Anne CHENG
Sanchit KUMAR

Myriades d'Asies

India-China
Intersecting Universalities

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Inde-Chine : universalités croisées

Anne Cheng and Sanchit Kumar (dir.)

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This collection of articles is mainly the result of an international conference organised by the Chair of Chinese Intellectual History at the Collège de France in June 2017. Entitled "India-China: Intersecting Universalities", it brought together scholars from Asia, America and Europe who have been interested in one aspect or other of the cultural interactions between India and China. The diversity of the topics testifies to the lively interest raised by the intersection of two heavyweights of area and cultural studies. What makes the relationship between "China" and "India" so remarkably interesting is that one can hardly imagine two civilisational worlds as radically different from each other, which yet managed somehow to come into contact and to interact. The aim of the present volume is to look at various aspects of the cultural exchanges between India and China at different points of history. It is to try and remedy a certain indifference and mutual ignorance in our day and age that we bring forward this collective venture with the hope of offering to our readers alternative approaches to the connections between these two "giants of Asia", other than the merely geopolitical ones that fill our media today.

ANNE CHENG

Anne Cheng holds the Chair of Chinese Intellectual History at the Collège de France in Paris. Born to Chinese parents, she was educated in France, studying classics and European philosophy before focusing on Chinese studies. For over forty years she has been involved in teaching and research on the intellectual history of China. She has translated the Analects of Confucius into French, and has written a study of Han Confucianism, as well as a history of Chinese thought which has been translated into numerous European and Asian languages. She has also edited several joint publications and is the chief editor of a bilingual series of works written in classical Chinese at Belles Lettres.

SANCHIT KUMAR

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Cover illustration: mural painting from Mogao cave #103, Tang period, Dunhuang (Gansu, China).

Illustration de couverture : peinture murale provenant de la grotte bouddhique de Mogao n° 103 d'époque Tang, Dunhuang (Gansu, Chine).

Foreword

Anne Cheng and Sanchit Kumar

1 This collection of articles is partly the result of an international conference organised by the Chair of Chinese Intellectual History at the Collège de France in June 2017, which has benefited from the scientific collaboration of Mr. Sanchit Kumar, the technical contribution of Mr. Jean-Michel Roynard, and the financial support of the Fondation Hugot du Collège de France. The conference, entitled "India-China: Intersecting Universalities", came after a first one, held two years earlier and entitled "Intellectual Encounters between India and France, 17th-19th centuries". The 2017 session brought together scholars from Asia, America and Europe, who have been interested in one aspect or other of the cultural interactions between India and China. For various reasons, some presentations made at the conference have not been turned into written papers, while some articles integrated in this volume have not been presented at the conference. However, the diversity of the topics treated both in oral and written forms testifies to the lively interest raised by the intersection of two heavyweights of area and cultural studies. China and India have already been explored in depth by major scholars whose works are cited and referred to throughout this volume[1].

2 One may wonder, however, why a chair dedicated to Chinese studies should have been tempted to look towards India, which is – to say the least – another huge field of research. At a time when China is widely (and wildly) assumed to be "on the rise" and looms large, not to say threatening, in the global picture, it has been our firm and long-standing conviction that it is more than ever necessary to stop considering it as a self-contained and self-sufficient entity, and to place it within a regional context by taking into account its historical relationships with its equally influential neighbours, be it Japan, South-East Asia or India.

3 What makes the relationship between "China" and "India" so remarkably interesting is that one can hardly imagine two civilisational worlds as radically different from each other, which yet managed somehow to come into contact and interact. One should naturally be aware from the very start that both "China" and "India" are problematic denominations at any point in time before their modern transformation into nation-states. These terms are here used to designate two vast areas of civilisation on either side of the Himalayas, the contours of which kept fluctuating over the centuries but

between which there has been a constant circulation of people and ideas. The first and foremost case that readily springs to mind is the vast overhaul of Buddhism from India to China over the first millennium of the Common Era, which implied a massive and unprecedented effort of "translation" of Buddhist scriptures and literature into Chinese. However spectacular and grandiose as this process might appear in retrospect, it would certainly be naive to believe in the simplistic and reductive narrative of two great and ancient civilisations coming either into direct contact or just through a single defining moment.

4 The aim of the present volume is to look at various aspects of the cultural interactions between India and China at different points of history which may be roughly distributed into two large periods: first, the period running from the early centuries of the Christian era, when Indian Buddhism started seeping into the Chinese soil, down to early Tang times (7th-8th centuries), when Buddhism can be said to be transferred from India to China. The second period takes the story into much later times, from the late 17th to the early 20th centuries, when India came under British rule while China came under Manchu rule. The volume therefore does not claim to cover the whole ground, nor does it claim to break new grounds, the main purpose being to envisage China as integrated in a larger vista and landscape.

5 The articles included here all endeavour to broach the subject from very diverse angles, and to bring in slightly more subtle and nuanced views that tend to question the notion of "direct contact", as well as the reality of the awareness and knowledge that these two worlds actually had of each other. This is the main thrust of the two erudite and finely-wrought articles contributed by Timothy Barrett, the first on the Chinese perception of Jainism and the second on the early modern origins of Chinese Indology. Both topics have been largely overlooked by mainstream scholarship. The way they are dealt with here has the great merit of providing interesting insights based on genuine curiosity and accurate knowledge, mixed with enduring preconceptions and fanciful imaginations which make up the Chinese perceptions of Indian cultures and religions over the centuries.

6 Two other articles do tackle the unavoidable subject of Indian Buddhism in China, more specifically in Chinese textual sources, but both do so from a rather paradoxical viewpoint. Béatrice L'Haridon taps on her expertise as a translator into French of the *Mouzi li huo lun*, which features among the earliest Chinese sources testifying to the presence of Buddhist influence in Han territory around the end of the 2nd century of the Common Era. Her contribution shows that what is usually presented as an apologetic text in favour of the Buddhist faith is actually based on the argumentative authority of the Confucian Classics and the Confucian *Analects* in particular. Anne Cheng focuses on a slightly later source, the *Foguo ji* by Faxian, one of the earliest Chinese Buddhist monks to have travelled all the way to India in search of Vinaya texts in the 4th century. Faxian makes a rather strange and surprising use of the term *Zhongguo* (the "Middle Country"), not as a designation of China as would have been expected, but as a Chinese rendition of the Sanskrit *Madhyadesa*, the heart of the land of the Buddha, thus displacing the age old notion of centrality attached to China to a new centre located in India. This recognition for the very first time in its history that China not only was no longer the only centre of civilisation in the known world, but actually found itself relegated to the periphery, was symptomatic of a "borderland complex" that was to leave a deep imprint in the Chinese minds.

7 Matthew Mosca, whose book *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy: The Question of India and the Transformation of Geopolitics in Qing China* (Stanford University Press, 2013) has been a major breakthrough, chooses to trace the very individual and isolated itineraries of Indian mendicants (*gosains*) prompted by spiritual or commercial or both motivations into Chinese territory and to delve into a variety of sources bearing testimony to the way these travellers coming from India were perceived by the Chinese. It is interesting to note that more often than not, the *gosains* were assumed to be on their way to some Buddhist pilgrimage sites, which means that to the Chinese mind, anyone coming from India would tend to be spontaneously associated with Buddhism, making Timothy Barrett's considerations on the Chinese perception of Jainism all the more relevant. One aspect of the circulation of men and goods between India and China that had nothing whatsoever to do with spiritual or religious motivations is of course the Parsi merchants' prosperous trade running to and fro from Mumbai to Canton during the 19th century which is described in refined detail by Madhavi Thampi, the author of numerous works on the subject[2].

8 Finally, by the late 19th and early 20th centuries, one major field of both convergence and contention between colonial India and Manchu China is the shared feeling of Asian fraternity and solidarity, but at the same time, of competition on the way to modernisation. While Nicolas Idier retraces the travels of the great Confucian thinker and reformer Kang Youwei (1858-1927) to India in the midst of his many years of peregrinations around the world after the fiasco of the 1898 reform movement, Joseph Ciaudo recalls the visits of the Bengali poet and Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) to China. It remains a mystery why these two exact contemporaries and monumental figures of their time never came to meet, although they did visit each other's country and even place of residence (Calcutta and Shanghai, respectively). One cannot help thinking that this *rendez-vous manqué* was a highly significant premonition of what was to follow, namely, the 20th century history of a complex relationship between India and China that would vary from aborted attempts at establishing friendly relations to open hostility as was the case in the brief but deeply traumatising 1962 war. This is reflected in an indifference of sorts to each other which seems to prevail today among the elites. It is precisely to try and remedy such indifference and mutual ignorance that we bring forward this collective volume with the hope of offering to our readers alternative approaches to the connections between India and China, other than the merely geopolitical ones that fill our media today.

NOTES

1. See among others Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (1893-1964), Tan Yun-shan 譚雲山 (1898-1983), Ji Xianlin 季羡林 (1911-2009), Tan Chung 譚中 (b. 1929), Victor H. Mair (b. 1943), Wang Bangwei 王邦維 (b. 1950), Tansen Sen (b. 1967). It is to be noted that, whereas the Chinese scholars aforementioned have been mainly interested in the Buddhist interactions between India and China, Tansen Sen is one of the rare scholars of Indian origin who has endeavoured to take the inquiry into other fields and modes of interaction such as the ones he explores in *Buddhism,*

Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600-1400, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2003 and in *India, China, and the World: A Connected History*, Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield, 2017.

2. See in particular Madhavi Thampi, *Indians in China, 1800-1949* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005). Also, with Shalini Saksena, *China and the Making of Bombay*, Mumbai, The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 2009.

One important aspect of that trading activity based in Bombay was the opium trade with China, on which one can refer to the book by Amar Farooqui, *Opium City: The Making of Early Victorian Bombay*, Gurgaon, Three Essays, 2006.

AUTHORS

ANNE CHENG

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The Chinese Perception of Jainism 耆那教

T. H. Barrett

1 The following remarks are concerned with an aspect of cultural contact that seems to have received comparatively little attention so far, despite the pioneering work of specialists in reception studies such as Elinor Shaffer, namely the diffusion and influence of large bodies of translated material. The transfer of a corpus of writing from one language to another and from one culture to another is in itself a topic of indubitable interest, but what happens or indeed fails to happen next is surely just as important. Even in the most pious parts of the United States, for example, dust on the family Bible appears not to have been a completely unknown phenomenon. Here, however, the focus is on a much larger corpus of sacred writings translated over a lengthy period, probably constituting the most extensive translation phenomenon of pre-modern times, namely the Buddhist Canon in Chinese. That Buddhism had a major impact on East Asia is undeniable, but what of the non-Buddhist aspects of South Asian culture that may also be found in these sources?

2 The Indian tradition we know as Jainism has had a history just as long as Buddhism, but as a phenomenon classified under the Eurocentric category of 'religion', and even as a self-designation through the term 'Jaina', its history is far shorter, going back only to the nineteenth century.[1] In East Asia, moreover, any awareness of Jainism in this modern sense would seem to be even shorter, and though I have not attempted any definitive account of its emergence, Professor Chan Man Sing 陈萬成, currently of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, has generously provided me with a number of details that have made the overall story tolerably clear. Certainly Jainism is securely there, under the name of Qina jiao 耆那教, in reference works published in the People's Republic from the 1980s, and one such work even notes that at one time there had been a Jain organization in Tianjin.[2] But though there was certainly a community of some two hundred Jains in Hong Kong in the early 1990s, most prominently the Jhaveri family of gem merchants, the history of the Jains in modern East Asia appears to be at present very much a blank, a story that still needs to be written.[3] These contacts may not have been without consequence: Professor Chan recalls that to Cantonese speakers

of his grandmother's generation 'Qinajiao' was used as a synonym for 'complete nonsense' –something less likely to be a doctrinal judgment than a reaction to the various restrictions operating on the Jain way of life, which though familiar enough in a South Asian context must have struck their much more omnivorous new neighbours as tedious in the extreme.[4]

3 By contrast academic research on the religion of the Jains as such seems at the earliest to have been a feature only of the 1980s onwards in the People's Republic of China, and not before.[5] Elsewhere in the Chinese world, for that matter, I have only been able to find a listing for just one earlier article, published in Taiwan in 1958.[6] These references, it should be noted, simply attest to the emergence of Jainism as the specific focus of academic research publications. The Chinese term, however, points to a slightly longer history elsewhere in East Asia, since it is an attested early transcription of the Sanskrit term *jina,* 'conqueror', an epithet describing the Jain lineage of spiritual teachers.[7] But it is an epithet also used to describe the Buddha, and it is in a Sui period biography of the Buddha that we find the word transcribed, where Samuel Beal's nineteenth century translation, following a gloss dating back to the Tang period, renders it in a footnote as 'Vanquisher'.[8] Yet everywhere else in Buddhist literature the translation is preferred over the transcription, so whoever introduced the term must have had a good knowledge of Buddhist sources in Chinese as well as of modern Indology. This evidence points therefore to Japan, where Sanskrit studies drawing upon European Indology antedate those of China by about a generation at least, even if Beal's translation suggests that the biography containing the term was in current circulation in China in the late nineteenth century: Beal did have access to a Japanese printing of the canon, but his own Chinese library was more probably built up through visits to Chinese temples, which he certainly undertook during his time in East Asia.[9]

4 Professor Chan has suggested to me that there is a section on the Jains (as *Jina kyōha* 耆那教派) in the *Indo shūkyō shi* 印度宗教史of Anesaki Masaharu姉崎正治(1873-1949), published in 1897, but I have not had access to this work myself to see what Anesaki had to say or what sources he used.[10] Anesaki is known to have had a considerable influence on Chinese refugee scholars in Japan in the last decade of Manchu rule, notably Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1868-1936).[11] So it is probably not coincidental that the term Qinajiao appears in early 1908 in an essay on Buddhism published in the Tokyo-based Chinese journal *Minbao* 民報 by Zhang.[12] One should note, however, that Zhang was clearly familiar with the text translated by Beal, and may have read it in an edition equipped with phonological glosses, since this additional material is not uncommon in late imperial reprints from the Buddhist canon.[13]

5 In the same year –again I am indebted for Professor Chan for the reference– 'Qinajiao' appears in an English-Chinese dictionary. This work, however, acknowledges its indebtedness to earlier Japanese dictionaries, and these, it seems, were initially no more than translations of existing English dictionaries.[14] The English part of the entry in 1908 on Jains perhaps betrays its ultimate origin in such an English-language work, even if the translation adopted for the name is highly unlikely to have been the work of anyone outside East Asia: "Religious sects in India akin to the Buddhists, but separated from them and in hostility to them".[15] This practice of defining Jainism by reference to other traditions –surely a strong indication of its continuing unfamiliarity– seems even so to have persisted in the wider Chinese world: one dictionary published in Taiwan in 1960 speaks of "an Indian sect between Buddhism and Brahmanism", though the

Japanese definition at the same point in time of "a dualistic, ascetic religion that arose in India in the sixth century BCE, firmly opposed to taking animal life" no doubt does little better.[16] Meanwhile the earliest Japanese academic periodical listing I have found specifically concerning Jainism also dates to 1908, but it does not use the Chinese transcription of *jina*, transcribing the English term instead, and it simply translates a piece written earlier by the Oxford Professor of Sanskrit, Sir Monier Monier-Williams (1819-1899).[17]

6 In 1920, however, some Jain literature was published in a popular series dedicated to sacred texts of the world by a Japanese scholar named Suzuki Shigenobu 鈴木重信 (1890-1920) under the title *Jinakyō seiten* 耆那経聖典.[18] This series was evidently modelled on the *Sacred Books of the East,* to which Hermann Jacobi (1850-1937) contributed two volumes of Jaina scriptures in English translation. Whether Suzuki was translating directly from the Jain Prakrit or not I do not know, since I have yet to see his work, but though he did translate another work from German, he is said to have known Sanskrit at least, and he was also educated at a time when wide reading in Chinese was not uncommon. Accounts of his tragically short but productive life are hard to find, but he is described as a graduate from what is now Komazawa University who, after further study of Tibetan with the famous pioneering Japanese Tibetologist Kawaguchi Ekai 川口慧海 (1866-1945), went on to Tokyo University and to ordination as a Sōtō monk.[19] While Suzuki may or may not have been the person responsible for adopting the Chinese transcription for *jina* as an equivalent for the English term Jain, he certainly seems to have been responsible, albeit posthumously, for making the term popular during the 1920s and 1930s in Japan, even if in the post-war period Japanese themselves have resorted to transcription into the katakana syllabary instead and abandoned the use of Chinese characters for the word. In the writings of Ui Hakuju 宇井白寿 (1882-1963) on Jainism from 1926, one notes, the Chinese characters for 'Qinajiao' are used.[20]

7 The pattern in evidence here of the slow spread of a solely modern construction of an ancient tradition is by no means unique: one may point to the yet more protracted emergence of the modern Chinese understanding of Judaism, despite the solid evidence for longstanding contacts of Jews with China in the shape, for example, of a Hebrew manuscript in the Dunhuang archives over a thousand years ago.[21] In sum, though there is clearly very much more that could be said about the process, it is quite certain that Jainism as understood in China today does not connect with any phenomenon of imperial times, but represents an imported category.[22] But even so, pre-modern Chinese could have formed a notion of the tradition, had they wished to, since its adherents appear frequently in the translated texts of the Chinese Buddhist Canon. The terms used vary, but most common are transcriptions of the word *nirgrantha*, indicating an ascetic, but frequently used as a title for Mahavira, the teacher within the tradition corresponding in his era and significance to the historical Buddha.

8 In the earliest literature of Buddhism as preserved in South Asia and in Chinese translation his adherents appear constantly under this title as the party of opposition, the targets of constant religious polemic.[23] The chief dramatic functions of any opposition in polemical religious literature are, of course, to use underhand methods and to lose spectacularly: one thinks for example of the magical confounding of heresy in the Dunhuang text on the subduing of demons.[24] Typical of the first element in Buddhist depictions of the Nirgrantha opposition to their founder is a story found in

several Chinese sources of how some of their teachers persuaded a lay follower to try to trap him in a pit of fire –to no avail of course.[25] This was evidently an especially well known tale: the first Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to report on the sights of India was shown the very place where this was said to have happened.[26] A couple of centuries later the story was still being told to visitors to the spot.[27] Indeed a plot so dastardly evidently made an impression that was long remembered in China, and not just by the Buddhist clergy, but also by laymen and laywomen, for we find one of the latter in a preface to the reprinting of an encyclopaedia completed in 1827 refers concisely to the 'wicked plan of the Nirgrantha' 泥乾邪計, suggesting that her readers would have been well aware of the complete narrative.[28]

9 In the later Buddhist scriptures that became the most popular in China these Nirgranthas generally play a lesser role, staying in the background as part of the mass audience for the Buddha's message. Yet they are still there, in the *Lotus* and the *Vimalakirti.*[29] In the latter text, where Mahavira is mentioned in discussion among other heretical teachers, the earliest commentary correctly notes that the epithet is a general term for a renunciant, not part of his personal name.[30] This definition is picked up in later Chinese Buddhist reference works, though another more etymological and less functional definition, derived from the translation of Mahavira's name in the equivalent passage in an earlier version of the same scripture, was 'free of attachments', *lixi* 離繫.[31] From such examples it seems probable therefore that many readers would have had some notion of what the word implied, and indeed we find that a Chinese Buddhist biographer, in mid-imperial times, uses the word without further explanation in describing the earlier intellectual environment of an Indian Buddhist master who ended his career in China, seemingly assuming that a Chinese readership would have no difficulty with it.[32] It has further been suggested that a frequent theme in Buddhist painting of the same period in which a gaunt figure is seen holding a bird in front of the Buddha refers to a widely known folk tale that in its Buddhist version features a Digambara Jain ascetic.[33] The clearest example of an awareness of basic Jain doctrine comes from the discussions between Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 502-548) and the leadership of the Buddhist clergy of his day concerning his imposition of vegetarianism on the monastic community. This he did in conformity with what has now been shown to be a long tradition within Chinese Buddhism that in fact had no clear sanction in Indian practice, where vegetarianism was indeed a marker of Jain identity.[34] In putting up a rearguard action against his ruler, the leading monk Huichao 慧超 (? – 526) suggests that it is inconsistent to use leather in footwear and refuse to eat meat, saying that not eating meat even on pain of death is taking things as far as the Nirgranthas in their not using leather footwear.[35] The emperor, who had argued strongly that eating meat was the sign of a heretic, does not seem to have been impressed.[36]

10 Polemical narratives and brief glosses and dictionary definitions certainly will not have conveyed much of substance concerning the doctrines of the ancient Jains to the broader readership of medieval China beyond the learned clerical scholar-elite of Buddhism, but more detailed exposition on these matters would still have been available in the expositions on heresy contained in Indian Buddhist doctrinal treatises rendered into Chinese, which at a later stage expanded on some of the information conveyed in scriptural materials. Such treatises, like some of their equivalents in other cultures, tend to devote a certain amount of attention to a range of different heresies, so that it would be necessary to put together all the information devoted to Jainism

from these scattered accounts in order to move on from an appreciation of the polemical attitudes in early narrative sources to an evaluation of the totality of Buddhist records available in China concerning the perceived doctrinal failings of these South Asian rivals.[37]

11 It would of course be futile to look for any authentic Jain voices in pre-modern Chinese translation. There is admittedly one translated scripture that features a Jain protagonist, who discourses eloquently on such important topics as state violence, and its Tibetan version has even been made available in English, though not without some problems. But as with many Mahayana texts, all is not as it seems, for this ostensible heretic turns out to be a bodhisattva in disguise, destined for Buddhahood.[38] What is at issue here however is not the accuracy of the information about Jainism available to pre-modern Chinese but rather its dissemination. Given that mention of the tradition's adherents is spread throughout at least three types of material –the early polemical accounts of the Buddha's rivals, the subsequent briefer appearances in popular Mahayana scriptures, and the explicit critiques of the scholastic treatises– did dust as it were gather on the passages about Jainism in all of these sources? Were they read, but only within Buddhist monasteries? Or did the word Nirgrantha in its Chinese forms summon up some kind of image among educated non-Buddhist Chinese or at least informed lay people during the era after the main effort of translation came to an end in the course of the eleventh century?

12 A clear answer is possible at least in regard to one portion of the very early material that also was rendered into Chinese at a very early point in the importation of Buddhism. A brief account of the 'fasts' or Buddhist days of abstinence the translation of which has been firmly dated to the early third century CE includes an exposition by the Buddha of the three possible mental attitudes towards such occasions: that of the 'cowherd', meaning that like a herdsman leading cattle back to the best pasture, some individuals simply go where they have found good food and drink in the past; that of the Nirgrantha; and that of the Buddhist. The Nirgranthas are described as 'in their religious pursuits valuing style over substance, not possessing a right attitude', in other words displaying a hypocritical formalism, unlike the true Buddhist.[39] In the early seventeenth century this short scripture was annotated by the influential Buddhist leader Zhixu 智旭 (1599-1655) and incorporated into a concise *Compendium of regulations for lay people*, *Zaijia yaolü* 在家要律, which was subsequently republished in expanded form in 1824 and thereafter, evidently remaining an important guide for lay practice throughout the late imperial period.[40] Among Buddhist adherents, clerical and lay, it would seem, the image of the Nirgrantha as a sort of Buddhist equivalent of what the Pharisee was for the Christian reader turned out to be surprisingly durable.

13 This is, however, not the only image of the Nirgrantha that may be found in Zhixu's writings. The preface to what now seems to be one of his best-known works ends with an allusion not simply to any Nirgrantha but to Satyaka 萨遮, the Jain protagonist of the Mahayana scripture already referred to above. It is hard to know what this signifies in terms of the wider recognition of this text, since Zhixu had in his early career completed a comprehensive series of reading notes on the entire Chinese Buddhist canon, *Yuezang zhijin* 閲藏知津, that surely must have established him as one of the most widely read Buddhist scholars of his day.[41] The work in which he included this allusion, the *Zhouyi Chanjie* 周易禪解, or *Chan Explanations of the Book of Changes* has – perhaps inevitably, in view of its beguiling title– been extensively discussed in recent

scholarship.[42] The natural assumption today would probably be that the work was targeted at secular readers of the *Book of Changes*, and therefore that this allusion was intended to be intelligible to non-Buddhist readers, especially since his preface says he seeks "to use Chan to enter Confucianism and to entice Confucians into knowing Chan". [43] Yet so far I have found no indication that Zhixu's work ever reached such an audience, since on its completion in 1644 it was printed as part of the Jiaxing Buddhist canon, rather than as a separate polemical work.[44] Nor does it appear to have been reprinted separately until the early twentieth century, when it was republished by a press that explicitly aimed to make good the destruction wrought on the blocks of the Jiaxing Canon by the Taiping Rebellion.[45] In this context it is not clear if Zhixu is expecting the preface containing this reference to be generally read and widely understood –or if he is just using this opening flourish, like many Chinese preface writers, in order to establish his broad erudition.

14 So the analogy between Pharisees and Jains is not complete, even if they play the same scriptural roles. Among English-speaking readers of the Bible the Pharisees were well enough known to generate the adjective 'pharisaical', apparently by about 1530 according to online dictionaries. But despite the major impact of Buddhist usages on the Chinese language we see no similar phenomenon in China, where references to Nirgranthas outside specifically Buddhist writings seem as far as I have been able to discover very hard to find after their introduction through the Buddhist scriptures and before the age of print, though there is one remarkable and rather revealing exception. During the sixth and early seventh centuries Daoist scriptures came to model themselves so closely on the immensely popular rival products of the Buddhists that we find Daoist divinities, *tianzun* 天尊, behaving very much like Mahayana Buddhas and addressing multitudes of believers and unbelievers in panoramic celestial settings. In one Daoist encyclopaedia therefore of the late seventh century we find a scripture excerpt in which a *tianzun* ecumenically includes Nirgranthas in his audience, much to the bafflement of the German colleague who produced a summary of this text.[46]

15 But if we turn to the absence of any mention of Jainism in Chinese secular literature, it is necessary to weigh up some quite tricky historiographic issues concerning what Chinese writers of the past knew versus what they chose to write about. The precise issues involved differ somewhat from period to period, but broadly speaking may be divided between the age solely of manuscript, effectively up to about the year 1000, and the age of print plus manuscript thereafter. For the former period issues of selection in transmission also have to be weighed up. Though the Dunhuang manuscripts now complicate the picture somewhat, most of the more plentiful material we possess especially from the seventh century on actually came from a fairly narrow elite whose training in writing was geared towards examinations in which a compulsory knowledge of the Confucian Classics and of the *Wenxuan* 文選 literary anthology largely determined the limits of the vocabulary at their disposal.[47] It was the cultural stars of the day whose work was recopied and transmitted to posterity, and posterity had its own views as to what in the tradition was worth preserving.

16 To many later Chinese readers of the literature of this period, especially if they read only anthologies of poetry and prose compiled in line with the priorities of later ages, or genres such as histories that tended to exclude discussion of religious traditions, the age may have come across as predominantly secular, in a highly misleading way. But its literary figures could, if the occasion demanded, write beyond their conventional

limits, so that for example a visit to a monastery might result in a poem touching on Buddhist doctrine at a level that eighteenth century commentators living in a more Confucian climate did not always quite grasp. The *Wenxuan*, moreover, though by the standards of the early sixth century environment in which it was compiled a somewhat narrow, classicising collection, did contain one or two pieces on Buddhism that provided a model for anyone venturing beyond the classical heritage.[48] Here there is nothing on Jainism, but there is a concise reference to the ninety-six heresies that are said to have plagued India during the Buddha's day.[49] This was evidently a popular notion beyond the Buddhist community, for such a long list seems to have stimulated the imagination of some in Daoist circles, who took over its structure and filled it with a few choice items they considered more appropriate than any mention of Nirgranthas, including instead Christianity and Manichaeanism, for example.[50]

17 In fact references in Chinese discussion of doctrinal matters to the wider throng of heretical opponents who had confronted the Buddha, by lay persons as well as monks, are not hard to find: the Liang ruler's promotion of vegetarianism, which has already been mentioned above, provides several examples.[51] 'Heretic' was, moreover, one of those terms that seems to have been picked up and used by Daoists even well before Liang times.[52] In places Daoists seem to have turned back the term on its originators to refer to Buddhists themselves, though perhaps it is inferior varieties of their co-religionists that are being stigmatized.[53] Certainly the clergies of both traditions are depicted by others as familiar with the existence of heretical opponents to the Buddha.[54] Popular literature as well, to judge from the Dunhuang manuscripts, already employed the same term quite freely before the age of print.[55] It is no surprise therefore to see this usage continued in vernacular fiction into much later ages: in the *Journey to the West,* for example, it occurs frequently, showing up for instance in a number of chapter titles, suggesting that it remained in common usage in its original sense into Ming times.[56] At least one non-Buddhist scholar in Ming times also seems to have been perfectly familiar with the original Indian meaning preserved in Buddhist texts, namely Luo Qinshun 羅欽順 (1465-1547), who quotes extensively from passages in the *Lankavatara sutra* discussing some beliefs of the 'heretics' in a widely-read critique of his on Buddhist literature.[57] This does show that amongst later Chinese rivals to Buddhism there was at least some degree of awareness that Buddhists were by no means unopposed in India either.[58]

18 But heretics considered as a massive group, using this Buddhist term, *waidao* 外道, are also mentioned by one highly educated Tang scholar official in a more literary context, albeit a poem addressed to a monk.[59] This seems unusual for the Tang, but the eleventh century poet Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037-1101) is said to have incorporated the expression into his poetry.[60] Such examples seem to have legitimated the word in wider literary usage, since it is among the items of Buddhist vocabulary pressed into service by the poetry critic Yan Yu 嚴羽 (c. 1180-1235) in his *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話, in a very influential extended metaphor, likening strands within Chinese poetry to elements in the Buddhist tradition, that remained a topic of debate into late imperial times.[61] Dictionaries suggest that this notion of 'heretic' even moved in time beyond these contexts of literary criticism and Buddhistic forms of popular literature into yet more general use. Perhaps therefore its success left no room for the more specific 'Nirgrantha' to move beyond its place in Buddhist scriptures into wider circulation. One might even speculate that as a term for the 'Other' *waidao* lacked the dangerous

political overtones of native terminology, and hence was co-opted into regular use because it provided a Buddhist answer to a wider need.[62]

19 Yet to speak in this way is to assume that Buddhist materials did not in fact have a wide circulation in the last millennium of imperial Chinese history, and that too involves some assumptions that require examination. We tend to believe that we can discern what was available to read during this period by looking at library catalogues, of which an increasing number become available from the eleventh century onward. I have suggested elsewhere however that pre-modern Chinese librarians did not find it so easy to incorporate Buddhist and Daoist books into classification schemes that were not designed to include them, and that there are signs suggesting that quite a large number of such books were simply excluded, given that their proper bibliographical place was in the catalogues of the major canonical collections held in monastic institutions.[63]

20 A late eighteenth century gentleman might thus own and consult a *Compendium of regulations for lay people*, but not think to include it anywhere in his library list of fine literature. Nevertheless a small bibliographical space did exist in the prevailing schemes of the day for recording Buddhist works other than scriptures and translated texts, and even the most exalted libraries generally found something to put there. We are therefore able to tell that the emperor at this time would have had an abbreviated version of the same scriptural passage about the poor attitude of Nirgranthas found in the *Compendium of regulations* lodged in his own splendid collection as part of a seventh century Buddhist encyclopaedia that his scholars had deemed worthy of inclusion there, for sake of completeness as it were.[64] Whether he chose to dip into the encyclopaedia or not we do not know, though as it happens, the emperor of China in the late eighteenth century was a Manchu of strong Buddhist inclinations who sponsored the printing of the Buddhist canon in his own language as well as Chinese and studied Sanskrit with a Tibetan lama.[65]

21 The emperor's scholars were quite selective, and recorded but did not transcribe into their ruler's collection other compendious Buddhist works, including at least one Buddhist history that had certainly been in the palace library of the fifteenth century Ming dynasty.[66] This work, too, originally compiled in the Southern Song, contains an account of the conversion of a Nirgrantha skilled in divination and his five hundred followers at the hands of the eighth patriarch of Indian Buddhism, Buddhamitra 佛陀密多.[67] The passage in question, as the history notes, derives from a narrative describing the Indian patriarchal succession, very influential in its day, which was apparently put together in China in the late fifth century.[68] Whether any Ming autocrat read this excerpt or whether it simply gathered dust is again impossible to tell, but it was clearly not simply hidden away in a monastery.

22 It is certainly the case that any mention of Nirgranthas in Chinese poetry of the age of print is rather hard to find, but they do occur occasionally in connection with Buddhist topics, testimony no doubt to at least some reading of Buddhist materials. A poem by Shen Liao 沈遼 (1032-1085), for example, mentions both Buddhamitra and his non-Buddhist opponent as part of a series on the Indian patriarchs.[69] The eminent literary figure Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590) likewise describes a monk devoted to austerities as having the 'shape of a swan and the face of a Nirgrantha' 鵠形尼乾面, suggesting that asceticism –and not just hypocrisy– was still part of the image of Jainism at this point.[70] Diligent searching might uncover further references. But perhaps, after all, the overall situation is tolerably clear. Just as continental Catholics

tend to marvel that the Protestant British appear to have ‘sixty religions and only one sauce’, while perhaps finding it hard to say in what way Methodists differ from Baptists, so in China the multifaceted appearance of Indian heterodoxy as refracted through a Buddhist lens caused wonder and astonishment, but not many people were prompted therefore to learn much about any specific tradition.

23 Thus the analogy between Nirgranthas and Pharisees in this light appears somewhat misleading. Any Bible reader in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century or even anyone who listened to sermons attentively would know how a Pharisee was regarded by Gospel writers, and many gentlemen who owned a copy of William Whiston’s translation of the writings of Josephus would have known more that was not in the Bible –that in their day the Pharisees actually attracted very strong popular support, for example. So when George Eliot calls Mr. Bulstrode in *Middlemarch* a Pharisee her readers certainly would not have been confused. In China anyone who had memorized the *Lotus Sutra* –not a few people, that is– would have known the Chinese word transcribing Nirgrantha, but perhaps not much more. This contrast is not at all surprising, since the word Pharisee occurs dozens of times in the New Testament, but Nirgrantha only once in the *Lotus,* and once in the *Vimalakirti*, in the latter simply because Mahavira is listed as one of the six masters of heterodoxy. By contrast the broader category of ‘heretic’ is mentioned seven times in the *Lotus* and ten times in the *Vimalakirti.*

24 The way in which a broader conception of heresy from early times tended to relegate specific information about Jainism to a secondary status is also apparent in Chinese Buddhist encyclopaedias, which were effectively constituted as repositories of quotations. Explicit quotations by lay persons of Buddhist encyclopaedias I cannot recall, but it is perhaps worth mentioning that the great scholar and scientist Shen Kuo 沈括(1031-1095), who wrote some very interesting remarks on the possible significance of the Indian castes for understanding external influences on Chinese history, lived not long after the publication of a Buddhist handbook that does not mention Nirgranthas, but does open with an explanation of the four *varnas.*[71] The earliest Buddhist encylopaedic work of reference to survive, from the start of the sixth century, includes a chapter on ‘heretics’ and *rishis*, in Chinese *xian* 仙, but the bulk of the content is given over to the latter, and Jainism again only appears in the person of Mahavira as one of the Six Heretical Masters.[72] In the earliest Buddhist encyclopaedia to appear in the age of print –a work that had actually ceased to circulate in China itself in late imperial times, though it was reprinted in Japan– a similar situation obtains.[73] The section heading on heretics leads off with the Six Masters and has a few words to say on each, including a gloss on the meaning of Nirgrantha, but the subsequent subsection under this heading adds nothing concerning Jain doctrine at all.[74] Even more intriguingly the name ‘Nirgrantha’ is removed from its summary of the three attitudes towards days of abstinence referred to above, and the more generic ‘heretics’ is substituted.[75]

25 Perhaps none of this is to be wondered at. After all, very few Chinese ever met any Jains in pre-modern times, even when relations with the subcontinent were fairly close, while in late imperial China any visitors –and certainly overland visitors– from South Asia were rare enough to cause comment.[76] There are no indications that I have discovered so far that suggest that Jains lived in China before the onset of modernity. One may even have legitimate doubts as to whether Jainism existed in the fifth century in what is now Vietnam, though the allegations to that effect certainly cannot be

dismissed as due to a quirk of faulty transcription.[77] Rather, it is worth pointing out that observations of Southeast Asian religion by Chinese in times past often drew on analogies that were impressionistic rather than strictly accurate. Cambodia, for example, is unlikely to have supported real Daoist priests, despite repeated reports over the centuries of their presence there.[78] 'Organised religious groups other than Buddhist' might be the safest gloss, and might well explain the alleged Jains of Vietnam too. Such broad analogies seem usually to reflect no more than a rough and ready approach to ethnography, but in one case in South Asia one may suspect also a polemical purpose. The great Buddhist traveller Xuanzang 玄奘 in the early seventh century came across a group of 'white-robed heretics' 白衣外道 who seem to have been Śvetāmbara Jains, and remarks how similar the image of their founder seems to have been to Buddhist sculpture –but for 'founder' he says *tianshi* 天師, which may indeed mean simply to render *devaguru*, yet somehow coincides with the Daoist title Celestial Master.[79] A subject of a Daoist emperor, however, was not in a position to press such an analogy too closely.

26 To sum up, then, pre-modern China knew nothing of Jainism in the sense in which the word is used today. It knew a little about Nirgranthas, who were generally regarded as opponents of Buddhism marked by hypocrisy, though also by asceticism. But they tended for the most part to be viewed simply as one group among a number of heretics. And for the most part more detailed knowledge seems to have stayed in translated texts; only a somewhat generalised picture of the South Asian non-Buddhist 'Other' circulated more widely in Chinese society. In this way perhaps China knew less about India than European Christendom knew about Judaism or Islam. What one can probably say even so is that some awareness did come across to Chinese scholars that India was no more a religious or intellectual monoculture than China itself was during the past two millennia. This was perhaps not without consequence, for when late Qing thinkers like Zhang Binglin became acquainted with modern Indology through Japanese publications they were quick to appreciate the necessity of contextualising the development of Buddhist thought within this wider environment.

27 But pre-modern China was for the bulk of its history never directly contiguous with India, so if the information theoretically available in translation was left to gather dust, that should not occasion surprise. Though it would take further research to establish the fact, similar considerations may not have been so important in the Japanese case, since the long Japanese history of knowledge of both China and India created somewhat different circumstances for the dissemination and digestion of knowledge.[80] Provisionally, therefore, it is worth remarking that it would be no accident if Jainism in the guise of 'Qinajiao' turns out in the light of future research to be a Japanese construct drawing on European information. My remarks, however, have only provided a quick sketch of the materials known to me. Further investigations may substantially modify the picture given here.

NOTES

1. Peter Flügel, "The Invention of Jainism: A Short History of Jaina Studies", *International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)* 1.1 (2005), pp. 1-14, especially pp. 2-4.

2. The earliest account of Jainism in a reference work that I have noticed is in Ren Jiyu 任继愈, ed., *Zongjiao cidian* 宗教词典 (Shanghai: Shanghai cidian chubanshe, 1981), p. 839; the reference to the Tianjin community (in the Republican period?) is in Luo Zhufeng 罗竹凤, ed., *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu: Zongjiao* (Shanghai: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1988), p. 309.

3. Barbara-Sue White, *Turbans and Traders: Hong Kong's Indian Communities* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 156-160.

4. Note J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Scrupulousness and a Hindu-Jain contact", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1980.2, pp. 144-167.

5. Wang Leiquan 王雷泉, *Zhongguo dalu zongjiao wenzhang suoyin* 中國大陸 宗教文章索引 (Taibei: Dongchu chubanshe, 1995), p. 487, counts six articles on Jainism, from 1981 to 1986.

6. Buddhist Archives Commission of the Chinese Buddhist Association, *Zhonghua minguo liushinian lai fojiao lunwen mulu* 中華民國六十年來佛教論文目錄 (Taibei: Zhongguo fojiao hui wenxian weiyuan hui, 1975), p. 412, listing *Rensheng yuekan* 人生月刊 10.3.

7. Paul Dundas, *The Jains* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 3, but cf. also p. 22.

8. Samuel Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Sâkya Buddha* (London: Trübner, 1875), p. 2, n. 5, and cf. Huilin 慧琳, *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 56, p. 678b05 in Taisho Canon, vol. 54, though Beal may not have drawn directly on any edition of this source. For the text translated, *Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 in the context of Buddha biographies, see Max Deeg, "Chips from a Biographical Workshop – Early Chinese Biographies of the Buddha", in Linda Covill, Ulrika Roesler and Sarah Shaw, eds., *Lives Lived, Lives Imagined: Biography in the Buddhist Traditions* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2010), pp. 49-87.

9. Rev. S. Beal, *Buddhism in China* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1884), p. 155.

10. Chan Man Sing, p. c., June 4, 2017.

11. See pp. 79-80 of John Jorgensen, "Indra's Network: Zhang Taiyan's Sino-Japanese Personal Networks and the Rise of Yogācāra in Modern China", in John Makeham, ed., *Transforming Consciousness: Yogācāra Thought in Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 64-99.

12. Zhang Binglin, *Zhang Taiyan quanji* 章太炎全集, vol. 4 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1985), pp. 474, 480, references also pointed out to me by Professor Chan. For the date of publication of the piece in question, "Dasheng fojiao yuanqi kao" 大乘佛教缘起考, see Tang Zhijun 唐志鈞, *Zhang Taiyan nianpu changbian* 章太炎年谱长编 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p. 297. For a reference to Jainism in the 1920s by another one time exile mentioned by John Jorgensen as having been under the influence of Anesaki, Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929), see his *Foxue yanjiu shiba pian* 佛學研究十八篇 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1989, facsimile reprint of Shanghai, 1936), p. 32.

13. As is evidenced by the same 1908 piece: Zhang, *Zhang Taiyuan quanji,* 4, p. 467.

14. Yan Huiqing 颜惠慶, ed., *An English-Chinese standard dictionary* 英華大辭典 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1908), p. iii; the remark about English originals for early English-Japanese dictionaries is in the preface to *Fuzambo's Comprehensive English-Japanese Dictionary,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942.

15. Yan, *English-Chinese standard dictionary,* p. 1264.

16. Zhang Mengkai 張夢慨, ed., *Zonghe Ying-Hua Hua-Ying dacidian* 綜合英華華英大辭典 (Taibei: Da Zhongguo tushu, 1960), p. 666; *Kenkyusha's New English-Japanese Dictionary* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1960), p. 954.
17. Ryūkoku daigaku toshokan 龍谷大学図書館, comp. *Bukkyōgaku kankei zasshi rombun bunrui mokuroku* 仏教学関係雑誌論文分類目録 (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1975 reprint of 1931), p. 417.
18. Suzuki's volume was seventh in the first series of the *Sekai seiten zenshū* 世界聖典全集 published by the Sekai Seiten zenshū kankō kai, in Tokyo in 1920, and in subsequent reprints.
19. See n. 24 on p. 156 of Kanazawa Atsushi 金沢篤, "Gikyoku *Shakuntarā hime* no Wayaku" 戯曲シャくンタラー姫の和訳, *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 駒沢大学仏教学部論集 40 (December 2009), pp. 107-160.
20. Ui Hakuju, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* 印度哲学研究, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kinoene shoten, 1926), pp. 394-409.
21. Zhou Xun, *Chinese Perceptions of the 'Jews' and Judaism: A History of the Youtai,* Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2015; Wu Chi-yu, "Le manuscrit hébreu de Touen-houang", in Jean-Pierre Drège, ed., *De Dunhuang au Japon* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), pp. 259-291.
22. Rather than extend these prolegomena further, perhaps it will suffice to say that such further reading in lexicographic and encylopaedic materials from the early twentieth century as I have been able to consult encourage me in the belief that the modern construct of 'Jainism' derives – probably through Japanese dictionaries drawing on Anglophone sources– from a Western and most likely an Anglophone definition of the term.
23. For studies in Chinese drawing on both of these sources of early material, see Lū Kaiwen 吕凯文, "Dang Fojiao yujian Qinajiao – Chuqi Fojiao shengdian zhong de zongjiao jingzheng yu quanshi xiaoying" 当佛教遇见耆那教 – 初期佛教圣典中的宗教竞争与诠释效应, *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中华佛学学报 19 (2006), pp. 179-207; Xia Jinhua 夏金华, "Lun Fodian zhong Qina jiao yu Fojiao zhi zheng" 论佛典中耆那教与佛教之争, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 2014.4, pp. 24-33.
24. Translated in Victor Mair, *Tun-huang Popular Narratives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 57-83.
25. For a brief list of these sources and a synopsis, wherein the teachers are less specifically termed heretics, see Jonathan Silk, ed., Erik Zūrcher, *Buddhism in China: Collected Papers of Erik Zūrcher* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 207-208, originally p. 23 of his "Prince Moonlight", *T'oung Pao* 68 (1982), pp. 1-75. Some further references are provided s. v. 'Sirigutta' in Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善, *Indo Bukkyō koyūmeishi jiten* 印度佛教固有名詞辭典 (Nagoya: Hashinkaku shobō, 1931), p. 621.
26. James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), p. 82.
27. Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* , vol. ii (London: Trübner, 1884), pp. 151-152.
28. Lü Qinqiang 吕琴姜, preface to *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, as reprinted in Zhou Shujia 周叔迦 and Su Jinren 苏晋仁, *Fayuan zhulin jiaozhu* 法苑珠林校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), preface, p. 2.
29. Burton Watson, *The Vimalakirti Sutra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 42.
30. See the discussion in Sengzhao 僧肇, *Zhu Weimojie jing* 注維摩詰經 3, p. 351a, in Taisho Canon vol. 38, no. 1775. Stuart H. Young, in introducing this source on Buddhist debate as it reached China in his *Conceiving the Indian Buddhist Patriarchs in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015), p. 45, n. 66, narrows down its composition to between 406 and 410.
31. See the glossary of Sanskrit terms in Chinese compiled in 1147 by Fayun 法雲, *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集, 2, p. 1085b, in Taisho Canon vol. 54, no. 2131, and cf. p. 1084c22 for *lixi*; cf. also on the latter term Huilin, *Yiqiejing yinyi* 27, p. 490c01 (on the *Lotus Sutra*), and 70, p. 764c08.
32. See the biography of Vajrabodhi from the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* as translated by Chou I-liang, in Richard K. Payne, ed., *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), p. 47, and

n. 94, p. 240 –from his essay “Tantrism in China”, originally in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8.3/4 (1945), pp. 235-332.

33. Wang Huimin 王惠民, “Zhi que waidao fei Posou xian bian” 执雀外道非婆薮仙辩, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 2010.1, pp. 1-7; cf. for the wider diffusion of the narrative in question Lü Deting 吕德廷, “Zhi que wen shengsi gushi de liuzhuan” 执雀问生死故事的流转, *Zhongguo bijiao wenxue* 中国比较文学 100 (2015.3), pp. 195-203.

34. On the antiquity of this Chinese Buddhist tradition, see now Eric M. Greene, “A Reassessment of the Early History of Chinese Buddhist Vegetarianism”, *Asia Major,* third series 29.1 (2016), pp. 1-43, where the Buddhist rivalry with Jains is mentioned on pp. 4 and 37.

35. Daoxuan 道宣, ed., *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 26, p. 302c25-27.

36. For one summary of the debates, see pp. 198-201 of John Kieschnik, “Buddhist Vegetarianism in China”, in Roel Sterckx, ed., *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics and Religion in Traditional China* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 186-212.

37. Recent East Asian Indology has, of course, found no use for Buddhist texts in Chinese for studying the true situation of Jain doctrine in ancient India, but most of the relevant references may be found in pre-war Japanese scholarship, e.g. Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辞典, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Sekai seiten kankōkai, 1954, revised edition), pp. 4025-4027. Note, however, that Ui Hakuju’s work cited above, n. 20, draws on one or two Abhidharma texts in Chinese but mainly prefers South Asian materials, and naturally cautions that Buddhist accounts of Jainism, while possessing a certain value, cannot be relied on in themselves.

38. For a comprehensive critical review of the English translation in the light of a scholarship informed by East as well as South Asian perspectives, see Jonathan Silk, “The Proof is in the Pudding: What is Involved in Editing and Translating a Mahāyāna sūtra?”, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 56 (2013), pp. 157-178.

39. *Foshuo zhai jing* 佛說齋經, p. 911a10-14, in Taisho Canon vol. 1, no. 87: 其學貴文賤質無有正心. On this text, see the remarks of Jan Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Buddhist Translations* (Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2008), p. 130, n. 52. The mode of expression here is very literary: for style and substance in Chinese thought from the Confucian *Analects* onward, including the period during which this translation was produced, see Yan Kunyang 顏崑陽, *Liuchao wenxue gainian conglun* 六朝文學觀念叢論 (Taibei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1993), pp. 2-92.

40. The exact date of Zhixu’s commentary and of the compendium in which he placed it cannot be precisely determined, but seems to have been in 1647, according to Zhang Shengyan 張聖嚴, *Minmatsu Chūgoku Bukkyō no kenkyū* 明末中国仏教の研究 (Tokyo: Sankibō, 1975), pp. 300-302. The 1824 edition of his compendium, Yirun 儀潤, ed., *Zaijia yaolü guangji*在家要律廣集, is available online as CBETA X1123.

41. Zhang Shengyan, *Minmatsu Chūgoku Bukkyō*, pp. 117, 420.

42. For one recent summary, primarily from the perspective of Zhixu’s interest in divination rather than of his thoughts on the relationship of Chinese Buddhism to the wider intellectual environment, see Beverley Foulks McGuire, *Living Karma: The Religious Practices of Ouyi Zhixu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 41-46, though much more has been written in Chinese and Japanese.

43. Foulks McGuire, *Living Karma*, p. 42.

44. Zhang Shengyan, *Minmatsu Chūgoku Bukkyō*, p. 298, notes that it was completed in two stages, but gives no publication details; I have not so far found any listing outside the Jiaxing Canon.

45. Zhixu, *Zhouyi Chanjie* (Nanjing: Jinling kejing chu, 1915), has been reprinted many times by photolithography; the allusion in these editions is in the preface, p. 2b, col. 3-4.

46. Florian C. Reiter, *Kategorien und Realien im Shang-Ch’ing-Taoismus: Arbeitsmaterialien zum Taoismus der frühen T’ang-Zeit (Shang-ch’ing-tao-lei-shih-hsiang)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), p. 82, on p. 4.1b of the source summarized, Daoist Canon text no. 1132.

47. For the importance of the latter corpus in examinations see for example Robert des Rotours, *Le Traité des Examens* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1976), p. 343, n. 2.
48. For a pioneering example of this one may consult Antonino Forte, "A literary model for Adam", in his edition of Paul Pelliot, *L'Inscription Nestorienne de Si-ngan-fu* (Kyoto: ISEAS and Paris: IHEC, 1996), pp. 473-481.
49. For a translation of the passage in question, see p. 347 and n. 73 of Richard B. Mather, "Wang Chin's 'Dhūta Temple Inscription' as an Example of Buddhist Parallel Prose", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83.3 (1963), pp. 338-359.
50. T. H. Barrett, "Tang Taoism and the mention of Jesus and Mani in Tibetan Zen: a comment on recent work by Rong Xinjiang", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 66.1 (2003), pp. 56-58.
51. For another example see the inscription by the eminent layman and literatus Liang Su 梁肅 (753-793) contained in Zhipan 志磐, comp., *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 49, p. 438b17 in Taisho Canon vol. 49, no. 2035. We return to this compilation below.
52. Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫and Mugitani Kunio 麥谷邦男, eds., Zhu Yueli 朱越利, trans., *Zhen gao* 真誥 7 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), p. 222 and n. 7, p. 225.
53. Notice for example the use of *waidao* and *wai daojia* 外道家 in the Tang period material in Zhang Junfang 張君房, ed., *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 10 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), pp. 179, 180.
54. Li Fang 李昉, ed., *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記370 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), p. 2944.
55. The word 'heretic' in Mair, *Popular Narratives,* p. 62, 68, 70, etc., translates this Buddhist expression.
56. See e.g. chapters 33, 35 and 46 of the *Journey to the West*, though dictionaries suggest that subsequently vernacular usage has apparently transmuted its meaning to something like 'over-formal and unfriendly' –it may however be that this is an etymologically separate expression.
57. Luo's essay 'On reading Buddhist literature', 'Du Foshu bian' 讀佛書辨, is included in Huang Zongxi黃宗羲 (1610-1695), *Mingru xue'an* 明儒學案, 47; for the passage in question, cf. Shen Zhiying 沈芝盈, ed., *Mingru xue'an,* second ed., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), p. 1127, though this is not in the translation of the section on Luo in Julia Ching with Chaoying Fang, trans., *The Records of Ming Scholars* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), pp. 213-218.
58. Luo draws on a part of this sutra that corresponds to that translated from Sanskrit in Daisetzu Teitaro Suzuki, *The Lankavatara Sutra: A Mahayana Text* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932), pp. 157-161; here Suzuki's translation terms these opponents 'the philosophers', but in his *Studies in the Lankavatra Sutra* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1930), pp. 102, n. 2 and 406, this equates with the Chinese *waidao.*
59. Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫, *Liu Yuxi ji* 劉禹錫集 24 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1975), p. 271, 贈長沙贊头陀.
60. Thus, in 1157, Wu Zeng 吳曾, *Nenggaizhai manlu* 能改齋漫錄 8 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979), p. 247.
61. For a translation of the passage in question, in which *waidao* is rendered 'heterodoxy', see p. 221 of Richard John Lynn, "Orthodoxy and Enlightenment: Wang Shih-chen's Theory of Poetry and Its Antecedents", in Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), pp. 217-269. This study brings Yan's metaphor down to Ming times, but see also the 1705 publication of Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711), *Xiangzu biji* 香祖笔記 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 30-31.
62. For Chinese terminology on heresy, see Junqing Wu, *Mandarins and Heretics: The Construction of "Heresy" in Chinese State Discourse* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), wherein *waidao* appears not at all, as far as I have been able to discover.
63. Timothy H. Barrett, "Ritual in the Library, With Special Reference to Taoism", in Florian Reiter, ed., *Foundations of Daoist Ritual: A Berlin Symposium* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), pp. 13-26.

