] Cohen, Paul A. "China, Christianity, and the Foreign Powers in 1860." *China and Christianity*, vol. 11, 63-76, Harvard University Press, 2013.

[88] 祆: a variant character of 妖. Not to be confused with 祆教 (J. *kenkyō*, Ch. *xianjiao*), which refers to Zoroastrianism.

Ch. *yaohuo*). In rare instances, the author opts for more neutral terms, such as *tenshudō* (天主堂 Ch. *tianzhutang*) for Catholic churches or cathedrals. As for such negative terminology for Christianity, there is ample precedence in Chinese and Japanese history. Cohen analyzes that such anti-heterodox thought in China predates the introduction of Christianity and were used in various contexts to stigmatize divergent beliefs and practices, most notably by Confucians to attack Buddhist teachings. The most widely publicized anti-heterodox document in Chinese history was *Shengyu guangxun* (1724), an amplified text of Emperor Kangxi's sixteen maxims in *Shengyu* ("the Sacred Edict"), in which Catholicism is singled out among the list of heterodoxies as a harmful practice. In Japan, such anti-heterodox thought, discourse and language against Christianity first reached popularity during the banning of the religion in the early 1600s. Notable intellectuals such as Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) deploy anti-heteredox thought rooted in Confucianism and Chinese history, and anti-heteredox terms like *igaku* (異学 "heterodoxy") and *jyasetsu* (邪説 "heresy") in their anti-Christian writing.[89] The term, *yōkyō* is most similar to *jyasetsu* in that both contain supernatural connotation to evil, while terms like *igaku* does not. The second wave of anti-Christian thought in Japan began concurrently with the decline of the Tokugawa shogunate in the early 1800s and into the twentieth century. The first decade of the Meiji period saw a continuation of anti-Christian writings since the Tokugawa period. In the following decades, anti-Christian discourse shifted from the primarily nationalist argument to a western philosophical argument, reaching a peak in influence in the late 1880s to early 1890s.[90] *San'un* captures the sentiment among some Japanese intellectuals, particularly of *kangaku* background, in their use of anti-heterodox language and nationalist thought, which aligns with our understanding of anti-Christian discourse in 1870s Japan. Of course, the attitude is not representative of the growing

[89] Paramore, Kiri. *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*. Routledge, 2010, 81-100.
[90] Ibid., 131-133.

tolerance and acceptance of Japanese intellectuals toward Christianity. In a travel report written halfway around the world, *Seiyō bunkenroku* (1869), the journalist Murata Fumio (1836-1891) advocates for the discontinuation of such terms like *yōkyō* to denote Christianity in the western context.[91]

The collective choice of using anti-heterodox terms and language to describe Christianity is indicative of the overwhelmingly unfavorable view held by Chinese intellectuals and Japanese *kangaku* scholars at the time toward Christianity and missionary activities. Most of the Chinese educated classes either actively or passively rejected Christianity, and anti-Christian literature in anti-heterodoxic tradition was popular in both China and Japan. The hostility between foreign missionaries and Chinese literati is an intellectual and philosophical one. Both sides deemed the other as backwards, decadent and dangerous. [92] This partially explains why Takezoe, though not Chinese, felt so passionate in criticizing the presence of Christianity in China. The world view presented by missionaries was an affront to his Confucian upbringing and beliefs. In his final couplet, Takezoe references Mencius and Han Yu, both known for their Confucian teachings and anti-heterodoxy writings.[93]

Interestingly, in his scathing poem on Christianity, Takezoe opts to use a more neutral term, *shikyō* (西教 western religion, Ch. *xijiao*) instead of *yōkyō*, perhaps because his attitude is already evident enough in the poem's content. As with most coeval intellectuals, Takezoe's anti-Christian and anti-western ideology are often interconnected. In *San'un*, his focus is clearly centered on the religion. In another instance of mentioning the West, Takezoe notes

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[91] 「西洋に於て此等の事をなすことなし。然は則当時行法の宜を得ざるものにして概して妖教とすべからず」Murata, Fumio. *Seiyō bunkenroku*. Zenpen, maki no shita, 21. Idutsuya Katsujirō, 1869.
[92] Cohen, Paul A. "The Anti-Christian Tradition in Chinese Thought." In *China and Christianity*, 3. Harvard University Press, 2013.
[93] Ibid., 4-6.

matter-of-factly that his friend and *kangaku* scholar, Okamatsu Ōkoku (1820-1895) is also well-learned in Western philosophy and literature.[94] In his poem, *Song on Production in Sichuan*, he writes that "Beautiful textiles and patterns from countless households, the fierce tiger from the west watches eagerly."[95] This is an apparent reference to Western economic exploitation of China, though he does not elaborate further in his travelogue, and this line is the only remark on the economic aspect of Sino-Western relations. For Takezoe, it seems that no aspect of the West is more detestable than Christianity.

