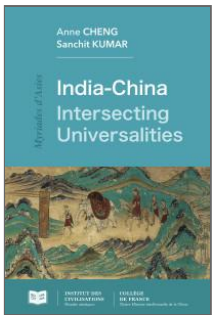

Under the direction of Anne Cheng and Sanchit Kumar

India-China: Intersecting Universalities

The Chinese Perception of Jainism 耆那教

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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* 閱藏知津, 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.

FOOTNOTES

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 唐志釣, *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 颜惠庆, 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" 戯曲シャクンタラー姫の和訳, *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 Zürcher, *Buddhism in China: Collected Papers of Erik Zürcher* (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 張聖巖, *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* 釋氏要覽校注 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' 婆罗門謠. 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 蕭子顯, *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.

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