64. Daoshi 道世, *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, 88, p. 935b in Taisho Canon 53, no. 2122; this is the same work that has been referred to above for a (late, non-canonical) preface from 1827. For the inclusion of this work in the imperial library see Chen Yuan 陈垣, *Zhongguo fojiao shiji gailun* 中国佛教史籍概论 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), p. 60. For the emperor's library, see R. Kent Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries: Scholarship and the State in the Late Ch'ien-lung Era,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987. For Daoshi's compilation, see Stephen F. Teiser, "T'ang Buddhist Encyclopedias: An Introduction to *Fa-yüan chu-lin* and *Chu-ching yao-chi*", *T'ang Studies* 3 (1985), pp. 109-128.
65. Matthew W. Mosca, *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy: The Question of India and the Transformation of Geopolitics in Qing China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), p. 72.
66. Viz. Zhipan, comp., *Fozu tongji*: cf. Cao Ganghua 曹刚华, *Songdai fojiao shiji yanjiu* 宋代佛教史籍研究 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2006), p. 51, citing the catalogue of the Wenyuange 文渊阁书目. Zhipan's work has been the topic of scholarship in Western languages, but the basic information on the edition seen by the emperor's scholars is in Chen, *Zhongguo fojiao shiji gailun,* pp. 128-129.
67. Zhipan, *Fozu tongji* 5, p.173a-b, citing the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳.
68. Young, *Conceiving the Indian Buddhist Patriarchs in China,* pp. 67-110.
69. Shen Liao, *Yunchao bian* 雲巢編 6, in *Shenshi san xiansheng wenji* 沈氏三先生文集 57.55b (*Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 series 3, reprint of Ming edition).
70. Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren xu gao* 弇州山人續稿 8.15a (*Mingren wenji congkan* 明人文集叢刊 vol. 22; Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1970).
71. For the entry in the handbook, see Daocheng 道誠 (fl. early eleventh century), *Shishi yaolan jiaozhu* 釋氏要覧校注 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju , 2014), p. 5 –the editors (preface, p. 2) place the compilation of this work shortly after 1019. For Shen's remarks, which certainly do not seem to come from this source alone, see pp. 54-57 of Denis Twitchett, "The Composition of the T'ang Ruling Class: New Evidence from Tunhuang", in Denis Twitchett and Arthur F. Wright, eds., *Perspectives on the T'ang* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 47-85. Shen was related to Shen Liao, mentioned above.
72. This work, compiled by Baochang 寶唱 and others, the *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相, devotes its thirty-ninth fascicle to these topics. For its composition, see Ōuchi Fumio 大内文雄, "Ryōdai Bukkyō ruijusho to *Kyōritsu isō*" 梁代佛教類聚書と經律異相, *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 50 (1977), pp. 55-82.
73. On the printing of this work, the *Yichu liutie* 義楚六帖, see T. H. Barrett, *From Religious Ideology to Political Expediency in Early Printing: An Aspect of Buddho-Daoist Rivalry* (London: Minnow Press, 2012), pp. 111-112.
74. Yichu (c. 900-970), *Yichu liutie* (Kyoto: Hōyū shoten, 1979), 14.5a, 7b (pp. 315-316 as reprinted); the second reference is to the Jain hero of the Buddhist text who turns out to be a future Buddha after all, as mentioned above .
75. *Yichu liutie* 6.28b (p. 112).
76. Note Gong Zizhen 龔自珍, *Gong Zizhen quanji*龔自珍全集, series 9 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1975), p. 484, 'Poluomen yao' 婆罗門謡. This person may perhaps have been Nepalese: cf. John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Cambridge History of China,* Volume 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 103, 405.
77. Compare Li Yanshou 李延壽, *Nanshi* 南史 78 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), p. 1949, and n. 7, p. 1965, but note that this source was entirely derivative of older works that do not exhibit the textual variant given: cf. David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.168-169; Xiao Zixian 萧子顯, *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 58 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), p. 1013, with no note of any variant in Zhu Jihai 朱季海, *Nan Qi shu jiaoyi* 南齊書校議 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), p. 134; Du You 杜佑, *Tong dian* 通典 188 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), p. 5091, and n. 68, p. 5114, for some additional references.

78. Fu Qinjia 傅勤家, *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中國道教史 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), p. 196. For an annotated text of one well-known account of 'Daoists' in late thirteenth century Cambodia, see Chen Zhengxiang 陳正祥, *Zhongguo youji xuanzhu* 中国游记选注 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979), pp. 138-139.
79. Ji Xianlin 季羡林, ed., *Xiyuji jiaozhu* 西域記校注 3 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 315-316; Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* vol. I (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904), pp. 251-252; Terry F. Kleeman, *Celestial Masters: History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016.
80. Note for example that eighteenth century Japanese seem to have been much more aware of the function of competition with non-Buddhists in stimulating doctrinal development within Buddhism, whereas I believe that in China before the end of the nineteenth century competition was seen as operating within the Buddhist tradition itself: cf. p. 244 of Tim H. Barrett, "Michael Pye, Translating Drunk –and *Stark Naked:* Problems in Presenting Eighteenth Century Japanese Thought", *Journal of the Irish Society for the Academic Study of Religions* 3 (2016), pp. 236-249.

INDEX

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AUTHOR

T. H. BARRETT

Professor Emeritus of East Asian History, SOAS, University of London. He graduated in Chinese Studies from Cambridge and then completed his doctorate at Yale in Religious Studies. Apart from eleven years of teaching in Chinese Studies in Cambridge, he taught at SOAS in History and then in Religious Studies until his retirement at the end of 2013. In 2018 he was Shinnyo-en Visiting Professor of Buddhist Studies at Stanford University. His publications include *Taoism Under the T'ang: Religion and Empire during the Golden Age of Chinese History* (1996) and *The Woman who Invented Printing* (2008).

Quoting the Confucian *Analects* in Defense of Indian Buddhism: An Exegetical Study of Confucius' Utterances in the *Mouzi li huo lun*

Béatrice L'Haridon

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1 I first encountered the *Mouzi* 牟子 while working on a Confucian text attributed to Lu Jia 陸賈 (d. *c.* 170 BCE), the *New Discourses* (*Xinyu* 新語), and more particularly on the problems raised by its authenticity. Lu Jia, as an ambassador for two emperors of the Han dynasty, Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202-195 BCE) and Wendi 文帝 (r. 179-157 BCE), led two expeditions to the remote area of Jiaozhi 交趾,[1] then an independent kingdom (Nan Yue 南越) at the extreme south of the Chinese space. The *New Discourses,* despite the importance of their author who was to be considered, at least some decades later, as a crucial counsellor at the very beginning of the dynasty, fell into oblivion in the following centuries. A troubling coincidence is that the first text which quotes the *New Discourses* is a Buddhist text, probably composed at the end of the Eastern Han dynasty, almost four centuries later, by a master living in the Jiaozhi region. I eventually found no reliable interpretation for this coincidence, but I discovered a text which, among other peculiarities, is an interesting textual hybrid between defense of the Buddhist way, Confucian persuasion and admiration for the *Laozi*.

2 Despite of complex questions about its authenticity,[2] which were first raised by the Qing dynasty philologists, the *Mouzi* has long been considered as the first Chinese text to defend and explain Buddhism in front of narrow-minded and hostile Chinese literati. Mouzi is the name of a mysterious master whose life is partly recounted in an introduction preceding a debate in thirty-seven arguments. He apparently never left the Jiaozhi region, which was relatively spared from the turmoil of the wars at that time disintegrating an empire whose existence had by then become only nominal. Mouzi received a complete training in Chinese Classics. Later, he was once forced to leave Cangwu 蒼梧, the administrative centre of the region, for Jiaozhi (that is the region of Hanoi in present-day Vietnam), and may have discovered Buddhism there,

since this commandery was a major place for trade with the South Seas.[3] As his interlocutor was quick to highlight, he never went to India, but he became a devotee of Buddhism after realizing that commitment to the Han world was not possible anymore. In such a period of disorder, it would only mean losing one's own life. Yet, he got involved in controversies with his peers.

3 At the end of the autobiographical introduction, the text is presented as a necessary debate with hostile contemporaries, but paradoxically enough written down in order to avoid direct controversies which would be "contrary to the Way":

世俗之徒, 多非之者, 以為背五經而向異道.　欲爭則非道, 欲默則不能.　遂以筆墨之間, 略引聖賢之言證解之, 名日牟子理惑云.

> Those who were only following the conventional teachings of their time went in numbers to criticize him, considering that he had betrayed the doctrine of the Five Classics and had turned to a heterodox way. Should Mouzi debate with them, it would be contrary to the Way, and should he remain silent, it would be impossible for him, so Mouzi turned to brush and ink, and relying on the words of the sages explained the validity [of Buddhism].

4 Here, Mouzi recognizes that these debates never really happened, and were from the very beginning intended to be a written text and he therefore abandons the traditional presentation of written debates as transcriptions of oral controversies.

5 The last argument which comes as a conclusion adds that this literary debate is very carefully structured, in accordance with the number thirty-seven, which is symbolic in the Buddhist as well as in the Taoist tradition, thus becoming symbolic of the hybridization accomplished by Mouzi. Another kind of textual hybridization which will be the main object of this article is the pervasive use of quotations from the *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語, abbreviated *LY*) in order to demonstrate the validity of Buddhism, thus transforming what may have been eristic dialogues into a rich intertextual play.

6 The introduction deeply roots the *Mouzi* in a specific historical moment, the fall of the Han dynasty, and in a specific geographic context, the extreme south of the Han empire, which according to the *Mouzi* was receiving refugees from the north, fleeing the disorder of the time. Notwithstanding the unsolved problem of the dating of the text, the significance of the *Mouzi* nevertheless extended well beyond its time and location to become a literary model and a source of arguments for debates between the "three doctrines," mainly until the Tang dynasty, but also under the Yuan dynasty, when the controversies found a new life, mainly opposing Buddhists and Taoists claiming again that the Buddha was only one of the multiple transformations of Laozi (see for example the *Bianwei lu* 辯偽錄 by the monk Xiangmai 祥邁 (Accounts of Disputation of [Daoist] Falsehood, composed in 1291; T. 2116)); or a few decades later, another apologetic text, the *Zhe yi lun* 折疑論 written by a hermit and monk named Zicheng 子成 in 1351, which is modelled after the *Mouzi li huo lun* (even copying long passages of the *Mouzi* into its own text). The main reason for this deep and lasting influence was the insertion of the *Mouzi* in the *Hongming ji* 弘明集 (*Collection of texts for propagating and elucidating [Buddhist teaching]*) by Sengyou 僧佑 (445-518). Here, relying on a careful examination of the *Analects* quotations in the *Mouzi*, I would like to show that this foundational debate apparently opposing Buddhism on the one hand and Chinese classical tradition on the other presents in fact a far more complex rhetoric. One of its most interesting aspects is the underlying reinterpretation of the *Analects.*

1. Mouzi's way of reading classical texts as exposed in the first polemical arguments

7 Mouzi's interpretation of the *Analects* is based on a general vision of the Chinese Classics as an open corpus. Confucius himself is considered to have expanded the classical corpus he edited, a way for Mouzi to make reconcilable the extensive corpus of the *Sūtra* and the limited and numbered corpus of the Classics,[4] which was nevertheless considered by the Han dynasty literati as a complete one, embracing all the aspects of the cosmos. As is often the case in the *Mouzi*, the very argumentation does not rely on a simple opposition between Indian Buddhism and Chinese Classicism, but discerns and discusses tensions which are internal to the Chinese tradition in order to solve the possible tensions between the Buddhist way and Han Classicism. In one case, he is able to use the same arguments raised by the Classicists when criticized for their too complicated and extensive corpus by the followers of Laozi, who admire the brevity of the "five thousand characters" (*wuqian wen* 五千文) of the text ascribed to him. But at the same time, he goes subtly further by suggesting that the extensive Indian corpus reflects the infinity of the cosmos. The fundamental novelty lies in this conception of infinity we do not find well developed in Chinese ancient texts, except in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and even more in the *Liezi* 列子.[5]

> 孔子不以五經之備，復作春秋孝經者，欲博道術恣人意耳。 佛經雖多，其歸為一也。 猶七典雖異, 其貴道德仁義亦一也。 孝所以說多者, 隨人行而與之。 若子張子游, 俱問一孝, 而仲尼答之各異, 攻其短也。

> Confucius did not consider the comprehensiveness of the Five Classics as an obstacle to the writing of two other Classics, *The Spring and Autumn Annals* and *The Classic of Filial Piety*. He wanted to fully explain the practices of the Way in accord with human intentions. Although the *Sūtra* of the Buddha are numerous, they revolve around one central point, just as the Seven Classics, although different, are at one in valuing the Way and its virtue, benevolence and righteousness. [Confucius] had many different ways to speak about filial piety because he was providing his teaching in accord with the man [in front of him]. It was indeed the case with the disciples Zizhang and Ziyou, who both asked the same question about filial piety, and received different answers from Confucius because he was correcting their respective shortcomings.[6] (6th argument)

8 Thus, the specific form of the *Analects*, consisting in dialogues between a master and very different disciples, leads Mouzi to read this text as a collection of teachings adapted to specific situations, and not as the expression of immutable rules. In the next passage, Mouzi quotes an important sentence from the *Analects*, in which the disciple Zigong 子貢 describes his own master as having no exclusive master.[7] Since the Master who composed the Classics had such a broad view, not restricting himself to one and only school, he would have followed the Buddha's teaching, had he only had the chance to come across it:

> 君子博取眾善,以輔其身。 子貢云：夫子何常師之有乎？堯事尹壽, 舜事務成, 旦學呂望, 丘學老聃, 亦俱不見於七經也。 四師雖聖, 比之於佛, 猶白鹿之與麒麟, 燕鳥之與鳳凰也。 堯舜周孔且猶學之, 況佛身相好變化神力無方！焉能捨而不學乎！

> In order to elevate himself, the gentleman broadly draws inspiration from multiple good deeds. Zigong said, "Why should our master have a constant master?" (The great sages) Yao, Shun, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius respectively studied with Yin Shou, Wu Cheng, Lü Wang and Laozi, and none of these teachers appear in the Seven Classics. Moreover, although they were

> Saints, to compare them with the Buddha is like comparing a white deer with a *qilin* unicorn, or a swallow with a phoenix. Despite this, Yao, Shun, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius studied with them, so much more would they have studied with the Buddha (had they known him), with his limitless spiritual and transformative power and his major and minor marks! How could they have turned against him? (7th argument)

9 Here, Mouzi does not directly compare the respective wisdom of Confucius and the Buddha (which would be the case in later polemic literature as we shall see below), but mentions diverse masters who became a source of inspiration for Confucian sages, without featuring in the Classics. As a consequence, a new master like the Buddha is not to be rejected because of his absence from the Classics. However, Mouzi's arguments mostly rely not on the Classics considered to have been edited by Confucius (the Five Classics) nor on the two additional Classics supposedly composed by Confucius himself (the *Chunqiu* 春秋 and the *Xiaojing* 孝經), but on the *Analects* whose position in this corpus is ambiguous.

2. References to the *Analects* in the *Mouzi*

10 The distribution of the *Analects* quotations in the *Mouzi* is quite significant in itself. Here is a list of the thirty-seven arguments, divided into groups presenting a certain thematic unity. Each argument is characterized by its main point, and the possible use of one or even two or three quotations from the *Analects.*

[Non-polemical arguments]
1. [Buddha's biography]
2. [Buddha's name]
3. [Why Buddha's Way is called « the way » (*dao*)]

***

4. Evanescence of the Buddhist Way
5. & 6. Complexity of the Buddhist scriptures. Need to simplify them
7. Absence of the Buddha in the Sages' scriptures – **LY XIX.22**

***

8. Buddha's strange appearance
9. Buddhist disrespect for body integrity – **LY IX.29**
10. Buddhist abandonment of family – **LY XIV.11 & VII.15**
11. Buddhist disrespect for ritual rules
2. Criticism of the Buddhist notion of rebirth
13. Excessive attention for death and life, and for spirits – **LY XI.12**
14. The Buddhist Way is a barbarian way – **LY III.5 & IX.14**

***

15. Criticism of Sudāna's distribution of his possessions
16. Criticism of the Buddhist monks' corrupt way of life
17. Criticism of the Buddhist distribution of wealth – **LY VII.36**

***

18. The Buddhist Classics rely too heavily on beautiful but meaningless comparisons – **LY I.1 & II.1 & XIX.12**

***

19. Excessive asceticism, contrary to human natural desires – **LY IV.5**

***

20. If Buddhist Classics are so profound and marvelous, why not present them to the Emperor or study them with friends?

***

21. [When and how did the Han Empire encounter the Buddhist Way?]

***

22. Why do Buddhist monks love to speak about the Way, instead of practicing it?
23. Mouzi's excessive attention for discourse – **LY XV.7 & V. 21 & XV.8**
24. Literati's lack of interest for the Buddhist Way
25. Mouzi's rhetoric is nevertheless impressive
26. Why always quote Chinese Classics and not Buddhist texts?

***

27. Literati in the capital never speak about Buddhism
28. Mouzi's eulogy of Buddha's deeds and virtues is excessive

***

29. Buddhism and the search for immortality
30. Daoist and Buddhist diets contradict each other
31. Superiority of the diet based on abstention from cereals
32. The Way of immortals prevent from illness, whereas Buddha's disciples must continue to use medicine.
33. Why distinguish the Way of immortals and the Buddhist way? – **LY V.17 & V.23**

***

34. There is no foundation to Mouzi's faith in Buddha since he has never been to India – **LY II.10**
35. Even monks from Khotan had no argument to oppose to Mouzi's interlocutor, how is it that Mouzi is so difficult to persuade?

***

36. The immortals' asceticism is more rigorous than the Buddhist one –**reference to Confucius' words, not found in the *Analects*[8]**
37. Taoists and Buddhists contradict each other about death – **LY XIV.37 & VI. 10 & XI. 7 & XI.22**

Coda: The interlocutor is convinced when he discovers the careful crafting of Mouzi's arguments.

11 Thus we find twenty-two references to the *Analects* in this rather short text. The next most-quoted text is the *Laozi* with sixteen references and the *Xiaojing* with five references. They are completely absent from the four non-polemical passages but they play a crucial role in almost all the themes debated in the text. These quotations are introduced by different expressions: "*Kongzi yue*" 孔子日 (7), "*Kongzi yun*" 孔子云 (2), "*Kongzi cheng*" 孔子稱 (2), "*Sheng Kong cheng*" 聖孔稱 (1), "Lunyu *yue*" 論語日 (1) and Zhongni 仲尼 for quotations presented in an indirect mode. There is one wrong quotation[9] and a quotation we do not find in other sources. They sometimes appear in the interlocutor's question, in order to strengthen his criticism of the Buddhist way, and are then the object of a re-interpretation by Mouzi, and more often they directly appear in Mouzi's answer.

3. A contextual interpretation of the *Analects*: Confucius as a Master of his time

12 So as to understand why the *Analects* are ubiquitous in a text defending Buddhism, we have to analyze the very nature of these references. Are they ironical references aiming

at denigrating Confucius' figure? Or far-fetched interpretations aiming at demonstrating the superiority of Buddhism? We must therefore investigate further into the precise *modus operandi* of these references. By comparing, for example, the quotation rhetorics in the *Mouzi* and in other texts inserted in the *Hongming ji* compilation, one discovers that despite their common use of quotation from authoritative texts in order to dispel criticism,[10] the *Mouzi* is quite distinctive in its way of selecting the texts it quotes: indeed, it relies mainly on the *Analects*, the *Laozi*, and the Classics, and makes no use of Chinese apocrypha,[11] whose intention was often to demonstrate that Buddhism had roots in the "sacred" ancient history of China. By contrast, Mouzi does not rely on this kind of argumentation, nor on early (supposedly Indian) Buddhist texts, but relies on an exegesis of "mainstream" texts in order to put forward the openness of classical tradition, and its compatibility with Indian Buddhism. For example, the *Zhengwu lun* 正誣論[12] (composed at the beginning of the 4th century), which immediately follows the *Mouzi* in the first chapter of the *Hongming ji*, makes use of a very different argumentation, based on apocryphas such as the *Hua hu jing* 化胡經 and the *Xisheng jing* 西昇經, which originally advocated the idea of the Buddha as a reincarnation of Laozi, but which are paradoxically used here to demonstrate that Laozi went to India, not in order to change himself into Buddha, but in order to become Buddha's disciple. Other apologetic debates adopt an iconoclastic rhetoric, strongly questioning Confucius' personality.[13] As Jülch has it: "Because Confucius plays this crucial role among the Confucian sages, by depreciating Confucius Buddhist apologists could depreciate Confucianism itself. In order to accomplish this depreciation, they attacked Confucius for his failure to convince the dukes of the Warring States to employ more humane policies."[14] But, according to Jülch, the *Mouzi* is a simple precursor of this technique to demonstrate "Confucius' inferiority," he continues: "Already in *Mouzi lihuo lun*, chapter 14, we read: 'Zhongni was not employed in Lu or Wei, and Mencius was not utilized in Qi or Liang. [Not being used even in China], how then could they have gained official employment among the barbarians?'... In the context of the Buddhist worldview, this passage rests on the understanding that the so-called barbarians are in fact superior to the Chinese civilization, so that Confucius and Mencius, if they did not even succeed in China, would have had even less success where the Buddha comes from." This refers to the passage which reads as following:

> 孔子所言矯世法矣 (...)。 昔孔子欲居九夷曰：君子居之何陋之有？及仲尼不容於魯衛, 孟軻不用於齊梁, 豈復仕於夷狄乎？

> Those things that Confucius said [which you quoted in your criticism: "Barbarians even with rulers are inferior to the Xia people even deprived of a ruler."[15]] were meant to reform his age. (...) Yet formerly, Confucius wanted to live among the nine barbarian [tribes] of the east. He did say: "Once a gentleman settles among them, what uncouthness will there be?"[16] But Confucius was not employed in Lu or Wei, and Mencius was not utilized in Qi or Liang, how could they have gained official employment among the Barbarians?[17]

13 Here, Jülch precisely missed the *Analects* quotation to which the question "how then could they have gained official employment among the barbarians?" refers. In this rhetorical disposition, the idea is not to demonstrate the superiority of non-Chinese civilization. It would be the case if Mouzi had the same literal way of reading the *Analects* as his interlocutor. Mouzi's aim is neither to suggest that Confucius was so much of an incompetent person that even the non-Chinese countries would not employ

him. By quoting this very passage of the *Analects*, he demonstrates that Confucius' words must be understood in their very specific and pragmatic context, otherwise, by referring to another passage, one may also conclude that Confucius considered the barbarian tribes as a better place to live and realize his way! Because it would have been impossible for him to be employed in alien countries, so his words are not to be taken at face value, or to be read literally without taking into account the context of utterance: Confucius was not really willing to go to a non-Chinese country but through his provocative words, he was willing to criticize the failures of the Chinese world of his time. In the same way, the quotation used by his interlocutor does not mean at all that Confucius denounced the inferiority of non-Chinese civilizations, but was uttered in a context where the Master was urging his world to become civilized again.

14 I think the misunderstanding on this particular way of quoting and reading the *Analects* leads one to miss an important point of the *Mouzi*, which precisely does not need to depreciate Confucius in order to praise the Buddhist way. Confucius did what he had to do in his own time; there is a strong commitment to the *shi* 時, the need to choose the right moment, inspired by the eremitic tradition in China –to serve or to retire according to the right moment. This commitment to the right moment, which was practiced by Confucius, is also practiced by Mouzi, as he underscores the need to choose the right moment in order to explain why he continues to refer to the Classics and does not present and explain the *Sūtra*: the right moment has not come yet.

15 Another example of this *Analects* exegesis taking into account the specific context of utterance may be found in the 17th argument. Here, Mouzi does not use a "defensive quotation" from *Analects contra Analects,* but rather proposes a distinction between two kinds of extravagance, and thinks that in Confucius' time, what he attacked was this kind of "extravagance devoid of any ritual spirit" (the display of wealth for one's own sake and not for the sake of others).

16 The interlocutor makes a distorted use of a quotation from the *Analects* in order to criticize the Buddhist extravagant distribution of wealth:

> 孔子稱 : 奢則不遜, 儉則固, 與其不遜也寧固。 (...) 今佛家以空財布施為名, 盡貨與人爲貴, 豈有福哉 !
>
> Confucius had this judgement: "Extravagance leads to arrogance, frugality leads to stinginess, but stinginess is still better than arrogance."[18] (...) Yet the Buddhists gain notoriety from emptying all their possessions in giving. They exhaust their goods in giving to others in order to gain fame. How can this bring them good fortune?

17 The interpretation of the quotation given by Mouzi here again highlights the importance of the context of Confucius' utterances:

> 彼一時也, 此一時也。 仲尼之言, 疾奢而無禮。 (...) 非禁布施也。
>
> That was one time, this is another. Confucius' words raged against extravagance devoid of any ritual spirit [in his time]. (...) Never did he prohibit giving.[19]

18 As Mouzi also reminded his fictional interlocutor in the 9th argument, Confucius was himself attentive to providing his teaching in accordance with the right moment; therefore the contextual interpretation of his words is justified by the Master himself.

4. Confucius as a connoisseur of men

19 Another way to accommodate a space for Indian Buddhism in the *Analects* is the reference to Confucius as a connoisseur of men, sometimes going against the consensus. In the 9th argument, which illustrates the playful use of quotation in our text, the interlocutor intertwines quotations from the *Classic of Filial Piety* and the *Analects*, in order to assert the ultimate value of non-harming the body given by our parents. His quotation from the *Classic of Filial Piety* refers to this passage of the "Kaizong mingyi" 開宗明義 chapter：

仲尼居, 曾子侍。 子曰: 「**先王有至德要道**, 以順天下, 民用和睦, 上下無怨。 汝知之乎？」曾子避席曰: 「參不敏, 何足以知之？」子曰: 「夫孝, 德之本也, 教之所由生也。 復坐, 吾語汝。 **身體髮膚, 受之父母, 不敢毀傷, 孝之始也。** 」

> Once, when Confucius was at home, and his disciple Zengzi in attendance on him, the Master said, "The ancient kings had a supreme moral power and an all-embracing Way, through which they were in accord with all in the world. By the practice of it the people were brought to live in peace and harmony, and there was no ill-will between superiors and inferiors. Do you understand this?" Zengzi rose from his mat and said, "I am so devoid of intelligence, how could I understand this?"
> The Master said, "Filial piety is the root of moral power, and the origin of civilizing influence. Sit down, and I will explain this to you. Since body, limbs, hair, and skin are received from one's parents, do not dare to harm them. [Such an imperative] is the beginning of filial piety."

20 This point is further illustrated by a quotation from the *Analects* which shows Zengzi, Confucius' disciple who was famous for his obsession with filial piety, expressing his pride to have preserved until death his bodily integrity.

21 This double quotation establishes filial piety, and even more, the prohibition of any kind of harm to the body, as the foundation for the "Supreme moral power," thus asserting the absolute incompatibility between Buddhist practices and the roots of Chinese virtue.

22 Quite ironically, Mouzi's answer uses the same way of intertwining the *Classic of Filial Piety*, precisely another passage of the same chapter, and the *Analects.* Such a procedure shows a crafted literary play with quotations. Here, the *Analects* quotation is meant to give another illustration of what the *Classic of Filial Piety* meant by "supreme moral power." Instead of looking for the origin of Supreme moral power in filial piety, embodied by the never-changing Zengzi, he looks for a human example of supreme virtue itself, and finds it in the *Analects*. Indeed, in the *Analects*, Zengzi does not illustrate any particular virtue to Confucius' eyes, except that of being dull (*lu* 魯).[20] The one endowed with "supreme virtue" is Wu Taibo 吳太伯, an ancient king who happened to reign on barbarians and as such is a highly significant figure for Mouzi:

太伯, **其可謂至德**也已矣, 三以天下讓, 民無得而稱焉。

> [The Master said:] Of Taibo, one may truly say that his moral power was supreme. Three times, he renounced dominion over the entire world, without giving the people a chance to praise him.[21]

23 Taibo is well-known for having turned over the royal power he should have had in the Chinese dynasty of Zhou, and for having left his ancestral territory to become a king in the so-called barbarian land of Wu, going so far as wearing his hair loose and tattoos on his skin. Confucius' strong praise of Taibo allows Mouzi to construct his own argumentation:

孔子曰 : 可與適道, 未可與權。 所謂時宜施者也。 且孝經曰 : **先王有至德要道**, 而泰伯祝髮文身, 自從吳越之俗。 違於身體髮膚之義, **然孔子稱之, 其可謂至德矣**。仲尼不以其祝髮毀之也。 由是而觀, 苟有大德, 不拘於小。

> Confucius said: "There are people with whom you may share the Way, but not share a commitment." That is what we call acting in a timely fashion. Furthermore, the *Classic of Filial Piety* states: "The ancient kings had a supreme moral power and an all-embracing Way", and Taibo, who cut his hair and marked his body, followed the customs of Wu and Yue (non-Chinese people), who went contrary to the principle of [not harming] body, limbs, hair, or skin was nevertheless praised by Confucius, saying that "He can be said to have a supreme moral power". Confucius did not revile him for having cut his hair! From this it can be seen that if one has a great moral power, one does not cling to petty [rules].

24 Through Wu Taibo's figure, Mouzi reject his interlocutor's contention that there is one and only way to illustrate filial piety.

25 Indeed, Confucius as a connoisseur of men appears many times in Mouzi's argumentation:

夷齊餓首陽, 聖孔稱其賢曰 : 求仁得仁者也。 不聞譏其無後無貨也。

> Boyi and Shuqi starved on Mount Shouyang. When Confucius eulogized their worthiness, he said, "They sought benevolence and attained it." Never did he blame them for not having posterity or possessions![22] (10th argument)

26 Confucius' eulogies included men who sometimes were condemned by their contemporaries, or were about to fall into oblivion because of their marginality. This is the case of the two brothers Boyi and Shuqi, who condemned themselves to starve in the mountains, in order to protest against the founders of the Zhou dynasty. Although Confucius expressed his admiration for the Zhou dynasty (at least at its beginning), he nevertheless praises the radical opposition of the brothers. It is indeed the occasion for Mouzi to demonstrate the absence in the *Analects* of any basis to condemn the Buddhist way of life, although some aspects may appear as extreme or opposite to the prevailing consensus.

蘧瑗國有道則直, 國無道則卷而懷之。 寧武子國有道則智, 國無道則愚。 孔子曰 : 可與言而不與言失人, 不可與言而與言失言。 故智愚自有時, 談論各有意。

> When the state possessed the way, Qu Yuan (Qu Boyu) served it with uprightness; when the state lacked the Way, he was able to roll up his talents and hide them away.[23] When the Way was being practiced in his state, Ning Wuzi was wise, but when the Way was not being practiced, he [pretended to be] stupid.[24] Confucius said, "If someone is open to what you have to say, but you do not speak to them, this is letting the person go to waste; if, however, someone is not open to what you have to say, but you speak to them anyway, this is letting your words go to waste." Therefore, there is a specific moment to be stupid or to be wise, there is a specific intention behind debate, either oral or written.[25] (23rd argument)

27 Here again, Mouzi quotes Confucius' judgements on paradoxical figures, who were able to have seemingly opposite practices, adapted to the times they encountered.

28 To conclude, although the Chinese Classics were often read by Han literati as a reservoir of immutable values and as an exhaustive source of knowledge, the disposition of Mouzi's text allows him to assert a place for transformation and

universality inside the Chinese Classics. To this end, he interprets Confucius' words in the *Analects* not as one-size-fits-all prescriptions, but as performative expressions of a connoisseur aware of the singularities of situations and men. But although the *Analects* may give a flavour of universality, what gives a real flesh to universality is Buddhism:

問日 : 見博其有術乎 ?
牟子日 : 由佛經也。 (...) 五經則五味, 佛道則五穀矣。

> A critic asked: Do you have a peculiar art for attaining such a broad vision? Mouzi answered: I take the path of the Buddhist Classics. (...) The Five (Chinese) Classics are like the five flavours, the Buddhist way is like the five grains. (25th argument)

29 Later, Sengyou, the author of the compilation of texts defending Buddhism, could go so far as to assert that the Chinese literati opposing and denigrating Buddhism were in fact opposing the very spirit of their "own" Classics:

俗教封滯, 執一國以限心。 心限一國, 則耳目之外皆疑 (...) 俗士執禮, 而背叛五經, 非直誣佛, 亦侮聖也。

> The proponents of the vulgar doctrine are blocked, and create boundaries for their own spirits by clinging to only one country. Their spirits being limited to only one country, they mistrust anything they did not hear or see before. (...) The vulgar literati cling to the ritual rules, and thus turn away from the Five Classics. They not only denigrate the Buddha, but also betray the Sage (Confucius). (Postface to the *Hongming ji* 弘明論後序)

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NOTES

1. This toponym has aroused many interesting debates. For a quick survey of these debates and of the history of this region under the Han dynasty, see my introduction to the French translation of the *Mouzi*, p. XXX-XXXVII.

2. Liang Qichao 梁啓超, Lü Cheng 呂澂 and Erik Zürcher all consider the text as a late forgery which would have been composed under the Eastern Jin dynasty 東晉 (317-420) or even the Liu-Song dynasty 劉宋 (420-479). Hu Shi 胡適, Zhou Shujia 周叔迦 and Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 refuted the arguments against authenticity, or demonstrated that they were not sufficient to prove the forgery. Most of the arguments of this debate can be found in the *Mouzi congcan xinbian* 牟子叢殘新編 compiled by Zhou Shujia and Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良.

3. See Rafe de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23-220 AD)*, p. 739: "Shi Xie dominated the far south. His capital at Longbian 龍編 (Jiaozhi), near present-day Hanoi, was an important trading centre, the prosperity, scholarship and splendour of his court were celebrated, and his territory became a refuge for emigrants from the troubles of the north. There was prosperous tribute/trade in goods from the South Seas, and also contact into Yi province, which apparently sent horses overland from western China."

4. Although the number of the Classics was never completely fixed, it is quite meaningful that in a short text like the *Mouzi,* the very number of the Classics is frequently shifting. No less than four different terms (and three different numbers) relate to the Classics: "five Classics" *wujing* 五經 (introduction, arg. 4, 6, 7, 15, 25), "six Arts" *liu yi* 六藝 (arg. 16 and 37), "seven Classics" *qi jing* 七經 (arg. 5, 7, 16) and "seven scriptures" *qi dian* 七典.

5. Timothy H. Barrett, "Reading the *Liezi*: The first thousand years."

6. Keenan's translation, p. 77, slightly modified.

7. *LY* XIXI.22: 夫子焉不學？而亦何常師之有？ “There is no one from whom our Master could not have learned something; and there is no one who could have been our Master’s exclusive teacher.” See Simon Leys (transl.), p. 59.
8. 孔子曰 : 天地之性, 人為貴。
9. In the 23rd argument, Confucius’ judgement on Qu Yuan (Qu Boyu) is attributed to Qu Boyu himself. According to certain editions, the same kind of wrong attribution is repeated with Ning Wuzi.
10. On this apologetic literature, see esp. Thomas Jülch, “In defense of the samgha: the early Tang Monk Falin,” *in* Thomas Jülch (ed.), *The Middle Kingdom and the Dharma Wheel*; and Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao*. Another difference between the *Mouzi* and the apologetic literature described by Jülch is the presence or not of secular power in the text. Mouzi does not address the sovereign of his time, and does instead justify a radical withdrawal from public affairs.
11. If the dating of the *Mouzi* given in its own introduction is correct, the absence of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha is simply due to the fact that they were not yet written, and not the result of a selection.
12. On this text, see Arthur Link, “Cheng-wu lun: The Rectification of Unjustified Criticism.”
13. This is also the case of Falin’s 法林 *Poxie lun* 破邪論, composed at the beginning of the Tang dynasty (618-907): it deprecates Confucius through reference to chapter 18 of the *Analects* (where some ironical hermits appear) and to the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. Nevertheless one of the main arguments still relies on Buddhist apocryphas which present Confucius, Yan Hui and Laozi as reincarnations of Boddhisattvas.
14. Thomas Jülch (ed.), *The Middle Kingdom and the Dharma Wheel,* “The Inferiority of Confucius,” p. 56.
15. To further complicate the interpretation, this passage from the *Analects* (*LY* III.5) can be read in two opposite ways. For example, Simon Leys translates: “Barbarians who have rulers are inferior to the various nations of China who are without.” (*The Analects*, p. 7; see also his French translation: Pierre Ryckmans, *Les Entretiens de Confucius*, p. 190) and Anne Cheng translates: “Même les Barbares de l’Est et du Nord, qui ont encore des chefs, sont préférables aux États chinois, qui ne reconnaissent plus de souverain !” (*Entretiens de Confucius*, p. 39). Whereas the interlocutor clearly interprets the passage in the first way, it is possible that Mouzi refers to the second interpretation, according to which Confucius, exasperated by the disintegration of the Zhou dynasty, recognizes that the Barbarians are superior to the Chinese states.
16. *LY* IX. 14.
17. Keenan (transl.), p. 103, except for the last sentence. If we compare with the *Poxie lun* 破邪論 by Falin 法林, the tone is completely different: 案孔子周靈王時生。 敬王時卒。 計其在世七十餘年。 既是聖人。 必能匡弼時主。 何以十四年中行七十國。 至宋伐樹。 相衛削跡。 陳蔡絕糧。 避桓魋之殺。 慚喪狗之呼。 雖應聘諸侯莫之能用。 當春秋之世。 文武道墜。 君暗臣姦禮崩樂壞爾時無佛。 何為逆亂滋甚。 篡弒由生。 孔子乃婉娩順時逡巡避患難保妻子。 終壽百年亦無取矣。 或發匏瓜之言。 或興逝川之歎。 “If we refer to the fact that Confucius was born under the reign of King Ling of Zhou and that he died under the reign of King Jing, we may calculate that he lived seventy years or so. If he had been a great Sage, he would necessarily have been able to rectify the rulers of his time. So why did he have to travel through seventy countries during fourteen years, to see his tree (under which he was teaching) cut down in the state of Song, to erase his traces in the state of Wèi, to starve between the states of Chen and Cai, to flee from the murderous Huan Tui and to lament about his being a homeless dog? Despite his responding to the invitation of the feudal lords, none of them could employ him in the end. During the Spring and Autumn period, the Way of Kings Wen and Wu was abandoned, lords benighted, ministers traitorous, rituals and music destroyed, and in such times there was no Buddha. How was one to face the aggravation of disorders and rebellions and the appearance of usurpation and regicide? Confucius was complacent with his times and only tried to protect his

wife and children and to avoid danger. And he remained useless until his old age, complaining to be a bitter gourd or sighing about the flowing river." (T. 2109, p. 485, c18-20). Falin also wrote another apologetic treatise, the *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (T. 2110) : see Timothy H. Barrett, "*Bianzheng lun* – Essays of Disputation and Correction," in Fabrizio Pregadio (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, vol. 1, p. 232-233.

18. *LY* VII.36

19. Keenan transl., p. 113, slightly modified.

20. *LY* XI.18.

21. *LY* VIII.1. See Simon Leys (transl.), p. 21.

22. Keenan (transl.), p. 87, slightly modified.

23. *LY* XV.7 (Simon Leys transl., p. 177). Some editions of the text add a *yue* 日, which would mean that these were Qu Yuan's own words, but in the *Analects*, it is Confucius' words about Qu Yuan. The same ambiguity happens with the following quotations. Only the last quotation of this sequence of three is introduced by "Kongzi yue" 孔子日.

24. *LY* V.21 (Simon Leys transl., p. 48).

25. Here I had to disagree with my own earlier translation: *Meou-tseu. Dialogues...*, p. 46. I originally thought that the opposition was between speech and practice, but this idea does not corroborate the parallelism between 智 and 愚 on the one hand and 談 and 論 on the other.

INDEX

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AUTHOR

BÉATRICE L'HARIDON

Béatrice L'Haridon is an associate professor at the LCAO Department (East Asian Languages and Civilisations), Université de Paris, a researcher at CRCAO (Research Centre on East Asian Civilisations), and a junior member at the Institut Universitaire de France. She is currently working on classical historiography and its relationship with Confucian values, and on Han dynasty ritual texts. Her recent publications include: *Dialogues de Meou-tseu pour dissiper la confusion* (presentation and annotated translation of *Mouzi lihuo lun*) (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2017), "The Historian's Judgement and the Peers' Judgement in the 'Biographical Chapter on the Proscribed Party' of the *Hou Hanshu*" (*Monumenta Serica* 67.1, 2019, p. 127-143).

Is *Zhongguo* the Middle Kingdom or *Madhyadeśa*?[1]

Anne Cheng

1 The quest for the original texts supposedly related to Buddhist teachings is assumed to be the chief motivation for Chinese monks to take the long and perilous pilgrimage to the land of origin of their faith in the early centuries of the first millennium. Among the many disputed issues to be found in these monks' written testimonies is one that points towards what might be called shared or competing geographies (whether imagined or real) between China and India. In early Chinese Buddhist sources like the *Mouzi li huo lun*[2] or Faxian's *Fo guo ji*, India emerges as <u>the</u> very centre of civilization and attraction, with the result that China's traditional centrality is shifted to the periphery, creating the so-called "borderland complex" and giving rise to a disquieting uncertainty about what was meant by *Zhongguo* in numerous occurrences: should it be taken to designate the "Middle Kingdom" of Chinese self-representations, or *Madhyadeśa*, the "Central Country" in the north of present day India, namely the sacred land that had witnessed the existence of the Buddha?

2 My starting point will be a sentence which sounds rather intriguing to me, as it has done so far for a good number of scholars, from Faxian 法顯's *Foguo ji* 佛國記 (Notes on the country of the Buddha), which was first translated about two centuries ago into a European language, namely French, by Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788-1832).[3] This self-taught Sinologist was elected some two hundred years ago on the very first Chair dedicated to Chinese studies ever created in Europe –that was in 1814 at the Collège de France (then called the Collège Royal) in Paris. As it happens, the *Foguo ji* has recently been translated afresh into French by Jean-Pierre Drège, as the first volume dedicated to Buddhist studies within a bilingual Chinese-French collection I have contributed to create at Belles Lettres in Paris.[4]

3 The *Foguo ji* is the narrative assigned to the Chinese Buddhist monk Faxian (ca. 340-ca. 420) who, with a few other monks, embarked on what would turn out to be a fifteen-year pilgrimage (or rather quest[5]) to India between 399 and 414, with a view to bringing back to China some manuscript versions of Vinaya texts (that is, texts on the Buddhist monks' discipline) in the Hinayana tradition. This is the opening sentence (§ 1):

法顯昔在長安, 慨律藏殘缺. 於是遂以弘始一年歲在己亥, 與慧景、道整、慧應、慧嵬等, 同契至天竺尋求戒律.

> Faxian was living of old in Chang'an.[6] Deploring the lacunae and imperfections of the collection of texts on Discipline (*Vinaya*, Chinese *lü* 律),[7] in the 1st year of the Hongshi era, which was the cyclical year *yihai* (i.e. 399 AD), he, together with Huijing, Daozheng, Huiying, Huiwei and others, took the joint engagement to go to India (*Tianzhu*)[8] and seek for the precepts[9] and the discipline.[10]

4 The sentence which caught my attention in Faxian's narrative runs as follows in the original Chinese (§ 8):

度河便到烏萇國. 其烏萇國是正北天竺也. 盡作中天竺語, 中天竺所謂中國. 俗人衣服、飲食, 亦與中國同. 佛法甚盛.[11]

> After crossing the river, [Faxian and his companions] came to the country of Wuchang (Udyāna).[12] Udyāna is really in North India (*bei Tianzhu* 北天竺). The people all use the language of Central India. Central India (*zhong Tianzhu* 中天竺) is what is called the "Central country" (*Zhongguo* 中國). The food and clothes of the common lay people are the same as in the Central country (*Zhongguo* 中國). The Law of the Buddha there is most flourishing.

5 The term Central India (Chinese *zhong Tianzhu*) was premised upon the spatial construction that divided India into five regions, the northern, southern, eastern, western, and middle; the middle being where the Buddha was born. The whole question revolves around the meaning of the Chinese expression *Zhongguo* 中國 which literally means "middle or central country", but which in a Chinese context would automatically be taken to mean "the Middle Kingdom", that is China. The question is therefore whether the Chinese designation *Zhongguo* here refers to China, or whether it simply means a "central country", in which case it would have to be understood as a literal translation of the Sanskrit *Madhya-deśa* (Pâli *Majjhima-desa*).

6 In her discussion of this question, Janine Nicol[13] definitely opts for the latter reading and for the following translation: "Udyāna is truly in North India. All the [people of this place] use the language of Central India. Central India is that which is called the Central State (*Zhongguo* = *Madhyadeśa*). The dress and food and drink of the ordinary people [in Udyāna in North India] are the same as those in the Central State (*Zhongguo* = *Madhyadeśa*)."

7 According to Janine Nicol, "this section has been misinterpreted by some (Sen, Deeg and Felt) to suggest that the people of the *Madhyadeśa* had the same habits as those of China (*Zhongguo*). This can probably be traced back to James Legge's ambiguous translation", which is: "Central India being what we should call the Middle Kingdom. The food and clothes of the common people are the same as in that Central Kingdom."[14]

8 For instance, David Jonathan Felt writes: "From Faxian's account of India, China first became aware that the Indian subcontinent had a land called Madhyadeśa, meaning 'middle kingdom' (*zhongguo*), the very same name China had used for itself." In a note, he adds: "Faxian stated in this passage that the dress and food of Madhyadeśa were like that of China (Faxian 法顯, Gaoseng Faxian zhuan 高僧法顯傳 [Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian], T. 2085.858a18-20). Li Daoyuan in the *Shuijing zhu* took this statement and claimed that it was because of this that central India was called the Middle Kingdom (*Shuijing zhu xiaozheng* 水經注校證, by Li Daoyuan 酈道元, ed. Chen Qiaoyi 陳橋驛 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 1.4)."[15]

9 Janine Nicol goes on to explain: “Other translators have hedged their bets by using a literal translation without explanation (for example, Beal). Only Abel-Rémusat, and recently Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber[16] treat the second instance of *Zhongguo* in this passage as referring to *Madhyadeśa*. Given the context (the author has just mentioned the language of Udyāna and the habits of the people of *Madhyadeśa* are discussed in a later passage and sound nothing like those of China), I follow Rémusat and Hu-von Hinüber.”

10 It may be useful to be reminded of Abel-Rémusat’s French translation, the first, as we have seen, in a European language: “Quand on a passé le fleuve, on est dans le royaume d’Ou tchang [Wuchang]. Ce royaume d’Ou tchang forme précisément la partie septentrionale de l’Inde. On y fait absolument usage de la langue de l’Inde centrale. L’Inde centrale est ce qu’on nomme royaume du Milieu. Les habillements du peuple et sa manière de se nourrir sont aussi semblables à ceux du royaume du Milieu.” In a footnote, Abel-Rémusat makes the following comment: “Le royaume du Milieu, dans le texte, Tchoung kouë [Zhongguo]. Comme c’est précisément l’expression dont on se sert pour désigner communément la Chine, il faut prendre garde, dans les relations bouddhiques, à ne pas confondre les passages qui se rapportent à la Chine avec ceux qui sont relatifs aux contrées de Matoura [Mathurā], de Magadha, et autres royaumes situés dans l’Inde centrale. Cette confusion ne peut avoir lieu dans le livre de Chy Fâ Hian [Shi Faxian], qui, en parlant de son pays natal, le désigne toujours par les noms de dynasties Han, Thsin [Qin], etc. Sur le mot de royaume du Milieu, voyez le chap. XVI.”[17] In a similar fashion, Jean-Pierre Drège translates *Zhongguo* as “le Royaume du Milieu”, but without making any explicit comment: “L’Inde centrale est ce que l’on appelle le Royaume du milieu. Les vêtements des laïcs et la nourriture [et la boisson] sont les mêmes que dans le Royaume du milieu”.[18]

11 The gist of the matter is therefore a highly controversial and contested notion of centrality. Whereas by the 4th century AD, *Zhongguo* would unequivocally designate the Chinese idea of its own centrality, be it geographical, political or cosmological,[19] it appears that in Faxian’s narrative the expression would be used to translate the Sanskrit term for central Northern India (*Madhyadeśa*), the sphere of operation of the Buddha. Ancient Indian sources seem to offer varying definitions of *Madhyadeśa*. In a “Note on the Middle Country of Ancient India” dated 1904,[20] T. W. Rhys Davids starts by observing that any place in the world tends to consider itself as the centre of the world. Thus, “the Chinese are often reported habitually to speak of China as ‘the Middle Country’. It is difficult to say whether this last is a designation merely geographical, or whether it also connotes that the people outside are outsiders, barbarians. And I do not know if any Chinese scholar has adequately discussed the history and full bearing of the term. But it is interesting to notice that certain writers in India made use of a similar expression.” Rhys Davids then traces “the oldest use of the phrase in the brahmin books in *Manu* (2. 21), which says: ‘That (country) which (lies) between the Himâlaya and Vindhya mountains, to the east of the Destruction and to the west of Prâyâga, is called the Middle Country (*Madhyadeśa*)’.”[21]

12 Three decades later, Bimala Churn Law, the author of a *Historical Geography of Ancient India*,[22] examines the notion of *Madhyadeśa* in Sanskrit Buddhist sources: “As in the Pali texts, so in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts as well, Madhyadeśa is the country that is elaborately noticed. Its towns and cities, parks and gardens, lakes and rivers have been mentioned time and again. Its villages have not also been neglected. It seems, therefore, that the Middle country was exclusively the world in which the early

Buddhists confined themselves. It was in an eastern district of the Madhyadeśa that Gotama became the Buddha, and the drama of his whole life was staged on the plains of the Middle country. He travelled independently or with his disciples from city to city, and village to village moving as it were within a circumscribed area. The demand near home was so great and insistent that he had no occasion during his lifetime to stir outside the limits of the Middle country. And as early Buddhism is mainly concerned with his life and the propagation of his teaching, Buddhist literature that speaks of the times, therefore, abounds with geographical information mainly of the Madhyadeśa within the limits of which the first converts to the religion confined themselves. The border countries and kingdoms were undoubtedly known and were often visited by Buddhist monks, but those of the distant south or north or north-west seem to have been known only by names handed down to them by traditions."[23]

13 It would seem therefore that, in Indian Buddhist sources, *Madhyadeśa* would be tantamount to the country where the Buddha was born, lived and attained *parinirvāṇa*. This "Central country" is often described in highly favourable terms. According to Bimala Churn Law, this is how some prominent places in *Madhyadeśa* (which are still identifiable in present day Bihar) are characterised:

> "In the *Divyâvadâna* (p. 545), Râjagrha is described as a rich, prosperous and populous city at the time of Bimbisâra and Ajâtasatru. [...] It is interesting to note that Râjagrha was an important centre of inland trade where merchants flocked from different quarters (*Div*. p. 307) to buy and sell their merchandise. At Râjagrha there used to be held a festival known as Giriagrasamâja when thousands of people assembled in hundreds of gardens. Songs were sung, musical instruments were played and theatrical performances were held with great pomp (*Mahâvastu*, Vol. Ill, p. 57)."[24]
>
> "Vaisâli was a great city of the Madhyadeśa and is identical with modern Besarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. The city which resembled the city of the gods was at the time of the Buddha, happy, proud, prosperous and rich with abundant food, charming and delightful, crowded with many and various people, adorned with buildings of various descriptions, storied mansions, buildings and palaces with towers, noble gateways, triumphal arches, covered courtyards, and charming with beds of flowers, in her numerous gardens and groves."[25]
>
> "The rich village of Nâlandâ is stated in the *Mahâvastu* (Vol. III. p. 56) to have been situated at a distance of half a *yojana* from Râjagrha. Nâlandâ is identified with modern Baragaon, seven miles to the north-west of Rajgir in the district of Patna."[26]

14 These distinctively laudatory descriptions are corroborated by Faxian's testimony, unless it is to be assumed that he was under the total influence of the rhetoric inherited from the Indian traditions. In the *Foguo ji*, the "Central country" (*Zhongguo*, i.e. *Madhyadeśa*) is repeatedly described as an ideal kingdom (§ 16):

> 從是以南, 名為中國. 中國寒暑調和, 無霜雪. 人民殷樂, 無戶籍官法, 唯耕王地者乃輸地利. 欲去便去, 欲住便住. 王治不用刑罔, 有罪者但罰其錢, 隨事輕重, 雖復謀為惡逆, 不過截右手而已. 王之侍衛、左右皆有供祿. 舉國人民悉不殺生, 不飲酒, 不食葱蒜, 唯除旃荼羅. 旃荼羅名為惡人, 與人別居, 若入城市則擊木以自異, 人則識而避之, 不相唐突. 國中不養豬、雞, 不賣生口, 市無屠、酤及估酒者, 貨易則用貝齒, 唯旃荼羅, 漁、獵師賣肉耳.[27]
>
> > South from this, it is called the Central country (*Zhongguo*, *Madhyadeśa*). In the Central country, the cold and heat are in harmony, there being neither frost nor snow. The people are numerous and happy. There is neither household registration nor the laws of officials. Only those who plough the lands of the King need hand over part of their profits [in tax]. If one wishes to go, one can go; if one wishes to stay, one can stay. The King governs

> without having to resort to decapitation. Criminals are only punished with a fine, which will be light or heavy depending on the offence. Even in the case of repeatedly planning wicked rebellion, the offender will only have his right hand cut off, no more. The King's attendants and guards of his entourage all have a salary. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living being, nor do they drink alcohol, nor eat onions or garlic. The sole exception is the *caṇḍāla. Caṇḍāla* is the name for bad people, they live apart from others. Whenever they enter a city or a market-place, they strike a piece of wood to mark their difference, people then know and avoid them so as not to come into contact with them. In that country they do not raise pigs nor poultry, and animals are not sold while alive. In the markets there are no butchers or alcohol dealers. In buying and selling they use cowrie shells. Only the *caṇḍāla* fish, hunt and sell meat.