This animosity is particularly directed toward French missionaries in China, whom Takezoe specifically mentions on at least two occasions, a distinction he does not make for other nationalities—once in Hubei when he writes, "in the capital alone, there are more than twenty Catholic churches. In the two capitals and eighteen provinces, they have all established places of worship. The French have come to stay and spread their wicked religion, with what can only be described as malicious intent."[96]; and another time, when describing the Jiangbei Ting missionary incident, names the French bishop Eugène-Jean-Claude-Joseph Desflèches (Ch. *Fan Ruose*), who served as Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Sichuan. This distinction aligns with the fact that the French Protectorate of Roman Catholic missions was the most invested and dominant Christian denomination in late Qing China. Due to the success of the Société des Missions-Étrangères since the 18th century, Sichuan remained the leading province in terms of its number of Catholics at around eighty thousand, with three archdioceses in Chengdu, Chongqing, and Yibin. While Protestant missionaries significantly expanded their activities from the 1850s onward, they still claimed a much smaller number of converts and had limited regional outreach due to their relatively late start.

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[94] Takezoe, 6, vol. 2, pp. 29.

[95] 「蜀産歌　錦繡文章千萬戶，西來猛虎視眈眈。」 Takezoe, 8, p. 23.

[96] 「府中天主堂且二十餘宇，蓋二京十八省，皆建教場。法郎西國人來駐，教誘祆教，其用心可謂毒矣。」Takezoe, 6, vol. 1, pp. 6-7.

As a result, in Sinitic texts from this period, references to Christianity almost always pertain to Catholicism and its official protector, France.[97] In *San'un*, Takezoe's descriptions reflect this reality, using the term "Catholicism" interchangeably with "Christianity" and singling out the French among Christian missionary activities.

On Jul. 21st, Takezoe provides a thorough report of the Jiangbei Ting Missionary Incident based on what he had heard. Though for most of his travels, Takezoe seems to be content and take pleasure in historical China accessed through famous sites, he reveals a desire to engage and be part of contemporary China by reporting on a significant event that was presently unfolding. The incident began in March 1876 and was resolved in 1878. Takezoe arrived in Chongqing in July, when the conflicts had already subsided. In his reporting, Takezoe displays a palpable sense of sympathy and camaraderie with the Chinese people. First, he notes that the introduction of Christianity in Sichuan was met with displeasure by the people[98], which concurs with our understanding that there was widespread discontent with the religion among the general populace, especially among regions with high levels of Christian activities such as Sichuan. Second, he writes, "Ruffians and unscrupulous people take advantage of the church's name to conduct violent and tyrannical acts, which only increased the public's displeasure."[99] This phenomenon can also be verified. Ruffians often joined the church under false identities in hopes to commit crimes with impunity.[100]

As for the events of the Jiangbei Ting Missionary Incident, Zhou Yong and Hui Ke analyzes that Takezoe's account contains inaccuracy and falsehood. Takezoe incorrectly cites the original cause of the Jiangbei Ting Missionary Incident and the detail that "missionaries

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[97] Ibid., 64-76.
[98] 「蓋祆教之入蜀，民皆不喜。」Takezoe, 6, vol. 2, p. 9.
[99] 「而奸宄無賴之徒，爭竄名於教會，恃勢橫暴，民益惡之。」Ibid.
[100] Cohen, 92, p. 156.

retaliated by poisoning the well" is revealed to be a widespread rumor at the time. However, they acknowledge that hearsay and falsehoods on such missionary incidents were widespread at the time and that Takezoe likely fell victim to them. Misinformation was so rampant that local officials often issued statements clarifying rumors and warnings for those who spread false rumors.[101] Each of the inaccuracy and falsehood vilifies Christian believers. This fact reflects the pervasiveness of anti-Christian literature at the time, and the sentiment from which they were produced. In addition, Takezoe's choice to include such hearsay on the event, not derived from his own travel experience is indicative of the importance ascribed to the subject and his staunch opposition toward Christian influences.

