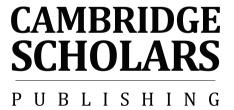
### Translation, History and Arts

### Translation, History and Arts: New Horizons in Asian Interdisciplinary Humanities Research

Edited by

Meng JI and UKAI Atsuko



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This book first published 2013

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-4939-1, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-4939-5

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### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Translation, History and Arts: New Horizons in Asian Interdisciplinary Humanities Research is a collection of research papers originally presented at the international conference Todai Forum in October 2011 in Lyon, France, as the joint initiative of the University of Tokyo (Todai) and the University of Lyon. The Todai Forum is a joint venture between the University of Tokyo and leading universities of the world. It takes place every two years and provides a unique opportunity for young researchers from different countries to present and discuss their ideas and methods in an open and friendly research exchange environment. This volume contains nine original research papers presented at the workshop "Local History in the Context of Global History" held at the Lyons Institute of East Asian Studies (IAO). They stand at the frontier of interdisciplinary humanities research, covering a broad range of disciplines such as translation and cross-cultural studies, history, area studies, art history, and so on. Participants in the workshop included research students, senior researchers and professional fellows working on comparative area and cultural studies involving Japan, China, the Middle East, and the EU. In the two-day workshop, panel discussants and the general audience had a stimulating and fruitful exchange of ideas and research methodologies which greatly advanced the theme of the workshop, the development of a new discursive narrative of local histories against the backdrop of the increasingly globalized contemporary world.

A distinctive feature of the papers collected into this volume is their intended configuration and interpretation of local socio-cultural and historical events from a global perspective, with a view to establishing new links and associations among different societies and cultural systems that will bring new insights into the making of modern world history. The book is divided into three thematic parts, with each part containing three illustrative case studies: Part 1 Translation and Cross-Cultural Scientific Communication; Part 2 Museums, Image and Identity Construction; and Part 3 Religions, Ideology and Gender. Each part approaches the main research question, that is, the re-construction of local histories at a global level from a distinct disciplinary perspective; and the case studies presented touch upon East Asia, Europe and the Middle East.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the contributors of this volume, and to Professor HANEDA Masashi, then director of the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia (IASA) for initiating the workshop. We extend our thanks to Professor Christian Henriot, Director of the Lyon Institute of Asian Studies (IAO) for his organization and the local support given to the workshop. Last but not least, we would like to thank Dr. Gaynor Sekimori and Mr. Yasuhiro Sekimori for their professional editorial assistance and the timely delivery of the manuscript.

Meng JI, University of Western Australia, Australia UKAI Atsuko, The University of Tokyo, Japan May 2013

### **PREFACE**

## HANEDA MASASHI INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES ON ASIA THE UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO

The nine articles in this collection are based on the presentations made by the various authors at a conference entitled "Local History in the Context of Global History" held by the *École Normale Supérieure de Lyon* (ENSL) in France. At the request of the editors, I would like, as one of those responsible for the conference, to explain briefly its background and purposes.

The conference was planned to be at the point of intersection between two academic initiatives: the University of Tokyo (Todai) Forum and a joint research project conducted through a grant-in-aid from the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Sciences (JSPS), "Eurasia in the Modern Period: Towards a New World History".

To elaborate, the University of Tokyo holds an international symposium called the Todai Forum every other year at different places around the world with the purpose of introducing aspects of excellent research in various fields conducted within the university to academics abroad. France was chosen for the location of the symposium in 2011 and various academic activities were held in Paris and Lyon. A large number of those were workshops on specialist themes held jointly between scholars from the University of Tokyo and their counterparts in France. The present conference was organized as one such.

When plans for the Forum started to be discussed, I was asked by the planning committee, as director of the Institute of Advanced Studies on Asia at the university, to come up with a project. I therefore proposed to my old friend and colleague, Professor Christian Henriot of ENSL, that we hold a joint Japanese-French workshop. Fortunately Professor Henriot was receptive to the idea and the shape and content of the workshop, as well as its participants, gradually took form over a series of discussions. The end result was the workshop "Local History in the Context of Global History", held as one of the events of the Todai Forum.

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This title was determined with Professor Henriot's help based on the original plan I had proposed. Its intent was derived in the following way. Since 2009, I have been conducting a joint research project called "Eurasia in the Modern Period: Towards a New World History" funded by a grantin-aid from the JSPS. It is a large-scale programme, involving more the fifty people, both directly and indirectly. Its aim is to seek out a methodology to describe "our world history" anew, a world history that will bring into being a sense among all people of belonging to the same world (a consciousness of being global citizens), and that goes beyond pre-existing methodologies and viewpoints that see the world and its history in terms of a dichotomy between self and others, Europe and Asia.

When I was asked to plan something for the Todai Forum, I wondered whether I might be able to organize a workshop in Lyon as part of the work of the joint project that I headed. Because funding for the running of the session would have to be provided from my own resources, some kind of financial backing was necessary, but I also felt strongly that I wanted Professor Henriot and other French scholars to share an awareness of the issues associated with the project.