15 In her discussion of this passage, Janine Nicol quotes from a book by Tian Xiaofei:[28] "Xiaofei Tian has analysed this 'idealised account' of central India. Noting that all trace of hardship and danger disappear once Faxian had reached central India (*Zhongguo*), Tian argues that the journey to central India should be seen as a journey through hell ending in the earthly paradise described above. She argues that, 'in many ways, Faxian's portrayal of central India... serves as a reversed mirror image of the Chinese regimes at the time. Corporal punishment was an important part of punitive law;... Household registers were another important issue, because registered households were the taxpayers on whom the state relied for income and corvée labour. Many people tried to evade being registered by secretly moving to another place... the state fought constantly against such practices, and the freedom of going or staying at will, enjoyed by the people of central India was quite unimaginable'."

16 In a jocular way, we could even remark that this contrasting between India and China sounds strangely relevant to our contemporary situation! One should observe, however, that Faxian, in what looks like an uncritical approach to a modern mind, does not even raise an eyebrow on the discrimination of the low caste of the *caṇḍāla*. Quite to the contrary, he describes Pāṭaliputra (present day Patna) as a thoroughly ideal kingdom, the depiction of which would even go beyond anything imaginable in the mind of the wisest Confucian sage (§ 86):

> 凡諸中國, 唯此國城邑為大. 民人富盛, 競行仁義. 年年常以建卯月八日行像. 作四輪車, 縛竹作五層, 有承櫨、椻戟, 高二疋餘許, 其狀如塔. 以白氎纏上, 然後彩畫, 作諸天形像. 以金, 銀, 琉璃莊校其上, 懸繒幡蓋. 四邊作龕, 皆有坐佛, 菩薩立侍. 可有二十車, 車車莊嚴各異. 當此日, 境内道俗皆集, 作倡伎樂, 華香供養. 婆羅門子來請佛, 佛次第入城, 入城内再宿. 通夜然燈, 伎樂供養. 國國皆爾. 其國長者、居士各於城中立福德醫藥舍, 凡國中貧窮、孤獨、殘跛、一切病人, 皆詣此舍, 種種供給. 醫師看病隨宜, 飲食及湯藥皆令得安, 差者自去.

> The cities and towns of this kingdom are the greatest of all in the Central country (*Zhongguo*, *Madhyadeśa*). The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness [Note that the terms used in Chinese, *ren yi*仁義, are two of the cardinal Confucian virtues]. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car, and on it erect a structure of four storeys by means of bamboos tied together. This is supported by a king-post, with poles and lances slanting from it, and is rather more than twenty cubits high, having the shape of a tope. White and silk-like cloth of hair is wrapped all round it, which is then painted in various colours. They make figures of devas, with gold, silver, and lapis lazuli grandly blended and having silken streamers and canopies hung out over

> them. On the four sides are niches, with a Buddha seated in each, and a Bodhisattva standing in attendance on him. There may be twenty cars, all grand and imposing, but each one different from the others. On the day mentioned, the monks and laity within the borders all come together; they have singers and skillful musicians; they pay their devotion with flowers and incense. The Brahmans come and invite the Buddhas to enter the city. These do so in order, and remain two nights in it. All through the night they keep lamps burning, have skillful music, and present offerings. This is the practice in all the other kingdoms as well. The Heads of the Vaisya families in them establish in the cities houses for dispensing charity and medicines. All the poor and destitute in the country, orphans, widowers, and childless men, maimed people and cripples, and all who are diseased, go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases. They get the food and medicines which their cases require, and are made to feel at ease; and when they are better, they go away of themselves.

17 As was noted by Abel-Rémusat, Faxian seems to take it for granted that the Chinese designation *Zhongguo* can only refer to *Madhyadeśa*, which is confirmed by the fact that he and his fellow-monks consistently refer to themselves as coming from the "borderlands" (*biandi* 邊地, literally "lands on the margins"), implicitly designating *Madhyadeśa* as the only possible "Central country or kingdom" (*Zhongguo*). And as Abel-Rémusat specified in his footnote, the Chinese monks never use *Zhongguo* to refer to their homeland, but persistently identify themselves as coming from the land of such and such a Chinese dynasty, e.g. "the land of Qin" (*Qindi* 秦地), "the land of Han" (*Handi* 漢地), or "the land of Jin" (*Jindi* 晋地, Jin being the Chinese reigning dynasty at the time of Faxian). See for instance §37:

> 從此東行三日, 復渡新頭河, 兩岸皆平地. 過河有國, 名毘荼. 佛法興盛, 兼大小乘學. 見秦道人往, 乃大憐愍, 作是言 : "如何邊地人 , 能知出家為道, 遠求佛法 ?" 悉供給所須, 待之如法.

> From there [Faxian] walked eastwards for three days, and across the River Sind (Indus). The ground is flat on either side. After crossing the river, there was a country called Pitu. The Law of the Buddha was very flourishing, and both the Mahayana and the Hinayana were studied [by the monks]. When they saw the monks from Qin walking by, they were moved with great pity and compassion, and uttered these words: "How is it that these men from a borderland (*biandi*) could have learned to become monks (literally: to leave their families) and to practice the Way, and travel such a long distance to seek for the Law of the Buddha?" They supplied them with what they needed, and treated them in accordance with the rules of the Law.

18 In this passage, Faxian and his companions are identified, or identify themselves, as coming from Qin which refers to both the short-lived dynasty which founded the first centralised Chinese empire in 221 BC, and to the Later Qin dynasty under which Faxian was born. It is worth noting that Qin is probably the origin of the Sanskrit transliteration Cīna which in turn was transliterated as China in a number of European languages. Janine Nicol here comments:[29] "The text records that on more than one occasion Faxian meets with monks who express astonishment: "How can men of a borderland have been able to understand about leaving the household to pursue the Buddhist way and come such a great distance in search of the law?" 如何邊地人能知出家為道遠求佛法. It is possible to read into their reaction not only surprise that Buddhism had spread to China, and that Chinese Buddhists had made this incredibly arduous journey, but also that Chinese people, coming from a borderland and being

mleccha (on which see below), should have been able to practice Buddhism in the first place. When Faxian and Daozheng arrived at Jetavana, where the Buddha had lived for so long, they keenly felt their borderland status, which was undoubtedly exacerbated by the reaction of the local monks" (§59):

> 法顯、道整初到祇洹精舍, 念昔世尊住此二十五年, 自傷生在邊地, 共諸同志遊歷諸國, 而或有還者, 或有無常者, 今日乃見佛空處, 愴然心悲. 彼眾僧出, 問顯等言 : "汝從何國來 ?" 答云 : "從漢地來." 彼眾僧歎曰 : "奇哉 ! 邊地之人乃能求法至此 !" 自相謂言 : "我等諸師和上相承以來, 未見漢道人來到此也."[30]
>
> > When Faxian and Daozheng first arrived at the Jetavana Vihāra (monastery), they reminisced how in the past the World-honoured one (*shizun* 世尊, i.e. the Buddha) had resided there for twenty-five years. They reproached themselves for being born in a borderland (*biandi*). Along with their like-minded companions, they had travelled through so many countries; some had returned home, and some were no more; and here they were, contemplating the Buddha's place left vacant, and feeling inexpressibly sad at heart. At that moment a crowd of monks came out and asked Faxian and the others, 'What country have you come from?' They replied, 'From the land of Han (*Handi*).' The monks exclaimed with a sigh, 'How strange that men of a borderland should come as far as here to seek the law.' They said to one another: 'In the whole succession of our teachers and fellow-monks, we have never seen any monks from Han coming here'.

19 The text here specifies that Faxian and Daozheng "reproached themselves for being born in a borderland". As T.H. Barrett explains: "For, flying in the face of a predominant Chinese cultural chauvinism, these men insisted on accepting Indian rather than Chinese claims to the title of 'Central Kingdom'. This was no easy transfer of allegiance: as one of Hsüan-tsang [Xuanzang]'s contemporaries makes clear in discussing the controversial question (to the true Buddhist) of the peripheral position of Chinese civilization, it entailed an acceptance of an implicit spiritual inferiority for all Chinese since personal karmic forces were held to determine not only one's own station in life but also the whole environment in which one found oneself. To have witnessed the Buddha's own preaching in India was a sure sign of past spiritual effort; to live in China a millennium later... was itself an indictment for past failings."[31] Janine Nicol adds this comment:[32] "It is not just geography that presented a problem, but time itself. Faxian's account repeatedly remarked on the temporal links between the places he visited and the Buddha, recording several times that the various rites being performed or customs followed had been passed down since the time of the Buddha. It is as if Faxian felt that in India, and in particular in *Madhyadeśa*, one could overcome the temporal issue by these links with the time of the Buddha. Not so for those born outside India. Faxian's lament when he reached Vulture Peak (*Gṛdhrakūṭa*) near the ancient city of Rājagṛha (present day Rajgir in Bihar) where the Buddha often gave teachings, is one of the few parts of the record that gives the impression of a personal account."

20 T.H. Barrett reminds us of the reason why the hill known as Vulture Peak was thus called: "'Ānanda was sitting in meditation when the deva Māra Piśuna, having assumed the form of a large vulture, took his place in the front of the cavern where he was, and frightened the disciple. Then the Buddha, by his mysterious, supernatural power, made a cleft in the rock, introduced his hand, and stroked Ānanda's shoulder, so that his fear immediately passed away. The footprints of the bird and the cleft for the Buddha's hand are still there, and hence comes the name.' We read of Faxian preparing for the

ascent by purchasing incense, flowers, oil and lamps, and arranging for guides to assist him. After having toiled up to this place, made his offerings and lit his lamps, he found little else besides these marks: ‘The hall where the Buddha preached his dharma has been destroyed, and only the foundations of the brick walls remain. On this hill the peak is beautifully green, and rises grandly up; it is the highest of all the five hills...’ He was overcome with sadness; holding back his tears he said ‘Here the Buddha delivered the Śūraṃgama-sūtra. I, Fa-hsien [Faxian], was born at a time when I could not meet the Buddha; and now I can only see the footprints which he has left, and the place where he lived, and nothing more’.”

21 The “Central country” is so idealised and the despair of being born elsewhere is such that Faxian’s fellow pilgrim Daozheng decides not to return to “the land of Han” (*Handi*), that wretched “borderland” (*biandi*), and to remain in India (§113-114):

> 故法顯住此三年, 學梵書, 梵語, 寫律.
> 道整既到中國, 見沙門法則, 眾僧威儀, 觸事可觀, 乃追歎秦土邊地, 眾僧戒律殘缺.
> 誓言 : “自今已去至得佛, 願不生邊地.” 故遂停不歸. 法顯本心欲令戒律流通漢地, 於是獨還.[33]
>
> > [Having found a number of texts on the Discipline in Pāṭaliputra (present day Patna)], Faxian stayed there for three years, learning the Indian writing and language (presumably Brahmi and Sanskrit) and copying the Vinaya.
> > When Daozheng arrived in the Central country (*Zhongguo*, i.e. *Madhyadeśa*) and saw for himself the rules of the Law of the *śramaṇa* and the dignified demeanour of the monks which he could observe in all circumstances, he deploringly recalled the borderland of Qin, with the lacunary and faulty precepts and discipline (Sanskrit *śīla* and *vinaya*, Chinese *jielü*戒律) practiced by the monks there. He thereupon took the oath: “From this time forth until I reach the state of Buddha, I vow not to be reborn in a borderland.” He consequently remained (in India) and never returned (to China). As to Faxian, whose original intention it was to make the precepts and the Discipline widely available in the land of Han, he went back there alone.

22 We witness here a radical parting of the ways between the two monks from “the land of Han”. Daozheng was convinced that central Northern India, the very place where the Buddha had lived, was the only place where one could stand a chance of achieving Buddhahood, or at least of accumulating merit in that respect through successive rebirths. On the other hand, Faxian did not deviate from his initial purpose, the one for which he had set out on that long and perilous journey, namely bring back the authentic texts and rituals of the Vinaya from the land of Buddha to the “borderland” that was China, and thereby provide a chance for awakening and enlightenment to the Chinese who were not lucky enough to be born in the right place.

23 As was remarked above, the narratives of Faxian and other Chinese pilgrims are usually quite matter-of-fact and down-to-earth, on extremely rare occasions does one encounter gushes of emotion that convey their personal feelings. Nevertheless, however strong and all-enduring Faxian’s sense of his mission might have been, he is at least in one instance shown to shed tears out of homesickness. This occurs when he reached Ceylon which he wanted to visit in order to pay homage to the jade statue of Buddha and to the relic of Buddha’s tooth. From there, he was to make his way back to China by sea (§ 120):

> 法顯去漢地積年, 所與交接悉異域人, 山川草木, 舉目無舊, 又同行分披, 或流或亡, 顧影唯己, 心常懷悲. 忽於此玉像邊見商人以晉地一白絹扇供養, 不覺悽然, 淚下滿目.

> Several years had now elapsed since Faxian left the land of Han; the men with whom he had been in contact had all been of regions strange to him; his eyes had not rested on an old and familiar hill or river, plant or tree; his fellow-travellers, moreover, had been separated from him, some by death, and others drifting off in different directions; turning back he could only see his own shadow, and a constant sadness was in his heart. Suddenly [one day], by the side of this jade statue of Buddha, he saw a merchant presenting as an offering a fan of white silk from the land of Jin ; and tears of sorrow involuntarily filled his eyes and ran down his face.

24 In Faxian's narrative as well as in many other texts associated with Chinese Buddhist monks, the repeated references to central India as being the land of the Buddha, and as being consequently the only possible Central Country, pushing China very far on the margins, have led to the celebrated diagnosis by Antonino Forte of a "borderland complex"[34] of which Faxian was by no means the first representative, but by all means a particularly acute case. As recalled by Janine Nicol:[35] "During the latter part of the fourth century increasing numbers of Buddhist texts found their way to China, and Chinese Buddhists began to suspect there was much they did not understand about their religion. Men like Shi Dao'an 釋道安 (312-385), struggling to make sense of this partial picture complicated by the simultaneous arrival of texts from rival Buddhist schools, began to feel that China was not the best place to be for a Buddhist and it is in his writings that the first traces of the Borderland Complex are to be found. In the *Preface to the Sūtra of the Skandha-dhātu-āyatana* (*Yinchiru jing xu*陰持入經序), Dao'an laments that he was born at the wrong time and in the wrong place: 世不值佛又處邊國. (T2145, 45 a11) 'The age has not encountered a Buddha and I dwell in a border country.' And again in the *Preface to the Sūtra on the Twelve Gates* (*Shi'ermen jing xu*, 十二門經序), Dao'an decries the legacy of his former existences: 安宿不敏、生值佛後又處異國. (T2145, 46 a8-9) 'My karmic residue has left me slow-witted, born after a time I could encounter a Buddha and dwelling in a different country.' To Dao'an, it is India (*Tianzhu* 天竺) that is central and China, merely a borderland. In his *Preface to the Sūtra of the Stages of the Path* (*Daodi jing xu*道地經序), in the context of a discussion on the challenges of translating the teachings into Chinese, he provides us with a vivid glimpse into his feelings about being so far from India: 然天竺聖邦，道岨遼遠。幽見硯儒，少來周化。先哲既逝來聖未至。 進退狼跋咨嗟涕洟。(T 2145, 69 c15-17) 'The road to *Tianzhu* (India), state of sages, is uneven and long, from our remote situation we are aware of the great erudition there, but few come to complete our conversion. The Wise One of old has departed, and the future sage has not yet arrived. [All we can do] is pace back and forth like wild beasts, sighing and weeping.'

25 Dao'an is not alone in in lamenting his geographical position. Shi Huiyuan 釋慧遠 (334-416), his pupil, also talks of India as superior. 釋僧叡 (c. 352-436), also a leading disciple of the great Indo-Scythian translator and exegete Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什355/60-413), whose arrival in Chang'an in 402 marked a turning point in the history of Chinese Buddhism. Sengrui talks of his 'border situation' (*bianqing* 邊情), which was offset by the wisdom his foreign master brought to China."

26 In sum, Faxian's case of the "borderland complex", once placed in its context, appears to represent one particular stage in a long-evolving process which was still to reach a climax with the subsequent "batch" of famous Chinese monks who took the road to India over two hundred years later, and also visited "the Central country" and stayed at Nālanda: Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664) et Yijing 義淨 (635-713). After a prolonged stay at

Nālanda, Xuanzang announced his intention to return to China. The Indian monks there attempted to persuade him to remain, like Daozheng, in India:

> 法師即作還意，莊嚴經像。諸德聞之，咸來勸住，日：「印度者，佛生之處。大聖雖遷，遺蹤具在，巡遊禮讚，足豫平生，何為至斯而更捨也？又支那國者，蔑戾車地，輕人賤法，諸佛所以不生，志狹垢深，聖賢由茲弗往，氣寒土嶮，亦焉足念哉！」
> 法師報日：「法王立教，義尚流通，豈有自得霑心而遺未悟。且彼國衣冠濟濟，法度可遵，君聖臣忠，父慈子孝，貴仁貴義，尚齒尚賢。加以識洞幽微，智與神契。體天作則，七耀無以隱其文；設器分時，六律不能韜其管。故能驅役飛走，感致鬼神，消息陰陽，利安萬物。自遺法東被，咸重大乘，定水澄明，戒香芬馥。發心造行，願與十地齊功，斂掌熏修，以至三身為極。向蒙大聖降靈，親麈法化，耳承妙說，目擊金容，並轡長途，未可知也，豈得稱佛不往，遂可輕哉！」[36]

> India (*Yindu*) is the land of Buddha's birth, and though he has left the world, there are still many traces of him. What greater happiness could there be than to visit them in turn, to adore him and chant his praises? Why then do you wish to leave, having come so far? Moreover, China (*Zhina guo*支那國) is a country of *mleccha* (*mielieche* 蔑戾車)[37] who despise the religious and the Faith. That is why Buddha was not born there. The mind of the people is narrow, and their coarseness (*gou* 垢, literally "impurity, filth") profound, hence neither saints nor sages go there. The climate is cold and the country rugged –you must think again![38]

27 One should first observe that here, China is again deliberately referred to, not as *Zhongguo* "the middle country", but as *Zhina guo* "the country of Zhina", a phonetic transliteration of the Sanskrit Cīna which itself, as noted above, is a transliteration of Qin and which was to be used again in Japan in the late 19th-early 20th centuries to designate China, stripping it of its centrality. Secondly, as noted by Janine Nicol, the word *mleccha*, here used by the Indian monks to talk about China, "frequently translated as 'barbarian', has many connotations and is certainly no synonym for foreigner. In Brahmanical thought *mleccha* was a term encompassing all the 'uncultured' including indigenous non-Aryan tribes and foreigners; those outside of the ritual, religious, social and linguistic community of the Aryans. They were regarded as beneath even the category of *caṇḍālas*[39] (indigenous outcastes, who are part of the karmic system whereas *mlecchas* are not). For Buddhists, '*mleccha* as a term of exclusion also carried within it the possibility of assimilation...' (Romila Thapar, "The Image of the Barbarian in Early India", p. 431). This was not readily appreciated by the Chinese who felt they were at a severe spiritual disadvantage having been born in China."[40]

28 Whatever be the case, the use of that particular term applied to China brought about a polite but firm reaction from Xuanzang who had to oppose a rejoinder to the disdainful words used by his Indian fellow-monks, in defense of China's age-old civilization which could not possibly be dismissed as a mere "country of *mlecchas*", even by a staunch Buddhist believer:

> The Master of the Law (i.e. Xuanzang) replied, "Buddha established his doctrine so that it might be diffused to all lands. Who would wish to enjoy it alone, and to forget those who are not yet enlightened? Besides, in my country the magistrates are clothed with dignity, and the laws are everywhere respected. The emperor is virtuous and the subjects loyal, parents are loving and sons obedient, humanity and justice are highly esteemed, and old men and sages are held in honour. Moreover, how deep and mysterious is their knowledge; their wisdom equals that of spirits. They have taken the Heavens as their model, and they know how to calculate the

> movements of the Seven Luminaries; they have invented all kinds of instruments, fixed the seasons of the year, and discovered the hidden properties of the six tones and of music. This is why they have been able to tame or to drive away all wild animals, to subdue the demons and spirits to their will, and to calm the contrary influences of the Yin and the Yang, thus procuring peace and happiness for all beings... How then can you say that Buddha did not go to my country because of its insignificance?"[41]

29 As Antonino Forte remarks, "whether it be true or imaginary, this episode is a perfect expression of the feeling of uneasiness and the state of dilemma which could only be solved by showing that China, too, was a sacred land of Buddhism, that is, by overcoming the 'borderland complex.'".[42] A task which China would undertake in the centuries following Xuanzang's quest and which would be tantamount to a massive overhaul of Buddhism from its original land to new "borderlands". David Jonathan Felt aptly concludes: "An effort to recreate China into a sacred Buddhist realm in its own right was not the only consequence of the argument for an Indic-centered model of the world. The long-existing discourse on China's place in the world had been forever altered. A new voice had been added to the conversation, to which all other voices now had to accommodate. Even outside of Buddhist circles, some Chinese began to understand the world not as a Chinese/center and barbarian/periphery construct, but as a polarity of civilization between a Chinese East and an Indian West."[43]

30 In 1882, Friedrich Maximilian Müller, the renowned Sanskritist of German origin, gave a famous series of lectures at the University of Cambridge entitled *What can India teach us?*, and proceeded to show in detail in what way India was at the source of numerous aspects of European languages, cultures, religious beliefs, etc. In that respect, Max Müller's question was raised from a European point of view. Being born and bred in France, but of Chinese ancestry, I would personally raise the question both from a European and a Chinese perspective. What I have just expounded was meant to remind us that India had something to teach to China in the early first millennium of the Christian era, but it is my profound and intimate conviction that it still has something to teach to China in our early third millennium. I would here borrow the words of Vikram Seth, an Indian writer who once travelled mostly by road from Nanjing to Delhi, but unlike Faxian and the other Chinese pilgrims, he was on his way *back* to India: "If India and China were amicable towards each other, almost half the world would be at peace. [...] The best that can be hoped for on a national level is a respectful patience on either side [...]. But on a personal level, to learn about another great culture is to enrich one's life, to understand one's own country better, to feel more at home in the world, and indirectly to add to that reservoir of individual goodwill that may, generations from now, temper the cynical use of national power."[44] What words could better convey the spirit of the present volume and collective effort?

NOTES

1. This is a more elaborate version of a working paper published in Anjana Sharma, ed., *Records, Recoveries, Remnants and Inter-Asian Interconnections. Decoding Cultural Heritage*, ISEAS, Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, 2018, pp. 141-159.
2. On which see Béatrice L'Haridon's article in the present volume.
3. Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat, Foe-koue-ki ou relation des royaumes bouddhiques, voyage dans la Tartarie, dans l'Afghanistan et dans l'Inde, exécuté à la fin du IVe siècle par Chy Fa Hian, Paris, Imprimerie royale, 1836.
4. Jean-Pierre Drège, translator, *Faxian, Mémoire sur les pays bouddhiques*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2013.
5. For a discussion of the appropriate use of the term "pilgrimage" in the Chinese context, see Timothy H. Barrett "Exploratory Observations on Some Weeping Pilgrims," in *The Buddhist Studies Forum, vol. I: Seminar Papers 1987-1988*, ed. Tadeusz Skorupski (London: London School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1990), p. 101.
6. Chang'an 長安, which had been the capital of the Former Han dynasty, was the capital of the Later Qin whose king was then Yao Xing (r. 394-416) who had converted to Buddhism.
7. The Buddhist Canon was traditionally composed of three « baskets » (*Tripitaka*, Chinese *san zang* 三藏): the *Sūtra*, the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharma.*
8. *Tianzhu* 天竺was then a common designation in Chinese for the Indian subcontinent.
9. The Chinese term *jie* 戒 is for *śīla* which concerns the rules of moral conduct to be practiced by lay Buddhists as well as monks.
10. The translations from the original Chinese into English are mine, unless otherwise stated.
11. T2085, 858a19-20. All references in this form refer to the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 edition of Buddhist texts.
12. Wuchang 烏萇is Udyâna, which, according to James Legge, is just north of modern day Punjab, "the country along the Subhavastu, now called the Swat, noted for its forests, flowers, and fruits."
13. Janine Nicol, "Outsiders: Medieval Chinese Buddhists and the 'Borderland Complex'. An Exploration of the Eight Difficulties", *The SOAS Journal of Postgraduate Research*, Vol. 6 (2014), pp. 27-48.
14. James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms: Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399–414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline* (1886, reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1965).
15. David Jonathan Felt, "De-Centering the Middle Kingdom: the Argument for Indian Centrality within Chinese Discourses from the 3rd to the 7th Century", *Beyond Borders: Selected Proceedings of the 2010 Ancient Borderlands International Graduate Student Conference* (2010), p. 2.
16. Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, "Faxian´s (法顯 342-423) Perception of India - Some New Interpretations of His *Foguoji* 佛國記," *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2010* XI (2011), pp. 223-247.
17. Abel-Rémusat, *Op. cit.* (see above note 1), p. 45 and note 3 on p. 60.
18. Jean-Pierre Drège, *Op. cit.* (see above note 2).
19. There is a great deal of scholarship on the importance of centrality in Chinese thought. For a useful synthesis, see Mark Edward Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006).
20. T.W. Rhys Davids, "Note on the Middle Country of Ancient India", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Jan., 1904), pp. 83-93.
21. Rhys Davids, *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

22. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1932.
23. Bimala Churn Law, "Geographical Data from Sanskrit Buddhist Literature", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 15, No. 1/2 (1933-34), pp. 1-38 (quotation from p. 7). I am grateful to Dr. Samuel Wright for providing me with this reference.
24. Law, *Op. cit.* p. 11-12. On Râjagrha, present day Rajgir, see Robert Harding, "The Buddhist landscapes of Rajgir, northern India", *Archaeology International*, 2004/5 (8), 48-51: "The modern town of Rajgir in the state of Bihar is now just a provincial centre, but ancient Rajagrha was once one of the largest cities in the Ganges Valley and the capital of the kingdom of Magadha. It is mentioned frequently in ancient texts –Hindu, Buddhist and Jain– and the founders of both Buddhism and Jainism (Buddha and Mahavira) spent much of their careers here. In the last quarter of the fourth century BC, Magadha became the Mauryan empire, which at its height extended over nearly all of modern South Asia; but by then the capital had moved north to Pataliputra (modern Patna). It was to be archaeology that recreated Buddhism at Rajgir. Its most significant modern interpreter was Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893), the founder of the Archaeological Survey of India. The core of his archaeological career was the identification of the places mentioned by the two Chinese monks [Faxian and Xuazang]. Their works had become available to the British in the 1840s and 1850s through French translations, and they were quickly seen as India's version of the work of the Greek author Pausanias. Cunningham visited Rajgir for the first time in 1861-62 and again in 1872. But he had prefigured it as specifically Buddhist from at least 1843, when he first announced his programme for utilizing the Chinese records to locate Buddhism's most significant sites, including Rajagrha."
25. Law, *Op. cit.* p. 13.
26. Law, *Op. cit.* p. 27.
27. T51 No 2085 859 b2-14.
28. Tian Xiaofei, *Visionary Journeys: travel writings from early medieval and nineteenth-century China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 102.
29. Nicol, *Op. cit.* p. 32.
30. T. 2085.860c1-8.
31. Barrett, *Op. cit*, pp. 99-100. Erik Zürcher strikes an interesting parallel in "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism: A Survey of Scriptural Influence", *T'oung Pao* 66 (1980), 84–147 (quotation from pp. 107-108): "...one of the standard objections against Buddhism was that it was foreign or barbarian, and the use of outlandish words must have constantly reminded the public of its foreign origin. There can be no doubt that Taoism shared the general negative view of barbarians. Birth in China is a reward of virtue, just as birth in a barbarian frontier region 邊境 is a severe karmic punishment. This concept, very frequently exposed in Ling-pao scriptures, is an extremely interesting case of transposition. It is a well-established Buddhist idea that rebirth in an outlying territory (*atyanta-janapada*) is one of the eight "difficult situations" (八難, *astâv aksanâh*) in which one has no opportunity to meet a Buddha and to hear him preach, just as rebirth in the "central region" (中國 *Madhyadesa*, originally the old heart-land of Buddhism) is a favourable condition because there the Buddhas appear. In the Taoist version中國has, understandably, become China, and the outer darkness of the *atyanta-janapada* has been filled with the concrete barbarian enemies at China's borders: 胡,夷,蠻,貊,戎,氐,狄,羌. After a thousand *kalpas* in Hell one may have a chance to be reborn among the I of the border region, "who have a human body but no human feelings" 雖有人形而無人情 (a topos which occurs many times). Barbarians are, as always, characterized by the absence of the right norms of conduct, and even the barbarian himself who applies to become a member of the Taoist community in China is supposed ruefully to confess that on account of his former sins he was born in the frontier wilds 邊荒 as one who knows neither ritual nor etiquette."
32. Nicol, *Op. cit.* p. 33.

33. T. 2085.864b28-c4.
34. Antonino Forte, “Hui-chih (fl. 676-703 A.D.), A Brahmin Born in China,” *Estratto da Annali dell’Instituto Universitario Orientale* 45 (1985).
35. Nicol, *Op. cit.* pp. 28-29.
36. T. 2053.246a12-18.
37. The Chinese transliteration of *mleccha* as *mielieche* is not only phonetic, it also carries some meaning since *mie* 蔑means “to despise, to scorn”, and *lie* 戾means “perverse, vile”.
38. *Da Tang da ci’en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci’en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty); translation from Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation, volume 1: Introductory Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 209-210.
An alternate translation is provided by Li Rongxi, *A Biography of the TripiṬaka Master of the Great Ci’en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty* (Berkeley, Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995), pp. 138-139.
39. Mentioned in Faxian’s *Foguo ji* § 16 (see above). As was specified in that passage, the *caṇḍālas* were regarded as so impure and polluting that they had to live outside the village and to signal their presence so that the village people could avoid getting in direct physical contact with them. See Romila Thapar, “The Image of the Barbarian in Early India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (4) (1971), p. 413.
40. According to Romila Thapar, *Op. cit.* p. 430: “Among the foreigners with whom there was a fair amount of contact, especially through trade, were the Chinese, the Arabs and the Turks, all of whom were of course considered *mlecchas*. Contact with the Chinese goes back to the third century B.C. through trade in silk. Although silk was greatly appreciated in India, the Chinese were firmly relegated to the ranks of the barbarians and their land declared unfit for *srâddha* rites. They are often associated with the Kâmboja and the Yavana (presumably because of the central Asian connection) and with the Kirâta and eastern India - the two regions from which trade with China was conducted in the early period. But the interest in China waned with the arrival of the Turks on the northwestern borders of India and the Arabs in the west.”
For a detailed study on the concept of *mleccha,* see Aloka Parasher, *Mlecchas in Early India: A Study in Attitudes towards Outsiders up to A.D. 600* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1991).
See also the important and detailed study by Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe, An Essay in Philosophical Understanding* (translated from the German original *Indien und Europa*), Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1981, see especially Chapter 11 “Traditional Indian Xenology” (pp. 180-181):
“Instead of referring to a vertical, hierarchical order, we may also try to visualize this scheme of social and xenological thinking as a sequence of concentric circles, which surround the center of ritual purity and perfection. Seen from this center, the most distant members of the social structure, the *candâlas*, constitute the transition to the *mlecchas*. These in turn form the transition to the realm of the animals. [...] The perspective is, of course, that of the Brahmins who were the authors of the majority of texts on which our presentation is based. They see themselves at the center of this system of concentric circles, in which foreigners appear as an extension or continuation of the internal structure of Hindu society. [...] In general, one should avoid contact with the *mlecchas*. According to a warning first found in the *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*, one should not travel to ‘the ends of the world’, the foreign lands beyond the horizon of the Aryans, in order not to incur evil, sin and death. One should not learn the language of the *mlecchas*. One should not converse with them, nor visit their countries. Furthermore, it is not desirable to make the Sanskrit language accessible to the foreign barbarians. [...] In accordance with their different assessment of the caste system, the approach of the Jainas and Buddhists to foreigners is, of course, significantly different from that of the Hindus and specifically the Brahmins. In the Buddhist view, ethical and characterological criteria superseded the hereditary

element. [...] There is a universalistic and missionary attitude already in early Hinayana Buddhism, and it becomes much more conspicuous in Mahayana Buddhism. The ideal Buddhist teacher should be able to adjust his teachings to the modes of understanding of his disciples. He should be willing and able to learn their languages and to instruct them in accordance with their own ways of thinking. The Buddha himself did not teach in Sanskrit, but in a vernacular language spoken by the people of Eastern India."

More generally, Halbfass comes to the conclusion that Brahmanical India never took a real interest in "the other" (p. 182):

"There are no Hindu accounts of foreign nations and distant lands. The Indian cultural 'colonization' of East and Southeast Asia and the spread of Buddhism are not at all reflected in Sanskrit literature. [...] There is little resonance of the Buddhist activities outside of India in Indian Buddhist literature. The advances of the missionaries, the great translation projects, the enthusiasm with which the Buddhist dharma was welcomed by so many Asian traditions - all this is hardly ever mentioned in India itself, and it has had few repercussions upon the debates between Hinduism and Buddhism , which were carried on in the Indian motherland. [...] In a sense, the effect of Buddhist universalism upon Hindu xenology has itself been a negative one. In response to this universalism, Hindu 'orthodoxy' has become more rigid and exclusivistic; and there has been a theoretical consolidation of that introverted traditionalism which for centuries has secluded Hindu thought in itself and reduced the foreign world to an insignificant and marginal phenomenon."

Such an observation was taken up by Amartya Sen in his famous essay *The argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture, and Identity*, London, Allen Lane, 2005, pp. 171-172 in the chapter devoted to "China and India":

"Buddhist connections also helped to moderate Indian self-centredness and sense of civilizational exclusiveness. Suspicion of foreigners has been a continuing factor in parts of Indian thinking. Even as late as the eleventh century, Alberuni, the remarkable Iranian visitor, in his book *Ta'rikh al-hind* ('The History of India'), complained about the Indian attitude towards foreigners:

'*On the whole, there is very little disputing about theological topics among themselves... On the contrary all their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them –against all foreigners. They call them* mleccha*, i.e., impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them.*'

That attitude did receive a challenge from Buddhist universalism and from the fact that Indians became, for many centuries, closely linked to other people through the common bond of a shared religion. As it happens, despite the spread of Buddhism beyond the borders of India, locally confined Indian Buddhists did not always recognize what a world religion Buddhism was becoming."

For more on Indian and Chinese concepts of barbarians, see Richard B. Mather, "Chinese and Indian Perceptions of Each Other between the First and Seventh Centuries," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112.1 (Jan.-Mar., 1992): 1-8.

41. Translation from Joseph Needham (see note 38 above).

42. Forte, *Op. cit.* p. 127.

43. Felt, Op. cit, p. 11.

44. Vikram Seth, *From Heaven lake*, 1st ed. London, Chatto & Windus, 1983, reed. New York, Vintage Departures, 1987, pp. 177-178.

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AUTHOR

ANNE CHENG

Anne Cheng holds the Chair of Chinese Intellectual History at the Collège de France in Paris. Born to Chinese parents, she was educated in France, studying classics and European philosophy before focusing on Chinese studies. For over forty years she has been involved in teaching and research on the intellectual history of China. She has translated the *Analects of Confucius* into French, and has written a study of Han Confucianism, as well as a history of Chinese thought which has been translated into numerous European and Asian languages. She has also edited several joint publications and is the chief editor of a bilingual series of works written in classical Chinese at Belles Lettres.

Indian Mendicants in Ming and Qing China: A Preliminary Study[1]

Matthew W. Mosca

Part I. Background of Indian Mendicant Travel to the Ming and Qing Empires

Gosains *and Tibet*

1 Indian mendicants, often termed *gosains* in English-language scholarship, entered Tibet in considerable numbers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[2] In India, *gosains* blended religious and commercial activities: travelling as pilgrims, they could undertake long-distance trade; residing in monasteries, they were able to take on the role of landlord, money lender, and trader.[3] As Bernard Cohn has noted, "In effect the *Gosain* network of pilgrimages and *maths* [monasteries] could be viewed as branches of a far flung commercial house or banking house which facilitated their transmission of money and goods."[4] Active across many parts of India, Warren Hastings observed in 1773 that they "chiefly frequent the countries lying at the foot of the chain of mountains which separate Indostan from Tibbet..."[5] Himalayan pilgrimage and trade, as John Clarke has pointed out, were "relatively minor aspects of the overall activity of the Gosains in South Asia," but their presence in Tibet was far from negligible.[6] The Capuchin missionary Beligatti watched a procession of 40 in Lhasa in 1741; George Bogle found that the Panchen Lama supported a retinue of around 150 Hindu *gosains* and 30 Muslim "fakirs" in the mid-1770s; a decade later, another Company envoy found about 300 "Hindoos, Goseins, and Sunniasses" enjoying the munificence of his successor.[7]

2 Contemporary observers and later historians regard *gosains* in Tibet, like those in India, as mixing religion and commerce. Beligatti described those in Lhasa as "religious men from Hindustan, who are rich merchants."[8] To William Kirkpatrick, writing in 1793, they were "at once devotees, beggars, soldiers and merchants."[9] Gaur Dás Bysack, a pioneer of scholarship in this field, called them "great travellers in India or in the most distant countries beyond it, as seekers of knowledge and experience, or as enterprising merchants."[10] Luciano Petech dubbed them "that curious class of wandering monks, half traders and half religious mendiants [*sic*] (and sometimes robbers), the Gosains."[11] More recently, Toni Huber succinctly dubbed them "mendicant pilgrim-traders."[12]

Some *gosains* came to visit western Tibet's holy sites and then continued eastward to Lhasa or Tashilhunpo, attracted by the hospitality of Tibetan Buddhist leaders. Others were engaged by Tibetan clerics as teachers and advisors. The eminent Tibetan scholar Taranatha (1575-1635) is known to have received their guidance in the 1620s and 1630s. An even larger number are recorded as visiting the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) in the 1650s, of whom the names and details of at least sixteen are recorded, most from Varanasi. One visitor, who came twice to Tibet, is mentioned as having been sent from Varanasi to China "on a trade mission."[13] Other *gosains* evidently visited Tibet primarily for commerce, carrying pearls and coral from the Indian coast across the Himalayas to trade for gold and other valuables.[14]

3 Among these men, the only individual whose career has been studied in detail is Purangir (d. 1795), an intermediary between two successive Panchen Lamas and the East India Company. Beginning in 1771, partly using *gosain* envoys, the Third Panchen Lama established relations with Chait Singh in Varanasi, whose dominions included Bodh Gaya. Purangir was sent by the Panchen Lama to intercede with Warren Hastings during a dispute between the East India Company and Bhutan, and thereafter was involved in almost every interaction between British India and Tibet for the next two decades: in 1774-1775 he accompanied Hastings's envoy to the Panchen Lama; according to his own account, he later reached Beijing in the retinue of the Panchen Lama and spoke with the Qianlong Emperor;[15] in 1783 he escorted another Company envoy to greet the new Panchen Lama; in 1785 he visited the Panchen Lama as a Company envoy in his own right. One of his disciples reached Qing authorities in Tibet in 1793, carrying a message from the British governor-general in Bengal.[16]

4 Despite his prominence in diplomacy, Purangir fit the mold of a pilgrim-trader. Bysack identified him as a member of the order of Dasanami renunciates, specifically of the Giri sect initiated at Jyotirmath in the Himalayas, and assumes that he first came to Tibet as a pilgrim. In 1775 Purangir and his principal, the Panchen Lama, were jointly deeded a site on the Ganges to which Tibetan pilgrims could resort. As its resident custodian, Purangir traded on his own account and as an agent for others, and received traders arriving from Tibet. As Bysack remarks, "He used to be entrusted with valuable commodities, chiefly gold, for sale in Bengal, and he had a concern of his own also, but never amassed any fortune, which he could easily have done, but he bestowed what he gained in large and open-handed charities."[17]

Travel from Tibet into China and Mongolia

5 For Indian mendicants in Lhasa wishing to travel onward, two primary trade routes reached the edge of China.[18] One ran east through Khams to the city of Dajianlu (Tib. Dar rtse mdo), which in the Ming and early Qing periods lay on the western border of Sichuan province. Dajianlu lay within the Lcags la kingdom, whose Tibetan-speaking rulers maintained their internal autonomy despite being regarded by the Ming as subordinates. In 1652, not long after the expanding central Tibetan government in Lhasa started to levy taxes in their domain, these rulers acknowledged the overlordship of the rising Qing government. Dajianlu's position at the juncture of Beijing and Lhasa's administrative authority made it "the centre of Sino-Tibetan trade and commerce," particular after it became a designated site of the vibrant tea trade in 1696. In the early eighteenth century the Qing cemented control over the region and made Dajianlu an important hub on the newly-garrisoned route between Lhasa and Chengdu, bringing fresh heights of prosperity.[19]

6 Another route ran northeast through Amdo, reaching China at Xining on the edge of Gansu province.[20] The importance of this route rose with the resurgence of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia. Stimulated by the meeting of the Mongolian leader Altan Khan and the Third Dalai Lama in 1578, the infrastructure of Tibetan Buddhism began to spread more densely toward the northeast. The founding of Sku-'bum (Kumbum) Monastery in Amdo (1588) helped link monasteries in Tibet to southern Mongolia's largest monastic centre at Köke qota (Hohhot), northern Mongolia's first monastery at Erdeni Juu (founded 1585), the Tibetan Buddhist temple at Mukden (completed 1638), the first Qing-sponsored Tibetan Buddhist establishments in Beijing (completed 1651), and still later to the major temple complex commissioned by the Kangxi emperor at Dolon Nuur. Less settled and more grueling than the Dajianlu-Lhasa route, that through Qinghai offered the fastest way from Lhasa to Beijing and Mongolia, largely skirting Chinese provinces.

7 Whether they travelled in China or Mongolia, Indian mendicants relied heavily on Buddhist religious infrastructure, but the precise details of this support remain elusive. Those heading northeast could reach Beijing or Mongolia via a network of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, and there is evidence that at least some favored Indian mendicants and scholars were issued *lam yig*, Tibetan travel documents that gave the bearer access to provisions during their travels.[21] For those entering China via Sichuan, evidence outlined below shows that travel permits could be obtained from the local Lcags la *tusi* administration at Dajianlu, and accommodation found in temples throughout China. Whether there were standard itineraries for such journeys, or whether mendicants wandered adventitiously, is unclear. However, many chose to travel to the same holy peaks, notably Wutaishan.

8 Given the fragmentary evidence about Indian mendicant travel in China, it is illuminating to consider the roughly contemporary experience of the early Jesuits. It is well known that Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci were closely associated with Buddhism by their early Chinese patrons, and indeed initially described themselves in Chinese as "Buddhist monks" (*seng*) coming from India (Tianzhu). The perception that they were loosely associated with Buddhism, coupled with their ability to speak Chinese, allowed them to acquire the patronage of officials and literati. This support, which fit "into the pattern of gentry patronage of Buddhist monasticism," gave them access to official travel documents, introductions to Buddhist clergy and monasteries, and contact with new patrons who allowed them to journey onward.[22] One can therefore extrapolate that Indian mendicants, many of whom could speak Chinese and virtually all of whom were associated with Buddhism by Chinese observers, resided and travelled in China via similar patronage.

9 At the same time, the Catholic mission in China labored under significant difficulties that did not hinder Indian mendicants. First, Catholic missionaries aimed to convert those they met, which led them to openly criticise other religious traditions, particularly Buddhism. Second, Catholic missionaries endeavoured to establish a religious infrastructure of churches and mission houses under their own control, rather than use existing monastic establishments. Third, Catholic missionaries were known for their connections to the Portuguese settlement at Macao. Ultimately, although some favored priests were allowed to reside in Beijing, Catholic priests were banned from other parts of the empire except in imperial service. By contrast, the Indian mendicants did not criticise Buddhism, did not reject the imputed identity of

Buddhist monks, dwelt in existing Buddhist monasteries, and had no problematic connections to powerful foreign states. Although occasionally arrested, there is no evidence that any systematic effort was made to find and expel them, or even that they were regarded as a security concern by the state.

10 Existing scholarship often stresses that Ming and Qing China was "closed" to foreigners, who could not enter the country without formal imperial authorisation. This is a fair description of Qing frontier vigilance at places like Canton and Kiakhta, where controls on foreign movement were tightly maintained. It is true that some underground European missionaries did manage to survive in China illegally after Christianity was proscribed, but they could travel only infrequently, relying on Chinese guides and adopting disguises and furtive expedients.[23] Very few European private travellers were able to make long journeys through Qing territory.[24] Of these, the journey of the Dutch traveller Samuel Van de Putte is most pertinent for the experience of Indian mendicants.[25] Van de Putte encountered a group of Tibetans near Patna in 1726, and then crossed the Himalayas and spent the next 16 years in Qing territory. After a sojourn in Lhasa, he went northeast through Amdo (in late 1731) to Xining. He had learned some Tibetan, and presumably travelled via the hospitality of monasteries. In Gansu he adopted Chinese dress and joined the retinue of a high-ranking Tibetan lama.[26] As the Beijing-based Jesuit Antoine Gaubil wrote to a French correspondent in 1734,

> *Un Hollandais qui se dit Samuel Wandepot est venu par le Tibet à Sinin dans le Chensi, par le moien d'un Lama. Il vint en may jusqu'aux portes de Pékin. Son conducteur mourut, et les Lamas l'ont conduit au Miao de Talnor en Tartarie, au Nord d'ici, entre 43 et 44° de latitude, mais à l'est. C'est de là qu'il nous a écrit en italien. ...La lettre nous a été donnée par un Mandarin ami des Lamas.*
> *L'Empereur aura sans doute été averti de cette aventure, et croira peut-être que c'est ou un espion, ou un missionnaire déguisé...*[27]

> A Dutchman who calls himself Samuel Van de Putte has come by Tibet to Xining in Shaanxi, by means of a lama. He came in May to the gates of Beijing. His conductor died, and the Lamas conducted him to the temple of Dolon Nuur in Mongolia, to the north of here, between 43 and 44° of latitude, but to the east. He wrote to us from there in Italian... The letter was given to us by a mandarin, friend of the lamas.
> The emperor will doubtless have been warned of this venture and will perhaps believe that he is either a spy or a disguised missionary...

11 Van de Putte was not arrested, and after a return sojourn in Lhasa reached India via Ladakh and Kashmir. It seems that by travelling within Buddhist monastic networks he was largely insulated from contact with the Qing state. Indian mendicants would probably have had even readier access to the same networks.

Indian Mendicants and Buddhism in East and Inner Asia

12 The presence of Indian mendicants in China and Mongolia raises complex questions about the boundaries of Hinduism and Buddhism that can only be touched on here.[28] The majority of Indian mendicants in Tibet in the seventeenth and eighteenth century were non-Buddhist *gosains*. However, Chinese and Mongolian sources almost all represent these men as Buddhists, and sometimes explicitly link them to earlier Buddhist visitors from India. Chinese records almost invariably describe late Ming and Qing Indian mendicants as *seng* 僧 (from *Sangha*), that is, as members of the Buddhist clergy, although it could be applied loosely to holy men from other religious traditions.

Many Chinese-language accounts refer to these later mendicants as "Arhats" (*Luohan* 羅漢), accomplished Buddhist practitioners. This is likely to mean that for Chinese observers they resembled the distinctive figure of the Arhat still prominent in Buddhist religious statuary and painting. Some strands of Chinese and Tibetan Arhat painting depicted "features [that] seem to recall the Indian origins of Arhats, but through a stereotyping East Asian lens. Examples... show the darkened skin of Indians, overgrown eyebrows, dark beards, and extremely long earlobes."[29] Three of the cases below mention that the monk resembled Bodhidharma, who reached China in the fifth century and is traditionally regarded as having introduced Chan Buddhist teachings, so it may be paintings of him were particularly influential for the identification of Indian mendicants. Familiarity with the Arhat figure is probably one reason Indian mendicants were welcomed in temples.

13 Another intriguing question is whether these mendicants knew that earlier Indian Buddhist travellers had found a warm welcome. The Indian monk Sahajasri (*Sahazanshili* 薩哈拶釋哩), also known as Pandita, reached China at the end of the Yuan period from Kashmir, where he had studied Tantric Buddhism. His ostensible motive was to visit Wutaishan, reputed abode of the bodhisattva Manjusri. He was patronised by the Hongwu emperor, and upon his 1381 death his remains were interred in the Xitian temple (西天寺), named in reference to his Indian origins.[30] After his death, as Du Changshun has pointed out, his disciples continued to receive imperial patronage, and maintained a distinctively Indian tradition of Buddhism in Beijing. Monks in this tradition were dubbed "Xitian" regardless of their origins, and indeed almost all were ethnically Chinese, although some came from Tibet, Annam, and even India.[31] Another Indian Buddhist monk who arrived in China in the early Ming, Sariputra (d. 1424), was patronised by the Yongle emperor.[32] When the last Indian Buddhist monk reached Ming China is open to debate, but there is little evidence of their presence after 1450, and it would seem that any lingering influence of these court-patronised lineages was interrupted by the withdrawal of imperial support for Buddhism during the long rule of the Jiajing emperor (r. 1521-1567).

14 The strongest case for commonalities between early- and late-Ming Indian travellers to China emerges from the geographic terms used for their places of origin. In many cases, late Ming and Qing mendicants were said to come from "Great Xitian" (*Da Xitian* 大西天, literally "Great Western Heaven"). Hoong Teik Toh has convincingly demonstrated the vague and unstable meaning of this term in the Yuan and Ming periods. When Tibetan Buddhist clergy first rose to prominence in China under Mongol rule, there was a tendency to associate them with India. Although Tibet and India were known to be geographically and politically distinct, Tibet came to be regarded as so sacred that it could in some religious contexts be called "India." This "'India~Tibet' duality of Tibet" grew more pronounced as the Ming period progressed, and Toh therefore cautions that both "Great" or "Small" Xitian could sometimes refer to India, but elsewhere indicate Tibet, Tibetans, or Tibetan objects.[33] Such ambiguity disappears in the Qing period, when "Xitian" referred only to India. Zhang Yushu, writing in the second half of the seventeenth century, equated "Great Xitian" with Enetkek, the Manchu word for India. In the mid-eighteenth century, Chen Kesheng, a geographer of Tibet, added the gloss that "Great Xitian" "should mean India" (蓋即天竺國也).[34] In 1782, the Qianlong emperor obtained two jade seals, bearing "Great Xitian calligraphy" and explained that this was a colloquial reference to *Hendu* or the "five Indias."[35] A Qing

official with experience in Lhasa noted in 1823 that a Tibetan word for India, Rgya-gar, “is Great Xitian.”[36]

15 Another common geographic claim was that these monks were from Kapilavastu, the city in which Gautama Buddha’s family lived in his youth. It is noteworthy that the biographical account of Sahajasri, written in the early Ming by a Chinese disciple, credits him with coming from “the country of Kapilavastu, in Central India” (天竺之中印度迦維羅衛國).[37] The Indian monk Dhyanabhadra (d. 1363), who reached late Yuan China, was likewise supposedly from this place.[38] As we shall see below, Chinese accounts typically linked Kapilavastu to “Central India,” referring to the region containing the core holy sites associated with Gautama Buddha. It seems safe to hypothesise, then, that Kapilavastu was used in this context to refer to the region in north India containing the holiest Buddhist sites. Perhaps this is a more specific reference to the area around Varanasi, known as the base for many *gosains* in Tibet. The majority of mendicants mentioned in Manchu documents (Case S) specified that they originated in Varanasi.