Takezoe's affinity toward China and its people, coupled with his hostility toward the West and Christianity in particular, raises the question of whether *San'un* should be considered a Pan-Asianist text. There are some grounds to argue for such a case. Takezoe would later become a member of Kōakai, the first Pan-Asian society in Japan, along with several other *San'un* contributors in different capacity, including Soejima Taneomi, Shigeno Yasutsugu, etc. This is not surprising given that the society composed of many Japanese diplomats working in China and Korea, and Japanese Sinophile intellectuals, two groups that overlap with Takezoe and many *San'un* contributors.[102] However, considering the author's focus on specific regions in China rather than broader discussions of China or Asia as a whole, I would not call *San'un* a Pan-Asianist text, though it contains evident Pan-Asianist undertones. In Takezoe's most ostensible comment on world affairs, his poem, *Bagua Tai*, is not a plea for Pan-Asian unity, instead it conveys his deep uncertainty for the future of the world,

"Gazing at the world, it appears as a black speck,

[101] Zhou Yong and Hui Ke, in 12, 25-29.
[102] Zachmann, Urs Matthius. "The Foundation Manifesto of the Kōakai (Raising Asia Society) and the Asia Kyōkai (Asia Association), 1880-1883." In *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History, 1850–1920*, edited by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 53–60. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011.

Asia and Europe are but floating dust.
Who can predict the rise and fall of the five continents?
I wish to ask Fuxi[103] on the Eight Trigrams Stage."

Here, Takezoe invokes Daoist sentiment to plainly reveal that he has no clear answer on the future of world affairs. His outlook stands in stark contrast to that of Nakamura Masanao, who asserts that Europe is on the rise and that a Pan-Asianist effort led by China is the solution to their mutual predicament. In *San'un*, Takezoe positions himself as a man primarily dedicated to intellectual pursuits rather than political ones.

[103] Mythological figure often credited with the creation of the *Bagua*.

## Conclusion

*San'un kyōu nikki* is a remarkable piece of travel writing, not only for its unprecedented depiction of Qing China through the lens of a *kangaku* scholar but also for its testament to Sino-Japanese scholarly exchange. *San'un*'s main body and its abundant paratext underscore the depth of such exchange on literary, social and political matters via brushtalk, letter exchange and literary contributions in the literary Sinitic. In the era of mutual rediscovery between Japan and China beginning in the mid-19th century, Takezoe capitalizes on his dual identity as diplomat and *kangaku* scholar to engage with Chinese scholars and officials. However, in *San'un*, Takezoe conceals his identity as a foreigner and a Japanese diplomat to almost an indiscernible level, while fully displaying his identity as a *kangaku* scholar. Takezoe demonstrates his literary abilities through prose and poetry in the lyric mode of travel writing, and his analytical skills and historical knowledge in the historiographical mode of travel writing in Chinese literary tradition. These abilities are reaffirmed by the extensive praise found in *San'un*'s paratext, which consistently speak to his mastery in both literary expression and historical analysis.

For a piece of text of such international and historical significance, *San'un* is highly specific and localized. The author largely refrains from broad generalizations about China and comparisons to Japan, unlike coeval travel writers and his commentators. Takezoe takes a particular interest in Sichuan, relying on important texts in the discourse on Sichuan travel, including the preeminent Song travelogues, *Rushu Ji* and *Wuchuan Lu*, without undermining his own experience as inauthentic. Though he meets the minimal characteristics of a tourist, Takezoe is unlike the modern tourist in that his travel experience is an intellectual pursuit rather than a search for authenticity. The author takes great pleasure in the region's distinctive natural landscape, which is often described with fantastical and supernatural elements in his site-based poetry. He also takes a particular interest in the historic gallery

roads of Sichuan and engages with the discourse surrounding the Shu Kingdom and its key figures, particularly Zhuge Liang, through visits to historical sites.

Among the opinions expressed in *San'un*, Takezoe's criticism of Christianity in China is the most prominent. He cites the calamity caused by Christianity, along with opium use, as the two existential problems of contemporary China. Takezoe devotes a detailed recount of a missionary incident, analyses and poetry to the subject from Hebei to Sichuan, demonstrating the importance he ascribes to it. He employs anti-heterodox terms with supernatural connotation such as *yōkyō* to paint a scathing portrait of Christianity as corrupt and incompatible with China and its people. Though San'un is not explicitly a Pan-Asianist text, Takezoe displays deep sympathy and a sense of affinity and loyalty to China and its people, and strong affection for its cultural and natural landscape.

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