In a book I published in Japanese in 2005, called Creation of the Concept of the Islamic World (University of Tokyo Press), I pointed out that the concept of a kind of regional space called the "Islamic world" that was created in nineteenth-century Western Europe has exerted a strong influence on people's view of the world and on their historical understanding. I will not go into detail here, but there can be no denying that the concept and framework of "civilization" and "region/area" concerning "Europe" and the "Islamic world" has become the basic unit by which people in many countries of the modern world understand world history. For example, in Japan today the past of closed regional areas such as the "Islamic world", "Europe" and "East Asia" is understood and narrated chronologically, and in general the aggregate of their various histories is considered to be world history. The history of the "Islamic world", together with the history of its opposing concept, "Europe", are indispensable elements for understanding and describing world history in Japan.

The situation is not so different in other countries as well. However, we should be more aware that understanding world history as an assemblage of local histories that emphasize the historical differences between each region and assert their own individuality has played a part in the national and regional conflicts that have broken out in the modern world and in actions motivated by religious fundamentalism. Here the words "local" and "regional" are used to typify the phenomenon. It goes

without saying that the sovereign nation-states established all over the world since the nineteenth century are one type of "region", with a framework further strengthened geographically. We have used the expression "global history" in the title of the workshop, but I would like to call attention to the fact that this is not a synonym of "history of globalization". A distinguishing feature of our understanding of world history as an assemblage of local histories is that we regard it as the gradual coming together, politically, economically and culturally, of originally separate regions around the world. The "history of globalization" is frequently understood as sharing common characteristics with this world history, and so our project began with the aim of resetting the understanding and description of such world history.

Is it really suitable to retain the structure of existing world histories, which take as their highest concern the narration of local and national histories that emphasize uniqueness, and examine as a matter of course their exchanges as well as their confrontations and conflicts? Even if we recognize that there is a difference between self and other, is it so impossible to comprehend a world history that stresses the commonality of "global citizens" that goes beyond this? It is my basic contention that it is very possible. If we want to construct "our world history", which sees the world as one, as our project sets out to do, it is of crucial important how we understand and narrate the histories of the regions that make up that world. Thus we must seriously reconsider discuss the connections between local history and world history.

I passed on these thoughts to Professor Henriot when we were at the planning stage of the workshop, and, fully understanding the nature of my concern, he began choosing scholars from the French side to present papers. He also set up a dedicated website for those attending the workshop and devoted himself to both the preparations for, and the running of, the workshop. I would like to express my deep gratitude here for his friendship.

The workshop was held on October 21 and 22 at ENSL. It was a great success, with dozens of people attending on both days. A feature of the workshop was the debate on the same theme by both senior and junior scholars, divided into a number of sessions. On the first day, there was a discussion among twelve established scholars, including Professor Henriot and myself, while on the second day, eleven post-doctoral and doctoral students gave papers. Besides myself, three members of staff from the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia at the University of Tokyo took part in the senior session (KURODA Akinobu, YASUTOMI Ayumu and TSUJI Asuka). As well, reports were also given by Dong Shaoxin and Sun

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Yinggang from the National Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies at Fudan University in China, with which the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia has close academic ties at various levels. From the French side. joining Professor Henriot, were a number of prominent historians of Asia and Africa, including François Gipouloux, Sylvie Denoix, Jean-Pascal Bassino, Guillaume Carré and Frédéric Abécassis. These senior members participated fully in the junior session on the second day, making many comments and asking numerous questions following each paper, so contributing to a lively discussion. The articles in this volume, which all share a common understanding of the issues raised in the workshop, have been prepared for publication taking into account the various points raised at the time. Of particular note is the commentary by Professor Henriot. As the person behind the planning of this workshop. I would be more than happy if this volume, edited by the fresh talents of Ukai Atsuko and Meng Ji and abundantly incorporating the message of young researchers, was able to raise new questions concerning the present understanding of world/global history.

### Introduction

### PAVING THE WAY

### CHRISTIAN HENRIOT INSTITUT D'ASIE ORIENTALE UNIVERSITY OF LYON (LYON 2)

We live today in the age often hailed as that of globalization, as if the planet, by virtue of the Internet and near light-speed communications, had become a huge global village. The self-immolation of a poor young peddler in Tunisia in 2010 almost instantly reverberated all over the planet, causing much disquiet among the ruling regimes of most Arab countries, and eventually bringing down a few in the course of protest movements by the population. One could easily slip into believing modern revolutions happen by way of Facebook and social networks. Without denying the reality of the massive surge in exchange and communications in the 21st century, many historians would hold a dim view of such a shortsighted perspective on the flows of people, goods and ideas in the present as in the past. The fury behind the peasant movements that sparked the French Revolution—not to mention the various failed *jacqueries* of the 18<sup>th</sup> century—resonates very clearly in the contemporary Arab revolutions. Yet it takes a lot more factors than popular discontent and instant communications to make even a succession of small disruptive events mature into a full-blown rebellion and the fall of an abhorred ruler. It takes even more to build a new, stable, and long-lasting political and social order on the debris of the toppled regimes.