16 In the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Manchu context, the term for Indian mendicants was most commonly Acharya. This was the term an Italian missionary used for these men in Lhasa in 1741, and was later applied to Purangir and other *gosains*. As Petech notes, it was used in Tibet in the eighteenth century for “every man of parts coming from India,” including the Scotsman George Bogle.[39] Klaus Sagaster found evidence that “Ācārya’s, Gelehrte, aus Indien” visited the first Lcang-skya Khutughtu (d. 1714), a prominent Tibetan Buddhist incarnation closely associated with the Qing court, in Dolon Nuur sometime around 1705.[40] Manchu sources generally termed these mendicants “Adzar lamas.” In rare cases, Acharya is used in Chinese transcription for Indian mendicants by authors familiar with Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism. Qianlong, writing in the 1780s, noted that Acharya referred to “a mendicant monk from India” (大天竺遊募之僧).

Part II. Cases of India-China Travel by Mendicants

17 Since the study of Indian mendicants in China and Mongolia between the late sixteenth century and 1800 is at an early stage, this paper will not attempt to synthesise all available evidence into a general profile. Rather, it lays out all cases known to me in strictly chronological order, before attempting to identify patterns that emerge from this evidence.

Earliest Cases (A-C)

18 Indian Buddhists were present in China into the first decades of the fifteenth century. After an apparent gap of a century and a half, a sudden upswing in references to Indian mendicants begins in the last decades of the sixteenth century. The earliest such case I have been able to identify [**Case A**] concerns a monk named Zuo-ji-gu-lu 左吉古魯, said to be from “southern India” (Xizhu Nan Yintu 西竺南印土), who reached Beijing in Wanli 4 (1576). He was described as having “earrings, an alms bowl in hand, a red felt garment, a dark-complexioned face, and curling hair, the visage of the ancient Bodhidharma” (耳環，手鉢，紅罽衣，蒼紫面，而虬鬈，古達摩相也). After lodging initially in the Tianning Temple, he passed through the Fuchengmen Gate into the western suburbs of Beijing and sat for a month without moving or eating. After a eunuch memorialised the throne about this, he was granted gifts.[41] It seems almost certain that his patron was the Empress Dowager Cisheng (Li, posthumous name

Xiaoding, 1546-1614). Known for her Buddhist piety and support of the clergy, she was instrumental in the resurgence of interest in that religion in late Ming China.[42]

19 A second reference to Zuo-ji-gu-lu, differing in some details, is offered by Tao Wangling (1562-1609). He encountered "a Western monk named Zuo-ji-gu-lu, who described himself as a person from the country of Kapilavastu; Kapilavastu is ancient Central India" (西僧左吉古魯， 自云迦毘羅國人， 迦毘羅， 古中印土也). Based on their conversation, Tao offered the following description:

> 左吉自其國東南行三十萬八千餘里, 經十五寒暑, 達於蜀, 居峨眉一歲, 習華言輒通曉, 自蜀抵京師, 慈聖以左吉遠人, 賜廩萬壽寺, 給紫衣, 居三年, 南游金陵, 萬曆乙巳冬十一月至越
>
> Zuo-ji travelled southeastward from his country for over 308,000 *li* [*sic*], for a period of 15 years.[43] He reached Sichuan and dwelt on Emei mountain for a year. He studied the Chinese language and immediately became fluent. From Sichuan he reached the capital, and Cisheng bestowed on him, as a man from afar, an official ration in Wanshou Temple, and also presented him a purple robe of honour. He lived there for three years, and then travelled south to Nanjing, and in the 11th month of Wanli *yisi* [Dec. 10, 1605-Jan. 8, 1606] he reached Yue [*i.e.*, Zhejiang].[44]

20 A third reference to this man is made by Lou Jian (1554-1631), who commented,

> 頃者, 左吉師缾錫至吳, 獲與之接, 惜其為漢音不甚了了, 無從而得其詳也
>
> Recently, Master Zuo-ji[45] came to Wu [*i.e.,* Jiangsu] with his monk's water bottle and staff, and I was able to come into contact with him. Regrettably, his spoken Chinese is not very fluent, so there was no way for me to get his details.[46]

21 Lou tells us that he was hoping to have a relatively abstruse conversation with Zuo-ji-gu-lu about Buddhist teaching, so this appraisal of his Chinese may reflect that he failed to pass Lou's high bar. These references show that this mendicant had lived in China for thirty years.

22 Yuan Zhongdao (1570-1623) described the following encounter [**Case B**] late in Wanli 41 (1613):

> 步至青蓮菴, 遇大西天僧, 能漢語, 自本國至中國, 途程凡八年, 曾入京, 以慈聖太后所賜千佛衣, 及金襴袈裟出觀.
>
> When I reached the Qinglian Temple [in Huguang], I encountered a monk from Great Xitian. He could speak Chinese. From his home country to China, his journey had taken altogether eight years. He had once gone to Beijing, and took out for display his 'Thousand Buddha Robe' and gold-embroidered cassock bestowed upon him by the Empress Dowager Cisheng.[47]

23 A third reference [**Case C**] to Cisheng is found in a record of a 1624 encounter by Li Rihua (1565-1635) in Jiaxing, Zhejiang. There Li met and spoke at length with a monk "with deep-set eyes and a slight beard, who could speak Chinese" (深眼微鬚, 能為漢音).[48] Despite his Tibetan name, this monk claimed to come from a country in "eastern India in the Western Regions" (西域東天竺), a claim that has been doubted by some modern scholars.[49] By his own account, he had been inspired by the example of a distant predecessor Pandita, whom he identified as preceptor to the Chenghua emperor (r. 1465-1487).[50] After a journey that supposedly covered over 90,000 *li*, he and his four companions reached China. Although the details of this journey are difficult to follow,

and include references to locations in Tibet and Central Asia, they apparently entered China via the Gansu corridor and sojourned at Wutaishan before being taken to Beijing by a eunuch, where he and his companions received the patronage first of the Empress Dowager Cisheng, in 1602, and later of the emperor himself. By the time Li met him in Zhejiang, two of his companions had died, in Beijing and on Wutaishan, and two were living beyond Beijing, on the northern edge of the Ming realm.

24 These early sources reveal something of a pattern: First, each went to Beijing and received patronage from the Ming court, some specifically from the Empress Dowager Cisheng. However, they did not remain there, and in cases A and C they specifically visited peaks known to be sites of Buddhist pilgrimage. There is also evidence that these monks could speak Chinese, likely evidence of a long sojourn in China. It is notable that the traveller in case C remarked that "there was a monk of a previous generation named Pandita who established a teaching lineage and then died in the East, that is, the national preceptor of the Chenghua emperor" (有先代和尚斑的答祖歿東土, 乃成化皇帝國師). This hints that at least some mendicants were aware of earlier visitors who had received patronage in China, but when, where, and how this information was transmitted remains to be established.

Case D

25 A second very early case is found in the writings of Wang Daokun (1525-1593). Since it describes an encounter at a temple on Songming Mountain, near the author's home in Anhui, it probably took place between the time he was granted leave from office in 1575 and his death just under two decades later. Visiting a temple, he encountered a figure of whom he gave the following description:

> 西來比丘具佛子相, 繡頭環耳, 深目稜眉, 不袷不襦, 不冠不履, 其名日諾囊嚇紇哩, 其國日迦毘羅, 其居日韋馱菴, 其師日庚迦哈哩, 是行也, 隨喜東方國土, 縱觀大地山河, 爰及九年, 始通三蜀, 因而遨遊諸夏, 瞻仰兩都, 諸佛地, 則瓦屋, 霧中, 普陀, 五臺, 峨眉, 伏牛, 九華, 諸名山, 則雲華, 雲臺, 岱岳, 衡岳, 廬岳, 玄岳, 白岳, 頃謁肇林精舍, 會逢大士生辰, 言語僅通, 機緣偶合, 叩之, 則再稽法臘, 將反化城, 曩忽亡繻, 茲求援節, 庶資利涉

> The Bhiksu who came from the West had the appearance of the disciple of the Buddha [Arhat]. His hair was "embroidered"[51] and he wore earrings, with deep-set eyes and a brow ridge. He wore neither a lined wrap nor an unlined garment. His name is Nuo-nang-li-he-li, he is from the country of Kapilavastu, his residence is the Skanda Cloister, his teacher is named Geng-jia-ha-li. As for this journey, he was going around to visit the Eastern countries, and he extensively viewed the earth and its features. After spending nine years travelling he had gone everywhere in Sichuan[52], and then he roamed throughout China and looked with reverence on the two capitals [of Beijing and Nanjing]. [He visited] the various Buddhist sites, that is, Wawu Mountain [in Sichuan], Wuzhong Mountain [in Sichuan], Putuo Mountain [in Zhejiang], Wutai Mountain [in Shanxi], Emei Mountain [in Sichuan], Funiu Mountain [in Henan], and Jiuhua Mountain [in Anhui], and the various famous mountains, that is, Yunhua Mountain [in Gansu, then part of Shaanxi], Yuntai Mountain [in Henan], Daiyue [*i.e.*, Mt. Tai, in Shandong], Heng Mountain [in Hunan], Lu Yue [in Jiangxi], Xuan Yue [*i.e.*, Hengshan in Shanxi or Wudang Mountain in Hubei], and Bai Yue [*i.e.*, Qiyun Mountain in Anhui]. Recently I visited the Zhaolin Jingshe [on Songming Mountain in Anhui], and it so happened that it was this great monk's birthday. Although linguistically we could hardly communicate, our destinies were by chance intertwined. I inquired of him, and [learned that] he had again accumulated one more year of being a monk, and was about to

> return to his [home?] monastery, but in the past he had in haste lost his travel pass. Now he requested that I issue him a warrant, in the hopes that this would give him the means for a successful journey.[53]

26 Although the mendicant here mentions visiting Beijing, his account is striking for the sheer number of sites he is said to have visited; only the far south of China seems to be excluded from his travels. It is also noteworthy that he mentions having lost his travel permit, and requests some form of travel documentation from Wang. The source of this original permit is not specified, but presumably it was issued in Sichuan. From later cases we learn that at least some mendicants were granted travel documents at Dajianlu, on what was then the edge of that province.

Case E

27 An entry in the *Ming Shilu*, under the date Tianqi 6/IC6/25 (Aug. 16, 1626), details the following encounter:

> 巡視南城御史王時英盤獲番僧於廣寧門外十方庵, 頭結黃髮, 面目異甞, 語若鳥聲, 字如蛇跡, 因而驗察, 隨身番經数十葉, 原領四川長河西, 魚通, 寧遠, 軍民宣慰司批文一紙, 内稱大西天羅漢嘪哈嗚, 願遊漢地名山道院寺觀等語, 蹤跡可異, 當今奴酋得計,全在姦細, 乞敕法司譯審, 刑部移文禮部取譯字生譯審, 批文可據, 又有上荊南道掛號, 分守川西道查驗各印信関防, 又蕳出西天舘本内番字真實名經一卷, 與本番認識, 本番即踴躍捧誦, 法司審實係西番非東夷也

> Wang Shiying, Censor Inspecting the Southern City, interrogated and arrested a *fan* [Tibetan/foreign] monk in the Shifang temple outside the Guangning gate [of Beijing]. On his head he wore yellow-brown hair, and his visage was unusual. His speech was like the calling of crows, and his writing was like the tracks of a snake. For this reason I investigated him. On his person he bore several tens of leaves from a Tibetan/foreign sutra. He initially carried a permit from the Tribal Pacification Offices of Changhexi-Yutong-Ningyuan, which read: 'Jia-ha-wa, Arhat from Great Xitian; he wishes to travel to China's famous mountains, Daoist monasteries, and temples.' His travels can be regarded as suspicious. At present the chieftain Nurhaci is succeeding in his schemes wholly through the use of spies. I request an edict commanding the Judicial Offices to interrogate him via translation. The Board of Punishments sent a communication to the Board of Rites to select a translator and interrogate him via translation. The permit could be corroborated. Also, it bears a registration number from the Shangjingnan Circuit [in Huguang province] and the various seals of the Western Sichuan General Administration Circuit. Further, we took out the *Manjusri-nama-samgiti* in one *juan* from the works in the Indian Office [*Xitian guan*] and gave it to this Tibetan/foreigner for recognition. This Tibetan/foreigner eagerly read it with care. The Judicial Offices determine upon investigation that he is truly a Tibetan (Xifan) and not an Eastern Barbarian [*i.e.*, Manchu].[54]

28 This official record supplies interesting details rarely touched on in private accounts. First, we gain a fairly clear picture of the monk's itinerary within China: he reached China via Khams and entered Sichuan using a permit issued by the Chenghexi-Yutong-Ningyuan indigenous official (*tusi*) at Dajianlu (*i.e.*, the ruler of the Lcags la kingdom). He then passed through Huguang and made his way to Beijing. His stated purpose of visiting China was religious pilgrimage.

29 The origin of this mendicant is not entirely clear. Hoong Teik Toh, despite reconstructing his name as Rgya-gar-ba (Tibetan for "an Indian"), believes that this monk was Tibetan because he was described using the word Xifan, normally applied to

Tibetans. In my view, this evidence is offset by the fact that he was also termed an "Arhat from Great Xitian." Toh also believes he was given a Tibetan text to read. However, it seems just as likely that the text the monk read was Sanskrit written in the Lantsha script.[55]

Case F

30 The earliest evidence I have found for the presence of Indian mendicants in Mongolia in this period concerns the first Jebtsundamba Khutughtu (1635-1723). A Mongolian account states that three men visited him for a brief moment in his infancy and then vanished. The term used for these men in Mongolian was *γurban acira kümün* (literally, "three *acira* people"). Charles Bawden interprets *acira* as Acharya, and translates this phrase as "three Indians."[56] According to another story, two Acharyas with spiritual powers, identified as coming from India (*enedkeg-ün oron-ača qoyar šidi-tei ačara kümün*) visited the first Jebtsundamba later in life and asked him the way to the mythical land of Shambhala.[57] A Tibetan-language version of this story refers to "Acharyas (*a tsa rya*) from India (*rgya-gar*)."[58] The elder of these men was said to have venerated the Jebtsundamba for his wisdom and permanently entered his retinue, marrying a member of his family. An Indian story cycle is said to have been translated into Mongolian by this man in 1686. The colophon to this tale identifies the narrator as

> Baγaqan Pandita, disciple of Saši Pandita, who was fully versed in all the scriptures of Mahā Brāhmaṇa and who lived in the city of Vārānasi beside the river Gangā in India, which is the birth-place of Juu Sākyamuni... [he] translated the complete biography of Bodhisattva king Vikramāditya and king Tümen Jirγalangtu Kisan-a burqan into Mongolian from Indian language [*sic*]...[59]

31 Although there are certainly legendary aspects to these stories, they do seem to indicate that the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu had contact with Indian mendicants.[60] Tsongol B. Natsagdorj has found evidence that Indian mendicants played a role in diplomatic missions sent by Khalkha Mongol khans to Russia in the 1670s and 1680s, strengthening the plausibility of this connection.[61] As we shall see below in cases K and N, there is independent and reliable evidence that such mendicants were in northern Mongolia in this period and did encounter the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu.

Mendicants in the Ming-Qing Transition: Cases G and H

32 As suggested by the 1626 interrogation described above (Case E), Indian mendicants were not entirely immune to the rising tensions between the Ming and the Manchus, set against the backdrop of a chaotic breakdown in Ming internal order, especially in the north. Two records openly allude to the effect of these conditions. The first [**Case G**] is found in a gazetteer of Guangchang county, Jiangxi. It remarks:

> 僧諱麻耶卸納踏, 大西天迦毘黎國產也, 明崇楨壬午歲入中國, 徧謁名山, 順治開元避亂廣昌, 時人見而異之, 留住邑之東北隅蓮花菴, 僧面目類達摩, 身長九尺, 鬚髯長七尺, 清修苦行, 不屑語言文字, 終日合掌菩團, 人莫能測
>
> The monk was named Ma-ye-xie-na-ta, he was born in the country of Kapilavastu in Great Xitian. In the *renwu* [15th] year of the Chongzhen reign period of the Ming [1642] he entered China, and extensively visited famous mountains. At the start of the Shunzhi era [1644] he took shelter in Guangchang county from the unrest. At that time people viewed him as unusual. He remained and lived in the Lianhua Cloister in the northeast corner of the county seat. The monk's visage resembled Bodhidharma, his body was nine *chi* [feet] high, and his beard was seven *chi* long. He was pure and practiced austerities. He disdained speaking and writing, and spent all of his days with palms joined on his Bodhisattva mat. People could not fathom him.[62]

33 The entry continues with a record of how the monk replied to religious questions posed to him, suggesting that he could speak Chinese.

34 The second [**Case H**] is one of the rare references to Indian mendicants in poetry. Relatively little is known about the author, Wang Siqian 王嗣乾, other than that he was a native of Shaoyang, Hunan, and sat the provincial examination in the *bingxu* year (1646).

宿耑山與迦毘廬國僧夜談
Night Chat with a Monk from Kapilavastu, while Staying Overnight at Zhuanshan
問師何事渡流沙
足半名山願尚賒
I asked the master why he had crossed the Flowing Sands,
He had set foot on half of China's famous peaks, but his desires led him further.
每入雲嵐尋淨地
卻將戎馬怪中華
Each time he entered those cloud-shrouded peaks, it was to seek the pure land,
But because of war horses he was stunned by China.
信知石丈能成佛
驚看玉霙疑雨花
(自注:彼地石化為佛, 無雨雪)
He certainly knew that one *zhang* of stone could become a Buddha.
But marveled to look at jade petals [snowflakes], and was astonished by raindrops.
(Author's note: In his land stone had turned into Buddhas, but it did not rain or snow.)
燈火深談如夢裏
明朝去去復天涯
Deep in conversation over the flame of a lamp, as if in a dream.
The next morning he set off, again for the edge of the sky.[63]

35 It is possible that this reference to the Flowing Sands indicates the Gobi and means that this mendicant entered China from the north rather than Sichuan. Wang's reference to conversation suggests that this man could speak Chinese.

Case I

36 In a 1660 (Shunzhi *gengzi*/17) preface to his *Zhi Xian ji*, Lin Huawan explained that he had spent the previous three years as magistrate of Xianyu 鮮虞 (*i.e.*, Xinle 新樂 county) in Zhili. In 1659, during his tenure, he recorded that "there arrived an unusual [or, foreign] monk resembling an Arhat" (異僧類羅漢至). This struck him as strange, because on the exact same date the previous year he had commanded the rebuilding of a temple to house iron Arhat statues that long ago had gotten stuck in the locality on their way to Wutaishan. Observing him during an audience, Lin gave the following description:

> 其衣服容貌, 即古圖畫中達摩一葦渡江, 然其兩臂上現浮屠佛像如雕鏤... 其學中國語, 未甚了了, 可聽者什之一二句耳, 云自大西天來, 幾萬里, 不裹粮而自得食.

> In his garments and visage, he was just like Bodhidharma crossing the Yangzi on a reed from an ancient painting. But on his two arms there were images of the Buddha as if they were carved [*i.e.*, tattooed?] there... In his study of Chinese he had not thoroughly mastered it, and I could make out only 10 or 20 percent of his speech. He said that he had come from Great Xitian, several tens of thousands of *li*. He did not pack provisions, but obtained food on his own [or, naturally].[64]

37 Lin directly links the arrival of this monk to the supernatural behavior of the iron Arhat statues, and describes the episode in a “record of preserving the unusual” (存異紀). It is noteworthy that Lin identifies the type of man concerned by reference to Buddhist art work. Xinle county is very close to Wutaishan, although Lin does not state that the man was making a pilgrimage there.

Case J

38 The only evidence for the presence of mendicants in Yunnan comes from the account of Chen Ding (1650–?), probably dating to the last decades of the seventeenth century. When describing the Buddhist monasteries on Jizu Mountain, located between Lijiang and Dali, he noted:

> 僧多卷毛, 鉤鼻, 深目, 穿耳, 即曩在五臺京師及江浙閩粵所見乞食羅漢也. 頗知漢語.
>
> > Many of the monks have curling hair, hooked noses, deep-set eyes, and pierced ears. These are the Arhats seen in the past begging food in Wutaishan, Beijing, and in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong. They are very well-versed in Chinese.[65]

39 The major religious patrons of Jizu Mountain, the most prominent site of Buddhist pilgrimage in Yunnan, were the Mu family who ruled the kingdom of Lijiang, recognised as *tusi* officials by the Ming and Qing. This Naxi kingdom combined in this period Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist influences. It is possible that some Indian mendicants may have headed south from Khams into Yunnan via Lijiang, bypassing Sichuan.[66]

Case K

40 Zhang Pengge (1649-1725), a high-ranking Han Chinese member of an embassy sent in 1688 to meet with Russian officials on the border of Mongolia, included the following entry in his journal of the trip:

> [康熙27年6月]二十七日... 遇番僧數人, 面目類羅漢而身骨俱軟, 能以足加首, 以首穿腋, 跏趺似羅漢狀. 內一僧能華語, 自言係大西天人, 求活佛于中國, 遍遊普陀, 五台, 峨嵋諸名山, 不見有佛. 聞打賴喇麻似之, 及往見而知其非也. 又聞外國有金丹喇麻是佛, 涉窮荒往視之, 又非也. 值額諾德兵亂, 搶去行李, 散失同伴, 僅存殘喘耳. 張子謂之日: 爾捨生死遊遍中外求活佛而不得, 究竟信得天下佛果有耶? 無耶? 僧笑日: 今日方知其無矣. 張子日: 既知其無, 盍返而求心可耳. 鹿鹿奔走, 胡為哉. 僧唯唯. 從者報, 道上有大石, 鐫番字如拳, 呼僧視之, 不能識.
>
> > On July 24, 1688... we encountered several *fan* [Tibetan or foreign] monks. Their visages resembled Arhats, and their bodies and bones were flexible; they could put their feet on their heads, and put their heads through their armpits, and they sat cross-legged like Arhats. One among them could speak Chinese, and said that he was a man from Great Xitian. He had sought a living Buddha in China, and had travelled to the famous mountains of Putuo, Wutai, and Emei, but did not observe that there was a Buddha. He heard that the Dalai Lama seemed to be one, and went to see him, but learned that he was not. He also heard that in a foreign country [*i.e.*, Mongolia] there was the Jebtsundamba Lama who was a Buddha, and he trod the distant wastes to go see him, but he also proved not to be one. That was the time of the Junghar invasion; his luggage was stolen and his companions scattered –he escaped with only his life. Zhang said to him: ‘With no regard for your life, you have travelled everywhere inside and outside China seeking a living Buddha but have not found one. In the end, do you believe that in the world there actually is a Buddha, or not?’ The monk laughingly replied, ‘Only today have

> I come to know there is none.' Zhang said, 'Since you know there is none, probably you can change course and seek it in your mind. Rushing about in a bustle is recklessness!' The monk agreed. One in our retinue reported that on the road there was a great stone, inscribed with *fan* characters resembling a fist. We called the monk to look at it, but he could not read it.[67]

41 This is the only Chinese-language record of encountering Indian mendicants in Mongolia. It is thus significant that the same terms used in China, Arhat and Great Xitian, are applied to these men and their country of origin. Their reported itinerary also shows that at least some mendicants were travelling in both China and Mongolia. Taken at face value, the reported itinerary also suggests that the men came first to China and only later visited Tibet and Mongolia. Such an itinerary would be possible only if they came from Central Asia through Gansu, or by sea. The latter possibility is made plausible by the fact that their first recorded destination was Putuoshan, a coastal monastery in Zhejiang. Although no other Hindu mendicant is known definitively to have reached China by sea, at least some included maritime itineraries in Southeast Asia on their travels.[68] It is also worth noting that the Russian Ivan Krusenstern learned in 1805 from a Muslim merchant that some time ago a native of Delhi, "of that class of people whom the Indians call fakeers" had arrived in Canton by sea after having visited Burma and Vietnam. He was accustomed to stand in the street "surrounded by a crowd of spectators, and exposed to the constant insults of a number of unruly boys," wearing only a loincloth. The *faqir* was supported by local Muslims who respected his piety, Arabic and Persian learning, and his "being particularly skilled in the court dialect of Delhi."[69]

Case L

42 In his *Chibei outan* (1691), the scholar Wang Shizhen (1634-1711) remarks:

> 予在海陵一士夫家, 見毘盧國僧, 號羅漢, 自言明英宗土木之變, 始入中國, 能風雪中祼體而浴. 一日, 席上有胡桃, 羅漢以齒碎之, 凡數十枚. 舊住通州之軍山, 以遷濱海界, 徙居海陵. 高郵守某之祖, 傳有小像一軸, 像上畫一老僧相向坐, 自記此僧名羅漢, 毘盧國人. 一日, 守聞軍山有毘盧僧, 心疑即其人. 試往謁, 乃與畫上老僧了無差別. 蓋已閱三世百年矣。

> When I was with an official family in Hailing, I saw a monk from the country of Kapilavastu, who was called Arhat. He himself said that he had first entered China during the reign of Yingzong [1436-1449] of the Ming, at the time of the Tumu Incident [1449]. He was able to bathe naked in the wind and snow. One day, there was a walnut on the seat, and the Arhat shattered it with his teeth into scores of pieces. Formerly he lived at Junshan in Tongzhou, but in order to move to the seashore he transferred his residence to Hailing.[70] The grandfather of a certain Mr. Shou of Gaoyou [in Jiangsu] had handed down a small portrait scroll, and facing him on this small portrait was drawn an old monk. He himself recorded that this monk was named Arhat. One day, Shou heard that at Junshan there was a monk from Kapilavastu, and he suspected it might be this person, so he ventured to go visit with him. He turned out to be absolutely the same as the old monk who had been drawn. Three generations and a hundred years had already passed.[71]

43 Although this monk gave Wang few details of his travels, two aspects are particularly noteworthy. First, in Wang's account this monk had arrived in China during the fifteenth century. While the veracity of this claim must be discounted, this might again be oblique evidence that mendicants were aware of their predecessors. Second, the

monk’s putative identification with his predecessor was based on the fact that he resembled a painted Arhat portrait. This reinforces the suggestion that the word Arhat was used for these men due to the depiction of Arhat figures in Chinese painting and statuary.

44 An epilogue to this tale is found in the jottings of Xia Quan (1793-1842), who cited an earlier work by Lu Shun 陸舜 (1614-1692) concerning longevity techniques. Lu discussed a Shunzhi-era contemporary, Yu Duo 俞鐸 (active SZ 9-14; 1652-1657), who claimed to possess a “Record in which an Arhat is taken as a teacher and the truth obtained” (師羅漢得真傳). Xia appended the comment:

> 攷順治時有西域僧來吾州，兩耳懸太玉環，人呼為玉環羅漢，漁洋在海陵所見毘羅國僧, 即此僧, 善導引積氣, 壽數百歲, 天木所師羅漢疑即此.

> When I examine this, in the Shunzhi era there was a monk of the Western Regions who came to my home department. On his ears hung great jade earrings, and people called him the Jade Earring Arhat. This is the monk from the country of Kapilavastu that Wang Shizhen saw in Hailing. He was skilled in directing the accumulation of *qi*, and lived to be several hundred years old. He may perhaps be the Arhat whom Yu Duo took as his teacher.[72]

45 Xia does not disclose how he knew such a monk had visited his native Taizhou over a century before, but given the relative proximity of Taizhou and Tongzhou, it is easy to see how he connected the two cases.

Case M

46 In an undated episode in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, Mao Qiling (1623-1716) records encountering on a riverboat near Ningbo a figure he described as an “ascetic sage Arhat in the flesh, of the country of Kapilavastu of the Western Regions” (西域伽毘羅國月[＝肉]身牟尼羅漢), who “called himself an Arhat-Bodhisattva and spoke Chinese very clearly” (自稱羅漢菩薩, 華音朗然). According to the man’s testimony, “Kapilavastu is India, it is termed Great Xitian; it has many Arhats and Bodhisattvas” (伽毘羅國，西竺國，稱大西天，多羅漢菩薩). Mao recorded a long conversation with this man, including details of his travels:

> ...羅漢發願進中土, 經歷百餘國土, 凡一十萬八千零里, 虎棲狼役, 踰罽賓, 葱嶺, 經小西天, 回回, 哈密, 入伊吾廬, 度婆息, 足涉流沙, 界朝五臺山... 其進中土時日十五歲首矣, 朝華二室岱, 所謂朝四大名山者也, 岱華卑狹, 西域入天不可望矣, 今朝海, 不得渡, 緣禁海也...

> The Arhat conceived a wish to enter China, and passed through over a hundred countries, totalling over 108,000 *li*, ‘dwelling like a tiger and journeying like a wolf.’ He crossed Kashmir and the Pamirs, passed through Small Xitian, the [lands of the] Muslims, and Hami, before entering Yiwulu [*i.e.*, Hami] and crossing Lake Barkol. He trod across the Gobi, and at the frontier he paid obeisance to Wutaishan... It took fifteen new years for him to enter China. He paid obeisance to Mt. Hua [in Shaanxi], Mt. Song [in Henan], and Mt. Tai [Shandong], what is termed paying obeisance to the four great famous mountains. Mts. Tai and Hua were low and narrow; those in the Western Regions enter the Heavens and cannot be seen from the distance. Now he is paying obeisance to the ocean, but he cannot cross it because he is prohibited from going to sea.[73]

47 Although this mendicant does not explicitly state why he wished to travel to China, the reader is left with the impression that it was a pilgrimage to the four sacred peaks. Although we can expect that Mao was somewhat confused about Central Asian

geography (writing as he was prior to Qing expansion into Tibet and Xinjiang), is it clear that the man entered China via Central Asia, either via the Pamirs and the Tarim Basin or (as the claimed length of his journey would suggest) via more extensive travels to other areas.

48 Certain details of this account resonate with an earlier poem by Yu Shaozhi (1596-1648), probably written during the late Ming. Yu mentions encountering a mendicant from Kapilavastu who likewise claimed to have travelled 108,000 *li* on his way to China (a figure certainly based on the Buddhist significance of the number 108), in order to visit stupas and famous mountains. He too is said to have gradually learned Chinese.[74]

Case N

49 The Scotsman John Bell (1691-1780) recorded the following encounter during a sojourn at Selenginsk in 1720, on the border between Russia and the Qing Empire:

> June the 12th, walking along the bank of the river, I was a little surprised at the figure and dress of a man [setting free fish that had been caught]... I soon perceived, by his dress, and the streak of saffron on his fore-head, that he was one of the Brachmans from India.
> After setting all the fish a-swimming, he seemed much pleased; and, having learned a little of the Russian language, and a smattering of Portuguese, began to converse with me. I carried him to my lodgings, and offered to entertain him with a dram; but he would taste nothing; for he said, it was against the rules of his religion to eat or drink with strangers.
> ...
> After this interview, we became so familiar that he came every day to visit me. He was a chearful [*sic*] man, about seventy years of age... Persons of this character are called Faquers, and esteemed sacred everywhere.
> He told me he was a native of Indostan, and had often been at Madras, which he called Chinpatan, and said it belonged to the English. This circumstance, added to several others, made me believe he was no impostor, but an innocent kind of creature, as are most of that sect. He came to this country, in company with some others of his countrymen, on a pilgrimage, in order to pay their devotions to the [Jebtsundamba] Kutuchtu and Delay-Lama. They had been twelve months on their journey, and had travelled all the way on foot, over many high mountains and waste deserts, where they were obliged to carry their provisions, and even water, on their backs. I showed him a map of Asia, whereon he pointed out the course of his journey; but found many errors in the geography; and no wonder; since few Europeans would have had the resolution to undertake such a journey as this man had done.[75]

50 Here again is an explicit statement that a party of Indian mendicants had entered Mongolia specifically with the purpose of making a pilgrimage to the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, the most prominent figure in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition outside of Tibet. The fact that this mendicant spoke some Russian suggests he may have arrived via Central Asia rather than Tibet. In 1724, the German naturalist Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt encountered an Indian merchant based in Udinsk [now Ulan-Ude] who was “semi-capable in Mongolian” (*anbei der mongalischen Sprache halb kündig*) and may also have entered Qing territory.[76]

Case O

51 Li Dun (1662-1736) had an undated encounter with a “person from the country of Kapilavastu” (迦毘盧國之人) in Shaanxi, probably in the first decades of the eighteenth century:

樂哉，今日太白山中見異僧，棱棱容貌，一頭亂髮白于雪，手持大帚，隨眾掃院庭，原與西方羅漢無分別，我言彼不知，彼言我亦不知，但見其舞手而張舌，大眾與我言彼有技精絕，延入方丈中，垂簾地為席，赤身露體，團筋軟骨，一身如綿，百骸可摺，狀羅漢形，移魂奪魄，極巧窮工者，咄咄！此吾生所僅見，即精于畫者亦不能肖其丰格，彼非猶是人哉

> Happily, today on Mt. Taibai [in Shaanxi] I saw a foreign monk, with a severe/bony appearance, and a head full of tousled hair whiter than snow. In his hand he held a great broom, and he followed everyone in sweeping out the temple courtyard. He was just like an Arhat from the West. When I spoke, he did not understand, and when he spoke I also did not understand, but I could see his gestures and the moving of his tongue. Everyone said to me that he had techniques of the utmost skill. He was invited to enter the room of the abbot, and putting the screen on the ground as a mat, he exposed his body. He had round muscles and soft bones, his whole body as if twisted together, and all of his bones bendable. In form he was like an Arhat, astonishing and of the utmost skill! Alas, this is something I had never before seen in my life, and even one skilled in painting could not reproduce his appearance and manner. He was not like an ordinary person![77]

52 Like Zhang Pengge in 1688, Li was struck by the yogic abilities of the mendicant.

Case P

53 Chen Kesheng (1705–?), an official with extensive experience in western Sichuan during the 1740s, included the following entry in a 1753 work:

小西天在後藏之西，程一月，大西天，又在小西天之西，程兩月．名毘羅國．濱南海，航海至粵，風利期半年，否則一年... 敬佛重僧，名僧日羅漢，彼地民有到爐中貿易者，以珊瑚珠璣，稱歪鬍子，又稱札卡拉，余親問其風土，云然.

> Small Xitian is to the west of Further Tibet [Gtsang], a journey of one month; Great Xitian is further to the west of Small Xitian, a journey of two months. It is called the country of Kapilavastu. It is on the shore of the Southern Sea, and with a favorable wind one can sail to Guangdong in half a year, or one year without one... They reverence the Buddha and respect monks. Famous monks are called Arhats. Among the common people of that country are those who came to Dajianlu to trade coral and pearls. They are called "crooked beards" and also called *zhakala*. I personally inquired of them about their local conditions, and that is what they said.[78]

54 This record confirms the evidence from Case Q (below) that men from Great Xitian were arriving in China via Dajianlu for the purpose of trade. Chen specifies that they traded coral and pearls. Coral originated in the Mediterranean, and was shipped via a "coral network" from European suppliers, of which the largest was the East India Company, to Indian ports such as Madras (Fort St. George) and Calcutta. Some coral was then sent onward by sea to Canton.[79] Clarke has found evidence that *gosains* travelled south to Madras (a city visited by the pilgrim Bell met in 1720) to buy coral to sell in Tibet.[80]

Case Q

55 In 1750 the governor-general of Liang-Guang, Chen Dashou (1702-1751), submitted a long report, which I will summarise here.[81] He reported that four men from the same home country of Great Xitian, whom he called "Luo Kuan, that is Fan Arhat," "Old Arhat," "Little Bearded Foreigner, also known as Guo Arhat", and Luo Kuan's adopted son "Fan the Youngest," had been arrested at the Taiping customs post in Shaozhou, Guangdong, due to their suspicious appearance. They were found to have the large sum

of 49 *taels* of gold and 910 *taels* of silver, one travel pass, and one piece of paper with foreign writing. According to their statement, they had come to Guangdong to purchase such goods as coral and amber. Sent to the provincial capital of Guangzhou for further interrogation, officials were told that,

> 羅漢等均係大西天國人, 向由小西天國, 前藏, 中藏, 後藏等東至四川打箭爐及成都各處, 往來貿易, 歷有年所, 羅寬先在爐地娶妻楊氏, 生有三子, 後于雍正十二年六月内進京寓居白塔寺三年, 乾隆二年出京, 又在四川郫縣娶妻羅氏, 置有房屋, 報縣輸稅, 其來廣置貨則自雍正四年, 乾隆三年, 八年, 十三年共有四次, 因十三年内賒欠寶林店鄧姓貨銀六百兩, 于十五年領有四川明正宣慰司印照, 仍同小鬍番并老羅漢, 範老么帶銀, 來廣倩欠置貨. 隨查提寶林店鄧姓已于十五年九月内收舖往川, 其雍正四年, 乾隆三年寓居之店主均經物故, 祇有八年, 十三年店主崔玉可供認羅寬小鬍番前曾借住店内, 収買雜貨
>
> > These Arhats are all people of the country of Great Xitian. Via the country of Small Xitian, and Nearer, Central, and Further Tibet, they came east to Dajianlu and Chengdu. They have for years been coming and going as traders. Luo Kuan married in Dajianlu a wife surnamed Yang, by whom he had three sons. Then, in the sixth month of Yongzheng 12 [July 1-29, 1734] he entered Beijing and dwelt at the Baita Temple for three years. In Qianlong 2 [1737] he departed Beijing and was again in Sichuan, in Pi Xian [just north of Chengdu], where he took a wife surnamed Luo. He owned a house, registered with the county magistrate, and paid taxes. He came to Guangzhou to buy goods a total of four times, in Yongzheng 4 [1726], and Qianlong 3 [1738], 8 [1743], and 13 [1748]. Because for the trip of 1748 he had made a purchase on credit of 600 silver *taels* of goods from a certain Deng of the Baolin Shop, he had in 1750 obtained a travel pass from the Mingzheng Pacification Office [Dajianlu] in Sichuan, and as before with the 'Small Bearded Foreigner,' and 'Old Arhat' and 'Fan the Youngest' had brought money to Guangzhou to pay off his debts and purchase goods. We then ascertained that in the 9th month of 1750 [Sept. 30 to Oct. 29] Deng of the Baolin Store had closed his shop and gone to Sichuan. The owners of the shops they had stayed in in 1726 and 1738 were deceased, but Cui Yuke, the owner related to the 1743 and 1748 trips, said that Luo Kuan and 'Small Bearded Foreigner' had lodged in his shop and purchased various goods.

56 Local translators were unable to read the document the men carried, but stated that they were not in a European language. Much of the subsequent discussion among Qing officials centred on the fact that the proper procedures had not been followed when the Mingzheng *tusi* in Sichuan (*i.e.*, ruler of the Lcags la kingdom) had issued these men travel permits for their journey to Guangzhou.

57 This is perhaps the most detailed description of a group of Indian mendicants available in Chinese. Luo Kuan, the leader of the group, had traveled via Nepal [Xiao Xitian], Tibet, Khams, and Sichuan. Apart from staying for a period in a temple in Beijing, he seems to have lived as a householder and merchant. He had traveled successfully between Sichuan and Guangdong four times. Like the man arrested in Beijing in 1626, he was traveling on a permit obtained from a *tusi* administrator at Dajianlu. Luo Kuan and his party may not have been the only Indian merchants plying this itinerary. Several decades later the British envoy George Bogle met in Tibet a Kashmiri trader who claimed to have traveled to Beijing via Lhasa, Khams, Yunnan, and Canton, very similar to Luo Kuan's route.[82] Although the record does not say so explicitly, Luo Kuan must have been quite fluent in Chinese, given his business dealings and family life.

58 It is tempting to speculate that Luo Kuan had first came to central Tibet or Dajianlu with a load of coral, and realised that it would be easier and more profitable to acquire a further supply in Guangdong rather than returning overland to purchase it in Madras. Given the large sums he was carrying, it appears that his business ventures were successful.

Case R

59 This case concerns an arrest made in 1785 in Xuanhua prefecture, Zhili province, to the northwest of Beijing and just below the Great Wall. The governor-general, Liu E (1723-1795), reported that the magistrate of Xuanhua district had captured a suspicious individual, described as:

> 約年四十餘歲, 身高, 面黑, 有鬚髮長七八寸, 紅黃色, 頭戴黃布秋帽, 身穿紅布單袍, 長領平袖, 外披白布單一塊, 内穿白布褲掛, 足無鞋韤, 兩手腕均刺有黑字跡數道, 右手背亦有黑跡圓圈, 右手腕帶黃木素珠一串, 項下亦帶有素珠五粒, 見人作拜狀, 口似念經, 亦能寫字, 隨念隨寫, 自左而右, 均不能辯識, 連審數次, 語言不懂, 難以錄供, [?]親筆所書字様, 稟請核辦前來

> approximately in his forties, of high stature, a black face, and with a beard and hair of seven or eight inches in length, of a reddish-brownish hue, wearing a yellow cloth 'autumn cap' on his head, wearing a gown of a single piece of red cloth with a plunging collar and flat sleeves. Outside of this was draped a single piece of white cloth, and inside of it he was wearing a white loincloth. On his feet he wore neither shoes nor socks, and on both of his wrists he had tattooed several phrases in black characters, and there were also black circles on the back of his right hand. On his right wrist he also wore a band of brown wooden beads, and he had five beads draped around his neck. When he meets people he makes a gesture of obeisance. His mouth appears to be chanting scriptures, and he is also able to write, and he writes and recites at the same time, from left to right. We can comprehend neither. We have interrogated him several times successively, but do not understand his words so it is difficult to make a transcript. I have taken what he has written himself and reported it, requesting that you examine it...[83]

60 The Qianlong emperor commented in reply:

> 詢其情形, 即係阿咱拉喇嘛, 乃大天竺遊募之僧. 京城現有此等喇嘛, 住雙林寺内. 該督因未悉其語言書字, 是以未知來歷. 現已送京. 交理藩院查詢照例辦理矣.

> Examining his circumstances, he is an Acharya lama, that is to say a mendicant monk from Greater India. There are currently such lamas in Beijing, resident at the Shuanglin Temple. Because the said governor-general did not understand his words or writing, he did not know his origins. He has now been sent to Beijing, to the Lifanyuan, to be examined and dealt with according to the relevant statutes.[84]

61 It is noteworthy that Qianlong eschews the standard Chinese vocabulary of Arhat and Great Xitian in favor of the Tibetan and Mongolian-derived term Acharya, indicating (as all evidence would suggest) that he knew of these men chiefly through Tibetan Buddhist intermediaries. Jin Shen (1702-1782) remarked that he had once showed a Yuan-era coin with an unknown script to a "Great Xitian lama" suggesting that he, like Qianlong, associated these mendicants with the world of Tibetan Buddhism.[85]

62 Qianlong's reference to these "Acharya lamas" dwelling in the Shuanglin Temple brings us full circle. The Shuanglin Temple, sometimes called the "Western Regions Shuanglin Temple" (西域雙林寺), was created for the first mendicant noted above, Zuo-ji-gu-lu,

evidently not long after he reached Beijing in 1576.[86] The mendicant encountered by Li Rihua lived in the Shuanglin Temple before being moved elsewhere at the behest of the same Empress Dowager in 1602.[87] A 1774 court-ordered compilation states that by the Qianlong period the rear of the three halls of the temple contained a Mahakala statue, indicating Tibetan Buddhist usage, and "is used to lodge Indian monks from the Western Regions" (以處西域梵僧).[88] Although the expression *fanseng* is open to interpretation, given Qianlong's testimony it seems very likely that these were the men he elsewhere called "Acharya lamas." It also seems quite plausible that this was the temple the French Jesuit Fr. Gaubil had in mind when in a 1725 letter he described a temple inhabited by "idolatrous Indian priests" (*prêtres idolâtres indiens*), whom he clearly distinguished from Tibetan lamas.[89]

Case S: Evidence from Manchu-language Memorials

63 Manchu-language memorials and edicts illuminate the development of Qing policy toward these mendicants. The first available indication of Qianlong's awareness of these mendicants dates to 1760, when he received a gift from the 'Brahmin' (Ch. *Polomen* 婆羅門, Ma. *Bolomen*) envoy of a ruler whose Manchu name was Birakišora han of Utg'ali (Ch. *Wutegali bilaqishila han*烏特噶里畢拉奇碩拉汗), whom he described as the ruler of "Eastern India, a small state near our Tibet."[90] This may refer to the king of Khurda in Orissa, Birakishore (or Virakiśora) Deva (ruled 1743-80), who styled himself ruler of Utkala.[91] Many of the *gosains* entering Tibet would have passed through his territory when visiting Jagannath temple in Puri, Orissa. This Brahmin envoy only reached Gtsang in Tibet, probably indicating the residence of the Panchen Lama at Tashilhunpo, and did not continue to Beijing.[92] However, in the following year an imperial edict ordered the *ambans* in Tibet to arrange for two Acharya lamas arriving from Sichuan to be conveyed to India via Nepal.[93] Given Qianlong's interest in their travel, they may well have been returning from Beijing. In 1780, as noted above, the *gosain* Purangir claimed that the Panchen Lama arranged for him to meet Qianlong.[94] Although this remains uncorroborated, the Panchen Lama did receive permission to take two unnamed Acharya lamas with him to Beijing in that year.[95]

64 In 1777, a fixed Qing policy toward Indian mendicants emerged. In that year, the Xining *amban* Hoiling reported that troops guarding the frontier with China had detained seven Acharya lamas, who explained that they had come from Varanasi to make a pilgrimage to the major temples of Tibet and China. Having visited Tashilhunpo and Lhasa, they had set off for Qinghai. There they had received official passports (Ma. *g'ašuk*, Tib. *bka' shog*) from leading reincarnate lamas, attesting to their status as mendicants and requesting alms on their behalf. Their stated intention was to enter Khalkha territory and visit the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, followed by a pilgrimage to Wutaishan. Hoiling proposed to return them to India via Tibet, together with an eighth Acharya from Varanasi who had been detained in Pingfan 平番 county, Gansu, and sent to Xining. However, Qianlong ordered that they instead be escorted to Beijing and deposited in the custody of the Lifanyuan.[96] This established a precedent for such cases. Later that year Hoiling's successor Fafuri reported that three further Acharya lamas from Bodhgaya (Ma. *Dorjidan*, Tib. *Rdo-rje gdan*) had come to request an official travel pass (Ma. *jugūn yabure temgetu bithe*) allowing them to go to the capital via Khalkha Mongolia. Fafuri instead sent them under escort to Beijing.[97] Also escorted to Beijing were four Acharya lamas who had arrived from Varanasi in 1785 hoping to reach Beijing and Wutaishan, and a further four the following year.[98] Since Fulu alludes in

1785 to an unknown number dispatched by his predecessor Liobooju in the early 1780s, at least 20 must have reached Beijing in this period.

Conclusion

65 Although much remains to be understood about the presence of Indian mendicants in Ming China and the Qing Empire, this study has found certain emerging patterns regarding geographic terminology, language ability, and routes of travel. Of the sixteen cases recorded in Chinese, half used the term Great Xitian to refer to the place of origin of these mendicants, and half used the term Kapilavastu. In three cases (G, M, P), these two terms occur together. Kapilavastu is usually specified to be the name of a particular country, whereas Great Xitian seems to refer to a larger region. In two cases (C, R) other terms are used for India, and in one case (J) no place of origin is specified. In half the cases, the men are described as Arhats. The terms Great Xitian, Kapilavastu, and Arhat are sufficiently consistent over time and space to be regarded as standard Chinese terms for Indian mendicants and their homeland. Several sources record that the mendicants themselves stated in Chinese that they had come from Great Xitian or Kapilavastu. Indeed, the Indian merchant encountered by Messerschmidt near the Qing border with Siberia in 1724 remarked that in Chinese India was called "Tassitǽnae" [*Da Xitian*], just as it was called "Dsshágær" [Rgya-gar] in Tibetan, and "Indostan" in Turkic languages.[99] In Tibetan, Manchu, and Mongolian, "Acharya lama" was used in place of "Arhat," and Rgya-gar, Enetkek, or Enedkeg in place of Great Xitian. In Manchu documents most mendicants claimed to be from Varanasi, so perhaps "Kapilavastu" was regarded as an appropriate Chinese name for the region around Varanasi.

66 Claiming Indian origins allowed these men to travel in China and Mongolia. Virtually all those they met in Ming China and the Qing Empire associated India with Buddhism, and assumed them to be a type of Buddhist. One point on which the Chinese, Mongolian, and Manchu evidence agrees is that these men generally stated that they had come to make pilgrimages to major Buddhist holy sites, temples, and personages. Most mendicants traveled constantly to a range of destinations, and there is evidence that they reached every Chinese province except Guangxi. Among these destinations, Wutaishan and Beijing were the most popular in China, and the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu the most visited person in Mongolia. Identifying as pilgrims explained and justified their presence, and made it more likely that they would be offered charitable support. Although they were sometimes apprehended and questioned, no Ming or Qing official source suggests that their presence in China or Mongolia was illegal *per se*, and the Qianlong-era Manchu sources explicitly state that the men were not violating any law. However, many found it wise to seek some form of official permit, whether from high lamas in Khams and Amdo, the Tibetan ruler at Dajianlu (a *tusi* headman from the Ming and Qing perspective), or the *amban* at Xining.

67 Although contemporary observers closely associated the *gosains* in India and Tibet with commerce, this is not the case with the Indian mendicants described here. Very little detail is given in our sources about how these men supported themselves on their journeys. In Manchu documents they were described as impoverished pilgrims begging from pious Buddhists. Only one Chinese source (J) explicitly refers to begging, but since most mendicants in China were encountered at Buddhist temples it can perhaps be assumed that they were receiving support from those institutions and their lay visitors. Likewise, only one Chinese source (Q) unambiguously refers to Arhats from Great Xitian engaged in trade; another (P) specifies that "commoners" of Kapilavastu came to

Dajianlu to trade, but these are distinguished from the "famous monks" called Arhats. This raises two possibilities: either *gosain* commerce was specifically trans-Himalayan, so that those adventurous mendicants going onward to China and Mongolia planned to subsist only on charity, or their trade was discreetly ignored. Since most of their activity in China was recorded in private "jottings" that reflected polite conversation rather than interrogation, and that emphasised unusual qualities rather than prosaic details, the latter is quite possible. Certainly, being categorised as merchants rather than pilgrims, as in Case Q, would have raised obstacles for their travels.

68 Most mendicants made some form of meandering Lhasa-to-Beijing journey via either Dajianlu or Xining. Each route had distinct characteristics. That via Dajianlu would have involved extensive travel in China, necessitating some knowledge of Chinese. Indeed, most of the mendicants noted in Chinese sources are described as speaking Chinese. There is only one private record (O) concerning a mendicant in China who could not speak Chinese. This may in part be a function of the sources: literati were more likely to note an encounter with a mendicant whose details they could discuss and record. By contrast, it seems that those going to Beijing or Mongolia via Xining intended to skirt China's northern edge or even avoid it entirely, travelling largely through the Tibetan Buddhist world. The mendicants hoping to reach Beijing via Khalkha Mongolia spoke no Chinese, and this was also true of the mendicant arrested at Xuanhua (R), probably coming from Mongolia or Wutaishan. This division was not absolute: the party encountered by Zhang Pengge (K) deep in Mongolia spoke Chinese and had travelled extensively in China. Still, it appears that most mendicants chose between a primarily Chinese or Inner Asian itinerary.

69 The relationship between these two routes is crucial for considering the rise and decline of mendicant travel in late Ming China and the Qing Empire. Based on the cases currently identified, it appears that these mendicants first reached China around 1570, after a century and a half in which few had arrived. Several trends probably facilitated their reappearance. In 1565 the Newari Malla dynasty shifted to using silver coinage, which led to the monetarisation of the Tibetan economy and stimulated India-Tibet trade via the Kathmandu Valley.[100] Meanwhile, from the 1570s onward, the Empress Dowager Cisheng began to vigorously restore official patronage for Buddhism in Beijing, and private gentry support for the religion also grew across China in this period. For Tibetans, patronage of Indian mendicants coincided with renewed interest in India and its holy sites which "began suddenly at the end of the sixteenth century with the arrival... of the widely-travelled Indian Buddhaguptanātha," a member of the Nath Siddha tradition, who became teacher to the eminent Tibetan scholar Taranatha.[101] The world of Tibetan Buddhism formed an increasingly prosperous nexus between the Himalayas and China. Lhasa reached unprecedented prosperity after 1642 under the rule of the 5th Dalai Lama. Traffic on routes linking Lhasa east to Dajianlu and northeast toward Xining also increased. These developments doubtless reinforced each other.