Yet these contemporary events also highlight the need to examine more closely the many innocuous processes that took place before, over decades if not more, and nurtured changes in perceptions, sensibilities and expectations across class lines in most societies all over the planet.<sup>1</sup> There

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Birgit Schaebler and Leif Stenberg, eds., *Globalization and the Muslim World: Culture, Religion, and Modernity* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004); John Guidry, Michael D. Kennedy, and Mayer Zald, eds., *Globalizations and* 

has been a propensity in the last decade to re-read the past in terms of earlier "globalizations" and to try to redefine the successive stages of the interlocking process that somehow shortened distances and intensified relations between the different human groups living in various parts of the planet. <sup>2</sup> The study of major historical processes like the European maritime expansion or colonization, once viewed from the perspective of a European "center" radiating toward ever expanding "peripheries", is now framed within the study of globalization. The addition of this conceptual framework does bring into play the notion of a shifting ground rather than well-cordoned entities (like nations) into historical analysis. Historians have been made much more aware of the need to rethink their approach to hitherto dominant historical categories. Some have attempted to grapple seriously with globalization in theoretical terms and to question its underlying concepts. <sup>4</sup>

Yet the "reinvention of the past" through a reading based on globalization can also mean hardly more than a rehashing of conventional topics under a new garb. Classical topics like the missionary enterprise,<sup>5</sup> the colonial conquest,<sup>6</sup> human trade,<sup>7</sup> economic crises,<sup>8</sup> the creation of

Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2000); James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in the 21st Century (London: Zed Books, 2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A. G. Hopkins, ed., *Globalization in World History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002); Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Globalization: A Short History*, trans. Dona Geyer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Barry Gills and William R. Thompson, eds., *Globalization and Global History* (London: Routledge, 2006); O. S. Labianca and Sandra Arnold Scham, *Connectivity in Antiquity: Globalization as a Long-Term Historical Process* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing, 2006).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Geoffrey C. Gunn, *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500-1800* (London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Amar Acheraiou, *Questioning Hybridity, Postcolonialism and Globalization* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); George Modelski, Tessaleno Devezas, and William R. Thompson, eds., *Globalization as Evolutionary Process: Modeling Global Change* (London: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, Reissue (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ruth Mayer, Artificial Africas: Colonial Images in the Times of Globalization (Lebanon (N.H.): University Press of New England, 2002); Sharae Deckard, Paradise Discourse, Imperialism, and Globalization: Exploiting Eden (London: Routledge, 2009).

technological infrastructures, or even less brutal but nonetheless obvious forms of political, economic or intellectual influence by the major powers or lesser intrusive groups offer a fertile terrain for academic *cum* commercial opportunities. Marketeering by publishing companies quite evidently rides on this instrumentalization of "globalization" as a trendy catchword to lure potential readers in search of replies to pervasive social anxieties. Popular books have contributed to the idea that globalization emerged almost as soon as man appeared on earth. The rise of cultural history may also have contributed to a focus on the "global" in consumption patterns. This is not to deny a genuine effort in coming to terms with breaking away from Euro-centric views of history. There has been a steady, though unevenly successful current in historical research, mostly in Anglo-Saxon academia, that meant to break through the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Clarence J. Munford, *American Crucible: Black Enslavement, White Capitalism, and Imperial Globalization; An Interpretation of Western Civilization Since 1441* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Robert Boyce, *The Great Interwar Crisis and the Collapse of Globalization* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Dwayne R. Winseck and Robert M. Pike, *Communication and Empire: Media, Markets, and Globalization, 1860–1930* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> J. T. Way, *The Mayan in the Mall: Globalization, Development, and the Making of Modern Guatemala* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2012); Neil Smith, *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Richard Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Without questioning the intrinsic value of the following classics in modern Chinese history, one can observe the successive shifts of perspective about a given community. Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village: The Recent History of a Peasant Community in Mao's China* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1992); Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village Under Mao and Deng* (Berkley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1992); Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village: Revolution to Globalization* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Nayan Chanda, Bound Together: How Traders, Preachers, Adventurers, and Warriors Shaped Globalization (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2008); Quercus, The Great Migrations: From the Earliest Humans to the Age of Globalization (London: Quercus, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2008).

boundaries of both national and local histories and the prevalent view of a modern world entirely shaped by the West.