70 More enigmatic is the decline of mendicant travel. Most cases recorded in Chinese date to the seventeenth century. References after 1700 are far fewer, and the only case found after 1750 (R) is likely to concern a mendicant trying to bypass China as far as possible on the way to Beijing. Their departure from China did not mean their disappearance in the Qing Empire as a whole. Manchu sources from Xining show that the number reaching Beijing probably increased in the 1770s and 1780s, corroborating

Turner's 1783 evidence that hundreds of *gosains* continued to enter Tibet. This suggests that neither the Gurkha decision to close the Kathmandu Valley to *gosains* after 1769 or the East India Company's attempt to expel armed *gosains* from Bengal in the 1770s significantly impeded mendicant travel to the Qing Empire.[102]

71 If sometime after 1750 Indian mendicants came to be found almost exclusively in Inner Asia –and Qing Beijing was as much a part of Inner Asia as it was of China– both push and pull factors were doubtless involved. The Tibetan Buddhist world of Inner Asia may well have come to appear more hospitable than China. We know that its richest and most powerful inhabitants, high-ranking lamas, supported mendicant travel. Mongol and Tibetan laypeople may have been more generous than their Chinese counterparts. It is also likely that China became less congenial to mendicants in this period. Economic factors may have played a role, but political factors were more important.[103] Yongzheng's 1724 decision to expel Catholic missionaries from China's provinces probably increased scrutiny on all foreigners. Two large-scale anti-Christian campaigns took place in 1746-1748 and 1784-1785.[104] In between was the "soulstealer" scandal of 1768, which drew more scrutiny to wandering beggars and the Chinese Buddhist clergy.[105] Before 1750, there is only one Chinese record concerning the official detention and interrogation of a mendicant (Case E in 1626). Between 1750 and 1785 there are two cases of their arrest by suspicious officials –tellingly, these cases are the last two Chinese-language records concerning their presence in China. Manchu evidence corroborates this. One party of mendicants was detained in 1777 by Chinese troops at a checkpoint near Xining, on the edge of China. A lone mendicant had been stopped in nearby Pingfan county two years earlier and kept in Xining. Both Pingfan and Xuanhua prefecture, where a mendicant was arrested in 1785, were adjacent to the Great Wall and sites of scrutiny for those entering China. While the Qing state in the late eighteenth century tolerated mendicants in Inner Asia, and even welcomed them in Beijing, it no longer approved of their presence in China. These Manchu documents show that by the 1770s and 1780s many Indian mendicants planned to avoid China, reaching Beijing via Mongolia. Although Qing officials were nervous about allowing them into Khalkha territory, they agreed that mendicant travellers would have far greater difficulty finding support in China. Although these men were ostensibly escorted to Beijing by officials out of concern for their welfare, it is clear that Qing rulers and officials no longer considered it feasible or desirable for Indian mendicants to wander through China.

72 If Indian mendicants remained numerous in Tibet, Xining, and Beijing in the 1770s and 1780s, why do they suddenly disappear from the historical record after that date? The Qing-Gurkha wars between 1788 and 1792 probably undermined their position in two important ways. After 1792, traffic from India into Tibet was tightly monitored. Pilgrims and traders were not prohibited from entering Tibet, but they came under greater scrutiny.[106] Once Qianlong concluded that the Gurkha invasions were due in part to rampant corruption among the Tibetan clergy, his lavish patronage of the 1780s gave way to harsh criticism. His son, the Jiaqing Emperor, seems to have had little personal interest in Tibetan Buddhism, and was unlikely to facilitate the arrival of "Acharya lamas."[107] Further research will be required to test these hypotheses of the rise and decline of Indian mendicants in Ming China and the Qing Empire.

NOTES

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2. For definitions of the term *gosain*, evidently derived from the Sanskrit *goswamin* and indicating an ascetic, see Gaur Dás Bysack, “Notes on a Buddhist Monastery at Bhoṭ Bágán (Howrah)...,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 59.1 (1890), p. 52n2; John Clarke, “Hindu Trading Pilgrims,” in *Pilgrimage in Tibet*, ed. Alex McKay (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 1998): pp. 52-53; Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage & The Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 196-197. The term was used very loosely by eighteenth and nineteenth-century British observers.

3. Clarke, “Hindu Trading Pilgrims,” pp. 52-70. See also C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 222-226.

4. Bernard S. Cohn, “The Role of the Gosains in the Economy of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Upper India,” *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 1.4 (1964), p. 181.

5. Cited in William R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 84.

6. Clarke, “Hindu Trading Pilgrims,” p. 57.

7. Luciano Petech, “The Missions of Bogle and Turner According to the Tibetan Texts,” *T’oung Pao*, 39.4-5, p. 334; for Turner’s figure see Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, p. 197.

8. Petech, “Bogle and Turner,” p. 334.

9. Cited in Clarke, “Hindu Trading Pilgrims,” p. 59.

10. Bysack, “Notes on a Buddhist Monastery,” 55n4.

11. Petech, “Missions of Bogle and Turner,” p. 334.

12. Huber, *Holy Land Reborn*, p. 196.

13. Lobsang Shastri, “Activities of Indian *Paṇḍita*s in Tibet from the 14th to the 17th Century,” *Tibet, Past and Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 139. Shastri estimates that at least 30 *panditas* are recorded by name as having entered Tibet between the 1300s and 1600s.

14. Clarke, “Hindu Trading Pilgrims,” p. 54.

15. There appears to be no corroboration of Purangir’s encounter with Qianlong in Chinese, Manchu, or (as far as I can determine) Tibetan sources. It is noteworthy, however, that the Korean envoy Pak Chi-wŏn 朴趾源, in his *Yŏrha ilgi* 熱河日記, describes the “lamas” present at a meeting between Qianlong and the Panchen Lama in terms suggesting that some of those he saw were *gosains*. His description corresponds well to that given by Liu E of the “Acharya lama” interrogated in 1785 (see Case R, below):

喇嘛數千人, 皆曳紅色禪衣, 戴黃左髻冠而袒臂跣足, 駢闐匝沓, 面皆戌削, 紫黑色高鼻深目, 廣頤卷髭, 手腳皆鏁兜脫。耳穿金環臂刺紋龍.

There were several thousand lamas, all draped in red monastic robes and wearing yellow ‘left bun hat.’ They had bared arms and bare feet, and were gathered together in disorder. Their faces were all thin and lean, of a purple-black colour, with high noses and deep-set eyes. They had

broad jaws and curling moustaches. On their hands and feet were ring-shaped metal bands. Their ears were pierced with golden rings, and their arms tattooed with dragon patterns.
Pak Chi-wŏn, *Yŏrha ilgi* (Seoul: Taeyang Sŏjŏk, 1973), v. 2, p. 261. I thank Prof. Sukhee Lee and Prof. Seunghyun Han for providing me with Korean translations of this passage. The translation of 鏁兜脫 as "ring-shaped metal bands" is uncertain and based on the interpretations of Korean translators.

16. The pioneering study of Purangir's life was made by Bysack ("Notes on a Buddhist Monastery"); the most recent account is Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*.

17. Bysack, "Notes on a Buddhist Monastery," p.87.

18. Luce Boulnois, "Gold, Wool and Musk: Trade in Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century," in *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas*, ed. Françoise Pommaret (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 152.

19. Yudru Tsomu, "*Guozhang* Trading Houses and Tibetan Middlemen in Dartsedo, the 'Shanghai of Tibet,'" *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 19 (2016): 71-121; see also her "Political and Territorial Survival in the Sino-Tibetan Borderland: A Case Study of the Lcags La Kingdom during the Qing Dynasty," in *Studies in the History of Eastern Tibet* (Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2009): 55-96.

20. Boulnois, "Gold, Wool and Musk," p. 151.

21. Shastri, "Activities," p. 140; Clarke, "Hindu Trading Pilgrims," p. 66. On the *lam yig* see also Melvyn C. Goldstein, "Taxation and the Structure of a Tibetan Village," *Central Asiatic Journal* 15.1 (1971), 17.

22. R. Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 93.

23. For some of these cases see Joseph Krahl, *China Missions in Crisis: Bishop Laimbeckhoven and His Times, 1738-1787* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964), pp. 99-126.

24. Giovanni Careri, a Neapolitan layman who decided to travel around the world, used Catholic networks to make a return trip from Macao to Beijing in 1695. See Eugenio Menegon, "Desire, Truth, and Propaganda: Lay and Ecclesiastical Travellers from Europe to China in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Illusions and Disillusionment: Travel Writing in the Modern Age*, ed. Roberta Micallef (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), pp. 16-20.

25. Frank Lequin, "A 'Mandarin' from Vlissingen in Lhasa and Peking: The Hidden Life of Samuel Van de Putte (1690-1745)," *Itinerario* 9 (1985), pp. 73-91.

26. Bernard Le Calloc'h, "Samuel Van de Putte, premier géographe du Tibet et du Népal," *Acta Geographica* 107, pp. 35-56.

27. Letter of Antoine Gaubil to Fr. E. Souciet, July 23, 1734: *Correspondance de Pékin, 1722-1759* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), pp. 382-3.

28. This subject is treated in detail in Huber, *Holy Land Reborn*.

29. Rob Linrothe, *Paradise and Plumage: Chinese Connections in Tibetan Arhat Paintings* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2004), p. 15.

30. On his life see the entry "Pandita," *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 1111-13; Du Changshun 杜常順, *Mingchao gongting yu Fojiao guanxi yanjiu* 明朝宮廷與佛教關係研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2013), pp. 129-131. See also Shen Weirong, "Tibetan Buddhism in Mongol-Yuan China (1206-1368)," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech *et al.* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 560.

31. Du, *Mingchao gongting*, pp. 129-143.

32. Arthur P. McKeown, "From Bodhgayā to Lhasa to Beijing: The Life and Times of Śāriputra (c. 1335-1426), Last Abbot of Bodhgayā" (doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2010).

33. Hoong Teik Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China" (doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2004), pp. 17-58.

34. Chen Kesheng 陳克繩, *Xiyu yiwen* 西域遺聞 (Beijing: Yugong xuehui, 1936), p. 31b.
35. *Yuzhi shiji*, part 4, *juan* 85, and *Baxun wanshou shengdian*, *juan* 26. Qianlong, believing them to be of Indian origin, had them sent to his Buddhist advisor lCang-skya khutukhtu for decipherment. It was reported that they were inscribed respectively with the Sanskrit words *sarva* and *mangalam* (*Sa'erwa manggalamu*薩爾瓦莽噶拉穆). How these objects reached the Qing court is unclear.
36. Songyun 松筠, *Suifu jilue* 綏服紀略, in *Zhenfu shiyi* 鎮撫事宜 (Taibei: Huawen shuju, 1969), p. 105.
37. Ge Yinliang 葛寅亮, *Jinling fancha zhi* 金陵梵刹志, 37.1a-2a, in *XXSKQS* 718, p. 727.
38. McKeown, "From Bodhgayā to Lhasa to Beijing," p. 28.
39. Petech, "The Missions of Bogle and Turner," p. 341.
40. Klaus Sagaster, *Subud Erike: "Ein Rosenkranz aus Perlen"* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), p. 127.
41. Liu Tong 劉侗 and Yu Yizheng 于奕正, *Dijing jingwu lüe* 帝京景物略 (Chongzhen reign), 5. 28a. HYC Rare Book T 3056 1114.7.
42. Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 156-61.
43. This surely indicates the distance he had cumulatively travelled, not the direct route from his home territory to China. Two other cases below claimed that the mendicants in question had travelled 108,000 *li* to China.
44. Tao Wangling 陶望齡, *Xie'an ji* 歇菴集 10. 15a-b, *XXSKQS* 1365, p. 367.
45. It is likely that *gu-lu* 古魯 represents *guru*, which Lou here translates as 師.
46. Lou Jian 婁堅, *Xuegu xuyan* 學古緒言 25. 16b, *SKQS* 1295, p. 289.
47. Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道, *Yuan Xiaoxiu riji, Youju shilu* 袁小修日記, 游居杮錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai zazhi gongsi, 1935), p. 228.
48. Li Rihua 李日華, *Liuyanzhai biji* 六研齋筆記 (2. 1a-7a).
49. The monk asserted that he came from a country called Zhuhuo 主活, which had been renamed Qoco (Gaochang 高昌, near modern Turfan) when an earlier ruler had married the younger sister of Qoco's king. The monk therefore calls Qoco proper "old Qoco," and ostensibly denies that it is his home city. Toh believes he was in fact from Qoco, but claimed to come from "India" as a practitioner of Tibetan Buddhism. Toh regards the elaborate travelogue supposedly revealed by the monk to be simply a Uyghur translation of a Chinese account of the travels of the Tang-era monk Xuanzang ("Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," p. 224-225). He is also described as a monk from Gaochang by Isabelle Charleux, *Nomads on Pilgrimage: Mongols on Wutaishan (China), 1800-1940* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 103.
50. Both Sahajasri (d. 1381) and Sariputra (d. 1424) had been termed "Pandita" in Chinese sources; this could be a reference to them or another Indian monk who was regarded as a learned teacher or perhaps given the title "national preceptor" (*guoshi* 國師). On this point see McKeown, "From Bodhgayā to Lhasa to Beijing," pp. 142-144.
51. The *Emei shan zhi* 峨眉山志 (4.25a; *XXSKQS*, v. 725, p. 74) records a monk of unknown origin who was called Xiutou 繡頭 because "his hair was embroidered [*i.e.*, matted?] into strands" (髮繡成縷). A later version of this work emends "strands" to "snail chignon" (螺髻), a hairstyle in which hair is gathered into a bun on the top of the head. Wang Daokun is probably using the term to describe the hairstyle of Indian mendicants, who gathered matted dreadlocks above their head. I am indebted to Paul Rouzer for noting this reference. Note references to curling hair elsewhere (case A: 虬鬈, case J: 卷毛).
52. An alternative reading of the line 爰及九年, 始通三蜀 is "After travelling for nine years, he then entered Sichuan."
53. Wang Daokun 汪道昆, *Taihan ji* 太函集 85. 24a-b, *XXSKQS* 1347 p. 53.

54. *Ming shilu*, Tianqi *juan* 73 (Scripta Sinica). Toh does not translate this passage, but I have borrowed elements from his paraphrase for this translation. "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," pp. 20-3. An account of this episode that differs in some details can be found in the *Songtian lubi* 頌天臚筆 of the late Ming author Jin Risheng 金日升 (*juan* 21; XXSKQS v. 439, pp. 636-7).
55. The text presented to the mendicant to read was the *Manjusri-nama-samgiti*, which as Toh acknowledges contained Lantsha script. For this reason, it seems difficult to say that the mendicant was definitively reading the Tibetan script. I am indebted to Mr. Luo Shengji for his assistance in identifying extant versions of this work.
56. Charles R. Bawden, *The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga: Text, Translation and Notes* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1961), pp. 9, 43.
57. Sushama Lohia, *The Mongol Tales of the 32 Wooden Men (Γučin Qoyar Modun Kümün-ü Üliger) in Their Mongol Version of 1746 (1686)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), p. 32.
58. *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia*, ed. Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1961), p. 4.
59. Lohia, *Mongol Tales*, p. 17; see also Y. Rinchen, "Unknown Indian Translator of Vikramādiyta Tales into Mongolian in the 17th Century," *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture* 1 (1972): 205-209.
60. It is also worth noting that the masked "Acharya" or Indian mendicant is a figure in the Mongolian form of the *tsam* tradition of sacred dance, which emerged in the late eighteenth century. See Christopher P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), p. 547.
61. Tsongol B. Natsagdorj, "ХАЛХЫН АНХДУГААР ЖАВЗАНДАМБА ХУТАГТЫН НАМТАРТ ХОЛБОГДОХ ХОЁР АЗАРЫН ТУХАЙ," *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域歷史語言研究集刊 11 (2019): 29-52.
62. *Guangchang xianzhi yiwen buyi* 廣昌縣志藝文補遺 (Tongzhi 6 [1867]), 10.20a p. 1430. Accessed via Airusheng Zhongguo fangzhi ku愛如生中國方志庫, July 9, 2018.
63. Deng Xianhe 鄧顯鶴, *Yuan Xiang qijiu ji* 沅湘耆舊集 (1843) 40.11a. I am indebted to Stephen West for correcting my translation of this poem.
64. Lin Huawan 林華皖, *Zhi Xian ji* 治鮮集, *juan* 3 *XXSKQS*, v. 880, p. 455.
65. Chen Ding 陳鼎, *Dianyou ji* 滇遊記, in *Baibu congshu jicheng*, series 24, v. 26 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967), p. 13a.
66. On Jizu Mountain and the religious context of Lijiang in this period, see Karl Debreczeny, "Dabaojigong and the Regional Tradition of Ming Sino-Tibetan Painting in the Kingdom of Lijiang," in *Buddhism Between Tibet and China*, ed. Matthew Kapstein (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), pp. 97-152.
67. Zhang Pengge 張鵬翮, *Fengshi Woluosi riji* 奉使倭羅斯日記 (2015), p. 22. This case is also recorded in Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅, *Langji congtan, xutan* 浪跡叢談, 續談 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), pp. 380-81.
68. Giuseppe Tucci, "The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century," *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 7.4 (1931), pp. 683-702. Another reference to a Brahmin mendicant travelling by sea, from Surat to Muscat, can be found in Jonathan Duncan, "An Account of Two Fakeers," *Asiatick Researches* 5 (London: T. Maiden, 1801), p. 50.
69. Adam (Ivan) Krusenstern, *Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* (Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1968) [reprint of 1813 edition], v. 2, pp. 325-27.
70. It would seem that this is the Tongzhou in Jiangsu.
71. Wang Shizhen 王士禛, *Chibei outan* 池北偶談 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 2 p. 476 (*juan* 20).
72. Xia Quan 夏荃, *Tui'an biji* 退庵筆記, *Siku weishoushu jikan*, pt. 3, v. 28, p. 408.
73. Mao Qiling 毛奇齡, *Xihe ji* 西河集, *juan* 151 (*SKQS*, v. 1321, pp. 571-2).
74. Yu Shaozhi 余紹祉, *Wanwen tang ji* 晚聞堂集 (1837) 6.12a, in *Siku weishoushu jikan* 四庫未收書輯刊 , pt. 6, v. 28, p. 462.

The poem reads in full:
贈迦毘羅國哈哩師 Bestowed upon Master Ha-li of the Country of Kapilavastu
師從何處來 Where did the master come from?
十萬八千里 For 108,000 li
所歷數百城 The hundreds of cities he passed through
如涉鄉井耳 Were like moving through his own neighborhood.
祖塔與名山 Stupas and famous mountains,
一一皆隨喜 He delighted in one by one on his way.
漸能作漢言 Gradually he was able to speak Chinese,
見我亦人事 And saw that we are also involved in human life;
我國本清平 Our state had always been peaceful,
僧俗皆寧止 And monk and layman alike all tranquil.
一自初祖來 Right from the founding ancestor [*i.e.*, the Buddha]
陸地風波起 Troubles were awash on the land;
爾若效而尤 If you want to follow the example and excel,
打殺喂狗子 Beat him to death and feed him to the dogs.
The last lines of the poem are open to interpretation. The allusion is to the Chan master Yunmen Wenyan (864-949). Apropos of the purported claim of the Buddha at the time of his birth to be the sole exalted being in the world, Yunmen Wenyan remarked "If I had seen this then, I would have beaten him to death with my staff and fed him to the dogs. This would certainly have been a plan for the peace of the world." 我當時若見, 一棒打殺與狗子喫, 貴圖天下太平. This may be a reference to the monk's origins in Kapilavastu, the home region of Gautama Buddha. It is possible that this also alludes to Bodhidharma, regarded as a founder of the Chan tradition in China, whom some believed these Indian mendicants to resemble.

75. John Bell, *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to Diverse Parts of Asia* (Glasgow: Foulis, 1763) v. 1, pp. 284-7. Bell's encounter is also recorded in E. F. Timkovskii, *Travels of the Russian Mission Through Mongolia to China, and Residence in Pekin, in the Years 1820-1821* (London: Longman, 1827), vol. 1, pp. 50-1.

76. D. G. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien, 1720-1727*, Teil 2, ed. E. Winter, G. Uschmann, and G. Jarosch (Berlin: Akademie-verlag, 1964), 210. I am indebted to the work of Tsongol B. Natsagdorj for directing me to Messerschmidt's diary.

77. Li Dun 李暾, *Songwuge shiji* 松梧閣詩集, 三集.13a-b, *Siku weishoushu jikan*, pt. 9, v. 27, p. 451.

78. Chen Kesheng, *Xiyu yiwen*, p. 31b.

79. Pippa Lacey, "The Coral Network: The Trade of Red Coral to the Qing Imperial Court in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 81-102.

80. Clarke, "Hindu Trading Pilgrims," p. 54.

81. The travels and activities of these men are outlined in a memorial from Chen Dashou, Governor-General of Liang-Guang, *et al.*, dated QL16/1/13, and received QL16/02/13 (National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Junjichu dang, item # 006452).

82. Alastair Lamb, ed., *Bhutan and Tibet*, 2002, p. 294. The merchant reported that he had been brought into the presence of the Emperor, "who asked him some questions about Hindostan."

83. Memorial of Liu E 劉峩, QL50/5/24 [June 30, 1785] (rescripted 50/5/26): First Historical Archives, Beijing, Junjichu Lufu zouzhe, reel 98, pp. 1059-1060.

84. *Qing shilu*, Qianlong, *juan* 1231: QL50/5/26 (July 2, 1785).

85. Jin Shen 金甡, *Jinglianzhai shiji* 靜廉齋詩集, *juan* 15, *XXSKQS* v. 1440, p. 552.

86. Liu and Yu, *Dijing jingwu lüe* (Chongzhen reign), 5.28a.

87. Li Rihua, *Liuyanzhai biji*, 2.6b.

88. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下舊聞考 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe), *juan* 97, p. 1620.

89. Antoine Gaubil, *Correspondance de Pékin*, p. 70.

90. Qianlong Emperor, "Tianzhu wu Yindu kao'e" 天竺五印度考訛, *Yuzhi wenji* 御製文集, part 2, in *Siku quanshu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 1301:411-2 (21:2b-5a).
91. I am indebted to Mr. Brian Tawney for this suggestion.
92. First Historical Archives, Beijing [hereafter FHA], *Manwen chiyu* 滿文敕諭, QL 25/04/10 [May 24, 1760], document number 03-18-009-000029-0001. I am indebted to Dr. David Porter for making this document available to me.
93. FHA *Manwen lufu zouzhe* 03-0179-1867-017.1 (memorial of Guwamboo 官保, QL26/3/1 [Apr. 5, 1761]). Transcriptions of this and the following Manchu documents were supplied to me by a friend after the draft version of this paper was completed. I hope to analyze their content in greater detail in a future publication.
94. Samuel Turner, *Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet* (London: W. Bulmer, 1800), p. 464.
95. FHA *Manwen lufu zouzhe* 03-0188-2820-010 (memorial of Umitai 伍彌泰 et al., QL45/3/10 [Apr. 14, 1780]).
96. FHA *Manwen lufu zouzhe*, 03-0187-2714-039 (memorial of Hoiling 惠齡 QL42/4/6 [May 12, 1777]) and *Manwen zhupi zouzhe* 04-02-001-000162-0008 (memorial of Hoiling QL42/5/4 [June 8, 1777]).
97. FHA *Manwen lufu zouzhe* 03-0187-2723-011 (memorial of Fafuri 法福禮, QL42/10/22 [Nov. 21, 1777]).
98. FHA *Manwen lufu zouzhe* 03-0191-3072-028 (memorial of Fulu 福祿, QL50/5/20 [June 26, 1785]); *Manwen zhupi zouzhe* 04-02-002-000748-0021 (memorial of Fulu, QL50/12/3 [Jan. 2, 1786]); *Manwen lufu zouzhe* 03-0191-3102-009 (memorial of Fulu, QL51/1/22 [Feb. 20, 1786]).
99. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien*, p. 226.
100. Boulnois, "Gold, Wool and Musk," p. 179.
101. Huber, *Holy Land Reborn*, pp. 205, 207.
102. *Mission of George Bogle*, p. 127.
103. We do not know enough about mendicant activity in China or Mongolia to reach firm conclusions. If some mendicants brought trade goods from India to China, the rapid growth in sea trade between Indian ports and Canton after 1700 may have eroded their profit. It is at least ironic that mendicants departed from China just as the Indian population at Canton, primarily Parsi, began to increase: see Madhavi Thampi, *Indians in China, 1800-1949* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005); Carl T. Smith, "Parsee Merchants in the Pearl River Delta," pp. 36-49; Guo Deyan 郭德焱, *Qingdai Guangzhou de Basi shangren* 清代廣州的巴斯商人 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005). Their departure also coincided with the dwindling of the (non-mendicant) Indian trading diaspora in Russia, dated by Stephen Dale to the period between 1723 and 1747, perhaps indicating impediments to India-centred overland trade as a whole. See Stephen F. Dale, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600-1750* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 128.
104. Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, & Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), pp. 132, 145.
105. Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).
106. Matthew W. Mosca, "Kashmiri Merchants and Qing Intelligence Networks in the Himalayas: The Ahmed Ali Case of 1830," in *Asia Inside Out: Connected Places* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), pp. 219-42.
107. Max Oidtmann, *Forging the Golden Urn: The Qing Empire and the Politics of Reincarnation in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

INDEX

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AUTHOR

MATTHEW W. MOSCA

Matthew W. Mosca, associate professor of imperial Chinese history at the University of Washington (Seattle), is a historian of the Qing Empire. He has a particular research interest in the history of China-India relations, on which he has published the study *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy: The Question of India and the Transformation of Geopolitics in Qing China* (Stanford University Press, 2013).

Sino-Indian Cultural Diffusion through Trade in the Nineteenth Century

Madhavi Thampi

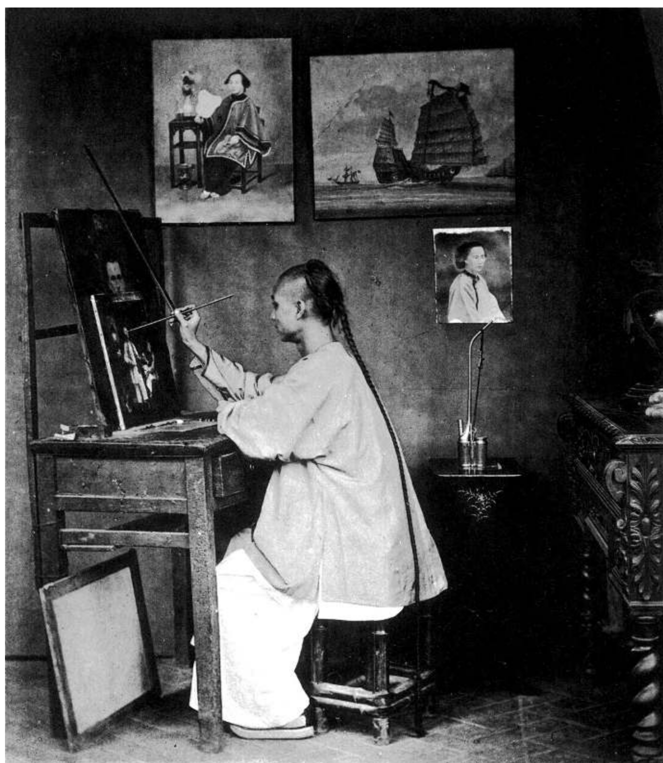
1 This study focuses on an aspect of the historical relations between India and China that has not received much attention, scholarly or otherwise. It examines the traces of Chinese art that can be found in India, which had their origin in the nineteenth century China Trade. Borrowing and adaptation have been an intrinsic part of the long interaction between India and China over the centuries. However, in the discourse on cultural transmission between India and China, it is often made out that this process was largely one-way –from India to China. This is mainly, though not entirely, due to the profound impact of Buddhism, which originated in South Asia, on China and Chinese culture. What we find in the nineteenth century, however, is the transmission of cultural products and cultural influences in the reverse direction, from China to India –not nearly on the same scale as the earlier influence of Indic culture on China, but nonetheless clearly identifiable and many-hued. Acknowledging this cultural transmission from China and exploring it is necessary, both to have a balanced perspective on India-China historical relations, and also to enrich our understanding of the development of Indian art and craftsmanship in the modern era.

2 First, it would be instructive to consider the context in which transmission of cultural objects and influences from China to India took place in the nineteenth century. As is well known, for centuries China had been renowned for her products –particularly silk, porcelain and tea– which were exported to different corners of the world. From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the growing tea trade with Europe, and especially with Britain, greatly expanded the volume of China’s external trade and added immensely to its attraction for a host of traders from around the world. Those who came to China by sea to engage in commerce ranged from powerful commercial monopolies like the British and Dutch East India companies to small private traders. Products from India, such as raw cotton and opium, played an important role in paying for the exports of Chinese tea to the West (Thampi and Saksena 2009: 15-27). Moreover,

Indian traders, and in particular Parsi traders from the west coast of India, acted as a major conduit of this trade, particularly from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Hundreds of Parsi traders made their way to the southern coast of China on huge sailing ships, undeterred by the many perils of the voyage including typhoons, pirates and shipwrecks. It is a fact, though one rarely acknowledged in the voluminous Western literature on the old China Trade from Canton, that Parsis at Canton (Guangzhou) often outnumbered their British and other Western counterparts in the early decades of the nineteenth century (Morse 1926: 103, 254, 346).

3 The world of the foreign traders at Canton, which was centered on the area known as that of the "Thirteen Factories" on the Canton waterfront, was designed to provide for all the residential as well as commercial needs of the foreign traders. Out of the cloistered world of the Thirteen Factories, and located within it, emerged a flourishing industry of "export art", which encompassed items as varied as watercolours and oil paintings, jade items, porcelain, silk, silk embroidery, furniture, enamel, lacquer ware and silver (Jiang 2007; Mok 2018). The trade in *objets d'art* was never the main stuff of the China Trade, but there was nevertheless a lively demand for the products of Chinese artists and craftsmen. The production of these cultural items for export in fact achieved a level of organisation and efficiency that paralleled the trade in tea and other commodities, and a large number of workshops sprang up in Guangzhou for this purpose –as many as 5000 according to one estimate (Peabody Essex Museum).

4 Parsi and other Indian traders at Canton, with a few notable exceptions, were mostly small time traders operating on the margins of the legal trade. They constantly faced the problem of finding suitable commodities to ship back home after they had unloaded their opium, raw cotton and other items of import. In theory, all foreign traders had to purchase all the goods they needed from the licensed Chinese merchants and compradores. In reality many of the smaller traders found it more convenient and cheaper to deal directly with the unlicensed merchants, also known as "outside merchants" or "shopmen". These Chinese merchants maintained their shops in the crowded bylanes between and just behind the factories, where the export art workshops were also located. Among the early art items purchased by Indian traders were porcelain vases, plates and other objects. Chinese porcelain items, besides being appreciated for their beauty, were a useful form of ballast. They were regularly shipped back home, to adorn the sumptuous homes of the wealthy in Bombay, where they can still be found. Paintings and furniture, along with pearls and other forms of jewelry, were also shipped home –both as commodities to sell and as gifts for family members and friends.



Lam Qua at his studio
Public domain

5 In many respects, Indian traders followed the tastes of their European counterparts in their choice of art items to take from China back to India. However, in certain respects, particularly in their appreciation of Chinese silk and embroidery, their choices were clearly influenced more by Indian aesthetic values and the requirements of Indian clothing. By focusing on the kind of art and cultural products that were imported into India from China, and then examining how these influenced Indian traditions and Indian workmanship, we can expand the extensive discussion that already exists on the subject of Chinese export art. Chinese export art has been recognised as a distinct genre of art emanating from the seventeenth century that catered to foreign consumers, but the discussion has almost always been centred on the production of art for the European and American markets. Nevertheless, we know that Chinese export art was also produced with the Indian consumer in mind. Chinese artistic techniques and motifs were adapted to Indian tastes and requirements to produce unique examples of Sino-Indian cultural fusion.

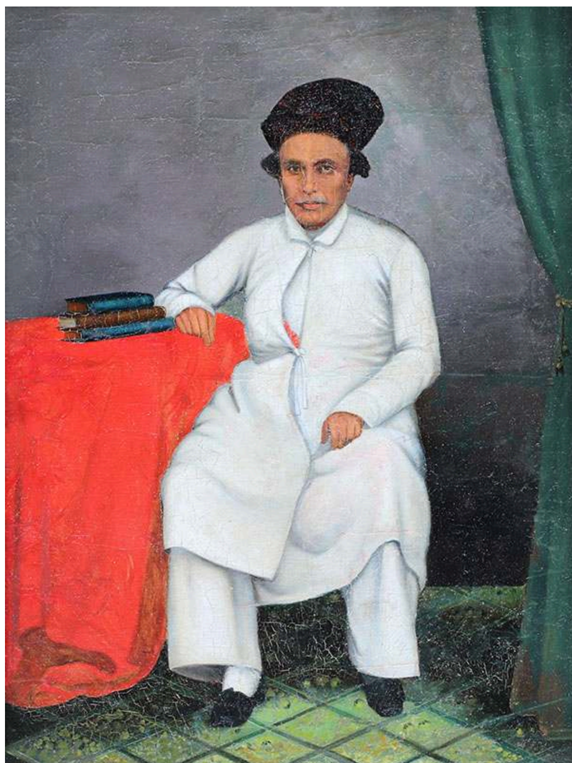
6 Painting and textiles are two areas in which we can see the interest of Indian consumers in Chinese export art, and in which Chinese art and craftsmanship influenced Indian artistic traditions. We will examine this with respect to the art of reverse glass painting, and also with respect to the tradition of silk embroidery and silk weaving.

7 Reverse glass painting actually originated in central and eastern Europe, from where it came to China, although the manner and timing of its introduction into China is disputed (Beggerow). Nevertheless, by the eighteenth century, glass painting was a well-established tradition in China, centred in Canton. It was not much esteemed as art by the Chinese themselves, but was in great demand among foreign buyers. Since the

painting was done on the reverse side of a sheet of glass, and then given a wooden backing, it could be sold soon after completion without having to wait for the painting to dry. For the seller, this meant more rapid sales, while for the purchaser, glass paintings were cheaper than oils, and the glass protection meant that the painting could be kept clean and free of scratches during the journey to distant markets.

8 Initially, glass paintings were produced in the Canton workshops and imported into India. However, in due course glass paintings also came to be painted in India by Chinese artists who were brought to India for the purpose. Portraits were particularly favoured by status-conscious Bombay merchants, who commissioned these Chinese artists to paint them and their families. It is interesting that the demand for this new and unusual form of painting was not confined only to those involved with the China trade. It also became popular among the royalty and elite of various princely states in India, who emerged as major patrons of artists and craftsmen, including foreign artists, particularly following the decline of the Mughal court. Chinese painters were in residence at the courts of the rulers of the princely states of Satara, Kutch and Mysore. Apart from portraits of the rulers and the nobility, idealised portraits of courtesans, dancers and other beautiful women were also favoured. Portraits of Indian gods and goddesses and themes from Indian mythology were also undertaken by Chinese artists, even though the lack of feeling of the Chinese painters for their subject in this case is sometimes noticeable (Appasamy 1980: 8). More than forty paintings done by Chinese artists under the patronage of the ruler of Mysore, Tipu Sultan, are lodged in the Jaganmohan Palace Art Gallery in Mysore.

Portrait of Maratha leader Nana Phadnavis from the studio of Chinese artist Lamqua
© Karen Taylor Fine Arts



Dr. Burjorji Dorabji Cooper (1825-1887). First Parsi to obtain medical degree from GMC, Bombay. He was the first Parsi to obtain a medical degree in Bombay and later moved to England where he ran an export-import business under the name of Burjorji & Sons. After the American Civil war of 1864, he returned to Bombay. Oil on canvas, 24.4 x 18.5 in. (62 x 47 cm) by Chinese artist, circa 1860.

© Manan Relia, The Indian Portrait IX – A Parsi Delight: Paintings, Photographs, Prints and Collectibles (Ahmedabad, 2018)

9 The popularity of glass painting, a completely new form of art in India, is an example of the broadening of aesthetic tastes among Indians on account of exposure to foreign cultural traditions and art forms through trade. The technique of glass painting was adopted by Indian craftsmen and spread widely through India, as far as Thanjavur in the South, Hyderabad and the Deccan region in central India, Delhi and Awadh in the North, and Bihar and Bengal in eastern India. The adoption of religious themes and its relatively inexpensive nature led to this particular art form becoming a form of popular art that appealed not just to the upper and middle classes but also to a broader section of the population. The noted artist and art historian Jaya Appasamy has noted that "although the technique was adopted from foreign sources it became the vehicle of a popular art", and that "it was used to produce Indian pictures for an Indian audience" (Appasamy 1980: 9,6).

10 The influence on Indian traditions of artistic forms transmitted from China is perhaps even better exemplified in the case of textiles. This is not surprising. For many centuries, there had been a flourishing intra-Asian trade in textiles, and different Asian textile traditions had over a long period of time considerably influenced each other, even while retaining their own uniqueness. Both Chinese and Indian textiles traditionally were embellished with a considerable amount of embroidery. Western India had a particularly rich tradition of embroidery, so it is perhaps no wonder that Chinese silk embroidery particularly attracted the attention of Parsi and other traders from Bombay and this region of India. From their fascination with Chinese embroidery

developed the beautiful *gara*, the heavily embroidered thick silk saree worn by Parsi women on festive occasions such as weddings and for important religious ceremonies, and much prized by them (Gill 2003; Desai 2002; Mani 2003).

11 On their arrival in China for the trading season, Parsi merchants would place orders for embroidered lengths of cloth to be made into sarees, and also into saree blouses and borders (*kors*), children's jackets (*jabhlas*), and edging for trousers (*ijars*). Traditional Chinese hand embroidery required very fine, detailed work, involving painstaking labour. Nevertheless, it was possible for Chinese craftsmen to produce the finished products on time, before the Parsi merchants set sail for home at the end of the trading season, because of the practice of several artisans working together simultaneously on a particular piece in the workshops set up for this purpose.

12 *Gara* embroidery, in white or light coloured threads, was usually done on a dark background of red, purple or black silk, using a very fine satin stitch, known as the *kha-kha* stitch, which gave the impression of the cloth being covered with tiny seed pearls. The work would sometimes be done only on the borders or *pallu* (the displayed end) of the saree, while in the more elaborate *garas*, the entire field would be covered with embroidery. This was done so neatly that it often gave the impression of the saree being painted or woven rather than embroidered.

13 A variety of typically Chinese motifs can be found on the *garas*. These included flowers representative of the seasons, such as peonies, plum blossoms, chrysanthemums and lotuses. Also very common were bamboo, pomegranates, peaches, and animals and birds of all descriptions, such as the pheasant, wild geese and the crane. In some, typical scenes of Chinese life, including representations of Chinese men and women, pagodas and pavilions, were also worked in. The embroiderers also at times used symbols from Chinese mythology, such as the Eight Immortals, the Heavenly Fungus and the dragon.

A Gara sari, a heavily embroidered silk garment that represents a fusion of Chinese and Indian cultural traditions

Courtesy: The Trustees, The K R Cama Oriental Institute, Mumbai

14 However over time the *gara* came to represent, not a direct import of a Chinese cultural tradition, but its skillful adaptation to Indian requirements and tastes. For instance, to suit the preferences of Parsi women, the larger Chinese motifs such as the dragon were gradually discarded in favour of flowers, birds and similar motifs. The typically Indian symbol of the peacock was mastered by the Chinese craftsmen, as was the Indian *ambi* (mango) or paisley motif. Yet another example of adaptation was what came to be known as the *do-patti* or *dodh-pat* sarees. These were made by stitching a regular length of Chinese silk to another length of half the width, since Chinese looms, being narrower than Indian looms, could not produce the required width for Indian sarees.

15 Due to the popularity of Chinese embroidery, Chinese embroiderers were brought to Surat and other Indian towns to practise their art. They gave rise to a tradition of embroidery known in India appropriately as "*chinai*". Even as late as the early twentieth century, Chinese peddlers could be found on the streets of Bombay going from house to house displaying their highly prized embroidered silks and cottons. However, it was not long before *garas* on the same lines as those from China began to be copied and produced in India by Indian embroiderers.

16 Silk weaving was another sphere in which Chinese textile traditions had some impact on India in the modern era. As we know from various references in early Indian works, Chinese silk has been known and prized in India from ancient times. Bolts of Chinese silk were imported into India as part of the nineteenth century China Trade as well. A by-product of this was the birth and development of the art of *tanchoi* silk weaving in India. *Tanchoi* silk is well known in India and usually identified with the famous weaving centers of Varanasi in northern India; but the art of *tanchoi* weaving in fact arrived in India from China via the west coast. Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the nineteenth

century Parsi opium tycoon who carried on an extensive trade with China, is said to have been responsible for sending Indian weavers to China to learn the art of producing the fine satin brocade for which China was famous (Desai 2002: 577). As the story goes, three ("tran" in Gujarati) brothers from the Joshi family of the town of Surat went to Shanghai to learn the art from a master weaver whose name has come down to us as "Choi". The material they produced after they returned to India consequently came to be known as *tan-choi*.

17 The *tanchoi* is usually a dark satin weave of purple, red, blue or green. Floral patterns interspersed with birds and creepers are woven into the entire body. As in the case of the *gara*, the motifs are recognizably Chinese in inspiration. However, Indian weavers gradually introduced typically Indian motifs, such as the mango or *ambi*. Although the Joshi family in Surat continued to produce the *tanchoi* sarees well into the twentieth century, the headquarters of *tanchoi*-weaving in India shifted to Varanasi after its famed silk weavers learned the art and succeeded in producing it at a lower cost. Today, *tanchoi* silk weaving in India has been indigenised to such an extent that few in India are aware of its Chinese origins and inspiration.

Tanchoi silk saree
© Textiles Committee, Ministry of Textiles, Government of India

18 In conclusion, we can see that cultural interaction between India and China, which began around two thousand years ago, continued to flourish in the early modern era, although perhaps on a less dramatic and inspired scale than during the Buddhist era. The process of cultural diffusion from China to India in the nineteenth century took place through the most unlikely medium of a trade that was dominated by the sale of Indian raw cotton and opium in China. The cold calculation of profit involved in this trade perhaps contrasts strangely with the genuine appreciation of artistic skill represented not only by the import of Chinese cultural objects but also by the welcome extended to Chinese artists and craftsmen to practice their skills in India. However, trade and the exchange of cultural influences between different societies have always

gone hand in hand and should not be seen as mutually exclusive phenomena. This was especially true among Asian societies where, particularly in the case of the traditional trade in textiles, both the economic and the cultural impact were significant.

19 It is no surprise that the trade at Guangzhou in the early modern era, which knitted together several diverse and far-flung regions of the world, should have served as a transmitter of material culture and have influenced lifestyles and tastes across several countries. The production of Chinese export art at Guangzhou was an astounding phenomenon in the way that it was organized and streamlined to meet the demands of a steadily widening class of consumers around the globe with a taste for the new and the exotic. But the identification of Chinese export art solely with the Western market is not justifiable, as it does not take into account the fact that it also catered to the Indian market. As we have seen, the Indian demand for Chinese art in this period did not merely ape Western fashions, but also emerged from Indian tastes and values. The export art workshops at Guangzhou became experts at producing designs and textures and art work favoured by Indian customers, just as they did for Western customers.

20 In the examples highlighted above, we can distinguish various stages in the process of cultural transmission from China to India. One is the importation by Indian merchants of cultural products made in China by Chinese artists and craftsmen. In the next stage, we have cultural products being made by Chinese artists and craftsmen, but in India and catering exclusively to Indian consumers. We have the adaptation of skills, designs and motifs derived from China to suit Indian aesthetic values and cultural preferences. This can be seen in the adaptation of embroidery to suit Indian sarees and clothing, in the adoption of typically Indian motifs such as the mango and the peacock, and, in the case of glass painting, the adoption of Indian religious themes. This kind of adaptation enabled Chinese cultural influences to penetrate more widely and deeply into Indian society. They were not confined only to the elite or to those who had direct contact with the China trade, but also spread to different parts of India and among the wider public as well. Finally, we have the Chinese art forms being studied and mastered by Indian artists and craftsmen in India and then further developed by them in accordance with their own genius. The *tanchoi* silk weaving carried out in Varanasi and the different schools of glass painting that developed in India from the nineteenth century represent this kind of "import substitution", to borrow a contemporary formulation. Ultimately, we can argue that this process resulted in altogether new, hybrid forms of art and crafts in India, which, while they were undoubtedly Chinese in origin and inspiration, nevertheless have become an enduring part of the Indian cultural tradition.

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AUTHOR

MADHAVI THAMPI

Madhavi Thampi is an Honorary Fellow of the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi, and till recently Editor of the journal *China Report*. She taught at the Department of East Asian Studies of the University of Delhi until 2014. Her major publications include *Indians in China, 1800-1949* (2005) and *China and the Making of Bombay* (2010, co-authored with Shalini Saksena). She also edited the volume *India and China in the Colonial World* (2005). Her area of interest has been the less studied aspects of the interactions between India and China in the colonial era. She has also been involved in initiatives to catalogue materials related to modern China in the National Archives of India.

The Early Modern Origins of Chinese Indology

T. H. Barrett

1 Thanks to the activities of over a thousand years of Buddhist translation, China inherited a massive amount of South Asian materials, entirely eclipsing pre-modern translations into the languages of Europe. But as we shall see, even in the early seventeenth century the priority seems to have been to restate the message of these materials in Chinese terms rather than examine them as evidence for another cultural tradition. This changed in the early nineteenth century, shortly before the outbreak of the Opium Wars that are usually taken to mark the beginning of Chinese modernity. The reformist Gong Zizhen (1792-1841) initiated the study of Buddhist texts as translations, identifying problems in understanding their structure and meaning explicitly as works originally composed in another language. This move, completely independent of European Indology, seems to me to explain why Sanskrit had arrived on the curriculum of Chinese Buddhist colleges by the early twentieth century and why twentieth and twenty-first century intellectuals like Chen Yinke (1890-1969) and Rao Zongyi (1917-2018) included Indology in their own scholarly formation with a view to reconsidering the Chinese tradition. For once we begin to examine the situation just described in more detail, it is possible to locate continuities between the early nineteenth and late twentieth century that have not been identified before. The following remarks are tentative and exploratory, but they do suggest that recognition of the Indian heritage of China did play a certain role in the recent transformation of China. This evidence is in particular consistent with another recent discovery, namely the importance for a certain time in the early twentieth century of the study of technical aspects of Indian Buddhist philosophy.[1] To this particular story, it seems, there was an earlier prologue, though even to understand that it is necessary to first glance back at the whole saga of China's contacts with India.

2 For both South Asia and East Asia possess deep-rooted and well-developed traditions of civilization on a par with that of Europe, and for over two millennia these two neighbouring centres have been aware of each other. The extent of that awareness has not been uniform: P. C. Bagchi remarks for example that “Surprisingly there is very

little record of the contact between these two nations in Indian literary sources".[2] But the couple of instances he cites could be considerably expanded by taking into account references from Indian literary sources surviving in Chinese translation, even though one may alas as yet point to no overall account of these in English.[3] No wonder, since there exists still today a vast quantity of such material to be searched, by one estimate getting on for forty million characters, a figure easily eclipsing the eight million characters preserved in later times from Chinese antiquity, to say nothing of the less than eight hundred thousand words from non-European sources found in the Christian Bible.[4] True, Europe was more deeply affected by its early imports like coinage, the alphabet and monotheism than China ultimately was by Indian religion, but in terms of heritage East Asia was always far better placed to appreciate civilizational diversity.

3 Yet despite the famous instances of Chinese pilgrims journeying to India to study Sanskrit and bring back the texts that were translated, at first sight there appears to have been little in a tradition of "Indian Studies" in China, as opposed to the study of Buddhism through translated sources, which was something like the traditional study of the Bible only as it existed in Latin. If we look at the existing short histories of Chinese Indology, they would seem to cover only the last hundred years.[5] But it is worth noting that the most recent addition to these, an academic biography of the Estonian Baron who initiated the teaching of Sanskrit in Peking University in 1918, makes it clear that his initiative alone was not responsible for the establishment of his subject. He was soon joined in fact by a fellow student of one of his teachers in Germany, the historian Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, who had acquired his knowledge of Sanskrit quite independently of the fledgling operation in Beijing.[6] In fact if we push back earlier than the formal foundation of Indological training in China we can see an enthusiasm for the potential of studying Sanskrit clearly expressed before the fall of Manchu China in 1911. Already we find the famous late imperial lay promoter of Buddhist education, Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1837-1911), recommending the translation of the Chinese legacy of Buddhist materials back into Sanskrit, though in his case we would need to take account of his contacts with the pioneers of modern Japanese Indology also, a topic that would lead us in a slightly different direction.[7]

4 But can we really go back yet further, beyond the nineteenth century beginnings of what is normally seen as "Modern Chinese History", from the Opium Wars onward? At first sight the prospects seem rather bleak. For despite the more than two millennia of Chinese knowledge of India, a recent very well researched monograph by Matthew W. Mosca would argue that if anything China knew less about India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century than it had done under more cosmopolitan dynasties of the past. The Qianlong Emperor, most successful ruler of the Manchu Qing dynasty, for example, seem to have struggled to place the land known as Hindustan in relation to the India of earlier Buddhist travel accounts, and to have concluded therefore that the two must be separate, if adjacent; his subjects were scarcely in a position to disagree.[8] Mosca's overall argument –that a decentralized frontier policy did not allow an overall strategic picture of the British advance in South Asia to form in China until the time of the Opium War– is well presented and difficult to disagree with, certainly in the terms in which the argument is formulated. But perhaps other perspectives are possible. Granted that his approach has added a huge amount to what has been an unduly neglected topic, still –at least as perceived from the point of view of the history of religion– it may be seen as ultimately deriving from a tradition of North American scholarship most prominently exemplified by John King Fairbank (1907-1991), wherein

conceptions of what historically constituted knowledge tend to relate to policy issues. After all, Fairbank had in his time served in military intelligence. Strategic knowledge aside, awareness of the world beyond China was also surely embodied in a more diffuse cultural discourse –or so I would argue.[9]

5 And indeed if we look at the early nineteenth century in China we find that awareness of external cultural influences was in some circles at least nothing if not acute, and also rather articulate. The eminent scholar and administrator Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), for example, eloquently elucidates his quest for a thorough philological re-examination of the roots of the Chinese tradition by means of an essay on the pagoda, or *ta* 塔. It is in his view obvious that this architectural feature of the Chinese built environment formed no part of the original Chinese tradition of antiquity, but rather can be traced to the external influence of Buddhism. The very term was an innovation, making this extraneous origin linguistically clear even though the object might also be described in purely Chinese terminology. Yet –to paraphrase his essay– how can we would-be authentic Confucians of the age be sure about other less obvious accretions to the original purity of Chinese culture? How can we be sure that the very words in the Chines language for basic concepts like "human nature" *xing* 性 have not acquired meanings due to foreign influence from Buddhist sources? Only a massive, systematic philological exercise to determine the true meaning of the texts of the Confucian heritage can free us from the unseen effects of linguistic change.[10]

6 The issues raised by Ruan represent a desire for cultural purism prompted not so much by immediate political events, even if the Manchu conquest of 1644 had cast a long shadow over Chinese thinking about their culture. Rather, his concerns stem most naturally from what Benjamin Elman describes as the movement within the Confucian tradition from philosophy to philology.[11] Nor was Ruan in any sense a disloyal servant to his Manchu masters –quite the contrary, in fact.[12] Equally, his philologically acute sense of cultural purism was not shared by all, and indeed the generation of his parents had seen at least one conspicuous example of a well-known Confucian scholar and friend of earlier philologists, Peng Shaosheng 彭绍升 (1740-1796) who saw no contradiction in being a devout Buddhist at the same time.[13] Conceptions of tradition in pre-modern China were by no means uniform.[14] For such men there was perhaps a degree of similarity with the contemporary European situation, wherein a Victorian gentleman could be both a good classicist and a devout Christian, but in China –unlike Europe– the Chinese religious beliefs inherited from antiquity were in Chinese Buddhist eyes seen not as mere superstition but as true only at a relative, worldly level, while the cultural tradition promoted by Confucius retained a full value as a civilizational force, in their eyes just as much as in the eyes of their non-Buddhist friends.