The main current I refer to is that of "world history", which lately has rejoined the globalized view of the world under the notion of "global history". These fields are too broad for a thorough examination here, but a brief discussion will help contextualizing the nature of the present volume. World history and global history both represent considerable fields of scholarship on which numerous scholars have written at length. 15 Many historians, especially in Europe, have remained oblivious to an approach that appeared disconnected from their practice of history, use of sources. and choice of scale in research topics. World history seems to fit better certain fields like economic history or imperial history. 16 World history likes wide spaces and *longue durée*, which often implies working through processing sets of data collected mostly from a variety of works in secondary literature. Yet major milestones have generated a lively debate among historians, mostly in the English-speaking world. 17 They contributed to de-center the historian's gaze and to challenge heretoforedominant certainties about the forces that shaped the world. By and large, global history appears to be a late rejoinder to world history under the multidimensional impact—including historical globalization. 18 While proponents of each field may reasonably quibble about differences, the trend toward blending is unmistakable.

From the perspective of situating the contributions in the present volume, however, another concept needs to be brought into the discussion. Sanjay Subrahmanyam's conception of connected history represents one of the latest and most perceptive additions to such attempts to grasp historical trends and turns of events not just across boundaries, but through a more dynamic view that places the emphasis on shifts and nodes across

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This is too wide a field to discuss in this paper. Best is to sift through the two most representative journals: *Journal of World History* and *Journal of Global History*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> For a very thoughtful review of the various concepts and discussion of the French field, see Richard Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization*, New Edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In relation with Asia, the major seminal works are Andre Frank, *ReOrient Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400-the Present* (Armonk N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Giorgio Riello, "La Globalisation de l'histoire globale : une question disputée," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* n° 54-4bis, no. 5 (2007): 23–33.

space and time. 19 While issues of scale are not an exclusive preserve of connected history, this is perhaps where it finds a most fertile ground. For scholars like myself, whose focus has been on a specific city—Shanghai though one that appears prima facie as a node, this perspective offers a great potential in examining local history within an interlocking web of continuous and sustained flows. Nodes and flows provide invigorating clues for the study of historical processes across space and time. Connected history does not assume or superimpose a predefined view on the nature, the direction, or the value of these flows and nodes. It is an invitation to shy away from preconceived notions and to force the gaze on the multitude of interconnected "butterfly effects" that shaped and nurtured historical events at all levels. 20 It facilitates a more open discussion of historical processes as resulting from shifting asymmetrical flows. The asymmetry was never constant; it does not imply patterns of dominance vs. submission (or conquest, etc.). 21 On the opposite. asymmetry helps provide historical reasoning with an opportunity to reexamine the patterns of exchange and interaction in a new light, while still offering a framework to integrate the undeniable shifts that occurred over time, including those that accompanied the "rise of the West".

The essays in the present volume all share the same disposition to examine historical processes at work in different contexts, mostly in the modern societies of East Asia, the Middle East or Europe, from the perspective of cultural friction and interaction. They explore ways through which a shifting gaze opens up new horizons to embrace a de-centered view of history and to track down the various threads and layers of meaning that lay beneath these historical processes. The volume is the result of a "Young scholars workshop" held in Lyon at the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon during the Todai Forum with the combined support of the Institute of Advanced Studies on Asia and the Lyons Institute of East Asian Studies (IAO). The authors of the essays made an earnest attempt to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Par-delà l'incommensurabilité: Pour une histoire connectée des empires aux temps modernes," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* n° 54–4bis, no. 5 (2007): 34–53; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (juillet 1997): 735–762.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The Modern Girl around the World Research Group et al., eds., *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Rudolf G. Wagner, "China 'Asleep' and 'Awakening.' A Study in Conceptualizing Asymmetry and Coping with It.," *Transcultural Studies* 0, no. 1 (March 25, 2011): 4–139.

experiment with refreshing approaches to history, as well as to enter into a conversation across the genuine diversity of studied topics. There was a real challenge in bringing together these contributions and, for the editors Meng Ji and Ukai Atsuko, to weave them into a tightly knit volume. As the guest writer of this short introduction, I take the full measure of the enthusiasm these young scholars put into this project and their commitment to tackle challenging issues in a collegial and open spirit.

The volume starts with an exploration of processes in the circulation of discursive constructions, concepts, and knowledge. Words are the carriers of how we perceive the world around us and how we reason or fantasize about it. Meng Ji's chapter addresses how the Chinese visions of the world and China resulted from several successive, through overlapping shifts. Her take on the topic is based on the processing and analysis of occurrences of descriptive words or expressions defining the entity known as "China" in a broad sample of Chinese, Japanese, and Western works. She highlights through her method the formidable potential that digital textual repositories and terminology databases offer in the study of such discursive constructions in situated contexts. Isahaya Yoichi focuses on the circulation of astronomical knowledge. Rather than pursuing the conventional diffusionist model of a modern West radiating to less advanced societies. Isahava examines the processes and the actors behind the introduction of the "New astronomy" in both Iran and Japan. He points out several similarities in terms of timing, the nature of actors, the unsatisfactory characters of the initial translations, etc. Yet Isahava also establishes the fairly late formation of a "center of gravity" for the scientific currents from Europe. Otsuka Osuma discusses geographical knowledge in Persianate societies in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the competition between two major contemporary works, one a historical chronicle presenting the contacts between the Persianate societies and China, and one a cosmographical work that placed "Iran" at the center of world, though with a rich content on the many kinds of peoples living in Persianate societies, from Chinese to the people of West Europe. Otsuka argues that the uncontested success of the latter work among literati in Persianate societies resulted from its choice of situating "world history" in an Iran-centric worldview.

The second part of the volume addresses a set of intertwined issues about images of the self and the other, from the individual to collective identities, through art and photographic collections. Ukai Atsuko examines a particular field, *Japonisme*, and its ramifications beyond the formal boundaries of art production. Through the study of original collections in local French museums, she is able to argue convincingly about the steady

cross influence between Japan and the West, but also about genuine forms of "fusion" (forms, materials) in everyday objects. Ukai also points to larger circles of diffusion of materials and crafts that link a spate of countries within Europe and the Arab world and Japan. She questions both the notion of Japonisme and suggests enlarging our vision of the phenomenon to include a broader span of cultural products. Finally, Japonisme also needs to steer away from a perspective that tends to encapsulate, hence reify, "Japanese art" or even "Asian art". In her study of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Teheran and the development of its collection from the 1960s to the post-Islamic Revolution period. Terada Yuki places the building of art collections within their global contexts. She questions the usual divide both between Iranian art and Western art and between the pre- and post-Islamic revolution periods, even if there was clearly a shift after 1979, yet with a surprisingly steady capacity to present to Iranian audiences windows into both worlds. Lee Ju-ling follows a very original path in tracking how photography by the Japanese in colonial Taiwan served way beyond the original intention of the photographers many were taken initially during anthropological fieldwork—to construct images that set both the colonizers and the colonized in worlds apart. The imagery centered on the naked bodies of the native population in the mountains in counterpoint to the fully dressed bodies of the colonizers, and their degrees of "cultural achievement" as the colonizers tamed these "savage" bodies into "civilized" bodies.

The last part of the volume revolves around the legal position of women in two very different settings, colonial Indochina and contemporary Malaysia, and how Japanese historians position themselves within modern historical research trends. Mitsunari's essay on the litigation by a Muslim-born woman to convert in order to marry a Christian man explores the complex ramifications of gender status, religious vs. civil law, and the conflict between diverging notions of human rights. Mitsunari deftly highlights how this particular individual's case turned into a major controversy that involved a complex web of religious, ethnic, and identity issues in Malaysian society. In colonial Indochina, prostitution thrived in the major cities, which posed a challenge to authorities eager to protect the health of European residents and soldiers. Isabelle Tracol-Huynh brings to light the extraordinarily cumbersome and by and large unmanageable process of regulating prostitution. It was not just the usual game of "hide and seek" between the police and the prostitutes, but the problems inherent to the transposition of regulations from the home country onto a different and hybrid population of prostitutes and local residents. There was also a surprising inadequacy between these regulations and the different layers of legal jurisdiction over different parts of the territory. Eventually these gaps and inconsistencies foiled the attempt to bring prostitution under control. Uchida Chikara's study proposes a study of "social history" as a cultural phenomenon and examines its reception in Japan. Actually, Uchida questions this notion of reception as several Japanese historians who felt "victims" of a form of label—social historian—pressed upon them by the combined impact of a form of academic fad and editorial pressures by publishers. We have here an example of a discursive construction that leads to a kind of branding at odds with how local historians might conceive their own work. Uchida reflects upon the possibility of a global "social history", which in fact tended to penetrate the diverse community of Japanese through a piecemeal process spread over time, with no clear pattern of influence.

Altogether, this volume seeks to present alternative pathways in the study of historical issues. The authors engage in perceptive attempts to walk through their object of study with a constant concern about connecting the dots beyond their respective sphere in temporal and geographical terms. They have pursued a conversation with each other that deserves a special mention, as it required a genuine disposition to reach out. This edited volume will remain as the manifestation of a need to break through conventions and experiment with new forms of passage in historical scholarship.

### PART I

## TRANSLATION AND CROSS-CULTURAL SCIENTIFIC COMMUNICATION

### CHAPTER ONE

# CONFLICTS AND INTERACTIONS IN EARLY MODERN CHINESE SCIENTIFIC TRANSLATIONS

### MENG JI

### Introduction

This study offers an empirical investigation of the expansion of Western scientific concepts and ideas in China in the nineteenth century, which was a formative period for the construction of the national identity of modern China. It is based on the exploration of a large-scale online data base of historical Chinese texts and translations produced amidst the influx of Western sciences in the Qing dynasty (Lackner, Amelung and Kurtz, 2001). Instead of focusing on one particular Chinese translation and a Chinese or Western translator, this chapter attempts to explore underlying patterns of the dissemination and assimilation of key Western terms and expressions in China's native language and cultural system. It represents a useful effort at developing empirical lines of investigation for historical linguistic research (Lackner, et al, 2001; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003; Ji, 2010 and 2011). The introduction and translation of Western sciences was an extremely complex historical process which involved the competition and reconciliation among different traditions of thoughts and modes of thinking in the modernizing Chinese state. This was reflected in the creation of a modern Chinese scientific terminology which underpinned the modernization of China's native language and scientific system. The current study focuses on the translation and variation of nation-related terms and expressions in early modern Chinese, drawing upon quantitative textual materials collected from large-scale data bases of historical Chinese translations.