7 Where on the spectrum of possible attitudes towards tradition should we situate Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1856), the scholar responsible in the eyes of Matthew Mosca for resolving the confusions concerning the geography of India inherited from earlier times?[15] A comprehensive account of Wei's position would require extended discussion, for besides his eminence as a pioneer of modern geographical knowledge in China, he also contributed a great deal to new thinking about the nature of the Chinese state and how to address China's problems that has been seen as setting the course for many future developments, up to our own times.[16] For present purposes, however, it is necessary to recognise that he was, amongst other things, as devout a Buddhist as Peng Shaosheng. In this regard, moreover, he followed the example of a slightly older friend

whose career was equally dedicated to the strengthening of China in the face of new enemies, but who died in his forties, leaving behind a reputation above all as a poet, namely Gong Zizhen 龔自珍.[17]

8 At first sight the Buddhism of Gong and Wei seems to follow on smoothly from that of Peng in the preceding century: they are all self-conscious heirs of the great Buddhist masters of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, beyond which they look back to other major Chinese figures of earlier epochs, and their intellectual interests are tinged with a palpable admixture of piety rather startling in the context of the minute philological scholarship of the age. But Gong at least, whose maternal grandfather was a very noted philologist, does manifest new elements in his approach to Buddhist materials that bear close examination.[18] Rather than attempt any balanced assessment of either Gong or Wei's involvement with Buddhism, the following remarks therefore concentrate on the distinctive features of the Buddhist writings of both men. It is much to the credit of the editors of Gong's "Collected Works", published in 1975, that at a time when it was his critical attitude towards tradition that validated discussion of his writings they should have included as the sixth out of eleven sections a compendium of his Buddhist pieces. But the most startling feature of this section is that it begins with seven essays or technical notes devoted to problems of translation. Of course all Chinese Buddhists were in a sense aware that their scriptures were translated, especially when the *Journey to the West* undertaken to bring them to China with the assistance of the legendary Monkey King was one of the best-loved stories in East Asia. But in a sense in late imperial times at least this was simply taken as a given: in the eyes of at least one of the great seventeenth century Buddhist leaders that Gong admired, the problem now was to translate the literal meaning of those scriptures into a language that made sense within Chinese culture, something that demanded a willingness to employ the terminology of the native intellectual tradition, even if it derived from texts themselves considered Daoist.[19]

9 So raising the topic of translation at the primary, linguistic level might seem from this standpoint distinctly retrograde. What was Gong up to? The first essay in the set addresses what he took to be evident problems in the translation of the *Lotus Sutra.* This scripture has been immensely influential in East Asia, and today it still inspires in particular some remarkably vigorous religious movements based in Japan. Though Sanskrit versions survive from Nepal and elsewhere, the repeated translations of the text into Chinese from the third century CE onwards have allowed modern scholars important insights into its evolution over the course of time.[20] In sum, a basic work seems to have been extended by additions, not all of which may be found in some translated versions. Traditional Buddhist scholarship in East Asia has long recognized the consequent double structure within the work, but has always treated it even so as constituting an integral source representing as with all other sutras the very word of the Buddha.[21] Gong does not appear to doubt the status of the *Lotus* as Buddha's word, but after comparing the best-known translation with two others certainly views the double structure and other possible dislocations in the order of the text as no more than the result of a faulty redaction, in which two originally separate texts have been run into one in the process of translation.[22] In the light of modern scholarship he is certainly wrong, but his criticism of the received text of a religious classic by means of a "two source" theory shows an independence of approach reminiscent of the higher

criticism of the Bible that developed in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, even if he sees his text not solely as a human creation.

10 Gong next moves on to three essays on the main Chinese "Pure Land" text, again comparing different translations to raise questions, especially concerning the number of vows originally said to have been made by the Buddha now dwelling in the Pure Land at the time of aspiring to achieve a Buddhahood entailing its creation: the enumeration of these does indeed vary from translation to translation.[23] Once again Gong suggests that this variation stems from shortcomings in translation, with the number of vows increased by some translators –a reasonable assumption even if again one somewhat less nuanced than current scholarship prefers. But in the third of this group of essays he pushes further and suggests that the inflation of numbers in Buddhist texts as due to Indian commentators, on the grounds that the Buddha himself would not have indulged in childish exaggeration.[24] This again suggests a mind still devout, yet not uncritical. Gong's fifth essay attacks the "Perfection of Wisdom" literature available in Chinese, and specifically the massive compilation of this literature translated in the seventh century CE, from the largest version in a notional one hundred thousand lines down to the *Heart sutra*, which amounts to less than two pages in English.[25] For him the largest version, even though we should recall that it took pride of place in traditional printings of the Buddhist canon, can only be inauthentic, since it is not mentioned in the copious translated commentary on the corpus dating to a quarter of a millennium before its eventual appearance in Chinese.[26]

11 Gong's next essay actually covers two topics, though both relate to the representation of the phonology of Indian languages in Chinese. The first concerns the inadequate method originally used by Buddhist translators to convey in Chinese syllables the unfamiliar syllabic shape of foreign words. This actually provides some useful information on the sources for his observations, to which we shall return below. The second argument concerns the mixture of prose and verse in Buddhist translations. Since Chinese was incapable of reproducing what he took to be the rhyme schemes employed in the latter, and usually resorted to a form of "blank verse" that was neither Chinese nor Indian, there was no point in trying to reproduce the frequent restatements within Buddhist texts in alternating formats, and one might as well stick to the prose and cut out the representation of what was originally verse on the grounds that in terms of the content it was entirely redundant. Chinese translators were perfectly well aware that the repetitious nature of Buddhist texts needed to be curbed in translation, but Gong's approach was more drastic than any earlier stated guidelines.[27] And while his statements about the novelty of the Chinese forms used to represent Buddhist verse and their subsequent influence beyond the translation context are basically correct, he does not seem to have been aware that South Asian poetry was metrical, and that it was the invariant length of Chinese syllables rather than the difficulty of finding rhymes that subverted any attempt to render Buddhist verse into Chinese.

12 A final, seventh essay concludes his observations, but takes us well beyond a narrow concern with the immediate process of translation. To Gong the Buddha's teaching was plainly oral, but he followed the normal East Asian assumption that it had been reduced to writing immediately after his passing. Even so he does not envisage this move as having stabilized the texts in the canon; rather, he sees competing groups in Indian society as having exploited the prestige of possessing Buddhist scriptures in their own

interests, altering them to suit their own purposes, and adding to them further if they still "did not sell" 猶不售，則又加. Translators through failing to discriminate between these accretions and the original message of the Buddha had perpetrated a deception on China.[28] Gong returns to this point in a rather longer piece following his seven essays on translation, in which he raises forty-two problems in relation to the *Lotus Sutra.* The majority of these concern his views on the need to reorder the text and purge it of material that was in his view interpolated. But in his thirty-sixth query he addresses the underlying cause for the unsatisfactory transmission of the scripture, and once again points to the effects of vigorous competition within what we might term (especially in view of his mercantile language, just cited) the religious market place in expanding the cumulative amount of increasingly lower quantity material surrounding the original core. In fact he draws a remarkable analogy to make this point. "Suppose persons from the West arrived to discuss the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Analects of Confucius,* and the scholars of our land gave these texts to them, on top of which they then mistakenly gave them the commentaries and sub-commentaries, and on top of that mistakenly loaded the examination essays of recent times concerning these texts, plus mistakenly on top of that the further explicated and commentated commercial printings of those essays, and the Westerners, without distinguishing between them, translated them all to take home –are not the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sutra* that have come east just like this?"[29]

13 Now it is certainly true that Wei Yuan's writings on Buddhism do not display the same interest as is manifest in Gong's essays concerning the perils of translation. But a reading of the prefaces to his Buddhist works contained in his literary writings, and also of the annotation to his compilations themselves, reveals that he did share exactly the same assumptions. In 1853 Wei published a collection of Pure Land texts in order to bring together four of the main works in this tradition into one handy collection.[30] One of the main texts is precisely the one that, as noted above, Gong had consulted in different translations in order to establish how many vows had authentically been included in the basic text. Wei, following earlier precedents, combines the different translations into one synthetic edition of the text, but makes it quite clear that he too sees the number of vows as having been augmented beyond those originally present, and accordingly reduces them to what he considered to have been the initial quantity. But in his preface to the resulting edition he also adduces further external evidence for this reduction, citing a translated Indian treatise on the text that appears only to deal with the lower figure he adopts.[31] This is yet another case in which contemporary scholarship finds the issue somewhat more complex than Wei allows.[32] Yet Wei's readiness to adduce what he had available in the way of Indian scholastic literature here resembles Gong's use of similar materials in discussing the Perfection of Wisdom corpus: both men try to verify their suppositions from supporting evidence. At the same time an examination of Wei's synthetic edition itself shows that despite his willingness to adduce a range of sources in establishing his edition, some of his editorial judgments simply reflect his own sense of what the Buddha would have said, in rather the same way that Gong concludes that what appears to him to be puerile cannot be authentic.[33]

14 There is no doubt that much more could be said about the Buddhist studies of Gong and Wei, and indeed on the internet in Chinese one may find plenty of further discussions on the topic. But for present purposes the foregoing remarks have tried to summarize the most important aspects of their critical reflections on the Indian Buddhist heritage

in China. Obviously their achievements should not be overstated. What does seem to be new in their work, however, may be divided into two elements. First, and most importantly for what was to follow, they problematized materials originally in foreign languages in a way that was totally unprecedented. The basic criterion for authenticity in Chinese Buddhism up to this point was simply whether a work was a genuine translation or not –there were plenty of texts that on this criterion were deemed to be inauthentic, confections put together in China that were designed to look like translations.[34] But beyond the clear labelling of Indian materials as also inauthentic (*wei* 僞, the precise negative term of bibliographical evaluation that Gong applied to the 100,000 line Perfection of Wisdom text), we find Gong at least articulating a general theory of the cumulative dilution of authentic tradition by increasingly inferior material. This was in China something that seems to have been unprecedented in Buddhist circles and indeed in Chinese scholarly circles in general, with one possible exception. For accusations of inauthenticity were also applied to works or parts of works in the classical Chinese tradition, and the assumption that over time knowledge of antiquity had diminished is fundamental to the Confucian vision of history, but analysis of any general mechanism responsible for the production of spurious literature is still much harder to find.[35] The one predecessor to Gong working on Chinese antiquity rather than Buddhist sources who did evolve some general ideas of this sort, Cui Shu 崔述 (1740-1816), has since the early twentieth century been credited with perceiving the existence of accumulating strata of accretionary material, but his influence in the mid-nineteenth century seems by all accounts to have been completely non-existent.[36]

15 Much closer to Gong in terms of the materials he worked on and in the expression of his ideas was a Japanese predecessor of the eighteenth century, Tominaga Nakamoto 富永仲基 (1715-1746), an independent and remarkably insightful critic of Buddhist literature so striking that his main work, written in Classical Chinese, has been rendered into English in its entirety.[37] Tominaga anticipates Gong for example in pointing to the originally oral nature of the Buddha's teaching, and in stressing competition construed in mercantile terms as a factor in promoting inauthentic Buddhist material.[38] Now we know that Japanese books were certainly imported into China in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[39] Gong was, moreover, well aware of the importance of both Chinese works in Japanese editions and of Japanese publications in Sinology, and tried to secure Japanese imports for his own studies.[40] But I suspect that his own excursions into Buddhism were conducted without any knowledge of Tominaga's, and simply reflect a broad commonality of approach. The Japanese scholar for example takes a broad view of the development of Buddhist literature, and does not focus on specific texts in the same way that Gong starts with a focus on the *Lotus Sutra* and the Pure Land literature and only then broadens his discussion to more general principles. This pattern may indeed reflect the chronology of Gong's studies: there is no sense anywhere that he is working from a pre-existing overview provided by someone else. Both men shared an important precondition to their researches, namely access to the well over a thousand translated texts available in printed copies of the Buddhist Canon. Such massive sets were not generally held by private individuals, but could be found fairly readily in monastic libraries, and in Gong's case a short piece promoting funds for a new monastic library in Beijing shows that there he was familiar with and no doubt had regular opportunities to read at least two printed editions.[41] But Gong, with his declared focus on problems of translation,

also has more of an interest in language than Tominaga, for reasons that are worth examining.

16 Most studies of the history of China during the period of Manchu domination make the apparently quite plausible assumption that the fact that the rulers of the Qing Empire spoke another language was of no consequence for the Chinese –after all, access to Manchu materials or even Mongol ones generally did not bring them into contact with many sources not already available in Chinese, and in the case of Manchu plenty of what was available derived from Chinese in the first place. Chinese scholars of the time found much comfort in the "Yuan analogy", comparing their situation to that of the period of Mongol domination, which had not affected the learned pursuits of the Chinese elite even though they were removed from political power –they had been, as it were, left to their own devices.[42] But the Manchus did not have a world empire to run, and lacking the numbers for an enterprise on a like scale were much more involved in the Chinese base of their rule. Many of the Chinese elite were for career purposes obliged to learn Manchu, and even those who did not cannot have failed to notice the polyglot ambitions of their rulers.[43]

17 Gong Zizhen, at any rate, had a learned Manchu friend, Yu'en 裕恩 whom he describes in a short poem concerning his mastery of many scripts –only Chinese and Kharoṣṭhī are mentioned in the poem itself, but in a note Gong declares that his friend can read "Enetkek, Tibetan, Western (*Xiyang* 西洋), Mongol, Hui, and Manchu and Chinese".[44] "Enetkek" was the Manchu word for "Indian", something of a geographical puzzle for them as Matthew Mosca shows, though in this context it probably refers to Devanagari, while "Western" must indicate the Roman alphabet, and "Hui" perhaps Arabic.[45] Gong also notes that Yu'en was devoted to the comparative study of translations –not, apparently, between different languages but between different versions in Chinese, a form of scholarship he describes as "unprecedented". The poem is one of a very famous series produced by Gong in 1839, almost at the end of his life, so it would be interesting to know exactly how far back this friendship extended.[46]

18 It may well be that Gong was moved to undertake his studies independently in any case. Mosca gives a succinct account of the polyglot scholarship of the Qianlong Emperor, including his massive pentaglot compilation of dhāraṇī, with the underlying Sanskrit rendered into the languages of the four complete printed canons he sponsored in Mongol (created by his grandfather in 1718-1720; Tanjur 1741/42-1749), Tibetan (revised in 1737), Chinese (1733 to 1738) and eventually a new Manchu translation also, in 1773-1790. In the pentaglot, moreover, the pronunciation was indicated for readers of Chinese in a new and decidedly complex transcription. He ponders with good reason the improbability of anyone outside court circles even thinking of emulating such specialised scholarship.[47] Yu'en's case perhaps suggests that some Manchus could, but even more the style of the Emperor's research would have been known in outline at least to many of the Chinese scholars who worked in the Beijing area. Gong's note on problems of transcription, his sixth essay on translation problems, states that he had seen the woodblocks for printing the pentaglot in the Yonghe gong, the "Lama Temple" of Beijing.[48] Even if emulation was out of the question, the existence of such scholarship was not necessarily without influence.

19 Gong and indeed Wei would in any case have been aware of linguistic diversity within the territory of the Qing Empire, since both were interested in problems of imperial control in the New Frontier territory of Xinjiang, where Chinese was not the language

of the local inhabitants; it was indeed another area where the polyglot, multi-ethnic approach of the Manchus prevailed.[49] The southern regions of China were of course in some ways more spectacularly polyglot, and had been more consistently in contact with Han Chinese culture, but the relative absence of writings systems there made the inhabitants culturally much less visible. How to read the expansion of the Manchus westward is a current historiographic problem, in that to characterize it as imperial is sometimes seen by historians in the current Chinese nation state as a means of casting aspersions on the legitimacy of its control there. Non-Chinese historians –and not just American China specialists– have for some time now found the notion of Manchu imperialism useful.[50] Might it be that this imperialism fostered a form of what we know as Orientalism, a desire to analyse and place the traditions of others?

20 Such a reading of Gong and Wei will not work, for they are clearly devout Buddhists, but it could still be that the expansion of knowledge prompted by an expansion of control engendered a readiness to consider broader cultural horizons. Buddhism itself was nothing new in China, but a new awareness of non-Chinese Buddhists could have given it a degree of unfamiliarity. Was it this that prompted a new, at least slightly more detached examination of its texts? Or was this part of something else, part of the trend "from philosophy to philology", for example? That, too, might have been stimulated to some degree by contacts with the Manchu language, though the roots of the movement may arguably be found as far back as the late sixteenth century, before even the possible stimulus of a certain amount of new knowledge from Europe, either.[51] Certainly Gong was part of the trend: one of his lost works seems to have been devoted to eliminating Han period interpolations from the text of a Confucian Classic.[52]

21 But even if he does not seem to have used what is said to have been an actual knowledge of Manchu or Mongol in his Buddhist studies –and in truth the former would have been of restricted value to a reader of Chinese, and the latter only useful as a reflection of the Tibetan rendering of Sanskrit– still there is something about his approach which is novel and in a relative way critical, and the same may be said of Wei. [53] It was novel to try to conceptualise the workings of a cumulative tradition in another civilisation, especially when from a Confucian perspective there was no civilization apart from China. There may be other signs of this step towards a more cosmopolitan stance in the early nineteenth century, if we look for them. When for instance another great scholar and bibliophile, Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762-1843), completed his massive compilation of literary pieces predating 618 CE, *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han sanguo liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, in 1836, he added at the very end a number of what he considered to be literary pieces –letters, inscriptions, and the like– by Indian authors that he found translated in the Buddhist Canon, though his model, a compilation devoted to the next three centuries that had appeared in 1814, does not pursue this editorial policy at all.

22 How should we characterise these innovations? "Early modern", as deployed in the title of this piece merely as a rough indicator of the period discussed here, represents a concession to conceptions of tradition and modernity which may imply far too clean a dichotomy, imposing irrelevant criteria from the outside. Certainly there are interesting clues suggesting that the position of Buddhism in East Asia may have been important in the nineteenth century in thinking about civilisation and about change. Japanese who came to Britain even before the Meiji Restoration of 1868, for example, seem to have taken up the study of Sanskrit as well as Chinese, in preference to solely

"Western" topics.[54] In the twentieth century, as Paul Katz has shown, Buddhism proved of great significance to many eminent Chinese, not excluding the supposed Methodist Chiang Kai-shek.[55] Yet at the same time during the Cultural Revolution it was categorized by the Red Guards as a foreign religion, despite its some two millennia of history in China.[56] Would Ruan Yuan have been pleased by this?

23 The position of Buddhism in China is unique. If one must use Western analogies to explain it, then it has all the familiarity of Christianity and all of the alterity of Islam. Indology flourishes today in Beijing, as it has long done in Hong Kong in the person of the immensely talented traditional artist and polymath, the late Rao Zongyi. Gong Zizhen and Wei Yuan might find the secular scholarship of the present day unfamiliar, but surely they would understand the impulse to explore the Indian heritage, for to them it was undeniably involved in the Chinese heritage too.

NOTES

1. For this development, see John Makeham, ed., *Transforming Consciousness: Yogacara Thought in Modern China*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

2. Bangwei Wang and Tansen Sen, eds, *India and China, Interactions through Buddhism and Diplomacy: A Collection of Essays by Professor Prabodh Chandra Bagchi* (Delhi: Anthem Press India, 2011), p. 205; cf. Alf Hiltebeitel, *Rethinking the Mahābhārata: A Reader's Guide to the Education of the Dharma King* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 29-31.

3. For the reader of Japanese, the most important of these may be found listed in Akanuma Chizen 赤诏智善, *Indo Bukkyō koyu meishi jiten* (Nagoya: Hashinkaku, 1931), pp. 130-131.

4. The estimate for South Asian materials in Chinese, by Paul Demiéville, in *Choix d'études Bouddhiques* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), p. 158, may be a little on the high side in view of what we now know concerning the Chinese propensity for producing their own sutras –some of them very popular sutras– in the style of translations, but even if we deduct a few million for such products, the total must remain vast. For the estimate of the Chinese "classical" corpus, see p. 50 of Russell McLeod, "Sinological Indexes in the Computer Age: The ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series", *China Review International* 1.1 (1994), pp.48-53. From the overall total for the Christian Bible we should deduct most of the New Testament, which was plainly written in Greek, though some parts may have been transferred from Aramaic.

5. About half a dozen surveys up to 2008 are listed in Y. Sueki, *Bibliographical Sources for Buddhist Studies from the Viewpoint of Buddhist Philology* (Tokyo: The Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2008), pp. 401-402.

6. Wang Qilong and Deng Xiaoyong, *The Academic Knight between East and West: A Biography of Alexander von Staël-Holstein* (Singapore: Gale Asia, 2014), p. 13. On Chen and Indology, see Chen Huaiyu 陳懷宇,*Zai Xifang faxian Chen Yinke* 在西方發現陳寅恪, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2015.

7. Yang mentions this plan in a scheme for future Buddhist education, reprinted for example in Huang Xianian 黄夏年, ed., *Yang Renshan ji* 杨仁山集 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), p. 23. On Yang see, for a brief account in English, Gabriele Goldfuss, "Binding sutras and modernity: the life and times of Yang Wenhui (1837-1911)", in *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 9 (1996), pp. 54-74, and note 38 on p. 64 for a reference to discussion of the

importance of Sanskrit in the years before the 1911 Revolution –a topic on which much more could be said.

8. Matthew A. Mosca, *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy: The Question of India and the Transformation of Geopolitics in Qing China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. 87-100.

9. For some fuller background remarks arguing this point, see T. H. Barrett, "Ignorance and the technology of information: Some comments on China's knowledge of the West on the eve of the 'Western Invasion'", *Asian Affairs,* 36.1 (n.s.) (1995), pp. 20-31.

10. Ruan Yuan, "Ta xing shuo" 塔性說, *Yanjing shi xu ji* 揅經室續集 3.2a-4a (*Sibu congkan* edition).

11. Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.

12. This is clearly established by Betty Peh-Ti Wei, *Ruan Yuan, 1764-1849: The Life and Work of a Major Scholar-Official in Nineteenth-Century China before the Opium War,* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006.

13. Richard Shek, "Testimony to the Resilience of Mind: The Life and Thought of P'eng Shao-sheng (1740-1796)", in Richard J. Smith and D. W. Y. Kwok, *Cosmology, Ontology, and Human Efficacy: Essays in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), pp.81-111, includes on pp. 100-106 an account of Peng's correspondence with the leading philologist of his day; Colin Jeffcott, "Peng Shaosheng or Peng Jiqing? Biographies of a Confucian Buddhist", in Benjamin Penny, ed., *Religion and Biography in China and Tibet* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002), pp.148-177, is a probing study of Peng's biographies.

14. For some preliminary remarks on this, see T. H. Barrett, *Li Ao: Buddhist, Taoist, or Neo-Confucian?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 139-140.

15. Mosca, *Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy,* pp. 271-304.

16. Philip A. Kuhn, *Les origines de l'État chinois moderne* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1999), pp. 77-100.

17. Gong's literary importance is discussed in Shirleen S. Wong, *Kung Tzu-chen* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), a volume that also provides a succinct biography in English.

18. For Gong's advice from his grandfather, see Wong, *Kung Tzu-chen*, p. 36.

19. I have described the case made in this regard in "Deqing and Daoism: A View of Dialogue and Translation from Late Ming China", *Culture and Dialogue* 3.1 (March, 2013), pp. 11-23.

20. A readable introduction to current understanding of the transmission and significance of the *Lotus Sutra* may be found in the essays contained in Stephen F. Teiser and Jacqueline I. Stone, eds, *Readings of the Lotus Sutra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); the editors provide a succinct account of the evolution of the text on pp. 4-8. The best-known Chinese version of the text is translated into English with notes on divergences from the Sanskrit tradition in Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma (The Lotus Sūtra), Translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), also reissued with minor modifications in 2009; for this and other translations, see Teiser and Stone, *Readings in the Lotus Sutra*, pp. 237-240.

21. Something of the immense body of commentarial literature produced in East Asia is introduced on the basis of Japanese research in Kanno Hiroshi, "An Overview of Research on Chinese Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*", *Acta Asiatica* 66 (1994), pp. 87-103.

22. Gong Zizhen, *Gong Zizhen quanji* 龔自珍全集 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1975), VI, p. 357 –though there are more recent editions of his writings, I am assuming that this has still the widest circulation.

23. Again we are dealing with a work existing in Chinese and Sanskrit that has attracted a wealth of traditional and modern scholarship. There is a study that presents the text in question and its main companion in translations into English derived from originals in both Asian languages, together with commentary designed to elucidate the problems raised here by Gong and others: see Luis O Gómez, *The Land of Bliss: The Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), pp. 128-130 in particular.

24. Gong, *Gong Zizhen quanji* VI, p. 359.
25. A brief synopsis of the development of this group of texts as provisionally understood in contemporary scholarship may be found in Paul Williams, *Māhāyana Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009), p. 48.
26. Gong, *Gong Zizhen quanji* VI, p. 360.
27. For these see K. Mizuno, *Buddhist Sutras: Origin, Development, Transmission* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing, 1982), pp. 52-53.
28. Gong, *Gong Zizhen quanji* VI, pp. 362-363.
29. Gong, *Gong Zizhen quanji* VI, p. 369.
30. Date according to the preface to the collection as printed in Wei Yuan, *Wei Yuan ji* 魏源集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), p. 248.
31. Wei, *Wei Yuan ji*, p. 248.
32. See the discussion of various opinions, ancient and modern, on the matter in Hisao Inagaki, *T'an-luan's Commentary on Vasubhandu's Discourse on the Pure Land: A Study and Translation* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1998), pp. 54-56.
33. Wei's collection, *Jingtu sijing*净土四經, was discovered and printed after the devastation of the Taiping Rebellion by Yang Wenhui in 1866: this according to the reprinting of Yang's preface in Jingkong 净空, ed., *Jingtu wujing duben* 净土五經讀本 (Taibei: Caiduan faren Fotuo jiaoyu jijinhui, 1989), p. 418. This work also reprints Wei's synthetic edition, the annotation to which repeats his evidence for the original number of vows on p. 372, and also exhibits some less supported judgments regarding what could be excised as not authentically Buddhist on pp. 374, 377, 378 and 379.
34. The criterion was of course not unambiguous, as has been illustrated most usefully by the late Antonino Forte, "The Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhism: Chih-sheng's Indictment of Shih-li and the Proscription of the *Dharma Mirror Sūtra*", in Robert E. Buswell, Jr., ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), pp. 239-249.
35. See briefly the entries on "*Ku-shu pien-wei ssu-chung*" and "*Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao*" in Ssu-yü Teng and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works,* Third Edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971) pp. 23-24, for the accumulation from the late sixteenth century onward of critical studies of false attributions in Chinese bibliography –earlier work tended to use primarily the more subjective criteria still appealed to by Gong.
36. For a selection from Cui Shu in English, see William Theodore De Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Richard John Lufrano and Joseph Adler, *Sources of the Chinese Tradition,* Volume Two (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), pp. 60-63. Like Gong, Cui believed that once accretions were removed, a core of truth was there to be revealed. For a balanced account of his scholarship see Michael Quirin, "Scholarship, Value, Method, and Hermeneutics in *Kaozheng*: Some Reflections on Cui Shu (1740-1816) and the Confucian Classics", *History and Theory* 35 (1996), pp. 34-53, and p. 49 in particular for his analysis of the increase in spurious knowledge.
37. For an English translation of Tominaga, see Michael Pye, *Emerging from Meditation* (London: Duckworth, 1990), and for an insightful evaluation of some of his ideas Hubert Durt, *Problems of Chronology and Eschatology* (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 1994).
38. Pye, *Emerging from Meditation,* pp. 84-88.
39. Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 309-311.
40. Gong, *Gong Zizhen quanji* V, pp. 330-331.
41. Gong, *Gong Zizhen quanji,* VI, p. 390. Cf. the listing also on pp. 621 and 662 of this edition of a lost work by Gong reporting his investigations of the imperial Chinese Buddhist Canon of 1733-1738.
42. John D. Langlois, Jr., "Chinese Culturalism and the Yuan analogy: Seventeenth-century perspectives", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40 (1980), pp. 355-398.

43. Arthur Waley, *Yuan Mei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), pp. 28-30, describes one such unsuccessful Chinese student of Manchu.
44. Gong, *Gong Zizhen quanji*, X, p. 512. Cf. Chan Sin-wai, *Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1985), p. 31.
45. For Enetkek, see Mosca, *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy,* pp. 60-63, 88-91.
46. Gong's earliest biographer, Wu Changshou 吳昌綬, whose chronology of his subject was first published in 1900, places a notice of this friendship in 1824, but possibly only because Gong's Buddhist interests are first introduced at this point, the year in which he edited and reprinted a Buddhist work for the first time, while his work on the *Lotus Sutra* is assigned to 1837: cf. *Gong Zizhen quanji,* pp. 607, 621. In a poem dated by commentators to 1827 translated by Wong, *Kung Tzu-chen*, p. 62, Gong states that he has already read substantially in the Buddhist Canon.
47. Mosca, *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy,* pp. 71-73; 97-98.
48. Gong, *Gong Zizhen quanji* VI, p. 361.
49. See James A. Milward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759-1864* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), pp. 198-202, and pp. 241-245 for the more "sinifying" approach advocated by Gong and Wei.
50. See for example Sudipta Sen, "The New Frontiers of Manchu China and the Historiography of Asian Empires: A Review Essay", *Journal of Asian Studies* 61.1 (2002), pp. 165-177.
51. This argument for a pre-Manchu origin for the later development of philology was already made in Lin Qingzhang 林慶彰, *Mingdai kaojuxue yanjiu* 明代考據學研究, Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1983.
52. Gong, *Gong Zizhen quanji,* pp. 641, 659 –the record is in a supplement (*waiji* 外纪) to Wu Changshou's biography, see note 46.
53. Gong's knowledge of Manchu and Mongol is asserted on the basis of earlier biographical research by Shirleen Wong, *Kung Tzu-chen*, p. 32.
54. This is revealed in a letter of 1868 by the bookseller Bernard Quaritch, cited on p. 214 of Peter Kornicki, "The Japanese Collection in the Bibliotheca Lindesiana" *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 75.2 (1993), pp. 209-300.
55. Paul R. Katz, *Religion in China and Its Modern Fate* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press 2014), pp. 136-140.
56. Holmes Welch, *Buddhism under Mao* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 345.

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AUTHOR

T. H. BARRETT

Professor Emeritus of East Asian History, SOAS, University of London. He graduated in Chinese Studies from Cambridge and then completed his doctorate at Yale in Religious Studies. Apart from eleven years of teaching in Chinese Studies in Cambridge, he taught at SOAS in History and then in Religious Studies until his retirement at the end of 2013. In 2018 he was Shinnyo-en Visiting Professor of Buddhist Studies at Stanford University. His publications include *Taoism Under the T'ang: Religion and Empire during the Golden Age of Chinese History* (1996) and *The Woman who Invented Printing* (2008).

Kang Youwei 康有爲 (1858-1927) and India: The Indian Travels of a Cosmopolitan Utopian

Nicolas Idier

"The quality of the infinite is not the magnitude of extension, it is in the *advaitam,* the mystery of Unity. Facts occupy endless time and space; but the truth comprehending them all has no dimension; it is One. Wherever our heart touches the One, in the small or the big, it finds the touch of the infinite." (Rabindranath Tagore, "*The Poet's Religion*", in *Creative Unity,* 1922).

1 The idea of raising the question of Kang Youwei's cosmopolitanism and, more specifically, his Indian experience of it, emerged when I informed Professor Anne Cheng of an upcoming trip to China at the invitation of Qingdao Municipality and its cultural association (青岛市文学艺术界联合会), on the occasion of a symposium about Kang Youwei and calligraphy. I was on my way back to France after four years in China and four more years in India.[1] The question of cosmopolitanism is a delicate one in my view, especially in the context of intellectual geopolitics.

2 India's place in Kang Youwei's itinerary somehow belies the *cliché* about Chinese scholars and their presumed lack of opening to the world. The influence of Europe, Japan and the United States on cultural transfer may be the emerging part of a deeper question. Despite its historical importance, the role of India is often ignored. And in spite of its crucial influence on Chinese classical thought, aesthetics and politics, India seems to have vanished under the radar. The biographical episode of Kang Youwei's agitated itinerary is barely questioned and almost unknown. And yet, it was not a mere tourist anecdote or a fortuitous stopover during a longer journey, but two important stays in India that contributed deeply to the shaping of Kang's theories. Beyond Kang Youwei's individual experience of India unfolds the relation between the two countries on the threshold of the Age of Extremes –to quote the title of Eric Hobsbawm's 1994 essay.

3 A meaningful comparison can be made with Rabindranath Tagore, who also travelled extensively, including in China, and whose philosophy resembles in many aspects the highlights of the *Datong Shu* and oscillates on a similar scale between universalism and nationalism, resulting in a new philosophy of mankind. On a wider scale, these two thinkers may have redrafted the idea of Human Rights. The distinguished author, sinologist and translator Simon Leys emphasizes the point: "Since the very enunciation of this kind of position –Human Rights are a Western concept and therefore have no relevance in the Chinese context– excuses one from taking the trouble to refute it, I shall merely add here one incidental remark: human rights are not a foreign notion in Chinese modern history. Nearly a century ago, the leading thinker and political reformer Kang Youwei (1858-1927) made it the cornerstone of his political philosophy". [2]

4 During the Qingdao colloquium, more than fifty Chinese academics investigated the importance of epigraphy and calligraphy in Kang Youwei's intellectual background and practice, including his famous supplement to the *Treatise on the History of Calligraphy* by Bao Shichen 包世臣 (1775-1855), the *Guangyizhou shuangji* 廣藝舟雙楫 (1891). Stellar inscriptions mainly inspired the calligraphic art of Kang Youwei. His style is considered today as a masterpiece. Some of Kang Youwei's influences on calligraphic practices of other countries like Japan and Korea are also studied and questioned. Through this methodology of visual study, the antagonism between tradition and modernity was emphasized. One of the most remarkable points is the intellectual network at that time of tremendous cultural effervescence: the flowering of pluralistic movements, individual dynamics and continuous spreading of innovative ideas.

5 Undoubtedly, his deep attachment to calligraphy allowed Kang to maintain an intense relationship with his cultural centre of gravity, despite his many travels. Kang Youwei may have owed a lot to his native place, the province of Guangzhou. As Simon Leys writes in his biographic studies on the painter Su Renshan, "the remoteness from the centre and the geographical isolation profoundly conditioned Guangdong's cultural physiognomy, endowing it with both a hyper-conservative and a vigorous propensity to independence. (...) While being less subordinated to the authority of the capital, Guangdong was more directly exposed to the various stimulants coming from the outside world. Located at the outposts of the Empire, the main gate of the maritime trade with Southeast Asia and the West, Guangzhou was not only a cosmopolitan landing platform for merchant ships, but also, since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the first point of entry for Western missionaries".[3]

6 Kang Youwei travelled for the first time of his life in 1879, not too far away, since he went to Hong Kong, then in 1882 to Shanghai. It was because of political pressure that he had to leave mainland China. After the failure of the Hundred Days' Reform, from June to September 1898, Kang Youwei had no choice but to go abroad: he left Beijing on September 20th, 1898 (he was forty-one years old) to Shanghai, and after a stopover in Hong Kong, arrived in Japan with his disciple Liang Qichao on October 24th, 1898.

7 Kang Youwei kept himself busy in Japan with his militant activities. He wrote a huge amount of letters and published many articles, especially against the Empress Dowager Cixi. In 1899, a Sino-Japanese diplomatic agreement forced him to leave Japan. He left the country on April 3rd, heading for Canada. He arrived in Vancouver and continued his journey across North America where he tried to unite the Chinese diaspora around

his patriotic project to save China. He also made a quick trip to the United Kingdom before going back to Canada.

8 He returned to Hong Kong in September 1899 and attempted a coup against the Empress Dowager. After a new political failure, he took the road to India and Indonesia in January 1900, with a death warrant issued against him by Cixi.

9 It was not until 1913 that he came back to China. He participated in his last political attempt on July 1st, 1913 to reinstall Puyi on the throne. On July 12th, the Restoration failed. This fiasco forced Kang Youwei to take refuge inside the Embassy of the United States, where he wrote several poems including the "Poem of the Refuge at the US Embassy in June of the Year *Dingsi*", published in 1917. He adopted a new nickname, "Life after the second existence".

10 Despite being a native of Guangzhou, it was Shanghai that was the beating heart of his life. He moved to the city in the summer of 1914, renting a house on Xinsha Street. Then, he built his own property which he named "Youcun lu" (Existence after exile) on Yuyuan Street. He moved there in 1921, starting on the last chapter of his life. Following an old habit, he wrote a long poem during the house-warming party. This poem sums up perfectly his state of mind: "Some years ago, I rented a roof in Shanghai, today I had my house built. River and mountain cross the garden; sun and moon enter the windows. Speaking of the universe, sitting in my pavilion, exploring the earth, I compare myself to a hero. Towards the ground, the king looks at the ants; towards the sky, one place can house a dragon. Facing the city, back to the countryside, I build my own home; trees and grass, winds and smoke, landscapes are outlined by the horizon. To make trails, I pick up white pebbles; to add bloom to the garden, I plant red plum trees. Surrounded by hills, nature enchants me; creating this garden, I prove my talents. The yard is green with growing grass; with my family I walk on the moss. The garden is forty *zhang* deep, a stream meanders through the woods. In front and behind, high buildings rise alongside large avenues; in the middle the water flows around a calm hill. Every day on the three paths lined with chrysanthemums and pines I walk, walking on the two bridges I compose poems in drunkenness. Since my exile I have led a life surpassing any dream, but I survived until today, with a lonely sense of joy".

11 By virtue of the very nature of this city and the role it played in Chinese history since 1842, Shanghai was a key point between two worlds: it produced translations of Western books and the first newspapers, it entertained enthusiasm for scientific progress and a special relation to money and international trade. The great specialist of Kang Youwei's calligraphy Fan Guoqiang writes: "By its culture turned at once towards the traditional culture of Jiangnan imbued with a pragmatic Confucianism, and towards Western culture since the introduction of the concessionary regime, this city constituted an intellectual laboratory and first-rate policy. Shanghai was a real home for many literate civil servants after the fall of the Empire in 1911. The list goes on: Shen Cengzhi, Miu Quansun, Chen Sanli, Zheng Xiaoxu, Liang Dingfen, Fu Zengxiang, Luo Zhenyu, Ye Changzhi –many scholars trained under the Qing dynasty to the art of brush (painting, poetry, calligraphy), whom the erosion of their socio-economic status forced to live by the trade of their works. Kang Youwei was one of them." In Shanghai, in a household open to the many intellectuals of the city, he gave many parties where the pleasures of wine mingled with the joys of calligraphy, and in 1926, in the last years of his life he even founded a new school, "the Institute of the Celestial Journey" (*Tianyou xueyuan*), where he taught astrology, calligraphy, and science. At this time, he

adopted one of his last nicknames: “the Immortal of the Celestial Journey” (*tianyou huaren*). During his lessons, he showcased the books and the items he had been collecting during his many travels, including the ones from India.

12 In early 1927, with the intensification of political turmoil (the first *coup* of Chiang Kai-shek took place in March 1926, and in March 1927 occurred the third insurrection of Shanghai), Kang Youwei, at the age of seventy years, was forced into the last exile of his existence. He celebrated his birthday, on February 5th, with friends. As farewell presents, they gave him many calligraphies and paintings, among which was a wooden plaque with a calligraphy by Puyi himself: “Like the mountain that stands, the deep water is crystal clear”, before which Kang Youwei bowed down. A month later, he decided to leave the city with a last heart-breaking sigh, as remembered by his daughter: “My connection with Shanghai is over!” On March 21st, he arrived in Qingdao. Ten days later, he died in a house renamed *Tianyouyuan* (Garden of the Celestial Journey), a last and sensitive reminder of his attachment to the cosmos and the celestial walk.

13 Kang Youwei’s life was deeply influenced and impacted by this notion of “journey”. One cannot understand Kang’s views without taking into account his endless wandering. The seal he used for many of his calligraphies was embossed with a short account of this travelling life: “One hundred days of Reform, sixteen years of exile, three world tours, four continents and thirty-one countries visited, six hundred thousand *li* covered on foot.” (維新百日出亡十六年三周大地游遍四洲經三十一國行六十萬里).

14 One stage of this long, tortuous and not so much of a celestial journey around the world was India.

Two trips to India

15 Kang Youwei is one of the very few Chinese scholars who travelled to India in the early twentieth century, in spite of an increasing trade with many other countries in Asia, Europe and North America. The image of India was very negative: it was no longer perceived as the native land of Buddhism, nor as a great philosophical and visual civilization, but as a lost, divided, colonized country. Kang Youwei’s Indian lesson was perhaps not as spiritual as it was political: at the antipodes of Japan, India offered the exact vision of the nightmare that China would endure if the country did not reform itself. An excerpt from a 1904 novel published in a Jiangsu newspaper gives a sense of this: “Shibiao looked closely at these people, and they all had faces black as coal. They were wearing a piece of red cloth around their heads like a tall hat; around their waists, they wore a belt holding wooden clubs. Shibiao asked the old man: are these Indians? The old man said: Yes, the English use them as policemen... Shibiao asked, why do they not use an Indian as the chief of police? The old man answered: Who ever heard of that! Indians are people of a lost country; they are no more than slaves”.[4] Later in the same story, Shibiao understands that many turban-wearers are actually Chinese and that everyone in the street wears red turbans and the schools are held by Christian missionaries. This dystopian nightmare reveals the fear about China becoming the same as India: colonized.

16 Without going back to the heroes of the cultural exchanges between China and India, like Xuanzang who went to India in the second quarter of the seventh century, or even Faxian, a Chinese pilgrim in 399, Kang Youwei had some more recent precursors, namely envoys of the Qing court on official missions. The first recorded diplomatic journey took place in 1878-1879. It was led by Huang Maocai, and taken through the

region of Calcutta, the capital of the British Raj. The decisive role of the Opium War and the opening of the commercial ports with Indian traders coming in, as well as the soldiers and many servants of the British power as in the nightmare of Huang Shibiao, sharpened the relationship between the two countries. Among the Chinese elite, it was known that the Unequal Treaty favoured British India which became a threat to China's territorial integrity and to the management of its economy. This geopolitical context made the Chinese more and more eager to understand the collapse of the Indian civilization.

17 The diplomatic report of Huang Maocai provides a precise analysis of the economic, military and administrative system. This study of India was progressivist-oriented and not so negative. Huang Maocai recommended looking carefully at the modernization processes that he witnessed in India. He and five other members of his delegation visited Calcutta, where they stayed for nearly three months. They also visited Darjeeling, Manipur, Dhaka, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi and Bombay. Huang Maocai's writings reveal some nostalgic feelings for the Sino-Indian relationship during Xuanzang's time.

18 Another delegation occurred in the summer of 1881 not long after Huang Maocai's visit, led by Ma Jianzhong, an expert on international questions, accompanied by a scholar, Wu Guanpei. Their mission was shorter, with only twenty-five days in India and with a restrictive aim: to negotiate opium trade with the British Raj authorities. Their vision of India was very negative and contributed to the strengthening of the Chinese perception of India as a civilizational failure.

19 India had to wait twenty full years for someone capable of breaking away from this stereotypical image. Kang Youwei wrote down in his diary his personal motivation: "First, after living in Penang for several years, my health deteriorated because of heat and humidity. I wanted to settle on the snowy mountains of India. Second, India is the oldest nation in the world. Its long history and the mix between the traditional Indian system and the new British system could be used as a meaningful reference to China."[5]

20 During the early years of the twentieth century, India was an increasingly fragmented country, characterised by a long process of internal political erosion and commercial annexation by the East India Company. This annexation was enforced in the mid-eighteenth century, until its placement under the direct authority of the British Crown after the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 –also called the First War of Independence.

21 The process began with the death of Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Mughals, in 1707. His reign had already been disrupted by internal struggles, a climate of instability and the emergence of new powers –such as the Sikhs in Punjab and the first European traders on the West, South-East and Bengal coasts. India was gradually getting divided into independent states or autonomous military forces while the Marathas annexed the whole country. The country had to face the violent invasion of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah in 1739. The throne of Delhi no longer had any authority and the country became a battlefield between the French, the British and the Marathas. The 1763 Treaty of Paris conferred to France five trading posts, so-called "factories" with the possibility of trading but no longer ruling. The British gradually conquered the Deccan and the Ganges valley. Following the doctrine of lapse, the British took suzerainty over any given territory as soon as its ruler was declared incompetent. Through this strategy, they extended their control over many Indian states. From 1858, a general government was instituted and a new division of the states was decreed. The use of English as an

official language was spreading. Many educational institutions, schools and colleges were created, boosting the spread of Western culture from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The colonising strategy also disseminated through the infrastructural network: railways, roads, telegraphic lines, postal services, money, weights and measures and other new norms. Industrial techniques were imposed on agriculture (tea, coffee, jute and indigo) and industry replaced small scale enterprises (coal, steel, leather). India quickly became the main supplier of the British Empire. In 1876, Queen Victoria was solemnly proclaimed Empress of India. However, a nationalist spirit was emerging amongst a few intellectual elite personalities like Ram Mohan Roy, Dayananda Sarasvati, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore. The new ideas found one of their political expressions in the creation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 in Bombay. This party proclaimed self-determination, *Swaraj*. Despite its industrial output and the emergence of a political dynamic, the country was deeply weakened from the inside. From 1896 to 1900 many areas were even affected by famine. Plague epidemics claimed many victims in Bombay in 1896 and in Calcutta in 1898. The third plague pandemic, the so-called "Chinese plague" because it was declared in Canton and Hong Kong in 1894, reached the European coast by several ports including Marseille, in 1902, and Le Havre. It also caused about forty deaths in Paris in 1920, especially in the poor neighbourhoods of Saint-Ouen. In Bombay, between 1896 and 1914, the plague inflicted more than 180,000 casualties. One can get a better sense of the audacity of Kang Youwei, travelling across the whole country, alone with his daughter and his servant, at that time of political violence and major sanitary hazards, with no diplomatic nor corporate protection.

22 When Kang arrived in India, George Curzon (1859-1925) was the Viceroy and General Governor. He stayed in this position from 1899 to 1904, then again in 1905 –when he issued the most controversial of all his measures: the partition of Bengal between Muslims and Hindus, which was a precursor to what happened later on with the 1947 Partition.

23 Kang had left China three years earlier. His departure to India came after one of his failed political attempts at Imperial Restoration, which forced him to leave Hong Kong in January 1900, heading to Singapore and Penang on the north-west coast of the Malay Peninsula. On December 7th, 1901, he embarked from Penang to India, accompanied by his daughter Kang Tongbi (1881-1969). They sought rest on the mountains of north-east India, where the cold dry climate might cure Kang Youwei's physical exhaustion. Kang Tongbi was taking great care of her father; moreover, she was his translator in English. More than that, she was also a great travel companion, very well-educated, fond of poetry and calligraphy like her father. Kang Youwei had great ambitions for his daughter. He was convinced that she could contribute to his great goal. After that journey through India, Kang sent her to study in the United States. She accompanied her father on many of his travels, to Paris in 1906 and to several European countries, including Sweden where Kang Youwei even bought an island. The King of Sweden was one of their visitors. In 1908, still in Sweden, Kang Tongbi accompanied her father to Norway to watch the polar lights. During the last two years of her father's life, Kang Tongbi spent a lot of time with him, taking part in his activities like going to Qingdao to contemplate the blossoming trees in the spring.[6] It was indeed a very strong father-daughter relationship.

24 Let us retrace their itinerary. On December 12th, 1901, their boat entered the Ganges delta and reached Calcutta in the evening. On December 14th, they spent the day visiting the city. The next day, Kang went to the Government House to get a firearm license. The Viceroy Lord Curzon received him. On December 16th, Curzon invited Kang Youwei and Kang Tongbi to a tea party. On December 23rd, they took the train to Allahabad, but realized it was heading the wrong way. Thanks to this mistake, Kang and his daughter had a chance to visit Agra and its rich heritage. On December 25th, they were in Agra where they visited the Taj Mahal, the Red Fort, the Moti Masjid Mosque and the tomb of Emperor Akbar in Sikandarabad. In one of his poems, Kang Youwei compared Agra and Shravasti, where a rich merchant had donated Jetavana Park, "the Park given to orphans and widows" (*Jiguduyuan*), to Gautama Buddha. On the 27th, they visited the religious complex of Mathura. On December 29th, they arrived in Delhi where they went to the Ashoka Pillar at Qutub Minar and climbed up a hill which Kang Youwei mistakenly believed to be the Vulture Peak of Buddha. The Vulture Peak was one of the Buddha's two favourite abodes when he was in Rajagriha. It is best known for being the place where the Buddha gave certain sermons, especially the one reportedly contained in the *Lotus Sutra*. It is in fact not located in Delhi, but in the current state of Bihar, in the district of Nalanda. This did not prevent Kang Tongbi from being enthusiastic about this visit and writing a poem about being "the first Chinese woman ever to enter the Western Paradise".

25 On January 2nd, 1902, they arrived in Lucknow. The capital city of Uttar Pradesh developed in the late 14th century under the Sharqi dynasty (1397-1476), from a late 13th century fort built by Lakhna. During the Mughal period and especially thanks to a French officer, Claude Martin (*ca.* 1735-1800), who gave his name to a school he founded there, La Martinière, the city became a great cultural hub with many emblematic buildings, such as the congregational rooms for Shiite rituals and the Rumi Darwaza (1784), built on the model of the "Sublime Porte" in Istanbul. In addition to its heritage, the city was the heart of Urdu poetry. However, at the time of Kang Youwei, the very strict control imposed by the British on the Nawabs had weakened the cultural influence of Lucknow.

26 Kang Youwei continued his journey and arrived at Benares, one of the seven most sacred cities of Hinduism, probably founded in the seventh or sixth century BCE, and dedicated to the cult of Siva. Kang observed on this occasion the religious ardour of the countless pilgrims thronging from all over India to purify themselves in the waters of the Ganges. Benares is also a major centre of learning in theology and philosophy. During his stay in Benares, Kang Youwei visited the eighteenth century Durga temple dedicated to the warrior goddess Durga.

27 From there, Kang Youwei and Kang Tongbi reached the city of Bodhgayâ, where the Buddha reached enlightenment under a *peepal* tree. Kang Youwei reported in his diary that he visited the famous Mahabodhi Temple, built under Ashoka and rebuilt several times between the first century BCE and the fourth century CE, until its more recent restorations in the fourteenth century and again in 1884. The building is very recognizable with its pyramidal tower 54 meters high, its four corners flanked by other pyramidal towers. The main tower is surmounted by a small stupa. The sanctuary houses a large stone statue representing Buddha with the *mudra* of taking the earth as witness (*bhumisparsha mudra*). He also wrote in his notebooks about his visit to the

sacred Bodhi tree, replanted in 1881 by the British architect Alexander Cunningham, the first director of the Archaeological Survey of India.

28 On January 8th, 1902, Kang and his daughter returned to Calcutta. Only then did Kang Youwei take a train to his initial destination, the Himalayan region of the Northeast. He settled in Darjeeling, in a mountain resort also favoured by the British. One of Kang Youwei's most important letters depicting his political vision was sent to Liang Qichao from Darjeeling. It is also there that he completed the writing of the *Datongshu*. The place appears to have been very inspiring to him.

29 Throughout his whole journey, Kang Youwei mostly stayed in British accommodations rather than local habitat for reasons of comfort, security and common habits. His contact with the daily life of locals was therefore restricted. His practice of English was not good enough to read newspapers or books, but was sufficient for everyday life as India was not the first English-speaking country he had visited, and his daughter was there to help him. However, one can speculate about his abilities to get deep inside Indian culture and history. He mostly relied on a superficial experience of India, but got the best of it.

30 This explains why Kang Youwei made a second trip to India: he wanted to know more. It was at the end of 1909, when he was 52 years old. In October 1909, he arrived in Madras by boat. Located in Tamil Nadu, the modern city of Madras was created in 1639 by Francis Day, who made it a trading post for the East India Company. A military fort was built in 1644 which later was the venue of the Anglo-French rivalry. One of the specificities of Madras is that many Hindus have been Christianized according to the legend of St. Thomas which is commemorated in the Basilica San Thome in Mylapore, built in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese and renovated in neo-Gothic style in 1893.

31 Kang Youwei went to the hinterlands to visit the temples of Tanjore. He witnessed there a phenomenon explaining the very nature of Indian civilization still present in our times: the mutation of Buddhist temples into Hindu temples. He was impressed by the *bas-reliefs* and considered their obscene sexual scenes as a proof of a lack of balance between Yin and Yang which he deemed responsible for the historical weakening of India resulting in colonization and servitude.

32 Kang then left Madras to go to Bombay, where he visited the cave temples of Elephanta with their rock-cut sculptures showing the syncretism of Hindu and Buddhist ideas and iconography. He was definitely attracted by the spiritual remains of the greater Indian civilization.