Nation is a keyword in understanding the making of the modern world in the nineteenth century. It has provided a focus of significant research which deploys nation state as the basic unit of historical analyses (Shafer, 1955; Seymour, 2004; Chernilo, 2007). As a typically modern concept, the

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translation of nation from European languages to Chinese provides an illustrative case study of the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic interactions between China, Europe and Japan in the nineteenth century. Tsai (2011) noticed that the development of an ethnocentric concept of nation in Chinese might date back to 755 AD, which marked the outbreak of the notorious An Lushan Insurgence. Tsai argued that the notion of nation was not alien to imperial China. The concept of nation had always been deeply embedded within the empire building enterprise of China, long before the expansion of Western industrialism in East Asia in the nineteenth century. In this chapter, I contend this view by arguing that while the ethnocentric conception of nation might well have been part of the traditional Chinese psychology, the translation and introduction of nation state construed in the modern sense have transformed the Chinese native knowledge body systematically and profoundly.

It must be pointed out that the introduction and assimilation of Western scientific concepts in China was a highly dynamic and progressive process that can hardly be explained by the diffussionist model that advocates the transmission of modern values and concepts from the Western centre to non-Western peripheries. On the contrary, the nineteenth century witnessed turbulent encounters between Western and native Chinese cultures which have given rise to different traditions of translation and distinct forms of scholarly publication in China, and it is this which provides the topic of the current study. Through an empirical historical linguistic study of early Chinese translations and scholarly writing on nation related terms and expressions, this chapter will bring useful insights into the emergence and consolidation of the modern concept of nation in the Chinese lexis and will shed new light on the internal and external dynamics of the development of a working scientific language system in early modern Chinese.

### **Historical Materials Used**

In order to track the translation of nation-related concepts and expressions into Chinese in the nineteenth century, this study uses a large-scale multilingual data base of early modern Chinese scientific translations. The data base used is known as the Modern Chinese Scientific Terminologies or the MCST. <sup>1</sup> It was launched to the public in 2001 by Friedrich Alexander University of Erlangen Nürnberg, Germany. By 2005, the data

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> http://mcst.uni-hd.de/search/searchMCST\_short.lasso, last access on 31 August, 2011

base contained roughly 9,500 texts and more than 136,000 words or expressions widely selected from early modern Chinese translations of western scientific works. The MCTS includes both the original texts in English, French, Dutch, German, Japanese and Italian, and their translations to early modern Chinese. The majority of translations collected in the MCST were produced in the nineteenth century, with a limited number of texts collected from previous centuries and the early twentieth century. To facilitate the use of the data base, the corpus builders furnished the English translations of the original texts in the other European languages listed above. A distinctive feature of the MCST is its versatile and innovative annotation system which allows the user to explore the data base in variety of ways: from individual word search to other linguistically rich search options such as lexical definition, semantic and cognitive functions of a character word and/or a morpheme in historical and modern Chinese.

Table 1. Historical materials used (1)

Text Genres	Items Studied	Language Pairs Involved (SL/TL) <sup>2</sup>	Items Studied
Bilingual / multilingual dictionary	16	English Chinese	11
Encyclopaedic account	7	Japanese Chinese	4
Japanese translation of western works	1 (2 editions)	French Chinese	4
Chinese translations of Japanese/ western works	6	Dutch Chinese	1
Scientific / political treatises in original Chinese	6	German Chinese	1
Journals edited by foreigners	1	English Japanese	1
Journals edited by Chinese	1	Original Chinese	16

Table 1 shows the various types of source texts used in the current study. They were retrieved and sorted automatically by the MCST, for they contain instances of nation-related expressions and terms. These include sixteen bilingual and/or multilingual dictionaries which make up the bulk

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 $<sup>^2</sup>$  The source language (SL) is given first and it is followed by the target language in any language pair given in Table 1.

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of the texts used in this study; seven encyclopaedic accounts by native Chinese scholars based on their overseas trips to Europe, North America and Japan in the nineteenth century; two editions of a highly influential Japanese translation of western science texts; six Chinese translations of western and Japanese scientific works and treatises; six scientific and political treatises in original Chinese; and lastly, two journals edited by western scholars and native Chinese social reformers and political activists, respectively. The diversity of the historical materials used is also reflected in the variety of language pairs studied. These include English/Chinese and Chinese/English translations; Japanese/Chinese translations; French/Chinese translations; Dutch/Chinese translations; German/Chinese translations; and English/Japanese translations.

Apart from actual translations, the MCST identified a large number of texts written in original Chinese which involve the interpretation and contextualization of nation-related terms and expressions. In the current study, I intend to include not only actual translations, but also historical texts in early modern Chinese. That is because contemporaneous publications in original Chinese provide useful first-hand materials regarding the acceptance, variation and assimilation of imported western concepts and idea sets in the country at the time. These texts represent early attempts and language experiments made by native Chinese scholars to modernize China's existing cultural and language system, and thus provide important information regarding the varying levels of the penetration of modern western thought and expressions into the native knowledge body of China in the nineteenth century.

A major language pair studied is English and Chinese, which involves eleven items of translated works. It is followed by Japanese/Chinese translation, French/Chinese translation, Dutch/Chinese translation and German/Chinese translation. It should be noted that such a proportion among the different language pairs studied does not necessarily reflect the general patterns of early Chinese translations of western, and later Japanese, scientific works during the course of the nineteenth century. These historical texts have been extracted from the MCST only because they contain instances regarding the use and translation of nation-related terms and words which are the focus of the current study.

Both Chinese and Japanese deployed the character-based writing system in the nineteenth century. Given their morphological similarities, in the exploration of the MCST, the automatic search engine retrieved an instance of early Japanese translations of 'nation' from imported English scientific works. The Japanese text is titled *Tetsugaku jii* 哲學字彙 (A Dictionary of Philosophical Terms; 1881, 1884) by the Japanese

philosophers and linguists Inoue Tetsujirō and Ariga Hisao. This was a highly influential scientific translation in Japan in the late nineteenth century, which played an instrumental role in the consolidation of modern Japanese scientific terminology (Takahiro, et al, 1997). A large number of expressions and terms coined in this dictionary proved successful and long-lasting. Given the intensified cultural and scientific interactions between Japan and China in the late nineteenth century, many of the terms that originated in this early Japanese scientific dictionary eventually become high frequency words in modern Chinese scientific terminology. We thus retain the expression extracted from *Tetsugaku jii* in the text body under investigation, given its strong influence on and wide presence in early modern Chinese scientific translations and the general scientific discourse at later times.

### Translation of Nation-Related Concepts into Modern Chinese in the Nineteenth Century

### Early 1800s

Table 2 shows the thematic distribution of the historical textual materials studied here. In the MCST, nation-related terms and expressions first appeared in historical texts which date back to the 1820s. Two instances were found in A Dictionary of the Chinese Language (1815-23) (Ch. Wuche yun fu 五車韻府) by the Scottish missionary Robert Morrison (1782-1834). Morrison was arguably the first protestant missionary in imperial China. He authored a number of important early Chinese translations, such as the first Chinese translation of the Bible from English; and the first major Chinese-English dictionary, i.e. A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, which was hugely influential among early missionaries and western scholars of Chinese and Asian Studies (Hancock, 2009). This dictionary made an important contribution to the romanization of early modern Chinese and laid the foundation of the phonology of modern mandarin Chinese (Coblin, 2003). An important feature of Morrison's Chinese-English dictionary is that the Scottish missionary deliberately avoided a literal and de-contextualized translation of the Chinese character words which would inevitably lead to what he called broken and incomprehensible English.

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Table 2. Historical materials used (2)

Thematic Areas	Items Studied
General	17
International Relations and Politics	9
Politics and Law	4
Politics and Economy	1
Philosophy	4 (incl. 3 editions)
Science and technology	3

Morrison was apparently critical of previous European translations of historical Chinese texts. He noticed that the obscure and sometimes strictly literal translations of historical Chinese into European languages had failed to convey the essence of the traditional Chinese language and culture, causing wide-spread misunderstanding of the native Chinese knowledge body among the European readership; moreover, sometimes such ill-translated works had resulted in an ethnocentric and unjustified superior feeling among the Europeans towards cultural forms and civilizations in other parts of the world. In his momentous A Dictionary of the Chinese Language. Morrison succeeded in developing a translation language that allowed his contemporaneous European readership a much better access to the native Chinese culture as represented by its unique character writing system. Morrison's dictionary was full of vivid and detailed descriptions of each traditional Chinese character and/or character word collected in the dictionary. To some extent, Morrison's dictionary is better described as a cultural dictionary rather than a lexical dictionary. The two nation-related expressions identified by the MCST in Morrison's dictionary are (1) 屬國 (shuguo) and (2) 進貢之國 (jingong zhi guo), both translated as "tributary nation". As the historical data collected from the MCST shows, Morrison's translation represents one of the earliest attempts at interpreting traditional Chinese society by deploying modern western concepts of nations and states. It thus made the first step in comparing the traditional Chinese political and social system with modern western societies which in turn made important preparations to promote cross-cultural and cross-linguistic contacts between China and the west in the nineteenth century.