33 On his way back to British Malaysia, he went to Ceylon (present day Sri Lanka) which was connected to India by a chain of coral reefs and had become a large British tea production centre. Ceylon was the last stage of his experience of Indian culture. An experiment that made him travel, at the least, more than seven thousand kilometres by land and which deeply modified his ideas about the destiny of a civilization.

How did Kang Youwei perceive India?

34 It was during his first stay in India, once he was settled in Darjeeling in May 1902, that he sent a long letter to his disciple Liang Qichao. Their last meeting had been in September 1900 in Penang where Liang Qichao made a stopover on his way to Australia. During their conversation, Liang Qichao had questioned the large size of China, and suggested that the eighteen provinces should gain autonomy. The letter from

Darjeeling is therefore essentially a passionate response from Kang Youwei to convince his disciple of the danger of territorial division. He made use of several arguments: the specificity of each country in its organisation; the military and political weakening caused by compartmentalisation into independent provinces (he compared Bengal to Guangdong, arguing that in case of autonomy, Guangdong would become like Bengal, a political base for foreign powers); the great similarity between India and China in terms of dimension, demography, sciences, religions, philosophy, agriculture, international trade by sea and land, literature, arts, architecture and physical constitution of its inhabitants. Kang pointed out the heavy emphasis in both countries on the three constitutive principles of a great country: law, culture and rites. His letter was influenced by theories circulating at the time, notably those of Comte de Gobineau explaining racial singularities by geographical conditions and attributing the presumed laziness of Indians to climate; Kang Youwei considered Chinese civilization as superior to Indian civilization in terms of clothing and cooking, but also, more importantly, because it placed human equality at the heart of its mental structures informed by Confucian philosophy, while India was built on a system of inequalities between people induced by the caste system.

35 In this same letter, Kang Youwei referred to Japan as the exact opposite of India: the country remained strong thanks to its unity. He ended his letter by deploring the standard of living of a large part of the population, and expressed his concern about the impact of poverty on China and the threat of collapse comparable to the dramatic destiny of India.

36 This letter had a decisive influence on the ideas of Liang Qichao who, returning from a lecture tour in the United States and Canada in 1903, abandoned the idea of a violent revolution and took up the concept of a reformist movement as advocated by Kang Youwei, with the project of a constitutional monarchy as an intermediate step.

37 Was India such a decisive revelation for Kang Youwei? There are many mentions of India in Kang's writings even before his first stay but still, traveling to the country made him very proud and he clearly asserted that direct observation had been crucial for his deeper understanding of India. He wrote: "Of all the Chinese people who have travelled to India, I am the fifth, after Qingjing, Faxian, Xuanzang and Huiyun. However, there is no Chinese account of Indian culture, religion, languages, architecture and craftsmanship. Huang Maocai has made commendable efforts to examine the geography of Tibet and Yunnan, but has written nothing about Indian culture. Only those who have a deep knowledge of culture, religion and politics are able to observe and analyse the different aspects of their travels."

38 Kang Youwei's interest in India had been fed by many readings, including Chinese translations of British works devoted to India such as those of the Baptist missionary Timothy Richard, the author of a book about a journey to India in 1897[7] who was closely associated with the Qing court. Another great influence on Kang Youwei was the illustrated gazette on the maritime empires by Wei Yuan 魏源, the *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 . This work, published in 1843, had a great success among intellectuals. It contributed to enlarge the Confucian perception of China and to give rise among scholars to some new geopolitical considerations.

39 The strict geopolitical analysis is less assertive in the *Yindu youji*. In this travel book, Kang Youwei explains that his first stay in India was motivated by two reasons: remedying his health issues and studying an alternative political model. However,

limited by his lack of direct access and his confinement to circles of power, his views of India largely reflect his former readings and the general ideas found there. As Pankaj Mishra writes, “Kang turned out to be less of a nationalist than a utopian internationalist.”[8] This idea of utopia is a key-concept to understand Kang Youwei’s political obsession: in many ways, he was attracted by the utopia of the Golden Age, which is why the very ancient past of India was so inspiring to him. Still, he realised in India how one nation, even though it be the oldest in the world, can decline. The philosophical and pragmatic response to avoid such decline is the *Datongshu*.

40 It was in the Himalayan foothills of Darjeeling that Kang Youwei completed his great work, the *Datongshu* 大同書 (The B*ook of Great Community*), in 1902. He had written a first version of the book in 1884-1885, under the title “General Principles of Humanity” (人類公理). Therefore, it cannot be argued that his trip to India was the origin of the project. In 1887, he took up his manuscript and continued working on it. Thanks to Liang Qichao, it can be ascertained that this work was completed in 1902. Kang Youwei himself was very cautious about his book. He was convinced that his contemporaries would never understand the content as it was too innovative in nature. It was not until 1913 that Kang consented to the publication of the first two parts of his work, and he refused any translation project during his lifetime. The book was not published before 1935, long after the death of its author.

41 The *Datongshu* reflects many influences, including that of Buddhism. One cannot ignore the passages where Kang Youwei rates Buddhist practices above Hinduism, especially when he deplores the inequalities of the caste system in the third chapter. Kang had a critical eye on these inequalities between humans not only as being contrary to the principles of nature itself, but also as opposed to the logic of progress. The idealism of Kang Youwei never goes without pragmatism, and this is undoubtedly what gives the work its relevance. Another important statement after witnessing the inequalities between men and women in India is his advocacy for gender equality.

42 Alongside his advocacy of human rights, Kang Youwei’s utopian project has a universal ambition and aims to deconstruct all the boundaries that limit society. Did the very notion of universal love and absolute equality among all human beings play a role in the thought of Indian intellectuals at the time? Even if it was not until 1935 that the book appeared in full, Liang Qichao, one of the very few early readers of this work, voiced the ideas of the *Datong shu* in the course of his interactions with Indian intellectuals like Rabindranath Tagore and others.

43 There are a total of more than two hundred references to India in the complete works of Kang Youwei.[9] He expressed on many occasions his admiration for the greatness of Indian civilization: “India is an ancestral land with very ancient religions, as well as very ancient writings. It can be regarded as the ancestor of European and American civilizations.”[10] How does he explain the collapse of this ancient civilization in contemporary times? His answer is clear: India “perished because it was locked in conservatism and was reluctant to change. The British invaders ingeniously used to their advantage this fatal weakness, and they succeeded in reducing India to a colony.” Kang Youwei stated this point of view long before travelling to India in the preface to a publication of the Beijing Teachers’ Academic Society (*Jingshi qiangxuehui xu*) in 1895. In the same text, he raised the following question: “Conservatism has been a long standing and common problem for all feudal dynasties, but why did India fall into slavery because of it?” He explained this through the geopolitical situation and rise of

Western imperialism. This idea recurs in many of his writings and it is quite obvious that he felt deeply concerned by the decay of colonized India. To these external conditions, he added three internal factors to account for the collapse of India: an inflexible social structure (in reference to the caste system), gender discrimination and social inequalities. “The caste system prevents the wisest men from being able to play a role in society. When nature created the human species, it did not create classes, but created everyone equal. How abominable and absurd it is to divide men into those who have value and those who are worthless! Societies that have been divided along lines of caste and inequality have made their people unhappy and the country has suffered and eventually tipped over; India is no exception.” Kang Youwei similarly revolts against the practice of *sati*, the Hindu custom dating from the fifth century, under the Gupta Empire, of widows having to sacrifice themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. It may seem surprising that Kang witnessed this custom officially abolished throughout India in 1829, but it continued to be practiced, particularly in Bengal and Rajasthan, until the early twentieth century. “The incineration of women on the funeral pyres... this old repressive custom is profoundly immoral and cruel.”

44 His perception of British colonization was utterly negative. He repeatedly protested against racial discrimination in British India, not only within the country’s government but also in the areas of law, medicine, industry and commerce –all monopolized by the British. “Thousands and thousands of kilometres of Indian immensity are nothing more than a prison for the people.” Many passages in his Indian notebooks describe the weight of colonial oppression, such as the following: “As a rule, knives and guns are banned in India, and even a butcher’s knife has become a rarity. If the authorities learn of the existence of a butchery, it is immediately closed. If a literary magazine offends the government by issuing one or two criticisms, it is immediately censored. The promulgation of these drastic laws has affected many people. If people criticize the government, no lawyer can defend them; it is a crime for which capital punishment applies. There are many patriotic intellectuals who have been prosecuted, imprisoned or killed.” Kang Youwei had indeed experienced one of the most turbulent and fertile periods in the history of contemporary Indian thought, with the emergence of numerous journals, such as *The Modern Review*, founded in 1907 by Ramananda Chatterjee. It is also interesting to read in one of the first issues a reference to China written by Sister Nivedita in her article “India and Democracy”: “On abstract grounds also we take exception to the statement that India, or for that matter, any country, is not fit for any popular system of Government. No doubt everywhere it has been and is a question of training. And this training can be given to any nation. Were all countries where democracy now prevails fitted for democracy from the beginning of time? Did not the divine right of Kings –even to misgovern– claim a large number, if not the majority, of Englishmen as its followers, in England itself? Was Japan considered by foreigners fit for democracy half a century ago? Was Persia considered fit three years ago? Is China now considered fit?”[11]

45 Despite the accuracy of his social observation, was Kang Youwei’s perception of the future of India pessimistic? I do not think so for two reasons. The first is that he witnessed the emergence of the independence movement. He met, possibly in December 1901, Gandhi himself during the one year he spent in India while living in South Africa: “During my stay in India, I discussed with Gandhi and others that, although you are a nation of 300 million people, you are divided by castes and religions. And what about the intelligentsia? It is almost negligible. Here are the reasons for the

Indian fragility. Indians deplore the desperate situation of India. Now, more groups have come together to form the National Congress and are waking up." The second reason is that Kang maintained great confidence in the strength of religious faith. "Although India has been reduced to slavery, its 200 million Hindus continue to follow the precepts of their religion with rigour. This could therefore regenerate the Indian nation." Kang Youwei was thus combining his utopian perspective with a lucid political and geopolitical analysis. He wrote in the *Datongshu* that if a change occurred in the domestic situation of Great Britain or if Great Britain experienced a military defeat against Germany, India would have a chance to regain its independence.

Tagore, an Indian Kang Youwei?

46 Shortly after Kang Youwei's last stay in India, the First World War broke out. Kang Youwei's closest disciple Liang Qichao travelled to Europe in the aftermath of the conflict in 1919. From Paris, he travelled all over Europe and wrote down his numerous impressions. Melancholy invaded him to the point that he compared the sun to a stain of blood. He contemplated the cathedral of Reims bombed by the German army. He noted that in Leuven, German troops had committed the worst acts of violence against civilians and destroyed the University library. The First World War acutely shocked the Asian elites. As Tagore writes: "The torch of European civilization was not meant for showing light, but to set fire". This is how the most faithful disciple of Kang Youwei ends up writing: "Of the methods of relieving spiritual famine, I recognize the Eastern –Chinese and Indian– to be, in comparison, the best. Eastern learning has the spirit at its starting point, and Western learning has matter..."[12] Could one therefore hope that the intellectual and spiritual encounter between China and India in the twentieth century had finally taken place?

47 Gandhi aside, Tagore was the most celebrated and important figure amongst all Indian intellectuals in the twentieth century. Certainly, he did not play as Gandhi any direct political role; nor like Ambedkar, a direct role on Indian constitutionalism; but he founded an ideal university at Shantiniketan ("place of peace" in Hindi) and won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913 –becoming the first non-European to receive the prestigious distinction. Sometimes called "Gurudev" ("Divine Master") by his contemporaries, Tagore was not only a poet, painter, lyricist, but also an essayist, the author of *Creative Unity*, *Nationalism*, *Crisis in Civilisation*, *The Religion of Man* and *Greater India*. A reading of these few essays gives a sense of the intellectual kinship which could have occurred with Kang Youwei. Like him, Tagore was a great traveller –and his travels included China. Moreover, his judgment on China is not so different from the one Kang Youwei pronounced upon India: a country that suffers because of Western imperialism but has a very long history still full of vitality. This criss-crossing analysis is meaningful and throws light on the common points between the two countries on the edge of much political turmoil.

48 Tagore made his first trip to China in 1924. He travelled from Calcutta, embarking on March 21st. He arrived in Hong Kong on April 8th. On April 24th, he was in Shanghai where he was hosted by the Association of Literary Studies (*Wenxue yanjiuhui*), the Shanghai Youth Society (*Shanghai qingnianhui*) and several personalities such as Zhang Junmai, Zheng Zhenduo and Xu Zhimo –who was not only one of Tagore's two interpreters during this stay but was also his disciple, adopting the nickname "Sushima", as he tried to found a community on the model of Shantiniketan in 1929. Tagore stayed in China for about fifty days and visited Shanghai, Hangzhou, Nanjing,

Jinan, Beijing, Taiyuan and Hankou. He left Shanghai, heading for Japan on May 30th. During his stay in China, he met many intellectuals, including Liang Shuming. He also met more atypical personalities like the polyglot Gu Hongming who also wrote under the pen name Amoy Ku, as well as the opera singer Mei Lanfang, and Puyi.

49 A gifted orator, Tagore invoked in his speeches the greatness of Sino-Indian relationship and asserted he would strengthen this relationship now distended for too long. "I am rather reminded of the day when India claimed you as brothers and sent you her love. That relationship is, I hope, still there, hidden in the heart of all of us –the people of the East. The path to it may be overgrown with the grass of centuries, but we shall find traces of it still." Or again, "I hope that some great dreamer will spring from among you and preach a message of love and, therewith overcoming all differences, bridge the chasm of passions which has been widening for ages."[13] Tagore's stated goal was to reopen "the ancient channel of spiritual communication" between India and China. At first glance, these words look tainted by religious idealism, but as in the case of the *Datongshu*, we must decipher the political and even geopolitical project that this thought conceals: Tagore was working to recreate the great unity of the East. India and China would obviously be the two strongest pillars of this renewed Unity.

50 One can find in Tagore's views many ideas of the time which were also espoused by Kang Youwei. Thus, the notion of "defeated race": "We in India are a defeated race; we have no power, political, military or commercial; we do not know how to help or to injure you materially. But, fortunately, we can meet you as your guests, your brothers and your friends; let that happen." There is in Tagore a mistrust of materialism, which he considers as a Western evil: "I cannot, however, bring myself to believe that any nation in this world can be great and yet be materialistic. I have a belief that no people in Asia can be wholly given to materialism". That being the case, Tagore observes that the "deformity" of materialism, "the huge demons of ugliness that stalk the world" begins to be seen in Shanghai and Tianjin –but not in Beijing.

51 Tagore made a second visit to China, a much shorter one, in 1929 in Shanghai. He then resided with Xu Zhimo and his wife, the painter and poet Lu Xiaoman. Liang Shuming was among the personalities that Tagore met, as was Liang Qichao. Liang Qichao made a stay in Europe after the First World War, and he came back disillusioned about Western civilization and a number of its principles: "The Europeans who dreamt of establishing the versatility of science are now conceding their failure, which is the intellectual trend there now."[14] Tagore and Liang Qichao appreciated each other greatly and Liang Qichao very warmly welcomed Tagore during the 1924 tour[15]. Liang Qichao, like Tagore, was hoping for reconciliation between India and China. "As brothers, it is our honoured mission for the human beings to cooperate for a long time."[16] It was Liang Qichao who personally chose a Chinese name for Tagore: Zhu Zhendan 竺震但: "He (Tagore) told me about the first syllable of his name, *Rab*, meaning the sun, and the next two syllables, *Indra*, meaning thunder and rain... by choosing these two Chinese characters (Zhendan), there is deep symbolic significance: The thundering shock in the cloudy and misty atmosphere awakens all beings in the universe. The beautiful sun that has bathed in Japan emerges on the horizon. What a scene! This actually is what Rabindranath means, and there is no other word more befitting his name than Zhendan."[17] From Japan to India, Liang Qichao here drew for Tagore an intellectual map of twentieth century Asia.

52 Another intellectual whom Tagore met and who also reminds us of the density of the intellectual fabric of this period of transition in the 1920s in China was Hu Shi, the author of the *Development of the logical method in ancient China*. He was seven years old during the Hundred Days Reform and belonged to the generation following Kang Youwei. Hu Shi was one of the emblematic intellectuals of the May 4th 1919 movement. He had an illustrious career: Ambassador of the Republic of China to the United States, President of Peking University, then President of Academia Sinica from 1958 onwards in Taiwan where he lived until his death in 1962. While Hu Shi, a faithful disciple of John Dewey, was not attracted to the universalist vision of Tagore, nurtured by ancient texts and carried away in a cosmic inspiration –nor to Kang Youwei's, similar in many ways and legitimist at that– he nevertheless defended Tagore's freedom of expression and opposed the Leftist youth who distributed leaflets against Tagore at the venue of some of his lectures. "Whether you approve or disapprove of his way of teaching matters little, but what matters is to know him as a person before deciding how you will conduct yourselves toward him. China is known as a country of people who act properly, and we must deserve this reputation. If we wish to live up to our traditional politeness and hospitality, we must receive Dr Tagore with respect. Furthermore, Tagore's personality, his spirit of literary revolution, his sacrifice for rural education, his movement of rural cooperation, all deserve our respect, to say nothing of his personality, his benevolent countenance, and his humanitarian spirit."

53 Eventually, a division emerged in the form of opposition from Leftist writers such as Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Shen Yanbing, Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai. Their main argument was that it was time to revolt, not to meditate and contemplate love. The most severe criticism came not from Chen Duxiu –who was the first to translate Tagore's poems into Chinese, but who was to become Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party founded in 1921 in Shanghai– but from Qu Qiubai, who dubbed the Indian master *guoqude ren* 過去的人 , a "man from the past", a "has-been". The question then, in this context, would be: was Kang Youwei also to be considered in the same light?

54 It is true that the ideal of an "Eastern civilization" advocated by Tagore fizzled out, even with Liang Qichao who did not appropriate this ideal cooperation between India and China. Tagore failed to have a dialogue with Kang Youwei, strangely absent during this China tour of 1924. This absence is due to the fact that Kang Youwei himself was a victim of criticism from the new generation of intellectuals and he became increasingly confined to the narrow circle of his relations.

Some concluding reflections

55 The year 1962 has long been synonymous with the interrupted relationship between China and India, and there are still many tensions at the border between the two countries. Recently, the situation may have improved. For example, China was the guest of honour at the New Delhi World Book Fair in January 2015. In the academic context, several Indian Sinologists are studying China but the priority is very often given to contemporary matters, closer to Chinese Studies than to classical Sinology, despite the legacy of one of the greatest Sino-Indian minds of the twentieth century: Tan Chung 譚中 , born in 1929, son of Tan Yunshan who was himself the founder of the Department of Chinese Language at Santiniketan's "Cheena-Bhavan", the ideal university founded by Rabindranath Tagore in 1901. Tan Chung contributed greatly to the development of the departments of Chinese studies at Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University between 1964 and 1994. He is also the editor of a two-

volume work of tremendous importance: *Across the Himalayan Gap*. The first volume is subtitled *An Indian Quest for Understanding China* and the second *A Chinese Quest for Understanding India*, both inspired by the "India and China looking at each other" seminar, which opened in September 1996.

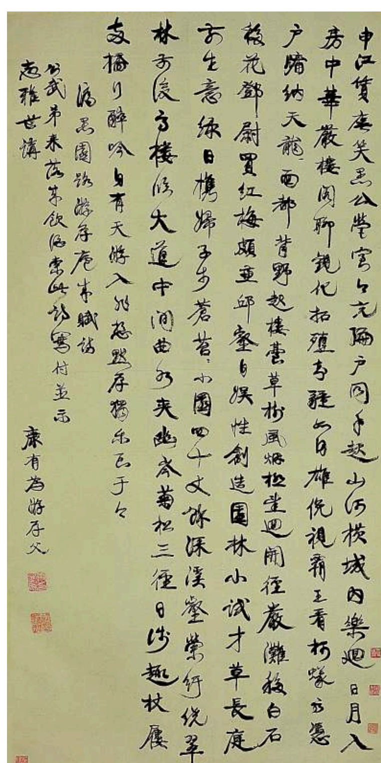
56 Another scholar to whom we must pay tribute is Professor Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (1898-1956), student of Sylvain Lévi and visiting professor at Peking University in 1947. It was thanks to the invitation extended to Sylvain Lévi by Rabindranath Tagore to visit Santiniketan in 1922 that young Bagchi met the eminent French scholar in Indian studies and created this fascinating relationship between the three countries: India, China and France. Indeed, Bagchi studied in France at the École pratique des hautes études from 1923 to 1926, following the courses of the most eminent specialists of India and China: Paul Pelliot, Henri Maspero and Jules Bloch. In 1927, he submitted his thesis "The Buddhist Canon in China" (in two volumes), followed by two Sanskrit-Chinese lexicons. In 1944, in Calcutta, Bagchi published *India and China. A Thousand Years of Cultural Relations* (*Zhong-Yin qiannian shi*) which includes a chapter entitled "The two Civilizations: A synthesis". The author brings out the connections between *Tian* and *Varuna*, *Tianzi* and *Rajan*, the ancestor worship of the Confucian tradition and the *Pitryajna*, and compares the elegance and simplicity of the *Shijing* with the hymns of the *Rigveda*. However, it is disappointing not to find in this book any reference to Kang Youwei, as if the link with contemporary history, in full development both in China and India, could not be established without taking the risk of diminishing the grandeur of classical reflection. This omission can be explained by Professor Bagchi's caution. When he published his book, Kang Youwei's China had changed, and although Kang had always been on the side of reformism, his legacy is inevitably related to the overthrow of the Empire and the emergence of Republican China. Moreover, Kang had been openly critical of British colonialism and the art of division, considering the Indian experience as a counter-example, to be avoided at all costs by China if it wanted to maintain its greatness.

57 Today in New Delhi, bookstore shelves are cluttered with Anglo-Saxon journalism on twentieth and twenty-first century news with catchy titles. More often than not, the Indian or even Chinese point of view is missing. The publication of the novel by Rita Chowdhury, a senior Indian official and former director of the National Book Trust, *Chinatown Days* devoted to the Chinese minority in Assam, in this context, is to be welcomed. It is also important to cite *India, China and the World: A Connected History* by Tansen Sen, director of the Center for Global Asia and Professor of History at New York University, widely viewed in Shanghai.

58 In the midst of all this, Kang Youwei is an even more powerful inspiration. Kang paved the way towards renewed interest between these two great cultural ensembles that are India and China, and beyond that, their innumerable interconnections with the whole world. It would be appropriate to inscribe under Kang Youwei's auspices a programme of Sino-Indian exchanges, through the translation of both classic and contemporary texts, regular meetings and considerations on a thought that is, if not utopian, at least cosmopolitan. Only then can this Great Creative Unity be considered, not only as a memory but as a vivid testimony to two figures larger than life, Rabindranath Tagore and Kang Youwei. Eventually, they may meet, and through them, their countries.

Kang Youwei and his daughters Kang Tongwei, Kang Tongfu, Kang Tongbi (Xinhua)
Image courtesy Xinhua Agency

Kang Youwei in his garden, Shanghai, early 1920s
Image courtesy of Special Collections



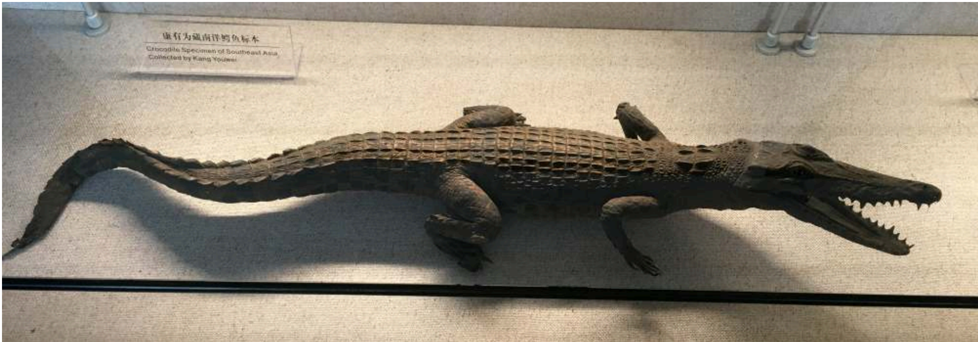
Poem dedicated to Kang Youwei's mansion Youcunlu in Shanghai, 1921

Courtesy of Special Collections, Kang Youwei shuxue guoji yanjiu hui (International Assocation for the study of Kang Youwei)

Calligraphy by Kang Youwei in « kaishu » style, 1923

Courtesy of Special Collections, Kang Youwei shuxue guoji yanjiu hui (International Assocation for the study of Kang Youwei)

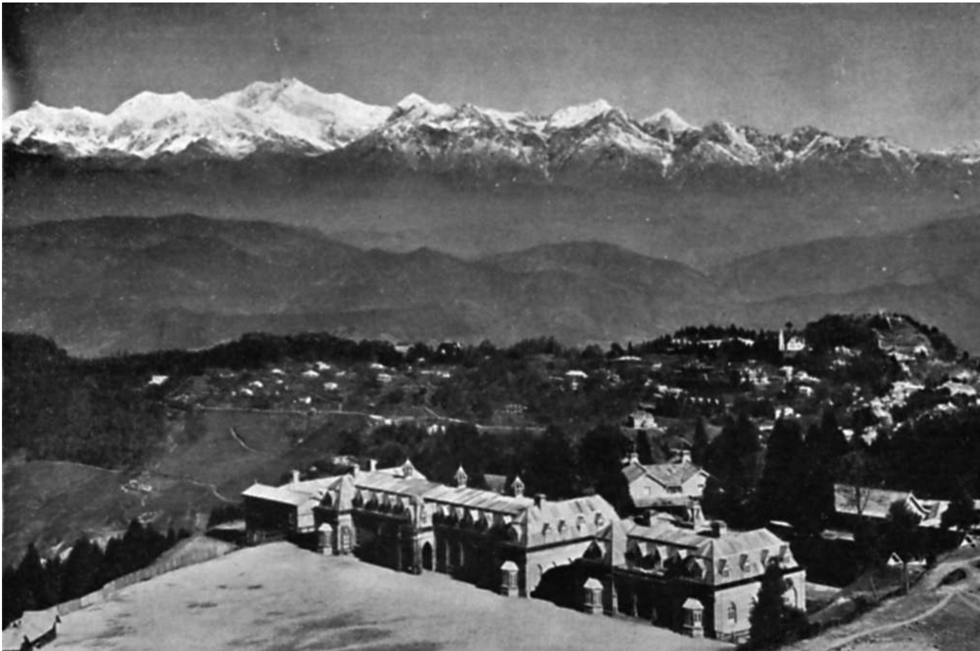
Kang Youwei last home (desk), Qingdao
Photo Nicolas Idier



Kang Youwei last home (alligator), Qingdao
Photo Nicolas Idier

Extended Paired Oars for the Book of Art (Guang yizhou shuangji), 1891
Photo Nicolas Idier

Darjeeling Street scene. The majority of the prints in this collection entitled “Album of views of India and Ceylon” are unsigned, however the Darjeeling views may be the work of Johnston & Hoffmann as the company maintained a studio there
British Library commons



Darjeeling in 1880 from above St. Paul's School
Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries

Photo. by] **Old view of Government House, North aspect.** *[Calcutta Phototype Co.*

Kolkata, capital city of the British Raj
Public Domain, Heritage Image

Lucknow at the beginning of the 20th Century, La Martinière

Public Domain, Heritage Image, La Martiniere College, Lucknow, India, c. 1925. Cigarette card produced by the Westminster Tobacco Co Ltd, Indian Empire, 1st series

Street Scene Madras (Chennai) - India 1890's

Public Domain, Heritage Image, www.oldindianphotos.in

Tagore and Puyi, at the Forbidden City, Beijing, 1924
Twilight in the Forbidden City by Reginald F. Johnston with a Preface by the Emperor D. Appleton – Century Company Incorporated. New York. 1934

Tagore and the poet Xu Zhimo (right) and the architect Lin Huiyin (left), Beijing, 1924
China Photo Press

Tagore and Liang Qichao, Beijing, 1924
Image courtesy of the Liang family

NOTES

1. The author expresses his gratitude to Sindhuja Veeraragavan for having revised the English version of this article.
2. Cf. « Human rights in China », in Simon Leys, *The Burning Forest: Essays on Chinese Culture and Politics*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985.
3. Simon Leys, *The life and work of Su Renshan. Rebel, painter and madman. 1814-1849*, translated from the French by Angharad Pimpaneau, Centre de Publication de l'U.E.R. Extrême-Orient-Asie du Sud-Est de l'Université de Paris, Paris, Hong Kong, 1970.
4. Cf. Rebecca E. Karl, « China in the world at the beginning of the twentieth century », *American Historical Review*, 103, 4 (October 1998), quoted in Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire. The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia*, Picador, 2012, p. 219.
5. Cf. "Yindu youji" 康有为"印度游记, in Jiang Yihua and Zhang Ronghua, eds., *Kang Youwei quanji* 康有为全集 (Complete works of Kang Youwei), Beijing, Renmin chubanshe, vol. 5, p. 510.
6. Cf. Lily Xiao Hong Lee, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, vol. 2, *Twentieth Century, 1912-2000*, M.E. Sharpe, 2003.
7. Cf. Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China*, The University of Chicago Press, 2011.

8. Cf. Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire. The Revolt against the West and the Remaking of Asia*, Picador, 2012.
9. Cf. Lin Chengji, « Kang Youwei on India », in *Accross the Himalayan Gap. A Chinese Quest for Understanding India*, Tan Chung, Zhang Mingqiu and Ravni Thakur, eds., India International Centre, New Delhi, 2013.
10. Cf. *Kang Youwei, Complete works*, vol. 2, p. 738.
11. Cf. *Patriots, Poets and Prisoners. Selections from Ramananda Chatterjee's* The Modern Review*, 1907-1947*, Anikendra Sen, Devangshu Datta, Nilanjana S. Roy, eds., Harper Collins India, 2016, p. 24.
12. Quoted in Joseph R. Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 201.
13. Cf. *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore*, Sisir Kumar Das, ed., Delhi Sahitya Akademi, 1996, vol. 2, p. 595, quoted in *Across the Himalayan Gap*, pp. 63-64.
14. Cf. *Ouyou xinying lu*, in « Chenbao (The Morning Journal) », March 6th, 1920, quoted by Yin Xinan, « Gurudeva of Heavenly India, China's Great Friend », in *Across the Himalayan Gap*, *op.cit.*
15. Cf. Stephen N. Hay, *Asian Ideas of East and West, Tagore and His Critics in Japan, China and India*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1970, p. 210.
16. Cf. « *Yindu yu Zhongguo wenhua zhi qinshu guanxi* », in *Chenbao*, May 3rd, 1924, quoted by Yin Xinan, *op.cit.*
17. Cf. *Liang Qichao quanji* 梁啟超全集 (Complete works of Liang Qichao), Beijing, Beijing chubanshe chuban tushu, 1999, vol. 7, p. 4257.

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Keywords: cosmopolitanism, utopia, India and China, Tagore, Chinese calligraphy, Liang Qichao, Chinese modernity, Republican Revolution in China, Cultural exchanges, British Empire, British Raj, imperialism, Swaraj, Buddhism, Datongshu, Santiniketan

AUTHOR

NICOLAS IDIER

Nicolas Idier is an author specialised in Chinese studies. He holds a PhD in Art History from the Sorbonne. He has published numerous academic articles on China and India, including « Chinese and Indian Modernity towards the Past: A paradoxical appropriation » in *Exploring Indian Modernities: Ideas and Practices*, Springer, 2018. His last four novels have been shortlisted for major literary awards. *Electric Nights in Beijing, a novel*, is published in English translation by Yatra Books, New Delhi, 2020. He has been working as a cultural diplomat at the French Embassy in China and at the French Institute in India from 2010 to 2018. He is currently deputy director of the "Cité internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image", a research institute and national museum dedicated to comics and visual culture.

Chinese discussions about Indian culture around the May Fourth Era: Some remarks on a conceptual aporia

Joseph Ciaudo

Introduction

1 A decade ago, in his address at the 66th session of the Indian History Congress, Prof. Kamal Sheel averred that "the earliest Chinese discourses on India [were] based on a recognition of the latter as the land of an equally 'civilised' culture arising out of the varied and fruitful interaction between them in which Buddhism played a leading role. In contrast, the modern Chinese discourses emanate from the framework of nation state and are based on comparative studies of their respective polity and economy" (Sheel 2007). According to Sheel, by the end of the 19th century, the Chinese started building up the narrative of an India that would be China's "failed other". Such a narrative emerged from "the construct of nationalism in late imperial China which linked the rising threat of Western imperialism to lack of modernisation and formation of a nation". To put it in other words, the emergence and diffusion of modern political concepts such as "state" or "nation" operated as factors of historical change. These concepts displaced the Chinese outlook on India. Rebecca Karl has presented this matter with much pertinence in her book *Staging the World* (Karl 2002). She has noted that 'India' became a common *topos* of late Qing political discourses. Its "lostness" and the "slavishness" of its people were omnipresent themes (Karl 2002, 159–163). It even became a topic for a new historiographical genre: the histories of the lost countries (*wangguo shi* 亡國史). Presenting India under the label of a "lost country" (*wang guo* 亡國) was instrumental in the redefinition of Chinese *Weltanschauung*; the political demise of India was a counter-example, or a scary reminder that China could also be put under the control of Western powers.

2 Yet, to come back to the idea of a transition from a positive culturalistic outlook toward a negative nationalistic one, one could underline the fact that in defending his position,

Sheel has ignored an important element: the vocabulary to speak about what we nowadays call cultures or civilisations was developed later than, or at least simultaneously with, the vocabulary of state and nationalism. Speaking of "equally 'civilised' culture" here is an anachronism or at least a very interpretative translation of Chinese discourses into contemporary categories. Sheel has considered that the rise of 'the modern vocabulary of the nation' affected the Chinese outlook on China, but he forgot that there was also no 'vocabulary of culture and civilisation' before the end of the 19th century, be it in China, in India or in the West[1]. And it took time for this vocabulary to set in. To give a striking example: the "anthropological interpretation of culture as 'the civilisation of a people (particularly at a certain age of development)' first appears in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1933" (Morris-Suzuki 1995, 761).

3 If by the end of the Qing dynasty, Chinese intellectuals realized that they were part of an internationalized world with a new centre and various edges, perhaps they also started being aware of cultural diversity. The problem was not simply laid out under the dichotomy opposing a modern West to a traditional East. In terms of historiography, we have long moved away from the 'Levenson narrative', which proclaimed that Chinese nationalism emerged as "a denial of culturalism" (Levenson 1958, 105). Moreover, one can no longer summarize the 'cultural issue' into the opposing categories of traditionalism versus westernisation. Embracing modernity did not necessarily mean throwing away Chinese cultural identity. Therefore, in order to shed a new light on the Chinese attitude toward India and what we would call its 'culture', it appears necessary to reconsider under which neologisms and modern concepts the Chinese intellectuals approached their southern neighbour. What did the Chinese say about India with the culture-related conceptual repertoire that was newly made available by the end of the 19th century – the polysemic terms *guocui* 國粹 and *wenming* 文明 and then *wenhua* 文化? Was India still regarded as an "equally 'civilised' culture" through this vocabulary or did the positive narrative supposedly conveyed by these *guo-* and *wen-*cognates also turn sour? Furthermore, as concepts are both "causal factors and indicators of historical changes" (Koselleck 1972, xiv; & 1995, 116), could it be hypothetically envisioned that the emergence and the rise of *wenhua* participated in a positive reevaluation of India, that contrasted with the devaluation produced by *wangguo*?

4 To quote Madhavi Thampi, in the past decades the Sino-Indian relationship has become "a topic of mounting interest in academic and wider circles" (Thampi 2013, 202). Yet, in regard to modern intellectual history, suffice to say that the spotlight has always been put on two specific trajectories: first, late Qing intellectuals' attitude toward India (notably Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927), Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) and Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1968-1936) usually in between 1901 and 1907[2]; second, Rabindranath Tagore's (1861–1941) trip to China in 1924 and its consequences. This second area of interest is certainly the most discussed topic, since it concerned both intellectual history and the history of literature. There is now an impressive body of academic literature on Tagore's trip, and on the new links between China and India that stemmed from it[3].

5 Yet, there is an inexplicable lack of studies concerning the period between 1907 and 1924. During these almost two decades, notably renowned for the profound intellectual transformation they witnessed with the New Culture movement, the Chinese had certainly much to say about India. As a matter of fact, we are now aware that they were

increasingly interested in the growing Indian nationalist movement. Many articles covered its different aspects, in particular in the *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌) (Deepak 2001, 14). This magazine dedicated a special issue to "Gandhi and Modern India" in 1922 during the Civil Disobedience movement. Brian Tsui has now uncovered the Chinese interest in Gandhism. He has shown that "Chinese intellectuals took the Indian freedom movement seriously" and that the Indian nationalist struggle served in China as a medium "to interrogate Western modernity as a social or cultural formation" (Tsui 2014, 63). Indeed, having browsed other documents than the one studied by Deepak and Tsui – notably the Shanghai-based journal *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報 – I can renew their claims and attest that in the early twenties, almost no week passed without an article published on what was happening in India. Despite the articles often being of reduced size, it seems nonetheless that the topic was of interest for the readership.

6 As such, the research on the Chinese attitude toward India has already underlined the fact that India was a political object of interest during the May Fourth era. It remains, however, to be verified whether 'Indian culture' was an object of inquiry. Between the mid-1910s and the mid-1920s, an important series of controversies that have often been framed under the label "debate(s) about the Eastern and Western cultures" (*Dong Xi wenhua lunzhan* 東西文化論戰) emerged[4]. Much ink has already been dedicated to the arguments and the rhetoric of these debates, notably regarding the thorny problem of whether China ought to 'westernise' itself. However, hardly any one investigated the place of India in these discussions[5]. After all, Chinese intellectuals were not limited to two intellectual possibilities – either westernise or defend Chinese culture –they could also have decided to 'indianise' China. Despite this option being unlikely, it was a theoretical possibility. India could have been a source of inspiration to rethink what it meant to be part of a bigger ensemble such as the region of Asia or the East[6]. Some scholars have suggested that India, as a 'representative of Eastern civilisation' was instrumental in the development of the arguments held by conservative figures who upheld a critical outlook toward the West. In an article on Xu Dishan 許地山 (1893-1941) and Indian culture, Chen Pingyuan once wrote that "during the May Fourth era, the traditionalists (*fugu pai* 復古派) were the biggest proponents of Indian culture (*Yindu wenhua* 印度文化) and they carried forward the idea that India was a representative of Eastern civilisation (*Dongfang wenming de daibiao* 東方文明的代表) not only in order to defend the Chinese 'national quintessence' (*guocui* 國粹) but also to fight the New Culture movement (*xin wenhua yundong* 新文化運動)" (Chen 1984, 34). However, one may wonder if this was really the case at a general level and not simply for Xu. Also, was this position expressed in the words used by Chen?

7 It is this thesis that the present article wishes to challenge by reconsidering where and how 'Indian culture' was located in the Chinese discourses during May Fourth so-called 'debate(s) about the Eastern and Western cultures'. Besides, in order to keep the problem of Tagore's visit distinct from what Chinese thought more generally of India – no single man is the embodiment of the entirety of one continental culture – I will mainly focus on the period before the debate was annexed by the fights over his lectures in 1924. I argue that although some Chinese intellectuals had a genuine interest in the Indian culture – understood from an etic point of view or, using a koselleckian terminology, from our contemporary categories of knowledge (*Erkenntniskategorien*)– considered from an emic point of view, there is in the language of the sources (*Quellensprache*) no interest for an 'Indian culture'. More exactly an *Yindu*

wenhua 印度文化 that could be considered on an equal footing with the Western culture (*Xifang wenhua* 西方文化) and the Chinese culture (*Zhongguo wenhua* 中國文化) is nowhere to be found. Unlike what Chen Pingyuan has argued, India had no place in the Chinese *Kulturpessimismus*. Furthermore, it appears that most of the Chinese intellectuals, like their Japanese neighbours, used the term 'Eastern culture' (*Dongfang wenhua* 東方文化)[7] without really considering it as an equivalent for the Western notion of Orient or as an embodiment of both China and India. It was often but a synonym of Chinese culture only[8]. As such, the emergence of a modern concept of culture under the token *wenhua* did not lead to the highlighting of an Indian culture that would be autonomous from Indian political institutions. Furthermore, Indian *wenhua* was always considered through the prism of Buddhism.

8 The article will proceed in three phases. First, I will briefly consider the place of India in the intellectual discursive field during the late 1910s and early 1920s. Second, I will discuss the place of Indian culture in the rhetoric of several intellectuals. Special attention will be given here to the expression 'Eastern culture' (*Dongfang wenhua*) and how its use incidentally scrapped India out of the debates. The last part of the article will then question whether Liang Shuming梁漱溟 (1893-1988) was really an exception in this intellectual landscape. Finally, I shall conclude that India as a *wenhua* had no significant place in the debates, and that such an aporia should invite us to reconsider our outlook on how Chinese intellectuals envisioned cultural diversity in the May Fourth era.

What place for "Indian culture" in the discursive field?

9 To begin our inquiry on the May Fourth era intellectuals' attitude toward Indian culture, one should notice that two important changes had taken place since the beginning of the century: India as an object of inquiry entered new academic institutions[9], and the multiplication of intellectual newspapers and magazines offered a space where texts about India could be published and become easily accessible for a broader readership.

10 Considering the problem first from the angle of education, one needs to admit that India, and notably ancient India, was progressively given a place in the emerging University system. Thanks to the impulse of Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), a course on Indian philosophy was opened in 1917 at Beijing University (Wang 1998, 98), the chair being attributed to the young Liang Shuming. who was to publish two years later his *Introduction to Indian Philosophy* (*Yindu zhexue gailun* 印度哲學概論) (Liang 1919). The Indologist Alexander Von Staël-Holstein (1877–1937), who emigrated to China after the October Revolution in Russia, also taught Sanskrit, the history as well as the philosophies and religions of ancient India at Beijing University from 1922 to 1929 (Wang 1998, 99). Liang Qichao, who was still one of the most important Beijing-based scholar of that time, also harboured a vested interest in the relation between China and India, notably regarding Buddhism[10]. In 1922, Tang Yongtong湯用彤 (1893-1964) also started teaching and researching the history of Indian philosophy and Buddhism in Nanjing. The results of his research would notably begin to be published in 1924 in the periodical *Xueheng* 學衡. At Yenching University, Jian Youwen 簡又文 (1896-1978) also started teaching classes on the history of Indian religions in 1924 (Meyer 2014, 318).

11 Nor was it impossible to find texts that dealt with Indian culture in publications generally available to the public. To name but a few, in an article published in the *Eastern Miscellany*, Li Jihuang 李繼煌 (1891-1960), who was a student in Japan at that

time, discussed the Indian conception of the world and how Indians pictured the idea of an Indian nation or state, by considering the sources for such ideas in classical literature and religions (Li 1918)[11]. Teng Ruoqu 滕若渠 (dates unknown) also published in the same journal an article on classical literature in Sanskrit in which he concluded that these literary materials "should be considered in the discussion about Eastern culture(s)" (Teng 1921, 70). However, as noted before, one should admit that, aside Buddhism-related literature, most of the articles that dealt with India were mainly focused on its political and economic trajectories. Besides, authors who presented elements of Indian culture to the general public were often lesser-known intellectuals, whose impact on society was minimal.

12 Another feature of the articles related to 'Indian culture' was that they all had more or less something to do with Tagore. The richness of Indian intellectual and artistic life was often approached through the lens of the relevance of the 1913 Nobel Prize. References to him came up in almost every article related to the topic. Many of his texts, notably his poetry and novels, were also translated into Chinese[12]. And, as a great deal of research has already demonstrated, they were not without influence in the development of modern Chinese literature. Tagore also appeared as soon as 1916 as "a sharp critic of modern Western civilisation" (Das 2005, 90). Actually, the Indian critique toward Western civilisation was presented to the Chinese audience before Tagore's visit of 1924. *Sadhana, the Realization of Life* (Tagore 1913), the book that popularized Tagore's cultural discourse in the West and in Japan (Hay 1970, 85–86) was translated into Chinese in 1921 (Taigu 1921). The translator Wang Qianjia 王錢家 (dates unknown) is a completely unknown figure. His text was, however, issued in four editions by 1926. It was seemingly an economic success. In fact, a growing body of literature about the Indian poet started being published in the early twenties, especially after it was announced that he would visit China.

13 Articles that dealt with the cultural discourses of other great Indians thinkers were, however, less numerous. They mostly were concerned with M. K. Gandhi (1869–1948). In the *Eastern Miscellany* special issue about the civil disobedience movement, an article by Xu Hualu 徐化魯 (1902-1994) suggested that Gandhi agreed with the idea that the post-war Western *wenhua* was bankrupt (Hualu, 1922, 72), but it did not expand on the subject. Xu simply presented him as the "Indian Tolstoy" (Hualu 1922, 75). Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之 (1896-1986) portrayed Gandhi as an adversary of Western material culture. The comments were however scarce. When his text brought forward the question of defending "traditional culture" (*chuantong de wenhua* 傳統的文化), he only gave a short description of the Brahmo Samaj movement, depicting it as a fierce opponent to the invasion of Western capitalism and Christianity (Yuzhi 1922, 76). Gandhi was placed in its continuity but exclusively as a social reformer. The only text to clearly present Gandhi's position was Yi'an's 亦庵 article on the principle of *Satyagraha*. In it, the author established a list of 15 propositions by Gandhi concerning modern civilisation (Yi'an 1922, 84–85)[13].

14 These brief remarks bring forth two important elements: first, with perhaps the exception of Buddhism, Indian culture was not often discussed as a historical or cultural object of interest located in the past – despite ancient India having its place in the academia –; on the contrary, it was always connected with what contemporary intellectuals had to say about it. The omnipresent reference to Tagore speaks for itself. Let us underline that this was also the case in the field of literature. Aside from

Tagore's novels and poetry, it seems that there was not much enthusiasm for classical Indian literature. According to Gal Gvili, it was only in 1929 that Xu Dishan "effectively launched the study of Indian literature in China" by translating *Folk Tales of Bengal*, a book written in English by the reverend Lal Behari Day (1824–1894) (Gvili 2015, 173). Second, in the emerging academia, India was mainly approached through two new categories of knowledge: philosophy and religion. This phenomenon as well as the progressive institutional and intellectual reorganization of the Chinese Buddhist religion propelled Buddhism to the centre of the discussions.

15 However, it is worth emphasising that writing about India and its culture (considered through our analytical categories) is one thing, speculating on the very concept of an 'Indian culture' as a concept present in the sources is quite another matter. Indeed, one needs to wonder what terminology the Chinese intellectuals used to speak about what we locate now under the term 'Indian culture' or 'Indian civilisation'. Despite the fact that it elaborated on themes that we would be tempted to locate under the 'culture' category, the above-mentioned article by Li Jihuang spoke only once of *Yindu wenming* in the entire text (Li 1918, 71). The author never employed *wenhua* or *guocui*, as if they were not very operative overarching concepts. Teng's article used *wenhua* but mainly in relation to the East and not India, or simply as a general or universal category[14]. Following Reinhart Koselleck, one can say that "a word becomes a concept only when the entirety of meaning and experience within a sociopolitical context within which and for which a word is used can be condensed into one word" (Koselleck 1979, 119). Furthermore, a concept is "an inescapable, irreplaceable part of the political and social vocabulary (...) Basic concepts combine manifold experiences and expectations in such a way that they become indispensable to any formulation of the most urgent issues of a given time" (Koselleck 1996, 64). If Li had no uses for *Yindu wenhua* in his text, that means that it was not an indispensable part of the vocabulary to express his opinion on the matter.

16 Let us therefore consider when Chinese intellectuals started to speak about India in terms of *wenhua* – I shall immediately abandon *guocui* as I was never able to find any reference to India's *guocui* except in the writing of Zhang Taiyan (see notably Zhang 1907) – and let us see if it produced a change in the attitude of intellectuals toward India. One should, however, be careful; the first occurrence of the phrase *Yindu wenhua* does not equate to the emergence of *Yindu wenhua* as a concept. The multiplication of occurrences simply pinpoints a period of particular interest (Ifversen 2011, 84–85). Since my purpose here is simply to identify a corpus of interest, I did not go data mining in the manner of Jin Guantao and Liu Qingfeng (Jin & Liu 2008), but used only a common database of historical research[15]. As *wenhua* started progressively to differentiate itself from *wenming* from the mid-1910s on (Huang 2011, 15–23), one should first check whether *Yindu* (*zhi* or *de*) *wenhua* or *Yindu* (*zhi* or *de*) *wenming* were common expressions between the beginning of the Republican era and Tagore's visit. To put it bluntly, the answer is no.

17 Between 1911 and 1925, only four different articles included both "India" and "*wenhua*" in their titles or subtitles. They were a translation of an article by Lyman Abbott that discussed Tagore's position (Abotuo 1917), a critical presentation of Tagore's idea by Hu Yuzhi (Yuzhi 1921), one text by Wu Jiazhen 吳家鎮 (dates unknown) on "Civilisation of India, Past and Present" (Wu 1922), and the welcoming address Liang Qichao wrote for Tagore. Concerning Wu's article, which is the only text having the exact "*Yindu*

wenhua" expression in its title, one should remark that it proceeded in an encyclopædic manner, presenting first briefly in introduction the race, the geography and history of the Indians before moving on to a longer presentation of their religions, their philosophical schools, their languages, India's social structure, Indian classical education, and its contemporary political situation. The last part of the text was the reproduction of a friend's letter on Indian cultural institutions (*wenhua jiguan* 文化機關)[16] and how the past was protected in India. Wu concluded with a presentation of Tagore. Here again, India as a *wenhua* was partly approached through the prism of Tagore. The same could be said of the use of *Yindu wenming*, since the only articles mentioning the two terms in their title were a one-page discussion of Tagore's division between "material" and "spiritual" civilisation (Shen 1920) and an interview of Tagore by Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 (1895-1990) (Feng 1921). One could also mention an article by Yu Shen玉深 (dates unknown) about whether Indian women could represent the oriental civilisation(s) properly (Yu 1923). A brief section of Tokiwa Daijō's 常盤大定 (1870-1945) *History of Indian Civilisation* (1907) concerned with the translation of Buddhist scriptures in Chinese was also translated in 1920.

18 If we consider books, the situation is also very troubling. While 'Histories of Chinese culture' emerged as a new genre during the 1920s, notably because of Liu Yizheng's 柳詒徵 (1880-1956) enterprise (Hon 2004), there is no equivalent publication of 'Histories of Indian culture' in Chinese during the entire Republican era. To my knowledge, only two books with such titles were published before 1949. And both were translations: *Yindu gudai wenhua* 印度古代文化 in 1936, a translation of a book by Takeda Toyoshirō 武田丰四郎 (first published in 1925) and *Yindu wenhua shi* 印度文化史 in 1948, a translation of several texts from A. A. MacDonell. Even among common history books, one must admit that Indian history was not a heated topic during the May Fourth era. The first Chinese *History of India*[17] that I have identified in this period was again a translation: in 1925, a certain Tengzhu 滕柱[18] translated *India* by John Finnemore (1863–1915), a general history of India written for the younger public (Tengzhu 1925). It was followed by Liu Bingrong's 劉炳榮 (dates unknown) *History of India* in 1926[19]. Chen Chalu 陳茶祿 (dates unknown) then published *Outline of India's General History* (1928) – a book that can be considered a milestone in Indian studies, for it was one of the first to admit that "among the four ancient countries that form the Asiatic *wenhua*, Babylon, Persia, India and China, (...) only India and China remained and could nowadays contribute to the *wenhua* of the world" (Chen 1928, 1), recognising *de facto* that India was also a 'culture' worth considering and not simply a 'lost country'. Yet by consulting this simple bibliography, it appears that not only was ancient India still vastly unknown to the general public before Tagore's visit to China, but during the Republican era much of the historical and anthropological knowledge on India was accessed via a Western or Japanese mediation.

19 One should never judge a book by its cover or a text by its title. Therefore, let us consider the presence of the expressions *Yindu wenhua* and *Yindu wenming* in the full text of two famous periodicals that have been digitalised: the *Shenbao* and the *Eastern Miscellany* – the second being the most important one for our research, since previous scholars have already pointed out that it was a publication sensitive to India's plea in the modern world. I found in it only three articles mentioning the exact expression *Yindu wenhua* between 1911 and 1924[20]. They were all published in 1921 – they are a two-part text by Chen Jiayi discussed below and a text presenting Gandhi, in which it was simply written that when returning to India in 1895, Gandhi "opposed the Indian

government, and promoted Indian culture by planning to replenish the inner life of the Indian people". The article ended on a positive note by saying that Gandhi's movement showed that Indian people could contribute to world politics and world culture (W 1921, 34–35)[21]. According to the *Eastern Miscellany* database, the next article containing the exact term *Yindu wenhua* would only be published in 1937. *Yindu wenming* appears in 11 texts between 1911 and 1925[22]. As such, one cannot say that they were common expressions. The situation of the *Shenbao* is even more suggestive, as no article published in the period here under scrutiny used the term *Yindu wenhua*. Only one piece used *Yindu wenming*, but it is simply a travel note and contains no description or discussion of what this 'Indian civilisation/culture' was (Zhang 1919).

20 The exact expressions were as such not very common. If we open up our scope of inquiry, and consider all the texts published in the *Eastern Miscellany* between 1911 and 1925, one finds 280 which feature both *Yindu* and *wenhua*. But one faces here the limit of this lexicometric approach since, in those 280 texts, sometimes the two words were apart and unrelated to one another. Furthermore, approaching the matter from a purely quantitative approach remains problematic since we lack any entry on the meaning and signification of these words in context. As already noted in footnote n°14, the syntax of the phrases in which those words appear ought to be carefully considered on a case-by-case basis. Likewise, there are many occurrences where one can read that India received or adopted a Western *wenhua*, but it would be an overinterpretation to consider that because the authors spoke of a Western *wenhua*, they would necessarily consider that there also exists an Indian *wenhua*. After all, around that time, India was usually depicted as a "half-civilised" country in the Western and Japanese literature. Besides, since *wenhua* was first understood in the sense of the universal concept of Civilisation with a capital C, and was then progressively associated with the idea of a West and an East, dividing therefore this universal Civilisation into two hemispheres[23], it is not sure that in linguistics terminology, 'India' and 'the West' could stand on the same paradigmatic axis – which means that one could not replace all the occurrences of 'Western' with 'Indian'. Hypothetically, Indian *wenhua*, as Chinese *wenhua*, may, after all, have appeared as a hyponymisation of Eastern *wenhua*. We should also wonder what did 'the West' mean for a Chinese person at that time, since it was also a very modern concept in every part of the world (Bavaj 2011).

21 It is therefore important to look into the matter by considering the words within the argumentative process of the texts. Quantitative analysis can only pinpoint potentially interesting corpora. Actually, one should note that the expression *Dongfang wenhua* came up in 16 articles published by the *Eastern Miscellany* between 1921 and 1922[24], while the expression was first used in 1921 in the *Shenbao*, and was used in some 21 articles before Tagore set foot in China on April 12th, 1924. It is also within this time frame during which the *Eastern Miscellany* dedicated one of its special issues to Gandhi, that Liang Qichao, Liang Shuming and Zhang Junmai 張君勱 (1887-1969) also started to raise doubt about westernization and promoted Eastern culture(s). As such, we may have here a relatively homogenous period for dealing with the question at hand. If Indian culture was a hyponym of 'Eastern culture' or at least a representative (*daibiao* 代表) of Eastern culture, we could find here much information regarding the attitude of Chinese intellectuals toward India, and the place of the concept of 'Indian culture' in their discourses.

Indian culture: a representative of Eastern culture?

22 As indicated above, there was not much specific presentation or discussion of either *Yindu wenhua* or *Yindu wenming*. However, India was often mentioned as an example in descriptions of Eastern *wenming* or *wenhua*. This way of framing the debate is not without problems for our inquiry. As the Chinese language does not mark the plural, it is often difficult to know whether a text opposes one Western culture/civilisation to one or several Eastern cultures/civilisations. A few rare indicators can help us to sort out this problem. For instance, in his article "Western culture and Eastern cultures" (*Dongyang wenhua yu Xifang wenhua* 東洋文化與西方文化), the Buddhist Reverend Taixu 太虛 (1890-1947) wrote "*every* Eastern culture" (*ge Dongfang wenhua* 個東方文化) (Taixu 1924, 1, my emphasis). Nevertheless, most intellectuals were not that sensitive to this problem of disambiguation.

23 Before considering in detail the early twenties' tendencies identified previously, let us first set the background by taking a look at the two articles that Zhu Qianzhi had identified as the starting points of the debates over the Eastern and Western cultures, and see how India fared in them. Chronologically the first text was "The Fundamental Differences between the Thought of the Peoples of East and West" (*Dong Xi minzu genben sixiang zhi chayi* 東西民族根本思想之差異) written by Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879-1942) and published in 1915. In this text, while using the term "East", Chen tended to think first and foremost about China. It is very obvious in his rhetoric when dealing with the opposition between East and West.

> 西洋民族以戰爭為本位，東洋民族以安息為本位。儒者不尚力爭，何況於戰；老氏之教，不尚賢，使民不爭，以佳兵為不祥之器。故中土自西漢以來，黷武窮兵，國之大戒。佛徒去殺，益墮健斗之風。世或稱中國安息於地上，猶太民族安息於天國，印度民族安息於涅槃，安息為東洋諸民族一貫之精神。 (Chen 1915b, 1)

> Peoples of the West privilege war, while peoples of the East privilege peaceful livelihood. The Confucians were never eager to fight relentlessly, let alone go to war; Laozi taught "not to give pride of place to the worthy, so as not to fuel competition among the people" and "to consider weapons, however beautiful, as ominous instruments". Therefore on Chinese soil since the Western Han dynasty, militaristic and aggressive stances have always been a great national interdict. The followers of Buddha who were opposed to killing gave more wind to this degenerating approach. One may say that the Chinese people find peace in returning to the Earth, the Jewish people find peace ascending to the Heavenly Kingdom, the Indian people find peace in entering Nirvana. Searching for peace is a common spiritual feature shared by all the peoples of the East.

24 Here Chen Duxiu regarded the Chinese, the Indians and the Jews as Easterners. However, in listing the peoples of the East, China always came first. Furthermore, its situation was always explained with more details. Of course, it is obvious that Chen was more knowledgeable about China. But in the end, the cultural differences between the various peoples of Asia were simply neglected. Despite this, China and India were both described as "representatives" of Eastern civilisation; the only topic that mattered to Chen became the opposition between China and Europe, an opposition that in his mind overlapped the gap between traditional and modern societies (Cf. Chen 1915, 1). Yet the location of India in Chen's list of examples raises a question: why did he mention the Jews before the Indians? If Chen spoke first of what he knew best, this would be surprising. However, the second text identified by Zhu, Li Dazhao's "Fundamental Differences between Eastern and Western Cultures" (*Dong Xi wenhua genben zhi yidian* 東

西文化根本之異點) – a text famous for democratizing Du Yaquan's earlier dichotomy between the West as a "culture/civilisation of activism" (*dong zhi wenming* 動之文明) and the East as a "culture/civilisation of quietism" (*jing zhi wenming* 靜之文明) (Cangfu 1916)[25] – also put India in a peculiar place. When Li was listing the countries that were members of Eastern civilisation, India was mentioned after Indochina, Malaysia, and Myanmar (Li 1918, 57). Such a position in the lists raises doubt about the attitude Li and Chen may have had toward India.

In addition, a common topic in discussions about Indian culture was its relation with Chinese culture throughout history[26]. In the case of Chen Duxiu, he rejected the very idea that India ever had any influence on China. For him, "the main idea of Indian doctrines was to depart from this world", therefore "India neither inspired nor produced a fundamental change for the Chinese people" (Chen 1916, 1). Chen considered the Indians' religious beliefs – as any religious beliefs for that matter – to be stupid (*yu* 愚) and responsible for the modern demise of India (Chen 1918, 157). Whatever one's opinion on the question of the introduction of Buddhism in China, it seems to us that Chen's position was very partial, not to say a caricature. Yet it was far from being an isolated case; many of the famous intellectuals of the May Fourth era downplayed India and its role in the intellectual history of China. Discussing the introduction of Buddhism in China often led them to despise India as a land of religions. In his essay on the "digestion of civilisation" (*wenming zhi xiaohua* 文明之消化), Cai Yuanpei stated that the philosophical richness of Indian civilisation had been stained by the foul smell of religion (Cai 1916, 416). For Cai, when China "digested India", it luckily did not convert to a religious *Weltanschauung*. Since Cai Yuanpei was advocating the replacement of "religion with aesthetic education" (Cai 1917), Indian culture was an example of what the Chinese should not aspire to. The metaphor of digestion can also be found in Hu Shi's 胡適 (1891-1962) writing, notably in his *History of Chinese Philosophy*, in which he considered that "after the Tang dynasty, Indian philosophy progressively became a part of Chinese thought and civilisation" (Hu 1919, 5). For Hu Shi, China had digested the Indian culture during the Six Dynasties. Therefore all the good things which the Indians had to offer had been passed on to the Chinese, while India was left to wither. In the end, the argument largely shared was that if China took anything from India, it was the best it had ever produced. All the supposedly negative elements of Indian culture did not cross the border[27]. It is worth noting here that Indian culture or its supposed core – be it philosophy or religion – was irremediably identified with Buddhism. By extension, Indian culture was always discussed in terms of spiritual life. It was a common *topos* to note that India had developed religion or its spiritual civilisation (*jingshen wenming* 精神文明) and not its material one (see *e.g.* Sanwu 1921, 27-28). The focus on religion was negative for most Chinese, notably the radicals[28], but some authors thought differently. For instance, the importance given to religion in the Indian culture became a positive element for Liu Yizheng. In his *History of Chinese Culture*, he claimed that the lack of religious sentiment was a Chinese weakness that was revealed by the spread of Indian culture in China (Hon 2015, 86). One should also underline that the discussions about Indian *wenhua* or *wenming* and its relation to China never put forward the material objects (except religious scriptures) that moved from one side of the border to the other; only Buddhism reigned. This Buddhism-centred approach to Indian culture also underlines the fact that debates about India were almost always conducted from the perspective of Chinese history. Other intellectual traditions such as Brahmanism or Hinduism were

only mentioned by a few selective authors; Islam was completely absent from the debates, as if they had never heard about the Mughal Empire.

26 These remarks being made, let us go back to the major problem of how the conceptual relation between India and *Dongfang wenhua* was established. In 1920, Chang Naide 常乃悳 (1898-1947) produced a summary of what most people used to argue about this topic, and added his own comments and criticisms. For Chang, civilisation was a universal process, and it was an error to compare the level of civilisation according to geography. In his mind, there was no East-West division (Chang 1920, 277). The problem was temporal. He therefore embarked on a criticism of the advocates of Eastern civilisation(s). According to him their position could be summarized under four points:

> 第一，世界上有两個文明;一個是西洋，一個是東洋。第二，這兩個文明的根本精神正相反對。第三，西洋文明的發源地是歐美，東洋文明的發源地是中國和日本。第四，前世紀之末，是西洋文明極盛的時代，目下他的破綻漸發現了，應當請出東洋文明來補救他的流弊。 (Chang 1920, 269, my emphasis)

> First: In the world there are only two civilisations: one is the West, the other is the East. Second: The fundamental spirits of these two civilisations are in radical opposition. Third: The sources of Western civilisation are Europe and America; *the sources of Eastern civilisation are China and Japan*. Fourth: The end of the past [*i.e.* 19th] century was the time of Western civilisation apogee. Now that we can progressively witness its collapse, we should make use of Eastern civilisation to save it from its shortcomings.

27 In his article Chang reviewed these four propositions, but he did not make any comment about India. It was discarded from the picture, as if he had been blind to the problem, or as if *Dongyang* was clearly a geographical notion that did not encompass India. Otherwise, India may have existed on the map of Asia, but it was not even part of 'civilisation'. There is something very unsettling in this Chinese chauvinistic appropriation of the whole of Asia or the East, because it was almost never based on any argument. For both the supporters of "Eastern culture(s)" and their opponents, the 'East' often worked as a synonym for China. Furthermore, the transition from one word to the other was frequently made without any consideration for semantics. See for example these two sentences taken from a lecture delivered by Zhang Junmai in 1922:

> 然東西文化之本末各不同， 如西洋人好言澈底， 中國人好言兼容， 或中庸； 西洋好界限分明， 中國好言包容。 (Zhang 1922, 122)

> From the roots to the branches, Eastern and Western cultures differ from each other. For example, the Westerners are good at thoroughly understanding the thing they talk about, while the Chinese like to always find a common ground – or the golden mean – when talking with others. The West excels at drawing clear distinctions, China excels at talking in terms of inclusiveness.

28 Here is an unsubtle shift from the Eastern culture to the Chinese. Zhang's opposition between East and West actually boiled down to an opposition between the West and China. And he was not the only one to do so. Tying the East to China was a figure of speech popular beyond the political and scholarly discussions. In June 1921, Wang Guangqi 王光祈 (1892-1936)[29] rejoiced that the Germans were interested in the Eastern *wenhua*, without ever mentioning India. He limited his illustrations to cultural and intellectual venues related to China in Germany (Wang 1921a). Two months later he would start mentioning India in relation with the notion of Eastern *wenhua*, by describing the visit of Tagore in Germany (Wang 1921b). These two articles were later

to be reproduced together in the first issue of *Asian Arts and Studies* (*Yazhou xueshu zazhi* 亞洲學術雜志), giving to India a semblance of participation to Eastern *wenhua*. However, in the second issue of the magazine, another article entitled "German Studies of Eastern *wenhua*" (author unknown 1921) would again only present what German scholars said about Confucius and Laozi. There was in the text a brief reference to Tagore, who was associated with Tolstoy (1828–1910), but no real comment on the study of India. In fact, all the articles published around this time which mentioned India as a part or as a representative of Eastern *wenhua* never discussed Indian culture as an anthropological body of practices, knowledge and representations that had a history. In the context of my reflection here, this goes without saying since my point is that such a conception of culture would be anachronistic. But at the same time one needs to insist on the fact that they had no interest for what traditional Indian literati were doing either. Whatever the meanings *wenhua* was to purport at that time, Indian *wenhua* was regarded as useless if not sterile. When Chinese intellectuals spoke about India, it was only to channel Tagore's wish for the Asian to be heard by the Westerners. They endorsed his general position, but rarely discussed in detail what he was saying about India, nor the very arguments he put forward[30].

29 As a matter of fact, Indian *wenhua* had no place in the debates of the time because it was rhetorically scrapped. Chen Jiayi's 陳嘉異 (dates unknown) very academic[31] article, "Eastern culture and our [historical] responsibility" (*Dongfang wenhua yu wuren zhi daren* 東方文化與吾人之大任) published in 1921, offers an insight into how the rhetorical disappearance of India operated. After having surveyed a series of definitions of what culture (*wenhua* 文化) is, Chen declared that he would speak about Eastern culture in regard to the Chinese nation. It was therefore to be expected that India was not to have an important place in his text, despite the affirmation that again "China and India were both representatives for contemporary Oriental culture" (Chen 1921, n°1, 20). In his text, Chen shed light on four features of Oriental cultures (the term is apparently considered as a plural), but here again the reasoning was fallacious. The four points he put forward almost always dismissed India. We do not need to enter in his arguments, but simply note how he adjusted his speech. In the first section he writes, "Eastern culture (this section concerns especially China)" (*Dongfang wenhua (ci zhuan jiu Zhongguo yan*) 東方文化(此專就中國言) (Chen 1921, n°1, 21), in the second "Eastern culture (this section can also be somewhat valid for India)" (*Dongfang wenhua (ci lüe jian Yindu yan*) 東方文化(此略兼印度言)) (Chen 1921, n°1, 28), in the third "Eastern culture (this section also concerns only China)" (*Dongfang wenhua (ci yi dan jiu Zhongguo yan*) 東方文化(此亦單就中國言)) (Chen 1921, n°2, 9), and in the fourth again "The Eastern culture (this section can also be somewhat valid for India)" (*Dongfang wenhua (ci lüe jian Yindu yan*) 東方文化(此略兼印度言)) (Chen 1921, n°2, 14). Also, when a specific point somehow concerned India, he did not give any corresponding example. To him, only the Chinese culture was important, the Indian was not even discussed. Chen was completely aware that he described *Dongfang wenhua* in a manner that would not be appropriate for India, but that did not lead him to add any remark in his text. Neither did commentators on this text raise this point (see for instance Jiangu 1921).

30 A few years later, Chen would renew his plea in favour of *Dongfang wenhua* and the academic societies whose goal was to study it. Once again, India would be almost completely absent from his discourse. Affirming that China is the only old country that succeeded in maintaining the historical continuity of its culture, Chinese *wenhua* was,

according to him, "the outstanding [figure] of Eastern culture" (*Dongfang wenhua zhi qiaochu* 東方文化之翹楚) (Chen 1924; 1). But this time, interestingly enough, he had a few comments on India:

> 印度文化。以佛教思想為最高。而佛教大乘精義又惟中國為獨得。是則保存佛典闡明佛教。實吾國應有之責。(Chen 1924, 7)
>
> Buddhist thought is the most elevated element of Indian culture; yet, the quintessence of the Greater Vehicle was only attained by China alone. As such the conservation of the Buddhist canon and the promotion of the Buddhist doctrine ought to be our country's responsibility.

31 Despite not being a famous intellectual figure, Chen Jiayi's case is here quite emblematic as he played an instrumental role in the "Society for Eastern Culture Studies" (*Dongfang wenhua xueshe* 東方文化學社). This society which aimed at "organising" (*zhengli* 整理) and "disseminating" (*xuanchuan* 宣傳) Eastern *wenhua* (author unknown 1924a) was officially established in 1924, but the idea for its inception emerged around 1922 (Luo 1924, 1)[32]. Intellectual societies and institutions whose goal was to promote Eastern *wenhua* started to become quite common around that time. Liang Qichao for instance opened an "Institute for Oriental Culture" at the University of Nankai (Tianjin) in 1922[33]. But when one considers the teachers who instructed at this institute, one finds no specialists on India (see the news about the Institute in Editor 1922a and 1922b)[34]. In the case of Chen's "Society for Eastern Culture Studies", the denegation of India is almost assumed. In an official document describing the goal and the organisation of the society, Luo Zhengwei 羅正緯 (1848-1951) wrote:

> 現在要推我國為最高。因爲東方文化的代表。本事中國和印度兩派。但是印度到了中世紀以後。文化衰歇。(Luo 1924, 4)[35]
>
> Now we need to push China to the foreground, because, despite the fact that China and India are both representatives of Eastern culture, India's culture declined after the medieval period.

32 The founding declaration of the association made no reference to India except for one sentence: "Indian knowledge (*xueshu* 學術) was concentrated in *Chan* Buddhism" (author unknown 1924b, 11). As such, it is not simply the so-called radicals of the New culture that despised Indian culture; numerous scholars that have been up to now designated as the "Eastern culture clique" (*Dongfang wenhua pai* 東方文化派) also had strong doubts about what India could offer to the world culturally speaking. The only intellectuals who positively evaluated India were often the Buddhists, but here again it was also considered that Chinese Buddhism was superior to India's. In their minds, India had already played its historical role when it passed on Buddhism to China, and now the quintessence of its culture was being expressed in a more elegant and sophisticated manner by the Chinese. Such line of reasoning is clearly similar to what Okakura Kakuzō had already put forward in his *Ideals of the East* when he wrote that Japan was "the real repository of the trust of Asiatic thought and culture" (Okakura 1903, 5). The Indian and Chinese pasts had served as historical referents for the Japanese in their attempt to build a new cultural narrative. When they were negatively considered, they were simply rejected as hurdles to modernization. When they were considered as positive; it was believed that the Japanese had taken the best of it and had magnified it[36]. India's role in the Chinese narrative was quite similar.

33 As such, the promotion of "Eastern culture" in order to save the West from the bankruptcy of its civilisation was not considered as a global process. It was mainly China's mission to save the West, and by extension the world. Eastern culture did not mean 'Chinese culture and Indian culture' but 'Chinese culture and Indian culture within Chinese culture'. Mentioning Tagore or even Gandhi was but a means to strengthen the legitimacy of the Chinese own critique of the West. It seems that their positions regarding the fact that India also had something to give to the West were never seriously discussed, and therefore probably not even considered. Yet, before concluding, one should give one more chance to the possibility of India being culturally favoured by some prominent Chinese intellectuals and consider the special case of Liang Shuming.

Liang Shuming: an advocate of Indian culture?

34 At a time when the East-West dichotomy was monopolising the intellectual field, one book changed, or at least tried to change, the framework. In 1921, Liang Shuming published a volume in which the West, China and India were apparently put on the same level. In the words of Thierry Meynard, "Liang challenged the myth of a so-called Oriental culture that placed China at the centre and India on the periphery" (Meynard 2011, 31). The publication of Liang Shuming's *Cultures of East and West and Their Philosophies* (*Dong Xi wenhua ji qi zhexue* 東西文化及其哲學) in 1921 was a key moment in the history of the cultural debates. Cai Yuanpei did not hesitate to write that "Liang Shuming's book had raised the most important problems in contemporary philosophical debates" (Cai 1923, 381). It was the first – and perhaps only[37] – book to seriously put India, China and the West in a tripartite comparative framework. Liang Shuming's thesis was highly debated, and attracted many attacks and criticisms[38].

35 The core of Liang's book can be summed up as follows[39]: for Liang, every culture, like every life, anchors itself in a fundamental will (*yiyu* 意欲). This will can be oriented in different directions (Liang Shuming 1921, 352). Facing the problems of life, man can either "go forward", "adjust his own intention", or "turn back and move backwards" (Liang 1921, 381–382). Besides, Liang notes that life takes place in three different realms: the material (*wuzhi* 物質), the social (*shehui* 社會), and the spiritual (*jingshen* 精神) (Liang 1921, 379–381). This typology starts off his approach toward Indian, Chinese and Western cultures. They are all distinguished by attitudes toward the world. With its will to go forward, the West has focused its culture on the material world; Chinese culture with its will oriented toward harmony (*tiaohe* 調和) epitomizes the adjustment of one's intention in the social world; finally, Indian culture turns its back to the world and addresses the problems of the spirit. For Liang, "the vast majority of Indians do not want to preserve their lives, they usually want to leave the world – they call it *nirvāna*" (Liang 1921, 436–437)[40]. Furthermore, each culture is built on a different philosophical system. "The life of the West consists in that intuition applies to the intellect; the life of China consists of the intellect applying to intuition; the life of India consists of the intellect as it applies to direct sensation" (Liang 1921, 378–380, Wesolowski's translation slightly modified).

36 In Liang's understanding, Eastern cultures were not lagging behind Western modernity. They simply took a different path. He even turned upside down the thesis of the backwardness of Eastern cultures: for him, they were advanced or literally "ripe too early" (*zaoshu* 早熟) (Liang 1921, 526). China and India had tried to address the problems of society and spirit before solving the material necessities of life. In the

short term, Liang therefore called for a cultural reorientation: China ought to focus herself on the material world – *i.e.* adopt Western culture. But once the material life is comfortable enough, China will have to go back to its own cultural trajectory[41]. Finally, in the future, when both the material and social problems are handled, China will have to walk the Indian path and solve the spiritual problems. In Liang's eyes, Indian culture was therefore not appropriate for the present time (Liang 1921, 528), but one day, it would be. From this perspective, Liang did not belittle Indian culture. On the contrary, India was located at a nexus in Liang's soteriological discourse: ultimately, it will free the whole of mankind from spiritual suffering[42]. However, let us enter into the details and observe what Liang's Indian 'culture' really was.

37 Thierry Meynard noted that Liang's "culturalist approach led [him] to assign religion the central role within his three cultures: the social religion of Christianity in the West, the psychological and moral religion of Confucianism in China, and the transcendent religion in India" (Meynard 2011, 37). But in the case of India, it is not just any transcendent religion: it is only Buddhism. In fact, in Liang's writing, India's culture would be better described as "an Indo-(*weishi*-) Buddhist culture" (Wesolowski 2005, 380). Liang only spoke about Buddhism, and he considered it mostly through a Vijñānavāda perspective[43]. Once again earlier Indian systems of thought were disregarded, and Islam was again completely omitted.

38 In 1922, some reviewers had already raised problems with this way of framing the issue. Although most of them did not give their opinion on what Liang had said about India because they considered themselves not qualified enough to make critiques on this matter, Li Shicen 李石岑 (1892-1934) hit the nail on the head when he wrote that Liang was producing too many reductions in his presentation of India as well as Buddhism: "Vijñānavāda is neither the totality of Indian culture nor the totality of Indian philosophy" (Li 1922, 494). According to him, Liang conflated and put in the same basket "religion", "Buddhism" and "India" (Li 1922, 502). For Zhang Dongsun 張東蓀 (1886-1973), *Cultures of East and West* was not a book that compared cultures, it was a work of comparative philosophy (Zhang 1922, 482). Zhang Dongsun's remark here is a breath of fresh air because, for once, it does not hesitate to spell out the problem. All the debates around *wenhua* in the early twenties were not concerned with the modern anthropological concept of "culture" – hence the embarrassment in translating *wenhua*. They often tend to condense these so-called cultures into a limited number of phenomena, usually religion and/or philosophy. But even in this context, and even if *wenhua* did not mean culture or civilisation, how can we explain that Liang Shuming, a professor of Indian philosophy at Beijing University, could only associate Indian philosophy to Buddhism? Did he not have any knowledge of the six traditional Indian schools?

39 Actually, Liang knew of these schools for he had presented them in his *Outline of Indian Philosophy* (Liang 1919). However, once again, it is obvious that his book had been written from the perspective of a Buddhist, since he described them as "heretical paths" (*waidao* 外道). Furthermore, he preferred calling them "philosophical religions" (*zhexue de zongjiao* 哲學的宗教) (Liang Shuming 1919, 60). For him, "Indian schools were to be understood as religions, with the religious quest coming first" (Meynard 2011, 43). Liang's understanding of Indian philosophy was only partial but as rightly noted by Meynard, the "*Outline of Indian Philosophy* antecedes both the modern research on Indian philosophy, and the modern editions of Indian texts. Therefore, we cannot

expect Liang's research to meet modern standards of scholarship" (Meynard 2011, 72). As such, like all his contemporaries, Liang considered the importance of religion as the most distinctive feature of Indian culture. But he reduced the religious life of the Indians to Buddhism.

40 Considered from the tripartite framework, Liang's attitude toward India may have seemed positive. But in reality, if we enter into the details of the text, India was a still a contemporary 'failed other':

> 我們就來看他一看 :其物質文明之無成就，與社會生活之不進化，不但不及西方且置不如中國。他的文化中俱無甚可說，唯一獨盛的只有宗教之一物。而哲學、文學、科學、藝術附屬之。於生活三方面成了精神生活的畸形發展，而於精神生活各方面又為宗教的畸形發達，這實在特別古怪之至！ (Liang 1921, 393, my emphasis)
>
> > Let us take a look at [Indian culture]: its material civilisation has produced no achievements, and its social life has not known any evolution; [in this respect] it does not attain Western standards or even China's. *In its culture there is nothing to talk about*. Its only accomplishment is religion. And its philosophy, literature, sciences, and arts all depend on it. As to the three realms of life, it has produced a twisted development of its spiritual life, and among the many aspects of spiritual life, it also had a warped advancement toward religion. This is really awkward!

41 Despite the fact that Liang had saved India from the East-West dichotomy, his attitude toward it ultimately shared much with his contemporaries; his Indian culture was Buddhism-centred, and his Buddhism Vijñānavāda-centred. For him there was nothing to discuss in India aside from that. Liang was not interested in an anthropological study of India; the only 'Indian culture' he spoke about was in fact a part of what India had transmitted to China. One might have expected a more balanced view from someone who taught Indian philosophy at Beijing University. But in the end he only spoke of essentialised and uprooted Western, Chinese and Indian philosophies that could fit into his model.

Conclusion

42 In sum, it appears that 'Indian culture' (under the token *Yindu wenhua*) was not yet an operative concept in Chinese intellectual discourse during the May Fourth era[44]. Understood from an emic point of view, the value of Indian culture was always downplayed, or at best ignored. Although Tagore's, and to a lesser extent Gandhi's culturalist discourses started to be heard in China, their positions regarding how India could save the West from its own demise were hardly listened to. Chinese neoconservative thinkers brought them forward as critics of the West, but the Western sickness was only to be cured by the Chinese antidote. When affirming that Eastern culture could offer salvation to the world, they did not use the term 'Eastern culture' (*Dongfang wenhua* 東方文化) as an embodiment of both China and India. It was often but a synonym for Chinese culture only. India was rhetorically excluded from the Chinese debates on the cultures of East and West.

43 It seems that the richness of the Indian past did not capture the interest of Chinese intellectuals, except for Buddhism. Texts and discussions about other Indian traditions and practices were very difficult to be found in publications addressed to an educated but general audience. This Buddhism-centred approach to the question was probably motivated by the religious beliefs of the actors in question – most of the scholars who

dedicated a part of their work to Buddhism or to how Buddhism came into China were Buddhists – but one can also wonder whether this focus was not a means to reflect on contemporary Western cultural transfers with reference to a historical precedent. Simultaneously, one may wonder whether Chinese intellectuals were not following the examples of some Japanese thinkers, such as Okakura Kakuzō who regarded his own country as the producer of the quintessence of Asian culture. It is an idea that, for instance, lurks behind Chen Jiayi's texts. Chinese intellectuals were appropriating the whole East.

44 Yet, one should go beyond the simple acknowledgment that Indian culture was no object of inquiry for the Chinese intellectuals. The elements presented in this article should invite us to reconsider what the Chinese meant by *Yindu wenhua* and even *wenhua* alone in regards to the usages of these words. If one agrees with Wittgenstein that "the meaning of a word is its use in the language" (Wittgenstein 2010, 43), one should perhaps reframe one's understanding of these words through Chinese discourses and not the other way around. The relative absence of discussion about ancient India using the term *wenhua*, compared to the overwhelming presence of Tagore, may inform us that this word had not at that time a historical ethnographic component. Within this context, speaking about *wenhua* necessarily meant participating in contemporary-oriented speech.

45 Likewise, it may be a little too hasty to criticise the Chinese intellectuals in their limitation of Indian *wenhua* to Buddhism. If such a proposition sounds very reductive, if not utterly false, when used by any 21st century writer, maybe *Yindu wenhua* really meant Buddhism in the early twenties; it is simply that *wenhua* ought not be translated as our contemporary 'culture'. Let us keep in mind that translation operates between languages but also between time periods. Let us imagine: what if Liang Shuming was right in his description of India? The following lines may seem like unnecessary word parsing, but what if *wenhua* was not at that time a stabilized lexeme (*wenhua*) but more of a syntagma: *wen-hua*, a "transformation (*hua*) through patterns or texts (*wen*)"? What if for a phenomenon to be named a *wenhua,* it were necessary that it had produced a transformation of China? We would need a *wen*, understood as texts, ritual practices, arts, patterns, etc., that would *hua* – transform positively – China. Through this reading, one could logically admit that Indian *wenhua* was only Buddhism. Indian Buddhism changed the face of China, not Brahmanism, Vedic literature, or anything anyone would locate behind the contemporary phrase 'Indian culture'. Although it is laid out in oversimplified terms, this very China-centred reading hypothesis is worth considering; for, as we have just shown, Chinese discussions of 'Eastern culture' were already Chinese-centred. India was discussed from the point of view of what China had refined of it. Maybe Liang Shuming was right: *Yindu wenhua* was really Buddhism. The corollary of this reasoning would, however, set a real and more provocative challenge to Chinese intellectual history. What if, by the same logic, *Xifang wenhua* was not "Western culture", but only the Western "patterns" (*wen* 文) one could import to transform (*hua* 化) Chinese society or grammatically more correct "a transformation by Western patterns" – science, democracy and so on? In this regard, one should remember that if *Xifang wenhua* was a term used to describe a world far away, it also designated a real presence in city-ports and international settlements: entire series of Western patterns were already on Chinese soil, only waiting to conquer the whole country. Furthermore, when we say that Chinese intellectuals wanted to import Western culture, did they

really want to have it all or simply the relevant parts that would restore China to its superior 'rightful' place?

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NOTES

1. Laurence Schneider wrote that at the end of the 19th century Chinese scholars discovered "culture" (*guocui* 國粹) as "a special body of native literature and art as a thing-in-itself, independent of and even more fundamental than the political and even social institutions which until then had been intimately associated with it" (Schneider 1976, 57). However, during the 20th century this word was to be replaced by another neologism: *wenhua* 文化. *Wenhua* was at first a synonym of *wenming* and was often used to translate "civilisation" (see *e.g. A Modern Dictionary of the English Language Translated into Chinese* 1913, 114). However, it soon gained its independence and denoted the modern anthropological notion of culture. Despite not being totally satisfying regarding the methodology (see in comparison the Korean case studied by Kim 2015), a description of the emergence of *wenhua* in contrast with *wenming* was documented by Fang 2003 and Huang 2006 & 2011. Yet, a clear explanation of the often-mentioned transition from *guocui* to *wenhua* (*e.g.* Liu 1995 or Hon 2003) remains to be given. In studies concerned with ancient China, *wen* 文 has often been understood in the sense of culture/civilisation. However the meanings encompassed by this character included a broader semantic field. Its uses were also not the same. When we translate *wen* into "culture", we not only translate from one language to another, but we also bring a term from a bygone time in the language and the cognitive categories of ours. In his history of the concept of culture and civilisation in the West, Jorg Fisch spoke of "culture without the concept of culture" (*Kultur ohne Kulturbegriff*) when he expanded on the Greek notion of παιδεία (Fisch 1992, 682–683). It is my belief that one could also say that the ancient Chinese had what we would call (from an etic point of view) a culture or a civilisation, but not a concept to express it in its modern form (an emic point of view). Culture, as well as 'civilisation' are after all very modern political notions – basic concepts (*Grundbegriffe*) in a koselleckian sense – whose destiny is connected to many concepts of the European *Sattelzeit* such as 'history', 'progress', 'state' or 'nation'. See also Bénéton 1975 on the Western history of these concepts. In his study of Bengal "culturalism", Sartori went to the extent of affirming that "the history of the culture concept in Bengal [could] be treated neither as a local deviation from, nor as a late reiteration of, an essentially Western intellectual form"; he proposed to investigate it "as a spatially and temporally specific moment in the global history of the culture concept" (Sartori 2008, 5). Despite this, he rejected the perspective of considering 'culture' simply as an importation from the West; he nonetheless regarded it as a very modern and globalized concept that "articulated a claim about the fundamental 'underdeterminedness' of human subjectivity – the freedom of subjectivity from determinations of objective necessity such as biology, nature, economy or society" (Sartori 2008, 21) and was therefore a clear product of modernity. The same remark could apply in the case of China.

2. Cf. Geng 2002; Shimada 1990, 76–83; Liu 2008 & 2012; see also Nicolas Idier's contribution to the present volume. Wang 2007 is perhaps the only research that has tried so far to thread together in a book several studies concerning the attitude of some Chinese intellectuals and authors toward India. One should note that Kang, Liang and Zhang are usually the only authors studied regarding this topic at the beginning of the 20th century (people such as Ma Xulun 馬叙倫 (1885-1970) who, for instance, translated from Japanese several texts on Indian religions has been

disregarded so far; Su Manshu's 蘇曼殊 (1884-1918) work is only discussed by Wang 2007, 159–176). The conclusions of these studies always point toward the ambivalent attitude of these writers; on the one hand, they praised Indian culture, while, on the other hand, they elaborated India as a political counter-example.

3. Concerning Tagore's trip see notably Hay 1970 and the more nuanced Das 2005. On Tagore's reception in China cf. Zhang 1994. Despite it being a failure, Tagore's journey to China was to open a series of new interactions between India and China such as Tan Yunshan's譚雲山 (1898-1983) participation in the Cheena Bhavana in Santiniketan (studied by Tsui 2010) or the lesser-known visit of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975) to China in 1944. Recently Tagore has become a topic privileged by Indian and Chinese scholars in their desire to reconsider the relation between the two countries, see notably Tan 2011. Yet, one may wonder if scholars participating in this dynamic have not sometimes exaggerated the impact of Tagore in China to promote a political agenda.

4. See notably the collection of articles compiled by Chen 1985. As early as the Republican era, Chinese intellectuals were clearly aware of the ongoing controversies. In 1923, Du Yaquan 杜亞泉 (1873-1933) was already publishing a collection of articles titled *Criticizing the cultures of East and West* (*Piping Dong Xi wenhua* 批評東西文化) (Cangfu 1923). In 1935, Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之 (1899-1972) also identified a "question over the cultures of East and West" that emerged around 1915 (Zhu 1935, 1).

5. This affirmation should, however, be nuanced in the research dealing with Liang Shuming who gave much thought to the Indian culture problem (see below).

6. After all, Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉覚三 (1863-1913) had coined in 1903 the famous sentence "Asia is one" (Okakura 1903, 1), and around the same time Asianism and Pan-Asianism became important political projects that hoped to foster an Asian transnational cooperation while insisting on socio-cultural traits shared by the Asians. This dynamic was notably important in Japan where intellectuals coming from the four corners of the continent could meet. Yet one should probably keep distinct the discussions about Asia that fall into the category of regionalism, and the debates over the East-West dichotomy. While the East-West dichotomy was largely inherited from the Western Orientalism postulate of an almost ontological division of the world into two cultural hemispheres – a division that would also overlap with the 'Self'/'Other' and 'Dominant'/'Dominated' dichotomies produced by a colonial West – Asianism emerged through a progressive enlargement of 'Asian cooperation'. Except for people like Okakura, it is legitimate to say that India really entered in the Asianism discourse in the late 1910s, early 1920s (cf. Saaler 2011; Weber 2018, 110). Before that time, Asianism was mainly built on the affirmation that the Chinese, the Japanese and the Koreans, and sometimes the Vietnamese, embodied a "shared race" (*Tongzu* 同族) and possessed "shared writings or patterns" (*Tongwen* 同文); even in later periods the question of the unifying link between those three (or four) countries would remain at the core of Asianism discourses. Since I could not find any Chinese discussion about an "Asian culture" (*Yazhou or Yaxiya wenhua/wenming*) that would include specific comments on India, the Asianist dimension of the subject will be set aside in this article. Furthermore, although they made random references to India, the most important Asianist Chinese pleas (Li Dazhao 1919 and Sun 1924) had no use for the concept of *wenhua* in a geographic or national sense – Sun 1924 used only once the expression "Eastern civilisation of China" (*Zhongguo de Dongfang wenming* 中國的東方文明) – and their remarks about India remained strictly political. Sun Yat-sen employed mostly the term *wenhua* as a way of behaving in the political realm when he opposed a "kingly culture" (*wangdao wenhua* 王道文化) to a "hegemon culture" (*badao wenhua* 霸道文化); on Sun's Asianism, see Weber 2018, 198-207.

7. One needs to note here that there are many different ways to express the idea of 'the East' in Chinese characters. The two most common expressions are *Dongfang* 東方 and *Dongyang* 東洋. We could be tempted to use them as synonyms, but they seem to have different uses in Asia. If the

Chinese mostly favored the first expression, the Japanese used more frequently the latter (*Tōyō* 東洋) – Stefan Tanaka even considered *Tōyō* to be "essentially a twentieth-century Japanese concept" (Tanaka 1993, 4). However, aside from a brief description of the meaning of the characters used in the compound – *fang* evoking "orientation" while *yang* would be "ocean/ vastness" – the genuine difference between the two terms has never been, to my knowledge, questioned in the academic literature. In China, since *Dongyang* originally served as a toponym – the territories of the Eastern Sea, *i.e.* Japan (Chen 2001, 370) – it often kept this connotation (for a general presentation of the semantic history of *Dongyang*/*Tōyō*, see Saitō 2005, pp. 43-77). As the most famous pro-West Japanese intellectuals of the Meiji era wished to distinguish Japan from *Tōyō*, one can however wonder whether using the word *Dongfang* may have not been a tactical move of the Chinese to bring Japan back in an 'Eastern frame'.

8. Such a phenomenon is also noticeable in Japan. Despite the claim that *Tōyō* meant "that which was not the Occident" (Tsuda Sokichi quoted by Tanaka 1993, 4), histories concerned with the East often dealt mainly about China, and Japan's relationship with it – a point partly admitted by Tsuda himself when he noted that for the Sinophiles the "so-called *Tōyō* is primarily China" (Tanaka 1993, 5). In fact, the concept of *Tōyō* was profoundly connected to the debates regarding the historical relation of Japan to China, the former centre of the world (*Chūgoku* 中国) now considered through the new appellation of *Shina* 支那 (Chen 2001). As such, it helped the Japanese in the creation of "their modern identity" (Tanaka 1993, 11). While Japan tended to distance itself from a China-centred worldview in order to join with the Western great powers, China was inevitably linked to the idea of an "inferior Orient". On the contrary, for the Chinese, the notion of 'the Orient' may have served positively as a means to reinvent their former centrality. By assimilating China to *Donfang* they probably unconsciously traded their former world-centrality for an Eastern-centrality in a bipolar system.

9. The role of academic institutions and the emergence of specific scientific fields in which positive knowledge about other countries, peoples and cultures are formulated cannot be overlooked. As a matter of fact, although discourses on Indian culture were not at first produced by academics, it is they who gave it a historical authenticity. This situation is quite comparable to the case of Japan, where discourses on the Orient were intrinsically linked to the constitution of the scientific discipline 'Eastern history' (*Tōyōshi* 東洋史) (cf. Tanaka 1993). Regarding earlier modern Chinese scholars who worked on their own on Indian texts, see the article by T.H. Barrett "The Early Modern Origins of Chinese Indology" in the present volume.

10. See his works on the subject collated in the 14th volume of the *Yinbingshi heji* 飲冰室合集 of 1936.

11. Li spoke of India using the traditional term *Tianzhu* 天竺. I have, however, never encountered an author speaking of *Tianzhu guocui* 天竺國粹, *Tianzhu wenming* 天竺文明 or even *Tianzhu wenhua* 天竺文化.

12. See a detailed list in Zhang 1994 (205–230)

13. I have unfortunately not succeeded in identifying the original document in the *Collected works* of Gandhi (Gandhi 1999).

14. In his text, Teng uses the formula "in the history of Indian culture"; however, if we consider the Chinese – *zai Yindu de wenhua shi shang* 在印度的文化史上 (Teng 1921, 63) – the determinative of the syntagma is "history" (*shi* 史), while the subordination between "cultural" or "civilisational history" and India is a loose form of junction. There is a subtle difference between *Yindu wenhua* and *Yindu zhi wenhua* (or with the use of any form of *de* 的/地): "Without *de*, modifier and head are in close junction, presenting the modifying notion as an inbuilt characteristic" (Wiedenhof 2016). A systematic study of this problem ought to be conducted, but as of now, it appears to me that in the literature I have browsed so far, when an author referred to 'Indian culture' as a historical and anthropological collective category – the third category of culture in Jenks's typology (Jenks 2005, 11–12), *i.e.* culture as generally confused with

'civilisation' – they always preferred *Yindu wenhua. Yindu zhi wenhua* can generally be understood as the Indian version of the universal phenomenon of culture. However, there is no general solution, and one should better proceed with a hermeneutical text by text approach.

15. I proceeded here in two stages. First, I looked for these words in titles of articles published by relying on the *1833–1949 Chinese Periodical Full-text Databases* (*Wan Qing qikan Minguo shiqi qikan quanwen shuju ku*晚清期刊、民国时期期刊全文数据库) developed by the Shanghai Library (available at http://www.cnbksy.cn/). Then I looked into the texts by searching in full two key periodicals of the time: the *Shenbao* and the *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜志). The choice of these publications was justified not only by the fact that they are easily accessible, but also because they presented themselves as mainstream journals with an important circulation. Since the aim of this article is to inquire into the place of 'Indian culture' in the intellectual debates about cultural diversity, my problem was not to identify lesser-known and hardly read periodicals written only for specialists. Furthermore I should clarify that the full-text research on the *Eastern Miscellany* was realized through the website www.cpem.cp.com.cn, a website not specifically designed for this type of research. In fact, it is obvious that the numbers given below are not exact since I found texts during my research that employed the term *Yindu de wenhua* and were not in the statistics of the website (for instance Teng 1921); it seems that the website does not consider junction particles such as *de* 的 or *zhi* 之. Therefore, the numbers given below should be taken with precaution and only be used to indicate a general tendency. They do not give a precise factual description of the presence of these words in the literature of the time.

16. Under this term the author referred to the museums, the libraries and the research centres established by the British.

17. As mentioned in the introduction, at the end of the Qing dynasty, histories of India as a 'lost country' existed, but these books mainly focused on how India was defeated. By "histories of India" I refer here to books that were concerned with the history of this country/continent in the *longue durée*, or what we could be tempted to call broad histories of Indian civilisation from antiquity to the time of their authors. To give a comparison, such books could already be found in Japan: Takakuwa 1903 had known many reeditions under several titles; see also Tokiwa 1907 and Shigematsu 1915. This last book dedicated its second half to the 'culture' (*bunka* 文化) of ancient India (pp. 57-109) but the term obviously did not mean "culture" in a modern anthropological sense, as it was specifically concerned with Brahmanic philosophy and scientific knowledge as well as literature in Sanskrit. Takakuwa 1903 had also already several sections dealing with *Indo bunka* 印度文化 in the sense of knowledge and sciences. The case of the historian Takakuwa Komakichi 高桑駒吉 (1869-1927) is furthermore fascinating because he was the writer of numerous history books dedicated to the "cultural or civilisational histories" (*bunmeishi* 文明史 or *bunkashi* 文化史) of the West, the East, Japan, China and India. He moreover included India in his conception of the East. However, he is a figure still completely unknown to the academia; and one may have doubt on whether his writings may have circulated among Chinese intellectuals: his *History of Chinese culture* would be discussed by several Chinese historians around 1926 (it was even translated into Chinese) but I could not find any Chinese comments on his works concerned with India.

18. Since there were not that many specialists on India at that time, I suspect that Tengzhu may have been a pen name of Teng Ruoqu, mentioned above.

19. In his preface, Liu advocated that Indian history ought to be studied by the Chinese since both countries had shared an important part of history: "Speaking from the point of view of culture, [one must say] that China and India have a particularly close relationship" (Liu 1926, 1).

20. In comparison, there were 37 occurrences of *Zhongguo wenhua* and 47 of *Xifang wenhua*.

21. Almost all the articles in this special issue about Gandhi used both the word India and *wenhua,* but only W. reunited them in the expression *Yindu zhi wenhua*. It is also worth noting that the

word *wenhua* was much used, at that time, in the translation of Tagore (*e.g.* Ziyi 1922). It was a term oriented toward the contemporaneous.

22. In comparison there were 23 occurrences of *Zhongguo wenming* and 34 of *Xifang wenming.* The lesser amount of "country+*wenming*" phrases compared to "country+*wenhua*" illustrates the progressive transition from *wenming* to *wenhua* in the cultural vocabulary.

23. At least that seems to be the case in China, but simultaneously one needs to point out the fact that Africa, the Middle East or South America were often absent of the picture. As such the sum of the East and the West didn't necessarily amount to the totality of the planet. When Easterners spoke of the East, they mainly referred to themselves in a national sense. Furthermore, one can conjecture that in their understanding of the world, there were peoples and countries that did not even belong to Civilisation. If the Japanese, the Chinese and the Indians were all fighting against the label of "semi- or half- civilised countries", and considered themselves as "civilised", they did not necessarily believe that their non-Western neighbours shared this adjective, and even at times relegated them to the categories of "half-civilised" or "barbaric". Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤 諭吉 (1935-1901), for instance, adhered to the idea that India and China were only half-civilised, an idea that should in his opinion encourage Japan to take its distance from Asia. Furthermore some intellectuals from all around the world dreamt of a synthesis of the East and West, an intellectual move that clearly implied that those notions went far beyond a simple problem of geography.

24. *Dongyang wenhua* was also used in four additional articles during this timeframe. It is worth noting that there were only eight articles published in the *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜志from 1904 to 1948 that employed the phrase *Dongyang wenhua*. The first occurrence was published in 1917 and dealt with Asianism; and India was obviously not included in this Orient (Junshi 1917).

25. This text did not make any reference to India. The East was again limited to China.

26. Here I will set aside the academic books specifically dedicated to the topic and consider what was said about it in the mainstream newspapers and magazines.

27. It is important to underline that such a narrative set a historical precedent for the discourses promoting a selective appropriation of Western culture. On the one hand, intellectuals who more or less supported a wholesale westernisation adhered to the idea that there was only one unique Civilisation – seen as a ladder with the West at the top and Asian countries at a lower level – and rejected the idea that India had any influence on China. On the other hand, people who considered that cultural or civilisational diversity existed and that China should adopt the positive elements of the West while discarding the negative ones often maintained that this process of selective appropriation had already taken place in the past with the introduction of Buddhism. The case of Hu Shi is here exemplary: when he became more and more infatuated with the idea of wholesale westernization of China in the twenties, "China's indianization" became a catastrophe in his writings (Sheel 2014).

28. According to Peter Beyer, and most scholarship on the subject, the main intellectuals of the May Fourth era "rejected the contemporary value of religion" (Beyer 2006, 235). However, Meyer 2014 has presented a more nuanced description of the attitude of the Chinese toward the matter.

29. Wang would later become a renowned specialist of the history of music, but he was at that time only a local correspondent for the *Shenbao* in Germany.

30. I am personally struck by the fact that despite being a relative economic success no Chinese intellectuals, except perhaps Hu Yuzhi (Yuzhi 1921) – who was ultimately the one who made Indian *Kulturpessimismus* audible in China – ever commented on the thesis that Tagore had developed in *Sadhana*. Liang Shuming gave a hyperbolic illustration of this problem when he wrote that "Tagore never speculates on any philosophies and only composes poems" (*sic*) (Liang 1921, 513).

31. Chen is one of the very rare authors to discuss the problem of culture with clear and complete references to the Western, Japanese and Chinese literatures. This article, for instance, has 99 footnotes of references and nuanced comments.

32. Several key intellectual figures of the time, such as Cai Yuanpei and Huang Yanpei 黃炎培 (1878-1965), participated in its inaugural venue.

33. It is also through one of Liang's associations, the "Lecture Society" (*Jiangxue she* 講學社), that Tagore was invited to China.

34. Furthermore Liang's "Collective Study Association" (*Gongxue she* 共學社) did not edit any translation of works related to India (except for a few elements in H.G. Wells's *The Outline of History*). In comparison, Russia, and notably Tolstoy, deserved much more attention (Zhang 2006, 140–144).

35. In a later article, Luo would reduce his critical tone toward India, but he would still write that the Buddha Sakyamuni made the synthesis of earlier Indian schools of thought (Luo 1925, 5) and would thereby reduce India merely to Buddhism.

36. The depiction of the Orient and of the place of India within it by Japanese intellectuals started to evolve in the early twenties, giving place to more nuanced and academic-based discussions – something that however did not prevent their political instrumentalisation (a topic largely explored in the research related to Asianism). As a matter of fact, in the twenties, when Shiratori Kurakichi (1865-1942) 白鳥庫吉 and Ichimura Sanjiro 市村瓚次郎(1864-1947) – the fathers of "Oriental history" – retired, and their former students became more and more specialised in specific geographical regions of the East, historical research developed toward a more accurate and comparative direction (Tanaka 1993, 234-239). China had not, however, achieved such level of institutionalisation and specialisation at the same period. Academic research on India had just started and it was seemingly not very influential on the debates.

37. In his *Chinese Culture of Tomorrow* (*Zhongguo zhi mingri wenhua* 中國之明日文化) – a book that also produced a tripartite division of cultures – , Zhang Junmai presented his own work as a response to Liang's book, and would later underline the fact that aside from Liang's, no book had been published on the subject (Zhang 1935, 1)

38. Chen 2010 speaks of hundreds of articles (p. 135). For a discussion of a selection of them, cf. Alitto 1986, 126–134.

39. Wesolowski 2005 offers probably the best-synthesised presentation of Liang Shuming's philosophy of culture.

40. Two years before, he had already written that "Indians fundamentally reject worldly life" (Liang 1919, 60).

41. Incidentally, Liang believed that the West was already proceeding to this reorientation. With their growing interest for socialism, the Westerners were, according to Liang, leaving the Western path of moving forward and conquering the material world to convert to the Chinese social path of harmony. On the sinicisation of Western culture, cf. Liang 1921, 502-512.

42. Regarding Liang Shuming's teleological metanarrative of cultures, and its link with the problem of modernity, cf. Major 2017.

43. This mode of reasoning also pervaded Liang's attitude toward the West which was reduced to utilitarianism, and China epitomised by Confucius.

44. Tagore's visit to China, despite being a short-term failure, would, however, foster Chinese interest in their southern neighbour; discussions about Indian *wenhua*, understood in a more general and historic perspective, would flourish during and after his stay.

INDEX

Keywords: concepts, culture, civilisation, conservatism, Dongfang zazhi, debate, indology, Tagore, May Fourth Movement, Orient, Eastern culture, religion, Buddhism, chauvinism, Chen Jiayi, Liang Shuming
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AUTHOR

JOSEPH CIAUDO

Joseph Ciaudo is a Postdoctoral research fellow at the French Institute for Research on East Asia (IFRAE) and a teaching assistant at the University of Cergy-Pontoise. His research delves into the history of concepts of culture and civilisation at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. He is mainly interested in how these concepts contributed in China to new apologetic narratives in favour of Confucianism, seen from the perspectives of both conceptual and transcultural history.