### 1840s and 1850s

In the two decades of the 1840s and 1850s, as the cross-cultural interactions between China and the west intensified, more historical documents were published which contained expressions and terms touching upon modern nations and states. At least three major historical publications produced in this period were extracted from the MCST. They reflect the progressive development of nation related terms in historical Chinese. The three historical volumes extracted are Haiguo si shuo 海國 四說 (Four/ General Accounts of Foreign Countries) (1846) (4 volumes) by Liang Tingnan; Yinghuan zhi lue 瀛環志略 (Brief Account of World Countries) (1848) (10 volumes) by Xu Jiyu; and Zengguang Haiguo tu zhi 增廣海國圖志 (Additions to the Illustrative Account of World Countries) (1852) by Wei Yuan. These early publications on world histories were invariably written in historical Chinese. They provided encyclopaedic accounts of cultural and social facts of foreign countries and societies to the Oing people and their rulers, who had been isolated from the rest of the world since the eighteenth century. At least ten instances of nation-related expressions and words were identified in these three books. They were the English translations provided by the MCST for the original texts written in historical Chinese.

Table 3 shows the Chinese expressions with their English translations provided by the MCST. One may infer from Table 3 that parallel to the efforts made by early western missionaries at translating traditional Chinese culture and its language for the western readership, there was a growing tendency among pioneering Chinese intellectuals to introduce foreign societal and cultural phenomena to the Chinese audience. Through the introduction of western social and cultural events to the Chinese readership, authors of these early world histories were consciously or unconsciously making comparisons between the traditional Chinese society and overseas countries and societies, especially in Europe and North America. It was a complex social and cognitive process through which the Chinese people gradually learnt to understand themselves and the outside world by using modern concepts and expressions, such as nation

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Table 3. Translation of nation related terms in the 1840s and 1850s

Dimension of Meaning	Chinese/ Chinese Translation	Pinyin	English/English Translation	Publication Date
Ethnic Group (7)	種類	zhonglei	nation	1846
	族類	zulei	nation	1846
	族類	zulei	nation	1848
	族類	zulei	nation	1852
	夷族	yizu	foreign nation	1852
	種類	zhonglei	nation	1852
	族種	zuzhong	nation	1852
People of a Nation (2)	國民	guomin	people of a nation	1852
	國民	guomin	nation	1852

In Table 3, the English word 'nation' has been used in the MCST to translate a number of Chinese character words which may be roughly divided into two groups: (1) nation as ethnic groups and (2) nation as people, representing a sovereign state. It implies that in these early accounts of western cultures and societies, Chinese intellectuals began to notice important differences between China and the Chinese people from foreign countries and their peoples. These include differences in terms of race, ethnicity, and the civil status of people in a sovereign country, which was an important feature of emerging modern nation states in the west, and which stood in contrast with the Chinese feudal society at the time. The English translations provided by the MCST may not be a close or literal translation of the Chinese historical texts. They do however provide useful clues as to the development of nation-related concepts and expressions in early Chinese writings, especially those on international relations and foreign politics of the Oing Empire. In the hugely influential Haiguo si shuo) (Four/ General Accounts of Foreign Countries) by Liang Tingnan in 1846, the Chinese scholar wrote as follows:

至雍正七年以后,則互市不絕。其時碣石鎮總兵官陳昂 (Chen Ang) 奏稱: "臣遍觀海外諸國,皆奉正朔,惟紅毛一種 (this race) 莫測,其中有英圭黎 (Yingguili) 諸國 (broadly referring to the UK),種類 (nation) 雖分,聲氣則一,請飭督、撫諸臣防范。"則當時已出沒海上矣。(摘卷五·英吉利国一)

In this passage. Wei quoted a Chinese military officer's observation of the difference between the UK and other western countries, in which he deliberately emphasized the racial differences between the British people and peoples of other European countries. It was one of the earliest accounts of the UK as a modern nation in Chinese official documents of the Oing Dynasty. The officer, Chen Ang, noticed that in the kingdoms of Yingguili (broadly referring to the UK), the races of the peoples were different but their behaviour and ways of acting were similar. Chen urged the Qing governors to take particular caution against this red-haired race which already had begun to patrol waters near China. In the MCST, the Chinese term zhonglei 種類 (ethnic groups) was translated as 'nation'. Though this translation is contestable, it serves as an indication of a growing awareness among the Chinese people of the racial differences between themselves and other peoples at the time. As the current study will show, ethnic differences, which seemed to attract much attention by the Chinese people and their rulers in their early contacts with western countries, were to become an important part of the development of nationrelated terms and expressions in modern Chinese.

#### 1860s and 1870s

From the 1860s, as Table 4 shows, the translation of important western concepts and ideas such as modern nation and state entered into a new stage in imperial China. This is reflected in the copious western materials translated into early modern Chinese which covered a variety of western language and sources. The MCST has collected a number of widely disseminated and hugely influential translations produced in the twenty years of the 1860s and the 1870s. For the purpose of the current study, I focus on those translations in the MCST which involve the interpretation and contextualization of nation-related terms and expressions against the background of the modernizing Chinese state during this period. These include: